

Definiteness in San Pablo Güilá Zapotec*

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Abstract: In this paper, I provide a theoretically informed description of how definiteness is expressed in San Pablo Güilá Zapotec (SPGZ). Although simple definiteness has been described in different Zapotec variants such as Istmo Zapotec (Picket et al. 1998), Zochina Zapotec (López Nicolás 2016), and more recently Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec (Deal & Nee 2017), a detailed description of the properties of definite noun phrases has not yet been carried out in SPGZ. I conclude that SPGZ expresses definiteness in three ways: (i) bare nouns, (ii) demonstratives, and (iii) possessive phrases. I also offer evidence that SPGZ is typologically rare, as there seems to be no definite article, but there are special ways to introduce nouns for the first time in the discourse: *t̥* for singular and *dòrã* for plural.

Keywords: definiteness, bare noun, demonstrative, possessive phrase, Zapotec

1 Introduction

In this paper, I state that San Pablo Güilá Zapotec (SPGZ) has three strategies to express definiteness. As shown in (1), bare nouns are interpreted as definite when the definite noun is unique or familiar. Additionally, examples with demonstratives (2) and possessive phrases (3) show that these constructions can express definite entities with additional features such as deixis or possession (Lyons 1999).

(1) *Bare noun:*

Bsàgwà>drábã t̥i gây nà>rà' kùn t̥i gidy. Txĩ' bdò'â gidy txĩ' bè>nsákâ> môl kùn gây.
b-sàgwàd =rãbã t̥i gâj nà>rã? kùn t̥i gĩdj
C-give =3R.PL one rooster 1S CONJ one chicken
t̥jĩ? b-tò? =â gĩdj t̥jĩ? b-èn=sák =â môl kùn gâj
then C-sell =1S **chicken** then C-make=also =1S mole PREP **rooster**
'They gave me a rooster and a chicken. Then I sold the chicken and then I made mole with the rooster.'

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(2) *Demonstrative:*

Sâb gwà› tì gǎlrüb̀nìs. B̀dò› gǐ sà'krũ yà›z nǎbǐ.
sâb kwǎ =â tì gǎl-rüb̀+nis
saturday C.go =1S one DER-baptize
bdò =gǐ sà?krũ=jàz nǎ =bǐ
baby =DEM.N.VIS pretty=INTS COP =3F
'On Saturday, I went to a baptism. That baby was very beautiful.'

(3) *Possessive phrase:*

Bsàgwà›drǎbǎ tì bǐtxì› nà›rà'. Ngǎs nǎ mǎnj pèr xbàñmǎ nǎ ngǐtx.
b-sàgwàd =ràbǎ tì bǐtʃ=ì nà›rà?
C-give =3PL.R one cat=DIM 1S
ngǎs nǎ mǎnj pèr **f-bàñ** =mǎ nǎ ngǐtʃ
black COP animal but **POS-tale** =3ANI COP white
'They gave me a kitten. It is black but its tail is white.'

Additionally, I discuss ways of introducing new discourse referents. For instance, in the three examples, there is a marker *tì* that corresponds to the numeral 'one' that consistently serves to introduce new individuals to the discourse. Furthermore, as you will see in the following examples, there is a complex particle *dò›rà* which may introduce plural referents to the discourse.

This paper is organized as follows. First, I discuss two criteria that form the pillars of definiteness recognition among languages, namely, familiarity and uniqueness (Section 2). Then I present how definiteness is expressed in SPGZ in Section 3, where I explain the data methodology (Section 3.1) and the contexts of definiteness (Section 3.2) illustrated by specific examples of SPGZ. In Section 3.3, I provide some examples where the conditions of uniqueness and familiarity are not fulfilled and where the consultants found some sentences infelicitous. Additionally, I discuss some evidence that raises the question whether SPGZ, in fact, has indefinite markers in Section 4. Finally, I present the conclusions in Section 5.

2 Definite noun phrases

There are two main characteristics of definiteness: **familiarity** and **uniqueness** (for singular noun phrases) or **maximality** (for plural noun phrases) (Lyons 1999; Schwarz 2009). The hypothesis of familiarity holds that a phrase with a definite article denotes familiar entities, that is, entities that are known by both the speaker and the listener. This hypothesis was first introduced by Christophersen (1939) and later developed by Schwarz (2009), among others. For example, in (4), when the first singular entity *gǐè* 'stone' is introduced in the discourse, it appears with *tì*. When the plural entities *bèwnù?* 'scorpion' and *bdìjǎñ* 'ant' are introduced, they required a bimorphemic particle *dò›rà* glossed as 'few=PL'. Subsequently, the referents are recovered by a definite nominal phrase due to the familiarity principle. In the case of plural entities, there is a bare noun preceded only by the plural marker *rǎ*, which refers back to the previously mentioned entity, while the singular noun 'stone' occurs with a demonstrative.

- (4) Dèts tì gyè ptxě̀lâ› dò›ră bèwnù' kùn dò›ră bdiyăñ. Là›ră bdiyăñ zèxù›ny txì mdyēsâ› gyègĩ.
 Txì' là›ră bèwnù' byă›n rāmă rě›.
 dèts tì gjè b-tfě̀l =â dò= ră bèwnù? kùn dò= ră bdijăñ
 back one stone C-find =1S few= PL scorpion CONJ few= PL ant
 là ră bdijăñ zè-fũñj tji m-djēs =â gjè =gĩ
 TOP PL ant PROGR-run when C-lift =1S stone =DEM.N.VIS
 tji? là ră bèwnù? b-jăñ =rāmă =rě
 then TOP PL scorpion C-stand =3PL.ANI =DEM.PROX1
 ‘Under a stone I found scorpions and ants. The ants ran when I lifted that stone and the scorpions stood there.’

On the other hand, the hypothesis of uniqueness is based on the insight that definite descriptions refer to things that have a role or property that is unique and can fulfill an appropriate description (Schwarz 2012:9). In (5), there is only one entity which fulfills the description (in the world there is only one Pope) and it can be referred to by a bare noun.

- (5) Dũx gĩz byě›d Pápà.
 dũf gĩz b-jě̀d pápà
 last year C-come Pope
 ‘Last year, the Pope came.’

Authors such as Hawkins (1978) and Sharvy (1980) take up the principle of uniqueness, but in an extensive sense apply it to plural or mass noun phrases. This is known as the principle of maximality, under which a definite nominal phrase refers to the totality of the entities that satisfy the description in a given context. For example, in (6), someone is asking for some puppies because he/she wants to adopt them, so in the question, the phrase *răbè'kw bĩ'txi* ‘the puppies’ refers to the totality of the referents:

- (6) *Context: Chava's dog had two puppies. Chava asked me if I wanted to keep them. After several days, I thought it over and decided that I do want to adopt them. Fortunately, I meet him on the street, so it's my chance to ask him. What can I say to Chava?*
- Txâvâ, nõ' răpgăù› răbè'kw bĩ'txi› nì bsăl xbè'kw? Rkà›zâ› găp là›rāmă.
 tfăvâ nõ? r-ăp =gă =ù ră bè?kw bĩ?tf=ı nì b-săl
 Chava EST.exis H-have =yet =2S PL dog small=DIM COMPL C-give.birth
 f-bè?kw =ù r-kà›z =â g-ăp là= ră =mă
 POS-dog =2S H-want =1S POT-have DIF.OBJ= PL =3AN
 ‘Chava, do you still have the puppies that your dog gave birth to? I want to adopt them.’

In this section, I presented some characteristics of the two criteria to recognize definiteness among languages. This is important because, in the following section, I will provide some examples in SPGZ regarding definiteness based on the principles discussed here.

3 The expression of definiteness in SPGZ

3.1 Data methodology

The data presented here were obtained using the *Cuestionario para identificar frases nominales de referencia definida 'simple'* (Questionnaire to identify nominal phrases of ‘simple’ definite

reference) by Vázquez Rojas et al. (2017), which proposes different types of elicitation in typically definite contexts. I administered the questionnaire to four native Zapotec speaking consultants.

The first part of the questionnaire focuses on production tasks, in which positive evidence is gathered. That is, sentences obtained are (i) grammatical, (ii) true, and (iii) felicitous in the indicated context. In the second part of the questionnaire, there are data about acceptability judgements to verify possible negative evidence. This means that the speaker tries to judge a sentence as infelicitous or false with respect to a certain context (Vázquez Rojas et al. 2017). Finally, all the data presented in the questionnaire are contextualized in more than one way, which is fundamental for any semantic elicitation tool (Matthewson 2004).

3.2 Context of definiteness

In this section, I present a series of contexts proposed by Hawkins (1978), later retaken by Schwarz (2012), in which a definite article or a definite marker would typically be expected. These contexts are direct anaphora (Section 3.2.1), associative anaphora (Section 3.2.2), immediate situation (Section 3.2.3), global situation (Section 3.2.4), representation of previous particular states (Section 3.2.5), and generic reference (Section 3.2.6). After these sections, I provide an explanation for the specific behavior observed by the demonstrative *gĩ* in Section 3.2.7.

3.2.1 Direct anaphora

In an anaphoric context, it is expected that new referents will be introduced by means of an indefinite description, to later recover them by means of a definite description (Hawkins 1978). Five cases of direct anaphora were elicited, in which the preferred strategy was that of the bare noun to mark the definite reference recovered from the context, as in (7).

- (7) Tì nǎn kùn tì ngùlè' kǎběz răbǎ kàmyôn. Dè rèpênt tí là' ngùlè' zèxùñy. Txĩ' là' nǎn gĩ zénǎld là'бі.
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------|--------|--------|
| tì | nǎn | kùn | tì | ngùlè' | kǎ-běz | =răbǎ | kàmjôn |
| one | woman | CONJ | one | child | PROGR-wait | =3R.PL | truck |
| dè+rèpênt | tí | là' | ngùlè' | zè-ñũñj | | | |
| suddenly | COMPL | TOP | child | PROGR-run | | | |
| tĩ' | là' | nǎn | z-énǎld | là' | =бі | | |
| then | TOP | woman | PROGR-chase | DIF.OBJ | =3F | | |
- ‘A woman and a child were waiting for the truck. Suddenly, the boy ran and the woman chased him.’

3.2.2 Associative anaphora

An associative or bridging anaphora (Hawkins 1978) occurs when the referent is retrieved by association, which is empowered by the general knowledge shared by the speakers of a language (Gómez González 2015). Six cases of associative anaphora were elicited, of which three examples were presented with the bare nominal (8), one by means of the demonstrative (9), and finally two by means of the possessive which I illustrate by the example (10).

- (8) Bǎ bìlò bè›nrǎbǎ gǎn bè›nsǎkrǎbǎ gydò›. Krûz sǐ' gyà›x rǐky zó›b rǎbǎ.
 bǎ b-ìlò b-èn =rǎbǎ gǎn b-èn =sǎk =rǎbǎ gjdò
 already C-finish C-do =3PL.R can C-do =also =3PL.R church
krûz sǐ? g-jàz =rǐkj zób =rǎbǎ
cross so POT-miss =DEM.NO.PROX POT.stand.up =3PL.R
 ‘They have finished making the church. All that remains is to place the cross.’
- (9) Sâb gwà› tì gǎlrûbnìs. Bdò›gǐ sà'krû yà›z nǎbǐ.
 sâb kwǎ =â tì gǎl-rûb+nìs **bdò** =gǐ sà'krû =jáz nǎ =bǐ
 saturday C.go =1S one DER-baptize **baby** =DEM.N.VIS pretty =INTS COP =3F
 ‘On Saturday, I went to a baptism. That baby was very beautiful.’

Within the contexts of associative anaphora, a particular phenomenon was found with nouns denoting part-whole, specifically with those relating to parts of the body. See the following example:

- (10) Bsàgwà›d rǎbǎ tì bǐtxì› nà›rà'. Ngǎs nǎ mǎny pèr xbànmǎ nǎ ngǐtx.
 b-sàgwàd =rǎbǎ tì bǐtʃ =ì nàrà?
 C-give =3PL.R one cat =DIM 1S
 ngǎs nǎ mǎnj pèr **f-bàñ** =mǎ nǎ ngǐtʃ
 black COP animal but **POS-tail** =3ANI COP white
 ‘They gave me a kitten. It is black, but its tail is white’.

In (10), the anaphoric element is recovered by general knowledge (animals only have one tail) and, therefore, reference is made to a unique referent known by the interlocutors, but in these cases, it is recovered through the possessive. The use of the possessive is favored due to the semantic relationship established between the part and the whole, specifically in this case dealing with parts of the body, which are always marked in this way in SPGZ.

The possessive in SPGZ is usually presented by an *x*-marked prefix on the possessed noun and, subsequently, the possessor is referred to by means of a person’s enclitic. If it is intended to refer to body parts without the use of the possessive, that is, by means of a bare nominal, which until now seems to function as a simple definite, this results in an ungrammatical sentence:

- (11) Bsàgwà›d rǎbǎ tì bǐtxì› nà›rà'. *Ngǎs nǎ mǎny pèr bàñ nǎ ngǐtx.
 b-sàgwàd =rǎbǎ tì bǐtʃ =ì nàrà?
 C-give =3PL.R one cat =DIM 1S
 ngǎs nǎ mǎnj pèr **bàñ** nǎ ngǐtʃ
 black COP animal but **tale** COP white
 Intended: ‘They gave me a kitten. It is black but the tail is white.’

3.2.3 Immediate situation

In a context of immediate situation, the referred element is unique in the context of enunciation and is also in a situation where it can be easily recognized by the interlocutors.

In this context, the process of elicitation was different. Firstly, a photograph with certain objects was shown to a consultant and later, he was asked to instruct another consultant so that she could arrange the objects as they were in the photograph. The second consultant could not see the photograph in question and could only follow the instructions from the first consultant to

accommodate the objects. In the following example, I am going to present only the first part of the elicitation. The picture shown was the following:



Figure 1: Immediate situation

- (12) P̄rīmêrtè› bsù kàmjôn mòràd gǐgwǐ› lādý r̄›ty ryèt wbìx̄. Nàlgà bsù bzěny gǐgwǐ› nèz lò kàmjôn...
- p̄rīmêr =tè b-sù **kàmjôn mòràd** gǐ-gwǐ lādý r̄tj r-jèt wbìz
 first =all IMP-put **car purple** POT-watch side where H-go.down sun
 nàlgà b-sù **bzěnj** gǐ-gwǐ nèz lò kàmjôn
 bottom IMP-put **deer** POT-watch path PREP car
 ‘First put the purple truck facing the side where the sun rises. Behind put the deer looking towards where the truck is...’

3.2.4 Global situation

In a global situation, the context within which the referent is located is not immediate, but it is broader. In order for the listener to successfully locate the referent, the conditions of existence and belonging to the group must be fulfilled (Hawkins 1978). Likewise, the reference must be inclusive in relation to that context (Gómez González 2015). In these contexts, definite descriptions are used to refer to entities that are considered unique (uniqueness). Five examples of global situations were elicited, in which the strategy was the use of a bare noun.

- (13) Dǔx gíz byě›d Pápà.
 dǔf gíz b-jěd **Pápà**
 last year C-come **Pope**
 ‘Last year, the Pope came.’

3.2.5 Representation of previous particular states

In this part of the questionnaire, a particular context was presented, and the referent was subsequently recovered through definite strategies. In this part, the use of the possessive was selected (14).

- (14) *Context: Pedro borrowed a shovel from Martin because he needed to fix the wall of his house. Time passes and Pedro does not return it. Martin needs to dig a ditch, so he decides to go to Pedro's house and ask him to return what he lent him. What would Martin say to Pedro?*

Pêd, năra zyě>dkăâ> **pâl xtênâ** rsigèldù> gĩñ>xù>nĩ? Rki>ňyâ> nĩ kă>ňyâ> tì gĩ'dy.
 pêd năra z-jěd+kă =â **pâl jtên** =â r-zigèld =ù
 Pedro 1S POT-came+? =1S **shovel ADPO.GEN** =1S H-agree =2S
 gĩ-nĩž =ù =nĩ r-kĩňj =â =nĩ kăňj =â tì gĩ'dj
 POT-give =2S =3INA H-need =1S =3INA POT.dig =1S one hole
 'Pedro, I came for my shovel, please could you give it to me? I need to dig a hole.'

3.2.6 Generic reference

The definite noun phrases can also be used to make generic references, that is, regarding classes or species instead of specific objects or specific quantities (Leonetti 1999). Four examples of generic contexts were elicited, in which the strategy used was the bare noun, as we can see in (15).

- (15) Ră spăñôl bítně mändà>p.
ră spăñôl b-ít+ně **mănjdàp**
 PL **Spanish.people** C-bring **horse**
 'The Spanish people bring the horse.'

3.2.7 The gĩ demonstrative

In SPGZ, there are four demonstratives: *rě*, *gà*, *rĩky*, and *gĩ* (Arellanes Arellanes 2017). The demonstrative *rě* is used when the object being referenced is near or within a range close to the first person (16). The demonstrative *gà* is used when the object to which reference is made is close to or within a range close to the second person (17). The demonstrative *rĩky* is used when the referred object is not close to the first person, but is still within proximate visible range (18).

- (16) ...rtě'â> gyâg rě>.
 r-tě? =â gjàg =**rě**
 H-pick.up =1S firewood =**DEM.PROX1**
 'I pick up this firewood.' (Arrieta Zamudio 2016:30)

- (17) ĸKă rkă'ù> nìsgà?
 kă r-kă? =ù nìs =**gà**
 where H-take =2S water =**DEM.PROX2**
 'Where do you take that water?' (Arrieta Zamudio 2016:94)

- (18) Nèz rě̀ nèz rǐky zě̀bǐ.
 nèz =rě̀ nèz =**rǐkj** z-zě̀ =bǐ
 path =DEM.PROX1 path =**DEM.NO.PROX** PROGR-move =3F
 ‘He was moving here and there [Lit. this path, that path].’ (Arrieta Zamudio 2016:65)

Finally, the demonstrative *gǐ* is used when the object is outside the visible range for both partners:

- (19) Tyěmgǐ gù’ tǐ txàpè̀.
 tjěm =**gǐ** gù? tǐ tǝp =è̀
 time =**DEM.N.VIS** C.exist one girl =DIM
 ‘A long time ago [Lit. that time], there was a little girl.’ (López Cruz 1997:339)

Taking the previous example (9) (see Section 3.2.2), it is interesting to note that only this demonstrative occurs in contexts of associative anaphora, and not some of the other demonstratives:

- (20) Sâb gwà̀ tǐ gǎlrǔbnìs. Bdò̀gǐ sà’krǔ yà̀z nǎbǐ.
 sâb kwǎ̀ =ầ tǐ gǎl-rǔb+nìs
 Saturday C.go =1S **one** DER-baptize
bdò̀ =**gǐ** sà?krǔ =jǎz nǎ =bǐ
baby =**DEM.N.VIS** pretty =INTS COP =3F
 ‘On Saturday, I went to a baptism. That baby was very beautiful.’

Furthermore, this demonstrative is also found in the context of direct anaphora in some narrations:

- (21) Txǐ’ rǎlòtè̀, rǎlòtè̀ bǎrgǐdy rdě̀’ rù’ tǔmgǐ.
 txǐ? rǎ+lò =tè̀ rǎ+lò =tè̀ bǎrgǐdj r-tě? rù?
 then PL+face =all PL+face=all butterfly H-pick.up mouth
tǔm =**gǐ**
lagoon =**DEM.N.VIS**
 ‘...Then all kinds of butterflies come together on the shore of the lagoon/that lagoon.’
 (Arrieta Zamudio 2016:45)

These examples are not so anomalous since, in most cases, the semantics of the demonstratives can direct the listener towards the immediate referent in the communicative situation, so they can have a deictic or anaphoric interpretation (Leonetti 1999). What is relevant in this case, is that only one of the demonstratives of SPGZ takes those anaphoric functions and that the other demonstratives do not appear in those contexts. This would open the possibility that this demonstrative can function as an **anaphoric marker**.

Until this point, I have found the following strategies to express definiteness in SPGZ:

Table 1: First strategies found to express definiteness in SPGZ

Strategy	Simple definiteness (uniqueness and familiarity) ¹	Part-whole	Anaphoric context
Bare noun: Singular: [N] Plural: [rǎ + N]	✓		
Non-visible demonstrative: [N + gĩ]			✓
Possessive: Possessive prefix [x-+ N + personal pronoun] Genitive preposition [N+ xtên + personal pronoun]		✓	

3.3 Contexts of not-uniqueness and not-familiarity

In order to corroborate the forms identified in the first section of the questionnaire, it was necessary to design contexts in which the definiteness criteria were not fulfilled and when, in those cases, the use of the definite form was infelicitous.

In the following examples, consultants considered that sentences were not acceptable for the given context.

(22) *Direct anaphora without uniqueness:*

a. *Negative evidence:*

#Bsàgwà>drǎbǎ tì gây kùn tyòp gĩdy nà>rà'. Bdo'â> gĩdy, nà>rà' nǎpâ> gây.

b-sàgwàd =rǎbǎ **tì gâj** kùn **tjòp gĩdj** nà>rà?

C-give =3PL.R **one rooster** CONJ **two chicken** 1S

b-tò? =â **gĩdj** nà>rà? n-ǎp =â **gâj**

C-sell =1S **chicken** 1S EST-have =1S **rooster**

Intended: 'They gave me a rooster and two chickens. Then I sold the chicken and I only have the rooster.'

b. *Alternative answer:*²

Bsàgwà>drǎbǎ tì gây kùn tyòp gĩdy nà>rà'. Bdo'â> rǎgĩdy, nà>rà' nǎpâ> gây.

b-sàgwàd =rǎbǎ **tì gâj** kùn **tjòp gĩdj** nà>rà?

C-give =3PL.R **one rooster** CONJ **two chicken** 1S

b-tò? =â **rǎ gĩdj** nà>rà? n-ǎp =â **gâj**

C-sell =1S **PL chicken** 1S EST-have =1S **rooster**

'They gave me a rooster and two chickens. Then I sold the chickens and I only have the rooster.'

¹ Simple definiteness: known or identifiable entities in the discourse without any additional feature (such as deixis or possession) (Lyons 1999).

² These alternative answers were provided by the consultants in a way to fix the sentence presented in the negative answer.

(23) *Associative anaphora without uniqueness and familiarity:*

a. *Negative evidence:*

Sâb kwà tì gǎlrǔbnìs. Bsùsyàz byùs gǐ.
Sâb kwǎ =â tì gǎl-rǔb+nìs b-sùs =jǎz **bjùs =gǐ**
Saturday C.go =1S one DER-baptize C-get.drunk =INTS **guest =DEM.N.VIS**
Intended: ‘On Saturday, I went to a baptism. The guest got very drunk.’

b. *Alternative answer:*

Sâb gwà tì gǎlrǔbnìs. Tì byùs bsùsyàz.
sâb kwǎ =â tì gǎl-rǔb+nìs **tì bjùs** b-sùs =jǎz
Saturday C.go =1S one DER-baptize **one guest** C-get.drunk =INTS
‘On Saturday, I went to a baptism. A guest got very drunk.’

(24) *Global situation without uniqueness:*

a. *Negative evidence:*

Dǔx gìz byěd bǐny nì rùl.
dǔf gìz b-jěd **bǐnj nì r-ùl**
last year C-come **person COMPL H-sing**
Intended: ‘Last year, the singer came.’
[Lit. ‘Last year, the person who sings came.’]

b. *Alternative answer:*

Dǔx gìz byěd tì bǐny nì rùl.
dǔf gìz b-jěd **tì bǐnj nì r-ùl**
last year C-come **one person COMPL H-sing**
‘Last year, a singer came.’
[Lit. ‘Last year, a person who sings came.’]

(25) *Representation of previous particular states without uniqueness:*

a. *Negative evidence:*

Context: Chava’s dog had two puppies. Chava asked me if I wanted to keep them. After several days, I thought it over and decided that I do want to adopt them. Fortunately, I meet him on the street, so it’s my chance to ask him. What can I say to Chava?

Nǎpgǎu bē’kw bǐ’txi?
n-ǎp =gǎ =ù **bē?kw bǐ?tf =ì**
EST-have =still =2S **dog small =DIM**
Intended: ‘Do you still have the dog (puppy)?’

b. *Optional answer:*

Rǎpgǎu rǎbē’kw bǐ’txi?
r-ǎp =gǎ =ù **rǎ bē?kw bǐ?tf =ì**
H-have =still =2S **PL dog small =DIM**
‘Do you still have the dogs (puppies)?’

In this section, the strategies found in Section 3.2 have been corroborated. First of all, it has been demonstrated that bare singular nouns [N] can have a definite singular interpretation. However, if you want to get a plural definite interpretation, the plural marker *rǎ* is needed (22a, 25a). Furthermore, if a referent is not familiar to the interlocutors, it is not possible to use the bare noun (24a) and, instead, the use of *tì* ‘one’ to introduce a new referent is needed (24b). Additionally, the demonstrative *gi* is only felicitous in a context where the referent is familiar or known by the interlocutors. When this is not the case, it results in an infelicitous sentence (23a). The strategy to repair this infelicitous sentence is the use of the numeral *tì* ‘one’ to introduce a new referent (23b).

4 Does SPGZ have indefinite markers?

As noted in the previous sections, to introduce new singular individuals to the discourse, there is the marker *tì* that corresponds to the numeral ‘one’:

- (26) Bsàgwà>drǎbǎ *tì* gǎy nà>rà’ kùn *tì* gǐdy. Txǐ’ bdò’â> gǐdy txǐ’ bè>nsǎkâ> môl kùn gǎy.
 b-sàgwàd =rǎbǎ **tì** **gǎj** nà>rà? kùn **tì** **gǐdj**
 C-give =3R.PL **one** **rooster** 1S CONJ **one** **chicken**
 tʃi? b-tò? =â gǐdj tʃi? b-èn =sǎk =â môl kùn gǎy
 then C-sell =1S chicken then C-make =also =1S mole PREP rooster
 ‘They gave me a rooster and a chicken. Then I sold the chicken and then I made mole with the rooster.’

Moreover, to introduce new plural entities to the discourse, a bimorphemic particle *dò>rǎ*, glossed as ‘few=PL’, appeared:

- (27) Dèts *tì* gyè ptxěĭâ> dò>rǎ bèwnù’ kùn dò>rǎ bdiyǎñ. Là>rǎ bdiyǎñ zèxù>ny txì mdyěsâ> gyègǐ.
 Txǐ’ là>rǎ bèwnù’ byǎ>n rǎmǎ rě>.
 dèts *tì* gjè b-tʃěĭ =â **dò=** **rǎ** **bèwnù?** kùn **dò=** **rǎ** **bdijǎñ**
 back one stone C-find =1S **few=** **PL** **scorpion** CONJ **few=** **PL** **ant**
 là rǎ bdijǎñ zè-fũñj tʃi m-djěs =â gjè =gǐ
 TOP PL ant PROGR-run when C-lift =1S stone =DEM.N.VIS
 tʃi? là rǎ bèwnù? b-jǎn =rǎmǎ =rě
 then TOP PL scorpion C-stand =3PL.ANI =DEM.PROX1
 ‘Under a stone, I found scorpions and ants. The ants ran when I lifted that stone and the scorpions stood there.’

However, there is another way to introduce plural or mass entities to the discourse and this is by the means of bare nouns:

- (28) Rù’ tòmřiky nõ’ bèld kùn rân.
 rù? tòm =řkj nõ? **bèld** kùn **rân**
 mouth lagoon =DEM.NO.PROX EST.exist **fish** CONJ **frog**
 ‘On that shore of the lagoon, there are fish (PL) and frogs.’

It is important to emphasize that, when a bare noun is introduced into an existential context (for the first time in the discourse), it can only have plural interpretation:

- (29) #Rù' tômrĩky nõ' bèld kùn rân.
 rù? tôm =rĩkj nõ? **bèld** kùn **rân**
 mouth lagoon =DEM.NO.PROX EST.exist **fish** CONJ **frog**
 Intended: 'On that shore of the lagoon, there is a fish and a frog.'

Additionally, if we want a singular reading of the noun in this context, the marker *tì* is required:

- (30) Rù' tômrĩky nõ' *tì* bèld kùn *tì* rân.
 rù? tôm =rĩkj nõ? **tì** **bèld** kùn **tì** **rân**
 mouth lagoon =DEM.NO.PROX EST.exist **one** **fish** CONJ **one** **frog**
 'On that shore of the lagoon, there is a fish and a frog.'

Bare nouns can have two interpretations in SPGZ: as definite singulars and as bare plurals in context of indefiniteness. This is similar to what has been found in Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ) (Deal & Nee 2017):

- (31) Guk beez ekstingir.
 become frog extinct
 'The frog went extinct / Frogs went extinct.' (Deal & Nee 2017:13)

So far, we can see that *tì* behaves similarly to the indefinite article 'a' in English or 'un/una' in Spanish. However, unlike TdVZ (Deal & Nee 2017), it cannot occur with a bare plural providing a partitive reading:

- (32) Bell (lee) ri-ki'ini-u te d-get kan, guni-naa.
 if (you) HAB-need-2S one PL-tortilla DEM tell-1S
 'If you need some of the tortillas, let me know.' (Deal & Nee 2017:17)

- (33) a. *Negative Evidence:*

*Bǎl li>gâ rki>ñyù> *tì* rǎ gètgi, mni> nà>rà'.
 bǎl li>gâ r-kij̃j̃ =ù *tì* rǎ gèt =gĩ m-nj̃ nà>rà?
 COND 2S H-need =2S one PL tortilla =DEM.N.VIS IMP-say 1S
 Intended: 'If you need some of the tortillas, tell me.'

- b. *Optional sentence:*

Bǎl li>gâ rki>ñyù> gèt, mni> nà>rà'.
 bǎl li>gâ r-kij̃j̃ =ù gèt m-nj̃ nà>rà?
 COND 2S H-need =2S tortilla IMP-say 1S
 'If you need tortillas, tell me.'

Apparently, *tì* 'one' has a different behavior from TdVZ *te* 'one' and it can never occur with a plural noun, not even in a partitive context. Furthermore, if the noun phrase is modified by a demonstrative, therefore giving a definite noun phrase, it is not possible to use *tì*. *Tì* 'one' can never occur in a definite phrase in SPGZ. Providing all the evidence, I can hypothesize that in SPGZ, *tì* works as an indefinite singular article.

On the other hand, I also found a particle that seems to behave like an indefinite plural article, *dò>rǎ* 'few=PL', which so far has not been described for other variants of Zapotec.

An in-depth investigation of the indefiniteness in SPGZ is needed, but it could be hypothesized that there are two ways to introduce new entities to the discourse, one for singular entities (*t̄i*) and one for plural ones (*dòṛǎ* ‘few=PL’).

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have demonstrated that in SPGZ bare nouns are the preferred strategy for expressing simple definiteness [N], both in contexts of familiarity and in context of uniqueness. If the definite reference is plural, the plural marker *rǎ* has to be added to the nominal [*rǎ* + N]. Moreover, in some anaphoric contexts (familiarity), the presence of a demonstrative *gĩ* ‘that’ [N = *gĩ*] was observed. This demonstrative seems to start behaving as an anaphoric marker, although a deeper investigation would have to be carried out in detail to check this hypothesis. Regarding the possessive constructions, the use of the possessive markers is restricted to a complex form of definiteness in specific contexts, such as part-whole nouns. Finally, some strategies were observed to introduce new referents in the discourse, which is typical for indefinite contexts. To introduce singular referents, the numeral *t̄i* ‘one’ [*t̄i* N] is used. Moreover, to introduce plural referents, the language can use a bare noun [N] or a complex particle formed by an adverb and the plural marker *dòṛǎ* ‘few=PL’ [*dòṛǎ* N].

In Table 2, I summarize the strategies found to express definiteness and indefiniteness in SPGZ:

Table 2: General strategies found to express definiteness and indefiniteness in SPGZ

Definite context		Indefinite context	
SG	PL	SG	PL
1. Bare noun: [N] (Only with singular meaning)	1. Plural marker + N: [<i>rǎ</i> + N] (It is not possible to use only a bare noun with this meaning.)	1. Numeral ‘one’ + N: [<i>t̄i</i> + N]	1. Bare noun: [N] (Only with plural meaning)
2. Non-visible demonstrative: [N + <i>gĩ</i>]			2. Complex particle + N: [<i>dòṛǎ</i> + N] (To introduce plural referents)
3. Possessive phrase: [x + N + personal pronoun] Genitive preposition: [N + <i>xt̄en</i> + personal pronoun]			

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