

PHONATION TYPES AND TONE IN ZAPOTEC
LANGUAGES:

A SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON

ANDREA ARIZA GARCIA



MEXICO

GULF OF MEXICO

PACIFIC OCEAN

OAXACA

1. ZAPOTEC CIVILIZATION

- Native pre-Columbian civilization – Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico
- 2500 years ago – 6th Century BC
- Monte Albán was one of the major cities in Mesoamerica
- Etymology – Nahuatl exonym – *tzapotēcah*, inhabitants of the place of sapote.
[be^ʔena^ʔa za^ʔa], the cloud people.
- Polytheistic
- Calendar and logosyllabic system
- Battles against Aztecs 1497-1502. Defeated by the Spaniards in 1522 and 1527.



2.2 THE LANGUAGES

Around 50 unintelligible varieties

Agglutinative languages

VSO

Alienable/Inalienable nouns

Complex verbal morphology

Complex phonological system

Laryngeally complex (Silverman 1997:236)

- **Contrastive Tones**
- **Contrastive phonation types in vowels**
- Lenis-Fortis consonants
- Sonority Sequence Hierarchy
- Stress

Sample of languages



3.1 PHONATION TYPES IN ZAPOTEC VOWELS

Zaachila Zapotec, (Ariza García 2014)

Modal

Creaky

Glottalized

Breathy

[dé] *ashes* 

[nǎ̃tʃ] *scratchy* 

[dè.] *flour* 

[nált^h] *cold* 

[nàlt^h] *thick* 

[nəd̥z] *wet* 

[ʃĩ] *what* 

[sì^{ʔh}] *nose* 

[nàgâ^ʔ] *raw* 

[nàgá^ʔ] *green* 

[jú^ʔ] *home* 

[jù.] *earth* 

4. TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF PHONATION TYPES IN ZAPOTEC

Reconstructions of proto-Zapotec (Fernandez de Miranda 1995; Suárez 1973) suggest the presence of two types of non-modal vowel phonation: glottalized and laryngealized [creaky].

	VALLEY				ISTHMUS	SOUTHERN			NORTHERN	
PHONATION TYPES	ZZ	SLQZ	SAVZ	SPGZ	JZ	SDMZ	SPMZ	SAMZ	YZ	BZ
MODAL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GLOTTALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
LARYNGEALIZED	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*
BREATHY	*	*	*							

TYPE 1 : retention of proto-language phonation types

	VALLEY			ISTHMUS	SOUTHERN			NORTHERN		
PHONATION TYPES	ZZ	SLQZ	SAVZ	SPGZ	JZ	SDMZ	SPMZ	SAMZ	YZ	BZ
MODAL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GLOTTALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
LARYNGEALIZED	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*
BREATHY	*	*	*							

TYPE 2: loss of one phonation type [glottalized or laryngealized]

	VALLEY			ISTHMUS	SOUTHERN			NORTHERN		
PHONATION TYPES	ZZ	SLQZ	SAVZ	SPGZ	JZ	SDMZ	SPMZ	SAMZ	YZ	BZ
MODAL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GLOTTALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LARYNGEALIZED	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*
BREATHY	*	*	*							

TYPE 3: develop of breathy phonation in vowels

	VALLEY			ISTHMUS	SOUTHERN			NORTHERN		
PHONATION TYPES	ZZ	SLQZ	SAVZ	SPGZ	JZ	SDMZ	SPMZ	SAMZ	YZ	BZ
MODAL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GLOTTALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LARYNGEALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BREATHY	*	*	*							

	VALLEY			ISTHMUS	SOUTHERN			NORTHERN		
PHONATION TYPES	ZZ	SLQZ	SAVZ	SPGZ	JZ	SDMZ	SPMZ	SAMZ	YZ	BZ
MODAL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GLOTTALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LARYNGEALIZED	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BREATHY	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

TYPE 3

↓

TYPE 2

↓

TYPE 1

↓

5. PHONATION TYPES AND TONES

- Tone – “pitch scalar system” (Hyman 2010)
- Tone and voice register are not sharp boundaries
- Phonation plays an important role in the perception of certain tonal contrasts
e.g. Vietnamese (Brunelle 2009), Green Mong (Andruski and Ratliff 2000) and White Hmong (Garellek et al. 2013)

(Zsiga, 2012: p. 198)

“should the definition of ‘tone’ be revised to include laryngeal contrasts other than pitch?”

6. PHONATION TYPES AND TONES (Kuang 2013)

Phonation independent from tone

- the phonation contrast has no effect on F0
- the tone contrast has no effect on Contact Quotient
- CQ and F0, are not correlated.



- tone and phonation are phonologically contrastive and phonetically independent.
- Yi (Kuang 2013), Mpi (Silverman 1997), Mazatec (Garellek and Keating 2011), White Hmong (Esposito 2012)

Phonation dependent from tone

- voice quality is tied to F0
- Non-modal phonation is allophonic or a secondary cue for tonal contrast



- voice quality is predictable from F0.
- Mandarin, Cantonese (Kuang 2013)

Mixed system *Laryngeally complex*

- Contrastive phonation and contrastive tones
- combined contrast and correlation between tones and phonation



- non-modal phonation can be pitch-independent and thus phonemic
- non-modal phonation can also be pitch-dependent
- Black Miao (Kuang 2013), Some Zapotec languages

Phonation independent from tone

- the phonation contrast has no effect on F0
 - the tone contrast has no effect on Contact Quotient
 - CQ and F0, are not correlated.
-
- tone and phonation are phonologically contrastive and phonetically independent.
 - Yi (Kuang 2013), Mpi (Silverman 1997), Mazatec (Garellek and Keating 2011), White Hmong (Esposito 2012)

Phonation dependent from tone

- voice quality is tied to F0
 - Non-modal phonation is allophonic or a secondary cue for tonal contrast
-
- voice quality is predictable from F0.
 - Mandarin, Cantonese (Kuang 2013)

Mixed system *Laryngeally complex*

- Contrastive phonation and contrastive tones
 - combined contrast and correlation between tones and phonation
-
- non-modal phonation can be pitch-independent and thus phonemic
 - non-modal phonation can also be pitch-dependent
 - Black Miao (Kuang 2013), Some Zapotec languages

Phonation independent from tone

- the phonation contrast has no effect on F0
 - the tone contrast has no effect on Contact Quotient
 - CQ and F0, are not correlated.
-
- tone and phonation are phonologically contrastive and phonetically independent.
 - Yi (Kuang 2013), Mpi (Silverman 1997), Mazatec (Garellek and Keating 2011), White Hmong (Esposito 2012)

Phonation dependent from tone

- voice quality is tied to F0
 - Non-modal phonation is allophonic or a secondary cue for tonal contrast
-
- voice quality is predictable from F0.
 - Mandarin, Cantonese (Kuang 2013)

Mixed system *Laryngeally complex*

- Contrastive phonation and contrastive tones
 - combined contrast and correlation between tones and phonation
-
- non-modal phonation can be pitch-independent and thus phonemic
 - non-modal phonation can also be pitch-dependent
 - Black Miao (Kuang 2013), Some Zapotec languages

				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF
	SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* LF
	SANTA ANA DEL VALLE ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H F R	* H R	* F		* F
	SAN PABLO GUILÁ	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	
ISTHMUS ZAPOTEC	ISTHMUS JUCHITÁN ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R LHL	* HLFR LHL	* LFR	* HL	
SOUTHERN ZAPOTEC	SANTO DOMINGO DE MORELOS ZAPOTEC	[i, e, ε, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR		* H F	
	SAN PEDRO MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L F R HH	* H L F R HH	* HLR		
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HL R	* HL R	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* HLF	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLF	

				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF
	SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC	[i, ð, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* LF
	SANTA ANA DEL VALLE ZAPOTEC	[i, ð, e, u, o, a]	H F R	* H R	* F		* F
	SAN PABLO GUILÁ	[i, ð, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	
ISTHMUS ZAPOTEC	ISTHMUS JUCHITÁN ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R LHL	* HLFR LHL	* LFR	* HL	
SOUTHERN ZAPOTEC	SANTO DOMINGO DE MORELOS ZAPOTEC	[i, e, ε, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR		* H F	
	SAN PEDRO MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L F R HH	* H L F R HH	* HLR		
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HL R	* HL R	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* HLF	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLF	

				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR̥	* HL̥FR	* LF
	SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* LF
	SANTA ANA DEL VALLE ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H F R	* H R	* F		* F
	SAN PABLO GUILÁ	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	
ISTHMUS ZAPOTEC	ISTHMUS JUCHITÁN ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R LHL	* HLFR LHL	* LFR	* HL	
SOUTHERN ZAPOTEC	SANTO DOMINGO DE MORELOS ZAPOTEC	[i, e, ε, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR		* H F	
	SAN PEDRO MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L F R HH	* H L F R HH	* HLR		
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HL R	* HL R	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* HLF	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLF	

				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF
	SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* LF
	SANTA ANA DEL VALLE ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H F R	* H R	* F		* F
	SAN PABLO GUILÁ	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	
ISTHMUS ZAPOTEC	ISTHMUS JUCHITÁN ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R LHL	* HLFR LHL	* LFR	* HL	
SOUTHERN ZAPOTEC	SANTO DOMINGO DE MORELOS ZAPOTEC	[i, e, ε, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR		* H F	
	SAN PEDRO MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L F R HH	* H L F R HH	* HLR		
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HL R	* HL R	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* HLF	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLF	

				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF
	SAN LUCAS QUIAVINÍ ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* LF
	SANTA ANA DEL VALLE ZAPOTEC	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H F R	* H R	* F		* F
	SAN PABLO GUILÁ	[i, i̇, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	
ISTHMUS ZAPOTEC	ISTHMUS JUCHITÁN ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R LHL	* HLFR LHL	* LFR	* HL	
SOUTHERN ZAPOTEC	SANTO DOMINGO DE MORELOS ZAPOTEC	[i, e, ε, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR		* HF	
	SAN PEDRO MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L F R HH	* HLFR HH	* HLR		
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HL R	* HL R	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* HLF	* HLF	* HLF	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	HLFR	* HLFR	* HLFR	* HLF	

7. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

Phonation types in Zapotec languages

Proto-Zapotecan – two types of non-modal phonation: glottalized and laryngealized.

- Type 1: Northern and Isthmus Zapotec languages have maintained the two non-modal vowels. But also some languages from the Valley and Southern Zapotec.
- Type 2: Southern Zapotec languages have simplified the contrast reducing it to one type of non-modal phonation : glottalized or laryngealized.
- Type 3: Valley Zapotec languages have not only retained the proto-Zapotecan contrast, but they have also developed a new phonation type: breathy voice.

Phonation and tone interaction:

Most of the languages – MIXED SYSTEM

San Pablo Guilá Zapotec and Yalalág Zapotec – INDEPENDENT SYSTEM

7.2 FURTHER RESEARCH

- Why the development of breathy voice? Contact?
- Correlations between phonation types in different languages - evolution
- More languages
- Measurements of tone and phonation
- More comparative analyses with other languages
- Better classification of the Zapotec languages

REFERENCES

- Andruski, J. E., and Ratliff, M. 2000. Phonation types in production of phonological tone: the case of Green Mong. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 30, 37-61
- Ariza García, Andrea. 2014. Phonology of Zaachila Zapotec: a segmental and suprasegmental analysis. Dissertation. Aarhus University.
- Beam de Azcona, Rosemary. 2004. A Coatlan-Loxicha Zapotec Grammar. Dissertation. University of California Berkeley.
- Brunelle, M. 2009. Tone perception in Northern and Southern Vietnamese. *Journal of Phonetics* 37: 79-96.
- Esposito, C. M. 2012. An acoustic and electroglottographic study of White Hmong phonation. *Journal of Phonetics* 40: 466-476.
- Fernández de Miranda, M. Teresa. 1995. El Protozapoteco. *Serie estudios de lingüística y literatura* 28, ed. Miguel J. Piper and Doris A. Bartholomew. Mexico City: El Colegio de México and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Garellek, Marc and Keating, Patricia. 2011. The acoustic consequences of phonation and tone interactions in Jalapa Mazatec. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 41:185-205.
- Garellek, M., Keating, P., Esposito, C. M., and Kreiman, J. 2013. Voice quality and tone identification in White Hmong. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 133: 1078- 1089.
- Hyman, L. M. 2010. Does tone have features. *Tones and Features: Phonetic and Phonological Perspectives*, eds. J. A. Goldsmith, E. Hume, and L. Wetzels, pp. 50-80. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 2004. Reconstructing Oto-Manguean Morphosyntax. Conference on Otomanguean and Oaxacan Languages, University of California Berkeley.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1971. *Preliminaries to linguistic phonetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Silverman, Daniel. 1997a. Laryngeal Complexity in Otomanguean Vowels. *Phonology* 14: 235-261.
- Suárez, Jorge. A. 1973. On Proto-Zapotec Phonology. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 39:236–249.
- Zsiga, E. C. 2012. Contrastive tone and its implementation. *The Oxford Handbook of Laboratory Phonology*, eds. A. C. Cohn, C. Fougeron, and M. K. Huffman, pp. 196-207. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

LANGUAGES

Zaachila Zapotec

San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec

San Pablo Guilá Zapotec

Isthmus Juchitán Zapotec

Santo Domingo Morelos Zapotec

San Pedro Mixtepec Zapotec

San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec

Yalálag Zapotec

Betaza Zapotec

REFERENCES

Ariza García, Andrea. 2014. Phonology of Zaachila Zapotec: a segmental and suprasegmental analysis. Dissertation. Aarhus University.

Chávez Peón, Mario E. 2010. The interaction of metrical structure, tone, and phonation types in Quivianí Zapotec. Doctoral Dissertation. Mexico: UNAM.

Esposito Christina. 2003. Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec Phonation MA Dissertation. Los Angeles: UCLA.

Arellanes, Francisco. 2009. El sistema fonológico y las propiedades fonéticas del zapoteco de San Pablo Guila. Descripción y análisis formal. Doctoral Dissertation. Mexico: El Colegio de México.

Pickett, Velma B., María Villalobos Villalobos and Stephen A. Marlett. 2008. Isthmus Zapotec (Juchitán). *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 40.3: 365- 372.

Covarrubias, Adela and Eduardo D. Rivera. 2010. Sistema vocálico y prodia de dos variantes de zapoteco sureño del municipio de Santo Domingo de Morelos. Ponencia presentada en el VIII Coloquio de Lingüística de la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México D.F.

Ramos, Antonio. 2007. Las Propiedades Fonológicas y Morfofonológicas del Zapoteco de San Pedro Mixtepec, Miahuatlán, Oaxaca. MA Dissertation. CIESAS.

Beam de Azcona, Rosemary and Mary Paster, eds. 2004. *Introducing San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec. Conference on Otomanguean and Oaxacan Languages. Report 13: Survey of California and other Indian Languages.* University of California at Berkeley.

Lancia, Leonardo, Heriberto Avelino and Daniel Voigt. 2013. Measuring laryngealization in running speech: interaction with contrastive tones in Yalalag Zapotec. *Proceedings of Interspeech* 602-606.

Avelino, Heriberto. 2004. Topics in Yalálag Zapotec, with particular reference to its phonetic structure. Dissertation. Los Angeles: UCLA

Teodocio Olivares, Amador. 2009. Betaza Zapotec Phonology: Segmental and Suprasegmental Features. Dictoral Dissertation. Austin:The University of Texas Austin.

Κίττιοΰβι

Спасиѡа

Thanks