

PHONATION TYPES AND TONE IN ZAPOTEC
LANGUAGES:

A SYNCHRONIC COMPARISON

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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. THE LANGUAGES

2.1 PHYLUM

Otomanguean																
Western Otomanguean						Eastern Otomanguean										
Oto-Pamean-Chinantecan				Tlapanecan-Chorotegan		Amuzgo-Mixtecan			Mazatecan-Zapotecan							
Oto-Pamean			Chinantec	Subtiaba-Tlapanec	Chorotegan		Amuzgo	Mixtecan		Mazatecan		Zapotecan				
North	Southern				Chiapanec	Chorotega		Trique	M-C	Mazatec	Chochoan		Zapotec	Chatino		
Chichimec	Pame	Matlatzinca-Tlahuica							O-M		Cuicatec	Mixtec			Ixcatec	Popolocan-Chocho
Chichimec	Pame	Matlatzinca-Tlahuica	O-M	Chinantec	Subtiaba-Tlapanec	Chiapanec	Chorotega	Amuzgo	Trique	Cuicatec	Mixtec	Mazatec	Ixcatec	Popolocan-Chocho	Zapotec	Chatino

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. PHONATION TYPES

- Function of the laryngeal system to transform the airstream into audible sound.
- The different degrees of glottal opening are used cross-linguistically to manifest linguistic contrast. Languages may have two, three or four-way contrast systems –or none.
- Phonation types result from the different manners in which vocal folds vibrate.

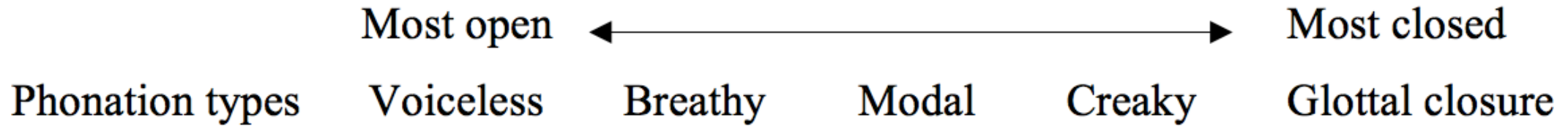


Figure 4.2. *Continuum of phonation types* (Ladefoged 1971)

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* 

[nəd̤z] *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 (under VALLEY)
 TYPE 2 (under SOUTHERN)
 TYPE 1 (under NORTHERN)

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

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				PHONATION TYPES			
	LANGUAGES	VOWELS	TONES	MODAL	LARYNGEALIZED	GLOTTALIZED	BREATHY
VALLEY ZAPOTEC	ZAACHILA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLF	* HLF	* 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	* HLR	* L R	* L R	
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 LR HR		* H L LR	
	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HLR	* HLR	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* ???	
	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF	

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	SAN AGUSTIN MIXTEPEC ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, æ, a]	H L R	* HLR	* HLR	* HL	
NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	YALALÁG ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F	* H L F	* HLF	* ???	
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NORTHERN ZAPOTEC	BETAZA ZAPOTEC	[i, e, u, o, a]	H L F R	* HLFR	* HLFR	* LF	

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 in tone and phonation
- More comparative analyses with other languages
- Better classification of the Zapotec languages

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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

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Кістіòсбу̀

Спасиѡа

Thanks