

Tones in San Juan Quiahije Chatino
Emiliana Cruz, University of Massachusetts Amherst
cruz@anthro.umass.edu

In the presentation I will describe the tone system of the Chatino language of San Juan Quiahije (Quiahije). Chatino languages are spoken in the southern part of Oaxaca, Mexico. Chatino forms a language subgroup that is coordinate with the Zapotecan language family within the Otomanguean linguistic stock (Kaufman 1993, Upson & Longacre 1965). There are three varieties of Chatino: Zenzontepec, Tataltepec and Eastern Chatino (Campbell 2013). Quiahije Chatino belongs to the Eastern Chatino variety. Quiahije Chatino reduces nearly all historic simple stems to monosyllables, leaving behind complex consonant clusters; it has an exceptionally large tone system and complex system of tonal Sandhi (Cruz 2011). In this presentation I will discuss two aspects of Quiahije. First, my analysis of its tone inventory will show that Quiahije has fourteen contrastive tones at the lexical level and eleven phonetic tones (Cruz and Woodbury 2006; Cruz 2011; Cruz and Woodbury 2014¹; see Table 1). Second, I will present tones in context (See Tables 2 and 3). Special attention will be paid to how tone Sandhi functions in Quiahije Chatino.

Table 1: Lexical Tones²

| Level tones | Rising tones | Descending tones |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| E/kna ^H ‘snake’ | K/ka ^{H-(0)} ‘cow’ | B/tla ^{HL-(0)} ‘night’ |
| C/kna ^{M-(H)} ‘theft’ | H/kon ^{M0} ‘I will eat’ | JS/kla ^{ML} ‘twenty’ |
| A/kna ^L ‘rock’ | i/sqen ^{MH} ‘scorpion’ | JW/ntyan ^{ML-(MH)} ‘will see’ |
| X/yja ‘tortilla’ | G/kon ^{LH} ‘tuber’ | N/tyu ^{0L-(0)} ‘dear little’ |
| | M/skwan ^{L-0} ‘I threw’ | |
| | F/si ^{LM} ‘butterfly’ | |

Quiahije presents complex Sandhi patterns. I will focus on floating tones. In Table 1, floating tones are in parentheses. Groups C, K, M, B, and JW have floating tones. See Table 2.

Table 2: Floating Tones

| Group | First Word | Second Word Pre-sandhi | Second Word Post-sandhi | Gloss |
|-------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| C | Ke ^M | ʔin | ʔin ^H | his/her flower |
| K | ka ^K | ʔin | ʔin ⁰ | his/her cow |
| M | skwan ^{L-0} | ʔin | ʔin ⁰ | I threw him/her |

¹ H=high, 0=floating, M=mid, L=low, X toneless

² In all tables, capital letters represent tone groups that cognate with other Chatino varieties.

| | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-----|------------------|------------------------------|
| B | ʔwa ^{HL} | ʔin | ʔin ⁰ | his/her banana |
| JW | kla ^{JW} | yja | yja ⁱ | the tortillas will arrive |

I will also discuss tone cascading. For example, the toneless *yja* ‘tortilla’ will become J after E, F, H. See Table 3.

Table 3: Tone Cascading

| Group | First Word | Second Word | Third Word | Gloss |
|-------|-------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| E | sta ^H | Pre-sandi yja Post-sandhi yja ^J | Pre-sandi kwla Post-sandhi kwla ^J | she/he smashed old tortillas |
| F | kwa ^{LM} | Pre-sandi yja Post-sandhi yja ^J | Pre-sandi kwla Post-sandhi kwla ^J | she/he swept old tortillas |
| H | kon ^{M0} | Pre-sandi yja Post-sandhi yja ^J | Pre-sandi kwla Post-sandhi kwla ^J | I will eat tortillas |

References:

Campbell, Eric W. 2013. The internal diversification and subgrouping of Chatino. *IJAL* 79(3):393-420.

Cruz, Emiliana, and Anthony C. Woodbury. “Finding a way into a family of tone languages: The story of the Chatino Language Documentation Project.” Steven Bird and Larry Hyman (Eds.). *Language Documentation and Conservation*. University of Hawaii. Expected 2014.

Cruz, Emiliana. 2011. Phonology, tone, and the functions of tone in San Juan Quiahije Chatino. Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin doctoral dissertation.

Cruz, Emiliana, & Anthony C. Woodbury. 2006. El sandhi de los tonos en el Chatino de Quiahije. In *Las memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica-II*. http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/cilla2/ECruzWoodbury_CILLA2_sandhi.pdf (21 April, 2013)

Kaufman, Terrence. 1993. Proto-Zapotec(an) reconstructions. Unpublished ms.

Upson, B. W., and Robert E. Longacre. 1965. Proto-Chatino phonology. *IJAL* 31:312-322.