

Zapotec *tty/ty, *ttz/tz

1. Reflexes of PZ (= Proto-Zapotec) *tty/ty, *ttz/tz

- 1a. Yalálag (Northern; 2)
- | | | | | |
|------------|------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| *tty, *ttz | > tʃ | *k-tyoppa ‘two’ | > | <i>chope</i> |
| | | *ttzonna ‘three’ | > | <i>chone</i> |
| *ty, tz | > ʒ | *katyi ‘seven’ | > | <i>galle</i> |
| | | *(pe+) tzina7 ‘honey’ | > | <i>bllin (dao’)</i> |
- 1b. Juchitán Zapotec (Isthmus; 3)
- | | | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------|---|------------------|
| *tty, *ttz | > tʃ | *k-tyoppa ‘two’ | > | <i>chupa</i> |
| | | *tittzi ‘back’ | > | <i>deche</i> |
| *tz, ty / __ i | > dʒ | *ko-pitza ‘sun’ | > | <i>(g)ubidxa</i> |
| | | *katyi ‘seven’ | > | <i>gadx</i> |
| *ty | > r | *tyo7wa ‘mouth’ | > | <i>ruaa</i> |
- 1c. San Agustín Mixtepec Zapotec (Southern, 4)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|------|-----------------------|---|----------------------|
| *tty | > tʃ | *k-tyoppa ‘two’ | > | <i>chôp</i> |
| *ttz, *tty / __ i | > ts | *ttzonna ‘three’ | > | <i>tzôn</i> |
| | | *ki7ttyi ‘paper’ | > | <i>yè’tz</i> |
| *ty | > r | *tyo7wa ‘mouth’ | > | <i>ro’o</i> |
| *tz, *ty / __ i | > s | *(pe+) tzina7 ‘honey’ | > | <i>mpsìn (-do’o)</i> |
- 1d. Zaniza Zapotec (Papabuco; 5)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------------------|---|-------------------|
| *tty | > tʃ | *k-tyoppa ‘two’ | > | <i>tyup</i> |
| *ty / ¹ __ | > dʒ | *katyi ‘seven’ | > | <i>gady</i> |
| *ty / __ ¹ | > r | *tyo7wa ‘mouth’ | > | <i>ru’</i> |
| *ttz | > ʃ | *ttzonna ‘three’ | > | <i>txun</i> |
| *tz | > z̥ | *ko-pitza ‘sun’ | > | <i>(do-)gwidx</i> |
- 1e. Quiaviní Zapotec (Valley; 7)
- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| *tty | > ts / __ i | *ki7ttyi ‘paper’ | > | <i>gÿee’ts</i> |
| | > tʃ | *k-tyoppa ‘two’ | > | <i>tyo’p</i> |
| *ty | > z / __ i | *katyi ‘seven’ | > | <i>gaaz</i> |
| | > dj / ¹ __ | *p+ etya ‘turkey’ | > | <i>bu’uhdy(...)</i> |
| | > r / __ ¹ | *tyo7wa ‘mouth’ | > | <i>ru’uh</i> |
| *ttz | > ts / __ i | *tittzi ‘back’ | > | <i>dehts</i> |
| | > tʃ | *ttzonna ‘three’ | > | <i>chòonn</i> |
| *tz | > z / __ i | *(pe+) tzina7 ‘honey’ | > | <i>ze’ehiny</i> |
| | > ʒ | *ko-pitza ‘sun’ | > | <i>wbwhzh</i> |
- 2. Special developments**
- 2a. Dialect mixture
Lachixío *-kyekò* ~ *-chekò* ‘cut’; Asunción *djo’o* ~ *ro’o* ‘cough’, Coatlán *lūs* (s for ʃ)
- 2b. After proclitics
Quiaviní *bsu’ahz* ‘squirrel’ (s for ts); SAMZ *ti’β-tyópá* ‘12’ (cf. *tópa* ‘2’), *mtyé* ‘ant’
- 2c. In first members of compounds
- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| *ty | > Texmelucan ¹ dʒ | * ¹ la7tyi7 ‘centro de emociones’ | > | <i>laʃ</i> ‘squash seed’ |
| | > Texmelucan r | * ¹ la7tyi7 ¹ tawo7 ‘heart’ | > | <i>lâr-do’ò</i> ‘spirit, heart’ |

	<u>Free form</u>	<u>1st member of compound</u>
Texmelucan	<i>laʃ</i> 'squash seed'	<i>lâr-do'ò</i> 'spirit, heart'
	<i>u'uʃ</i> 'fruit'	<i>lar-jiʃ</i> 'mamey seed'
	<i>jeʃ</i> 'pine, tar'	<i>ùr-lò</i> 'eye'
		<i>jer-do'o</i> 'large pine'
		<i>jer-gij</i> 'candle'
		<i>jer-bo'o</i> 'coal'
Mitla	<i>bejd</i> 'turkey'	<i>ber-xijg</i> 'chachalaca occidental'
Quiaviní	<i>bu'udy</i> 'chicken'	<i>bar-xya'ahcw</i> 'wild turkey'
Güilá	<i>/biidy/</i> 'domestic bird'	<i>bâr-güidy</i> 'butterfly'

3. Development of *tty/ty

1. *tty	2. tj	1. *ty	2. dj, d, r
	2a. t		2a. t
3. tʃ (ʃ)		3. dʒ (ʒ)	
4. ts (s)		4. dz (z)	

4. Development patterns¹

<u>Yalálag (North)</u>		<u>Juchitán (Isthmus), Quiévolani (South)</u>	
*tty, *ttz	> š	*tty, *ttz	> š
*ty, *tz	> ž	*ty / __ i, *tz	> ž
		*ty	> r

<u>Atepec, Zoo, YB (North), SAMZ (South)</u>		<u>CLZ (South)</u>	
*tty	> š ₁	*tty	> ty, t
*tty / __ i, *ttz	> š ₂	*ty	> t
*ty / __ i, *tz	> ž ₂	*ttz	> š
*ty	> r	*tz	> ž

<u>Texmelucan, Zaniza (Papabuco)</u>		<u>Albarradas, Ayoquesco (Valley)</u>	
*tty	> š ₁	*tty	> tj
*ttz	> š ₂	*tty / __ i, *ttz	> š
*tz	> ž ₂	*ty / __ i, *tz	> ž
*ty	> r / __ [!] , ž ₁ / [!] __	*ty	> r / __ [!] , dj / [!] __

Mitla, Quiaviní, Chichicapan, Ocotepec, Güilá, Guelavía (Valley)

*tty	> tj / š ₁
*ttz	> š ₂
*ty	> r / __ [!] , d / [!] __
*tz	> ž ₂
*tty / __ i, *ttz / __ i	> s
*ty / __ i, *tz / __ i	> z

5. Implications for Zapotec historical phonology

- 5a. Archaic/peripheral dialects keep *tty and *ttz, *ty and *tz distinct (Papabuco, CLZ)
- 5b. Innovating dialects merge *tty / __ i with *ttz and *ty / __ i with *tz (North, Center, South)
- 5c. Stress-sensitive developments of *ty in Papabuco and the Valley are recent and probably independent.

¹ For the convenience of exposition, š = tʃ or ʃ; ž = dʒ or ʒ; s = ts or s; z = dz or z.