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 with

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Salasaca Quichua (ISO 639-3=qxl) is a Quechuan language, specifically of the branch referred to as Quechua A (Parker 1963), as Quechua IIB (Torero 1974), or the northern group (Landerman 1991); but see Landerman (1991) and Adelaar (2004) regarding doubts with respect to the classification of the different varieties. The variety described in this paper is spoken by approximately 12,000 people in Ecuador. The Salasaca ‘parroquia’ (Spanish usage in Ecuador of this word is for a non-religious administrative district), in Pelileo canton, in Tungurahua province, is divided into eighteen communities and Quichua is spoken in all of them. This variety is similar to that of others of the region and is included in the Stark & Muysken (1977) dictionary. Varieties of Quechua in this area do not have the more open allophones attested farther south (such as in Peru), and for that reason the Ecuadorian varieties are traditionally called ‘Quichua’ rather than ‘Quechua’.

This description of the phonology of Salasaca Quichua is based on the speech of the primary author who was born in the area in 1973; she is a resident of Salasaca, and Quichua is her mother tongue and principal language. She made the recordings that accompany this publication, and also translated and recorded the North Wind text. The analysis presented here differs little from that of Waskosky (1992) and the data agree in great measure with those published in Stark & Muysken (1977). See Adelaar (2004) for information as to how the sounds presented and discussed in this illustration relate to the Quechuan family in general.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p p ^h b	t t ^h d				k k ^h g
Affricate		ts		tʃ (tʃ ^h)		
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	
Fricative			s z	ʃ ʒ		x
Tap			r			
Central approximant					j	w
Lateral approximant			l			

(a) p	'pungu	'door'	t	'taki	'hit!'	k	'kufni	'smoke'
(b)	'sipu	'wrinkle'		'tuta	'night'		'taki	'hit!'
(c)	'urpi	'dove'		'palti	'put on top!'		'larka	'irrigation canal'
(d)	—			'tajta	'father'		'wajku	'grassy spot'
(e)	—			'janta	'firewood'		'tsanka	'coarsely ground'
(f)	'atʃpa	'earth'		'tʰuktu	'cornflower'		'iskun	'nine'
(g)	—			'utki	'hurry!'		'sukta	'six'
(h)	—			—			'pusuk	'eight'
(a) p ^h	'p ^h aki	'broken'	t ^h	't ^h uktu	'cornflower'	k ^h	'k ^h ata	'blanket'
(a) b	'bunga	'bee'	d	'dali	'spank!'	g	'gan	'is'
(b)	'wa si-bi	'in the house'		'tʃi-da	'there (Acc.)'		'ju ra-ga	'tree (Top.)'
(c)	'tarbi	'sow!'		—			'mirga	'much'
							~ 'milga	
(d)	'tʃawbi	'half'		'kaj-da	'this one, here'		'tawga	'many'
(e)	'tʃumbi	'sash'		'tanda	'bread'		'pungu	'door'
(g)	'ubji	'drink!'		—			'jugzi	'sandy road'
(a) ts	'tsala	'skinny'	tʃ	'tʃaki	'foot'	tʃ ^h	'tʃ ^h uzu	'thin'
(b)	'patsuk	'hundred'		'kutʃu	'near'		—	
(f)	'waktʃuk	'a bird'		'waktʃa	'poor'		—	
(g)	—			'atʃpa	'earth'		—	
(a) m	'mapa	'dirty'	n	'ni	'say!'	ɲ	'ɲawi	'eye'
(b)	'nima	'nothing'		'suni	'long'		'p ^h ija	'angry'
(g)	'xumbi	'sweat'		'tanda	'bread'		—	
(h)	—			'iskun	'nine'		—	
(a) s	'sukta	'six'	ʃ	'ʃutu	'drop'	x	'xapi	'grab!'
(b)	'wasi	'house'		'kuʃa	'I will give'		'mi xiku	'an agave'
(d)	'kawsi	'life'		—			'majxin	'which, who'
(f)	'riksin	'knows'		'ʒukʃi	'leave!'		—	
(g)	—			'kuʃni	'smoke'		—	
(h)	'kantʃis	'seven'		—			—	
(a) z	'zimran	'trembles'	ʒ	'ʒambu	'smooth'	r	'rincin	'ear'
(b)	'puzu	'gray hair'		'kiʒa	'month'		'k ^h uru	'small worm'
(e)	—			'kanʒa	'outside'		'rincin	'ear'
(f)	—			—			'wagra	'cattle'
(g)	'jugzi	'sandy road'		'miʒpi	'swallow!'		'parli	'speak!'
(a) w	'wasi	'house'	l	'lantʃa	'drizzling rain'	j	'jaku	'water'
(b)	'ka witu	'bed'		'kala	'bread given by mayors'		'tʃuja	'clean'
(c)	—			'parli	'speak!'		—	
(e)	—			—			'kan-jun	'with you'
(f)	—			—			'tugjan	'bursts open'
(g)	'tawna	'staff'		'xalma	'pack saddle pad'		'wajku	'grassy spot'

The consonants are presented in various positions when possible, primarily using native words. (The roots /dali/ 'spank' and /parli/ 'speak' are two notable exceptions.) The consonants are given first in the syllable onset: (a) at the beginning of a word, (b) between vowels, (c) after a tap or lateral approximant, (d) after a central approximant, (e) after a nasal, and (f) after an obstruent; and then they are given in the coda: (g) of the stressed syllable, and (h) in word-final position.

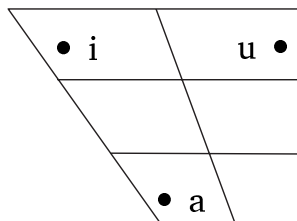
The voiced obstruents /b d g/ are presented as stop phonemes here although actually they are more commonly fricatives in most contexts (see below). Voicing of obstruents in Salasaca Quichua is contrastive. It is not surprising, therefore, that these consonants were written with their own letters in the Stark & Muysken (1977) dictionary. The voicing of stops has been an important step in the evolution of the language (Adelaar 2004: 242). The distribution is interesting, and obviously there are irregularities due to their evolution, because Proto-Quechua did not have voiced stops (see Adelaar 2004 and many works cited therein). Following non-nasal sonorants, voiceless stops are common and voiced stops less common: /'tʃilka/ 'green', /'milga/ 'much'. After nasals, voiced stops are common and the voiceless ones much less common: /'tanda/ 'bread', /'janta/ 'firewood'. Voiced stops are not common in other syllable onsets in native vocabulary, but some of those in which they occur have high frequency of usage: /'gan/ 'is' and /'ubji/ 'drink!', for example. In contrast, voiced stops predominate at the beginning of suffixes, where they contrast with one voiceless example: /k^ha'ta-da/ 'blanket (Accusative)', /k^ha'ta-ga/ 'blanket (Topic)', /k^hata-'guna/ 'blankets', /k^ha'ta-bi/ 'in the blanket', /k^ha'ta-buk/ 'from the blanket', and /k^ha'ta-pa/ 'blanket (Derogatory)'. These suffixes do not have allomorphs. In summary, the evidence based on the distribution (which is obviously quite interesting) and the reaction of native speakers (which is important if the notion of the phoneme is of any significance, as we believe) indicate clearly, in our view, that the phonemic inventory in this variety must include the voiced stops.

No contrast is found between the non-strident obstruents in the coda of the syllable: a syllable-final non-strident obstruent must be a velar (transcribed here as either /k/ or /g/ depending on the context). Neither is there contrast between the nasals in the coda, with two exceptions, as explained below.

Aspirated stops occur in relatively few words, and the aspiration is not very strong. They are found only in word-initial position in our data and in Stark & Muysken (1977), unlike in other varieties of Quechua (see Parker & Weber 1996). The aspirated affricate occurs in only one word in this particular variety; Stark & Muysken (1977) include two additional words with this phoneme, attested in other nearby dialects.

Vowels

Three vowels occur in native words: /i a u/. The vowels /e o/ appear in loanwords from Spanish which may in fact have been incorporated into the language generations ago.



i	'kiʒa	'month'		a	'tsala	'thin'		u	'tuta	'night'
	'wasi	'house'			'k ^h ata	'blanket'			u'kutʃa	'mouse'

Stress

With few exceptions, such as the onomatopoeic noun /gu'lun/ 'thunder', the penultimate syllable of the word receives the primary stress. The exceptions include words with the comitative/instrumental suffix /-n/ in which the stress always falls on the last syllable: /'indi/

'sun', /in'din/ 'with the sun', /tʃaki/ 'foot', /tʃa'kin/ 'with the foot'. This suffix is presumably a reduction of the suffix /-wan/ which continues to be used in more formal speech styles. It also has a suppletive allomorph, /-jun/, that is used with a pronoun like /kan/ 'you': /kan-jun/ 'with you'.

Conventions

An aspirated bilabial stop freely varies to fricative in the speech of some speakers: /pʰina/ 'angry' [pʰina] ~ [ɸina].

A non-strident obstruent in the syllable coda has predictable or variable characteristics (Waskosky 1992). Such an obstruent is always velar, and varies easily between stop and fricative pronunciation and between voiceless and voiced, generally in agreement with the following consonant. Therefore a word like /ukʃa/ 'straw' may be heard as [ukʃa] or [uxʃa]. In absolute final position, it tends to vary to fricative: /pusuk/ [pusuk] or [pusux] 'eight'. Therefore the analysis of such a consonant in the coda is always indeterminate between /k/, /x/, and /g/. They are transcribed phonemically here as stops in all cases.

The phonemes /b d g/ are most commonly fricatives. Nevertheless, they are stops following a nasal: /tanda/ [tanda] 'bread', /puŋgu/ [puŋgu] 'door'. /b/ is sometimes a stop in initial position: /bunga/ [buŋga] 'bee'. /d/ does not occur in word-initial position in native vocabulary; it varies between fricative and stop in the words in which it does occur (which are loanwords from Spanish), such as /dali/ [dali] 'spank!' and /dali'jami/ [ðali'jami] 'I will spank you'. The phoneme /g/, also not common in word-initial position, tends to be lenis there, nearly fricative, in many cases: /gan/ [ʎan] 'is', /gu'lun/ [ɣu'lun] 'thunder', /guʃtu/ [ɣuʃtu] 'slow'. (The origin of the last word may be Spanish, but the meaning suggests that it is not a recent loan; at any rate, what interests us here is the phonetic realization.)

An alveolar nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of an immediately following obstruent: /pungu/ [puŋgu] 'door'. When /n/ appears in the coda and cannot assimilate to an obstruent, it velarizes: /kanjun/ [kaŋjuŋ] 'with you' (a variant), /aʃtanmi/ [aʃtaŋmi] 'even more'. The word /tamja/ 'rain' is one example of /m/ in a coda that is not due to the presence of a following bilabial obstruent. In the word /zimran/ 'trembles' an intrusive consonant appears between the nasal and the tap: [zimbraŋ]. In the same way, a voiced fricative is heard as an affricate following a nasal: /kanza/ [kaŋza] 'outside'.

The tap tends to become a trill and slightly assibilated at the beginning of a word: /rinrin/ [riŋriŋ] 'ear'. It also becomes such at the beginning of the second syllable of the preceding example.

The close vowels tend to have slightly more open allophones when in closed syllables. They do not display open allophones in final position, unlike in other Quechuan languages.

Syllable structure

The maximal syllable template is CGVC (Consonant, Glide, Vowel, Consonant) in native words, although the examples with CG are quite uncommon. Some examples of these are: /kwika/ 'earthworm', /kwinka/ 'intestinal worm', /kwiʃi/ 'rainbow', /kʰwiza/ 'beautiful', /kʰwiti/ ~ /kʰwidi/ 'delicious', /tʰjuka/ 'saliva', /ubji/ 'drink!' and /u'bjan/ 'I drink'. The onset is obligatory (except at the beginning of a word, as in most other languages) and there is no extrametricality.

Transcription of the recorded passage

'xawa ladu'munda waj'rami | maj'xinfi 'jazi xur'sada ʃarin'tʃifi 'niʃa in'diwan
rimanukuga'guna || 'ʃina rimanukugu'ʃami ʃuk 'kʰari 'puntʃu ʃu'raʃka ri'busu
piʒu'riʃka | ʃi ku'tʃuda pasa'gukta rikuga'guna || 'ʃida riku'ʃaga || majxin || ʃi

'k'hari tʃura'rifka pun'tʃuda ribu'sudaʃ zukʃi'tʃigmi 'jaʒi xur'sada 'tʃarik 'ganga ninu'kuʃa sakiriga'guna || tʃi'munda xawa'munda waj'raga mantʃa'najdi 'tuki 'xursan pʰu'kungu kaʒa'riga || 'ʃina 'mixur pʰuku'gukif | tʃi kʰa'riga af'tanmi pizu'riga || ʃi'nufa xawa'munda waj'raga | i'madaʃ na 'ruri pu'diʃa sakiga'zami || tʃi 'kʰipa in'diga mixur'zadi pʰala'niʃa mantʃa'najdi 'rupi ʃi'tuga || ʃi'nufa tʃi kʰa'riga mantʃa'najdi rupa'riʃa | tʃi 'ratu paj tʃura'rifka pun'tʃuda | ribu'sudaʃ zukʃi'tʃiga || ʃi'nami 'xawa ladu'munda waj'raga 'indi 'jaʒi jur'zajuk gaʃ'kada jatʃiktʃa'juʃa saki'riga ||

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