

# University of St Andrews



Full metadata for this thesis is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by original copyright

THE PHONOLOGY OF CAYLLOMA QUECHUA

by

Roy C. Renfro

A dissertation submitted in  
application for the Degree of  
M. Litt. in the University of St. Andrews

Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies,  
University of St. Andrews.  
May 1974.



CERTIFICATE

I Hereby Certify, that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations concerning the submission of an M.Litt. thesis have been fulfilled by Mr. Roy C. Renfro.

DECLARATION

I Hereby Declare that the present work has been composed by myself, and that, the research of which it is a record has been performed by myself.

This thesis embodies work which is being made public for the first time, and which has not been accepted previously for any degree.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
Acknowledgements .. .. .	i
Map .. .. .	ii
CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION .. .. .	1
1. Aims and Methods .. .. .	1
(a) Purpose .. .. .	1
(b) Methodology .. .. .	3
(c) Linguistic Background .. .. .	5
(d) Fieldwork .. .. .	7
(e) Informants .. .. .	9
(f) Corpus .. .. .	12
2. Physical Setting .. .. .	12
3. Historical Background .. .. .	14
CHAPTER II : CAYLLOMA QUECHUA PHONOLOGY .. .. .	22
1. Phoneme Inventory .. .. .	22
2. Segmental Phonemes .. .. .	24
(a) Consonants .. .. .	24
Occlusives .. .. .	24
Nasals .. .. .	28
Laterals .. .. .	30
Flaps .. .. .	31
Fricatives .. .. .	31
Semi-Consonants .. .. .	32
(b) Vowels .. .. .	33
3. Supra-Segmental Phonemes .. .. .	35
(a) Stress .. .. .	35
(b) Vowel Length .. .. .	36
(c) Pitch .. .. .	36
(d) Juncture .. .. .	36
4. Contrasting Pairs .. .. .	40
(a) Consonants .. .. .	40
(b) Vowels .. .. .	41
5. Distribution of Phonemes .. .. .	41
(a) Syllable Structure .. .. .	41
(b) Distribution of Consonants .. .. .	42
(c) Distribution of Vowels .. .. .	45
(d) Distribution of Clusters .. .. .	46
Vowels .. .. .	46
Consonants .. .. .	48
6. Conclusion .. .. .	52
-----	
Bibliography .. .. .	55
Appendix .. .. .	58
Sample Texts .. .. .	58
"Two Brothers from Canocota" .. .. .	60
"The Waycho and the Fox" .. .. .	66

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field research for this work was supported by the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St. Andrews, to which I make grateful acknowledgement. I am also grateful for the guidance and encouragement from my research supervisor, Miss Ruth Leslie, the Director of the Centre, Mr. Douglas Gifford, and Mr. Leslie Hoggarth, lecturer in Quechua Studies.

Special thanks are also due to Paul Hagan, Vicario Episcopal of Caylloma, Luciano Chuiquiku, Isaiás Ocsa Taqya, Ambrosio Capira Yanqui and the other cayllominos who offered not only their help, but also their friendship.



## CHAPTER I

### I N T R O D U C T I O N

---

#### 1. Aims and Methods

##### (a) Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe the phonological structure of the dialect of Quechua that is spoken in the Province of Caylloma, Peru. The data which forms the basis of this investigation was obtained during two different occasions. The first of these two contact periods with the Quechua speakers occurred in 1972 during a three week visit to the province. I had been residing in Southern Peru at that time. The second and most productive part of the fieldwork took place in the following summer of 1973 after I had begun research on the subject.

There are two reasons why this study has been carried out: first, I wanted to discover the structure of the sound system of this variety of Quechua, and second, I wanted to provide a basis for understanding and describing the differences between the Quechua and Spanish sound system which converge in the speech of Caylloma bilinguals.

Originally this study was meant to be an investigation into the phonological nature of the interference caused by the contact of the Quechua and Spanish sound systems in the speech of bilinguals; however, because

of the limited scope of this dissertation, it became necessary to confine the aim of this investigation to analysing and describing the sound system of the primary, or first, language of the Caylloma bilinguals. It was evident very early in the study that a detailed phonological analysis of both Spanish and Quechua would require a broader investigation than this dissertation would allow.

The description which follows is an application of the linguistic techniques of analysis, classification and description which are based on the Bloomfieldian or Neo-Bloomfieldian concept of phonology.<sup>1</sup> It is assumed that this particular descriptive approach to phonology meets the basic requirements of a sound scientifically based linguistic theory inasmuch as the majority of American Indian languages have been described by the application of the Bloomfieldian model of phonology; hence, there is no reason for this student to attempt a justification of this particular theory, nor is there an attempt to argue for or against any linguistic theory.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. In this paragraph I refer specifically to the linguistic techniques provided by Bloch and Trager 1942 and Pike 1947. These two works are very practical in their approach to linguistic description and their methods are fundamentally Bloomfieldian, for example, Makkai 1972, p. 4 describes Bloch and Trager's work: "In 1942 appeared two important codifications of Bloomfieldian procedure: Bloch and Trager's Outline of Linguistic Analysis, an admirably concise introduction to the methodology of all levels of language analysis as then practiced by American linguists..."
  2. To my knowledge there is only one phonology of Quechua that is not Bloomfieldian and this excellent description is a 1972 Ph.D. thesis entitled The Phonology of San Martin Quechua by Douglas Howkins who followed the Martinet-Mulder model.

The single concern of this study therefore is to apply some of the phonetic and phonemic techniques that have been derived from the Bloomfieldian model of phonology to a synchronic investigation of one dialect of Quechua.

(b) Methodology

This investigation into the sound system of Caylloma Quechua involves the application of three equally important practical linguistic techniques. The first is the phonetic symbolization and transcription of the sound substance, the second is the technique of analysing the sounds and classifying them into significant and distinctive units, and the third is the technique of describing the phonological rules governing the structure of the sound system. These three techniques are explained herein.

The phonetic techniques employed in this study are aimed at symbolizing and describing the sounds as accurately as possible for purposes of providing the raw<sup>1</sup> data from which the phonemic analysis can be achieved. Another use that the phonetic transcriptions serve is to provide a fairly accurate<sup>2</sup> representation of the dialect and its pronunciation. The technique of phonetic symbolization and description has been taken from two sources: William H. Chapman, Introduction to Practical

- 
1. Pike 1947, p. 57 sums up the relationship between phonetics and phonemics quite simply: "phonetics gathers raw material. Phonemics cooks it."
  2. I have included one phonetic transcript in the appendix for the dual purpose of providing a sample of the phonetic script used in the study and a guide to the pronunciation of this dialect of Quechua.

Phonetics 1971, and The Principles of the International Phonetic Association 1949. There are few differences between these works inasmuch as Chapman's symbols are based on those of the International Phonetic Alphabet; nevertheless, Chapman's text contains more detail and provides a broader foundation in general phonetics. So, following Chapman, phonetics in this study is concerned with three main problems: (1) to recognise the phones used in this dialect of Quechua, (2) to analyse and describe the way in which these speech sounds are produced, and (3) to symbolise the sounds as accurately as possible in the transcriptions.

The analytical and classificatory techniques used in this investigation come principally from Bernard Bloch and George L. Trager, Outline of Linguistic Analysis 1942; however, Kenneth L. Pike's Phonemics 1947 is most helpful in providing some analytic procedures for separating and uniting problematic sound segments into phoneme classes by the use of charts and lists which are not provided in Bloch and Trager's work.

The schematic arrangement and over-all presentation of the description has been taken from Pike's Phonemics 1947, Chapter Fourteen. In this chapter, "Types of Descriptive Statements," Pike offers a variety of forms to use for describing sound systems and I chose the type he calls "A Detailed Routine Technical Statement" because it provides the most concise and yet the most complete description. Consequently, the arrangement and presentation of the descriptive statements found in this study are based on Pike's model and consist of the

following data: (1) the phonemes, (2) the prominent allophones, or submembers, of the phonemes, (3) short articulatory descriptions of these allophones, (4) statements of the distribution of the allophones within the word, and (5) phonetic and phonemic illustrations of these data.

(c) Linguistic Background

This investigation into the phonetic and phonemic nature of Caylloma Quechua is the first of its kind; therefore, there is little factual information available concerning the characteristics of this particular dialect. Nevertheless, it has been pointed out by Rowe 1950, p. 138 and by Parker 1963, p. 244 that the Cuzco dialect of Quechua is spoken in "parts of the Department of Arequipa."<sup>1</sup> However, inasmuch as the Department of Arequipa has three provinces which border on the Department of Cuzco, it is certain that these three provinces speak a variation of the Cuzco dialect. What is more, because of Caylloma's long history of contact between Quechua and Aymara, Quechua and Spanish and the ever present factor of geographic isolation, it is inevitable

---

1. There has never been any doubt that Caylloma Quechua has the same phonological system as Cuzco Quechua, but what is not known is whether or not there are phonetic variations between the two speech communities. Parker 1963 proposes a genetic classification of the dialects of Quechua and includes the Departments of Cuzco, Puno, Apurimac, and parts of Arequipa in the Cuzco dialect group. In his larger classification, which he calls Quechua A, he includes the related dialects which are spoken in Ayacucho, Bolivia, and Ecuador-Ucayali. (Parker bases his phonemic classification on the criterion of mutual intelligibility.) Torero 1972 adopts a similar classification but prefers to call it Quechua II.

that at least a small amount of dialectal divergence would develop.<sup>1</sup> It is hoped that this dissertation will help to clarify this situation somewhat by describing the synchronic phonetic and phonemic characteristics of Caylloma Quechua.

All of the relevant linguistic sources used in this study deal with the Cuzco dialect of Quechua, but although they propose to describe the same sound system, they are often contradictory in their findings.<sup>2</sup> By far the most scientific and most accurate investigation of Cuzco phonology is John H. Rowe's "Sound Patterns of Three Inca Dialects" 1950. Masako Yokoyama 1951 devotes a few pages to phonology in his "Outline of Quechua Structure: I. Morphology" and follows Rowe's example by basing his description on Bloch and Trager's model of phonology. Harrington and Valcárcel 1941 attempt a description of the phonetic structure of the Cuzco sound system in "Quechua Phonetics: A Shortcut to the Scientific Writing of the Language of the Incas of Peru" but their description contains many gaps and statements that are inaccurate. For example, they confuse the Quechua system with the Spanish system and produce statements

- 
1. Torero 1972 notes that Aymara is still spoken in parts of the Department of Arequipa. A more precise delineation of the boundaries of the Quechua and Aymara speaking communities of the Department of Arequipa would be useful. More on the linguistic history of Caylloma follows in Section (d) of this chapter.
  2. The contradictions to which I refer are the various interpretations of the velar and post-velar fricative phonemes, the distributions of /k/ and /l/, the front and back vowel phonemes, and the number of sibilant phonemes. These problems will be taken up in Chapter Two, Section Two (a).

such as "The open o and a tend to be confused with the close vowels u and i respectively..." (page 206). The Quechua system does not confuse these vowels, rather the confusion arises out of the convergence of the Quechua and Spanish systems in the speech of bilinguals. Later, Harrington 1947 revises his earlier description but curiously ends with six vowel phonemes which add further perplexity to his "phonetic" description. In "Notes on Dr. Harrington's Article" page 31, J.M.B. Farfán 1947 says, "With all respect for Dr. Harrington's article we indicate that in the standard dialect of Cuzco we do not find six vowels." It is clear that Harrington has interpreted [a] and [ɛ] as separate phonemes rather than as complimentary distributed allophones of /a/. Lira 1947, although one of the outstanding Quechua scholars, gives little space to phonology in his grammar. There are also very good linguistic descriptions of other related dialects of Cuzco Quechua, for example, Lastra 1969, Cochabamba, Bolivia; Parker 1969, Ayacucho; and Reyburn 1954, Riobamba, Ecuador.

(d) Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in two phases. The initial contact with the Province of Caylloma took place in the summer of 1972 at which time I was invited by the Vicario Episcopal, Father Paul Hagan, to accompany him on a three-week trip by horseback into

---

1. These dialects are classified by Parker 1963, p.243 as belonging to the genetically similar "Quechua A" dialect group.

the puna area of the District of Caylloma where the Indian estancias and comunidades are located.<sup>1</sup> This remote region is situated just south-west of the border which divides the Departments of Arequipa and Cuzco. During this initial phase of my fieldwork I was introduced to the geography, and the inhabitants of Caylloma. I also became familiar with the puna and the quebrada regions, and I heard Caylloma Quechua and Spanish spoken for the first time. On this trip I recorded some conversations, songs and speeches.

The second and most important phase of the fieldwork for this study was carried out in the months of June and July of 1973 after I had studied for a year in the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies in the University of St. Andrews. On this occasion I returned to Caylloma with a greater knowledge of Linguistics, Quechua, and Latin-American Dialectology and carried out the principal part of my fieldwork. I spent the entire period in the upper Colca River Valley in and around Chivay, the provincial capital, gathering the corpus. Most of the material that I collected during this period consists of tape recordings and transcriptions of legends, stories, readings and conversations.

---

1. In Caylloma there are two distinct geographic zones: The puna is the high plateau or altiplano which lies between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea-level. The river valley, or quebrada, is that area which extends from about 6,000 to 12,000 feet above sea-level. Tschopik 1947, p. 21 describes a comunidad as a small Indian village which possesses an administrative hierarchy that is related structurally to the regional government. The estancias are the small holdings or ranches, that belong to the puna Indians.

(e) Informants

The informants I used for this stage of my investigation were individuals who were in some way involved with the Equipo Pastoral, a group of Indian and mestizo catholics who were affiliated with the Vicaría Episcopal de Caylloma and who were devoted to improving the conditions of the Indians and mestizo peasants residing in the province's comunidades and the estancias.<sup>1</sup> Most of my informants were either members or relatives of members of the Equipo Pastoral. Most of these individuals were permanent residents on the upper quebrada and the puna. These informants are all bilinguals who use Quechua as their first language, having learnt it at home, and Spanish their second language, which they acquired in the comunidad and in school. According to the criteria

- 
1. Although the pluralistic and changing nature of the Peruvian society defies a strict social classification, it is nevertheless necessary to define some terms that are inescapably used when discussing the Caylloma population. In this study the term mestizo is used to refer to that segment of the Caylloma population which is of Spanish-Indian heredity, tends to reside in the urban sectors, and has adopted the national culture. In Caylloma mestizos generally do not speak Quechua, but if they do, they will have learnt it as a second language. For example, one member of the equipo who is a monolingual Spanish speaker was learning Quechua, (and quite rapidly too) for the purpose of translating, for the American priest. The mestizo population may be divided into two classes: the peasant class, who reside in and around the towns in the quebrada, are the agricultural workers who just manage to live off their labour. This class is not any better off economically than the puna Indians. The other class of mestizos is better off economically because it is better educated and manages to obtain whatever jobs are available in the area. The latter is the Caylloma merchant class, and in Caylloma the Indians often refer to these individuals as mistis. The mestizo peasants are often derogatorily called cholos by the coastal town folk.

established by Wagley and Harris 1955 these individuals would be more appropriately classified as "Modern Indian."<sup>1</sup>

The following individuals acted as my principal informants:

Isaías Ocsa Caqya - sixteen years old - a secondary student from Canocota who was married but still living with the equipo. He was my principal informant and helped with the transcripts and translations. He recorded four stories and several conversations in Quechua and Spanish.

Edilfonso Flores Ocsa - about forty-eight years old an estanciero from Canocota and uncle of Isaias. He recorded two stories in Quechua and Spanish.

Luciano Chuiquiko - fifteen years old - a secondary student from Cotacota, a comunidad in the puna. He recorded a conversation, two songs, and three stories in Quechua and Spanish.

---

1. "Modern Indian," as described by Wagley and Harris 1955, pp. 430-431, are those cultural types which inhabit the highland regions of Latin America, have a different life style from the majority of the population, speak an aboriginal language, may be bilingual, work in mines, haciendas, etc. In this classification the "Modern Indian" is distinct from the previously mentioned peasant class. Quechua is the most significant characteristic which sets them apart from the mestizo peasant. Nevertheless, because of the changing nature of the society, the trend in Caylloma is toward greater bilingualism and increased use of Spanish as the principal language of the society. Quechua monolingualism is predominantly limited to older females. Parker 1972, pp. 119-121, points out: "Ya está claro, sin embargo, que el quechua ha ingresado en el camino de la extinción ... Además, podemos encontrar que en algunas regiones donde se habla quechua, el monolingüismo está restringido a las personas mayores." Therefore, the trend in Caylloma, as in the rest of Peru, is toward increased mestizaje, or hispanicisation. It may be argued that the linguistic trend has gone beyond Quechua-Spanish bilingualism and is currently moving toward Spanish/.....

Grimaldo Miguel Urura Chuquiwayta - twenty-one years old - the only native of Chivay. He worked full-time for the equipo as secretary and translator. He recorded one story in Quechua and Spanish and on two occasions allowed himself to be recorded in conversation with others. He also helped with text translation on one occasion.

Nicolás Capira Suni - about thirty eight years old - an estanciero from Tuti, a village in the quebrada. He recorded one legend in Spanish and Quechua and read excerpts from a text in Spanish.

Ambrosio Capira Yanque - twelve years old - a primary student and son of Nicolas. He recorded two songs, and provided many vocabulary items in Spanish and Quechua and was a constant companion and guide on visits to other villages.

Señora Sipriana Cacya de Ocsa - Isaiás's mother who was about fifty years old. She was the only informant who did not speak Spanish. She recorded one story in Quechua.

Señor Ocsa Quilluya - the father of Isaiás - about fifty-five years old - an estanciero from Canocota. He recorded two stories in Quechua.

There were also several other persons who contributed to the corpus; among the most important are: the mayordomos of Sotocaylla and Santa Rosa, a teacher from Sotocaylla, a man from Maca and a man from Tisco.

---

Spanish monolingualism. Nevertheless, Caylloma still contains a large Quechua speaking Indian population.

1. The mayordomos are elected to be responsible for providing the comunidad with food, drink, coca and music during the fiestas. Chivay is the provincial capital of Caylloma and inevitably one may find Indians in transit /.....

(f) Corpus

The corpus for this investigation consists of four legends in Quechua and three in Spanish, two conversations in Quechua and four in Spanish, seven stories in Quechua and four in Spanish, two songs in Spanish, and three translations of Quechua into Spanish. All of this material was recorded on tape, transcribed and translated with the help of an informant.

2. Physical Setting

The Province of Caylloma lies between the  $71^{\circ}$  and the  $72^{\circ}$  west longitude and the  $15^{\circ}$  and the  $16^{\circ}$  south latitude in the Peruvian sector of the Andean Cordillera Occidental. It is the most north-easterly province of the Department of Arequipa and has a total land area of about 7,374 square miles. The average altitude is 13,000 feet above sea level.<sup>1</sup> There are seven perpetually snow capped mountains which rise to over 20,000 feet, the most important of these are: the volcano Ampato, Sallalli and Hualca-hualca because they drain into the principal river, the Colca, and provide the valley's source of water. There are also three lakes in this region: the Lauraca at 15,531 feet, the Vilafro, and the Samaqcota.

---

transit from the puna and other parts of the quebrada who have come to take care of legal or religious matters. On several occasions I was able to make recordings of conversations between these individuals and the members of the equipo.

1. These altitude figures and the geographical position of Caylloma are taken from the Peruvian Army map of the Department of Arequipa. The land area figure is taken from La Voz de Caylloma, a periodical put out by the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa, No.1, Julio-October, 1967.

Caylloma Province, then is situated in an extremely high and rugged Andean area which offers few environmental amenities to its inhabitants.

In the Province of Caylloma there are two distinct geographical zones. The highest zone lies between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea level. This desolate area is known as the puna, or highland plateau and extends over more than nine-tenths of the total land surface of the province; however, the puna contains only four population districts out of the province's total of nineteen.<sup>1</sup> What is more, this region is inhabited by no more than one-fifth of the total population. All of the inhabitants of the puna are Indian shepherds. There is also a small number who make up the labour force for the two mines which operate in the area. The puna is significant in this study because it is the region from which most of the informants come. It is also the region where the largest percentage of the population is "Indian" who use Quechua as their first and principal language.

The quebrada, or the Colca River Valley, is the other geographical zone and, although it is a relatively small area, it contains most of the population. This area is the agricultural zone of the province and extends from the Cordillera drainage basin in the upper Colca River Valley down to the Pacific coast. The Caylloma portion of this great valley descends from about 14,000 feet to about 6,000 feet where it enters the Province of Camaná

---

1. Tschopik 1947, p. 7, delimits the altitude of the puna between 12,000 and 15,000 feet.

and becomes the Camaná River Valley. The whole valley is extremely fertile, and, due to the climatic conditions caused by its proximity to the equator, is ideal for a diversity of agricultural production.

Extremely poor geographic conditions have affected transportation in the Caylloma area. There are only four roads in the whole province and they connect the most inhabited areas with the provincial capital of Chivay, which is located in the centre of the province in the upper quebrada on the Colca River. Chivay is about one hundred and fifty miles from Arequipa, the Department capital, but it takes over nine hours to make the journey by bus. The entire journey from Arequipa to Chivay is made on the puna between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea level, and in the rainy season, December to March, it is almost impossible to travel the dirt roads because of landslides, rising rivers and extremely unsafe conditions.

It is easy to see that geography plays no small role in the history of Caylloma. Traditionally the quebrada has been the focal area for most of the population, whereas the puna has been the region where a small number of Indian communities have remained relatively fixed and have been less directly influenced by external forces such as the conquest and colonization.

### 3. Historical Background

The following historical account of Caylloma is intended to be an introduction to the linguistic situation of the province and is not meant to represent an adequate

historical description of the area. In compiling this sketch I have limited myself to the linguistically relevant material.

Rowe 1947, p.192 points out that there is no first-hand account of the pre-Conquest Indian cultures of Latin America and that all of the information about these cultures must inevitably come from the eyewitness descriptions of the Conquistadores and the early Spanish colonialists. These early crónicas and relaciones provide little information on the Caylloma area; nevertheless, the few significant facts that are available come from Bernabé Cobo Historia del Nuevo Mundo 1653 and "Relación de La Provincia de Los Collaguas para La Discrepción(sic) de Las Indias Que su Magestad Manda Hacer" which is found in Relaciones Geográficas de Indias 1881-97, Volume II. These two sources provide the following significant information: (1) the area now known as Caylloma was originally inhabited by an Aymara-speaking population known as the Collaguas;<sup>1</sup> (2) the Incas under the fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, invaded the area of the Collaguas about 1134<sup>2</sup> during the campaign to extend the Contisuyu quarter of the Inca Empire to the coast.

By the time the Spanish arrived in the Cuzco area in 1533, the Collaguas, like many other regional tribes who came under Inca hegemony, were still going through a period of acculturation. Juan de Ulloa Mogollón,

---

1. Cobo 1890-95, p.10 lists the Collaguas among the Indian groups found in Peru at the time of the Conquest. Rowe 1947, p. 184 adds to Cobo's information by clearly showing the geographical location of the Collaguas in a map of the tribal boundaries of Peru and Bolivia circa 1530.

2. Cobo 1890-95, p. 70; Garcilaso de la Vega, 1606, Volume II, p. 96.

corregidor or magistrate of Collaguas, wrote in 1586:

Los Collaguas usan generalmente la lengua aymará y la tienen por propia natural... Los de la provincia de Cavana hablan la lengua general del 1 Cuzco corruta (sic) y muy avillanada.

The Peruvian linguist Alfredo Torero, 1972, p. 69

describes the Sixteenth Century Aymara-Quechua situation:

...la quechuización de la zona se hallaba por entonces, evidentemente en pleno proceso aún, y era un fenómeno relativamente reciente. El aymará, finalmente desplazado de la región, iba a dejar, sin embargo, una poderosa marca en la fonología y el léxico del actual quechua cuzqueño.

Therefore, at the time of Spanish Conquest the Collaguas area consisted of Quechua and Aymara speaking groups which were still in the process of being absorbed into the dominant Inca Culture.

The history of Caylloma during the Colonial period is similar to the history of the rest of the Viceroyalty of Peru. The area was governed and "hispanicised" under the encomienda system, "christianised" by the Franciscan friars, and exploited by the Spanish miners.<sup>2</sup> Sources provide a slightly more complete picture of the historical events of Caylloma during this period, but most of the available information concerns church organisation, population and taxation. Only the most pertinent facts are discussed in this introduction.

---

1. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias 1881-97, Volume II, pp. 328-9.

2. Means 1932, p. 150, says that of all the Colonial institutions the encomienda was the one which affected the daily lives of the Indians the most. It was a feudal system of estates which were granted to certain Spaniards by the Crown. "The land thus granted carried with it the usufruct of the tribute in money, in goods, or in labour, of the Indians upon the land."

In the early years of Colonial Period there were two political systems that were instituted for purposes of maintaining political control over the Indians. The first of these systems was the encomienda which was established in 1541 and whereby the whole province of Collaguas was given to Francisco Noguero de Ulloa as his personal estate.<sup>1</sup> In actual fact the operation of this Colonial institution was modelled after the Spanish feudal system and turned out to be equally exploitative. In Caylloma or Collaguas there was little regard for the land or the Indian who worked it; furthermore, most of the time the encomendero lived away from his holding. By 1586 Collaguas had become more politically united to the Colonial administration by the establishment of a corregimiento under the governorship of Don Juan de Ulloa Mogollón who established the first provincial capital, Yanqui, in the Colca River Valley.<sup>2</sup> The corregimiento was another Spanish institution aimed at controlling the Indians and involved the governmental jurisdiction of a corregidor over a large territory from which he would collect tribute and taxes, supervise local trade and control the forced labour in the mines.<sup>3</sup>

By 1649 the Church had established a bishopric in Arequipa which meant that the province would be closer

---

1. La Voz de Caylloma 1969, p. 28.)

2. A corregimiento was the territorial jurisdiction of a magistrate or corregidor. This definition is taken from Means 1932, p. 148. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Volume II, p. 326, furnishes the information on the first corregidor of Caylloma.

3. Means, 1932, p. 148.

to the source of religious control. This newly established situation caused more cultural contact between the Indian population and the colonialists and enabled the Church to exercise more influence over the lives of the Indians. A letter from the Bishop of Arequipa dated the 15th December, 1649 explains the newly formed boundaries:

Divide este obispado de él del Cuzco por la parte del Norte o Septentrión la provincia de los Collaguas, a que se sigue inmediata la de los Canas.

A list of the towns of the province is given and then the bishop concludes:

El cuarto pueblo de españoles es (el) asiento de las minas de Caylloma; su juez tiene título de gobernador de la provincia de Collaguas, repartida en 14 doctrinas, las siete de clérigos y las otras siete de la orden de San Francisco - El asiento tiene dos curas.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, by establishing the Arequipa bishopric the Church introduced a situation that would inevitably effect the population and culture of the area, especially the more habitable quebrada. Arequipa had become a colonial town par excellence by this time and its newly developed status of bishopric was destined to produce greater cultural influences on the provinces.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. "Relación del Obispado de Arequipa," Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Volume II, p. 56.

2. Kubler 1947, p. 341 maintains: "It may be postulated that the rate and degree of hispanicisation among the pacified Quechua was conditioned (a) by their proximity to Spanish centres, and (b) by their caste or status in Indian society. In the dispersed and inaccessible settlements, where encomiendas were slow in being awarded, we may look for the most complete retention of day-to-day Inca culture." Therefore, in the Caylloma quebrada one would find the Colonial mestizo-Indian culture, whereas in the puna, because of its physical and cultural isolation, one would expect to find the continuance of the indigenous culture.

Apart from the increased hispanicisation and christianisation of the area the most significant change effected by the Church was the use and extension of Quechua as the language of catecismo. In a sense it became a lingua franca. Valcárcel 1967, p. 196 explains the Church's use of Quechua:

Los primeros que la estudian son los sacerdotes católicos que emplean ese idioma para adoctrinar en la nueva religión no solamente a los que ya sabían quechua, sino para extender a su vez este idioma a aquellos otros pueblos que aún no habían sido conquistados por los Incas ...

So, because of the use of Quechua as the medium of religious indoctrination, the Spanish continued the diffusion of Quechua which was begun by the Incas in the twelfth century; what is more, whatever Aymara that existed in Caylloma at the Conquest was destined to be subordinated to and eventually displaced by Quechua.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the Colonial period it was evident that there was a tendency in the Collaguas area toward hispanicisation in the quebrada, whereas the puna, due to its high altitude, isolation and inhospitable environment, was left to the Indian. The total population of Caylloma had become 13,905 by 1795 and contained an Indian population of 11,872, the highest percentage of Indians of any province in the Department of Arequipa.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Quechua is still being used as the language of many catequistas in the puna area of Caylloma. In fact the Vicaría Episcopal de Caylloma feels a need to print a bilingual bulletin entitled Llacta Rikch'ariy for its members.

2. These and the following population figures have been taken from Kubler 1952. The percentage of Caylloma Indians in 1795 was 85.38, fifth highest of all the Peruvian provinces at that time.

By 1876 the population of the province had grown to 20,220 and had an Indian component of 16,796. In 1940 the Indian population reached 22,734 while the total population grew to 30,210. It is believed that the growth of the hispanicised portion of the population, that is the mestizo group, was the principal reason for the gradual decrease in the Indian percentage of population. Kubler 1952, p. 64 states:

In general, the trend of Indian increase that held until 1876, was reversed between 1876 and 1940, when mestizo populations became more numerous and more rapid in growth than the Indian component.

Today Caylloma has a total population of 33,967<sup>1</sup> which is very unevenly distributed. While the quebrada contains 26,325 inhabitants, the puna only has a total population of 7,642; furthermore, there are 4,943 rural inhabitants of the latter area and it is believed that this group forms the nucleus of Caylloma's indigenous population because they exhibit most of the characteristics of the group Wagley and Harris 1955 refer to as the "Modern Indian:" they use Quechua as their principal language (although many have learned Spanish in their comunidades and therefore are bilingual), their religion is a fusion of Catholicism and Pre-Columbian animism, they either work on a hacienda or a small estancia, they

---

1. These population figures are taken from the Peruvian Government publication put out by the Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo and entitled Población del Perú: Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Año 5, Marzo, 1971, Number 19.

virtually live outside the national economy, and they maintain a life-style that is distinct from that of the dominant mestizo group.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Wagley and Harris 1955, pp. 430-431.

---

CHAPTER TWO

---

CHAPTER II

CAYLLOMA QUECHUA PHONOLOGY

1. Phoneme Inventory

The Caylloma Quechua Phonological System contains twenty-five consonant and three vowel phonemes. They are as follows:

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveo-Dental	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Occlusives	p	t	tʃ	k	q		
glottalised	p'	t'	tʃ'	k'	q'		
aspirated	ph	th	tʃh	kh	qh		
Nasals	m	n		ɲ			
Laterals		l		ʎ			
Flapped		r					
Fricatives		s					h
Semi-Consonants	w			j			

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
close	i		u
half-close			
half-open			
open		a	

Supra-segmental phonemes include one internal open juncture and two terminal junctures.

The following phonemes occur only in Spanish loan words: /b,f,d,rr,g,e,o/. These sounds, especially the vowels, cause many of the phonic interference phenomena which have become characteristic of the speech of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals.<sup>1</sup> Although the realisations of these phonemes appear frequently in the corpus, they are not to be included in this description of the phonemic structure of Quechua because of complexity of describing converging phonological systems. In other words, the following phonology is aimed at describing only the structure of Caylloma Quechua, hence the problem of hispanicised Caylloma Quechua is left for another study.

The symbols used in the following description are taken from The Principles of the International Phonetic Alphabet, 1949. The following variations have been made because of typographic limitations: /r/ for the alveolar flat /r/, [ř] for the alveolar fricative [ʃ], [X] for the uvular fricative [χ], /ñ/ for the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and [ɔ] for [ɔ̃]. The IPA diacritic /˘/ is used to symbolise glottalisation, whereas the glottal occlusive[ʔ], represents a single word initial non-phonemic sound. For showing nasalisation of vowels the

---

1. See for example, Gifford 1969, who describes the substrate (Quechua) interference in the realisations of the front and back vowel phonemes in the "mestizo" dialect of Spanish. Also Victor Dominguez C., 1969 discusses this same problem of the transference of the primary or native Quechua sound system into the secondary system of Spanish. He adds that substrate interference is evident in the speech of sixty per cent of the Peruvian population.

tilae, [ã̃] , is used. All non-syllabic phones which act more like members of diphthongs than as consonants are raised above the line, for example, [ma<sup>j</sup>]. This procedure is simply an aid to reading the script and is suggested by Pike, Phonemics, 1947, p. 45. The IPA uses a similar device in the form of a diacritic, for example, [mã̯].

## 2. Segmental Phonemes

### (a) Consonants

In the following analysis the non-syllabic phonemes and their allophones are described in terms of: (1) the articulatory nature of their realisations, (2) their distributions within the word, and (3) illustrations of the phonetic and phonemic forms with glosses. The phonetic forms are put in brackets, whereas the phonemic forms are written between slants. Consonant clusters are treated separately at the end of the chapter.

### Occlusives:

- /p/ [p] 1. Voiceless bilabial occlusive.  
2. This submember occurs in initial and intervocalic positions.  
3. [patápi]<sup>1</sup> /patapi/ "on top of"  
[ʔimatápas]<sup>2</sup> /imatapas/ "whatever"  
[napáʃku] /napaʃku/ "we greet"

---

1. Stress in Caylloma Quechua is not phonemic because it regularly occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word; however, there are a few exceptions to this rule, for example, [ari] "yes" and [hajkumujá] "enter then." The [-já] suffix, meaning "then or therefore," invariably carries the stress. See Section Three (a) on stress. Rowe 1950 uses the acute accent for marking exceptional cases of syllable final stress in phonemic script and his /.....

- /p,/' [p,'] 1. Voiceless bilabial glottalised occlusive.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [p,úxru] /p,ukru/ "grain container; hole"  
[háp,iʃ] /hap,iʃ/ "to catch; grab"
- /ph/ [ph] 1. Voiceless bilabial aspirated occlusive.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [řupháña] /rupháña/ "now burnt"  
[phoʃkasqakámãŋ] /phuskasqakaman/ "until it is spun"
- /t/ [t] 1. Voiceless apico-alveo-dental occlusive.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [túti] /tuti/ "the name of a village in Colca River Valley"  
[páta] /pata/ "on"  
[tʃakínta] /tʃakinta/ "your feet"
- /t,/' [t,'] 1. Voiceless apico-alveo-dental glottalised occlusive.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [t,óxjaŋ] /t,uqjan/ "he explodes"  
[mút,i] /mut,i/ "cooked corn"

---

his procedure is adopted in this study.

2. The IPA symbol for the glottal occlusive [ʔ] is used in this description to refer to the word-initial articule which occurs in free variation with [∅] (zero), hence is classified as non-phonemic. See Section Three (d).

- /th/ [th] 1. Voiceless apico-alveo-dental aspirated occlusive.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.<sup>1</sup>  
3. [thuñísqa] /thuñisqa/ "it fell"
- /tʃ/ [tʃ] 1. Voiceless lamino-palatal affricate.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [tʃúpi] /tʃupi/ "soup (of dehydrated potatoes)"  
[qotʃámãŋ] /qutʃaman/ "to the lake"
- /tʃʼ/ [tʃʼ] 1. Voiceless lamino-palatal glottalised affricate.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [tʃʼárki] /tʃʼarki/ "dried meat (llama or alpaca)"  
[hútʃʼuʃ] /hutʃʼuʃ/ "small"
- /tʃh/ [tʃh] 1. Voiceless lamino-palatal aspirated affricate.  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [tʃhúʎa] /tʃhuʎa/ "dew"  
[ʔutʃháta] /utʃhata/ "dung"
- /k/ [k] 1. Voiceless dorso-velar occlusive.<sup>2</sup>  
2. In complementary distribution with [x] occurring in word and syllable

- 
1. My corpus shows [th] in word initial position only; nevertheless, it is assumed that this phones distribution in the word is analogous to the distributions of the other aspirated and glottalised occlusive sounds, [ph, tʃh, kh, qh]. Rowe 1950, p. 140 states that the aspirated and glottalised sounds are distributed similarly in syllable initial position and only once in any given word.
2. /k/ has retracted and advanced submembers whose realisations depend on the surrounding sounds, for example, in /.....

initial positions only.<sup>1</sup>

3. [kasqáŋki] /kasqanki/ "you (sing) had been"

[jakúta] /jakuta/ "water"

- [x] 1. Voiceless dorso-velar fricative.  
 2. In complementary distribution with [k] occurring in word and syllable final positions only.  
 3. [hóx] /huk/ "one"  
 [pəxjúta] /pukjuta/ "spring, fountain"

- /k'/ [k'] 1. Voiceless dorso-velar glottalised occlusive.  
 2. Word and syllable initial.  
 3. [k'ántʂa] /k'antʂa/ "light"  
 [hək'utʂáqa] /huk'utʂaqa/ "the mouse"

- /kh/ [kh] 1. Voiceless dorso-velar aspirated occlusive.  
 2. Word and syllable initial.  
 3. [khótʂi] /khutʂi/ "pig"  
 [mikhu<sup>h</sup>ta] /mikhu<sup>h</sup>ta/ "food"

- /q/ [q] 1. Voiceless dorso-uvular occlusive.  
 2. In complementary distribution with [X] occurring in word and syllable initial positions contiguous with [a, o, e].  
 3. [qáqa] /qaqa/ "rock"

---

in [mánka] "bowl" the articulation of the [k] is retracted, whereas in [tʂ,arki] "dried meat" the articulation of the [k] is more advanced.

1. Some submembers have distributions that are problematic and therefore require additional descriptions based on their positions within the syllable.

- [x] 1. Voiceless dorso-uvular fricative.
2. In complementary distribution with [q] occurring in word and syllable final positions contiguous with [a,o,e].
3. [ʎaxtaŋmãq] /ʎaqtanman/ "to his village"
- [súmaX] /sumaq/ "beautiful"
- [uʎwájoX] /uʎwajoq/ "with (in possession of) animals"
- [mitʂeXkunáta] /mitʂiqkunata/ "the shepherds"
- [puñoX] /puñuq/ "he sleeps"

- /q'/ [q'] 1. Voiceless dorso-uvular glottalised occlusive.
2. Word and syllable initial.
3. [q'átʂu] /q'atʂu/ "grass"
- [wisq'arqospáqa] /wisq'arquspaqa/ "suddenly closing"

- /qh/ [qh] 1. Voiceless dorso-uvular aspirated occlusive.
2. Word and syllable initial.
3. [qhápax] /qhapaq/ "the rich one"
- [áqha] /aqha/ "maize beer"

Nasals:

- /m/ [m] 1. Voiced bilabial nasal.
2. Word and syllable initial.
3. [mána] /mana/ "no"
- [ʔapamúŋki] /apamunki/ "you (sing) bring"

- /n/ [n] 1. Voiced apico-alveolar nasal.
2. In complementary distribution with [ŋ, m] occurring in word and syllable initial, and syllable and word final before [tʃ, t].
3. [n'íspa] /nispa/ "saying"  
[h'ína] /hina/ "then"  
[wa<sup>w</sup>qéntaX] /wa<sup>w</sup>qintaq/ "and his brother"  
[p'úntʃa<sup>w</sup>] /p'untʃa<sup>w</sup>/ "day"

- [ŋ] 1. Voiced dorso-velar nasal.
2. In complementary distribution with [n, m] occurring before a pause and before the remaining consonants in syllable and word final positions.
3. [niŋ] /nin/ "he says"  
[máŋka] /manka/ "bowl"  
[háŋk'a] /hank'a/ "toasted broad beans"

- [m] 1. Voiced bilabial nasal.
2. In complementary distribution with [n, ŋ] occurring as allophone of /n/ only in word and syllable final position before /p/ and /s/.<sup>1</sup>
3. [ñámpi] /ñanpi/ "in the road"  
[hámpex] /hanpiq/ "the one who cures, curandero"  
[kímsa] /kinsa/ "three"

- /n/ [ñ] 1. Voiced lamino-palatal nasal.
2. Initial and intervocalic.
3. [ñá<sup>w</sup>saráŋ] /ñá<sup>w</sup>saran/ "they (collectively) became blind"  
[wáñon] /wañun/ "he dies"

---

1. My corpus shows just this one example of [m] before [s].  
Yokoyama 1951, p. 39 also describes [m] as syllable final allophone in complementary distribution before [p] and [s].

Laterals:

- /l/ [l] 1. Voiced apico-alveolar lateral.  
2. Initial intervocalic and syllable final.  
3. [lá<sup>j</sup>qa] /la<sup>j</sup>qa/ "witch doctor"  
[q'aláta] /q'alata/ "nude"  
[qolqéta] /qulqita/ "money; silver"

- // [ʎ] 1. Voiced lamino-palatal lateral (released.)  
2. Initial and intervocalic.  
3. [ʎáxta] //a<sup>x</sup>ta/ "village"  
[waʎáta] /waʎata/ "wild Andean white goose with red feet"

- [ʎ']<sup>1</sup> 1. Voiced lamino-palatal lateral (unreleased.)  
2. In complementary distribution with [ʎ] occurring in syllable final position.<sup>2</sup>  
3. [wæʎ'pa] /waʎpa/ "hen"  
[hæʎ'p'akunáta] /haʎp'akunata/ "lands"

- 
1. I have adopted the diacritic ['] from Langacker 1972 to symbolise the unreleased variety of //.
2. My corpus shows the allophone [ʎ'] occurring in syllable final position before [p,p',t] only. I have also found [l] in this same position before [q] as illustrated under /l/. Rowe 1950, p. 140 discusses this problem and argues that /l/ and // are distinct whereas [ʎ'] (unreleased allophone) is in complementary distribution to both of them; he calls this a case of "phonemic overlapping." It may also be possible to describe the distributions of /l/ and // in syllable final position as an instance of phoneme neutralisation. In other words, these two phonemes tend to have their oppositions neutralised when they occur in syllable final position and therefore constitute an archiphoneme which may be symbolised as an archiphoneme class /l/. Howkins 1972 analyses the syllable final occurrences of all orders of Cuzco Quechua in this way.

Flaps

- /r/ [r]
1. Voiced apico-alveolar flap.
  2. Word and syllable initial and word and syllable final. Occurs in free variation with [ř] in these positions.
  3. [rimanakúŋku] /rimanakunku/ "they begin"  
[kúndur] /kuntur/ "condor"<sup>1</sup>  
[sirárqaŋ] /sirarqaŋ/ "he sewed"

- [ř]
1. Voiced apico-alveolar retroflex fricative.
  2. Initial, intervocalic and final in free variation with [r].
  3. [řimá<sup>j</sup>taX] /rima<sup>j</sup>taq/ "and to speak"  
[sirarikimãŋ] /sirari<sup>j</sup>kiman/ "I will begin to sew you up"  
[tařú<sup>ʔ</sup>aŋ] /taru<sup>ʔ</sup>aŋ/ "he finds"  
[jáwař] /jawař/ "blood"

Fricatives:

- /s/ [s]
1. Voiceless groove-like apico-alveolar fricative.
  2. All positions.
  3. [sɨmínta] /siminta/ "her mouth"  
[ʔasikúspa] /asikuspa/ "he was laughing at"  
[ʔáñas] /añas/ "skunk"

---

1. As pointed out by Rowe 1950 and Harrington 1947 there is no /d/ in the Cuzco dialect of Quechua. Hoggarth 1974, p. 73 states that the realisation of Quechua as [d] in Condor is the "most common replica" of bilingual speakers. It is assumed that this voiced realisation is the result of Spanish phonic interference in the speech of bilinguals rather than a case of Quechua voiced-voiceless allophonic variation within the distribution of /t/.

- [ʃ]
1. Voiceless groove-like lamino-alveo-palatal fricative.
  2. Intervocalic and in free variation with [s] in syllable final position.<sup>1</sup>
  3. [puriʃárqaŋ] /purisarqaŋ/ "he was going"  
[phoʃkasqakáma] /phuskasqakama/ "until spun"

- /h/ [h]
1. Voiceless glottal aspirate.
  2. Initial only.
  3. [hína] /hina/ "then"

Semi-Consonants:

- /w/ [w]
1. Voiced bilabial semi-consonant.
  2. Initial, intervocalic, syllable final and word final as non-syllabic diphthong or glide member.
  3. [waʃtʃo] /waʃtu/ "grey Andean bird"  
[ruwáŋku] /ruwanku/ "they do"  
[ñaʷpaXmánta] /ñaʷpaqmanta/ "from the beginning"  
[p'úntʃaʷ] /p'untʃaʷ/ "day"

- /j/ [j]
1. Voiced lamino-palatal slit-like fricative.
  2. Word and syllable initial, word and syllable glide member.

---

1. My corpus shows that the distribution of [ʃ] is limited in occurrence to intervocalic position as a member of the continuative verbal suffix -ʃa, for example, [hamuʃaŋk(tʃ(s)] "you (plural) are coming" and to syllable final position in which it varies freely with [s], for example, [phoʃkasqakama] "until spun," [wʃwɛ] "greasy, dirty", but [ʃskaʃ] "two", [wʃsq'aʃ] "to close," and [wʃsk'átʃa] "Andean rodent." Rowe 1950 does not separate these into phoneme classes and neither /.....

3. [jakúta] /jakuta/ "water"  
[ʎamájoX] /ʎamajuq/ "possessor  
of llamas"  
[maʝ] /maʝ/ "where"  
[řimaʝtaX] /rimaʝtaq/ "and  
to speak"

(b) Vowels

/i/ [i]

1. Front close, unrounded.
2. Occurs in all positions but is in complementary distribution with [ʎ,e] occurring before non-syllabic off-glide [ʝ].
3. [řima] /ima/ "what"  
[niŋ] /nin/ "he says"  
[ñámpi] /nanpi/ "in the road"  
[wasiʝki] /wasiʝki/ "your (sing.)  
house"

[ʎ]

1. Front close, unrounded.
2. Occurs as free variant in all positions but is in complementary distribution with [i,e] when following [h].
3. [ʎmataX] /imataq/ "and finally"  
[hʎna] /hina/ "then"

[e]

1. Front half-close, unrounded.
2. Occurs in complementary distribution with [i,ʎ] in environment of [q,X].
3. [qéna] /qina/ "flute"  
[qolqéta] /qulqita/ "silver, money"

---

neither does Parker 1969. In the latter's description of Ayacucho Quechua on page 19 he states that: "/s/ varies freely between apico-alveolar [s] and lamino-alveolar [ʃ] in the environments /i-k/ and /i-č/, and is apico-alveolar elsewhere."

- /a/ [a] 1. Central open, unrounded.  
2. Initial, interconsonantal and final.  
3. [ʔáma] /ama/ "no"  
[mána] /mana/ "no"
- [æ] 1. Central half-open, unrounded.  
2. In complementary distribution with [a, ɛ] in word initial before [n, ʎ].  
3. [ʔǽntʂɛʝ] /antʂaʝ/ "abundance"  
[ʔæʎinʎanmi] /aʎinʎanmi/ "I am just fine"
- [ɛ] 1. Front half-open, unrounded.  
2. In complementary distribution with [a, æ] occurring interconsonantally before nonsyllabic off-glide [j].  
3. [tʂɛʝ] /tʂaʝ/ "that"
- /u/ [u] 1. Back close, rounded.  
2. Initial, interconsonantal and final.  
3. [ʔúma] /uma/ "head"  
[pəxjúta] /pukjuta/ "spring, well"  
[p'úxru] /p'ukru/ "grain container"
- [ɔ] 1. Back half-close, rounded.  
2. Initial, interconsonantal and final in free variation with [u] except when follows [h] where it occurs in complementary distribution.  
3. [hóx] /huk/ "one"  
[karqáŋkɔ] /karqanku/ "they were"

[ʔoxjan] /uqjan/ "he drinks"

- [o]
1. Back half-open, rounded.
  2. In complementary distribution with [u, ə, ɔ] occurring in environment of [q, X].
  3. [qólqe] /qulqi/ "silver"

- [ɔ]
1. Back half-open, rounded.
  2. In complementary distribution with [u, ə, o] occurring before [ŋq].
  3. [s'ŋqoɔ] /sunquɔ/ "my heart"

### 3. Supra-Segmental Phonemes

#### (a) Stress

Stress is bound, or fixed, on the penultimate syllable of multisyllabic words; hence, it is considered a non-phonemic feature. For example, in [wási] "house" the stress occurs on the penultimate syllable; in [wasíjki] "your house" the penultimate syllable of the word remains stressed although an additional syllable, the possessive suffix [-jki], has been added to the root. In other words, the stress is fixed on the penultimate syllable of every word. Hence, stress never distinguishes one word from another; however, there are a few exceptions to this rule, for example, [ʔari] "yes" and [hakujá] "let's go then." Because of the fixed stress pattern, only the syllable final exceptions are marked in the phonemic script in this study.

(b) Vowel Lengthening

Vowel lengthening is not significant but does function to emphasise the referential meaning of the word in which it occurs. For example, [ma'na] "no" does not contrast in meaning with [mana] "no". It does, however, make the negation more emphatic. Likewise, [ka'ruŋ] "it is far" does not contrast significantly with [ka:ruŋ] ; nevertheless, the latter example does emphasise the idea of distance. Vowel lengthening is often accompanied by rise in pitch and stress.

(c) Pitch

There are three levels of pitch in Caylloma Quechua; however, because of the complex nature of intonation and the need for special auditory apparatus an adequate analysis of pitch cannot be attempted in this study. Nevertheless, there is one characteristic feature of vowel lengthening stress, and a rise in pitch which emphasises the referential meaning of a word, for example, [tʃajatsɔpúnku | æ':ntʃana u<sup>j</sup>wajókta | ] "they made (enabled)him arrive with a lot of animals." In this example the lengthening of the vowel in the first syllable of anchana, the rise in pitch, and the additional stress combine to emphasise the quantity of animals possessed.

(d) Juncture

There is one internal juncture phoneme which has four allophones. This juncture, or transitional element, is significant and therefore a phoneme, because it

functions to mark the boundaries of words by separating morphemic segments.<sup>1</sup> This phoneme has the following four allophones:

1. Stress [´]: As previously stated the regular or fixed stress pattern marks or defines phonological word. For example, [tʂeʝ konturkunáqa řimájta qaʎariŋku] "and those condors begin to speak." In this example it is easily seen how the penultimate word stress function to signal the boundaries of the words (here symbolised by spaces) which constitute the morphological forms.
2. Glottal occlusive [ʔ]: This allophone is often used in word initial position before a vowel and functions to mark the beginning of the word, for example, [hʉnt'ásqa ʔuʝwájox] "with all kinds of animals." The glottal occlusive is often difficult to hear in rapid speech and at times appears to be absent; nevertheless, when present it does often<sup>2</sup> function as a word boundary element.

---

1. Juncture is defined by Bloch and Trager 1942, p. 47 as those features of sound which accompany pauses and act as word and utterance boundary elements. There are two types of utterance internal junctures, "open" and "close". "Open" juncture involves prepausal and post-pausal transitional features within an utterance and is symbolised by spaces between words; whereas, "close" juncture refers to transition from one sound to another without a boundary element. Bloch and Trager illustrate the difference between these two transitions in the words nitrate and night-rate, the former containing "close" juncture. Utterance boundary phenomena occurring at the end /.....

3. Velarised nasal [ŋ] : When this allophone occurs in the syllable following stress it too signals the boundary of the word, for example, [kaʂáɾqaŋ úɾno] "the oven was." [ŋ] may also occur word-internally in syllable-final position as has been stated previously. This phone never occurs in syllable or word-initial position.
  
4. Devoicing [◌̥] : Often the vowel of a final syllable is devoiced in rapid speech when it occurs between voiceless consonants, for example, [řimátʂeX] "the one who makes (them) speak," [hɪnápas] "and then," and [noqápas] "I also." In rapid speech some speakers tend to lose this

---

end of utterances are called "external" or "terminal" juncture and are symbolised by three utterance final contours of pitch: terminal level, /|/, terminal falling, /↓/ and terminal rising, /↑/.

2. Rowe 1950, p. 139 states that Cuzco Quechua never has a word beginning with a vowel; hence, a glottal occlusive always precedes the initial vowel. My corpus shows this to be generally true but there are many cases where it does not occur. The glottal occlusive in word initial position does not appear to make a difference in meaning; therefore, it has not been classified as a segmental phoneme. For example, the corpus shows [(mátaX)] "and what is" and [æʔiq] "good, well." Often the glottal occlusive occurs as a word boundary element between phonetically identical vowels in word final and word initial positions. Here the glottal occlusive functions as a boundary element much like the hiatus by keeping the two syllables separate, for example, [q'atʂuXáta ʔapaspa] "carrying the grass." For this reason this sound is classified as an allophone of juncture rather than a segmental phoneme.

vowel altogether.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the utterance-internal allophones of juncture there are also two types of terminal juncture feature which signal or define the boundaries of phonological utterances.<sup>2</sup> The first of these elements is the terminal level contour which is followed by a short pause between utterances signaling that the speaker has more to say about the subject. For example, [waʎáta níŋ sorúta | pintarqorqánin tʂakiʂta | nís pa níŋ ↓] "the wallata says to the fox, I quickly painted my feet, he says." In this example the first two utterances are marked by terminal level pitch contours, [ | ], and are followed by a short pause. The final utterance is marked by a terminal falling pitch contour, [ ↓ ], which is characterised by a slowing down and a drop in pitch. This terminal juncture is followed by a longer pause and signals the completion of the idea. This pause may or may not be followed by a change of speaker. Terminal falling contours may also be used for questions, for example, [kɛʂtʂu wasíʂki káʂaŋ ↓] "is this house."<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Reyburn 1954, p. 212 points out that this phenomenon also occurs in Riobamba (Ecuador) Quechua and is responsible for some additional consonant clusters. Because devoicing is a non-significant feature in Caylloma Quechua, it does not affect the distribution of the phonemes.
  2. An utterance is defined by Pike 1947, p. 253 as a "grammatically unified linguistic statement preceded and followed by a pause." In my corpus each utterance ends with one of two types of terminal contours which signal the length of the forthcoming pause.
  3. I have noticed a terminal rising contour, [ ↑ ], which appears to be a device for changing a declarative statement into a question in which the speaker appears to be indirectly /.....

#### 4. Contrastive pairs

Some minimally and analogically contrasting pairs appear below for purposes of illustrating and proving the phonemic separation and classification of some of the most phonetically similar sounds.

##### Consonants:

/pʰ/ : /p/	/pʰukru/	"grain container; cavity"
	/pukju/	"spring, fountain"
	/naʰpʰa/	"land"
	/waʰpa/	"hen"
/m/ : /n/	/umaʃ/	"my head"
	/unaʃ/	"enough time (a lot of time)"
/t/ : /tʰ/	/tukuʃ/	"all"
	/tʰuquman/	"to the hole"
/tʃ/ : /tʃʰ/	/tʃaki/	"foot"
	/tʃʰaki/	"dry"
/tʃ/ : /tʃh/	/qutʃa/	"lake"
	/utʃha/	"dung"
/tʃʰ/ : /tʃh/	/hutʃʰuj/	"small bowl"
	/utʃha/	"dung"
/q/ : /k/	/qan/	"you"
	/kan/	"there is"

---

indirectly asking if the listener understands, for example, [hʰinaŋ həkʰutʃaqa purʰsqa | taripaŋ breawaŋ ↑] "then the mouse left; he finds the tar (doll)." In this utterance the speaker, while telling his story, appears to be asking me if I understood and followed the story. My corpus contains too few examples of this terminal contour to be able to say more; hence, I have not included this boundary element in the description.

/k/	:	/k'/	/kantʂa/	"toasted corn"
			/k'antʂa/	"light"
/q'/	:	/qh/	/q'awa/	"cow dung"
			/qhawaʃ/	"to look at"
/q/	:	/h/	/qina/	"flute"
			/hina/	"then"
/q'/	:	/q/	/ʔuq,i/	"left"
			/uqa/	"edible tubor"
/qh/	:	/q/	/aqha/	"chicha;maize beer"
			/qaqa/	"rock"
/ph/	:	/p/	/phuskasqakaman/	"until it is spun"
			/pukjuta/	"spring, fountain"
/l/	:	/ʃ/	/q'alata/	"nude"
			/waʃata/	"Andean goose"

Vowels:

/i/	:	/a/	/ima/	"what"
			/ama/	"no (prohibitory)"
/a/	:	/u/	/ama/	"no"
			/uma/	"head"
/i/	:	/u/	/niq/	"the one who says"
			/nuqa/	" I"

5. Distribution of Phonemes

(a) Syllable Structure

The syllable in Caylloma Quechua is the basic structural unit of the word and may be defined as a single phoneme or a group of phonemes possessing a nucleus with or without one or more non-nuclear or non-syllabic marginal sounds. The nucleus is always a vowel and is the peak of sonority.<sup>1</sup>

There are four types of syllable in Caylloma Quechua: a consonant plus a vowel, CV; a vowel, V; a vowel plus a consonant, VC; a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, CVC. Therefore, the syllabic formula for

---

1. This definition of the syllable is taken from Pike 1947, page.193. On p. 244, Pike defines the term nucleus as "the prominent part of a syllable or the part which is the domain of the stress or pitch."

this distribution is (C) V (C). The letters in parentheses represent optional marginal consonants or non-syllabic sounds. The following are illustrations of the syllable types:

CV:	/qara/	"alpaca or sheep skin"
V:	/uqa/	"edible tubor"
VC:	/uqjan/	"he drinks"
CVC:	/qan/	"you"

Because of the simple syllabic structure of Caylloma Quechua, it may be stated that there are no vowel clusters except in sequences of vowel plus semi-consonant occurring in rapid speech (see Section Five (c)); there are no consonant clusters occurring word-initially, nor are there consonant clusters occurring word-finally. The clusters of consonants appear to be limited to the grammatically permissible sequences of morphemes; what is more, they only occur between vowels where the final consonant of one syllable is contiguous with the initial consonant of the following syllable, for example, /karqanku/ "they were." The syllable-final /r/ clusters with the syllable-initial /q/ to form the flap plus uvular intervocalic /rq/ cluster. The following nasal plus velar /nk/ cluster illustrates the same structure.

(b) Distribution of Consonants

All consonants occur in the initial position in a word:

/p/	/patapi/	"on top of"
/pʰ/	/p,ukru/	"grain container; hole"
/ph/	/phuskasqakama/	"until it is spun"

/t/	/tuti/	"the name of a village in Caylloma"
/t'/	/t'uqjan/	"he explodes"
/th/	/thuñisqa/	"it fell"
/tʃ/	/tʃupi/	"soup made with dehydrated potatoes"
/tʃ'/	/tʃ'arki/	"dried meat (alpaca)"
/tʃh/	/tʃhuʎa/	"dew"
/k/	/kaʝ/	"this"
/k'/	/k'antʃa/	"light"
/kh/	/khutʃi/	"pig"
/q/	/qina/	"flute"
/q'/	/q,untʃa/	"oven, fireplace"
/qh/	/qhari/	"man"
/m/	/manka/	"bowl"
/n/	/nin/	"he says"
/w/	/waskata/	"rope"
/l/	/laʝqa/	"witch doctor"
/r/	/ruphaña/	"already hot"
/s/	/simi/	"mouth"
/ñ/	/ñan/	"road"
/ʎ/	/ʎaqa/	"village"
/j/	/jaku/	"water"
/h/	/hank'a/	"toasted broad beans"

All consonant phonemes except /h/ occur between vowels: <sup>1</sup>

/p/	/apita/	"cream of wheat"
/p'/	/hap'ij/	"to catch"

---

1. My corpus does not show a /th/ in inter-vocalic position; nevertheless, it is assumed that this phoneme has the same distribution as the other aspirated occlusives. Rowe 1950, p. 140 says that /th/ "has the same distribution as the other glottalised and aspirated occlusives and occurs only in syllable initial position and only once in any given word."

/ph/	/ruphaña/	"already hot"
/t/	/patapi/	"on top of"
/t'/	/mut'i/	"cooked corn"
/tʃ/	/qutʃaman/	"to the lake"
/tʃ'/	/hutʃ'uj/	"small"
/tʃh/	/utʃhata/	"dung"
/k/	/jakuta/	"water"
/k'/	/huk'utʃaqa/	"mouse"
/kh/	/mikhukusarqan/	"he was eating"
/q/	/qaqa/	"rock"
/q'/	/ʌuq,i/	"left"
/qh/	/aqha/	"maize beer"
/m/	/simi/	"mouth"
/n/	/hina/	"then"
/w/	/ruwanku/	"they do, make"
/l/	/q,alata/	"nude"
/r/	/qhari/	"man"
/s/	/asikuspa/	"he was laughing at"
/ñ/	/tʃ'uñu/	"dehydrated potatoe"
/ʎ/	/waʎata/	"wild Andean goose"
/j/	/tʃajan/	"he arrives"

Consonants occurring before other consonants:

/k/	/wiksan/	"his stomach"
/q/	/saqsa/	"old torn clothing"
/n/	/hank'a/	"toasted broad beans"
/l/	/qulqita/	"silver, money"
/r/	/sirarqan/	"he sewed"
/s/	/nispa/	"saying"
/ʎ/	/waʎpa/	"hen"

Semi-Consonants:

/w/	/wa <sup>w</sup> qin/	"his brother"
/j/	/wajtʃuta/	"Andean bird"

Consonants occurring in word final position:<sup>1</sup>

/k/	/huk/	"one"
/q/	/sumaq/	"beautiful"
/n/	/wasinman/	"to his house"
/r/	/jawar/	"blood"
/s/	/añas/	"skunk"

Semi-Consonants:

/w/	/p <sup>u</sup> ntʃa <sup>w</sup> /	"day"
/j/	/maj/	"where"

(c) Distribution of Vowels:

All three vowel phonemes occur in initial, interconsonantal and final positions.

Initial position:

/i/	/ima/	"what"
/a/	/ama/	"no"
/u/	/uma/	"head"

Interconsonantal position:

/i/	/nin/	"he says"
/a/	/ñan/	"road"
/u/	/puñuq/	"the one who sleeps"

---

1. Rowe 1950, p. 141 includes /l/ as a phoneme occurring word finally. He cites the example ch'unchul "guts". Parker 1969 also gives this same example in his dictionary and no other. My corpus does not show /l/ occurring in word final position.

Final position:

/i/	/api/	"creamed wheat"
/a/	/hina/	"then"
/u/	/waɟtʃu/	"Andean bird"

(d) Distribution of Clusters:

Vowels:

It was stated previously in Section Five (a) that except in rare cases there are no vowel clusters occurring in this dialect.<sup>1</sup> However, it appears that in rapid speech whenever a similarly articulated vowel and semi-consonant occur together, for example /u/ with /w/ or /i/ with /j/, there is a tendency toward assimilation and the non-syllabic sound blends with the syllabic sound. For example /suwa/ "thief" may be realised as [súa] and /tijaq/ "who resides" may be realised as [tíaX]. It appears that this phenomenon is restricted to the occurrence of semi-consonants /w,j/ between vowels in the stem, or root, of the word. Nevertheless, complete semi-consonant assimilation is rare because most occurrences of a vowel followed by a similarly articulated semi-consonant involve morphemic elements which necessitate the realisations of its phonemes. For example, in /wasi<sup>j</sup>/ "my house" the first person singular possessive suffix /-j/ requires the realisation of the semi-consonant /j/ in order to remain distinct from the form /wasi/ "house". A similar situation arises with /wasi<sup>j</sup>ki/ "your house" but in this

---

1. Rowe 1950, p. 139 supports this statement when he says "There are only two syllable types, CV and CVC. Two consonant phonemes never occur together in the same syllable and no syllable has more than one vowel."

example the /j/ is more susceptible to assimilation, for example, [wasíki] because of the lack of a contrast between forms like [wasíjki] and [wasíki]. Although it is very difficult to distinguish between /i/ and off-glide /j/ in rapid speech, it is still structurally important to treat these sounds as separate phonemes.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, instances of non-significant assimilation between phonemes which do not involve morpheme boundaries would account for the alternation between tiyay and tiaj "to sit; reside" and sua or suwa "thief" which Lira 1941 merely lists as synonymous forms.

Hence, because semi-consonants /j,w/ tend to function more like consonants than vowels in syllable initial positions, the only diphthongs that occur are of the off-glide variety which are composed of vowel plus non-syllabic semi-consonant:

/a <sup>w</sup> /	/ñá <sup>w</sup> saran/	"is blind"
/aj/	/ka <sup>j</sup> /	"this"
/u <sup>j</sup> /	/u <sup>j</sup> wakuna/	"animals (domesticated)"
/ij/	/tʃaki <sup>j</sup> ki/	"your foot"

---

1. This diphthong is not as easily classifiable as others. Rowe 1950, p. 139 points out that "The combination [iy] is phonetically indistinguishable from [ii] but the group is treated as if it ended in a consonant so [iy] is a preferable interpretation." (The IPA symbol [j] used in this study is equivalent to Rowe's [y]). In this description the nonsyllabic diphthong members are treated as semi-consonants because of the greater degree of closure and higher tongue position which is required for their articulation. Bloch and Trager 1942, p. 23 recommend that "since they [semi-vowel diphthong members] are nonsyllabic and have in every case a higher tongue position than the contiguous syllabic vowel, they are most satisfactorily described as semi-vowels." Inasmuch as a semi-vowel and a semi-consonant are defined identically as "a vocoid patterning as a consonant" by Pike 1950, p. 249, they are treated as synonymous terms in this study.

Consonants:

A limited number of consonant clusters occur in word internal position. These clusters are never found in any one syllable because, in fact, they inevitably extend over adjacent syllables and are bordered by vowels. Table I shows the consonant clusters which appear in the corpus. The numbers mark the clusters in the chart and identify the examples listed on the following pages.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	p	p'	t	t'	tʃ	tʃ'	k	k'	kh	q	q'	m	n	ñ	l	ʎ	s	r	w	j
k			1		2	3	4						5				6			7
q	8		9		10	11	12					13	14		15	16	17	18		19
n	20		21	22	23		24	25		26		27		28		29	30	31		
l										32										
ʎ	33	34	35																	
s	36	37	38				39	40	41	42	43			44		45				46
r	47		48				49			50	51									
w	52							53		54			55				56			
j	57		58		59			60		61	62	63	64	65		66	67			68

Examples of Consonant Clusters:

1. /huktaq/ "and one"
2. /piktʂaj/ "to chew coca"
3. /wiktʂ,usqaʎa/ "only thrown away"
4. /hukkunaman/ "to the others"
5. /hukniqpi/ "in one of the others"
6. /wiksan/ "his stomach"
7. /pukjuta/ "the fountain, spring"
8. /hukniqpi/ "in one of the others"
9. /sumaqta/ "beautiful (one)"
10. /kutimusaqtʂu/ "I will not return (preceded by negative mana)"
11. /ñnaqtʂ'a/ "comb"
12. /mitʂiqkunata/ "shepherds"
13. /waqmanta/ "once more"
14. /tʂiqnikuspa/ "hating, challenging"
15. /tʂuqluta/ "early or green corn on cob"
16. /mitʂiqʎawan/ "with the shepherds only"
17. /t'aqsaj/ "wash (clothes)"
18. /waqrawan/ "with horns, antlers"
19. /t'uqjan/ "he explodes"
20. /ñnanpi/ "in the road"
21. /tʂakinta/ "your feet"
22. /ʎant'a/ "firewood"
23. /p,untʂaʷ/ "day"
24. /pukjunku/ "their fountain, spring"
25. /hank'a/ "toasted broad beans"
26. /warminqa/ "his woman"
27. /aʎinmi/ "I am fine"
28. /qarpanña/ "already irrigates"

- |     |                               |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| 29. | /aʎinʎan/                     | "very well"   |
| 30. | /panansi/                     | "his sister (plus reported speech suffix -si)"        |
| 31. | /qanri/                       | "and you"   |
| 32. | /qulqita/                     | "money; silver"                                       |
| 33. | /waʎpa/                       | "hen"   |
| 34. | /haʎp'akunata/                | "lands"   |
| 35. | /maʎta/                       | "medium size"   |
| 36. | /nispa/                       | "saying"  |
| 37. | /hisp'aj/                     | "to urinate"  |
| 38. | /akistasarqan/                | "he was climbing"                                     |
| 39. | /iskaj/                       | "two"   |
| 40. | /misk'iʎanas/                 | "very sweet (plus reported speech variant suffix -s)" |
| 41. | /maskhan/                     | "he looks for"  |
| 42. | /kasqan/                      | "was"   |
| 43. | /wisq,aj/                     | "to close"  |
| 44. | /p'asña/                      | "girl"  |
| 45. | /wisʎa/                       | "large spoon"   |
| 46. | /wiswiʎ/                      | "filthy"  |
| 47. | /qarpaq/                      | "irrigator"   |
| 48. | /jawartaq/                    | "and blood"   |
| 49. | /kunturkunaqa/                | "the condors"   |
| 50. | /karqan/                      | "he was"  |
| 51. | /warminqa/                    | "his women"   |
| 52. | /p'untʎa <sup>w</sup> paq/    | "for tomorrow (daytime)"                              |
| 53. | /ma <sup>w</sup> k'a/         | "old, ancient"  |
| 54. | /wa <sup>w</sup> qin/         | "his brother"   |
| 55. | /p'untʎa <sup>w</sup> nintin/ | "the next day"  |
| 56. | /ña <sup>w</sup> sa/          | "blind"   |
| 57. | /maʎpitaq/                    | "where"   |

- |     |            |                                       |
|-----|------------|---------------------------------------|
| 58. | /rimaʝta/  | "and to speak"                        |
| 59. | /waʝtʃuta/ | "Andean bird"                         |
| 60. | /haʝk'a/   | "how much"                            |
| 61. | /tʃaʝqa/   | "there (it is)"                       |
| 62. | /waʝq'o/   | "landslide"                           |
| 63. | /laʝmi/    | "sacred (hill)"                       |
| 64. | /imaʝnaʎa/ | "how are you"                         |
| 65. | /unaʝña/   | "a lot of time"                       |
| 66. | /tʃaʝʎan/  | "that only"                           |
| 67. | /qatiʝsij/ | "to share in herding;<br>rounding up" |
| 68. | /tʃaʝwan/  | "with that"                           |

## CONCLUSION

The Caylloma Quechua sound system contains a total of thirty one phonemes. The segmental phonemes include twenty five consonants and three vowels while the supra-segmental or prosodic phonemes are three.

Although the triangular vowel system contains only three phonemes, there are approximately ten submembers which create a very complex phonetic system. The front vowel phoneme consists of the three allophones [i, ɨ, e] which occur in complementary distribution: [ɨ] following [h], [e] in the environment of [q] and [i] elsewhere. Although there is some free variation between [i] and [ɨ], a pattern of [ɨ] occurring in unstressed position of a word appears to be the rule, for example, [ʔíma] "what" whereas [ɨmátaX] "and what." The central phoneme has three allophones which occur in complementary distribution: [æ] in word initial position before [n] and [ʎ], [ɛ] between [tʃ] and [j] and [a] elsewhere. The back vowel phoneme has four submembers which also appear in complementary distribution: [ɔ] following [h], [o] in environment of [q] and [X], [ɔ] before [ŋq] and [u] elsewhere. As in the front-close and half-close allophones, the back-close and half-close submembers show some free variation but generally the half-open submember [ɔ] occurs in unstressed syllables.

Vowels are found to occur in syllable initial, medial and final positions.

The consonant system consists of fifteen occlusive consonants symmetrically distributed in simple, glottalised and aspirated sets, /p, p', ph, t, t', th, tʃ, tʃ', tʃh, k, k', kh,

q,q',qh/ two fricatives /s,h/, three nasals /m,n,ñ/, two laterals /l,ʎ/, one flap /r/, and two semi-consonants /w,j/. The last eight phonemes are the only voiced sounds in the consonant inventory.

The positional distributions of the consonant phonemes are as follows: in syllable initial position all consonants occur, /h/ being limited to word initial position. Minimally or analogically contrasting pairs are available to prove the phonemic status of the sounds and they have been included in this study in Section Four (a) page 40. In syllable final position within a word the following phonemes appear: /k,q,n,l,ʎ,r,s,w,j/ but in syllable and word final position only /k,q,n,s,w,j/ occur.

By far the most difficult problem of this study has been to classify the syllable final consonants. Because there are very few minimal pairs available to prove that the above sounds either contrast or are submembers of the same phoneme class, any classification of these sounds in this position must be somewhat tentative. For example, although my corpus does prove the existence of syllable initial contrasts between /l/ and /ʎ/, /q/ and /k/, /m/ and /n/, it offers little evidence of phonemic opposition between these sounds when they occur in syllable final positions. /k/ and /q/ are in opposition when they occur syllable and word finally because the realisation of the uvular /q/ and its fricative allophone [X] is dependent on the morphological forms: /-paq/ "also." /-q/ "person, agent, genitive" /-juq/ "possessor," /-raq/ "still,yet," /-taq/ "and, so." But there is no grammatical evidence to support the phonemic oppositions

between /l/ and /ʎ/ and /m/ and /n/ in syllable final positions. These realisations depend upon the complementary distribution of their allophones and often show what Rowe 1950 terms "phonemic over-lapping," that is, a neutralisation of the regular structural oppositions which occur between these sounds. These syllable final occurrences mar an otherwise simple but well structured phonemic system.

---

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

---

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

---

- BLOCH, Bernard and TRAGER, George L.: Outline of Linguistic Analysis (Baltimore 1942)
- BLOOMFIELD, Leonard: Language (New York 1933)
- CHAPMAN, William H.: Introduction to Practical Phonetics (Merstham 1971)
- COBO, Bernabé: Historia del Nuevo Mundo, Vol.IV (Seville 1890-1895)
- DOMINGUEZ, Victor C.: Pronunciación Popular en el Centro del Perú (Huancayo 1969)
- ESCOBAR, A. PARKER, G. CREIDER, J. and CERRON, R.: Cuatro Fonologías Quechuas (Lima 1967)
- GARCILASO DE LA VEGA: Comentarios Reales, Vol.III in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid 1965)
- GIFFORD, Douglas J.: "Serrano Speech: Notes on the Mestizo Dialect of S.E. Peru," Forum for Modern Language Studies Vol.II (1969), 162-179
- HARRINGTON, John P. and VALCARCEL, Luis E.: Quechua Phonetics, A short-cut to the Scientific Writing of the Language of the Incas of Peru" Revista del Museo Nacional 10, (Lima 1941), 201-214
- .....: "Phonetics of Quechua," Revista del Museo Nacional 16, (Lima 1947), 17-32
- HOGGARTH, Pauline: Bilingualism in Calca, Department of Cuzco, Peru, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews (1973)
- HOWKINS, Douglas: Phonology of San Martín Quechua, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews (1972)
- INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION: The Principles of the International Phonetic Association (London 1949)
- KUBLER, George: "The Quechua in the Colonial World" in Julian n. Steward (ed.), Handbook of South American Indians, Vol.II (Washington 1946), 331-410
- .....: The Indian Caste of Peru 1795-1940 (Washington 1952)

- LARA, Jesús: Diccionario Quéshwa-Castellano Castellano-Quéshwa (La Paz 1971)
- LASTRA, Yolanda: Cochabamba Quechua Syntax (The Hague 1968)
- LIRA, Jorge: Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español (Tucumán 1944)
- MEANS, Philip Ainsworth: Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780 (New York 1932)
- MIDDENDORF, Ernest W.: Gramática Keshwa (Madrid 1970)
- ORTEGA SOTOMAYOR, Fray Don Pedro de: "Relación del Obispado de Arequipa," in Marco Jimenez de la Espada (ed.), Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Vol. II Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid 1965), 55-59
- PARKER, Gary John: Ayacucho Quechua Grammar  
(The Hague 1969)
- .....: "La Clasificación Genética de los Dialectos Quechuas" Revista del Museo Nacional 32 (1963), 241-252
- .....: "Falacias y Verdades Acerca del Quechua," El Reto del Multilingüismo en el Perú (Lima 1972), 107-121
- PIKE, Kenneth L.: "Linguistic Problems Connected with the Translation of the Scriptures into the Languages and Dialects of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia." A mimeographed report by the American Bible Society (New York 1944)
- .....: Phonemics (Ann Arbor 1947)
- REPUBLICA DEL PERU, Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo: Población del Perú: Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos Año 5, Marzo, (1971)
- REYBURN, William D.: "Quechua I: Phonemics," International Journal of American Linguistics 20 (1954), 210-214
- ROWE, John H.: "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. II (Washington 1946) 183-330
- .....: "Sound Patterns in Three Inca Dialects," International Journal of American Linguistics 16 (1950), 137-148
- SAMARIN, William J.: Field Linguistics (New York 1967)
- SWADESH, Morris: "A Method for Phonetic Accuracy and Speed," American Anthropologist 39 (1937), 728-732

- TORERO, Alfredo: "Lingüística & Historia de los Andes del Perú y Bolivia," El Reto del Multilingüismo en el Perú (Lima 1972), 47-100
- TRAGER, George L.: "Analysis of a Kechuan Text," International Journal of American Linguistics 2 (1945), 86-96
- TSCHOPIK, Harry Jr.: Highland Communities of Central Peru (Washington 1947)
- .....: "The Aymara" in Julian H. Steward (ed.), Handbook of South American Indians Vol. II (Washington 1946), 501-573
- ULLOA MOGOLLON, Juan de: "Relación de la Provincia de Los Collaguas Para La Discrepción de Las Indias Que su Majestad Manda hacer" in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), Relaciones Geográficas de Indias Vol. II Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid 1965). 326-333
- UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE SAN AGUSTIN DE AREQUIPA: La Voz de Caylloma. No.1 July-October (1967). This is a periodical published by the Organo del Centro de Estudiantes Caylloma.
- VALCARCEL, Luis E.: Etnohistoria del Perú Antiguo 3rd ed. (Lima 1967)
- VICARIA EPISCOPAL DE CAYLLOMA: Llaqta Rikch'ariy Vol. II No.1 June (1973). This is a periodical published by the Equipo Pastoral under the auspices of the Vicaría Episcopal
- WAGLEY, Charles and HARRIS, Marvin: "A Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist 57 (1955), 428-451
- YOKOYAMA, Masako: "Outline of Kechua Structure: 1. Morphology," Language 27 (1951), 38-67

---

A P P E N D I X

---

## SAMPLE TEXTS

The following two stories were transcribed from recorded magnetic tape and are appended for the purpose of providing samples of the phonetic and phonemic script that is used in this study. The first story, "Two Brothers from Canocota," is transcribed phonetically and may represent the dialectal variation of the Quechua that is spoken in Caylloma; whereas, the second story, "The Waycho and the Fox," is rendered in phonemic script to show the structural aspects of the dialect.

Together these two stories contain 147 Spanish loan words which introduce nine consonant sounds into the Caylloma Quechua phonic system. These sounds are: the voiced occlusives /b,d,g/ and their respective fricative allophones [β,ɣ,ɣ] , the labio-dental fricative /f/, the rolled /rr/ and the voiceless variant [s̺] of the lamino-palatal semi-consonant /j/ which occurs after voiceless consonants as non-syllabic diphthong member, for example, [ts̺émpo] "time."

Spanish /e,o/ are not new sounds to the Quechua system but they are new phonemes. As has been described earlier, because these two vowels are in complementary distribution with the other front and back submembers in Caylloma Quechua, whenever a Spanish loan word is used by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals it often shows an under-differentiation of vowel phonemes which produces a peculiar dialectal variation. This kind of phonic interference phenomenon produced by Quechua-Spanish contact

has been well described by Gifford 1969 and Hoggarth  
1973.

<sup>1</sup> hox k<sup>w</sup>énto kan | <sup>2</sup> hox wa<sup>w</sup>qentiŋsɔ kanko | <sup>3</sup> karqáŋko  
<sup>4</sup> rúnaʃ tʃémpo | hox wá<sup>w</sup>qen karqan ræ<sup>l</sup>iŋ qhápaX | <sup>5</sup> hoxtaX  
pópri hínaŋ | <sup>6</sup> traβáxo maskhákoX póriŋ pópri káX wa<sup>w</sup>qéŋqa ↓  
<sup>7</sup> hox qáqa wasíŋmãŋ aloxákoŋ | <sup>8</sup> hína tʃéʃ puñúkoŋ tóta hína  
<sup>9</sup> kondurkúna tʃéʃjan tʃéʃjáqaX wasimãŋ puñoX | <sup>10</sup> hənátax tʃéʃ  
kondurkunáqa řimájta qaxariŋku | <sup>11</sup> káj poprimãŋ řima  
traβaxotátax wɛ<sup>l</sup>arisoŋ maʃpítax traβáxo kanqa ↓ <sup>12</sup> rama  
sofretʃúntʃu níspa kundurkunáqa rimanakúŋku hína | <sup>13</sup> hox  
kundúrqa níŋ | <sup>14</sup> nóX laʃópe řunakúna xéX ñáwsaraŋ | <sup>15</sup> tʃéʃpi  
řimáta hámpi káŋmãŋ | <sup>16</sup> kájpi bérði q,atʃúla káʃaŋ |  
<sup>17</sup> ræ<sup>n</sup>tʃéʃ q,atʃuláta rapáspa tʃéʃ xuyuláwaŋ sut,uʃkutʃiŋmãŋ  
ræ<sup>n</sup>tʃéʃkãŋ hámpi káʃaŋ níspa níŋ | <sup>18</sup> qampaXri níspa hox  
níŋ hoxtaX | <sup>19</sup> nóqaX xaxtaʃpi poxjúŋku tʃ,akérqaŋ | <sup>20</sup> mána  
jáku kántʃu xéX runápas uʃwápas plantápas wañuʃaŋku  
jakumánta | <sup>21</sup> tʃéʃpaX řemátax hámpi káŋmãŋ řeméʃjo kájpaX  
bařitixála káʃaŋ | <sup>22</sup> ræ<sup>n</sup>tʃéʃláwaŋ poxjúta takaʃkúŋqa  
kimsakamála aentʃéʃla jáku phawaŋqa níspa | <sup>23</sup> hənáqa  
paqarímuʃ řimáŋnápas hína tʃéʃ popriáqa qhawaʃkatʃaríkox  
hína bérðe q,atʃuŋ řima súmaX kaʃásqa bařitaxála káʃásqa ↓  
<sup>24</sup> hənáqa tʃéʃ bařitaxála raparíkun tʃéʃ bérðe q,atʃúla  
raparíkun hína pás:aŋ | <sup>25</sup> hína metʃexláwan tópaŋ hína  
tʃéʃ metʃexláta tapúkuŋ máʃ xaxtapítax káʃaŋ runakúna ñáwsa |  
<sup>26</sup> má:na nóqaX xaxtaʃpi níspa kontésta | <sup>27</sup> maʃpítax kéʃaŋ  
níspa | <sup>28</sup> nóqa púsarqosqáʃki níspa | <sup>29</sup> alóxaŋ (stansʃámpi  
páʃ pásan tókuʃ tóta | <sup>30</sup> tʃéʃjárqaŋ xaxtaŋmãŋ kapaʃokunáta  
raparqámox síla uʃwakunáta | <sup>31</sup> tʃéʃ sílapíña apaŋku | <sup>32</sup> hína  
aprupáta řuwarqaŋ tʃ,u<sup>l</sup>axápi hína qhawatatárqox ñáwsa mána  
řikhusqaŋmánta | <sup>33</sup> hənátax aprásan tʃéʃraX tʃéʃ rúna

tatántʂeX qantáqa kamatʂimosónki níspa | <sup>34</sup> entéro ʂaxtaʂata  
túkõn hampíspa qhawátʂeñ | <sup>35</sup> hínáqa tʂeǰpe yanákon un  
payáñko ñaweñ kitʂarısqamánta wakakunáta ʂamakunáta  
paqotʂáta opeXata qolqéta mikhújta tʂeǰ mikhuǰ ʂapanampáXpas  
kustálta washáta mulakunáta | <sup>36</sup> tʂeǰ wakintaX píwn pópri  
pópriñ komprometikónko kántʂa la<sup>w</sup>khaX purinankópax  
karyáʂor purinañkópax | <sup>37</sup> hína máǰ ʂaxtapitaX jáku tʂákeñ  
níspa tápon waxmánta hína tʂakáǰpi hóx ʂaxtápene | <sup>38</sup> ñtónse  
wiʂarimúǰtʂeX rim(ǰ)óta ʂapaʂánin tʂeǰpáXpas jáku horqanáǰpaX  
níspa | <sup>39</sup> hínáqas tʂeǰ ʂaxtamánta tʂeǰjañku | <sup>40</sup> hína jakúta  
jakuǰkitʂeX tʂákeñ níspa tʂeǰjan ʂaxtamãñ | <sup>41</sup> b<sup>w</sup>éno  
ři<sup>w</sup>njúnta řuřáñku řunakúna poXjuñkúta purinañkópax | <sup>42</sup> hína  
tʂeǰpi poXju semimãñ tʂeǰ ʂaritiʂáwan kimsakamáʂa takáǰkuñ  
hína jáku mantʂána ʂóxsene | <sup>43</sup> hína tʂeǰpe kásqañ ganaʂántaX  
qoʂankútaX entéro ʂaxta | <sup>44</sup> ganá<sup>w</sup> ʂakúno ganá<sup>w</sup> lanár  
entéro ésa yanaʂóta mikhújta qolqéta | <sup>45</sup> hína wakintaX  
píwn komprometikónko ʂujwakúna qatiǰsinámpax karyáʂor  
kanañkópax | <sup>46</sup> tʂajapúñku estansʂañkúmãñ | <sup>47</sup> tʂajatʂepúñku  
má:ntʂána ʂujwajóXta wakájoX ʂamájoX opixájoX paqotʂájoX  
hunt'ásqa ʂujwajóX mulájoX kapaʂújoX | <sup>48</sup> hínataX tʂeǰpe  
wasita trapaxáñku wakintaX kantʂáta la<sup>w</sup>khañku hína |  
<sup>49</sup> tʂeǰpi qhápaX kutírqañ wa<sup>w</sup>qénta atipárqañ | <sup>50</sup> tʂeǰ  
wa<sup>w</sup>qéntaX noqápas řiʂasáXtaX ʂatipawáñmãñ noqáta noqápas  
tʂeǰ hínata ʂaparqamusáXtaX níspa | <sup>51</sup> határeñ hína tápon  
máǰ qáqa wasipe puñurqáñki néñ | <sup>52</sup> tʂeǰʂápi wiʂañ |  
<sup>53</sup> hínáqa tʂeǰ qáqa wasiñmãñ puñúkon tʂeǰ qáqa wasipe |  
<sup>54</sup> hínataX kondurkúna tʂeǰ hínata tʂeǰjan hína | <sup>55</sup> řimatátaX  
qojáson káǰ poǰrimãñ níspa řimáñku | <sup>56</sup> mána hóx ʂaxtamãñ  
káǰ qóri astáta qólqe ʂastáta qojaǰkúson pajmãñqa níspa  
řimáñko hína | <sup>57</sup> qánri noqátaX káǰ qóri qaráta qólqe

qaráta reyalon qoja<sup>58</sup> kúsax | hóx kundúrqa níñ |  
<sup>59</sup> tutamantantínqa paqarísqa tarúka qára tarúkaX waXráwan  
tšéjqaqa wasip | <sup>60</sup> hínataX tšéj tšéjta ʔaparikúspa  
pásañ hóx lomašata wasápan tšéjpe ʔújwa mētšex kašásqa  
tšéj ušwakunáta mētšesqakun tšéj runánta řikhunámpax |  
<sup>61</sup> tarúka waXráwan tšura<sup>62</sup> kúkox ʔumáqmāñ qaraqwántax  
kixi<sup>63</sup> kúkox hína | hóxta alqokúna kořiřimōñ hína tarúka  
kutírqox hína tarúka phawáron | <sup>64</sup> hínataX ʔunájña tšéjkan  
hína warméñqa púron tapukapúspa | <sup>65</sup> manátšu pasárqañ kájta  
hóx qhári níspa | <sup>66</sup> tšéj mētšexkunáta tapúkox hína ari  
pasáñmi | <sup>67</sup> hóx qhári níspa wasaparqámūñ hína purimušárqañ  
kašneXáta hína alqokúna qatíríñ hína tarúka kombertókukun  
hína | <sup>68</sup> tarúka pásañ alqokúna tšenkariťšen níspa wířañ  
<sup>69</sup> hína tšéjpe tokúkox tšéj kwénto | <sup>70</sup> tšéjse tarukáqa  
řunamántas kutírqañ embiřjúsó kajmánta | <sup>71</sup> tšéjme sšempre  
nenkupún | embiřjúsó tarúka hína waXrasápa níspa |  
<sup>71</sup> tšéjpe tšéj kwénto tukúkox | ]

## Two Brothers from Canocota

### Translation

(1) There is a story. (2) It is said there were two brothers. (3) They lived a long time ago. (4) One brother was rich. (5) The other was poor. (6) Then the brother who was the poor one went looking for work. (7) He stayed in a cave. (8) Then, there he slept the night. (9) Condors arrived at the cave to sleep. (10) And so those condors began to speak. (11) What work shall we tell this poor man about and where will there be work? (12) "Let him not suffer," said the condors to each other. (13) One condor said, (14) "In my domain all the people have gone blind (one by one). (15) What cure could there be there? (16) Here there is green grass. (17) Taking only that grass he should make drops with a little juice. That is the cure." (18) "And yours" says the other. (19) "In my village their (the people's) spring (has) dried up. (20) There is no water and all the people and animals and plants are dying from lack of water. (21) What might be the cure for that? The remedy for this is just this rod. (22) With that he will strike the spring three times and water will flow," he says. (23) Then, as it was morning the poor one began to look about (here and there) for the green grass. How pretty it was! The little rod was there too. (24) Then he left taking just the green grass and the little rod. (25) Then he met a shepherd and he asked the shepherd where the people were who were blind. (26) "Not in my village" he replied. (27) "Where is it?"

he asked. (28) "I will take you," he said. (29) He spent the whole night at the man's ranch. (30) They arrived at the village. They took horses and saddles. (31) They brought (them) mounted. (32) And the blind man, after not being able to see, began to look (see) around. (33) So, that man greets him saying "our father has sent you." (34) he cured the whole village and made them able to see. (35) There he earned a lot. For opening their eyes they paid him cattle, llamas, alpacas, sheep, money, food, bags, ropes and mules. (36) The rest promised to build a wall (corral) and they left laden. (37) Once more he asked where the village was where the spring had dried up, and again they tell him. (38) "Then advise them that I am carrying the remedy for that too to (draw) get water," he said (39) now they arrive from that village. (40) "Your spring has dried up," he said when he arrived. (41) Well, the people had a meeting to go to the spring. (42) There he strikes the mouth of the spring with the little rod three times and water flows forth. (43) Then, there it was, the whole village gave him what he had earned. (44) Herds of cattle, herds of alpaca. All that he earned (and) food (and) money. (45) And the rest of the peasants promised to share in driving the animals to carry it (all). (46) They arrived at his ranch. (47) They arrived with many animals: cattle, llamas, sheep, alpacas, all kinds of animals, mules, horses. (48) There the rest worked at his house and built the wall (corral). (49) The rich one returned and (found) his brother was ahead of him. (50) That brother said, "I also will go. You may have beaten me, (but) I will

bring back the same as you." (51) He got up and asked, "where is the cave you slept in?" (52) "just there," he advised. (53) So (he went) to that cave. He slept in that cave. (54) And so the condors arrived in the same way (as before). (55) "What can we offer to this poor one?" they said. (56) "Not a village, (but) to him let us give this gold and silver antler," they said (57) "And you?" "And I will give him this gold and silver (deer) skin," (58) the other condor said. (59) The following morning he awoke (in that cave) with the deer skin and antlers. (60) So he took them and went up a steep hill so that he could be seen. There was a shepherd who was watching his sheep. (61) He placed the antlers on his head and wrapped the (deer) skin around himself. (62) Then dogs came running and the deer ran away. (63) So for a long time he was lost and his wife asked, (64) "Did not a man pass by here?" (65) She asked those shepherds who then said, "yes, he passed by." (66) "A man climbed the hill and was coming this way (when) dogs began to chase him and he changed into a deer." (67) "The deer ran away and the dogs lost it" he told her. (68) So, the story ends there. (69) The deer was the man who became envious. (70) Therefore, they always say that an envious man is like a deer with big horns. (71) The story ends there.

The Waycho and the Fox

<sup>1</sup> /huk tʃimpukunapi suru kampupi pasiasarqan ↓ <sup>2</sup> hina huk  
 waʃtʃu qaqa patapi silbasarqan wisu wisu nispa ↓ <sup>3</sup> hinaspa  
 suru tapun napaʃkun waʃtʃuta bʷinus dias kumpadri waʃtʃu  
 nispa ↓ <sup>4</sup> hinan waʃtʃuta kuntistan bʷinus dias kumadri sura  
 nin ↓ <sup>5</sup> hina ima sumaqta silbasqanki nin ↓ <sup>6</sup> hina waʃtʃu  
 kuntistan arí sumaqta silbani nin ↓ <sup>7</sup> nuqapas silbaʃta  
 atimantʃu nin suraqa | <sup>8</sup> hinata kunsigutakun waʃtʃu surata  
 paqarin pʷuntʃaʷpaq apakamuwaqtʃu aguxata tʃaʃmanta  
 qʷaʃtuta algudunmanta u wilmamanta phuskasqakaman  
 qʷaʃtu pʷuntʃaʃta | <sup>9</sup> tʃaʃwan siraʃkiman simiʃkita sirariʃkiman  
 tʃaʃqa tʃaʃ nuqa hinan silbajuq nin ↓ <sup>10</sup> hina kuntintu suruqa  
 pasatamun | <sup>11</sup> i waʃtʃuta kasqan qaqa patapi kidakun hina |  
<sup>12</sup> huk urqu witʃaʃtaña akista tʃaʃta akistasarqan puñunan  
 qaqa tʷuquman no ↑ <sup>13</sup> tʃaʃ tarirqun huk qʷaʃtuta i tʃaʃniq  
 ñanpi huk aguxatapaspas taruʃan hina | <sup>14</sup> suru kuntintu pasan  
 puñuq ↓ <sup>15</sup> hinaspa tutaʃamanta patʃa paqarin | <sup>16</sup> hinaʃata  
 suruqa waʃtʃuta maskhasarqan mana manaraq waʃtʃu kasqatʃu  
 hina ↓ <sup>17</sup> timpranutaraq prisintakaman waʃtʃuqa ↓ <sup>18</sup> hinas  
 ubidʃinti kasqanki nin waʃtʃu surata hina | <sup>19</sup> waʃtʃu siran  
 sirarqun siminta | <sup>20</sup> hinaspaqa iskaʃninku silbanku igʷalta  
 hina ↓ <sup>21</sup> hina waʃtʃuqa jasta unaʃña kasarqanku silbakuspa  
 aligri pasiasaranku qaqa kʷucun hina | <sup>22</sup> jasta parapas  
 hamuña tʃiqʃina waʃtʃupas pasapun hina | <sup>23</sup> dispidinkus  
 pasapunku hina ↓ <sup>24</sup> suraqa mitʃiqkunata fastidʃakuspa  
 purisarqan | <sup>25</sup> hinaspa huk añaʃta rikurqun puntʃuna  
 awasaqta hina ↓ <sup>26</sup> awasarqa pura añaqa parata qhawarispas ↓  
<sup>27</sup> hinaspa iskaʃnin istaka ñaʷpaqmanta narqakaman  
 sirakama hina | <sup>28</sup> tʃaʃ istaka imbʷilbirqan tʃaʃ istarqusqa

añas kidakun hina | <sup>29</sup> asipajan suraqa hina simi /ik'irqukun ↓  
<sup>30</sup> tšaj simi /ik'rqukun | <sup>31</sup> hina kasqanta wajtšu kutirin  
hina | <sup>32</sup> maskhan waqajukuspa hina mana tarinitšu kumpadri  
wajtšuta ↓ <sup>33</sup> piru hina tšajmantaqa pasapun kasqanta qaqa  
t'uqunman tristi suraqa ↓ /

## The Waycho and the Fox

### Translation

(1) Once upon a time a fox was passing through a field.  
(2) Then a waycho was whistling on top of rock, wishuu wishuu. (3) So the fox greets the waycho, "good morning, friend waycho." (4) Then the waycho answers, "good morning, friend fox." (5) Then he says, "how prettily you whistle." (6) Then the waycho replies, "yes, I whistle beautifully." (7) "I too would (like) to be able to whistle," the fox says. (8) The waycho (says) to the fox, "then for tomorrow morning you should get a needle and some thread made of cotton or wool that is well spun. (9) With this I could sew up your mouth; then, if I could sew you up, you will whistle like me." (10) So the fox leaves happily, (11) and the waycho remains seated on top of a rock. (12) The fox goes up to the top of a hill to sleep in his hole (cave) in a rock. (13) He suddenly finds (some)thread and a needle there in the road. (14) Then the fox goes away to sleep. (15) Afterwards dawn begins to break. (16) Then the fox looks for the waycho but he was not yet there. (17) The waycho appears (while it is) still early. (18) The waycho says to the fox, "you are obedient." (19) So the waycho sews up his mouth. (20) Then the two whistle alike. (21) For a long time they whistle; happily they went around a rock. (22) Now it begins to rain and hail and the waycho leaves. (23) They say good-bye and go away. (24) The fox goes and(along the way)he bothers the shepherds. (25) Then he sees a skunk who is weaving a poncho. (26) The skunk

is hurriedly weaving and begins to notice the rain.

(27) Then there are just the two, and the spindle shot forward from behind. (28) That spindle wraps around (the skunk); that skunk remains wrapped up. (29) The fox laughs; then his mouth suddenly rips open. (30) That mouth suddenly rips. (31) Then he (the fox) returns to the same spot where the waycho was. (32) While crying he looks for (but) he cannot find (his) friend the waycho. (33) But then the fox sadly goes away to his hole in the same rock.