

**ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IPA**

# Shipibo

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The Shipibo language is spoken by about 30,000 people in the Ucayali River valley, in the Upper Amazon watershed in the central eastern part of Peru. The language is sometimes also called Shipibo-Conibo after the two main previously distinct ethnic groups which form its speakers. It is a member of the Panoan family and thus is related to such languages as Capanahua, Amahuaca and Chacobo. Panoan languages are principally found in Peru but the family also has members in Bolivia and Brazil. This description is based on the speech of the second author, a 30-year-old male from the village of Dos Unidos de Pachitea. The Río Pachitea flows into the Ucayali, which itself forms one of the major headwaters of the Amazon.

## Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t					k	(ʔ)
Affricate			ts	tʃ				
Nasal	m		n					
Fricative	β		s	ʃ	ʂ			h
Approximant	w				r	j		

p	'popo	'owl (sp.)'	t	to'to	'dots on body'	k	'koko-	'eat fruit'
m	'momo	'fish (sp.)'	ts	'tsotso-	'chew on bone'	tʃ	'tʃomo	'jar'
β	'βoko	'small intestine'	n	'nono	'swim'	h	'hoho-	'bark'
w	'wano-	'get married (of man)'	s	'so-	'swell'	ʃ	'ʃoʃo	'bastard'
			ʃ	'ʃoko	'a little'	j	'jojo-	'speak'
			r	'roro-	'break into pieces'	ʔ	'toʔati	'shotgun'

The chart above shows the consonant phonemes of Shipibo. The glottal stop is placed in parentheses in the table as it does not appear to be phonemic. It occurs predictably before utterance-initial vowels and at morpheme boundaries when a stressed open monosyllable is followed by a vowel-initial item, as in /'to/ 'pop' + /ati/ (nominalizer) = ['toʔati]. Utterance-final stressed vowels are also followed by glottal stop. The full statement of its distribution requires further research.

## Vowels

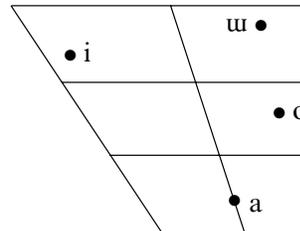
Shipibo has a system of four oral vowels, each with a nasalized counterpart. A vowel following a nasal consonant is also nasalized but such vowels have different phonological behavior from underlying nasalized vowels. Their nasalization is not marked in the examples.

### Oral vowels

i	'kini	'hole'
a	'kani-	'went (remote past)'
o	'koni	'eel'
u	'kuni	'whisker, beard'

### Nasalized vowels

ĩ	ru'kĩ	'nose'
ǎ	jǎ'kō	'blue, green'
ǫ	'jōpa	'chameleon (sp.)'
ũ	jũ'kuũ	'soft, smooth'



## Stress

Stress must be considered distinctive in Shipibo, although there are strong regularities. For example, in bisyllabic nouns stress regularly falls on the second syllable if that is closed or has an underlying nasalized vowel, otherwise it falls on the first: e.g. /'βawa/ 'parrot', vs. /mũ'tsis/ 'nail', /mǎ'sa/ 'heron' or, by a productive process, /βa'wǎ/ 'parrot (ergative)'. However, there are exceptions to this pattern, such as /po'po/ 'cocona fruit', /ta'sa/ 'basket (kind)', /ka'puu/ 'alligator'.

## Conventions

The stops, affricates and nasals have the pronunciations expected from their descriptions, except for special processes that apply to certain high-frequency morphemes with underlying /k/. In these, a voiced velar approximant or fricative is heard; the affected forms include a 'hearsay' clitic /-ki/ and the auxiliary /iki/. /f/ and /s/ are both produced with a postalveolar constriction but /f/ has a flatter profile across the tongue, whereas /s/ has a grooved channel. They might be distinguished as being laminal and apical respectively. /β/ is most typically a bilabial fricative with the lips spread and making contact at their left and right margins, however its production includes stop, affricate and approximant variants, [b, bβ, β]. Stopped variants are most likely to occur as onsets to word-initial stressed syllables, and approximants as onsets to non-initial unstressed syllables. The symbol /r/, chosen for its simplicity, also represents a highly variable segment. A common intervocalic variant is [ɹ], sometimes with a sufficiently close constriction to generate some frication or to become definitely a fricative suggestive of [z]. /r/ may also be pronounced as a post-alveolar flap. On occasion,

especially as onset to a stressed syllable, it is pronounced with pre-stopping, forming an affricate [d͡z], or a pre-stopped approximant [d͡ɹ]. In the transcribed passage below, IPA symbols for ‘retroflex’ consonants, [ɻ, ɽ, ʒ] have been used to represent the approximant, flap and fricative variants. The approximants /w, j/ are nasalized when they precede a nasalized vowel and may come close to being pronounced as [ɲ, ɲʷ] respectively. /w/ is a lightly rounded labial-palatal approximant [ɰ] before /i, ĩ/, a rounded labial-velar approximant [w] before /a, ā/, and as an unrounded velar approximant [ɰ] before /u, ũ/. It does not occur before /o, õ/, nor does /j/ occur before /i, ĩ/.

None of the Shipibo vowels is fully peripheral; more centralized variants frequently occur in closed syllables. /u/ is a high back unrounded vowel after labial and velar consonants, but can be fronted to [i] after coronals, especially /t, n, s/. Nasalization spreads from a nasalized vowel to a preceding vowel when /w, j/ or no consonant intervenes, e.g. /βa'wā/ ‘parrot (ergative)’ is [βā'wā], but /βa'βā/ ‘grandchild (ergative)’ is [βa'βā]. In connected speech, two adjacent vowels may merge into a single syllable, with the first losing its syllabicity. If the vowels are /i/ and /a/ the two may become [e]. When two unstressed vowels are adjacent, the second is often deleted. Unstressed vowels may also be devoiced or completely elided between two voiceless obstruents.

### Transcription of recorded passage

The transcription below is a relatively broad phonetic transcription of a spontaneous re-telling of the story of the North Wind and the Sun traditionally used in Illustrations of the IPA. Because it varies from the customary version in some ways an English translation is included after the orthographic text which follows. The major allophonic variants referred to above are shown in the transcription, as well as some of the cross-segmental effects found in spontaneous speech, but not all phonetic details are indicated. In particular, fluctuations in vowel quality are not noted, although desyllabification or devoicing is noted where it seems salient. The weakened allophones of /k/ are represented by [ɣ]. Major breaks (||) indicate a pause and/or a significant re-setting of pitch level; minor breaks (|) indicate shorter pauses occurring within a larger prosodic unit. False starts requiring repairs made in the course of telling the story are marked off by { }.

wus'tioɾa 'nwtu.ɻõyi i'kayɪ || jo'tā βu'tā 'βadzɻi 'nokɔanani. || ha no'kɔaanaʃki |  
'jojo ikana iyɪ 'hāi. || hatīāyi | βa'dzɻi | 'joija iyɪ “{waɾa 'kofɪ iyɪ} waɾa k'kin  
'kofɪki 'mia iyɪ” aɣi. || tīā has'kakutīāyi 'jotamā 'joija “waɾa 'kofɪɾiβi ɣi”. ||  
hatīāki 'hāi o'nātima ika iyɪ | {'tsõfamākɻ} || 'tsoɻfamāyɻ kɻkɻ 'kofɪ iyɪ i'šõ. ||

hatīā has'kayutīāyi || {ha} ha'i | 'sinayanāi tʃā'kayūβiyɪ || 'hɔa iyɪ  
wus'tioɾa 'honi. || 'hɔai 'ʔõikanayɪ i'ɣa iyɪ, wus'tioɾa 'honi || kɻ'kɻ kuʃ'to tʃo'pa  
sa'wuja. || hatīā 'haskaɾa õitaanāyi, || 'jotamāyi 'βaɻi a'ka iyɪ || “'dzɻama nuno  
nõ o'nāti ayu 'tsoɻajarɻ kõ 'kofɪ iyɪ i'šõ. || 'tsõki ɔa 'honi | kuʃ'to tʃo'pa |  
ho'pumi, | 'haɾa iyɪ ki'kɻ 'kofɪ 'honi” iyɪ i'ka iyɪ, || jo'tā. || hatīā βa'ɾi “'tanano  
a'wu” aɣi a'ka iyɪ. ||

jāi ha jo'tā | ʔi'kɻ || ko'fɻ d.ɻaβi'kɻ | 'hāpari 'puoai. || 'hāšõ ki'kiāyɻ 'šõ a'ka iyɪ,  
ha'wū || 'kurū 'suñawū kofɪ 'suña {aɣa iyɪ} ki'kiāyɻ 'šõ aɣi. || ha 'šõ aɣayɪ  
i'ka iyɪ 'honi, || ha ma'tsɻ a'kayɪ | ha'tjākaja 'kikini 'ʃuɻikikainjawn tʃo'pāβi, |  
ma'tsɻ? a'ka. || 'haskatai 'õitaanayɪ || moa jo'tā i'ka iyɪ moa ma'saβira fi'nākɻ  
'jotamaa moa 'haskati | 'ʃuɻiβainaitiā. || {tiā} 'hāiɔo || 'βaɻi joiʃokoa iyɪ “una  
ma | ʔati'pājamayw, | 'dɾama 'mɻ | 'tanaʃoyota” aɣin. ||

has'kaywitiāyi | βa'dzī | a'ka iyi | hawū βuɔ tʃo'puyī, || hawū 'βuro tʃoppw a'kōʃamāyī 'oīkī. || ha moa 'βuɔ 'tʃopwaīṛiβi | kofī'aīṛiβi moa 'kīyī 'ʃanai | 'tunaitiāṛōyi i'ka iyi | 'honiyi 'kikini 'onitsai. || ha 'onitsayīyi ʃa'nā a'kayī, ha 'onitsayī a'ka iyi ha | kuʃ'to tʃopa 'potayī. || ha kuʃ'to tʃopa 'potai 'ointaanāyi, || 'matsi i'ka iyi, || haī 'jojo iyi 'i'kō ɹyi mia 'kofī iyi | βa'tī, | ramaparira ũ mi ikoāyū 'kofī" | ikiyi i'ka iyi, || "jo'tā, | jo'tā."

### Orthographic version: Yotan betan Bari Iní

The orthography is that used in recent Shipibo literacy materials; that used in the bilingual dictionary of Lorient, Lauriault and Day (1993) differs in a few details.

Westíora neteronki iká iki Yotan betan Bari nokoanani. Ja nokoananašhki yoyo ikana iki jain. Jatianki Barin yoiya iki, 'Eara koshi iki} eara kikin koshiki mia iki' akin. Jatian jaskáketianki Yotaman yoiya iki, 'Eara koshiribi iki'. Jatian jain onantima iká iki {tsonshamankin} tsoashamanki kikin koshi iki išhon.

Jatian jaskáketianki {ja} jain sinakanani chankákenbiki joa iki westíora joni. Joai oinkanaki iká iki, westíora joni kikin keštó chopá sawéya. Jatian jaskara ointaananki, Yotamanki Bari aká iki, 'Rama neno non onanti jake tsoakayarin ikon koshi iki išhon. Tsonki oa joni keštó chopá jopémai, jara ikai kikin koshi joni' iki iká iki, Yotan. Jatian Barin: 'Tananon awé!' akin aká iki.

Jatian ja Yotan koshin rabikin janpari peoi. Jainšhon kikiankin šhon aká iki, jawen keen senenain, jawen koshi senenainkin {aká iki} kikiankin šhon akin. Ja šhon akáki iká iki joni, ja matsin akáki jatiankaya kikini sheikikaini jawen chopanbi, matsin aká. Jaskatai ointaananki moa Yotan iká iki moa masábira shinankin Yotaman ja moa jaskati sheibainaitian. {Jatian} jainšhon Bari yoishokoa iki, 'Enra moa atipanyamake, rama min tanashokota' akin.

Jaskáketianki Barin aká iki jawen bero chopekin, jawen bero chopekin jakonshamankin oinkin. Ja moa bero chopeainribi koshainribi moa kikiankin šhana tenaitianronki iká iki joniki kikini onitsai. Ja onitsakinki šhanan akáki, ja onitsakin aká iki ja keštó chopá potakin. Ja keštó chopá potai ointaananki, matsi iká iki, jain yoyo iki, 'Ikon riki mia koshi Bari, ramaparira en mia ikoanke koshi' ikiki iká iki, 'Yotan, Yotan'.

### Free translation: The Yotan Wind and the Sun

It is said that one day the Yotan Wind and the Sun met each other. Meeting each other, they talked there. Then the Sun said, 'I am stronger than you.' And the Yotan Wind answered 'I am strong too.' At that point it was not known which one was the strongest.

While they were standing there discussing, a man came along. They saw a man coming wearing very heavy clothes. Seeing that, the Yotan Wind told the Sun 'Now we have to know who is the strongest. Whoever makes that man take off the heavy clothes will be the strongest one.' Then the Sun answered 'Let's try!'

The Yotan Wind praising himself loudly went first. He blew very hard, with all his will, with all his strength. As he blew, the man felt the cold but, instead, he tightened his clothes even more. Seeing that, the Yotan Wind became worried because the man wrapped himself even more tightly in his clothes. Then he told the Sun 'I can't anymore, now you try'.

Then the Sun opened his eyes; he opened his eyes in order to see well. When his eyes were opened already, because of his look the man felt the heat and got desperate. Getting desperate with the heat, the man took off his clothes. Seeing that he was taking

off his heavy clothes, the Cold Wind said: 'Sun, you are really strong. From now on I recognize you as the strongest'.

### **Acknowledgements**

This Illustration was prepared as a result of financial support from the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology which brought all three authors together in Leipzig. The assistance of the National Science Foundation is also acknowledged for providing funding through grant BCS-9817345 to Ian Maddieson for research on the phonetic structures of endangered languages.

### **Reference**

LORIoT, J., LAURIAULT, E. & DAY, D. (1993). *Diccionario Shipibo-Castellano*. Lima: Ministerio de Educacion and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.