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Awa-Kwaiker: An outline grammar of a Colombian/Ecuadorian language, with a cultural sketch

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The University of Texas at Austin, 1992

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AWA-KWAIKER: AN OUTLINE GRAMMAR OF A COLOMBIAN/ECUADORIAN LANGUAGE, WITH A CULTURAL SKETCH

by

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DISSERTATION

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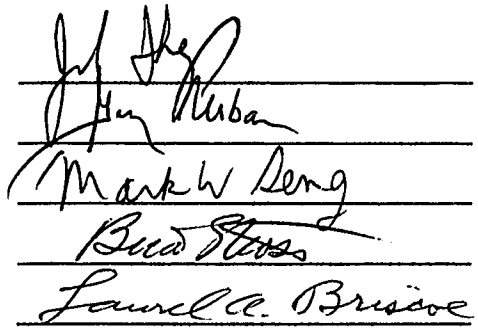

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This dissertation describes the form and function of the Awa language. It begins with a general view of the Awa's environment and culture as background information.

Phonetics and phonology comprise the main focus of the dissertation. Spectrographic analysis provides the essential support of the phonetic study. Spectrograms demonstrate the existence of voiceless vowels in Awa. The inventory of phonemes is shown with the corresponding realisation rules.

Next, an analytical sketch of morphology and syntax examines the grammatical categories with some examples.

Morphemes are classified according to their function in words. Awa morphology is agglutinative and there is a wealth of verbal suffixation. Word order is SOV in Awa, and the most important element of the sentence is marked by the emphatic suffix *-ne*.

Finally, a narrative in which language, culture, and society interact is examined. The discursive mechanisms used by the Awa in story telling show an easy movement of events throughout the story.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

A	Area	HZ	Hertz
ACC	Accusative	IMP	Imperative
ABL	Ablative	IND	Indirect
ADJ	Adjective	INT	Interrogative
ADV	Adverbial	KHZ	Kilo-Kertz
ALL	Allative	L	Length
AP	Allative phrase	LOC	Locative
ASP	Aspect	N	Noun
AUX	Auxiliar	NEG	Negative
BOR	Borrowed word	NP	Noun phrase
C	Consonant	NUMB	Number
C	Velocity of sound	PASS	Passive
COMIT	Comitative	PERS	Person
CONJ	Conjunction	PL	Plural
CPS	Cycles per second	POS	Possessive
D	Direct	POT	Potential
DU	Dual	PRES	Present
EMP	Emphatic	PROG	Progressive
EN	Enclitic	QUEST	Question
EXIST	Existential	RED	Reduplication
F	Frequency	S	Sentence
F_n	Formant n	SP	Suffixal phrase
FUT	Future	STA	Stative

SUBJ	Subject	V	Volume
V	Verb, vowel	VP	Verb phrase

/ /	Enclose phonological representation
[ ]	Enclose phonetic representations
( )	Enclose optional material
{ }	Enclose morphological representation
---→	Becomes (in phonological rules)
/__	In the environment
~	Alternates with
~	Nasal (over a vowel)
.	Syllable boundary
'	Primary stress
+	Positively specified for the feature
-	Negatively specified for the feature
#	Boundary of distributional word
°	Voiceless vowel (under a high vowel)
C°	From 0 to any anumber of consonants
.	Retroflex (under a grapheme)
▲	Male
o	Female
┌─┐	Is the sibling of
└─┘	Is married to

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This outline grammar of the Awa language has been in the planning stage since 1983. A previous work was done in 1985 and it constitutes the basis and the pilot study for the present research.

Before starting with the structure of the language itself, it is important to consider the cultural background, past and present, of the Awa language and people. Language can never be effectively studied apart from its cultural setting. This is the main reason to include in chapter III a compendium about the Awa culture from a perspective of other writers and from my own experience as a result of considerable observation and interaction with this group. The cultural background shows how the Awa have had different contacts with other groups from which they have received cultural influences reflected in their language. This fact explains the difficulty of an accurate linguistic and cultural classification of this group.

Linguistic analysis of the Awa language, mainly in the chapter of phonetics and phonology, follows different

approaches from descriptive to transformational grammar, and from theoretical to pragmatic methodology. The use of the spectrographic analysis was important to substantiate the existence of controversial phonemes considered atypical in the languages spoken in the area.

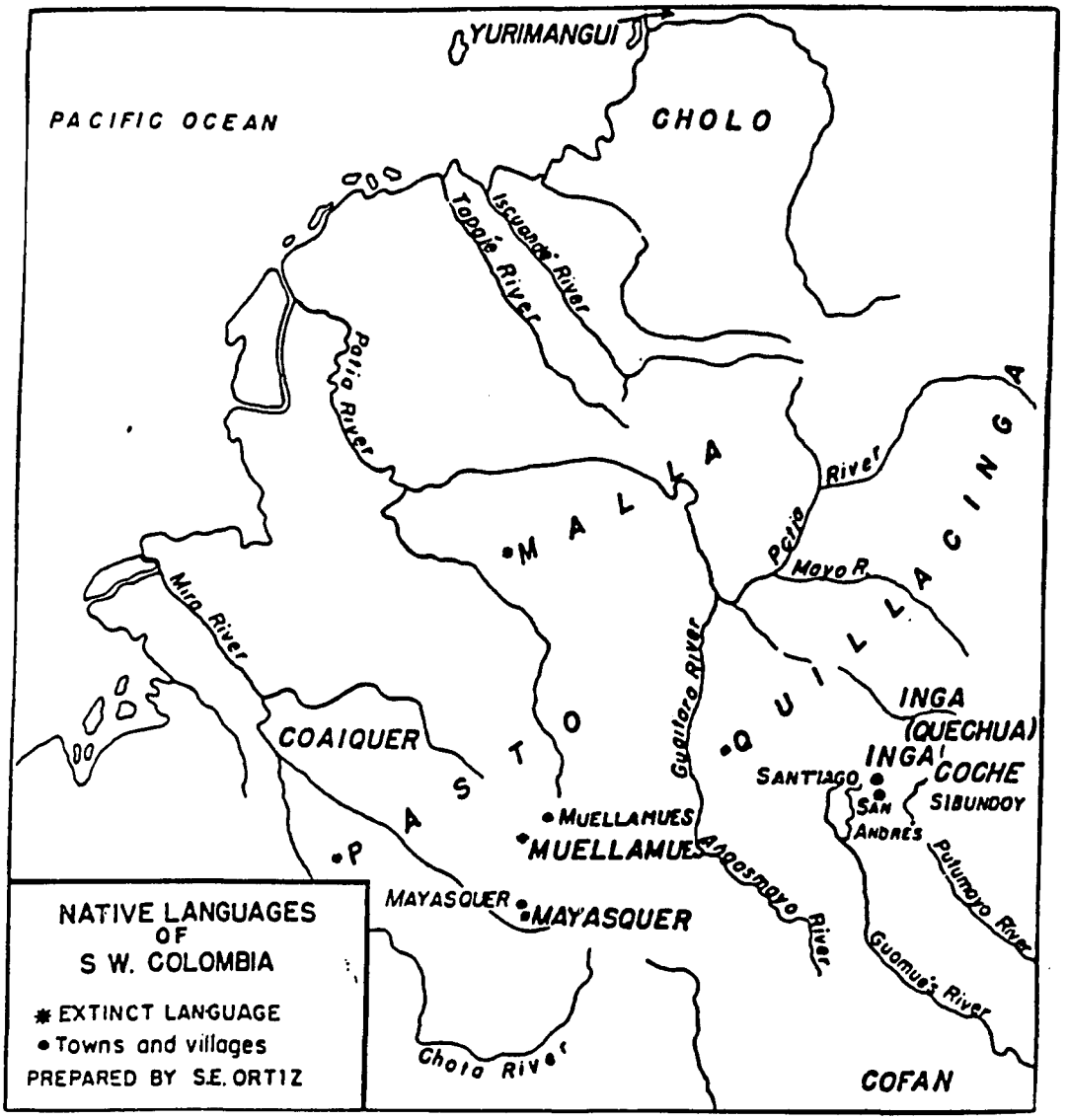
1.1 The Awa people

An Amerindian group called **Kwaiker** lives in the Pacific lowlands of Colombia and Ecuador. The group calls itself **Awa** or **Inkal Awa**, names that mean "people of the mountains." The Awa group has a common cultural heritage.

1.2 Geographic location

The territory is located between 1 and 2 degrees north latitude, and 78 and 79 west longitude. In Colombia they live in the municipalities of Barbacoas, Cumbal, Ricaurte, Mallama, Roberto Payán, and Tumaco in the department of Nariño. In Ecuador, the Awa inhabit mainly the Maldonado parish in the province of Carchi, Lita, La Güaña, Güalpi, and Plan Grande. Ortiz (1946a:967-968) describes the boundaries of the Awa territory as follows:

> On the north, the left bank of the Guabo River to its confluence with the Cuaiquer



Map 1

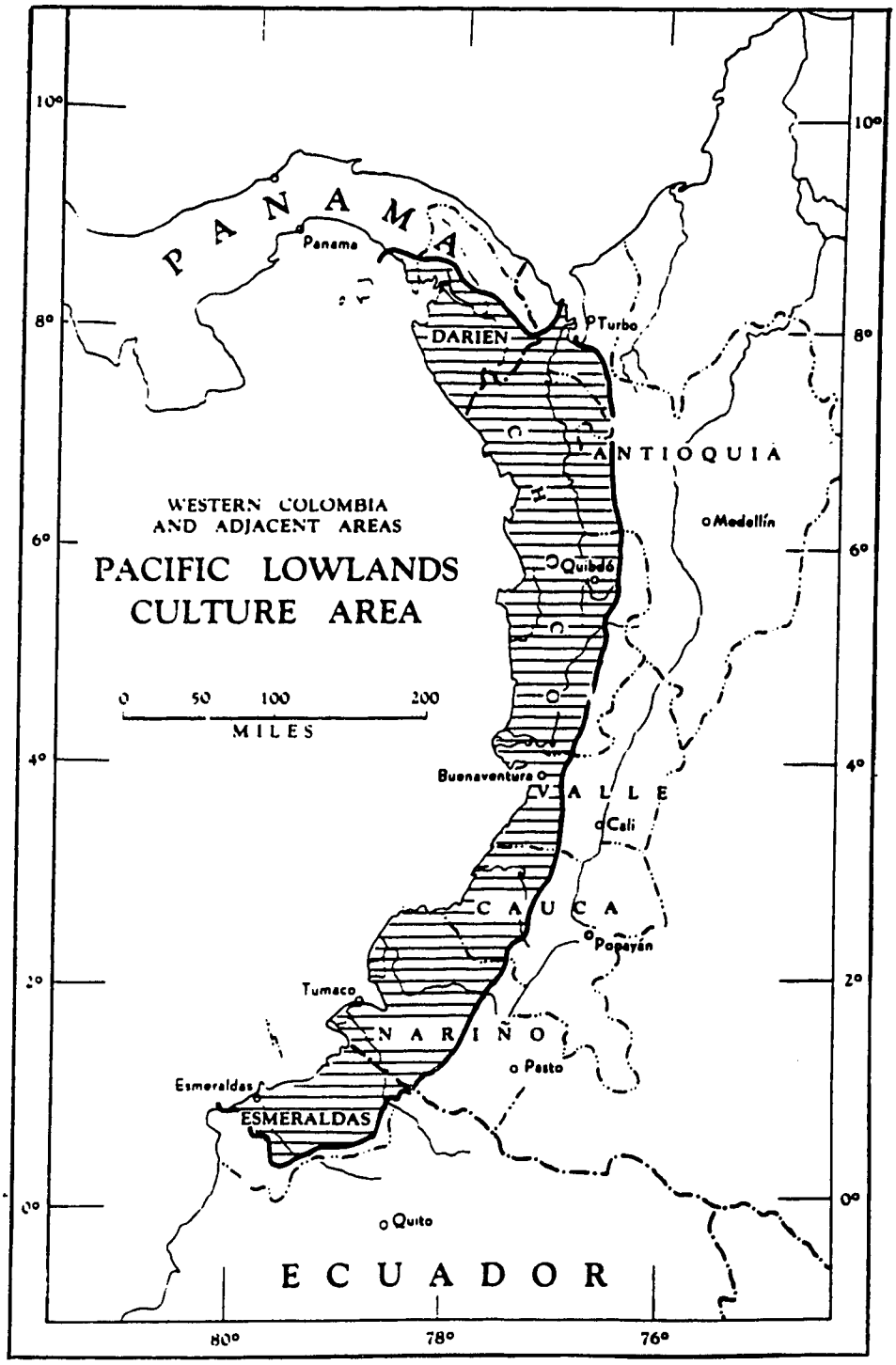
Taken from Ortiz 1946

> River, one of the major affluents of the Mira River; on the south, the banks of the San Juan River, also an affluent of the Mira; to the region called Mayasquer; and on the east and west, forming a kind a triangle, the regions of San Martin and Miraflores and the confluence of the Guiza and Mira Rivers. This territory, which is considered public land, has an approximate area of 3,000 miles (5.000 km).

Delimitation of the area, as many other matters, has been difficult to establish because of the movement of many individuals and nuclear families. The territory of the Awa people both in Colombia and in Ecuador has not been delimited completely.[1]

1.3 Environment

The territory is found in a hot, humid climate with a dense tropical forest vegetation (map 2). West describes the region as the rainiest part of the Americas with average annual totals from 120 to over 240 inches. The area's position has a high temperature of 30 degrees C. (90 degrees F.) and relative humidity of 90 per cent. Rains are very common. Early in the morning, it is possible to have some sunshine but at around ten or eleven the sky is overcast and heavy rains fall.



Map 2

Taken from West 1957

According to West, the annual precipitation of the Pacific lowlands of Colombia is not only the highest in the Americas but also it probably exceeds that of any other equatorial area in the world (1957:25).

1.4 Flora

The Colombian-Pacific rain forests are similar to most of the humid equatorial areas of the world. Vegetation is characterized by three types of strata or subdivisions. The first one, the upper stratum has tall evergreen trees of numerous species. Some important trees belong to the laurel family, **chachajo**; the bombax family, **ceiba**; the mulberry family, **sande**; the mahogamy family, **cedro**. The second stratum is formed by slender trees and palms. The third stratum is defined as an intermediate story between the two strata previously described. The forest has many ferns, herbs, woody shrubs, vines, and epiphytes that grow on the trunks and branches of the trees (West 1957:43).

The forests of the region have a constant green color that identifies the area with the rain forest of the Pacific lowlands. The inhabitants of this region use some trees to build their houses, other trees are used to make clothes.

1.5 Fauna

Rodents that live along water courses are the most common species that exist in the area. Some of the more abundant are the **guagua**, or spotted cavy; the agouti, agoutí,known as **guatín**; the nutria, and a variety of mountain rats. The wild **saino**, the tapir or **danta**, and deer are still in the region, but they have been reduced to small numbers. Some monkeys are captured for house pets. Cats and other carnivores occasionally seen in the territory include **jaguar**, *panthera onca*, **león**, *panthera leo*, **tigrillo**, *panthera tigris*, and some bears. Armadillos, and venomous snakes are also found in the Awa area.[2] A great variety of fish inhabit the abundant lowland streams. Many types of birds live in the region. Insects are very common as in other rain forest places; some types of flies and ants make the humid environment more inhospitable and dangerous to human beings.

1.6 Population

Obtaining accurate population figures for the Awa community has been extremely difficult. They do not live in villages, and are dispersed throughout the jungle. Kempf (1982:3) points out that the Third National Census undertaken in 1974 estimated the Awa population for Ecuador to be 500 persons. In 1985 Kempf and Ehrenreich estimated the Ecuadorian Awa population at 1,000

inhabitants. The Colombian Awa population has been considered in a wide range of figures from a few hundred to 12,000 people. The next table presents some of the population figures.[3]

Table 1

Population figures for the Colombian and Ecuadorian Awa

Author	year	Colombia	Ecuador	Total
Ortiz	1946	2,000	200	2,200
West	1957			2,000
Osborn	1974			3,500
Henriksen & Levinsohn				3,000
Key	1979			5,000
Ehrenreich	1985	3,500	1,000	4,500
Cerón	1986	4,366	951	5,317
Osborn	1986			12,000

According to West some factors that underlie the paucity of people are lack of agricultural land, isolation, and disease (1957:83).

1.7 Goal of this Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the Awa-kwaiker language in terms of its phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax.

1.7.1 Significance

The study of the Awa-Kwaiker language was carried out from an ethnographic point of view, taking into account the Awa-Kwaiker culture, and the contexts of language use. A grammatical sketch of the language will allow a formulation of a written system to be used in a literacy program.

1.7.2 Justification

A written system of the Awa-Kwaiker language will give the community the possibility of having education in their own language as a way to preserve their culture. This first step could be the bridge to the Spanish language and the official system of education.

1.7.3 Ojectives

1) To identify the Awa phonemes and their allophonic realisations.
2) To classify suprasegmental features of the Awa language.
3) To recognize the main parts of the speech of the language.
4) To describe general syntactic structures of the

Awa.

5) To analyze the semantic components of an Awa text.

6) To compare the Awa language with other languages spoken in the area.

7) To consider the cultural background of the Awa culture in relation to the Awa language.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was accomplished by means of a descriptive approach and field methods. Taking into account that language and culture are closely related, Ethnography of Speaking was the theoretical basis to analyze this relation.

Linguistically, the description of the language was based on structuralist analysis. Phonological rules were derived according to transformational phonology.

2.1 Data description

Data for this study consists of several linguistic units of the Awa language. Data includes short stories, elicited sentences, contrastive minimal pairs, and isolated sounds.

2.2 Population

The Awa communnity is estimated at approximately 12,000 inhabitants. The population for this specific study may be classified, at least, by five different parameters, namely nationality: Colombian or Ecuadorian, place of living: close to a town or far from it, sex, age, languages spoken: Awa-kwaiker or Awa-kwaiker and

Spanish. The sample consisted of approximately 50 informants, three of them participated for a period of five years.

2.3 Sampling method

The participants were chosen according to the five groups mentioned in the population. The stratified sample could not be chosen randomly due to the specific conditions of the study. The informants were people that agreed to participate willingly.

2.4 Data gathering method

Data were collected by three means: written phonetic transcription, tape recording, and video recording. In some places the three methods were used simultaneously, but in other cases, where the conditions were not favorable, only one or two of the approaches were employed. Data were collected from 1984 to 1988 over different periods of time, few days to several weeks.

Family meetings provided the best situations to collect data. Some data were gathered to evaluate previous work done and to provide necessary revision in some linguistic points on summer 1990.

2.5 Instrumentation, Validity and Reliability

The main instrument to analyze the collected data was the spectrograph, a digital sona-graph.[1]

Validity of the spectrograph has been proved by

experts using this instrument in different research. Reliability of the instrument was measured by means of the following procedures. Several items were processed to see the average correlation. Items were analyzed using narrow and wide bands. Spectrograms of the same items were produced at different times and from the utterances of different speakers.

Extraneous variables in this study may have been introduced through the procedures used in collecting data. Items recorded to be used by spectrographic analysis need to be very clear and without any disturbing noise. Another variable was the inclusion of borrowed words from the dominant languages, Spanish or Inga in this particular case.

2.6 Scope and limitations

This research provides an outline grammar of the Awa-kwaiker language. However, the major emphasis was on phonetics and phonology.

This study was carried out with a reduced population sample from Colombia and Ecuador. One of the limitations is the lack of sampling from all the regions due to the difficult means of transportation.

2.7 Piloting plans

A pilot study was carried with a limited sample.

Data were collected and analyzed. The analysis allowed the proposal of a first design of an alphabet of the awa-kwaiker language. The pilot study did not take into account the use of spectrograms.

2.8 Protection of human subjects

The participants in this study are protected by anonymity. All of the explanations and observations about their own beliefs and culture are respected, and their thoughts are expressed in a general way. Collection of data and all the work in the community were accomplished according to their daily activities. Express consent of the community and, mainly, of the families involved in the study was obtained.

2.9 Analysis of data

Data were analyzed using the spectrograph. Wide and narrow bands were used in the production of the spectrograms. Voicing and position of the formants were important factors in determining the existence of voiceless vowels, geminate consonants, stress, and syllable structure. Morphemes and classifiers were grouped with the help of a computer program.

2.10 Generalizability

This study considers populations from different regions where people speak Awa. The results could be general according to the samples that were collected.

However, due to to the lack of consistency in all materials collected and the reduced population involved in this study, generalizability is limited.[2]

Future studies should be carried out that allow more general conclusions about the language. More analysis is needed not only in the phonetic and phonological levels, but also in the morphological, syntactical, and semantic components of "Awa pit."

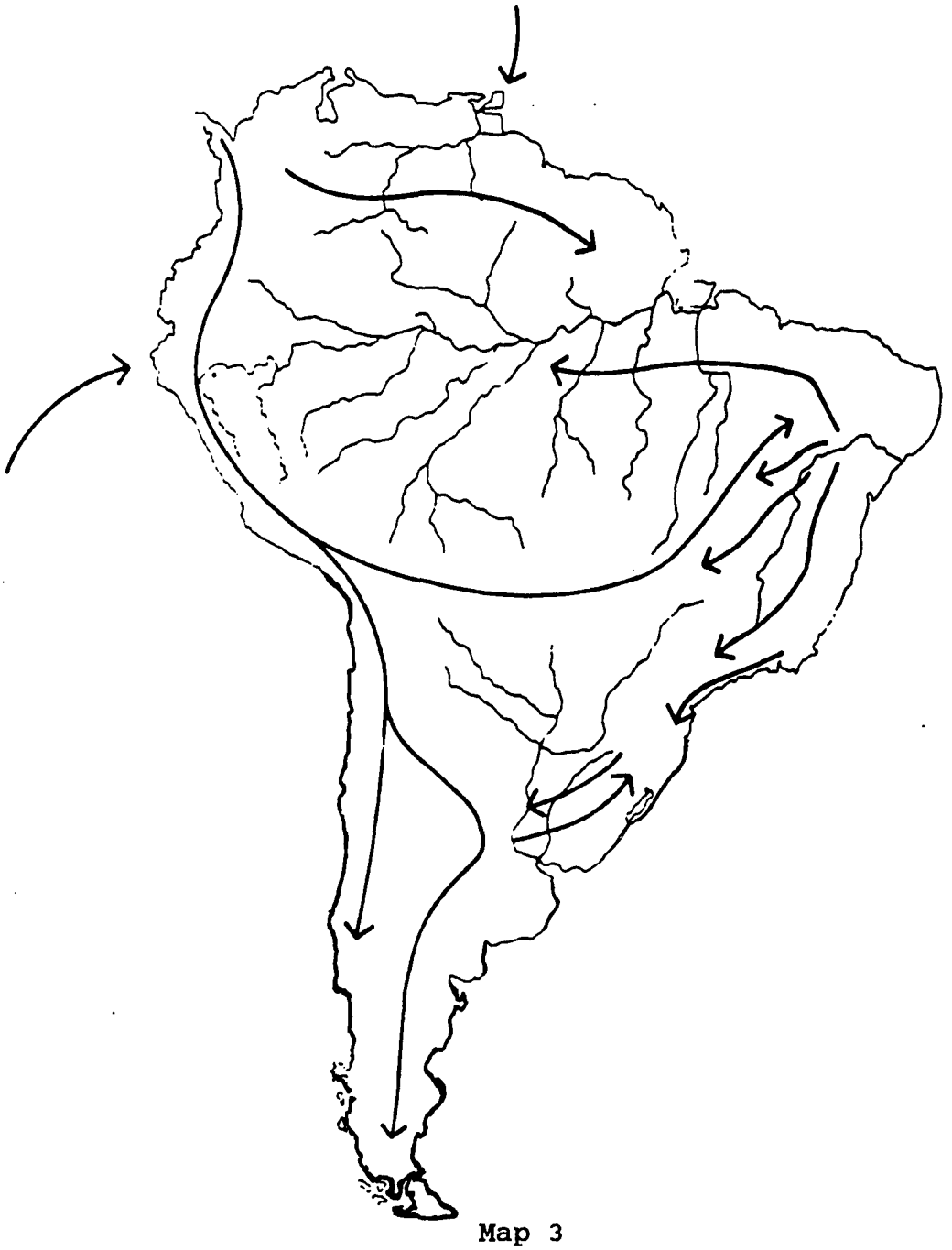
CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Awa (Kwaiker) people have been studied from anthropological, historical, and linguistic perspectives. The information about the community is still incomplete and controversial. However, each contribution is important to the study of this ethnic group.

3.1 Origin

The origin of the Awa people is unknown and must be related tc the hypotheses of the origin of humans in the New World. There is still considerable controversy concerning the date of the first arrival of humans in the American continent. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1953:9) describes Colombia as the entrance door to South America, placed in one of the major crossroads of cultural interchange. Colombia could be the first populated region of South America and the point of distribution of the various hunters and collectors that migrated from North America (map 3).



Map 3

Possible routes travelled by the South American Indians

Taken from Schginger 1988

3.2 Archeology

The history of Amerindian settlement in the coastal lowlands of Colombia and Ecuador has been difficult to establish by archeological findings. However, the area of Esmeraldas and Tumaco present some archeological significance in the study of the Awa-Kwiaker community. West reports that he found large numbers of grave mounds, or **tolas**, in the province of Esmeraldas in Ecuador and also along the lower and middle Río Mira, around Tumaco and the Rosario and Chagüi rivers to the northwest of Tumaco (1957:96). The Tumaco and the Esmeraldas archeological findings, according to West, correspond to a relatively high culture who once occupied the territory. People from this culture had the techniques to mold clay figurines, well made pottery, and metal work in the form of pins, breastplates, nose rings, and small animal and human figurines.

Larrain talking about the **tolas** thinks that they were built following a simple general pattern. He agrees with Athens that the origin of the **tolas** could be around the VIII century A.C. and could be extended until the arrival of the Inca. The construction of the **tolas** is attributed to a society with a complex organization, perhaps a chiefdom (1980:69).

The florescent period of this culture is unknown, but it had vanished long before the conquest. Pedro de Arévalo, cited by West (1957:229) mentions that the Cayapa and other Indians had for years been washing from the rubble gold ornaments to sell to Spaniards and mulattoes. The relation of this culture to the Awa people is only a matter of conjecture, certainly it could be the same culture or perhaps a proto-culture that split into different groups.

Archeological research in the Esmeraldas-Tumaco cultures has been carried out by some: Marshall saville in 1903 on the coast of Esmeraldas; Paul Bergsoe in 1937, 1938 on La Tolita in Esmeraldas; Julio Cubillos in 1950 in Monte Alto; Robert West in 1952 on the coast of Esmeraldas and Tumaco; Reichell Dolmatoff in 1960 along the Río Mataje; Francois Bouchard in 1979-1984 at the site of Cancha on La Tolita island; David Scott in 1980-1985 on La Tolita area.

The archeological analyses show that the Esmeraldas-Tumaco culture presents some similarities with central American cultures, but there is not total agreement on this point. Metalwork, especially foil gilding and fusion gilding, occurs in Ecuador and the Nariño area of Colombia. Scott states that the objects found in Nariño belong not only to the Esmeraldas culture

but also to the cultural area of the Quillacingas, (1988:319-331).

Friedemann confirms the existence of pre-Colombian goldsmith artifacts in the southeast of Colombia and from the province of Esmeraldas in the north of Ecuador. She mentions the archeological findings in Monte Alto (Cubillos 1955), and in La Tolita. She points out not only the relation between the Esmeraldas and Tumaco cultures but also the influence of the Indian goldsmith technology over the Negro group (1974:60).

3.3 History

The Awa ethnic group is not specifically noted in the chronicles of the conquerors or in the history of Colombia and Ecuador. Only few and partial notes could be found in the Spanish chronicles about the conquest of Perú and the arrival of Spaniards to the Pacific coast. The history of this community is related to other groups that lived in the area. Cieza de León in his "Crónica del Perú" describes the two nations that he found in his trip from Popayán to Quito: Pastos and Quillacingas, both in Colombian territory (1971:137-138). Moreno in agreement with Cieza de León describes 24 towns that belong to the Pastos and 20 belonging to the Quillacingas (1971:439). The Pastos are found close to the area of

the Awa. In the Ecuadorian territory the Awa are associated with several extinct groups, and with Cayapas and Colorados who still live in the lowlands of Ecuador.

West says that the Pacific lowlands from the Río Timbiquí southward into Esmeraldas were inhabitated by tropical forest groups at time of the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. He mentions Pascual de Andagoya as the first European who reports "the large houses (**Barbacoas**) of the Indians within the Patía Delta," when he explored southward from Buenaventura in 1540. According to West, Spaniards did not enter the lower Patía until the first years of the seventeenth century. He says, "On the upper western slopes of the Andean Cordillera they first encountered the primitive Coaiquer and Mayasquer Indians," (1957:95).

Larrain considers that the conquest of Pastos and some Quillacingas groups by the Inca Huayna Capac in 1525-1526 as the last activity achieved by the Inca in the north of Ecuador and south of Colombia (1980:88). Talking about the people of the coast and hitherland, he says, "Coaiquer, Cayapas, Niguas, Colorados, Guancavilcas, and Chonos are authentic tribes in the deepest sense of the anthropological term." Larrain points out that the communities at the time of the Spanish contact in the north of Ecuador were disturbed by

the civil wars, mainly the civil wars between Atahualpa and Huáscar, and also by the resistance against the Spanish invaders coming from the south (1980:68). These conflicts produced migrations and population movements among the Awa group.

Expeditions to the coast and hintherland were organized by Spaniards to conquer the Indian groups. The expeditions had negative results; the pacification was achieved by missionary priests. Larrain states that approximately 18,000 Indians were forced to go in expeditions to the north of Ecuador and South of Colombia where most of them died due to the change of habitat (1980:55).

Triana y Antoverza talking about the expeditions says that Pedro de Alvarado, governor of Guatemala, went to Ecuador in search of "El Dorado" with five hundred soldiers and more than five thousand Maya Indians. Later, Belalcázar decided to look for "El Dorado" and brought to the south of Colombia many Maya and Quitus Indians (1987:117). This contact with the Maya people may have left traces in the Awa language and Central American languages.

3.4 Anthropology

The Awa-Kwaiker community has been the subject of

important investigations dealing with their environment, population, economy, political organization, contact and conflict, health and their own curing system, co-parenthood, and socialization of children. These topics will be considered here based on existing literature and my own experience.

3.4.1 Land

One of the most important aspects of this culture is the land where the people inhabit and get their daily sustenance. Land is as valuable as their own lives. Land includes two other components that are considered essential in this ethnic group: the mountain and the river. Everything they need comes from these sources. Mountains and rivers have also a powerful force that is often related to the spirit, beliefs, and sickness. Land has been the center of their claims because they have suffered successive displacements through history. Osborn points out, "their land is the tie and pull between their past and future, the very essence of their existence." (1968:594)

3.4.2 House

The Awa live in houses that are spread over the mountains. Each house has from six to twelve people in most cases. Typical houses are built over posts and covered with wide leaves of "bijao," the floor is made of

"chonta." All the materials are grown in the region. The elevated floor protects the house from poor drainage and from predatory animals. The notched log or chicken ladder is used to reach the high floor. Pigs and chickens are raised under the houses. Houses have two main spaces: a big area used to live and sleep and another one used to cook. Houses use open structures.

The building of a house is a masculine activity that demands a lot of time and effort. This task is accomplished by a single man, in most cases. According to Kempf the fact that only men construct their houses is like a type of compensation for women's prerrogative of breast-feeding. She argues that men need a balance because of the high value that women receive for their unique capacity of providing children for future work (1982:60).

3.4.3 Tools

The machete is used for a great variety of activities in the Awa culture. Each household has many machetes that are employed appropriately by each member, including children. Axes are used for felling large trees. Hoes are rarely used in the present cultivation system. Their tools include traps, conical baskets, fishhooks, and nets for fishing purposes. Shotguns are

also common nowadays in hunting. Arrows, bows, and lances have been replaced by blowguns, knives, and slings.

3.4.4 Household crafts

Baskets are made from various types of palm leaves, and from the inner bark of lianas. Baskets are made in different sizes, and are used to carry plantain and other products bought in the closest town. There is also a bag called "jigra" that is made of a fiber called "pita." The fabrication of baskets is a male activity and "jigras" are only made by women.

Pottery making was a very significant activity in the past, but today plastic utensils are bought in the towns. The same replacement process has happened with wooden articles. Only mixing paddles, stirrers, wooden bowls and few containers are made from trees of the region. In some places, canoes needed to cross a river are shaped with axe and machete.

3.4.5 Clothing

Men and women wear simple and functional clothes. The traditional clothes made from the inner bark, or bast, of the damajagua tree are no longer in use among the Awa. Bark cloth is used only to make sleeping mats. Women like colorful clothing: red, orange, yellow. They do not like green colors. Men like to wear white pants

and shirts. At home they do not have any footwear, but when they go to the mountain or to a town they use rubber boots. Children stay at home without any clothes.

3.4.6 Musical instruments

The instrument that characterizes the community is the **marimba**, or African Xylophone. Cayapa, Colorado, and Awa are three Amerindian groups that have adopted the marimba as the main musical instrument. Other instruments played in the region are drums, wooden flutes, and gourd rattles. All instruments are made with skill from material found in the area. Musical instruments are very important in festivals and special ceremonies held among the Awa community.

3.4.7 Subsistence activities

The economy of the Awa is based on farming activities, fishing, hunting, and gathering of various tropical forests products. Most of these products are consumed by the Awa as the daily diet, but some pigs, chicken, and eggs are traded in the neighboring town. With the selling of their products the Awa get the essential things they need at home.

3.4.7.1 Farming

The plantain is the leading crop and the main item of diet. More than ten varieties can be cultivated in

some places. Plantains are prepared in different ways by boiling, baking, or as a component of the soup called **sancocho**. Ripe plantain is often baked in the coals of the hearth. Boiled green plantain is used to make a paste that is called **pala** (plantain), the most common way to consume this food. Maize is another important crop that is grown in most of the Awa communities. Various types of corn food are made in the region. Maize is also used to prepare tamales and chicha, one of the most common beverages among the Andean groups. Other crops are sweet manioc, sugar cane, achiote, and mountain potato. The most important fruit for gathering is the chontaduro. This palm also provides building material, such as fronds for thatch and hardwood for floors and walls of huts.

3.4.7.2 Fishing

Fish supply the essential protein needed to complement the diet. The abundance of streams allows fishing to be a productive activity. Catfish, sábalo, sabaleta, and Bocachico are the species most commonly found in the lowland streams. Different fishing techniques are employed. Traps, weirs, and special baskets are constructed of strips of bamboo or palms. The line and hook method has also been introduced. In some places the use of piscicides is a common practice.

The poison comes from different plants grown in the area.

3.4.7.3 Hunting

Large game is not very frequent in the Awa territory. Tapir, deer, peccary, jaguar, puma and other carnivores were hunted both for their meat and for their skins to be sold for good prices in the market towns. Nowadays, rodents constitute the main prey along with the armadillo and ant-eater.

Two main techniques are used for hunting: a variety of traps, and blowguns or shotguns. Traps vary in size and form according to the animal that will be hunted. These traps are put in strategic places in the mountain. Adults and children hunt with traps. Shotguns have become more popular and available for most people. Adults use shotguns and teenagers use blowguns.

3.4.8 Labor activities

Most of the activities are shared by men, women, and children of both sexes. Each household is responsible for the work that has to be done. Trade labor is not a common situation between households. Labor is not a community exercise because it does not demand too much effort. Slash-and-mulch horticulture requires family work only at the beginning when the field is cleared and planted. Other activities such as replanting or clearing

away underbrush demand low individual labor. Hunting and fishing are considered group activities that demand little effort. Daily work at home, such as gathering plantains, bringing water or wood home, are accomplished by any member of the family. Childcare and food preparation are women's activities, but in some cases men do these labors. Shamanism and building a house are exclusive male activities that require time and effort.

Kempf(1982), Osborn(1988), and Ehrenreich(1989) concide in showing that the expenditure of time in labor activities is a matter of efficiency and not of leisure. An average of 3.5 hours a day of productive work has been reported among the Awa. This point is important in order to avoid false stereotypes that have been common in the literature.

3.4.9 Social and political organization

Economic structure is the basis for political and social organization among Awa. The equal division of work is reflected in the structure of Awa society. Awa society has been defined as egalitarian where positions of leadership, power, or prestige are absent Osborn (1967), Ehrenreich (1989).

Kempf characterizes Awa kinship as "bilateral (cognatic) descent and ego based personal kindred." She

points out that the bilateral system reckons descent and inheritance of rights, obligations and prosperity through both parents (1982:64). Sons and daughters inherit equally. Each member of the society has equal access to land. Open and flexible residence, and constant flux are other characteristics of the Awa society. Flux can result from labor needs or conflict situations.

The sibling group is the focal point of social organization and kinship. Siblings remain socially and geographically together; when this is not possible, Osborn points out that "siblings move in pairs to form marital alliances with people who are themselves kin" (1968:600). Parallel cousins are considered the first choice for a marital alliance. In some cases two brothers from a group marry two sisters from another group. Osborn called these alliances "structural unions" (1974:262). They are represented in figures 1 and 2.

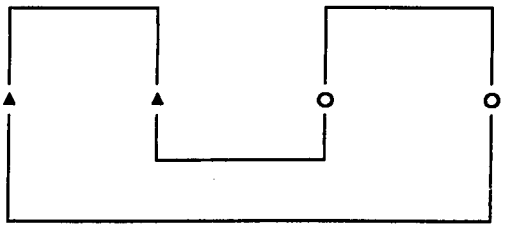


Figure 1: Symmetrical structural union

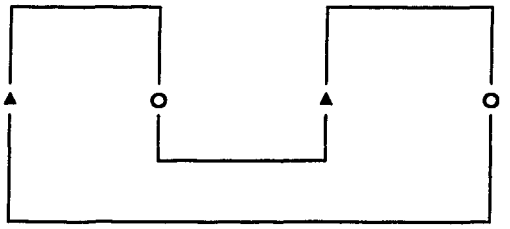


Figure 2: Asymmetrical structural union

This type of marriage is important considering that siblings and parallel cousins stand to inherit land. Marriage is considered mainly an economic contract in which the distribution of land is the main factor. Osborn (1974:269) exemplifies this type of marriage as shown in fig.3.

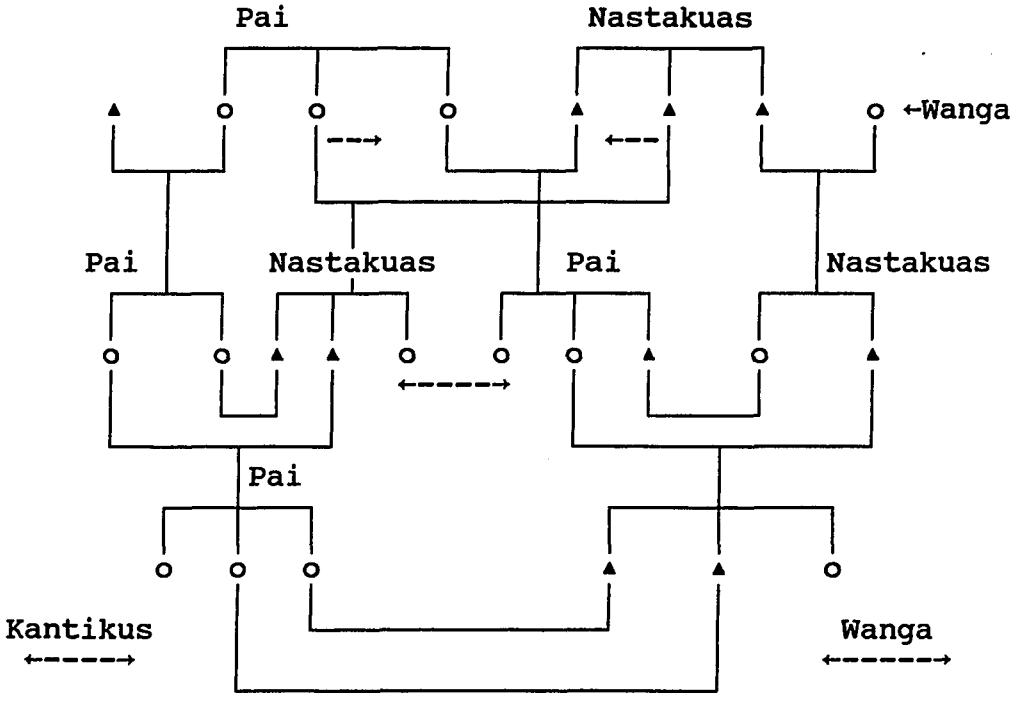


Figure 3: Marriage structure

In figure 3 the Awa last names Pai, Nastakuas, Kantikus, and Guanga are mentioned to show structural unions. In addition to these last names, Paskal, Bisbikus, Kwasalusan, and Taikus represent the eight most common and traditional last names.

Women usually get married at 13 or 14 years old. Men prefer to get married around 20. Visits between families provide opportunity to find a mate. For a period of approximately a year the couple live together in a type of *trial marriage*. During this time they interchange uxorilocal and virilocal residence. Sexual relations among the Awa are taboo topics. Secrecy and reserve are outstanding characteristics of this group. Osborn distinguishes 5 stages in the development of the family from the beginning of the trial marriage, marriage, building of the house when the second child is born, owning a farm, and finally becoming grandparents (1968:84-87).

There are no special ceremonies that mark the initiation of any period of the life cycle. Birth takes place at home with help of a relative of the first born, the father assists childbirth after the first born. *Couvade* exists for two weeks after birth; during this period the mother has some food restrictions and the

father remains at home fighting with the spirits who want to steal his child. Baptism is an opportunity to establish relationships with the mestizos in the so called *co-parenthood*.[2]

3.4.10 Spiritual world

Spirits and animistic beliefs play an important role in this culture. The Awa have different types of spirits from their own culture and others that are product of the contact with the dominant culture. *Tuendi*, and *ɨnkwa* (goblin, and old woman) are spirits which are common in the literature of Andean groups. *Ajkun* and *Walputa* (horse and spirit) are two spirits associated with the mountains and the streams. *Ajkun* is a big horse that eats people in the mountains. *Walputa*, that is known as *chutun* by people outside the community, lives in the streams and is the spirit responsible for most of the diseases that are not naturally caused. Kempf divides into three categories the cause of illness among the Awa: naturally-caused, Chutun, and witchcraft (1982:90).

When people are sick and they do not improve in their condition, a shaman is the person in charge of curing the illness. Almost each household has a shaman; only men can perform this occupation. The other members of the household are responsible for other tasks. Some men prepare the *guarapo*, a cane fermented juice, in their

house if they have sugar cane or they go to another house where they trade guarapo for two or three chickens. Women prepare food for the household and guests. Others go to family and friends houses to invite people for the walputa curing ceremony.

The ritual sequence of a curing ceremony lasts three days. The spirit is identified by the shaman when he feels the pulse of the patient. On the first day the shaman gets the medicinal plants (*telpa, pilpe,*) to prepare a special beverage that is placed in a gourd with some coins and two jaguar teeth. When the medication is ready shaman and patient go to a nearby stream where the ceremony is initiated. The patient is undressed completely and the shaman splashes water and leaves of the medical plants. This ritual is characterized by a period of silence when no prayers are heard. This ritual is repeated several times during the three days ceremony.

On the third day the guests arrive for the night ceremony. The shaman performs his last curing at home. He puts the walputa food: mountain potatoes, nuts, fruits, chicken necks, four small fish in *bijao* leaves that are painted with *achiote*. This food is wrapped in the bijao leaves, placed over the sick person and later in a basket that is hung on a wall. The patient remains

under the basket waiting for the spirit, hungry from the three day ritual, to leave the body to eat its favorite food. One or two people play the marimba while the others dance, talk and drink guarapo. During this night all conflicts are faced and clarified.

At three in the morning, everybody goes to a river where the shaman performs the last part of the ritual. He is ready with new plants that he has collected this day. The walputa food is placed over the patient's body; water mixed with the medical plants is poured over the patient; the ritual objects are put in a gourd inside a jigra that is shaken over the patient's head. The shaman takes some tobacco with water that sprays over the patients face and the parts where the spirit is located. Dried herbs and palms are burned to produce a lot of smoke that covers the patient's body. Finally, the spirit has left and the patient purifies his/her body in the river. The ceremony ends when everybody returns home to eat.

The walputa ceremony is not only a curing activity but also a social event in which social tensions and conflicts are resolved. When the situation is extremely difficult and this ceremony is not effective, the case is labelled as witchcraft. According to Kempf, "frequent

deviation from the rules, and particularly deviation through aggressive or emotional behavior, results in designation as a witch" (1982:150).

3.4.11 Contact with other groups

The Awa have had different contacts with other groups through their history: (1) other native groups (Sindaguas, Encabellados, Incas) (2) Spanish conquerors (3) slaves from Africa (4) mestizos. Each situation has been a threat of culture extinction through acculturation or assimilation. The Awa, like other South American Indian groups, have suffered the consequences of contact which has resulted in population decline, disease, tension, exploitation, and death.

Ehrenreich talking about the Awa of Ecuador, a situation very similar to the Awa in Colombia, reports that they employ a number of strategies in response to contact with outsiders.

> They keep them ignorant of what the Cuaiquer are actually like and what they actually do--by use of secrecy, isolation and retreat. These approaches, are aided by "dissembling behaviors" which help them directly to control political and social circumstances, protect economic interests, and hold in check an

> overwhelming force over which they otherwise have no control (1989:27).

Some of the plans, to help the Awa, that have been carried out in Colombia and Ecuador, have had the goals of helping them to approach progress and a better life. Ehrenreich called these plans "benevolent ethnocide," despite being well intentioned they "lead to ultimate disaster for the Coaiquer people and culture" (1989:228).

The process of acculturation is present at all levels. The Awa are incorporating colonists' food that could displace from their diet high nutrient food. Kempf says that "contact and changes, particularly in nutrition have resulted in a decline in the efficacy of the traditional medical system to cure the sick" (1982:245).

3.4.12 Cultural area classification

The Awa group has been classified in different groupings and there is no agreement on this matter. Andre classifies them as "Indios Serranos" (highland Indians) (1884:796). Murra states that "both Coastal and inland types can be clearly distinguished from the naked *Barbacoa* or *Coaiquer*, who lived in what today is the southernmost coast of Colombia" (1946:802). Ortiz describes *Coaiquer* as a culture of highland and lowland traits (1946:968). West reports that the Pacific lowlands were inhabitated by primitive tropical forest

people. He mentions *Cayapa, Coaiquer, Sindagua, Chupa* and others living in "the southern part of the Pacific lowlands and adjacent mountain slopes from northern Esmeraldas to the Río Timbiquí, south of Buenaventura" (1957:89). The archeological findings, cultural traits, and linguistic similarities with Cayapa and Colorado, two lowland groups, allow the classification of Awa as a lowland culture.

3.4.13 Linguistic classification

The Awa-Kwaiker language has been considered a member of the Chibchan family in most of the linguistic classifications. However, there is no agreement in classifying Awa in relation to other subgroups. André (1883) points out that "Coayquer" speak a special language that is not similar to other languages. Brinton (1891) classifies "Cuaiqueros" as one of the eight divisons of Barbacoas. Lehmann (1920) mentions "Cuaiquer (Coiquer)" as a Barbacoan language related to Cayapa, Colorado, and Telembí. Barrett (1925) thinks that "Cuaiqueros" are only small bands of Cayapa. Jijón y Caamaño (1940) reports that "Coayker" is a Chibchan language that belongs to the Dorasco Guaimi-Barbacoan subgroup. Ortiz (1946) lists "Coaiquer" as a member of the Barbacoan group of the Chibchan family. Greenberg

(1960) classifies "Cuaiquer" along with Cara, Cayapa, and Colorado in the Barbacoan subgroup as part of the Paezan group. Loukotka (1968) includes "Cuaiquer or Koaiker" as one of the twenty-two languages of the Barbacoan group. Stark (1985) states that Colorado, Cayapa, and "Coaiquer" form the Barbacoan branch of the Macro-Chibchan phylum. She explains that by glottochronological calculations, about 50 B.C. the three languages split off from one another.

From previous research it is possible to classify the Awa language as a member of the Chibchan family. However, it is important to point out that Chibcha has been a problematic group, very widespread, and with significant differences among languages already classified in this family.

The Awa relation with languages such as, Pasto, Sindagua, Quillacinga, etc. is not possible to establish because of the lack of data from these extinct languages.

There is no agreement about the classification of Awa, Cayapa, and Colorado in the same group. In the following pages vocabulary taken from Samaniego (1965), Jijón y Caamaño (1940), Barrett (1925), Henriksen and Obando (1985) will be used to compare the three languages. These 93 words belong to the Morris Swadesh basic vocabulary list (1972:283).

AWA		CAYAPA	COLORADO	ENGLISH
na	[na]	la	la	I
nu	[nu]	nu	nu	you
au	[aw]	la	lache	we
an	[An]	in	in	this
sun	[ṣUn]	ua	uya	that
mɨn	[mɨn]	ina	inan	who?
chima	[číma]	tsi	tsin	what?
chi	[či]	chi	chi	not
kwisha	[kwíša]	wan	pata	many
maza	[máẓa]	ma	mam	one
pas	[pAs]	pa	pai	two
katsa	[kÁtsa]	wa	wanla	big
akish	[ákIš]	barreoe	oangas	long
ainki	[Áyngi]	wela	wenla	small
ashampa	[ašÁmba]	igshimpu	suma	woman
awa	[awá]	pula	unila	man
awa	[awá]	cha	tsachi	person
pishkatu	[pIškáru]$_2$	awili	watsa	fish
papau	[paƀáw]	pamu	pachu	bird
kwiza	[kwíža]	kucha	kusha	dog
mu	[mu]	me	me	louse
tɨ	[tɨ]	te	te	tree
pippa	[pípa]	pika	puka	seed

ash	[aš]	ahchu	abshu	leave
muht̬t	[mut̬t^{n}]	mute	mute	root
aya	[áya]	yate	kito	bark
aya	[áya]	yate	kito	skin
ñam	[ɲAm]	alla	alpa	flesh
impi	[Ímbi]	elpa	kelpa	blood
pishpi	[pIšpi]	tisbi	teshpu	grease
wipu	[wíbu]	napipo	tepibo	egg
pu	[pu]	te	te	horn
m̬t̬t̬	[m̬r̬t̬]	mete	atae	tail
ash	[aš]	ashuua	abshu	feather
ash	[aš]	ashuua	abshu	hair
kizpu	[kIzbu]	mishpu	neshu	head
kail	[kAyl^{y}]	kiltu	kete	ear
kasu	[kásu]	kapuga	kaka	eye
kimpu	[kImbu]	kiju	kibu	nose
pit	[pIt^{n}]	kite	kidu	mouth
sula	[s̬úla]	telu	pefun	tooth
ñawija	[ɲawíxa]	nikha	nika	tongue
chwil	[čwil]	texki	netela	fingernail
mitt̬	[mít̬]	neajka	nede	foot
wakpuh	[wÁkpu̬]	pulo	tewe	knee
chihtu	[čí̬tu]	tate	tade	hand
puja	[púxa]	aj	ax	belly

kwil	[kwil^{y}]	kote	kupe	neck
chuchu	[čúču]	chuchu	kuh	breasts
kalchu	[kálču]	tekta	tegna	heart
tainkan	[táyngan]	teka	takae	liver
kum	[kUm]	ka	ku	drink
kum	[kUm]	ka	ku	eat
kuman	[kumán]	jat	jalide	bite
izna	[ízna]	ide	ide	see
m±m	[m±m]	pum	pu	hear
pienis	[pyénIs]	micha	mirra	know
pitna	[pídna]	kasto	katso	sleep
iti	[íri]	peto	puatu	die
piantam	[pyándam]	toxte	tolte	kill
pikamna	[pigámna]	piwan	piwa	swim
p±lmu	[p±lmu]	ayen	aye	fly
±n	[±n]	ishia	ite	walk
au	[aw]	anu	anu	come
uzna	[úzna]	talide	jalide	sit
m±tam	[m±rám]	guaka	kuata	give
kaizna	[káyzna]	kakto	kae	say
pã	[pã]	pa	pakta	sun
palapcha	[palápča]	pale	pae	moon
k±hma	[k±ma]	makata	makena	star
pi	[pi]	pi	pi	water

alu	[álu]	shua	shua	rain
uk	[Uk^{n}]	shupuuka	shuka	stone
kihsu	[kí̥su]	chala	tsala	sand
su	[s̥u]	to	to	earth
wantish	[wÁndIš]	ni	ninfu	cloud
ish	[Iš]	ni	ninfu	smoke
i	[i]	ni	ni	fire
pil	[pIl^{y}]	pela	tela	ash
ashtui	[Ašdwi]	tule	tuli	burn
mine	[míne]	min	muñu	path
ɨnkal	[ɨ́ngAl]	gu	wele	mountain
kwanam	[kwánAm]	unkunala	lupban	red
pihtam	[pi̥dÁm]	putan	putan	green
natam	[narÁm]	labam	laskeban	yellow
puchã	[pučã]	fiba	fiban	white
telkaya	[tƩ́lgaya]	peban	peban	black
amta	[Ánda]	kepeto	kebi	night
ɨ	[ɨ]	ni	nin	hot
tɨh	[tɨ̥]	ishte	da	cold
wate	[wáre]	tha	segke	good
nuyak	[nuyÁk^{ŋ}]	muluohe	mute	round
pil	[pIl^{y}]	fune	funwe	dry

Cognates were analyzed according to the changes the

words have had. There are words that are identical in the three languages, for example, /pi/ 'water,' /nu/ 'you.' Cayapa and Colorado phonemes that do not exist in Awa have changed to a phoneme with similar articulation

Cayapa	Colorado	Awa	Example	Gloss
#l	#l	#n	la --→ na	'I'
ts	ts	ch	tsi --→ chi	'not'
o	o	u	to --→ su	'earth'
#e	#e	#i	elpa --→ ilpi	'blood'

Some Cayapa and Colorado phonemes have been deleted, for example /n/ --→ ø /ni/ --→ /i/ 'fire.' Vowel changes include fronting, backing, raising, and lowering. Consonants present some changes, but in general, stops are kept, or have changed to another stop.

Following the Swadesh glottochronology method, cognates in Awa and Cayapa, represent 58 percent of their basic vocabulary; cognates in Awa and Colorado represent 45 percent. Taking into account the percentage of cognates, these figures are translated into minimum centuries of divergence, by means of the table of conversion explained by Swadesh (1972:276-84). The results show that Awa and Cayapa have a minimum separation of 18.0 centuries, and Awa and Colorado 26.5

centuries of separation. In general, these figures confirm Stark's results in terms of the separation of the three languages. The relation among Awa, Cayapa and Colorado allows us to classify these languages in the same group, but the affiliation to the Chibcha family is still uncertain.

3.4.14 Linguistic analysis

The Awa language has been partially studied from a phonological point of view. Morphology and syntax have only been mentioned tangentially. The first linguistic study was written by Jijón y Caamaño "El Ecuador Interandino y Occidental antes de la Conquista Española" based on the data collected by Jacinto Pankeri (1940:152-234). He presents a vocabulary comparison of Awa language and other Chibchan languages. Henriksen has different articles related to various aspects of the Awa language, some of them are Lee and Lynne Henriksen "Fonología del Cuaiquer," Henriksen and Levinsohn "Progression and Prominence in Coaiquer Discourse," Henriksen and Obando "Mane P̈inkïh Kamshimtus." Luis Montaluisa has been working on the phonology of the Awa language spoken in Ecuador. The last work was produced by Rocío Calvache "Fonología e Introducción a la Morfosintaxis del Awa pit."

CHAPTER IV

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

This chapter deals with the basic unit of which speech consists: sound.[1] There are three dimension of sounds; time, amplitude,[2] and frequency.[3] The sounds of the Awa language are analyzed from acoustic and articulatory approaches.

4.1 Acoustic phonetics

The sources of sound in speech production in the Awa language consist of two kinds of operations: (1) the generation of sound sources at one point along the length of the vocal tract, and (2) the filtering of the sources by the vocal tract. Sound sources include turbulence noise, vocal fold vibration, and the combination of both. Filtering of the sources by the vocal tract results from changes in the size and shape of the resonating chambers of the upper vocal tract. The vocal tract has five or six resonant bands called *formants*. The first three formants distinguish one vowel from another. The fundamental frequency and its harmonics characterize a particular vowel.

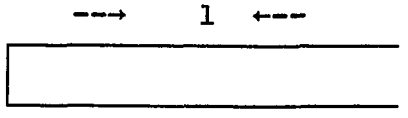
4.1.1 The Awa vowels

The Awa language has five oral vowels: i, ɨ, u, e, a; five nasal vowels: i, ɨ, u, e, a; and three voiceless vowels: i, ɨ, u. These vowels can be described following three procedures: tube models, physiological models, and spectrograms.

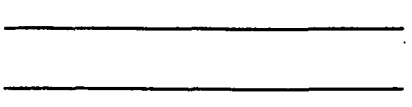
4.1.1.1 Tube models

The vocal tract is a resonator with a source at the glotis and an output at the mouth. The formant frequencies are determined by the cross-sectional area of the vocal tract at different points along its length. The vocal tract is not always uniform and some perturbations of the tube produce different vowels.[4]

From physics it is possible to show that the vocal tract forms tubes that have a number of natural frequencies. These uniform tubes with different opened or closed conditions at the end have the following specific formulas:

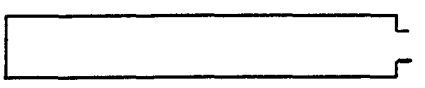


opened at one end $\frac{C}{4l}, \frac{3C}{4l}, \frac{5}{4l}, \ldots$



opened at both ends $\frac{C}{2l}, \frac{C}{1}, \frac{3C}{2l}, \ldots$

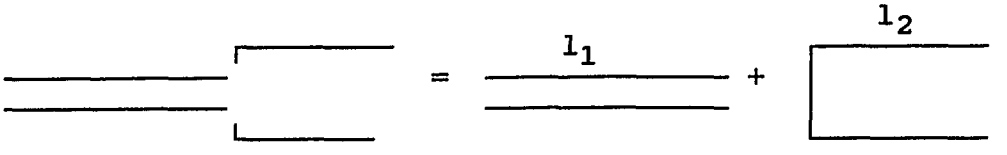
closed at both ends $\frac{C}{2l}, \frac{C}{l}, \frac{3C}{2l}, \ldots$



A narrow opening at one end. $2\pi \frac{C}{\sqrt{\frac{Vl_1}{A_1}}}$

(C = Velocity of sound 340 m/sec)

With the specific formulas it is possible to have an approximation for vowels. For example, vowel /a/.



$$\frac{C}{4l_1}, \frac{3C}{4l_1}, \ldots + \frac{C}{4l_2}, \frac{3C}{4l_2}, \ldots$$

Adult vocal tract: l_1 = 8cm. l_2 = 9cm.

C= velocity of sound = 340 m/sec.

$\frac{C}{4l_1}$ = $\frac{34,000}{4 \times 7}$ = $\frac{34000}{28}$ = 1,214HZ

$\frac{3C}{4l_1}$ = 3,645 HZ

$\frac{C}{4l_2}$ = $\frac{34,000}{4 \times 10}$ = 850HZ

$\frac{3C}{4l_2}$ = 2,550 HZ

The values of the frequencies in order are: F_1 = 850HZ, F_2 = 1,214HZ F_3 = 2,250HZ F_4 = 3,645HZ.

4.1.1.2 Physiological models

According to the position of articulators: lips, jaw, tongue tip, tongue body, velum, and larynx it is possible to see the different changes in formant levels in vowels. In general terms, F_1 is controlled by the jaw; vowels go from low jaw to high jaw in the series /a,e,ɨ,u and i/. F_2 is controlled by the tongue, from back to front position in the following order: u, ɨ, a, e, and i. F_3 is controlled by the tip of the tongue.

4.1.1.3 Spectrograms

The Awa vowels can be analized using spectrograms. Formants have characteristic positions for each vowel quality that can be predicted. The vowels can be displayed in a vowel chart with specific frequency values. The five Awa oral vowels are shown in figure 4.

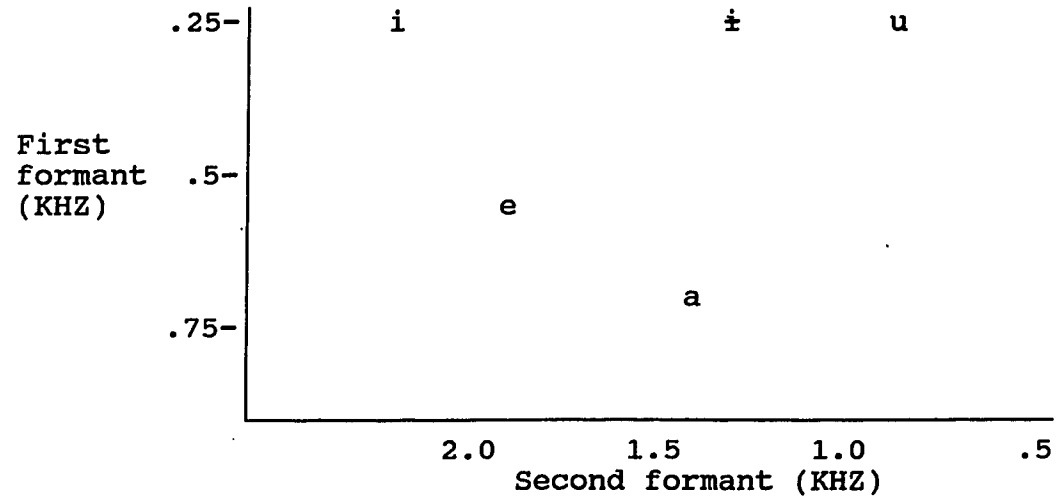


Figure 4: Awa vowel formants

The first formant is on the vertical axis and its numbers increase when we go downwards. The second formant is at the bottom axis and the values decrease when we go backwards.

The following spectrograms were made with a Kay Elemetrics Sona-graph. The bottom line shows the time, and the horizontal lines the frequencies in Khz.

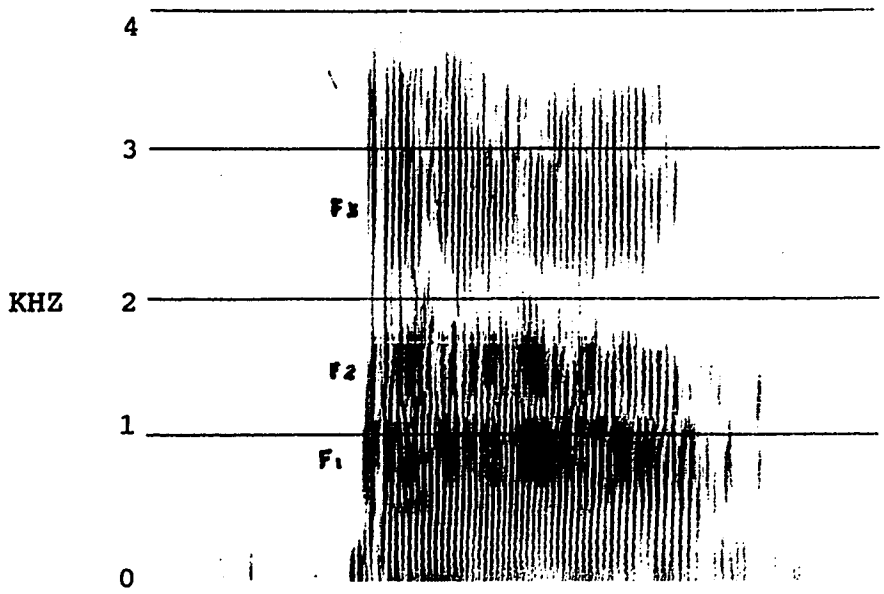


Figure 5: Vowel/a/

The spectrogram of vowel /a/ shows three formants at 800Hz for the first formant, at 1300Hz for the second formant, and at 2600Hz for the third formant.

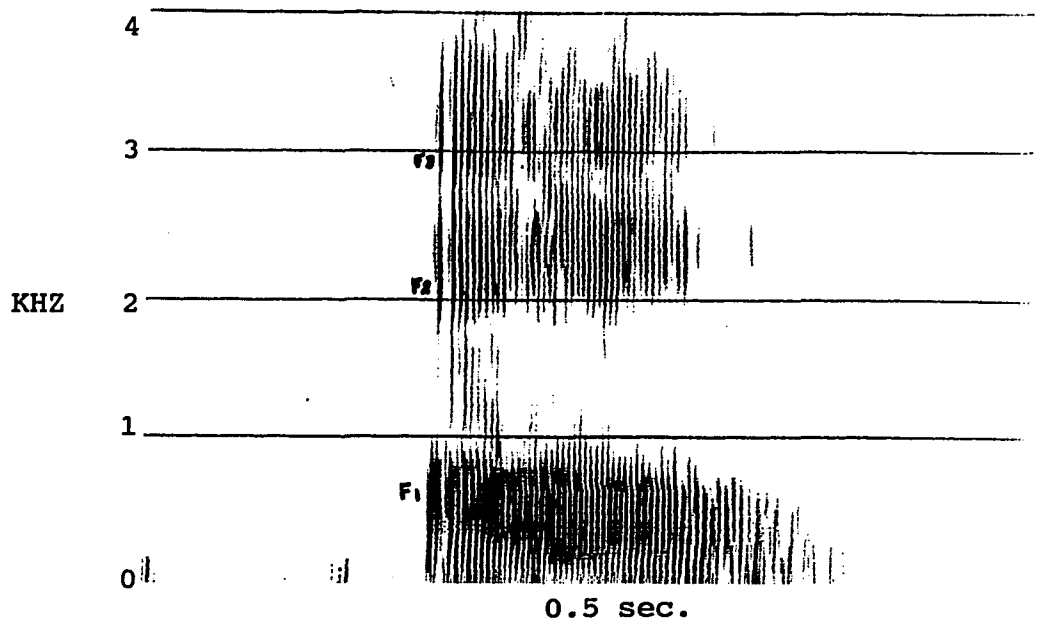


Figure 6: Vowel /e/

The spectrogram on figure 6 shows the formants of vowel /e/ at the following frequencies: first formant 600Hz, second formant 2000Hz, and third formant 2900Hz.

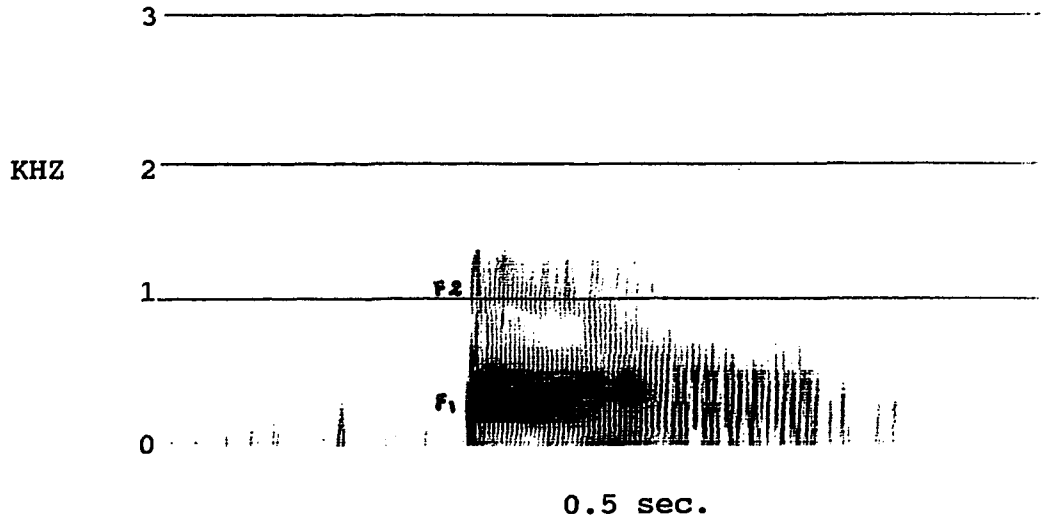


Figure 7: Vowel/i/

The spectrogram of vowel /i/ shows the first formant at 350Hz and the second formant at 1100Hz. The third formant is so weak that is not possible to see it.

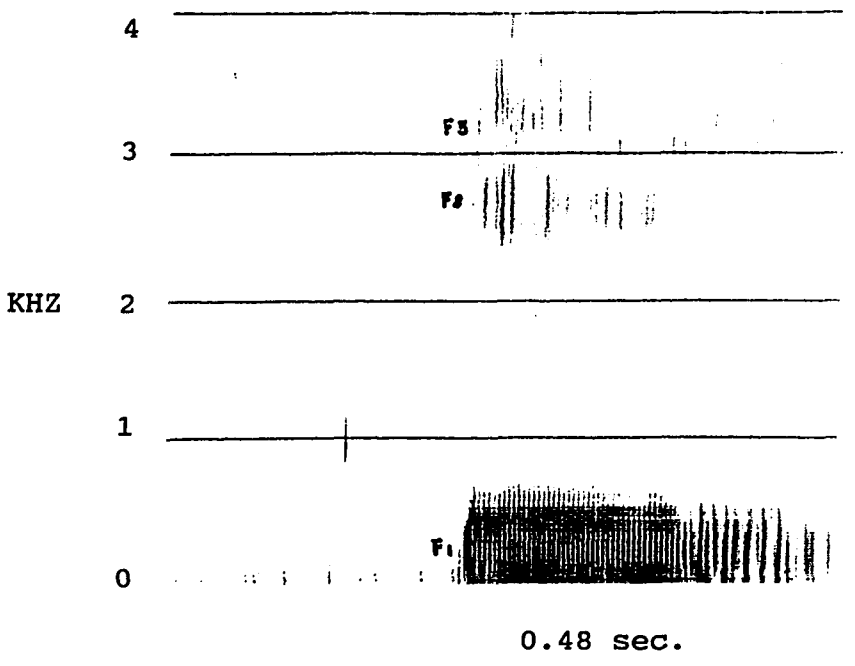


Figure 8: Vowel/i/

Figure 8 shows the spectrogram of vowel /i/ with the first formant at 250Hz, and second and third formant very high around 3000Hz.

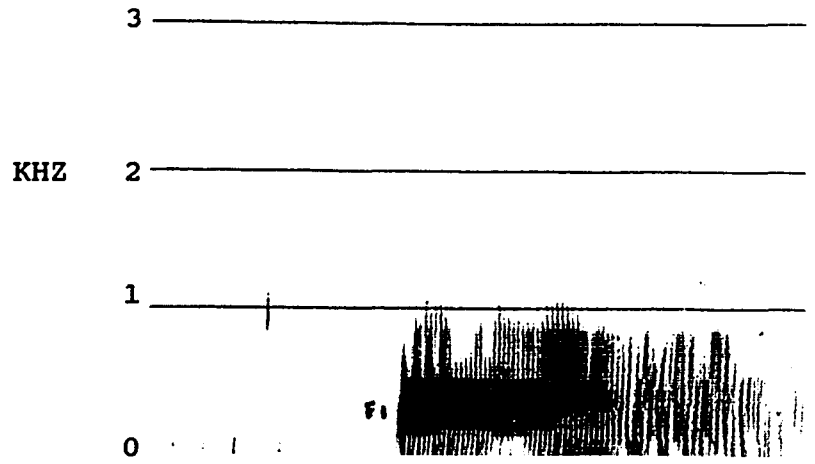


Figure 9: Vowel/u/

The spectrogram of vowel /u/ has the first formant at 300 Hz and the second formant at 800 Hz. The third formant is not observable.

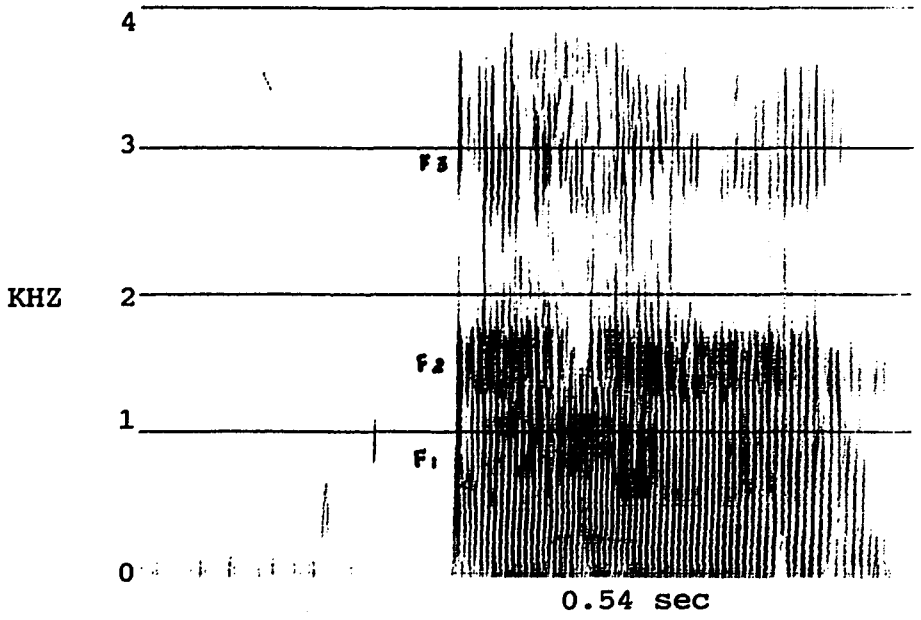


Figure 10: Vowel /ã/

The spectrogram of vowel /ã/ has almost the same frequencies of the oral vowel /a/.

Spectrograms of the other nasal vowels appear in appendix 1.

The most important characteristics of nasal vowels, in acoustic terms, are the addition of the first nasal resonance in the region below the first formant and a weakening and shift up of the first formant. The resonances of the nasals appear as additional peaks in the spectrogram.

Voiceless vowels appear in the following spectrograms in the context of words due to the difficulty of producing them in isolated position.

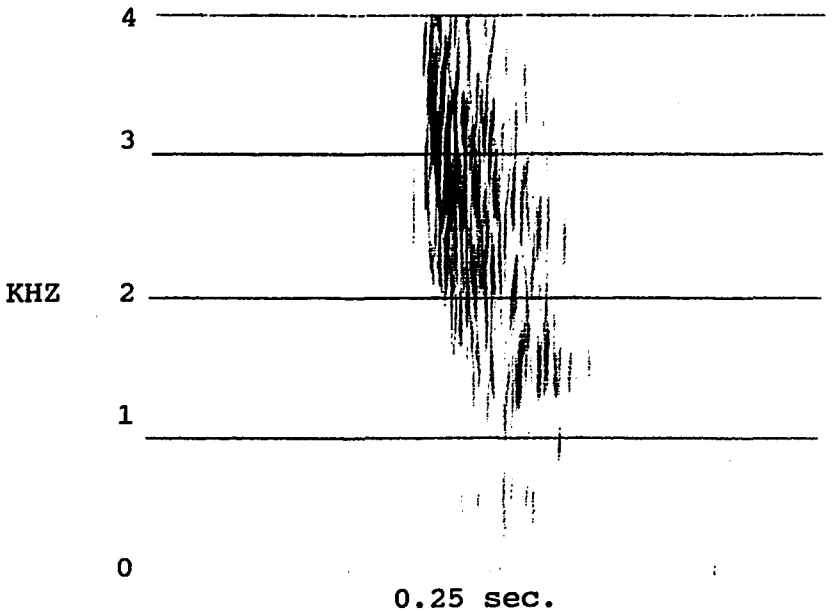


Figure 11: Vowel /i̥/

Figure 11 shows the spectrogram of the word /čị̥/. The voiceless vowel /i̥/ is characterized by the lack of a voice bar.

Voiceless vowels have in common the absence of the voice bar that characterizes oral vowels. The first formant is weak and shifts up. The formants are weak and appear as continuous traces.

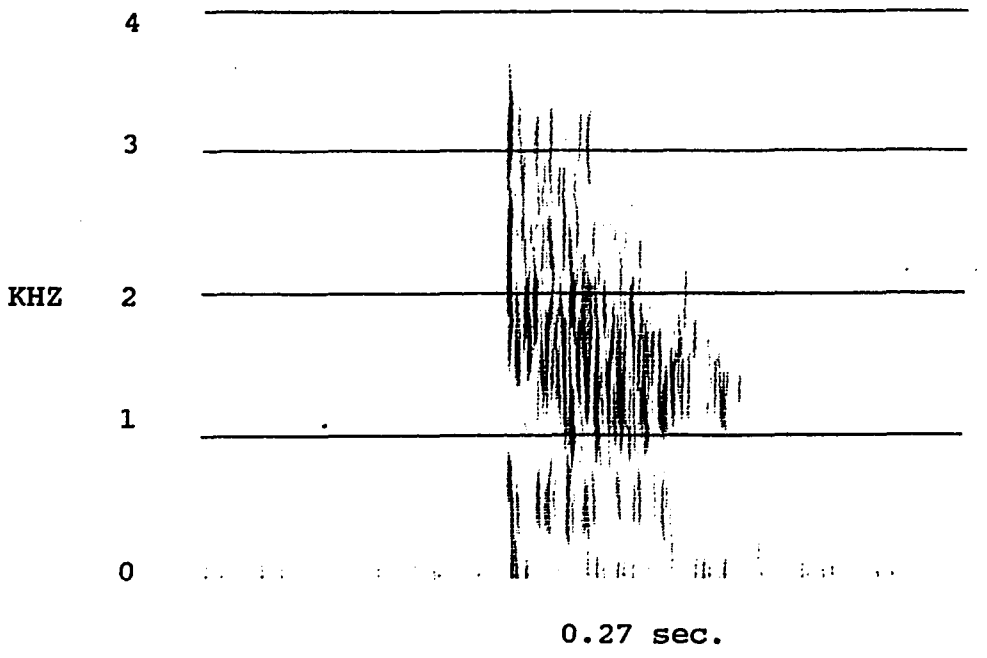


Figure 12: Vowel /i̥/

The spectrogram of the word /ti̥/ has the voiceless vowel/i̥/ without a voice bar and with weak formants.

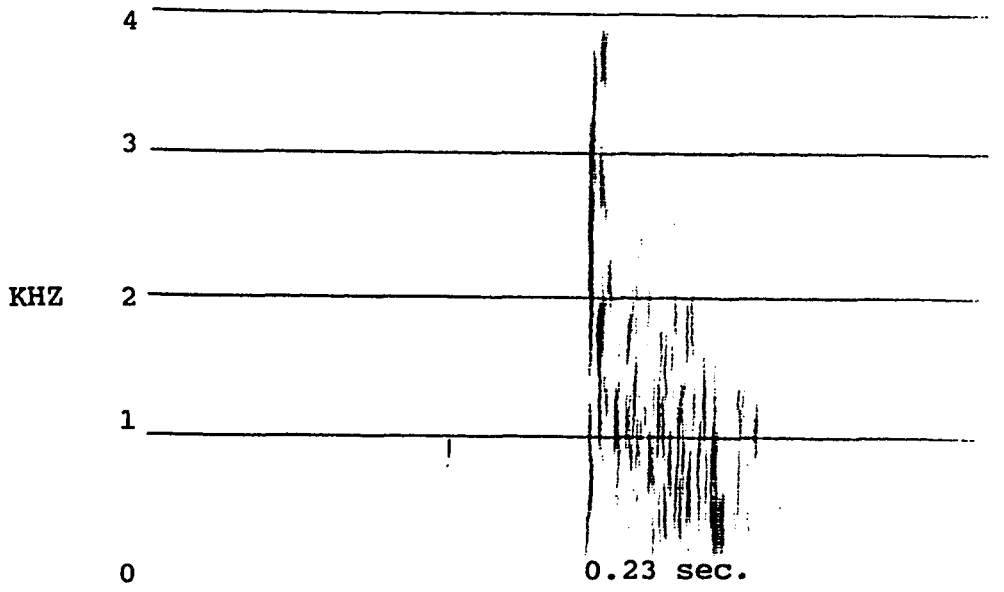


Figure 13: Vowel /u̥/

Figure 13 shows the spectrogram of the word /tu̥/ with the voiceless vowel /u̥/.

To sumarize, oral Awa vowels are represented in figure 14, the first two formants are shown.

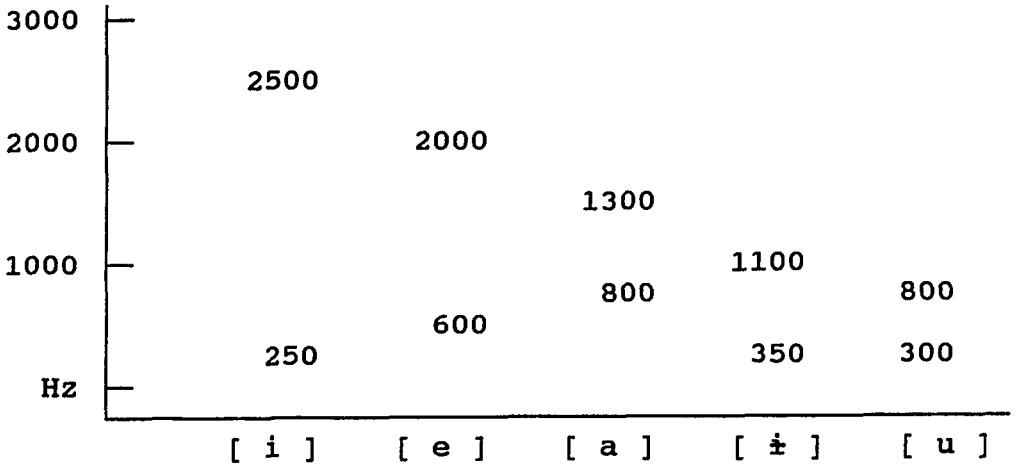


Figure 14: Frequencies of the first two formants

Vowels have different realizations according to the sounds that precede or follow them. Figure 15 plots the first two formants for a hundred vocalic spectrograms. The circles give approximate centers for a number of points within a radius of 50Hz. for F_1 and 100 Hz. for F_2.

Most of the allophones are conditioned by the phonetic environment, by the neighboring consonants, by stress, and by the vowels of adjacent syllables and the number of syllables in the word. In some cases there is also a certain amount of free variation.

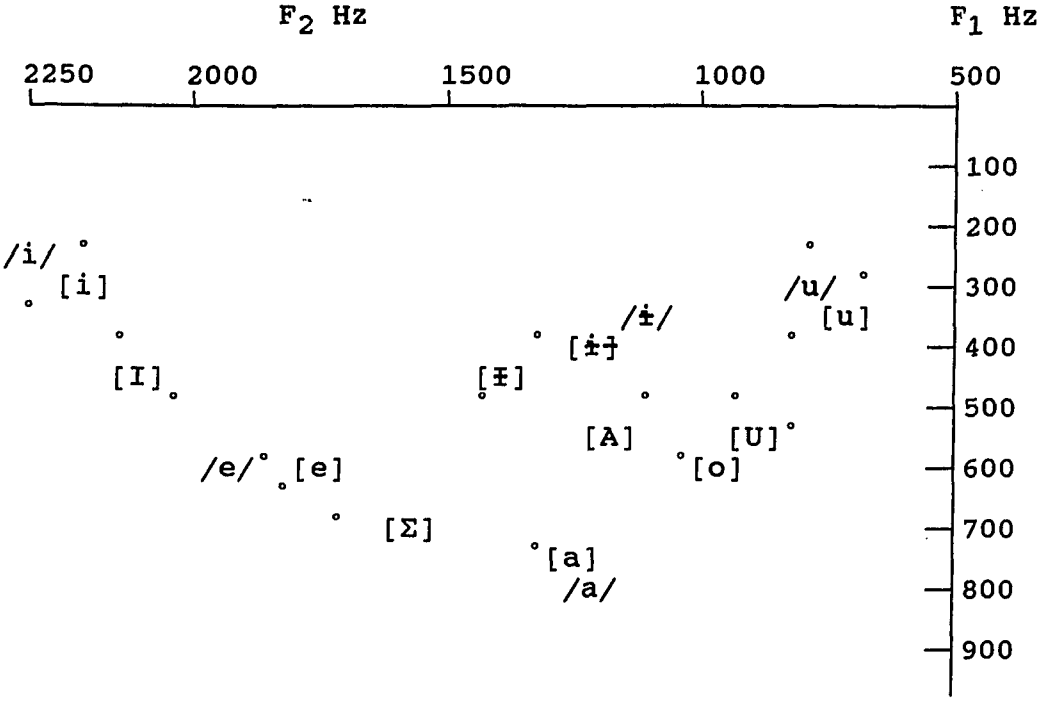


Figure 15: Plot of vowel formants F_1 and F_2

4.1.2 Diphthongs

Acoustically, the Awa language has the following diphthongs: ay, aw, ey, ew, wa, we, wi, ya, ye, yu. Diphthongs are produced by moving the vocal tract from a shape corresponding to one vowel to a shape of another one.

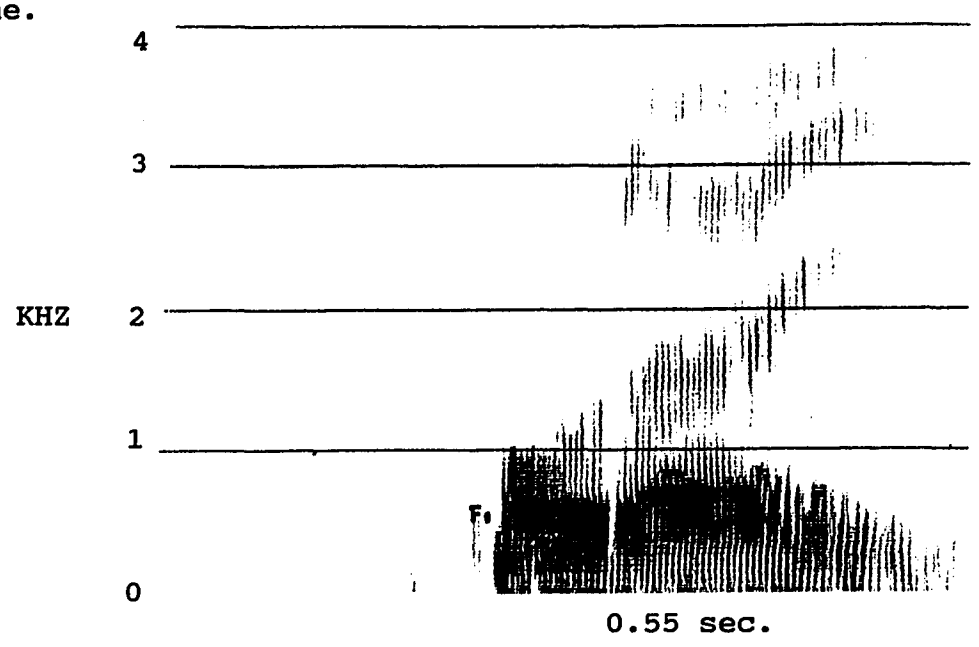


Figure 16: Diphthong /ay/

The spectrogram of the word /putay/ shows the diphtong /ay/. The formant frequencies move up through the diphthong.

4.2 Articulatory Positions for Vowels.

In the previous section vowels were defined acoustically by particular patterns of bands of sound energy at particular frequencies. Vowels can be

classified according to the acoustic quality and also according to articulatory features. The various vocal-tract shapes are achieved by appropriate positioning of the articulators, particularly: the tongue body, the tongue root, the jaw, and the lips. In the production of the vowels none of the articulators come very close together, allowing the airstream to pass relatively unobstructed.

4.2.1 Phonetic features for Awa vowels

The Awa vowels can be organized into natural classes or features depending on their articulatory and acoustic characteristics.

High. The tongue body is displaced upwards and parts of the tongue touch the hard or soft palate. The first formant is low.

Low. The tongue goes downwards and is not in contact with the palate or upper teeth. The first formant is high.

Back. The tongue is back, so that the tongue tip is not in contact with the lower teeth. The second formant is low and close to the first formant.

Rounded. The lips are protruded and the mouth opening is narrowed.

Tense. Vowels are produced with a general tension of the muscles.

Nasal. Vowels are produced with a velopharyngeal opening.

Voice. The vocal folds vibrate.

Table 2 shows the Awa vowels in terms of the features described above.

Table 2

Distinctive features of vowels

	i	ɨ	e	a	u	ĩ	ɨ̃	ẽ	ã	ũ	i̥	ɨ̥	u̥
high	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
low	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
back	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
tense	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
voiced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-

4.3 Consonants

Consonants have three types of sound sources: voicing, noise, and transients. Voiced stops show a low frequency voice bar $F_{.1}$ The fricative is a noise source filter and typically there is a high frequency noise in voiceless fricatives. The transients are the vertical single striations at the beginning of stops.

As vowels were analyzed according to the tube models, consonants are determined by the constant restriction in the back cavity, and in between them a narrow restriction. Formulas and the values of the resonance frequencies for the cavities are derived as a function of the position of the restriction.

Predictability of formant levels is possible in consonants. The different increase in closure has acoustic consequences in terms of F_1. Voiced stop consonants exhibit a low frequency bar F_1, fricatives show upper formants because of their additional noise source, nasals and laterals show traces of upper formant energy, approximants tend to show more of upper formants but not as much as vowels. Sibilants and non-sibilants show a difference in noise. Sibilants show more noise than a non-sibilant consonant. Nasals and laterals have a voice bar F_1 but also more upper formant energy than fricatives. Approximants have upper formants but not as high as vowels.

Talking about manner of articulation of consonants is important to see the conclusion about vowels, if the jaw is high, the F_1 value is low, and when the jaw goes down the F_1 is high. The same occurs with consonants, they can be arranged in a continuum in terms of the

degree of the opening from stops, completely closed; fricatives, a little open; nasals and laterals a little more open; and approximants more open but not as much as vowels.

Consonants differ according to the place in the vocal tract where the constriction is located. Awa pit consonants have the following places of articulation: **Bilabial.** The blockage of the oral cavity is made with the two lips.

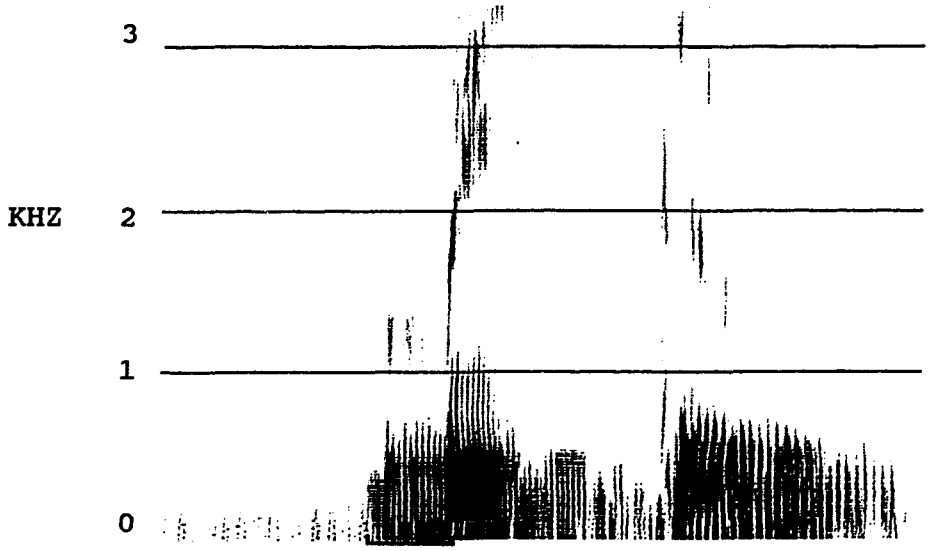


Figure 17: Bilabial /m/

The spectrogram shows the bilabial /m/ in /mitt̪/. **Alveolar.** Consonants are produced by raising the tongue blade and making contact with the hard palate.

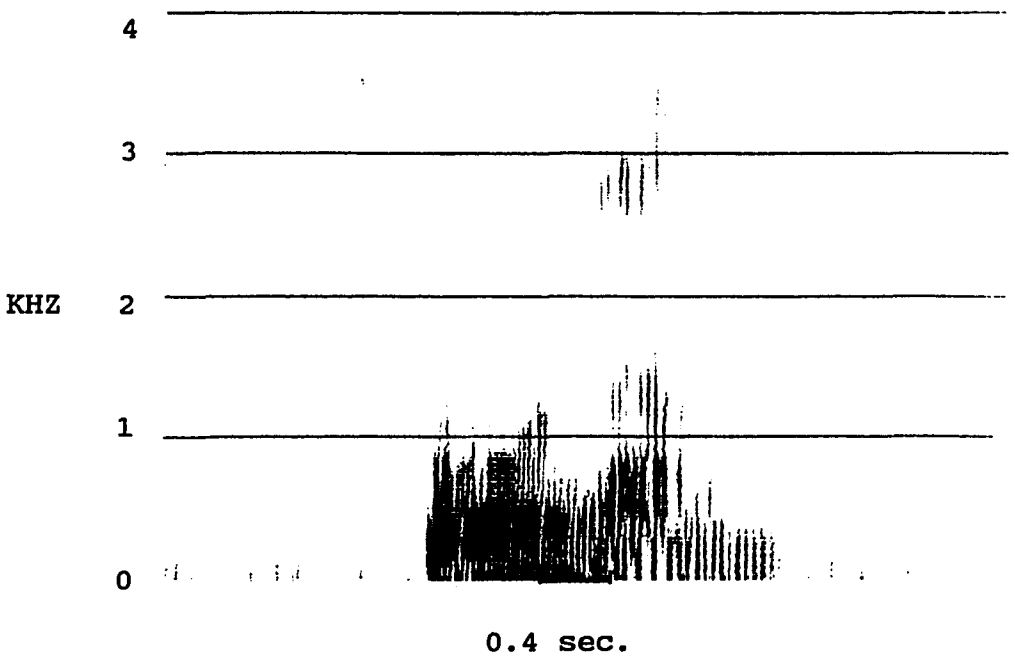


Figure 18: Alveolar /l/

The word */ulam/* shows an alveolar sound. The next vowel has high second and third formants.

Alveopalatal. The articulation is made by bringing the blade of the tongue close to the part of the roof of the mouth where the alveolar ridge and the hard palate join.

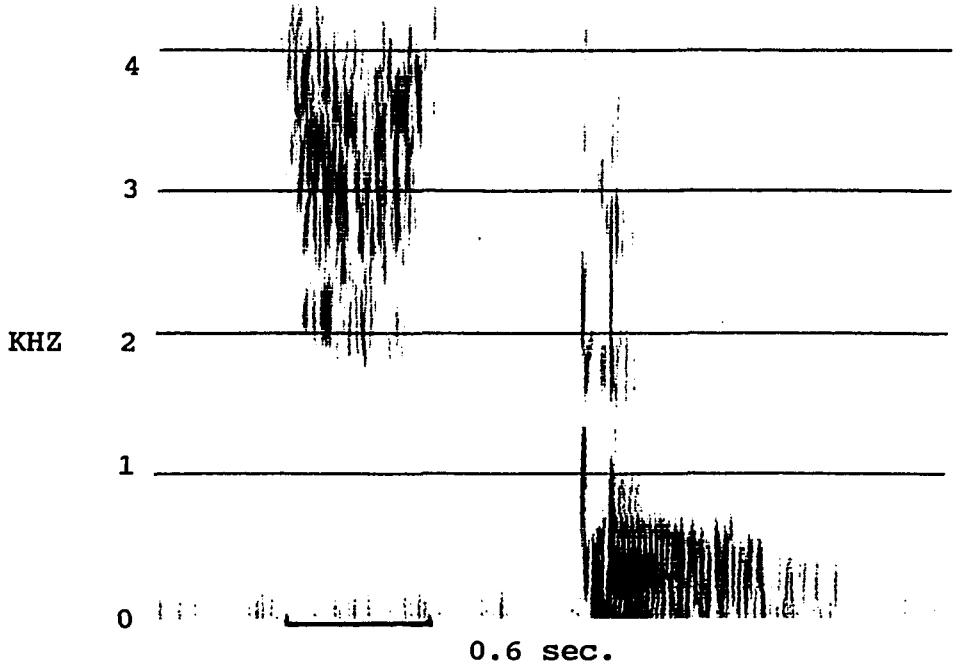


Figure 19: Alveopalatal /č/

The sound [č] has a significant presence of bursts.

Velar. The constriction position for a velar is roughly two-thirds of the distance from the glottis to the lips.

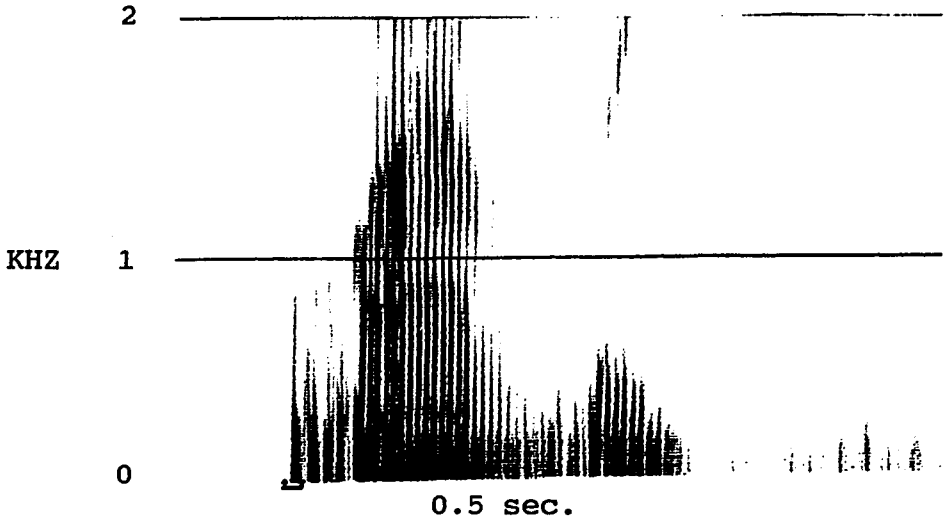


Figure 20: Velar /k/

The noise at the release of the consonant has a peak in the vicinity of F_2 and F_3.

Fricative Velar. The vocal tract is wide open, with a little friction in the production of this sound. Figure 14 shows an example of the /x/ sound.

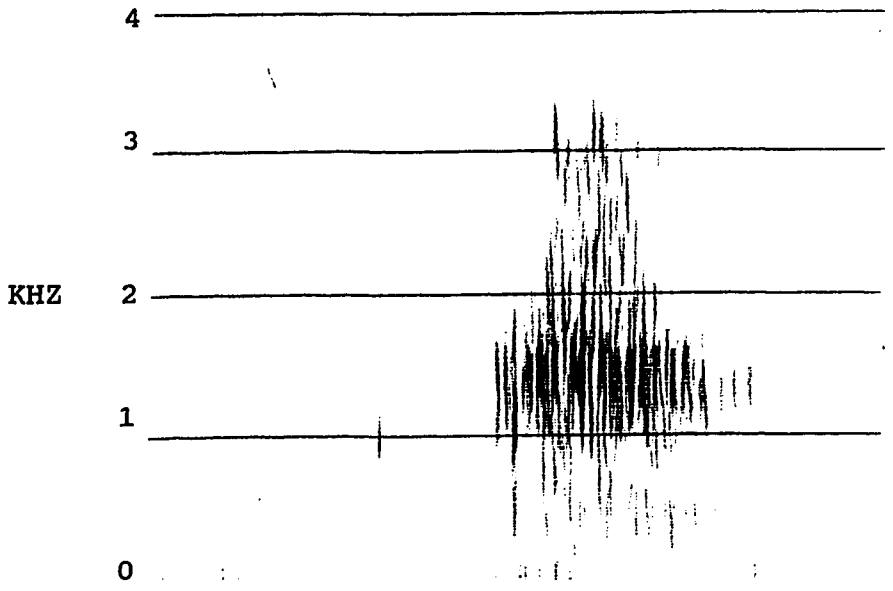


Figure 21: Fricative velar

The spectrogram shows how the /x/ sound excites all the formants, except F_1.

4.4 Phoneme Inventory

Awa consonants may be described in the traditional terms of place and manner of articulation. Table 3 shows the Awa consonants.

Table 3

Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops voiceless	p	t		k
Fricatives vless		s	š	x
voiced		z		
Affricates			č	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	
Lateral		l		
Glides	w		y	

Table 4 displays the Awa voiced and voiceless oral vowels. Nasal vowels have the same distribution.

Table 4

Vowel Phonemes

	Voiced			Voiceless		
	front	central	back	Front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u	i̥	ɨ̥	u̥
middle	e					
low		a				

4.5 Phoneme Contrasts

Minimal pairs or near minimal pairs are given in order to illustrate the phonemic oppositions between phones which are sufficiently alike phonetically to be potential allophones of a single phoneme.

4.5.1 Consonants

Stops /p,t/

/pã/	[pã]	'sun'
/tã/	[tã]	'fresh'

Stops /p,k/

/pi/	[pi]	'water'
/ki/	[ki]	'hurt'

Labials /p,m/

/pi/	[pi]	'water'
/mi/	[mi]	'road'

Labials /p,w/

/pana/	[pána]	'to touch'
/wanna/	[wána]	'to sow'

Stops /t,k/

/t̪/	[t̪]	'cold'
/k̪/	[k̪]	'leaf'

Alveolars /t,s/

/tu/	[tu]	'is'
/su/	[s̩u]	'world'

Alveolars /t,n/

/ta/	[ta]	'there'
/na/	[na]	'I'

Alveolars /t,l/

/pil/	[pIl^{y}]	'soil'
/pit/	[pIt^{n}]	'mouth'

Fricatives /s,s/

/kasu/	[kásu]	'eye'
/isnu/	[Íznu]	'sick'

Fricatives /s,z/

/pɨs/	[pɪ̈s]	'vagina'
/pɨz/	[pɪ̈z]	'spider'

Nasals /m,n/

/ma/	[ma]	'today'
/na/	[na]	'I'

Palatals /n,y/

/wana/	[wána]	'type of fish'
/waya/	[wáya]	'monkey'

4.5.2 Oral Vowels

High /i,ɨ/

/pit/	[pIt^{n}]	'language'
/pɨt/	[pɪt^{n}]	'grass'

High /i,u/

/pil/	[pIl^{y}]	'soil'
/pul/	[pUl]	'dry'

High /ɨ,u/

/sɨ/	[s̩ɨ]	'bean'
/su/	[s̩u]	'world'

Middle /e/ & High /u/

/nu/	[nu]	'you'
/-ne/	[-ne]	'emphatic'

Low /a/ & High /i/

/pal/	[pAl]	'wasp'
/pil/	[pIl^{y}]	'soil'

Low /a/ & High /ɨ/

/an/	[An]	'to come'
/ɨn/	[ɪn]	'to go'

Low /a/ & High /u/

/ma/	[ma]	'today'
/mu/	[mu]	'louse'

4.5.3 Voiceless Vowels

High /i,i̥/

/pi/	[pi]	'water'
/p̥i/	[p̥i]	'medicine'

High /ɨ,ɨ̥/

/tɨ/	[tɨ]	'tree'
/tɨ̥/	[tɨ̥]	'cold'

High /u,u̥/

/tu/	[tu]	'is'
/tu̥/	[tu̥]	'bag'

4.5.4 Nasal Vowels

High /i,ĩ/

/pi/	[pi]	'water'
/pĩ/	[pĩ]	'fabric'

High /ɨ,ɨ̃/

/pɨ/	[pɨ]	'excrement'
/pɨ̃/	[pɨ̃]	'achiote'

High /u,ũ/

/kum/	[kUm]	'to eat'
/kũ/	[kũ]	'yucca'

Low /a,ã/

/-pa/	[pa]	'locative'
/pã/	[pã]	'sun'

4.6 Feature Description

In this section is suggested a possible feature

description of the Awa phonology. The feature oppositions are all binary and the alternations will be expressed in rules using + and - values. Table 5 shows the features for the consonants of the Awa language.[5]

Table 5

Distinctive features

	p	t	k	s	z	š	č	x	m	n	ŋ	l	y	w
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Continuant	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Coronal	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
Lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Voiced	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-

4.7 Realisation of consonant phonemes

Consonants have the following allophonic realisations:

4.7.1 Stops

The phoneme /p/ becomes [b] in the environment after a voiced consonant, for example:

/ampu/	[Ámbu]	'man'
/pilpusna/	[pIlbÚzna]	'to dirty'
/kwaiztɨt/	[kwÁyzdɪt^{n}]	'tired'

The phoneme /p/ becomes [b̥] in the environment between vowels, for example:

/papau/	[pab̥Áw]	'bird'
/tapi/	[tá b̥i]	'warm'

The phoneme /p/ becomes nasalized in the environment of word final position, for example:

/čap/	[čAp^{m}]	'ripe plantain'
/ap/	[Ap^{m}]	'mine'

The phoneme /p/ is realised as [p] in all other environments, for example:

/pala/	[pála]	'plantain'
/paišpa/	[pÁyšpa]	'boy'

The phoneme /t/ becomes [d] in the environment after a voiced consonant, for example:

/kamta/	[kÁnda]	'snake'
/p̣ltu/	[p̣ ́ldu]	'flying'
/izṭt/	[Izḍ ́t^{n}]	'seen'

The phoneme /t/ becomes [r] in the environment between vowels, for example:

/atal/	[arÁl]	'chicken'
/ṭtu/	[ṭ ́ru]	'I'm going'

The phoneme /t/ becomes nasalized in the environment of word final position, for example:

/wat/	[wAt^{n}]	'good'

/patat/ [parÁt^{n}] 'speak'

The phoneme /t/ is realised as [t] in the other positions, for example:

/taina/ [tÁyna] 'to pull'

/katsa/ [kÁtsa] 'big'

The phoneme /k/ is realised as [g] in the environment after a voiced consonant, for example:

/ɨnkal/ [ɪngÁl] 'mountain'

/pankulkasa/ [pAngÚlgasa] 'with worms'

/izkamtawa/ [IzgÁmdawa] 'must learn'

The phoneme /k/ becomes [ɡ] in the environment betweeen vowels, for example.

/wakata/ [wAgára] 'cattle'

/pɨkum/ [pɨgÚm] 'grow'

The phoneme /k/ becomes nasalized in word final position, for example:

/pak/ [pAk^{ŋ}] 'fly'

/uk/ [Uk^{ŋ}] 'rock'

The phoneme /k/ is realised as [k] in all other positions, for example:

/kwil/ [kwIl^{y}] 'throat'

/naška/ [nÁška] 'afternoon'

Using distintive feature notation, the following rule sumarizes the change of voiceless stops into the corresponding voiced ones:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{voiced}] \; / \; \underset{[+\text{voiced}]}{\text{C}} \; \_\_\_\_$$

The following rule accounts for the spirantization of stop sounds:[6]

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \text{V}\_\_\_\_$$

The following rule explains the nasalization of final stops.

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \#\_\_\_\_$$

4.7.2 Fricatives

The phoneme /s/ becomes retroflex [ṣ] in the environment of the beginning of a word, for example:

/sɨ/	[ṣɨ]	'bean'
/sayam/	[ṣayAm]	'crossed'
/sula/	[ṣula]	'tooth'

The rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{lateral} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{distributed} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \#\_\_\_\_$$

the phoneme /s/ becomes [z] in the environment before a voiced sound, for example,

/usne/	[Úzne]	'you'
/suasne/	[swÁzne]	'then'

The rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{lateral} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\ +\text{voiced}\ ] \ /\ \_\_\_\_\_\ [\ +\text{voiced}]$$

The phoneme /s/ is realised as [s] in all other positions, for example:

/pustɨm/	[pÚstɨm]	'to go out'
/pas/	[pAs]	'two'
/-kasa/	[kásа]	'with'

The phoneme /z/ becomes /ž/ in the environment after the vowel /i/, and before another vowel, for example:

/maiza/	[mÁyža]	'mirror'
/kwiza/	[kwíža]	'dog'
/aiza/	[Áyža]	'sister'

A rule may be written as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{lateral} \\ +\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{anterior}] \ /\ V\ \_\_\_\_\_V \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ High} \\ +\text{ tense} \\ -\text{ back} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phoneme /z/ becomes [ǯ] in the environment

between vowels, for example:

/maza/	[máža]	'one'
/kuzu/	[kúžu]	'pig'
/kwazi/	[kwáži]	'water'

The rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{lateral} \\ +\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{anterior}] \;/\; V\_\_\_\_\_V$$

The phoneme /z/ is realised as [z] in all other positions, for example:

/kaiztu/	[kÁyzdu]	'telling'
/kɨzpu/	[kɨ́zbu]	'head'

The phoneme /s/ becomes /z/ in the environment before voiced consonant, for example:

/tišnul/	[tÍznUl]	'lemon'
/našnakima/	[nAznagíma]	'see you tomorrow'

The following rule may be written as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{lateral} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{voiced}] \;/\; \underset{[+\text{voiced}]}{\underline{\quad\quad}\ C}$$

The phoneme /š/ is realised as [š] in all other environments, for example:

/išu/	[íšu]	'tiger'
/pašu/	[pášu]	'daughter'
/aš/	[aš]	'hair'

The phoneme /x/ becomes [?] in the environment of final of the word, for example:[7]

/ayax/	[ayÁ?]	'skin'
/nɨnakax/	[nɨnagÁ?]	'to peel'

The rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \\ -\text{voiced} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ -\text{continuant} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \underline{\qquad}\# $$

The phoneme /x/ becomes [c], palatalized, in the environment after vowel /i/, for example:

/ixmu/	[Ícmu]	'blanket'
/pixtam/	[pÍctAm]	'blue'

The following rule may be formulated:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \text{V}\underline{\qquad}\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{tense} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phoneme /x/ is realised as [x] in the other environments, for example:

/kaxucu/	[kaxúču]	'wild pig'
/muxtɨt/	[mÚxtɪtⁿ]	'root'
/axkas/	[ÁxkAs]	'(also) reed'

4.7.3 Affricate

The phoneme /č/ becomes [ž] in the environment after a voiced consonant, for example:

/ančik/	[ÁnžIk]	'yesterday'
/pilču/	[pÍlžu]	'unripe'

The rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{voiced}] \; / \; \underline{\quad\quad} \; \begin{matrix} C \\ [+\text{voiced}] \end{matrix}$$

4.7.4 Nasals

The phonemes /m/ becomes [n] in the environment before an alveolar stop sound, for example:

/amta/	[Ánda]	'night'
/kum-tu/	[kÚndu]	'eating'

The following rule may be written to consider this realisation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\ +\text{coronal}\ ] \; / \; \underline{\quad\quad} \; \begin{matrix} C \\ [+\text{coronal}] \end{matrix}$$

The phoneme /m/ is realised as /m/ in the other positions, for example:

/ma/	[ma]	'today'
/kum/	[kUm]	'to eat'

The phoneme /n/ becomes [ŋ] before the velar stop, or /n/ becomes /m/ before bilabial stop, for example:

/i̱nkal/	[í̱ŋgAl]	'mountain'
/i̱nkwa/	[í̱ŋgwa]	'old'
/sun paspa]	[sUmbÁspa]	'that boy'
/an pala/	[Ámbala]	'this banana'

A rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ \beta\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} / \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ \beta\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phoneme /n/ is realised as [n] in the other environments, for example:

/na/	[na]	'I'
/ti̱tain/	[ti̱rÁyn]	'on the tree'

The phoneme /ɲ/ is realised as [ɲ] in all environments that the phoneme appears, for example:

/ɲa/	[ɲa]	'meat'
/paɲa/	[páɲa]	'fish'
/waɲa/	[wáɲa]	'type of fish'

4.7.5 Lateral

The phoneme /l/ becomes [l^{y}] in the environment after the vowel /i/, or the glide [y], for example:

/pil/	[pIl^{y}]	'dirt'
/kail/	[kAyl^{y}]	'ear'

The following rule may be formulated for this realisation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{lateral} \\ +\text{anterior} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{anterior}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \_\_$$

Tne phoneme /l/ is realised as [l] in the other positions, for example:

/nul/	[nUl]	'nut'
/pala/	[pála]	'plantain'

4.7.6 Glides

The Phoneme /w/ is realised as [w] in all the environments it appears, for example:

/wantiš/	[wÁndIš̌]	'cloud'
/awa/	[awá]	'person'
/kwiza/	[kwíza]	'dog'

The phoneme /y/ is realised as [y] in all positions it occurs, for example:

/yel/	[yΣl]	'house'
/muya/	[múya]	'fox'

4.8 Realisation of vowel phonemes

The Awa vowels present the following allophonic realisations:

4.8.1 Oral

The phoneme /i/ becomes [I] in the environment of closed syllables, for example:

/pistana/	[pɪ́stana/	'to breed'
/pit/	[pɪt^{n}]	'language'
/tišnul/	[tɪ́šnUl]	'lemon'

The following rule may be written to consider this realisation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \underline{\quad} \; C.$$

The phoneme /i/ is realised as [i] in all the other positions, for example:

/impi/	[Imbi]	'blood'
/itu/	[iru]	'to die'

The phoneme /ɨ/ becomes [ɪ] in the environment of closed syllables, for example:

/mɨlna/	[mɪ́lna]	'to carry'
/sɨpna/	[s̩ɪ́pna]	'to sew'
/pɨz/	[pɪz]	'spider'

A rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \_\_\_\_C.$$

The phoneme /ɨ/ is realised as [ɨ] in all the other environments, for example:

/ɨtu/	[ɨ́ru]	'I am going'
/mittɨ]	[mítɨ]	'foot'
/tɨlawa/	[tɨlawá]	'tomorrow'

The phoneme /u/ becomes [U] in the environment of closed syllable, for example:

/nul/	[nUl]	'nut'
/kumtu/	[kÚndu]	'eating'
/usne/	[Úzne]	'he'

The following rule may be written for this realisation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{tense} \\ +\text{rounded} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \_\_\_\_\_C.$$

The phoneme /u/ becomes /w/ when it precedes or follows a vowel in the same syllable. For example:

/uan/	[wan]	'all'
/papau/	[paɓáw]	'bird'

A rule may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{tense} \\ +\text{rounded} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{vocalic}] \;/\; .\ V \_\_\_\_\_ V.$$

The phoneme /u/ is realised as /u/ in the other contexts it appears, for example:

/ulam/	[ulám]	'armadillo'
/ampu/	[ámbu]	'man'
/sula/	[s̩úla]	'tooth'

The phoneme /u/ has the allophone /o/ that is in free variation with the other allophones. It occurs, mainly, in initial or final positions, and words borrowed from Spanish, for example:

/uk/	[ok^{n}~ k^{n}]	'rock'
/wipu/	[wibu ~ wibo]	'egg'

The phoneme /e/ becomes [Σ] in the environment of a closed syllable, for example:

/yel/	[yΣl]	'house'
/pien/	[pyΣn]	'bridge'
/piel/	[pyΣl]	'money'

A rule may be written as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \\ +\text{low} \\ \\ \end{bmatrix} \;/\; \_\_\_\_\_C.$$

The phoneme /e/ is realised as [e] in the other environments it occurs, for example:

/nune/	[núne]	'you'
/we/	[we]	'fault'

The phoneme /a/ becomes [A] in the environment of a closed syllable, for example:

/pialpin/	[pyálbIn]	'ox'
/yalkin/	[yálgIn]	'at home'
/ŋampial/	[ŋámbyAl]	'reed'

A rule may be written as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +back \\ +low \\ -high \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -high \\ -low \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \_\_\_\_\_C.$$

The phoneme /a/ is realised as [a] in the other environments it occurs, for example:

/ma/	[ma]	'today'
/awa/	[awá]	'person'
/pala/	[pála]	'plantain'

4.8.2 Nasal

Nasal vowels do not have different allophonic realisations because of the restricted environment in which they occur, for example:

/pĩ/	[pĩ]	'fabric'
/pɨ̃/	[pɨ̃]	'achiote'
/kũ/	[kũ]	'yucca'
/ɲã/	[ɲã]	'meat'

4.8.3 Voiceless

The three high voiceless vowels do not have other allophones because they are restricted to specific environments, for example:

/pi̥/	[pi̥]	'medicine'
/ki̥/	[ki̥]	'leave'
/tu̥/	[tu̥]	'bag'

4.9 Phonotactics

Phonologically, all lexical roots in Awa begin with consonants, glides, or vowels. However there some some restrictions:

4.9.1 Roots

- Oral vowel /e/ does not occur in initial position or at beginning of a syllable.
- Nasal vowel /ẽ/ appears only at the end of the word.
- The phoneme /š/ does not occur in initial position.
- The phoneme /z/ does not appear in initial position.
- The phoneme /č̆/ does not occur at the end of a word nor at the end of a syllable.
- The phoneme /ɲ/ does not appear at the end of a word

nor at the end of a syllable.

- There are not consonant clusters in Awa.
- Voiceless vowels do not occur with voiced sounds.

4.9.2 Morphemes

Morphemes which are not lexical roots that is, suffixes, enclitics, differ phonotactically from roots. Most, but not all, begin with consonants and end in vowels. There are morphemes that are formed by a single vowel, for example /-i/ means that a person is observing the fact that is described (evidential). There are morphemes that consist of a single consonant, for example /-s/ that identifies the person who is talking.

4.9.3 Intermorphemic phoneme sequences

Across morpheme boundaries there occur not only sequences of consonants, but also sequences of vowels. However, because of processes like assimilation, fusion, vowel harmony, etc., not all of the logically possible sequences actually occur. Moreover different sequences are permissible at different types of morpheme boundary, across which different processes operate. For example, the vowel sequence /e-i/ may occur in one form of the imperative: /patattei/.

4.9.4 Geminate consonants

When two identical consonants come together across a syllable boundary, they are described as geminate consonants. Stop sounds, mainly voiceless ones, occur as geminate, for example:

/tɨppu/	'finger'
/mittɨ/	'foot'
/ukkin/	'on a rock'

Geminate consonants appear as realisations of intermorphemic sequences. In some cases, it is possible to have geminate voiced stops due to assimilation process of contiguous sounds, for example:

/pɨl -tu/	----→	[pɨ́ldu]	----→	[pɨ́ddu] 'flying'
/pal -tu/	----→	[pʌ́ldu]	----→	[pʌ́ddu] 'wrapping'

Some speakers do not pronounce geminate consonants, and the difference in pronunciation is difficult to hear.

4.9.5 Markedness

Relative frequency of phonemes vary considerably depending on structural place within morphemes. There are a number of regularities that may be summarized as follows:

- Consonants are more frequent than vowels in initial

position. 58% of a sample start with consonant, 27% start with a vowel, and 15% with a glide.

- Root final morphemes show a similar proportion of vowel and consonant endings.
- Stop sounds are the most frequent ones in root initial morphemes. Stops are the less marked phonemes.
- Oral vowels in root initial morphemes occur in the following order going from less marked to more marked: a, i, ɨ, u, and e. Vowel /e/ never appears in initial position.
- Nasal vowels show the same pattern as oral vowels. /ẽ/ is the most marked vowel.
- Voiceless vowels frequency from less marked to more marked is the following: /i̥, ɨ̥, and u̥/.
- Nasal and voiceless vowels are marked sounds in Awa.

4.10 The Syllable

Each syllable in Awa contains a vowel. The vowel forms the peak or the nucleus of the syllable. Awa has a range of syllabic patterns that goes from a single vowel to a combination of vowel, glides, and consonants. Examples of syllabic pattern are:

Syllable Structure	*Sample word*	*English Gloss*
V	/a.lu/	'rain'
GV	/a.wa/	'people'

VG	/au.ne/	'we'
CV	/pa.la/	'plantain'
VC	/ap/	'my'
CVG	/pai.na/	'deer'
GVC	/wan/	'everybody'
CVC	/pit/	'language'
CVGC	/kaiz.ti/	'tell'
CGVG	/kwai.ker/	'name'
CGVGC	/kwail/	'bad'

Syllabic structure in Awa may be described as follows: (C∘VC∘). The following examples show the division of a syllable according to tier representation.

Figure 22: Syllable tier representation

The three main constituents of a syllable: onset, nucleus, and coda are shown in figure 23.

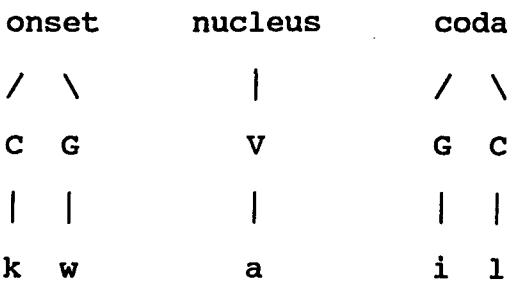


Figure 23: Syllable constituents

4.11 Stress

The function of stress in Awa is purely delimitative, and not distinctive. No two roots are distinguished by placement of stress. Stressed syllables tend to sound louder, and to have higher pitch than unstressed syllables. However, a syllable may be loud or may have high pitch without being stressed.

The Awa language has two main degrees of stress, namely strong and weak that could be called primary and secondary respectively. Figure 17 shows the amplitude of the word /maza/ in which it is possible to observe primary and secondary stress.

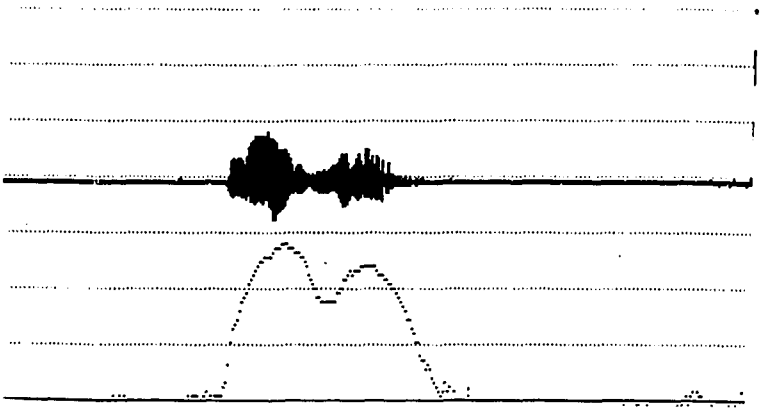


Figure 91: /maza/

4.11.1 Word stress

Most native Awa words of two syllables or more carry primary stress on the next to the last syllable. This is known as penultimate stress. The following examples illustrate:

/sula/	[súla]	'tooth'
/asampa/	[asAmba]	'woman'
/satakosa/	[saragósa]	'medicinal reed'

The following rule may be written to account for stress in Awa:

V ----→ V / _____(C°V C°)#

The penultimate stress rule in Awa makes that the primary stress shifts from one syllable to another when suffixes are added, so that the penultimate syllable is the loudest one. The following words show the movement of primary stress to the next to the last syllable:

/ɨnkal/	[ɨngÁl]	'mountain'
/ɨnkal-mal/	[ɨngÁlmAl]	'to the mountain'
/pastu/	[pÁstu]	'Pasto'
/pastu-ta/	[pAstúra]	'to Pasto'
/pastu-ta-kima/	[pAsturagíma]	'toward Pasto'

When emphasis is placed over a specific suffix it becomes the loudest one. The use of the suffix -ne is an example of the use of stress to emphasize a part of speech,

/na-ne/	[nané]	'I'
/suas-ne/	[swAzné]	'then'

The penultimate rule may be redefined in terms of the structure of the syllable. Heavy syllables carry the primary stress if the penultimate syllable is lighter, for example:

/awa/	[a.wá]	'people'
/ulam/	[u.lÁm]	'armadillo'

4.11.2 Phrase stress

The penultimate rule also applies generally to Awa phrases. For example, the words:

[kÁtsa] [pála]

form the phrase: [kAtsaɓála]. Primary stress is reduced to secondary stress when the words come together to form a phrase.

4.12 Intonation pattern of Awa

Pitch and juncture play an important role in the intonation pattern of Awa. The rise and fall of the pitch through a phrase makes possible to predict the pitch contours in Awa. When the speaker choses the pitch at these points, the variations at other points are either conditioned or make no difference. The pitch needs to be specified at: each strong stress in the phrase, the beginning of the phrase, and the end of the phrase. There are only two pitch levels in Awa that can be identified as /1/ and /2/ in the phrase.

Junctures signal the phrasing in speech. Phrase ends are analized as terminal junctures. Awa has three terminal junctures: falling, rising, and level. Terminal falling /↓/ causes the preceding syllable to diminish rapidly in intensity, with a drop of pitch, for example:

1 2 2 1

nané ɨmtus↓ 'I am going'

Terminal rising /↑/ causes the preceding syllable to rise in pitch, for example:

1 2 2

awa pit↑ 'Awa language'

Terminal level /|/ produces internal breaks or pauses within an utterance, for example:

1 2 2 1

nané /|/ ɨmtus 'I am going'

Each phrase has an intonation pattern depending on the pitch contour and the terminal juncture. An affirmative sentence usually has the following intonation:

nane | ɨmtus 'I am going'

An interrogative sentence has the following intonation:

nune mɨnpa-ɨmtus 'Where are you going?'

An emphatic interrogative sentence can have a raising pitch at the end of the sentence, for example:

nune mɨnpa ɨmtus 'Where are you going?'

4.13 Morphophonemics

When two morphemes are brought together some changes occur in the phonemes that are in contact. Three main types of processes can be described in certain well defined morphological environments namely, assimilation, fusion, and ephentesis.

4.13.1 Assimilation

This is a term used to describe what happens when

one sound assimilates or takes on some of the features of another sound. A consonant may assimilate the point of articulation of another consonant or it may assimilate the manner of articulation. Different types of assimilation occur in Awa, for example palatalization, nasalization, and voicing. The word *ɨm-ta* 'go to' contains two morphemes that show assimilation of the point of articulation and voicing.

/ɨm + ta/	underlying representation
/ɨn + ta/	alveolar assimilation
/ɨn + da/	voicing
[ɨ́nda]	output

4.13.2 Reduction

When two morphemes come in contact, one of the sounds is deleted. For example, the verb *putna* 'to fish' receives the suffixes *ɨ-m-tu-s* 'I am going to'. The following morphophonemic changes are observed:

/putna + ɨ + m + tu + s/	underlying representation
/putn + ɨ + m + tu + s/	vowel deletion
/putn + ɨ + n + tu + s/	alveolar assimilation
/putn + ɨ + n + du + s/	voicing
[pUtnɨ́ndUs]	output

4.13.3 Insertion

Insertion is another general process that occurs

when morphemes are in contact. Insertion is observed when Spanish borrowed terms are used in Awa, or with words that show repetition. For example, the Spanish word 'contar', *kwinta* in Awa, inserts a consonant and a vowel *-ki* before other suffixes are added.

/kwinta + shi + m + tu + s/ underlying representation
/kwinta + ki + shi + m + tu + s/ epenthesis
/kwinta + ki + shi + n + tu + s/ alveolar assimilation
/Kwinda + gi + shi + n + du + s/ voicing
[kwIndagiš́ndUs] output

CHAPTER V

MORPHOLOGY

This chapter deals with morphemes, the smallest units that carry meaning, and the way words are built out of them.

5.1 Morpheme

There are several types of morphemes in Awa. Free morphemes are those which can stand alone without any other morpheme. They are always words, and they cannot be reduced to any smaller forms. For example the words: *pala* 'plantain', *ma* 'today', *ɨ* 'to go', *i* 'hot'. Bound morphemes are always attached to another morpheme to form a word. For example, *-ta* 'to' as in *yelta* 'to the house', *-tu* 'aspect' as in *ɨmtus* 'I am going'.

With these two classes of morphemes, it is possible to form three different types of words: (1) Simple words, similar to free morphemes or roots. (2) Compound words which are composed of two or more free morphemes. Some examples of compound words are: *ɨnkal-awa* 'people of the mountains', *awa-pit* 'the Awa language'. (3) Complex words, the most common type in Awa, consist of a free morpheme plus one or more bound morphemes, for example:

pia -mal 'to the corn field', *put -pail -chi* 'they (two) fished', *pak -n -ɨ -tu* 'I am going to take'.

5.2 Grammatical categories

The grammatical categories of the Awa are: nominals, locational qualifier, time qualifier, pronoun, deitic, verbal (verb and adverb), and classifiers.

5.3 Nominals

This class contains those words which usually occur in nominal phrases, and potentially as lexical parts of a verbal phrase. This is an open class that has many members.

5.3.1 Definite determiners

Definite determiners are demonstratives, which point to something in the situational context of the utterance. They distinguish two degrees of distance with respect to the speaker, proximal and distal:

proximal: an 'this'

distal: sun 'that'

Both determiners$_1$ are used to modify the following noun:

an ɨnkal	sun akish tɨ
'this mountain'	'that long tree'

5.3.2 Indefinite determiners

Indefinite determiners indicate that the identity of the referent NP is not known or included in the

conversation. They are used with interrogative effect. There are two indefinite determiners:

-ki	'someone, who'
-ma	'someone, he/she'

Indefinite determiners are bound morphemes, for example,

kwat-ki	kwazi kwashi-ma
eat someone	water want he
'does someone eat?'	'is he thirsty?'

5.3.3 Kin terms

Kin terms constitute an interesting class marking the speaker gender with a variety of members, specially those refering to the siblings:

ala	'sister's brother'
aña	'brother's brother'
aiza	'sister's sister'
kwa	'brother's sister'

Kin terms realise the entity function in NPs. Other terms for relatives are: *painkul* 'son', *pashu* 'daughter', *akkwa* 'mother', *pampa* 'grandfather', *kwankwa* 'grandmother'. Other kin terms are borrowed from Spanish, for example, *tiu* 'uncle', or from Quechua, for example *taitta* 'father'.

5.3.4 Number words

There are distinct terms for the first four numbers

only: *maza* 'one,' *pas* 'two,' *kwitña* 'three,' and *ampata* 'four.' The other numbers are borrowed from Spanish. There are other few terms in this category, such as: *akkwan* 'many,' *pichin* 'few,' *wan* 'all,' *mazain* 'these ones,' *kapal* 'final.'

5.3.5 Proper nouns

This class refers to names of persons or places. Proper nouns receive morphemes that mark specific functions. POSsessive is the most common function used with proper nouns, and ABLative the most common with places, for example,

Pablo -wa yal	Alak-tas
Pablo POS house	Altaquer ABL
'Pablo's house'	'from Altaquer'

5.4 Adverbials

The Awa language has four main types of adverbials: adverbs, temporal adverbials, spatial adverbials, and frequency adverbials.

5.4.1 Adverbs

Adverbs qualify the process, expressing the manner in which it was done, or in which it occurred. Examples of adverbs are,

kwail kɨntɨ-te
badly dawn past
'it dawned badly'$_2$

Kwisha katsa yal
very big house
'a very big house'

5.4.2 Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials refer to points of time and are used to locate processes temporally, for example, *tɨlawa* 'tomorrow,' *nashna* 'afternoon,' *ma* 'today,' *payu* 'daytime,' *amta* 'night.' Some temporal adverbials can enter into syntagms with others, for example:

pal nash -tui
dry afternoon stative
'the afternoon is dry'

alu nash -tui
rain afternoon stative
'rainy afternoon'

5.4.3 Spatial adverbials

Two major subclasses of spatial adverbials may be identified: cardinals and reference points given by the speaker. Cardinals orientate horizontally and vertically. Two terms are used horizontally: *kwiyamat* 'left,' and *nit* 'right.' The terms used vertically are: *kweshta* 'up,' and *suman sumal* 'down.' There is also the

term *sayan* 'diagonally.' An example of a cardinal spatial adverb is,

yal -ne kwiya-mat
house emp left to
'the house is to the left'

Reference points are adverbials that show the subject's location, direction or movement. The words *piputta* 'downstream' and *pikweshpa* 'upstream' are words used with reference meaning, for example,

pi- putta -im -tu -s
river down go asp 1st pers
' I go downstream'

5.4.4 Frequency adverbials

There are two adverbs that show frequency: *mamasa* 'again' and *itattuta* 'in a minute.' An example of the use of a frequency adverbial is,

mamasa kaizti
again repeat
'repeat again'

5.5 Pronominals

The category of person is realised in different ways. The pronominal system constantly distinguishes

three persons. Number is expressed by two general categories: singular, and non singular. The non-singular category consists of dual and plural. Pronouns have the following functions: subject, possessive, locative, and direct object. The paradigm for the subject forms is in the next table.

Table 6

Subject forms of pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
first	na	aupas	au
second	nu	upas	u
third	us	uspapas	uspa

Pronouns in the subject form usually receive the emphatic *-ne*, which gives more emphasis to the word it is attached, for example,

na	-ne	Awa	pit	patan-tu	-s	
I	emp	people	language	speak	asp	1st pers

'I am speaking the Awa language'

Pronouns in possessive form have the following

paradigmatic distribution.

Table 7

Possessive forms of pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	ap	au-pas	au
Second	up	u-pas	u
Third	paiña	uspa-pas	uspa

The three plural forms in the possessive have the same forms of the subject. Possessive usually does not take the emphatic *-ne*. Ne is attached to the noun, for example,

uspa kuzu -ne
our pig emp
'our pig'

Possessive pronouns may receive another morpheme that marks the locative function. These pronouns realise the function of possessive and locative at the same time.

Table 8

Possessive and locative forms of pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	ap-ta	au-pas-matain	aumatain
Second	up-matain	u-pas-matain	umatain
Third	paiña-matain	uspa-pas-matain	uspa-tuspa-matain

The first person singular form receives the morpheme *-ta*, locative that expresses close proximity to the speaker. The other morpheme, *-matain* is a locative with distant reference to the speaker. The third person plural takes another morpheme, *-tuspa*, a redundant marker meaning 'them'. An example of a pronoun in possessive and locative forms is:

na	-ne	ap	-ta	kailt	-ɨm	-tu	-s
I	emp	POS	LOC	return	go	asp	1st pers

'I am returning to my place'

Pronouns also have the direct object marker. The following paradigm sets out the forms for direct object pronouns which are attached to the subject forms.

Table 9

Direct forms of pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	nawa	au-pas-mɨza	au-mɨza
Second	nuwa	u-pas-mɨza	u-mɨza
Third	ussa	uspa-pas-tuza$_3$	uspa-tuza

An example of a pronoun as a direct object is,

us	-ne	nu	-wa	pian	-chi
he	emp	you	DIR	know	neg.

'he does not know you'

5.6 Suffixes

Suffixes form units which enter into constituency with noun phrases, forming different types of phrases. They are bound morphemes, and are attached to the word in the phrase.

The following suffixes have been identified in the Awa language.

Table 10

Suffixes

Function marking		Number marking	
-ta	ALL(ative)$_1$	-pas	DU(al)
-pa	ALL(ative)$_2$	-tuzpa	PL(ural)
-mal	ALL(ative)$_3$		
-kima	ALL(ative)$_4$		
-kin	LOC(ative)		
-tas	ABL(ative)$_1$		
-pas	ABL(ative)$_2$		
-ta	IND(irect)		
-kasa	COMIT(ative)		
-wa	POS(sessive)		

The function markers occur on nouns, pronouns, and interrogatives. The number markers appear to be distributionally restricted to nouns and pronouns.

5.6.1 Functions of suffixes

The meanings and functions of each suffix are set out in the remainder of this section. In order to reduce repetition, the information is given in abbreviated form to be used in the examples and later sections.

5.6.1.1 -ta ALLative$_1$

This suffix indicates destination. It may be either the whole event or process that is located, or one entity in that event. The place is clearly identified and it is not very distant to the speaker, for example,

na	-ne	ɨm	-tu	-s	yal	-ta
I	emp	go	asp	1st pers	house	ALL

'I am going to the house'

5.6.1.2 -pa ALLative$_2$

This ALL marker has a similar function to the All *-ta*. However, the place is referred in a general sense and the location is not near to the speaker, for example,

nu	-ne	ɨm	-tu	ɨnkal	-pa
you	emp	go	asp	mountain	ALL

'you are going to a mountain'

5.6.1.3 -mal ALLative$_3$

This suffix marks a final terminus to which the process reaches. For example,

ampu	-ne	ɨm	-tu	-i	pi	-mal
man	emp	go	asp	3rd pers	river	ALL

'the man is going to the river'

5.6.1.4 -kima ALLative$_4$

This is another marker used to indicate a terminal state or condition of an entity. This suffix is attached to the ALLatives *-pa* and *-ta*, for example,

yal -ta -kima

house ALL ALL

'to the house'

5.6.1.5 -kin LOCative

The suffix *-kin* ALL indicates a position in space 'in.' An example is,

yal -kin tu -chi

house ALL STA neg

'he is not in the house'

5.6.1.6 -tas ABLative$_1$

The ABL$_1$ indicates the place from which the process or action which implies the movement of some entity started, for example,

pi -tas kail -tu -s

river ABL return asp 1st pers

'I am returning from the river'

5.6.1.7 -pas ABLative$_2$

The marker *-pas* shows a source or an origin. The difference with *-tas* seems to be one of viewpoint. The *-tas* ABL occurs when the situation is considered near to the speaker or to his/her knowledge. The *-pas* ABL refers to a process that is not seen or far from the speaker, for example,

ɨnkal -pas kail -tu -s

mountain ABL return asp 1st pers

'I am returning from a mountain'

5.6.1.8 -ta INDirect

The suffis *-ta* shows that the noun is performing the indirect object function. For example:

na -ne José -ta patan -tu -s

I emp José IND speak asp 1st pers

'I am talking to José'

5.6.1.9 -kasa COMITative

The suffix *-kasa* marks nominal phrases in the accompanying role, for example,

ap ashampa ala -kasa ɨm -tu -i

my wife brother COM go asp 3rd pers

'my wife is going with my brother'

5.6.1.10 -wa POSsessive

The marker *-wa* shows the possessor. For example,

Maria -wa atal

María POS chicken

'María's chicken'

5.6.1.11 -pas DUal and -tuzpa PLural

These suffixes mark the number of nouns and pronouns. Examples of DUal and PLural markers are:

au -pas kuzu

our DUal pig

'our kuzu'

uspa -tuzpa su -ne kalkin -ta -u
they PLural farm emp work past 1st pers
'I worked in their farm'

5.7 Enclitics

The Awa language has suffixes that fulfill an enclitic function. It seems to be a whole class of enclitics, but just few of them have been identified. Examples of enclitics are: *-ma* and *-ki*. The enclitic *-ma* is attached to some interrogative words or to the noun that follows the question word, for instance:

chi -ma kiz -tu -s
what INT say asp pers
'what are you saying'

The enclitic *-ki* is used with borrowed words or with reduplication of roots, for example,

kɨht-kɨht-ki
dig dig RED
'dig out'

5.8 Deictics

There are two degrees of distance with respect to the speaker: proximal and distal. The definite determiners *an* 'this' and *sun* 'that' accomplish a deictic function in the sentence. The locatives *pa* and *ta* also fulfill a deictic function. The next table

displays the Awa deictics.

Table 11

Deictics

	Determiner	Locative
Proximal	an	ta
Distal	sun	pa

Examples of deictics are:

an yal
DEIT house
'this house'

sun ɨnkal
DEIT mountain
'that mountain'

ta ɨm -tu -s
over there go asp 1st pers
'I am going over there'

5.9 Classifiers

Nominals have derivational morphemes that allow semantic differentiation of shape, length, width, color, etc. The classifiers that have been identified are:

-nul 'round'
-tan 'color'
-tɨ 'long'
-ail 'flexible'

Examples of classifiers are found in the next words:

nul	'small coconut'	tish-nul	'lemon'
pix-tan	'blue'	pa-tan	'yellow'
k-ail	'ear'	s-ail	'arm'
chit-tɨ	'finger'	mit-tɨ	'foot'

5.10 Question words

Question words are identified by the general term interrogatives. Monosyllabic interrogatives receive the morpheme *-ma*. Bisyllabic interrogatives do not take the marker *-ma*, it is attached to the following noun.

Table 12

Question Words

chi	'what'
chit	'why'
mɨn	'who'
mɨnta	'where' (proximal)
mɨnpa	'where' (distal)
mɨntas	'from where'
mɨnpas	'from where'
miza	'how'
miza uta	'when, what time'
yawa	'how many'

Examples of interrogatives are:

nu	-ne	mɨnpa	ɨm	-tu	-s
you	emp	where	go	asp	pers

'where are you going?'

chi	-ma	kiz	-tu	-s
what	INT	tell	prog	pers

'what are you telling?'

yawa	awa	-ma	putai
how many	people	INT	are there

'how many people are there?'

5.11 Verbals

Verbs are the sentence core in Awa, and they are entirely suffixing. Several suffixes can be added to the stem to form different verbal categories. Verbals are analyzed following Sherzer (1988).

There are two morphemes that mark the infinitive in Awa: *-na* and *-n*. Examples of infinitives with the two endings are:

pit	-na	'to sleep'
kit	-na	'to wash'
pakta	-na	'to burn'

paasi	-n	'to love'
kwa	-n	'to eat'
kata	-n	'to bring'

When two infinitive verb forms are in contact, the first infinitive deletes the vowel *a* from the ending *-na* when the following verb starts with a vowel. For example: *(pitna)* 'to sleep' followed by *(ɨn)* 'go' becomes *(pitnɨn)*

Suffixes indicating tense are, *-(t)au* 'past,' and *-(n)ash* 'future.' Aspect has the following categories. Temporal perspective is indicated by the suffixes *-tu* 'now,' and *-te* 'just occurred.' The suffixes *-ta* and *-pa* describe movement and direction. The categories of number, dual/plural, are marked by the suffix *-a*. The dual form goes after the temporal, and the plural form after the verb stem. Negation is expressed by the suffix *-chi*. Questions have the mark *-ki*. The suffix *-ne* gives more emphasis to the verb form. Commands are expressed with several suffixes: *-ka, -ti, -tash, -cha,* and *-man.* The suffix *-ti* marks the passive voice. A potential fact that shows that an action should be done is indicated by the suffix *-wa(min)*. A list of the verb suffixes already identified appear in table 13.

Table 13

Verbal suffixes

Grammatical category	Example	Gloss
Infinitive		
-na	mɨn -na	'to hear'
-n	ɨ-n	'to go'
Tense		
past -(t)au	mɨn-tau	'I heard'
future -(n)ash	mɨn-ash	'I will hear'
Aspect		
temporal		
-tu (now)	kum-tu	'you are eating'
-te (just occurred)	mɨn-te	'you heard'
movement		
-ta (proximal)	sul-ta	'tie here'
-pa (distal)	unat-pa	'put there'
Number		
-a dual	mɨn-tu-a-s	'we (2)are hearing'
-a plural	mɨ-an-tu	'you are hearing'
Modality		
-chi negative	mɨn-tu-chi	'you're not hearing'
-ki interrogative	ɨm-tu-ki-sh	'is he going?'
-ne emphatic	puzta-wa-ne	'must leave'

-wa potential	sul-ta-wa	'must tie there'
Voice		
passive		
-ti	mɨn-ti	'is heard'
-ki	patan-tu-ki	'is being spoken'

Suffixes appear in the following positions after the verbal stem:

(1) infinitive, tense, aspect, movement, plural.

(2) negative, interrogative, dual.

(3) passive, potential, person.

(4) emphatic.

A verbal form may consist of a stem and a suffix, for example,

mɨn (stem) -na (infinitive

'to hear'

A verbal form may also have a stem and several suffixes, for example,

win (stem) -ta (movement) -wa (potential) -min (passive)

'must be put there'

CHAPTER VI

SYNTAX

The descriptive analysis of Awa syntax describes the way words are combined to make sentences. Beginning with noun phrases, the analysis will then examine verb phrases and move on to complex sentence structures.

6.1 Noun phrase

The noun phrase (NP) is a basic grammatical unit in the Awa language. The NP structure contains a noun which may or may not have modifiers. A NP in Awa can involve the following constituents:

(1) an emphatic pronoun formed by one subject pronoun plus the emphatic *-ne* e.g. *nune* 'you.'

(2) a specific noun, for example, *yal* 'house.' The specific noun is normally the head of the NP.

(3) a generic and a specific noun, for instance: *ampu* 'male' and *atal* 'chicken' = 'rooster.'

(4) a possessive noun e.g. *tɨ kɨhuil* 'a leaf of a tree.'

(5) a numeral qualifier and a noun, for example, *maza atal* 'one chicken.'

(6) noun and modifier, for instance, *wat payu* 'good day.'

(7) a deictic, for example, *an kwiza* 'this dog.'

In summary, a NP may consist of any of the following elements:

NP ----→ [Emphatic pronoun | Specific noun | Generic noun and specific noun | Possessive | Numeral qualifier and noun | Noun and modifier | Deictic and noun]

6.1.1 Functions of the NP

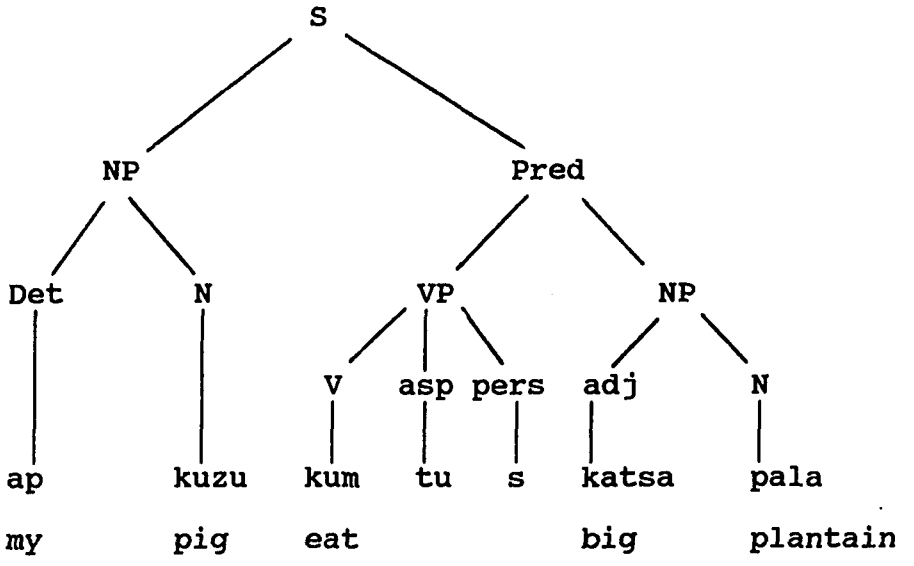
NP's can function as the subject of the sentence, and object of a sentence, for example,
A NP as the subject of the sentence,

unam -ne katsa -i
table emp big stative
'the table is big'

A NP as the object of the sentence,

ña kit -tash
meat wash imp
'wash the meat'

NP's can be represented in a tree diagram structure. For example, the sentence *ap kuzu kumtus katsa pala* 'my pig eats big plantain' can be shown as follows:



6.2 Modification of nouns

There are different types of modification structures found in NP's: number words, deictics, qualifiers. For example,

ampata	kamta	sun yal	watsal ashampa
'four snakes'		'that house'	'beautiful woman'

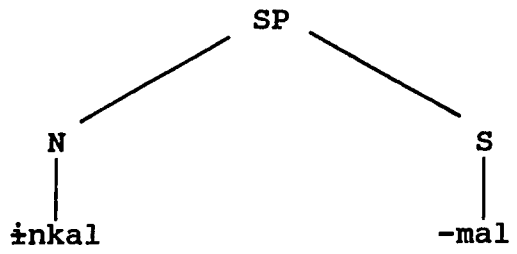
6.3 Suffixal phrase

A suffixal phrase (SP) is formed by morphemes which enter into syntagmatic relations with phrases. Suffixes are encliticised morphemes attached to nouns.

For example,

yal	-ta	Juana	-wa	yal
house	ALL	Juana	POS	house
'to the house'		'Juana's house'		

A SP is schematically represented as:



'to the mountain'

6.4 Verb phrase

VP's contain a verb as a nucleus and additional suffixes depending on the type of verb that is the core of the phrase. Verbal phrases can be classified as,

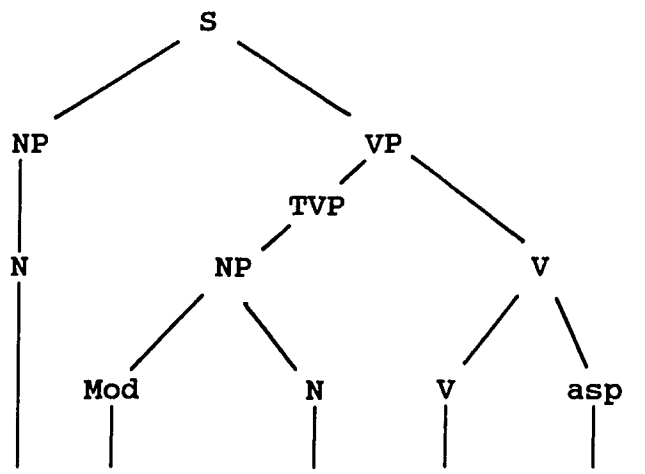
6.4.1 Transitive verb phrase

A TVP has a transitive verb as its nucleus. A transitive verb has a subject and a specific object. For example,

Juan	Awa	pit	patam	-tu
Juan	people	language	speak	asp

'Juan speaks Awa'

Schematically this sentence can be shown as follows:

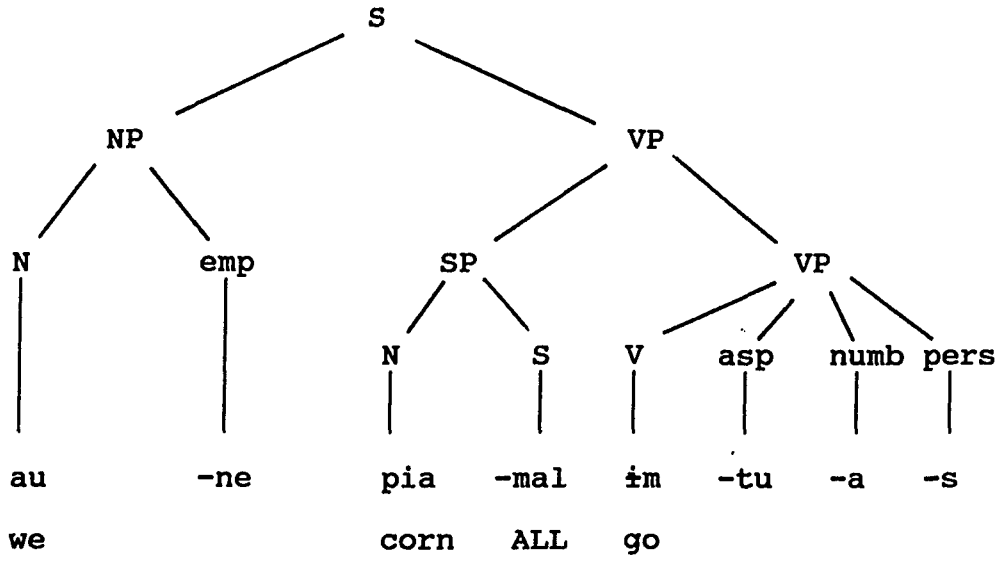


6.4.2 Intransitive verb phrase

An IVP does not take an object. The intransitive verb can take other complements. For example,

au -ne pia -mal ɨm -tu -a -s
we emp corn ALL go asp DU pers
'We are going to the corn field'

This intransitive verb phrase can be represented in a tree structure as follows:



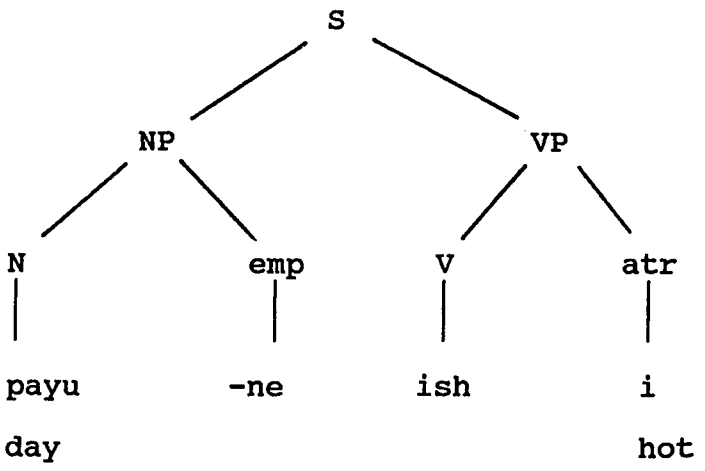
6.4.3 Existential verb phrase

The EVP differs from transitive and intransitive verb phrases because it does not take the affixes as the other verbs do. The EVP consists of an adjective, or a noun and the existential verb *ish*.

When the EVP has a subject, the word order is: noun adjective, verb. For example,

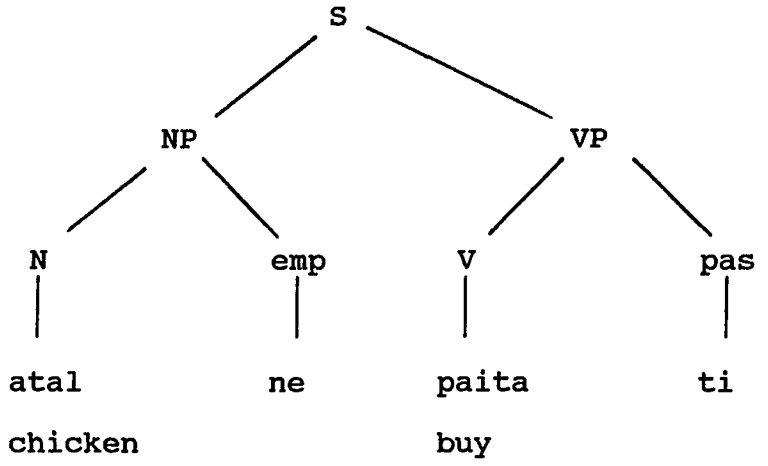
payu -ne i ish
day asp hot STA
'the day is hot'

The EVP can be represented schematically as:

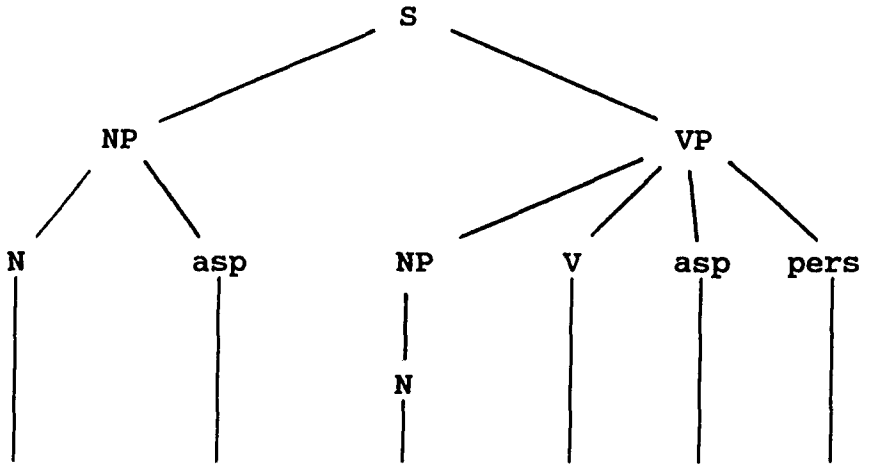


6.4.4 Defective verb phrase

This type of phrase does not have an expressed subject. The object acts as the subject and receives the emphatic *-ne*, the verb receives the *-ti* morpheme. This structure is similar to the passive voice in English.[1] For example, *atalne paitati* 'chicken is bought'. A tree diagram for this structure could be:



When the subject is stated, this fuction is fulfilled by a SP, for instance, *atal-ne paita-ti na-kwa* 'chicken is bought by me'. The underlying active sentence is: *nane atal paitatus* 'I buy the chicken'. The active sentence may be represented as:



6.5 Sentence types

A sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. According to the type of verb sentences are classified as: transitive, intransitive, and existential.

Transitive sentences are those in which the transitive verb takes direct objects, for example,

nane pala kumtus
I plantain eat
'I eat plantain'

Intransitive sentences do not have an object NP. The intransitive verb can take modifiers of manner, time, and location. For instance,

Juan Alak-ta ɨm-tu
Juan Altaquer go
'Juan is going to Altaquer'

Existential sentences refer to an attribute of the subject, for example,

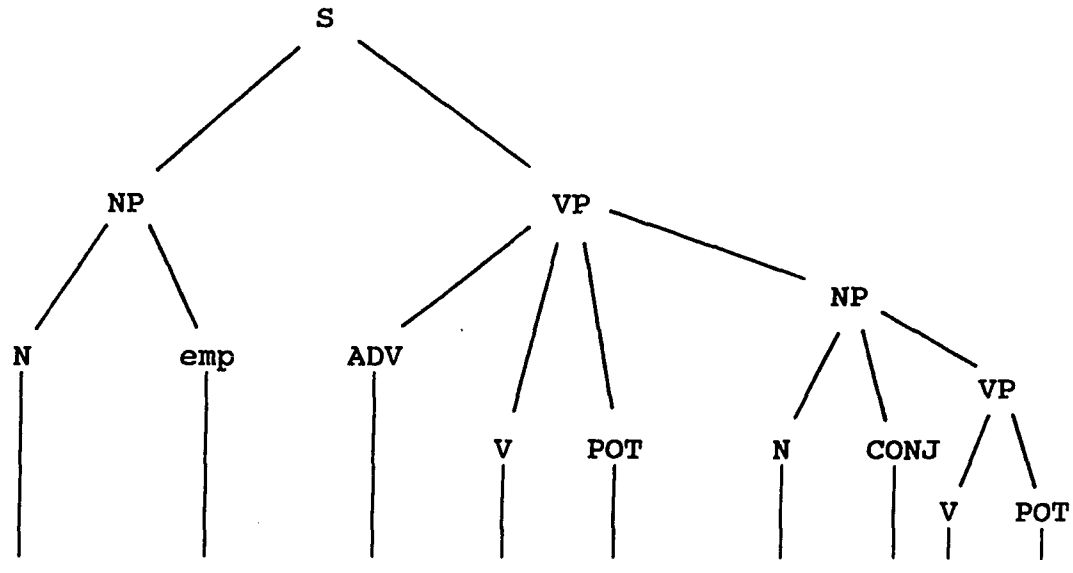
ɨnkal-ne tih ish
mountain cold be
'the mountain is cold'

6.6 Compound sentences

Compound sentences consist of two or more clauses that are coordinated by juxtaposition. The conjunction marker *-kas* 'and' is attached to the noun or pronoun, for example,

ampa-ne kwisha pian-mamin na-kas usm-uzi
others much know must I and heal can
'Others should know a lot and I know too'

This compound sentence can be represented on a tree structure as follows:

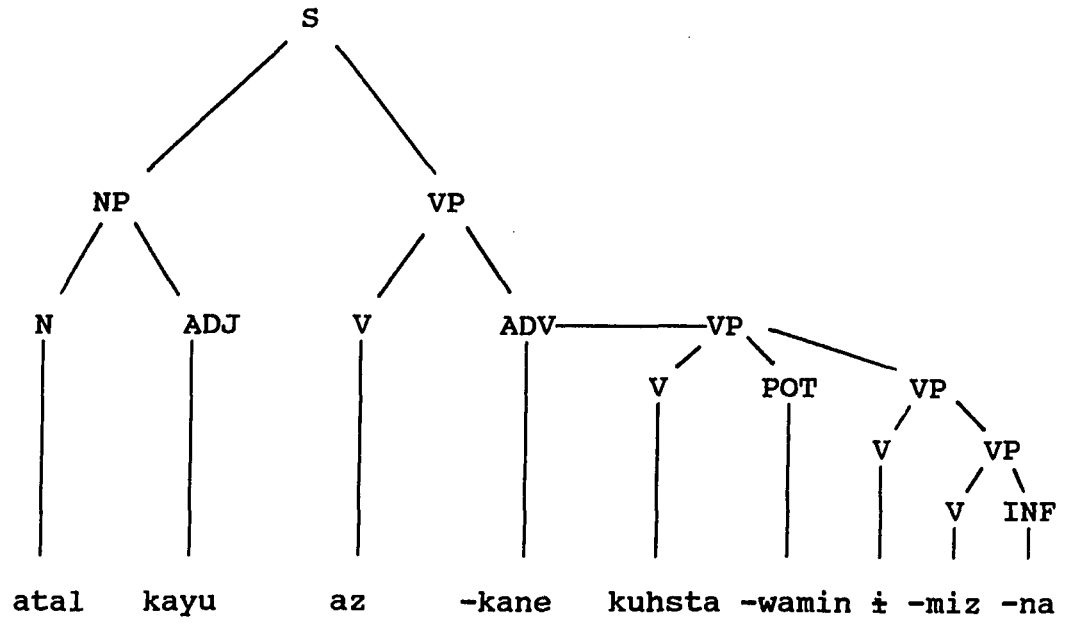


6.7 Complex sentences

Complex sentences are combined by various syntactic processes. These sentences have a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. An example of a complex sentence is the following one,

atal kayu az-kane kuhsta-wamin ɨ -miz -na
chicken male crow when get up must go begin INF
'when the rooster crwos you must begin to go'

The next diagram shows this structure:



6.8 Word order

The Awa language has a SOV word order that can be characterized as 'rigid'. Word order in simple clauses allows making predictions concerning a number of dependent parameters. Following Givón (1984:188-189) the dependent parameters are:[2]

(a) Basic word order in complex clauses.

For example:

nane pia paintu 'I am buying corn'

nane pia paintu kwanpa 'I am buying corn to eat'

(b) The order of nouns vs modifiers in noun phrases.

Awa has MODIFIER-NOUN order in NP's, for example,

wantish payu 'cloudy day'

(c) The morphotactics of prefixes or suffixes in bound

morphology. Awa has a predominantly suffixal morphology, e.g., *kiz -tu -s*

V asp pers

'telling'

The 'rigid' word order in Awa may have free variation, with a marked direct object, for example,

akwash-ne pin-tu pashpa-ta

akwash-ne pashpa-ta pin-tu

'The mother bathes the child'

6.9 Interrogative and negative sentences

Word order is kept in affirmative, negative, and interrogative sentences. Suffixes mark the interrogative and negative structures.

6.9.1 Interrogative sentences

The suffix *-ki* signals the interrogative form when a sentence does not start with a question word. The so called 'information questions' in Awa begin the sentence and do not take the *-ki* suffix. 'Yes-no' questions have the same word order as the affirmative sentences and the verb receives the interrogative marker, for example,

nu -ne Alak -ta ɨm -tu -ki -sh?

he emp Altaquer to go asp question pers

Is he going to Altaquer?

6.9.2 Negative sentences

Negation may be formed in two ways in Awa. The morpheme *chi* can precede the main verb as a free morpheme, or it can be attached to the verb as a suffix. For example:

Chi patam -tu -s
not talk asp pers
'I am not talking'

nu -ne kanta -ki -chi -sh
he asp sing bor not pers
'he does not sing'

Double negation is common in Awa. The negative form precedes and follows the verb. For example,

José pala -ne kum -tu -ki -sh ?
José plantain emp eat asp int pers
is José eating plantain?

Chi José pala -ne kum -tu -chi-sh
no José plantain emp eat asp not pers
'No, José is not eating plantain'

CHAPTER VII

WALPUTA STORY

Awa have a rich narrative repertoire related to the physical, social, and supernatural environment in which they live. There are narratives about the Awa's origin, traditions, myths, and legends. Awa narratives go from a simple story about a project in their community to very complex stories based on their beliefs.

The *walputa* story belongs to a complex category dealing with their soul, their spirits, and their curing system. The word *walputa* itself is a taboo word that is only known by the Awa. When the Awa talk with outsiders, they use the word *chutún*. The word *walputa* is secret and magic. The *walputa* story is about the main curing ceremony among Awa. Despite of all the influences and acculturation process, *walputa* ceremony plays an important role as a social control, curing practice, and spiritual communion.

7.1 Organization

Walputa narrative is event oriented. The sequence of events constitutes the backbone of the story. Three

main parts can be analyzed, a beginning, a body, and an ending. *Walputa* consists of 49 sentences. Awa have a particular schema, background knowledge, that allows them to organize the narrative in their own way.

The beginning is usually an introductory sentence that can be compared with 'once upon a time' or 'había una vez' expressions. The first event says: *mane walputa kwintakimtus* 'today I am telling you walputa'. *Mane*, the first word, sets the time. *Mane* has two morphemes -ma 'today' and -ne a focus that gives emphasis to the main word of the sentence. The verb has the aspectual form *-tu* that gives the sense of progression of the narrative. *Walputa* is the object of the sentence and the main character of the story. The opening sentence sets the time, the title, and the protagonist of the story. The second sentence: *walputa piztane Awane imtukitɨm* 'walputa when grabs people make them sick' is the topic sentence. The first two sentences form a unit that signals the beginning of the story.

The body or the main part has a sequence of events that are structurally joined by a discourse time marker. This time marker has three different forms in the text: *suasne, suasmesa, and suasmesane*. The semantic value of *suasne* changes with the intensity of the action and with

the suffixes it receives. *Suasne* appears 12 times and *suasmesa* and *suasmesane* 1 time each one. In the first 31 sentences *suasne* 'from that point' is the time connector that coordinates the story in successive events. Sentence 32 starts with the word *suasmesa* 'from that point now' that shows an important change in the development of the story. All the preparatory steps have been accomplished at home: medicines have been collected, the sick person is isolated, *walputa's* food has been prepared, the shaman is ready to continue to the next step in the ceremony. *Suasmesa* is a connector and at the same time a discourse mechanism that marks the climax of the story.

From sentences 33 to 39 *suasne* is used again to describe what happen when shaman and patient go to the river to the most important part of the healing process. When the ceremony finishes, when *walputa* is out of the patient's body another important part of the ceremony has to be done: to clear the place from *walputa* and other spirits before returning home to the social party. This important movement in the action is expressed with the word *suasmesane*. The beginning and ending of the plot of the story is signaled with the words *suasmesa* and

suasmesane. The story is close to the end, *suasne* is used for the final time.

The ending has another particular characteristic, the narrator mentions that this is the way this story is told. In other words, it is not his own story, somebody else has told him about the ceremony. However in sentence 19 the narrator explicity expresses that he knows not only the story but also the work of a shaman.

7.2 Taboo words

The *walputa* narrative has two words that can be considered taboo, that are not expressed in the story. *Walputa*, as it was mentioned before, is a taboo word only used among the Awa. The word *walputa* appears only in the first two sentences and at the end of the story in sentences 45 and 47. The name or the topic of the story is usually repeated many times in other stories. the word for 'shaman' is not known, and the Awa do not like to talk about this subject. When the reference was needed, the narrator used an indefinite qualifier: *ampane* 'others'. The word 'shaman' is avoided in the Awa culture, despite the fact that almost each household has a shaman.

7.3 Participants

The narrator identifies the characters in the first introductory sentences. *Walputa* narrative does not follow this structure. The main reason was stated in the previous section talking about taboo words. The main participants implicity or explicity named are *walputa*, the sick person, and the shaman. The secondary participants are all the relatives and friends invited to the party on the third day of the ceremony. These secondary characters become the protagonists when the discussion of conflicts start in the party.

7.4 Interpretations

Some of the sentences in the narrative have an ambiguous referent that allows different interpretations. Sentences 46 and 47 start with the NP *ampane* 'others'. The first sentence refers to the failure of the curing ceremony, and the second one to the success of the ritual. However, there is no indication about the reason of the final outcome. The listener has to make his/her own judgement. Interpretations, as Sherzer explains: "depends on linguistic, social, and cultural presuppositions..." (1979:145-63). The ambiguity of who are the people who survive or die after the curing ceremony is resolved only when the story is placed in a

sociolinguistic context. The Awa society has been defined as egalitarian where social control is not exercised by a particular authority. The *walputa* ceremony is the opportunity to exert social control in the community. On the last day of the ceremony all the conflicts, and social tensions are expressed and solved.

The sick person is another parameter to question the behavior of some members of the community. If the ritual is successful the disease was *walputa*, but if the sick person dies the cause was witchcraft. In this case, one person was responsible for witchcraft.

7.5 Linguistic markers

There are some linguistic markers and specific suffixes that are used in the narrative to give emphasis to the text. In section 7.1 the use of *suas-ne-mesa-ne* was explained as a discourse time marker. The suffix -ne is a topicalizer that gives emphasis to the main word of the sentence including the verb. There are two verbal suffixes that are not common in daily conversation and which are used in this narrative. The verbal suffix *-awa* could correspond to the modal verbs 'must, have to'. The suffix *-awa* is used 37 times in the story to describe in terms of a rank scale the steps followed in the curing ceremony. Another verbal suffix is *-samin* with the

allomorps *-musamin* and *-min* that has the meaning of passive voice. This structure is useful in the narrative when the subject is not expressed or it is voluntarily omitted in the sentence. The active voice in this case is avoided in order to delete the subject, the word shaman.

7.6 Free English translation of walputa

Today, I am going to tell you about walputa. When walputa grabs people they become sick. The first symptom is vomit. Walputa is expelled with some medicines as: jaguar's teeth, medicinal plants, reeds, coins, garlic, and some pealings of trees. All the medicines are wrapped in a palm leaf. During three days the sick person is bathed with the medicines. On the third day new medicines must be picked up in the mountain. I do not know which plants. Others know very well. I also know how to cure. Then, when it is dark you must collect the walputa's food: potatoes, pineapples, plantains, eggs, chicken and place it in a basket. The next day, when the rooster crows you must go to the river where the public ceremony takes place. The patient is healed with all the medicines. At the end of the ceremony everything is burned to clean the space from walputa and bad spirits. Later you must return to the house where food

and beverages are served. Some people are cured, others die. This is the way this story is told.

(The original text appears on Appendix 2)

CONCLUSION

This study fulfilled, in general sense, the objectives that were proposed at the beginning of the project. Phonemes and allophones were identified from acoustic and articulatory perspectives. The spectrograms allowed to prove that the three high voiceless vowels are not only a phonetic and phonological reality but also a natural process from an articulatory point of view. Spectrograms were clear enough to show the difference between voiced and voiceless vowels, vowels and glides, and stressed syllables. Retroflection was found as an allophonic characteristic of sibilants. The suprasegmentals: stress, rhythm, and intonation seem to be predictable and to follow a regular pattern.

Allophonic realisations were very consistent with the data collected in Colombia and Ecuador. However, some free variations were found in the samples. The allophonic variations seem to be related to diachronic changes and contact with other cultures.

The morphological analysis showed the form and

function of morphemes and words. Some outstanding characteristics of the Awa morphology are the rich variety of suffixes and the existence of dual in the number category. Suffixes, both inflectional and derivational, add to the words grammatical and semantic values. The paradigms of suffixes are extense but they can not be considered exhaustive. The same remark is applicable to the verbal categories: tense, aspect, and mood.

The syntactic structures in Awa were analyzed following a tree structure model. Word order was distinguished as SOV. Syntactic structures were classified from simple noun phrases to complex sentences. Interrogative and negative sentences were analized taking into account the suffix markers and the intonation patterns.

The *walputa* narrative was a semantic approximation to some of the components of an Awa text. A schema theory of the Awa language and the Awa culture is needed to interpret and decode the story. Language, culture, and society are interrelated in *walputa*. The story is a good sample of the language in which phonemes, morphemes, phrases, and sentences occur in context. The Awa people considers the *walputa* ritual as the main manifestation of

natural and supernatural beliefs. Socially, *walputa* is the institutional instance where the problems could be faced and solved.

Siblings are considered the focus of Awa social organization. A close relationship exist between brothers and sisters and specially between siblings of the same sex. This social characteristic is reflected in the Awa language. Specialized words are used to name brothers and sisters depending on the speaker. For example, *ala* 'brother' is the word said by a female, and *aña* 'brother' is the word said by a male. The existence of dual reflects also the importance of distinguishing that an action is performed by two people. Secrecy and reserve, characteristics of the Awa, are shown in the use of the language. Regular secret language has not been identified, but Awa frequently use different types of structures that are only understood among themselves.

This grammar of the Awa language is a general contribution to the study and understanding of the Awa culture. From a pedagogical point of view an alphabet is proposed to carry out a literacy program. This proposal will be presented to the community who will decide the appropriate way to implement the program. The alphabet and lesson samples of a primer appear in Appendix 3.

In conclusion, one step has been given in the long path of knowing the Awa culture. Future studies should be made, hopefully with the Awa direct participation in order to preserve the integrity of their culture.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1 The population movement does not allow a precise delimitation of the territory. Migrations to other areas in Colombia and Ecuador have been reported in the last years. Recently a group of Colombian Awa moved to the Putumayo region.

2 The Awa have traditional medicine to cure people when they are bitten by venomous snakes. *Satakosa,* a reed used to prepare an effective beverage, is grown close to every house.

3 To generate accurate figures for the Awa population has been a difficult task due to the isolation of the people and the lack of means of communication. Most of the figures are general approximations based on small samples.

Chapter 2

1 The spectrograms in this study were made on two Kay Elemetrics Spectrographs. The first one is a Digital Sona-Graph (Model 7800), a powerful acoustic analysis

instrument designed for the measurement and displays of signals in the DC-16 KHZ range. The second one is a Model 5500 Signal Analysis Workstation.

2 The poor conditions of the means of communication and the long distances between houses make it difficult to include the whole population in the study. These two factors, secrecy of people and some contradictory information, create limitations to this study.

Chapter 3

1 Co-parenthood is explained by Osborn as a "wish to establish quasi-kinship ties with mestizos who now own land that used to belong to their own kin-group and which the mestizo's kin-group at one time acquired through kinship ties, compadrazgo or plain sharp practice, because it is essential to them to maintain some sort of tie with this land."

2 For printing convenience the flap [ɾ] is transcribed in this study as [r]. The capital letters [A,U,I,ɪ,Σ] are used instead of the corresponding small capital letters [ᴀ,ᴜ,ɪ,ɪ,Σ].

Chapter 4 Phonetics

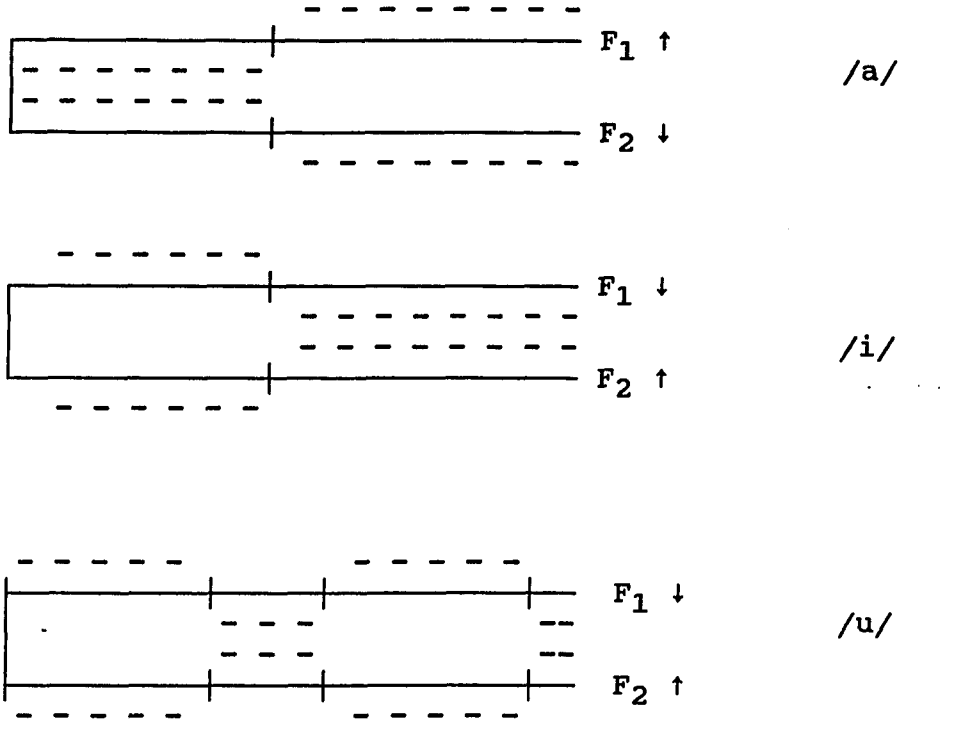
1 Sound has been defined as a passage of a disturbance through the air causing vibratory motion of the individual air molecules.

2 Amplitude is the distance between the points of

maximum dispersion of sound waves.

3 Frequency is the number of cycles per second; measured in hertz (Hz).

4 Perturbations of a uniform tube are shown in the following figures for vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. The theory of tube models was developed by Stevens (1980:28-34)



5. The feature *distributed* is considered pertinent only for the description of retroflex sounds.

6. This rule does not consider the change of a voiceless /t/ into a flap /r/. Two rules have to be ordered in this case. First the voiceless /t/ becomes voiced /d/, and later the voiced /d/ becomes the flap /r/.

7. The allophone [?] is also found at the end of a word in interrogative sentences, for that reason it could be considered as a suprasegmental feature related to intonation.

Chapter 5 Morphology

1. Within the phrase *-an* and *-sun* function as the Deitic in contrast with the lexical meaning of determiners.
2. Weather conditions are important in the Awa culture. Daily activities are done according to the weather conditions. The importance of the weather conditions is expressed in the morning greetings: *alu kɨntɨte* 'it dawned rainy', *wantish kɨntɨte* 'it dawned cloudy', etc.
3. The dative morpheme *-tuza* of the third person plural seems to be the same morpheme *-tuzpa* with the application of a phonemic rule: deletion of the [p] sound.

Chapter 6 Syntax

1. The defective verb phrase is similar to the passive voice construction in English or Spanish. Semantically is related to the passive Spanish construction with the reflexive *se*.
2. Predictions based on simple clauses where originally presented by Greenberg in "Some universals of grammar

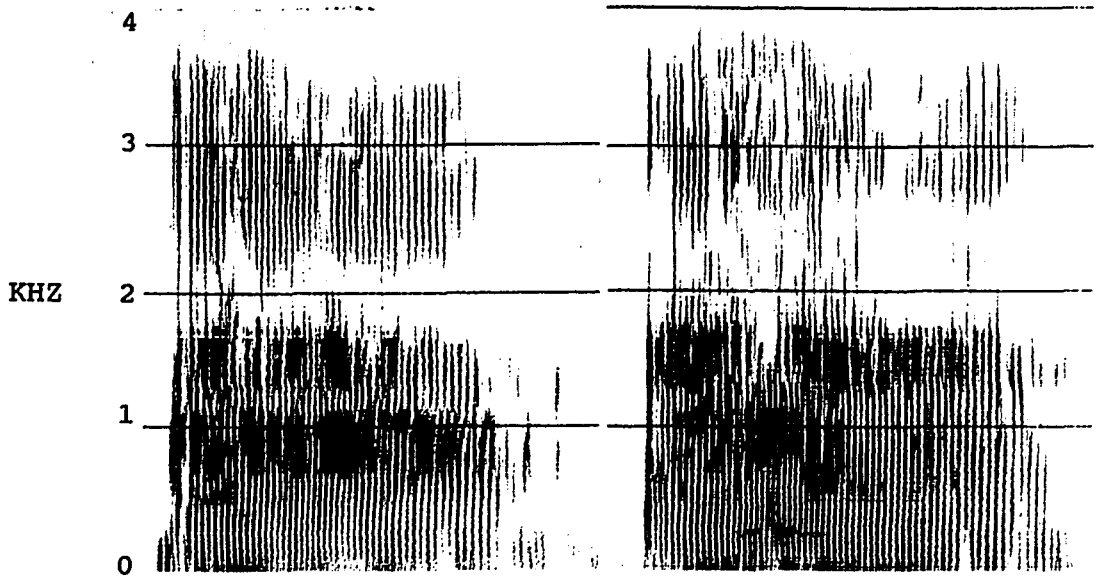
with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements."

Chapter 7 Walputa story

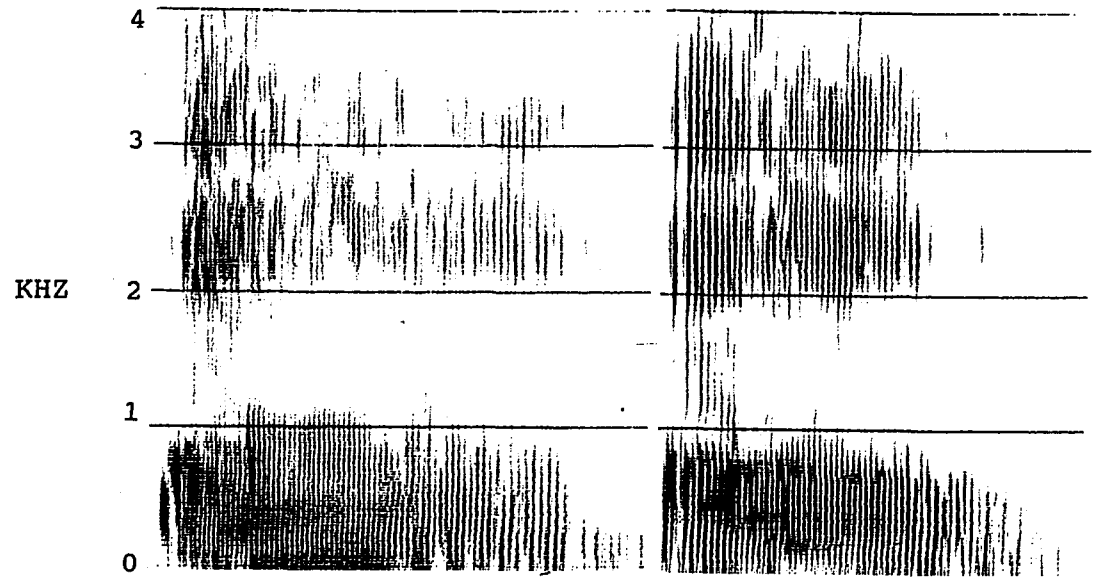
1. There are different versions of *Walputa*, but all of them coincide in the main steps of the ceremony. The differences are related to some of the medicinal plants that can be used in the ritual.

APPENDIX 1

This appendix contains spectrograms of the nasal vowels contrasted with the oral ones. Other spectrograms are presented to show complete words, and a short phrase.



Vowel /ã/ Vowel /a/



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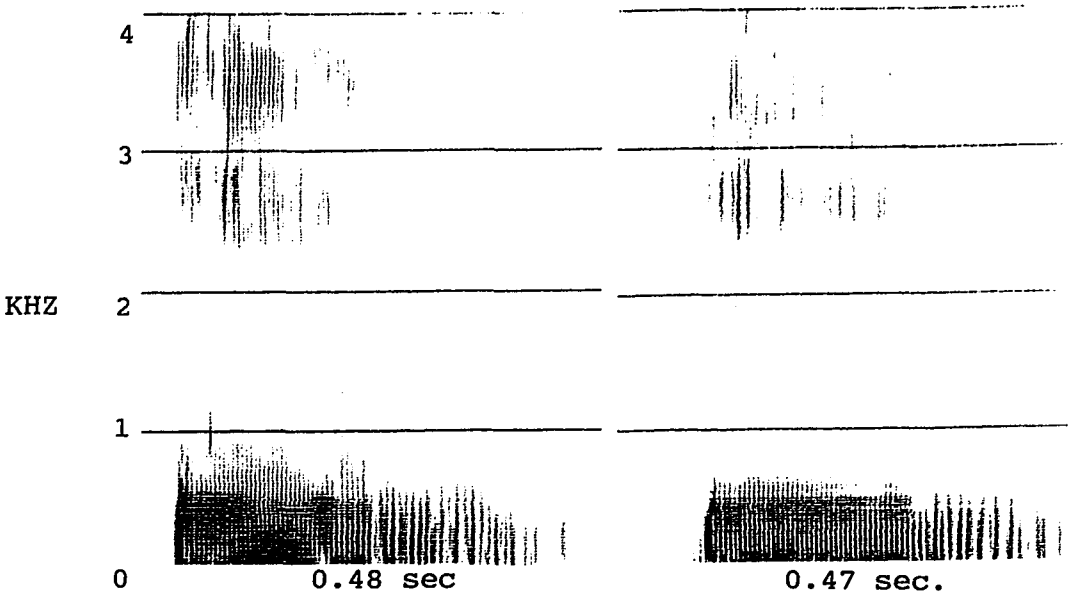
Vowel /ẽ/

0.48 sec.

Vowel /e/

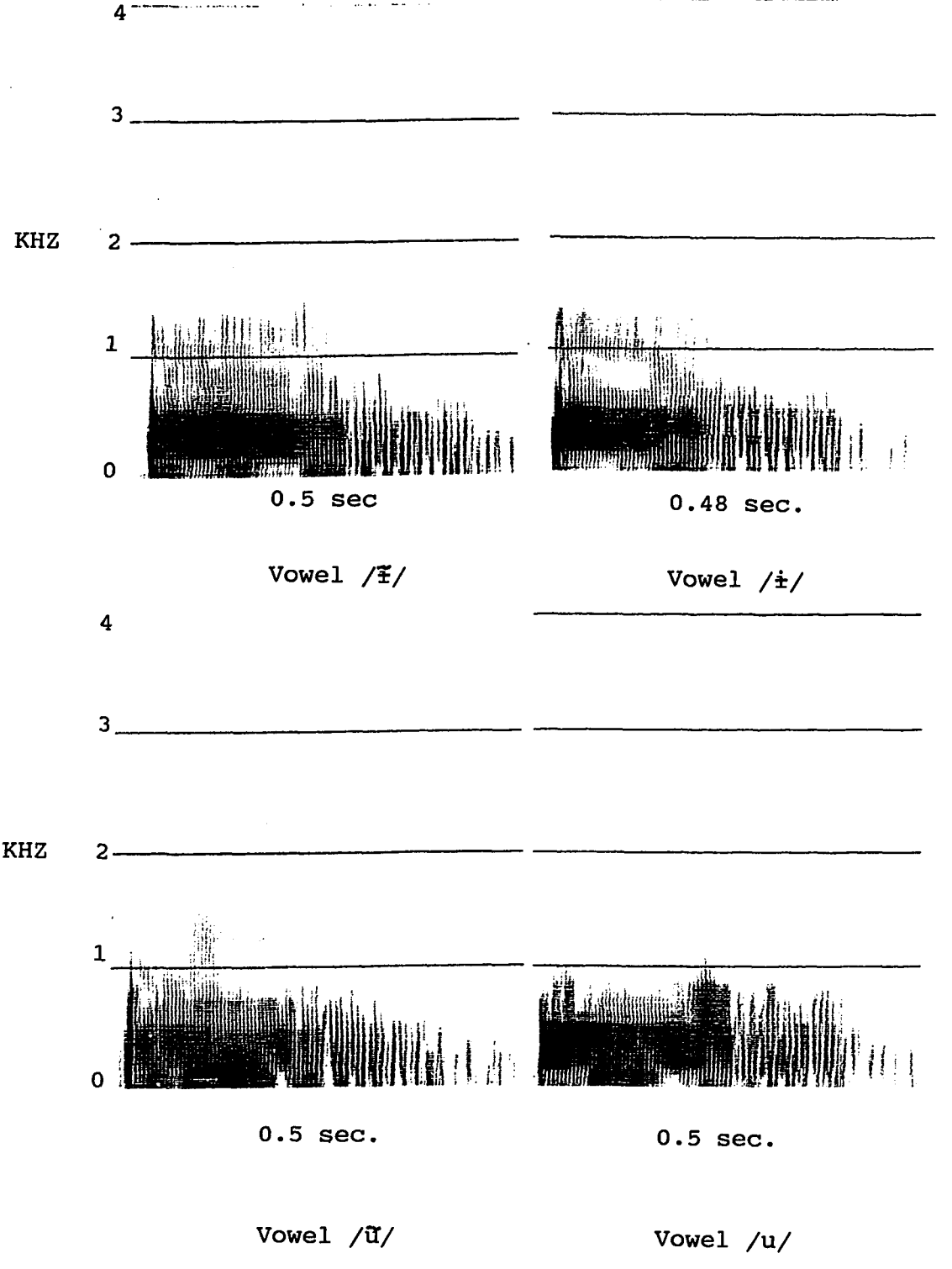


0.48 sec

Vowel/ĩ/

0.47 sec.

Vowel /i/


4
3
KHZ
2
1
0
0.5 sec
0.48 sec.
Vowel /ɪ̃/
Vowel /ɪ/
4
3
KHZ
2
1
0
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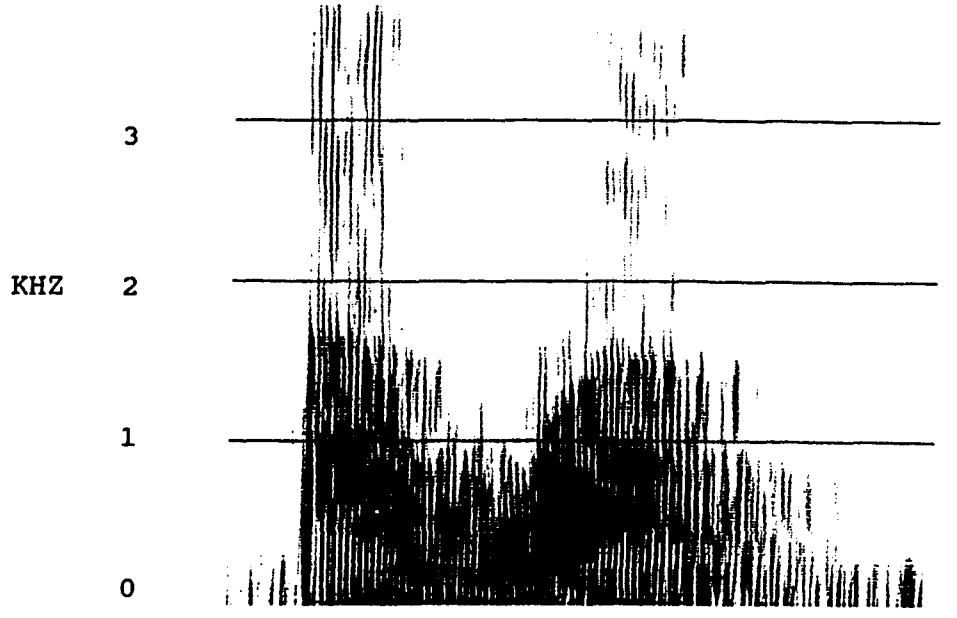
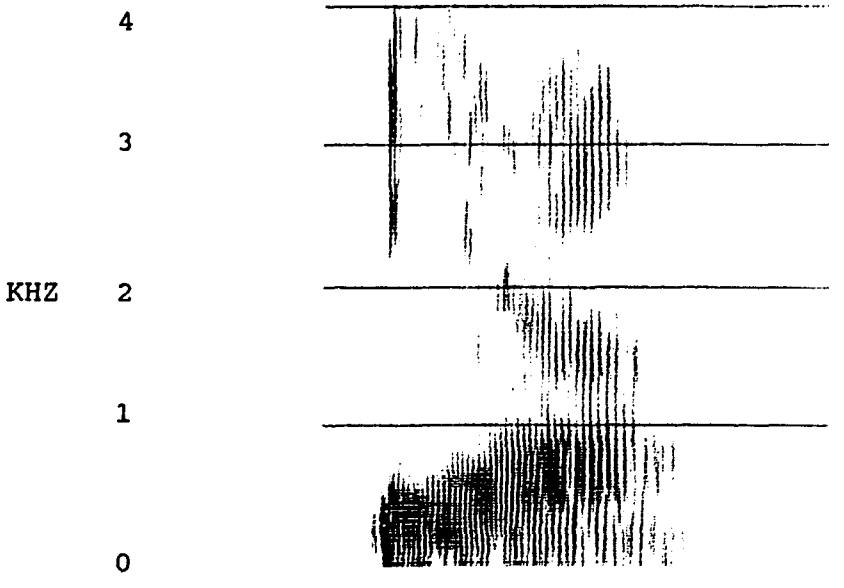
Vowel /ʊ̃/
Vowel /u/



0.7 sec.

/awa/



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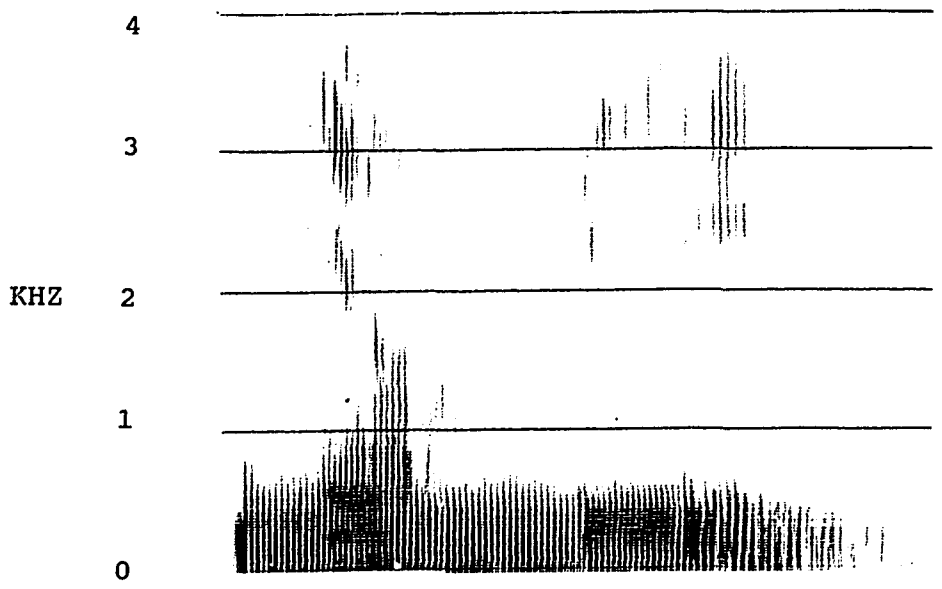

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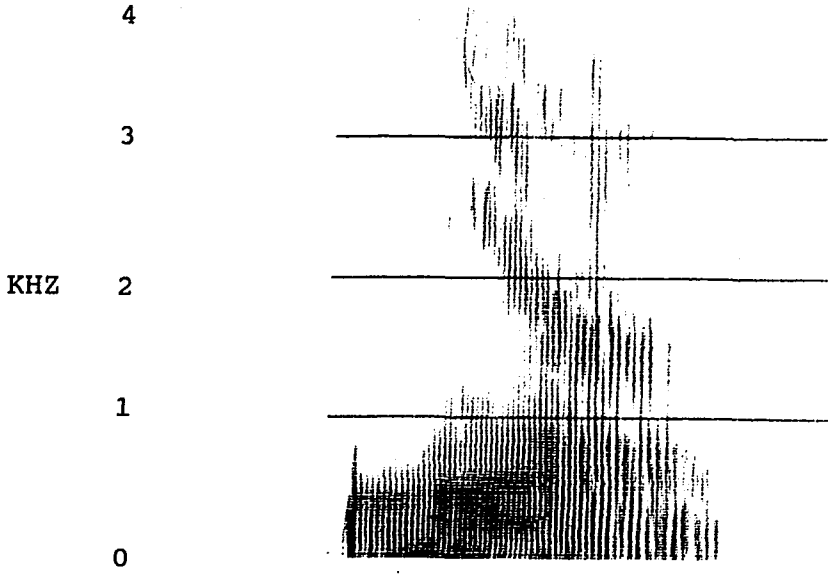

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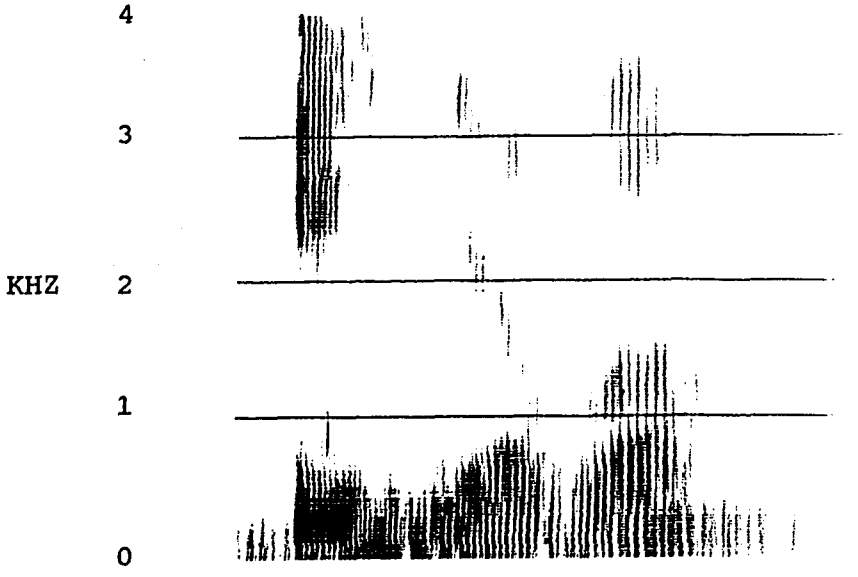

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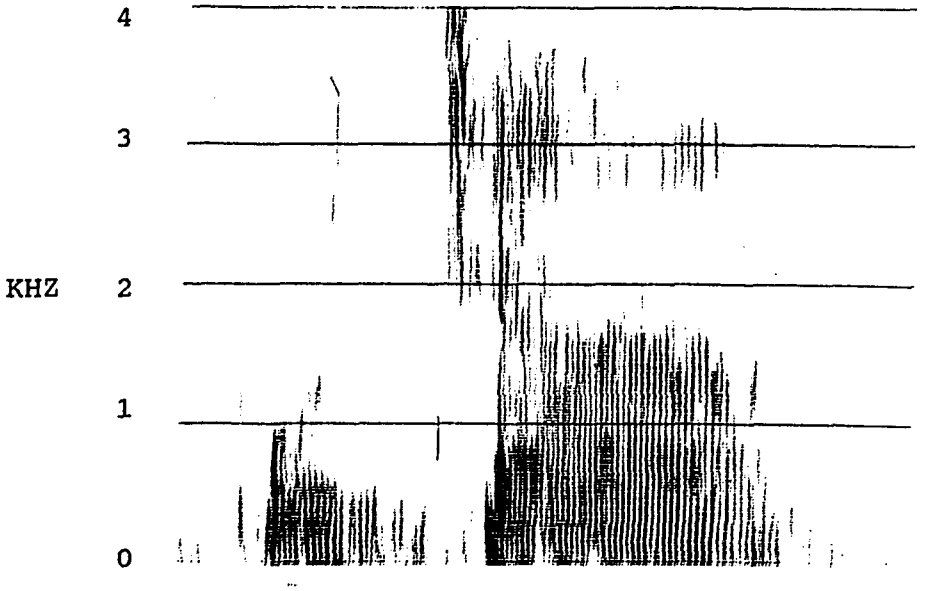

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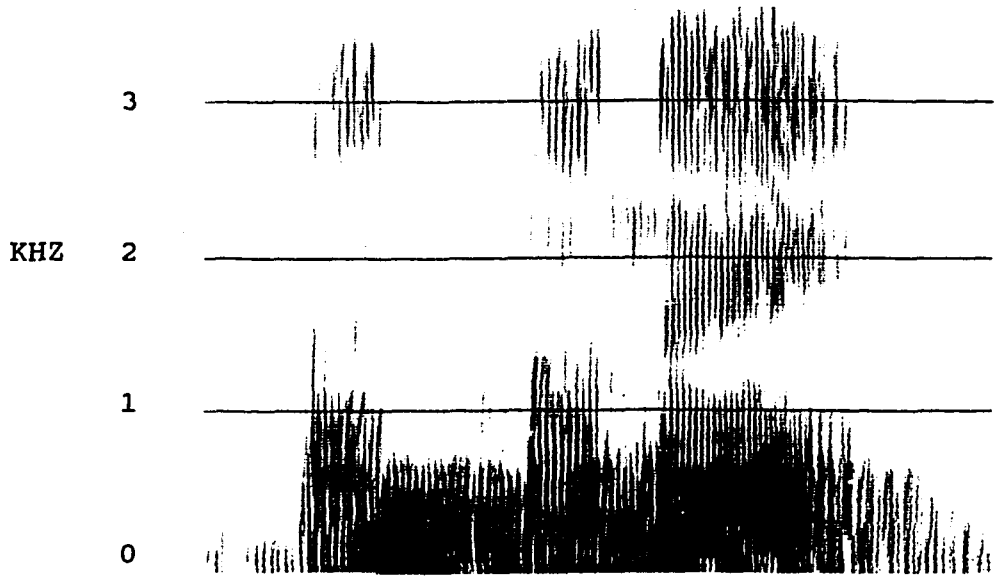

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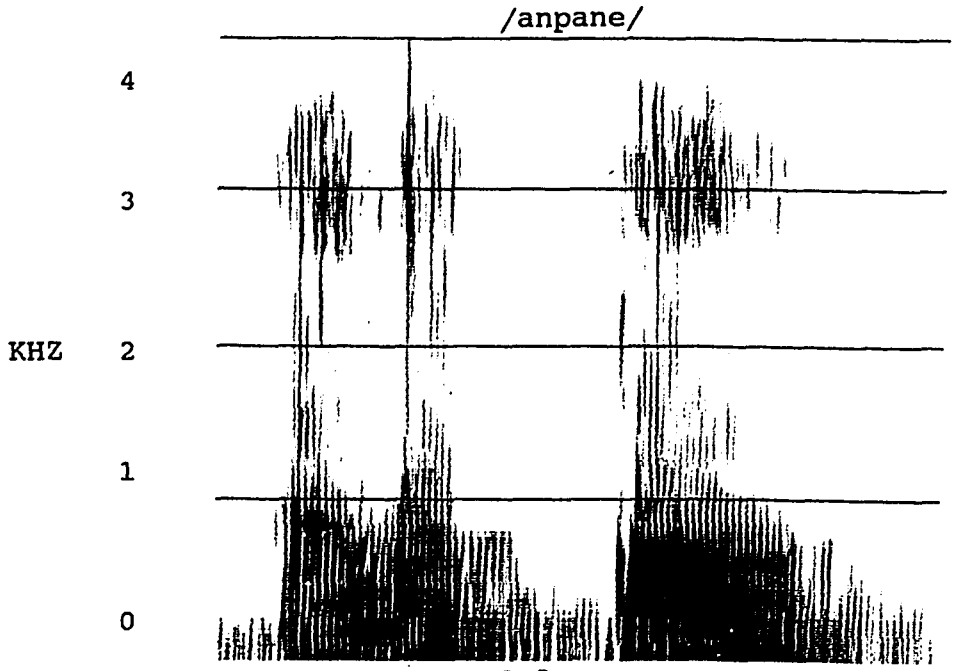

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APPENDIX 2

This appendix contains an unedited transcript of spoken text. The text is divided into 49 sentences, indicated by numbers. Each numbered sentence consists of three main parts, in the following order: the Awa original, an interlinear morpheme by morpheme translation into English, and a free translation of the sentence. For convenience and space, some morpheme translations, specifically the morpheme components of *-suasne* and *suasmesane*, were given only in the first instances. This text was analyzed with assistance of Lee Henriksen.

WALPUTA TEXT

1 Ma -ne walputa kwinta -kim -tu -s
Today emp spirit tell bor asp pers
"Today I am going to tell you about walputa."

2 Walputa piz -ta -ne awa -ne imtuki -tɨm
Spirit grab if emp people emp sick become
"If walputa grabs someone, people become sick."

3 Kwatata -wata piz -tɨm
Vomiting by means of grabs pass
"Walputa grabs you by means of vomiting."

4 Kwatata -wata piz -tɨ -kane, awa -ne pak-pia-tawa
Vomiting by grab asp when people emp break off pot
"When people have been grabbed, they must break off."

5 An ñancha ishu sula -kasa kɨh -ta sul -tawa
More before jaguar tooth with leaf to tie pot
"First, you must tie a jaguar's tooth with a leaf."

6 Sua -s -ne uzta-wa unat -pa -min
there from emp live must put together to pot
"Then, you must collect everything:

7 Telpa pihsh -kas, pial -kas, akkus -kas, chawatɨ -kas
telpa pihsh and coins and garlic and reeds and
pwiltɨ -kas kitta-wamin
herbs and wash must
medicinal plants, coins, garlic, reeds, herbs. You must wash them."

8 Kitt-ɨt aya -ne waz -kin win -ta -wamin
wash asp pealings emp recipient in put in pot
"Wash the pealings and put in the recipient."

9 Sua-s-ne uzta wamin ɨnkal -pa -ta
then go pot mountain to
"Then, you must go the mountain."

10 Pas payu intu -mika -ne pitɨm sata-wamin
two days sick who is emp naked make pot
"During the first two days the sick person is naked,

11 Wan ñantutas usta -wamin
all body blow pot
and his body must be blown."

12 kutña payu wan usta -wa -ne
three day all blow pot emp
"On the third day all his body must be blown."

13 Sua-s-ne pihsh pakta-wamin
then medicines pick pot
"Then, other medicines must be picked up."

14 Pihsh ne ish -ta kinta -wamin maza tɨm
medicines fever to put pot one basket
"The medicines must be put in one basket."

15 Sua-s-ne nash -kane wanta wamin
then evening when put together pot
"Then, when the evening comes you must put everything together."

16 Mansuh chiwal wan pihsh pak -tawamin
all day complete all medicines pick pot
"The whole day you must pick the medicines up."

17 Ɨnkal pihsh na-ne we pianamɨsɨ
mountain medicines I emp lack knowing
"I do not konw the medicinal plants in the mountain."

18 Anpane kwisha pian-mamin
others much know must
"Others must know very much."

19 Na-kas usm -uzi
I also blow know
"I also know how to blow."

20 Wan -ta payu -ne wan wantata -wamin
all to day emp all put together pot
"The whole day you must put everything together"

21 Pɨ -kas pil -kas kih -tawamin
achiote and soil and wrap pot
"You must wrap achiote, soil,

22 Papash -kas, kanatɨ kɨh -kas tit -tawamin
potatoes and palm leaf also cut pot
potatoes, and palm and must cut a leaf of palm."

23 Sampul -kas pak -tawam in
guava and pick pot ripe
"You must pick some ripe guavas."

24 Sua-s-ne nash -kane tɨlpata -kane inak -tawamin wan
then late when dark when collect pot all
"Then, when it is late you must collect everything."

25 Sua-s-ne kɨh kwisha akta-ne wan unatpa -amin
then leaf much tie top all put on must
"Then, you put everything in the leaf and tie it very well."

26 Wan chiya pala aya -kas chap -kas wipu -kas
all pineapple plantain skin and banana and eggs and

atal tɨmpu -kas unatpa -amin kwishak -kin
chicken neck and put must much in
"You must put: pineapple, plantain, banana, eggs,
and chicken necks."

27 Sua-s-ne tɨlpata -kane pɨ putmɨz -ta-wamain
then dark when achiote paint ALL pot
"Then, at night you must paint with achiote."

28 Pɨ- pas -ta -wamin tɨm
achiote place ALL pot basket
"You must put achiote in the basket."

29 Pishkatu-kas kutña sala -wamin
fish and three look for pot
"You must look for three fish."

30 Piña sun -ne mittɨ -kin nuk -ta -wamin
fish this emp foot in go between ALL pot
"One fish is put between the toes."

31 Ishka ip -ta -wamin ip kas
cotton wrap ALL pot cover and
"You cover and wrap with cotton."

32 Sua -s -mesa -ne wan watsal -pamin piktu -ne
then from emp emp all good make sleep emp
"Then, the patient feels better and falls asleep."

33 Tɨlawa -sha atal kayu az -kane kuhs-tawamin ɨmɨz-na
tomorrow at chicken male crow when get up pot go INF
"At the next day, when the rooster crows you must get

up to go."

34 Sua -s -ne ɨmɨz-tu-ne, ɨmɨz-tawamin wanta tɨlpa pihsh
then go asp emp place must all medicines
"If you go you collect all the medicines."

35 Sua-s-ne pi -mal ɨmɨz-ta -wamin
then river to go ALL pot
"Then, you must go to the river."

36 Pi -ta -ne pi -kin unat-pamin imtu -mika sha
river to emp river in put must sick who to
"You must place the sick person in the river."

37 Sua -s -ne wan pi -na -ɨ -mɨz -ta -wamin
then all bathe INF go begin ALL pot
"Then, the patient must be bathed."

38 Kanatɨ-kɨh ulpɨan -ta -wamin
palm leaf shake ALL pot
"You must shake him with the palm."

39 Sua-s-ne pih -kas paktam-ɨz -ta-wamin wan ish-kasa
then herbs and burn begin ALL pot all smoke with
kaikuna-kima
clear until
"Then, medicines must be burned until daybreak."

40 Sua-s-mesa-ne puz mɨz -ta -wamin wan kapal
then leave begin ALL must all completely
"Then, you must leave everything."

41 Pak-pian-tawa-ne, wan puzta -wane maiz-ta-wamin yal-ta
burn after pot emp all leave must change ALL pot house
"When everything is burned you must go to the house."

42 Yal ta pian-natpane atal ña kwaiz-nin-ta-wamin
house ALL arrive after chicken meat eat try ALL pot
"At home, you may eat chicken."

43 Chap -pi -kas awa -tuza imtu-mika -sha
sweet water also people together sick who to
kwaiz-nin-tawamin ishu sula -kasa
eat try must jaguar tooth with
"Liquor is given to all people and to the sick
person with jaguar's tooth."

44 Sua-s-ne kumita kum -ɨz -ta-wamin
then emp food eat begin ALL pot
"Then, you must eat"

45 Sun -kane walputa-ne walputa-chine kakul-kane, walputa
this how spirit emp spirit not get better when spirit
piz -tɨ-kane sun pak -piankain kakul-tɨmin
grab asp when this take off never get better
"When the spirit grabs it has to be taken off to get
better."

46 Anpane watsalta -kine imu -samin
others well not die pass
"Others do not get better and die."

47 Anpa-ne maza mazain kakul-mamin
others one ones get better
"Others get better."

48 Sun -kanain walputa pak-pianta -ne, wan awa
this how spirit break off emp all people
sun-kanain kipu-samin
this how do pass
"This is the way the spirit is broken off, this is the way all Awa do."

49 Walputa piz -tɨ -kane, inkal-mal sun-kanain kwinta-ki-
spirit grab asp when mountain to this how tell bor
musamin
pass
"When spirit grabs, this is the way is told in the mountain."

APPENDIX 3

This appendix includes the alphabet which is proposed for a literacy program with the Awa, and some sample lessons of a future primer.

AWA ALPHABET

Vowels		Consonants	
Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes
/a/	a	/p/	p
/e/	e	/t/	t
/i/	i	/k/	k
/ɨ/	ɨ	/s/	s
/u/	u	/š/	sh
/a/	a	/x/	j
/e/	e	/z/	z
/i/	i	/č/	ch
/ɨ/	ɨ	/m/	m
/u/	u	/n/	n
/i/	ih	/ɲ/	ñ
/ɨ/	ɨh	/l/	l
/u/	uh	/w/	w
		/y/	y

THE AWA PRIMER

This sample contains some pedagogical considerations related to the teaching of literacy to the Awa, and some examples of specific lessons.

The linguistic approach in teaching reading with this primer will be the word as a point to start the lessons. The method will be analytic, having the word as a basic unit and then it will be analyzed into its components, the syllables and the phonemes. A synthetic method will also be used after the students become familiar with all of the sounds. In general, the method will be based on teaching the easy and common forms first to continue with the most difficult parts. However, the linguistic units will not be separated by long periods of time to avoid fixation of the previous concepts already learned. The word as a unit will be fundamental in the reading process, syllables and phonemes will be considered only as constituents of the word. Names of the letters will be avoided in the teaching process.

The whole primer could consist of 60 lessons. Each lesson would be studied in an hour. Every ten lessons there will be a review lesson. The time required to teach reading and writing will be approximately a scholar year.

Five sample lessons show the beginning, middle, and final steps of teaching literacy.

Pɨnkih 1

awa

awa

awa	*awa*
wa	*wa*

1	2	3
wa	we	wi

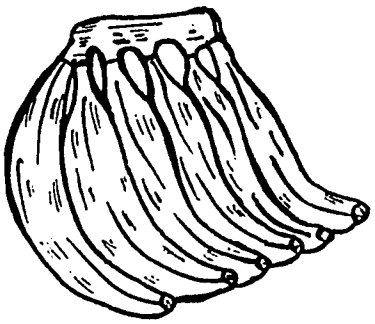
1	2	3
wa	*we*	*wi*

Awa pit

Awa pit

Awane tɨnta kalkin ***Awane tɨnta kalkin***

Pɨnkih 2



pala

pala

pala pa	*pala* *pa*

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
pa	pe	pi	pɨ	pu	*pa*	*pe*	*pi*	*pɨ*	*pu*
ta	te	ti	tɨ	tu	*ta*	*te*	*ti*	*tɨ*	*tu*

Pala tɨttu?

Nane pala tɨttus

Pala tɨttu?

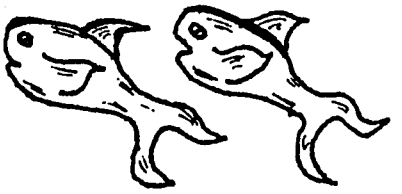
Nane pala tɨttus

Palane awkwalta kiwentu

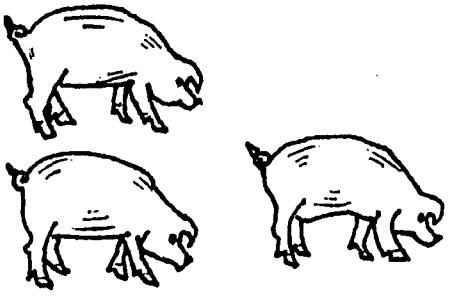
Palane awkwalta kiwentu

Pɨnkih 20

maza *maza*



pas *pas*

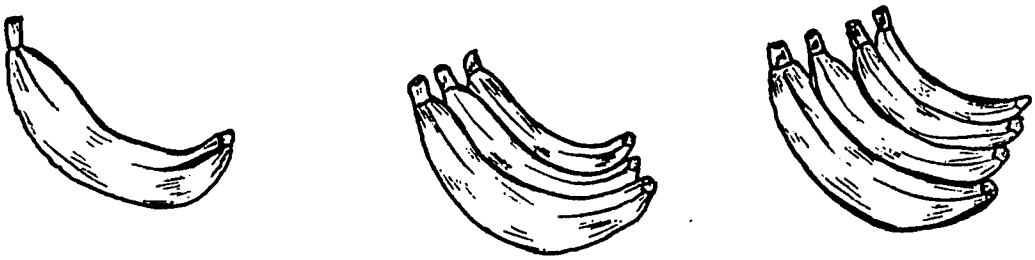


kutña *kutña*

ampata *ampata*

maza yal	*maza yal*
pas ñankish	*pas ñankish*
kutña kuzu	*kutña kuzu*
ampata kɨh	*ampata kɨh*

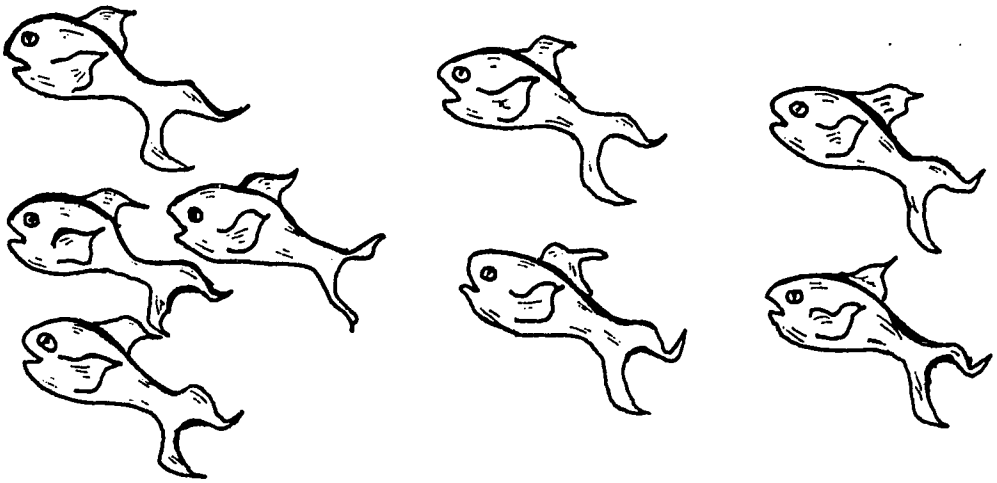
Pinkih 21



1 + 3 = 4

maza kutña an ampata

maza *kutña an* *ampata*



4 - 2 = 2

ampata pas wai pas

ampata *pas wai* *pas*

Pɨnkih 43

Ap pashu Alakta ɨshimtu. Ap ashampa Alakta ɨshimtu. Ap ashampa ap pashukasa Alakta ɨntas ñam paina. Ap pashune satasa paishimtu. Ninchiyukas paishimtu. Anpane Alakta an kashain puta. Anpane Alakta ɨshitne kashane payu ɨm.

Ap pashu Alakta ɨshimtu. Ap ashampa Alakta ɨshimtu. Ap ashampa ap pashukasa Alakta ɨntas ñan paina. Ap pashune satasa paishimtu. Ninchiyukas paishintu. Anpane Alakta an kashain puta. Anpane Alakta ɨshitne kashane payu ɨm.

Pashune mɨnpa ɨshimtu?

Pashune mɨnpa ɨshimtu?

Pashu Alakta ɨshimtu

Pashu Alakta ɨshimtu

pashu *pashu*

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