

A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)

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A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)

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List of abbreviations

Grammatical abbreviations¹

&	Epenthetic consonant or vowel	COL	Collective
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	COM	Comitative
<i>A</i>	<i>Subject of transitive verb</i>	COND	Conditional
ABL	Ablative	COP	Copula
ABSE	Absential	DEM	Demonstrative
ABUND	Abundant	DES	Desiderative
<i>ADD</i>	<i>Additive</i>	DESP	Desperately
ADJ	Adjectival	DIM	Diminutive
ADJZ	Adjectivizer	<i>DIR</i>	<i>Directional</i>
ADJZ.CL	Class adjectivizer	<i>DIRR</i>	<i>Double irrealis</i>
AFF	Affirmation	DIST	Distal
ALI	Alienator	DISTR	Distributive
ALL	Allative	DO	Double object
AN	Animate	DU	Verbal dual
ANT	Anterior	DUB	Dubitative
APPL	General applicative	DUR1	Verbal durative
APPR	Apprehensive	DUR2	Nominal durative
ATT	Attenuative	EARLY	Early
AWAY	Away	EMPH	Emphatic
BAD	Badness	EXCLM	Exclamative
BEN	Benefactive	EXI	Existential
CAT	Cataphoric	F	Feminine
CAUS	Causative	FOC	Focus
<i>CHA</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	FORM	Form
<i>CLF</i>	<i>Classifier</i>	FP	Female possessor
COEXP	Counterexpectative	FRS	Fossilized reality status
COFA	Counterfactual	FRU	Frustrative
		FUT	Future
		HAB	Habitual

¹ Abbreviations in italics are from examples from other authors used in the thesis.

HORT	Hortative	O	Object
<i>I</i>	<i>I-class</i>	OCC	Occupation
IDEO	Ideophone	OM	Object motion
IGN	Ignorative	ONOM	Onomatopoeia
IMPS	Impersonal	PAR	Partitive
INCL	Inclusive	PFV	Perfective
<i>INDEF</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	PL	Plural
INF	Infinitive	POSS	Possessive
INS	Instrumental	<i>PP</i>	<i>Positive polarity</i>
INT	Interrogative	PROG	Progressive
INTJ	Interjection	<i>PROSP</i>	<i>Prospective</i>
IPFV	Imperfective	PROX	Proximal
IRR	Irrealis	PST	Past
ITE	Iterative	PTCP	Participle
KV	Kinship verbalizer	PURP	Purposive
LAM	Lamentative	REA	Realis
LATER	Later	<i>REC</i>	<i>Recipient</i>
LIQ	Liquid	RECP	Reciprocal
LOC	Locative	REFL	Reflexive
M	Masculine	REG	Regressive
MAL	Malefactive	REL	Relative
MAT	Material	RES	Resultative
ME	Male ego	REST	Restrictive
MED	Medial	RMPST	Remote past
MIR	Mirative	ROPT	Reinforced optative
MP	Male possessor	RS	Reality status ²
NEG	Negative	<i>RSN</i>	<i>Reason</i>
<i>NFUT</i>	<i>Non-future</i>	S	Subject
<i>NM</i>	<i>Non-masculine</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NMLZ	Nominalizer	SPE	Specifier
NPURP	Non-purposive	SURP	Surprise
<i>NREFL</i>	<i>Non-reflexive</i>	TEMP	Temporal subordinator

² The gloss RS is used where a realis-irrealis opposition is not possible due to the occurrence of a palatal consonant (/c/, /j/ or /ɲ/) before an A-class suffix, given that the opposition between realis /a/ and irrealis /ja/ disappears in these cases.

<i>TEMP</i>	<i>Temporal</i>	m.	Masculine
<i>TERM</i>	<i>Terminative</i>	N	Nasal consonant
<i>TH</i>	<i>Theme</i>	NP	Nominal/noun phrase
THICK	Thick	O	Object
TIME	Time	p.c.	Personal communication
TOO	Too, also	p./pp.	Page/s
TOT	Totalitative	pl.	Plural
TRLOC	Translocative	R	Recipient
VER	Verificative	RC	Relative clause
VOC	Vocative	RS	Reality status
WH	<i>Wh</i> -word	S	Subject

In-text abbreviations

A	Agent	sg.	Singular
AP	Alto Perené	Sp.	Spanish
AM	Associated motion	SSC	Suffixed subject construction
C	Consonant	T	Theme
CC	Complement clause	TAM	Tense, aspect, mood
f.	Femenine	UP	Ucayali-Pajonal
GP	Gran Pajonal	V	Vowel, verb (depending on the context)
incl.	Inclusive		

Acronyms

AIDESEP	Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana 'Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest'
BDPI	Base de Datos de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios del Perú 'Database of Indigenous or Native peoples of Peru'
COICA	Coordinadora de Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica 'Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin'
CORPIAA	Coordinadora Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de AIDESEP-Atalaya 'Regional Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples of AIDESEP-Atalaya'
CVR	Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission'
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency

FECONAPA	Federación de Comunidades Indígenas Ashéninka de la Provincia de Atalaya ‘Federation of Ashéninka Indigenous Communities of Atalaya Province’
ILV	Instituto Linüístico de Verano ‘Summer Institute of Linguistics’
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MIAP	Movimiento Indígena de la Amazonía Peruana ‘Indigenous Movement of the Peruvian Amazon’
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario ‘Left-wing Revolutionary Movement’
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru ‘Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru’
OAGP	Organización Ashéninka del Gran Pajonal ‘Ashéninka Organization of the Gran Pajonal’
OIRA	Organización Indígena Regional de Atalaya ‘Regional Indigenous Organization of Atalaya’
PEPP	Proyecto Especial Pichis-Palcazu ‘Special Project Pichis-Palcazu’
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SL	Sendero Luminoso ‘Shining Path’
URPIA	Unión Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas de Atalaya ‘Regional Union of the Indigenous Peoples of Atalaya’

Glossary of local Spanish words

(local Spanish words with no or difficult translation in English)

aparina piece of cloth used to carry little children on one's body

carachama *Pseudorinelepis genibarbis*, a species of armoured catfish, and other species of the genus Loricariidae

chacra little piece of cultivated land to feed a family

correría raid in order to kidnap people to work as slaves for the rubber trade during the rubber boom (mid-19th century to 1912)

masato alcoholic drink made with fermented yuca

maspute small hut built in the forest with the purpose of hiding inside to lie in wait for animals to shoot them

ojé tree *Ficus insipida*

pajonalino person from the Gran Pajonal

quebrada brook that usually gets dry in the dry season

Selva Central Peruvian region comprising the Amazonian area roughly in the centre of the country between South and North, where the Campan peoples live

serrano native to the Sierra (the Andes)

Sierra Peruvian name for the area of the Andes Mountains

wirákocho Ashéninka word with the meaning 'non indigenous person'

Acknowledgements

Several people have contributed to the present form of this thesis. Without their contribution, this thesis would not be the same as it is now. I express my gratitude to all of them. In the following, I mention each of them in a loose chronological order of my meeting them during the whole process of conceiving and writing the thesis.

Mily Crevels was the person who first told me about the possibility of doing an external PhD at Leiden University. Maarten Mous gave me more information on the matter and some advice. The outcome of this was that Mily and Maarten would be the supervisors of the thesis. Mily has followed my work since the beginning and has revised the whole text. We have been constantly in touch since the conception of the topic (around the beginning of 2015), and the structure of the thesis owes a lot to her ideas. Maarten's advice was key at the beginning of 2017 in choosing a definitive. Maarten also revised the final version of the manuscript.

Another key figure was Lev Michael. After having been contacted by Mily about possible fieldwork locations, he was the one who suggested that I travel to Atalaya in order to research the variety known as Ucayali-Yuruá Ashéninka. I was frequently in touch with him at the beginning of the process; he gave me important logistical information, and we had some discussions about the language. I also had a very fruitful e-mail exchange with Zachary O'Hagan, who was writing his thesis on Caquinte at the time; our e-mail exchange enabled me to understand some Ashéninka features that had puzzled me before.

In Peru, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino and Roberto Zariquiey received me and talked with me about my project, not only on my first field trip but also on subsequent trips. I was in a foreign country and on a continent where I had never been before, so I got a kind of moral support from them that helped me to feel less alone. Via Zoila Espejo, the library staff of the San Marcos University in Lima helped me to find some journals and made copies of those in which I was interested.

Roberto Zariquiey gave me the phone number of the Shipibo leader Ronald Suárez in Pucallpa, whom I met during most of my stays in that town on my way to Atalaya. He was also a kind of moral support for my first time in Amazonia and

subsequent field trips. Ronald recommended me to Daisy Zapata, president of the indigenous organization CORPIAA. Through her, I met in CORPIAA's office the man who would become my main consultant during my four field trips: Rogelio Casique, aka Chóokiro. During my first field trip, I also met the people and institutions that would be helpful to me in the subsequent trips. Besides CORPIAA, the indigenous organizations URPIA and OIRA were also most receptive to my work and willing to help me. URPIA's president, Cleofás Quintori, was keen to assist me in everything I needed. Another institution in Atalaya that was most helpful was the indigenous university UCSS Nopoki. I have to mention Nopoki's director Julio Gonzales and the coordinator for the degree of bilingual education during my first three field trips, Juan Rubén Ruiz; both were keen to help me with everything. At Nopoki, I met a key person in the process of writing this thesis: Luzmila Casique, aka Chochoki, the teacher of Ashéninka in Nopoki and daughter of the aforementioned Rogelio Casique. I was able to attend the Ashéninka classes in Nopoki, and Luzmila was very helpful with everything I needed, even accompanying me to an indigenous community.

Luzmila and her father are the Ashéninkas to whom this thesis owes most. The names of other consultants are listed in Section 1.3.2 of this thesis. The contribution of each of them provides a piece of information without which the thesis would not have its current form.

Some previous works on Ashé-Ashá languages have been very helpful for my analysis of Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. The authors of these works are especially David and Judith Payne, whose works were mainly published in the 1980s, although they also have some later works. The more recent grammar of Elena Mihas on the Alto Perené variety (Mihas 2015a) has also been helpful. A short e-mail exchange with David Payne was crucial for me to disentangle the questions about the self-denomination of Ashéninkas and Asháninkas.

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Last but not least, in my personal life, the unconditional support of my partner, Manoli Fuentes, has given me the energy that has made me go forward during these years.

1. Introduction

The language described in this thesis belongs to a dialect continuum for which I have taken the name *Ashé-Ashá* from the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2022), where this name was already in use since my research began in 2015. This name is formed by the abbreviations of *Ashéninka* and *Asháninka*, which are the names traditionally given to the languages comprised in this continuum. The issues regarding the dialect continuum are discussed in Section 1.2.2 of this thesis. As explained in that section, the language described in this thesis is limited by the isogloss /s/-/h/. This language is spoken in Peru, in the Gran Pajonal plateau and on the banks of the Upper Ucayali River (see Section 1.1.1 for a more detailed geographic setting), hence the name *Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka*. Its speakers pronounce /h/ where speakers of other Ashé-Ashá languages or varieties pronounce /s/ (in identical words or cognates), i.e. the language does not have an /s/ phoneme, as the other varieties do. Some speakers by the Yuruá River, near the Brazilian border, also pronounce /h/ instead of /s/.

This thesis tries to describe all the grammatical features that I have been able to discover during my fieldwork, which is detailed in Section 1.3.1. Regarding the theoretical approach followed in the grammar, I entirely endorse the principles defended by Dixon (2010b:1-4) in what he calls “basic linguistic theory”, which consists in dealing with “linguistics conceived as a branch of natural science” (Dixon 2010b:3) whose task is “to explain the nature of human language, through active involvement in the description of languages –each viewed as an integrated system–” (Dixon 2010b:1).

Besides the grammar, this thesis includes the main conclusions of my article Pedrós 2018, which deals with the internal structure of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum (Section 1.2.2). This is a task that I felt urgently necessary after my first field trip, when I encountered the paradoxical situation that the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022) showed seven Ashé-Ashá languages –which it still does today–,³ while the Peruvian Ministry of Education officially recognised only one

³ www.ethnologue.com/country/PE/languages. Accessed in June 2022.

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language with the name *Asháninka*, of which all the Ashé-Ashá varieties supposedly were dialects. In Pedrós (2018), I propose that two or three languages should be postulated for the whole continuum based on the principle of mutual intelligibility. During the time of my fieldwork, the Peruvian Ministry of Education recognised Ashéninka as a different language from Asháninka. This recognition is very important for producing schoolbooks for the Ashéninka schools, given that the formerly produced schoolbooks were in a language that the Ashéninka people could not understand (the standard was based on the Tambo-Ene variety, aka Asháninka). The Ethnologue's division in seven languages represents a totally unrealistic picture of the continuum since some dialects with minimal differences (e.g. Pajonal and Ucayali) are presented as separate languages. The same picture with seven languages is shown in the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2022) because its source in this respect is the Ethnologue. However, the Glottolog includes my internal classification (Pedrós 2018:26-27) of the Ashé-Ashá continuum.

This thesis also includes the article Pedrós 2019, which compares the verbal reality status marking of all Campan languages and shows the partial loss of the realis-irrealis opposition in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. This loss affects roughly half of the verbs and was discovered during my second field trip. I considered it crucial to make it known because it is a departure from the system of the rest of the Campan languages, and reality status is important in these languages because it is the only obligatory category on the verb.⁴

I call the language described in this grammar *Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka* because of the geographical setting of the area where it is spoken (the Gran Pajonal plateau and the Upper Ucayali River). This includes the languages named *Ashéninka Pajonal* and *South Ucayali Ashéninka*, whose codes are Ethnologue *cjo* and *cpy* and Glottolog *ashe1273* and *sout3127*, respectively (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022; Hammarström et al. 2022). In the Glottolog, both are put together in the group named *Ashéninka* with the Glottocode *ashe1274*.

⁴ However, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

1.1. The Ashéninka people

This section describes aspects of the people who speak the language under study and also of other Ashé-Ashá speakers, given that some aspects cannot be studied separately. The section is divided into three subsections devoted to the geographical setting and the number of people who speak the language or identify themselves as Ashéninkas (Section 1.1.1), a historical sketch of the Ashé-Ashá people with special reference to the Ucayalinos and Pajonalinos (Section 1.1.2), and the present situation of the Ashéninka in the Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal (Section 1.1.3).

1.1.1. Geography and demography

The Peruvian Ministry of Culture maintains the website *Base de Datos de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios* (BDPI) ‘Database of Indigenous or Native Peoples’, where different data of the Peruvian indigenous peoples are shown. These data were updated with the 2017 census, carried out in October while I was in Peru doing fieldwork. According to the BDPI, 14,989 people live in indigenous communities⁵ that define themselves as Ashéninka,⁶ of whom 8,774 claim to speak the language (see Section 1.2.4 for a discussion on language vitality). The BDPI website shows a downloadable map of the communities self-defined as Ashéninka, as well as a spreadsheet with data of all the indigenous communities of Peru.⁷ Since these files are based on the 2017 census, they slightly differ from the data presented in Pedrós (2018:9). The majority of the Ashéninka communities are in the Gran Pajonal and along the Ucayali River, but some of them extend their territory from the Ucayali to the east, and there are some in the Yuruá and Masisea districts, next to Brazil. The BDPI’s map is reproduced here as Map 1. There are also the Ashéninkas of the Pichis Valley, but there is a problem with the name in this area, where most communities define themselves as Asháninka (for a discussion on this topic, see Pedrós 2018:8-10): according to the

⁵ An indigenous community in Peru is a legally recognised institution with its own authorities, namely a chief and a communal assembly.

⁶ bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/pueblos/ashéninka. Accessed in June 2022.

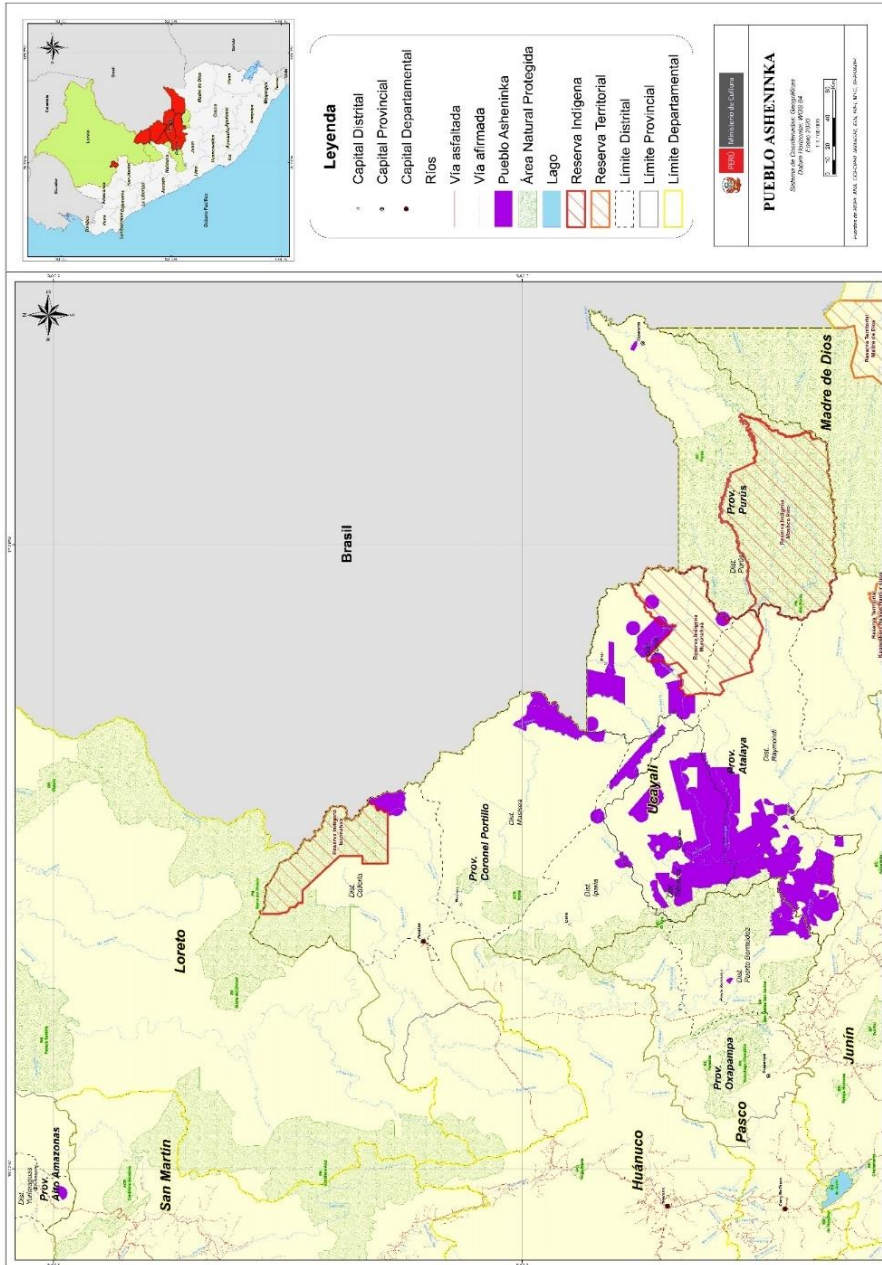
⁷ The map can be accessed at bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/pueblos/asheninka, and the spreadsheet, at bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/buscador-de-localidades-de-pueblos-indigenas. Both accessed in March 2021.

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BDPI's spreadsheet, there is only one community self-defined as Ashéninka in the Pichis Valley.

In any case, the language described in this thesis is the one spoken in the Gran Pajonal (GP) and on the banks of the Ucayali River, while most people in communities further east pronounce /s/ where people in the Ucayali and the GP use /h/. Actually, both areas, the Gran Pajonal and the Upper Ucayali, have always been closely connected. Hvalkof (1998:89) says that, for the GP Ashéninkas, the Ucayali is a fish paradise, and their preferred contacts outside the GP are their Ucayali relatives –my consultants hailed from the Upper Ucayali, but they had relatives in the GP. Hvalkof adds that both areas are linked by an ancient net of paths and that the *pajonalinos* love to make fishing excursions to the Ucayali, where they fish and exchange goods, so the Ucayali River is their gate to the outside world.

Map 1. Ashéninka communities according to the BDPI



1.1.2. Historical sketch

All the peoples that have been called *Campa* since the 17th century are treated together by some historical sources. This denomination encompasses the Asháninka and the Ashéninka, and, according to Hvalkof (1998:161), also the Nomatsigenga.⁸ A good account of the history of the whole Ashé-Ashá area is given in Varese (1968), and, more specifically referred to the Gran Pajonal, in Hvalkof & Veber (2005:113-58). More recent events in the Ashéninka area (1980s and 1990s) are described in more detail in Hvalkof (1998). The historical sketch provided in the present section is based mainly on these three works and is practically a summary of them. Shorter accounts about the areas traditionally called *Ashéninka* can be found in Anderson (2000) in English and its Spanish translation (Anderson 2008:31-68); and in Weiss (2005:9-12) and Vigil (2018) about the areas traditionally called *Asháninka*.

1.1.2.1. Precolonial times and the first Castilian incursion in 1595

Although archaeological findings suggest that the Campas (I will use this name when referring to the group formed by the Asháninka and the Ashéninka in historical times) maintained trade relations with peoples from the Andes (Anderson 2008:32-34), practically nothing is known of their history in precolonial times. The first Europeans known to have ventured into Campa territory are the Jesuits Joan Font and Nicolás Mastrillo in 1595, who wrote some ethnographic notes about their encounter (for details, see Varese 1968:35-41). Font travelled to Castile accompanied by two Indians and met the king in Valladolid to ask for permission to colonize the newly discovered land, which he was granted. In 1601, Font travelled back to Peru with a project to colonize the area and the royal permission to do it, but this project failed due to the opposition that he faced in Peru from the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus.

⁸ The oldest references to the word *Asháninka* that have come to my knowledge are in L.D. Kindberg (1961:505) and W. Kindberg (1961:519). Both say that “the tribe speaking this language is called Campa by the Spanish-speaking Peruvians, but the tribe refers to itself and its members as Ashaninka” (both authors use the same words).

1.1.2.2. The Franciscan missions in the 17th and early 18th century

The next attempt to colonize the area would be more successful and was carried out by another Catholic order: the Franciscans. In 1635, the Franciscan Jerónimo Jiménez arrives at the Cerro de la Sal⁹ and founds a village with a chapel: *Quimirí*, obviously an Ashé-Ashá name, in the location of the present city of La Merced. In 1637, Jiménez tries to explore the Perené River, but dies at the hands of the Indians. In the following years, there were other attempts to explore the area. In 1641, the Franciscan Illescas, accompanied by two monks from Quito, leaves Huancabamba with the intention of exploring the Perené River, but they were never heard of until 1686: they had been killed by the Shipibo by the Ucayali River. In 1645, there are rumours that there is gold to be found in the Cerro de la Sal, which brings an expedition of 46 men to the area; they are stopped by the Campas and end up sacking some mountain villages, which causes their arrest and imprisonment by the colonial authorities (Varese 1968:42-43).

In 1651, the conquistador Fernando Contreras presents an important chronicle to the king: the *Representación* of the province of the so-called *Minarvas*. Varese (1968:44-46) argues that the ethnographic description offers little doubt that these people are Campas, but most important is that the first recorded Campan words appear in this *Representación*. Contreras says that he found Indians called “Noçanganis, Canparites, Opanegis” in a place where three big rivers meet (Varese hypothesizes that this must be the area where the rivers Pangoa, Perené and Ene converge) (Varese 1968:45). Later, the Franciscan Manuel de Biedma reported the presence of the Indians called “Campas, Camparites, Pirros y Simirinchés” (Varese 1968:46), of whom Varese says that Campas and Camparites must be synonyms, as well as Pirros and Simirinchés (Piros are usually called *Yine* today). The most transparent of Contreras’ three words is *noçangani*: *nahánkane* in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka and *nasánkane/nasánkani* in the other Ashé-Ashá varieties means ‘my heart’ or ‘our hearts’ (exclusive) (n-ahánkane, 1-heart) (/k/ after /n/ is realized [g] in Ucayali-Pajonal

⁹ The Cerro de la Sal ‘mountain of salt’ is an important landmark in the history of the Ashé-Ashá and other peoples of the area. People from distant areas came to this place to gather salt, which made it an important commercial hub. This place is close to the present town of Villa Rica (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:117).

Ashéninka, and it is most likely that the same holds for the other varieties). We cannot know how this word came to be interpreted by Contreras as the name of the people, but we can imagine a group of people calling themselves ‘our hearts’. For *opanegi*, the nearest construction that comes to my mind is *apániki* (apani=ki, one=LOC), which would mean ‘in one’, possibly implying ‘in one place’. This would be the case if *opanegi* is interpreted as /opanegi/, but the author might have meant a Spanish reading as /opanexi/ or /opanehi/, which would be more difficult to interpret.

But the most remarkable word is *camparite*, given that it contains the element *campa*, and this is the first time that this word is attested. *-ri* and *-te* are frequent endings in Ashé-Ashá: *-ri* can be a relative and a 3rd person masculine suffix but is also common in many roots; *-te* is a possessive suffix. The meaning of *camparite* cannot be easily ascertained, but I can try to form a hypothesis. The word *ashirámpariti* in UP Ashéninka means ‘our man/men’ (inclusive) (a-shirámpari-ti, INCL-man-POSS), and, in normal speech, it would be pronounced as [aʃˈtampari,tɛ], with a great deal of variation in the height of the last vowel (the element *ashira* would be pronounced as [aʃɪra] instead of [aʃta] only when speaking very slowly). Initial /a/ before /ʃ/ may tend to be pronounced voiceless, a tendency that I noticed in Asháninka more strongly than in Ashéninka (on my first field trip, I also worked with some Asháninka speakers). Therefore, Contreras, who would have never heard voiceless vowels, might have overheard a voiceless sequence [ɤʃ] and would have heard only [ˈtampari,tɛ]. I have sometimes confounded /t/ and /k/ during my fieldwork when listening to a speaker, so it might be the case that Contreras heard something similar to [ɤʃˈtampari,tɛ], interpreted it as [ˈkamparite] and wrote it down as *canparite*. This is the only hypothesis that comes to my mind for interpreting this word as the self-designation of this indigenous group. As with the more transparent *noçangani*, it would be difficult to ascertain how Contreras might have taken this word to be the name of the indigenous group.

In 1671, the viceroy gave permission to explore the area around the Cerro de la Sal again (Varese 1968:47). As a result, in 1673, the Franciscan Manuel de Biedma refounded Quimiri and the village of Santa Cruz de Sonomoro (Sonomoro is a river that flows into the Pangoa River). Biedma founds new missions along the upper

Perené River, learns the native language and writes “gramáticas, vocabularios, manuales para confesiones y traduce himnos y oraciones” (Varese 1968:48).¹⁰ He explores the Mantaro, Apurímac and Tambo rivers, and the Ucayali River until the confluence with the Pachitea, and he writes about the peoples that he finds there. In 1687, he goes down the Tambo looking for a place to found a new mission and is attacked and killed by the Yine. Varese (1968:56-57) says that, since then, the Tambo River became a closed frontier for whites and mestizos, and that only from 1918 onwards could the Tambo River be navigated safely.

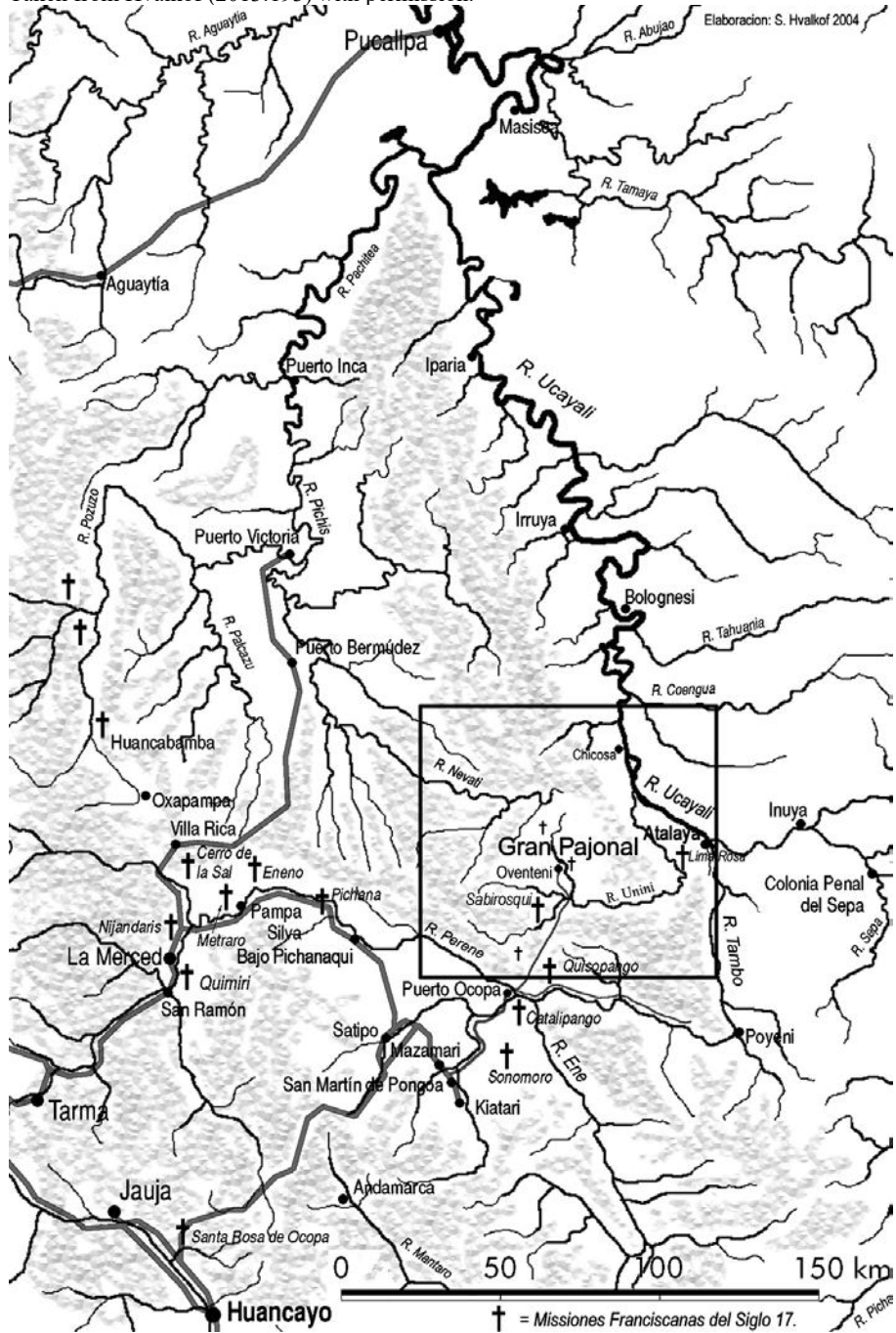
According to Varese’s account (1968:50-56), Biedma used Conibos as guides and also to subjugate the Campas and had spent some time living with them before venturing into Campan territory. This is adduced by Varese (1968:51-53) to posit a possible Pano origin of the word *Campa*, together with the fact that Biedma was the first who started using it frequently. However, in his long and well-built argument, Varese surprisingly disregards the Camparites reported by Contreras and later by Biedma, which should invalidate his whole argument about the Pano origin of the word *campa*, given that Contreras visited the area before Biedma and *camparite* was used by Contreras before Biedma. The Ashé-Ashá endings *-ri-te* simply cannot be ignored, so the word *camparite* shows a clear Ashé-Ashá origin –unless the sequence *-ri-te* is a coincidence–, which implies that *campa* should also have an Ashé-Ashá origin.

Between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, the Franciscans tried to found missions in the area, and they actually founded some (Varese [1968:61] mentions six in the area of the Ene and Perené rivers), but they complained because their efforts did not yield the expected results due to the lack of interest of the Campas. They also suffered attacks, such as the one near the confluence of the Ene and Perené rivers in 1724, when several Franciscans plus 14 Spaniards and 20 Christian Indians died at the hands of the Yine. Since the Franciscans had not been very successful, they thought about expanding, and the only place where they could do it was the Gran Pajonal. The first *wirákocha* (Ashéninka word for ‘non-indigenous people’) to explore the Gran Pajonal was the Franciscan Juan de la Marca in 1733

¹⁰ ‘grammars, vocabularies, manuals for confessions and translates hymns and prayers’.

(Varese 1968:61-62). In 1729, he convinced Mateo de Assia, an Asháninka chief, to lead an expedition to the Gran Pajonal (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:114). When he arrived there, he convinced 162 Pajonal Ashéninkas to settle in San Tadeo, a mission by the Upper Perené River where there was an important trade route for the Pajonal Ashéninkas, but 40 of them died of an epidemic, and the rest went back to the Gran Pajonal in 1730 (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:114). De la Marca tried again to convince some local chiefs to settle in San Tadeo, which they refused, but they said to him that they could gather people from different places of the Gran Pajonal if the missionaries themselves visited the area. Accepting this invitation, De la Marca visited the Gran Pajonal in 1733 with 15 converted Asháninkas and founded the first mission in Tampianaqui, followed by two more (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:114-15). In 1735, Mateo de Assia, accompanied by two missionaries, visited the Gran Pajonal again and founded three more missions. One of the missionaries said that they were received with much kindness, but this was due to the access to European tools and the establishment of trade routes. In 1739, the Franciscans had founded ten missions, which had fifteen priests and some cattle and crops (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:115-16) (see Map 2 for the location of the missions), but the events of 1742 would change the history of the Selva Central dramatically (the *Selva Central* ‘central jungle’ is the name given to the area of the Amazon that occupies the central part of Peru, roughly a third of the country, and is the place where the Ashé-Ashá peoples live).

Map 2: The Campa area with the location of the Franciscan missions (marked with a cross). Taken from Hvalkof (2013:193) with permission.



1.1.2.3. The rebellion of Juan Santos Atahualpa in the 18th century

In 1742, a man called Juan Santos, an Indian from the Sierra (Varese 1968:65) (the Sierra is the name given in Peru to the Andean area), appears at the confluence of the Ene and Perené rivers (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:121). There he meets Santabangori, an Ashéninka chief who had helped the Franciscan De la Marca to found missions in the Gran Pajonal. Santabangori invites Santos to Quisopango in the Gran Pajonal, and they plan an insurrection there. In a big ceremony, Santos proclaims himself *Apu Inca* and takes the name *Atahualpa* because he claims to be a descendant of Atahualpa, the last Inca emperor (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:122). Santos sends emissaries to different places to call people to gather in the Gran Pajonal. Varese (1968:68) says that not only the Campas but also the Yanesha', the Yine, the Shipibo and the Konibo followed Santos' call and went to the Gran Pajonal to meet him.

The uprisings against the Franciscans had been occurring since they started establishing missions. The reasons were the diseases brought by the missionaries and their endeavours to impose their Catholic moral and way of life, sometimes by force or punishing the disobedient Indians. Santos is the catalyst for the discontent that had been growing for sixty years. He had been the servant of a high-ranking Jesuit and had travelled to Spain, Angola and the Congo, so he was an educated man for the standard of the epoch (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:120-21).

Santos' activity alarms the Franciscans, who send Father Santiago Vásquez de Caicedo to find out what Santos' purposes are. Santos talks to him and tells him that he is Christian and has come to found his reign, which was stolen by Pizarro and his Castilian soldiers. He wants the *wirákocha* and their black servants (the Franciscans had black servants who could carry guns and were in charge of the security) to leave the area (Varese 1968:69).

When the viceregal authorities become aware of the danger of the situation, they send two columns to the area. One arrives at Quisopango, in the Gran Pajonal, and captures the arsenal after a fierce fight, but they do not find Santos; when they return to their headquarters, most of them are annihilated by Campas through guerrilla attacks (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:124). The other column arrives at Quimiri and finds it deserted (Varese 1968:74). In the following ten years, Santos established his

headquarters in Metraró, from where he got to expel all the missions from the Selva Central and control the Campa, Yánesha and Yine territory (the Gran Pajonal and the areas of the Chanchamayo, Perené and Upper Ucayali rivers). In 1751-52, Santos conquered the territories of Pangoa, Sonomoro, Satipo, and even an area in the Eastern Andes (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:124). Varese (1968:73-85) gives a detailed account of the events in that period, which are summarized in the following lines.

In 1743, colonial troops arrive at Quimiri and build a fort, which is guarded by 80 men commanded by Captain Fabricio Bártoli with 4 cannons and 4 swivel guns. Four days later, Santos arrives with his men and they siege the fort. Santos and Bártoli agree on two fifteen-day truces, during which Santos offers Bártoli to surrender and withdraw safely, but this offer is declined. At the end of the second truce, Bártoli and his men try to escape in the night, but they are intercepted and killed. When Spanish reinforcement troops arrived, they found the fort occupied by Santos (Varese 1968:75-76). In January 1746, José de Llamas, Marquis of Mena-Hermosa, gathers a troop of 1,000 men. In March, in the middle of the rainy season, 400 of these men under Llamas' command enter the rebel territory by Huancabamba in the direction of Cerro de la Sal. In the south, Troncoso commands 500 men with the intention of joining Llamas after passing by Quimiri and Ocsabamba. The difficulty of moving forward in the rainy season made Llamas return without fighting after losing 14 men due to exhaustion. Troncoso's expedition was attacked by the rebels at the end of the Chanchamayo Valley: the soldiers got away and fled to the Sierra. These failures led the viceroy to cancel this kind of operations due to their expensive cost and null results. It was thought that Santos had a 500-man troop; actually, he did not have a regular army, but he could dispose of all the Indians of the Selva Central: they gathered when he called them in order to carry out a specific mission (Varese 1968:77-78). In 1750, Llamas attempts a new military incursion with two different columns, but both are constantly harassed by the Campas with guerrilla tactics, the bridges are cut, and deadly traps have been placed on the paths. The expedition has to go back without achieving any victory (Varese 1968:80). After conquering new territories in the areas of Pangoa and Satipo, the rebels conquer Andamarca in the Sierra, but they withdraw

after a few days in order to avoid the arriving colonial troops (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:125).

Some Franciscan chronicles say that Santos was killed in 1755-56 in Metraró by one of his followers, who wanted to check if Santos was immortal by throwing a stone at him, but other Franciscan reports say that he was still alive in 1775 (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:125). In 1756, the Franciscan Salcedo found two Campan followers of Santos in the Shipibo mission San Miguel de los Cunibos, by the Ucayali River, and they told him that Santos had disappeared in a smoke cloud (Varese 1968:83). The fact is that there was no more news from Santos' activities since 1752. In 1766, the main Pano-speaking groups in the Ucayali (Shipibos, Konibos and Xetebos) led a rebellion against missionaries and colonists, and the Campas and Yines in the Tambo joined them. The outcome of Santos' rebellion was that the Selva Central would remain closed to colonization and under the control of the indigenous people for one hundred years (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:125-26).

Between 1782 and 1790, the Franciscan missions recovered some territory only in the areas of the Upper Apurímac and the Mantaro rivers, but the regions of the Pichis, Pachitea, Perené, Tambo and Pangoa rivers and the Gran Pajonal would remain impenetrable until the foundation of La Merced by the Chanchamayo River in 1868 (Varese 1968:84). Still in 1876, a man called Wertheman, while navigating the Chanchamayo, Perené and Tambo rivers, was told that the Indians gathered every year in the Gran Pajonal for a ceremony in memory of Juan Santos Atahualpa, in which his sword was carried in a procession (Varese 1968:94-95). This story, true or false, shows Santos' long-lasting impact on the area.

1.1.2.4. The 19th century and the rubber boom (from mid-19th century until 1912)

After Santos' rebellion, the Selva Central was considered a dangerous territory, and only in the 1810s some shy attempts at recolonization were carried out. In 1815, three new Franciscan missions are founded in Sonomoro, in Pangoa and at the mouth of the Tambo into the Ucayali. Soldiers, colonists and adventurers follow the missionaries and create conflicts with the Asháninkas along the Tambo, which lead to armed

clashes. The missionaries answer with a punitive expedition on the Tambo with 362 armed men in 66 canoes, but the Asháninkas flee into the forest and remain there for the following years. However, this recolonization would be stopped by the Peruvian War of Independence: in 1820, the Franciscans had to abandon the three new missions (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:129-30).

Since 1842, there was a fort in present-day San Ramón, which was the last frontier for missionaries and colonists. The fort had the function of protecting the colonists and their fields surrounding the fort, but, at the other side of the river, the Asháninkas threw arrows from time to time, so that it was dangerous to bathe or wash in the river. Varese (1968:89-90) says that the captain of the fort told a visiting North American official that some colonists were thinking of building their houses of adobe with strong windows and doors because they were afraid of Asháninka attacks with incendiary arrows. However, this fort was going to be the place from where the recolonization of the area would take place (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:136).

In 1891, the Peruvian state gave the British company Peruvian Corporation a concession of 2 million ha along the Perené River, and the company established the Perené colony. However, only 500,000 ha were exploited with coffee plantations. Local Asháninkas were hired to work there under miserable conditions, and new epidemics (e.g. measles) appeared and spread over the whole Selva Central, which caused a decrease in the indigenous population at the turn of the century (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:136-37).

On the other side of the Campan area, by the Ucayali River, the South American rubber boom started to be noted. From the mid-19th century onward, the rubber demand in North American and European markets steadily grew, which led to the establishment of companies in Iquitos, and some trading posts and small estates began to develop along navigable rivers as the Ucayali or the Urubamba (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:131-32) –I have been told stories of some of these estates. In 1910, rubber exports made up 18% of Peruvian exports, but the boom ended abruptly in 1912 due to the competition of new rubber plantations in English and Dutch colonies (Varese 1968:108). The consequences of this business for the indigenous peoples of the area were disastrous: the rubber business needed many hands, and they were obtained

through slaves, so the slave trade grew at the same pace as the rubber trade. The rubber barons organized the so-called *correrías* (derived from Spanish *correr* ‘run’), which were raids on indigenous settlements with the goal of kidnapping people to work as slaves. These *correrías* were often carried out by indigenous people hired by rubber barons. After the fall of the rubber boom, the slave trade went on and was particularly intense along the Ucayali and Urubamba rivers. Hvalkof & Veber (2005:132-34) say that they know from their own fieldwork that local chiefs in the Ucayali were provided with Winchester rifles by rubber barons so as to conduct *correrías* in the Gran Pajonal and that the slave trade continued in the Upper Ucayali until approximately 1988 (2005:144).

In 1895, the Peruvian president Nicolás de Piérola wanted to connect the Amazon to the coast in order to set up a way out for rubber exports, which were oriented towards Brazil and poorly controlled by the government, resulting in a loss of income for the state, so he put the Franciscan Gabriel Sala in charge of an exploratory expedition to the Gran Pajonal with the idea of constructing a railway through the area. Sala explored the Pichis, Pachitea and Upper Ucayali rivers and, from the Ucayali, went up to the Gran Pajonal from the Chicosa River (Varese 1968:103-04).¹¹ His expedition found most villages deserted because their inhabitants feared the frequent *correrías* and fled when they knew that strangers were approaching (Varese 1968:105). Sala made a report with a plan to colonize the Gran Pajonal, but it presupposed that the adjoining territories had a developed infrastructure, which was not the case. The logistic problems remained insurmountable, so *correrías* to gather slaves for the rubber barons could go on in the Gran Pajonal. Throughout the 20th century, there were several plans to connect the Andes with the Ucayali through the Pajonal, but none were successful (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:140-41).

With the end of the rubber trade, the exploitation of the indigenous people by rubber barons increased, which caused several rebellions. In 1912, the Swiss slave dealer Sedel Mayer was killed near Satipo by the Asháninkas. In 1913, the Asháninkas

¹¹ Most of my consultants were from the indigenous community of Chicosa (*Katsinkaari* in Ashéninka). This community is next to the Ucayali River and I was told that there is a little *quebrada* (a brook that usually dries up in the dry season) with the same name as the community. Varese probably refers to this brook when he mentions the “río Chicosa”.

and the Nomatsigengas of Pangoa rebelled against the settlers, followed by an uprising in the Upper Ucayali. In 1913, the Campas in the Pichis Valley killed 150 settlers and cut off the roads to Lima, and, also in 1914, there was an uprising in the Pichis Valley against the rubber barons in the area of Puerto Bermúdez. However, during this time, a lot of roads and paths were built (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:136, 141-42).

1.1.2.5. From the 1920s to the 1980s: attempts at recolonization

At the end of the 1920s, the Franciscans had set up missions in all the areas surrounding the Gran Pajonal, and their next step would be to do the same in the Gran Pajonal. Access to the Ucayali by land was still a goal of the mission and the Peruvian state, and the appearance of the aeroplane facilitated the colonization projects. In the mid-1920s, an air force base is established in San Ramón, and small airstrips are built in Puerto Ocopa and Atalaya. In 1933, the Franciscans fly over the Gran Pajonal to study how they could establish missions there. In 1935, Monsignor Irazola, Brother Antonio Rojas, an engineer called Béquer and twenty Asháninkas from the Puerto Ocopa mission undertake an expedition to the Gran Pajonal, in which they determine where they want to build three missions. They report that the Ashéninkas are distrustful of strangers because there are *correrías* and slave children are sold at the mouth of the Unini River into the Ucayali. Already in 1936, a road from Puerto Ocopa to Oventeni has been built, and the three missions are functioning (one of them is Oventeni, which today is the most important settlement in the Gran Pajonal). Shortly after that, an airstrip is built in Oventeni, and the colonization process starts with families from the Sierra, who sign a four-year deal to settle there. Cattle raising under the direction of Andean settlers is thought to be the way of colonization. In 1939, there are in Oventeni 11 settler families, 28 schoolchildren, 50-60 cows, 4 bulls, 17 young bulls, 25 calves, and some sheep, donkeys and horses (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:144-146).

In the 1940s, there are several clashes between Ashéninkas and settlers, with loss of lives on both sides. In 1948, 350 Ashéninkas try to reconquer Oventeni, but they are lured into a trap by the missionaries: 20 Ashéninkas and 1 settler die. At some point, the mission felt so threatened that an arsenal with army rifles was set up in

Oventeni to protect the colony. In 1946, a road from Puerto Ocopa to Atalaya along the Unini River was finished, but it was destroyed in the 1947 earthquake –Hvalkof & Veber (2005:147) say that it had not been rebuilt yet at the time of writing. Another road had been recently built when I arrived in Atalaya on my first field trip in 2015, although not along the Unini. With the earthquake, also Satipo was isolated, and the road connecting with the Sierra and Lima was not rebuilt until 1960. This isolation of the Selva Central meant a decrease in the number of settlers and a change in the type of settler: from poor Andean peasants to rich landlords who invested in big estates of up to 4,000 ha (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:147). In the Gran Pajonal, a group of investors from Lima set up a big cattle ranch in Shumahuani: the company Florestal Ganadera, S.A. A lot of qualified personnel was hired, and cattle was brought in, but the project did not turn out to be profitable because the natural pastures were of poor quality. The continual coming and going of workers caused measles epidemics that ravaged the Ashéninkas throughout the 1950s and 1960s, which led to a drastic decrease in population (Hvalkof & Veber 148-50).

The final coup de grâce for Florestal Ganadera came from an unexpected event. In November 1965, a column of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario ‘Left-wing Revolutionary Movement’) led by Guillermo Lobatón Milla arrived in the Gran Pajonal retreating from the Peruvian special forces from the area around Pangoa and Satipo. They seized Oventeni and stayed there for two weeks delivering speeches to the settlers. The administrator of Florestal Ganadera was not on the spot, so they took the best bulls and prepared a big barbecue with the Ashéninkas, who provided *masato*, and all together made a wild party. The next day, the Peruvian special forces arrived and caught them in the middle of the hangover. On the 9th of December 1965, the guerrillas were captured near Mapitzeviari; the Ashéninkas recount that the guerrillas were cruelly tortured and killed and that Lobatón and his second commander were killed after being forced to dig their own graves (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:151). These events deeply affected the Oventeni colony: the Franciscan nuns were evacuated, the mission and the boarding school were closed, and only one priest remained in Oventeni, where a military post was established for the following three

years. Florestal Ganadera S.A. was dissolved in 1968. The dream of a cattle development area in the Gran Pajonal had failed again (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:152).

Around 1968, a new actor appeared on the scene, who would make a big impact on the Ashéninkas: some evangelical missionaries from the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (ILV), as the North American Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is called in Hispanic America, settled permanently in the Gran Pajonal with the goal of registering the language and translating the Bible into Ashéninka. They also set up bilingual schools, recruited local Ashéninkas as schoolteachers and Bible translators, and sent them to study at their base in Yarinacocha (near Pucallpa). They also started vaccinating the locals and built small airstrips in some communities where they had set up their schools. (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:153-54).

In the 1970s, the Ashéninka population increased, as well as the settlers' farms. In 1978, multilateral development banks decided to invest in huge development projects to colonize the Selva Central. As a result, many settlers moved to the Gran Pajonal, pastures were sowed, and new cattle was introduced. The labour force was provided by the Ashéninkas, who worked for settlers under the system of debt bondage, by which a labourer works to pay off a debt that will never be totally paid off. The Ashéninkas that did not comply with their imposed obligations were severely punished. According to Hvalkof & Veber (2005:154), they were arrested in a hut for days without food or water and could be whipped. Some Ashéninkas were so humiliated that they committed suicide, and there is even a case of a family of fourteen who committed a collective suicide after the humiliation that two of their members suffered during a week in the Oventeni prison. Hvalkof & Veber (2005:155) say that the situation was similar in the Ucayali, which coincides with the stories that I have been told. This situation was extremely absurd because it had been caused by the financial aid of international agencies such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, USAID and others. In the end, the development projects failed, and the international development agencies withdrew from Peru, leaving the Selva Central in a most deplorable state (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:155).

1.1.2.6. From the 1980s on: formation of indigenous organizations, terrorism, and slavery in the Upper Ucayali

In the 1980s, the ongoing conflicts with settlers called for collective action in the Gran Pajonal, and, with the help of ILV missionaries, the OAGP (Organización Ashéninka del Gran Pajonal ‘Ashéninka Organization of the Gran Pajonal’) was created. In 1984, they successfully demarcated and entitled four indigenous communities. The settlers responded by mobilizing entrepreneurs and officials from the regional administration in order to annul the entitled communities, and, at the same time, the OAGP mobilized the human resources they had available: missionaries, teachers, anthropologists and other friends, who convinced the World Bank and its Peruvian partner, the PEPP (Proyecto Especial Pichis-Palcazu ‘Special Project Pichis-Palcazu’), that they had the responsibility to interfere in the conflict, so the people in charge of these projects demarcated and entitled all the indigenous communities of the Gran Pajonal. As the process went on, the settlers were shocked, until they realized that they could not avoid it and had to accept it. The result of the entitlement process was that the interethnic conflicts practically disappeared (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:156-57).

The preceding paragraph summarizes the last events in Ashéninka history reported in Hvalkof & Veber (2005). Although this book chapter was published in 2005, it is already cited in Hvalkof (1998:159) as of near publication, which was obviously delayed more than Hvalkof had thought. In Hvalkof (1998), more recent events than those in the preceding paragraph are reported, so it seems that Hvalkof & Veber (2005) was written before Hvalkof (1998). Therefore, the following paragraphs are not based on Varese (1968) nor Hvalkof & Veber (2005) but on Vigil (2018) for the events in the Asháninka area and on Hvalkof (1998) in the Ashéninka area.

The appearance of the armed insurgent group Sendero Luminoso (SL) ‘Shining Path’ in the Selva Central in the late 1980s drastically marked the history of the Asháninka people, above all in the areas around the Ene and Upper Tambo rivers. Vigil (2018:172) quotes the Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación (CVR) ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission’¹² and says that, between the second half of the 1980s

¹² This commission was created in 2001 with the goal of investigating the acts of violence perpetrated between 1980 and 2000 by the armed insurgent groups Sendero Luminoso ‘Shining

and the beginning of the 1990s, SL's activity caused the death of around 6,000 Asháninkas, 5,000 were made prisoners of SL and 10,000 were displaced. Vigil calculates that the number of deaths must have amounted to around 10% of the Asháninka population. This account coincides with the stories that I was told during my fieldwork in Atalaya about the human catastrophe that the activity of SL caused in the area around the Tambo and Ene rivers. I was told that SL kidnapped Asháninka youngsters to serve as SL soldiers under the threat of killing their families if they did not fight for SL, so around half of the people fighting for SL were forced to do it, and that the state organized a huge operation to displace people in helicopters in order to get them away from the area where SL was more active.

In the Gran Pajonal and the Upper Ucayali, the indigenous resistance achieved to bring a halt to SL, who got in touch with the indigenous leader of the Gran Pajonal, Miguel Camaiteri, in search of his support, which he categorically refused (Hvalkof 1998:150). The consequence was that a price was put on his head. At the end of 1989, an unidentified group attacked and sacked Oventeni, humiliated cattle breeders and traders and stole the radio of the OAGP. Due to this attack, the army was planning to declare the Gran Pajonal an emergency area, which would imply that the Ashéninkas would have to evacuate. This possibility brought the Ashéninkas into action. Inspired by similar events in the Pichis Valley, in January 1990, hundreds of Ashéninkas armed with rifles, bows and arrows seized Oventeni and declared it under the control of the Ashéninka army; the members and sympathizers of SL and MRTA (Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaro 'Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru') were given twenty-four hours to leave Oventeni (Hvalkof 1998:151). In two days, the settlers left Oventeni on continuous light plane flights. The Ashéninkas declared the establishment of the Ashéninka army with Miguel Camaiteri, president of the OAGP, as its commander-in-chief, and set up a surveillance system at the entrance ways to the GP. They were able to convince the national army not to intervene and even to provide them with weapons. The commander-in-chief also helped to create a similar militia in the Upper Ucayali with people from the OIRA (Organización Indígena

Path' and Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru 'Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru', and by the military fighting against them.

Regional de Atalaya ‘Regional Indigenous Organization of Atalaya’). The result of these actions was that the insurgent groups SL and MRTA never got to establish a stronghold neither in the Gran Pajonal nor the Upper Ucayali (Hvalkof 1998:152). Hvalkof (1998:152-54) ends his account of the Ashéninka history by relating how the Ashéninkas’ recently acquired ability to form organizations resulted in the presentation of a list to the local election in 1995: the MIAP (Movimiento Indígena de la Amazonía Peruana ‘Indigenous Movement of the Peruvian Amazon’). This list got four mayors, many councillors and the absolute power in the provincial capital, Atalaya.

I have used Hvalkof (1998) as the reference for the last episodes of the Ashéninka history, but Hvalkof (1998) is especially interesting because of the account of the author’s own implication and work in the process of entitling the Ashéninka communities and of the system of slavery in the form of debt bondage existent in the Upper Ucayali even until the end of the 1980s. The Dane Søren Hvalkof is an anthropologist who travelled to the Gran Pajonal (GP) for the first time in 1975 so as to research the land reform in Peru. He went back to the GP in 1985 with his wife, the also anthropologist Hanne Veber, and became involved in the conflictive situation that had started with the entitlement of four indigenous communities in the GP. He got funding for the process of entitling communities from the Danish development cooperation agency DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) through the Danish NGO IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs). All this is related in detail in Hvalkof (1998). The slavery system existing in the Upper Ucayali is also described in Hvalkof (1998), which is worth reading because it is hard to believe that slavery still existed in Peru in the late 1980s. Hvalkof’s account is the thread that I needed to put the stories I was told during my fieldwork in their proper context. García (1998) relates the different accusations of slavery before the Peruvian authorities by transcribing many complaints. I summarize below the main features of this system.

Gray (1998:175) places the origin of the slavery system in the Ucayali River at the time of the rubber boom, when rubber barons enslaved Ashéninkas, Yines, Shipibos and other peoples. This system went on when the rubber business collapsed.

According to Gray (1998:174), the most powerful exploiters of the Ucayali area are the timber companies, owned by descendants of the first European colonists who arrived in the area during the rubber boom. Other settlers are mestizos who arrived in the area between 1930 and 1960, and even poorer settlers who emigrated in the 1980s and the 1990s from the Andes. Hvalkof (1998) and García (1998) describe the slavery system and give very illustrative examples. This system existed around Atalaya and downriver by the Ucayali in estates where the indigenous people worked for their master, the estate owner. The master gave them tools very useful for them (machetes, axes, cotton, pots, etc.) at a price set by himself, usually exaggeratedly high, and, thus, the natives incurred a debt that they had to pay off with work. No matter how much they worked, they never achieved to pay off the debt. The slavery situation was reinforced because, if a native wanted to leave the estate, they could not do it until they paid off the debt. If a native got away, the master could call the police and have them arrested.

A very illustrative example is related by Hvalkof (1998:129-30). When he was staying in the Ashéninka community of Chicosa, on the banks of the Ucayali River, one morning in September 1987, two very excited men came looking for him and urged him to go down to the river. There, some people were assembled having a discussion. Among them, there were the indigenous leaders of Chicosa, two policemen armed with rifles and a landowner whom Hvalkof had met on a previous occasion. In the middle of them, there was a very thin Ashéninka. According to the land owner, he had escaped from her estate and had sought shelter in Chicosa. She said that he owed her some items (pots and other kitchen items, cotton cloth, salt and cartridges), this was the second time that he had tried to get away, and his verbal agreement said that he should work until he would have paid off these items. Hvalkof improvised a speech by saying that, according to the Constitution, everyone was free to go freely wherever they wanted, no one could be held prisoner due to debts, slavery was abolished a century ago, the Peruvian labour law forbade that kind of agreement and this man had not committed any crime, so that, if she wanted to accuse him of anything, she should do it before a judge. The most astonishing thing was that a policeman then said that they had an arrest warrant from a judge, which the policeman

showed Hvalkof, who insisted that the man should be brought before a judge in Atalaya and not to his mistress' estate. The policemen accepted this and also that the indigenous authorities of Chicosa would accompany them to Atalaya. Hvalkof knew that the lawyer of AIDSEP (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana 'Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest') would be in Atalaya, so he could help with the case. Later Hvalkof came to know that, after a long discussion with the judge, they got to release this man.

A similar case is reported by García (1998:26). He says that, when the AIDSEP's lawyer and an indigenous leader demanded the liberation of a girl from her mistress, the judge said "esta niña ya ha sido bautizada por la señora, le pertenece a ella",¹³ and, when they presented legal arguments, the judge said "pero señores, la madre de esta niña es una india, ellos no saben de derechos".¹⁴ Finally, when they threatened to accuse the mistress as well as the judge of kidnapping, the girl was set free. García (1998:20-25) reproduces different complaints filed with AIDSEP in 1986 by Ashéninkas mistreated by their masters, with a table summarizing all the complaints on page 55 named "Violaciones de derechos de las personas".¹⁵ The list of violations includes physical aggression, holding prisoners in private jails, forced labour, disappearance of people, threat with a firearm, kidnapping, aggression by private police, theft of outboard motor, non-payment of sold timber, theft of corrugated metal roofing sheets for school, legal cover-up of death due to accident at work, rape under threat, fraud, setting fire to sowed field, and causing blindness by machete blow. García (1998) and Hvalkof (1998) provide a good insight into the ways in which the Ashéninka labourers were mistreated by their masters. Hvalkof (1998:120-22) mentions an encounter with the mistress mentioned above (he knew her from this encounter) and her nephew, when they picked him up on a boat ride to Atalaya along the Ucayali. The nephew boasted that his father and his grandfather had raped all the Ashéninka girls in the area and killed many Ashéninkas.

¹³ 'this girl has already been baptised by the lady [her mistress], she belongs to her'.

¹⁴ 'but, gentlemen, this girl's mother is an Indian, they don't know about rights'.

¹⁵ 'Violations of people's rights'.

The stories reported above show how slavery was established in the Upper Ucayali until the late 1980s, how justice and police assumed that this was the normal state of affairs, that bondage debts had to be paid, and that those who broke this rule could be arrested and punished. García's (1998:26) account of the girl set free also shows us that there was a sort of baptism right, by means of which a master who baptised a child would be their owner.

Reading García (1998) and Hvalkof (1998) has allowed me to contextualize some of the stories that I was told during my fieldwork. According to these stories, the Ashéninkas were working for masters as slaves, OIRA was awarded a prize for fighting against slavery –I was told that UNESCO awarded the prize, but it was actually awarded by Anti-Slavery International (Hvalkof 1998:154)–, when one stopped working for a while to talk to somebody or drink some *masato*, a foreman would hit them, and the women always hid from their master because he would rape them if he found them. I was also told that the gringos¹⁶ set up a school at Chicosa, and then many people fled from the estates and went to Chicosa, which implied some protection by the gringo missionaries. When relating the incident mentioned above about the man who fled to Chicosa and was pursued by his mistress and the police, Hvalkof (1998:129) also mentions that there was a mission of the North American evangelist “South American Mission (SAM)”, who, according to Hvalkof, were conservative and fundamentalist. These must be the gringos I was told about. According to the story I was told, they helped many Ashéninkas to escape from slavery, so it seems that they had some sort of authority.

Hvalkof (1998:150) says that the process in which he participated, together with the indigenous organizations OAGP, OIRA and AIDSEP, and with the money from DANIDA managed by IWGIA, got to change the power structure in the area, so that former slave workers could leave their masters and join newly formed indigenous communities that owned their own piece of land.

¹⁶ The term *gringos* (same word in Spanish and English) is the one that was always used to tell me these stories. It usually refers to North Americans, but the Dane Hvalkof (1998:129) reports being addressed as “Sr. Gringo” ‘Mr Gringo’. In my case, being a Spaniard, in one occasion, a consultant told another one by phone that I was not a gringo, so the people included in this term may not be totally clear. I use the term *gringo* in order to report what I was told as accurately as possible.

The works on Ashé-Ashá history that I have been able to find are those that I have cited in this section, which leaves the roughly twenty years of the present century unreported, yet the development of coffee plantations in the Gran Pajonal described in Fernández (2017:187-91) is worth mentioning. Coffee growing is presently the main economic activity in the GP. It began in 1998 but did not start to be successful until 2008 with the launch of a project to grow organic coffee in the GP. The coffee crops have yielded benefits that have allowed to buy equipment for schools and farming tools. This coffee can be bought in Atalaya, and I found it so good that I brought home five one-quarter bags from each of my two last field trips.

All the knowledge I got about history was obtained during casual conversations. I was told stories mainly about the catastrophe caused in the Tambo-Ene area by the activity of Sendero Luminoso and about the slavery in the Upper Ucayali, so I must assume that these historical facts have left the strongest mark on the memories of the people living in the area. The present situation in Atalaya in relation to the facts expounded in this section is described in the following section.

1.1.3. Present situation

The last historical events described in the previous section connect perfectly with the present situation as I found it during my fieldwork between 2015 and 2019.

Regarding the indigenous organizations, three of them have an office in Atalaya: the aforementioned OIRA and AIDSESEP, the latter represented by CORPIAA (Coordinadora Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de AIDSESEP-Atalaya ‘Regional Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples of AIDSESEP-Atalaya’), plus the newer URPIA (Unión Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas de Atalaya ‘Regional Union of the Indigenous Peoples of Atalaya’). URPIA is an umbrella organization of several local indigenous organizations, such as the OAGP. Another organization integrated into URPIA is FECONAPA (Federación de Comunidades Indígenas Ashéninka de la Provincia de Atalaya ‘Federation of Ashéninka Indigenous Communities of Atalaya Province’). At first, I found the different acronyms confusing and did not fully understand the differences between the organizations. As far as I know, an indigenous community is affiliated with an indigenous organization, which represents the

community before actors such as the state, companies, NGOs, etc. AIDSEP is an organization for the whole of Peruvian Amazonia, but its regional branch CORPIAA also has affiliated communities. OIRA is integrated into CORPIAA. I have to say that I worked in the headquarters of CORPIAA, OIRA and URPIA/FECONAPA, and the members and leaders of these associations were always keen to help me, and some of them worked with me as consultants.

The important fact in connection with the previous Section 1.1.2.6 is that the start of the formation of indigenous organizations described there can be seen today as a fully developed process with well-established organizations. The start of the process of community entitlement described in Section 1.1.2.6 has also had a great development, given that most communities in the area are entitled today. A native community is a legal institution in Peru and has as governing authorities a *jefe* ‘chief’ and a communal assembly. A community is allotted a piece of land and has rights to the resources of this land, so that loggers have to pay for permission to chop down trees. Today, dealing with loggers and also with large oil and gas companies, such as Spanish Repsol or Brazilian Petrobras, is the main concern of indigenous communities and their organizations. Dealing with oil and gas companies appears to be a task of indigenous organizations due to the nature of their activities: they do not affect all communities and can affect many communities in a given area at the same time, but dealing with loggers may be a task of each individual community. I have been told by members of indigenous organizations that community members are trained in calculating prices to be charged to loggers because these tend to try to cheat them.

The Ashéninkas live mainly in native communities, although a few live in mestizo settlements such as Atalaya, Oventeni or Bolognesi. It is typical to have a *chacra* (a small plot of land for farming purposes), where the crops can be for their own consumption or some produce can be sold. As mentioned in Section 1.1.2.6, the Ashéninkas in the Gran Pajonal have specialized in growing coffee, and the Ucayali Ashéninkas sell various products: cacao, bananas, maize, rice, and even fish.

Fishing is also common, above all in the Ucayali, where there is plenty of fish. There are several fishing systems; those that I have heard of are with nets, with bow and arrow and also with a kind of poisonous root that is thrown in pools formed in

brooks: the fish die and only need to be collected. The Ashéninkas also hunt, although game is scarcer than in former times. I was told about a mother and her son from the community of Apinihua, on the east bank of the Ucayali, who went on a hunting expedition and had to travel east by boat for a whole day to arrive in an area where there are many animals to hunt. The communal reserve El Shira, located between the valleys of the Ucayali and the Pichis-Pachitea rivers, was created as a hunting ground for the communities from both valleys. For hunting, the Ashéninkas build a *maspute*, a small hut built only to hide inside and wait for game to arrive in order to shoot it. Their traditional way of hunting is with bow and arrow, but most hunters use rifles today.

The fruits that the Amazonian forest offers also make a nutritional contribution. Some Ashéninkas raise chickens. With farming, gathering fruits, fishing and hunting, an Ashéninka family may be self-sufficient, but, although I have talked with people living in this way –“the forest is our market”, an Ashéninka told me, implying that he does not need money in his community–, it seems that modern society and the use of money are penetrating the indigenous communities, so that self-sufficiency is today rather an exception –I have seen small grocery stores in some communities. The basis of the Ashéninka diet is *Manihot esculenta*, known in English as *cassava*, *manioc* and *yuca*¹⁷. Yuca is combined with many other foods and is also eaten alone, and it is used to prepare *masato*, an alcoholic drink made out of fermented yuca. *Masato* is consumed quite often, and *masato* parties play an important role in Ashéninka society, as some authors relate (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:215-17; Killick 2009:709-12, 2005:86-89).

As several authors state (Hvalkof & Veber 2005:160-63; Killick 2005, 2009), the traditional Ashéninka settlements have dispersed houses. This is a problem that the missionaries found, both the Franciscans as well as the more recent North Americans: they always tried to gather people in bigger settlements for their purpose of evangelization, and also of education in the North Americans' case (Hvalkof & Veber:153). As a result of everything that happened since the start of the

¹⁷ *Yuca* is the Spanish name, and it is also used in English, although it seems that less frequently than the other two.

recolonization and the rubber boom in the second half of the 19th century, anyone travelling to an Ashéninka community will not notice a dispersed settlement but a group of houses, not very close to each other (a minimum distance of 4-5 m of separation), while some of them can be further away. However, I was told that some members of the communities do not live in the main settlement but in the forest; actually, this is told in one of the glossed texts in Annex 2 (the conversation CTK). Killick (2005, 2009) researches this dispersed settlement and its implications for the Ashéninka way of living in detail.

Regarding education, most native communities have at least a primary school, and some also offer secondary education. The Ministry of Education provides very detailed maps online that show which level of education is offered in each community.¹⁸ In indigenous communities, the Ministry of Education carries out the so-called *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB) ‘Bilingual Intercultural Education’, which should allow that indigenous children are taught and learn to read and write in their own language and Spanish. In Ashéninka communities, the implementation of the EIB faces the problems related to the very recent recognition of Ashéninka as a different language from Asháninka (in April 2019). Once the language has been recognised, the Ministry of Education should produce schoolbooks for EIB schools. In October 2021, I was told by phone that these books had not yet been produced, but later, in July 2022, I was told that they were already in use in the schools of the Ashéninka communities. Another complaint is that non-Ashéninka teachers are often sent to EIB schools, so, if the teacher cannot speak Ashéninka, no instruction can be given in the language. To fill this gap, the indigenous university UCSS-Nopoki,¹⁹ which offers a degree in EIB teaching, has been functioning since 2008 in Atalaya. Moreover, three other degrees are offered: Administration, Accountancy and Forestry. Nopoki offered the degree in EIB teaching in Ashéninka long before the Ministry of Education recognised it as an independent language, thus tackling the problem before

¹⁸ The maps for the Ucayali Department can be downloaded at escale.minedu.gob.pe/carta-educativa/-/document_library_display/z0Kj/view/1367949. Accessed in June 2022.

¹⁹ *Nopoki* means in all Ashé-Ashá varieties ‘I come’. The glossing in UP Ashéninka is no-pok-i (1s-come-FRS). UCSS stands for Universidad Católica Sedes Sapientae, a private Catholic university with headquarters in Lima, of which Nopoki is a campus in Atalaya.

the Ministry (it was already being taught during my first field trip in 2015). Besides for Ashéninka, this degree is also offered for Asháninka, Nomatsigenga, Matsigenka, Yine, Yanesha' and Shipibo teachers. Nopoki has been most helpful during my fieldwork. They offered me any help I needed, lent me books to make copies and allowed me to attend the Ashéninka classes, where I could actively participate – actually, some of my glossed texts are from recordings of Nopoki students. This university offers the youth of the area around Atalaya the opportunity to acquire a university degree, which otherwise would be impossible for them. All the students of the EIB teacher program study with grants awarded by the university.

1.2. The language

This section is divided into five subsections that treat different aspects of Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. Section 1.2.1 discusses the genetic affiliation of the language in relation to the other Campan languages. Section 1.2.2 deals with the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum. Section 1.2.3 examines the previous works on the different varieties of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum. Section 1.2.4 deals with the sociolinguistic situation of the language, and lastly, Section 1.2.5 is a typological sketch of the language in which the most defining features are summed up.

1.2.1. Genetic affiliation

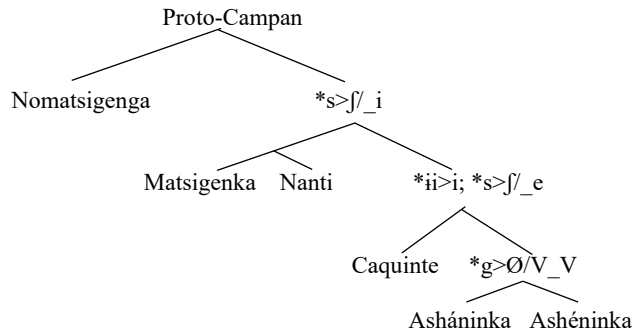
Ashéninka belongs to the Campan branch of the Arawak language family, which is also called *Maipuran*. Some scholars, namely Michael (2020) and O'Hagan (2020), have recently replaced the name *Campan* with *Nihagantsi* or *Nijagantsi* (pronounced [ni'hagantsi]), which is thought to be the Proto-Campan/Nihagantsi/Nijagantsi word for 'language' –in UP Ashéninka, this word is *ñaantsi*, which can be segmented as *ñaan-ntsi* (language-ALI). In this thesis, I will use the names *Arawak/Arawakan* and *Campan* only because I think that they are the easiest to recognise for most readers, even those unfamiliar with these languages.

As regards the internal classification of the Arawakan languages, Nikulin & De Carvalho (2019:269) highlight the absence of a classification based on shared innovations and say that most classifications are based on geographical criteria

(Aikhenvald 1999:67-71) or shared lexical retentions (D. Payne 1991). Nikulin & De Carvalho (2019:269-72) present a division of the Arawakan family into eleven groups based on lexical and grammatical similarities and explain these similarities for each group. However, they add (p. 269) that “é pouco provável que o Proto-Aruak tenha se dividido em 11 línguas/ramos descendentes simultaneamente, porém a existência de agrupamentos mais abrangentes nunca foi formalmente demonstrada, uma tarefa que deverá ser assumida em futuras pesquisas.”²⁰ D. Payne 1991 is actually based on shared lexical retentions, but it is indeed a detailed and laborious comparative work. Classifications done with computational methods are carried out by Walker & Ribeiro (2011) and Danielsen, Dunn & Muysken (2011). In any case, as Nikulin & De Carvalho (2019:269) say, a sound classification of the Arawak family based on shared innovations is yet to come.

The Campan languages form an indisputable group, given that the languages are very similar and quite different from other Arawakan languages. Regarding the internal classification of the group, Michael (2011) is the only proposal based on phonetic changes. Chen (2019) carries out a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Campa. Michael’s (2011) proposal yields the tree in Figure 1, which indicates the phonological changes that he proposed for each split.

Figure 1. Internal classification of Campan languages according to Michael (2011:3).



²⁰ ‘it is unlikely that Proto-Arawak split into 11 languages/branches simultaneously, but the existence of more extensive groups was never formally demonstrated, a task that will have to be assumed in future research.’

As can be seen in Figure 1, the Campan languages are Nanti, Matsigenka, Caquinte, Nomatsigenga and the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum. The location of these languages is shown on Map 3, where the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum is divided into the three languages proposed in Pedrós (2018:26-27; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis).

Map 3. Location of the Campan languages with their relative situation in the map of Peru below. Language boundaries (in grey) are based on the language map for Peru in the 21st edition of the Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2018). The language division of the Ashé-Ashá cluster is based on Pedrós (2018:26-27). Language names are in green.



1.2.2. The Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum

When someone wants to get information about Ashéninka in the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022) or the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2022) (the Glottolog is based on the Ethnologue in this respect), they will find that there are five reported languages with the name *Ashéninka*, plus one with the name *Ajyíninka*, which is also called *Ashéninka* in other sources, among them the Spanish version of its only grammar (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982). Then, one may wonder whether these are six different languages or dialects of the same language, but the Ethnologue lists languages, not dialects, and, in the Glottolog, they are registered as languages, not as dialects, so they should be considered languages despite the same name. To complicate things, there is another listed language with the almost identical name *Asháninka*. When I first travelled to Atalaya in 2015, a yet added complication was that the language named *South Ucayali* did not appear in the Ethnologue's map of the languages of Peru and was described as *spurious* in the Glottolog. My initial mission was to research the so-called *Ucayali-Yurúa Ashéninka*, although it was open to changes depending on what I might find. When I arrived in Atalaya and started speaking with members of indigenous organizations and of the university Nopoki, I was most puzzled when I discovered that the Ministry of Education of Peru recognised only one language, with the seven aforementioned (all varieties of Ashéninka plus Asháninka) allegedly being dialects of the same language. Then I heard an overall complaint that the Ashéninkas from the Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal, the Ashéninka areas closest to Atalaya, could not understand the Asháninka standard used by the government in the schoolbooks sent to Ashéninka communities to implement the EIB. Actually, the children were taught in a language that they could not understand, though very similar to the one in use in their community. However, the university Nopoki taught an Ashéninka standard (not recognised by the Ministry of Education), just following the common sense of everyone in the area with a little knowledge on the matter, who perfectly knew that Ashéninka and Asháninka clearly are two different languages. Moreover, it was evident to me that the languages spoken in the Upper Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal were identical with slight variations, and I did not have any doubt of the veracity of this since I knew that my Ucayali consultants

could trace their ancestors in the Gran Pajonal as recently as the mid-20th century – too short a time for a language to evolve so as to become a different language. With this panorama before me, I felt that the first thing I needed to set to work on a language was to get a better idea of what this language was, i.e. which might be its territorial scope and what might make it different from other close languages, for which I needed to have an overview of the whole dialectal continuum. With this goal, I set to research the matter, resulting in my article Pedrós (2018).

The languages known as *Asháninka* and *Ashéninka* form a dialect continuum, broken in some areas and with some varieties mixed in other areas. The dialectal situation is quite complicated and would require much fieldwork in many places to obtain a sound picture of the situation. In my article, I tried to present the general overview that can be drawn from the literature and my inquiries in the field, but it must be regarded as a first approximation to a complex dialectal situation. The main conclusions of the article are presented in the following paragraph.

We can say that the dialectal continuum has two languages if we apply the principle of mutual intelligibility and count the number of languages as defined by Hammarström (2008:37): “The number of languages in X is the least k such that one can partition X into k blocks such that all members within a block understand each other.”²¹ In this way, the speakers of the whole Ashé-Ashá continuum could be divided into two groups inside which everyone would understand each other. However, it would be complicated to establish an isogloss that might be the boundary between these two groups. Nevertheless, there are two important isoglosses that might divide the whole continuum into three groups: the isoglosses /ti-/ /tsi/ (e.g. /a'tiri-/ /a'tsiri/ ‘person’) and /h-/ /s/ (e.g. /a'hankane-/ /a'sankane/ ‘heart’). Therefore, I propose the division of the Ashé-Ashá group into three groups or languages with the names *Ashéninka*, *Asháninka* and *Northern Ashé-Ashá*. The article also tackles the contradictions existing in the self-denominations in the Northern Ashé-Ashá group (/a'ʃaninka/, /a'ʃeninka/, /a'ʃininka/ or /a'çininka/), which are the cause of the name *Ashé-Ashá*, thought to encompass the different self-denominations. I also propose the

²¹ X is a dialect continuum.

order of the different varieties by similarity, which is Asháninka – Alto Perené – Pichis – Apurucayali – Yuruá – Ucayali – Pajonal, so that Asháninka and Pajonal are the linguistically most distant varieties.

The grounds that lead to these conclusions are detailed throughout the article (Pedrós 2018). The Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2022) distinguishes seven languages in the dialect continuum but reflects my division into three main groups. The isoglosses of the dialect continuum are shown in Map 4. The phonological representation of the words used in Map 4 are in Table 1, with the different varieties ordered in the three proposed main groups of the dialect continuum.

Map 4. Isoglosses of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum (taken from Pedrós [2018:14]; there is a mistake in the word *kameetha* in the Apurucayali area, which should be *kamiitha*).

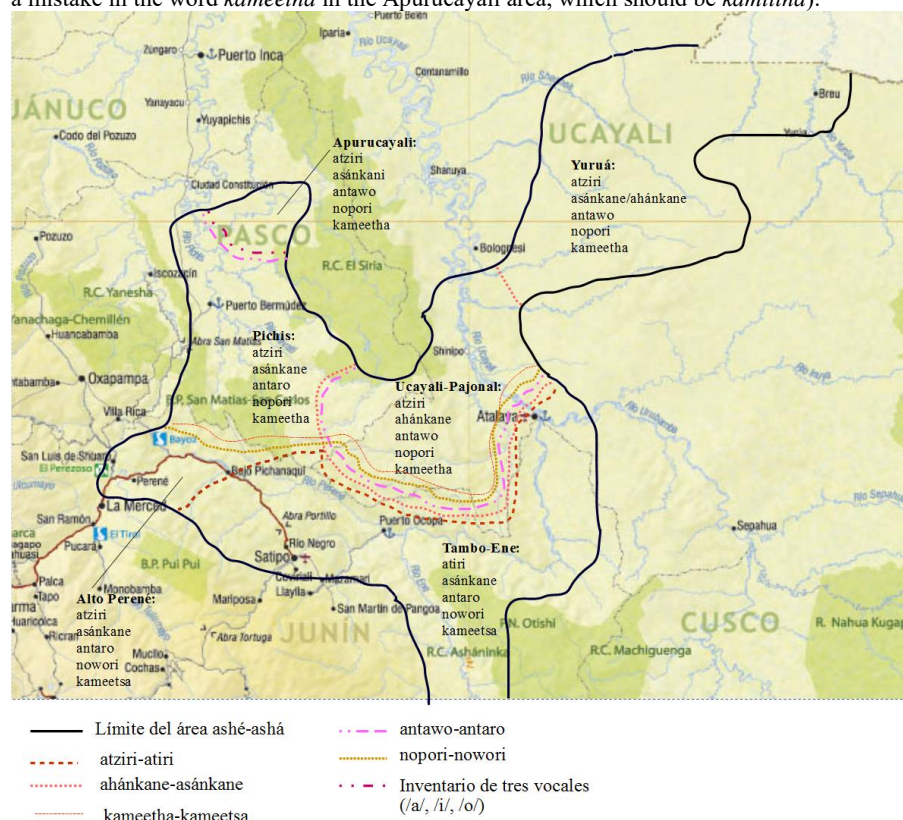


Table 1. Phonological representation of words from Map 4 ordered in the three main groups of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum (adapted from Pedrós [2018:15])

Asháninka	Northern Ashé-Ashá				Ashéninka	English
Tambo-Ene	Alto Perené	Pichis	Apurucayali	Yuruá	Ucayali-Pajonal	
/a'tiri/	/a'tsiri/	/a'tsiri/	/a'tsiri/	/a'tsiri/	/a'tsiri/	'person'
/a'sankane/	/a'sankane/	/a'sankane/	/a'sankani/	/a'sankane/ /a'hankane/	/a'hankane/	'heart'
/ka'me:sa/	/ka'me:sa/	/ka'me:tʰa/	/ka'mi:tʰa/	/ka'me:tʰa/	/ka'me:tʰa/	'good/well'
/an'taro/	/an'taro/	/an'taro/	/an'tawo/	/an'tawo/	/an'tawo/	'big' (feminine)
/no'wori/	/no'wori/	/no'pori/	/no'pori/	/no'pori/	/no'pori/	'my leg'

I still made a field trip after the article was published. During this field trip and based on accounts about migrations in the area, I came to the idea that Asháninka (the Tambo-Ene variety) and the Gran Pajonal variety may be the sources of the rest of the dialects, i.e. that the rest of the dialects would be a mix of Asháninka and the Gran Pajonal variety in different degrees, taking into account that the Upper Ucayali is practically an extension of the Gran Pajonal, as is mentioned in Section 1.1.1, although the Ucayali speech has some Tambo influences. The Gran Pajonal variety is more innovative than the Tambo-Ene one,²² so my working hypothesis is that the people of the Gran Pajonal, located on a relatively isolated high plateau, carried out language innovations that made the language quite different from the one spoken by the rivers Tambo, Ene and Perené. The *pajonalinos* would have migrated at different stages, mainly to the Ucayali, but also to the Pichis-Pachitea Valley and further to the east until the Yuruá basin. People from the Tambo-Ene-Perené area would have also migrated mainly to the Pichis-Pachitea Valley and also to the Ucayali and the vast area to the east until the Yuruá. The result of different migrations at different moments in time would be the present dialectal situation. This is a tentative hypothesis based on the linguistic situation in accordance with oral accounts about migrations, but I think that it may approach the truth quite well. Actually, there is no doubt that the Upper Ucayali speech is that of the Gran Pajonal with a few influences from the Tambo-Ene, as some Tambo-Ene words showing up in my glossed texts show.

²² Some phonetic innovations, as s>h, t>ts and the subsequent ts>tsʰ in _i position and ts>tʰ in other positions, according to the known common direction of phonetic changes, must have taken place in the direction indicated here and not the other way round.

Whether the varieties from the Perené, Pichis and Apurucayali conform to this hypothesis is yet to be seen.

1.2.3. Previous works

There is nearly nothing written about Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. Heitzman (1973) works with word lists from different locations of the whole Campan area known at that time (Nanti was still unknown), and some of the sites are in the Gran Pajonal (Tsireentsishavo and Obenteni) and the Ucayali (Shinipo and Chicosa) (pp. 1-3). Heitzman (1991) also writes about how Pajonal Ashéninka narratives are organized and what narrative resources they use –by the way, Allene Heitzman did work with my principal consultant. A more recent work based on the speech of the Gran Pajonal is Fernández (2011), devoted to discourse connectors. To my knowledge, these are all the works based on the speech of the Gran Pajonal, and there is nothing based on the speech of the Upper Ucayali. García (1997) is a grammar sketch that, according to its title, is based on “ashéninka del Ucayali”, but the fieldwork is done in the Yuruá. García uses the name “Ucayali” to refer to the Ethnologue’s Ucayali-Yuruá (for the extent of this variety, see Pedrós 2018:13-14).

Regarding other close Ashé-Ashá varieties, there are several works from 1980 onwards by the married couple David and Judith Payne, members of the ILV, above all on the varieties of the Pichis Valley (Pichis and Apurucayali), but they also mention features of Ucayali-Yuruá and Alto Perené, often named by them just “Ucayali” and “Perené”, respectively. D. Payne (1980) is a multidialectal dictionary that includes words from Pichis, Apurucayali and Ucayali-Yuruá. The first grammar written by the Paynes is D. Payne’s (1981) grammar of Apurucayali, which he calls “Axininca Campa”. A version in Spanish followed one year later co-authored by his wife and Jorge Sánchez Santos (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982) and with the name “asheninca del Apurucayali” for the language. This grammar only treats phonology and morphology, but not syntax, and is specially concentrated in phonology: Payne (1981) has 48 pages for morphology and 117 for phonology; Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) has 47 pages for morphology and 150 for phonology. Some years later, J. Payne published a textbook (Payne 1989), which is very useful as a descriptive

grammar due to the grammar section of every lesson. Other works by the Paynes describing aspects of Ashé-Ashá varieties (mainly Pichis) are J. Payne (1982, 1983) on directionals; D. Payne & Ballena (1983), a book with six chapters, five of which are written by the Paynes, that study different aspects of Pichis; J. Payne (1990; 1991) on stress; D. Payne (2001) on causatives, and Payne & Payne (2005) on the construction with the subject marked with a suffix.

A variety more distant from Ucayali-Pajonal is Alto Perené, which has the most comprehensive grammar of a Campan language in Mihas (2015*a*), an enlargement of Mihas' (2010) doctoral dissertation. Moreover, Mihas has written several articles on Alto Perené and has given several talks about Tambo-Ene (Asháninka), whose papers (Mihas 2015*b*, 2015*c*, 2016) can be found online. Also on Tambo-Ene, there is a dictionary with a list of affixes by Lee Kindberg (1980), a member of the ILV, and two chapters in the same volume by Lee Kindberg (1961) on sentence types and by Willard Kindberg (1961) on morphology.

The textbooks published by the indigenous university UCSS-Nopoki are also worth mentioning. This thesis makes some references to the older books Casique (2012) for Ashéninka and Zumaeta (2012) for Asháninka. These textbooks have been updated in the newer textbooks Zerdin, Casique & Casique (2018) for Ashéninka and Zumaeta & Zerdin (2018) for Asháninka. There is an unpublished Ashéninka textbook, which I have put in the references list as Cacique & Zerdin (2016). I got a copy of this book during my second field trip in 2016, but it was actually a draft for the later published Zerdin, Casique & Casique (2018); thus, it contains many mistakes, so I was checking a large part of the book with speakers and corrected the mistakes. In some cases, I make references to this book, all of which were checked with speakers.

There are some older works. Sala (1905) is a dictionary, grammar and catechism of “*inga, amueixa y campa*” (Quechua, Yanesha' and Campa). As is described in Section 1.1.2.4, Sala explored the Campa area at the end of the 19th century commissioned by the Peruvian government. Adam (1890) reproduces an anonymous manuscript found by Charles Leclerc in Toledo with a grammar sketch and a dictionary, accompanied by an introduction by Adam comparing Campa with other Arawakan languages. The manuscript in Adam (1890) describes the Asháninka area,

and some words in the dictionary are obviously from this area (e.g. “maniti” vs *manitzi* in the rest of Ashé-Ashá). Sala (1905) does not mention the place where he gathered the information for his dictionary and grammar. We know that Sala explored the Gran Pajonal, but the words in the dictionary point to the main origin from Alto Perené, although some words appear to be from other varieties, and even some show different forms from different varieties.²³

There are several Bachelor’s (*licenciatura*) theses by Peruvian students, mainly at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, both in Lima.²⁴ Most of them deal with the Alto Perené variety. I was told that the reason for this is that this is the Ashé-Ashá area closest to Lima by road.

1.2.4. Present situation

The Base de Datos de Pueblos Indígenas (BDPI) of the Peruvian Ministry of Culture allows downloading a spreadsheet with data of all the indigenous communities of Peru from the 2017 census.²⁵ According to this census, 15,789 persons live in indigenous communities that identify themselves as Ashéninka, of which 14,111 are able to speak

²³ Words as “ochichi” (*ótsitzi* ‘dog’) and “achiri” (*atziri* ‘person’) clearly are not Asháninka (the Asháninka cognates are *otsiti* and *atiri*). Words as “asangani” (*asánkani* ‘heart’) and “sani” ‘wasp’ clearly are not Ucayali-Pajonal, in which these words are *ahánkane* and *hani*. In this way, we can identify a Northern Ashé-Ashá origin of the words in the dictionary. What makes me think of Alto Perené is the word for ‘hospital’: “ihuanko-manchari” (*iwanko mantsiyari*, i-panko mantsiya-ri, 3M-house ill-M). The lenition of /p/ to /w/ after a possessive prefix only occurs in Alto Perené and Asháninka, so, discarding Asháninka due to the previously mentioned features, we have just Alto Perené. However, some words show /i/ where /e/ should be expected, as “ti” ‘no’ (*tee* in UP Ashéninka, with a clear /e/), and the dictionary shows “asheninga” (*ashéninka*) with the translation “compatriota”. I show in Pedrós (2018:10) that the Alto Perené spoken in the mountains has only three vowels, so that /i/ and /e/ merge in /i/, but “asheninga” in the dictionary has /e/, which suggests that this word and “ti” belong to different varieties, although maybe geographically very close. Moreover, Sala gives two forms for “cedro” ‘cedar’: “santari” and “jantari” (*hantari*, which in UP Ashéninka means ‘wood’), with the difference /s/-/h/, which separates UP Ashéninka from the other Ashé-Ashá varieties. My conclusion is that Sala’s dictionary has words from different varieties, but mainly from Alto Perené.

²⁴ These theses can be searched online on cybertesis.unmsm.edu.pe/ for the San Marcos University and on repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/6 for the Pontificia. Accessed in June 2022.

²⁵ The link to download the file is

bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/buscadore-de-localidades-de-pueblos-indigenas. Accessed in June 2022.

(older than 3 years), of which 12,605 claim to be able to speak an indigenous language and 8,219 identify themselves as being part of an indigenous people. Moreover, there are 10 communities identified as Ashéninka/Asháninka (people from both ethnic groups are reported to live in the same community), 5 as Ashéninka/Shipibo-Konibo and 1 as Ashéninka/Chitonaua. The inhabitants of these 16 communities total 2,243 inhabitants, of which 2,025 can speak, of which 1,220 claim to be able to speak an indigenous language and 825 identify themselves as belonging to an indigenous people. If we count the people living in communities self-identified only as Ashéninka, 89% claim to be able to speak the language and 58% consider themselves ethnic Ashéninkas. The reading of these numbers suggests that 31% of the population of Ashéninka communities are mestizos who can speak Ashéninka. However, a member of the community of Apinihua told me that roughly half of the people in his community speak Ashéninka and half speak Spanish, but the BDPI spreadsheet says that 99% of the people able to speak in this community claim to be able to speak an indigenous language. The reason for this disparity is probably due to what one claims to be able to speak: one can claim to be able to speak Ashéninka, but maybe they cannot speak it fluently, or do not normally speak it, or can speak only a bit, but do not use it as a means of regular communication because they are not able to do it.

Counting half of the people of mixed communities, there should be around 13,000 Ashéninka speakers. Considering the account of the Ashéninka speaking people in Apinihua and transposing the same situation to the whole of the Ashéninka area, there should be around 7,000 active speakers, i.e. that can speak the language fluently. Another problem comes from the matter of the self-denomination in the Pichis Valley, as I explain in Pedrós (2018:8-10) and as can be observed in Map 1, where a tiny area (maybe only one community) is depicted as self-denominated Ashéninka in the Pichis Valley.

Another issue is how many speakers Ucayali-Pajonal has, which is practically impossible to know. The census indicates each community's district, so we can count only the communities in the districts Raymondi, Tahuanía and Puerto Bermúdez, where the Gran Pajonal and the Upper Ucayali are placed –also the Pichis Valley and a small part of the Gran Pajonal are in Puerto Bermúdez district, but all the Ashéninka

communities in Puerto Bermúdez in the BDPI spreadsheet are in the Gran Pajonal. So the figures for Ashéninka communities only in those three districts are 14,669 inhabitants and 13,114 older than three years, of which 11,843 claim to be able to speak an indigenous language and 7,731 consider themselves part of an indigenous people. These figures mean that 90% claim to be able to speak the language and 59% identify themselves as belonging to an indigenous people. The figures are very similar to those shown above for all the communities self-identified as Ashéninka, and the reason is that the Ashéninka communities outside these three districts have a very small population. With all this, it seems that Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka may have between 7,000 and 12,000 speakers, and the big difference between both figures may correspond to people who have some knowledge of the language but are not fluent and do not use it regularly.

Regarding my own experience, I was working with Nopoki students (from 17 to 21 years old) and can say that they speak the language fluently and use it to talk to each other, and most of them hailed from Chicosa, the biggest Ashéninka community and with a daily passenger boat service to and from Atalaya, thus quite open to mestizo influence. However, their speech shows a more significant influence from Spanish than that of older speakers phonetically (e.g. the difference between /tʃʰ/ and /c/ is clearly noticeable in older speakers, but, in younger speakers, both phonemes get close in a tendency towards a Spanish-like /tʃ/), morphologically and syntactically. A strange mistake showed up when transcribing a conversation between two youngsters with an older consultant. The consultant noticed that one of the speakers used the word *piyáariri* ‘your brother’ addressing a man, but this word denotes a female possessor; later, the speaker used *pirentzi*, with the same meaning, but for a male possessor; then I realized that they were using these words with the meanings ‘your brother’ and ‘your sister’, respectively, so that it seems that the Ashéninka kinship system with different words for male and female possessors is being reinterpreted in a Spanish fashion, i.e. with words that denote the kin relationship independently of the possessor’s sex. I was talking with the teacher for Secondary Education in the community of Unini Cascada, and he said that a minority of his students could speak well in Ashéninka: just those whose parents spoke in Ashéninka to them. I was also told in the nearby community

of Diamante Azul that Ashéninka is not spoken to little children. All in all, Ashéninka can be said to have a certain vitality, but the transmission to children is starting to become interrupted in some households, and the youngsters' language is being modified, radically in some respects, as the one described above, under the influence of Spanish.

1.2.5. Typological sketch

Ashéninka, like the other Campan languages, is a highly agglutinative language, which means that each morpheme contains a piece of grammatical information, so that fusion is practically non-existent since it occurs only in 3rd person subject and object affixes, where the same morpheme expresses person and gender. This agglutinative morphology is used mainly in the verb, while the morphology for nouns and adjectives is much more limited: a noun or an adjective can bear a maximum of two suffixes or enclitics. However, as attested in my text corpus, a verb can host two prefixes and up to six suffixes or enclitics (I have four words with six suffixes and one with five suffixes plus one enclitic), which does not exclude that verbs with a higher number of suffixes might be possible, although I think that it is improbable that a verb with seven or eight suffixes or enclitics shows up in a natural text. An example of a verb with six suffixes is in (1) (in bold).

- (1) Nokoyi niyoti iita **pikàemakáanantakinàri**.
 no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i iita pi-kaem-aka-anant-ak-i-na-ri
 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR WH 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O-REL
 'I want to know why you had me called.' (CTK)

The verb *pikàemakáanantakinàri* has six suffixes: causative, resultative, perfective, reality status (fossilized), object and relative. However, the only obligatory suffix is the one that expresses reality status, which is fossilized in roughly half of the verbs (Pedrós 2019:26; Section 6.1.3 of this thesis).²⁶ The subject prefix is quasi-obligatory but can be dropped in some cases. The other possible prefix is a causative. The categories expressed by the verbal suffixes can be reality status (RS), modality, subject and object, person, gender (only in 3rd person), aspect, relativity, deixis,

²⁶ However, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

directionality, number, cause-consequence, participial, impersonal, applicative, conditional, interrogative, causative, tense, reciprocity, adjectival (classifier-like), adverbial, subordinating and others poorly attested. In total, I have identified 55 verbal suffixes and 4 verbal enclitics (all listed in Annex 1).

The boundary between affixes and clitics is not always clear, even though one can find in the literature the conditions that a clitic must fulfil. We cannot forget that many suffixes derive from words that one day became clitics, which then became suffixes, and shifting from one category to the other one was not done overnight. When assigning to a morpheme the condition of enclitic (there are no proclitics in the language), I have adopted a conservative stance: my main criterion has been to consider that a morpheme is an enclitic when it acts as a quasi-word. In this way, there are very few enclitics: the demonstrative enclitics, the locative =*ki*, the conditional =*rika*, the interrogative =*ka*, the plural =*paeni*, the emphatics =*kya* and =*tya*, the dubitative =*ma* and the exclamative =*wee*. They not only can have different hosts but can change their host inside the same phrase without a change in meaning, and they usually receive a secondary stress in their position at the end of the word. An example is in (2) with the exclamative =*wee*, which is attached to a Spanish sentence.

- (2) *Allí estáwée.*
 allí está=*wee*
 there is=EXCL
 ‘There it is!’ (CCPC)

The enclitic character of =*wee* is clear because it does not matter to which host it is attached: it can be attached even to a sentence in another language and continues expressing an exclamation. Actually, this enclitic has several uses: it is used as a greeting (to say ‘good morning’, etc.), to say ‘thank you’, to announce that one is arriving and other meanings (see Section 4.1.5.6). For the rest of the enclitics, a certain number of features also cast little doubt on their being labelled as such.

Reduplication of the verb stem can be used to express iterativity but it is not frequent. Classifiers appear to have been lost, but leaving some traces. Composition and incorporation are rare, but they do occur, above all with adjectives.

Regarding phonology, a salient feature of Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka is the contrast between /ts/ and /tʰ/, which occur only before /i/. This feature also exists in

Northern Ashé-Ashá but in no other Campan language. The exclusive feature of Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka is the absence of /s/ in its inventory: /h/ occurs where other Campan languages have /s/, which clearly shows a diachronic development /s/ > /h/. Like all Campan languages, Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka uses an epenthetic /t/ to avoid vowel clusters and /a/ to avoid consonant clusters. The vowel inventory comprises four vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/, and /o/. The language has no voiced plosives, fricatives or affricates. The syllable structure is (C)V(V)(N). A word has minimally two morae and can be quite long, above all verbs (the longest verbs in my corpus have up to eleven syllables). The stress is not contrastive and follows a complex and loose pattern, i.e. it is not rigidly followed.

Nouns have an inherent gender based on sex and animacy. Men, male animals and animate beings of unknown sex are classified with a gender, which I call *masculine*; women, female animals, things and abstract concepts are classified with the other gender, which I call *feminine*. There is a nominal plural enclitic that is not obligatory with plural references. Nouns are differentiated by the category of alienability, and the difference lies in the different possessive morphology for alienable and inalienable nouns. The possessed precedes the possessor. The kin vocabulary is quite complex, given that a kin term can be expressed by four different words: a vocative with male and female ego, and a possessed form with male and female possessor. Nouns can host verbal suffixes (tense and aspect) and act as predicates. Demonstratives and quantifiers (numerals and non-numerals) precede the noun. Adjectives can precede or follow the noun, but it seems that the position before the noun is more frequent (two thirds of the occurrences in my text corpus).

Adjectives are of the type that have some grammatical properties of verbs and some of nouns. A small group that denote human properties is inflected with gender. Adjectives can host nominal and verbal suffixes and enclitics.

There is a set of full pronouns, but there are no plural pronouns except an inclusive one: plurality is inferred from the context, or the nominal plural enclitic can be used, and the same applies to pronominal verbal affixes. There is a set of demonstratives with three degrees of distance plus an absential demonstrative. There are no articles. The set of numerals is quite small, and only three are known by all

speakers, while some speakers know more numerals but not higher than ten. The interrogative words present the noteworthy feature that an interrogative can express different meanings, and the same meaning can be expressed by different interrogatives. There is a small set of adpositions, which can be used in pre- or post-position, but the pre-position is more common. There is a large set of ideophones, and some fillers, which are frequently used.

The alignment is generally nominative-accusative and is expressed with verbal subject prefixes and object suffixes, but the subject of intransitive and transitive verbs can also be marked with a suffix instead of a prefix in a special verbal construction, which yields a complex alignment system that is studied in detail in Section 6.2.2.

As in the other Campan languages, verbs belong to one of two classes called *A-class* and *I-class*, with the latter being the largest by far. The name comes from the realis RS suffix (-*a* and -*i*). I-class verbs acquire a reflexive meaning when inflected with an A-class suffix. The verb does not have a category of tense, although there are some suffixes that denote tense, but all of them are optionally used. Aspect marking is much more extended, although, as said above, the only obligatory suffix is the RS. Verbs can be marked with a series of directionals that can have spatial and also aspecto-temporal meanings. The verbal suffixes and enclitics have a fixed order, which is tackled in Section 6.8.

The language has several existentials and copulas.

The constituents' order is AVO in clauses with transitive verbs in which the two arguments are expressed with an NP, but this order is not rigid, so that a few VAO, OVA and VOA clauses are attested in natural texts. When only the subject is expressed with an NP, both orders, AV and VA, and SV and VS in clauses with intransitive verbs, are equally frequent. Regarding the position of the verb vs the object, the verb after the object is only attested in very few OVA clauses.

Verbs in imperative clauses receive no special marking, but the verb is marked irrealis, given that a command is an irrealis situation (the event is not actualized). Verbs in subordinate clauses receive no marking that differentiates them from verbs in main clauses, and irrealis marking occurs only when the situation is irrealis (e.g. in subordinate clauses in a desiderative construction).

1.3. Fieldwork carried out and the process of writing this thesis

This section explains where and when the fieldwork was carried out (Section 1.3.1), how the whole process of writing the thesis developed and who the consultants were (Section 1.3.2).

1.3.1. Time and location of fieldwork

The fieldwork was not without complications, mainly due to the lack of funding, which was only obtained for travel expenses for the last field trip in 2019 from the Leids Universiteits Fonds and the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. The result is that the fieldwork time was much shorter than desirable, but this was partly balanced out due to three reasons: 1) I was working mainly with speakers literate in their own language; 2) some works of close Ashé-Ashá varieties have been very helpful (mainly David Payne's [1980] multidialectal dictionary and Judith Payne's [1989] textbook based on Pichis), and 3) on my first field trip in 2015, the coordinator of the bilingual teacher training programme of Nopoki University, Juan Rubén Ruiz Zevallos, gave me a copy of the textbook used for the Ashéninka class in Nopoki; this book was a kind of draft since it had several mistakes, but it was very useful for me because I checked the whole book with my consultants and, in this way, I was able to progress faster in the knowledge of the language; this book was never published because a new revised and very enlarged textbook (Zerdin, Casique & Casique, 2018) was published later.

The fieldwork was carried out over 2 weeks in 2015, 3 in 2016, 4 in 2017 and 4 in 2019, always in October, totalling 13 weeks (91 days). I was working in the town of Atalaya with two expeditions to Ashéninka communities (an unfruitful one in 2017 and a fruitful one in 2019). I was staying in small hotels –actually, all hotels in Atalaya are small. Atalaya is a small mestizo settlement with roughly 13,000 inhabitants at the place where the rivers Tambo and Urubamba join to form the Ucayali. It is the capital of the province of Atalaya, with around 44,000 inhabitants, of which roughly 3,000 live in the other mestizo settlements of Bolognesi, Sepahua and Breu, capitals of the provincial districts. The remaining 28,000 inhabitants of the province live mainly in

indigenous communities scattered throughout the province, which has an extension similar to that of the Netherlands and is almost totally covered by tropical forest (except small agricultural fields called *chacras* in local Spanish). Thus, the little riverine town of Atalaya is the political, administrative and commercial hub for a vast area of indigenous territory.

The trip to Atalaya from Lima can be made quite straightforwardly by plane, which is how I travelled during all my trips. One has to fly first from Lima to Pucallpa, with several airlines covering this one-hour route. These flights can be booked easily online. In Pucallpa, there are some companies (from only one to three during my different trips) that fly daily in light planes (around ten passengers) to Atalaya, and the trip takes one hour. These flights cannot be booked online: one has to phone the company and needs a Peruvian phone number because, when in Pucallpa, you are called the afternoon before the flight and are told at what time you have to be at the airport –but some hours later they may call you again to change the time. In Atalaya, this is yet funnier: you wait the morning of the flight until they call you and tell you that it is time for you to go to the airport because the plane has already set off from Pucallpa. The travel by road is a very long one. From Lima to Satipo, according to Google Maps, the trip takes 10 hours and 435 km by car. The last 220 km from Satipo to Atalaya take 7 hours on an unpaved road –Google Maps says that it takes 4:24 hours, but everyone in Atalaya told me that it takes 7 hours. From Lima to Satipo, there are bus services, and, from Satipo to Atalaya, the journey in public transport has to be done in a 4WD pickup truck as the one in which I travelled to the communities by the Unini River (related below). In these cars, one can travel in the cab or on the cargo, where all kinds of merchandise are transported, including living hens. On my first field trip in 2015, I was told that the road had been built only recently. The Ucayali is a busy way, with goods and people constantly travelling along by boat, including several passenger companies. I know that people travel to the Ucayali communities by boat, but one can travel until Pucallpa and even further. I do not know how much time this trip can take, but, considering the numerous meanders in the Ucayali, it must be a very long time.

1.3.2. Process of writing the thesis and consultants

At the beginning of this project, after my first field trip in 2015, I wanted to apply for a grant so that I would be able to ask for a temporary leave of two or three years from my job as a translator and devote this time entirely to doing fieldwork and writing a grammar. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to complex administrative problems. Ultimately, in February 2017, in a meeting with my supervisors, we decided that the thesis would be composed of a sketch grammar plus two or three published articles, for one of which I had already written a draft (Pedrós 2018). Initially, we thought that the shortage of time for fieldwork would allow me to write only a sketch grammar, but the articles would deal with the relation of Ashéninka with the other Campan languages, so these articles would be based on the existing literature on these languages and would need little fieldwork. However, the two following field trips in 2017 and 2019 were extremely productive, so that the gathered information resulted in a grammar that grew much larger than what is expected of a sketch grammar, even without the articles. Finally, the present thesis consists of a grammar, my published article Pedrós (2019) (on reality status; Section 6.1) with a few adaptations, and the main conclusions of my article Pedrós (2018) (on dialectology of the Ashé-Ashá cluster; Section 1.2.2).

I arrived in Atalaya in 2015 with no idea of what a Peruvian native community was, with the recommendation by Lev Michael to research the so-called *Ucayali-Yurúa Ashéninka* and with a list of some contacts that might be helpful, which I got from a contact in Pucallpa, to whom I was referred by Roberto Zariquiey, from the Pontificia University in Lima. During this exploratory trip, I got in touch with the indigenous university UCSS-Nopoki and the indigenous organizations URPIA and CORPIAA. Nopoki was most willing to cooperate with me, as well as the people I met in both indigenous organizations, so I started my fieldwork recording basic words and some basic sentences, not only with Ashéninka speakers but also with Asháninkas, since the subject of the thesis had not yet been determined. During this first fieldwork, I met the Ashéninka speakers with whom I would mostly work on the next field trips.

Instead of giving the exact age of the consultants, I will group them into three broad categories: young (18 to 21 years), middle (35 to 45 years) and older (from 60

to 90 years). These age categories fit very well the differences I found in the use of the language. The difference between the younger and the older is evident in all aspects (phonetics, syntax, morphology, vocabulary...), but there is little difference between the middle and the old age group –actually, I only found the elision of /u/ in middle age speakers and a difference in the interpretation of colours (see Section 5.2). I have to add that some speakers did not seem very happy when asked about their year of birth, and this is the reason for leaving out their exact age.

This grammar clearly has a main consultant. He is Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro (Ashéninka name that denotes a kind of ant), older age, sadly deceased in November 2020 of cancer. I met him on my first field trip and worked with him during the other three. Four of my eleven glossed texts are from him, and he is the translator of most texts. He has a long history as a linguistic consultant, given that he worked with the ILV when he was younger. He was one of the five Ashéninka translators recognised by the Ministry of Culture²⁷, so he was literate in his language. He grew up in the community of Chicosa and told me that his grandparents emigrated from the Gran Pajonal in the 1950s.

Another key figure for the development of this grammar was Chóokiro's daughter Luzmila Casique Coronado, aka Chochoki 'sweet fruit', middle age group –I met them in different ways, and I knew later that they were father and daughter. She is the teacher of Ashéninka at the Nopoki university. She acted as a consultant in translation and transcription sessions of recorded texts and also participated in a conversation in an unplanned way. Nevertheless, her role in this grammar has mainly been to assist me in Nopoki. I could attend the Ashéninka classes and interact with the students, all of whom were Ashéninka native speakers. Chochoki also organized some classes to let me record some conversations between students. I met her on my first field trip and worked with her during the other field trips, and we have been in touch by phone while I have been working on the thesis at home. She is another of the five recognised Ashéninka translators.

²⁷ List in

bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/sites/default/files/archivos/lenguas/bdpi-lengua_-_asheninka_.pdf. In May 2021, the list had five translators, in June 2022, six. Chóokiro was still in the list in June 2022, even though he had died eighteen months ago.

Another of Chóokiro's daughters has also been my consultant. She is Tabea Casique Coronado, aka Hani 'wasp', middle age group. She helped with translating and transcribing some texts. She is an indigenous leader and, as a representative of AIDASEP, a member of the governing board of the COICA (Coordinadora de Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica 'Coordinating Association of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin'), an international umbrella association of indigenous organizations of the Amazon basin. I met her on my 2016 field trip and also worked with her in 2017, but she was in Quito working at the COICA headquarters during my 2019 trip. She is another of the five recognised Ashéninka translators.

Chóokiro, Chochoki and Hani are the translators of all the glossed texts, so I have worked with three of the five recognised Ashéninka translators. For me, their literacy was most helpful in speeding up the transcription process and taking into account the little time I had each time I was in the field. Their knowledge of the written language means that they know how every word is written, which is roughly equivalent to doing a phonological transcription. During my two last field trips, I had already become so acquainted with the Ashéninka phonology that I was able to write words by listening to the translating consultant pronouncing them slowly, but, even at the end of my last field trip, I was not always able to recognise the difference between /tsi/ and /tsʰi/, and I could always solve my doubt by asking whether it was written <tzi> or <tsi>, respectively, which the consultants always knew without hesitation. The difference between long and short vowels is also difficult to recognise, and, in this case, even they had to think for a while before answering. In any case, I do not doubt that my work would have been delayed if I had worked with speakers illiterate in Ashéninka.

Amalia Coronado, aka Mathawo 'thin', older age, mother of Chochoki and Hani, participated in a glossed conversation and helped with elicitations in 2016. She hails from Chicosa, and her parents, from the community of Unini, a bit upriver from Chicosa.

Some Nopoki students (all of them of the young age group) participated in conversations: they are Lindis Candy Cachique Vásquez, aka Thaampi 'butterfly'; Jánder (unknown surnames), aka Kamato 'dragonfly'; Ronaldo Cachique, aka

Mathari ‘thin’; Karen Román Torres, aka Hamani ‘paca’, and Gladys (unknown surnames) aka Otéyaki ‘flower’. Kamato hails from the community of Chanchamayo in the Tahuanía district (near the mestizo settlement of Bolognesi), and the other three hail from Chicosa. The parents of each of them hail from the same community as their children. Thaampi also helped with some questions about the language.

Two Nopoki students from the Yuruá area, Luz Clarita Gómez Pacaya and Remigio Mañaningo Ramos, also of the young age group, helped with some short questions that were very important to know some key features of the speech of the Yuruá (see Pedrós 2018:13-14).

Chochoki and Hani’s uncle and aunt, Florencio Pacaya Ríos, aka Piichotzi, and Amelia Andrés Gutiérrez, aka Cheroki (both Ashéninka names denote kinds of birds),²⁸ both of older age, participated in a recorded and glossed conversation and story in the community Unini Cascada, where Chochoki accompanied me. Both were born in the Gran Pajonal and moved to Unini when they were 10 and 8 years old, respectively. Their parents hailed from the Gran Pajonal except for Cheroki’s mother, who hailed from the Tambo River, which is reflected in some words that she uses.

Carlos Vásquez, of the middle age group, helped in 2016 in two elicitation sessions. He hails from the community of Boca Cocani, but grew up in Bellavista, a community very close to Boca Cocani. His parents also hailed from Bellavista.

The consultants were paid between 6 and 9 soles per hour, more in the last years and according to their experience. This amount was calculated based on the recommendation to pay the equivalent to a schoolteacher’s salary (I was told that a schoolteacher earns between 1,200 and 1,500 soles a month, and I calculated the corresponding amount per hour in a 40-hour working week).

During my 2015 field trip, I also worked with several people, some of them Asháninkas, whose names are not mentioned here because I worked with them in short sessions, and the results helped me to start to get familiar with the basics of the language but did not yield valuable results. Summing up, they were the teachers of two Asháninka communities, Nopoki’s Asháninka teacher, an Ashéninka living in

²⁸ These were the only Ashéninkas that introduced themselves with their Ashéninka names, and they only said their Spanish names when I asked them.

front of the FECONAPA building and two indigenous leaders who had participated in a meeting of URPIA (an Ashéninka and an Asháninka). In 2015, I also interviewed Kamato (mentioned above) and another Nopoki student (a girl) and started working with Chóokiro.

During my 2016 field trip, it was already clear that I was going to concentrate on Ashéninka, so I did not work with Asháninka speakers anymore. I continued working mainly with Chóokiro and in Nopoki and started recording some stories and a conversation, and transcribed and translated them with the help of consultants.

In my 2017 field trip, with a better knowledge of the language and the topic of the thesis already clearly defined, I made significant progress. I was able to solve many doubts through elicitation and continued recording, transcribing and translating. I returned home with three conversations and four stories translated and transcribed to gloss. With all the gathered information, I spent the next two years glossing the texts and writing the two published articles and a sketch grammar, which was completed except for the syntax part. Obviously, many doubts and questions arose while writing the grammar, all of which I noted down with the hope of untangling them in my next field trip.

In 2019, I was very successful in getting satisfactory solutions for the list of 82 questions that I brought to the field. Moreover, I recorded, translated and transcribed a conversation and three more stories, hence the total of eleven parsed texts in my corpus. When I returned home, I set to update my sketch grammar with all the solved questions and new grammatical features that had appeared while discussing these questions and translating the recordings.

I used a Tascam DR-05 as the main recorder. I also used a secondary recorder, whose only use was to let the consultants listen to recorded texts for translation. In this way, I recorded the whole translation and transcription session with the main recorder while letting the consultant listen to the recorded text from the secondary recorder, a Samsung mobile phone. On every field trip, I bought a Peruvian SIM card on the first day I was in Lima to ease communication with everyone in the field. I brought a 10 inches Asus laptop with a touch screen to the field, which could be separated from the keyboard to be used as a tablet.

I have to mention my attempts to visit indigenous communities. When I first arrived in Lima in 2015, I met the linguist Roberto Zariquiey at the Pontificia University. He advised me not to travel to an indigenous community without being accompanied by someone known in the community, and my later experience told me that this was good advice. On my first exploratory trip in 2015, Julio César Gonzales, who was then in charge of the local office of the Spanish NGO CESAL, took me on his motorcycle to the Ashéninka communities of Impamequiari and Sapani during two of his routine trips. There I interviewed the Ashéninka teachers, who were native speakers. In 2016, I asked some people whether they could accompany me to a community, but I was unsuccessful. In 2017, I travelled by a public transport 4WD pickup truck to the community of Diamante Azul, at the mouth of the Unini River; I went alone but with a recommendation by Julio César Gonzales, by then director of Nopoki, to ask for a trustworthy acquaintance of his, who should help me to find some speakers to work with them during the day. Unfortunately, the men of the community were at a *masato* party, which was not the best moment to work there, so I travelled back to Atalaya in the first public car that arrived. In 2019, Chochoki accompanied me also in a public transport 4WD pickup truck to the community of Unini Cascada, and there I was able to make some recordings from some relatives of her and visit the community and the *chacras*. We travelled back to Atalaya by boat. As I said before, it is usually thought that the best linguistic fieldwork is done in an environment where the language is spoken on a daily basis. In my case, I arrived in Atalaya, found speakers and set to work as quickly as possible. Trying to establish myself in a community would have taken a lot of precious time that was much better leveraged working with speakers in Atalaya. Moreover, as I have explained above, working with speakers who are literate in their language was an advantage.

1.4. Organization of the thesis and conventions

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that presents a general picture of the Ashéninka people and the main features of their language, plus an explanation of the details of the process of writing the thesis, the fieldwork carried out, and the conventions used in the thesis. Chapter 2 studies the

phonology of the language. Chapter 3 describes different word classes (pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, indefinites, interrogatives, adverbs, affirmative and negative particles, adpositions, conjunctions, ideophones and fillers). Nouns, adjectives and verbs require a much larger space, which is why a whole chapter is devoted to each of them (chapters 4, 5 and 6, respectively, with the noun phrase included in the chapter on nouns). Finally, Chapter 7 describes the syntax of the language. Moreover, the thesis has three annexes: Annex 1 is a list of the grammatical morphemes; Annex 2 compiles all the glossed texts from which most examples of the thesis are taken, and Annex 3 is a list of vocabulary with all the words that have appeared during my fieldwork.

The glossed examples are presented in four lines. When the second and third lines do not fit in the page width, they are separated into two groups of two lines, as in (3).

- (3) Tee iñagaeri iwírintòti. Ótsitzi rahánkahànkawitakàri.
 tee i-ñag-a-e-ri i-pirinto-ti
 NEG.REA 3M.S-see-REG-FRS-3M.O 3M-frog-POSS
 ótsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri
 dog 3M.S-sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘Again, he hasn’t seen his frog. The dog repeatedly sniffs in vain.’ (FS)

In the first line, the uttering is reproduced following the Ashéninka official orthography, but with two departures: one is using <h> instead of <j> (see Section 2.4 for justification); the other one is that primary and secondary stresses are marked with an acute and a gravis, respectively. While the stress can be quite clearly heard, the difference between primary and secondary stresses cannot be identified so straightforwardly, so this indicated difference must be taken cautiously, except in the section devoted to stress (Section 2.5), where the recordings of the words used as examples have been examined more carefully than in the rest of the corpus. When there is a morphophonological change, as in *iwírintòti* ‘his frog’, where the root meaning ‘frog’ is *pirinto*, the actual pronunciation of the word is shown in the first line, and the underlying form of the modified morpheme is given in the second line. However, /i/-elisions after /tʰ/ and /ʃ/ are not shown in the first line because they are regular in non-slow pronunciation, and the /i/ is not elided in slow pronunciation (e.g. *ótsitzi* ‘dog’ in (3) is regularly pronounced [ˈotʰtsi] in non-slow pronunciation).

The second line of the example shows the Ashéninka word segmented in morphemes, and the third line reflects the English translation of lexemes and the glosses of grammatical morphemes. I have tried to follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules²⁹ except when the specificities of the language made it more convenient to use different conventions (e.g. S and O instead of SBJ and OBJ, given that subject prefixes occur in almost every verb and the use of three letters would make the glosses too long and more confusing, while the continuous repetition of S or O in verbs makes its meaning clearer).

The fourth and last line shows the English translation, which is my translation from the Spanish translation given by the Ashéninka consultant. At the end of the translation, the acronym between parentheses identifies the text from which the example is taken. The meaning of the acronyms can be found in Annex 2 (e.g. *FS* stands for *Frog Story*). In examples taken from other authors, the reference is given between parentheses. When there are no parentheses, the examples are from elicitations. Annex 2 compiles all the glossed texts. In this way, the more interested reader can inspect every example in its context.

Spanish loans are written in italics in the first line of the glosses when they are not adapted to the Ashéninka orthography, but in roman if they are adapted. In this way, I write “aroosa” ‘rice’, from Spanish *arroz*, but “*bicicleta*” ‘bicycle’, from Spanish *bicicleta*. There are dubious cases, e.g. Spanish *tía* ‘aunt’, which might be written *tiya* with the Ashéninka orthography and practically with the same pronunciation as in Spanish, i.e. it does not need adaptation because the Spanish pronunciation does not break the Ashéninka phonotactics. In these cases, if the loan appears too evident, I write it in italics, as in *tía*.

In the examples, the word containing the described morpheme is in bold, as in (4), taken from Section 4.1.5.5, which deals with the infinitive suffix *-aantsi*.

- (4) Páerani piyótziro éeroka apaani **mampaantsi**?
 páerani p-iyo-t-zi-ro éeroka apaani mamp-aantsi
 long.ago 2-know-&-REA-3F.O 2 one sing-INF
 ‘Long ago, did you know a song?’ (CMH)

²⁹ Available online at www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf. Accessed in February 2023.

Some examples are repeated throughout the thesis, but each instance is used to illustrate a different grammatical feature.

2. Phonology

Ashéninka has a small phonological inventory, but its study has some difficulties due to complicated allophonic relations, several morphophonemic alternations and phonological processes, and a highly complex stress pattern, all of which are treated in this chapter. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 show the phonological inventory of vowels and consonants, respectively, and describe all phonemes with their particularities. Section 2.3, Phonotactics, describes the syllable and word structure. Section 2.4 gives an overview of the orthographies that have been used for Ashéninka and presents the one used in this thesis. Section 2.5 is devoted to stress, which is not contrastive and has a complex pattern. Section 2.6 describes some abbreviations used by speakers when speaking and the special phonetic features of ideophones. Section 2.7, Morphophonology, deals with the phonological alterations that some morphemes undergo when they are combined with other morphemes.

2.1. Vowels

This section is divided into three subsections. Section 2.1.1 describes the vowels of the language. Section 2.1.2 presents some minimal pairs by comparing words that differ only in one vowel: firstly, with words for which the difference lies only in the length of the vowel; secondly, when the difference is between vowels with a certain similarity. Section 2.1.3 deals with vowel combinations in diphthongs and hiatus.

2.1.1. Vowel inventory

Ashéninka has the typical four Campan vowels, which can be short or long, as illustrated in Table 2. The difference between short and long vowels cannot be heard as clearly as in English or German, so I needed to ask the consultants often if a vowel was short or long. In some cases, even they hesitated, which shows that the difference between a short and a long vowel may be fuzzy, although stress can make it easier to recognise them in some cases.

Table 2. Ashéninka vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:		
Mid	e e:		o o:
Open		a a:	

/o/ is usually realized as [o], but also as [ʊ] or [u] in some phonetic environments. Most recorded examples occur after /p/:

/po'ka:nts^hi/ 'come' [pʊ'ka:nts^hi] /po'manirɔ/ 'hide it!' [pu'manirɔ]
 /'poja/ 'eat!' ['poja] /'powa/ 'you eat' ['pu.a]

Another instance in my corpus is /ni'jɪnco/ 'my daughter' [ni'jɪncʊ], where the raising is probably caused by the preceding palatal consonant.

/e/ is always realized as [e]. Similar realizations must be considered to belong to the phoneme /i/.

/i/ has a special status when compared to the other vowels. It has a very broad range of phonetic realization, which encompasses [i], [ɪ], [i̠], [ɘ] and [e]. After /ts/, /i/ is regularly realized in a range between [i] and [ɘ], which makes the contrast /tsi/-/ts^hi/ clearer –however, the difference is still difficult to recognise for a speaker of a Western European language as me. The rest of the realizations occur in free choice with a tendency to pronounce [ɪ], except after /t/, where [i] is the most frequent realization. Also, after /t/ there is a tendency to pronounce a raised [e]. The wide range of /i/ can be observed in the spelling, since literate or semiliterate speakers can write the same word with <e> or <i> and say that it does not matter how you write it or if you pronounce *i* or *e* in a Spanish-like way. On the contrary, a vowel can be clearly identified as /e/ because a speaker will say that the pronunciation [i] is wrong.

However, the unique position of /i/ regarding the other vowels is due to restrictions regarding the consonants that they can accompany, which are all in the alveolo-palatal area: /i/ cannot occur after /t^h/, /c/ or /tʃ^h/, and is the only vowel that occurs after /ts/ and /ts^h/. This fact leads to the question of whether some of these consonants are allophones, which is discussed in Section 2.2.5.

Another peculiarity of /i/ is that it is often devoiced in unstressed syllables (e.g. /o'haiteki/ [o'haitekɪ] 'tomorrow', /no'pawati/ [no'pawatɪ] 'my father'), and not only

after voiceless consonants (e.g. /no'jɛ:ri/ [no'jɛ:ɾi] 'I see him'). This devoicing results in a total deletion after /ʃ/ and /tʰ/ (e.g. /'e:nitəsi/ ['e:nitəsʰ] 'there is', /'pa:ʃini/ ['pa:ʃni] 'another'). This feature is described in more detail in Section 2.3.1.

/a/ is regularly realized as [a], although it can be weakened to [ə] in final unstressed syllables.

Every vowel has a short and a long version, and the long version attracts stress (see Section 2.5, on stress).

2.1.2. Minimal pairs

These are some minimal pairs that contrast short and long vowels:

/o/-/o:/	/'imo:/	'his hole'	/'imo/	'kind of larva'
	/no'tonki/	'my bone/I shoot'	/no'to:nki/	'I grind'
/e/-/e:/	/ken'taki/	'he hunted with bow'	/'ke:ntaki/	'it itches'
/i/-/i:/	/'pito/	'night monkey'	/'pi:to/	'your head'
	/pi'tsi:ki/	'you're hungry'	/'pi:tsiki/	'your foot'
/a/-/a:/	/'hataki/	'he/she left'	/'ha:taki/	'it broke down'
	/'haka/	'here'	/'ha:ka/	'full'
	/pi'tʰawi/	'your vagina'	/pi'tʰa:wi/	'you are scared'

Other minimal pairs differentiating vowels that can show a certain similarity are as follows:

/a/-/o/	/'pawa/	'father (vocative)'	/'powa/	'you eat'
	/'pa:ki/	'you have taken'	/'po:ki/	'jump!'
	/'paki/	'answer!'	/'poki/	'your eye'
/a/-/e/	/i'kamaki/	'he has died'	/i'kemaki/	'he has heard'
/e/-/i/	/pe'rantsi/	'idle'	/pi'ratsi/	'domestic animal'

2.1.3. Diphthongs and hiatus

Ashéninka traditional orthography includes a frequent diphthong spelled <ae>, which can be realized in several ways: [ae], [ai], [æi], [ei] and [oe], with [æi] being the most frequent. I have often heard [oe] as a realization of /ae/ with the plural enclitic /paeni/ (['poeni]), but I have also heard it as ['pæni]. Therefore, it seems that the choice of

one of the possible realizations is quite free, although the tendency to pronounce [oe] after /p/ seems natural because of this consonant's labial character. This diphthong can also become the long vowel [e:], and I even have an instance where it becomes [ɛ] (/ro'wae/, [ro'wɛ] 'he eats us'), which is a very atypical phonological word due to the stress in the last syllable.

There is only one other diphthong: /oe/, much less frequent than /ae/. This diphthong appears when the 3rd person feminine prefix /o/ or the 1st person prefix /no/ precede a stem starting with /e/ (e.g. /'oemi/ 'her husband', /'noeta/ 'my name is'). It can also occur inside lexical stems (e.g. /'roetakiri/ 'he serves them a drink', where /oe/ is the stem of the verb 'serve a drink').

The diphthongs [ei], [oi] and [ai] appear as a realization of a vowel plus /ji/: /'mejiri/ ['meiri] 'squirrel', /i'ka:tejini/ [i'ka:teini] 'all of them', /no'koji/ [no'koi] 'I want', /ko'majiri/ [ko'mairi] 'tambaqui'. A diphthong [ei] can also be uttered as a realization of the long vowel /e:/ (/pi'he:ki/ [pi'heiki] 'you live/stay in a place'). The same sequence of vowel plus /ji/ that can cause a diphthong can also cause a hiatus, so that the former examples can be pronounced as ['me.iri], [i'ka.te,ini], [no'ko.i], [ko'ma.iri]. Therefore, a word as /ko'majiri/ can be pronounced as [ko'ma.iri] (the most common), [ko'mairi] (when speaking faster) or [ko'majiri] (practically restricted to dictating).

Two vowels can form a hiatus by weakening and deletion of glides. /w/ can become much weakened and even deleted between /o/ and /a/, so that a hiatus is formed (e.g. /i,kowa,kowawita'kari/ [i,ko.a,ko.aβita'kari] 'he is repeatedly searching him in vain'; /oko'wani/ [oko'anɛ] 'she wants'). This deletion does not always occur, given that the degree of weakening varies in different speakers and depends on the speed of the utterance. The glide /j/ can also become weakened and deleted to form the sequence /V.i/ described in the preceding paragraph. This hiatus always occurs with the malefactive suffix /he:mpi/ (see Section 6.7.14). Two examples are /no'kanta'he:mpi'akimi/ 'I tell you something and it finishes badly' and /no'he:ka'he:mpi'aka/ 'I live in a place and have problems'.

2.2. Consonants

The Ashéninka consonants are listed in Table 3. The corresponding grapheme used in the orthography is given between angle brackets when it is different from the IPA sign.

A feature without phonological relevance is that some consonants can be geminated, always after a short vowel. The recorded examples are /'mapi/ ['map:i] 'stone', /'kito/ ['kit:o] 'caridean shrimp', /he'tari/ [he't:ari] 'armoured catfish', /ha'te/ [ha't:e] 'he left', /ha'ta/ [ha't:a] 'I'm leaving', /'haka/ ['hak:a] 'here', /'hani/ ['han:i] 'bee', /'ana/ ['an:a] 'genipap', /'hapo/ ['hap:o] (ideophone). The examples are very scarce to posit which one can be geminated and which not since most of them are recorded only once. However, I have heard the very frequent /'haka/ 'here' and the somewhat frequent /'mapi/ 'stone' without gemination, so it seems that this feature can occur in free variation.

Table 3. Ashéninka consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p pʲ <py>	t tʰ <th>			c <ty>	k kʲ <ky>	
Nasal	m mʲ <my>	n			ɲ <ñ>		
Tap or flap		ɾ <r> ɾʲ <ry>					
Fricative				ʃ <sh>			h hʲ <hy>
Affricate			ts <tz> tsʰ <ts>	tʃʰ <ch>			
Approximant	w/β, <w> βʲ <wy>				j <y>	ɰ <g>	

2.2.1. Plosives

The distribution of the stops suggests the existence of a typical system with three points of articulation in bilabial, alveolar and velar position with palatalization and with the development of a palatal stop from a former palatalized alveolar stop. The difference between /pʲ/ and /kʲ/ on the one hand and /c/ on the other hand can be clearly heard in that the two components of /pʲ/ and /kʲ/ (stop plus palatalization) can be heard, but, in the case of /c/, only one consonant with no separable element can be heard, and

this causes this phoneme to be misheard at first as an English or Spanish /tʃ/. When one becomes more familiar with the language, the difference between /c/ and /tʃh/ becomes more evident and is reinforced through the aspiration of the latter. Younger speakers tend to fuse both sounds in a Spanish-like [tʃ], but the difference is very clear in older speakers.

To this possible original system of the three typical points of articulation with palatalization, there is the addition of /tʰ/, which historically derives from */ts/, a diachronic development that can be clearly observed when compared with the Alto Perené and Tambo-Ene varieties of the Ashé-Ashá group and also with the other Campan languages, as is shown by Michael (2011:7). An important restriction of /tʰ/ is that it never occurs before /i/. The diachronic development /ts/ > /tʰ/ occurred only with /a/, /e/ and /o/, but, for /i/, the shift was /tsi/ > /tʰi/, which is shared by Northern Ashé-Ashá (see Section 1.2.2 for divisions of the Ashé-Ashá cluster). Also the palatal stop /c/ cannot occur before /i/.

The velar stop /k/ frequently undergoes lenition in different degrees. It is typically voiced after /n/ (e.g. /katsʰin'ka:ri/ [katsʰin'ga:ri] 'Chicosa' [place name]). A typical ending as /ki/ can be elided until a total deletion of /k/. An example is in the word /iʃi'towanaki/ 'he has gone out', where the ending can be pronounced as [aki], [agi], [auʃi] or [ai], depending on the speed and the care with which the speaker is speaking. This results in [g] and [u] being allophones of /k/ –although /u/ has phonemic status on its own, as is described in Section 2.2.6. As for the other plosives, I have not heard them becoming voiced. /k/ can become palatalized before /e/ in free variation. One instance is in /no'kemi/ 'I listen to you', which can be realized as [no'kʲemi] or [no'kemi].

2.2.2. Nasals

The four nasals occurring at the syllable onset (/m/, /mi/, /n/, /ɲ/) offer little discussion, differently from the nasals at the coda, which have been described in the Campanist literature as an unspecified nasal that takes the point of articulation of the following consonant and has been usually represented with *N* (e.g. in David Payne 1981, 1983*b*; García 1997; Michael 2008; Swift 2008; Lawrence 2013; Mihás 2015*a*). Michael

(2008) gives two arguments in favour of the consideration of this phoneme as an unspecified nasal in Nanti. The first one is that:

“in cases in which the underspecified nasal and the voiceless stop are heteromorphemic [...], we find that there is simply no basis for preferring one nasal over another as an underlying form, since the underspecified nasal always place-assimilates to the following voiceless stop. Moreover, if a voiceless stop is unavailable to provide place features, the underspecified nasal simply deletes.” (Michael 2008:223-24)

This argument is also adduced by Lawrence (2013:9). Michael’s (2008:224) second argument is that, when the nasal and the following stop are tautomorphemic, if the nasal were considered as having a specific place of articulation, a phoneme /ŋ/ should be posited when the stop is velar, but such phone does not exist in Nanti in another position different from a coda before a voiceless stop.

Payne (1981:164-165) gives the example of a native speaker of the Apurucayali variety who wrote this unspecified nasal with <n> or <m> independently of its realization. Thus, he argues that speakers do not identify this consonant as having a specific place of articulation.

In the case of UP Ashéninka, Michael’s first argument does not hold because he refers to the pan-Campan irrealis nasal prefix, but this prefix has totally disappeared in UP Ashéninka, as will be shown in Section 6.1. Michael’s second argument could be applied to UP Ashéninka, given that, as in Nanti, a phoneme /ŋ/ does not exist. Payne’s example shows that speakers do not have a specific nasal in mind, but just an unspecified nasal.

Nevertheless, I prefer to avoid considering an unspecified nasal for UP Ashéninka. One of the main arguments, Michael’s first one, does not hold because of the loss of the irrealis nasal prefix. Regarding the other argument (inexistence of a phoneme /ŋ/), the same could be said for Spanish, where a word as *banco* ‘bank’ is pronounced [ˈbaŋko], and for almost all languages, since the restriction that says that a nasal must adopt the place of articulation of the following non-coronal plosive is practically universal (Mohan 1993:63). Payne’s argument of a native speaker writing <m> or <n> independently of the following stop is no wonder, since the same happens in Spanish with children learning to write and poor-literate adults, so that

there is a rule for children that says that <m> goes before and <p>, which shows that it is necessary to know the orthographic rule in order to write the correct letter.

Therefore, I acknowledge that it may be necessary to use the unspecified nasal in other Campan languages for the reasons given above, but I will not use it in UP Ashéninka mainly because of the big difference of having lost the irrealis nasal prefix. Thus, [ŋk] will be written <nk>; [nt], <nt>; [mp], <mp>, and [ɲc], <nty>. The last sequence could be written as <ñty>, but I prefer to respect the Ashéninka orthography in this case.

The nasals /m/, /mʲ/, /n/ and /ɲ/ suggest a historical development similar to the one I commented on for stops: in the same way that a phoneme */tʲ/ may have resulted in the present /c/, a phoneme */nʲ/ might be the origin of /ɲ/.

2.2.3. Taps or flaps

The only liquid phoneme is the tap /ɾ/, which is practically always realized as such. Even younger speakers, whose speech is influenced by Spanish, do not tend to pronounce word-initial /ɾ/ as Spanish does, with the vibrant [r]. The only exception occurs in the sequences /ʃɾ/ and /tʰɾ/, which are often realized [ʃt] and [tʰt], respectively (e.g. /ʃɾi' rampari/ [ʃtampari] 'man', /tʰɾi' reniri/ [tʰt'eni] 'night').

/ɾ/ is subject to changes between /a/ and /o/. In /a__a/ position, it changes to /u/ or /w/, and in /o__a/ and /a__o/ position, it becomes /w/ (see sections 2.7.1 and 2.7.5, respectively). It has almost disappeared in /o__o/ position, where it has become /o:/. Actually, I have in my texts only one instance of the sequence /oro/ (/o'ʃʰe: nkamo' roki' taki/ 'it is black and hollow'), where the sequence /mo' ro/ means 'hollow'. However, when this sequence is uttered with the stress on /mo/, /ɾ/ is deleted (e.g. /o' mo:/ 'its gap/hollow space'). These words show a change in the language that caused the deletion of /ɾ/ in the sequence */oro/ except when /ro/ is stressed. In other Campan languages, /ɾ/ does not occur at the beginning of a word (Payne 1980:119 for several Ashé-Ashá varieties; Kindberg 1980:232 for Asháninka; Snell 2011:405-06 for Matsigenka; Mihas 2015a:50 for Alto Perené³⁰) but is very frequent in

³⁰Kindberg (1980), Payne (1980) and Snell (2011) are dictionaries that lack words starting with *r*, with the exception of three entries in Payne 1980.

Ucayali-Pajonal. Actually, /ɾ/ is the 3rd person masculine prefix before a vowel-initial stem (e.g. /ɾi'ja:tsi/ 'he goes').

The lateral liquid /l/ is sometimes used in Spanish loans, so that the town Atalaya is sometimes pronounced [ata'laja] and other times [ata'raja]. A Spanish loan with /l/ in my corpus is *bicicleta* 'bicycle', pronounced [bisi'kleta].

2.2.4. Fricatives

The only fricatives in UP Ashéninka are /ʃ/, /h/ and /ɦ/. The most remarkable feature concerning the Ashéninka fricatives is the absence of /s/. Michael (2008:3-4) states that a shift /si/ > /ʃi/ occurred in all Campan languages except Nomatsigenga, and UP Ashéninka underwent another shift /s/ > /h/ in all environments. This last shift has resulted in the total loss of /s/ in the language, which can occur only in Spanish loans as *bicicleta* [bisi'kleta] 'bicycle' or *zapatos* [sa'patos] 'shoes'. Both shifts could lead to think that /h/ cannot occur before /i/, given that no sequence */si/ existed undergoing a shift */si/ > /hi/, but /h/ was already present in the language before the shift /s/ > /h/ took place, as its presence in other Campan languages shows (e.g. Payne 1981:59 for Apurucayali, Mihas 2015a:44 for Alto Perené). Therefore, /h/ can occur before all vowels in UP Ashéninka, the same as the other fricative, /ʃ/, which can also occur before all vowels.

2.2.5. Affricates

The affricates pose a big challenge for the interpretation of allophony. The affricates /ts/ and /tʰ/ can occur only before /i/, but /tʃ/ cannot occur before /i/. To this, we have to add the features of the stops /tʰ/ and /c/, described in Section 2.2.1, which cannot occur before /i/ either. These restrictions could lead us to think that the alveolar affricates /ts/ and /tʰ/ are allophones of other phonemes, but the problem is that there are three phonemes (/tʰ/, /c/ and /tʃ/) that do not occur before /i/, so that they cannot be paired straightforwardly. However, some facts can be adduced so as to posit a sound proposal for this question.

Some affixes change their form depending on whether the verb is I-class or A-class, and they can be a good clue to determine the allophonic relations. The

progressive suffix is /aca/ in A-class verbs and /atsi/ in I-class verbs (e.g. /'nowa'cawo/ 'I'm eating it', /pipo'katsi/ 'you're coming'), so this fact is an indication of the allophony of /c/ and /ts/. The two participle suffixes are imperfective /aɰʰa/ (A-class) and /atsʰi/ (I-class) (e.g. /'i:taɰʰari/ 'those that are called', /'jekitatsʰi/ 'there are many'), and perfective /e:ɰʰa/ (A-class) and /e:ntsʰi/ (I-class) (e.g. /i'ra:ne:ɰʰa/ 'what is cried', /,he:kai'te:ntsʰi/ 'all who live there'), so the participles are a good indicator of the allophony of /ɰʰ/ and /tsʰ/. Another alternation between these two sounds occurs with the diminutive /aniki/: when it is attached to /'e:ntsʰi/ 'child', the result is /en'ɰʰaniki/, where /tsʰ/ shifts to /ɰʰ/ when the following vowel changes from /i/ to /a/.

With this double pairing, we would have /tʰ/ with no allophone before /i/. We have seen in Section 2.2.1 that /tʰ/ derives synchronically from /ts/. According to Michael (2011:7-8), /ts/ evolved to /tʰ/ before /a/ and /o/, to /ɰʰ/ before /e/ and to /tsʰ/ before /i/. However, UP Ashéninka admits the sequence /tʰe/, but the examination of some words with this sequence reveals that its occurrence does not contradict Michael's proposal. I have only two words with /tʰe/ in my corpus: /ka'me:tʰeni/ 'good' and /,na:tʰejani/ 'they are playing'. In both cases, the sequence /tʰe/ is formed by adding a suffix to a root with /tʰa/ (/ka'me:tʰa/ 'well' and /na:tʰa/ 'play'). Until encountering these sequences, I had thought that the sequence /tʰe/ did not exist, so I expressed my surprise to a speaker when I discovered one of these sequences and she gave me some words: /no'tʰenkiri/ 'I don't believe him', /βi'tʰenkaka/ 'it's in a row', /pi'tʰeja/ 'you're lying'. All these stems with /tʰe/ have cognates in Payne's (1980) dictionary, which shows words from the Yuruá-Ucayali,³¹ Apurucayali and Pichis varieties: "thainc-" /tʰaink/ 'mock', "ovithainc-" /oβiθtʰaink/ 'put in a row', "thaiy-" /tʰaij/ 'lie'. A clear correspondence /tʰe/-/tʰai/ can be observed in these stems, which shows that /tʰe/ is a development of UP Ashéninka that appeared when /tʰ/ occurred only with /a/ and /o/, which is still the case in other varieties. Therefore, according to Michael (2011:7-8), /ts/ evolved to /tʰ/ before /a/ and /o/ and to /tsʰ/ before /i/, which is a good reason to consider that /tʰ/ and /tsʰ/ are allophones.

³¹ This dictionary says that some words are spoken in the Ucayali variety, which I call *Yuruá-Ucayali* or simply *Yuruá*.

Based on these arguments, it is reasonable to consider that /ts/ is an allophone of /c/ and /tʰ/ is an allophone of both /tʃ/ and /tʰ/, with the two alveolar affricates occurring only before /i/. The three proposed allophonic pairs meet the typical conditions of being in complementary distribution and having phonetic similarity (Trask 1996: 16, 81, 271). There is no doubt of the complementary distribution because the two alveolar affricates occur only before /i/, while the other three phonemes occur only before the other vowels. As for phonetic similarity, Trask (1996:271) says that “this notion is difficult to make explicit”, but “one approach is to demand that such segments should share more phonetic features with each other than either does with any other segment”. /ts/ and /tʰ/ share more phonetic features with each other than with any other segment. Putting this relation aside, since they are in contrastive distribution (Trask 1996:93), /tʃ/ is the phoneme that shares most features with /tʰ/ (affricate, aspirated, and in a close place of articulation). After this, /tʰ/ shares most features with /tʃ/ (alveolar and aspirated). A different matter is the relation of /ts/ with /c/, given that the first is affricate and alveolar and the second is plosive and palatal. /ts/ has more features in common with /t/ (alveolar and unaspirated), but these two are in contrastive distribution. /ts/ and /c/ have a different but adjacent place of articulation. Therefore, I will consider that a broad phonetic similarity exists. Denying this would imply being too strict with the condition indicated above, which should not be taken too strictly because phonetic similarity, in Trask’s words, is “difficult to make explicit”. All in all, we can consider that all sounds under discussion share phonetic similarity because all are plosive or affricate and their place of articulation is in areas next to each other (alveolar, postalveolar or palatal).

According to the arguments given above, I consider /ts/ and /c/ allophones, and /tʰ/ an allophone of both /tʃ/ and /tʰ/. It would seem logical to represent only one of the two allophones in the phoneme table, and the choice of which allophone of each pairing should be represented should be based on which sound appears in most environments and most cases. In this case, the two alveolar affricates occur only with one vowel, while the other sounds occur with the three other vowels, which would leave the alveolar affricates out of the table. However, the alveolar affricates happen to be by far the most frequent in the language: in my collection of texts, /tsi/ occurs

492 times, /t^hi/ 336 times, /c/ 69 times (/ca/ 56, /co/ 5, /ce/ 8), /t^h/ 190 times (/t^ha/ 130, /t^ho/ 56, /t^he/ 4), and /t^h/ 61 times (/t^ha/ 43, /t^ho/ 4, /t^he/ 14). In Section 2.2.2, I commented on the pan-Campan unspecified nasal and Payne's (1981:164-65) account of his experience with a native speaker writing this nasal. In Section 2.2.6, I explain that [β] is an allophone of /w/ occurring before /i/. This phoneme is always written <w> in the Ashéninka orthography and, if a speaker were told to write its different occurrences differently, probably the result would be the same as with Payne's informant. However, in the case of the affricates, the Ashéninka orthography clearly differentiates /ts/ <tz>, /c/ <ty>, /t^hs/ <ts>, /t^hh/ <ch> and /t^h/ <th>. I have worked mainly with literate speakers and they have never made any mistake confounding <tz> with <ty>, nor <ts> with <ch> or <th>. Therefore, in spite of the allophonic character that results from the application of the phonological theory, the allophonic relation does not exist from the point of view of a speaker, given that they differentiate very clearly all these sounds, while they do not perceive any difference between clearer allophones (e.g. unspecified nasal and /w/). The features of this group of phonemes coincide with those described by Kiparsky (2015:574) for what he calls *quasi-phonemes*: they are not phonemes because they are not contrastive, but they are distinctive, i.e. they are “perceptually salient”. The complementary distributions of the five phones treated here make them non-contrastive, but the fact that the speakers recognise them and differentiate them when writing means that a speaker perceives them as distinct from each other. Therefore, I consider that these allophones have the character of quasi-phonemes because they have the features described by Kiparsky (2015), and that is why I have included them all in the phoneme table.

Another feature that deserves some comment is the aspiration of /t^hh/. This phoneme has no unaspirated counterpart, but its closest phoneme in terms of sound similarity is /c/. Actually, younger speakers tend to merge both phonemes in a more Spanish-like /tʃ/, and the aspiration by speakers less influenced by Spanish helps to perceive the difference between /c/ and /t^hh/. Although the lack of an unaspirated counterpart might make the representation of the aspiration unnecessary, I have deemed it more appropriate to show it because it is clearly audible in speakers less influenced by Spanish.

2.2.6. Approximants

UP Ashéninka has four non-liquid approximants: /w/, /j/ and /ɥ/.

A matter of discussion is whether /ɥ/ is an approximant or the fricative /ɣ/. Actually, the difference is just how close the tongue approaches the velum, and it can vary from speaker to speaker, and even in the same speaker at different moments. So probably, the question of whether it is an approximant or a fricative would make more sense if two contrastive sounds (approximant and fricative) existed in the language. Payne's dictionary (1980:8) says that it is fricative, but Payne's Apurucayali grammar (1981:59) considers it a velar glide, while this or a similar sound does not exist in Mihas' Alto Perené (2015a:44). Although the question whether it is approximant or fricative may be of minor importance, this phoneme has to be in some place in the consonants table, and I have decided to consider it an approximant because of the reasons explained below. Moreover, the study of this question yields interesting results about the particular nature of approximants in Ashéninka.

A first observation is that /ɥ/ occurs very seldom; it is the least common of all Ashéninka phonemes. I have 34 occurrences in my text corpus, and all but 3 are in /a_a/ position, the 3 exceptions being /auɥ/. I comment on the different occurrences below.

One occurrence of /ɥ/ has a cognate in another Ashé-Ashá language in a word with /ɾ/ instead of /ɥ/: /in'kauɥanki/ 'before' has in Kindberg's (1980:41) Asháninka dictionary the cognate "incaranqui" /inkaranki/, Sp. *antes* 'before'. The same cognate exists in Caquinte with the form /in'kaharanki/ (Zachary O'Hagan p.c. 2018).

/ɥ/ also appears in many cases as a realization of the medial demonstrative enclitic /ra/. The clearest case is in the paradigm /'haka/ 'here', /'hauɥa/ 'there', /'hanta/ 'yonder'. Another instance is in the 3rd person cataphoric demonstratives /'rowauɥa/ (f.) and /'rirauɥa/ (m.). These examples show that /ɾ/ becomes /ɥ/ in /a_a/ position. Actually, the only instances of the sequence /ara/ in my texts are /kama'rampi/ 'ayahuasca', and the Spanish loans /ka'ratsʰi/, from *carachama* 'armored catfish', and the verbal root /tarah/, from *tarrafa*, 'casting net'. The /ara/ sequence in /kama'rampi/ without velarization may be due to the stress on /ra/. While

there are two more instances of /a'ra/ with velarization in my texts (/i,tsina'ũaero/ 'he raises it again' and /,ha'ũaari/ 'short-eared dog'), the stress in /kama'rampi/ is more prominent, given that there is no secondary stress, it is composed of only one morpheme (differently from /i,tsina'ũaero/) and is longer than /,ha'ũaari/, which might also be pronounced /ha'ũaari/ in relaxed speech.

Another instance of /u/ is a realization of /j/ in /auʔaʔha'rekitʰo/ 'our testicles (incl.)', where the word for 'testicle' is /jatʰa'rekitʰo/ and /a/ is an inclusive prefix. However, there are some words with the sequence /aja/ (e.g. /pa'jantsi/ 'banana'), and I was told that /ajatʰa'rekitʰo/ is also right. The contrast /auʔa/-/aja/ is clearly shown in an elicitation with the verb 'cry', whose 1st person realis form is /ni'rauʔa/, while its irrealis counterpart is /ni'raja/.

Another occurrence of /u/ is in /hon'kauʔari/ 'tinamou', whose cognates Apurucayali "soncaari" /son'ka:ri/ and Yuruá-Ucayali "soncagari" /son'kaʔari/ appear in Payne's (1980:122) dictionary. The tendency to delete /u/ so that the sequence /auʔa/ becomes /a:/ is not only present in other varieties, but also exists in younger speakers of UP Ashéninka; therefore, this phoneme is probably going to disappear in the next generations.

The only instances of the sequence /uʔe/ in my corpus are in the verbal root /auʔenka/ 'fly in circles', with a possible cognate in Asháninka "jeonc" /heonk/, with the same meaning (Kindberg 1980:38), and in /'riraka'uʔeijaki'rini/ 'the one who has invited them', where /uʔe/ is the link between the causative suffix /akauʔ/ and the plural /eij/ –this is the only instance of this causative with the form /akauʔ/, other instances have the form /aka/.

The examples above show that /u/ is an infrequent sound and the outcome of /ɾ/ in /a_a/ position, but also that its contrastive quality remains effective, most clearly in the opposition /ni'rauʔa/-/ni'raja/ 'I cry' (realis-irrealis). This phoneme is restricted in most cases to the sequence /auʔa/, but my examples with /auʔe/ show that it can also occur in other environments.

A good reason to consider this phoneme an approximant instead of a fricative is its soft pronunciation and its tendency to disappear mentioned above; but the main reason to consider it an approximant is that it has a feature shared by the other

approximants in the language (/w/ and /j/), which is not shared by the other phonemes: /ɥ/ occurs in most cases as the realization of other phonemes –or as a fossilization of this realization. The two other approximants also occur frequently as the realization of other phonemes. /r/ changes to /w/ in /a_o/ and /o_a/ positions. Also /p/ becomes /w/ in most cases after the pronominal prefixes. /k/ becomes /j/ after the pronominal possessive prefixes. /j/ is used to form the irrealis form of a few verbs in which the realis form is with /ɥ/ (/ni'rauqa/-/ni'raja/ 'I cry' realis-irrealis) or /w/ (/nowa/-/'noja/ 'I eat' realis-irrealis), and this total substitution of a phoneme with /j/ in the irrealis form never occurs in roots ending in a non-approximant consonant. The features described above are only shared by the approximants. Some of these alternations are described more in detail in Section 2.7, on morphophonology.

Furthermore, in spite of the oppositions between realis and irrealis forms mentioned above with /ɥ/ and /j/, respectively, it seems that there is a certain lack of contrast between the three approximants. The double form /auqat^{ha}'rekit^{ho}/-/ajat^{ha}'rekit^{ho}/ 'our testicles (incl.)' mentioned above shows that /ɥ/ and /j/ are interchangeable in this case without a change in meaning. I became aware of this feature during an elicitation session in which a speaker uttered /a'papako,woni/ 'five' and said that the letter between the two instances of <o> was <g>,³² while he uttered an unambiguous /w/, and he also produced /a'papa,ko:ni/ as a valid form. This implies that /ɥ/ and /j/ in the first case and /ɥ/ and /w/ in the second one may have no contrastive value in some cases, and even may have no contrastive value between them and a vowel lengthening (e.g. /a'papa,ko:ni/). These features of Ashéninka approximants may pose interesting questions for phonological theory.

/w/ is always realized as [β] before /i/. Mihás (2015a:50) says that this realization also occurs before /e/ in Alto Perené. In my text corpus, there are 34 realizations as [we] (23 of them with the frequent /'ma:weni/ 'all') and 14 as [βe] (2 with the benefactive suffix [βent], 6 with the specifier suffix [βe:], 3 with the exclamative enclitic [βe:], 1 with the verbal stem [paʃiβent] 'be ashamed' and 2 with the verbal stem [t^{ha}:βe] 'have bad luck because of being cursed'). The vowel preceding /we/ does

³² /o/ is written <o> and /ɥ/ is written <g>. The orthography used in this thesis is explained in Section 2.4.

not influence the two different realizations, given that both occur after /a/, /o/ and /i/, while I have no instance of */ewe/ in my corpus. Therefore, the realization as [we] or [βe] appears to be morphologically conditioned. Before /a/ and /o/, /w/ is always realized as [w]. For the palatalized counterpart of /w/, I have only two examples in my corpus and both are realized as [βj]

2.2.7. Minimal pairs

Some minimal pairs between similar consonants are the following:

/t/-/tʰ/	/ta'kitsʰi/	‘rubbish’	/tʰa'kitsʰi/	‘waist’		
	/i'tonkakiro/	‘he shot her’	/i'tʰonkakiro/	‘he finished it’		
	/no'totiro/	‘I’ll cut it’	/no'tʰotiro/	‘I’ll suck it’		
	/teːjaːntsʰi/	‘take (infinitive)’	/tʰeːjaːntsʰi/	‘lie (noun)’		
/t/-/c/	/ta'kitsʰi/	‘rubbish’	/ca'kitsʰi/	‘ant’		
/ts/-/tʰ/	/tsi'weri/	‘fat fish’	/tʰsi'weri/	‘a bit of water is falling down’		
	/ˈetsi/	‘armadillo’	/ˈetsʰi/	kind of tree		
	/tsin'kaki/	‘she/he is crushing masato’	/tʰsin'kaki/	‘the tree has a lot of fruits’		
	/tsi'roːtsi/	kind of palm tree	/tʰsi'roːtsi/	‘yellow-rumped cacique’		
/tʃʰ/-/c/	/no'tʃʰeː/	‘my thorn’	/no'ceː/	‘I fall down’		
	/no'tʃʰowi/	‘my worm/sting’	/no'comi/	‘my son’		
	/ˈtʃʰaːnari/	‘big jaguar’	/ˈcaːnaki/	‘he/she fainted’		
/m/-	/no'maːtsi/	‘I’m sleeping’	/no'naːtsi/	‘I’m chewing’	/no'jaːtsi/	‘I’m seeing’
/n/-						
/ɲ/	/ˈnone/	‘my louse’	/ˈnoɲe/	‘I see’		

2.3. Phonotactics

Trask (1996:277) defines *phonotactics* as “the set of constraints of the possible sequences of consonant and vowel phonemes within a word, a morpheme or a

syllable”. This definition encompasses the description of the ways in which vowels and consonants can form a syllable and the ways in which these syllables can form phonological words.

2.3.1. Syllable structure

The syllable structure of UP Ashéninka is (C)V(V)(N). Therefore, the minimal syllable is formed by a single vowel. The second optional vowel can form a diphthong or a long vowel. The nasal (N) has to be followed by a stop or an affricate that is the onset of the following syllable, and this nasal takes the place of articulation of this stop or affricate (see Section 2.2.2 for discussion of how to consider this nasal).

Although this nasal is the only consonant that can occur in the coda at a phonological level, the systematic deletion of /i/ after /j/ and /tʰ/ causes that these consonants actually occur in the coda as the phonetic realization of the syllables /jɪ/ and /tʰɪ/. Examples of both are /oka'maʃɪtaka/ [oka'maʃtaka] ‘they (fruits) have dried’, and /te'katsʰi/ [te'katsʰ] ‘there isn’t’. This deletion occurs practically always. A general exception is when /n/ precedes /tʰ/ and /tʰɪ/ in the last syllable of a word (e.g. /'ja:ntsʰi/ ['ja:ntsʰɪ] ‘language’). When /i/ is in the middle of a word after /ntsʰ/, it is sometimes deleted (e.g. /'ontʰiroka'pa:kari/ ['ontʰiroka'pa:kari] ‘she has approached him’) and sometimes not (e.g. /wana'wontʰi'paeni/ [wana'wontʰɪ'pæni] ‘meals’).

/i/ is deleted after /j/ and /tʰ/ not only in the middle or the end of a word, but also at the beginning, which results in the clusters [tʰk] (e.g. /tʰika/ [tʰka], multifunctional *wh*-word), [tʰt] (e.g. /tʰi'reniri/ [tʰ'teniri] ‘night’) and [ʃt] (e.g. /ʃi'rampari/ [ʃtampari] ‘man’). In the two latter, the /i/-deletion triggers a realization of /t/ as [t].

The consonants that occur in my text corpus with and without /i/-deletion after /jɪ/ and /tʰɪ/ are as follows:

- After /jɪ/ with /i/-deletion: /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /n/, /ɲ/, /t/, /ts/ and /w/, i.e. all except the palatalized, the aspirates (including /h/), /u/, /m/, /f/ and /j/.
- After /jɪ/ without /i/-deletion: /m/ (/ʃima/ ‘fish’), /tʃ/ (/o'keŋkiʃi,ɾia/ ‘she thinks’) and /j/ (/o'ʃijawo/ ‘it is similar to it’).
- After /tʰɪ/ with /i/-deletion: /p/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /ts/, /m/, /t/ and /w/.

– After /tʰi/ without /i/-deletion: /n/ (/tʰi'nani/ 'woman') and /j/ (/mantʰi'jari/ 'sick man').

Regarding the consonants not included in this list, I have no instance of them occurring after /ʃi/ or /tʰi/.

Payne (1981:166-67) explains the same process of /i/-deletion for Apurucayali and says that one of his informants uttered this deleted /i/ only when he repeated a word syllable by syllable, and he always wrote the <i>. I had roughly the same experience: /i/ was only uttered when a consultant was dictating me a word slowly during a transcription session, in which the consultant and I were listening to a recording, they dictated the words to me and I noted them down. The fact is that this deleted /i/ is never pronounced when the language is used in a natural manner, yet every speaker knows that it is there.

Some of the restrictions of the consonants were treated in the corresponding sections (affricates in Section 2.2.5 and /tʰ/ in Section 2.2.6). Since /tʰ/ can only occur in /a_a/ or /a_e/ positions, obviously it cannot occur word-initially. All other consonants have occurrences in word-initial position in my text corpus except /m/. However, I have occurrences of this phoneme only with the verbal stem /ʃem/ 'crush' and two words with the root /tomi/ 'son': /ito'mʲeriki/ 'his little sons' and /ito'mʲaite/ 'his sons'. Therefore, this phoneme appears to be infrequent, with the result that a word starting with it may be very difficult to find.

The structure indicated above implies that the only possible consonant clusters at the phonological level are formed by the nasal in the coda plus a stop or an affricate at the onset of the following syllable. At the phonetic level, the /i/-deletion explained above can result in the onset consonant clusters (N)tʰC and ʃC –I have found no example of a nasal before ʃC.

2.3.2. Word structure

My consideration of what is a word in UP Ashéninka will be based on the criterion given by Mithun:

“Words may be identified in several ways, some useful cross-linguistically, others more language-specific. The best criterion is usually the judgement of native speakers.

Whether or not they have given much thought to grammar, speakers of most languages can repeat a sentence word-by-word by confidence, pausing between words. [...] Speakers are usually aware of the meaning of whole words, but they are often not conscious of the meanings of individual morphemes nor of the boundaries between the morphemes.” (Mithun 1999:38)

Since I have been working mainly with literate speakers, Mithun’s way of identifying words is very suitable for my work with Ashéninka because literate speakers have often tackled the task of dividing their speech into words and there are practically no differences between different speakers in the identification of words. Actually, the morphological structure of some long verbs offers no doubt regarding the word limit, and there are very few cases where a doubt might arise in other word classes.

Words in Ashéninka tend to be long. Monosyllabic words are very rare: only the affirmative and negative particles, /he:/ ‘yes’ and /te:/ ‘no’, used in response to a polar question, are frequently used monosyllables. Apart from these, some other monosyllables are /ʃa:/ ‘anteater’, /ho:/ ‘sloth’, /tʰo:/ ‘owl’, /tʃʰa:/, *wh*-word used only in the Gran Pajonal. Some ideophones are monosyllables: /po:/ ‘place on the floor’, /ʃa:o/ ‘liquid falling’, /cao/ ‘hit with a stone’. There are probably more monosyllables, but there is no doubt that they are very scarce. As can be seen from these examples, all monosyllables have a long vowel, so a word with only one mora is impossible in Ashéninka. I have found only one exception: /ʃo/, a word used as an imperative to say ‘look’ while pointing to the place where the speaker wants the listener to look. However, this word seems to be a kind of interjection. Also /he:/ ‘yes’ and /te:/ ‘no’ can be pronounced with a short /e/.

A verb with affixes and clitics can be very long. My longest example has 11 syllables: /ipi'ca:nka'cenkarikita,naka/ ‘he throws himself head first and spread-legged’. I have one word with 10 syllables and two with 9, but verbs with 8 syllables are quite common. Verbs cannot occur without affixes, but nouns frequently occur without affixes or clitics, and these nouns can have up to 5 syllables (e.g. /jatʰa'rekitʰo/ ‘testicle’), although most nouns have 3 syllables (e.g. /a'tsiri/ ‘person’) and there are many with 2 syllables (e.g. /ʃima/ ‘fish’). The nominal morphology is much more limited than the verbal one, so that nouns tend to be much shorter than verbs.

The tendency of words to be long may have a relation with the small phonological inventory, given that homophones may occur more often with a small phonological inventory, but less often if words are longer. In this way, possible ambiguities that might be caused by the small phonological inventory are avoided.

2.4. Orthography

The Ashéninka official alphabet was approved on the 30th April 2019 by Resolution no. 199 of the Ministry of Education of Peru as a result of a long struggle by indigenous organizations with seat in Atalaya (namely CORPIAA, Coordinadora de Pueblos Indígenas AIDSEP-Atalaya; OIRA, Organización Indígena de Atalaya; and URPIA, Unión Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de Atalaya) and the university UCSS-Nopoki in Atalaya. When I arrived the first time in Atalaya in 2015, everyone was complaining because of the situation created by the existence of only one standard for the whole Ashé-Ashá area based on the Tambo-Ene (Asháninka) variety, which is linguistically the furthest from Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka (see Pedrós 2018:18; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis). The newly approved alphabet has also been accepted in the Pichis area. One of my consultants was present at the workshop held in Puerto Bermúdez, the biggest town in the Pichis Valley, and told me that people there recognised themselves as Ashéninka, although there had been a tradition of calling themselves *Asháninka* in the past (see Pedrós 2018:8-10 for details). When I asked him how the people in the Pichis Valley would write words that they pronounce with /s/ and the Ashéninka from the Gran Pajonal and the Ucayali pronounce with /h/, he told me that each one would adapt the alphabet to their needs, and the approved alphabet actually includes <s> (the phoneme /s/ does not exist in UP Ashéninka). I have no idea how this diversity will be reflected in schoolbooks.

So now, there are two alphabets for the whole Ashé-Ashá linguistic area, i.e. two standards: one based on Asháninka and another one based on UP Ashéninka, which should allow variations such as the aforementioned /s/-/h/ (this is the isogloss that I use to divide Ashéninka from Northern Ashé-Ashá; see Pedrós 2018:11). The names used by the Ministry of Education for both standards are *Asháninka* and *Ashéninka*, respectively. The normalization process and the production of schoolbooks of

Ashéninka was foreseen when I visited Atalaya in October 2019. I was informed by phone in October 2021 that the schoolbooks were still being prepared, but later, in July 2022, I was told that they were already in use in the schools of the Ashéninka communities

In this thesis, I follow the official alphabet with the only exception of the representation of the phoneme /h/, which in the alphabet is written with <j> and I write with <h>. In a thesis written in English and directed to an international audience, I find that using <j> can only cause confusion, above all if some example is used for a more general work, such as a typological one in which examples from several languages are used. The letter <j> has the value /x/ or /h/ only in Spanish and some indigenous languages in Spanish-speaking countries, so many people from outside the Spanish-speaking world would tend to read <j> as [dʒ], [j] or similarly.

The different Ashé-Ashá varieties were firstly written in works of the ILV. David Payne's Ashéninka dictionary (1980) writes /k/ in a Spanish-like way, i.e. with <c> before <a> and <o>, and with <qu> before <e> and <i>. However, in his Apurucayali grammar, Payne (1981) uses <k> in all cases for the phoneme /k/, as well as in its Spanish version (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982). But Judith Payne's (1989) textbook again uses <c> and <qu>. Later works of the Paynes, such as Payne & Payne (2005), use <k>. Payne's dictionary (1980) uses <v> for /w/, although he changes to <w̄> in his Apurucayali grammar (Payne 1981). <v> is still used in Judith Payne's textbook (1989) and Payne & Payne (2005), but David Payne (2001) uses <w> in a book chapter. Also the more modern Mihas' grammar of Alto Perené (2015a) uses <v> for the phoneme /w/, realized [w] and [β]. One of my informants told me that <v> was replaced by <w> some time ago because the use of <v> was very Spanish-based and <w> represents better the Ashéninka pronunciation: [β] before /i/ and sometimes before /e/, and [w] in the other cases, so that [w] is much more frequent than [β].

It is important to remark that some orthographic features were first used in Payne's dictionary (1980) and have been kept in use by everyone since then. These include the differentiation of /tʰ/ and /tʰh/ through <tz> and <ts>, respectively; the differentiation of /c/ and /tʃh/ through <ty> and <ch> (Payne [1981:59] actually considers that these phonemes in Apurucayali are /tʃ/ and /tʃh/, so that the difference

should lie in the aspiration), and the use of double letters for the long vowels (e.g. <aa> for /a:/).

Table 4 shows the orthography used in this thesis. Moreover, an acute accent is used to denote a word's primary stress or stresses, and a grave accent denotes a secondary stress. It must be taken into account that it is difficult to distinguish primary from secondary stresses, so that the classification of a stress as primary or secondary is always questionable. However, it is much easier to recognise which syllables are stressed. Paroxytones with only one stress bear no accent.

Table 4. Correspondence between phonemes and graphemes used in this thesis

/a/ <a>	/e/ <e>	/i/ <i>	/o/ <o>		
/a:/ <aa>	/e:/ <ee>	/i:/ <ii>	/o:/ <oo>		
/p/ <p>	/c/ <ty>	/m/ <my>	/r/ <ry>	/ts/ <tz>	/j/ <y>
/p/ <py>	/k/ <k>	/n/ <n>	/ʃ/ <sh>	/tʰ/ <ts>	/w/ <g>
/t/ <t>	/k/ <ky>	/ɲ/ <ñ>	/h/ <h>	/tʰ/ <ch>	
/tʰ/ <th>	/m/ <m>	/r/ <r>	/hi/ <hy>	/w/ <w>	

The reality status opposition (see Section 6.1) is realized through affrication or palatalization of the phoneme preceding the reality status suffix. The affrication is written in the glosses as <zi>, representing the affrication of a preceding /t/ plus /i/. The palatalization is written as <ya>, which represents the palatalization of a preceding consonant plus /a/. In this way, <t-zi> represents /tsi/, and the separation indicates that the affrication implies that the reality status suffix is realis; <C-ya> represents [palatalization]+/a/, and the separation indicates that the palatalization implies that the reality status suffix is irrealis. Although separating a phoneme in the glosses may seem strange, I think that this is the best way to represent the expression of reality status through affrication and palatalization.

In the following sections, I will use the orthography presented in Table 4 instead of the phonological transcription used in the previous sections.

2.5. Stress

The first important feature to remark is that stress is non-phonemic, just as in the other Campan languages. From this starting point, the work for a linguist is to research whether the stress follows some sort of pattern. After a short time working with the language, I started to develop the ability to intuitively predict the stress placement in words, so that I realized that I was intuitively learning some pattern. Based on my fieldwork experience, my clear impression is that there are certain patterns; yet they cannot be formulated in terms of rules, but rather in terms of tendencies, i.e. there are stress patterns that are not rigidly applied and can be violated, so that a word may have the tendency to have the stress in a given position, but this position can change without sounding strange to a speaker. As an example, in the tale TSJ, the word *méyiri* ‘squirrel’ is uttered most times as *meiri*, with a diphthong in the first syllable, but the same speaker who narrates the story also pronounces it once as *meyiri* and once as *meiri*³³.

Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:185-95) describe the stress patterns for Apurucayali and Mihas (2015a:56-58) for Alto Perené. Payne, Payne & Sánchez’s patterns are very similar to those found out in my research, but not identical (e.g. *kimítaka* ‘perhaps’ in Payne, Payne & Sánchez [1982:189] vs *kímitaka* ‘it seems’ in my data). Regarding Mihas’ patterns, they are quite different from mine, above all in disyllabic words. More detailed insights into the stress patterns are given by Crowhurst & Michael (2005) for Nanti, the Campan language geographically remotest from Ashéninka, and by Judith Payne (1991).³⁴ Payne refers to the language as “asheninca”, but she does not mention which Ashé-Ashá variety is described. Other

³³ As is explained in Section 2.4, words with only one stress are marked with an acute accent on the stressed syllable, except the paroxytones, which bear no accent. In words with more than one stress, acute accents indicate a primary stress, and grave accents, a secondary stress. It must be taken into account that stress is clearly audible, but it is difficult to differ primary from secondary stresses. Therefore, the differentiation between primary and secondary stresses must be considered tentative and is based on my hearing. I considered the possibility of using Praat to analyse stress, but then I realized that, in order to research patterns, it was more important to compare a high number of words with different lengths than to analyse intensity charts, even more so considering the clear audibility of stress.

³⁴ This is the Spanish version of the English Payne (1990). Here I refer to the Spanish version because it is the one that I have.

works from Judith Payne treat Pichis and Alto Perené, but her phoneme table (p. 10) shows no /t^h/ nor /tʰ/, while both exist in Pichis and only /tʰ/ in Alto Perené. Actually, the only Ashé-Ashá variety to which this phoneme table can correspond is Tambo-Ene (aka Asháninka), as well as a word as /'otsiti/ 'dog' (p. 22), which, in any other Ashé-Ashá variety, would be /'otʰitsi/. Maybe this work is based on the speech of some Asháninka island in the Pichis Valley, such as Nevati (see Pedrós 2018:9). Be that as it may, both Judith Payne (1991) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005) describe a similar but somewhat different system, which basically consists in that words can have several stresses governed by an iambic feet structure, but the stress rules set by this structure are overridden by other parameters such as vowel quantity and quality, avoidance of stress in contiguous syllables and others, all of which result in a very complex system that allows J. Payne (1991) to write 27 pages and Crowhurst & Michael 48 on the subject. The stress system in UP Ashéninka is also similar but not identical to those described by these authors, but a detailed analysis like theirs is well beyond the goals of this thesis, so I try to write here an outline of the tendencies or loose rules that govern the stress placement and a more detailed insight is left for future research.

For this research, I made a list of 163 words with more than one syllable from four fragments of four different tales, stories and conversations (22 with two syllables, 42 with three, 30 with four, 38 with five, 20 with six, 6 with seven, 3 with eight, 1 with nine and 1 with ten). I noted down the stress placement as it was uttered in the stories, but also as it was during the transcription session if there was any difference, i.e. when a consultant listened to the recording with me and dictated to me what was being uttered. In a few words, there is a difference in the stress placement between the uttering in the story and the speaker's slow dictation, but only in 19 words. Moreover, in 8 words that occur more than once in the stories, I found a difference in stress placement between the different occurrences in the uttered stories. This list proved useful for comparison, to which I have to add my fieldwork experience. The conclusions are described below.

The section is divided into subsections that group words according to their number of syllables: the first section studies di-, tri- and tetrasyllabic words; the

second section, penta- and hexasyllabic words; and the last one, longer words. These three groupings are based on similar features shared by the words studied in each subsection.

2.5.1. Disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words

Words with two, three and four syllables have in common that the stress is quite regular. It can be described by saying that, in bi- and trisyllabic words, the stress is on the penultimate, and, in tetrasyllabic words, it is on the antepenultimate; putting it in other words, in tri- and tetrasyllabic words, the stress falls on the second syllable, and, in disyllabic words, on the first syllable. This feature accords with J. Payne (1991) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005) in that the last syllable is extrametrical and the stress falls on the second syllable of each disyllabic foot, so that this stressed syllable is the second in tri- and tetrasyllabic words and, in disyllabic words, only the first one can be stressed because the last is extrametrical. Some examples of this regular pattern unaltered by other factors are in (5) grouped in columns by number of syllables.

(5)	<i>ari</i>	Multifunctional word	<i>irika</i>	'this'	<i>tsikárika</i>	Interrogative
	<i>rowa</i>	'that one' (f.)	<i>manitzi</i>	'jaguar'	<i>achárini</i>	'our grandfather'
	<i>thame</i>	Hortative	<i>rowawo</i>	'he eats her'	<i>kashékari</i>	'jaguar'
	<i>haka</i>	'here'	<i>irowa</i>	'this' (f.)	<i>oshiyaka</i>	'she run'
	<i>tziho</i>	'black vulture'	<i>ohaki</i>	'she whips masato'	<i>piyótina</i>	'guess who I am'

Exceptions to this regular pattern are caused in the first place by the existence of bimoraic syllables, which appear to be the strongest stress attractor. Even in disyllabic words, I have an instance of a word stressed on the last syllable because it is a diphthong: *rowáe* 'he eats us'. Bimoraic syllables are also described as strong stress attractors in J. Payne (1991:16-19) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005:55-56), but not specifically in disyllabic words.

Also in trisyllabic words, bimoraic syllables change the regular stress pattern (e.g. *róotaki* ‘that is’, *páerani* ‘long ago’, the interrogative *íitaka*), but I have no example of a bimoraic last syllable in a trisyllabic word, which is no wonder because bimoraic last syllables are quite rare. (C)VN syllables, which are considered heavier than (C)V syllables by J. Payne (1991:11) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005:56-57), do not change the regular stress pattern (e.g. *antaki* ‘she does’, *antami* ‘forest’, *antawo* ‘big, f.’): in these three examples, the first syllable is VN, but the stress remains on the second syllable.

A specific case are the cataphoric demonstratives *rówaga* (f.) and *ríraga* (m.). /ɾ/ is not allowed at the beginning of a word in other Campan languages, in which initial /i/ normally appears in cognates of words with word-initial /ɾ/ in UP Ashéninka. This /i/ remains in UP Ashéninka only in the plain demonstratives, whose equivalents to *rówaga* and *ríraga* are the medial *irowa* and *irira*. Therefore, there is little doubt that *rówaga* and *ríraga* derive from **irówaga* and **iríraga*. The initial /i/ was deleted, but the stress remained in the same place, which created this departure from the typical stress pattern in trisyllabic words, which exists in many more words with initial /ɾ/, as is shown below with longer words.

Some trisyllabic words show a strange pattern with two stresses: in my sample, *rìníro* ‘his mother’ and *hàgári* ‘short-eared dog’. Regarding *rìníro*, this is the way the consultant uttered it in the transcription session, but it was uttered *riniro* by the speaker who told the story. Kin terms appear to show higher variability in stress placement; actually, when I was researching kin terms, this word was uttered *riniro* (see Table 17 in Section 4.1.4). Regarding *hàgári*, the particularity of this word is that it would probably be pronounced *haari* by a younger speaker (the speaker who uttered *hàgári* was 66 years old at the time of recording).

In tetrasyllabic words, some words show two stress placements (10 out of 30 in the sample). When there is only one stress, the rule of the stressed bimoraic syllable applies (e.g. *iroñaaka* ‘now’, *raréetyawo* ‘he didn’t arrive at it’, *íitarikya* ‘why’). In words with no bimoraic syllable, the second syllable is regularly stressed independently of which vowels form the word (interrogative *tsikárika*, *kashékari* ‘jaguar’, *oshíyaka* ‘she ran’, *piyótina* ‘guess who I am’).

Words with two stresses start to show some features that also occur with words with more syllables. In this way, *ròkikirà* ‘in his eyes’ (pronounced *rokikirà* by the consultant in the transcription session), bears a secondary stress on the last syllable because it is the medial demonstrative enclitic =*ra*.³⁵ The second syllable tends to be stressed even in a word with a bimoraic third syllable as *otápìiki* ‘behind her’ (this word bears the locative enclitic =*ki*, but the existence of a bimoraic syllable before it prevents it from being stressed).

Some words with a bimoraic first syllable have a secondary stress on the third (*káakitàki* ‘he arrived’, *náakatàki* ‘I am’), but *ráawàkiro* (uttered in the story) vs *ráawakiro* (by consultant during transcription). This difference shows another feature: /i/ tends to attract stress less than the other vowels, which J. Payne (1991:19-21) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005:52-55) describe. This feature also appears in words with no bimoraic syllable, as *pámini* ‘look at them’, where the stress is not on the expected second syllable because of the pre-eminence of /a/ vs /i/. However, another occurrence with stress on the first syllable (*hápokana* ‘he jumps’) shows another tendency also attested in a few longer words: it seems that syllables with /a/ attract stress more than others, above all in first syllables, so that syllables with /a/ should be considered heavier than syllables with the other vowels. Therefore, in *pámini*, there would be two tendencies attracting the stress to the first syllable.

In *ròmariyáaka* ‘they have laid down (someone)’ and *nèwatyéero* ‘my niece (female possessor)’, the two morae in the third syllable attract stress, but force a secondary stress on the first syllable, so that it seems that the first disyllabic foot cannot remain unstressed, although there is the frequent *iroñaaka*, where the absence of stress on /i/ may be caused by its being a weaker vowel. Similarly, in *áawyanèro*, the stress in the first syllable, attracted by its two morae, demands that another syllable in the word receives a secondary stress. In this way, the tendency seems to be to avoid unstressed disyllabic feet.

³⁵ Some enclitics at the end of the word (namely enclitic demonstratives, conditional =*rika*, locative =*ki*, plural =*paeni* and exclamative =*wee*) tend to have a secondary stress, as well as the possessive suffixes -*ti* and -*ni*

In the tetrasyllable *káarimáita* ‘but it isn’t’, the counter-expectative enclitic =*maita* attracts a primary stress, so that the word has two primary stresses, and the same happens in *téemáita*, the other word with =*maita* in my corpus. Actually, we may speak here of two phonological words that form a grammatical word because =*maita* cannot occur without a host.

2.5.2. Pentasyllabic and hexasyllabic words

Penta- and hexasyllabic words with no bimoraic syllable show an identical general pattern with a primary stress on the second syllable and a secondary stress on the fourth, which accords with the iambic foot pattern described by Crowhurst & Michael (2005:50-52) for Nanti and by J. Payne (1991:13-16) probably for Ashéninka. Some examples are in (6), with pentasyllabic words in the first column and hexasyllabic in the second.

- (6) *okématzìri* ‘she’s hearing him’ *iyátharèkitho* ‘his testicle’
okántakìri ‘she says to him’ *ikántanàkiro* ‘he said to her’
pishíntothòri ‘your niece’ *ithónkitàkiro* ‘he finished only her’
rowáwakàwo ‘he eats her’ *iráyitàtsiri* ‘the one who is dinking’
atákiràkya ‘it is enough’ *ikántawàkiri* ‘they say to him at his arrival’

This general pattern can be disrupted very frequently for different reasons. In pentasyllabic words, in some cases, when the fourth syllable is with /i/, the stress is on the third (e.g. *ikántètziro* ‘they call it’, *okántàkiro* ‘she says to her’), and, in some cases, the stress placement in the narrative (*iyótàkiro* ‘she knows it’, *itháatàkiri* ‘the one who tweets’) is different from the one by the transcribing consultant (*iyótakiro*, *itháatakiri*), which shows the already mentioned lack of rigid patterns.

As in the shorter words, a bimoraic syllable attracts stress (e.g. pentasyllabic *róoperotàki* ‘that really is’, *ñáakotàkiri* ‘he found it’, *kitamáataki* ‘it became white’; hexasyllabic *ráatsimiyàkiri* ‘he sucks him to cure him’). This last word also starts with /t/, which was mentioned in the previous Section 2.5.1 as a reason for the first syllable to be stressed due to the deletion of a former initial */i/. The pentasyllabic *róyitakàwo*

‘he eats only her’ and *ràwihántaka* ‘so he passes by’ also have initial /ɾ/, but another reason for the stress on the first syllable is that /i/ is the vowel of the second. However, *rowáwakàwo* ‘he eats her’ has an initial /ɾ/ and the stress is on the second syllable, which may be caused by the tendency of syllables with /a/ to attract stress, already mentioned above. The stress attracted by a bimoraic syllable can be even on the last syllable, as in *otháwinatakàe* ‘it has cursed us’.

There are different departures from the general pattern, and they may be due to different reasons. In *kímiwitàka* ‘it is similar, but it isn’t’, the stress on the first syllable may be caused by the dropped subject suffix. In *okántakañà* ‘it has happened’, this is the only instance with the mirative suffix *-ña*, but it seems that it attracts stress. If more instances were available, it is possible that this marker could be identified as an enclitic, and we have seen in Section 1.2.5 that some enclitics attract a secondary stress. In *ótsipahàto* ‘another type’, we have to take into account the pronunciation [ˈotʰpa.hatːo], so that the underlying /i/ after /tʰ/ is deleted, which superficially deducts one syllable from the word. The same deletion happens with /i/ after /ʃ/ (see Section 2.3.1), as with the hexasyllabic *oshitóimotzìri* ‘it turned out (well, badly) for him’, pronounced [oʃˈtoimo.tʰiri] in the narrative, but [oʃˈtojimo.tʰiri] by the transcribing consultant when pronouncing it more slowly. Another hexasyllabic instance of /i/-deletion is *iréiyatsirini* [iˈreijatsʰrini] ‘those who are drinking’ vs the more careful pronunciation *iréiyatsirini* [iˈreijatsʰrini], where /i/ is not deleted after /tʰ/ and thus a secondary stress is added.

There are a few pentasyllabic words with only one stress: *ikántakota* ‘it is about’, *iñáakirika* ‘where he saw it’, *okaméethatzi* ‘it is good’. In the two first cases, these words very probably can be uttered with the general pattern, i.e. *ikántakòta* and *iñáakirika*, and the difference between the two versions may be very difficult to recognise, given that it is a question of intensity and there is no precise boundary. In the case of *okaméethatzi*, the third bimoraic syllable attracts stress and, since it is in the middle of the word having just two syllables at its right and left, there is no prosodic need for a secondary stress, i.e. the word can be more easily pronounced this way than with a secondary stress.

Some hexasyllabic words with a short /a/ in the first syllable show the same tendency mentioned above with the tetrasyllabic *hápokana*: the stress is attracted to the first syllable in *rámatawitziri* ‘he cheated him’, *kàmapiyótaki* ‘they have dried in piles’ and *ráwihàntanàka* ‘then he passes by’. In the two words with initial /ɾ/, a further reason to attract the stress may be the diachronic reduction of initial */iɾ/ to /ɾ/ experienced in UP Ashéninka, as is mentioned in Section 2.7.7, but, in *kàmapiyótaki*, it seems that there is the tendency of a first syllable with /a/ to attract stress, as in *hápokana*. Also in *ròwamantyáririri* ‘in order to kill him’, the initial reduction from */iɾ/ to /ɾ/ appears to cause the stress to fall on the first syllable.

2.5.3. Longer words

In the sample used for this section, the longest word has ten syllables (*ikìmitakáantawitakàwo* ‘because he has made it seem what wasn’t real’). This is the only decasyllabic word in my whole corpus, and I have two with eleven syllables: *ipityàankatyénkarikitanàka* ‘he throws himself spread-legged’ and *nokàwirinkáshitawakirìita* ‘I’m going to grate (genipap) for him for his arrival in spite of him’. With so few examples, it is practically impossible to research stress patterns for words that long. In the sample, there are 6 heptasyllabic, 3 octosyllabic and 1 enneasyllabic words, much less than shorter words (there are 20 hexasyllabic words, which shows a sharp diminution from hexa- to heptasyllabic words).

These longer words show all the tendencies described above. In the sample used for this section, in words with no syllable with special stress attracting features, the iambic foot pattern described by Crowhurst & Michael (2005:50-52) and J. Payne (1991:13-16) exists only in *ikyénkithàtakòta* ‘they tell about’. This pattern also appears modified by some stress attracting feature in *mántsytaritàsiri* ‘the one who is ill’ (uttered in the narrative) or *mántsytaritàsiri* (uttered by the transcribing consultant) (/a/ in the first syllable attracts stress and /i/ in the second repels it), *pòshiñáanikitàki* ‘it is tasty’ (the bimoraic syllable attracts stress and /i/ in the second syllable is deleted [ˌpoʃˈɲaːnikiˌtaki]), and *ráatsimiyapàkiri* [ˈraːtsʰmijaˌpakiri] (the bimoraic syllable attracts stress and /i/ is deleted after /tsʰ/). However, some words clearly deviate from the iambic foot pattern, namely those that have only two stresses in hepta- and

octosyllabic words or three stresses in ennea- and decasyllabic words, while the iambic foot pattern would require more stresses in such long words. These are illustrated in (7).

(7) *rámatawitakiri* ‘he cheated him’

othómpitanàkira ‘she carried him in *aparina*’³⁶

ishèmyakotáshitawo ‘he was crushing on it’

rámatawitakitziri ‘he cheated him for a while’

akyénkithátakotakiri / *akènkithátakotakiri* ‘what we have told about him’

ikimitakáantawitakàwo ‘because he has made it seem what wasn’t’

In (7), there are 6 words taken from a group of 11 with more than six syllables – 9 if we remove 2 heptasyllabic words that undergo /i/-deletion and thus become superficially hexasyllabic–, which shows that the iambic foot pattern described by J. Payne (1991:13-16) and Crowhurst & Michael (2005:50-52) does not operate in longer words in UP Ashéninka. Instead, we can observe some of the tendencies mentioned in the previous section, such as the pre-eminence of bimoraic syllables to attract stress more strongly than any other tendency, or the first syllable with initial /t/ attracting stress.

In 3 of the words in (7), we can also observe the tendency of the stress to take the position immediately before the 3rd person object suffixes *-ri* (m.) and *-ro* (f., realized *-wo* after /a/). In these words (*rámatawitakiri*, *rámatawitakitziri* and *ikimitakáantawitakàwo*), a primary stress is placed according to the aforesaid tendencies and a second one appears immediately before the object suffix at the end of the word.

In *ishèmyakotáshitawo* [i₁fem^hako^htaʃtawo], which also bears an object suffix, it seems that the /i/-deletion in /ʃi/ strongly attracts stress on the preceding syllable. These two tendencies do not seem to operate in shorter words, with some exceptions, as the hexasyllabic words *rámatawitziri* ‘he cheated him’, where the reason for the stress on the penultimate seems to be its position immediately before the object suffix; and *okamáshitaka* [oka^hmaʃtaka] ‘they have dried out’, where the /i/-deletion in /ʃi/

³⁶ *Aparina* is the local Spanish name for a cloth that is used to carry small children on one’s body.

appears to attract the only stress in the word. In pentasyllabic words, the tendency to place the stress in the syllable preceding the object suffix may account for the aforementioned pairs *iyótàkiro/iyótakìro* ‘she knows it’ and *itháatàkiri/itháatakìri* ‘the one who tweets’, although, in this case, *-ri* is a relative suffix.

2.5.4. Summary

Ashéninka stress placement is non-phonemic and is governed by tendencies or loose rules rather than by rigid rules, which allows a certain degree of optionality. This subsection presents an outline of these tendencies without trying to strictly establish their pre-eminence, as more detailed works as Crowhurst & Michael (2005) for Nanti and J. Payne (1991) probably for Asháninka do. A more in-depth study of the stress patterns is beyond the goals of this thesis and is left for future research. The discovered tendencies are listed below:

1. Bimoraic syllables are the strongest stress attractors. All bimoraic syllables have a primary or at least a secondary stress, even final syllables, of which there are very few bimoraic.
2. Crowhurst & Michael (2005:50-52) for Nanti and J. Payne (1991:13-16) for Asháninka show a similar general stress pattern with iambic disyllabic feet in which the second syllable of each foot is stressed, and the last syllable is considered extrametrical. Both works describe a series of features that override this structure. In UP Ashéninka, this structure is best reflected in words with less than seven syllables, while it fails to occur regularly in longer words (see points 3 and 8 of this list).
3. Di-, tri- and tetrasyllabic words have the most regular stress pattern: di- and trisyllabic words are stressed on the penultimate and tetrasyllabic on the antepenultimate; putting it in other words, disyllabic words are stressed on the first syllable and tri- and tetrasyllabic on the second.
4. (C)VN syllables do not appear to be heavier than (C)V, differently from the findings of Crowhurst & Michael (2005:56-57) for Nanti and of J. Payne (1991:11) for Asháninka.
5. Words starting with /r/ tend to attract stress to the first syllable, probably due to the diachronic reduction of an initial */ir/ > /r/ without change of the stress placement.

6. Enclitics and the possessive suffixes tend to have a secondary stress, namely the demonstrative enclitics, the conditional =rika, the locative =ki, the plural =paeni, the exclamative =wee and the possessive -ni and -ti. The counter-expectative enclitic =maita has a primary stress, so that the two only words on which it occurs in my corpus, the negators téemáita and káarimáita, should be considered each a grammatical word that consists of two phonological words.

7. /i/ attracts stress less than the other vowels and /a/ appears to attract stress more than the other vowels, so that, in terms of vocalic quality, /a/-syllables are the heaviest and /i/-syllables the weakest. The higher weight of /a/ appears to act more strongly on the first syllable of a word.

8. Penta- and hexasyllabic words show a general stress pattern with a primary stress on the second syllable and a secondary stress on the fourth.

9. Disyllabic feet tend to be stressed, although this tendency is much weaker in longer words.

10. Syllables preceding the 3rd person object suffixes -ro (f., realized /wo/ after /a/) and -ri (m.), as well as the relative suffix -ri, appear to attract stress, above all in longer words.

11. The deletion of /i/ in /ʃi/ and /tʰi/, which creates a coda /ʃ/ or /tʰ/, respectively, in the preceding syllable, appears to attract stress on this syllable with a coda in longer words.

2.6. Abbreviated words and special features of ideophones

This short section gives some information about two phonetic features of the language that must be reported but can hardly be included in any of the more typical sections of this chapter.

Some words can be strongly abbreviated, i.e. they are shortened through deletion of roughly half of the last part of the word. I have only five examples in my corpus: *róohatzi* ‘then’ is abbreviated to *rooha*, *iroñaaka* ‘now’ is abbreviated to *iró*, *nokantzi* ‘I say’ to *noká*, *okantzi* ‘she says’ to *oká*, and *ikantzi* ‘he says’ to *iká*. The last one is remarkable because *iká* is used when someone hears something and asks their interlocutor to be silent so as to listen to that sound and recognise it (e.g. hearing an

animal sound in the jungle). Therefore, the meaning is clearly different from the full form. In the other four, there is no change in meaning, which makes an important difference. The five examples are frequent words, as probably other existing abbreviations also must be, so that their frequent use has led to shorten them in some cases without a loss in understanding by the listener. In my corpus, *noká* and *oká* occur in a conversation (CCPC), but the other three in stories (*rooha* in SCS, and *iró* and *iká* in SFW). Thus, they cannot be ascribed only to casual speech.

Ideophones show special phonetic features alien to the language, such as a high tone, creaky voice or non-nasal consonants at the coda. These features are described in detail in the section devoted to ideophones (Section 3.10).

2.7. Morphophonology

Trask's (1996:228-29) first entry for "morphophonology" is "the description of morphophonemic alternations", whereas "morphophonemic alternation" is defined as "an alternation between phonemes in a particular position in a particular morpheme in varying contexts". This is the feature that is going to be treated in this section, i.e. the changes that phonemes undergo in morphemes when they combine with other morphemes, changes that take place next to the morpheme boundary. Other phonetic changes that imply different realizations of phonemes but are independent of morpheme combinations have been treated in the previous sections (e.g. /i/-deletion after /ʃ/ and /tʰ/, which occurs equally inside morphemes and next to their boundary).

2.7.1. /r/>/w/ in positions /a_o/ and /o_a/

The most frequent morphophonemic alternation is a shift /r/>/w/ in positions /a_o/ and /o_a/. This often repeated occurrence could suggest that the same would happen in position /o_o/, but a former sequence */oro/ evolved to /o:/ in UP Ashéninka when the first /o/ was stressed (see Section 2.2.3 for details). In my corpus, there is only one occurrence of the sequence /owo/: *pówonto* (bird known in local Spanish as *porotungo* 'quail'), which Payne's dictionary (1980:107) lists as *pooronto* in the Pichis variety mentioning that the Ashéninka word is a loan from *porotungo*. The fact of being a loan, which might be recent, may explain the exception. Also, if

**/oro/>/o:/* in UP Ashéninka, we may expect that **/o:ro/*, attested in Pichis in Payne's dictionary, would result */owo/* in UP Ashéninka due to the impossible sequences **/o:o/* or **/oo:/*.

The sequence */awo/* occurs very often when the 3rd person feminine suffix *-ro* follows *a*. This suffix can cross-reference the object (8) or indicate the gender of an adjective (9). The second line of the glosses shows the underlying form *-ro*.

(8) Namétawo. n-ame-t-a-ro 1S-get.used-&-REA-3F.O 'I get used to it' (CMH)	(9) antawo anta-ro big-F 'big (feminine)' (TSJ, CAM, CTK)

The shift */ora/>/owa/* occurs with the medial enclitic *=ra*, specifically in the feminine demonstrative *irowa* (i-ro=*ra*, DEM-F=MED, 'that') and its reduced form *rowa*, which is a very frequent filler.

2.7.2. /p/>/w/ in possessed nouns

In alienable nouns starting with */p/*, there is a change */p/>/w/* when a possessive prefix is used. The only examples from my text corpus are (10) and (11), while (12) and (13) are elicited examples.

(10) iwírintoti i-pirinto-ti 3M-frog-POSS 'his frog' (FS)	(11) owyaare o-pyaare 3F-masato 'her <i>masato</i> ' (SFW)
(12) nowántyoni no-pantyo-ni 1-duck-POSS 'my duck'	(13) nowítsini no-pitsi-ni 1-honey-POSS 'my honey'

Payne (1981:6-7) describes this feature in Apurucayali and says that it occurs with a possessive prefix before a noun starting with */p/*, but that inalienable nouns are an exception since they do not undergo this lenition, and that this makes a difference with the Alto Perené variety, where the lenition takes place in all nouns, which is confirmed by Mihás (2015a:69-70). The difference indicated by Payne between Apurucayali and Alto Perené forms an isogloss that is depicted in Map 4 with the example *nopori-nowori* (no-pori, 1-leg, 'my leg'): this isogloss separates the Tambo-Ene and Alto Perené varieties (*nowori*) from the rest (*nopori*) of the Ashé-Ashá complex.

However, example (11) above shows that there are some exceptions to this rule, or maybe the rule does not apply in this case because the lenited phoneme is actually /pʲ/ instead of /p/ (the non-possessed form is *pyáarentsi* ‘masato’). This is the only word in my corpus starting with /pʲ/ and the only exception to the rule of non-lenition in inalienable nouns. Since the group of inalienable nouns is limited, *pyáarentsi* is likely the only one starting with /pʲ/. In this case, we would have a rule with only one case, i.e., that /pʲ/ is lenited in both alienable and inalienable nouns. Another inalienable noun starting with /pʲ/ should appear to know the rule’s validity.

An example of non-lenition with an alienable noun is in *nopáapati* (no-paapa-ti, 1-father-POSS, ‘my father’). However, *paapa* is a Spanish loan and this word is morphologically alienable because it bears the possessive suffix, but the more genuine Ashéninka word, *niri* (n-iri, 1-father, ‘my father’) is inalienable, as practically all kinship terms are. This example shows that newly incorporated words do not undergo lenition independently of their alienability status.

Mihas (2015a:70) says that this lenition occurs in verbal stems after a causative prefix, which is also the case in my example (14), where the stem *-pari-* ‘fall’ is realized as /wari/:

- (14) Rowáriyàkiro.
 r-o-pari-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-CAUS-fall-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘He has caused it to fall.’ (PV)

2.7.3. /k/ > /j/, /k/ > /w/ and /k/-deletion

/k/ becomes /j/ at the beginning of a noun after a possessive prefix independently of the noun’s alienability status. Two examples are in (15) (inalienable) and (16) (alienable).

(15) noyémpita	(16) noyémini
no-kempita	no-kemi-ni
1-ear	1-pumpkin-POSS
‘my ear’	‘my pumpkin’

/k/ can also become /w/ instead of /j/ in position /o_a/, i.e. with the possessive prefixes *no-* (1st person) and *o-* (3rd person f.) (e.g. *nowániri*, no-kaniri, 1-manioc, ‘my manioc’), but the form *noyániri* is also used. I have also registered this change

with the causative prefix *o-* and the root *-kam-* ‘die’, so that the stem *-owam-* means ‘kill’. Therefore, it might occur in more verbs with the root starting with /k/ when the causative prefix *o-* is used.

A third development of /k/ after a possessive prefix is that it can be totally deleted when /i/ follows /k/. With the prefixes *no-* (1st person) and *o-* (3rd person f.), the diphthong /oe/ is formed, as in (17) and (19); with the prefixes *pi-* (2nd person) and *i-* (3rd person m.), the long vowel /i:/ is formed, as in (18) and (20).

(17) nóepatsiti no–kipatsi–ti 1–land–POSS ‘my land’	(18) píipatsiti pi–kipatsi–ti 2–land–POSS ‘your land’
(19) nóeshiti no–kishiri–ti 1–comb–POSS ‘my comb’	(20) píishiti pi–kishiri–ti 2–comb–POSS ‘your comb’

Spanish loans also undergo the shift /k/>/j/. Two examples from my text corpus are with the loans *comunidad* ‘community’ (21) and *cocina* ‘kitchen’ (22).

(21) noyomunidáateki no– <i>comunidad</i> –ti=ki 1–community–POSS=LOC ‘in my indigenous community’ (CTK)	(22) iyoshinate i–koshina–ti 3M–kitchen–POSS ‘his kitchen’ (SCFF)

2.7.4. Alternations depending on reality status (/w/-/j/ and /ʉ/-/j/), and in stems ending in *w* (/wi/>/ji/) and in *g* (/ʉgi/>/ji/, /aʉga/>/a:/)

The three alternations described in this section have in common that they affect the approximants, which is related to the description of approximants in Section 2.2.6.

An alternation /w/-/j/ exists in the verbal root *-ow-* ‘eat’. This alternation forms the opposition realis-irrealis shown in (23) and (24). A similar alternation exists between /ʉ/ (25) and /j/ (26) in the root *-irag-* ‘weep’.

(23) Nowa. n–ow–a 1S–eat–REA ‘I eat (realis).’	(24) Noya. n–ow–ya 1S–eat–IRR ‘I eat (irrealis).’

(25) Niraga. n-irag-a 1S-weep-REA 'I weep (realis).'	(26) Niraya. n-irag-ya 1S-weep-IRR 'I weep (irrealis).'

In stems ending in /w/, this approximant is /j/ when /i/ follows the stem, as in (27), while the stem ends in /w/ when /a/ follows it, as in (28). Both examples show this feature with the root *-kow/-koy-* 'want'.

(27) Pikoyi... pi-kow-i 2S-want-FRS 'You want...' (CCPC)	(28) ...nokówakotzimiri. no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri 1S-want-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL '...what I want with you.' (CMH)

Payne (1989:154-56) describes for Pichis some verbs whose stems end in /u/, which can be elided or changed to /j/. These changes also apply to UP Ashéninka. In (29), /u/ is elided and the root links with the following suffix to yield /a:/. In (30), /u/ is replaced by /j/ due to forming a syllable with /i/.

(29) ...piráanaka... p-irag-an-ak-a 2S-weep-ABL-PFV-REA 'You wept.' (CMH)	(30) ...notayiro. no-tag-i-ro 1S-burn-FRS-3F.O 'I burn it.' (CMM)

A good question for the two last alternations described above would be what happens when a vowel different from /a/ or /i/ follows the stem, but the fact is that every suffix starts with /a/, /i/ or a consonant, so there is no case where /e/ or /o/ follows the stem. In both alternations, /w/ or /u/ are used to represent the stem because they are used in the infinitive form (e.g. *kowaantsi*, *iragaantsi*, *tagaantsi*). The different approximants (/w/, /j/, /u/) and the vowel lengthening at the root coda derive from a proto-Campan */g/ (Lev Michael p.c. 2022).

2.7.5. /r/ > /u/ and /r/ > /w/ in /a_a/ position

/r/ changes to /u/ in /a_a/ position. This change is clearly observable synchronically in the medial demonstrative enclitic =*ra* in *haga* (ha=*ra*, LOC=MED, 'there'), which forms a locative paradigm with *haka* 'here' and *hanta* 'yonder'. In these three words, *ha=* is a locative particle that acquires proximal, medial or distal value depending on the attached enclitic.

Furthermore, /r/ can change to /w/ in /a_a/ position when *-ra* is a temporal subordinator. This is a surprising feature that I checked with two different speakers and shows that the medial demonstrative enclitic *=ra* can have a locative subordinator function. In (31), the medial enclitic is attached to the verb with a locative subordinating function and the sequence /ara/ becomes /auʔa/; but, in (32), the temporal subordinator *-ra* is attached to the verb and /ara/ becomes /awa/.

(31) a. pikátziyaga pi-katziy-a= <i>ra</i> 2S-stand-REA=MED ‘where you stood’ b. pishiróntaga pi-shiront-a= <i>ra</i> 2S-laugh-REA=MED ‘where you laughed’	(32) a. pikátziyawa pi-katziy-a- <i>ra</i> 2S-stand-REA-TEMP ‘when you stood’ b. pishiróntawa pi-shiront-a- <i>ra</i> 2S-laugh-REA-TEMP ‘when you laughed’

The explanation for these two different morphophonemic alternations must lie in the diachronic developments of the language. Since /auʔa/ occurs in lexical roots where other Ashé-Ashá varieties have /ara/ (e.g. *inkáganki* vs Asháninka *inkáranki*), it is very likely that the shift /ara/ > /auʔa/ is older and took place before *-ra* existed as a temporal subordinator. This may be the reason why the older forms with the medial *=ra* show the shift /ara/ > /auʔa/ and verbs with the probably more modern temporal subordinator *-ra* show the shift /ara/ > /awa/.

The changes described in the present and the preceding Section 2.7.4 enlighten what was said in Section 2.2.6 about the approximants: they appear to have a status different from other consonants in that they can be interchangeable depending on the phonetic context, and there can even be a free choice between them in cases as *nowániri/noyániri*.

2.7.6. Changes related to prefixes

The pronominal prefixes, used both as possessives and to cross-reference the subject, undergo changes according to the beginning of the stem to which they attach. The 1st person prefix *no-* is reduced to *n-* when the following stem starts with a vowel different from /e/ (33), (34). The same happens with the 2nd person prefix *pi-*, which is reduced to *p-* before a stem starting with a vowel different from /e/ (35), (36). The

3rd person masculine prefix *i-* changes to *r-* before a vowel different from /e/ (37), (38). The 3rd person feminine prefix *o-* is deleted before a vowel (39), (40). The inclusive prefix *a-* is also deleted before a vowel (41), (42), but can also cause the elision of the initial vowel of the following stem (43), (44). The 3rd person feminine prefix *o-* can also elide the initial vowel of the noun in a few inalienable nouns (45), (46). The 2nd person and 3rd person masculine prefixes (*pi-* and *i-*, respectively) cause the initial /e/ of a root to be fused with the prefix to yield /i:/ (47), (48). The causative prefix *o-* can elide the initial vowel of the verbal stem (49).

(33) Nówatyáwo. n-ow-atya-ro 1S-eat-PROG-3F.O 'I'm eating it.' (TSJ)	(34) nowániki n-owani=ki 1-chacra=LOC 'in my <i>chacra</i> ' (CMH)
(35) ...piyote... p-iyó-t-i 2S-know-&-IRR '...you know...' (CMH)	(36) powani p-owani 2-chacra 'your <i>chacra</i> ' (CCPC)
(37) Ròmpohákiro r-ompoh-ak-i-ro 3M.S-hit-PFV-FRS-3F.O 'He hits it' (TSJ)	(38) raniri r-aniri 3M-brother-in-law.MP 'his brother-in-law' (TSJ)
(39) ...òntsirokapáakari... Ø-ontsirok-apa-ak-a-ri 3F.S-approach-ALL-PFV-&-3M.O '...she approaches him...' (TCS)	(40) owani Ø-owani 3F-chacra 'Her <i>chacra</i> .' (CTK)
(41) ...owàperowáetakya... Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya INCL.S-eat-&-VER-DUR-&-PFV-IRR '...we are really going to be eating...' (TSJ)	(42) ashi Ø-ashi INCL-POSS 'ours' (OS)
(43) ánkini a-inki-ni INCL-peanut-POSS 'our peanuts'	(44) ayáariri a-iyáariri INCL-brother.FP 'our brother'
(45) ohawo o-ihawo 3F-grandmother 'her grandmother'	
(46) okónkiri o-ikónkiri 3F-father-in-law 'her father-in-law'	(47) piimi pi-emi 2-husband 'your husband' (CMM)

(48) ...iitaganki... i-et-a=ranki 3M.S-be.called-&=ABSE ‘...he was called...’ (FS)	(49) Noyiiteri. n-o-ayiit-i-ri 1S-CAUS-get.down-IRR-3M.O ‘I make them get down.’ (SCS)

2.7.7. Epenthesis

A prominent feature in all Campan languages is the use of the epenthetic phonemes /t/ and /a/ when the union of morphemes does not satisfy the syllabic structure. Especially, /t/ occurs very often. In (50) there are two occurrences of the epenthetic /t/. The first one separates the stem from the plural suffix *-aiy* because the language does not admit the sequence */ʃe.ai/. The second one separates the distributive from the reality status suffix. Although, in this case, the language would admit /i:/, the confluence of a suffix ending in /i/ and another starting with /i/ does not yield /i:/, but an epenthetic /t/ is instead inserted.

- (50) Roshètaitéroni
 r-oshe-t-aiy-yi-t-i-ro-ni
 3M.S-clean-&-PL-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL
 ‘He’s going to clean them.’ (PV)

The other epenthetic segment, the vowel /a/, is less frequent. In (51), the phonotactics of the language allows the cluster /mp/ (e.g. the stem *-ompoh-* ‘hit’), but not at the boundary of two morphemes; therefore, an epenthetic /a/ is inserted between the two verbal stems *-kam-* ‘dry out’ and *-piyo-* ‘pile up’. In (52), the epenthetic /a/ avoids the sequence */kaemwi/, given that /m/ and /w/ cannot form a cluster.

- (51) Kàmapiyótaki.
 kam-a-piyo-t-ak-i
 dry.out-&-pile.up-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘A lot of them have dried out (fruits).’ (CCPC)
- (52) Ikáemawitàri...
 i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri
 3m.s-call-&-fru-&-rea-3m.o
 ‘He calls him in vain...’ (FS)

Examples (50) and (51) show that both epenthetic segments not only avoid clusters impossible for the language, but also separate morphemes even when they would form a cluster that fits the phonotactic rules of the language.

When a morpheme ending in /a/ is followed by a morpheme starting with /a/, the epenthetic /t/ may be avoided. In this case, the long vowel /a:/ is formed at the boundary of both morphemes, as in (53), where the union of the stem *-ña-* ‘see’ and the habitual suffix *-apiint* yield /a:/ at their boundary.

- (53) Tee noñâapiintziro hanta nonámpiki.
 tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ro ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.REA 1S-see-HAB-REA-3F LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘I don’t see it normally in my community.’ (CMH)

However, this /a:/ is not formed in every case where a morpheme with a coda in /a/ is followed by a morpheme with an onset in /a/. While examples as (54) could lead to think that the reason of the /t/-insertion is that there is already a long /a/ in the first linking element, examples as (55) refute this explanation. Actually, the explanation for the insertion or non-insertion of the epenthetic /t/ at morpheme boundaries with /a/ at both sides is not straightforward and would require a thorough study, which is beyond the goals of a general grammar like the present one. It might even be possible that the /t/-insertion in these cases is a free choice.

- (54) ...niyáatanaki... (55) Pohátaki...
 n-iyaa-t-an-ak-i poha-t-ak-i
 1S-go-&-ABL-PFV-FRS be.cooked-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘...I’m going...’ (CMH) ‘It is already cooked...’ (SCS)

The consonantal epenthesis with /t/ breaks the formation of a hiatus disallowed for the Ashéninka phonotactics, but there is a remarkable exception where the hiatus is allowed: with the malefactive suffix *-heempiy*. Examples (56) and (57) are both from elicitations, but the hiatus /i.a/ was clearly uttered by the speaker: (56) was pronounced /no,kanta,he:mpi’akimi/, and (57) /no,he:ka,he:mpi’aka/. I write *-heempiy* it with <y> because this is the best way to represent this hiatus with the Ashéninka orthography.

- (56) Nokàntahèempiyákimi.
 no-kant-a-heempiy-ak-i-mi
 1S-say-&-MAL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘I said it to you and it went wrong.’
 (57) Nohèekahèempiyáka.
 no-heck-a-heempiy-ak-a
 1s-live.in.a.place-&-mal-pfv-rea
 ‘I live in a place and have problems there.’

In Section 2.1.3, I describe the possible formation of hiatus in sequences /Vji/ or /ijV/, but the difference from *-heempiy* is that, with this suffix, the hiatus is always formed. Another exception to the non-hiatus constraint is in *iryániériki* in (62).

The consonantal epenthesis with /t/ can be palatalized to /c/ in order to signal the passage of parts of the day (it gets dark, it dawns). Since this palatalization expresses a meaning, it must be considered a morpheme and, consequently, is described in Section 6.7.10. An example is shown in (58).

- (58) Otsirénityáanaki.
 o-tsireni-t-y-an-ak-i
 3F.S-get.dark-&-ATT-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘It got dark.’ (SCS)

Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:162) shows a suffix *-saimpy*, probably from Pichis, which is a cognate of UP Ashéninka *-heempiy*. The dictionary defines it as derivational with the meaning “imaginario” ‘imaginary’ and refers to the verb “quemasaimpyaantsi”, defined in the dictionary as “escuchar una voz imaginaria” ‘listen to an imaginary voice’ (Payne 1980:109). If *-heempiy* evolved from *-saimpy*, this might be an explanation for the strange hiatus occurring only with this suffix.

Other Campan languages do not allow /ɾ/ in an initial position. These languages have /i/ before /ɾ/ in some words in which UP Ashéninka has initial /ɾ/ (e.g. UP Ashéninka *róotaki* vs *iróotaki* ‘that is’ in Payne’s [1980:66] multidialectal dictionary). In UP Ashéninka, this epenthetic /i/ has been inherited only in the demonstratives.

2.7.8. Other morphophonological changes

In some cases, the enclitics =*ki* (locative) and =*ka* (proximal demonstrative) can cause a word with two syllables and two morae to lengthen its last vowel. The instances from my corpus are in (59). The frequent demonstratives *irika/iroka* ‘this (m./f.)’ do not have this feature, nor does *mapiki* (62). Therefore, I do not know how often this feature occurs. The examples are taken from my corpus and I did not enquire more through elicitation.

(59) a. nihaaki niha=ki water=LOC ‘in the water’ (FS)	b. haniika hani=ka wasp=PROX ‘these wasps’ (FS)

- (60) mapiki
 mapi=ki
 stone=LOC
 ‘on the stone’ (TSJ)

The diminutive *-aniki* and the plural diminutive *-eriki* cause a palatalization of the preceding consonant, as can be seen in the two examples in (61). However, in my text corpus, I have the instance shown in (62), where, remarkably, a hiatus is formed (/i'ɾani'eriki/).

(61) a. eenchániki eentsi–aniki child–DIM ‘little child’ (FS)	b. itomyérikí i–tomi–eriki 3M–son–DIM.PL ‘his little sons’ (FS)
- (62) iryániéríki
 i–rya–ni–eriki
 M–small–ADJ–DIM.PL
 ‘small children’ (CMH)

At least two inalienable nouns delete in their non-possessed form a final /i/ existent in their possessed forms. They are *owaantsi* ‘*chacra*’ and *ñaantsi* ‘language’ (1st person forms are *nowani* ‘my *chacra*’ and *noñaani* ‘my language’), so that the alienator suffix *-tsi* replaces the final /i/. In *owaantsi*, the /a/ is long in contrast to the possessed form *nowani*. It is likely that there are no more nouns with this feature because inalienable nouns tend to be used frequently, so another one should have appeared in my fieldwork, but, of course, there may be more.

3. Word classes

In this thesis, verbs, nouns and adjectives are discussed each in a separate chapter due to the larger extent of their description in comparison with the word classes treated in this chapter. Verbs are by far the category that needs the most extensive description due to their rich morphology. Verbs and nouns are easily distinguishable through their different morphology, although nouns can host some verbal suffixes. Adjectives have some properties similar to those of nouns and some similar to those of verbs. In some cases, it is difficult to judge whether a stem is adjectival or verbal without researching further through elicitation.

The word classes described in this section are pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, the indefinite *ótsipa/itsipa* (f./m.), interrogative words, adverbs, affirmative and negative particles, adpositions, conjunctions, ideophones and fillers.

3.1. Pronouns

Ashéninka verbs cross-reference the subject and the object with pronominal affixes, but free pronouns are quite frequently used, mainly to emphasize the referent, with the functions of subject, copula and vocative, and even of object.³⁷ Moreover, there is a set of possessive pronouns besides the possessive prefixes. A way of building a plural pronominal reference is by using the totalitative copula root *-kaa-* plus plural verbal affixes. All these morphemes are described in the following sections.

3.1.1. Full pronouns

Ashéninka has a set of full pronouns that are quite frequently used, above all the 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The paradigm is shown in Table 5.

³⁷ Out of the 161 occurrences of free pronouns in my text corpus, there is only one as object, so we should infer that this is a very rare occurrence.

Table 5. Ashéninka full pronouns

1st person	2nd person	3rd person masculine	3rd person feminine	Inclusive
<i>naaka</i>	<i>éeroka</i>	<i>rirori</i>	<i>roori</i>	<i>aaka</i>

As Table 5 shows, there are no plural pronouns. Plurality is inferred from the context or can be overtly expressed with the plural enclitic *=paeni* (*náakapàeni*, *éerokapàeni*, *róoripàeni*, *riróripàeni*, *áakapàeni*). Obviously, it is redundant to use a plural marker with the inclusive pronoun, which is plural because of the very fact of being inclusive; however, when speakers are asked for the translation of ‘we’, they firstly say *áakapàeni*, but they recognise the bare form *aaka* as totally right. Some examples from natural texts are in (63) to (66) with the pronoun in subject function.

(63) **Naaka** nopoña kirinka.

naaka no-poñ-a kirinka
1 1S-come.from-REA downriver
‘I come from downriver.’ (CMH)

(64) Piyotzi **éeroka** pimampa?

p-iyo-t-zi éeroka pi-mamp-a
2S-know-&-REA 2 2S-sing-REA
‘Do you know how to sing?’ (CMH)

(65) Piniro, iita ántziri **roori** hanta?

pi-niro iita Ø-ant-zi-ri roori ha=nta
2-mother WH 3F.S-do-REA-REL 3F LOC=DIST
‘Your mother, what does she do there?’ (CMH)

(66) **Rirori** rákakáakiri.

rirori r-ak-aka-ak-i-ri
3M 3M.S-answer-CAUS-PFV-FRS-3M.O
‘He₁ has caused him₂ to go against himself₂ (lit. he₁ has made him₂ answer).’
(TSJ)

Example (67) shows the only occurrence of *aaka* in my texts, where it is used with the possessive meaning ‘of ours’, and also shows the only occurrence of a full pronoun with the plural suffix *=paeni*. The fact that this suffix appears only once shows that it is not frequently used, even if a plural reference is meant.

- (67) **Riróripáeni** páerani riyotzi imámpaya apáanteki **aaka**.
 rirori=paeni páerani r-iyo-t-zi i-mamp-aya
 3M=PL long.ago 3M.S-know-&-REA 3M.S-sing-IRR
 a-paante=ki aaka
 INCL-tongue=LOC INC
 ‘Long ago, they knew to sing in our language of ours.’ (OS)

Occurrences of full pronouns with object function are very rare, but they exist. An example is in (68), where *rirori* ‘he’ is the object, and its position at the beginning of the clause shows a clear focus function.

- (68) **Rirori** rira manítzira, rámatawitakiri kameetha.
 rirori ri=ra manitzi=ra r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri kameetha
 3M M=MED jaguar=MED 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O well
 ‘Him, this jaguar, he (a squirrel) has cheated him well.’ (TSJ)

The full pronouns can form a zero copula construction (see Stassen 1997:62-65 for definition and description of this concept) combining with other word classes and can even take verbal suffixes. Example (69) shows the 2nd and 1st person pronouns in combination with a noun and the negative particle *tee*, respectively.

- (69) “**Éeroka** tziho”. Ikantzi: “Tee **naaka**”.
 éeroka tziho i-kant-zi tee naaka
 2 black.vulture 3M.S-say-REA NEG.REA 1
 ‘‘You’re the black vulture’’. He says: ‘I’m not’’. (SCS)

In (70), the 1st person pronoun *naaka* takes the perfective and the RS suffixes.

- (70) “**Náakataki** áatsimiyiriri mantsiyari”.
 naaka-t-ak-i aatsimiy-i-ri-ri mantsiya-ri
 1-&-PFV-FRS suck.to.cure-FRS-3M.O-REL ill-M
 ‘‘I am the one who sucks the ill to cure them’’. (SCS)

In spite of the verbal suffixes attached to the 1st person pronoun *naaka* in (70), its function is the same as that of the bare pronouns in (69), i.e. they establish a copulative relation with the other elements of the phrase.

The 3rd person pronouns *roori* (f.) and *rirori* (m.) can take verbal suffixes with the reduced forms *roo-* and *rii-*, respectively. Examples (71) and (72) show the use of *riitaki* and *róotaki* in zero copula constructions. *Róotaki* can also be used as a discourse connector, which is described in Section 7.5. *Éerokataki* can also be used to form a zero copula construction.

- (71) Aurencio, **riitaki** riyómetàki naari mampaantsi.
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio 3M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-teach-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO sing-INF
 ‘Aurencio, he is who taught how to sing also to me.’ (CMH)

- (72) **Róotaki** otháwinatakàe.
 roo-t-ak-i o-tháwina-t-ak-ae
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-give.bad.omen-&-PFV-INCL.O
 ‘This is what has given us a bad omen.’ (SFW)

The 2nd person pronoun *éeroka* is used as a vocative so as to attract the interlocutor’s attention, similarly to the English imperative ‘listen’. This function is illustrated in both examples (73).

- (73) a. Aha, **éeroka**, tee pikoyi pimiri?
 aha éeroka tee pi-koy-i pi-mir-i
 INTJ 2 NEG.REA 2S-want-FRS 2S-be.thirsty-FRS
 ‘Hey, you, don’t you want to drink? (lit. don’t you want to be thirsty?)’
 (CCPC)
- b. **Éeroka**, arírika ashitówanaki, iita pántziri hanta?
 éeroka ari=rika a-shitow-an-ak-i
 2 AFF=COND INCL.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS
 iita p-ant-zi-ri ha=nta
 WH 2S-do-REA-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘You, when we go out, what do you do there?.’ (CMH)

A rarely used way of forming the plural in pronouns is with the plural animate suffix *-ite*. This suffix has appeared only once in my corpus, but with a noun with the root *-tomi* (74).

- (74) Rowákiri, ráatsimiyìri **itomyaite**, iníntakòri.
 r-ow-ak-i-ri r-aatsimiy-i-ri
 3M.S-put-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-suck.to.cure-FRS-3M.O
 i-tomi-a-ite i-nintakori
 3M-son-&-PL.AN 3M-follower
 ‘He puts them (there), he sucks them to cure them, his sons, his followers.’ (SCS)

With pronouns, I was told the use of *-ite* is archaic: a consultant born in 1953 told me that the elders used it when he was a child, and he recognised its use with the inclusive and the 2nd person pronouns (*áakaeti* ‘we [incl.]’ and *éerokaeti* ‘you [pl.]’, respectively).

The suffix *-ri* can replace *-ka* in the 1st and 2nd person pronouns to indicate ‘me too’ (*naari*) and ‘you too’ (*éerori*). Due to the very clear meaning of the suffix, I have

labelled it TOO. Examples of its use are given in (75) (1st person) and (76) (2nd person).

- (75) Nántziri nothámaetzi **naari** hanta.
 n-ant-zi-ri no-thamae-t-zi naa-ri ha=nta
 1S-do-REA-REL 1S-weed-&-REA 1-TOO LOC=DIST
 ‘What I do is weed, me too, there.’ (CCPC)

- (76) Haka patéyiro **éerori**.
 ha=ka p-atey-i-ro eero-ri
 LOC=PROX 2S-hold-FRS-3F.O 2-TOO
 ‘Hold here you too.’ (CCPC)

The plural masculine focussed pronoun *ríhatzi* (ri-hatzi, 3M-PL.FOC) has appeared only twice in my text corpus. One of these occurrences is in (77).

- (77) Iita pitsipáyarini? **Ríhatzi** ikáateyini?
 iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni ri-hatzi i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 WH 2S-accompany-PL-RS-REL-PL 3M-PL.FOC 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘Whom are you going to accompany?, them?’ (CMM)

Its feminine counterpart *róohatzi* is used as a discourse connector with the meaning ‘later, then’ (see Section 7.5). Fernández (2011:95-96) describes *róohatzi* in the Gran Pajonal as a connector, but says that it can also function as a pronoun and shows an example with the sequence *róohatzi iroonta*³⁸ with the translation ‘she over there’, but with no glosses. I would gloss it as *roo-hatzi i-roo-nta* (F-PL.FOC DEM-F-DIST ‘she over there’). Fernández’s example refers to a single woman, which contradicts my consideration of *-hatzi* as a plural marker, but I asked a consultant and he was hesitant about admitting *ríhatzi* and *róohatzi* with singular referents. Therefore, it is possible that *-hatzi* can be used in the Pajonal with no number meaning, while, in the Ucayali, its use for singular referents has fallen into disuse. The ending *-hatzi* is probably diachronically related to the masculine form of the adjectivizer *-hatzi/-hato* (see Section 5.5.3).

Other pronouns used only in the 3rd person are masculine *riintzi* and feminine *roentzi*, formed with the gender markers *ri-* (m.) and *ro-* (f.) plus *-intzi*, which I have labelled *restrictive*, given that its meaning is mainly ‘only’ or also ‘yet’.

In (78), *riintzi* means ‘only’ referring to *konoya* ‘yellow-footed tortoise’, while, in (79), the meaning is ‘yet’ referring to *honkágari* ‘tinamou’.

³⁸ This is adapted to the orthography used in this thesis.

- (78) Imáantakya **riintzi** rira..., konoya?
 i-maanta=kya ri-intzi ri=ra konoya
 M-COEXP=EMPH M-REST M=MED yellow-footed.tortoise
 ‘Then, there are only, um..., yellow-footed tortoises?’ (CMM)

- (79) **Riintzi** honkágari?
 ri-intzi honkágari
 M-REST tinamou
 ‘Are there still tinamous?’ (CMM)

The link between the two different meanings in (78) and (79) appears to be that both express a sort of restriction: in ‘are there still?’, the speaker implies that it is likely that there are no more; ‘only’ expresses that something exists (yellow-footed tortoises in (78)), but not the rest of related items.

The speakers translate the feminine version *roentzi* with Spanish *solamente* ‘only’. An example of this use is in (80), where the gender of the subject (a woman) is cross-referenced with the feminine *-ro* and the restriction applies to the subject of the verb.

- (80) **Iróentzikya** nõthamáetzi.
 i-ro-intzi=kya³⁹ no-thamae-t-zi
 &-F-REST=EMPH 1S-weed-&-REA
 ‘Only I weed.’ (CCPC)

We can see that, in (78) and (79), *riintzi* is a predicate with existential function (equivalent to ‘there are only/still’, while, in (80), the function of *roentzi* is rather adverbial (equivalent to ‘only’). Actually, the feminine version *roentzi* is mainly used with this function, but *riintzi* can also be used with an adverbial function, as in (81), where *riintzi* means ‘only them’.

- (81) **Riintzi** ayiitapáenitsini, noníntakòri, piyótawakirira paata”.
 ri-intzi ayiit-a=paeni-tsi-ni no-nintakori
 M-REST come.down-&=PL-PTCP.IPFV-REL.IRR 1-follower
 p-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra paata
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED later
 ‘Only those, who are going to come down, my followers, those you’re going to guess later who they are.’ (SCS)

³⁹ The reason in this word of the initial *i-*, typical of other Ashé-Ashá varieties that do not permit /t/ at the onset, is probably that the mother of this speaker was Asháninka (from the Tambo River area), which influences her speech in several instances.

In (81), *riintzi* refers to the relativized verb *ayítapáenitsini* ‘those who are going to come down’, which refers to *nonintakòri* ‘my followers’, which is the object of the verb *piyótawakirìra* ‘those you’re going to guess who they are’.

3.1.2. Possessive pronouns

Besides possessive prefixes (see Section 4.1.3), there is a set of possessive pronouns that can be used so as to reinforce the expression of possession. They are formed with the possessive root *-ashi* and the addition of pronominal prefixes. Their paradigm is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Ashéninka possessive pronouns

1st person	2nd person	3rd person masculine	3rd person feminine	Inclusive
<i>nashi</i>	<i>pashi</i>	<i>rashi</i>	<i>ashi</i>	<i>ashi</i>

I have no example with the 3rd person in my corpus. For the other persons, examples of use are given in (82) for 1st person, (83) for 2nd person and (84) for inclusive.

- (82) Omaanta **nashi** naaka oryápetyanikini okáachanchéeñakitzi, nowatharékithe.
 o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
 F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-plank-like-FORM-ADJ
 o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékithe
 3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle
 ‘Although mine is small and with a plank-like and ovoid form, my testicle.’
 (TSJ)
- (83) Tsiká okántèeta **pashi** éeroka, ñani?
 tsiká o-kant-ee-t-a p-ashi éeroka ñani
 WH 3F.S-COP-IMPS-REA 2-POSS 2 brother-in-law.VOC.ME
 ‘How must yours be, brother-in-law?’ (TSJ)
- (84) Nimaeka nokénkithate apaani kenkitharentsi **ashi** anampi.
 nimaeka no-kenkitha-t-i apaani kenkitha-rentsi Ø-ashi a-nampi
 now 1S-tell-&-IRR one tell-NMLZ INCL-POSS INCL-community
 ‘Now I’m going to tell a story of our community.’ (OS)

3.1.3. Pronominal reference with the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi*

One of the functions of the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi* (root *-kaa-*) (see Section 6.10.2) is to build a plural pronominal reference with the discontinuous plural suffixes *-aiy/-eey...-ni*, but only with human referents. Therefore, these words are formed morphologically like a verb, but have a semantic pronominal meaning in that they perform the same function as a full pronoun. In (85), *nokáatéyini* means ‘we all’, and in (86), *ikáateyini* refers to ‘all of them’. As can be seen in these two examples, these pronominal copulas can take the function of subject (85) or object (86) with no change in form.

(85) Nowámetantatziri **nokáatéyini** échatzi nowéthatàri Toni.

n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-eey-i-ni
 1S-teach-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 échatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni
 also 1S-greet-&-REA-3M.O Toni
 ‘We all are teaching and greet Toni.’ (OS)

(86) Róetakiri apáanipáeni **ikáateyini**.

r-oe-t-ak-i-ri apaani=paeni
 3M.S-serve.drink-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O one=PL
 i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘He serves a drink to each of them.’ (SCS)

In my text corpus, this construction with *kaataantsi* has only appeared with 1st and 3rd persons, but it is also possible with the 2nd person with the form *pikáateyini* ‘you (pl.)’.

3.2. Demonstratives

Ashéninka demonstratives have three degrees of distance plus the absential demonstrative. They are inflected with gender, so that they are formed by two morphemes: distance and gender, the combination of which follows the regular pattern shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Ashéninka demonstratives

	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Absential
Masculine	<i>irika</i>	<i>irira</i>	<i>iriinta</i>	<i>riranki</i>
Feminine	<i>iroka</i>	<i>irowa</i>	<i>iroonta</i>	<i>rowanki</i>

The three distance demonstratives have the prefix *i-* in common, and the rest of the word is formed with the gender affix (*-ri-/ro-*) and the distance enclitic (*=ka, =ra, =nta*),⁴⁰ with the only slight variation of the vowel lengthening of the gender affix in the distal demonstrative. The prefix *i-* is the only remnant in UP Ashéninka of an epenthesis used to avoid /t/ at the beginning of a word in other Campan languages, in which this epenthetic *i-* still exists (see Section 2.7.7). When the demonstratives drop this *i-*, they are used as fillers (see Section 3.11). Therefore, I posit that this *i-* has passed from being an epenthetic vowel with the function of avoiding word-initial /t/ to being a demonstrative marker in UP Ashéninka. The grounds for this proposal are: 1) this *i-* survives only in the demonstratives; 2) when it is dropped in the medial demonstrative, the word usually loses its demonstrative function and becomes a filler.

The distance morphemes indicate the distance from the speaker, and can be considered equivalent to Spanish *este, ese, aquel*. I have labelled the fourth demonstrative *absential* because it indicates a referent that is not visible or even does not exist any more, so that, when asked for the meaning of *riranki shirámpari* ‘that (absent) man’, the speakers explain that the referred man has already gone, or cannot be seen, or even is dead; and the same holds for inanimate things, so that *rowanki pankotsi* ‘that (absent) house’ can refer to a house that cannot be seen or does not exist anymore. The absential demonstrative is formed with a pattern quite different from the other demonstratives: it is inflected with gender with the prefixes *ri-* (m.) or *ro-* (f.) plus the ending *=ranki*, which becomes *=wanki* in feminine because of the phonetic rule that changes /t/ to /w/ in /o_a/ position.

The demonstratives can be used as independent words or as enclitics with the endings *=ka, =ra, =nta, =ranki*. The enclitics belong to the nominal morphology and are explained in detail in Section 4.1.5.1. As an independent word, a demonstrative can modify a noun (87) or be the head of a nominal phrase (88).

⁴⁰ /t/ between /a/ and /o/ becomes /w/, as is explained in Section 2.7.1.

- (87) Opoñáshitaka paata thonkánaka **iroka** kenkitharentsi.
 o-poñ-ashi-t-ak-a paata thonk-an-ak-a
 3F.S-happen-PURP-&-PFV-REA later finish-ABL-PFV-REA
 i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi
 DEM-F=PROX tell-NMLZ
 ‘It happened later that that meeting finished.’ (OS)
- (88) **Irika** échatzi rànasháataka nihaaki, échatzi rótsitzi.
 i-ri=ka échatzi r-anashaa-t-ak-a niha=ki
 DEM-M=PROX also 3M.S-walk-&-PFV-REA water=LOC
 échatzi r-otsitzi-ti
 also 3M-dog-POSS
 ‘This one (a kid) has also walked across the water, also his dog.’ (FS)
- Besides these general demonstratives, there is a demonstrative used as a cataphoric reference and inflected with gender: masculine *riraga* and feminine *rowaga*. Examples of use are in (89) and (90).
- (89) Ipiyeyanàni **ríraga**, amitákotakíriri inkáganki.
 i-piy-ee-y-an-a-ni ri-raga
 3M.S-return-PL-ABL-REA-PL M-CAT.DEM
 amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki
 help-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL before
 ‘They return, those who had helped him before.’ (PV)
- (90) Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékhitho, róetapáeni **rowaga**, ketaki.
 méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho
 squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki
 seed=PL F-CAT.DEM forest.peanut
 ‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle: it was seeds of that, forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

In (89), *riraga* refers to the whole relative sentence that comes thereafter and is used as an introduction to it. In (90), *rowaga* refers to the forest peanut. In both cases, the cataphoric demonstrative acts as a discursive element, given that it could have been omitted. In fact, both sentences belong to stories told by the same consultant, who sometimes uses some narrative resources.

Rowaga and *riraga* can also be used as fillers, which is described in Section 3.11, on fillers.

The demonstratives *riraga* and *rowaga* have a quite transparent origin: they are formed with a gender prefix plus a reduplication of the second distance enclitic =*ra*. The form *ga* is explained by a diachronic process through which the sequence /ara/

became /auqa/ (see Section 2.7.5). Therefore, the literal meaning of *ríraga* and *rówaga* would be ‘that one over there’. The examination of the occurrences in my texts shows that, when they are not fillers, they refer to a being or an object whose nature is made explicit in the following phrase. Thus, the original meaning ‘that one over there’ has been grammaticalized and has developed into a cataphoric reference.

The distance enclitics =*ka*, =*ra* and =*nta* are also used in the place adverbs *haka* (ha=*ka* ‘here’), *haga* (ha=*ra* ‘there’) and *hanta* (ha=*nta* ‘there further’) attached to the locative marker *ha*=. These adverbs are called *adverbial demonstratives* in some works (e.g. Dixon 2010b:224), but I have preferred to include them in Section 3.6.1, on place adverbs, due to their function identical to that of other place adverbs shown in Table 11.

3.3. Quantifiers

This section presents words that quantify items. Its first subsection (3.3.1) treats the numerals and the second (3.3.2) shows the words that denote an unspecified quantity.

3.3.1. Numerals

The question of how many numerals do actually exist is pervasive in any description of an Amazonian language, given the low number of numerals typical of most of these languages (Aikhenvald 2012:350–60, Epps et al. 2012), so the question of the number of numerals was in my mind every time I asked about them. The answer is that all speakers know the numerals from 1 to 3, but many do not know more, and some speakers do know all or only some numerals from 4 to 10. Some speakers reported that the use of numerals up to 10 was normal and traditional, which seems to be logical if we take into account that the Ashéninka exchanged products such as hens and *cushmas*. However, an older speaker said that they counted only until 5 (*apápakò/apápakòni*), a term derived from *apaani* ‘one’ plus the root *-pako* ‘hand, arm’.⁴¹ He also knew the word for 10 (*apípakòte*), derived from *apiti* ‘two’ plus *-pako* ‘hand’. He added that a word for 15 could be used (*máwapako*, derived from *mawa*

⁴¹ Actually, *-pako* is the proto-Campan root (Lev Michael p.c. 2022), but the current UP Ashéninka root is *-ako*. The old root *-pako* has been preserved in compounds.

‘three’ plus *-pako*). He told me that numbers from 6 to 9 have been invented for the school. He also said that the different forms for 4 in Table 8 derive from the longest form, *ótsipátsitapàka*, which means ‘they come both accompanied right now’ (the stem *-tsipa-* means ‘accompany’), which is equivalent to the idea of four items together.

Taking into account these observations, my opinion is that the native numerals are from 1 to 3, and even the multiples of 5 mentioned above and maybe 4, but other numerals may have been introduced along the second half of the 20th century, maybe as early as in the 60s and the 70s, so that younger speakers remember that they have always been in use. The knowledge of the Spanish numerals must have played a big role in dealing with numbers. As an example, I heard a youngster saying the time in Spanish when speaking Ashéninka (*a las tres de la tarde* ‘at three in the afternoon’), even though I heard the same speaker producing the word ‘afternoon’ in Ashéninka and she knows the word for ‘three’. The Ashéninka traditional society had a word for ‘afternoon’ and another one for ‘three’, but did not count the hours of the day, so they have taken the hour expressions from Spanish. Similar processes may have led to the use of Spanish numerals higher than 3 in some contexts.

The numerals are shown in Table 8. When I got different words in numbers higher than 3, all of them are shown.

Table 8. Ashéninka cardinal numbers

1	apaani
2	apiti
3	mawa
4	ótsipata, ótsipatàka, ótsipàtsita, ótsipátsitapàka
5	apápakó, apápakóoni
6	montyaaka, mintyapaki
7	oyatzirori
8	shirinkapaaka
9	apintapaaka
10	apípakòte, apípakó

Besides the terms in Table 8, the numeral 10 is also named *apaani tekatsi*, which is undoubtedly a neologism formed with the numeral 1 (*apaani*) plus the negative existential *tekatsi* ‘there is not’, also used for the numeral 0. Therefore, this name

comes from the union of numerals 1 and 0, and a knowledge of writing the Arabic numeral system is needed in order to form it. It is important to note that only Nopoki (indigenous university in Atalaya) students were able to produce every numeral from 6 to 9, which can cast some doubt on their being native numerals. However, their form does not show any clue of having been built as neologisms and, as said above, different speakers answered that counting until 10 was traditional.

Numerals higher than 10 are clear neologisms for educational purposes. They are formed by repeating the one-figure numbers that form them. In this way, 11 is *apaani* *apaani* (one one), 13 is *apaani mawa* (one three), 90 is *apintapaaka tekatsi* (nine zero) and 84 is *shirinkapaaka ótsipata* (eight four). For 100, the neologism *apaani osheki* (one many) is used, and the other hundreds are formed in the same way: 200 is *apiti osheki* (two many) and 256 is *apiti apápako montyaaka* (two five six). The same procedure is used for the thousands: 1,000 is *apaani shekyanto*, formed with *apaani* ‘one’, *shek-*, from *osheki* ‘many’, plus *-yanto*, whose meaning I do not know. 1,000,000 is *apaani shékipero*. The second word is also formed with *sheki-* plus the verificative suffix *-pero*.

Ashéninka also has ordinal numbers, which are formed with the suffix *-tatsini*. I was told that this system is traditional, but only by one speaker, so it can be doubtful that the traditional Ashéninka society used ordinals up to 10. Another speaker who had not received any education in Ashéninka recognised the ordinals from 1 to 3 and 5, and said that the ordinal for 6, *montyáatsini*, means ‘the one who is going to cross to the other side’. What can be accepted is that at least the lower numerals have their ordinal counterpart, given that the word for ‘first’, *èwatátsini*, clearly is no neologism in view of its irregularity. The root *ewa-* is also used for *hewari* ‘chief’, formed by adding the relative suffix, so that the literal meaning is ‘the one who is first’. Even though not all ordinals until 10 were in use, their formation with the suffix *-tatsini* is very easy, so it is likely that they were in use in the Ashéninka traditional society. The ordinals until 10 are given in Table 9.

Table 9. Ashéninka ordinal numbers

1	èwatátsini
2	apítitátsini
3	màwatátsini
4	tsipátatsini
5	apápakotátsini
6	montyáatsini
7	òyatátsini
8	shirinkátsini
9	apintátsini

I have not included the ordinal for 10 because the ordinals of tens are formed with another suffix: *-taantsi* (*apáanitàantsi* ‘tenth’, *apítitàantsi* ‘twentieth’, etc.). The hundreds are formed with the suffix *-tatsiri* (*éwatàtsiri* ‘hundredth’, *apítitàtsiri* ‘two hundredth’, etc.). These ordinals higher than 9 are clear neologisms.

Ashéninka has a strategy to say ‘X times’ based on numeral stems. The forms that an older speaker recognised were *apìpiinta* ‘several times’, *màwapìintaki* ‘three times’ and *ótsipatsitapiintaka* ‘four times’. These forms are clearly based on the numeral stems for 2, 3 and 4 with the addition of the suffix *-piinta* and, in the case of 3 and 4, the perfective and the RS suffixes. It is remarkable that *apìpiinta*, based on *apiti* ‘two’ means ‘several times’ instead of ‘two times’ (in this case, ‘several’ can mean ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’, etc.). Probably, its frequent use with the meaning ‘again’ (equivalent to ‘two times’) has caused a semantic shift to the more general meaning ‘several times’. The suffix *-piinta* is used to create neologisms so as to denote multiples, i.e. ‘double’, ‘triple’, ‘quadruple’, etc., in a way that can be applied to any numeral stem.

The term for number 1, *apaani*, has some uses beyond that of a mere numeral. One is with the meaning ‘only’, shown in (91).

(91) **Apaani** añáawaka, ikántètzi... , *sábado*.

apaani	a-ña-awak-a	i-kant-e-t-zi-ri	sábado ⁴²
one	INCL.S-see-RECP-REA.REFL	3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O	Saturday

‘We only see each other, how to say..., on Saturday.’ (CMH)

⁴² *Sábado* is the Spanish word for ‘Saturday’.

Apaani can also be used with a distributive meaning. In my corpus, there are two examples expressing this meaning: one with the phrase *máaweni apaani* (92), and the other one with the addition of the plural enclitic *=paeni* (93).

- (92) Ikántanahya **máaweni apaani** ikantanéyawo rowánikì.
 i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani
 3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR all one
 i-kant-an-ey-a-ro r-owani=ki
 3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC
 ‘Each one will be back, will go back to his *chacra*.’ (CTK)

- (93) Róetakiri **apáanipáeni** ikáateyìni.
 r-oe-t-ak-i-ri apaani=paeni
 3M.S-serve.drink-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O one=PL
 i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘He serves a drink to each of them.’ (SCS)

Another word formed with *apaani* is *apáaniróeni* ‘alone’. In this case, no independent meaning can be figured out for *-roeni*, so it can be considered an unsegmentable word, at least until *-roeni* might occur with another word that could shed light on its meaning.

3.3.2. Non-numeral quantifiers

Other quantifiers, i.e. words that denote indefinite quantities, are shown in this section.

Osheki ‘many, much’ is very frequent and can be inflected as a verb, as in (94). It can modify a noun (*osheki shima* ‘many fishes’) or appear on its own with the meaning ‘many things’ (95).

- (94) Róotaki **shékitatsi**.
 roo-t-ak-i sheki-t-atsi
 3F-&-PFV-FRS many-&-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘So there are many.’ (CMM)
- (95) Haka nopókapaiki niyotapákiro **osheki** kaari niyótziròri hanta nonámpiki.
 ha=ka no-pok-ap-ak-i n-iyó-t-ap-ak-i-ro osheki
 LOC=PROX 1S-come-ALL-PFV-FRS 1S-know-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O much
 kaari n-iyó-t-zi-ro-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.EXI 1S-know-&-REA-3F.O-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘Here I’ve come and I’ve learnt many things that I didn’t know there in my community.’ (CMH)

Osheki can host the intensifier suffix *-ni*, which is described in Section 5.5.4.

The opposite to *osheki* are *étyonkìni* and *kapíchoki*, both meaning ‘few, a bit’. In contrast to *osheki*, these words occur only once in my corpus (96), and both were produced by a speaker explaining that they mean the same.

- (96) Ipákiri **étyonkìni**, o ipákiri **kapíchoki**.⁴³
 i-p-ak-i-ri étyonkìni/kapíchoki
 3M.S-give-PFV-FRS-3M.O a.bit
 ‘He gives him a bit.’ (TSJ)

Another quantifier that appears in my corpus is *máaweni* ‘all’, which is very frequent. The same as *osheki*, *máaweni* can be the only member of an NP with the meaning ‘everyone, everything’, as in (97), or modify a noun, which can be countable (*máaweni ashéninkapáeni* ‘all the Ashéninkas’) or uncountable with the meaning ‘whole’ (*máaweni ipooki* ‘on his whole face’).

- (97) *Entonces* **máaweni** iñéyakirìni.
 entonces máaweni i-ñ-ey-ak-i-ri-ni
 then all 3M.S-see-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 ‘Then everyone saw him.’ (SCS)

The words for ‘half’ are animate *kashétani* (*kashétani tyaapa* ‘half a chicken’) and inanimate *niyanki*, which can be used with the meaning ‘halfway’, as in (98), which is an example from an elicitation. The only occurrence in natural texts is in the expression *niyanki tsiréniri* ‘in the middle of the night’, where *tsiréniri* means ‘night’.

- (98) Nopíyaka niyanki.
 no-piy-ak-a niyanki
 1S-return-PFV-REA halfway
 ‘I returned halfway.’

Other quantifiers that have not appeared in natural texts are *shekyaki* ‘enough’, *apítirokiti* ‘both’ and *mapérotapáaka* ‘too much/many’.

3.4. Indefinites

The only indefinites known to me that do not express a quantity have the same meaning, namely ‘other, another’. They are *ótsipa/itsipa* (f./m.) and *páashini*.

In *ótsipa/itsipa*, the gender inflection is carried out through the typical contrast between feminine *o* and masculine *i*. *Ótsipa/itsipa* can modify a noun (100) or

⁴³ The transcription is just as it can be heard in the recording: the speaker uses the Spanish conjunction *o* ‘or’ to indicate that *étyonkìni* and *kapíchoki* have the same meaning.

function as a pronoun, i.e. being the head of a noun phrase formed only by this word

(100). (99) also shows that *ótsipa* can be a host for the locative enclitic =*ki*.

- (99) Noniro ohéekatzí **ótsipaki** nampitsi.
 no-niro o-heck-atzi o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 1-mother 3F.S-live-PROG F-other=LOC community-ALI
 ‘My mother is living in another community.’ (CMH)

- (100) **Ítsipa** ikínápàaki hanta.
 i-tsipa i-kin-apa-ak-i ha=nta
 M-other 3M.S-arrive-ALL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST
 ‘Another one has arrived over there.’ (PV)

Ótsipa/itsipa can also have a plural reference without need for plural marking, as in

(101).

- (101) **Ítsipa** ashéninka riyaa hanta rowánikipáeni.
 i-tsipa a-shéninka r-iyaa-t-i
 M-other INCL-fellow.person 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 ha=nta r-owani=ki=paeni
 LOC=DIST 3M.S-*chacra*=LOC=PL
 ‘Other fellow people will go there, to their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

Ótsipa/itsipa can host the intensifier suffix -*ni*, which is described in Section 5.5.4. The two versions of this indefinite are pronounced [ʼotʰpa]/[ʼitʰpa], following the rule of /i/-deletion after /tʰ/ (see Section 2.3.1).

Unlike *ótsipa/itsipa*, *páashini* only occurs in my text corpus with a pronoun function, i.e. it has not occurred modifying a noun. However, a consultant told me that this is possible with the example *páashini atziri* ‘another person’ (both words have no affix).

Páashini can have an individual (102) or a plural reference (103).

- (102) Ayiitapàki **páashini**.
 ayiit-ap-ak-i páashini
 come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS another
 ‘Another one has come down.’ (SCS)
- (103) ...**páashini** iheeki rowániki.
 páashini i-heck-i r-owani=ki
 other 3M.S-live-FRS 3M-*chacra*=LOC
 ‘...others live in their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

Páashini can also have the meaning ‘other things’, as is shown in (104).

- (104) Nokoyi nokántimi arírika..., iita pipánkitiri **páashini**?
 no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ari=rika iita pi-panki-t-i-ri paashini
 1S-want-FRS 1S-say-IRR-2O AFF=COND WH 2S-sow-&-IRR-REL other
 ‘I want to ask you whether..., what other thing are you going to sow?’ (CMM)

Páashini is usually pronounced [ˈpaːʃni], following the rule of /i/-deletion after /tʰ/ (see Section 2.3.1).

3.5. Interrogative words

The most salient feature of the Ashéninka interrogatives is that they are interchangeable and their meanings overlap with each other, so that an interrogative can have different meanings and the same meaning can be expressed by different interrogatives. Cysouw (2007:133) qualifies this feature as “very unusual but theoretically highly interesting” and performs a detailed study of the use of *tsiká* as the only interrogative in the Pichis variety throughout his article. UP Ashéninka also uses *tsiká*, but there are more interrogatives in use. They are analysed in this section.

When I asked Ucayali speakers about the difference of their speech with that of the Gran Pajonal, three of them answered the same independently from each other: they said that the difference is only in very few words, all of them interrogatives. Actually, this is exaggerated, given that I have found a few more different words, but very few. Since I found it surprising that they told me that this was the only difference from Pajonal –even though it is not the only one, at least it is the most remarkable for them–, I tried to find out which interrogatives are used in the Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal. Table 10 shows the correspondence of the English interrogatives with those used in the Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal. Terms in italics have not appeared in natural texts with the corresponding meaning. Note that all Pajonal terms are in italics because all my consultants lived in the Ucayali area, even though some were born in the Pajonal, but lived in the Ucayali since they were children. This table has been made based on different elicitations with different speakers and on my text corpus, so that it is a work in which the information from different sources has been added up.

Table 10. UP Ashéninka interrogatives. Those that have not appeared in natural texts are in italics.

English term	Equivalent in Ucayali	Equivalent in Pajonal	Ashéninka term	English equivalent in Ucayali	English equivalent in Pajonal
who(m)	íita(ka), <i>tsiká</i>	<i>ninka, chaa</i>	íita(ka)	who(m), how, what/ which, why	<i>how, what/ which</i>
how	íita(ka), hempe, tsiká, tsikárika	<i>iita, chaa, tsiká</i>	ninka		<i>who, why</i>
what/ which	íita(ka), óeta(ka), tsiká	<i>iita(ka), óeta(ka), chaa</i>	hempe	how, (from/to) where, how much/ many	
why ⁴⁴	íita(ka), íitarikya, óeta(ka), íitakakya	<i>ninka, óeta(ka), iita(ka)</i>	óeta(ka)	what/ which, <i>why</i>	<i>why, what/ which</i>
(from/to) where	hempe, tsiká, chaa, tsikárika, <i>hempeña</i>	<i>tsiká, chaa</i>	tsiká	how, what/ which, (from/to) where, when, <i>how much/ many, who(m)</i>	<i>how, where</i>
how much/ many ⁴⁵	hempe, <i>tsiká</i>	<i>tsiká, chaa</i>	chaa	(from/to) where	<i>how, who(m), what/ which, (from/to) where, how much/ many, when</i>
when	tsiká	<i>chaa</i>	hempeña	<i>(from/to) where</i>	
			tsikárika	where, how	
			íitarikya	why	

These interrogatives were obtained in elicitations and from natural texts with Ucayali speakers. Therefore, it is very likely that some Pajonal terms might apply to more English terms than those shown in Table 10. The interchangeability of the interrogatives clearly indicates that dialectal differences can easily arise when a

⁴⁴ To ask ‘why’, the resultative suffix *-ant* is attached to the verb.

⁴⁵ For a question of this type, the interrogative is always combined with *okaatzi/ikaatzi* (f./m.) (o/i-kaa-t-ti, 3F/M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA), which is used to express a quantity.

community of speakers tends to use some interrogatives more frequently, which may lead to other interrogatives being forgotten by younger generations. All in all, what seems evident from Table 10 is that *ninka* and *cha* are used in the Gran Pajonal, but not in the Ucayali, and *hempe* is used in the Ucayali but not in the Gran Pajonal. *Chaa* occurs only once in my text corpus with the meaning ‘there’, which I associate with ‘where’ because I know that it is used as an interrogative in the Pajonal; the speaker who uttered it lives in the Ucayali, but was born in the Gran Pajonal and arrived at the Ucayali when he was a child. The use of *ninka* and *cha* was mentioned by Ucayali speakers as typical of the Gran Pajonal and not used in the Ucayali.

An important detail is that the optional element *ka* in *iita(ka)* and *óeta(ka)* is the interrogative enclitic =*ka*, which can be attached to the interrogative or to the verb, although it can also be totally omitted without affecting the interrogative character of the sentence. The elements *iita* and *oeta* are inflected with gender (masculine and feminine, respectively), but *iita* has acquired a general meaning and is used independently of the gender of the referent, while *oeta* is much more infrequent.

The use of the interrogatives is shown in Section 7.3.3, devoted to the interrogative sentence, given that the description of their use needs to be put in context with the other elements of the sentence. Some interrogatives can also be used as relative pronouns, which is shown in Section 7.4.2.2.

3.6. Adverbs

Adverbs are understood here in a traditional way, i.e. as words that modify words other than nouns, usually adjectives and verbs (hence their name). This section is divided into three subsections devoted to adverbs of place (3.6.1), time (3.6.2) and other adverbs (3.6.3).

3.6.1. Place

Some place adverbs can act as adpositions (pre- and postpositions are possible) when placed immediately before or after a noun and with the addition of the locative enclitic =*ki* (see Section 4.1.5.2); otherwise, they function as adverbs. The adverbs that can function as adpositions are those that can form a meaningful phrase with a noun (see

Table 13 in Section 3.8), while, for other adverbs, this is impossible (e.g. *haka* ‘here’). This is similar to the English *below*, which can be a preposition when accompanying a noun or an adverb when it occurs without a noun. A list of place adverbs is given in Table 11.

Table 11. Some place adverbs

Ashéninka	English
<i>haka</i>	here
<i>haga</i>	there
<i>hanta</i>	there further
<i>hantóo</i>	there very far
<i>ñaa</i>	there
<i>henoki</i>	up
<i>okáakini</i>	nearby
<i>intaena</i>	far away
<i>katonko</i>	upriver
<i>kirinka</i>	downriver
<i>heñokiini</i>	beyond
<i>oháawiki/iháawiki</i>	below
<i>inthomoeki, inthomoenta, inthomóe</i>	inside
<i>hantákiro(ki)</i>	at the other side, behind
<i>kiho</i>	next to
<i>ináshita</i>	aside
<i>othápiikinta</i>	on the edge
<i>othapyaki</i>	on the bank (of a river)
<i>onkókiroëni</i>	outside
<i>heñókini</i>	above
<i>otápina(ki)</i>	below
<i>onámpina(ki)</i>	next
<i>ákoperóriki</i>	to the right
<i>ampátiki</i>	to the left

The paradigm *haka*, *haga*, *hanta* is formed with the distance enclitics =*ka*, =*ra*, =*nta*, the same used for demonstratives, with the particularity that the medial enclitic =*ra* becomes =*ga* because of being in /a_a/ position (see Section 2.7.5). I have labelled the common element *ha*= as *locative* (LOC) in this paradigm. These adverbs are called *adverbial demonstratives* in some works (e.g. Dixon 2010b:224), but I have preferred to include them in this section because their function is identical to that of other adverbs shown in Table 11 (*ñaa* ‘there’, *henoki* ‘up’, *okáakini* ‘nearby’, *intaena*

‘far away’...): they signal a point in space in relation to a reference, which can be pointing with a finger, a mentioned place, the place where one is speaking, etc.

Oháwiki/iháwiki ‘below’ is inflected with gender with the feminine prefix *o-* and the masculine *i-*, depending on whether the place referent (the item below which something is) is feminine or masculine, but this word shows some degree of grammaticalization in that *oháawiki* appears to be more generally used independently of the gender of the place referent. *Hantóo* is used as an exclamation so as to emphasize a very long distance.

Examples of use of some of the adverbs in Table 11 are given below. Section 3.8, on adpositions, shows adpositional uses.

- (105) Éehatzi nokoyi niyaate **hanta heñokiini**.
 éehatzi no-koy-i n-iyaa-t-i ha=nta heñokiini
 also 1S-want-FRS 1S-go-&-IRR LOC=DIST beyond
 ‘I also want to go there beyond.’ (CMH)
- (106) Ratéetakotzirònta **henoki**.
 r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro=nta henoki
 3M.S-go.up-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O=DIST up
 ‘He has gone up there (to gather it, a fruit).’ (PV)
- (107) “Nopoñaaka **hanta henoki**”.
 no-poñ-ak-a ha=nta henoki
 1S-come.from-PFV-REA LOC=DIST up
 ‘“I come from up there”.’ (SCS)
- (108) Arírika pihokyane paata pinámpikinta, hanta piyáatenta **katonko**.
 ari=rika pi-hoky-an-i paata pi-nampi=ki=nta
 AFF=COND 2S-go.out-ABL-FRS later 2-place=LOC=DIST
 ha=nta p-iyaa-t-e=nta katonko
 LOC=DIST 2S-go-&-IRR=DIST upriver
 ‘When you leave your place later, you’re going upriver.’ (CMM)

I have an example of the place adverb *henoki* ‘up’ inflected with verbal suffixes, which is in (109). Given the ease with which verbal suffixes can attach to other word classes, it is very likely that verbal affixes may attach to any adverb when the meaning makes some sense.

- (109) **Hénokitapáki** oorya.
 henoki-t-ap-ak-i oorya
 up-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sun
 ‘The sun is up.’ (SCS)

3.6.2. Time

In time adverbs, I have found no adpositional use as with place adverbs. In an elicitation directed to discover expressions such as ‘before X’ and ‘after X’, the translation from Spanish *antes de* and *después de* yielded different constructions, so there is no way to convert time adverbs into adpositions as with place adverbs. Adverbs denoting meanings related to time are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Some time adverbs

Ashéninka	English
<i>nimaeka, iroñaaka</i>	now, today
<i>páerani</i>	a long time ago
<i>inkáganki</i>	before
<i>paata</i>	later
<i>chapinki</i>	yesterday
<i>owákira</i>	soon
<i>intsi</i>	soon, quickly
<i>amáetyaka</i>	early
<i>róoteentsi</i>	already
<i>ashoyiro</i>	permanently

Owákira also exists as the adjective *owákirari* ‘new’, with the addition of the relative suffix *-ri*.

Examples of use of some time adverbs are given below.

- (110) **Chapinki** nokátsitzi.
 chapinki no–katsi–t–zi
 yesterday 1S–be.ill–&–REA
 ‘Yesterday I was ill.’ (CCPC)
- (111) Thonkaneya **paata**.
 thonk–an–eya paata
 finish–ABL–IRR later
 ‘They’ll finish later.’ (CTK)
- (112) **Nimaeka** nokénkithate apaani kenkitharentsi ashi anampi.
 nimaeka no–kenkitha–t–i apaani kenkitha–rentsi
 now 1S–tell–&–IRR one tell–NMLZ
 Ø–ashi a–nampi
 INCL–POSS INCL–community
 ‘Now I’m going to tell a story about our community.’ (OS)

3.6.3. Other adverbs

The number of other adverbs that occur in my corpus is reduced. They are only five: *kameetha* ‘well’, *apaani* ‘only’, *éehatzi* ‘also’, *ama* ‘maybe, perhaps’, *éekiro* ‘still, goes on’ and the multifunctional *ari*. Besides these, I know the existence of *amáashitya*, a synonym of *ama*.

Ama is actually the dubitative enclitic =*ma* with an epenthetic vowel that makes that the word fulfils the phonological requirement of having more than one mora. The only occurrence from my corpus is in (113), which is a sentence with a certain difficulty in grasping its translation. In any case, the meaning of *ama* has been checked in elicitations and there is no doubt about it.

- (113) Niyòtanákiro pihéekayìni nàantanakyáwori nonámpiki nònihàapáhiri
 noshéninkapáeni **ama** róotaki ronki.
 n-iyo-t-an-ak-i-ro pi-heek-aiy-i-ni
 1S-know-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 2S-live-PL-FRS-PL
 n-a-ant-an-ak-ya-ro-ri no-nampi=ki
 1S-bring-RES-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O-REL 1-community=LOC
 no-niha-ap-ah-i-ri no-shéninka=paeni
 1S-show-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 1-fellow.person=PL
 a=ma roo-t-ak-i ro=ranki
 &=DUB 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=ABSE
 ‘I’m going to know how many you are so as to bring it (this information) to
 my community and show my fellow people (at my arrival) what is perhaps
 unknown for them.’ (CTK)

Éehatzi means ‘also’, and is also used as a conjunction equivalent to English ‘and’. The meaning ‘also’ is shown in (114). The use as a conjunction is analysed in Section 3.9.

- (114) Ótsipani paata tsiréniri **éehatzi** rowáyìitéri iníntakòri.
 o-tsipa-ni paata tsiréniri éehatzi
 F-other-INTS later night also
 r-ow-ayit-i-ri i-nintakori
 3M.S-CAUS-go.down-FRS-3M.O 3M-follower
 ‘Later, yet another night, he also makes his followers go down.’ (SCS)

Apaani ‘one’ has the adverbial meaning ‘only’, which was described in Section 3.3.1.

Kameetha is a very frequent word and can have the adverbial meanings ‘well’ and ‘very’. Since this word has an adjectival nature, its occurrences with the meanings

‘well’ and ‘good’ are already described in Chapter 5, on adjectives. All its instances in my corpus can be translated with Spanish *bien* ‘well’ or *bueno* ‘good’, but, in English, some instances should be translated with ‘very’. One of them is in (115), where *kameetha* modifies the verbalized adjective *iyothane* ‘clever’.

- (115) Irika meiri riyòthanétaki **kameetha**.
 i-ri=ka méyiri r-iyothane-t-ak-i kameetha
 DEM-M=PROX squirrel 3M.S-clever-&-PFV-FRS well
 ‘This squirrel has been very clever.’ (TSJ)

Éekiro appears in Mihas’ Alto Perené (2015a:127) as *aikiro* and translated as ‘still’. The occurrences in my texts would be better translated as ‘goes on’ or ‘continues’, but, in spite of its English verbal translation, *éekiro* is better classified as an adverb (as Mihas also does) due to its quality to modify the verb and its morphological invariability. An example of *éekiro* modifying a verb is in (116).

- (116) **Éekiro** rayiitatzi, ikántziri..., riraga, iníntakòri.
 éekiro r-ayit-atzi i-kant-zi-ri ri=raga i-nintakori
 go.on 3M.S-descend-PROG 3M.S-say-REA-3M.OM=CAT.DEM 3M-follower
 ‘They go on coming down, how to say..., those, his followers.’ (SCS)

Ari is a multifunctional word with different uses and is very frequent. Mihas (2015a) labels it “positive polarity” for Alto Perené. In UP Ashéninka, this label might also be the best catch-all name, i.e. the best one to put all the possible meanings under one label, but, given the variety of meanings, I have chosen to gloss its specific function in each sentence. I show below examples of the different adverbial meanings: ‘thus’ (117), ‘there’ (118), ‘here’ (119), and ‘okay’ (120).

- (117) **Ari** ikáatapàki ikénkithatakòta.
 ari i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a
 thus 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-tell-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL
 ‘Thus (this way) is everything that is told (thus is the whole tale).’ (FS)
- (118) Meiri **ari** ikòtyàatétani awótsiki.
 méyiri ari i-kotyaa-t-it-a-ni awotsi=ki
 squirrel there 3M.S-sit-&-TRLOC-REA-ADJ path=LOC
 ‘The squirrel was sitting there for a certain time, on the path.’ (TSJ)
- (119) Nokántatzi naaka **ari** noweyaaka inkáganki.
 no-kant-atzi naaka ari n-oweya-ak-a inkáganki
 1S-say-PROG 1 here 1S-advance.till-PFV-REA before
 ‘I’m saying that I advanced until here before.’ (CCPC)

- (120) Hee, **ari**, nokémakèmi.
 hee ari no-kem-ak-i-mi
 AFF okay 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Yes, okay, I listen to you.’ (CMH)

Ari can have a purely affirmative meaning in the sense of Mihás’ (2015a) positive polarity mentioned above. In these cases, I have glossed it as ‘affirmative’, as in both occurrences in (121), where the speaker utters an interrogative statement expecting an affirmative confirmation.

- (121) **Ari** pikaatzi pithámaetzi, pithámaetzi, **ari** okaatzi?
 ari pi-kaa-t-zi pi-thamae-t-zi ari o-kaa-t-zi
 AFF 2S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-weed-&-REA AFF 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘So, those are you who weed? (those mentioned, you among them, are the ones who weed?)’ (CCPC)

A non-adverbial use of *ari* is to indicate future tense. This use is somewhat related to its affirmative use, but it deserves a particular study and thus I have included it in Section 6.3.7.1, devoted to future tense.

All uses of *ari* appear to have in common a deictic function: ‘there’ and ‘here’ are clearly deictic in space, ‘thus’ (‘this way’) is deictic in manner, and the future reference can be considered a deixis in time. In (120), I have translated *ari* as ‘okay’ in order to convey clarity in the English translation, but a more literal translation would be ‘thus’ in this case.

3.7. Affirmative and negative particles

Ashéninka has exact equivalents to English ‘yes’ and ‘no’: *hee* and *tee*, respectively. These words can be used as a response to a polar question, so they can have the illocutionary force of a sentence. *Tee* is also normally used to negate a verb. The same happens with the irrealis counterpart of *tee*, *eero*: it can function as a sentence-like negation or as an adverbial negator that gives the verb a negative meaning.

Other negative particles are *tekira* ‘not yet’, and *tera*, which is an emphasized negation. In fact, I proposed constructions of *tera* with several verbs to a speaker and he described situations where it could be used: all of them pointed to a strengthened negation, so that a speaker using *tera* would want to leave no doubt that the negated verb is not the case. The counter-expectative enclitic =*maita* is exclusively used on

the negative particle *tee* to yield the form *téemáita* and on the negative copula *kaari* (see Section 6.10.4), at least as far as I know.

Examples of *hee* (122), *tee* (123) and *eero*, (124, speaker B) as sentence equivalents are given below, and also of *tee* (125), *eero* (124, speaker A), *tekira* (126), *tera* (127) and *téemaita* (128) negating a verb. The use of realis *tee* versus irrealis *eero* is described in Section 6.1.

(122) A: Panáninkitàka?

p-ananinki-t-ak-a
2S-get.up.at.dawn-&-PFV-REA
'Did you get up at dawn?'

B: Hee, nanáninkitàka. *Cinco de la mañana.*

hee n-ananinki-t-ak-a cinco de la mañana
AFF 1S-get.up.at.dawn-&-PFV-REA 5 a.m.
'Yes, we have got up at dawn. At 5 a.m.' (CCPC)

(123) A: Ah, Mapuillo. Noshíyaka Inuya.

Mapuillo n-oshiy-ak-a Inuya
Mapuillo 1S-seem-PFV-REA Inuya
'Ah, Mapuillo! It seemed to me that it was Inuya (names of streams).'

B: Tee.

tee
NEG.REA
'No.' (CMM)

(124) A: Eero pipoki haka?

eero pi-pok-i ha=ka
NEG.IRR 2S-come-FRS LOC=PROX
'Aren't you going to come here?'

B: Eero.

eero
NEG.IRR
'No.' (CMM)

(125) Páerani rirori tee riyotzi iwáeratzi.

páerani rirori tee r-iyotzi i-waera-t-zi⁴⁶
long.ago 3M NEG.REA 3M.S-know-&-REA 3M.S-dance-&-REA
'Long ago, they didn't know how to dance.' (OS)

(126) Tekira notáiro.

tekira no-tay-i-ro
not.yet 1S-burn-FRS-3F.O
'I don't burn it yet.' (CMM)

⁴⁶ *Waera* is a loan from the Spanish verb *bailar* 'dance'.

The context of example (127) is that the speaker's interlocutor has counted that five people have passed before them that morning, but the speaker protests because she thinks that they are six.

(127) **Tera** okaatzi *cinco*!

tera	o-kaa-t-zi	cinco
NEG.EMPH	3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA	five

'It isn't five!' (CCPC)

(128) **Téemaita, téemaita** riyaatzi henoki, tee riyaatzi henoki.

tee=maita	r-iyaa-t-zi	henoki	tee	r-iyaa-t-zi	henoki
NEG=COEXP	3M.S-go-&-REA	up	NEG.REA	3M.S-go-&-REA	up

'But no, he didn't go up (to heaven). (SCS)

In (128), the context is that a shaman has said that he is going to heaven, and the narrator uses the enclitic =*maita* to remark that he is not actually going to do what he has said that he would do. The counter-expectative suffix *-imae* has a form similar to =*maita*, which implies that both morphemes must be diachronically related. *-imae* is described in Section 6.4.2.7.

The negative copula *kaari* is analysed together with other copulas in Section 6.10.4.

3.8. Adpositions

According to Lev Michael (p.c. 2022), the Campan languages historically had only one adposition, of which the locative enclitic =*ki* is the present reflex in UP Ashéninka (described in Section 4.1.5.2), with more precise spatial meanings being conveyed by adverbial elements that accompanied this postposition or enclitic. In UP Ashéninka, the optional dropping of =*ki* in many cases has caused that these adverbial elements have become true adpositions because they are clearly licensing a noun. In an elicitation session, a consultant said that =*ki* can be used or dropped in every one of the examples in (129).

(129) a. Onámpina(ki) pitotsi	b. Otápina(ki) mesa.
onampina(=ki) pitotsi	otapina(=ki) mesa ⁴⁷
on.the.border(=LOC) canoe	under(=LOC) table
'on the border of the canoe'	'under the table'

⁴⁷ *Mesa* is an obvious Spanish loan from *mesa* 'table', and even uses the phoneme /s/, inexistent in UP Ashéninka.

c. Inthomóe(ki) poterya. inthomoe(=ki) poterya inside(=LOC) bottle ‘inside the bottle’	d. Onkókiròeni(ki) pankotsi. onkokiroeni(=ki) panko–tsi outside(=LOC) house–ALI ‘outside the house’

Given that the locative =*ki* can be placed on any host (see Section 4.2), if it were obligatory, it could be argued that this enclitic is expressing the location with reference to the noun and the specifying element (*onámpina*, *otápina*, *inthomóe*, *onkókiròeni*) specifies this location, so these specifying elements should be considered adverbs. However, the possibility of dropping =*ki* offers little doubt on the character of adposition of *otápina* in a phrase as *otápina mesa* (129b). Actually, I was told that the locative =*ki* can be dropped in a sentence as *niyaatzi Ataláya(ki)* (n-iyaa-t-zí Atalaya(=ki), 1S-go-&-REA Atalaya(=LOC), ‘I’m going to Atalaya’), where the sentence with =*ki* would be more illustrative but it is perfectly understood when dropping =*ki*. Therefore, my opinion is that the optional dropping of =*ki* in locative constructions as those shown in (129) have resulted in the development of a set of adpositions in UP Ashéninka from former adverbs that were used in combination with the locative =*ki*.

These adpositions can occur before or after the noun they license –a feature probably derived from its former character of adverbs–, but the preposition is much more usual than the postposition. One of the adpositions that occur in my corpus (*inthomoeki* ‘inside’) appears twice: *inthomoeki poterya* and *poterya inthomoeki* ‘inside the bottle’. The change of order is not always possible without a change in meaning. For example, *heñokíniki mesa* means ‘on the table’, but *mesa heñokíniki* should mean ‘the table is above’. As said above, the enclitic =*ki* can be attached to the noun instead of to the adposition. This means that the enclitic has scope over the whole phrase independently of which of the two words hosts it. For example, *onkókiròeniki poterya* and *onkókiròeni poteryaki* ‘outside the bottle’ are equivalent.

Table 13 shows a list of adpositions. Both forms, with and without =*ki*, are shown, except for *inthomoenta*, *henoki* and *hantákiro*, for which I have not researched if a form with =*ki* attached exists.

Table 13. Some Ashéninka adpositions

Ashéninka	English
<i>inthomoeki, inthomóe</i>	inside
<i>inthomoenta</i>	inside (deeper)
<i>onkókiròeniki, onkókiròeni</i>	outside
<i>heñokíniki, heñókinini</i>	on
<i>otápinàki, otápina</i>	below
<i>onámpinàki, onámpina</i>	next to
<i>henoki</i>	on
<i>hantákiro, hantákiroki</i>	at the other side of, behind

Two examples of the use of adpositions from my corpus are shown below. In (130), the locative =*ki* is attached to *bicicleta*. In (131), *inthomoeki* is in a postpositional position, which is less usual than the prepositional one.

- (130) Itzinàkoténeri rowàkoténeri **henoki** *bicicléta*-ki.
i-tzin-ako-t-i-ne-ri r-ow-ako-t-i-ne-ri
3M.S-lift-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O 3M.S-put-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O
henoki bicicleta=*ki*
up bicycle=LOC
‘They are going to lift them and put them (fruits) for him on the bicycle.’ (PV)
- (131) Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàwo poterya **inthomoeki**.
otsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=*ki*
dog 3M.S-sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bottle inside=LOC
‘The dog has been sniffing it in vain inside the bottle.’ (FS)

3.9. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that link phrases or sentences. Thus, it is indispensable to study them in the context of the linked elements, which belongs to the field of syntax. Therefore, conjunctions will be studied in detail in Chapter 7, devoted to syntax. However, I give a list in Table 14 mentioning only the function of each conjunction, its translation in English and the section where it is discussed.

Table 14. Conjunctions list

Conjunction	Function	English translation	Section
<i>aririka</i>	Introduces protasis.	if, when	7.4.2.1.3
<i>éehatzi</i>	Coordinates two phrases.	and	4.1.7; 5.8; 7.4.1.1
<i>omaanta/</i> <i>imaanta</i>	Introduces a concessive clause.	while, although	7.4.2.1.4

Conjunction	Function	English translation	Section
<i>róotaki</i>	Introduces a clause or acts as a 3rd person feminine copula.	that is why, so it is	3.1.1; 7.5
<i>riitaki</i>	The same as <i>róotaki</i> , but with a masculine agent.	that is why, so it is	3.1.1
<i>teema</i>	Introduces a cause.	because	7.4.2.1.1
<i>téerika</i>	Introduces a clause indicating what will be done if a previous statement might not be fulfilled.	otherwise	7.4.1.2
<i>róokantàencha/ róokantácha</i>	Introduces the main clause in a concessive construction.	however	7.4.1.3
<i>róohatzi</i>	Connects an event with the following one.	then	7.5

3.10. Ideophones

Dingemanse (2011:25) defines ideophones as “marked words that depict sensory imagery”. Expanding on this definition, Dingemanse (2012:655) says that ideophones are marked because “they stand out from other words”, they are words because they are “conventionalized items with specifiable meanings, as opposed to «simply sounds»”, and they are depictions because they are “inviting us to «look» in such a way that we make believe we are actually experiencing the scene depicted”. He adds that sensory imagery is “perceptual knowledge that derives from sensory perception of the environment and the body”. Ashéninka ideophones can be regarded as having the properties described by Dingemanse. Explaining their features in my own words in relation to Dingemanse’s explanation, Ashéninka ideophones stand out from the intonation line of the rest of the sentence, have phonetic features alien to the phonological rules of the language and evoke an image of doing something much more vividly than a simple description of the same event.

The Ashéninka ideophones that have come to my knowledge are shown in Table 15. In most cases, the word is repeated two or more times. In three cases, only the last syllable or vowel is repeated, which is shown in the table. As said above, in some cases, ideophones have phonetic features alien to the Ashéninka phonology: *shaao* is pronounced with a creaky voice; *hanák* has a non-nasal consonant at the syllable coda (the voiced stop [g]), while Ashéninka has no voiced stops and non-nasal consonants

never occur at the coda; *tyao* is uttered with a high tone; *too* is pronounced with the diphthong [ou], inexistent in Ashéninka, and the vowel in *hoo* is [u:], a vowel absent from the phoneme inventory. *Shaa*o and *tyao* are pronounced with [ʊ] or [u], vowels that exist in the language only as a realization of /o/, but not with the phonetic environment of a preceding [a], as is the case in these two words. *Torek*, *sherok* and *thapóok* have /k/ at the coda, which is impossible according to the language's phonotactics.

Table 15. Ashéninka ideophones

Ideophone	Meant sound
<i>poo</i>	tree or animal falling on the floor
<i>hapo</i> ['hap:ɔ]	jumping
<i>shaa</i> o ['ʃa:ʊ]	a liquid splashing
<i>hanák</i> [ha'nag]	a pointed object stabbing into a hole
<i>shikiri</i>	something falls on the floor
<i>tyao</i> [cauʔ]	hitting with a stone
<i>patari</i>	something falls down
<i>pakáa</i>	much rain falling
<i>thonka</i>	end of something
<i>shirariririri</i>	slipping
<i>thapo</i>	something falls on the water
<i>shikire</i>	sound of fallen leaves or high grass when walking on them
<i>watzi</i>	opening the way through the jungle
<i>too</i> [too]	sound of shots
<i>chota</i>	applause; walking on puddles
<i>hoo</i> [hu:]	woman laughing
<i>waiiii</i>	something is torn or broken
<i>torek</i>	dying
<i>tik</i>	walking or running
<i>thowiwiiii</i>	something hurts
<i>sherok</i>	getting up, getting out of a hole
<i>miri</i>	a pointed object boring into another object
<i>thapóok</i>	falling on the water, splashing in the water
<i>piteri</i>	drops falling; speaking slowly at the ear
<i>wero</i>	as English 'blah, blah, blah'
<i>hiiiii</i>	crying
<i>táankore</i>	getting up; an animal gets scared and starts running

The first six ideophones of the table are from natural texts. Two of them are shown in (132) and (133). In (132), it can be observed that the ideophone *hapo* (jump,

pronounced [ˈhap:ɔ], with geminate /p/) is practically identical to the verbal stem *-hapok-* ‘jump’. This is the only case that has come to my knowledge of an ideophone being identical to a verbal stem with the same meaning.⁴⁸

- (132) Róohatzi ipíyantàna. Hápokana: **hapo**.
 róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a hapok-an-a hapo
 then 3M.S-return-RES-ABL-REA jump-ABL-REA IDEO:jump
 ‘So then he returns, and jumps: *hapo*.’ (SCS)
- (133) Róohatzi ohéetantawakàri anákira, máaweni ipooki, ohéetakiri: **shaao**.
 róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira máaweni
 then 3F.S-throw-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O genipap-LIQ all
 i-poo=ki o-hee-t-ak-i-ri shaao
 3M.S-face=LOC 3F.S-throw-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O IDEO:liquid.splashing
 ‘So then she throws genipap liquid to him (when receiving him), on his hole face, she throws it to him: *shaao*.’ (SCS)

Besides ideophones, an onomatopoeia has occurred in a story in my text corpus. It is in (134), where the onomatopoeia imitates the sound of the bird of prey called red-throated caracara (*Ibycter americanus*).

- (134) Okématziri otápiiki, rira..., awo: **ta-ta-ta-ta**.
 o-kem-atzi-ri o-tapii=ki ri=ra awo ta-ta-ta
 3F.S-hear-PROG-3M.O 3F-back=LOC M=MED red-throated.caracara ONOM
 ‘She’s hearing it at her back, um..., the red-throated caracara: *ta-ta-ta-ta*.
 (SFW)

The translating consultant said that hearing this bird’s sound is considered a bad omen, and this fragment is actually the prelude to the death of the character of this story. The local Spanish name for this bird is *tatatao*, an onomatopoeic noun.

3.11. Fillers

Fillers are words or expressions that speakers use when they cannot remember a word, or are not sure how to go on with their discourse, in order to fill the silence until they remember the forgotten word or are able to go on with the discourse. Hayashi & Yoon (2010:36) differentiate between two types of fillers: they use the name “placeholders” for words that occupy the syntactic slot of the forgotten word, such as English ‘whatchamacallit’; and they use the name “interjective hesitators” for interjective

⁴⁸ Zachary O’Hagan (p.c. 2020) informed me that there are several cases like this one in Caquinte.

signals of hesitation, which they describe by saying that an interjective hesitator “is not produced as a syntactic constituent of an utterance-in-progress and therefore does not occupy any specific syntactic slot”, such as English ‘uh’ and ‘um’ (Hayashi & Yoon 2010:43). Both kinds of fillers exist in UP Ashéninka. I will use Hayashi & Yoon’s (2010) distinction in the description of fillers throughout this section.

Fillers are very frequent in UP Ashéninka and there are several words that fulfil this function. The most frequent are shortened versions of the medial demonstratives. Among them, the most frequent is *rowa*, a shortened version of the feminine medial demonstrative *irowa*. Less frequent is the shortened masculine medial *rira* (138) (the full form is *irira*). *Rowa* is generally used as an interjective hesitator, and *rira* mainly as a placeholder, but *rowa* is also used as a placeholder when the referent is feminine, and *rira* is also used as an interjective hesitator, although quite rarely. Examples (135) and (136) show the use of *rowa* and *rira*, respectively, as interjective hesitators, and (137) and (138), as placeholders.

- (135) Ótsipa iita..., ótsipa pikántinàri, **rowa**..., iita rowari, iita rantéyirini shirámpari, iita antéyirini tsinani.

o=tsipa iita o=tsipa pi-kant-i-na-ri ro=ra iita r-ow-a-ri
F=other WH F=other 2S=say-IRR-1O-REL F=MEDWH 3M.S=eat-REA-REL

iita r-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni shirámpari
WH 3M.S=do-PL-FRS-REL-PL man

iita Ø-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni tsinani
WH 3F.S=do-PL-FRS-REL-PL woman

‘What else, something else that you can tell me, um..., what they eat, what men do, what women do.’ (CTK)

- (136) Rótsitziti, **rira**..., ramáataki.

r=otsitzi-ti ri=ra r-amaa-t-ak-i
3M-dog-POSS M=MED 3M.S=swim-&-PFV-FRS

‘His dog, um..., swims.’ (FS)

- (137) Tekatsi akántiro árima akéwanéero **rowa**, ana.

tekatsi a-kant-i-ro ari=ma
NEG.EXI INCL.S=say-IRR-3F.O AFF=DUB

a-kiw-an-a-e-ro ro=ra ana
INCL.S=wash-ABL-REG-FRS-3F.O F=MED genipap

‘There is no way to wash off whatchamacallit..., genipap (lit.: it doesn’t exist that we might say that we wash back whatchamacallit..., genipap).’ (SCS)

- (138) Irika **rira**, onkiro, hamani, ishitówanaki omóo.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra onkiro hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED mouse paca 3M.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
 ‘This whatchamacallit..., mouse, paca, gets out of the hole.’ (FS)

In (135), the speaker is thinking what to ask his interlocutor, and, when he finds some questions, he goes on. While he is thinking, he utters his thoughts thinking about what to say (*ótsipa iita...*, *ótsipa pikántinàri...* ‘what else, something else that you can tell me...’), and then he utters the interjective hesitator *rowa*. In this conversation, two speakers were asked to chat about life in their native communities, and this speaker was thinking about how to go on with the conversation.

Rira is rarely used as an interjective hesitator, but, in (136), it is clear that it is not filling the slot that it would fill as a placeholder (that of a masculine NP), given that a verb follows *rira*. Therefore, the speaker was thinking about what to say and uttered *rira* just to fill the silence. In this case, the use of *rira* instead of *rowa* might be caused by the preceding masculine NP *rótsitziti* ‘his dog’.

The role of *rira* as a placeholder can be observed in (138): the preceding proximal demonstrative *irika* shows clearly that *rira* is occupying the syntactic slot of an NP. In this example, the speaker describes a drawing (from the frog story) with a big rodent getting out of a hole in the floor. The speaker tries to find the name of an animal from his environment similar to the one in the drawing, and he utters the placeholder *rira* while he thinks about the appropriate word; he utters first *onkiro* ‘mouse’, but then he finds that a *paca* (*hamani*) is more similar to the animal in the drawing.

In (137), *rowa* occupies the syntactic slot of the feminine noun uttered next (*ana* ‘genipap’).

Rowa also appears in (141) and (144), and *rira* in (143) and (146).

The cataphoric feminine demonstrative *rowaga* can also function as a filler, as in (139).

- (139) Tsiká ikantya, ikántètzi... , **rowaga**..., irika rówamantyáririri manitzi?
 tsiká i-kant-ya i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro-raga
 WH 3M.S-COP-IRR 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F-CAT.DEM
 i-ri=ka r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri manitzi
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-CAUS-die-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL jaguar
 ‘How would it be?, how to say..., um..., so that this one killed the jaguar?’
 (TSJ)

Rówaga in this example fulfils the role of interjective hesitator, given that it does not occupy the slot of an NP uttered thereafter. It is difficult to say whether a cataphoric demonstrative is acting as such or as a placeholder. Hayashi & Yoon (2010) say that there are two differences between cataphoric demonstratives and placeholders:

“First, [...] the placeholder use of demonstratives is motivated by difficulties in lexical retrieval during utterance production, whereas prototypical usage of cataphoric demonstratives is not. [...] Second, at least in some of the languages in which the place-holder use of demonstratives is observed, the forms employed for the placeholder usage are systematically different from the forms typically used for cataphora.”
(Hayashi & Yoon 2010:43)

The second difference does not hold for UP Ashéninka. Regarding the first difference, a speaker should be asked immediately after the utterance whether the use of the demonstrative is due to “a difficulty in lexical retrieving” or not. Since fillers appear spontaneously in casual speech, the result of a dedicated elicitation would be unnatural. Therefore, in (140), the only way to know whether the speaker used *rówaga* because he did not remember the word or as a rhetorical device is to ask him immediately. If asked later, he probably would not be able to remember it.

(140) Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékhitho, róetapáeni **rówaga**, ketaki.

méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho
squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle

roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki
seed=PL F-CAT.DEM forest.peanut

‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle, it was seeds of that, forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

Podlesskaya (2010:12-13) posits four word classes as the origin of placeholders: 1) “personal (third person), demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronouns”; 2) “semantically bleached nouns”; 3) a combination of 1 and 3; 4) “lexicalized constructions [...] with an interrogative word, like *how* or *what*, and a naming noun or verb, like *name* or *call*”. Until this point, demonstratives used as fillers (Podlesskaya’s number 1) have been described. The remainder of the section is devoted to two constructions that belong to Podlesskaya’s type 4. These two fillers belong to the category of interjective hesitators as defined by Hayashi & Yoon (2010:43).

One of them is the verbal form *ikántètzi* (lit. ‘they call him’), shown in (141), and also in (139) above. A less frequent version is *ikántètziro* (142), with the feminine object suffix *-ro*.

- (141) Kímitaka **rowa**..., opáryaki **rowa**..., **ikántètzi**, opáryaki imaashi.
 kimi-t-ak-a ro=ra o-pari-ak-i
 seem-&-PFV-REA F=MED 3F.S-fall-PFV-FRS
 o-pari-ak-i i-kant-e-t-zi-ri i-maashi
 3F.S-fall-PFV-FRS 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M-skin
 ‘It seems that, um..., it has fallen down, um..., how to say..., their skin (a wasps’ nest)⁴⁹ has fallen down.’ (FS)
- (142) Ikántaka irika..., **ikántètziro**..., iníntakòri ayíitapàki, ayíitapàki: poo.
 i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ro
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O
 i-nintakori ayiit-ap-ak-i poo
 3M-follower go.down-ALL-PFV-FRS IDEO:settle.on.the.floor
 ‘It happened that, how to say..., his follower came down, he came down: *poo*.’
 (SCS)

Longer versions formulated as a question are *ikántètzirikà* ‘how do they call him?’ in (143), with the interrogative enclitic =*ka*, and the whole question *hempe ikántètziro?* ‘how do they call it’ in (144), with the addition of the interrogative *hempe*, with the meaning ‘how’ in this case.

- (143) Irika **rira**, **ikántètzirikà**, éentsika rowánkítakári irira maniro.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka eentsi=ka
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O=INT child=PROX
 r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri i-ri=ra maniro
 3M.S-put.on.something-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O DEM-M=MED deer
 ‘This, um..., how to say..., this child has mounted that deer.’ (FS)
- (144) Káarimáita, **rowa**..., kaari róotaki, **rowa**..., **hempe ikántètziro?** **rowa**..., iyàtharékitho.
 kaari=maita ro=ra kaari roo-t-ak-i
 NEG.COP=COEXP F=MED NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS
 hempe i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra i-yatharékitho
 WH 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED 3M-testicle
 ‘But, however, um..., it wasn’t, um..., how to say it?..., um..., his testicle.’
 (TSJ)

The forms in (143) and (144) show that *ikántètzi* is a shortened version of a question whose meaning fits perfectly the function of a filler: the speakers ask themselves the

⁴⁹ A wasps’ nest is referred to as ‘the wasps’ skin’.

name of what they are going to say. Actually, some Ashéninka speakers, when speaking in Spanish, often use the filler *¿cómo se llama?* ‘how is it called?’, which is uncommon in Spanish as a filler.

The other filler included in Podlesskaya’s (2010:12-13) type 4 is the less frequent *íitáanki/iitaganki* (i-et-a=ranki, 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE), with a meaning difficult to explain outside its context when used as a filler: this word is formulated as a question, so that it should mean ‘what’s his name?’, and the absential enclitic =*ranki* expresses something that has been forgotten, so that the question actually expressed by the filler is ‘what was his/her/its name?, I have forgotten it’. Although the masculine prefix is used, it has become generic because it does not matter whether the forgotten referent is masculine or feminine. Two examples are shown below.

- (145) Tee niyotzi hempe nokántimi, **íitáanki...**, **íitáanki...**

tee n-iyó-t-zi hempe no-kant-i-mi i-et-a=ranki
 NEG.REA 1S-know-&-REA WH 1S-say-IRR-2O WH-be.called-REA=ABSE
 ‘I don’t know what to tell you, how was it..., how was it...’ (CTK)

- (146) Hempe **íitaganki?** **Rira...**, hani ragénkataki.

hempe i-et-a=ranki ri=ra
 WH 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE M=MED
 hani r-agenka-t-ak-i
 wasp 3M.S-fly.in.circles-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘How was it? Um..., the wasps fly in circles.’ (FS)

In (145), *íitáanki* is uttered when the speaker does not know how to continue the conversation. In (146), a whole question with the interrogative *hempe* is uttered, clearly showing the origin of *iitaganki* when uttered without an interrogative, as in (145). The reason for *iitaganki* in (146) is that the speaker is describing some drawings and doubts how to describe the drawing shown to him, but then he finds the way to say it and utters the description.

4. Nouns and the noun phrase

4.1. Nouns

Ashéninka nouns are clearly distinguishable from other word classes due to their morphological features, although they can take some verbal suffixes, but in a very restricted way. Nouns can be alienable and inalienable, and have a gender inferable from the entity they name. The gender of nouns is cross-referenced in other word classes (verbs, demonstratives, pronouns, a few adjectives and some conjunctions). Nouns can take much less morphology than verbs: possessive prefixes and a small number of suffixes and enclitics. These features are studied in the following sections.

4.1.1. Gender

The gender of nouns is entirely predictable and derives from the entity they name. There are two genders: one encompasses male beings and animate beings of unknown sex (animals and humans of unknown sex, and groups of people of mixed sexes); the other one refers to female animate beings (animals and humans), plants, things and concepts. In other words, we could say that the two genders are based on animacy (animate and inanimate), but the females are an exception because they are classified in the inanimate gender. In any case, I will call these two genders *masculine* and *feminine*. These terms were used in older descriptions of Campan languages (Swift 2008 for Caquinte, Payne 1981 for Apurucayali, David Payne 1983*b* for Pichis, Snell 2011 for Matsigenka, the last one based on fieldwork carried out in the 1980s), but more recent works prefer the term *non-masculine* instead of *feminine* (Michael 2008 for Nanti, Lawrence 2013 for Nomatsigenga, Mihas 2015*a* for Alto Perené). One can argue that the masculine gender refers only to male beings and the feminine gender refers to female beings and objects, so that there should be a gender for males and another one for everything else, which should justify the choice of *non-masculine*. However, as I explained above, the gender division is not only between sexes, but also between animacy and inanimacy, so that one gender has the two independent features *male* and *animate*, and the other one, *female* and *inanimate*. My opinion is that the term *non-masculine* should include everything not overtly masculine, such as beings

of unknown sex (animals, humans of unknown sex and groups of people of mixed sexes), which is not the case in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka.

Masculine is used to refer to groups of people of mixed sexes, but an exception can occur with verbs with a reciprocal meaning and subjects of different sex, where feminine can be used to refer to both subjects. Two examples are in (147) and (148), where the verbs have a 3rd person feminine prefix (in (147), a null prefix).

(147) Juan échatzi Rosa **awithakitawàka**.

Juan échatzi Rosa Ø-awithaki-t-awak-a
 Juan also Rosa 3F.S-hug-&-RECP-REA
 'Juan and Rosa hug each other.'

(148) Juan échatzi Rosa **othóowotawàka**.

Juan échatzi Rosa o-thoowo-t-awak-a
 Juan also Rosa 3F.S-kiss-&-RECP-REA
 'Juan and Rosa kiss each other.'

The consultant who made the translation in (147) from Spanish *Juan y Rosa se abrazan* said that the verb with a masculine subject prefix (*rawithakitawàka*) would imply that two men are hugging each other. However, the same consultant expressed the opposite view with other verbs, as in (149), where the masculine prefix is also used indicating possession in the inalienable root *-ako* 'hand'.

(149) Carlos échatzi Elisa **rowéthatawàka** rakoki.

Carlos échatzi Elisa r-owetha-t-awak-a r-ako=ki
 Carlos also Elisa 3M.S-greet-&-RECP-REA 3M-hand=LOC
 'Carlos and Elisa greet each other with their hands.'

In some cases, while I was questioning the consultant to find out which gender should be used in the subject prefix in reciprocal verbs with participants of different sex, she doubted, so it seems that both genders might be acceptable, although it might depend on the kind of event expressed by the verb. She uttered the verb with a feminine prefix with the verbal roots *-awithaki-* 'hug' (147), *-thoowo-* 'kiss' (148) and *-kow-* 'want'; and with a masculine prefix with *-owetha-* 'greet' (149), *-nint-* 'love' and *-p-* 'give'. However, another speaker told me that, with *-nint-* 'love', it depends on which participant you mention first: if it is the woman, the verb should be inflected with a feminine prefix; if it is the man, with a masculine suffix. According to these answers, it seems that both genders should be acceptable.

Despite the predictability of gender, there are a few nouns that depart from the general rule. Some masculine nouns that name inanimate elements are *koriki* ‘money’, *káshiri* ‘moon’, *oorya* ‘sun’, *shinki* ‘corn’ and *kiri* ‘peach palm’.

The gender of nouns is cross-referenced in pronouns, demonstratives, some conjunctions, a few adjectives and verbs (subject and object cross-reference). There is no reported case of gender inflection in nouns in a way similar to Spanish with some animals (*gato-gata* ‘cat male-female’). The ways in which other word classes mark gender are described in the corresponding sections (3.1, 3.2, 3.9, 5.1 and 6.2, respectively).

4.1.2. Number

UP Ashéninka can express plural number with the plural enclitic =*paeni*, which is not obligatory, given that plurality can be expressed with the bare noun if the context is clear enough. The fact that the bare noun can express singular and plural referents fits well the concept of *general number* as is described by Corbett (2004:9-19); more specifically, Ashéninka belongs to the type that general and singular numbers are expressed with the same form (pp. 13-15). Therefore, the bare noun can be said to express general number, while the expression of plural number requires the enclitic =*paeni* or some of the less frequent plural suffixes described in this section.

I have considered this marker an enclitic because it can also attach to adjectives and pronouns, can take different hosts inside a noun phrase and always bears a primary or secondary stress, which are properties typical of clitics. Some examples of use taken from natural texts are in (150), (151) and (152).

(150) <i>incháponthopáeni</i> <i>inchápontho=paeni</i> stake=PL ‘stakes’ (SCS)	(151) <i>ichénkopáeni</i> <i>i-chenko=paeni</i> 3M-trousers=PL ‘his trousers’ (PV)
(152) <i>wanawóntsipáeni</i> <i>wanawontsi=paeni</i> food=PL ‘kinds of food’ (CMH)	

I have heard the enclitic =*paeni* pronounced as [‘poeni] and [‘pæini] (the latter can alternate between [‘pæini], [‘paini], [‘pami] and [‘paeni]). The difference is not

dialectal because I have heard the two pronunciations with two members of the same family (father and daughter). I do not have enough evidence to ascertain if the difference is generational.

The plural enclitic *=paeni* is never used with a numeral (153), and as aforementioned, it is not necessary to use it when the plurality is inferable from the context, as in (154) and (155).

- (153) mawa **ohari**
 mawa ohari
 three year
 ‘three years’ (CCPC)
- (154) Éekiro rayiitatzi, ikántziri..., ríraga **iníntakòri**.
 éekiro r-ayiit-atzi i-kant-zi-ri ri=raga i-nintakori
 go.on 3M.S-descend-PROG 3M.S-say-REA-3M.OM=CAT.DEM 3M-follower
 ‘They go on coming down, how is it?..., those his followers.’ (SCS)
- (155) Máaweni ashéninkapáeni, **tsinani**, **shirámpari**, rantawáetèyini.
 máaweni a-shéninka=paeni
 all INCL-fellow.people=PL
 tsinani shirámpari r-antawae-t-ee-y-i-ni
 woman man 3M.S-work-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘All our fellow people (incl.), men, women, are working’. (CTK)

In *iníntakòri* ‘his followers’ (154), the noun bears no plural marker, but the plurality is inferred from the story’s context. In (155), the plural enclitic *=paeni* is used on *ashéninka* and the verb also has a plural suffix, but *tsinani* ‘woman’ and *shirámpari* ‘man’ bear no plural marking, although both express a plurality. The plurality of men and women is evident from markers in other words of the sentence; therefore, the enclitic *=paeni* does not need to be indicated in every word with a plural referent. When a noun combines with an adjective, the enclitic has scope over the whole noun phrase and can be attached both to the adjective or the noun (see Section 4.2, on the noun phrase, for details).

Another plural marker that has appeared just once in my texts is the animate plural *-ite* (156).

- (156) itomyaite
 i-tomi-a-ite
 3M-son-&-PL.AN
 ‘his sons’ (SCS)

This suffix, with the same form, is described as animate plural by Payne (1980:157) for Apurucayali, García (1997:25) for Yuruá and Mihas (2015a:342-44) for Alto Perené, although García states that, according to her consultants, it is more appropriate for human referents. In UP Ashéninka, this suffix can be used with the inclusive and 2nd person pronouns (*akaiti* and *éerokaiti*, respectively), but I was told that this use is archaic (a speaker born in 1953 told me that the elders used it when he was a child).

Another plural marker is the plural diminutive *-ériki* (157). There are four occurrences in my texts and all of them refer to little children, with the suffix attached to *-tomi* ‘son’, *eentsi* ‘child’ or *iryani* ‘small (masculine)’.

(157) a. rENCHÉERIKITÈ r-eentsi-ériki-ti 3M-child-DIM.PL-POSS ‘his little children’ (FS)	b. itomyÉRIKI i-tomi-ériki 3M-son-DIM.PL ‘his little sons’ (FS)

Besides these plural suffixes, Ashéninka nouns can host some markers that I have called *collective* (COL), which indicate a plurality of items and also express some feature of these items. In Section 6.7.6, I posit that UP Ashéninka does not show a system of classifiers, but only remnants of such a former system can be noticed. These collective suffixes appear to be some of these remnants.

There are only two of them that appear in my text corpus. One is *-pooki*, whose cognate *-poroki* is considered a quantification classifier by Mihas (2015a:661) as indicating “piles of stones, manioc roots, clothing”. The four occurrences in my corpus are with *mapi* ‘stone’ as *mapipooki*, which speakers translate to Spanish *pedregal*, a noun derived from *piedra* ‘stone’ that denotes a collective meaning. *Mapipooki* is used to refer to the stony grounds of rivers, dry or wet, that are common in the area. An example is in (158).

- (158) Hee, niyótakiro iheeki **mapipooki**.
 hee n-iyó-t-ak-i-ro i-heek-i mapi-pooki
 AFF 1S-know-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-live-FRS stone-COL
 ‘Yes, I know they (fishes) live in the river stony grounds.’ (CMH)

When I tried to find out whether *-pooki* can be used with other words, I suggested to a speaker to attach it to *shima* ‘fish’, and he said that it can be used when we refer to a pile of rotten fish; when I suggested it with *pankotsi* ‘house’, he said that it means a group of old houses, and when I suggested it with *inchato* ‘tree’, he gave the similar

word *inchapooki*, which denotes a wooden fence built to canalize the water of a river. These answers seem to imply that *-pooki* cannot be used with living beings.

The other collective marker that appears in my corpus is *=tapae*, which designates abundant items. In my text corpus, it is used twice with the quantifier *osheki* ‘much, many’ as *oshékitapàe*. A speaker said that *osheki* means ‘many’, but *oshékitapàe* means “en abundancia” ‘in abundance’, and may refer to fruits. The two examples in my corpus refer to animals (159) and trees (160), and fit the meaning ‘abundant’ well; that is why I have called this marker *abundant* (ABUND).

- (159) Éehatzi roori nokói nokántimi: arírika **oshékitapàe** tsimeri.
 éehatzi roori no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi
 also 3F 1S-want-FRS 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ari=rika osheki=tapae tsimeri
 AFF=COND many=ABUND animal
 ‘I also want to ask you something: whether there are abundant animals.’ (CMM)
- (160) **Oshékitapàe** roori, tzirootzi, tsiyároki?
 osheki=tapae roori tzirootzi tsiyároki
 many=ABUND 3F huicungo urucuri.palm
 ‘Is there an abundance of those, *huicungos*, urucuri palms?’⁵⁰ (CMM)

During the elicitation session that I held to find out more about *-pooki*, two more of these collective markers appeared: *=pachekya* and *=masháa/=mashi*. The former is used for very small objects in enormous quantities, as the examples below show:

- From *ompókiro* ‘star’: *ompókiropachékya* ‘stars, group of stars’
- From *máampiritsi* ‘chigger’: *máampiritsipachékya* ‘chiggers, group of chiggers’
- From *sheri* ‘tobacco’: *shéripachékya* ‘a certain amount of tobacco’

=masháa/=mashi (both with the same meaning) indicates a big extension (in the following examples, of leaves or trees):

- From *tsipana* ‘leaf’: *tsipánamasháa/tsipánamáshi* ‘big extension of leaves’
- From *inchato* ‘tree’: *inchátomasháa/inchátomáshi* ‘big extension of trees’

When I asked about the way to express large quantities with different nouns (e.g. *tsimeri* ‘animal’, *ochempi* ‘mountain’), the frequent *osheki* ‘many’ was used by the

⁵⁰ *Huicungo* is the local Spanish name for the palm *Astrocaryum murumuru*, and I have not been able to find out whether there is an English name for it. *Urucuri palm* is the English name for the palm *Attalea phalerata*.

consultant in its usual position preceding the noun. It is very likely that there are more of these collective enclitics that indicate a specific feature of the plurality.

The reason to consider these markers enclitics instead of suffixes is that the speaker considered them independent words, yet he always uttered them accompanying other words, not only nouns, but also *osheki* ‘many’ preceding the noun (e.g. *oshékimasháa tsipana* ‘a huge extension of leaves’). The fact that they must have a host that needs not always be the same inside the nominal phrase clearly gives them the character of clitics. The exception is *-pooki*, given that, in an instance in my corpus, it occurs next to the root and with other suffixes at its right; this is in (161), where *-pooki* is followed by two more suffixes. Therefore, this marker cannot be considered an enclitic.

- (161) Mapipóokiperòni?
 mapi-pooki-pero-ni
 stone-COL-VER-IGN
 ‘Are there really stony river beds?’ (CMM)

4.1.3. Possession

Ashéninka nouns can be classified as alienable or inalienable according to how possession is marked. Possession in all nouns is marked with a prefix that indicates person, and gender only in the 3rd person (see Table 16). Moreover, alienable nouns are marked with the possessive suffix *-ni* or *-ti* (162), while possessed inalienable nouns bear no possessive suffix. When inalienable nouns occur without a possessive prefix, they are marked with the alienator suffix *-tsi* or *-ntsi* (163). Most inalienable nouns are kin terms (164a) and body parts (164b), but there are also a few others (e.g. *-nintakori* ‘follower’, *-nampi* ‘place, village, community’, *-owani* ‘chacra’, *-iyáaheni* ‘coffee field’).

(162) a. iyoshinate	b. iyókane
i-koshina-ti	i-koka-ni
3M-kitchen-POSS	3M-coca-POSS
‘his kitchen’ (SCFF)	‘his coca’ (SCS)

- (163) a. nampítsiki b. pyáarentsi
 nampi–tsi=ki pyaare–ntsi
 place–ALI=LOC masato–ALI
 ‘in his place’ (CTK) ‘masato’ (CMH)
- (164) a. aníryokya b. noeshi
 Ø–aniryo=kya no–iishi
 1–daughter-in-law=EMPH 1–hair
 ‘my daughter-in-law’ (CCPC) ‘my hair’ (SFW)

These are the general rules, but there are a few particularities. In at least two nouns, the alienator suffix deletes a final *-i* instead of just being added (*ñaaantsi* ‘language’ vs *noñaani* ‘my language’ and *owaantsi* ‘chacra’ vs *nowani* ‘my chacra’; which must be the result of syncopating **ñáanintsi* and **owáanintsi*). In a few alienable nouns, the possessive suffix is *-ri* instead of *-ni/-ti* (e.g. *shinki* ‘maize’ vs *noshínkiri* ‘my maize’, *inchapanki* ‘stick’ vs *ninchapánkiri* ‘my stick’, *kitochee* ‘thorns’ vs *nóetochèeri* ‘my thorns’, *shintzipàa* ‘raft’ vs *noshintzipàari* ‘my raft’); the last two also admit *-ti* (*nóetochèeti*, *noshintzipàati*). Some nouns bear neither possessive nor alienator suffixes, so that they cannot be classified as alienable or inalienable (e.g. *kaniri* ‘cassava’ vs *nówaniri* ‘my cassava’, *kantziri* ‘basket’ vs *nowántziri* ‘my basket’, *sheri* ‘tobacco’ vs *nosheri* ‘my tobacco’). Other irregularities that have come to my knowledge are *thaato* ‘bag’ vs *nothaate* ‘my bag’, *kowitsi* ‘clay pot’ vs *nóowite* ‘my clay pot’ and *kishiri* ‘comb’ vs *nóeshiti* ‘my comb’.

The choice between the two alienator suffixes and the two possessive suffixes is determined by the morae of the word: nouns with more than two morae take the alienator *-ntsi* (163b) and the possessive *-ti* (162a), while nouns with two morae take the alienator *-tsi* (163a) and the possessive *-ni* (162b) –I know only one Ashéninka word with a single mora, but it has an interjectional character (see Section 6.11). The importance of the morae for the choice of the possessive and alienator suffixes has not been mentioned in most previous Campanist literature; to my knowledge, only Black (1991:200-01) describes this rule. Payne’s (1980:159, 163) tridialectal dictionary (Pichis, Apurucayali and Ucayali-Yuruá) mentions the two pairs of suffixes, and Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:65-66) for Apurucayali show *-ni*, *-ti* and *-tsi*, but not *-ntsi*, but none of both works does explain when each suffix is used. According to Mihás (2015a:335), in Alto Perené, the difference is based on the number of syllables:

“-*ni* is used with mono- and disyllabic roots and -*te* with trisyllabic roots”. She also says that -*ntsi* prefers polysyllabic roots and -*tsi* mono- and disyllabic roots (Mihas 2015a:336). However, Mihas (2015a:338) shows in an example the word *peentsite* (root *eentsi* ‘child’), which has two syllables and three morae, but still bears the suffix -*te*. According to Zumaeta (2012:36-37), in Tambo-Ene (Asháninka), the difference between both pairs of suffixes is based on the number of vowels of a word (more than two vowels for -*te* and -*ntsi*), but he refers to *orthographic* vowels, not to *phonological* vowels, i.e. to two written vowels, and this is an explanation based on orthography that accords with my phonological explanation based on the morae. Swift (2008:92-3) gives the same explanation as Zumaeta with the same suffixes for Caquinte: -*ntsi* and -*te* occur in words with more than two (orthographic) vowels, and -*tsi* and -*ne* in two-vowel words. Michael (2008:300) bases the difference between -*ne* and -*te* on the number of syllables of a stem, and he says that Nanti does not have words with two syllables and three morae (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). Other works on Campan languages do not mention the possessive and alienator suffixes. Therefore, the choice of the different suffixes based on the number of morae exists at least in Caquinte, Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené and Ucayali-Pajonal, which suggests that this feature might exist in all Campan languages, although it has passed unnoticed.

The possessive prefix paradigm is shown in Table 16. In nouns starting with *e*, the prefixes *pi*- and *i*- fuse with this initial *e* to yield *ii* (e.g. *piina*, *pi*-ena, 2-wife, ‘your wife’). The two forms of the 3rd person masculine prefix (*i*- and *r*-) probably derive diachronically from **ri*-, which is the form used for the object suffix on verbs and to differentiate the 3rd person masculine pronoun (*rirori*) from the 3rd person feminine pronoun (*roori*). In the possessive prefix –and also in the subject prefix–, *i* must have been deleted before vowels and *r* before consonants.

Table 16. Possessive prefixes paradigm

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person feminine	3rd person masculine	Inclusive
Prefix with noun starting with consonant or <i>e</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Prefix with noun starting with vowel different from <i>e</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>Ø</i>

The same paradigm is used for subject prefixes, which will be studied in Section 6.2.

Possession is also expressed with a set of possessive pronouns (*nashi*, *pashi*, *rashi*, *ashi*), whose use is described in Section 3.1.2. Possessive constructions that involve nominal phrases with more than one noun are described in Section 4.2. A clause that indicates possession is formed with an existential plus a noun with a possessive prefix, which is described in Section 6.9.1.

4.1.4. Kin terms

Kin terms are inalienable in that they do not take possessive suffixes, but the non-possessed forms do not bear an alienator suffix; instead, a vocative form is used. There are three exceptions that take possessive suffixes: the recent innovation of the Spanish loan *paapa* ‘father’; *naana* ‘mother’, a vocative form that can also be used with a possessive suffix, and *eentsi* ‘children’, which originally is not a kin term, but is used in the same way as in English ‘my children’ to denote ‘my sons and daughters’. However, the terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ also have different inalienable terms.

Ashéninka kin terms are complex because of their numerous forms: there are different vocative and possessed forms, and both sets are also divided according to the sex of the speaker (vocative) or the possessor (possessed). This implies that a word as ‘brother’ can be expressed with four different terms, but not all kin words have the four versions since some terms are used both for males and females (e.g. ‘father’ and ‘mother’) and some terms are identical in the vocative and the possessive sets (e.g. ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandson’). These features are best viewed in a table, so Table 17 shows the complete list of kin terms. Due to their high number, I have put in the same cell all the forms for the different persons for male or female possessor, which are

identical except for the possessive prefix, which is different for each person. Where terms for male and female possessors are identical, they are in this order: 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person masculine, 3rd person feminine, inclusive. In terms for only male or female possessors, there is no term for feminine or masculine, respectively, given that, obviously, the term does not exist.

Table 17. Ashéninka kin terms

English name	Vocative male ego	Vocative female ego	Male possessor	Female possessor
father	pawa/paapa ⁵¹		niri, piri, iriri, iri, ari/nopáapati, pipáapati, ipáapati, opáapati, apáapati	
mother	naana		noniro, píniro, ríniro, íniro, ániro/nonáanati, pináanati, ináanati, onáanati, anáanati	
son	notyomi		notyomi, pityomi, ityomi, otyomi, atyomi/notomi, pitomi, itomi, otomi, atomi	
daughter	nishintyo		nishintyo, pishinto, rishinto, ishinto, ashinto	
child/children	eentsi ⁵²		néentsiti, péentsiti, réentsiti, éentsiti, éentsiti	
brother	iye/yeyi	arini/aari	nirentzi, pirentzi, rirentzi, arentzi	niyáariri, piyáariri, iyáariri, ayáariri
sister	choeni	eentyo	nótsiro, pítsiro, rítsiro, átsiro	nirento, pirento, irento, arento
grandfather	charini	aapi	nocharini, picharini, icharini, acharini	nohari, pihari, ohari, ahari
grandmother	sheeni	ameeni	nohawo, pihawo, ihawo, ohawo, ahawo	

⁵¹ *Paapa* is a recent Spanish loan.

⁵² *Eentsi* means *child/children* in the same way as in English (for children in general and as ‘my children’ meaning ‘my sons and daughters’). The possessive terms used for this word are built with the alienable pattern (possessive prefix and suffix). However, my consultant noted that the masculine form with the plural enclitic (*notyómipáeni*) can be used to refer to sons and daughters, and the same happens with *chárinipáeni* to refer to grandsons and granddaughters. Therefore, the masculine form is used to denote groups of relatives of different sexes.

English name	Vocative male ego	Vocative female ego	Male possessor	Female possessor
grandson	charini	noshari/ nohari	nocharini, picharíni, ichárini, àcharíni ⁵³	noshari, pishari, oshari, ashari/nohari, pihari, ohari, ahari
granddaughter	sheeni	noshawo/ nohawo	⁵⁴ noshawo, pishawo, ishawo, oshawo, ashawo/nohawo, pihawo, rihawo, ohawo, ahawo	
paternal uncle	pawáchori	pawaeni	níriuthori, píriuthori, íririuthori, írithori, áriuthori	
maternal uncle/ father-in-law	konki	kooko	nokónkiri, pikónkiri, rikónkiri, okónkiri, akónkiri	
paternal aunt/ mother-in-law	yoeni	ayini	niyoti, piyoti, riyoti, ayoti	nayiro, payiro, ayiro, ayini
maternal aunt	nanaeni		ninirothóri, pinirothóri, rinirothóri, inirothóri, anirothóri	
male cousin	iye/yeyi	èméni	nóemithori, píimithori, ríimithori, ímithori, áimithori	
female cousin	choeni	atyoeni	nóenathori, píinathori, ríinathori, íinathori, ánathori	
nephew (brother's son)	notómithóri	notzineri	notómithóri, pitómithóri, itómithóri, atómithóri	notzineri, pitzineri, otzineri, atzineri
nephew (sister's son)/son-in-law	ñotzi		ñotzi/notzineri ⁵⁵ , pitzineri, itzineri, otzineri, atzineri	
niece (brother's daughter)	nishíntyothóri	néwatayiro/ néwatyéero ⁵⁶	nishíntyothóri, pishíntyothóri, rishíntyothóri, ashíntyothóri	néwatayiro, péwatayiro, éwatayiro, áwatayiro/ néwatyéero, péwatyéero, éwatyéero, áwatyéero

⁵³ It can be observed that these terms are identical with those for 'grandfather', but with the stress in a different place. I have noted them as they were uttered by a speaker when I asked him, but my experience tells me that the stress place can vary even with the same speaker, so that its place is not strictly fixed. The two different stress placements in the two terms serve as a token of this non-strictness. The same difference can be observed in other terms.

⁵⁴ The correspondence *ha-sha* appears to be a difference between Pajonal (*ha*) and Ucayali (*sha*), although I did not get this information when asking for these kin terms. A word with the same correspondence is *hanko-shanko* 'cane'. It is thus very likely that the two terms for 'granddaughter' are also valid for 'grandmother'.

⁵⁵ *Ñotzi* is for male possessors and *notzineri* for female possessors.

⁵⁶ The last form is used in the Gran Pajonal.

English name	Vocative male ego	Vocative female ego	Male possessor	Female possessor
niece (sister's daughter)	aniryo		aniryo, paniro, raniryo, aniryo	nishíntyothóri, pishíntothóri, ishíntothóri, ashíntothóri
husband ⁵⁷		noemi		noemi, piimi, oemi, aimi
wife	noena		noena, piina, iina	
brother-in-law	ñani	èméni	naniri, paniri, raniri, aniri	nóemithori, píimithori, óemithori, áimithori
sister-in-law	iñéni	atyoeni	nóenathòri, píinathòri, íinathòri, áinathòri	nónatsitò, pinátsitò, onátsitò, ánatsitò
daughter-in-law	aniryo	néwatayiro/ néwatyéero ⁵⁶	aniryo, paniro, raniryo, aniryo	néwatayiro, péwatayiro, éwatayiro, áwatayiro/ néwatyéero, péwatyéero, éwatyéero, áwatyéero

The list of kin terms poses interesting questions for the ethnological study of the Ashéninka people due to the repetition of some terms for different kin relationships. Payne explains the marriage constraints of the Ashéninka traditional society in her didactic grammar (1989:194-95) based on Pichis and Alto Perené, but her account is fully applicable to the Ucayali-Pajonal area as explained to me by a consultant. A man can marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt, but a relationship (with marriage or outside marriage) with the daughter of his maternal aunt or paternal uncle is considered incestuous. In the same fashion, a woman can marry the son of her paternal aunt or maternal uncle, but a relationship with a son of her maternal aunt or paternal uncle is incestuous. These marriage constraints are reflected in the language in that the terms for ‘maternal uncle’ and ‘father-in-law’ are identical, as well as those for ‘paternal aunt’ and ‘mother-in-law’: every maternal uncle is a potential

⁵⁷ An inclusive form for ‘husband’ is included because polygyny existed in the Ashéninka traditional society. However, polyandry did not exist, so there is no inclusive term for ‘wife’.

father-in-law and every paternal aunt is a potential mother-in-law. In the same fashion, the male ego and possessed forms for ‘nephew (sister’s son)’ are the same as for ‘son-in-law’, and the same happens with the female ego terms for ‘nephew’ and ‘son-in-law’ (note that, for female ego and possessed forms of ‘nephew’, there is no difference between sister’s and brother’s son). Also the male forms for ‘niece (sister’s daughter)’ are the same as for ‘daughter-in-law’, and the female forms for ‘niece (brother’s daughter)’ are identical to those for ‘daughter-in-law’. However, the terms for ‘male cousin’ and ‘female cousin’ do not show differences based on their parents’ family relationship with ego, but their female vocative forms are identical with those for ‘brother-in-law’ and ‘sister-in-law’; moreover, the possessed forms for ‘male cousin’ are identical with the female possessed forms for ‘brother-in-law’, and the possessed forms for ‘female cousin’ are identical with the male possessed forms for ‘sister-in-law’. Furthermore, the identical pairs female possessor male cousin with female possessor brother-in-law, and male possessor female cousin with male possessor sister-in-law are almost identical with the forms for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’, respectively, with the difference that the terms for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ do not carry the suffix *-thori*. However, given the complexity of the table and the difficulty of eliciting all the terms, it seems strange to me that a man calls his male cousin *nóemithori* based on *noemi* ‘my husband’, or that a woman calls her female cousin *nóenathori* based on *noena* ‘my wife’. I think that it is very likely that the possessed forms for ‘cousin’ are identical to those for ‘brother-in-law’ and ‘sister-in-law’, depending on the family relationship of the cousin with ego. If this assumption were valid, both cousin rows (male and female) should be divided in two according to ego’s possibility of marriage with the cousin.

The suffix *-thori* is used in several terms (‘paternal uncle’, ‘maternal aunt’, ‘male cousin’, ‘female cousin’, ‘nephew’, ‘niece’, ‘brother-in-law’, ‘sister-in-law’) and expresses a further degree in relationship. Thus, possessed forms for ‘paternal uncle’ are the same as those for ‘father’ with the addition of *-thori*, and the same happens in the possessed forms for ‘maternal aunt’ with respect to ‘mother’. All other instances of *-thori* also express a further degree in relationship with respect to the form to which it is added.

Another correspondence is between the forms for ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandson’, and those for ‘grandmother’ and ‘granddaughter’, which is quite uncommon in Southern American languages according to Murdock (1970:167) (only 5 languages of 77 studied, i.e. 6%). The forms for ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandson’ are different only in the female vocative forms and are slightly different in the female possessed forms. Regarding ‘grandmother’ and ‘granddaughter’, the female vocative forms are also different and the possessed forms show an additional form for ‘granddaughter’ not valid for ‘grandmother’ (though this is based on the elicitations of kin terms and both forms might also be valid for ‘grandmother’: see footnote 54). I do not know which may be the ethnological explanation for these similarities, nor have I found any explanation in the previous literature.

These identical or similar forms show how kinship is arranged in the Ashéninka society and are thus a good example of how culture is reflected in language.

4.1.5. Nominal suffixes and enclitics

Besides the affixes and enclitics treated in the previous sections of this chapter, there are more nominal markers, always attached after the noun and expressing varied meanings. They are discussed in the following subsections. The list of markers studied here must not be considered exhaustive, i.e. there may be more markers that have not appeared in my data.

4.1.5.1. Demonstrative enclitics

Ashéninka has a set of demonstrative words (see Section 3.2), but all demonstratives can also appear as an enclitic attached to nouns: the part of the demonstrative that indicates distance is attached to the noun. Table 18 shows the use of the four enclitic demonstratives compared with its equivalent use with full demonstratives.

Table 18. Nouns with demonstrative enclitics compared with full demonstratives with nouns

	Demonstrative + noun	Noun + enclitic	Translation
Proximal	<i>iroka tsinani</i> i-ro=ka tsinani DEM-F=PROX woman	<i>tsinánikà</i> tsinani=ka woman=PROX	‘this woman’
Medial	<i>irowa pankotsi</i> i-ro=ra panko-tsi DEM-F=MED house-ALI	<i>pankótsirà</i> panko-tsi=ra house-ALI=MED	‘that house’
Distal	<i>iriinta shirámpari</i> i-ri=nta shirámpari DEM-M=DIST man	<i>shirámparintà</i> shirámpari=nta man=DIST	‘that man over there’
Absential	<i>rowanki tsinani</i> ro=ranki tsinani F=ABSN woman	<i>tsinánirànkì</i> tsinani=ranki woman=ABSN	‘the woman that is not here/is out of sight/is dead’

The choice of a demonstrative word or enclitic is unclear: one speaker said that there is no difference, while another one said that the enclitics cannot be always used and that they are rarer than full demonstratives.

Their character of enclitics comes from the fact that they are similar to a demonstrative word that is placed following the noun instead of in their usual place before the noun, but then they reduce their form and are attached to the noun, i.e. they behave practically as independent words, but are attached to the noun. They can also attach to an adjective in a noun phrase (see Section 4.2).

The demonstrative enclitics can have a subordinating function so as to form a spatial subordinate clause that would be introduced with ‘where’ in English, as in (165). This feature belongs to the field of syntax and is described in Section 7.4.2.1.6.

(165) Rooha ráwihántanàka **ihéekira** mantsiyari.

rooha r-awih-ant-an-ak-a i-heck-i=ra mantsiya-ri
then 3M.S-pass-RES-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-stay-FRS=MED ill-M
‘Then he passes to the place where the ill are staying.’ (SCS)

4.1.5.2. The locative enclitic =*ki*

The locative enclitic =*ki* occurs very frequently and denotes a broad range of locative meanings, which are shown in (166), including a figurative locative meaning as in (166i). =*ki* also expresses temporal reference (167) and instrumental relationship (168). Usually, the enclitic carries a secondary stress. In nouns with two morae, =*ki*

causes the stress to move to the penultimate syllable (166c) and even can lengthen the last vowel of the noun (166h), as is described in Section 2.7.8.

(166) a. anámpiki a-nampi=ki INCL-community=LOC ‘at our (incl.) community’ (OS)	b. nowániki n-owani=ki 1-chacra=LOC ‘to my <i>chacra</i>’ (CMH)
c. rakoki r-ako=ki 3M-hand=LOC ‘on his hand’ (FS)	d. itháateki i-thaate=ki 3M-bag=LOC ‘inside his bag’ (PV)
e. omooki o-moo=ki 3F-hole=LOC ‘from its hole’ (FS)	f. <i>cámpo</i>-ki campo=ki⁵⁸ football.field=LOC ‘outside the football field’ (SCFF)
g. inchàtáatoki inchàtáato=ki trunk=LOC ‘towards the trunk’ (TSJ)	h. nihaaki niha=ki water=LOC ‘across the water’ (FS)
i. apáanteki a-paante=ki INCL-tongue=LOC ‘in our (incl.) language’ (OS)	
-
(167) <i>juéves</i>-ki jueves=ki⁵⁹ Thursday=LOC ‘on Thursday’ (SCFF)	(168) notónkamentòki no-tonk-amento=ki 1-shoot-NMLZ.INS=LOC ‘with my rifle’

The character of clitic of this marker comes from the fact that it can be attached to different word classes (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, quantifiers). Moreover, it can attach to different elements of a noun phrase, which is shown in Section 2.7.8.

4.1.5.3. The diminutive *-aniki*

Apart from the plural diminutive *-eriki* (see Section 4.1.2), another productive diminutive on nouns is *-aniki*. It fulfils the main function expected from a diminutive: to express that something is small, as shown in (169). As can be seen in (169a), this

⁵⁸ *Campo* is the Spanish word for ‘field’. *Campo* has in Spanish a scope similar to ‘field’ in English, but here it is used to denote a sport field, a reality absent from the traditional Ashéninka culture.

⁵⁹ *Jueves* is obviously a Spanish word.

suffix replaces the last vowel of the noun to which it attaches. Moreover, in some cases, as is explained in Section 2.7.8, *-aniki* palatalizes the consonant of the last syllable of the word. Three examples of the palatalization are in (169b), (169c) and (169d).

(169) a. pirintániki pirinto–aniki frog–DIM ‘small frog’	b. enchániki eentsi–aniki child–DIM ‘small child’ (FS)
c. pankochániki panko–tsi–aniki house–ALI–DIM ‘small house’	d. pòshiñáanikitàki poshi–ni–aniki–t–ak–i tasty–ADJ–DIM–&–PFV–FRS ‘it is tasty’ (TSJ)

4.1.5.4. The durative *-paeti*

The durative suffix *-paeti* attaches to nouns to indicate that something happens during the time in which the entity expressed by the noun is realized, i.e. it is equivalent to English *during*. This suffix gives the noun an adverbial meaning; therefore, it can be considered an adverbializer in most cases. Four examples are shown in (170).

(170) apatoréntsipàeti apato–rentsi–paeti meet–NMLZ–DUR2 ⁶⁰ ‘during the meeting’	konáarentsipàeti konaa–rentsi–paeti fish–NMLZ–DUR2 ‘during the fishing’
kitéheripàeti kitéheri–paeti day–DUR2 ‘during the day’	inkánipàeti inkani–paeti rain–DUR2 ‘during the rain’

This is principally a nominal suffix, but it appeared attached to a verb during an elicitation (171).

- (171) Nothámaetapàeti
no–thamae–t–a–paeti
1S–sow–&–DUR2
‘I’m going to sow for a while.’

4.1.5.5. Nominalizers

Ashéninka uses a series of nominalizers that build nouns from verbal stems. Those occurring in my corpus are *-rontsi*, *-rentsi*, *-aantsi* and *-amento*.

⁶⁰ DUR1 is the verbal durative *-wae*.

-rontsi and *-rentsi* appear to be two forms of the same nominalizer. The only examples in my corpus with *-rontsi* are in (172a) and (172b), and with *-rentsi*, in (172c). The choice of one of the two forms seems to be conditioned by the last vowel of the root: in these examples, *e* with *-rontsi* and *a* with *-rentsi*. This suffix makes a noun out of a verbal stem, which is quite clearly seen in (172).

(172) a. antawáeròntsi	b. ñáathawèeròntsi	c. kenkitharentsi
antawae-rontsi	ñaatha-wee-rontsi	kenkitha-rentsi
work-NMLZ	play-SPE-NMLZ	tell.a.story-NMLZ
‘work (noun)’ (CTK)	‘sport’ (SCFF)	‘story’ (OS)

The suffix *-aantsi* is used for the verb’s infinitive, and the infinitive is the citation form, used in Payne’s dictionary (1980) and in schoolbooks. I use the term *infinitive* following this tradition. In my texts, there are four occurrences of the infinitive, which functions as a noun in all of them (173).

(173) a. owámetaantsipánkoki	b. yotáantsipánkoki
owame-t-aantsi-panko=ki	iyo-t-aantsi-panko=ki
teach-&-INF-house=LOC	know-&-INF-house=LOC
‘school’ (SCFF)	‘school’ (CTK)
c. apatotaantsi	d. mampaantsi
apato-t-aantsi	mamp-aantsi
meet-&-INF	sing-INF
‘meeting’ (CTK)	‘song’ (CMH)

In (173a) and (173b), both meaning ‘school’, the infinitive meaning is quite transparent (‘house to teach’, ‘house to learn’), but we have to take into account that these are neologisms (schools did not exist in the Ashéninka traditional society) that have been recently created. In (173c), the nominalizing function is quite clear in that a noun is formed from the verbal root *-apato-* ‘meet’, and a word as *apatotaantsi* ‘meeting’ does not seem to be a neologism. *Mampaantsi* (173d) occurs three times in a conversation between a young man and a young woman, part of which I reproduce in (174). In the man’s question, the meaning of *mampaantsi* as ‘song’ is obvious, but, in the woman’s answer, it is not so clear: the fact that a numeral appears before *mampaantsi* implies that it is used as a noun, but the woman is just repeating what he says, which may be translated as ‘sing’ or ‘a song’.

- (174) **Man:** Páerani piyótziro éeroka apaani **mampaantsi**?
 páerani p-iyo-t-zi-ro éeroka apaani mamp-aantsi
 long.ago 2-know-&-REA-3F.O 2 one sing-INF
 ‘Long ago, did you know a song?’ (CMH)

Woman: Mampaantsi. Hee, niyotzi.
 mamp-aantsi hee n-iyo-t-zi
 sing-INF AFF 1S-know-&-REA
 ‘Sing/a song. Yes, I did.’ (CMH)

In (175), the woman answers the question about the name of the man who taught her to sing, and, in this case, the infinitive meaning is quite obvious (‘he taught me to sing’), although it might be interpreted as ‘he taught me a song’.

- (175) **Woman:** Aurencio, ríitaki riyómetàki naari **mampaantsi**.
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-teach-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO sing-INF
 ‘Aurencio, so he was who taught singing also to me.’ (CMH)

Therefore, the infinitive can be used with an obvious noun function, as in (174). In this way, the infinitive can be considered a nominalizer since it builds a noun out of a verbal stem.

Another nominalizer is *-amento*, which has a clear instrumental meaning, given that it denotes an object used to perform the action expressed by the verbal stem. A good example is in (176a), where the literal translation would be ‘tool to shoot (rifle)’. This suffix creates inalienable nouns since non-possessed forms bear the alienator suffix *-tsi*. Another possessed example is in (176a), and two non-possessed examples, in (177).

(176) a. notónkamènto no-tonk-amento 1-shoot-NMLZ.INS ‘my rifle’ (CCPC)	b. roshétamènto r-oshe-t-amento 3M-clean-&-NMLZ.INS ‘his cloth’ (PV)
(177) a. añáamentòtsi añ-amento-tsi live-NMLZ.INS-ALI ‘what gives life’ (TSJ)	b. wáiramentòtsi waira-amento-tsi dance-NMLZ.INS-ALI ‘party’ (CTK) ⁶¹

⁶¹ The last two instances have a metaphoric meaning: in *wáiramentòtsi*, a party is considered a means to dance; in *añáamentòtsi*, a testicle is referred to, that is, a means to give life. The root *-waira-* is a loan from Spanish *bailar*.

The confirmation of the inalienability triggered by *-amento* is that, after a speaker told me the meaning of *añámentòtsi* (177a), I asked him how he would say ‘my life’, and he said *nañámento*, glossed in (178a), without the alienator *-tsi*. An inflected verbal form with the same root is *nañi*, glossed in (178b).

- (178) a. n-añ-amento b. n-añ-i
 1-live-NMLZ.INS 1S-live-FRS
 ‘my life’ ‘I live.’

Verbs can also be nominalized through the relative suffix *-ri*, which produces a relative sentence with a nominal meaning. Two examples are in (179). This suffix will be treated in detail in the chapter devoted to syntax (Section 7.4.2.2).

- (179) a. ràmitàkotapákiri b. héekatsiri
 r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri heek-atsi-ri
 3M.S-help-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL live-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘those who are going to help him’ (PV) ‘those who live there’ (CTK)

4.1.5.6. The exclamative =*wee*

I have considered =*wee* an enclitic because it always occurs at the end of the word and can be attached to different word classes, and also because I have an instance in my corpus in which =*wee* is attached to a Spanish phrase. This enclitic is used in greetings by attaching it to words that denote parts of the day, or to *naaka* ‘I’ just to say ‘hello’, as shown in (180). The word denoting a part of the day alone can also be used as a greeting (e.g. *kitéheri*! ‘good morning!’). Other uses are clearly exclamative, as those in (181).

- (180) a. kitéheriwèe b. sháawíiteniwèe c. tsiréniriwèe d. náakawèe
 kitéheri=wee sháawíiteni=wee tsiréniri=wee naaka=wee
 day=EXCLM afternoon=EXCLM night=EXCLM I=EXCLM
 ‘good morning’ ‘good afternoon’ ‘good night’ ‘hello’

- (181) a. Kaníriwèe!
 kaniri=wee
 cassava=EXCLM
 ‘I want cassava!/Come to eat cassava!’
- b. Amáyiwèe!
 a-mag-i=wee
 INCL.S-sleep-FRS=EXCLM
 ‘Let’s go to sleep!’
- c. Chéenkariwèe pitotsi.
 cheenka-ri=wee pito-tsi
 black-REL=EXCLM canoe-ALI
 ‘The canoe is really/very black!’

There are only two occurrences of =wee in my text corpus. One of them is attached to the multifunctional particle *ari* (in this case, used as indicating positive polarity) to say ‘thanks’ (182). The other one (183) is remarkable because the speaker attaches =wee to the Spanish phrase *allí está* ‘there it is’. This example shows the exclamative character of this marker and its status as a clitic particularly well.

- (182) Hee, **ariwée**.
 hee ari=wee
 AFF AFF=EXCLM
 ‘Yes, thanks.’ (CCPC)
- (183) **Allí estáwee**. Ñáakiro, iroka sho ahá, ocho soles el kilo, ñáakiro.
 allí está=wee i-ro=ka sho ahá
 there.it.is=EXCLM DEM-F=PROX look INTJ
 ocho soles el kilo ña-ak-i-ro
 ocho soles el kilo see-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘There it is! You see it, look at this one, eh..., 8 soles per kg, you see it.’ (CCPC)
- The phoneme /w/ in this enclitic is always pronounced [β].

4.1.5.7. Suffixes described in other sections: verificative *-pero*, intensifier *-ni* and ignorative *-ni*

The verificative suffix *-pero* can attach to nouns, verbs and even conjunctions as *róotaki* ‘that’s why, that is’, but it occurs much more frequently in verbs than in nouns, which makes it a mainly verbal suffix. Therefore, the description of this suffix for all world classes is in Section 6.4.2.3.

The intensifier suffix *-ni* intensifies the properties expressed by the word to which it attaches, which makes it a mainly adjectival suffix, although it can also attach to nouns. It is described in the chapter on adjectives (Section 5.5.4).

The ignorative suffix *-ni*, which appears on nouns and adjectives, occurs very seldom in my data. Since it was found out while eliciting adjectives, its description is in Section 5.5.5.

4.1.6. Nouns as predicates and nominal tense

Ashéninka nouns can act as predicates through different strategies, which are discussed in the following subsections. A remarkable strategy is by attaching typically verbal suffixes, which is described in Section 4.1.6.1. Another one is with the kinship verbalizer suffix *-nt* (Section 4.1.6.2), and the final one is with the bare noun without any affix (Section 4.1.6.3).

Dixon (2010a:78) says that “in logic a proposition consists of a subject (what is being talked about) and a predicate (what is being said about it). Some linguists have taken over this terminology [...]”. I use this terminology for this section, so that a predicate is understood as a full statement about the world. Under this definition, some examples in Section 4.1.6.1 cannot be considered predicates, but all examples in that section enter the category of *nominal tense* as defined by Nordlinger & Sadler (2004:778), hence the heading of the present section.

4.1.6.1. Verbal suffixes on nouns

Some verbal suffixes can be used on nouns. The nouns with verbal suffixes in examples (186), (188), (189) and (190) cannot be considered predicates because they can form part of a clause with a verbal predicate, yet they can be considered to pertain to the category of *nominal TAM*, specifically *nominal tense*, since they fulfil the four features described by Nordlinger & Sadler (2004:778): 1) they show a distinction in a TAM category; 2) this distinction is not restricted to a small subset of nouns; 3) it is not restricted to nominals functioning as predicates of verbless clauses, but is encoded on NPs in clauses headed by verbs; and 4) the TAM markers are not a syntactic clitic that merely attaches to the noun. More specifically, Ashéninka nouns with verbal suffixes enter the category of “independent nominal tense” (Nordlinger & Sadler: 779-82). I did not research this feature in depth, so more research is needed above all to know how the elicited constructions shown in (186) and (188) can function inside

a clause with a verbal predicate. In any case, given the scarce examples in my corpus, verbal suffixes on nouns do not appear to be a frequent occurrence.

Examples (184) and (185) show the use of the future suffix *-eya* on nouns. I have considered the suffix *-eya* on verbs as an allomorph of the irrealis *-ya*, but, while irrealis on verbs can express several meanings (see Section 6.1), this suffix expresses just future on nouns.

(184) Ari **pipànkotéya**?

ari pi-panko-t-eya

FUT 2-house-&-FUT

‘Are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your house?’) (CMM)

(185) Arírika pipiyanáki, ari **pinampitéyawo**?

ari-rika pi-piy-an-ak-i ari pi-nampi-t-eya-ro

AFF-COND 2S-go.back-ABL-PFV-FRS FUT 2-place-&-FUT-3F

‘When you go back, are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your place?’) (CMM)

Both sentences were uttered by the same speaker in a conversation with a neighbour who was going to move and live in another place. It is remarkable that, in *pinampitéyawo*, the suffix *-ro* is used as it would be on a verb to cross-reference the object, i.e. it seems that it is referring to ‘there’, which is not uttered in the sentence. Being aware of the possibility of attaching verbal suffixes to nouns from these two instances, I elicited nouns with verbal suffixes, namely the future *-eya* (186), the perfective *-ak* (187) and the frustrative *-wi* (188). The result was that also *-ak* and *-wi* can be used on nouns. I show in (186), (187) and (188) all the examples that I proposed to a speaker with the translation that she gave for each word.

(186) a. powánitèya

p-owani-t-eya

2-chacra-&-FUT

‘the place where you’ll make your *chacra*’

b. pinchátotèya

p-inchato-t-eya

2-tree-&-FUT

‘the place where you’ll plant a tree’

c. pityáapateya

pi-tyaapa-t-eya

2-chicken-&-FUT

‘the chicken you’re going to rear’

- d. *Nowáperitakotèya*.
 no–paperi–t–ako–t–eya
 1–book–&–APPL–&–FUT
 ‘I’ll have finished the book.’
- e. *íinateya*
 i–ena–t–eya
 3M–wife–&–FUT
 ‘his future wife’
- f. *óemiteya*
 o–emi–t–eya
 3F–husband–&–FUT
 ‘her future husband’
- (187) a. *Pipáñkotàka*.
 pi–panko–t–ak–a
 2–house–&–PFV–REA
 ‘You’ve already built your house.’
- b. *Powáñetàka*.
 p–owani–t–ak–a
 2–chacra–&–pfv–rea
 ‘You’ve already made your chacra.’
- (188) a. *pipáñkowità*
 pi–panko–wi–t–a
 2–house–FRU–&–REA
 ‘your former house’
- b. *powáñewita*
 p–owani–wi–t–a
 2–chacra–FRU–&–REA
 ‘your former *chacra*’
- c. *pipáñkowitzàka*
 pi–panko–wi–t–ak–a
 2–house–FRU–&–PFV–REA
 ‘your former house’

These examples show how verbal suffixes can attach to nouns to express different meanings. However, this process is not fully productive, given that, when I suggested *nomíshotèya* (no–misho–t–eya, 1–cat–&–FUT) to check if it might mean ‘my future cat’, the speaker said that that this meant that I was going to become a cat. The same happened with my suggestion *nopapéritèya* (no–paperi–t–eya, 1–book–&–FUT): the speaker said that this meant that I was going to become a book. However, in a different session, the speaker uttered *nowáperitakotèya* in (186d), where she added the general

applicative suffix *-ako* and applied the phonological rule of /p/ > /w/ in possessed nouns (see Section 2.7.2), which I had neglected in my proposed word. It is worth noting that some examples do not express the meaning ‘one’s future X’ that might be expected.

Another verbal suffix that can be used in nouns is the remote past suffix *-ni*, for which an example is *páwani* (pawa-ni, father-RMPST, ‘the deceased father’). In this case, *pawa*, which usually has a vocative function, is used to refer to the father about which one is speaking, which could be ‘my father’, ‘our father’, etc. The only example of the suffix from my text corpus is in (189), where the indefinite pronoun *ótsipa* is used as a reference for ‘another day’.

- (189) Árika **ótsipani** éerorika nokoyi nantawaetzi...
 ari=rika o-tsipa-ni eero=rika no-koy-i n-antawae-t-zi
 AFF=COND F-other-RMPST NEG.IRR=COND 1S-want-FRS 1S-work-&-REA
 ‘If some day I didn’t want to work...’ (CCPC)

This suffix on verbs is described in Section 6.3.7.2.

The anterior suffix (see Section 6.3.7.2) occurs on a noun once in my text corpus. The phrase where it occurs is in (190).

- (190) Páerani **anampiite** Katsinkaari, éenitatsi osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáariki.
 páerani a-nampi-ite Katsinkaari
 long.ago INCL-community-ANT Chicosa
 eeni-t-atsi osheki atziri heek-atsi-ri tonkaari=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV many person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL mountain=LOC
 ‘Long ago, in our community, Chicosa, there were many people who lived in the mountains.’ (OS)

When I first noticed this suffix, I thought that *-ite* should be the plural animate suffix described in Section 4.1.2 (with *anampiite* meaning ‘the people of our community’). However, when I asked a consultant about the meaning of this word, he was very clear that *anampiite* was a reference to the indigenous community a long time ago. Given the almost identical form and the identical meaning with the verbal anterior suffix *-it*, I think that the most reasonable inference is that *-ite* is the same suffix as this verbal *-it*.

A good example of how a noun can host different verbal suffixes is provided by the word *kithoki* ‘seed’ occurring three times in the same conversation with different verbal suffixes. The whole fragment is in (191). The speakers are speaking to a third person about cacao *chacras*.

- (191) A: **Kithókíyetàki** hanta, ewánkawo, ewánkawo. Iroka owákirari okaatzi oháarentsi oká⁶² (okaatzi) mawa. Iroka haka áapaero, **kithókítanàki**, ooo..., iroonta, iroonta.
 kithoki-yi-t-ak-i ha=nta ewanka-ro i-ro=ka
 seed-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST young-F DEM-F=PROX
 owakira-ri o-kaa-t-zi Ø-oháarentsi-ti
 new-REL 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3F-year-POSS
 o-kaa-t-zi mawa i-ro=ka ha=ka aapa-i-ro
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA three DEM-F=PROX LOC=PROX join-FRS-3F.O
 kithoki-t-an-ak-i ooo i-roo=nta
 seed-&-ABL-PFV-FRS INTJ DEM-F=DIST
 ‘It has given seeds (fruits) one by one, there, the young one, the young one (a *chacra*). This new one is three years old (lit: it’s its three years). This one here joins to it, it started giving fruits, ooohhh! (it has given many), that one over there, that one over there...’ (CCPC)
- B: Owákirari, owákirari, iroka **kithókítàtsiri**. Rooma itáakiri.
 owákira-ri i-ro=ka kithoki-t-atsi-ri rooma i-ta-ak-i-ri
 new-REL DEM-F=PROX seed-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL this.is 3M.S-burn-REL
 ‘The new one, the new one, this one that is producing fruits. This is what he has burnt.’ (CCPC)

In the three occurrences of this example, the suffixes attached to *kithoki* ‘seed’ are the distributive *-yi*, the perfective *-ak*, the ablative *-an*, the imperfective participle *-atsi*, the relative *-ri* and the reality status suffix. The noun *kithoki* is used here as a verb with the meaning ‘yield fruits’, so that we might say that the same stem is used as a noun and as a verb. However, stems that function as nouns and verbs seldom occur, given that they cannot be found in my text corpus aside from *kithoki* in (191). Moreover, none of the three verbalized occurrences of *kithoki* in (191) bears a subject prefix, as a verb would usually do. Therefore, I find it much more appropriate to consider these occurrences a noun with verbal suffixes rather than the same stem acting as a verb and as a noun.

Verbal suffixes on nouns give a good example of the malleability of Ashéninka word classes and the high promiscuity that affixes and clitics generally have.

⁶² *Oká* here is an abbreviation of *okaatzi* ‘it is’.

4.1.6.2. Kinship verbalizer -nt

Concerning (191), I mentioned that none of the three occurrences of the verbalization of *kithoki* ‘seed’ bears a subject prefix. Nevertheless, the only occurrence in my text corpus of the kinship verbalizer *-nt* in (192) does carry a subject prefix. The suffix *-nt* builds a special construction in which a kin term can be verbalized.

- (192) Ranírintatyàari.
 r-aniri-nt-atya-ri
 3M.S-brother-in-law.MP-KV-PROG-3M.O
 ‘He’s his brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

The function of the suffix *-nt* in (192) is identical to the one described in Mihas (2015a:179-81) for Alto Perené and in Mihas (2016:14) for Asháninka. In both works, she calls this suffix “possessive relation”. For AP, Mihas (2015a:179) says that “possessed and unpossessed common nouns can be marked with *-nta* to signal the possessive relation of kinship or association”. For Asháninka, she says that “the basic unit of the possessive construction is a kin term marked for possessor; the output is a verbal predicate” (2016:14). The suffix’s form in both Mihas’ works is *-nt* in Asháninka and *-nta* in Alto Perené. For AP, she says that the suffix “applies to bases which denote human referents (the bases include kin terms, social terms, e.g. *pashitori* ‘pastor’, and a generic term *atziri* ‘person’)” (2015a:179). However, only one of her six examples is not a kin term, and this exception is formed with *atziri* ‘person’. The only example of the suffix in my text corpus is with a kin term, so it seems that this is its usual occurrence, even though there may be more scarce uses, as in Mihas’ example with *atziri*. Mihas is the only author who has described this suffix in the Campanist literature. The absence of more descriptions and the existence of only one occurrence in my texts show that this suffix is quite infrequent.

In (192), the inalienable root *-aniri* is verbalized. This use of a kin term as a verb does occur in English in Shakespeare’s *Richard II* (II, 3), when the Duke of York says “grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle”. In (192), the verb is transitive: the subject and the object are a jaguar and a squirrel, and, since both are masculine referents and the brother-in-law relation is mutual, both could be interpreted as being subject or object. A typical doubt arises with the suffix *-ri*, which can be a relativizer or a 3rd person masculine object, so that there are cases in which its function is not clear at all

if both interpretations fit the context. In (192), the context does not allow an interpretation as a relative suffix and the translation provided by a speaker is quite clear: *es su cuñado* ‘he is his brother-in-law’, or ‘he is brother-in-lawing him’, as Shakespeare might put it. The name *kinship verbalizer* tries to reflect the suffix’s function: it verbalizes a kin term so as to express the kinship relation.

4.1.6.3. Bare nouns as predicates

Sections 4.1.6.1 and 4.1.6.2 have shown the use of nouns as predicates by attaching suffixes, but a noun can also be a predicate without the need of any attached suffix, although it appears to be an infrequent occurrence since there is only one instance in my text corpus. In (193), the noun *pinkáthari* ‘authority’ is used as a predicate without needing to attach any suffix to the noun and without using a copula.

- (193) Nokántawàki naaka **pinkáthari**.
 no-kant-awak-i naaka pinkáthari
 1S-say-DES-FRS I authority
 ‘I want to say that I am an authority.’ (CTK)

4.1.7. Coordination of nouns

Conjunctive coordination of nouns is expressed with *éehatzi*, a word that means ‘also’ and is also used as a general conjunctive coordinator, as in (194). When more than two nouns are coordinated, *éehatzi* is repeated before every added noun, as in the three-noun coordination in (195).

- (194) Iroñaaka nokènkithatakotíri **manitzi éehatzi meiri**.
 iroñaaka no-kenkitha-t-ako-t-i-ri manitzi éehatzi méyiri
 now 1S-tell-&-APPL-&-IRR-3M.O jaguar also squirrel
 ‘Now I’m going to tell about a jaguar and a squirrel.’ (TSJ)
- (195) Royiitákiro **iyókane éehatzi rishikoti éehatzi ichamáeroti**.
 r-o-ayit-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-CAUS-go.down-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 i-koka-ni éehatzi r-ishiko-ti éehatzi i-chamaero-ti⁶³
 3M-coca-POSS also 3M-lime-POSS also 3M-chamairo-POSS
 ‘He has put (in his mouth) his coca, his lime and his chamairo.’ (SCS)

⁶³ *Chamairo* is the name given in English and Spanish to the liana *Mussatia hyacinthine*. When chewing coca, lime and chamairo are used, chamairo as a sweetener. Lime has a chemical function that is not clear to me.

Regarding disjunctive coordination of nouns, the Spanish loan *o* ‘or’ is widely used, and there is not an equivalent in Ashéninka. Sometimes *ama* is used instead, but this word is formed by the dubitative enclitic =*ma* and a support vowel, so that its real meaning is ‘maybe’. Expressions like ‘NOUN or NOUN’ can be formed with different strategies. For example, when I asked a speaker how to translate ‘give me cassava or banana’ without using the Spanish *o*, his answer was the sentence in (196).

- (196) Pipena payantzi, tzi mátsirika payantzi; tekátsirika payantzi, pipena kaniri.
 pi-p-i-na payantzi tzi-m-atsi=rika payantzi
 2S-give-IRR-IO banana EXI-PTCP.IPFV=COND banana
 tekatsi=rika payantzi pi-p-i-na kaniri
 NEG.EXI=COND banana 2S-give-IRR-IO cassava
 ‘Give me banana, if there is banana; if there isn’t banana, give me cassava.’

However, it seems that the Spanish loan *o* ‘or’ is nowadays the usual way to build a disjunctive coordination of nouns and also of clauses.

Coordination of adjectives is treated in Section 5.8, and coordination of clauses, in Section 7.4.1.1.

4.1.8. Ashéninka onomastics

As far as I know, every Ashéninka has a name in the Spanish fashion, i.e. with one or two given names and two family names (the first one from the father and the second one from the mother), and they are registered with this name in the Peruvian national census. In fact, during my 2017 field trip, I was in Atalaya on the day the Peruvian census was carried out and could witness the hectic work in the sites of indigenous organizations preparing everything to go that day to the indigenous communities in order to carry out the census.

Nonetheless, many Ashéninka also use traditional names, which are mostly names of animals, but also of plants and even adjectives (see Section 1.3.2 for the Ashéninka names of my consultants). Two of the participants in one of the conversations that I have glossed (CCPC), a couple of elders from the community of Unini Cascada, introduced themselves with their Ashéninka names: Cheroki for the woman and Piichotzi for the man (both names denote different classes of birds). One of the participants in another conversation (CMH), a young student of Nopoki University, introduced herself with her Spanish name, but her interlocutor addressed

her with an Ashéninka name: Hamani, the Ashéninka word for ‘paca’. I asked a speaker about other examples of Ashéninka names, and he mentioned Kóshiri (a kind of white monkey) and Thopiro (a kind of fish similar to an armoured catfish). He himself, born in 1953, told me that his Ashéninka name was Chóokiro, a kind of ant, and that he was usually addressed with this name when he was a child. When I was making the list of my consultants for Section 1.3.2, I asked one of them by phone about their Ashéninka names, and all of them have an Ashéninka name, even the younger ones.

With the enormous biodiversity of their natural environment, the Ashéninka have a very long list of animal and plant names to give their children a name. One could think that these traditional names are going to disappear with the modern times, but, in the Ashéninka classroom of Nopoki University, I saw a paper on the wall with a painting and the Ashéninka names of the students (it was the class where I recorded the conversation mentioned above with Hamani). Thus, it seems that the youngsters like to have an Ashéninka name and use it, as the mentioned conversation shows, when Hamani’s interlocutor addresses her with her Ashéninka name.

4.2. The noun phrase

An Ashéninka nominal or noun phrase can consist of a noun plus other elements, which can be demonstratives, adverbs, quantifiers, adjectives or other nouns. These elements are described in the relevant sections, but I have put together in this section all the types of noun phrases that have come to my knowledge, above all with the goal of easing the comparison between the different noun phrases.

The demonstrative is always placed before the noun (see Section 3.2 for a description of demonstratives) (197).

- (197) iroka kenkitharentsi
 i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi
 DEM-F=PROX tell.a.story-NMLZ
 ‘this story’ (OS)

A noun phrase in combination with an adverb is rare, but some occur in my corpus with *éhatzi* ‘also’ (198).

- (198) Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. **Échatzi ótsitzi** itháatakiri irika haniika.
 eentsi éekiro i-kaem-atzi
 child goes.on 3M.S-call-PROG
 échatzi ótsitzi i-thaat-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka hani=ka
 also dog 3M.S-bark-PFV-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX wasp=PROX
 ‘The child goes on calling. Also the dog barks at these wasps.’ (FS)

Quantifiers, both numeral and non-numeral, are always placed before the noun (199).

- (199) a. mawa ohari b. máaweni ashéninka
 mawa ohari máaweni a-shéninka
 three year all INCL-fellow.person
 ‘three years’ (CCPC) ‘all our fellow people’ (OS)

The indefinite pronoun described in Section 3.4, *ítsipa/ótsipa* (M/F),⁶⁴ is also always placed before the noun and is inflected with the gender of the noun (200).

- (200) a. ótsipaki nampitsi b. ítsipa ashéninka
 o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi i-tsipa a-shéninka
 F-other=LOC place-ALI M-other INCL-fellow.person
 ‘in another place’ (OS) ‘other fellow persons’ (CTK)

As regards adjectives, they can be placed before or after the noun. Some speakers said that both positions are equally normal and frequent, while others said that the position before the noun is the preferred one, although they admitted that the other position was perfectly right as well. According to my experience, I think that the basic order is adjective before noun and the reverse order is perfectly acceptable. However, combinations of adjective plus noun are uncommon: there are only 12 in my text corpus, out of which 8 have the order adjective-noun and 4 the reverse. All but 2 occur in the story of the cheating shaman with the adjective *thayiri* ‘cheating’ and the nouns *sheripyari* ‘shaman’ or *ashéninka*. An example of each order is in (201), both of them with the demonstrative proximal enclitic attached to the adjective.

(201) thayirikà sheripyari thayi-ri=ka sheripyari cheating-REL=PROX shaman ‘this cheating shaman’ (SCS)	ashéninka thayirikà a-shéninka thayi-ri=ka INCL-fellow.person cheating-REL=PROX ‘this cheating Ashéninka’ (SCS)

Example (202) shows a noun phrase with a numeral and an adjective modifying the noun, which shows a possible order of these three word classes combined.

⁶⁴ Pronounced [ˈitsʰpa]/[ˈotsʰpa], following the *i*-deletion rule described in Section 2.3.1.

- (202) apaani atziri thayiri
 apaani atziri thayi-ri
 one person cheating-REL
 ‘a cheating person’ (SCS)

However, the order in (202) is not the only one in which these three word classes can be combined, given that the adjective can also be placed before the noun even with a numeral in the noun phrase. (202) is the only example in natural texts in my corpus, but I also got some other long noun phrases through elicitation. These are in (203).

- (203) a. irowa antawo pankotsi
 i-ro=ra anta-ro panko-tsi
 DEM-F=MED big-F house-ALI
 ‘that big house’
- b. irowa mawa antawo pankotsi
 i-ro=ra mawa anta-ro panko-tsi
 dem-f=med three big-f house-ali
 ‘those three big houses’
- c. irowa antawo pankotsi antyáshipawo
 i-ro=ra anta-ro panko-tsi antyashipa-ro
 DEM-F=MED big-F house-ALI old-F
 ‘that big and old house’
- d. irowa mawa pankotsi antawo antyáshipawo
 i-ro=ra mawa panko-tsi anta-ro antyashipa-ro
 DEM-F=MED three house-ALI big-F old-F
 ‘those three big and old houses’
- e. Tzimatsi ikiri antawo chéen kari.
 tzim-at si i-kiri anta-ro cheenka-ri
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV 3M-nose big-F black-REL
 ‘He’s got a big and black nose.’

The free order of adjective and noun can be observed in the examples in (203), even when a numeral is used, but, from (203c), (203d) and (203e), it seems that two adjectives cannot occur together before the noun, but they can co-occur after the noun, as (203d) and (203e) show. These examples are translations from the corresponding phrases in Spanish, but it is possible that noun phrases with two adjectives are uncommon. In any case, they can give an idea of how long noun phrases are formed in Ashéninka, which was my goal with this elicitation.

In (201), the demonstrative enclitic is attached to the adjective in both cases. I have not researched if this enclitic can attach to the noun in a noun phrase with an

adjective, but I have done this for the plural enclitic *=paeni* and the locative *=ki* (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.5.2, respectively): they can attach to both the adjective and the noun of a noun phrase.

The locative enclitic *=ki* can attach to both hosts when the adjective precedes the noun, as (204a) and (204b) show, but, when the adjective follows the noun, *=ki* must be attached to the noun (204c) and not to the adjective (204d).

- (204) a. antáwoki shíntzipaa
 anta-ro=ki shíntzipaa
 big-F=LOC raft
 ‘on the big raft’
 b. antawo shíntzipàaki
 anta-ro shíntzipaa=ki
 big-F raft=LOC
 ‘on the big raft’
 c. shíntzipàaki antawo
 shíntzipaa=ki anta-ro
 raft=LOC big-F
 ‘on the big raft’
 d. *shíntzipaa antáwoki
 shíntzipaa anta-ro=ki
 raft big-F=LOC
 Pretended: ‘on the big raft’

=ki can also be placed on numerals (205a) and indefinite pronouns (205a), as well as on the noun of these NPs.

- (205) a. apáaniki pankotsi
 apaani=ki panko-tsi
 one=LOC house-ALI
 ‘in a house’
 b. ótsipaki nampitsi
 o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘in another place’ (OS)

This variety of possible hosts makes *=ki* a quasi-word, which leaves few doubts about its clitic status. However, when I asked a speaker if *=ki* can attach to quantifiers as *osheki* ‘many’ or *máaweni* ‘all’, he admitted it only for the latter, but saying that it sounds strange.

In the same fashion as *=ki*, the plural enclitic *=paeni* can be placed on both the adjective and the noun of an NP. The difference is that *=paeni* can also be placed on the adjective even if it follows the noun, so that the four combinations shown in (206), all with the same meaning, are possible.

- (206) a. atzíripáeni antari
 atziri=paeni anta-ri
 person=PL big-M
 ‘big people’
 b. atziri antáripáeni
 atziri anta-ri=paeni
 person big-M=PL
 ‘big people’
 c. antáripáeni atziri
 anta-ri=paeni atziri
 big-M=PL person
 ‘big people’
 d. antari atzíripáeni
 anta-ri atziri=paeni
 big-M person=PL
 ‘big people’

The enclitics =*paeni* and =*ki* can be attached together to a noun, and their order

- (207) a. oháarensipáenikì b. oháarensikipáeni
oháarensi=paeni=ki oháarensi=ki=paeni
summer=PL=LOC summer=LOC=PL
'in the summertimes' 'in the summertimes'

More than one noun can be combined in a possessive construction to form a

- (208) a. apaani tahoki pochari mapoche b. ishiwanki pantyo
one bowl juice papaya i-shiwanki pantyo
'a bowl of papaya juice' 3M-feather duck
'the duck's feather'

When asked for constructions expressing a noun made of a certain material, two

- (209) a. pankotsi mapínanà
 panko-tsi mapi-nana
 house-ALI stone-MAT
 ‘stone house’
 b. pankotsi hantárinà
 panko-tsi hantari-na
 house-ALI wood-MAT
 ‘wooden house’
 c. hapato imashi waaka
 hapato i-mashi waaka
 shoe 3M-skin cow
 ‘cow skin shoe’

- (210) a. mápípanko⁶⁵ b. hantáripánko c. hapato imashi waaka
 mapi-panko hantari-panko hapato i-mashi waaka
 stone-house wood-house shoe 3M-skin cow
 ‘stone house’ ‘wooden house’ ‘cow skin shoe’

c-examples are identical, but the difference lies in the *a*- and *b*-examples. Speaker

⁶⁵ The consultant said that *mapi/hantari* and *panko* are different words, but *-panko* 'house' is an inalienable noun and cannot occur alone without a possessive prefix or an alienator suffix. Therefore, I have deemed it more appropriate to write both elements together due to the impossibility of the second one to occur alone with this form. This may be an example of two phonological words in one morphological word, given the two primary stresses, which probably are the reason why the consultant perceives that there are two different words.

made of that material, but speaker A in (209) uses a different strategy: she puts the head noun before the material noun and attaches the suffix *-(na)na* to the latter. This suffix has not appeared in any text or elicitation, nor have I found it in any other work of a Campan language. Based on only these two examples (209a-b), we can see that the suffix is attached to a noun that denotes a material, which is placed after another noun to form an NP that expresses that the first noun is made out of the material that the second name denotes. According to this description, I used the gloss MAT (material) for this suffix. We can see that the suffix's form is different in (209a) (*-nana*) and (209b) (*-na*). The first impression is that this difference is caused by the number of syllables of the host (two in *mapi* and three in *hantari*). However, given that the difference in the different forms of the alienator and the possessive suffixes is caused by the number of morae (see Section 4.1.3), it is very likely that also the number of morae rather than that of syllables makes the difference here. We cannot be sure about it because we would need a word with two syllables and three morae to check if it belongs to the group of shorter or longer words.

Another important difference is that, with the construction used by speaker A in (209a-b), the alienator suffix *-tsi* is attached to the inalienable noun *panko*, as is always done when an inalienable noun occurs without a pronominal prefix, while the construction used by speaker B in (210) does not use the alienator suffix.

Mápipánko and *hantáripánko* in (210a-b) are the only instances of composition with two nominal stems that I have found.

As a summary, we have seen in this section that demonstratives and numerals always precede the noun, while adjectives can precede or follow the noun, but the position before the noun appears to be more frequent. In noun phrases with a noun plus more than one different word classes, the adjective is preceded by the demonstrative or numeral, and the demonstrative precedes the numeral. All this can be schematized as follows:

DEMONSTRATIVE—NUMERAL—ADJECTIVE—NOUN—ADJECTIVE

5. Adjectives

As a theoretical basis for the description of adjectives, I follow Dixon (2010b:62-114) throughout this chapter. Dixon (2010b:63-64) distinguishes four basic types of the adjective class in the languages of the world:

“(a) Adjectives have similar grammatical properties to those of verbs”

“(b) Adjectives have similar properties to those of nouns”

“(c) Adjectives combine some of the grammatical properties of nouns with some of those of verbs”

“(d) Adjectives have grammatical properties different from those of nouns and from those of verbs”

Ashéninka clearly belongs to type (c). Dixon (2010b:63) describes this type by saying that adjectives “may be able to occur in an NP, then inflecting like a noun, and also as head of an intransitive predicate, the inflecting like a verb”. Many Ashéninka markers show a high degree of promiscuity in that they attach to different word classes (e.g. nouns taking verbal suffixes, see Section 4.1.6.1). Following this general practice, adjectives can be fully verbalized acting as intransitive and even transitive verbs, can be the head of an NP, take nominal enclitics, and a very small group can be inflected for gender, which is not possible in nouns.

5.1. Gender

The small group of adjectives that can be inflected for gender can be considered a different adjective class just based on this morphological property. However, this feature appears to be the only one that makes them different from the rest of the adjectives. The adjectives that I know to inflect with gender are just nine. There may be more, but I think that their total number is small, given that I was asking a speaker about this kind of words and he could not come up with more examples. The nine that I know are in Table 19. They are inflected with the suffixes *-ri* (masculine) and *-ro* (feminine, realized *-wo* after *a*), except *iryani-oryani*, which is inflected with the prefixes *i-* (masculine) and *o-* (feminine).

Table 19. Adjectives that inflect with gender

Masculine	Feminine	English	Masculine	Feminine	English
<i>iryani</i>	<i>oryani</i>	small	<i>mathari</i>	<i>mathawo</i>	thin
<i>antari</i>	<i>antawo</i>	big	<i>hanthari</i>	<i>hanthawo</i>	long
<i>kaméethari</i>	<i>kaméethawo</i>	good	<i>ewónkiri</i>	<i>ewónkiro</i>	midsize
<i>ewánkari</i>	<i>ewánkawo</i>	young	<i>mantsiyari</i>	<i>mantsiyawo</i>	ill
<i>antyáshipari</i>	<i>antyáshipawo</i>	old			

Since nouns do not inflect for gender, this adjective class might be included in Dixon's type (d) (see above) because gender marking is unique to these adjectives.

Not all Ashé-Ashá varieties have the same gender-inflected adjectives. Payne's (1980) tridialectal dictionary (Apurucayali, Pichis and Yuruá-Ucayali) shows that "catsincaari" 'cold' and "saavari" 'hot' (*katsinkaari* and *háawari* in UP Ashéninka) are inflected with gender, but I asked a speaker about these adjectives and he said that he had never heard **katsinkaawo* nor **háawawo*, which would be the feminine forms of *katsinkaari* and *háawari* if *-ri* in these words were a masculine suffix. The same happens with the colours "quitamaari" 'white' and "quityoncari" 'red' in Payne's (1980) dictionary (*kitamaari* and *kityónkari* in UP Ashéninka): the dictionary shows them inflected with gender, but my consultant said that he had never heard **kitamawo* nor **kityónkawo*, which would be their feminine counterpart. However, Payne (1980) does not inflect "cheencari" 'black' nor "quinashiri" 'green' (*chéenkari* and *kináshiri* in UP Ashéninka). The fact that two colours inflect gender and two do not is strange and might be due to a mistake. Payne's textbook (1989:302-05), based on Pichis and Alto Perené, mentions some gender-inflected adjectives and there are no colours among them.

5.2. Colours

When researching colour terms, I obtained different answers from different speakers. An Asháninka in the indigenous community of Sapani explicitly told me that they have five colour terms, and this totally coincides with the five colour terms that an Ashéninka told me to be the only ones that he knew: *chéenkari* 'black', *kitamaari* 'white', *kityónkari* 'red', *kitériri* 'yellow' and *kináshiri* 'green'. This colour set complies with Kay & McDaniel's (1978:614) (referring to Berlin & Kay 1969)

universal for colour sets in the languages of the world,⁶⁶ which says that, if a language has five colours, they are just those (see Figure 2 for the diagram of the basic colours hierarchy). However, other speakers have mentioned other terms at different moments during my fieldwork. *Kamaari* was translated as ‘brown’ and ‘ash colour’ by two different speakers. Although ‘ash colour’ can be interpreted as ‘grey’, we may infer that these two different translations refer to the same colour. The same Ashéninka speaker who told me the five colour terms had told me other terms four years before: he said that *natsiyaari* is an old word that means both ‘green’ and ‘blue’, and that *enàtsiyáari* is ‘yellow’. Another Ashéninka speaker told me the aforementioned *chéenkari*, *kitamaari*, *kityónkari*, *kitériri* and *kamaari*, plus *éeriki* ‘green’ (instead of the *kináshiri* above), *kihaari* ‘blue’ and *patsitákiri* ‘orange’, of which she said that this is the colour used for the strips of the traditional *cushma*. If, to the five colours mentioned at first, we add ‘blue’, ‘brown’ and ‘orange’, we have an eight-colour set that also accords with Kay & McDaniel’s universal rule (if a language has eight colours, they are the first seven mentioned plus ‘purple’, ‘pink’, ‘orange’ or ‘grey’). What would not accord with this universal would be to consider that *kamaari* is ‘grey’ instead of ‘brown’, because the universal says that a language cannot have ‘grey’ without having ‘brown’.

Figure 2. Basic colours hierarchy according to Kay & McDaniel (1978:614)

white	<	red	<	green	<	blue	<	brown	<	purple
black				yellow						pink
										orange
										grey

However, some of these terms do not fulfil the definition of a basic colour term as defined by Kay & McDaniel (1978:612). This definition establishes four conditions for a colour term to be considered basic:

1. It must be monolexemic.
2. Its signification “is not included in that of any other term”.

⁶⁶ Berlin & Kay (1969) is a quite old work that has raised methodological objections (Kay et al. 1997:22), but, according to Kay et al. (1997:21), Berlin & Kay’s hypotheses “have been substantially confirmed by subsequent research”.

3. Its application “is not restricted to a narrow class of objects”.
4. It is “relatively salient as evident in frequent and general use”.

Patsitákiri ‘orange’ does not fulfil condition 3 because it seems to refer mainly to *cushma* strips. *Natsiyaari* ‘green/blue’ does not fulfil condition 4 because my consultant said that it is an old word (*palabra antigua* in Spanish), and *enàtsiyáari* ‘yellow’ is based on *natsiyaari*. The different description of *kamaari* by two different speakers (‘brown’ and ‘ash colour’) makes it difficult to comply with condition 4. *Kihaari* is an interesting word because it appeared in a natural text (the story of the cheating shaman, SCS) and the Ashéninka speaker mentioned first translated it as ‘black’. This speaker was born in 1953, and the other one who translated it as ‘blue’, in 1972. The key clue is that, when this word occurs in the SCS, it refers to genipap dust (obtained by grating the fruit). When one searches for images online with the words *genipap dust* or its Spanish translations *polvo de huito* or *polvo de jagua*, one can see which colour we are dealing with: it is a kind of blue with a tonality that goes from greyish to very dark, almost black. Knowing this, the explanation is quite straightforward: for the older speaker, this colour is a kind of black; for the younger speaker, who is more familiar with the colours in Spanish, this is blue because it is blue in Spanish. Therefore, *kihaari* does not fulfil Kay & McDaniel’s condition 2 because it is a kind of black. The fact that the younger speaker translates it into Spanish *azul* ‘blue’ means that it is possible that younger speakers identify *kihaari* with ‘blue’ and it will end up becoming the basic colour ‘blue’. This may be an interesting semantic shift in that a colour term is a kind of black and ends up being blue under the influence of another language. Actually, the split of a ‘black/blue’ category in distinct ‘black’ and ‘blue’ categories is one of the evolutionary paths posited in Kay et al. (1997:33).

Payne’s (1980) tridialectal dictionary (Pichis, Apurucayali and Yuruá-Ucayali) shows the first five: “cheencari” ‘black’, “quitamaari” ‘white’, “quityoncari” ‘red’, “quiteriri” ‘yellow’, and both “eerequi/iiriqui” and “quinashiri” for ‘green’. Regarding *kihaari* ‘blue’, the dictionary shows “quisaari” with the meaning ‘black’ –which is quite consistent with my experience described above, given that his youngest consultants must have had the age of my older consultant. For my *natsiyaari*

‘blue/green’, the dictionary shows “*natsiryaari*” with the meaning ‘dark green’, ‘unripe’. The meaning ‘unripe’ is a probable explanation of the aforementioned pair *natsiyaari* ‘blue/green’ and *enàtsiyáari* ‘yellow’: they probably mean ‘unripe’ and ‘ripe’, respectively. Payne’s dictionary shows no colour term *kamaari*. Kindberg’s Asháninka dictionary (1980) shows “*quisari*” with the meaning ‘blue’.

With all this, my conclusion is that UP Ashéninka has the first five basic colours *kitamaari* ‘white’, *chéenkari* ‘black’, *kityónkari* ‘red’, *kitériri* ‘yellow’ and *kináshiri/éeriki* ‘green’. Under the influence of Spanish, a basic blue colour could appear from *kihaari*, which originally is a kind of black.

5.3. Grammatical properties

Coming back to Dixon’s (2010b:63-64) classification of adjective classes in four types based on their grammatical properties, he says that, in languages with adjectives with grammatical properties similar to those of verbs, both word classes can function as head of an intransitive predicate; and, in languages with adjectives with grammatical properties similar to those of nouns, an adjective can occur inside an NP with a noun or just with the adjective alone, and “adjectives may take the same inflectional processes as nouns, for instance relating to gender and number”. Regarding the last statement, we saw in Section 5.1 that a few adjectives inflect for gender, but nouns do not. For the rest of the properties, Ashéninka adjectives can be the head of an intransitive and even transitive predicate and can occur within an NP with a noun or by itself. Moreover, they can be a copula complement.

These different properties are shown in (211) with different occurrences of the adjective *tenari* ‘heavy’ obtained during an elicitation session. *Tenari* is actually formed with the relative suffix *-ri*, and many adjectives are formed with this suffix. The forms with the relative suffix can lead to saying that adjectives are verb-like and their occurrence in NPs are actually relative constructions, but adjectives with the relative *-ri* share the same properties with those without this suffix, as is shown in (213).

- (211) a. **Tenari** thaato.
tena-ri thaato
heavy-REL bag
‘The bag is heavy.’
- b. Payi thaato **tenari** éhatzi kaari **tenari**.
p-ay-i thaato tena-ri éhatzi kaari tena-ri
2S-take-FRS bag heavy-REL also NEG.COP heavy-REL
‘Take a heavy bag and a light one.’
- c. Payi **tenari**.
p-ay-i tena-ri
2S-take-FRS heavy-REL
‘Take the heavy one.’
- d. Payi thaato **ténaperotátsiri**.
p-ay-i thaato tena-pero-t-atsi-ri
2S-take-FRS bag heavy-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
‘Take the bag that is very heavy.’

In (211a), *tenari* is the predicate of an intransitive sentence. In (211b), *tenari* occurs in an NP modifying the noun *thaato*, and also as the complement of the negative copula *kaari*. In (211c), *tenari* is the only member of an NP. In (211d), *tenari* takes the verbal imperfective participle suffix *-atsi*. I have no example of *tenari* as the complement of a positive copula, but this occurrence is in (212) with *ewónkiri* ‘midsize’.

- (212) **Ewónkiri** ini.
ewonki-ri i-ni
midsize-M M-COP.AN
‘He is midsize.’

As said above, one could argue that examples (211b) and (211c) are not actually NPs, but relative constructions, so that the translations would be, instead of ‘take a heavy bag’ and ‘take the heavy one’, ‘take the bag that is heavy’ and ‘take the one that is heavy’, respectively. However, examples (213) with *antari/antawo* (m./f.), one of the few gender-inflected nouns, show that an adjective with the relative suffix as *tenari* (211) shows the same grammatical properties as one without it as *antari/antawo* (213).

- (213) a. Irowa pankotsi **antawo**.
i-ro=ra panko-tsi anta-ro
DEM-F=MED house-ALI big-F
‘That house is big.’

- b. Tzimatsi nopanko **antawo**.
 tzim-atši no-panko anta-ro
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV 1-house big-F
 ‘I have a big house.’
- c. Nokoyi **antawo**.
 no-koy-i anta-ro
 1-want-FRS big-F
 ‘I want the big one.’
- d. Nonampi **antáwoperotátzi**.
 no-nampi anta-ro-pero-t-atzi
 1-community big-F-VER-&-PROG
 ‘My community is very big.’

I have arranged the letters corresponding to the examples in (211) and (213)) in such a way that the same letter shows the same grammatical property in both examples. In this way, in (213a), *antawo* is the predicate of an intransitive sentence, as *tenari* in (211a). In (213b), *antawo* occurs inside an NP modifying the noun *nopanko*, the same function as the first *tenari* in (211b) –the second *tenari* in this example has a different function. In (213c), *antawo* is the only member of an NP, as *tenari* in (211c).

The fact that adjectives with and without the relative suffix *-ri* share the same grammatical properties is most clearly illustrated in (214) with *kaméethari* and *kameetha* ‘good’, an adjective that admits both forms with and without the relative *-ri*, which is rather an exception,⁶⁷ but the fact that *-ri* is not part of the stem is most clearly seen in (211d) with *ténaperotátsiri*, where the relative suffix *-ri* is placed after two other suffixes. This detachment of *-ri* always occurs when an adjective takes other verbal suffixes.

- (214) a. Iroka mapocha **kaméethari**.
 i-ro=ka mapocha kameetha-ri
 DEM-F=PROX papaya good-REL
 ‘This papaya is good.’
- b. Iroka mapocha **kameetha**.
 i-ro=ka mapocha kameetha
 DEM-F=PROX papaya good
 ‘This papaya is good.’

⁶⁷ The adjective *kameetha* ‘good’ is exceptional not only because the relative suffix is optional, but also because it can take gender suffixes and the adjectival suffix *-ni*, also optionally, i.e. *kameetha* admits more possibilities than any other adjective and all of them are optional.

While the examples above are from elicitations specifically dedicated to check the grammatical properties of adjectives, these properties can be observed in natural texts. In this way, (215) is an example of an adjective as head of an intransitive predicate (verb-like function); in (216), the adjective is the only member of an NP (noun-like function).

- (215) **Antawo** powane?
 anta-ro p-owani
 big-F 2-chacra
 'Is your *chacra* big? (CMM)
- (216) Antawáetatzí owámetatzíri **iryániériki**.
 Ø-antawae-t-atzi Ø-owame-t-atzi-ri i-rya-ni-eriki
 3F.S-work-&-PROG 3F.S-teach-&-PROG-3M.O M-small-ADJ-DIM.PL
 'She's working teaching small (children).' (CMH)

Besides these functions, there are in my corpus two instances of adjectives being the head of a transitive predicate. They are in (217) and (218).

- (217) Eero, rowa..., **péentsikiròtziro**.
 eero ro=ra p-eentsikiro-t-zi-ro
 NEG.IRR F=MED 2S-slow-&-REA-3F.O
 'Don't, um..., do it slowly.' (TSJ)
- (218) Tsikárika ikántakáakari rokíkirà **ròmahontyáantakariri?**
 tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra
 WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-eye=LOC=MED
 r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri
 3M.S-CAUS-dumb-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL
 'How would it be that he caused him to become dumb in his eyes?' (TSJ)

The adjectives *éentsikiro* 'slow' and *mahontya* 'dumb' appear in Payne's dictionary (1980:65). The former with several dialectically different forms with the meaning "despacio, lento" 'slowly, slow'; the latter as "masontzi/masonto (adj. m./f.)" with the meaning "mudo/a" 'unable to speak'. I have chosen the English translation 'dumb' because it means both 'stupid' and 'unable to speak', the same as in Ashéninka, so the English semantic content perfectly fits the Ashéninka one. In *péentsikiròtziro*, the meaning 'slow' is transitivized to mean 'do slowly'. In *ròmahontyáantakariri*, a causative prefix triggers the transitivization with the meaning 'make dumb'. I have not researched if these two adjectives can be used in an NP in the usual way and thus do not have properties different from other adjectives. Payne's dictionary (1980) says that "eentsiquiro" is an adverb and "masontzi/to" an adjective. Be that as it may, there

is little reason to think that these two adjectives have special properties, rather it seems that they are a token of a common strategy by means of which an adjective becomes the head of a transitive predicate.

5.4. Semantic tasks

Dixon (2010b:70-71) attributes four semantic tasks to adjectives:

“(A) Make a statement that something has a certain property”

“(B) As a specification that helps identify the referent of the head noun in an NP”

“(C) [...] a comparative construction”

“(D) [...] modify verbs”

Ashéninka performs the tasks (A), (B) and (D), but not (C). Tasks (A) and (B) can be seen in the preceding examples. In this way, task (A) is performed in examples (211a), (212), (213a), (213c), (214a), (214b) and (215); and task (B) is performed in examples (211b), (211c), (211d), (213b), (213d) and (216). Regarding task (D), an example of this use is in (219), where *kameetha* is used as an adverb.

(219) Irika rira, ráwithàkitakiri **kameetha**.

i-ri=ka ri=ra r-awithaki-t-ak-i-ri kameetha
DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-hug-PFV-FRS-3M.O well
‘So..., um..., he has hugged him well.’ (FS)

Kameetha ‘good, well’ is the most frequent adjective in my corpus, and it can be used in its basic form with an adjectival as well as with an adverbial (modifying a verb) function. Yet it occurs in my corpus most times with an adverbial function. An adjectival use with its basic form is in (220).

(220) ...róoperotàki **kameetha** iyátharèkitho,

roo-pero-t-ak-i kameetha i-yatharékitho
F-VER-&-PFV-FRS good 3M-testicle
‘...the fact is that his testicle was really good,’ (TSJ)

However, an adverbial meaning can also be expressed by incorporating the adjective into the verbal complex, as in (221).

(221) Hâpokatyénkarikitanàka

hapok-a-t<y>**enkari**-ki-t-an-ak-a
jump-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA
‘He jumps spread-legged.’ (FS)

As regards Dixon's task (C), Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka has neither a comparative nor a superlative construction. When trying to get a translation from Spanish *X es más Y que Z* 'X is more Y than Z', the usual translation was 'X is Y, Z is not Y', even to the point that, after a few tries with a speaker, he explicitly said that Ashéninka does not have an expression as Spanish *más que* 'more than'. The same happens with the superlative: when asked to translate a Spanish superlative (*X es el más Y* 'X is the most Y'), the translation is 'X is the only Y', or, for 'X is the youngest in the family', 'X is the last one'. However, there is a construction that means 'less': *ari iyoneenta*. Two examples are shown in (222): (222a) with the adjective *antawo* 'big (f.)' and (222b) with the quantifier *osheki* 'many'. This is the most similar to a comparative construction that exists in the language.

- (222) a. Satipo antawo, **ari iyoneenta** Atalaya.
 Satipo anta-ro ari iyoneenta Atalaya
 Satipo big-F AFF less Atalaya
 'Satipo is big, Atalaya is less big.'
- b. Énitatsi osheki shipibo, **ari iyoneenta** ashéninka.
 eeni-t-atsi osheki shipibo ari iyoneenta ashéninka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV many Shipibo AFF less Ashéninka⁶⁸
 'There are many Shipibos, less Ashéninkas.'

Ari iyoneenta is a lexicalized expression. Its origin can be guessed by glossing the word *iyoneenta* as Ø-iyoneent-a (3F.S-know-ATT-REA.REFL) and considering that the multifunctional word *ari* has the meaning 'thus' here. In this way, it could be translated more or less as 'thus it knows itself to be in a low degree', i.e. 'it is known to be in a low degree', i.e. 'it is less'.

Moreover, there is a construction similar to a superlative with the demonstrative enclitics (described in Section 4.1.5.1): a demonstrative enclitic attached to an adjective means 'the ADJECTIVE one' but can also mean 'the most ADJECTIVE one'. This feature was discovered by inquiring about the adjective in (223), which refers to a *quebrada* (brook that usually dries up in the dry season).

⁶⁸ In this case, *ashéninka* is clearly used to refer to the ethnic group, that is why I have not segmented it as usual (a-shéninka, INCL-fellow.person, 'our fellow person').

(223) Éehatzi oshíyawo irowa **antawétika** Chicosillo.

éehatzi Ø–oshiy–a–ro

also 3F.S–be.similar–REA–3F.O

i–ro=ra anta–ro–t–i=ka Chicosillo

DEM–F=MED big–F–&–IRR=PROX Chicosillo

‘It is also similar to that bigger one, Chicosillo.’ (CMM)

After inquiring about the meaning of *antawétika*, the consultant gave me the Spanish translation *más grande* ‘bigger’, but the meaning in this sentence is just as the translation shows, i.e. the comparative does not compare this *quebrada* with another specific one, but with undetermined *quebradas*, i.e. as saying ‘bigger than many others’. After further inquiring about adjectives with demonstrative enclitics, it turned out that an adjective with a demonstrative enclitic can have a superlative meaning in that ‘the big one’ can also mean ‘the biggest one’ depending on the context. Some examples used for this elicitation are shown in (224).

(224) a. Iroka **hanthárikà**.

i–ro=ka hantha–ri=ka

DEM–F=PROX long–REL=PROX

‘The longest/long one (a stick).’

b. Náteyatziro iroka **oryánikà**.

n–atey–atzi–ro i–ro=ka o–rya–ni=ka

1S–take.up–PROG–3F.O DEM–F=PROX F–small–ADJ=PROX

‘I’m taking the smallest/small one up.’

c. Pámina irowa **háawarirà**.

p–am–i–na i–ro=ra haawa–ri=ra

2S–bring–IRR–1O DEM–F=MED hot–REL=MED

‘Bring me the hottest/hot one.’

In the three examples in (224), the adjective’s meaning can be a superlative or just an adjective acting as the head of an NP. We should consider that an English phrase as ‘the small one’, if we have two items, means the same as ‘the smallest one’. If we have several items, ‘the small one’ might be confusing only if there are many items and many of them are smaller than others and of a similar size. However, the examples in (224) show that, in UP Ashéninka, ‘the small one’ can take on the meaning ‘the smallest one’.

5.5. Affixes and enclitics in adjectives

The following sections describe the affixes and enclitics that adjectives can carry. Section 5.5.1 treats nominal suffixes and enclitics that can be used in adjectives, Section 5.5.2 discusses verbal affixes and enclitics in adjectives, and sections 5.5.3, 5.5.4 and 5.5.5 are devoted to principally adjectival suffixes.

5.5.1. Nominal suffixes and enclitics

Adjectives can host the plural diminutive suffix *-ériki*, as was shown in (216), and also the plural enclitic *=paeni*, which can attach to the noun or the adjective in an NP (see Section 4.2). An example of *=paeni* on an adjective is in (225), where two juxtaposed NPs occur: one formed by the quantifier *máaweni* ‘all’ and a noun, the other one formed by only an adjective.

- (225) Tee, tee imátziri máaweni atziripáeni, **antyáshipàripáeni**, roshánkahiri, waaka.

tee i-ma-t-zi-ri máaweni atziri=paeni
NEG.REA 3M.S-can-&-REA-3M.O all person=PL

antyashipa-ri=paeni r-oshank-ah-i-ri waaka
old-M=PL 3M.S-shoo-REG-FRS-3M.O cow

‘No, they cannot do it to them, all the people, the elder, shoo the cows.’ (SCFF)

The diminutive *-aniki* can also attach to adjectives, as in the fully verbalized *poshini* ‘tasty’ in (226).

- (226) Kimatzíro **pòshiñáanikitàki** yatharékhitho meirí.

kim-atzi-ro poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho méyiri
feel-PROG-3F.O tasty-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle squirrel

‘He’s feeling that the squirrel’s testicle is really tasty.’ (TSJ)

The locative enclitic *=ki* and the enclitic demonstratives can also attach to an adjective, as in the NPs in (227) and (228), respectively (see Section 5.4 for the superlative function of the demonstrative enclitics).

- (227) ...**owákirariki** owaantsi,...

owákira-ri=ki owaani-ntsi
new-REL=LOC chacra-ALI

‘...in the new *chacras*,...’ (SCS)

- (228) Irika **tháirika** shéripýàri ikántakìri...

i-ri=ka thayi-ri=ka sheripyari i-kant-ak-i-ri

DEM-M=PROX cheating-REL=PROX shaman 3M.S-say-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘This cheating shaman says to them...’ (SCS)

5.5.2. Verbal affixes and enclitics

Ashéninka adjectives can take verbal affixes and enclitics in their predicative function. Dixon (2010b:77-79) says that adjectives are usually more restricted than verbs in their morphological processes. The number of verbal affixes and enclitics that adjectives can take in Ashéninka has not been the object of a thorough study, and, considering the high number of verbal suffixes, this study could fill a whole thesis. The verbal affixes and enclitics attached to adjectives in my text corpus are: reality status suffixes, the perfective *-ak*, directionals, the dubitative *=ma*, object suffixes, the relative *-ri*, the causative *o-*, the imperfective participle *-atsi*, the reinforced optative *=ita* and subject prefixes, plus the attenuative *-neent* in an elicitation. The same as with verbs, the reality status suffix is obligatory when an adjective hosts a verbal affix or enclitic, except with the relative *-ri*, which is a common occurrence in adjectives and does not require the RS suffix. The dubitative enclitic *=ma* does not require an RS suffix either, but it is an enclitic just because it can attach to very different word classes. The number of fully verbalized adjectives (taking at least an RS suffix) in my text corpus is 30, and the affixes and enclitics mentioned above number 10 (I do not count *-neent* because my example is from an elicitation). I chose at random five samples of 30 verbs in five different sequences of texts from my corpus and they yielded 16, 15, 11, 11 and 19 different affixes and enclitics. Considering that each sample is a sequence of some text and verbs tend to take similar markers in the same story or conversation, it seems that adjectives must be more restricted than verbs in the number of verbal markers that they can take.

5.5.3. Adjectival *-ni*, adjectivizer *-inka/-ntzinka* and class adjectivizer *-hato/-hatzi*

The suffix *-ni* is not described with an adjectival meaning in the previous Ashé-Ashá literature. The adjectival character that I posit derives from the observation of this *-ni* in adjectives in my corpus. The first observation is that, in *oryani/iryani* (f./m.) ‘small’, the sequence *-ni* is detached in the word *oryápetyanikini* (o-rya-petyani-ki-**ni**, F-small-table.like-FORM-ADJ, ‘small and table-like’, TSJ), which proves that it is not

part of the adjective root. The second observation is with *kaméetheni*, from *kameetha* ‘good, well’. The basic unsegmentable form *kameetha* can mean ‘good’ or ‘well’. A consultant said that the difference is that *kaméetheni* refers to good behaviour, so that ‘good food’ can be translated as *wanawontsi kameetha* or *wanawontsi kaméethari*, but not as **wanawontsi kaméetheni*. The impossibility of using *-ni* with inanimate nouns seems to point to it as an animate marker, which might relate it, at least diachronically, to the non-verbal animate copula *-ni* (see Section 6.10.3). All these data might not actually make a solid basis so as to posit the adjectival character of this *-ni*, but its detachment in *oryápetyanikini* is reminiscent of the behaviour of the relative *-ri* in other adjectives. More data may shed light on this *-ni* in adjectives and confirm or reject its character as an adjectival suffix.

Regarding *-inka/-ntzinka*, Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:163) shows the suffix “-tzincari/ro” and says that it is an adjectivizer inflected with gender (*-ri/-ro*, m./f.). Mihas’ grammar of Alto Perené (2015a:426-28) describes the same suffix, also inflected with gender, but calls it “quality nominalizer”. In my corpus, this suffix occurs with the different forms *-inka* and *-tzinka* in two words: *móontzinkari* and *poñínkari* (the latter, two times). These instances are presented in (229) and (230).

- (229) Owámetakinàri owámetàntatsìri **poñínkari** hanta kirinka.
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 teach-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-inka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 come.from-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST downriver
 ‘The one who taught me is a teacher coming from there downriver.’ (CMH)
- (230) Móontzinkari.
 moo-ntzinka-ri
 hole-ADJZ-M
 ‘It has holes.’ (CMM)

Example (230) is a good reason to consider *-ntzinka* an adjectivizer since a noun (*mootsi* ‘hole, gap’) cannot be nominalized. *Poñínkari* in (230) can be translated as ‘the one coming from’ or ‘the one who comes from’. Actually, this kind of translations is what I got from a speaker when researching this suffix, i.e. *héekinkari/héekinkawo* (m./f.) ‘the one who lives’, *iyótzinkari/iyótzinkawo* (m./f.) ‘the one who knows’, etc., always inflected with gender. The translations reflect adjectival relative clauses in Spanish or English that describe properties, so the Ashéninka word formed with *-inka*

is describing a property of the noun that it modifies; therefore, it can very well be considered an adjective. Moreover, the gender inflection helps to draw this conclusion because nouns are never inflected with gender, while a few adjectives are.

The choice between *-inka* and *-tzinka* seems to have a phonological reason, given that the root in (229) ends in a consonant, and the root in (230), in a vowel. Payne's (1980) tridialectal dictionary (Pichis, Apurucayali and Ucayali-Yuruá) does not show examples (the suffix only appears in the suffix list at the end of his dictionary), and Mihas (2015a:428) for Alto Perené shows the examples *tsomonte-tzinkaro* 'The tree is big-bellied' (*tsomonte* 'bulge') and *sat-ant-tzinkari* 'the medic who administers injections' (*sat-* 'stick', *-ant* is Mihas' customary suffix). Thus, it seems that this suffix can have the form *-ntzinka* and can be reduced to *-inka*, while Payne's and Mihas' *-tzinka* is in between.

The class adjectivizer *-hato/-hatzi* (f./m.) has appeared once in a natural text in its feminine form (231) and in two elicited examples in the two genders of the language (232).

(231) Eero áawyanèro, aniryo: páminiro **ótsipahàto**.

eero aawi-an-i-ro aniryo
NEG.IRR can.carry-ABL-FRS-3F.O niece.sister's.daughter.VOC.ME

p-amin-i-ro o-tsipa-hat-o
2S-look-FRS-3F.O F-other-ADJZ.CL-F

'Niece (sister's daughter), you won't be able to carry them (fruits): look for another type.' (CCPC)

(232) a. mapi énihàto	b. shima énihàtzi
mapi eni-hat-o	shima eni-hatz-i
stone river-ADJZ.CL-F	fish river-ADJZ.CL-M
'river stones'	'river fish'

In (231), the morpheme *-hato* is attached to *ótsipa* '(an)other (fem.)'. The consultant was very clear with the meaning of *ótsipahàto*: 'another class'. I inquired if *hato* might be a noun, but it turned out that it could not act as an independent word. Moreover, the consultant insisted that *ótsipahàto* is a single word and not two. Later I came across the expressions in (232) while revising transcriptions from my first field trip in 2015. The meanings expressed in (232) are the same as in (231): the word that hosts *-hato/-hatzi* denotes a class or type to which the modified noun belongs. In (231), the reference is to fruits of a type different from those that the addressee is trying to

carry. In both examples in (232), the head noun precedes the adjectivized noun, and the adjectivizer property can be most clearly noticed in that *eni* ‘river’ is a noun that, with the suffix *-hato/-hatzi*, becomes adjectivized by expressing that the head noun belongs to a class (existing in rivers), and is inflected with the gender of the head noun. In this example, *-hato/-hatzi* on *eni* fulfils the same function as the English suffix *-ine* on *river* to yield the adjective *riverine*. Therefore, I consider that *-hato/-hatzi* is an adjectivizer because it derives different word classes (an indefinite pronoun in (231), nouns in (232)) and converts them into adjectives by lending them the property to modify a noun. I have added the label CLASS because this property consists in belonging to a specific class or type.

This morpheme appears to be the same as Mihás’ (2015a:428-29) *sato/satzi* in Alto Perené, which she includes in the group of “quality nominalizers”, as *-tzinkari/-tzinkaro*.

5.5.4. Intensifier *-ni*

The intensifier *-ni* can attach to different word classes, namely nouns, indefinite pronouns, non-numeral quantifiers and adjectives, as far as I know, but it might also occur with another word class. It is more frequent in adjectives, where it intensifies the propriety described by the adjective, and, when used in other word classes, it also intensifies a propriety inherent to that word (e.g. the noun *eentsi* ‘child’ in (233), where the property ‘young’ is intensified). This subsection reviews its occurrences with different word classes because I think that this is the best way to show its general semantic content.

In (233)), *-ni* is attached to *eentsi* ‘child’ to intensify the very feature of being a child, adopting a function similar to a diminutive. In (234), *-ni* intensifies the meaning of the quantifier *osheki* ‘many’. In (235), *-ni* gives the indefinite pronoun *ótsipa* ‘another’ the meaning ‘yet another’. In (236), *-ni* is attached to the adjective *póshiniri* ‘tasty’ in order to intensify the property expressed by the adjective.

- (233) Haka **éentsini**, éentsika éekiro ikáematziri rótsitziti,
 ha=ka eentsi-ni eentsi=ka
 LOC=PROX child-INTS child=PROX
 éekiro i-kaem-atzi-ri r-otsitzi-ti
 goes.on 3M.S-call-PROG-3M.O 3M-dog-POSS
 ‘The little child here, this child goes on calling his dog.’ (FS)
- (234) Oshékini!
 osheki-ni
 many-INTS
 ‘(There are) a lot! (In answer to the question whether there are many animals in a place)’ (CMM)
- (235) **Ótsipani** paata tsiréniri échatzi rowáyitéri iníntakòri.
 o-tsipa-ni paata tsiréniri
 F-other-INTS later night
 échatzi r-ow-ayit-i-ri i-nintakori
 also 3M.S-CAUS-go.down-FRS-3M.O 3M-follower
 ‘Later, yet another night, he also makes his followers come down.’ (SCS)
- (236) Ikantzi: “Hee! **Póshinirini**.”
 i-kant-zi hee poshi-ni-ri-ni
 3M.S-say-REA AFF tasty-ADJ-REL-INTS
 ‘He says: “Yes! It is very tasty”.’ (TSJ)

Since *-ni* attaches to different word classes, I might have considered it an enclitic instead of a suffix. However, the examples above show that *-ni* is modifying the very word to which it is attached and limits its scope to the meaning expressed by its host. Therefore, the criterion that I am following, namely that a clitic should be in a middle way between an affix and a word, is not fulfilled here, given that *-ni* cannot be moved to another host of the same phrase without a change in meaning.

5.5.5. Ignorative *-ni*

The suffix *-ni* occurs twice in my corpus: once on an adjective and the other time on a noun. Since I discovered it while eliciting adjectives, it is included in the present section. This suffix expresses that the speaker does not know the reality expressed by its host. In (237), the speaker tastes a nut and expresses his ignorance that it is very tasty. In (238), the speaker expresses her ignorance about the existence of stony riverbanks.

- (237) Póshinirinià.
 poshi–ni–ri–**ni**=ma
 tasty–ADJ–REL–IGN=DUB
 ‘I didn’t know that it is so tasty.’ (TSJ)
- (238) Mapipóokiperòni?
 mapi–pooki–pero–**ni**
 stone–COL–VER–IGN
 ‘Are there actually stony riverbanks?’ (CMM)

This suffix appeared while researching the intensifier *-ni* on adjectives, which has the same form as the ignorative. While *-ni* on an adjective can intensify the property expressed by the adjective, *-ni* on an adjective in a question signals that the speaker is asking whether something has the property expressed by the adjective and remarks her ignorance about the answer, as in (238). An example on *-ni* in a question from an elicitation is in (239).

- (239) Pochárinì?
 pocha–ri–ni
 sweet–REL–IGN
 ‘Is it sweet?’

5.6. Long adjectives denoting forms

A remarkable feature of Ashéninka is the existence of long adjectival words denoting very specific forms. Some instances from my text corpus are shown in the following examples.

- (240) Hàpokatyénkarikitanàka.
 hapok–a–**t<y>enkari**–ki–t–an–ak–a
 jump–&–<ATT>spread-legged–FORM–&–ABL–PFV–REA
 ‘He jumps spread-legged.’ (FS)
- (241) Omaanta nashi naaka **oryápetyanikini** **okáachancheéñakitzi**
 nowatharékithe.
 o–maanta n–ashi naaka o–rya–**petyani**–ki–ni
 F–COEXP 1–POSS 1 F–small–table-like–FORM–ADJ
 o–kaa–**chanceeña**–ki–t–zi–ni no–yatharékithe
 3F.S–COP.TOT–ovoid–FORM–&–REA–ADJ 1–testicle
 ‘However, my testicle is small and table-like, and ovoid.’ (TSJ)

- (242) Échatzi okímita pashi éerori antawo **tyantyapitzi** piyatharékithe.
 échatzi o-kimi-t-a p-ashi eero-ri
 also 3F.S-resemble-&-REA 2-POSS 2-TOO
 anta-ro **tyantyapitzi** pi-yatharékithe
 big-F full.bag.form 2-testicle
 ‘Also yours will be similar, big and in the form of a full bag, your testicle.’
 (TSJ)

In (240) and the second world in bold in (241), *tyenkari* ‘spread-legged’ (the form without the attenuative palatalization is *tenkari*) and *chanceeña* ‘ovoid’ are incorporated into a verb. In the first word in bold in (241), *petyani* forms a compound with *orya* ‘small’; in (242), *tyantyapitzi* is a whole word. The occurrence of these morphemes inside verbs or forming compounds with other lexemes could lead to the idea of considering them classifiers, but, as example (242) shows, they are words that can occur without any other attached morpheme.

The suffix *-ki*, glossed FORM, in (240) and (241), deserves special mention. This suffix occurs in words denoting forms, hence this gloss. It could be considered part of the stem in the adjectives describing forms in (240) and (241), but it occurs in other words whose components clearly do not have the phonic sequence *-ki* in their stem, as can be seen in the word *okàamoityókitzi* in (243), which is formed by the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the inalienable noun *-moityo* ‘navel’. Therefore, it cannot be argued here that *-ki* is part of any stem. There are more instances in my corpus where *-ki* occurs joined to known stems.

- (243) Tee, **okàamoityókitzi**.
 tee o-kaa-moityo-ki-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-navel-FORM-&-REA
 ‘No, it is small and round (with navel form).’ (CMM)

Thus, *-ki* appears to be used in words that describe a particular form, and, although one could think that it is a part of their stem, its use with already known words rules out this thesis.

These long forms seem to tend to have the phonemes /c/ or /tʃ/, which suggests the existence of a certain sound symbolism. An example of a word with an onomatopoeic origin is in (244).

5.7. Composition and incorporation with adjectives

Two occurrences from my text corpus are in (245) and (246), where adjectival stems are combined with a nominal and with a verbal stem, respectively.

- (245) Ráminaminawitári okanta **ochéenkamorókitàki** omoo.
r-amin~amin-a-wi-t-a-ri o-kant-a
3M.S-look~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3F.S-COP-REA
o-cheenka-moro-ki-t-ak-i o-moo
3M.S-black-hole-FORM-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
‘He repeatedly looks into a black hole (of a tree) in vain.’ (FS)
- (246) **Rowánkípetyànikitákíro** haga mapíki.
r-owanki-petyani-ki-t-ak-i-ro ha=ra mapi=ki
3M.S-put.on-table-like-FORM-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED stone=LOC
‘He puts that table-like object there, on the stone.’ (TSJ)

In (245), the root *cheenka-* of the adjective *chéenkari* ‘black’ is joined to the inalienable noun *-moo*⁶⁹ ‘hole’, and the whole word is verbalized with verbal affixes. In (246), the adjective *petyani* ‘table-like’ is incorporated into a verbal complex with the verbal stem *-owanki-* ‘put on something’.

Another example of a combination of an adjectival and a nominal stem with verbal suffixes is in (247).

- (247) Rotékiro **ikèpatsithátaki**.
 r-otek-i-ro i-kipatsi-tha-t-ak-i
 3M.S-shake-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-dirty-clothes-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘He shakes his dirty clothes.’ (PV)

The adjective *kipatsi* ‘dirty’ is combined with the root *-tha-*, which is part of the inalienable noun *mathantsi* ‘clothes’, and this reduction is remarkable because it is the only example in my corpus. *Kipatsi* also means ‘soil’. The meanings ‘dirty clothes’ and ‘clothes with soil’ are equivalent, so that *ikèpatsithátaki* may also be considered a verbalized combination of two nouns if *kipatsi* is considered a noun.

Expressions of properties that involve body parts can be formed by an adjective and a noun that is a body part term. Four examples are in (248).

- (248) a. Nopiryáapakotátzi/nopiryáawakotátzi.⁷⁰
 no-piryaa-pako-t-atzi
 1S-dry-hand/arm-&-PROG
 ‘My hand is dry.’
 b. Ikítamápakotatzí.
 i-kitama-pako-t-atzi
 3M.S-white-hand/arm-&-PROG
 ‘My hand/arm is white.’
 c. Nochéenkaitzítatzí.
 no-cheenka-itzi-atzi
 1S-black-foot-PROG
 ‘My foot is black.’

⁶⁹ The form *-moro* in (245) shows that the general shift /moro/ > /mo:/ took place in UP Ashéninka only when the stress is on the first /o/, which is its normal occurrence as an independent noun, but did not take place when the stress is on the second /o/, as in this compound.

⁷⁰ The speaker uttered both options and said that both are right.

- d. Noháawaitzitàtzi.
 no–haawa–itzi–t–atzi
 1S–hot–foot–&–PROG
 ‘My foot is hot.’

In (248), the pronominal prefix is followed by the adjective, then the body part, and then the progressive suffix. Note that, in the four examples, the relative suffix is absent, while it is present in the full form of these adjectives (*piryaari* ‘dry’, *kitamaari* ‘white’, *chéenkari* ‘black’, *háawari* ‘hot’).

When I tried to find out more about the long adjectival words denoting forms described in Section 5.6, speakers produced some compounds that are not actually long words denoting forms, but are very illustrative to show how adjectives can be combined in compounds; some of them are analysed in Table 20.

Table 20. Some compounds with adjectives

Ashéninka word	Description
hantháripentháki/ hantháwopentháki (m./f.)	‘Tall’, from <i>hanthari/hanthawo</i> ‘long’ and <i>penthaki</i> , which I only know from this and the following word in this table. The speaker explained that <i>hanthari/hanthawo</i> alone is used rather for something lying.
antáwopentháki	‘Long stick’, from <i>antawo</i> ‘big’ (f.) and <i>penthaki</i> , which I only know from this and the previous word in this table.
kityónkahontóokiro	‘Red ball, red eyes’, from <i>kityonka</i> ‘red’ and <i>-hontóokiro</i> , which appears in more words with colours and with the meanings ‘pale person’ and ‘yellow lemon’.
kitérihontóokiro	‘Pale person’, from <i>kiteri</i> ‘yellow’, and <i>-hontóokiro</i> , which appears in more words with colours and with the meanings ‘red ball, red eyes’ and ‘yellow lemon’.
kitérimoróki	‘Pale and ugly’, from <i>kiteri</i> ‘yellow’, <i>moro</i> ‘hole, gap’, and <i>ki</i> can be interpreted as a morpheme indicating form (glossed FORM in this thesis).
oryátyonkini	‘Thin stick’. <i>Orya</i> is the stem for ‘small’, and <i>-ni</i> may be its detached adjectival suffix. According to Lev Michael (p.c. 2022), in other Campan languages, <i>-tyonki</i> is a classifier for slender cylindrical objects of a certain size and comes from <i>*-tonki</i> ‘bone’.
kamérohagákiri	‘Round and hollow tube’. <i>Kamero</i> means ‘round’, and the rest is unknown to me.
kaméronákiri	‘Round’ (a tree). <i>Kamero</i> means ‘round’, and the rest is unknown to me.

5.8. Coordination of adjectives

Like nouns, two or more adjectives can be coordinated with *éehatzi* ‘also’. Examples with two and three adjectives are in (249) and (250), respectively.

- (249) Miritsi kitamaari éehatzi pochari.

miri-tsi kitamaa-ri éehatzi pocha-ri
 drink-ALI white-REL also sweet-REL
 ‘A white and sweet drink.’

- (250) Pankotsi antawo éehatzi kitamaari éehatzi antyáshipawotàki.

panko-tsi anta-ro éehatzi kitamaa-ri éehatzi antyáshipa-ro-t-ak-i
 house-AL1big-F also white-REL also old-F-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘A big, white and old house.’

6. Verbs

The Ashéninka verb is the core of the language. It can be formed by many more morphemes than any other word class, some of which convey meanings usually expressed by adverbs or phrases in English and other European languages. The structure of an Ashéninka verb, despite its possible complexity, can be described in a straightforward way: a pronominal prefix cross-referencing the subject is generally obligatory, but it can be omitted; also an infrequent causative prefix can occur; and these two morphemes are the only possible prefixes, after which the verbal stem follows. Thereafter, there is only one obligatory suffix: the one bearing the reality status (RS) marking,⁷¹ and the rest of the verb is formed with an array of suffixes and enclitics, which can range from one (the obligatory RS) to six in the words of my corpus with the highest number of suffixes, one of which is shown in (251) (in bold) in the context of the sentence where it appears.

(251) Nokoyi niyoti iita **pikàemakáanantakinàri**.

no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i iita pi-kaem-aka-anant-ak-i-na-ri
 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR WH 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O-REL
 ‘I want to know why you made someone call me.’ (CTK)

I have identified a total of 59 different verbal affixes and enclitics. Some of them have an unequivocal meaning, while the meaning of others is more obscure. Even in the most difficult cases, I have done my best to find out their function by asking speakers and consulting my text corpus (in Annex 2 of this thesis) and previous works on other Ashé-Ashá varieties, mainly David Payne (1980, 1981), Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982), Judith Payne (1989) and Mihás (2015a). The reasons for my interpretation are explained in every case.

Verbs throughout this chapter will usually be referred to with their infinitive form, i.e. with the stem plus the suffix *-aantsi* (e.g. *pokaantsi*, from the stem *-pok-* ‘come’) (see Section 4.1.5.5 for the use of the infinitive). With this choice, I follow the tradition initiated by David Payne (1980, 1981), Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) and

⁷¹ However, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

Judith Payne (1989), and also the current use of educational books edited by the indigenous university Nopoki and the Ministry of Education of Peru.

6.1. Reality status

This section is the adaptation of the article Pedrós (2019). The numbering of sections is the same as in the article, but preceded by the number 6.1, corresponding to this section of the thesis. There is the additional Section 6.1.5, which describes some features of the RS system of UP Ashéninka that were not described in the article.

6.1.1. The Campan languages and the reality status

The linguistic literature shows that the Campan languages have the grammatical category called *reality status* in the form of an obligatory mark on the verb that indicates a binary distinction between realis and irrealis.⁷² The actual existence of this category cross-linguistically has been challenged by some authors, which has caused a debate on its validity as a grammatical category (Michael 2014:255-259). Most of the criticism is based on the heterogeneity among different reality status systems and the fact that these systems do not approach “the expected prototype, in which a binary distinction between «realized» and «unrealized» states of affairs is obligatorily marked” (Michael 2014:252). Nonetheless, Michael (2014) argues that Nanti can be used as the canonical example of a reality status system that fits our notional expectations of such a system. Michael (2014) describes the reality status system in Nanti, pointing out at the same time that all Campan languages have a reality status system practically identical to the one in Nanti (Michael 2014:278-279).

In this Section 6.1, I will compare the reality status system of the different Campan languages and will show that this system has been partially lost in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka, which distinguishes this language not only from the rest of the Ashé-Ashá complex, but also from the rest of the Campan languages. This

⁷² However, in UP Ashéninka, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

partially fulfilled loss is an example of how a grammatical feature is being lost and thus of a language change in progress.

In Section 6.1.2, I will compare the reality status systems of the different Campan languages as described by different authors, while, in Section 6.1.3, I will do the same with the Ucayali variety based on my own fieldwork and with the Pajonal variety based on Heitzman's (1991) texts. In Section 6.1.4, I try to value the importance of the change undergone by UP Ashéninka as a token of the partial loss of a grammatical feature. In Section 6.1.5, I describe some features of the RS system of UP Ashéninka.

6.1.2. Reality status in the Campan languages (except Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka)

In this section, the reality status system in the Campan languages will be examined according to the existing descriptions. Since all reality status systems are very similar, instead of examining each language separately, I will compare the main features of the pan-Campan reality status system and those that have a relation with the development occurring in UP Ashéninka. I will do this in two steps: first, the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, and second, the Ashé-Ashá languages. In Section 6.1.3.1, I will show my findings in UP Ashéninka and compare its reality status system with those of the other Campan languages. In the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, I will follow a geographical order, starting with the language furthest from UP Ashéninka (Nanti). For the Ashé-Ashá languages, I will follow the order of the dialect continuum proposed in Pedrós (2018:18): from the variety linguistically furthest from UP Ashéninka (Tambo-Ene) to the linguistically closest (Yuruá).

First of all, it is important to note that verbs in all Campan languages have been classified in two classes according to their reality status suffixes: older works have called these classes *reflexive* and *non-reflexive* (Payne 1981, D. Payne 1983*b*, García 1997, Swift 2008 [1988], Snell 2011, the last one based on fieldwork carried out in the 1980s), while more recent works call them *I-class* and *A-class* (Michael 2008, Lawrence 2013, Michael 2014, Mihas 2015*a*, Mihas 2015*b*) based on the realis suffix (usually *-i* and *-a* respectively). The label *reflexive* corresponds to *A-class*, and *non-reflexive*, to *I-class*. The reason why more recent works changed the name is that

a high number of A-class verbs do not have a reflexive meaning, but all reflexive verbs have A-class suffixes. Some verbs can bear both inflections depending on whether they are transitive or reflexive (e.g. *cut something* or *cut yourself*). More recently, O'Hagan (2020:230-35) has used the terms *active* and *middle voice* for Caquinte, which correspond to I- and A-class, respectively. The I-class is by far more numerous. In the same way, some older grammars call realis and irrealis morphemes *non-future* and *future*, respectively. In this article, I will follow the more recent label in both cases (A/I-class and realis/irrealis).

6.1.2.1. Non-Ashé-Ashá languages

The Campan languages outside the Ashé-Ashá complex are Nanti, Matsigenka, Caquinte and Nomatsigenga. At the time of writing the article Pedrós (2019), the descriptions of Nanti and Nomatsigenga (Michael 2008, 2014, and Lawrence 2013, respectively) were the most recent, while Matsigenka and Caquinte descriptions (Snell 2011 and Swift 2008 [1988], respectively) were older and both were publications of the Peruvian division of the Summer Institute of Linguistics –Snell's dictionary and grammar sketch (2011) is based on much earlier fieldwork (the author says that she arrived the first time in Matsigenka territory in 1952). Since 2019, the newer works on Caquinte (O'Hagan 2020) and Nomatsigenga (Castillo 2020) have appeared. I will mention them only when they do not agree with what was said in my article according to Swift (2008 [1988]) for Caquinte and Lawrence (2013) for Nomatsigenga.

6.1.2.1.1. Function of the reality status systems

Nanti's reality status is the most thoroughly described due to Michael's article (2014) devoted to this grammatical feature. Michael (2014:251-252) describes Nanti's reality status system as a verbal mark that expresses a binary opposition between realized and unrealized situations, which can be considered the standard description for this grammatical feature. Nanti's realis marking expresses non-future, positive polarity and actuality, whereas irrealis marking expresses future, negative polarity, hypotheticality (conditional, counterfactual), imperative, obligation, need and prospectiveness (Michael 2014:252). This distribution of grammatical features

between *realis* and *irrealis* fits Michael's distinction between realized and unrealized situations.

Snell (2011:837) uses for Matsigenka the terms *real* and *irreal* in Spanish for *realis* and *irrealis*, and defines them by saying that *realis* expresses “una acción que ya se ha realizado o que está realizándose”⁷³ or “una acción que no va a realizarse en el futuro”⁷⁴, while *irrealis* indicates “una acción que no se ha realizado en el pasado y tampoco está realizándose en el presente”⁷⁵ or “una acción que va a realizarse en el futuro”⁷⁶. Snell (2011:838) also says that *irrealis* is used with imperatives. Snell (2011:837) uses the terms *no-reflexivo* and *reflexivo* to refer to I-class and A-class verbs, respectively.

Swift (2008:55) describes the Caquinte reality status system under the name of *tiempo* ‘tense’ and as an opposition between *futuro/irreal* ‘future/irrealis’ and *no-futuro/real* ‘non-future/realis’, although he uses the terminology *futuro/no-futuro*. In this way, he treats the reality status affixes as a tense category with a future/non-future opposition and does not explain why he also calls them *real* and *irreal*. Actually, Swift (2008) does not talk about the use of *irrealis* with negative polarity and the imperative, but at least an example can be found for both (p. 56 with negative, p. 29 with imperative). Swift (2008:55) says that this is the only obligatory suffix in finite verbs. I-class and A-class verbs are called *non-reflexive* and *reflexive*, respectively (Swift 2008:57). O'Hagan (2020:230-34) uses the more modern terminology *realis/irrealis* and describes the difference between I- and A-class verbs as a voice system in which I-class verbs have active voice and A-class verbs have middle voice.

Lawrence (2013) uses the more recent terminology *realis* and *irrealis*, and *I-class* and *A-class* verbs. She (p. 105) says that “irrealis markers are used for imperative formations, reference to future time, negated verbs and some complement clauses”. Castillo (2020) is a Master thesis that studies *irrealis* in Nomatsigenga, and also uses the terminology *realis-irrealis* and *I-class* and *A-class* (p. 95). His long list of *irrealis*

⁷³ ‘An action that has already happened or is happening.’

⁷⁴ ‘An action that is not going to happen in the future.’

⁷⁵ ‘An action that has not happened in the past and is not happening in the present.’

⁷⁶ ‘An action that is going to happen in the future.’

parameters includes future, commands, warnings, obligation and necessity, desires, volition, abilities, purposes, conditions, counter-factuality, negation and non-referential (generic) events (Castillo 2020:list of contents).

This overview shows that irrealis is used in negative, future and imperative clauses in the four languages. Other uses are described by Michael for Nanti and by Castillo for Nomatsigenga (see above), but the less detailed descriptions existing for the other languages and the lack of space oblige to concentrate this study only in these clause types. In any case, negative, future and imperative clauses clearly refer to actions that have not been realized.

6.1.2.1.2. Reality status affixes

This section shows the forms of the reality status affixes, which are ordered in an identical table for each language so as to ease the comparison, and provides examples of their use. The examples illustrate the realis (*a* examples) and irrealis use in future (*b* examples) and imperative (*c* examples). The use of these affixes in negative clauses will be studied in Section 6.1.2.1.3.

Nanti’s reality status affixes are shown in Table 21. The irrealis prefix *ri-* is used following third person masculine proclitics, while *n-* occurs in the other cases, but only before a voiceless stop or affricate (Michael 2014:262). Examples of their use are given in (252).⁷⁷

⁷⁸Table 21. Reality status affixes in Nanti. Adapted from Michael (2014:261).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i> (realized as <i>-i</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-a</i>)	<i>N</i> ⁷⁹ , <i>ri-/r-</i> , <i>-e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>N-</i> , <i>ri-/r-</i> , <i>-empa</i>

⁷⁷ I will use the same abbreviations for all languages so as to ease the comparison, but will not change the grammatical terms used by the authors (e.g. the different denominations *realis-irrealis* and *non future-future* will be respected).

⁷⁸ I will use the same orthography as for UP Ashéninka in all languages in order to ease the comparison. Characters for phonemes non-existing in UP Ashéninka that differ from those of the IPA are: <g>=/g/ or /ɣ/ /, <ĩ>=/i/, <ty>=/c/ or /tʃ/, and <v>=/β/. A circumflex (*â*) indicates a high tone in Nomatsigenga.

⁷⁹ *N-* represents in Michael (2014) and other Campanist literature an unspecified nasal consonant that occurs before a stop or an affricate taking its point of articulation. Therefore, *N-* can be realized as [m], [n], [ɲ] or [ŋ] –or even Ø in Nanti.

Nanti

(252) a. Opoki maika.

o=pok-Ø-i maika
 3NM.S=come-IPFV-REA.I now
 ‘She is coming now.’ (Michael 2014:254)

b. Ompoke kamani.

o=N-pok-Ø-e kamani
 3NM.S=IRR-come-IPFV-IRR.I tomorrow
 ‘She will come tomorrow.’ (Michael 2014:254)

c. Tinkasetero.

N-otink-a-se-t-e=ro
 IRR-mash-&-CLF:MASS-&-IRR.I=3NM.O
 ‘Mash it.’ (Michael 2014:263)

In Matsigenka, similarly to Nanti, the prefixes *ri-/r-* occur with third person masculine proclitics: *ri-* before verb stems starting with *m-*, *n-*, *s-* and *sh-*; and *r-* before stems starting with a vowel. The nasal irrealis prefix occurs before voiceless stops or affricates, as in Nanti. Some speakers from the Lower Urubamba use both irrealis prefixes together (Snell 2011:837).

Table 22. Reality status affixes in Matsigenka. Adapted from Snell (2011:837).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>n-, ri-, r-, -e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>n-, ri-, r-, -empa</i>

Snell (2011) does not gloss her Matsigenka examples, but only translates them. However, the simplicity of some one-verb sentences and the information provided by Snell’s dictionary (2011) enables me to gloss some short sentences myself.

Matsigenka

(253) a. Iati.

i-a-t-i
 3M.S-go-&-REA
 ‘He went.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

b. Iriate.

i-ri-a-t-e
 3M.S-IRR-go-&-IRR
 ‘He will go.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

- c. Kemisante.
 kemisant–e
 listen–IRR
 ‘Shut up!.’ (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)

According to Swift (2008:57), in Caquinte, the unspecified nasal irrealis prefix occurs “después de vocal y antes de consonante no continua”⁸⁰ (a non-fricative consonant, i.e. a stop or an affricate), which is the same environment as in Nanti and Matsigenka. Caquinte affixes (Table 23) are practically identical to those already presented for Nanti and Matsigenka in Table 21 and Table 22, respectively. Although Swift (2008) does not show an irrealis prefix *r-/ri-* following third person masculine prefixes, as in Nanti and Matsigenka, Zachary O’Hagan (p.c. 2018) says that this prefix exists in Caquinte and considers it the irrealis form of the third person masculine prefix (*iri-*), rather than two different prefixes. However, for a better comparison with the other languages, I represent *r-/ri-* in Table 23 as a separate prefix. The A-class irrealis suffix *-e-mpa* is described by Swift (2008) as two suffixes: *-e* is the irrealis suffix and *-mpa* the A-class suffix, as exemplified in (254d).

Table 23. Reality status affixes in Caquinte. Adapted from Swift (2008:57-58) and Zachary O’Hagan (p.c. 2018).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>N-, ri-/r-, -e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>N-, ri-/r-, -e-mpa</i>

Swift calls realis and irrealis affixes *non-future* and *future*, respectively, and, consequently, the affixes are glossed as such, even in the imperative sentence (254c). Example (254d) shows how Swift (2008:57) analyses the A-class verb irrealis suffix *-e-mpa* as two different suffixes.

- Caquinte
- (254) a. i–kant–i
 3M–decir–NFUT
 ‘Él dijo.’⁸¹ (Swift 2008:56)

⁸⁰ ‘After a vowel and before a non-continuous consonant’

⁸¹ ‘He said.’

- b. i-N-kaNt-e
 3M-FUT-decir-FUT
 ‘Él dirá.’⁸² (Swift 2008:56)
- c. pi-N-p-e-na-ro
 2-FUT-dar-FUT-1-3F
 ‘Dámela a mí.’⁸³ (Swift 2008:29)
- d. i-N-tsi-ant-ak-e-ne-mpa-ri-ka
 3M-FUT-quemar-INS-PFV-FUT-3-REFL-3M-REL
 ‘Eso que él quemará para él.’⁸⁴ (Swift 2008:57)

The Nomatsigenga affixes are the same as in Caquinte except for the A-class irrealis suffix (*-ima* in Nomatsigenga and *-e(-)mpa* in the three other languages). As in the other languages, the unspecified nasal prefix occurs before voiceless stops (Lawrence 2013:121-122), but nothing is said about its occurrence before affricates. However, the clusters *np* and *nk* are realized as [m] and [ŋg], respectively (Lawrence 2013:122). Castillo (2020:99) says that the unspecified nasal prefix occurs before /p/, /t/, /k/ and /ts/, thus including an affricate but excluding the other one (/tʃ/). According to Lawrence (2013:122), the prefix *r-* ‘is used with third-person masculine subjects when the verb stem begins with a vowel’. The Nomatsigenga affixes are in Table 24.

Table 24. Reality status affixes in Nomatsigenga. Adapted from Lawrence (2013:104,122).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-ima</i>

Examples (255) show sentences in Nomatsigenga with realis marking used for past and irrealis for future and imperative.

Nomatsigenga

- (255) a. Nitsongiro.
 na=itsong-i=ro
 1S=finish-REA.I=3NM.O
 ‘I finished it.’ (Lawrence 2013:104)

⁸² ‘He will say.’

⁸³ ‘Give it to me.’

⁸⁴ ‘What he will burn for him.’

b. Nitsongero.
 na=N-itsong-e=ro
 1S=IRR-finish-IRR.I=3NM.O
 ‘I will finish it.’ (Lawrence 2013:104-105)

c. Pomenaro!
 pi=N-p-e=na-ro
 2SG=IRR-give-IRR.I=1SG.O-3NM.O
 ‘Give it to me!’ (Lawrence 2013:105)

We can see that the reality status affixes are practically identical in the four languages. The only differences are *-ima* in Nomatsigenga versus *-empa* in the other three, with the particularity that it is described as two different affixes in Caquinte. We can also see that the irrealis prefix *ri-/r-* is used with third person masculine subjects in the four languages, and that the irrealis unspecified nasal prefix is generally used before voiceless stops or affricates.

6.1.2.1.3. Negation and double irrealis

A negative clause expresses an action that has not been realized; thus, these clauses are marked with irrealis in the Campan languages. However, there are cases in which two irrealis categories are present in a clause, as in the negative future or the negative imperative clause, where the negation and the future or imperative categories both trigger irrealis affixes. In this kind of clauses, the Campan languages present what Lawrence (2013:107) and Michael (2014:271-274) call *doubly* or *double irrealis construction*. This construction consists of a special irrealis negation particle and a verb marked with realis suffixes. Examples of negative clauses with realis (*a* examples) and irrealis (*b* examples) negation particles are provided in the following for each language.

Nanti

(256) a. Tera ompoke chapi.
 te=ra o=N-pok-e chapi
 NEG=TEMP 3NM.S=IRR-come-IRR.I yesterday
 ‘She did not come yesterday.’ (Michael 2014:254)

b. Hara ihati.
 ha=ra i=ha-t-i
 NEG.IRR=TEMP 3M.S=go-&-DIRR.I
 ‘He will not go.’ (Michael 2014:272)

Matsigenka

(257) a. Tera iriate.

tera i=ri-at-e

NEG.REA 3M.S=IRR-go-IRR

‘He didn’t go.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

b. Gara iati.

gara i=at-i

NEG.IRR 3M.S=go-REA

‘He won’t go.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

Caquinte

(258) a. tee i-N-kaNt-e-hi

NEG.NFUT 3M-FUT-decir-FUT-NEG

‘Él no dijo.’⁸⁵ (Swift 2008:56)

b. aato i-kaNt-i

NEG.FUT 3M-decir-NFUT

‘Él no dirá.’⁸⁶ (Swift 2008:56)

Nomatsigenga

(259) a. Naroêgi teni nongogaîgiiri.

naro-hegi te=ni

na=N-oôg-e-ri

1SG-PL NEG.REA=IPFV.AN 1SG.S=IRR-want-IRR.I-3M.O

‘We didn’t want to see them.’ (Lawrence 2013:134)

b. Kero pitsorogi.

kero pi=tsorog-i

NEG.IRR 2S=scared-REA.I

‘Don’t get scared.’ (Lawrence 2013:106)

As the examples (256) to (259) show, the four languages use the same strategy to build negative clauses: the negation of a verb with an irrealis grammatical feature (future or imperative in the examples) is formed with the irrealis negative particle plus realis suffixes on the verb, while the rest of the negative clauses are formed with the realis negative particle plus irrealis affixes on the verb. In other words, a negative clause is marked irrealis –as is logical because the action has not been realized–, but a clause bearing an irrealis feature (e.g. future, imperative) has a different irrealis negation particle, which makes the use of irrealis affixes redundant and thus realis affixes are used. Table 25 shows the different realis and irrealis negation particles.

⁸⁵ ‘He didn’t say.’

⁸⁶ ‘He won’t say.’

Table 25. Realis and irrealis negative particles in Campan non-Ashé-Ashá languages.

	Nanti	Matsigenka	Caquinte	Nomatsigenga
Realis	<i>te(=ra)</i> ⁸⁷	<i>tera</i>	<i>tee</i>	<i>te(=ni)</i>
Irrealis	<i>ha(=ra)</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>aato</i>	<i>keró</i>

6.1.2.1.4. Neutralization of reality status affixes

The four Campan non-Ashé-Ashá languages neutralize the opposition between reality status affixes after the perfective aspect suffix *-ak* in that the I-class realis suffix *-i* is realized /e/, thus being equal to the irrealis suffix *-e*. In Caquinte, the same process occurs after the progressive suffix *-k*, while, after the stative suffix *-ats* and the temporal stative suffix *-ankits*, the neutralization occurs with the irrealis suffix *-e* being realized as /i/ (Swift 2008:57, 60). In Nomatsigenga, there is a complex set of allomorphy rules that neutralizes the opposition realis-irrealis in different environments, which is summed up below.

In all the mentioned cases, if the irrealis nasal prefix is present, the difference between a realis and an irrealis verb is maintained, but, if there is no nasal prefix due to the phonological environment, there is a complete neutralization of the opposition and the realis and irrealis forms of a verb are identical. Examples (260) to (262) show the neutralization of the suffix. All irrealis verbs in the examples are marked with the nasal prefix. Unfortunately, the reference works do not show examples with a total neutralization.

Nanti

- (260) a. Ipokake.
 i=pok-ak-i
 3M.S=come-PFV-REA.I
 ‘He came.’ (Michael 2014:265)

- b. Impokake.
 i=N-pok-ak-e
 3M.S=IRR-come-PFV-IRR.I
 ‘He will come.’ (Michael 2014:265)

⁸⁷ Although the Nanti examples in this section are with *tera* and *hara*, Michael (2014) shows other examples with *tetya* (p. 268), *harika* (p. 275), *hame* (p. 276) and *hani* (p. 277).

Matsigenka

(261) a. Ipokake apa chapi.

i=pok-ak-e apa chapi
3M.S=come-PFV-REA father yesterday
'My father came yesterday.' (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)

b. Nompokake kamani.

no=m-pok-ak-e kamani
1S=IRR-come-PFV-IRR tomorrow
'I'll come tomorrow.' (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)

Caquinte

(262) a. i-chaki-t-ak-e-ro

3M-rozar-&-PFV-NFUT-3F
'Él lo rozó/lo ha rozado.'⁸⁸ (Swift 2008:59)

b. i-N-chaki-t-ak-e-ro

3M-FUT-rozar-&-PFV-FUT-3F
'Él lo rozará.'⁸⁹ (Swift 2008:59)

The Nomatsigenka case is special because the realis-irrealis opposition can be neutralized in several phonological environments in I-class verbs. Lawrence (2013:108) shows a table with the different realizations of realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*, and both suffixes are identical in the following phonological environments (the realization of the suffix in both realis and irrealis is given between brackets): /p_ / (-*ii*), /m_#/ (-*ii*), /t_#/ (-*e* ~ -*ii*), /n_ / (-*ii*) and /k_ / (-*e*). Obviously, with the neutralization in /k_/, the suffixes are always realized as *-e* and thus neutralized after the perfective suffix *-k*, as in the three other languages.

Therefore, we can see that the realis-irrealis opposition can be inexistent in some cases. Michael (2014:265) says about Nanti that, in these cases, "the speaker must depend on adverbial elements or context to determine reality status".

6.1.2.2. Ashé-Ashá languages

In this section, the same features studied in the previous section will be treated for the Ashé-Ashá languages, so the subsections are also the same. The difference is that varieties instead of languages will be studied, given that the question of how many Ashé-Ashá languages there are is not totally settled. The Ucayali and Pajonal varieties

⁸⁸ 'He (has) cleared it.'

⁸⁹ 'He will clear it.'

will be discussed in Section 6.1.3, although they also pertain to the Ashé-Ashá complex.

The sources for the Ashé-Ashá languages are more scarce than for the non-Ashé-Ashá. The only recent grammar is Mihas (2015*a*) on the Alto Perené variety, and there is an older grammar on Apurucayali (Payne 1981). Minor works in which some information can be found are Mihas (2015*b*)⁹⁰ and the pedagogical guide of the indigenous university Nopoki (Zumaeta 2012) on Tambo-Ene, D. Payne (1983*b*) on Pichis, García (1993, 1997)⁹¹ on Yuruá and Heitzman (1991) on Pajonal.

The varieties treated in this section are Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené, Pichis, Apurucayali and Yuruá, and they will be studied in this order, which is the order of the dialect chain proposed in Pedrós (2018:18) –Ucayali-Pajonal is at one extreme of the chain following Yuruá.

6.1.2.2.1. Function of the reality status systems

For Tambo-Ene, Mihas (2015*b*:13-14) says that “the scope of the irrealis suffixes *-e* and *-ea* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events”, and lists the following grammatical categories as belonging to the realm of irrealis: future, imperative, intentional/desiderative/optative, negated realis clauses, prospective events, habitual events that took place in the past, counterfactual clauses, possible condition clauses, purpose clauses, want-complements and converbial clauses.

For Alto Perené, Mihas (2015*a*:258-259) says exactly the same as for Tambo-Ene: “The scope of the irrealis morphemes *-e* and *-ia* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events”, and lists under this category future,

⁹⁰ Mihas (2015*b*) calls this variety *Satipo Asháninka* after the Satipo province, although it has been traditionally called just *Asháninka* and its core area is the Satipo province, which is crossed by the rivers Tambo and Ene. The people in Atalaya call it either *Asháninka* or *Tambo-Ene*. Given that all varieties except Pajonal are named after rivers (Pajonal is a plateau with no important river), I will call it *Tambo-Ene* throughout this Section 6.1 in order to give it a treatment equal to the other varieties.

⁹¹ García (1993) is a Master thesis and García (1997) is a monography in which the contents of the thesis are better arranged, but both are practically identical. Since both works are not easy to find, I will make references to both, so that a reader that has only one can look for the reference.

commands, wishes, averted events, possible conditions, purposive constructions and complement clauses with the verb *-kov-* ‘want.’ She adds (p. 260) that “converbial clauses which provide background information and habitual events are also inflected for irrealis”. As categories marked with realis, Mihas (2015a:258) mentions “completed events, which took place in the past, or events that are still in progress at the moment of speaking”.

Regarding Pichis, D. Payne (1983b:101) describes the opposition between reality status affixes as *future* and *non-future*, and does not mention other grammatical categories in which these affixes are used.

In the same fashion, for Apurucayali, Payne (1981:31) labels the opposition as belonging to the category of tense and as a binary distinction between *future* and *non-future*.

The only available source for Yuruá is García’s Master thesis (1993), improved in a monograph (García 1997). These works describe the reality status system citing Payne, Payne & Sánchez’s (1982)⁹² Apurucayali grammar. Therefore, there is no sense in repeating the same as for Apurucayali.

We can see that the only comprehensive descriptions of the function of the reality status are the more modern in Mihas (2015a, 2015b), while D. Payne’s older works (1981, 1983b) treat the distinction as one between future and non-future without giving further explanations.

6.1.2.2.2. Reality status affixes

Ashé-Ashá reality status affixes are practically identical in each variety. I-class verbs have the suffixes realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*, except for Apurucayali, in which both suffixes are *-i* (see below for explanation). A-class verbs have the realis *-a* and irrealis *-ia* suffixes, except for Tambo-Ene, whose irrealis A-class suffix is *-ea* (D. Payne 1981, 1983b; Mihas 2015a, 2015b). García (1993:54, 1997:37) cites Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) to show the reality status suffixes, so we cannot know well

⁹² Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) is a revision in Spanish of Payne (1981), but both are practically identical.

what is happening in Yuruá, although García (1993:54, 1997:37) says that the contrast between /e/ and /i/ is starting to disappear in Yuruá.

Although the I-class suffixes are identical in Apurucayali, they contrast after /t/ or the progressive aspect suffix *-ach*, where both /t/ and /tʃ/ change to /ts/ (Payne 1981:121-127) when realis is marked. An example of this contrast is *nomisitzi* (realis, ‘I dreamed’) versus *nomisiti* (irrealis, ‘I will dream’) (Payne 1981:122).

The nasal irrealis prefix is mentioned in D. Payne (1983b:104) (Pichis) and Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:46) (Apurucayali), in both glossed as *future*. In Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:46) say that the prefix always occurs before a *non-continuous* consonant (this must be understood as *non-fricative*, i.e. a stop or affricate), while the necessary environment for this prefix is not explicitly mentioned for Pichis in D. Payne (1983b). Mihas does not explicitly mention the nasal irrealis prefix neither for Tambo-Ene (2015b) nor for Alto Perené (2015a), but the prefix appears in many examples in both of her works (e.g. (263b) and (263c) below). The nasal prefix is also described by Zumaeta (2012:58) for Tambo-Ene. In Yuruá, García (1993, 1997) does not mention the nasal prefix, but the glossed texts at the end of her thesis show several occurrences of the prefix where it is expected (1993:88-99, 1997:64-72).

In Pichis, D. Payne (1983b:105) glosses the prefix *r-* as *future*, which we have already seen in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, and says that it occurs with third person masculine subject prefixes before verbal stems starting with a vowel.

Therefore, we can see that the RS suffix paradigm in the Ashé-Ashá languages except Ucayali-Pajonal is practically identical with only slight variations, and that all varieties have the nasal irrealis prefix, while Pichis also has the irrealis suffix *r-* described in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages.

Some examples illustrating the use of the affixes described in this section are given below. As in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for non-Ashé-Ashá languages, I will try to show an example with realis marking (*a* examples), one with irrealis marking expressing future (*b* examples) and one imperative with irrealis marking (*c* examples).

Tambo-Ene

- (263) a. peerani y-atsik-ant-i-ni maniti
 long.ago 3M.S-bite-CHA-REA-DIST.PST jaguar
 ‘Long ago, jaguars would bite (people).’ (Mihás 2015*b*:6)
- b. i-n-koniha~koniha-t-e aisati
 3M.S-IRR-appear~ITE-&-IRR⁹³ also
 ‘He will appear again and again (in the deep forest).’ Said about a demonic miniature person who kills by breaking a person’s bones. (Mihás 2015*b*:12)
- c. pi-m-p-ah-e-na-ro
 2A-IRR-give-TERM-IRR-1SG.REC-3NM.TH
 ‘Give it back to me.’ (Mihás 2015*b*:9)

Alto Perené

- (264) a. n-a-ak-i kaniri
 1SG.S-take-PFV-REA manioc
 ‘I obtained manioc roots.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:194)
- b. no-sai-t-aty-e-ro niha
 1SG.A-pour-&-PROSP-IRR-3M.O water
 ‘I will empty out the water.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:259)
- c. p-amin-e mapi
 2S-look-IRR stone
 ‘Look for a stone.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:259)

Pichis

- (265) a. n-ir-i
 1-beber-NFUT
 ‘Yo bebía.’⁹⁴ (D. Payne 1983*b*:101)
- b. n-ir-e
 1-beber-FUT
 ‘Beberé.’⁹⁵ (D. Payne 1983*b*:101)

As said in Section 6.1.2.2.1, D. Payne (1983*b*) only describes the binary opposition as one between future and non-future and does not give any example of an imperative sentence.

For Yuruá, there is some inconsistency in the glosses of the RS affixes called *future* and *non-future* in García’s (1993, 1997) collection of texts: in some examples, the translations do not fit the tense indicated by the glosses, *-e* or *-i* are glossed

⁹³ Although Mihás does not give ITE in this example (she glosses REDUPL), she explains that the reduplication has an iterative meaning.

⁹⁴ ‘I was drinking.’

⁹⁵ ‘I’ll drink.’

indistinctively as future or non-future, or a verb is glossed future in the nasal prefix but non-future in the suffix (the latter in García 1993:89, 1997:65). Therefore, I will not give examples of Yuruá to avoid confusion. The interested reader can examine García's texts (1993:83-133, 1997:61-97).

6.1.2.2.3. Negation and double irrealis

Negation in Ashé-Ashá languages functions in the same fashion as described in Section 6.1.2.1.3 for the other Campan languages: a negation of a verb that triggers irrealis marking is formed with the irrealis negation particle plus realis suffixes; a negation of a verb that triggers realis marking is formed with the realis negation particle plus irrealis affixes. Some examples are provided in the following.

Tambo-Ene

- (266) a. te o-n-ko-ye-ni-hi
 NEG.REA 3NM.S-IRR-want-IRR-DIST.PST-NEG
 a-ye o-hime
 3NM.S.take-IRR 3NM.POSS-husband
 'Long ago she didn't want to take a husband.' (Mihás 2015*b*:5)
- b. eiro o-ta-it-i-ri=me o-tomi, ari
 NEG.IRR 3NM.A-burn-ANT-REA-3M.O=COFA 3NM.POSS-son PP
 ov-ame-t-an-ak-e-ro=me irori
 3NM.A.CAUS-be.accustomed-&-DIR-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=COFA 3NM.FOC.ADD
 'Hadn't she burned her son, it is the case that she (the mother) would have taught her, too (the murderer the art of weaving).' (Mihás 2015*b*:13)

Alto Perené

- (267) a. te i-m-pok-i
 NEG.REA 3M.S-IRR-come-IRR
 'He didn't come.' (Mihás 2015*a*:518)
- b. airo pi-shiri-t-a-ro pi-ha-t-e katonko,
 NEG.IRR 2A-think-&-REA-3NM.O 2S-go-&-IRR upstream.area
 airo p-avish-i
 NEG.IRR 2S-pass-REA
 'Don't think about going upstream, you won't pass.' (Mihás 2015*a*:520)

Regarding Pichis, there is no mention of its negative clause in D. Payne (1983*b*), nor is there for Apurucayali in Payne (1981) or Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982). However, in Payne's (1981) texts, examples of both negation forms can be found,

shown in (268). Note that (268b) uses an irrealis negation because it is a purpose clause.

Apurucayali

(268) a. Apa ti isaiki ipankoki.

apa ti ir-saik-i ir-panko-ki
father no 3M-be-NFUT 3M-house-LOC

‘My father is not in his house.’ (Payne 1981: 177, 185, 198, 220)⁹⁶

b. ..., iiro akimainkatantari.

iiro a-kim-ainka-ant-a-ri
no 1PL.INCL-feel-OLFACTORY-RSN-REFL.NFUT-REL

‘..., so that we wouldn’t smell him.’ (Payne 1981: 180, 190, 206, 224)

Also for Yuruá, there is no mention of the negative clause in García (1993, 1997), and good examples that illustrate the contrast between the realis and the irrealis negation cannot be found in her texts.

The realis and irrealis negative particles in Ashé-Ashá languages different from UP Ashéninka are almost identical, as is shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Realis and irrealis negative particles in Ashé-Ashá languages except for UP Ashéninka (words for Pichis are from Payne & Payne [1983:130, 156] and for Yuruá, from García [1997:74, 81])

	Tambo-Ene	Alto Perené	Pichis	Apurucayali	Yuruá
Realis	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>
Irrealis	<i>eiro</i>	<i>airo</i>	<i>eero</i>	<i>iiro</i>	<i>eero</i>

6.1.2.2.4. Neutralization of reality status affixes

The five Ashé-Ashá varieties studied in this Section 6.1.2.2 neutralize the opposition realis-irrealis in different cases; that is why they are described individually in the following lines.

In Tambo-Ene, the neutralization is shown in Mihas’ (2015b:3) table of suffixes: the usual I-class realis suffix *-i* becomes *-e* after *-ak* or *-ah*, which causes both realis and irrealis suffixes to have the same form (*-e*). In these cases, a verb has the same form in realis and irrealis when the irrealis nasal prefix is not present, and the

⁹⁶ Payne’s (1981) glosses are not one line below the other, but every level is in different pages, so that the phonetic representations of all texts are together, then the words separated by morphemes in all texts together, and so on.

realis-irrealis opposition is neutralized. This neutralization is shown in (269), where the realis and irrealis suffixes are identical (-e).

Tambo-Ene

- (269) a. i-kam-ak-e nosari
 3M.S-die-PFV-REA 1SG.POSS.grandfather
 ‘My grandfather died.’ (Mihas 2015*b*:8-9)
- b. pi-m-p-ah-e-na-ro
 2A-IRR-give-TER-IRR-1SG.REC-3NM.TH
 ‘Give it back to me.’ (Mihas 2015*b*:9)

In Alto Perené, Mihas (2015*a*:258) says that I-class verbs are marked with -e for realis instead of the usual -i after the perfective or terminative aspect suffixes -ak and -ah, respectively. This is the same neutralization as described above for Tambo-Ene, although for Tambo-Ene the description refers to all occurrences of -ak and -ah, not only to perfective and terminative suffixes. Mihas (2015*a*:258) describes two more types of neutralization with stative verbs and first person plural suffixes, but, in these cases, what happens is that the RS suffixes are absent so we could speak here of an exception to the rule of the obligatory RS marking rather than of neutralization of affixes. Examples of the I-class realis suffix realized as -e cannot be found in Mihas (2015*a*) for Alto Perené in the sections devoted to the perfective and terminative aspects (Section 8.1.1, pp. 214-216) and reality status (Section 8.5, pp. 258-260).

In Pichis, D. Payne (1983*b*:108) says that the opposition realis-irrealis is neutralized in I-class verbs after one of the two terminative aspects: the perfective -ak and the regressive -ag (/au/). After -ak, the neutralization is realized as -e; after -ag, as -i. In (270), the realis and the irrealis suffix have both the same form (-e). In this case, the difference is marked through the nasal prefix in (270b).

Pichis

- (270) a. i-chek-ak-e
 3-cortar-PFV-NREFL
 ‘Él cortó.’⁹⁷ (D. Payne 1983*b*:108)

⁹⁷ ‘He cut.’

b. i-n-chek-ak-e
 3-FUT-cortar-PFV-NREFL
 ‘Él cortará.’⁹⁸ (D. Payne 1983b:108)

In Apurucayali, an overall neutralization comes from the lack of the vowel /e/, so all I-class RS suffixes are *-i*. However, as explained in Section 6.1.2.2.2, /t/ and the progressive aspect suffix *-ach* change to /ts/ before a realis suffix, which marks the opposition in this environment (Payne 1981:121-127). This feature has a clear diachronic origin in that */ti/ evolved to /tsi/ and then /e/ and /i/ merged, so that the former */ti/ and */te/ evolved to /tsi/ and /ti/, respectively. Therefore, the neutralization is general due to the merging of /e/ and /i/, and the exception would rather be the non-neutralization in the phonological environments described above.

A similar process as the one described for Apurucayali in the preceding paragraph seems to be starting in Yuruá. García (1993:54, 1997:37) says that there is an incipient loss of the contrast /e/-/i/ in Yuruá, so the tendency should be the same as in Apurucayali.

We can see that the neutralization after the perfective suffix *-ak*, described in Section 6.1.2.1.4 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, is also present in Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené and Pichis, and in all of them there is an additional neutralization after the terminative/regressive aspect suffix *-ah/-ag*. In Apurucayali, the neutralization is general due to the merging of /i/ and /e/, a process that seems to be starting in Yuruá as well. These features are summed up in Table 27. Obviously, there is no neutralization if the irrealis nasal prefix is present due to the phonological environment.

⁹⁸ ‘He will cut.’

Table 27. Summary of cases of RS neutralization in Ashé-Ashá languages (except UP Ashéninka).

Variety	Yuruá	Apurucayali	Pichis	Alto Perené	Tambo-Ene
Cases of neutralization	Incipient loss of contrast /e/-/i/	Lack of contrast /e/-/i/. RS opposition in I-class verbs is present only in contrast /tsi/-/ti/.	PFV <i>-ake</i> REG <i>-agi</i>	PFV <i>-ake</i> TER <i>-ahe</i>	<i>-ake</i> <i>-ahe</i>

6.1.2.3. Summary of reality status features

We have seen that the reality status systems of all the studied Campan languages show similar features. They all express a binary distinction between verbs that express what has become real (realis) against what has not become real (irrealis). Therefore, realis marking appears with past and present tense affirmative clauses, while imperative, future and negative clauses are marked with irrealis. More recent and detailed works (Michael 2008, 2014; Mihas 2015*a*, 2015*b*; Castillo 2020) also list a series of clause types that are marked with irrealis and fit the definition of a non-realized action (expression of desire, conditional, etc.). Furthermore, all languages have a realis and an irrealis negative particle, which are used in the same fashion, and all languages present the so-called *double irrealis construction*, which consists of the irrealis negative particle plus realis suffixes on the verb.

We have seen that all languages have two verb classes, which were called *reflexive* and *non-reflexive* in older works, which are equivalent to the more recent *A-class* and *I-class*, respectively. The RS suffixes of the I-class are identical in all languages, with the exception of Apurucayali due to the loss of the contrast between /e/ and /i/, which might also be progressing in Yuruá. These suffixes are realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*. The A-class realis suffix is also identical in all languages (*-a*), while its irrealis counterpart shows some variation. Also all languages have an irrealis nasal prefix that occurs in similar phonological environments (mainly before voiceless stops and affricates). There are different cases in which the distinction realis-irrealis is

neutralized, but all languages share the neutralization of the realis and irrealis suffixes after the perfective aspect suffix *-ak*.

The similarity of the Campan languages can be easily observed, and the great similarity of their RS systems only fits their general similarity and offers no doubt that the present RS systems come from a former RS system in proto-Campan with the features that are summed up in this section. In the next Section 6.1.3, I will describe the changes that Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka has undergone in its reality status system.

6.1.3. Reality status in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka

When I started researching the Ashéninka reality status with Ucayali speakers, I expected to find features similar to those described in Section 6.1.2. However, to my great surprise, I discovered that its reality status system has undergone a profound change that makes it different from the rest of the Campan languages. The differences are that there is no distinction between the I-class RS suffixes, the irrealis nasal prefix has disappeared and the negative clause is marked realis on A-class verbs. However, in I-class verbs, when the RS suffix (always *-i*) occurs after /t/, the difference between realis and irrealis is preserved in that this /t/ becomes /ts/ in realis situations, yielding thus an opposition realis-irrealis expressed with /tsi/-ti/, respectively. In these cases, the negative clause is marked realis, as in A-class verbs. This remnant of the realis-irrealis opposition is the same as explained for Apurucayali in Section 6.1.2.2 and represents the realization of the tendency indicated by García (1993:54, 1997:37) for Yuruá (see Section 6.1.2.2.4). The same as in Apurucayali, if we take into account the opposition /ti/-te/ in other Campan languages, we can easily infer that the same opposition existed in Ucayali-Pajonal and a shift /ti/ > /tsi/ and /te/ > /ti/ brought about the present opposition. The lack of contrast between realis and irrealis suffixes implies that I-class verbs, when /t/ does not precede the RS suffix, in the absence of different suffixes and an irrealis prefix, have totally lost the reality status system. Therefore, the RS system only exists with I-class verbs with /t/ preceding the RS suffix and with A-class verbs. In both cases, a verb in a negative clause is marked realis, differently from the other Campan languages. UP Ashéninka keeps the two realis and irrealis negative particles and uses them in the same way as the other Campan languages.

Another peculiar development is that the former irrealis suffix *-e/-eya* has fossilized after the progressive suffix *-aty* and has given birth to a future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* (the latter only in A-class verbs).

The study of the Pajonal texts in Heitzman (1991) (the only published Pajonal texts, to my knowledge) yields the same features as in Ucayali. This accords with the account of my informants from the Ucayali in that they told me that the only difference between Ucayali and Pajonal is in *wh*-words,⁹⁹ which implies that both varieties are practically identical. Details and examples are given in the following lines.

6.1.3.1. Ucayali

As said above, the Ucayali I-class verbs only keep RS marking when /t/ occurs before the RS suffix, while, in all other cases, they have totally lost any RS marking and thus reality status as a grammatical feature, except for the negative clause, where the different negative particles mark the difference. There is no doubt that the irrealis nasal prefix is lost, given that it has never appeared in any elicitation, story or conversation. Regarding the RS suffix, it tends to be realized most times as [ɪ], although it can also be realized as [i], [i̯], [e] or [ɛ̯]. This sound variation could suggest that two different phonemes might be present. However, the work with different speakers and elicitations in which I proposed the speaker a change of [i] to [e] and vice versa showed me that they do not perceive any difference with this variation. My impression is that this suffix is a fossilized reality status marker that has become a sort of dummy vowel, and that it can be represented phonologically as /i/, taking into account that it has a broad range of realizations. This means that unstressed /i/ can be realized as [e], but unstressed /e/ can only be realized as [e]. The best example is the above-mentioned future suffix *-atyee*, which no speaker admits to be realized as *[acii]. Some examples of this fossilized reality status suffix, which I have glossed FRS (fossilized reality status), are in (271). These examples show the disappearance

⁹⁹ It may seem strange that two dialects differ only in *wh*-words and not in other words, but, when one gets to know UP Ashéninka *wh*-words, the explanation is straightforward: the same *wh*-word can have different meanings and different *wh*-words can express the same meaning. Therefore, it is normal that speakers of even different native communities can tend to use one or the other *wh*-word for the same meaning.

of the opposition realis-irrealis through identical suffixes and the absence of the nasal prefix, which would be expected to be present with a verbal root like *-pok-*, starting with a voiceless stop. However, the distinction has been preserved in the different negation particles (271d, e, f).

(271) a. Nopoki. no-pok-i 1S-come-FRS 'I'm coming.'	b. Nopoki oháiteki no-pok-i oháiteki 1S-come-FRS tomorrow 'I'll come tomorrow.'
c. Pipoki! pi-pok-i 2S-come-FRS 'Come!'	d. Eero pipoki! eero pi-pok-i NEG.IRR 2S-come-FRS 'Don't come!'
e. Tee nopoki. tee no-pok-i NEG.REA 1S-come-FRS 'I'm not coming.'	f. Eero nopoki. eero no-pok-i NEG.IRR 1S-come-FRS 'I won't come.'

As explained above, the RS opposition is present when /t/ occurs before the RS suffix. Examples of this occurrence are given in (272). I have glossed *-zi/-i* as RS suffix, but it must be taken into account that *-tzi* represents /tsi/ (usually realized as [tʃi]), so that the separation of *-t* and *-zi* in the glosses means that the affrication of /t/ is marking the suffix as realis. Since this affrication occurs both with the epenthetic /t/ and verbal roots finishing in /t/ (e.g. *-kant-* 'say'), there is no better way to gloss the fact that an affrication marks the difference, although it may seem strange to separate a digraph that represents only one phoneme. Examples (272) show realis *-tzi* and irrealis *-ti* occurring where they are expected according to the descriptions given for other Campan languages in Section 6.1.2, except for the negative sentence (272b), where the RS marking differs from the rest of the Campan languages. Besides negative, future and imperative examples, also examples with a desiderative sentence (272g) and conditional sentences (272h, i) are given.

(272) a. Nonátziro. no-na-t-zi-ro 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O 'I carry it.'	b. Tee nonátziro. tee no-na-t-zi-ro NEG 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O 'I don't carry it.'

- c. Nonátiro inkámani.
 no-na-t-i-ro inkámani
 1S-carry-&-IRR-3F.O tomorrow
 'I'll carry it tomorrow.'
- d. Eero nonátziro inkámani.
 eero no-na-t-zi-ro inkámani
 NEG.IRR 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O tomorrow
 'I won't carry it tomorrow.'
- e. Pinátiro! f. Eero pinátziro!
 pi-na-t-i-ro eero pi-na-t-zi-ro
 2S-carry-&-IRR-3F.O NEG.IRR 2S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
 'Carry it!' 'Don't carry it!'
- g. Nokói nohámpitimi
 no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 'I want to ask you.' (CMM)
- h. Arírika nonátiro, osheki oténanka.
 ari=rika no-na-t-i-ro osheki o-tena-nka
 AFF=COND 1S-carry-IRR-3F.O much 3F.S-be.heavy-ADJZ
 'If I carry it, it will be very heavy.'
- i. Érorika nonátziro, eero oténakana.
 eero=rika no-na-t-zi-ro
 NEG.IRR=COND 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
 eero o-tena-ak-a-na
 NEG.IRR 3F.S-be.heavy-PFV-REA-1O
 'If I don't carry it, it won't be heavy for me.'

As said above, the RS opposition has been preserved in A-class verbs. As can be seen in the examples (273), reality status is marked with two different suffixes: realis *-a* and irrealis *-ya* (*-ya* actually triggers a palatalization from /t/ to /c/ in these examples). The root of the verb in (273) starts with *sh* (except (273g)), so a nasal prefix would also not be present in other Campan languages. However, the roots *-chek-* 'cut', *-kitha-* 'dress' and *-kew-* 'wash' show no trace of a nasal prefix when marked with A-class suffixes either (when they have a reflexive meaning).

- (273) a. Nòshirónta. b. Nòshiróntya.
 no-shiront-a no-shiront-ya
 1S-laugh-REA 1S-laugh-IRR
 'I'm laughing.' 'I'm going to laugh.'

- c. Pishiróntya!
pi-shiront-ya
2S-laugh-IRR
'Laugh!'
- d. Eero pishirónta!
eero pi-shiront-a
NEG.IRR 2S-laugh-REA
'Don't laugh!'
- e. Tee noshironta.
tee no-shiront-a
NEG.REA 1S-laugh-REA
'I'm not laughing.'
- f. Eero noshironta.
eero no-shiront-a
NEG.IRR 1S-laugh-REA
'I won't laugh.'
- g. Nokówaki nowéthatyáwo
no-kow-ak-i no-wetha-t-ya-ro
1S-want-PFV-FRS 1S-greet-&-IRR-3F.O
'I want to greet her.'

Examples (272) and (273) show a particular feature of UP Ashéninka different from the rest of Campan languages: the verbs in the negative clauses (272b) and (273e) are not marked irrealis, but realis.

Some verbs can show the RS opposition through a difference in the suffix class, so that A-class marking indicates realis and I-class marking, irrealis, as shown in (274).

- (274) a. Ipiya.
i-piy-a
3M.S-come.back-REA
'He is coming back.'
- b. Tee ipiya.
tee i-piy-a
NEG.REA 3M.S-come.back-REA
'He is not coming back.'
- c. Ipiyi inkámani.
i-piy-i inkámani
3M.S-come.back-IRR tomorrow
'He'll come back tomorrow.'
- d. Pipiyi!
pi-piy-i
2S-come.back-IRR
'Come back!'
- e. Eero pipiya!
eero pi-piy-a
NEG.IRR 2S-come.back-REA
'Don't come back!'
- f. Nokoyi nopiyi.
no-koy-i no-piy-i
1S-want-FRS 1S-come.back-IRR
'I want to come back.'

Another development of UP Ashéninka is the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* (the latter only in A-class verbs), which is shown in (275). This feature is discussed in detail in Section 6.3.2.2.

- (275) a. Nòmanatyéero.
no-man-atyee-ro
1S-hide-FUT-3F.O
'I will hide it.'
- b. Nòshirontatyéya.
no-shiront-atyeya
1S-laugh-FUT
'I will laugh.'

Verbs with the future suffix do not bear any (fossilized) reality status suffix, which is obligatory in all verbs. This shows that the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* most

probably originated from the progressive aspect suffix *-aty* plus the irrealis suffix *-e/-eya* (the latter used only in A-class verbs). I have said above that unstressed /i/ can be realized as [e]. This was checked by asking speakers if it would be possible to pronounce a word with [i] or [e], and they replied that there was no difference, but no speaker has approved changing *-atyee* ([ace:]) by **-atyii* ([aci:]). This confirms that the phoneme in this suffix is /e/ and its realization is much more restricted than that of /i/.

The features described in this section show that Ucayali Ashéninka has undergone changes in its reality status system that no other Campan variety has. In the next section, I examine if these changes hold in its sister variety spoken in the Gran Pajonal.

6.1.3.2. Pajonal

The literature on the Pajonal variety is very scarce. To my knowledge, the only reference with glossed texts is Heitzman (1991). She glosses the reality status suffixes as *future* and *non-future*, and consistently glosses *-i* as non-future (realis) and *-e* as future (irrealis) in I-class verbs, and *-a* as non-future reflexive and *-ya* as future reflexive in A-class verbs. The only inconsistencies always appear with *-a-e* (REG-NFUT), as in (276), where the realis (non-future) suffix should be *-i*.

Pajonal

- (276) no-heck-ap-a-e no-heck-ap-a-e no-heck-ap-a-e
 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT
 ‘Al volver, seguí viviendo aquí.’¹⁰⁰ (Heitzman 1991:130)

The most interesting feature in Heitzman’s texts is that the nasal prefix is absolutely missing, the same as in Ucayali. Clear examples of where one would expect it to appear are given in (277).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Coming back, I followed living here.’

Pajonal

- (277) a. ... roohatzi no-pok-ant-eya
 entonces I-venir-DETR-FUT¹⁰¹
 ‘... entonces vendré.’¹⁰² (Heitzman 1991:122)
- b. no-kant-e-eya shok shok shok yow-a-a-na Tzinkañari-ki
 I-hacer-REG-FUT ir ir ir salir-REG-NFUT.REFL-1S Tzinkañari
 ‘Lo cruzaré y luego paso a paso, paso a paso, saldré (del monte) en Tzincañari.’¹⁰³ (Heitzman 1991:131)
- c. i-konte-t-apa-ak-ya paashini
 3M-aparecer-&-ALL-PFV-FUT.REFL otro
 pey-ak-a-Ø...,
 desaparecer-PFV-NFUT.REFL-3S
 ‘Cuando otra (luna) aparezca y desaparezca...’,¹⁰⁴ (Heitzman 1991:122)

Examples (277) express a future action with a verbal root starting with a voiceless stop. Therefore, if Pajonal had an irrealis nasal prefix similar to the other Campan languages, this prefix would occur in these examples.

The opposition between realis *-tzi* and irrealis *-ti*, described in Section 6.1.3.1 for Ucayali, is also present in Heitzman’s (1991) Pajonal texts, yet irrealis is transcribed *-te* instead of *-ti*. The examples (278) show this feature. The verb *-iyaa-* ‘go’ in (278a) is marked irrealis (*future* in Heitzman’s terminology) with *-e* and the epenthetic consonant *t*, while, in (278b), the same verb is marked realis with *-i* and the epenthetic consonant *tz*.

Pajonal

- (278) a. Aririka n-iyaa-t-e Tyooni-ki, no-piy-a-e intsipaete.
 cuando I-ir-&-FUT Tyooni-LOC I-volver-REG-FUT rápidamente
 ‘Cuando vaya a Tyooni, volveré rápidamente.’¹⁰⁵ (Heitzman 1991:117)
- b. No-kant-a n-iyaa-tz-i n-anonk-an-ak-a.
 I-hacer-NFUT I-ir-&-NFUT I-cruzar.cerro-ABL-PFV-NFUT
 ‘Yo empecé a cruzar las montañas.’¹⁰⁶ (Heitzman 1991:117)

¹⁰¹ Here I have to say that I totally disagree with the gloss DETR (detransitivizer). The suffix *-ant* in my field data and in other works expresses, among other meanings, the consequence of a cause. In my field data, the discourse connector *róohatzi* ‘then’ triggers the suffix *-ant* in the following verb, so that is most probably the reason why it occurs here. Moreover, the verb *to come* is clearly intransitive, so there is nothing to detransitivize here.

¹⁰² ‘...then I’ll come.’

¹⁰³ ‘I’ll cross it and then, step by step, step by step, I’ll get out (of the forest) at Tzincañari.’

¹⁰⁴ ‘When another (moon) appears and disappears...’

¹⁰⁵ ‘When I go to Tyooni, I’ll come back quickly.’

¹⁰⁶ ‘I started to cross the mountains.’

The same distinction *t-tz* as described for Ucayali exists here, but the typical Campan opposition *e-i* is also represented. D. Payne (1983b:102) shows for Pichis the same opposition as in Heitzman's texts: *tzi-te*. However, I prefer to be cautious about Heitzman's interpretation of the RS suffix, given that, as I said in Section 6.1.3.1, the realization of /i/ in Ucayali is very broad, which could also be the case in Pajonal, and Heitzman might have been influenced by her expectation of irrealis *e* and realis *i*.

In any case, what Heitzman's (1991) examples clearly reveal is the loss of the irrealis nasal prefix, which puts Pajonal together with Ucayali, and this is further evidence to group Pajonal with Ucayali besides phonological reasons (the innovation /s/ > /h/ described in Pedrós (2018:11)). Heitzman's texts do not reveal if a verb in a negative sentence is marked realis, as in Ucayali, or irrealis, as in the other Campan languages.

6.1.4. Conclusions

The most important contribution of this Section 6.1 intends to be to show that a Campan language has partially lost the reality status system, one of the most characteristic features of the Campan languages, given that this loss was unknown in the previous literature. However, this discovery can raise some questions about, among other topics, language change and reality status. In this section, I briefly comment on which these questions might be.

The development of reality status markers in UP Ashéninka shows a grammatical change in progress. The binary RS opposition is present in all Campan languages except in this one, in which the RS system has been lost in roughly half of all verbs. This is a token of language change and raises the question of how and why an RS system as the Campan one appears and disappears in a language.

Michael (2014:255-259) presents a good account of what he calls "the reality status debate". In this debate, some authors (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Bybee 1998; De Haan 2012) argue that reality status cannot be considered a valid cross-linguistic category, while others (Givón 1994, Mithun 1995) argue the opposite. The arguments against RS are based on the study of languages for whose description the *realis-irrealis* terminology has been used, and these arguments are mainly that the

described RS systems are too heterogeneous to form a cross-linguistic category and none of them represents what we would expect in a binary system that would differentiate real/actualized from unreal/non-actualized events. The arguments in favor of the validity of RS as a cross-linguistic category are basically that a grammatical feature should not be expected to be identical in all languages so as to be considered valid cross-linguistically. Michael's (2014) new idea is to propose Nanti's RS system, and with it the pan-Campan RS system, as a canonical prototype of RS, since this RS system shows the features that the detractors of RS as a valid grammatical category find that should be expected in a binary RS opposition. Indeed, as Michael (2014) argues, the Campan RS systems exhibit an obligatory binary opposition between realized and unrealized events, as we have seen in the previous sections. Although Swift (2008:55) already defined the Caquinte RS system as a tense opposition between *futuro/irreal* and *no-futuro/real*, he uses the terms *futuro/no-futuro* throughout his grammar, while *irreal/real* are only mentioned once, in the introduction to the category. Payne (2001) uses the terminology *realis/irrealis* in his glosses in a book chapter devoted to causatives. However, the first work on a Campan language that uses the *realis/irrealis* terminology and describes it is Michael (2008). This is probably the reason why the participants in the reality status debate did not mention any Campan language: all the works of the debate are older than Michael (2008) except De Haan (2012), where again no Campan language is mentioned, even though also Mihas (2010) had already been published with the *realis/irrealis* terminology. In this way, the Campan RS system seems to partly refute the arguments against RS as a cross-linguistic grammatical category –*partly* because many more languages would be needed in order to refute them totally.

If, instead of the pan-Campan RS system, one examined only the UP Ashéninka system, the arguments held against RS would continue to have a good basis: the RS opposition is not present in roughly half of the verbs, so a canonical example of RS system would still be missing. What may be enlightening from the pan-Campan system together with the UP Ashéninka evolution is that this example shows us how a perfect RS system evolves, and this might be a good explanation of why it is so difficult to find a good representative of our expected prototypical RS system: since

language is continuously changing, it must be very difficult that the different evolution paths of a language come together to create a perfect RS system as the pan-Campan one, and, when this happens, this system will not hold forever, but language evolution will change it and maybe make it disappear totally or partially, as is the case in UP Ashéninka. In fact, the neutralizations described in sections 6.1.2.1.4 and 6.1.2.2.4 show that every Campan language has lost the RS opposition in a few environments.

Palmer (2001:160) says: "...there are few, if any, languages where there is a simple binary contrast of *realis* and *irrealis*. This is hardly surprising, for such a binary contrast would allow for a great deal of ambiguity". Palmer probably did not know the existence of the Campan RS system, but his statement about the ambiguity of a simple binary RS contrast might explain the change undergone by UP Ashéninka. That is, the disappearance of RS marking in roughly half of the verbs poses the question of how useful this system is in a language, and the development of the UP Ashéninka future suffix (see Section 6.3.2.2) shows a token of how RS can be partially replaced with other grammatical categories.

Palmer (2001:185-187) discusses the difference between *irrealis* and *subjunctive* and says that each term belongs to a different tradition (*subjunctive* and *indicative* have been used for classical and modern European languages). However, he says that the functions of *subjunctive* and *irrealis* differ in main clauses, but that notional features associated with *irrealis* are also often associated with *subjunctive* in subordinate clauses. Indeed, in Spanish, future is expressed with the *subjunctive* in subordinate clauses (e.g. *cuando vuelvas...* 'when you come back...') and imperative is also expressed with *subjunctive* only in the negative clause (e.g. *no vuelvas* 'don't come back'). In a way, the Spanish *subjunctive-indicative* system could qualify for an imperfect RS system as one of those to which the detractors of RS refer when they note the lack of a canonical RS system according to our notional expectations. With this, I want to highlight the fact that languages seem to tend to establish a binary opposition between *real/actualized* and *unreal/non-actualized* events, and the ways this is performed are very different and are in constant evolution, the result of which is the picture that we have today of the different reality status or *subjunctive-indicative* systems. This constant evolution should make it difficult to find an example of a

perfect or canonical binary opposition between realis and irrealis. The pan-Campan RS system seems to be the most ideal candidate for this canonical binary system, and UP Ashéninka shows us that such a system is not going to hold forever and thus why it is difficult for it to exist at a specific point in time as nowadays.

The difference between UP Ashéninka and the other Campan languages in RS may show a direction in future typological research: it might be the case that the study of RS or indicative-subjunctive oppositions in closely related groups of languages might show that these oppositions have changed in some languages. If some of these cases might be identified in different groups of related languages, the comparison might yield interesting results about the evolution paths of grammatical oppositions between real/actualized and unreal/non-actualized events.

6.1.5. Other features of the reality status system in UP Ashéninka

Besides the features described in Section 6.1.3, two more that must be described did not appear in my article Pedrós (2019): they are the verb class change caused by some suffixes and the role of the RS suffixes in expressing reflexivity. These two features are described in sections 6.1.5.1 and 6.1.5.2, respectively.

6.1.5.1. Verb class change caused by some suffixes

Some suffixes cause the reality status suffix to shift from I- to A-class or vice versa. They are described in the following lines.

The 2nd person suffix *-mi* causes a preceding A-class suffix to change to I-class. In (279), the A-class verb *wethataantsi* takes the RS suffix *-i* because of the presence of *-mi*.

- (279) Nowéthatzimi.
 N-owetha-t-zi-mi
 1S-greet-&-REA-2O
 'I greet you.'

When the RS suffix is followed by the 1st person suffix *-na*, realis is marked with A-class and irrealis with I-class suffixes, regardless of the class of the verb, except when the RS suffix is preceded by the perfective suffix *-ak*, in which case the RS

suffix is always I-class. This feature is clearly observed in (280) with its three repetitions of the I-class verb *aminaantsi* ‘look’.

- (280) **Pámininatya**, *tía*, **eero páminana**, **pámini** *cacao*, **ari**.
 p-amin-i-na=tya *tía*¹⁰⁷ eero p-amin-a-na
 2S-look-IRR-1O=EMPH aunt NEG.IRR 2S-look-REA-1O
 p-amin-i-ro *cacao*¹⁰⁸ ari
 2S-look-FRS-3F.O cocoa.pod thus
 ‘Look at me, aunt, don’t look at me, look at the cocoa pod, that way.’ (CCPC)

In the third verb, the RS suffix is followed by the 3rd person feminine suffix *-ro*; thus, there is no change. The first verb is an irrealis situation (imperative), and the RS suffix is I-class, while the second verb shows the double irrealis construction described in sections 6.1.2.1.3 and 6.1.2.2.3, in which the verb is marked realis, in this case with an A-class suffix on this I-class verb.

This feature has been checked with elicitations; one with two verbs is in (281) and (282). Examples *a* show the two verbs in irrealis (imperatives) and with I-class inflection, while examples *b* show verbs marked realis (double irrealis construction) and A-inflected.

- (281) a. **Pikántina**. b. **Eero pikántana**.
 pi-kant-i-na eero pi-kant-a-na
 2S-say-IRR-1O NEG.IRR 2S-say-REA-1O
 ‘Tell me.’ ‘Don’t tell me.’
- (282) a. **Pichékinawo**. b. **Eero pichékanawo**.
 pi-chek-i-na-ro eero pi-chek-a-na-ro
 2S-cut-IRR-1O-3F.O NEG.IRR 2S-cut-REA-1O-3F.O
 ‘Cut it for me.’ ‘Don’t cut it for me.’

Example (283) shows the A-class verb *pitsipataantsi* ‘accompany’ with an I-class suffix, which is caused by the presence of *-na* and the verb in irrealis.

- (283) **Nokówaki pitsipátina**.
 no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na
 1S-want-PFV-FRS 2S-accompany-&-IRR-1O
 ‘I want you to accompany me.’ (SCS)

¹⁰⁷ *Tía* is the Spanish word for ‘aunt’. The referred woman is the wife of the speaker’s maternal uncle. The female ego vocative form for the maternal aunt is *nanaeni*, but I cannot state with certainty whether the maternal uncle’s wife is referred to as the actual maternal aunt. In Spanish, *tía* is used for all aunts and all uncles’ wives.

¹⁰⁸ *Cacao* is a Spanish word that refers to the tree, the pod and the obtained powder. I do not know if there is an Ashéninka word for it.

The verb in (283) is in irrealis because it forms a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’, but, if it were in realis, its form would be *pitsipátana*. Another checked verb with the same feature is *wethataantsi* ‘greet’: realis *owéthatana* ‘she greets me’ and irrealis *owéthatina*.

The alternation of realis *-a* and irrealis *-i* before the 1st person object suffix *-na* does not occur when the RS suffix follows the perfective suffix *-ak*. In this case, the RS suffix is always I-class, as is shown in (284) and (285).

- (284) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I’ve heard that you made someone call me.’ (CTK)
- (285) **Aréetapàkina** iroñaaka haka pinámpiki Katsinkaari.
 aree-t-ap-ak-i-na iroñaaka
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-1S now
 ha=ka pi-nampi=ki Katsinkaari
 LOC=PROX 2-community=LOC Chicosa
 ‘I have arrived right now here in your community, Chicosa.’

In (284), the verb *pikàemakàantákina* should have an A-class suffix because of the presence of the resultative suffix *-ant* (see below), but the fact that the perfective suffix *-ak* precedes the RS suffix and the 1st person suffix *-na* follows it triggers an I-class RS suffix. The verb *areetaantsi* ‘arrive’ in (285) is A-class, but the RS suffix is *-i* because it is preceded by the perfective *-ak* and followed by the 1st person suffix *-na*, in this case with the function of subject, which triggers an I-class RS suffix. Example (285) shows that the suffix *-na* does not need to be in object function to cause a verb class change, but it can also have a subject function. The change from I- to A-class triggered by a realis situation and an RS suffix preceding *-na* with subject function can be seen in (286) with the verb *iyataantsi* ‘go’, which adopts the irregular root *ha-* when the subject is suffixed (in this case, *hatá* is the abbreviation of *hataana*). On the contrary, in (287), the position of the RS suffix between the perfective *-ak* and *-na* in subject function trigger I-class inflection.

- (286) Nokanta nomákoryánaki,
- hatá (hatana)**
- .

no-kant-a no-makory-an-ak-i ha-t-a-na
 1S-COP-REA 1S-rest-ABL-PFV-FRS go-&-REA-1S
 ‘Then I start to rest and then I leave.’ (CCPC)

- (287) “
- Hátákina**
- henoki, hatákina henoki.”

ha-t-ak-i-na henoki
 go-&-PFV-FRS-1S up
 ‘“I’m going up, I’m going up” (to heaven).’ (SCS)

O’Hagan (2020:234-35) also explains for Caquinte that 1st and 2nd person suffixes can change the verb class and that the perfective suffix influences this change.

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* (288), the frustrative *-wi* (289), the anterior *-it* (290) and the resultative *-ant* (291) cause an I-class suffix to change to A-class. Regarding other functions of the suffix *-ant*, the change from I- to A-class takes place with the instrumental (292) and the time functions of the suffix (293), but not with the job function (294) (see Section 6.7.3 for a description of these functions). All verbs in the examples below are I-class, and all except the one in (294) change to A-class because of the presence of the suffixes *-awak*, *-wi*, *-it* and *-ant*.

- (288) Apaani
- añáawaka**
- , ikántètzi... ,
- sábado*
- .

apaani a-ña-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado
 only INCL.S-see-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-say-IMP&-REA-3M.O Saturday
 ‘We only see each other, how to say, on Saturday.’ (CTK)

- (289)
- Ikówawita**
- tháwinatyàwo raniro.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a tháwina-t-ya-ro
 3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O
 r-aniro
 3M-niece.sister’s.daughter.MP
 ‘He vainly wanted to have incestuous sex with his niece (his sister’s daughter).’ (SCS)

- (290) Ikántaka rira..., iroka tsinani owétsikáshitákiri, ikanta, ana,
- okémitzitaka**
- .

i-kant-ak-a ri=ra i-ro=ka tsinani
 3MS-COP-PFV-REA M=MED DEM-F=PROX woman
 o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri i-kant-a ana
 3F.S-prepare-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP-REA genipap
 o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a
 3F.S-grate-&-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘So it was that, um..., this woman has prepared genipap for him, she has grated it before (his arrival).’ (SCS)

- (291) Íitakya kaari **pamanta** niha?
 iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 ‘Why didn’t you bring water?’ (CCPC)
- (292) **Roshétantàwo** roshétamènto.
 r-oshe-t-ant-a-ro r-oshe-t-amento
 3M.S-clean-&-INS-REA-3F.O 3M-clean-&-NMLZ.INS
 ‘He cleans it with his cloth (lit: cleaning tool).’ (PV)
- (293) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)
- (294) Owámetakinàri **owámetàntatsíri** poñinkari hanta kirinka.
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 teach-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-inka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 come.from-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST downriver
 ‘The one who taught me is a teacher coming from there, downriver.’ (CMH)

The changes triggered by the object suffixes 1st person *-na* and 2nd person *-mi* described above and illustrated in examples (279) to (287) are predominant over the changes caused by other suffixes, i.e. the changes in RS class triggered by the pronominal suffixes block any other change caused by other suffixes. This predominance is clearly shown in (284) for the suffix *-na*, where the resultative *-ant* does not change the RS suffix to A-class because of the presence of *-na*; and in (295) and (296) for the suffix *-mi*, where the resultative *-ant* and the frustrative *-wi*, respectively, do not change the RS suffix due to the presence of *-mi*.

- (295) **Nokáemantzimìri** nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta pihéekàyini hanta éeroka pinámpiki.
 no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-call-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 hempe pi-kant-a pi-heck-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
 WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-live-PL-FRS-PLLOC=DIST 2 2-community=LOC
 ‘I have called you because I want to ask you how you live there in your community.’ (CTK)
- (296) Ohámpiwitzimi.
 o-hampi-wi-t-zi-mi
 3F.S-ask-FRU-&-REA-2O
 ‘She was asking you/She asked you in vain.’

6.1.5.2. Reflexivity

I-class verbs can acquire a reflexive meaning by shifting to A-class. A typical pair with the verb ‘wash’ is shown in (297). An example from natural texts with the verb *owankitaantsi* ‘put in a place’ is in (298): in (298a), the verb is transitive and has RS I-class inflection; in (298b), the verb is reflexive and has A-class inflection.

- (297) a. Nokéwiro. b. Nokewa.
 no-kew-i-ro no-kew-a
 1S-wash-FRS-3F.O 1S-wash-REA.REFL
 ‘I wash her/it.’ ‘I wash myself.’
- (298) a. **Rowànkityantyapitzitákiro** mapíkira.
 r-owanki-tyantyapitzi-t-ak-i-ro mapi=ki=ra
 3M.S-put.on.a.place-full.bag.form-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O stone=LOC=MED
 ‘He puts that with a full bag form on that stone.’ (TSJ)
- b. Irika rira, ikàntétzirikà, éentsika **rowánkita**kàri irira maniro.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka eentsi=ka
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O=INT child=PROX
 r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri i-ri=ra maniro
 3M.S-put.on.a.place-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O DEM-M=MED deer
 ‘This, um..., how to say..., this child has put himself on that deer.’ (FS)

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* always triggers an I-class suffix shift to A-class. In this case, the reason is very clear because reciprocity implies reflexivity. Reflexivity is usually defined as the feature that expresses that subject and object refer to the same entity (Crystal 2008:408), whereas reciprocity implies a mutual relationship (Crystal 2008:405), which means that A and B are subjects and A is object of B and B is object of A, i.e. both A and B are subjects and objects. The relation is not exactly the same as in reflexivity, where there may be only one subject A that is its own object, but the close meanings of both concepts put them together in UP Ashéninka as in other languages (e.g. Spanish *se mira* ‘he/she looks at himself/herself’ vs. *se miran* ‘they look at each other’, both with the reflexive pronoun *se*). An example is in (299) with the verb *ñataantsi* ‘see’, which is I-class, but, in this case, the RS suffix is *-a* and carries a reflexive value.

- (299) Apaani **añáawaka**, ikàntétziri..., *sábado*.
 apaani a-ña-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado
 only INCL.S-see-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O Saturday
 ‘We only see each other, how to say, on Saturday.’ (CTK)

6.2. Pronominal affixes

The typical verbal pattern of Campan languages is with subject prefixes and object suffixes, and this is also the case in UP Ashéninka. The subject prefix is quasi-obligatory, i.e. it occurs on the verb almost always, but the object suffix is quite optional. However, there is a special construction in which the subject can be suffixed, and it is also possible for a verb to carry no subject affix. The form of the pronominal prefixes and suffixes is presented in Section 6.2.1, while Section 6.2.2 treats the verbal constructions that depart from the more usual pattern with subject prefixes and object suffixes.

6.2.1. Subject prefixes and object suffixes

There is a set of prefixes and another one of suffixes, which are very similar to each other. The prefixes cross-reference the subject (subject of an intransitive verb and agent of a transitive verb) and the suffixes cross-reference the object (patient of a transitive verb), but there is also a special construction in which a suffix can cross-reference the subject, which is discussed in Section 6.2.2.

The pronominal suffixes always have the same form, while the prefixes are slightly different depending on the first phoneme of the stem, which yields two sets of phonological allomorphs. The sets of suffixes and prefixes are shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Pronominal verbal affixes

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person feminine	3rd person masculine	Inclusive
Prefix with root starting with consonant or <i>e</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Prefix with root starting with vowel different from <i>e</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>
Suffix	<i>-na</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-ae</i>

The prefixes *pi-* and *i-* before a stem starting with *e* raise the vowel to *i* (e.g. *piita*, *pi-et-a*, 2S-be.called-REA, ‘your name is’), and the same happens with the possessive prefixes in nouns starting with *e* (see Section 4.1.3). An example of the use of some

pronominal prefixes and suffixes is shown in (300), where both verbs bear a 3rd person masculine prefix and suffix.

(300) **Rówakiri** hanta, **ipityáankákiri**.

r-ow-ak-i-ri ha=nta i-pityaank-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-put-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=DIST 3M.S-throw.head.first-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘He puts him there, he throws him head first.’ (FS)

In verbs with two objects, the indirect object (beneficiary) is placed before the direct object (301). When both are 3rd person objects, the direct object (patient) changes its form to *-ni*, while the indirect object retains the 3rd person suffix form (302). The inclusive suffix *-ae* always replaces the reality status suffix (303), and a ditransitive verb in which one of the objects is inclusive also receives the suffix *-ni*, although it is devoid of any function in this case (304). I have glossed it DO (double object) because its only function is to signal that there are two objects in the clause.

(301) Ichékanawo.

i-chek-a-na-ro
 3M.S-cut-REA-1O-3F.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for me.’

(302) Ichékiniri.

i-chek-i-ni-ri
 3M.S-cut-FRS-3O-3M.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for him.’

(303) Ichekae

i-chek-ae
 3M.S-cut-INCL.O
 ‘He cuts us (incl.).’

(304) Ichékaeniro.

i-chek-ae-ni-ro
 3M.S-cut-INCL.O-DO-3F.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for us (inclusive).’

However, two object suffixes can co-occur in a causative construction with an ambitransitive verb as *-ow* ‘eat’. This feature is described in Section 6.6.2.1, on causatives.

6.2.2. Suffixed subject construction and absence of subject affix

The subject of a verb can be cross-referenced with a suffix instead of the usual prefix. This special construction has been described in most of the Campanist literature, but with the particularity that it is described only for intransitive verbs, with the exception of O’Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte, who shows the suffixed subject also in transitive verbs. The fact that, according to most of the Campanist literature, the suffixed subject construction (from now on, SSC) only occurs in intransitive verbs has caused it to be considered a case of ergative-absolutive alignment. Since the usual Campan construction with subject prefixes constitutes a nominative-accusative alignment, the

existence of both constructions in a language should yield a kind of split system (Dixon 1994:70-110). Therefore, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:23-24) for Apurucayali call the SSC “sistema ergativo parcial” ‘partial ergative system’; D. Payne (1983a:22) for Pichis, “construcciones absolutivas” ‘absolute constructions’; Snell (2011:867-68) for Matsigenka, “verbo participial” ‘participial verb’; Mihas (2015a:454-63 for Alto Perené and 2015b:3 for Asháninka), “fluid intransitive marking”. Michael (2008:344) states that “fluid-S marking is rare in Nanti discourse”, and Lawrence (2013:155) says that Nomatsigenga has lost “all traces of fluid-S alignment”.¹⁰⁹ Payne & Payne (2005) devote a whole article to this construction, which they call “split intransitive agreement” (p. 40). Although the article does not indicate which variety is studied, considering that the Paynes worked mainly with Pichis and Apurucayali and the examples show an /e/-/i/ distinction, it can be inferred that the variety studied in this article is Pichis. The fact that O’Hagan (2020:213-14) describes Caquinte with the SSC also in transitive verbs makes an important difference, given that he does not posit the existence of a split system nor an ergative-absolutive alignment. In Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka, the subject can also be cross-referenced with a suffix in transitive verbs. Examples with an intransitive and with a transitive verb are given in (305) and (306), respectively.

(305) Naaka **hàtákiná** henoki.
 naaka ha-t-ak-i-na henoki
 1 go-&-PFV-FRS-1S up
 ‘I’m going up.’ (SCS)

(306) **Ñáakina** pankotsi.
 ña-ak-i-na panko-tsi
 see-PFV-FRS-1S house-ALI
 ‘I saw a house.’

In SSC constructions involving transitive verbs, object suffixes are not admitted (306), the same as in Caquinte (O’Hagan 2020:213).

An important fact is that the subject can be cross-referenced with a suffix in all persons except in 3rd person (i.e. only in 1st, 2nd and inclusive persons). Therefore,

¹⁰⁹ It is worth noting that Dixon (1994:78-83) uses the term “fluid-S” to refer to a split based on the control that the speaker has of the activity, but none of the works mentioned here describes a split conditioned in this way.

all the authors mentioned in the preceding paragraph, including O'Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte, consider that a verb in 3rd person without any subject affix is the same construction as a verb with a suffixed subject in the other persons. Yet I have found no explanation in the Campanist literature that supports this statement. We are undoubtedly dealing with two different ways of marking the subject (absence of affix in 3rd person and suffix in the rest).

In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the SSC in UP Ashéninka and show some arguments that confirm that the absence of any affix in verbs in 3rd person may be considered the same construction as that with a suffixed subject in verbs in the other persons; nonetheless, I also describe the possibility of omitting the subject affix in any person, which implies that not all verbs in 3rd person without a subject affix should be considered equivalent to verbs with a suffixed subject in the other persons. Finally, I describe the semantic content of the SSC and argue which alignment type fits the language better.

Some verbs with a relativizing function occur most times without a subject affix, but, given its very relativizing function, they form an entirely different construction from the one discussed in this section. This relative construction is treated in sections 6.3.6 and 7.4.2.2.

6.2.2.1. Do verbs in 3rd person without any subject affix belong to the suffixed subject construction?

Payne & Payne's article (2005) and Mihas' (2015a:454-63) section "Patterns of indexation of S arguments" are the works that devote the longest texts to studying the SSC. Payne & Payne (2005) describe some restrictions of their so-called "split intransitive agreement": verbs with this construction require an aspect suffix and cannot occur with some suffixes that Payne & Payne (2005:39-40, 42-43) list. Mihas (2015a:456) says that "imperatives, hortatives, content interrogatives introduced by the question word *tsika*, and verbal predicates of main clauses, negated by the negative particles *te* 'negative realis' and *airo* 'negative irrealis' do not allow the fluid intransitive marking". In UP Ashéninka, the SSC can occur without aspect suffixes, differently from Payne & Payne's Pichis, and cannot occur with imperatives,

hortatives and negative clauses, as in Mihas' Alto Perené; moreover, it cannot occur with the progressive aspect suffix *-atzi*. Regarding interrogatives introduced with *tsiká* and the suffixes listed by Payne & Payne, I do not have data to confirm whether UP Ashéninka also has these restrictions.

If the same restrictions apply to intransitive verbs in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive with the subject cross-referenced with a suffix, and to intransitive verbs without any subject affix in 3rd person, it seems reasonable to think that both constructions are equivalent. Another reason to consider them equivalent is that, if they were not equivalent, we would have incomplete paradigms in both cases (lack of 3rd person in the former case and lack of 1st and 2nd person and inclusive in the latter case). Yet I can give additional solid grounds to consider that both constructions are equivalent in UP Ashéninka.

A speaker told me that the 1st person equivalent of a verb in 3rd person with zero marking (*hatákowítaka*) would be this verb with a 1st person suffix. This word must be considered in the context of its sentence in (307), otherwise it makes little sense.

- (307) **Hatákowítaka** itayéeterini, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 'Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.' (SCFF)

Hatákowítaka was translated in Spanish as *faltando poco*, which can be translated in English as 'the time approaching' or 'the time being close'. The speaker said that *hatákowítakana*, with the 1st person suffix *-na* at the end, would mean the same in 1st person (*faltándome poco* 'the time approaching for me'). Here we have an SSC that acquires a meaning different from the verb 'go', on which it is built. It is interesting that *hatákowítaka* has no pronominal affix, is used in 3rd person and the speaker admits the same meaning, different from that of the verbal root, for the 1st person when a 1st person suffix is added.

Another argument in favour of considering that a verb in 3rd person without a subject affix is an SSC is the defective verb *kaakitaantsi* 'arrive', which cannot take subject prefixes, but only subject suffixes. This is the only verb with this feature that has come to my knowledge. An example is in (308).

- (308) **Káakitapàki** páashini.
 kaaki-t-ap-ak-i páashini
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-FRS other
 ‘Another one has arrived.’ (SCS)

All six instances of the verb *kaakitaantsi* in my corpus are in 3rd person and have no subject affix attached. When this verb first appeared in a natural text and I questioned the consultant trying to find out the stem, I was surprised because he did not accept any subject prefix with this verb, but, when asked to formulate it in 1st or 2nd person, he always formed the verb with subject suffixes (309).

- (309) a. **Káakitàkina** b. **Káakitàkimi**.
 kaaki-t-ak-i-na kaaki-t-ak-i-mi
 arrive-&-PFV-FRS-1S arrive-&-PFV-FRS-2S
 ‘I have arrived.’ ‘You have arrived.’

This implies that this verb takes only subject suffixes, but not prefixes. This verb means ‘arrive’, but appears to be used to denote that someone has *just* arrived. The consultant’s explanation regarding examples (307) and (308) seems to confirm the general Campanist thesis that posits that the absence of affixes in 3rd person intransitive verbs is equal in meaning to intransitive verbs with 1st person, 2nd person and inclusive subjects marked with a suffix.

6.2.2.2. Subject prefix omission

The problem with the thesis presented in the previous Section 6.2.2.1 comes from the existence of some verbs in 1st and 2nd person without any subject affix. I.e. if verbs in 1st and 2nd person can occur without any subject affix, they obviously do not belong to the SSC, which is formed with a suffixed subject, so we cannot believe that all verbs in 3rd person without a subject affix belong to the SSC. A speaker told me that the subject prefix can be dropped just to abbreviate, which seems to be the case in some cases. Mihas (2015a:444-45) for Alto Perené says that the subject prefix can be elided in transitive verbs in the presence of a full pronoun. For intransitive verbs, she shows an example of a verb with a relativizing function, of which I said above

that I consider them to belong to an entirely different construction.¹¹⁰ In any case, there are in my corpus some verbs in 1st and 2nd person without a subject affix and without the presence of a full pronoun, yet they are very scarce. The only two examples of verbs in 1st person without a subject affix are in (310) and (311). Example (310) has a full pronoun accompanying the verb, while the referred verb in (311) is a complement of *kowaantsi* ‘want’.

- (310) Naaka hatatzi.
 naaka ha-t-atzi
 I go-&-PROG
 ‘I’m going to be going (to the place mentioned in the conversation).’ (CMM)
- (311) Iroñaaka nokówaki **iri** kamarampi. Nokówaki pitsipátina.
 iroñaaka no-kow-ak-i ir-i kamarampi
 now 1S-want-PFV-FRS drink-FRS ayahuasca
 no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na
 1S-want-PFV-FRS 2S-accompany-&-IRR-1O
 ‘Now I want to drink ayahuasca. I want you to accompany me.’ (SCS)

In (310), the verb is preceded by a full pronoun, but is intransitive; thus, it does not fit Mihas’ description of elided subject prefixes for Alto Perené because the verb does not bear the suffix that Mihas calls *stative* and I call *participle*. In (311), the transitive verb *iraantsi* ‘drink’ is a complement of *kowaantsi* ‘want’ and is not accompanied by any full pronoun. Complements of *kowaantsi* are normally inflected with subject prefixes, as the second clause in (311), also formed with *kowaantsi*, shows. Regarding the 2nd person, the examples also are very scarce: just three, one of which occurs five times in a conversation. One of these occurrences is shown in (312) carrying an object suffix.

- (312) **Ñáakiro**, okíthoki...
 ña-ak-i-ro o-kíthoki
 see-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-seed
 ‘You see them, the seeds.’ (CCPC)

In my text corpus, there is a big difference in the frequency of verbs without a subject affix in the 3rd person and in the other persons. The number of occurrences of each person with prefixed and suffixed subjects and with no subject affix including

¹¹⁰ Mihas (2015a:444-45) says that an intransitive verb without a subject affix “requires the marker of stative aspect”. This marker is the suffix that I have called *participle* and has a relativizing and adjective-like function (see Section 6.3.6).

its percentage in each category is shown in Table 29. The percentages in the person columns indicate the proportion inside each affixation way; in the total of verbs column, the percentages indicate the proportion regarding the total of verbs.

Table 29. Frequency of verbs according to the affixation of its subject in each person in my corpus of natural texts

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Inclusive	Total of verbs
Prefixed subject	209 (20%)	116 (11%)	687 (64%)	51 (5%)	1,063 (92%)
No subject affix	2 (2%)	7 (8%)	74 (89%)	0%	83 (7%)
Suffixed subject	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0%	0%	5 (0.4%)

I should add that, regarding the verbs with no subject affix, out of the 74 in 3rd person, 16 (21%) are transitive, all 7 verbs in 2nd person are transitive, and 1 of the 2 verbs in 1st person is transitive.

The table shows that subject omission is much more frequent in 3rd person. Obviously, since 3rd person subjects are never cross-referenced with a suffix, there is no instance of this type.

So far, we have seen that verbs in 1st and 2nd person with no subject affix cannot be considered an SSC because the SSC is marked with a subject suffix. Thus, in the case of these verbs with no subject affix, I consider that the best interpretation is that the subject has been dropped just to abbreviate, as a speaker told me (in her words in Spanish, “por abreviar”). I will call this construction *construction with omission of the subject affix* (COSA). In 3rd person, we saw in the previous Section 6.2.2.1 that the SSC is marked with Ø, so that, in 3rd person, the form of a verb in an SSC is identical with its form in a COSA. This poses the question of whether there is a way to differentiate both constructions despite their identical forms. Examples (313) and (314) show two verbs in 3rd person with no subject affix, (313) transitive and (314) intransitive.

- (313) **Kimatzíro** pòshiñáanikitàki yatharékitho meirí.
 kim-atzi-ro poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i i-yatharékitho méyiri
 feel-PROG-3F.O tasty-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle squirrel
 ‘He is feeling that the squirrel’s testicle is tasty.’ (TSJ)

- (314) **Piinkaki** eentsi; irika éentsinikà ipiinkakira nihaaki.
 piink-ak-i eentsi i-ri=ka
 fall.in.the.water-PFV-FRS child DEM-M=PROX
 eentsi-ni=ka i-piink-ak-i=ra niha=ki
 child-INTS=PROX 3M.S-fall.in.the.water-PFV-FRS=MED water=LOC
 ‘The child falls in the water. This little child has fallen in the water.’ (FS)

In example (313), the verb *kimatziro* is transitive and bears an object suffix. In (314), *piinkaki* is intransitive. Interestingly, it is followed by a sentence with the same verb inflected with a subject prefix and with the subject noun accompanied by a demonstrative and a diminutive suffix, and the locative complement (*nihaaki* ‘in the water’) is expressed, although the locative reference is contained in the meaning of the verb (‘fall *in* the water’), i.e. it seems as if the second clause were a development or a more explicit clarification of the first one. Since an SSC cannot occur with object suffixes, we should conclude that (313) is not an SSC, but a COSA. In the case of (314), the verbal morphology does not tell us to which construction the verb should belong.

6.2.2.3. Semantic content of the suffixed subject construction

Regarding the semantic content that the SSC may convey, Payne & Payne (2005:41) say that the speakers consider that their absolutive (verb with a subject suffix) and nominative (verb with a subject prefix) constructions have the same meaning, and this has also been my own experience with my consultants, although I got some further explanation after I inquired in which situations they would use one or the other form, as I explain below. Thus, if the difference between an SSC and a typical construction with a prefixed subject is so subtle that the speakers cannot explain it when asked, it is logical to think that there might be a great deal of variation between different Ashé-Ashá varieties, given that a subtle semantic difference should be more prone to change than a clear-cut difference, and this change might take different directions in different dialects.¹¹¹ This variety can also be found in the morphological restriction

¹¹¹ This is something that can be observed in any language with which one is familiar. For example, in American Spanish, the courtesy difference in the 2nd person pronoun *tú-usted* disappears in plural (only *ustedes* is used), but it remains in European Spanish (*vosotros-ustedes*). This is a difference that affects the courtesy treatment only in plural, but it is difficult to find a heavy grammatical difference, for instance the difference from Portuguese

described by Payne & Payne (2005:39-40) that requires an aspect suffix for verbs in their split intransitive agreement; my text corpus contains 16 verbs with no subject and no aspect affix: 2 in 1st person, 1 in 2nd person and the rest in 3rd person. Moreover, I have heard the frequent expressions *hataana* ‘I’m leaving’ and *hateemi* ‘you’re leaving’, which bear no aspect suffix. Furthermore, the fact that 1st and 2nd person verbs (transitive and intransitive) and transitive verbs in 3rd person can occur without a subject affix, as examples (310) to (313) show, presents morphological constructions quite different from those described by Payne & Payne (2005) and Mihás (2015a).

As said above, my consultants pointed out a slight difference when I questioned them whether they would use a construction with a prefixed or a suffixed subject in the same or different situations: their answers tended to show that the suffixed subject is used when the action expressed by the verb is happening in that very moment, or is going to happen immediately, or has just happened a moment ago. A particularly telling example was provided by a speaker when she told me that she would say *hataana* (ha-t-a-na, go-&-REA-1S) instead of *niyaatzi* (n-iyaa-t-zi, 1S-go-&-REA),¹¹² both meaning ‘I’m going’, if she got up immediately after uttering this word and left. Another example is the difference that another speaker found between *kamákina* (kam-ak-i-na, die-PFV-FRS-1S), which he translated as *me estoy muriendo* ‘I’m dying’, and *nokámaki* (no-kam-ak-i, 1S-die-PFV-FRS), translated as *ya voy a morir* ‘I’m just going to die’. Also, I witnessed a speaker saying to another one *pokemi?* (pok-i-mi, come-FRS-2S) ‘did you come?’, actually better translated as ‘so you came’, when the addressee had just arrived. These examples together with the explanations of these and other speakers transmit the idea of highlighting that the action is happening in the very moment in which one is speaking, or is going to happen immediately, or has just happened.

in the auxiliary verb to form the perfective periphrastic forms (*haber* in Spanish and *ter* in Portuguese, cognate of Spanish *tener*). With this I mean that dialectal differences tend to be grammatically *light*, while different languages tend to differ in *heavier* aspects of grammar. Therefore, a subtle grammatical difference should be more prone to dialectal variation.

¹¹² This is the only verb that I know that has a different root when it occurs without a prefix.

As said above, the semantic content of the SSC may vary between varieties, but Payne & Payne's (2005) description of their split transitive agreement, although arriving at different conclusions from mine, points to a similar meaning. Payne & Payne (2005:47) say that, in their corpus of 3,600 words, they found 189 O-perfective verbs and 146 S-perfective verbs¹¹³ –although they do not mention it, I assume that they are referring to 146 intransitive verbs; otherwise the percentage of verbs in a corpus of 3,600 words would be too small, and their subsequent argumentation would make little sense. In my case, in a text corpus of approximately 3,300 words, I have counted 58 intransitive verbs without a subject prefix and 253 with a subject prefix (I have excluded verbalized adjectives and nouns, relative constructions and copulas). These figures are summarized in Table 30 and show the big difference between Pichis and Ucayali-Pajonal in the use of both constructions.

Table 30. Number and percentage of intransitive verbs with and without a subject prefix in Payne & Payne's (2005) and my corpus

	Verbs without a subject prefix (Payne & Payne's O-perfective)	Verbs with a subject prefix (Payne & Payne's S-perfective)	Words in corpus
Pichis	189 (56%)	146 (44%)	~3,600
Ucayali-Pajonal	58 (19%)	253 (81%)	~3,300

Payne & Payne (2005:47) say that, out of their 146 S-perfective verbs, only 29 are not affected by the restrictions that apply to them, i.e. only 29 might be replaced by the equivalent O-perfective verb and would still be grammatical. Payne & Payne (2005:51-52) argue that their split intransitivity is pragmatically governed and give a very good example in a question posed to a speaker: in a story with several O-perfective verbs in 3rd person (without any subject affix) that relate actions carried out by a deer, the speaker was given the same text with S-perfective verbs (with subject prefixes) to check if he found any difference, and "Perez's answer, after some thought, was that in the first version (with the O-perfective forms) the deer's actions (opening his eyes, shouting, thinking) seemed to all happen at once and in the same

¹¹³ Payne & Payne (2005) call *O-perfective* verbs those without a subject affix in 3rd person or with a suffixed subject in the other persons, and call *S-perfective* verbs those inflected with the more usual subject prefix.

spot. While the second, contrived version (with the S-perfective forms) gave him the feel of much passing time” (Payne & Payne 2005:52). I think that this description has much in common with my consultants’ answers. Since this is a story, the action of the verbs cannot occur at the very moment that one is speaking, but they occur all at once, just the same as the example of the speaker who would say *hataana* and then go immediately. Based on this answer of their consultant, Payne & Payne (2005:50) consider that O-perfective verbs “mark the main story line of a narrative, and tend to cluster at the climax”, but my opinion is that they transmit a sense of immediacy, which obviously marks the climax in a told story, but can also be used in a conversation to express that something is going to happen immediately, or is happening in that very moment, or has just happened. Mihas (2015a:459-63) enumerates some possible causes for her fluid intransitive marking, which she sums up (p. 463) as “a combination of factors, such as semantic properties of the event and its participant, grammatical constraints, and discourse pragmatics”. Therefore, Payne & Payne’s (2005) and Mihas’ (2015a) interpretations do not fit the typical explanation of a fluid-S system given by Dixon (1994:78): an intransitive verb with the subject marked as the agent of the transitive “controls the activity”, and, when it is marked as the object, “control is lacking”.

Summing up, my conclusion is that the SSC expresses immediacy (immediate past or immediate future), or simultaneity, which I consider to belong to the category of tense rather than aspect, given that it indicates the interval of time in which the event takes place, and this interval includes from the very near past to the very near future regarding the moment in which the utterance is done or a situation is described. I show below some examples that illustrate my conclusion. The only example of an SSC in 2nd person in my text corpus is in (315).

- (315) Nokémaki **aréetakimi** haka nonámpiki, rowa...
 no-kem-ak-i aree-t-ak-i-mi
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS arrive-&-PFV-FRS-2S
 ha=ka no-nampi=ki ro=ra
 LOC=PROX 1-community=LOC F=MED
 ‘I have heard that you’ve just arrived here in my community, um...’ (CTK)

In (315), with the SSC in *aréetakimi*, the speaker remarks that her addressee has arrived in her community a short time ago –or at least this is what she has heard. An

example of the SSC in 1st person is in (316), which also shows the abbreviation of an SSC construction.

- (316) Nokanta nomákoryánaki, **hatá**.
 no-kant-a no-makori-an-ak-i ha-t-a
 1S-COP-REA 1S-rest-ABL-PFV-FRS go-&-REA
 ‘Then I start to rest and then I leave.’ (CCPC)

The particularity of (316) is that the verb with the SSC is abbreviated, so that the full form *hataana* ‘I go’ becomes *hatá*. This speaker used several abbreviations during this conversation (e.g. *oká* for *okantzi* ‘she says’, *noká* for *nokantzi* ‘I say’, always dropping the last syllable and the nasal coda of the penultimate if it had one), so his abbreviation here is no wonder. I said in Section 6.2.2.2 that the tendency to abbreviate could be the reason for the COSA, but *hatá* (pronounced [haˈt:a]) is a clear example of an SSC with an abbreviation.

As pointed out in the introduction to this Section 6.2.2, O’Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte is the only author who describes a subject suffix in transitive verbs in a Campan language. This is also possible in UP Ashéninka, although it appears to be a rare occurrence since there is no case in my corpus of natural texts and I discovered it through elicitation. The SSC with transitive verbs admits an explicit object, but not an object suffix accompanying the subject suffix, the same as in O’Hagan’s Caquinte (2020:213). An example is in (317).

- (317) Owákina (kaniri).
 ow-ak-i-na kaniri
 eat-PFV-FRS-1S cassava
 ‘I’ve just eaten (cassava).’

Kaniri ‘cassava’ is between parentheses to indicate that the sentence is grammatical with and without the explicit object, so that an ambitransitive verb as *owaantsi* ‘eat’ can be inflected with the SSC transitively and intransitively. However, the form **owákinawo*, with the 3rd person feminine object suffix *-ro* (realized /wo/) is ungrammatical. The SSC can also be used with only transitive verbs, as in (318).

- (318) Áakina hantari.
 a-ak-i-na hantari
 take-PFV-FRS-1S wood
 ‘I’ve just taken wood’.

6.2.2.4. Verbs in 3rd person with no subject affix: SSC or COSA?

Once the semantic content of the SSC has been ascertained, the question is whether the COSA also has a specific semantic content. We have to take into account that abbreviations exist in well-known languages as English, and there seems to be no important semantic difference between ‘he’s’ and ‘he has’, so it may be the case that dropping the subject prefix is just an occurrence in fast speech without any semantic implication. The difference between the SSC and the COSA in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive is morphologically recognisable, but, in the 3rd person, both constructions have the same form. I show below several examples of verbs in 3rd person without any subject affix, which might represent an SSC or a COSA.

- (319) **Hàpokatyénkarikitanàka**, ipityàankatyénkarikitanàka.
 hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 jump-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA
 i-pityaank-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 3M.S-throw.head.first-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA.REFL
 ‘He jumps spread-legged, he throws himself spread-legged.’ (FS)
- (320) **Hápokanáka**, okímitaka, rówaga..., inchàtáatoki. Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanáka.
 hapok-an-ak-a o-kimi-t-ak-a ro-raga inchàtáato=ki
 jump-ABL-PFV-REA 3F.S-be.similar-&-PFV-REA F-CAT.DEM trunk=LOC
 i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a
 3M.S-leave.a.place-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-jump-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He jumps, as..., um..., to the trunk. He leaves, he jumps.’ (TSJ)

In (319) and (320), and also in (314) above, the speaker utters the verb without a subject affix and then utters a verb with the subject prefix. In (319), the stems of both verbs are different but have a similar meaning. The three examples are from narratives, so it seems that, with this kind of construction, the speaker wants to stamp some dynamism on the narrative with a shortened verb, and then he goes on to utter the verb that explains the event in more detail.

- (321) Tee, naaka nóokanàkiro: “**kóeratawàki**, niyáatakitíita”.
 tee naaka n-ook-an-ak-i-ro
 NEG.REA I 1S-leave-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 koera-t-awak-i n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita
 watch.over-&-DES-FRS 1S-go-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-ROPT
 ‘No, I left her: “watch over (the house), I’m leaving for a while”.’ (CMM)

In (321), the verb is the Spanish loan *koera*, from *cuidar* ‘watch over’ adapted to the Ashéninka phonology. In this case, the fact that *kóeratawàki* is an imperative may be the reason of the absence of a subject prefix.

- (322) Máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta **hátanaki** rirori ante ipánkopaeni ótsipaki nampitsi.
 máaweni a-shéninka heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
 all INCL-fellow.person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
 ha-t-an-ak-i riroriant-i i-panko=paeni o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 go-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M make-IRR 3M-house=PL F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘All the Ashéninkas who lived there went to make their houses in another place.’ (OS)

The key question is whether the verbs in bold in examples (319) to (326) build an SSC or a COSA. As mentioned above, in (319) and (320), the narrator appears to use the verbs without a subject affix so as to stamp some dynamism, i.e. to convey a sense of immediacy. Thus, (319) and (320) might be considered an SSC. In (322), the verb *iyaantsi* ‘go’ is used with the root *ha-* in the absence of a subject prefix, as in (310) and (316)¹¹⁴; the sentence in (322) is part of a narrative and is uttered after the speaker told that those people had gathered in a meeting and it had finished, so it is possible that the narrator wants to express that those people went to another place immediately after the meeting finished, and then *hátanaki* would be an SSC, but it would also be possible that the speaker omits the subject prefix because of the repetition of the subject with two noun phrases (*máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta* and *rirori*), and, in this case, the verb would be a COSA. As mentioned above, (321) is special because the root is a loan from a Spanish imperative and the verb is also an imperative in Ashéninka.

- (323) Owákira **etyawo**?
 owákira et-ya-ro
 new start-IRR-3F.O
 ‘Is he going to start it soon?’ (CMM)

¹¹⁴ *Ha-* is the allomorph of the root *-iyaa-* ‘go’ when the verb has no prefix. As far as I know, this is the only verb with this feature.

- (324) Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, **ñáapàtziri** meiri.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-come-PFV-FRS 3M-back-POSS
 ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri
 see-ALL-PROG-3M.O squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, he came from behind him (the squirrel), he is watching the squirrel.’ (TSJ)
- (325) Manitzi tee rowawo iyàtharékicho, rowa..., **kimiwitàka**..., ikántètzi..., rowa..., irika rira meiri.
 manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékicho ro=ra
 jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-eat-REA-3F.O 3M-testicle F=MED
 kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 be.similar-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED squirrel
 ‘The jaguar hasn’t eaten his testicle, um..., it is erroneously similar, how to say..., um..., to this squirrel’s one.’ (TSJ)
- (326) Eentsi ithòmákiri rótsitzitè. Eentsi **káemawitàri** pirinto.
 eentsi i-thom-ak-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti
 child 3M.S-hug-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-dog-POSS
 eentsi kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 child call-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog
 ‘The child hugs his dog. The child calls the frog.’ (FS)

Examples (323), (324), (325) and (326) are transitive verbs, and all except (325) bear an object suffix. Since the SSC does not admit object suffixes, we should conclude that these examples are a COSA. The root *-kimi-* ‘seem, be similar’ appears four times in my text corpus without any pronominal affix, all of them except (325) with the barer form *kimitaka*, i.e. as in (325) but without the frustrative suffix *-wi*. All these occurrences are in narratives in which the narrator explains what it seems to be in the line of the story. Therefore, this verb is not used as forming part of the line of events of the story, but it is rather an explanation by the narrator, so that it does not seem to qualify for an SSC; probably, the frequent omission of the subject prefix in this verb is related to its impersonal use (its translation is ‘it seems’, but this ‘it’ has no actual reference: it appears in the translation because a subject must be present in English). The verbs in bold in (323) and (324) should be excluded from being an SSC because they bear an object suffix, but the situation would make these verbs appear as good candidates for the expression of immediacy: in (323), the adverb

accompanying the verb (*owákira* ‘soon’ in this context) already expresses that something is going to start immediately; in (324), the jaguar is watching the squirrel at the same time as it approaches it, so that the verb *ñáapàtziri* ‘he is watching him’ occurs at the same time as the previous *ipókaki* ‘he comes’. However, (326) was uttered while showing the consultant a series of pictures, hence the two different sentences, both with an explicit subject (each sentence describes a different picture), and this context avoids that the speaker links a series of verbs that describe events that occur at the same time or immediately following one another.

The SSC and the COSA in 3rd person overlap in form, but the discussion in the previous paragraph shows that they may also overlap in meaning and that it is really very difficult to ascertain to which construction each verb belongs. This section has posited that the morphologically identifiable SSC in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive expresses a sense of immediacy in time. Section 6.2.2.1 demonstrates that the SSC is marked with null in 3rd person, as the previous Campanist research posits, so the same expression of immediacy in time must also be present in the 3rd person, but the formal overlap with the COSA implies that not all subject-affixless verbs in 3rd person express immediacy in time.

6.2.2.5. Alignment

The final question is what kind of alignment should be posited for the different constructions described in the previous sections. The more usual verbal construction with the affixes shown in Table 28 constitutes a clear nominative-accusative alignment with A and S cross-referenced with a prefix and O with a suffix. Regarding the SSC, the affixes used in this construction are shown in Table 31, which allow us to clearly see which arguments are marked equally to or differently from each other.

Table 31. Suffixes used in the suffixed subject construction (SSC)

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Inclusive
Subject (S)	<i>-na</i>	<i>-mi</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>-ae</i>
Agent (A)	<i>-na</i>	<i>-mi</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>-ae</i>
Patient (O)	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$

In 3rd person, all arguments receive no mark on the verb; thus, all of them are marked in the same way, and this is what is called in the literature *neutral alignment* (e.g. Siewierska 1996:153). In the rest of the persons (1st, 2nd and inclusive), S and A are marked in the same way and differently from O, which points to a nominative-accusative alignment. In this section, also the construction that I have called COSA (construction with omission of subject affix) has been treated. Table 32 shows the affixes used in the COSA.

Table 32. Suffixes used in the construction with omission of subject affix (COSA)

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person masculine	3rd person feminine	Inclusive
Subject (S)	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
Agent (A)	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
Patient (O)	-na	-mi	-ri	-ro	-ae

It results quite obvious that the COSA has a nominative-accusative alignment in all persons due to its subject and agent being marked in the same way and the object differently from them. Nonetheless, I consider that the COSA is simply an abbreviation of the usual way of marking with subject prefixes and object suffixes in which the suffix is dropped in casual speech or impersonal verbs with no actual subject as in (325) with *kimiwitàka* ‘seem’.

In any case, we can conclude that UP Ashéninka has a nominative-accusative alignment except in the 3rd person of the SSC, in which the alignment is neutral, and this holds independently of whether the COSA is taken into account or is considered just a mere abbreviation of the more common way of marking with subject prefixes and object suffixes.

Dixon (1994:85) establishes a hierarchy that says that 3rd persons are more likely to be in object than in subject function and that it is “most natural and economical to ‘mark’ a participant when it is in an unaccustomed role”. According to this, it would be more natural and economical to mark the subject in the 3rd person. This appears to be in contradiction with the suffixes in Table 31. However, this set of suffixes has a logical explanation. The 3rd person is more likely than the 1st or the 2nd to be in

object function, and this implies that verbs with a 3rd person object suffix are much more frequent than verbs with a 1st or 2nd person object suffix.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the null subject suffix avoids the ambiguity that might arise if SSC verbs in 3rd person were marked with a subject suffix, given that they would have the same form as COSA verbs in 3rd person with a 3rd person object suffix. However, a verb with a 1st or 2nd person suffix and no prefix can cross-reference a 1st or 2nd person subject in an SSC, or a 3rd person subject and a 1st or 2nd person object in a COSA; since a situation with a 3rd person subject and a 1st or 2nd person object is infrequent, the ambiguity in verbs with a 1st or 2nd person suffix is very unlikely because this suffix cross-references the subject in most cases.

The fact that subjects of transitive verbs can be marked with a suffix rules out a split alignment system, as postulated in most of the Campanist literature (see the introduction to this Section 6.2.2). However, it cannot be overseen that the SSC with transitive verbs is a very rare occurrence. The question that arises is whether this is an innovation of UP Ashéninka and Caquinte or whether this feature existed in other Campan languages and disappeared. Yet more, another question should not be avoided: whether this feature actually exists in other Campan languages and has been missed by the linguists that described them, which would not be surprising given its rare occurrence—I have no instance of transitive verbs marked with a subject suffix in my text corpus, but I discovered it only through elicitation by proposing transitive verbs with a suffix cross-referencing the subject to two different consultants.

If SSCs with transitive verbs were not taken into account, there would be a split system in UP Ashéninka, and this split would happen to be the one described by Dixon (1994:97-101) as “split conditioned by tense/aspect/mood”. Dixon (1994:99) says that, “if a split is conditioned by tense or aspect, the ergative marking is *always* found in past tense or in perfective aspect”. In Section 6.2.2.1, I said that an SSC can bear no aspect suffix; however, out of five SSCs in 1st and 2nd person in my corpus (the only

¹¹⁵ This is a theoretical prediction, but, after counting object suffixes in my corpus, it is confirmed by the following results: there are 21 1st person object suffixes (5% of the total object suffixes), 21 of 2nd person (5%), 3 of inclusive (0.7%) and 408 of 3rd person (90%). It can be argued that the 3rd person probably occurs more often in general, but this 90% can be compared with the 64% of subject prefixes in 3rd person in Table 29.

ones that are SSC with absolute certainty), only one does not bear the perfective suffix. Moreover, the SSC does not admit the progressive suffix, the most frequent marker of imperfectivity. Dixon's statement cited above is based on empirical data from several languages, but he discusses a rationale for this fact, and it is that "something that has not yet happened is best thought as a propensity of the potential agent ('That man might hit someone', rather than 'That person might get hit by someone'); this must involve A and S NPs as a pivot" (Dixon 1994:99), while "a series of completed events could be related to O and S as pivots".¹¹⁶ This rationale can be applied to the concept of immediacy expressed by the SSC. This immediacy can refer to an event that is going to occur in the immediate future, but the immediacy implies that the speaker certainly knows that the event is going to take place, differently from other statements about the future. Also, an immediate past is better known by the speaker than a more remote past, of which the speaker may have forgotten some detail. Therefore, Dixon's (1994:97-99) exposition of the relation between an alignment split and tense/aspect/mood fully applies to the SSC's expression of immediacy.

Summing up, if we consider Table 31, the obvious inference is that the UP Ashéninka SSC has a nominative-accusative alignment in all persons but in 3rd, in which the alignment is neutral. Nonetheless, there is the possibility of considering suffixed subjects in transitive verbs as an anomaly or an exception to the system, given their rare occurrence. If we chose this possibility and considered the system taking aside this rare occurrence, we could not talk about SSC any more, but we should say that A is marked with a prefix, O with a suffix and S normally with a prefix, but there is a special construction in which S can be marked with a suffix, which yields a split conditioned by tense, namely immediate past, immediate future or concurrence with regard to the moment in which one is speaking or, in a narrative, to the moment about which the narrator is speaking.

¹¹⁶ The concept of *pivot* is defined by Dixon (1994:11) as follows: "If a language treats S and A in the same way for rules of clause combining, it will be said to have an 'S/A pivot'; if S and O are treated in the same way, we will talk of an 'S/O pivot'."

6.2.2.6. Summary and conclusions

The preceding sections have discussed the verbal constructions that constitute a departure from the typical Campan verbal construction with subject prefixes and object suffixes. These departures have received different approaches in the Campanist literature. I have arrived at several conclusions regarding these constructions in UP Ashéninka, which are summarized in the following numbered list:

1. In UP Ashéninka, the subject can be marked with a suffix also in transitive verbs, as in Caquinte (O'Hagan 2020:213) and unlike in the other Campan languages, in which, according to their descriptions (see several references in the introduction to this Section 6.2.2), a subject suffix can occur only in intransitive verbs. I have called verbs with a suffixed subject *suffixed subject construction* (SSC).
2. All descriptions of Campan languages say that the subject can be marked with a suffix only in 1st, 2nd and inclusive persons, and, in 3rd person, the equivalent construction is marked with a null suffix, but none of these descriptions gives arguments to support this equivalence. I give some arguments confirming that this statement is partly the case in UP Ashéninka.
3. I describe the possibility of dropping the subject prefix just to abbreviate in all persons. I have called the verbs with this feature *construction with omission of subject affix* (COSA). Only Mihás (2015a:444-45) for Alto Perené describes this possibility, but only in transitive verbs accompanied by a full pronoun, restrictions that do not exist in UP Ashéninka. Therefore, this feature, as I describe it, is novel in the Campanist literature.
4. According to my fieldwork findings and also based on Payne & Payne's (2005:52) explanations, I posit that the semantic content of the SSC is to express that the event takes place in the immediate past, in the immediate future or concurrently with regard to the moment in which the speaker is talking, or, in narratives, to the point in time that is being narrated.
5. I show that, in 3rd person, the SSC and the COSA have an identical form, which poses a big difficulty so as to know to which construction a verb in 3rd person without a subject affix belongs.

6. Taking into account the usual construction with subject prefixes and object suffixes, the SSC and the COSA, the alignment is nominative-accusative except in SSCs in 3rd person, in which it is neutral. However, since the SSC in transitive verbs is very rare, this occurrence might be considered as an anomaly, and, in that case, the UP Ashéninka alignment would be the one that Dixon (1994:97-101) calls a “split conditioned by tense/aspect/mood” due to the semantic content described in 4.

All the issues treated in the preceding sessions leave many open questions for future research in all Campan languages. In Section 6.2.2.5, I said that it is possible that more Campan languages admit a suffixed subject in transitive verbs, which might have been missed by the linguists describing them. Likewise, there may be many important issues that I have missed: I have not had the time to research which of the numerous Ashéninka suffixes an SSC may have, nor whether all verbs are suitable for the SSC, nor different person combinations of subject and object in the SSC and the COSA. Any linguist working on a Campan language with time, means and interest to research the verbal patterns different from the typical prefixed subject and suffixed object has a broad field of study.

6.3. Aspect and tense

The Campan languages have been described as having a category of aspect but not of tense, although older grammars described the opposition realis-irrealis as future-nonfuture (see Section 6.1 for an account of the different descriptions of RS in Campan languages). Moreover, Mihas describes some past tense markers in Alto Perené (2015*a*:260-66) and Tambo-Ene (2015*b*).

In this section, all UP Ashéninka aspectual and temporal markers that I have been able to ascertain are described. The theoretical basis for the analysis of aspect is Comrie (1976), according to whose division of aspect the section is structured. Thus, the two first subsections study Comrie’s main division of aspect into perfective and imperfective, with the subdivision of the latter into habitual and continuative, and of this latter into progressive and non-progressive (Comrie 1976:25). The special development of the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix in a progressive and a future suffix is discussed in Section 6.3.2.2, where I compare UP Ashéninka with other Campan

varieties due to the interest of this development. Sections 6.3.3, 6.3.4 and 6.3.5 describe the durative, iterative and regressive markers, respectively. These categories are not included in Comrie's (1976:25) division of aspects, but he mentions the existence of other lexical and grammatical items with inherently aspectual properties and devotes a section to the durative (Comrie 1976:41-44). Traditionally, these markers are considered to belong to the category of aspect, since some authors include them in it, as Bhat (1999:44), who says that, besides the distinction perfective-imperfective, "the temporal (aspectual) structure of an event can show several other types of distinctions such as, for example, that the action may be momentary or durative, [...] occurring once (semelfactive) or occurring several times (iterative)". The durative and iterative meanings are included in Bhat's quote, while the regressive can be considered as belonging to the iterative category (a situation happens again, so it is repeated). Therefore, the iterative proper expresses that an action is performed repeatedly, while the regressive indicates that an action that was previously performed is performed again. In Section 6.3.5, I enhance the description of the regressive suffix with a comparison with other Campan languages due to its special interest.

Section 6.3.6 treats the suffixes that have been called *stative aspect* in the Campanist literature; I explain why I have chosen to label them as *participles*. In Section 6.3.7, I describe the few tense suffixes that I have encountered in the language. Aspect and tense are interrelated categories, but the main reason to put them together in the same section is the need to describe certain features that encompass tense and aspect, namely the development from a progressive to a future suffix.

Regarding restrictions, the perfective suffix *-ak*, progressive *-atzi/-atya* and regressive *-a/-ah* cannot co-occur in the same verb. The habitual *-apiint* co-occurs with no other aspectual or temporal suffix in my corpus, but it occurs only five times, which are too few so as to draw sound conclusions. The perfective and imperfective participles do not co-occur with other aspectual or temporal suffixes, which is quite logical since they already carry an aspectual value. Other suffixes described in this section do not appear to have incompatibilities between them.

6.3.1. Perfective -ak

A very frequent suffix is the perfective *-ak*, which has the same or a very similar form in all Campan languages. Comrie defines the perfective aspect by saying that it “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (1976:16) and that perfective aspect “does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end” (1976:18). He adds that “perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (1976:21). Comrie (1976:16-19) also demonstrates that other typical definitions of perfectivity, such as situations of short or limited duration, punctual or momentary situation, or completed action are not adequate for some instances of the perfective aspect. The Ashéninka perfective aspect fits Comrie’s definition very well.

In the following, different examples of the perfective suffix are given. In (327), besides perfective, the situation can be considered as belonging to the category of perfect as well, given that the accomplished action has relevance for the present situation (the woman has just known that a shaman is cheating, so that she now knows something that she ignored before).

(327) Iroka tsinánikà **yòtanáki**.

i-ro=ka	tsinani=ka	Ø-iyo-t-an-ak-i
DEM-F=PROX	woman=PROX	3F.S-know-&-ABL-PFV-FRS
‘This woman has just got to know it.’ (SCS)		

In (328), in *ipíinkakíra* ‘he has fallen in the water’, the action of falling into the water must indeed be considered as a single whole and a complete situation.

(328) Irika éentsinikà **ipíinkakíra** nihaaki.

i-ri=ka	eentsi-ni=ka	
DEM-M=PROX	child-INTS=PROX	
i-piink-ak-i=ra	niha=ki	
3M.S-fall.in.water-PFV-FRS=MED	water=LOC	
‘This child has fallen there in the water.’ (FS)		

The same single whole and complete situation can be observed in (329) with the action of the speaker’s interlocutor taking her part, which also belongs to the category of perfect because she is now in possession of this part.

- (329) Pàakotapákiro.
 p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro
 2S-take-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘You have taken your part.’ (CMM)

In (330), the perfective is used in an imperative, which is an action to be performed in the future. This example shows the absence of any fixed temporal reference in the Ashéninka perfective, as it can be used for past, present or future events.

- (330) “Pikyáanàkiro, irowa, pishíntothòri”.
 pi-kya-an-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra pi-shinthothori
 2S-carry-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED 2-niece.sister’s.daughter.FP
 “‘Carry her, um..., your niece (sister’s daughter)’.” (SFW)

Regarding the relation of aspect with tense, Comrie (1976:71) says that aspectual distinctions appear most frequently in the past tense, although they can also be used for present and future times, as he describes throughout a whole section (1976:66-71). Example (330) shows that the perfective suffix can also occur in clauses expressing present or future time.

In (331), the English translation is in present progressive, as is typical in English for a situation that is continuing in time. However, even though this situation holds for an undetermined time, the speaker wants to consider it as a single whole for the purpose of the story (it does not matter how much time the child is sitting, i.e., in Comrie’s words, the statement “involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation” [1976:21]¹¹⁷), and the verb refers to the present time.

- (331) Irika enchániki ihéekaki.
 i-ri=ka eentsi-aniki i-heek-ak-i
 DEM-M=PROX child-DIM 3M.S-sit-PFV-FRS
 ‘This little child is sitting.’ (FS)

In (332) and (333), I show instances of the perfective suffix in different future situations. In (332), the suffix is on the verb of a complement clause of a verb that expresses a future action. In (333), the two verbs of the sentence, in the main and in

¹¹⁷ It would be somewhat difficult to fit this example into other theories of aspect, such as Klein (1994), given that the topic time (the time for which “a claim is made”, p. 3) is entirely included in the situation time (the time for which a situation holds, p. 3), and this inclusion should be considered an imperfective aspect (p. 108). The speaker says that the child is sitting without any reference to the temporal span of his sitting, and this is what fits Comrie’s (1976:21) definition of the perfective aspect.

the subordinate clause, refer to an event that is going to happen in the near future, yet both bear the perfective suffix.

- (332) Amitákotirini **áakotànakiròni** hanta.
 amitako-t-i-ri-ni
 help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
 bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST
 ‘The one who is going to help him to bring it there.’ (PV)

- (333) Arírika **rayítapàki, piyótawakirira**.
 ari=rika r-ayit-ap-ak-i
 AFF=COND 3M.S-descend-ALL-PFV-FRS
 p-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘When one comes down, you’re going to guess who’s the one there.’ (SCS)

The perfective suffix *-ak* can be attached to word classes different from verbs and adjectives (pronouns, nouns and *ari*) together with the I-class RS suffix *-i* with a verbalizing function in which the obtained meaning is equivalent to a copula construction. This way, the sequence *-aki* might be considered a verbalizer or a copula suffix. However, I have preferred to gloss it as *-ak-i* (PFV-FRS) to reflect its obvious origin. Actually, a gloss *-aki* is not possible in verbs due to the A-class RS inflection, which allows the realis-irrealis opposition *-aka/-akya*, respectively; however, the A-class inflection does not exist in verbally inflected adjectives, so that, if my segmentation in pronouns and adverbs were *-aki* instead of *-ak-i*, I should apply it also in adjectives. To make it yet more complicated, verbalized nouns only take the A-class RS suffix *-a*. Be that as it may, I consider that both options might be acceptable, but I choose *-ak-i* to keep a uniformity in all word classes inflected with this sequence. In (334), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the 3rd person masculine marker *rii-* together with the lamentative suffix *-ahaant* and the dubitative enclitic *=ma*.

- (334) **Riitaháantakima** rira kooko oñaashirènkánári.
 rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED
 kooko oñaashirenk-a-na-ri
 maternal.uncle.VOC.FE annoy-REA-1O-REL
 ‘So this was the uncle who annoyed me! (lamenting herself).’ (SCS)

A woman expresses her surprise (hence the dubitative) and her lamentation (hence the lamentative) that it is actually him (her uncle) who was annoying her, so the

morpheme verbalized with *-aki* is here *rii-*. This word could be simplified as *riitaki* with the meaning ‘he is’ –the other morphemes add their respective nuances. In (335), there is the feminine equivalent to *riitaki*: *róotaki*. Its meaning here is ‘it is’, so the feminine reference is to the abstract idea ‘that’. *Róotaki* can also have a conjunction-like function, which is described in Section 7.5.

- (335) Nopáankitziri kaniri, payantzi..., **róotaki** nopáankitziri hanta nonámpiki.
 no-panki-t-zi-ri kaniri payantzi
 1S-sow-&-REA-3M.O-REL cassava banana
 roo-t-ak-i no-panki-t-zi-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-sow-&-REA-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘What I sow is cassava, banana..., that’s what I sow there in my community.’
 (CMH)

In (336), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the multifunctional word *ari*, which has the function of a future marker in this example. In this way, the meaning of *áritaki* is ‘it will be’.

- (336) Hee, kameetha. **Áritaki nomatákiro**.
 hee kameetha ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-i-ro
 AFF well FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-do-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Yes, Ok. I’ll do it.’ (TSJ)

This sentence might be uttered just as *ári nomatákiro* with the meaning ‘I’ll do it’. However, the verbalization of *ari* gives the statement more strength, just as if someone said in English ‘it will be that I’ll do it’, which would be a more literal translation of *áritaki nomatákiro*. In (337), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the 1st person pronoun *naaka* so as to yield the meaning ‘I am’.

- (337) Ikantzi: “**Náakataki**”.
 i-kant-zi naaka-t-ak-i
 3M.S-say-REA 1-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘He says: “I am”.’ (SCS)

In (337), the copula function of *-aki* is most clearly observed, given that its attachment to its host has the same result as an independent copula would have if it formed a clause with *naaka*.

When attached to nouns, the perfective suffix *-ak* is followed by the A-class RS suffix instead of by the I-class one. Two examples from an elicitation, already shown in Section 4.1.6.1, are in (338).

(338) Pipánkotàka. pi-panko-t-ak-a 2-house-&-PFV-REA 'You've already built your house.'	Powánetàka. p-owani-t-ak-a 2-chacra-&-PFV-REA 'You've already made your chacra.'

6.3.2. Imperfective

Comrie (1976:24-25) divides the category of aspect in perfective and imperfective, and defines the imperfective aspect as opposed to the definition of perfective given above: imperfective aspect implies “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” (Comrie 1976:24). Comrie divides the imperfective into habitual and continuous, and the latter into progressive and non-progressive. In UP Ashéninka, this division is perfectly applicable, since there is a habitual and a progressive suffix, and also a way of expressing habituality through irrealis. Comrie (1976:112) states that “one of the most decisive criteria” to identify semantic unmarkedness is “where overt expression of the meaning of the marked category is always optional, i.e. where the unmarked category can always be used, even in a situation where the marked category would also be appropriate”, and goes on to show that the Italian and Spanish non-progressive forms are the unmarked ones. This is also the case for the Ashéninka non-progressive imperfective, which is expressed with the absence of any aspectual suffix, and this feature also fits the morphological criterion to identify unmarkedness: “unmarked categories tend to have less morphological material than marked categories” (Comrie 1976:114). Therefore, the absence of an aspect suffix expresses the plain meaning conveyed by the verb, but the expression of any aspectual nuance (perfectivity, habituality or progressivity) needs the use of an aspect suffix. Thus, the non-progressive imperfective is the default form in Ashéninka and the situation expressed by a verb with no aspect suffix is understood as carrying the bare semantic load of the verb in a non-progressive imperfective situation, although such a verb can also express a situation with a different aspectual meaning that can be inferred from the context.

6.3.2.1. Habitual *-apiint*

The habitual aspect is expressed with the suffix *-apiint*. Habituality can also be expressed by putting a verb in irrealis and without the habitual suffix. An example of the use of *-apiint* is in (339).

- (339) Tee **noñàapiintziro** hanta nonámpiki.
 tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ro ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.REA 1S-see-HAB-REA-3F.O LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘I usually don’t see it there in my community.’ (CMH)

The category of habitual combines features typical of both realis and irrealis, so that some languages group it with realis and others with irrealis (Givón 1994:270-271). In the case of UP Ashéninka, habituality is inflected with irrealis suffixes, as is shown in (340), where the two final verbs are in irrealis because they refer to actions that are done every day.

- (340) Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsi paeni **ipáyitèri** haka **oyari**?
 p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka wanawontsi=paeni
 2S-get.used-&-PFV-REA-3F.O LOC=PROX food=PL
 i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri ha=ka ow-ya-ri
 3M.S-give-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL LOC=PROX eat-IRR-REL
 ‘Have you got used here to the food they give here to eat?’ (CMH)

However, as example (339) shows, verbs with the suffix *-apiint* do not need to be marked irrealis. Actually, I have no instance of an irrealis suffix in a verb with *-apiint*, which fits very well the ambivalence of habituality regarding the RS opposition mentioned above. Therefore, Ashéninka expresses habituality with irrealis, and with realis when the habitual suffix is used.

6.3.2.2. Development of the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix into a progressive and a future suffix

A progressive suffix is described for Caquinte (Snell 2011:51) with the form *-k*, while there is no description of this suffix in Nanti (Michael 2008) nor Matsigenka (Swift 2008), given that there is no cognate for the suffix in these two languages (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). In Nomatsigenka, Lawrence (2013:100-03) describes a suffix that she calls “progressive”, but it seems to be the suffix that has been called *stative* in the other Campanist literature (see Section 6.3.6). Regarding the Ashé-Ashá cluster, the progressive suffix is described in Zumaeta (2012:73) as *-aty/-at* and in Mihás

(2015b:9-10) as *-atyi/-ati* for Tambo-Ene, in Mihas (2015a:218-19) as *-aty/-atz* for Alto Perené, and in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:41-42) as *-aty/-atz* for Apurucayali. The same suffix with the form *-aty* in A-class verbs and *-atz* in I-class verbs exists in Ucayali-Pajonal, but, combined with the irrealis RS suffixes, it has undergone a shift that has created a future suffix, and I posit that the same development has taken place in the whole Ashé-Ashá group on the grounds expounded below, even though this change has not been previously described.

UP Ashéninka has a progressive suffix with the form *-aty* in A-class verbs and *-atz* in I-class verbs. The peculiarity of this suffix is that the following RS suffix never presents a realis-irrealis opposition, given that it is always *-a* or *-i*.¹¹⁸ Moreover, a future suffix with the forms *-atyee/-atyeya* (in I- and A-class verbs, respectively) is in use, and its form and function suggest a very probable development from the progressive suffix combined with the irrealis suffixes *-e* and *-ya*,¹¹⁹ where /e/ has been lengthened in I-class verbs and *-eya* has generalized in A-class verbs, in which the shorter irrealis suffix *-ya* would make no distinction because the preceding *ty* is a palatal consonant (/c/). Since there is no realis-irrealis opposition in any case with neither the progressive nor the future suffixes, I have deemed it more appropriate to avoid separately glossing an RS suffix after the progressive or the future suffix. Thus, I consider the progressive suffix to be *-atya/-atzi*, and the future suffix, *-atyee/-atyeya*. In (341), two verbs bear the progressive suffix: the first one is I-class, and the second one, A-class. In (342), two verbs with the future suffix are shown: I-class in (342a) and A-class in (342b).

(341) **Noshémýàkotátziro** nòwatharékhitho, **nówatýàwo**.

no-shemy-ako-t-atzi-ro	no-yatharékhitho	n-ow-atya-ro
1S-crush-APPL-&-PROG-3F.O	1-testicle	1S-eat-PROG-3F.O
'I'm crushing my testicle, I'm eating it.' (TSJ)		

(342) a. Àapithatàtyéeroma?

Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
3F.S-take-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
'Maybe she's going to take it away? (his house from him).' (CMM)

¹¹⁸ If this suffix had to present an RS opposition, it would be expressed through **-atya/-atyeya* and **-atzi/-ati*, but the suffix is always *-atya* (A-class) or *-atzi* (I-class).

¹¹⁹ The irrealis suffix *-e* has nowadays disappeared in UP Ashéninka, as is explained in Section 6.1.

- b. Nòshirontatyéya.
 no–shiront–atyeya
 1S–laugh–FUT
 ‘I’m going to laugh.’

The progressive suffix expresses the typical notion that something is in progress, similarly to the English progressive with *-ing*, as in (341) above, where both progressive verbs can be translated with English ‘crushing’ and ‘eating’. Its imperfective character implies that it cannot combine with the perfective suffix *-ak*.

The progressive suffix is mainly used to refer to present situations. However, there is in my corpus one instance referring to a future situation (343) and another one referring to a past situation (344).

- (343) Naaka **hatatzi**.
 naaka ha–t–atzi
 1 go–&–PROG
 ‘I’ll be going.’ (CMM)

In this example, the speaker says that she will go several times to a place during the following days, i.e. ‘she’ll be going’. In this unusual construction of a verb in 1st person without a subject affix, the verb *iyaantsi* ‘go’ has the irregular root *ha-*, which requires an aspect suffix because the form **hatzi* is impossible. The aspectual choice for the action that is going to be repeated an indeterminate number of times needs to be the progressive.

- (344) Ikántaka irika ashéninka **itháawetàtzi**, itháawetàkiro
 i–kant–ak–a i–ri=ka a–shéninka i–thaawe–t–atzi
 3M.S–COP–PFV–REA DEM–M=PROX INCL–fellow.person 3M.S–hex–&–PROG
 i–thaawe–t–ak–i–ro
 3M.S–hex–&–PFV–FRS–3F.O
 ‘So it happened that this Ashéninka was casting a bad omen on himself, he cast it on himself.’ (SCS)

The consultant explained to me how the verb *thaawetaantsi* ‘cast a bad omen, hex’ works: it is ambitransitive, so that *itháawetàtzi* is intransitive and the subject casts a bad omen on himself, and *itháawetàkiro* is transitive and the object is the curse, while one can also hex someone and then the object would be the hexed person. In (344), a man has triggered a curse on himself because he tried to have an incestuous relation with his niece by using a ruse, and this sentence is uttered after his niece discovers him. Therefore, although this is a narrative that can be told using present forms, this

sentence refers to a past situation in the line of the story. The speaker repeats the same verb twice: once with the progressive suffix and then again with the perfective and object suffixes, probably to clarify that the act of casting a bad omen has already finished. Therefore, the narrator uses the progressive to express something that has been happening for a while, and then chooses the perfective to clarify that the event has already ended.

The progressive suffix cannot be used in a negation. When asked, a speaker did not admit several negated verbs with the progressive suffix. Furthermore, out of 53 occurrences of the realis negation *tee* in my text corpus, none of them negates a verb with a progressive suffix; and, out of 38 occurrences of the progressive suffix, none is in a negated verb. In (345), example *a* is ungrammatical, and *b* is the sentence that the speaker said that he would use to negate the verb with the progressive suffix: he dropped the progressive suffix.

(345) a. *Tee nówatyawo shinki.

tee	n-ow-atya-ro	shinki
NEG.REA	1S-eat-PROG-3F.O	maize
Pretended: 'I'm not eating maize.'		

b. Tee nowawo shinki.

tee	n-ow-a-ro	shinki
NEG.REA	1S-eat-REA-3F.O	maize
'I don't eat/am not eating maize.'		

The future suffix expresses a future situation and appears very frequently in elicitations of sentences in the Spanish future. Both examples in (342) illustrate its use for future situations. Since this suffix seems to have arisen from the union of the progressive plus the irrealis suffixes, one might be tempted to think that it exists in other irrealis situations different from future. However, we must take into account that a progressive situation is difficult to coincide with other irrealis situations, such as imperative or desiderative. In any case, in Ashéninka, the durative suffix *-wae* has a similar function to the progressive aspect and is used to build sentences equivalent to those in English in non-future progressive plus irrealis situations, as in (346), where the durative suffix is in a verb with hortative value.

- (346) Nimaeka, árika osháawitanàhi, hame ate **añáathawàetya** hanta, otáapiki.
 nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i hame
 today AFF=COND 3F.S-afternoon-ABL-REG-FRS HORT.INCL
 Ø-a-t-i a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta o-taapi=ki
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-play-DUR1-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3F-back=LOC
 ‘Today, in the afternoon, let’s go to play there, in the gully (lit.: in its back).’
 (CMH)

Although this diachronic development of the progressive suffix has not been described in other Ashé-Ashá varieties, the same pair of suffixes labelled here *progressive* and *future* do exist in the whole Ashé-Ashá group, as can be inferred from the works on these varieties. Zumaeta (2012:73) does not describe a future suffix in Tambo-Ene, the furthest Ashé-Ashá variety from Ucayali-Pajonal (see Pedrós 2018:16-18; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis), but two of his examples for the progressive suffix show the same future suffix described above, including the lengthening of /e/. One of them is *momaatyeeero* ‘yo la estaré trayendo’¹²⁰, with the suffix *-atyee*, which I identify as expressing future. In Alto Perené, Mihas (2015b:218-19) presents a suffix that she calls “prospective” with the form *-aty*, homophone of the progressive, and describes its meaning as “a sense of the imminence of the described future action”. Although Mihas describes this suffix as belonging to the imperfective aspect, the description of its meaning indicating future is one of tense. According to Mihas, the irrealis suffix *-e* for I-class verbs and *-eya* for A-class verbs adjoin the prospective suffix (an example is in (347)). The differences from UP Ashéninka is that the *-e* is not lengthened and the meaning described by Mihas is of *imminent* future, not just future.

Alto Perené

- (347) ari=taima no-n-kinkitsa-t-ak-aty-e-ro
 PP=DUB 1SG.A-IRR-tell-&-PFV-PROSP-IRR-3NM.O
 iroñaaka atyo-ini=ka
 now cousin/husband’s.sister-DIM=DEM
 ‘Perhaps, I am going to tell my cousin about something.’ (Mihas 2015a:219)

¹²⁰ ‘I’ll be bringing her/it.’

In Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:41-42) describe the progressive suffix *-aty*,¹²¹ but their examples show the same difference between a progressive suffix used for present tense and a different one for future that I have described above. This difference is shown in (348).

Apurucayali

(348) a. h-otit-**atz-i**

3-meter-PROG-NFUT

‘Estaba metiendo.’¹²²

b. no-N-pok-apa-**aty-ii-ri-ka**¹²³

1-FUT-venir-ALL-PROG-FUT-REL-INDEF

‘Si yo estuviera viniendo.’¹²⁴ (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:42)

Example (348a) has the suffix *-atz*, and (348b), *-aty*, although both are I-class verbs. Apurucayali does not have /e/ in its vowel inventory, so that is why the RS suffix (described as a future-nonfuture opposition in Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982) is *-ii* instead of *-ee* –it is worth noting that the vowel is lengthened, as in Ucayali-Pajonal. The clause in (348b) is conditional. The authors gloss the two final syllables *-rika* as REL-INDEF, but *=rika* is a conditional enclitic in UP Ashéninka and its meaning fits perfectly the translation given in (348b); so, in my opinion, this final part of the verb should rather be considered the conditional enclitic *=rika*. What is obvious is that the clause is conditional and refers to a hypothetical fact, which might still happen in the future, so that the future meaning is inherent.

According to the examples given above in Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené and Apurucayali, it might be questioned whether a clear future suffix has developed in the whole Ashé-Ashá complex, but, if we did not call it future, at least we can say that different realis and irrealis suffixes have developed out of a progressive suffix: *-atzi/-atya* for a realis progressive and *-atye(e)/-atyii/-atyeya* for an irrealis progressive.

¹²¹ Instead of the Ucayali-Pajonal phonemes /c/ and /tʃʰ/, Payne, Payne & Sánchez show a contrast between /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/ represented <č> and <čʰ> (1982:77). Here I represent their /tʃ/ with <ty> so as to ease the comparison with Ucayali-Pajonal.

¹²² ‘He/she was putting in.’

¹²³ *N* is described in the Campanist literature as an unspecified nasal (see Section 2.2.2). The suffix *-apa* is named *adlative* by Payne, Payne & Sánchez. I have named it here *allative* because it is the same suffix that I describe with this name for Ucayali-Pajonal.

¹²⁴ ‘If I were coming.’

All in all, the data presented above show that the general Ashé-Ashá opposition realis-irrealis with the progressive suffix lies not only in the RS suffix, but also in the very form of the progressive suffix (at least in I-verbs), which is realis *-atzi* in I-class verbs and *-atya* in A-class verbs, and irrealis *-atye(e)*/*-atyii* in I-class verbs and *-atyeya* in A-class verbs. In UP Ashéninka, my field data show that *-atyee*/*-atyeya* has acquired a future meaning. This future meaning of *-atye*/*-atyeya* can also be observed in Mihas' (2015a:218-19) prospective suffix.

6.3.3. Durative *-wae*

Comrie (1976:41) says that a distinction can be made between durativity and imperfectivity, “where imperfectivity means viewing a situation with regard to its internal structure (duration, phasal sequences), and durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time”. This means that durativity falls outside of the conception of aspect as an opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity, but the definition of aspects as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976:3) implies that the expression of a situation during a certain time could be considered as an expression of aspect. Be that as it may, UP Ashéninka has a durative suffix that can be combined with the perfective suffix, which confirms Comrie's differentiation of the categories of durativity and imperfectivity. Indeed, a speaker can consider a situation as a whole and complete even though they want to express that it has a certain duration. The durative suffix is *-wae*, and it is called “continuative” in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:58), who do not include it within the aspect suffixes. Mihas (2015a:219-20) calls it “durative” and puts it in the group of imperfective suffixes (p. 215), although, in the two examples that she gives, the verb with the durative suffix also bears the perfective suffix (p. 220). I will follow Comrie's terminology and thus will call it *durative*. It is obvious that it cannot be considered an imperfective aspect because it combines with the perfective suffix.

The function of this suffix fits its name perfectly since it expresses that a situation lasts for a certain time. Some examples are given below (note that the gloss is DUR1 because DUR2 is a nominal durative).

- (349) **Pipánkiwàetaki** pishinkiri?
 pi=panki-wae-t-ak-i pi-shinki-ri
 2S=sow-DUR1-&-PFV-FRS 2=maize-POSS
 ‘Have you been sowing your maize?’ (CMM)
- (350) Éehatzi arírika **añáathawàetya**, ikántètzi..., *fútbol*.
 éehatzi ari=rika a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya
 also AFF=COND INCL.S=play-DUR1-&-IRR
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri fútbol
 3M.S=say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O football
 ‘Also when we play, how to say..., football.’ (CTK)
- (351) Ari máaweni, rowa..., **rapàtowáeyani**.
 ari máaweni ro=ra r-apato-wae-ey-a-ni
 thus all F=MED 3M.S=meet-DUR1-PL-RS.REFL-PL
 ‘In this way, everyone, um..., meets each other.’ (CTK)

In the three examples above, the action is supposed to be carried on during a certain time: sowing maize (349) will last for a certain time, as will the game (playing) (350) and the meeting (351). Example (349) shows the combination with the perfective suffix: the speaker refers to the action of sowing as a whole, but this action needs to be carried out during a certain amount of time, a nuance that is expressed through the durative suffix.

6.3.4. Iterative through reduplication

An iterative meaning can be expressed through reduplication of the verbal root. Two examples of full reduplication are in (352) and (353).

- (352) Ééniro **itápotápowaeta** oháawiki.
 ééniro i-tapo~tapo-wae-t-a o-haawiki
 EXI.PST 3M.S=stalk~ITE-DUR1-&-REA 3F=down
 ‘He went stalking on the ground.’ (SCS)

In (352), with the iterative reduplication, the speaker tries to remark on the action of the man stalking on the ground. Since this is a story, the use of the iterative reduplication together with the durative suffix *-wae* is a narrative device similar to what one can see in a film when a camera is focusing some action for a certain time so as to highlight it.

- (353) Ótsitzi **raháñkaháñkawitakàwo** poterya inthomoeki.
 ótsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
 dog 3M.S=sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bottle inside=LOC
 ‘The dog has been sniffing inside the bottle in vain.’ (FS)

In (353), the speaker expresses that the dog has repeatedly been sniffing, or intensely, i.e. it has been sniffing thoroughly, and this expression together with the frustrative suffix *-wi* conveys the idea of a thorough search with no success.

According to Comrie (1976:27), “in some discussions of habituality, it is assumed that habituality is essentially the same as iterativity”, and goes on to demonstrate that this assumption is misled. In UP Ashéninka, the existence of a habitual suffix and reduplication to express iterativity shows very clearly that both meanings are different since they are expressed through different morphemes. With this, iterativity falls outside of Comrie’s (1976:25) classification of aspects, although iterativity fits Comrie’s (1976:3) definition of aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”, given that it expresses that the situation happens repeatedly.

6.3.5. Regressive *-a/-ah*

The suffix *-a/-ah* has usually been classified as aspectual in the Campanist literature. The regressive meaning can be considered part of the expression of iterativity because it expresses that the situation concerned already occurred at least once in the past. Michael (2008:256) identifies the regressive suffix *-ah* with the meanings of motion back, repetition of the action or return to the state. Snell does not use the label *regressive* for Matsigenka, but describes a suffix that she calls *returnative* (2011:856) with the form *-aa* and functions similar to Michael’s regressive: it expresses the action of returning to a previous place or state. For Caquinte, Swift (2008:51-52) uses the label *regressive* for the suffix *-ah* and says that it expresses a return to a previous place or state, or doing something again. Lawrence (2013:96-97) also describes a regressive suffix with the form *-ah* that expresses that the subject returns “to the site of the action in order to perform the action another time”.

Regarding the Ashé-Ashá cluster, for Alto Perené, Mihás (2015a) describes a suffix with the form *-a(h)* that she calls *terminative*, and cites Payne & Payne (2005:39) to define its function: “a specialized sense of closure, once and for all”. However, Payne & Payne’s whole quote is “a specialized sense of «closure, once and for all, again, or back.»”, so the meanings “again, or back” are the same as those reported for

the four non-Ashé-Ashá Campan languages; moreover, two of the three of Mihas' examples (2015a:216) also have this meaning, as the use of the English adverb *back* in her translations demonstrates. For Pichis, Payne & Payne (2005:39) describe the suffix *-a* with the quote given above and call it *resolved*. For Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:42) describe a regressive suffix with the form *-ag*. Its function is described as indicating a return to the previous or original place, and they add: "Hemos notado que también ocurre con casi todos los verbos al final de una narración como para culminar o dar desenlace al cuento, aun si el participante no está regresando al sitio de origen."¹²⁵ For Yuruá, García (1997:36) also describes a regressive suffix with the form *-a*, although she says that its subjacent form is *-ag*, with the function of expressing return to the previous or original place.

This summary of the regressive suffix across the Campan languages shows that its form and function are very homogenous across the whole group. Although its form changes slightly (*-ah*, *-aa*, *-a*, *-ag*), these differences might also occur between close dialects of the same language. In UP Ashéninka, the regressive suffix has the forms *-a* and *-ah*. When it is *-a*, it can fuse with the following I-class RS suffix *-i* to yield the diphthong /ae/. A speaker told me that *-a* is the genuine Pajonal form, while *-ah* is a token of the Asháninka influence in the Ucayali speech, specifically from people from the Tambo River area. The function of the regressive suffix in UP Ashéninka is the same as in the other Campan languages: it expresses return to a place or 'again'. These two meanings express going back to a previous space or time, i.e. doing something again is doing something that had previously been done, i.e. returning to the point in time when it was done. This suffix has been classified as an aspect type in all the works cited above, but the spatial meaning falls far aside from the concept of aspect and may be rather considered a directional. So we have a suffix with two parallel meanings, the only difference being that one refers to space and the other one to time, and this difference should include it in quite different domains according to linguistic theory, although the two meanings are intimately connected. This is a good example

¹²⁵ 'We have noticed that it also occurs with almost every verb at the end of a narration so as to culminate or give the tale an outcome, even if the participant is not going back to the place of origin.'

of how difficult it is sometimes to make linguistic items fit in linguistic theory. The spatial meaning is further described in Section 6.5.6. I show two examples with the suffix's aspectual meaning in (354) (with the form *-a*), (355) and (356) (with the form *-ah*).

(354) **Ikántapàeri**: “Piyótina”.

i-kant-ap-a-e-ri	p-iyó-t-i-na
3M.S-say-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O	2S-know-&-IRR-1O

‘He says again: “Guess who I am!”.’ (SCS)

In this example, a shaman repeats the same action that he has already carried out in the story: one of his followers has come from heaven inside his body and urges his audience to guess who he is. The same command *piyótina* ‘guess me’ had previously appeared in the same story; therefore, the regressive suffix (here with the form *-a*) means ‘again’.

(355) Iréiyakini, échatzi **raahi**, ramaki ítsipa mantsiyari.

ir-eiy-ak-i-ni	échatzi	r-a-ah-i
drink-PL-PFV-FRS-PL	also	3M.S-take-REG-FRS

r-am-ak-i	i-tsipá	mant-siya-ri
3M.S-bring-PFV-FRS	M-other	ill-M

‘They have drunk, and they take again, bring another ill person.’ (SCS)

Example (355) is taken from the same story as (354), and also narrates an action already performed in this story: in this case, the shaman’s audience bring him an ill person. Thus, the meaning of the regressive suffix in *raahi* is ‘again’.

(356) **Ikántanahya** máaweni apaani, ikantanéyawo rowániki.

i-kant-an-ah-ya	máaweni	apaani
3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR	all	one

i-kant-an-eyá-ro	r-owani=ki
3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O	3M-chacra=LOC

‘Everyone will be back, will be in their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

In (356), the regressive suffix is in the verbal copula *kantaantsi*, which yields the meaning ‘go back/be back’ (this sentence is uttered after another one saying that the referred people will finish a work). In this example, *-ah* carries an aspectual meaning in that the subjects are *again* in their *chacras*, but the spatial meaning is also present because they need to move to their *chacras* from another place.

6.3.6. Participles: perfective -eentsi/-eencha and imperfective -atsi/-acha

Participles are defined by Crystal (2008:351) as “a traditional grammatical term referring to a word derived from a verb and used as an adjective, as in *a laughing face*.” The suffixes I am going to describe in this section as participles have been labelled principally *stative aspect* in the previous Campanist literature, yet I consider that the term *participle* is the one that best fits the functions of these suffixes, at least in UP Ashéninka, as I argue in the following lines. These suffixes are *-atsi/-acha*, which I call *imperfective participle*, and *-eentsi/-eencha*, which I call *perfective participle* (*-atsi* and *-eentsi* are I-class suffixes, and *-acha* and *-eencha*, A-class suffixes). Similar suffixes with similar functions exist in all Campan languages. My choice of the term *participle* has been much influenced by the fact that their functions are similar to the English present and past participles.

Michael (2008:403-07) shows the suffixes *-tsi* and *-ankicha* in Nanti, and calls both of them “deranked relative”, the former “imperfective” and the latter “perfective”. Snell (2011:857) describes for Matsigenka the suffixes *-ats/-ach* as stative and *-ankits/-ankich* as temporal stative (both I-class/A-class, respectively), all included in the aspect section. Swift (2008:53-54) describes for Caquinte the suffix *-ats* as stative and *-ankits* as temporal stative, also in the aspect section, and does not show A-class suffixes. Regarding Lawrence’s (2013:100-03) Nomatsigenga, she calls these suffixes *progressive* and describes only *-ats/-ach* (I-class/A-class).

In the Ashé-Ashá group, Mihás (2015b:9-10) shows for Tambo-Ene the suffixes *-atsi/-acha* as stative imperfective and *-aintsi/-aincha* as stative perfective, both pairs considered aspects; and the same suffixes and labels can be found in Mihás (2015a:222-23) for Alto Perené, also considered aspects. Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:42-43) describe in Apurucayali the suffixes *-ats/ach* as stative aspect and *-aints/-ainch* as inchoative aspect, although they say that the latter functions as a temporal stative.

The summary in the two preceding paragraphs shows us a pair of identical suffixes: *-ats(i)/-ach(a)* in all languages, and the other pair *-ankits(i)/-ankich(a)* in non-Ashé-Ashá and *-aints(i)/-ainch(a)* in Ashé-Ashá. Mihás’ (2015a; 2015b) and Michael’s (2008) works consider *-i/-a* part of the suffix, while other authors consider

it the RS suffix. In UP Ashéninka, I have also considered that *-i/-a* cannot be separated from the rest of the suffix because there is no RS opposition in any case with these suffixes. The UP Ashéninka forms *-eentsi/-eencha* show a regular correspondence *-ee~-ai* between UP Ashéninka and the rest of Ashé-Ashá.

In all Campan languages, these suffixes have the special feature that they never bear a pronominal affix. They are used on intransitive or ambitransitive verbs. Another common feature of these suffixes is that they are often accompanied by a relative suffix, although they have a relative meaning even without it. Also, they are incompatible with aspectual suffixes in the same verb form. Considering all these features, verbs carrying these suffixes build a special kind of clause, namely a relative one, which is perfective or imperfective according to the type of participle it carries (i.e. perfective or imperfective). Thus, I find that these suffixes cannot be considered stative aspect suffixes, which should require that verbs do not behave so differently from other verbs with aspectual suffixes. Therefore, I consider Michael's term "deranked relative" much more appropriate for the function of these suffixes, which he describes as building "deranked relative clause constructions" (2008:403). The definition of these clauses as relative is probably the most accurate, but, as Michael's label expresses, they are deranked in that they have a series of restrictions that *normal* ("ranked" in Michael's terminology [p. 407]) relative clauses do not have, and it is this deranking that makes them similar to the English participles. Actually, all of Michael's examples (pp. 403-07) can be paraphrased with participles: Michael's translation "that one who died" (p. 404) can be changed into 'the dead one', "I visited my brother, who was drinking there" (p. 405) could be formulated as 'I visited my brother drinking there', "whoever it was that came" (p. 407) could be replaced by 'anyone coming', and so on with the other four examples. Some changes might not be perfectly felicitous in English, but the parallelism appears quite clear. Although I consider Michael's label more appropriate than *stative*, the label *participle* is known by everyone, differently from *deranked*, which may be a less known concept. My choice of the additional labels *perfective* for *-eentsi/-eencha* and *imperfective* for *-atsi/-acha* are the same as in Michael (2008:404): their perfective and imperfective values are quite evident. The UP Ashéninka imperfective

participle *-atsi/-acha* is equivalent to the English present participle, and the UP Ashéninka perfective participle *-eentsi/-eencha*, to the English past participle. Some examples are given below: the imperfective participle is shown in (357) and (358), and the perfective participle, in (359) and (360).

- (357) Riyótawàkiri ikáateyini irira, ikántètzi..., ikaatzi **irátsiri**.
 r-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 DEM-M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA drink-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘They guess him at his arrival, those, how to say..., who are drinking.’ (SCS)
- (358) Naaka nokoyi niyóteri iryánpáeni **hékatsiri** ótsipaki nampitsi.
 naaka no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i-ri i-rya-ni=paeni
 I 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR-3M.O M-small-ADJ=PL
 heek-atsi-ri o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘I want to teach the children who are living in other communities.’ (CMH)

In both (357) and (358), the verb with the imperfective participle bears a relative suffix and is translated as a relative clause introduced by ‘who’ plus a present continuous. As I pointed out above, a translation with the English present participle is also possible: ‘those drinking’ and ‘the children living in other communities’.

- (359) Ikaatzi **pokáentsiri**¹²⁶, ikaatzi...
 i-kaa-t-zi pok-eentsi-ri i-kaa-t-zi
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA come-PTCP.PFV-REL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘Those who have come are..., are...’ (calculating a number) (CCPC)
- (360) Awihéeyèni ríraga, amitákotakiriri inkáganki **paryákotéentsiri** awótsiki.
 awih-ey-i-ni ri-raga
 pass-PL-FRS-PL M-CAT.DEM
 amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki pari-ako-t-eentsi-ri awotsi=ki
 help-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL before fall-APPL-PTCP.PFV-REL path=LOC
 ‘They pass, those who helped the one who had an accident on the path.’ (PV)

In (359) and (360), the verb with the perfective participle also bears a relative suffix and is translated with a relative clause introduced by ‘who’ plus a past form. A translation using the English past participle is possible for *paryákotéentsiri* in (360):

¹²⁶ The diphthong /ae/ and the long vowel /e:/ are interchangeable in many cases in free variation.

‘the fallen one’ but complicated in the case of *pokáentsiri* in (359) (‘the come ones’ would be too infelicitous). However, a translation with the Spanish participle results more illustrative: *el accidentado* (360) and *los venidos* (359) –actually, *el accidentado* is the very translation that the consultant gave me.

The two following examples, (361) and (362), show a use different from that of building a relative clause in the examples above: the function in these two cases is existential. In (361), the host is the existential stem *eeni-*, and, in (362), the non-numeral quantifier *osheki*, albeit with the reduced form *sheki*.

- (361) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one there, in the gully.’ (CCPC)
- (362) **Róotaki shékitatsi.**
 roo-t-ak-i sheki-t-atsi
 F-&-PFV-FRS many-&-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘So there are many.’ (CMM)

Also existential is the negative *tekatsi* ‘there isn’t/aren’t’, which seems to be formed through the grammaticalization of **tee kaatsi* (tee kaa-atsi, NEG.REA COP.TOT-PTCP.IPFV). However, the shortening of /e/ and /a/ and the pronunciation [te’kats^h] clearly make it a word on its own (the negative word *tee* is usually stressed when combined with verbs).

As can be seen in the examples, the participial verbs are subject to a series of restrictions, namely the lack of pronominal and aspectual affixes, that makes them suitable for the label *non-finite*, as it is defined by Brown (2006:88): “a verb form that does not show tense or agreement”, which, *mutatis mutandis*, can be formulated for UP Ashéninka as “a verb form that does not show aspect suffixes or pronominal agreement”. The absence of aspectual affixes is no wonder due to the aspectual value carried by the participial affixes themselves.

6.3.7. Tense

The Campan languages do not have a tense system. Only Mihas has described some past suffixes for Tambo-Ene (2015b) and Alto Perené (2015a). In UP Ashéninka, there is no tense system either, but there are a few infrequent suffixes indicating past

similar to those described by Mihas. A future suffix has already been described in Section 6.3.2.2 because I have deemed it necessary to include it in that section in order to present it as the further development of the progressive suffix. Another element indicating future is the multifunctional word *ari*, whose other functions are described in Section 3.6.3. In the two following sections 6.3.7.1 and 6.3.7.2, the morphemes indicating tense are discussed.

6.3.7.1. Future (-*atyee*/-*atyeya*, *ari*, -*pa*)

The future suffix -*atyee*/-*atyeya* is described in Section 6.3.2.2 due to its development from the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix combined with the irrealis suffix. Another element that indicates future in UP Ashéninka is the multifunctional word *ari*. In Section 3.6.3, I described its adverbial uses. Its other function is to express future tense, which frequently arises in elicitations when asking for the translation of sentences in the Spanish future, as is shown in (363).

(363) a. Ari níyotàki. ari n-iyo-t-ak-i FUT 1S-learn-&-PFV-FRS ‘I’ll learn.’	b. Ari nopókaki ari no-pok-ak-i FUT 1S-come-PFV-FRS ‘I’ll come.’

The same structure with *ari* conferring the verb a future value occurs in natural texts, as in (364).

- (364) **Ari** machétaka rowa.
 ari mache-t-ak-a ro=ra
 FUT be.so-&-PFV-REA F=MED
 ‘That will be that way.’ (TSJ)

Ari can also be the answer to a polar question, and, in this sense, it is the counterpart of *eero*, which, as the irrealis negation, can be a negative answer to a polar question about the future. An example of this use is in (365), where *ari* also occurs with a future value modifying a noun.

- (365) A: Arírika pipiyanáki, ari pinampitéyawo?
 ari=rika pi-piy-an-ak-i ari pi-nampi-t-eya-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-come.back-ABL-PFV-IRR FUT 2-place-&-FUT-3F
 ‘When you come back, will you live there? (lit.: will it be your place?)’

B: **Ari.**
 ari
 FUT
 ‘I will.’ (CMM)

In (365), in the question posed by speaker A, *ari* has the same future value as with the verbs in (363) and (364), but, in this case, the future meaning of *ari* is modifying a noun that acts as a predicate and bears itself a future suffix. Speaker B answers with a simple *ari*, with a meaning perfectly equivalent to English ‘I will’. This use of *ari* is opposed to the negative *eero*, which can be used in the same way, as a one-word answer, as shown in (366).

- (366) A: **Eero** pipoke haka?
 eero pi-pok-i ha=ka
 NEG.IRR 2S-come-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘Won’t you come back here?’

B: **Eero**
 eero
 NEG.IRR
 ‘I won’t.’ (CMM)

Ari can also be used to introduce the apodosis in conditional sentences, not only with the protasis introduced by *arírika*, as is usual in elicitations (367), but also with the protasis introduced by a verb with the counterfactual suffix *-mi* (368). In both examples, *ari* has a future value, despite the English translation with the conditional in (368).

- (367) Arírika pantákiro, **ari** nomátiro niriro.
 ari-rika p-ant-ak-i-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-make-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ari no-ma-t-i-ro n-ir-i-ro
 FUT 1S-can-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O
 ‘If you make it (a juice), I’ll be able to drink it.’

- (368) Niyótiromi, **ari** nokántimi.
 n-iyó-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ‘If I knew it (singing), I would tell you.’ (CMM)

While the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* and *ari* are quite frequent, another suffix with a future connotation has appeared only once in my corpus: *-pa*. The consultant's explanation was clear-cut: it expresses that the event will take place later, hence the name LATER. This occurrence is in (369).

- (369) Árikya **piyáatanipa**.
 ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 AFF=EMPH 2S-go-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 'So then, you're leaving later.' (CCPC)

The consultant explained that *-pa* here expresses that the subject is going to leave in a future moment. Note that a general future meaning cannot be ascribed to *-pa*, because this would mean that the subject in (369) can leave just one minute after his interlocutor utters this sentence, but the real meaning is that he is going to leave at a certain time later, i.e. not in an immediate nor a remote future. This suffix is most probably related to the adverb *paata* 'later'. More research is needed to establish the suffix's temporal range better, but it is probably the same as for *paata*, usually translated by speakers with Spanish *después* 'later'.

6.3.7.2. Past (remote past *-ni* and anterior *-it*)

Mihas is the only author that describes tense suffixes for Campan languages, for Alto Perené (2015a) as well as for Tambo-Ene (2015b),¹²⁷ although García (1997:31) for Yuruá and Payne & Payne (2005:43) for Pichis mention, but do not describe, an anterior suffix. Mihas (2015a:260) says that "Alto Perené has a simple tense system which makes a past vs non-past distinction". However, this distinction does not seem to be obligatory in any Campan language, which is probably the reason why other authors have not described past suffixes, besides the fact that they are optional and quite infrequent. Mihas (2015a:260-66) describes three past suffixes for Alto Perené: remote past *-ni*, anterior *-it* and generic anterior *=ranki*. In the case of Tambo-Ene, Mihas (2015b:4-5) only shows the distal past *-ni* inside the category of tense and classifies *-it* and *=ranki* in the category of aspect with the label *anterior* as opposed

¹²⁷ Older grammars have described the RS opposition as a future-nonfuture opposition (e.g. Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982 for Apurucayali). I am not taking into account this approach, given that it is not tenable according to the more recent Campanist research.

to perfective and imperfective (2015*b*:7-8), i.e. Mihas divides the aspectual suffixes and enclitic (only =*ranki*) in three groups: anterior, perfective and imperfective, and *-it* and =*ranki* are the only anterior. These three suffixes also exist in UP Ashéninka: *-ni* has a clear remote past meaning, *-it* appears to have the same anterior meaning as the one described by Mihas, and I have interpreted =*ranki* as the absential demonstrative enclitic (see sections 3.2 and 4.1.5.1).

The suffix *-ni* can also be used on nouns, as was mentioned in Section 4.1.6.1. I have called it *remote past*, which is the same label as in Mihas' AP grammar (2015*a*), and this name fits its function well in UP Ashéninka. In (370), the remote past meaning is clear.

- (370) Éeniro **nokáatzini**.
 éeniro no-kaa-t-zí-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 'I was a child.' (CMH)

The suffix *-ni* in (370) is attached to the totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, and the intended meaning is what the speaker was a long time ago: a child. The prefix is used in combination with the past existential *éeniro*, which is a quite common construction. Actually, the best explanation I got about this suffix was by a speaker who gave me some examples of it accompanied by *éeniro*, two of which are in (371). Interestingly, (371*b*) shows a verbalization of the noun *eentsi* 'child'.

(371) a. Éeniro nopókini.	b. Éeniro néentsitzini.
éeniro no-pok-i-ni	éeniro n-eentsi-t-zí-ni
EXI.PST 1S-come-FRS-RMPST	EXI.PST 1S-child-&-REA-RMPST
'I came long ago.'	'I was a child.'

Mihas (2015*a*:263) describes for AP the anterior suffix *-it* as marking relative tense and says that it indicates that "an event or situation took place before an unidentified moment in the past" or "will take place before some point in the future". I have two occurrences of this suffix in my text corpus; one of them fits this description well, and the suffix also appeared with the same meaning in elicitations. The other occurrence appears to have a rather derivative function. The suffix causes the I-class inflection to shift to A-class inflection in the two examples from natural texts ((372) and (373)) and in my elicitations ((370) and (371)), as well as in Mihas' description. Therefore, I have also labelled it *anterior*. My example with the core

meaning of the suffix is in (372), and the other occurrence with a rather derivative function is in (373).

- (372) Ikántaka rira..., iroka tsinani owétsikáshitàkiri, ikanta, ana, **okémitzitaka**.
 i-kant-ak-a ri=ra i-ro=ka tsinani
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED DEM-F=PROX woman
 o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri i-kant-a
 3F.S-prepare-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP-REA
 ana o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a
 genipap 3F.S-grate-&-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘So, um..., this woman prepares for him, that is..., genipap, she grates (it)
 before (his arrival).’ (SCS)

The important fact for the identification of an anterior suffix in *okémitzitaka* (372) is that the consultant who translated it explained, even before I asked him, that this verb means that the woman grated the genipap before the arrival of the man for whom it was prepared, which is clearly a description of the same meaning described by Mihás (2015a). Also, the change of inflection caused by the anterior suffix coincides with Mihás’ description (*kemitaantsi* ‘grate’ is an I-class verb), so there is little doubt that this is the same suffix as Mihás’ anterior.

- (373) A: **Panáninkitàka?**
 p-ananink-it-ak-a
 2S-get.up-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘Did you get up at dawn?’
 B: Hee, **nanáninkitàka**: *cinco de la mañana!*
 hee n-ananink-it-ak-a cinco de la mañana
 AFF 1S-get.up-&-PFV-REA 5 a.m.
 ‘Yes, we got up at dawn: at 5 a.m.!’ (CCPC)

The translation I got from *panáninkitàka* and *nanáninkitàka* was just as is in the example: ‘get up at dawn’. The stem *-ananink-* means ‘get up’, so the interpretation with the anterior suffix implies that they get up before something that should be known from the context. In this case, the event before which the event expressed by the verb takes place is the sunrise, and it may be considered that the context is that everyone knows that the sun rises every day. However, the fragment *-ananinkit-* appears to be frozen with the fixed meaning ‘get up at dawn’, which lends the anterior suffix *-it* a rather derivational character in this case.

6.4. Mood and modality

When one looks for definitions of mood and modality in the literature and compares different works, one does not find a relatively common definition or a relatively common division as can be found for tense or aspect. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:176) recognise this difficulty by saying that “it may be impossible to come up with a succinct characterization of the notional domain of modality and the part of it that is expressed grammatically”. Nuyts (2006:1-2) says that there is “no unanimity among scholars as to how the set of modal categories should be characterized, either in terms of its outer borders [...] or in terms of its internal organization”, but he adds that the traditional view divides modality in “three basic semantic dimensions: *dynamic*, *deontic* and *epistemic*”; dynamic refers to capacity, deontic to permission and obligation, and epistemic to indication of estimation of chances of a situation by the speaker (Nuyts 2006:2-6). However, other authors propose different divisions, albeit some are not very different. Bybee & Fleischman (1995:4) say that this terminology comes from modal logic: “epistemic modality has to do with the possibility or necessity of the *truth of propositions*”, and deontic modality is “associated with the *social functions of permission and obligation*”, and define modality (1995:2) by saying that it “covers a broad range of semantic nuances –jussive, desiderative, intensive, hypothetical, potential, obligative, dubitative, hortatory, exclamative, etc.– whose common denominator is the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual and declarative”. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:177-81) distinguish four types of modality: agent-oriented (obligation, necessity, desire, intention, willingness, possibility), speaker-oriented (commands, demands, requests, entreaties), epistemic (possibility, probability, inferred certainty, counterfactual) and subordinating. Timberlake (2007:316-21) distinguishes three realms of modality: epistemology (“knowledge about events and the world”), obligation (directive or jussive, “the responsibility for the state of the world is transferred from one authority to another”, with imperative being the most extreme form of this modality), and contingency (conditional constructions). Dixon (2012:27) dismisses the terms *deontic*

and *epistemic*, which he calls “posh-sounding terminology”, and prefers to refer directly to modalities such as prediction, obligation, necessity, ability, etc.

A further complication comes from the distinction between mood and modality. Bybee & Fleischman (1995:2) say that “mood refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function. Moods are expressed inflectionally, generally in distinct sets of verbal paradigms, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional, etc.” Bhat (1999:130) describes mood with the divisions in which other authors divide modality: epistemic (knowledge-based) and deontic (action-based); he adds that interrogatives are an extension of epistemic mood, and imperatives, of deontic mood. Palmer (2001:4) says that “mood is distinction between realis and irrealis, in European languages called indicative and subjunctive”. Dixon (2012:2) says that mood has three values “in every language”: imperative, interrogative and declarative.

It is not surprising that the term *mood* fits very well the Latin division of the conjugation in indicative, subjunctive and imperative, as well as that of its daughter Romance languages. In the same way, the meanings attributed to modality fit very well those expressed by the Germanic modal verbs, which present morphological features different from the other verbs. This shows that the categories of mood and modality seem to have been created based on morphological paradigms in Romance and Germanic languages, the mother tongues of most of the scholars who devised these categories, but their meanings can be expressed by very different morphological means in other languages. In Campan languages, Palmer’s (2001:4) division of mood in realis and irrealis fits very well in the morphology of these languages, given that this grammatical opposition is the only one that is obligatory in the verb. It does not fit so well UP Ashéninka because of the disappearance of the opposition in roughly half of the verbs, but it remains a good main division in terms of mood and modality. As for Dixon’s (2010b:2) three mood values “in every language”, imperative is marked irrealis, and declarative and interrogative are marked realis or irrealis according to the reality value of the clause.

Following Palmer’s (2001:4) division of mood in realis and irrealis, the binary opposition of reality status should be considered the main mood division in UP

Ashéninka and the rest of the Campan languages. However, given its importance in Ashéninka due to being the only obligatory mark on the verb, I have deemed it more appropriate to devote the first section (6.1) of the chapter on verbs (6) to it because the reality status opposition must be understood first in order to understand the descriptions of other verbal morphemes better. Dixon's (2010b:2) three mood values (declarative, interrogative and imperative) also are sentence types; therefore, these sentence types will be studied in Chapter 7, on syntax. Of the authors cited above, only Timberlake (2007:321-25) describes the conditional sentence and calls it "modality of causation and contingency" (p. 321). Since conditional is also a sentence type, conditional constructions are described in the syntax chapter (Section 7.4.2.1.3). The rest of the modality meanings that are cited above by different authors are described in sections 6.4.1. and 6.4.2, which correspond, respectively, to the two means that UP Ashéninka uses to express modality: 1) a few modal verbs and 2) suffixes and enclitics.

6.4.1. Modal verbs

There are two modal verbs in UP Ashéninka: *kowaantsi* 'want' and *mataantsi* 'can'. These two verbs and other verbal forms that express modal meanings are described in the following lines.

The verb *kowaantsi* 'want' is very frequent. It can be used with the roots *-koy-* (374) preceding *i* or *-kow-* preceding *a* (375) (the root never precedes *e* or *o*).

(374) **Pikoyi** piyote hempe nopoña naaka.

pi-koy-i p-iyó-t-i hempe no-poñ-a naaka
2S-want-FRS 2S-know-&-IRR WH 1S-hail.from-REA 1
'You want to know where I hail from.' (CMH)

(375) **Ikówawita** tháwinyatáwo raniro.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a tháwina-t-ya-ro
3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O
r-aniro
3M-niece.sister's.daughter.MP
'He wanted to have incestuous sex with his niece (sister's daughter) in vain.'
(SCS)

This verb is always used to express a desire. The complement verb is always marked irrealis, as can be seen in both previous examples. *Kowaantsi* can also be used without a complement verb, as in (376).

- (376) Haa, róotaki **nokówakotzimiri**.
 hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-want-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 ‘Yes, that’s what I want with you.’ (CMH)

The verb *nintaantsi* ‘want, desire’ also expresses volition, but it cannot be used as a modal verb taking another verb as complement. An example of use is shown in (377).

- (377) Iníntawàka.
 i-nint-awak-a
 3M.S-want-RECP-REA
 ‘They love each other.’

The complement verb of *kowaantsi* cannot take the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya*. Some suffixes that appear in my corpus in complement verbs of *kowaantsi* are frustrative *-wi* (375), general applicative *-ako* (376), perfective *-ak*, ablative *-an*, counter-factual *-mi*, object suffixes, desiderative *-awak*, regressive *-a* and translocative *-it*.

The verb *mataantsi* expresses possibility; that is why I have translated it with ‘can’. It is infrequent (only four instances in my text corpus). This verb has an unusual feature: it is inflected with I-class RS suffixes when an object suffix follows the RS suffix (378), and with A-class suffixes in the other cases (379).

- (378) Eero **amátziro** athámáetzi.
 eero a-ma-t-zi-ro a-thamae-t-zi
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-can-&-REA-3F.O INCL.S-weed-&-REA
 ‘We wouldn’t be able to weed.’ (CCPC)
- (379) Tee **imátanàha** máaweni iñáathèyani.
 tee i-ma-t-an-ah-a máaweni i-ñáath-ee-y-a-ni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-can-&-ABL-REG-REA all 3M.O-play-PL-RS-PL
 ‘No one can go on playing.’ (SCFF)

The choice of inflection does not have any semantic effect. Actually, both expressions in (380) from an elicitation have the same meaning.

(380) a. Tee **nomata** nayiro henoki.

tee no-ma-t-a n-ay-i-ro henoki
 NEG.REA 1S-can-&-REA 1S-take-FRS-3F.O up
 ‘I cannot take it (a fruit) up there.’

b. Tee **nomátziro** nayiro henoki.

tee no-ma-t-zi-ro n-ay-i-ro henoki
 NEG.REA 1S-can-&-REA-3F.O 1S-take-FRS-3F.O up
 ‘I cannot take it (a fruit) up there.’

A possible explanation for this double inflection is that it is a transitive verb and the complement clause is considered an object. Therefore, when the object suffix is absent, the strategy used to make a verb reflexive (a change to A-class inflection) is called into play, even though the verb does not acquire a reflexive meaning. This lack of a reflexive meaning is why I do not gloss the RS A-class suffix as reflexive, as I do when the reflexive meaning is present. This change in RS inflection in the verb *mataantsi* is remarkable because the object suffix is optional and its presence does not cause a change in RS class in the rest of the verbs. The uniqueness of *mataantsi* must be due to its being a modal verb.

The complement verb of *mataantsi* is marked with the same RS value as *mataantsi*. This feature can be observed in (378), and also in the two examples in (381).

(381) a. Nimaeka **nomátiro** niyaati.

nimaeka no-ma-t-i-ro n-iyaa-t-i
 tomorrow 1S-can-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-go-&-IRR
 ‘I can go tomorrow.’

b. Chapinki **nomátziro** niyaatzi.

chapinki no-ma-t-zi-ro n-iyaa-t-zi
 yesterday 1S-can-&-REA-3F.O 1S-go-&-REA
 ‘I was able to go yesterday.’

In (381b), both *mataantsi* and the complement verb *iyaataantsi* are inflected realis, while, in (381a), both verbs are inflected irrealis because of the future reference of the sentence.

A verb that indicates necessity is the apparently fossilized form *otzimatyee*, which also Mihas (2015a:205) shows as *ontzimatyee* for Alto Perené, with the pan-Campan nasal irrealis prefix absent in UP Ashéninka. Mihas does not segment it, but the existential root *-tzim-* is evident, and it is accompanied by the 3rd person feminine

prefix *o-* and the future suffix *-atyee*, although the meaning ('is necessary', in Alto Perené as well as in UP Ashéninka) appears to be fossilized. The root *-tzim-* occurs with a clear existential meaning in *tzimatsi* 'there is', with the imperfective participle suffix, but also with more inflected forms as *otzimi* and even *otzímaki*, with the perfective aspect suffix, all of them with the meaning 'there is' (see Section 6.9.2). Two different speakers gave the same answer when asked to translate 'I have to go' (speaker A, older age group) and 'I need to go' (speaker B, middle age group), given in (382).

- (382) **Otzímatyee** niyaate.
 o-tzim-atyee n-iyaa-t-i
 3F.S-EXI-FUT 1S-go-&-IRR
 'I have to go (speaker A) / I need to go (speaker B).'

Note that a more literal translation, taking into account the meaning of *-tzim-*, would be 'it will exist that I go (irrealis)'. Speaker A's translation of 'I need to go' was (383a), and speaker B's translation of 'I have to go' was (383b).

- (383) a. Ari niyáataki.
 ari n-iyaa-t-ak-i
 FUT 1S-go-&-PFV-FRS
 'I need to go (lit.: I'll go).' (speaker A)
- b. Niyáaperotàtyee
 n-iyaa-pero-t-atyee
 1S-go-VER-&-FUT
 'I have to go (lit.: I'll go undoubtedly).' (speaker B)

These examples show that a usual way of expressing obligation or necessity is with future markers. Furthermore, this is not the only modal meaning for which a future reference is used. When asked to translate '–Will you be able to come? –Yes, I will be able', speaker A gave (384a) and speaker B (384b) (with the slight difference that, for speaker B, *tsirénitini* 'in the evening' was added).¹²⁸ While speaker A used the verb *mataantsi*, speaker B used the multifunctional word *ari* with a future value.

¹²⁸ Obviously, the sentences to translate were given in Spanish, but the Spanish verbs used for the elicitation have a quite straightforward translation in the English verbs shown here.

- (384) a. –Ari pimátakya pipoki? –Áritaki (nomátakya)¹²⁹.
 ari pi-ma-t-ak-ya pi-pok-i
 FUT 2S-can-&-PFV-IRR 2S-come-FRS
 ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-ya
 FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-can-&-PFV-IRR
 ‘–Will you be able to come? –I will (be able) (lit.: It will be that I can).’
 (speaker A)
- b. –Ari pipókaki tsirénitini? –Hee, ari niyáataki.
 ari pi-pok-ak-i tsirénitini hee ari n-iyaa-t-ak-i
 FUT 2S-come-PFV-FRS evening AFF FUT 1S-go-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘–Will you come in the evening? –Yes, I’ll go.’ (speaker B)

These examples show that the future reference is used to express different modal meanings, at least obligation, necessity and possibility.

Another verb with a modal meaning, namely permission, is *shinetaantsi* ‘permit, authorize’ (385).

- (385) **Ishinétakina** noñáawaetzi.
 i-shine-t-ak-i-na no-ñáawae-t-zi
 3M.S-permit-&-PFV-FRS-1O 1S-talk-&-REA
 ‘I have permission to talk (lit.: they permit me that I talk).’

There may be other verbs expressing modal meanings that have not appeared in my texts nor elicitation, but, except for the frequent *kowaantsi* ‘want’, modal verbs are not frequently used in UP Ashéninka; rather, some speakers prefer to use future markers instead of modal verbs.

6.4.2. Suffixes and enclitics

In this subsection, all suffixes and enclitics that have a semantic value that can be included in the meanings mentioned in the introduction to this Section 6.4 are described. These meanings include capacity, permission, obligation, possibility, necessity, desire, intention, hypothesis, doubt, command, demand, exclamation, willingness, certainty, counterfactuality and prediction. However, imperatives and conditionals are described in the syntax chapter (sections 7.3.2 and 7.4.2.1.3, respectively), given that imperative and conditional are clause types. Although I will avoid a classification in epistemic, deontic or other types of modality, it must be noted

¹²⁹ The consultant said that *nomátakya* can be omitted.

that the only suffixes that might be included in deontic modality express intention or desire (purposive and non-purposive *-ashi*, desiderative *-awak* and reinforced optative *-:ta*). Permission and obligation are usually expressed using modal verbs described in Section 6.4.1.

6.4.2.1. Lamentative *-ahaant*

Lamentative is a label that has been used for some languages (e.g. a suffix in Kwaza [Van der Voort 2015:611], a suffix in Chácobo [Tallman 2018:931-32] or a particle in Tuparí [Singerman 2018:445]), but has not been described for a Campan language; it is only mentioned in a list in Payne & Payne (2005:43) for Pichis with the label “mistakenly”. Yet this suffix turned up in a natural text, after which I checked it through elicitation, and its meaning is quite clear: it conveys the lamentation of the speaker with respect to the event expressed by the verbal stem. Its relation with the meanings set forth above as belonging to the realm of modality lies in the fact that a speaker laments that something has not turned out as they expected, which is related to the speaker’s wishes and desires. A similar argument is given by Overall (2017:479) for the frustrative (see Section 6.4.2.11). Actually, the lamentative could be considered an enhanced frustrative, but, while with the frustrative the event is normally frustrated, with the lamentative the speaker is the frustrated one.

The elicitation of the suffix with different verbs showed that it has a very unusual behaviour: the speaker did not accept the verbs inflected in realis with the lamentative but did accept them inflected in irrealis, and, in this way, they acquired a negative polarity without the need of a negative particle, which is shown in examples (387) to (390). Nevertheless, the two examples from natural texts in my corpus are in realis. Both appear in two following sentences, so the best way to grasp the meaning of the suffix is to show them together (386).

- (386) Okántashirètzi: “Naaka, **riitaháantakima** rira kooko oñaashirènkánári.
Ikántaháantzi: «Nopónaaka hanta henoki...
 o-kant-a-shire-t-zi naaka rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
 3F.S-say-&-soul-&-REA 1 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED
 kooko oñaashirenk-a-na-ri i-kant-ahaant-zi
 maternal.uncle.VOC.FE disturb-REA-1O-REL 3M.S-say-LAM-REA
 no-poñ-ak-a ha=nta henoki
 1S-hail.from-PFV-REA LOC=DIST up
 ‘She says for herself (in her mind/soul): “I..., so this was the uncle who
 disturbed me (lamenting herself). How can he say (lamenting herself): «I hail
 from up there (heaven)...”’ (SCS)

In (386), *riitaháantakima* is a verbalized 3rd person masculine pronoun. The dubitative enclitic =*ma* expresses the idea of discovering something previously unknown, and the lamentative *-ahaant* conveys the speaker’s lamentation for this discovery. In *ikántaháantzi*, with the verbal root *-kant-* ‘say’, the speaker laments what her uncle said. This *ikántaháantzi* is inflected realis, but we do not know the RS of *riitaháantakima* because the I-class RS suffix after /k/ is fossilized.

As said above, verbs in realis were not accepted by the consultant who translated the story from which (386) is taken, but he accepted them in irrealis, all of them with negative polarity. I reproduce below the explanations that I got from him with different examples. It is necessary to show these explanations, which describe the situation in which each sentence could be uttered. This is explained after every example. Note that, in all the examples (387) to (390), there is no negative particle preceding the verb, yet it has negative polarity.

- (387) **Ipókaháanti** raréetina naaka.
 i-pok-ahaant-i r-aree-t-i-na naaka
 3M.S-come-LAM-IRR 3M.S-visit-&-IRR-1O 1
 ‘They (family) don’t come to visit me.’
- (388) Riyótaháanti.
 r-iyó-t-ahaant-i
 3M.S-know-&-LAM-IRR
 ‘He doesn’t learn.’

In (387), the speaker complains because his family does not come to visit him. In (388), the situation imagined by my consultant was that a family provides educational resources to their son, but he is not very clever and does not learn very much, so the family laments that he does not learn in spite of the resources they have given him.

(389) Ikántaháanti. i-kant-ahaant-i 3M.S-say-LAM-IRR 'He never says anything.'	(390) Pikémaháanti éeroka. pi-kem-ahaant-i éeroka 2S-hear-LAM-IRR 2 'You don't listen.'

In (389), a man has seen illegal acts (e.g. stealing), but has never said anything about it. In one case, someone accuses him of revealing a secret, but those who know him well reply that he never reveals anything and complain because he has not talked when he should have talked (when witnessing illegal acts). In (390), the situation imagined by my consultant was that a guy has bad behaviour, and his family scolds him for that, but, since he continues with his bad behaviour, the family complains to him because he does not listen to them when they tell him what is right to do.

When I asked my consultant about *ikántaháantzi* in (386) (realis) in comparison with its irrealis counterpart in (389), he said that *ikántaháantzi* was positive and *ikántaháanti* was negative. From my consultant's explanations, one could be tempted to say that *-ahaant* always triggers irrealis marking and expresses negative polarity, but the natural text examples from (386) do not accept this conclusion. It could be the case that this suffix is mostly used in negative clauses with irrealis marking on the verb, and that is the reason why my consultant did not accept the verbs in realis, or maybe it can be used with positive polarity in a reduced number of verbs, as in (386). Be that as it may, the fact that this suffix combined with irrealis marking can express negative polarity without needing a negative marker makes it the most remarkable, above all because such a suffix has not been described in the Campanist literature. The possibility of using the suffix in verbs marked realis and with positive polarity as in (386) needs further research.

6.4.2.2. Dubitative =*ma*

This marker can occur in very different word classes and has a final position on any host. It can even appear independently attached to an epenthetic vowel yielding the form *ama* 'maybe, perhaps'; that is why I have considered it an enclitic. Payne (1981:29) calls it "dubitative" and says that it "indicates doubt". Mihas (2015a:232-35) also calls it "dubitative" and ascribes it to the expression of doubt, inference, pure speculation, mirativity and rhetorical emphasis in questions. In my corpus, the

dubitative *=ma* expresses probability (391); surprise (392), (393); lack of previous knowledge (394), (395), and disjunctivity (397). All these meanings have in common the expression of uncertainty or lack of knowledge by the speaker. They are analysed in the following lines.

In (391), *=ma* expresses probability or supposition, similarly to English *must*, with a clear epistemic content. With *=ma*, the speaker means that he supposes that the proposition contained in the clause is true but cannot state it with certainty.

- (391) **Pimáperotàma** éroka, ikáayitzi osheki piñáathari.
 pi-ma-pero-t-a=ma éroka
 2S-can-VER-&-REA=DUB 2
 i-kaa-yi-t-zi osheki pi-ñáath-a-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-DISTR-&-REA many 2-love-REA-REL
 ‘You must be brave, you, to have many loved ones.’¹³⁰ (CMH)

The enclitic *=ma* is also used in questions in order to express doubt and reinforces the expression of the lack of knowledge that any question implies, as in (392), where the enclitic appears two times attached to the multifunctional word *ari*, which has, in this case, a mere affirmative value.

- (392) “Hempe okáantyaka irika, **árima** ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki áatsimiyantàtsiri, **árima** ipánkinatakàe?”
 hempe o-kaa-ant-ya=ka i-ri=ka ari=ma
 WH 3F.S-COP.TOT-RES-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX AFF=DUB
 i-kant-a-ri i-ri=ka ri=raga poñ-acha-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA-REL DEM-M=PROX M=CAT.DEMcome.from-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 henoki aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma
 up suck.to.cure-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB
 i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 3M.S-make.love-&-PFV-INCL.O
 ‘How is it possible that this one, the one who comes from heaven and sucks to cure, makes love to us?’ (SCS)

In (392), the speaker expresses her surprise for some facts that seem very strange to her. The expression of surprise present in (392) can also occur in a declarative sentence, as in (393), where the speaker expresses her surprise.

¹³⁰ The verb *mataantsi* with the verificative suffix *-pero* means ‘be brave’. One could argue that there is a lexicalization and *-mapero-* should be glossed as a stem lexicalized with two elements. While I consider valid this option, I have preferred to separate both elements so as not to obscure how the potential stem is formed.

- (393) O, **árima** ikanta shéripýàri!
 o ari=ma i-kant-a sheripyari
 INTJ AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA shaman
 ‘Oh, it’s the shaman!’ (SCS)

In the question in (394), the enclitic is on the negative particle *tee* and the speaker reinforces her lack of knowledge about the posed question.

- (394) **Teema** ohéekaperòtzi payiro?
 tee=ma o-heck-a-pero-t-zi p-ayiro
 NEG.REA=DUB 3F.S-live-&-VER-&-REA 2-mother-in-law.FP
 ‘Doesn’t your mother-in-law actually live (there)?’ (CMM)

Besides in questions, the expression of a previous lack of knowledge also occurs in declarative sentences, as in (395), where the expression *kyáatàmakya* is emphasized with the emphatic =*kya*, but, with the dubitative enclitic, the speaker expresses that he did not know it until now.

- (395) **Kyáatàmakya**, ñani.
 kyaa-ta=ma=kya ñani
 true-EMPH=DUB=EMPH brother-in-law.VOC.ME
 ‘It’s true, brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

The enclitic =*ma* can also acquire a disjunctive meaning. There is no occurrence with this meaning in my text corpus, but the reason may be the widespread use of the Spanish disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’, which does occur three times in my corpus. In one of these occurrences, a young man asks a young girl the question in (396) linking two clauses with *o*.

- (396) Éenitatsi pipáapati iheeki **o** pokaki haka?
 eeni-t-atsi pi-paapa-ti i-heck-i
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father-POSS 3M.S-live-FRS
 o pok-ak-i ha=ka
 or come-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘Is your father (there) or has he come here?’ (CMH)

When I was transcribing and translating the conversation, I noticed the Spanish loan and asked the consultant how he would express the same sentence without this Spanish loan, to which he answered with the sentence in (397) –the consultant also used the more genuine *piri* ‘your father’ instead of *pipáapati* in (396), which is built on the Spanish loan *paapa* ‘father’.

- (397) Éenitatsi piri hanta **pokákima** haka?
 éeni-t-atsi p-iri ha=nta pok-ak-i=ma ha=ka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father LOC=DIST come-PFV-FRS=DUB LOC=PROX
 ‘Is your father there or has he come here?’

In this case, the enclitic =*ma* fulfils its dubitative function in that it expresses the speaker’s lack of knowledge about the answer and poses a disjunctive question in that two options are given and one must be chosen. This example shows how a proposition that is called disjunctive in European languages is formulated in a totally different way in Ashéninka, given that two options are given, but with no disjunctive link between them; rather, a dubitative enclitic is used to express that one of the options is true and the speaker does not know which one.

6.4.2.3. Verificative *-pero*

Payne (1980:160) calls this suffix “veritative” in his multidialectal dictionary and Mihas (2015a:658) “intensifier” for Alto Perené. The suffix can attach to nouns, verbs and even connectors as *róotaki* ‘that is’, but most occurrences in my text corpus are with verbs, and there are only two with nouns and one with *róotaki*. It tends to attach closer to the stem than other suffixes. Its meaning is that the speaker assures that the statement is true, or tries to verify the truth of the statement when posing a question, so that it can be translated with *really* or *actually* practically always. Some examples are provided below.

In (398), *-pero* is on the verb *iyotaantsi*, which is nominalized through its relativization.

- (398) Okántanaka paata, éenitatsi apaani atziri héekatsiri hanta, **yowéeperotàtsiri**.
 o-kant-an-ak-a paata eeni-t-atsi apaani atziri
 3F.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA later EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV one person
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST know-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘It happened later that there was a person living there, a specialist (one who knows to do many things).’ (OS)

The translation ‘specialist’ is as it was formulated by the translating consultant (Sp. *especialista*). The specifier suffix *-wee* indicates that this person knows to do specific tasks, and the verificative suffix *-pero* denotes that there is no doubt that he knows how to do them.

In (399), the verificative suffix is hosted by the noun *mapipooki* ‘stony river bank’, and can be easily translated with ‘actually’ or ‘really’. The noun forms here a predicate with an existential meaning.

- (399) Mapipóokiperòni?
 mapi-pooki-pero-ni
 stone-COL-VER-IGN
 ‘Are there actually stony riverbanks?’ (CMM)

In (400), *-pero* acquires a certain augmentative meaning in that the speaker says that the deer has *really* accelerated, i.e. it has seriously accelerated.

- (400) **Ikañáaperotanàka** rira..., hempe íitagankitya..., maniro.
 i-kañaa-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra
 3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED
 hempe i-et-a=ranki=tya maniro
 WH 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer
 ‘He has really accelerated, um..., how was it..., the deer.’ (FS)

A somewhat similar augmentative meaning can be found in (401), where *-pero* denotes that the amount to be eaten is considerable.

- (401) Ari **owàperowáetakya**, teema antawo”.
 ari Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya teema anta-ro
 thus INCL.S-eat-&-VER-DUR1-&-PFV-IRR because big-F
 ‘In this way, we’ll be eating more, because it is big.’ (TSJ)

In (402), *-pero* is attached to *róotaki* ‘that is’, which usually acts as a connector between two sentences, although, in this example, it has a rather verbal nature as expressing ‘that is’.

- (402) Rámatawitakiri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékhitho ikimitakáantawitakáwo
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètzìro..., **róoperotàki** kameetha iyátharèkhitho...
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékhitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zì-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékhitho
 good 3M-testicle
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar, because he has made it seem (being false),
 um..., how to say..., that that really was his good (tasty) testicle...’ (TSJ)

In this example, the speaker utters a plain *róotaki* and, after two fillers, adds *-pero* to give it more emphasis and the additional meaning ‘really’.

In the previous Section 6.4.2.2, there are two examples with interesting uses of *-pero*. In (391), *-pero* together with the root *-ma-* ‘can’ acquires the meaning ‘be brave’, so that *-mapero-* could be considered a lexicalized stem formed with two components. In (394), it is remarkable that the combination of the dubitative enclitic and the verificative suffix appears to have an opposite meaning. However, the dubitative *=ma* reinforces the expression of the ignorance of the speaker regarding what she is asking, and the use of the verificative *-pero* seeks that her interlocutor gives her a reassuring answer.

Finally, in (403) there is an example that might be considered as expressing the canonical meaning of the suffix, given that it is attached to the adjective *kyaario* ‘true’ together with the conditional enclitic *=rika*, so that this word means ‘if it is really true’: the speaker wants to be sure if the shaman actually comes from heaven.

- (403) Niyótantiyari **kyáaryoperòrikà** ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka
 héekatzí oháawiki, paata nopòntzításhitawakiriita ana.
 n-iyo-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 ‘In order to know whether it is really true that he comes from heaven and
 whether this Ashéninka doesn’t live down here (on earth), later I’m going to
 grate genipap for him (for his arrival, although he won’t want it).’ (SCS)

The examples above show that the verificative suffix *-pero* has the core meaning ‘really/actually’, which can be extended to have an augmentative meaning, as is the case in (400) and (401).

6.4.2.4. Purposive and non-purposive *-ashi*

The title of this section may seem surprising because it attributes two opposite meanings to a single suffix, but the trick is that the non-purposive meaning is produced by a shift of the RS suffix from I-class to A-class. This suffix is well described in its two variants in Payne’s textbook (1989:267-69) for Pichis, where she says that the purposive meaning indicates intention, i.e. “la acción del verbo marcado con *-ashi*

facilita otra acción posterior”,¹³¹ and, for the non-purposive, she says that something is done with no purpose or by mistake. This interpretation coincides with my own research. However, the question that arises is how this suffix functions with A-class verbs. Payne (1989) does not show any example with an A-class verb. Mihás (2015a:293-95) for Alto Perené does not treat this question either. I thought that it might work the other way round, i.e., a non-purposive meaning of the suffix might cause a shift from A-class to I-class, so I proposed to a speaker two A-class verbs inflected with *-ashi* and I-class suffixes, but he rejected them as ungrammatical forms. Then I proposed them with their usual A-class inflection and *-ashi*, and the meaning was non-purposive, so it seems that it is not possible to use the purposive meaning encoded by the suffix *-ashi* in an A-class verb, given that its meaning in these verbs is always non-purposive.

The purposive meaning can change the valence of the verb in some cases. Thus, the suffix takes an applicative function in these cases, two of which are in (405) and (407).

The two opposite meanings purposive and non-purposive can be observed in example (404) from an elicitation.

(404) a. Nopókashitzi no-pok-ashi-t-zi 1S-come-PURP-&-REA 'I come for something.'	b. Nopókashita no-pok-ashi-t-a 1S-come-NPURP-&-REA 'I come for nothing.'

The translations I got from a speaker in Spanish, *vengo por algo* in (404a) and *vengo por nada* in (404b), illustrate better the intended meaning. Actually, they could be better translated as 'I come for some reason' and 'I come for no reason', respectively, while I have aimed at a more literal translation from Spanish in the examples. Both meanings can be included in the realm of modality because they express the intention of the speaker when performing an action. Some examples from natural texts are shown below.

In (405), the English translation needs to use the verb *look* to express the intended meaning well. In this case, the purposive suffix gives the verb *iyaataantsi* 'go' the

¹³¹ 'The action of the verb marked with *-ashi* facilitates another subsequent action.'

meaning ‘go to look for’, so that an intransitive verb becomes transitive. Therefore, *-ashi* augments the valence of the verb in this case.

(405) **Riyáatàshitziro** raniro.

r-iyaa-t-ashi-t-zi-ro r-aniro
3M.S-ir-&-PURP-&-REA-3F.O 3M-niece.sister’s.daughter.MP
‘He goes to look for his niece (sister’s daughter).’ (SCS)

Example (403) above (Section 6.4.2.3) is a good example of the use of *-ashi* on the verb *nopòntzitàshitawakiriita* ‘I’m going to grate for him (for his arrival, although he won’t want it)’: the first clause of the sentence (starting with *niyótantaryi...*) expresses a goal, and the main clause (*paata nopòntzitàshitawakiriita*) expresses what the woman is going to do in order to achieve that goal. Therefore, the suffix *-ashi* denotes that the action (grating) is done with a goal, which is the one indicated in the first clause (*niyótantaryi...*). Example (406) is the sentence that follows example (403) in this story.

(406) Okanta **opòntzitàshitákiri** ana.

o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-grate-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O genipap
‘So it was that she grated genipap for him.’ (SCS)

In (406), the verb *pontzitaantsi* ‘grate’ also carries the purposive suffix, which expresses that the grating is done with a purpose, which was explained in the previous sentence in (403).

In (407), *-ashi* on the verb *pokaantsi* ‘come’ indicates that there is a purpose in coming, which is expressed in the relative clause *ràmitàkotapákiri* ‘those who are going to help him (when arriving)’.

(407) Ikántaka **ipokàshitákiri** ikáateyini, ràmitàkotapákiri.

i-kant-ak-a i-pok-ashi-t-ak-i-ri
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-come-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O
i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri
3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-help-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL
‘So it is that they have come to him, those who are going to help him (when arriving).’ (PV)

Moreover, as in (405), *-ashi* changes the valence of the verb in that an intransitive verb as *pokaantsi* ‘come’ acquires an argument and the meaning shifts to ‘come to someone’. The possibility of *-ashi* to change the valence of a verb is also shown by Payne (1989:267) for Pichis with the same verb *pokaantsi*.

While the opposite meanings of the suffix *-ashi* result clear when comparing them in an elicitation, as can be seen in (404), the non-purposive meaning is difficult to grasp in the few occurrences in my texts (only four, two with the same verb). Two of them are commented on below.

In (408), the suffix *-ashi* is on the root *-kam-*, which usually means ‘die’, but also ‘dry’, and triggers a change of the I-class RS suffix typical of this verb to an A-class RS suffix.

- (408) Apáataka íntsipaki, **okamáshitaka**.
 Ø-apa-a-t-ak-a íntsipaki o-kam-ashi-t-ak-a
 3F.S-spoil-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay¹³² 3F.S-dry-NPURP-&-PFV-REA
 ‘The pacays have spoiled, they have dried (gone off).’ (CCPC)

When transcribing and translating this example, the translating consultant explained that the root *-kam-* means ‘die’ or ‘dry’, but, when *-ashi* is added, the verb acquires the meaning ‘go off’. In this way, the non-purposive suffix takes here a rather derivational function, and the change in meaning accords with the function of the suffix: one can dry something with a purpose, but, when fruits dry and go off, they do it against the will of the farmer.

In (409), the non-purposive suffix on the root *-shemy-* ‘crush’ can be attributed to the meaning ‘by mistake’ mentioned above citing Payne (1989:268).

- (409) Róetapáeni **ishèmyaakotáshitawo** rowa..., iyétakitì.
 roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro
 semilla=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O
 ro=ra i-ketaki-ti
 F=MED 3M-forest.nut-POSS
 ‘He was crushing seeds of, um..., forest nut.’ (TSJ)

In this example, the speaker is telling that a squirrel was crushing seeds of forest nut, although it was pretending to be crushing its testicle. The squirrel did not actually did it by mistake, but to induce a jaguar to a mistake, i.e. to cheat it.

¹³² *Pacay* is the name given in English and Spanish (among other names) to the tree *Inga feuilleei*, which produces pods with an edible pulp.

6.4.2.5. Apprehensive *-kari*

The apprehensive suffix *-kari* warns against a predictably unpleasant or dangerous situation that might be caused by the action expressed by the verbal stem. This suffix is infrequent because it has never occurred in any natural text of my corpus. Some examples from elicitations are in (410) to (413).

(410) Powáwokàri. p-ow-a-ro-kari 2S-eat-REA-3F.O-APPR ‘Be careful, you are going to eat.’	(411) Pihéekikàri. pi-heek-i-kari 2S-stay-FRS-APPR ‘Be careful, you stay.’
(412) Piyaatzikàri. p-iyaa-t-zi-kari 2S-go-&-REA-APPR ‘Be careful, you’re leaving.’	(413) Ikántzimikàri. i-kant-zi-mi-kari 3M.S-say-REA-2O-APPR ‘Be careful what he tells you.’

Obviously, I got the verbs translated into Spanish, and the translation was always introduced with *cuidado* ‘be careful’. I reproduce here the Spanish translations because I think that they transmit the Ashéninka meaning better than the English translation: *cuidado, vas a comer* (410); *cuidado que te quedas* (411); *cuidado que te vas* (412); *cuidado que te diga* (413). In each case, the speaker warns their interlocutor of the danger of eating, staying, leaving or being told something, so the meaning of this suffix becomes quite clear.

It seems that the verb is always inflected in realis with this suffix, given that all the examples (410) to (413) are imperatives, which are irrealis situations, and all but (411), where the RS suffix is fossilized, are inflected in realis. The same suffix *-kari* also occurs only with realis stems in Alto Perené (Mihás 2015a:242) and in Matsigenka (Zachary O’Hagan p.c. 2021) –both scholars consider it an enclitic (=kari), but I do not have enough examples to consider it as such. Therefore, this irregularity (realis marking in an irrealis situation) probably is a pan-Campan feature.

6.4.2.6. Desiderative *-awak*

The desiderative suffix *-awak* has not been described in the previous Campanist literature; only Snell (2011:851) describes a desiderative suffix for Matsigenka with the form *-vintsa*. The suffix is actually infrequent, with only four occurrences in my corpus, and can be difficult to identify because it has the same form as the

reciprocal *-awak* and as the union of the object motion *-aw* plus the perfective *-ak*. Yet the occurrences in my corpus together with elicitations carried out to clarify its meaning and the difference with the construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’ yield a satisfactory explanation: this suffix expresses the desire to do something that the speaker knows with certainty that is going to be fulfilled. The relation between volition and future can be observed in English, namely in the origin of the future auxiliary *will* in a former desiderative auxiliary. The desiderative *-awak* would be halfway between the expression of desire and the future tense, so that, in elicitations, verbs with *-awak* can be translated both with the Spanish modal verb *querer* ‘want’ or the auxiliary *ir a* (proximal future). Two examples from my corpus are below.

In (414), *nokántawàki* could be translated both as ‘I want to say’ or ‘I’m going to say’. I got the first one when the sentence was translated at first, and then the second one when I asked the consultant about its meaning.

- (414) **Nokántawàki** naaka pinkáthari hëwatakáantziròri nonampi.
 no-kant-awak-i naaka pinkáthari
 1S-say-DES-FRS 1 authority
 hewa-t-aka-ant-zi-ro-ri no-nampi
 be.first-&-CAUS-OCC-REA-3F.O-REL 1-community
 ‘I want to say that I’m an authority who leads my community.’ (CTK)

In (415), the aforementioned interpretation of *-aw-ak* (OM-PFV) would be possible because the woman has not accepted a man that has gone to her, and this man would be the object with the associated motion expressed by the object motion suffix. However, the right interpretation is given by the irrealis suffix on *àapátziyawakyàari*: a negated verb referring to the past should be marked realis, but the expression of volition or future requires irrealis marking.

- (415) Tee **àapátziyawakyàari** iroka tsinani.
 tee Ø-aapatziy-awak-ya-ri i-ro=ka tsinani
 NEG.REA 3F.S-accept-DES-IRR-3M.O DEM-F=PROX woman
 ‘This woman hasn’t wanted to accept him.’ (SCS)

This example also shows that the desiderative suffix triggers irrealis marking. In other instances from my text corpus and from elicitations, the RS-suffix is fossilized, so that (415) is the only instance that I have with the desiderative suffix and a non-fossilized RS suffix.

6.4.2.7. Counter-expectative *-imae*

Payne (1989:245-46) describes for Pichis the counter-expectative suffix *-imae*, which has not appeared in my text corpus, but only in an elicitation dedicated to adversative clauses. This is in (416).

- (416) Tee niyówitawo awotsi, **arèetzimáetàkina**.
 tee n-iyó-wi-t-a-ro awotsi
 NEG.REA 1S-know-FRU-&-REA-3F.O way
 aree-tz-imae-t-ak-i-na
 arrive-&-COEXP-&-PFV-FRS-1S
 ‘I didn’t know the way, but I arrived.’

The proposed Spanish sentence for translation was *No conocía el camino, pero pude llegar a su casa* ‘I didn’t know the way, but was able to arrive at his house’—obviously, the speaker omitted ‘at his house’. This example illustrates the use of the counter-expectative *-imae* with the same meaning as described by Payne (1989) for Pichis, which is to express an adversative condition, i.e. a clause that expresses something contrary to what might be expected from a previous clause or the context. Clearly related to this suffix, there is the counter-expectative enclitic *=maita*, which is used only with the negative realis *tee* and the negative copula *kaari*. This enclitic is described in the sections devoted to these negative words (3.7 and 6.10.4, respectively).

6.4.2.8. Emphatics *-ta*, *=kya*, *=tya*

These three markers have appeared in my text corpus with a similar emphatic meaning, which is just to add emphasis to what is being said. Their consideration as suffixes (*-ta*) or enclitics (*=kya*, *=tya*) can be seen in the examples below.

The suffix *-ta* seems to be prosodically motivated, i.e. it gives the verb an additional syllable that causes a change in prosody that appears to give the uttering more strength. Actually, only in some cases did the speakers accept its emphatic character, while, in other cases, they found no difference when adding or removing *-ta* in a verb. This made me think that there was a sort of syllabic epenthesis so as to make the word sound better in the ears of the speaker, but the fact that speakers explained the existence of *-ta* in some verbs as producing emphasis led me to think that this

better-sounding *-ta* is the same as the emphatic *-ta*, and that the better-sounding has a mild emphatic character.¹³³ Some examples are shown below.

Example (417) is one for which speakers clearly accepted that the form with *-ta* is more emphasized than the form without *-ta*.

- (417) Hempe **ihéekitaka** rirori?
 hempe i-heek-i-ta=ka rirori
 WH 3M.S-live-FRS-EMPH=INT 3M
 ‘Where are they living?’ (CMM)

Actually, a speaker explained that the addition of *-ta* means that the woman who asks the question expects that they live quite far, and another speaker said that it means that this woman expresses a total ignorance of the answer. Both explanations are about emphasis: one emphasizing the distance and the other one emphasizing the ignorance that a question entails. The remarkable feature of *ihéekitaka* is that *-ta* follows the RS suffix, differently from other instances. This may lead us to think that we are dealing with two different markers. Nevertheless, given the prosodic nature of the suffix, I prefer to consider that its position is not fixed, differently from any other affix or enclitic, because the speaker can place it where she can get a better prosodic effect.

Also in (418), the prosodic effect caused by *-ta* can be observed by removing it and comparing how both versions of the word sound. In this case, the insertion of *-ta* allows a weak syllable between both stressed syllables, which gives more strength to the second and primary stress, and thus to the word.

- (418) Ari **akántatátziro**: kontaki.
 ari a-kant-a-ta-t-zi-ro kontaki
 thus INCL.S-say-&-EMPH-&-REA-3F.O *azúcar.huayo*¹³⁴
 ‘Thus we call it: *kontaki*.’ (CMM)

The enclitics *=kya* and *=tya* can be considered two allomorphs of the same morpheme. Actually, Payne (1980:161) considers them thus and calls them “intensivo”, and adds that they are used in the Alto Perené and the community of

¹³³ In order to grasp better this idea, one can think about the difference between English ‘it is’ and ‘it’s’, or between ‘I am’ and ‘I’m’. There is no semantic difference between both parts of each pair, but the speaker conveys more strength to the uttering in the non-contracted forms.

¹³⁴ This tree is *Hymenaea oblongifolia*, called in local Spanish *azúcar huayo*, among other names.

Shahuaya, in the Ucayali area.¹³⁵ Mihas, for Alto Perené, in her doctoral dissertation (2010), calls both *=kya* and *=tya* “pragmatic clitics” (p. 6), and glosses them as emphatic (e.g. pp. 127 and 151), but, in Mihas (2015a:254-57), she calls *=kya* “assertive” and *=tya* “affect”. The latter is described as expressing “impatience and urgency”, “surprise”, “mild preoccupation” and a “sense of frustration”. All these names and descriptions somewhat convey that the suffix gives emphasis, places the focus on its host, expresses an assertion or intensifies the utterance, and all these meanings can be clustered by saying that the speaker tries to give some word a special prominence over the other words. I have considered them enclitics because they can attach to very different hosts and are always at the edge of the word, as the examples below show.

In (419), *=kya* is attached to the adverb *iroentzi* ‘only’ to remark that only the woman speaking in 1st person and no one else weeds.

- (419) **Iróentzikya** nòthamáetzi!
 iroentzi=kya no-thamae-t-zi
 only=EMPH 1S-weed-&-REA
 ‘Only I weed!’ (CCPC)

In (420), *=kya* is attached to the verb *pikántziri* ‘what you call’. In this conversation, the speaker’s interlocutor had previously mentioned the Spanish phrase *faena comunal* ‘community work’, and, with the use of *=kya*, the speaker remarks that her interlocutor mentioned this word before.

- (420) Rantawáeyini máaweni, máaweni haga, **pikántzirikya** *faena comunal*.
 r-antawae-ey-i-ni máaweni ha=ra
 3M.S-work-PL-FRS-PL all LOC=MED
 pi-kant-zi-ri=kya faena comunal
 2S-say-REA-REL=EMPH community work
 ‘Everyone works, everyone there, in what you call *faena comunal*.’ (CTK)

In (421), the speaker asks her interlocutors what kind of work they do in a *chacra*, and the attachment of *=kya* to the verb *pántziri* ‘what you do’ increases the expression of her expectation before the answer.

¹³⁵ Actually, according to the BDPIO (bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/search/node?keys=shahuaya; accessed in February 2022), the community with the official name Shahuaya is Shipibo-Konibo. Payne probably refers to the community with the official name Nueva Shahuaya, aka Shahuaya. Both are very close to each other in Tahuanía district, where the Ashéninka and Shipibo areas intersect.

(421) Iita **pántzirikyà** éeroka?

iita p-ant-zí-ri=kya éeroka
 WH 2S-do-REA-REL=EMPH 2
 ‘And what do you do?’ (CCPC)

In (422), the speaker has asked her interlocutor how many women have passed by that morning, but her interlocutor is counting men, so the speaker, with =*tya* attached to *tsinani* ‘woman’, insists that it is about women that she is asking.

(422) Tsinánitya!

tsinani=*tya*
 woman=EMPH
 ‘Women!’ (CCPC)

In (423), =*tya* is attached to the imperative *pámini* ‘look’, which reinforces the command.

(423) **Pamínitya** nokántàkiro nothámaetzi.

p-amin-i=*tya* no-kant-ak-i-ro no-thamac-t-zí
 2S-look-FRS=EMPH 1S-say-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1S-weed-&-REA
 ‘Look how I weed! (lit.: look I say that I weed).’ (CCPC)

The enclitics =*kya* and =*tya* can be combined in the same host, as in (424). However, since this is the only occurrence in my corpus, this combination must not be frequent.

(424) Íitakya kaari pamanta niha? Ari **pámityakya** póomitokì!

iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 ari p-am-i=*tya*=kya póomito=ki¹³⁶
 AFF 2S-bring-FRS=EMPH=EMPH small.container=LOC
 ‘Why haven’t you brought water? Bring it in a bottle!’ (CCPC)

In this example, the speaker reproaches her interlocutor because she thinks that he should have brought water. The two enclitics put together express the reproach included in the command, so that one would say in English ‘you should have brought it, and bring it next time’.

¹³⁶ *Póomito* is a Spanish loan from *pomito*, the diminutive of *pomo* ‘small container (pot, tub, can, bottle, tube, jar, tin...)’. In this conversation, a plastic bottle was meant.

6.4.2.9. Counterfactual *-mi*

The counterfactual *-mi* is usually translated with the Spanish subjunctive, either in conditional constructions or in sentences expressing what might have been but was not realized. Mihás (2015a:238-39) describes the same suffix for Alto Perené, but as an enclitic, and calls it “counterfactual condition”. Payne’s dictionary (1980:158) also lists it for Alto Perené, but as an alternative form of the dubitative *-ma* (which I consider an enclitic, but Payne does not make distinctions between clitics and affixes). In UP Ashéninka, the counterfactual fulfils a function similar to the Spanish past subjunctive: it expresses a hypothetical situation that might have been realized but was not. Example (425) shows a typical use in a conditional construction in which the speaker makes clear that she does not know how to sing, so that the verb ‘know’ describes a hypothetical situation that is not the case presently.

- (425) **Niyótiromi**, ari nokántimi.
 n-íyo-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ‘If I knew (singing), I would say it to you.’ (CMM)

In an elicitation in which I asked a speaker to translate conditional constructions from Spanish to Ashéninka, she used the counterfactual *-mi* to translate the two clauses that I proposed with the Spanish subjunctive, while she used it only in two of the four clauses with the Spanish indicative. Thus, as translation for *si la trajeras a la comunidad, la traerías a nuestra casa* (English translations in examples), with the protasis in the Spanish subjunctive, she produced the sentence in (426); but for *si lo veo, se lo diré*, with the protasis in indicative, she translated it with the sentence in (427). However, for the translation of *si lo sé, no vengo*, with the protasis in indicative, she used the counterfactual suffix (428).

- (426) Arírika **pamákiromi** nampítsiki, ari pámiro pankótsiki.
 ari=rika p-am-ak-i-ro-mi nampi-tsi=ki
 AFF=COND 2S-bring-PFV-FRS-3F.O-COFA community-ALI=LOC
 ari p-am-i-ro panko-tsi=ki
 FUT 2S-bring-FRS-3F.O house-ALI=LOC
 ‘If you brought her to the community, you’d bring her to the house (of ours).’
- (427) Arírika noñáakiri, ari nokántakiri.
 ari=rika no-ña-ak-i-ri ari no-kant-ak-i-ri
 AFF=COND 1S-see-PFV-FRS-3M.O FUT 1S-say-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘If I see him, I’ll tell him.’

(428) Arírika **niyótakimi**, eero nopoki.

ari=rika n-iyo-t-ak-i-mi eero no-pok-i
AFF=COND 1S-know-&-PFV-FRS-COFA NEG.IRR 1S-come-FRS

'If I had known it, I wouldn't have come (literal from Spanish proposed sentence: if I know it, I don't come).'

A comparison between (427) and (428), both translations of the protasis in Spanish indicative, shows us that the protasis in (427) introduces a condition that still may occur in the future, while the protasis in (428) describes a hypothetical situation that might have occurred in the past, but did not occur. In the English translation for (428), I have written the more faithful translation together with the more literal from Spanish *si lo sé, no vengo*, which uses the indicative but expresses a past situation. A condition that still may occur in the future is the case also in (426); the difference from (427) in the use of *-mi* probably lies on the speaker's judgment of the probability that the event takes place.

The examples (425) to (428) show that the counterfactual *-mi* is used in the protasis of a conditional construction when the condition is very hypothetical or improbable, while a more probable condition is also introduced with *arírika*, but without *-mi* on the verb.

Another use of the counterfactual suffix not in a conditional construction is illustrated in (429).

(429) Ikoyi **rowintáanakirimi**, ikántètzi... rira..., méyiri.

i-koy-i r-owinta-an-ak-i-ri-mi
3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-capture-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri=ra méyiri
3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M=MED squirrel

'He would have wanted to capture him, how to say..., um..., the squirrel.' (TSJ)

The Spanish translation of this sentence was *hubiera querido atraparla*, with a past subjunctive form. Therefore, in this case, the meaning is similar to that in conditional constructions: the counterfactual expresses something that did not happen but was the desire of the individual who is the subject of the sentence. In this way, this suffix earns its name well since the verb that carries it expresses that the action was not a fact, i.e. it was *counterfactual*. However, the counterfactual can also be used for very improbable situations that might happen in the future, as in (430).

(430) Ikówawita **itháwinatyáwomi**.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a i-tháwina-t-ya-ro-mi
 3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA 3M.S-have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA
 'He wanted to have incestuous sex with her.' (SCS)

This sentence is from a story and, at this point of the story, we do not know the outcome, so we do not know if eventually he got to have incestuous sex with her (he did not get it, but we do not know yet), i.e. it might be the case that he fulfilled his desire. The counterfactual suffix on the verb *thawinaantsi* 'have incestuous sex' appears to indicate the infeasibility of the man's desire and also to anticipate that he will not be successful. The important fact to draw from (430) is that *-mi* can be used on verbs that can refer to the past or to the future: when used to refer to the past, the event did not take place; when referred to the future, it is highly unlikely that it will take place. Regarding verbs referring to the present, one example is in (425): the fact expressed by the verb (know how to sing) is not presently fulfilled because the speaker does not know how to sing.

6.4.2.10. Reinforced optative *-:ta*

Crystal (2008:342) says that the term *optative* refers "to a category of mood which expresses a desire, hope or wish". Mihas (2015a:228-32) describes the enclitic *=ta* as "optative" for Alto Perené by saying that it "encodes speaker's wish, hope, encouragement, possibility, permission or necessity". Payne's multidialectal dictionary (1980:162) shows *-ta* in the suffix list and calls it "subjuntivo" 'subjunctive' without any further explanation.

These suffixes are probably the same as UP Ashéninka *-:ta*. I have represented it in this way because the suffix lengthens the preceding vowel, so that it can take the forms *-ita*, *-ota* or *-ata* depending on whether it is preceded by *i*, *o* or *a*, respectively (I have no instance with *e* and this vowel is very rare at the end of a verbal complex). The suffix attaches mainly to verbs, but I also have examples with adverbs. It is always placed at the end of the word, but I have not considered it an enclitic because it does not fulfil my main criterion as detailed in Section 1.2.5: it does not operate as a quasi-word, given that it attaches almost exclusively to verbs, and only has scope over the host to which it is attached and does not have a wider scope. This suffix has a basic

meaning: the desire or intention to do something despite some hindrance that obstructs the fulfilment of the subject's intention or of something that is against this intention, but this basic meaning has extensions with subtle modal nuances, such as urgency or annoyance. I carried out an extensive elicitation so as to find out the meanings of some suffixes formed with the phonemes /i/, /a/ and /t/, and, thanks to it, I discovered the systematic lengthening of the preceding vowel and the basic meaning of the suffix, after which I could find some instances in my text corpus. In (431), I show some of the translations that I got from verbs inflected with the suffix that I proposed to a speaker, where its basic meaning can be most clearly observed.

- (431) a. Nothótiròota
 no-tho-t-i-ro-ota
 1S-suck-&-IRR-3F.O-ROPT
 'I'm going to suck even though I know it's bad.'
- b. Nompóhiriita.
 n-ompoh-i-ri-ita
 1S-hit-FRS-3M.O-ROPT
 'I hit what is forbidden (an animal).'
- c. Niyáatiita.
 n-iyaa-t-i-ita
 1S-go-&-IRR-ROPT
 'I have to go (even though there is a hindrance).'
- d. Nohéekiita.
 no-heck-i-ita
 1S-stay-FRS-ROPT
 'I stay for anything that might happen (in an argument).'

The four examples (431) show the basic meaning of the suffix: 'I am going to do something in spite of a hindrance'. In (431b), the object is an animal. In (431c), the remark between parentheses is as the consultant expressed it, the same as in (431d). The following examples are from natural texts.

In (432), the suffix on the imperative with the verb *pokaantsi* indicates urgency.

- (432) Ikántapàkiri hewari: "**Pìpokanakiita** haka".
 i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri hewa-ri
 3M.S-say-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O be.first-REL
 pi-pok-an-ak-i-ita ha=ka
 2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS-ROPT LOC=PROX
 'The chief said to them: "Come here immediately".' (OS)

Regarding the core meaning of the suffix, this example can be interpreted as saying ‘come here in spite of anything you’re doing now’.

In (433), I have included the meaning of *-ita* between parentheses (‘even though he won’t like it’) together with the meaning of the object motion suffix.

- (433) Niyótantyari kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka héekatzí oháawiki, paata **nopòntzításhitawakiriíta** ana.
 n-íyo-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 ‘In order to know whether it is really true that he comes from heaven and whether this Ashéninka doesn’t live down here (on earth), later I’m going to grate genipap for him (for his arrival, even though he won’t like it).’ (SCS)

In this passage, in which a woman is speaking to herself, she states her intention of grating genipap for a man who is going to visit her: she is going to smear the grated genipap on the man’s face, but he will strongly dislike this action. In this context, the basic meaning of the suffix is obvious: ‘I’m going to do something in spite of something’.

In (434), *-ita* is attached to the adverb *éehatzi* ‘also’.

- (434) **Éehatzíita** ikímita chapinki, owákirani riraki iyamarámpiti.
 éehatzi-ita i-kimi-t-a chapinki
 also-ROPT 3M.S-be.alike-&-REA yesterday
 owákira-ni r-ir-ak-i i-kamarampi-ti
 new-INTS 3M.S-drink-PFV-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ‘In the same way as yesterday, again he drinks his ayahuasca.’ (SCS)

In this example, the meaning of the suffix must be understood in the context of this story: this sentence refers to a shaman who had been rejected by his niece (the woman who speaks to herself in (433)) the previous day, and he is going to have a yet worse experience soon. Therefore, the reinforced optative suffix on *éehatzi* can be understood as referring to the fact that he *also* does the same as the previous day despite all the problems that he has had and is going to have.

In (435), the reinforced optative suffix indicates that grated genipap is not going to disappear from the skin even though one washes it.

(435) Ana eero **oshitoyiita**.

ana eero o-shitoy-i-ita
 genipap NEG.IRR 3F.S-get.out-FRS-ROPT
 ‘Genipap doesn’t get out (from the skin, even though we wash ourselves).’
 (SCS)

In this case, rather than a desire impeded by a hindrance, the sentence expresses that there is a hindrance that makes it impossible that the event expressed by the verbal stem (get out from the skin) be fulfilled. The negator (*eero*) is irrealis because irrealis is used in habitual expressions: the verb does not describe a specific action, but something that always happens when such an action takes place (genipap does not get out when you wash it).

In (436), the suffix takes the form *-ata* because it is attached to a word ending in *a*.

(436) Tekatsi, tekatsi teekya, **téekiràata**.

tekatsi tee=kya teekira-ata
 NEG.EXI NEG.REA=EMPH not.yet-ROPT
 ‘There isn’t, no, there is not yet.’ (CCPC)

The speaker is saying that, at that moment, there is no coca to chew. The reinforced optative suffix on *téekira* ‘not yet’ can be ascribed to the fact that he would like that there were coca, so there is a contrast between the speaker’s desire and reality.

The last example (437) shows the suffix with the form *-ota* and on the adverb *apátziro* ‘only’.

(437) Naaka tee niriro pyáarentsi. **Apátziròota** niriro niha.

naaka tee n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 I NEG.REA 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 apátziro-ota n-ir-i-ro niha
 only-ROPT 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O water
 ‘I don’t drink *masato*. I only drink water.’ (CMH)

In this case, the speaker has been invited to drink *masato* and she refuses it by saying that she only drinks water. The function of *-ota* here can be considered to remark that she only drinks water in spite of any invitation to drink *masato*.

6.4.2.11. Frustrative -wi

The frustrative suffix is relatively frequent in UP Ashéninka. I have included it in the modality section because it implies the speaker’s judgement of a situation. The

inclusion of frustrative in the realm of modality, specifically in the epistemic one, is supported by Overall (2017:479), who says that “frustrative is part of the epistemic domain, as it relates to a speaker’s knowledge and expectations”, although he also says that there is “a tendency for it to take on aspectual and evaluative functions”. Overall (2017:479) proposes the following definition of frustrative: “Frustrative is a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realization of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause”. While this definition can be applied to UP Ashéninka as its core meaning, the extensions of this core can go quite far, as I will show in the following lines. The suffix *-wi* always triggers an I-class RS suffix to become A-class.

I noticed that some verbs with the frustrative suffix were translated with Spanish past imperfective forms, so this made me think that maybe the frustrative might have achieved a past tense meaning –in fact, one of the extended functions of frustrative described by Overall (2017:490-92) is discontinuous past, and the Nanti and Matsigenka frustrative has a past meaning in stative verbs (Lev Michael p.c. 2017). Based on these facts, I proposed verbs with the frustrative suffix to three different speakers to translate in Spanish with the idea of checking if there had been any semantic shift from a purely frustrative to a past tense meaning, and I obtained different results: speaker A (a man of older age) gave me examples of almost every verb, included stative ones, with a frustrative meaning; speaker B (a woman of the middle age group indicated in Section 1.3.2) translated most verbs with Spanish past imperfective forms; and speaker C (a woman of the young age group) translated most stative verbs with Spanish past forms (most imperfective) and most non-stative verbs with a canonical frustrative meaning. I show the different translations in Table 33. I started writing the speakers’ translation in English, but then I realized that the repeated use of the Spanish past imperfective forms was obscured by my English translation. Therefore, I have written in Table 33 the speakers’ answers in Spanish with the translations in English in footnotes (one footnote for each speaker). Between parentheses, there is the implicature described by the speaker with the translation, and, outside the parentheses, the whole sentence that the speaker gave as translation in Spanish.

Table 33. Different translations of verbs with the frustrative suffix by different speakers

	Verb	A (older age group man) ¹³⁷	B (middle age group woman) ¹³⁸	C (younger age group woman) ¹³⁹
1	<i>niyáatawita</i> n-iyaa-ta-wi-t-a 1S-go-EMPH-FRU-&-REA	Había ido (pero no estaba en casa, o hubo un accidente).	Me había ido (pero ya regresé).	Fui en vano, o por gusto.
2	<i>ipókawita</i> i-pok-a-wi-t-a 3M.S-come-&-FRU-&-REA	Venía (pero algo en el camino se lo imposibilitó).	Estaba viniendo.	
3	<i>nokántawitzimi / nokántawita</i> no-kant-a-wi-t-zi-mi 1S-say-&-FRU-&-REA-2O no-kant-a-wi-t-a 1S-say-&-FRU-&-REA	Te había dicho que fuéramos (a comer, pero no has querido).	Te decía.	Estaba diciendo.
4	<i>nompóhawitaka tyaapa / nompóhawita</i> n-ompoh-a-wi-t-ak-a tyaapa 1S-hit-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA hen n-ompoh-a-wi-t-a 1S-hit-&-FRU-&-REA	Había matado una gallina (para ti, pero no has llegado).	Estaba golpeando.	He golpeado en vano.
5	<i>nírawita</i> n-ir-a-wi-t-a 1S-drink-&-FRU-&-REA	Estaba tomando (con amigos, y llegó mi mujer y empezó a regañarme).	Estaba tomando.	Ya había tomado (agua), pero no me sirvió (porque me seguía doliendo la tripa).

¹³⁷ Speaker A: 1: I had gone (but the person I was looking for wasn't at home, or there was an accident). 2: He was coming (but something in the way prevented him from arriving). 3: I had told you that we go (to eat, but you didn't want). 4: I had killed a hen (for you, but you didn't arrive). 5: I was drinking (with friends, and then my wife came and started to scold me). 6: I was standing (in a dry river bed, and then the river came and took me away). 7: She was in love (and the man didn't accept her). 8: He lived far away before (but now no longer). 9: She was asking you. 10: He had called her (but she didn't answer, or didn't accept the call).

¹³⁸ Speaker B: 1: I had gone (but I'm already back). 2: I was coming. 3: I was saying to you. 4: I was hitting. 5: I was drinking.

¹³⁹ Speaker C: 1: I went in vain, or with no purpose. 3: I was saying. 4: I've hit in vain. 5: I had already drunk (water), but it didn't help (because my belly was still hurting). 6: I was standing. 11: I had given you. 12: It didn't burn out. 13: I knew.

	Verb	A (older age group man) ¹³⁷	B (middle age group woman) ¹³⁸	C (younger age group woman) ¹³⁹
6	<i>nokátziyawita</i> no-katziya-wi-t-a 1S-stand-FRU-&-REA	Estaba de pie (en medio de un río seco, y vino el río y me llevó).		Estuve parada.
7	<i>onintawitàri</i> o-nint-a-wi-t-a-ri 3F.S-love-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O	Estaba enamorada (y el hombre no la acepta).		
8	<i>ihéekawita intaena</i> i-heek-a-wi-t-a intaena 3M.S-live-&-FRU-&-REA far	Antes vivía lejos (ahora ya no).		
9	<i>ohámpiwitzimi</i> o-hampi-wi-t-zi-mi 3F.S.-ask-FRU-&-REA-2O	Te estaba preguntando.		
10	<i>ikáemawitâwo</i> i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ro 3M.S.-call-&-FRU-&-REA-3F.O	La había llamado (pero no había contestado, o no aceptó la llamada).		
11	<i>nopáwitzimiro</i> no-p-a-wi-t-zi-mi-ro 1S-give-&-FRU-&-REA-2O-3F.O			Te había dado.
12	<i>notáwitakâwo</i> no-ta-wi-t-ak-a-ro 1S-burn-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O			No se quemó.
13	<i>niyótawitâwo</i> n-iyo-ta-wi-t-a-ro 1S-know-EMPH-FRU-&-REA-3F.O			Sabía.

The combined translations of Table 33 fit quite well Overall's core definition: an expected outcome has not been realized. This is clearly the idea conveyed in all answers by speaker A except for *live* and *ask* –although, for *live*, it could be argued that the expectation is that one would continue living in the same place as before, i.e. that a stative situation would still hold. The idea of the frustration of an expectation is also present in speaker C's *go*, *hit*, *drink* and *burn*. Translations with the Spanish *pretérito imperfecto* (e.g. *estaba tomando* 'I was drinking') or *pretérito pluscuamperfecto* (e.g. *te había dado* 'I had given you') given by speakers B and C can be considered as expressing an implicature whose associated meaning is that the situation no longer holds or was interrupted. Although elicited examples may be very

useful, they cannot give a good picture of the natural use of the frustrative. Examples of several different uses from natural texts are given below.

In the long sentence in (438), the frustrative indicates falsehood.

- (438) Rámatawítakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho **ikìmitakáantawítakàwo** róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharékitho, káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false) as though, um..., how to say..., that it was real that his testicle was good (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

The frustrative in *ikìmitakáantawítakàwo* indicates that the squirrel has made that something false seems true, i.e. there is a trick implied in the action of the verb. This meaning cannot be included in any of the different frustrative meanings described by Overall (2017). The speaker who told and translated the story where (438) is taken from is speaker A in Table 33. During the elicitation session, he discovered that I was trying to find out the meaning of the suffix *-wi*, and his definition of it was that, when the suffix is used, it means that something went wrong. In (438), a trick is at play, and something is indeed going wrong, but for one of the two participants in the story. The frustrative on the verb *kìmitaantsi* ‘seem, look as’ expressing falsehood is also in (439).

- (439) Tzimatsi páerani apaani atziri thayiri, **kímiwityàri** sheripyari.
 tzim-atsi páerani apaani atziri thayi-ri
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV long.ago one person cheating-REL
 kimi-wi-t-ya-ri sheripyari
 seem-FRU-&-IRR-REL shaman
 ‘Long ago, there was a cheating person, who pretended to be a shaman.’ (SCS)

The same as in (438), the frustrative on *kìmitaantsi* ‘seem, look as’ in (439) means that someone wants to cheat someone else by making that something looks like some

other thing that is not real: in (438), the squirrel makes the jaguar believe that he is crushing his testicle; in (439), a man pretends to make the others believe that he is a shaman. The difference between the verb in realis in (438) and in irrealis in (439) may lie in the fact that, in (438), the squirrel *makes* believe, but, in (439), the shaman *pretends to make* believe.

In (440), with the use of the frustrative, the speaker recognises a mistake.

(440) **Noshiyakàwita** tekatsi hanta.

n-oshiy-aka-wi-t-a tekatsi ha=nta
1S-seem-CAUS-FRU-&-REA NEG.EXI LOC=DIST

‘It seemed to me (erroneously) that there weren’t any there (crabs).’ (CMM)

In *noshiyakàwita*, the speaker indicates that she is mistaken in her guess that there were no crabs in the area referred to in the conversation, so that her expectation (there are no crabs) turns out to be false. Therefore, instead of the non-fulfilment of an expectation, the sentence in (440) expresses the speaker’s recognition of the mistake regarding her expectation.

In (441), the frustrative suffix is attached to an existential, and in (442), to the stative verb *heekaantsi* ‘live, be in a place’. In both cases, the frustrative expresses that something no longer holds.

(441) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.

eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there in the gully.’ (CCPC)

(442) Pirinto ishitówanaki, **ihéekawita** inthomoeki poterya.

pirinto i-shitow-an-ak-i i-heek-a-wi-t-a
frog 3M.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-be.in.a.place-&-FRU-&-REA
inthomoe=ki poterya
inside=LOC bottle

‘The frog has gone out, it was inside the bottle.’ (TSJ)

As I pointed out above citing a personal comment from Lev Michael (2017), Nanti and Matsigenka, and probably the rest of the Campan languages, can express past tense with the frustrative suffix on stative verbs –the existential *eeni*-, although with features very different from a verb, can be considered as having the same function as a stative verb: to express a stative situation. The meaning conveyed by the frustrative suffix in both (441) and (442) is that the situation no longer holds. This meaning is similar to Overall’s (2017:490-92) frustrative extended function of discontinuous

past, which he describes citing Van der Voort (2004:642) as “a situation that obtained in the past and was interrupted”, but an interrupted situation can be resumed, so this is not the same as a situation that does not exist any more, which is the case in (441) and (442). From the seven examples given by Overall for this extended function, four are with stative verbs and one with a non-stative verb, while the other two are with a noun and an adjective acting as predicates, which can also be considered stative predicates.

In (443), the frustrative suffix is used on a verb that forms a question and expresses the same as an English or Spanish negative question.

- (443) Pimáwitakàwo?
 pi-ma-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 2S-can-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘Haven’t you been able to do it?’ (CMM)

The speaker had asked her interlocutor if she had already sowed her corn, and she replied that she had not burnt the field yet, so the speaker asked whether she had not been able to do it. The frustrative is indicating that the speaker expects a negative answer, i.e. that her interlocutor was not able to burn the field, in the same way as one would do with an English or Spanish negative question. A construction like this one, equivalent to an English negative question, cannot be found in Overall (2017).

Example (444) is a token of the core frustrative meaning of an unfulfilled expectation.

- (444) **Ikántawitakàwo**: “Pípokanàki”. Okántziri: “Eero”.
 i-kant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro pi-pok-an-ak-i
 3M.S-say-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O 2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS
 o-kant-zi-ri eero
 3F.S-say-REA-3M.O NEG.IRR
 ‘He says to her (in vain): “Come”. She says to him: “No”.’ (SCS)

The first speaker utters a command to his interlocutor, but she plainly rejects it. The actual frustrated action is the coming of the woman, but the frustrative suffix is on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’, which conveys that what he says will not have the expected results. In this example, the very action expressed by the verb (‘say’) is not frustrated. An example in which the action expressed by the verb is frustrated is in (445).

- (445) Eentsi **ráminawitàri** pirinto: tekátsitanàki poterya.

eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
child 3M.S-look-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog

tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle

‘The child looks for the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’ (FS)

In (445), the frustrative expresses its core meaning as described by Overall (2017:479) cited above: the action of looking at something implies seeing it, but the child looks expecting to see the frog and does not see it, so that his expected outcome is not realized. Also in (446), the canonical meaning of the frustrative appears clearly.

- (446) Róohatzi..., rowa..., ikántètzi, **ikáemantawitakàri** ikáateyini poya kaniri.

róohatzi ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
later F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-kaem-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
3M.S-call-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

p-ow-ya kaniri
2S-eat-IRR cassava

‘Later..., um..., how to say..., they call him to eat cassava.’ (SCS)

In (446), the reason for the frustrative is that the one called to eat cassava will not come. Therefore, the canonical meaning of the frustrative as defined by Overall (2017:479) (non-realization of an expected outcome) is present in this example.

In (445), the frustrative expresses a bad outcome.

- (447) Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanèemi, ráashirátantanakàwo rowa..., inchato, **ikáatziyawitàga**.

i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-jump-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA

r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra
3M.S-slip.towards-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED

inchato i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra
stake 3M.S-stand-&-FRU-&-REA=MED

‘So it was that he wanted to jump again, that’s why he slipped towards, um..., the stake, from where he was standing.’ (SCS)

In this case, the frustrative is on the verb *kaatziyaantsi* ‘stand’. The frustrative expresses that the subject’s standing in that place had a bad result: he slipped towards a stake. Therefore, the frustrative is expressing a bad result that immediately follows the stative situation described by the verb marked with the frustrative. It could also be argued that slipping while standing implies that an undesired and unexpected outcome

has occurred (the subject is expected to keep standing), which would fit the more canonical meaning of the frustrative.

Example (448) shows the use of the frustrative together with other suffixes in order to yield a lexicalized form.

- (448) **Hatákwitaka** itayéeterini, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.’ (SCFF)

The Spanish translation of *hatákwitaka* is *faltando poco* ‘shortly before’. In this verb, the combination of three distinct suffixes (frustrative, general applicative and perfective) with the root *ha*¹⁴⁰ ‘go’ create a meaning different from the one normally expressed by the verbal root.

The previous examples show an array of functions more or less related with the core frustrative meaning as defined by Overall (2017:479) (“non-realization of some expected outcome”). Moreover, the elicitations described at the beginning of this section show that a frustrative suffix can indicate that a situation happened in the past and no longer holds, above all in stative verbs. The core meaning of the frustrative appears most clearly in (445) and (446), and also in (444) on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’, although the frustrated action is the referent’s command (verb *pokaantsi* ‘come’). Examples (438) and (439) show the frustrative on the verb *kimitaantsi* ‘seem’, in both cases to express that someone is cheating others by making something seem what actually is not real; in these cases, the relation with the core frustrative meaning is that the expectation is that something should look as what it really is, and, when this is not the case, the expectation is not realized, i.e. there is a trick to create an expectation in someone in order to cheat them. In (440), the frustrative is also in a verb translated as ‘seem’ (*oshiyaantsi*), but no trick is associated in this case: the speaker just recognises her mistake when guessing a fact; in this case, there is also a non-realized expectation in the speaker’s guess. In (447), the frustrative on *katziyaantsi* ‘stand’ indicates a

¹⁴⁰ This verb is irregular in that, when the root bears no prefix, it takes the form *ha-* instead of the usual *-iyaa-*.

negative event occurring immediately after the stative situation described by the verb marked with the frustrative; the relation with the core frustrative meaning is that the referent would expect the situation of standing to go on, but it is interrupted with a very bad outcome for him. Finally, (448) shows a lexicalized form in which the frustrative together with the general applicative and perfective suffixes and the root *ha-* ‘go’ yield a verb with a meaning different from the one expressed by the verbal root.

The examples in this section show that the frustrative in UP Ashéninka has a very extended meaning from its core one. The Ashéninka frustrative exceeds Overall’s (2017:484-93) extended functions and arrives to acquire a past tense meaning in some cases –discontinuous past also is one of Overall’s extended functions. The speakers’ translations in Table 33 give a good idea of the varieties of meanings that a speaker can figure out when prompted to translate a verb with the frustrative suffix.

6.5. Directionals and associated motion in space and time

Guillaume (2016) studies in depth the features of the grammatical markers that he calls “associated motion” in 66 South American languages, among which there is the Pichis Ashé-Ashá variety with Payne (1982)¹⁴¹ as a source. In this section, I base the description of the Ashéninka morphemes that have been traditionally called *directionals* on the typological findings set forth in Guillaume (2016), given that I think that they are best described following a theoretical frame that is also valid for other languages, although I draw on the terminology used in the previous Campanist literature.

Guillaume (2016:92) defines *associated motion* (AM) as “a grammatical morpheme that is associated with the verb and that has among its possible functions the coding of translational motion”. Guillaume (2016:93-94) makes clear that this concept includes morphemes that indicate motion, but not those that indicate only direction. Accordingly, AM morphemes can be used with non-motion verbs and denote an inherent motion that is not expressed by the semantics of the verbal stem,

¹⁴¹ Payne does not mention the Pichis variety in this article, but the features of the described language clearly show that it is Pichis.

while a morpheme used with a motion verb indicates direction (“path”, as Guillaume calls it). However, Guillaume (2016:94) says that there may be languages with “polysemous markers which express only path in certain contexts and motion (together with path) in others”. This is indeed the case in UP Ashéninka, as we will see throughout this section. These grammatical morphemes have been called *directionals* in the previous Campanist literature, and I also use this name in this thesis, but I defend that they belong to the category of associated motion as defined by Guillaume. J. Payne (1982) (translated in Spanish in J. Payne 1983) investigates in Pichis the aspecto-temporal value that directionals can have. Indeed, when one tries to find out the meaning of directionals from natural texts, one discovers that, in some cases, it is difficult to find an associated meaning of motion or direction. Payne’s (1982) article is enlightening in this regard, but even applying Payne’s theses, sometimes it is difficult to find out the exact function of a given directional. In this section, I try to discover as much as possible about them based on dedicated elicitations and natural texts.

Payne (1982:325-26) describes three directionals for Pichis: the ablative *-an* (“motion away, leaving or response”), the allative *-apa* (“motion toward a certain point or the subject’s arrival”) and the receptive *-aw* (“the subject is receiving the object”). Payne (1982:326) also attributes to *-an* and *-apa* the aspecto-temporal meanings “beginning” and “final”, respectively. In this section, I describe these three morphemes as indicating AM and path/direction, but also the translocative *-it*. I add the description of the regressive *-ah* with a directional function, i.e. indicating path, but not AM. I have yet to add that the applicative AWAY suffix *-pitha* has a somewhat directional function, but mainly a figurative one, so that no real motion is associated with it. This suffix expresses that something is done in order to get away or hide from someone, but this does not imply any physical path or motion; that is why I have not included it in this section, but in Section 6.6.2.2.4. Regarding the name of these suffixes, I follow Payne’s (1982) terminology *ablative* and *allative*, but, for Payne’s *receptive*, I use the name *object motion*, which fits its UP Ashéninka function better, as will be seen in Section 6.5.5.

Guillaume (2016:107-09) differentiates between motion of the subject and motion of the object. Of the four AM suffixes mentioned above (ablative, allative, translocative and object motion), only the object motion suffix expresses motion of the object, as its name indicates, and the other three, motion of the subject. Guillaume (2016:83) also classifies AM markers according to the temporal relation between the motion and the action expressed by the verb: he differentiates between “prior motion”, “concurrent motion” and “subsequent motion”. I will show below that the Ashéninka directionals do not always fit well into this classification.

6.5.1. Directionals explained by native speakers

Before analysing examples from natural texts, it is interesting to show the results of three elicitation sessions devoted to finding out the meaning of the ablative and allative directionals, which are in Table 34. Some verbs with directionals from natural texts (except the first one, which was my own proposal) were given to a speaker, and I asked her for the change in meaning when changing a directional suffix by the other one (except the verb in the last row, whose explanation is from a different speaker). The results are shown in Table 34 for comparison. The first line of each cell is with ablative, and the second line with allative. The sentences in the column *Translation* are the speaker’s translations when I proposed to her the verbs in the column *Verb*.

Table 34. Result of elicitation with directionals

Verb	Gloss	Translation
<i>noñáanàkiro</i> <i>noñáapàkiro</i>	no-ñá-an-ak-i-ro 1S-see-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O no-ñá-ap-ak-i-ro 1S-see-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O	‘I saw her when I left.’ ‘I saw her when I arrived.’
<i>nóokáshitanàkawo</i> <i>nóokáshitapàkawo</i>	n-ook-ashi-t-an-ak-a-ro 1S-leave-NPURP-&-ABL-PFV-&-3F.O n-ook-ashi-t-ap-ak-a-ro 1S-leave-NPURP-&-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O	‘I left her when I left.’ ‘I left her when I arrived.’
<i>itàanáhiro</i> <i>itàapáhiro</i>	i-ta-an-ah-i-ro 3M.S-burn-ABL-REG-FRS-3F.O i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro 3M.S-burn-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O	‘He’s going to burn it (his <i>chakra</i>) on his way (using the opportunity that he’s going that way).’ ‘He’s going to burn it and then he’ll stay there.’

Verb	Gloss	Translation
<i>piyánaka</i> <i>piyápaka</i>	piy-an-ak-a come.back-ABL-PFV-REA piy-ap-ak-a come.back-ABL-PFV-REA	‘He came back again.’ ‘He came back, then left, and now comes back again.’
<i>ikínanaki</i> <i>ikinapaaki</i>	i-kin-an-ak-i 3M.S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS i-kin-apa-ak-i 3M.S-come-ALL-PFV-FRS	‘He came, but now is leaving.’ ‘He came next to you.’
<i>ràmitàkotanáki</i> <i>ràmitàkotapáki</i>	r-amitako-t-an-ak-i-ri 3M.S-help-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri 3M.S-help-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O	‘They helped him and left.’ ‘They have come to help him.’
<i>ipíyeyanàni</i> <i>ipíyeyapàni</i>	i-piy-ey-an-a-ni 3M.S-come.back-PL-ABL-REA-PL i-piy-ey-ap-a-ni 3M.S-come.back-PL-ALL-REA-PL	‘They came back and then left.’ ‘They came back.’
<i>ikántanàkiro</i> <i>ikántapàkiro</i>	i-kant-an-ak-i-ro 3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O i-kant-ap-ak-i-ro 3M.S-say-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O	‘He said/says’. The speaker explains that the first form is said when the subject leaves, and the second one, when he arrives.

All the interpreted differences between the two suffixes in Table 34 have a spatial meaning, which implies that this is probably the first idea that a speaker gets when a verb with a directional is presented to her out of context. The opinion given by a native speaker in an elicitation session is very interesting, but the best way to comprehend the meaning of a grammatical marker is to study its occurrences in natural speech, which is done in the following sections.

6.5.2. Ablative *-an*

The term *ablative* is defined by Brown (2006:1) as “a case expressing such meanings as movement away, from, origin, separation, and sometimes also instrumental meanings”. We are not dealing here with case, but the expression of “movement away” makes this term quite appropriate for the suffix *-an*; actually, it has been almost unanimously used in the previous Campanist literature (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982, Payne 1982, Swift 2008, Michael 2008, Snell 2011, Lawrence 2013). Exceptions are Payne (1981:264), who calls it “departure”, and Mihas (2015a:224), who calls it “directional source”.

Payne (1982:327-29) describes for Pichis the following functions of the ablative *-an*: motion away from a place, continuation of motion away, response, change of state and beginning of a new action. Some of these functions are illustrated below with examples from my text corpus.

In (449) and (450), *-an* indicates direction (path).

- (449) Irika **rira**, onkiro, hamani, ishitówanaki omóo.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra onkiro hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED mouse paca 3M.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
 ‘This whatchamacallit..., mouse, paca, gets out of the hole.’ (FS)

- (450) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)

In these two examples, *-an* is used with the motion verbs *shitowaantsi* ‘get out’ and *iyaataantsi* ‘go’. In both cases, the ablative suffix indicates that the movement (getting out, going) is done in a direction away from a point of reference: in (449), from the hole, while, in (450), the point of reference is unknown, but the speaker implies a direction away from where she was, although this place does not need to be known. Therefore, (449) and (450) cannot be considered cases of associated motion, given that the motion is expressed by the verbal stem.

An example of associated motion is in (451).

- (451) **Nowánakyàtya**, nowákityà, **nowánakyà**, nokántakyà.
 n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-eat-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Of course, I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, so it will be.’ (CCPC)

This example is from a conversation in a *chacra* at mid-morning, and, with *-an*, the speaker implies that he is going to go to his house to have lunch. Therefore, the motion is expressed by the ablative suffix and not by the verbal root: this totally fits Guillaume’s (2016) concept of associated motion. In (452), *-an* is also used with a non-motion verb, in this case, the verbal copula *kantaantsi*.

(452) **Ikántanahya** máaweni apaani **ikantanéyawo** rowániki.

i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani

3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR all one

i-kant-an-eya-ro r-owani=ki

3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC

‘Each one will be back, will go back to his *chacra*.’ (CTK)

In this example, the verbal copula *kantaantsi* is void of meaning, so the full meaning is provided by the ablative suffix: the meaning of both verbs in (452) is the motion itself. Another case of associated motion is in (453).

(453) **Ikántanàkiro**: “Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* nopòkantéyari”.

i-kant-an-ak-i-ro ari o-kaa-t-zi kitáiteri¹⁴²

3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA day

no-pok-ant-eya-ri

1S-come-TIME-IRR-REL

‘He says to her (when leaving): “Such day I’m going to come.” (lit: it will be the day that I’m going to come).’ (SFW)

Examples (451), (452) and (453) show the difficulty of fitting the Ashéninka directionals into Guillaume’s (2016:83) classification in prior, concurrent and subsequent motion. Example (451) denotes a motion prior to the action expressed by the verb (eating), but (453) implies a motion subsequent to this action (saying). The use of the copula in (452) presents a special case, but, since the verb is expressing a motion only due to the ablative suffix, we could say that the motion is concurrent, i.e. the motion is expressed through the act of being (copula) in motion (ablative suffix). In the three examples, *-an* expresses that the motion starts from a point of reference: the place where the conversation is taking place in (451), the place mentioned in the previous statements (a place where communal work is done) in (452), and the place where the action is taking place in the story (where the man speaks to the woman) in (453); i.e. the three examples express Payne’s (1982:327) directional meaning “away from”.

Example (454) is unique in that the ablative suffix seems to indicate a location.

¹⁴² *Kitáiteri* is an Asháninka word; the UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*. The mother of the woman who told this story was Asháninka, that is why she uses some Asháninka words.

- (454) **Tekátsitanàki** poterya.
 tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
 NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle
 ‘There is nothing inside the bottle.’ (FS)

The consultant said that *tekátsitàki*, without *-an*, means ‘there is no bottle’. Therefore, it seems that *-an* is indicating a location inside. However, the context is that a child is looking for his little frog and looks for it inside a bottle, so that *tekátsitanàki* may be interpreted as ‘there is nothing that has got inside the bottle’, whereby the negative existential *tekatsi* receives an associated motion meaning.

The following examples from (455) to (460) show the use of *-an* indicating aspecto-temporal nuances related to those described by Payne (1982:326).

In (455), *-an* expresses the beginning of a new action.

- (455) Ari **piráanaka** éeroka o tee piráa?
 ari p-irag-an-ak-a éeroka o¹⁴³ tee p-irag-a
 AFF 2S-cry-ABL-PFV-REA 2 or NEG.REA 2S-cry-REA
 ‘Did you cry or not?’ (CMH)

In this example, the speaker refers to an event in a distant past caused by the death of his interlocutor’s father. The use of the ablative may emphasize the fact that his interlocutor might have started suddenly crying when she learned about her father’s death.

In (456), *-an* is expressing a change of state.

- (456) ...iroka piyatharékithe, **okímitanakyàwo**, rowa..., inki.
 i-ro=ka pi-yatharékithe o-kimi-t-an-ak-ya-ro
 DEM-F=PROX 2-testicle 3F.S-seem.alike-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O
 ro=ra inki
 F=MED forest.peanut
 ‘...this testicle of yours is going to be (taste) like, um..., forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

In this tale, a squirrel cheats a jaguar by making it believe that the jaguar’s testicle is going to taste like forest peanut when it crushes it with a stone, so, in *okímitanakyàwo*, what is meant is that the jaguar’s testicle is going to acquire a tasty flavour (change of state) when it is crushed into pieces. Example (457) could also be interpreted as a change of state.

¹⁴³ *O* is a very clear loan from Spanish, as well as the construction with two clauses linked with a disjunctive conjunction. A more genuine Ashéninka construction would imply the use of the dubitative enclitic *=ma* so as to express a disjunction between two clauses.

- (457) **Ìkañáanaka** kameetha maniro.
 i-kañaa-an-ak-a kameetha maniro
 3M.S-accelerate-ABL-PFV-REA well deer
 ‘The deer accelerates well (a lot).’ (FS)

The fact of accelerating implies a change of state (change of speed) but also implies motion. Therefore, (457) is a token of the ambivalence that directional suffixes can show: the deer increases its speed (change of state) but also moves on away from the place mentioned in the previous statement in this story, which fits Payne’s (1982:328) meaning “continuing away”. The related meaning ‘continuing action’ can be observed in (458).

- (458) Ráatsimiyanákiro, ráatsimiyanákiro, ráatsimiyanákiro.
 r-aatsimiy-an-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-suck.to.cure-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘He sucks her to cure her, sucks her to cure her, sucks her to cure her.’ (SCS)

In this example, the story’s narrator repeats the same verb three times, which gives a sense of continuing action, which is stressed with the use of *-an*. Although related, this is different from Payne’s “continuing away”, which implies motion. This last meaning is best observed in (459).

- (459) Nopèsanákiro¹⁴⁴, itòanákiro.
 no-peh-an-ak-i-ro i-tow-an-ak-i-ro
 1S-clear-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3S-fell-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘I have cleared it (the *chacra*), he has felled it (a tree).’ (CMM)

When I asked another speaker about the difference between *itòwanákiro* (with the ablative *-an*) and *itòwapákiro* (with the allative *-ap*), she said that the former means that he felled the tree on his way to another place. This explanation accords with Payne’s (1982) “continuing away” meaning and can be considered associated motion because the verb is not a motion verb, but the motion is indicated by the ablative *-an*.

Payne (1982:328) says that the ablative suffix has the meaning “response” when used with verbs of speech and gives an example with the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’ (460).

¹⁴⁴ The speaker who uttered this sentence is from Canapishtea, a community around 15 km east of the Ucayali River; that is why she speaks with /s/ where UP Ashéninka uses /h/. Her speech can be included in the Ucayali-Yuruá variety.

Pichis

(460) Ikantanake.

i-kant-an-ak-e

3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-RS

‘He said, responding.’ (Payne 1982:328; glosses mine)

However, I checked this word with a speaker of UP Ashéninka, and he did not recognise this meaning but said that it means ‘he said when leaving’.

Summing up, the functions of the ablative shown in the examples of this section are: 1) with motion verbs, direction from a point of reference in (449) and (450), 2) with non-motion verbs, associated motion from a point of reference in (451) to (453), 3) beginning of a new action in (455), 4) change of state in (456) and (457), 5) continuing action in (458), and 6) continuing away in (459) –as mentioned, (454) is a special case. These functions are practically the same as those described by Payne (1982:327-29) for Pichis.

6.5.3. Allative -ap(a)

In the previous Campanist literature, this suffix has been mainly called *allative* (Payne 1982, Swift 2008, Lawrence 2013) and *adlative* (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982, Michael 2008, Snell 2011). The exceptions, as well as with the ablative, are Payne (1981:264), who calls it “arrival”, and Mihas (2015a:224), who calls it “directional goal”. Brown (2006:6) defines “allative” as “the case expressing the meaning ‘to’ or ‘toward’ a place”, and Crystal (2008:19) as “a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place”, and these authors do not mention *adlative* in their glossaries. Therefore, I prefer to use the term *allative* due to its existence in linguistic glossaries.

The core meaning of the allative suffix is the opposite of the ablative, i.e. it indicates direction or motion towards a point of reference. Payne (1982:326) describes it for Pichis as “meaning of *toward* a certain point” with motion verbs. With non-motion verbs, she says that the suffix expresses that “the subject of that verb has arrived or is arriving at a certain specific location as the action occurs”. As non-spatial meanings, Payne (1982:326) says that -ap(a), with “verbs of time or quantity”, “means finality in the sense that the end of a sequence has been reached”; “with verbs such as

arrive or overcome”, “that a certain stretch of time has ended.” In the examples below, the functions of *-ap* in UP Ashéninka are analysed and compared with those described by Payne for Pichis in the light of Guillaume’s (2016) description of associated motion.

In (461) and (462), the allative suffix is used with the motion verbs *areetaantsi* ‘arrive’ and *ayiitaantsi* ‘come down’.

(461) **Naréetapaka** chapinki.

n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
‘I arrived yesterday.’ (CTK)

(462) **Royiitapàkiro** rotétziro itháateki.

r-o-ayiit-ap-ak-i-ro
3M.S-CAUS-come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
r-ote-t-zi-ro i-thaate=ki
3M.S-put.inside-&-REA-3F.O 3M-bag=LOC
‘He brings them (fruits) down and puts them inside his bag.’ (PV)

In (461), *-ap* indicates the direction from some unspecified place to the place where this conversation is taking place. In (462), *-ap* also indicates direction, but towards a point of reference, which is in this case the place where a man is putting fruits inside a basket. Mihas (2015a:224) says for Alto Perené that “the reference point on which spatial relationships are based, can be any person or any location.” This is also the case for UP Ashéninka, as can be seen in (462).

Examples (463) and (464) clearly show the allative suffix performing the function of associated motion.

(463) **Ipapákiri** ikáateini.

i-p-ap-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni
3M.S-give-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
‘He gives them (fruits, as he arrives).’ (PV)

(464) **Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanàka, ari ikotyáatapàaka.**

i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a
3M.S-go.away-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-jump-ABL-PFV-REA
ari i-kotyaa-t-apa-ak-a
there 3M.S-sit-&-ALL-PFV-REA
‘He leaves, jumps, there he sits down.’ (TSJ)

In (463), the speaker tells what he sees in a video (the famous Pear Story) when a boy gives his friends two pears as he arrives where they are. In (464), the first two juxtaposed clauses are motion verbs, but not the last one, where only the allative suffix

denotes motion. Therefore, in both (463) and (464), the allative suffix expresses a motion that is absent in the semantics of the verbs *paantsi* ‘give’ and *kotyaataantsi* ‘sit’, which fits Guillaume’s (2016) concept of associated motion. Regarding Guillaume’s (2016:83) classification of associated motion in prior, concurrent and subsequent motion, both (463) and (464) show a motion prior to the action expressed by the verb (he arrives and gives, he arrives and sits down), but, in (465), also an example of associated motion, the motion is rather concurrent with the action of seeing: the jaguar arrives where the squirrel is, and it must see it while it is arriving.

- (465) Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, **ñàapátziri** meiri.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-come-PFV-FRS 3M-back-POSS
 ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri
 see-ALL-PROG-3M.O squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, came behind him (the squirrel), he’s watching the squirrel as he arrives.’ (TSJ)

In (466), the allative suffix has the meaning ‘final’.

- (466) Ari **ikáatapàki** ikénkithatakòta.
 ari i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a
 thus 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-tell-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL
 ‘Thus is all that is told about (this frog, this story).’ (FS)

Payne (1982:327) says that the form *okaratapaake* “is often used at the end of a story to say, *and that’s the whole story*”. *Ikáatapàki* in (466) is the same form with the only two differences that the masculine prefix instead of the feminine is used and the intervocalic /r/ is deleted in Ucayali-Pajonal (see Section 2.7.5 for the UP Ashéninka development of the sequence /ara/). Actually, (466) is indeed the closing clause of a story. In this case, -ap indicates that the story has finished, i.e. it has arrived at its end. The same meaning ‘final’ appears in (467).

- (467) Okamèethátzi? **Ìnimotapákimi?**
 o-kameetha-t-zi i-nimo-t-ap-ak-i-mi
 3F.S-good-&-REA 3M.S-like-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Is it good? Did you finally like it?’ (CMM)

In this example, a woman has been building her house and her interlocutor asks her if she likes the place. The woman has been doing the necessary works to move there to live, and now she is asked whether, after all this work, she likes the result and the

place. Hence the allative's meaning 'final', which I have reflected in the translation with 'finally'.

Summing up, the UP Ashéninka allative shows in the previous examples more or less the same features as described by Payne (1982:326-27): with motion verbs, direction towards a point of reference in (461) and (462); with non-motion verbs, associated motion towards a point of reference and prior or concurrent motion in (463) to (465), and the aspectual meaning 'final, end' in (466) and (467).

6.5.4. Translocative *-it*

The translocative suffix *-it* has not received much attention in the Campanist literature, but it is mentioned in most descriptive works, albeit with the form *-aki*. This suffix came to my knowledge thanks to an e-mail exchange with Zachary O'Hagan in 2020, which made me solve the puzzle that I had trying to identify a suffix present in some verbs. The description I consider the best is in Snell (2011:856) for Matsigenka, who describes two meanings: a spatial and a temporal one. For the spatial one, she says: "Este sufijo indica que el sujeto se traslada a otro lugar para realizar la acción, con la intención de regresar al lugar de origen";¹⁴⁵ and, for the temporal meaning, "El translocativo se usa también para referirse al transcurso de tiempo con respecto a un evento".¹⁴⁶ The description of these two meanings fits very well the occurrences in my corpus and the results of dedicated elicitations. Regarding other authors, Michael (2008:259) describes for Nanti a perfective (*-aki*) and an imperfective (*-aa*) translocative and says that both indicate "that the action expressed by the verb is realized at a point distal to the deictic center", but the suffix with a description similar to Snell's translocative is Michael's (2008:258-59) "returnative" *-ut*, which he describes as "motion from some initial point to a distal point, and subsequently back to the initial point". Swift (2008:52-53) also uses the name "translocativo" for Caquinte and describes it using exactly the same sentence from Snell quoted previously in this paragraph for the spatial meaning but says nothing about the

¹⁴⁵ 'This suffix indicates that the subject moves to another place in order to carry out the action, with the intention of going back to the place of origin.'

¹⁴⁶ 'The translocative is also used to refer to the passing of time with regard to an event.'

temporal meaning, although this meaning is obvious in one of his examples, translated as “dormí por un rato”.¹⁴⁷ Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:156) shows the suffix *-aki* with the meaning “ida y vuelta”.¹⁴⁸ Payne’s Apurucayali grammar (1981:46) calls the same suffix *-aki* “there/and/back” and says that it indicates that “the subject is going away to do the action with the idea of returning”, but its extended Spanish version (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:60, 63) uses the name “translocativo” with the same description as in the English version. The same label “translocative” is used by Lawrence (2013:98-99) for Nomatsigenga, but with a different form: *-iN*.¹⁴⁹ Lawrence says that “this morpheme gives the meaning that the subject will physically go to another location in order to do something when they arrive –it also implies that they will return to their starting location later”.

I have tried hard through dedicated elicitations to ascertain the meaning of this suffix and others with the phonemes /i/, /t/ and /a/ placed around the RS suffix and cannot say that my conclusions are totally definitive. However, in view of the literature mentioned above, I can posit the same suffix for UP Ashéninka. My description of the suffix is based on the one by Snell (2011:856) for Matsigenka, i.e. the suffix has a spatial meaning (one goes to a place and returns or has the purpose of returning) and a temporal meaning (something is done during a certain lapse of time). The name *translocative* does not reflect the temporal meaning, but also the ablative and the allative have aspecto-temporal meanings not reflected by their names; thus, I also consider the translocative a directional suffix with an aspecto-temporal extension of its spatial meaning. I use the name *translocative* following the Campanist tradition.

Lawrence’s (2013:98) different form for Nomatsigenga (*-iN*) is justified in this way: “The translocative morpheme often follows the perfective morpheme *-k*, [...]. The form of the translocative is *-aki* in other Campan languages (Michael 2008; Payne 1980; Swift 1988), suggesting that either the Nomatsigenga form or the form found in related languages is a reanalysis”. I also justify my choice of the form *-it* for UP

¹⁴⁷ ‘I slept for a while.’

¹⁴⁸ ‘Go and return.’

¹⁴⁹ *N* represents a nasal with an unspecified point of articulation that takes the position of the following stop or affricate. This phoneme has been described in all descriptions of Campan languages except in mine. In Section 2.2.2, I explain why I do not consider this phoneme for UP Ashéninka.

Ashéninka by positing a reanalysis. Every example of this suffix in every work mentioned above except in Lawrence (2013) has the sequence *-akit*, i.e. according to the authors, an epenthetic /t/ is added after the suffix.¹⁵⁰ The suffix *-akit* may be reinterpreted as the frequent perfective suffix *-ak* plus *-it*. In the works mentioned above, *-aki* is never combined with any aspectual suffix¹⁵¹—actually, Swift (2008:54) says that the translocative is incompatible with the perfective and the regressive aspects—, and the suffix’s spatial meaning is a typical perfective situation (the idea of going, doing something and returning), and also the temporal meaning normally represents a perfective situation (doing something for a certain lapse of time). The suffix *-akit* is used mainly in perfective situations and the perfective *-ak* is one of the most frequent suffixes (the most frequent in my corpus after the RS suffix); if a speaker wanted to express one of the two meanings of the translocative suffix in an imperfective situation—even though an imperfective situation with this suffix be strange—, they might just take *-ak* off the verb to obtain one of the two meanings of the suffix in that imperfective situation; in this way, a possible original suffix *-aki* plus epenthetic /t/ would be reinterpreted as *-ak-it*, i.e. PFV-TRLOC. The opposite reanalysis is that two possible original suffixes *-ak-it* would be reinterpreted as a single suffix *-akit* incompatible with the perfective *-ak*, given that *-it* would always require the perfective *-ak* because it would always occur in perfective situations.

My reinterpretation proposal is partly due to the verb *ikòtyàatítani* in (468), which has a suffix *-it* but not the perfective *-ak*.

- (468) Meiri ari **ikòtyàatítani** awótsiki.
 méyiri ari i-kotyaa-t-it-a-ni awotsi=ki
 squirrel there 3M.S-sit-&-TRLOC-REA-ADJ path=LOC
 ‘The squirrel was sitting there for a while, in the path.’ (TSJ)

The translation ‘for a while’ is mine and tries to reflect the temporal meaning of the suffix. This is the beginning of a tale, and this is the first sentence, which illustrates the setting where the action is going to take place. We do not know how much time

¹⁵⁰ Given that the RS suffix always follows *-akit*, there should be no instance with a consonant following the suffix, so, in my opinion, /t/ in this case should not be considered epenthetic because it always occurs with the suffix: if it was actually epenthetic in the past, now it is totally fossilized.

¹⁵¹ Snell (2011) does not segment her examples, so my statement in this case is my own appreciation.

the squirrel has been sitting, but it is very clear that it has been sitting there for some time, which fits the meaning of the passing of time mentioned above and described by Snell (2011) for Matsigenka. However, this situation is also clearly imperfective because the narrator says that the squirrel is sitting, and it continues sitting almost until the end of the tale. Therefore, interpreting that *-it* is the translocative suffix in *ikòtyàatítani* allows a better understanding of this verb.

Regarding the interpretation of speakers, a speaker said that the bare form *ikòtyàata* (i-kotyaa-t-a, 3M.S-sit-&-REA) means that the squirrel is “bien sentada” ‘sitting well, i.e. comfortably sitting’, while *ikòtyàatíta(ni)* (*-ni* can be dropped apparently without a change in meaning) means that it is “sentadita, como escuchando” ‘lightly sitting, as if it were listening’.¹⁵² This explanation accords with the meaning ‘for a certain lapse of time’ because, when one sits with the idea of getting up soon, one may relax less than when one intends to sit for a long time.

Another speaker said that *ikòtyàatíta* means the same as *ikòtyàata* (minimal form), but added that *ikòtyàatakita* (*ikòtyàatíta* plus the perfective suffix: i-kotyaa-t-ak-it-a, 3M.S-sit-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA) would convey a past time. In *ikòtyàatakita*, we have the sequence *-akit* mentioned above, and the perfective suffix implies that the action of sitting is thought of as having a beginning and an end. Therefore, if the speaker wants to express the same, but referring to an event that is going on in the present and has not finished, it appears quite natural that he leaves the perfective suffix out. The fact that a speaker says that *ikòtyàatakita* is equivalent to *ikòtyàatíta* but with a past meaning indicates that he identifies the two forms as being identical except for *-ak* added in one of them, and this confirms my line of argumentation and offers little doubt that the *-it* suffix in *ikòtyàatíta* is the translocative, given that there is no doubt that *ikòtyàatakita* bears this suffix because no other suffix can be placed between the perfective and the RS suffix. I think that this equivalence suggested by a speaker

¹⁵² I have interpreted the suffix *-ni*, a form with several different functions, as adjectival in this case, based on the fact that its use may tend to express a property of the squirrel at the present time, in the same way as, in English, one could say ‘the squirrel is sitting’ or ‘the sitting squirrel’, with ‘sitting’ in the latter phrase having an adjectival function. In any case, *-ni* in this verb can be dropped without problems according to different speakers. My guess, according to the questions I posed to speakers and their responses, is that *ikòtyàatítani* is a somewhat frozen expression that describes that someone is sitting for a not very long period of time.

between *ikòtyàatíta* and its alleged past counterpart *ikòtyáatakita* is the best argument to posit that the translocative suffix has been reinterpreted as *-it* in UP Ashéninka or that the sequence *-ak-it* (PRF-TRLOC) has been reinterpreted as a single translocative suffix *-aki(t)* in the other Campan languages except in Nomatsigenga.

Lawrence's three examples (2013:98-99) show an epenthetic /t/ after the translocative suffix, but only in one is it combined with the perfective *-k*. Therefore, the same reinterpretation hypothesis can be applied to Nomatsigenga, which also Lawrence mentions. Lawrence's proposed form (*-iN-t*) is very similar to my proposed form *-it*. It seems that the study of this suffix can pose interesting questions about its function and development in the different Campan languages. In the following lines, examples of the suffix expressing direction, associated motion and temporality are analysed.

In (469), the translocative suffix is used with the motion verb *iyaataantsi* 'go'.
(469) Tee, naaka nóokanàkiro: "kóeratawàki¹⁵³, **niyáatakitiíta**".

tee	naaka	n-ook-an-ak-i-ro
NEG.REA	1	1S-leave-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
koera-t-awak-i		n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita
watch.over-&-DES-FRS		1S-go-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-ROPT

'No, I left her: "watch over (the house), I'm leaving for a while".' (CMM)

The translation 'I'm leaving for a moment' (Spanish *me voy un momento*) is as the translating consultant gave it. In this conversation, the speaker tells her interlocutor that she left her mother-in-law in her house and asked her to look after the house while she is out. 'I'm leaving for a moment' actually means 'I'm leaving and will come back'. The motion is expressed by the verbal root *-iyaa-* 'go' and the translocative denotes the path ('go and return').

Example (470) shows the translocative suffix indicating associated motion.

¹⁵³ The root *-koera-* is a loan from the Spanish *cuidar* 'look after'.

- (470) *Nowánakyàtya*, ***nowákityà***, *nowánakyà*, *nokántakyà*.
 n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-eat-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Of course, I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, so it
 will be.’ (CCPC)

The suffix is on the non-motion verb *owaantsi* ‘eat’, so that the motion is denoted by the translocative suffix. The translation of *nowákityà* as ‘I’m going to go to have lunch’ is as the translating consultant produced it, but he added that the speaker does not say it explicitly, but it is implicit in the expression. This conversation was held in a *chacra* around 11 a.m., so, if we understand for *nowákityà* ‘I’m going to eat and then come back’, it is clear that he implies ‘I’m going to go to have lunch’.

Example (471) illustrates the temporal meaning of the suffix, which was already shown in (468) without the perfective suffix, which is present in (471).

- (471) *Rámatawitakitzìri*.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-it-zi-ri
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-3M.O
 ‘He cheated him (during a certain time).’ (TSJ)

In this one-verb sentence, the context is that a jaguar has been the victim of a ruse performed by a squirrel. This ruse is being developed throughout most of the story, so it is clear that the action of cheating is extended for a certain time, which fits the temporal meaning of the translocative suffix (passing of a certain lapse of time). The situation is perfective because the story has already been told, so that the speaker considers the act of cheating as a single whole, with a beginning and an end (see Section 6.3.1 for the definition of perfective).

I asked a speaker the difference between *rámatawitakitzìri* and *rámatawitakìri*, extracting the translocative *-it*, and she said that the version with *-it* expresses a past meaning –also in questions regarding example (468), a different speaker found a past meaning in the combination of the perfective and the translocative suffix. The difference expressed by this speaker fits very well my description of the translocative in its temporal meaning. In *rámatawitakitzìri*, *-it* expresses that the action takes place during a certain lapse of time, and *-ak* indicates that the action is conceived as a single whole, with a beginning and an end; therefore, this lapse of time must belong to the

past because, if it were still ongoing, it could not be conceived as a single whole. In *rámatawitakìri*, *-ak* indicates that the action is conceived as a single whole, but it might refer to the present, or even to the future, i.e. the idea of cheating occurring during a certain lapse of time is absent here, so that the cheating can occur in a single action (e.g. someone telling someone a lie) performed in a second, which can take place in the very moment that one is speaking, or even might take place in the future if the context made it possible (e.g. someone plans to meet someone to tell him a lie, as in the English clause ‘tomorrow I cheat him’).

The translocative suffix *-it* presents features similar to the much more frequent ablative and allative: it can fulfil directional, associated motion and aspect-temporal functions. Nonetheless, it occupies a different position after the aspect suffix (the ablative and allative are always placed immediately before the aspect suffix). While, in other descriptions of Campan languages, the form of the suffix is *-aki*, always followed by an epenthetic /t/, I have interpreted that there must have been some reanalysis in that the sequence *-akit* is better interpreted as *-ak-it* (PFV-TRLOC) in UP Ashéninka, an interpretation that coincides with Lawrence’s (2013:98) for Nomatsigenga. I have to add that I do not consider this interpretation definitive since my data do not allow for a definitive conclusion. That means that more data could invalidate my proposal and prove that the form is *-aki(t)*, but they could also prove that it is right. In any case, I consider it the most reasonable interpretation with the data I have.

6.5.5. Object motion *-aw*

The suffix *-aw* expresses motion of the object, differently from the three other directionals described above. Payne (1982:329) says that, in Pichis, the suffix *-aw*, which she calls “receptive”, “has only one meaning, that of receiving an object or person”, and this “implies that *-aw* occurs only with transitive verbs”. Casique’s textbook (2012:71) says that, in UP Ashéninka, this suffix is used “al recibir o al despedir a una persona”,¹⁵⁴ the same description that can be found in Kindberg

¹⁵⁴ ‘when receiving or saying goodbye to a person.’

(1980:464) for *-av* (<v> represents /β/) in Tambo-Ene. Therefore, Casique and Kindberg add the meaning ‘say goodbye’ to Payne’s ‘reception’. This may be better expressed by saying that the suffix implies motion of the object, either in direction towards or away from the object, hence my label *object motion*.

In all instances in my text corpus, *-aw* expresses associated motion. This is logical, given that most motion verbs are intransitive, and, in the few that are transitive (e.g. ‘bring’), it would be difficult to find one that expresses motion of the object. Moreover, since *-aw* can express object motion towards or away from the subject, a possible directional meaning must be excluded because the suffix can indicate different paths.

In (472), *-aw* is on the non-motion verb *taawatoryaantsi* ‘hit’ performing the function of associated motion.

- (472) Itáawatoryàaka, **otàawatoryáawakiri** màpipóoki.
 i-taawatorya-ak-a o-taawatorya-aw-ak-i-ri mapi-pooki
 3M.S-hit-PFV-REA.REFL 3F.S-hit-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O stone-COL
 ‘He hits himself, the group of stones hits him (when he is falling towards them).’ (PV)

Since the verbal stem does not express motion, it is the suffix *-aw* which expresses it, namely motion of the object. This example is interesting because the speaker firstly says *itáawatoryàaka*, where the subject is a boy and, with A-class inflection, it means ‘he hit himself’; and then, the speaker utters *otàawatoryáawakiri*, with I-class inflection, which is the typical of this verb, and the subject is the stones and the object is the boy, i.e. it means ‘the stones hit the boy’. When translating this text, the translating consultant said that both expressions are right. The motion expressed by *-aw* in *otàawatoryáawakiri* refers to the object, i.e. the boy moving towards the stones when he falls down.

A more typical use of object associated motion (denoting a human object approaching a human subject) is in (473).

(473) **Noñáawakiri** Eshitewa, irira ítsipa héwatapáentsiri.

no-ña-aw-ak-i-ri Eshitewa

1S-see-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O Esteban

i-ri-ra i-itsipa hewa-t-ap-eentsi-ri

DEM-M-MED M-other first-&-ALL-PTCP.PFV-REL

‘I have seen Esteban and the other one who was first (before Esteban) (both passing by).’ (CCPC)

When translating this example, I asked the translating consultant whether the meaning would change leaving out *-aw* (i.e. with *noñáakiri*). He said that, with *-aw*, the men that were seen are passing by, but, without *-aw*, no information about motion is given. This explanation illustrates very well the semantic content of *-aw* in (473): the motion of the object towards the subject.

In example (474), *-aw* is on the verb *kaemaantsi* ‘call’ and the suffix also expresses the motion of the object, but, while in (472) and (473) the object moves towards the subject (Payne’s [1982] “receptive” function), in (474) the object moves away from the subject.

(474) **Ikáemawaeri** iroñaaka.

i-kaem-aw-a-i-ri iroñaaka

3M.S-call-OM-REG-FRS-3M.O now

‘Now they call him (as he was leaving them).’ (PV)

The text where this example comes from is the account of a video shown to a speaker (the famous Pear Story). In this passage, one of a group of three boys calls the boy with the bicycle because he has forgotten his hat, and, when he calls him with a whistle, the bicycle boy is moving away from the group of three, so there is no doubt that the object in *ikáemawaeri* is moving away from the subject. This is the only case in my corpus with the object motion suffix in which the object moves away from the subject, and it fits Casique’s (2012:71) and Kindberg’s (1980:464) meaning ‘say goodbye’. It is logical that they interpret the suffix as ‘say goodbye’ instead of ‘object motion away from the subject’ (my interpretation) if the suffix is mainly used with human referents.

Unlike the three other directional suffixes studied in the previous sections, the object motion *-aw* has no aspecto-temporal meaning. Its only function is to signal that the object is moving to or away from the subject. As said above, Payne (1982:329) says that her receptive suffix only occurs with transitive verbs, which obviously is also the case with the 18 occurrences in my text corpus. Moreover, in all the

occurrences, the object is a person, which is no wonder since the fact that the object must be moving implies that, in most cases, it must be animate. Two more examples of the use of *-aw* from my text corpus are in (475) and (476).

- (475) Arírika rayíitapàki, **piyótawakiràra**.
 ari=rika r-ayiit-ap-ak-i
 AFF=COND 3M.S-descend-ALL-PFV-FRS
 p-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘When one comes down, you’re going to guess who’s the one there.’ (SCS)
- (476) Éehatzi **ikántawàkiri**: “Ééroka rira..., hàgári”.
 éehatzi i-kant-aw-ak-i-ri éeroka ri=ra hagari
 also 3M.S-say-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2 M=MED short-eared.dog¹⁵⁵
 ‘They also say to him as he arrives: “You’re, um..., the short-eared dog.” (SCS)

In (475), the members of the plural subject are going to guess who the object is as he arrives. In (476), they talk to him as he arrives. The meaning ‘as he arrives’ in both cases is expressed by the object motion suffix *-aw*.

6.5.6. The regressive *-a/-ah* with a directional function

The regressive suffix has the meaning of going back in time or space. When the meaning implies doing something *again*, it conveys an aspectual nuance; but, when the meaning is spatial, it implies going back to a place where the referred element has previously been, and, in this case, the function of the regressive is to indicate direction, but it never expresses associated motion. Some examples of the spatial regressive function are illustrated below.

In (477), the regressive suffix is on the motion verb *tzinagaantsi* ‘raise’. The suffix expresses that the bicycle is raised back to the standing position where it was before the cyclist fell down, i.e. the verbal stem expresses the motion and the regressive *-a* expresses the direction back to a former position.

- (477) **Itzinagáero** i-bicicléta-tè.
 i-tzinag-a-i-ro i-bicicleta-ti¹⁵⁶
 3M.S-raise-REG-FRS-3F.O 3M-bicycle-POSS
 ‘He picks up his bicycle.’ (PV)

¹⁵⁵ This canid is *Atelocynus microtis*.

¹⁵⁶ *Bicicleta* is the Spanish word for ‘bicycle’. The speaker pronounced it [βisiˈkleta].

In (478), the regressive occurs in two verbs combined with other directional suffixes.

(478) **Riyáatanàhe** apáaniróini **itàapáhiro**.

r-iyaa-t-an-ah-i apáaniróini i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro
 3M.S-go-&-ABL-REG-FRS alone 3M.S-burn-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O
 ‘He’s going to go back alone to burn it (his *chacra*).’ (CMM)

In this example, the AM is expressed by the allative in *itàapáhiro*, and the direction from a point of reference by the ablative in *riyáatanàhe*. In both cases, the regressive expresses that the motion is performed back to a place where the subject had been before: his *chacra*, where he is presently working quite actively. This combination yields a complex expression of motion. In *riyáatanàhe*, with the motion verb *iyaataantsi* ‘go’, the ablative indicates the direction of the motion from a point of reference (the place where the man usually is, i.e. his house), and the regressive indicates that he has already been there (in his *chacra*) and now is going back. In *itàapáhiro*, with the non-motion verb *tagaantsi* ‘burn’, the allative expresses a prior associated motion to the place where the man is going to burn his *chacra* (go and then burn), and the regressive indicates the same as in *riyáatanàhe*: he goes back to his *chacra*, where he is presently working often.

In (479), the regressive suffix is also combined with the ablative.

(479) Nimaeka árika **osháawitanáhi**, hame ate añáathawàetya hanta, otáapiki.

nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i hame
 today AFF=COND 3F.S-become.afternoon-ABL-REG-FRS HORT.INCL

Ø-a-t-i a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta o-taapi=ki
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-play-DUR I-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3F-back=LOC

‘Today, in the beginning of the afternoon (when it starts being afternoon again), let’s go to play there, in the gully (lit. in its back).’ (CMH)

In this case, the combination of regressive plus ablative is on *-shaawit-* ‘become afternoon’, so that a more literal translation of *osháawitanáhi* considering both suffixes would be ‘it starts to become afternoon again’, where the meaning ‘starts’ is provided by the ablative and ‘again’ by the regressive (‘again’ because it becomes afternoon every day).

With the previous examples, we can see that the regressive suffix indicates the direction of the motion, but cannot express motion in itself, i.e. does not express AM; rather, the motion is indicated by the verbal stem or by another directional suffix.

Actually, when the regressive is used with a non-motion verb, it has its aspectual meaning ‘again’ (see examples in Section 6.3.5).

6.5.6. Final remarks

The previous sections have shown the double function of directionals, namely spatial and aspecto-temporal, yet both functions are clearly related. The core spatial meaning of the ablative is ‘direction from a place’, i.e. the motion starts in a place, and the temporal meaning ‘beginning’ also means ‘starting from a point in time’. In the same fashion, the core spatial meaning of the allative is ‘direction to a place’, i.e. the motion ends in that place, and the temporal meaning ‘end’ also means ‘ending in a point in time’. In both suffixes, we can see that their core meanings can be summed up as ‘direction from a point in space or time’ (ablative) and ‘direction to a point in space or time’ (allative), with which the spatial and aspecto-temporal functions are the same with the only difference of the dimension (space or time) to which the referred point belongs.

The spatial and aspecto-temporal functions of the translocative suffix are also related, although not as evidently as for the ablative and the allative. The spatial meaning is ‘going to a place, doing something and coming back’, i.e. a go and return motion, while the temporal meaning is ‘doing something for a certain lapse of time’. It could be argued that most events occur during a certain lapse of time, but we can compare this temporal meaning with the English expression ‘for a while’, so that *a certain lapse of time* implies that the event does not occur either continuously or punctually. The spatial meaning implies motion from point A to point B and back to point A in space; therefore, the temporal meaning should be the same, but with A and B being points in time. Since it is impossible to go back in time, the idea of *a certain lapse of time* is the closest in time to the suffix’s spatial meaning.

Regarding the regressive suffix, its double function is best observed when compared with the Spanish *volver* ‘come back’. Spanish *volver* means ‘going back to a place’, but it is also used to express ‘repetition of an action’, so that *volver a* + VERB means repeating the action denoted by the verb. As said above, one cannot go back in

time, but the repetition of an action is the recreation of something past, i.e. a certain illusion of going back in time.

D. Payne (1983a:21) for Pichis and Swift (2008:48-50) for Caquinte state that directionals must always be combined with an aspect suffix, with the exception of the allative in Caquinte. In UP Ashéninka, apart from the special features of the translocative discussed above, I have 15 examples of the ablative without an aspect suffix in my text corpus, but none of the allative nor the object motion suffix. I also researched the matter through elicitation, and the consultant accepted the ablative and the allative without an aspect suffix but not the object motion suffix. However, even with the ablative, the consultant did not accept every verb without aspect suffix: he accepted it with the verb *owaantsi* ‘eat’, but not with *iyaataantsi* ‘go’, *ñaataantsi* ‘see’ or *iyotaantsi* ‘know’. He also confirmed that the instances in my text corpus are right. Nonetheless, there is an instance in my text corpus with *iyataantsi* ‘go’ and without an aspect suffix (480).

(480) Árikya **piyáatanipa**.

ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 AFF=EMPH 2S-go-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 ‘So then, you leave later.’ (CCPC)

This example is from a conversation translated by the consultant mentioned above who did not accept a form with *iyataantsi* ‘go’ without an aspect suffix (the form I proposed and rejected as ungrammatical was *niyáatani*, n-iyaa-t-an-i, 1S-go-&-ABL-FRS). Therefore, there seems to be a restriction in that a directional needs to be accompanied by an aspect suffix, but this restriction is somewhat relaxed with the ablative in some verbs or certain constructions, and can also be skipped with the allative, but less frequently than with the ablative. Obviously, the translocative is not included in this discussion due to my positing its present form from a reinterpretation in which the perfective suffix is involved (see details in Section 6.5.4), so that it should always occur with the perfective suffix or without any aspect suffix. I show a pair of examples of the ablative without an aspect suffix below.

- (481) *Ikántanahya máaweni apaani ikantanéyawo rowániki.*

i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani

3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR all one

i-kant-an-eya-ro r-owani=ki

3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC

‘Each one will be back, will go back to his *chacra*.’ (CTK)

- (482) **Ipíyana** irika, ikántziri, shèripyári thayiri.

i-piy-an-a i-ri=ka i-kant-zi-ri

3M.S-come.back-ABL-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-say-REA-3M.O

sheripyari thayi-ri

shaman cheating-REL

‘This one has come back, how to say..., the cheating shaman.’ (SCS)

In both (481) and (482), the ablative suffix is on the verb without any aspect suffix.

In (481), the ablative suffix appears on the two verbs of the two juxtaposed clauses.

In *ikántanahya*, it is combined with the regressive suffix, which indicates that the people are coming back, and *ikantanéyawo rowániki* is added to specify where they will go back. Therefore, the second phrase tries to clarify the destination, and the regressive suffix in the verb is no longer needed because the idea of going back was already expressed in *ikántanahya*. The verbal copula *kantaantsi* expresses no motion, so that the ablative suffix expresses the motion; thus, this is an example of associated motion. In (482), *piyataantsi* ‘come back’ is a motion verb, and also expresses a direction towards a point of reference, just the opposite of the ablative. In this case, the ablative is better understood as ‘beginning’, so that a literal translation would be ‘he starts coming back’. No aspect suffix is used in this case either.

Payne (1982:333-35) describes an experiment that consists of showing a speaker two identical texts, one with directionals and one without them. The comment of the speaker was that the text with directionals “happens very fast and in sequence” (Payne 1982:335). Payne (1982:335) comments that the text with directionals “temporally links the events to one another as in a real narrative by means of the time referentials”. Payne is talking here about the aspecto-temporal function of directionals rather than the spatial one. Directionals are in no case obligatory, but their existence in a text describes motion and, as Payne argues, establishes a temporal link between successive events in discourse. Therefore, a text with no directionals would be more *plain* or *boring*, similarly to someone speaking a language without a good command of it.

6.6. Valency-changing morphemes

In this section, morphemes that increase or reduce the verb's valency are analysed. In Ashéninka, the valency can be reduced through reflexivity and reciprocity, and increased through causative and applicative affixes.

6.6.1. Valency-reducing morphemes: reflexivity through change of verb class and reciprocal *-awak*

Reflexivity is expressed by converting an I-class RS suffix into A-class. Since this process involves RS marking, it is described in Section 6.1, on reality status, with Section 6.1.5.2 devoted to reflexivity. Reciprocity is expressed with the reciprocal suffix *-awak*, described in the following lines.

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* has a quite transparent function: it indicates that two or more people are carrying out the action expressed by the verb mutually on each other. In my text corpus, all instances but one of *-awak* occur in the same conversation, in which all occurrences but one are with the verb *ñaataantsi* 'see, find, meet': the two interlocutors explain how life is in their respective indigenous communities and they often use the reciprocal suffix on *ñaataantsi* to express that the members of a community meet (find each other). Two examples of the use of the suffix are below.

In (483), *-awak* indicates that all the members of the community meet and thus they mutually find each other. Therefore, the transitive verb 'find' becomes reciprocal, which actually means that each member of the group is subject and the other individuals are objects of the action of finding, and each one is also object of the action of finding carried out by each other member of the group.

(483) Apaani **añaawaka**, ikántètziiri..., *sábado*.

apaani	a-ñaawak-a	i-kant-e-t-zi-ri	sábado
one	INCL.S-find-RECP-REA.REFL	3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-REL	Saturday

'We only find each other (meet), how to say..., on Saturday.' (CTK)

Example (484) is the only instance from a text different from the conversation of (483). In this story, one of the characters asks a woman to make love with him.

(484) Pipókanaki rowa..., ikántétziri rowa..., **apáńkinatawakáeya**.

pi-pok-an-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED

a-pankina-t-awak-eya

INCL.S-make.love-&-RECP-IRR

‘Come, um..., how to say..., um..., let’s make love.’ (SCS)

In Ashéninka, the stem *-pankina-* has the meaning ‘make love’, but also other meanings (e.g. one can say *nopáńkinatawo noena* ‘I make love with my wife’, but also *nopáńkinatawo nowani* ‘I prepare my *chacra*’), and it is always transitive. That implies that, when speaking about two persons making love, the reciprocal suffix must be used to indicate the reciprocity of the sexual intercourse.

All instances of verbs with the reciprocal suffix have A-class reality status suffixes, which is quite logical because of the close relation between reciprocity and reflexivity: if with a reflexive verb the subject performs the action on itself, in a reciprocal verb, each member of a plural subject performs the action on the other members of the plural subject. Therefore, all I-class verbs become reflexive when they bear the reciprocal suffix.

6.6.2. Valency-increasing morphemes: causative and applicative affixes

A causative prefix, a causative suffix and some applicative suffixes are the morphemes that increase valency in UP Ashéninka. Accordingly, this section is divided into two subsections: one describes the causative constructions (6.6.2.1), and the other one describes the applicative suffixes (6.6.2.2).

6.6.2.1. Causatives *-aka(g)* and *o-/oe-/ow-/oomin-*

Ashéninka has two causative affixes: the suffix *-aka(g)* and a prefix with the allomorphs *o-/oe-/ow-/oomin-*. Payne (2001) published a book chapter on causatives in Ashéninka. He does not mention which variety is treated, but the examples show that it is Pichis. Payne (2001:485-86) distinguishes three types of causatives: lexical/derivational with the prefix, morphological/inflectional with the suffix and periphrastic with the verbal copula *kantaantsi* used with the suffix. First of all, it is important to clarify the terminology, above all why Payne considers that the construction with the causative prefix is lexical/derivational. Shibatani (2001:4) says

that some linguists use the name *lexical causatives* for morphologically unanalysable words, such as English ‘kill’ (‘make die’), “but some others use productivity as a criterion for distinguishing lexical causatives from morphological ones”. This might also be Payne’s (2001:488) criterion, given that he says that the prefix is not productive. Payne (2001:485) also says that the prefix is “derivational”, but Dixon (2012:239) says that causatives are “derivations which increase valency”, which implies that all causative strategies are derivational. Therefore, I will refer to the three causatives as the prefix, the suffix and the periphrastic without discussing these terminological questions. The three causatives exist in UP Ashéninka with the same or similar forms as in Payne’s Pichis. An example of each class suffix is provided in (485) (prefix), (486) (suffix) and (487) (periphrastic).

(485) **Róehapokàkiri** èenchániki.

r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri eentsi-aniki

3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O child-DIM

‘He throws the little child.’ (FS)

(486) Pikoyi **niráakáemi** pyáarentsi nimaeka?

pi-koy-i n-ir-aka-e-mi pyaare-ntsi nimaeka

2S-want-FRS 1S-drink-CAUS-FRS-2O masato-ALI today

‘Do you want me to invite you to drink *masato* today? (lit. do you want me to make you drink *masato* today?)’ (CMH)

(487) Tsikárika **ikántakáakari** rokíkirà **ròmahontyáantakariri?**

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra

WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-eye=LOC=MED

r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri

3M.S-CAUS-dumb-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL

‘How did he₁ get that he₂ got dumb in those eyes of him₂?’ (TSJ)

Payne (2001:487) describes a causative “lexical” suffix *-(t)ag* that has not appeared during my research. Payne (2001:492-93) also describes the combination of an antipassive suffix *-ant* with the causative suffix. Mihás (2015a:309) for Alto Perené says that she prefers to analyse this suffix by calling it “customary” according to its function: “having to do with a customary action”. I agree with Mihás’ analysis, but with the nuance that, according to my research, the suffix is better described as a usual occupation than as a customary action, hence my label *occupation* (see Section 6.7.3).

Payne (2001:486) explains the differences between the three causatives, which regard features as agentivity, successful manipulation and direct contact between

causer and causee, but these features are not defined, which makes it difficult to check whether Payne's findings coincide with my occurrences in UP Ashéninka. However, Dixon (2012:268-80) proposes and defines nine semantic parameters that should be taken into account to compare different causative strategies in a given language, which are the following:

- Relating to the verb: state/action and transitivity (the causative applies to transitive or intransitive verbs, or to both).
- Relating to the causee: control (lacking or having control of the activity), volition (causee acts willingly or unwillingly) and affectedness (causee is partially or totally affected).
- Relating to the causer: directness (causer acts directly or indirectly), intention (causer acts intentionally or accidentally), naturalness (the event happens fairly naturally or with effort) and involvement (causer is or is not involved in the activity).

I have only 3 instances in my text corpus of the periphrastic causative, which makes it impossible to draw generalizations, but there are more of the prefix (26 occurrences) and the suffix (12 occurrences), which allows a comparison between both. Four of Dixon's parameters yield a significant difference, namely transitivity, control, volition and involvement, and, to a lesser degree, naturalness. Table 35 shows the percentages of these parameters in my text corpus for each affix. The other parameters yield similar figures for both affixes.

Table 35. Significant differences in Dixon's (2012:268-69) semantic parameters between the causative prefix and suffix.

	Verb	Causee		Causer	
	With intransitive verbs	Lacking control	Unwilling	Not involved	With effort
Prefix	100%	81%	77%	88%	38%
Suffix	17%	25%	33%	33%	17%

The figures in Table 35 show that the prefix is always used with intransitive verbs, while the suffix can be used with both, but more often with transitive verbs. Moreover, the prefix is used in activities in which the causer is normally not involved and the causee usually lacks control of the event and acts unwillingly, while the suffix is used

with the causer normally involved in the activity, and the causee has control over it and acts willingly. In both affixes, the causer usually acts naturally, i.e. without much effort, but the prefix is more used than the suffix in cases in which effort is required. Regarding Dixon's semantic parameters not shown in Table 35, both causative affixes pattern in the same way: in most cases, they are used with action verbs, the causee is completely affected by the activity, and the causer acts directly and intentionally.

As regards the periphrastic causative, as said above, three instances do not allow to draw generalizations, but, just for information: two instances are with intransitive verbs; in the three instances, the causee lacks control and acts unwillingly; the causer acts with effort in the three instances and is involved in two.

As already pointed out, the causative prefix can have several similar forms. Payne (2001:488) lists the forms *omin-*, *omi-*, *oi-*, *o-* and *ow-* for Pichis. The forms that occur in my corpus are *oe-*, *o-*, *oomin-* and *ow-*. Examples (488), (490), (491) and (492) show instances with *o-* (the most frequent form), and (489) with *oe-*.

- (488) Rawíiwáetatzí, **rowáriyàkiro**.

r-awii-wae-t-atzi r-o-pariy-ak-i-ro
3M.S-harvest-DUR1-&-PROG 3M.S-CAUS-fall-PFV-FRS-3F.O
'He goes on harvesting, he makes them (fruits) fall.' (PV)

- (489) Ikañáaperotanàka rira..., hempe íitagankitya..., maniro, **róehapokákiri**.

i-kañaa-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe
3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH
i-et-a=ranki=tya maniror-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri
3M.S-be.named-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer 3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O
'He accelerates, um..., what's its name?..., the deer, throws him off.' (FS)

- (490) **Roshètaitéroni** ichénkopáeni.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-i-ro-ni i-chenko=paeni
3M.S-CAUS-clean-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL 3M-trousers=PL
'He's going to clean his trousers.' (PV)

- (491) Iroñaaka **noyútiri** nòintakóri.

iroñaaka n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori
now 1S-CAUS-go.down-IRR-3M.O 1-follower
'Now I'm going to make my followers come down.' (SCS)

- (492) Ikantzi: "Irira **ròmaryáaka**."

i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
3M.S-say-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-lie.down-PFV-REA
'He says: "That one whom they have laid down". (SCS)

In examples (488) to (490), the events have the features typical of the causative prefix as is shown in Table 35. The causee lacks control: in (488), because it is inanimate (the fruits are made to fall); in (489), a deer throws off a child who was mounting it; in (490), the verbal root *-shet-* must be interpreted as ‘clean’ in an intransitive use, i.e. as ‘get clean’, so that the literal translation would be ‘he makes his trousers to be clean’, and the trousers obviously lack control. The same reasons for the lack of control are valid to infer the unwillingness of the causees. In the three examples, the causer is not involved, i.e. he does not participate in the activity (does not fall, jump or get clean). Examples (491) and (492) show the difference that the causee acts willingly and, in (491), has control of the activity of going down, which is not the case in (492) because the person whom they lay down is ill and is not supposed to have any force. Regarding effort, examples (488) to (490) imply a certain degree of effort, but (491) and (492) do not (the causer in (491) is a shaman who makes his followers come down from heaven, supposedly just by telling them to come down). Dixon’s naturalness parameter is difficult to evaluate because there are many cases with a certain effort, but it may be very little.

Another feature to remark is that the causee is cross-referenced by the object suffix in examples (488) to (491), while it is not cross-referenced in (492). One of Dixon’s semantic parameters regarding the verb is state/action, and this is the difference between (488) to (491) (action verbs) and (492) (state verb).

Payne (2001:489) only shows the form *-akag* for the causative suffix, although, in most of his examples, the used form is *-aka*. This is due to complicated rules of /ʉ/ deletion (see Black 1991 and Spring 1992 for detailed phonological studies on this phoneme), which appear to be the same in Pichis and Ucayali-Pajonal. Since /ʉ/ is deleted in most cases, I prefer to represent it as *-aka(g)*. Some examples of this suffix are shown below.

In (493), the addressee made someone call the speaker, so that the causative suffix is attached to the transitive root *-kaem-* ‘call’, a transitive verb that gets a new argument (the causee, ‘they’) with the use of the causative.

- (493) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I heard that you had me called.’ (CTK)

In the long sentence in (494), which I reproduce entirely so as to grasp the context better, the verb is transitive (*kimitaantsi* ‘seem’) and the causee is impersonal (‘it seems’).

- (494) Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho **ikìmitakàantawitakàwo**
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharékitho, káarimáita,
 ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false)
 as though, um..., what’s its name..., that it was real that his testicle was good
 (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

Example (495) is the only instance in my text corpus of the causative suffix with the form *-akag*. The non-deletion of /w/ has phonological reasons: this is the only instance of the suffix followed by a diphthong in my corpus. The causative suffix is attached to the ambitransitive verb *iraantsi* ‘drink’, a combination that yields the meaning ‘invite to drink’.

- (495) Roo roweyántakàwo **rìrakagéiyakirìni** iyamarámpiti ikáateyìnirà.
 roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-ey-ak-i-ri-ni
 then 3M.S-be.last-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-drink-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-ey-ey-i-ni=ra
 3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 ‘Then the last one arrives, and he invites those to drink his ayahuasca (lit.: makes them drink).’ (SCS)

In (496), the causative suffix is attached to two contiguous ambitransitive verbs: *ñaantaantsi* ‘taste’ and *owaantsi* ‘eat’.

(496) **Iñáantakáakari, rówakáakari.**

i-ñáant-aka-ak-a-ri r-ow-aka-ak-a-ri
 3M.S-taste-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-eat-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘He makes him taste; he makes him eat.’ (TSJ)

In (497), the causative suffix is on the intransitive verb *shiyaantsi* ‘run’.

(497) **Eentsi ishiyakáakari.**

eentsi i-shiy-aka-ak-a-ri
 child 3M.S-run-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘The child makes him (a deer) run.’ (FS)

In (493) and (494), the causative suffix is used with two transitive verbs; in (495) and (496), with three ambitransitive verbs, and in (497), with an intransitive verb. The reference of the object suffix is the causee in (495) to (497), and the object of the caused event in (493) and (494). Therefore, it seems that the reference of the object suffix is the causee in ambitransitive and intransitive verbs and the object of the caused event in transitive verbs. A remarkable example in this respect is in (498), where the ambitransitive verb *owaantsi* ‘eat’ bears a causative suffix, and both causee and object are cross-referenced with an object suffix.

(498) **Shirámpari páerani, arírika okitehiityamanàki tekátsika oyari, ráakiro ichékopiti échatzi itónkamènto, riyaaate rowáshitantawáetya, riyaaate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, rówakayityáriri itomi.**

shirámpari páerani ari=rika o-kitehiity-aman-ak-i
 man long.ago AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-EARLY-PFV-FRS
 tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti
 NEG.EXI=COND eat-IRR-REL 3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-arrow-POSS
 échatzi i-tonk-amento r-iyaa-t-i
 also 3M.S-shoot-NMLZ.INS 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 r-owashitant-a-wae-t-ya r-iyaa-t-i
 3M.S-make.maspute-&-DUR1-&-IRR 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
 3M.S-search-&-IRR-3M.O animal 3M.S-bring-FRS-3M.O INCL-house=LOC
 r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri i-tomi
 3M.S-eat-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-3M.O 3M-son
 ‘Long ago, men, if it dawned early and there was nothing to eat, they took their arrows and their rifle, went to make their *maspute*¹⁵⁷, went to look for animals, brought them to our houses and made their children eat them (the hunted animals).’ (CTK)

¹⁵⁷ *Maspute* is the local Spanish word for a little temporary hut built so as to hide waiting for animals to pass by in order to shoot them.

In *rówakayityáririri*, it is implied that men make their children eat the meat of the animals that they hunt, so that the causers are the men, the causees are their children, and the object of the caused event (eating) is the eaten animals. Both causee and object are marked with an object suffix. In Section 6.2.1, I describe a double object construction in which the 3rd person direct object (patient) is cross-referenced with the suffix *-ni* instead of the usual *-ro* (f.) and *-ri* (m.), but, in that construction, there is a direct and an indirect object (patient and beneficiary). However, in the causative construction in *rówakayityáririri*, the causee is treated as a direct object, so there are two patients: the causee is the patient of the causation event (they make *them* eat), and the caused event (eat) also has a patient, hence the two object suffixes.

Regarding Dixon's semantic parameters shown in Table 35, besides transitivity, already discussed in the previous paragraphs, the causee has control of the activity except in (494) because the causee is impersonal ('he has made *it* seem'); in all examples, the causee acts willingly except in (494), also because of the impersonal causee, and in the intransitive verb in (497); the causer acts with effort only in (494), given that a complex ruse is carried out to achieve the goal expressed by the verb with the causative suffix.

The periphrastic causative construction with the suffix *-aka* on the verbal copula *kantaantsi* 'be' is less frequent than the suffix attached to a regular verbal stem. Its function appears to be to emphasize the causative relation, as in the long sentence in (499).

- (499) Tsikárika **ikántakáakawo okímitzìmotákari** manitzi, róotaki iyatharékithe
rowánkitàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?
tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O
o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS
i-yatharekithe r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MED
i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
3M.S-smash-APPL-DUR1-&-REA
'How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar's eyes that it was his
testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?' (TSJ)

The translation in this sentence is difficult to follow from the Ashéninka text, but reflects quite clearly the causative relation. The periphrastic construction consists of the verbal copula *kantaantsi* and the regular verb *kimitaantsi* ‘seem’. The causative suffix is used directly on *kimitaantsi* in other sentences in the same tale, as in (494), so it is perfectly possible that the same speaker uses it in this way, but, in (499), the periphrasis appears to reinforce the causative relation so as to give the rhetoric question more strength.

The verbal copula *kantaantsi* can occur with the causative *-aka* without forming a periphrasis with another verb, as in (500).

- (500) Tsikárika **ikántakáakawo?** rámatawitziri ikanta ròwamantyáiriri.
 tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro r-amatawi-t-zi-ri
 WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-cheat-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kant-a r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA 3M.S-CAUS-die-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL
 ‘How could he make it happen? He cheated him in order to kill him.’ (TSJ)

In this example, the same rhetorical question as in (499) appears, but there is no need for another verb to complete the periphrasis because the context of the tale is quite clear to know what the question refers to: to everything that has been previously told.

6.6.2.2. Applicatives

The Ashéninka applicatives described in this thesis are the general applicative *-ako*, the comitative *-imo*, the benefactives *-went* and *-neent*, the AWAY *-pitha* and the instrumental *-ant*. The instrumental *-ant*, also an applicative, is described in Section 6.7.3 because I think that it is interesting to describe it together with two more suffixes with the same form, and the other five are described in the subsections below. The purposive suffix *-ashi* can have an applicative function in some cases, but it is described in Section 6.4.2.4 due to its main modal function.

Peterson (1999:1) defines *applicatives* in the following way: “The applicative construction, as the term is used in this study, is a syntactic construction signalled by overt verbal morphology which allows the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core object argument.” Another definition, by Polinsky (2013), is: “In an applicative construction, the number of object arguments selected by the predicate is increased by one with respect to the basic construction.”

Combining both definitions, Polinsky says that “the number of object arguments [...] is increased” and Peterson considers that these added object arguments are “thematically peripheral or adjunct” and are coded “as a core object argument”. Applying this to Ashéninka, it can be said that, generally, an applicative suffix adds to the verb an oblique argument, which is often marked with an object suffix –but not always–, which would cross-reference a direct object without the applicative suffix. This is shown with the examples in the following subsections.

Considering the language types defined by Polinsky (2013) based on their applicatives, Ashéninka applicatives belong to the type that can be used on transitive and intransitive verbs and whose applicative objects can have benefactive and other roles.

6.6.2.2.1. General applicative *-ako*

The suffix *-ako* exists in all Campan languages with the same form. This suffix has received different names in the literature, and this multinaming is just a reflex of its multifunctionality. An overview of the different names and descriptions of the suffix is important to fully understand its functions in the group of Campan languages and relate them to its use in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. This overview is ordered, in the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, by decreasing geographical distance and, in the Ashé-Ashá group, by decreasing linguistic distance according to my proposed order of the dialectal chain (Pedrós 2018:18; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis).

Starting with Nanti, Michael (2008:287) says that “the indirective applicative *-ako* indicates that the action of the verb affects the applied object in an indirect manner”.

Snell (2011:841-42) calls this suffix “referencial” for Matsigenka, and suggests that its form might come from *akotsi* ‘hand’ (same word in UP Ashéninka, normally used with the inalienable root *-ako* and a pronominal prefix). Snell describes the suffix as having “significados relacionados con las ideas de *contenido en*, *en un recipiente*, *dentro de algo*, etc. y otros que indican ideas como *con respecto a*, *sobre*, etc.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ ‘meanings related to the ideas of *contained in*, *in a container*, *inside something*, etc., and others that indicate ideas such as *with respect to*, *about*, etc.’

For Caquinte, Swift (2008:70-71) uses the name “dativo” and says that *-ako* adds a complement to the clause. He refers to four examples to explain its functions. The translations of the verbs bearing the suffix and their complements related to *-ako* are ‘I’ll talk about my brother’, ‘brought *masato* (in a container)’, ‘I advanced (in the car)’ and ‘it became blood-colour for me’. According to these examples, the suffix has the meanings ‘about’, ‘in a container’ (second and third translations), and ‘for’, respectively.

For Asháninka, Kindberg (1980:462) includes the suffix in his suffix list and says that its meanings are “adentro, dentro de algo; respecto a” ‘inside, inside something; with respect to’.

For Alto Perené, Mihas (2015a:278-84) uses the name “generalized applicative” for *-ako* and says that it “has multiple functions covering a range of locative, ablative, stimulus, and topic meanings” (p. 278).

For Pichis, Payne (1989:243-44) uses the name “dativo” and says that the suffix carries the meanings “con”, “de”, “acerca de”, “sobre”, “para” (‘with’, ‘of’, ‘about’, ‘on’, ‘for’), etc. She adds that, when it is used with intransitive verbs of motion, the suffix refers to a vehicle or the means used for motion.

As regards Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:55-56) also use the name “dativo” and say that the suffix implies an additional complement for the verb. They give five examples to illustrate its use, and the translations of these examples are ‘pull with/for me’, ‘I’ll tell about that’, ‘he dug for them’, ‘he looked at him’ and ‘it got dark over them’. The prepositions used in each translation are the meanings assigned to the suffix.

With this summary, the suffix appears to cover a wide range of meanings expressed in English or Spanish employing a preposition and whose common function is to refer to an oblique argument. Another meaning is that the event takes place inside a container or vehicle, as is described for Matsigenka, Caquinte, Asháninka and Pichis.

In view of all this, some examples from my corpus are analysed in the following lines. My choice of the name *general applicative* (glossed just APPL) is firstly based on discarding other options: I consider *dative* an inappropriate name because this term

is normally used for the indirect object (beneficiary or recipient), and the indirect object is already expressed in Ashéninka through object suffixes without the need of any additional marking; *indirective applicative* may be redundant, given that the very concept of applicative excludes that there might be a *directive applicative*, at least in UP Ashéninka. Since this applicative has very different functions and is used much more than the other ones, we can say that it is a *general applicative*, which is my chosen name, similar to Mihas' (2015a) "generalized applicative".

In the first place, I show in (501) *-ako* on two verbs, in both with the meaning 'about'. The applicative function consists of adding an oblique object (the element *about* which the statement is made) to the verb.

- (501) Ari **ikáatakotzi** iroñaaka irika ashéninka, **akénkithàtakótziri** thayiri sheripyari.
 ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka i-ri=ka
 thus 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA now DEM-M=PROX
 a-shéninka a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-zi-ri
 INCL-fellow.person INCL.S-tell-&-APPL-&-REA-REL
 thayi-ri sheripyari
 cheating-REL shaman
 'Thus is all now about this Ashéninka, what we tell about the cheating shaman.'
 (SCS)

The general applicative is normally used at the end of stories in the same way as in (501): to say 'this is what is told about X', 'they tell this about X', etc., and also at the beginning of stories to say 'I'm going to tell about X', similarly to English *once upon a time*. In (501), both verbs refer to the same person: first mentioned as *irika ashéninka* 'this Ashéninka' and then as *thayiri sheripyari* 'the cheating shaman'. This formula is also mentioned in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:31) for Apurucayali as *nokinkithatakotiri* 'I'm going to tell about him/them'.

In (502), *-ako* has a comitative meaning, equivalent to the use of the English preposition 'with'.

- (502) Haa, róotaki **nokówakotzimìri**.
 hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-want-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 'Yes, that's what I want with you.' (CMH)

In this example, the general applicative adds an oblique argument to the verb *kowaantsi* 'want', which can be transitive or act as a modal verb. This oblique

argument is the 2nd person object suffix *-mi*. *Nokówakotzimiri*, taking into account its relative suffix, means ‘what I want (to do) with you’, and is the positive answer to a proposal from the speaker’s interlocutor to go to play later. Thus, the meaning of *-ako* together with the 2nd person suffix *-mi* is equivalent to English ‘with you’.

In the two verbs in (503), the general applicative refers to the beneficiary, i.e. the boy for whom the others are lifting up the fruits and putting them on his bicycle.

(503) **Itzinàkoténeri rowàkoténeri** henoki *bicicléta-kì*.

i-tzin-ako-t-i-ne-ri r-ow-ako-t-i-ne-ri
3M.S-lift-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O 3M.S-put-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O

henoki bicicleta=ki
up bicycle=LOC

‘They are going to lift them and put them (fruits) for him on the bicycle.’ (PV)

Both verbs have a double object construction with the suffixes *-ne-ri* (3O-3M.O): the object indexed with *-ne*, valid for both genders, refers to the fruits, and the masculine object indexed with *-ri*, to the bicycle boy (the beneficiary). Therefore, in this case, the applicative construction with *-ako* can be translated with the English preposition ‘for’.

In (504), the general applicative refers to the fruits that a man has to gather up in a tree.

(504) **Iháakiro ótsipa kántziri irira, atèetakotziróri** henoki.

i-ha-ak-i-ro o-tsipa kántziri i-ri=ra
3M.S-fill-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-other basket DEM-3M=MED

atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro-ri henoki
go.up-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O-REL up

‘That one has filled another basket, the one who goes up (to gather them).’ (PV)

The fruits with which the man is filling the basket are referred to by the object suffix *-ro*, so that *-ako* causes an intransitive motion verb as *ateetaantsi* ‘go up’ to get an oblique object that expresses the goal of the motion.

In (505), *-ako* refers to the activity about which the conversation is taking place (farming work), and there is no object suffix nor any overt NP: the applicative suffix refers to the context. In this case, the construction with the general applicative can be translated with the English preposition ‘in’.

(505) **Cháantakotàki** éeniro newánkaritzini.

chaant-ako-t-ak-i¹⁵⁹ éeniro n-ewanka-ri-t-zi-ni
 work-APPL-&-PFV-FRS EXI.PST 1S-young-M-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I worked in that when I was young.’ (CCPC)

In (506), *-ako* refers to the passing of time, a meaning that is not mentioned in the works cited above. Also in (507), *-ako* in *hatákowítaka* refers to the passing of time.

(506) **Nokáatakotàki** apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.

no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri
 1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS two moon

wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari
 designate-&-PFV-FRS-1O authority
 ‘Two months ago, I have been designated an authority.’ (CTK)

(507) *Hatákowítaka itayéeterini*, waaka shiyánaka...

ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR

waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.’ (SCFF)

In both examples (506) and (507), there is an expression of time. In (507), *hatákowítaka* appears to be a frozen expression with the meaning ‘shortly before’, given that the meaning ‘go’ (the root of the verb) is not expressed. In combination with the frustrative suffix, *-ako* indicates that there is a short time until the action expressed by the following verb will take place. In (506), the time line goes back, so the reference is to the time that has passed, whose extent is made clear in the NP following the verb (*apiti káshiri* ‘two months’). The verb *kaataantsi* is used to express an amount when combined with numerals, but the applicative suffix changes the meaning of expressing an existing amount to that of an elapsed time. Therefore, in both examples, *-ako* refers to a lapse of time: in (507) to the future, and in (506) to the past.

In (508), *-ako* has a partitive meaning related to the meaning ‘in a container’ described for other Campan languages.

¹⁵⁹ The root *-chaant-* is a loan from the Peruvian Spanish verb *chambear* ‘work’.

(508) Pàakotapákiro.

p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro
 2S-take-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘You have taken your part.’ (CMM)

This sentence is meant almost as a question in which the speaker expects her interlocutor to answer *yes*, as she actually did. The speaker refers to the part of timber that should belong to her interlocutor because she has bought a piece of land. The translation is as the translating consultant produced it, and, since no lexical or grammatical reference to a part of anything is present, the only possible interpretation is that *-ako* has here a partitive meaning related to ‘in a container’: the interlocutor’s timber is not in a container, but belongs to, or is contained inside the property that this woman has bought.

Another example of the partitive/‘in a container’ meaning is in (509) with the verb *shemyaantsi* ‘crush’, which is repeated six times with *-ako* in the same tale and only two without it.

(509) a. Éékiro, éékiro **ishémnyakotátzi** ríraga, meiri.

éékiro i-shemy-ako-t-atzi ri-raga méyiri
 goes.on 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-PROG M-CAT.DEM squirrel
 ‘Goes on, he goes on crushing, he, the squirrel.’ (TSJ)

b. Róetapáeni **ishémnyakotáshitawo** rowa, iyétakitì.

roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro ro=ra
 seed=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O F=MED
 i-ketaki-ti
 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘It was seeds what he was crushing (not with the real purpose of eating them), um..., of forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

In (509b), the object suffix and the NP to which *-ako* refers (seeds of forest peanut, although the squirrel pretends that it is crushing its testicle) are present, while it is assumed from the context in (509a). The meaning of *-ako* in both examples (509) and the other four occurrences with the same verb can be explained thanks to the comments of a speaker: she said that it means that the testicle is part of the squirrel, and, if *-ako* were not present, the crushed item would be the testicle separated from the squirrel or its whole body. This explanation gives the idea of a partitive meaning, but also of the meaning ‘inside a container’, if we consider that the squirrel’s body is

the container of its testicle. In (509b), if we wanted to interpret that the object is ‘forest peanuts’ instead of ‘the testicle’, the seeds are also inside a shell.

In (510), the same meanings partitive and ‘in a container’ can be found.

- (510) Manitzi tee rowawo iyàtharékitho, rowa..., kímíwitàka, ikántètzi... rowa..., irika rira meiri: **ñáakotàkiri** pòshiñáanikitàki.
 manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékitho ro=ra
 jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-eat-REA-3F.O 3M-testicle F=MED
 kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
 look.similar-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED
 i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED squirrel
 ña-ako-t-ak-i-ri poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i
 find-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O tasty-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘The jaguar hasn’t eaten his testicle, um..., it was erroneously similar to..., how to say..., um..., the one of this squirrel: he has found that his is tasty.’ (TSJ)

In this case, the difference from (508) and (509) is that the verb has an object suffix (-*ri*) that does not refer to the object but to the container of the object, i.e. to the animal of which the object is a part (the suffix is masculine, so it can only refer to the squirrel). Therefore, the presence of the general applicative causes that the object suffix does not refer to the object but to the container inside which the object is (the squirrel’s body).

Another instance with the meaning ‘container’ is shown in (511), but in relation to a means of transportation (a bicycle): -*ako* in *áakotànakiròni* indicates that the fruits are transported on a bicycle.

- (511) Amitákotirini **áakotànakiròni** hanta, tsikárika rowapiintziro.
 amitako-t-i-ri-ni a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni
 help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR
 ha=nta tsika=rika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro
 LOC=DIST WH=COND 3M.S-eat-HAB-REA-3F.O
 ‘The one who is going to help him to bring them there, where he usually eats them (fruits).’ (PV)

The idea that -*ako* indicates that something is done in a vehicle is mentioned by Payne (1989:243-44) for Pichis and was also mentioned by my consultants. The meaning ‘means of transportation’ also appears in Heitzman’s Pajonal (1991:121-22) in “*a-tzina-aco-t-ac-a*” ‘we took off’ and “*no-tzina-aco-t-ac-a*” ‘I took off’, where she translates the root -*tzina-* as “despegar” ‘take off’. The speaker is saying that he took

off in a light plane. Actually, the root *-tzina-* means ‘raise’ and is an I-class transitive verb, and both forms bear the RS reflexive suffix *-a*, which means that they raised themselves. The important observation is that *-aco* is used to mean that they raised themselves in a means of transportation (a plane), which is also a container. However, the bicycle referred to in (511) cannot be considered a container, but is a means of transportation.

Summing up, examples (562) to (505) show the following functions of the general applicative: the passing of time in (562) and (506), several oblique arguments in (501) to (505) –which can be translated in English or Spanish by using different prepositions–, partitive-container in (508) to (510), and container-means of transportation in (511). These meanings are the same as those described at the beginning of this section for the other Campan languages, with the only exception of the passing of time, which is not mentioned in any other description of a Campan language.

6.6.2.2.2. Comitative *-imo*

Payne (1989:247-48) describes the suffix *-imo* for Pichis and calls it “presencial”. She says that the suffix “en general significa que la acción del verbo se hace en presencia del complemento del verbo, y con alguna intención”.¹⁶⁰ She gives some examples in which the suffix together with the object are translated as “por él”, “de ella”, “en medio de ellas” and “frente a ti”¹⁶¹; and, to each of these meanings, she adds between brackets “o en su/tu presencia” ‘or in his/her/their/your presence’. Therefore, the range of meanings described by Payne exceeds by far the one of doing something in the presence of someone, as her name for the suffix suggests. In my text corpus, this suffix is quite scarce, with only two occurrences. However, the result of elicitations is quite straightforward, so that the suffix’s meaning becomes very transparent: it expresses that something is done in the presence of someone or can function as a typical dative (signalling the indirect object).

¹⁶⁰ ‘in general, it means that the action of the verb is done in presence of the complement of the verb, and with some intention.’

¹⁶¹ ‘for him’, ‘from her’, ‘in the middle of them (f.)’, ‘in front of you’.

In the long question in (512), *-imo* is attached to the stem *-kimi-* ‘seem’.

- (512) Tsikárika ikántakáakawo **okímitzimotákari** manitzi, róotaki iyatharékittho
rowánkitàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?
tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O
o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS
i-yatharekittho r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MED
i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
3M.S-smash-APPL-DURL-&-REA
‘How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes that it was his
testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?’ (TSJ)

The translation in Spanish of *okímitzimotákari manitzi* given by the consultant was “para que parezca a los ojos del tigre” ‘so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes’. Thus, the meaning ‘in the presence of someone’ acquires a metaphorical character in that what has seemed is what the jaguar actually was seeing with his eyes, although it was not the reality.

In (513), the comitative suffix has a rather typical dative meaning, as the translation ‘for him’ shows. This meaning is the same as one of Payne’s examples above (“por él” ‘for him’).

- (513) Tee **oshitóimotziri** kameetha.
tee o-shitow-imo-t-zi-ri kameetha
NEG.REA 3F.S-get.out-COM-&-REA-3M.O well
‘It didn’t turn out well for him.’ (TSJ)

The comitative suffix *-imo* needs an object to which it has to be applied and this object is always cross-referenced with an object suffix, which increases the valence of the verb: in a transitive verb (512) as well as in an intransitive verb (513), it adds an oblique argument. Therefore, the comitative shows a typical applicative function.

6.6.2.2.3. Benefactives *-went* and *-neent*

The benefactive suffix *-went* (always pronounced [βent]) is described in the Campanist literature in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:56) for Apurucayali (“*-wint*”), Mihás (2015a:288-92) for Alto Perené (“*-vint/-vent*”), Swift (2008:71) for Caquinte (“*-βeNt*”, called “*motivo*”) and Snell (2011:842) for Matsigenka (“*-vent*”, also called

“motivo”). In spite of the different orthographies, the pronunciation is [βɛnt] or [βɪnt] in every variety.

The suffix is applicative in that it adds a participant to the verb, which is made explicit with an object suffix. Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:56) assign the suffix a typical benefactive meaning (in benefit of someone), and also the meanings “a causa de” or “por motivo de” (both ‘because of’) referring to the referent of the object suffix. Mihas (2015a:288) says that “the Beneficiary suffix *-vent~-vint* (in free variation) encodes pure Beneficiary, Maleficiary, Deputative Beneficiary, Substitute, and Topic participants”. Swift (2008:71) says that the suffix has the meanings “a causa de” ‘because of’, “debido a” ‘due to’ or “en nombre de” ‘in the name of’. However, he gives three examples and the translations of the verbs bearing the suffix are ‘order in my name’, ‘he is/was not happy with you’ and ‘she sang for God’ (the referents of the suffix are, respectively, ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘God’). Snell (2011:842) says that the suffix “añade un complemento que es la motivación o razón para la acción o el estado. Tiene aproximadamente el mismo campo de significado que *a causa de*, *a favor de*, *por motivo de*, *debido a* o *en nombre de*”.¹⁶² Summing up, Payne, Payne & Sánchez, Swift and Snell describe a suffix that expresses a typical benefactive meaning and the meaning ‘because of’, while Mihas gives a more complicated description. In my text corpus, there are only two instances of the suffix, with the meanings ‘for them’ (514) and ‘to it’ (515), while, in elicitations, the suffix expresses a typical benefactive meaning (‘in favour of someone’) and a goal. These occurrences are analysed below.

Example (514) shows a typical benefactive and recipient meaning in *onkòtsiwéntziri* ‘they (f.) cook for them (m.)’.

¹⁶² ‘...adds a complement that is the motivation or reason for the action or state. It has approximately the same meaning field as *because of*, *in favour of*, *by reason of*, *due to* or *in the name of*.’

- (514) Arírika okìtehíityamanàki, tsinani anáninki, kameetha **onkòtsiwéntziri** otomi, ishíntopáeni, riyáatantèyari yotáantsipánkoki, otómipáeni.
 ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS woman 3F.S-get.up-FRS
 kameetha Ø-onkotsi-went-zi-ri o-tomi Ø-ishinto=paeni
 well 3F.S-cook-BEN-REA-3M.O 3F-son 3F-daughter=PL
 r-iyaa-t-ant-eya-ri iyo-t-aantsi-panko=ki o-tomi=paeni
 3M.S-go-&-RES-IRR-REL know-&-INF-house=LOC 3F-son=PL
 ‘When it dawns early in the morning, the women get up, cook well for their sons and daughters, and they go to school, their children.’ (CTK)

If the suffix *-went* were absent, the verb would mean ‘they cook them’. In this way, the suffix expresses that the referent of the object suffix is the beneficiary and the receiver.

The peculiarity of (515) is that the suffix is used with an adjective (root *-shintsi-* ‘strong’) that acts as predicate, so this fact is crucial to interpret the meaning of the suffix.

- (515) **Pishíntsiwíntiro** kameetha.
 pi-shintsi-went-i-ro kameetha
 2S-strong-BEN-IRR-3F.O well
 ‘Hit it very strongly.’ (TSJ)

An adjective acting as predicate can be translated in English as ‘be+ADJECTIVE’; thus, the adjective *-shintsi-* ‘strong’ as predicate can be translated as ‘be strong’. In (515), the presence of the benefactive and the object suffixes transforms the meaning in ‘be strong to it’. The context of the tale is that a squirrel is cheating a jaguar by asking it to hit its own testicle, so that the meaning of the verb in this context is ‘hit it strongly’.

A pair of examples from elicitations are in (516).

(516) a. Pimáryawentàna.	b. Pániwentàna.
pi-marya-went-a-na	p-ani-went-a-na
2-lie-BEN-&-1O	2-walk-BEN-&-1O
‘You’re lying for me (in my favour).’	‘You walked to see me.’

Example (516a) shows a typical beneficiary meaning, while, in (516b), the beneficiary expresses the goal of walking, which is the 1st person cross-referenced with the object suffix.

All in all, the pan-Campan benefactive presents a wide range of meanings similar to those of the Spanish preposition *por*: *por ella* can mean ‘in favour of her’ or

‘because of her’, which appear to be the core pan-Campan meanings of the suffix, while somewhat different meanings can be considered extensions of these.

The suffix *-neent* is very infrequent, given that there is no example in my text corpus and it appeared fortuitously in elicitations while researching *-went*. It is always accompanied by the general applicative *-ako* and its meaning appears to be identical to *-went*. The different nuances that it may express are yet to be researched. The examples from elicitations are in (517).

- (517) a. Noshiróntakonéentakari
 no-shiront-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-laugh-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I laugh at him (at his problems).’
- b. Niráakonéentakari.
 n-ira-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-cry-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I cry/suffer for him (for his absence).’
- c. Nokihákonéentakári.
 no-kih-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-be.upset-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I’m upset in favour of him.’

In the three examples (517), the oblique object is a man. In (517c), the translation shows a canonical benefactive meaning, but, in (517a) and (517b), there is a different relation between the subject and the oblique object. A better knowledge of this suffix might lead to consider it not a beneficiary, but just a reinforcement or a specific nuance of the general applicative *-ako*.

6.6.2.2.4. Away *-pitha*

The suffix *-pitha* is described by Payne (1989:284-85) for Pichis as an applicative, as also Mihas (2015a:300-02) does for the cognate *-apitsa* in Alto Perené. In UP Ashéninka, *-pitha* is also an applicative because its presence implies that an element referenced as object (with an object suffix, as an NP or in context) is an oblique object. I have used the label *away* because the suffix indicates that something is done to get away or hide from someone, or to avoid someone, or similar meanings. The oblique object is always a human being, at least as far as I have experienced in UP Ashéninka as well as in Payne’s (1989) and Mihas’ (2015a) examples, although it cannot be ruled out that it may be used to express that something is done in order to get away from an

animal, and even from an object (e.g. we can imagine getting away from or avoiding a house or a village). The only occurrence in natural speech in my corpus is in (518).

- (518) Àapithatàtyéeroma?
 Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
 3F.S-take-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
 ‘Is she going to take it away? (his house, from him).’ (CMM)

In this case, the root *-aa-* ‘take’ acquires the meaning ‘take something from someone’ due to the presence of *-pitha*. This is indeed a figurative meaning because no one can take a house and carry it with her, but any not too heavy object can be taken from someone and be moved away in space, and in this case the suffix would acquire a rather directional meaning. In (518), the object suffix refers to the actual object (the house), while the oblique object to which *-pitha* refers (him) is present only in the context. This example proves that the oblique object can cross-reference an element existent only in the context.

The examples with *-pitha* shown below are from Casique (2012:117) and were explained to me by her personally (she is a native speaker). The Ashéninka verbs and the translation to Spanish (given in footnotes) are from Casique (2012), and the segmentation and the translation from Spanish to English are mine.

- (519) Nokyáapithatanàkiri
 no-kyaa-pitha-t-an-ak-i-ri
 1S-get.in-AWAY-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘I got in to hide from him.’¹⁶³ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)
- (520) Pishitówapithàtiri
 pi-shitow-a-pitha-t-i-ri
 2S-get.out-&-AWAY-&-IRR-3M.O
 ‘Get out to move away from him.’¹⁶⁴ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)
- (521) Otónkaapithatanákimi.
 o-tonkaa-pitha-t-an-ak-i-mi
 3F.S-climb.a.hill-AWAY-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘She climbed a hill to get away from you.’¹⁶⁵ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)

¹⁶³ In Casique’s textbook: “Yo entré (para esconderme) de él.”

¹⁶⁴ In Casique’s textbook: “Sal (para apartarte) de él.”

¹⁶⁵ There is an evident mistake in Casique (2012), which Casique herself corrected when she explained this sentence to me: her textbook says “Ella subió a la loma (para escapar) de él”, and the 2nd person object suffix makes clear that it is not to get away ‘from him’ (“de él”) but ‘from you’ (*de ti*).

- (522) Omáapithàtziri.
 o-mag-pitha-t-zì-ri
 3F.S-sleep-AWAY-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘She was falling asleep so as not to pay attention to him.’¹⁶⁶ (Casique 2012:117;
 glosses mine)

Examples (519) to (522) show a similar meaning for the suffix *-pitha*: ‘hide’ in (519), ‘move away’ (Spanish *apartarse*) in (520), ‘get away’ (Spanish *escapar*) in (521), and ‘not pay attention’ (Spanish *no hacer caso*) in (522). (520) and (521) express a motion away from someone, and also (519) –hiding does not always imply motion, but it does in this case–, while (522) does not imply any motion, but the idea of being away from someone is obvious, at least away from what he wanted to say. Therefore, the suffix *-pitha* appears to express always the idea of getting away from someone, be it in a literal spatial sense or in a figurative non-spatial sense.

Nonetheless, is this general meaning ‘away’ also applicable to Payne’s Pichis (1989) and Mihas’ Alto Perené (2015a)? Payne (1989:116) says that “Este sufijo indica que la acción se hace con relación a alguien o a su alrededor”,¹⁶⁷ but her examples are the same that I have shown above (it seems that they were taken from Payne 1989 for Casique’s 2012 textbook). Mihas (2015a:300) says that “The Separative applicative *-apitsa* has three meanings: (i) Directional Source with the verbs of motion, (ii) depossession of a valuable inanimate entity with transfer verbs, and (iii) adverbial meanings ‘stealthily’, ‘sneakily’, ‘behind someone’s back’ with other verbs.” Mihas’ meaning (i) is clearly directional, as she herself names it; meaning (ii), depossession, implies taking something *away* from someone; meaning (iii), doing something stealthily or sneakily, implies hiding, as in example (519) above. Therefore, Mihas’ three meanings also imply doing something away from someone.

6.7. Other affixes and enclitics

In the following subsections, the affixes and enclitics that cannot be included in a broader category, such as aspect or modality, are described. They are ordered

¹⁶⁶ The original translation in Casique (2012) says “Ella se dormía (delante) de él” ‘She was falling asleep (before) him’. However, Casique explained to me that the actual meaning is “Ella se dormía para no hacerle caso a él”, which is what I have translated.

¹⁶⁷ ‘This suffix indicates that the action is done in relation to someone or around him/her.’

according to the frequency in which they occur in my text corpus. Thus, the first subsection is devoted to the plural and distributive suffixes, which occur most in my corpus, and from there going down. It is important to remark the very low frequency of some of them: dual *-ta* and time *-ant* occur only twice; and instrumental *-ant*, ball *-cheyinaa*, thick *-she*, liquid *-kira*, attenuative *-neent*, mirative *-ña*, badness *-tha* and desperately *-riko* occur only once. The malefactive *-heempiy* does not occur in natural texts. The rest range from the 55 occurrences of the plural *-aiy/-eey-ni* to the 3 of the partitive *-it*. Nonetheless, some of those with the least frequency have been researched in depth through elicitation, while, for others, I have only little information, which may cast doubts on the accuracy of the description. Whenever this is the case, it is mentioned in the corresponding section. Even though my interpretation of some suffixes may be considered tentative, the information presented here may be of much interest for future research.

6.7.1. Verbal number: plural, distributive and dual suffixes (*-aiy/-eey...-ni*, *-yi...-ni*, *-ta*)

The three morphemes described in this section fall into the category of verbal number as it is described by Corbett (2004:243-64). The plural suffix *-aiy/-eey...-ni* always expresses participant number (Corbett 2004:247-49). The distributive suffix *-yi...(-ni)* can express in some cases a plurality of events (called “event number” by Corbett 2004:246-47), but always involving a plurality of one of the arguments, which should put it in Corbett’s (2004:249-50) category “mixed event and participant number”. However, in some cases, the distributive suffix expresses only participant number. Finally, the dual suffix *-ta* can also express event or participant number, but the duality of events does not need to involve a dual participant.

Corbett (2004:252) mentions the difficulty to distinguish nominal from verbal number when it is marked on verbs –in Ashéninka, this difficulty is especially present in the plural suffix due to the fact that it expresses only participant number. As a diagnostic to identify verbal number, Corbett (2004:253) says that “Verbal number operates on an ergative basis: if the number of participants is relevant it will be that of the most directly affected argument of the verb (the absolutive).” In Ashéninka, we

can say that verbal number refers to the participant most affected by the verb, but the most affected participant must be considered in terms of focus rather than of the absolutive, given that verbal number can refer to any of the participants (S, A and O), while Corbett's absolutive excludes the agent. Example (525) with the plural suffix, (534) with the distributive, and (535a), (536), (537a) and (539) with the dual show verbal number referring to the agent.

6.7.1.1. Plural *-aiy/-eey...-ni*

The alternation between the two plural forms *-aiy* and *-eey* appears to have phonological reasons. In my corpus, *-aiy* occurs after /k/ or linked to a preceding stem with final /a/, and *-eey* occurs in all other environments.¹⁶⁸ In any case, both plural forms and also the distributive are often pronounced as a diphthong /ai/ or /ei/ (in the case of the distributive *-yi*, fused with the preceding vowel). This pronunciation complicates their identification, which can be done taking into account phonological constraints. A frequent word as *ikáateyini* (i-kaa-t-eey-i-ni, 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL, 'they') can be pronounced [i'ka:te,ini] or [i'ka:teini] even by the same speaker. This use of the plural suffixes combined with the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi* with the function of pronouns is described in Section 3.1.3. I use the spellings <aiy> and <eey> following the Ashéninka traditional orthography.

These number suffixes are optional and a plurality can be expressed without them if the context makes it clear. The plurality can refer to any participant. In (523), the plural suffixes on the intransitive verb *heekaantsi* 'live in a place' indicate a plural subject; in (524), the plurality refers to the object, and, in (525), to the agent (subject of a transitive verb).

¹⁶⁸ Payne (1989:218) says that, in Pichis, the diphthong /ai/ is pronounced [ei] after /t/, /s/ or /β/, and [ai] in other cases. This distribution is clearly different from that of Ucayali-Pajonal.

- (523) Nokáemantzimiri nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta **pihéekàyini** hanta éeroka pinámpiki.

no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
1S-call-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O

hempe pi-kant-a pi-heek-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-live-PL-FRS-PLLOC=DIST 2 2-community=LOC
'I have called you because I want to ask how you all live in your community.'
(CTK)

- (524) Iita **pitsipáyarini**?

iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni
WH 2S-accompany-PL-RS-REL-PL
'Whom (pl.) are you (sg.) going to accompany?' (CMM)

- (525) *Entonces* máaweni **iñéeyakirini**.

entonces máaweni i-ñ-ee-ak-i-ri-ni
then all 3M.S-ver-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
'Then, everyone sees him.' (SCS)

Corbett's (2004:253) statement that the verbal number refers to "the most directly affected argument" is fulfilled in the three previous examples, but, as mentioned in the introduction to this Section 6.7.1, in terms of focus rather than of Corbett's absolutive. In (523), the intransitive verb *heekaantsi* 'live' has only one argument. In (524), the plural object is the most directly affected argument because it is the goal of the question. In (525), the important fact conveyed by the verbal plural is that *everyone* sees him, which is reinforced by *máaweni* 'all', so that the plurality refers to the agent.

The second element of the discontinuous plural suffix (-*ni*) can be omitted, although this happens very rarely: out of 34 occurrences of verbs with the plural suffix in my text corpus (forms with the totalitative copula *kaataantsi* are not counted), the suffix -*ni* is omitted only in one case, which is in (526).

- (526) Ràntziwatakápakawo, **ihóokaiyàpáakiro**.

r-antziwatak-ap-ak-a-ro
3M.S-stumble.carrying.load-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O

i-hook-aiy-apa-ak-i-ro
3M.S-empty-PL-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

'He stumbles carrying a load, he scatters them (fruits).'

In this example, only the first element of the discontinuous plural suffix (-*aiy*) is present, but not the second element (-*ni*). When speakers are asked to compare a verb with the plural -*ni* with the same form without -*ni*, the answers are not the same for every speaker. Regarding *ihóokaiyàpáakiro*, a speaker said that **ihóokaiyapáakiróni*

(adding *-ni*) was not right, but another speaker said that it means the same as without *-ni*, although it is more common without *-ni*, and I have obtained the same ambiguous answers with other verbs. A possible interpretation based on the fact that *ihóokaiyàpáakiro* has an object suffix and the plurality refers to it, is invalidated by other examples. In some transcription sessions, I noticed that the consultant omitted *-ni* at times although he himself had uttered it in the recording. This makes it quite logical to think that it can be omitted; otherwise he would not have omitted it when transcribing his own speech. Therefore, my interpretation is that *-ni* is normally used with *-aiy/-eey*, but can be optionally dropped. Mihas (2015a:266) also says that *-ni* is optional in Alto Perené.

6.7.1.2. Distributive *-yi...(-ni)*

The distributive suffix *-yi* has a distributive function, but can also express the meaning ‘all’. Actually, in most cases, if all the members of a group are referred to, this implies that *each* of them (distributive meaning) is referred to. A clear distributive meaning is observed when a speaker points out that the verb means ‘one by one’, but this clear distributive meaning is not always discernible in occurrences from natural texts. Some of these cases are discussed below.

In (527), the distributive suffix on the verb *paantsi* ‘give’ means that the food is given to each one of the people referred to, so that a portion is served to each individual and not to a group as a whole, hence the distributive meaning. The irrealis marking in *ipáyitiri* indicates habituality.

- (527) Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsipáeni **ipáyitiri** haka oyari?
 p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka wanawontsi=paeni
 2S-get.used-&-PFV-REA-3F.O LOC=PROX food=PL
 i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri ha=ka ow-ya-ri
 3M.S-give-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL LOC=PROX eat-IRR-REL
 ‘Have you got used here to the meals they give here to eat?’ (CMH)

In (528), the plural final suffix *-ni* is used in the verb with the distributive suffix.

- (528) **Roshètaitakiróni**, okípatsitáki.
 r-o-shet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni o-kipatsi-t-ak-i
 3M.S-CAUS-clean-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL 3F.S-dirty-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘He cleans them all, they (fruits) are dirty.’ (PV)

This is one of the 4 instances of a verb with the distributive and the plural *-ni* in my corpus out of a total of 17 occurrences of the distributive. I explained in Section 6.7.1.1 that, in most cases, the plural *-aiy/-eey* occurs accompanied by *-ni*, but it is the opposite for the distributive, for which it is more common to occur without *-ni*. The verb *roshètaitakiróni* in (528) was one about which I was enquiring in order to find out the obligatoriness or optionality of *-ni*. I was told that the verb without *-ni* means the same and that the distributive suffix expresses that the fruits are cleaned ‘one by one’.

In (529), *héekayitàsiri* means ‘all those who live’, so that the distributive suffix means ‘all’ rather than ‘each one’, although, in this case, ‘all’ means the same as ‘each individual’ (‘all those who live’ means here the same as ‘each one who lives’).

(529) *Viernes ari añáawakèya máaweni osheki, osheki atziri, héekayitàsiri haka, nampítsiki Katsinkaari.*

viernes ari a-ña-awak-eya máaweni osheki atziri
Friday AFF INCL.S-see-RECP-IRR.REFL all many person

heek-a-yi-t-atsi-ri ha=ka
live-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=PROX

nampi-tsi=ki Katsinkaari
community-ALI=LOC Chicosa

‘On Fridays, we meet all, many, many people, all those who live here, in the community of Chicosa.’ (CTK)

The distributive in *héekayitàsiri* in (529) might also be interpreted as indicating “multiple spatial distribution”, one of the meanings that Mihás (2015a:270) describes for Alto Perené, since each family lives in their house and some members of a community do not live in its main settlement. This meaning appears to be the reason for the distributive in *ohéekayítzirà* in (530).

(530) *Ikántziro..., iroka riri yamarámpiti hanta, irowa..., owákirariki owaantsi, ohéekayítzirà incháponthopáeni.*

i-kant-zi-ro i-ro=ka r-ir-i i-kamarampi-ti
3M.S-say-REA-3F.O DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-drink-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS

ha=nta i-ro=ra owákira-ri=ki owaani-ntsi
LOC=DIST DEM-F=MED new-REL=LOC chacra-ALI

o-heek-a-yi-t-zi=ra inchápontho=paeni
3F.S-be.in.a.place-&-DISTR-&-REA=MED stake=PL

‘How to say..., this one drinks his ayahuasca there, um..., in the new *chacras*, where the stakes are.’ (SCS)

The translating consultant explained to me that the distributive in *ohéekayítzirà* indicates that the stakes are placed in several *chacras*, i.e. in different places, which coincides well with Mihas' (2015a:270) "multiple spatial distribution".

Mihas (2015a:270) says that the distributive suffix in Alto Perené "has a diminutive sense [...] referring to dead people or individuals regarded to be worthy of pity". This is the case in (531), where the diminutive function is also expressed through the attenuative suffix. The individual referred to in this story is indeed worthy of pity.

- (531) Shinkyàayinéentaka.
 shinki-a-yi-neent-ak-a
 drunk-&-DISTR-ATT-PFV-REA
 'He is a bit drunk.' (SCS)

The distributive suffix can also mean 'the whole, all of it', as in (532), where *-yi* refers to an uncountable element (*ayahuasca*).

- (532) Irika **iráyitàsiri** iyamarámpiti.
 i-ri=ka ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kamarampi-ti
 DEM-M=PROX drink-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 'This one who is drinking all his ayahuasca.' (SCS)

The distributive suffix can indicate a plurality of events, but it always involves a plurality of at least one of the arguments. In (527), the event of serving food is repeated many times, and all the arguments are plural (the subject is a group of people who serves it, the beneficiary is a group of people who receives it and the object is a plurality of foods, already expressed by the nominal plural enclitic *=paeni* in *wanawóntsipàeni* 'meals'). In (528), the plurality is the object, but the act of cleaning is repeated for each fruit. In (532), the act of drinking is repeated several times, and the meaning 'all of it' refers to the object. In (533), every participant of the causative verbal form *rówakayityáririri* is plural (subject, object and causee), and there is also a plurality of events (they let them eat a number of times). In (534), the act of guessing is repeated many times (once by each of the members of the subject).

- (533) ...riyaate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, **rówakayityárirí** itomi.
 r-iyaa-t-i i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri
 3M.S-go-&-IRR 3M.S-search-&-IRR-3M.O animal
 r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
 3M.S-bring-FRS-3M.O INCL-house=LOC
 r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri i-tomi
 3M.S-eat-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-REL 3M-son
 ‘...they went to look for animals, brought them to their house, and let their children eat them.’ (CMH)

The same as with the plural suffix, the distributive suffix can refer to every argument of the clause: in (528) and (532), it refers to the object, and in (529) and (530), to the subject. As for the agent (subject of a transitive verb), an example is in (534), where the verb *iyotaantsi* ‘know’ is best translated as ‘guess’ and the distributive refers to ‘all’ or ‘each of them’ besides a plurality of events (everyone guesses once).

- (534) **Riyóyitawakíri**, ikantzi...
 r-iyó-yi-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kant-zi
 3M.S-know-DISTR-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-say-REA
 ‘They guess who he is (as he arrives), they say...’ (SCS)

6.7.1.3. Dual *-ta*

While the plural and the distributive suffixes show similar features (order inside the verbal complex, combinability with the final plural *-ni...*), the dual suffix *-ta* shows very different features, and the only thing in common is that all of them express verbal number. I discovered this suffix through elicitation, and my conclusion is that it indicates that one of the arguments is composed of two elements or that an event is repeated two times, which fits very well the concept of verbal number as defined by Corbett (2004:243-64), who says that the existence of dual verbal number is very rare cross-linguistically (2004:250).

A verb with this suffix can very often be interpreted as bearing the anterior suffix *-it* instead of the dual one, and, out of context, both interpretations are possible in most cases, as examples (535), (537) and (539) show. In my corpus of natural texts, I have identified only one example (541), but the results from elicitations, shown in examples (535) to (540), give a better idea of the suffix’s meaning. I proposed

Ashéninka verbs for translation into Spanish to two different speakers, whom I call A (a woman of the middle age group) and B (a man of the older age group). After each translation, I write between parentheses from which speaker each translation is. Not every verb has a translation from both speakers because my enquiry was directed to find out the meaning of some suffixes formed with /t/, /a/ and /i/, and the speakers were sometimes producing verbs of their own besides translating those that I proposed to them. In some examples, speakers translated the verb with a past meaning, and, in these cases, I infer that they interpreted the verb with the anterior suffix. In cases where two different translations interpreting the verb with different suffixes (dual and anterior) were given, I show the two possible segmentations.

- (535) a. Piyótzitawo.
 p-iyo-t-zi-**ta**-ro
 2S-know-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘You learn two things.’ (A)
 ‘Two people learn it.’ (A)
- b. Piyótzitawo.
 p-iyo-tz-**it**-a-ro
 2S-know-&-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘You knew it before.’ (B)
- (536) Noñéetzitawo.
 no-ñaa-t-zi-**ta**-ro
 1S-see-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘We see it both at the same time.’ (A)
- (537) a. Rántzitàwo.
 r-ant-zi-**ta**-ro
 3M.S-do-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘They do it both at the same time.’ (A)
- b. Rántzitàwo.
 r-ant-**it**-a-ro
 3M.S-do-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘He did it before.’ (B)
- (538) Powata.
 p-ow-a-**ta**
 2S-eat-REA-DU
 ‘You’ve eaten again.’ (B)
- (539) a. Nompóhitawo.
 n-ompoh-i-**ta**-ro
 1S-hit-FRS-DU-3F.O
 ‘We hit it both at the same time.’ (A)
- b. Nompóhitawo.
 n-ompoh-**it**-a-ro
 1S-hit-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘Before hitting (another person), I had hit it.’ (B)

- (540) Nothótzitawo.
 no-tho-t-zí-**ta**-ro
 1S-suck-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 'I suck it the same as you.' (B)

Examples (535), (537) and (539) are ambiguous, as the different translations show, and also (536) and (540) might be ambiguous, although, since only one speaker was asked in these cases, there are not different translations. The only totally unambiguous example is (538) because it is an A-class verb, so that it is impossible to identify a suffix *-it* inside the verbal complex (note that the anterior suffix changes the RS I-class suffix to A-class, hence the RS suffix *-a* in the three (b) examples). Therefore, most I-class verbs with a dual or an anterior suffix can be ambiguous without a clarifying context. Actually, we can see that speaker B tended to an anterior interpretation, while speaker A tended to a dual one.

In (535a), (536), (537a) and (539a), the dual suffix implies a dual subject, although, in (535a), speaker A also gave the option with a dual object. Actually, this speaker became aware of the suffix that I was trying to elicit and told me that *-ta* means that there are two elements involved. Speaker B's translation in (540) has a grammatical singular subject, but implies two people doing the same action. Speaker B's translations in (535b), (537b) and (539b) are best interpreted with the anterior suffix *-it*, and (538) expresses the repetition of an action. It is important to remark that, in (535), I mentioned A's translations to B and he said that it was also right, which confirms the need of a context for a right interpretation. With these results, we can see that the dual *-ta* expresses participant number in (535a), (536), (537a), (539a) and (540); and event number in (538) (repetition). However, the translations 'at the same time' in (536), (537a) and (539a) add a temporal nuance that implies an event carried out twice by two different subjects in the same moment.

The only instance of the dual suffix that I have identified in my text corpus is in the fragment from a conversation in (541), where speaker A is the same one as in the elicitations above.

(541) A: **Pámita** niha échatzi?
 p-am-i-ta niha échatzi
 2S-bring-FRS-DU water also
 ‘Did you also bring water?’

C: Hee, **námita**.
 heen-am-i-ta
 AFF 1S-bring-FRS-DU
 ‘Yes, I also brought.’ (CCPC)

In the conversation from which (541) is taken, speaker C had said that he had brought coca leaves to chew, and speaker A asks him whether he has brought *also* water (besides coca leaves). The meaning ‘also’ is expressed by *échatzi*, but is reinforced with the dual suffix, which refers to two object participants (coca leaves and water). Speaker C does not repeat *échatzi*, but also uses the dual suffix, which conveys that he brought *both* things. Both *pámita* and *námita* could be interpreted as bearing the anterior instead of the dual suffix, but the dual interpretation accords with *échatzi*. The verbs are referring to a past action, but the anterior meaning is difficult to conceive because this action is not meant to be previous to any other action, although this interpretation cannot be totally ruled out (e.g. bringing water before arriving at the place where they are talking).

As can be seen in (535a), (536), (537a), (539a) and (540), the dual suffix is placed between the RS and the object suffix, which helps to identify it and avoids the confusion with suffixes with the same or a similar form. This suffix has not been described for another Campan language, so that my positing it may be considered tentative, but, based on the examples above, I think that this analysis is quite reasonable. I have provided all the data I have, so that everyone can draw their own conclusions.

6.7.2. Resultative *-ant/-anant*

I have taken the name *resultative* from Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:59-60), who say that the suffix indicates that the action is the result or the justification of another action. Brown (2006:111) defines *resultative* as “designating a clause or sentence element that expresses outcome or consequence”. In UP Ashéninka, the resultative suffix can express consequence, goal, outcome, final event in a series of events, and

cause. This suffix is very frequent and causes a change in RS inflection from I-class to A-class. The alternative form *-anant* is only used in the presence of the causative *-aka* and the relative *-ri*, as is shown in (545). The different meanings of the suffix are illustrated with the examples below.

In (542), the resultative suffix indicates a goal: the goal of hitting it strongly and crushing it is to make it get out good (tasty) (you hit it strongly, ergo it gets out good).

- (542) Pikañáshityáwo pishémyero **òshitowantapákyari** kaméethèni.
 pi-kañ-ashi-t-ya-ro pi-shemy-i-ro
 2S-hit.strongly-PURP-&-IRR-3F.O 2S-crush-FRS-3F.O
 o-shitow-ant-ap-ak-ya-ri kameetha-ni
 3F.S-get.out-RES-ALL-PFV-IRR-REL well-ADJ
 ‘Hit it strongly and crush it so that it gets out good (tasty, a supposed nut).’
 (TSJ)

In (543), the resultative suffix expresses a consequence.

- (543) Tsiká ikantya, ikántètzi..., rówaga..., irika **rówamantýáririri** manitzi?
 tsiká i-kant-ya i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro-raga
 WH 3M.S-COP-IRR 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F-CAT.DEM
 i-ri=ka r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri manitzi
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-CAUS-die-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL jaguar
 ‘How could it be, how to say..., um..., so that this one (a squirrel) killed the jaguar?’ (TSJ)

Actually, the question asks which might be the cause of this consequence (which is the cause of the squirrel killing the jaguar?). The line of reasoning is: something happened (the answer to the question), ergo the squirrel killed the jaguar.

In (544), the resultative expresses the cause: he has heard that she had him called, and this is the reason for his arrival (you had me called, ergo I arrived).

- (544) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na¹⁶⁹
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I’ve heard that you had me called.’ (CTK)

Immediately after the sentence in (544), the speaker uttered the one in (545), which is my only instance of the resultative with the form *-anant*.

¹⁶⁹ In this case, the resultative does not cause a change to A-class inflection because there is a 1st person object suffix after the RS suffix and the verb is in realis, which causes any RS suffix to become I-class inflected (see Section 6.1.1).

(545) Nokoyi niyoti iita **pikàemakáanantakinàri**.

no-koy-i n-iyo-t-i iita pi-kaem-aka-anant-ak-i-na-ri
 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR WH 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O-REL
 'I want to know why you had me called.' (CTK)

In (545), the resultative expresses consequence: he wants to know the reason of her having him called, which is the consequence (there is some reason, ergo you had me called). The form *-anant* is only used when the same verb hosts both the causative *-aka* and the relative *-ri*. This alternative form was discovered by trying to find out if there was another suffix in play with the form **-an*, but my final conclusion undoubtedly is that there is an alternative form *-anant*. The consultant did not accept the forms **pikàemakáanantákina* (without the relative) nor **pikàemakáantakinàri* (with the resultative as *-ant*). Moreover, when trying to change the suffixes in the verb in (546) (*ikímitakáantawitakàwo*), the consultant did not accept the addition of the relative suffix *-ri* (**ikímitakáantawitakawòri*), but said that the right form should be *ikímitakáanantawitakawòri*, with *-anant* instead of *-ant* as the form of the resultative suffix. Therefore, there is no doubt that the added *-an* cannot be considered a different suffix: *-anant* is an alternative form of the resultative.

In (546), the resultative in the long verb *ikímitakáantawitakàwo* is actually a clarification: the narrator says that the squirrel has cheated the jaguar, and then explains in what this cheating consists. However, the resultative can be considered an expression of cause: the squirrel has made seem something false, ergo the jaguar has been cheated.

(546) Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yatharékhitho **ikímitakáantawitakàwo**

róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotàki kameetha iyátharékitho...

r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar

i-yatharékhitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O

roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS

kameetha i-yatharékhitho

good 3M-testicle

'The squirrel has cheated this jaguar, because he has made it seem (being false), um..., how to say..., that that really was his good (tasty) testicle...' (TSJ)

In (547), the resultative expresses an outcome, and the question asks for the reason of that outcome: something happened (the answer to the question), ergo he died.

- (547) Íitaka **ikámantàkari**?
 iita=ka i-kam-ant-ak-a-ri
 WH=INT 3M.S-die-RES-PFV-REA-REL
 ‘What did he die from?’ (CMH)

Example (548) presents a special case because the verb with the resultative suffix is the final event of a series of events.

- (548) Árika athónkanàkiro, apíyanaki, akáwoshitanàki échatzi ate **owántyari** hanta.
 ari=rika a-thonk-an-ak-i-ro
 AFF=COND INCL.S-finish-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 a-piy-an-ak-i a-kawoshi-t-an-ak-i échatzi
 INCL.S-come.back-ABL-PFV-FRS INCL.S-bathe-&-ABL-PFV-FRS also
 Ø-a-t-i Ø-ow-ant-ya-ri ha=nta
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-eat-RES-IRR-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘When we finish (playing), we’ll come back, we’ll bathe and then we’ll go to eat there.’ (CMH)

The speaker is proposing his interlocutor to come back, bathe and then eat, and this final verb bears the resultative suffix. Rather than a cause-consequence relation, the verb with the resultative expresses the final event of a series of events, which may be considered somewhat as the result or outcome of the previous events, so that the final event would not be possible until the previous events have been realized. In this way, the line of reasoning may be: we come back, we bathe, and ergo we eat.

In (549), there is an example of the occurrence with the connector *róohatzi*.

- (549) **Róohatzi ipíyantàna.**
 róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a
 then 3M.S-come.back-RES-ABL-REA
 ‘Then he comes back.’ (SCS)

The resultative occurs almost always in a clause introduced by *róohatzi*. This word is a discursive connector with a function similar to English ‘then’, i.e. it sequences a series of events by introducing a new event. In these cases, the function of *-ant* appears to be similar to that in (548) signalling the last event of a series of events.

In most cases, the verb with the resultative also bears the relative suffix, and there is a relation between the presence or absence of the relative suffix and the meaning expressed by the resultative. When the resultative expresses goal (542), consequence

in (543) and (545), outcome (547) or final event of a series of events (548), then it bears the relative suffix. When the resultative expresses a cause, as in (544) and (546), its presence is due to being preceded by *róohatzi* (549) or the verb is negated (550), then it does not bear the relative suffix. This pattern is repeated along the 49 occurrences in my text corpus with the only exception in (551). In (550), the resultative expresses a goal: we chew coca leaves in order not to be thirsty (we chew, ergo we are not thirsty). However, there is no relative suffix. The same happens in other instances in my corpus in negated verbs, which proves that a negative particle blocks the relative suffix triggered by the resultative.

- (550) Aaki amónkotàki, tekatsi, eero **amírimiritanta**.
 Ø-a-ak-i Ø-amonko-t-ak-i tekatsi
 INCL.S-take-PFV-FRS INCL.S-chew-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI
 eero a-miri~miri-t-ant-a
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-be.thirsty~ITE-&-RES-REA
 ‘We take (coca leaves) and chew, there isn’t (pain), so as not to be thirsty.’
 (CCPC)

In (551), slipping is the consequence of jumping (he jumps, ergo he slips). Therefore, according to the general rule, the verb *ráashiràtantanakáwo* should bear a relative suffix. A possible explanation for its absence is that, since there is a filler after the verb, maybe the speaker was thinking about using this verb as a cause (the consequence might be that he fell on the stake with fatal results), and then he changed the line of narration. Probably, the best kind of explanation for only one exception must be based on the hesitations typical of the spoken language.

- (551) Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanéemi, **ráashiràtantanakáwo**, rowa..., inchato, ikáatziyawitága.
 i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-jump-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA
 r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra inchato
 3M.S-slip-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED stake
 i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra
 3M.S-stand-&-FRU-&-REA=MED
 ‘So he wanted to jump again, so that he slipped, um..., towards the stake, where he was standing (with a bad result).’ (SCS)

6.7.3. Other suffixes with the form *-ant*: occupation, time and instrumental

Casique's textbook (2012:70) shows three meanings of the suffix *-ant* different from cause and consequence: time, instrument and occupation, and the same meanings appear in Kindberg (1980:462) for Asháninka. Even though we are dealing with three different morphemes, I put them together in the same section, following how Casique (2012) and Kindberg (1980) present them, which may ease the comparison between the three suffixes. They occur in a few cases in my text corpus, which are discussed below.

The suffix *-ant* with the meaning 'occupation' indicates that the action expressed by the verbal stem is a normal occupation of the subject. This is the same suffix as Mihas' (2015a:309-10) "customary" in Alto Perené, which has "to do with a customary action". The results of my research show that, in UP Ashéninka, the suffix is better described as expressing a 'usual occupation' than a 'customary action'.

The occupation suffix can be used in nominalizations, as in (552).

(552) Ikántaka apaani **owámetantatsíri** ikantzi...

i-kant-ak-a	apaani	owame-t-ant-atsi-ri	i-kant-zi
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA	one	teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL	3M.S-say-REA
'Then, a teacher said...' (SCFF)			

The word *owámetantatsíri* 'teacher' in (552) is a neologism with the literal meaning 'the one who teaches'. In this word, the function of *-ant* as an occupation indicator appears to be quite transparent. A similar nominalization is in (553).

(553) Hempe okántyaka irika, árima ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki **áatsimiyantátsiri**, árima ipánkinatakàe?

hempe	o-kant-ya=ka	i-ri=ka	ari=ma	i-kant-a-ri
WH	3F.S-COP-IRR=INT	DEM-M=PROX	AFF=DUB	3M.S-COP-REA-REL
i-ri=ka	ri=raga	poñ-acha-ri	henoki	
DEM-M=PROX	M=CAT.DEM	come.from-PTCP.IPFV-REL	up	
aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri	ari=ma	i-pánkina-t-ak-ae		
suck.to.cure-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL	AFF=DUB	3M.S-make.love-&-PFV-INCL.O		
'How can it be that this one, who is the one who comes from heaven in order to suck to cure, how is it that he makes love to us?' (SCS)				

In this case, the referred person is a shaman, and the verb with the occupation suffix is *aatsimiyaantsi* 'suck to cure', which is a usual work of a shaman, who cures the ill

by sucking them. Therefore, the suffix indicates a usual occupation of the referred person.

It must be taken into account that, in the Ashéninka traditional society, there are no jobs in the Western sense, given that most people have the same occupations: hunting, fishing, growing a *chacra*, building their own house, etc. Therefore, this suffix traditionally denotes a usual occupation and is used in neologisms to denote true jobs, as in (552), but it does not always occur in a verb nominalized with a relative suffix, but also in non-nominalized verbs, as in (554). Also in this case, the suffix indicates a usual occupation (women usually weed their *chacras*).

- (554) Shirámpari riyatzi rowániki, éehatzi tsinánipáeni **othámaetantziro** owane.
 shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zí r-owani=ki
 man 3M.S-go-&-REA 3M-chacra=LOC
 éehatzi tsinani=paeni o-thamae-t-ant-zí-ro Ø-owani
 also woman=PL 3F.S-weed-&-OCC-REA-3F.O 3F-chacra
 ‘Men go to their *chacras*, also women weed their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

Instances of *-ant* indicating instrument or time are much scarcer: there are only two instances of time and one of instrument in my text corpus. One instance of time is in (555).

- (555) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)

The interpretation of *-ant* as the time suffix in (555) comes mainly from the translation provided by the consultant, who translated the sentence as it is in the translation line. An interpretation as a resultative would make no sense in this case and would not accord with the consultant’s translation. The other instance of the time suffix in my text corpus is in (556).

- (556) “Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* **nopòkantéyari**”.
 ari o-kaa-t-zí kitáiteri¹⁷⁰ no-pok-ant-eya-ri
 FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA day 1S-come-TIME-IRR-REL
 “‘A certain day, I’ll come’.” (SFW)

¹⁷⁰ *Kitáiteri* is an Ashéninka word. This speaker’s mother hailed from the area of the River Tambo, that is the reason why some Ashéninka words appear in her speech. The UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*.

This example is from a tale and, in this fragment, the narrator reproduces the words of a man saying to his wife when he would be back, so that it is supposed that, in the real statement, the man would express a specific day, but the narrator omits it because it is of no importance for the line of the story. The important fact is that the time suffix together with the supposed date (e.g. ‘in five days’) and the totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, which has a quantitative function (see Section 6.10.2), convey a point in time in which the event will be realized. This combination with *kaataantsi* also occurs in an example in Casique (2012), shown in (557).

(557) Tsika ikaatzi **pipókantàri?**

tsika i-kaa-t-zi pi-pok-ant-a-ri
 WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-come-TIME-REA-REL
 ‘At what time did you come?’ (Casique 2012:70; glosses and accents mine)

The verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi* has a quantitative function and is often used with numerals. Therefore, in (556) and (557), the combination of *kaataantsi* with the time suffix has the function of counting units of time, which are days in (556), and, in (557), since no time unit is mentioned, the question is about the hour.

The only instance in my text corpus of the instrumental function of *-ant* is in (558).

(558) **Roshétantàwo** roshétamènto.

r-o-shet-ant-a-ro r-o-shet-amento
 3M.S-CAUS-clean-INS-REA-3F.O 3M-CAUS-clean-NMLZ.INS
 ‘He cleans it with his cloth (lit.: his tool for cleaning).’ (PV)

The same as in (555), a resultative interpretation would make no sense here. The suffix *-ant* indicates that the cleaning is done with a tool, which is specified right after the verb. Example (559) is from an unpublished textbook from the university Nopoki (Casique & Zerdin 2016) and was checked with speakers. It illustrates very well the instrumental use of *-ant*.

(559) **Ikéntantawo** thompari ithowa.

i-kent-ant-a-ro thompari i-thowa
 3M.S-peck-INS-REA-3F.O heron 3M-beak
 ‘The heron pecks with its beak.’ (Casique & Zerdin 2016:56; glosses and accent mine)

The instrumental suffix in (559) refers to the part of the body, equivalent to an instrument, that the heron uses to perform the pecking. Also in (560), from Casique’s

(2012) published textbook, is the instrumental function obvious, since it expresses the tool with which the speaker sweeps.

(560) Iroka **nopíshitantawòri**.

i-ro=ka no-pishi-t-ant-a-ro-ri
DEM-F=PROX 1S-sweep-&-INS-&-3F.O-REL

‘This is what I use to sweep it.’ (Casique 2012:70; glosses and accents mine)

The examples of *-ant* indicating time or instrument are very scarce in my text corpus, and I would not have identified them without the information given by Casique’s textbook (2012:70). The coincidence between the examples in my texts and the textbook, together with the same function mentioned in Kindberg (1980:462) for Asháninka, points to a correct interpretation of examples (555), (556) and (558) (other examples are not from my corpus), even more so if we consider that a different interpretation does not fit the context. More instances of these suffixes are needed so as to understand better their meaning.

The instrumental and time functions of *-ant* trigger A-class RS suffixes, but not the occupation function, as can be seen in examples (552) to (554), where the affected verb is inflected with I-class RS suffixes. This fact makes that *-ant* with the occupation function cannot be confounded with the resultative.

6.7.4. Impersonal *-e(e)/-ae*

The meaning of this suffix is quite straightforward: it expresses that the subject is indeterminate or unknown. A speaker gave a very clear description when I asked him about the difference between the verb ‘kill’ with and without the suffix and with a 3rd person masculine prefix: he said that, with the suffix, the killer is unknown, but, without the suffix, he is known. Therefore, the meaning is similar to the one expressed by the English passive.

Casique (2012:69) shows the form *-ee/-ae* for this suffix and calls it “sujeto indeterminado” ‘indeterminate subject’. Mihas (2015a:306-08) describes the same suffix for Alto Perené as *-ai* and calls it “impersonal/generalized subject”. In my corpus, this suffix occurs as *-ee/-ae* and also as *-e*, the last one mainly in the much-repeated filler *ikántètzi* (i-kant-e-t-zi-ri, 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O), literally ‘they call him’. This word is described in Section 3.11, on fillers.

When used with a verb different from *kantaantsi* ‘say’, the impersonal suffix indicates that the subject is unknown or indeterminate, similarly to the English or Spanish passive. This similarity is evident in (561).

- (561) Naaka nopókantàri nokoyi niyótiro okáatsika haka **riyometétziri** haka.
 naaka no-pok-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyot-i-ro
 I 1S-come-RES-&-REA-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O
 okáatsika ha=ka r-iyome-t-e-t-zi-ri ha=ka
 WH LOC=PROX 3M.S-teach-&-IMPS-&-REA-REL LOC=PROX
 ‘I have come here because I want to learn all that they teach here.’ (CMH)

In this example, the speaker says that he wants to learn everything that is taught in a school. He may know the teachers, but his intention is to talk about the teaching content in general, so he uses the impersonal suffix. Another example of impersonalization is in (562).

- (562) Hatákwítaka **itayéeterini**, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.’ (SCFF)

The 3rd person masculine subject in *itayéeterini* refers to the people from an indigenous community in general and not to specific individuals: the subject is an indeterminate group of people, and the speaker focuses on the object and the action that it undergoes. Thus, with the use of the impersonal suffix, the speaker gives no importance to the individuals that make up the plural subject.

6.7.5. Demonstrative enclitics

The demonstrative enclitics described for nouns in Section 4.1.5.1 can also attach to verbs with two functions: 1) to form a locative subordinate clause, and 2) the deictic function typical of demonstratives. Subordinate clauses belong to the study of syntax, so function 1) is described in Section 7.4.2.1.6 and function 2) is described in the present section. Function 2) implies that an enclitic can refer to a participant in the event described by the verb, to a location or even to a past time. These features are illustrated below with examples from natural texts.

In (563), the medial enclitic *=ra* has a demonstrative function affecting the referent of the object suffix *-ri*.

- (563) Arírika rayítapáki, **piyótawakirira**
 ari=rika r-ayit-ap-ak-i
 AFF=COND 3M.S-come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS
 p-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘When he comes down, you’re going to guess who’s that one.’ (SCS)

Actually, *piyótawakirira* could alternatively be separated in two words (*piyótawaki irira*), where *irira* means ‘that one’, and the meaning would be the same, but the translating consultant considered it a single word, and the impression of speakers is the criterion that I am following in this thesis to separate words (see Section 2.3.2 for the reasons to choose this criterion).

In (564), we can observe that the demonstrative medial enclitic has an ambiguous function in that it can refer to the subject of the verb or to a location.

- (564) Ihéekayini **ikàatéinirà**.
 i-heek-aiy-i-ni i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni=ra
 3M.S-sit-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 ‘Those are sitting there.’ (SCS)

I have tried to reflect both meanings in the translation, but this sentence could be translated both as ‘those are sitting’ or ‘they are sitting there’. Actually, both translations mean practically the same and the difference lies in the referent of the deixis, but it seems that, in Ashéninka, the enclitics’ deixis does not need to specifically refer to a participant or a location but to both at the same time, with a meaning such as ‘those there’. Therefore, we can conclude that the demonstrative enclitics have a general deictic function that encompasses both a locative meaning and a reference to a participant in the event, so that example (563) could also have been translated as ‘you’re going to guess who’s the one there’. The context determines which translation is more appropriate.

In (565), the medial enclitic demonstrative can also refer to a location or to the subject of the intransitive verb, but the subject is referred to by a full proximal demonstrative, whose referent is specified in the following clause (*nónintakòri* ‘my followers’), so that, if *irika* refers to the subject, *=ra* should refer to a location.

(565) **Káakitákirà** irika, noyíiteri nónintakòri.kaaki-t-ak-i=ra i-ri=ka
arrive-&-PFV-FRS=MED DEM-M=PROXn-o-ayíit-i-ri no-nintakori
1S-CAUS-come.down-IRR-3M.O 1-follower

‘These are going to arrive from there; I’m going to make my followers come down.’ (SCS)

In any case, it may have little sense to try to guess which is the referent of the enclitic: probably, it is better to consider it a general deictic that helps to delimit the action with the referred location and participants. However, in some cases, as in (566), the context may offer no doubt. The context, in this case, is a conversation in which the participants were talking about a house in a location, so that the referent of =*ra* is the topic of the conversation (the house).

(566) Ohéekira

o-heck-i=ra
3F.S-live-FRS=MED
‘She lives there.’ (CMM)

Also in (567), the referent is clear: the medial enclitic on *rowáankitákirira* ‘what he put upon there’ signals to the same location as the following *haga* ‘there’, so that the medial enclitic =*ra* is repeated for emphasis.

(567) Tsikárika ikántakáakawo okímitzìmotákari manitzi, róotaki iyatharékithe **rowáankitákirira** haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.Oo-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRSi-yatharekitho r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MEDi-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
3M.S-smash-APPL-DUR1-&-REA

‘How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes that it was his testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?’ (TSJ)

The absential enclitic =*ranki* usually has a temporal meaning. In (568), it is used to form the filler *iitagankitya*.

- (568) Ikañaaperotanàka rira..., hempe **ítagankitya**..., maniro, róchapokákiri.
 i-kaña-a-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe
 3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH
 i-et-a=ranki=tya maniror-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-be.named-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer 3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘He accelerates, um..., what’s its name?..., the deer, throws him off.’ (FS)

Ítaganki is a usual filler –in (568), the speaker added the emphatic =*tya*–, although more infrequent than others, as *rowa* or *ikántètzi*. It is mainly used when the speaker does not know how to continue the discourse and stops thinking about what to say. The absential demonstrative in this case refers to something forgotten, so that the literal question is about how something is named, and the absential indicates that it cannot be seen, i.e. remembered, by the speaker, i.e. it is out of the view of the speaker, which is the core meaning of the absential. Actually, a literal translation would be ‘which was its name?’ For the meaning of the absential demonstrative, see Section 3.2; for more on this and other fillers, see Section 3.11.

In (569), the absential =*ranki* also has a temporal function, but, in this case, it is not in a frozen expression, but used productively on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’ indicating past time (a time that is now out of view).

- (569) **Nokántakiriránki**: itáakiri iroka, itáakiri.
 no-kant-ak-i-ri=ranki
 1S-say-PFV-FRS-REL=ABSE
 i-ta-ak-i-ri i-ro=ka i-ta-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-burn-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-burn-PFV-FRS-REL
 ‘It’s what I said before: this is what he has burnt, what he has burnt...’ (CCPC)

The examples above only show the medial and the absential demonstrative enclitics, which are the most numerous in my text corpus. Actually, I have no example of a proximal enclitic on a verb with a demonstrative function –but there are with a subordinate function– and only two examples of the distal enclitic with a demonstrative function. One of them is in (570).

- (570) **Ratéetakotzirònta** henoki.
 r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro=nta henoki
 3M.S-go.up-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O=DIST up
 ‘He goes up (to take them, fruits).’ (PV)

The context of this sentence is a man that climbs a tree to gather fruits, so the distal demonstrative =*nta* refers to the tree crown.

6.7.6. Remnants of classifiers?: form *-ki*, ball *-moko* and *-cheyinaa*, thick *-she*, type *-hato/-hatzi* and liquid *-kira*

Different Campanist works, but not all, mention classifiers. Mihas (2015a:404) says that “there are over sixty classifying forms” in Alto Perené, which she divides into “class terms” (pp. 409-15) and “classifiers” (pp. 415-25). O’Hagan & Michael (2015:6-9) describe a complex classifier system for Matsigenka, and Michael (2008:341) shows a table with 23 classifiers in Nanti. Snell (2011) mentions the Matsigenka classifiers several times, but she does not describe them. The rest of the Campanist literature makes no mention of classifiers. In my case, even being previously aware that classifiers might appear in my fieldwork, an obvious classifier system has not shown up in my glossed texts corpus, but some morphemes that might be considered classifiers, or the remnants of a former more developed classifier system, do have shown up. My impression is that these morphemes are actually remnants of a more developed system like the one in Alto Perené, Matsigenka and Nanti. Actually, if classifiers were relatively frequent in UP Ashéninka, they should have appeared much more often in my corpus. Some of these classifier or classifier-like morphemes are described in Section 4.1.2 due to their collective meaning, which is related to the category of number, and others are shown in the examples below.

I have called *form* the suffix *-ki* because it occurs on verbs in which another morpheme inside the verbal complex describes a form. Therefore, this suffix cannot be considered to bear a meaning of its own, rather it signals that another morpheme, usually an incorporated adjective, indicates a form of some item participating in the event. Also Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:160) shows the suffix *-ki* with the meaning ‘form’, and gives the example *konakintsi* ‘elbow’, which is formed by *kona-* ‘curved’ and *-ki* ‘form’. This description fits quite well the occurrences in my corpus, some of which are shown below.

In (571), *-ki* is on two words: the predicative adjective *oryápetyanikini* and the adjectivized copula *okáachanchééñakitzi*.

- (571) Omaanta nashi naaka **oryápetyanikini okáachancheeñakitzi**
 nowatharékhitho; ari rowa..., ikántétziro rowa..., pòshíni.
 o=maanta n=ashi naaka o=rya-petyani-ki-ni
 F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-table-like-FORM-ADJ
 o=kaa-chancheeña-ki-t=zi-ni no-yatharékhitho
 3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle
 ari ro=ra i=kant-e-t=zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
 AFF F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED tasty-ADJ
 ‘Even though mine is small, table-like and ovoid, my testicle, so..., um..., how
 to say..., um..., it is tasty.’ (TSJ)

Oryápetyanikini is formed with two compounded adjectival stems (*orya-* ‘small, fem.’ and *petyani-* ‘table-like’), and *okáachancheeñakitzi* is formed with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the adjective *chancheeña-* ‘ovoid’. Both words have an adjectival semantic function in that they describe properties of the noun *nowatharékhitho* ‘my testicle’, also referred to as *nashi naaka* ‘the one of mine’ in the same clause, and both words bearing *-ki* are acting as predicates. Also both words are formed with the long adjectives denoting forms described in Section 5.6 (*petyani-* ‘table-like’ and *chancheeña-* ‘ovoid’). As was explained in that section, the suffix *-ki* does not always occur with words formed with adjectives. In (572), the word with *-ki* is formed with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the stem of the inalienable noun *-moityo* ‘navel’.

- (572) Tee, **okàamoityókitzi**.
 tee o=kaa-moityo-ki-t=zi
 NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-navel-FORM-&-REA
 ‘No, it is small and round.’ (CMM)

This is the answer to the question ‘is your *chacra* big?’ In order to say that it is small and round, the speaker literally says ‘it has a navel form’. In this case, the absence of *-ki* would mean ‘it is a navel’ or ‘it becomes a navel’.

Mihas (2015a:660) shows a classifier *-ki* with the meaning ‘round, small’, which fits (571) and (572), so that one could think that this is the meaning of *-ki* in UP Ashéninka. However, in (573), the meaning of *-ki* referring to *-tyenkari* ‘spread-legged’ (here with the attenuative palatalization) has nothing to do with roundness nor smallness.

- (573) Hápokatyéñkarikitanàka.
 hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 jump-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He has jumped spread-legged.’ (FS)

Examples (571) to (573) show that *-ki* needs another morpheme in the same word to which it refers so as to indicate that a participant in the event has the form indicated by this morpheme. This description fits Payne's (1980:160) *-ki* 'form' quite well. Example (573) shows that *-ki* does not have the same meaning as Mihas' (2015a:660) classifier *-ki* 'round, small' for Alto Perené.

There is a remarkable resemblance between the morpheme *-ki* and the classifier *-ki* in Baure, an Arawakan language of Bolivia (Admiraal & Danielsen 2014:95-96), which has a similar function to the Ashéninka *-ki*. Admiraal & Danielsen gloss this classifier as "enclosed" and show how it functions in combination with another classifier to express the contents of the object denoted by this other classifier. In this way, the combination of the classifier *-se* 'oval' plus *-ki* can yield the compound classifier *-seki* 'glass', which denotes the contents of a glass, so that, from *mbo* 'three', the word *mboseki* can have the meaning 'three glasses' (Admiraal & Danielsen 2014:96). Although the meaning 'enclosed' is quite different from 'form', the similarity lies in the fact that both morphemes combine with the meaning of the preceding morpheme in the same word. In Mojeño Trinitario, another Bolivian Arawakan language, the similar classifier *-ku* also needs a referent to express a full meaning, but, in this case, the referent is an NP outside the verbal complex (Rose 2019:445); its meaning is to signal that something is inside the referred NP, similar to the Baure "enclosed".

Two morphemes that indicate the form of a ball have appeared in my corpus: *-moko*, with a few occurrences, and the insulting *-cheyinaa*, with only one occurrence. The morpheme *-moko* cannot occur on its own as a full word, so it cannot be considered a noun meaning 'ball'. One instance of it is in (574).

- (574) **Thàtamokotéenchari** henoki.
 that-a-moko-t-eecha-ri henoki
 hang-&-BALL-&-PCTP.PFV-REL up
 'The ball (a wasps' nest) is hanging up there.' (FS)

In this case, *-moko* is used to refer to a wasps' nest. Instead of mentioning the nest directly, the speaker includes *-moko* into this verb to express something ball-like, which should be clear from the context, given that the story was about wasps at this stage.

In (575), *-moko* is not on a verb but on a noun.

(575) Apátyátiri **káeromoko**.

apatya-t-i-ri kaero-moko
kick-&-IRR-REL termite-BALL

‘What is kicked is a ball-like termite nest.’ (CTK)

The described scene is a group of people playing football with a termite nest as the ball. The word that expresses this kind of ball is formed with *kaero* ‘termite’ plus the morpheme *-moko*. In this way, *-moko* can denote a ball formed with the substance mentioned in the first component of the word.

In (576), *-moko* appears together with another possible classifier: thick *-she* (thickness, in this case, means only ‘not flowing easily’ or ‘difficult to see through’, i.e. equivalent to Spanish *espeso*).

(576) Ishitówaki, **kiháashémokótzi**.

i-shitow-ak-i kihaa-she-moko-t-zi
3M.S-go.out-PFV-FRS black-THICK-BALL-&-REA

‘He goes out with this thick black ball (his head).’ (SCS)

What is meant with ‘thick black ball’ is a man’s head that is totally painted black with a thick paste. *Kiháashémokótzi* is formed with the two possible classifiers *-moko* and *-she* plus the adjectival stem *kihaa-* ‘black’. The union of the three elements yields a multiadjectival description (black, thick and ball-like).

Another morpheme with the meaning ‘ball’ is *-cheyinaa*, which has an insulting character. The only instance in my corpus is in (577).

(577) Ipáshiwéntaka, **ikiháachéyináataki**.

i-pashiwent-ak-a i-kihaa-cheyinaa-t-ak-i
3M.S-be.ashamed-PFV-REA 3M.S-black-BALL-&-PFV-FRS

‘He is ashamed; it is a black ball (his head, insulting).’ (SCS)

This example is from the same story as (576) and refers to the same man with his head painted black, but, in this case, the narrator mocks this character by using the insulting morpheme *-cheyinaa*, which reinforces the feeling of shame expressed in the previous verb. *Ikiháachéyináataki* is formed with the same morphemes expressing properties as *kiháashémokótzi* in (576) except *-she*, so that the obtained meaning is the double adjective ‘black and ball-like’, but with the insulting nuance of *-cheyinaa*.

Another classifier-like morpheme is *-kira*, which indicates a liquid state. The only occurrence in my corpus is in (578).

(578) Róohatzi ohéetántawakàri **anákira**.

róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira
 then 3F.S-throw-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O genipap-LIQ
 ‘Then she throws to him (as he approaches her) the genipap paste.’ (SCS)

With *anákira*, ‘genipap paste’ is meant. This paste is made by grating genipap and is used for body painting. The formation of *anákira* is quite transparent since its literal translation would be ‘liquid genipap’, i.e. ‘genipap paste’.

In this section, I have described all the instances of morphemes that occur in my corpus of natural texts and have properties typical of or similar to those of classifiers. It is difficult to find a good definition that delimits the scope of classifiers, above all because the limits of the category are very fuzzy. Allan (1977:285) defines them based on two criteria: “(a) they occur as morphemes in surface structures under specifiable conditions; (b) they have meaning, in the sense that a classifier denotes some salient perceived or imputed characteristic of the entity to which an associated noun refers (or may refer)”. Aikhenvald (2000:13) uses this definition and adds that classifiers:

“...are restricted to particular construction types known as ‘classifier constructions’. Classifier constructions are understood as morphosyntactic units (which may be noun phrases of different kinds, verb phrases, or clauses) which require the presence of a particular kind of a morpheme, the choice of which is dictated by the semantic characteristics of the referent of the head of a noun phrase.”

While these definitions can be useful, they are by no means a rule of thumb according to which one can discern if a morpheme is a classifier or not. A more practical way of identifying classifiers is proposed by Grinevald (2000:61), who says that classifiers are “in the intermediate range between lexical and morphosyntactic extremes” of noun categorization: the lexical extreme would be *a glass of*, *a group of*, etc., and the morphosyntactic extreme would be gender or noun classes.

It is worth remarking that Mihas (2015a:660-62) considers classifiers Alto Perené morphemes that I consider to belong to a different category, such as those with the meaning ‘in a container/means of transportation’ of the general applicative *-ako* (‘container’ for Mihas), the collectives *-mashi* (‘flat, broad’, ‘open space’ for Mihas) and *-pooki* (*-poroki* in AP, ‘group’ for Mihas), the nominal durative *-paeti* (*-paite* in AP, ‘period’ for Mihas), or *-thori*, used in kin terms (see Section 4.1.4) (*-tsori* in AP,

‘nuclear-like kin’ for Mihas). I do not think that these morphemes clearly are noun categorization devices; that is why I have not included them in this section.

The low frequency of the morphemes described in this section rules out the existence of what might be called a classifier system in UP Ashéninka, but the existence of these few morphemes, together with the knowledge of a developed classifier system in other Campan languages, indicates that these morphemes most probably are the remnants of a broader classifier system. It is important to remark that most examples shown in this section were uttered by older speakers, so it is possible that the younger generation does not use these morphemes any more.

6.7.7. Specifier *-wee*

The specifier suffix *-wee* indicates that the action expressed by the verb is done with some sort of specialization, i.e. the meaning of the verb becomes restricted to a certain semantic field included in the broader field encompassed by the verbal stem, and the suffix can have a derivative function in that it can change the meaning of the stem.

This suffix seems to derive from the durative suffix *-wae* (described in Section 6.3.3), which can be seen in the coincidence with Nanti. Nanti verbal roots *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-ken-* ‘go in a direction’ change their meaning with the addition of the durative suffix *-bage* to yield *-antabage-* ‘cultivate’ and *-kenabage-* ‘hunt’ (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). The same happens with the UP Ashéninka cognates *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-kin-* ‘come, go’, which change their meanings to *-antawae-* ‘work’ and *-kinawae-* ‘go hunting in the forest’ with the addition of the durative suffix *-wae*, cognate of Nanti *-bage*. The roots *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-ken-/kin-* ‘go in a direction’/‘come, go’ convey a general action, while the stems *-antabage-/antawae-* ‘cultivate’/‘work’ and *-kenabage-/kinawae-* ‘hunt’/‘go hunting in the forest’ convey a specific action that is included in the more general action expressed by the root from which they are derived. In this way, ‘cultivate’ and ‘work’ describe actions included in the more general ‘do’; in the case of *-kenabage-/kinawae-*, the connection can best be observed in the Ashéninka meanings in that ‘go hunting in the forest’ is included in the more general ‘come, go’; the Nanti *-kenabage-* ‘hunt’ probably also implies walking through the forest to find game, which is included in the more general *-ken-* ‘go in a direction’. This equivalence

between Ashéninka and Nanti roots and their derived stems with the durative suffix point to a proto-Campan origin, which evidently means that the stems *-antabage/-antawae-* and *-kenabage/-kinawae-* are frozen forms in which *-bage/-wae* is not productive.

Related to all this, the suffix *-wee*, slightly different from the durative *-wae*, has appeared in three cases in my corpus with a specifier meaning. These occurrences are shown in examples (579) to (581).

- (579) Róokantàcha **nàmonkowéetatzì.**
 róokantàcha n-amonko-wee-t-atzi
 however 1S-chew-SPE-&-PROG
 ‘However, I’m chewing coca.’ (CCPC)

The root *-amonko-* in this example means ‘chew’. A consultant told me that, when one uses this root without *-wee*, one can chew coca leaves or tobacco, but, when *-wee* is added, only coca leaves. Therefore, *-wee* in (579) restricts the scope of the verb to chewing only one item (coca leaves). Obviously, the addressee needs to know beforehand that *-amonko-wee* means ‘chew coca’, i.e. one cannot expect that the addressee knows *-amonko-* ‘chew’ and the mere addition of *-wee* lets her understand ‘chew coca’. Therefore, the restricted meaning would need to be diffused so as to be understood.

Another instance of *-wee* is in (580).

- (580) Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *viernes*-kì otzímaki, rowa..., **ñáathawéeròntsi.**
 no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki¹⁷¹ o-tzim-ak-i
 1S-get.up-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED Friday=LOC 3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS
 ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
 F=MED play-&-SPE-NMLZ
 ‘I have got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’ (CTK)

In the nominalized verb *ñáathawéeròntsi*, the scope of the meaning of the root *-ñaath-* ‘play’ is restricted to ‘playing sports’. In this way, a general meaning becomes a more specific meaning inside the scope of the general one. The same as in (579), the addressees need to know beforehand that *-ñaath-a-wee* means ‘do sport’, i.e. one cannot expect that the addressees know *-ñaath-* ‘play’ and the mere addition of *-wee* conveys the meaning ‘do sport’. However, the difference between (580) and

¹⁷¹ *Viernes* ‘Friday’ is obviously a Spanish word.

(579) is that *ñáathawéeròntsi* must have been recently coined because doing sport in the Ashéninka society is quite recent, and this is a clue to the possible productivity of the suffix, yet its specific meaning needs to be diffused.

In (581), *-wee* is part of another nominalization, in this case with the root *-iyo-* ‘know’.

- (581) Okántanaka paata, éenitatsi apaani atziri héekatsiri hanta, **yowéeperotàtsiri**.
 o-kant-an-ak-a paata eeni-t-atsi apaani atziri
 3F.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA later EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV one person
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST saber-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘So it happened later that there was a person living there, a specialist (one who knows to do everything that has been previously told).’ (OS)

The translation ‘specialist’ is as the translating consultant uttered it. In this case, the scope of ‘know’ is reduced to knowing what has been previously told (some practices that are being lost in the modern Ashéninka society, such as dancing, singing in their language, fishing with bow and arrows, hunting with rifle...). The verificative suffix *-pero* adds the nuance that he knows how to do all this very well. In this example, the suffix shows its productivity in that the translation ‘specialist’ means ‘someone who has a knowledge in some specific field’, but the stem does not say in which field he has it. The addressees know it from what has been told in the story, so that they do not need to know beforehand the meaning of the stem *-iyo-wee* because its meaning is ‘know something special’, and ‘special’ is the meaning conveyed by the suffix *-wee*.

According to all this, the specifying function of this suffix seems to have existed in proto-Campan and has yielded frozen derived stems in the daughter languages, but the recently coined stem *-ñaath-a-wee* ‘do sport’ and the productivity of the suffix in the stem *-iyo-wee* ‘have a special knowledge’ show that it can be productive to a certain degree. The question of to which degree it is productive needs further research.

6.7.8. Early *-aman*

The suffix *-aman* with the meaning ‘early in the morning’ is attested in Matsigenka (Snell, 2011:877), Caquinte (Swift 2008:89) and the Ashé-Ashá varieties Asháninka (Kindberg 1980:464), Alto Perené (Mihás 2015a:657), Pichis (Payne 1989:244), Apurucayali (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:58-59) and Yuruá (García 1997:30-31),

in all of them with the same form and meaning. Also in UP Ashéninka, the suffix *-aman* expresses that something is done early in the morning, as in *notzinámanàka* in (580) in the previous Section 6.7.7, where the suffix on the stem *-tzina-* ‘get up’ indicates that the subject has got up early in the morning.

This suffix is often used with the verbal stem *-kitehi-* ‘dawn’. An example of *-aman* with this stem is in (582).

- (582) Éekiro, éekiro roo okítehítaki..., paata **okítehítamànae**.
 éekiro roo o-kitehi-t-ak-i paatao-kitehi-t-aman-a-i
 goes.on then 3F.S-dawn-&-PFV-FRS later 3F.S-dawn-&-EARLY-REG-FRS
 ‘It goes on; then it dawns..., later it dawns early again.’ (SCS)

In this example, the verbal stem *-kitehi-* ‘dawn’ appears twice. It seems that the speaker reformulated the sentence by adding *-aman* on the stem *-kitehi-*, since there is a clear repetition. It is obvious that it dawns early, but the EARLY suffix is normally used with this stem to emphasize the daybreak.

6.7.9. Partitive *-it*

This suffix occurs three times in my corpus, always on a transitive verb, and two of them in two consecutive clauses. According to explanations given by a speaker, its meaning is that the action is performed only on a part of the object. However, its scarce occurrences and the fact that I did not research it in depth imply that this description must be considered tentative. The occurrence in two consecutive clauses is in (583).

- (583) **Ithónkitàkiro** riniro, **róyitakàwo**.
 i-thonk-it-ak-i-ro r-iniro r-oy-it-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-finish-PAR-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-mother 3M.S-eat-PAR-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘He has finished off his mother; he has eaten her (but not her son).’ (SFW)

This sentence is uttered at the end of a story and tells that a jaguar kills and eats a woman who was fleeing with her little son, but the son is able to get away from the jaguar by climbing a tree. The translating consultant explained very clearly that the difference between the verbs with *-it* and without *-it* is that, with *-it*, it is implied that the jaguar has killed and eaten the mother, but not the son, and, without *-it*, it would have killed and eaten mother and son. The other occurrence is in (584).

(584) Tee nokoyi **itsintziténawo** noeshi, noeshi, rowa..., otomi.

tee no-koy-i i-tsint-it-i-na-ro no-iishi
NEG.REA 1S-want-FRS 3M.S-urinate-PAR-IRR-1O-3F.O 1-hair

ro=ra o-tomi

F=MED 3F-son

‘I don’t want him to urinate on my hair, my hair, um..., her son.’ (SFW)

My interpretation of *itsintziténawo* is that the partitive *-it* indicates that the child would urinate on the speaker’s hair, i.e. on a part of her body, not on her whole body. A clue that leads to this interpretation is that the translating consultant said that the verb without *-it* (**itsintzinawo*/**itsintinawo*) is not possible, so that it seems that the double object construction requires this suffix: the two objects are a woman and a part of her body, and the partitive suffix is needed so as to express that the action of urinating is done on the part of her body and the other object signals whose is this body part. Therefore, the grammatical relations of the two object suffixes are governed by the partitive suffix: the 3rd person inanimate (feminine) object suffix cross-referencing the hair is the undergoer, and the 1st person object suffix is the possessor of the undergoer, and such a double object construction with this verb without the partitive suffix would have no sense.

6.7.10. Attenuative suffix *-neent* and attenuative palatalization

This section describes two different attenuative strategies: the suffix *-neent* and a palatalization of the epenthetic /t/ that transforms this consonant into /c/.

The attenuative suffix *-neent* expresses that the event expressed by the verb occurs in a low degree, i.e. it is equivalent to ‘a bit’. Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:159) mentions this suffix with the forms *-nent*, *-neent* and *-nint* and calls it “sensorial”, which has practically no relation with the meaning found in my fieldwork, but Mihás (2015a:393-94) for Alto Perené describes the suffix *-nint*, which she calls “diminutive” and says that it denotes “do X a little bit”, which is the same as the UP Ashéninka attenuative *-neent*. I prefer the name *attenuative* because *diminutive* is normally used for nouns –also in this thesis–, and *attenuative* is a widely used term. The only instance of this suffix in my text corpus is in (585).

- (585) Shinkyàayinéentaka.
 shinki-a-yi-neent-ak-a
 be.drunk-&-DISTR-ATT-PFV-REA
 ‘He is a bit drunk.’ (SCS)

The meaning expressed here is that the subject is only a bit drunk. The nuance ‘a bit’ is given by the attenuative suffix and also by the diminutive meaning of the distributive suffix (see Section 6.7.1.2).

Mihas (2015a:436-37) describes for Alto Perené the feature that she calls “expressive palatalization”. A similar feature occurs in my corpus, but with some slight difference, due to which I consider it more appropriate to call it *attenuative palatalization*, which, in spite of being a phonological change, must be considered a morpheme because it bears a full meaning. This palatalization occurs in my corpus with the stems *kitehi-* (from *kitéheri* ‘day’), *tsireni-* (from *tsiréniri* ‘night’) and *niyanki* ‘half’, in all cases to denote the passage of parts of the day. Examples with the three stems are in (586) to (588).

- (586) Arírika **okítehútyamanàki**, tsinani anáninki...
 ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS woman 3F.S-get.up-FRS
 ‘When it dawns early, the women get up...’ (CTK)
- (587) Otsirénityáanaki.
 o-tsireni-t-y-an-ak-i
 3F.S-get.dark-&-ATT-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘It starts getting dark.’ (SCS)

Examples (586) and (587) show a clear parallelism in that a stem that denotes a part of the day is verbalized so as to indicate that that part of the day is beginning, and this beginning is indicated with the attenuative palatalization. Without it, the verbs referred to in (586) and (587) would mean ‘it’s day’ or ‘it’s night’, respectively.

- (588) Róotentsi **óniyankútye** tsiréniri.
 róoteentsi o-niyankii-t-y-i tsiréniri
 already 3F.S-half-&-ATT-FRS night
 ‘The middle of the night is approaching.’ (SCS)

In (588), the passage of the day is expressed as well, but in a different way. The noun *tsiréniri* ‘night’ is not verbalized, but the verbalized stem is *niyanki* ‘half, middle’. Without the attenuative palatalization, this sentence would mean ‘it is the middle of the night’.

Mihas (2015a:436-37) shows the use of her “expressive palatalization” also with nouns and a classifier. I have no instance of this kind of occurrence in my corpus. However, Mihas (2015a:436) mentions *enchániki* ‘little child’ as the result of an expressive palatalization developed from *eentsi* ‘child’ (*-aniki* is described as a diminutive by Mihas and also in this thesis). I have the words *enchániki* and *eentsi* in my corpus, but my analysis is that the palatalization is caused simply because only /i/ can occur after /ts/, so that *eentsi* + *-aniki* gives *enchániki*.

6.7.11. Mirative *-ña*

DeLancey (1997:35-36) defines *mirativity* as a category that marks statements “for which the speaker had no psychological preparation” and a proposition “new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world”. This definition coincides well with the description of the Ashéninka suffix *-ña* given by a speaker: it can express something bad or supernatural, or a total ignorance about the statement. The only occurrence in my corpus is in (589).

(589) Àmenákiro: “Tsiká **okántakañà**? Kìtamáataki”.

Ø-amin-ak-i-ro tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña kitamaa-t-ak-i
3F.S-look-PFV-FRS-3F.O WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR white-&-PFV-FRS
‘She looks at it: “Oh, what happened? It has become white!”’ (SFW)

In this example, the character of this story has been preparing *masato* and she discovers that it has turned white, which she interprets as a bad omen. Therefore, she is both surprised and frightened. The suffix *-ña* indicates this discovery of something new for her, surprising and frightening, which fits DeLancey’s (1997) description of mirativity well.

The invariable word *iká* also has a mirative meaning. It is described in Section 6.11, on invariable words with a verbal function.

6.7.12. Badness *-tha*

The suffix *-tha* occurs only once in my corpus, and this occurrence made me inquire about it by proposing verbs with the suffix to two different speakers. The result is that it expresses ‘badness’ in its broad sense, i.e. encompassing the meanings ‘poor quality’, ‘badly done’, and ‘with evil’, ‘insultingly’, ‘scornfully’. This suffix has not

been reported in the previous Campanist literature except in Casique's textbook (2012:69) with the meaning "persona mala en opinión del que habla" 'evil person in the speaker's opinion'. The occurrence from a tale is in (590).

- (590) Ari **ròtsikanàminthatári**.
 ari r-otsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri
 there 3M.S-stare-look-BAD-&-REA-3M.O
 'There he stares and looks scornfully at him.' (TSJ)

In this tale, a squirrel has tricked a jaguar so as to make it crush its own testicle, so, when the jaguar does it, it is quickly going to die, but it could still harm the squirrel during the short time until its death, so the squirrel jumps on a tree and stares at the jaguar *scornfully* because the jaguar has been successfully tricked. Another example from an elicitation in which 'evil' or 'scorn' is meant is in (591).

- (591) Ikámantathatzi.
 i-kamant-a-tha-t-zi-ri
 3M.S-say-&-BAD-&-REA-3M.O
 'He secretly says something to him (speaking badly about someone else).'

Both consulted speakers coincided independently in the same translation in (591). The implied evil lies in the fact that someone is speaking badly about or planning something against someone else, and this is done secretly speaking with someone.

A different kind of badness, i.e. expressing poor quality or doing something badly, can be observed in examples (592) to (595) from elicitation.

- (592) Nokémathátziro.
 no-kem-a-tha-t-zi-ro
 1S-listen-&-BAD-&-REA-3F.O
 'I'm listening to a foreign language, so I don't understand well.'
- (593) Niráthátziro.
 n-ir-a-tha-t-zi-ro
 1S-drink-&-BAD-&-REA-3F.O
 'I'm drinking jelly or sorbet (something difficult to drink).'
- (594) Ránithatzi.
 r-ani-tha-t-zi
 3M.S-walk-BAD-&-REA
 'He's walking through water (with much difficulty).'
- (595) Nowáthata.
 n-ow-a-tha-t-a
 1S-eat-&-BAD-&-REA
 'I'm eating, but I'm not concentrated on eating.'

In examples (592) to (595), the actions expressed by the verbs are not realized with ease: in (592), the subject does not understand well what she is listening to; in (593), the subject cannot drink well because the drink is not completely liquid; in (594), the subject cannot walk properly because he is walking through water, and, in (595), the subject is not savouring what she is eating. The four examples have in common that the action is not well done, i.e. it is *badly* done.

Therefore, the suffix *-tha* encompasses a semantic scope similar to that of English ‘bad’ or Spanish *malo*, i.e. that something is not well done or is done with some kind of morally reprehensible behaviour towards someone else.

6.7.13. Desperately *-riko*

The suffix *-riko* has appeared in my corpus with the meaning ‘do something desperately’. This occurrence is in (596).

- (596) Irika ótsitzika shiyaka, **ishiyárikotàka**, irika ikéntakirira, hani.
 i-ri=ka ótsitzi=ka shiy-ak-a i-shiy-a-riko-t-ak-a
 DEM-M=PROX dog=PROX run-PFV-REA 3M.S-run-&-DESP-&-PFV-REA
 i-ri=ka i-kent-ak-i-ri-ra hani
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-sting-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP wasp
 ‘This dog runs, runs desperately, when they sting him, the wasps.’ (FS)

The nuance introduced by *-riko* in the verb is very clear according to the translating consultant: ‘the dog runs desperately’. Further research could shed more light on this suffix, but it is doubtful that such a straightforward description by a speaker (‘do desperately’) may be changed.

6.7.14. Malefactive *-heempiy*

The malefactive suffix *-heempiy* expresses that something is done with a bad result. In the Campanist literature, a similar suffix only appears in Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:162) with the form “-saimpy” and the meaning “‘imaginario”, and in Kindberg’s Asháninka dictionary (1980:463) with the form “-mempe-“ and the meanings “mal resultado; fingido” ‘bad result; feigned’. Payne’s ‘imaginary’ meaning might be related to Kindberg’s ‘feigned’, and Kindberg’s ‘bad result’ is identical with my findings. This suffix does not occur in my text corpus, so I discovered it by

elicitation. It forms a hiatus with the initial vowel of the following suffix (see Section 2.1.3), yet I have chosen to write <y> at the end because the sequences <yi> or <iy> also yield hiatus between /i/ and another vowel in other cases. Another feature is that the suffix triggers a change in RS from I-class to A-class. Some examples are in (597) to (599).

- (597) Rahèempiákawo.
 r-a-heempiy-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-take-MAL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘He takes it with a bad result.’
- (598) Nohèekahèempiáka.
 no-heek-a-heempiy-ak-a
 1S-live-&-MAL-PFV-REA
 ‘I live in a place and have problems.’
- (599) Nokàntahèempiákimi.
 no-kant-a-heempiy-ak-i-mi
 1S-say-&-MAL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘I say something to you and it comes off badly for you.’

The three examples show that the event expressed by the verbal root has a bad result: in (597) and (598), for the subject, and, in (599), for the object. In (599), *-heempiy* does not add a participant, so that this suffix cannot be considered an applicative in any case. The I-class RS suffix in (599) is triggered by the 2nd person object suffix *-mi*, a constraint that has predominance on the change to A-class caused by the malefactive *-heempiy*.

6.8. Order of affixes and enclitics inside the verbal complex

The straightforward description of the order of affixes and enclitics in the Ashéninka verbal complex is that there is a quasi-obligatory subject prefix and a very infrequent causative prefix, then the stem, and then a high number of suffixes and enclitics. The highest number of suffixes in a verb attested in my corpus is six, which does not rule out higher numbers. Therefore, we have to refer to affixes because there are two prefixes, but the bulk of the discussion concerns suffixes and a few enclitics. The suffixes follow an order inside the verbal complex, which can be clearly observed in their different occurrences in natural texts, but finding out the exact order of the 59 suffixes and enclitics represented in Figure 3 appears to be a practically impossible

task. One has to rely on natural texts and elicitations, and some suffixes occur very seldom, so that only the order regarding the suffixes that occur together in a verb can be determined. Elicitation on suffix order can yield some results, but can also be misleading, given that the linguist can propose combinations of suffixes and stems that never occur in normal speech, and a certain combination may be accepted by a speaker, even though it may sound a bit unnatural to them. Moreover, I know at least two suffixes (DURL *-wae* and PURP/NPURP *-ashi*) whose order is interchangeable, which is shown in (600), which suggests that the order between certain suffixes is not totally strict.

- (600) a. Nopíratashiwáetari
 no-pira-t-ashi-wae-t-a-ri
 1S-rear-&-NPURP-DURL-&-REA-3M.O
 'I'm rearing him (an animal) for pleasure (as a pet).'
- b. Nopírawàetáshitari.
 no-pira-wae-t-ashi-t-a-ri
 1S-rear-DURL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O
 'I'm rearing him (an animal) for pleasure (as a pet).'

I have made Figure 3 with the position of suffixes based on my text corpus and examples from elicitations dedicated to different topics; only the position of FRU with regard to BEN *-went* and DURL was found out through an elicitation devoted to this topic. The position of some suffixes with regard to some others is unknown, but all the positions shown in the table are attested.

Figure 3 needs an explanation in order to be read and understood. The main principle is very simple: the direction of an arrow indicates that the marker from which the arrow departs is placed at the left (before) of the marker to which the arrow points, and all the markers inside a box have the same order regarding the other markers. The only known case of interchangeability, namely of DURL *-wae* and PURP/NPURP *-ashi*, is marked with a double-pointed arrow. In this way, the suffixes inside the box of the reality status go after TRLOC, OCC and those inside the box with DES, BAD, HAB, IMPS and INS; and they (those inside the box of the RS) go before DU and those inside the box with MIR, LATER and RMPST. Obviously, since O/S goes after DU, O/S also goes after the box with the RS, and, since aspect (PFV and REG) goes before TRLOC, aspect also goes before RS, i.e. there are no strange exceptions (e.g. DESP goes before

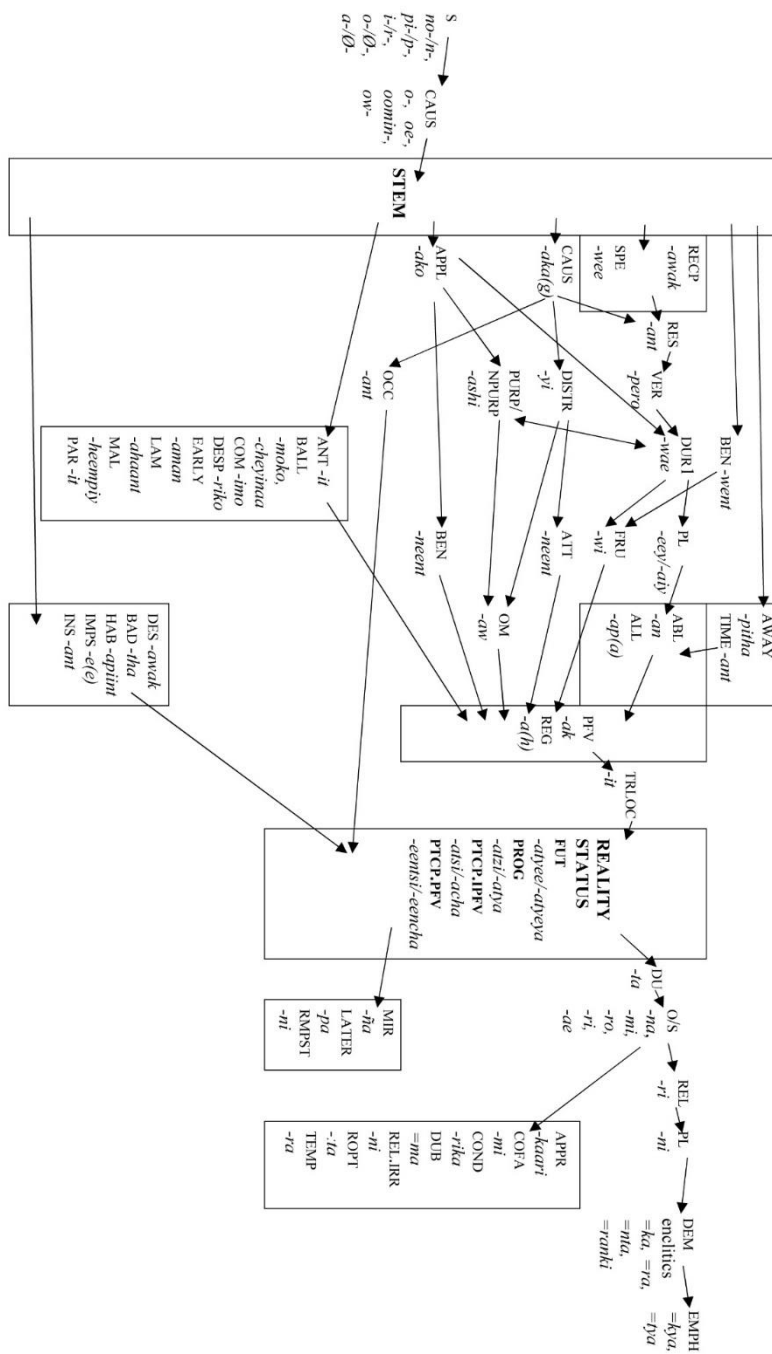
PFV/REG and these before TRLOC, but an unexpected case in which the absence of PFV/REG would cause TRLOC to be before DESP does never occur). For suffixes with no arrow relating them, the order is not attested (e.g. it is unknown if COM goes before or after BEN *-neent*). The longest chain of attested suffixes is:

RECP/SPE/CAUS → RES → VER → DUR1 → PL *-eey/-aiy* → ABL/ALL → PFV/REG → TRLOC → RS → DU → O/S → REL → PL *-ni* → DEM → EMPH

Obviously, all these suffixes do not occur together. As said before, it is clear that RECP/SPE/CAUS go before TRLOC in spite of the six suffixes in the middle. There are some markers for which I have little information regarding their order, normally because they are scarce: for DESP, BAD, HAB, IMPS and INS (all in the same box), I only know that they are placed between the stem and the RS suffix; for the box with ANT, BALL, COM, DESP, EARLY, LAM, MAL and PAR, I only know that they go between the stem and the aspect suffixes PFV and REG. At the right of the RS suffix, for MIR, LATER and RMPST, I only know that they go after the RS suffix; and for APPR, COFA, COND, DUB, REL.IRR, ROPT and TEMP, that they go after the O/S suffix.

The suffixes included in the box with the RS are those in which the RS opposition is totally fossilized in all cases (in both I-class and A-class verbs). The stem and the RS and equivalent suffixes are in bold because these are the only obligatory morphemes, so that they mark two clear borders, given that the position of every marker is known with regard to these two. It can be seen that the aspect suffixes PFV and REG are in the same box next to the RS suffix (with the exception of TRLOC, whose special position is explained in Section 6.5.4), but also DUR1 expresses aspect and is in a different position; yet, as explained in Section 6.3.3, this suffix is compatible with PFV and REG, while these two are incompatible. Another aspect suffix is HAB, but this one belongs to the group for which it is only known to be between the stem and the RS. Regarding PROG, it is in the group with the RS because the RS suffix is totally fossilized, but PROG is also incompatible with PFV and REG. Regarding directionals, ABL and ALL are in the same box, and they are incompatible because their meaning is opposed. Regarding the other directional OM, it would be logical to think that it has the same position as ABL and ALL, and thus might be included in the same box, but,

since OM indicates object motion and ABL and ALL subject motion, I prefer to indicate for OM the only order relations that are attested.



6.9. Existentials

Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka has several words that denote existence, such as English *there is* and *there are*. They are the affirmative existentials *eeni-* and *-tzim-*, the negative existential *tekatsi* and the past existential *éeni-ro*. This implies that there are three different positive existential forms, but only one negative. The two verbal stems *eeni-* and *-tzim-* appear to have no difference, given that they are interchangeable at least in all the cases in which I have posed the question to a speaker, but they are inflected differently: *eeni-* occurs always with an imperfective participle suffix in my corpus, but *-tzim-* can be inflected with different affixes, just as common verbs. The existentials are used for possessive constructions, as is shown in examples (602) for *eeni-*, (609) for *tzim-*, (613) for *éeni-ro* and (616) for the negative *tekatsi*.

6.9.1. Existential *eeni-*

Eeni- can be a one-word sentence as an answer to a question, as illustrated in B's answer in (601).

(601) A: Hantari? Tekatsi hantari?	B: Éenitatsi.
hantari tekatsi hantari	eeni-t-atsi
wood NEG.EXI wood	EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV
'Wood? Isn't there wood?'	'There is.' (CMM)

A construction with *eeni-* and a possessed noun is the normal way to indicate possession, as in (602).

- (602) **Éenitatsi** piimi hanta pinámpiki?
 eeni-t-atsi pi-emi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-husband LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 'Do you have a husband there in your community? (lit.: is there your husband there in your community?).' (CMH)

This is how a possessive clause is formed: there is not a verb have, so the construction is literally translated as 'there is/are POSSESSED NOUN'.

An example of a longer sentence with *eeni-* expressing existence is in (603), where it refers to the past. *Eeni-* has no tense reference, so it can refer to the past, the present or the future.

- (603) Páerani, anampiite Katsinkaari, **éénitatsi** osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáariki.
 páerani a-nampi-ite Katsinkaari
 long.ago INC-community-ANT Chicosa
 eeni-t-atsi osheki atziri heek-atsi-ri tonkaari=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV many person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL mountain=LOC
 ‘A long time ago, in our community Chicosa, there were many people living
 in the mountains.’ (OS)

Eeni- always occurs in my corpus with the imperfective participle suffix *-atsi/-acha*, but can host other suffixes, as in (604), where the frustrative suffix *-wi* is added to *éénitatsi* (note that the frustrative triggers a shift from the I-class suffix *-atsi* to the A-class suffix *-acha*).

- (604) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there in the gully (at its back).’ (CCPC)

In this example, the frustrative indicates that something no longer holds (the existence of a big *chacra*). This is the only instance in my corpus with a form different from *éénitatsi*, which appears to be the commonest by far.

6.9.2. Existential verb *tzimaantsi*

The existential verb *tzimaantsi* (root *-tzim-*) can be inflected with subject prefixes and an RS suffix, as in (605), where the referent of the feminine prefix are all the things that are said to exist.

- (605) Rowa..., échatzi arírika **otzimi**, rowa..., wáiramentòtsi, *actividades* antáetzi, rowa..., *instituciones*, rowa..., *primaria, secundaria, inicial*...¹⁷²
 ro=ra échatzi ari=rika o-tzim-i ro=ra waira-amento-tsi¹⁷³
 F=MED also AFF=COND 3F.S-EXI-FRS F=MED dance-NMLZ.INS-ALI
 actividades ant-ae-t-zi-ri ro=ra instituciones ro=ra
 activities do-IMPS-&-REA-REL F=MED institutions F=MED
 primaria, secundaria, inicial
 primary, secondary, initial
 ‘Um..., also when there are, um..., parties, activities that they do, um...,
 institutions, um..., primary, secondary, initial (education)...’ (CTK)

¹⁷² All the words in italics are Spanish words.

¹⁷³ *Waira* is a loan from the Spanish verb *bailar* ‘dance’. It is remarkable how a word for ‘party’ is built: with the verb ‘dance’ and the instrumental nominalizer, so that the literal meaning is ‘tool for dancing’, that is, a party.

In this way, an existential construction has no subject in English (*there is*) or Spanish (*hay*), but the prefix *o-* implies the existence of a grammatical subject in Ashéninka, which refers to the element that is said to exist. This construction also admits other suffixes, such as the perfective *-ak* in (606).

- (607) Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *vièrnes-kì otzímaki*, rowa..., ñáathawèeròntsi,
 no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki
 1S-get.up-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED Friday=LOC
 o-tzim-ak-i ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
 3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS F=MED play-&-SPE-NMLZ
 ‘I’ve got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’ (SCFF)

In this example, the prefix *o-* cross-references the things that are said to exist, but a 1st or 2nd person subject prefix can also be used when the existing element is one of the participants in the discourse, as in (608).

- (608) Ari nokámaki haga. Eero *notzimi*.
 ari no-kam-ak-i ha=ra eero no-tzim-i
 thus 1S-die-PFV-FRS LOC=MED NEG.IRR 1S-EXI-FRS
 ‘In this way I’d die there. I wouldn’t exist.’ (CCPC)

The conditionals in the translation reflect the context, in which the speaker says that he would die if he worked the whole day in the hotter hours under the sun. The subject prefixes indicate the existing element in the existential construction: when this element is inanimate (always 3rd person), then it is cross-referenced with the feminine prefix *o-*.

The other form of *tzimaantsi* that occurs in my corpus is without a subject prefix and with the imperfective participle suffix, as in (609).

- (609) *Tzimatsi* omoo inchátopàeni.
 tzim-atsi o-moo inchato=paeni
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV 3F-hole tree=PL
 ‘There are holes in the trees (lit.: there are the trees’ holes).’ (FS)

This construction is very similar to *éénitatsi*. Thus, the two existentials *eeni-* and *-tzim-* appear to be quite similar in their grammatical features, but *-tzim-* admits more morphology. This is also an example of *tzimaantsi* in a possessive construction (the translation might also be ‘the trees have holes’).

6.9.3. Past existential *éeni*ro

The past existential *éeni*ro is used to express that something existed in the past, and sometimes it is translated by speakers with Spanish *cuando* ‘when’. Its core meaning is ‘there was’, but it can also have the meaning ‘there still is’.

In (610), *éeni*ro is used with the totalitative copula *-kaa-*.

- (610) **Éeni**ro nokáatzini.
 éeni-ro no-kaa-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child (lit.: there was that I was long ago).’ (CMH)

*Éeni*ro in (610) is used in combination with the remote past suffix *-ni*, and the function of both suffixes together was described in Section 6.3.7.2, devoted to the remote past suffix. In (610), *éeni*ro is used with the verb *nokáatzini*, built with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the remote past suffix *-ni*, which yields the meaning ‘I was a little child’. The two examples from an elicitation in (371) show that *éeni*ro can be used with nouns and verbs, although, in (371b), it is used with a verbalized noun.

- (611) a. **Éeni**ro nopókini.
 éeni-ro no-pok-i-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-come-FRS-RMPST
 ‘I came long ago (lit.: there was that I came long ago).’
 b. **Éeni**ro néentsitzini.
 éeni-ro n-eentsi-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-child-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child (lit.: there was that I was a child long ago).’

This combination between *éeni*ro and *-ni* appears to be quite usual and expresses that something happened long ago. However, *éeni*ro does not necessarily occur always with *-ni*. An example without *-ni* is in (612).

- (612) Tee noñeeri naaka hanta, **éeni**ro nopiyota.
 tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta éeni-ro no-piyo-t-a
 NEG.REA 1S-see-REG-FRS-3M.O 1 LOC=DIST EXI.PST 1S-meet-&-REA
 ‘I haven’t seen them again there, I was in a meeting (lit.: ..., there was that I was meeting).’ (CCPC)

In this case, the past moment to which *éeni*ro refers is not remote. Therefore, the function of the combination with *-ni* is to express that the past is remote.

In the same way as *eeni-*, *éeni*ro can be used in possessive constructions, as in (613).

- (613) **Éeniro** picháriní?
 éeniro pi-charini
 EXI.PST 2-grandfather.MP
 ‘Do you still have a grandfather? (lit.: is there still your grandfather?).’ (CMH)

In this case, the nuance added to the existential meaning is not PAST but ‘still’. Thus, while, in (610), (371) and (612), *éeniro* can be translated with ‘there was’, in (613), it should be translated with ‘there still is’.

Éeniro is constructed with *eeni-* plus *-ro*, which suggests that it could be segmented with these two elements. However, *-ro* is the form of the feminine object suffix and it makes no semantic sense to ascribe it this value in *éeniro*.

6.9.4. Negative existential *tekatsi*

I have described above three positive existentials, but there is only one negative existential form: *tekatsi*. Its form seems to derive from **tee okaatsi* (tee o-kaa-atsi, NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-PTCP.IPFV), but, presently, it is a single word with only one stress on the penult, so, whatever its origin, it is synchronically frozen; actually, it is pronounced [te'kaɬ^h], following the /i/-deletion rule explained in Section 2.3.1. *Tekatsi* has a meaning equivalent to English ‘there is/are not’. Different uses of *tekatsi* are illustrated in the examples below.

In (614), *tekatsi* is used in a relative construction.

- (614) **Tekatsi** kamántirini.
 tekatsi kamant-i-ri-ni
 NEG.EXI announce-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 ‘He hasn’t informed (about his coming; lit.: there is not the one who will announce him).’ (SCS)

In this example, *tekatsi* indicates the non-existence of someone who announces the referred man, so that the meaning is that he has not informed about his coming.

The meaning of *tekatsi* can be extended to ‘there is nothing’ if it is retrievable from the context, as in (615): *tekatsi* follows the statement that the dog has been looking for something inside a bottle, hence the understanding that *tekatsi* means ‘there is nothing (inside the bottle)’.

- (615) Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàwo poterya inthomoeki: **tekatsi**, káankinakitàki.
otsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
dog 3M.S-sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bottle inside=LOC
tekatsi kaankinaki-t-ak-i
NEG.EXI empty-&-PFV-FRS
‘The dog repeatedly sniffs inside the bottle in vain: there is nothing, it’s empty.’ (FS)

In the same way as the positive existentials can form possessive constructions, also *tekatsi* can be used to form a negative possessive construction, as in (616).

- (616) **Tekatsi** nopáapate.
tekatsi no-paapa-ti
NEG.EXI 1-father-POSS
‘I don’t have a father (lit.: there is not my father).’ (CMH)

Tekatsi can be complemented with an inflected verb instead of a noun or a relativized verb, as is shown in (617).

- (617) **Tekatsi** nóokanahi.
tekatsi n-ook-an-ah-i
NEG.EXI 1S-leave-ABL-REG-FRS
‘I have no one to leave (in a house) (lit.: there is not that I leave [*leave a person in a house* is known from the context]).’ (CMM)

Tekatsi can host suffixes and enclitics, as in (618), where *tekatsi* hosts the conditional enclitic =rika (abbreviated to *tekátsika*) yielding the meaning ‘if there is not’; and in (619), where the ablative *-an* and the perfective *-ak* indicate that the non-existence refers to the inside of the bottle (the absence of *-an* would change the meaning to ‘there is no bottle’; see Section 6.5.2 for details).

- (618) Shirámpari páerani, arírika okìtèhíityamanàki **tekátsika** oyari, ráakiro
ichékopiti échatzi itónkamènto...
shirámpari páerani ari=rika o- kìtèhíity-aman-ak-i
man long.ago AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-EARLY-PFV-FRS
tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti
NEG.EXI=COND eat-IRR-REL 3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-arrow-POSS
échatzi i-tonk-amento
also 3M.S-shoot-NMLZ.INS
‘Long ago, the men, when it dawned early and there was nothing to eat, they took their arrows and rifle...’ (CTK)

- (619) Eentsi ráminawitári pirinto: **tekátsitanàki** poterya.
 eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 child 3M.S-look-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog
 tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
 NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle
 ‘The child looks for the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’ (FS)

6.10. Copulas

According to Dixon (2010b:159), a copula clause “has as predicate a copula verb, taking two core arguments, Copula Subject (CS) and Copula Complement (CC)” and “has relational rather than referential meaning”, while he attributes the referential meaning to transitive and intransitive clauses. Dixon goes on by specifying the relations that a copula can cover: always identity and/or attribution, often possession, benefaction, and, in some languages, location. UP Ashéninka has three positive and one negative morphemes that fall into this category, i.e. that can fulfil the function of signalling a relation of identity or attribution between a copula subject and a copula complement. These morphemes are the verbal roots *-kant-* and *-kaa-* and the non-verbal positive *-ni* and negative *kaari*. While Dixon (2010b) always talks about *copula verbs*, the concept of *non-verbal copula* is defined by Stassen (1997:76) to differentiate copulas that “on the basis of their formal characteristics, must be considered to belong to the class of VERBS of the language” from other copulas that “lack the morphological features [...] which distinguish the class of verbs in the language”. This distinction of verbal vs non-verbal copulas is useful for Ashéninka, given that *-kant-* and *-kaa-* are inflected as verbs, but the negative *kaari* is invariable and *-ni* is inflected only with a 1st of 3rd person prefix (also marked for gender in the 3rd person). Therefore, I will adopt Stassen’s (1997) terminology in this section.

The verbal copulas *-kant-* and *-kaa-* can fulfil the typical function of a copula as described by Dixon (2010b:159), but, in my text corpus, they usually fulfil other functions, and it is difficult to find examples with the canonical function of a copula. However, these non-copula functions or meanings are cross-linguistically related to copulas, as will be seen in the relevant sections (6.10.1 for *-kant-* and 6.10.2 for *-kaa-*).

Besides the morphemes mentioned above, full pronouns can form zero copula constructions, which is described in Section 3.1.1.

6.10.1. Verbal copula *kantaantsi*

In principle, the verbal copula *kantaantsi* can be inflected as any other verb, but I have not researched its restrictions in depth, so there might be some. The same root *-kant-* also means ‘say’, but the difference is that *kantaantsi* ‘say’ is inflected with I-class RS suffixes, while the copula *kantaantsi* is inflected with A-class suffixes. This verb always occurs in my corpus with the obligatory RS suffix and the quasi-obligatory subject prefix, except for 2 instances (out of 57) where it appears without the subject prefix. Other suffixes that occur attached to *kantaantsi* in my corpus are perfective *-ak*, habitual *-apiint*, impersonal *-ee*, causative *-aka*, object (different forms), general applicative *-ako*, relative *-ri*, ablative *-an*, regressive *-ah*, plural *-eey...-ni* and mirative *-ña*. As said above, this verb can have the function of a canonical copula, but most occurrences have different functions. The only instance in my text corpus of a canonical copula construction is in (620), and (621) is from an elicitation.

- (620) Hee, ari **nokántari** naaka.
 hee ari no-kant-a-ri naaka
 AFF thus 1S-COP-REA-REL 1
 ‘Yes, I am that way.’ (CMH)

- (621) Hanthawo **okanta**.
 hantha-ro o-kant-a
 tall-F 3F.S-COP-REA
 ‘She is tall.’

In both examples, *-kant-* establishes a relation of attribution between the copula subject (*naaka* ‘I’ in (620) and ‘she’ in (621)) and the copula complement (*ari* ‘thus, this way’ in (620) and *hanthawo* ‘tall’ in (621)).

Stassen (1997:92-93) says that dynamic verbs are a diachronic source for copulas “covering the whole or parts of the semantic domain which includes notions such as ‘do/make/build’, ‘happen/occur’, ‘go/turn into/come/become’ and ‘act (like)’.” Some of these notions, namely ‘happen’, ‘appear’ and ‘do’, are expressed by *kantaantsi*. Therefore, it seems that this verb is on the way to grammaticalizing into a copula in

that it can have a canonical copula function but, at the same time, retains related meanings that cannot be considered to form a copula construction. The meaning ‘happen’ can be observed in (622).

- (622) Tsiká **okántakañà**?
 tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña
 WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR
 ‘What has happened?!’ (SFW)

In (623), *-kant-* acquires the meaning ‘appear’.

- (623) **Ikántaka** manitzi, raniri meiri.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi r-aniri méyiri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M-brother.in.law.MP squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, he is the squirrel’s brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

Although *-kant-* is more commonly inflected with 3rd person subject prefixes, it can also be inflected with 1st and 2nd person prefixes, as in (620) and (624). In (624), the conveyed meaning is ‘do’.

- (624) Ari **pikántapiínta**, ari **pikántapiínta**.
 ari pi-kant-apiint-a
 thus 2S-COP-HAB-REA
 ‘You usually do it that way.’ (CCPC)

Stassen (1997:65-66) states that “a full copula is assumed to perform the role of the carrier of a number of grammatical categories which have to be marked in the sentence but which, for some reason, cannot be marked on the lexical predicate itself”. This is the function of *-kant-* in (625), which hosts the ablative suffix *-an* to express motion.

- (625) Ikántatzi ari **ikántanakàwo** atzineri, hantákiro potooki.
 i-kant-atzi ari i-kant-an-ak-a-ro a-tzineri
 3M.S-say-PROG there 3M.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O INC-son-in-law
 hantákiro potoo=ki
 beyond ojé=LOC¹⁷⁴
 ‘Our son-in-law says that he went over there, beyond the *ojé*.’ (CCPC)

There is no motion verb in this sentence, but *ikántanakàwo* acquires the meaning ‘go’ thanks to the ablative *-an*. In this case, *-kant-* is also inflected with the object suffix *-ro*, which cross-references the location where the subject is going to.

¹⁷⁴ *Ojé* is the local Spanish name for the tree *Ficus insipida*.

Kantaantsi can have a discursive function acting as a connector, as in (626). The occurrences with this function are quite frequent when telling stories; it is to link a sentence with the preceding one.

- (626) **Ikántaka** irika iníntakòri ayíitapáaki.
 i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka i-nintakori ayíit-apa-ak-i
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M-follower come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS
 ‘So this follower of his came down.’ (SCS)

The occurrences of *-kant-* with this function usually bear a masculine subject prefix (14 occurrences in my text corpus), but there are 2 occurrences with the feminine prefix (627) and one without any subject prefix (628) in my corpus.

- (627) **Okanta** opóntzitàshitàkiri ana.
 o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
 3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-grate-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O genipap
 ‘So she grated genipap for him.’ (SCS)

- (628) **Kántaka** tee, tee réshikèmpitatapàki waaka.
 kant-ak-a tee réshikèmpita-t-ap-ak-i waaka
 COP-PFV-REA NEG.REA disobedient-&-ALL-PFV-FRS cow
 ‘So, no, the cows have not obeyed.’ (SCFF)

In (627), the feminine prefix is probably caused by the feminine subject of the sentence. In (628), the prefix omission may be due to the narrator’s excitement because the story is arriving at a climax (see Section 6.2.2.2 about subject prefix omission).

In some cases, *-kant-* seems to have no discernible function, as in (629).

- (629) Ráminaminawitari **okanta** ochéenkamorókitàki omoo.
 r-amin~amin-a-wi-t-a-ri o-kant-a
 3M.S-look~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3F.S-COP-REA
 o-cheenka-moro-ki-t-ak-i o-moo
 3M.S-black-hole-FORM-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
 ‘He goes on looking into a black hole (in a tree) in vain.’ (FS)

In this example, it seems that *okanta* may be dispensable, although I did not check it with a consultant. A more literal translation would be ‘he goes on looking into *what* is a black hole...’, which may emphasize the fact of there being a black hole, or that the hole is very dark (black). The function of this kind of occurrence of *-kant-* may be difficult to ascertain and can be an interesting topic for future research.

Finally, *kantaantsi* can form a periphrastic causative construction, which is described in Section 6.6.2.1, on causatives.

The examples above show that *kantaantsi* can have the function of a canonical copula, as in (620) and (621), but the occurrence as such in natural texts is scarce; however, speakers tend to use it with copula function in elicitations when translating clauses with the Spanish copula *ser*, probably because they tend to reproduce the Spanish syntax when it suits an Ashéninka expression. Other functions include the meanings ‘happen’ (622), ‘appear’ (623) or ‘do’ (624). Moreover, when used with a directional suffix, *kantaantsi* can express a kind of motion that depends on which directional is used (625). This verb also acts as a connector linking sentences when telling a story, as in examples (626) to (628), and can form a periphrastic causative construction.

6.10.2. Verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi*

Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:42) shows the verb *caataantsi* with the meaning “haber cierto número, estar una cantidad, ser contado, ser completo”.¹⁷⁵ Just as Payne does, I consider that *-kaa-* is a verbal root and its infinitive and dictionary form is *kaataantsi*. The meaning described by Payne coincides with my own research; hence the name TOTALITATIVE: *kaataantsi* expresses the existence of a totality of items. Payne’s meanings referring to a certain amount, a quantity occur with the accompaniment of a numeral, so that, in this case, *kaataantsi* can be considered to have the meaning ‘be a total of X items’, where X is a numeral. This meaning puts *kaataantsi* into the category of Hengeveld’s (1992:34-35) “semi-copulas”, which he defines by saying that “a semi-copula adds an element of meaning to the construction in which it occurs, whereas the copula does not.” This added element of meaning is the totalitative function. Besides this core meaning, *kaataantsi* can act as a canonical copula and has some extended meanings, which are analysed below. It is very frequent, with 56 occurrences in my text corpus.

The core meaning of *kaataantsi* is illustrated in (630).

¹⁷⁵ ‘To exist a certain amount, a quantity; to be counted, complete.’

(630) Ari **okaatzi**.

ari o-kaa-t-zi

thus 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

'In this way, it (the story) finishes (lit.: all is thus).' (SCS)

In this example, the copula subject is 'it', and the copula complement is *ari* 'thus, in this way'. *Kaataantsi* links both elements in an attributive relation ('it is in this way'), but with the added meaning 'all' ('all of it is in this way'). This is a common expression to close a story, which is best translated in English as 'in this way, it finishes', but the literal translation makes clear the semi-copula function. The expression of a finished action with *-kaa-* is a common occurrence. An example is in (631), where the meaning 'end' is reinforced with the allative suffix *-ap*.

(631) **Ikáatapaki** oorya *a las tres de la tarde*, rowa...

i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i oorya a las tres de la tarde ro=ra

3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sun at 3 p.m. F=MED

'They finished at 3 p.m., um...' (SCFF)

In (632), *okaatzi* means 'all' referring to *piyótziri shímapáeni* 'the fishes you know'. In this sense, *-kaa-* acquires an adjectival function modifying the relativized (nominalized) verb *piyótziri*.

(632) Pikántina éeroka **okaatzi** piyótziri shímapáeni héekatsi hanta pinámpiki.

pi-kant-i-na éeroka o-kaa-t-zi p-iyo-t-zi-ri

2S-say-IRR-1O 2 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-know-&-REA-REL

shima=paeni heek-atsi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki

fish=PL live-PTCP.IPFV LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC

'You, tell me all the fishes that you know that live there in your community.'

(CMH)

The same function with the meaning 'all' and modifying a relativized verb can be observed in (633).

(633) Riyótawákiri ikáateyini irira ikántètzi..., **ikaatzi** irátsiri.

r-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni

3M.S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri

DEM-M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri

3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA drink-PTCP.IPFV-REL

'Those guess who he is, how to say..., those who are drinking.' (SCS)

Payne's (1980:42) meaning "estar una cantidad" 'to exist a quantity' mentioned above occurs in my corpus with *kaataantsi* used with numerals for counting. This

function also expresses the core meaning of the suffix in that *-kaa-* means ‘be a total of X items’, where X is a numeral. One instance is in (634), where *ikaatzi* is used to accompany the numeral *apiti* ‘two’.

- (634) *Ikotyaata ikaatzi apiti.*
 i-kotyaa-t-a i-kaa-t-zi apiti
 3M.S-sit-&-REA 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA two
 ‘There are two sitting.’ (FS)

In this example, the construction *ikaatzi apiti* is the subject of *ikotyaata* ‘they sit’. A literal translation of *ikaatzi apiti* would be ‘they are a total of two’. In (635), the counting function is present even without an explicit numeral.

- (635) *Ikaatzi pokáentsiri..., ikaatzi...*
 i-kaa-t-zi pok-centsi-ri i-kaa-t-zi
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA come-PTCP.PFV-REL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘Those who have come are ... (counting), are...’ (CCPC)

The speaker is counting the people who have come and has not yet uttered a numeral, but it was clear to the translating consultant that the copula referred to a number, even though the context made it clear only later in the conversation.

In (636), the *-kaa-* form *nokáatakotàki* accompanies the numeral *apiti* ‘two’, but, in this case, *-kaa-* hosts the general applicative suffix *-ako*, which implies that *-kaa-* plus the numeral refer to the amount of time passed.

- (636) *Nokáatakotàki apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.*
 no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri
 1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS two moon
 wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari
 designate-&-PFV-FRS-1O authority
 ‘Two months ago, I have been designated an authority.’ (CTK)

The counting function of *-kaa-* can be used to form a possessive construction when the possessed is a specific number of items. An example is in (637). No numeral is used, but the question requires an answer with a numeral.

- (637) *Hempe ikaatzi pirentzi?*
 hempe i-kaa-t-zi pi-rentzi
 WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2-brother.MP
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’ (CMH)

In this example, *kaataantsi* acquires the function of expressing a possessive construction. The close connection of *kaataantsi* with numerals makes it possible to carry out this function, normally reserved for existentials. Actually, I have found in

my text corpus only one instance of an existential with a numeral (*apaani* ‘one’), so it seems that *-kaa-* replaces the existentials when the subject is modified by a numeral higher than 1.

Kaataantsi can have the function of a canonical copula without the totalitative added meaning. A consultant said that the same construction shown in (621) with *-kant-* (*hanthawo okanta* ‘she is tall’) can be formed with *-kaa-* (638).

(638) *Hanthawo okaatzi.*

hantha-ro o-kaa-t-zi
tall-F 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
‘She is tall.’

However, this construction does not occur in my text corpus, yet a copula function without the totalitative meaning occurs establishing an attributive relation with the copula complement being an incorporated adjective, as in (639), where the adjective *chanceeña-* ‘ovoid’ is incorporated into the verbal construction with *-kaa-*.

(639) *Omaanta nashi naaka oryápetyanikini okáachanchéeñakitzi*
nowatharékithe; ari rowa..., ikántétziro rowa..., pòshíni.

o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-table-like-FORM-ADJ

o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékithe
3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle

ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
AFF F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED tasty-ADJ

‘Even though mine is small, table-like and ovoid, my testicle, so..., um..., how to say..., um..., it is tasty.’ (TSJ)

There are two adjectives in the clause (*oryápetyanikini* and *okáachanchéeñakitzi*, both with the long stems discussed in Section 5.6), and only the second one is formed with the adjective incorporated in a verbal complex with the root *-kaa-*. Both adjectives modify the possessed noun *nowatharékithe* ‘my testicle’, but the reason to form only one with *-kaa-* is probably that the speaker wants to emphasize it. Example (640) shows another incorporation into a verbal complex formed with *-kaa-*, but in this case with the inalienable noun *-moityo* ‘navel’. Note that the FORM suffix *-ki* turns *-moityoki-* into an adjective (‘navel-like’).

(640) *Tee, okàamoityókitzi.*

tee o-kaa-moityo-ki-t-zi
NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-navel-FORM-&-REA
‘No, it is small and round (navel-like).’ (CMM)

Kaataantsi can be inflected with plural suffixes to build a form that acts as a plural pronoun with the meaning ‘we/you/they all’. I show here an instance in (641), where *nokáatèyini* means ‘we all, all of us’.

- (641) Nowámetantatzìri **nokáatèyini** éehatzi nowéthatàri Toni.
 n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 1S-teach-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 éehatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni
 also 1S-greet-&-REA-3M.O Toni
 ‘We all are teaching and greet Toni.’ (OS)

Since there are no plural pronouns in the language, these constructions fill this gap. However, they are not always equivalent to a pronoun. In (642), *nokáateyini* cannot be translated as ‘we all’, but rather as ‘those of mine, my people’.

- (642) Tee nokoyi nopiyi okímitaka noniro, nopáapati, éehatzi **nokáateyini** pácerani iroñaaka nonámpiki.
 tee no-koy-i no-piy-i o-kimi-t-ak-a
 NEG.REA 1S-want-FRS 1S-go.back-IRR 3F.S-be.similar-&-PFV-REA
 no-niro no-paapa-ti éehatzi no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 1-mother 1-father-POSS also 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 pácerani iroñaaka no-nampi=ki
 long.ago now 1-community=LOC
 ‘I don’t want to go backwards to be like my mother, my father, nor like those of mine who were before and now in my (indigenous) community.’ (CMH)

A very literal translation of *nokáateyini* would be ‘those of mine who are’. The 1st person subject prefix in *nokáateyini* cannot refer to ‘we’ because the speaker says that she does not want to be similar to the people who lived and live now in her community, so that the reference of *nokáateyini* is the people of her community, but not the speaker herself. Therefore, a possessive meaning is included in the construction with *-kaa-*, which can be best translated as ‘those of mine’.

In (643), the pronominal construction with *-kaa-* is used with the medial demonstrative enclitic *=ra*, which gives *-kaa-* a more demonstrative function: *ikáateyìnirà* is ‘those’ in the translation line.

- (643) Roo roweyántakáwo rirakagéiyakirini iyamarámpiti **ikáateyìnirà**.
 roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-ee-y-ak-i-ri-ni
 then 3M.S-be.last-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-drink-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni=ra
 3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 ‘Then arrives the last one, who makes those drink his ayahuasca.’ (SCS)

In (644), the pronominal construction *ikáateyini* accompanied by *apáanipáeni* ‘each one’ acquires a distributive function.

- (644) Róetakiri apáanipáeni **ikáateyini**.
 r-oe-t-ak-i-ri apaani=paeni
 3M.S-serve.drink-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O one=PL
 i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘He serves drink to each of them.’ (SCS)

Kaataantsi can have the same function shown for *kantantsi* in (625), mentioned by Stassen (1997:65) as “the role of the carrier of a number of grammatical categories”. In (645), the only function of *-kaa-* is to be the carrier of the temporal subordinator suffix.

- (645) **Okáatzira** piheeki hanta pinámpiki, óetaka pipánkitziri okaatzi powáyitari?
 o-kaa-t-zi-ra pi-heek-i ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-live-FRS LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 o-eta=ka pi-panki-t-zi-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sow-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zi p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-eat-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘When you are there in your community, what’s everything you sow to eat?’
 (CMH)

Although it would be possible to say *pihéekira* and avoid *-kaa-* (with the temporal subordinator *-ra* on *piheeki*), probably the speaker is seeking a discursive effect similar to English ‘when it is the case that you are...’ instead of ‘when you are...’ This function of being the base of a suffix also occurs in (646), where the meaning of being a child is expressed by the past existential *éeni* and the remote past suffix *-ni*, while *-kaa-* is devoid of any semantic content and only functions as the host that *-ni* needs.

- (646) Éeni **nokáatzini**.
 éeni no-kaa-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child.’ (CMH)

The examples above show a variety of functions and meanings of the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, which perhaps would be even more with a larger corpus. Summing up, the functions of *kaataantsi* analysed in this section are:

1. The function of a copula with the added totalitative meaning ('be all'), which puts it into the category of semi-copulas as defined by Hengeveld (1992:34-35). This is illustrated in examples (630) to (637).
2. Function 1 has the extended sub-function of counting a number of items when a numeral is present or is inferable from the context, as in examples (634) to (637).
3. The function of a copula without the added totalitative meaning forming an attributive relation with an adjective as copula complement: with an independent adjective (638), with an adjective incorporated inside the verbal construction with the root *-kaa-* (639), and with an adjective derived from a noun plus the FORM suffix *-ki* (640).
4. Acting as a plural pronoun with the meaning 'we/you/they all' in (641) to (644), with a possessive meaning in (642), a rather demonstrative function in (643) and a distributive meaning in (644).
5. Devoid of an own meaning as host for a suffix in (645) (with the temporal subordinator *-ra*) and (646) (with the remote past *-ni*).

6.10.3. Non-verbal animate copula *-ni*

This copula is not inflected as a verb, but only with a person and gender prefix that cross-references the copula subject, which is always animate and can be 1st or 3rd person, but not 2nd. Thus, there are only three forms: 1st person *noni*, and 3rd person feminine *oni* and masculine *ini*. Another unusual feature is that it takes the final position in the clause, which is totally impossible for a verb in Ashéninka. All these non-verbal features put *-ni* inside the category of non-verbal copulas as defined by Stassen (1997:76): "they typically lack the morphological features (such as PNG-marking,¹⁷⁶ or tense-mood-aspect marking) which distinguish the class of verbs in the language. Quite commonly they also differ from 'real' verbs in their syntactic behaviour, as they do not occur in the positions which are canonical for verbs."

I have only one instance in my corpus (647), so I deduce that it is infrequent.

¹⁷⁶ PNG stands for person-number-gender.

(647) Ikántaka meiri páerani ashéninka **ini**.

i-kant-ak-a méyiri páerani ashéninka i-ni
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA squirrel long.ago person 3M-COP.AN
 ‘Long ago, the squirrel was a person.’ (TSJ)

In (647), *ini* functions as a canonical copula establishing an identity relation between two nouns. The order in the copulative construction is COPULA SUBJECT-COPULA COMPLEMENT-COPULA. This final position in the clause is totally impossible in Ashéninka verbs.

Other examples with only the copula complement (the copula subject is omitted in Ashéninka and is a pronoun in the English translation) obtained from elicitations are in (648).

(648) a. Tsinani oni . tsinani o-ni woman 3F-COP.AN ‘She is a woman.’	b. Shirámpari ini . shirámpari i-ni man 3M-COP.AN ‘He is a man.’
c. Eentsi ini . eentsi i-ni child 3M-COP.AN ‘He is a child.’	d. Chéen kari oni . cheenka-ri o-ni black-REL 3F-COP.AN ‘She is black.’
e. Antawo oni . anta-ro o-ni big-F 3F-COP.AN ‘She is big.’	f. Wirákocha oni . wirákocha o-ni non-indigenous 3F-COP.AN ‘She is not indigenous.’

The copula *-ni* can express identity (648a-c,f) and attributive (648d,e) relations with nouns and adjectives, respectively (*wirákocha* is a noun that denotes a non-indigenous person, i.e. a mestizo or a white).

Possible cognates in other Campan languages are the copulas *-n-* and *-nti* in Nanti (Michael 2008:292-93); *-nti* is described as irregular because it can be inflected with person and gender (1st person *nanti*, 2nd person *binti*, inclusive *hanti*, 3rd person f. *onti*, 3rd person m. *inti*), but no other morphology; the position of *-n-* and *-nti* is not clause-final as in UP Ashéninka *-ni*. Snell’s Matsigenka dictionary (2011:121) shows *-nti* also inflected with person and with the same forms (except inclusive, which does not appear), and also with a non-clause-final position; Matsigenka also has the copula *-n-* (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). Mihas (2015a:207-08) describes for Alto Perené the

copula *na*, which is inflected as a regular verb (e.g. *onatzi*, o-na-tz-i, 3NM.S-be-&-REA, ‘she is’) but has a clause-final position.

In UP Ashéninka, it is possible to use the 1st person with *-ni*, but not the 2nd person (649), which is a very curious and unusual feature. A speaker was very clear in saying that the supposed 2nd person form **pini* does not exist.

(649) a. Shirámpari noni . shirámpari no-ni man 1-COP.AN ‘I’m a man.’	b. Shirámpari *pini . shirámpari *pi-ni man *2-COP.AN Pretended: ‘You’re a man.’

6.10.4. Non-verbal negative copula *kaari*

There are three positive existentials and only one negative, and the same happens with the copulas: the previous sections describe three positive copulas, but the only negative copula is *kaari*. This word is invariable, so it cannot be inflected in any way, and this is the reason to consider it a non-verbal copula as defined by Stassen (1997:76).

While the negative particles realis *tee* and irrealis *eero* (Section 3.7) always negate verbs, *kaari* negates nouns and relativized verbs, which can be considered noun phrases.

The canonical function of a copula is best observed in (650), which is from a non-recorded conversation that I heard in which I am referred to.

- (650) *Kaari gringo*.
kaari gringo
NEG.COP gringo
‘He’s not a gringo.’

The one who is not a gringo is me, and this sentence was uttered by a speaker talking by phone with another speaker. The copula subject is not expressed because it is clear from the context: the conversation was about planning my trip to a native community and the speaker’s interlocutor probably asked whether I was a gringo. The example shows a clear copulative construction establishing a negative identity relation. An instance of a canonical copula construction from a recorded text is in (651).

- (651) Róetapáeni ishèmyakotáshitawo rowa..., iyétakiti; **kaari** iyatharékhithopero.
 roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro ro=ra
 seed=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O F=MED
 i-ketaki-ti kaari i-yatharékhitho-pero
 3M-forest.peanut-POSS NEG.COP 3M-testicle-VER
 ‘He was crushing seeds, um..., of forest peanuts: it wasn’t really his testicle.’
 (TSJ)

The copulative construction in this example is *kaari iyatharékhithopero* ‘it wasn’t really his testicle’. The copula subject is what was said in the previous clause (*róetapáeni* ‘seeds’) and the copula complement is *iyatharékhithopero* ‘really his testicle’.

In other instances from my text corpus, *kaari* does not have such a canonical copula function. They are analysed in the following examples.

In (652), *kaari* negates a zero copula construction formed with the pronominal root *roo-* (3F) inflected with verbal affixes (see Section 3.1.1 for the description of this kind of zero copula construction).

- (652) Meiri **kaari** róotaki iyatharékhitho.
 méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho
 squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 ‘The squirrel, it wasn’t his testicle.’ (TSJ)

In this example from the same tale as (651), the same statement is made: ‘it wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle’. Seeing the copular construction in (651), it is clear that *róotaki* in (652) might be omitted. Its occurrence probably conveys more emphasis to the statement.

In (653), *kaari* modifies the relative verb *niyótziròri* ‘what I know’.

- (653) Haka nopókapàki niyotapákiro osheki **kaari** niyótziròri hanta nonámpiki.
 ha=ka no-pok-ap-ak-i n-iyó-t-ap-ak-i-ro osheki
 LOC=PROX 1S-come-ALL-PFV-FRS 1S-know-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O much
 kaari n-iyó-t-zi-ro-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.EXI 1S-know-&-REA-3F.O-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘I’ve come here and I’ve learnt much of what I didn’t know there in my community.’ (CMH)

Kaari modifies the relativized *niyótziròri* ‘what I know’. It is worth to note here that I asked a consultant whether this *kaari* might be replaced by the general realis negator *tee* and he did not accept it. Probably, the reason is that the relativized *niyótziròri* acts

as an NP ('what I knew'='my previous knowledge') and *kaari* is the negator used to negate an NP.

In (654), *kaari* negates a verb that would bear the relative suffix *-ri* if it were positive.

- (654) Íitakya **kaari** pamanta niha?
 iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 'Why didn't you bring water?' (CCPC)

In this question, a consultant told me that it is not possible to replace *kaari* with the usual verbal negator *tee*. When the resultative suffix *-ant* expresses consequence or goal, it requires the relative suffix *-ri* (see Section 6.7.2), except when the polarity is negative. Therefore, it seems that *pamanta* is treated as a relativized verb, and the relative *-ri* is absent only due to the negative polarity. A relative construction can be considered a kind of nominalization –as in (653)–, so that, even in this case without the relative suffix due to the negative polarity, the presence of *-ant* may trigger that the verb is negated as a noun rather than as a verb. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the only negators negating verbs with the resultative *-ant* in my corpus are *kaari* and the irrealis negator *eero*. In all the instances in my text corpus, *kaari* is used in realis situations, so further research should find out whether *kaari* has a realis parameter.

In (655), *kaari* appears with the conditional enclitic *=rika* attached.

- (655) Niyótantyari kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, **káaririka** haka ashéninka
 héekatzi oháawiki, paata nopòntzításhitawakiriita ana.
 n-iyo-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 'In order to know whether it is really true that he hails from heaven, and it isn't
 that the Ashéninka lives here on the ground, I'm going to prepare genipap later
 for him (for his arrival, although he won't like it).' (SCS)

The conditional *=rika* is also present in *kyáaryoperòrika* 'whether it is really true', and its two occurrences signal the two conditions that the speaker wants to find out: whether it is true that he comes from heaven and whether he does not come from the

ground (the earthly world) –although both express the same condition (the second one negates the contrary of the first one). The translation of *káaririka* is thus ‘whether it isn’t...’, and the rest of the clause states the condition that the speaker wants to find out.

Kaari can also host the counter-expectative enclitic =*maita*, as is shown in the long sentence in (656), yielding the meaning ‘even though it wasn’t’.

- (656) Rámatawitakiri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho ikìmitakáantawitakáwo
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharékitho,
káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false)
 as though, um..., what’s its name..., that it was real that his testicle was good
 (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

The counter-expectative and the conditional enclitics are the only morphemes that occur attached to *kaari* in my corpus. The counter-expectative enclitic =*maita* can also attach to the realis negator *tee* (see Section 3.7) and is practically identical in form to the counter-expectative suffix *-imai* (see Section 6.4.2.7).

6.11. Invariable words with a verbal function

There are a few words with a verbal function that cannot be segmented (for *verbal function*, I understand that they form a predicate on their own). My corpus contains five of these words, which are described below.

Táanitya in (657) means ‘I don’t know anything, I have no idea’.

- (657) **Táanitya**, tee noñeeri naaka hanta, éeniro nopíyota.
 táanitya tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta
 I.know.nothing NEG.REA 1S-see-REG-FRS-3M.O I LOC=DIST
 éeniro no-piyo-t-a
 EXI.PST 1S-meet-&-REA
 ‘I know nothing, I didn’t see him there again, I was in a meeting.’ (CCPC)

In this conversation between three people, it is difficult to know what the speaker does not know, but the translation I got was very clear. Moreover, the same word appears in Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:133) with the meaning “¡no sé!” ‘I don’t know’ and qualified as an interjection.

Sho in (658) means ‘look!’

- (658) Ñáakiro, iroka **sho** ahá, *ocho soles el kilo*, ñáakiro.
 ña-ak-i-ro i-ro=ka sho ahá
 see-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=PROX look INTJ
 ocho soles el kilo ña-ak-i-ro
 eight soles per kilo see-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘You see it, look at this one (a cacao pod), aha, eight soles per kilo, you see it.’
 (CCPC)

This word is remarkable because it is the only one that I have found that breaks the rule that the minimal word has at least two morae. It occurs four times in the same three-person conversation and is uttered by two of the participants. It may mean ‘look!’, but also ‘there’. I insisted on the question whether the *o* might be long, but the translating consultant was very clear in saying that it is short. He added that this word must be uttered while the speaker points with the finger. In this way, the meanings ‘look!’ and ‘there’ turn out to be quite similar, so that the speaker points to some place and, even meaning ‘there’, is urging her interlocutor to look at that point. An example with the meaning ‘there’ is in (659).

- (659) Éeniwitácha antawo hanta **sho** otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there by the gully.’ (CCPC)

In (660), *máetawaki* means ‘wait!’ I have added the previous statement in the conversation to clarify the context.

- (660) **A:** Échatzi éerori, *tío*. Páteyiro haga.
 échatzi eero-ri tío p-atey-i-ro ha=ra
 also 2-TOO uncle 2S-hold-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED
 ‘You too, uncle. Hold it there.’

B: Máetawákità.

maetawaki-ta
 wait-EMPH
 ‘Wait!’ (CCPC)

I asked the translating consultant about *máetawákità* trying to find out whether there is a stem with the perfective suffix *-ak*, and even with the object motion suffix *-aw*. However, the minimal form that he accepted was *máetawaki*, and he did not even accept it inflected with subject prefixes. Therefore, the conclusion is that *máetawaki* is a frozen form with the meaning ‘wait!’

Another frozen expression is *mache* ‘be that way’. In (661), it is accompanied by *ari*, which is a common combination.

- (661) Ari **machétaka** rowa.
 ari mache-t-ak-a ro=ra
 AFF be.thus-&-PFV-REA F=MED
 ‘That will be that way.’ (TSJ)

I asked the translating consultant questions to find out whether a root *-ma-* ‘can’ might be found in this word, but he did not accept forms different from *mache* or *machétaka*. This word also occurs attached to the masculine prefix *ri-* in (662).

- (662) **Rímache** nótsipatya.
 ri-mache no-tsipa-t-ya
 3M-be.thus 1S-accompany-&-IRR
 ‘Them, I’m going to accompany/Yes, I’m going to stay with them.’ (CMM)

I have given two different translations from two different consultants, but the meaning is actually quite similar. The speaker’s interlocutor was asking her whether she was going to accompany her husband’s family to a house, and (662) was the answer. *Mache* is inflected with other affixes in both (661) and (662), but its character of invariable word comes from the fact that it has a verbal function and cannot be segmented as a normal verb. Its meaning is somewhat unclear in (662), but the expressions *ari mache* and *ari machétaka* were researched thoroughly and their meaning ‘be that way’ is quite clear. The feminine counterpart of *rímache* is *róomache*, which is attested in Fernández (2011:72-79), based on fieldwork in the

Gran Pajonal. I have no instance of *róomache*, but I do have an instance of its abbreviated form *rooma* in (663), where the underlying *make* has the same meaning as in (661) and (662).

- (663) **Rooma** itáakiri.
 roo-ma(che) i-ta-ak-i-ri
 3F-be.thus 3M.S-burn-REL
 ‘This is what he has burnt (lit.: it is thus what he has burnt).’ (CCPC)

In (664), the word *iká* expresses surprise, so I have glossed it with the grammatical abbreviation SURP.

- (664) **Ika**, íitaka itháatákiri? **Iká!** Káakitaki kashékari iro¹⁷⁷ (iroñaaka)!
 iká iita=ka i-thaat-ak-i-ri iká
 SURP WH=INT 3M.S-bark-PFV-FRS-REL SURP
 kaaki-t-ak-i kashékari iroñaaka
 arrive-&-PFV-FRS jaguar now
 ‘What’s that? Who screeched (a bird)? My god! The jaguar arrives now!’
 (SFW)

This word, as the others described in this section, is difficult to classify, and *iká* is actually difficult to translate –just note the two different translations for the two occurrences–, but the translating consultant explained that it is normally used when someone hears a suspicious and unexpected sound, so that, in some contexts, it might be translated as ‘listen!’ or ‘watch out!’ Thus, I think that SURPRISE is the label that best defines it. *Iká* is actually an abbreviation of *ikantzi* ‘he says’, but both meanings do not appear to have much in common. The diachronic origin of *iká* might be that *ikantzi* was uttered with the meaning ‘someone/some animal made a noise (says something)’.

6.12. Incorporation

Incorporation does occur in UP Ashéninka, but very seldom. Adjectival stems make an exception, given that their combinations with other adjectival, nominal or verbal stems are a more frequent occurrence. These combinations are studied in Section 5.7.

I have no example in my corpus of nouns incorporated into verbal complexes with verbal roots, although there are some cases of nouns combined with adjectives

¹⁷⁷ *Iró* is an abbreviated form of *iroñaaka*.

in fully verbalized words (with verbal affixes) (see Section 5.7). I have only one example of an adverb incorporated into a verb, which is in (665).

(665) **Rowáhenokàkotákiro**, rowákotàkiro *biciclétaki*.

r-ow-a-henok-ako-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-put-&-on.top-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

r-ow-ako-t-ak-i-ro

bicicleta=ki

3M.S-put-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

bicycle=LOC

‘He has put it on top, he has put it on the bicycle.’ (PV)

‘On top’ is two words in English, but *henoki* ‘on top, upon’ is an Ashéninka adverb. In (665), *henoki* is incorporated inside the verbal complex, so that the root *-ow-* ‘put’ plus *henoki* yields the meaning ‘put upon, put on top’.

There are only two instances of words with two verbal stems in my corpus; these are in (666) and (667).

(666) Ari **ròtsikanàminthatári**.

ari r-otsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri

there 3M.S-stare-look-BAD-&-REA-3M.O

‘There he stares at length and maliciously at him.’ (TSJ)

‘Stares at length’ is the translation of Spanish *observa detenidamente*, which is the translation I got from a consultant. ‘Maliciously’ is the meaning expressed by the badness suffix *-tha*. The combination of the stems *-otsikana-* ‘stare’ and *-amin-* ‘look’ conveys the meaning ‘stares at length, thoroughly’.

(667) Apáataka íntsipaki, **kàmapiyótaki**.

Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki kam-a-piyo-t-ak-i

3F.S-spoil-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay dry.off-&-pile.up-&-PFV-FRS

‘The pacays have spoiled, they have dried off in piles (a lot of them).’ (CCPC)

In this case, the verbal stems *-kam-* ‘die, dry off’ and *-piyo-* ‘pile up’ are combined to yield the meaning ‘dry off in piles (a lot of them)’.

7. Syntax

7.1. Dominant constituent order

Word order, or constituent order, is a subject that has received much attention from linguists; actually, it seems that it is important to put a label on a language such as SVO, SOV, etc. I use the term *dominant* as is defined by Dryer (2013): “either the only order possible or the order that is more frequently used”. In this way, I avoid the term *basic order*, which might not be the more frequent due to pragmatic features. However, in a corpus with eleven texts of different genres (conversations, stories, tales), my opinion is that the basic order should also be the most frequent.

In a language as Ashéninka, in which the arguments are indexed in the verb, full pronouns are often not used, so that verbs without noun phrases are a common occurrence, yet there are many instances with them. I counted in my corpus every clause (transitives, ditransitives and intransitives) with a verb accompanied by at least one noun phrase, and the results are in Table 36. S is the subject of an intransitive verb, A is the agent (subject of a transitive or ditransitive verb), O is the object of a transitive verb, R is the recipient (indirect object) of a ditransitive verb, and T is the theme (direct object of a ditransitive verb).

Table 36. Number of occurrences of different constituent orders in my corpus

VO 85	SV 71	VA 35	AVO 27	OVA 4	AOV 0	VR 9	VRT 1
OV 0	VS 64	AV 25	VAO 7	VOA 3	OAV 0	AVR 2	VTR 1

Table 36 shows us that the dominant constituent order in a clause in which subject and object are noun phrases is AVO and that other orders are possible except the two with the verb at the end. There are zero occurrences of OV. Therefore, transitive verbs are never in clause-final position when the object is an NP. In clauses in which only the S or the A is an NP, we can see that both orders SV and VS, and also VA and AV, are frequent. If we put together transitive and intransitive clauses, SV plus AV have 96 occurrences, and VS plus VA, 99, which are very similar frequencies. Regarding the recipient, the occurrences as an NP are too scarce so as to draw definitive conclusions, but we can see that the beneficiary never precedes the verb.

The main conclusions to draw from Table 36 are basically three: 1) In clauses with only the S or the A as an NP (intransitive and transitive, respectively), the two possible orders SV and VS, and AV and VA occur with a similar frequency; 2) in transitive clauses with both A and O as an NP, the dominant order is AVO, and other orders are possible with the exception that 3) the verb can never have a final position in a clause with an NP with object function.

When subject and object are both 3rd person and have the same gender, the verbal affixes cannot indicate which participant is subject or object. In these cases, the constituent order plays a role in indicating the participants, but, when one participant is mentioned with their proper name and the other one with an NP referring to them, then the one mentioned by the proper name tends to be the subject. Also the context plays a role in the identification of subject and object. All this was found out through dedicated elicitations with different speakers. In (668) and (669), I gave a sentence in Spanish to obtain the Ashéninka translation. In (670) to (681), I proposed phrases in Ashéninka to the consultant and asked for the translation in Spanish; in these examples, I was changing the constituent order so as to know what the speaker would interpret. All the orders I proposed were considered grammatical except a sentence with the verb at the end, which was immediately rejected as having no meaning (i.e. being ungrammatical). Examples (668) to (681), which are commented on below, show all the results of these elicitations.

- (668) Míshito rátsikákiri ótsitzi.
 míshito r-atsik-ak-i-ri ótsitzi
 cat 3M.S-bite-PFV-FRS-3M.O dog
 'The cat bites the dog.'
- (669) Ótsitzi rátsikákiri míshito.
 ótsitzi r-atsik-ak-i-ri míshito
 dog 3M.S-bite-PFV-FRS-3M.O cat
 'The dog bites the cat.'

- (670) Ichékakiri pawa maanke.
 i-chek-ak-i-ri pawa¹⁷⁸ maanke
 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O father.VOC snake
 ‘Father cut (killed) a snake.’
- (671) Ichékakiri maanke pawa.
 i-chek-ak-i-ri maanke pawa
 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O snake father.VOC
 ‘Father cut (killed) a snake.’
- (672) Pawa ichékakiri aari.
 pawa i-chek-ak-i-ri aari¹⁷⁹
 father.VOC 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O brother.VOC.FE
 ‘Father cuts brother.’
- (673) Ichékakiri aari pawa.
 i-chek-ak-i-ri aari pawa
 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O brother.VOC.FE father.VOC
 ‘Brother cuts father.’
- (674) Aari ichékakiri pawa.
 aari i-chek-ak-i-ri pawa
 brother.VOC.FE 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O father.VOC
 ‘Brother cuts father.’
- (675) Ichékakiri pawa aari.
 i-chek-ak-i-ri pawa aari
 3M.S-cut-PFV-FRS-3M.O father.VOC brother.VOC.FE
 ‘Father cuts brother.’
- (676) Mariya okíshitziro ishinto.
 Mariya o-kishi-t-zi-ro Ø-ishinto
 María 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O 3F-daughter
 ‘María combs her daughter.’
- (677) Okíshitziro Mariya ishinto.
 o-kishi-t-zi-ro Mariya Ø-ishinto
 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O María 3F-daughter
 ‘María combs her daughter.’
- (678) Okíshitziro ishinto Mariya.
 o-kishi-t-zi-ro Ø-ishinto Mariya
 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O 3F-daughter María
 ‘María combs her daughter.’

¹⁷⁸ The vocative form is sometimes used between people who speak about a common relative (e.g. between brothers and sisters speaking about their father or mother) in the same way as, in English, brothers and sisters can refer to their father just as ‘dad’ instead of ‘our father’.

¹⁷⁹ The female ego form is used because the consultant was a woman. The term for father (*pawa*) is the same for both sexes.

- (679) Ishinto okíshitziro Mariya.
 Ø-ishinto o-kishi-t-zi-ro Mariya
 3F-daughter 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O María
 'María combs her daughter.'
- (680) Ana okíshitziro Mariya.
 Ana o-kishi-t-zi-ro Mariya
 Ana 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O María
 'Ana combs María.'
- (681) Okíshitziro iniro Ana.
 o-kishi-t-zi-ro Ø-iniro Ana
 3F.S-comb-&-REA-3F.O 3F-mother Ana
 'Ana combs her mother.'

In examples (668), (669), (672) to (675) and (680), the constituent order determines who is subject and object: the first NP is subject and the second one is object. In these seven examples, both NPs have the same category, i.e. both are unpossessed common nouns or proper nouns in (680). In examples (676) to (679) and (681), one NP is a proper noun, and the other one is a possessed noun whose possessor is the proper noun. In these cases, we can see that the order does not matter: the possessor is always subject, so that there is a hierarchy in which the non-marked NP is always subject. In examples (676) to (679), if the expression had to be 'her daughter combs María', the proper name of the daughter should be uttered and one should say that 'PROPER NAME combs her mother'. The context decides which NP is subject or object in (670) and (671): a man can cut and kill a snake, but a snake cannot cut a man (here, cutting is meant by using a machete or a knife). Therefore, the context clearly indicates that the man has to be the subject because it is impossible for the snake to be the subject.

Summing up, we can see that UP Ashéninka has a dominant AVO constituent order, but different orders can be used, with the exception that a verb can never have a final position in transitive clauses with an NP as object. When the verbal affixes that cross-reference the subject and the object are ambiguous (with 3rd person and same gender referents), the context says who is subject or object. When the context allows both references to be subjects and both NPs have a possessive relation, the possessor is subject and the possessed is object. When both NPs are in the same category (e.g. both being uninflected nouns or both being proper nouns, etc.), the subject is the NP mentioned first.

7.2. Alignment

In linguistic descriptions, alignment is usually treated in syntax chapters because it involves the relation of subject and object with the verb, i.e. the relation between different clause constituents, but, in Ashéninka, these relations are expressed through verbal affixes, so that the relation is always marked inside the same verbal word. Therefore, the study of alignment in Ashéninka concerns the pronominal affixes, which belong to the realm of verbal morphology. Accordingly, the alignment is treated in Section 6.2, on pronominal affixes.

I present here a brief summary of alignment. UP Ashéninka, like the other Campan languages, has a general nominative-accusative alignment with S (subject of an intransitive verb) and A (subject of a transitive verb) marked with prefixes, and O (object of a transitive verb) with suffixes. However, as in some other Campan languages, there is a special construction with S marked with a suffix, and even with A marked with a suffix in UP Ashéninka and also in Caquinte (O'Hagan 2020:213) – at least, this is the only description of A marked with a suffix. This special construction is marked with no pronominal affixes in 3rd person. Therefore, UP Ashéninka alignment can be considered nominative-accusative also in this special construction except for the 3rd person, in which the alignment is neutral only in this construction. However, since the A marked with a suffix is very rare, we can opt to consider it an exception or a rare departure from the general alignment and not take it into account so as to formulate a proposal for the alignment of the language. In this case, we would have that S is marked as A in general but as O in some cases. In Section 6.2.2, I study the semantic content of verbs with S marked as O and conclude that the alignment system of the language is what Dixon (1994:97-101) calls a “split conditioned by tense/aspect/mood”, in this case by tense. All these features are analysed in detail in Section 6.2.2.

7.3. The simple clause

In Section 6.4, on mood and modality, I cite Dixon's (2010b:2) three mood values (declarative, imperative and interrogative) and say that these are clause types, which

will be studied in the syntax chapter. Thus, these three types form the subsections of this section, followed by another subsection on negation.

7.3.1. The declarative clause

A simple declarative clause can be formed only by a verb, as in (682), or by a verb and several constituents, as in (683), where the sentence has a temporal and a locative complement.

- (682) Ohéekira.
 o-heek-i=ra
 3F.S-live-FRS=MED
 ‘She lives there.’ (CMM)
- (683) Aréetapàkina iroñaaka haka pinámpiki Katsinkaari.
 aree-t-ap-ak-i-na iroñaaka
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-1S now
 ha=ka pi-nampi=ki Katsinkaari
 LOC=PROX 2-community=LOC Chicosa
 ‘I’ve just arrived now here at your community, Chicosa.’ (CTK)

Nouns and adjectives can be predicates, so that they can build sentences. These occurrences are treated in the relevant sections on nouns (4.1.6) and adjectives (5.3).

7.3.2. The imperative clause

The imperative clause shows no difference with the declarative one, except that the imperative verb is always irrealis, if this can be considered a difference. When the RS suffix is fossilized, the same verbal form of an imperative clause can also be used in a declarative clause without any change, as *pikímiro* in (684), which might be used with the declarative meaning ‘you taste it’. In (685), the RS is not fossilized and is in irrealis. The latter could be used in a declarative sentence only if it expressed an irrealis parameter (e.g. future).

- (684) Pikímiro, ñani.
 pi-kim-i-ro ñani
 2S-feel-FRS-3F.O brother-in-law.VOC.ME
 ‘Taste it, brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

(685) Piyótina, piyótina.

p-iyo-t-i-na

2S-know-&-IRR-1O

‘Guess who I am, guess who I am.’ (SCS)

There is a hortative inclusive word: *hame* or *thame* in free variation, although *hame* appears to be more frequent (7 occurrences in my corpus vs only 1 of *thame*). This word needs to be accompanied by a verb and is an inclusive imperative, i.e. the speaker exhorts his or her interlocutors to do something with him or her. Its use is illustrated in (686) and (687) with *hame* and in (688) with *thame*.

(686) Anámpiki **hame** ante..., **hame** akénkithawáeti.

a-nampi=ki hame Ø-ant-i

INCL-community=LOC HORT.INCL INCL.S-do-IRR

hame a-kenkitha-wae-t-i

HORT.INCL INCL.S-tell-DUR1-&-IRR

‘In our community, we are going to do..., we are going to be talking.’ (OS)

(687) **Hame** oshánkiri waaka.

hame Ø-oshank-i-ri waaka

HORT.INCL INCL.S-shoo-FRS-3M.O cow

‘Let’s shoo away the cows!’ (SCFF)

(688) Eentyo, ee, tee okaméethatzi, **thame** ashiyi.

eentyo ee tee o-kameetha-t-zi thame a-shiy-i

sister.VOC.FE INTJ NEG.REA 3F.S-good-&-REA HORT.INCL INCL.S-run-IRR

‘Hey, sister, it isn’t good, let’s get away!’ (SFW)

Example (686) is better translated with the English future progressive, but the speaker is urging his interlocutors to do what he proposes to them together with him, the same as in (687) and (688), where the translation with English ‘let’s’ fits better the statement. As can be expected from an exhortation, the verb combined with *hame/thame* is in irrealis, as can be seen in (686) and (688), where the RS suffix is not fossilized (*shiyaantsi* ‘run’ in (688) is one of the few verbs with the opposition realis *-a* vs irrealis *-i*; see Section 6.1 for more information on this feature).

7.3.3. The interrogative clause

Polar questions (*yes-no* questions) have the same form as declarative sentences. The difference lies in the intonation. Examples (689) and (690) could be declarative sentences with the same meaning if they had a declarative sentence intonation. In

(690), there is a verbal predicate; in (689), the existential predicate is expressed just by uttering the existing elements without any verb.

- (689) Osheki thamiri?
 osheki thamiri
 many curassow
 ‘Are there many curassows?’ (CMM)

- (690) Panáninkitaka?
 p-ananink-it-ak-a
 2S-get.up-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘Did you get up at dawn?’ (CCPC)

However, I have an example of a polar question introduced by the interrogative word *íitaka* (691). It must be remarked that it is formally a polar question, but the sense is rhetoric.

- (691) Íitaka róoteentsi noñáawaeti iñáaniki wirákocha?
 iita=ka róoteentsi no-ñáawae-t-i i-ñáani=ki wirákocha
 WH=INT already 1S-speak-&-IRR 3M-language=LOC non-indigenous
 ‘Am I going to speak Spanish now?’ (CMM)

The Spanish translation of (691) was *¿es que ya voy a hablar en castellano?*, and I have found difficult to translate in English the nuance introduced by Spanish *es que*, which can express an array of modal nuances, such as surprise, opposition, annoyance, etc. The context is that the speaker, while speaking in Ashéninka, did not remember a word, and maybe the Spanish word came to her head, so she uttered this question while laughing as a rhetorical question (this question appears in a conversation just following example (699) below and is uttered by speaker A). Therefore, this is formally a polar question, but its meaning is rhetorical. The interrogative *íitaka* may have the same function as Spanish *es que*.

Content questions (*wh*-questions) are introduced with an interrogative word (see comprehensive list of interrogatives in Table 10, Section 3.5). As explained in that section, Ashéninka interrogatives have the peculiarity that an interrogative can express several meanings and the same meaning can be expressed by different interrogatives. Examples (692) to (709) show every interrogative that occurs in my text corpus with every meaning with which they occur, so that these examples show how the interrogatives in Table 10 are used. The interrogatives in the following examples are *hempe*, *tsiká*, *iita(ka)*/*óeta(ka)* and a few with a form based on these.

In (692), (693) and (694), *hempe* has three different values: ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘how many’, respectively.

- (692) **Hempe** pipoñaka éeroka, Hamani?

hempe pi-poñ-a=ka éeroka Hamani
 WH 2S-hail.from-REA=INT 2 Hamani¹⁸⁰
 ‘Where do you hail from, Hamani?’ (CMH)

- (693) **Hempe** okántyaka irika, árima ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki áatsimiyantàtsiri, árima ipánkinatakàe?

hempe o-kant-ya=ka i-ri=ka ari=ma i-kant-a-ri
 WH 3F.S-COP-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA-REL
 i-ri=ka ri=raga poñ-acha-ri henoki
 DEM-M=PROX M=CAT.DEM come.from-PTCP.IPFV-REL up
 aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 suck.to.cure-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB 3M.S-make.love-&-PFV-INCL.O
 ‘How is it that this one, who maybe is the one who comes from heaven to suck to cure, maybe makes love to us?’ (SCS)

- (694) **Hempe** ikaatzi pirentzi?

hempe i-kaa-t-zi pi-rentzi
 WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2-brother.MP
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’ (CMH)

The meaning ‘where’ in (692) can be identified from the context of a verb that needs to refer to a location. In (694), the meaning ‘how many’ is logical, taking into account that one of the functions of the totalitative copula *kaataantsi* is to express a quantity.

In (695), (696) and (697), *tsiká* has the meanings: ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘how’, respectively. In (698), the form *tsikárika*, clearly based on *tsiká*, has the meaning ‘how’.

- (695) **Tsiká** okántakañã?

tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ñã
 WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR
 ‘What happened?’ (SFW)

- (696) **Tsiká** ihéekakika rirori mantsiyari?

tsiká i-heek-ak-i=ka rirori mantsiya-ri
 WH 3M.S-be.in.a.place-PFV-FRS=INT 3M ill-M
 ‘Where is the ill one?’ (SCS)

¹⁸⁰ *Hamani* means ‘paca’ and is here used as the name of a person.

- (697) **Tsiká** ikantya, ikántètzi... , rówaga... , irika rówamantyáririri manitzi?
 tsiká i-kant-ya i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro-raga
 WH 3M.S-COP-IRR 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F-CAT.DEM
 i-ri=ka r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri manitzi
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-CAUS-die-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL jaguar
 ‘How was it, how to say..., um..., so that this (squirrel) killed the jaguar?’
 (TSJ)
- (698) **Tsikárika** ikántakáakari rokíkirà rómahontyáantakariri?
 tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra
 WH 3M.S-ser-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-eye=LOC=MED
 r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri
 3M.S-CAUS-dumb-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL
 ‘How did he make him become dumb in his eyes (blind)?’ (TSJ)

Examples (699) to (709) show different uses of *iita(ka)*/*óeta(ka)* and the derived forms *íitakya* (704), *íitarikya* (705) and *íitama* (709). The meanings expressed are ‘what’ in (699) to (702), ‘why’ in (703) to (706), ‘how’ in (710), and ‘who(m)’ in (707) to (709). I have glossed only the feminine version *óeta(ka)* with gender because *iita(ka)* is used in a general way, i.e. without any reference to gender, while the feminine *óeta(ka)* is only used when the referent is feminine.

- (699) **A:** Íitiweero...?
 iita i-weero
 WH 3M-name
 ‘What’s his name...?’ (she tries to remember the name of an animal) (CMM)
- B:** Owétaka.
 o-eta=ka
 F-WH=INT
 ‘Of what?’ (CMM)

Example (699) shows the use of *iita* and *oeta* without a verb. Speaker B asks what A’s question is, and she uses the feminine *óetaka* even though the conversation is about animals. Probably, a more literal translation would be ‘of what thing?’, which would accord with the feminine prefix. In any case, this example shows that *iita(ka)*/*óeta(ka)* can be used without the presence of a verb.

- (700) **Iita** pipáankitiri páashini?
 iita pi-panki-t-i-ri páashini
 WH 2S-sow-&-IRR-REL other
 ‘What else you’re going to sow?’ (CMM)

- (701) Ñani, ha, **ĩitaka** pántziri?
 ñani ha iita=*ka* p-ant-zi-ri
 brother-in-law.VOC.ME hey WH=INT 2S-do-REA-REL
 ‘Hey, brother-in-law! What are you doing?’ (TSJ)
- (702) Okáatzira piheeki hanta pinámpiki, **óetaka** pipáankitziri okaatzi powáyitari?
 o-kaa-t-zi-ra pi-heek-i ha=*nta* pi-nampi=*ki*
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-live-FRS LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 o-eta=*ka* pi-panki-t-zi-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sow-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zi p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-eat-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘When you’re there in your community, what’s all you sow to eat?’ (CMH)

Examples (700) to (702) show the use of *iita(ka)/óetaka* with the meaning ‘what’. In the three examples, the question is about the object. It is interesting to observe that the interrogative enclitic =*ka* is absent in (700), and it does not seem that there is any structural difference from (701) and (702), so that its presence appears to be optional. It is also interesting that, in (700) and (702), the question is formed with the same verb (*pankitaantsi* ‘sow’), but, in (702), the interrogative is inflected with the feminine prefix. In (702), the object is a bit more specified than in (700), given that the question in (702) is ‘what you sow to eat’ and, in (700), ‘what else you’re going to sow’, and this fact may be a reason for the choice of the feminine, which is the gender of plants. Examples from texts and elicitations seem to point in this direction, but not conclusively. This difference is similar to the one between English ‘what’ (less specific) and ‘which’ (more specific), or between Spanish *qué* and *cuál*, respectively.

Examples (703), (704) and (706) show *iita* and the related forms *ĩitaka* and *ĩitakya* with the meaning ‘why’ in combination with the resultative suffix *-ant*, while (705) shows *ĩitarikya* meaning ‘why’ in isolation.

- (703) Nokantzi: **ĩitaka** ohèekantapákari?
 no-kant-zi iita=*ka* o-heek-ant-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-say-REA WH=INT 3F.S-live-RES-ALL-PFV-REA-REL
 ‘I say: why does she live there?’ (CMM)
- (704) **ĩitakya** kaari pamanta niha?
 iita=*kya* kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-traer-RES-REA water
 ‘Why didn’t you bring water?’ (CCPC)

(705) Okantzi: “**íitarikya**?”

o-kant-zi íitarikya

3F.S-say-REA WH

‘She says: “Why?”’ (SFW)

(706) **Iita** pàmonkowéetantàri?

iita p-amonko-wee-t-ant-a-ri

WH 2S-chew-SPE-&-RES-REA-REL

‘Why do you chew coca? (CCPC)’

Examples from natural texts and results from elicitations clearly show that the way to ask ‘why’ is with *iita* or one of its longer cliticized forms and the resultative suffix on the verb. The presence of the relative suffix *-ri* is governed by the rules applying to the resultative (see Section 6.7.2) (e.g. its absence in (704) is due to the negative polarity of the question). The form *íitarikya* meaning ‘why’ in isolation appeared only in this question.

Examples (707) to (709) show *iita* and the longer cliticized forms *íitaka* and *íitama* with the meaning ‘who(m)’.

(707) **Iita** pitsipáyarini?

iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni

WH 2S-accompany-PL-RS-REL-PL

‘Whom (pl.) you’re going to accompany?’ (CMM)

(708) Ika, **íitaka** itháatàkiri?ika iita=ka i-thaat-ak-i-ri¹⁸¹

SURP WH=INT 3M.S-bark-PFV-FRS-REL

‘Listen! Who (an animal) has cried?’ (SFW)

(709) **Íitama** matéroni pehátzini? Apáaniróeni.

iita=ma ma-t-i-ro-ni peh-atzi-ni apáaniróeni

WH=DUB can-&-IRR-3F.O-REL.IRR weed-PROG-REL.IRR alone

‘Who might be weeding? (I) alone.’ (CCPC)

Tsiká has also been used in elicitations to translate ‘who’, but only *iita* and its cliticized forms have appeared in natural texts with this meaning. In (709), the dubitative enclitic =*ma* is added to *iita* to reinforce the rhetoric question that the same speaker answers.

¹⁸¹ The verb *thaataantsi* ‘bark’ can be used for animals different from a dog. In this case, the speaker has heard the cry of an unidentified animal.

In examples (700) to (703) and (706) to (709), the verb is inflected with the relative suffix (*-ri* and irrealis *-ni*), which shows that this is a typical occurrence with *iita(ka)*. However, the relative suffix does not occur in (704) and (710).

- (710) **Iita** ráawàkiro?
 iita r-a-aw-ak-i-ro
 WH 3M.S-take-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘How did he take her? (SFW)’

In (704), the reason may be the negative polarity, similarly to what happens with the resultative *-ant* (see Section 6.7.2). In (710), there seems to be no special reason. Also in (707), the suffix *-ri* might be interpreted as the 3rd person masculine object suffix, in which case there would be no relative suffix, but I interpreted it as the relative suffix because its absence in questions with *iita(ka)* is an exception, while the absence of the object suffix is quite regular. More occurrences of *iita(ka)* in my corpus show that verbs in questions with this interrogative usually bear a relative suffix, but not always, so it seems that it can be optionally dropped.

The examples above appear to show no structural reason to interpret the presence of the interrogative enclitic *=ka*; thus, my opinion is that its use is optional for the speaker, which was confirmed with elicitations in which speakers mentioned no difference between questions with and without *=ka*. This enclitic can be attached to the interrogative word but also to the verb, which is the case in (692), (693) and (696). The interrogative *=ka* is not attested in polar questions.

In (692), (693), (694), (696) and (697), the subject is present with an NP and its position is always after the verb, and this is indeed the order in every instance in natural texts and elicitations: the verb is always placed immediately after the interrogative, and the subject (S or A) after the verb. In Section 7.1, I explain that, in clauses with only the subject occurring as an NP, both possible constituent orders (SV and VS, AV and VA) show a similar frequency, but, in interrogative clauses, the order is always VS or VA, with the interrogative word before the verb. However, in (691), the adverb *róotentsi* ‘already’ is placed between the interrogative and the verb, which shows that an adverb modifying the verb can occupy this position, although an adverb can also follow the verb, as in (711), where the adverb *páerani* ‘long ago’ follows the verbal form *owámetákimiri*.

- (711) Íitaka owámetákimiri pácerani?
 iita=ka owame-t-ak-i-mi-ri pácerani
 WH=INT teach-&-PFV-FRS-2O-REL long.ago
 ‘Who taught you long ago?’ (CMH)

Also in indirect questions, the order is always VS/VA and the verb immediately follows the interrogative, as in (712), where the NP formed by the pronoun *éeroka* ‘you’ follows the verb.

- (712) Nokoyi niyoti hempe pihéekayini éeroka haka.
 no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i hempe pi-heek-aiy-i-ni éeroka ha=ka
 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR WH 2S-live-PL-FRS-PL2 LOC=PROX
 ‘I want to know how many of you live here.’ (CTK)

7.3.4. Negation

Different negators have been described in previous sections (*tee*, *eero*, *tekira*, *tera* and *téemáita* in Section 3.7), the negative existential *tekatsi* in Section 6.9.4, and the negative copula *kaari* in Section 6.10.4. In these sections, there are several examples showing the different negation strategies. Therefore, at this point, it suffices to say that the verbal negators *tee*, *eero*, *tekira* and *tera* are preposed to the verb to build a negative clause. More detailed information can be found in the referred sections. Here I just show examples with the clause types discussed in the previous sections: declarative (713), imperative (714) and interrogative (715). In imperative clauses, the irrealis negator *eero* is always used because imperative clauses are irrealis.

- (713) Tee àapátziyawakyàari iroka tsinani.
 tee Ø-aapatziy-awak-ya-ri i-ro=ka tsinani
 NEG.REA 3F.S-accept-DES-IRR-3M.O DEM-F=PROX woman
 ‘This woman didn’t want to accept him.’ (SCS)
- (714) Eero páminana, páminiro cacao, ari.
 eero p-amin-a-na¹⁸² p-amin-i-ro cacao¹⁸³ ari
 NEG.IRR 2S-look-REA-1O 2S-look-FRS-3F.O cacao thus
 ‘Don’t look at me, look at the cacao, that way.’ (CCPC)

¹⁸² The I-class verb *aminaantsi* ‘look, see’ has here A-class inflection because the RS suffix precedes the 1st p. suffix *-na* and the verb is in realis. See Section 6.1.5.1 for more information on this kind of RS suffix variations.

¹⁸³ *Cacao* is a Spanish loan.

- (715) Aha, éeroka, tee pikoyi pimiri?
 aha éeroka tee pi-koy-i pi-mir-i
 INTJ 2 NEG.REA 2S-want-FRS 2S-be.thirsty-FRS
 ‘Hey, you, don’t you want to drink?’ (CCPC)

7.4. The complex sentence

This section describes how clauses combine to form sentences with more than one clause. The main division of the section is between coordination (Section 7.4.1) and subordination (Section 7.4.2), and the subordination section is divided into adverbial (Section 7.4.2.1), relative (Section 7.4.2.2) and complement (Section 7.4.2.3) clauses. For the section on subordination, I have drawn heavily on Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:238), who define these three types of subordinate clauses thus: complement clauses “function as noun phrases”, relative clauses “function as modifiers of nouns”, and adverbial clauses “function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses”. This definition can be roughly paraphrased by saying that complement clauses function as nouns, relative clauses as adjectives and adverbial clauses as adverbs. These definitions are further refined in the corresponding sections.

7.4.1. Coordination

Haspelmath (2007:1) defines coordination as “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements”. Haspelmath (2007:1-2) divides coordination into four types: conjunctive, disjunctive, adversative and causal, which are exemplified by the English conjunctions ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘but’ and ‘for’, respectively. These four types are the subsections in which this section is divided. For the sake of clarity, the coordinated clauses are between square brackets. Coordination between nouns and between adjectives is described in sections 4.1.7 and 5.8, respectively.

7.4.1.1. Conjunctive coordination

Conjunctive coordination is most times expressed through the juxtaposition of different clauses, as is shown with three clauses in (716) and with two in (717).

- (716) [Ráakiro], [inóshikàkiro], [rómpohàkiro kameetha mapíkíra].
r-a-ak-i-ro i-noshik-ak-i-ro r-ompoh-ak-i-ro
3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-pull-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-hit-PFV-FRS-3F.O
kameetha mapi=ki=ra
well stone=LOC=MED
‘He takes it, pulls it and hits it well on that stone.’ (TSJ)
- (717) [Ráawàkiro], [rowáwakàwo].
r-a-aw-ak-i-ro r-ow-aw-ak-a-ro
3M.S-take-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-eat-OM-PFV-REA-3F.O
‘He (a jaguar) captures her and eats her (a woman).’ (SFW)

In these two examples, the verbs are juxtaposed without the need for any coordinating conjunction, and all of them have a full inflection, i.e. there is no dominant verb that receives more inflection. This is the usual way of clause conjunctive coordination, but the conjunctive coordinator *éehatzi* can also be used, as in (718), with two clauses, and in (719), with three. In (719), *éehatzi* is inserted only between the two last verbs, in the same way as in the English translation with ‘and’.

- (718) [nowámetantatziri] nokáátèyini **échatzi** [nowéthatàri] Toni¹⁸⁴.
 n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 1S-teach-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 échatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni
 also 1S-greet-&-REA-3M.O Toni
 ‘We are teaching and greet Toni.’ (OS)
- (719) Árika athónkanàkiro, [apíyanaki], [akáwoshitanàki] **échatzi** [ate owántyari
 hanta].
 ari=rika a-thonk-an-ak-i-ro
 AFF=COND INCL.S-finish-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 a-piy-an-ak-i a-kawoshi-t-an-ak-i échatzi
 INCL.S-come.back-ABL-PFV-FRS INCL.S-bathe-&-ABL-PFV-FRS also
 Ø-a-t-i Ø-ow-ant-ya-ri ha=nta
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-eat-RES-IRR-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘When we finish, we will come back, bathe and go there to eat.’ (CMH)

In any case, most clause coordinations are expressed through juxtaposition without *éehatzi*, whose actual meaning is ‘also’, but can be used as a coordinator

¹⁸⁴ *Nokáatéyini* and *Toni* are outside the brackets because they are subject and object, respectively, of both coordinated clauses, i.e. *nokáatéyini* is subject of both clauses and *Toni* is object of both clauses.

equivalent to ‘and’. Examples (718) and (719) were uttered by younger speakers, so it is possible that the use of *éhatzi* might be favoured by the influence of Spanish.

7.4.1.2. Disjunctive coordination

The Spanish disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ is extensively used in UP Ashéninka. An example of its use is in (720).

- (720) [Éenitatsi pipáapate iheeki] *o* [pokaki haka]?
 eeni-t-atsi pi-paapa-ti¹⁸⁵ i-heek-i
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father-POSS 3M.S-live-FRS
o pok-ak-i ha=ka
 or come-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘Does your father live (there), or has he come here?’ (CMH)

I was told that the Ashéninka word for Spanish *o* is *ama*, but this word is composed of the dubitative enclitic =*ma* and a support (epenthetic) vowel, so that its actual meaning is ‘maybe, perhaps’. When I was transcribing example (720), I asked the translating consultant how he would utter this question in a more genuine Ashéninka way, and he uttered the sentence in (721), where the speaker expresses the disjunctive relation by attaching the dubitative enclitic =*ma* to the second verb.

- (721) [Éenitatsi piri hanta] [pokákima haka]?
 eeni-t-atsi p-iri ha=nta pok-ak-i=ma ha=ka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father LOC=DIST come-PFV-FRS=DUB LOC=PROX
 ‘Is your father there, or has he come here?’

Disjunctive coordination can also be expressed through juxtaposition, as in the elicited example (722), where the context allows only a disjunctive interpretation.

- (722) [Pipoki], [piheeki]?
 pi-pok-i pi-heek-i
 2S-come-FRS 2S-stay-FRS
 ‘Are you coming (with me) or staying (here)?’

The conjunction *téerika* ‘otherwise’ is formed by the realis negator *tee* and the conditional enclitic =*rika*, and forms a disjunctive relation between two elements. Unfortunately, I do not have an example with two clauses, but just an example from

¹⁸⁵ *Paapa* is a Spanish loan from *papá* ‘father’, and is used as an alienable noun (with the possessive suffix), while all kin terms are inalienable. This word shows that borrowed nouns go to the alienable category even though they should be inalienable because of their semantic content. The genuine Ashéninka word is the inalienable (without the possessive suffix) *piri* (p-iri, 2-father, ‘your father’).

Casique's (2012:108) textbook coordinating two adverbial phrases (723), which I checked with speakers. The coordinated adverbial phrases are between square brackets.

- (723) Ashitowáeyanakini [iroñaaka sháawiteni] téerika [inkámani kapìchokitéheri].
 a-shitow-aiy-an-ak-i-ni iroñaaka sháawiteni
 INCL.S-go.out-PL-ABL-PFV-FRS-PL today afternoon
 tee=rika inkámani kapicho-kitéheri
 NEG.REA=COND tomorrow little-day
 'We'll leave this afternoon, otherwise/or early tomorrow.' (Casique 2012:108;
 glosses, translation and stress placement mine)

Even though I cannot claim that disjunctive coordination with *téerika* can occur between clauses because of the lack of an example, we can guess that the sentence in (723) might be formulated as 'we'll leave this afternoon or/otherwise we'll leave early tomorrow'. Actually, we cannot consider the adverbial phrase *inkámani kapìchokitéheri* a predicate, but it might be admitted that its predicate is omitted to avoid a repetition and the underlying proposition is 'we'll leave this afternoon or we'll leave early tomorrow'. The literal meaning of *téerika* is 'if not' according to its two components (*tee* and *=rika*).

7.4.1.3. Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is infrequent. Actually, I have found only one instance in my text corpus, which is shown in the long sentence in (724), with the clauses that form the adversative coordination in bold in the Ashéninka text and the English translation.

- (724) [Rámatawítakiri meiri irika manitzi], [yàtharékitho ikìmitakáantawítakàwo
[róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotàki kameetha iyátharékitho]],
[káarimáita]: [ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite].
r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
'The squirrel has cheated this jaguar, given that **he has made it seem (being false) that it is, um..., how to say..., that his testicle was really good (tasty), but it wasn't**: he was crushing forest peanuts.' (TSJ)

In this long sentence, there is a clause whose head is the verb *rámatawítakiri*, which is coordinated (causal coordination) with the clause whose head is the verb *ikìmitakáantawítakàwo*, which has a complement clause whose head is *róoperotàki*. The clause formed only by *káarimáita* expresses the opposite of what might be expected from *ikìmitakáantawítakàwo* 'he has made it seem' (the translation between parentheses 'being false' tries to express the meaning of the frustrative *-wi*), i.e. 'he has made it seem, but it wasn't'. *Káarimáita* 'but it wasn't' cannot be considered a clause dependent of the previous one because it is not a part of it. In any case, since coordination and subordination form a continuum (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang:237-38), this example may be considered to be near the fuzzy border between both concepts, so that *káarimáita* may be close to being a subordinate concessive clause. The last clause with *ishèmyakotáshitawo* as head may be considered an independent sentence given the lack of linking elements with the previous clauses, yet it is logically linked as the explanation of what the previous clauses convey.

Another example of adversative coordination is in (725) from an elicitation, where the counter-expectative suffix *-imae* expresses an outcome different from what might be expected in the clause with head in *niyówitawo*. Also this clause might be considered to be near the fuzzy border between adversative coordination and concessive subordination.

- (725) [Tee niyówitawo awotsi], [arèetzimáetàkina].
tee n-iyó-wi-t-a-ro awotsi
NEG.REA 1S-know-FRU-&-REA-3F.O way
aree-tz-imaec-t-ak-i-na
arrive-&-COEXP-&-PFV-FRS-1S
‘I didn’t know the way, but I arrived.’

An adversative clause can be introduced with the counter-expectative conjunction *omaanta/imaanta* (f./m.) with the meaning 'but only', as in (726).

- (726) [Tekatsi tsiyárokɪ], [omaanta shewo].
 tekatsi tsiyárokɪ o—maanta shewo
 NEG.EXI urucuri.palm F—COEXP shebón¹⁸⁶
 ‘There are no urucuri palms, but only *shebones*.’ (CMM)

The conjunction *omaanta/imaanta* is mainly used in subordinate concessive clauses, so it is described in more detail in Section 7.4.2.1.4.

An adversative clause can be introduced by the conjunction *róokantácha/róokantàencha*¹⁸⁷. The first term occurs in my text corpus and the second one in Cacique & Zerdin's (2016:89) unpublished textbook. The latter is in (727) with a slight correction by a consultant and my glosses.

- (727) [Ikówawita ikaemakáantina], [róokantäencha tee nokoyi niyaati].
i-kow-a-wi-t-a i-kaem-aka-ant-i-na
3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA 3M.S-call-CAUS-RES-IRR-1O
róokantäencha tee no-koy-i n-iyaa-t-i
however NEG.REA 1S-want-FRS 1S-go-&-IRR
‘He wanted to invite me, but I didn’t want to go.’ (Casique 2012:108;
unpublished revised version with some corrections from my consultant;
glosses and stress placement are mine)

In this example, the two clauses that build an adversative coordination are present, and *róokantàencha* introduces the second clause. It is worth remarking that the verb *ikáemakáantina* bears a resultative suffix and no relative suffix, which indicates that it is expressing a cause. Actually, a hypothetical interpretation would be that the invitation is the cause of the speaker's not wanting to go ('just because you invite me, I don't want to go').

¹⁸⁶ *Shebón* is the local Spanish name for the palm *Attalea butyracea*.

¹⁸⁷ According to Fernández (2011:80-81), based on fieldwork in the Gran Pajonal, there are several additional forms of this conjunction.

The instance of *róokantàcha* in my corpus (728) introduces an adversative clause for which its coordinate clause is absent. Therefore, the adversative relation is with the context of what was being said in this conversation, so it should not be formally considered a coordinate clause.

- (728) **Róokantàcha** nàmonkowéetatzì.
 róokantàcha n-amonko-wee-t-atzi
 however 1S-chew-SPE-&-PROG
 ‘However, I’m chewing coca.’ (CCPC)

In this conversation, the adversative context cannot be clearly seen, but the translation of *róokantàcha* with Spanish *sin embargo* ‘however’ offers little doubt about its meaning. We must infer that the speaker understands the adversative relation according to his own thoughts about the situation in which the conversation takes place.

7.4.1.4. Causal coordination

Haspelmath (2007:2) exemplifies causal coordination with English ‘She died, **for** the apple was poisoned’. In the previous section, I mentioned that adversative coordination may be close to concessive subordination. In the same fashion, causal coordination is close to reason subordination (as I call it in this thesis, following Thompson, Longacre & Hwang [2007:243]), but there are some examples in my corpus that I consider rather independent clauses than dependent upon the adjoining clause. An example is in (724) in the previous section, where *ikìmitakàantawitakàwo* ‘given that he had made it seem’ introduces the reason why the squirrel cheated the jaguar, stated in the previous clause (*rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi* ‘the squirrel has cheated this jaguar’).¹⁸⁸ Another example of causal coordination is in (729).

¹⁸⁸ In the discussed example, *yàtharèkitho* ‘his testicle’ and *róotaki* ‘that is’ next to *ikìmitakàantawitakàwo* can be considered unfinished utterances because the next clause utters them as a correction, so that the whole finished fragment (without fillers) should be *ikìmitakàantawitakàwo róoperotàki kameetha iyàtharèkitho* ‘given that he has made it seem that his testicle was really good (tasty)’.

- (729) [Naréetapaka chapinki], [nokémakiri pikàemakàantákina].
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday, given I’ve heard you had me called.’ (CTK)

In this example, the two clauses appear to be rather coordinated than the second subordinated to the first. The resultative suffix *-ant* on *pikàemakàantákina* ‘because you had me called’ expresses the cause of the speaker’s arriving yesterday. The remarkable feature of this clause is that the resultative is not on *nokémakiri* ‘I have heard them’, of which *pikàemakàantákina* is a complement clause. Thus, the resultative suffix is on the verb that most directly expresses the cause (‘you had me called’) of the speaker’s arrival, even though it forms a dependent clause.

7.4.2. Subordination

As said in the introduction of this section on complex sentences, this subsection is divided into three subsections describing adverbial, relative and complement clauses following Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:238), who say that:

“[...] complement clauses and relative clauses usually represent an embedding structure at the subordinate end of the continuum [...] Adverbial clauses, however, are viewed as (hypotactic) clause combining with respect to the main clause since they relate to the main clause as a whole [...] Thus while the term *subordination* includes all three types in its broad sense, adverbial clauses are in some sense ‘less subordinate’ than the prototypes of the other two types on the continuum.”

Since the previous section was about coordination, I start this section on subordination with adverbial clauses as a way to follow the coordination-subordination continuum in the order of the sections. For the sake of clarity, subordinate clauses are between square brackets.

7.4.2.1. Adverbial clauses

Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:243) divide adverbial clauses into two big groups: “clauses which can be substituted by a single word” and “clauses which cannot be substituted by a single word”. The first group is divided into time, location and manner clauses; and the second group into purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolute clauses. I

have found in my text corpus instances of eight of these classes: all except simultaneous, substitutive, additive and absolutive. Therefore, the next subsections are named after these eight classes, with purpose and reason clauses in the same subsection due to their obvious relation.

Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:244-45) say that time, location and manner clauses “tend to take the form of, or share properties with, relative clauses”. This is indeed the case in Ashéninka. Therefore, I describe these three classes at the end of the section because the section on relative clauses will follow. In this way, the clause classes more similar to each other are also closer in the succession of sections.

7.4.2.1.1. Purpose and reason clauses

Most purpose and reason clauses are formed by attaching the resultative suffix *-ant/-anant* to the verb. The different functions of this suffix are described in Section 6.7.2, where I argue that, when the verb bears the relative suffix *-ri*, it can express goal, consequence, outcome or final event of a series of events, all of which belong to the realm of purpose clauses; when the verb with the resultative *-ant* does not bear the relative suffix *-ri*, then it expresses cause. It bears the relative suffix neither with negative polarity nor when *-ant* is triggered by the discourse connector *róohatzi*. More detailed information on the different nuances expressed by the resultative *-ant* can be found in Section 6.7.2.

While purpose clauses are clearly dependent on a main clause, clauses expressing reason are difficult to classify as subordinate reason clauses or coordinate causal clauses, given that their relation to other clauses usually is in the fuzzy border between coordination and subordination. Clauses introduced with the conjunction *teema* ‘because’ are the only ones in my corpus introducing a cause that can be clearly considered subordinate. An example is in (730), where the head of the cause clause is an adjective acting as a predicate.

(730) Ari owàperowáetakya, [**teema** antawo].

ari Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya teema anta-ro
 thus INCL.S-eat-&-VER-DUR1-&-PFV-IRR because big-F
 ‘In that way, we are going to eat more, because it is big.’ (TSJ)

As pointed out, most purpose clauses are built with the resultative *-ant* and the relative *-ri* attached to the verb. Since the resultative suffix triggers A-class inflection, the RS suffix is never fossilized –unless an object suffix triggers I-class inflection–, and the RS suffix is irrealis. An example of this strategy to form a subordinate purpose clause is in (731).

- (731) Pikañáshityàwo pishémyero [òshitowantapákyari kaméethèni].
 pi-kañashi-t-ya-ro pi-shemy-e-ro
 2S-hit.strongly-&-IRR-3F.O 2S-crush-FRS-3F.O
 o-shitow-**ant**-ap-ak-ya-ri kameetha-ni
 3F.S-get.out-RES-ALL-PFV-IRR-REL well-ADJ
 ‘Hit it strongly and crush it so that it gets out good (tasty).’ (TSJ)

As said above, in negative purpose clauses with the resultative *-ant*, the verb does not bear the relative *-ri*. Thus, the strategy in (732) is the same as in (731), only the irrealis marking is on the negator (*eero* instead of the realis *tee*) and the relative suffix is absent. The verb of the main clause is elided and there are two purpose clauses.

- (732) Koka, [eero owanta intsipaeti], [eero akémantawo atashe].
 koka eero Ø-ow-**ant**-a intsipaeti
 coca NEG.IRR INCL.S-eat-RES-REA immediately
 eero a-kem-**ant**-a-ro a-tashe
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-feel-RES-REA-3F.O INCL-hunger
 ‘Coca (is used) not to be constantly eating, not to be hungry.’ (CCPC)

Another strategy to form a purpose clause is also with the resultative and the relative suffixes, but with the verb in realis and preposing the subordinate to the main clause. An example of this peculiar construction is in (733).

- (733) [Nokáemantzimìri] nokoyi nohám pitimi hempe pikanta pihéekàyini hanta éeroka pinámpiki.
 no-kaem-**ant**-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-call-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 hempe pi-kant-a pi-heek-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
 WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-live-PL-FRS-PLLOC=DIST 2 2-community=LOC
 ‘I have called you because I want to ask you how many of you live there in your community.’ (CTK)

The English translation yields a cause clause (‘because I want...’) whose main clause is ‘I have called you’. However, in the Ashéninka sentence, the clause that receives subordinate markers (resultative and relative suffixes) is *nokáemantzimìri*, i.e. the one expressing the consequence (I want to ask you, ergo I call you), while the clause

expressing cause (*nokoyi nohámpitimi...*) has no special marking. Therefore, the clause morphologically marked as subordinate is *nokáemantzimiri*.

Purpose clauses are much more frequent than reason clauses, even counting subordinate reason clauses and coordinate causal clauses together. Most purpose clauses are formed with the strategy shown in (731) and (732), with the resultative and the relative suffixes and the verb –or the negator– in irrealis, but, besides the other strategy with these suffixes and the verb in realis shown in (733), there exist other strategies that do not use these suffixes. In (734), the only marker that the purpose clause receives is the irrealis inflection and the absence of a subject prefix on the verb *ante*.

- (734) Máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta, hátanaki rirori [ante ipánpopáeni ótsipaki nampitsi].
 máaweni a-shéninka heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
 all INCL-fellow.person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
 ha-t-an-ak-i riroriant-i i-panko=paeni o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 go-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M make-IRR 3M-house=PL F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘All the Ashéninka who lived there, they went in order to make their houses in another place.’ (OS)

Another strategy is used in (735), where the two verbs forming two consecutive purpose clauses are marked with the future and the relative suffixes.

- (735) Hame, hame rowa..., hame onkótsiti rowa..., niha, [atàatyéeriri ishiyatyéeri, waaka]”.
 hame ro=ra hame Ø-onkotsi-t-i ro=ra niha
 HORT.INCL F=MED HORT.INCL INCL.S-cook-&-IRR F=MED water
 a-ta-**atyee-ri-ri** i-shiy-**atyee-ri** waaka
 INCL.S-burn-FUT-3M.O-REL 3M.S-run-FUT-REL cow
 ‘Let’s, let’s, um..., let’s cook, um..., water, to burn the cows so that they run.’
 (SCFF)

This example can be considered to have two purpose clauses because of the two different verbs. For *atàatyéeriri*, *waaka* ‘cows’ is object; and for *ishiyatyéeri*, *waaka* is subject, so both verbs share the same word as one of their arguments, although it is a different argument for each verb.

7.4.2.1.2. Circumstantial clauses

Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:253) define circumstantial clauses as “clauses expressing the circumstances by which a given state of affairs comes to be”. I have

only one clause in my corpus that may qualify for this category, which is in (736). The strategy used is to introduce the clause with the interrogative word *iita*.

- (736) Iyótàkiro, antaki antaki, [iita ohaki, ohaki, ohaki].
 Ø-iyó-t-ak-i-ro Ø-ant-ak-i
 3F.S-know-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F.S-do-PFV-FRS
 iita o-h-ak-i¹⁸⁹
 WH 3F.S-beat.masato.inside.a.canoe-PFV-FRS
 ‘She knows it (how to prepare it), prepares, prepares, by beating *masato* inside a canoe-like container, beats, beats.’ (SFW)

7.4.2.1.3. Conditional clauses and the conditional =rika

Conditional clauses are usually formed with the conditional enclitic =rika, which, in most cases, is attached to the multifunctional word *ari*, forming the word *arírika* ‘if/when’ (sometimes phonetically reduced to *árika*), which can also have the meaning ‘whether’ to introduce complement clauses, as is shown in (743) at the end of the section. In *arírika*, *ari* has a positive polarity value, and the negative counterpart of *arírika* is *éerorika*, formed with the irrealis negator *eero*. Both conditional conjunctions occur in (737).

- (737) [Árika ótsipani éerorika nokoyi nantawaetzi], náanàkiro notónkamèto, nokìnawáetzi.
 ari=rika o-tsipa-ni eero=rika no-koy-i n-antawae-t-zi¹⁹⁰
 AFF=COND F-other-RMPST NEG.IRR=COND 1S-want-FRS 1S-work-&-REA
 n-a-an-ak-i-ro no-tonk-amento
 1S-take-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1-shoot-NMLZ.INS
 no-kinawae-t-zi
 1S-go.hunting.in.the.forest-&-REA
 ‘If some day I didn’t want to work, I took my rifle and went hunting in the forest.’ (CCPC).

The English translation uses ‘if’ as an introduction to the protasis, but the Ashéninka clause uses the positive and negative conditional conjunctions (*arírika* and *éerorika*,

¹⁸⁹ *Masato* is traditionally prepared inside a small canoe. The verb *haantsi* denotes the act of whipping the masato inside the canoe.

¹⁹⁰ Although this verb is a complement clause in a construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’, it is marked realis due to the doubly irrealis construction described in Section 6.1, given that two irrealis parameters coincide in *nantawaetzi*: negation and volition.

respectively): the positive conjunction introduces *ótsipani* referring to ‘another/some day’, and the negative conjunction introduces the negative clause.

In the long sentence in (738), the positive *aririka* introduces a clause, and the conditional enclitic *=rika* is also attached to the negative existential *tekatsi* introducing a second conditional clause. Differently from (737), the two conjunctions in (738) introduce each a different clause with a different condition (it dawned early, there was nothing to eat).

- (738) Shirámpari páerani, [**aririka** okitehiityamanàki] [**tekátsika** oyari], ráakiro
 ichékopiti éehatzi itónkamènto, riyate rowáshitantawáetya, riyate
 ithóotyáakotiri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, rówakayityáriri itomi.
 shirámpari páerani ari=*rika* o- kitehiity-aman-ak-i
 man long.ago AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-EARLY-PFV-FRS
 tekatsi=*rika* ow-ya-ri r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti
 NEG.EXI=COND eat-IRR-REL 3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-arrow-POSS
 éehatzi i-tonk-amentó r-iyaa-t-i
 also 3M.S-shoot-NMLZ.INS 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 r-owashitant-a-wae-t-ya r-iyaa-t-i
 3M.S-make.maspute-&-DUR1-&-IRR 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
 3M.S-search-&-IRR-3M.O animal 3M.S-bring-FRS-3M.O INCL-house=LOC
 r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri i-tomi
 3M.S-eat-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-3M.O 3M-son
 ‘Long ago, men, if it dawned early and there was nothing to eat, they took their
 arrows and their rifle, went to make their *maspute*, went to look for animals
 and brought them to our houses to make their children eat them (the hunted
 animals).’ (CTK)

The enclitic *=rika* can be attached directly to the verb, as in (739) in speaker B’s answer. The main clause is the one uttered by speaker A, so that the whole sentence would be ‘I do it that way if they bring me (coca)’.

- (739) A: Ari pikántapíinta, ari pikántapíinta.

ari pi-kant-ápíint-a
 thus 2S-do-HAB-REA
 ‘Normally, you do it that way.’

B: [Ámenarika].

am-i-na=*rika*
 bring-IRR-1O=COND
 ‘If/when they bring me (coca).’ (CCPC)

Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:257) say that “in some languages, including Indonesian and certain languages of Papua New Guinea, there is no distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ clauses”. Ashéninka is indeed one of these languages. Actually, the conditional clause in (739) can be translated in English both with ‘if’ and ‘when’.

Instead of the conditional enclitic *=rika*, the counterfactual suffix *-mi* can also be used to express the condition, as in (740).

- (740) [Niyótiromi], ari nokántimi.
 n-iyó-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ‘If I knew (singing), I would tell you.’ (CMM)

The counterfactual suffix *-mi* can be combined with the conditional *=rika* when the condition is unreal (i.e. counterfactual), as in example (741) from an elicitation.

- (741) [Aririka niyotakimi], eero nopoki.
 ari=rika n-iyō-t-ak-i-mi eero no-pok-i
 AFF=COND 1S-know-&-PFV-FRS-COFA NEG.IRR 1S-come-FRS
 ‘If I had known (it), I wouldn’t have come.’

A conditional clause can also be formed without being introduced with *=rika* or *-mi*, as in (742), where the conditional clause has no special marking.

- (742) [Amákotapáki], aaki sheri.
a-mako-t-ap-ak-i Ø-a-ak-i sheri
INCL.S-get.tired-&-ALL-PFV-FRS INCL.S-take-PFV-FRS tobacco
‘If we get tired, we take tobacco.’ (CCPC)

The conditional enclitic =*rika* can also be used with the meaning ‘whether’. In this case, the =*rika*-clause is actually a complement clause rather than conditional, given that no condition is expressed. An example of =*rika* as ‘whether’ is in (743), where =*rika* is on the adjective *kyaario* ‘true’ acting as a predicate and on the verbalized 3rd person masculine pronoun *ríitaki*, both introducing the same clause, which has the function of object of the verb *náminawàkiriíta* ‘I want to check’.

- (743) Náminawàkiríita [kyáaryoperòrika ríitakirika rira..., ikántètzi...,
poñínkari henoki].
n=amin-awak-i-ri-ita kyaaryo-pero=rika rii-t-ak-i=rika
1S-look-DES-FRS-3M.O-ROPT true-VER=COND 3M-&-PFV-FRS=COND
ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri poñ-inka-ri henoki
M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O hail.from-ADJZ-M up
'I want to check whether it is true that he, um..., how to say..., comes from
heaven.' (SCS)

Regarding the reality status of the verbs in sentences with conditional clauses, the fact that the RS suffix is fossilized in roughly half of all verbs makes it difficult to make clear generalizations. In principle, since both protasis and apodosis denote unrealized situations, the semantics of reality status implies that both should have their verbs in irrealis. This is the case in both protasis and apodosis in (740), in the protasis in (739), and in the irrealis negators in the protasis in (737) and the apodosis in (741). Fossilized RS suffixes occur in both protasis and apodosis in (742) and in the protasis in (741) and (743) (in (743), there is no apodosis). In (738), in the clause *tekátsika oyari* 'if there is nothing to eat', the verb is in irrealis although two irrealis elements (negation and conditionality) meet, and the non-fossilized RS suffixes in the verbs of the clauses that form the apodosis are in irrealis, but this must be due to their expressing habituality. The rest of the examples are the apodosis in (737) in realis, which expresses an actualized situation (something the speaker did in the past when meeting the condition of the protasis), and the apodosis in (739) also in realis, which is actually a question in a declarative clause uttered by the interlocutor of the speaker, who utters the protasis as an answer. This brief study of the examples in this section makes it difficult to draw a conclusion about the RS in conditional sentences. However, an inspection of several examples from elicitations, with clauses more straightforwardly conditional (i.e. with a simple formulation 'if X, then Y') than those of examples from natural texts, shows that both protasis and apodosis have their verbs in irrealis when the RS suffixes are not fossilized, as it would be expected from the semantics of these clauses. However, the more complex situations in examples from natural texts show that the RS of verbs in conditional constructions may be influenced by different parameters.

7.4.2.1.4. Concessive clauses and the counter-expectative *omaanta/imaanta*

A usual way to form a concessive clause is with the counter-expectative conjunction *omaanta/imaanta* (f./m.). The feminine variant *omaanta* is the default form, and the masculine *imaanta* is only used when a masculine element is involved and the speaker wants to remark it. An example of *omaanta* introducing a concessive clause is in (744).

- (744) [**Omaanta** nashi naaka oryápetyanikini okáachanchéēñakitizini
nowatharékhitho], ari rowa, ikántètziro rowa, pòshíni.
o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-table-like-FORM-ADJ
o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékhitho
3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle
ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
AFF F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED tasty-ADJ
'Although mine is small, table-like and ovoid, my testicle, um..., how to say...,
um..., is tasty.' (TSJ)

A different strategy to form a concessive clause is in (745), from an elicitation carried out separately with two different speakers, and both used the same strategy: they used the frustrative suffix and the verb in irrealis.

- (745) Ari niyáataki [oparyáwitya inkani].
ari n-iyaa-t-ak-i o-pary-a-wi-t-ya inkani
FUT 1S-go-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-fall-&-FRU-&-IRR rain
'I'll go although it rains.'

The counter-expectative *omaanta/imaanta* can also introduce a coordinate adversative clause, which is shown in Section 7.4.1.3 with example (726). This word can introduce a simple clause and express contrast. In this case, its meaning is similar to English 'however' (746) or 'but then/so then' (747). This function of *omaanta/imaanta* enters the realm of modality, and its description might be included with the counter-expectative suffix *-imae* (Section 6.4.2.7) or in the adverbs section (3.6); yet I think that it is better to describe it together with its function introducing a concessive clause because of the practically identical meaning.

- (746) **Omaanta** tsinani, antziri roori antawáerontsi, okiwáantziro kòtsironáaki, onkòtsitzi payantzi, kaniri, opíshitziro opanko.
 o-maanta tsinani Ø-ant-zí-ri roori antawae-rontsi
 F-COEXP woman 3F.S-do-REA-REL 3F work-NMLZ
 o-kiwaant-zí-ro kòtsironáaki Ø-onkotsi-t-zí payantzi kaniri
 3F.S-polish-REA-3F.O pot 3F.S-cook-&-REA banana cassava
 o-pishi-t-zí-ro o-panko
 3F.S-sweep-&-REA-3F.O 3F-house
 ‘However, women, the work they do is polishing pots, cooking banana and cassava and sweeping their house.’ (CTK)
- (747) **Imáantakya** riintzi rira..., konoya?
 i-maanta=kya ri-intzi ri=ra konoya
 M-COEXP=EMPH M-REST M=MED yellow-footed.tortoise
 ‘But then, are there only yellow-footed tortoises?’ (CMM)

In (746), the speaker had been talking about the usual occupations of men in his community; now he talks about the women’s occupations, and he introduces it with *omaanta* in order to stress the difference from men’s occupations. In (747), the counter-expectative meaning implies that the speaker wants to contrast the existence of yellow-footed tortoises with the non-existence of other animals –although this contrast is difficult to find in the conversation–; the masculine version is used because animals are involved.

7.4.2.1.5. Time clauses

A typical way of forming a temporal subordinate clause is with the temporal subordinator suffix *-ra*. An example is in (748), where *-ra* is attached to the totalitative copula *-kaa-* to yield the meaning ‘when you are’.

- (748) [**Okáatzira** piheeki hanta pinámpiki], óetaka pipánkitziri okaatzi powáyitari?
 o-kaa-t-zí-ra pi-heek-i ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-live-FRS LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 o-eta=ka pi-panki-t-zí-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sow-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zí p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-eat-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘When you are there in your community, what’s all you sow to eat?’ (CMH)

The conditional enclitic *=rika*, described above in Section 7.4.2.1.3, can acquire the meaning ‘when’; in this case, it introduces a temporal clause instead of a conditional clause, as in (749).

- (749) Ari máaweni, rowa..., rapàtowáeyani; éehatzi [arírika otzimi apatotaantsi ikántziriri, rowa..., hewari haka nampitsi].

ari máaweni ro=ra r-apato-wac-eey-a-ni éehatzi
thus all F=MED 3M.S-meet-DUR1-PL-RS.REFL-PL also

ari=rika o-tzim-i apato-t-aantsi i-kant-zi-ri-ri
AFF=COND 3F.S-EXI-FRS meet-&-INF 3M.S-say-REA-3M.O-REL

ro=ra hewa-ri ha=ka nampi-tsi

F=MED first-REL LOC=PROX community-ALI

‘In this way everyone, um..., meets each other; and also when there is a meeting called by, um..., the chief here, of the community.’ (CTK)

In this example, the clause introduced by *arírika* delimits the time when they meet each other: when the community chief calls a meeting. Actually, the main clause on which the subordinate is dependent is elided (to avoid the elision, the verb *rapàtowáeyani* ‘they meet each other’ should be repeated after *éehatzi* ‘also’). As said above (Section 7.4.2.1.3), Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:257) say that some languages make no distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ clauses, and Ashéninka is one of them. These authors add that “in many of these languages, the neutralization holds, however, only for *predictive* conditionals and *future* time clauses”. This is not the case in Ashéninka, given that the temporal subordinate in (749) expresses what happens habitually in the speaker’s community.

A less usual way of forming a time clause is with the rather rare time suffix *-ant*. The only example in my corpus is in (750), where the verb with the time suffix forms the subordinate temporal clause.

- (750) [Niyáatantanakàri] nònthapákari.

n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O

‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)

Another way to build a time clause is with the past existential *éeni*ro, as in (751). The use of *éeni*ro combined with the remote past suffix *-ni* is a usual way to form a time clause when one speaks about the remote past.

- (751) Ñáakiro, aníryò, cháantakotàki [éenirow newáankaritzini].
 ña-ak-i-ro aniryo
 see-PFV-FRS-3F.O niece.sister's.daughter.VOC.ME
 chaant-ako-t-ak-i¹⁹¹ éenirow n-ewanka-ri-t-zi-ni
 work-APPL-&-PFV-FRS EXI.PST 1S-young-M-&-REA-RMPST
 'You see them (cacao pods), niece (sister's daughter), I worked in this when I
 was young.' (CCPC)

7.4.2.1.6. Locative clauses

The usual way to build subordinate locative clauses is with the enclitic demonstratives, as in (752). The locative clause is formed only by the verb *ikáatziyawitàga*, which, with the medial demonstrative enclitic =*ra*, yields the meaning 'where he was staying'.

- (752) Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanèemi, ráashirátantanakàwo rowa..., inchato,
 [ikáatziyawitàga], tziroyáanaki: hapo.
 i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-jump-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA
 r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra inchato
 3M.S-slip-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED stake
 i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra tziroya-an-ak-i hapo
 3M.S-stay-&-FRU-&-REA=MED trip-ABL-PFV-FRS IDEO:jump
 'So he wanted to jump again, that is why he slipped, um..., towards the stake,
 where he was staying, he tripped: *hapo*.' (SCS)

The medial is the enclitic demonstrative most frequently used as a locative subordinator, but also others can be used, as the distal =*nta* in *nohéekinta* 'where I live' in (753).

¹⁹¹ The root *-chaant-* is a loan from Spanish *chambear* 'work', a word used only in some American countries.

- (753) Nimaeka nokoyi nokántimi [haka **nohéekinta** haka, rowa..., *comunidad* Katsinkaari], rowa..., nohéekayini kameetha máaweni, máaweni haka, ...
 nimaeka no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ha=ka no-heck-i=nta
 now 1S-want-FRS 1S-say-IRR-2O LOC=PROX 1S-live-FRS=DIST
 ha=ka ro=ra comunidad¹⁹² Katsinkaari no-heck-aiy-i-ni
 LOC=PROX F=MED community Chicosa 1S-stay-PL-FRS-PL
 kameetha máaweni ha=ka
 well all LOC=PROX
 ‘Now I want to tell you that here, where I live, here, um..., in the community Chicosa, um..., we are all well, everyone here,...’ (CTK)

In (754), the locative clause *tsikárika rowapiintziro* ‘where they usually eat’ is introduced by the interrogative *tsikárika*.

- (754) Aréetapaka itsipa, amitákotirini áakotànakiròni hanta, [tsikárika rowapiintziro].
 aree-t-ap-ak-a i-tsipá amitako-t-i-ri-ni
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA M-other help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
 bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST
 tsikárika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro
 WH 3M.S-eat-HAB-REA-3F.O
 ‘Another one arrives, who is going to help him and bring them (fruits) there, where they usually eat.’ (PV)

This clause resembles a relative clause, which is a property of time, locative and manner clauses, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section on subordination. The same strategy with an interrogative introducing the locative clause is used in the elicited example (755), but with *hempe*.

- (755) Nantákiro [hempe pikántakina].
 n-ant-ak-i-ro hempe pi-kant-ak-i-na
 1S-do-PFV-FRS-3F.O WH 2S-say-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I did it where you told me (to do it).’

Also in (756), the clause whose head is *othátakota* ‘she makes her bed’ resembles a relative clause in which *hanta* ‘there’ would take the function of a relative pronoun.

¹⁹² *Comunidad* ‘community’ is a Spanish word. It refers to an indigenous community, a legally recognised institution in Peru.

- (756) Riyáatàshitziro raniro, [hanta othátakota omáapiintzi].
 r-iyaa-t-ashi-t-zi-ro r-aniro
 3M.S-go-&-PURP-&-REA-3F.O 3M-niece.sister's.daughter.MP
 ha=nta o-thatako-t-a o-mag-apiint-zi
 LOC=DIST 3F.S-make.bed-&-REA 3F.S-sleep-HAB-REA
 'He goes to look for his niece (sister's daughter), there where she makes her
 bed to sleep.' (SCS)

7.4.2.1.7. Manner clauses

Adverbial clauses that express manner are infrequent and are not expressed in a particular way. Eliciting a translation from Spanish *lo hice como me dijiste* 'I did it the way you told me', I got answers rather saying 'I did what you told me'. The clearest example of a manner clause from a natural text in my corpus is in (757).

- (757) [Éehatziita ikímita chapinki], owákirani riraki iyamarámpiti, éehatzi...
 éehatzi-ita i-kimi-t-a chapinki
 also-ROPT 3M.S-be.similar-&-REA yesterday
 owákira-ni r-ir-ak-i i-kamarampi-ti éehatzi
 new-INTS 3M.S-drink-PFV-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS also
 'Also in the same way as yesterday, again he drinks his ayahuasca, and...' (SCS)

The head of the manner clause is the verb *ikímita* 'he is similar', and *ikímita chapinki* means here 'in a similar way as he did yesterday'. The clause indicates the manner in which the action expressed in the main clause (*riraki* 'he drinks') is carried out, and the adverbial subordination relation is evident because the subordinate clause modifies the verb of the main clause (*riraki* 'he drinks'), but there is no subordinating strategy, i.e. the clause could be a main clause if it were isolated and the context were suitable.

In (758), the subordinate clause explains how the action expressed by the main clause is carried out, so it can be considered a manner clause. In this case, the manner clause receives no special marking and is simply juxtaposed to the main clause.

- (758) Antawaétatzi [owámetatziri iryániériki].
 Ø-antawae-t-atzi Ø-owame-t-atzi-ri i-rya-ni-eriki
 3F.S-work-&-PROG 3F.S-teach-&-PROG-3M.O M-small-ADJ-DIM.PL
 'She's working teaching small children.' (CMH)

7.4.2.2. Relative clauses, and the relative *-ri* and the irrealis relative *-ni*

Andrews (2007:206) defines a relative clause (RC) as “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC”. This somewhat complex definition can be summarized with the one mentioned above by Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:238): relative clauses “function as modifiers of nouns”, so that it might also be said that they function as adjectives, at least with the typical semantic adjectival function of denoting properties of nouns. In this section, I describe the clauses that meet these definitions.

Relative clauses are usually formed with the relative suffix *-ri* on the verb. A typical example is in (759), where the relativized verb *oñaashirénkanàri* modifies the noun *kooko* ‘maternal uncle’.

- (759) Naaka..., ríitaháantakíma rira kooko [oñaashirénkanàri].
 naaka rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra kooko
 1 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED maternal.uncle.VOC.FE
 oñaashirenk-a-na-ri
 annoy-REA-1O-REL
 ‘I..., so this is the uncle (maternal) who annoyed me (lamenting herself).’
 (SCS)

In (760), there are two relative clauses, one embedded inside the other one.

- (760) Awihéeyèni ríraga, [amítákotakiriri inkáganki [paryákotéentsiri] awótsiki].
 awih-eey-i-ni ri-raga
 pass-PL-FRS-PL M-CAT.DEM
 amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki pari-ako-t-eentsi-ri awotsi=ki
 help-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL before fall-APPL-PTCP.PFV-REL path=LOC
 ‘Those pass by, who helped before the one who had an accident on the path.’
 (PV)

The clause with *amítákotakiriri* as head modifies the NP formed by the cataphoric demonstrative *ríraga* ‘those’, and the clause formed only with the verb *paryákotéentsiri* modifies the object of *amítákotakiriri*, which is omitted and can be seen in the English translation as ‘the one’. *Paryákotéentsiri* is formed with the perfective participle suffix *-eentsi*, which is a common way to build relative clauses (with both perfective and imperfective participle suffixes, which are described in detail in Section 6.3.6). According to Andrews (2007:222), omission is a very common occurrence in NPs modified by relative clauses. The omission of the referent

NP of *paryákotéentsiri* occurs in a clause with a verb with a participle suffix, but this is not a necessary condition, as can be seen in (761), where the referent NP of the relative clause formed only with *piñáathari* ‘the one you love (boyfriend)’ is not mentioned (the referent would be ‘the man’ or ‘the one’) and the verb has no participle suffix.

- (761) Haka pihéekaki éenitatsi [piñáathari] o tekatsi?
 ha=ka pi-heek-ak-i eeni-t-atsi
 LOC=PROX 2S-be.in.a.place-PFV-FRS EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV
 pi-ñáath-a-ri o tekatsi
 2S-love-REA-REL or NEG.EXI
 ‘Do you have here a boyfriend or not? (CMH)’

In (762), two relative clauses form a copular relation. Both might be considered nominalized verbs. Actually, the relativized verb *owámetàntatsiri* is a neologism that means ‘teacher’ and whose literal meaning is ‘the one who teaches’, so it is fully used as a noun.

- (762) [Owámetakinàri] [owámetàntatsiri] poñínkari hanta kirinka].
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 teach-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-inka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 hail.from-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST downriver
 ‘The one who taught me is a teacher (one who teaches) who hails from there downriver.’ (CMH)

Examples (761), (762) and the second clause of (760) are what Andrews (2007:213) calls “free RCs”, which lack what he calls a “domain nominal”, which is the modified NP, which is present in (759) and the first clause of (760).

An example of a negated relative clause is in (763), where the negative copula is used to negate the relativized verb.

- (763) Haka nopókapàki niyotapákiro osheki [kaari niyótziròri hanta nonámpiki].
 ha=ka no-pok-ap-ak-i n-iyó-t-ap-ak-i-ro osheki
 LOC=PROX 1S-come-ALL-PFV-FRS 1S-know-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O much
 kaari n-iyó-t-zi-ro-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.COP 1S-know-&-REA-3F.O-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘I’ve come here and I’ve learnt many things that I didn’t know there at my community.’ (CMH)

The relativized verb *niyótziròri* cannot be negated with the realis negator *tee*, and this is consequent with the semantic similarity of relativized and nominalized verbs, given that a noun has to be negated by a negative copula and not by the realis negator.

As said in Section 5.3, the relative suffix is a common occurrence in many adjectives, so that they may be viewed as a sort of relative clause. Besides adjectives that usually bear a relative suffix, such as the one in (764) (marked with square brackets, as an RC), other adjectives can also bear it, as in (765), where the adjective *mantsiyari/mantsiyawo* (m./f.), one of the few that is inflected with gender, bears the imperfective participle and the relative suffixes, thus clearly forming a relative clause modifying the noun *ashéninka*.

- (764) Irika [tháyirikà] sheripyari tee ikoyi ishitoi.
 i-ri=ka thayi-ri=ka sheripyari
 DEM-M=PROX cheating-REL=PROX shaman
 tee i-koy-i i-shitoy-i
 NEG.REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-go.out-FRS
 ‘This cheating shaman doesn’t want to go out.’ (SCS)

- (765) Éehatzi tzimatsi mántsiyàri, [mántsiyàritátsiri] ashéninka.
 éehatzi tzim-atsi mantsiya-ri
 also EXI-PTCP.IPFV ill-M
 mantsiya-ri-t-atsi-ri a-shéninka
 ill-M-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL INCL-fellow.person
 ‘There were also ill people, Ashéninka who were ill.’ (SCS)

The fact that many adjectives have a relative suffix is quite logical if we consider that adjectives can function like verbs forming a predicate, so that the translation in (764), instead of ‘this cheating shaman’, might be ‘this shaman who is cheating’.

A relative suffix on the verb is the normal way to build a relative clause, but it can also be built without this suffix, as in the free RC in (766) or the RC modifying a demonstrative in (767).

- (766) Aurencio, riitaki [riyómetàki naari mampaantsi].
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio 3M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-teach-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO sing-INF
 ‘Aurencio, he is the one who taught singing also to me.’ (CMH)

- (767) Ikantzi: “Irira [ròmaryáaka]”.
 i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
 3M.S-say-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-lie-PFV-REA
 ‘They say: “That one whom they’ve laid down”. (SCS)

While an RC without the relative suffix is unusual, these examples show that the suffix can be omitted and the clause continues to be grammatical.

In all the examples above, the relative clauses meet the definition given at the beginning of this section in that they delimit the reference of an NP. Andrews (2007:207) mentions the so-called *non-restrictive relative clauses*, which do not meet this definition because they make a comment “about an NP or other constituent”. He adds that these clauses in English differ from true relative clauses “in a variety of respects, such as having pauses to set them off from their surroundings. But in some other languages, such as Japanese, the same construction seems able to function as both a relative clause and a non-restrictive relative”. Non-restrictive relatives in Ashéninka show no morphological nor syntactic difference with true relatives, yet the existence of differences in pauses similarly to English would need a detailed study of prosody that is beyond the goals of this thesis. In (768), the relative clause is a non-restrictive relative formed with the verb *amítákotirini* ‘who is going to help him’, with the relative irrealis suffix *-ni*, and a complement clause.

- (768) Aréetapaka ítšipa, [amítákotirini [áakotànakiròni hanta, tsikárika rowapíintziro]].
 aree-t-ap-ak-a i-tsipa amítako-t-i-ri-ni
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA M-other help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
 bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST
 tsikárika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro
 WH 3M.S-eat-HAB-REA-3F.O
 ‘Another one has arrived, who is going to help him to bring them (fruits) there, where they usually eat.’ (PV)

This relative clause is non-restrictive because it is an addition to the statement of the main clause: saying that *another* one has arrived delimits the arriving person in that he is different from the one that has appeared till now in the story, and the relative clause describes this person. Considering that the relative clause is restrictive would imply that the restricted NP is *ítšipa* ‘another one’, and the meaning would be that someone who is going to help has already arrived and now another one who is going to help arrives (compare the translation in the example with ‘another one who is going to help [...] has arrived’). The irrealis relative suffix in the two verbs in (768) has the same function as the relative *-ri*, albeit in an irrealis situation (future in this case).

The previous examples show that relative clauses can modify any constituent: in (759), the copula complement (*kooko* ‘maternal uncle’); the first clause of (760) modifies the subject (*riraga*, cataphoric demonstrative), and the second, the omitted object; in (761) and (765), the subject of an existential; the two clauses of (762) are both free RCs forming a copular relation, so that one is the copula subject and the other one the copula complement; in (763), the object (*osheki* ‘many things’) is modified; in (766), the RC is a free RC in the function of a copula complement, and, in (767), the modified element is an NP in a verbless clause that can be considered a copula complement (‘it is that one’, and ‘it is’ is omitted)—I have not mentioned (764) because it is a typical adjective.

As the previous examples in this section show, the usual position of a relative clause is following the NP that it modifies, but, in a few cases in my corpus, relative clauses have occurred before the modified NP. One of them is in (765), where the RC is formed by an adjective acting as a predicate and with full verbal inflection (participle besides the relative suffix), but I also have two occurrences of RC before the modified NP with verbs in my corpus. One is in (769), where the RC formed only by the verb *ayītapákiri* modifies the demonstrative *irika* ‘this one (m.)’.

- (769) [Ayiitapākiri] irika, ikántètzirī..., iníntakòrī...
 ayiit-ap-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka
 go.down-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-M=PROX
 i-kant-e-t-zī-ri i-nintakori
 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M-follower
 ‘This one who has come down, how to say..., his follower...’ (SCS)

As was explained in Section 7.3.3, questions with the interrogative *iita(ka)* usually trigger the relative suffix on the verb. An example is in (770).

- (770) Ñani, ha, íitaka **pántziri**?
 ñani ha iita=ka p-ant-zí-ri
 brother-in-law.VOC.ME hey WH=INT 2S-do-REA-REL
 ‘Hey, brother-in-law, what are you doing?’ (TSJ)

These verbs with *iita(ka)* and the relative suffix can be considered to form a free RC, so that the more literal translation of the question in (770) would be ‘what is what you’re doing?’, where *pántziri* ‘what you are doing’ is the free RC.

In (771), *iita* is used in a series of indirect questions, and the clauses that it introduces have a clearer relative character, as the English translation shows: while,

in English, these clauses are formed differently from direct interrogatives, in Ashéninka, their form is the same.

- (771) Ótsipa iita..., ótsipa pikántinàri, rowa..., [iita **rowari**], [iita **rantéyirini** shirámpari], [iita **antéyirini** tsinani].
 o=tsipa iita o=tsipa pi-kant-i-na-ri ro=ra iita r-ow-a-ri
 F=other WH F=other 2S=say-IRR-1O-REL F=MEDWH 3M.S=eat-REA-REL
 iita r-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni shirámpari
 WH 3M.S=do-PL-FRS-REL-PL man
 iita Ø-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni tsinani
 WH 3F.S=do-PL-FRS-REL-PL woman
 ‘What else..., what else that you tell me..., um..., what they eat, what the men do, what the women do.’ (CTK)

As described in Section 6.7.2, the resultative suffix *-ant* triggers the relative suffix on the verb. In the example with the time suffix in (750), the verb carries the relative suffix, so it is likely that the time suffix also triggers a relative suffix, although I do not have data to state it with certainty. As *owámetàntatsiri* ‘teacher’ in (762) shows, the relative suffix is used in words that may be viewed as nominalizations: *owámetàntatsiri* is a relativized verb that literally means ‘the one who teaches’, but it is a neologism devised to be the translation of the Spanish noun *maestro/profesor* ‘teacher’. Example (735), repeated here for convenience as (772), shows a way to build a purpose clause without the resultative suffix *-ant*, but with the future suffix *-atyee* and the relative *-ri*. Since the resultative *-ant* triggers the presence of a relative suffix, it might happen that the replacement of *-ant* with the future *-atyee* to express purpose also triggers the relative *-ri*, but I have not researched this possibility, so it is only a tentative deduction of the construction in (772).

- (772) Hame, hame rowa..., hame onkótsiti rowa..., niha, [atàatyéeriri ishíyatyéeri, waaka]’’.
 hame ro=ra hame Ø-onkotsi-t-i ro=ra niha
 HORT.INCL F=MED HORT.INCL INCL.S-cook-&-IRR F=MED water
 a-ta-**atyee-ri-ri** i-shiy-**atyee-ri** waaka
 INCL.S=burn-FUT-3M.O-REL 3M.S=run-FUT-REL cow
 ‘Let’s, let’s, um..., let’s cook, um..., water, to burn the cows so that they run.’ (SCFF)

7.4.2.3. Complement clauses

Noonan (2007:52) defines complement clauses (CC), which he calls “sentential complementation”, as “[...] the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. For our purposes, a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate.” In this section, I describe the Ashéninka clauses that fit Noonan’s definition.

It is no wonder that there are in my corpus many complement clauses with object function and only one with subject function, which is the only argument of an existential. Only by checking Noonan’s (2007:52-150) long book chapter on complementation can we see that all examples of complement clauses with subject function are in English except two in Irish, while the rest of the examples in several different languages show complement clauses with object function. This implies that Noonan may not have been able to find complement clauses with object function in languages different from English and Irish.

Roughly half of all complement clauses in my text corpus are objects of the modal verb *kowaantsi* ‘want’, as in (773), where the CC with *piyótiro* as head has in turn a CC, which is an indirect interrogative clause.

- (773) Haa, pikoyi [piyótiro [hempe noheeki nonámpiki]].
 hee pi-koy-i p-iyó-t-i-ro
 AFF 2S-want-FRS 2S-know-&-IRR-3F.O
 hempe no-heek-i no-nampi=ki
 WH 1S-live-FRS 1-community=LOC
 ‘Yes, you want to know how we live in our community.’ (CMH)

The verb *pikoyi* has a CC with the verb *piyótiro* as head, which in turn has a CC with the verb *noheeki* as head.

Ashéninka CCs usually need no complementizer,¹⁹³ except in indirect interrogative clauses, as the second CC in (773), and in clauses introduced with *aririka* with the meaning ‘whether’ (776); complement clauses are juxtaposed to the main clause and the verb of the CC keeps its full inflection. This kind of CC without a

¹⁹³ Noonan (2007:55) defines *complementizers* as words, particles, clitics or affixes “one of whose functions it is to identify the entity as a complement”.

complementizer is what Noonan (2007:59) calls “sentence-like complement types”, defined as “one that without its complementizers has roughly the same syntactic form as a main clause”. Indeed, all CCs in this section could be main clauses if their complementizers were removed, in the few cases in which these are used. The only difference is the irrealis inflection in CCs that are the object of the verb *kowaantsi* ‘want’. In the rest of CCs, when the RS suffix is not fossilized, the RS inflection depends on the RS semantic situation. All CCs with the verb *kowaantsi* represent an irrealis situation because they express a desire. Noonan (2007:146) says that “all languages have an s-like [sentence-like] indicative complement type, and all languages have some sort of reduced complement type in opposition to the indicative”. Regarding Ashéninka, the irrealis inflected CCs might be considered this complement type in opposition to the indicative according to Noonan’s (2007:61–65) description of the difference between indicative and subjunctive sentence-like complements. However, the non-existence of RS opposition in roughly half of the verbs and the fact that only a suffix is the difference between realis and irrealis complements makes that the Ashéninka complement clauses call into question Noonan’s generalization for *all* languages, given that, when the RS suffix is fossilized, Ashéninka lacks the reduced complement alleged by him.

Besides *kowaantsi* ‘want’, there is the other modal verb, *mataantsi* ‘can’ (see Section 6.4.1), which can also have a CC, as in (774), where the CC is formed only by the verb *ĩñáathèyani*.

- (774) Tee imátanàhe máaweni [ĩñáathèyani].
 tee i-ma-t-an-ah-a máaweni i-ñáath-ee-y-a-ni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-can-&-ABL-REG-REA all 3M.O-play-PL-RS-PL
 ‘No one can go on playing.’ (CTK)

An example with a complement clause that functions as an object of a non-modal verb is in (775) with the verb *kemaantsi* ‘feel, hear’. The complement clause has the adjective *póshini* ‘tasty’ as head, verbalized with the perfective and the RS suffixes.

- (775) Ikématziro manitzi [póshinitàki yatharékithe].
 i-kem-atzi-ro manitzi poshi-ni-t-ak-i i-yatharékithe
 3M.S-feel-PROG-3F.O jaguar tasty-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 ‘The jaguar is feeling that his testicle (the squirrel’s) is tasty.’ (TSJ)

As was mentioned in Section 7.4.2.1.4 and illustrated with example (743), a complement clause with object function can be introduced with the conditional enclitic *=rika* with the meaning ‘whether’. Another example is in (776), where the NP *oshékitapàe tsimeri* ‘abundant animals’ is the predicate of the CC introduced by *arírika* with the meaning ‘whether’. Actually, this CC is the referent of *roori* ‘something’, which is the object of *nokántimi*, which in turn is a CC of the modal verb *nokói*.

- (776) Éhatzi roori nokói nokántimi, [arírika oshékitapàe tsimeri].
 éhatzi roori no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi
 also 3F 1S-want-FRS 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ari=rika osheki=tapae tsimeri
 AFF=COND many=ABUND animal
 ‘I also want to ask you something, whether there are abundant animals.’
 (CMM)

An existential verb can also have a CC, as is shown in (777), where the verb *nóokanahi* is fully inflected.

- (777) Tekatsi [nóokanahi].
 tekatsi n-ook-an-ah-i
 NEG.EXI 1S-leave-ABL-REG-FRS
 ‘I have no one to leave (looking after her house).’ (CMM)

In turn, an existential clause can also be a complement clause, as in (778).

- (778) Noshiyakàwita [tekatsi hanta].
 n-oshiy-aka-wi-t-a tekatsi ha=nta
 1S-seem-CAUS-FRU-&-REA NEG.EXI LOC=DIST
 ‘It seemed to me (erroneously) that there aren’t there (any animals). (lit.: I made it seem that...)’ (CMM)

In this example, the verb of the main clause has a causative suffix, and the resulting state of the causative relation¹⁹⁴ is expressed through a complement clause with the negative existential *tekatsi* as predicate. In the long example (724) above, of which the relevant fragment is reproduced in (779), the complement expresses the resulting state of the causativized verb *ikimitakáantawitakàwo*.

¹⁹⁴ As Noonan (2007:76) points out, “causative predicates like *force* are understood to have three arguments: an agent, a patient and a resulting state”.

- (779) ... yatharékitho ikimitakáantawitakàwo [róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro...,
 róoperotàki kameetha iyátharékitho], ...
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho
 good 3M-testicle
 ‘... given that he has made it seem (being false) that it is, um..., how to say...,
 that his testicle was really good (tasty), ...’ (TSJ)

The complement clause starts with *róotaki*, then the speaker utters two fillers and then he replaces *róotaki* with *róoperotàki* and forms the clause, where *róoperotàki* acts as a copula linking *iyátharékitho* ‘his testicle’ and *kameetha* ‘good’. This complement clause is the object of the factitive object¹⁹⁵ of the causative relation, which I illustrate with its translation in English and the syntactic function of each constituent in the subscript: ‘He_s made it_o [seem [that his testicle was really tasty]_o]_{FACTITIVE OBJECT}’.

There is no instance of a complement clause in subject function in my corpus, but, when I asked how to say to someone ‘I’m pleased to have met you’, the translation was a sentence with a complement clause with subject function, which is shown in (780).

- (780) Ónimotàkina [niyótakimi].
 o-nimo-t-ak-i-na n-iyó-t-ak-i-mi
 3F.S-like-&-PFV-FRS-1O 1S-know-&-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘I’m pleased to have met you.’

The verb ‘like’ in English has as subject the individual who likes, but, in Ashéninka, as in Spanish, the individual who likes is the object (cf. English ‘I like Peru’ with Spanish *me gusta el Perú*, where the subject is *el Perú* and the 1st person object is *me*). In this way, the subject in (780) is the complement clause *niyótakimi*, cross-referenced in the verb of the main clause with the 3rd person feminine subject prefix *o-*, and the object is indexed with the 1st person object suffix *-na*.

¹⁹⁵ Noonan (2017:83) defines factitive objects by saying that they “are found with three-place, manipulative predicates, where they represent the state or action brought about by the subject’s activity on the direct object”.

Of the words mentioned above, *róohatzi* is the one that has a sole discourse connector function without an additional function, and its meaning can be translated as ‘and then’, so that it is used to link the parts of a story. Examples (781) and (782) from the same story are shown with their respective previous utterance so as to appreciate its linking function.

r-aatsimiy-apa-ak-i-ri ¹⁹⁷	r-aatsimiy-ak-i-ri
3M.S-suck.to.cure-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O	3M.S-suck.to.cure-PFV-FRS-3M.O
róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a	hapok-an-a hapo
and.then 3M.S-come.back-RES-ABL-REA	jump-ABL-REA IDEO:jump
‘He sucks him to cure him (as he arrives), sucks him to cure him, sucks him to cure him. And then he goes back. He jumps: <i>hapo!</i> ’ (SCS)	

¹⁹⁷ A shaman cures by sucking the damaged part of a sick person's body. The stem *-aatsimiy-* expresses this way of sucking.

- (782) Apátziro áakiro. Pokaki okáakini. **Róohatzi** òntsirokapáakari,
 ròntsirokapáakawo, **Róohatzi** ohéetántawakàri anákira, máaweni ipooki,
 ohéetakiri: shaau.
 apátziro a-ak-i-ro pok-ak-i okáakini róohatzi
 only take-PFV-FRS-3F.O come-PFV-FRS close and.then
 Ø-ontsirok-apa-ak-a-ri r-ontsirok-apa-ak-a-ro
 3F.S-approach-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-approach-ALL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira máaweni
 and.then 3F.S-throw-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O genipap-LIQ all
 i-poo=ki o-hee-t-ak-i-ri shaao
 3M-face=LOC 3F.S-throw-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O IDEO:liquid.falling
 ‘She has only taken it (genipap). He comes close. And then she approaches
 him, he approaches her. And then she throws him the genipap paste, on his
 whole face, she throws it to him: *shaau!*’ (SCS)

Róohatzi appears twice in the account of this series of events that take place immediately after each other, and this is precisely the function of *róohatzi*: it makes clear that the events happen immediately after each other, and this gives the story a certain pace, so that it becomes more interesting and thrilling for the listener. *Róohatzi* can be abbreviated to *rooha* (783) and even to *roo* (784). Fernández (2011:96, 99) also shows examples with the abbreviated *rooha*.

- (783) Ikantzi: “Náakataki”. **Rooha** rawihántanàka.
 i-kant-zi naaka-t-ak-i rooha r-awih-ant-an-ak-a
 3M.S-say-REA 1-&-PFV-FRS and.then 3M.S-pass-RES-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He says: “I am”. And then he passes.’ (SCS)
- (784) Hátáki ráatsimiyiri mantsiyari. **Roo** ithónkanàkiro. Hápokanàka.
 ha-t-ak-i r-aatsimiy-i-ri mantsiya-ri
 go-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-suck.to.cure-FRS-3M.O ill-M
 roo i-thonk-an-ak-i-ro hapok-an-ak-a
 and.then 3M.S-finish-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O jump-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He goes to suck the ill to cure them. And then he finishes. He jumps.’ (SCS)

The examples above show that *róohatzi* and *rooha* usually trigger the resultative suffix on the following verb, except for the first *róohatzi* in (782). It is remarkable that, in three instances of the abbreviation *roo* in my text corpus, none of them triggers the resultative suffix on the following verb.

Although Fernández (2011:101-10) names a chapter of her thesis “Iróotaki”, she says that its realization is *róotaki* (p. 101), and this is indeed the form that occurs in all instances in my corpus. The initial *i* occurs in other Ashé-Ashá varieties that do

not allow words with initial *r* (see Section 2.7.7). This word is segmented *roo-t-ak-i* (3F-&-PFV-FRS), so it is a verbalization of the 3rd person feminine pronoun *roori*, and its meaning is the one that its parts express: ‘that is’. This meaning favours its use as a discourse connector. One example of this use is in (785), while a use more representative of its verbal nature is in (786).

- (785) Ikantzi: “Irira ròmaryáaka”. **Róotaki** ràwihántaka.
 i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
 3M.S-say-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-lie.down-PFV-REA
 roo-t-ak-i r-awih-ant-ak-a
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-pass-RES-PFV-REA
 ‘They say: “That one who is lying down”. Right away he passes.’ (SCS)
- (786) Nopánkiziri kaniri, payantzi..., **róotaki** nopánkiziri hanta nonámpiki.
 no-panki-t-zi-ri kaniri payantzi
 1S-sow-&-REA-3M.O-REL cassava banana
 roo-t-ak-i no-panki-t-zi-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-sow-&-REA-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘What I sow is cassava, banana..., this is what I sow there in my community.’
 (CMH)

Róotaki in (785) was translated with Spanish *con la misma*, a colloquial expression which can be roughly translated in English with ‘right away’. In this case, *róotaki* has the function of a discourse connector, but, in (786), its meaning is the literal translation of its parts, i.e. ‘it is’. The masculine version is *ríitaki*, which is used with the meaning ‘he is’, as in (787), where *ríitaki* has the conditional enclitic =rika attached to yield the meaning ‘whether he is’.

- (787) Náminawàkiríita kyáaryoperòrika **ríitakirika** rira..., ikántètzi..., poñínkari henoki.
 n-amin-awak-i-ri-ita kyaaryo-pero=rika rii-t-ak-i=rika
 1S-look-DES-FRS-3M.O-ROPT true-VER=COND 3M-&-PFV-FRS=COND
 ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri poñínka-ri henoki
 M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O hail.from-ADJZ-M up
 ‘I want to look (check) whether it is really true whether he is, um..., how to say..., coming from heaven.’ (SCS)

The feminine version *róotaki* is much more frequent because it can denote a neuter subject, i.e. ‘it is’ or ‘that is’.

Fernández’s (2011:72-79) *roomache* does not occur with this form in my corpus, but the reduced form *rooma* does occur, as well as *-mache*, one of the two morphemes of which *roomache* is composed (the other morpheme is the 3rd person feminine

roo-). Fernández's interprets (2011:73) *róomache* as denoting contrast, but I disagree with this interpretation. Mine is explained in Section 6.11.

Fernández's (2011:85-94) *opoñaaka* is an inflected form of the verbal root *-poñ-* 'hail from'. Payne's multidialectal dictionary (1980:107) shows the verb *poñaantsi* with the meaning 'hail from', but also with "acontecer, suceder" 'happen', which is the one proner to function as discourse connector. I have many instances of *poñaantsi* with the meaning 'hail from', but none with 'happen', or, at least, this is my interpretation, although there is a dubious occurrence, shown in (788).

- (788) **Opoñáshitaka** paata thonkánaka iroka kenkitharentsi.
 o-poñ-ashi-t-ak-a paata thonk-an-ak-a
 3F.S-happen-PURP-&-PFV-REA later finish-ABL-PFV-REA
 i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi
 DEM-F=PROX tell-NMLZ
 'It happened later that this meeting finished.' (OS)

The form similar to Fernández's *opoñaaka* is the bold-marked *opoñáshitaka* (pronounced [opo'ɲʌʃtaka]). When I was transcribing and translating this story with a speaker, I asked him whether this *opoñáshitaka* was the same as *opoñaka*, thinking that the purposive *-ashi* might be included in this verb, but he said that *opoñaka* has a different meaning. That is why I have considered *-poñashi-* a single stem. No definitive conclusions can be drawn from only one instance, but it might be the case that *opoñaka* as discourse connector has evolved to *opoñáshitaka* in the Ucayali by adding the purposive suffix and freezing it, so that *-poñ-* 'hail from' and *-poñashi-* would be two stems with different meanings.

Regarding Fernández's *kantzimáitacha* (2011:80-84), she cites Payne (1989:375), who divides this word as "cant(z)-imai(t)-ach-a-Ø". I would divide it and gloss it as *kant-imai-t-acha* (COP-COEXP-&-PTCP.IPFV). Payne translates it as "pero sin embargo sucedió" 'but, however, it happened'. Fernández (2011:80-81) shows several alternative forms with the same meaning: *rókantzimáitacha*, *kantzimaeta*, *rókantachári*, *kantacha* and *kantachari*. Moreover, she cites Kindberg (1980:46) to show the Tambo-Ene form *iro kantaincha*. I have attested in my text corpus the form *róokantácha*, which is described in Section 7.4.1.3, on adversative clauses. Indeed, this conjunction introduces an adversative clause, and their different forms must reflect local or even personal variations.

Summing up, of all the discourse connectors treated in Fernández (2011) and in this section, the one that has a more purely discourse connector function without any additional meaning is *róohatzi*, given that it just introduces the following clause and gives the story agility, while the others link clauses but have some particular meaning, that is why I have included them in other sections in which their particular meanings are described.

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Annex 1. List of grammatical morphemes

<i>-Ø</i>	3F.S, 3M.S
<i>-a</i> (non-palatalization of preceding consonant)	REA
<i>a-/Ø-</i>	INCL.S
<i>-a(h)</i>	REG
<i>-a/-ya</i>	REFL
<i>aaka</i>	INCL
<i>-aantsi</i>	INF
<i>-ahaant</i>	LAM
<i>-aiy/-eey, ...-ni</i>	PL (verbal)
<i>-ak</i>	PFV
<i>-aka(g)</i>	CAUS
<i>-ako</i>	APPL
<i>-aman</i>	EARLY
<i>-amento</i>	NMLZ.INS
<i>-an</i>	ABL
<i>-aniki</i>	DIM
<i>-ant</i>	INS, OCC, RES, TIME
<i>-anant</i>	RES
<i>-ap(a)</i>	ALL
<i>-apiint</i>	HAB
<i>-ashi</i>	POSS, PURP, NPURP
<i>-atsi/-acha</i>	PTCP.IPFV
<i>-atyee/-atyeya</i>	FUT
<i>-atzi/-atya</i>	PROG
<i>-aw</i>	OM
<i>-awak</i>	DES
<i>-awak</i>	RECP
<i>-cheyinaa</i>	BALL
<i>-e</i>	IMPS
<i>eeni-</i>	EXI
<i>éeni</i>	EXI.PST

<i>-eentsi/-eencha</i>	PTCP.PFV
<i>eero</i>	NEG.IRR
<i>éeroka</i>	2
<i>-eriki</i>	DIM.PL
<i>hame/thame</i>	HORT.INCL
<i>-hato/-hatzi</i>	ADJZ.CL
<i>-hatzi</i>	PL.FOC
<i>hee, ari</i>	AFF
<i>-hempiy</i>	MAL
<i>i-</i>	DEM, M
<i>-i</i>	FRS
<i>i-/r-,</i>	3M.S
<i>-i/-ya</i>	IRR
<i>iká</i>	SURP
<i>-imo</i>	COM
<i>-inka</i>	ADJZ
<i>-intzi</i>	REST
<i>-it</i>	ANT, PAR, TRLOC
<i>-ite</i>	PL.AN
<i>=ka</i>	INT, PROX
<i>-kaa-</i>	COP.TOT
<i>-kant-</i>	COP
<i>-ki</i>	FORM
<i>=ki</i>	LOC
<i>-kira</i>	LIQ
<i>=kya</i>	EMPH
<i>=ma</i>	DUB
<i>=maita</i>	COEXP
<i>-maanta</i>	COEXP
<i>-mi</i>	2o, 2s, COFA
<i>-na</i>	1o
<i>-ntzinka</i>	ADJZ
<i>-ñá</i>	MIR

<i>-na</i>	1S
<i>-na/-nana</i>	MAT
<i>naaka</i>	1
<i>-neent</i>	ATT
<i>-ni</i>	ADJ, COP.AN, DO, IGN, INTS, REL.IRR, RPST
<i>no-/n-</i>	1S
<i>-nt</i>	KV
<i>=nta</i>	DIST
<i>o-/Ø-</i>	3F.S
<i>o-/oomin/-oe/-ow</i>	CAUS
<i>-pa</i>	LATER
<i>=paeni</i>	PL (nominal)
<i>-paeti</i>	DUR2
<i>-pero</i>	VER
<i>pi-</i>	2S
<i>-pitha</i>	AWAY
<i>-pooki</i>	COL
<i>-ra</i>	TEMP
<i>=ra</i>	MED
<i>=ranki</i>	ABSE
Reduplication	ITE
<i>-ri</i>	3M.O, M, REL, TOO
<i>=rika</i>	COND
<i>-riko</i>	DESP
<i>rirori</i>	3M
<i>-ro</i>	3F.O

<i>-rontsi/-rentsi</i>	NMLZ
<i>roori</i>	3F
<i>rówaga/riraga</i>	CAT.DEM
<i>-she</i>	THICK
<i>-ta</i>	DU
<i>-.ta</i>	ROPT
<i>-tapae</i>	ABUND
<i>tee</i>	NEG.REA
<i>tekatsi</i>	NEG.EXI
<i>-tha</i>	BAD
<i>-ti/-ni/-ri</i>	POSS
<i>-ti</i> (non-affrication of /t/)	IRR
<i>-tsi/-ntsi</i>	ALI
<i>=tya</i>	EMPH
<i>-tzi</i> (affrication of /t/)	REA
<i>tzim-</i>	EXI
<i>-wae</i>	DUR1
<i>-wee</i>	SPE
<i>=wee</i>	EXCLM
<i>-went</i>	BEN
<i>-wi</i>	FRU
<i>-ya</i> (palatalization of preceding consonant)	IRR
<i>-yi</i>	DISTR

Annex 2. Ashéninka glossed texts

The following eleven natural texts were transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers. We listened to the recordings and the consultant dictated me slowly what they had heard. After writing down one or two sentences, I asked for the translation and posed questions to them with the goal of finding out the meaning of each morpheme. Obviously, as my knowledge of the language increased, I was able to recognise many lexical roots and grammatical morphemes, so my questions were directed to find out those that I could not recognise. In the final stages of my fieldwork, I also revised the first recorded texts in order to establish the meaning of the morphemes that I had not been able to recognise.

The texts are ordered by time of recording. The first four (FS, PV, TSJ and CMM) were recorded in 2016, the second four (CMH, CTK, OS and SCFF) in 2017, and the last three (SCS, SFW and CCPC) in 2019. The following list shows the acronyms and the time length of each text. The total time is 67 minutes and 28 seconds. The acronyms are used in the examples throughout the thesis so as to indicate from which text they are taken. At the beginning of each text, a short explanation introduces the speakers. The consultants translated the Ashéninka expressions into Spanish, so this is the language in which the lexical morphemes and the translations are given in order to show the consultants' translations. However, the last line of the glosses with the free translation is translated into English below. There are footnotes commenting on aspects of the texts that I considered of interest.

The recordings of these texts are available at osf.io/agkst/?view_only=d0a0b2bdd9cc49998ead9c0a557328f1.

Frog story (FS), 10 min. 43 sec. P. 503.

Pear video (PV), 5 min. 39 sec. P. 515.

Tale of the squirrel and the jaguar (TSJ), 7 min. 29 sec. P. 521.

Conversation between Mathawo and Maruja (CMM), 5 min. 42 sec. P. 536.

Conversation between Mathari and Hamani (CMH), 5 min. 54 sec. P. 555.

Conversation between Thaampi and Kamato (CTK), 5 min. 25 sec. P. 569.

Otényaki's story (OS), 4 min. 13 sec. P. 580.

Story of the cows on the football field (SCFF), 2 min. 17 sec. P. 583.

Story of the cheating shaman (SCS), 12 min. 35 sec. P. 587.

Story of the fleeing woman (SFW) 1 min. 55 sec. P. 614.

Conversation between Cheroki, Piichotzi and Chochoki (CCPC) 5 min. 36 sec. P. 619.

Frog story

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording. The speaker is shown several drawings illustrating the frog story, and he explains what he sees. The recording lasts 10 minutes and 43 seconds.

Pirinto, tsiká pihéekakika? Irika eenchániki ihéekaki.

pirinto tsiká pi-heek-ak-i=ka

rana WH 2S-estar-PFV-FRS=INT

i-ri=ka eentsi-aniki i-heek-ak-i

DEM-M=PROX niño-DIM 3M.S-estar.sentado-PFV-FRS

‘Rana, ¿dónde estás? Este niño está sentado.’

‘Frog, where are you? This little child is sitting down.’

Eentsi itsipátari rótsitziti

eentsi i-tsipa-t-a-ri r-otsitzi-ti

niño 3M.S-acompañar-&-REA-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS

‘El niño está acompañado por su perro.’

‘The child is accompanied by his dog.’

Pirinto ihéekaki inthomoe ki poterya.

pirinto i-heek-ak-i inthomoe=ki poterya

rana 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS dentro=LOC botella

‘La rana está dentro de una botella.’

‘The frog is inside a bottle.’

Eentsi imaaki.

eentsi i-mag-ak-i

niño 3M.S-dormir-PFV-FRS

‘El niño está dormido.’

‘The child is asleep.’

Pirinto ishitówanaki, ihéekawita inthomoe ki poterya.

pirinto i-shitow-an-ak-i i-heek-a-wi-t-a inthomoe=ki poterya

rana 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-estar-&-FRU-&-REA dentro=LOC botella

‘La rana ha salido, estaba dentro de la botella.’

‘The frog has come out, it was inside the bottle.’

Eentsi ráminawitári pirinto: tekátsitanàki poterya.

eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya

niño 3M.S-mirar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS botella

‘El niño mira (busca) a la rana en vano: no hay nada en la botella.’

‘The boy looks at (for) the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’

Eentsi ikòakòawitakàri *zapátoki*, ihòokántawitakàri.

eentsi i-kow-a~kow-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri zapato=ki
niño 3M.S-querer-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O zapato=LOC

i-hook-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri

3M.S-vaciar-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-REL

‘El niño ha estado buscándola en vano en el zapato, por eso lo ha vaciado en vano.’

‘The boy has been looking in vain for it in the shoe, so he has emptied it in vain.’

Tee ñagaeri iwírintòti. Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàri.

tee i-ñag-a-e-ri i-pirinto-ti
NEG.REA 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O 3M-rana-POSS

ótsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri

perro 3M.S-olfatear~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O

‘Otra vez no ha visto su rana. El perro ha estado olfateándola en vano.’

‘Again he hasn’t seen his frog. The dog has been sniffing her in vain.’

Ikáemawitàri eentsi pirinto. Ikáemakáemawitàri.

i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri eentsi pirinto
3M.S-llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O niño rana

i-kaem-a~kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri

3M.S-llamar-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O

‘El niño llama a la rana en vano. Sigue llamándola en vano.’

‘The boy calls the frog in vain. He keeps calling it in vain.’

Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàwo poterya inthomoe: tekatsi, káankinakitàki.

otsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
perro 3M.S-olfatear~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O botella dentro=LOC

tekatsi kaankinaki-t-ak-i

NEG.EXI vacío-&-PFV-FRS

‘El perro ha estado olfateando en vano dentro de la botella. No hay nada, está vacía.’

‘The dog has been sniffing in vain inside the bottle. There’s nothing, it’s empty.’

Eentsi ithòmákiri rótsitzitè.

eentsi i-thom-ak-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti
niño 3M.S-abrazar-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS

‘El niño ha abrazado a su perro.’

‘The child hugs his dog.’

Eentsi káemawitàri pirinto. Ragénkatakì hani.

eentsi kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
niño llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana

r-agenka-t-ak-i hani

3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS avispa

‘El niño llama en vano a la rana. Unas avispas vuelan en círculos.’

‘The child calls the frog in vain. Some wasps fly in circles.’

Ótsitzi ithaatzi. Tzimatsi omoo inchátópàeni. Ari ihéekaki hani.
 ótsitzi i-thaat-zi tzim-atsi o-moo inchato=paeni
 perro 3M.S-ladlar-REA EXI-PTCP.IPFV 3F-hueco árbol=PL
 ari i-heek-ak-i hani
 allí 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS avispa
 ‘El perro ladra. Hay huecos en los árboles. Allí están las avispas.’
 ‘The dog barks. There are holes in the trees. The wasps are there.’

Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. Ótsitzi ithaatzi.
 eentsi éekiro i-kaem-atzi ótsitzi i-thaat-zi
 niño continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG perro 3M.S-ladlar-REA
 ‘El niño continúa llamando. El perro ladra.’
 ‘The child goes on calling. The dog barks.’

Haka éentsini, éentsika éekiro ikáematziri rótsitziti,
 ha=ka eentsi-ni
 LOC=PROX niño-INTS
 eentsi=ka éekiro i-kaem-atzi-ri r-otsitzi-ti
 niño=PROX continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS
 ‘Aquí el niño, este niño continúa llamando a su perro.’
 ‘The little boy here, this boy keeps on calling his dog.’

Itháatakiri irika haniika¹⁹⁸. Ñaa ragénkataki.
 i-thaat-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka hani=ka
 3M.S-ladlar-PFV-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX avispa=PROX
 ñaa r-agenka-t-ak-i
 allá 3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Ladra este (perro) a estas avispas. Allí vuelan en círculos.’
 ‘This (dog) barks at these wasps. There they fly in circles.’

Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. Échatzi ótsitzi itháatakiri irika haniika.
 eentsi éekiro i-kaem-atzi
 niño continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG
 échatzi ótsitzi i-thaat-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka hani=ka
 también perro 3M.S-ladlar-PFV-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX avispa=PROX
 ‘El niño continúa llamando. También el perro ladra a estas avispas.’
 ‘The boy keeps on calling. Also the dog barks at these wasps.’

Thàtamokotéenchari henoki.
 that-a-moko-t-eencha-ri henoki
 colgar-&-BALL-&-PCTP.PFV-REL arriba
 ‘Está colgada la bola (el panal) arriba.’
 ‘The ball (the wasp’s nest) is hanging above.’

¹⁹⁸ The word *hani* ‘wasp’ lengthens *i* when the enclitic demonstrative is attached. The same happens with *niha* ‘water’ and the locative =*ki* in this text below, yielding *nihaaki*.

Irika rira, onkiro, hamani, ishitówanaki omóo.

i-ri=ka ri=ra onkiro hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo
DEM-M=PROX M=MED ratón paca¹⁹⁹ 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-hueco
'Este..., esto..., ratón, paca, sale del hueco.'²⁰⁰
'Um..., um..., a mouse, a paca, comes out of the hole.'

Iroka ikántétziri, riraga, ótsitzika ichéntetaka haka inchataátoki.

i-ro=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri-raga otsitzi=ka
DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-FRS-3M.O M-CAT.DEM perro=PROX
i-chente-t-ak-a ha=ka inchataato=ki
3M.S-apoyarse-&-PFV-REA.REFL LOC=PROX tronco=LOC
'Este, cómo se llama..., ese, este perro se apoya aquí en el tronco.'
'This, what's its name...?, this, this dog is leaning on the trunk here.'

Kimitaka rowa..., opáryaki rowa..., ikántétziri, opáryaki imaashi.

kimi-t-ak-a ro=ra o-pari-ak-i i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
parecer-&-PFV-REA F=MED 3F.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
o-pari-ak-i i-maashi
3F.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3M-piel
'Parece, esto..., que ha caído, esto..., cómo se llama..., ha caído su piel (de las avispas: la colmena).'²⁰¹
'It seems, um..., that it has fallen, um..., what's its name...?, their skin (of the wasps: their nest) has fallen.'

Hempe íitaganki?, rira, hani ragénkataki.

hempe i-et-a=ranki
WH 3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE
ri=ra hani r-agenka-t-ak-i
M=MED avispa 3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS
'¿Cómo era?, esto..., las avispas vuelan en círculos.'
'What was it like? Um... the wasps fly in circles.'

¹⁹⁹ A paca (same name in standard Spanish and English, *majás* in local Spanish) is a rodent of the genus *Cuniculus*. According to Wikipedia, the only species living in Ashéninka territory is *Cuniculus paca* (*paca común* in Spanish and *lowland paca* in English).

²⁰⁰ The drawing that the speaker is describing shows a small rodent going out from a hole in the floor. The speaker mentions the animals that he knows from his environment more similar to the one in the drawing.

²⁰¹ The translating consultant explained to me that *imaashi* 'his/their skin' is used to denote 'nest' when talking about wasps.

Ráminakiri ótsitzi. Irika rirori hamani ishitówanaki omooki.

r-amin-ak-i-ri ótsitzi

3M.S-mirar-PFV-FRS-3M.O perro

i-ri=ka rirori hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo=ki

DEM-M=PROX 3M paca 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-agujero=LOC

‘El perro las mira. Esta paca sale del agujero.’

‘The dog looks at them. This paca comes out of the hole.’

Èentsínira ikówakówawitári pirinto.

eentsi-ni=ra i-kow-a-kow-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto

niño-INTS=MED 3M.S-querer-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana

‘Ese niño busca y busca a su rana en vano.’

‘That little child searches and searches for his frog in vain.’

Ráminaminawitári okanta ochéenkamorókitàki omoo.

r-amin~amin-a-wi-t-a-ri o-kant-a

3M.S-mirar~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3F.S-COP-REA

o-cheenka-moro-ki-t-ak-i²⁰² o-moo

3M.S-negro-hueco-FORM-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hueco

‘Mira y mira en vano en un hueco negro (en un árbol).’

‘He looks and looks in vain into a black hole (in a tree).’

Irika eentsi róominthágakiri, ikàntétziri, hani.

i-ri=ka eentsi r-oomin-thag-ak-i-ri

DEM-M=PROX niño 3M.S-CAUS-asustarse-PFV-FRS-3M.O

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri hani

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O avispa

‘A este niño lo han asustado, cómo se llama..., las avispas.’

‘This child gets scared, what’s its name...?, by wasps.’

Iñáakiri, ròmaryáka oháawiki.

i-ña-ak-i-ri r-o-maryag-ak-a o-háawiki

3M.S-ver-PFV-3M.O 3M.S-CAUS-estar.tumbado-PFV-REA F-debajo

‘Lo ha visto (el niño a una lechuza que había en el hueco, o la lechuza al niño), lo ha hecho tumbarse en el suelo (la lechuza al niño).’

‘He sees it (the child sees an owl that was in the hole, or the owl sees the child), it has made him lie down on the ground (the owl to the child).’

²⁰² The contrast between the affixed form *-moro* and the noun *omoo*, both meaning ‘hole’, is remarkable. *Omoo* shows a typical development of /moro/ in UP, and also in Yuruá (Payne’s dictionary shows *morotsi* for Alto Perené and *mootsi* for his Ucayali, which I call Yuruá-Ucayali), but this phonic group has not underwent the same change when it is affixed. Probably, the reason has to do with the stress position, i.e. /'moro/ > /mo:/, but /mo'ro/ has remained unaltered.

Ikántaka thoore ishitówanaki, rowa..., ishitówanaki hanta, rowa..., omooki, inchato.

i-kant-ak-a thoore i-shitow-an-ak-i ro=ra
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA paucar²⁰³ 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED

i-shitow-an-ak-i ha=nta ro=ra o-moo=ki inchato

3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST F=MED 3F-hueco=LOC árbol

‘Así es que sale un paucar, esto..., sale de allí, esto..., del hueco, del árbol.’

‘So a paucar comes out, um..., it comes out of there, um..., from the hole, from the tree.’

Irika ótsitzika shiyaka, ishiyárikotàka, irika ikéntakirira, hani.

i-ri=ka ótsitzi=ka shiy-ak-a i-shiy-a-riko-t-ak-a²⁰⁴

DEM-M=PROX perro=PROX correr-PFV-REA 3M.S-correr-&-DESP-&-PFV-REA

i-ri=ka i-kent-ak-i-ri-ra hani

DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-picar-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP avispa

‘Este perro corre, corre desesperado cuando estas le pican, las avispas.’

‘This dog runs, it runs desperately when these sting it, the wasps.’

Royákyáatakiri. Éentsini éekiro rowa, éekiro riyáatatzi ithòtyáakowitári, ikántétziri, pirinto.

r-oyakyaa-t-ak-i-ri²⁰⁵ eentsi-ni éekiro ro=ra r-iyaa-t-atzi

3M.S-perseguir-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O niño-INTS continúa F=MED 3M.S-ir-&-PROG

i-thotyaako-wi-t-a-ri i-kant-e-t-zi-ri pirinto

3M.S-buscar-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O rana

‘Lo persiguen. El niño continúa, esto..., continúa yendo a buscar en vano, cómo se llama..., la rana.’

‘They chase him. The little boy continues, um..., he continues searching in vain, what’s its name...?, the frog.’

Irika thooka raaki rowa, henoki.

i-ri=ka thoo=ka r-a-ak-i ro=ra henoki

DEM-M=PROX lechuza=PROX 3M.S-volar-PFV-FRS F=MED arriba

‘Esta lechuza vuela, esto..., arriba.’

‘This owl flies, um..., up.’

²⁰³ According to the website amazonia.iiap.org.pe, a paucar is the bird *Cacicus cela*, known in English as *yellow-rumped cacique*. Actually, in the drawing there is an owl, which in Ashéninka is *thoo*, and the consultant uses this word three sentences below. Probably, he made a mistake due to the similarity of both nouns.

²⁰⁴ The gloss DESP (with desperation) is based on the description by the speaker (‘corre desesperado’), but I have not found a similar suffix or word in any source. Therefore, this interpretation is based on only one occurrence and must be considered tentative.

²⁰⁵ A consultant explained to me that the root *-oyaa-* means ‘seguir’, and *-oyakyaa-* ‘perseguir’, i.e. against the will of the followed person (he illustrated both stems with inflected examples). *-kyaa* appears to be a derivational suffix, I do not know if productive or unproductive.

Irika éentsika éekiro ikáematzi, ikáemawitari.

i-ri=ka eentsi=ka éekiro i-kaem-atzi
DEM-M=PROX niño=PROX continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG

i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri

3M.S-llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O

‘Este niño continúa llamando, la llama (a la rana) en vano.’

‘This child goes on calling, he calls it (the frog) in vain.’

Rótsitziti ihéekaki oháawiyàki.

r-otsitzi-ti i-heck-ak-i o-háawiyaki
3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS 3F-bajo.tierra

‘Su perro está debajo de la tierra.’

‘His dog is under the ground.’

Irika rira, ikántétzirikà, éentsika rowáankitakàri irira maniro.

i-ri=ka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka
DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O=INT

eentsi=ka r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri i-ri=ra maniro
niño=PROX 3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O DEM-M=MED venado

‘Este, esto..., ¿cómo se llama?, este niño se ha puesto encima de ese venado.’

‘This, um..., what’s its name? This boy has got on top of that deer.’

Rowáankitakàri hanta, ikántétziro, ikéntsikira.

r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri ha=nta
3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O LOC=DIST

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro i-kentsi=ki=ra
3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O 3M-cuello=LOC=MED

‘Se ha puesto allí, cómo se llama..., ahí en su cuello (del venado).’

‘He has put himself there, what’s its name..., there on its neck (the deer’s).’

Irika rira, ráwithàkitakiri kameetha

i-ri=ka ri=ra r-awithaki-t-ak-i-ri kameetha
DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-abrazar-PFV-FRS-3M.O bien

‘Este..., esto..., lo ha abrazado bien (el niño al venado).’

‘Um..., um..., he hugs it well (the child hugs the deer).’

Eentsi ishìyakáakari, kiho royiri rótsitziti, ithaatzi.

eentsi i-shiy-aka-ak-a-ri
niño 3M.S-correr-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O

kiho r-oy-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti i-thaat-zi
junto 3M.S-poner-FRS-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-ladraz-REA

‘El niño lo hace correr (al venado), su perro no lo deja (se coloca a su lado), ladra.’

‘The boy makes it (the deer) run, his dog doesn’t let him (stands next to him), it barks.’

İkañáanaka kameetha maniro, róehapokàkiri èenchániki.

i-kañaa-an-ak-a kameetha maniro

3M.S-acelerar-ABL-PFV-REA bien venado

r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri eentsi-aniki

3M.S-CAUS-saltar-PFV-FRS-3M.O niño-DIM

‘Acelera bien el venado, lanza al niño’

‘The deer accelerates well, it throws the little child.’

Hàpokatyénkarikitanàka, ipityàankatyénkarikitanàka.

hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a

saltar-&-<ATT>despatarrado-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA

i-pityaank-a- t<y>enkari -ki-t-an-ak-a

3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-&-<ATT>despatarrado-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA.REFL

‘Ha saltado despatarrado, se ha tirado (caído) de cabeza despatarrado.’

‘He jumps spread-legged, he jumps (falls) head-first, spread-legged.’

Kiho rowánakiri éehatzi rótsitziti.

kiho r-ow-an-ak-i-ri éehatzi r-otsitzi-ti

junto 3M.S-poner-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O también 3M-perro-POSS

‘También se ha puesto junto con su perro.’

‘He also gets together with his dog.’

Haka rowa, ikàntétziri, kimitaka, arírika rowa, ipáryàki, okáriperoetyáaki.

ha=ka ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri kimi-t-ak-a

LOC=PROX F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O parecer-&-PFV-REA

ari=rika ro=ra i-pari-ak-i o-kariperoetya-ak-i

AFF=COND F=MED 3M.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3F.S-mal.camino-PFV-FRS

‘Aquí esto..., cómo se llama..., parece que..., si..., esto..., se ha caído, el camino está mal.’

‘Here um..., what’s its name...?, it seems that..., if..., um..., has fallen, the path is bad.’

Haka okoñáataki eenchánikini.

ha=ka o-koñaa-t-ak-i eentsi-aniki-ni

LOC=PROX 3F.S-aparecer-&-PFV-FRS niño-DIM-INTS

‘Aquí ha aparecido el niño.’

‘Here the little boy has appeared.’

Kimitaka rowa, ráwithàkiwitakàri éentsiini.

kimi-t-ak-a ro=ra r-awithaki-wi-t-ak-a-ri eentsi-ni

parecer-&-PFV-REA F=MED 3M.S-abrazarse-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O niño-INTS

‘Parece que, esto..., el niño lo ha abrazado en vano (al venado).’

‘It seems that, um..., the little boy has hugged it (the deer) in vain.’

Ikañaaperotanàka rira..., hempe ítagankitya..., maniro, róehapokákiri.

i-kaña-a-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe

3M.S-acelerar-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH

i-et-a=ranki=tya maniro r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri

3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE=EMPH venado 3M.S-CAUS-saltar-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Ha acelerado mucho, este..., cómo se llama..., el venado, lo ha lanzado (al niño).’

‘It has accelerated a lot, um..., what’s its name...?, the deer, it has thrown him (the child).’

Rówakiri hanta, ipityáankàkiri.

r-ow-ak-i-ri ha=nta i-pityaank-ak-i-ri

3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=DIST 3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Lo ha puesto allí, lo ha tirado de cabeza (al niño).’

‘He puts him there, he throws him (the boy) head-first.’

Ipityáankaponchakyáatakiri, hataki nihaaki.

i-pityaank-a-ponchakyaa-t-ak-i-ri²⁰⁶ ha-t-ak-i niha=ki

3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-&-con.las.botas-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O ir-&-PFV-FRS agua=LOC

‘Lo ha tirado de cabeza con todas las botas puestas, ha ido al agua.’

‘He has thrown him head-first with all his boots on, he’s gone into the water.’

Piinkaki eentsi. Irika éentsinikà ipiinkakira nihaaki.

piink-ak-i eentsi

caer.al.agua-PFV-FRS niño

i-ri=ka eentsi-ni=ka i-piink-ak-i=ra niha=ki

DEM-M=PROX niño=INTS=PROX 3M.S-caer.al.agua-PFV-FRS=MED agua=LOC

‘El niño se ha caído al agua. Este niño se ha caído ahí en el agua.’

‘The child has fallen into the water. This little boy has fallen into the water there.’

Kiho rowákiri, ráwithakitziri, ikyáakiri.

kiho r-ow-ak-i-ri

junto 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O

r-awithaki-t-zi-ri i-kya-ak-i-ri

3M.S-abrazar-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-cargar-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Están juntos, lo abraza (el perro al niño), lo carga (el niño al perro).’

‘They are together, it hugs him (the dog hugs the boy), he carries it (the boy carries the dog).’

Irika éentsika ikàntétziro, ròntsirokákawo inchátoka.

i-ri=ka eentsi=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ro

DEM-M=PROX niño=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O

r-ontsirok-ak-a-ro inchato=ka

3M.S-estar.al.lado-PFV-REA-3F.O árbol=PROX

‘Este niño, esto..., está al lado de este árbol.’

‘This child, um..., is next to this tree.’

²⁰⁶ The translation I got for *-ponchakya* was ‘con todas las botas’. I was told that *-ponch* imitates the sound of soldier boots, and *-kya* must have its origin in the emphatic *=kya*.

Rótsitziti rira, ramáataki.

r-otsitziti-ti ri=ra r-amaa-t-ak-i
 3M-perro-POSS M=MED 3M.S-nadar-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Su perro, esto..., ha nadado.’
 ‘His dog, um..., swims.’

Éentsini éekiro riyáatatzi ikówakówatziri pirinto.

eentsi-ni éekiro r-iyaa-t-atzi i-kow-a~kow-atzi-ri pirinto
 niño-INTS continúa 3M.S-ir-&-PROG 3M.S-querer-&-ITE-PROG-3M.O rana
 ‘El niño continúa yendo a buscar y buscar a la rana.’
 ‘The little boy continues to go looking and looking for the frog.’

Éehatzi rótsitziti kiho rowákiri. Ráthanankákawo inchato.

éehatzi r-otsitziti-ti kiho r-ow-ak-i-ri
 también 3M-perro-POSS junto 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 r-athanank-ak-a-ro inchato
 3M.S-agarrarse-PFV-REA-3M.O árbol
 ‘También su perro está junto a él. Se agarra a un árbol.’
 ‘Also his dog is with him. He clings to a tree.’

Haka inchátoki ráthanankakawòka, ari ñagaeri pirinto.

ha=ka inchato=ki r-athanank-ak-a-ro=ka
 LOC=PROX árbol=LOC 3M.S-agarrarse-PFV-&-REA-3M.O=PROX
 ari i-ñag-a-e-ri pirinto
 ahí 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O rana
 ‘Aquí en este árbol donde se agarra, ahí vuelve a ver a la rana.’
 ‘Here in this tree where he clings, there he sees the frog again.’

Ikotyaata ikaatzi apiti.

i-kotyaat-t-a i-kaa-t-zi apiti
 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-REA 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA dos
 ‘Están sentados dos.’
 ‘There are two seated.’

Irika éentsini ihéekaki inchatáatoki, inchátoki.

i-ri=ka eentsi-ni i-heek-ak-i inchataato=ki inchato=ki
 DEM-M=PROX niño-INTS 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS tronco=LOC árbol=LOC
 ‘Este niño está en el tronco, en el árbol.’
 ‘This little boy is in the trunk, in the tree.’

Échatzi rótsitziti ñagaeri irika pirinto.

échatzi r-otsitzi-ti i-ñag-a-e-ri²⁰⁷ i-ri=ka pirinto
también 3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX rana
'También su perro vuelve a ver (encuentra) a esta rana.'
'Also his dog sees (finds) this frog again.'

Irika ítsipapáenika ikáateyini itomyérikí, enchérikí.

i-ri=ka i-tsipa=paeni=ka
DEM-M=PROX M-otro=PL=PROX
i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni i-tomi-eriki eentsi-eriki
3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M-hijo-DIM.PL niño-DIM.PL
'Estos otros son sus hijitos, sus niñitos.'
'These others are its little children, its little children.'

Irika échatzi rànasháataka nihaaki, échatzi rótsitziti.

i-ri=ka échatzi r-anashaa-t-ak-a niha=ki
DEM-M=PROX también 3M.S-caminar-&-PFV-REA agua=LOC
échatzi r-otsitzi-ti
también 3M-perro-POSS
'Este también ha caminado por el agua, también su perro.'
'This one has also walked through the water, also his dog.'

Irika eentsi ratéeyakiri rakoki pirinto.

i-ri=ka eentsi r-ateey-ak-i-ri²⁰⁸ r-ako=ki pirinto
DEM-M=PROX niño 3M.S-subir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-mano=LOC rana
'Este niño ha subido la rana a su mano.'
'This child has put the frog on his hand.'

Irika piríntokà ikòtyáatapaka.

i-ri=ka pirinto=ka i-kotyaa-t-ap-ak-a
DEM-M=PROX rana=PROX 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-ALL-PFV-REA
'Esta rana está sentada.'
'This frog is sitting.'

Ítsipáakarini rèrchéerikitè.

i-tsipa-aiy-ak-a-ri-ni r-eentsi-eriki-ti
3M.S-acompañar-PL-REA-3M.O-PL 3M-niño-DIM.PL-POSS
'Está acompañada por sus niñitos.'
'It is accompanied by its little children.'

²⁰⁷ The root is clearly *-ñaa/-ñag-* 'see', but it seems that, used with the regressive suffix, it acquires the meaning 'find'.

²⁰⁸ The root *-atee-* is intransitive and *-ateey-* is transitive, with the meaning 'take something by putting it up', or 'put up something by taking it'.

Ari ikáatapàki ikénkithatakòta.

ari i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a

así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL

‘Así es todo lo que se cuenta (sobre la rana).’

‘So is all that is said (about the frog).’

Pear video

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording. The speaker is shown the famous *Pear video* (available on You Tube), and he tells what he is watching. The recording lasts 5 minutes and 39 seconds.

Iroka inchato oita *mango*. Rawíitziro okíthoki, atziri.
 i-ro=ka inchato o-et-a mango
 DEM-F=PROX árbol 3F.S-llamarse-REA mango
 r-awii-t-zi-ro o-kíthoki atziri
 3M.S-cosechar-&-REA-3F.O 3F-fruto²⁰⁹ persona
 ‘Este árbol se llama mango. Cosecha frutos, una persona.’
 ‘This tree is called mango. He harvests fruits, a person.’

Rawíiwáetatzí. Rowáriyàkiro.
 r-awii-wac-t-atzi r-o-pariy-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-cosechar-DUR1-&-PROG 3M.S-CAUS-caer-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Continúa cosechando. Los ha hecho caer (los frutos).’
 ‘He goes on harvesting. He has made them fall (the fruits).’

Ratéetakotzirònta henoki.
 r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro=nta²¹⁰ henoki
 3M.S-subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O=DIST arriba
 ‘Sube arriba (para cogerlos).’
 ‘He climb ups (to get them).’

Royíitapàkiro rotétziro itháateki.
 r-o-ayíit-ap-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 r-o-tet-zi-ro i-thaate=ki
 3M.S-CAUS-meter-REA-3F.O 3M-mochila=LOC
 ‘Lo ha bajado y lo mete en su mochila.’
 ‘He has taken them down and puts them in his backpack.’

Roshèitakiróni, okípatsitáki.
 r-o-shet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni o-kipatsi-t-ak-i
 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL 3F.S-sucio-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Los ha limpiado todos, están sucios (los frutos).’
 ‘He has cleaned them all, they are dirty (the fruits).’

²⁰⁹ The feminine possessive refers to the tree (‘the tree’s fruit’).

²¹⁰ The referent of the general applicative *-ako* here is probably the fruit, referred to with the object suffix, so that the meaning can be ‘for the fruit (to reach it)’.

Roshétantàwo roshétamènto.

r-o-shet-ant-a-ro r-o-shet-amento
 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-INS-REA-3F.O 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-NMLZ.INS
 ‘Lo limpia con su mantel (lit: instrumento para limpiar).’
 ‘He cleans them with his tablecloth (lit: instrument for cleaning).’

Rotékiro ikèpatsithátaki.

r-otek-i-ro i-kipatsi-tha-t-ak-i
 3M.S-sacudir-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-sucio-ropa-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Sacude su ropa sucia.’
 ‘He shakes out his dirty clothes.’

Piyánaka iroñaaka hanta henoki ratéetakótziro.

piy-an-ak-a iroñaaka
 regresar-ABL-PFV-REA ahora
 ha=nta henoki r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro
 LOC=DIST arriba 3M.S-subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O
 ‘Ahora ha vuelto a subir allá arriba.’
 ‘Now he’s back up there again.’

Ítsipa ikínapàaki hanta, ramákiri ikántètziro, *cabra*.

i-tsipa i-kin-apa-ak-i ha=nta,
 M-otro 3M.S-llegar-ALL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST
 r-am-ak-i-ri i-kant-e-t-zi-ri cabra
 3M.S-traer-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O cabra
 ‘Ha llegado otro por otro lado allí, ha traído, cómo se llama..., *cabra*.’
 ‘Another one has arrived from another side there, he has brought, what’s its name...?, *goat*.’

Awiiwáetaki henoki, rotétziro itháateki.

awii-wae-t-ak-i henoki
 cosechar-DUR I-&-PFV-FRS arriba
 r-o-tet-zi-ro i-thaate=ki²¹¹
 3M.S-CAUS-meter-REA-3F.O 3M-mochila=LOC
 ‘Ha seguido cosechando arriba, lo mete en su mochila.’
 ‘He has continued to harvest up, he puts them in his backpack.’

²¹¹ This word is quite irregular in that the unpossessed form is *thaato*, but the inalienably possessed form is *-thaate*.

Aréetapaka itsipa, amitákotirini áakotànakiròni hanta, tsikárika rowapiintziro.

aree-t-ap-ak-a i-tsipá amitako-t-i-ri-ni
llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA M-otro ayudar-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR

a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
llevar-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST

tsikárika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro

WH 3M.S-comer-HAB-REA-3F.O

‘Ha llegado otro, el que lo va a ayudar a llevarlo allá, adonde se suele comer.’

‘Another one has arrived, the one who is going to help him to bring them there, where the people usually eat.’

Rowáhenokàkotákiro, rowákotákiro *biciclétaki*.

r-ow-a-henok-ako-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-poner-&-arriba-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

r-ow-ako-t-ak-i-ro bicicleta=ki

3M.S-poner-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O bicicleta=LOC

‘Lo ha colocado encima, lo ha colocado en la bicicleta.’

‘He puts it on top, he puts it on the bike.’

Hátanaki iroñaaka, ráanakiro.

ha-t-an-ak-i iroñaaka r-a-an-ak-i-ro

ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS ahora 3M.S-llevar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Se ha ido ahora, se lo llevó.’

‘He’s gone now, he took it.’

Éekiro rawíiwàetatzí henoki.

éekiro r-awii-wae-t-atzi henoki

continúa 3M.S-cosechar-DUR1-&-PROG arriba

‘Continúa cosechando arriba.’

‘He goes on harvesting above.’

Ràntziwatakápakawo. Ihóokaiyàpáakiro.

r-antziwatak-ap-ak-a-ro i-hook-aiy-apa-ak-i-ro

3M.S-tropezar.cargado-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O 3M.S-vaciar-PL-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Ha tropezado yendo cargado (al llegar). Se le desparramaron al llegar.’

‘He trips while carrying a load (upon arrival). They spilled out on arrival.’

Roshètaitéroni ichénkopáeni, itáawatoryàaka, otáawatoryáawakiri màpipóoki.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-i-ro-ni i-chenko=paeni

3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL 3M-pantalón=PL

i-taawatorya-ak-a o-taawatorya-aw-ak-i-ri mapi-pooki

3M.S-golpear-PFV-REA.REFL 3F.S-golpear-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O piedra-COL

‘Se va a limpiar sus pantalones, se ha golpeado, se ha golpeado con el pedregal (lit: el pedregal lo ha golpeado al recibirlo).’

‘He is going to clean his trousers, he hits himself, he hits against the scree (lit: the scree has hit him upon receiving him).’

Ikántaka ipokàshitákiri ikáateyini, ràmitàkotapákiri.

i-kant-ak-a i-pok-ashi-t-ak-i-ri

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-venir-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O

i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri

3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-ayudar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL

‘Esto es, han venido los que van a ayudarlo.’

‘That is, those who are going to help him have come.’

Roshètaitéroni ichènkopáeni.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-e-ro-ni

i-chenko=paeni

3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL

3M-pantalón=PL

‘Se va a limpiar sus pantalones.’

‘He’s going to clean his trousers.’

Itzinagáero i-bicicléta-tè.

i-tzinag-a-i-ro

i-bicicleta-ti

3M.S-levantar-REG-FRS-3F.O 3M-bicicleta-POSS

‘Ha levantado su bicicleta.’

‘He lifts his bicycle.’

Rotètaitakiróni *mango*.

r-o-tet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni

mango

3M.S-CAUS-meter-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL

mango

‘Han guardado los mangos.’

‘They put back the mangoes.’

Itzinàkoténeri rowàkoténeri henoki *bicicléta*-ki.

i-tzina-ako-t-i-ne-ri

r-ow-ako-t-i-ne-ri

3M.S-levantar-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O

3M.S-poner-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O

henoki bicicleta=ki

arriba bicicleta=LOC

‘Van a levantárselos y ponérselos en la bicicleta.’

‘They’re going to pick them up and put them on the bike for him.’

Rówakìro mapi hanta, rantziwatákari.

r-ow-ak-i-ro

mapi

ha=nta

r-antziwatak-a-ri

3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3F.O

piedra

LOC=DIST

3M.S-tropezar-REA-REL

‘Ha puesto la piedra allá, con la que tropezó.’

‘He puts the stone there, which he tripped over.’

Hátane ayírori *mango*.

ha-t-an-i

ag-i-ro-ri

mango

ir-&-ABL-FRS

llevar-FRS-3F.O-REL

mango

‘Se van los que se han llevado mangos.’

‘Those who have taken the mangoes are leaving.’

Ipíyeyanàni ríraga, amitákotakíriri inkáganki.

i-piy-ey-an-a-ni ri-raga
3M.S-regresar-PL-ABL-REA-PL M-CAT.DEM

amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki

ayudar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL antes

‘Regresan esos (cuando se iban), los que le han ayudado antes.’

‘Those (when they left) return, those who helped him before.’

Ikáemawaeri iroñaaka; róokanàkiro ihónpiriro awótsiki.

i-kaem-aw-a-i-ri iroñaaka

3M.S-llamar-OM-REG-FRS-3M.O ahora

r-ook-an-ak-i-ro i-honpiriro awotsi=ki

3M.S-dejar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-sombrero camino=LOC

‘Ahora lo llaman (cuando se alejaba); se había dejado su sombrero en el camino al partir.’

‘Now they call him (when he was moving away); he had left his hat on the road when he left.’

Ipáwàtziri. Píyaha iroñaaka.

i-p-aw-atzi-ri piy-ah-a iroñaaka

3M.S-dar-OM-PROG-3M.O regresar-REG-REA ahora

‘Se lo están dando. Ahora regresan.’

‘They’re giving it to him. Now they come back.’

Ramákiro ikántetziri, *mango*.

r-am-ak-i-ro i-kant-e-t-zi-ri mango

3M.S-llevar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O mango

‘Se han llevado, cómo se llama..., *mango*.’

‘They have taken, what’s its name..., *mango*.’

Ipapákiri ikáateini.

i-p-ap-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni

3M.S-dar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

‘Lo ha dado a ellos (el mango a los compañeros).’

‘He has given it to them (the mango to the companions).’

Iháakiro ótsipa kántziri irira, atëetakotziróri henoki.

i-ha-ak-i-ro o-tsipa kántziri i-ri=ra

3M.S-llenar-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-otro canasta DEM-3M=MED

atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro-ri henoki

subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O-REL arriba

‘Ha llenado otra canasta ese, el que ha subido (para cogerlos) arriba.’

‘That one has filled another basket, the one who has climbed up (to catch them).’

Awihéeyèni ríraga, amítákotakiriri inkáganki paryákotéentsiri awótsiki.

awih-ee-y-i-ni ri-ra-ga

pasar-PL-FRS-PL M-CAT.DEM

amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki pari-ako-t-eentsi-ri²¹² awotsi=ki

ayudar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL antes caer-APPL-PTCP.PFV-REL camino=LOC

‘Pasan esos, los que ayudaron antes al accidentado en el camino.’

‘Those pass by, the ones who helped the injured person on the road earlier.’

²¹² In this case, the general applicative *-ako* indicates a means of transport (the bicycle). The translation I got was ‘el accidentado’, so *-pari-ako-* might be in the path of grammaticalization to form a single stem with the meaning ‘have an accident’, which is derived from the literal ‘fall with a means of transport’.

Tale of the squirrel and the jaguar

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording, and takes 7 minutes and 29 seconds to be told.

Iroñaaka nokènkithatakotíri²¹³ manitzi éehatzi meiri.

iroñaaka no-kenkitha-t-ako-t-i-ri manitzi éehatzi méyiri
ahora 1S-contar-&-APPL-&-IRR-3M.O jaguar también ardilla

‘Ahora voy a contar acerca de un jaguar y una ardilla.’

‘Now I am going to tell about a jaguar and a squirrel.’

Ikántaka²¹⁴ meiri páerani ashéninka ini.

i-kant-ak-a méyiri páerani a-shéninka²¹⁵ i-ni
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA ardilla antaño INCL-paisano M-COP.AN

‘Hace mucho tiempo, la ardilla era persona.’

‘A long time ago, the squirrel was a person.’

Meiri ari ikòtyàatétani awótsiki.

méyiri ari i-kotyaa-t-it-a-ni awotsi=ki
ardilla allí 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-TRLOC-REA-ADJ camino=LOC

‘La ardilla estaba allí sentada un rato, en el camino.’

‘The squirrel was sitting there for a while, on the path.’

Ishéemiro yatharékhitho.

i-sheemi-i-ro i-yatharékhitho
3M.S-machacar-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo

‘Machaca su testículo.’

‘He crushes his testicle.’

Ikántaka manitzi, raniri meiri; ranírintatyàari.

i-kant-ak-a manitzi r-aniri méyiri
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M-cuñado.MP ardilla

r-aniri-nt-atya-ri

3M.S-cuñado.MP-KV-PROG-3M.O

‘Apareció el jaguar, el cuñado de la ardilla; es su cuñado.’ (lit. ‘lo *cuñadea*’).

‘The jaguar appeared, the squirrel’s brother-in-law; he is his brother-in-law.’ (lit. ‘he *brother-in-laws* him’).

²¹³ Payne et al. (1982:31) for Apurucayali say that a common formula to start a tale is *nonkinkithatakotiri* ‘voy a contar acerca de él’.

²¹⁴ The consultant said that this is a formula to start a tale.

²¹⁵ The word *ashéninka*, with the meaning ‘our fellow people (incl.)’, is often used with the meaning ‘person’.

Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, ñaapàtziri meiri.

i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti²¹⁶
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-venir-PFV-FRS 3M-espalda-POSS

ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri

ver-ALL-PROG-3M.O ardilla

‘Apareció el jaguar, vino por su espalda (de la ardilla), está viendo a la ardilla (al llegar).’

‘The jaguar appeared, it came from behind him (of the squirrel), he is seeing the squirrel (on arrival).’

Inòtsikákiro yatharékiho, rompóhiro mapiki.

i-notsik-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiho r-ompoh-i-ro mapi=ki
3M.S-jalar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo 3M.S-golpear-FRS-3F.O piedra=LOC

‘Jalaba su testículo, lo golpeaba en una piedra.’

‘He was pulling his testicle, hitting it on a rock.’

Rowawo meiri, póshinitàki yatharékiho.

r-ow-a-ro méyiri poshi-ni-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho
3M.S-comer-REA-3F.O ardilla rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo

‘La ardilla se lo come, está rico, su testículo.’

‘The squirrel eats it, it’s delicious, his testicle.’

Ikántapákiri: “Ñani, ha, íitaka pántziri?”

i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri ñani ha iita=ka p-ant-zi-ri
3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O cuñado.VOC.ME eh WH=INT 2S-hacer-REA-REL

‘Al llegar (el jaguar) le dijo: “Eh, cuñado, ¿qué haces?”’

‘When (the jaguar) arrived he said: “Hey, brother-in-law, what are you doing?”’

“Tekatsi rowa, noshémyàkotátziro nòwatharékiho, nówatya’wo.”

tekatsi r-ow-a no-shemy-ako-t-atzi-ro²¹⁷
NEG.EXI 3M.S-comer-REA 1S-machacar-APPL-&-PROG-3F.O

no-yatharékiho n-ow-itya-ro

1-testículo 1S-comer-PROG-3F.O

‘“No hay comida, estoy machacando mi testículo, me lo estoy comiendo”.’

‘“There is no food, I am crushing my testicle, I am eating it”.’

²¹⁶ Although *tapiinti* ‘back (body part)’ is an inalienable noun, as all body parts, here the sentence says that the jaguar appears at the back of the squirrel, and the fact that ‘back’ that does not refer to a body part, but to a position, causes it to be alienable.

²¹⁷ I asked a consultant about the difference between this verb with and without *-ako* and she said that, with *-ako*, it means that the testicle is united to the squirrel’s body (she translated it as ‘con todo’). This may mean that the object refers to a part of something (the squirrel), and the omission of the suffix would imply that the object is a whole item.

Ikantzi: “Póshiniri?” “Hee, póshiniri”. Ipákiri étyonkìni, o ipákiri kapíchoki.²¹⁸
i-kant-zi poshi-ni-ri hee i-p-ak-i-ri étyonkìni/kapíchoki
3M.S-decir-REA rico-ADJ-REL AFF 3M.S-dar-PFV-FRS-3M.O un.poco
‘Dice (el jaguar): “¿Rico?” “Sí, rico” (dice la ardilla). Le ha dado un poco (la ardilla
al jaguar).’
‘(The jaguar) says: “Tasty?” “Yes, tasty” (says the squirrel). He gives him a little (the squirrel
gives the jaguar).’

Ináantakáakari, rówakáakari.
 i-ñaant-aka-ak-a-ri r-ow-aka-ak-a-ri
 3M.S-probar-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-comer-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘Se lo ha hecho probar, se lo ha hecho comer (el testículo).’
 ‘He has made him taste it, he has made him eat it (the testicle).’

Ikématzìro manitzi pòshinitàki yatharékitho.
i-kem-atzi-ro manitzi poshi-ni-t-ak-i i-yatharékitho
3M.S-sentir-PROG-3F.O jaguar rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo
‘El jaguar está sintiendo que su testículo (de la ardilla) está rico.’
‘The jaguar is feeling that his (the squirrel’s) testicle is tasty.’

Ikantzi: “O!, kameéthataki, ñani! Póshinirínimà.
i-kant-zi o kameetha-t-ak-i ñani poshi-ni-ri-ni=ma
3M.S-decir-REA INTJ bueno-&-PFV-FRS cuñado.VOC.ME rico-ADJ-REL-IGN=DUB
‘Dice (el jaguar): “¡Oh! ¡Qué bueno ha estado, cuñado! No sabía que estaba rico”.’
‘(The jaguar) says: “Oh! How tasty it has been, brother-in-law! I didn’t know it was tasty”.’

Ikantzi: “Hee! Póshinirini.”
i-kant-zi hee poshi-ni-ri-ni
3M.S-decir-REA AFF rico-ADJ-REL-INTS
‘Dice (la ardilla): “Sí, está muy rico”.’
‘(The squirrel) says: “Yes, it’s very tasty”.’

Éeki-ro, éeki-ro ishém-yakotàtzi rí-raga, meiri.			
éeki-ro	i-ako-t-atzi	ri-raga	méyiri
continúa	3M.S-shemy-machacar-APPL-&-PROG	M-CAT.DEM	ardilla
'Continúa, continúa machacando ella, la ardilla.'			
'He goes on, goes on pounding, he, the squirrel.'			

Rowánkípetyánikítákiro haga mapíki.		
r-owanki-petyani-ki-t-ak-i-ro	ha=ra	mapi=ki
3M.S-poner.encima-tablachito-FORM-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O	LOC=MED	piedra=LOC
'Pone eso <i>tablachito</i> ahí, sobre la piedra.'		
'He puts that table-like there, on the stone.'		

²¹⁸ The transcription is just as it can be heard in the recording: the narrator uses *o* (Spanish conjunction) to indicate that *étyonkìni* and *kapíchoki* have the same meaning.

Ròmpohákiro: tyao!

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro tyao
 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O IDEO: golpear.con.una.piedra
 ‘La ha golpeado: ¡pum!’
 ‘He hits it: bang!’

Ari ròtsikànatakári ikántètzi, manitzi.

ari r-otsikana-t-ak-a-ri
 allí 3M.S-observar detenidamente-&-PFV-REA-3M.O
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri manitzi
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O jaguar
 ‘Allí se ha parado observándola (a la ardilla), cómo se llama..., el jaguar.’
 ‘There he stays watching him (the squirrel), what’s his name...?, the jaguar.’

Ipáeri échatzi. Ikántziri: “Pikímiro, ñani.”

i-p-a-i-ri échatzi i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-dar-REG-FRS-3M.O también 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O
 pi-kim-i-ro ñani
 2S-sentir-FRS-3F.O cuñado.VOC.ME
 ‘Le vuelve a dar otra vez. Le dice: “Pruébalo, cuñado”.’
 ‘He hits it again. He says to him: “Try it, brother-in-law”.’

Kimatziro pòshiñáanikitàki yatharékiro meirí.²¹⁹

kim-atzi-ro poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i i-yatharékiro méyiri
 sentir-PROG-3F.O rico-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo ardilla
 ‘Está sintiendo que está muy riquito el testículo de la ardilla.’
 ‘He is feeling that the squirrel’s testicle is very tasty.’

Ikántaka rira, meiri, ikántziri:

i-kant-ak-a ri=ra méyiri i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED ardilla 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O
 ‘Así es que esa, la ardilla, le dice:’
 ‘So that one, the squirrel, says to him:’

“O, échatzi! Échatzi okímita, tsiká okántèeta pashi éeroka, ñaní?

O échatzi o-kimi-t-a tsiká o-kant-ee-t-a²²⁰
 INTJ también 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA WH 3F.S-COP-IMPS-REA
 p-ashi éeroka ñani
 2-POSS 2 cuñado.VOC.ME
 “‘Oh, también, también igualmente, ¿cómo será el tuyo, cuñado?’
 “‘Oh, also, also equally, how will yours be like, brother-in-law?’”

²¹⁹ In this sentence, the stress in *méyiri* unusually goes to the last syllable and is part of a longer sequence ([jatʰa, rekithomei’ri]). It may be a stylistic effect in the narration.

²²⁰ The interpretation of IMPS here does not seem very logical, given that the subject (the testicle) is referred to. Maybe the impersonal marking is implying doubt (‘cómo será/cómo puede ser’) or expressing that the subject is ignored (they do not know its size).

Omaanta piyatharékhitho éeroka... Nimaeka póshinitaki éehatzi éerori piyatharékhitho.

o-maanta pi-yatharekhitho éeroka nimaeka poshi-ni-t-ak-i
F-COEXP 2-testículo 2 ahora rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS

éehatzi eero-ri pi-yatharékhitho
también 2-TOO 2-testículo

“Mientras que el testículo tuyo... Ahora va a estar rico también tu testículo”.

“While your testicle... Now your testicle will also be delicious”.

Omaanta nashi naaka oryápetyanikini okáachancheéñakitzini nowatharékhitho; ari rowa, ikántètziro rowa, pòshíni.

o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-pequeño-tablachito-FORM-ADJ

o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékhitho
3F.S-COP.TOT-forma.ovoide-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testículo

ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
AFF F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED rico-ADJ

“A pesar de que el mío es pequeño y *tablachito* de forma ovoide, así, esto..., cómo se dice..., esto..., está rico”.

“Despite the fact that mine is small table-like and ovoid, um..., how do you say..., um..., it’s delicious”.

Éehatzi okímita pashi éerori antawo tyantyapitzi piyatharékhitho.

éehatzi o-kimi-t-a p-ashi eero-ri
también 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA 2-POSS 2-TOO

anta-ro tyantyapitzi pi-yatharékhitho
grande-F forma.de.bolsa.llena 2-testículo

“Igual es también el tuyo grande y con forma de bolsa, tu testículo”. (lit: ‘También se parecerá el tuyo...’)

“Also, yours is big and bag-like, your testicle”. (lit: ‘It will look like yours too...’)

Ari owáperowáetakya, teema antawo”.

ari Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya teema anta-ro
así INCL.S-comer-&-VER-DUR1-&-PFV-IRR porque grande-F

“Así realmente vamos a estar comiendo más, ya que es grande”.

“So we’re really going to be eating more since it’s big”.

Ikantzi manitzi: “Kyáatámakya, ñani.

i-kant-zi manitzi kyaa-ta=ma=kya ñani
3M.S-decir-REA jaguar verdadero-EMPH=DUB=EMPH cuñado.VOC.ME

‘Dice el jaguar: “Es verdad (no lo sabía), cuñado...”’

‘The jaguar says: “It’s true (I didn’t know), brother-in-law...”’

Ari machétaka rowa. Intsi noñáantyàwo naari.”

ari mache-t-ak-a²²¹ ro=ra intsi no-ñaant-ya-ro naa-ri
 AFF ser.así-&-PFV-REA F=MED rápido 1S-probar-IRR-3F.O 1-TOO
 “‘Así será esto, pronto lo probaré yo también’.”
 “‘Thus it will be, soon I’ll try it too’.”

Ikántziri meiri: “Hee, kaméethataki”.

i-kant-zi-ri méyiri hee kameetha-t-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O ardilla AFF bien-&-PFV-FRS
 “‘Le dice la ardilla: “Sí, está bien’.”
 “‘The squirrel says: “Yes, that’s fine’.”

“Òshitowàntyári kameetha, rowa, piyatharékitho, òhokyàntyári kameetha thanthánikirèe, pòmpohàperótiro pikañáshiperotyàwo kameetha”.

o-shitow-ant-ya-ri kameetha ro=ra pi-yatharékitho
 3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien F=MED 2-testículo

o-hoky-ant-ya-ri kameetha thanthánikirèe p-ompoh-a-pero-t-i-ro
 3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien entero²²² 2S-golpear-&-VER-&-IRR-3F.O

pi-kañashi-pero-t-ya-ro kameetha

2S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-IRR-3F.O bien

“‘Para que salga bien, este..., tu testículo, para que salga bien entero, golpéalo bien y con mucha fuerza’.”

“‘For it to come out well, um..., your testicle, so that it comes out completely, hit it well and with great force’.”

“Eero, rowa..., péentsikiròtziro. Pishíntsiwintiro kameetha”.

eero ro=ra p-eentsikiro-t-zi-ro pi-shintsi-went-i-ro kameetha
 NEG.IRR F=MED 2S-despacio-&-REA-3F.O 2S-fuerte-BEN-IRR-3F.O bien

“‘No, este..., no lo hagas despacio. Dale bien fuerte’.”

“‘No, um..., don’t do it slowly. Hit it hard’.”

“Pikañáshityàwo pishémyero òshitowantapákyari kaméethèni.”

pi-kañashi-t-ya-ro pi-shemy-e-ro
 2S-dar.fuerte-&-IRR-3F.O 2S-machacar-FRS-3F.O

o-shitow-ant-ap-ak-ya-ri kameetha-ni

3F.S-salir-RES-ALL-PFV-IRR-REL bien-ADJ

“‘Machácalo con fuerza para que salga bueno’.”

“‘Crush it hard so that it comes out good’.”

²²¹ The expression *ari mache* appears to be grammaticalized. I asked a consultant if it is possible to say **machétatya* (with progressive aspect) or **macheta* (with no aspect marker), but he said that these words do not exist. Therefore, it seems that the forms in use are only *mache* and *machétaka*.

²²² This word seemed to me too long so as to be formed by only one root, so I asked about it, but I did not get satisfactory results, so I decided to gloss the whole word as ‘entero’.

Ikantzi manitzi: “Hee, kameetha. Áritaki nomatákiro”.

i-kant-zi manitzi

3M.S-decir-REA jaguar

hee kameetha ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-i-ro

AFF bien FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-poder-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Dice el jaguar: “Sí, bien. Así lo podré (hacer)”’

‘The jaguar says: “Yes, good. Thus I can (do)”.’

Manitzi ráakiro iyatharékiro.

manitzi r-a-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiro

jaguar 3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo

‘El jaguar ha cogido su testículo.’

‘The jaguar takes his testicle.’

Rowánkityantyapititákiro mapíkira.

r-owanki-tyantyapitzi-t-ak-i-ro

mapi=ki=ra

3M.S-poner.encima-forma.de.bolsa.llena-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O piedra=LOC=MED

‘Pone eso con forma de bolsa llena encima de esa piedra.’

‘He puts that with the shape of a full bag on top of that stone.’

Ikañáshiperotakáwo kameetha, ròmpohákiro yatharékiro, òshitowantanakyáre ikimitáka irowa meiri.

i-kañashi-pero-t-ak-a-ro kameetha r-ompoh-ak-i-ro

3M.S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bien 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O

i-yatharékiro o-shitow-ant-an-ak-ya-ri

3M-testículo 3F.S-salir-RES-ABL-PFV-IRR-REL

i-kimi-t-ak-a i-ro=ra méyiri

3M.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA DEM-F=MED ardilla

‘Le da bien fuerte, golpea su testículo, para que salga igual como el de esa ardilla.’

‘He hits it hard, hits his testicle so that it comes out just like that squirrel’s one.’

Irika meiri riyòthanétaki kameetha.

i-ri=ka méyiri r-iyothane-t-ak-i kameetha

DEM-M=PROX ardilla 3M.S-inteligente-&-PFV-FRS bien

‘Esta ardilla ha sido bien inteligente.’

‘This squirrel has been very clever.’

Tsiká ikantya, ikántètziro..., rówaga..., irika rówamantýariri manitzi?

tsiká i-kant-ya i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro-raga

WH 3M.S-COP-IRR 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F-CAT.DEM

i-ri=ka r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri manitzi

DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL jaguar

‘¿Cómo sería, cómo se llama..., esto..., para que esta (la ardilla) matara al jaguar?’

‘What would it be like?, what’s its name...?, um..., so that this (the squirrel) could kill the jaguar?’

Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékhitho, róetapáeni rówaga, ketaki.

méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho

ardilla NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo

roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki

semilla=PL F-CAT.DEM maní.del.monte²²³

‘Es que no era el testículo de la ardilla, eran semillas de eso: maní del monte.’

‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle, it was seeds of that: forest peanuts.’

Tsikárika ikántakáakawo okímitzìmotákari manitzi, róotaki iyatharékhitho rowáankitákirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri

WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3F.S-parecer-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O

manitzi roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri=ra

jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo 3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED

ha=ra ro=ra i-shemy-ako-wac-t-zì

LOC=MED F=MED 3M.S-machacar-APPL-DUR1-&-REA

‘¿Cómo ha hecho para que a los ojos del jaguar parezca que era su testículo lo que ponía ahí, esto..., y lo estaba machacando?’

‘How did he make it seem before the jaguar’s eyes that it was his testicle what he was putting there, um..., and he was crushing it?’

Róetapáeni ishèmyakotáshitawo rowa, iyétakiti.

roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro²²⁴

semilla=PL 3M.S-machacar-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O

ro=ra i-ketaki-ti

F=MED 3M-maní.del.monte-POSS

‘Machacaba semillas, esto..., de maní del monte.’

‘He was crushing seeds, um..., of forest peanuts.’

²²³ According to some sources online, this is the nut tree *Plukenetia volubilis*, which, according to Wikipedia, is called in Spanish *inchi*, *sacha inchi*, *sacha maní*, *maní del Inca* or *maní jibaro*, and in English, *sacha inchi*, *sacha peanut*, *mountain peanut*, *Inca-nut* or *Inca-peanut*. The literal translation in English of *maní del monte* is actually ‘forest peanut’ since *monte* in local Spanish means ‘forest’ rather than ‘mountain’.

²²⁴ The verb with the suffix *-ashi* is A-inflected, which causes the suffix to acquire the meaning ‘with no purpose’. In this case, it is not very consistent, given that there is a clear purpose in the act of crushing the pretended testicle (the actual nuts). I asked the translating consultant if **ishèmyakotáshitziro* is right and he did not accept it as a valid form. Therefore, the A-inflection here might be explained in two ways: 1) the NPURP suffix indicates that the real purpose is not the one expected by crushing something (the squirrel just wants to cheat the jaguar); 2) the phonic group /’taʃtsiro/ appears to be more difficult to pronounce than /’taʃtawo/, so that the change is performed because of phonetic ease. Explanation 1) seems more reasonable, but, if it were right, the consultant would not have dismissed **ishèmyakotáshitziro* as ungrammatical, although maybe he meant that it could not be used for this story. In the story of the cheating shaman, *riyáatáshitziro* is uttered, which proves that the group /’aʃtsi/ is possible.

Kaari iyatharékicho-pero. Rirori rira manítzira, rámatawitakiri kameetha.

kaari i-yatharékicho-pero rirori ri=ra manitzi=ra
NEG.COP 3M-testículo-VER 3M M=MED jaguar=MED

r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri kameetha

3M.S-enganar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O bien

‘No era realmente su testículo. A él, este jaguar, lo ha engañado bien (la ardilla).’

‘It wasn’t really his testicle. He (the squirrel) has fooled him (the jaguar) well.’

Íitakaperotanàkiro róotaki iyatharékicho meiri, rowa, ròmpohakótziri.

i-etak-a-pero-t-an-ak-i-ro roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékicho
3M.S-creer-&-VER-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo

Méyiri ro=ra r-ompoh-ako-t-zi-ri

ardilla F=MED 3M.S-golpear-APPL-&-REA-REL

‘Ha creído totalmente que era el testículo de la ardilla, este..., lo que golpeaba.’

‘He totally believed that it was the squirrel’s testicle, um..., what he was hitting.’

Imàtanàkiro. Rirori rákakáakiri.

i-ma-t-an-ak-i-ro rirori r-ak-aka-ak-i-ri

3M.S-imitar-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M 3M.S-contestar-CAUS-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Él (el jaguar) la ha imitado. Ella (la ardilla) le ha hecho actuar en su contra (al jaguar) (lit. le ha hecho contestar).’

‘He (the jaguar) imitated him (the squirrel). He (the squirrel) made him act against himself (the jaguar) (lit. he made him answer).’

Rowànkityantyapitzitákiro iyatharékicho, rowa, okaatzi ikántakiriri meiri:

r-owanki-tyantyapitzi-t-ak-i-ro i-yatharékicho ro=ra
3M.S-poner.encima-forma.de.bolsa.llena-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo F=MED

o-kaa-t-zi i-kant-ak-i-ri-ri méyiri

3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL ardilla

‘Ha puesto esa forma de bolsa llena, su testículo, este..., ha hecho todo lo que le ha dicho la ardilla.’

‘He put that shape of a full bag, his testicle, um..., he did everything the squirrel told him.’

“Pikañáshiperotyàwo, òshitowantyári kameetha”, rowa..., ikántètziri, rowa..., “iroka piyatharékicho, okímitanakyàwo”, rowa..., “inki.”

pi-kañashi-pero-t-ya-ro o-shitow-ant-ya-ri kameetha ro=ra
2S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-IRR=3F.O 3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien F=MED

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri i-ro=ka pi-yatharékicho

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O DEM-F=PROX 2-testículo

o-kimi-t-an-ak-ya-ro ro=ra inki

3F.S-parecerse-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O F=MED maní

“Dale con mucha fuerza, para que salga bien”, este..., ¿cómo se llama?, este..., “este tu testículo, se va a parecer”, este..., “al maní”.

“Hit it very strongly so that it comes out well”, um..., what’s its name?, um..., “this your testicle is going to look like”, um..., “the peanut”.

Ari ikántàkiro.

ari i-kant-ak-i-ro

así 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Así lo ha dicho.’

‘So he said.’

Ráakiro inóshikàkiro rómphàkiro kameetha mapíkira.

r-a-ak-i-ro

i-noshik-ak-i-ro

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro

3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O

3M.S-jalar-PFV-FRS-3F.O

3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O

kameetha mapi=ki=ra

bien piedra=LOC=MED

‘Lo ha cogido, lo ha jalado y lo ha golpeado bien en esa piedra.’

‘He picked it up, pulled it up and hit it well on that rock.’

Ròmpohákiròwa, iroka..., ikantzi:

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro-ra

i-ro=ka

i-kant-zi

3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O-TEMP

DEM-F=PROX

3M.S-decir-REA

‘Cuando lo ha golpeado, este..., ha dicho.’

‘When he hit it, um..., he said.’

‘Iroka agatharékhitho teema róotaki, rowa..., añáamentòtsi’.

i-ro=ka a-yatharékhitho teema roo-t-ak-i ro=ra añ-amento-tsi

DEM-F=PROX INCL-testículo porque3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED vivir-NMLZ.INS-ALI

‘’Porque este testículo es lo que nos da la vida (lo que nos sirve para vivir)’’.

‘’Because this testicle is what gives us life (what serves to live)’’.

Ròmpohákiro ipótehákiro yatharékhitho, ikántàkiro..., manitzi. Kamaki.

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro

i-poteh-ak-i-ro

i-yatharékhitho

3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O

3M.S-reventar-PFV-FRS-3F.O

3M-testículo

i-kant-ak-i-ro

manitzi kam-ak-i

3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O

jaguar morir-PFV-FRS

‘Ha golpeado y ha reventado su testículo, lo dice..., el jaguar. Se murió.’

‘He hits and bursts his testicle, he says it..., the jaguar. He dies.’

Ikoyi rowintáanakirimi ikántètzi, rira, méyiri.

i-koy-i

r-owinta-an-ak-i-ri-mi

3M.S-querer-FRS

3M.S-atrapar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri

ri=ra méyiri

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

3M=MED ardilla

‘Quisiera haber atrapado, cómo se llama..., esto..., a la ardilla.’

‘He wished he had caught, what’s his name...?, um..., the squirrel.’

Méyiri iñáawakìri ishémýàkiro iyatharékiho.

méyiri i-ña-aw-ak-i-ri i-shemy-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiho

ardilla 3M.S-ver-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-machacar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo

‘La ardilla ha visto que (el jaguar) ha machacado su testículo.’

‘The squirrel saw that he (the jaguar) crushed his testicle.’

Hápokanáka, okímitaka, rówaga..., inchàtáatoki.

hapok-an-ak-a o-kimi-t-ak-a ro-raga inchàtáato=ki

saltar-ABL-PFV-REA 3F.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA F-CAT.DEM tronco=LOC

‘Ha saltado, igual como, este..., al tronco (de árbol).’

‘He jumped, just like, um..., to the (tree) trunk.’

Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanáka. Ari ikotyáatapàaka.

i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a

3M.S-irse-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-saltar-ABL-PFV-REA

ari i-kotyaa-t-apa-ak-a

ahí 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-ALL-PFV-REA

‘Se ha ido, ha saltado. Ahí se ha sentado.’

‘He went, he jumped. There he’s sitting.’

Ari ròtsikanàminthatári. Manitzi ihápokanáka.

ari r-otsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri manitzi i-hapok-an-ak-a

ahí 3M.S-observar-mirar-BAD-&-REA-3M.O jaguar 3M.S-saltar-ABL-PFV-REA

‘Ahí observa y mira al jaguar, cómo lo ha fastidiado. El jaguar ha saltado.’

‘There he observes and looks at the jaguar, how he has annoyed him. The jaguar jumps.’

Ikoyi rowintánakirìmi irira ranírira.

i-koy-i r-owint-an-ak-i-ri-mi

3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-atrapar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA

i-ri=ra r-aniri=ra

DEM-M=MED 3M-cuñado.MP=MED

‘Hubiera querido atrapar a ese cuñado suyo.’

‘He would have wanted to catch that brother-in-law of his.’

Róokaka hanta: poo! Kamaki.

r-ook-ak-a ha=nta poo kam-ak-i

3M.S-saltar.para.atrapar-PFV-REA LOC=DIST IDEO:cae.un.peso morir-PFV-FRS

‘Ha saltado para atrapar (a la ardilla) allí: ¡puf! (cae al suelo). Se murió.’

‘He jumped to catch (the squirrel) there: poof! (falls to the ground). He died.’

Ari ikántakota irika meiri ikyénkithàtakòta²²⁵.

ari i-kant-ako-t-a

así 3M.S-COP-APPL-&-REA

i-ri=ka méyiri i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a

DEM-M=PROX ardilla 3M.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL

‘Así es y se cuenta sobre esta ardilla.’

‘So it is and it’s told about this squirrel.’

Ari okaatzi iroñaaka, ikántètziro..., rówaga..., akyénkithàtakotakìri irika meiri.

ari o-kaa-t-zi iroñaaka i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro-raga

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA ahora 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-CAT.DEM

a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka méyiri

INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-M=PROX ardilla

‘Así acaba ahora..., cómo se llama..., esto..., lo que hemos contado sobre esta ardilla.’

‘That’s how it ends now..., what’s its name...?, um..., what we’ve told about this squirrel.’

Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho ikimitakáantawitakàwo róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotàki kameetha iyátharékitho, káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.

r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi i-yatharékitho

3M.S-enganar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O ardilla DEM-M=PROX jaguar 3M-testículo

i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro roo-t-ak-i ro=ra

3M.S-parecerse-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i kameetha

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS bueno

i-yatharékitho kaari=maita

3M-testículo NEG.COP=COEXP

i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti

3M.S-machacar-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-maní.del.monte-POSS

‘La ardilla ha engañado a este jaguar, ya que le ha hecho parecer (siendo falso), esto..., cómo se llama..., que su testículo estaba realmente bueno, pero no era (su testículo): machacaba maní del monte.’

‘The squirrel deceived this jaguar since it made it seem (being false), um..., what’s its name...?, that his testicle was really good, but it wasn’t (his testicle): he was crushing forest peanuts.’

²²⁵ The usual way to start a tale is *nokénkithatakotiri* ‘I’m going to tell about X’, with I-class suffix. A consultant told me that *ikénkithatakotáka* would mean that the tale has finished, *ikénkithatakotána* means that the tale is being told and *ikénkithatakotina* that the tale is going to be told. After revising all the occurrences of this verb, I infer that the form with *-a* is reflexive, that is, *ikénkithatakota* means ‘they tell to themselves’, which fits the Spanish translation ‘se cuenta’. Therefore, the three mentioned cases can be interpreted as: 1) ‘they have told the story to themselves’, 2) with ablative at the end (ABL meaning ‘in motion’), 3) ‘he is going to tell it to me’.

Tsikárika ikántakáakari ròkíkirà ròmahontyáantakariri?

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra
WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-ojo=LOC=MED

r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri²²⁶

3M.S-CAUS-tonto-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL

‘¿Cómo hizo que en esos ojos suyos se quedara tonto?’

‘How did he (the squirrel) make it so that he (the jaguar) became dumb in those eyes of his?’

Irika rira, manitzi, rowa..., téemáita, rowa..., ikántètziri rowa, rarétyawo kaméetheni
okaatzí iñáakirika.

i-ri=ka ri=ra manitzi ro=ra tee=maita ro=ra
DEM-M=PROX M=MED jaguar F=MED NEG=COEXP F=MED

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri r-aree-t-ya-ro kameetha-ni
3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-llegar-&-IRR-3F.O bien-REL.IRR

o-kaa-t-zi i-ña-ak-i-ri=ka
3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3M.S-ver-PFV-FRS-REL=PROX

‘Este jaguar, este..., sin embargo, este..., ¿cómo se llama?..., este..., iba a llegar a lo bueno donde lo había visto.’

‘This jaguar, um..., however, um..., what’s its name?..., um..., was going to get to the good where he had seen it.’

Tee oshitóimotziri kameetha. Rámatawitakitziri.

tee o-shitoy-imo-t-zi-ri²²⁷ kameetha
NEG.REA 3F.S-salir-COM-&-REA-3M.O bien

r-amatawi-t-ak-it-zi-ri²²⁸

3M.S-enganar-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-3M.O

‘No le salió bien. Fue engañado.’

‘It didn’t work out for him. He was tricked.’

²²⁶ This word is related to *mahontzi* ‘mute’. There is a similarity with English in that *dumb* has the meanings ‘stupid’ and ‘mute’. Ashéninka also joins both meanings in a single word.

²²⁷ The comitative here takes the sense of a traditional dative.

²²⁸ The interpretation of *-it* as translocative should be interpreted either as the squirrel going, cheating the jaguar and coming back, or as the squirrel cheating the jaguar during a certain period of time. The latter makes much more sense than the former, because the lie is being carried out during the whole tale. I asked a consultant about the difference between *rámatawitakíri* and *rámatawitakitziri*, and she said that the latter expresses past. This coincides with the explanations of another consultant about *ikótyaatakíta* ‘he is sitting’, so it seems that *-ak-it* (PFV-TRLOC) expresses past, which makes sense with the explanation of *-it* expressing a lapse of time plus the perfective *-ak* (a certain lapse of time viewed as a single whole should have occurred in the past).

Manitzi tee rowawo iyàtharékitho, rowa..., kímíwitàka, ikántètziro..., rowa..., irika rira meiri.

manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékitho ro=ra
 jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-comer-REA-3F.O 3M-testículo F=MED
 kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
 parecerse-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED
 i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED ardilla

‘El jaguar no se ha comido su testículo, esto..., se le parece (erróneamente) a..., cómo se llama..., este..., el de esta ardilla.’

‘The jaguar didn’t eat his testicle, um..., it looks (wrongly) like..., what’s its name...?, um..., this squirrel’s one.’

Ñáakotàkiri pòshiñáanikitàki.

ña-ako-t-ak-i-ri poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i
 encontrar-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O sabroso-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Se lo ha encontrado muy riquito (a la ardilla).’
 ‘He has found it very tasty.’

Káarimáita, rowa..., kaari róotaki, rowa..., hempe ikántètziro? rowa..., iyàtharékitho.

kaari=maita ro=ra kaari roo-t-ak-i ro=ra hempe
 NEG.COP=COEXP F=MED NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED WH

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra i-yatharékitho
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED 3M-testículo
 ‘Pero sin embargo, esto..., no era..., esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., su testículo.’
 ‘But yet, um..., it wasn’t..., um..., what’s its name...? um..., his testicle.’

Tsikárika ikántakáakawo?: rámatawitzìri ikanta ròwamantyáiriri.

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro r-amatawi-t-zi-ri
 WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-engañar-&-REA-3M.O

i-kant-a r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA 3M.S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL
 ‘¿Cómo hizo que ocurriera?: lo engañó para matarlo.’
 ‘How did he make it happen? He tricked him into killing him.’

Ari ikáatakòtzi iroñaaka akènkithátakotakiri.

ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka
 así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA ahora

a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-ak-i-ri
 INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-REL

‘Así es todo ahora lo que contamos sobre ellos (la ardilla y el jaguar).’
 ‘That’s all we now have to say about them (the squirrel and the jaguar).’

Ikanta pácerani, ikántètzi... ríraga, meyiri ràmatawitzíri rira manitzi. Ari okaatzi.

i-kant-a pácerani i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri-raga
3M.S-COP-REA antaño 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O M-CAT.DEM

méyiri r-amatawi-t-zi-ri ri=ra manitzi ari o-kaa-t-zi
ardilla 3M.S-enganar-&-REA-3M.O M=MED jaguar así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Así fue antaño, cómo se llama..., esa, la ardilla, engañó a ese jaguar. Así termina.’

‘That’s how it was in the past, what’s its name...?, that one, the squirrel, tricked that jaguar.
That’s how it ends.’

Conversation between Mathawo and Maruja

Amalia Coronado, aka Mathawo ‘thin’, aged 58 at the time of the recording, and Maruja, aged around 30-35 (I forgot to ask), are chatting. I noticed that Maruja speaks with *s* instead of *h* (e.g. *-seek-* instead of *-heek-* ‘live, be in a place’). Maruja is from Canapishtea, a community in the Tahuania District that is not on the banks of the Ucayali River but 15 km in a straight line to the east, by the Tahuania River. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 42 seconds.

Amalia: Noeta naaka Amalia. Nopoña Chicosa. Nokoyi nohámpitimi.

no-et-a naaka Amalia no-poñ-a Chicosa
1S-llamarse-REA 1 Amalia 1S-proceder.de-REA Chicosa

no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O

‘Yo me llamo Amalia. Procedo de Chicosa. Quiero preguntarte.’

‘My name is Amalia. I come from Chicosa. I want to ask you.’

Naaka enya ashéninka. Nokoyi nokámantimi: pipánkiwàetaki pishínkiri?

naaka enya ashéninka no-koy-i no-kamant-i-mi
1 etnia ashéninka²²⁹ 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O

pi-panki-wae-t-ak-i pi-shinki-ri²³⁰
2S-sembrar-DUR1-&-PFV-FRS 2-maíz-POSS

‘Soy de etnia ashéninka. Quiero decirte: ¿has estado sembrando tu maíz?’

‘I am of the Ashéninka ethnic group. I want to say to you: have you been planting your corn?’

Maruja: Tekira notáiro.

tekira no-tay-i-ro
aún.no 1S-quemar-FRS-3F.O

‘Todavía no lo quemo.’

‘I haven’t burned it yet.’

A: Pimáwitakàwo?

pi-ma-wi-t-ak-a-ro
2S-poder-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O

‘¿No lo has podido (hacer)?’

‘Couldn’t you (do) it?’

²²⁹ The gloss here might be *a-sheninka* (INCL.POS-fellow.person, ‘our fellow person’), but this gloss would not show the meaning used here, which is the name of an ethnic group.

²³⁰ *Shinki* ‘maize’ is one of the very few nouns whose possessive suffix is *-ri* instead of the usual *-ni* and *-ti* (*shinki* should have *-ni* because it has two morae).

M: Hee, nothón...²³¹, nopèsanákiro, itòanákiro.

hee no-pes-an-ak-i-ro²³² i-tow-an-ak-i-ro
 AFF 1S-rozar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3S-tumbar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Sí, ya lo he rozado, lo ha tumbado (un árbol, su marido).’²³³
 ‘Yes, I’ve already cleared it, he’s knocked it down (a tree, her husband).’

Riyáatanàhe apáaniróeni itàapáhiro.

r-iyaa-t-an-ah-i apáaniróeni i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro
 3M.S-ir-&-ABL-REG-FRS solito 3M.S-quemar-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Se va a volver solito a quemarla (la chacra).’
 ‘He’s going to go back alone to burn it (the farm).’

A: Nokoyi nokántimi, arírika..., iita pipánkitiri páashini?

no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ari=rika iita pi-panki-t-i-ri paashini
 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O AFF=COND WH2S-sembrar-&-IRR-REL otro
 ‘Quiero decirte, si..., ¿qué otra cosa vas a sembrar?’
 ‘I want to say to you whether..., what else are you going to plant?’

M: Kaniri, payantzi...

kaniri payantzi
 yuca plátano
 ‘Yuca, plátano.’
 ‘Cassava, banana.’

A: Ari pipànkotéya?

ari pi-panko-t-eya
 FUT 2-casa-&-FUT
 ‘¿Te vas a ir a vivir allí?’ (lit. ‘¿será tu casa?’)
 ‘Are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your house?’)

M: ...aroosa. Nantaki pankotsi.

aroosa n-ant-ak-i panko-tsi
 arroz 1S-hacer-PFV-FRS casa-ALI
 ...arroz. He hecho la casa.
 ...rice. I have made the house.

²³¹ *Nothon...* is an unfinished word. Later explanations show that the speaker was going to say *nothónkanákiro* (stem *-thonk-* ‘finish’) ‘I have already finished it’, but the recording shows that she didn’t finish this word.

²³² The stem *-pes-* is *-peh-* in UP Ashéninka.

²³³ I know that she’s referring to a tree because they explained it to me later; they even told me that *inchato* ‘tree’ could have been added, but this word is not uttered in the conversation. I suppose that it is clear that, when someone is clearing a field, trees are knocked down.

A: Pantaki pipanko. Antawo?, oryani?

p-ant-ak-i pi-panko anta-ro o-rya-ni
 2S-hacer-PFV-FRS 2-casa grande-F F-pequeño-ADJ
 ‘Has hecho tu casa. ¿Es grande o pequeña?’
 ‘You have made your home. Is it big or small?’

M: Oryani.

o-rya-ni
 F-pequeño-ADJ
 ‘Pequeña’.
 ‘Small’.

A: Arírika pipiyanáki, ari pinampitéyawo?

ari=rika pi-piy-an-ak-i²³⁴ ari pi-nampi-t-eya-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-regresar-ABL-PFV-IRR FUT 2-lugar-&-FUT-3F
 ‘Cuando regreses, ¿vas a vivir allí?’ (lit. ‘¿será tu lugar?’)
 ‘When you return, are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your place?’)

M: Ari.

ari
 FUT
 ‘Sí (lo haré).’
 ‘Yes, (I’ll do it).’

A: Eero pipoke haka?

eero pi-pok-i ha=ka
 NEG.IRR 2S-venir-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘¿No vas a volver aquí?’
 ‘Aren’t you going to come back here?’

M: Eero.

eero
 NEG.IRR
 ‘No.’
 ‘Nope.’

²³⁴ This is one of the very few verbs with realis *-a* and irrealis *-i*.

A: Okamèethátzi?, inimotapákimi? Osheki mereto?

o-kameetha-t-zi i-nimo-t-ap-ak-i-mi²³⁵ osheki mereto
3F.S-bien-&-REA 3M.S-gustar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-2O muchos mojarra²³⁶

‘¿Está bien? ¿Te ha gustado allá? ¿Hay muchas mojarras?’

‘Is it okay? Did you like it there? Are there many *mojarras*?’

M: Osheki shima. Éehatzi osheki koryo.

osheki shima éehatzi osheki koryo
muchos pez también muchos bagre²³⁷

‘Muchos peces. También hay muchos bagres.’

‘A lot of fishes. There are also many catfish.’

A: Róotakima pihéekantaperótari okáakini?

roo-t-ak-i=ma pi-heck-ant-a-pero-t-a-ri okáakini

3F-&-PFV-FRS=DUB 2S-vivir-RES-&-VER-&-REA-REL cerca

‘¿Por eso es que vives cerca?’ La hablante lo traduce como ‘¿por eso te gusta vivir ahí?’

‘Is that why you live nearby?’ The speaker translates it as ‘is that why you like living there?’

M: Mapuillo!

‘¿Mapuillo!’ (nombre de una quebrada y una comunidad)

‘Mapuillo!’ (name of a creek and a community)

A: Ah, Mapuillo. Noshíyaka Inuya.

Mapuillo n-oshiy-ak-a Inuya

Mapuillo 1S-parecer-PFV-REA Inuya

‘¿Ah, Mapuillo! Me pareció Inuya (nombre de una quebrada).’

‘Ah, Mapuillo! It seemed to me Inuya (name of a creek).’

M: Tee

tee

NEG.REA

‘No.’

‘Nope.’

²³⁵ I asked a consultant why this speaker uses the masculine prefix, and she said that *owaantsi* ‘chacra’ can be masculine. There are some very few exceptions of masculine non-animate elements. However, *owaantsi* is referred to with feminine pronominals in other parts of my corpus. I asked another consultant about the matter and he said that this verb can be used with subjects of both sexes implying something abstract, such as “have you liked *that*?”.

²³⁶ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the family *Gerreidae*. They are also called *anchoveta* in local Spanish.

²³⁷ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the order *Siluriformes*, known in English as *catfish*.

A: ¡Mapuillo, Urubamba! Arírika pameteya hanta, eero pipókaperòte?

Mapuillo Urubamba ari=rika p-ame-t-eya ha=nta
Mapuillo Urubamba AFF=COND 2S-acostumbrarse-&-IRR LOC=DIST

eero pi-pok-a-pero-t-i²³⁸
NEG.IRR 2S-venir-&-VER-&-IRR

‘¡Mapuillo, Urubamba! Cuando te acostumbres a estar allí, ¿no vas a venir?’

‘Mapuillo, Urubamba! When you get used to being there, won’t you come?’

M: Ari nopoke nokènkithatéro nopanko.

ari no-pok-i²³⁹ no-kenkitha-t-i-ro no-panko
FUT 1S-venir-FRS 1S-recordar-&-IRR-3F.O 1-casa

‘Voy a venir a recordar mi casa.’

‘I will come to remember my home.’

A: Teema ohéekaperòtzi payiro?

tee=ma o-heck-a-pero-t-zi p-ayiro
NEG.REA=DUB 3F.S-vivir-&-VER-&-REA 2-suegra.FP

‘¿No vive pues tu suegra?’

‘Does not your mother-in-law live then?’

M: Tee. Hanta oséekatatzi.

tee ha=nta o-seek-a-ta-t-zi
NEG.REA LOC=DIST 3F.S-vivir-&-EMPH-&-REA

‘No. Está viviendo allí.’

‘Nope. She’s living there.’

A: Tee okoane oheeki.

tee o-kow-an-i o-heck-i
NEG.REA 3F.S-querer-ABL-FRS 3F.S-vivir-FRS

‘No quiere vivir (allí).’

‘She doesn’t want to live (there).’

M: Tee. Hanta oséekatatzi.

tee ha=nta o-seek-a-ta-t-zi
NEG.REA LOC=DIST 3F.S-vivir-&-EMPH-&-REA

‘No. Está viviendo allí.’

‘Nope. She’s living there.’

²³⁸ The existence of the NEG.IRR *eero* should trigger realis marking on the verb (*pipòkaperótzi* instead of *pipòkaperóti*). When I asked a consultant about this, she said that it could be uttered in this way. This example may show that the opposition *ti-tzi* as RS marker may be starting to disappear.

²³⁹ *Nopoke* here shows that Maruja, in spite of speaking with *s* (typical of non-UP Ashéninka varieties), does not use the nasal irrealis prefix.

Nóokáshitanàkawo niyáatantari.

n-ook-ashi-t-an-ak-a-ro²⁴⁰ n-iyaa-t-ant-a-ri
 1S-dejar-NPURP-&-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O 1S-ir-&-RES-REA-REL
 ‘La dejé para irme.’
 ‘I left her to go.’

A: Ari mache noñáakiro.

ari mache no-ña-ak-i-ro
 AFF ser.así 1S-ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Así lo hemos visto.’
 ‘Thus we have seen it’.

Nokantzi: íitaka ohèekantapákari? Àapithatàtyéeroma?

no-kant-zi iita=ka o-heck-ant-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-decir-REA WH=INT 3F.S-vivir-RES-ALL-PFV-REA-REL
 Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
 3F.S-coger-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
 ‘Digo: ¿por qué vive ahí? ¿Se la va a quitar? (su casa).’
 ‘I say: why does she live there? Is she going to take it away? (the house).’

M: Tee, naaka nóokanàkiro: “kóeratawàki²⁴¹ niyáatakitiita”.

tee naaka n-ook-an-ak-i-ro
 NEG.REA 1 1S-dejar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 koera-t-awak-i n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita
 cuidar-&-DES-FRS 1S-ir-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-ROPT
 ‘No, yo la he dejado (en la casa): “cuida (la casa), me voy un momento y vuelvo”.’
 ‘No, I left her (at home): “take care (of the house), I leave for a moment and will come back”.’

A: Pikantzi.

pi-kant-zi
 2S-decir-REA
 ‘Dices (así dices).’
 ‘You say (so you say).’

M: Tekatsi nóokanahi.

tekatsi n-ook-an-ah-i
 NEG.EXI 1S-dejar-ABL-REG-FRS
 ‘No tengo a quien dejar.’ (en la casa)
 ‘I have no one to leave.’ (in the house)

²⁴⁰ The NPURP gloss seems to be totally contradictory with RES in the next verb (the speaker has left her mother-in-law in the house with the purpose of leaving). A possible interpretation might be that the mother-in-law has no purpose, i.e. nothing to do, in the house.

²⁴¹ The stem *-koera-* is a loan from Spanish *cuidar*.

A: Échatzi nokoyi nokántimi.

échatzi no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi
también 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O
'También quiero decirte...'
'I also want to say to you...'

Arírika pihokyane paata pinámpikinta, hanta piyáatenta katonko.

ari=rika pi-hoky-an-i paata pi-nampi=ki=nta
AFF=COND 2S-salir-ABL-FRS luego 2-sitio=LOC=DIST
ha=nta p-iyaa-t-e=nta katonko
LOC=DIST 2S-ir-&-IRR=DIST río.arriba
'Cuando salgas luego de tu casa, vas allí río arriba.'
'When you leave your house afterwards, you go upriver there.'

Iita pitsipáyarini? Ríhatzi ikáateyini?, piimi?, ishéninka piimi?

iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni ri-hatzi i-kaa-t-ecy-i-ni
WH 2S-acompañar-PL-RS-REL-PL 3M-PL.FOC 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
pi-emi i-shéninka
2-esposo 3M-familiar
'¿A quiénes vas a acompañar?, ¿a ellos mismos?, ¿a tu esposo?, ¿a la familia de tu esposo?'
'Who are you going to accompany? Themselves? Your husband? Your husband's family?'

M: Hee.

hee
AFF
'Sí.'
'Yes.'

A: Ríhatzi hèekaitéentsi.

ri-hatzi heek-a-yi-t-eentsi
3M-PL.FOC vivir-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.PFV
'Ellos mismos son todos los que viven allí.'
'They themselves are all who live there.'

M: Rímache nótsipatya.

ri-mache no-tsipa-t-ya
3M-ser.así 1S-acompañar-&-IRR
'Sí que voy a estar con ellos.'
'Yes, I will be with them.'

A: Hempe ihéekitaka rirori?

hempe i-heek-i-ta=ka rirori
WH 3M.S-vivir-FRS-EMPH=INT 3M
'¿Dónde se encuentran ellos?'
'Where are they?'

M: Iséekashitèki, noséikema katonko.

i–seek–ashi–t–i=ki no–seek–e=ma katonko
 3M.S–vivir–PURP–&–IRR=LOC 1S–vivir–&–FRS=DUB río.arriba
 ‘Él va a vivir en otro lugar y yo seguramente río arriba.’
 ‘He’s going to live somewhere else, and I, probably, upriver.’

A: [dice algo corto sin transcribir]... arika hanta?

ari=ka ha=nta
 FUT=INT LOC=DIST
 ‘¿Vas a vivir allí?’
 ‘Are you going to live there?’

M: Noséekashitèki

no–seek–ashi–t–e=ki
 1S–vivir–PURP–&–IRR=LOC
 ‘Allí voy a vivir.’
 ‘I’m going to live there.’

A: Ari oyáatanemi payiro?

ari Ø–oyaa–t–an–i–mi p–ayiro
 FUT 3F.S–seguir–&–ABL–FRS–2O 2–suegra.FP
 ‘¿Te va a seguir tu suegra?’
 ‘Is your mother-in-law following you?’

M: Eero iyaatzi.

eero Ø–iyaa–t–zi
 NEG.IRR 3F.S–ir–&–REA
 ‘No va a ir.’
 ‘She’s not coming.’

A: Ohéekira.

o–heck–i=ra
 3F.S–vivir–FRS=MED
 ‘Vive allí.’
 ‘She lives there.’

M: Naaka hatatzi.

naaka ha–t–atzi
 1 ir–&–PROG
 ‘Yo voy a estar yendo.’
 ‘I’ll be going.’

A: Piyotzi éeroka pimampa?

p–iyo–t–zi éeroka pi–mamp–a
 2S–saber–&–REA 2 2S–cantar–REA
 ‘¿Tú sabes cantar?’
 ‘Do you know how to sing?’

M: Tee

tee

NEG.REA

‘No.’

‘Nope.’

A: Tee piyotzi. Kyaaryo?

tee pi-yo-t-zi kyaaryo

NEG.REA 2S-saber-&-REA verdadero

‘No sabes. ¿De verdad?’

‘You do not know. Really?’

M: Kyaaryo!, tee niyótziro! Niyótiromi, ari nokántimi.

kyaaryo tee n-iyó-t-zi-ro

verdadero NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O

n-iyó-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi

1S-saber-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-decir-IRR-2O

‘¿De verdad!, ¡no sé! Si supiera, te lo diría.’

‘I really do not know! If I knew, I’d tell you.’

A: Échatzi roori nokói nokántimi: arírika oshékitapàe tsimeri.

échatzi roori no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi

también 3F 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O

ari=rika osheki=tapae tsimeri

AFF=COND muchos=ABUND animal

‘También quiero preguntarte algo: si hay animales en abundancia.’

‘I also want to ask you something: whether there are animals in abundance.’

M: Oshékini.

osheki-ni

muchos-INTS

‘En cantidad.’

‘In quantity.’

A: Osheki thamiri?

osheki thamiri

mucho paujil²⁴²

‘¿Hay muchos paujiles?’

‘Are there many curassows?’

²⁴² According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the subfamily *Cracinae*, known as *curassow* in English.

M: Tekatsi thamiri.
 tekatsi thamiri
 NEG.EXI paujil
 ‘No hay paujiles.’
 ‘There are no curassows.’

A: Riintzi honkágari?
 ri–intzi honkágari
 M–REST perdiz²⁴³
 ‘¿Aún hay perdices?’
 ‘Are there still tinamous?’

M: Shonkiri.
 shonkiri
 colibrí²⁴⁴
 ‘Colibríes.’
 ‘Hummingbirds.’

A: Honkágari?
 honkágari
 perdiz
 ‘¿Perdices?’
 ‘Tinamous?’

M: Sonkágari.
 sonkágari
 perdiz
 ‘Perdices.’
 ‘Tinamous.’

A: Samani?²⁴⁵
 samani
 paca
 ‘¿Pacas?’
 ‘¿Pacas?’

²⁴³ According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the family *Timanidae*, more generally known in Spanish as *tinamú* and in English as *tinamou*.

²⁴⁴ According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the family *Trochilidae*, known in English as *hummingbird*.

²⁴⁵ The translating consultant transcribed it as *hamani*, although Amalia had said *samani*. I understand that Amalia is here adapting her speech to her interlocutor’s variety.

M: Samani, kemari!

samani kemari

paca tapir²⁴⁶

‘Pacas, ¡tapires!’

‘Pacas, tapirs!’

A: Kemari! Etzi?

kemari etzi

tapir armadillo²⁴⁷

‘¡Tapires! ¿Armadillos?’

‘Tapirs! Armadillos?’

M: Oshékini.

osheki–ni

muchos–INTS

‘En cantidad.’

‘In quantity.’

A: Shawo?

shawo

aguti²⁴⁸

‘¿Agutíes?’

‘Agoutis?’

M: Osheki.

osheki

muchos

‘Muchos.’

‘Many.’

A: Pówonto?

pówonto

porotuango²⁴⁹

‘¿Porotuangos?’ (clase de ave)

‘Wood quails?’

²⁴⁶ This word was translated as *sachavaca*, as this animal is named in local Spanish, while *tapir* is widely known in standard Spanish. According to Wikipedia, this animal is *Tapirus terrestris*, known in Spanish as *tapir amazónico* and other names, and in English as *South American tapir*.

²⁴⁷ This word was translated as *carachupa*, its name in local Spanish, while this animal is more generally known in Spanish as *armadillo*, the same name as in English.

²⁴⁸ According to Wikipedia, these are rodents of the genus *Dasyprocta*, known in English as *agouti*.

²⁴⁹ This word is local Spanish for a kind of bird. *Porotuango* is synonymous to *codorniz*, which is a European bird in standard Spanish. However, according to Wikipedia, this name is also used for the genus *Odontophorus*, whose members are known in English as *wood quails*.

M: Oshékini, oshékini.

osheki–ni

muchos–INTS

‘En cantidad.’

‘In quantity.’

A: Komairi tekatsi?

komáyiri tekatsi

gamitana²⁵⁰ NEG.EXI

‘¿No hay gamitanas?’

‘Are there no tambaquis?’

M: Tekatsi komaíri.

tekatsi komayiri

NEG.EXI gamitana

‘No hay gamitanas.’

‘There are no tambaquis’.

A: Antaweti pichákirati? Antawo powane?²⁵¹

anta–ro–t–i pi–chákira–ti anta–ro p–owani

grande–F–&–IRR 2–chacra–POSS grande–F 2–chacra

‘¿Es grande tu chacra?’

‘Is your *chacra* big?’

M: Tee, okàamoityókitzi.

tee o–kaa–moityo–ki–t–zi

NEG.REA 3F.S–COP.TOT–ombligo–FORM–&–REA

‘No, es chiquita y tiene forma redonda.’

‘No, it’s small and round in shape.’

A: Owákira etyawo?

owákira et–ya–ro

nuevo empezar–IRR–3F.O

‘¿Recién va a empezar? (a hacer la chacra, su esposo)’

‘Is he just starting? (to build the *chacra*, her husband)’

²⁵⁰ According to different sources online, this fish is *Colossoma macropomum*, more generally known in Spanish as *cachama negra* and in English as *tambaqui*.

²⁵¹ This fragment is interesting because Amalia Mathawo says *pichákirati* ‘tu chacra’, where she is using the Spanish loan *chákira* (from *chacra*), and later she corrects herself using the Ashéninka *powane*, from *owaantsi* ‘chacra’ (small cultivated field).

M: Owákira iitákotzi, itówaki, riyáatantákitariránki, itówakotzi, riyáaheni, antawo.

owákira i-et-ako-t-zi i-tow-ak-i
 recién 3M.S-empezar-APPL-&-REA 3M.S-tumbar-PFV-FRS
 r-iyaa-t-ant-ak-it-a-ri=ranki i-tow-ako-t-zi
 3M.S-ir-&-RES-PFV-TRLOC-REA-REL=ABSE 3M.S-tumbar-APPL-&-REA

3M-r-iyaaaheni anta-ro
 cafetal grande-3F

‘Recién ha empezado con ello, ha tumbado (árboles, su esposo), allá donde se fue (con la intención de volver), tumbó, a su cafetal, grandes (árboles).’

‘He has just started with it, he has knocked down (trees, her husband), there, where he went (with the intention of returning), he knocked down large (trees) in his coffee plantation.’

A: Kemóetyaki. Antawatzi arírika amáaniti?

kemóetyaki anta-ro-t-zi ari=rika amaani-t-i
 avanzado.en.desbrozado grande-F-&-REA AFF=COND creciente-&-IRR
 ‘Avanzado en desbrozado. ¿Se hace grande la quebrada cuando crece?’
 ‘Advanced in weeding. Does the brook become large when it grows?’

M: Antawo! Échatzi oshíyawo irowa antawétika Chicosillo.

anta-ro échatzi Ø-oshiy-a-ro
 grande-F también 3F.S-parecerse-REA-3F.O
 i-ro=ra anta-ro-t-i=ka²⁵² Chicosillo
 DEM-F=MED grande-F-&-IRR=PROX Chicosillo
 ‘¡Grande! También se le parece a esa más grande, Chicosillo.’
 ‘Big! It also looks like that bigger one, Chicosillo.’

A: Mapipóokiperòni?

mapi-pooki-pero-ni
 piedra-COL-VER-IGN
 ‘¿Hay pedregales de verdad?’
 ‘Are there really screes?’

M: Mapipooki!

mapi-pooki
 piedra-COL
 ‘¡Pedregal! (hay)’
 ‘Screes! (there are)’

²⁵² After some elicitations about *antawétika*, I clearly concluded that =*ka* it is a demonstrative enclitic. However, it seems that these enclitics together with the demonstrative word can be used for comparison. For instance, you can say *I want that big one* with the meaning *I want the biggest/bigger one*.

A: Tekatsi karatsi?
 tekatsi karatsi²⁵³
 NEG.EXI carachama
 ‘¿No hay carachamas?’
 ‘No armored catfish?’

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchos.’
Dicen algo riéndose y no se entiende.
 ‘Many.’
They say something laughing and it is not understood.

A: Tekatsi kempitzi?
 tekatsi kempitzi
 NEG.EXI carachama
 ‘¿No hay carachamas?’
 ‘No armored catfish?’

M: Oshékini.
 osheki–ni
 muchos–INTS
 ‘En cantidad.’
 ‘In quantity.’

A: Íimopàeni?
 i–moo=paeni
 3M–hueco=PL
 ‘¿Huecos?’ (donde se esconden las carachamas)
 ‘Hollows?’ (where the armored catfish hide)

M: Hee.
 hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

A: Móontzinkari.
 moo–ntzinka–ri
 hueco–ADJZ–M
 ‘Tiene huecos.’
 ‘It has holes.’

²⁵³ *Karatsi* is an adaptation from Spanish *carachama*. Later Amalia corrects herself and uses the Ashéninka word *kempitzi* –they laugh after this sentence, maybe because of the incorrect use of the Spanish loan. According to Wikipedia, this fish is *Pseudorinelepis gemibarbis*, in English *armored catfish*.

M: Imoo.
i–moo
3M–hueco
‘Hay huecos.’
‘There are holes.’

A: Kito?
kito
camarón²⁵⁴
‘¿Camarones?’
‘Caridean shrimp?’

M: Osheki.
osheki
muchos
‘Muchos.’
‘Many.’

A: Totziro?
totziro
churo²⁵⁵
‘¿Churos?’
‘Apple snails?’

M: Osheki.
osheki
muchos
‘Muchos.’
‘Many.’

A: Íitiweero...?
iita i–weero
WH 3M–nombre
‘¿Cómo se llama...?’ (intenta recordar el nombre de algo)
‘What’s its name...?’ (she tries to remember the name of something)

M: Owétaka.
o–eta=ka
F–WH=INT
‘¿El qué?’
,What?’

²⁵⁴ According to Wikipedia, these are crustaceans of the infraorder *Caridea*, known in English as *caridean shrimp*.

²⁵⁵ According to Wikipedia, these are snails of the family *Ampullariidae*, known in English as *apple snail*.

A: Íitaka róoteentsi noñáawaeti iñáaniki wirákocha? (lo dice riéndose)
 iita=ka róoteentsi no-ñáawae-t-i i-ñáani=ki wirákocha
 WH=INT ya 1S-hablar-&-IRR 3M-idioma=LOC no.indígena
 ‘¿Es que ya voy a hablar en castellano?’
 ‘Am I going to speak Spanish now?’

M: Oshero, osheki oshero.
 oshero²⁵⁶ osheki
 cangrejo muchos
 ‘Muchos cangrejos.’
 ‘Lots of crayfish.’

A: Opoki mótana noshironta.
 o-pok-i mótana no-shiront-a
 3F.S-venir-FRS ganas 1S-reír-REA
 ‘Me vienen ganas de reír.’
 ‘I feel like laughing.’

M: Hee.
 hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

A: Noshiyakàwita tekatsi hanta.
 n-oshiy-aka-wi-t-a tekatsi ha=nta
 1S-parecer-CAUS-FRU-&-REA NEG.EXI LOC=DIST
 ‘Me había parecido (erróneamente) que no había allí.’
 ‘I had thought (mistakenly) that there weren’t there.’

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchos.’
 ‘Many.’

A: Imáantakya riintzi rira..., konoya?
 i-maanta=kya ri-intzi ri=ra konoya
 M-COEXP=EMPH M-REST M=MED motelo²⁵⁷
 ‘Entonces, ¿sólo hay, este..., motelos?’
 ‘So, there are only, um..., yellow-footed tortoises?’

²⁵⁶ According to Wikipedia, these crustaceans belong to the superfamilies *Astacoidea* and *Parastacoidea* and are known in English as *crayfish* and other names.

²⁵⁷ According to Wikipedia, this tortoise is *Chelonoidis denticulata*, more generally known in Spanish as *tortuga terrestre de patas amarillas* and in English as *yellow-footed tortoise*.

M: Tekatsi. Konoya tekatsi. Osheki rowari manitzi.

tekatsi konoya osheki r-ow-a-ri manitzi

NEG.EXI motelo muchos 3M.S-comer-REA-3M.O jaguar

‘No hay. No hay motelos. Muchos se los comen los jaguares.’

‘There are not. There are no yellow-footed tortoises. Many are eaten by jaguars.’

A: Rira..., ikántetzírika? Oshékitapæ roori, tzirootzi, tsiyároki?

ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka osheki=tapæ roori

M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O =INT muchos=ABUND 3F

tzirootzi tsiyároki

huicungo shapaja²⁵⁸

‘Esto..., ¿cómo se llama? ¿Hay abundantes de esos..., huicungos, shapajas?’

‘Um..., what’s its name? Are there plenty of those..., *huicungos*, urucuri palms?’

M: Tekatsi tsiyároki. Omaanta shewo.

tekatsi tsiyároki o-maanta shewo

NEG.EXI shapaja F-COEXP shebón²⁵⁹

‘No hay shapaja, sólo hay shebón.’

‘There are no urucuri palms, there is only *shebón*.’

A: Róotaki shékitatsi. Tóniròki?

roo-t-ak-i sheki-t-atsi tóniròki

3F-&-PFV-FRS mucho-&-PTCP.IPFV aguaje²⁶⁰

‘Así es que hay muchos. ¿Aguajes?’

‘So there are many. Moriche palms?’

M: Tekatsi.

tekatsi

NEG.EXI

‘No hay.’

‘There are not.’

A: Ari akántatátziro: kontaki.

ari a-kant-a-ta-t-zi-ro kontaki

así INCL.S-decir-&-EMPH-&-REA-3F.O azúcar.huayo²⁶¹

‘Así le llamamos: azúcar huayo.’

‘That’s how we call it: *azúcar huayo*.’

²⁵⁸ According to different sources online, *huicungos* and *shapajas* are palm trees: the first one is *Astrocaryum murumuru*; the second one, *Attalea phalerata*, known in English as *urucuri palm*.

²⁵⁹ According to Wikipedia, *shebón* is the palm *Attalea butyracea*.

²⁶⁰ According to Wikipedia, *aguaje* is the palm *Mauritia flexuosa*, known in English as *moriche palm*.

²⁶¹ The translating consultant was not sure of the translation of *kontaki*, but she said that she thought that it was a kind of *huayo*. The word *azúcar huayo* appears in Wikipedia as one of the Spanish names of the tree *Hymenaea oblongifolia*.

M: Osheki.

osheki

muchos

‘Muchos.’

‘Many.’

A: Roori rowa..., oeta owéirowàñki? *Boláinapaeni*?

roori ro=ra o=eta o=weero=ranki bolaina=paeni²⁶²

3F F=MED F=WH 3F-nombre=ABSE bolaina=PL

‘Esto..., ¿cómo se llamaba...? ¿Bolainas?’

‘Um..., what’s its name...? *Bolainas*?’

M: Osheki.

osheki

muchos

‘Muchas.’

‘Many.’

A: Hantari? Tekatsi hantari?

hantari tekatsi hantari

madera NEG.EXI madera

‘¿Madera? ¿No hay madera?’

‘Timber? No timber?’

M: Éenitatsi.

eeni-t-atsi

EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV

‘Sí que hay.’

‘Yes, there is.’

A: Pàakotapákiro.

p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro

2S-coger-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Has cogido la parte tuya.’

‘You have taken your part.’

M: Hee.

hee

AFF

‘Sí.’

‘Yes.’

²⁶² *Bolaina* or *bolaina blanca* is the Spanish name. This timber-yielding tree is, according to Wikipedia, *Guazuma crinita*.

A: Imátakitzimíro *ingeniero*, rowa..., rowétsikapákiro?

i-ma-t-ak-it-zi-mi-ro ingeniero ro=ra
3M.S-poder-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-2O-3F.O ingeniero F=MED

r-owetsik-ap-ak-i-ro

3M.S-construir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘¿Te lo pudo (hacer) el ingeniero?, esto... ¿Lo ha construido?’

‘Could the engineer (do) it for you? Um..., has he built it?’

M: Imátàkiro. Niyáatantanakàri nònthapákari.

i-ma-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-poder-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri²⁶³

1S-ir-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-encontrarse-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O

‘Ha podido (lo ha hecho). Cuando me he ido, lo he encontrado.’

‘He could (he did it). When I’ve gone, I’ve found him.’

A: Kaméethatàki.

kameetha-t-ak-i

bien-&-PFV-FRS

‘Está bien.’

‘It’s okay.’

²⁶³ A consultant explained to me that this word is used when two persons arrive at a place at the same time and find each other face to face.

Conversation between Mathari and Hamani

Ronaldo, aka Mathari ‘thin’, and Karen, aka Hamani ‘paca’, both aged 18 at the time of recording and students at Nopoki (indigenous university in Atalaya), chat. Both hail from Chicosa. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 54 seconds.

Mathari: Hempe pipoñaka éeroka, Hamani?

hempe pi-poñ-a=ka éeroka Hamani
 WH 2S-proceder.de-REA=INT 2 Hamani
 ‘¿De dónde procedes tú, Hamani?’
 ‘Where do you come from, Hamani?’

Hamani: Pikoyi piyote hempe nopoña naaka.

pi-koy-i p-iyó-t-i hempe no-poñ-a naaka
 2S-querer-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR WH 1S-proceder.de-REA 1
 ‘Quieres saber de dónde procedo yo.’
 ‘You want to know where I come from.’

M: Hee.

hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

H: Naaka nopoña kirinka. Nonampi oeta Katsinkaari.

naaka no-poñ-a kirinka no-nampi o-et-a Katsinkaari
 1 1S-proceder.de-REA río.abajo 1-comunidad 3F.S-llamarse-REA Chicosa
 ‘Yo procedo de río abajo. Mi comunidad se llama Chicosa.’
 ‘I come from downriver. My community is called Chicosa.’

M: Éenitatsi piimi hanta pinámpiki?

eeni-t-atsi pi-emi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-esposo LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 ‘¿Tienes esposo allí en tu comunidad?’
 ‘Do you have a husband there in your community?’

H: Tékatsti noemi, tékatsti.

tekatsi no-emi
 NEG.EXI 1-esposo
 ‘No tengo esposo, no tengo.’
 ‘I don’t have a husband, I don’t have.’

M: Íitaka pikoiri haka..., pipókantari²⁶⁴ haka?

iita=ka pi-koy-i-ri ha=ka pi-pok-ant-ya-ri ha=ka
 WH=INT 2S-querer-FRS-REL LOC=PROX 2S-venir-RES-IRR-REL LOC=PROX
 ‘¿Por qué quieres aquí..., por qué has venido aquí?’
 ‘Why do you want here..., why did you come here?’

H: Nokoyi naaka... Nopókanta kaari...

no-koy-i naaka no-pok-ant-a kaari
 1S-querer-FRS 1 1S-venir-RES-REA NEG.COP
 ‘Yo quiero... He venido porque no...’
 ‘I want... I have come because I don’t...’

Nokoyi naaka niyoti osheki ñaantsi.

no-koy-i naaka n-iyot-i osheki ñaantsi
 1S-querer-FRS 1 1S-saber-&-IRR mucho idioma
 ‘Yo quiero saber muchos idiomas.’
 ‘I want to know many languages.’

Éehatzi nokoyi niyaate hanta hènókíini.

éehatzi no-koy-i n-iyaa-t-i ha=nta heñokiini
 también 1S-querer-FRS 1S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST más.allá
 ‘También quiero ir allí, más allá.’
 ‘I also want to go there, beyond.’

Tee nokoyi nopiyi okimitaka noniro, nopáapati, éehatzi nokáateyini páerani iroñaaka nonámpiki.

tee no-koy-i no-piy-i o-kimi-t-ak-a
 NEG.REA 1S-querer-FRS 1S-retroceder-IRR 3F.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA
 no-niro no-paapa-ti²⁶⁵
 1-madre 1-padre-POSS

éehatzi no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni páerani iroñaaka no-nampi=ki
 también 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL antaño ahora 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘No quiero retroceder y parecerme a mis padres, ni tampoco a los míos que vivían antes y ahora en mi comunidad.’
 ‘I don’t want to go back and be like my parents, or like those of mine who lived before and now in my community.’

²⁶⁴ The translating consultant said that it should be *pipókantari* (realis) instead of *pipókantari* (irrealis), as Mathari uttered. I think that the translating consultant meant *íitaka pipókantari haka?* ‘why did you come here?’, but Mathari maybe was thinking about *íitaka pikóyiri pipókantari haka?* ‘why did you want to come here?’, and, in this case, it should be irrealis because it is a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi*.

²⁶⁵ *Paapa* is Spanish loan from *papá*, and bears alienable possessive affixes. The genuine Ashéninka word is the inalienable *-iri* (1st person form *niri*).

M: Pamétakawo haka nimaeka piheeki haka?

p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka nimaeka pi-heek-i
 2S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F.O LOC=PROX ahora 2S-vivir-FRS
 ‘¿Ya te has acostumbrado aquí a vivir aquí?’
 ‘Have you already got used to live here?’

H: Hee, hee. Namétakawo. Tee okímita hanta nonámpiki.

hee n-ame-t-ak-a-ro
 AFF 1S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 tee o-kimi-t-a ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.REA 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Sí, sí. Me he acostumbrado. No se parece a allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘Yes, yes. I’ve got used to it. It doesn’t look like there in my community.’

Nohéekawáetzi..., niyaatzi hanta nowániki.

no-heek-a-wac-t-zi n-iyaa-t-zi ha=nta n-owani=ki
 1S-vivir-&-DUR1-&-REA 1S-ir-&-REA LOC=DIST 1-chacra=LOC
 ‘Estoy viviendo, voy allá a mi chacra.’ (se refiere a la vida en su comunidad)
 ‘I’m living, I’m going there to my *chacra*.’ (referring to life in her community)

Haka nopókapáki niyotapákiro osheki kaari niyótziròri hanta nonámpiki.

ha=ka no-pok-ap-ak-i n-iyó-t-ap-ak-i-ro osheki
 LOC=PROX 1S-venir-ALL-PFV-FRS 1S-saber-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O mucho
 kaari n-iyó-t-zi-ro-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.COP 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O-REL LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Aquí he venido y he aprendido mucho de lo que no sabía allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘I have come here and I have learned a lot that I did not know there in my community.’

M: Okáatzira piheeki hanta pinámpiki, óetaka pipánkitzìri okaatzi powáyitari?

o-kaa-t-zi-ra pi-heek-i ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-vivir-FRS LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 o-eta=ka pi-panki-t-zi-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sembrar-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zi p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-comer-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘Cuando estás allá en tu comunidad, ¿qué es todo lo que siembras para comer?’
 ‘When you’re out there in your community, what’s all you sow to eat?’

H: Nopánkitzìri kaniri, payantzi..., róotaki nopánkitzìri hanta nonámpiki.

no-panki-t-zi-ri kaniri payantzi
 1S-sembrar-&-REA-3M.O-REL yuca plátano
 roo-t-ak-i no-panki-t-zi-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-sembrar-&-REA-REL LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Lo que siembro es yuca, plátano... Eso es lo que siembro allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘What I sow is cassava, banana... That’s what I sow there in my community.’

M: Éenitatsi pipáapati iheeki o pokaki haka?

eeni-t-atsi pi-paapa-ti i-heek-i o²⁶⁶ pok-ak-i ha=ka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-padre-POSS3M.S-vivir-FRS o venir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘¿Está allí tu padre o ha venido aquí?’
 ‘Is your father there or has come here?’

H: Tekatsi nopáapate. Kamaki. Kamaki páerani. Éeniro...

tekatsi no-paapa-ti kam-ak-i páerani éeniro
 NEG.EXI 1-padre-POSS morir-PFV-FRS antaño EXI.PST
 ‘No tengo padre. Murió hace tiempo. Hace tiempo...’
 ‘I have no father. He died a long time ago. Long time...’

M: Íitaka ikámantákari?

iita=ka i-kam-ant-ak-a-ri
 WH=INT 3M.S-morir-RES-PFV-REA-REL
 ‘¿De qué murió?’
 ‘What did he die of?’

H: Rómpohákiri²⁶⁷ inchato. Rántawáetziro hantari. Rómpohákiri.

Ø-ompoh-ak-i-ri inchato r-antawae-t-zi-ro hantari
 3F.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3M.O árbol 3M.S-trabajar-&-REA-3F.O madera
 ‘Lo golpeó un árbol. Trabajaba en la madera. Le golpeó.’
 ‘He was hit by a tree. He worked with timber. It hit him.’

M: Ari piráanaka éeroka o tee piráa?

ari p-irag-an-ak-a éeroka o tee p-irag-a
 AFF 2S-llorar-ABL-PFV-REA 2 o NEG.REA 2S-llorar-REA
 ‘¿Has llorado o no has llorado?’
 ‘Did you cry or not?’

H: Tee niraya²⁶⁸. Tee niyotzi. Éeniro nokáatzini. Tee niyotzi.

tee n-irag-ya tee n-iyot-t-zi
 NEG.REA 1S-llorar-IRR NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA
 éeniro no-kaa-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘No lloré. No sabía. Era pequeña. No sabía.’
 ‘I didn’t cry. I didn’t know. I was a child. I didn’t know.’

²⁶⁶ This is the Spanish conjunction *o*, widely used in Ashéninka.

²⁶⁷ The verb is inflected here with a masculine subject prefix, which is clearly incorrect, as the translating consultant pointed out. This is a token of attrition maybe influenced by the fact that *árbol* in Spanish is a masculine word. The right word is *ómpohákiri*, with feminine subject, which I have written in the glosses.

²⁶⁸ The translating consultant said that she would say *niraga* (realis), which is consistent with the sentence with *tee*, but that *niraya* (irrealis) is also right, and another consultant confirmed that both are right. There is some inconsistency in a few cases with the use of the reality status suffixes.

Apátzirotà norento. Róotaki iráanàencha.

apátziro-ota no-irento roo-t-ak-i iraa-an-eencha
 sólo-ROPT 1-hermana.FP 3F-&-PFV-FRS llorar-ABL-PTCP.PFV
 ‘Sólo mi hermana. Eso es lo que ha llorado.’
 ‘Only my sister. That is what she cried.’

M: Piríro pyáarentsi?

p-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 2S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 ‘¿Bebes masato?’
 ‘Do you drink masato?’

H: Naaka tee niriro pyáarentsi. Apátzirotà niriro niha.

naaka tee n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 1 NEG.REA 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 apátziro-ota n-ir-i-ro niha
 sólo-ROPT 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O agua
 ‘Yo no bebo masato. Sólo bebo agua.’
 ‘I don’t drink masato. I only drink water.’

M: Pikoyi niráakáemi pyáarentsi nimaeka?

pi-koy-i n-ir-aka-e-mi pyaare-ntsi nimaeka
 2S-querer-FRS 1S-beber-CAUS-FRS-2O masato-ALI hoy
 ‘¿Quieres que te invite a beber masato hoy?’ (lit. ‘¿Quieres que te haga beber masato?’)
 ‘Do you want me to invite you to drink masato today?’ (lit. ‘Do you want me to make you drink masato?’)

H: Tee nokoyi. Tee namétawo, tee namétawo niriro pyáarentsi.

tee no-koy-i
 NEG.REA 1S-querer-FRS
 tee n-ame-t-a-ro n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 NEG.REA 1S-acostumbrarse-&-REA-3F.O 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 ‘No quiero. No me acostumbro, no me acostumbro a beber masato.’
 ‘I do not want. I’m not used to it, I’m not used to drinking masato.’

M: Nimaeka árika osháawitanàhi, hame ate añáathawàetya hanta, otáapiki.

nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i
 hoy AFF=COND 3F.S-atardecer-ABL-REG-FRS
 hame Ø-a-t-i a-ñaatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta
 HORT.INCL INCL.S-ir-&-IRR INCL.S-jugar-DUR1-&-IRR LOC=DIST
 o-taapi=ki
 3F-espalda=LOC
 ‘Hoy, al atardecer, vayamos a jugar allí, más abajo (en el barranco; lit.: ‘en su espalda’).’
 ‘Today, at sunset, let’s go to play there, further down (in the gully; lit.: ‘on his back’).’

H: Haa, róotaki nokówakotzimiri.

hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-querer-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 ‘Sí, eso es lo que quiero contigo.’
 ‘Yes, that’s what I want with you.’

M: Árika athónkanàkiro, apíyanaki, akáwoshitanàki échatzi ate owántyari hanta.

ari=rika a-thonk-an-ak-i-ro a-piy-an-ak-i
 AFF=COND INCL.S-terminar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O INCL.S-regresar-ABL-PFV-FRS
 a-kawoshi-t-an-ak-i échatzi
 INCL.S-bañarse-&-ABL-PFV-FRS también
 Ø-a-t-i Ø-ow-ant-ya-ri ha=nta
 INCL.S-ir-&-IRR INCL.S-comer-RES-IRR-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Cuando lo hayamos terminado (de jugar), regresaremos, nos bañaremos e iremos a comer allí.’
 ‘When we’re done (playing), we’ll come back, take a bath and go to eat there.’

H: Hee, ari, nokémakèmi.

hee ari no-kem-ak-i-mi
 AFF de.acuerdo 1S-oír-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Sí, de acuerdo, te he escuchado.’
 ‘Yeah, okay, I’ve heard you.’

Éeroka, arírika ashitówanaki, iita pántziri hanta?

éeroka ari=rika a-shitow-an-ak-i iita p-ant-zi-ri ha=nta
 2 AFF=COND INCL.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS WH 2S-hacer-REA-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Tú, cuando salimos, ¿qué haces allá? (fuera de aquí, o sea, de Nopoki).’
 ‘You, when we go out, what do you do there? (away from here, that is, from Nopoki).’

M: Naaka niyáatanaki hanta nonámpiki.

naaka n-iyaa-t-an-ak-i ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 1 1S-ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Yo voy allí a mi comunidad.’
 ‘I go there to my community.’

Namitákotapátyeeri noniro échatzi nopáapati.

n-amitako-t-ap-atyee-ri no-niro échatzi no-paapa-ti
 1S-ayudar-&-ALL-FUT-3M.O 1-madre también 1-padre-POSS
 ‘Al llegar, ayudaré a mi madre y a mi padre.’
 ‘When I arrive, I will help my mother and father.’

H: Íitaka rántziri piri hanta pinámpiki?

iita=ka r-ant-zi-ri p-iri ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 WH=INT 3M.S-hacer-REA-REL 2-padre LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 ‘¿Qué hace tu padre allá en tu comunidad?’
 ‘What does your father do there in your community?’

M: Tekatsi..., tee niyotzi naaka.

tekatsi tee n-iyó-t-zi naaka

NEG.EXI NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA 1

‘No hay..., no sé yo.’

‘There isn’t..., I don’t know.’

Ohámaniti tee niyaate hanta nonámpiki. Nohéekatzi haka.

o-hamani-t-i tee n-iyaa-t-i²⁶⁹ ha=nta no-nampi=ki

3F.S-lejano.en.tiempo-&-IRR NEG.REA 1S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST 1-lugar=LOC

no-heck-atzi ha=ka

1S-vivir-PROG LOC=PROX

‘Hace tiempo que no he ido allí a mi comunidad. Estoy viviendo aquí.’

‘I haven’t been there in my community for a long time. I’m living here.’

H: Piniro, iita ántziri roori hanta?

pi-niro iita Ø-ant-zi-ri roori ha=nta

2-madre WH 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 3F LOC=DIST

‘Tu madre, ¿qué hace ella allí?’

‘Your mother, what is she doing there?’

M: Noniro ohéekatzi ótsipaki nampitsi.

no-niro o-heck-atzi o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi

1-madre 3F.S-vivir-PROG F-otro=LOC comunidad-ALI

‘Mi madre está viviendo en otra comunidad.’

‘My mother is living in another community.’

Antawaétatzi owámetatzìri iryániériki.

Ø-antawae-t-atzi Ø-owame-t-atzi-ri i-rya-ni-eriki

3F.S-trabajar-&-PROG 3F.S-enseñar-&-PROG-3M.O M-pequeño-ADJ-DIM.PL

‘Está trabajando enseñando a niños pequeños.’

‘She’s working teaching little kids.’

H: Róotaki ántziri piniro.

roo-t-ak-i Ø-ant-zi-ri pi-niro

3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 2-madre

‘Eso es lo que hace tu madre.’

‘That’s what your mother does.’

M: Róotaki ántziri.

roo-t-ak-i Ø-ant-zi-ri

3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL

‘Eso es lo que hace.’

‘That’s what she does.’

²⁶⁹ In this case, the irrealis on both verbs should express habituality.

H: Éenitatsi *piyáariri*²⁷⁰, pirentzi?

eeni-t-atsi pi-yáariri pi-rentzi

EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-hermano.FP 2-hermano.MP

‘¿Tienes hermanos?’ (alternativa: ¿*Tienes hermanos, hermanas?*)

‘Do you have brothers?’ (alternative: *Do you have brothers, sisters?*)

M: Éenitatsi.

eeni-t-atsi

EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV

‘Tengo.’ (lit: ‘hay’)

‘I’ve got.’ (lit: ‘there are’)

H: Hempe ikaatzi *piyáariri*?

hempe i-kaa-t-zi pi-yáariri

WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2-hermano.FP

‘¿Cuántos *hermanos* tienes?’

‘How many *brothers* do you have?’

M: Mawa nokaatzi naaka, éenitatsi.

mawa no-kaa-t-zi naaka eeni-t-atsi

tres 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV

‘Tres somos nosotros, hay (somos).’

‘Three are we, there are (we are).’

H: Pirentzi?

pi-rentzi

2-hermano.MP

‘¿*Hermanos?*’ (alternativa: ¿*Hermanas?*)

‘Brothers?’ (alternative: *Sisters?*)

M: Apaani. Ohéekaki hanta, ótsipaki nampitsi.

apaani o-heck-ak-i ha=nta o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi

uno 3F.S-vivir-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST F-otro=LOC comunidad-ALI

‘Una. Ha vivido allí, en otra comunidad.’

‘One. She has lived there, in another community.’

²⁷⁰ The translating consultant said that *piyáariri* should be addressed to a woman, which my findings about the kin terms confirm. The right word for the brother of a man in 2nd person is *pirentzi*, which Hamani utters after *piyáariri*. As the following sentences show, it seems that she and also her interlocutor are mistaken in that they speak as if *pi-yáariri* (2-brother.FP) meant ‘brother’ and *pi-rentzi* (2-brother.MP) meant ‘sister’. This may be a semantic change in younger speakers caused by the influence of Spanish.

Échatzi ohéekaki haka.²⁷¹

échatzi o-heek-ak-i ha=ka
también 3F.S-vivir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
'También ha vivido aquí.'
'She has also lived here.'

H: Éeniro pichárini?

éeniro²⁷² pi-charini
EXI.PST 2-abuelo.MP
'¿Aún tienes abuelo?'
'Do you still have a grandfather?'

M: Tekatsi. Kamaki nochárini. Páerani kamaki.

tekatsi kam-ak-i no-charini páerani kam-ak-i
NEG.EXI morir-PFV-FRS 1-abuelo.MP antaño morir-PFV-FRS
'No tengo. Mi abuelo murió. Murió hace tiempo.'
'I do not have. My grandfather died. He died a long time ago.'

H: Nimaeka éeroka pipòkantákari haka.

nimaeka éeroka pi-pok-ant-ak-a-ri ha=ka
ahora 2 2S-venir-RES-PFV-FRS-REL LOC=PROX
'Ahora pues tú has venido aquí.'
'So now you have come here.'

Íitaka pikóiri éeroka, pipòkantákari haka Nopókiki?

iita=ka pi-koy-i-ri éeroka
WH=INT 2S-querer-FRS-REL 2
pi-pok-ant-ak-a-ri ha=ka Nopoki=ki
2S-venir-RES-PFV-FRS-REL LOC=PROX Nopoki=LOC
'¿Por qué has querido tú..., por qué has venido aquí a Nopoki?'
'Why did you want to... why did you come here to Nopoki?'

M: Naaka nopókantàri nokoyi niyótiro okáatsika haka riyometétziri haka.

naaka no-pok-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyot-t-i-ro
1 1S-venir-RES-&-REA-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-conocer-&-IRR-3F.O
o-kaa-tsiká ha=ka r-iyome-t-e-t-zi-ri
3F.S-COP.TOT-WH LOC=PROX 3M.S-enseñar-&-IMPS-&-REA-REL
'Yo he venido aquí porque quiero aprender todas las enseñanzas de aquí.'
'I have come here because I want to learn all the teachings here.'

²⁷¹ The misunderstanding with the kin terms goes on here with the use of feminine prefixes when Hamani posed the question about *pirentzi*, 'your brother' (male possessor). It seems that they are using this word with the meaning 'your sister'.

²⁷² In this case, instead of the usual past existential meaning, *éeniro* acquires a different meaning: 'yet, still'.

H: Pikoyi pikímityawo piniro?

pi-koy-i pi-kimi-t-ya-ro pi-niro
2S-querer-FRS 2S-parecerse-&-IRR-3F.O 2-madre
'¿Quieres ser como tu madre?'
'Do you want to be like your mother?'

M: Ehe, nokoyi nokímityáwo noniro.

hee no-koy-i no-kimi-t-ya-ro no-niro
AFF 1S-querer-FRS 1S-parecerse-&-IRR-3F.O 1-madre
'Sí, quiero ser como mi madre.'
'Yes, I want to be like my mother.'

Naaka nokoyi niyóteri iryánipáeni héekatsiri ótsipaki nampitsi.

naaka no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i-ri i-rya-ni=paeni
1 1S-querer-FRS 1S-aprender-&-IRR-3M.O M-pequeño-ADJ=PL
heek-atsi-ri o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL F-otro=LOC lugar-ALI
'Quiero aprender (enseñar) a los niños que están viviendo en otras comunidades.'
'I want to teach the children who are living in other communities.'

H: Ari nokémakimi.

ari no-kem-ak-i-mi
así 1S-oír-PFV-FRS-2O
'Así te he escuchado.'
'So I have heard you.'

M: Páerani piyótziro éeroka apaani mampaantsi?

páerani p-iyó-t-zi-ro éeroka apaani mamp-aantsi
antaño 2S-saber-&-REA-3F.O 2 uno cantar-INF
'Antes, ¿tú sabías una canción?'
'Before, did you know a song?'

H: Mampaantsi. Hee, niyotzi.

mamp-aantsi hee n-iyó-t-zi
cantar-INF AFF 1S-saber-&-REA
'Canción. Sí, sé.'
'A song. Yes, I know.'

M: Íitaka owámetákimiri páerani?

iita=ka owame-t-ak-i-mi-ri páerani
WH=INT enseñar-&-PFV-FRS-2O-REL antaño
'¿Quién te ha enseñado antes?'
'Who taught you before?'

H: Owámetakinàri owámetàntatsiri poñínkari hanta kirinka.
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 enseñar-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-inka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 proceder.de-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST río.abajo
 ‘El que me ha enseñado es un maestro procedente de allá río abajo.’
 ‘The one who has taught me is a teacher from there downriver.’

M: Hempe íitaka owámetantátsiri?
 hempe i-et-a=ka owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 WH 3M.S-llamarse-REA=INT enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘¿Cómo se llama el maestro?’
 ‘What’s the teacher’s name?’

H: Aurencio, ríitaki riyómetàki naari mampaantsi.
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio 3M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-enseñar-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO cantar-INF
 ‘Aurencio, él es quien me enseñó a mí también a cantar.’
 ‘Aurencio, he is the one who taught me to sing too.’

M: Piyotzi pakáachàtzi, pitárahatzì, éeroka tsinani?
 p-iyó-t-zi p-akaacha-t-zi pi-taraha-t-zi²⁷³
 2S-saber-&-REA 2S-pescar.con.anzuelo-&-REA 2S-pescar.con.tarrafa-&-REA
 éeroka tsinani
 2 mujer
 ‘¿Sabes pescar con anzuelo y con tarrafa, tú mujer?’
 ‘Do you know how to fish with a hook and with a *tarrafa*, you woman?’

H: Hee, niyótziro. Niyotzi nakàachátzi, niyotzi notàrahátzi.
 hee n-iyó-t-zi-ro n-iyó-t-zi
 AFF 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O 1S-saber-&-REA
 n-akaacha-t-zi no-taraha-t-zi
 1S-pescar.con.anzuelo-&-REA 1S-pescar.con.tarrafa-&-REA
 ‘Sí, sé. Sé pescar con anzuelo, sé pescar con tarrafa.’
 ‘Yes, I know. I know how to fish with a hook, I know how to fish with a *tarrafa*.’

Niyótziro máaweni.
 n-iyó-t-zi-ro máaweni
 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O todo
 ‘Lo sé todo.’
 ‘I know everything.’

²⁷³ These two words were translated to Amazonian Spanish *ancelear* and *tarrafatear*, which do not exist in standard Spanish. The root *-taraha-* is a clear loan from Spanish *tarrafa* (a kind of fishing net).

M: Pikántina éeroka okaatzi piyótziri shímapáeni héekatsi hanta pinámpiki.

pi-kant-i-na éeroka o-kaa-t-zi p-iyó-t-zi-ri shima=paeni
2S-decir-IRR-1O 2 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-saber-&-REA-REL pez=PL

heek-atsi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
vivir-PTCP.IPFV LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC

‘Dime tú todos los peces que conoces que viven allá en tu comunidad.’

‘Tell me all the fish you know that live there in your community.’

H: Niyótziro kohániri, niyótziro koryo, shompotsi. Róotaki niyótakiri.

n-iyó-t-zi-ro²⁷⁴ kohániri koryo shompotsi
1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O cocodrilo bagre²⁷⁵ bujurqui²⁷⁶

roo-t-ak-i n-iyó-t-ak-i-ri
3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-REL

‘Conozco el cocodrilo, el bagre, el bujurqui. Esto es lo que conozco.’

‘I know the crocodile, the catfish, the *bujurqui*. This is what I know.’

M: Éehatzi piyótziri ikáateyíni²⁷⁷ óetachari²⁷⁸ hetari?

éehatzi p-iyó-t-zi-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
también 2S-saber-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

i-et-acha-ri hetari
3M.S-llamarse-PTCP.IPFV-REL carachama²⁷⁹

‘¿También conoces esos llamados *carachama*?’

‘Do you also know those called *armoured catfish*?’

H: Hee, niyótakiro iheeki mapipooki. Ari iheeki.

hee n-iyó-t-ak-i-ro i-heek-i mapi-pooki ari i-heek-i
AFF 1S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-vivir-FRS piedra-COL allí 3M.S-vivir-FRS

‘Sí, sé que viven en los pedregales. Allí viven.’

‘Yes, I know they live in stony brooks. They live there.’

²⁷⁴ The translating consultant said that this suffix should be the masculine *-ri* because animals are marked masculine unless they are females, and I agree, although a reading as ‘what I know is ...’ could be interpreted if *-ro* should be considered right, although, probably, such an expression should be relativized (*niyótzirori*).

²⁷⁵ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the order *Siluriformes*.

²⁷⁶ This word does not exist in standard Spanish, but can be found in a Google search and it yields several results. According to these sources, it is the fish *Chaetobranchius flavescens*.

²⁷⁷ The translating consultant said that this word should be used with people, and, with animals, it should be *ikaatzi*.

²⁷⁸ The translating consultant said that it should be *iitachari*, given that *hetari* is a fish and is marked masculine (all animals are of masculine gender), which is quite consistent.

²⁷⁹ According to Wikipedia, this fish is *Pseudorinelepis genibarbis* and is a species of armoured catfish, known in Spanish as *carachama* or *cashca*.

M: Ah, ari okaatzi. Nokoyi nohámpitimi échatzi apaani: haka pihéekaki énitatsi piñáathari *o* tekatsi?

ari o-kaa-t-zi no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi échatzi apaani
así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O también uno

ha=ka pi-heek-ak-i eeni-t-atsi pi-ñaath-a-ri o²⁸⁰ tekatsi
LOC=PROX 2S-vivir-PFV-FRS EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2S-amar-REA-REL o NEG.EXI
'Ah, eso es todo (lo que sabes). Quiero preguntarte también una cosa: ¿tienes aquí un enamorado o no?'

'Ah, that's all (what you know). I also want to ask you one thing: do you have a lover here? or not?'

H: Énitatsi osheki.

eeni-t-atsi osheki

EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV muchos

'Hay (tengo) muchos.'

'There are (I have) many.'

M: Pimáperotâma éeroka, okáayitzi²⁸¹ osheki piñáathari.

pi-ma-pero-t-a=ma éeroka

2S-poder-VER-&-REA=DUB 2

i-kaa-yi-t-zi osheki pi-ñaath-a-ri
3M.S-COP.TOT-DISTR-&-REA muchos 2S-amar-REA-REL

'Debes tener valor tú, tener muchos enamorados.'

'You must have courage, to have many lovers.'

H: Hee. Ari nokántari naaka. Osheki notsipamínthari: shirámpari, tsinani...

hee ari no-kant-a-ri naaka

AFF así 1S-COP-REA-REL 1

osheki no-tsipamintha-ri shirámpari tsinani

muchos 1S-ser.amigo-3M hombre mujer

,Sí. Así soy yo (lit.: así es lo que soy yo'). Tengo muchos amigos: hombres, mujeres...'

'Yes. That's how I am. I have many friends: men, women...'

M: Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsipáeni ipáyitèri haka oyari?

p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka wanawontsi=paeni

2S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F LOC=PROX comida=PL

i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri ha=ka ow-ya-ri²⁸²

3M.S-dar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL LOC=PROX comer-IRR-REL

'¿Te has acostumbrado aquí a las comidas que dan para comer?'

'Have you got used to the food they give to eat here?'

²⁸⁰ This is the Spanish disjunctive conjunction *o*.

²⁸¹ The translating consultant said that this verb with feminine *o-* is wrong because the loved ones of the lady are supposed to be men, at least at this stage of the conversation. I write masculine *i-* in the glosses.

²⁸² The irrealis here must be due to being habitual actions.

H: Hee, namétakawo. Namétakawo aroso.

hee n-ame-t-ak-a-ro aroso

AFF 1S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F arroz

‘Sí, me he acostumbrado. Me he acostumbrado al arroz.’

‘Yes, I’ve got used to it. I’ve got used to rice.’

Tee noñàapíintziro hanta nonámpiki. Ari okaatzi.

tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ro ha=nta no-nampi=ki

NEG.REA 1S-ver-HAB-REA-3F LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC

ari o-kaa-t-zi

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘No lo veo habitualmente allá en mi comunidad. Así es todo (termina).’ (Yo había indicado a los conversantes que ya podían terminar).

‘I don’t usually see it there in my community. That’s how it is (ends).’ (I had indicated to the speakers that they could already finish).

Conversation between Thaampi and Kamato

Lindis Candy, aka Thaampi ‘butterfly’, female, aged 21 at the time of recording and from the community of Chicosa, and Jánder, aka Kamato ‘dragonfly’, male, aged 23 and from the community of Chanchamayo, both Nopoki students, chat. The conversation is about an imaginary situation in which Kamato visits Thaampi in her community, Chicosa. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 25 seconds.

Thaampi: Kitéheri, Jánder.

kitéheri Jánder

día Jánder

‘Buenos días, Jánder.’

‘Good morning, Jander.’

Kamato: Kitéheri, Candy.

kitéheri Candy

día Candy

‘Buenos días, Candy.’

‘Good morning, Candy.’

Th: Nokémaki aréetakimi haka nonámpiki, rowa...

no-kem-ak-i aree-t-ak-i-mi ha=ka no-nampi=ki ro=ra

1S-oír-PFV-FRS llegar-&-PFV-FRS-2S LOC=PROX 1-comunidad=LOC F=MED

‘He oído que acabas de llegar aquí a mi comunidad, esto...’

‘I heard that you just arrived here in my community, um...’

Pipókaki teema pipokatzi paréetina haka, nonámpiki antawo, Katsinkáariki.

pi-pok-ak-i teema pi-pok-atzi p-aree-t-i-na ha=ka

2S-venir-PFV-FRS porque 2S-venir-PROG 2S-visitar-&-IRR-1O LOC=PROX

no-nampi=ki anta-ro Katsinkaari=ki

1-comunidad=LOC grande-F Chicosa=LOC

‘Has venido porque estás viniendo para visitarme aquí, en mi comunidad grande de Chicosa.’

‘You have come because you are coming to visit me here, in my large community of Chicosa.’

K: Hee, ari nokántaka.

hee ari no-kant-ak-a

AFF así 1S-COP-PFV-REA

‘Sí, así he hecho.’

‘Yes, I have done so.’

Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri pikàemakàantákina.

n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki

1S-llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA ayer

no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na²⁸³

1S-oír-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-llamar-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O

‘Llegué ayer, puesto que les he oído (a gente) que me has hecho llamar.’

‘I arrived yesterday since I heard (from people) that you had me called.’

Nokoyi niyoti iita pikàemakàanantakinàri.

no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i iita pi-kaem-aka-anant-ak-i-na-ri

1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR WH 2S-llamar-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O-REL

‘Quiero saber por qué me has hecho llamar.’

‘I want to know why you had me called.’

Th: Nokáemantzimiri nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta pihéekàyini hanta éeroka pinámpiki.

no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi

1S-llamar-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O

hempe pi-kant-a pi-heck-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki

WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL LOC=DIST 2 2-comunidad=LOC

‘Te he llamado porque quiero preguntarte cómo están viviendo ustedes en tu comunidad.’ (lit: Por lo que te he llamado es...)

‘I have called you because I want to ask you how you are living in your community.’ (lit: For what I have called you is...)

K: Haa, pikoyi piyótiro hempe nohecki nonámpiki.

hee pi-koy-i p-iyó-t-i-ro hempe no-heck-i no-nampi=ki

AFF 2S-querer-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-3F.O WH 1S-vivir-FRS 1-comunidad=LOC

‘Sí, quieres saber cómo vivimos en mi comunidad.’

‘Yes, you want to know how we live in my community.’

Jánder nohéekinta, ashéninkapáeni.

Jánder no-heck-i=nta a-sheninka=paeni

Jánder 1S-vivir-FRS=DIST INCL-paisano=PL

‘Yo, Jánder, vivo allí, y nuestros paisanos.’

‘I, Jander, live there, and our fellow people.’

²⁸³ In this sentence and the following one, the RES does not cause a change to A-inflection because the RS suffix is between a perfective and a 1st person object suffix, which causes any RS suffix to become I-inflected.

Nokántawàki naaka pinkáthari hëwatakáantziròri nonampi.

no-kant-awak-i naaka pinkáthari

1S-decir-DES-FRS 1 autoridad

hewa-t-aka-ant-zi-ro-ri no-nampi

primero-&-CAUS-OCC-REA-3F.O-REL 1-comunidad

‘Quiero decir que soy una autoridad que dirige mi comunidad (puesto que hago ir el primero).’

‘I want to say that I am an authority that directs my community (since I make it go first).’

Nokáatakotàki apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.

no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari

1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS dos luna nombrar-&-PFV-FRS-1O autoridad

‘Hace dos meses me han nombrado una autoridad.’

‘Two months ago I was appointed an authority.’

Tee niyotzi hempe nokántimi, iitáanki..., iitáanki...

tee n-iyot-zi hempe no-kant-i-mi i-et-a=ranki

NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA WH²⁸⁴ 1S-decir-IRR-2O 3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE

‘No sé qué decirte, ¿cómo se llama...?, ¿cómo se llama...?’

‘I don’t know what to tell you, what’s its name...?, what’s its name...?’

Ashéninkapáeni héekatsiri hanta tee iheeki rowanki.

a-sheninka=paeni heek-atsi-ri ha=nta

INCL-paisano=PL vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST

tee i-heek-i r-owani=ki

NEG.REA 3M.S-vivir-FRS 3M-chacra=LOC

‘Los ashéninka que viven allí no viven en su chacra.’

‘The Ashéninka who live there do not live in their *chacra*.’

Nampítsiki ikántziri áyomunidáate, páashini iheeki rowániki.

nampi-tsi=ki i-kant-zi-ri a-comunidad-ti

lugar-ALI=LOC 3M.S-decir-REA-REL INCL-comunidad-POSS

páashini i-heek-i r-owani=ki

otro 3M.S-vivir-FRS 3M-chacra=LOC

‘En la comunidad es lo que llaman *nuestra comunidad*, otros viven en su chacra.’

‘In the community, it is what they call *our community*, others live in their *chacra*.’

²⁸⁴ I asked a consultant whether *hempe* could be changed by *iita*, *litaka* and *tsika*, and he accepted *iita* and *tsika*, but not *litaka* in this sentence. This confirms the interrogative character of =*ka* because it cannot be used in an indirect question.

Ari rantawáetzi, ari ipánkoshita, ari iheeki.

ari r-antawae-t-zi ari i-pankoshi-t-a
allí 3M.S-trabajar-&-REA allí 3M.S-construir.choza.temporal-&-REA
ari i-heck-i
allí 3M.S-vivir-FRS
'Allí trabajan, allí construyen su choza temporal, allí viven.'
'There they work, there they build their temporary shack, there they live.'

Máaroni²⁸⁵ ináawakáiyani, akántziri akántziro.
máaroni i-ña-awak-aiy-a-ni
todos 3M.S-encontrar-RECP-PL-RS.REFL-PL
a-kant-zi-ri a-kant-zi-ro
INCL.S-decir-REA-3M.O INCL.S-decir-REA-3F.O
'Todos se encuentran (allí), le decimos (a él), le decimos (a ella).'²⁸⁶
'Everyone meets (there), we tell (him), we tell (her)'²⁸⁷.

Antawáeròntsi ikántètzi *faena comunal*.
antawae-rontsi i-kant-e-t-zi-ri²⁸⁸ faena comunal
trabajar-NMLZ 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-REL faena comunal
'El trabajo es llamado *faena comunal*.'
'The work is called *communal work*.'

Apaani añáawaka, ikántètzi..., *sábado*.
apaani a-ña-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado
sólo INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O sábado
'Sólo nos encontramos, cómo se llama..., el sábado.'
'We just meet, what's its name...?, on Saturday.'

²⁸⁵ *Máaroni* is an Asháninka word. The Ashéninka word is *máaweni*, whose origin is quite transparent: *máaroni* > *máawoni* > *máaweni*. Kamato hails from Chanchamayo, in the Tahuania district. He says *máaweni* later. Maybe he is influenced by some Asháninka student mates, or maybe this is a token of some Asháninka influence in the Ucayali.

²⁸⁶ The translating consultant said that this expression indicates that they find each other. The expression seems to transmit the idea of everyone chatting with each other.

²⁸⁷ The translating consultant said that this expression indicates that they find each other. The expression seems to convey the idea of everyone chatting with each other.

²⁸⁸ In this case, I have not interpreted *ikántètzi* as a filler, but as the verb of the sentence with the meaning 'is called', hence the interpretation of *-ri* as REL, differently from the following sentence, where the existence of another verb and the superfluity of *ikántètzi* favours the filler interpretation.

Ari añáawakáiyani máaweni.

ari a-ña-awak-aiy-a-ni máaweni
allí INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-PL-RS.REFL-PL todos
'Allí nos encontramos todos.'²⁸⁹
'There we all meet.'

Thonkaneya paata.

thonk-an-eya paata
terminar-ABL-IRR luego
'Terminarán (el trabajo) luego.'
'They will finish (the job) later.'

Ikántanahya máaweni apaani, ikantanéyawo rowánikì.

i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani
3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR todos uno
i-kant-an-eya-ro r-owani=ki
3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC
'Volverá cada uno, volverá a su chacra.'
'Each one will return, they will return to their *chacras*.'

Ítsipa ashéninka riyaaate hanta rowánikipáeni.

i-tsipa a-shéninka r-iyaa-t-i ha=nta r-owani=ki=paeni
M-otro INCL-paisano 3M.S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3M-chacra=LOC=PL
'Otros paisanos se irán allá a sus chacras.'
'Other fellow people will go there to their *chacras*.'

Th: Ótsipa iita..., ótsipa pikántinàri, rowa..., iita rowari, iita rantéyirini shirámpari, iita antéyirini tsinani.

o-tsipa iita o-tsipa pi-kant-i-na-ri ro=ra iita r-ow-a-ri
F-otro WH F-otro 2S-decir-IRR-1O-REL F=MED WH 3M.S-comer-REA-REL

iita r-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni shirámpari
WH 3M.S-hacer-PL-FRS-REL-PL hombre

iita Ø-ant-ee-y-i-ri-ni tsinani
WH 3F.S-hacer-PL-FRS-REL-PL mujer

'Qué otra cosa, otra cosa que me digas, esto..., qué comen, qué hacen los hombres, qué hacen las mujeres.'
'What else, what else can you tell me?, um..., what they eat, what the men do, what the women do.'

²⁸⁹ In this piece of conversation, Kamato is using the inclusive prefix. However, since he is speaking with Thaampi and explaining her what they do in his community, he should not use it. I asked an older speaker about it and he said that probably Kamato does not know well what he is saying. Maybe the influence from Spanish is making the inclusive morphemes to shift to a 1st person plural meaning.

Arírika awihe kitéheri.

ari=rika awih-i kitéheri

AFF=COND pasar-FRS día

‘Qué ocurre en el día.’ (lit.: ‘si ocurre (algo) el día’)

‘What happens in the day.’ (lit.: ‘if (something) happens on the day’)

K: Awihe kitéheri? Shirámpari pácerani, arírika okítehíityamanàki tekátsika oyari, ráakiro ichékopiti échatzi itónkamènto, riyate rowáshitantawáetya, riyate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, rówakayityáiriri itomi.

awih-i kitéheri shirámpari pácerani ari=rika

pasar-FRS día hombre antaño AFF=COND

o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri

3F.S-amanecer-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI=COND comer-IRR-REL

r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti échatzi i-tonk-amento

3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-flecha-POSS también 3M.S-disparar-NMLZ.INS

r-iyaa-t-i r-owashitant-a-wae-t-ya r-iyaa-t-i

3M.S-ir-&-IRR 3M.S-hacer.maspute-&-DUR1-&-IRR 3M.S-ir-&-IRR

i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki

3M.S-buscar-&-IRR-3M.O animal 3M.S-llevar-FRS-3M.O INCL-casa=LOC

r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri²⁹⁰ i-tomi

3M.S-comer-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-3M.O 3M-hijo

‘¿Qué ocurre en el día? Antiguamente los hombres, si amanecía pronto y no tenían qué comer, cogían sus flechas y su escopeta y se iban a hacer su maspute, iban a buscar animales, los llevaban a nuestra casa para hacer a sus hijos que se los comieran.’

‘What happens in the day? Formerly the men, if it dawned early and they had nothing to eat, they took their arrows and their shotgun and went to make their *maspute*, they went to look for animals, they took them to our house to make their children eat them.’

Omaanta tsinani, antziri roori antawáerontsi, okiwaántziro kòtsironáaki, onkótsitzi payantzi, kaniri, opíshitziro opanko. Ótsipa?

o-maanta tsinani Ø-ant-zi-ri roori antawae-rontsi

F-COEXP mujer 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 3F trabajar-NMLZ

o-kiwaant-zi-ro kòtsironáaki Ø-onkotsi-t-zi²⁹¹ payantzi kaniri

3F.S-sacar.brillo-REA-3F.O olla 3F.S-cocinar-&-REA plátano yuca

o-pishi-t-zi-ro o-panko o-tsipa

3F.S-barrer-&-REA-3F.O 3F-casa F-otro

‘Sin embargo, las mujeres, el trabajo que hacen es sacar brillo a las ollas, cocinar plátano y yuca, y barrer su casa. ¿Algo más?’

‘However, the women, the work they do is to polish the pots, cook banana and cassava and sweep their house. Anything else?’

²⁹⁰ A double object construction should be *-ne-ri*. However, this verb shows that, in a causative construction, when both the causee and the object of the causativized clause are cross-referenced, the form *-ne-ri* is not used, but, in this case, *-ri-ri* (3M.O-3M.O).

²⁹¹ *-onkotsi-* means ‘boil’, and, for ‘roast’, there is the stem *-akishi-*.

Th: Ótsipa.

o-tsipa

F-otro

‘Algo más.’

‘Something else.’

K: Éeroka, nokoyi nopíyatawàkimi nohàmpitawàkimi.

éeroka no-koy-i

2 1S-querer-FRS

no-piy-a-ta-aw-ak-i-mi²⁹² no-hampi-t-aw-ak-i-mi

1S-devolver-&-EMPH-OM-PFV-FRS-2O 1S-preguntar-&-OM-PFV-FRS-2O

‘Tú, quiero que sea mi turno para preguntarte. (lit.: quiero devolverte y preguntarte).’

‘You, I want it to be my turn to ask you. (lit.: I want to give you back and ask you).’

Aréetapàkina iroñaaka haka pinámpiki Katsinkaari.

aree-t-ap-ak-i-na iroñaaka ha=ka pi-nampi=ki Katsinkaari

llegar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-1S ahora LOC=PROX 2-comunidad=LOC Chicosa

‘Ahora acabo de llegar aquí a tu comunidad Chicosa.’

‘Now I just got here to your community, Chicosa.’

Nokoyi niyoti hempe pihéekayini éeroka haka.

no-koy-i n-iyot-i hempe pi-heek-aiy-i-ni éeroka ha=ka

1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR WH 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL 2 LOC=PROX

‘Quiero saber cuántos son ustedes, los que viven aquí.’

‘I want to know how many of you live here.’

Niyòtanákiro pihéekayini náantanakyàwori nonámpiki nònihàapáhiri
noshéninkapáeni ama róotaki ronki.

n-iyot-an-ak-i-ro pi-heek-aiy-i-ni

1S-saber-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL

n-a-ant-an-ak-ya-ro-ri no-nampi=ki

1S-llevar-RES-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O-REL 1-comunidad=LOC

no-niha-ap-ah-i-ri no-shéninka=paeni

1S-mostrar-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 1-paisano=PL

a=ma roo-t-ak-i ro=ranki

&=DUB 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=ABSE

‘Voy a saber cuántos son ustedes (cuántos viven) para llevarlo a mi comunidad (ese conocimiento) y mostrar (a mi regreso) a mis paisanos lo quizás desconocido (para ellos).’

‘I am going to know how many you are (how many of you live here) to take it to my community (that knowledge) and show (upon my return) to my fellow people what is perhaps unknown (for them).’

²⁹² This verb is one of those that mark realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*, but the 2nd person suffix *-mi* triggers I-marking.

Nokémawakántahyári ipókahéetahi noyomunidáateki.

no-kem-awak-ant-ah-ya-ri i-pok-a-hee-t-ah-i²⁹³

1S-oír-RECP-RES-REG-IRR-REL 3M.S-venir-&-PL-&-REG-FRS

no-comunidad-ti=ki

1-comunidad-POSS=LOC

‘Para que podamos entendernos y vengan aquí los de mi comunidad.’

‘So that we can understand each other and the people from my community can come here.’

Th: Nimaeka nokoyi nokántimi haka nohéekinta haka, rowa..., *comunidad* Katsinkaari, rowa..., nohéekayíni kameetha máaweni, máaweni haka, rowa..., máaweni ashéninkapáeni, tsinani, shirámpari, rantawáetèyini.

nimaeka no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ha=ka no-heck-i=nta

ahora 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O LOC=PROX 1S-vivir-FRS=DIST

ha=ka ro=ra comunidad Katsinkaari no-heck-aiy-i-ni kameetha

LOC=PROX F=MED comunidad Chicosa 1S-estar-PL-FRS-PL bien

máaweni ha=ka a-shéninka=paeni

todos LOC=PROX INCL-paisano=PL

tsinani shirámpari r-antawae-t-ee-y-i-ni

mujer hombre 3M.S-trabajar-&-PL-FRS-PL

‘Ahora quiero decirte que aquí donde vivo, esto..., en la comunidad de Chicosa, esto..., estamos todos bien, todos aquí, esto..., todos nuestros paisanos, mujeres, hombres, están trabajando.’

‘Now I want to tell you that here where I live, um..., in the community of Chicosa, um..., we are all fine, all of us here, um..., all our fellow people, women, men, are working.’

Shirámpari riyaatzi iwániki²⁹⁴, échatzi tsinánipáeni othámaetàntziro owane.

shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zi r-owani=ki

hombre 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3M-chacra=LOC

échatzi tsinani=paeni o-thamae-t-ant-zi-ro

Ø-owani

también mujer=PL 3F.S-desbrozar-&-OCC-REA-3F.O 3F-chacra

‘Los hombres van a su chacra; también las mujeres desbrozan su chacra.’

‘The men go to their fields; the women also clear their fields.’

²⁹³ -*hee* is Asháninka and indicates PL.

²⁹⁴ This word is formed with the masculine possessive *i-*, when *r-* should be used because the possessed noun starts with a vowel, so that it should be *rowániki*.

Arírika okitehiityamanàki, tsinani anáninki, kameetha onkòtsiwéntziri otomi, ishíntopáeni, riyáatantèyari yotáantsipánkoki otómipáeni.

ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-amanecer-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS mujer 3F.S-levantarse-FRS
 kameetha Ø-onkotsi-went-zi-ri o-tomi Ø-ishinto=paeni
 bien 3F.S-cocinar-BEN-REA-3M.O 3F-hijo 3F-hija=PL

r-iyaa-t-ant-eyá-ri iyo-t-aantsi-panko=ki o-tomi=paeni
 3M.S-ir-&-RES-IRR-REL saber-&-INF-casa=LOC 3F-hijo=PL
 ‘Cuando amanece temprano, las mujeres se levantan y cocinan bien para sus hijos e hijas, para que vayan a la escuela, sus hijos.’
 ‘When the sun rises early, the women get up and cook well for their sons and daughters so that they go to school, their children.’

Awíhanaki oorya, shirámpari, tsinani riyaatzi owáneki.

awih-an-ak-i oorya shirámpari tsinani r-iyaa-t-zi Ø-owani=ki
 pasar-ABL-PFV-FRS sol hombre mujer 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3F-chacra=LOC
 ‘Pasa el día y los hombres y las mujeres van a su chacra (de la mujer).’
 ‘The day passes and men and women go to their (women’s) *chacras*.’

Osháawityáaki paata, shirámpari riyaatzi, rowa, iwàshitáanta²⁹⁵, riyaatzi, rowa, ishimaata.

o-shaawit-y-ak-i paata
 3F.S-atardecer-ATT-PFV-FRS luego
 shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zi r-owashitant-a i-shimaa-t-a
 hombre 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3M.S-hacer.maspute-REA 3M.S-pescar-&-REA
 ‘Luego atardece, los hombres van, esto..., a hacer su maspute, van, esto..., a pescar.’
 ‘Then it gets dark, the men go, um..., to make their *maspute*, they go, um..., to fish.’

Rantawáeyini máaweni, máaweni haga, pikántzirikya *faena comunal*.

r-antawae-ey-i-ni²⁹⁶ máaweni ha=ra
 3M.S-trabajar-PL-FRS-PL todos LOC=MED
 pi-kant-zi-ri=kya faena comunal
 2S-decir-REA-REL=EMPH faena comunal
 ‘Todos trabajan, todos ahí, en lo que tú llamas *faena comunal*.’
 ‘Everyone works, everyone there, in what you call *communal work*.’

²⁹⁵ Here Thaampi makes the same mistake as above with *iwani*: in a stem starting with *o*, instead of the right masculine prefix *r-*, she replaces *o-* by *i-*, the masculine prefix used with stems starting with a consonant.

²⁹⁶ This an abbreviation of *rantawáeteyini*, which appears above with the usual epenthetic *t*. Two different consultants said that both words mean the same.

Haka rantéyironi haka, *viernes*.

ha=ka r-ant-ey-i-ro-ni viernes

LOC=PROX 3M.S-hacer-PL-FRS-3F.O-PL viernes

‘Aquí lo hacen el viernes.’

‘Here they do it on Friday.’

Viernes ari añáawakèya máaweni osheki, osheki atziri, héekayitàtsiri haka, nampítsiki Katsinkaari.

viernes ari a-ña-awak-eya máaweni osheki atziri

viernes AFF INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-IRR.REFL todos muchos persona

heek-a-yi-t-atsi-ri ha=ka nampi-tsi=ki Katsinkaari

vivir-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=PROX comunidad-ALI=LOC Chicosa

‘Los viernes, así nos encontramos todos, muchos, muchas personas, que viven todos aquí, en la comunidad de Chicosa.’

‘On Fridays, that’s how we all meet, many, many people, who all live here, in the community of Chicosa.’

Éehatzi arírika añáawakeya máaweni, éehatzi arírika añáathawàetya, ikántètzi..., *fútbol*.

éehatzi ari=rika a-ña-awak-eya máaweni

también AFF=COND INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-IRR.REFL todos

éehatzi ari=rika a-ñaatha-wac-t-ya²⁹⁷

también AFF=COND INCL.S-jugar-DUR1-&-IRR

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri fútbol

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O fútbol

‘También cuando nos encontramos todos, también cuando jugamos, cómo se llama..., al fútbol.’

‘Also when we meet everyone, also when we play, how to say..., football.’

K: Apatiátiri káeromoko.

apatia-t-i-ri kaero-moko

patear-&-IRR-REL comején-BALL²⁹⁸

‘Lo que se pateo es una bola de comején.’

‘What is kicked is a ball of termites.’

Th: Apátyátiri káeromoko.

apatya-t-i-ri kaero-moko

patear-&-IRR-REL comején-BALL

‘Lo que se pateo es una bola de comején.’

‘What is kicked is a ball of termites.’

²⁹⁷ The irrealis here is used to express habituality.

²⁹⁸ *Comején* is also known in Spanish as *termita*, an insect of the infraorder *Isoptera*, known in English as *termite*.

Rowa..., échatzi arírika otzimi, rowa..., wáiramentòtsi, *actividades* antáetziri,
rowa..., *instituciones*, rowa..., *primaria, secundaria, inicial*...

ro=ra échatzi ari=rika o-tzim-i waira-amento-tsi²⁹⁹ actividades
F=MED también AFF=COND 3F.S-EXI-FRS bailar-NMLZ.INS-ALI actividades

ant-ae-t-zi-ri ro=ra instituciones ro=ra primaria secundaria inicial
hacer-IMPS-&-REA-REL F=MED instituciones F=MED primaria secundaria inicial
'Esto..., también cuando hay, esto..., fiesta, actividades que hacen, esto..., las
instituciones, esto..., primaria, secundaria, inicial...'

'This..., also when there is, um..., a party, activities that they do, um..., the institutions, um...,
primary, secondary, pre-school...'

Ari máaweni, rowa..., rapàtowáeyani; échatzi arírika otzimi apatotaantsi ikántziriri,
rowa..., hewari haka nampitsi.

ari máaweni ro=ra r-apato-wae-ey-a-ni échatzi ari=rika
así todos F=MED 3M.S-reunirse-DURL-PL-RS.REFL-PL también AFF=COND

o-tzim-i apato-t-aantsi i-kant-zi-ri-ri ro=ra
3F.S-EXI-FRS reunirse-&-INF 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O-REL F=MED

hewa-ri ha=ka nampi-tsi
primero-REL LOC=PROX comunidad-ALI

'Así todos, esto..., se reúnen; y también cuando hay una reunión que convoca el que
se llama, esto..., el jefe de aquí de la comunidad.'

'So everyone, um..., get together; and also when there is a meeting called by the one called,
um..., the chief of the community here.'

²⁹⁹ -waira- is a loan from Spanish *bailar*. The word for 'party' is built with the verb 'dance' and the instrumental nominalizer, so that the literal meaning is 'tool for dancing', that is, a party.

Otényaki's story

Gladys, aka Otényaki 'flower', aged 20 at the time of recording and from the community of Chicosa, tells a story in the Ashéninka class at Nopoki university. She did not finish it because she was shy and was speaking very slowly because she was nervous. Therefore, the teacher asked her to stop. The story lasts 4 minutes and 13 seconds.

Nowámetantatziri nokáatèyini éehatzi nowéthatári Toni.

n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
1S-enseñar-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

éehatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni

también 1S-saludar-&-REA-3M.O Toni

'Nosotros estamos enseñando y saludamos a Toni.'

'We are teaching and salute Toni.'

Nimaeka nokénkithate apaani kenkitharentsi ashi anampi.

nimaeka no-kenkitha-t-i apaani kenkitha-rentsi Ø-ashi a-nampi

ahora 1S-contar-&-IRR uno contar-NMLZ INCL-POSS INCL-comunidad

'Ahora voy a contar una historia de nuestra comunidad.'

'Now I am going to tell a story of our community.'

Páerani anampiite Katsinkaari, éenitatsi osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáariki.

páerani a-nampi-ite Katsinkaari

antaño INCL-comunidad-ANT Chicosa

eeni-t-atsi osheki atziri heek-atsi-ri tonkaari=ki

EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV muchos persona vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL montaña=LOC

'Antiguamente, en nuestra comunidad, Chicosa, había mucha gente que vivía en la montaña.'

'Long ago, in our community, Chicosa, there were many people who lived in the mountains.'

Páerani atziri riyotzi ikentawaetzi shima, riyotzi itonkawaetzi, riyaatzi antámiki, ikinawaetzi.

páerani atziri r-iyo-t-zi i-kent-a-wae-t-zi

antaño persona 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cazar.con.flecha-&-DUR1-&-REA

shima r-iyo-t-zi i-tonk-a-wae-t-zi

pez 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cazar.con.escopeta-&-DUR1-&-REA

r-iyaa-t-zi antami=ki i-kinawae-t-zi

3M.S-ir-&-REA bosque=LOC 3M.S-ir.a.cazar.al.bosque-&-REA

'Antiguamente, las personas sabían cazar peces con flecha, sabían cazar con escopeta, iban al bosque y andaban por allí.'

'In the old days, people knew how to hunt fish with an arrow, they knew how to hunt with a shotgun, they went to the forest and walked around.'

Páerani rirori tee riyotzi iwáeratzi.

páerani rirori tee r-iyó-t-zi i-waera-t-zi³⁰⁰
 antaño 3M NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-bailar-&-REA
 ‘Antiguamente, ellos no sabían bailar.’
 ‘In the old days, they didn’t know how to dance.’

Riróripáeni páerani riyotzi imámpaya apáanteki aaka.

rirori=paeni páerani r-iyó-t-zi i-mamp-a³⁰¹ a-paante=ki aaka
 3M=PL antaño 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cantar-REA INCL-lengua=LOC INCL
 ‘Antiguamente, ellos sabían cantar en nuestra propia lengua.’
 ‘In the past, they knew how to sing in our own language.’

Tee riyotzi iwáiratzi.

tee r-iyó-t-zi i-waira-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-bailar-&-REA
 ‘No sabían bailar.’
 ‘They didn’t know how to dance.’

Okántanaka paata, éenitatsi apaani atziri héekatsiri hanta, yowéeperotàtsiri.

o-kant-an-ak-a paata eeni-t-atsi apaani atziri
 3F.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA después EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV uno persona
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST saber-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘Ocurrió luego que había una persona que vivía allá, un especialista (uno que sabe hacer todo lo que acaba de contar la narradora).’
 ‘It happened later that there was a person who lived there, a specialist (one who knows how to do everything the narrator has just told).’

Ikáemakiri máaweni héekatsiri hanta.

i-kaem-ak-i-ri máaweni heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
 3M.S-llamar-PFV-FRS-3M.O todos vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Llamó a todos los que vivían allí.’
 ‘He called everyone who lived there.’

Ipatoapákiri³⁰² anámpiki.

r-apato-t-ap-ak-i-ri a-nampi=ki
 3M.S-reunirse-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O INCL-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Los reunió en nuestra comunidad.’
 ‘He brought them together in our community.’

³⁰⁰ -waira- is a loan from Spanish *bailar* ‘dance’.

³⁰¹ An older consultant told me that *imámpaya* is not right. Given that Otéyaki is a speaker more influenced by Spanish, I accept the consultant’s statement and gloss the word according to his correction.

³⁰² The right word should be *rapátotapákiri*, not **ipátotapákiri*.

Ikántapàkiri hewari: “Pipokanakiíta haka.

i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri hewa-ri

3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O primero-REL

pi-pok-an-ak-i-ita ha=ka

2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS-ROPT LOC=PROX

‘Les dijo el jefe: “Vengan aquí enseguida”.’

‘The chief told them: “Come here right away”.’

Anámpiki hame ante..., hame akénkithawáeti.”

a-nampi=ki hame Ø-ant-i

INCL-comunidad=LOC HORT.INCL INCL.S-hacer-IRR

hame a-kenkitha-wae-t-i

HORT.INCL INCL.S-contar-DURL-&-IRR

“En nuestra comunidad, vamos a hacer, vamos a estar conversando”.

“In our community, we are going to do, we are going to be talking”.

Opoñáshitaka paata thonkánaka iroka kenkitharentsi.

o-poñashi-t-ak-a paata

3F.S-suceder-&-PFV-REA luego

thonk-an-ak-a i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi

terminar-ABL-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX contar-NMLZ

‘Luego sucedió que terminó esta reunión.’

‘Then it happened that this meeting ended.’

Máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta hátanaki rirori ante ipánkopaeni ótsipaki nampitsi.

máaweni a-shéninka heek-atsi-ri ha=nta

todos INCL-paisano vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST

ha-t-an-ak-i rirori ant-i i-panko=paeni o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi

ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M hacer-IRR 3M-casa=PL F-otro=LOC lugar-ALI

‘Todos nuestros paisanos que vivían allí ellos se fueron a construir sus casas a otro lugar.’

‘All our fellow people who lived there, they went to build their houses in another place.’

Story of the cows on the football field

Lindis Candy, aka Thaampi (aged 21 at the time of the recording), a female Nopoki student, tells a story that happened in her community, Chicosa (Katsinkaari in Ashéninka). The story lasts 2 minutes and 17 seconds.

Chapinki, niyáataki, rowa..., nòshitówanàki haka, irowa..., kitéheriki *juéves*-ki, niyáataki noshitówaki haka, owámetàantsipánkoki, niyáatakitzi nonámpiki hanta, Katsinkáariki.

chapinki n-iyaa-t-ak-i ro=ra no-shitow-an-ak-i ha=ka
ayer 1S-ir-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 1S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX

i-ro=ra kitéheri=ki jueves=ki n-iyaa-t-ak-i
DEM-F=MED día=LOC jueves=LOC 1S-ir-&-PFV-FRS

no-shitow-ak-i ha=ka owame-t-aantsi-panko=ki
1S-salir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX enseñar-&-INF-casa=LOC

n-iyaa-t-ak-it-zi no-nampi=ki ha=nta Katsinkaari=ki
1S-ir-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA 1-comunidad=LOC LOC=DIST Chicosa=LOC

‘Ayer, me he ido, este..., he salido de aquí, este..., el día jueves, me he ido y he salido de aquí, de la escuela, y me he ido allá a mi comunidad, Chicosa.’

‘Yesterday I left, um..., I left from here, um..., on Thursday, I left and went out from here, from the school, and I went there to my community, Chicosa.’

Juéves-ki naréetapàka osháawityáapàki..

jueves=ki n-aree-t-ap-ak-a o-shaawit-y-ap-ak-i
jueves=LOC 1S-llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA 3F.S-atardecer-ATT-ALL-PFV-FRS

‘El jueves he llegado al final de la tarde.’

‘On Thursday, I arrived at the end of the afternoon.’

Nomáapaki *viérnes*-ki

no-mag-ap-ak-i viernes=ki
1S-dormir-ALL-PFV-FRS viernes=LOC

‘He dormido hasta el viernes.’

‘I slept until Friday.’

Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *viérnes*-ki otzímaki, rowa..., ñáathawèeròntsi,

no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki
1S-levantar-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED viernes=LOC

o-tzim-ak-i ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS F=MED jugar-&-SPE-NMLZ

‘Me he levantado temprano, este..., el viernes había, este..., deporte.’

‘I got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’

Ñáathéyakàni máaweni ashéninka échatzi tsinánipáeni, rowa...
 ñaath-ey-ak-a-ni máaweni a-shéninka échatzi tsinani=paeni ro=ra
 jugar-PL-PFV-REA-PL todos INCL-paisano también mujer=PL F=MED
 ‘Estaban jugando todos los paisanos, también las mujeres, esto...’
 ‘All the fellow people were playing, also the women, um...’

Awihaki paata, rowa..., ikáatapaki oorya *a las tres de la tarde*, rowa...
 awih-ak-i paata ro=ra
 pasar-PFV-FRS luego F=MED
 i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i oorya a las tres de la tarde ro=ra
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sol³⁰³ a las tres de la tarde F=MED
 ‘Luego pasó, esto..., acabaron a la hora las tres de la tarde, esto...’
 ‘Then it happened, um..., they finished at three in the afternoon, um...’

Ñáathéyani haga, rowa..., ipàtyáatziri *pelota*.
 ñaath-ey-a-ni ha=ra ro=ra i-patya-atzi-ri pelota
 jugar-PL-RS-PL LOC=MED F=MED 3M.S-patear-PROG-REL pelota
 ‘Allí juegan, los que están pateando la pelota.’
 ‘There they play, those who are kicking the ball.’

Ishitówapáki rowa..., wáakapáeni. Kantéyakani máaweni iryani, rowa...
 i-shitow-ap-ak-i ro=ra waaka=paeni
 3M.S-salir-ALL-PFV-FRS F=MED vaca=PL
 kant-ey-ak-a-ni máaweni i-rya-ni ro=ra
 COP-PL-PFV-REA-PL todos M-pequeño-ADJ F=MED
 ‘Han salido, este..., vacas, y todos los terneros, este...’
 ‘They have come out, um..., cows, and all the calves, um...’

Ishiyéyakáni échatzi, rowa..., katziyéeyapákani wáakapáeni haga.
 i-shiy-ey-ak-a-ni échatzi ro=ra
 3M.S-correr-PL-PFV-REA-PL también F=MED
 katziy-ey-ap-ak-a-ni³⁰⁴ waaka=paeni ha=ra
 pararse-PL-ALL-PFV-REA-PL vaca=PL LOC=MED
 ‘También correteaban, este..., y las vacas se han quedado paradas allí.’
 ‘They were also running around, um..., and the cows kept standing there.’

Ñáathéyani máaweni ashéninka.
 ñaath-ey-a-ni máaweni a-shéninka
 jugar-PL-RS-PL todos INCL-paisano
 ‘Juegan todos los paisanos.’
 ‘All the fellow people play.’

³⁰³ *Oorya* ‘sun’ is used to mean ‘hour’, which probably is a word that did not exist in the Ashéninka traditional culture.

³⁰⁴ *-shiy-* ‘run’ and *-katziy-* ‘stay’ both belong to the small verb class whose verbs inflect realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*.

Ikántaka irowa. Atzíripáeni ikánteýíni máaweni:

i-kant-ak-a i-ro=ra atziri=paeni i-kant-eeý-i-ni máaweni
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=MED persona=PL 3M.S-decir-PL-FRS-PL todos
 ‘Así fue esto. Las personas dicen todas:’
 ‘So was this. Everyone says:’

“Hame oshánkiri waaka”.

hame Ø-oshank-i-ri waaka
 HORT.INCL INCL.S-espantar-FRS-3M.O vaca
 “‘Vamos a espantar las vacas”.’
 “‘Let’s shoo the cows”.’

Tee imátanàhe máaweni iñáathèýini³⁰⁵.

tee i-ma-t-an-ah-a máaweni i-ñaath-eeý-a-ni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-poder-&-ABL-REG-REA todos 3M.O-jugar-PL-RS-PL
 ‘No puede seguir jugando nadie.’
 ‘Nobody can go on playing.’

Kántaka tee, tee réshikèmpitatapàki waaka.

kant-ak-a tee réshikèmpita-t-ap-ak-i waaka
 COP-PFV-REA NEG.REA desobediente-&-ALL-PFV-FRS vaca
 ‘Fue que no, no han obedecido las vacas.’
 ‘It was that no, the cows didn’t obey.’

Tee, tee imátziri máaweni atzíripáeni, antyáshipàripáeni, roshánkahìri, waaka.

tee i-ma-t-zi-ri máaweni atziri=paeni antyáshipa-ri=paeni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-poder-&-REA-3M.O todos persona=PL viejo-M=PL
 r-oshank-ah-i-ri³⁰⁶ waaka
 3M.S-espantar-REG-FRS-3M.O vaca
 ‘No, no pueden hacerlo todas las personas y los viejos, espantar a las vacas.’
 ‘No, all the people and the old people can’t do it, shoo the cows away.’

Ikántaka apaani owámetantatsíri ikantzi:

i-kant-ak-a apaani owame-t-ant-atsi-ri i-kant-zi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA uno enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-decir-REA
 ‘Entonces un maestro dijo:’
 ‘Then a teacher said:’

³⁰⁵ Thaampi uses an I-class suffix with this verb, but the translating consultant pointed out that it is wrong because the verb is A-class. Actually, Thaampi uses A-class suffixes with the same verb in this story, so this occurrence must be a mistake.

³⁰⁶ The translating consultant said that this word is rather from the Tambo river (Asháninka) and that the Ashéninka word is *romishiyeri*.

“Hame, hame³⁰⁷ rowa..., hame onkótsiti rowa..., niha, atàatyéeriri ishíyatyéeri, waaka”.

hame ro=ra Ø-onkotsi-t-i niha
HORT.INCL F=MED INCL.S-cocinar-&-IRR agua

a-ta-atyee-ri-ri i-shiy-atyee-ri waaka
INCL.S-quemar-FUT-3M.O-REL 3M.S-correr-FUT-REL vaca

“‘Vamos a cocinar (hervir) agua para quemarlas y que corran las vacas’.”

“‘Let’s cook (boil) water to burn them and let the cows run’.”

Ari ikántaka. Hatákowítaka itayéeterini rowa..., waaka shiyánaka, máaweni shiyánaka máaweni waaka, ishitówanaki, rowa..., *cámpokì*.

ari i-kant-ak-a ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a³⁰⁸
así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA ir-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA

i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni ro=ra waaka shiy-an-ak-a
3M.S-quemar-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR F=MED vaca correr-ABL-PFV-REA

máaweni i-shitow-an-ak-i ro=ra campo=ki
todos 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED campo=LOC

‘Así fue. Faltando poco para que las quemaran, esto..., las vacas corrieron, todas las vacas, esto..., fuera del campo.’

‘That’s how it went. Shortly before they were burnt, um..., the cows ran, all the cows, um..., out of the field.’

Riyaatzi hanta rowa..., kyáapaki apaani pankótsikì, tantoryáapáki rowa..., iyoshinate apaani atziri.

r-iyaa-t-zi ha=nta ro=ra kya-ap-ak-i apaani panko-tsi=ki
3M.S-ir-&-REA LOC=DIST F=MED entrar-ALL-PFV-FRS uno casa-ALI=LOC

tantorya-ap-ak-i i-koshina-ti³⁰⁹ apaani atziri
destronar-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M-cocina-POSS uno persona

‘Se fueron allí, esto..., entraron en una casa y destrizaron, esto..., la cocina de una persona.’

‘They went there, um..., they went into a house and trashed, um... someone’s kitchen.’

³⁰⁷ The translating consultant noted that it is *hame* and not **hami*, so here there is an uncommon example of unstressed short *e* considered different from *i*.

³⁰⁸ This word appears to be grammaticalized with the meaning *faltando poco* ‘shortly before’.

³⁰⁹ *Koshina* is a loan from Spanish *cocina*, which becomes *iyoshinate* due to the prefixed *i-*. The translating consultant said that the genuine Ashéninka word is *páamaripánko*, literally ‘fire house’.

Story of the cheating shaman

This tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores (aka Chóokiro), aged 66 at the time of recording. It takes 12 minutes and 35 seconds to be told.

Tzimatsi páerani apaani atziri thayiri, kímíwityàri sheripyari.

tzim-atsi páerani apaani atziri thayi-ri
EXI-PTCP.IPFV antaño uno persona mentiroso-REL

kimi-wi-t-ya-ri sheripyari
parecer-FRU-&-IRR-REL chamán

‘Antiguamente había una persona mentirosa que aparentaba ser un chamán.’
‘In the old days, there was a cheating person who pretended to be a shaman.’

Tee isheripyáritzi. Ikóshekàshita.

tee i-sheripyari-t-zi i-koshekashi-t-a
NEG.REA 3M.S-chamán-&-REA 3M.S-fingir.con.picardía-&-REA
‘No era un chamán. Ha sido astuto (en hacerse pasar por chamán).’
‘He was not a shaman. He was cunning (in pretending to be a shaman).’

Ikówawita tháwinatyàwo raniro.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a tháwina-t-ya-ro
3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-REA tener.sexo.incestuoso-&-IRR-3F.O

r-aniro

3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Ha querido tener relaciones incestuosas con su sobrina (hija de su hermana).’
‘He wanted to have incestuous relations with his niece (his sister’s daughter).’

Irika ashéninka ikántakiri ikáateyini.

i-ri=ka a-shéninka
DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano

i-kant-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ecy-i-ni
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

‘Este ashéninka les ha dicho a ellos (sus paisanos).’
‘This Ashéninka has told them (his fellow people).’

‘Iroñaaka nokówaki iri kamarampi. Nokówaki pitsipátina.

iroñaaka no-kow-ak-i ir-i kamarampi
ahora 1S-querer-PFV-FRS beber-FRS ayahuasca

no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na
1S-querer-PFV-FRS 2S-acompañar-&-IRR-1O

‘Ahora quiero beber ayahuasca. Quiero que me acompañéis.’
‘Now I want to drink ayahuasca. I want you to accompany me.’

Nokoyi noyíitiri nòintakóri”. Ari ikántaka.

no-koy-i n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori ari i-kant-ak-a
 1S-querer-FRS 1S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 1-seguidor³¹⁰ así 3M.S-COP-PFV-FRS
 “Quiero hacer bajar a mis seguidores.” Así fue.
 “I want to bring my followers down.” That’s how it was.’

Otsirénityáanaki. Ishitáshitaka kameetha.

o-tsireni-t-y-an-ak-i i-shitashi-t-ak-a³¹¹ kameetha
 3F.S-anochece-&-ATT-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-manta-&-PFV-REA bien
 ‘Empieza a anochece. Extendió su manta bien.’
 ‘It’s starting to get dark. He spread his blanket well.’

Royitákiro iyókane éehatzi ríshikoti éehatzi ichamáeroti.

r-o-ayit-ak-i-ro i-koka-ni
 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-coca-POSS
 éehatzi r-ishiko-ti i-chamaero-ti³¹²
 también 3M-cal-POSS 3M-chamairo-POSS
 ‘Se ha puesto su coca, su cal y su chamairo (se ha puesto a mascar coca).’
 ‘He puts his coca, his lime and his chamairo (he starts chewing coca).’

“Piyotéiyakàni”. Ihéekayini ikàatéinirà.

p-iyot-ey-ak-a-ni
 2S-conocer-&-PL-PFV-REA.REFL-PL
 i-heek-aiy-i-ni i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni=ra
 3M.S-estar.sentado-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 “Estáis reunidos (os conocéis).” Esos están sentados.’
 “You are gathered (you know each other).” Those are sitting.’

Rireini, iraki iyamarámpiti.

r-ir-ey-i-ni ir-ak-i i-kamarampi-ti
 3M.S-beber-PL-FRS-PL beber-PFV-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ‘Beben, han bebido su ayahuasca.’
 ‘They drink, they have drunk their ayahuasca.’

³¹⁰ This is an inalienable noun with the non-possessed form *nintakorentsi*. This word denotes a shaman’s follower in heaven, who can be reached only by drinking ayahuasca. ‘Seguidor’ (‘follower’) is the best translation that has come to my mind.

³¹¹ *Nóshitashi* means ‘mi manta’, *nóshitashita* ‘extiendo mi manta’.

³¹² *Chamairo* is the name given in English and Spanish to the liana *Mussatia hyacinthina*, according to E. Wide Davis (1983. The ethnobotany of chamairo: *Mussatia hyacinthina*, in *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, vol. 9, issues 2-3: 225-236). When chewing coca, lime and chamairo are used, chamairo as a sweetener. Lime has a chemical function that is not clear to me.

Róetakiri apáanipáeni ikáateyini.

r-oe-t-ak-i-ri apaani=paeni i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 3M.S-servir.bebida-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O uno=PL³¹³ 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘Les sirve a cada uno de ellos.’
 ‘He serves every one of them.’

Róoteentsi óniyankíitye tsiréniri. Shinkyàayinéentaka.

róoteentsi o-niyankii-t-y-i tsiréniri shinki-a-yi-neent-ak-a
 ya 3F.S-mitad-&-ATT-FRS noche borracho-&-DISTR-ATT-PFV-REA
 ‘Ya avanza la noche. Empieza a estar un poco borrachito.’
 ‘The night is advancing. He’s starting to get a little drunk.’

Irika tháirika shéripýari ikántakiri ikáateyini.

i-ri=ka thayi-ri=ka sheripyari
 DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL=PROX chamán
 i-kant-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘Este chamán mentiroso les dice a ellos.’
 ‘This cheating shaman says to them.’

‘‘Iroñaaka noyíitiri nòintakóri. Naaka héwatàtsini henoki.

iroñaaka n-o-ayíit-i-ri no-nintakori
 ahora 1S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 1-seguidor
 naaka hewa-t-atsi-ni henoki
 1 primero-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL.IRR arriba
 ‘‘Ahora voy a hacer bajar a mis seguidores. Yo voy el primero arriba (al cielo)’’.
 ‘Now I’m going to bring down my followers. I go first up (to heaven).’

Arírika rayíitapàki, piyótawakirira.

ari=rika r-ayíit-ap-ak-i p-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 AFF=COND 3M.S-bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS 2S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘‘Cuando baje (un seguidor), vais a adivinarlo.’’
 ‘‘When (a follower) comes down, you’re going to guess who he is’’.

Naaka hàtákina henoki.’’

naaka ha-t-ak-i-na henoki
 1 ir-&-PFV-FRS-1S arriba
 ‘‘Yo me voy arriba (al cielo)’’.
 ‘‘I’m going up (to heaven)’’.

³¹³ *Apáanipáeni* has a distributive value, so that it means ‘each one’.

Ari ikántaka. Irika ashéninka hataki, hápokanáka.

ari i-kant-ak-a

así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA

i-ri=ka a-shéninka ha-t-ak-i hapok-an-ak-a

DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano ir-&-PFV-FRS saltar-ABL-PFV-REA

‘Así fue. Este ashéninka se fue, saltó (hacia el cielo).’

‘That’s how it was. This Ashéninka left, he jumped (towards heaven).’

Éehatzi tzimatsi mántsiyàri, mántsiyàritátsiri ashéninka.

éehatzi tzim-atsi mantsiya-ri mantsiya-ri-t-atsi-ri a-shéninka

también EXI-PTCP.IPFV enfermo-M enfermo-M-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL INCL-paisano

‘También había enfermos, ashéninkas que estaban enfermos.’

‘There were also sick people, Ashéninka who were sick.’

Imaryaaka. Ikántaka irika..., ikántètziro..., iníntakòri ayíitapàki, ayíitapàki: poo.

i-maryag-ak-a i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka

3M.S-estar.echado-PFV-REA 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro i-nintakori

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O 3M-seguidor

ayiit-ap-ak-i poo

bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS IDEO:posarse.en.el.suelo

‘Estaban echados. Pasó que este..., cómo se llama..., su seguidor bajó, bajó: ¡pof!’

‘They were lying. It happened that, um..., what’s its name...?, his follower went down, down: pof!’

Rayíitapàki, ikántapàki.

r-ayiit-ap-ak-i i-kant-ap-ak-i

3M.S-bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS

‘Baja y dice (al llegar):’

‘He goes down and says (upon arrival):’

“Piyótinà, piyótinà”, ikántziri itsipapáeni, iréiyatsirini iyamarámpiti:

p-iyo-t-i-na i-kant-zi-ri i-tsipa=paeni

2S-saber-&-IRR-1O 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O M-otro=PL

ir-ee-y-atsi-ri-ni i-kamarampi-ti

beber-PL-PTCP.IPFV-REL-PL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS

“Adivinadme, adivinadme”, dice a los otros, los que beben su ayahuasca:’

“‘Guess who I am, guess who I am”, he says to the others, those who drink their ayahuasca:’

“Éeroکا tziho”. Ikantzi: “Tee naaka”. “Éeroکا pakitha”. “Tee naaka”. “Éeroکا tsirootzi”, “Hee naaka”.

éeroکا tziho³¹⁴ i-kant-zi tee naaka
2 gallinazo 3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 1

éeroکا pakitha³¹⁵ tsirootzi³¹⁶ hee naaka
2 gavlán paucarcillo AFF 1

“‘Tú, gallinazo’. Dice: “Yo no”. ”Tú, gavlán”. “Yo no”. “Tú, paucarcillo”. “Yo sí”.’
“‘You, black vulture’. He says: “Not me”. “You, gavlán”. “Not me”. “You, paucarcillo”. “It’s me”.’

Ikantzi: “Tsiká ihéekakika rirori mantsiyári?”.

i-kant-zi tsiká i-heck-ak-i=ka rirori mantsiya-ri
3M.S-decir-REA WH 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS=INT 3M enfermo-M
‘Dice: “¿Dónde está el enfermo?”’
‘He says: “Where is the sick man?”’

Ikantzi: “Irira ròmaryáaka”.

i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
3M.S-decir-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-estar.echado-PFV-REA
‘Dicen: “Ese que han tumbado”.’
‘They say: “That one they have laid down”.’

Róotaki ràwihántaka.

roo-t-ak-i r-awih-ant-ak-a
3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-pasar-RES-PFV-REA
‘Con la misma ha pasado.’
‘He just goes there.’

Ráatsimiyapàakiri, ráatsimiyàkiri, ráatsimiyàkiri.

r-aatsimiy-apa-ak-i-ri³¹⁷
3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O
r-aatsimiy-ak-i-ri
3M.S-chupar.para.curar-PFV-FRS-3M.O
‘Le chupa (al llegar), le chupa.’
‘He sucks at him (upon arrival), he sucks at him.’

³¹⁴ *Gallinazo* is the name used in Peru for the scavenger bird *Coragyps atratus*, known in English as *black vulture* (according to Wikipedia). This vulture is an all-time occurrence in Peruvian Amazonia, including urban areas as Atalaya, where it is frequently seen in the street.

³¹⁵ *Gavlán* is the Spanish name used in Peru for different birds of prey of the family *Accipitridae*. This information is found in the Spanish Wikipedia page “Anexo: Aves del Perú”.

³¹⁶ As the different Ashéninka word indicates, this bird is different from the above mentioned *paucar* (*Cacicus cela*). I have not been able to find out the difference between both species.

³¹⁷ A shaman cures by sucking the affected part of a sick person’s body. The stem *-aatsimiy-* expresses this way of sucking.

Róohatzi ipíyantàna. Hápokana: hapo. Ayíitapàki páashini.

róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a hapok-an-a hapo
luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA saltar-ABL-REA IDEO:saltar

ayiit-ap-ak-i páashini

bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS otro

‘Luego vuelve. Salta: ¡hop! Ha bajado otro.’

‘Then he comes back. He jumps: hoop! Another one has gone down.’

Éehatzi ikántapàki: “Piyótina”.

éehatzi i-kant-ap-ak-i p-iyot-t-i-na
también 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O

‘También dice: “Adiviname”.’

‘He also says: “Guess who I am”.’

Irika iráyitàtsiri iyamarámpiti.

i-ri=ka ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kamarampi-ti
DEM-M=PROX beber-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS

‘Este que está bebiendo toda su ayahuasca.’

‘This one who is drinking all his ayahuasca.’

Éehatzi ikántawàkiri: “Éeroka rira, hàgàri”. Ikantzi: “Tee”. “Éeroka rira, tsirootzi”.

éehatzi i-kant-aw-ak-i-ri éeroka ri=ra hagari
también 3M.S-decir-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2 M=MED zorro³¹⁸

i-kant-zi tee éeroka ri=ra tsirootzi
M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 M=MED paucarcillo

‘También le dicen al recibirlo: “Tú, este..., zorro”. Dice: “No”. “Tú, este..., paucarcillo”.’

‘They also say to him when they receive him: “You, um..., short-eared zorro”. He says: “No”. “You, um..., paucarcillo”.’

Ikantzi: “Hee, náakatàki”. Rooha ràwihántanàka.

i-kant-zi hee naaka-t-ak-i rooha³¹⁹ r-awih-ant-an-ak-a
3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1-&-PFV-FRS luego 3M.S-pasar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA

‘Dice: “Yo soy”. Luego pasa.’

‘He says: “I am”. Then he goes there.’

³¹⁸ *Zorro* is the Spanish translation I got from a consultant, which is English ‘fox’. Probably, he referred to *Atelocynus microtis*, which, according to Wikipedia, is known in English as *short-eared dog*, *short-eared zorro* or *small-eared dog*.

³¹⁹ *Rooha* is an abbreviation of *róohatzi*.

Ramíniri, ráatsimiyìri mántsyaritátsiri.

r-amin-i-ri

3M.S-mirar-FRS-3M.O

r-aatsimiy-i-ri

mantsiya-ri-t-atsi-ri

3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL

‘Lo mira, chupa para curar al que está enfermo.’

‘He looks at him, he sucks to heal the one who is sick.’

Ráatsimiyapàkiri, ráatsimiyapàkiri.

r-aatsimiy-ap-ak-i-ri

3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Lo ha chupado para curarlo, lo ha chupado para curarlo.’

‘He sucks at him to cure him, he sucks at him to cure him.’

Ithónkanàkiro ráatsimiyìri, rooha ipíyantàna échatzi.

i-thonk-an-ak-i-ro

r-aatsimiy-i-ri

3M.S-acabar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O

rooha i-piy-ant-an-a

échatzi

luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA también

‘Acaba de chuparle, y luego vuelve también.’

‘He finishes sucking at him, and then comes back too.’

Ikántaka irika thayírika sheripyari ikantzi:

i-kant-ak-a

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA

i-ri=ka

thayi-ri=ka

sheripyari

i-kant-zi

DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL=PROX chamán 3M.S-decir-REA

‘Así es que este chamán mentiroso dice.’

‘So this cheating shaman says:’

“Hátákina henoki, hatákina henoki”.

ha-t-ak-i-na henoki

ir-&-PFV-FRS-1S arriba

“‘Me voy arriba, me voy arriba (al cielo)’.”

“‘I’m going up, I’m going up (to heaven)’.”

Téemáita, téemáita riyaatzi henoki, tee riyaatzi henoki. Éeniro itápotápowaeta oháawiki.

tee=maita r-iyaa-t-zi henoki tee

NEG=COEXP 3M.S-ir-&-REA arriba NEG.REA

éeniro i-tapo~tapo-wae-t-a o-háawiki

EXI.PST 3M.S-acechar~ITE-DUR1-&-REA 3F-debajo

‘Pero no, no iba arriba, no iba arriba. Iba acechando por el suelo (gateando).’

‘But no, he wasn’t going up, he wasn’t going up. He was creeping on the ground (crawling).’

Riyáatàshitziro raniro, hanta othátakota omáapiintzi.

r-iyaa-t-ashi-t-zi-ro r-aniro
3M.S-ir-&-PURP-&-REA-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

ha=nta o-thatako-t-a o-mag-apiint-zi
LOC=DIST 3F.S-preparar.cama-&-REA 3F.S-dormir-HAB-REA

‘Se va a buscar a su sobrina, allá donde ella prepara su cama para dormir.’

‘He goes to look for his niece, where she prepares her bed to sleep.’

Ikówawita itháwinatyáwomi.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a i-tháwina-t-ya-ro-mi
3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-REA 3M.S-tener.sexo.incestuoso-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA

‘Quería³²⁰ tener relaciones sexuales incestuosas con ella.’

‘He wanted to have incestuous sex with her.’

Ikántàkiro raniro:

i-kant-ak-i-ro r-aniro
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Le dice a su sobrina.’

‘He says to his niece.’

“Pipókanaki rowa..., ikántètzirowa..., apánkinatawakáeya”.

pi-pok-an-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

a-pánkina-t-awak-eya

INCL.S-tener.sexo-&-RECP-IRR

‘Ven, esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., vamos a hacer el amor’.

‘Come, um..., what’s its name...?, um..., let’s make love’.

Ikénkishiryáka, ikántàkiro: “Naaka nopoñaka henoki, náakataki áatsimiyáytziríri mantsiyari”.

i-kénkishiry-ak-a i-kant-ak-i-ro
3M.S-pensar-PFV-REA 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O

naaka no-poñ-ak-a henoki

1 1S-proceder.de-PFV-REA arriba

naaka-t-ak-i aatsimiy-a-yi-t-zi-ri-ri mantsiya-ri

1-&-PFV-FRS chupar.para.curar-&-DISTR-&-REA-3M.O-REL enfermo-M

‘Piensa, le dice: “Yo vengo de arriba (del cielo), soy el que cura a los enfermos”.’

‘He thinks, he says to her: “I come from above (from heaven), I am the one who heals the sick”.’

³²⁰ ‘Quería’ is the consultant’s translation. As in other cases, the speakers tend to translate an Ashéninka verb with the frustrative suffix with the Spanish imperfect.

Okántaka iroka tsinánikà okénkishiryà, okantzi:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka tsinani=ka o-kenkishiry-a o-kant-zi
 3F.S-COP-PFV-READEM-F=PROX mujer=PROX 3F.S-pensar-REA 3F.S-decir-REA
 ‘Pasó que esta mujer piensa, dice.’
 ‘It happened that this woman thinks, says.’

“Hempe okántyaka irika, árima ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki
 áatsimiyantàtsiri, árima ipánkinatakàe?”

hempe o-kant-ya=ka i-ri=ka ari=ma i-kant-a-ri
 WH 3F.S-COP-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA-REL
 i-ri=ka ri=raga poñ-acha-ri henoki
 DEM-M=PROX M=CAT.DEM proceder.de-PTCP.IPFV-REL arriba

aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 chupar.para.curar-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB 3M.S-tener.sexo-&-PFV-INCL.O
 “‘¿Cómo puede ser que este, este que es el que viene del cielo y chupa para curar, nos
 hace el amor?’”
 “‘How can it be that this one, this one who comes from heaven and sucks to heal, makes love
 to us?’”

Tee àapatziyawakyàari iroka tsinani.

tee Ø-aapatziy-awak-ya-ri i-ro=ka tsinani
 NEG.REA 3F.S-acceptar-DES-IRR-3M.O DEM-F=PROX mujer
 ‘No lo ha querido aceptar, esta mujer.’
 ‘She has not wanted to accept him, this woman.’

Ipíyana irika, ikántziri³²¹, shèripyári thayiri.

i-piy-an-a i-ri=ka i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-volver-ABL-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O
 sheripyari thayi-ri
 chamán mentiroso-REL
 ‘Ha vuelto este, cómo se llama..., chamán mentiroso.’
 ‘This one is back, what’s his name...?, the cheating shaman.’

Éekiro rayiitatzi, ikántziri, ríraga, iníntakòri.

éekiro r-ayiit-atzi i-kant-zi-ri ri=raga i-nintakori
 continúa 3M.S-bajar-PROG 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O M=CAT.DEM 3M-seguidor
 ‘Continúan bajando, cómo se llama..., esos, sus seguidores.’
 ‘They keep on coming down, what’s its name...?, those, his followers.’

³²¹ In this case, as in the following sentence, *ikántziri* is a filler, the same as the often-repeated *ikántètziiri*. It can be considered an abbreviation in which the impersonal suffix has dropped.

Ayíitapàki éehatzi: poo. Ikántapàeri: “Piyótina”.
 ayiit-ap-ak-i éehatzi poo
 bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS también IDEO:posarse.en.el.suelo
 i-kant-ap-a-e-ri p-iyot-i-na
 3M.S-decir-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O
 ‘Baja (uno) también: ¡plop! Vuelve a decir: “Adiviname”.’
 ‘(One) comes down too: plop! He says again: “Guess who I am”.’

Ikántziri ikáatéyinirà: “Éeroka rira..., ashiwantzi”.
 i-kant-zi-ri i-kaa-t-cey-i-ni=ra
 3M-decir-REA-3M.O 3M-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 éeroka ri=ra ashiwantzi³²²
 2 M=MED golondrina
 ‘Le dicen esos: “Tú, esto..., golondrina”.’
 ‘Those say to him: “You, um..., swallow”.’

Ikantzi “tee”. “Éeroka rira, ikántètzi..., chewontzi.” Ikantzi “hee, naaka.”
 i-kant-zi tee éeroka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 chewontzi i-kant-zi hee naaka
 golondrina 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1
 ‘Dice “no”. “Tú esto..., cómo se llama..., golondrina”. Dice: “Sí, yo”.’
 ‘He says “no”. “You um..., what’s its name...?, swallow”. He says: “Yes, it’s me”.’

Róohatzi riyáataki ráatsimiyiri mantsiyári.
 i-kant-zi hee naaka róohatzi r-iyaa-t-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1 luego 3M.S-ir-&-PFV-FRS
 r-aatsimiy-i-ri mantsiya-ri
 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M
 ‘Luego va a chupar a los enfermos para curarlos.’
 ‘Then he goes to suck at the sick to cure them.’

Ikantzi: “Ráatsimiyákiri, ráatsimiyákiri, ráatsimiyákiri.”
 i-kant-zi r-aatsimiy-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-decir-REA 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘Dicen: “Le ha chupado para curarlo, le ha chupado para curarlo, le ha chupado para curarlo”.’
 ‘They say: “He sucked at him to cure him, he sucked at him to cure him, he sucked at him to cure him”.’

³²² The translation *golondrina* is taken from Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (*swallow* in English), given that the translating consultant was not able to give me a Spanish translation for *ashiwantzi* nor *chewontzi* (in the following sentence). However, he said that these birds belong to the same family and are similar to *gavilán*, although they are not birds of prey, and he also said that they are similar to *etho* and that this is a kind of *golondrina*.

Ikáatàkiro rooha ipíyantana.

i-kaa-t-ak-i-ro rooha i-piy-ant-an-a
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA
 ‘Lo termina y luego vuelve (a ver a su sobrina).’
 ‘He finishes it and then goes back (to see his niece).’

Okántaka iroka tsinani okénkishiryáka:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka tsinani o-kenkishirya-ak-a
 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-pensar-PFV-REA
 ‘Así es que esta mujer piensa.’
 ‘So this woman thinks.’

“Tsiká ipoñéyaka irika ashéninkakà iroñaaka kowátsiri iñáathatina? Tee noñáapiintziri.

tsiká i-poñ-eya=ka³²³ i-ri=ka a-shéninka=ka iroñaaka
 WH 3M.S-proceder.de-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano=PROX ahora
 kow-atsi-ri i-ñaatha-t-i-na tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ri
 querer-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-tener.sexo-&-IRR-1O NEG.REA 1S-ver-HAB-REA-3M.O
 “¿De dónde vendrá este ashéninka que ahora quiere hacerme el amor? Nunca lo conocí” (lit. no suelo verlo).’
 “‘Where could this Ashéninka come from, who now wants to make love to me? I never met him” (lit. I don’t usually see him)’.”

³²³ The irrealis in this verb may be due to the fact that the woman is asking herself a question to which she does not know the answer. In this sense, the Spanish translation ‘vendrá’ as well as the possible English translation ‘might come’ also express an irrealis utterance.

Niyótantari kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka héekatzi oháawiki, paata nopóntzitáshitawakiriita (*nokáwirinkáshitawakiriita*)³²⁴ ana.”

n-iyó-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
1S-saber-&-RES-IRR-REL verdadero-VER=COND 3M.S-proceder.de-REA arriba

kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-paisano vivir-PROG 3F-debajo

paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri-ita ana³²⁵
después 1S-rallar-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O-ROPT huito

“Para saber si es realmente verdad que viene del cielo y si no es que el ashéninka vive aquí abajo, luego voy a rallarle huito (para cuando llegue, a pesar de que no le gustará)³²⁶.”

“In order to find out if it’s really true that he comes from heaven and whether it isn’t that the Ashéninka lives down here, later I’m going to grate genipap for him (for when he arrives, even though he won’t like it).”

Okanta opóntzitáshitàkiri (*okáwirinkáshitàkiri*) ana.

o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-rallar-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O huito

‘Así fue que le ralló huito.’

‘So it was that she grated genipap.’

Ótsipani paata tsiréniri éehatzi rowáyiitéri iníntakòri.

o-tsipa-ni paata tsiréniri éehatzi r-ow-ayiit-i-ri i-nintakori
F-otro-INTS después noche también 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 3M-seguidor

‘Después, también otra noche ha hecho bajar a sus seguidores.’

‘Later, also another night, he has made his followers come down.’

³²⁴ When telling the story, Chóokiro used the stem *-kawirink-*, here and in the next sentence. However, in the transcription session, he said that he should have used the stem *-pontzit-* ‘grate’, because *-kawirink-* means ‘knead a fruit to soften it’, and the genipap is actually grated in this story, so it is better to gloss here the word that fits the story while showing the one actually uttered in the recording.

³²⁵ The fruit of *huito* is meant here. *Huito* is the tree *Genipa americana*, known in English as *genip tree* (fruit *genipap*, according to Wikipedia).

³²⁶ The added meanings between parentheses are caused by the suffix *-aw* and the enclitic *=ita*, respectively.

Éehatziita ikímita chapinki, owákirani riraki iyamarámpiti, éehatzi rowa..., niyanki tsiréniri, ikántakiri ashéninkapáeni ikáateyini:

éehatzi-ita i-kimi-t-a chapinkiwákira-ni r-ir-ak-i
también-ROPT 3M.S-parecerse-&-REA ayer nuevo-INTS 3M.S-beber-PFV-FRS

i-kamarampi-ti éehatzi ro=ra niyanki tsiréniri
3M-ayahuasca-POSS también F=MED mitad noche

i-kant-ak-i-ri a-shéninka=paeni i-kaa-t-ecy-i-ni
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O INCL-paisano=PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
'De la misma manera como ayer, de nuevo bebe su ayahuasca, y esto..., a media noche, dice a los ashéninkas.'
'In the same way as yesterday, he drinks his ayahuasca again, and, um..., at midnight, he says to the Ashéninkas.'

"Káakitákirà irika, noyíiteri nónintakòri.

kaaki-t-ak-i=ra i-ri=ka n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori
llegar-&-PFV-FRS=MED DEM-M=PROX 1S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 1-seguidor

"Enseguida van a llegar de allá estos, voy a hacer bajar a mis seguidores".'

"These are going to arrive right away, I'm going to make my followers come down".'

Naaka niyáatatyee naaka henoki.

naaka n-iyaa-t-atyee henoki

1 1S-ir-&-FUT arriba

"Yo me voy a ir arriba (al cielo)".'

"I'm going to go up (to heaven)".'

Riintzi ayíitapáenitsini noníntakòri, piyótawakirira paata".

ri-intzi ayiit-a=paeni-tsi-ni no-nintakori

M-REST bajar-&=PL-PTCP.IPFV-REL.IRR 1-seguidor

p-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra paata

2S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED luego

"Sólo ellos, los que van a bajar, mis seguidores, a esos vais a adivinar luego".'

"Only they, those who are going to come down, my followers, you are going to guess who those are later".'

Ikantzi: "Hee ari". Éehatzi róohatzi hápokanaka: hapo.

i-kant-zi hee ari

3M.S-decir-REA AFF de.acuerdo

éehatzi róohatzi hapok-an-ak-a hapo

también luego saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar

'Dicen: "Sí, de acuerdo". Y luego salta: ¡hop!.'

'They say: "Yes, all right". And then he jumps: hop!.'

Ikántaka irika iníntakòri ayíitapáaki. Ikantzi: “Piyótina”.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka i-nintakori ayiit-apa-ak-i
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M-seguidor bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS

i-kant-zi p-iyo-t-i-na
3M.S-decir-REA 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O

‘Así fue que este seguidor suyo bajó. Dice: “Adiviname”.’

‘So it was that this follower of his came down. He says: “Guess who I am”.’

Íríkapáeni iráyitátsiri ikántziri:

i-ri=ka=paeni ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kant-zi-ri
DEM-M=PROX=PL beber-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O

‘Estos que están bebiendo le dicen:’

‘These who are drinking say to him:’

“Éeroka rira, takoyo”.

éeroka ri=ra takoyo³²⁷

2 M=MED clase.de.pájaro

“Tú, esto..., *takoyo*”.

"You, um..., *takoyo*".

Ikantzi “tee”. “Éeroka tsirootzi”. Ikantzi “hee, naaka tsirootzi.”

i-kant-zi tee éeroka tsirootzi i-kant-zi hee naaka
3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 paucarcillo 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1

‘Dice “no”. “Tú, paucarcillo”. Dice “sí, yo paucarcillo”.’

‘He says “no”. “You, *paucarcillo*”. He says “yes, I am *paucarcillo*”.’

Rooha ráwihántanàka ihéekira mantsiyari. Ramíniri.

rooha r-awih-ant-an-ak-a i-heck-i=ra mantsiya-ri
luego 3M.S-pasar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-estar-FRS=MED enfermo-M

r-amin-i-ri

3M.S-mirar-FRS-3M.O

‘Luego pasa adonde están los enfermos. Los mira (los trata).’

‘Then he goes to where the sick are. He looks at them (treats them).’

³²⁷ The translating consultant said that this is a small bird with a red tail. Payne’s multidialectal dictionary includes this word with the meaning ‘especie de paucarcillo’.

Ikántaka irika tháyiri shèripyári owàyiitziriri irika iníntakòri tàpótacha hanta ohéekinta raniro.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka thayi-ri sheripyari

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL chamán

ow-ayit-zi-ri-ri i-nintakori tapo-t-acha

CAUS-bajar-REA-3M.O-REL 3M-seguidor acechar-&-PTCP.IPFV

ha=nta o-heck-i=nta r-aniro

LOC=DIST 3F.S-estar-FRS=DIST 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Así fue que este chamán mentiroso que hace bajar a estos sus seguidores está acechando allá donde vive su sobrina (hija de su hermana).’

‘So it was that this cheating shaman who brings down these his followers is creeping there where his niece (his sister’s daughter) lives.’

Ikówawitàka ari rantátenkatirómi.

i-kow-a-wi-t-ak-a ari

3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA AFF

r-ant-a-tenka-t-i-ro-mi

3M.S-hacer-&-despatarrado-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA

‘Quería hacerle el amor.’

‘He wanted to make love to her.’

Ikántaka rira..., iroka tsinani owétsikáshitákiri, ikanta, ana, okémitzitaka:

i-kant-ak-a ri=ra

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED

i-ro=ka tsinani o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri

DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-preparar-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O

i-kant-a ana o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a

3M.S-COP-REA huita 3F.S-raspar-&-ANT-PFV-REA

‘Así ha sido, esto..., que esta mujer le ha preparado, es..., huita, (lo) ha raspado antes.’

‘That’s how it was, um..., that this woman has prepared for him, it’s..., genipap, she has grated it before.’

“Náminawàkiriita kyáaryoperòrika riitakirika rira, ikántètziriri, poñinkari henoki.”

n-amin-awak-i-ri-ita kyaaryo-pero=rika rii-t-ak-i=rika

1S-mirar-DES-FRS-3M.O-ROPT verdadero-VER=COND 3M-&-PFV-FRS=COND

ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri poñ-inka-ri henoki

M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O proceder.de-ADJZ-M arriba

“”Quiero mirar (comprobar) si es realmente verdad si él es, esto..., cómo se llama..., procedente de arriba”.’

“”I want to see (check) whether it’s really true that he is, um..., what’s its name..., coming from above”.’

Irika ashéninka tháyiri shèripyári tee rowa..., tee riyowaetzi owétsikáshitákiri raniro ana.

i-ri=ka a-shéninka thayi-ri sheripyari tee ro=ra
DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano mentiroso-REL chamán NEG.REA F=MED

tee r-iyó-wae-t-zi
NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-DURL-&-REA

o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri r-aniro ana
3F.O-preparar-PURP-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP huito
'Este ashéninka chamán mentiroso no, esto..., no está sabiendo que su sobrina le ha preparado huito.'
'This cheating Ashéninka shaman doesn't, um..., he doesn't know that his niece has prepared genipap for him.'

Ikántaka irika, okántaka rowa, rítsirokà rowa, raniro, ikyáapaki.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka o-kant-ak-a ro=ra
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA F=MED

r-itsiro=ka³²⁸ r-aniro i-kya-ap-ak-i
3M-hermana.MP=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP 3M.S-entrar-ALL-PFV-FRS
'Así fue que este, fue que..., esto..., su hermana, esto..., su sobrina, entró (el chamán, en casa de su sobrina).'
'So it was that this, it was that..., um..., his sister, um..., his niece, entered (the shaman entered his niece's house).'

Tekatsi kamántirini. Ikántawitakàwo: "Pípokanàki."

tekatsi kamant-i-ri-ni i-kant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
NEG.EXI avisar-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR 3M.S-decir-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O

pi-pok-an-ak-i
2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS

'No ha avisado (el chamán) (lit. no existe el que lo va a anunciar). Le dice (en vano): "Ven".'

'He has not announced himself (the shaman) (lit. the one who is going to announce does not exist). He says to her (in vain): "Come".'

Okántziri: "Eero". Apátziro áakiro, pokaki okáakini.

o-kant-zi-ri eero
3F.S-decir-REA-3M.O NEG.IRR

apátziro a-ak-i-ro pok-ak-i okáakini
sólo coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O venir-PFV-FRS cerca

'Le dice: "No". Sólo lo ha cogido (el huito), ha venido cerca (se le ha acercado el chamán).'
'She says: "No". She has only took it (genipap), he comes close (the shaman approaches her).'

³²⁸ This word is clearly a mistake by the narrator. The sentence is somewhat badly expressed, but the narrator means that the shaman enters his niece's house.

Róohatzi òntsirokapáakari, ròntsirokapáakawo,
 róohatzi Ø-òntsirok-apa-ak-a-ri
 luego 3F.S-estar.al.lado-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 r-òntsirok-apa-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-estar.al.lado-ALL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘Luego se ha acercado ella a él, se ha acercado él a ella.’
 ‘Then she has approached him, he has approached her.’

Róohatzi ohéetantawakàri anákira, máaweni ipooki, ohéetakiri: shaau.
 róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira máaweni
 luego 3F.S-echar-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O huito-LIQ todo
 i-poo=ki o-hee-t-ak-i-ri shaao
 3M-cara=LOC 3F.S-echar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O IDEO:líquido.cayendo
 ‘Y luego le ha echado (ella a él) la pasta de huito, por toda la cara, le ha echado: ¡chof!’
 ‘And then she throws the genipap paste, all over his face, she throws it: chof!’

Tee ramètanakyáwo irira.
 tee r-ame-t-an-ak-ya-ro i-ri=ra
 NEG.REA 3M.S-acostumbrarse-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O DEM-M=MED
 ‘No le ha gustado esto a ese.’
 ‘That one hasn’t liked this.’

Ikantzi tháyiri sheripyari: “Shitówanaki”, haté.
 i-kant-zi thayi-ri sheripyari shitow-an-ak-i ha-t-i³²⁹
 3M.S-decir-REA mentiroso-REL chamán salir-ABL-PFV-FRS ir-&-IRR
 ‘Dice el chamán mentiroso: “Salgo”, se fue.’
 ‘The cheating shaman says: “I’m leaving”, he’s gone.’

Ikántaka roweyántaka royíitakíri ikántziri..., iníntakòri rayíitaki.
 i-kant-ak-a r-oweyant-ak-a r-o-ayíit-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-ser.último-PFV-REA 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-PFV-FRS-REL
 i-kant-zi-ri i-nintakori r-ayíit-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O 3M-seguidor 3M.S-bajar-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así fue que el último que ha hecho bajar dice..., el seguidor ha bajado.’
 ‘So it was that the last one whom he has brought down says..., the follower has gone down.’

Riyótawákiri ikáateyini irira ikántètzi, ikaatzi irátsiri.
 r-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni i-ri=ra
 3M.S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL DEM-M=MED
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA beber-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘Lo adivinan (al seguidor del chamán) esos, cómo se llama..., los que están bebiendo.’
 ‘Those guess who he is (the shaman’s follower), what’s its name...?, those who are drinking.’

³²⁹ The irrealis here is remarkable and is probably explained by the irregularity of this form of the verb *iyataantsi* ‘go’ with a suffixed subject (null in this form in 3rd person).

Ikantzi: “Éeroka rira, ashiwantzi”. Ikantzi: “Hee, naaka”.

i-kant-zi éeroka ri=ra ashiwantzi hee naaka

3M.S-decir-REA 2 M=MED golondrina AFF 1

‘Dice: “Tú, esto..., golondrina”. Dice: “Sí, yo”.’

‘He says: “You, um..., swallow”. He says: “Yes, me”.’

Roweyántanakàwo ráatsimiyiwo mántsiyàwo.

r-oweyant-an-ak-a-ro r-aatsimiy-i-ro mantsiya-ro

3M.S-ser.último-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3F.O enfermo-F

‘El último que llega es para ella, chupa para curar a una enferma.’

‘The last one to arrive is for her, she sucks to cure a sick woman.’

Ráatsimiyàkiro, ráatsimiyàkiro, ráatsimiyàkiro.

r-aatsimiy-an-ak-i-ro

3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘La chupa para curarla, la chupa para curarla, la chupa para curarla.’

‘He sucks at her to heal her, he sucks at her to heal her, he sucks at her to heal her.’

Róohatzi ipíyántánaka hápokanàka: hapo.

róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-ak-a hapok-an-ak-a hapo

luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-PFV-REA saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar

‘Luego vuelve y salta: ¡hop!’

‘Then goes back and jumps: hop!’

Irika ashéninka tháirikà, ohéetakirira ràniro, kiháamokotziitaki paata, kiháamokotziitanáki.

i-ri=ka a-shéninka thayi-ri=ka

DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano mentiroso-REL=PROX

o-hee-t-ak-i-ri-ra r-aniro

3F.S-echar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

kihaa-moko-tz-iita-ak-i³³⁰ paata kihaa-moko-tz-iita-an-ak-i

negro-BALL-&-ROPT-PFV-FRS después negro-BALL-&-ROPT-ABL-PFV-FRS

‘A este ashéninka mentiroso, cuando su sobrina le ha echado (el huito), se ha puesto como una bola negra (su cara, totalmente contra su voluntad).’

‘This cheating Ashéninka, when his niece threw (genipap) at him, he turned into a black ball (his face, totally against his will).’

³³⁰ This word is remarkably difficult to interpret because of *-iita* followed by the perfective and ablative suffixes, given that *-iita* should be at the end of the word. I have decided to interpret that, since the ROPT *-iita* has occurred in different word classes, it attaches to the construction *kiháamoko* ‘black ball’; and then, this *kiháamokotziita* is verbalized with the verbal suffixes.

Éeki-ro, éeki-ro roo okítehítaki, paata okítehítamànae.

éeki-ro roo o-kitehi-t-ak-i

continúa luego 3F.S-amanecer-&-PFV-FRS

paata o-kitehi-t-aman-a-i

después 3F.S-amanecer-&-EARLY-REG-FRS

‘Continúa (el transcurso del tiempo) y luego amanece..., después vuelve a amanecer temprano.’

‘It goes on (the passage of time), and then it dawns..., then it dawns again early.’

Pohátaki wanawontsi roya, pohátaki wanawontsi roya.

poha-t-ak-i wanawontsi r-ow-ya

estar.cocinado-&-PFV-FRS comida 3M.S-comer-IRR

‘Ya está la comida cocinada para comer, ya está la comida cocinada para comer.’

‘The food is already cooked to eat, the food is already cooked to eat.’

Róohatzi..., rowa..., ikántètzi-ri, ikáemantawitakàri ikáateyini roya kaniri.

róohatzi ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri

luego F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-kaem-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri i-kaa-t-ecy-i-ni

3M.S-llamar-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

r-ow-ya kaniri

3M.S-comer-IRR yuca

‘Luego..., esto..., cómo se llama..., lo llaman ellos para comer yuca (unos vecinos llaman al chamán).’³³¹

‘Then..., um..., what’s its name...?, they call him to eat cassava (some neighbours call the shaman).’

Irika tháyirikà sheripyari tee ikoyi ishitoyi.

i-ri=ka thayi-ri=ka sheripyari

DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL=PROX chamán

tee i-koy-i i-shitoy-i

NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-salir-FRS

‘Este chamán mentiroso no quiere salir.’

‘This cheating shaman doesn’t want to come out.’

Ipáshiwéntaka, ikiháachéyinaáataki.

i-pashiwent-ak-a i-kihaa-cheyinaa-t-ak-i

3M.S-avergonzarse-PFV-REA 3M.S-negro-BALL-&-PFV-FRS

‘Le da vergüenza, es una bola negra (dicho como insulto).’

‘He’s ashamed, it’s a black ball (said as an insult).’

³³¹ The translating consultant explained to me that this sentence implies that the shaman is not married and that is why he goes to some neighbours’ house to eat. Although the subject and the object are not mentioned in this sentence, it seems that someone living in a traditional Ashéninka society would understand who is calling and who is called.’

Hénokitapáki oorya.

henoki-t-ap-ak-i oorya

arriba-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sol

‘Está arriba el sol.’

‘The sun is up.’

Tekatsi akántiro árima akéwanéero rowa, ana.

tekatsi a-kant-i-ro ari=ma a-kiw-an-a-e-ro

NEG.EXI INCL.S-decir-IRR-3F.O AFF=DUB INCL.S-lavar-ABL-REG-FRS-3F.O

ro=ra ana

F=MED huito

‘No hay manera de borrar (lavar), esto..., el huito.’

‘There is no way to erase (wash), um..., genipap.’

Ana eero oshitoyiita. *Como* ayòtéyironi, ana eero oshitoyiita.

ana eero o-shitoy-i-ita como³³² a-iyó-t-ee-y-i-ro-ni

huito NEG.IRR 3F.S-salir-FRS-ROPT como INCL.S-saber-&-PL-FRS-3F.O-PL

‘El huito no sale (aunque nos lavemos)³³³. Como sabemos, el huito no sale (aunque nos lavemos).

‘Genipap does not come out (even if we wash ourselves). As we know, genipap does not come out (even if we wash ourselves).’

Ashoyiro ichéenkamòoti.

ashoyiro i-cheenka-poo-t-i

permanente 3M.S-negro-cara-&-IRR

‘Se le va a quedar la cara negra permanentemente.’³³⁴

‘His face will be permanently black.’

Ikántaka éekiro itáshiyapáki, ishitówaki, kiháashémokòtzi.

i-kant-ak-a éekiro i-tashiy-ap-ak-i

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA continúa 3M.S-tener.hambre-ALL-PFV-FRS

i-shitow-ak-i kihaa-she-moko-t-zi

3M.S-salir-PFV-FRS negro-THICK-BALL-&-REA

‘Así es que continúa teniendo hambre, y sale, con la bola en negro espeso (su cabeza).’

‘So he continues to be hungry, and he comes out, with the ball in thick black (his head).’

³³² This is obviously a Spanish word. The translating consultant said that it can be replaced by the Ashéninka *rooma*.

³³³ The translation ‘aunque nos lavemos’ (‘even though we wash ourselves’) is the nuance given by the ROPT-*ita*.

³³⁴ The translating consultant told me that huito paste is used as a tattoo, and you can only remove it from your skin after some weeks.

Okántaka iroka ranírokà oñáatziri chénka...:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka r-aníro=ka
3F.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP=PROX

o-ña-atzi-ri chenka-
3F.S-ver-PROG-3M.O negro³³⁵

‘Así fue que esta su sobrina está viendo lo negro...’

‘So this niece of his is watching the black...’

Okántashirètzi:

o-kant-a-shire-t-zi

3F.S-decir-&-alma-&-REA

‘Dice para sus adentros (en su mente/alma) (la sobrina):’

‘She says to herself (in her mind/soul) (the niece):’

“Naaka, ríitaháantakíma rira kooko oñáashirènkànari.

naaka rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
1 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED

kooko oñáashirenk-a-na-ri

tío.materno.VOC.FE molestar-REA-1O-REL

“Yo..., así que era este tío el que me molestaba” (lamentándose).’

“I..., so it was this uncle who bothered me” (lamenting herself).’

Ikántaháantzi: «Nopónaaka hanta henoki.

i-kant-ahaant-zi no-poñ-ak-a ha=nta henoki
3M.S-decir-LAM-REA 1S-proceder.de-PFV-REA LOC=DIST arriba

‘¿Cómo puede decir...? (ella se lamenta): «Yo vengo de allá arriba».’

“How can he say...? (she laments herself): «I come from up there»”.

Náakataki áatsimiyiriri mantsiyari”.

naaka-t-ak-i aatsimiy-i-ri-ri mantsiya-ri
1-&-PFV-FRS chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O-REL enfermo-M

“«Yo soy el que chupa a los enfermos para curarlos»”.

“I am the one who sucks at the sick to cure them”.

Iroka tsinánikà yòtanáki, ya.

i-ro=ka tsinani=ka Ø-íyo-t-an-ak-i ya
DEM-F=PROX mujer=PROX 3F.S-saber-&-ABL-PFV-FRS ya

‘Esta mujer lo ha sabido, ya.’

‘This woman has known it, now.’

³³⁵ Here, the narrator cut the word, that is, he stopped and started with the following sentence.

Entonces máaweni inéyakirini, ikáateyini ikantzi, rowa:

entonces máaweni i-ñ-eeey-ak-i-ri-ni

entonces todos 3M.S-ver-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL

i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni i-kant-zi ro=ra

3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-decir-REA F=MED

‘Entonces todos lo han visto, ellos dicen..., esto...’

‘So everyone has seen it, they say..., um...’

“O, árima ikanta shéripayari!”

o ari=ma i-kant-a sheripyari

INTJ AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA chamán

“¡Oh, si es el chamán!”

“Oh, it is the shaman!”

Ikántaka irika ashéninka itháawetàtzi, itháawetàkiro

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka a-shéninka i-thaawe-t-atzi

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano 3M.S-hacer.mal.agüero-&-PROG

i-thaawe-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-hacer.mal.agüero-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Así fue que este ashéninka estaba haciendo mal agüero, lo ha hecho.’

‘So it was that this Ashéninka was casting a bad omen on himself, he did it.’

Róoteentsi rohàtziikitya paata.

róoteentsi r-o-hatziiki-t-ya³³⁶ paata

ya 3M.S-CAUS-clavarse.en.ano-&-IRR luego

‘Ya va a causar que se clave luego una estaca en el ano (él se lo causa a él mismo al hacer mal agüero).’

‘He’s going to cause a stake to be driven into his anus later (he causes it to himself by casting a bad omen on himself).’

Roo roweyántakàwo rirakagéiyakirini iyamarámpiti ikáateyínirà.

roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-eeey-ak-i-ri-ni

luego 3M.S-ser.último-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-beber-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL

i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni=ra

3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED

‘Luego llega el último que les ha hecho beber (les ha invitado) su ayahuasca a esos.’

‘Then, the last one arrives, who makes those drink (invites them) his ayahuasca.’

³³⁶ The translating consultant said that this stem means that some sharp object is stuck into the anus. He said that doing this with an arrow was used as a way to execute enemies in clan wars in the Gran Pajonal in former times.

Ikantzi: “Hame rowa, iri éehatzi kamárampi, amónkote koka éehatzi chamaero rowa, iráwàeti ayamarámpiti.”

i-kant-zi hame ro=ra Ø-ir-i éehatzi kamarampi
3M.S-decir-REA HORT.INCL F=MED INCL.S-beber-FRS también ayahuasca

Ø-amonko-t-i koka éehatzi chamaero ro=ra
INCL.S-mascar-&-IRR coca también chamairo F=MED

Ø-ir-a-wae-t-i a-kamarampi-ti
INCL.S-beber-&-DURL-&-IRR INCL-ayahuasca-POSS

‘Dice: “Vamos, esto..., a beber también ayahuasca, mascar coca y chamairo, esto..., vamos a estar bebiendo nuestra ayahuasca”.’

‘He says: “We’re going to, um..., to also drink ayahuasca, chew coca and chamairo, um..., we are going to be drinking our ayahuasca”.’

Iréiyakini, éehatzi raahi, ramaki ítsipa mantsiyari.

ir-ee-y-ak-i-ni éehatzi r-a-ah-i
beber-PL-PFV-FRS-PL también 3M.S-coger-REG-FRS

r-am-ak-i i-tsipa mantsiya-ri
3M.S-llevar-PFV-FRS M-otro enfermo-M

‘Han bebido, y vuelven a coger a otro enfermo y lo llevan.’

‘They drink, and they pick up another sick person again and bring him.’

Rowákiri, ráatsimiyiri itomyaite, iníntakòri.

r-ow-ak-i-ri r-aatsimiy-i-ri
3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O

i-tomi-a-ite³³⁷ i-nintakori
3M-hijo-&-PL.AN 3M-seguidor

‘Los ha puesto (ahí), los chupa para curarlos; sus hijos, sus seguidores.’

‘He puts them (there), sucks at them to cure them; his children, his followers.’

Hatane éehatzi rira, sheripyari hátaki henoki. Hápokanáka: hapo.

ha-t-an-i éehatzi ri=ra sheripyari ha-t-ak-i henoki
ir-&-ABL-FRS también M=MED chamán ir-&-PFV-FRS arriba

hapok-an-ak-a hapo
saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar

‘Se va también, esto..., el chamán se ha ido arriba. Ha saltado: ¡hop!’

‘He’s leaving too, um..., the shaman goes up. He jumps: hop!’

³³⁷ The translating consultant told me that the shaman considers his followers his sons.

Ayíitapàkiri irika, ikántètzi... iníntakòri, ikántapaki: “Piyótina, piyótina”.

ayiit-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-nintakori i-kant-ak-i p-iyot-i-na
3M-seguidor 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O

‘Este que ha bajado, cómo se llama..., su seguidor, dice (al llegar): “Adivinadme, adivinadme”.’

‘This one who has come down, what is its name...?, his follower, says (upon arrival): “Guess who I am, Guess who I am”.’

Riyóytawakíri, ikantzi:

r-iyot-yi-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kant-zi
3M.S-saber-DISTR-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-REA

‘Lo adivinan (cuando lo reciben), dicen:’

‘They guess who he is (when they receive it), they say:’

“Éeroka rira ikántètzi, thoo”. Ikantzi “tee naaka.”

éeroka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri thoo³³⁸
2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O lechuza

i-kant-zi tee naaka
3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 1

“Tú esto..., cómo se llama..., lechuza”. Dice “yo no”.’

“You, um..., what’s its name...?, owl”. He says “not me”.’

“Éeroka rira, ikántètzi rira, tàkóyo”. Ikantzi “hee, naaka.”

éeroka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri takoyo
2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O clase.de.pájaro

i-kant-zi hee naaka
3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1

“Tú, esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., takoyo”. Dice “sí, yo”.’

“You, um..., what’s its name...?, um..., takoyo”. He says “yes, me”.’

Riyótawakíri. Hàtáki ráatsimiyíri mantsiyari.

r-iyot-t-aw-ak-i-ri
3M.S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O

ha-t-ak-i r-aatsimiy-i-ri mantsiya-ri
ir-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M

‘Lo ha adivinado. Se va a chupar a los enfermos para curarlos.’

‘He guessed it. He goes to suck at the sick people to cure them.’

³³⁸ According to Wikipedia, the Spanish word *lechuza* can be used for the following species that live in the Ashéninka area: *Strix huhula* (black-banded owl), *Strix virgata* (mottled owl), *Lophotrix cristata* (crested owl) and *Tyto furcata* (American barn owl).

Roo ithónkanàkiro. Hápokanàka. Káakitapàki páashini.

roo i-thonk-an-ak-i-ro hapok-an-ak-a
luego 3M.S-terminar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O saltar-ABL-PFV-REA

kaaki-t-ap-ak-i³³⁹ páashini

llegar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS otro

‘Luego ha acabado. Ha saltado. Ha llegado otro enseguida.’

‘Then he finishes. He jumps. Another one comes right away.’

Ari ikántaka, rooha ithónkantanakáwo.

ari i-kant-ak-a rooha i-thonk-ant-an-ak-a-ro

así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA luego 3M.S-terminar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O

‘Así fue, luego lo ha terminado (chupar a los enfermos).’

‘So it was, then he finishes (sucking at the sick).’

Tee roñaashirenkàro iroka raníroka.

tee r-oñaashirenk-an-i-ro

NEG.REA 3M.S-molestar-ABL-FRS-3F.O

i-ro=ka r-aníro=ka

DEM-F=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP=PROX

‘No ha molestado a esta su sobrina.’

‘He hasn’t bothered this niece of his.’

Ikántziro, iroka riri yamarámpiti hanta, irowa, owákirariki owaantsi, ohéekayítzirà
incháponthopáeni.

i-kant-zi-ro i-ro=ka r-ir-i i-kamarampi-ti

3M.S-decir-REA-3F.O DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-beber-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS

ha=nta i-ro=ra owákira-ri=ki owaani-ntsi

LOC=DIST DEM-F=MED nuevo-REL=LOC chacra-ALI

o-heck-a-yi-t-zi=ra inchápontho=paeni

3F.S-estar-&-DISTR-&-REA=MED estaca=PL

‘Cómo se llama..., bebe esta su ayahuasca allá, esto..., en las chacras nuevas, donde están las estacas.’

‘What’s its name...?, he drinks his ayahuasca there, um..., in the new *chacras*, where the stakes are.’

³³⁹ This verb is defective because the translating consultant did not accept my proposals inflecting it with subject prefixes, but only with subject suffixes, so it seems that the subject has to be obligatorily cross-referenced with a suffix in this verb (here null in 3rd person).

Róotaki itháawetákiri iroka ikóyimi roñaashirénkiro raniro.

roo-t-ak-i i-thaawe-t-ak-i-ri³⁴⁰ i-ro=ka
3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-coger.mal.agüero-&-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX

i-koy-i-mi r-oñaashirenk-i-ro r-aniro
3M.S-querer-FRS-COFA 3M.S-molestar-FRS-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP
'Esto es que ha hecho mal agüero porque ha querido molestar a esta su sobrina.'
'This is that he has cast a bad omen on himself because he wanted to annoy this niece of his.'

Ohátziikitákiri paata inchaki.

ohatziiki-t-ak-i-ri paata inchaki
clavarse.en.ano-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O luego estaca
'Luego se va a clavar una estaca en el ano.'
'Then a stake is going to get stuck into his anus.'

Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanèemi, ráashirátantanakàwo rowa, inchato, ikáatziyawitàga, tziroyáanaki: hapo.

i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-saltar-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA

r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra inchato
3M.S-resbalar-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED estaca³⁴¹

i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra tziroya-an-ak-i hapo
3M.S-estar.parado-&-FRU-&-REA=MED pisar.en.falso-ABL-PFV-FRS IDEO:saltar
'Así fue que quiso saltar de nuevo, por eso resbaló, esto..., hacia la estaca, donde estaba parado (con un mal resultado), pisó en falso: ¡plop!'
'So it was that he wanted to jump again, that's why he slipped, um..., towards the stake, where he was standing (with a bad result), he stepped on the wrong foot: plop!'

Ari ohéekaki inchaki, hanta, incháponthopáeni.

ari o-heek-ak-i inchaki ha=nta inchápontho=paeni
allí 3F.S-estar-PFV-FRS estaca LOC=DIST estaca=PL
'Allí estaba la estaca, allá, las estacas.'
'There was the stake, there, the stakes.'

³⁴⁰ The verb *thaawetaantsi* is ambitransitive. The Spanish translation is '*hacer mal agüero*' ('make bad luck'). This consists in someone hexing himself/herself or somebody else, that is, one can make a curse on himself because of an action he has done, as the shaman in this story, but this curse can be done by someone and have its consequence on another person, and, in that case, there would be a human subject and a human object in the clause. The object can also be the curse itself, as is the case in a previous occurrence of this verb in this story. If the verb has no object, the curse has consequences for the subject.

³⁴¹ *Inchato* usually means 'tree', but the translating consultant told me that it can also be used with the meaning 'stake'.

Rooha ohàtziikitantakàri itziyáakiki: hànák.

rooha ohatziiki-t-ant-ak-a-ri i-tziyaaki=ki

luego clavar-se.en.ano-&-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-ano=LOC

hanák³⁴²

IDEO:entrar.objeto.punzante

‘Luego se le ha clavado en su ano: ¡chak!’

‘Then it stuck into his anus: chak!’

Ashi rowákiro, ishínkotaka, kamaki ashéninka.

ashi r-ow-ak-i-ro i-shinko-t-ak-a

ahí³⁴³ 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-ensartar-&-PFV-REA.REFL

kam-ak-i a-shéninka

morir-PFV-FRS INCL-paisano

‘Ahí se quedó, se ensartó, murió el ashéninka.’

‘There he stayed, he got skewered, the Ashéninka died.’

Ari ikáatakotzi iroñaaka irika ashéninka, akénkithàtakótziri thayiri sheripyari. Ari okaatzi.

ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka i-ri=ka a-shéninka

así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA ahora DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano

a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-zi-ri thayi-ri sheripyari

INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA-REL mentiroso-REL chamán

ari o-kaa-t-zi

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Así es todo sobre este ashéninka, lo que contamos sobre el chamán mentiroso. Esto es todo.’

‘This is everything about this Ashéninka, what we told about the cheating shaman. This is all.’

³⁴² *Hanák* was pronounced [,ha'nag].

³⁴³ This is the only occurrence of the word *ashi* in a text. It might be a loan from Spanish *así* and have a similar function to *ari*.

Story of the fleeing woman

This story was told by Cheroki, aka Amelia Andrés Gutiérrez. She was 68 years old at the time of recording. She was born in the Gran Pajonal and moved to the community of Unini Cascada, in the Ucayali area, where she lives now, when she was around 8 years old. Her mother came from the Asháninka area of the Tambo River, which is reflected in some occurrences in her speech. The conversation was recorded in the community of Unini Cascada and lasts 1 minute and 55 seconds.

Iroñaaka iroka tsinani antákiro irowa, okímita owyaare *oshínkinèha*.

iroñaaka i-ro=ka tsinani Ø-ant-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra
 ahora DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED
 o-kimi-t-a o-pyaare o-shinki-neha³⁴⁴
 3F.S-ser.como-&-REA 3F-masato 3F-chicha.de.maíz-POSS

‘Ahora esta mujer ha preparado eso, como es su masato y su chicha de maíz.’

‘Now this woman has prepared that, as is her *masato* and her corn chicha.’

Antákiro. Riyaatzi oeme rayi tziwi Paréniki. Riyaatzi rayi tziwi Paréniki oeme.

Ø-ant-ak-i-ro r-iyaa-t-zi
 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-ir-&-REA

o-emi r-a-i tziwi Pareni=ki o-emi
 3F-esposo 3M.S-coger-FRS sal Perené=LOC 3F-esposo

‘Lo ha preparado. Su marido se va a coger sal al Perené. Se va a coger sal al Perené su marido.’

‘She has prepared it. Her husband is going to get salt to the Perené. He’s going to get salt to the Perené, her husband.’

Oyáakiri. Ikántanàkiro:

Ø-o-ya-ak-i-ri i-kant-an-ak-i-ro
 3F.S-esperar-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Lo ha esperado (a su marido). Él le ha dicho (al partir):’

‘She has waited for him (her husband). He told her (on leaving):’

“Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* nopòkantéyari”.

ari o-kaa-t-zi kitáiteri³⁴⁵ no-pok-ant-eya-ri
 FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA día 1S-venir-TIME-IRR-REL

“‘Tal día voy a venir’ (lit: será el día que voy a venir).’

“‘I am going to come on such a day’ (lit: it will be the day I am going to come).’

³⁴⁴ The translating consultant said that *oshínkinèha* is a word from the Tambo (Cheroki’s mother was from there). The UP Ashéninka Ucayali word for *chicha de maíz* (an alcoholic beverage made of maize) is *shinkyá* and ‘her *chicha de maíz*’ is *oshínkyàati*, with the possessive suffix *-ti*. I have glossed *-neha* as the possessive suffix because it is the equivalent to *-ti* in this word, but I actually do not know whether it really is the possessive suffix in Asháninka.

³⁴⁵ *Kitáiteri* is another Asháninka word. The UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*.

Ah ya. Iyótàkiro, antaki antaki, iita ohaki, ohaki, ohaki. Ya.

ah ya Ø-iyó-t-ak-i-ro Ø-ant-ak-i

ah.ya 3F.S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS

iita o-h-ak-i³⁴⁶ ya

WH 3F.S-batir.masato.en.canoa-PFV-FRS ya

‘Ah ya. Lo sabe (cómo prepararlo), prepara, prepara, cómo lo bate en la canoa, bate, bate. Ya.’

‘Okay. She knows it (how to prepare it), she prepares, she prepares, how she beats it in the canoe, beats, beats. Already.’

Ari. Àmenákiro: “Tsiká okántakaña? Kitamáataki”.

ari Ø-amin-ak-i-ro tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña kitamaa-t-ak-i

vale 3F.S-mirar-PFV-FRS-3F.O WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR blanco-&-PFV-FRS

‘Vale. Lo ha mirado: “¿Qué ha pasado? Se ha puesto blanco” (el masato).’

‘Okay. She looks at it: “What happened? It has turned white” (the *masato*).’

Okántakiri, okántakiro irento:

o-kant-ak-i-ri o-kant-ak-i-ro Ø-irento

3F.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3F.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-hermana.FP

‘Le dice (a él), le dice a su hermana.’³⁴⁷

‘She says (to him), she says to her sister.’

“Eentyo, ee, tee okameéthatzi, thame ashiyi”.

eentyo ee tee o-kameetha-t-zi thame a-shiy-i³⁴⁸

hermana.VOC.FE INTJ NEG.REA 3F.S-bien-&-REA HORT.INCL INCL.S-correr-IRR

“‘Hey sister, it’s not okay, let’s run away”.’

Okantzi: “Íitarikya? Káakitàki rowa, irika acháriní.

o-kant-zi íitarikya

3F.S-decir-REA WH

kaaki-t-ak-i ro=ra i-ri=ka a-charini³⁴⁹

llegar-&-PFV-FRS F=MED DEM-M=PROX INCL-abuelo.MP

‘Dice: “¿Por qué? Va a llegar, esto..., este nuestro abuelo (el jaguar)”.’³⁵⁰

‘She says: “Why? It’s going to come, this..., this our grandfather (the jaguar)”.’

³⁴⁶ Masato is traditionally prepared inside a container with the form of a canoe. The verb *haantsi* denotes the act of beating masato in this container.

³⁴⁷ The speaker errs putting a masculine object on the verb and then she corrects herself.

³⁴⁸ This is one of the few verbs that form realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*.

³⁴⁹ Since two women are talking, they should use the female possessor form *ahari*. Maybe *acháriní* as reference to the jaguar (see next footnote) is a fixed form that is only used with the male possessor form.

³⁵⁰ With ‘our grandfather’, the jaguar is meant. The translating consultant told me that this way to refer to the jaguar was used in the past because uttering *manitzi* ‘jaguar’ could cause the jaguar to come and attack.

Káakitàki rowáe. Róotaki otháwinatakàe”.

kaaki-t-ak-i r-ow-ae

llegar-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-comer-INCL.O

roo-t-ak-i o-tháwina-t-ak-ae

3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-dar.mal.agüero-&-PFV-INCL.O

“”Llega y nos come. Esto es que nos ha dado mal agüero (algo abstracto se lo ha dado)”.’

“”He comes and eats us. This is what has given us a bad omen (something abstract has given it)”.’

Irowa irento: “Pikyáanàkiro, irowa, pishíntothòri”.

i-ro=ra Ø-irento

DEM-F=MED F-hermana.FP

pi-kya-an-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra pi-shintothori

2S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED 2-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.FP

‘Esa su hermana: “Carga, esto..., a tu sobrina (hija de hermana)”.’

‘That sister of hers: “Charge, this..., your niece (sister’s daughter)”.’

Okyáanàkiro. Tee okeero, tee okoyi. Okantzi:

o-kya-an-ak-i-ro tee o-kya-i-ro

3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O NEG.REA 3F.S-cargar-FRS-3F.O

tee o-koy-i o-kant-zi

NEG.REA 3F.S-querer-FRS 3F.S-decir-REA

‘La ha cargado. No la carga, no quiere. Dice:’³⁵¹

‘She has loaded her. She doesn’t load her, she doesn’t want. She says:’

“Eero.Tee nokoyi itsintziténawo noeshi, noeshi, rowa, otomi”.

eero tee no-koy-i i-tsint-it-i-na-ro no-eshi

NEG.IRR NEG.REA 1S-querer-FRS 3M.S-orinar-PAR-IRR-1O-3F.O 1-cabello

ro=ra o-tomi

F=MED 3F-hijo

““No. No quiero que me orine en el pelo, el pelo, esto..., su hijo”.³⁵²

“”No. I don’t want him to pee on my hair, hair, this..., her son”.

³⁵¹ The statement has little sense. It reflects the disorder with which the speaker is telling the story.

³⁵² A son is mentioned here, while a niece was mentioned two sentences above, and, the object in the next sentence (a child) is in two verbs feminine, and masculine in another verb. Cheroki told the story with a very inconsistent plot.

Aa, *entonces* okyáanàkiro, hataki irento, okyáanàkiro, othómpitanàkiri haka.
 aa entonces o-kya-an-ak-i-ro ha-t-ak-i Ø-irento
 INTJ entonces 3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O ir-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hermana.FP
 o-kya-an-ak-i-ro
 3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 o-thompi-t-an-ak-i-ri³⁵³ ha=ka
 3F.S-cargar.en.aparina-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=PROX
 ‘Ah, entonces la cargó, se fue su hermana, la cargó, lo cargó en *aparina* aquí.’
 ‘Ah, so she loaded her, her sister left, she loaded her, she loaded her in *aparina* here.’

Iita ráawàkiro? Okématzìri otápiiki rira, awo: ta-ta-ta-ta.
 iita r-a-aw-ak-i-ro o-kem-atzi-ri o-tapii=ki
 WH 3M.S-coger-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F.S-oír-PROG-3M.O 3F-espalda=LOC
 ri=ra awo³⁵⁴ ta-ta-ta-ta
 M=MED tatatao ONOM
 ‘¿Cómo la ha cogido?’³⁵⁵ Lo está oyendo por detrás, este..., el tatatao: ta-ta-ta-ta.’
 ‘How did he take her? She is hearing it from behind, this..., the *tatatao*: ta-ta-ta-ta.’

Ika, íitaka itháatàkiri? Iká, káakitaki kashékari iro³⁵⁶ (iroñaaka).
 iká³⁵⁷ iita=ka i-thaat-ak-i-ri³⁵⁸
 SURP WH=INT 3M.S-ladRAR-PFV-FRS-REL
 iká kaaki-t-ak-i kashékari iroñaaka
 SURP llegar-&-PFV-FRS jaguar³⁵⁹ ahora
 ‘¿Qué es eso? ¿Quién ha gritado? ¿Qué es eso? Ahora ha llegado el jaguar.’
 ‘What’s that? Who has shouted? What’s that? Now the jaguar has arrived.’

³⁵³ *Aparina* is the local Spanish name for a piece of cloth used to carry little children. The Ashéninka word is *thompirontsi*, which is formed with the verbal root *-thompi-* plus the instrumental nominalizer *-rontsi*.

³⁵⁴ This is the bird of prey *Ibycter americanus*. The local Spanish name is *tatatao*, but the Spanish Wikipedia uses as first name *caracara gorgirrojo*, and *red-throated caracara* in English. The translating consultant told me that hearing the sound that this bird makes is considered a bad omen.

³⁵⁵ The translating consultant insisted on the incongruity of this question, which is totally inconsistent with the thread of the story.

³⁵⁶ *Iró* is an abbreviation of *iroñaaka*.

³⁵⁷ *Iká* is used when someone hears a suspicious sound. I have glossed it as *surprise* because it is used when someone gets surprised by a noise, but it could be translated with ‘listen!’.

³⁵⁸ The translating consultant said that the verb *thaataantsi* ‘bark’ can be used for animals different from a dog in the same way that *kaemaantsi* ‘cry/shout/scream’ may also be used. In the same fashion, the Spanish *gritar* and *chillar* ‘cry/shout/scream’ can be used for an animal sound.

³⁵⁹ *Kashékari* is another word for ‘jaguar’ besides the more common *manitzi*. The translating consultant said that *kashékari* is more common in the Gran Pajonal, but *manitzi* is more used in the Ucayali.

Irento oñáatziro, oshíyaka irento. Káakitaki otomi.

Ø-irento o-ña-atzi-ro o-shiy-ak-a irento
3F-hermana.FP 3F.S-ver-PROG-3F.O 3F.S-correr-PFV-REA Ø-irento

kaaki-t-ak-i o-tomi

llegar-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hijo

‘Su hermana lo está viendo, su hermana sale corriendo. Ha llegado su hijo.’

‘Her sister is watching her; her sister runs away. Her son arrives.’

Anàanákiro, royáatanàkiro kashékari.

Ø-ana-an-ak-i-ro

3F.S-pasar.de.largo-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

r-oyaa-t-an-ak-i-ro kashékari

3M.S-seguir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O jaguar

‘La ha pasado de largo (la hermana que iba detrás a la otra hermana), la ha seguido el jaguar.’

‘She passes her by (the sister who was behind the other sister), the jaguar follows her.’

Ráawàkiro, rowáwakàwo. Atáetanàki otomi henoki.

r-a-aw-ak-i-ro r-ow-aw-ak-a-ro

3M.S-coger-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-comer-OM-PFV-REA-3F.O

atee-t-an-ak-i o-tomi henoki

subir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M-hijo arriba

‘La ha cogido y se la ha comido. Su hijo ha subido arriba (a un árbol).’

‘He caught her and eats her. Her son has climbed up (a tree).’

Ithónkitàkiro riniro, róyitakàwo.

i-thonk-it-ak-i-ro³⁶⁰ r-iniro r-oy-it-ak-a-ro

3M.S-acabar-PAR-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-madre 3M.S-comer-PAR-PFV-REA-3F.O

‘Ha acabado con su madre, se la ha comido (pero no al niño).’

‘He has killed his mother, he has eaten her (but not the child).’

Ya, ari okaatzi.

ya ari o-kaa-t-zi

ya así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Ya, así termina (lit: así es todo).’

‘Okay, that’s how it ends (lit: that’s how it all is).’

³⁶⁰ The translating consultant’s explanation of *-it* was that it is used because the child has got to escape, so that the jaguar has caught and eaten only the mother, which can be interpreted as the jaguar having done only part of his work; hence the gloss PAR (partitive).

Conversation between Cheroki, Píichotzi and Chochoki

This conversation takes place in the *chacra* of the couple Cheroki (kind of bird), aka Amelia Andrés Gutiérrez, and Píichotzi (kind of bird), aka Florencio Pacaya Ríos, at the indigenous community Unini Cascada. The conversation is held between the couple and Píichotzi's niece Luzmila Casique Coronado, aka Chochoki 'sweet fruit', who accompanied me from Atalaya to this community. In principle, only Cheroki and Píichotzi were expected to participate, but, from the beginning, Chochoki started to participate in the conversation, and even I participated briefly because Píichotzi offered me masato, and I thanked him and declined it.

Cheroki was 68 years old at the time of recording, Píichotzi 89 and Chochoki 47. Cheroki and Píichotzi were born in the Gran Pajonal and moved with their families to Unini Cascada when they were between 8 and 10 years old. Cheroki's mother was Asháninka and came from the Tambo River. Chochoki hails from Chicosa.

The problem with this conversation is that there are moments when two or even the three interlocutors are talking at the same time, which made very difficult for the translating consultant to follow what they were saying. This implies that there are a few utterings that have not been transcribed. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 36 seconds.

Cheroki: Nokántatzi naaka ari noweyaaka inkáganki.

no-kant-atzi naaka ari n-oweya-ak-a inkáganki
 1S-decir-PROG 1 aquí 1S-avanzar.hasta.un.punto-PFV-REA antes
 'Estoy diciendo yo que hasta aquí he avanzado antes.'
 'I'm saying I've come this far before.'

Ikántatzi ari ikántanakáwo atzineri, hantákiro potooki.

i-kant-atzi ari i-kant-an-ak-a-ro a-tzineri
 3M.S-decir-PROG allí 3M.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O INCL-yerno
 hantákiro potoo=ki
 al.otro.lado ojé=LOC³⁶¹
 'Dice nuestro yerno que se fue por allí, al otro lado del ojé.'
 'Our son-in-law says that he went that way, to the other side of the ojé.'

Chochoki: Iita pántzirikyà éeroka?

iita p-ant-zi-ri=kya éeroka
 WH 2S-hacer-REA-REL=EMPH 2
 '¿Y qué hacéis vosotros?'
 'And what do you do?'

Che: Nántziri nothámaetzi naari hanta.

n-ant-zi-ri no-thamac-t-zi naa-ri ha=nta
 1S-hacer-REA-REL 1S-desbrozar-&-REA 1-TOO LOC=DIST
 'Lo que hago es desbrozar yo también allá.'
 'What I do is clear there too.'

³⁶¹ *Ojé* is the local Spanish name for the tree *Ficus insipida*.

Cho: *Mañanero, minga?*³⁶²

Che: *Mañanero, minga kaari.*

mañanero minga kaari
mañanero minga NEG.COP
 ‘Mañanero, no minga.’
 ‘Mañanero, not minga.’

Cho: *Mañanero.*

Che: *Ikaatzi pokáentsiri, ikaatzi...*

i-kaa-t-zi pok-eentsi-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA venir-PTCP.PFV-REL
 ‘Son los que han venido (referido a número), son... (los que han venido son...)’
 ‘They are those who have come (referring to a number), they are... (those who have come are...)’

Pfichotzi: *Noñáawakiri Eshitewa, irira itsipa héwatapáentsiri.*

no-ña-aw-ak-i-ri Eshitewa
 1S-ver-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O Esteban
i-ri-ra i-tsipá hewa-t-ap-eentsi-ri
 DEM-M-MED M-otro primero-&-ALL-PTCP.PFV-REL
 ‘He visto llegar a Esteban y a ese otro que iba primero (delante de Esteban).’
 ‘I saw Esteban arrive, and that other one who was first (before Esteban).’

Che: *Máetawakitátya akámitíri, oeta...*

maetawaki-ta=tya³⁶³ a-kami-t-i-ri o-eta
espera-EMPH=EMPH INCL.S-averiguar-&-IRR-REL F-WH
 ‘Espera lo que vamos a averiguar, qué...’
 ‘Wait for what we’re going to find out, what...’

P: *Shirámpari Eshitewa, irira, ikántètzi...*

Shirámpari Eshitewa i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
hombre Esteban DEM-M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘Hombres, Esteban, este..., cómo se llama...’
 ‘Men, Esteban, um..., what’s its name...?’

³⁶² In local Spanish, *mañanero* indicates around 6 a.m., and *minga* between 7 and 9 a.m.

³⁶³ I asked a consultant about this word and he said that you cannot say **maeta* or **máetaki*, nor inflect it with a subject prefix. He only accepted the forms *máetawakiita* and *máetawaki*, which seems to be the shortest form of this expression, and means ‘wait (imperative)’. With this information, I only can consider *máetawaki* an unsegmentable form meaning ‘wait (imperative)’.

Che: Eshitewa, Reyes, Tyooña, irira...

Eshitewa Reyes Tyooña i-ri=ra

Esteban Reyes Tyooña DEM-M=MED

‘Esteban, Reyes, Tyooña, este...’

‘Esteban, Reyes, Tyooña, um...’

P: Fran...

Che: Jámner, Fran, irira..., irira...

Jámner Fran i-ri=ra

Jámner Fran DEM-M=MED

‘Jámner, Fran, este..., este...’

‘Jámner, Fran, um..., um...’

Cho: [Ríe] Haró (ha rowa) tsinani?

ha ro=ra tsinani

INTJ F=MED mujer

‘Em..., ¿mujeres?’

‘Um..., women?’

Che: Okaatzí tsinani roori, rowa, irira aaa...

o-kaa-t-zi tsinani roori ro=ra i-ri=ra aaa

3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA mujer 3F F=MED DEM-M=MED INTJ

‘Las mujeres son, esto..., este..., eeeh...’

‘Women are, um..., um..., er...’

P: *Cinco.*

‘Five.’

Che: Tera okaatzí *cinco*! Irira, aaa..., irira, aaa... Ari okaatzí: atzineri, atomi, éeroka: *seis*.

tera o-kaa-t-zi cinco i-ri=ra aaa

NEG.EMPH 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA cinco DEM-M=MED INTJ

ari o-kaa-t-zi a-tzineri a-tomi éeroka seis

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA INCL-yerno INCL-hijo 2 seis

‘¡No son cinco! Este..., eeehh..., este..., eeehhh.. Así es: nuestro yerno, nuestro hijo, tú: seis.’

‘It’s not five! Um..., eeehh..., um..., eeehhh... It’s so: our son-in-law, our son, you: six.’

Cho: Tsinánitya!

tsinani=tya

mujer=EMPH

‘¡Mujeres!’

‘Women!’

Che: Tsinani, okaatzi, tsinani, naaka, rowa, nohawo, nishintyo, Yeeni, rowa, néwatayíro, *cinco*.

tsinani o-kaa-t-zi naaka ro=ra no-hawo n-ishintyo Yeeni
mujer 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1 F=MED 1-nieta 1-hija Yeeni

ro=ra n-ewatayiro³⁶⁴ cinco
F=MED 1-nuera/sobrina.hija.de.hermano.FP cinco

‘Mujeres, son, mujeres, yo, esto..., mi nieta, mi hija, Yeeni, esto..., mi nuera/sobrina (hija de hermano), cinco.’

‘Women, are, women, me, um..., my granddaughter, my daughter, Yeeni, um..., my daughter-in-law/niece (brother’s daughter), five.’

Cho: Ari pikaatzi pithámaetzi, pithámaetzi, ari okaatzi? Panáninkitàka?

ari pi-kaa-t-zi pi-thamae-t-zi ari o-kaa-t-zi
AFF 2S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-desbrozar-&-REA AFF 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

p-ananink-it-ak-a

2S-levantarse-ANT-PFV-REA

‘¿Así que esos sois los que desbrozáis, esos son? ¿Os levantáis al amanecer?’

‘So you and those are the ones who clear, aren’t those? Do you get up at dawn?’

Che: Hee, nanáninkitàka. *Cinco de la mañana*.

hee n-ananink-it-ak-a cinco de la mañana

AFF 1S-levantarse-&-PFV-REA cinco de la mañana

‘Sí, nos hemos levantado al amanecer, a las cinco de la mañana.’

‘Yes, we got up at dawn, at five in the morning.’

Cho: A, *cinco de la mañana*.

a cinco de la mañana

INTJ cinco de la mañana

‘¡Hala, a las cinco de la mañana!’

‘Hey, at five in the morning!’

P: *Seis, seis*.

‘Six, six.’

Che: *Porque sori*³⁶⁵ *me quema*.

‘Porque el sol me quema.’

‘Because the sun burns me.’

Cho: Aaaaaa...

³⁶⁴ I did not ask for a translation of this word because I relied on my kin terms table and thus did not ask the translating consultant, so I do not know which of the two terms with the same form is meant here.

³⁶⁵ *Sori* is a loan from the Spanish *sol* ‘sun’. It is remarkable that she does not use the very common Ashéninka word *oorya*.

Che: *Sori* háawari. Eero amátziro athámáetzi.

sori haawa-ri eero a-ma-t-zi-ro a-thamae-t-zi
sol caliente-REL NEG.IRR INCL.S-poder-&-REA-3F.O INCL.S-desbrozar-&-REA
'El sol está caliente. No podríamos desbrozar.'
'The sun is hot. We couldn't clear.'

Ari akámaki.

ari a-kam-ak-i³⁶⁶
así INCL.S-morir-PFV-FRS
'Así estaríamos muertos.'
'That way we'd be dead.'

Cho: Áritatáaki.

ari-ta-t-ak-i
así-EMPH-&-PFV-FRS
'Así es desde luego.'
'That's right of course.'

P: Áritáki. Ari nokámaki haga. Eero notzimi. Chaa nokámaki.... [no se entiende lo que dice]

ari-t-ak-i ari no-kam-ak-i ha=ra eero no-tzim-i
así-&-PFV-FRS así 1S-morir-PFV-FRS LOC=MED NEG.IRR 1S-EXI-FRS
chaa no-kam-ak-i
WH 1S-morir-PFV-FRS
'Así es. Así me muero ahí. No existiría. Por ahí voy a morir...'
'That's how it is. That way, I die there. I would not exist. That's where I'm going to die...'

Che: Pamínitya nokántàkiro nothámaetzi.

p-amin-i=tya no-kant-ak-i-ro no-thamae-t-zi
2S-mirar-FRS=EMPH 1S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1S-desbrozar-&-REA
'Mira cómo desbrozo (lit: mira digo que desbrozo).'
'Look how I clear (lit: look, I say I clear).'

Cho: Íitakya kaari pamanta niha? Ari pámityakya póomitoki.

iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-traer-RES-REA agua
ari p-am-i=tya=kya póomito=ki
AFF 2S-llevar-FRS=EMPH=EMPH pomo=LOC
'¿Por qué no has traído agua? Tráela en el pomo (recipiente).'
'Why didn't you bring water? Bring it in the *pomo* (container).'

³⁶⁶ The inclusive is used here although the 2nd person (Chochoki) is not included. This example and others in my corpus appear to show that inclusive forms are shifting in meaning to a 1st person plural under the influence of Spanish. Nonetheless, this is not a very clear example because Cherokee is talking mainly to Chochoki, but Píichotzi, who is included in the inclusive reference, is also present and a part of the listeners.

Che: Ikímitákiro ramaki.

i-kimi-t-ak-i-ro r-am-ak-i
 3M.S-ser.así-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-traer-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así es como la ha traído.’
 ‘That’s how he brought it.’

Cho: Haaaa... (INTJ)

Che: Itháatakiro.

i-thaat-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-terminar-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘La ha terminado (el agua).’
 ‘He has finished it (water).’

Cho: Kamaki shikiri?.

kam-ak-i shikiri
 morir-PFV-FRS IDEO:algo.cae.al.suelo
 ‘¿Murió: ¡pum!?’
 ‘Did it die: boom!?’

Che: Táanitya, tee noñeeri naaka hanta. Éeniro nopíyota.

táanitya tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta
 no.sé.nada NEG.REA 1S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O 1 LOC=DIST
 éeniro no-piyo-t-a
 EXI.PST 1S-reunirse-&-REA
 ‘No sé nada, no he vuelto a verlo yo allí. Estaba reunida.’
 ‘I don’t know anything, I haven’t seen him there again. I was in a meeting.’

Iróentzikya nòthamáetzi.

i-ro-intzi=kya no-thamae-t-zi
 &-F-REST=EMPH 1S-desbrozar-&-REA
 ‘Sólo yo desbrozo.’
 ‘Only I weed.’

Páminiro nokántziro nòthamáetzi, apáaniróeni, apáaniróeni.

p-amin-i-ro no-kant-zi-ro no-thamae-t-zi apáaniróeni
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O 1S-decir-REA-3F.O 1S-desbrozar-&-REA solo
 ‘Mira cómo desbrozo, solita, solita.’
 ‘Look how I clear the bushes, alone, alone.’

Íitama matéroni pehátzini? Apáaniróeni.

iita=ma ma-t-i-ro-ni peh-atzi-ni apáaniróeni
 WH=DUB poder-&-IRR-3F.O-REL.IRR rozar-PROG-REL.IRR solo
 ‘¿Quién podría estar rozando? (Yo) solita.’
 ‘Who could be clearing? (Me) alone.’

P: Kithókiyetàki hanta ewánkawo, ewánkawo.

kithoki-yi-t-ak-i ha=nta ewanka-ro

semilla-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST joven-F

‘Ha dado semillas (frutos) uno por uno, allá, la joven, la joven (nueva, chacra).’

‘It has borne seeds (fruits) one by one, there, the young one, the young one (new, *chacra*).’

Iroka owákirari okaatzi oháarentsiti oká³⁶⁷ (okaatzi) mawa.

i-ro=ka owakira-ri o-kaa-t-zi Ø-oháarentsi-ti mawa

DEM-F=PROX nuevo-REL 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3F-año-POSS tres

‘Esta nueva es de tres años (lit: son sus tres años).’

‘This new one is three years old (lit: it’s their three years).’

Iroka haka áapaero, kithókitanàki, ooo..., iroonta, iroonta.

i-ro=ka ha=ka aapa-i-ro kithoki-t-an-ak-i

DEM-F=PROX LOC=PROX unirse-FRS-3F.O semilla-&-ABL-PFV-FRS

ooo i-roo=nta

INTJ DEM-F=DIST

‘Esta de aquí se le une, ha dado frutos, uuuhhh (ha dado muchos), aquella, aquella...’³⁶⁸

‘This one here joins it, it has borne fruits, uuuhhh (it has borne many), that one, that one...’

Che: Owákirari, owákirari, iroka kithókitàtsiri. Rooma (róomache)³⁶⁹ itáakiri.

owákira-ri i-ro=ka kithoki-t-atsi-ri

nuevo-REL DEM-F=PROX semilla-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL

roo-ma(che) i-ta-ak-i-ri

3F-ser.así 3M.S-quemar-REL

‘La nueva, la nueva, esta es la que está dando frutos (produciendo semillas). Esto es lo que ha quemado.’

‘The new one, the new one, this is the one that is bearing fruit (producing seeds). This is what he has burned.’

Nokántakiriránki: itáakiri iroka itáakiri.

no-kant-ak-i-ri=ranki i-ta-ak-i-ri i-ro=ka

1S-decir-PFV-FRS-REL=ABSE 3M.S-quemar-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX

‘Es lo que dije antes: esto es lo que ha quemado.’

‘It’s what I said before: this is what he has burned.’

P: Oooo..., antawo owaantsi.

oooo anta-ro owaani-ntsi

INTJ grande-F chacra-ALI

‘Ooooh, una chacra grande.’

‘Ooooh, a big *chacra*.’

³⁶⁷ *Oká* here is an abbreviation of *okaatzi*.

³⁶⁸ The translation reflects the somewhat unordered discourse of Piichotzi. Also, his wife was speaking at the same time, so that a part of his speech is impossible to transcribe and is missing.

³⁶⁹ *Rooma* is an abbreviation of *róomache*.

Cho: Hempe okáataki oháarentsi powani?

hempe o-kaa-t-ak-i oháarentsi p-owani
 WH 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS año 2-chacra
 ‘¿Cuántos años tiene vuestra chacra?’
 ‘How old is your *chacra*?’

Che: Okáataki rowa, *tres años*.

o-kaa-t-ak-i ro=ra tres años
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS F=MED tres años
 ‘Tiene, esto..., tres años.’
 ‘It is, um..., three years old.’

Cho: Mawa.

mawa
 tres
 ‘Tres.’
 ‘Three.’

Che: Mawa, mawa ohari.

mawa ohari³⁷⁰
 tres año
 ‘Tres años.’
 ‘Three years.’

Cho: Mawa ohari.

mawa ohari
 tres año
 ‘Tres años.’
 ‘Three years.’

Che: Róomakyà (róomachékya) *oka* ináshita, iroka sho, antáwotáki pácerani, antáwotáki.

roo-ma(che)=kya oka³⁷¹ ináshita i-ro=ka sho
 3F-ser.así=EMPH esta aparte DEM-F=PROX mira

anta-ro-t-ak-i pácerani
 grande-F-&-PFV-FRS hace.tiempo
 ‘Así está esta (chacra) aparte, mira esta, ya se hicieron grandes (los frutos) hace tiempo, se hicieron grandes.’
 ‘That’s how this one (*chacra*) aside is, look at this one, they already grew big (the fruits) a long time ago, they grew big.’

³⁷⁰ *Ohari* is the abbreviation of *oháarentsi* ‘year’.

³⁷¹ *Oka* is an Asháninka word meaning ‘this’ (in Ashéninka, *iroka*). Cheroki’s mother was from the Tambo River, so this is the reason why she sometimes uses some Asháninka expressions.

Róotaki nayiri.

roo-t-ak-i n-a-i-ri
F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-coger-FRS-REL
'Esto es lo que cosecho.'
'This is what I harvest.'

Nokíthoyiri okíthoki, nayiri, nopimantzi.

no-kíthoy-i-ri o-kíthoki n-a-i-ri no-pimant-zi
1S-sacar.semillas-FRS-REL 3F-semilla 1S-coger-FRS-REL 1S-vender-REA
'Las semillas que saco, lo que cosecho, lo vendo.'
'The seeds I take out, what I harvest, I sell it.'

Páminirótya iroonta aha. Pámini-ro. Piñáakiro?

p-amin-i-ro=tya i-roo=nta aha
2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=DIST INTJ

p-amin-i-ro pi-ña-ak-i-ro
2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O 2S-ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O
'Mira aquellas, eh. Míralas. ¿Las has visto?'
'Look at those ones, huh. Look at them. Have you seen them?'

P: Kaa roonta. Rowa sho, óyithoki, ñáakiro? Róotaki.

kaa³⁷² roo=nta ro=ra sho³⁷³ o-kíthoki ña-ak-i-ro roo-t-ak-i
COP.TOT F=DIST F=MED mira 3F-semilla ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-&-PFV-FRS
'Allí está. Esto..., mira ahí, las semillas (las mazorcas de cacao), ¿las ves? Eso es.'
'There it is. Um..., look there, the seeds (cocoa pods), do you see them? That's it.'

Che: Ñáakiro, okíthoki...

ña-ak-i-ro o-kíthoki
ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-semilla
'Las ves, las semillas (mazorcas).'
'You see them, the seeds (pods).'

P: Ñáakiro, aníryò, cháantakotàki éeniro newánkaritzini.

ña-ak-i-ro aníryò
ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O sobrina.hija.de.hermana.VOC.ME
chaant-ako-t-ak-i³⁷⁴ éeniro n-ewanka-ri-t-zi-ni
chambear-APPL-&-PFV-FRS EXI.PST 1S-joven-M-&-REA-RMPST
'Las ves, sobrina, trabajaba en esto cuando era joven.'
'You see, niece, I worked on this when I was young.'

³⁷² This is the only instance of the copula *-kaa-* with no other morpheme. The translating consultant translated *kaa roonta* for 'allí está' several times because I insisted in finding out the meaning of *kaa*, so I think that this is the best interpretation.

³⁷³ The translating consultant said that *sho* must be accompanied by a gesture indicating where the addressee should look.

³⁷⁴ The root *-chaant-* is a loan from Spanish *chambear* 'work'.

Che: *Allí estáwee. Ñáakiro, iroka sho ahá, ocho soles el kilo, ñáakiro.*

allí está=wee ña-ak-i-ro i-ro=ka sho ahá
allí.está=EXCLM ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=PROX mira INTJ

ocho soles el kilo ña-ak-i-ro
ocho.soles.el.kilo ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘¡Allí está! Lo ves, mira este, eh..., ocho soles el kilo, lo ves.’
‘There it is! You see, look at this, eh..., eight soles a kilo, you see.’

Ari okanta naari.

ari o-kant-a naa-ri
así 3F.S-COP-REA 1-TOO
‘Así hago yo también.’
‘So do I too.’

Cho: Haka, páteyiròtya iroka.

ha=ka p-atey-i-ro=tya i-ro=ka
LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=PROX
‘Aquí, agarra esto.’
‘Here, grab this.’

Che: Ari nokanta nosóhiríita naaka.

ari no-kant-a no-sohir-i-ita³⁷⁵ naaka
así 1S-COP-REA 1S-sufrir-FRS-ROPT 1
‘Así es como sufro yo.’
‘This is how I suffer.’

Cho: Haka, páteyiròtya iroka, páteyiròtya, *tía*.

ha=ka p-atey-i-ro=tya i-ro=ka tía
LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=PROX tía
‘Aquí, coge esto, cógelo, tía.’
‘Here, take this, take it, aunt.’

P: Aha, éeroka, tee pikoyi pimiri?

aha éeroka tee pi-koy-i pi-mir-i
INTJ 2 NEG.REA 2S-querer-FRS 2S-tener.sed-FRS
‘Eh, tú (se dirige a mí), ¿no quieres beber (masato)?’ (lit. ¿no quieres tener sed?)
‘Hey, you (he addresses me), don’t you want to drink (masato)?’ (lit. don’t you want to be thirsty?)

Yo: Ariwée, tee.

ari=wee tee
AFF=EXCLM NEG.REA
‘No, gracias.’
‘No, thanks.’

³⁷⁵ The root *-sohir-* is a loan from Spanish *sufrir* ‘suffer’.

Cho: Tee ikoiro imiri

tee i-koy-i-ro i-mir-i
 NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-tener.sed-FRS
 ‘No quiere beber.’
 ‘He doesn’t want to drink.’

P: Aaa, tee ikoyi.

aaa tee i-koy-i
 INTJ NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS
 ‘Ah, no quiere.’
 ‘Oh, he doesn’t want to.’

Cho: Pámininatya, *tía*, eero páminana³⁷⁶, pámini *cacao*, ari.

p-amin-i-na=tya tía eero p-amin-a-na
 2S-mirar-IRR-1O=EMPH tía NEG.IRR 2S-mirar-REA-1O
 p-amin-i-ro cacao ari
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O cacao así
 ‘Mírame, tía, no me mires, mira al cacao, así.’
 ‘Look at me, aunt, don’t look at me, look at the cocoa, like that.’

Échatzi éerori, *tío*. Páteyiro haga.

échatzi eero-ri tío p-atey-i-ro ha=ra
 también 2-TOO tío 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED
 ‘Tú también, tío. Agárralo ahí.’
 ‘You too, uncle. Grab it there.’

P: Máetawákità.

maetawaki-ta
 espera-EMPH
 ‘Espera.’
 ‘Wait.’

Che: Haka patéyiro éerori.

ha=ka p-atey-i-ro eero-ri
 LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O 2-TOO
 ‘Agarra aquí tú también.’
 ‘Grab here you too.’

Cho: Hee, ariwée. [CLIC: echa una foto] Hee, pámininàkya. Ari, kameetha.

hee ari=wee p-amin-i-na=kya ari kameetha
 AFF AFF=EXCLM 2S-mirar-IRR-1O=EMPH así bien
 ‘Sí, gracias. [CLIC: echa una foto] Sí, miradme. Así, bien.’
 ‘Yes, thanks. [CLICK: she takes a photo] Yes, look at me. That’s good.’

³⁷⁶ Here there is a good example of the variation in RS class with the object suffix *-na*: in the verb in irrealis, I-class inflection is used, and in the verb in realis, A-class inflection.

P: Róokantàcha nàmonkowéetatzi.

róokantàcha n-amonko-wee-t-atzi³⁷⁷

sin.embargo 1S-mascar-SPE-&-PROG

‘Sin embargo, estoy mascando coca.’

‘I’m chewing coca though.’

Cho: Hee, kaméethatáki. Tekatsi okantya.

hee kameetha-t-ak-i tekatsi o-kant-ya

AFF bien-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI 3F.S-COP-IRR

‘Sí, está bien. No hay problema.’

‘Yes, that’s fine. No problem.’

P: Nàmonkowéetatzi.

n-amonko-wee-t-atzi

1S-mascar-SPE-&-PROG

‘Estoy mascando coca.’

‘I’m chewing coca.’

Cho: Iita pàmonkowéetantàri? Nokoyi niyoti.

iita p-amonko-wee-t-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i

WH 2S-mascar-SPE-&-RES-REA-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR

‘¿Por qué mascas coca? Quiero saber.’

‘Why do you chew coca? I want to know.’

P: Aaa... Eero notáshiyànta.

aaa eero no-tashiy-ant-a

INTJ NEG.IRR 1S-tener.hambre-RES-REA

‘Eeeh, para no tener hambre.’

‘Eeeh, so as not to be hungry.’

Cho: Eero pitáshiyànta. *Acá, acá, graba* [me dice a mí en castellano].

eero pi-tashiy-ant-a

NEG.IRR 2S-tener.hambre-RES-REA

‘Para no tener hambre. Acá, acá, graba.’

‘To not be hungry. Here, here, record.’

Cho: *Él está mascando para que no tenga hambre.*

He’s chewing so as not to be hungry.

Yo: *Aaah...*

³⁷⁷ I asked the translating consultant about the difference between using *-amonko-* and *-amonkowie-*, and he said that the former can mean that one is chewing coca or tobacco, but the latter only coca, hence my interpretation of *-wee* as SPE to indicate that coca is chewed.

Cho: Róotaki pámonkotántari. Árikyá piyáatanipa.

roo-t-ak-i p-amonko-t-ant-a-ri ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 2S-mascar-&-RES-REA-REL AFF=EMPH 2S-ir-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 ‘Por eso mascas. Así pues, te vas después.’
 ‘That’s why you chew. So, you leave later.’

P: Hee, hee. Rówaga nokántakya eero notásheyi.

hee r-ow-a=ra
 AFF 3F.S-comer-REA=MED
 no-kant-ak-ya eero no-tashiy-i
 1S-COP-PFV-IRR NEG.IRR 1S-tener.hambre-FRS
 ‘Sí, sí. Después de comer, no voy a tener hambre.’
 ‘Yes, yes. After eating, I won’t be hungry.’

Nowánakyàtya, nowákityà, nowánakyà, nokántakya.

n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-comer-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-comer-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-comer-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Por supuesto voy a comer, voy a almorzar, voy a comer, así será.’
 ‘Of course I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, that’s how it will be.’

Nopókaki nokyaaki, piyótziri wirákocha, nokyaaki tsiká ikaatzi oorya.

no-pok-ak-i no-kya-ak-i p-iyó-t-zi-ri wirákocha
 1S-venir-PFV-FRS 1S-entrar-PFV-FRS 2S-conocer-&-REA-3M.O no.indígena
 no-kya-ak-i tsiká i-kaa-t-zi³⁷⁸ oorya
 1S-entrar-PFV-FRS WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA sol
 ‘Vengo, entro..., conoces los mestizos (cómo empiezan a trabajar cuando sale el sol),
 entro cuando está (sale) el sol.’
 ‘I come, I enter..., you know the mestizos (how they start working when the sun rises), I enter
 when the sun is there (rises).’

Nokáatiro namónkowéetziro, náanatzi nówamantyáariri peyari, sheri.

no-kaa-t-i-ro n-amonko-wee-t-zi-ro
 1S-COP.TOT-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-mascar-&-SPE-&-REA-3F.O
 n-a-an-atzi n-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri peyari sheri
 1S-coger-ABL-PROG 1S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL demonio tabaco
 ‘Estoy mascándolo, y cogiendo tabaco para matar al demonio.’³⁷⁹
 ‘I am chewing it, and taking tobacco to kill the devil.’

³⁷⁸ *Oorya* ‘sun’ is masculine despite not being an animate being. The translating consultant said that, according to “cuentos ancestrales” ‘ancestral tales’, the sun was a person.

³⁷⁹ Smoking is thought to scare away bad spirits.

Cho: Aaaa, sheri.

aaaa sheri
INTJ tabaco
'Ah, tabaco.'
'Oh, tobacco.'

P: Nokanta nomákoryánaki, hatá (hataana)³⁸⁰.

no-kant-a no-makory-an-ak-i ha-t-a-na
1S-COP-REA 1S-descansar-ABL-PFV-FRS ir-&-REA-1S
'Luego me pongo a descansar y me voy.'
'Then I start to rest and leave.'

Ashi *también* akátsitérika haka.

Ø-ashi también a-katsi-t-i=rika ha=ka
INCL-POSS también INCL-doler-&-IRR=COND LOC=PROX
'También cuando nos duele aquí (se supone que se señala en el estómago).'
'Also when it hurts here (it is supposed that he points at the stomach).'

Cho: Oztíminéenta.

o-tzimizeent-a
3F.S-doler.estómago-REA
'(Cuando) duele el estómago.'
'(When) the stomach hurts.'

P: Aaki amónkotàki. Tekatsi. Eero amírimíritanta.³⁸¹

Ø-a-ak-i Ø-amonko-t-ak-i tekatsi
INCL.S-coger-PFV-FRS INCL.S-mascar-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI
eero a-miri~miri-t-ant-a³⁸²
NEG.IRR INCL.S-tener.sed~ITE-&-RES-REA
'Cogemos (coca) y mascamos. No hay (dolor). Para no estar teniendo sed.'
'We take (coca) and chew. There is not (pain). To not be thirsty.'

Chapinki nokátsitzi nomaryaaka. Tekatsi.

chapinki no-katsi-t-zi no-maryag-ak-a tekatsi
ayer 1S-estar.enfermo-&-REA 1S-estar.echado-PFV-REA NEG.EXI
'Ayer estaba enfermo, estaba echado. No había (coca).'
'Yesterday I was sick, I was lying down. There was no (coca).'

³⁸⁰ *Hatá* [ha't:a] is an abbreviated form of *hataana*.

³⁸¹ In this fragment, the inclusive subject on all verbs is used in an impersonal way.

³⁸² It is remarkable here that the reduplication takes the root plus the RS suffix, since the root is *-mir-*.

Amákina aníryokyà: “Iroka kooko koka”.

Ø-am-ak-i-na Ø-aniryo=kya i-ro=ka kooko koka
 3F.S-traer-PFV-FRS-1O 1-nuera.MP=EMPH DEM-F=PROX suegro.VOC.FE coca
 ‘Me ha traído mi nuera: “Suegro, esto es coca”.’
 ‘My daughter-in-law brought to me: “Father-in-law, this is coca”.’

Cho: Aaaa, aniryo.

aaa aniryo³⁸³
 INTJ nuera.VOC.ME
 ‘Ah, la nuera.’
 ‘Ah, the daughter-in-law.’

P: Noká³⁸⁴ (nokantzi) “hee”.

no-kant-zi hee
 1S-decir-REA AFF
 ‘Digo “sí”.’
 ‘I say “yes”.’

Cho: Koka, eero owanta intsipaeti, eero akémantawo atashe.

koka eero Ø-ow-ant-a intsipaeti
 coca NEG.IRR INCL.S-comer-RES-REA enseguida
 eero a-kem-ant-a-ro a-tashe
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-RES-REA-3F.O INCL-hambre
 ‘La coca (nos sirve) para no estar comiendo a cada momento, para no sentir (nuestra) hambre.’
 ‘Coca (helps us) so we don’t eat every moment, so we don’t feel (our) hunger.’

P: Eero akémiro atashe, eero akémiro amiri.

eero a-kem-i-ro a-tashe
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-FRS-3F.O INCL-hambre
 eero a-kem-i-ro a-miri
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-FRS-3F.O INCL-sed
 ‘No vamos a sentir hambre, no vamos a sentir sed.’
 ‘We are not going to feel hungry; we are not going to feel thirsty.’

³⁸³ In this case, it would be more logical to use the 2nd person possessed form *paniro*. However, it seems that the vocative form also serves to refer to a relative in a non-possessioned way, as the Spanish translation ‘la sobrina’ shows.

³⁸⁴ *Noká* is an abbreviation of *nokantzi*.

Ániyáataki, amákotapáki, aaki sheri.

a-niyaa-t-ak-i a-mako-t-ap-ak-i

INCL.S-tragar-&-PFV-FRS INCL.S-cansarse-&-ALL-PFV-FRS

Ø-a-ak-i sheri

INCL.S-coger-PFV-FRS tabaco

‘Tragamos (saliva al mascar coca), (si) nos cansamos, cogemos tabaco.’

‘We swallow (saliva when chewing coca), (if) we get tired, we take tobacco.’

Amákore, amákore, amákore. Eero atasheyi.

a-makor-i eero a-tashey-i

INCL.S-descansar-FRS NEG.IRR INCL.S-tener.hambre-FRS

‘Descansamos, descansamos, descansamos. No vamos a tener hambre.’

‘We rest, we rest, we rest. We won’t be hungry.’

Cho: Árimà?

ari=ma

así=DUB

‘¿Así es?’

‘That’s how it is?’

P: Échatzi okímita atówawáeti.

échatzi o-kimi-t-a a-tow-a-wae-t-i³⁸⁵

también 3F.S-parecer-&-REA INCL.S-tumbar-&-DUR1-&-IRR

‘También parece (nos causa el mismo efecto) (cuando) tumbamos árboles.’

‘It also seems to (have the same effect on us) (when) we fell trees.’

Cho: Ari pikántapiinta, ari pikántapiinta.

ari pi-kant-apiint-a

así 2S-COP-HAB-REA

‘Así lo haces normalmente.’

‘That’s how you normally do it.’

P: Ámenarika. Tekatsi, tekatsi teekya, téekiràata.

am-i-na=rika tekatsi tee=kya teekira-ata

traer-IRR-1O=COND NEG.EXI NEG.REA=EMPH aún.no-ROPT

‘Cuando me traen. No hay, no hay, aún no (si no hay, no hay todavía).’³⁸⁶

‘When they bring to me. There isn’t, there isn’t, not yet (if there isn’t, there isn’t yet).’

³⁸⁵ There is here no word meaning ‘cuando’, as the consultant translated it, but it can be considered that the irrealis fulfills the same function.

³⁸⁶ The speaker means that he chews coca when someone brings it to him, and in that moment there is no more.

Cho: Pámita niha échatzi?

p-am-i-ta niha échatzi
2S-traer-FRS-DU agua también
‘¿También has traído agua?’
‘Have you brought water too?’

P: Hee, námita.

hee n-am-i-ta
AFF 1S-traer-FRS-DU
‘Sí, también he traído.’
‘Yes, I have also brought.’

Cho: Kameetha.

kameetha
bien
‘Bien.’
‘Good.’

P: Árika ótsipani érorika nokoyi nantawaetzi, náanàkiro notónkamèto,
nokínawáetzi, nokínanàki.

ari=rika o-tsipa-ni eero=rika no-koy-i n-antawae-t-zi³⁸⁷
AFF=COND F-otro-RMPST NEG.IRR=COND 1S-querer-FRS 1S-trabajar-&-REA

n-a-an-ak-i-ro no-tonk-amento
1S-coger-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1-disparar-NMLZ.INS

no-kinawae-t-zi no-kin-an-ak-i
1S-ir.a.cazar.al.bosque-&-REA 1S-irse-ABL-PFV-FRS

‘Si algún día no he querido trabajar, cojo mi escopeta y me voy a cazar, me he ido por ahí (se supone que señala).’

‘If one day I haven’t wanted to work, I take my shotgun and go hunting, I’ve gone that way (he’s supposed to point).’

Cho: Iita pitonki?

iita pi-tonk-i
WH 2S-disparar-FRS
‘¿Qué cazas (lit: a qué disparas)?’
‘What do you hunt (lit: what do you shoot)?’

P: Notonki thamiri.

no-tonk-i thamiri
1S-disparar-FRS paujil
‘Cazo (disparo a) paujiles.’
‘I hunt (shoot) curassows.’

³⁸⁷ This verb in a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’ should be in irrealis. Probably, the double irrealis construction with *eero* and the verb in realis occurs also even though *kowaantsi* is between both elements.

Cho: Hamani?

hamani

paca

‘¿Pacas (majás)?’

‘Pacas?’

P: Hamani tsiréniriki. Maniro...

hamani tsiréniri=ki maniro

paca noche=LOC venado

‘La paca es por la noche. Venados...’

‘Paca is at night. Deer...’

Cho: Etzi?

etzi

armadillo

‘¿Armadillos (carachupas)?’

‘Armadillos?’

P: Kitáeriki, *chancho de* antami.

kitáeriki chancho de antami

sajino chancho.de bosque

‘Sajinos (chancho de monte).’³⁸⁸

‘Peccaries.’

Che: Aháakyà nèwatyéero.

aháakyá n-èwatyéero³⁸⁹

aquí.tienes 1-sobrina.FP

‘Aquí tienes, sobrina.’

‘Here you are, niece.’

Cho: Ari okaatzi.

ari o-kaa-t-zi

de.acuerdo 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Así está bien.’

‘That’s OK.’

³⁸⁸ Here, Píichotzi uses the Ashéninka word (*kitáeriki*) and then a semi-Ashéninka construction with the Spanish loan *chancho* ‘pig’. *Chancho de monte* is a local Spanish expression for the animal also locally known as *sajino*, and Píichotzi uses a Spanish word (*chancho* ‘pig’) with an Ashéninka word (*antami* ‘forest’) united by the Spanish preposition *de* as a further explanation of *kitáeriki*. This is an animal of the family *Tayassuidae*, more generally known in Spanish as *pecarí* and in English as *peccary*.

³⁸⁹ In this kin term, the FP 1st person term is used as vocative, that is why I do not gloss it as VOC here, although the function is vocative.

Che: Éeniwitàcha antawo hanta sho otáapiki.

eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV grande-F LOC=DIST allá 3F-espalda=LOC
'Había³⁹⁰ una grande allá, allí en el barranco.'
'There was a big one there, there in the gully.'

Cho: [Dirigiéndose a mí] *Caña*.

[Turning to me] Cane.

Yo: *Caña*.

Cane.

Che: Pikémaki?

pi-kem-ak-i
2S-oír-PFV-FRS
'¿Me escuchas?'
'Can you hear me?'

Cho: Atákiràkya (àritákiràkya). Hee, hame áatéekya. ¿*Vamos ya?* ¿*Te parece?* [se dirige a mí]

ari-t-ak-i=ra=kya³⁹¹ hee hame Ø-a-t-i=kya
así-&-PFV-FRS=MED=EMPH AFF HORT.INCL INCL.S-ir-&-IRR=EMPH
'Ya es suficiente (se refiere a la caña que le han dado). Sí, vámonos. ¿*Vamos ya?* ¿*Te parece?*'

'Enough is enough (she refers to the cane they have given her). Yes, let's go. Can we leave already? You think? [talking to me in Spanish]'

Yo: *Bien*.

Okay.

Che: Ooo..., apáataka.

ooo Ø-apaa-t-ak-a
INTJ 3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL
'Oh, se han desperdiciado.'
'Oh, they have rotted.'

P: Eero áawyanèro, aniryo.

eero aawi-an-i-ro aniryo
NEG.IRR poder.cargar-ABL-FRS-3F.O sobrina.hija.de.hermana.VOC.ME
'No podrás llevarlo (todo), sobrina.'
'You won't be able to carry (everything), niece.'

³⁹⁰ The translating consultant translated *éeniwitàcha* with '*había*'. This is yet another token of the tendency to translate the frustrative suffix with the Spanish imperfect past.

³⁹¹ The translating consultant said that this expression means 'it's enough' and did not accept *atákira* nor *àritákira*. I have some occurrences with *àritàki*, but an enclitic =*ra*kya is difficult to imagine. I assume that the joint enclitics =*ra*=kya together with *àritàki* are somewhat lexicalized in this expression.

Páminiŕo ótsipahàto.

p-amin-i-ro o-tsipa-hat-o
2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O F-otro-ADJZ.CL-F

‘Mira los de otra clase.’

‘Look at those of the other class.’

Che: Apáataka íntsipaki, okamáshitaka.

Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki o-kam-ashi-t-ak-a³⁹²
3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay³⁹³ 3F.S-secar-NPURP-&-PFV-REA

‘Se han desperdiciado los pacays, se han secado (desperdiciado).’

‘The pacays have rotted, they have dried up.’

Apáataka íntsipaki, kàmapiyótaki.

Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki kam-a-piyo-t-ak-i
3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay secarse-&-amontonarse-&-PFV-FRS

‘Se han desperdiciado los pacays, se han secado a montones.’

‘The pacays have rotted, they have dried up in piles.’

³⁹² The translating consultant told me that the root *-kam-*, besides ‘die’, also means ‘dry’ (verb). He insisted that the addition of *-ashi* indicates that something (food, fruits, etc.) goes off. In this way, the no-purposive suffix *-ashi* (with A-inflection) acquires a derivative function in that it modifies the meaning of the word.

³⁹³ *Pacay* is the name given in Spanish (among other names) and English to the tree *Inga feuilleei*, which produces pods with an edible pulp.

Annex 3. Vocabulary

This vocabulary lists all the words that have appeared during my fieldwork in natural texts or elicitations. The word class is given in italics after the Ashéninka word with the following abbreviations:

<i>adj.</i> Adjective	<i>cop.</i> Copula	<i>inal.</i> Inalienable	<i>prep.</i> Preposition
<i>adv.</i> Adverb	<i>dem.</i> Demonstrative	<i>num.</i> Numeral	<i>pron.</i> Pronoun
<i>conj.</i> Conjunction	<i>ideo.</i> Ideophone	<i>part.</i> Particle	

Verbs are given in their infinitive form with the verb class (I or A) and the stem shown in italics. Inalienable nouns are given in their non-possessed form, i.e. with the alienator suffix *-tsi/-ntsi*; when nouns are inalienable, this is indicated. In the case of kin terms, normally inalienable, since they do not have a non-possessed form (they have a possessed and a vocative form), the stem without a possessive prefix is given.

After the vocabulary, there is an English index with all the words of the vocabulary alphabetically ordered in English.

aaka *pron.* we (incl.)

aapataantsi *verb, I-class, -aapa-* join

aapatziyaantsi *verb, A-class, -aapatziy-* accept

aapi *noun* grandfather (vocative feminine ego)

aari *noun* brother (vocative feminine ego)

aashirataantsi *verb, I-class, -aashira(t)-* slip

aatsimiyaantsi *verb, I-class, -aatsimiy-* suck to cure (a shaman)

aawitaantsi *verb, I-class, -aawi-* be able to carry

agenkataantsi *verb, I-class, -agenk-* fly in circles

ahankaantsi *verb, I-class, -ahank-* sniff

ahánkane *inal. noun* heart

aiki, aikintsi *inal. noun* tooth

akaachataantsi *verb, I-class, -akaacha-* fish with hook

akóanikì *inal. noun* finger (neologism formed with *-ako-* ‘arm, hand’ and the diminutive *-aniki*; less learned speakers use *-ako-* for ‘arm’, ‘hand’ and ‘finger’)

akóerikì *inal. noun* fingers Neologism formed with *-ako-* ‘arm, hand’ and the plural diminutive *-erikì*. Less learned speakers use *-ako-* for ‘arm’, ‘hand’ and ‘finger’.

ákoperórikì *adv.* to the right

akotsi *inal. noun* hand, arm

amaani *adj.* growing

amaantsi *verb, I-class, -am-* bring

amaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -amaa(t)- swim

amáetyaka *adv.* early

amanantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -amanant- buy

ameeni *noun* grandmother (vocative feminine ego)

ametaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -ame(t)- get used

aminaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -amin- look at

amitakotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -amitako- help

amonkotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -amonko- chew

ampari *noun* shade

ampátiki *adv.* to the left

ana *noun* genipap

ananinkaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -ananink- get up from bed in the morning

anashaataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -anashaa- walk

anataantsi *verb, I-class, -ana-* go past

anúitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -anii(t)- walk

-aniri *inal. noun* brother-in-law (masculine possessed stem)

-aniro *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter, daughter-in-law (masculine possessed stem in all persons except 1st and inclusive [*aniryo*])

aniryo *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter, daughter-in-law (vocative masculine ego), and masculine possessed stem for 1st person and inclusive

antaantsi *verb, I-class, -ant-* do, make

antami *noun* forest

antari/antawo *adj.* big (m./f.)

antawaetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -antawae- work

antyáshipari/anthásyipawo *adj.* old (m./f.)

antziwatakaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -antziwatak- stumble

añaantsi *verb, I-class, -añ-* live

apaani *num.* one

apáaniróeni *adj.* alone

apaataantsi *verb, A-class, -apaa-* go off (food)

apápako, apàpakóoni *num.* five

apatotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -apato- meet

apátziro *adv.* only

apintapaaka *num.* nine

apípakôte, apípakó *num.* ten

apiti *num.* two

areetaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -aree- arrive, visit

ari *adv.* thus, there; it its a multifunctional word that can also express future and positive polarity

arini *noun* brother (vocative feminine ego)

arírika *conj.* if, when

aroso *noun* rice (from Spanish *arroz*)

ashéninka *inal. noun* person, fellow person, Ashéninka, (inclusive form of *sheninkantsi*)

ashi *adv.* there

ashi *pron.* ours (incl.), hers

ashiwantzi *noun* swallow (it is not clear what kind of bird it is)

ashoyiro *adv.* permanently

ataantsi *verb, I-class, -a-* bring, take

ataantsi *verb, I-class, -a-* fly

ateetaantsi *verb, I-class, -ateey-* go up

ateyaantsi *verb, I-class, -atey-* grasp and put up

athanankaantsi *verb, A-class, -athanank-* grasp

atsitakaantsi *verb, I-class, -atsitak-* bite

atyoeni *noun* female cousin (vocative feminine ego)

atziri *noun* person

awihaantsi *verb, I-class, -awih-* pass by

awiitaantsi *verb, I-class, -awii-* harvest

awithakitaantsi *verb, I-class, -awithaki-* hug

awotsi *noun* path

ayiitaantsi *verb, I-class, -ayit-* go down

ayini *noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (vocative feminine ego)

-ayiro *inal. noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

chaa *wh-word* how, what/which, (from/to) where, when, how much/many, who(m)

cháanari *noun* big jaguar

chamaero *noun* chamairo

chapinki *adv.* yesterday

charini *noun* grandfather, grandson (vocative masculine ego)

-charini *inal. noun* grandfather, grandson (masculine possessed stem)

chéenkari *adj.* black

cheetsi *inal. noun* horn, thorn

chekaantsi *verb, I-class, -chek-* cut

chekopi *noun* arrow

chenkotsi *inal. noun* trousers

chentetaantsi *verb, A-class, -chente-* lean

chewontzi *noun* swallow (it is not clear what kind of bird it is)

choeni *noun* sister, female cousin (vocative masculine ego)

chopinentsi *inal. noun* chest

chota *ideo.* applause, walking on puddles

chowi *noun* worm

échatzi *adv.* also

éekiro *adv.* goes on, still

éeni *invariable verb, past existential* there was

eenitaantsi *verb, I-class, eeni-* exist (defective existential verb: it never has a subject prefix)

eentsi *noun* child

eentyo *noun* sister (vocative feminine ego)

éeriki *adj.* green

eero *adv.* no, not (irrealis)

éeroka *pron.* you

éetyonkìni *adv.* a bit

éméni *noun* male cousin (vocative feminine ego)

-emi *inal. noun* husband (feminine possessed stem)

-émithori *inal. noun* male cousin (possessed stem)

-émithori *inal. noun* brother-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

-ena *noun* wife (masculine possessed stem)

-énathori *inal. noun* female cousin
(possessed stem)

eni *noun* river

eshitsi *inal. noun* hair

etaantsi *verb, A-class, -e(t)-* be
called, begin

etzi *noun* armadillo (family
Dasypodidae)

ewánkawo/ewánkari *adj.* young,
new (f./m.)

-éwatatyèero *inal. noun* niece
brother's daughter, daughter-in-law
(feminine possessed stem)

-éwatayíro *inal. noun* niece brother's
daughter, daughter-in-law (feminine
possessed stem)

ewónkiri/ewónkiro *adj.* midsize
(m./f.)

haantsi *verb, I-class, -h-* whip
masato in canoe, fill

háawari *adj.* hot

háawikitsi *inal. noun* floor

hagari *noun* short-eared dog
(*Atelocynus microtis*)

haka *adv.* here

hamampo *noun* ash

hamani *noun* paca (*Cuniculus paca*)

hamani *adj.* far in time

hampitaantsi *verb,*
I-class, -hampi- ask

hanák *ideo.* a pointed object gets in

hani *noun* wasp

hanta *adv.* yonder

hantákiro *adv.* at the other side,
behind

hantari *noun* wood

hanthari/hanthawo *adj.* long, tall
(m./f.)

hantóo *adv.* there very far

hapato *noun* shoe (from Spanish
zapato)

hapo *ideo.* jumps

hapokaantsi *verb,*
A-class, -hapok- jump

-hari *inal. noun* grandfather,
grandson (feminine possessed stem)

hatziikitaantsi *verb,*
A-class, -hatziiki(t)- stick something
into the anus

-hawo *inal. noun* grandmother
(possessed stem)

-hawo *inal. noun* granddaughter
(possessed stem)

hee *adv.* yes

heekaantsi *verb, I-class, -heek-* sit,
stay/live in a place

heetaantsi *verb, I-class, -hee-* throw

hempe *wh-word* how, (from/to)
where, how much/many

hempeña *wh-word* (from/to) where

henoki *adv.* up

heñokiini *adv.* beyond

heñókini *adv.* above

hetari *noun* carachama (fish
Pseudorinelepis genibarbis)

hewari *adj.* first

hiiiii *ideo.* crying

honkágari *noun* tinamou (bird of the
family *Timanidae*)

honpérirontsi *inal. noun* hat

hoo *ideo.* woman laughing

hookaantsi *verb,*
I-class, -hook- empty

íita(ka) *wh-word* who(m), how,
what/which, why

ítarikya *wh-word* why

iitzi *noun* animal leg
iitzintsi *inal. noun* foot
iká *part.* surprise! (expression that indicates surprise)
impáneki *noun* sand
ináshita *adv.* aside
inchaki *inal. noun* stake
inchápontho *inal. noun* stake
inchataato *noun* trunk
inchato *noun* tree
-íniro *inal. noun* mother (possessed stem)
-inírothóri *inal. noun* maternal aunt (possessed stem)
inkáganki *adv.* before
inkámani *adv.* tomorrow
inkani *noun* rain
inki *noun* peanut
intaena *adv.* far
inthomóe, inthomoeki, inthomoenta *prep.* inside
intsi *adv.* soon, quickly
intsipaeti *adv.* immediately
iraantsi *inal. noun* blood
iraantsi *verb, I-class, -ir-* drink
iragaantsi *verb, A-class, -irag-* weep
irapanantsi *inal. noun* liver
-irento *inal. noun* sister (feminine possessed stem)
-irentzi *inal. noun* brother (masculine possessed stem)
-iri *inal. noun* father (possessed stem)
iriinta/iroonta *dem.* that over there (m./f.)
irika/iroka *dem.* this (m./f.)
irira/irowa *dem.* that (m./f.)

-irithori *inal. noun* paternal uncle (possessed stem)
iroñaaka *adv.* now, today
iryaani/oryaani *adj.* small (m./f.)
ishiko *noun* lime
-ishíntothóri *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter (feminine possessed stem in all persons except in 1st [nishintyothóri])
itotsi *inal. noun* head
ítsipa/ótsipa *indefinite (an)other* (m./f.)
iyáaheni *noun* coffee plantation
-iyáariri *inal. noun* brother (feminine possessed stem)
iyaaataantsi *verb, I-class, -iyaa-* go (the stem is *-ha-* when there is no subject prefix)
iye *noun* brother, male cousin (vocative masculine ego)
iyometaantsi *verb, I-class, -iyome-* teach
iyoneenta *adv.* less
iyotaantsi *verb, I-class, -iyo-* know
-iyoti *inal. noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (masculine possessed stem)
kaakitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kaaki-* arrive (defective verb: it has subject suffixes, but not prefixes)
káankinaki *adj.* empty
kaari *neg. cop.* is not
kaataantsi *verbal totalitative cop., I-class, -kaa-* be all
kachari *noun* smoke
kaemaantsi *verb, I-class, -kaem-* call
kaero *noun* termite
kamaantsi *verb*, die, dry off

kamantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kamant- inform, say

kamarampi *noun* ayahuasca

kameetha *adv.* well

kameetha, kaméethari *adj.* good

kamitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kami-* find
out

kaniri *noun* cassava

kantaantsi *verb, I-class, -kant-* say

kantaantsi *verbal cop.*,
A-class, -kant- be

kántziri *noun* basket

kañaataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -kaña- accelerate

kapíchoki *adv.* a bit

kariperoetya *adj.* bad path

kashékari *noun* jaguar (*kashékari* is
more common in the Gran Pajonal,
and *manitzi*, in the Ucayali)

káshiri *noun* moon

katonko *adv.* upriver

katsinkaari *adj.* cold

Katsinkaari *noun, place name*
Chicosa

katsitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -katsi- hurt, be ill

katsitori *noun* ant

katziyaantsi *verb*,
I/A-class, -katziy- stand (realis A,
irrealis I)

kawirinkaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kawirink- knead

kawoshitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kawoshi- bathe

kemaantsi *verb, I-class, -kem-* hear,
feel

kemari *noun* South American tapir
(*Tapirus terrestris*)

kemi *noun* pumpkin

kemitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kemi- grate

kemóetyaki *adj.* advanced in
weeding (of a field)

kempitzi *noun* armored catfish
(*Pseudorinelepis gemibarbis*)

kenkishiryaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -kenkishiry- think

kenkitharentsi *noun* story

kenkithataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -kenkitha- tell

kentaantsi *verb, I-class, -kent-* sting,
hunt with bow and arrow

kentsitsi *inal. noun* neck

kihaantsi *verb, A-class, -kih-* be
upset

kihaari *adj.* genipap colour (bluish
black)

kiho *adv.* next to

kihori *adj.* hard

kimitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kim-* seem,
be that way

kimpitantsi, kempitarentsi *inal.*
noun ear

kinaantsi *verb, I-class, -kin-* leave
from a place

kináshiri *adj.* green

kinawaetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kinawae- go hunting in the
forest

kipatsi *noun* earth, soil

kipatsi *adj.* dirty

kirinka *adv.* downriver

kiritsi *inal. noun* nose

kishiri *noun* comb

kishitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kishi- comb

kitáeriki *noun* peccary (family *Tayassuidae*)

kitamaari *adj.* white

kitéheri *noun* day

kitehitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kitehi- dawn

kitériri *adj.* yellow

kithokintsi *inal. noun* seed, fruit

kithoyaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kithoy- harvest seeds

kito *noun* caridean shrimp
(crustacean of the infraorder *Caridea*)

kitochee *noun* thorns

kityónkari *adj.* red

kiwaantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kiwaant- polish

kiwaantsi *verb, I-class, -kiw-* wash

kohániri *noun* crocodile

koka *noun* coca

komáyiri *noun* tambaqui (fish
Colossoma macropomum)

konki *noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law ((vocative masculine
ego))

-kónkiri *inal. noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law (possessed stem)

konoya *noun* yellow-footed tortoise
(*Chelonoidis denticulate*)

kontaki *noun* tree *Hymenaea*
oblongifolia

koñaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -koña- appear

koko *noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law ((vocative feminine
ego))

koryo *noun* catfish (order
Siluriformes)

koshekashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -koshekashi- cunningly
pretend

koshina *noun* kitchen (from Spanish
cocina)

kòtsironáaki *noun* cooking pot

kotyaaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -koyaa- sit

kowaantsi *verb, I-class, -kow-* want

kyaa, kyaaryo *adj.* true

kyataantsi *verb, I-class, -kya-* carry,
enter

máampiritsi *noun* chigger

maanke *noun* snake

máaweni *pron.* all

máetawaki *invariable verb* wait! (it
expresses a command)

magaantsi *verb, I-class, -mag-* sleep

makoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -makory- rest

makotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -mako- get tired

mampaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -mamp- sing

mampaantsi *noun* song

manaantsi *verb, I-class, -man-* hide

maniro *noun* deer

manitzi *noun* jaguar (*kashékari* is
more common in the Gran Pajonal,
and *manitzi*, in the Ucayali)

mantsiyari/mantsiyawo *adj.* ill
(m./f.)

mapi *noun* stone

mapipooki *noun* dry river full of
stones

mapoche, mapocha *noun* papaya

maryagaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -maryag- lie

mashitsi *inal. noun* skin

mataantsi *verb, I/A-class, -ma-* can
(it is I-class with an object suffix, and
A-class without it)

mathantsi *inal. noun* clothes

mathari/mathawo *adj.* thin (m./f.)

mawa *num.* three

menkori *noun* cloud

méyiri *noun* squirrel

mintyapake, montyaaka *num.* six

miraantsi *verb, I-class, -mir-* be
thirsty

miri *ideo.* a pointed object boring
into another one

miritsi *inal. noun* thirst

míshito *noun* cat

moitontsi *inal. noun* navel

mootsi *inal. noun* gap, hole

mótana *noun* desire

naaka *pron.* I

naana/-naana *inal. noun* mother
(vocative and feminine possessed
stem)

nanaeni *noun* maternal aunt
(vocative)

nashi *pron.* mine

nataantsi *verb, I-class, -na-* chew

neetsi *inal. noun* louse

nenetsi *inal. noun* tongue

néwatayéero *noun* niece,
daughter-in-law ((vocative feminine
ego))

néwatayiro *noun* niece,
daughter-in-law (vocative feminine
ego)

-ni *cop.* be

niha *noun* water

nimaeka *adv.* now, today

nimotaantsi *verb, I, -nimo-* like

ninka *wh-word* who(m), why

nintaantsi *verb, I-class, -nint-* want,
love

nintakorentsi *noun* follower, disciple

nishintyo *noun* daughter (vocative)

nishíntyothóri *noun* niece brother's
daughter (vocative masculine ego)
and masculine possessed stem for 1st
person

nishíntyothóri *inal. noun* niece
sister's daughter (feminine possessed
stem for 1st person)

niyaataantsi *verb,*
I-class, -niyaa- swallow

niyanki *adv.* middle

noemi *noun* husband (vocative
feminine ego)

noena *noun* wife (vocative feminine
ego)

nohari *noun* grandson (vocative
feminine ego)

nohawi *noun* granddaughter
(vocative feminine ego)

noshari *noun* grandson (vocative
feminine ego)

noshawi *noun* granddaughter
(vocative feminine ego)

notómithóri *noun* nephew brother's
son (vocative masculine ego)

notsikaantsi *verb,*
I-class, -notsik- pull

notyomi *noun* son (vocative)

nòtzinéri/notzineri *noun* nephew
brother's son (vocative feminine ego)

ñaa *adv.* there

ñaantsi *inal. noun* language
(possessed *noñaani, piñaani, iñaani,*
oñaani, añaani)

ñaaathataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -ñaaatha- play, have sex

ñaaawaetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -ñaaawae- speak

ñagaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -ñag- see
(stem usually realized as ñaa)

ñani *noun* brother-in-law (vocative
masculine ego)

ñotzi *noun* nephew sister's son,
son-in-law (vocative masculine ego)
and masculine possessed for 1st
person

ochempi *noun* hill, mountain

óeta(ka) *wh-word* what/which, why

oetaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -oe- serve
drink

oháarentsi *noun* year, summer

oháawiki/iháawiki *adv.* below
(f./m.)

oháawiya *adv.* under ground

okáakini *adv.* near

oki, okitsi *inal. noun* eye

omaanta/imaanta *adv.* however
(f./m.)

omarentsi *inal. noun* bracelet

ompohaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -ompoh- hit

ompókiro *noun* star

onámpina(ki) *adv.* next to

onkiro *noun* mouse

onkókiròeni *adv.* outside

onkotsitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -onkotsi- cook, boil

onthaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -onth- come across

ontsirokaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -ontsirok- be next to

oñaashirenkaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oñaashirenk- annoy

oohotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oho(t)- tie

ookaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -ook- leave

oorya *noun* sun

opáireki *noun* root

oshankaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oshank- shoo

osheki *adv.* much/many

oshero *noun* crayfish (crustacean of
the superfamilies *Astacoidea* and
Parastacoidea)

oshi *noun* leaf

oshiyaantsi *verb*, *A-class*, -oshiy- be
similar

otápina(ki) *adv.* below

otekaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -otek- shake

oténanka *adj.* heavy

othápikinta *adv.* on the edge

othapyaki *adv.* on the bank (of a
river)

otsikanataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -otsikana- stare

ótsipata, ótsipatàka, ótsipàtsita,
ótsipàtsitapàka *num.* four

ótsitzi *noun* dog

owaantsi *verb*, *A-class*, -ow- eat

owaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -ow- put,
place

owaantsi *inal. noun* chacra (small
cultivated field; possessed *nowani*,
powani, *rowani*, *owani*)

owákira *adj.* new

owametaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -owame- teach

owámetàantsipáanko *noun* school
(neologism with -owame- 'teach'
and -panko 'house')

owankitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owanki- put on something

owashitantaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owashitant- make maspute
 (little hut built to hide waiting for
 animals for hunting them)

owethataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owetha- greet

owetsikaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -owetsik- build

oweyaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owey- move forward until a
 point

oweyantaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oweyant- be last

oyaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oyaa- follow

oyakyaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oyakya- chase

oyataantsi *verb, I-class, -oya-* wait

oyatzirori *num.* seven

páamari *noun* fire

paante, páantentsi *inal. noun* mouth

paantsi *verb, I-class, -p-* give

paapa *noun* father (from Spanish
papá ‘father, dad’; it is inalienable
 despite being a kin term because it is
 a loan)

páashini *indefinite* another

paata *adv.* later

páerani *adv.* long ago

pakáa *ideo.* Much rain falling

pakitha *noun* bird of prey of the
 family *Accipitridae*

pana *noun* leaf

pankinataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pankina- make love

pankoshitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pankoshi- build temporary
 hut (formed with the stem *-panko*
 ‘house’)

pankotsi *inal. noun* house

pantyo *noun* duck

paperi *noun* book, paper (from
 Spanish *papel* ‘paper’)

Pareni *noun* Perené (river)

paryaantsi *verb, I-class, -pary-* fall

pashi *pron.* yours

pashiwentaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pashiwent- be ashamed

patari *ideo.* Something falls on the
 floor

patyataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -patya- kick (probably from
 Spanish *patear* ‘kick’)

pawa *noun* father (vocative)

pawáchori *noun* paternal uncle
 (vocative masculine ego)

pawaeni *noun* paternal uncle
 (vocative feminine ego)

payantzi *noun* banana

pehaantsi *verb, I-class, -peh-* weed

peyari *noun* devil

piinkaantsi *verb, I-class, -piink-* fall
 into the water

pimantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pimant- sell

pinkáthari *noun* authority

pirinto *noun* frog

piryaari *adj.* dry

piteri *ideo.* drops falling, speaking
 slowly in the ear

pitotsi *canoe*

pitsi *noun* honey

pityaankaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pityaank- throw someone
 head first

piyaantsi *verb, I/A-class, -shiy-* come
 back (realis A, irrealis I)

piyotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -piyo- meet

pochari *noun* juice

pochari *adj.* sweet

pohataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -poha(t)- to be cooked

pokaantsi *verb, I-class, -pok-* come

ponchakyaa *adj.* with boots on

pontzitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pontzi- grate

poñaantsi *verb, A-class, -poñ-* hail
 from

poñashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -poñashi- happen

poo *ideo.* Settle on the floor

pootsi *inal. noun* face

poritsi *inal. noun* leg

póshini *adj.* tasty

poterya *noun* bottle (from Spanish
botella ‘bottle’)

potóo *noun* *Ficus insípida*, called *ojé*
 in local Spanish

pówonto *noun* wood quail (bird of
 the genus *Odontophorus*)

pyáarentsi *inal. noun* masato
 (alcoholic drink made with cassava)

rashi *pron.* his

réshikèmpita *adj.* disobedient

rira *filler* erm, um...

ríraga/rówaga *dem.* that (m./f.)
 (cataphoric demonstrative)

rirori *pron.* he

roentzi/riintzi *adv.* only (f./m.)

róohatzi, rooha *adv.* later

róokantàcha, róokantàencha *adv.*
 however

róomache/riimache/mache *defective*
verb so it is

roori *pron.* she

róotaki *part.* this is, so it is

róoteentsi *adv.* already

rowa *filler* erm, um...

shaao *ideo.* liquid falling

shaawitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shaawi- get dark

sháawiteni *noun* afternoon

-shari *inal. noun* grandson (feminine
 possessed stem)

shawo *noun* agouti (rodent of the
 genus *Dasyprocta*)

-shawo *inal. noun* granddaughter
 (possessed stem)

sheeni *noun* grandmother,
 granddaughter (vocative masculine
 ego)

shemyaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shemy- crush

sheninkantsi *inal. noun* fellow
 person

sheri *noun* tobacco

sheripyari *noun* shaman

sherok *ideo.* getting up, getting out
 of a hole

shetaantsi *verb, I-class, -shet-* clean

shetákintsi *inal. noun* fingernail

shetotsi *inal. noun* belly

shewo *noun* palm *Attalea butyracea*

shikire *ideo.* sound of leaves or grass
 when walking on it

shikiri *ideo.* something falls on the
 floor

shima *noun* fish

shimaataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shimaa- fish

shinetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shine- permit

shinki *adj.* drunk

shinki *noun* maize

shinkotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shinko- skewer

-shíntothóri *inal. noun* niece
brother's daughter (masculine
possessed stem in all persons except
in 1st [*nishíntyothóri*])

-shintyo *inal. noun* daughter
(possessed stem)

shíntzipàa *noun* raft

shirámpari *noun* man

shiraririri *ideo.* slipping

shirinkapaaka *num.* eight

shirontaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shiront- laugh

shitashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shitashi- spread out a
blanket

shithatsi *inal. noun* tail

shitowaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shitow- get out

shiwanki *noun* feather

shiwankintsi *inal. noun* wing

shiyaantsi *verb, I/A-class, -shiy-* run
(realis A, irrealis I)

sho *invariable verb, imperative*
invariable form look!

shompotsi *noun* fish *Chaetobrancus*
flavescens, known in local Spanish as
bujurqui

shonkiri *noun* hummingbird (family
Trochilidae)

táanitya *invariable verb* I know
nothing

táankore *ideo.* getting up, an animal
gets scared and starts running

taawatoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tawatory(a)- hit

tagaantsi *verb, I-class, -tag-* burn

taho *noun* bowl

tahonkaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tahonk- blow

takitsi *noun* organic waste

takoyo *noun* small bird with a black
tail

tampya *noun* wind

tantoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tantory- destroy

tapiitsi *inal. noun* back (body part)

tapotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -tapo- stalk

taraha *verb, I-class, -taraha-* fish
with *tarrafa* (a kind of net) (from
Spanish *tarrafa*)

tashetsi *inal. noun* hunger

tashiyaantsi *verb, I-class, -tashiy-* be
hungry

tee *adv.* no

teema *conj.* because

téemáita *adv.* however
(counter-expectative negation)

téerika *conj.* otherwise

tekatsi *verb, I-class* there is not
(negative existential)

tekira *adv.* not yet

tenkari *adj.* spread-legged

tetaantsi *verb, I-class, -tet-* put inside

thaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -thaat- bark, sound of other
animals

thaato *inal. noun* bag (the
possessed form is *-thaate*)

thagaantsi *verb, I-class, -thag-* be
scared

thakitsi *inal. noun* hip

thamaetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*thamae*- weed

thame *part.* hortative inclusive

thamiri *noun* curassow (bird of the family *Cracinae*)

thapo *ideo.* Something falls in the water

thapóok *ideo.* falling or splashing in the water

thataantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*that*- hang

thatakotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -*thatako*- make the bed

thawetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*thawe(t)*- create bad luck

thawinataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -*thawina*- hex, practise incestuous sex

thayiri *adj.* cheating

theyaantsi *verb*, *A-class*, -*they*- lie

thokitsi *inal. noun* egg

thomaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*thom*- hug

-thómithóri *inal. noun* nephew brother's son (masculine possessed stem)

thompitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*thompi*- carry in *aparina* (bag to carry a baby)

thonka *ideo.* end of something

thonkaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*thonk*- finish

thoo *noun* owl

thoori *noun* yellow-rumped cacique

thootyaakotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*thootyaako*- search

thotaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*thot*- suck

thowiwiííi *ideo.* something hurts

tik *ideo.* walking or running

-tomi *inal. noun* son Possessed stem

tóniròki *noun* moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*)

tonkaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*tonk*- shoot

tonkaari *noun* hill, mountain

tonkamentontsi *inal. noun* escopeta

tonkitsi *inal. noun* bone

too *ideo.* sound of shots

torek *ideo.* dying

totziro *noun* apple snail (family *Ampullariidae*)

towaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*tow*- knock down

tsiká *wh-word* how, what/which, (from/to) where, when, how much/many, who(m)

tsikárika *wh-word* where, how

tsimeri *noun* animal, bird

tsinani *noun* woman

tsintaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -*tsint*- urinate

tsipana *noun* leaf

tsipataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -*tsipa*- accompany

tsiréniri *noun* night

tsirenitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -*tsireni*- get dark

-tsiro *inal. noun* sister (masculine possessed stem)

tsirootzi *noun* *paucarcillo*

tsiyároki *noun* urucuri palm (*Attalea phalerata*)

tyaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, -*ty*- fall down, faint

tyaapa *noun* chicken

tyakitsi *noun* black ant

tyantyapitzi *adj.* with the form of a full bag

tyao *ideo.* hitting with a stone

-tyomi *inal. noun* son (possessed stem)

tzhagaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzhag-* break

tziho *noun* black vulture (*Coragyps atratus*)

tzimaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzim-* there be (existential verb)

tzinagaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzinag-* put up

-tzineri *inal. noun* nephew brother's son, son-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

-tzineri *inal. noun* nephew sister's son, son-in-law (masculine possessed stem in all persons except in 1st [ñotzi])

tzirootzi *noun* kind of palm-tree

tziroryaantsi *verb, I-class, -tziroty-* misstep

tziweri *noun* fat fish

tziwi *noun* salt

tziyáakintsi *inal. noun* anus

waaka *noun* cow (from Spanish *vaca*)

waerataantsi *verb, I-class, -waera-* dance (from Spanish *bailar*)

waetaantsi *verb, I-class, -wae-* appoint

waiii *ideo.* something is broken

wanawontsi *noun* food

wathantsi *adj.* fat

wathatsi *noun* meat

watzi *ideo.* opening the way in the jungle

wéerontsi *inal. noun* name

wero *ideo.* blah, blah, blah

wetsikaantsi *verb, I-class, -wetsik-* prepare

wirákocho *noun* stranger, non-indigenous

yatharékithe *inal. noun* testicle

yeenka *noun* grease

yerétotsi *inal. noun* knee

yei *noun* brother, male cousin (vocative masculine ego)

yoeni *noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (vocative masculine ego)

yotáantsipáanko *noun* school (neologism formed with *-iyo-* 'know' and *-panko* 'house')

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animal tsimeri
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tyao**honey** pitsi**horn** cheetsi**hot** háawari**house** pankotsi**how** chaa, hempe,
íita(ka), tsiká,
tsikárika**however**
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róokantàencha,
téemáita, (f./m.)
omaanta/imaanta**hug** awithakitaantsi,
thomaantsi**hummingbird**
shonkiri**hunger** tashetsi**hunt with bow and
arrow** kentaantsi**hurt** katsitaantsi**husband** -emi, noemi**I** naaka**I know nothing**
táanitya**if** arírika**ill** (m./f.)
mantsiyari/mantsiyaw
o**immediately**
intsipaeti**inform** kamantaantsi**inside** inthomóe,
inthomoeki,
inthomoenta**is not** kaari**jaguar** kashékari,
manitzi**join** aapataantsi**juice** pochari**jump** hapokaantsi**jumps** hapo**kick** patyataantsi**kitchen** koshina**knead** kawirinkaantsi**knee** yerétotsi**knock down**
towaantsi**know** iyotaantsi**language** ñaantsi**later** paata, rooha,
róohatzi**laugh** shirontaantsi**leaf** oshi, pana,
tsipana**lean** chentetaantsi**leave** ookaantsi**leave from a place**
kinaantsi**leg** poritsi**less** iyoneenta**lie** maryagaantsi,
theyaantsi**like** nimotaantsi**lime** ishiko**liquid falling** shaao**live** añaantsi**live in a place**
heekaantsi**liver** irapanantsi**long ago** páerani**long** (m./f.)
hanthari/hanthawo**look at** aminaantsi**look!** sho**louse** neetsi**love** nintaantsi**maize** shinki**make** antaantsi**make love**
pankinataantsi,
ñaathataantsi**make maspute**
owashitantaantsi**make the bed**
thatakotaantsi**male cousin** èméni,
iye, yeyi, -émithori**man** shirámpari**many** osheki**masato** pyáarents**maternal**
aunt -inírothóri,
nanaeni**maternal uncle**
konki, -kónkiri,
kooko**meat** wathatsi**meet** apatotaantsi,
piyotaantsi**middle** niyanki**midsize** (m./f.)
ewónkiri/ewónkiro**mine** nashi**misstep** tziroyaantsi**moon** káshiri**moriche palm**
tóniròki**mother** -íniro, naana**mother-in-law**
ayini, -ayiro, -iyoti,
yoeni**mountain** ochempi,
tonkaari

mouse onkiro
mouth paante,
 páantentsi
**move forward until
 a point** oweyaantsi
much rain falling
 pakáa
much osheki
name wéerontsi
navel moitontsi
near okáakini
neck kentsitsi
**nephew brother's
 son** notómithóri,
 nòtzinéri/notzineri,
 -thómithóri, -tzineri
nephew sister's son
 ñotzi, -tzineri
new owákira
next to kiho,
 onámpina(ki)
next to onámpina(ki)
**niece brother's
 daughter**
 nishíntyothóri, -shínto
 thóri, -éwatayéero, -é
 watayíro
**niece sister's
 daughter** -ishíntothór
 i,
 nishíntyothóri, -aniro,
 aníryo
niece néwatayéero,
 néwatayíro
night tsiréniri
nine apintapaaka
no tee
no (irrealis) eero
non-indigenous
 wirákocha
nose kiritsi

not tee
not (irrealis) eero
not yet tekira
now iroñaaka,
 nimaeka
ojé (Ficus insipida)
 potóo
old (m./f.)
 antyáshipari/anthásyi
 pawo
**on the bank (of a
 river)** othapyaki
on the edge
 othápiikinta
one apaani
only apátziro
only (f./m.)
 roentzi/riintzi
**opening the way in
 the jungle** watzi
organic waste takitsi
otherwise téerika
ours (incl.) ashi
outside onkókiròeni
owl thoo
paca hamani
**palm Attalea
 butyracea** shewo
papaya mapoche,
 mapocha
paper paperi
pass by awihaantsi
paternal aunt
 ayini, -ayiro, -iyoti,
 yoeni
**paternal
 uncle** -íriithori,
 pawáchori, pawaeni
path awotsi
paucarcillo tsirootzi

peanut inki
peccary kitáeriki
Perené (river) Pareni
permanently
 ashoyiro
permit shinetaantsi
person atziri,
 ashéninka
place (verb) owaantsi
play ñaathataantsi
**pointed object
 boring into another
 one** miri
**pointed object gets
 in** hanák
polish kiwaantaantsi
**practise incestuous
 sex** thawinataantsi
prepare wetsikaantsi
pull notsikaantsi
pumpkin kemi
put owaantsi
put inside tetaantsi
put on something
 owankitaantsi
put up tzinagaantsi
quickly intsi
raft shíntzipàa
rain inkani
red kityónkari
rest makoryaantsi
rice aroso
river eni
root opáireki
run shiyaantsi
salt tziwi
sand impáneki
say kantaantsi,
 kamantaantsi

schoolowámetàantsipángo,
yotáantsipángo**search**

thootyaakotaantsi

see ñagaantsi**seed** kithokintsi**seem** kimitaantsi**sell** pimantaantsi**serve drink** oetaantsi**settle on the floor**

poo

seven oyatzirori**shade** ampari**shake** otekaantsi**shaman** sheripyari**she** roori**shoe** hapato**shoo** oshankaantsi**shoot** tonkaantsi**short-eared dog**

hagari

sing mampaantsi**sister**eentyo, -irento, -tsiro,
choeni**sit** kotyaataantsi**six** mintyapake,
montyaaka**skewer** shinkotaantsi**skin** mashitsi**sleep** magaantsi**slip** aashirataantsi**slipping** shiraririri**small** (m./f.)
iryaani/oryaani**small bird with a****black tail** takoyo**smoke** kachari**snake** maanke**sniff** ahankaantsi**soil** kipatsi**so it is** róomache,
ríimache, mache**something hurts**

thowiwiini

**something falls in
the water** thapo**something falls on
the floor** patari**something falls on
the floor** shikiri**something is broken**
waiii**son**notyomi, -tomi, -tyom
i**son-in-law** -tzineri,
ñotzi**song** mampaantsi**soon** intsi**sound of leaves or
grass when walking
on it** shikire**sound of shots** too**South American
tapir** kemari**speak** ñaawaetaantsi**speaking slowly in
the ear** piteri**spread out a blanket**
shitashitaantsi**spread-legged** tenkari**squirrel** méyiri**stake** inchaki,
inchápontho**stalk** tapotaantsi**stand** katziyaantsi**star** ompókiro**stare** otsikanataantsi**stay** heekaantsi**stick something into
the anus**

hatziikitaantsi

still éekiro**sting** kentaantsi**stone** mapi**story** kenkitharentsi**stranger** wirákocho**stumble**

antziwatakaantsi

suck thotaantsi**suck to cure (a
shaman)**

aatsimiyaantsi

summer oháarentsi**sun** oorya**surprise!** iká**swallow** ashiwantzi,
chewontzi**swallow** niyaataantsi**sweet** pochari**swim** amaataantsi**tail** shithatsi**take** ataantsi**tall** (m./f.)

hanthari/hanthawo

tambaqui komáyiri**tasty** póshini**teach** iyometaantsi,
owametaantsi**tell** kenkithataantsi**ten** apípakòte,
apípako**termite** kaero**testicle** yatharékiho**that** (m./f.)
irira/irowa

that (m./f.) riraga/rówaga	tree <i>Hymenaea oblongifolia</i> kontaki	which chaa, íita(ka), óeta(ka), tsiká
that over there (m./f.) iriinta/iroonta	trousers chenkotsi	whip masato in canoe haantsi
there ashi, ñaa, ari	true kyaa, kyaaryo	white kitamaari
there be tzimaantsi	trunk inchataato	who(m) chaa, íita(ka), ninka, tsiká
there is not tekatsi	two apiti	why íitarikya, íita(ka), óeta(ka), ninka
there very far hantóo	um... rira, rowa	wife -ena, noena
there was éeniro	under ground oháawiya	wind tampya
thin (m./f.) mathari/mathawo	up henoki	wing shiwankintsi
think kenkishiryaantsi	upriver katonko	with boots on ponchakya
thirst miritsi	urinate tsintaantsi	with the form of a full bag tyantyapitzi
this (m./f.) irika/iroka	urucuri palm tsiyároki	woman tsinani
this is, so it is róotaki	visit areetaantsi	woman laughing hoo
thorn cheetsi	wait máetawaki, oyataantsi	wood hantari
thorns kitochee	walk anashaataantsi, aníitaantsi	wood quail pówonto
three mawa	walking or running tik	work antawaetaantsi
throw heetaantsi	want kowaantsi, nintaantsi	worm chowi
throw someone head first pityaankaantsi	wash kiwaantsi	year oháarentsi
thus ari	wasp hani	yellow kitériri
tie oohotaantsi	water niha	yellow-footed tortoise konoya
tinamou honkágari	we (incl.) aaka	yellow-rumped cacique thoori
today iroñaaka, nimaeka	weed pehaantsi, thamaetaantsi	yes hee
to the left ampátiki	weep iragaantsi	yesterday chapinki
to the right ákoperóríki	well kameetha	yonder hanta
tobacco sheri	what chaa, íita(ka), óeta(ka), tsiká	you éeroka
tomorrow inkámani	when arírika	young, new (f./m.) ewánkawo/ewánkari
tongue nenetsi	where chaa, hempe, hempeña, tsiká, tsikárika	yours pashi
tooth aiki, aikintsi		
tree inchato		

Summary

This thesis describes the Ashéninka language as it is spoken in the Gran Pajonal plateau and the Upper Ucayali River in the Selva Central region of Peru, where the last Andean foothills give way to the Amazonian lowlands. The number of speakers is estimated at around 10,000. This language forms part of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum, which is part of the group of Campan languages, a subgroup of the Arawak language family, the most widespread family in South America. The Ashéninka people live in so-called *comunidades nativas*, indigenous settlements with official authorities that are legally recognised in Peru.

The grammar follows a traditional layout in that first phonology, then morphology and then syntax are described.

Chapter 1 is introductory and is divided into four main sections. The first one is devoted to the Ashéninka people with a description of their geographical setting, a historical sketch and an account of their present situation. The second section deals with general aspects of the language, such as its genetic affiliation, the previous works, the sociolinguistic situation and a typological sketch. This section contains a summary of the relations within the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum based on my article on this matter (Pedrós 2018). The third section explains details about the fieldwork and the process of writing the thesis. The fourth section concerns the organization of the thesis and its conventions.

Chapter 2 describes the phonology of the language including the morphophonological processes. It is worth remarking that the affricates are not contrastive, but distinctive. The complex and non-contrastive stress placement is studied in detail by grouping words according to their number of syllables.

Chapters 3 through 6 are devoted to the morphology. Nouns, adjectives and verbs each cover an entire chapter due to their longer descriptions, while the rest of the word classes are described in Chapter 3: these include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, indefinites, interrogatives, adverbs, affirmative and negative particles, adpositions, conjunctions, ideophones, and fillers. Adpositions deserve a special mention since

they have not been previously described for a Campan language and I contend that a set of them has developed from adverbs in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka.

Chapter 4 studies the morphology of nouns and also how the noun phrase is formed. Typical nominal categories such as number and gender are described, and a section dealing with the complex kin system is included. Ashéninka nouns can act as predicates and express nominal tense, which is handled in a dedicated section. Ashéninka onomastics, a field rarely discussed in an Amerindian grammar, is described in a separate section. The section on the noun phrase deals with the strategies of nouns as heads combined with other word classes to form noun phrases.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the study of adjectives. The description of their grammatical properties and semantic tasks draws from the theoretical proposals set forth in Dixon (2010*b*). Ashéninka adjectives belong to the type that have grammatical properties of both verbs and nouns, and a small number of them can be inflected with gender. A remarkable occurrence are the long adjectives denoting forms. Some adjectival suffixes are described.

Chapter 6 deals with verbs, and it comprises roughly half of the grammar due to the complex verbal morphology. This chapter starts with a section devoted to reality status and includes an article of mine (Pedrós 2019), which compares the reality status systems in the different Campan languages and shows the partial loss of this system in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. The second section presents the pronominal affixes and discusses the occurrence of the subject cross-referenced with a suffix instead of the usual prefix; the conclusion is that this special construction expresses immediacy in time (concurrency with the speaking or narration time, immediate past or immediate future). The third section treats aspect and tense; it proposes the existence of a future suffix in the entire Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum, even though previous descriptions have not identified it as such. These languages do not have a tense system, but some morphemes can express a position in time. Sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 are devoted to broad categories such as mood and modality, directionals and associated motion, and valency-changing morphemes, respectively. The seventh section describes verbal suffixes that do not belong to the broader categories discussed in the previous sections. The eighth section shows the order of the 59 identified verbal affixes and enclitics

within the verbal complex only when their order with respect to other affixes or enclitics has been attested. Sections 6.9 and 6.10 are devoted to existentials and copulas, respectively. The language has three positive and one negative existentials, and also three positive and one negative copulas, each of them carrying some specific nuance. The copulas are used in most cases with functions different from canonical copulas. This long chapter on verbs ends with two short sections on invariable words with a verbal function and incorporation, which occurs very seldom.

Chapter 7 is devoted to syntax. It starts with key features of the language such as the dominant constituent order and the alignment system (sections 7.1 and 7.2), and sections 7.3 and 7.4 describe the broad categories of the simple clause and the complex sentence, respectively. The section on the simple clause is divided into four subsections on declarative, imperative, interrogative and negative clauses. The section on the complex sentence has two main subdivisions: coordination (conjunctive, disjunctive, adversative and causal) and subordination, which in turn is divided into adverbial, relative and complement clauses. The fifth section of this chapter deals with discourse connectors.

Besides the grammar, the thesis has three annexes. Annex 1 contains a list of grammatical morphemes. Annex 2 is a collection of eleven texts of different genres (conversations, tales, stories...) glossed and translated into Spanish and English. The examples in the grammar are mostly taken from these texts, so that their context becomes clear. Annex 3 is a list of all the words that have appeared at any stage of my fieldwork.

Resumen

Esta tesis describe la lengua ashéninka tal como se habla en la meseta del Gran Pajonal y en la parte alta del río Ucayali en la región de la Selva Central del Perú, donde las últimas estribaciones andinas dan paso a la llanura amazónica. El número de hablantes se estima en unos 10.000. Esta lengua forma parte del continuo dialectal ashé-ashá, que forma parte del grupo de lenguas campa, un subgrupo de la familia lingüística arahuaca, la más extendida en América del Sur. El pueblo ashéninka vive en las llamadas *comunidades nativas*, que son asentamientos indígenas con autoridades oficiales legalmente reconocidas en Perú.

La gramática sigue un esquema tradicional, en el que primero se describe la fonología, luego la morfología y luego la sintaxis.

El capítulo 1 es introductorio y se divide en cuatro secciones principales. La primera está dedicada al pueblo ashéninka con una descripción de su entorno geográfico, una reseña histórica y un relato de su situación actual. La segunda sección trata aspectos generales de la lengua, como su filiación genética, los trabajos anteriores, la situación sociolingüística y un esbozo tipológico. Esta sección contiene un resumen de las relaciones dentro del continuo dialectal ashé-ashá basado en mi artículo sobre este tema (Pedrós 2018). La tercera sección explica detalles sobre el trabajo de campo y el proceso de redacción de la tesis. La cuarta sección explica la organización de la tesis y sus convenciones.

El capítulo 2 describe la fonología de la lengua incluyendo los procesos morfofonológicos. Cabe destacar que las africadas no son contrastivas, sino distintivas. La posición del acento, compleja y no contrastiva, se estudia en detalle agrupando las palabras según su número de sílabas.

Los capítulos 3 a 6 están dedicados a la morfología. Los sustantivos, los adjetivos y los verbos cubren cada uno un capítulo completo debido a sus descripciones más largas, mientras que el resto de las clases de palabras se describen en el capítulo 3: estas incluyen pronombres, demostrativos, cuantificadores, indefinidos, interrogativos, adverbios, partículas afirmativas y negativas, adposiciones, conjunciones, ideófonos y coletillas (*fillers*). Las adposiciones merecen una mención

especial, ya que no se han descrito previamente para una lengua campá y argumento que, en ashéninka Ucayali-Pajonal, se han desarrollado a partir de adverbios.

El capítulo 4 estudia la morfología de los sustantivos y también cómo se forma el sintagma nominal. Se describen categorías nominales típicas, como número y género, y se incluye una sección que trata sobre el complejo sistema de parentesco. Los sustantivos ashéninka pueden actuar como predicados y expresar el tiempo nominal, a lo cual se le dedica una sección. La onomástica ashéninka, un campo rara vez estudiado en una gramática amerindia, se describe en una sección separada. La sección sobre el sintagma nominal trata sobre las estrategias de los sustantivos como núcleo combinados con otras clases de palabras para formar sintagmas nominales.

El capítulo 5 está dedicado al estudio de los adjetivos. La descripción de sus propiedades gramaticales y tareas semánticas parte de las propuestas teóricas expuestas en Dixon (2010*b*). Los adjetivos ashéninka pertenecen al tipo que tiene propiedades gramaticales tanto de verbos como de sustantivos, y un pequeño número de ellos puede declinarse con género. Un caso notable son los adjetivos largos que expresan formas. Se describen algunos sufijos adjetivales.

El capítulo 6 trata de los verbos y comprende aproximadamente la mitad de la gramática debido a la compleja morfología verbal. Este capítulo comienza con una sección dedicada a la categoría gramatical llamada *estado de realidad* e incluye un artículo mío (Pedrós 2019) que compara los sistemas de estado de realidad en las diferentes lenguas campá y muestra la pérdida parcial de este sistema en ashéninka Ucayali-Pajonal. La segunda sección presenta los afijos pronominales y discute sobre el sujeto referenciado con un sufijo en lugar del prefijo habitual; la conclusión es que esta construcción especial expresa inmediatez en el tiempo (conurrencia con el momento de hablar o de la narración, pasado inmediato o futuro inmediato). La tercera sección trata sobre el aspecto y el tiempo; propone la existencia de un sufijo futuro en todo el continuo dialectal ashé-ashá, aunque las descripciones anteriores no lo han identificado como tal. Estos idiomas no tienen un sistema de tiempo, pero algunos morfemas pueden expresar una posición en el tiempo. Las secciones 6.4, 6.5 y 6.6 están dedicadas a categorías amplias como el modo y la modalidad, los direccionales y el movimiento asociado, y los morfemas de cambio de valencia, respectivamente.

La séptima sección describe los sufijos verbales que no pertenecen a las categorías más amplias discutidas en las secciones anteriores. La octava sección muestra el orden de los 59 afijos verbales y enclíticos identificados dentro del complejo verbal sólo cuando se ha atestiguado su orden con respecto a otros afijos o enclíticos. Las secciones 6.9 y 6.10 están dedicadas a existenciales y cópulas, respectivamente. El lenguaje tiene tres existenciales positivos y uno negativo, y también tres cópulas positivas y una negativa, cada una de las cuales tiene un matiz específico. Las cópulas se utilizan en la mayoría de los casos con funciones diferentes de las de las cópulas canónicas. Este largo capítulo sobre verbos termina con sendas secciones breves sobre palabras invariables con función verbal e incorporación, la cual aparece muy raramente.

El capítulo 7 está dedicado a la sintaxis. Comienza con características clave de la lengua como el orden de constituyentes dominante y el alineamiento morfosintáctico (secciones 7.1 y 7.2), y las secciones 7.3 y 7.4 describen las categorías generales de la oración simple y la oración compleja, respectivamente. La sección sobre la oración simple se divide en cuatro subsecciones sobre oraciones declarativas, imperativas, interrogativas y negativas. La sección sobre la oración compleja tiene dos subdivisiones principales: coordinación (conjuntiva, disyuntiva, adversativa y causal) y subordinación, que a su vez se divide en oraciones adverbiales, relativas (adjetivas) y de complemento (sustantivas). La quinta sección de este capítulo se ocupa de los conectores discursivos.

Además de la gramática, la tesis tiene tres anexos. El anexo 1 contiene una lista de morfemas gramaticales. El anexo 2 es una colección de once textos de diferentes géneros (conversaciones, cuentos, historias...) glosados y traducidos al castellano y al inglés. Los ejemplos de la gramática se han tomado en su mayoría de estos textos, de manera que queda claro su contexto. El anexo 3 es una lista de todas las palabras que han aparecido en cualquier etapa de mi trabajo de campo.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift beschrijft de Ashéninka taal zoals die wordt gesproken op het Gran Pajonal plateau en langs de bovenloop van de Ucayali rivier in de Selva Central regio van Peru, waar de laatste uitlopers van de Andes overgaan in de Amazonevlakte. Het aantal sprekers wordt geschat op ongeveer 10.000. Deze taal maakt deel uit van het Ashé-Ashá dialectcontinuüm, dat weer deel uitmaakt van de groep Campatalen, een subgroep van de Arawak taalfamilie, de meest verspreide taalfamilie in Zuid-Amerika. Het Ashéninka volk leeft in zogenaamde *comunidades nativas*, inheemse nederzettingen met officiële autoriteiten die wettelijk erkend zijn in Peru.

De grammatica volgt een traditionele lay-out waarbij eerst de fonologie, dan de morfologie en dan de syntaxis wordt beschreven.

Hoofdstuk 1 is inleidend en bestaat uit vier hoofdsecties. De eerste is gewijd aan het Ashéninka volk met een beschrijving van hun geografische ligging, een historische schets en een verslag van hun huidige situatie. De tweede sectie behandelt algemene aspecten van de taal, zoals de genetische verwantschap, eerder gepubliceerde werken, de sociolinguïstische situatie en een typologische schets. Deze sectie bevat een samenvatting van de relaties binnen het Ashé-Ashá dialectcontinuüm op basis van mijn artikel hierover (Pedrós 2018). In de derde sectie worden details gegeven over het veldwerk en het proces van het schrijven van het proefschrift. De vierde sectie betreft de structuur van het proefschrift en de gebruikte conventies.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de fonologie van de taal inclusief de morfofonologische processen. Het is vermeldenswaard dat de affricaten niet contrasterend maar onderscheidend zijn. De complexe en niet-contrastieve klemtoonplaatsing wordt in detail bestudeerd door woorden te groeperen op basis van het aantal lettergrepen dat ze bevatten.

Hoofdstukken 3 tot en met 6 zijn gewijd aan de morfologie. Zelfstandige naamwoorden, bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en werkwoorden beslaan elk een heel hoofdstuk vanwege hun langere beschrijvingen, terwijl de rest van de woordklassen wordt beschreven in hoofdstuk 3: persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, hoeveelheidswoorden, onbepaalde woorden, vraagwoorden,

bijwoorden, bevestigende en ontkennende partikels, adposities, voegwoorden, ideofonen en *fillers* (stopwoorden). Adposities verdienen een speciale vermelding omdat ze niet eerder zijn beschreven voor een Campataal en ik beweer dat, in het Ucayali Pajonal Ashéninka, een reeks ervan is ontstaan uit bijwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 4 bestudeert de morfologie van zelfstandige naamwoorden en ook hoe de naamwoordgroep wordt gevormd. Typisch nominale categorieën zoals getal en geslacht worden beschreven en er is tevens een sectie opgenomen over het complexe verwantschapssysteem. Ashéninka zelfstandige naamwoorden kunnen fungeren als predikaten en nominale tijd uitdrukken, hetgeen in een aparte sectie wordt behandeld. Er is ook een sectie gewijd aan Ashéninka onomastiek, een veld dat zelden wordt besproken in een Amerindische grammatica. De sectie over de naamwoordgroep gaat over de strategieën van zelfstandige naamwoorden als hoofden in combinatie met andere woordklassen om naamwoordgroepen te vormen.

Hoofdstuk 5 is gewijd aan de studie van bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. De beschrijving van hun grammaticale eigenschappen en semantische taken is gebaseerd op de theoretische voorstellen van Dixon (2010*b*). Ashéninka bijvoeglijke naamwoorden behoren tot het type dat grammaticale eigenschappen hebben van zowel werkwoorden als zelfstandige naamwoorden, en een klein aantal ervan kan worden verbogen naar geslacht. Een opmerkelijk fenomeen zijn de lange bijvoeglijke naamwoorden die vormen aanduiden. Er worden ook enkele adjectivale suffixen beschreven.

Hoofdstuk 6 gaat over werkwoorden en het omvat ongeveer de helft van de grammatica vanwege de complexe verbale morfologie. Dit hoofdstuk begint met een sectie gewijd aan realiteitsstatus en bevat een artikel van mij (Pedrós 2019), dat de realiteitsstatussystemen in de verschillende Campatalen vergelijkt en het gedeeltelijke verlies van dit systeem in het Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka aantoonst. De tweede sectie presenteert de persoonsaffixen en bespreekt het voorkomen van de markering van het onderwerp op het werkwoord middels een suffix in plaats van het gebruikelijke prefix; de conclusie is dat deze bijzondere constructie onmiddellijkheid in de tijd uitdrukt (gelijktijdigheid, direct verleden of onmiddellijke toekomst). De derde sectie behandelt aspect en tijd; het suggereert het bestaan van een toekomstige tijdssuffix in

het hele Ashé-Ashá dialectcontinuüm, ook al hebben eerdere beschrijvingen het niet als zodanig geïdentificeerd. Deze talen hebben geen tijdssysteem, maar sommige morfemen kunnen een positie in de tijd uitdrukken. Secties 6.4, 6.5 en 6.6 zijn gewijd aan brede categorieën zoals, respectievelijk, wijze en modaliteit, directionelen en *associated motion* (geassocieerde beweging), en valentie-veranderende morfemen. De zevende sectie beschrijft verbale suffixen die niet behoren tot de bredere categorieën die in de voorgaande secties zijn besproken. De achtste sectie toont de volgorde van de 59 geïdentificeerde verbale affixen en enclitica binnen het verbale complex, alleen wanneer hun volgorde met betrekking tot andere affixen of enclitica is bevestigd. Secties 6.9 en 6.10 zijn respectievelijk gewijd aan existentiële en copula's. De taal heeft drie positieve en één negatieve existentieel, en ook drie positieve en één negatieve copula, elk met een specifieke nuance. De copula's worden in de meeste gevallen gebruikt met andere functies dan gebruikelijke copula's. Dit lange hoofdstuk over werkwoorden eindigt met twee korte secties over onveranderlijke woorden met een verbale functie en incorporatie, wat zeer zelden voorkomt.

Hoofdstuk 7 is gewijd aan de syntaxis. Het begint met de belangrijkste kenmerken van de taal, zoals de dominante woordvolgorde en het *alignment* systeem (argumentstructuur) (secties 7.1 en 7.2), en secties 7.3 en 7.4 beschrijven de brede categorieën van respectievelijk de enkelvoudige zin en de samengestelde zin. De sectie over de enkelvoudige zin is verdeeld in vier subsecties over declaratieve, imperatieve, vragende en ontkennende zinnen. De sectie over de samengestelde zin is onderverdeeld in twee subsecties: coördinatie (conjunctief, disjunctief, adversatief en causaal) en subordinatie, die op zijn beurt weer is onderverdeeld in adverbiale, relatieve en complementszinnen. De vijfde sectie van dit hoofdstuk gaat over discourse connectoren.

Naast de grammatica bevat het proefschrift drie bijlagen. Bijlage 1 bevat een lijst met grammaticale morfemen. Bijlage 2 is een verzameling van 11 teksten uit verschillende genres (gesprekken, sprookjes, verhalen...) die zijn geglost en vertaald in het Spaans en het Engels. De voorbeelden in de grammatica zijn grotendeels uit

deze teksten gehaald, zodat hun context duidelijk wordt. Bijlage 3 is een lijst van alle woorden die tijdens mijn veldwerk zijn opgedoken.

Curriculum vitae

Toni Pedrós finished a Spanish *licenciatura* (a five-year degree equivalent to an MA) in German language and literature (Germanistik) in 2007 at the University of València. From 2007 to 2010, he worked at the Museu Valencià d'Etnologia in charge of the museum's website. From 2010 to 2021, he worked as a translator and linguistic expert at the Diputació de València (provincial council of València), in the department in charge of promoting the use of the Catalan language. In 2014, he obtained an MA degree in Linguistics (specialization in Language Diversity of Africa, Asia and Native America) at Leiden University. After finishing the MA, he explored the possibility of doing a PhD at Leiden University and started his first exploratory field trip to the Ashéninka area in Peru in October 2015. During the time of developing his PhD project, he published two articles: one on the internal relations of the Ashé-Ashá dialect continuum, and the other one comparing the reality status systems of the Campan languages and showing the partial loss of this system in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. From 2021 till now, he has been working at a public publisher as a translator and proofreader. He wrote his thesis while being employed full time at the mentioned institutions.