ESSENTIALS OF ASHÉNINKA PERENÉ GRAMMAR

by

Elena Mihas

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In Linguistics

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

December 2010

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ABSTRACT

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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010
Under the Supervision of Fred Eckman

The objective of this dissertation is to present a preliminary grammatical account of Ashéninka Perené, an endangered Arawak language of Southeastern Peru. The description and analysis of the language is based on the 29-week field research conducted in an area of the Southwest Amazonian high jungle. Interesting issues of Ashéninka Perené grammar include a lack of phonemic voice distinction in stops, fricatives, and affricates, a series of palatalized stops, and a set of palatalized alveolar phonemes. Grammatical morphemes exhibit a great deal of multifunctionality. Possession is marked on the possessee or by juxtaposition. Non-masculine is the default gender. There is a small underived adjective class with mere thirteen members. The nominal classification system is fairly extensive. There is an array of highly productive applicative derivations. Aspectual and modal systems are very complex. Ashéninka Perené shows a straightforward correspondence between unreal events and their encoding in the language as irrealis. Negated irrealis is expressed on the verb as realis. There is an abundance of clausal conjunctions. The language has a nominative-accusative system of grammatical

alignment combined with the frequently occurring split intransitive phenomenon which is grammatically and pragmatically conditioned.

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Major Professor Date

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	subject of transitive clause
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverbial
ADV.P	adverbial past
APPL	generalized applicative
APPL.BEN	applicative benefactive
APPL.INST	applicative instrumental
APP.INT	applicative of intent
APPL.PRES	presential applicative
APPL.REAS	applicative of reason
APPR	apprehensive
AUG	augmentative
CAUS	causative
CAUS.AGT	causative agentive
CAUS.SOC	causative sociative
CC	coordinate clause
CL	classifier
CNT.F	counterfactual
COM	comitative
CONN	connective
COND	conditional
COP.C	copula of capacity
CUST	customary aspect
DE	dependent event
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIST	distributive
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EP	epenthetic
EXCL	exclamative (general focus)
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus
FOC.O	focused object
FRUS	frustrative
HAB	habitual
ICPL	incompletive
IDEO	ideophone
IMP.P	impersonal passive
INCH	inchoative

INST	instrumental
IRR	irrealis
IRR.REFL	irrealis reflexive
LOC	locative
m.	masculine
MC	main clause
M.CAUS	malefactive causative
N.C.FOC	non-contradictory focus
NEG	negative
NEG.EXIST	negative existential
NEG.IRR	negative irrealis
NEG.P	negative polarity
NEG.REAL	negative realis
n.m	non-masculine
NMZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
O	object of transitive clause
OPT	optative
PL	plural
poss	possessive
PP	positive polarity
PRF	perfective
PROG	progressive
Q	interrogative
RC	relative clause
RCP	reciprocal
REGR	regressive
REL	relativizer
REP	repetitive
REV	reversative
S	subject of intransitive clause
SG	singular
SEP	separative applicative
STAT	stative
STAT.T	temporal stativity
VP	verb phrase
WH	content interrogative
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
< >	infix
~ ~	reduplicated element

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My profound gratitude is extended to my Ashéninka Perené teachers Gregorio Santos Pérez (Villa Perené), Delia Rosas Rodríguez (Bajo Marankiari), Raul Martin Bernata (Pampa Michi), and Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb (Bajo Marankiari) whose comprehensive knowledge of the language enormously contributed to my understanding of the language's grammar and Ashéninka culture. I also want to thank other speakers with whom I worked closely: Ines Pérez de Santos (Bajo Marankiari), Moises Santos Rojas (Bajo Marankiari), Abdias Caleb Quinchori (Bajo Marankari), Victoria Manchi de Martin (Pampa Michi), Ernesto Manchi Lopez (Pampa Michi), Daniel Bernales Quillatupa (Aroshi) (La Merced), Paulina Caleb de Leon (Bajo Marankiari), Paulina García Ñate (Bajo Marankiari), Alberto Pérez Espinoza (Bajo Marankiari), and Luis Manchi Lopez (Santari). Special thanks go to the chief of Bajo Marankiari Osbaldo Rosas Rodríguez. His support of the language documentation and grammar-writing project has allowed me to fully engage native speakers of Bajo Marankiari which served as the base research community.

I also want to acknowledge the enlightening influence of the late Professor of Linguistics Michael Noonan who trained me as a linguist and advised me as my mentor during 2004-2009. I mainly owe to him whatever I was able to accomplish as a documentary linguist. Other scholars for whom I want to express my deepest appreciation are Edith Moravcsik and Lev Michael. Their insightful comments on my work have immensely benefited this doctoral project. I am particularly grateful to Lev Michael who suggested that I do research on an Ashéninka variety. My sincere acknowledgements are extended to the Arawakanists whom I have never met but whose excellent work built a

foundation for my research and inspired me to continue in their footsteps: Judith Payne, David Payne, Ronald Anderson, Mary Ruth Wise, and Alexandra Aikhenvald. My analysis of data largely drew on the invaluable guidelines of the Basic Linguistic Theory by R.W.M. Dixon, whom I would like to acknowledge with gratitude. I owe a great deal of thanks to the Chairman of my doctoral committee Fred Eckman for creating a supportive climate at the Linguistics Department at UW-Milwaukee which helped me survive the difficulties of conducting field research in a foreign country. My thanks go to Christopher Roth for his input on the final drafts of the grammar. During the entire project, the equipment needs and technical issues were attended to by Jim Cavanaugh and Jeff Loomis, for which I am grateful too.

I am very grateful to the organizations that funded my research: the National Science Foundation (Grant #0901196) and the Hans Rousing Endangered Languages Project (HRELP) (Grant SG0002).

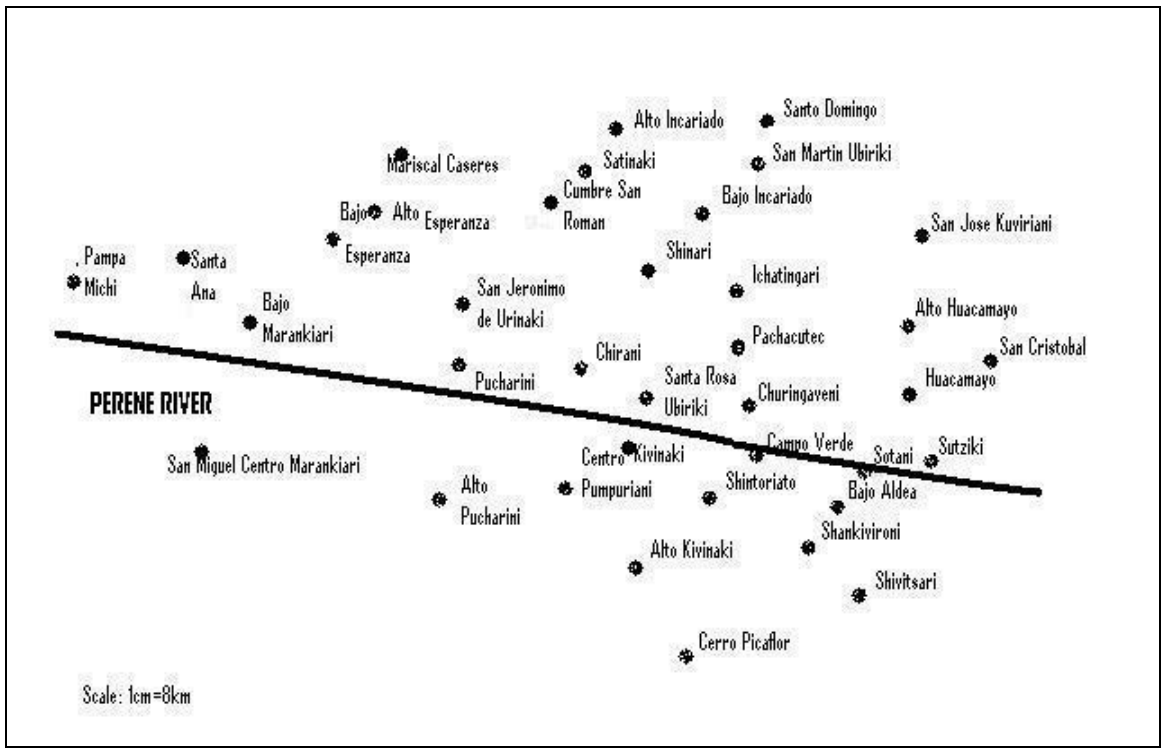
Warmest thanks go to my family in Russia, my friends in Peru and the US who have helped me in many ways during 2009-2010: Aldo Sedano Marro, Vicki and Tad Johnson, Pat Costello, Sally Noonan, Mike Darnell, Amy Callahan, and Elena Rucker. Many thanks to the sisters Carmen and Lorena Broq Tremolada from *fundo* San Jose in La Merced who kindly adopted me during the fieldwork periods in 2009-10.

Above all, I want to thank my dear husband Pete Mihas whose faith in me and unwavering dedication made it possible for me to complete the project.

Chapter 1
The language and its speakers

Ashéninka Perené speakers live in the dispersed settlements along the Upper Perené River in *Distritos* of Chanchamayo and Perené of *Departamento* Junín, Peru. The speaker base is reported to be at c.5,500 (Gordon 2005) but these data are questionable. The problem is the misinterpretation of population size as the number of speakers. Fieldwork results have revealed that the actual number of speakers is significantly lower, c. 1,000. The number of Ashéninka Perené-speaking communities is estimated at 37 by the local government of Distrito Perené (http:// www.muniperene.gob.pe). However, fieldwork data show that the total number of settlements is 35: Pampa Michi, San Miguel Centro Marankiari, Bajo Marankiari, Villa Perené, Bajo Esperanza, Alto Esperanza, Mariscal Cáceres, San Jerónimo de Urinaki, Pucharini, Chirani, Shinari, Cumbre San Roman, Satinaki, Alto Incariado, Bajo Incariado, Ichatingari, Santa Rosa Ubiriki, Churingaveni, Pachacutec, Campo Verde, Alto Pucharini, Centro Pumpuriani, Kivinaki, Alto Kivinaki, Cerro Picaflor, Shankivironi, Shivitsari, Shintoriato, Bajo Aldea, Sotani, Huacamayo, San Cristobal, Alto Huacamayo, San Jose Kuviriani, San Martin de Ubiriki. They are shown in Map 1. Approximately half of the villages are located on the valley floor; the rest are nestled in the hills on both sides of the river.

MAP 1. Ashéninka Perené settlements in the Districts of Chanchamayo and Perené

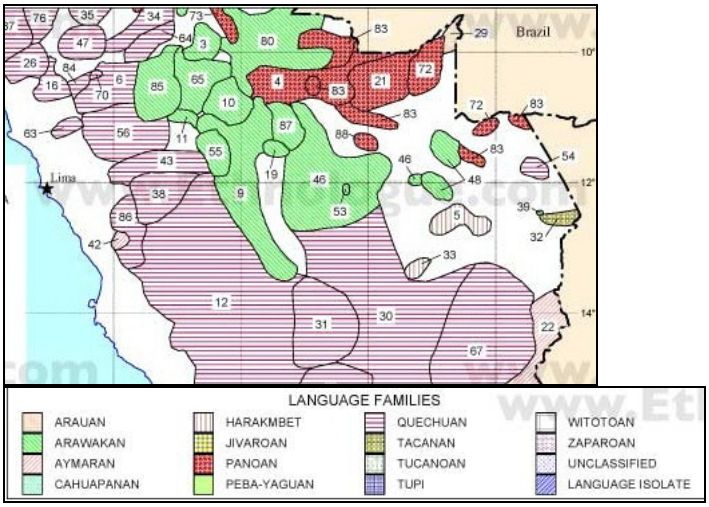


The socio-linguistic data (numbers of speakers and settlements) have been contributed by the following native speakers of Ashéninka Perené: Gregorio Santos Pérez (Villa Perené), Elias Meza Pedro (Mariscal Cáceres), Carmen Santos Lopez (Alto Esperanza), Marino Samaniego Domingo (San Miguel Centro Marankiari), Osbaldo Rosas Rodriguez (Bajo Marankiari), Cristobal Jumanga (Pucharini), Enrique Martinez (Bajo Chirani), Mario Prado Lopez (Santa Rosa de Uviriki), Delfin Pongo (Alto Incariado), Adan Santo Castañeda (Cumbre San Roman), Jorge Quinchori (San Jerónimo de Urinaki), Lucas Florez (Renacimiento Kivinaki), Ricardo Kamacho (Pampa Michi), Nestor Ramirez (Santo Domingo), Nilda Camiñiri (Shinari), Elmer Quinchori (Aldea Bajo), Victor Camacho (Shintoriato), Adolfo Gutierrez (Churigaveni), Dany Robles

(Huacamayo), Adolfo Marcos (Alto San Luis), Dionicio Minkori (Bajo Esperanza), Elmer Antonio (Camonashari), Mateo Cristobal (Platanillo Shimaki), Daniel Bernales Quillatupa (La Merced).

The river valley, called Alto Perené (Upper Perené River), is flanked by the settlements of Asheninka Pichis in the north, Asheninka Gran Pajonal in the north east, and Asháninka Tambo-Ene in the east. Map 2 uses the following numerical symbols for the areas inhabited by speakers of Kampan languages: 3-Asheninka Apurucayali, 9-Ashaninka Tambo-Ene, 10-Asheninka Pajonal, 11-Asheninka Perené, 19-Kakinte, 46-Machiguenga, 53-Nanti, 55-Nomatsiguenga, 65-Asheninka Pichis, 80-Ucayali-Yurúa.

MAP 2. Kampan languages (an abridged SIL 2004 Map of Southern Peru, from www.ethnologue.com)



The language described in this grammar is that spoken in the villages of Pampa Michi (Chanchamayo District) and Bajo Marankiari (Perené District).

1.1 Linguistic profile of Ashéninka Perené

Asheninka Perené is a polysynthetic, head-marking, agglutinating, mainly suffixing language with rich verbal morphology. It has eighteen consonants and eight vowels. There is a set of palatilzed stops and a series of palatalized alveolar consonants for all manner of articulation (a stop, affricates, a fricative, a liquid, and a nasal) which contrast with their non-palatalized counterparts. The language lacks phonemic voice distinction; its stops, fricatives and affricates are voiceless. Neither does it have aspirated consonants. There are two sibilant fricatives *s* and *ʃ*; one glottal fricative *h*; two liquids with a flap articulation *ɾ* and its palatalized counterpart *ɾʲ*; two glides, the bilabial approximant *w* and the palatal glide *j*. It has three nasal stops *m*, *n*, and *ɲ* which contrast with the underspecified nasal *N*. The vowels *i, e, a*, *o* have long counterparts. The canonical syllable structure is CV. The minimal word must have two syllables and an independent stress. Phonological processes (lenition, sibilant neutralization, epenthesis, vowel deletion) occur on the boundaries between a prefix and a root, a root and a suffix, a root and a root, and a suffix and a suffix.

Open word classes are verbs, nouns, and derived adjectives. Underived adjectives form a small closed class of circa thirteen members. Adverbs form a semi-closed class (e.g. place and locative-existential adverbs are closed subclasses while it is possible to derive some time and modal adverbs from verbs). Demonstratives, possessives, indefinite forms, personal pronouns, interrogatives are closed classes. Members of open classes can function as predicates; however, only verbs exhibit unrestricted morphological possibilities (e.g. nouns, adjectives, and adverbs do not occur in the imperative mood).

Structural properties of nouns involve the categories of case (locative case *-ki*), morphologically expressed gender *(-ri* 'masculine, *-ro* 'non-masculine'), optionally expressed plural number *–paye,* possession, locality *(=ka, =ra, =Nta*), and a cross-linguistically infrequent nominal past tense *=raNki*. Derivational categories include class terms, classifiers, and degree (diminutive *–aniki*, *-patsaini*, *-peta*, and augmentative *–santsa, -mashi*). There are at least twelve class terms, mostly plant-based, e.g. *–chee* 'thorn', *-paNki* 'plank', etc. and ten classifiers. Most of the classifiers occur only with nouns while a few have been attested with verbs. Possession is morphologically expressed on two groups of nouns: obligatorily (inalienably) possessed and optionally (alienably) possessed. There are also non-possessable nouns which always appear bare without any inflectional morphology. When an NP is marked for possession, only the possessed NP takes possessive inflection, e.g. *kaminkari ichenkoporoki* kamiNka-ri **i=**cheNko-poroki [dead-NZR **3m.poss=**pants-CL: quantity] 'the dead person's pants'. Obligatorily possessed nouns take person/gender clitics (gender distinction is only made when the possessor is the 3SG entity) while optionally possessed nouns take person/gender clitics and a possessive suffix *–ni, -te*, or *–ri,* e.g. *ishintsipaari* i=shintsipaa-ri [3m.poss=raft-poss] 'his raft'. Possession is also expressed by juxtaposition, which occurs when the possessor is a deverbal nominalization, e.g. *ashitarori eentsipaye* ashit-a=ro=ri eentsi-paye [have-REAL= 3n.m.O=REL child-PL] 'owners of children [parents]', the possessor NP appears before the possessed NP. When optionally-possessed nouns appear in an 'unpossessed' form, they take an unspecified possessor suffix *–(n)tsi* or *-rintsi/-rontsi*. There is no case marking on core constituents (A, S, O); the only case-marking locative suffix *–ki* can have any of the following spatial

meanings: ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘by’, ‘to’. The diffuse spatial meaning of the suffix *-ki* can be extended to a temporal sense ‘during/over’.

Verb roots are always bound and minimally have a subject proclitic and a reality status suffix. They typically appear with other affixes which occupy multiple structural slots for number, classifiers, valence-adjusting/preserving, adverbial, and aspectual/reality status categories. In addition, there are slots filled with personal, subordination (temporal/spatial *=ra* ‘when/where’, relative *=ri/=ni*), mood categories (interrogative *=ka*, dubitative *=ma*, conditional *=rika,* counterfactual *=mi*, optional *=ta*, apprehensive *=kari*), adverbial past tense *=raNki*, adverbial locative *=ka, =ra, =Nta*, and pragmatic clitics *=ha, =tya, =kya, =ve*. The language makes a formal distinction between real and unreal events. The scope of the irrealis morphemes *-e* and *–ia* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events: future events (1.1), imperative (1.2), optative (1.3), counterfactual (1.4), conditional (1.5), purposive (1.6), some types of complements (1.7), negated realis clauses (1.8), deontic modality constructions (1.9).

FUTURE

1.1 *Nosaitatyero nihaa.*
no=sai-t-aty-**e**=ro nihaa
1SG.A=pour-EP-PROG-**IRR**=3n.m.O water
‘I will pour the water.’

IMPERATIVE

1.2 *Pamine mapi.*
p=amin-**e** mapi
2S=look.for-**IRR** stone
‘Look for a stone.’

OPTATIVE

1.3 *Apaata novetsikayetavaketa omorona.*
apaata no=vetsik-a-ye-t-av-ak-**e=ta** o=morona
later 1SG.A=make-EP-DIST-EP-DIR-PRF-**IRR=OPT** 3n.m.poss=hole
'Later I will make holes [for the seedlings].'

COUNTERFACTUAL

1.4 *Airorika itsonkahetakaemi.*
airorika i=tsoNk-a-he-t-ak-a-**e=mi**
or 3m.A=kill-EP-PL-EP-PRF-REGR-**IRR=CNT.F**
'Or he would have killed them [but he didn't].'

CONDITIONAL

1.5 *Arika inyakero apankite kaniri, yamakeri ivaakate.*
arika i=ny-ak-**e**=ro a=paNki-t-e kaniri
when/if 3m.A=see-PRF-**IRR**=3n.m.O 1PL.S=plant-EP-IRR manioc

y=am-ak-e=ri i=vaaka-te
3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=cow-poss
'When/if they see us plant manioc, they will bring their cows.'

PURPOSIVE

1.6 *Ikeni ivametairi onkantya yamitakoteri.*
i=ken-i i=vamet-a-e=ri **oNkaNtya**
3m.S=come-REAL 3m.A=teach-REGR-IRR=3m.O **in.order**

y=amitako-t-**e**=ri
3m.A=help-EP-**IRR**=3m.O
'He came to teach them [young men] so that they could help him [Juan Santos Atahualpa].'

COMPLEMENT CLAUSE

1.7 *Nokovatzi nopankite mapocha.*
no=**kov**-atz-i no=paNki-t-**e** mapocha
1SG.S=**want**-PROG-REAL 1SG.S=plant-EP-**IRR** papaya
'I want to plant papaya.'

NEGATED REALIS CLAUSE

1.8 *Te nonimopirotya noshinkipirotya.*
te no=nimo-piro-t-**ia** no=shiNki-piro-t-ia
NEG.REAL 1SG.S=like-AUG-EP-**IRR** 1SG.S=get.drunk-AUG-EP-IRR
'I don't like to drink alcohol.'

DEONTIC MODALITY CONSTRUCTION

1.9 *Ontzimatye antavaite maaroiteni.*

ontzimatye	aNt-a-vai-t-e	maaro<ite>ni
be.necessary	work-EP-DUR-EP-IRR	all<AUG>ADV

'We should work all together.'

There are two lexical classes of verbs, class A and class I, labeled on the basis of the reality status inflectional endings they take. Membership in each class is largely unpredictable, except for reflexive verbs which all belong to class A. In addition to regular verbs, there are two sets of morphologically defective verbs: existentials/ possessives and copulas. The existential/possessive verbs include positive polarity verbs *tzimatsi* 'existential/possessive'*, ainiro* 'existential/possessive', *kant* 'be'*,* and the negative polarity verb *tekatsi* 'negative existential/possessive'. The set of copulas is comprised of the existential copula *na*, copula of naming *pai*, copula of location *saik*, copula of capacity *kara*, and the negative copula *kaari*. Verbs divide into two basic transitivity classes depending on the transitivity type of clauses they occur in: intransitive clauses with one obligatory argument S (intransitive subject) and transitive clauses which have two arguments A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object). Ditransitive clauses are infrequent. Verb roots are essentially ambitransitive; they can have either transitivity value. For example, the verb roots *kaa* 'bathe'and *kotsi* 'cook' may appear in ditransitive clauses, as seen in (1.10). The number of participants on the scene is three: the mother who is assisting her daughter during and after labor, the daughter, and the newborn baby. The objective form *=ni,* which is a third person singular enclitic (unspecified for gender), appears in the benefactive role. The transitive subject A is cross-referenced on the verb

by the third person non-masculine proclitic *o*=, the transitive object O is marked by the third person masculine enclitic =*ri.*

1.10 *Onkaatakeniri, onkotsiteniro oyari.*
o=N-kaa-t-ak-e=**ni**=ri
3n.m.A=IRR-bathe-EP-PRF-IRR=**3.O**=3m.O

o=N-kotsi-t-e=**ni**=ro oyari
3n.m.A=IRR-cook-EP-IRR=**3O**=3n.m.O her.food
'She [the mother] will bathe him [the baby] for her [for the daughter], she will cook food for her.'

Asháninka Perené does not have a valence-decreasing passive derivation although there is an impersonal passive marker *–ai.* Noun-incorporation, reciprocal *–av* and reflexive *–a~-eya* are valence-decreasing operations; valence-increasing mechanisms include applicative derivations (benefactive *–veNt*, instrumental/reason *–aNt,* separative *–pitsa*, presential *–imo*, generalized applicative *–ako*, applicative of intent *–ashi)*, customary *–aNt*, and causativization. The three causative morphemes include the malefactive causative prefix *mi-,* the non-productive agentive causative prefix *o-~oi-~ov-,* and the productive causative sociative suffix *–ak.* A periphrastic causative construction, which has a connotation of moral obligation, involves the verb root *shintsi* 'be strong', the benefactive applicative *–veNt~-viNt,* as seen in (1.11); cf. the causative suffix *-ak* in (1.12).

1.11 *Ishintsivintakina nayeri shiramparika.*
i=**shintsi-viNt**-ak-i=na n=ay-e=ri shiraNpari=ka
3m.A=**be.strong-BEN**-PRF-REAL=1SG.O 1SG.A=take-IRR=3m.O man=DEM
'They forced me to marry this man.'

1.12 *Ivakakinari iyoka.*
i=v-**ak**-ak-i=na=ri iyoka
3m.A=kill-**CAUS**-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=3m.O DEM
'They made me kill him.'

The language makes aspectual distinctions (perfective *–ak,* regressive *–ah*, incompletive *–it*, inchoative *–ima(in),* progressive *–aty~-atz*, durative *–vai*, habitual *–apiNt*, customary *–aNt,* repetitive *–a* ('continuous repetition') and iterative *–apanaNt* ('one more time'), reality status (realis *–a, -i*; irrealis *–ia, -e*), and mood distinctions (interrogative *=ka*, dubitative *=ma*, conditional *=rika,* counterfactual*=mi*, optional *=ta*, apprehensive *=kari).* In addition to two aspectual adverbs *tekira* 'not yet' and *aikiro* 'still', there is a set of adverbial verbal suffixes describing manner *(-ite* 'quickly', 'surprisingly'), time (*–it* 'before', *-aman* 'early'), and degree (*–niNt* 'a little bit', 'slightly', *-pero* 'indeed', 'truly') of an action. There is also an optional adverbial past tense clitic *=raNki* which denotes that the action took place at some point in the past, as seen in (1.13).

1.13 *Nohatanakiranki.*
no=ha-t-an-ak-i=**raNki**
1SG.S=go-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=**ADV.P**
'I went [at some point in the past].'

Canonical (i.e. second person) imperatives, expressing commands, are formally undistinguishable from polite requests or hortatives since the verb obligatorily takes subject person marker and irrealis inflection to express an unrealized action, as seen in (1.13). The force of command is intensified by the exclamative clitic *=ve.* Other types of imperatives are first person cohortatives ('let's do it'), second person hortative ('you'll do

that, right?'), second and third person exhortative ('beware of doing it') and second person entreaties or pleas ('please please do this'). Examples are provided in (1.13-1.17).

COMMAND
1.13 *Pikantenaro.*
pi=kaNt-e=na=ro
2A=say-IRR=1SG.O=3n.m.O
'Say it to me.'

COHORTATIVE
1.14 *Tsame ahate!*
tsame a=ha-t-e
come.on 1PL.S=go-EP-IRR
'Let's go.'

HORTATIVE
1.15 *Pimpokera.*
pi=N-pok-e=**ra**
2S=IRR-come-IRR=**ADV**
'You will come, right?'

EXHORTATIVE
1.16 *Yayimikari!*
y=ay-i=mi=**kari**
3m.A=take-REAL=2.O=**APPR**
'He shouldn't take [it] from you!'

ENTREATY
1.17 *Pintyankahaitenami!*
pi=N-tyaNk-ah-a-it-e=na=**mi**
2A=IRR-send-REGR-EP-ICPL-IRR=1SG.O=**CNT.F**
'Please send me [the money]!'

There is one negative imperative construction formed with the irrealis negator *airo/ero.* The negated imperative is formally equivalent to the negated irrealis clause. To indicate the force of the prohibitive, the reduplicated ending *–tzi* is used, as seen in (1.18).

PROHIBITIVE

1.18 *Ero paminavaitzitzi!*
airo p=amin-a-vai~**tzitzi**
NEG.IRR 2S=look-EP-DUR~**EP.REAL**
'Don't look!!'

Ashéninka Perené exhibits periphrastic negation. The set of negators includes the negative realis particle *te*, negative irrealis particle *airo~ero,* negative polarity verb *tekatsi* 'existential/possessive', the copula *kaari* 'negative existential', and the aspectual adverb *tekira* 'not yet'. Their position is fixed; the negators always precede the predicate. The standard negation strategy, which is a basic means of expressing a negated declarative clause, involves the negators *te* and *airo~ero*. The particle *te* is used to negate realis clauses whereas *airo~ero* negates irrealis propositions. Both negators have scope over the reality status of the negated clause: *te*-negated clauses obligatorily take irrealis marking and *airo*-negated clauses take realis marking.

The language has various relativizing strategies attested with canonical and non-canonical relative clause constructions. The canonical relative clause construction involves marking of the predicate of the headed relative clause by the relativizers *=ri* or *=ni*; *=ri* relativizes the common argument in A, S, O function in realis clauses and in O function in irrealis clauses while *=ni* is associated with relativization of the common argument in A and S function in irrealis clauses. Ashéninka Perené lacks a complement clause construction but complement clauses can be treated as such based on the functional definition of complementation. The semantic types of adverbial subordinate clauses include temporal, conditional, purposive, causative, resultative, motion purposive, undesirable consequence. Two other types - counterfactual and manner adverbial clauses - are coordinated. This extensive set of adverbial subordinate clauses is marked by

construction-specific free and/or bound grammatical morphemes (*arika* 'when/ if'*, =ra* 'when', 'where', *okaNta/ikaNta* 'in the meantime', *tekira* 'before', *irohatzi* 'until', *aririka* 'if'*, =rika* 'when/if' , *tema, kama* 'because', *irotaki/iritaki* + *-aNt* 'that's why', *-aNt* + *=ri* 'in order', *oNkaNtya/okaNta* 'so that', *=kari* 'lest').

The language exhibits nominative-accusative grammatical alignment with traces of split intransitivity when intransitive subject is realized by O person markers and occupies the verb post-stem person enclitic slot. It appears that this non-canonical realization of intransitive subjects is speaker-dependent, pragmatically motivated, and grammatically conditioned, typically by the aspectual formatives perfective *–ak* or regressive *-ah* which have a terminative connotation. Topic continuity[1] is highlighted by marking intransitive subjects as objects, as seen in (1.19-1.20).

1.19 *Hatahana.*
ha-t-**ah-**a=**na**
go-EP-**REGR**-REAL=**1SG.O**
'*I* am going (so long).'

1.20 *Iro kamatsavaitakina.*
iro kamatsa-vai-t-**ak**-i=**na**
but crawl-DUR-EP-**PRF**-REAL=**1SG.O**
'But *I* continued to crawl on the floor.'

The basic word order is VAO (verb-transitive subject-object) but AVO (transitive subject-verb-object) is also possible. The order of the fully expressed verb arguments largely depends on their pragmatic status, with topical elements appearing in the preverbal position. The focused constituents can either precede or follow the verb.

[1] Payne & Payne observe that O-perfective verbs (i.e. verbs which bear the perfective suffix *-ak* and whose subjects are marked as an object) indicate that the subject participants are topically continuous referents; these verbs tend to mark the storyline in narratives and cluster at the climax (2005:48-50).

A number of aspects of Asheninka Perené grammar are cross-linguistically infrequent such as exuberant applicative derivations, spectacular polyfunctionality of its grammatical morphemes, extremely complex aspectual and modal systems, the past tense nominal morpheme, pragmatically conditioned split intransitivity, expression of irrealis negation as realis, and the straightforward correspondence between conceptually unreal events and their encoding in the language as irrealis.

1.2 Asheninka Perené within the Kampan subgroup and the Arawak[2] language family

Asheninka Perené belongs to the Kampan subgrouping of South Arawak, along with other varieties of Asheninka, Ashaninka, Caquinte (Kakinte), Nomatsiguenga, Machiguenga, and Nanti.

The number of Asheninka varieties listed is somewhat arbitrary in that it is difficult to say whether some varieties should be considered dialects or languages. Linguistic scholarship distinguishes several dialects of Asheninka (Pajonal, Ucayali, Pichis, Perené, and Apurucayali) but the scholars vary in their estimates of the number of the principal Asheninka dialects. Importantly, the status of Asheninka Perené as a separate language is not definitively ascertained. For example, Ribeiro & Wise (1978) and D. Payne (1981) distinguish between two language varieties: one includes speakers of Perené, Pichis, and Ucayali Asheninka and the other speakers of Ashíninka (Axininka or Ajyininka Apurucayali). D. Payne (1991) and Trudell (1995) include three dialect subgroupings: Asháninka, Asheninka, and Asheninka Pajonal. Other conservative assessments of the

[2] Sources use different labels for this language family: Arawak (e.g. Danielsen 2007, Michael 2008, Solís Fonseca 2003), Arawakan (e.g. Adelaar 2004; Campbell 1997; Gordon 2005; Wise 1986, 1990), or Maipuran/Maipurean (e.g. Campbell 1997; Kaufman 1994; Wise 1990).

dialect diversity are by Aikhenvald (1999) and Danielsen (2007) who tentatively consider Perené, Pichis, and Ucayali Ashéninka dialects of Ashéninka Pajonal. Solís Fonseca (2003) makes a distinction between two languages, Campa Asháninka and Campa (Ashéninka) Gran Pajonal[3]. Adelaar & Muysken's classification is the same; the distinction is made between Asháninca and Ashéninca (2004). The classifications by J. Payne (1989), Payne & Payne (2005), and Fabre (2005) list Pichis, Perené, Ucayali, and Apurucayali as distinct language varieties. Gordon (2005) identifies Pichis, Perené, Ucayali, Apurucayali, and Ashéninka Pajonal as separate languages. Alonzo Sutta posits that the following 'Ashaninka' varieties are dialects: Pichis, Ucayali, Tambo-Ene, Perené, Apurucayali, Pajonal, Yurúa (2010:81).

There is no clarity either as to what extent the Kampan languages are genetically related on a higher-level grouping. Wise (1986) proposed an internal classification of Kampan languages within a larger grouping of Preandine family[4], including Amuesha, Apuriña and Piro, and compared some of their grammatical characteristics (1986, 1990, 2002). D. Payne (1991) revised Wise's (1986) classification and established the current limits of the Kampan group, reaffirmed by Aikhenvald (1999) and Adelaar & Muysken (2004). Michael's (2008) most recent internal classification of Kampan languages revises the one proposed by Wise (1986). It splits the languages into Southern (Matsigenka,

[3] Varese states that the denomination *Campa* has no meaning to Asháninkas, other than having a derogatory connotation. He hypothesizes that *campa* is a loan from an unidentified indigenous language of South America. The term *campa* was introduced in 1685 by the Franciscan priest Biedma who supposedly spoke Ashaninka and Panoan languages and was familiar with Tupi-Guaraní, which was a regional lingua franca in those times. Varese speculates that Guaraní *camba* 'black' or 'little black person' applied to the jungle dwellers in Bolivia might be related to the name given to the high-jungle inhabitants in Peru (2002:66). Some language speakers, with whom I worked, assert that *campa* is a loan from Quechua *kapuma* which means 'unkempt', 'disheveled.'

[4] Some linguists continue to use the term Pre-Andine (e.g. Cysouw 2007, Gordon 2005, Payne & Payne 2005; Solís Fonseca 2003,Wise 2002) to refer to Kampan languages.

Nanti, Nomatsigenga) and Northern (Kakinte, Asháninka, Ashéninka[5]) branches. Within the Northern branch, Asháninka and Ashéninka are placed in one subgroup, as closely related language varieties, while Kakinte is not considered part of this dialect chain. Though there are no doubts concerning the genetic affiliation of Kampan languages, problems still exist regarding the internal genetic relationships within the subgrouping and possible genetic relationships with other Andean languages. The identification of the possible genetic affinity of Kampan with other languages is confounded by the lack of agreement between scholars on a mid-level grouping of Arawak languages. The main problem of Kampan studies is the lack of adequate data for the languages that are included in this group. It is not possible to define the internal divisions within the Kampan subgrouping until more comparative and historical studies on Kampan languages are published.

1.3 The regional history and status of Ashéninka Perené

This subsection sketches out a general historical background of the region where Ashéninka Perené speakers currently reside and provides an assessment of the socio-linguistic status of the language at present. A caveat is due here. This presentation does not aim to provide an anthropological or sociological analysis of Ashéninka Perené's society. Instead, it is largely an account of what I have seen or heard from my language consultants.

Archeological explorations reveal that Arawak-speaking peoples have lived in the area since 2200 AD (Gines 2001:40). For millennia, the speakers have had essentially

[5] I preserve the spelling of language names as they were given by the sources.

unlimited access to the unique biodiversity of this ecological niche, located both at the foot of the eastern Andes and the western fringe of the Amazonian jungle. Until the last 70-80 years, during which their ways of living have dramatically changed, the Ashéninka Perené had mainly subsisted on game, fish, and slash-and-burn agriculture (for the purpose of cultivating vegetable gardens). Before the establishment of intense contact with outsiders and integration into the money-based citrus- and coffee-growing economy in the 20th century, the Ashéninka speakers had extensively used natural resources to hunt, fish, construct homes, make bows, arrows, machetes, fishing gear, looms, utensils, cooking pots, fabric, adornments, etc.

In the post-Colombian times, there were successful attempts to penetrate Campa territory by Jesuit and Franciscan priests and establish Catholic missions in the 16th-17th century but the triumphant Campa uprising (with the rebels' base in the mountainous grasslands of Gran Pajonal) under the leadership of Juan Santos Atahualpa in 1742 stopped the process of colonization and Christianization and closed the Campa-controlled region to missionaries, prospectors, and travelers for more than a century. Renewed attempts to re-conquer the area began in the middle of the 19th century when the Peruvian government dispatched a series of military expeditions aimed at capturing Campa Indians and transporting them to the agricultural coast as a way of resolving the labor shortage issue. The Peruvian state also directed the immigration of foreign workers to the high jungle area and granted them ownership of the tribal lands (Varese 2002:113). The armed resistance of Upper Perené Indians to the state-sanctioned invasion initially slowed down the whites' penetration but the 1868-1869 military raids during which the soldiers completely destroyed Upper Perené Indian settlements put a halt to any significant

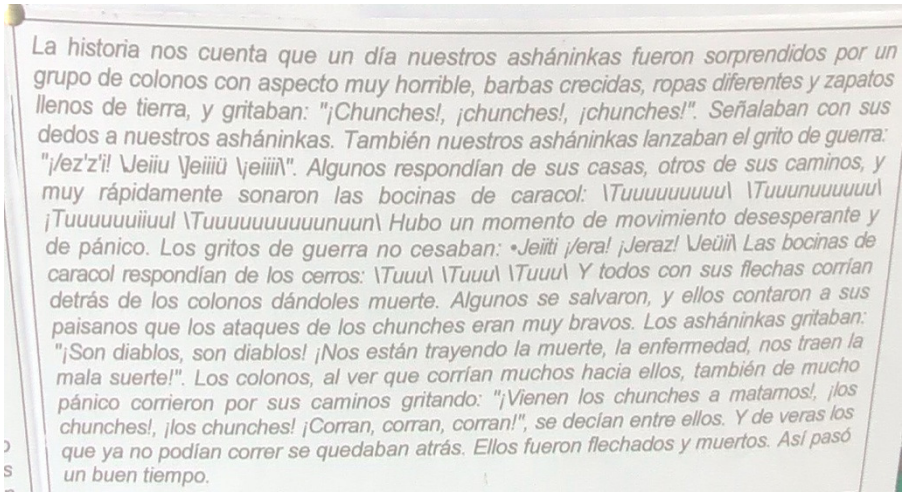
indigenous attempts to stop the aggression. Accounts of those raids narrated in Spanish by the descendents of the warriors have been collected by the historian of Pampa Michi Raul Martin Bernata. According to Raul Martin Bernata's testimony, the ancestors' response to the colonization was to flee to the surrounding mountains or fight. Indeed Upper Perené Indians were reported to constantly clash with Italian-born immigrant settlers (Varese 2002:132). Figure 2 is the Spanish transcript of the story about an Indian skirmish with colonists. The transcript is displayed in the Pampa Michi community archive building managed by Raul Martin Bernata, shown in Figure 1. The English translation is as follows. *The story that we were told is that one day our fellowmen were surprised by a group of colonists who looked awful: they had long beards, were wearing different clothes, their shoes were covered with dirt, and they were yelling,' Chuncho, chuncho, chuncho![6]' The colonists were pointing with their fingers at our fellowmen. Our fellowmen let out the war call, 'Ez-zih, heyuh, yeyuh, yeyih!' Some fellowmen responded to this call from their homes, others from the trails, and quickly blew the horns made of snail shells, 'Tu-u-u-uh!T-u-u-uh! Tu-u-u-un!' It caused despair and panic among colonists. The war calls didn't cease: 'Hey-ti, erah, herahz, heyi!' The horns responded from the hills: 'Tu-u-uh! Tu-u-uh! Tu-u-uh!' And everyone with their arrows ran after the colonists, killing them. Some of the colonists escaped and told their fellowmen that the chunchos were very fierce. The Asháninkas were yelling, 'You are devils! You are bringing death, disease, and bad luck to us!' The colonists, seeing that many Indians were running towards them, in panic retreated to their trails screaming, 'The chunchos are coming to kill us! Chunchos! Are coming! Coming! Coming!' They*

[6] 'Chuncho' is a derogatory term used by outsiders to call indigenous high jungle dwellers.

were saying this to each other. That's true that those colonists who could not run were left behind. They were shot by arrows and killed. This happened long time ago.

FIGURE 1. The Pampa Michi historian Raul Martin Bernata gives a tour of the community archive building

FIGURE 2.Transcript of a story about a clash of Upper Perené Indians with colonists



La historia nos cuenta que un día nuestros asháninkas fueron sorprendidos por un grupo de colonos con aspecto muy horrible, barbas crecidas, ropas diferentes y zapatos llenos de tierra, y gritaban: "¡Chunches!, ¡chunches!, ¡chunches!". Señalaban con sus dedos a nuestros asháninkas. También nuestros asháninkas lanzaban el grito de guerra: "¡/ez'z'i! \Jeiiu \Jeiiiü \¡eiiii\". Algunos respondían de sus casas, otros de sus caminos, y muy rápidamente sonaron las bocinas de caracol: \Tuuuuuuuu\ \Tuuunuuuuu\ ¡Tuuuuuuiiuul \Tuuuuuuuuuunuun\ Hubo un momento de movimiento desesperante y de pánico. Los gritos de guerra no cesaban: •Jeiiti ¡/era! ¡Jeraz! \Jeüii\ Las bocinas de caracol respondían de los cerros: \Tuuu\ \Tuuu\ \Tuuu\ Y todos con sus flechas corrían detrás de los colonos dándoles muerte. Algunos se salvaron, y ellos contaron a sus paisanos que los ataques de los chunches eran muy bravos. Los asháninkas gritaban: "¡Son diablos, son diablos! ¡Nos están trayendo la muerte, la enfermedad, nos traen la mala suerte!". Los colonos, al ver que corrían muchos hacia ellos, también de mucho pánico corrieron por sus caminos gritando: "¡Vienen los chunches a matarnos!, ¡los chunches!, ¡los chunches! ¡Corran, corran, corran!", se decían entre ellos. Y de veras los que ya no podían correr se quedaban atrás. Ellos fueron flechados y muertos. Así pasó un buen tiempo.

The late 19th -century rubber boom (which quickly ended in the early 20th century) brought more changes to the traditional Indian lifestyle when Indian males were recruited by rubber dealers to harvest *shiringa* (rubber) trees in the jungle. Even after the boom

ended, the rubber industry continued to undermine family and community life in the area. The 68-year-old language consultant Bertha Rodriguez de Caleb from Bajo Marankiari recalls that her father and later her husband would leave the family for many months to fell rubber trees in the jungle, as cited in (1.21).

1.21 *Noime te isaiki, ihatzi yantavaitzi, itotatzi shiringa.*
no=ime te i=saik-e i=ha-tz-i
1SG.poss=husband NEG.REAL 3m.S=be.at-IRR 3m.S=go-EP-REAL

y=aNt-a-vai-tz-i i=tot-atz-i shiringa
3m.S=work-EP-DUR-EP-REAL 3m.S=cut-PROG-REAL rubber.tree
'My husband wasn't home, he went to work, he was cutting rubber trees.'

In the 20th century the colonization of the high-jungle tribal area continued as masses of coastal and Andean colonists arrived. The usurped lands were largely used for coffee and citrus plantations. At this time, the British-owned The Peruvian Corporation Ltd. received, as a debt payment, a parcel of 500,000 hectares from the Peruvian government in the Upper Perené River area, called *Colonia del Perené*, with the objective of cultivating extensive crops. The same consultant Bertha Rodriguez de Caleb (Bajo Marankiari) recalls that after the Peruvian Corporation appropriated her village's tribal lands, her fellowmen planted beans and other crops in what used to be their land, but the corporation employees would bring in a herd of cows which would destroy their gardens, as described in (1.22-1.23).

1.22 *Osaikatzika compañia, te ishinitero ante avanipaye intatzikero, te ishinitero ante avani anpankite parentsi, kaniri.*
o=saik-atz-i=ka *compañia* te i=shini-t-e=ro
3n.m.S=be.at-PROG-REAL=ADV company NEG.REAL 3m.S=allow-EP-IRR=3n.m.O

aNt-e a=vani-paye intatzikero te i=shini-t-e=ro
make-IRR 1PL.poss=garden-PL other.side NEG.REAL 3m.A=allow-EP-IRR=3n.m.O

aNt-e a=vani a=N-paNki-t-e parentzi kaniri
make-IRR 1PL.poss=garden 1PL.S=IRR-plant-EP-IRR plantain manioc
'There was a company here, they didn't allow to make gardens on the other side of the river, they didn't allow us to make our gardens to plant plantains and manioc.'

1.23 *Arika inyakero apankite kaniri yamakeri ivaakate, itsonkiro yovaro maaroni avakayariririmi neentsitpatsaini.*
arika i=ny-ak-e=ro a=paNki-t-e kaniri
when 3m.A=see-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O 1PL.S=plant-EP-IRR manioc

y=am-ak-e=ri i=vaaka-te i=tsoNk-i=ro
3m.A=bring-PRF-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=cow-poss 3m.A=finish-REAL=3n.m.O

y=ov-a=ro maaroni a=v-aka-ia=ri=ri=mi
3m.A=eat-REAL=3n.m.O all 1PL.A=eat-CAUS-IRR=3m.O=REL=CNT.F

n=eentsi-te-patsaini
1SG.poss=child-poss-DIM
'When they saw us plant manioc, they would bring their cows, they would eat all that we would have fed to our little children.'

Later the corporation divided the land into lots and sold them to Andean colonists. The capillary influx of colonists from the cordillera eventually has resulted in the dramatic change of the consultant's village's make up. According to the former chief of Bajo Marankiari Gerardo Castro Manuela, the village, founded in 1938, used to be a native community; currently, out of one hundred thirty families only ten are Asháninka.

Based on the language consultants' reports and my own observations, farming is presently the main occupation of the native population (see Figure 3). The main cultivated crops are plantains, papaya, pineapple, and citrus fruit. (See Appendix B for description of activities in which the story-teller is engaged.) Hunting is no longer a viable source of food supply due to the scarcity of game while fishing and snail harvesting yet remains a regular activity of older men and women. Ashéninkas are skilled artisans who fabricate exquisite adornments from a variety of wild seeds for both men

and women. The tradition of fabricating things has continued merely in a handful of the remaining native communities and is essentially in the state of decline. Only some crafts have survived, evidently, due to their market value. Crafts sales, popular with tourists from Lima, generate supplementary income to many older women in the native community of Pampa Michi, one of the main local tourist destinations. A picture of a craft stand is given in Figure 4. Craft-making businesses in other native communities do not get as much tourist traffic; as a result, they are barely surviving.

FIGURE 3. A hill slope with *chacras* (private plots of land), with rows of fruit-bearing trees, in the Perené District

FIGURE 4. A craft stand in Pampa Michi

Although Asháninkas of the Upper Perené River were able to survive the government-supported ethnocide and have adapted to the market economy, having been among the first jungle populations to have contact with whites, they are on the brink of losing their mother tongue.

My daily interactions with villagers have revealed that they are well-functioning bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals. Very few speakers, mostly elderly men and women over 80 (some of them are centenarians), speak exclusively Ashéninka. Spanish is used in all domains: school, local government, church, and business since buyers of Ashéninka products or those who sell goods to Ashéninka typically speak Spanish. As the result of permanent contact with Spanish-speaking outsiders, a majority of Ashéninka Perené has assimilated into mainstream Peruvian society, i.e. they have acquired many aspects of western culture (they call themselves *civilizados* 'civilized') and are fluent speakers of Spanish. My fieldwork observations corroborate assessments of the speakers' shift to Spanish made by Anderson (2000:44) and Wise (1985:196, 203).

The most troubling fact is that Spanish has also become the home language. The youngest Ashéninka-speaking parental generation (they are in their late 40s) prefer to use Spanish as the home language and admit that they raise their younger children monolingual, as seen in Gerardo Castro Manuela's remark in (1.24).

1.24 *Anyaaninta ayovetaro anyaani, intaani atomipaye te iyotahero inyaavaitahero anyaani.*

a=nyaa-ni=Nta a=yo-ve-t-a=ro a=nyaa-ni
1PL.poss=word-poss=DEM 1PL.A=know-FRUS-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 1PL.poss=word-poss

intaani a=tomi-paye te i=yo-t-ah-e=ro
only 1PL.poss=son-PL NEG.REAL 3m.A=know-EP-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O

i=nyaa-vai-t-ah-e=ro a=nyaa-ni
3m.A=speak-DUR-EP-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O 1PL.poss=word-poss
'Our language, we know our language, but our sons don't know how to speak our language.'

On average, there are six to eight children in such families. The oldest that are in their late 20s-early 30s usually have some degree of proficiency in the language; younger children are essentially monolingual.

Another contributing factor is speakers' attitudes. The indigenous mother tongue has little value in a market-oriented society and is not helpful in everyday economic struggle to bring food home. As one speaker said, reflecting the views of her fellowmen, 'The language doesn't sell.' In the eyes of the speakers, the language is not emblematic of their 'civilized' identity. Sadly, it fosters the profound feeling of inferiority since the Peruvian model of patriotism favors supremacy of the Castilian language and culture at the cost of indigenous linguistic and cultural legacy. The current national subtractive intercultural bilingual policy and the regional policy of indigenous language standardization largely work against the many speakers' needs to reclaim the oral vernacular language (Chiroque Chunga & Rodríguez Torres 2008: 21, 37-38; Hornberger 2000:179-180; Nieroda 2005:80).

Local linguists from San Marcos University in Lima have been active in launching literacy programs in Ashéninka varieties (Alonzo Sutta 2010) but such literacy efforts are

stalled by orthographies that do not reflect the phonology of the language. For example, at the September 2010 meeting speakers from Bajo Marankiari and Pampa Michi rejected the currently promoted standardized alphabet for Ashéninka varieties on the grounds that it is not suitable for the Upper Perené area.

Crucially, the Ashéninka Perené comprise one of the smallest groups among the speakers of other Kampan languages, e.g. 23,000 speakers of Asháninka, 12,000 of Ashéninka Pajonal, 12,000 of Ashéninka Pichis, 13,000 of Ashéninka Ucayali, etc. (Gordon 2005). Speakers of Ashéninka Perené are vastly outnumbered by Spanish-speaking colonists who reside in the Upper Perené River area. There is a high rate of intermarriage between *mestizos* and Ashéninka families with Spanish used as a common language in many social contexts such as family parties, soccer and volleyball matches.

The vitality of Ashéninka Perené can be evaluated based on the Whaley and Grenoble diagnostics (2006:18). Whaley and Grenoble propose five levels of language vitality: *safe, at risk, disappearing, moribund, nearly extinct, and extinct*. They argue that when a language is 'safe', all generations use the language in all or nearly all domains, the language has a large speaker base, and it functions as the language of government, education, and commerce. In contrast, when a language is 'at risk', it's spoken in a limited number of domains and has a smaller number of speakers than other languages in the same region. To be categorized as 'disappearing', the language should show a pattern of the shrinking speaker base when a shift to another language is attested in the communities where it is spoken; it's also used in more restricted domains, and the dominant language begins to replace it at a greater percentage at home. Based on these metrics, Ashéninka Perené appears to be the *disappearing* type.

The Krauss framework for classifying languages according to degree of their viability involves children, whether they learn their parents' language or not, and includes three major language categories: *safe, endangered,* and *extinct* (2007:1). Endangered languages are subdivided into *stable, partly stable, definitively endangered*, and *severely endangered* depending on the degree of brokenness of the language transmission mechanism. Ashéninka Perené belongs to the *definitively endangered* language type matching the profile described by Krauss: "the language has passed the crucial basic threshold of viability, is no longer being learned as mother tongue by children in the home, … the younger speakers are of the parental generation" (2007:5). Given the small size of the surviving speakers and the intergenerational language transmission break, Ashéninka Perené is in serious danger of extinction within one or two generations.

1.4 Prior research on the language

In this section, the name of the language and its self-denomination is discussed, along with Ashéninka Perené scholarship. The speakers refer to themselves as *katoNkosatzi* (*katoNko* is 'upriver' and *–satzi* is a productive derivational suffix used in names of peoples) 'upriver people' or *parenisatzi* (*pareni* 'river' and *–satzi* 'human provenance') 'river people'. Another autodenomination is *ashaniNka* or *asheniNka* a=sheni-Nka [1PL.poss=be.of.the.same.group-NMZ] 'our fellowman'[7]. The term *ashaniNka/ asheniNka* usually bears an accent mark on the second vowel when its hispanized version appears in print. The stem *sheniNka* can be marked for varied possessors, e.g.

[7] Jacinto Santos contends that the origin of the term *asháninka/ashéninka* lies in the speakers' conceptualization of the world. The essence of his hypothesis is that *asháninka/ashéninka* is a nominal compound consisting of a*sh* 'four worlds' and *ninka* 'interrogative pronoun *who*'; the figurative translation of *asháninka/ashéninka* should be 'be the protector of' (2010: 68-69).

no*sheniNka* 'my fellowman', ***pi****sheniNka* 'your fellowman', ***o****sheniNka* 'her fellowman', etc. When speakers use Spanish to describe themselves, they say 'Asháninka del Alto Perené', i.e. Asháninka from the Upper Perené River. The language is referred to by the speakers as *anyaani katoNkosatzi parenini* a=nyaa-ni katoNko-satzi parenini [1PL.poss=word-poss upriver-provenance river] 'our word of the Upper River'. In linguistic scholarship, various terms are used for the speakers' denomination and the language's name: Upper Perené (Payne 1981:5), Upper Perené (Campbell 1997:181), Perené, dialect of Pajonal Campa (Aikhenvald 1999:68), Alto Perené (Heise, Payne, Payne, Vilchez 2000:5), Campa Asháninka (Solís Fonseca 2003:144), Perené Ashéninka (Gordon 2005), Campa Alto Perené (Fabre 2005:31).

Limited accounts of grammatical features of Ashéninka Perené are found in publications by SIL and local linguists. An illustrated dictionary of five Ashéninka varieties published for the local bilingual teachers contains a small number of Perené words (Heise et al. 2000). There is a short survey of pronominal forms in three Ashéninka varieties, Pichis, Perené, and Apurucayali (Reed & Payne 1986). J. Payne's useful pedagogical manual (1989), intended for the beginning students of Ashéninka Perené and Pichis, provides a brief account of the pronominal system, possessive prefixes, TAM, negation, complements, directionals, applicative and reflexive suffixes. It contains samples of connected speech such as dialogs and folk stories, along with comments on the orthographic conventions, sound system, stress patterns, and rules of vowel elision. There are good quality accounts of phonology and morphology of Ashéninka Pichis (Payne 1983), Ucayali (Garcia Salazar 1993), and Apurucayali (Payne 1981; Payne, Payne & Sanchez Santos 1982; Spring 1992; Black 1991) but no

comparable work on Ashéninka Perené except for an outline of lenition and elision by Falcon (1993). The Ashéninka speakers' pragmatic considerations in the choice of verb aspect are addressed in Payne (1984). Payne & Payne (2002) discuss the development of causative constructions and split intransitivity in five Ashéninka languages including Perené (2005). Cysouw (2007) considers briefly the origin of interrogative words in Perené in the context of his discussion of content interrogatives in Pichis Ashéninka. Alonso Sutta (2007) is an investigation of the classifier *–tha* in Ashéninka Perené. Jacinto Santos (2010) is a hypothesis on the etymology of the word 'asháninka'. General socio-linguistic information about the language and its cultural context is provided in Anderson (2000, 2005), Weiss (1974, 1975), and Wise (1985).

1.5 Fieldwork materials, research methods, and consultants

The grammar is based on the materials collected during three fieldtrips in June 2008 (1-week familiarization trip), June-September 2009 (12-week trip), and May-September 2010 (16-week trip). The collected corpus is comprised of 18 hours of video recordings, 22 hours of audio recordings, 387 pages of notes, vocabulary entries, and comments on collected texts taken during meetings with language speakers, 236 pages of annotated digital texts, and 468 pages of transcribed and translated texts performed by the primary language consultants Gregorio Santos Pérez, Daniel Bernalez Quillatupa, and Delia Rosas Rodríguez. The fieldwork was conducted in *Distritos* Perené and Chanchamayo, *Provincia* Chanchamayo, *Departamento* Junín. The only way from Lima to Chanchamayo Province is by bus which involves a 7-9 hour ride (depending on the traffic and weather) across the Andes. The Perené District is located 330 km to the east of Lima,

the capital of Peru. The District's lowest altitude is 505 meters above the sea level, the highest is 3,300 meters.

I was based in La Merced, the capital of Chanchamayo Province and traveled daily to the villages of Pampa Michi (18 km from La Merced), Santa Ana (25 km from La Merced), and Bajo Marankiari (26 km from La Merced) to meet with my consultants. Recruitment of consultants was initially a challenge. The outcome of my inquiries with the indigenous political organization CECONSEC (*La Central de Comunidades Nativas de la Selva Central*) was unsuccessful when I petitioned them to give me permission to travel freely to local native communities to recruit language consultants. In June 2009, the leader of CECONSEC Perry Amato Bonatto assessed the project as 'unnecessary' and warned me not to enter communities on my own. This cautious stance might have been triggered by the violent political disturbances in June-July 2009 when indigenous people across the country were participating in *mobilizaciones* (demonstrations, strikes, and road blockades) as a form of protest against the pro-western Alan García government.

Since I didn't have permission from CECONSEC to work in native communities, my best chance was to establish private contacts with native speakers through the acquaintances that I had in La Merced. Aldo Sedano Marro, manager of a small private English school in La Merced, was instrumental in the recruitment of my first language consultant Raul Martin Bernata from Pampa Michi. Through Raul I met Gregorio Santos Pérez, a native of Bajo Marankiari, currently residing in Villa Perené. These two have become my principal language consultants. They gradually engaged their families and canvassed their friends to solicit their participation in language documentation. Another useful contact was Lorena Tremolada Broque, manager of the *fundo* San Jose where I

was staying, who introduced me to Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, a bilingual specialist from the local Department of Education, also a native of Bajo Marankiari. At the request of Gregorio Santos Pérez, the chief of Bajo Marankiari Osbaldo Rosas Rodriguez granted me permission to work in the community. As the result, my main research community became the village of Bajo Marankiari, thanks to the welcoming reception of its chief who unconditionally embraced the language documentation and grammar-writing project. Although I wasn't able to visit other villages (except for San Miguel Centro Marankiari which I visited in June 2008), I obtained audio recordings of speakers from the villages other than Pampa Michi, Santa Ana, and Bajo Marankiari, collected at my request by the language consultants Daniel Bernales Quillatupa and Gregorio Santos Pérez. The sampled communities include Churingaveni, Mariscal Cáceres, Santari, Alto Esperanza, Pucharini, Santo Domingo, and Platanillo Shimaki.

The main methods of data collection for the language documentation and grammar-writing project included participant-observation, collection of oral and written texts, and direct elicitation, with audio and video recordings of different registers of connected discourse (narrative, conversation, song, dance), along with linguistic analysis of the collected data. Each consultant was paid hourly at the end of our meetings. Our meetings took place during the time when consultants were available, which was usually from 8:30-9:00 in the morning until 4:00-5:00 in the evening. I would normally work with 3-5 language consultants daily. The consultant questionnaire was administered to obtain metadata to accompany the collected recordings. The vocabulary was elicited based on the Comrie & Smith basic wordlist (1977), SIL Comparative African Wordlist (SILCAWL) (Snider & Roberts, http://www.sil.org), Comparative Kampan vocabulary

list (Michael ms.), and rechecked against D. Payne (1980), J. Payne (1989), and Heise et al. (2000). Some grammatical information was elicited based on Comrie & Smith (1977), Payne (1997), and Dixon (2010a, 2010b) and analyzed via a large body of naturally occurring texts. Our meetings were recorded using a Sony PCM D-50 Linear PCM digital recorder, a Panasonic HDC-HC100P/PC digital camcorder and Sony Electret Condenser Stereo Microphone ECM-MS908C, with the elicited audio and video data transferred to the laptops Dell B130, Dell Mini, Dell Latitude E6410, and WD Western Digital 'My Passport Essential' portable hard drive. The transferred digital files were edited using the Audacity Sound Editor Software (http://audacity.sourceforge.net/) and HD Writer 2.6E High Definition Image Management/Easy Editing Software. Lexical items were transcribed, analyzed, and entered into an Excel spreadsheet. I utilized the PRAAT software application (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat), JPlotFormants v1.4 Formant-plotting Software (http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/grads/billerey/PlotFrog.htm), Ladefoged (2001, 2003, 2005), and Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996) for speech analysis. Some of the video recordings were accompanied with annotations using the ELAN software application (from MPI-Nijmegen). The recorded texts were transcribed by the data provider and translated by me and/or by the data provider. The accuracy of transcriptions and translations were verified by other consultants. The language consultants who participated in collection and linguistic analysis of the data were trained individually during the initial phase of the project. The training was conducted at the consultants' home residences, Internet outlets in Santa Ana, and at Instituto Cultural Peruano Norteamericano Region Centro (IPCNA) in La Merced. Primary consultants were trained to work with digital recorders, the video camcorder, and the Dell Mini

laptop. Technical support and training was provided to the consultants throughout the project to ensure good quality of the documented materials.

During the first break from the field work in 2009, I performed a systematic linguistic analysis of the collected data, revised the preliminary grammatical descriptions made in the field, and identified the areas in need of more research. In 2010, I engaged the team of consultants with whom I worked in 2009 and continued to train the consultants in language documentation and analysis, verify and enter the collected data into data files, and perform a linguistic analysis of the data. After a second field trip to the area in 2010, I completed the analysis of the collected materials and finished the grammar sketch, which is my doctoral dissertation. Data providers, Centro Amazonico de Antropología y Aplicación Practica (CAAP) in La Merced, and Instituto de Investigación de Lingüística Applicada (CILA) in Lima, Perú were given digital copies of audio and video recordings. A digital collection of Ashéninka Perené texts was archived in 2009 at the Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), University of Texas at Austin (www.ailla.utexas.org).

From the start of the language documentation and grammar-writing project, the speakers asked about the practical outcome of our team work and urged me to consider using some of the grant money on the publication of a storybook for the community, based on the collected recordings. The literate speakers' main sentiment was dissatisfaction with the substance of school materials disseminated by the local educational authorities. Although the native language is supposed to be taught as a foreign language in the District's elementary schools, the orthography, grammar, and vocabulary of school texts do not represent the Ashéninka Perené variety. The problem is

that following the current policy of standardization of the Ashaninka/Asheninka varieties (Pajonal, Ucayali-Yurua, Apurucayali, Tambo-Ene, Pichis, and Perené), local educational authorities promote as the standard the numerically most dominant Tambo-Ene variety. To accommodate native speakers' request, the language consultants' team decided to focus on the development of orthography and selection of stories for the proposed storybook. The team also suggested to include genres other than stories such as songs, riddles, tongue-twisters, explanations of beliefs and customs, and traditional advice given by the parents to the children.

During the summer 2010, language consultants were mainly involved in the preparation of texts for publication. Their duties included recording fellow speakers and themselves, transcribing and translating collected recordings, recruiting fellow speakers as contributors to the project, reading and editing the printed copies of the selected texts, and making decisions about the practical writing conventions. The three principal language consultants collected texts (traditional and children's stories, accounts of everyday activities and historical or social events, conversations, commentaries on beliefs and customs, songs) with the objective of recording 8 hours of connected discourse using the following audio and video equipment: a Panasonic HDC-HC100P/PC digital camcorder, two Tascam DR-7 digital recorders, and an Olympus WS-320M digital voice recorder. The collected texts were transcribed by a language consultant other than a narrator and translated. The accuracy of transcriptions and translations were rechecked, at least once, by other speakers. The preliminary draft of the storybook was approved at the September 2010 meeting of language consultants in Bajo Marankiari. The goal is to

disseminate 130 copies of the published storybook to the District's bilingual teachers, language consultants' households, and to more remote language communities.

Language consultants who actively participated in the project included nine women and nine men. From those, the youngest consultant Jakeline Magbel Castro is 29 (born in 1982), the oldest are Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, 69, Bertha Rodriguez de Caleb, 69 (born 1941), and Abdias Caleb Quinchori, 68 (born 1942). The consultants belong to 5 families: the Martin family in Pampa Michi, and the Castro/Rosas, Santos/Pérez, Caleb, Quillatupa, and García families from Bajo Marankiari. Five consultants have good education; three are college-trained bilingual teachers, two finished high school. Others have either basic literacy skills or are illiterate. Consultants from Bajo Marankiari are members of the village Seventh Day Adventist church which was founded by the SDA missionary Frederick (Fernando) Stahl[8].

GREGORIO SANTOS PÉREZ, 50, a bilingual teacher trained by SIL missionaries, was my main consultant. He is a spectacular speaker of Ashéninka Perené and an insightful analyst of his language's grammar intricacies. Gregorio Santos is an outstanding narrator who uses elaborate complex sentences, falling and rising sentence cadences, ideophones, facial expressions, and gestures to convey a story. He was raised in Bajo Marankiari where his parents are still residing and moved to Santa Ana fifteen years ago. Since he was educated and worked for a while in the area populated by Ashéninka Pichis, he sometimes uses non-Perené vocabulary items, which draws criticism from his fellow

[8] Language consultants report that the first Adventist mission was originally founded in Metraro (Metaro) in 1921. Many natives from the Upper Perené area became Adventists because they believed that Stahl was *Pava*, the solar deity, who arrived to save them. Despite the fact that Stahl left the area in 1928, the Adventist movement spread along the Perené and Tambo rivers. Bajo Marankiari was founded by Indian Adventist believers. A detailed account of the mass conversion of Upper Perené natives to Adventism, Catholicism, and Evangelism during the colonial and postcolonial periods is Santos-Granero (2002, 2004).

speakers. Gregorio Santos has proven to be a charismatic leader, an organizing force within the language consultants' team and native community, and is genuinely concerned about the language's prospects. In 2010, at my request he traveled to remote communities to record and write down speakers' narratives. Gregorio Santos also independently worked with the SIL African Comparative Wordlist and translated over 500 vocabulary items. Gregorio Santos is the only consultant with whom I stay in contact via telephone and email during the breaks from fieldwork. Gregorio's wife, Dora, uses Spanish as the daily medium of communication with her family and friends, but her passive knowledge of the language helped me evaluate sample school texts used by bilingual teachers in elementary schools to pinpoint the differences between the Ashéninka and Tambo-Ene varieties. Sadly, only two (the oldest) of his eight children speak the language. One of them, Edgardo Santos Meza, is a bilingual teacher. I got a chance to work with him once. During that meeting, Edgardo made illuminating comments about the plural markers in the language and the polyfunctionality of the form *ni*.

DELIA ROSAS RODRIGUEZ, 41, is a very proficient speaker and a tireless transcriber of collected texts. Delia was born in Bajo Marankiari and most of her life resided in the village. As a teenager, she moved to Lima in search of work and worked as a house maid for a number of years. She finished high school and did one year of college coursework in Lima but lack of sufficient means to continue education derailed her ambition and forced her to come back home. Delia Rosas is a language purist and rejects innovations or deviations from the 'norm' as 'incorrect' or 'unnecessary'. Delia considers her mother Bertha Rodriguez de Caleb an authority on language issues and consults her when in doubt. When asked to translate vocabulary lists, Delia chose to do the work with Bertha.

Delia daily speaks the language with her mother, stepfather Abdias Caleb, and sister Victorina Castro. Delia has good Spanish literacy skills and is a quick study. In 2010, she learned how to use the digital recorder, video camera, and laptop and, at my request, did video and audio recordings of seven Asháninka-speaking villagers and transcribed and translated most of the recorded texts. Delia's embroidery work was an inspiration for recording a cycle of stories about Asháninka warriors when her tablecloth with the embroidered images of warriors was used as a prompt for the narrators. Delia has two daughters; one of them, Jakeline Magbel Castro, speaks the language.

The daughter of Delia Rosas JAKELINE MAGBEL CASTRO, 29, was raised by her paternal grandmother Dominga, who was a speaker of Asháninka Pichis. Jakeline remembers her grandmother's stories, and is an enthusiastic story-teller and singer, but her speech is replete with non-Upper Perené words and structures. Delia and Gregorio had to double-check and correct the data that she provided. Jakeline has a knack for drawing and drew wonderful illustrations for the storybook's riddles.

DANIEL BERNALES QUILLATUPA (Aroshi), 48, is a very proficient speaker and one of the main contributors to the language documentation and grammar-writing project. As a bilingual specialist with the local Department of Education, he oversees the work of bilingual teachers in Chanchamayo Province. Born and raised in Bajo Marankiari, educated by SIL missionaries, Daniel has excellent Spanish and Asháninka literacy skills and a vast knowledge of Asháninka culture. Because he was away on business trips four days a week, he chose to work independently, recording other speakers and transcribing and translating the recorded texts. Daniel is also a talented artist who drew illustrations for the forthcoming Asháninka Perené storybook. Daniel supports the standardized

Asháninka alphabet on the grounds that the Asháninka/Ashéninka varieties are closely related and there is no point in inventing a separate set of writing conventions for each of them. Daniel's wife and children do not speak the language. In the home, the only family member with whom he speaks the language is his mother Ruth Quillatupa Lopez.

The mother of Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, RUTH QUILLATUPA LOPEZ, 69, is a talented narrator who contributed the highest number of stories. The language consultants who did edits of the collected stories commented that her stories strike imagination, are marked by ornate detail, and always have an unusual twist. Ruth is very articulate, clear, and grammatically accurate. The aspirated /t^{h}/ before /o/, e.g. *iri**th**ori* 'his sister', *t**h**onk* 'finish' makes her speech slightly conservative.

RAUL MARTIN BERNATA, 58, was my first teacher of Ashéninka Perené. Raul Martin has lived most of his life in Pampa Michi. Most of Raul's interactions with the family and villagers are in Spanish. As a retired paramedic, he possesses an advanced knowledge of medicinal plants and is one of the best consultants to talk to about Ashéninka vocabulary. Raul knows many myths and is well-versed in Ashéninka history. In 2010, he became the guardian of the community 'history' building which was constructed at his initiative. The building houses pictures, maps, stories about the history of the community of Pampa Michi, and artifacts from the villagers' past life, accompanied by short texts in Spanish. Raul was instrumental in the recruitment of his wife and his brothers-in-law for the purpose of language-documentation work.

Raul's wife, VICTORIA MANCHI DE MARTIN, 51, is a very proficient speaker. Victoria was born in Bajo Marankiari and moved to Pampa Michi after marrying Raul. Victoria volunteered for short meetings to verify accuracy of transcribed texts and

recorded her demonstrations of artifacts production (necklaces, wrist ornaments, money bags, fire fans, mats, etc). Victoria also worked with her brother Ernesto and husband Raul on the compilation of detailed vocabulary lists. None of the couple's 11 children are competent speakers of Ashéninka Perené. Their oldest children who come to visit the parents from the coast have a good passive knowledge of the language, but are not confident speakers because the parents don't speak Ashéninka to them; Spanish is the home language. The eldest daughter Eliana (she is in her early 30s) thinks that another reason why her younger siblings failed to learn the language is that it was never taught in the community elementary school.

LUIS MAURICIO ROSA, 61, and ERNESTO MANCHI LOPEZ, 63, are Victoria Manchi de Martin's brothers. Both are very proficient speakers and fabulous story-tellers; Ernesto also knows a lot of songs and plays well the Ashéninka flute *sonkari*. Luis's speech is distinctive in that when he talks about hypothetical events, he does not use the first element of the discontinuous irrealis status morpheme *N-…-e/-ia* (neither does his brother-in-law Raul). Ernesto's speech is more representative of the younger generation of speakers and is equivalent to that of Gregorio Santos. The brothers do not speak the language to their children and grandchildren because they do not see them much. Neither brother has a wife (Luis is a widower and Ernesto is divorced) and both are constantly on the move in search of jobs. Their specialty is construction of houses with thatch-woven roofs, which requires a unique skill. The brothers are in demand since the numbers of knowledgeable builders are dwindling.

BERTHA RODRIGUEZ DE CALEB, 69, is an extremely proficient speaker and a gold mine of cultural information about the language. Bertha is a fabulous narrator who

contributed dozens of texts to the 2009-2010 collection. Although her Spanish is fluent, Bertha Rodriguez prefers to speak Asheninka and uses it with her husband Abdias Caleb, daughters Delia and Victorina, other adult members of her extended family, and neighbors. Bertha was born in and lived most of her life in Bajo Marankiari, although her puberty years were spent in a small community not far from Puerto Bermudez (the Pichis River area). Bertha articulates the negative particle *airo* as /*eɾo/* rather than /eiɾo/ like other villagers, or utilizes the third person masculine subject proclitic *ir*= rather than *y*= before the *a*-initial verbal stems. Villagers comment that this uncommon articulation is the result of Bertha's long contact with the Pichis Asheninka variety. Another criticism is that Bertha's speech is sprinkled with Spanish words, especially with coordinators *como* 'as, like'*, pero* 'but'*,* and *en cambio* 'in contrast'. Bertha has 6 children; three of them live in Bajo Marankiari. The youngest child Osbaldo Castro Rosas (who is in his middle 30s) is the current chief of the village. While his older siblings Victorina and Delia are competent speakers of Asheninka, Osbaldo is reported to be marginally fluent. A few times that I saw Osbaldo, I did not hear him speak the language.

Delia Rosas Rodriguez's sister and Bertha Rodriguez de Caleb's daughter, VICTORINA ROSAS DE CASTRO, 49, is a marvelous speaker and a story-teller. Her speech is elaborate, abundant in rarely-used words, syntactically complex (she uses a lot of subordinated sentences), and equals in its clarity and elegance that of Ruth Quillatupa Lopez. She is probably one of the best female speakers of her generation. Like her mother and sister, Victorina articulates the negative particle *airo* as /eɾo/. Victorina is very sensitive to the issue of borrowing words from Spanish. She insists that borrowing from Spanish is a sign of incompetence in the native language. She has 6 children.

Victorina's husband, GERARDO CASTRO MANUELA, 53, is a retired bilingual teacher and a former chief of Bajo Marankiari who became involved with the language-documentation project at a later stage. Gerardo was on the readers' team which checked the accuracy of the transcribed and translated texts although he recorded a few stories of his own. Since Gerardo's late mother was from the Pichis area and his father is Matsigenka, he hadn't been a confident speaker of Ashéninka Perené until he entered the SIL-run teacher-training college and worked for many years as a bilingual teacher in remote Ashéninka-speaking communities. Although villagers do not criticize his speech, when the data that he had volunteered were rechecked, a fair number of mistakes were found and corrected by Gregorio Santos and Delia Rosas. The couple's younger children do not speak Ashéninka Perené. One of the couple's oldest children (who is in his late 20s), Deiky Castro is a bilingual teacher. It is difficult to say if Deiky is a proficient speaker because I heard him speak Ashéninka only once. Deiky is a supporter of the native language standardization policy.

INES PÉREZ DE SANTOS, 65, is a virtuoso as a native speaker and a story-teller. Ines is one of the best female speakers of her generation. In the narratives, Ines likes to use direct speech and impersonate the characters she is talking about. Her language is representative of older generations of speakers, e.g. she uses /s/ rather than /ʃ/ before /i/, and articulates aspirated /tʰ/ before /a/. Ines avoids Spanish loans and invents ad hoc words on the spot to name objects for which there is no word in the language, e.g. she called the audio recorder *aakotanari nonyaavaitzi* 'the one which grabs [the voice] when I speak,' for her a syringe is *chakoritakiri* 'the one that stings'. She was born in Bajo Marankiari and lived most of her adult life in the village. She speaks the language to her

husband Moises Santos Rojas, son Gregorio Santos Pérez, her other children (she has 8), members of her extended family, and neighbors. Villagers admire her whistling skill. She is the only one left in village who can produce calling sounds using fingers of one hand or two hands. These sounds are used in the jungle to alert fellowmen that the caller has lost his/her way. Ines Pérez earns her living by healing people.

Ines's husband, MOISES SANTOS ROJAS, 66, is a proficient speaker of Ashéninka Perené and a decent story-teller. His speech is representative of the older generation in that he uses /s/ before /i/ where younger speakers articulate /ʃ/; he also lists *naakaite* 'we (excl)' on the pronominal set, rejected as archaic usage by the younger generation, including his son Gregorio.

Ines's brother, ALBERTO PÉREZ ESPINOZA, 64, also resides in Bajo Marankiari. Both Moises and Alberto are avid fishermen and artisans. Alberto's level of competence and story-telling skill are close to those of Moises.

ABDIAS CALEB QUINCHORI, 68, the husband of Bertha Rodriguez, was one of the main contributors to the project in 2010. Abdias was elected chief of Bajo Marankiari in the past. At present, he toils in his vegetable garden and makes brooms, fire fans, and other household objects for sale. Although he was born and lived many years in Bajo Marankiari, his speech is influenced by the Ashéninka Pichis variety due to a long period of time that he had spent in the Pichis area when he was young. Another circumstance which somewhat compromised his Ashéninka Perené speech is that his first wife was Yanesha and he spoke Yanesha to her. Nevertheless, Abdias was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the storybook-production project. He is considered a competent speaker and speaks the language daily to his wife and neighbors. His knowledge of

Ashéninka lexicon is amazing. Abdias served on the readers'/editors' team and also recorded a number of stories for the language-documentation project. His texts were checked for mistakes by his wife Bertha Rodriguez, Paulina Garcia Ñate, and Gregorio Santos.

Abdias's sister, PAULINA CALEB DE LEON, 63, is a fine story-teller and a very proficient speaker. Her speech is clear, well-paced, and grammatically accurate. Paulina earns her living as a seamstress (she has a sewing machine) and has resided in Bajo Marankiari all her life. Most of her interactions with the family members and villagers are in Spanish.

PAULINA GARCIA ÑATE (in her mid-60s) is a very proficient speaker and a spectacular singer. Her main contribution to the project was recording of songs and explanation of occasions on which they are sung, e.g. when the sun rises or goes down, or at a beer party, or when a girl is in love, or when a woman is dumped by her lover, etc. Paulina also possesses an extensive knowledge of Ashéninka warfare. One of her children is living with Paulina and her live-in boyfriend. The daughter (in the mid-30s) is fluent in Ashéninka; Paulina's grandchildren are Spanish monolinguals. In her interviews, Paulina laments about the abandonment of the weekend beer parties that used to bring the villagers together for weekend fun, dance, and song. Paulina blames Adventist views that prohibit public alcohol intake for the decline of festive social life in the village.

Other consultants with whom I met at least once and recorded their speech were Pablo Jacinto Pedros (Bajo Marankiari), Marcos Antonio Santiago (La Merced), Maria Virginia Lopez (La Merced), Elias Meza Pedro (Mazamari), Hilda Villegas (Mariscal

Cáceres), and Abdias Espirito Kintori (Mariscal Cáceres). In my grammar, I also used texts, independently recordered and transcribed by my primary consultants. The data providers for the texts collected by Daniel Bernales Quillatupa included his mother Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, Guzman Segundo Yamane (Puerto Bermudez) and Otoniel Ramos Rodriguez (Churingaveni). Gregorio Santos Pérez collected data from the following language speakers: Nestor Ramirez Rojos (Santo Domingo), Cristobal Jumanga Lopez (Pucharini), Clelia Mishari (Mariscal Cáceres), Natalia Camarena Jacinto (Alto Esperanza), Avelina Lopez (Alto Esperanza), Edgar Antonio Manuel (Santo Domingo), Mateo Cristobal Casanto (Platanillo Shimaki), Livia Julio (Mariscal Cáceres), Rafael Martinez Quinticuari (Mariscal Cáceres), Amelia Santos (Alto Esperanza), Abraham Jumanga (Pucharini). The language consultants who actively contributed to the storybook project are seen in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5. Ashéninka Perené language consultants from Bajo Marankiari and Pampa Michi

Chapter 2
Phonology

This description of the phonemic inventory of Ashéninka Perené largely reflects the speech communities of Pampa Michi and Bajo Marankiari, respectively representing the western and eastern varieties of the language (see Map 1). Ashéninka Perené has 8 phonemic vowels and 4 phonemic diphthongs /ai/,/oi/, /ea/, /ia/. Vowel length is phonemically distinctive but the number of such words with the contrastive vowel length is not high. Word stress is not phonemic and is largely predictable.

This chapter will proceed as follows. The chapter begins with the discussion of the vowel phonemes in §2.1 and the consonant inventory in §2.2 followed by the description of sounds in Spanish loanwords in §2.3. Phonotactics is discussed in §2.4, and intonation in §2.5. Phonological differences in Ashéninka Perené speech are outlined in §2.6, the orthographic system and morphophonemics are addressed in §2.7 and §2.8 respectively.

2.1 Vowels

Ashéninka Perené has an 8 vowel phoneme system, as given in Table 1. It effectively uses maximally opposed vowel places of articulation in the phonological space. Vowels contrast in quality in terms of height (high, mid, low) and backness (front, central, back). There are four front vowels /*i i: e e:*/, two central vowels /*a a:*/, and two back vowels /*o o:*/, the last two are the only rounded vowels. The vowels occur in all environments within the word. Vowel length is distinctive and will be indicated by the colon, according to the IPA notation. In practical orthography, vowel length is expressed by doubling the vowel.

TABLE 1. The vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back/Rounded
High	i, i:		
Mid	e, e:		o, o:
Low		a, a:	

2.1.1 Short vowels

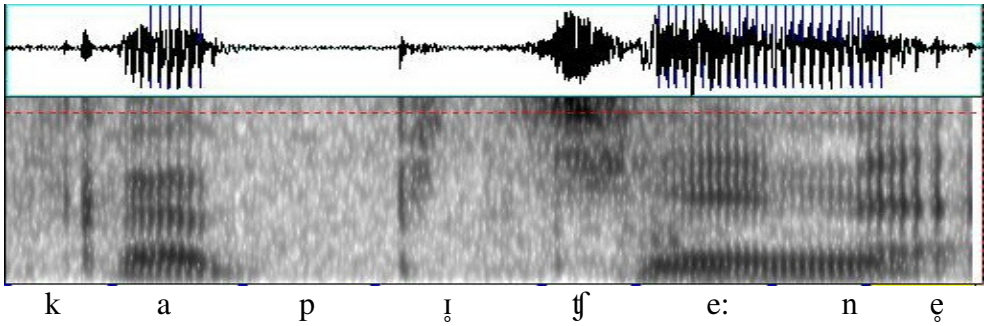
A summary of the phonetic realizations of the short vowels is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Phonetic realizations of short vowels

	Front	Central	Back/Rounded
High	i [ɪ,ɨ,e,ɪ̥]		
Mid	e [e, ɛ, ə, ɐ̝, ɪ]		o [o,ʊ]
Low		a [a, e, ə]	

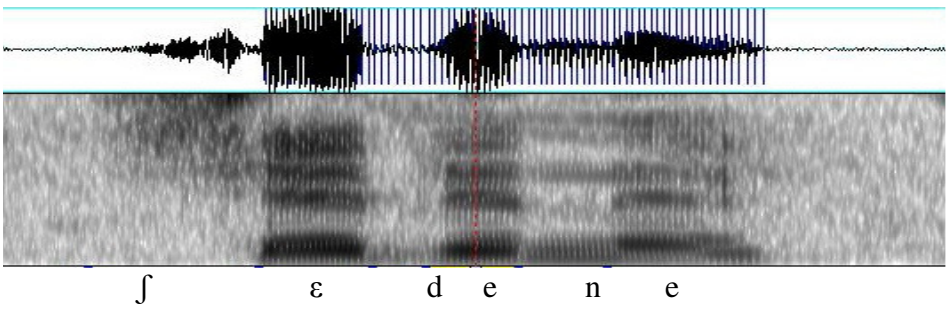
The vowel /i/ is a high front vowel which is pronounced like the vowel [ɪ] in English *pit*. It has phonetic realizations [i], [ɨ], [e], and [ɪ̥]. The default realization of the vowel /i/ is [ɪ] as in *kov**i**tsi* [ko.ˈβ̞ɪ.tsʰɨ] ‘pot’, *var**i**pa* [wa.ˈɾɪ.pa] ‘chicken’, *k**i**nk**i**var**i*** [kɪŋ.ˈkɪ.wa.ɾɪ] ‘old’. After affricates /tsʰ/ and /ts/ and sibilants /ʃ/, /s/, it often has a surface realization of [ɨ], e.g. *netsi* ‘louse’ [netsʰɨ]. In fast speech, when the weak unstressed /i/ is found after voiceless consonants, it can be elided or may take the phonetic value of a devoiced high front vowel [ɪ̥], as in *sh**i**ma* [ʃɪ̥ma] ‘fish’, *ts**i**ka* [tsʰɪ̥ka] ‘where’, *shintsipaa* [ʃɨ̥ntsʰɪ̥pa:] ‘raft’, *kapicheeni* [kapɪ̥ʧeene] ‘little’. The unstressed phoneme /i/ when found word-finally can take the phonetic value of [e] as in *ivenki* [i.ˈβ̞ɛŋ.ke] ‘his magic plant’; in this case, the sound cannot be distinguished from /e/, which sometimes makes it difficult to ascertain which phoneme is the underlying one. The surface realization of /i/ as a devoiced high front vowel [ɪ̥] is illustrated in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6. The devoiced high front vowel [ɪ̥] in *kapicheeni* ‘little’



The mid-front vowel /e/ is pronounced like the cardinal vowel [e] in Spanish *mesa* ‘table’. It is realized more open in stressed syllables, coming close to the open-mid [ɛ]. The phoneme /e/ is always more open than /i/ but the absolute height of this vowel is speaker-dependent; in many words, variation between the close-mid /e/ and open-mid /ɛ/ is observed among the speakers. Figure 7 shows the surface realization of the phoneme /e/ in *sheteni* [ˈʃɛdenɛ] ‘afternoon’.

FIGURE 7. Medial and word-final realization of the phoneme /e/ in *sheteni* ‘afternoon’



In unstressed syllables, the phonetic value of /e/ ranges from [e], to [ɛ], to [ə], to [e̥]. The allophones [e] and [ə] are in free variation when they are found in unstressed ‘extrametrical’ syllables as in *a.ˌvi.shi.ˈmo.te.<me.ni>* [a.ˌβ̞ɪ.ʃɨ.ˈmo.te.mə.ne] ‘that may happen’. The extrametrical syllables which do not participate in stress assignment are shown in angle brackets. The vowel /e/ has a tendency to become devoiced in casual

speech when found in unstressed syllables between voiceless consonants, e.g. ***tek**atsi* ‘negative existential’ [tę.ˈka.tsʰɨ] or word-finally, e.g. *kapicheeni* [ka.pɪ̥.ˈʧeː.nę̥] ‘little’, or it may be completely elided.

Note that the mid-front vowel /e/ is typically realized higher, as [ɪ] in the westerly speech communities of Ashéninka Perené. For example, westerly speakers say *ivenki* ‘his magic plant’ as [ɪβ̞ɪŋke], *kireeki* ‘money’ as [kiɾɪɪke], *shaveta* ‘butterfly’ as [ʃaβ̞ɪta] (details on dialectal phonological differences are provided in §2.6). In its surface realization, /e/ varies across speech communities; the westerly speech community of Pampa Michi tends to articulate this phoneme as the high front [ɪ][9]. The formant plots of the four short Ashéninka Perené vowels articulated by the female and male speakers from Pampa Michi (the westerly variety) and by the female and male speakers from Bajo Marankiari (easterly variety) are provided below in Figures 8-9. The frequency of the first formant is plotted on the ordinate (vertical axis), and the second formant is plotted on the abscissa (horizontal axis). The vowels were recorded in words *pak**i**tsa* ‘hawk sp.’, *ok**e**tsi* ‘eye’, *k**o**tsiro* ‘knife’, *tek**a**tsi* ‘negative existential’. As Figure 8 shows, the acoustic dimensions of the two front vowels /ɪ/ and /e/ as produced by the two speakers from Pampa Michi are very similar: the measurements of F1 are nearly overlapping whereas the values of F2 have slight differences. In Figure 9, the acoustic record illustrates a more significant divergence between the F1 values in the front vowels /ɪ/ and /e/ as produced

[9] This analysis of the Ashéninka Perené vowel system contradicts some statements in Kampanist literature about the presumably minimalist Ashéninka Perené three-vowel system /iao/ (e.g. Payne 1989:21). Speakers of the easterly speech communities in the Perené District are especially conscious of the contrast between /i/ and /e/ and make comments about the ‘vulgarity’ of the westerly speech because of its higher articulation of /e/, close to [ɪ].

by the two speakers from Bajo Marankiari. In general, measurements of the front vowels articulated by other speakers from these two communities exhibit relatively similar results, i.e. the F1 values of /ɪ/ and /e/ nearly match when pronounced by speakers from Pampa Michi and differ when articulated by speakers from Bajo Marankiari.

FIGURE 8. Formant plots of Ashéninka Perené vowels of the male and female speakers respectively from Pampa Michi (PM=westerly speech variety)

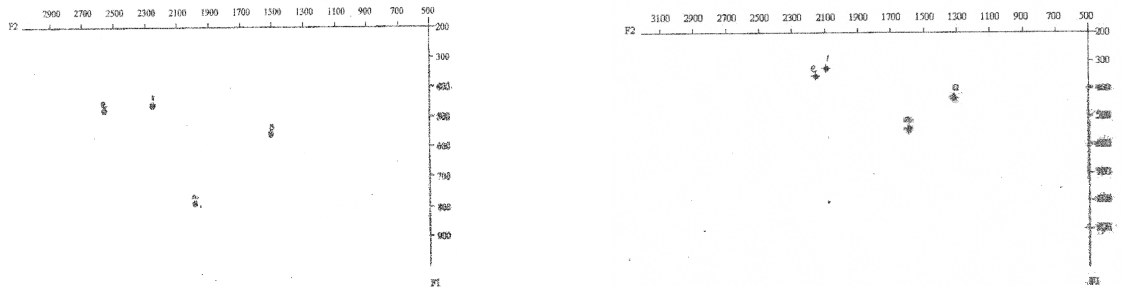
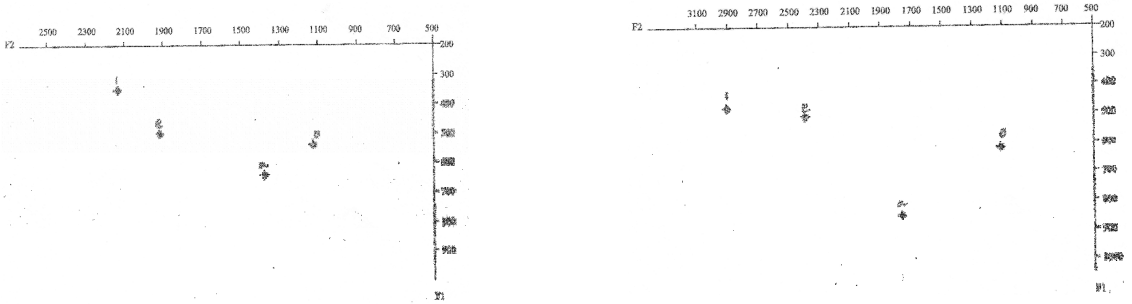


FIGURE 9. Formant plots of Ashéninka Perené vowels of the male and female speakers respectively from Bajo Marankiari (BM=easterly speech variety)



The following presents near-minimal pairs for /i/ and /e/.

2.1 *iv**e**nki* ‘his magic plant’ *ov**i**nkiri* ‘she jumped into the river’
*shav**e**ta* ‘butterfly’ *piv**i**to* ‘your canoe’
*n**e**tsi* ‘louse’ *pin**i**tsi* ‘magic plant’

The open low central unrounded vowel /a/ has three phonetic realizations, [a], [e], and [ə].The realization of [e] occurs in casual speech when the first element of the diphthong /ai/ is raised to the close-mid front vowel [e]. As (2.2) shows, the raising of /a/ to [e] happens when the diphthong is followed by the clitics *–ri/-ro*.

2.2 *iyomit**ai**ri* [ɪjomɪt**e**ʲrɪ] 'he teaches them' *iv**ai**ro* [ɪβ̞**e**ʲro] 'his name'
***ai**ro* [**e**ʲro] 'negative irrealis marker' *itsipat**ai**ro* [ɪtsʰipat**e**ʲro] 'he combines it'

When unstressed, the phoneme /a/ is sometimes realized as schwa [ə], as in *tsik**a** paita* [tsʰɪk̟**ə** paʲta] 'what'. Syllables that include the low open vowel /a/ are heavy syllables and generally attract stress.

The phoneme /o/ may have two phonetic realizations, [o] and [ʊ]. The close-mid back [o] is minimally rounded. The near-back unrounded [ʊ] is observed when the stressed vowel is followed by [ʧ], [tʲ], [ŋ], [ɳ], and [β̞]. The vowel [ʊ] is often pronounced with spread lips as in English 'good'. For example, *map**o**cha* 'papaya' is realized as [map**ʊ**ʧa], *nom**o**tya* 'my belly as [nom**ʊ**ʧa], *paas**o**nki* 'thank you' as [pa:s**ʊ**ŋki], ***o**nkiro*'rat' as [**ʊ**ŋkiro], *kovitsi* [k**ʊ**β̞itsʰe] 'pot', etc.

The near-minimal pairs representing contrast in analogous environments are given in (2.3).

2.3 *oka* 'this'
aka 'here'
hiri 'here it is'
ari 'that's alright'
ero 'negative irrealis'
iro 'but, nevertheless'

2.1.2 Long vowels and diphthongs

Vowel length is distinctive phonemically but the number of words with long vowels is not high. In addition, vowels can be lengthened due to stress or sometimes in words borrowed from Spanish, e.g. *caro* > ***kaa****ro* 'car', *camisa* > ***kaa****misa* 'shirt', etc. Examples with (near) minimal pairs representing contrastive short and long vowels are given in (2.4).

2.4

*p**i**ri* [pɪɾɪ] 'your father'	*p**ii**ri* [pɪːɾɪ] 'bat'
*s**a**ri* [saɾɪ] 'parrot'	*s**aa**ri* [saːɾɪ] 'opossum'
***o**ra* [oɾa] 'that'	***oo**ri* [oːɾɪ] 'bird species'
***e**ntyo* [ent^{j}o] 'woman's sister'	***ee**ntsi* [eːnts^{h}ɪ̥] 'child'

Vowel length does not have a grammatical function. It can be used as a discourse strategy to emphasize the extraordinary nature of the event. The word-final vowel is also lengthened when a vocative form of the kinship term or name is used. Examples illustrating the lengthening of the word-final vowel in the exclamation clitic *=ve* and the kinship term *noshiNto* 'my daughter' are given in (2.5-2.6).

2.5 *Nonyatziro anatarove!*

no=ny-atz-i=ro	aNtaro=v**e**
1SG.A=see-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O	big=EXCL

'I saw the bi-i-i-g one!'

2.6 *Noshinto, tzimatsi pinintani?*

no=shiNt**o**	tzimatsi	pi=niNt-a-ni
1SG.poss=daughter	EXIST	2A=want-REAL-AUG

'Daughter, do you have a fiancé?'

There are two different types of vowel sequences that can be interpreted as diphthongs: (i) a true phonological diphthong, which is defined as a movement from one

vowel to another within a syllable, neither of which dominates (Ladefoged 2001:28; Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher 2007:66); and (ii) two juxtaposed vowels that belong to different morphemes. Each of these types is addressed in detail below.

TYPE (i). There are two types of phonemic diphthongs: *centring* diphthongs /ia/ and /ea/ and *closing* diphthongs /ai/ and /oi/, as shown in Table 3. Centring diphthongs are produced with tongue movement from a peripheral to a central position while closing diphthongs are produced with tongue movement from a mid or low to a high position (Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher 2007:35).

TABLE 3. Diphthongs

	Front	Central	Back
High	*ia*		
Mid	*ea*		*oi*
Low		*ai*	

The marginally attested centring diphthong /ea/ is found syllable-internally in a handful of words; for example, *m**ea**nto* [m**ea**n.to] 'paradise bird'. The diphthong /ia/, exemplified by the productive irrealis status suffix *-ia*, is found word-medially or word-finally, as seen in (2.7-2.8).

2.7 *An.tyoon.kan.tya**.**ri.*
a=N-tyooNk-aNt-**ia**=ri
1PL.S=IRR-bathe.in.steam-APPL.REAS-**IRR**=REL
'In order for us to do steam-bathing.'

2.8 *Non.che.kya**.***
no=N-chek-**ia**
1SG.S=IRR-cut-**IRR**
'I'll cut myself.'

The minimal pairs for /ai/ and /oi/ are *pai* ‘to call’ vs. *poi* ‘tree sp. (*ashipa*)’. There are no restrictions on the distribution of the closing diphthongs on the syllable or the word level, as shown in (2.8-2.9).

2.8 *no.k**ai.**ma.v**ai.**tzi* ‘I kept groaning’
*ki.t**ai.**ri.ki* ‘peccary’
***ai.**sa.tzi* ‘also’
*no.s**ai.**ki* ‘I was in it’
*iN.pa.k**ai*** ‘he will give us’

2.9 *in.tsoN.p**oi*** ‘inside’
*i.tsa.n**oi.**ri.ki* ‘his string of beads’
*ts**oi.**ro.ki* ‘snail species’
***oi.**rik* ‘to tie’

In the closing diphthongs, the first element is the most prominent while the final element can be realized as /j/ in fast speech, e.g. *paita* [paʲta] ‘WH-word’, *intsoNpoi* [ɪntsompoʲ] ‘inside’. In fact, the last vowel quality can be so brief and transitory that it is difficult to identify.

The vowel sequence /ua/, found in some words, e.g. *okaNta* [o.k**uaN**.ta] ‘in the meantime’, *Katsiriki* [k**ua**.tsʰɨ.ɾɪ.kɪ] ‘a river’s name’, *te okaNtyari* [te.o.k**ua**n.tʲa.ɾɪ] ‘it wasn’t so’, may be more economically postulated as a labialized phonetic realization [kʷ] of the plosive phoneme /k/, which is found when it is followed by the low central vowel /a/. There are two arguments in favor of this approach. The lip rounding during the articulation of the velar consonant, conditioned by the phoneme /a/, is found in a few words only. Additionally, the labialized release of the velar plosive is attested in the speech of a handful of speakers from an easterly Ashéninka Perené community.

TYPE (ii). This type of vowel sequences refers to two juxtaposed vowels which belong to two different morphemes such as /ei/, /eo/, /ae/, /ea/. These vowel sequences are not found among the phonemic diphthongs except for the marginally attested /ea/. Many examples of vowel clusters on the morpheme boundaries involve the negative particle *te,* which is an independent grammatical word, known to form a phonological word with the vowel-initial verb. Phonetically, these unstressed vowel sequences are often realized in fast speech as one fused vowel. The morphemic boundaries of the negative particle and the verb are indicated by the hyphen, as shown in (2.10-2.12).

2.10 /ei/
*Te **i**yote.*
t**e-i**=yo-t-e
N͡EG.REAL 3m.S=know-EP-IRR
'He didn't know.'

2.11 /eo/
*Te **o**ninte onkipatsite.*
t**e-o**=niNt-e o=N-kipatsi-t-e
NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=want-IRR 3n.m.S=IRR-get.soiled-EP-IRR
'She didn't want me to get dirty.'

2.12 /ea/
*Te **a**mitapintyar**o** **i**rapinteri irichi.*
t**e**-**a**mit-apiNt-ia=ro ir-apiNt-e=ri irichi
NEG.REAL 1PL.A.be. accustomed-CUST-IRR=3n.m.O drink-CUST-IRR=REL milk
'We didn't drink milk in the past.'

An example of /ae/ is provided in (2.13), where the irrealis suffix *–e* is adjoined to the *a*-final verb stem. As a result, the diphthong /ae/ is formed.

2.13 *Pinchakotaena.*
p=inchakot**a**-**e**=na
2A=split-IRR=1SG.O
'Split wood for me.'

2.2 Consonants

2.2.1 Phoneme inventory

Table 4 represents 20 consonant phonemes of Ashéninka Perené, given in practical orthography (see §2.10). The corresponding phonetic values are provided in square brackets. Here follow some comments on Table 4.

(i) One feature that is immediately noticeable is the lack of phonemic voice distinction in Ashéninka Perené. Voiced stops, fricatives or affricates are non-existent; neither are present voiceless liquids or nasals.

(ii) There is an opposition between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless affricates.

(iii) There is a set of voiceless oral stops which contrast with their palatalized counterparts.

(iv) Palatalization applies to all stops and alveolar phonemes for all manner of articulation such as stops, affricates, fricatives, liquids, and nasals. Note that sets of palatalized stops or alveolar fricatives are found in some Arawak and Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald 1999:76; Guillaume 2004:27).

(v) There is a contrast between nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ɲ/, and /N/, a nasal that is underspecified for place of articulation, addressed in detail in §2.2.6.

Nearly all consonant phonemes occur syllable-initially, except for the underspecified nasal N, which occurs in a syllable-final position before a plosive. Syllable-final consonants are restricted to the nasal stop /n/ and the archiphoneme N. Consonants do not occur word-finally, except for ideophones and unassimilated Spanish loans.

TABLE 4. Consonant phonemes and their allophones

	bilabial	velar	alveolar	palatal	glottal
Voiceless stops palatalized	p [p, pʲ] py [pʲ]	k [k, kʲ, kʷ, g] ky [kʲ]	t [t, tʰ, d] ty [tʲ]		
Voiceless affricates, aspirated unaspirated			ts [tsʰ] tz [ts]	ch [ʧ]	
Voiceless fricatives			s [s]	sh [ʃ, s]	h [h, hʲ]
Liquids			r [ɾ]	ry [ɾʲ]	
Nasals	m [m]		n [n, ŋ]	ny [ɲ]	
Semivowels	v [w, β̞]			y [j]	
Archiphoneme	N				

2.2.2 Stops /p/, /t/, /k/ and their palatalized counterparts /pʲ/, /tʲ/, and /kʲ/

The non-palatalized stops in Ashéninka Perené are pronounced similarly to their equivalents in other languages, e.g. in Spanish. The palatalized stops are realized similarly to their equivalents in Russian. The distribution and phonetic realizations of the stops are outlined below.

2.2.2.1 The phonemes /p/ and /pʲ/

The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless, unaspirated bilabial stop, pronounced similarly to Spanish /p/ in *poner* ‘put’. It occurs word- and syllable-initially as in ***p**otooki* ‘tree sp. (*ojé*)’, *o**p**em**p**e* ‘tucan’, *intsi**p**a* ‘guaba’, *shim**p**oki* ‘horsefly’, *chom**p**ita* ‘cockroach’. Its default realization is [p]. It is in complimentary distribution with [pʲ] attested with *i*-final verb roots, e.g. root *pi* ‘lose’, ‘convert’, at the morpheme boundary when the root is followed by the non-front vowel [a]. Examples (2.18-2.19) show the mutually exclusive environments in which the allophones [p] and [pʲ] appear.

2.18 *Ipiiri.*
i=**pi-i**=ri
3m.A=transform-REAL=3m.O
'He was converting them.'

2.19 *Ipyanaka maniro.*
i=**pi-a**n-ak-a
3m.S=transform-DIR-PRF-REAL
'He transformed into deer.'

The phoneme /pʲ/ is a palatalized voiceless bilabial plosive, whose distribution is identical with that of its counterpart /p/. The contrast between /p/ and /pʲ/ is demonstrated in (2.20).

2.20 *-tsa**pa**ki* 'finger' *tsa**pya**ki* 'on the river bank'
*tam**p**atsika* 'be vertical' *tam**py**aa* 'wind'
***pa**ryantsi* 'plantain' ***py**arentsi* 'masato [manioc beer]'

2.2.2.2 The phonemes /t/ and /tʲ/

The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop found word- and syllable-initially as in ***t**ashi* 'roast', *api**t**e* 'two', *po**t**oN**t**o* 'one having mucus running from his/her nose', etc. Its pronunciation is similar to that of its Spanish counterpart in ***t**odo* 'all'. It has three allophones [tʰ],[d], and [t]. In previous studies of Ashéninka Perené, the alveolar phoneme /t/ was attested to have an allophone [tʰ] (Payne 1989:23). This study has revealed that the allophone [tʰ] occurs in the speech of older speakers when followed by the low central vowel /a/, e.g. *va**th**atsa* [watʰatsa] 'meat, flesh', *no**th**anoirikipaye* [notʰanoiɾikipaje] 'my adornments'. The phoneme /t/ takes on voicing in the speech of some speakers when it occurs intervocalically, e.g. *she**t**ene* 'day' is pronounced [ʃɛ**d**ɛne]. In other environments, [t] is the default. There is also an independent phoneme /tʲ/, which

has the same distribution as its counterpart /t/. Examples in (2.21) demonstrate a contrast between /t/ and /tʲ/.

2.21 *paamaN**to*** ‘burned wood’ *pan**tyo*** ‘duck’
*no**taa**pi* ‘my back’ ***tyaa**pa* ‘chicken’
=ta ‘subjunctive clausal enclitic’ ***=tya*** ‘emphatic clausal enclitic’

2.2.2.3 The phonemes /k/ and /kʲ/

The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar unaspirated stop. It is found word- and syllable-initially but can occur word-finally in ideophones, e.g. *tsini**k*** ‘dropping sound’, *tsiNpa**k*** ‘sound of an agonizing human body’. It is pronounced similarly to its Spanish counterpart in *cama* ‘bed’. Examples illustrating distribution of the phoneme are the following: ***k**aniri* ‘manioc’, ***k**ashiri* ‘moon’, *o**k**aa**k**ini* ‘near’, *mapirota**k**a* ‘she is worse’.

The phoneme /k/ has four allophones, [k], [kʲ], [kʷ], and [g]. The allophone [pʲ] is attested with *i*-final verb roots, e.g. *ki* ‘carry’, load’, at the morpheme boundary when the root is followed by the non-front vowel [a], exemplified by (2.22-2.23).

2.22 *Ikiiri.*
i=**ki-i**=ri
3m.A=carry-REAL=3m.O
‘He was carrying him on his back.’

2.23 *Ikyanakina.*
i=**ki-a**n-ak-i=na
3m.A=carry-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O
‘He carried me on his back.’

The phoneme /k/ is pronounced by some speakers as [kʷ] when followed by the low central vowel /a/, e.g. *okaNta* [okʷanta] ‘in the meantime’. The attested labialization of

the velar stop in this environment occurs irregularly even in the speech of the same speaker.

The voiceless phoneme /k/ is realized by some speakers as its voiced counterpart [g] when found after the nasal N and followed by a vowel, or when it is found between vowels, as seen in (2.24) below.

2.24	*nasaN**k**aniki*	[nasa**ŋga**nıkı]	'in my heart'
	*kityoN**k**ari*	[kıtʲo**ŋga**rı]	'red'
	*opaN**k**ita*	[opa**ŋgı**ta]	'it is planted'
	*katoN**k**osatzi*	[kato**ŋg**osatsɨ]	'people from upriver'
	*nair**ika**ka*	[naırı**g**aka]	'I held on (to the tree)'
	*noch**eka**kiro*	[notʃe**g**akıro]	'I cut it'
	*naa**k**a*	[na:**g**a]	'I'

The [k]~[g] alternation is generally observed in casual speech and is speaker-dependent. The contrast between the phoneme /k/ and its palatalized counterpart /kʲ/ (which has the same distribution as /k/) is evident in (2.25).

2.25	***kyaa**rontsi* 'winter'	*in**kaa**ri* 'rain'
	***ky**aaryo* 'it's true!'	***k**aari* 'negative copula'
	*=**kya*** 'emphatic enclitic'	*=**ka*** 'interrogative clausal enclitic'

2.2.3 Affricates *ts /tsʰ/, tz /ts/, and ch /ʧ/*

There are two alveolar voiceless phonemic affricates *ts* /tsʰ/ and *tz* /ts/, the latter marked by the absence of aspiration. The unaspirated affricate /ts/ is pronounced similarly to the /ts/ sound in English *pizza*. Note that the unaspirated *tz* /ts/ is predominantly realized in the westerly speech variety. Some speakers of the easterly speech variety do not distinguish between the two, using only the aspirated affricate *ts* /tsʰ/, pronounced

similarly to the Armenian aspirated affricate /tsʰ/ in *bayts* ‘but’. The affricates are found syllable- and word-initially and word-medially. The contrast between *ts* and *tz* is illustrated in (2.26).

2.26 ***tzi****na* ‘palm sp.’(*camonilla*) ***tsi****nani* ‘girl’
tziv*ana* ‘pineapple’ ***tsiv****a* ‘tree sp.’ (*copal*; *Bursera odorata*)
tz*iNkotsi* ‘tail’ ***ts****iNt* ‘to urinate’

There is one palato-alveolar voiceless affricate *ch* /ʧ/, pronounced similarly to the word-initial affricate in English ‘*chip*’. Akin to the loss of the distinction between the alveolar affricates *ts* and *tz* (they are both pronounced with some degree of aspiration), there seems to be a similar blending process of merger underway involving the palatalized alveolar stop /tʲ/ and the palato-alveolar affricate /ʧ/. The two are converging perhaps due to the natural tendency in the articulation of a palatalized stop to produce some degree of air turbulence and friction (i.e. affrication) (Clark, Yallop, & Gletcher 2007:63-4). Contrasts can be demonstrated for /ʧ/, /tsʰ/ and /tʲ/ with the following examples in (2.27).

2.27 /ʧ/-/tsʰ/ ***ch****omeNta* ‘fish sp.’ ***ts****omoNte* ‘a bulge’
/ʧ/-/tʲ/ *ka****ch****ori* ‘salted’ *ka****ty****ori* ‘acidic, sour’
/tsʰ/-/tʲ/ *ipi****ts****oki* ‘he was turning around’ *ipi****ty****oki* ‘his little thing’

2.2.4 Alternative analyses of palatalized segments and affricates

Alternative analyses of the palatalized consonants and affricates can be suggested, but it will be shown below that they turn out to complicate the explanation of the data. One such alternative is to abandon the analysis of the palatalized consonants *pʲ, tʲ, kʲ, rʲ, ɲ* as a

distinct series of unitary phonemes and instead posit them as consonant clusters made up of consonant-consonant segments Cj, that is *pj, kj, rj, nj.* Similarly, we can interpret affricates *ts^{h}, ts*, and *ʧ* as consonant clusters CC consisting of separate phonemes, /t/, /s/ and /t/, /ʃ/.

In favor of such alternative analyses is that each consonant is found outside the consonant sequences, except for the aspirated affricate *ts^{h}*. Note that the language lacks aspirated consonants, which renders problematic an analysis of this affricate as a consonant cluster. The alternative analysis is flawed for a number of other reasons as well. There are no native consonant sequences such as *sp, st, pl* in the language. If we posit a CC interpretation for these segments, it will be difficult to explain why these consonant clusters are allowed in onsets while others are not. We will also need to posit a more complex syllable structure CCVN to account for these phenomena. However, if we allow the original interpretation of the unitary nature of the palatalized consonants and affricates, we get a simple, consistent, elegant system in which a single feature accounts for the data. We get a series of stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids and their palatalized counterparts /p/, /pʲ/; /t/, /tʲ/; /k/, /kʲ/; /ts^{h}/, /ʧ/; /tz/, /tʲ/; /s/, /ʃ/; /n/, /ɲ/, and /ɾ/, /ɾʲ/. Similar series of palatalized segments, which appear to be uncommon among Amazonian languages, are found in other Kampan languages (Michael 2008:222).

2.2.5 Fricatives *s* /s/, *sh* /ʃ/, and *h* /h/

There are three voiceless phonemic fricatives, two sibilants /s/ and /ʃ/, and a glottal fricative /h/. The fricatives occur word and syllable-initially and word-medially as in ***s****amani* ‘paca’, *impo****s****aiteri* ‘they will hit him’, ***sh****ima* ‘fish’, *incha****sh****i* ‘tree leaf’, ***h****evari*

'chief', *ka**h**ai* 'coffee plant'. The phoneme /s/ is an alveolar voiceless fricative, pronounced similarly to [s] in Spanish *sabor* 'taste'.

There is an independent alveo-palatal phoneme *sh* /ʃ/, found in the same environments as /s/. It is pronounced similarly to [ʃ] in Spanish *ishpingo* 'cedar mahogany tree'. In general, data from speakers of Kampan languages is suggestive of the regular palatalization process when sibilants that follow high front vowels are palatalized; that is *s*→*ʃ* before *i,* but in other environments /s/ and /ʃ/ contrast (Payne 1983: 102-3). Payne notes that Alto Perené speakers articulate /s/ in all positions, including before *i* (1989: 23). In our data, this observation holds only for some older speakers who say [pa**sɪ̥**ne] 'other', [**sɪ̥**ma] 'fish', etc. Older speakers also pronounce the sibilant phoneme as [sʲ] when it followed by the sequence /*iy*/, e.g. 'Take a picture of it' is pronounced [pɪ**sʲi̥j**akantapaɪnteɾo] by older speakers while younger speakers say it [pɪ**ʃi̥j**akantapaɪnteɾo].

In addition, the sibilant phoneme can be realized as [h], e.g. *pi**sh**etopaye* [pɪ**h**etopaje] 'your intestines' (it is not clear whether this phoneme is underlyingly /s/ or /ʃ/ for the language speakers). With other words, /ʃ/ is generally realized as [ʃ], e.g. *no**sh**irontahyari* [noʃɪ̥rontohʲarɪ] 'I will smile at it'; *o**sh**oNkapakiro* [oʃoŋkapakɪro] 'she went around it'.

Examples in (2.28) demonstrate the contrast between /s/ and /ʃ/.

2.28 ***s**amani* 'paca (rodent sp.)' ***sh**ametzi* 'pal; namesake'
*ka**s**aNto* 'bird species' *a**sh**aniNka* 'our fellowman'
***s**aNkina* 'to write' ***sh**iNki* 'corn'

The glottal voiceless fricative /h/ is pronounced like [h] in Spanish *jaca* 'pony', e.g. *paa**he** pashini* 'you'll take another [woman]'. It is pronounced as [hʲ] when followed by the irrealis suffix *–ia,* e.g. *ikinashihetana**hya*** 'they walked in different directions'.

2.2.6 Nasals *m* /m/, *n* /n/, *ny* /ɲ/, and the archiphoneme /N/

There are three phonemic voiced nasal stops in Ashéninka Perené, one bilabial stop /m/, one alveolar stop /n/, and a palatal stop /ɲ/. The nasal stops are found word- and syllable-initially, syllable-finally, and word-medially.

The bilabial stop /m/ is generally realized as [m] as in ***m**ava* 'three', ***=mi*** 2SG personal enclitic, *yo**m**it* ' teach', *no**m**otya* 'my belly', *sa**m**aNpo* 'ashes', *aritai**ma*** 'maybe'. The alveolar nasal /n/ is realized as [n] as in ***no**saro* 'grandmother', *i**n**cha* 'plant', *pashi**ni*** 'other', ***n**imot* 'to like', *a**n**oNk* 'to swell', *paira**ni*** 'long ago'.

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ is realized as [ɲ], e.g. ***n**yaantsi* 'word', *iro**ny**aaka* 'now', *opo**nya*** 'then'.

The following list in (2.29-2.30) shows contrast between /m/ and /n/, and /n/ and /ɲ/.

2.29	/n/ vs. /m/	*ka**n**ai* 'Long John tree'	*ka**m**aantsi* 'phlegm'
		*ki**n*** 'to pass'	*ki**m*** 'to hear, listen'
2.30	/n/ vs. /ɲ/	***n**aakero* 'I'll bring it'	***ny**aakiro* 'I've seen it'
		*ko**na*** 'to fish with *barbasco*'	*ko**ny**a* 'to appear'

Syllable-finally, the nasal segmental unit assimilates homorganically to a following plosive, as demonstrated in (2.31).

2.31	*ona**N**p**i***	[o.na**m.pi**] ‘her village’	***m**api* [**m**a.pɪ] ‘stone’
	*kasa**N**to*	[ka.sa**n.t**o] ‘bird sp.’	*o**n**atoto* [o.**n**a.to.to] ‘cousin’
	*kato**N**ko*	[ka.to**ŋ.k**o] ‘upriver’	***n**ako* [**na**.ko]‘my arm’

This situation when the underlying nasal has the surface realization [m, n, ŋ] in certain environments suggests that the nasal is unmarked (or unspecified) for the place of articulation. This phoneme is posted as a separate archiphoneme /N/ since it is distinct from other nasals (it only occurs following a vowel and assimilates to a following obstruent). Further evidence comes from the spelling habits of language consultants, who consistently write all syllable-final nasals either with *m* or *n* unless they are taught to make a distinction between the two. This circumstance points at the syllable-final nasals, though varied in phonetic form, as being not derived from the syllable-initial nasals; rather, they constitute an independent, unspecified for place of articulation segment. A detailed discussion of the archiphoneme /N/ in Ashéninka and other Kampan languages is found in Burquest (2006:67-8), Michael (2008:223-4), and Payne (1981: 62-3).

2.2.7 Liquids r /ɾ/ and ry /ɾʲ/

There are two liquids in Ashéninka Perené, namely a voiced alveolar flap /ɾ/ and its palatalized counterpart /ɾʲ/, a typical situation for an Arawak and Amazonian language which generally have one or two liquids (Aikhenvald 1999:77).

The alveolar flap /ɾ/ is pronounced close to the Spanish liquid in *pero* ‘but’. The phoneme can occur syllable-initially and word-medially but never word-initially as in *i**r**iro* ‘he’, *i**r**ika* ‘this (masculine), *a**r**i* ‘positive polarity verb’, *naa**r**i* ‘I’, *apa**r**oni* ‘one’,

*ai**r**o* ‘not’, etc. This restriction on the word-initial placement of /ɾ/ applies to Spanish loans as well, e.g. *i**r**ichi* > ***l**eche* ‘milk’, *i**r**ibiro* > ***l**ibro* ‘book’.

The phoneme /ɾʲ/ resembles the Russian palatalized liquid in /*hvorʲ*/ ‘ailment’. Its distribution is identical to that of its non-palatalized counterpart /ɾ/ as in *pi**r**yoki* ‘coconut palm grub’, *pa**r**yantsi* ‘plantain’. The contrast between the /ɾ/ and /ɾʲ/ is evident in (2.32).

2.32 *pi**r**yoki* ‘grub’ *pi**r**ota* ‘ball’
*pa**r**yantsi* ‘plantain’ *pa**r**ari* ‘otter’

2.2.8 Semivowels v /w/ and y /j/

There are two glide phonemes /w/ and /j/ in Asheninka Perené. The phoneme /w/ is a bilabial approximant. Before non-front vowels, it is pronounced as [w], with minimal lip rounding. It occurs syllable- and word-initially or -medially as in ***v**aripa* ‘chicken’ and *pa**v**a* ‘god’. Before front vowels /i/ or /e/, /w/ is realized as a bilabial voiced approximant [β̞], resembling the medial sound in Spanish *ave* [aβ̞e] ‘bird’. It is pronounced with spread lips, as shown in Figure 10.

FIGURE 10. Articulation of the bilabial approximant in *ivito* ‘his canoe’

Occasionally, the bilabial approximant [β̞] is articulated as a labio-dental approximant [ʋ]. Examples are given in (2.33).

2.33	*ka**v**ana*	[ka**w**ana]	‘tree sp.’	*tzi**v**i*	[tsi̪**β̞**ɪ]	‘salt’
	avavatzi	[a**w**a**ʋ**atsi]	‘we are eating’	***v**atsatsi*	[**w**ats^{h}ats^{h}ɪ̥]	‘meat’
	*o**v**akera*	[o**w**akera]	‘recently’	*ko**v**itsi*	[ko**β̞**its^{h}e]	‘pot’

In Figures 11-13, we can compare spectra of *pava* ‘god’, *novori* ‘my muscle’, and *ivito* ‘his canoe’ respectively which contain an intervocalic bilabial approximant. Figures 11-13 show that the first and second formants of [w] are low in comparison with the higher second formant of [β̞].

FIGURE 11. Phonetic realization of the bilabial approximant in *pava* ‘god’

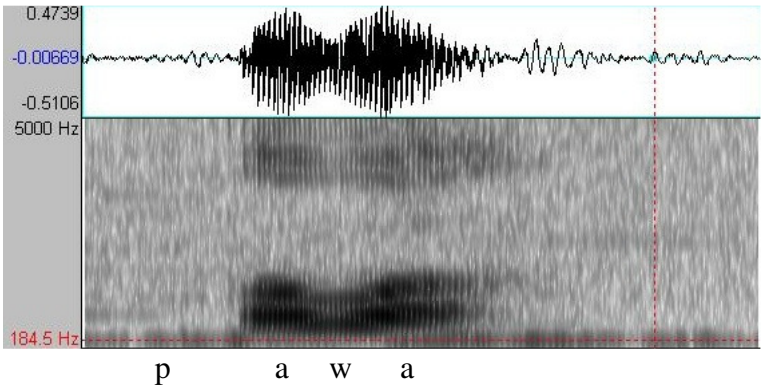


FIGURE 12. Phonetic realization of the bilabial approximant in *novori* ‘my leg’

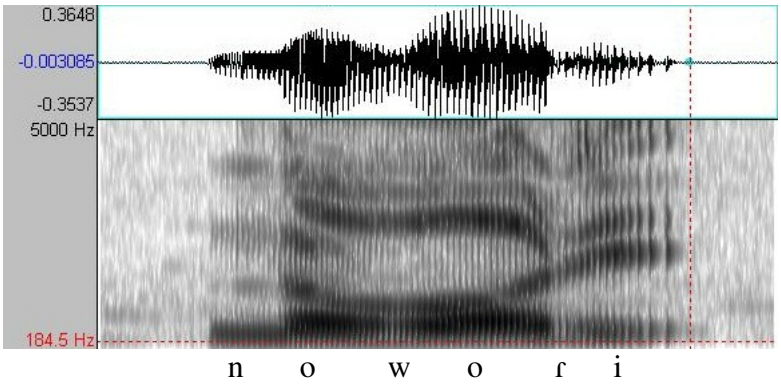
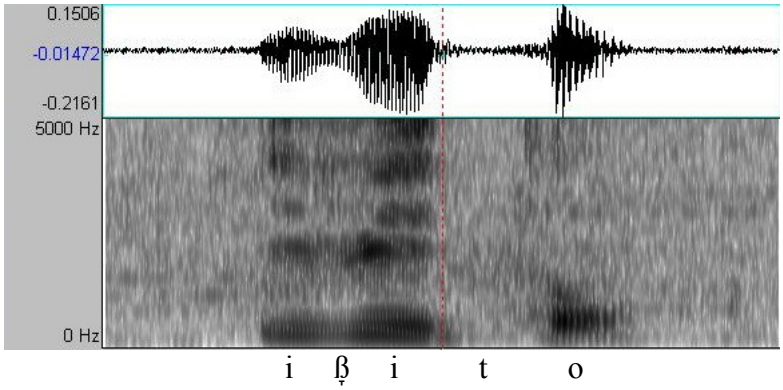


FIGURE 13. Phonetic realization of the phoneme /w/ in *ivito* 'his canoe'



The bilabial voiced unrounded approximant may be alternatively treated as an underlyingly voiced bilabial fricative fricative /β/, as seen in Romani (2003) who posits the bilabial approximant as a voiced bilabial fricative in the closely related Kampan language Ashéninka Pajonal. However, this analysis argues against this approach based on the following argumentation. The consonant inventory of Ashéninka Perené does not have voice distinction in stops, fricatives and affricates, which are all voiceless, whereas its bilabial and palatal phonemic approximants /w/ and /j/ are voiced. Phonemic voice distinctions in bilabial stops are mainly found in non-Kampan Arawak languages and in some Kampan Arawak such as Nanti (Michael 2008) and possibly, in Nomatsiguenga (Aikhenvald 1999:76). As far as bilabial fricatives are concerned, they are rare, though a voiced bilabial fricative β is found in the adjacent non-Kampan variety Amuesha (Aikhenvald 1999:76). In contrast, other Amazonian Arawak languages have bilabial approximants, e.g. Ashéninka Apurucayali and Cavineña have a phonemic bilabial approximant /w/ with the allophones [w] and [ʕ̞] (Black 1991:185; Burquest 2006:92-4, 159; Chitoran & Nevins 2008:1900; Guillaume 2004:29-30; Payne, Payne, & Santos 1982:77). Evidence in support of the proposal that the underlying phoneme is /w/ and not

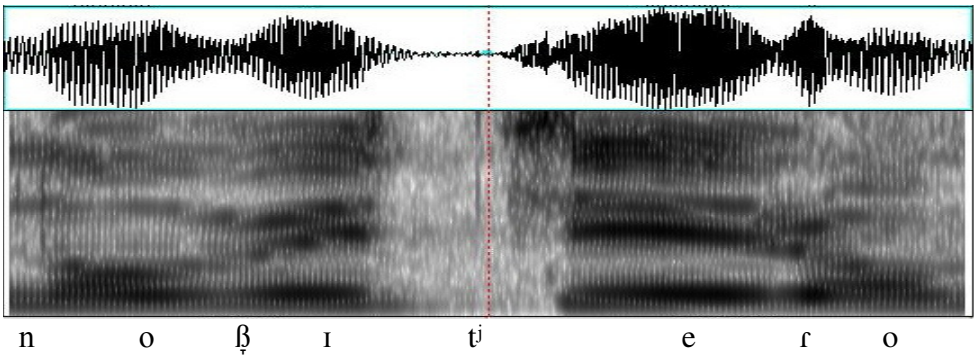
a bilabial stop or fricative is that there is another approximant in the language, the palatal glide /j/ which behaves similarly to /w/ and can be considered its symmetrical counterpart. In addition to sharing the feature [+voice], both glides have a similar distribution, and show consonantal behavior when they fill the onset position in syllable templates. The palatal glide y /j/ occurs word- and syllable-initially and word-medially as in ***y****a****y****a*** 'woman's brother', ***y****aarato* 'bee', ***y****entsiri* 'tree sp.', a***y****oNpari* 'friend', *no****y****eNpita* 'my ear', *-paye* 'nominal plural'. There are no other voiced stops or fricatives in the language that would share symmetry with the bilabial voiced approximant.

Another alternative interpretation of glides /w/ and /j/ as vowels /u/ and /i/ respectively can be suggested, although it appears to present certain difficulties for the explanation of the data. If we favor the vowel sequence analysis such as /ua/, /ue/, /uo/, /ui/, we make more complex the inventory of diphthongs. We also violate the requirement for onsets in medial syllables since Ashéninka Perené disallows onsetless syllables word-internally e.g. *a.****v****a.****v****a.k*ʲ*a* 'we'll eat' * *a.****u****a.****u****a.k*ʲ*a.* Another requirement, of no more than two adjacent vowel segments in vowel sequences, will be violated as well. In addition, we will have to ignore the allophonic variation of the phoneme /w/ if we were to allow the vowel sequence interpretation.

The attraction of the alternative analysis of the glide /j/ as a high front vowel /i/ lies in the fact that then we get a resultant drastic simplification of the phonemic inventory by disposing of the series of palatalized stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids (while only keeping ts^h, ts, and ʧ). Note that literate Ashéninka Perené speakers write palatalized consonants as Ci sequences, e.g. ***pi****arentsi* 'plantain'. This analysis was also advocated by the SIL linguist Judith Payne (1990). Nevertheless, a convincing piece of evidence comes from

acoustic analysis which supports an interpretation of palatalized consonants as unitary segments, rather than a consonant-vowel sequence Ci. In Figure 14, which is the spectrogram of palatalized alveolar stop in the word-medial position, the red line marks the consonantal release from the palatal position when the tongue body assumes an *i*-like position. The spectrogram of this transition is distinct from spectra with a sequence of Ci or Cj (see Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:364-5).

FIGURE 14. The palatalized stop /tʲ/ in *novi**tye**ro* 'I'll fell it (the tree) '



2.3 Sounds in Spanish loanwords

Ashéninka Perené speakers have borrowed a lot of words from Spanish, a deplorable fact in the eyes of many native speakers. All speakers I worked with are highly bilingual and do a great deal of intersentential code-switching and intrasentential code-mixing while talking among each other. Most of the Spanish loans are nativized in Ashéninka Perené, i.e. fully adapted to the structure of the recipient language. This process of nativization involves adaptation of lexical material to the morphological, syntactic and phonological patterns of the language (Thomason 2001:134). Examples of nativized Spanish loans are

listed in (2.34).The first column lists the Spanish lexemes and the second shows the corresponding Ashéninka Perené loans.

2.34	a.*bo**l**.sa* ‘bag’	*bo.**ri**.sa* ‘bag’
	b. *pa.pe**l*** ‘paper’	*pa.pe.**ri*** ‘paper’
	c. *le.che* ‘milk’	***i.ri**.chi* ‘milk’
	d. *pa**s**.**t**i.lla* ‘pill’	*pa.**sh**i.**ty**a* ‘pill’
	e. *pe.**l**o.ta* ‘ball’	*pi.**r**o.ta* ‘ball’
	f. *ho**s**.**p**i.ta**l*** ‘hospital’	*o.**si.p**i.ta.**ri***
	g. *re.**l**oj* ‘watch’	*no.re.**r**o.**te*** ‘my watch’
	h. *a.rro**z*** ‘rice’	*a.ro.**so*** ‘rice’

The phonological structure of the borrowed material is assimilated by the speakers based on the Ashéninka Perené phoneme inventory (see Table 4), canonical syllable shape (see §2.4), and stress assignment patterns (see §2.5). As (2.34) shows, the Spanish liquid /l/ is replaced with the Ashéninka Perené flap /ɾ/ in all loans. If the Spanish liquid is word-initial, it is replaced with the Ashéninka flap /ɾ/ and follows a vowel, as in (2.34c). Word-final consonants are disallowed in Ashéninka Perené, which explains the addition of vowels word-finally in nativized loans in (2.34 b, e-i). Consonant clusters like *sp, st* are not permitted either, resulting in the replacement of the consonant cluster *st* with a simplex fricative *ʃ* in (2.34d). In terms of stress, Asheninka Perené nouns typically assign second-syllable stress while the stress in the borrowed Spanish words may fall on the last syllable as in (2.34d).

There is a sizable number of unassimilated loans in Ashéninka Perené, e.g. ***esc**uela* ‘school’, ***est**ado* ‘state’, *con**tr**ato* ‘contract’, *par**t**icula**r*** ‘private’ which violate native phonotactics by allowing consonant clusters and/or by ending in a consonant. Numerals borrowed from Spanish do not comply with phonotactics either. They are borrowed

without any change in their pronunciation, e.g. *tre**s** mi**l*** 'three thousand'. The unassimilated loans also preserve their Spanish orthography when written by literate Ashéninka Perené speakers.

2.4 Phonotactics

When defined narrowly, phonotactics refers to a distributional statement describing how segments are distributed within syllables, syllables withing words, etc. In a broader sense, phonotactics is known as a general description of sequences and combinations. Phonotactic constraints express limitations on the free combinations of units (Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher 2007:69). Constraints on the distribution of phonemes are found on all three levels of segmental phonology. The first level, the level of segment adjacency, shows limitations on some segments co-occurring contiguous to others. Vowel sequences of more than two segments are not allowed. Some vowel sequences do not occur, e.g. *ie, oe*. Consonant clusters are disallowed. A few consonant-vowel combinations never co-occur: ty /tʲ/ and ry /rʲ/ never occur before /i/.

The gaps in the distribution of phonemes in consonant-vowel sequences are very few. Arguably, these gaps can be attributed to articulatory difficulty with a sequence. For example, /tʲi/ and /rʲi/ are probably difficult to articulate for the speaker. The alveopalatal segments are complex transitional articulations involving the constriction of the basic articulation and raising the tip and blade of the tongue to a high front position as part of the transition to the next segment (Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher 2007:64). When the next element is a high front vowel /i/, the palatal approximation of the tongue tip and blade is

likely to be difficult in speech production; hence the constraint on these alveopalatal consonant-high front vowel sequences.

Ashéninka Perené shows certain restrictions on the next level, the level of distribution of the segments within a syllable. The following limitations, found in other Kampan languages, e.g. in Nanti (Michael 2008: 239-40), are listed below.

(i) No complex onsets or codas are permitted; when a formative beginning with a consonant attaches to a unit ending in a consonant, the epenthetic segment *a* is inserted.

(ii) Although consonantal onsets are allowed, consonantal codas are disallowed, except for nasals which can occur in the coda; in addition, syllable-final consonants are found in ideophones and unassimilated Spanish loans.

(iii) Onsetless syllables are restricted to the word-initial position.

(iv) No hiatus is allowed word-internally; when a formative beginning with a vowel attaches to a unit ending in a vowel, the epenthetic segment *t/tz* is inserted.

At the word level, consonants are never found word-finally in native Ashéninka Perené words, except for a few onomatopoeic forms. The flap ɾ (or its palatalized counterpart ɾʲ) never occurs word-initially.

The preference stated above for avoidance of morpheme-internal clusters is illustrated by assimilated loans from Spanish such as *bo**ri**sa* derived from *bo**ls**a* ‘bag’, *os**i**pitari* created from *ho**sp**ital* ‘hospital’. Yet consonant clusters are accepted in a number of unassimilated loans as in *e**st**ado* ‘state’, *e**sc**uela* ‘school’, *a**mb**urancia* ‘ambulance’. The constraint on word-final consonants is violated in other borrowed Spanish words such as *misio**n*** ‘misión’, *pasto**r*** ‘pastor’, *die**z*** ‘ten’, *mi**l*** ‘thousand’.

2.4.1 Syllable structure

The basic syllable structure is CV, although the minimal syllable shape is V. Other permitted syllable shapes are VN, CVN, CVVN, CVV, and VV. Only the vowel nucleus V is obligatory, although this syllable shape is not common; it is found solely word-initially. The syllable shape does not allow for syllables larger than CVVN. Examples of Ashéninka Perené syllable shapes are provided in (2.35). Syllables in (2.35) are separated by a dot.

2.35	CVV.CV.CV.CV	poi.ni.ro.tsa	[poɪnɪrotsʰa]	‘yacón (tree sp.)’
	V.CV	a.ri	[arɪ]	‘positive polarity verb’
	VV.CV	ai.sa.tzi	[aɪsatsɨ]	‘also’
	VN.CV	in.cha	[ɪnʧa]	‘plant’
	VN.CVN.CVV	in.tsoN.poi	[ɪntsʰompoi]	‘inside’
	CVVN.CVVN.CV	tyooN.kaan.tsi	[tʲoŋka:ntsʰɨ]	‘to bathe in steam’

Since Ashéninka Perené strongly prefers word-internal syllables to have onsets, it uses epenthetic segments *a* (inserted between the consonants at the syllable/morpheme boundary) or *t/tz* [10](inserted between vowels) to produce well-formed syllables as in (2.36-2.37).

2.36 *Y=ook-ai-**t**-a=na.*
yoo.kai.**t**a.na
3m.A=leave-IMP.P-**EP**-REAL=1SG.O
‘They left me.’

2.37 *No=kaim-**a**-vai-**tz**-i.*
no.kai.m**a**.vai.**tz**i
1SG.S=call-**EP**-DUR-**EP**-REAL
‘I kept groaning.’

[10] The epenthetic segment /t/ has two allophones, [t] and [ts]. The latter is conditioned by the high front vowel /i/ when it follows the epenthetic segment.

However, this requirement can be overridden when vowel-initial V or VC suffixes such as *–a,-ak, -ah, -ite* are adjoined to the vowel-final root, as seen in (2.38-2.39).

2.38 *Naakiro.*
n=**a**-**a**k-i=ro
1SG.A=take-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'I took it'.

2.39 *Haitetaki.*
h**a**-**i**te-t-ak-i
go-quickly-EP-PRF-REAL
'She went quickly.'

Comparative studies of Kampan languages provide evidence that the root *a* 'take' in Proto-Kampan used to have a consonantal coda; the suffix *-ite* 'quickly' most likely had a consonantal onset. In spite of the segmental reduction the roots and suffixes have presumably undergone, they do not participate in the epenthetic processes.

The phonotactics of the language disallows consonant clusters word-internally but they occur during the surface realization of some words due to the elision of the unstressed weak vowel /i/ when it occurs between sibilants, affricates, and voiceless plosives as in *antyash**i**pari* [antʲa**ʃp**a.ɾi] 'elder', *osh**i**pitari* [o**ʃp**itaɾi] 'hospital', *ts**i**ka* [**ts**^{h}**k**a] 'where'.

2.4.2 The minimal word

The minimal word in Ashéninka Perené must have two syllables at minimum. Another requirement for a minimal word is an independent stress. The syllable shapes of the minimal prosodic words allowed in the language are given in (2.40).

2.40	a. CV.CV	*ˈhi.ri*	‘here he is’
	b. V.CV	*ˈa.ri*	‘positive polarity verb’
	c. V.CVV	*i.ˈroo*	‘she’
	d. CVV.CV	*ˈnaa.ri*	‘I also’

The only exceptions appear to be the monosyllabic CV negative and affirmative particles *te* and *he* containing a short vowel /e/. The particles can be used independently as responses to the polar questions. The negative particle *te* is stressed in (2.41).

2.41	*-Notomi, omapiro piposakiri paniri?*	-Son, is it true that you hit your cousin?
	*-**Te**, apaa.*	-No, Dad.

There is also a monosyllabic stressed ideophone *poo* with the syllable shape of CVV which imitates the hitting sound. An example is provided in (2.42).

2.42 *Oposakina noitoki poo!*

o=pos-ak-i=na	no=ito-ki	**poo**!
3n.m.A=hit-PRF-REAL=1SG.O	1SG.poss=head-LOC	**IDEO**

‘It hit my head, bam!’

The negative and affirmative particles *te* and *he* and the ideophone *poo* are examples of independent grammatical words (see §3.1 for discussion of grammatical vs. phonological words) which tend to attach to the adjoining word form.

Nouns are generally disyllabic or trisyllabic, e.g. *ka.ˈhai* ‘coffee plant’, *ˈmi.chi* ‘cat’, *ˈko.ta* ‘piece’, *sha.ˈve.ta* ‘butterfly’, *che.ˈvo.tsi* ‘branch’. Other lexical categories such as pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives, particles are at least disyllabic as in *ˈnaa.ka* ‘I’, *ˈkaa.ri* ‘negative existential’, *ro.ˈka* ‘that (non-masculine), *ˈai.ro* ‘not (irrealis)’, *ˈpai.ra.ni* ‘long ago’. Verbs must have at least two syllables because of the obligatory subject and reality status marking as in *pi.ya!* ‘Eat!’ which consists of *pi*= 2SG

subject proclitic and the irrealis suffix *–ia,* fused with the verb root *v* ‘eat’. Grammatical morphemes, e.g. aspect, reality status markers are often monosyllabic, as well as applicatives, classifiers, and clitics but they never form an independent word.

2.4.3 Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Ashéninka Perené. The prominence of a stressed syllable is normally represented by its loudness, higher pitch, and longer duration. Stress patterns in Ashéninka Perené are varied. In independent bisyllabic words, which are not cliticized or bound to other words, stress may occur on the either syllable, as seen in (2.43).

2.43	*ni.*ˈ***haa***	‘water’	*i.*ˈ***roo***	‘she’
	ˈ***niN****.ka*	‘who’	*taN.*ˈ***pyaa***	‘wind’
	*a.*ˈ***ka***	‘here’	ˈ***naa****.ka*	‘I’

Stress assignment in (2.43) is sensitive to syllable weight. Syllable weight, ranked from the highest to the lowest CVVN> CVV> CVN> CV> V, tends to determine stress assignment in independent words. As seen in (2.41), syllables with branching nuclei (a long vowel or a diphthong), and/or a coda ((C)VV, CVN, (C)VVN) are likely to attract stress, but there are many exceptions, e.g. ˈ***ko****.ta* ‘sole’, *choo.*ˈ***ki*** ‘sister’.

Stress also depends on the sonority of nuclei. Based on the sonority scale of Ashéninka vowels, arranged from the strongest to the weakest, a> e, o> i, the stress is likely to be assigned to the syllable with the stronger sonority as in (2.44).

2.44	*shi.*ˈ***ma***	‘fish’	*i.*ˈ***sha***	‘grandmother’
	*tzi.*ˈ***na***	‘palm sp.’	*mi.*ˈ***sha***	‘naked tree (*capirona*)’
	*shi.*ˈ***na***	‘kapok tree’	*tsi.*ˈ***ka***	‘where’

In independent trisyllabic words, the stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable, as seen in (2.45). Syllable boundaries are shown by a period.

2.45	*o.* ˈ***che***.*vo*	'its branch'	*ko.* ˈ***shi***.*ri*	'monkey'
	ka. ˈ***me***.*tsa*	'good'	*paa.* ˈ***ma***.*ri*	'fire'
	pa. ˈ***shi***.*ni*	'other'	*tzi.* ˈ***va***.*na*	'pineapple'

The penultimate stress pattern can be violated due to the syllable weight constraint as in *shin.tsi.* ˈ***paa*** 'raft' where the first two light syllables are outranked by the last syllable with the branching nucleus. In assimilated Spanish loans, the stress tends to follow the penultimate stress pattern, e.g. *so.* ˈ***ra***.*ro* 'police [Spanish *soldado*]', *bo.* ˈ***ri***.*sa* 'bag' (Spanish *bolsa*). In polysyllabic loans, stress assignment follows the same rule as in *o.shi.pi.* ˈ***ta***.*ri* 'hospital'. In general, in bi- and trisyllabic words, the primary stress is assigned to the ultimate syllable if it is heavy, and otherwise to the penultimate syllable.

In polymorphemic words, the general principle of avoidance of stress on the outer edges of the word is observed. As discussed in detail in §3.3.2, the noun template slots may be filled with multiple formatives on both sides of the root. The verb predicate structure may also be composed of multiple morphemes. Peripheral formatives such as person, plural, possessive markers, etc. are never stressed in polymorphemic phonological words. Given the theoretical assumption that certain formatives are ignored in building metrical structure, we consider such material extrametrical, when not used for stress assignment (Burquest 2006:282). Examples of stress patterning in polysyllabic words are shown in (2.46). Extrametrical segments are in angle brackets.

2.46 *ya.shi.* ˈ***ro***.*tsa.*<*te* > ‘his ax’
i.va. ˈ***ryan***.*tsi.*<*te.pa.ye*> ‘his plantains’
*no.*ˌ*sai.ka.* ˈ***he.****tzi.*<*ka*> ‘we are here’
ˌ*a.ka.*ˌ*ra.he.* ˈ***tai***.*ye.*<*ni*> ‘we all’

Generally, the rightmost left-headed foot serves as head of a polysyllabic word whereas stress feet to the left take secondary stress (the secondary stress is not very salient). A phonological definition of a foot refers to a primarily disyllabic rhythmic unit with one most prominent, stressed syllable serving as its head. If the rhythmically strong syllable is followed by a rhythmically weak syllable, the foot is left-headed. While the prominence of the primary stress is associated with the penultimate syllable, the secondary stress is associated with every other syllable to the left of the primary stress. Overall, the complexity of rhythmic stress patterns in Ashéninka Perené is far from being well understood at this point. For more details on stress patterns in Kampan (Ashéninka and Nanti), see Payne 1990 and Crowhurst & Michael 2005.

2.5 Intonation

There is no special intonation at the end of declarative clauses. Generally, falling intonation signals the end of a clause. Greetings are pronounced with a falling intonation, as in *kitaiteri* ‘Good morning’, *sheteneri* ‘Good afternoon’, *tsiteneri* ‘Good evening’, *hatanara* ‘So long [I am going]’. Some greetings have a rising intonation contour, which marks the stressed final syllables as seen in (2.47). The stressed syllables are given in bold.

2.47 *-Naakav**e**!* ‘Hi! [I am]!’
*-Av**iro**!* ‘Hi! [you are]!’

Imperative and exclamatory clauses tend to have more intensity and higher pitch on the exclamatory clausal clitic =*ve,* pronounced with the lengthened vowel, as shown in (2.48-2.49).

2.48 *Tsameravee!*
tsame=ra=v**e**
come.on=ADV=**EXCL**
'Come on!'

2.49 *Ivyaamini antaroveee!*
i=pyaameni aNtaro=v**e**
3m.poss=bow big=**EXCL**
'Their bows were really big!'

Rising intonation is characteristic of listing, when noun phrases, predicates or clauses are coordinated. The intonational melodies of enumerated noun phrases in (2.50) are associated with a rise in pitch which starts around the stressed syllable and terminates at the right edge of the noun phrase, except for the final NP which has a falling intonation. The stressed syllables are given in bold.

2.50 *Ipankitakakiri ishinkini, imachakite, iyaniri, ivaryantsitepaye, iyokani.*
i=paNki-t-ak-ak-i=ri i=**shiN**ki-ni i=ma**cha**ki-te
3m.A=plant-EP-CAUS-PRF-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=corn-poss 3m.poss=beans-poss

i=**ka**niri i=pa**ryan**tsi-te-paye i=k**o**ka-ni
3m.poss=manioc 3m.poss=plantain-poss-PL 3m.poss=coca-poss
'He had them plant his corn, beans, manioc, plantains, and coca.'

Content and polar questions usually have a slightly rising intonation as well, marked with a higher pitch at the end of the final intonation unit. Examples are provided in (2.51-2.54).

2.51 *Paita yaminiri soraro notsarateki?*
pai-t-a y=amin-i=ri soraro no=tsarate-**ki**?
be.called-EP-REAL 3m.A=look.for-REAL=REL police 1SG.poss=bag-LOC
'What did the police look for in my bag?'

2.52 *Ninka pokatsirika?*
niNka pok-atsi=ri=**ka**
who come-STAT=REL=Q
'Who is coming?'

2.53 *Ihataki Vela?*
i=ha-t-ak-i Ve**la**
3m.S=go-EP-PRF-REAL person's.name
'Did Vela go?'

2.54 *Pinintakotana noyaani?*
pi=niNt-ako-t-a=na no=nyaa-**ni**
2A=want-APPL-EP-REAL=1SG.O 1SG.poss=word-poss
'Do you want from me my words [my language]?'

At the end of songs, a final vowel is lengthened and there is a considerable rise in pitch.

2.6 Phonological differences among Ashéninka Perené speech communities

Phonological variation is found in two geographically distinct areas, roughly comprised of the westerly (represented by Pampa Michi) and easterly speech communities (represented by Bajo Marankiari). The changes in the easterly speech are more advanced than in the speech of the more conservative westerly community. Particularly, the difference in the surface realization of the high front vowels /i/ and /e/ is more pronounced, with /e/ articulated more open, closer to [ɛ] in the easterly speech communities. For example, 'day' is pronounced [ˈʃitɪne] by speakers in Pampa Michi while speakers from Bajo Marankiari say [ˈʃɛtɛne]; 'little' is [kapɨˈʧɪne] in the westerly

speech and [kapɻˈʧeene] in the easterly speech; ‘his magic plant’ is [ɪˈßɪŋke] and [iˈßɛŋke] respectively.

In addition, the diphthong /ai/ can be monophthongized into /e/ in easterly speech. For example, *airo* ‘negative irrealis’ is consistently pronounced [eɾo] by some speakers of Bajo Marankiari. Another example of changes in the easterly speech is the lowering of vowel height from /o/ to /a/ in vowel-initial words; for example, ‘to grab’, ‘to tie’ is [aiɾɪk] in Bajo Marankiari and [oiɾɪk] in Pampa Michi. The vowel shift in the easterly language communities may be possibly motivated by their regular contact with the speakers of adjacent Kampan languages such as Ashéninka Pajonal, Ashéninka Pichis, and Asháninka Tambo-Ene whose vowel systems include more open /e/.

Other geographically-localized differences include stopping of the aspirated alveolar affricate */tsʰ/*, alternatively pronounced as [tʰ] by some speakers of Bajo Marankiari; for example, ***ts****ame* [**tsʰ**ame] ‘come on’ is realized as [**tʰ**ame], *no****ts****oNkahero* [no**tsʰ**oŋkaheɾo] ‘I’ll finish it’ as [no**tʰ**oŋkaheɾo], *no****ts****anoiriki* ‘my adornments’ as [no**tʰ**anoɪɾikɪ].

Another distinction in the easterly speech concerns the emergent loss of a two-way phonemic contrast between the aspirated /tsʰ/ and unaspirated /ts/. The westerly speakers distinguish between the alveolar affricates /tsʰ/ and /ts/ while many easterly speakers do not differentiate between the two. The alveolar affricate is commonly realized as aspirated, e.g. *potsotzi* ‘annato’ (tree sp.) [pot**sʰ**o**tsʰ**e̥].

Labialization of the velar stop when followed by /a/ is somewhat characteristic of westerly speech. Examples include *okaNta* [okʷ**a**nta] ‘then’, *Katsiriki* [kʷ**a**tsʰɨɾɪkɪ] ‘a river’s name’, *oNkaNtya* [oŋkʷ**a**nt͡ʲa] ‘so that’.

2.7 Orthography[11]

Ashéninka Perené has never been a subject of a dedicated investigation by linguists; hence the lack of the writing system representing the language's phonemic inventory. Nevertheless, two orthographies, a linguistic and a practical one, have been in circulation in the community. The first linguistic orthography, recommended by SIL linguists in 1987 to Ashéninka bilingual teachers, was based on Ashéninka Pichis, an adjacent language variety (Payne 1987; Anderson 1987). The pedagogical grammar of Ashéninka Pichis and Ashéninka Perené (Payne 1989) reproduces the earlier 29-grapheme writing system (see Table 5). The proposed system is largely based on Spanish orthography; for example, the velar stop /k/ is written as <*c*> before non-front vowels *a* and *o*, and as <*qu*> before front vowels *i* and *e;* the glottal fricative /h/ is written as <*j*>; the alveo-palatal /ɲ/ is <*ñ*>*;* the bilabial approximant is written as <*v*>. Other Spanish graphemes, familiar to Ashéninka Perené speakers, are <*ch*> /ʧ/ and <*y*> /j/.

The 1987 SIL set of graphemes corresponds directly to the phonemes of Ashéninka Pichis. This means that the SIL writing system includes letters for the phonemes that do not exist in Ashéninka Perené such as *g, my, th, vy,* although they are attested in its phonemic inventory as allophones. However, the SIL writing system considers two main criteria: orthographic depth and consistency, and the similarity of the orthography to the orthography of the dominant language. In particular, a distinction is made between the aspirated and unaspirated alveolar consonants and affricates by assigning digraphs <*th*> to the aspirated stop /t^{h}/, <*ts*> to the aspirated affricate /ts^{h}/ and <*tz*> to its unaspirated counterpart /ts/. In addition, the palatalized counterparts of stops *p ,t, k*, fricatives *s, h, v*,

[11] A more detailed discussion of the development of Ashéninka Perené orthography is in Mihas 2010a.

affricates *ts, tz*, and sonorants *n, m, r* are also included, which are either encoded by the sequence of Cy such as <*py*>,< *ty*>,< *qy*>,< *jy*>,< *my*>, <*ry*>,< *vy*>, or by digraph <*sh*>, or by symbols, already familiar to Ashéninkas such as <*ch*> and <*ñ*>. The alphabet does not differentiate between long and short vowels, listing graphemes only for the short ones *a, e, i, o*.

A practical orthography has been in the process of being developed by native speakers in Bajo Marankiari. It was designed by Edwin Jacinto Santos, a linguist with a Master's degree from San Marcos University in Lima, and Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, a bilingual teacher. Their simplified alphabet, developed for the Colegio Bilingüe Eben-Ezer, a private Adventist high school in Bajo Marankiari (Jacinto Santos 2004), was supported by the tribal governance unit of Area de Educación, Comunicación y Turismo de Comunidad Indígena Asháninka Marankiari Bajo (CIAMB) (Jacinto Santos, Bernales Quillatupa 2007). It includes 20 graphemes (see Table). This more streamlined system disposes of <*tz*> and <*th*> and also does away with a number of other digraphs which encode palatalized consonants such as <*py*>,< *qy*>, <*my*>,< *ry*>,< *vy*>. The palatalized phonemes are now represented by Ci sequences e.g. *pi, mi, ri, bi.* The Spanish graphemes <*c*> and <*qu*> are replaced with <*k*>. This writing system encodes /w/ as <*b*> and retains grapheme <*g*>. In a recent attempt to support indigenous literacy, a slightly revised alphabet (see Table 5) has been tested, which gets rid of <*g*> while keeping the rest of the graphemes intact (Cushimariano Romano & Richer Sebastián Q. 2008). The proposed writing conventions are used in the Asháninka dictionary, available online at http://www.lengamer.org.

The orthographic conventions used in this grammar make a compromise between the linguistic orthography proposed by SIL linguists and the practical orthography developed by language speakers. With the principles of consistency in the representation of Ashéninka Perené phonology and of user-friendliness in mind, the following solutions are proposed. Table 5 shows the four writing systems, including the one used in this grammar, which have been developed for Ashéninka since 1980s.

TABLE 5. Ashéninka writing systems developed from the 1980s to date

Phoneme	SIL (Payne 1987, 1989)	CIAMB (Jacinto, Bernales 2007)	Online version (Romano, Sebastián 2008)	This grammar
i	i	i	i	i
e		e	e	e
a	a	a	a	a
o	o	o	o	o
p	p	p	p	p
pʲ	py	pi	pi	py
t	t	t	t	t
tʰ	th			
tʲ	ty	ty	ty	ty
k	c, qu	k	k	k
kʲ	qy	ki	ki	ky
g	g	g		
s	s	s	s	s
ʃ	sh	sh	sh	sh
ʧ	ch	ch	ch	ch
tsʰ	ts	ts	ts	ts
ts	tz	ts, t	ts, t	tz
h	j	j	j	h
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ny
ɾ	r	r	r	r
ɾʲ	ry	ri	ri	ry
w	v	b	b	v (or w)
j	y	y	y	y
				N

As Table 5 shows, the problematic issues concern representation of palatalization and aspiration, of the bilabial approximant /w/, and of the archiphoneme N. As far as the grapheme N is concerned, it is used to represent morphemic structure in cases of morphophonological changes. For example, the irrealis prefix when it precedes the plosive-initial verb root, can take the form of [n], [m], [ŋ] depending on the adjacent plosive. When the graphemes *m* and *n* are used to represent the above allophones, one of the allophones [ŋ] is ignored in this shallow orthography.

To indicate orthographically palatalization, realized on stops, fricatives, a nasal, and a liquid, two choices are available. The first option is to use a sequence <Cy>, e.g. ***py****arentsi* 'manioc beer', ***ty****aapa* 'chicken', *avava****ky****a* 'we'll [let's] eat together', ***ny****aantsi* 'word', *nona****ry****aka* 'I lay down'. The second option is to use the sequence <Cy> with the alveolar stop t, the sequence <Ci> with stops *p, k* and liquid ɾ, and utilize the Spanish grapheme <*ñ*> to mark the palatal nasal *ɲ,* e.g. ***pi****arentsi* 'manioc beer'*, avava****ki****a* 'we'll eat together'*, **ñ****aantsi* 'word'*, nona****ri****aka* 'I lay down'. The first approach enables maintenance of consistency in the representation of palatalization and an adequate expression of words whereas the second approach is inconsistent (we apply <Cy> with the alveolar stop but with bilabial and velar stops use <Ci>; to mark palatalization of the nasal stop, a separate symbol is used) and does not represent the words effectively.

Aspiration could be marked on the alveolar affricate by using different digraphs, <*ts*> for aspirated affricate and <*tz*> for unaspirated one, e.g. *o****ts****i****tz****i* 'dog', ***tz****ima****ts****i* 'there is'. Alternatively, the same digraph <*ts*> can be used for both, e.g. *o****ts****i****ts****i, **ts****ima****ts****i*. The third option is to use the grapheme <*t*> for the unaspirated affricate, e.g *o****ts****i****t****i, **t****ima****ts****i*. When asked to write down recorded narratives and conversations of fellow speakers, Ashéninka

Perené language consultants used these techniques intermittently. Considering the available options of marking aspiration, the first solution seems more attractive since it avoids ambiguity, which will inevitably present a challenge to the readers who are not proficient in the language, by assigning different digraphs to different phonemes. The second and third solutions, although simpler, are likely to confuse a non-fluent reader and writer, and do not adequately represent spoken words.

Finally, this grammar uses <*v*> to write [w] and [β̩]. Unlike other proposals that use <*b*> to represent the bilabial approximant, this study's recommended <v> is closer to the representation of the sound produced by native speakers. Ultimately, these problems have to be worked out with the community and with the community's needs in mind for the practical orthography to function effectively. Perhaps as more Ashéninka Perené speakers become familiar with the proposed writing conventions, these issues will be resolved through writing workshops and informal discussions within the community.

2.8 Morphophonemics

The phonological processes discussed in this subsection deal with lenition (§2.8.1), epenthesis (§2.8.2), deletion (§2.8.3), and sibilant contrast (§2.8.4), which occur at the boundaries between a prefix and a root, a root and a suffix, a root and a root, and a suffix and a suffix. Some of these phonological processes are found in other Kampan varieties such as Ashéninka Apurucayali (Payne 1981:107-152), Ashéninka Pichis (Payne 1983), Nanti (Michael 2008:227-8, 230-1), Caquinte (Swift 1988:107-23).

2.9.1 Lenition

The initial plosive element of the bilabial /p/ and velar /k/ in nouns is lost before vowels, resulting in the plosives becoming semivowels /w/ and /j/ respectively. It occurs when the possessive proclitics 1SG *no*=, 2SG *pi*=, 3SG masculine *i*=, 3SG non-masculine *o*=, 1PL *a*= adjoin the plosive-initial noun root. Examples are provided in (2.55).

2.55 LENITION OF P→W, K→J

	'my_'	'your _'	'his_'	'her_'	'our_'
***p**itotsi* 'canoe'	*novito*	*pivito*	*ivito*	*ovito*	*avito*
***p**ava* 'god'	*novavani*	*pivavani*	*ivavani*	*ovavani*	*avavani*
***k**oka* 'coca'	*no**y**okani*	*pi**y**okani*	*i**y**okani*	***y**okani*	***y**okani*
***k**aniri* 'manioc'	*no**y**aniri*	*pi**y**aniri*	*i**y**aniri*	***y**aniri*	***y**aniri*
***k**ami* 'rotten leaf'	*no**y**amini*	*pi**y**amini*	*i**y**amini*	***y**amini*	***y**amini*

When the velar stop is followed by the high front vowel, the lenition process results in the loss of the velar plosive, as shown in (2.56).

2.56 LENITION OF K→Ø

	'my_'	'your_'	'his_'	'her_'	'our_'
***k**itsarentsi* 'clothes'	*noitsari*	*piitsari*	*iitsari*	*oitsari*	*aitsari*
***k**itzitsi* 'leg'	*noitzi*	*piitzi*	*iitzi*	*oitzi*	*aitzi*
***k**ishitsi* 'hair'	*noishi*	*piishi*	*iishi*	*oishi*	*aishi*
***k**ipatsi* 'land'	*noipatsite*	*piipatsite*	*iipatsite*	*oipatsite*	*aipatsite*
***k**itsoki* 'egg'	*noitsoki*	*piitsoki*	*iitsoki*	*oitsoki*	*aitsoki*

The lenition process is also found at the root-root boundary in noun compounds. An example is provided in (2.57). In (2.57), the nominal stems -*vatsa* 'meat' and -*pori*- 'foot, muscle' are combined into the noun compound -v*ats**a**-vori*- 'meat-muscle', which follows the verbal stem *shiriNka* 'grow'. The plosive /p/ in *pori* 'muscle' has undergone

the process of lenition, becoming semivowel /w/ after the word-final vowel /a/ in *vatsa* ‘flesh, meat’.

2.57 *Ishirinkavatsavori.*
i=shiriNka**-**vatsa**-pori-**t-an-ah-i
3m.S=grow-flesh-**muscle**-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL
‘He grew back muscle in his flesh.’

2.9.2 Epenthesis

*Vowel addition.*The language phonotactics does not allow consonant clusters syllable-internally and across syllable boundaries. To conform to this constraint, the epenthetic segment *-a-* is used on the syllable boundary between two consonants, as shown in (2.58-2.59).

2.58 *Okantavityata.*
o=kaNt-**a**-vi-t-ia=ta
3n.m.S=happen-**EP**-FRUS-EP-IRR=OPT
‘It won’t matter.’

2.59 *Nirayetzi.*
n=ir-**a-**ye-tz-i
1SG.S=drink-**EP**-DIST-EP-REAL
‘I drink each of them.’

Consonant addition. The language phonotactics does not allow onsetless syllables word-internally. To comply with this constraint, the epenthetic element *t* is used intervocalically, as shown in (2.60).

2.60 *Kameetsatakerika.*
kameetsa-**t**-ak-e=rika
good-**EP**-PRF-IRR=COND
‘Whether it is good [or not].’

The epenthetic segment /t/ has two allophones, *t* [t] and *tz* [ts], the latter found before the high front vowel [i] in realis status suffix *–i*. Examples are given in (2.61-2.62).

2.61 *Ihatzi pareniki*.
i=ha-**tz-i** pareni-ki
3m.S=go-**EP**-**REAL** river-LOC
'He went to the river.'

2.62 *Inevetaro ihate pareniki.*
i=neve-t-a=ro i=ha-**t-e** pareni-ki
3m.A=like-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=IRR-go-**IRR** river-LOC
'He liked to go to the river.'

2.9.3. Vowel deletion

The vowels of the possessive proclitics 1SG *no*=, 2SG *pi*=, 3SG masculine *i*=[12], 3SG non-masculine *o*=, 1PL *a*= are deleted when they are adjoined to vowel-initial noun roots, as seen in (2.63).

2.63 VOWEL LOSS *I, O, A*→*Ø* AT THE PROCLITIC-ROOT BOUNDARY

	'my_'	'your_'	'his_'	'her_'	'our_'
i*rantsi* 'blood'	*nirani*	*pirani*	*irani*	*irani*	*irani*
o*ketsi* 'eye'	*noki*	*poki*	[**ir**oki]	*oki*	*oki*
ai*kintsi* 'tooth'	*naiki*	*paiki*	[**ir**aiki]	*aiki*	*aiki*

Similarly, vowels of personal proclitics, which are identical with the possessive proclitics, are elided when the vowel-initial verb root follows them. Examples with verb roots *a* 'take', *ooya* 'wait' are provided in (2.64-2.65).

[12] The 3SG.masculine possessor proclitic exhibits allomorphy *i*=~*ir*=*Ø*. The distribution of the allomorphs is as follows: *i*= occurs with C-initial roots whereas *ir*= appears before *a/o*-initial roots. When the root is *i*-initial, zero marking occurs.

2.64 VOWEL LOSS *NO →N* AT THE PROCLITIC-ROOT BOUNDARY
Naakiro.
n**o**=a-ak-i=ro
1SG.A=take-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'I took it.'

2.65 VOWEL LOSS *PI →P* AT THE PROCLITIC-ROOT BOUNDARY
Pooyahena.
p**i=o**oya-ah-e=na
2A=wait-REGR-IRR=1SG.O
'Wait for me!'

Conversely, the vowel-initial noun and verb roots may be reduced when they are adjoined to the person or possessor markers. As seen in (2.66), the vowels which occur at the beginning of the noun root are merged with the vowels of possessive proclitics. As a result of this fusion, the long vowel /*i:*/ of the nominal root becomes short as in (2.66) while short vowels /*a*/ and /*i*/ are elided in (2.67).

2.66 VOWEL SHORTENING *I:→I* AT THE RPOCLITIC-ROOT BOUNDARY

	'my_'	'your_'	'his_'	'her_'	'our_'
***ii**tontsi* 'head'	*noito*	*piito*	*iito*	*oito*	*aito*
***ii**shintsi* 'hair'	*noishi*	*piishi*	*iishi*	*oishi*	*aishi*

2.67 VOWEL LOSS *A→Ø, I→Ø* AT THE RPOCLITIC-ROOT BOUNDARY

***a**kiri* 'nose'	*nokiri*	*pikiri*	*ikiri*	*okiri*	*akiri*
***i**kentsi* 'neck'	*nokentsi*	*pikentsi*	*ikentsi*	*ikentsi*	*akentsi*

2.9.4 Sibilant neutralization

The sibilants alveolar /s/ and palatal /ʃ/ are in complementary distribution when they interact with the vowel-initial units on the syllable boundary. When the /s/-final root is followed by high front vowels /i/ or /e/, the alveolar sibilant becomes a palatal sibilant /ʃ/. This context-dependent variation involves neutralization with respect to place of

articulation, interpreted here as a process of palatalization of an underlying /s/.The sibilant-final verb roots *avis~avish* ‘pass’ and *pos~posh* ‘hit’, exemplified in (2.68-2.71), have only one representation in citation speech, namely *avis* ‘pass’ and *pos* ‘hit’.

2.68 *Avisaki osheki osarentsi.*
avi**s-a**k-i osheki osarentsi
pass-PRF-REAL many year
‘Many years passed.’

2.69 *Pavishi.*
p=avi**sh-e**
2S=pass-IRR
‘Enter!’

2.70 *Oposakina tampyaa.*
o=po**s-a**k-i=na taNpyaa
3n.m.A=hit-PRF-REAL=1SG.O wind
‘I was hit by the wind.’

2.71 *Noposhiro mapi.*
no=po**sh-i**=ro mapi
1SG.A=hit-REAL=3n.m.O stone
‘I struck the stone.’

Chapter 3
Morphology

This chapter focuses on the morphology of Ashéninka Perené. The distinction between phonological and grammatical word in Ashéninka is discussed in §3.1. A brief sketch of morphological typology is provided in §3.2, followed by an account of free and bound morphemes, including roots, affixes, clitics, and particles in §3.3. A detailed outline of word classes is provided in §3.4.

3.1 Grammatical word vs. phonological word in Ashéninka Perené

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words (Haspelmath 2002:1). There is a need to define the notion of word first before I discuss Ashéninka morphological structures. Two types of words will be considered, grammatical and phonological ones. It is important for grammar-writing and lexicographic purposes to distinguish between the two types of word.

The phonological word is established on phonological criteria. A phonological word must have "at least one property... from the following areas: segmental features, including word boundary phenomena; prosodic features such as stress and/or tone assignment and vowel harmony; the domain of application of phonological rules" (Dixon 2010a:32). The criteria for a phonological word in Ashéninka are two-fold: it must have at least two syllables and be subject to other phonotactic constraints (see the minimal word requirement in §2.6 and phonotactic constraints in §2.7) and phonological rules; and it has (largely predictable) stress (see §2.5 on stress placement). For example, *no.ˊvo.ri.ki* no=pori-ki [1SG.poss=thigh-LOC] 'from my thigh' has second-syllable

stress, satisfies the minimal word requirement (it has 4 syllables), is subject to the morphophonemic weakening rule which states that the initial plosive in nouns becomes semivowel /w/ when possessive proclitics adjoin the noun root. Additionally, we can recognize *novoriki* as a phonological word on the basis of small pause occurring at its right boundary when it is found in a clause (the boundary is indicated by //), as seen in (3.1).

3.1 *Novoriki // yaaitakina haka.*
no=pori-ki y=a-ai-t-ak-i=na haka
1SG.poss=thigh-LOC 3m.A=take-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O here
'From my thigh, they took from here.'

Note that literate consultants tend to insert a space between grammatical words. Curiosly, they write down reduplicated verb roots as separate phonological words rather than string them together as parts of one grammatical word, as shown in (3.2).

3.2 **Okiva kivatzi.*
o=**kivakiva**~tz-i
3n.m.S=**wash.a.lot**~EP-REAL
'She was washing a lot of clothes.'

The second type of word, a grammatical one, is the basic unit for grammatical operations. Grammatical words in Ashéninka Perené are generally composed of strings of concatenated morphemes, which include roots and layers of formatives (affixes, clitics, particles). For the purpose of the grammatical description of the language, the grammatical word is the most relevant since it serves as a basic unit of morphological description. By definition, a grammatical word is established on grammatical criteria and is the product of morphological process (e.g. compounding, reduplication, shift of stress,

affixation, etc.), applied to its lexical root(s) to express a conventionalized meaning (Dixon 2010a:13). In Ashéninka Perené, grammatical words are defined on morphological and syntactic criteria. A morphological property restricted to a certain word class found in the language serves as the morphological criterion for a grammatical word. This criterion may apply with respect to inflections on verbs and nouns. For example, aspectual distinctions such as durative *–vai,* progressive *–aty~-atz*, perfective *–ak*, etc. are restricted to verbs only exemplified by (3.3).

3.3 *Pinyaavaite.*
pi=nyaa-**vai**-t-e
2S=speak-**DUR**-EP-IRR
'Speak!'

Case is an example of morphological category, largely restricted to the noun class. The polyfunctional locative case marker *–ki* is found with nouns (or associated with the noun elements), as given in (3.4).

3.4 *Nakoki karakina.*
n=ako-**ki** kar-ak-i=na
1SG.poss=arm-**LOC** break-PRF-REAL=1S.O
'I broke my arm.'

By making reference to the word-class-specific morphological category, these morphological forms serve as evidence for the notion of grammatical word. Some morphological processes can also be word-class-specific, e.g. reduplication is limited to the verbs and onomatopoeic forms. The syntactic criterion for independent grammatical words is based on distribution of grammatical words. In (3.5), an adverb is discontinuous with the verb.

3.5 *Pairani nocharinite ipaitziro nihaa Meantarini.*
pairani no=charini-te **i=pai-tz-i=ro**
long.ago 1SGposs= grandpa-poss **3m.A=call-EP-REAL=3n.m.O**

nihaa Meantarini
river name
'Long ago our ancestors called the river Meantarini.'

Additionally, the writing habits of literate language consultants generally indicate what type of word we are dealing with; they tend to insert spaces around a grammatical word, although in some cases they place word boundaries around a larger phonological unit. For example, the phonological word *poo* (which violates phonotactic constraints on a phonological word), an ideophone imitating a hitting sound is often written attached to the noun whose referent indicates the area of penetration as seen in (3.6).

3.6 **Noitokipoo!*
no=ito-ki **poo**
1SG.poss=head-LOC **IDEO**
'(It hit) my head, bam!'

In general, speakers tend to make small pauses between grammatical words (which often coincide with phonological words) but not within a word.

Examples of grammatical words in Ashéninka Perené will be inflected verbs and nouns as well as unbound nominal roots which constitute the core of the grammatical word, with formatives attached to the root serving as parts of the grammatical word. For example, a free unpossessed noun root *pava* 'god' is a grammatical word which derives a possessed noun *ivavani i=pava-ni* [3m.poss=deity-poss] 'their god'. A repeated onomatopoeic word form *tsikiri-tsikiri* 'sound of liquid gushing out in a stream' is also a grammatical word and so is the noun compound *incha-tonki* [plant-long.segment] 'wood

plank' which consists of two noun roots[13]. The negative particle *te* and the interjection *akayave,* used to express pain, are examples of independent grammatical words; others are free pronouns, demonstratives, locative adverbs, interrogatives, adverbs.

In the majority of cases, phonological and grammatical words coincide in Ashéninka Perené. However, there may be a few mismatches. For example, the compound noun is a grammatical word which includes two phonological words as in the class term *'in.cha-'ko.ta* [plant-piece] 'split wood' where stress applies to each part of the nominal compound. Conversely, a single phonological word can consist of two grammatical words. For example, *te oniNte* te'niNt-e [NEG.REAL.want-IRR] 'she didn't want' is realized in fast speech as one phonological word, with the negative particle *te* cliticizing to the verb. As a result, two grammatical words fuse into a single phonological word. The stress serves as the litmus test for the identification of a phonological word. Note that the negative particle *te* routinely forms one phonological word with vowel-initial predicates.

3.2 Morphological typology

Morphological typology is based on the extent to which words of a given language are divisible into "clearly individuated morphemes" (Payne 1997:27). Ashéninka Perené is a highly polysynthetic language whose words tend to consist of multiple morphemes. Polysynthesis involves internal morphological complexity when large numbers of lexical and grammatical morphemes are combined within one word (Aikhenvald 2007:5). On the

[13] The N+N compounds (e.g. *incha-tonki* 'wood plank') and N+CL (e.g. *kanai-ki* [Long John tree-CL: social.insect] 'insect living in the Long John tree' combinations are distinguished on the basis of distributional and structural properties, and semantics of their parts. The compound parts can occur independently in discourse; each part is semantically transparent and does not undergo loss of phonological substance. The second elements of the N+CL combinations need a host to be integrated into discourse; they typically exhibit bleached semantics and phonological reduction.

basis of Aikhenvald's (2007) definitional criteria of polysynthesis, the following traits characterize polysynthesis in Ashéninka Perené.

(i) Noun incorporation, as illustrated by (3.7).

3.7 *Amamenkotziyetaki.*
ama-**menkotzi**-ye-t-ak-i
3n.m.S.swim-**disheveled.head**-DIST-EP-PRF-REAL
'Many heads floated [in the river].'

(ii) A large inventory of bound morphemes.

(iii) Extremely productive derivational processes.

(iv) Polypersonalism, that is cross-referencing of A, S, O and sometimes other arguments on the verb and possessors on the nominal form.

(v) Integration of adverbial (manner, time, direction, degree) elements into the verb complex, as shown in (3.8-3.9).

3.8 *Haitetaki.*
ha-**ite**-t-ak-i=Ø
go-**quickly**-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'She went quickly.'

3.9 *Ikemakanintari.*
i=kem-aka-**niNt**-a=ri
3m.A=listen-CAUS-**DIM**-REAL=3m.O
'He made him listen a little bit.'

(vi) Many possible affixal slots, with a few of them obligatory.

Polysynthetic languages are often agglutinating, so is Ashéninka Perené. Its morpheme boundaries are clearly identifiable, with little allomorphic variation. Each morpheme typically has one meaning. However, there are a few exceptions exemplified by fused portmanteau inflections such as first and third person clitics *no*= 1SG, *a*=1PL,

=na 1SG, *=ai* 1PL, *i=* 3m, *o=* 3n.m, *=ri* 3m and *=ro* 3n.m. which refer to more than one grammatical category (person, number, or gender).

A typical property of polysynthetic languages is head-marking: syntactic relations are marked on the head rather than on the dependent. The head is the element that determines the syntactic function of the whole phrase (Payne 1997:31). The marking of the possessor on the noun is an example of head-marking as in *novaNko* no=paNko [1SG.poss=house] 'my house'. Another instance of head marking such as cross-referencing of the core verb arguments on the verb and manipulation of other arguments through applicatives and classifiers, also marked on the verb, is illustrated by (3.10-3.11) respectively.

3.10 *Ikantziro.* .
i=kaNt-tz-i=**ro**
3m.A=say-EP-REAL=**3n.m.O**
'He said to her.'

3.11 *Okoyekitaki.*
o=koye**-ki-**t-ak-i
3n.m.S=gather-**CL:small.round**-EP-PRF-REAL
'She has harvested coffee beans.'

Morphological processes in Ashéninka Perené include cliticization, prefixation, suffixation, infixation, reduplication, compounding, and noun incorporation which will be addressed in detail in §3.4.

3.3 Formative classes

3.3.1 Definitions of free and bound morphemes, roots, formatives

In this section, I will briefly discuss some terms used in this account of Ashéninka morphology. *Morphemes* are defined as "the smallest meaningful constituents of

linguistic expression" (Haspelmath 2002:16). Words are multimorphemic in Ashéninka. For example, the word *nonoshikakemirika* 'if I pull you' consists of six meaningful units or morphemes: the verb root *noshik* 'pull', two phrasal personal clitics *no=* '1SG.S' and *=mi* '2O', clausal conditional enclitic *=rika,* and two affixes *–ak* 'perfective aspect' and *–e* 'irrealis status'. *Free* morphemes are realized as phonologically and syntactically independent units. Free morphemes are unpossessed nouns, adjectives, adverbs, clause connectors, demonstratives, pronouns, interjections, ideophones, and particles. *Bound* morphemes are always morphological entities that must be attached to some other morpheme in order to be integrated into discourse (Payne 1997:21). Roots, affixes, and clitics are examples of bound morphemes. In polysynthetic languages like Ashéninka Perené, there are more bound than free morphemes. Bound morphemes are all verbs, obligatorily possessed nouns, classifiers, affixes, and clitics. Clitics are represented by the equation sign = while other bound elements are indicated by hyphens, e.g. classifier *–ki* 'small, round' as in *tsoiro-ki* 'snail species'; adjectivizer *-ri* as in *santsa-ri* [be.thin-ADJ] 'thin'; causative prefix *v-*, directional, perfective, and realis suffixes *–ap, -ak, -i* respectively, and personal clitics *i=* '3m.S'and *=na* '1SG.O' as in *Ivaniitapakina* i=v-anii-t-ap-ak-i=na [3m.A=CAUS-go.down-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O] 'He took me down'. Affixes are positioned closer to the root while clitics appear on the outside boundaries of the word.

Root is defined as "an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word" (Payne 1997:24). There are unbounded and bounded roots in Ashéninka. Unbounded roots are at least disyllabic and form independent grammatical and phonological words as in *ari* 'positive polarity verb', *kametsa* 'be good', *iri* 'he'. Verbal

roots are always bound. Examples of monosyllabic verb roots are *na* ‘to be’, *ny* ‘to see’, *nya* ‘to speak’, (*o)v* ‘to eat’, ‘to kill’, *p* ‘to give’, *a* ‘to take’, *ir* ‘to drink’. Examples of disyllabic roots are *tsarov* ‘to fear’, *shitov* ‘to run/escape’, *nimo* ‘to like’. Some polysyllabic roots appear to be derived from other forms as in *kiNkitsa* ‘to tell’, *kamatsa* ‘to crawl (on the floor)’, *kimisaNt* ‘to pay attention’, *apishoiNk* ‘to throw’. Nominal roots that are obligatorily possessed are always bound, e.g. *oito* ‘head, *yeNpita* ‘ear’, *paNte* ‘mouth’, *kishi* ‘hair’, *tzinko* ‘tail’, *yeNka* ‘fat’. Examples of unbound nominal roots are *mapi* ‘stone’, *ani* ‘brother-in-law’, *maini* ‘bear’, *shiro* ‘dove’, *nihaa* ‘water’, *tzivana* ‘pineapple’, *chamaNto* ‘woodpecker’. Examples of independent adjectival roots, adverbial roots, and function words are *kiNkivaro* ‘old’, *iyaani* ‘small’, *kapeechi* ‘little’, *osheki* ‘many’, *hiri* ‘here’, *pairani* ‘long ago’, *ironyaaka* ‘now’.

Many roots are polyfunctional, i.e. one form can belong to different lexical categories. For example, verbal root *shintsi* ‘be strong’ is an adverb in (3.12), verb in (3.13), noun in (3.14), and adjective in (3.15).

3.12 *Shintsini tekirata ontsiteniteta.*
shintsi-ni tekira=ta o=N-tsiteni-t-e=ta
be.strong-ADV not.yet=OPT 3n.m.S=IRR-dark-EP-IRR=OPT
‘Hurry up before it gets dark!’

3.13 *Pishintsitahatyera.*
pi=**shintsi**-t-ah-aty-e=ra
2S=**be.strong**-EP-REGR-PROG-IRR=ADV
‘Hurry up, will you?’

3.14 *Evankari tzimatsi ishintsinka.*
evaNkari tzimatsi i=**shintsi**-Nka
young.man EXIST 3m.poss=**be.strong**-NMZ
‘The young man has strength.’

3.15 *Shintsiri okanta shivitsa.*
shintsi-ri o=kaNt-a shivitsa
be.strong-ADJ 3n.m.S=be-REAL rope
'The rope is strong.'

Formatives are morphemes which do not head phrases, govern or are governed, or trigger/undergo agreement (Bickel &Nichols 2007:172-3). In Ashéninka Perené, formatives include affixes, clitics and particles. A distinction can be made between *core* and *peripheral* formatives, following the definitional criteria proposed by Epps (2006:166-7). The two types of formatives are identified on the basis of their distance from the root and the degree of their phonological integration with it. The core formatives in Ashéninka include affixes while peripheral formatives are made of clitics and particles. As far as their distance to the root is concerned, core formatives are positioned closer to the root while peripheral forms appear on the outside boundaries of the word; peripheral forms (clitics and particles) are always external to the core formatives (affixes). The verbal template is summarized below.

Particle	Proclitic=	Prefix-	ROOT	-Suffix	=Enclitic

The nominal template typically corresponds to the following.

Proclitic=	ROOT	-Suffix	=Enclitic

When it comes to the degree of their phonological integration with the root, the core formatives tend to bear stress and participate in morphophonemic processes. In contrast, peripheral formatives are generally not stressed. However, because these two groups of formatives are themselves internally heterogeneous, the distinction between them is

gradient, which makes challenging, in particular, the classification of person and possessor morphemes.

This analysis does not include the derivational or inflectional functions of Ashéninka formatives as a definitional criterion. Arguably, derivational morphology, though non-obligatory, is more relevant to the concept expressed by the root, which motivates its close proximity to it. In contrast, inflectional operations are often grammatically required in order to create fully-formed words but are less relevant to the root, hence their peripheral placement on the word boundary (Payne 1997:25-6). Ashéninka does not appear to abide by this cross-linguistically common ordering principle. In Ashéninka, some inflectional formatives can be found both next to the root, e.g. plural number marker *–het,* and on the periphery of the verbal word, like aspect and realis status markers *-ak* 'perfective' and *–i* 'realis status', as shown in (3.16).

3.16 *Isaikahetapaki Metaroki.*
i=saik-a-**he-**t-ap-**ak-i** Metaro-ki
3m.S=be.in-EP-**PL**-EP-DIR[14]-**PRF-REAL** village's.name-LOC
'They all settled down in Metraro.'

Associated with inflectional morphology, the criterion of obligatoriness of the formative is not used here either, on the grounds that the obligatory forms in Ashéninka include both core and peripheral formatives. For example, a well-formed verb has to be minimally inflected for subject and reality status as in *Piri* p=ir-e [2S=drink-IRR] 'Have

[14] In this analysis, directionals *–ap* 'goal', *-an* 'source', *-av* 'O-oriented goal' are placed on the continuum from inflection to derivation as 'intermediate' items since they have both derivational and inflectional properties. On the one hand, directionals are non-obligatory; on the other hand, the directionals *–ap* and *–an*, in addition to their basic directional senses, express aspectual meanings of perfectivity ('do something on arrival') and ingressivity ('begin doing something') respectively; the directional *–av* essentially codes a semantic patient in the proposition.

a drink!' that comprises the S/A cross-referencing proclitic *p=* , a peripheral formative, and the realis status suffix *–i* which appears on the core boundary.

The next section will describe affixes, which is a heterogeneous group of formatives, closely associated with the root.

3.3.2 Core formatives: affixes

Affixes are defined as "short morphemes with an abstract meaning" (Haspelmath 2002: 18). Ashéninka Perené is mainly suffixing, with only a few prefixes, which is typical of many Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999:80). There are only two prefixal slots that precede the root, as opposed to a large number of formatives that follow it. Suffixes tend to occur in a fixed order, but some may be found in a different position on the verb template. There are about 40 verbal suffixes and about 39 nominal suffixes, and most of them are category-specific. Affixes may be monosyllabic or have a di- or trisyllabic phonological form. There are also a few infixes and two discontinuous affixes (circumfixes).

Prefixes are exclusively verbal. The group of prefixes includes three members, the irrealis status *N-* and the causative prefixes malefactive *mi-* and causative *o-~oi-~ov-*. The causative prefixes are valence-adjusting and the irrealis status prefix refers to future temporality. Speakers disprefer to use both irrealis prefix *N-* and causative prefixes in the same slot and omit the prefixal irrealis status marker, indicating irrealis status by the irrealis suffix only, as seen in (3.17-3.18).

3.17 *Ivaniitapakina.*
i=**v**-anii-t-ap-ak-i=na
3m.A=**CAUS**-go.down-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O
'He took me down [when I was unconscious].'

3.18 *Ari ivaniitahena.*
ari i=**v**-anii-t-ah-e=na
PP 3m.A=**CAUS**-go.down-EP-REGR-IRR=1SG.O
'He will take me down.'

Verbal suffixes in Table 6 include verbal number, valence-adjusting/preserving, adverbial (manner, direction, time), aspectual and mood formatives. Some of them can occur with nouns and some with other word classes. For example, *–he* 'plural number', classifier *–ki* 'small, round', classifier *-poroki* 'bunch', group' are found with nouns as well. Verbs minimally require a reality status suffix when functioning as predicates.

The identification of the suffix zones in Table 6 is made on the basis of broad generalizations relating the formative class to its semantics and function. The indicated suffix zones include plural verb number, classifier, valence-adjusting/ preserving, adverbial, and aspectual/status suffix subsets.

In (3.20), the string of suffixes is comprised of the causative *–ak*, directional *–an*, perfective aspectual *–ak*, and realis status *–i* morphemes, the last two assigned to the same boundary suffix zone.

3.20 *Ikinakanakina intakironta.*
i=kin-**ak-an-ak-i**=na iNtakiro=Nta
3m.A=pass-**CAUS.SOC-DIR-PRF-REAL**=1SG.O inside=ADV
'He walked with me inside over there.'

TABLE 6. Verbal suffixes

Zone		Form	Function with verbs
Plural number suffix	1	*-he (…-ni)*	plural number
Classifier suffixes	2	*-ki*	classifier 'small, round'
	3	*-poroki*	classifier 'quantity'
	4	*-ako*	classifier 'vessel'
	5	*-shi*	classifier 'small, thin, flexible'
Valence-adjusting or valence-preserving suffixes	6	*-ak*	sociative causative
	7	*-ako*	generalized applicative
	8	*-veNt~-viNt*	beneficial applicative
	9	*-imo*	presential applicative
	10	*- pitsa*	separative applicative
	11	*-aNt*	instrumental/reason applicative
	12	*-ashi*	intent applicative
	13	*-av*	reciprocal
	14	*-ry*	reversative
	15	*-ai*	impersonal passive
	16	*-ye*	distributive
	17	*-pero~-piro*	intensifier 'indeed' (degree)
	18	*-ve~-vi*	frustrative
Adverbial suffixes	19	*-ap*	directional goal
	20	*-an*	directional source
	21	*-av*	directional O-oriented goal
	22	*-niNt*	almost, a little bit (degree)
	23	*-aman*	early
	24	*-ite*	quickly
	25	*-it*	temporal anteriority marker
Boundary suffix zone (aspectual, realis status suffixes)	26	*-apaiNt*	punctual ('once') aspect
	27	*-apanaNt*	iterative ('one more time')
	28	*-a*	repetitive aspect ('again and again')
	29	*-it*	incompletive (circumstantial) aspect
	30	*-ah*	regressive/terminative aspect
	31	*-ak*	perfective aspect
	32	*-ima*	inchoative aspect
	33	*-aNt*	customary aspect
	34	*-ap(i)iNt*	habitual aspect
	35	*-vai*	durative aspect
	36	*-aty~-atz*	progressive aspect
	37	*-atsi~-acha*	stativity marker
	38	*-ai(n)ts*	temporal stativity marker
	39	*-i/-a*	realis status
	40	*-e/-ia*	irrealis status

Although the rationale for assigning suffixes to a certain zone is largely determined by their semantics and function (e.g. formatives related to the valence mechanism are grouped together), each subset of formatives is heterogeneous, and in some cases it is difficult to predict their function on the basis of their placement within a certain zone. For example, the derivational suffix *–ve* 'frustrative' follows the aspectual suffix *–vai* 'durative' in (3.21).

3.21 *Iposavaivitakana.*
i=pos-a-**vai-ve**-t-ak-a=na
3m.A=hit-EP-**DUR-FRUS**-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O
'He kept slapping me [on the face but I didn't wake up].'

The frustrative suffix is expected to fill the position closer to the verb root but instead the durative aspect morpheme occurs first in the string[15]. Note that the placement of the formatives in the same zone does not preclude them from appearing in the same slot together. For example, the causative and instrumental suffixes in (3.22) are from the same valence-adjusting/preserving subset.

3.22 *Pishiyakantapaintero.*
pi=shiy-**ak-aNt-apaiNt-e**=ro
2A=be.similar-**CAUS-APPL.INST-once**-IRR=3n.m.O
'Take a picture.'

Nominal suffixes comprise of classifying, plural, distributive, locative, diminutive, possessive, and nominalizing morphemes, as seen in Tables 7-9.

[15] Such morphemes, exhibiting fluidity in their positioning within the zone, are not infrequent in Ashéninka varieties. For example, Payne notes that within the core formatives zone, in which up to five elements may occur, "the order of these elements is quite variable. I have witnessed on numerous occasions native speakers of Asheninka employing a verb with two or three suffixes…, switching the order of the suffixes around on successive repetitions of the verb" (2002: 491-2).

TABLE 7. Nominal suffixes[16]

No	Form	Function	Examples
1	*-ri~ro*	gender agreement suffix	*kishi**ri*** 'comb'
2	see Tables below	classifying morphemes	
3	*-ki*	locative case	*naNpitsi-ki* 'in the village'
4	*-paye*	plural number	*kooya-**paye*** 'women'
5	*-te,-ni,-ri*	possessive marker	*imachaki**te*** 'his beans'
6	*-rintsi~-rontsi, -(me)Nto,-Nka, -(n)tsi,-ri*	nominalizer	*saNkina**rentsi*** 'book' *itsaroN**ka-**ki-ni*** 'in their fear'
7	*-ite, -mashi, -saNte*	augmentative	*ivaNko**ite*** **'**his big house'; *oparaya**mashi*** 'big beach'
8	*-patsaini, -(i)ni, -aniki, -peta*	diminutive	*eentsi-**patsaini*** 'little kids', *oshiNt-**aniki*** 'her little daughter'

TABLE 8. Class terms as derivational suffixes

No	Form	Function	Examples
1	*-to*	tree, trunk	*incha**to*** 'tree'
2	*-shi*	leaf	*inchato**shi*** 'tree leaf'
3	*-ki*	seed, fruit	*kahai**ki*** 'coffee bean'
4	*-kii*	stick	*incha**kii*** 'long, thin branch'
5	*-chee*	thorn, spine	*savoro**chee*** **'**thorn of cane reed'
6	*-pa*	plantain	*tyokori**pa*** 'white plantain'
7	*-Nki*	snake	*noo**nki*** 'boa'
8	*-ki*	social insect	*imo**ki*** 'grub'
9	*-nari*	wild, demonic	*maniro**nari*** 'mythical personage'
10	*-tsori*	distant kinship	*yaya**tsori*** 'woman's cousin'
11	*-ni*	deceased human referent	*chooki**ni*** 'deceased sister'
12	*-satzi*	human provenance	*kishii**satzi*** 'person from mountainous grasslands'

TABLE 9. Nominal classifiers as derivational suffixes

	Classifier	Semantics	Examples
1	*-na*	long, hollow objects	*omoro**na*** 'hole'
2	*-naki*	round, hollow objects	*kovitsi**naki*** 'pot'
3	*-tsa*	long, thin, flexible objects	*paamari**tsa*** 'power line'
4	*- pi*	rigid, hollow objects	*chako**pi*** 'arrow'
5	*-shi*	small, thin, flexible objects	*novanko**shi*** 'my temporary shack'
6	*-ki*	small, round; hard objects	*potoo**ki*** 'tree sp.'
7	*-pa*	cylindrical, pod-like objects	*aka**pa*** 'avocado'
8	*-meNta*	flat, triangular objects	*incha**menta*** 'hiding place in the form of a triangle, formed by the tree roots'

[16] Details of the Ashéninka Perené nominal classification system are provided in Mihas 2010b.

The relative ordering of nominal suffixes is as follows.

NOUN ROOT	Nominalizer	Classifying morpheme	Possessive marker	Locative marker	Diminutive/augmentative marker Plural marker

Examples of nominal morphology are provided in (3.23-3.27).

3.23 *Tzimatsi ninchashitepatsaini.*
tzimatsi **n=**incha-**shi-te-patsaini**
EXIST **1SG.poss=**plant-**CL:small.flexible-poss-small.part.DIM**
'I have my little herbs.'

3.24 *Nontsiyakiri iitzikipatsaini.*
no=N-tsiy-ak-e=ri **i=**itzi-**ki-patsaini**
1SG.A=IRR-heat-PRF-IRR=3m.O **3m.poss=**foot-**LOC-small.part.DIM**
'I'll steam him, [directing the steam] to his little foot.'

3.25 *Ihatashitakiri ivankoshiki.*
i=ha-t-ashi-t-ak-i=ri
3m.A=go-EP-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O

i=paNko-**shi-ki**
3m.poss=house-**CL:small.flexible-LOC**
'He approached his shack.'

3.26 *Itsaronkakini ikantahetaki.*
i=tsaro-**Nka-ki-ni** i=kaNt-a-he-t-ak-i
3m.poss=fear-**NMZ-LOC-DIM** 3m.S=be-EP-PL-EP-PRF-REAL
'They were living with fear.'

3.27 *Kitaiterikipaye.*
kitaite-**ri-ki-paye**
be.morning-**NMZ-LOC-PL**
'Over the many days [which passed].'

Adjectives and adverbs also take suffixes. The same suffix can be assigned to multiple word classes including adjectives and adverbs. Some of the adjectival and

adverbial suffixes occur with nouns and/or verbs, e.g. *–ni, -ki, -ri, -ro, -ra*. In some cases, their meanings overlap, in other cases they are distinct, as shown in Table 10.

Examples of adjectives and adverbs are as follows: *iyaani-ni* [small-DIM] 'very small', *osheki-ni* 'a lot' [many-AUG] , *aNtaro-ite* [big-AUG]'very big', *o=v-ak-e-ra(-ni)* [3n.m.S=place-PRF-REAL-ADV(-ADV)]'recently', *shimaana-ki* [week-LOC] 'during the week', *mantsiy-a-ri* [be.sick-EP-ADJ] 'sick'.

TABLE 10. Suffixes which occur with multiple word classes

Form	Function			
	Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs
-ni	deceased noun referent; alienable possessive marker	augmentative; plural marker	diminuitive	augmentative
-ki	locative case		locative case	temporal marker
-ite	augmentative	quickly	augmentative	
-ri/-ro *-ri*	gender-sensitive agreement markers	person clitics nominalizing/relativizing clitic	gender-sensitive agreement markers; adjectivizer	
-ra	medial demonstrative clitic	adverbial subordinating clitic 'when'; adverbial clitic 'where'		adverbializer

3.3.3 Peripheral formatives: clitics and particles

Peripheral formatives (clitics and particles) are distinguished from core formatives (affixes) due (i) to their distribution, i.e. they are always external to core formatives, (ii) they tend to have more mobility: tendentially, their position may not be fixed with regard to the host or other clitics. Peripheral formatives include two particles (*te* 'negative realis' and *airo* 'negative irrealis') and clitics. There is a small class of proclitics and a larger

class of enclitics. Neither proclitics nor enclitics exist as independent words. By definition, clitics are phonologically bound forms which attach to hosts of diverse categories. Clitics are category-neutral, that is they are unrestricted as to the syntactic category of the word they attach to (Bickel & Nichols 2007:174,176). Fixed positition phrasal clitics (person and possessor clitics) occupy the slot adjacent to the head of the VP or NP whereas high mobility clausal clitics attach to their hosts in different positions in the clause. For example, demonstrative enclitics *=ka, =ra, =Nta* can attach to (i) nominals, (ii) verb stems where they function as adverbials, and (iii) to function words such as negative particle *te* where the demonstrative enclitic *=ra* has a causal sense 'as, since, because'. The above functions are illustrated by (3.28-3.30) respectively.

3.28 *noimiporokira*
no=imi-poroki=**ra**
1SG.poss=husband-bunch=**DEM**
'that husband, bag of bones'

3.29 *Osaikira...*
o=saik-i=**ra**
3n.m.S=be.at-REAL=**ADV**
'where she was'

3.30 *Tera noshirityaro…*
te=**ra** no=shiri-t-ia=ro
NEG.REAL=**ADV** 1SG.A=soul-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
'As I didn't think about it…'

I will briefly discuss here the status of person and possessor morphemes by drawing on the clitichood parameters proposed by Halpern (1998), Aikhenvald (2002), and Anderson (2005). The rationale for classifying person and possessor markers as phrasal clitics includes the following.

(i) The morphemes' prosodic dependence, i.e. clitics do not bear stress and are not counted for the purpose of stress assignment, as shown in §2.4.3.

(ii) Their external position with regard to affixes, i.e. person and possessor markers always occur outside all suffixes (see the verbal and nominal templates in §3.3.1).

(iii) Their syntactic function, i.e. person markers function as the core verb arguments; syntactic rules of the language are sensitive to the arguments that are coded on the verb and apply regardless of whether the referent NPs are present or not.

(iv) As far as the ordering of clitic strings is concerned, only clausal enclitics follow person enclitics; person proclitics are not preceded by any proclitics.

(v) Their relative selectivity (proclitics attach as subject markers to verbs, e.g. ***no=****hate* 'I will go' and as possessor marker to nouns, e.g. ***no=****shinto* 'my daughter'; they are used as enclitics for intransitive subject marking and object marking on verbs, e.g. *shitovahana* [shitov-ah-a**=na**] 'I ran away', *onyapahina* o=ny-ap-ah-i**=na** [3n.m.A=see-DIR-REGR-REAL=1SG.O] 'She saw me').

(vi) Person and possessor markers are associated with the morphological class of personal pronouns which tend to grammaticalize into clitics before they develop further into affixes (see §3.4.5 for the development of pronominal bound forms in Ashéninka Perené).

Nevertheless, proclitics show signs of affix-like behavior when they trigger phonological adjustments in their host and undergo adjustments themselves (see §2.7 on morphophonemic processes involving proclitics). Person enclitics in O function do not delete when they appear in the clause along with coreferential focused pronouns (see §3.4.5 for detailed discussion of the focused pronouns and their distribution). S/A person

proclitics and possessor proclitics are obligatory, thus showing more affix-like characteristics than person enclitics, which are optional. In sum, Ashéninka Perené person clitics are closer to the affix end of the clitic grammaticalization continuum *independent word* > *clitic* > *affix*, considering that clitics are defined as procodically deficient elements which occupy "a particular place within a multidimentional continuum, from a fully bound to a fully independent morpheme" (Aikhenvald 2002:43).

A list of Ashéninka proclitics is provided in Table 11; enclitics are listed in Table 12.

TABLE 11. Proclitics

Host	Form	Function	Other functions
Verbal predicate	*n(o)=*	1pSG subject	1pSG possessor (nouns)
	p(i)=	2p subject	2p possessor (nouns)
	i=,y=, ir=	3p masculine subject	3p masculine possessor (nouns)
	o=	3p non-masculine subject	3p non-masculine possessor (nouns)
	a=	1pPL subject	1pPL possessor (nouns)

As Table 12 shows, enclitics perform various functions. Demonstrative enclitics which combine with nouns are used to draw the hearer's attention to an entity and indicate its approximate location. Personal enclitics which attach to verbal predicates cross-reference O arguments. Other enclitics code subordination, mood categories, or pragmatic functions. There are four 'floating' pragmatic enclitics which have an emphatic meaning when attached to any constituent in the clause. Examples of enclitics are provided in (3.31-3.35).

TABLE 12. Verbal enclitics

Host	Form	Function	Other functions
Primarily nominal	=*ka*	proximal demonstrative	locative adverbial on verbs
	=*ra*	medial demonstrative	locative adverbial on verbs
	=*Nta*	distal demonstrative	locative adverbial on verbs
Primarily verbal	=*na*	1SG.O argument	
	=*mi*	2O argument	
	=*ri*	3masculine O argument	relativizer, adjectivizer, nominalizer suffixes
	=*ro*	3non-masculine O argument	nominalizer
	=*ni*	3 person recipient/ beneficiary; unspecified for gender	verbal plural suffix, augmentative suffix, nominal possessive suffix, nominal 'deceased referent' marker
	=*ai*	1PL O argument	
	=*ri*	relativizer	nominalizer suffix, adjectivizer suffix
	=*ni*	relativizer	adverbializer
	=*ra*	locative adverbial 'where'	medial demonstrative on nouns; temporal subordinating clitic 'when'
	=*raNki*	fused time adverbial/past	past tense marker on nouns
	=*(tai)ma*	dubitative	emphatic marker on non-verbal constituents?
	=*mi*	counterfactual condition marker	avertive marker; marker of frustrative modality; affective marker on verbs
	=*rika*	possible conditional clause linker 'if'	temporal clause marker 'when'
	=*ka*	interrogative	locative adverbial on verbs; proximal demonstrative on nouns
	=*ta*	optative	emphatic marker on non-verbal constituents?
	=*kari*	undesirable possible consequence clause linker 'lest'	single-clause warning marker
Attach indiscriminately to various hosts	=*ha*	contradictory emphasis	
	=*tya*	non-contradictory emphasis	temporal suffix 'almost' on time adverbs
	=*kya*	O focus marker?	
	=*ve*	general focus marker	

3.31 *Tzimatsi ninchashipatsaini nopankitzirira.*
tzimatsi n=incha-shi-patsa-ini no=paNki-tz-i=**ri=ra**
EXIST 1SG.poss=plant-leaf-part-DIM 1SG.A=plant-EP-REAL=**REL=ADV**
'I have herbs which I planted there.'

3.32 *Novayetziri inchashi nonkaatantyariri mantsiyari.*
no=v-a-ye-tz-i=ri incha-shi
1SG.A=place-EP-DIST-EP-REAL=REL plant-leaf

no=N-kaa-t-aNt-ia=**ri=ri** mantsiy-a-ri
1SG.A=bathe-EP-APPL.REAS-IRR=**3m.O=REL** be.sick-EP-ADJ
'The leaves that I put here are for bathing the sick in steam.'

3.33 *Tekirata yookerota yametahetari pairani.*
tekira=ta y=ook-e=**ro=ta**
not.yet=OPT 3m.A=throw-IRR=**3n.m.O=OPT**

y=amet-a-he-t-a=ri pairani
3m.S=be.accustomed-EP-PL-EP-REAL=REL long ago
'They haven't yet abandoned what they were accustomed to long ago.'

3.34 *Orave ikantaitzironta tzivi.*
ora=ve i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=**ro=Nta** tzivi
that.n.m.=G.FOC 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=**3n.m.O=ADV** salt
'This over there they call it salt.'

3.35 *Nonkitsatavakyatatyakya.*
no=N-kitsa-t-av-ak-ia=**ta=tya=kya**
1SG.S=IRR-dress-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=**OPT=N.C.FOC=O.FOC**
'I am going to dress [somebody].'

Ashéninka Perené enclitics often pile up. When more than one enclitic attaches to a host, the enclitics tend to appear in a certain order. The first layer of verbal enclitics consists of low mobility personal clitics. Their position is always fixed with respect to their host. The second layer includes subordination and mood categories clitics, followed by the final layer of pragmatic enclitics. The template of primarily verbal enclitics is given below.

ROOT	Affixes	Personal enclitics	Subordination enclitics Mood categories enclitics	Pragmatic enclitics

The ordering of nominal enclitics is as follows.

ROOT	Affixes	Demonstrative enclitics *=ka, =ra, =Nta* Past tense enclitic *=raNki*	Pragmatic enclitics

When attached to the nominal host, the second position demonstrative enclitics are followed by emphatic enclitics, as seen in (3.36-3.37).

3.36 *Picheckero inchapanki novanikintave.*
pi=chek-e=ro incha-paNki no=vani-ki=**Nta=ve**
2A=cut-IRR=3m.O plant-plank 1SG.poss=plot-LOC=**ADV=EXCL**
'Please cut the wood on my land.'

3.37 *Kimitaka avaniranki.*
kimit-ak-a a=vani=**raNki**
seem-PRF-REAL 1PL.poss=plot.of.land=**ADV.P**
'It seems that this is our land [although we don't own it now][17].'

There are two grammatical particles in Ashéninka Perené, the preverbal negative morphemes *te* 'negative realis' and *airo* 'negative irrealis'. Particles are phonologically free units (Bickel & Nichols 2007:173). Although the negative particle *te* tends to cliticize to the verb and to participate in vowel hiatus processes if the verb is vowel-initial, it may be treated as an independent phonological word since it can receive stress when other clausal constituents can come between it and the host. When it happens,

[17] The adverbial past enclitic *=raNki* is used on nouns to indicate that the referent of the noun no longer exists or functions as such, or when the possessive relationship has ended.

pause marks the boundaries of the phonological words. Examples of the particle are given in (3.38-3.39).

3.38 *Te naaka nonpashiventya.*
te naaka no=N-pashiveNt-ia
NEG.REAL I 1SG.S=IRR-be.embarrassed-IRR
'I am not embarrassed.'

3.39 *Te antaroite aye.*
te aNtaro-ite ay-e
NEG.REAL big-AUG take-IRR
'She didn't gather a lot [of fruit].'

The particle *te* is classed as such because in most cases it functions as a 'bound' form, lacking stress and pause phenomena. However, since in some cases it meets the criteria for an independent phonological word, it occupies the position between a clitic and an independent word.

3.3.4 Other morphological processes in Asháninka Perené

After addressing affixation and cliticization in §3.3.2 and §3.3.3, I will discuss in this section other morphological operations such as infixation, circumfixation, reduplication, noun compounding, and noun incorporation.

Infixation is infrequently found with numeral and adverbial roots, as illustrated in (3.40-3.41). In (3.40), the reduced connector *ahatzi~aisatzi* 'also', 'and' is infixed to the numeral *aparoni* 'one'; the nominal augmentative suffix *-ite* is inserted in the adverb *maaroni* 'all' in (3.41).

3.40 *aparohatzini*
aparo**<hatzi>**ni
one**<also>**one
'one day'

3.41 *maaroeteni*
maaro**<ite>**ni
all**<AUG>**all
'everyone'

There are a few *circumfixes* in Ashéninka Perené. By definition, circumfixes occur on both sides of the base, which is the element to which a morphological operation applies (Haspelmath 2002:19). The discontinuous irrealis status marker *N-…-e/-ia* and the discontinuous plural marker *he-…-ni* are treated here as circumfixation. Another discontinuous plural marker *–aiy-…-ni*, mentioned in Kampanist literature (e.g. Payne 1989:200-201), has been marginally attested in my corpus. Examples are provided in (3.42-3.44).

3.42 *Anyaatsahetani.*
a=nyaatsa-**he-**t-a-**ni**
1PL.S=play-**PL**-EP-REAL-**PL**
'We played together.'

3.43 *Ishitovaiyaheni.*
i=shitov-**aiy**-ah-i-**ni**
3m.S=escape-**PL-**REGR-REAL-**PL**
'They went back.'

3.44 *Te onkimisantena.*
te o=**N**-kimisaNt-**e**=na
NEG.REAL 3n.m.A=**IRR**-pay attention-**IRR**=1SG.O
'She didn't listen to me.'

Compounding in Ashéninka Perené is fairly productive and is typically expressed in the possessor-possessed or whole-part relationships. Noun compounds are defined (i) as

two lexemes juxtaposed in a single word-form; (ii) the compounds are typically idiomatic but may express a possessor-possessed relationship; (iii) a dependent noun in a compound is not referential but generic (this is shown for the verb-headed compounds or noun incorporation); (iv) compounds exhibit a certain degree of phonological, morphological, or syntactic cohesion, e.g. a special compound stress on the first element of the compound, etc. (Haspelmath 2002:155-161). An example of an N-N compound is provided in (3.45).

3.45 *Nontaavakirota pisaarikontate piitzi.*
no=N-ta-av-ak-e=ro=ta pi=**saari-koNta**-te
1SG.A=IRR-burn-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O=OPT 2poss=**opossum-sole**-poss

pi=itzi
2poss=foot
'I'll burn your soles of an opossum, your stinky feet.'

In (3.45), the second noun in the compound is a syntactically bound noun encoding a part of the whole while the first noun is a generic noun denoting an entity. The semantics of such compounds sometimes may go beyond the sum of their parts, as (3.45) demonstrates. The reading of the compound in (3.45) is based on the speaker's associations of the opossum with the stench. The stress in the Ashéninka noun compounds is quite predictable due to the constant second-syllable stress assignment. This assignment pattern stresses even-numbered syllables counting from the beginning of the word, with the primary stress augmenting the stress closest to the end of the word (word-final syllable is never stressed), e.g. *pi. ''saa.ri. 'kon.ta.te.* The second element of the compounds is typically a phonologically unreduced nominal stem which can be used in discourse independently.

Many Ashéninka noun compounds are plant-based, encoding the possessor-possessed or whole-part relationships. As seen in Table 13, the first noun is a generic noun denoting a plant e.g. *incha* 'plant', while the second noun (or its phonologically reduced equivalent) is the plant or body part. The set of plant-part terms performs a classifying function by identifying a certain type of entity. The lexical origin of the plant terms is typically transparent, e.g. *-paNki* is derived from the verb *paNki* 'to grow'. The compounds express a subcategorizing 'X is a type of Y' relationship where the first element of the compound is a variable X and the second element is a stable morpheme Y of a clear lexical origin. Some of the plant-based parts in Table 13 have lost phonological substance, becoming monosyllabic, e.g. *-shi* < *oishi* 'leaf'.

TABLE 13. Plant-based parts in compounds

Form	Origin	Examples
-paNki-	'plant' from *panki* 'to grow'	*incha-**panki*** 'plank'
-toNki	'long tree segment' from *tonki* 'bone'	*incha-**tonki*** 'beam'
-tyaki	'flower' from *tya* 'to blossom'	*incha-**tyaki*** 'tree flower'
-shi	'leaf' from *oishi* 'leaf'	*incha-**shi*** 'plant leaf'
-kota	'piece' from *kota* 'piece'	*incha-**kota*** 'split wood'
-ponkitzi	'ground-level part of tree trunk' from *ponkitzi* 'ground-level part of tree trunk'	*incha-**ponkitzi*** 'tree trunk'

Most plant parts are marginally productive. The collected data show that the speakers do not use them to describe new cultural items. The majority of plant-based compounds appear to be lexicalized. For example, in (3.46-3.47) the compound *incha-kota* 'split wood' appears to be semantically non-compositional, denoting the concept of splitting.

3.46 *Pinchakotaero piitzira.*
p=**inchakota**-e=ro pi=itzi=ra
2A=**split**-IRR=3n.m.O 2poss=foot=DEM
'Flatten your foot.'

3.47 *Pinchakotaena.*
p=**inchakota**-e=na
2A=**split**-IRR=1SG.O
'Split wood for me.'

Noun incorporation is infrequent in Ashéninka Perené, at least as based on the collected corpus. Noun incorporation refers to morphological structures in which a nominal constituent is added to the verb root (Aikhenvald 2007:11). In Ashéninka Perené, a bare noun root is incorporated. In (3.48), *vatsatsi* 'meat, flesh' is incorporated without the unpossessed noun suffix *–tsi.*

3.48 *Itovatsatziro ivori.*
i=tov-**vatsa**-tz-i=ro i=pori
3m.A=cut-**flesh**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=thigh
'He did flesh-cutting from his thigh.'

In some cases, the incorporated second noun may be an embedded compound, as seen in (3.49). The nominal bare stems *-vatsa* 'meat'(unpossessed form *vatsatsi*) and *-pori-* 'foot, muscle'(unpossessed form *poritsi*) are combined into the noun compound *-vatsa-vori-* 'meat-muscle', which follows the verbal stem *shiriNka* 'grow'. The verb-noun compound literally means 'he did meat-muscle-growing', the embedded noun-noun compound denoting a generic entity.

3.49 *Ishirinkavatsavoritanahi.*
i=shiriNka**-vatsa-pori-**t-an-ah-i
3m.S=grow-**flesh-muscle**-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL
'He grew back muscle in his flesh.'

Reduplication is limited in Ashéninka Perené. It is attested only with verbs. This morphological process is iconic in a sense that it is showing a correlation between a

derivational process and its semantics. The semantic effect of reduplication is such that the reduplicated verbal roots have the meaning of intensity or repetetiveness of the described acitivity. The reduplication pattern varies depending on the phonological nature of the base. Typically, the entire root is copied. When the verb root is V-final, e.g. *ira* 'cry', the reduplicant matches the base, as shown in (3.50). When the verb root is C-final, e.g. *ky* –carry a load, *piy* 'return', an epenthetic element *–a* is added to the base, as seen in (3.51-3.52).

3.50 *Noina irairatanaka.*
no=ina **iraira**~t-an-ak-a
1SG.poss=wife **3n.m.S.cry**~EP-DIR-PRF-REAL
'My wife cried a lot.'

3.51 *Ikyakyatakina.*
i=**kyakya**~t-ak-i=na
3m.A=**carry.load**~EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O
'It took him a lot of effort to take me down.'

3.52 *Airo pipiyapiyatashitari.*
airo pi=**piyapiya**~t-ashi-t-a=ri
NEG.IRR 2A=**come.back**~EP-APPL.INT-EP-REAL=3m.O
'You won't go back all the time to this place [to hunt].'

When the C-initial base ends in a nasal element, e.g. *ken~kin* 'walk', the reduplicant copies the base, but the base itself becomes light, without the root-final nasal, as seen in (3.53). When the V-initial base ends in a nasal element, e.g. *amin* 'look for' the reduplicant and the base match, as exemplified by (3.54).

3.53 *Nokekenatakairi tsiteni.*
no=**keken~**a-t-aka-i=ri tsiteni
1SG.A=**walk~**REP-EP-CAUS.COM-REAL=3m.O at.night
'I walked a lot with the [crying] baby that night.'

3.54 *Paminaminataiterira.*
p=**aminamina~**t-a-it-e=ri=ra
2A=**look.for**~EP-REP-EP-ICPL-IRR=3m.O=ADV
'You will look and look for him, right?'

3.4 Word classes

The major word classes in Ashéninka Perené are verbs and nouns. There are also small classes of adjectives and adverbs, in addition to other word classes such as personal and possessive pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, numerals, connectives, interjections, discourse particles, and ideophones. The word classes are distinguished on the basis of syntactic, semantic, and morphological criteria.

3.4.1 Nouns

The semantic criterion states that nouns are "time-stable concepts which do not vary across time" (Payne 1997:33). As such, Asheninka Perené nouns refer to people, things, elements of the vegetal and animal worlds, nature, e.g. *mapi* 'stone', *impereta* 'cliff', *nihaa* 'water', *pareni(ni)* 'river'. Morphosyntactic properties of nouns in Ashéninka Perené include distributional and structural properties. Distributional properties have to do with how nouns are distributed in phrases, clauses, and texts (Payne 1997: 33). In Ashéninka Perené, nouns serve as heads of phrases, subjects and objects of clauses, and topics of texts. Nouns can be modified by adjectives, e.g. *aNtaro korarintsi* 'big corral'; numerals, e.g. *mava kooya* 'three women'; and demonstratives, e.g. *iyoka apiteroite kishiisatzi* 'these two *pajonalinos*'. Structural properties have to do with the internal structure of nouns (Payne 1997: 33). They involve the categories of case (locative case

–ki), morphologically expressed gender (masculine *–ri,* non-masculine *-ro),* optionally expressed plural number *-paye*, and possession. The locative case marking *–ki* on nouns has a diffuse spatial meaning of 'in/ at/ on/ by/ to.' When nouns lack gender markers, gender is revealed through the cross-referencing clitics on the verbs, gender markers on adjectives, demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and locative-existential adverbs, as shown in Table 13.[18]

TABLE 14. Gender agreement patterns

Gender	Adjective	Demonstrative	Personal pronoun	Possessive pronoun	Predicate	Adverb
Masc	*-ri;-nzi*	*(i)ri-/(i)yo-*	*iri-*	*ir-*	*i-/y-; -ri*	*hiri-*
Non-m	*-ro;-Nto*	*iro-*	*iro-*	*Ø-*	*o-; -ro*	*hiro-*

Possession is morphologically expressed on two groups of nouns: *obligatorily* (inalienably) possessed and *optionally* (alienably) possessed. Morphologically expressed possession covers the following semantic relations.

(i) Kinship relationships, e.g. *no=niro* [1SG.poss=mother] 'my mother', *iri=niro Edwin* [3m.poss=mother Edwin] 'Edwin's mother'.

(ii) Whole-part relationships (a body part of a human, animal or part of an object), e.g. *n=ako* [1SG.poss=hand] 'my hand', *o=yeNka tyaapa* [3n.m.poss=fat chicken] 'chicken fat', *inchashi o=paritsa* [herb 3n.m.poss=root] 'herb roots'.

(iii) Ownership relationship including temporary possession, e.g. *pi=shima-te* [2poss=fish-poss] 'your fish', *i=vanko-shi koventsari-paye* [3m.poss=house-CL:small.thin.flexible hunter-PL] 'hunters' shack'.

[18] For details on gender agreement in Asháninka Perené, see Mihas 2010c.

(iv) Association relationship, e.g. *no=vairo* 'my name', *no=tsipataro* 'my companion', *no=shaniNka* 'my people'. Association relationship can also be expressed by juxtaposition, e.g. *heva-t-ak-aNt-tz-i-ro=ri kampana* [lead-EP-CAUS.SOC-APPL.REAS-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL church] 'the leader of the church'. Note that when possession is expressed via juxtaposition, the possessor NP precedes the possessed NP.

As the above examples show, the morphological process of possession applies to the possessed NP whereas the possessor NP remains unmarked. Obligatorily possessed nouns are marked by a possessive proclitic whereas optionally possessed nouns are marked by a possessive proclitic and one of the possessive suffixes *-te, -ni, -ri*, so the grammatical marking for alienable possession is longer than that for inalienable possession[19]. Examples of the obligatorily possessed nouns are body parts, e.g. *no=ito* 'my head'; kinship terms, e.g. *no=saro* 'my grandma/granddaughter'; essential personal belongings such as *no=vito* 'my canoe', *no=vaNko* 'my house'. Examples of optionally possessed nouns are *no=chakopi-te* 'my arrow', *no=yoka-ni* 'my coca', *n=otsitzi-te* 'my dog', *n=akipa-ri* 'my grilled fish'. In general, when alienably possessed nouns appear in an 'unpossessed' form (including, as an exception, inalienably possessed body parts), they take the 'absolute' or unspecified possessor suffixes *–(n)tsi* or *–rintsi/-rontsi,* e.g. *tsitsi* 'fire wood', *avotsi* 'trail, road', *aikintsi* 'tooth', *poritsi* 'thigh', *maamiNtotsi* 'bed', *kitsarentsi* 'clothes', *aaviNtarontsi* 'medicine'. Examples of nouns denoting body parts with the unspecified possessor marking *–(n)tsi* are provided in (3.55-3.56).

[19] Payne states that *–ni* is assigned to a mono- or bisyllabic nominal host, while *-te* occurs with multisyllabic nominal roots (1989:67). This rule holds for Ashéninka Perené; cf. *notsitzi**te*** 'my dog' (otsitzi 'dog'), *noyoka**ni*** 'my coca'(*koka* 'coke plant')**.**

3.55 *Paminaite katsarikentsicharini*.
p=amin-a-it-e katsariki-**ntsi**-chaari-ni
2S=look.for-EP-ICPL-IRR testicle-**ABS**-dark.water-AUG
'Go look for the River of Testicles.'

3.56 *Airo pikotsitziri vatsatsira*.
airo pi=kotsi-tz-i=ro vatsa-**tsi**=ra
NEG.IRR 2A=cook-EP-REAL=3n.m.O meat-**ABS**=DEM
'Don't cook that meat.'

There are also *non-possessable* nouns such as names, astronomical bodies, rationals[20], and natural elements which appear bare in the clause, without any inflectional morphology, e.g. *kashiri* 'moon', *pava* 'solar deity', *kamaari* 'devil', *tampyaa* 'wind'.

Some degree of morphological irregularity is attested in a few nouns. A syllable may be deleted in a possessed form of the noun root, e.g. *tsara**to*** 'bag', cf. *no=tsara-te* 'my bag'. Conversely, a syllable may be added to the possessed form, e.g. *tsitsi* 'fire wood', cf. *no=tsima* 'my fire wood'. Some optionally possessed nouns, which appear bare in an upossessed form, lack a possessive suffix in a possessed form, e.g. *kaniri* 'manioc', cf. *no=yaniri* 'my manioc'; *kishiri* 'comb', cf. *no=ishiri* 'my comb'; *tsivo* 'little box', cf. *o=tsivo* 'her box'. Some nouns retain the absolute/unspecified possessor suffix *–ntsi* when occurring in a possessed form, e.g. *kamaantsi* 'phlegm'; cf. *Pishitero piyamaantsite* pi=shit-e=ro pi=yamaantsi-te [2S=wipe.out-IRR=3n.m.O 2poss=phlegm-poss].

Although the plural marking of subjects and objects is not mandatory (on both nouns and verbs), it is generally sensitive to definiteness and animacy of noun referents. Examples are given in (3.57-3.59).

[20] Corbett defines 'rationals' as 'various mythical beings' and notes that this term is 'almost equivalent to humans' (2007:259).

3.57 *Atziripaye ironyaaka kimoshiri ikantahetave*.
atziri-**paye** ironyaaka kimoshi-ri i=kaNt-a-he-t-a=ve
person-**PL** now be.joyous-ADJ 3m.S=be-EP-PL-EP-REAL=EXCL
'The people were very happy.'

3.58 *Pivitsikanahinaro novanko novantayetyarori notsanoirikipaye.*
pi=vitsik-an-ah-e=na=ro no=paNko
2A=build-DIR-REGR-IRR=1SG.O=3n.m.O 1SG.poss=house

no=v-aNt-a-ye-t-ia=ro=ri
1SG.A=put-APPL.REAS-EP-DIST-EP-IRR=3n.m.O=REL

no=tsanoiriki-**paye**
1SG.poss=adornment-**PL**
'Build me a gazebo to display my handicrafts.'

3.59 *Nokovatzi nonpankitemi mapocha.*
no=kov-atz-i no=N-paNki-t-e=mi mapocha
1SG.S=want-PROG-REAL 1SG.S=IRR-plant-EP-IRR=CNT.F papaya
'Originally, I wanted to plant papaya.'

The diffuse spatial meaning of the locative marker *–ki* may be extended to the temporal sense 'during', as shown in (3.60).

3.60 *Irotaki novavisantarori nanyantari shimaanakipaye, kashirikipaye, kitaiterikipaye.*
irotaki no=v-avis-aNt-a=ro=ri
FOC 1SG.A=CAUS-pass-APPL.REAS-REAL=3n.m.O=REL

n=any-aNt-a-ri shimaana-**ki-**paye kashiri-**ki**-paye
1SG.S=live-APPL.REAS-REAL-NMZ week-**LOC**-PL moon-**LOC**-PL

kitaiteri-**ki**-paye
day-**LOC**-PL
'With this I live my life over weeks, months, and days.'

Other morphemes that occur with nouns include distributive *–ye*, augmentatives *–ite, -mashi, -saNte*, diminutives *–patsaini, -(i)ni, -aniki,-peta,* a sizeable number of derivational classifying suffixes, demonstrative enclitics *=ka, =ra, =Nta,* adverbial past

enclitic *=raNki,* and pragmatic enclitics *=ha, =tya, =kya, =ve.* Some nouns are derived from verbs with the help of nominalizing suffixes *–meNto, -Nka, -ri,* e.g. *i=tot-a-meNto* [3m.poss=cut-EP-NMZ] 'his axe', *i=tsaro-Nka-ki-ni* [3m.poss=to.fear-NMZ-LOC-DIM] 'in fear ', *pi=N-kats-a-ri* [2S=IRR-feel.pain-EP-NMZ] 'chief'.

Nouns can function as predicates when taking verbal morphology, as seen in (3.61-3.62).

3.61 *Pairani noshaninkapaye ivavanitari mapi.*
pairani no=shaniNka-paye i=**pava**-ni-t-a=ri mapi
before 1SG.poss=fellowman-PL 3m.poss=**deity**-poss-EP-REAL=3m.O stone
'Long ago my fellowmen idolized [a piece of] stone.'

3.62 *Ampotsotyaro potsotzi.*
a=N-**potsot-i**a=ro potsotzi
1PL.A=IRR-**annatto**-IRR=3n.m.O annatto
'We'll rub annatto [into the wound].'

However, certain restrictions apply to the nouns which appear in a predicate slot. Noun-derived predicates exhibit a limited use of verbal derivational morphology; e.g. they don't take valence-adjusting operators, degree, time and manner suffixes such as *–niNt* 'a little bit', *–aman* 'early', *-apaiNt* 'once', *-apanaNt* 'one more time, again'. Neither do nouns as predicate heads occur in the imperative mood.

3.4.2 Verbs

Verb roots serve as heads of predicates. They typically refer to least stable concepts such as actions and processes. In terms of their structure, verb roots are always bound and minimally have a subject proclitic and a status suffix attached. Verbs can also appear with multiple suffixes, enclitics, and prefixes and proclitics (see §3.4.2 and §3.4.3

below). Verbs can be marked for number (plural suffix *–he*, discontinuous plural marker *he-/aiy-..-ni,* distributive *-ye*), person (cross-referencing S/A proclitics and O enclitics), gender (3p masculine clitics *i=, y=, ir=, =ri*; 3p non-masculine clitics *o=, =ro*), aspect (perfective *–ak*, durative *–vai,* progressive *–aty~-atz*, regressive*–ah~-a,* incompletive *–it*[21]*,* habitual *–api(i)Nt*, customary *–aNt,* inchoative *–ima,* repetitive *-a*), status (realis *-i, -a,* irrealis *–e, -ia*), and mood (interrogative *=ka,* optative *=ta*, apprehensive *=kari*, dubitative *=ma,* conditional *=rika,* counterfactual *=mi*). Examples of inflectional verbal morphology are provided in (3.63-3.65).

3.63 *Nokovi nonkamarankimi.*
no=kov-i no=N-kamaraNk-e=**mi**
1SG.S=want-REAL 1SG.S=IRR-vomit-IRR=**CNT.F**
'I wanted to vomit [but I didn't].'

3.64 *Yayimikari maini.*
y=ay-e=mi=**kari** maini
3m.A=take-IRR=2O=**APPR** bear
'Beware of the bear, he may abduct you.'

3.65 *Tsikama opaitatyaka?*
tsika=**ma** o=pai-t-a=tya=**ka**
WH=**DUB** 3n.m.S=be.called-EP-REAL=EMPH=**Q**
'What could it possibly be?'

The valence of Ashéninka Perené verbs can be changed with valence-adjusting derivational prefixes and suffixes. By definition, syntactic valence refers to the actual

[21] This morpheme indicates that the action has not been completed either because it hasn't yet started, or because it failed to start, or ended unfinished. In Kampanist scholarsip, a discussion of this suffix is found in Payne, Payne, & Santos (1982) who point out that Ashéninka Apurucayali has the partitive suffix *-itsi* indicating that the action was executed partially or in parts (61); in García Salazar (1997) who identified this suffix as the partitive *–iti~-it~-t* in Ashéninka Ucayali (32); in Swift (2008) who proposes to call the Caquinte suffix *-γiha* 'limitative' due to its meaning of the action, process, state being placed within some limits (84).

number of arguments present in a clause. The semantic effect of increasing syntactic valence is generally characterized by upgrading a peripheral participant to direct-object function or by adding a new participant; in contrast, the effect of decreasing valence is to demote the central participant to a more peripheral function or eliminate it altogether (Payne 1997:170, 172). In (3.66-3.70), valence-increasing morphemes are comprised of a few causative prefixes such as (1) the malefactive causative *mi-,* which involves the causer's detrimental action towards the (human or animate) causee, performed against the causee's will; (2) the non-productive[22] agentive causative prefix *o-~oi~ov-* whose function is to indicate the causer's agentivity (the causer may be non-human or inanimate) in an action performed on the causee who is characterized by the low retention of control over the situation; (3) the productive sociative causative suffix *–ak,* typically used in a situation when both the causer and the causee cooperate in an action which has an enabling or beneficial effect on the causee.

3.66 *Ari imisaikiri.*
ari i=**mi-**saik-i=ri
PP 3m.A=**M.CAUS**-sit-REAL=3m.O
'There they had him seated [against his will].'

3.67 *Noitakeri pashini inchashi*.
n=**oi-**t-ak-e=ri pashini incha-shi
1SG.A=**CAUS.AGT.**drink-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O other plant-leaf
'I'll make him [the sick person] drink another herb concoction.'

[22] Payne observes that the Ashéninka set of derivational causative prefixes *omin-, omi-, oi-, -o-, ow-* is not productive (2002: 488). In the collected corpus, the prefix has been attested with a handful of verbs such as *ma* 'sleep', cf. *oima* 'make [a baby] sleep'; *ha* 'go', cf. *oiha* 'chase away, pursue'; *ir* 'drink', cf. *oit* 'make drink'; *avis* 'pass', cf. *vavis* 'make pass [recover from an illness]; spend [days]'; *anii* 'walk (down)', cf. *vanii* 'make walk down'; *kimoshiri* 'be happy, joyous', cf. *oimoshirink* 'rejoice, celebrate [make happy]'.

3.68 *Irotaki ovavisakotakiriri.*
irotaki o=**v-**avis-ako-t-ak-i=ri=ri
FOC 3n.m.S=**CAUS.AGT**-pass-APPL.REAS-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O=REL
'This is what [the herbs] made him [the sick person] recover from the illness.'

3.69 *Ivaniitapakina.*
i=**v**-anii-t-ap-ak-i=na
3m.A=**CAUS.AGT**-walk-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O
'He took me down [the son helped the wounded father get off the tree because the father was injured and unable to climb down on his own].'

3.70 *Yantavaitakakiri.*
y=aNt-a-vai-t-**ak**-ak-i=ri
3m.A=work-EP-DUR-EP-**CAUS.SOC**-PRF-REAL=3m.O
'He made them work [enabling the workers to get food].'

In addition to the valence-increasing causative forms discussed above, applicatives also promote a peripheral participant to direct object function. Examples of the valence-increasing applicatives such as generalized *–ako*, presential *–imo*, separative *-pitsa,* instrumental *–aNt,* benefactive *–veNt~~viNt* are provided in (3.71-3.75).

3.71 *Tzimatsi isorarotepaye katziyaventariri.*
tzimatsi i=soraro-te-paye katziy-a-**veNt**-a=ri=ri
EXIST 3m.poss=soldier-poss-PL stand.guard-EP-**APPL.BEN**-REAL=3m.O=REL
'He had soldiers who were standing guard for him.'

3.72 *Te intyerovimotapakyari.*
te i=N-tyerov-**imo**-t-ap-ak-e=ri
NEG.REAL 3m.A=IRR-kneel.down-**APPL.PRES**-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'He didn't kneel in his presence.'

3.73 *Ikantakoitziri aparoni koshiri.*
i=kaNt-**ako**-it-tz-i=ri aparoni koshiri
3m.A=say-**APPL**-ICPL-EP-REAL=3m.O one monkey
'They talked about a monkey.'

3.74 *Nomanapitsatatyeri.*
no=man-a-**pitsa**-t-aty-e=ri
1Sg.A=hide-EP-**APPL.SEP**-EP-PROG-IRR=3m.O
'I will hide from him.'

3.75 *Mantsiyarira impoki pashini, pashini nosaatantariri.*
mantsiya-ri=ra i=N-pok-e pashini pashini
be.sick-ADJ=DEM 3m.S=IRR-come-IRR another another

no=saa-t-**aNt**-a=ri=ri
1SG.A=bathe-EP-**APPL.INST**-REAL=3m.O=REL
'When another sick person comes, I steam-bathe him with a different herb.'

Valence-decreasing operations include the customary *–aNt*[23] and reciprocal *–av.* The customary *–aNt,* when denoting a habitual action, reduces the syntactic valence of transitive verbs. Examples are given in (3.76-3.77).

3.76 *Notsitzite te yatsikante.*
n=otsitzi-te te y=atsik-**aNt**-e
1SG.poss=dog-poss NEG.REAL 3m.S=bite-**CUST-**IRR
'My dog doesn't bite.'

3.77 *Inintatavakatya.*
i=niNtat-**av**-ak-aty-a
3m.S=kiss-**RCP**-PRF-PROG-REAL
'They are kissing.'

Another mechanism for decreasing verb valence includes the cumulative formatives *–a* and *-ia* which, with some verbs, signal that an actor is acting upon himself. The suffixes *–a* and *–ia* are category-based allomorphs. When a verb is inflected for the reality status category, the realis status is marked by *–a* and irrealis status by *–ia*. By definition, the cumulative formative expresses more than one category which are grouped together in a single, indivisible unit (Bickel & Nichols 2007:188). In the Ashéninka Perené case, the cumulating values of realis status and reflexivity can be attributed to the

[23] The customary suffix *–aNt* , identical in form and similar in meaning to that found in Ashéninka Perené, is attested in other Kampan languages such as Caquinte *-aNt* 'detransitivizer' (Swift 1988:73), Ashéninka Pichis *–aNt* 'antipassive or indefinite O marker' (Payne 2002: 492; Payne &Payne 2005:43); Nanti *–aNt* 'characteristic' (Michael 2008:277).

aforementioned formatives *–a* and *-ia*. For example, in (3.79-3.), when the verb root *tot* 'cut' has a reflexive reading, it takes the cumulative formative *-a* with the realis/reflexivity exponence, whereas in a non-reflexive situation, the suffix *–i* occurs, which has realis/non-reflexivity values.

3.78 *Iriro itotaka.*
iriro i=tot-ak-**a**
he 3m.S=cut-PRF-**REAL.RFL**
'He cut himself.'

3.79 *Itotakiniri iishi itomi.*

i=tot-ak-**i**=ni=ri	i=ishi	i=tomi
3m.A=cut-PRF-**REAL**=3O=3m.O	3m.poss=hair	3m.poss=son

'He cut his son's hair.'

This distinction has served as a basis for distinguishing between reflexive and non-reflexive classes of Kampan verbs in literature (e.g. Payne, Payne, & Sanchez 1982: 44-45; Payne 1989:105-110; Garcia Salazar 1997:37-38; Swift 2008:55-57; Wise 1986:586). Table 18, adapted from Payne (1989:110), is a summary of morphological reflexives in Ashéninka Perené. As Table 15 shows, morphological reflexives are fused with the reality status category.

TABLE 15. A summary of the cumulating reality status/reflexivity values of verbs

Reality status	Reflexive	Non-reflexive
Realis	*-a*	*-i*
Irrealis	*-ia~-eya*	*-e*

Prototypical reflexive verbs use the cumulative formatives *–a* and *-ia* as morphological reflexives. A prototypical reflexive situation is such when "the grammatical subject is being acted upon in some way, i.e. is himself an undergoer of the

event" (Epps 2008:473). In Ashéninka Perené, prototypical reflexive situations involve verbs with a standard reflexive reading, e.g. *noNkitsat**ya*** 'I'll dress myself', *nokaat**a*** 'I bathe myself', *nototak**a*** 'I cut myself', *nonyak**a*** 'I saw myself', *nopashiventashit**a*** 'I am ashamed of myself'. These verbs become monovalent when marked by *–a* or *-ia*.

In addition, the cumulative formatives *–a* and *-ia* exhibit other functions such as a passive reading (when some other participant acts on the subject), e.g. *neve* 'be pleased with', *pai* 'be called', *amit* 'be accustomed to', *pi* 'be transformed into', *pina* 'be paid', or reciprocal interpretations (when subjects act upon each other), e.g. *nyaatsa* 'play with', *tsipa* 'accompany somebody', *vitsa* 'greet [each other]', *niNtat* 'kiss', *avitsanot* 'hug', *aree~arii* 'visit with somebody.' Semantics of other verbs, marked by the suffixes *–a* and *-ia*, is only marginally related to the affectedness of subject, which is the main property of reflexive situations. Such verbs include *konyaa* 'appear', *kimi* 'seem', *pony* 'come from', *shiroNt* 'smile', *ashi* 'possess', *kaNt* 'happen', 'be'. Miscellaneous other verbs from this class do not have clear reflexive interpretations either, e.g. *piy* 'return', *vir* 'come near', *pavani* 'idolize', *yomit* 'teach', *kamaNt* 'inform', *any* 'live', etc. It appears that, in some cases, the occurrence of the suffixes *–a* and *-ia* is grammatically conditioned. My data show that the suffixes *–a* and *-ia* co-occur with the applicative reason/instrumental *–aNt*, frustrative *–ve,* and reciprocal *–av*.

In general, the valence-decreasing function of the cumulative formatives *–a* and *-ia* is largely limited to the standard reflexive verbs. The valence of other verbs from the class, which takes the suffixes *–a* and *-ia,* is typically not affected, as seen in (3.80-3.82).

3.80 *Isaiki itsipataro iina.*
i=saik-i i=tsipat-**a**=ro i=ina
3m.S=be.at-REAL 3m.A=accompany-**REAL**=3n.m.O 3m.poss=wife
'He lived with his wife.'

3.81 *Oyomitanari nonironi.*
o=yomit-**a**=na=ri no=niro-ni
3n.m.A=teach-**REAL**=1SG.O=REL 1SG.poss=mother-deceased
'What my deceased mother taught me.'

3.82 *Irotaki nokamantantamiri.*
irotaki no=kamaNt-aNt-**a**=mi=ri
FOC 1SG.A=inform-APPL.REAS-**REAL**=2O=REL
'That's why I advised you.'

In light of this synchronically weak relation to reflexivity, a more useful approach to the classification of inflectional verbal morphology in Ashéninka Perené may be to abandon the reflexive interpretation of the suffixes *–a* and *-ia*. This alternative proposal has been advocated by a few scholars, e.g. by Michael (2008:250) and Cysouw (2007:143). A similar classification will work as well in the case of Ashéninka Perené. Two verb classes may be distinguished, based on the synchronic shape of the inflectional forms the verbs take: class A and class I, as illustrated in Table 16. When the verb is inflected for the same category such as realis status (or irrealis status), it exhibits lexically-conditioned allomorphy, i.e. the choice of the realis status formative *–a* or *–i* is a lexical and essentially unpredictable matter.

TABLE 16. Lexical classes of verbs

Reality status	Class A	Class I
realis	*-a*	*-i*
irrealis	*-ia*	*-e*

There are also valence-preserving derivational suffixes: frustrative *–(mache)ve* which expresses a sense of some unrealized action when the actor's desires or intentions cannot be satisfied due to some preceding action, event, or circumstance; reversative *–ry* which signals the reversal of an action or state, expressed by the verb root; and impersonal third person plural passive *–ai* which, along with the subject proclitic, is used to refer to an unspecified group of actors. Examples are provided in (3.83-3.86).

3.83 *Nocharini shintsiri inavita.*
no=charini shintsi-ri i=na-**vi**-t-a
1SG.poss=grandpa be.strong-ADJ 3m.S=be-**FRUS**-EP-REAL
'My grandpa used to be strong.'

3.84 *Nooyamachevetaro omparyanake.*
n=ooya-**macheve**-t-a=ro o=N-pary-an-ak-e
1SG.A=expect-**FRUS**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=IRR-fall-DIR-PRF-IRR
'I expected it to fall in vain.'

3.85 *Itsirikaryakoitahinaro.*
i=tsirik-a-**ry**-ako-it-ah-i=na=ro
3m.A=attach-EP-**REV**-APPL-ICPL-REGR-REAL=1SG.O=3n.m.O
'They removed some of the bandage [from my arm].'

3.86 *Ityank**ai**takina Irimashiki.*
i=tyaNk-**ai**-t-ak-i=na Irimashi-ki
3m.A=send-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O Lima-LOC
'They sent me to Lima.'

In addition, verb roots can incorporate nouns; take classifiers *–ki* 'small, round', *-poroki* 'quantity', *-ako* 'vessel', *-shi* 'small, thin, flexible'; directionals *–ap* (goal), *–an* (source), *-av* (O-oriented goal); scalar (degree) suffixes *–niNt* 'almost, a little bit', *-pero~-piro* 'indeed'; adverbial suffixes of time *–aman* 'early', *-it* 'before', and manner

–ite ‘quickly’; subordination clitics *=ra* and *=ri*, pragmatic clitics *=kya, =tya, =ha*, *=ve*, adverbial clitics of locality *=ka*, *=ra, =Nta* and time *=raNki,* among others (see Tables 9, 15 for details).

Ashéninka Perené verbs divide into transitivity classes depending on the transitivity type of clauses they may appear in. Two basic transitivity clause types include intransitive clauses which have one obligatory argument in S (intransitive subject) function and transitive clauses which have two arguments in A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) functions (Dixon 2010a:115-6). The core arguments may be expressed by the person clitics, personal pronouns, demonstratives, or noun referents. Examples of verb roots expressing intransitivity values are *kam* ‘die’, *shiy* ‘run’; *kamaraNk* ‘vomit’; transitive verb roots are *am* ‘bring’, *a* ‘take’, *pos* ‘hit’. Verb roots can be ambitransitive, i.e. a verb root can have either transitivity value. Transitive verb roots frequently appear in intransitive clauses; vice versa, intransitive roots occur in transitive clauses. In general, verb roots by themselves do not have fixed transitivity, when each is either strictly transitive or strictly intransitive. The lexical meaning of the verb root determines if it has low or high transitivity values. Examples of the ambitransitive verb roots (A=S) *a* ‘take’, ‘harvest’ and *aNt* ‘make’, ‘work’, are provided in (3.87-3.90).

3.87 *Paanakinaranki.*
p=**a**-an-ak-i=na=raNki
2A=**take**-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=ADV
‘You took me along the other day.’

3.88 *Naake ironyaaka.*
n=**a**-ak-e ironyaaka
1SG.S=**take**-PRF-IRR now
‘I’ll harvest now.’

3.89 *Pantahinaro novanko.*
p=**aNt**-ah-e=na=ro no=paNko
2A=**make**-REGR-IRR=1SG.O=3n.m.O 1SG.poss=house
'You will make the house for me.'

3.90 *Nantavaitaki osheki.*
n=**aNt**-a-vai-t-ak-i osheki
1SG.S=**work**-EP-DUR-EP-PRF-REAL many
'I worked a lot.'

Some transitive verb roots have culture-specific semantic roles mapped on the second core argument O such as *tomiNt* 'to be son of' or *matzi* 'to cast spell on', as shown in (3.91-3.92).

3.91 *Iyoka te intomintyari atziri.*
yoka te i=N-**tomiNt**-ia=ri atziri
this.m NEG.REAL 3m.A=IRR-**be.son.of**-IRR=3m.O person
'This is not the man's son.'

3.92 *Irotaki matzitakiriri.*
irotaki **matzi-**t-ak-i=ri=ri
FOC **cast.spell**-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O=REL
'She is the one who cast spell on him.'

Copular verbs. In addition to regular verbs, which take freely inflectional and derivational morphology, there is a class of irregular existential and light copula verbs in Ashéninka Perené, limited in their ability to take verbal morphology. Existential verbs include two existential/possessive verbs *tzimatsi* and *ainiro,* and the existential/possessive negation verb *tekatsi,* as shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17. Existential/possessive verbs

Existential verbs	Form	Function
Affirmative	*tzimatsi*	indicate existence/possession
	ainiro	indicate existence/possession
	kaNt	indicate existence
Negation	*tekatsi*	deny existence/possession

The verbs in Table 17, except the polyfunctional verb root *kaNt* 'happen, can, be, say', have restricted morphological possibilities in that they do not take S personal proclitics. Some are used as invariant forms whose origin may not be accessible, e.g. *ainiro* 'exist' is not connected to its original verbal roots. The copula verbs, whose origin is transparent, tend to take minimally aspect and/or status formatives, e.g. *tek-atsi* [NEG-STAT], *tzim-atsi* [have-STAT], *o=kaNt-a* [3n.m.S=be-REAL]. When the affirmative existential verbs *tzimatsi* and *ainiro* and the negation verb *tekatsi* have a possessive reading, they appear with one O argument, which is a clausal complement, as shown in (3.93-3.94).

3.93 *-Noshinto, tzimatsi pinintani? -Tekatsi, apa.*
no=shiNto **tzimatsi** pi=niNt-a-ni tekatsi apa
1SG.poss=daughter **EXIST** 2S=want-REAL-AUG NEG.EXIST father
'Daughter, do you have a boyfriend?' 'I don't have [a boyfriend], father.'

3.94 *Ainiroma notashatzi.*
ainiro=ma no=tash-atz-i
EXIST=DUB 1SG.S=be.hungry-PROG-REAL
'I have hunger.'

When the above verbs have an existential reading, they take one O argument, which is either a noun phrase or a relative clause, as seen in (3.95-3.96), or take no O argument when used in a monovalent copula construction, as seen in (3.97-3.98).

3.95 *Tzimatsi aparoni yoimoshirinkiri.*
tzimatsi aparoni y=oi-kimoshiri-Nk-i=ri
EXIST one 3m.A=CAUS-be.happy-NMZ-REAL=REL
'There was one [idol] who made them rejoice [praise him].'

3.96 *Tekatsi amanantatsini, tekatsi atziri.*
tekatsi amanaNt-atsi=ni tekatsi atziri
NEG.EXIST buy-PROG-STAT=REL NEG.EXIST person
'There is no one who will buy [my fish], there are no people [buyers].'

3.97 *Pairani ikanta konoya itsipatari ishamitzi.*
pairani i=**kaNt**-a konoya
before 3m.S=**be**-REAL tortoise

i=tsipat-a=ri i=shamitzi
3m.S=accompany-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=namesake
'Long ago there was a tortoise with his namesake.'

3.98 *-Tsika pikanta?-Kameetsataki.*
tsika pi=**kaNt**-a kameetsa-t-ak-i
WH 2S=**be**-REAL be.good-EP-PRF-REAL
'How are you?' 'I am good.'

There is also a set of defective copula verbs such as the copula verb of existence *na* 'be', the negative copula of existence *kaari,* the copula of location *saik* 'be at', the copula of naming *pai,* and the copula of capacity *kara.* A defining feature for a copula verb is that it always occurs with two core arguments, copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC) (Dixon 2010a:160). By definition, copula verbs tend to be morphologically irregular and show fewer forms than other verbs; they also tend to belong to the semantic class of stative verbs such as *stand, sit, exist, appear, become* or may derive from verbs of motion *go* or *come* (Payne 1997:117). The irregularity of Ashéninka Perené copulative verbs is manifest in that they often lack subject proclitics and don't occur with most verbal categories. For example, the copula of existence *na* and the copula of capacity *kara* are typically marked for subject, progressive aspect and realis

status whereas *saik* and *pai* frequently lack S-argument person markers; *pai* has shown empty semantics and morphological irregularity when used in interrogative clauses. The negative copula of existence *kaari* is an invariant form. A set of copulas in Ashéninka Perené is given in Table 18.

TABLE 18. Copulas

Clause type	Form	Function
Equation	*na, kaari*	express or deny identity
Attribution	*n, kaari*	express or deny attribution
Possession	*kaari*	deny possession
Location	*saik*	express location
Other	*pai, kaNt*	specify the name of an entity
	kara	express capacity

The copula of existence *na* is optional when it occurs with both nominal and adjectival predicates, as shown in (3.99-3.101).

3.99 *Noshinto ingeniero (onatzi).*
no=shiNto *ingeniero* o=**na**-tz-i
1SG.poss=daughter engineer 3n.m.S=**be**-EP-REAL
'My daughter is an engineer.'

3.100 *Noshinto kameetsanto (onatzi).*
no=shiNto kameetsa-Nto o=**na**-tz-i
1SG.poss=daughter be.good-ADJ.n.m. 3n.m.S=**be**-EP-REAL
'My daughter is beautiful.'

3.101 *Notomi matsari (inatzi).*
no=tomi matsa-ri i=**na**-tz-i
1SG.poss=son be.thin-ADJ.m. 3m.S=**be**-EP-REAL
'My son is thin.'

The negative copula of existence *kaari* is used with nominal and adjectival predicates and genitive constructions. Unlike the affirmative copula of existence *na*, which always occurs clause-finally, *kaari* precedes the non-verbal predicate, as seen in (3.102-3.104).

3.102 *Iriroite kaari ashaninka.*
iriro-ite **kaari** a=shaniNka
he-PL **NEG.C** 1PL.poss=fellowman
'They are not our fellowmen.'

3.103 *Kaari matsari otsitzi.*
NEG.C thin dog
'The dog is not thin.'

3.104 *Kaarima ashi estado?*
kaari=ma ashi estado
NEG.C=DUB its state
'Isn't it of the state [isn't it a public school]?'

A distinctive feature of the negative copula constructions is that they are most often found expressing an identity relation like in (3.102) and are rarely used in non-verbal clauses expressing attribution and possession, exemplified by (3.103-3.104). Language consultants point out that it is more common to use a negated verbal predicate to express the relation of attribution, as seen in (3.105).

3.105 *Te imatsate otsitzi.*
te i=matsa-t-e otsitzi
NEG.REAL 3m.S=be.thin-EP-IRR dog
'The dog is not thin.'

The language has two copulas of naming: *pai* and *kaNt.* They fill the slot of a transitive verb, as seen in (3.106-3.107).

3.106 *Tzimatsi aparoni atziri ipaita Naviriri.*
tzimatsi aparoni atziri i=**pai-**t-a Naviriri
EXIST one person 3m.S=**be.called**-EP-REAL person's.name
'There was a person, he [who] was called Naviriri.'

3.107 *Tzimatsi intakantarori isaikita aka, ikantziri Rasaro.*
tzimatsi iNtakaNtarori i=saik-it-a aka
EXIST ancestor 3m.S=be.at-before-REAL here

i=**kaNt**-tz-i=ri Rasaro
3m.S=say**-EP-**REAL=3m.O person's.name
'Long ago there was an ancestor living here, they called him Lazar.'

The copula of naming *pai* shows morphologically defective behavior by exhibiting few grammatical distinctions. It often lacks S personal proclitic and has minimal verbal morphology. Examples are provided in (3.108-3.109).

3.108 *-Tsika paita panteri?-Nooyakotatziro aparoni ariityanani novankoki.*
tsika **pai-**t-a p=aNt-e=ri n=ooy-ako-t-atz-i=ro
WH **be.called**-EP-REAL 2S=do-IRR=REL 1SG.A=wait-EP-APPL-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O

aparoni arii-t-ia=na=ni no=paNko-ki
one arrive-EP-IRR=1SG.O=REL 1SG.poss=house-LOC
'What are you going to do [what is it called that you are going to do]?' 'I am expecting a female who will be visiting me in my house.'

3.109 *-Yamakinari aparoni oisha. -Ninka? -Paitaranki…Antoko!'*
y=am-ak-i=na=ri aparoni oisha niNka
3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=3m.O one lamb who

pai-t**-a**=raNki Antoko
be.called-EP-REAL=ADV.P person's.name
'He brought me a lamb.''Who?' 'Whachamacallit…Antoko!'

Similarly to other copulas, the copula of location *saik* does not inflect like regular verbs. From dozens of available verb-specific categories, it tendentially selects the S proclitic and suffixes of aspect and mode. Examples are given in (3.110-3.111).

3.110 *-Tsika norirote?-Isaikatzi henokini mesaki.*
tsika no=riro-te i=**saik**-atz-i henoki-ni mesa-ki
WH 1SG.poss=watch-poss 3m.S=**be.at**-PROG-REAL top-DIM table-LOC
'Where is my watch?' 'It's on top of the table.'

3.111 *-Tsikama saikatsika?-Nonyakiro parenikinta.*
tsika=ma **saik**-atsi=ka no=ny-ak-i=ro pareni-ki=Nta
WH=DUB **be.at**-STAT=Q 1SG.A=see-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O river-LOC=DEM
'Where is she?' 'I saw her over there by the river.'

The copula of capacity *kara* also shows limited morphological possibilities in comparison with regular verbs. It is typically found with the grammatical categories of reality status (realis *–i*), and person (it is marked for subject), as seen in (3.112-3.113).

3.112 *Te yayero okaratzi iyotakaivitaitarira.*
te y=ay-e=ro o=**kara**-tz-i
NEG.REAL 3m.A=take.IRR-IRR=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=**CAP.C**-EP-REAL

i=yot-ak-a-vi-t-ai-t-a=ri=ra
3m.A=know-CAUS-EP-FRUS-EP-IMP.P-REAL=3m.O=ADV
'He didn't grasp all [material] which was taught to him.'

3.113 *Tzimatsi otomi okaratzi mava.*
tzimatsi o=tomi o=**kara**-tz-i mava
EXIST 3n.m.poss=son 3n.m.S=**CAP.C**-EP-REAL three
'She had three children.'

3.4.3 Adjectives

Ashéninka Perené has two adjective sets, (i) a small, closed underived adjectives class and (ii) a bigger, open derived adjectives class. The syntactic behavior and semantic types of both adjective classes are similar whereas their morphological possibilities are different.

(i) *Underived adjectives*. The tiny set of underived adjectives covers the meanings of size, age, quantification, and similarity. The list of these adjectives is given in Table 19. Following Dixon's typology of adjectives, Ashéninka Perené underived adjectives can be classified as a mixed type which combines some of the properties of nouns with some of

the verbs (2010a:63). Adjectives occur in NPs, inflecting like a noun, and also as heads of transitive and intransitive predicate, inflecting like a verb.

The basic position for a modifying adjective in an NP is before the noun head. When underived adjectives have grammatical properties similar to those of nouns, they take nominal inflectional markers such as gender (masculine *–ri*, non-masculine *–ro*), case (locative *–ki)*, and number (plural number *–paye).* Examples are provided in (3.114-3.116).

TABLE 19. A set of underived adjectives

Semantic type	Form	Gloss
Size	*aNtari/ro*	'big'
	iyaani	'small (of size)'
Age	*antari/ro*	'mature (of age)'
	iyaani	'young (of age)'
	evaNkari/ro	'adolescent'
	kiNkivari/ro	'old'
Quantification	*maaroni*	'all'
	osheki	'many'
	kapichee	'few'
	aparoni	'one'
	apite	'two'
	mava	'three'
Similarity	*pashini*	'other'

3.114 *Iyovaritakotakina apa antaro korarintsi.*
i=kovari-t-ako-t-ak-i=na apa **aNtaro** korarintsi
3m.A=corral-EP-APPL-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O father **big.n.m** corral.n.m.
'My father built a big corral for me.'

3.115 *Nantavaitaki osipitariki antaropaye.*
n=aNta-vai-t-ak-i osipitari-ki **aNtaro-paye**
1SG.S=work-DUR-EP-PRF-REAL hospital-LOC **big.n.m-PL**
'I worked in big hospitals.'

3.116 *Isaiki antaroki inchato*.
i=saik-i **aNtaro-ki** inchato
3m.S=be.at-REAL **big.n.m-LOC** tree
'It was in the big tree.'

As far as nominal derivational morphology is concerned, underived adjectives can take classifiers and degree (augmentative and diminutive) suffixes. Examples are provided in (3.117-3.120).

3.117 *Pincheke antaroshi kompiroshi.*
pi=N-chek-e **aNtaro-shi** koNpiro-shi
2S=IRR-cut-IRR **big-CL:small.thin.flexible** palm.sp.-leaf
'Cut the big leaves of the palm tree (*Phytelephas microcarpa*).'

3.118 *Yantzi antarote pankotsi.*
y=aNt-tz-i **aNtaro-ite** paNkotsi
3m.S=make-EP-REAL **big-AUG** house
'They made an immense house.'

3.119 *Antarosante piyempita!*
aNtaro-saNte pi=yeNpita
big-AUG 2poss=ear
'You have a big ear [you don't listen]!'

3.120 *Tzimatsi neentsite, tzimatsi iyaanini shinkantzi.*
tzimatsi n=eentsi-te tzimatsi **iyaani-ni** shiNka-ntzi
EXIST 1SG.poss=child-poss EXIST **small-DIM** cry.a.lot -ADJ.m.
'I have a baby, a tiny cry-baby.'

Underived adjectives can function as arguments, without a nominal head. The nominal head can be either inferred from the context or may be mentioned in previous discourse. An example of an adjective used without a noun head is given in (3.121).

3.121 *Opinatziro kapicheeni.*
o=pina-tz-i=ro **kapichee-ni**
3n.m.A=pay-EP-REAL=3n.m.O **small-DIM**
'She pays them little [money].'

Underived adjectives also have properties similar to those of verbs. They can function as heads of intransitive and transitive predicates, taking marking of person, aspect, and realis status, as seen in (3.122-3.123).

3.122 *Aparoni kooya ovakera antarotatzi.*
aparoni kooya ovakera **aNtaro**-t-atz-i
one woman recently **3n.m.S.big-**EP-PROG-REAL
'A woman who menstruated for the first time.'

3.123 *Airo pishikitziro.*
airo pi=**osheki**-tz-i=ro
NEG.IRR 2A=**many**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O
'Don't pick many [oranges].'

The criteria for recognition Ashéninka Perené adjectives as a separate class include two functions which they perform: (i) as a modifier within the NP and (ii) as a predicate adjective (attributive). Examples of these functions are seen in (3.124-3.125).

3.124 *Nonyatziro aparoni ochevo, pashini.*
no=ny-atz-i=ro **aparoni ochevo** pashini
1SG.A=see-PROG-REAL **one branch** another
'I saw one branch, another [branch].'

3.125 *Inkaari **antaro**.*
lake **big**
'The lake is big.'

The property that makes underived adjectives distinct is that they take some adjective-specific derivational morphology such as the augmentative suffix *–ni,* as shown in (3.126).

3.126 *Yaminapakiri oshekini ashaninka.*
y=amin-ap-ak-i=ri **osheki-ni** a=shaniNka
3m.S=see-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O **many-AUG** 1PL.poss=fellowman
'A lot of our fellowmen saw him.'

The properties of underived adjectives are summarized in Table 20.

TABLE 20. Properties of underived adjectives

	Noun-like properties	Verb-like properties	Unique or adjective-like properties
Morphology	gender markers *–ri/ro*	person markers	augmentative *-ni*
	plural marker *–paye*	aspect markers	
	locative case marker *-ki*	mode markers	
	diminutive *–(i)ni,* augmentative *–ite*, *-saNte*		
	classifier *-shi*		
Syntax	can be used independently without a nominal head	function as heads of intransitive and transitive predicates	function as modifiers of nominal heads and as predicate adjectives
Semantics			state that something has a certain property or specify the noun referent; cover the most prototypical semantic fields associated with adjectives such as dimension, age, color, etc.

(ii) *Derived adjectives*. An open subclass of adjectives, derived from verb roots, nominalized verbs, nouns, and adverbs, takes a set of gender-specific adjectivizing suffixes such as *-ntzi/-Nto*, *-tsiNkari/-tsiNkaro*, and *–ri/ro.* Another common adjectivizing technique is to combine the relativizing/nominalizing/adjectivizing form *–ri,* which is not gender-sensitive, with a verb. The class of derived adjectives is associated with the following semantic categories (based on the categorization guidelines proposed by Dixon 2010a:73-4).

1. AGE: *ovakerari* ‘new, recent’

2. VALUE: *kameetsari/ro* ‘good’, *kameetsantzi/Nto, kaNtaperantzi/Nto* ‘beautiful’, *katsimari* ‘bad’

3. COLOR: *kityoNkari/ro* ‘red’, *kitamarori/kitamaro* ‘white’, *natsiryari/ro* ‘green’, *potsitari/ro, kisaari* ‘black’, *cheeNkari* ‘obscure’, *kiteriri* ‘yellow’, *samaNpo* ‘grey’, ‘ashen’

4. PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *matsari/ro* ‘thin’, *santsari* ‘long’, *shintsiri* ‘strong, robust’, *taNpatsikari* ‘straight’, *tsaiNpiri* ‘sharp’, *tenari* ‘heavy’, *katsiNkari* ‘cold’, *saavaari* ‘hot’, *kipishiri* ‘bitter’, *pochari* ‘sweet’, *kachori* ‘acid’, *katyori* ‘salty’, *masaNkari* ‘bland’, *anatzirori* ‘raw’, *posari* ‘cooked’, *mantsiyari/ro* ‘sick’, *kamaiveNtsiNkari/ro* ‘widowed’

5. HUMAN PROPENSITY: *yotanitsiNkari/ro* ‘ smart’, *aNtavairintzi/Nto* ‘hard-working’, *shiroNtaryantzi/nto* ‘cheerful’

6. SPEED: *shintsiri* ‘quick’

7. QUALIFICATION: *iripirori/ iropirori* ‘correct’

The adjectives from this subclass have grammatical properties similar to those of nouns and nominalized verbs. Their main function is modification of NPs. As far as NP constituent order is concerned, the modifier’s position is typically after the head noun. An important feature of such modified nominal phrases is that the head nouns are frequently omitted, with the derived adjectives functioning as arguments in such cases. Examples of a modified headed NP and an anaphoric NP with an adjective as a sole lexeme are provided in (3.127-3.128).

3.127 *Nontyoonkanakyari ashininka mantsiyari.*
no=N-tyooNk-aNt-ak-ia=ri a=sheniNka
1SG.A=IRR-bathe-APPL.REAS-PRF-IRR=3m.O 1PL.poss=fellowman

mantsiya-ri
be.sick-ADJ.m
'I'll bathe in steam this sick fellowman.'

3.128 *Novayetziri inchashi nonkaatantyariri mantsiyari.*
no=v-a-ye-tz-i=ri inchashi
1SG.A=put-EP-DIST-EP-REAL=REL herb

no=N-kaa-t-aNt-ia=ri=ri **mantsiya-ri**
1SG.A=IRR-bathe-EP-APPL.REAS-IRR=3m.O=REL **be.sick-ADJ.m**
'The leaves that I put here are for treating the sick [person].'

Derived adjectives may function as predicate adjectives in verbless clauses, as seen in (3.129-3.130). When adjectives occur in copula clauses, as in (3.131), they are positioned clause-initially. Language consultants note that modified NPs in copula clauses indicate emphasis in the statement of property.

3.129 *Tsipana natsiyaro.*
tsipana **natsiya-ro**
leaf **be.green-ADJ.n.m**
'The leaves are green.'

3.130 *Iroo kameetsanto, irotaki yotanitsinkaro, notomi iritaki yotanitsinkari.*
iroo **kameetsa-Nto** irotaki **yotani-tsiNkaro** no=tomi
she **be.good-ADJ.n.m** FOC **know-ADJ.n.m.** 1SG.poss=son

iritaki **yotani-tsiNkari**
FOC **know-ADJ.m**
'She is pretty, she is clever, my son is clever [too].'

3.131 *Kityonkaro onatzi kitsarintsika.*
kityoNka-ro o=n-atz-i kitsa-rintsi=ka
be.red-ADJ.n.m 3n.m.S=be-PROG-REAL dress-NOM=DEM
'The *cushma* [man's traditional robe] is red.'

Similarly to nouns, the derived adjectives take nominal inflectional (plural marker *–paye*) and derivational morphology (classifying derivational suffix *–ni* 'deceased referent', diminutive *–(patsa)ini*, augmentative *–ni*). Examples are seen in (3.132-3.135).

3.132 *Okanta aminantariri mantsiyaripaye*.
o=kaNt-a amin-aNt-a=ri=ri
3n.m.S=happen-REAL treat-APPL.REAS-REAL=3m.O=REL

mantsiya-ri-paye
be.sick-ADJ.m-PL
'So that we [could] treat the sick.'

3.133 *Nokimavahiro inani, anini kamahatsirini*.
no=kim-av-ah-i=ro ina-ni ani-ni
1SG.A=listen-DIR-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O mother-deceased grandpa-deceased

kam-ah-atsi-ri-ni
die-REGR-STAT-ADJ-deceased
'I listened to my late mother and grandfather.'

3.134 *Tenarini notsima.*
tenari-ni no=tsima
be.heavy.ADJ-AUG 1SG.poss=wood
'My wood is too heavy.'

3.135 *Irotaki nosaatantari mantsiyaripatsaini.*
irotaki no=saa-t-aNt-a=ri **mantsiya-ri-patsa-ini**
FOC 1SG.A=steam.bathe-EP-INST-REAL=3m.O **be.sick-ADJ.m-small.part-DIM**
'With this I bathe the sickly [little things].'

Properties of derived adjectives are summarized in Table 21.

Comparative strategies. Ashéninka Perené has a number of non-canonical comparative strategies to indicate a contrast or similarity between two entities. When two entities are contrasted, the standard NP is not expressed; only the comparee NP occurs[24].

[24] Stassen states that a comparative construction usually involves three elements: a gradable predicate and two objects, typically encoded as two noun phrases (*comparee NP* and *standard NP*) (2008).

TABLE 21. Properties of derived adjectives

	Noun-like properties	Unique or adjective-like properties
Morphology	gender-specific markers *–ri/ro, -ntzi/-nto, -tsinkari/tsinkaro*	augmentative *-ni* adjectivizer *-ri*
	diminutive *–(patsa)ini*	
	classifying suffix *–ni* 'deceased'	
	plural *-paye*	
Syntax	can be used independently without a nominal head	function as modifiers of nominal heads, complements in copula clauses, and predicate adjectives
Semantics		state that something has a certain property or specify the noun referent; cover the most prototypical semantic fields associated with adjectives such as age, color, physical property, etc.

The gradable scale is marked on predicate by the verbal derivational intensifier/degree marker suffix *–pero~-piro,* as seen in (3.136-3.137).

3.136 *Iroka maaakinaka antaroperotatzi.*
iroka maakina=ka aNtaro**-pero-**t-atz-i
DEM.n.m machine=DEM big**-DEGR-**EP-PROG-REAL
'This machine is bigger (or the biggest).'

3.137 *Iroka inchatoka iro antaroperotatzi.*
iroka inchato=ka iro aNtaro**-pero-**t-atz-i
DEM.n.m tree=DEM but big**-DEGR-**EP-PROG-REAL
'This tree is the biggest of all.'

Another common comparative strategy is to use the verb *shiy* 'to be like' as the gradable predicate in positive or negative polarity clauses. In (3.138), the comparee is expressed as the person proclitic on the gradable predicate whereas the standard NP occurs in reduced form. The gradable verb predicate *shiy* 'be like' is marked for the comparee NP (by 3n.m. person clitic o=) and the standard NP (by the O-oriented goal directional which codes semantic patients), as seen in (3.139). In a conjoined comparative construction, shown in (3.140), which consists of two structurally independent clauses,

the first clause contains the comparee NP *tyaapaka* 'this hen' and the second -the standard NP *varipa* 'rooster'.

3.138 *Te oshiyaro pashinira.*
te o=**shiy**-ia=ro pashini=ra
NEG. REAL 3n.m.A=**be.like**-IRR=3n.m.O other=DEM
'This one isn't like that one [they aren't the same].'

3.139 *Iroka maakinaka ari oshiyavakahetani/oshiyavakaheta/oshiyavaka.*
iroka maakina=ka ari o**=shiy-**av-ak-a-he-t-a-ni
DEM.n.m machine=DEM PP 3n.m.A=**be.like**-DIR-PRF-EP-PL-EP-REAL-PL
'This machine is like that one [they are the same].'

3.140 *Tyaapaka te ontenapirote, te oshiyari varipa.*
tyaapa=ka te o=N-**tena**-**piro**-t-e te
hen=DEM NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=**be.heavy**-**DEGR**-EP-IRR NEG.REAL

o=**shiy-**ia=ri varipa
3n.m.A=**be.like**-IRR=3m.O rooster
'The hen doesn't weigh as much as the rooster, they are not the same.'

Additionally, a set of personal pronouns can be used to convey contrast (see §3.4.5 for details). An example of the personal pronoun *irintsi* 'but he', which has contrastive 'exhaustive listing' *only*-emphasis, is provided in (3.141).

3.141 *Koki irintsikya tzimakotatzi iyaniri.*
koki **irintsi**=kya tzim-ako-t-atsi i=kaniri
father-in-law **he.FOC=**EMPH exist-APPL-EP-STAT 3m.poss=manioc
'My father-in-law is the *only* one who grows his manioc [literally 'exists with manioc'].'

3.4.4 Adverbs

By definition, adverbs are a catch-all category which covers a wide range of concepts (Payne 1998:69). Based on their semantic content, Ashéninka Perené adverbs can be

grouped into a few classes such as (i) *time* adverbs, (ii) *place* adverbs, (iii) *locative-existential* adverbs, and (iv) miscellaneous *others*. Adverbs are too heterogeneous to be defined by category-specific morphology, although they often take word-final suffixes *–ni* and *–ra,* e.g. *pairani* 'before', *okaakini* 'in close proximity', *tsiteni* 'at night', *ovakera* 'recently'. Most adverbs exhibit obscure internal morphology, which makes identification of their sources problematic. In terms of their distribution, adverbs can appear freely in any position in the clause. I will discuss each adverb subclass in detail below.

(i) *Time adverbs.* As shown in Table 22, a number of verbs, e.g. *pony* 'come from', *kaNt* 'happen' function as temporal adverbs. Some temporal adverbs are derived from verbs, e.g. *sheete* 'be.afternoon '> *sheeteni* 'in the afternoon', *tsite* 'be dark' > *tsiteni* 'at night'; or from an adjective-verb compound *kapichee-kitaite* [small-be.morning]> *kapichekitaiteni* 'early in the morning'; from a numeral *aparoni* 'one'> *aparohatzini* 'one day'.

There are also noun phrases and whole clauses which function as adverbial expressions. Such expressions are used in an adverbial role, as modifiers of the verb phrase. Examples of adverbial expressions are provided in (3.142-3.143).

3.142 *Kamaki aparoni kooya pasinikiranki osarentsi.*
kam-ak-i aparoni kooya **pasini-ki=raNki** **osarentsi**
die-PRF-REAL one woman **other-LOC=ADV.P** **year**
'One woman died last year.'

3.143 *Mavatapaintziri inyatziri amemporipaye.*
mava-t-apaiNt-tz-i=ri i=ny-atz-i=ri ameNpori-paye
three-EP-once-EP-REAL=REL 3m.A=see-PROG-REAL=3m.O vulture-PL
'Three days later, they saw vultures.'

TABLE 22. Temporal adverbs

Form	Gloss	Origin
ovakera(ni)	recently	*o=v-ak-e=ra* [3n.m.S=put?-PRF-REAL=ADV]
osaikera	tomorrow	*o=saik-e=ra* [3n.m.S=be.at-REAL=ADV]
osaitekera	tomorrow	*o=sa<ite>k-e=ra* [3n.m.S=be.at<AUG?>IRR=ADV]
ironyaaka	now	
ironya	now	
irohatzi	until	*iro-hatzi* [precisely-also]
pairani	before, since	*pai-ra-ni* [?-ADV-ADV]
apaata	later, soon	
ponyashita(ka)	afterwards	*pony-ashi-t-ak-a* [come.from-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL]
iNponya	afterwards (IRR)	*i=N-pony-a* [3m.S=IRR-come.from-IRR]
i/oponya	afterwards	*i/o=pony-a* [3m./n.m.S=come.from-REAL]
ponyaka	afterwards	*pony-ak-a* [come.from-PRF-REAL]
iponyashitanaka	afterwards	*i=pony-ashi-t-an-ak-a* [3m.S=come.from-APPL.INT-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL]
aparohatzini	once, one day	*aparo<hatzi>ni* [one<also>ADV]
osamani	a while (ago)	
koramani	in the future	
kapichekitaite(ni)	early morning	*kapichee-kitaite(-ni)* [small-morning-ADV]
tsiteniraNki	last night	*tsiteni=raNki* [night=ADV.P]
sheteniraNki	yesterday	*sheteni=raNki* [day=ADV.P]
sheteni	in the afternoon	
tsiteni	at night	
chapiNki(raNki)	the other day	
iNkaraNki	some time ago	
i/okaNta	meanwhile	*i/o=kaNt-a* [3m./n.m.S=happen-REAL]

3.144 *Osamanityanaki ihatashitakiri iraniri ivankoshiki.*
osamani-tya-an-ak-i i=ha-t-ashi-t-ak-i=ri
late-almost-DIR-PRF-REAL 3m.A=go-EP-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O

ir=ani-ri i=paNko-shi-ki
3m.poss=brother-in-law-poss 3m.poss=house-CL:small.thin.flexible-LOC
'Some time later, he approached his brother's-in-law hunting shack.'

Temporal adverbs are clausal adjuncts and typically occur clause-initially or clause-finally. They can also precede or follow the predicate, as seen in (3.145-3.146).

3.145 *Ikantapaintziri chapinki: -300 soles.*
i=kaNt-apaiNt-tz-i=ri **chapiNki** *300 soles*
3m.A=say-once-EP-REAL=3m.O **the.other.day** 300 Peruvian.currency
'He said to him the other day, '[I'll pay you] 300 soles.'

3.146 *Ishimatepaye inkaranki akiparyakotaki*.
i=shima-paye **iNkaraNki** akipa-ry-ako-t-ak-i
3m.poss=fish-PL **some.time.ago** wrap-REV-APPL-EP-PRF-REAL
'They removed the leaves off the cooked fish a while ago.'

Bound temporal adverbial forms. The following three formatives derive adverbs from nouns and verbs: *–paite* 'during', e.g. *iNkani-paite* [rain-during] 'during the rainy season'; *-ki* 'when, during' (note that the spatial reference of this locative suffix is extended to time), e.g. *kitaiteri-ki* [day-LOC.T] 'during the day'; and *=raNki* 'in the past', e.g. *savadoranki* savado=ranki [Saturday=ADV.P] 'last Saturday'. Examples are provided in (3.147-3.149).

3.147 *Oshiki notashi tampatsikapaite*.
oshiki no=tash-i **taNpatsika-paite**
many 1SG.S=be.hungry-REAL **be.noon-ADV**
'I am very hungry at noon.'

3.148 *Ahate katsinkaiteriki*.
a=hat-e **katsiNkaite-ri-ki**
1PL.S=go-IRR **be.cold-ADJ-LOC**
'We'll go when it's cold.'

3.149 *Nonyavakiro hinokitapakiranki oryaatsiri pava*.
no=ny-av-ak-i=ro **hinoki-t-ap-ak-i=raNki**
1SG.A=see-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O up-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=ADV.P

ooryaatsiri pava
sun solar.deity
'I saw it when the sun was high.'

(ii) *Place adverbs.* Direction/location or place adverbs, like temporal adverbs, cannot take any noun morphology, or be possessed or modified. They cannot function as arguments. Place adverbs are often formed with the help of the demonstrative local adverbial clitics *=ka* 'proximal', *=ra* 'medial', *=Nta* 'distal'. The set of place adverbs includes demonstrative adverbs *aka~haka* 'here', *aNta~haNta* 'there', *yoNta* 'over there.' There is also a subset of spatial adverbs *okaakini* 'in close proximity', *iNtaina* 'far away', *intsoNpaikira/intsoNpoikiNta* 'inside', *iNtakiroNta* 'outside', *iNtatzikiroka* 'this side of the river', *iNtatzikiroNta* 'the other side of the river', *katoNko* 'upriver', *kiriNka* 'downriver/central part of the jungle'. Examples are given in (3.150-3.153).

3.150 *Ikenashihetanaha pashini kirinka, pashini katonko.*
i=ken-ashi-he-t-an-ah-a pashini **kiriNka** pashini **katoNko**
3m.S=go-APPL.INT-PL-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL other **downriver** other **upriver**
'Some went downriver, others went upriver.'

3.151 *Ikinakanakina intsompoikinta,ikinakanakina intakironta.*
i=kin-ak-an-ak-i=na **intsoNpoi-ki=Nta**
3m.A=walk-CAUS-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O **inside-LOC=ADV**

i=kin-ak-an-ak-i=na **iNtakiro=Nta**
3m.A=walk-CAUS-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O **outside=ADV**
'He walked with me inside, then outside.'

3.152 *Ari osaikapakeri misión intatzikironta.*
ari o=saik-ap-ak-i=ri *misión* **iNtatzikiroNta**
PP 3n.m.S=be.at-DIR-PRF-REAL=REL mission **this.side.of.the.river**
'There was a[n adventist] mission founded on this side of the river.'

3.153 *Chooki osaiki okaakini.*
chooki o=saik-i **okaakini**
sister 3n.m.S=be.at **closeby**
'My sister lives in close proximity.'

(iii) *Locative-existential adverbs.*A closed subclass of gender-sensitive locative-existential adverbs is organized in two gender-based paradigmatic sets expressing a three-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker. Locative-existential adverbs in Table 23 are formed by suffixing the proximal *–ka*, medial *–ra* and distal *–Nto* to the pronominal stems *hiri-* and *hiro-* derived from the third person singular personal pronouns *iriro* (3SG.m) and *iroo* (3SGn.m).

TABLE 23. Locative-existential adverbs

Gender	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Masculine	*hirika*	*hirira*	*hiriNto*
Non-masculine	*hiroka*	*hirora*	*hiroNto*

Sometimes bare pronominal stems are used in natural discourse. Their function is two-fold: to make spatial reference to an entity and express an invitation to the interlocutor to make use of it. The gender assignment of the locative-existential adverbs is based on the gender class of the proffered noun referent. In (3.154, 3.156), the animate referent of *noimiporokia* 'that husband of mine' and *maniro* 'deer' is of masculine gender; hence, the use of *hiri* 'here he/it [3pSGm] is'. In (3.155), the referent of the nominal stem *paNko* 'house' is inanimate, by default taking agreement as a non-masculine entity. In accordance with agreement rules, *hiroka* 'here it [3pSGn.m.] is' is selected.

3.154 *Noimiporokira hiri isaikaporokitzira.*
no=imi-poroki=ra **hiri**
1SG.poss=husband-CL:quantity=DEM **there.he.is**

i=saik-a-poroki-tz-i=ra
3m.S=be.at-EP-CL:quantity-EP-REAL=ADV
'My husband, there he is, he sits there, a bag of bones [you can talk to him].'

3.155 *Hiroka pivankoka*.
hiroka pi=paNko=ka
here.it.is 2poss=house=DEM
'Here it is, your house [you can use e.g. sleep there].'

3.156 *Noina, hirika ivatsa maniro, pinkotsitavake.*
no=ina **hirika** i=vatsa maniro pi=N-kotsi-t-av-ak-e
1SG.poss=wife **here.it.is** 3m.poss=meat deer 2S=IRR-cook-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR
'Wife, here it is, deer meat, cook it.'

(iv) *Other adverbs.* This small heterogeneous group includes *aspect, modal, manner*, and *degree* adverbs, among others. The position of these adverbs largely depends on their function. When the adverb modifies the predicate, it either precedes or follows the predicate. Aspect adverbs *aikiro* 'still' and *tekira* 'not yet' typically precede the verb, while other adverbs such as *apaniroini* 'alone, solely', *shintsini* 'loud', 'fast', *neetsini* 'slowly', and degree (scalar) adverbs *osheki* 'a lot' and *kapicheeni* 'little' can occur either before or after the predicate, as shown in (3.157-3.160).

3.157 *Tekira omposate piyaniri*.
tekira o=N-posa-t-e pi=kaniri
not.yet 3n.m.S=IRR-cook-EP-IRR 2poss=manioc
'Your manioc has not cooked yet.'

3.158 *Aikiro oshitovatzi nihaa.*
aikiro o=shitov-atz-i nihaa
still 3n.m.S=leave-PROG-REAL water
'The water level keeps going down.'

3.159 *Osheki nonintzi nonyaatsatya.*
osheki no=niNt-tz-i no=nyaatsa-t-ia
a.lot 1SG.S=want-EP-REAL 1SG.S=play-EP-IRR
'I liked to play a lot.'

3.160 *Nareetantahari shintsini.*
n=aree-t-aNt-ah-a=ri **shintsi-ni**
1SG.S=arrive-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-REAL=REL **be.strong-ADV**
'That's why I came back quickly.'

When the adverb functions on the clausal level, it is positioned at the clause periphery. Modal adverbs occur clause-initially. They have complex internal morphology and are derived from the positive polarity complement-taking verb *ari* 'be the case'. In single-clause statements, *ari* denotes 'all right, OK'. The *ari*-derived adverbial forms express the following modal senses: *arima* ari=ma [PP=DUB] 'perhaps', *aritaima* ari=taima [PP=DUB] 'perhaps, maybe', *arikyaro* ari=kya=ro [PP=EMPH=3n.m.O] 'that's true, indeed'. Examples are provided in (3.161-3.163).

3.161 *Arikyaro, nominkatakaro, notovantarori.*
ari=kya=ro no=miNka-t-ak-a=ro
PP=EMPH=ADV 1SG.A=make.a.hunting.blind-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O

no=tov-aNt-a=ro=ri
1SG.A=fell-APPL.REAS-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'That's right, I made the platform to hunt animals, that's why I had felled it [the tree].'

3.162 *Aritaima, osaikera kapichikitaite nataite.*
ari=taima osaikera kapichi-kitaite n=atai-t-e
PP=DUB tomorrow small-be.morning 1SG.S=go.up-EP-IRR
'Perhaps, tomorrow early in the morning, I'll go up [the hill to do the job].'

3.163 *Arima irakero iraantsi*?
ari=ma ir-ak-e=ro iraa-ntsi
PP=DUB drink-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O blood-ABS
'Perhaps she'll drink blood.'

Adverbs often take emphatic marking such as exclamative (general focus) =*ve,* focused object (?) =*kya,* and contradictory emphasis=*ha.* Examples are provided in (3.164-3.166).

3.164 *Ironyakya ivaitakiri.*
ironya=kya i=v-ai-t-ak-i=ri
now=EMPH 3m.A=kill-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O
'Finally, he was killed.'

3.165 *Kapicheeni ironyakaha kamatsavaitahina intakiro*.
kapicheeni **ironyaka=ha** kamatsa-vai-t-ah-i=na iNtakiro
little **now=EMPH** crawl-DUR-EP-REGR-REAL=1SG.O outside
'Little by little I began to crawl to the area outside.'

3.166 *Yookaitakina intainave!*
y=ook-ai-t-ak-i=na **iNtaina=ve**
3m.A=throw.away-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O **far.away=EXCL**
'They threw me far away.'

3.4.5 Pronouns

This section deals with the closed subclasses of pronouns such as (i) *personal*, (ii) *possessive*, (iii) *demonstrative*, (iv) *interrogative*, and (v) *indefinite*. (Ashéninka Perené has neither reflexive nor relative pronouns.) I'll discuss each subset of pronouns below.

(i) *Personal pronouns*. They are defined as 'shifters whose reference relates to participants in the speech act' constituting 'a small closed class of grammatical words which vary for person' (Dixon 2010a:189). Among four sets of personal pronouns, attested in the language, one of them is identified as containing morphologically simple, non-obligatory forms which function as discourse topics. The simple personal pronouns are distinguished for person, number, and gender in 3p singular, as shown in Table 24. Plural forms of pronouns are formed with the augmentative marker *–ite*. Non-singular person may be of two types, inclusive (including the addressee) and exclusive (not including the addressee). The inclusive/exclusive distinction is maintained only by older speakers whereas younger speakers do not use the exclusive form *naakaite*, considering it archaic. Examples are provided in (3.167-3.168).

TABLE 24. Forms of simple personal pronouns

Person/Gender	Number		
	singular	plural	
		exclusive	inclusive
1	*naaka*	*naakaite*	*aroka~arokaite~arorite*
2	*aviroka*	*avirokaite*	
3 masculine	*iri(ro)*	*iriroite~iririroite*	
3 non-masculine	*iroo*	*iroite*	

3.167 *Naakaite nosaikahetzi aka.*
naakaite no=saik-a-he-tz-i aka
1PL.EXCL 1SG.S=be.at-EP-PL-EP-REAL here
'We, we live here.'

3.168 *Irooite amahetatzi nihaaki.*
irooite ama-he-t-atz-i nihaa-ki
3PL.n.m. swim-PL-EP-PROG-REAL river-LOC
'The women, they are swimming in the river.'

In addition to the pronominal set from Table 24, there are three more sets of personal pronouns, each performing different pragmatic functions. A summary of the four sets is given in Table 25. The category of number is not included in Table 25 since only continuous discourse topic pronouns (set 1) are found in the plural number, formed with the marker of plurality *–ite* (see Table 24 above). As shown in Table 25, Ashéninka Perené has paradigmatic sets of topic and focus pronouns. Types of *focused* pronouns are distinguished on the basis of the *scope* of focus (i.e. the scope of focus is limited to a single constituent, be it subject or another verb argument). Types of *topic* pronouns are differentiated on the basis of *contrast* (i.e. contrastive topic refers to one topical referent explicitly opposed to another).

Table 28. Four sets of personal pronouns

Person/Gender/Number	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
	Continuous discourse topic	Contrastive additive listing focus on S/A,O	Contrastive exhaustive listing focus on S/A, O	Contrastive discourse topic
1 singular	*naaka*	*naari*	*naakataki*	*naintsi*
2 singular	*aviroka*	*avirori*	*avirotaki*	*avintsi*
3masculine singular	*iri(ro)*	*irirori*	*iritaki*	*irintsi*
3non-masculine singular	*iroo*	*iroori*	*irotaki*	*irontsi*
1 plural	*aroka*	*arori*	*arotaki*	

Set 1. The first set of personal pronouns in Table 25 is used to signal a continuous discourse topic. Topic pronouns are optional and are co-referential with the subject proclitics. Note the distinctive position of the pronouns, found immediately to the left of the verb in (3.169-3.170).

3.169 *Iriro ikotsivintziro itsipatari Pito ironyaaka.*
iriro i=kotsi-viNt-tz-i=ro i=tsipat-a=ri Pito ironyaaka
he 3m.A=cook-BEN-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.A=join-REAL=3m.O name now
'He, he cooks for them with Pito.'

3.170 *Iroo pikante osankinatemita.*
iroo pi=kaNt-e o=saNkina-t-e=mi=ta
she 2A=say-IRR 3n.m.A=write-EP-IRR=2O=OPT
'She, she will write down what you say.'

Set 2. The personal pronouns from set 2 typically appear to the right of the verb signaling a focused participant; they also occur in the preverbal position. The pronouns are derived from the topic pronouns by the suffixation of the formative *–ri*. The focused pronouns express contrastive 'expanding' emphasis on a subject or object constituent when the speaker believes that the addressee has no knowledge of this particular participant's additional role in the described event; e.g. *Doctors prescribe medicines,* ***I also*** *cure with*

them. Examples of this type of contrast, which is called here 'additive listing', are provided in (3.171-3.173).

3.171 *Tekatsi naye naari pashini.*
tekatsi n=ay-e **naari** pashini
EXIST 1SG.S=take-IRR **I.FOC** another
'There is nothing else which I will also use.'

3.172 *Ikantzi ririori, 'Te noyotero.*'
i=kaNt-tz-i **ririori** te no=yo-t-e=ro
3m.S=say-EP-REAL **he.FOC** NEG.REAL 1SG.A=know-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
'He also said, 'I don't know [how to make it].'

3.173 *Amaki iroori, tzimatsi ivetsikakotakiro.*
am-ak-i **iroori** tzimatsi i=vetsik-ako-t-ak-i=ro
bring-PRF-REAL **she.FOC** EXIST 3m.A=make-APPL-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'She also brought, she has a document [made by the university].'

Set 3. The third pronominal set consists of verbalized pronouns *naakataki, avirotaki*, *iritaki,* and *irotaki.* The verbalized pronouns are formed from the topic pronouns *naaka, aviroka*, *iri(ro)* and *iroo* and are inflected for aspect and realis status: *-t-ak-i* [EP-PRF-REAL].This set is used to signal a focused subject, object of a transitive clause, or a focused oblique constituent promoted via applicative derivation to the status of direct object. This focus type expresses 'exhaustive listing' exemplified by the following English sentence: *He ate **only** the pulp of pifayo*. The position of the focused verbalized pronouns is at the left periphery of the clause. The selection of the gender-specific 3person singular verbalized pronouns *iritaki/irotaki* occurs in conjunction with the gender class of the focused verb argument. When the referent of the third person noun referent is masculine, *iritaki* is used; in other cases, the focus on the referent NP is expressed by *irotaki; naakataki* and *avirotaki* are used when the referent of the focused NP in S/A

function is first person singular and second person respectively. Multiple marking of the focused NP is possible: the focused verbalized pronouns often appear with the adverbs *apaniroini* 'on one's own, solo', *intaani* 'only', or the numeral *aparoni* 'one' to emphasize the exhaustive listing effect. Note that co-referential verbal person clitics are elided when human subjects are focused; verbal person clitics in O function do not delete when objects are focused; obliques (e.g. those coded by the applicative of reason *-aNt*) are typically not marked on the verb. Examples of focused peonouns are seen in (3.174-3.184).

TRANSITIVE SUBJECT

3.174 *Intaani nosaryanikipatsaini, iritaki naari kimoshiritakanari.*
intaani no=sari-aniki-patsa-ini **iritaki** naari
only 1SG.poss=grandma-DIM-small.part-DIM **FOC** I.FOC

kimoshiri-t-ak-a=na=ri
be.joyous-EP-CAUS-REAL=1SG.O=REL
'ONLY my grandchildren, THEY ARE THE ONES WHO make me happy.'

3.175 *Naakataki aakiro.*
naakataki a-ak-i=ro
FOC take-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'*I* took it.'

INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT

3.176 *Iritaki saikatsi aparoni.*
iritaki saik-atsi **aparoni**
FOC be.at-STAT **one**
'HE IS THE ONE who is living here.

3.177 *Irotaki ontsitenitanake, maperotanakina.*
irotaki **o**=N-tsiteni-t-an-ak-e mapero-t-an-ak-i=na
FOC **1SG.S**=IRR-get.dark-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR get.worse-EP-DIR-REAL=1SG.O
'IT is about to get dark, I am getting worse.'

OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

3.178 *Irotaki yaapakiro apa, osaikaperotantapakari Marankiaroki.*
irotaki y=a-ap-ak-i=**ro** apa
FOC 3m.A=take-DIR-PRF-REAL=**3n.m.O** father

o=saik-a-pero-t-aNt-ap-ak-a=ri Marankiaro-ki
3n.m.S=be.at-EP-AUG-EP-APPL.REAS-DIR-PRF-REAL=REL name.of.village-LOC
'HER my dad took [as a wife], that's why she lived all her life in Marankiari.

3.179 *He, irotaki intaani ipesakero tonkariki imperetaki.*
he **irotaki** **iNtaani** i=pes-ak-i=**ro**
yes **FOC** **only** 3m.A=hack.with.a.machete-PRF-REAL=**3n.m.O**

toNkari-ki iNpereta-ki
top-LOC rock -LOC
'Yes, he cleaned ONLY THE ROCKY PART at the top.'

RELATIVIZED OBLIQUE (CAUSE)

3.180 *Machiyenka inatzi, irotaki ishipatonatantari.*
MachiyeNka i=na-tz-i **irotaki**
Matsigenka 3m.S=be-ep-REAL **FOC**

i=shipatona-t-**aNt**-a=**ri**
3m.S=beard-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=**REL**
'He is Machigenka, THIS IS [THE REASON] WHY he has whiskers.'

3.181 *Irotaki aisatzi akisavakantapintari.*
irotaki aisatzi a=kis-av-ak-**aNt**-apiNt-a=**ri**
FOC also 1PL.S=be.angry-RCP-PRF-**APPL.REAS**-HAB-REAL=**REL**
'THIS IS [THE REASON] WHY we argue between ourselves.'

OVERTLY EXPRESSED OBJECT; RELATIVIZED OBJECT

3.182 *Irotaki ampeshi niraki, irotaki niriri, ipaitakinari.*
irotaki **aNpeshi** n=ir-ak-i **irotaki** n=ir-i=**ri**
FOC **cotton** 1SG.S=drink-PRF-REAL **FOC** 1SG.S=drink-REAL=**REL**

i=p-ai-t-ak-i=na=**ri**
3m.A=give-IMP.P-EP-REAL=1SG.O=**REL**
'THIS, cotton leaves (tea) I drank, THIS IS WHAT I drank, WHAT they gave me.'

In addition, the verbalized pronouns can also function to focus the referent of an overtly expressed oblique NP or a copula complement. Note that gender agreement rules

are observed. When the pronouns focus an oblique NP or a copula complement, they immediately precede it, as seen in (3.183-3.184).

3.183 *Nayeri, naantari kapichiini kiriiki iroka irotaki notyoonkaantsi.*
n=a-ye=ri n=a-aNt-a=ri
1SG.A=get-IRR=3m.O 1SG.A=get-INST-REAL=3m.O

kapichiini kiriiki iroka **irotaki** **no=tyooNk-a-ntsi**
little money DEM **FOC** **1SG.poss=bathe-EP-NMZ**
'I will get, I earn some money from this TREATMENT.'

3.184 *Ikantzi acharinite ikinkitsatakotziri aparoni ashaninka kantatziri iritaki kovintsari.*
i=kaNt-tz-i a=charine-te
3m.S=say-EP-REAL 1PL.poss=grandfather-poss

i=kiNkitsa-t-ako-tz-i=ri aparoni a=shaniNka
3m.S=tell-EP-APPL-EP-REAL=REL one 1PL.poss=fellowman

kaNt-atsi=ri **iritaki** **kovintsa-ri**
be-STAT=REL **FOC** **hunt-NMZ**
'They say our ancestors were telling a story about our fellowman who was a HUNTER.'

Set 4. Additionally, the fourth set of extant pronouns, *naintsi, avintsi, irintsi, irontsi,* formed by adding the suffix *–intsi* to the reduced forms of topic pronouns, is used to express contrastive topic. In terms of their occurrence in natural discourse, consultants have commented on the exceedingly rare use of these pronominal forms, indicating that they have become archaic. In Ashéninka Perené, an *oppositive* contrastive topic signals a contrast between two topical referents, the second topical referent being formally expressed by one of the pronouns from set 4 (Table 25). An English equivalent of the oppositive contrastive topic is '*but* X'. Propositions with contrastive topics (CT) are often accompanied by contrastive focused constituents (CF). The following example contains

both a contrastive topic (CT) and a contrastive focused constituent (CF): *I saw Mary and John. SHE* (CT) *says HELLO* (CF), *BUT HE* (CT*) is still ANGRY* (CF) *at you* (Lambreht 1994: 291). In (3.185), when the first speaker informs the addressee about his intent to go to Lima, the addressee interprets it as an invitation to join and responds negatively, 'BUT I(CT) *don't want to go.*' In (3.186), the speaker directly asks '*Do* YOU (CT) *grow* COFFEE (CF)*?*' and responds to his own question, 'BUT YOU (CT) *have a wooded lot [you have* TREES (CF)]*.'* In (3.185-3.186), the contrastive topic is signaled by a higher intonational contour on the pronouns *naintsima* and *avintsi.*

3.185 *–Nohatatye Irimashiki. –Ari nonintavita nohatemi, naintsima te noninte.*
no=ha-t-aty-e Irimashi-ki ari no=niNta-vi-t-a
1SG.S=go-EP-PROG-IRR Lima-LOC PP 1SG.S=want-FRUS-EP-REAL

no=ha-t-e=mi **naintsi**=ma te no=niNt-e
1SG.S=go-EP-IRR=CNT.F **I.C.F**=DUB NEG.REAL 1SG.S=want-IRR
'I will be going to Lima.'' I was thinking about going too... but I don't want to go [to Lima].'

3.186 *–Aviroka tzimatsi piyahaite pivaniki. Avirokaha tzimatsima? Avintsi antamitaki pivani.*
aviroka tzimatsi pi=kahai-te pi=vani-ki aviroka=ha
you EXIST 2poss=coffee-poss 2poss=plot-LOC you=EMPH

tzimatsi=ma **avintsi** aNtami-t-ak-i pi=vani
EXIST=DUB **you**.**C.F** woods-EP-PRF-REAL 2poss=plot
'You have coffee on your land, do you grow any coffee on your land? Actually, you have a wooded lot.'

In sum, personal pronouns have more restricted morphological properties than nouns. For example, they don't take nominal inflectional and derivational morphology such as locative case marker *–ki,* classifying morphemes, diminutive *–patsaini*, *-haniki,* or augmentative *–ni;* neither do they participate in compounding or noun incorporation.

However, they can take demonstrative enclitics =*ka* 'this', =*ra* 'that', =*nta* 'that over there'. Like verbs, pronouns can take modal formatives =*ma* 'dubitative' and =*ta* 'optative' (which seemingly acquire pragmatic functions when used with non-verbal constituents). They also take floating pragmatic enclitics =*ha* and =*ve.* In addition, they exhibit morphological processes of their own. They take the plural/augmentative marker –*ite* (which is also found with adjectives and numerals), although alternatively they may occur with the nominal plural marker –*paye,* e.g. *arokapaye* '1PL', *avirokapaye* '2PL', *iriropaye* '3PL.masculine', *iroopaye* '3PL.non-masculine'. A distinctive feature of the personal pronouns, which helps identify them as a distinctive class, is 'emphatic' pronominal morphology such as formative –*ri* 'additive listing focus', -*taki* 'contrastive exhaustive listing focus', –*intsi* 'contrastive topic'. In syntactic terms, pronouns exhibit noun-like possibilities for modification. Like nouns, they take modifiers including numerals and nouns, as seen in (3.187-3.188) respectively; they can also be modified by a relative clause, as seen in (3.189).

3.187 *Aviroka apiteroite antatsini ovantsi.*
aviroka **apite-ro-ite** aNt-atsi=ni ovantsi
you **two-NMZ-PL** work-STAT=REL plot.of.land
'You two who will work on the land.'

3.188 *Kooyapaye iroo kotsivaitatsini.*
kooya-paye **iroo** kotsi-vai-t-atsi=ni
woman-PL **she** cook-DUR-EP-STAT=REL
'All of them women who will be cooking.'

3.189 *Aanakiro iroori paitachari Irina.*
a-an-ak-i=ro **iroori** **pait-ach-a=ri** **Irina**
take-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O **she** **be.called-STAT-REAL=REL** **Irina**
'She took it, she, who is called Elena.'

(ii) *Possessive pronouns*. Independent possessive forms derive from the verb root *ashi* 'have' in a regular paradigm, as shown in Table 26.

TABLE 26. Possessive pronouns

Person/Number/ Gender	Free personal pronoun/continuous topic form	Bound pronoun form/person-marking clitic in A/S function	Free possessive pronominal form
1SG	*naaka*	*no=*	***n**ashi*
2SG	*aviroka*	*pi=*	***p**ashi*
3SG.masculine	*iri(ro)*	*i=~ir=*	***ir**ashi*
3SG.non-masculine	*iroo*	*o=*	*Ø-ashi*
1PL	*arokaite*	*a=*	*Ø-ashi*
2PL	*avirokaite*		***p**ashiite*
3PL.masculine	*iriroite*		***ir**ashiite*
3PL.non-masculine	*iroite*		*Ø-ashiite*

Free possessive pronominal forms, derived from the verb root *ashi* 'to have', take the verbal subject person markers, which coincide with the bound possessive proclitics on the noun. Plural number is expressed by the plural/augmentative marker *-ite.* (It should be noted that the plural possessive forms are elicited. In natural discourse, plural forms haven't been attested.) The possessive pronouns show gender distinction in the third person, *irashi* 'his', *ashi* 'her' (the latter can also indicate 'our') and *irashiite* 'their' (masculine), *ashiite* 'their' (non-masculine). To show gender agreement with the controller nouns which constitute the masculine gender class, the affix *ir-* is assigned. Possessive pronouns take zero marking when they agree with the nouns which make up the default, non-masculine gender.

Though possessive pronouns are free forms, they are typically not used by themselves. They modify the head to express possession or may be used as full NPs in the copula complement function. As the examples in (3.190-3.192) show, the possessive

pronouns are used to express contrastive focus or demonstratively, usually accompanied with a deictic gesture.

3.190 *–Ninka ashitarori maakinaka? –Ashi kooyaka.*
niNka ashi-t-a=ro=ri maakina=ka **ashi kooya=ka**
who have-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL machine=Q **hers woman=DEM**
'Whose machine (recorder) is this?' 'Hers, this woman's.'

3.191 *Nantyari nomantsaki nonkitsatantyariri irashi neentsipataini.*
no=a-aNt-ia=ri no=mantsaki
1SG.S=get-APPL.REAS-IRR=REL 1SG.poss=cushma

no=N-kitsa-t-aNt-ia=ri=ri **irashi n=eentsi-patsaini**
1SG.A=IRR-dress-EP-APPL.REAS-IRR=3m.O=REL **his 1SG.poss=child-DIM**
'In order for me to get my *cushma* and dress my little children.'

3.192 *Te kaari nashive!*
te kaari **nashi=**ve
NEG.REAL NEG.C **mine**=EXCL
'This is not mine.'

Bound pronominal forms. Bound pronouns are phonologically bound clitics which attach to verbs and nouns to form a phonological word. They have a fixed position with regard to their hosts. With verbs, the S/A proclitics precede the verb root or, if present, the irrealis prefix or causative prefix; the O enclitics are verb-final first position clitics.With noun hosts, the possessive proclitics always occupy the slot before the nominal root. Table 27 shows forms and functions of the verb and noun proclitics.

TABLE 27. Forms and functions of bound pronominal forms

FORM	FUNCTION	
	S/A person marker on verbs	*Possessor on nouns*
n(o)=	1pSG subject	1pSG possessor
p(i)=	2p subject	2p possessor
i=,y=, ir(i)=	3p masculine subject	3p masculine possessor
o=	3p non-masculine subject	3p non-masculine possessor
a=	1pPL subject	1pPL possessor

As my corpus shows, free pronouns are used more sparingly than bound pronominal forms. Free pronominal forms largely correspond to two sets of subject and object person markers, as seen in Table 28. In Table 28, 1SG and 2SG A/S proclitics show allomorphy. The vowels of pronominal proclitics are deleted when they are adjoined to vowel initial stems. The 1PL subject proclitic is realized as *a*= before non-vowel initial stem or as a zero morph before vowel-initial stems. As far as the 3SG subjective and objective clitics are concerned, they are clearly formed from the personal pronouns *iri(ro)* 'he' and *iroo* 'she'. Their phonologically reduced forms have retained the gender-based alternation of /i /and /o/, while the diachronically-motivated loss of the segment /r/ has occurred in the subjective proclitics. The distribution of the A/S masculine proclitics is as follows: *y*= before *a-/o-* initial stems, Ø before *i*-initial stems, and *i*= with the [-vowel]-initial stems. The non-masculine A/S verbal proclitics have irregularity as well: *o*= is used before [-vowel] stem and zero marking occurs before [+vowel] stem.

TABLE 28. Allomorphy of bound pronominal forms

Person/Number/Gender	Free forms	A/S clitics	O clitics
1SG	*naaka*	*n(o)=*	*=na*
2	*aviroka*	*p(i)=*	*=mi*
3SGmasculine	*iri(ro)*	*i=; y=; Ø; (ir(i)=)*	*=ri*
3SGnon-masculine	*iroo*	*o=; Ø*	*=ro*
1PL	*aroka*	*a=; Ø*	*=ai*

Some speakers of the westerly variety of Ashéninka Perené employ the 3SGm subject marker *ir(i)*= cumulating with the category of irrealis before vowel-initial or /j/-initial roots. The irrealis prefix N is realized as an allomorph *r*- between the 3SGm subject

proclitic *i=* and a vowel-initial root and as *ri-* between the 3SGm *i=* and the /j/-initial verbal root. Examples are provided in (3.193-3.194).

3.193 *Te iramitya isaiki kirinka, piyaha.*
te **ir**=amit-ia i=saik-e kiriNka
NEG.REAL **3SG.m.IRR**=be.accustomed-IRR 3m.S=be.at-IRR downriver

piy-ah-a
return-REGR-IRR
'They weren't accustomed to living downriver, and they came back.'

3.194 *Ontzimi aparoni escuela iriyotantahyari noshaninkapaye.*
o=N-tzim-e aparoni escuela
3n.m.S=IRR-have-IRR one school

iri=yo-t-aNt-ah-ia=ri no=shaniNka-paye
3SG.m.IRR=learn-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-IRR=REL 1SG.poss=fellowman-PL
'A school is needed so that our people learn [how to read and write].'

Allomorphy is also observed with the 3SGm possessor proclitics on nouns: *ir=~y=* before *a/o-* initial stems, Ø before *i-/e-*initial stems, and *i=* with the non-vowel initial stems; e.g. *ir=oya-te* [3m.poss=pot-poss] 'his pot', *ir=oki* [3m.poss=eye] 'his eye', *ir=aiki* [3m.poss=tooth] 'his tooth', *ir=ako* [3m.poss=hand] 'his hand', *ir=otsitzi-te* [3m.poss=dog-poss] 'his dog', *y=ashiro-tsa-te* [3m.poss=iron-CL:long.flexible.thin-poss] 'his ax', *i=mapi-ni* [3m.poss=stone-poss].

In general, person/possesssor proclitics (see Table 27) are obligatory. However, 3pSG intransitive subjects may not be marked on the verb at all. This phenomenon of zero marking of subject function has a pragmatic basis involving topically continuous participants (see Payne &Payne 2005 for discussion of split intransitivity in Ashéninka varieties). Examples are provided in (3.195-3.196).

3.195 *–Tsika ohatzika ina? –Pokapahi.*
tsika o=ha-tz-i=ka ina pok-ap-ah-i**=Ø**
WH 3n.m.S=go-EP-REAL=Q mother come-DIR-REGR-REAL**=3n.m.O**
'Where is mother?' 'She is back already.'

3.196 *Inyapakiri, hataki.*
i=ny-ap-ak-i=ri ha-t-ak-i**=Ø**
3m.A=see-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O go-EP-PRF-REAL**=3m.O**
'He saw him and went [towards him].'

As the result of zero subject marking, neutralization of the categories of person, gender, and number occurs. Another case of neutralization involves the pronominal third person clitic *=ni,* which is unmarked for gender. The 3SG clitic *=ni* occurs when there are two 3 person participants: one of them is a semantic recipient or a beneficiary (marked by *=ni*) and another is a semantic theme or a patient (marked by *=ri-* or *=ro*). Examples are provided in (3.197-3.198).

3.197 *Ovarite ironyaaka intaani yayiniro tzina.*
o=va-ri-te ironyaaka iNtaani y=ay-e=**ni**=ro tzina
3n.m=eat-NMZ-poss now solely 3m.A=get-IRR=**3O**=3n.m.O camonilla
'Her food, he gave her solely [the pulp of] camonilla.'

3.198 *Iposakiri, iminkitakiniri pyaamini itsiyakiki.*
i=pos-ak-i=ri i=mink-it-ak-i=**ni**=ri
3m.A=beat-PRF-REAL=3m.O 3m.A=insert-ICPL-PRF-REAL=**3O**=3m.O

pyaameni i=tsiyaki-ki
bow 3m.poss=anus-LOC
'They beat him and inserted the bow in his anus.'

Additionally, neutralization of the category of reality status occurs when the 1PL object person marker *=ai* is used, as seen in (3.199).

3.199 *Ipakai kiriikiranki.*
i=p-ak=**ai** kiriiki=raNki
3m.A=give-PRF=**1PL.O** money=ADV.P
'He gave us money [which we don't have any more].'

(iii) *Demonstratives.* Demonstratives are defined 'as a class of shifters with deictic reference to some person (or something) other than speaker or addressee' (Dixon 2010a:224). There have been attested three types of demonstratives in the language.

(1) *Nominal* demonstratives, which occur as free forms in an NP with a noun, e.g. ***oka*** *kireeki* 'this money', ***iyoka*** *kashiri* 'this monkey', or as bound forms *=ka, =ra, =Nta* on nouns; e.g. *maakina=**ka*** [machine=DEM], *kooya=**ra*** [woman=DEM] 'that woman', *tzivi=**Nta*** [salt=DEM] 'that salt over there' (both free and bound forms may be used together, e.g. ***iroka*** *kooya**ka*** 'this woman'.

(2) *Locative* adverbial demonstratives which occur as free forms, e.g. *(h)aka* 'here', *aNta* 'there', *yoNta* 'over there', or as bound forms *=ka, =ra, =Nta* on verbs, as seen in (3.200).

3.200 *Nosaikahetzika.*
no=saik-a-he-tz-i=**ka**
1SG.S=be.at-EP-PL-EP-REAL=**ADV**
'We are here.'

(3) *Locative-existential* adverbial gender-sensitive demonstratives *hiri-/hiro-* 'here you are' which take endings *=ka, =ra, =Nto* while making a spatial reference to the proffered entity, as exemplified in (3.201).

3.201 *Hironto pivankonta.*
hiro=**Nto** pi=paNko=Nta
here.it.is=ADV 2poss=house=DEM
'Here is your house over there, make use of it'.

Since adverbial demonstratives have been already discussed in §3.4.4, I'll provide here a brief account of nominal demonstrative pronouns. Nominal demonstratives are organized in two gender-based paradigmatic sets expressing a three-way contrast in terms of spatial distance from the speaker, as seen in Table 29. Nominal demonstratives indicate the relative distance of a noun referent vis-à-vis the deictic center which is the speaker's location at the time of the utterance. Demonstrative adjectives in Table 29 are formed by affixing the proximal *=ka*, medial *=ra* and distal *=Nta* to the phonologically reduced stems *iyo-/iri-* and *iro-* of the third person singular personal pronouns *iri(ro)* 'he' and *iroo* 'she'.

TABLE 29. Nominal demonstrative pronouns

Gender	Proximal	Medial	Distal
masculine	*(i)irika~ iyoka*	*(i)yora*	*(i)yoNta*
non-masculine	*iroka~ roka~ oka*	*irora*	*iroNta*

Defining properties of nominal demonstratives are having a deictic function and occurring in an NP with a noun (Dixon 2010a: 227). Nominal demonstratives have a deictic function in (3.202-3.203) or are used as a way to express new information in (3.203), while occuring in an NP with a noun in (3.202-3.203) or a head of NP in (3.203). In (3.204), the nominal demonstrative *yoka* 'this' is used anaphorically. They may appear as a head of NP in object function, as seen in (3.203), or subject function, as shown in (3.204).

3.202 *Paanakero iroka nihaaka.*

p=a-an-ak-e=ro	**iroka**	nihaa=ka
2A=take-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O	**DEM.n.m**.	water=DEM

'Take this water.'

3.203 *–Pinintatzi irora koka? Iroka pinintziri?*
pi=niNt-atz-i **irora** koka **iroka** pi=niNt-tz-i=ri
2S=want-PROG-REAL **DEM.n.m**. coca **DEM.n.m**. 2S=want-EP-REAL=REL
'Do you want that coca? Do you want this?'

3.204 *Yoka ikovi yayero contrato.*
yoka i=kov-i y=ay-e=ro *contrato*
DEM.m 3m.S=want-REAL 3m.A=get-IRR=3n.m.O contract
'This [guy] wanted to sign a contract.'

When nominal demonstratives appear with the corresponding noun, they are often accompanied with a pointing gesture. Demonstratives such as *iroka~ oka* 'this', *irora* 'that' can also be used for discourse organization as fillers to fill up gaps in utterances (note that the filler *este* 'this' is frequent in Spanish). Examples are provided in (3.205-3.206).

3.205 *Tekatsi ante irora ankamitantantyari.*
tekatsi aNt-e **irora** a=N-kamitaNt-aNt-ia=ri
NEG.EXIST do-IRR **DEM.n.**m 1PL.S=IRR-buy-APPL.REAS-IRR=REL
'I have nothing to do (filler) to buy food [other than perform steam baths].'

3.206 *Oka ironyaaka nosaitatyero nihaa.*
oka ironyaaka no=sai-t-aty-e=ro nihaa
DEM.n.m. now 1SG.A=empty-EP-PROG-IRR=3n.m.O water
'This, now I will pour water.'

(iv) *Interrogatives.* The set of interrogative forms includes only two basic forms such as *tsika* 'where, what, how, why' and *niNka* 'who'. This minimal set of question words takes advantage of the available periphrastic stratiegies to produce interrogative constructions by using various copula verbs and verbal affixes and clitics. The form and morphological patterning of these forms don't resemble personal or possessive pronouns.

The origin of these question words is obscure[25]. They don't inflect except for the dubitative =*ma and* conditional =*rika.* Question words are always clause-initial and their use typically requires the question clitic = *ka* which attaches to the verb. The question word *tsika* is used in quieries about the complements of the copula of naming *pait* and temporal, consequence, manner, and locative adjuncts; the question word *ninka* interrogates subjects and objects. Interrogative *tsika*-constructions will be described first, followed by an account of *niNka*-constructions.

Tsika. The interrogative pronoun *tsika* 'where' is used in questions about the referent's location. Examples in (3.207-3.209) illustrate this function.

3.207 *-Tsika noshinto?-Taan, tsikataima.*
tsika no=shiNto taan tsika=taima
where 1SG.poss=daughter NEG.W where=DUB
'Where is my daughter?' 'I don't know where she might be.'

3.208 *-Tsika norirote? Ari novanakiri inkaranki. Tema hirika.*
tsika no=riro-te ari no=v-an-ak-i=ri
where 1SG.poss=watch-poss there 1SG.S=put-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O

iNkaraNki tema hirika
recently maybe here.it.is
'Where is my watch? I put it there a while ago. Maybe, it is here.'

3.209 *-Tsikarika naye kompiroshi?-Tzimatsi novanikinta osheki kompiroshi.*
tsika=rika n=ay-e koNpiroshi tzimatsi
where=COND 1SG.S=take-IRR yarina EXIST

no=vani-ki=Nta osheki koNpiroshi
1SG.poss=land-LOC=DEM many yarina
'Where will I get yarina?' 'I have a lot of yarina on my land over there.'

[25] Cysouw notes that *niNka* 'who' is probably the reduction of Asháninka *janika* ja-ni=ka [who-ANIM=Q] 'who'; presumably, niNka consists of the animate marker *-ni* and the general interrogative clitic =*ka*. Regarding the morphology of *tsika tsi=ka* [?=Q], the evolution of the root *tsi* is not clear. The root might be related to the unspecified possessor suffix *–(n)tsi* (2007:150-1).

Additonally, *tsika* is used as an argument with the meaning 'what' to ask about a referent's name and about subject's actions, as shown in (3.210-3.212). The semantic roles of the interrogated complements include patients and themes. In general, *what*-constructions are expressed by combining *tsika* with the copula verb of naming *pai* and the relative enclitic *=ri*, marked on the lexical verb, as seen in (3.211-3.213).

3.210 *-Tsika opaita(ka) kooyaka?- Te onkameetsate irora, kamaaro onatzi.*
tsika o=**pai-**t-a=ka kooya=ka te
what 3n.m.S**=be.called-EP-**REAL=Q woman=DEM NEG.REAL

o=N-kameetsat-e irora kamaaro o=na-tz-i
3n.m.S=IRR-be.good-IRR DEM devil 3n.m.S=be-REAL
'What's the name of this woman?' 'She isn't good, she's the devil.'

3.211 *-(Tsika) paita yaminiri notsaratiki?-Taantya.*
tsika paita y=amin-i=**ri** no=tsara-te-ki taan=tya
WH 3m.S=look.for-REAL=**REL** 1SG.poss=bag-poss-LOC W.NEG=EMPH
'What were they looking for in my bag?' 'I don't know.'

3.212 *–(Tsika) paita pikantakeriri oimitsori?-Nosampitakotatziri noshintotsori.*
tsika paita pi=kaNt-ak-i=ri=**ri** o=imi-tsori
WH 2S=say-PRF-REAL=3m.O=**REL** 3n.m.poss=husband-DIST.REL

no=sampi-t-ako-t-atz-i=ri no=shiNto-tsori
1SG.A=ask-EP-APPL-EP-PROG-REAL=3m.O 1SG.poss=daughter-DIST.REL
'What did you say to your cousin?' 'I asked him about my niece.'

3.213 *Tsikama opaitaka pinintziri?*
tsika=ma o=**pai-**t-a=ka pi=niNt-tz-i=**ri**
WH=DUB 3n.m.S=**be.called**-EP-REAL=Q 2S=want-EP-REAL=**REL**
'What do you want?'

As the above examples show, the formulaic expression *tsika pai-t-a* [where be.called-EP-REAL] 'what is it called that' has become grammaticalized to signal the complement-focused function of the interrogative form. It has been desemantacizing and losing phonetic substance to the extent that *tsika* is often omitted. The copula verb of naming

pai ‘be called’ also shows loss of substance since it often appears without the subject person marker. The same grammaticalization process is underway in *why*-interrogative constructions, which rarely occur with the interrogarive form *tsika*. The elements of the *why*-constructions include the copula verb of naming *pai,* applicative of reason *–aNt* and relative clitic *=ri*, as seen in (3.214).

3.214 *-Paitakya? Paitaka ikamantakari otsitzi? –Te, te tekira inkami.*
pai-t**-**a=kya **pai-t-**a=ka i=kam-**aNt**-ak-a=**ri**
be.called-EP-REAL=EMPH be.called-EP-REAL=Q 3m.S=die-**APPL.REAS**-PRF-REAL=**REL**

otsitzi te te tekira i=N-kam-e
dog NEG.REAL NEG.REAL yet 3m.S=IRR-die-IRR
‘Why? Why did the dog die?’ ‘No, it hasn’t died yet.’

Tsika is also used in the questions about the manner of the action performed by the subject. These questions literally interrogate about the causes of the action. When used in this function, *tsika* occurs with the verb *kaNt* ‘happen’, ‘do’ in conjunction with the applicative of reason *–aNt* and relative clitic *=ri* or conditional *=rika,* as seen in (3.215-3.216).

3.215 *-Tsika okanta pinyavaitantakari?-Nonyavaitantari anyaaniki nohataki escuela.*
tsika o=**kaNt-**a pi=nya-vai-t-**aNt**-ak-a=**ri**
WH 3n.m.S**=happen-**REAL 2S=speak-DUR-EP-**APPL.REAS**-PRF-REAL=**REL**

no=nya-vai-t-aNt-a=ri a=nyaa-ni-ki
1SG.S=speak-DUR-EP-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL 1PL.poss=word-poss-LOC

no=ha-t-ak-i *escuela*
1SG.S=go-EP-PRF-REAL school
‘How did it happen that you speak the language [why do you speak]?’ ‘I speak [the language] because I went to school.’

3.216 *-Tsika pikantzirorika pichakopitepaye? -Nokintantaro tsimiri.*
tsika pi=**kaNt-**tz-i=ro=rika pi=chakopi-te-paye
WH 2A=**do-EP-**REAL=3n.m.O=COND 2poss=arrow-poss-PL

no=kiNt-aNt-a=ro tsimiri
1SG.A=pierce.with.arrows-APPL.REAS-REAL=3n.m.O bird
'How do you use your arrows [what for do you use your arrows]?' 'To kill birds.'

When questions about quantity (how much? how many?) are asked, *tsika* is generally used along with the copula of capacity *kara* 'be complete', 'contain' and the relative clitic *=ri.* When temporal adverbial adjuncts are interrogated, the relative clitic *=ri* does not co-occur with *tsika*, as shown in (3.217-3.220).

3.217 *-Tsika okarate kireeki pimpinatenari? -Osheki.*
tsika o=**kara-**t-e kireeki pi=N-pina-t-e=na=ri osheki
WH 3n.m.S=**CAP.C-**EP-IRR money 2A=IRR-pay-EP-IRR=1SG.O=REL many
'How much money will you pay me?' 'A lot.'

3.218 *-Tsika okaratzi nihaa pinintziri? -Tekatsi.*
tsika o=**kara-**tz-i nihaa pi=niNt-tz-i=ri tekatsi
WH 3n.m.S=**CAP.C-**EP-REAL water 2S=want-EP-REAL=REL none
'How much water do you need?' 'None.'

3.219 *-Tsika okaratzi pimpokahe? –Shetenitaima.*
tsika o=**kara-**tz-i pi=N-pok-ah-e sheteni=taima
WH 3n.m.S=**CAP.C-**EP-REAL 2S=IRR-come-REGR-IRR afternoon=DUB
'When will you come back?' 'In the afternoon.'

3.220 *-Tsika okarateka antavaite?-Ikitaitzimataki.*
tsika o=**kara-**t-e=ka aNt-a-vai-t-e
WH 3n.m.S=**CAP.C=**IRR=Q work-EP-DUR-EP-IRR

i=kitai-tz-ima-t-ak-e
3m.S=be.morning-EP-INCH-EP-PRF-IRR
'How much time will we work?' 'Till dawn.'

The expression *tsika ikantaitziroka* 'how do they say it?' (or its shorter version without *tsika)* is also found as a modifier of nouns in a situation when speakers express

hesitation while looking for the right word. This expression is often preceded by the filler *irora* 'this'. Examples are provided in (3.221-3.222).

3.221 *Isaikavitaka aka irora tsika ikantaitziroka nirinive.*
i=saik-a-vit-ak-a aka irora **tsika**
3m.S=be.at-EP-FRUS-PRF-REAL here DEM **WH**

i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro=ka n=iri-ni=ve
3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=Q 1SG.poss=father-deceased=EXCL
'There lived this, whachamacallit, my deceased father.'

3.222 *Irora ikantaitzirora imperetatzira.*
irora **tsika i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro=ra** iNpereta-tz-i=ra
DEM **WH 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=ADV** rock-EP-REAL=ADV
'This, what do they call it, the rocky area there.'

The form *tsika(rika)* may function as a conjunction occurring in a headless relative clause, as seen in (3.223-3.224).

3.223 *Onyi tsika onkameetsate osaiki.*
o=ny-i **tsika** o=N-kameetsa-t-e o=saik-e
3n.m.S=look.for-REAL **where** 3n.m.S=IRR-be.good-EP-IRR 3n.m.S=be.at-IRR
'She was looking (for a place) where it was suitable to settle down.'

3.224 *Pihate tsika pinintakaro.*
pi=ha-t-e **tsika** pi=niNt-ak-a=ro
2S=go-EP-IRR **where** 2S=want-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'Go (to a place) where you want to.'

NiNka. The question word *niNka* 'who' often occurs as an argument in questions about the referent's identity (who is this?) and possessor (whose?). Examples (3.225-3.226) illustrate questions about subject and possessor arguments respectively.

3.225 *-Ninka kooyanta?-Irotaki osheninka noina, irotaki yomitantatsiri.*
niNka kooya=Nta irotaki o=sheniNka no=ina irotaki
who woman=DEM FOC 3n.m.poss=fellowman 1SG.poss=wife FOC

yomit-aNt-atsi=ri
teach-APPL.REAS-STAT=REL
'Who is that woman?' 'She is my wife's compatriot, a teacher.'

3.226 *-Ninkama ashitarori iroka?-Ashitaima Irina.*
niNka=ma ashi-t-a=ro=ri iroka ashi=taima Irina
who=DUB have-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL DEM hers=DUB Irina
'Who owns this?' 'Maybe [it's] hers, Elena's.'

NiNka 'who/whom' is used in direct questions about the subject or object arguments. Examples are provided in (3.227-3.228).

3.227 *-Ninka pokatsirika?-Impokatye satantsinkari.*
niNka pok-atsi=ri=ka i=N-pok-aty-e
who come-STAT-REAL=REL=Q 3m.S=IRR-come-PROG-IRR

sat-aNt-tsiNkari
stick-APPL.REAS-ADJ
'Who is coming?' 'A doctor will be coming.'

3.228 *-Ninkama okaimiri? -Okaimatziri oyariri.*
niNka=ma o=kaim-i=ri o=kaim-atz-i=ri
who=DUB 3n.m.A =call-REAL=REL 3n.m.A=call-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O

o=yari-ri
3n.m.poss=brother-poss
'Whom did she call?' 'She called her brother.'

(v) *Indefinite forms.* Indefinite animate forms are represented by *niNkarika* 'everybody', 'somebody', *maaroni* 'everybody/all', *aparoni* 'somebody', and specific indefinite *aparopaye* 'each'. These pronouns are derived from the forms whose original functions have been extended to include an indefinite sense. The indefinite forms are generally

positioned before or after the verb. A summary of the indefinite proforms is provided in Table 30.

TABLE 30. Indefinite forms

Form	Gloss	Function	Other functions
niNkarika [niNka=rika]	'everybody' 'somebody'	indefinite pronoun	
maaroni	'all', 'everyone'	indefinite pronoun	adjective 'entire'; quantifier 'all'
aparoni	'somebody'	indefinite pronoun	numeral 'one'; indefinite article
aparopaye [aparo=paye]	'each'	specific indefinite	

NiNkarika, which consists of *niNka* 'who' and the conditional clitic *=rika,* occurs as an object argument in (3.229) and as a modifier of the subject argument expressed by the indefinite pronoun *maaroni* 'all' in (3.230).

3.229 *Arika inkimaki ninkarika kantzimanintakiriri iritaki intsatsinkaitakeri.*
arika i=N-kim-ak-e **niNka=rika**
when 3m.S=hear-PRF-IRR **who=COND**

kantzima-niNt-ak-i=ri=ri iritaki
speak.badly-DIM.DEGR-PRF-REAL=3m.O=REL FOC

i=N-tsatsiNk-ai-t-ak-e=ri
3m.A=IRR-behead-IMP.P-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'When he hears somebody slightly badmouth him, they [his henchmen] will behead this person.'

3.230 *Maaroni ikantanakina iyoka, ninkarika tsikarika nohate.*
maaroni i=kaNt-an-ak-i=na iyoka **niNka=rika**
all 3m.A=call-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O DEM **who=COND**

tsika=rika no=ha-t-e
where=COND 1SG.S=go-EP-IRR
'Everyone calls me this, everybody, wherever I go.'

The form *maaroni* ‘everybody’ occurs as a subject or object argument, as seen in (3.231-3.232). The plural/augmentative infix <*ite*> can be inserted for emphasis.

3.231 *Maaroetini ishiyahetanaka.*
maaro<ite>ni i=shiy-a-he-t-an-ak-a
everybody<AUG>everybody 3m.S=run-EP-PL-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL
‘Everybody ran.’

3.232 *Yapotohetakiri maaroni*.
y=apoto-he-t-ak-i=ri **maaroni**
3m.A=gather-PL-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O **everybody**
‘He gathered everybody.’

The difference between *niNkarika* ‘everybody’, *maaroni* ‘everybody’ and *aparopaye* ‘each’ lies in the degree of specificity of the referent. Only *aparopaye* ‘each’ is used with the specific referent in mind. Examples (3.233-3.234) illustrate the use of the general indefinite form *aparoni* ‘somebody’ and the specific indefinite *aparopaye* ‘each/everyone’.

3.233 *Ivavanitari irosatzi impokantakya aparoni, amakirori nyaantsi.*
i=pavani-t-a=ri irosatzi i=N-pok-aNt-ak-ia
3m.A=idolize-EP-REAL=3m.O until 3m.S=IRR-come-APPL.REAS-PRF-IRR

aparoni am-ak-i=ro=ri nyaa-ntsi
somebody bring-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O=REL word-ABS
‘They had idolized it until somebody came who brought religion.’

3.234 *Ari okantatya itsaronkakini ikantahetaki aparopaye.*
ari o=kaNt-aty-a i=tsaroNka-ki-ni
PP 3n.m.S=happen-PROG-REAL 3m.poss=fear-LOC-DIM

i=kaNt-a-he-t-ak-i **aparo-paye**
3m.S=be-EP-PL-EP-PRF-REAL **one-PL**
‘It was this way that each of them was living in fear.’

3.4.6 Numerals

The tiny closed class of numerals includes three basic cardinal numbers such as *aparoni* ‘one’, *apite* ‘two’, and *mava* ‘three’. There are also other elicited numerals which exhibit a great deal of variation. Some speakers insist that the only authentic numbers are the first three cardinal numbers; the rest has been made up by the local educational authorities. In general, numerals bigger than ‘three’ do not occur in natural discourse. Instead, Spanish loans are used, especially, when referring to money. In the past, as speakers point out, quantifiers such as *osheki* ‘many’ and *pashini* ‘[some] others’ were used for numbers above ‘three’.There are only two ordinal numbers derived from the corresponding cardinal numbers, e.g. ***aparoni****tanaintsiri* ‘the one which is first’ and ***apite****tatsiri* ‘the one which is second’; cf. ***mava*** *kamenaantsi* [three advice] ‘the third piece of advice’. The elicited numeral forms are reproduced in Table 31. The numbers consistently attested in the elicited data are given in bold.

Numerals as a class can only be identified on semantic grounds. Their morphological patterning is too heterogeneous to serve as a definitional criterion. Numerals function as noun modifiers and generally precede the head noun in an NP, as seen in (3.235-3.236).

3.235 *Ipokantakari apite kishiisatzi ikantapakiri aparoni ashaninka.*
i=pok-aNt-ak-a=ri **apite** kishii-satzi
3m.S=come-APPL.REAS-PRF-REAL=REL **two** *pajonalino*-provenance

i=kaNt-ap-ak-i=ri aparoni a=shaniNka
3m.A=say-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O one 1PL.poss=fellowman
‘When two *pajonalinos* arrived, they said to a fellowman.’

3.236 *Yookaitahi dieciocho, saikanahi siete, cuatro shirampari, mava kooya.*
y=ook-a-it-ah-i *dieciocho* o=saik-an-ah-i
3m.S=leave-EP-ICPL-REGR-REAL eighteen 3n.m.S=be.at-DIR-REGR-REAL

siete *cuatro* shiraNpari **mava** kooya
seven four man **three** woman
'Eighteen left, seven remained, four men and three women.'

TABLE 31. Elicited numeral forms

Gloss	Form		
	Speaker 1 (Bajo Marankiari)	Speaker 2 (Pampa Michi)	Speaker 3 (San Miguel)
One	***aparoni***	***aparoni***	***aparoni~apani***
Two	***apite***	***apite***	***apite***
Three	***mava***	***mava***	***mava***
Four	*apiteta*	*apite(ka)vakaye*	*otsi*
Five	*apapokoroni*	*apapakoroni*	*koni*
Six	*oihatzirori*	*shintapakerori*	*iko*
Seven	*yaantsiri*	*shirinkapaichari*	*tson*
Eight	*ocho*	*pasini*	*tsoti*
Nine	*pashini*	*yaatapakirori*	*tin*
Ten	*apitevakaye*	*oshikiri*	*tsa*
Twenty	*apiteniri*	*oshikiriri*	
Thirty	*mavaniri*		
Forty	*apitetaniri*		
Fifty	*apapokoronini*		
Sixty	*oihatzironiri*		
Seventy	*yantsiniri*		
Eighty	*ochoniri*		
Ninety	*pashiniri*		
A hundred	*osheki*	*oshikiriri oshikini*	

3.4.7 Interjections, ideophones, and discourse particles

Interjections and ideophones form a group of phonologically and morphosyntactically idiosyncratic units which often fall ouside of the phonological system of the language and its morphological and syntactic processes. Discourse particles do not exhibit distinctiveness in their phonology. I will discuss each group in detail below.

(i) *Interjections*. An interjection is defined as "a conventionalized cry, typically indicating the speaker's emotional response to something that has happened to them, or something that they have observed or become aware of" (Dixon 2010a:27). In Ashéninka Perené, interjections, except *akaya* 'ouch!', are not associated with any formatives. They are monosyllabic (except *akaya* 'ouch!') and therefore don't follow phonological requirements for the minimal word which must have two syllables at minimum (see 2.4.3). Interjections stand on their own in the clause and tend to appear on the clause periphery. The most frequently used interjections are listed in Table 32.

TABLE 32. Interjections

Form	Gloss	Function
akaya	'ouch!'	to express pain, hurt
ha	'aha'	to express understanding, recognition
aa	'humph'	to express disbelief, dissatisfaction
oo	'oh dear'	to express grief

The intensity of the emotion may be expressed by lengthening of the final vowel and adding the exclamative clitic =*ve*, as seen in (3.237-3.239).

3.237 *Nokaimanaki akayaveee!*
no=kaim-an-ak-i **akaya=ve-e-e**
1SG.S=call-DIR-PRF-REAL **ouch!=EXCL**
'I screamed in pain, 'Ouch!'

3.238 *Ha, aka niroka, aa, kaari, apaatara, notomi!*
ha aka n=iroka **aa** kaari apaata=ra no=tomi
aha here 1SG.poss=DEM **hump**h NEG.C wait!=ADV 1SG.poss=son
'Aha, here it is, humph, it isn't, wait, son!'

3.239 *-Nopishitziro novanko, notsonka notsamaitayetahiro. –Ha, iro pantaitziri sheteniranki.*

no=pishi-tz-i=ro	no=paNko	no=tsoNk-a
1SG.A=sweep-EP-REAL=3n.m.O	1SG.poss=house	1SG.S=finish-REAL

no=tsamai-t-a-ye-t-ah-i=ro	**ha**	iro
1SG.A=cut.grass-EP-REP-DIST-EP-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O	**aha**	this

p=aNta-it-tz-i=ri	sheteni=raNki
2S=work-ICPL-EP-REAL=REL	day=ADV.P

'I swept the house and cut the grass.' 'Aha, this is what you did yesterday.'

(ii) *Ideophones*. By definition, ideophones or sound symbolic expressions, which have a conventionalized meaning, represent an expressive part of the language to give the listener a more vivid account of an action, event, or state (Lang 2004:410). As a word class, ideophones are invariant words which take no morphology. They don't exactly follow phonological rules of the language, e.g. although consonantal codas are disallowed, they are found in the the ideophones *tsipa**k*** 'jumping and bouncing off the surface', *tsini**k*** 'grab', *taNkore**k*** 'sudden freezing and then fast disappearance '. Most of them are multisyllabic and are pronounced with a relatively high pitch and intensity. Ideophones are syntactically independent units which can replace a clause. In general, they appear on the clause periphery but also can occur after the verb or noun with which they are associated. A list of ideophones (which is not exhaustive by all means) is provided in Table 33. Repetion of the ideophone expresses repeated actions being carried out. The number of repetitions depends on the action being carried out; those ideophones which express the suddenness of the action are not repeated. Word-final vowel in some ideophones can be lengthened to highlight the intensity of the action, as seen in (3.240-3.243).

TABLE 33. Ideophones

Form	Meaning
poo	hitting something; penetration
(tsa)pok	falling into water
motek	bouncing off the surface (a round object, e.g. a ball)
pote	slowly trickling drops of liquid
tsikiri	liquid gushing out in a stream
tsimpak	sound of convulsions of the agonizing human body
tzinik	grab; stop
tirek	sound of heavy load falling on the surface
taNkorek	sudden freezing and then fast disappearance
shiparek	fast disappearance
takik	biting nails
mokoro	vomiting
shero	slipping and falling on the surface
teriririri	thunder

3.240 *Oposakina noitoki poo-o, notapiki poo-o!*
o=pos-ak-i=na no=ito-ki **poo-o**
3n.m.A=hit-PRF-REAL=1SG.O 1SG.poss=head-LOC **IDEO**

no=tapi-ki **poo-o**
1SG.poss=back-LOC **IDEO**
'It hit me on the head, bam, on the back, bam!'

3.241 *Oshitovanaki osheki nirani, tsikiri, tsikiri.*
o=shitov-an-ak-i osheki n=ira-ni **tsikiri tsikiri**
3n.m.S=escape-DIR-PRF-REAL much 1SG.poss=blood-poss **IDEO IDEO**
'My blood gushed in a stream.'

3.242 *Ikimavakera ikamantakoitziri mitanaka, tankorek.*
i=kim-av-ak-i=ra i=kamaNt-ako-it-tz-i=ri
3m.S=hear-DIR-PRF-REAL=ADV 3m.S=inform-APPL-ICPL-EP-REAL=REL

mi-t-an-ak-a **taNkorek**
jump-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL **IDEO**
'When he heard the report, he froze and then quickly disappeared.'

3.243 *Inoshikakeri tzinik, tzinik, tzinik, okaakitaki konoya.*
i=noshik-ak-i=ri **tzinik tzinik tzinik** okaaki-t-ak-i konoya
3m.A=pull-PRF-REAL=3m.O **IDEO IDEO IDEO** be.close-EP-PRF-REAL turtle
'He (the boa) pulled him (the turtle) (grabbing sound) and the turtle moved close to him.'

(iii) *Discourse particles.* Discourse particles such as greetings, calls to attract attention, short responses to a question *yes/no* can be considered within the class of interjections (e.g. Dixon classifies them as such (2010a:29)) or can be treated as a separate class. The fact that they are conventionalized signs may serve as grounds for including them in the class of interjections. However, unlike interjections, they do not represent a spontanenous emotional response of the speaker to an action, event, or state. Neither do they exhibit distinctiveness in their phonology. Here discourse particles are treated as a separate class.

As shown in Table 34, there are two types of discourse particles: the first type represents *clause-bound utterances* which are a conversational turn on the part of the addressee; the second type includes *stand-alone free utterances*. Stand-alone free utterances are semantically, phonologically and grammatically independent from the rest of the clause which they may precede or which may follow them. Examples are provided in (3.244-3.247).

TABLE 34. Discourse particles

Syntactic type	Form	Meaning
Clause-bound utterance (obligatorily associated with the preceding clause)	*he*	yes
	te	no
	ari(ve)	OK
	arima	maybe
	taan(tya)	have no idea, no clue
	naakave	hello (in response)
Stand-alone free utterance	*tsame*	come on
	paasoNki	thank you
	aviro(ka)	hello
	hatanara	I am going (good bye)
	intsi(tya)	so…(new topic)

3.244 *–Noyatanakiro pirento. –Arive, kameetsataki.*
n=oya-t-an-ak-i=ro pi=reNto **ari=ve**
1SG.A=follow-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 2poss=sister **PP=EXCL**

kameetsa-t-ak-i
be.good-EP-PRF-REAL
'I followed your sister.' 'OK, that's good.'

3.245 *-Tsika noshinto? -Taantya tsikataima.*
tsika no=shiNto **taan=tya** tsika=taima
WH 1SG.poss=daughter **W.NEG=N.C.FOC** WH=DUB
'Where is my daughter?' 'No idea where she could be.'

3.247 *Nintavakyarita oovero; intsitya, oovero.*
n=iNt-av-ak-ia=ri=ta oovero **intsitya** oovero
1SG.A=begin-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O=OPT hawk.sp. **well** hawk.sp.
'I will begin with the hawk; so, the hawk.'

3.248 *Tsame ahate novankoki.*
tsame a=ha-t-e no=paNko-ki
come.on 1PL.S=go-EP-IRR 1SG.poss=house-LOC
'Come on, let's go to my house.'

Chapter 4
Clause linking

This chapter deals with clause linkage, examining the ways clauses can be combined in Ashéninka Perené. An overview of clause linking is provided in Table 35 which uses the following abbreviations: MC stands for 'main clause', SC for 'subordinate clause', MC_1 for '1st main clause', and MC_2 for '2nd main clause'. As seen in Table 35, clauses are linked either via subordination (when a subordinate clause is embedded in the main clause) or coordination (when two clauses are juxtaposed). The chapter discusses relative clauses in §4.1, complementation in §4.2, adverbial clauses in §4.3, and other types of clause linkage in §4.4.

4.1 Relative clauses

Syntactic typology of relative clauses distinguishes between headed, headless, adjoined, and correlative clauses (Andrews 2007:206-263). When the nominal head occurs in the main clause, the relative clause is said to be externally headed; when the head NP is stated in the relative clause, it is categorized as internally headed; when the head noun is stated in neither, the relative clause is called headless. Arguably, these discreet syntactic categories do not specify other syntactic subtypes of headed relative clauses with *reduced* nominal heads such as demonstrative, indefinite, and negative polarity pronouns; neither are non-nominal or *light* main clause heads such as class terms, classifiers, plural number markers, and pronominal person clitics are recognized (Citko 2004:97-98; Epps 2009; Dixon 2010a:337-8). To capture variability of heads in Ashéninka Perené relative clauses, a more finely-grained syntactic typology of relatives is considered here.

TABLE 35. Summary of clause linkage

Type of clause linking	Form	Locus of linking	Clause order
Relative, externally headed	*=ri, =ni*	SC verb	MC SC
Relative, headless	*tsika/tsikarika* 'wherever' *tekatsi, tzimatsi*	SC-initial MC	MC SC
Non-canonical relative clause constructions	impersonal passive *–ai;* apposition	MC_2 verb	MC_1 MC_2 MC_1 MC_2
Complementation	apposition		MC MC
Temporal succession	*ironyaaka, i/oponya*; apposition	MC_2 initial	MC_1 MC_2
Temporal simultaneity (brief overlap)	*arika* 'when'; *=ra* 'when'	SC-initial SC verb	SC MC free
Temporal simultaneity (prolonged overlap)	*ovakera* 'when'; *i/okaNta* 'in the meantime'	SC-initial SC-initial	SC MC SC MC
Temporal anteriority	*irohatzi* 'until'; *tekira* 'before'	SC-initial SC-initial	MC SC SC MC
Possible conditional	*aririka* 'if'; *=rika* 'if';	SC-initial SC verb	SC MC SC MC
Counterfactual conditional	*=mi*	MC_1 verb, MC_2verb	MC_1 MC_2
Cause linking	*tema/kama* 'because'; *i/okaNta* 'because'; apposition	SC-initial SC-initial	Free SC MC MC MC
Purposive linking	*-aNt…=ri* 'in order to'; *oNkaNtya* + *-aNt..=ri* 'so that'; *oNkaNtya* 'so that' *-ashi* 'with the intent to'	SC verb SC SC MC verb	MC SC MC SC MC SC MC SC
Motion purpose	apposition		MC_1 MC_2
Resultative linking	*irotaki* + *-aNt..=ri* 'that's why'	SC	MC SC
Undesirable possible consequence linking	*=kari*	SC verb	MC SC
Addition	apposition		MC_1 MC_2
Contrast	*iro/irokya/iroma* 'but' *=ha* *kantzimai(n)tacha*	MC_2 initial MC_2 personal pronoun MC_2 initial	MC_1 MC_2 MC_1 MC_2 MC_1MC_2
Disjunction	*terika* 'if not'	MC_2initial	MC_1 MC_2
Manner	*kimi* 'be similar'; *shiy* 'be like'	MC_2initial	MC_1MC_2

In addition to two major relative clause types, identified in Ashéninka Perené- headed and headless clauses- a distinct intermediate subtype of headed relative clauses is proposed, which covers both reduced heads (demonstratives, generic terms, numerals), and light heads (pronominal person clitics and classifiers occurring as a bound verbal element, not an independent constituent of a clause). Each relative clause type is formally expressed via specific relativizing strategies, which will be the focus of this presentation. I will first provide an outline of the *=ri/=ni* relativizing strategy in §4.1.1, followed by a discussion of other available means for constructing relative clauses in §4.1.2-4.1.3. Additional functions of the relativizing forms *=ri/=ni* are addressed in §4.1.4.

4.1.1 The *=ri/=ni* relativizing strategy in headed relative clauses

This discussion of Ashéninka Perené headed relative clauses draws on the definitional criteria for a *canonical* relative clause proposed by Dixon (2010a:314-315). Specifically, main clause and relative clause form a single intonational unit and make up one sentence. The *common argument*, shared by the two clauses, may be formally stated only in the main clause or it may be stated in both clauses; however, it is understood to function as an argument in both main and relative clauses.

Relative clause functions as a syntactic modifier to the common argument in the main clause. Canonical relative clause in Ashéninka Perené is *externally headed*, i.e. it follows the nominal head, stated in the main clause[26] . At the semantic level, relative clause either provides information to specify or focus the unidentified common argument (*restrictive*

[26] While relative clauses follow the NP that they modify, other noun modifiers such as non-derived adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, and demonstratives precede the head. Nonetheless, the postnominal pattern is observed in noun compounding N+N when the head of the nominal compound precedes the modifier, and in derived adjectives which follow the head nominal.

relative clause), or provides background information about the already identified common argument (*non-restrictive* relative clause). Segmental marking of the headed relative clause is performed by the relative clause clitics =*ri* or =*ni* which go into the slot of the pronominal verbal enclitic in O function in the transitive relative clause, replacing it; when the relative clause is intransitive, the relative marker =*ri* or=*ni* appears at the end of the verb. When subjects are relativized, the subject proclitic on the relative clause verb has zero realization. The default relativizer =*ri* marks both realis and irrealis events while =*ni* is tendentially associated with irrealis events[27]. Relative clause has a basic structure of a clause including the predicate and its arguments.

The default relativizing strategy in Ashéninka Perené involves the forms =*ri or*=*ni*, cliticized to the end of the verb. These forms have other functions in Ashéninka Perené which will be discussed in §4.1.4. As mentioned above, the default relativizer =*ri* appears with relative clauses marked for either realis or irrealis status. The functions of the common argument in the irrealis and realis relative clauses marked by the relativizer =*ri* include object of the transitive clause in (4.1- 4.2)[28], subject of the transitive clause in (4.3), and object of the transitive clause in (4.4). Crucially, the =*ri* strategy does not apply to common arguments in A or S functions in irrealis relative clauses[29].

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[27] Payne states that the distribution of =*ri* and =*ni* depends on the mode of the relative clause, i.e. when the relative clause refers to the realis event which did happen, the relativizer =*ri* is used; when the relative clause refers to an irrealis act which didn't happen, the relative clause marker =*ni* is selected (1989:172-4). However, this observation doesn't hold for the language communities of Pampa Michi and Bajo Marankiari which served as the research base for this project.

[28] As a result of applicative derivation, the common argument in the relative clause in (4.1) functions as the verb argument and occupies the direct object slot. In other words, the instrumental *sampi* 'torch' must be promoted to object and then relativized as a syntactic object. Note that the verb-final relativizer =*ri* replaces the bound pronoun in O function; cf. *yootantyariro* y=oot-aNt-ia=ri=**ro** [3m.A=shine.light.at-INS-IRR=3m.O=**3n.m.O**] 'He will shine light at the river with it.'

[29] Throughout this section, in my examples I will give the common argument and the relative clause markers in bold in both the second line containing the segmented text and in the interlinear morpheme-by-

4.1 *Ihatzi pareniki, yaanaki sampi yootatantyariri nihaaki yameni shima.*
[i=hatz-i pareni-ki y=a-an-ak-i **saNpi**]$_{MC}$
3m.S=go-REAL river-LOC 3m.S=take-DIR-PRF-REAL **torch**

[y=oot-a-t-aNt-**ia**=ri**=ri** nihaa-ki y=amen-e shima]$_{RC}$
3m.A=light-REP-EP-INST-**IRR**=3m.O=**REL** water-LOC 3m.A=see-IRR fish.sp.
'He would go to the river and take a torch with which he would shine light at the river to look for *boquichicos* (*Prochilodis sp.).*'

4.2 *Airorika ironyaaka nosaatantavaitzi, tekatsi nayeri noyari.*
airo=rika ironyaaka no=saa-t-aNt-a-vai-tz-i
NEG.IRR=COND now 1SG.S=bathe.in.hot.water-EP-CUST-DUR-EP-REAL

[**tekatsi**]$_{MC}$ [n=ay**-e=ri** no=ya=ri]$_{RC}$
NEG.EXIST 1SG.A=get.IRR-**IRR=REL** 1SG.S=eat.IRR=REL
'If I don't perform this steam-bathing procedure, there will be nothing that I will get to eat.'

4.3 *Maatsi aka aparoni irora pyatsatakamiri.*
[tzimatsi aka **aparoni**]$_{MC}$ irora [piyatsa-t-ak-a=mi**=ri**]$_{RC}$
EXIST here **one** whachamacallit disobey-EP-PRF-REAL=2O=**REL**
'There was one who disobeyed you.'

4.4 *Ovanitavahiri vatsatsi yamahiri oime.*
[o=v-anii-t-av-ah-i=ri **vatsatsi**]$_{MC}$
3n.m.S=CAUS-go-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL=3m.O **meat**

[y=am-ah-i=**ri** o=ime]$_{RC}$
3m.S=bring-REGR-REAL=**REL** 3n.m.poss=husband
'The wife unloaded the meat which had been brought by her husband.'

In contrast, the relativizer *=ni* tendentially appears with irrealis relative clauses which relativize subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs, as seen in (4.5-4.7).

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morpheme gloss, and use square brackets [] to indicate the boundaries of the clause, along with the abbreviations MC=main clause, RC=relative clause, CC1=first coordinate clause, CC2=second coordinate clause.

4.5 *Nominkimaityaro inchakii, apite okanta, oka saikatsini aka, oka saikatsini anta.*
no=miNk-imai-t-ia=ro inchakii apite o=kaNt-a
1SG.A=put-INCH-EP-IRR=3n.m.O stick two 3n.m.S=be-REAL

[**oka**]$_{MC1}$ [saik-atsi**=ni** aka]$_{RC1}$ [**oka**] $_{MC2}$ [saik-atsi=**ni** aNta]$_{RC2}$
DEM be.at-STAT=**REL** here **DEM** be.at-STAT=**REL** there
'I will insert this wood stick, there are two wood sticks, this [one] that will stay here, and this [one] that will stay there.'

4.6 *-Ninka ovakahainika? -Naaka, naaka ovakayamini.*
niNka ov-ak-ah=ai=ni=ka [**naaka naaka**]$_{MC}$
who eat-CAUS-REGR=1PL.O=REL=Q **I** **I**

[ov-aka-ia=mi=**ni**]$_{\mathbf{RC}}$
eat-CAUS-IRR=2O=**REL**
'Who's the one who will treat [feed] us?' 'I am the one who will be treating you.'

4.7 *Kompatsirintaha iritaki potsoteroni ironyaaka ovoroki.*
[**koNpatsiri=Nta=ha**]$_{MC}$ [iritaki potsot-e=ro=**ni** ironyaaka
second.father=DEM=EMPH FOC paint-IRR=3n.m.O=**REL** now

o=poro-ki]$_{RC}$
3n.m.poss=face-LOC
'Her second father is the one who will paint her face.'

Evidence from (4.1-4.7) suggests that the relativizer *=ni* requires the common argument to be in A or S function in the irrealis relative clause whereas the default relative clitic *=ri* is used in irrealis relative clauses to mark the common argument in O function. When the *ri*-strategy is used, the possible functions of the common argument (CA) in the main clause are as follows: subject of transitive or intransitive clause (A, S), object (O), copula complement (CC), possessor (POSS), and oblique (OBL); the possible functions of common argument in the relative clause are subject (A, S) and object (O). Note that the *ri*-strategy is used to relativize only subjects of realis relative clauses (RC), whereas both objects of realis and irrealis relative clauses can be relativized. The collected corpus provides tentative evidence that when *=ni* is used to relativize subjects in irrealis relative

clauses, the syntactic functions of CA in the main clause are limited to subject, object and copula complement. The allowed syntactic functions of the common argument (CA) in the main (MC) and relative clauses (RC) are summarized in Table 36.

TABLE 36. Syntactic functions of the common argument in MC and RC marked by the relativizers *=ri* and *=ni*

Syntactic functions of CA		Syntactic functions of CA	
MC	***=ri*** –marked RC	MC	***=ni-***marked RC
A,S, O, CC, POSS, OBL	A,S (realis only) O (realis, irrealis)	A, S, O, CC	A,S (irrealis)

Restrictive and *non-restrictive* clauses are essentially formally similar. The *restrictive* relative clauses in (4.8-4.10) specify the common argument and are pronounced as one intonational unit with the main clauses. The relative clause in each example is positioned immediately after the common argument and is marked by the relative enclitic *=ri.*

4.8 *Tzimatsi ochevo airikachari henokinta.*
[tzimatsi **o=chevo**]$_{MC}$ [airik-acha=**ri** henoki=Nta]$_{RC}$
EXIST **3n.m.poss=branch** hang-STAT=**REL** top=DEM
'There was a branch which was hanging high at the top of the tree.'

4.9 *Pamine mapi kantamirontakitacha**ri**.*
[p=amin-e **mapi**]$_{MC}$ [kaNt-a-miroNt-a**-ki-**t-acha=**ri**] $_{RC}$
2S=look.for-IRR **stone** be-EP-flat-EP-**CL:small.round**-EP-STAT=**REL**
'Look over there for a stone which is flat and round.'

4.10 *Tzimatsi isorarotepaye katziyavintariri aminatsiri.*
[tzimatsi **i=soraro-te-paye**]$_{MC}$ [katziy-a-viNt-a=ri=**ri**]$_{RC1}$
EXIST **3m.poss=soldier-poss-PL** stand-EP-BEN-REAL=3m.O=**REL**

[amin-atsi=**ri**]$_{RC2}$
see-STAT=**REL**
'Apiinka had his soldiers who were standing guard on his behalf and who were watching over.'

As mentioned above, *non-restrictive* clauses are formally equivalent to restrictive clauses. In (4.11-4.13), the common arguments are expressed by the NPs which uniquely identify their human referents as *Apiinka, iriroite* 'they (masculine), and *aviroka* 'you'. The relative clause in each example is positioned immediately after the head nominal and is marked by the relative enclitic *=ri* or *=ni.* A seen in (4.8-4.13), the syntactic functions of the common argument in the relative clauses are limited to the core functions in both restrictive and non-restrictive types of relative clauses.

4.11 *Ironyaaka shetenika nonkinkitsatakoteri aparoni ashaninka ikantaitziri Apiinka saikaintsirika aka anampikika.*
[ironyaaka sheteni=ka no=N-kiNkitsa-t-ako-t-e=ri aparoni
now day=DEM 1SG.A=IRR-tell-EP-APPL-EP-IRR=3m.O one

a=shaniNka i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ri **ApiiNka**]$_{MC}$
1PL.poss=fellowman 3m.A=call-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3m.O **person's.name**

[saik-aintsi=**ri**=ka aka a=naNpi-ki=ka]$_{RC}$
be.at-STAT.T=**REL**=ADV here 1PL.poss=village-LOC=DEM
'Now this afternoon, I am going to tell about our fellowman called Apiinka, who lived here in our village.'

4.12 *Iriroite antavaitatziri novaniki nompinatahetatyeri.*
[**iriro-ite** aNtavai-t-atsi=**ri** no=vani-ki]$_{RC}$
he-PL work-STAT=**REL** 1SG.poss=land-LOC

[no=N-pinat-a-he-t-aty-e=ri]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=IRR-pay-EP-PL-EP-PROG-IRR=3m.O
'Those who were working on my land, I will pay them.'

4.13 *Aviroka hatatsini antamiki, pamini vatsatsi avyari.*
[**aviroka** ha-t-atsi=**ni** aNtami-ki]$_{RC}$ [p=amin-e vatsatsi a=v-ia=ri]$_{MC}$
you go-EP-STAT=**REL** forest-LOC 2S=look.for-IRR meat 1PL.A=eat-IRR=3m.O
'You who will go to the woods, you'll look for game for us to eat.'

When the head is expressed as an NP in the main clause, a few possibilities in its realization have been attested. In addition to common and proper nouns, a number of associated with an NP elements such as personal pronouns, generic terms such as *aparoni* 'one', *maaroni* 'all', *niNkarika* 'whoever', numerals, and demonstratives can occur as heads of relatives. Examples of such *reduced* expressions of nominal heads are provided in (4.14-4.16). The head nominal expressed by the generic term *niNkarika* 'somebody' is seen in (4.14), by the demonstrative *oka* 'this' is seen in (4.15), and by the numeral *apiteroite* 'two (animate entities)' in (4.16).

4.14 *Arika inkimake ninkarika kantzimanintakiriri irotaki intsatsinkaitakeri.*
[arika i=N-kim-ak-e **niNka=rika]**$_{MC}$
when 3m.S=IRR-hear-PRF-IRR **who=COND**

[kantzima-niNt-ak-i=ri**=ri**]$_{RC}$ [irotaki
speak.badly-DIM-PRF-REAL=3m.O=**REL** FOC

i=N-tsatsiNk-ai-t-ak-e=ri]$_{MC}$
3m.A=IRR-behead-IMP.P-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'When he hears someone who is speaking somewhat badly of him, they [his henchmen] will behead this person.'

4.15 *Osheki otenatzi oka kantavaitayetachari.*
[osheki **o**=tena-tz-i **oka**]$_{MC}$ [kaNt-a-vai-t-a-**ye**-t-acha**=ri**]$_{RC}$
much **3n.m.S**=weigh-EP-REAL **DEM** be-EP-DUR-EP-**DIST**-EP-STAT=**REL**
'This is heavy, this [thing] which has many colors.'

4.16 *Kantzimaintacha saikatsi apiteroite, iminkitakinari nashirote.*
[kantzimaiNtacha saik-atsi **apite-ro-ite**]$_{MC}$
nevertheless be.at-STAT **two-NMZ-PL**

[i=miNki-t-ak-i=na**=ri** n=ashiro-te]$_{RC}$
3m.A=put-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=**REL** 1SG.poss=steel-poss
'Though two [steel nails] remain, the ones that they inserted in my arm.'

As stated above, the nominal head can be realized in the main clause as verbal person clitics, interpreted here as *light heads*. In (4.17), the common argument is expressed in the main clause by the 3SGn.m objective person marker =*ro* whereas in (4.18), the common argument in the main clause is stated both as the subjective 3SGn.m person marker *o*= and the verbal classifier *–ki* 'small, round'. The common argument in (4.19), realized on the verb by the 3SGn.m. objective person marker =*ro,* corresponds to the indefinite pronoun *tsika paita* 'what (ever)' in the relative clause.

4.17 *Yamakiro tasorinkantsi, yamakiro ovavisakotahaini.*
y=am-ak-i=ro tasoriNka-ntsi
3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O blessing-NMZ

[y=am-ak-i=**ro**]$_{MC}$ [ov-avis-ako-t-ah=ai=**ni**]$_{RC}$
3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=**3n.m.O** CAUS-pass-APPL-EP-REGR=1PL.O=**REL**
'He brought blessings and brought what will save us.'

4.18 *Amokakero, osheki okisokitzi kityonkakitatsiri*.
a=mok-ak-e=ro [osheki
1Pl.A=make.holes-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O much

o=kiso-**ki**-tz-i]$_{MC}$ [kityoNka-**ki**-t-atsi=**ri**]$_{RC}$
3n.m.S=be.hard-**CL:small.round**-EP-REAL be.red-**CL:small.round**-EP-STAT=**REL**
'I will make the holes [with beads], they [the beads] are very durable, [the ones] which are red.'

4.19 *Mayempiri inatzi, ikantero kooya irorave, intaryavaitero, yasankantavaitero tsika inintakari ririori.*
mayeNpiri i=na-tz-i i=kaNt-e=ro kooya irora=ve
womanizer 3m.S=be-REAL 3m.A=do-IRR=3n.m.O woman DEM=EXCL

i=N-tary-a-vai-t-e=ro
3m.A=IRR-open.legs-EP-DUR-EP-IRR=3n.m.O

[y=asaNk-aNta-vai-t-e=**ro**]$_{MC}$ [**tsika paita**
3m.A=smell-APPL.REAS-DUR-IRR=**3n.m.O** **WH**

i=niNt-ak-a=**ri** ririori]$_{RC}$
3m.S=want-PRF-REAL=**REL** he

‘He was a womanizer, and he would do to the woman this, he would open her legs and he would smell whatever [private parts] he wanted.’

Another example of a syntactically light head is the subject proclitic *o*= on the capacity copula verb *kara* ‘be complete’, which can be interpreted as the underlying quantifier ‘all’ or ‘this amount’. In (4.20-4.21), the 3SGn.m person proclitic *o*= is understood as the common argument shared by the two clauses.

4.20 *Ari okaratzi ikenkitsatakainari aanini.*
[ari **o**=kara-tz-i]$_{MC}$ [i=keNkitsa-t-ak-a-i=na=**ri**
PP **3n.m.S**=CAP.C-EP-REAL 3m.A=tell-EP-PRF-REGR-REAL=1SG.O=**REL**

aani-ni]$_{RC}$
grandpa-deceased
‘This is all [the amount] that my late grandpa told me.’

4.21 *Teha, nosampitemi tsika okaratzi pikovakotenari.*
[te=ha no=saNpi-t-e=mi tsika **o**=kara-tz-i]$_{MC}$
NEG=EMPH 1SG.A=ask-EP-IRR=2O WH **3n.m.S**=CAP.C-EP-REAL

[pi=kov-ako-t-e=na=**ri**]$_{RC}$
2A=want-APPL-EP-IRR=1SG.O=**REL**
‘No, I’ll ask you about the amount that you’ll charge me.’

Clearly, if categorized as the syntactically light head, the pronominal element *o*= in (4.20-4.21) occupies an intermediate place on the headedness continuum, ranging from a fully expressed head nominal to a headless relative clause which will be described in the next section.

4.1.2 Relativizing strategies in headless clauses

Apart from the default relativizers =*ri* and =*ni*, another strategy for creating a relative clause is via the relative pronoun *tsika* ‘where’. Such relative clauses are headless,

exemplified by [*I saw*]$_{MC}$ [***what*** *he wanted*]$_{RC}$ (Comrie and Smith 1977:14). In Ashéninka Perené, headless clauses have neither a nominal head in the main clause nor the formal marking of the relative clause by *=ri* or *=ni* . The only relativizing device, the relative pronoun *tsika* 'where' or its derived form *tsikarika* 'wherever', appears in the relative clause to serve as the common argument for both main and relative clauses. In (4.22-4.23), the common argument has zero realization in the main clause. The relative clause is marked by either *tsika* 'where' in (4.22) or by *tsikarika* 'wherever' in (4.23). The relative pronouns in these examples have a fairly generic sense and can be paraphrased as 'a place in which' or 'any place in which' respectively. The pronouns function as the common argument shared by both main and relative clauses. As seen in (4.22-4.23), the common argument in the *tsika*-relative clause is always in the oblique (locative) function.

4.22 *Onyi tsika okameetsatzi osaiki*.
[o=ny-i]$_{MC}$ [**tsika** o=kameetsa-tz-i o=saik-e]$_{RC}$
3n.m.S=see-REAL **WH** 3n.m.S=be.good-EP-REAL 3n.m.S=be.at-IRR
'She was looking where [for a place in which] it is nice to stay.'

4.23 *Ironyaaka avisakiro oponya amini tsika osaiki anta.*
[ironyaaka avis-ak-i=ro oponya amin-i]$_{MC}$
now pass-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O meanwhile look.for-REAL

[**tsika=rika** o=saik-e aNta]$_{RC}$
WH=COND 3n.m.S=be.at-IRR there
'Now she walked along the river and looked for wherever [for a place in which] she could stay.'

Note that it is possible for the common argument, stated in the main clause by an NP, to be followed by the *tsika*-relative clause, exemplified by (4.24).

4.24 *Yantashitakina tantotsi tsika nosaiki.*
[y=aNt-ashi-t-ak-i=na **taNtotsi**]$_{MC}$
3m.A=make-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O **corral**

[**tsika** no=saik-i]$_{RC}$
WH 1SG.S=be.at-REAL
'My father made a corral for me where [in which] I stayed.'

Another relativizing device is found with the negative and positive polarity copula verbs *tzimatsi* 'existential' and *tekatsi* 'negative existential' in the headless main clause. The underlying approximate interpretation of the copula constructions involves the indefinite pronoun 'some' or 'something' and the negative pronouns 'nothing' or 'nobody'. The attested syntactic functions of the common argument in the headless relative clauses are subject and object, illustrated by (4.25-4.26) respectively. The relativized subjects in (4.25-4.26) lack formal marking, similar to the relativized subjects in headed relative clauses, which are not marked on the relative clause verb. The relative clitics *=ri* or *=ni* are attached to the end of the verbs in the headless relative clauses. A gap in place of the surface realization of the common argument in the main copula clauses is seen in (4.25-4.26).

4.25 *Tekatsi nyashirinkapahaini.*
[**tekatsi**]$_{MC}$ [nyashiriNk-ap-ah=ai=**ni**]$_{RC}$
NEG.EXIST annoy-DIR-REGR=1PL.O=**REL**
'There won't be anybody who will bother us.'

4.26 *Maatsi namakiri inkaranki aka.*
[**tzimatsi**]$_{MC}$ [n=am-ak-i**=ri** iNkaraNki aka]$_{RC}$
EXIST 1SG.A=bring-PRF-REAL=**REL** recently here
'I have [some leaves] which I brought here recently.'

To summarize, relative clauses can be placed along the continuum of headedness, ranging from fully expressed nominal heads to headless clauses, as seen in Figure 15.

FIGURE 15. Continuum of headedness of RC ranging from fully expressed NPs to reduced NPs (pronoun, demonstrative, and quantifier) to light heads (clitics) to headless

Full	*Reduced*	*Light*	*Zero expression*
←			→
Noun	Pronoun	Verbal person clitic	
	Demonstrative	Verbal classifier	
	Quantifier	Verbal distributive plural marker	

4.1.3 Other relativizing strategies

This section surveys additional relativizing strategies which formally differ from the canonical relative clause construction, as defined in §4.1.1. In addition to the relativizing strategies discussed in §4.1.1 and §4.1.2, the impersonal passive marker *–ai* is often associated with non-canonical relative clause construction. In such constructions, the common argument is realized in the first clause as a full NP, as seen in (4.27, 4.29), or as an indefinite form, as seen in (4.28), and a co-referential pronominal person clitic in the second clause. The clause with the impersonal passive construction serves to identify the indefinite human actor without providing specifics of his/her identity, which can be recovered by the addressee from the context. The *ai*-marked constructions are non-canonical in a sense that (i) each coordinated clause can stand on its own; (ii) the syntactic function of the relativized elements is restricted to subjects; (iii) the relativizing clitics *=ri* or *=ni* are not used in clauses with impersonal passive constructions. Nonetheless, the semantics of the non-canonical relative clause constructions is equivalent to that of the headed relative clauses marked by the relativizers *=ri* or *=ni*.

Language consultants unvariably translate the second clause in a biclausal string with impersonal passive marking as an embedded relative. The ordering of the clauses is similar to that of headed relative clauses, formed with the default relativizers *=ri* or *=ni*. The first clause with the fully stated common argument is followed by the second clause, which typically marks the relativized element with a person clitic, as seen in (4.27-4.29).

4.27 *Kamaki, ivyaamini itsiyakiki isataitanakiri.*
[kam-ak-i **i=pyaameni** i=tsiyaki-ki]$_{CC1}$
die-PRF-REAL **3m.poss=bow** 3m.poss=anus-LOC

[i=sat**-ai-t-**an-ak-i=**ri**]$_{CC2}$
3m.A=stick-EP-**IMP.P**-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O
'He was dead, the bow in his anus, which had been inserted [by the two *pajonalinos*].'

4.28 *Maatsi aka aparoni irora, pyatsatakamiri yamaitakiri.*
[[tzimatsi aka **aparoni]**$_{MC}$ irora [piyatsa-t-ak-a=mi=ri]$_{RC/C1}$
EXIST here one whachamacallit disobey-EP-PRF-REAL=2O=REL

[y=am-**ai-**t-ak-i=**ri**] $_{RC2}$
3m.A=bring-EP-**IMP.P**-PRF-REAL=**3m.O**
'There was here one who disobeyed you, whom they brought [to Apiinka].'

4.29 *Ponya oyatanakiro irokave nihaaka ikantaitziro Paukartambo.*
[ponya oya-t-an-ak-i=ro iroka=ve
then 3n.m.A.follow-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O DEM=EXCL

nihaa=ka]$_{CC1}$ [i=kaNt-**ai**-tz-i=**ro** Paukartambo]$_{CC2}$
river=DEM 3m.A=say-**IMP.P**-REAL=**3n.m.O** river's.name
'She followed this river which is called Paucartambo.'

Apart from the non-canonical relative clauses associated with impersonal passive constructions, there have been collected other examples of coordinated clauses with the semantics of relative clauses. In (4.30-4.31), the common argument in the first clause is expressed by the 3SGn.m.person marker *=ro*, cliticized to the end of the verb *amen* 'see',

and the possessive NP *ashi iroori* [her she] 'hers'. The corresponding element in the second clause is the distributive marker *–ye* 'each one', suffixed to the verbal root *aNpitsa* 'be wrinkled'. As collected data show, the function of the common argument in the second clause is limited to subjects. Although the default relativizers *=ri* or *=ni* are absent, clause ordering follows the ordering pattern of headed relative clauses; the common argument in the first clause is modified by the second clause. In (4.31), the common argument in the first clause (which is also an embedded relative clause) is realized on the verb *pitziry* 'peel' by the cross-referencing pronominal element *=ro* '3SGn.m.' and the corresponding proclitic *o=* '3SG.n.m' and the distributive marker *–ye* 'each one', attached to the verb root *vitzi* 'grow hair' in the second correlative clause. Note that in the second clause in (4.31), the relativized subject is formally expressed unlike relativized subjects in headed relative clauses, which are not marked on the relative clause verb.

4.30 *Okantavetakari inkaranki amenapatziro ashi iroori ampitsayetaka.*
[o=kaNta-ve-t-ak-a=ri iNkaraNki
3n.m.S=say-FRUS-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O recently

amen-ap-atz-i=**ro** **ashi iroori**]$_{CC1}$ [aNpitsa-**ye-**t-ak-a]$_{CC2}$
see-DIR-PROG-REAL=**3n.m.O her she** be.wrinkled-EP-**DIST**-PRF-REAL
'They [women] said recently that they saw hers [i.e. hand-made bags], which were crooked.'

4.31 *Osaavatashitahiro nihaa, opitziryantaharori ovitzitayetaki akoki.*
[o=saava-t-ashi-t-ah-i=ro nihaa]$_{MC}$
3n.m.A=heat-EP-APPL.INT-EP-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O water

[o=pitziry-aNt-ah-a**=ro**=ri]$_{RC/CC1}$
3n.m.A=peel-INST-REGR-REAL=**3n.m.O**=REL

[**o**=vitzit-a**-ye**-t-ak-i ako-ki]$_{CC2}$
3n.m.S=grow.hair-EP-**DIST**-PRF-REAL hand-LOC

> 'She heated water with which she removed hair which had grown on the girl's arms.'

There may be a competing analysis of the second clause in (4.27-4.31) as an apposed clause, not as a relative clause. However, the apposition analysis would fail on two counts, namely, semantics and intonation. Examples in (4.27-4.31) demonstrate that it is impossible to interpret the second clause as an adjacent clause because there is a conceptual connection between the events described in the clauses. An event in one clause entails the event in another clause, e.g. *She removed the hair which had grown on the girl's arms; There was a bow in his anus which had been inserted by two pajonalinos.* The meaning of the above clauses requires a relative clause interpretation. In addition, there is no pause between the two clauses. They are pronounced as one intonational unit. In contrast, apposed clauses are marked by a pause and a comma in orthography, when written down by a literate language consultant.

Yet another way of analyzing the cited data would be to treat the second clause in examples (4.27-4.31) as the type of right-adjoined clause. However, the criterial parameters for the adjoined clause do not quite match the Ashéninka Perené non-canonical relative clause constructions. Semantically, adjoined clauses show versatility and can express temporal, conditional, causal, and purposive types of clausal linking (Hale 1976:79; Jendraschek 2009:140, 143; Dixon 2010a: 358-359; Andrews 2007: 216-217). The 'correct' interpretation is often inferred based on contextual clues. In examples (4.27-4.31), no such ambiguity is observed; only relative interpretation is possible. Syntactically, adjoined clauses are subordinated and cannot be used by itself to "represent

the whole structurally" (Lehmann 2004). In contrast, each clause in examples (4.27-4.31) can be easily integrated into discourse.

The final type of relative clauses which exhibit non-canonical segmental marking are *te*-negated[30]clauses. Negation limits morphological possibilities for relativizing realis clauses, thus *te*-negated relative clauses lack the default relativizer *=ri.* As shown in (4.32-4.34), *te*-negated clauses are distinct in that the affirmative and negative clauses are coordinated and can stand on their own. They share a common argument which is expressed in the first clause by the indefinite form *aparoni* 'one' in (4.32), demonstrative *oka* 'this' in (4.33), and personal pronoun *avirokaite* 'you (plural)' in (4.34). The relativized elements in the attested negated clauses are subjects. The negated clause directly follows the head nominal, which is typical of headed relative clause ordering, but lacks any overt relativizer morpheme. The negated relative clause retains subject marking on the predicate, contrary to the pattern of zero subject realization of relativized subjects in headed affirmative relative clauses.

4.32 *Aani, novaki aparoni, te ishiyari pashinipaye.*
[aani no=v-ak-i **aparoni**]$_{MC}$ [te
grandseer 1SG.S=kill-PRF-REAL **one** NEG.REAL

i=shiy-ia=ri pashini-paye]$_{RC}$
3m.S=be.similar-IRR=3m.O other-PL
'Grandseer, I killed one [bird] which doesn't look like the others.'

[30] There are a few negation strategies in Asháninka Perené involving the negative particles *te* (realis) and *airo* (irrealis), negative polarity verbs *tekatsi* 'negative existential', *kaari* 'negative existential', 'be not the case', *te onkameetsate* 'be not good', and *aritapaki* 'be enough, no more', and a negative aspectual adverb *tekira* 'not yet'. The default negation strategy is via the negative particles *te* (realis) and *airo* (irrealis).

4.33 *Nokokovavetari oka, osheki te ontenate.*
no=kokov~av-a-ve-t-a=ri **oka**]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=want~DIR-EP-FRUS-EP-REAL=3m.O **DEM**

[osheki te **o**=N-tena-t-e]$_{RC}$
much NEG.REAL **3n.m.S**=IRR-weigh-EP-REAL
'I prefer strongly this, which doesn't weigh much.'

4.34 *Avirokaite te pinkimisantahetena ari nompasatakemi.*
[**aviroka-ite** te **pi**=N-kimisaNta-**het**-e=na]$_{RC}$ [ari
you-PL NEG.REAL **2A**=IRR-pay.attention-**PL**-IRR=1SG.O PP

no=N-pasat-ak-e=mi]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=IRR-punish-PRF-IRR=2O
'You who didn't obey me, I'll punish you.'

In sum, the common argument in the main clause in Asháninka Perené may be expressed by a *full* noun phrase (externally headed clauses) or have *zero* realization (headless clauses). The common argument can also be realized by *reduced* heads (demonstratives, generic terms, and numerals) and *light* heads (bound pronominal person markers and classifiers). Table 37 is a summary of the types of relative clauses.

TABLE 37. Types of relative clauses

		HEADED	HEADLESS TYPE 1	HEADLESS TYPE 2	NON-CANONICAL
Statement of CA	MC/ CC_1	NP or person clitic	Ø	Ø	NP or person clitic
	RC/ CC_2	yes/no	no	no	person clitic
Relativizer *=ri/=ni*		yes	no	yes	no
Other relativizing means			relative pronouns *tsika* 'where'/ *tsikarika* 'wherever' in RC	copula verbs *tzimatsi* 'EXIST', *tekatsi* 'NEG.EXIST' in MC	impersonal passive marker–*ai* in CC_2; *te*-negated CC_2; no specific strategy

4.1.4 Other functions of the relativizers =*ri* and =*ni*

The relative forms =*ri* and =*ni* are extremely common and have been found to perform multiple functions in daily discourse. Their primary function as relativizing forms is to enable detailed reference to entities. This section focuses on other ways in which the form =*ri* can be used such as (i) pronominal marking of 3SGm objects on the verb; (ii) gender agreement on nouns and non-derived adjectives; (iii) deverbal derivation of adjectives; (iv) nominalization; (v) a relativizing function with the copula verb of naming *pait,* existential copula *kant,* and copula of capacity *kara* in content questions; (vi) a grammaticalized function with the *–aNt* applicative which has purposive and resultative senses. The section also covers various functions of the form =*ni,* which serves to (i) nominalize verbs; (ii) mark plural number on verbs; (iii) mark alienable possession on nouns; (iv) form adverbs; (v) produce an intensifying effect when attached to various hosts. It is hoped that this brief account of multiple functions of the relativizing forms will contribute to future discussion of the ways in which markers of relative constructions have evolved. A caveat is due here. Our main goal is to survey the forms and illustrate their functions with text material. The account of the *ri-* and *ni*-forms is presented here without any attempt to investigate the historical sources of the listed concepts and their grammaticalization pathways. Some forms are simply homophonous with the relativizing morphemes =*ri* and =*ni*. For example, the alienable possession marker *–ri,* which is homophonous with the relativizer =*ri,* reconstructs to proto-Arawak, most likely as *-*re,* whereas the relativizer *–ri* is an innovation in Kampan languages; or the relativizer =*ni* is unlikely to be related to the grammaticalization cline of the class term *–ni* denoting a

deceased referent (Lev Michael, p.c.). Examples of the nominal alienable possessive suffix *–ri* and the 'deceseased referent' suffix *-ni* are given in (4.35-4.36) respectively.

4.35 ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE SUFFIX *–RI* ON NOUNS
Sheteniranki pirento aanahiri oishapaye, ovakari irinchashiri.
sheteni=raNki pi=reNto a-an-ah-i=ri
afternoon=ADV.T 2poss=sister take-DIR-REGR-REAL=3m.O

oisha-paye o=v-ak-a=ri ir=inchashi-**ri**
sheep-PL 3n.m.A=eat-CAUS-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=grass-**poss**
'Yesterday your sister corraled the sheep to feed them their food [grass].'

4.36 NOMINAL CLASSIFYING 'DECEASED REFERENT' TERM *-NI*
Ari okimita pairani aisatzi naari, chookini ovakera oshitovapahi iraani, irotaki noyotantarori.
ari o=kimi-t-a pairani aisatzi naari chooki-**ni**
PP 3n.m.S=be.similar-EP-REAL before also I sister-**deceased**

ovakera o=shitov-ap-ah-i iraani irotaki
ago 3n.m.S=leave-DIR-REGR-REAL her.blood FOC

no=yo-t-aNt-a=ro=ri
1SG.A=know-EP-APPL.REAS-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'The same happened to me long ago, to my late sister when she menstruated for the first time, that's why I know this.'

*Functions of the **ri-**form*. As stated above, the ubiquitous form *ri* performs numerous functions in everyday discourse. Examples illustrate common uses of *=ri* as the pronominal 3m person object enclitic on verbs in (4.37), gender agreement suffix on nouns in (4.38), gender agreement suffix on adjectives in (4.39), and deverbal adjectivizing suffix in (4.40).

4.37 PERSON OBJECT ENCLITIC ON VERBS

Inyaavakiri irotaki imachokani, kamaki, yamponatakiri maatsirika ivashikaro.

i=ny-av-ak-e=**ri** irotaki i=machok-a-ni
3m.A=see-DIR-PRF-REAL=**3m.O** FOC 3m.S=close.eyes-REAL-AUG

kam-ak-i y=aNponat-ak-e=**ri** tzimatsi=rika i=pashikaro
die-PRF-REAL 3m.A=wrap-PRF-REAL=**3m.O** EXIST=COND 3m.poss=blanket
'When they see that he is truly closing his eyes, he is dead, if they have it, they will wrap him in a blanket.'

4.38 GENDER AGREEMENT SUFFIX ON NOUNS

Aka nosankinatakiri kosaniri.

aka no=saNkina-t-ak-i=ri kosani**ri**
here 1SG.A=draw-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O crocodile.**m**
'I've painted a crocodile here.'

4.39 GENDER AGREEMENT SUFFIX ON ADJECTIVES

Ponyashitaka ivaitakina antari kitsapi aka noyempitaki.

ponyashitaka i=v-ai-t-ak-i=na aNta**ri** kitsapi aka
afterwards 3m.A=put-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O big.**m** needle.m here

no=yeNpita-ki
1SG.poss=ear-LOC
'Then they stuck a big needle in me here, near my ear.'

4.40 DEVERBAL ADJECTIVIZER

Iroka kipatsi onatzi, kisaarika pitsitsari.

iroka kipatsi o=na-tz-i kisaa-**ri**=ka pitsitsari
DEM mud 3n.m.S=be-EP-REAL be.black-**ADJ**=DEM clay
'This is mud, this black clay.'

The nominalizing function of *=ri* is illustrated by (4.41-4.46). Each nominalization may occur by itself as an NP, take nominal morphology and modifiers, and/or function as a complement of complement-taking verbs including a copula complement in copula clauses. In (4.45), the nominalized verb, which functions as a copula complement, takes the plural number marker *–ite* and the modifier *apite* 'two'. The nominalized verb *hevari* 'the one who leads', which is in the A function, is apposed to an NP *kooya* 'woman' in (4.46).

4.41 *hevatakantzirori*
heva-t-ak-aNt-tz-i=ro=**ri**
lead-EP-APPL.SOC-APPL.REAS-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=**REL**
'chief'

4.42 *amenakantzirori*
amen-ak-aNt-tz-i=ro=**ri**
see-APPL.SOC-APPL.REAS-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=**REL**
'coordinator'

4.43 *novantapintari*
no=v-aNt-apiNt-a=**ri**
1SG.S=eat-APPL.REAS-HAB-REAL=**REL**
'dining area'

4.44 *atsintantapintari*
a=tsiNt-aNt-apiNt-a=**ri**
1PL.S=urinate-APPL.REAS-HAB-REAL=**REL**
'toilet'

4.45 *Maatsi apite ivantapintarite ivankoki.*
tzimatsi **apite** i=v-aNt-apiNt-a=**ri**-ite i=paNko-ki
EXIST **two** 3m.S=eat-APPL.REAS-HAB-REAL=**REL**-PL 3m.poss=house-LOC
'He has two dining areas [the ones they usually use for eating] in his house.'

4.46 *Hevari kooya te onintakaina ovitsatyaro onampiki.*
heva-a=**ri** **kooya** te o=niNt-ak-a-e=na
lead-REAL=**REL** **woman** NEG.REAL 3n.m.A=want-PRF-REGR-IRR=1SG.O

no=vitsa-t-ia=ro o=naNpi-ki
1SG.A=visit-EP-IRR=3n.m.O 3n.m.poss=be.in.big.quantity-LOC
'The female chief [the one who leads] didn't allow me to visit her community.'

The relativizer =*ri* also appears on the verbs with the question words *tsika* 'where' and *ninka* 'who' in interrogative constructions involving various copula verbs. Examples include (4.47-4.49), taken from my transcript of a discussion of the road accident in the adjacent coffee-growing village of Pichanaki (see §3.4.5 for more examples and discussion of these constructions).

4.47 *-Ninka kamaintsiri Pichanakinta? -Kamaki antakotzirori.*
niNka kam-aintsi=**ri** Pichanaki=Nta kam-ak-i
who die-STAT=**REL** Pichanaki=DEM die-PRF-REAL

aNt-ako-tz-i=ro=ri
work-APPL-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'Who died in Pichanaki?' 'The driver [the one who managed the car] died.'

4.48 *-Tsika okaratzika atziri tetacha**ri** kaarokira? -Pashini atziri.*
tsika o=kara-tz-i=ka atziri tet-acha=**ri** kaaro-ki=ra
WH 3n.m.=COP.CAP-EP-REAL=Q person fill-STAT=**REL** car-LOC=DEM

pashini atziri
few person
'How many people were in the car?' 'A few.'

4.49 *-Paitaka oposantakari kaarora? -Antakotzirori te yaminapirotero kametsa, yaminavaitzi pareniki.*
pai-t-a=ka o=pos-aNt-ak-a=**ri** kaaro=ra
be.called-EP-REAL=Q 3n.m.S=crash-APPL.REAS-PRF-REAL=**REL** car=DEM

aNt-ako-tz-i=ro=ri te y=amin-a-piro-t-e=ro
work-APPL-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL NEG.REAL 3m.A=see-EP-AUG-EP-IRR=3n.m.O

y=amin-a-vai-tz-i pareni-ki
3m.S=see-EP-DUR-EP-REAL river-LOC
'Why did the car crash?' 'The driver didn't pay attention, he was looking at the river.'

Finally, the relativizing form *=ri* co-occurs with the instrumental/reason applicative *–aNt* to convey a purposive sense. Most likely, the form *=ri* in the purposive clause *–aNt… =ri* 'in order to', 'for' has grammaticalized from the original nominalizing/relativizing sense 'the one who/that/which' to that with bleached semantics (see §4.3 for more specifics about this construction). Examples are given in (4.50-4.51).

4.50 *Iroka pachaka naantari nihaa, ovakerani tekatsi noyate, irotaki iroka novantarori pyarentsi.*
iroka pachaka n=a-**aNt-**a=**ri** nihaa ovakera-ni
DEM pumpkin 1SG.S=take-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=**REL** water recently-AUG

tekatsi n=oya-te irotaki iroka
NEG.EXIST 1SG.poss=pot-poss FOC DEM

no=v-**aNt**-a=ro=**ri** pyarentsi
1SG.A=place-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=3n.m.O=**REL** manioc.beer
'This *pachaka* (pumpkin) I used for carrying water in the old times, there were no pots, this I (also) used for keeping in it *masato* (manioc beer).'

4.51 *Ontzimatye charine intsikanatai okantyakya okatsitantyari achakopite.*
ontzimatye charine i=N-tsikana-t=ai o=kaNt-ia=kya
be.necessary grandfather 3m.A=IRR-pepper-EP=1PL.O 3n.m.S=happen-IRR=EMPH

o=katsit-**aNt-**a=**ri** a=chakopi-te
3n.m.A=be.in.pain-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=**REL** 1PL.poss=arrow-poss
'Our grandfather must feed us hot pepper so that our arrows are fatal.'

*Functions of the **ni-**form*. The synchronic functions of the form *ni* show a great deal of variability. Manifestations of the various functions of the form *ni* include a deverbal nominalization, as seen in (4.52), a nominal alienable possession marker, as seen in (4.53), and a plural number marker on verbs, as seen in (4.54).

4.52 DEVERBAL NOMINALIZER
Yamitakotahetakai amine pashini nyaavaihetatsini.
y=amitako-t-a-he-t-ak=ai amen-i pashini
3m.A=help-EP-REP-PL-EP-PRF=1PL.O 1PL.S.look.for-REAL other

nyaavai-he-t-atsi=**ni**
speak-PL-EP-STAT=**REL**
'They helped us look for new language consultants.'

4.53 NOMINAL ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE MARKER
Iroka notyanipaye, iroka noshitzikakero.
iroka no=tya-**ni-**paye iroka no=shitzik-ak-i=ro
DEM 1SG.poss=fabric-**poss**-PL DEM 1SG.A=weave-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'These are my woven products, these I weave.'

4.54 VERBAL PLURAL NUMBER MARKER
Sheteni akarahetaiyeni maaroni nosaikahetzika.
sheteni a=kara-he-t-aiy-i-**ni** maaroni no=saik-a-he-tz-i=ka
day 1PL=COP.CAP-PL-EP-REAL-PL all 1SG.S=be.at-PL-EP-REAL=ADV
'Good afternoon to all of us who are here.'

The form *ni* also serves as an adverbializer, e.g. *okaaki**ni*** 'closeby', *shintsi**ni*** 'quickly' (see more examples and discussion of adverbs in §3.4.4). When functioning as an intensifier, *ni* can attach to various hosts such as verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. The intensifier may have different interpretations depending on the context. With adjectives, the form *ni* intensifies properties of noun referents, e.g. *tenari-ni* 'really heavy', *kisori-ni* 'really hard', *osheki-ni* 'really a lot of'. It also has an augmentative sense when it occurs with adverbs, e.g. *ovakera-ni* 'really long ago'. Its attested meanings with verbs include a habitual meaning 'one who always acts like this', as seen in (4.55-4.56); in (4.57), it intensifies a temporal (remoteness of time) dimension of the carried out action, essentially expressing an augmentative sense.

4.55 *Iraaka, okantziro, 'Piraakapoo, ari pikantaitatyani pirapiraata.'*
ira-ak-a o=kaNt-tz-i=ro p=ira-ak-a=poo ari
cry-PRF-REAL 3n.m.A=say-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 2S=cry-PRF-REAL=EMPH PP

pi=kaNta-it-aty-a-**ni** pirapira~t-a
2S=be-ICPL-PROG-REAL-**AUG** 2S.cry~EP-REAL
'She was crying, and the mother said to her, 'You cry too much, you're always this way, you cry and cry.'

4.56 *Osheki itsarovanitzi, te iyonite imanatya.*
osheki i=tsarov-a-**ni**-tz-i te i=yo-**ni**-t-e
much 3m.S=be.afraid-EP-**AUG**-EP-REAL NEG.REAL 3m.S=know-**AUG**-EP-IRR

i=mana-t-ia
3m.S=fight-EP-IRR
'He has a lot of fear, doesn't know how to fight.'

4.57 *Ari ikantakotari mamaro ikoshitzi aparoni kooyaniki irohatzi yatzirivetani.*
ari i=kaNt-ako-t-a=ri mamaro i=koshi-tz-i
PP 3m.S=say-APPL-EP-REAL=REL owl 3m.S=kidnap-EP-REAL

aparoni kooya-aniki irohatzi y=atziri-ve-t-a-**ni**
one woman-DIM when 3m.S=person-FRUS-EP-REAL-**AUG**
'This was the story of the owl which kidnapped a little girl when it was a person long ago.'

A summary of the synchronic uses of the forms *ri* and *ni* is given in Table 38.

TABLE 38. Synchronic functions of the forms *ri* and *ni*

ri	***ni***
3m person object marker on verbs	Plural marker on verbs
Gender agreement marker on nouns and non-derived adjectives	Alienable possessive marker on nouns
Adjectivizer	Adverbializer
Nominalizer	Nominalizer
Relativizer	Relativizer
Grammaticalized use with purposive constructions	Intensifier (augmentative)

4.2 Complementation

In §4.1, I discussed relativizing strategies which Ashéninka Perené uses to modify the common argument shared by the main and dependent clauses. In this section, the focus will be on the complementation strategy, used to produce a dependent clause which functions as a verb argument. By definition, a complement clause is a type of clause which functions as an argument of another clause, has the internal structure of a clause including at least core arguments, and describes a proposition such as a fact, activity, or potential (not a place or time) (Noonan 2007:52; Dixon 2010a:370). In this presentation, I draw on the functional, rather than syntactic, definition of complementation, understood

here as expressing a particular relation between events, when one event (the one coded by the main clause, or the *main event*) entails another event (the one coded by the complement clause, or the *dependent event*). The functional definition of complement clauses covers the traditional cases of complements (embedded clauses, possibly introduced by a complementizer) as well as other cases that might not be regarded as such under traditional syntactic criteria (Cristofaro 2008). In light of this functional treatment of complementation, the terms 'main clause'(MC) and 'complement clause' (CC) refer here to the 'main event' (ME) and 'dependent event'(DE) respectively.

In Ashéninka Perené, there is no dedicated complement clause construction, i.e. the language lacks any kind of formal marking whose function is to identify the complement clause as such, either a distinct complementizer, special marking on the subject or verb of the complement clause, or stress shift. Instead, the language uses apposition as a complementation strategy or a grammatical mechanism "for coding a proposition which is remembered, wanted, seen, heard, known, believed, liked, etc."(Dixon 2010a:371).

A competing interpretation of Ashéninka Perené complement clause would be an analysis of its irrealis status marking (which occurs with a limited set of mental state verbs, e.g. *kov* '*want', nimot* 'like'*, amet* 'be accustomed, *yomet* teach*, pintsa* 'decide to go', etc.) as a complementation marking strategy (for discussion and examples of special TAM marking of complement clauses see Dixon (2010a:383-4) and Michael (2007: 15). Alternatively, the morphosyntactic criteria for examination of complement clause marking proposed by Cristofaro (2008) state that verb forms in embedded clauses may be *balanced* or *deranked*; a balanced verb is the one that can occur in an independent declarative clause whereas a deranked verb may lack some of the categorial (TAM)

distinctions or display special markers not used in independent clauses. On the basis of these criteria, Ashéninka Perené complement clauses are regarded as balanced since complement clauses with mental state verbs can occur as independent declarative clauses.

The appositional complement strategy involves two juxtaposed finite verbs, with the first verbal predicate functioning as the main clause and the second as the apposed complement clause. An NP or associated with it element (demonstrative, generic term, personal pronoun), having reference to the apposed clause, may precede or follow the apposed verbal predicate. In (a-d), appositional linking is illustrated by the juxtaposed finite verbs. The verb of volition *kov* 'want' in (a), the thinking verb *ooy* 'expect' in (b), the phasal verb *tsoNk* 'finish/end up' in (c), and the positive polarity verb *ari* 'be the case' in (d) are linked to the verbs they relate to within the sentence. Although formally each clause in the examples in (4.58-4.61) can stand on its own, e.g. 'he wanted'; 'she will respect him, his wife' in (4.58)'; 'I expected it'; 'it will fall' in (4.59); 'she finished'; 'it grew on her breasts' in (4.60); 'this is the case'; 'he was cutting out his thighs' in (4.61), the underlying semantics of the main clause verbs in (4.58-4.61) requires clarification or specification of what is wanted, expected, or finished.

4.58 *Irika evankarika ikovi oninteri iina.*
[irika evaNkari=ka i=**kov**-i]$_{MC}$ [o=niNt-e=ri i=ina]$_{DC}$
this.m young.man=this 3m.S=**want**-REAL 3n.m.A=love-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss= wife
'This young man wanted his wife to love him.'

4.59 *Nooyamachevetaro omparyanaki.*
[n=**ooya**-macheve-t-a=ro]$_{MC}$ [o=N-pary-an-ak-e]$_{DC}$
1SG.A=**expect-**FRUS-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=IRR-fall-DIR-PRF-IRR
'I was expecting it to fall.'

4.60 *Otsonka ovitzitaki oniiki.*
[o=**tsoNk**-a]$_{MC}$ [o=vitzit-ak-i o=nii-ki]$_{DC}$
3n.m.S=**finish**-REAL 3n.m.S=grow.hair-PRF-REAL 3n.m.poss=breast-LOC
'The woman ended up growing hair on her breasts.'

4.61 ***Ari*** *itovatsatziro ivori.*
[**ari**]$_{MC}$ [i=tova-vatsa-tz-i=ro i=pori]$_{DC}$
PP 3m.A=cut-flesh-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=leg
'That he was cutting out his thighs was the case.'

The grammatical profile of complement clauses is addressed in §4.3.1. Semantic classes of complement-taking verbs and types of complement clauses they tend to occur with are discussed in detail in §4.3.2.

4.2.1 The grammatical profile of the complement clause

As mentioned above, the Ashéninka Perené apposed complement clause does not have distinct segmental marking. The main and complement clauses are basically formally the same. Specifically, the verb arguments in the complement clause are expressed in the same way as those in the main clause including the pronominal person clitics. A complement clause in O function is generally realized by the 3n.m. person enclitic on the main clause verb.There are no constraints on the expression of peripheral participants in the complement clause, as exemplified by (4.62-4.63).

4.62 *Osheki inevetaro ihate ishimatya pareniki.*
[osheki i=**neve-t**-a=**ro**]$_{ME}$ [i=ha-t-e
much 3m.A=**like**-EP-REAL=**3n.m.O** 3m.S=go-EP-IRR

i=shima-t-ia pareni-ki] $_{DE}$[31]
3m.S=catch.fish-EP-IRR river-LOC
'He liked to catch fish in the river.'

[31] Examples of complementation clauses are notated in the following way: square brackets [] refer to a clause, the subscript ME denotes 'main event', the subscript DE codes 'dependent event.'

4.63 *Airo osamanitzi inyatyero ishirinkavatsavoritanahe.*
[airo osamani-tz-i i=**ny**-aty-e=**ro**]$_{ME}$
NEG.IRR some.time.later-EP-REAL 3m.A=**see**-PROG-IRR=**3n.m.O**

[i=shiriNka-vatsa-pori-t-an-ah-i]$_{DE}$
3m.S=grow-flesh-thigh-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL
'It didn't take long for him to see that his flesh had grown back.'

The available choices of verbal inflectional and derivational formatives are essentially unrestricted for the complement clause. The complement clause verb exhibits a full set of affixes and clitics from the attested inventory of inflectional and derivational processes. Likewise, there are no restrictions on the complement clauses with intransitive subjects, formally expressed as objects[32]. Examples of the complement clauses with intransitive subjects in O function are provided in (4.64-4.65).

4.64 *Oshiyakantzi oime pokahi.*
[o=**shiyakaNt**-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [o=ime pok-ah-i=**Ø**]$_{DE}$
3n.m.S=**imagine**-EP-REAL 3n.m.poss=husband come-REGR-REAL=**3m.O**
'She imagined that her husband had come.'

4.65 *Notsarovatzi ashitacha avotsi.*
[no=**tsarov**-atz-i]$_{ME}$ [ashi-t-acha=**Ø** avotsi]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**fear**-PROG-REAL enclose-EP-STAT=**3n.m.O** road
'I am afraid that the road is closed [for traffic].'

However, restrictions apply to the reality status marking. The verbs of volition *kov* 'want', *niNt* 'want', 'like', 'prefer', 'respect', the verb of knowledge *yomit~vamet* 'teach', thinking verbs *pintsa* 'decide', *maisaNt* 'forget', *amet~amit* 'be accustomed to', *ooy* 'expect', and verbs of liking *nimo(t)* 'please'*, neve~nive* 'like' occur only with complement clauses in irrealis. Note that this group includes mental state verbs which

[32] The Payne &Payne review of split intransitivity processes points out that in other varieties of Ashéninka complement-like clauses prohibit O-inflection on verbs (2005:45).

belong to three different semantic domains: desire ('want'), emotion ('like'), and cognition ('decide', 'expect', 'forget', 'be accustomed to'). Evidently, when mental state verbs take irrealis complement clauses, this represents the speakers' view of complement clause events as hypothetical. In addition, irrealis status restriction involves verbs of manipulation *kov* 'want', *niNt* 'want', and *yomit/vamet* 'teach [=make accustomed to something]' whose subjects or agents/manipulators manipulate the behavior of another participants (objects or manipulees). Irrealis marking with these verbs indicates that attempted causation may not be successful. In (4.66-4.69), mental state verbs carry an expectation of a following clause to specify what is wanted, liked, decided, forgotten, being accustomed to, expected, or taught. Crucially, the action or state of the complement clause verb is regarded as non-realized when these verbs occur with the main clause predicates.

4.66 *Te pininte paye piimi.*
[te pi=**niNt**-e]$_{ME}$ [p=ay-**e** pi=imi]$_{DE}$
NEG.REAL 2S=**want**-IRR 2S=take-**IRR** 2poss=husband
'You don't want to marry your husband.'

4.67 *Osheki inevetaro ishimat**ya** tsiteni.*
[osheki i=**neve-t-**a=ro]$_{ME}$ [i=shima-t-**ia** tsiteni]$_{DE}$
many 3m.A=**like**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.S=catch.fish-EP-**IRR** at.night
'He liked to fish at night.'

4.68 *Pintsatahana nohatahe.*
[**pintsa-**t-ah-a=na]$_{ME}$ [no=ha-t-ah-**e**]$_{DE}$
decide-EP-REGR-REAL=1SG.O 1SG.S=go-EP-REGR-**IRR**
'I am thinking about returning.'

4.69 *Nomaisantakiro nonkaimero noniro.*
[no=**maisaNt**-ak-i=ro]$_{ME}$ [no=N-kaim-**e**=ro
1SG.A=**forget-**PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.A=IRR=call-**IRR**=3n.m.O

no=niro]$_{DE}$
1SG.poss=mother
'I forgot to call my mother.'

There are also constraints on the co-referential expression of subject in the main and complement clauses with certain types of complement-taking verbs such as *nimot* 'please' and *neve~nive* 'like', *amet~amit* 'be accustomed to', *pintsa* 'decide', *iNt* 'begin', *tsoNk* 'finish'. With other verbs co-referentiality restrictions do not apply. Examples illustrating the required co-referentiality of the subjects in the main and complement clauses with the verb of liking *nimot* and *amet* 'be accustomed to' are given in (4.70-4.71) respectively.

4.70 *Inyashirinkakiro yorave yora shimpokipaye, tsitsiriranki, te onimotero osaiki.*
[i=nyashiriNk-ak-i=ro yora=ve yora shiNpoki-paye tsitsiri=raNki
3m.A=PRF-REAL=3n.m.O DEM=EXCL DEM horsefly-PL cricket=ADV.P

te **o**=nimot-e=ro]$_{ME}$ [**o**=saik-e]$_{DE}$
NEG.REAL **3n.m.S**=like-IRR=3n.m.O **3n.m.S**=be.at-IRR
'She was annoyed by the horseflies and crickets, and didn't like being there.'

4.71 *Pairani ashitanitachari osheki yamitaro imposanitya.*
[pairani ashi-t-ani-t-acha=ri osheki **y**=amit-a=ro]$_{ME}$
before have-EP-child-EP-STAT=REL much **3m.A**=be.accustomed-REAL=3n.m.O

[**i**=N-pos-ani-t-ia]$_{DE}$
3m.S=IRR=beat-child-EP-IRR
'In the old times parents were accustomed to child-beating.'

Negated complement clauses are attested with mental state verbs of thinking, e.g. *shiyakaNt* 'think, imagine', *ny* 'think', *kiNkishiri* 'believe, think' and emotion, e.g. *tsarov*

'fear', and with verbs of speaking, e.g. *kaNt* 'say', *kamanaNt* 'inform' when these verbs take direct speech complements. Tendentially, factual (realis) complement clauses are negated. Negated complement clauses pattern the same way as negated main clauses, i.e. the realis negative particle *te* requires the clause to be in irrealis. In (4.72-4.75), the mental states verbs introduce negated direct speech reports, which explains why standard negation strategies apply to the negated complement clauses. The negative copula verb *kaari* generally occurs with non-verbal predicates, as in (4.72-4.73); with standard verbal predicates, the negative particle *te* is used, as seen in (4.74-4.75).

4.72 *Nokinkishiryaka kaari aviroka.*
[no=**kiNkishiri**-ak-a]$_{ME}$ [**kaari** aviroka]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**think**-PRF-REAL **NEG.COP** you
'I thought it wasn't you.'

4.73 *Pipyakotakaro kaari pivani.*
[pi=**pi**-ako-t-ak-a=ro]$_{ME}$ [**kaari** pi=vani]$_{DE}$
2A=**lose**-APPL-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O **NEG.COP** 2poss=land
'You forgot that it isn't your land.'

4.74 *Nonyahantzi te pimpoki.*
[no=**ny**-ah-aNt-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [**te** pi=**N**-pok-**e**]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**see**-REGR-APPL.REAS-REAL **NEG.REAL** 2S=**IRR**-come-**IRR**
'I thought you didn't come.'

4.75 *Notsarovatzi te noyotero inyaani.*
[no=**tsarov**-atz-i]$_{ME}$ [**te** no=yo-t-**e**=ro
1SG.S=**fear**-PROG-REAL **NEG.REAL** 1SG.A=know-EP-**IRR**-3n.m.O

i=nyaa-ni]$_{DE}$
3m.poss=word-poss
'I'm afraid I don't know his language.'

The attested syntactic functions of complement clauses are subjects and objects. Complement clauses fill the S argument slot with the intransitive polarity verbs

ari/aritaki ‘be the case’, *kaari* ‘not be the case’, *aritapaki* ‘be enough’, evaluative verbs *kameetsataki* ‘be good’ and *te onkameetsate* ‘be bad’. Complement clauses occupy the default O argument slot with other verbs. In general, O argument slots can be alternatively filled with an NP.

In terms of their distribution, complement clauses immediately follow the main clause verb unless the order is reversed for a pragmatic reason. A possible explanation of the MC CC [main clause-complement clause] positional restriction is that the basic constituent order in the transitive clause is VOA or AVO. As mentioned above, the complement clause typically functions as the O argument which occurs after the verb. The subject argument is often omitted by the speakers on the assumption that the addressee is able to infer it from the context whereas the object argument tends to be specified. Nonetheless, an adverb or a core argument may be inserted between the main clause verb and the complement clause.

4.2.2 Semantic types of complement-taking verbs

Complement-taking verbs include *primary* verbs and *secondary* verbs, the former referring directly to an activity or state and the latter providing semantic modification for a primary verb to which they are linked either as a grammatical element or as a lexeme within a complement clause (Dixon 2010a:399). In this presentation of semantic types of Ashéninka Perené complement-taking verbs, I will draw on Dixon’s typology of complement-taking verbs (CTV). The lists of complement-taking *primary* verbs (which is not exhaustive by all means) and *secondary* verbs are given below.

PRIMARY VERBS:

(1) VOLITION: *kov* 'want', *niNt* 'want', 'like', 'prefer', 'respect';

(2) PERCEPTION: *amin* 'see, look for, examine', *ny* 'see', 'discover', 'think', *kim* 'hear', 'listen', 'sense';

(3) LIKING, HABIT: *nimot* 'please', *neve~nive* 'like'; *amit ~amet* 'be accustomed to';

(4) KNOWLEDGE, ACQUISITION: *yo* 'know, realize, learn', *a* 'grasp', 'pick up', 'learn', *yomit~vamet* 'teach';

(5) FEAR: *tsarov* 'have fear';

(6) THINKING: *shiri* 'believe', *shiyakaNt* 'think', 'imagine'; *kiNkishiri* 'think', 'remember'; *maisaNt* 'forget', *pi* 'forget'; *ooy* 'expect', 'wait'; *pintsa* 'decide to go'.

(7) SPEAKING: *kaNt* 'say', *kamaNt* 'inform', *kaim* 'call out', exhort', *kamen~kamin* 'advise to prevent something undesirable', *kaNtaNt* 'advise', *kamit* 'plead', *kantzimaniNt* 'threaten', 'speak badly', *ak* 'respond', *saNpi* 'ask a question'.

SECONDARY VERBS:

(1) NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE POLARITY INTRANSITIVE VERBS: *ari/aritaki* 'be the case', *kaari* 'be not the case', *aritapaki* 'be enough'; *kameetsataki* 'be good/appropriate', *te oNkameetsate* 'be bad/inappropriate';

(2) MODAL VERBS: *kaNt* 'be able', *ontzimatye* 'must, be necessary';

(3)PHASAL VERBS: *tsoNk* 'finish', *iNt* 'begin';

(4) MANIPULATIVE VERBS: *tsani* 'resist', *shini* 'permit', *amitako* 'help'.

The afore-mentioned classes of verbs tend to co-occur with certain semantic types of

complement clauses. At least three types of complement clauses are distinguished based on the proposition that they describe: (i) the FACT type (refers to the fact that something took place), e.g. *I heard [Mary say goodbye]*; (ii) the ACTIVITY type (refers to an activity extended in time), e.g. *He liked [to teach kids];* (iii) the POTENTIAL type (refers to the possibility for the complement clause subject to be involved in an activity), e.g. *I want [him to go]* (Dixon 2010a: 389-392). In what follows, I'll address the common occurrences of each verb class with certain types of complement clauses. It is assumed that the attested preferences of the main clause verb to select specific complement clause type are motivated by the overlap in the semantic content of the main clause verbs and the complement clause.

4.2.2.1 Complement-taking primary verbs

There is a large open set of complement-taking *primary* verbs which make up a complete sentence through filling their argument slots by NPs, pronouns, clitics, or complement clauses. As mentioned in §4.2.2, they are divided into seven semantic types whose profiles are summarized in Table 39.

(1) Volition verbs.The verbs of volition *kov* 'to want', *niNt* 'to want', 'to like', 'to prefer', 'to love' always take a potential complement clause by virtue of their semantics of a hypothetical, non-realized action. The main clause volition verb in (4.76) occurs with the frustrative marker *-ve* which indicates that the attempted action didn't bring the desired effect. The complement clause volition verbs often take the counterfactual marker *=mi* signaling that the projected action wasn't realized due to certain circumstances, as illustrated by (4.76, 4.78-4.79).

TABLE 39. Primary complement-taking verbs (CTV)

Semantic class of CTV	CTV form	CTV gloss	Syntactic function of CC	Semantic type of CC	Negated CC?	Subjects co-referent?
volition	*kov*	'want'	O	potential	no	no
	niNt	'want', 'prefer', 'like'	O	potential	no	no
liking, habit	*neve~ nive*	'like'	O	potential	no	yes
	nimot	'please'	O	potential	no	yes
	amet~amit	'be accustomed to'	O	potential	no	yes
fear	*tsarov*	'fear'	O	potential, fact	yes	no
perception	*amin*	'look for', 'see'	O	activity, fact	no	no
	ny	'see', 'think', 'find out'	O	activity	no	no
	kim	'listen', 'hear', 'feel'	O	activity, fact	no	no
knowledge, acquisition	*yo*	'know', 'realize', 'learn'	O	fact, activity, potential	yes	no
	yomit~ vamet	'teach'	O	potential	no	no
thinking	*shiri*	'believe', 'think'	O	potential	yes	no
	kiNkishiri	'remember', 'think'	O	fact	yes	no
	shiyakaNt	'imagine', 'think'	O	fact, potential	yes	no
	maisaNt	'forget'	O	potential, fact	yes	no
	pi	'forget'	O	potential, fact	no	no
	pintsa	'decide to go'	O	potential	no	yes
speaking	*kaNt*	'say'	O	fact, acitivity, potential	yes	no
	kamen	'advise against'	O	fact, acitivty, potential	yes	no
	kamet	'advise in favor'	O	fact, activity, potential	yes	no
	ak	'respond'	O	fact, acitivity, potential	yes	no
	saNpi	'ask'	O	fact, acitivity, potential	yes	no
	kaim	'call out'	O	fact, acitivity, potential	yes	no
	kamaNt	'inform'	O	fact, acitivity, potential	yes	no

4.76 *Okovaveta oshiyapitsatyarimi.*
[o=**kov-**a-**ve-t**-a=ta]$_{ME}$ [o=shiy-a-pitsa-t-ia=ri=**mi**]$_{DE}$
3n.m.S=**want-**EP-**FRUS**-EP-REAL=OPT 3n.m.A=run-EP-APPL.SEP-EP-IRR=3m.O=**CNT.F**
'She wanted to run away from him.'

4.77 *Te ininte avatsate kapicheeni.*
[te i=**niNt**-e]$_{ME}$ [a=vatsa-t-e kapicheeni]$_{DE}$
NEG.REAL 3m.S=**want**-IRR 1PL.S=gain.weight-EP-IRR little
'He didn't want us to eat enough.'

4.78 *Nonintzi nonkamemi.*
[no=**niNt-**tz-i]$_{ME}$ [no=N-kam-e=**mi**]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**want**-EP-REAL 1SG.S=IRR-die-IRR=**CNT.F**
'I wanted to die.'

4.79 *Ikovi itzinanahemi pashini, te inkantahe.*
[i=**kov**-i]$_{ME}$ [i=tzin-an-ah-e=**mi** pashini]$_{DE}$
3m.S=**want**-REAL 3m.S=rise-DIR-REGR-IRR=**CNT.F** other

te i=N-kaNt-ah-e
NEG.REAL 3m.S=IRR-be.able-REGR-IRR
'Another man wanted to rise [to power], but he wasn't able [to do that].'

(2) *Perception verbs*. The perception verbs *amin* 'to see', 'to look for', 'to examine', *ni* 'to see', to discover', 'to find', and *kim* 'to hear', 'to listen', 'to sense' tend to take activity complement clauses, as seen in (4.80-4.82).

4.80 *Maaroetini ishiyahetanaka yaminakotahetina tsika okanta noshitovantari.*
[maaro<ite>ni i=shiy-a-he-t-an-ak-a
all<PL>all 3m.S=run-EP-PL-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL

y=**amin**-ako-t-a-he-t-e=na]$_{ME}$ [tsika o=kaNt-a
3m.S=**see**-APPL-EP-REP-PL-IRR=1SG.O WH 3n.m.S=happen-REAL

no=**shitov**-aNt-a=ri]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**escape**-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL
'Everyone came running to see how I leave the corral.'

4.81 *Aririka ahate ashimatya nihaaki, anyapakerika ishiyanaki paampatzi.*
aririka a=ha-t-e a=shima-t-ia nihaa-ki
when 1PL.S=go-EP-IRR 1PL.S=fish-EP-IRR river-LOC

[a=**ny**-ap-ak-e=rika]$_{ME}$ [i=**shiy**-an-ak-e paaNpatzi]$_{DE}$
1PL.S=**see**-DIR-PRF-IRR=COND 3m.S=**run**-DIR-PRF-IRR bird.species
'When we go fishing to the river, we'll see the bird *paampatzi* running around.'

4.82 *Ikimakeri inyaaventziro potsotzi icharini*.
[i=**kim-**ak-e=ri]$_{ME}$ [i=**nyaa**-veNt-tz-i=ro
3m.S=**hear**-PRF-IRR=3m.O 3m.A=**speak**-APPL.BEN-EP-REAL=3n.m.O

potsotzi i=charini]$_{DE}$
annatto 3m.poss=grandfather
'He heard his grandfather speak about the annatto *(Bixa orellana).'*

At least two perception verbs *kim* 'to hear', 'to listen' and *ny* 'to see', 'to find' were attested to take fact complement clauses, as seen in (4.83-4.84).

4.83 *Nokimaki pikovi itzime peentsite.*
[no=**kim-**ak-i]$_{ME}$ [pi=**kov**-i i=tzim-e p=eentsi-te]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**hear**-PRF 2S=**want**-REAL 3m.S=have-IRR 2poss=child-poss
'I heard that you want to have children.'

4.84 *Opokapahi ina, onyapahina nosaiki intakiro.*
o=pok-ap-ah-e ina [o=**ny**-ap-ah-e=na]$_{ME}$
3n.m=come-DIR-REGR-IRR mother 3n.m.S=**see-**DIR-REGR-IRR=1SG.O

[no=**saik**-i iNtakiro]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**be.at**-REAL outside
'When my mom would come, she would see me outside the corral.'

(3) *Verbs of liking and habit*. As mentioned previously, the verbs *nimot* 'to please', *neve~nive* 'to like', *amet ~amit* 'to be accustomed to' take a potential complement clause, as seen in (4.85-4.87). A distinction between the formal expression of the experiencer in (4.85-4.86) reflects the difference in the semantic content of the two verbs of liking. In (4.85), the experiencer is marked by the subject proclitic on the verb *neve* 'to like'

whereas the verb *nimot* 'to please' selects the object enclitic for the experiencer function in (4.86).

4.85 *Osheki nonivetaro nonyaatsatya.*
[osheki no=**nive-**t-a=ro]$_{ME}$ [no=nyaatsa-t-ia]$_{DE}$
much 1SG.A=**like**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.S=play-EP-IRR
'I liked a lot to play [soccer].'

4.86 *Te onimoteri arika inkatsite imotya.*
[te o=**nimot**-e=ri]$_{ME}$ [arika i=N-katsit-e
NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=**please**-IRR=3m.O when 3m.S=IRR-feel.pain-IRR

i=motya]$_{DE}$
3m.poss=stomach
'It doesn't please him when his stomach hurt.'

4.87 *Noshaninkapaye yamitaro inkoshite varipa.*
[no=shaniNka-paye y=**amit**-a=ro]$_{ME}$
1SG.poss=fellowman-PL 3m.A=**be.accustomed**-REAL=3n.m.O

[i=N-koshi-t-e varipa]$_{DE}$
3m.S=IRR-steal-EP-IRR chicken
'My fellowmen were accustomed to stealing [freely roaming] chickens.'

(4) *Verbs of fear.* The verb *tsarov* fear' can take either a fact complement clause, as seen in (4.88), or a potential complement clause, as seen in (4.89).

4.88 *Notsarovatzi ashitacha avotsi.*
[no=**tsarov**-atz-i]$_{ME}$ [ashi-t-acha=**Ø** avotsi]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**fear**-PROG-REAL enclose-EP-STAT=**3n.m.O** road
'I am afraid that the road is closed [for traffic].'

4.89 *Notsarovanintatzi naniite tsiteni.*
[no=**tsarov-**a-niNt-atz-i]$_{ME}$ [n=anii-t-e tsiteni]
1SG.S=**be.afraid**-EP-DIM-PROG-REAL 1SG.S=walk-EP-IRR at.night
'I slightly fear to walk in the darkness.'

(5) *Verbs of knowledge and acquisition*. The verb of knowledge *yo* 'to know', 'to realize', 'to learn' is attested with all three complement clause types, depending on the particular sense of the verb. The verb *yomit ~vamet* 'to teach', 'to train' generally occurs with a potential complement clause. In (4.90), when the verb *yo* has the sense 'to realize', it takes a fact complement clause; in (4.91-4.92), *yo* 'to learn' relates to the activity clause, in (4.93), the negated verb *yo* 'know' takes a potential complement clause. In (4.94), the verb *vamet* 'be accustomed to' refers to a potential type clause with which it generally occurs.

4.90 *Iyovetaka manitzira yamatavitaitatziri.*
[i=**yo**-ve-t-ak-a manitzi=ra]$_{ME}$
3m.S=**know**-FRUS-EP-PRF-REAL tiger=DEM

[y=amatavi-t-ai-t-atz-i=ri]$_{DE}$
3m.A=deceive-EP-IMP.P-EP-PROG-REAL=3m.O
'The tiger realized that they had deceived him.'

4.91 *Okanta ayotantahari kapichiini anyaanavaitzi.*
[o=kaNt-a a=**yo-**t-aNt-ah-a=ri]$_{ME}$
3n.m.S=be-REAL 1L.A=**learn**-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-REAL=REL

[kapichiini a=nyaana-vai-tz-i] $_{DE}$
little 1PL.S=read-DUR-EP-REAL
'This is how we learned to read a little bit.'

4.92 *Okanta naari noyotantakari naavintantavaitzi.*
[o=kaNt-a naari no=**yo-t-**aNt-ak-a=ri]$_{ME}$
3n.m.S=be-REAL I 1SG.A=**learn**-EP-APPL.REAS-PRF-REAL=REL

[n=aaviNt-aNt-a-vai-tz-i]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=cure-CUST-DUR-EP-REAL
'This is how I learned to cure.'

4.93 *Te iyote inyaanate, te iyote isankinate.*
[te i=**yo-**t-e]$_{ME}$ [i=nyaana-t-e]$_{DE}$ [te
NEG.REAL 3m.S=**know**-EP-IRR 3m.S=read-EP-IRR NEG.REAL

i=**yo-**t-e]$_{ME}$ [i=saNkina-t-e]$_{DE}$
3m.S=**know**-EP-IRR 3m.S=write-EP-IRR
'They didn't know how to read or write.'

4.94 *Osheki inevetaro ivametairi evankaripaye tsika onkantya ivayeritya.*
[osheki i=neve-t-a=ro]$_{ME}$ [[i=**vamet-**a-e=ri
much 3m.A=like-EP-REAL=3n.mO 3m.A=**teach**-REGR-IRR=3m.O

evaNkari-paye]$_{DE}$]$_{ME}$ [tsika o=N-kaNt-ia i=vayeri-t-ia]$_{DE}$
young.men-PL WH 3n.m.S=IRR-do-IRR 3m.S=be.warrior-EP-IRR
'He liked a lot to teach young people how to fight.'

(6) *Verbs of thinking.* The thinking verbs *shiri* 'to believe', *shiyakaNt* 'to imagine', 'to think', *pintsa* 'to decide to go', *kiNkishiri* 'to think', 'to remember', *ny* 'to understand', 'to see', *pi* 'to forget', *maisaNt* 'to forget' select fact or potential complement clauses, depending on the temporal reference of the direct speech complement they take. In (4.95-4.98), these mental state verbs function as utterance predicates taking direct speech complements.

4.95 *Naaka noshiritakotaro nariityaro.*
[naaka no=**shiri-**t-ako-t-a=ro]$_{ME}$ [n=arii-t-ia=ro]$_{DE}$
I 1SG.S=**believe**-EP-APPL-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.S=achieve-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
'I believed that I would achieve it [I believed, 'I will achieve it.']'

4.96 *Noshiyakantzi kamakimi.*
[no=**shiyakaNt**-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [kam-ak-i=mi]$_{DE}$
3n.m.S=**imagine**-EP-REAL die-PRF-REAL=2O
'I imagined that you had died [I thought, 'You have died'].'

4.97 *Nokinkishiryashita tsika pihataki.*
[no=**kiNkishiri**-ashi-t-a]$_{ME}$ [tsika pi=ha-t-ak-i]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**think**-APPL.INT-EP-REAL WH 2SG=go-EP-PRF-REAL
'I was wondering where you had gone [I was thinking, 'Where did you go?'].'

4.98 *Nonyahantzi aviroka pinatzi.*
[no=**ny-**ah-aNt-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [aviroka pi=na-tz-i]$_{DE}$
1SG.S=**see**-REGR-APPL.REAS-EP-REAL you 2S=be-EP-REAL
'I presumed it was you [I thought, 'It is you.']'

(7) *Speaking verbs*. Likewise, the verbs of speaking *kaNt* 'say', *kamaNt* 'inform', *kaim* 'call out', exhort', *kamen~kamin* 'advise to prevent something undesirable', *kamit* 'plead', *kantzimaniNt* 'threaten', *ak* 'respond', *saNpi* 'ask a question' take fact or potential complement clauses, depending on the complement clause reference time. Examples are provided in (4.99-4.100).

4.99 *Kantzimaintacha charine ikantzi, 'Airo aviri ivairo koshiri.'*
[kantzimaintacha charine i=**kaNt**-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [airo
nevertheless grandpa 3m.S=**say-EP-**REAL NEG.IRR

a=v-i=ri i=vairo koshiri]$_{DE}$
1PL.A=put-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=name monkey
'Nevertheless, my grandpa said, 'We won't give him the name 'monkey'.

4.100 *Ikantzi, 'Tsika isaikika?' Ikantzi, 'Hiri isaikinta.'*
[i=**kaNt**-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [tsika i=saik-i=ka]$_{DE}$ [i=**kaNt**-tz=i]$_{ME}$ [hiri
3m.S=**say**-EP-REAL WH 3m.S=be.at-REAL=Q 3m.S=**say**-EP-REAL there

i=saik-i=Nta]$_{DE}$
3m.S=be.at-REAL=ADV
'The *pajonalino* asked [another man], 'Where is he?' He answered, 'He is sitting there.'

When speaking verbs convey indirect speech, indicated by the change in the deictics, they take irrealis complement clauses, exemplified by (4.101-4.103).

4.101 *Okamitakiri impinateri osheki kireeki.*
[o=**kamet**-ak-i=ri]$_{ME}$ [i=N-pinat-e=ro osheki kireeki]$_{DE}$
3n.m.A=**plead**-PRF-REAL=3m.O 3m.A=IRR-pay-IRR=3n.m.O much money
'She pleaded with him to pay her more money.'

4.102 *Ikantzimanintakeri yanteri isheninka.*
[i=**kaNtzimaniNt**-ak-i=ri]$_{ME}$ [y=aNt-e=ri
3m.A=**speak.badly**-PRF-REAL=3m.O 3m.A=beat-IRR=3m.O

i=sheniNka]$_{DE}$
3m.poss=fellowman
'He threatened to beat up his fellowman.'

4.103 *Pairani acharinite ikamenahetzi ari okitaitamanaite.*
[pairani a=charini-te i=**kamen-**a-he-tz-i]$_{ME}$ [ari
before 1PL.poss=grandparents-poss 3m.S=**advise**-EP-PL-EP-REAL PP

o=kitait-aman-a-it-e]$_{DE}$
3n.m.S=be.morning-early-EP-ICPL-IRR
'Long ago our grandparents advised [us] on the early hours of the day.'

4.2.2.2 Complement-taking secondary verbs

Complement-taking *secondary* verbs express 'secondary' ideas such as 'can', 'be necessary', 'be the case', etc. serving to modify the semantic content of the primary verb (Dixon 2010a: 394-5). As mentioned above, the semantic types of complement-taking secondary verbs include *polarity, modal, phasal,* and *manipulative* verbs. Complements of all polarity verbs appear in S function whereas complements of other complement-taking secondary verbs occur in O function. It should be noted that the pragmatic function of the polarity verbs is to intensify the context-determined meanings of complement clauses without specifying the scale of polarity. Neither positive nor negative polarity complement-taking verbs mark low or maximal points on the polarity scale as in 'be *absolutely* the case', or 'be *never* the case'; rather, they express a general clause-level emphasis. Based on the collected corpus, women use significantly more polarity verbs than men. A summary of the secondary complement-taking verbs is given in Table 40.

TABLE 40. Secondary complement-taking verbs (CTV)

Semantic class of CTV	CTV form	CTV gloss	Syntactic function of CC	Semantic type of CC	Negated CC	Co-referentiality restrictions
Polarity verbs	*ari/aritaki*	be the case	S	fact,activity, potential	no	no
	kaari	not be the case	S	fact, acitivity, potential	no	no
	aritapaki	be enough	S	activity	no	no
	kameetsataki	be good	S	fact, activity	no	no
	te onkameetsate	be not good	S	potential	no	no
Modal verbs	*kaNt*	be able	O	potential	no	no
	ontzimatye	be necessary	O	potential	no	no
Phasal verbs	*iNt*	begin	O	fact, activity	no	yes
	tsoNk	finish/end up	O	fact, activity	no	yes
Manipulative verbs	*shini*	allow	O	potential	no	no
	tsani	resist, prevent	O	potential	no	no
	amitako	help	O	potential	no	no

(1) *Positive polarity verbs* ***ari/aritaki*** *'be the case'*. The verbs *ari/aritaki* 'be the case' are identified as such on the basis of their distributional and structural properties. The verbs do not occur as verb arguments, are not modified by adjectives or other associated with nouns elements; do not take nominal morphology such as plural marker *-paye*, possessive, diminutive or augmentative morphemes, or nominal classifiers. In contrast, they function as heads of intransitive predicates and take some verbal morphology (*ari* is an invariant verb and *aritaki* is derived from *ari* plus the perfective suffix *-ak* and the realis status suffix *–i*).The positive polarity intransitive verb *ari* 'be the case' occurs with fact, activity, and potential complement clauses in S function, as seen in (4.104-4.106).

4.104 *Ari ikantahantana.*
[**ari**]$_{ME}$ [i=kaNt-ah-aNt-a=na]$_{DE}$
PP 3m.A=say-REGR-APPL.REAS-REAL=1SG.O
'That they told me [it] is the case.'

4.105 *Ari itovatsatziro ivori.*
[**ari**]$_{ME}$ [i=tova-vatsa-tz-i=ro i=pori]$_{DE}$
PP 3m.A=cut-flesh-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=leg
'That he was cutting out his thighs was the case.'

4.106 *Nokiyakoterita ironyaaka manii, ikinterota, ari oshevatanake.*
no=kiy-ako-t-e=ri=ta ironyaaka manii
1SG.S=poke-APPL-EP-IRR=3m.O=OPT now bullet.ant

i=kiNt-e=ro=ta [**ari**]$_{ME}$ [o=sheva-t-an-ak-e]$_{DE}$
3m.A=sting-IRR=3n.m.O=OPT **PP** 3n.m.S=move-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR
'Maybe if I poke the nest of bullet ants, they will probably sting her, that she will move will be the case.'

The intransitive polarity verb *aritaki* ari-t-ak-i [PP-EP-PRF-REAL] is regarded by language consultants as being semantically equivalent to the intransitive positive polarity verb *ari* 'be the case'. The syntactic behavior of *aritaki* is similar to that of *ari:* it appears clause-initially; takes complement clauses in S function; and occurs with all three semantic types of complement clauses (fact, activity, potential). Examples are provided in (4.107-4.109).

4.107 *Aritaki ikantari, te ayotero avetsikavaheri.*
[**aritaki**]$_{ME}$ [i=kaNt-a=ri]$_{DE}$ te a=yo-t-e=ro
PP 3m.S=be-REAL=REL NEG.REAL 1PL.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O

a=vetsik-av-ah-e=ri
1PL.A=fix-DIR-REGR-IRR=3m.O
'That they are this way is the case, we don't know how to fix them.'

4.108 *He, aritaki impakimi.*
he [**aritaki**]$_{ME}$ [i=N-p-ak-e=mi]$_{DE}$
yes **PP** 3m.A=IRR-give-PRF-IRR=2O
'Yes, that he will give coca to you will be the case.'

4.109 *Aritaki intaakai pava, irora itasorinka onatzi.*
[**aritaki**]$_{ME}$ [i=N-ta-ak=ai pava]$_{DE}$ irora i=tasoriNka
PP 3m.A=IRR-burn-PRF=1PL.O solar.deity DEM 3m.poss=power

o=na-tz-i
3n.m.S=be-EP-REAL
'That *Pava* will burn us will be the case, his power is such.'

(2) *Negative polarity verb **kaari** 'be not the case'*. Morphosyntactic properties of the invariant morpheme *kaari* are those of the verb; it exhibits verb-like distributional properties, i.e. it does not function as head of NPs, neither does it occur as verb argument. The verb always appears as head of intransitive clauses. The negative polarity verb *kaari* 'be not the case'[33] takes fact complement clause in S function, as seen in (4.110-4.113). As the examples in (4.110-4.112) show, *kaari* is regularly used with verbal predicates in the contexts when the speaker speculates about the cause of the actor's activity or state. In this function, *kaari* appears in conjunction with the applicative of reason/ instrumentality *–aNt* which has either a resultatve sense, as in (4.110, 4.112) or exhibits causal semantics, as seen in (4.111).

4.110 *Kaari pamantari iitzipaye maniro?*
[**kaari**]$_{ME}$ [p=am-**aNt**-a=ri i=itzi-paye maniro]$_{DE}$
NEG.P 2A=bring-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=REL 3m.poss=foot-PL deer
'Why didn't you bring the feet of the deer?' ('Why that you brought the feet of the deer wasn't the case?')

4.111 *Kaari amitantapainta kirinka, piyaha.*
[**kaari**]$_{ME}$ [amit-**aNt**-apaiNt-a kiriNka]$_{DE}$
NEG.P be. accustomed-**APPL.REAS**-for.a.while-REAL downriver

piy-ah-a
come.back-REGR-REAL

[33] With non-verbal predicates, *kaari* functions as a negative existential copula verb (for discussion of the copula *kaari* 'negative existential' see §3.2.2).

'Because this wasn't the case that they were accustomed to living downriver, they came back.' ('They came back because that they were accustomed to living downriver wasn't the case.')

4.112 *Irotaki kaari itzimanta iiriikite ipinatahiri yatziritepaye.*
irotaki [**kaari**]$_{ME}$ [i=tzim-**aNt**-a i=iriiki-te
FOC **NEG.P** 3m.S=have-**APPL.REAS**-REAL 3m.poss=poney-poss

i=pinat-ah-e=ri y=atziri-te-paye]$_{DE}$
3m.A=pay-REGR-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=person-poss-PL
'That's why he doesn't have money to pay his staff.'(That's why that he has money to pay his staff is not the case.)

4.113 *Maatsi evankaripaye, kaari kimisantahirori.*
tzimatsi evaNkari-paye **kaari** kimisaNt-ah-i=ro=ri]$_{MC}$
EXIST young.man-PL **NEG.P** pay.attention-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'There are young people, who don't pay attention to it.' (lit. Those who pay attention to it are not the case.')

(3) *Intransitive negative polarity verb* ***aritapaki*** *'be enough'.* The verb *aritapaki* has been identified as such on the basis of its morphosyntactic properties. Its internal structure is that of a verb, *aritapaki* ari-t-ap-ak-i [PP-EP-PRF-DIR-REAL], consisting of the verb root *ari* 'be the case', the goal-oriented directional *–ap* which also expresses a perfective sense, the perfective suffix *–ak*, and the realis status suffix *–i.* It functions as head of intransitive clauses. The interpretation of the intransitive verb 'be enough' as a negative polarity item reflects intuitions of language speakers who translate it as 'no more', '*basta.*' The verb has been attested with activity complement clauses in S function. Examples are given in (4.114-4.116).

4.114 *Aritapaki pikaataka.*
[**aritapaki**]$_{ME}$ [pi=kaa-t-ak-a]$_{DE}$
be.enough 2S=bathe-EP-PRF-REAL
'That you have bathed yourself in the river is enough.'

4.115 *Aritapaki pimaki, tsame ahataite inaki.*
[**aritapaki**]$_{ME}$ [pi=ma-ak-i]$_{DE}$ tsame a=ha-t-a-it-e ina-ki
be.enough 2S=sleep-PRF-REAL come.on 1PL.S=go-REGR-ICPL-IRR mother-LOC
'That you have slept is enough, let's go visit my mother.'

4.116 *Aritapaki pitsoki noyaniri.*
[**aritapaki**]$_{DE}$ [pi=tsok-i no=kaniri]$_{ME}$
be.enough 2A=pull.out 1SG.poss=manioc
'That you have harvested my manioc is enough.'

Typically, the use of *aritapaki* as a complement-taking verb is meant to express irritation and displeasure of the speaker who is fed up with the addressee's behavior and wants to stop the undesirable activity. In addition, *aritapaki* is used independently at the end of narratives to signal the speaker's intention to stop the narration.

(4) *Evaluative verbs.* Evaluative verbs *kameetsataki* kameetsa-t-ak-i [be.good-EP-PRF-REAL] 'be good' and *te oNkameetsate* te o=N-kameetsa-t-e [NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=IRR-be.good-EP-IRR] 'be not good 'are included here in the class of intransitive polarity verbs. The syntactic function of both *kameetsataki* and *te onkameetsate* is that of heads of intransitive clauses. The morphologically irregular positive polarity verb *kameetsataki* 'be good'never marks subjects. The evaluation verbs generally occur before the complement clause, as seen in (4.117-4.118), but may follow it, as seen in (4.119). In (4.117), a potential complement clause is related to the negative polarity verb *te onkameetsate* 'be not good' when the speaker refers to the inappropriateness of ridiculing other beings such as plants and animals. Specifically, the speaker alludes to an indigenous Amazonian conceptual framework of animism which extends human agency to beings of other species including animals, plants, meteorological phenomena, some artifacts, the dead, spirits, and gods. In (4.119), the activity complement clause precedes

the complement-taking verb. The context for this pragmatically-motivated clause ordering is as follows. After the healer finished her description of a steam-bathing technique, she concluded with a rhetorical question as if she were asking her audience for their opinion. A few moments later, in her response to the question, she used a positive evaluative verb with the fact complement clause in (4.118), evidently pleased with the outcome of her demonstration.

4.117 *Pairani te onkameetsate akantavaishitya.*
[pairani **te** **o=N-kameetsa-t-e**]$_{ME}$
before **NEG.REAL** **3n.m.S=IRR-be.good-EP-IRR**

[a=kaNta-vai-ashi-t-ia]$_{DE}$
1PL.S=do-EP-DUR-APPL.INT-EP-IRR
'That we mock others wasn't appropriate long ago.'

4.118 *Kameetsataki nokantakiroka.*
[**kameetsa-t-ak-i**]$_{ME}$ [no=kaNt-ak-i=ro=ka]$_{DE}$
be.good-EP-PRF-REAL 1SG.A=do-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O=ADV
'That I did it here was good.'

4.119 *Naari ironyaaka okaratzi nantzirika naari kameetsatakirika o te onkameetsate?*
[naari ironyaaka o=kara-tz-i n=aNt-tz-i=ri=ka naari]$_{DE}$
I now 3n.m.S=CAP.C-EP-REAL 1SG.S=do-EP-REAL=REL=Q I

[**kameetsa-t-ak-i=ri=ka** *o* **te** **o=N-kameetsa-t-e**]$_{ME}$
be.good-EP-PRF-REAL=REL=Q or **NEG.REAL** **3n.m.S=IRR-be.good-EP-IRR**
'Is it good or bad what I do?'(lit. 'That what I do is good or bad?')

(5) *Modal verbs.* Complement-taking modal verbs *kaNt* 'be able' and *ontzimatye* 'be necessary' are attested only with potential complement clauses in O function, as seen in (4.120-4.124). Both *kaNt* 'be able' and *ontzimatye* o=N-tzim-aty-e [3n.m.S=IRR-have-PROG-IRR] 'be necessary' are morphologically defective since they generally occur with the 3SG subject person marker. *Ontzimatye* has completely grammaticalized and has

become an invariant modal verb. Note that the modal verb *kaNt* takes the *-i/-e* class inflection when it expresses the above values of participant-internal modality determined by the actor's internal condition (his/her cognitive, emotional, or physical ability).

4.120 *Ari onkantake ayero nyaantsi arika anyaanate.*
ari [**o=N-kaNt-ak-e**]$_{ME}$ [ay-e=ro nyaantsi]$_{DE}$ arika
PP **1PL.S=IRR-be.able-PRF-IRR** 1PL.get-IRR=3n.m.O word when

a=nyaana-t-e
1PL.S=study-EP-IRR
'We will be able to learn the language if we study.'

4.121 *Te onkante naaka nameniro.*
[te **o=N-kaNt-e**]$_{ME}$ [naaka n=amen-e=ro]$_{DE}$
NEG.REAL **3n.m.S=IRR-be.able-IRR** I 1SG.A=take.care.of-IRR=3n.m.O
'I wasn't able to take care of her.'

4.122 *Yonta ikantakiro tsonkiro ivani.*
[yoNta **i=kaNt-ak-i=ro**]$_{ME}$ [tsoNk-i=ro i=vani]$_{DE}$
that **3m.A=be.able-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O** finish-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=land
'That (man) was able to finish [cleaning] his land.'

4.123 *Eentsipaye ontzimatye yamitakoteri irora inkoyavaite.*
[eentsi-paye **o=N-tzim-aty-e**]$_{ME}$ [y=amitako-t-e=ri irora
child-PL **3n.m.S=IRR-have-PROG-IRR** 3m.A=help-EP-IRR=3m.O DEM

i=N-koya-vai-t-e incha-shi-patsa-ini]$_{DE}$
3m.S=IRR-gather-DUR-EP-IRR plant-CL:small.flat-small.part-DIM
'It is necessary for the children to help gather leaves.'

4.124 *Ontzimatye irora amontyanake.*
[**o=N-tzim-aty-e**]$_{ME}$ [irora a=moNty-an-ak-e]$_{DE}$
3n.m.S=IRR-have-PROG-IRR whachamacallit 1PL.S=cross.river-DIR-PRF-IRR
'It is necessary for us to cross the river.'

(6) *Phasal verbs.* The phasal verbs *iNt* 'begin' and *tsoNk* 'finish', 'end up' take fact or activity complement clauses in O function. The phasal verbs require co-referential subjects in both clauses. Examples are provided in (4.125-4.126).

4.125 *Otsonkakiro okasavaitanahi kooyaka.*
[o=**tsoNk**-ak-i=ro]$_{ME}$ [o=kasa-vai-t-an-ah-i
3n.m.A=**finish**-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=cook.manioc-DUR-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL

kooya=ka]$_{DE}$
woman=DEM
'The woman finished cooking manioc.'

4.126 *Ari intanaka ikonyaatzi mamaro.*
ari [**iNt**-an-ak-a]$_{ME}$ [i=konyaa-tz-i mamaro]$_{DE}$
PP **begin**-DIR-PRF-REAL 3m.S=appear-EP-REAL owl
'This is the case that owls began to appear [since then].'

In addition to phasal verbs, there are grammatical forms which modify the meaning of the verbs by expressing the concept of inception. The verbal affixes *–an* 'directional source/temporal ingressive'[34] and *–ima(int)* 'ingressive aspect' also serve to indicate the entry into an action expressed by the verb. Examples are provided in (4.127-4.128).

4.127 *Airo okinkivarotantanaka shintsini.*
airo o=kiNkivaro-t-aNt-**an**-ak-a shintsini
NEG.IRR 3n.m.S=old-EP-APPL.REAS-**DIR**-PRF-REAL quickly
'In order for her not to begin to age quickly.'

4.128 *Imponyashitakya nomoyakaimaitaro.*
iNponyashitakya no=moy-ak-**imai-**t-a=ro
afterwards 1SG.A=boil-CAUS-**INCH**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O
'Then I will begin to boil it [the head of a coconut].'

[34] See the classic Payne text (1982) for a discussion of Ashéninka directionals, which argues that meanings of the directional goal *–apa* and directional source *–an* extend to a temporal sense, namely that the temporal meaning of *–an* is non-finality whereas *-apa* expresses finality. In narratives, *–an* is used to indicate the beginning of a time span, or to indicate the continuation or middle of the time span; it often occurs in a series of verbs. The end of time span is indicated by *–apa*.

(7) *Manipulative verbs **shini** 'allow', **tsani** 'resist', and **amitako** 'help'*. The verbs of manipulation *shini* 'allow', *tsani* 'resist', 'prevent' and *amitako* 'help' take potential complement clauses in O function, as seen in (4.129-4.131).

4.129 *Pishinitero noncheke pisaimpikite.*
[pi=**shini-t**-e=ro]$_{ME}$ [no=N-chek-e pi=saiNpiki-te]$_{DE}$
2A=**allow**-EP-IRR=3n.m.O 1SG.S=IRR-cut-IRR 2poss=firewood-poss
'Allow me to cut your firewood.'

4.130 *Itsanyaro ante pankotsi.*
[i=**tsani**-a=ro]$_{ME}$ [aNt-e paNkotsi]$_{DE}$
3m.A=**prevent**-REAL=3n.m.O build-IRR house
'He resisted that we build a house.'

4.131 *Tsame antzirite, amitakoterita avavisakotaheri.*
[tsame a=N-tziri-t-e **amitako-**t-e=ri=ta]$_{ME}$
come.on 1PL.S=IRR-be.person-EP-IRR **help**-EP-IRR=3m.O=OPT

[a=v-avis-ako-t-ah-e=ri]$_{DE}$
1PL.A=CAUS-pass-APPL-EP-REGR-IRR=3m.O
'Come on, we'll turn into people, we'll help liberate him [the Inka].'

A causer participant can be added without a complement clause filling an argument slot. Specifically, verbal affixes with manipulative semantics such as causal prefixes 'malefactive causative' *mi(n)-*, 'agentive causative' *o-~oi-~ov-,* and sociative causative suffix *–ak* serve to modify the meaning of the verb (for discussion and examples of causative verbal affixes see §3.4.2).

4.3 Adverbial clauses

In the preceding section §4.2, I have discussed complement clauses which function as core verb arguments. In this section, I will describe adverbial clauses functioning as verb adjuncts which modify entire clauses. In this presentation, I largely draw on the semantic

types of clause linking proposed by Dixon (2010b: 2). Specifically, this analysis will focus on the grammatical ways which Ashéninka Perené utilizes to link adverbial clauses based on three main semantic types of adverbial clause linking: *temporal* (succession, simultaneity, anteriority), *conditional* (possible and counterfactual), and *consequence* (cause, purpose, result, and possible consequence). In syntactic terms, this account makes a distinction between the main clause which can stand on its own and the subordinate clause, adjoined to the main clause. In Ashéninka Perené, clause ordering is not fixed: each semantic type of clause linking exhibits specific ordering patterns. In §4.3.1, temporal adverbial clauses are outlined; §4.3.2 describes possible and counterfactual conditional adverbial clauses[35]; §4.3.3 is an account of adverbial clauses formed via consequence clause linking devices. Other clause linking types (*contrast, disjunction*, and *manner*) are addressed in §4.3.4.

4.3.1 Temporal clause linking

There are three basic types of *temporal* linking: (i) temporal succession, (ii) temporal simultaneity, and (iii) temporal anteriority. Table 41 is a summary of temporal clause linking devices.

(i)*Temporal succession*.Temporal succession is expressed either by juxtaposition or by the sequencing connectives *ironyaaka* 'now', 'then' and *oponya/iponya* 'afterwards'. When two clauses occur together in a sentence, the clause ordering often signals that the event described in the first clause occurs before the event described in the second clause. An illustration of the iconic order of the temporally sequenced clauses is given in (4.132).

[35] Note that temporally sequenced and counterfactual conditional clauses are coordinated in Ashéninka Perené.

TABLE 41. Temporal clause linking devices

Type of temporal clause linking	Form	Gloss	Function	Other functions
Succession	*i/ponya*	'afterwards', 'then'	expresses sequence of events	lexical verb *pony* 'come from'
Overlap	*arika*	'when'	expresses a short temporal overlap	conditional connective 'if'
	=ra	'when'	expresses a short temporal overlap	non-subordinating spatial (locative-demonstrative) clitic 'there'
	ovakera	'when'	expresses a prolonged temporal overlap	non-subordinating adverb 'recently'
	i/okaNta	'in the meantime'	expresses a prolonged temporal overlap	anteriority 'until' ; succession 'after some time'
Anteriority	*irohatzi*	'until'	expresses temporal anteriority	overlap 'when'; anteriority 'before'; spatial direction 'up to';
	tekira	'before'	expresses temporal anteriority	negative polarity adverb 'not yet'

4.132 *Naakiro kotsiro, nantaitaki inchatokira.*
[n=a-ak-i=ro kotsiro]$_{MC}$ [n=aNtai-t-ak-i
1SG.A=choose-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O machete 1SG.S=go.up-EP-PRF-REAL

inchato-ki=ra]$_{MC}$
tree-LOC=DEM
'I picked up the machete, and then climbed up the tree.'

As mentioned above, clausal linkers *ironyaaka* 'now', 'then' and *iponya/oponya* 'afterwards' signal temporal succession of events. The sequencing connectives occur in the second conjunct. The semantics of the temporal adverb *ironyaaka* which generally indicates that the action is taking place at the present moment extends to a sequencing

sense[36]. When *ironyaaka* occurs in narratives which describe sequenced past events, its function is to signal the new turn of events or to introduce a new topic. In this role, *ironyaaka* essentially performs a role of the sequencing connective, as seen in (4.133).

4.133 *Oshiyakantzi oime pokahi, ironyaaka yantaitashitakiro henoki.*
[o=shiyakaNt-tz-i pok-ah-i]$_{MC}$
3n.m.S=think-EP-REAL come-REGR-REAL

[**ironyaaka** y=aNtai-t-ashi-t-ak-i=ro henoki]$_{MC}$
then 3m.A=go.up-EP-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O top
'She thought that her husband had come back, then he climbed up to where she was.'

Additionally, the language has a group of sequencing connectives derived from the verb *pony* 'come from' (see §3.4.4 for the examples of sequencing adverbs)[37]. They minimally take the realis suffix *–a* and the subjective 3 person clitics *i*= /*o*= depending on the gender of the actor participant in the preceding clause. Other derivational and inflectional verb morphology include the directional suffix *–an*, perfective *-ak*, the applicative of intention *–ashi,* and the irrealis morpheme *N-..-ia*. Data suggest that the sequencing *pony*-forms are becoming morphologically irregular since subject proclitics are often elided in everyday speech. It should be noted that when some language consultants rechecked the accuracy of the transcriptions of the collected Ashéninka Perené texts, they rejected the omission of subject proclitics as 'incorrect' on the grounds

[36] Anderson observes that the semantics of *ironyaaka* extends beyond a 'now'- temporal reference since it often occurs in narratives about past events; specifically, when *ironyaaka* is found with intransitive verbs whose subjects are marked as objects, it serves a pragmatic function of "focusing the main points of the conversation" (1991:71-2).

[37] A useful discussion of two Ashéninka adverbial vebs i*/oponya* and *i/okanta* is in Anderson (1983:79-90). The Anderson account of the adverbial connectives states that *i/oponya* is a sequencing connective carrying an aspectual sense of perfectivity while *i/okanta* is a contemporaneous marker indicating simultaneity of two events; *i/okanta* generally indicates stativity of the event or state.

that this innovative phenomenon is 'the result of the language contact with other Ashéninka varieties'. However, the regularity of the subject proclitic elision in the collected corpus shows that this phenomenon has become a common speech habit among Ashéninka Perené speakers. The sequencing connective *iponya/oponya* may refer to a point of time in the past, as shown in (4.134), or in the future, as seen in (4.135-4.136).

4.134 *Naaki pashini, ponyashitaka aisatzi nochekakiro.*
[n=a-ak-i pashini]$_{MC}$ **ponyashitaka** aisatzi
1SG.S=pick-PRF-REAL other **then** also

no=chek-ak-i=ro]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=cut-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'I chose another branch, then I also cut it.'

4.135 *Yoisotakiri shivitsaki, ponyashitaka yaaki shitashintsi aisatzi yamponatakiri.*
[y=o-kiso-t-ak-e=ri shivitsa-ki]$_{MC}$ [**ponyashitaka**
3m.A=CAUS-be.hard-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O vine.species-LOC **then**

y=a-ak-e shitashintsi aisatzi y=aNponat-ak-e=ri]$_{MC}$
3m.S=take-PRF-REAL mat also 3m.A=wrap-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'They will tie up the corpse with a vine, afterwards they will take a mat and also wrap it around the corpse.'

4.136 *Oponya nonkirikakero ampee,* ***oponya*** *naaka nontsakakero,*
[**oponya** no=N-kirik-e=ro aNpee]$_{MC}$ [**oponya** naaka
then 1SG.A=IRR-weave-IRR=3n.m.O cotton **then** I

no=N-tsak-ak-e=ro]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=IRR-dye-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O
'Afetrwards I will spin cotton, then I will dye it.'

(ii) *Temporal simultaneity*. Temporal simultaneity refers to an overlap of a time event in one clause with the event's time span in another clause. Simultaneity is expressed via the temporal conjunction *arika* 'when', temporal clitic *=ra* 'when', temporal adverb *ovakera* with the basic meaning 'recently', or the adverbial contemporaneous verb *okaNta/ikaNta*

'in the meantime'. To indicate a brief temporal overlap of the non-past events, the connective *arika* 'when' or the adverbial clitic =*ra* are employed; the former is used to express a temporal overlap of non-past events, the latter is attested with overlapping past events only. The temporal conjunction *arika* 'when' requires irrealis status in both main and subordinate clauses to express a temporal overlap of the non-past events, as seen in (4.137-4.138).

4.137 *Arika ankivavetahyari, ero ivehaperonita.*
[**arika** a=N-kiva-ve-t-ah-ia=ri]$_{SC}$ [ero
when 1PL.A=wash-FRUS-EP-REGR-IRR=3m.O NEG.IRR

i=veha-pero-ni-t-a]$_{MC}$
3m.S=fade-AUG-AUG-EP-REAL
'When we wash it, it won't fade.'

4.138 *Arika osantsatanake, nampinaikimaityaro.*
[**arika** o=santsa-t-an-ak-e]$_{SC}$ [n=aNpinaik-imai-t-ia=ro]$_{MC}$
when 3n.m.S=grow.big-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR 1SG.A=roll.up-INCH-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
'When it becomes big, I roll it up.'

The *arika*-strategy is also used to denote a condition which can be met in the future. Speakers comment that 'when' and 'if' interpretations of *arika* are in many circumstances interchangeable, depending on the context of the speech situation. Formally, the ambiguity can be resolved by the clause order. When the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, it generally signals a lack of temporal connection between the two events, suggesting the 'if'-interpretation, as shown in (4.139).

4.139 *Pivetsatapakyaro isha, arika pinyakero.*
[pi=vitsa-t-ap-ak-ia=ro isha]$_{MC}$ [**arika** pi=ny-ak-e=ro]$_{SC}$
2A=greet-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O grandma **if** 2A=see-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O
'Say hi to grandma if you see her.'

Apart from the conjunction *arika* ‘when/if’, the temporal clitic =*ra* ‘when’ is employed to signal a brief overlap in the events or states described in the main and subordinate clauses. The *ra*-marked adverbial clauses are freely ordered, as exemplified in (4.140-4.141).

4.140 *Kamakiraha ikantzi, ‘Naaka te nokame.’*
[kam-ak-i=**ra**=ha]$_{SC}$ [i=kaNt-tz-i naaka te no=kam-e]$_{MC}$
die-PRF-REAL=**ADV**=EMPH 3m.S=say-EP-REAL I NEG.REAL 1SG.S=die-IRR
‘When he died, he said, ‘I didn’t die.’

4.141 *Okantakanakina, isataitakinara aparoni aavintarontsi.*
[o=kaNt-ak-an-ak-i=na]$_{MC}$
3n.m.A=happen-CAUS-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O

[i=sat-ai-t-ak-i=na=**ra** aparoni aaviNtarontsi] $_{SC}$
3m.A=stick-IMP.P-EP-PRF-EAL=1SG.O=**ADV** one medicine
‘It did something to me when they administered a drug.’

In addition, the clitic =*ra* may exhibit a spatial meaning ‘where’ specifying the place where the main clause event occurs, as seen in (4.142-4.143).

4.142 *Osaikahetzira okovenkatzi; osheki manitzi.*
[o=saik-a-he-tz-i=**ra**] $_{SC}$ [o=koveNka-tz-i]$_{MC}$ osheki manitzi
3n.m.S=be.at-EP-PL-EP-REAL=**ADV** 3n.m.S=danger-EP-REAL many tiger
‘Where they lived, it was dangerous; there were many tigers [there].’

4.143 *Ironyaaka antaroite manitzi ikenapaki onaryakara.*
[ironyaaka antaro-ite manitzi i=ken-ap-ak-i]$_{MC}$
CONN big-AUG tiger 3m.S=walk-DIR-PRF-REAL

[o=nary-ak-a=**ra**]$_{SC}$
3n.m.S=lie.prostrate-PRF-REAL=**ADV**
‘A huge tiger walked into the area where the women were lying [sleeping].’

A more prolonged overlap of activities or states in both clauses can be marked by the temporal adverb *ovakera* ‘recently’ or the adverbial gender-sensitive contemporaneous

verb *okaNta/ikaNta* ‘in the meantime.’ The temporal adverb *ovakera* ‘recently’, when joined to the subordinate clause, functions as the conjunction ‘when’. The connective *ovakera* ‘when’ occurs only with past events. It is always preposed to the subordinate clause predicate, as exemplified in (4.144-4.145).

4.144 *Ovakera tsopachani aiki, ovakera eentsitapaki, airo ookavaishitaro.*
[**ovakera** tsop-acha=ni aiki **ovakera** eentsi-t-ap-ak-i]$_{SC}$
when pull.out-STAT=REL tooth **when** child-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL

[airo ooka-vai-ashi-t-a=ro]$_{MC}$
NEG.IRR throw.away-DUR-APPL.INT-EP-REAL=3n.m.O
‘When the first tooth is ready to fall out when we are little, we shouldn’t throw it away thoughtlessly.’

4.145 *Ari okimita pairani aisatzi naari, ovakera chooki oshitovapahi iraani.*
[ari o=kimi-t-a pairani aisatzi naari]$_{MC}$ [**ovakera** chooki
PP 3n.m.S=be.similar-EP-REAL before also I **when** sister

o=shitov-ap-ah-i iraani]$_{SC}$
3n.m.S=leave-DIR-REGR-REAL blood
‘The same happened to me long ago, when my sister menstruated for the first time.’

The adverbial verb *ikaNta/okaNta* ‘while’, ‘in the meantime’ is derived from the polyfunctional verb *kaNt* ‘be’, ‘happen’, ‘be able’, ‘say’. Morphological possibilities of the adverbial verb *kaNt* are generally limited to the subject 3person proclitics *i=/o=* and the realis marker *-a.* The gender-sensitive adverbial verb shows regular grammatical agreement with the actor participant carrying out an action or undergoing a state in the subordinate clause. It normally precedes the subordinate clause verb, as seen in (4.146-4.147).

4.146 *Ikanta ishinkitakeri, ironyaaka ashoshira kiyaki iroori.*
[**ikaNta** i=shiNki-t-ak-i=ri]$_{SC}$ [ironyaaka ashoshi=ra
CONN 3m.A=get.drunk-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O now armadillo=DEM

kiy-ak-i iroori]$_{SC}$
dig-PRF-REAL she
'While the men were getting him drunk, the armadillo woman dug a hole.'

4.147 *Okanta ironyaaka yora ashoshira ovitsikaki, ikantakiro iritsiro.'*
[**okaNta** ironyaaka yora ashoshi=ra o=vitsik-ak-i]$_{SC}$
CONN now DEM armadillo=DEM 3n.m.S=make-PRF-REAL

[i=kaNt-ak-i=ro iritsiro]$_{MC}$
3m.A=say-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O his.sister
'While the female armadillo dug the hole, the [male] armadillo told his sister.'

The adverbial verb *ikaNta/okaNta* typically occurs in narratives about past events. When repeated, it signals a lack of immediate succession of events when a prolonged time period passes before the activity or state in the second clause eventuates. In this function, *ikaNta/okaNta* can be translated as 'after some time passed', 'until' as seen in (4.148-4.149).

4.148 *Intaani yayeniri tzina*, *okanta, okanta amatavitakeri maini, kamaki.*
[iNtaani y=ay-i=ni=ri tzina]$_{MC}$ [**okaNta okaNta**
solely 3m.A=get-REAL=3O=3m.O pifayo **CONN CONN**

amatavi-t-ak-i=ri maini kam-ak-i]$_{SC}$
deceive-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O bear die-PRF-REAL
'He only brought her the pulp of pifayo (palm.sp.) to eat, after some time passed, she deceived the bear [by pretending that] she was dead.'

4.149 *Ishetaka, ishetaka, ikanta, ikanta kamaki.*
[i=shet-ak-a i=shet-ak-a] $_{MC}$ [**ikaNta ikaNta** kam-ak-i]$_{MC}$
3m.S=clean-PRF-REAL 3m.S=clean-PRF-REAL **CONN CONN** die-PRF-REAL
'He cleaned and cleaned his face, then he died.'

(iii) *Temporal anteriority*. The language does not have dedicated conjunctions or formatives to express clause linking of *temporal posteriority*, which would correspond to English conjunctions 'since' and 'after'. However, temporal posteriorty can be indicated by the iconic clause ordering, by the sequencing connective *iponya/oponya* 'afterwards' or by the temporal adverb *pairani* 'long ago' which can be employed to signal the end-point of a posterior event, as seen in (4.150).

4.150 *Makako irotaki notzimakotaki pairani.*
[makako]$_{MC}$ [irotaki no=tzim-ako-t-ak-i **pairani**]$_{SC}$
macaque FOC 1SG.S=be.born-APPL-EP-PRF-REAL **long.ago**
'Macaque this [name has been] since I was born.'

Temporal anteriority of events is coded with the syntactically independent elements *irohatzi* 'until' and *tekira* 'before'. The temporal anteriority linker *irohatzi* 'until'(some speakers pronounce it as *irosatzi*) marks an endpoint of the event in the subordinate clause, projected into the future with respect to the event carried out in the main clause. The clausal linker *irohatzi* 'until' can take the emphatic clitic *=ta* which attaches indiscriminately to various hosts. When the clitic *=ta* is joined to *irohatzi* 'until', it acquires the intensifying meaning 'until the very last moment'. When the clausal linker *irohatzi* 'until' is employed, the subordinate clause verb is obligatorily marked by the applicative suffix of reason/instrumentality *-aNt*. Evidently, the applicative *–aNt,* which is realized on the subordinate clause verb, signals the resultative aspect of the action carried out in the subordinate clause[38]. The subordinate clause verb, when preceded by *irohatzi* 'until', may appear in irrealis, as seen in (4.151-4.152), or in realis, as seen in

[38] Payne observes that *irohatzi* always co-occurs with the applicative of reason *–aNt* and the relative marker *=ri* (1989:286-7). In Ashéninka Perené, the collected corpus provides only evidence to support the mandated co-occurrence of i*rohatzi* with the applicative suffix *–aNt* marked on the subordinate clause verb.

(4.153-4.154), depending on the temporal frame of the main clause verb. Generally, a realis event in the main clause requires the corresponding realis subordinate clause, and vice versa. The main clause is generally followed by the *irohatzi*-initial subordinate clause.

4.151 *Ompasatatyero tsinki, tsinki, tsinki irohatzi ontsonkantakyaro.*
[o=N-pas-a-t-aty-e=ro tsiNki tsiNki tsiNki]$_{MC}$ [**irohatzi**
3n.m.S=crush-REP-EP-PROG-IRR=3n.m.O IDEO IDEO IDEO **until**

o=N-tsoNk-**aNt**-ak-ia=ro]$_{SC}$
3n.m.A=IRR-finish-**APPL.REAS**-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O
'She will have to crush cotton until she finishes it [the pile].'

4.152 *Onkantero irohatzita oshitovantahya.*
[o=N-kaNt-e=ro]$_{MC}$ [**irohatzi=ta** o=shitov-**aNt**-ah-ia]$_{SC}$
3n.m.A=IRR-do-IRR=3n.m.O **until=EMPH** 3n.mS=leave-**APPL.REAS**-REGR-IRR
'She will weave it until she leaves [her secluded place].'

4.153 *Okaratzi mava ivaitakina iraantsive irohatzi noshitakotantaha.*
[o=kara-tz-i mava i=v-ai-t-ak-i=na
3n.m.S=COP.CAP-EP-REAL three 3m.A=put-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O

iraantsi=ve]$_{MC}$ [**irohatzi** no=shitako-t-**aNt**-ah-a]$_{SC}$
blood=EXCL **until** 1SG.S=get.well-EP-**APPL.REAS**-REGR-REAL
'They administered three doses of blood until I got better.'

4.154 *Ari isaikahetzi ikenkitsavaitaiyeni irohatzi ahetantapakari ivochokini.*
[ari i=saik-a-he-tz-i i=keNkitsa-vai-t-aiy-i-ni]$_{MC}$ [**irohatzi**
PP 3m.S=be.at-EP-PL-EP-REAL 3m.S=talk-DUR-EP-PL-REAL-PL **until**

aree-t-**aNt**-ap-ak-a=ri i=pochoki-ni]$_{SC}$
arrive-EP-**APPL.REAS**-DIR-PRF-REAL=REL 3m.poss=dream-poss
'They kept talking until both succumbed to sleep.'

The clause linker *irohatzi* exhibits other temporal extensions such as 'before' or 'when', as seen in (4.155-4.156). In addition, as a non-subordinating device, it occurs

with other temporal adverbs, as given in (4.157), or with nouns when it acquires a spatial (directional) sense, as shown in (4.158).

4.155 *Tsiirishiki ikitsataitakina kitamarori, irohatzi nohatantakya.*
[Tsiirishi-ki i=kitsa-t-ai-t-ak-i=na kitamarori]$_{MC}$
La Merced-LOC 3m.A=dress-EP-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O white

[**irohatzi** no=ha-t-aNt-ak-ia]$_{SC}$
until 1SG.S=go-EP-APPL.REAS-PRF-IRR
'They dressed me in a white gown in La Merced, before I went off [to Oroya].'

4.156 *Ari ikantakotari mamaro, ikoshitzi aparoni kooyaniki irohatzi yatzirivetani.*
[ari i=kaNt-ako-t-a=ri mamaro i=koshi-tz-i
PP 3m.S=say-APPL-EP-REAL=3m.O owl 3m.S=kidnap-EP-REAL

aparoni kooya-aniki]$_{MC}$ [**irohatzi** y=atziri-ve-t-a-ni]$_{SC}$
one woman-DIM **until** 3m.S=person-FRUS-EP-REAL-AUG
'This is what they say about the owl which kidnapped a young woman when he was a person long ago.'

4.157 *Irotaki ikamantahetziri ireentsitepaye irohatzita ironyaaka.*
irotaki i=kamaNt-a-he-tz-i=ri ir=eentsi-te-paye
FOC 3m.A=advise-EP-PL-EP-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=child-poss-PL

irohatzi=ta ironyaaka
until=EMPH now
'This is what they have told their children until today.'

4.158 *Ironyaaka shiramparika yaanakiro eentsi irohatzi opatsishiki shina.*
ironyaaka shiraNpari=ka y=a-an-ak-i=ro eentsi
now man=DEM 3m.A=take-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O child

irohatzi o=patsishi-ki shina
until 3n.m=top.branch-LOC kapok.tree
'Then this man took the girl up to the top branch of the kapok tree (*Ceiba Pentandra*).'

The clause-linking device *tekira* 'before' is used to indicate the endpoint of some future activity with regard to the main clause event. The adverbial connective *tekira* has the basic meaning of imperfectivity 'not yet', but when linked with the following clause,

tekira generally indicates ‘when X has not yet done Y’ or ‘before X does Y’. The conjunction is composed of the negative polarity realis particle *te,* locative marker *–ki,* and the adverbial marker *=ra.* The optative modal clitic *=ta* which expresses requests, commands, possibility, a wish for something to come about, or an action that has not yet occurred, is frequently realized on the clausal linker *tekira* to denote a yet unrealized, hypothetical action subsequent to an end-point of another action carried out in the main clause. Note that the subordinate clause verb is obligatorily marked by both the irrealis status marker and the modal clitic *=ta* to express the hypothetical possibility of an action. Examples are provided in (4.159-4.161).

4.159 *Tekira inteterita, inkaatavaherita kaminkari ihataheta kametsa.*
[**tekira** i=N-tet-e=ri=ta]$_{SC}$
not.yet 3m.A=IRR-fill-IRR=3m.O=OPT

[i=N-kaa-t-av-ah-e=ri=ta kamiNkari
3m.A=IRR-bathe-EP-DIR-REGR-IRR=3m.O=OPT dead

i=ha-t-ah-e=ta kametsa]$_{MC}$
3m.S=go-EP-REGR-IRR=OPT well
‘Before placing him [the corpse] in the box, they wash the dead person so that he goes well.’

4.160 *Apaitanaki eentsitatyai, tekirata aapitanaketa.*
[a=pait-an-ak-i eentsi-t-aty=ai]$_{MC}$ [**tekira=ta**
1PL.S=get.white.hair-DIR-PRF-REAL child-EP-PROG=1PL.O **not.yet=OPT**

aapi-t-an-ak-e=ta]$_{SC}$
elder-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=OPT
‘We get white hair being young before we get old.’

4.161 *Tekira pariitzimotyarita, ari irorave, pihatake, ontzimatye pintyerovashitapakyari.*
[**tekira** p=arii-tz-imo-t-ia=ri=ta]$_{SC}$ [ari
not.yet 2A=arrive-EP-APPL.PRES-EP-IRR=3m.O=OPT PP

irora=ve pi=ha-t-ak-e o=N-tzim-aty-e
whachamacallit=EXCL 2S=go-EP-PRF-IRR 3n.m.S=IRR-have-PROG-IRR

pi=N-tyerov-ashi-t-ap-ak-ia=ri]$_{MC}$
2S=IRR-kneel.down-APPL.INT-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'Before you arrive in his presence, you will go and you will have to kneel down.'

4.3.2 Conditional clause linking

Two varieties of *conditional* clause linking are distinguished: (i) *possible* conditional, which involves the subordinate condition clause, and the main clause which describes a possible result, e.g. '*If I go hunting, I won't eat anything'*; and (ii) *counterfactual* conditional which refers to a condition which might have been met in the past but for some reason wasn't; it involves the subordinate condition clause and the main clause which describes the event that didn't take place, e.g. '*Had Beetle obeyed his brother-in-law, his brother-in-law would have helped him*.' Table 42 below is an overview of conditional linking devices.

(i) *Possible conditional linking.*The grammatical means for coding possible conditional linking include the connector *aririka,* derived from the positive polarity verb *ari* 'be the case' and the conditional clitic *=rika*. Like other adverbial conjunctions, *aririka* is positioned clause-initially. This type of conditional linking always requires irrealis status in both main and subordinate clauses, as seen in (4.162-4.163).

TABLE 42. Possible and counterfactual clause linking devices

Type of condition	Form	Function	Other functions
Possible	*aririka*	expresses possible condition 'if'	temporal simultaneity 'when'
	arika	expresses possible condition 'if'	temporal simultaneity 'when'
	=rika	expresses possible condition 'if'	interrogative complement clause 'if'; comparison 'like'
	terika	negates a realis condition clause 'if not'	marker of clausal disjunction 'or'
	airorika	negates an irrealis condition clause 'if not'	marker of clausal disjunction 'or'
Counterfactual	*=mi*	marks counterfactual condition	marker of an averted event; marker of frustrative modality; affective marker in requests

4.162 *Aririka pimishakena, kitamaro novatsa.*
[**aririka** pi=mish-ak-e=na]$_{SC}$ [kitamaro no=vatsa]$_{SC}$
if 2A=remove.skin-PRF-IRR=1SG.O white 1SG.poss=meat
'If you remove my skin, my flesh is white.'

4.163 *Aririka amonkaratakero maaroni kamenaantsika, aririka omonkaratapakya atsokantyarori, ari anyaakero osheki ovatsa kaniri.*
[**aririka** a=moNkara-t-ak-e=ro maaroni kamenaantsi=ka
if 1PL.A=measure-EP-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O all advice=DEM

aririka a=moNkara-t-ap-ak-ia
if 1PL.A=measure-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR

a=tsok-aNt-ia=ro=ri]$_{SC}$ [ari a=ny-ak-e=ro
1PL.A=pull.out-APPL.REAS-IRR=3n.m.O=REL PP 1PL.A=see-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O

osheki o=vatsa kaniri]$_{MC}$
many 3poss=mass manioc
'If we follow this entire advice, if we follow it when we harvest manioc, we'll see a big quantity of manioc.'

As mentioned above in my discussion of *arika* 'when/if', there is a close association between the 'when' and 'if' clause linkings. In the same vein, the *aririka*-strategy is used for coding the linking of temporal simultaneity. In (4.164-4.165), there is a clear temporal

connection between the main and subordinate clauses, which makes a ‘when’ translation of *aririka* a preferred choice.

4.164 *Aririka pitzimakakero eentsi aisatzi ontzimatye pintzinae kapichikitaite.*
[**aririka** pi=tzim-ak-ak-e=ro eentsi]$_{SC}$ [aisatzi oNtzimatye
when 2S=have-CAUS-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O child also be.necessary

pi=N-tzin-a-e kapichi-kitaite]$_{MC}$
2S=IRR-get.up-REGR-IRR small-be.morning
‘When you have your wife bear children, you will also have to get up early.’

4.165 *Pantakotapakeri, aririka ishitovanaki kanaiki, ari pivanakeri oponkitziki inchatoka.*
p=aNt-ako-t-ap-ak-e=ri [**aririka** i=shitov-an-ak-e
2A=hit-APPL-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O **when** 3m.S=escape-DIR-PRF-IRR

kanai-ki]$_{SC}$ [ari pi=v-an-ak-e=ri
tree.sp-CL:social.insect PP 2A=place-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O

o=poNkitzi-ki inchato=ka]$_{MC}$
3n.m.poss=ground-LOC tree=DEM
‘Bang on the tree, when ants come out, leave the bird on the ground by the trunk.’

In additon to the syntactic marker *aririka*, the conditional clitic =*rika* is used to code possible condition clause linking. The clitic is attested with various hosts including lexical verbs, as seen in (4.166), copula verbs, as seen in (4.167), and focused verbalized pronouns, as seen in (4.168). The conditional clitic =*rika* can co-occur with syntactic markers of condition/temporal succession *aririka* ‘when/if’, as seen in (4.166), or *arika* ‘when/if’, as shown in (4.168). Additionally, the conditional clitic =*rika* functions as the marker of an interrogative complement clause ‘if’, as seen in (4.168).

4.166 *Aririka ahate ashimatya nihaaki, anyapakerika ishiyanaki paampatzi, ari ayoteri tzimatsira shima.*
[**aririka** a=ha-t-e a=shima-t-ia nihaa-ki
if 1PL.S=go-EP-IRR 1PL.S=fish-EP=IRR river-LOC

a=ny-ap-ak-e=**rika** i=shiy-an-ak-e paaNpatzi]$_{SC}$
1PL.S=see-DIR-PRF-IRR=**COND** 3m.S=run-DIR-PRF-IRR bird.species

[ari a=yo-t-e=ri tzimatsi=ra shima]$_{MC}$
PP 1PL.S=know-EP-IRR=REL EXIST=ADV fish
'If we go fishing to the river, if we see the bird *paampatzi* running around, it is the case that we'll know that there is fish there.'

4.167 *Tzimatsirika pyarentsi, ahatzita ampakotavakeri.*
[tzimatsi=**rika** pyarentsi]$_{SC}$ [ahatzi=ta
EXIST=**COND** manioc.beer also=EMPH

a=N-p-ako-t-av-ak-e=ri]$_{MC}$
1PL.A=IRR-give-APPL-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'If there is manioc beer, we also should give it to him.'

4.168 *Arika apavakiri, iritakirika sheripyari kovatsiri iyotai ankameetsatziririka, ari itasonkakai.*
[**arika** a=p-av-ak-e=ri iritaki=**rika** sheripyari
if 1PL.A=give-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O FOC=**COND** shaman

kov-atsi=ri i=yo-t=ai
want-STAT=REL 3m.A=know-EP=1PL.O

a=N-kameetsa-atziri-e=**rika**]$_{SC}$ [ari i=tasoNk-ak=ai]$_{MC}$
1PL.S=IRR-be.good-person-IRR=**COND** PP 3m.A=blow-PRF=1PL.O
'If we give him [the food], and if he is a shaman who wants to know if we are generous people, he will blow on us [he will bless us].'

The conditional marker *=rika* is also realized as a temporal marker 'when', as exemplified in (4.169-4.170).

4.169 *Iro oshitovahirika ari ipotsoitzirori ironyaaka ovoroki.*
[iro o=shitov-ah-e=**rika**]$_{SC}$ [ari
but 3n.m.S=leave-REGR-IRR=**COND** PP

i=potso-it-tz-i=ro=ri ironyaaka o=poro-ki]$_{MC}$
3m.A=paint-ICPL-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL now 3n.m.poss=face-LOC
'But when she leaves, then they paint her [face].'

4.170 *Hataki antamiki amine piratsi ivakotyarori oshitovahirika apaata.*
[ha-t-ak-e aNtami-ki amin-e piratsi
go-EP-PRF-REAL woods-LOC look.for-IRR animal

i=v-ako-t-ia=ro=ri]$_{MC}$ [o=shitov-ah-e=**rika** apaata]$_{SC}$
3m.A=eat-APPL-EP-IRR=3n.m.O=REL 3n.m.S=leave-REGR-IRR=**COND** later
'She will go to the woods to look for game that they will eat when she leaves her seclusion.'

To negate a condition clause, the conditional negators *airorika* and *terika* are used. The negators are composed of the negative particle, *airo* (irrealis) or *te* (realis), and the conditional clitic *=rika.* The language makes a formal distinction between negated realis and irrealis condition clauses. When the *airo*-negated condition clause refers to an unrealized action or state, the subordinate clause verb occurs in realis mode whereas the *terika*-negated clause, which signals that the action or state of the condition clause has possibly taken place, requires the subordinate clause verb to be marked for irrealis. The positive polarity main clause is marked for irrealis status to express a hypothetical possibility of the expected result. The conditional negators generally precede the condition clause verb, as seen in (4.171-4.173).

4.171 *Airorika pinyiina nihaaki, ari nosaikeri kipatsiki.*
[**airorika** pi=ny-i=na nihaa-ki]$_{SC}$ [ari
NEG.IRR.COND 2A=see-REAL=1SG.O water-LOC PP

no=saik-e=ri kipatsi-ki]$_{MC}$
1SG.S=be.at-IRR=REL ground-LOC

'If you don't see me in the water, I will be on the ground.'

4.172 *Airorika ironyaaka nosaatantavaitzi, tekatsi nayeri noyari.*
[**airorika** ironyaaka no=saa-t-aNt-a-vai-tz-i]$_{SC}$
NEG.IRR.COND now 1SG.S=bathe.in.hot.water-EP-CUST-DUR-REAL

[tekatsi n=ay-e=ri no=ya=ri]$_{MC}$
NEG.EXIST 1SG.A=get-IRR=REL 1SG.S=eat.IRR=REL
'If I don't perform this steam-bathing procedure, there will be no way to get food.'

4.173 *Terika yaye kompiroshi, ari nopiyahi.*
[**terika** y=ay-e koNpiroshi]$_{SC}$ [ari no=piy-ah-e]$_{MC}$
NEG.COND 3m.S=get-IRR *yarina* PP 1SG.S=return-REGR-IRR
'In case he hasn't cut *yarina*, I'll come back.'

The conditional negator *terika* also functions as a clausal operator of disjunction, requiring the subjects of both the subordinate and main clauses to be co-referential, as seen in (4.174-4.175).

4.174 *Nokampitantantya vatsatsi terika namahe shima.*
[no=kaNpitaNt-aNt-ia vatsatsi]$_{MC}$ [**terika** n=am-ah-e shima]$_{MC}$
1SG.S=buy-APPL.REAS-IRR meat **or** 1SG.S=bring-REGR-IRR fish
'I'll buy meat or will bring fish.'

4.175 *Nohatatye Tsiirishiki terika nonkinanake Taaromaki.*
[no=ha-t-aty-e Tsiirishi-ki]$_{MC}$ [**terika** no=N-kin-an-ak-e
1SG.S=go-EP-PROG-IRR La Merced-LOC **or** 1SG.S=go-DIR-PRF-IRR

Taaroma-ki]$_{MC}$
Tarma-LOC
'I'll be going to La Merced or may be going to Tarma.'

The clause which expresses an alternative often exhibits an elided verb, as exemplified in (4.176).

4.176 *Nopankitatye shiira terika katsimaropa.*
[no=paNki-t-aty-e shiira]$_{MC}$ [**terika** katsimaropa]$_{MC}$
1SG.S=plant-EP-PROG-IRR plantain.sp. **or** plantain.sp.
'I'll plant seeds of plantain *seda* or [I'll plant] plantain *isla*.'

Terika can also express doubt or uncertainty when placed between two clauses, approximating a meaning 'maybe'. An example is provided in (4.177).

4.177 *Noina ohatatzi tonkariki terika airo piyaha.*
[no=ina o=ha-t-atz-i toNkari-ki]$_{MC}$ [**terika** airo
1SG.poss=wife 3n.m.S=go-EP-PROG-REAL hilltop-LOC **maybe** NEG.IRR

piy-ah-a]$_{MC}$
return-REGR-REAL
'My wife went to the hilltop [to work in the garden], maybe she will not be back [today].'

(ii) *Counterfactual conditional clause linking.* Two types of counterfactual conditional linking are distinguished. One type of counterfactual conditional linking is expressed by the counterfactual clitic *=mi* which marks the verbs of both conjuncts, denoting a hypothetical action or state which never took place and requiring irrealis inflection in both clauses. Note that when either clause is negated, it takes realis inflection, as seen in (4.178-4.179).

4.178 *Yareetahyami kametsa, ero ivashiventaitzirimi ironyaaka Tziivito.*
[y=aree-t-ah-ia=**mi** kametsa]$_{MC}$ [ero
3m.S=arrive-EP-REGR-IRR=**CNT.F** well NEG.IRR

i=pashiveNt-ai-tz-i=ri=**mi** ironyaaka Tziivito]$_{MC}$
3m.A=embarrass-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3m.O=**CNT.F** now Beetle
'Had they arrived safely [together], they wouldn't have embarrassed Beetle.'

4.179 *Yookaitanakiri irirori ipiyatsata, ero ipiyatsatami, ero yookaitzirimi.*
y=ook-ai-t-an-ak-i=ri irirori i=piyatsa-t-a
3m.A=abandon-IMP.P-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O he 3m.S=disobey-EP-REAL

[**ero** i=piyatsa-t-a=**mi**]$_{MC}$ [**ero**
NEG.IRR 3m.S=disobey-EP-REAL=**CNT.F** **NEG.IRR**

y=ook-ai-tz-i=**mi**]$_{MC}$
3m.S=abandon-IMP.P-EP-REAL=**CNT.F**
'They left Beetle because he had disobeyed; hadn't he disobeyed, they wouldn't have left him.'

Another type of counterfactual clause linking includes an irrealis clause marked by the counterfactual clitic *=mi* which has an avertive sense, denoting a closely missed event. The second realis clause describes a circumstance which didn't allow the hypothetical action in the irrealis clause to eventuate. The marker of negated condition *airorika* 'if not', which essentially functions as a marker of clausal disjunction, is used to link such clauses, as seen in (4.180).

4.180 *Apaatatziro isaiki, ironyaaka ipyakiri mapi airorika ironyaaka itsonkahetakaimi.*
[apaatatziro i=saik-i ironyaaka i=pi-ak-i=ri
later 3m.S=be.at-REAL now 3m.A=transform-PRF-REAL=3m.O

mapi]$_{MC}$ [**airo=rika** ironyaaka i=tsoNka-he-t-aka-e=**mi**]$_{MC}$
stone **NEG.IRR=COND** now 3m.S=finish-PL-EP-PRF-IRR=**CNT.F**
'Later on he stayed there and transformed into a stone, or he would have killed everyone.'

In single-clause statements, the counterfactual codition clitic *=mi* functions as a marker of frustrative modality to express an action which failed to succeed or was performed in vain. Generally, it signals that the speaker's (or another participant's) expectations weren't met. Examples are given in (4.181-4.182).

4.181 *Intsompoikira ari nosaiki**mi** kametsa*.
intsoNpoi-ki=ra ari no=saik-i=**mi** kametsa
inside-LOC=ADV there 1SG.S=be.at-IRR=**CNT.F** well
'Inside [the corral] I was supposed to stay in comfort.'

4.182 *Nonintzi nonkamemi.*
no=niNt-tz-i no=N-kam-e=**mi**
1SG.S=want-EP-REAL 1SG.S=IRR-die-IRR=**CNT.F**
'I wanted to die [but it didn't happen].'

In addition, the counterfactual marker =*mi* is used in affective requests. Examples are provided in (4.183-4.184).

4.183 *Ikantziro, 'Isha, pimpinatyami naari.'*
i=kaNt-tz-i=ro isha pi=N-pinat-ia=**mi** naari
3m.A=say-EP-REAL=3n.m.O grandma 2S=IRR-give-IRR=**CNT.F** I
'He said to her, 'Grandma, please please give it to me.'

4.184 *Ikantzi, 'Tsametyami*.'
i=kaNt-tz-i tsame=tya=**mi**
3m.S=say-EP-REAL come.on=EMPH=**CNT.F**
'He said, 'Please let's go.'

4.3.3 Consequence clause linking

Four subtypes of *consequence linking* have been attested: (i) *causal* linking which involves the subordinate clause specifying the reason for the event or state carried out in the main clause, e.g. '*He plucked her eyes out **because** she had responded to his greeting'*; (ii) *purposive* linking which refers to the main clause describing the intentional activity performed to ensure the accomplishment of another activity in the subordinate clause, e.g. '*They made her vomit **in order** to purge her of her laziness*'; (iii) *resultative* linking which marks the subordinate clause describing the result of an action carried out in the main clause, e.g. '*I gave him a steam bath, **that's why** he is well now*'; (iv) and

undesirable possible consequence linking which marks the subordinate clause as an unwanted event whereas the main clause describes an action performed in order to avoid this undesirable event, e.g. '*You should get up early **lest** your wife hate you*.' Table 43 is an overview of consequence clause linking devices.

TABLE 43. Consequence clause linking devices

Type of consequence clause linking	Form	Gloss	Function	Other functions
Causal	*tema/kama*	'because'	expresses cause	
	o/ikaNta	'because'		simultaneiity 'while', 'in the meantime'
Purposive	*-aNt…=ri*	'in order to'	expresses a deliberate consequence	instrumental sense 'with X'
	okaNta/oNkantya+ -aNt..(=ri); okaNta/oNkantya	'so that X can/ could/might/should'		
	-ashi	'with the intent to' 'in order to'		adverbial marker 'to plan/intend to; failed purpose
	motion verbs	'to'		
Resultative	*irotaki + -aNt..=ri*	'that's why'	expresses an unintended consequence	marks a focused clause with an instrumental participant
Undesirable possible consequence	*=kari*	'lest'	expresses unwelcome possible consequence (apprehensive marker)	single-clause warning marker

(i) *Causal linking.* Ashéninka Perené has grammaticalized few markers of causal linking including the syntactic markers of causality *tema* or *kama* 'because' and the causal connector *okaNta/ikaNta* with the meaning 'because'. The semantically equivalent

markers of causality *tema* and *kama* 'because' commonly express causal linking in Ashéninka Perené. As seen in (4.185-4.187), the position of the *tema/kama*-initial clause is not restricted. In (4.185), a reference is made to the speaker's belief that animals, including deer, used to be humans; due to various circumstances, animals lost their human form. This particular character, which pretended to be hunting deer in the woods, was in fact cutting meat from his thighs and bringing it home to feed his family. When he was outed as a liar, out of shame he transformed into a deer. In (4.186), the speaker's comment refers to an Ashéninka cultural conception of sorcery involving demonic creatures like *oovero* 'bird species'(called 'the eye of the dead') and human witches. It was believed that the appearance of the singing *oovero* next to a house signaled that the warriors were coming to kill its inhabitant who had been identified as a witch.

4.185 *Te oshekite ivatsa ivoriki maniro temakya itotatziro ivatsa pairani.*
te osheki-t-e i=vatsa i=pori-ki maniro
NEG.REAL be.much-EP-IRR 3m.poss=meat 3m.poss=thigh-LOC deer

tema=kya i=tot-atz-i=ro i=vatsa pairani
because=EMPH 3m.A=cut-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=flesh before
'The thighs of the deer don't have much meat because it had cut itself long ago.'

4.186 *Pairani ironyaaka ishekitantakari oovero, kama ivayetziri ashaninkapaye iitamatzitavakayeta.*
[pairani ironyaaka i=sheki-t-aNt-ak-a=ri oovero]$_{MC}$
before now 3m.A=much-EP-APPL.REAS-PRF-REAL=REL hawk

[**kama** ivayetziri a=shaniNka-paye
because warriors 1PL.poss=fellowman-PL

i=itamatzi-t-av-ak-aiy-e=ta]$_{SC}$
3m.S=identify.as.a.witch-EP-DIR-PRF-PL-REAL=OPT
'The numbers of *oovero* [birds which heralded death] increased in the old times because warriors were killing my fellowmen who had been identified as sorcerers.'

4.187 *Tema kipatsi anatzi, kipatsi ampiyanahi.*
[**tema** kipatsi a=na-tz-i]$_{SC}$ [kipatsi a=N-piy-an-ah-e]$_{MC}$
because earth 1PL.S=be-REAL earth 1PL.S=IRR-return-DIR-REGR-IRR
'Because we are of the earth, we'll return to the earth.'

Additionally, causal linking is expressed by the polyfucntional verb *kaNt* 'say', 'be', 'be able', 'do', 'happen'. As a causal connector, the verb takes *a*-inflection. It occupies the subordinate clause-initial position and shows gender agreement with the subject of the subordinate clause, as shown in (4.188-4.189).

4.188 *Ikanta ironyaaka isamaitakari, ikantakiri Navireri.*
ikaNta ironyaaka i=sam-ai-t-ak-a=ri]$_{SC}$
[**CONN** now 3m.A=get.upset.with-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O

i=kaNt-ak-i=ri Navireri
3m.A=say-PRF-REAL=3m.O person's.name
'Because they were upset with him, they said to Navireri.'

4.189 *Okanta otenkanakira nonintziro nompankite santari.*
okaNta oteNkanaki=ra no=niNt-tz-i=ro
CONN rocky.place=DEM 1SG.A=want-REAL=3n.m.O

no=N-paNki-t-e saNtari
1SG.A=IRR-plant-EP-IRR cedar.tree
'Because that is a rocky place, I want to plant cedar.'

Another common strategy is to indicate a causal relationship between two clauses by leaving the clausal linking formally unexpressed. In (4.190), the first clause in the biclausal string refers to the result, and the second clause refers to the cause.

4.190 *Yookaitanakiri irirori, ipiyatsata.*
[y=ook-ai-t-an-ak-i=ri irirori]$_{MC}$
3m.A=abandon-IMP.P-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O he

[i=piyatsa-t-a]$_{MC}$
3m.S=disobey-EP-REAL

'They left him [Beetle] because he had disobeyed.'

(ii) *Purposive linking.*Three types of purposive linking are attested: (a) the purposive construction with the applicative of reason/instrumentality *–aNt;*(b) the purposive construction with the applicative of intent *–ashi;*and (c) the motion purpose construction. I will discuss each type in detail below.

(a) *The purposive construction with the applicative of reason/instrumentality –aNt.* The applicative of reason/instrumentality *–aNt*, co-occurring with the relativizer *=ri,* marks the subordinate clause which describes the purposeful activity performed to accomplish the action carried out in the main clause. Note that the applicative *–aNt* has a more basic instrumental sense when it indexes the instrumental referent on the verb with the third person clitics *=ri* (masculine) or *=ro* (non-masculine). Examples of the *aNt*-purposive linking are given in (4.191-4.193).

4.191 *Ponya ikaataitakiro ponkaro ovatsatantanakyari.*
[ponya i=kaa-t-ai-t-ak-e=ro poNkaro]$_{MC}$
later 3m.A=bathe-EP-IMP.P-EP-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O *bejuco*

[o=vatsa-t-**aNt**-an-ak-ia=**ri]**$_{SC}$
3n.m.S=get.fat-EP-**APPL.REAS**-DIR-PRF-IRR=**REL**
'Afterwards she will be bathed with the herb of *bejuco* in order to get fat.'

4.192 *Nantziro novolsatepaye antetantyari paitarikapaye pinteteri.*
[n=aNt-tz-i=ro no=volsa-te-paye]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=make-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.poss=bag-poss-PL

[a=N-tet-**aNt-**ia=**ri** paita=rika-paye pi=N-tet-e=ri]$_{SC}$
1PL.S=IRR-fill-**APPL.REAS**-IRR=**REL** WH=COND-PL 2S=IRR-fill-IRR=REL
'I make my bags for us to fill them with anything that you will put in them.'

4.193 *Nampitantaro onkameetsatantyari.*
[n=aNpi-t-aNt-a=ro]$_{MC}$ [o=N-kameetsa-t-**aNt-**ia=**ri**]$_{SC}$
1SG.A=repeat-EP-INS-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=IRR=be.good-EP-**APPL.REAS**-IRR=**REL**
'I repeatedly work with this to keep it straight.'

Positive polarity purposive clauses occur only in irrealis due to their volitional semantics. However, when the purposive clause is negated, the purposive clause verb takes realis inflection and the relativizer *=ri* is elided, as shown in (4.194).

4.194 *Oshitovanahita pashini kametsa ovakerari oishi, airota okinkivarotzitantaha, okitamarotzitantaha shintsini.*
[o=shitov-an-ah-e=ta pashini kametsa
3n.m.S=grow-DIR-REGR-IRR=OPT other good

ovakerari o=ishi]$_{MC}$ [**airo=ta** o=kiNkivarotzi-t-**aNt-**ah-a
new 3n.m.poss=hair **NEG.IRR=OPT** 3n.m.S=be.old-EP-**APPL.REAS**-REGR-REAL

o=kitamarotzi-t-**aNt**-ah-a]$_{SC}$
3n.m.S=be.white-EP-**APPL.REAS**-REGR-REAL
'She will grow another, new, good hair, in order for her not to grow old, not to grow grey.'

The positive and negative polarity *aNt*-purposive clauses often co-occur with the morphologically irregular adverbial verb *onkantya* with the basic meaning 'happen'. The alternative form *okaNta* is used infrequently, based on the collected corpus. The adverbial verb is derived from the verb *kaNt* 'say', 'be', 'do', 'happen', 'be able'. Its inflectional morphology is generally limited to the 3n.m.person marker *o=* and the discontinuous irrealis status morpheme *N- ..-ia* (or the realis suffix *–a*). The verb, translated as 'so that', intensifies the modal semantics of the purposive construction. When *okaNta/oNkaNtya* is used, the verbal predicate expresses modal values of deontic or epistemic modalities. In this function, the verb takes the *-a/-ia* realis status inflection and precedes the purposive *aNt*-marked verb, as seen in (4.195-4.196). When the subordinate clause verb is negated, the adverbial verb *okaNta/oNkaNtya* occupies the slot immediately before the irrealis negative particle *airo*, as exemplified in (4.197).

4.195 *Ironyaaka ariitapaha kitaiteri onkantya oshitovantahyari kooyaraha.*
[ironyaaka arii-t-ap-ah-a kitaiteri]$_{MC}$ [**o=N-kaNt-ia**
now arrive-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL day **3n.m.S=IRR-happen-IRR**

o=shitov-**aNt**-ah-ia=**ri** kooya=ra]$_{SC}$
3n.m.A=leave-**APPL.REAS**-REGR-IRR=**REL** woman=DEM
'The day arrives so that the woman could leave her seclusion.'

4.196 *Yapotohetakiri maaroni okanta yantavaitakantyariri.*
[y=apoto-he-t-ak-i=ri maaroni]$_{MC}$ [**o=kaNt-a**
3m.A=gather-PL-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O all **3n.m.S=happen-REAL**

y=aNtavai-t-ak-**aNt**-ia=ri=**ri**]$_{SC}$
3m.A=work-EP-CAUS-**APPL.REAS**-IRR=3m.O=**REL**
'He gathered them all so that he could make them work for him.'

4.197 *Isataitavakina **onkantya** airo okatsik**ant**a.*
[i=sat-ai-t-av-ak-i=na]$_{MC}$ [**o=N-kaNt-ia**
3m.A=stick-IMP.P-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O 3n.m.S=IRR-happen-IRR

airo o=katsik-**aNt**-a]$_{SC}$
NEG.IRR 3n.m.S=feel.pain-APPL.REAS-REAL
'They gave me an injection so that my arm shouldn't feel pain.'

(b) *OkaNta/oNkaNtya-purposive linking*. The clausal linker *okaNta/oNkaNtya* commonly serves as a purposive linker on its own, apart from the purposive construction *–aNt ..=ri.* In (4.198), it shows wider possibilities in its morphology by taking the emphatic clitic *=kya*.

4.198 *Ontzimatye ankaimakanteri iriri onkantyakya maaroni avitsikahero kameetsa.*
[o=N-tzim-aty-e a=N-kaim-ak-aNt-e=ri
3n.m.S=IRR-have-PROG-IRR 1PL.A=IRR-call-CAUS-APPL.REAS-IRR=3m.O

ir=iri]$_{MC}$ [**o=N-kaNt-ia=kya** maaroni
3m.poss=father **3n.m.S=IRR-happen-IRR=EMPH** all

a=vitsik-ah-e=ro kameetsa]$_{SC}$
1PL.A=fix-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O well
'We have to call his father on the phone so that we can resolve the issue effectively.'

(c) *The purposive construction with the applicative of intent –ashi.*The semantic contents of the purposive applicative *–aNt* and the applicative of intent *–ashi* are at first blush similar in that that they both convey a general sense of purpose. However, there is a clear distinction in the semantic and syntactic types of clauses they occur with; *-aNt* appears on the verbal predicates of subordinate clauses which describe a focal purposeful activity, e.g. [I repeat this]$_{MC}$ [***in order*** *to keep it straight*]$_{SC}$, whereas *–ashi* marks the main clause verb which refers to the supporting activity, carried out to ensure the realization of the focal purposeful activity described by the subordinate clause, e.g. [*I repeat this* ***with the intent/in order***]$_{MC}$ [*to keep it straight*]$_{SC}$. As a result, the ordering of clauses marked by either applicative is distinct. In general, the main clause with the *ashi*-marked verb precedes the subordinate clause; the reverse clause ordering is typically attested with the applicative *–aNt* when it occurs in the purposive function. Another formal characteristic concerns realis/irrealis inflection of the verb marked by either purposive morpheme. As mentioned above, the subordinate clause verb with the attached applicative *–aNt* takes the irrealis suffixes *–e* or *-ia*. However, when the main clause verb occurs with the applicative *–ashi,* it is generally marked by the realis status suffixes *–i* or *-a*[39]. Examples of the *ashi*-purposive linking are given in (4.199-4.201).

[39] The Payne (1989) analysis of the functions of the applicative of intent *–ashi,* based on the distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive verbs, states that when *–ashi* has a purposive sense, it occurs only with non-reflexive verbs, marked by the non-reflexive suffixes *–i* or *–e; w*hen *–ashi* appears with reflexive *-a/-ya*-verbs, it has a meaning 'by mistake/by chance/no more' (267-8). The Ashéninka Perené corpus shows that the functions of *–ashi* are not motivated by the reflexivity of the verb host that the morpheme attaches to.

4.199 *Ovashitatyaro ovaanyote airo okonyaatzitzi.*
o=v-**ashi-**t-aty-a=ro o=vaanyo-te
3n.m.A=put-**APPL.INT**-EP-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.poss=scarf-poss

airo o=konyaa~tzitzi
NEG.IRR 3n.m.S=appear~REAL. EMPH
'She wears a scarf [with the intent] not to show [her shaven head].'

4.200 *Avashitakiro ashintsatakeri*.
a=v-**ashi-**t-ak-i=ro a=shintsa-t-ak-e=ri
1PL.S=place-**APPL.INT**-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 1PL.A=string-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O
'We combine with another thread [with the intent] to continue to string the beads.'

4.201 *Naashitzimaitaro inchapataki nonkantero tyak, tyak.*
n=a-**ashi-**tz-imai-t-a=ro inchapataki
1SG.A=take-EP-**APPL.INT**-INCH-EP-REAL=3n.m.O spatula

no=N-kaNt-e=ro tyak tyak
1SG.A=IRR-do-IRR=3n.m.O IDEO IDEO
'I take a spatula [with the intent] to stir it [the water] *chak, chak* [sound of splashing water].'

The applicative suffix *–ashi* can have other senses which are essentially revealed contextually, on the basis of the pragmatics of a speech situation. For example, in a single-clause statement, the applicative can have a sense 'to intend to get X involved'. In this function, the applicative suffix *–ashi* indexes the purposefully affected participant as direct object on both transitive and intransitive verbs, as seen in (4.202).

4.202 *Nokantashitari, 'Oovero, paapaintero'.*
no=kaNt-**ashi**-t-a=**ri** oovero
1SG.A=say-**APPL.INT**-EP-REAL=**3m.O** bird.species

p=a-apaiNt-e=ro
2A=take-once-IRR=3n.m.O
'I said [this] intending to jokingly ask him, 'Oovero, take her.'

4.203 *Okemakiri iraka, oshiyashitapakana.*
o=kem-ak-i=ri ir-ak-a
3n.m.A=hear-PRF-REAL=3m.O cry-PRF-REAL

o=shiy-**ashi-**t-ap-ak-a=**na**
3n.m.A=run-**APPL.INT**-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=**1SG.O**
'She heard him [the baby] cry and ran intending to help me.'

4.204 *Ihatashitanakiri, inyapatziri isavoinataka iitsari.*
i=hat-**ashi-**t-an-ak-i=**ri** i=ny-ap-atz-i=ri
3m.A=go-**APPL.INT**-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=**3m.O** 3m.A=see-DIR-PROG-REAL

i=savoina-t-ak-a i=itsa-ri
3m.S=wear.a.cap.on.the head-EP-PRF-REAL 3m.poss=cushma-poss
'They went intending to look for him and they found him wrapped in his traditional robe.'

The appicative *–ashi* can indicate the intent or purpose which has not been achieved. The failed action may be due to the actor's lack of skill or unwillingness to cooperate, as seen in (4.205-4.207).

4.205 *Aririka amonkaratakero maaroni kamenaantsika, airo apiyashita aririka ahate nihaaki aanakero ashimperi.*
aririka a=moNkara-t-ak-e=ro maaroni kamenaantsi=ka airo
when 1PL=measure-EP-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O entire advice=DEM NEG.IRR

a=piy-**ashi-**t-a aririka a=ha-t-e nihaa-ki
1PL.S=return-**APPL.INT**-EP-REAL when 1PL.S=go-EP-IRR river-LOC

a-an-ak-e=ro a=shiNperi
take-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O 1PL.poss=fish.trap
'If we follow this advice, we won't return empty-handed when we go to the river and take our fish trap.'

4.206 *Ironyaaka atsikashitaro oshetaki takik, takik.*
ironyaaka atsik-**ashi-**t-a=ro o=shetaki *takik takik*
now bite-**APPL.INT**-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3n.m.S=fingernail IDEO IDEO
'She pretended that she was biting her nails.'

4.207 *Airo amenashitari ninkarika pokatsini inkivantai avankoki.*
airo amen-**ashi-**t-a=ri niNkarika pok-atsi=ni
NEG.IRR see-**APPL.INT-**EP-REAL=3m.O whoever come-STAT=REL

i=N-kivaNt=ai a=paNko-ki
3m.A=IRR-visit=1PL.O 1PL.poss=house-LOC
'We shouldn't stare thoughtlessly at the person who comes to visit us in our house.'

In (4.208-4.209), the suffix *–ashi* exhibits an adverbial sense 'intentionally' or 'to plan/intend to' when occurring in the freely ordered biclausal strings containing both purposive applicatives *–aNt* and *–ashi.*

4.208 *Aka novetsikantayetarori, novashitayetziro aka.*
[aka no=vetsik-**aNt**-a-ye-t-a=ro=ri]$_{SC}$
here 1SG.A=make-**APPL.REAS**-EP-DIST-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL

[no=v-**ashi-**t**-**a-ye-tzi=ro oka]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=place-**APPL.INT**-EP-EP-DIST-REAL=3n.m.O DEM
'In order for me to make it, I plan to combine it [the tree bark with the fabric].'

4.209 *Oponya naashitakero patsitaroki irora nopotsotantakyarori.*
[oponya n=a-**ashi-**t-ak-e=ro patsitaroki]$_{MC}$
then 1SG.A=take-**APPL.INT**-EP-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O tree.bark

[irora no=potsot-**aNt**-ak-ia=ro=ri]$_{SC}$
DEM 1SG.A=dye-**APPL.REAS**-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'Then I will [plan to] take tree bark in order to dye the fabric.'

(d) *The motion purpose construction.* In this construction, the motion verbs *ha* 'go', *shiy* 'run', *kin* 'walk', *pok* 'come' and some others appear in the main clause describing some motion carried out with the purpose of accomplishing a subordinate clause event. Since the subordinate clause event is believed to be hypothetical, the subordinate clause verb is marked as irrealis. The main clause rigidly precedes the subordinate clause. As shown in (4.210-4.214), the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are always coreferential.

4.210 *Nohataki osheki nampitsi nonyaatsatya notsipatakari kisaakiripaye.*
[no=**ha**-t-ak-i osheki naNpitsi]$_{MC}$ [no=nyaatsa-t-ia
1SG.S=go-EP-PRF-REAL much place 1SG.S=play-EP-IRR

no=tsipa-t-ak-a=ri kisaakiri-paye]$_{SC}$
1SG.A=be.together-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O black.person-PL
'I traveled to other places to play football with blacks.'

4.211 *Shiyanaka pashini notomi yamine kaaro.*
[**shiy**-an-ak-a pashini no=tomi]$_{MC}$ [y=amin-e kaaro]$_{SC}$
run-DIR-PRF-REAL other 1SG.poss=son 3m.S=look.for-IRR car
'My other son dashed to look for a car.'

4.212 *Ikeni ivametairi onkantya yamitakoteri Juan Santos Atahualpa.*
[i=**ken**-i] $_{MC}$ [i=vamet-a-e=ri o=N-kaNt-ia
3m.S=**walk**-REAL 3m.A=teach-REP-IRR=3m.O 3m.S=IRR-happen-IRR

y=amitako-t-e=ri Juan Santos Atahualpa]$_{SC}$
3m.A=help-EP-IRR=3m.O person's.name
'He came to teach them so that they could help Juan Santos Atahualpa.'

4.213 *Ipoki ishimatya otapiki.*
[i=**pok-**i]$_{MC}$ [i=shima-t-ia o=tapi-ki]$_{SC}$
3m.S=**come**-REAL 3m.S=fish-EP-IRR 3m.poss=bottom-LOC
'They come to fish to the bottom of the canyon.'

4.214 *Ishonkanaharo otzishi yareetantahyari isaikahetzinta.*
[i=**shoNk**-an-ah-a=ro otzishi]$_{MC}$
3m.A=**go.around**-DIR-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O hill

[y=aree-t-aNt**-**ah-ia=ri i=saik-a-he-tz-i=Nta]$_{SC}$
3m.S=arrive-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-IRR=REL 3m.S=be.at-EP-PL-EP-REAL=ADV
'They walked around the hill to arrive at where they lived.'

(iii) *Resultative linking.* By definition, the resultative subordinate clause refers to a consequence of what is described in the main clause, e.g. [*He brought us words* [*the Bible*]]$_{MC}$, [***that's why*** *we now can read and write*]$_{SC}$. The causal connection between the main and subordinate clauses is somewhat tenuous since the main clause typically involves a putative circumstance which could result in the outcome described by the

subordinate clause. The purposive and resultative linkings are marked by the same morpheme, i.e. by the applicative of reason/instrumentality *–aNt.* When the applicative appears in the resultative function, it has the meaning 'as a result/consequence', 'that's why.' The resultative clause verb is generally marked for realis by the suffixes *–a* and-*i.* The resultative linking is performed in conjunction with the focused verbalized pronouns *irotaki/iritaki*. In (4.215-4.217), positive and negative polarity resultative clauses are formally equivalent except for the elided relativizer *=ri* on the negated subordinate verb, as seen in (4.218).

4.215 *Ipyanakeri ironyaaka kataripaye, irotaki ishekitantari katari aka.*
[i=pi-an-ak-i=ri ironyaaka katari-paye]$_{MC}$ [**irotaki**
3m.A=convert-DIR-PRF-REAL=3m.O now wild.duck-PL **FOC**

i=sheki-t-**aNt**-a=**ri** katari aka]$_{SC}$
3m.S=be.much-EP-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=**REL** wild.duck here
'They converted in ducks, that's why there are a lot of ducks here.'

4.216 *'Tsame ampiiri tsamiri, osheki yantantzi,' irotaki ipyantakariri tsamiri.*
[tsame a=N-pi-i=ri tsamiri osheki y=aNtaNt-tz-i]$_{MC}$
come.on 1PL.A=convert-IRR=3m.O curassow much 3m.S=fight-EP-REAL

[**irotaki** i=pi-**aNt**-ak-i=**ri** tsamiri]$_{SC}$
FOC 3m.A=convert-**APPL.REAS**-PRF-REAL=**REL** curassow
'[They said:] 'Let's convert him in a curassow, he fights a lot,' that's why they turned him into a curassow.'

4.217 *Airorika onimotziro airo opimantavaitzi, ooyana apaniroini naaka, irotaki akisavakantapintari.*
[airo=rika o=nimo-tz-i=ro airo
NEG.IRR=COND 3n.m.A=like-EP-REAL=3n.m.O NEG.IRR

o=pimaNta-vai-tz-i ooy-a=na apaniroini naaka]$_{MC}$ [**irotaki**
3n.m.S=sell-DUR-EP-REAL expect-REAL=1SG.O solely I **FOC**

a=kis-av-ak-**aNt**-apiNt-a=**ri**]$_{SC}$
1PL.S=get.upset-REC-PRF-**APPL.REAS**-HAB-REAL=**REL**
'When she doesn't want to sell [fruit], she expects me solely [to earn money], as a

result, we argue.'

4.218 *Te anyero ina, ohatatzi oshimata, irotaki kaari onyantana notzimantakarori.*
[te a=ny-e=ro ina o=ha-t-atz-i
NEG.REAL 1PL.A=see-IRR=3n.m.O mother 3n.m.S=go-EP-PROG-REAL

o=shima-t-a]$_{MC}$ [**irotaki kaari** o=ny-**aNt-**a=na
3n.m.S=fish-EP-REAL **FOC NEG.P** 3n.m.A=see-**APPL.REAS**-REAL=1SG.O

no=tzimaNt-ak-a=ro=ri]$_{SC}$
1SG.A=give.birth-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'My mother wasn't present, she went fishing, that's why she didn't see me when I gave birth.'

(iv) *Undesirable possible consequence construction*. The dedicated 'apprehensive' possible consequence morpheme =*kari* 'lest' is used to mark the subordinate clause verb. The morpheme =*kari* always refers to a hypothetical undesirable event described by the subordinate clause. Examples (4.219-4.220) are quotes from the collected indigenous traditional advice given by the parents to their children. These admonitions refer to the crippling fears of untimely death and debilitating illness that Ashéninka Perené speakers used to possess. To neutralize the threat of an early death, as example (4.219) shows, the common parenting technique was to wake up the children before dawn. They were sent to the ice-cold river Perené for a swim and later assigned work to do to keep them busy. It was believed that more hours of active wake-up time facilitate longer life of both adults and children. Another extremely unwelcome event was contracting intestinal parasites or an infectious disease from fellowmen. Example (4.220) describes one of the steps that should be taken by a guest while visiting a fellowman in his house, i.e.to make avail of the private facilities as far from the host's house as possible.

4.219 *Ontzimatye pintzinae kapichikitaite, anankoremikari kamanitaantsi, pikamekari shintsini.*
[ontzimatye pi=N-tzin-a-e kapichikitaite] $_{MC}$
it's.necessary 2S=IRR-get.up-REGR-IRR early

[anaNkori-e=mi=**kari** kamanitaantsi] $_{SC}$ [pi=kam-e=**kari** shintsi-ni] $_{SC}$
cross-IRR=2O=**APPR** death 2S=die-IRR=**APPR** be.quick-ADV
'You have to get up early lest you be in danger of meeting with death, lest you die quickly.'

4.220 *Pihate intyatzini, pitsintakoterikari ashitarori ivanko.*
[pi=ha-t-e intyatzini]$_{MC}$ [pi=tsiNt-ako-t-e=ri=**kari**
2S=go-EP-IRR other.side 2A=urinate-APPL-EP-IRR=3m.O=**APPR**

ashi-t-a=ro=ri i=paNko]$_{SC}$
have-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL 3m.poss=house
'You should go far lest you urinate where the owner of the house does.'

The single-clause *kari*-constructions are used as warnings in direct speech, exemplified by (4.221-4.223).

4.221 *Pikaraikari!*
pi=kar-a-i=**kari**
2SG.S=break-REGR-REAL=**APPR**
'You'll break a bone!'

4.222 *Piparikari!*
pi=pari-i=**kari**
2SG.S=fall-REAL=**APPR**
'You'll fall!'

4.223 *Pipinkikari!*
pi=piNki-i=**kari**
2SG.S=drown-REAL=**APPR**
'You'll drown!'

4.4 Other types of clausal linking

Other types of clause linking include (i) *contrast*, (ii) *disjunction,* and (iii) *manner*[40].

Each of the above-mentioned clausal construction types will be elaborated on below.

An overview of contrastive, disjunctive, and manner clause linking types is given in Table 44.

TABLE 44. Contrastive, disjunctive, and manner clause linking devices

Type of clause linking	Form	Gloss	Function
Contrast	*iro/iroma/irokya*	'in contrast', 'but'	to contrast direct opposites
	=ha on personal pronouns	'in contrast', 'but'	to contrast direct opposites
	kantzimai(n)tacha	'nevertheless', 'however'	to contrast speaker's and actor's perspectives
Disjunction	*terika*	'or'	to express an alternative
Manner	*kimi*	'like'	to indicate a similar manner of actions performed in both clauses
	shiy		
	kimi + *=rika*	'as if'	to indicate semblance of an action performed in one clause with that of another

(i) *Contrast.* Contrast refers to the type of clause linking in which the event described by the first conjunct contrasts with that in the second conjunct. Three contrastive constructions have been distinguished: the adversative coordinator *iro/iroma/irokya* construction 'but', 'in contrast', e.g. '*He was sleeping during the day* ***but*** *he was awake at night';* the contrastive construction with the clausal clitic*=ha,* e.g. '*You go to the woods and bring home a lot of meat,* ***in contrast I*** *never bring anything home*' ; and the contrastive construction with the counterexpectational coordinator *kantzimai(n)tacha* 'nevertheless', 'however', e.g. '*He told his brother-in-law not to follow him,* ***nevertheless***

[40] Clause linking in Ashéninka Perené does not formally mark *addition.* Instead, the language utilizes juxtaposition of clauses of an equal syntactic status, which can be freely ordered.

[unexpectedly] *he went'* . Contrast can also be shown by the obsolete personal pronouns with the *-aintsi* inflection 'but I/you/he/she/we' which express contrastive emphasis on the participant (see § 3.4.5 for examples and discussion of these archaic pronouns), and by apposition. Each contrastive construction is addressed in detail below.

The semantic content of the adversative coordinator *iro/iroma/irokya* has a wide functional range varying from contrasting direct opposites, as seen in (4.224), to vaguely signaling a difference between the types of beeds, as seen in (4.225).

4.224 *Ari ikantatya imaye irohatzi otsitenitantahya irokya tsitenirikipaye ikantziro iina...*
[ari i=kaNt-aty-a i=may-e irohatzi
PP 3m.S=be-PROG-REAL 3m.S=sleep-IRR until

o=tsiteni-t-aNt-ah-ia]$_{MC}$ [**iro=kya** tsiteniri-ki-paye
3n.m.S=get.dark-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-IRR **but=EMPH** night-LOC-PL

i=kaNt-tz-i=ro i=ina]$_{MC}$
3m.A=say-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.poss=wife
'It was the case that he was sleeping until it got dark but during the night he was saying to his wife…'

4.225 *Ari oshaikayetziri incha kitsoiriki, noshintsatantari, iroma iroka chovankeriki, iroka noshintsatakero, notsanaitakaro.*
[ari o=shaik-a-ye-tz-i=ri incha kitsoi-ri-ki
there 3n.m.S=be.at-EP-DIST-EP-REAL=REL tree round.thing-NMZ-CL:small.round

no=shintsa-t-aNt-a=ri]$_{MC}$ [**iroma** iroka chovaNkeriki
1SG.A=string-EP-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL **in.conrast** DEM red.&black.seed
iroka no=shintsa-t-ak-i=ro no=tsan-a-it-ak-a=ro]$_{MC}$
DEM 1SG.A=string-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.A=hang-EP-ICPL-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O
'There are many tree seeds there for making strings of adornments, whereas this is *chovankerirki*, this I use to string seeds and put it on [necklace made of seeds].'

The contrastive focus clitic *=(ma)ha,* when it appears in the second conjunct adjoined to personal pronouns in S/A function (most commonly, with 1SG pronoun *naaka* 'I' and

2SG *aviroka* 'you'), signals that the actor participant's activity or state contrasts with that of the actor participant in the first conjunct. Examples are given in (4.226-4.227).

4.226 *Aavakeniri, onkaatakeniri, onaryakeri eentsite, onkivanontahero, onkotsiteniro oyari, naakaha tekatsi amenenani*.
[a-av-ak-e=ni=ri o=N-kaa-t-ak-e=ni=ri
take-DIR-PRF-IRR=3.O=3m.O 3n.m.A=IRR-bathe-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O

o=nary-ak-e=ri eentsi-te o=N-kivanoNt-ah-e=ro
3n.m.A=lay-PRF-IRR=3m.O 3n.m.poss.child-poss 3n.m.A=wash-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O

o=N-kotsi-t-e=ni=ro o=ya=ri]$_{MC}$ [**naaka=ha**
3n.m.A=IRR-cook-EP-IRR=3.O=3n.m.O 3n.m.poss=eat=REL **I=CNTR**

tekatsi amen-e=na=ni]$_{MC}$
NEG.EXIST look.after-IRR=1SG.O=REL
'She [the mother] will receive the baby for her, she will bathe it for her, put it in bed, wash all the dirty staff, she will cook food for the woman, but I [as an orphan] have no one who will look after me.'

4.227 *Te, iyora iyotziro inyaatsata, naakamaha te noyopirotero.*
[te iyora i=yo-tz-i=ro i=nyaatsa-t-a]$_{MC}$ [**naaka=maha**
NEG DEM 3m.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.S=play-EP-REAL **I=CNTR**

te no=yo-piro-t-e=ro]$_{MC}$
NEG.REAL 1SG.A=know-AUG-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
'No, this one knows how to play, but I don't know [how to play the game].'

Counterexpectational coordinator *kantzimai(n)tacha* 'nevertheless' is used in situations when the speaker's and the actor's perspectives diverge, when the speaker's reasonable assumptions about the actor's activity or state appear to be wrong, often to the speaker's surprise. There is no opposition made between the event described in the first conjunct and that of the second conjunct, as seen in (4.228-4.229).

4.228 *Okantai ina aisatzi apa, kantzimaitacha maatsi evankaripaye, kaari kimisantahirori.*
[o=kaNt=ai ina aisatzi apa]$_{MC}$ [**kantzimaitacha** tzimatsi
3n.m.A=say=1PL.O mother also father **nevertheless** EXIST

evaNkari-paye kaari kimisaNt-ah-i=ro=ri]$_{MC}$
young.man-PL NEG.P pay.attention-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O=REL
'Mother told us [this], [and] father too, nevertheless [to my surprise], there are young people who don't pay attention [to this advice].'

4.229 *Pairani tzimatsi aparoni ashaninka vatsantsi, aintziri iina, kantzimaitacha te ikovintsate.*
[pairani tzimatsi aparoni ashaniNka vatsantzi a-aintsi=ri
before EXIST one our.fellowman fat.m take-STAT.T=REL

i= ina]$_{MC}$ [**kantzimaitacha** te i=kovintsa-t-e]$_{MC}$
3m.poss= wife **nevertheless** NEG.REAL 3m.S=hunt-EP-IRR
'Long ago there was a fat man who had a wife, nevertheless [surprisingly] he wasn't a good hunter.'

(ii) *Disjunction.* The negative conditional *terika* 'if not' functions as a grammatical marker of clausal disjunction, e.g. '*You will marry a dog* ***or*** *you will marry this man*.' In this type of clausal linking, which involves symmetrical alternatives, the two clauses have equal status and can occur in either order. Examples are given in (4.330-4.31).

4.330 *Nonkaakitakiri irokiki, avisanakiri iito terika nonkaatakiri inchashipatsaini.*
[no=N-kaa-ki-t-ak-e=ri ir=oki-ki
1SG.A=IRR-pour-CL:small.round-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=eye-LOC

avis-an-ak-e=ri i=ito]$_{MC}$ [**te=rika**
pass-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=head **NEG.REAL=COND**

no=N-kaa-t-ak-e=ri incha-shi-patsa-ini]$_{MC}$
1SG.A=IRR-bathe-EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O plant-leaf-small.part-DIM
'I will put *pusanga* in his eye, and his headache will go away, or I will bathe him with herbs.'

4.331 *Paminatye irora kitairiki, samani, sharo, pinkintavaketa, terika paminatye tsamiri, kintsori, pinkinterita.*
[p=amin-aty-e irora kitairiki samani sharo
2S=see-PROG-IRR DEM peccary paca agouti

pi=N-kiNt-av-ak-e=ta]$_{MC}$ [**terika** p=amin-aty-e
2S=IRR-shoot.arrows-DIR-PRF-IRR=OPT **or** 2S=see-PROG-IRR

tsamiri kintsori pi=N-kiNt-e=ri=ta]$_{MC}$
curassow patridge.sp 2A=IRR-shoot.arrows-IRR=3m.O=OPT
'You'll see peccary, paca, agouti, shoot them, or you'll see curassow, patridge, shoot them [too].'

(iii) *Manner*. Grammatical ways of expressing clausal manner linking are limited to the constructions with verbs *kimi* 'be similar, resemble' and *shiy* 'be like'. These verbs mark 'real' manner type linking, referring to the similar manner of the actions performed in both clauses, e.g. '*The ducks stand in ordered lines **like** warriors do*.' The verb *kimi* in combination with the conditional clitic *=rika* indicate 'hypothetical' manner clause linking. The 'hypothetical' manner type refers to an event described in the adverbial clause which bears semblance to some action or state portrayed by another clause but which is unlikely to eventuate in real life, e.g. *The ducks stand in ordered lines **as if** they were warriors.'* Examples are provided in (4.332-4.334).

4.332 *Te inkitatashitahyari okimita ikitaitziri pairani.*
[te i=N-kita-t-ashi-t-it-ah-ia=ri]$_{MC}$
NEG.REAL 3m.A=IRR-bury-EP-APPL.INT-EP-ICPL-REGR-IRR=3m.O

[o=**kimi-t-**a i=kita-it-tz-i=ri pairani]$_{MC}$
3n.m.S=**be.similar**-EP-REAL 3m.A=bury-ICPL-IMP.P-REAL=3m.O before
'They don't bury the dead like they buried them before.'

4.333 *Yantavaitzi yaantari ivarite ivankoki ishiyari koyeranki yaye ivarite imavoshiki.*
[y=aNt-a-vai-tz-i y=a-aNt-a=ri i=vari-te
3m.S=work-EP-DUR-EP-REAL 3m.S=take-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL 3m.poss=food-poss

i=paNko-ki]$_{MC}$ [i=**shiy-**a=ri koye=raNki y=ay-e
3m.poss=house-LOC 3m.A=**be.like**-REAL=3m.O ant=ADV.P 3m.S=take-IRR

i=vari-te i=mavoshi-ki]$_{MC}$
3m.poss=food-poss 3m.S=nest-LOC
'He works to get the food home like ants take their food to the nest.'

4.334 *Anyiri nihaatsapyaki kisaatsantsanaite katari ikimitaka imitsainkyarika maaroni yovayerityaranki.*
[a=ny-i=ri nihaa-tsapya-ki kisaa-tsantsana-ite katari]$_{MC}$
1PL=see-REAL=3m.O river-bank-LOC be.black-wide-AUG wild.duck

[i=**kimi-**t**-**ak-a i=mitsaiNk-ia=**rika** maaroni
3m.S=**be.similar**-EP-PRF-REAL 3m.S=be.in.line-IRR=**COND** all

y=ovayeri-t-ia=raNki]$_{MC}$
3m.S=fight-EP-IRR=ADV.P
'We see black ducks on the river banks as if they were all warriors standing in lines.'

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APPENDIX A

Basic vocabulary list

1.	I	*naaka*	29.	long	*santsari*
2.	you (SG)	*aviro(ka)*	30.	wide	*aNtarosaNte*
3.	he	*iri(ro)*	31.	thick	*tsateNto*
4.	she	*iroo*	32.	heavy	*tenari(ni)*
5.	we	*naakaite* (excl), *arokaite* (incl)	33.	small	*iyaani(ni)*
6.	you (PL)	*avirokaite*	34.	short	*iyaani*
7.	they	*iriroite* (m), *irooite* (n.m.)	35.	narrow	*irihani; manchaki(ni)*
8.	this	*iyoka* (m), *iroka* (n.m.)	36.	thin	*matsari* (m), *matsaro* (n.m.)
9.	that	*iyora* (m),*irora* (n.m.)	37.	woman	*kooya*
10.	that over there	*yoNta* (m), *iroNta* (n.m.)	38.	man	*shiraNpari*
11.	here	*aka~ haka*	39.	to think	*-kiNkishiri-;-shiri-*
12.	there	*ara~hara*	40.	to smell	*-asaNk-*
13.	over there	*aNto*	41.	to fear	*-tsarov*
14.	who	*niNka*	42.	to sleep	*-ma-*
15.	what	*tsika paita*	43.	to live	*-any-*
16.	where	*tsika*	44.	to die	*-kam-*
17.	when	*tsika ikaratzi*	45.	to kill	*-v-*
18.	how	*tsika okaNta*	46.	to fight	*-mana-; -vayeri-*
19.	not	*te* (REAL), *airo* (IRR)	47.	to hunt	*- komintsa-*
20.	all	*maaroni*	48.	to hit	*-pos-*
21.	many	*osheki*	49.	to cut	*-chek-*
22.	some	*kapicheeni*	50.	to split	*-viri-;-tsipary-*
23.	few	*kapicheeni*	51.	to stab (pierce with an arrow)	*-kiNt-*
24.	other	*pashini*	52.	to scratch	*-kitsari-*
25.	one	*aparoni*	53.	to dig	*-kiy-*
26.	two	*apite*	54.	to swim	*-ama-*
27.	three	*mava*	55.	to fly	*-ar-*
28.	big	*aNtari* (m), *aNtaro* (n.m.)	56.	to walk	*-kin-; anii-; -avis-*

57.	to come	*-pok-*	97.	rope	*shivitsa*
58.	to lie (down)	*-nari-*	98.	skin	*-mishina*
59.	to sit	*-saik-*	99.	meat	*vatsatsi*
60.	to stand	*-katziy-*	100.	blood	*-iraani*
61.	to turn	*-shoNk-; -pitsok-*	101.	bone	*-toNki*
62.	to fall	*-pari-*	102.	fat	*-yeNka*
63.	to give	*-p-*	103.	egg	*-itsoki*
64.	to hold	*-airik-*	104.	horn	*-ichee*
65.	to squeeze	*-kaviriNka-; -pichov-*	105.	tail	*-tziNko*
66.	to rub	*-tsiriNk-*	106.	feather	*-shivaNki*
67.	to wash	*-kiv-; -kivanoNt-*	107.	hair	*-ishi*
68.	to wipe	*-shet-~-shit-*	108.	head	*-ito*
69.	to pull	*-noshik-*	109.	ear	*-yeNpita*
70.	to push	*-otyaNk-; -shiriNk-*	110.	eye	*-oki*
71.	to throw	*-ook-*	111.	nose	*-kirimashi;-kiriki*
72.	to tie	*-oisot-*	112.	mouth	*-pa(a)Nte*
73.	to sew	*-shitzik-*	113.	tooth	*-aiki*
74.	person	*atziri*	114.	tongue	*-nene*
75.	child	*eentsi*	115.	fingernail	*-shetaki*
76.	wife	*-ina*	116.	foot	*-itzi*
77.	husband	*-ime~-imi*	117.	leg	*-tavaato*
78.	mother	*ina; -niro*	118.	knee	*-yerito*
79.	father	*apa;-iri*	119.	hand	*-ako*
80.	animal	*piratsi*	120.	wing	*-shivaNki*
81.	fish	*shima*	121.	belly	*-motya; -tsomoNte*
82.	bird	*tsimiri*	122.	guts	*-sheto*
83.	dog	*otsitzi*	123.	neck	*-kentsi*
84.	louse	*netsi*	124.	back	*-taapi~-tapi*
85.	snake	*maraNki*	125.	breast	*-tsomi;-nee*
86.	worm	*chapitsi*	126.	heart	*-saNkani*
87.	tree	*inchato*	127.	liver	*-irapana*
88.	forest	*aNtami*	128.	to drink	*-ir-*
89.	stick	*inchakii*	129.	to eat	*-ov-~-v-*
90.	fruit	*chochoki*	130.	to bite	*-atsik-*
91.	seed	*-itsoki*	131.	to suck	*-tsot-*
92.	leaf	*-ishi; tsipana*	132.	to spit	*-choNt-; -tyoNt-*
93.	root	*paritsa*	133.	to vomit	*-kamaraNk-*
94.	bark (of a tree)	*inchataki*	134.	to blow	*-tasoNk-*
95.	flower	*inchatyaki*	135.	to breathe	*-aniNk-*
96.	grass	*savoro*	136.	to laugh	*-shiroNt-*

137.	to see	*-ny-; -amin-*	178.	white	*kitamarori*
138.	to hear	*-kim-*	179.	black	*kisaari; potsitari*
139.	to know	*-yo-*	180.	night	*tsiteniri*
140.	to count	*-ookot-*	181.	day	*kitaiteri*
141.	to say	*-kaNt-*	182.	year	*osarentsi*
142.	to sing	*-pantsa-*	183.	warm	*katsiriNkari*
143.	to play	*-nyaatsa-*	184.	cold	*katsiNkari*
144.	to float	*-ama-*	185.	full	*haikiri(ni)*
145.	to flow	*-shiy-*	186.	new	*ovakerari*
146.	to freeze	*-katsiNkai-*	187.	old	*kiNkivari/ro; kiNkivarotaki*
147.	to swell	*-anoNk-*	188.	good	*kameetsari*
148.	sun	*ooryaatsiri*	189.	bad	*kaaripirori*
149.	moon	*kashiri*	190.	rotten	*patsaaki*
150.	star	*iNpookiro*	191.	dirty	*kipatsiri*
151.	water	*nihaa*	192.	straight	*taNpatsikari*
152.	rain	*iNkani*	193.	round	*-ki-; -na(ki)-*
153.	river	*pareni*	194.	sharp	*tsaiNpiri*
154.	lake	*iNkaari*	195.	dull	*te otsaiNpite*
155.	sea	*iNkaari*	196.	smooth	*karini*
156.	salt	*tzivi*	197.	wet	*asheri*
157.	stone	*mapi*	198.	dry	*piryari*
158.	sand	*iNpaneki*	199.	correct	*iripirori*
159.	dust	*samaNpo*	200.	near	*okaakini*
160.	earth	*kipatsi*	201.	far	*iNtaina*
161.	cloud	*miNkori*	202.	right	*nakohanori; nakopirori*
162.	to drizzle	*-pariNka-*	203.	left	*naNpate*
163.	sky	*iNkite*	204.	at	*-ki*
164.	wind	*taNpyaa*	205.	in	*-ki*
165.	rainbow	*parinkari;oyichari*	206.	with	*itsipatairo/ri; -aNt*
166.	snow	-	207.	and	*i/oponya*
167.	ice	-	208.	if	*arika, aririka*
168.	fog	-	209.	because	*tema, kama*
169.	smoke	*kachaari*	210.	name	*-vairo*
170.	fire	*paamari*			
171.	ash	*samaNpo*			
172.	to burn	*-ta-*			
173.	road (trail)	*avotsi*			
174.	mountain (hill)	*otzishi*			
175.	red	*kityoNkari*			
176.	green	*natsiyari*			
177.	yellow	*kiteriri*			

APPENDIX B

Text samples

B.1 Narrative *Nantavairi* 'My job' by Gregorio Santos Pérez (Villa Perené)

1. *Ironyaka nonkinkitsatavake okaratzi nantapintziri kitaiterikipaye onkantya namantantavaityari novarite namiri novankoki novakaiyariri neentsitepatsaini.*
ironyaaka no=N-kiNkitsa-t-av-ak-e o=kara-tz-i
now 1SG.S=IRR-tell-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR 3n.m.S=COP.C-EP-REAL

n=aNt-apiNt-tz-i=ri kitaiteri-ki-paye o=N-kaNt-ia
1SG.S=do-HAB-EP-REAL=REL day-LOC-PL 3n.m.S=happen-IRR

n=amaNt-aNt-av-a-it-ia=ri no=vari-te
1SG.S=buy-APPL.REAS-DIR-EP-ICPL-IRR=REL 1SG.poss=food-poss

n=am-i=ri no=paNko-ki
1SG.A=bring-REAL=REL 1SG.poss=house-LOC

no=v-ak-aiy-a=ri=ri n=eentsi-te-patsaini
1SG.A=eat-CAUS-PL-REAL=3m.O=REL 1SG.poss=child-poss-DIM
'Now I will tell you all that I do during [all] days in order to buy food that I bring to my house to feed my children.'

2. *Nintavakyaro naakaha, noyomitantzi eshkueraki, noyomitairi eentsitepataini.*
n=iNt-av-ak-ia=ro naaka=ha no=yomit-an-tz-i
1SG.A=begin-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O I=EMPH 1SG.S=teach-DIR-EP-REAL

eskuera-ki no=yomit-a-i=ri eentsi-patsaini
school-LOC 1SG.A=teach-REGR-REAL=3m.O child-DIM
'I will begin with me: I teach at school, I teach little children.'

3. *Arika ontzime nante iroka ikantaitziri matematika, maatsi ivapeete.*
arika o=N-tzim-e n=aNt-e iroka i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ri
when 3n.m.S=IRR-have-IRR 1SG.S=do-IRR DEM 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3m.O

matematika tzimtsi i=vapee-te
math EXIST 3m.poss=paper-poss
'When I have to do this, they call it math, they have notebooks.'

4. *Noyomitairi nosankinatakairi.*
no=yomit-a-i=ri no=saNkina-t-ak-a-e=ri
1SG.A=teach-REGR-REAL=3m.O 1SG.A=write-EP-CAUS-REGR-IRR=3m.O
'I teach them, I made them write.'

5. *Ponyashitaka arika eentsira iyotanakirorika, yantamaintyaro ivapeeteki ririori isankinate*.
ponyashitaka arika eentsi=ra i=yo-t-an-ak-e=ro=rika
afterwards when child=DEM 3m.A=know-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O=COND

y=aNt-amaiNt-ia=ro i=vapee-te-ki ririori
3m.A=do-INCH-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=paper-poss-LOC he
'Then when the child knows [how to write], he begins doing it in his notebook.'

6. *Nookanakiniri irora ejercicio ikantaitziro iroori antavairintsi, yantavaiteta eentsipatsaini.*
n=ook-an-ak-i=ni=ri irora *ejercicio*
1SG.A=leave-DIR-PRF-REAL=3O=3m.O DEM exercise

i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro iroori aNtavai-rintsi
3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3n.m.O they.n.m work-NMZ

y=aNt-a-vai-t-e=ta eentsi-patsaini
3m.S=make-EP-DUR-EP-IRR=OPT child-DIM
'I assign exercises to them what they call 'assignment'; the children should do [it] for a while.'

7. *Arika intsonkakiroha aparopaye, namineniri yantakirorika kametsa.*
arika i=N-tsoNk-ak-e=ro=ha aparo-paye
when 3m.A=IRR-finish-PRF-IRR=3n.m.=EMPH one-PL

n=amin-e=ni=ri y=aNt-ak-e=ro=rika kametsa
1SG.A=examine-IRR=3O=3m.O 3m.A=make-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O=COND well
'When each of them finishes it [the assignment], I'll inspect it for them if they did it well.'

8. *Maatsi pashinipaye, kaari tsonkironi, yookashityaro, airo yantzirotzi.*
tzimatsi pashini-paye kaari tsoNk-e=ro=ni
EXIST other-PL NEG.P finish-IRR=3n.m.O=REL

y=ook-ashi-t-ia=ro airo y=aNt-tz-i=ro~tzi
3m.A=leave-APPL.INT-EP-IRR=3n.m.O NEG.IRR 3m.A=make-REAL=3m.O~EMPH
'There are others, that those who will not finish it will be the case, they will abandon it, they just won't do it.'

9. *Airorika yantziroha, ontzimatye nompavaheri pashini, nonkantavaheri onkantya iyoperotantanakyarori.*
airo=rika y=aNt-tz-i=ro=ha oNtzimatye
NEG.IRR=COND 3m.A=make-EP-REAL=EMPH be.necessary

no=N-p-av-ah-e=ri pashini no=N-kaNt-av-ah-e=ri
1SG.A=IRR-give-DIR-REGR-IRR=3m.O other 1SG.A=IRR-say-DIR-REGR-IRR=3m.O

oNkaNtya i=yo-pero-t-aNt-an-ak-ia=ro=ri
so.that 3m.A=learn-AUG-EP-APPL.REAS-DIR-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O=REL
'If they don't do it, I have to give them another assignment, I will explain [it] to them so that they could learn it better.'

10. *Itsonkantyarori pashini, arika yantero yantavairi.*
i=tsoNk-aNt-ia=ro=ri pashini arika
3m.A=finish-APPL.REAS-IRR=3m.O=REL other when

y=aNt-e=ro y=aNtavai-ri
3m.A=make-IRR=3n.m.O 3m.poss=work-NMZ
'So that they finish another [task], when they do their assignment.'

11. *Maatsi aisatzita eentsipaye, kaari tsonkapiroteroni.*
tzimatsi aisatzi=ta eentsi-paye kaari tsoNk-a-pero-t-e=ro=ni
EXIST also=OPT child-PL NEG.P finish-EP=AUG-EP-IRR=3n.m.O=REL
'There are also [other] children; that those who will finish it [the assignment] will not be the case.'

12. *Isaikashivaita, intaani inyaatsavaitya.*
i=saik-ashi-vai-t-a iNtaani i=nyaatsa-vai-t-ia
3m.S=be.at-APPL.INT-DUR-EP-REAL only 3m.S=play-DUR-EP-IRR
'They are just sitting, they only will play.

13. *Arika ankantavitakyari, 'Airo pinyaatsavaita, airo pinyaatsavaita,' airo tekatsi inkante, irohatzi yaminashitya sontoki, airo yantzirotzi yantavairi.*
arika a=N-kaNt-a-vi-t-ak-ia=ri airo pi=nyaatsa-vai-t-a
when 1PL.A=IRR-say-EP-FRUS-PRF-IRR=3m.O NEG.IRR 2S=play-DUR-IRR-EP-REAL

airo pi=nyaatsa-vai-t-a airo tekatsi i=N-kaNt-e
NEG.IRR 2S=play-DUR-IRR-EP-REAL NEG.IRR NEG.EXIST 3m.S=IRR-say-IRR

irohatzi y=amin-ashi-t-ia soNtoki airo
until 3m.S=look-APPL.INT-EP-IRR wide.open.eye NEG.IRR

y=aNt-tz-i=ro~tzi y=aNtavai-ri
3m.A=make-REAL=3n.m.O~EMPH 3m.poss=work-NMZ
'Whe we tell them, 'Don't play, don't play,' they won't say anything, only will

look [at you] with big eyes, [but] they won't do the assignment.'

14. *Aisatzi arika inkisakakai, ontzimatye ankaimakanteri iriri, paitarika yantapainteri, onkantyakya maaroni avitsikahero kameetsa, yantakirira eentsi.*
aisatzi arika i=N-kis-ak-ak=ai oNtzimatye
also when 3m.A=IRR-be.angry-CAUS-PRF=1PL.O be.necessary

a=N-kaim-ak-aNt-e=ri ir=iri paita=rika
1PL.A=IRR-call-PRF-APPL.REAS-IRR=REL 3m.poss=father WH=COND

y=aNt-apaiNt-e=ri oNkaNtia=kya maaroni a=vitsik-ah-e=ro
3m.S=make-once-IRR=REL so.that=EMPH all 1PL.A=fix-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O
'Also when they make us [teachers] angry, we have to call their father, so that all, whatever he [the child] did, could be resolved.'

15. *Arika imposavakakya o intsitonkakero aparoni kooya, onkamantahero iniro.*
arika i=N-pos-av-ak-ak-ia o i=N-tsitoNk-ak-e=ro
when 3m.S=IRR-hit-RCP-CAUS-PRF-IRR or 3m.A=IRR-hit-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O

aparoni kooya i=N-kamaNt-ah-e=ro i=niro
one woman 3m.A=IRR-inform-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O 3m.poss=mother
'When they fight each other or hit a woman, he [the child] will notify his mother about it.'

16. *Ompokahe iniro, naakataki vitsikaironi nyaantsi.*
arika o=N-pok-ah-e i=niro naakataki
when 3n.m.S=IRR-come-REGR-IRR 3m.poss=mother I.FOC

vitsik-a-e=ro=ni
fix-REGR-IRR=3n.m.O=REL
'When his mother comes, I will be the one who will resolve it [the issue].'

17. *Irotaki aisatzita arika noyomitairi nonyaanate aparonira, ironyaaka noyomitairi inyaanira, ikantziri virakocha, irotaki naparoninkari.*
irotaki aisatzi=ta arika no=yomit-a-e=ri no=nyaana-t-e
FOC also=OPT when 1SG.A=teach-REGR-IRR=3m.O 1SG.S=instruct-EP-IRR

aparoni=ra ironyaaka no=yomit-a-e=ri i=nyaa-ni=ra
one=DEM now 1SG.A=teach-REGR-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=word-poss=DEM

i=kaNt-tz-i virakocha irotaki n=aparoni-Nka-ri
3m.S=say-EP-REAL outsider FOC 1SG.poss=one-NMZ-NMZ
'Also when I teach them, I will speak their language, I will teach in his language, they say, the language of 'virakocha' (of outsiders), in only one language.'

18. *Ovakeraini ovakira noyomitakiri eentsipaye anta, noyomitairi inyaaniki, nonyaaniki naari.*
ovakeraini ovakera no=yomit-ak-i=ri eentsi-paye aNta
recently when 1SG.A=teach-PRF-REAL=3m.O child-PL over.there

no=yomit-a-i=ri i=nyaa-ni-ki no=nyaa-ni-ki naari
1SG.A=teach-REGR-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=word-poss-LOC 1SG.poss=word-poss-LOC I
'When recently I taught children over there, I taught them in their language, [which is] my language too.'

19. *Noyomitaitzitavakyari nonyaanikinta, iyotzirinta eentsi.*
no=yomit-a-itz-it-av-ak-ia=ri no=nyaa-ni-ki=Nta
1SG.A=teach-EP-ICPL-before-DIR-PRF-IRR=3m.O 1SG.poss=word-poss-LOC=DEM

i=yo-tz-i=ri=Nta eentsi
3m.S=know-EP-REAL=3m.O=ADV child
'First I will teach in my language, which the child knows.'

20. *Ponyashitakaha noyomitahiri, novakotahiri inyaanikinta virakocha.*
ponyashitaka=ha no=yomit-ah-e=ri
afterwards=EMPH 1SG.A=teach-REGR-IRR=3m.O

no=v-ako-t-ah-i=ri i=nyaa-ni-ki=Nta virakocha
1SG.A=place-APPL-EP-REGR-REAL=3m.O 3m.poss=word-poss-LOC=DEM outsider
'Then I will teach them, I will translate it into the Spaniards' language.'

21. *Ari nokantzirori pairani, ovakira nintakaro noyomitairi eentsipaye saikatsiri Pirimorishiki (Koviryaki).*
ari no=kaNt-tz-i=ro=ri pairani ovakira
PP 1SG.A=do-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=REL before when

n=iNt-ak-a=ro no=yomit-a-i=ri
1SG.A=begin-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.A=teach-REGR-REAL=3m.O

eentsi-paye saik-atsi=ri Pirimorishi-ki
child-PL be.at-STAT=REL Puerto.Bermudez
'This is what I did long ago when I began teaching children who lived in Puerto Bermudez.'

22. *Nintakari saikatsiri aka ikantaitzi Ooheroniki, ironyaaka ikantaitahiro San Miguel Centro Marankiari.*
n=iNt-ak-a=ri saik-atsi=ri aka i=kaNt-a-it-tz-i
1SG.A=begin-PRF-REAL=3m.O be.at-STAT=REL here 3m.S=say-before-EP-REAL

Ooheroni-ki ironyaaka i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro
Fatigue-LOC now 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3n.m.O

San Miguel Centro Marankiari
village's.name
'I began [to work] with the children who lived here [in the village] called Ooheroni (Fatigue), now it is called San Miguel Centro Marankiari.'

23. *Ironyaaka nonkamantemi pashini tsika paita naantari pashini kiriiki novantari.*
ironyaaka no=N-kamaNt-e=mi pashini tsika paita
now 1SG.A=IRR-inform-IRR=2O other WH

n=a-aNt-a=ri pashini kiriiki
1SG.S=take-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL other money

no=v-aNt-a=ri
1SG.S=eat-APPL.REAS-REAL=REL
'Now I will tell you another [story] how I obtain money to eat [buy food].'

24. *Aisatzita noyotzirora nonyaatsata, noyotakiro aisatzita tsika okanta yaminaitzika ikantya inyaatsatantyari atziripaye kametsa.*
aisatzi=ta no=yo-tz-i=ro=ra no=nyaatsa-t-a
also=OPT 1SG.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O=ADV 1SG.S=play-EP-REAL

no=yo-t-ak-i=ro aisatzi=ta tsika o=kaNt-a
1SG.A=know-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O also=OPT WH 3n.m.S=happen-REAL

y=amin-a-it-tz-i=ka i=kaNt-ia
3m.S=examine-EP-ICPL-EP-REAL=ADV 3m.S=do-IRR

i=nyaatsa-t-aNt-ia=ri atziri-paye kametsa
3m.S=play-APPL.REAS-EP-IRR=REL person-PL well
'Also when [because] I know how to play it [the game], I also know how to assess if people play the game well.

25. *Ikantziri virakocha arbitro.*
i=kaNt-tz-i=ri virakocha arbitro
3m.A=say-EP-REAL=3m.O outsider arbiter
'They call it in Spanish 'arbiter'.

26. *Aisatzi naari ipinaitana.*
aisatzi naari i=pina-ai-t-a=na
also I 3m.A=pay-IMP.P-EP-REAL=1SG.O
'They also pay me.'

27. *Okimitatya savararokiranki nohatatitzi tonkarikinta Metaarokiha, ari nomoNkaratziri inyaatsavaita virakochapaye.*
okimitatya savaro-ki=raNki no=ha-t-a-it-tz-i
for.example Saturday-LOC=ADV.P 1SG.S=go-EP-REP-ICPL-EP-REAL

toNkari-ki=Nta Metaaro-ki=Nta ari no=moNkara-tz-i=ri
hilltop-LOC=DEM village's.name-LOC=DEM PP 1SG.A=measure-EP-REAL=3m.O

i=nyaatsa-vai-t-a virakocha-paye
3m.S=play-DUR-EP-REAL outsider-PL
'For example, yesterday, on Saturday, I went up there to Metraro to judge the games of *mestizo* players.'

28. *Ipinaitakana, namahi kapichiini kiriiki, nopapahiro noina irotaki okamitantantyari avahyari.*
i=pina-ai-t-ak-a=na n=am-ah-i kapichiini
3m.A=pay-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O 1SG.S=bring-REGR-REAL some

kiriiki no=p-ap-ah-i=ro no=ina irotaki
money 1SG.A=give-DIR-REGR-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.poss=wife FOC

o=kamitaNt-aNt-ia=ri a=v-ah-ia=ri
3m.S=buy-APPL.INST-IRR=3m.O 1PL.S=eat-REGR-IRR=REL
'They paid me, I brought home some money, I gave it to my wife, with it she will buy something to eat.'

29. *Oshetehi tominkokiranki nohataitzi aka Chirani ikantaitziro Tsirani.*
oshetehi tomiNko-ki=raNki no=ha-t-a-it-tz-i aka
yesterday Sunday-LOC=ADV.P 1SG.S=go-EP-REP-ICPL-EP-REAL here

Chirani i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro Tsirani
village's.name 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3n.m.O village's.name
'Yesterday on Sunday I went to Chirani called Tsirani [in our language].

30. *Noshiyakotanaka nomoteteki, nookanakiro intakironta, intatzikironta.*
no=shiy-ako-t-an-ak-a no=mote-te-ki
1SG.S=run-APPL-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL 1SG.poss=bike-poss-LOC

n=ook-an-ak-i=ro iNtakiroNta intatzikiroNta
1SG.A=leave-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O outside other.side.of.river
'I rode my bike and left it outside, on the other side of the river.'

31. *Ari ironyaaka aparoni vaaro, ari ironyaaka anoshikakotyari intatzikironta, ari imontyakina.*
ari ironyaaka aparoni *vaaro* ari ironyaaka a=noshik-ako-t-ia=ri
PP now one cable.car PP now 1PL.A=pull-APPL-EP-IRR=3m.O

iNtatzikiroNta ari i=moNty-ak-i=na
other.side.of.river PP 3m.A=cross-CAUS.SOC-REAL=1SG.O
'There is a cable car, we should push it to the other side, and they [the cable service workers] crossed with us.'

32. *Ari nokinavaitzi, noyotziro ironyaaka onyaatsari kooya ikantaitziri 'voli', aisatzi noyotziro noyomarotziro.*
ari no=kin-a-vai-tz-i no=yo-tz-i=ro ironyaaka
PP 1SG.S=walk-EP-DUR-EP-REAL 1SG.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O now

o=nyaatsa-ri kooya i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ri voli
3n.m.poss=play-NMZ woman 3m.A=say-IMP.P-EP-REAL=3m.O volleyball

aisatzi no=yo-tz-i=ro no=shoiniNk-ako-tz-i=ro
also 1SG.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.A=whistle-APPL-EP-REAL=3n.m.O
'I was walking for a while, I know [how to play] the woman's game called volleyball; I also know how to judge it.'

33. *Tsika ikantakantaitziro onyaatsatantyari kametsa.*
tsika i=kaNt-ak-aNt-a-it-tz-i=ro
WH 3m.A=do-CAUS-APPL.REAS-EP-ICPL-EP-REAL=3m.O

o=nyaatsa-t-aNt-ia=ri kametsa
3n.m.S=play-EP-APPL.REAS-IRR=REL well
'How to make it for them to play well'.

34. *Irotaki aisatzita naaka ipinaitanari.*
irotaki aisatzi=ta naaka i=pina-ai-t-a=na=ri
FOC also=OPT I 3m.A=pay-IMP.P-EP-REAL=1SG.O=3m.O
'For this they pay me.'

35. *Maatsi irora notzivanaporokite tonkarikintaha.*
tzimatsi irora no=tzivana-poroki-te toNkari-ki=Nta=ha
EXIST DEM 1SG.poss=pineapple-group-poss hilltop-LOC=DEM=EMPH
'I have a pineapple orchard atop the hill over there.'

36. *Ironyaakama atsamaitatziro, ahatzi, aapintzi kapichiini kiriiki onkantya avantyari.*
ironyaaka=ma a=tsamai-t-atz-i=ro ahatzi a-apiNt-tz-i
now=DUB 1PL.A=clean.up-EP-PROG-REAL=3n.m.O also take-HAB-EP-REAL

kapichiini kiriiki oNkaNtya a=v-aNt-ia=ri
little money so.that 1PL.S=eat-APPL.REAS-IRR=REL
'Right now we are cleaning it, also we get some money [from sale of pineapple] so that we could eat.'

37. *Arika intzimanahe, aitaki ampavakahya maaroni.*
arika i=N-tzim-an-ah-e aitaki a=N-p-av-ak-ah-ia maaroni
when 3m.S=have-DIR-REGR-IRR PP 1PL.S=IRR-give-REC-PRF-REGR-IRR all
'When there is money, we share between all [members of the family].'

38. *Airorika intzimi, ontzimatye amine antavairintsi.*
airo=rika i=N-tzim-e oNtzimatye amin-e aNtavai-rintsi
NEG.IRR=COND 3m.S=IRR-have-REAL be.necessary look.for-IRR work-NMZ
'When there is no money, we have to look for work.'

39. *Ironyaaka irora notsipatari opimantavaitzi kapichiini aisatzita.*
ironyaaka irora no=tsipa-t-a=ri o=pimaNt-a-vai-tz-i
now DEM 1SGS=join-EP-REAL=REL 3n.m.S=sell-EP-DUR-EP-REAL

kapichiini aisatzi=ta
little also=OPT
'My wife sells [fruit] a little bit too.'

40. *Airorika onimotziro, airo opimantavaitzi, ooyana apaniroini naaka, irotaki aisatzi akisavakantapintari.*
airo=rika o=nimo-tz-i=ro airo
NEG.IRR=COND 3n.m.A=like-EP-REAL=3n.m.O NEG.IRR

o=pimaNt-a-vai-tz-i ooy-a=na apaniroini naaka irotaki
3n.m.S=sell-EP-DUR-EP-REAL expect-REAL=1SG.O solo I FOC

aisatzi a=kis-av-ak-aNt-apiNt-a=ri
also 1PL.S=get.angry-RCP-CAUS.SOC-APPL.REAS-HAB-REAL=REL
'When she doesn't like it, she won't sell [fruit], expects me only [to work], that's why we argue with each other.'

41. ‘*Pantavaitahaitetyami avirori, naaka apaniroini antavaitatsini, naaka amatsini, iroka naaka kamitantatsini, iroka naakataki.’*
p=aNtavai-t-ah-a-it-e=tya=mi avirori naaka apaniroini
2S=work-EP-REGR-EP-ICPL-IRR=EMPH=CT.F you I solo

aNtavai-t-atsi=ni naaka am-atsi=ni iroka naaka kamitaNt-atsi=ni
work-EP-STAT=REL I bring-STAT=REL DEM I buy-STAT=REL

iroka naakataki
DEM FOC
‘*You* also work then please, I am the only one who will work, I am the one who will bring [food], I am the only one who will buy this, do that.’

42. *Ironyaaka nokantahetziri notomipaye, ‘Airo pooyakotana naaka, naaka nonkamakerika, ninka pooyakotanaririka?’*
ironyaaka no=kaNt-a-he-tz-i=ri no=tomi-paye airo
now 1SG.A=say-EP-PL-EP-REAL=3m.O 1SG.poss=son-PL NEG.IRR

p=ooy-ako-t-an-a naaka naaka no=N-kam-ak-e=rika
2S=expect-APPL-EP-DIR-REAL I I 1SG.S=IRR-die-PRF-IRR=COND

niNka p=ooy-ako-an-a=ri=rika
who 2A=expect-APPL-DIR-REAL=REL=COND
‘I said to my sons, ‘Don’t expect from me [help], when I die, from whom will you expect [help]?’

43. ‘*Arima pooyakotanahina, naaka, airo*.’
ari=ma p=ooy-ako-t-an-ah-e=na naaka airo
PP=DUB 2A=expect-APPL-EP-DIR-REGR-IRR=1SG.O I NEG.IRR
‘In case, you expect [something] from me, I won’t [help you].’

44. *Ironyaaka nantavaitziniri, notyankiniri aisatzi notomi saikatsiri Irimashiki.*
ironyaaka n=aNtavai-tz-i=ni=ri no=tyaNk-i=ni=ri
now 1SG.A=work-EP-REAL=3O=3m.O 1SG.A=send-REAL=3O=3m.O

aisatzi no=tomi saik-atsi=ri Irimashi-ki
also 1SG.poss=son be.at-STAT=REL Lima-LOC
‘I earned it [money] for him, I sent it to him, to my son who lives in Lima.’

45. *Okimita inkaranki ikaimakina ashiroki, ikantzi, 'Aapa, tekatsitaki naaka novashitsiteni, pintyankahaitena kapichiini naari.'*
okimita iNkaraNki i=kaim-ak-i=na ashiro-ki i=kaNt-tz-i
for.example recently 3m.A=call-PRF-REAL=1SG.O steel-LOC 3m.S=say-EP-REAL

aapa tekatsi-t-ak-i naaka no=vashitsi-te-ni
Dad NEG.EXIST-EP-PRF-REAL I 1SG.poss=money-poss-DIM

pi=N-tyaNk-ah-a-it-e=na kapichiini naari
2A=IRR-send-REGR-EP-ICPL-IRR=1SG.O little I
'For example, recently he called me on the phone, and said, 'Dad, I don't have money, send me some money.'

46. *Osheteniranki nohatapaintzi kirinkanta, ipinaitakina kapichiini, iritaki notyankakiniri inkaranki.*
osheteniraNki no=ha-t-apaiNt-tz-i kiriNka=Nta
yesterday 1SG.S=go-EP-once-EP-REAL downriver=DEM

i=pina-ai-t-ak-i=na kapichiini iritaki
3m.A=pay-IMP.P-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O some FOC

no=tyaNk-ak-i=ni=ri
1SG.A=send-PRF-REAL=3O=3m.O
'Yesterday I went downriver, they paid me some money, this is what I sent to him.'

47. *Irotaki nokantahetziri nosaikahetzika, 'Aparopaye aminahetzi [antavairintsi].'*
irotaki no=kaNt-a-he-tz-i=ri no=saik-a-he-tz-i=ka
FOC 1SG.A=say-EP-PL-EP-REAL=3m.O 1SG.S=be.at-EP-PL-REAL=ADV

aparo-paye amin-a-he-tz-i aNtavai-rintsi
one-PL look.for-EP-PL-EP-REAL work-NMZ
'This is what I say to all of them living [in my house], 'Each [person] is looking for work.'

48. *Notomi pashini iyotakiro irirori, yaanaki iriikite irirori.*
no=tomi pashini i=yo-t-ak-i=ro irirori
1SG.poss=son other 3m.A=know-EP-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O he

y=a-an-ak-i i=iriki-te irirori
3m.S=take-DIR-PRF-REAL 3m.poss=money-poss he
'My other son knows it, he earns his own money.'

49. *Irotaki okaratzi nokamantzimiri maaroni, okaratzi nantziri kitaiteripayeka.*
irotaki o=kara-tz-i no=kamaNt-tz-i=mi=ri
FOC 3n.m.S=COP.C-EP-REAL 1SG.A=inform-EP-REAL=2O=REL

maaroni o=kara-tz-i n=aNt-tz-i=ri kitaiteri-paye=ka
all 3n.m.S=COP.C-EP-REAL 1SG.S=do-EP-REAL=REL day-PL=DEM
'This is all that I was telling you, all that I do these days.'

50. *Nonivitari naari, nonivipiratari ikantziro 'intsikiyatyero piroota'.*
no=nivi-t-a=ri naari no=nivi-pira-t-a=ri
1SG.A=like-EP-REAL=REL I 1SG.A=like-AUG-EP-REAL=REL

i=kaNt-tz-i=ro i=N-tsikiy-aty-e=ro piroota
3m.A=say-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.A=IRR-kick-PROG-IRR=3n.m.O ball
'What I like, what I like most, they call it 'kicking the ball' [football].'

51. *Maatsi irora ikantzi 'ampinatavakaya' kiriiki.*
tzimatsi irora i=kaNt-tz-i a=N-pina-t-av-ak-a-ia kiriiki
EXIST DEM 3m.S=say-EP-REAL 1PL.S=IRR-pay-EP-RCP-PRF-EP-IRR.REFL money
'There is this, what they call 'a money bet'.

52. *Kinkivarivitakana, shiyachana irohatzi, kametsa notsikiyiro nyaatsamentotsi, inintziro evankarikapaye, ipinkatsatai.*
kiNkivari-t-ak-a=na shiy-acha=na irohatzi kametsa
be.old-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O run-STAT=1SG.O until well

no=tsikiy-i=ro nyaatsa-meNto-tsi i=niNt-tz-i=ro
1SG.A=kick-REAL=3n.m.O play-NMZ-ABS 3m.A=like-EP-REAL=3n.m.O

evaNkari-paye i=piNkatsa-t=ai
youth-PL 3m.A=obey-EP=1PL.O
'I am old [but] still [can] run, I kick the ball well, young people like it, they respect us [me].'

53. *Arika inyavakina nonyaatsatatyeya kantanaki, 'Te, iyora iyotziro inyaatsata.'*
arika i=ny-av-ak-e=na no=nyaatsa-t-aty-eya
when 3m.A=see-DIR-PRF-IRR=1SG.O 1SG.S=play-EP-PROG-IRR.REFL

kaNt-an-ak-e te iyora i=yo-tz-i=ro i=nyaatsa-t-a
say-DIR-PRF-IRR NEG DEM 3m.A=know-EP-REAL=3n.m.O 3m.S=play-EP-REAL
'When they see me play [with them], they say, 'No, this [guy] knows how to play.'

54. ‘*Naakamaha te noyopirotero.’*
naaka=ma=ha te no=yo-piro-t-e=ro
I=DUB=EMPH NEG.REAL 1SG.A=know-AUG-EP-IRR=3n.m.O
‘In contrast, we don’t know [how to play].’

55. *Nokantziri, ‘Tema aviroka evankari pinatzi, naaka te nevankarite.’*
no=kaNt-tz-i=ri tema aviroka evaNkari pi=na-tz-i naaka
1SG.A=say-EP-REAL=3m.O although you youth 2S=be-EP-REAL I

te n=evaNkari-t-e
NEG.REAL 1SG.S=be.young-EP-IRR
‘I tell them, ‘Although you are young, I am not young.’

56. *Aisatzi oshekitaki anyaatsari, kapicheeni kiriiki impahai.*
aisatzi osheki-t-ak-i a=nyaatsa-ri kapicheeni kiriiki
also many-EP-PRF-REAL 1PL.poss=play-NMZ little money

i=N-p-ah=ai
3m.A=give-REGR=1PL.O
‘Also, there are many games, [but] they pay us little money.’

57. *Ari ankamitantakyari asuka, tanta, avamanyari okitaitamani.*
ari a=N-kamitaNt-ak-ia=ri asuka taNta a=v-aman-ia=ri
PP 1PL.A=IRR-buy-PRF-IRR=3mO sugar bread 1PL.A=eat-early-IRR=3m.O

o=kitait-aman-ni
3n.m.S=be.morning-early-ADV
‘[With this] we will buy sugar and bread, we will eat them early in the morning.’

58. *Irotaki okaratzi nantziri.*
irotaki o=kara-tz-i n=aNt-tz-i=ri
FOC 3n.m.S=COP.C-EP-REAL 1SG.A=do-EP-REAL=REL
‘This is all that I do.’

59. *Ironyaaka kitaiteripayeka aisatzita pashinipaye antavairintsi, nantzi namitakovaitantzi, namiri kireeki.*
ironyaaka kitaiteri-paye=ka aisatzi=ta pashini-paye aNtavai-rintsi
now day-PL=DEM also=OPT other-PL work-NMZ

n=aNt-tz-i n=amitako-vai-t-aNt-tz-i
1SG.S=do-EP-REAL 1SG.S=help-DUR-EP-APPL.REAS-EP-REAL

n=am-i=ri kireeki
1SG.A=bring-REAL=3n.m.O money
‘These days also [I do] other jobs helping [friends], and bring money.’

60. *Te nonimopirotya noshinkipirotya.*
te no=nimo-piro-t-ia no=shiNki-piro-t-ia
NEG.REAL 1SG.S=like-AUG-EP-IRR 1SG.S=get.drunk-AUG-EP-IRR
'I don't like to get drunk.'

61. *Arika impataikena, arika ontsitonkapahena kapicheeni, hatahena, onkantanaha nonintziro naari nantavairi.*
arika i=N-pataik-e=na arika o=N-tsitoNK-ap-ah-e=na
when 3m.A=IRR-treat-IRR=1SG.O when 3n.m.A=IRR-hit-DIR-REGR-IRR=1S.O

kapicheeni ha-t-ah-e=na o=N-kaNt-an-ah-a
little go-EP-REGR-IRR=1SG.O 3n.m.S=IRR-happen-DIR-REGR-REAL

no=niNt-tz-i=ro naari n=antavai-ri
1SG.A=want-EP-REAL=3n.m.O I 1SG.poss=work-NMZ
'When treat me, when it [the alcohol] hits me, I leave because I like my job.'

62. *Ari okaratzi ironyaaka nokinkitsatavairi, paasonki.*
ari o=kara-tz-i ironyaaka no=kiNkitsa-t-av-a-i=ri
PP 3n.m.S=COP.C-EP-REAL now 1SG.A=tell-EP-DIR-EP-REAL=REL

paasoNki
thank.you
'This is all now that I tell them, thank you.'

B.2 Song *Kovacheri* 'Gray-necked wood-rail (*Aramides cajanea*)' by Ernesto Manchi Lopez (Pampa Michi)

1. *Nonyanananyanatakeri noyovancheritera.*
no=nyanananyan~a-t-ak-i=ri no=yovancheri=ra
1SG.A=see.DIR~REP-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O 1SG.poss=wood-rail=DEM
'I've seen my word-rail.'

2. *Ishiyashiyatanaka isavoroshiteki.*
i=shiyashiya~a-t-an-ak-a i=savoro-shi-te-ki
3m.S=run~REP-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL 3m.poss=reed-CL:small.thin.flat-poss-LOC
'He ran to the grassy area of [wild cane].

3. *Nonyananonyanatakeri noyovancheritera.*
no=nyananonyan~a-t-ak-i=ri no=yovancheri=ra
1SG.A=see.DIR~REP-EP-PRF-REAL=3m.O 1SG.poss=wood-rail=DEM
'I've seen my wood-rail.'

4. *Ishiyashiyatanakara isavoroshiteki.*
i=shiyashiya~a-t-an-ak-a=ra i=savoro-shi-te-ki
3m.S=run~REP-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=ADV 3m.poss=reed-CL:small.thin.flat-poss-LOC
'He ran to the grassy area of wild reed.

5. *Kametsa ikanta, yaminaminatzira ishaninkaperori, ishaninkaperori.*
kametsa i=kaNt-a y=aminamin~a-tz-i=ra
handsome 3m.S=be-REAL 3m.S=look.for~REP-EP-REAL=ADV

i=shaniNka-pero-ri i=shaniNka-pero-ri
3m.poss=fellowman-AUG-NMZ 3m.poss=fellowman-AUG-NMZ
'He is handsome, he is looking for his true mate, his true mate.'

6. *Aritakitya noyovancheritera yaminayaminatzi ishaninkaperori.*
aritaki=tya no=yovancheri=ra y=aminayamin~atz-i
PP=EMPH 1SG.poss=wood-rail=DEM 3m.S=look.for~PROG-REAL

i=shaniNka-pero-ri
3m.poss=fellowman-AUG-NMZ
'That my wood-rail is looking for his true mate is the case.'

7. *Aritaitakima, inyanyatakiri ishaninkaperori, ririrori ikanta.*
aritarita~ak-i=ma i=nyanya~t-ak-e=ri
PP~PRF-REAL=DUB 3m.A=look.for~EP-PRF-IRR=3m.O

i=shaniNka-pero-ri ririrori i=kaNt-a
3m.poss=fellowman-AUG-NMZ he 3m.S=be-REAL
'That he will look for his true mate will be the case, he is.'

8. *Aritaki ishaninka yaminaminatzira ishaninkaperori noyovancheritera.*
aritaki i=shaniNka y=aminamin~atz-i=ra
PP 3m.poss=fellowman 3m.S=look.for~PROG-REAL=ADV

i=shaniNka-pero-ri no=yovancheri-te=ra
3m.poss=fellowman-AUG-NMZ 1SG.poss=wood-rail-poss=DEM
'That he is looking for his true mate is the case, my wood-rail.'

B.3 Riddle by Delia Rosas Rodríguez (Bajo Marankiari)

Antakiroki kenashiri, nonatzi intsompoiki nokitamarotatzi, tsika nopaitari?
aNtakiro-ki kenashiri no=na-tz-i intsoNpoi-ki
outside-LOC green 1SG.S=be-EP-REAL inside-LOC

no=kitamaro-t-atz-i tsika no=pai-t-a=ri
1SG.S=be.white-EP-PROG-REAL WH 1SG.S=be.called-EP-REAL=REL
'I am green outside; I am white inside, what am I called?' (*Intsipa*. Guava.)

B 4. Conversation by Victoria Manchi de Martin and Raul Martin Bernata (Pampa Michi)

1. Raul: *Shiteniranki ahataki Tsiirsihiki, naanakimi, pikimoshiritaki.*
shiteni=raNki a=ha-t-ak-i Tsiirisi-ki n=a-an-ak-i=mi
day=ADV.T 1PL=go-EP-PRF-REAL La Merced-LOC 1SG.A=take-DIR-PRF-REAL=2O

pi=kimoshiri-t-ak-i
2S=be.glad-EP-PRF-REAL
'Yesterday we went to La Merced, I took you along, you're happy [now].'

2. Victoria: *Ehe, nokimoshiritaki, paanakinaranki*.
ehe no=kimoshiri-t-ak-i p=a-an-ak-i=na=raNki
yes 1SG.S=be.glad-EP-PRF-REAL 2A=take-DIR-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=ADV.P
'Yes, I was glad when you took me along the other day.'

3. Raul: *Te okameestate ovari, ahatzi naari katsitanaki nomotya, aviroka, te?*
te o=kameetsa-t-e ovari ahatzi naari katsit-an-ak-i
NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=be.good-EP-IRR food also I feel.pain-DIR-PRF-REAL

no=motya aviroka te
1SG.poss=stomach you NEG
'The food wasn't good, also I had pain in my stomach, and you, no [you don't have the pain]?'

4. Victoria: *Naaka te nokatsite, ironyaaka airo ahatahi*.
naaka te no=katsit-e ironyaaka airo a=ha-t-ah-i
I NEG.REAL 1SG.S=feel.pain-IRR now NEG.IRR 1PL.S=go-EP-REGR-REAL
'I didn't feel anything, and we are not going.'

5. Raul: *Tsame ironyaaka ahate avapaintya, chookikinta Mishaja, te pininte?*
tsame ironyaaka a=ha-t-e a=v-apaiNt-ia chooki-ki=Nta
come.on now 1PL=go-EP-IRR 1PL=eat-once-IRR sister-LOC=DEM

Mishaja te pi=niNt-e
restaurant's.name NEG.REAL 2S=want-IRR
'Let's go eat at the sister's restaurant 'Mishaja', don't you want to go?'

6. Victoria: *Ninka ovakahainika?*
niNka ov-ak-ah=ai=ni=ka
who eat-CAUS-REGR=1PL.O=REL=Q
'Who's going to invite [feed] us?'

7. Raul: *Naaka, naaka ovakaimini.*
naaka naaka ov-ak-a-e=mi=ni
I I eat-CAUS-REGR-IRR=2O=REL
'I am the one who's inviting you.'

8. Victoria: *Tzimatsi piirikite?*
tzimatsi pi=iriki-te
EXIST 2poss=money-poss
'Do you have money [to go eat out]?'

9. Raul: *Aririka nopimantakiro.*
aririka no=pimaNt-ak-e=ro .
when 1SG.A=sell-PRF-IRR=3n.m.O
'When I sell it [the fruit then I'll have it].'

10. Victoria: *Aririka apimantakiro chochoki, airo opimi, tekatsite oirikite.*
aririka a=pimaNt-ak-e=ro chochoki airo
when 1PL.A=sell-PRF-IRR=3n.m. fruit NEG.IRR

o=p-i=mi tekatsi-t-e o=iriki-te
3n.m.A=give-REAL=2O NEG.EXIST-EP-IRR 3n.m.poss=money-poss
'When we sell the fruit, she's not going to pay you, she [the wholesaler] won't have the money.'

11. Raul: *Ari noyatanakiro.*
ari n=oya-t-an-ak-e=ro
PP 1SG.A-follow-EP-DIR-PRF-IRR-3n.m.O
'I'll follow her [I'll nag her to give me the money].'

12. Victoria: *Airo nayimi chochoki, paashityaniro aririka ampitsaitsokitanakya, ninka kamitantahi iroka?*
airo n=ay-e=mi chochoki p=ashi-t-ia=ni=ro
NEG.IRR 1SG.A=take-IRR=2O fruit 2S=have-EP-IRR=3O=3n.m.O

aririka aNpitsai-ki-t-an-ak-ia niNka kamitaNt-ah-e iroka?
when wrinkled-CL:small.round-DIR-PRF-IRR who buy-REGR-IRR DEM
'I won't pick fruit for you; [if] you harvest the fruit for her when the fruit is wrinkled, who's going to buy it?'

13. Raul: *Iro paitaranki, osamanivitakya ari opinatyai, ari naaki ironyaaka.*
iro paitaraNki osamani-vi-t-ak-ia ari
but whachamacallit some.time.later-FRUS-EP-PRF-IRR PP

o=pina-t-aty=ai ari n=a-ak-e ironyaaka
3n.m.S=pay-EP-PROG=1PL.O PP 1SG.S=harvest-PRF-IRR now
'But whachamacallit, later on if she is going to pay us, I will harvest now.'

14. Victoria: *Osaikera, airo ahatzi ironyaaka, tema pitsonkanari piirikite.*
osaikira airo a=ha-tz-i ironyaaka tema
tomorrow NEG.IRR 1PL.S=go-EP-REAL now since

pi=tsoNk-an-ak-e=ri pi=iriki-te
2A=finish-DIR-PRF-REAL=REL 2poss=money-poss
'Tomorrow. We are not going now because you ran out of money.'

15. Raul: *Nopanakiro noharanikite.*
no=p-an-ak-i=ro no=hananiki-te
1SG.A=give-DIR-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O 1SG.poss=little.child-poss
'I gave the money to my daughter.'

16. Victoria: *Irotakitya arimantetakya, okaratzi opimantari irotakima; aminirota osaikera.*
irotaki=tya arima-aNt-e=ta=kya o=kara-tz-i
FOC=EMPH maybe-APPL.REAS-IRR=OPT=EMPH 3n.m.S=CAP.C-EP-REAL

o=pimaNt-a=ri irotaki=ma amin-e=ro=ta osaikira
3n.m.S=sell-REAL=REL FOC=DUB see-IRR=3n.m.O=OPT tomorrow
'That's why it will probably be enough what you've sold, we'll see tomorrow.'

17. Raul: *Paitaka anyantarori?*
paita=ka a=ny-aNt-ia=ro=ri
WH=Q 1PL.A=see-APPL.REAS-IRR=3n.m.O=REL
'What for [why] are we going to see [to wait]?'

18. Victoria: *Aririka opakina saikanatsiri, osaikira ari pihataki Puchariniki.*
aririka o=p-ak-i=na saik-an-atsi=ri osaikira ari
when 3n.m.A=give-PRF-IRR=1SG.O be.at-DIR-STAT=REL tomorrow PP

pi=ha-t-ak-e Pucharini-ki
2S=go-EP-PRF-IRR village's.name-LOC
'When she [the wholesaler] gives me the rest [of the money]; tomorrow you'll go to Pucharini.'

20. Raul: *Airo nohatzi tema nokosechatzi.*
airo no=ha-tz-i tema no=kosecha-t-atz-i
NEG.IRR 1SG.S=go-EP-REAL because 1SG.S=harvest-EP-PROG-REAL
'I won't travel [to Pucharini] because I am harvesting [fruit].'

21. Victoria: *He, he, airo pikosechatatzi.*
he he airo pi=kosecha-t-atz-i
yes yes NEG.IRR 2S=harvest-EP-PROG-REAL
'Yes, yes (laughs), you won't harvest.'

22. Raul: *Tekatsi notsipatyari.*
tekatsi no=tsipa-t-ia=ri
NEG.EXIST 1SG.S=accompany-EP-IRR=REL
'I have no companion [to harvest fruit].'

23. Victoria: *Airo pishikitziro.*
airo pi=shiki-tz-i=ro
NEG.EXIST 2S=many-EP-REAL=3n.m.O
'Don't harvest a lot of fruit.'

24. Victoria: *Onintzi apite.*
o=niNt-tz-i apite
3n.m.S=want-EP-REAL two
'She [the wholesaler] wants [to pay us] two [*soles* per crate of fruit].'

25. Raul: *Te okovi opinatero veinte soles.*
te o=kov-e o=pina-t-e=ro *veinte soles*
NEG.REAL 3n.m.S=want-IRR 3m.n.A=pay-EP-IRR=3n.m.O twenty *soles*
'She doesn't want to pay for it twenty *soles*.'

26. Victoria: *Tema ikantakiro Papi ipinatero veinte soles.*
tema i=kaNt-ak-i=ro Papi i=pina-t-e=ro
may.be 3m.A=say-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O son's.name 3m.A=pay-EP-IRR=3n.m.O

veinte soles
twenty Peruvian.currency
'But Papi [son's name] told her that he would pay her twenty soles [per crate of fruit].'

27. Raul: *Te antaroite naye, te anyiri Papi akantavahiri.*
te aNtaro-ite n=ay-e te a=ny-e=ri
NEG.REAL big-PL 1SG.S=take-IRR NEG.REAL 1PL.A=see-IRR=3m.O

Papi a=kaNt-av-ah-e=ri
son's name 1PL.A=say-DIR-REGR-IRR=3m.O
'I won't harvest a lot, we won't see our son to talk [about it].'

28. Raul: *Tema nokantzi te okante apaniroini airo akantziro, airo nokantzini atziripaye.*
tema no=kaNt-tz-i apaniroini airo a=kaNt-tz-i=ro
maybe 1SG.S=say-REAL solo NEG.IRR 1PL.A=be.able-REAL=3n.m.O

airo no=kaNt-tz-i-ni atziri-paye
NEG.IRR 1SG.S=say-REAL-EP-REAL-AUG person-PL
'As I am saying that we can't do it on our own; I won't tell people [what to do].'

29. Raul: *Irotaki kaari itzimanta iirikite ipinatahiri yatziritepaye.*
irotaki kaari i=tzimaNt-a i=iriki-te
FOC NEG.COP 3m.S=have-REAL 3m.poss=poney-poss

i=pina-t-ah-e=ri y=atziri-te-paye
3m.A=pay-EP-REGR-IRR=3m.O 3m.poss=person-poss-PL
'That's why that he has money to pay his staff is not the case.'

30. Victoria: *Tekatsi yaavahiri, airo apinatziri.*
tekatsi y=a-av-ah-i=ri airo
NEG.EXIST 3m.S=take-DIR-REGR-REAL=REL NEG.IRR

a=pina-tz-i=ri
1PL.A=pay-EP-REAL=3m.O
'There is no money for him to earn, and we won't pay him.'

31. Raul: *Airo akantziri.*
airo a=kaNt-tz-i=ri
NEG.IRR 3n.m.S=say-REAL=3m.O
'We shouldn't say that to him.'

32. Victoria: *Ahatzi naari chapinki nokantavitari, 'Pipinatziritaima kapichiini.'*
ahatzi naari chapiNki no=kaNt-a-vi-t-a=ri
also I recently 1SG.A=say-EP-FRUS-EP=3m.O

pi=pina-tz-i=ri=taima kapichiini
2S=pay-EP-REAL=3m.O=DUB little
'Last time I told him, 'Pay them [your workers] a little bit [of what you paid them before].'

33. Raul: *Iriro yaanakiri, yaminiri kapichikitaite irohatzi oshetyantahe, imakoryahari sheteniki.*
iriro y=a-an-ak-e=ri y=amin-e=ri kapichikitaite
he 3m.S=take-IRR=3m.O 3m.A=see-IRR=3m.O early.morning

irohatzi o=she-tya-t-aNt-ah-e
until 3n.m.S=be.day-almost-EP-APPL.REAS-REGR-IRR

i=makory-ak-atz-i=ri sheteni-ki
3m.A=rest-CAUS-PROG-REAL=3m.S afternoon-LOC
'He hires them, he looks after them from morning till night, he makes them take a break in the afternoon.'

36. Victoria: *Iriro ikotsivintziro itsipatari Pito ironyaaka.*
iriro i=kotsi-viNt-tz-i=ri i=tsipa-t-a=ri Pito ironyaaka
he 3m.A=cook-BEN-EP-REAL=3m.O 3m.A=join-EP-REAL=3m.O person's.name now
'He cooks for them, together with Pito now.'

38. Raul: *Naaka oshiki naye, ovira nayetziri; aritapaki.*
naaka oshiki n=ay-e o=vir-a
I much 1SG.S=take-IRR 3n.m.S=come.near-REAL

n=a-yi-tz-i=ri ari-t-ap-ak-i
1SG.A=take-DIST-REAL=REL PP-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL
'I'll harvest a lot, I harvest this much; no more.'

39. Victoria: *Iroo pikante osankinatemita.*
iroo pi=kaNt-e o=saNkina-t-e=mi=ta
she 2S=say-IRR 3m.A=write-EP-IRR=2O=OPT
'She will write down what you say to her.'

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Graduate fieldwork

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Publications

Forthcoming, 2010. "Gender system in Ashéninka Perené." *UniverSOS, Revista de Lenguas Indígenas y Universos Culturales* 7.
Forthcoming, 2011. "Bodily-based conceptual metaphors in Ashéninka Perené myths and folk stories"*, in Endangered metaphors,* Anna Idström, & Elisabeth Piirainen (eds.), John Benjamins.
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Teaching materials

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Conference Presentations

"Nominal classification in Asháninka (Arawak): Towards a multidimensional typology." *Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting*, Baltimore, January 7-10, 2010.
"Documentary Linguistics: A fieldtrip to Amazonia", Talk given at the MAFFL Colloquium, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, October 1, 2009.
"Semantic functions of the Kampan applicative *-ako* from a typological perspective." *Paper presented at the Biannual Meeting of the Association for Linguistic Typology*, July 23-26, 2009, University of California, Berkeley.
"Grammaticalization of the Kampan applicative *–ako.*"*Paper presented at 12th Workshop on American Indigenous Languages*, University of California, Santa Barbara, May 8-9, 2009.
"Areal dimensions in syncretisms", with M. Noonan. *Paper presented at the 7th Biannual Meeting of the Association for Linguistic Typology,* Paris, September 25-28, 2007.
"Non-literal language in political discourse." *Paper presented at the Third Workshop in General Linguistics, University of Wisconsin-Madison,* Madison, February 25, 2005.

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