A grammatical description of Shiwiar

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Chapter 3

The Shiwiar People

In this chapter, the Shiwiar people are introduced. To set the context, the first three sections deal with ethnographic and cultural topics: the Shiwiar people and the area where they live (§**3.1**), their history (§**3.2**), and a description of their way of life and important cultural practices (§**3.3**). The next two sections bridge culture and language by focusing on nomenclature, including ethnonyms (§**3.4**) and the names of important flora and fauna (§**3.5**). The final section (§**3.6**) describes the sociolinguistic use of Shiwiar and other languages within Shiwiar communities as well as the broader status and outlook of the Shiwiar language.

Unless specifically attributed to another source, all the information presented in this chapter was obtained through conversations, interviews and personal experience while living with the Shiwiar community in Ecuador. For a more in-depth explanation of the methodology used to obtain the linguistic data found in this work, refer to chapter **4**.

3.1. Demographics

3.1.1. Territory and legal status

The Shiwiar people are an ethnic group that live in the lowlands of eastern Ecuador and northern Peru. Although Shiwiar people in both countries maintain some degree of contact with each other due to trading and family relations, the division of Shiwiar land by an international border (enforced since 1941) has essentially created two different Shiwiar communities, an Ecuadorean and a Peruvian one. In this work, unless explicitly stated otherwise, the word Shiwiar will be used to refer only to the Ecuadorean Shiwiar people and their language. By this, I do not intend to imply that the Peruvian Shiwiar are culturally distinct or that they speak a different language. However, because the fieldwork for this project was conducted only amongst the Shiwiar in Ecuador, I cannot claim that the data presented here are necessarily representative of the Shiwiar language as it is spoken by Peruvian communities.

In Ecuador, the Shiwiar people constitute one of the country's fifteen officially recognised indigenous nations (CODENPE 2015). The vast majority of Ecuadorean Shiwiar people live in the south-eastern corner of the Pastaza province where it borders Peru (NASHIE 2012: 1). Most of them are settled in one of 14 jungle villages, but some families still live in isolated houses in the rainforest. Together, these people make up the Shiwiar Nationality of Ecuador. Like most other indigenous nations in Ecuador, the Shiwiar Nationality enjoys a relatively high degree of political and territorial autonomy which allows their land to be natively administered.

The total size of the Shiwiar territory is approximately 220,450 hectares (or 2,204.5 square kilometres) (NASHIE 2012: 4). For comparison, this is similar to the size of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the United States Virgin Islands or the Australian Capital Territory. The boundaries of the Shiwiar territory are marked by the Conambo River to the north, the Corrientes River to the west, the Bobonaza River to the south, and the international border with Peru to the east. **Figure 3.1** shows a map of Shiwiar territory in relation to the rest of Ecuador.

In addition to the people who live within the Shiwiar territory, there are small pockets of Shiwiar speakers living in neighbouring indigenous territories, particularly in the Sapara and Andoa Nations. The village of Wiririma on the Pindoyacu River, for example, is inhabited by many Shiwiar speakers even though it is located well within Sapara territory. However, these Shiwiar speakers variably self-identify ethnically as Sapara, Kichwa or Shiwiar, so it is very difficult to account for the exact number of Shiwiar speakers living in other indigenous areas.

There are also several dozen Shiwiar individuals who live in Puyo, the capital of the Pastaza province. The political headquarters of the Shiwiar Nationality, the NASHIE building, is in many ways the focal point of the Shiwiar community in Puyo, not least because there is a high frequency (shortwave) radio transmitter there which for many is the only way to communicate with their family in the villages. Apart from Puyo, Shiwiar migration to other Ecuadorean cities is minimal and mostly transitory because it usually happens as a result of short-term working opportunities.

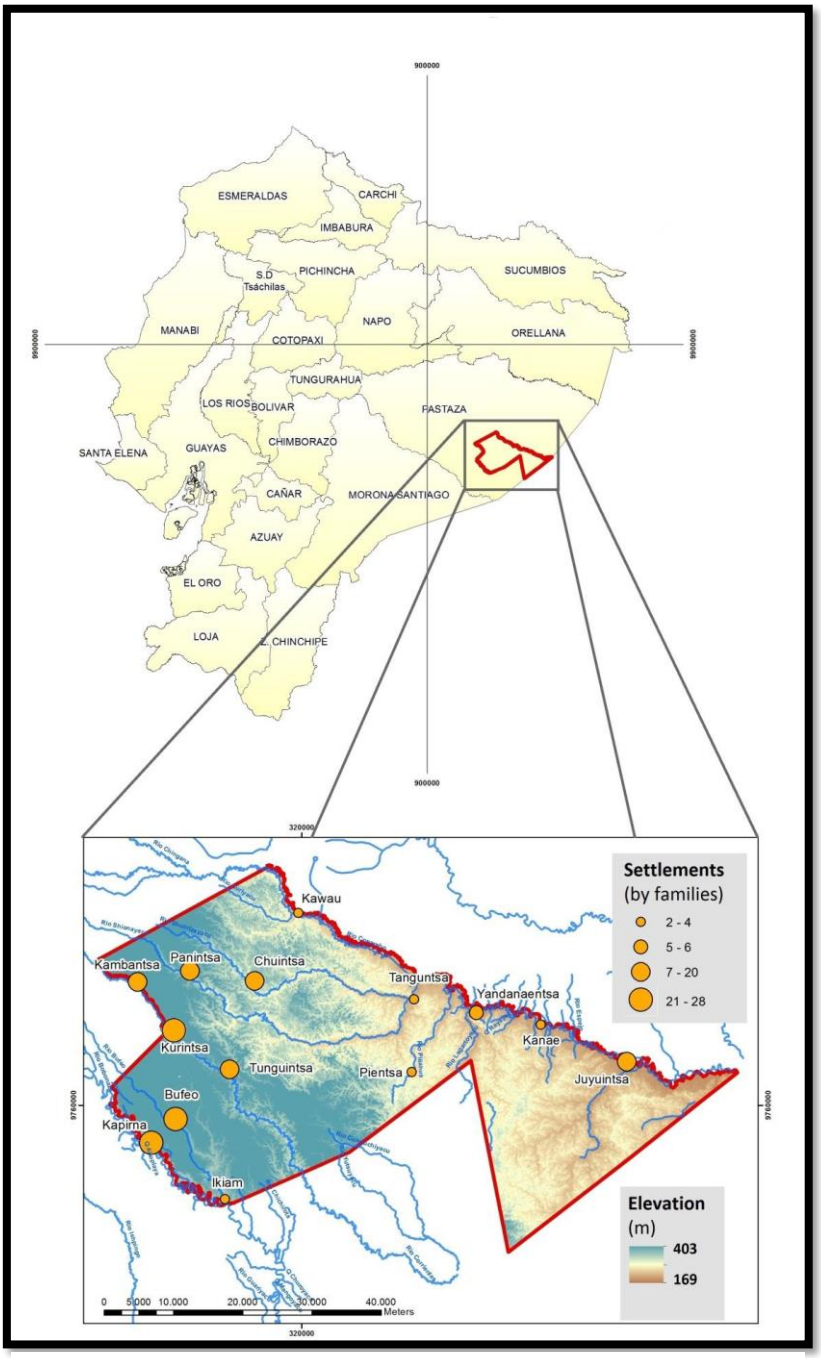

Figure 3.1. A map of Shiwiar territory in relation to Ecuador (adapted from NASHIE 2012:20 and designed by Oscar Calva)

3.1.2. Population

Estimates of the total Shiwiar population in Ecuador vary by source. The last official Ecuadorean census, conducted in 2010, reported 1,198 Shiwiar people (INEC 2010). However, it is not clear how reliable these figures are because they include individuals who apparently self-identified as Shiwiar in provinces where no Shiwiar people are known to live. A later census conducted by the NASHIE in 2012 found 851 inhabitants in the 14 Shiwiar jungle villages (NASHIE 2012: 21). While this census was much more thorough in accounting for Shiwiar people living in jungle settlements, it did not include any counts for Shiwiar populations in Puyo or the rest of Ecuador. The real number of Shiwiar people in Ecuador is probably between those two estimates.

The map in **Figure 3.1** shows the location of all 14 Shiwiar villages in Ecuador. **Table 3.1** below lists basic information about those villages. Their location is given by the river that runs through them (NASHIE 2012: 89–90) and the population figures are taken from the 2012 census (NASHIE 2012: 26). A likely etymology is given for most village names: Shiwiar communities are named after a river or stream (in which case the name is a two-part compound including a reduced form of the word *ɨ́ntsa* 'river'), an animal (e.g. Bufeo, Kawau), a plant (e.g. Kapirna) or a geographic feature (e.g. Ikiam, Kanai). For the villages which have changed names over the decades, their former name is given as well.

The degree of accessibility of Shiwiar settlements and ease of travel between them varies. There are established walking paths between some of the bigger villages in the west of the Ecuadorean Shiwiar territory (e.g. between Kapirna, Bufeo and Kurintsa). Apart from that, the terrain in most of the areas inhabited by Shiwiar people is difficult to traverse by foot as it is largely made up of dense rainforest. For this reason, river travel is the main mode of transport to get from one village to another. Depending on the type of canoe being used and whether or not a canoe has a motor, the journey between two villages can take from several hours to several days. However, it is impossible to navigate upriver from any Shiwiar village to the wider Ecuadorean road network because all rivers that flow through Shiwiar territory become impassable before they reach the nearest road. Consequently, the only way to access Shiwiar territory from the rest of Ecuador is by air and for that reason many Shiwiar villages have a landing strip suitable for small single-propeller aeroplanes.

Village name[a]	River	Population	Probable etymology
Bufeo /bufíu/	Bufeo	113	Named after Bufeo River (see **Table 3.2**)
Chuintsa /t͡ʃuínʲt͡sa/ (formerly Chuindia)	Chuintsa	71	Named after Chuintsa River (see **Table 3.2**)
Ikiam /íkʲam/	Bobonaza	8	Shiwiar *íkʲam* 'forest'
Juyuintsa /hujuínʲt͡sa/	Conambo	59	Shiwiar compound *hujuí* 'IDEO:mist' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'
Kapirna /kapirná/	Bobonaza	124	Shiwiar *kapirná* 'capirona (*Calycophyllum spruceanum)*'
Kambantsa /kampánt͡sa/ (form. Viejo Corrientes)	Corrientes	34	Shiwiar compound *kampá* 'type of (very small) ant' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'
Kawau /kawáu/	Conambo	22	Shiwiar *kawáu* 'blue-and-yellow macaw (*Ara ararauna*)'
Kanai /kanái/	Conambo	12	Shiwiar *kanái* 'bifurcation (of a branch or river)'
Kurintsa /kurínʲt͡sa/	Corrientes	197	Named after the Corrientes River (see **Table 3.2**)
Panintsa /panínʲt͡sa/ (form. Nuevo Corrientes)	Shiona	57	Shiwiar compound *páni* 'piranha (*Serrasalmus sp.*)' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'
Pientsa /piɨ́nt͡sa/	Pientsa	32	Named after the Pientsa River (see **Table 3.2**)
Tanguntsa /taŋkúnt͡sa/	Shiona	21	Named after the Tanguntsa River (see **Table 3.2**)
Tunguintsa /tuŋkínʲt͡sa/	Corrientes	71	Shiwiar compound *tuŋkí* 'male name' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'
Yandanaentsa /jantanáɨnt͡sa/	Conambo	30	Named after Yandanaentsa River (see **Table 3.2**)

Table 3.1. Shiwiar villages

[a] Although the spelling of village names is variable (see section **2.5**), the most common variants are used here. They are followed by a phonemic transcription in Shiwiar. If a village was previously known by another name, the former name is included.

According to the last Peruvian census in 2007 there are only 168 Shiwiar people in that country (INEI 2009: 12). The validity of these numbers can be questioned in the same way as for the Ecuadorean national census, but there is an additional difficulty in Peru relating to terminology: Shiwiar people in Peru go by different ethnonyms and may variably self-identify as Shiwiar, Jíbaro, Mayna or Achual/Achuar (for further information on this, see §**3.4**). Despite this issue, it seems clear that the Shiwiar population in Peru is substantially smaller than that in Ecuador.

3.1.3. Geography and climate

Shiwiar territory is located at the western edge of the Amazon basin, 150 kilometres to the east of the last foothills of the Andes Mountains. There are no abrupt variations in altitude within the territory: the terrain gently slopes from 400 metres above sea level in the west to 150 metres in the east. The local climate is characterised by hot temperatures (between 18°C and 34°C), high relative air humidity (96% to 100%) and heavy rainfall (up to 4000 mm a year). The weather is variable throughout the year, but strong showers are an almost daily occurrence between April and July and dry spells are common between December and March (NASHIE 2012: 96).

Most of the territory is made up of dense rainforest and, to a much lesser extent, freshwater swamp forest. The landscape is permeated by winding rivers and streams that erode the soft jungle soil, continuously forming new meanders and leaving behind oxbow lakes. The three most important rivers for the Ecuadorean Shiwiar – all of which flow in parallel from the northwest to the southeast towards the Marañón River – are the Bobonaza, the Corrientes and the Conambo Rivers. In Peru, the majority of the Shiwiar people live on the estuaries of the Corrientes, the Macusari and the Tigre[8] Rivers.

Table 3.2 lists these and smaller rivers along with their Shiwiar names and the villages that they pass through (NASHIE 2012: 101–102). The most important lakes within Shiwiar territory are listed in **Table 3.3** (NASHIE 2012: 102). In cases where the origin of the hydronym is transparent, a probable etymology is included. Rivers and lakes are usually named after people (e.g. Chuint Entsa, Domín Mamus), animals (e.g. Yandana Entsa, Paní Mamus) or plants (e.g. Mendé Entsa, Maikiuá Entsa). In cases where rivers have more than one name, the variants are often calques of each other in neighbouring languages (see §**2.3.1**). For example, the *Río Bufeo* (Spanish for 'tucuxi river') is called *Apup Entsa* ('tucuxi river') in Shiwiar as well.

[8] The Tigre River results from the confluence of the Conambo and the Pindoyacu Rivers at the Ecuador-Peru border.

River name[a]	Probable etymology	Villages nearby
Andrés Entsa /andrés ɨn͡tsa/	Spanish *Andrés* 'male name' + Shiwiar *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Juyuintsa
Bobonaza /pupunás, pupún͡tsa/[b]	Shiwiar compound *pumpú* 'Panama hat plant (*Carludovica palmata)*' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Kapirna, Ikiam
Bufeo /bufíu, apúp ɨn͡tsa/	Spanish *bufeo* 'tucuxi (*Sotalia fluviatilis*)'; Shiwiar compound *apúp* 'tucuxi (*Sotalia fluviatilis)*' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Bufeo
Chuintsa /t͡ʃuínt͡sa, t͡ʃuín ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *t͡ʃuín* 'male name' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Chuintsa
Conambo /konámbo/	Northern Pastaza Kichwa *kunampu* 'type of palm (*Attalea butyracea*)'	Kawau, Yandanaentsa, Kanai, Juyuintsa
Corrientes /kurínʲt͡sa/	Spanish *corrientes* '(river) currents'; or Shiwiar compound *kúri* 'gold' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'[c]	Kurintsa, Kambantsa, Tunguintsa, Peruvian villages
Iniash Entsa /inʲáʃ ɨn͡tsa/		Panintsa, Kambantsa
Kupit Entsa /kupítʲ ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *kupítʲ* 'type of ant' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Juyuintsa

Table 3.2. Rivers in Shiwiar territory

[a] Although the spelling of river names is variable (see section **2.5**), the most common variants are used here. They are followed by a phonemic transcription in Shiwiar.

[b] The endings *–za, –s* and *–ntsa* are common abbreviations of Shiwiar (and wider Chicham) *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river' in toponyms and hydronyms of the region.

[c] Both etymologies are plausible. In support of the Spanish etymology, the Corrientes River is known for its rapids (Spanish: corrientes). Zachary O'Hagan (p.c. 2016) pointed out to me that this description of the river has been used in Spanish colonial texts since 1684: Father Thomas Santos navigates a river ("*el río de los Sapas*") that can be geographically identified as the modern-day Corrientes, which he describes as having heavy currents ("*harta corriente*") (Santos 1986). On the other hand, in support of the Shiwiar etymology, the Corrientes River is also known for its plentiful gold deposits.

River name	Probable etymology	Villages nearby
Kusham Entsa /kuʃám ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *kuʃám* 'type of catfish (*Pimelodina sp.*)' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Kurintsa
Macusari /makusár/		Peruvian villages
Maikiuá Entsa /maikʲuá ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *maikʲuá* 'angel's trumpet (*Brugmansia suaveolens*)' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Panintsa
Mendé Entsa /mɨntɨ́ ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *mɨntɨ́* 'kapok (*Ceiba pentandra*)' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Panintsa, Kambantsa
Mupish Entsa /mupíʃ ɨn͡tsa/		Panintsa, Kambantsa
Nayanmak /najánmak/	Shiwiar compound *nája* 'large' + *namák* 'fish' (but note the Aguaruna cognate *namák namák* 'river', Larson 2008:47)	Panintsa
Pakí Entsa /pakí ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *pákɨ* 'white-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*)' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Kurintsa
Panguí Entsa /paŋkí ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *páŋki* 'boa' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Kurintsa
Pie Entsa /piaí ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *piái* 'type of bird' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Pientsa
Shionayacu /sakɨ́ ɨn͡tsa/	Northern Pastaza Kichwa compound *ʃiona* 'açai palm (*Euterpe precatoria*)' + *jaku* 'river'; Shiwiar compound *sákɨ* 'açai palm (*Euterpe precatoria*)' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Tanguntsa, Panintsa
Shitiá Entsa /ʃitʲá ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar *ʃitʲá ɨn͡tsa* 'small river, stream'	Panintsa, Kambantsa
Tangú Entsa /taŋkú ɨn͡tsa/	Shiwiar compound *táŋku* 'large drinking bowl' + *ɨ́n͡tsa* 'river'	Tanguntsa
Tigre /tigre/	Local Spanish *tigre* 'jaguar (*Panthera onca*)'	Peruvian villages

Table 3.2. (cont.) Rivers in Shiwiar territory

River name	Probable etymology	Villages nearby
Tsamarín Entsa /t͡samarínʲ ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *t͡samarínʲ* 'male name' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Kurintsa
Tuná Entsa /tuná ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *túna* 'waterfall' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Panintsa
Tundín Entsa /tuntín ɨnt͡sa/		Panintsa
Wambá Entsa /wampá ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *wámpa* 'ice-cream-bean (*Inga edulis*)' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Kurintsa
Yandana Entsa /jantaná ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *jantána* 'smooth-fronted caiman (*Paleosuchus trigonatus*)' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Yandanaentsa
Yaur Entsa /jaúr ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *jaúr* 'male name' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Panintsa
Yutsú Entsa /jut͡sú ɨnt͡sa/	Shiwiar compound *jútsu* 'type of tree' + *ɨ́nt͡sa* 'river'	Panintsa

Table 3.2. (cont.) Rivers in Shiwiar territory

Lake name[a]	Probable etymology	Villages nearby
Aká Mamus /aká mamus/	Shiwiar compound *áka* 'worm' + *mamús* 'lake'	Kurintsa
Cesar Mamus /sesár mamus/	Spanish *César* 'male name' + Shiwiar *mamús* 'lake'	Tanguntsa
Charap Mamus /t͡ʃaráp mamus/	Shiwiar compound *t͡ʃaráp* 'Arrau turtle (*Podocnemis expansa*)' + *mamús* 'lake'	Juyuintsa
Domín Mamus /domíŋ mamus/	Shiwiar compound *Domín domíŋ* 'male name' + *mamús* 'lake'	Kurintsa
Kaniats Mamus /kaniát͡s mamus/	Shiwiar compound *kaníat͡s* 'black caiman (*Melanosuchus niger*)' + *mamús* 'lake'	Kapirna; Juyuintsa[b]
Panguí Mamus /paŋkí mamus/	Shiwiar compound *páŋki* 'boa' + *mamús* 'lake'	Juyuintsa
Paní Mamus /paní mamus/	Shiwiar compound *páni* 'piranha (*Serrasalmus spp.*)' + *mamús* 'lake'	Kurintsa
Titipiur Mamus /titʲipʲúr mamus/	Shiwiar compound *titʲipʲúr* 'night spirit' + *mamús* 'lake'	Tanguntsa
Sasá Mamus /sããsã́ mamus/	Shiwiar compound *sã́ãsã* 'hoatzin (*Opisthocomus hoazin*)' + *mamús* 'lake'	Tanguntsa

Table 3.3. Lakes in Shiwiar territory

[a] Although the spelling of river names is variable (see section **2.5**), the most common variants are used here. They are followed by a phonemic transcription in Shiwiar.
[b] There are two lakes called Kaniats Mamus, one near Kapirna and one near Juyuintsa.

3.2. History

There are no written records about the Shiwiar people dating further back than the second half of the 20th century. Even as late as 1984, the Shiwiar were described as an "enigmatic" and "ethnographically neglected" group (Harner 1984: vii).

> *"The 'Mayna' Jivaroans[9] have been reported in the Río Tigre region by workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Little is known about them, and it is not clear if their dialect is more closely related to Jívaro [Shuar] or Achuara, and whether they form a distinct group."*
>
> (Harner 1984: 220)

Although most Shiwiar people have a very clear idea of their family history going back two or three generations, there is little consensus between individuals about the group's collective long-term history.[10] Nevertheless, aspects about their past can be inferred and traced back by examining what is known about other ethnic groups in the area. It is now clear that the Shiwiar people are very closely related, both linguistically and culturally, to four other neighbouring groups – the Achuar, the Shuar, the Huambisa and the Aguaruna, which are collectively referred to in this work as Chicham-speaking people, or Chicham people for short.[11] Because of these close ties, it can be safely assumed that the five groups share a common history and that they only split into their current divisions in recent times.

The Shiwiar people readily acknowledge their cultural and linguistic links to the other Chicham-speaking nations, especially to the Achuar and the Shuar who live in relatively close geographic proximity. Most Shiwiar individuals assert that the Chicham-speaking people have a common origin, but I am not aware of any specific stories passed down in their oral tradition that could shed more light on the development and dispersion of the different Chicham groups. It is important to note that despite their willingness to point out their shared heritage, most Shiwiar people do not feel any particularly strong allegiance to the neighbouring Chicham nations and many individuals in the community enthusiastically identify exclusively as Shiwiar.

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[9] A discussion of the use of the term "Mayna (Jivaroan)" to refer to Shiwiar people can be found in §**3.4**.

[10] Similar observations have been made for closely-related ethnic groups: "…the Achuar are totally devoid of descent groups or lineal ideology, and their genealogical memory rarely covers more than two generations of male ascendants." (Descola 1982).

[11] The term "Jivaroan people" is much more common in the literature. See §**2.2.1** for an explanation of why this term should no longer be used.

While there is a clear absence of historical accounts about the Shiwiar nation specifically, there are many colonial documents and early republican-era publications which discuss Chicham peoples generically, especially with regards to their interactions with colonising forces. The following summary is largely based on Harner's (1984: 16–26) overview of the earliest recorded events in Chicham history.

In the late 1520s, the Inca emperor Huayna Capac led an army to the upper Zamora and Chinchipe river basins to conquer the Chicham people. However, because of fierce resistance the conquest was unsuccessful. Two decades later, in 1549, the first reported contact between Chicham-speaking people and Spanish colonisers took place, when Hernando de Benavente's expedition travelled southwards along the Upano River towards the juncture with the Paute River and arrived "in the land and province of Xibaro" (Harner 1984:17, citing Jiménez de la Espada 1965). Once again, as the newcomers tried to establish a town in the area, they were forced to retreat because of the hostile response of the groups they encountered. Nevertheless, the rich gold deposits that the Spaniards found in the rivers of the area attracted the attention of the Viceroy of Peru.[12]

Over the next few years, successive expeditions were sent to the area, and by 1552 two important Spanish communities had been established: Logroño on the Paute River and Sevilla del Oro on the Upano River. Despite the harsh living conditions and the hostility of the Chicham people, these two towns flourished due to successful gold mining. As in other areas of South America, the Spaniards imposed their rule upon the local populations and forced them to pay tribute in gold. This led to growing tension between the two groups which culminated in a Chicham revolt in 1599, resulting in the destruction of the two Spanish settlements and the indefinite retreat of the Spanish forces from the area. It was not until the 19th century that any Chicham group had regular contact with Spanish-speakers again.

We do not know how dispersed the Chicham-speaking people were at the time when these events took place. It is therefore unclear whether the Shiwiar descend from the Chicham groups that had first contact with Europeans in the 16th century, or whether the ancestors of modern-day Shiwiar people already belonged to a separate group at the time. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the Shiwiar had some, albeit minimal and intermittent, contact with Spanish-speakers dating back to at least the end of the 19th century. Shiwiar people, for example, are well-aware of the rubber boom,

[12] All the river basins mentioned in this paragraph are currently inhabited by the Shuar people.

which saw *mestizo*[13] landlords appropriate large portions of the Amazonian jungle and enslave local populations for the extraction of rubber between the late 19th and early 20th century. Although Shiwiar land does not appear to have been taken over by the rubber patrons directly, some Shiwiar people are known to have been recruited or enslaved into rubber extraction labour around the turn of the century.

Christian missionisation marked the beginning of a period of rapid cultural change amongst the Shiwiar. The exact details surrounding the arrival of Christianity in the Shiwiar area are difficult to ascertain. Jesuit and Dominican missions (e.g. Andoas and Canelos) were established as early as the 16th and 17th centuries in the eastern lowlands of Ecuador (Ortiz 2012), but these were not in the immediate vicinity of current Shiwiar settlements. Within modern-day Shiwiar territory, Dominican missions were established on the Tigre and Conambo Rivers in 1937 (García 1999: 288). It is around this time that Shiwiar people began adopting Spanish names, so it is likely that these missions were the first to establish lasting links with Shiwiar people.

According to biographical accounts, the first Spanish-speaking outsider to have regular contact with the Shiwiar was Lloyd Daniel Rogers, a Christian missionary currently associated with the Northgate Gospel Chapel in Seattle. He arrived in the Ecuadorean Shiwiar area in the 1960s. Until that point, Shiwiar people had lived in geographically dispersed family houses, but Rogers and other missionaries persuaded families to start settling in villages. This shift towards a nucleated settlement pattern went hand-in-hand with the construction of small jungle airstrips which vastly improved accessibility between Shiwiar land and the rest of Ecuador. The first airstrip was built in Viejo Corrientes (now known as Kambantsa) in the mid-1970s, and other villages with their own airstrips were formed soon after.

With the onset of the indigenous rights movement in Ecuador, indigenous groups of the Pastaza province sought to obtain legal title to their ancestral lands in the early 1990s (Ortiz 2012). Despite initial setbacks, leaders of the Shiwiar, Kichwa and Achuar nations organised a dramatic protest march in 1992 which took them from their native territories to the national capital, Quito, located 300 kilometres away. As a result, President Rodrigo Borja signed an agreement which, amongst other points, legally recognised 89,377 hectares of land as Shiwiar territory (Pero Ferreira 2012: 9–10). This only included the land around the biggest Shiwiar settlements in the west, ignoring vast areas of traditional Shiwiar land in the east. Nevertheless, this historic achievement brought the Shiwiar people to the national spotlight for

[13] The term *mestizo* is used in Spanish to refer to a person of mixed (European and Native American) descent. The non-indigenous Spanish-speaking population of Ecuador and Peru is covered by this term.

the first time and it paved way for their legal recognition as one of Ecuador's indigenous minorities.

On 19 September 2000, the Shiwiar people formed an organisation to represent them on a national level (NASHIE 2012: 3). They named it Organización de la Nacionalidad Shiwiar de Pastaza, Amazonía Ecuatoriana[14] – ONSHIPAE for short. Five years later, on 20 October 2005, the Shiwiar people were recognised as an indigenous nationality by the Ecuadorean government, and the ONSHIPAE was renamed Nacionalidad Shiwiar del Ecuador[15] – abbreviated as NASHIE. Since then, the NASHIE has been the political branch of the Shiwiar people, serving both as an administrative council for the management of their territory and as an agency to represent Shiwiar interests on a national level. NASHIE officials are elected by popular vote and they govern for fixed terms.

In 2013, 111,707 additional hectares of Shiwiar land were given native title by the government (Gualinga Wisuma & Santi Machoa 2013). This decision brought all 14 Shiwiar villages except one (Ikiam) under Shiwiar administration. As of 2016, the village of Ikiam and the area around it were still the subject of a territorial dispute between the Shiwiar and the Andoa Nations. For this reason, that strip of land has not yet been legally recognised as part of any territory, although it is inhabited and used by Shiwiar people.

3.3. Culture

Traditionally, the Shiwiar people lived in nuclear family houses scattered throughout a very large area. They sustained themselves through hunting, horticulture, fishing and gathering. Until the arrival of missionaries there were no population centres; at most, families would form kinship-based alliances and build houses within a day's walk of each other. It was common for families to move periodically to new areas once their house deteriorated or if resources in the vicinity of the house became scarce. Since missionisation, most Shiwiar people have abandoned that semi-nomadic life and have settled permanently in one of the 14 villages within their territory. Although their lifestyle is currently undergoing rapid change through increasing contact and accessibility to the rest of Ecuador, many traditions are kept.

3.3.1. Existing literature

There are few published works that refer specifically to Shiwiar culture. The publications listed in the Shiwiar section of **Table 3.4** can be considered

[14] This translates into English as 'Organisation of the Shiwiar Nationality of [the] Pastaza [Province], [in the] Ecuadorean Amazon'.
[15] This translates into English as 'Shiwiar Nationality of Ecuador'.

exhaustive. A recent source is a document compiled in 2012 by the Shiwiar leaders for the Ecuadorean government which describes the Shiwiar way of life and lays out a development plan for the following two decades (NASHIE 2012).[16] The fact that this document is written from the Shiwiar perspective makes it particularly valuable.

There is on the other hand an ample body of literature describing the culture of the other four Chicham groups. Because these groups are closely related to the Shiwiar, it is relevant to list those publications here. **Table 3.4** includes a selection of the literature available about the culture of each Chicham-speaking group. Some references are also listed for the Canelos Kichwa people. Although this last groups speaks a Quechuan language (Northern Pastaza Kichwa), they are relevant in this discussion because they live in close contact with the Shiwiar people and share many cultural traits with them (see §**3.3.7**).

Nation	Reference	Topic
Shiwiar	NASHIE 2012	Culture; community action plan
	Seymour-Smith 1984	Ethnic identity; translated into Spanish as Seymour-Smith (1988)
	Seymour-Smith 1986	Kinship and ethnonyms
Achuar	Descola 1981	Settlement patterns
	Descola 1982	Territoriality and kinship
	Kelekna 1981	Feuding
	Ross 1976	Cultural adaptation
	Ross 1978	Hunting and subsistence
	Ross 1980	Feuding
	Taylor 1981	Missionisation
	Taylor & Chau 1983	Magic songs
Aguaruna	Berlin 1976	Ethnobiology

Table 3.4. Ethnographic literature

[16] The Shiwiar nationality was not alone in creating this kind of document. Each indigenous nation in Ecuador prepared a similar document in 2012, a so-called *Plan de Vida* ('Life Plan').

Nation	Reference	Topic
Aguaruna	Brent Berlin 1977	Cosmology
	Elois Ann Berlin 1977	Fertility
	Berlin & Berlin 1977	Ethnobiology and nutrition
	Berlin & Markell 1977	Nutrition
	Brown 1978	Use of hallucinogenic plants
	Brown 1981	Magic and rituals
	Brown 1984	Hunting magic
	Brown & Van Bolt 1980	Gardening magic
	Chumap Lucía & García-Rendueles 1979	Myths
	Jernigan 2009	Medicine
	Uriarte 1971	Feuding
Shuar	Belzner 1981	Music
	Bennett 1992	Use of hallucinogenic plants
	Bottasso 1982	Missionisation
	Harner 1984	General ethnography
	Jintiach' 1976	Education
	Karsten 1935	General ethnography
	Knoblauch 1976	Modern farming
	Mashinkiash' 1976	Education
	Rubenstein 2002	Shamanism
	Salazar 1981	Politics
	Stirling 1938	General ethnography
Wampis	Uriarte 1971	Feuding
Canelos Kichwa	Ortiz 2012	Politics
	Whitten 1976	General ethnography
	Whitten 1978	Cultural adaptation
	Whitten 1981	Cultural transformation

Table 3.4. (cont.) Ethnographic literature

3.3.2. Modes of subsistence

Hunting is done by men, sometimes in the company of their wives. Their main hunting weapon is a wooden blowgun (*úum*) capable of projecting poisoned darts. Nowadays, blowguns are often complemented or replaced by a shotgun, which may either be used for dangerous prey or for a quick kill if the hunter is tired. Quiet stalking is the preferred method of hunting, but game calls are sometimes used to attract prey. Typical game includes several monkey species (mainly woolly, spider and howler monkeys), ground-dwelling birds (such as tinamous, guans and currassows), peccaries and large rodents (agoutis, acouchis, and pacas). For a more comprehensive list of commonly hunted animals, as well as their Shiwiar names, see §**3.5**.

The Shiwiar practice slash-and-burn horticulture, whereby a strip of land is cleared in order to be used as a family's garden (*áha*). Although men are initially involved in clearing a new piece of land, the work of planting, cultivating and harvesting is the responsibility of women. The most common garden foods are tuberous roots (such as manioc, sweet potato, taro and yam) and fruits (including banana, pineapple, papaya, and chili pepper). Section **3.5** contains a list of these plants along with their Shiwiar names.

By far the most widely consumed product is *nihʲamánt͡ʃ*, an alcoholic beverage made primarily out of manioc (known as *chicha* in Ecuadorean Spanish, *masato* in Peruvian Spanish and *aswa* in Northern Pastaza Kichwa). It is prepared by women, who first peel, chop and boil pieces of manioc. They then repetitively chew the hot manioc and spit it out into a large bowl. Sweet potato is sometimes added (using the same method), but this is deemed by some to be a borrowed Kichwa practice. The resulting paste is then left in a container (traditionally a large earthenware jar called *muít͡s*) to ferment for several days, allowing the alcohol content to increase to the desired level: weak to moderate for day-to-day use, and strong for special occasions and celebrations. In order to be consumed, the fermented paste is mixed with water and passed around in drinking bowls called *pinʲíŋ*[17]. A similar drink, *waráp*, is prepared with ripe sweet plantain and manioc. These drinks will be referred to as manioc or plantain beer in the remainder of this work.

Although most of the food is obtained by hunting and harvesting, there are three secondary sources of sustenance. Fishing is a frequent practice and is done in a number of ways. If metallic hooks are available, hook-and-line fishing is the usual method. This may be done by hand, or by tying the line to a tree and checking periodically for catch. A family or village may also decide to poison the river by using barbasco root (Latin: *Lonchocarpus nicou*; Shiwiar: *tímʲu*) and collecting stupefied fish from the water surface. Another pastime is collecting delicacies and snacks, such as grubs and peach palm

[17] A different type of earthenware bowl called *tat͡ʃáu* is used for food.

fruit, from the jungle. Finally, most Shiwiar people raise chickens for their eggs and occasionally for consumption, especially in times when wild game or fish are not available.

3.3.3. Celebrations

A variety of special occasions are celebrated by the Shiwiar in large gatherings that involve drinking, dancing and singing (NASHIE 2012: 27–28). These occasions include the founding of a new community, an engagement/marriage or the culmination of a community project (*íp^{j}ak* in Shiwiar, or *minga* as it is called in Northern Pastaza Kichwa and Spanish) such as cleaning public spaces, maintaining the grass runways or clearing jungle paths. Every celebration usually has a host family, and the women of that family take on the task of serving manioc beer to guests.

Historically, such large gatherings were rare. Instead, people used to visit neighbours and family in smaller parties and celebrate by drinking manioc beer, singing *nampɨ́t* songs (see §**3.3.4**) and playing music with various traditional instruments. These included flutes (*náŋku* and *pɨ́ím*, differentiated by the number of holes in them), drums made out of animal leather (*tampúr*), single-string musical bows (*t͡sájandar*) and a three-string violins (*kɨrúm*).

Another more solemn and spiritual type of celebration involved individuals taking long walks to sacred waterfalls and consuming ayahuasca (Latin: *Banisteriopsis caapi*; Shiwiar: *natɨ́m*) and/or angel trumpet (Latin: *Brugmansia suaveolens*; Shiwiar: *maik^{j}uá*) to have visions. However, this practice has declined since the arrival of Christian missionaries.

3.3.4. Songs

The Shiwiar distinguish between two basic types of song genres: *ánɨn*, which can roughly be translated as prayers or incantations, and *nampɨ́t*, which are songs that accompany drinking and celebrations.

The *ánɨn* songs serve a wide range of purposes, but they are always considered very private and solemn; they are often described by Shiwiar people as being sad. Some *ánɨn* are so private that people only sing them under their breath or think them without actually vocalising them. When they are sung in public it is usually only amongst close family and in groups of the same gender. They are typically transmitted from (grand)father to (grand)son or from (grand)mother to (grand)daughter. These songs express a person's desires or goals and they can be used to invoke spirits such as *núŋkui* or *amasáŋ* (see §**3.3.9**). Common themes for anent songs are love, abandonment, gardening and hunting.

The *nampɨ́t* songs are light-hearted and jocular in nature. As opposed to *ánɨn*, they are sung in the company of others, usually while drinking

alcohol. They are often provocative and poke fun at individuals who are present.

3.3.5. Division of labour and specialised occupations

Labour in Shiwiar society is strongly divided by gender. Men are responsible for hunting, clearing land for new gardens and building houses. Women usually work in the garden, cook and keep the house clean. Both men and women make handicrafts, but also here their roles are clearly defined: women produce a variety of clay pottery whereas men produce hunting tools, weapons and musical instruments.

Only a handful of individuals have specialised occupations in Shiwiar society. These are shamans, midwives and healers, all of whom are considered keepers of privileged ancestral knowledge (NASHIE 2012: 50–51). Anyone in the community can choose to take on these roles, but there are gender restrictions: only men can become shamans and only women can become midwives. The process of training and establishing themselves is often difficult because of resistance from more experienced practitioners. Interestingly, the existence of these specialised occupations seems to have enhanced cultural and linguistic contact in the region as various ethnic groups try to match the perceived greater expertise of other groups. For example, Canelos Kichwa shamans are said to be particularly skilled, so they are often visited by shamans from other ethnicities who hope to learn from them.

Shamans (*uwiʃín*^{j}) are traditionally the most powerful members of Shiwiar society. These men are thought to have supernatural powers to either cause illness or cure it. As such, they are both feared and sought after. As long as an individual *uwiʃín*^{j} is perceived to be using his powers to help people, he holds a privileged social position and leads a comfortable life (e.g. there would be no need for him to hunt because he could live off of his patients' gifts). However, as soon as he is suspected of using his powers for evil purposes – like making people mortally ill – he is shunned. Historically, he would often become the target of assassination raids by the vengeful family members of his perceived victims. Because of this, the number of active shamans amongst the Shiwiar has always been relatively low.

In contrast, there are many more midwives (*takúmtik*^{j}*in*^{j}) and healers (*hapík*^{j}*ratin*^{j}), but both of them are much more restricted in their care and healing abilities. Midwives advise women during their pregnancy and help them during childbirth, and healers are only able to cure minor illnesses. Although their lesser power does not award them as high a social standing as the shamans have, they are also not in danger of being negatively targeted.

The arrival of Christianity and Western medicine has sharply reduced the role of these three occupations amongst the Shiwiar. From the beginning, missionaries have demonised shamanism and advocated the superiority of

Western medicine. Although some traditional practitioners remain – 6 shamans, 32 midwives and 35 healers (NASHIE 2012: 52) – it is unclear whether their knowledge will be transmitted to new generations.

3.3.6. Feuding

Chicham groups are well-known in the popular literature as the "head-hunters of the Amazon" – see for example titles such as Drown and Drown's (1961) "Mission to the Head-Hunters" and Karsten's (1935) "The Head-hunters of Western Amazonas". While the depiction of Chicham-speakers in the Western media, especially during the first half of the 20th century, was extremely sensationalist, it is true that warfare played an important role for Chicham groups historically.

Families of all Chicham groups were engaged in long-term feuding with other families within their own ethnic group but also across ethnic boundaries (Harner 1984). Alliances and enemies frequently changed, and assassination raids (typically targeting a male member of a household) were commonplace. Depending on a number of circumstances, these raids could result in the severing of the victim's head, which was then shrunk into a so-called *t͡sántsa* in a ritual ceremony. This particular practice seems to have sparked much interest in American and European intellectual circles when it was first reported by various travellers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it soon became a defining characteristic of Chicham tribes in the eyes of the world.

Because assassination and head-hunting raids were a regular occurrence, Shiwiar families used to live in a state of constant vigilance in case of an attack. It also meant that unexpected visitors to the house had to be treated with extreme caution. Cultural practices that emerged around this necessity include a ceremonial greeting tradition (*anɨmartin*) in which a visitor and a host would have to lay out their family ties to expose potential animosity.

The raids, and the cultural traditions attached to them, have largely been abandoned in recent decades, possibly as a result of missionisation and the subsequent creation of population centres. However, the Shiwiar people are still very much aware of the former situation and sometimes even use their war-like reputation as leverage in territorial conflicts with neighbouring ethnic groups.

3.3.7. Marriage

Shiwiar marriage traditions have changed over the past century. Historically, polygyny (i.e. the marriage of one man to multiple women) was widespread. Harner (1984: 80) suggests for the Shuar – who had very similar marriage practices to the Shiwiar – that the institution of polygyny was a reflection of

the low ratio of men to women as a consequence of the attrition of the male population through killing. Polygynous relationships have become much less common amongst the Shiwiar in recent decades. Although this trend is correlated with the reduction of feuding, it is probably also a direct result of Christian missionisation, which prohibits polygynous marriages.

One important characteristic which sets the Shiwiar apart from other Chicham groups is the fact that Shiwiar people are mostly exogamous, i.e. they marry people from a different ethnic group. This practice seems to have only been in place for a few generations. Most of the mixed marriages involve a Shiwiar person and a spouse from one of the neighbouring indigenous nationalities (either Kichwa, Sapara, Andoa or Achuar). The children of a mixed marriage adopt the father's ethnic identity. Interestingly, because the Kichwa, Sapara and Andoa people share a common language (Northern Pastaza Kichwa), this has led to a situation of stable and widespread bilingualism of Shiwiar and Northern Pastaza Kichwa in the area. The domains of use of each language are explained in more detail in §**3.6**.

Traditionally, Shiwiar couples practiced temporary uxorilocality after marriage. In other words, a newly-wed husband was expected to move into his wife's father's residence and render bride-service to his in-laws by working for them for a period of time. Usually the couple would establish their own residence after the birth of their first or second child. This is no longer the norm: brides often move in with their husbands immediately after marrying them. This change towards virilocality is possibly related to the onset of generalised exogamy in the area.[18] As a consequence of exogamy and virilocality, most men and unmarried women in Shiwiar villages are ethnically Shiwiar, whereas most married women are from a different ethnic group.

3.3.8. Kinship

The Shiwiar kinship terms make distinctions based on gender, generation, and consanguineal/affinal relations. They are based on the principle of partial bifurcate merging. Specifically, one and the same term is used for a father and a father's brother, and one and the same term is used for a mother, a mother's sister, and a father's sister. However, a different term is used for a mother's brother. Parallel cousins (children of a father's brother or a mother's sister) are considered siblings, whereas cross-cousins (children of a father's sister or a mother's brother) are not considered direct relatives and as such are

[18] It is interesting to note that virilocality is the general norm throughout the Amazon. Notable exceptions are Chicham people, their Urarina neighbours and various groups in the Xingú area of Brazil, all of whom traditionally practice uxorilocality (Aikhenvald 2012: 14).

potential marriage partners. The grammatical properties of kinship terms are discussed in §**7.2.3** and §**7.7**.

3.3.9. Religion

Since the arrival of the missionaries in the 1960s, the Shiwiar people have by and large converted to Christianity. Although this means that the previous system of beliefs has been supplanted, there are four spiritual entities that were particularly important to the Shiwiar and which continue to be referred to (albeit mostly in traditional stories). Arguably the most important one, *arútam*, can be described as the spirit of the forest. It is omnipresent but especially strong in places where water crashes against rocks (e.g. river rapids and waterfalls). As opposed to the other three entities, *arútam* is not thought of as an embodied being, but rather as an ever-present force. For this reason, some Shiwiar people – usually those influenced by Catholic missions – refer to the Christian God as *arútam* in Shiwiar. Protestants prefer to use the word *jús* (originally from Spanish *Dios*) instead.

The other three entities are always referred to as personified beings, but it is unclear whether each of these names refer to a single individual or whether they each refer to a group of beings. The keeper of the forest, *amasáŋ*, is the owner of all animals and wild plants. This entity is addressed in *ánɨn* songs (see §**3.3.4**) by hunters wishing to find game. It generously provides animals for humans to eat, but it is also thought that any offense against nature (e.g. excessive hunting) will be harshly punished by *amasáŋ*. Also addressed in *ánɨn* incantations, *núŋkui* is the spirit which controls the fertility of the soil and can therefore influence the growth of fruits and vegetables in the garden. Finally, *t͡súŋki* is a river spirit, owner of the river animals (fish, boas, turtles, etc.).

3.4. Ethnonyms

The Shiwiar people call themselves *ʃíwʲar* and their language *ʃiwʲár t͡ʃit͡ʃam*. They use the word *apát͡ʃ* to denote an outsider. Although originally used to denote Kichwa-speaking outsiders, the term has now become largely synonymous with "Spanish speaker", and the Spanish language is referred to as *apát͡ʃ t͡ʃit͡ʃam*. It is interesting to note that the word *apát͡ʃ* is homophonous with the word for 'grandfather', pointing at the possibility that its use in this context began as a honorific. An English-speaking foreigner is referred to as *íŋkʲis*. This is derived from the word *English*, but it may also freely be used for any North American or European foreigner, regardless of the language they speak.

There are two other terms that can be used to refer to mestizo or white outsiders and these are largely used by older speakers. The first one is

wiákut͡ʃ. The origin of this word is particularly interesting because it seems to be an old borrowing from Quechua.[19] Since colonial times Quechua speakers have used the term *wiraqucha* (the name of one of the Quechuan deities) to refer to Europeans and *mestizo* patrons (cf. Durston 2007: 66). The loss of the intervocalic /r/ and the apocope of the final /a/ in the Shiwiar version of the word are consistent with the nativisation of other old loans into Chicham languages (see §**2.3.1**).[20] The second term, *suntár*, is also likely a loan, namely from Spanish *soldado* 'soldier'. Older speakers use it to refer to any mestizo or white outsider, which suggests that the term started to be used at a time when contacts between Shiwiar people and mestizo outsiders occurred mostly as a result of military incursions. Younger speakers, however, only use it to refer to actual soldiers.

The Spanish ethnonyms for the Shiwiar have changed over time and have developed slightly differently in Ecuador and Peru. Originally, the terms *jívaro* or *jíbaro* were commonly used to refer to any of the five Chicham-speaking groups, including the Shiwiar (see §**2.2.1**). Beginning in the first half of the 20th century, in Ecuador, *jívaro* was slowly restricted to refer specifically to the Shuar people, whereas the Achuar and the Shiwiar were jointly referred to as *achuar*. The lack of a distinction between those two groups was due to the fact that the existence of the Shiwiar was largely unknown to Spanish-speaking Ecuadoreans until recent decades. Nowadays, the term *jívaro* has fallen into disuse as an ethnonym in Ecuador because it is considered offensive: the word has acquired the connotation of "savage" and has a strong colonial flavour (Harner 1984: xii–xiv). The Shiwiar gained national notoriety in the 1990s due to their official recognition by the government of Ecuador, and since then they have also been referred to as *shiwiar* (or *shíwiar*) in Spanish.

In Peru, the development of the terminology was similar to that in Ecuador except that the Achuar and Shiwiar were jointly called *achual* as well as *achuar*. In official Peruvian usage, for example in government publications, the term *jíbaro* continues to be used to refer specifically to the Shiwiar, in opposition to all other Chicham groups which are referred to by their individual names (see §**2.2.1**). In addition to being called *jíbaros*/*jívaros* (Corbera Mori 1994: 4), Shiwiar groups are also specifically referred to as *jíbaros del río Tigre* ('Jivaroans of the Tigre River') and *jíbaros del río Corrientes* ('Jivaroans of the Corrientes River'), alluding to the river basins where Peruvian Shiwiar people live.

The ethnonym Mayna has also been used to refer to Shiwiar people. The term is usually limited to those families who live on the estuaries of the

[19] This was first pointed out by Beasley and Pike (1957).

[20] The term *wiraqucha* to mean 'white person' has been borrowed into other western Amazonian languages as well, including Matsigenka (Snell 1998: 267) and Kandozi-Chapra (Tuggy 2008: 104).

Macusari River (cf. Harner 1984: vii), but it has also been extended to encompass all Shiwiar people (cf. Bennett 1992: 483; Harner 1984: xiii). However, the usage of this term is potentially misleading because the term Mayna has also been used variably to refer to Kandozi-Chapra (e.g. Tessmann 1930: 280), Kawapanan (e.g. Mason 1950: 261), Omurano (e.g. Loukotka 1968: 155–156), Quechuan (e.g. Loukotka 1968: 266) and Zaparoan (e.g. Steward & Métraux 1948: 629) people.

In Northern Pastaza Kichwa, spoken around Shiwiar territory, the term *ʃirapa* is used to refer to Shuar people (Ortiz 2012: 136). It is unclear whether this ethnonym extends to include other Chicham groups like the Shiwiar. Interestingly, <Shirap> /ʃirap/ (or the Aguaruna cognate <Shijap> /ʃihap/) is a Chicham personal male name (Simon Overall p.c. 2019; Pellizaro & Náwech 2005: 379). It is possible that the term was been borrowed into Kichwa and generalised as an ethnonym. The Shuar call the Shiwiar *patukmai* 'jungle dog' (Bennett 1992:484, citing Seymour-Smith 1988).

3.5. Animals and Plants

This section lists the most common plants and animals present in Shiwiar territory as well as some basic notes about the role that they play in Shiwiar culture. All of the species are listed by their Shiwiar name and identified in Latin binomial nomenclature wherever possible. Their most common English and Spanish names are listed as well. For Spanish, local names (as used in the Ecuadorean Amazon) are written first, followed by alternative terms. In order to verify the correct identification of all the species, I consulted various published sources together with multiple Shiwiar speakers for cross-reference (Bennett 1992; Emmons & Feer 1997; Fast Mowitz, Warkentin de Fast & Fast Warkentin 2008; Grandtner & Chevrette 2014; NASHIE 2012; Pitman et al. 2012; Ridgely & Greenfield 2001; Tirira 2007).

Animals are listed first in **Table 3.5**. This table mostly contains animals that are hunted for consumption, although it also includes animals that are frequently seen but not eaten (e.g. deer, capybara, tucuxi). Traditionally, certain animal terms were considered taboo in the context of hunting because it was thought that uttering the term for a given animal would prevent the hunter from catching it. In such cases, the animal could only be referred to by a secret name. Although this practice is no longer observed, **Table 3.5** also notes if the animal has a secret name in the hunting avoidance register (abbreviated as HAR). **Table 3.6** lists plants that are commonly cultivated in Shiwiar gardens, while **Table 3.7** includes wild plants which are frequently collected by the Shiwiar. Their intended use – either for culinary, medicinal or ritual purposes – is briefly noted.

Class	Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
Mammals	*apúp*	tucuxi	*Sotalia fluviatilis*	bufeo, delfín, tucuxi	Never hunted.
	hápa	red brocket	*Mazama americana*	venado, corzuela colorada, guazú-pitá	Traditionally never hunted; hunted by Canelos Kichwa.
	jakúm	Venezuelan red howler	*Alouatta seniculus*	coto, mono aullador rojo, aullador colorado	Commonly hunted.
	jaŋkip^{j}ík^{j}	collared peccary	*Pecari tajacu*	sajino, saíno, pecarí de collar	Very commonly hunted. HAR: *káʃu*
	juŋkít͡s	green acouchi	*Myoprocta pratti*	guatín, acuchí verde, tintín	Commonly hunted.
	kapiwár, uŋkúmi	capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	capibara, ronsoco, carpincho	Not usually hunted. The term *uŋkúmi* is archaic. Both Shiwiar names may be loanwords (see **2.3.1**).
	kaʃái	lowland paca, spotted paca	*Cuniculus paca*	guanta, majás, paca común	Very commonly hunted. HAR: *mahás, pampá*
	kã́jũk	black agouti	*Dasyprocta fuliginosa*	guatusa, añuje, agutí negro	Commonly hunted.
	kúʃi	South American coati, ring-tailed coati	*Nasua nasua*	cuchucho, achuni, coatí de cola anillada sudamericano	
	páki	white-lipped peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	jabalí, huangana, pecarí barbiblanco	Commonly hunted. HAR: *káʃu*

Table 3.5. Common animals

Class	Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
Mammals	*pamá*	South American tapir, Brazilian tapir, lowland tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	danta, sachavaca, tapir amazónico	Occasionally hunted. The Shiwiar name may be a loanword (see **2.3.1**).
	sawãã̃	tapeti, Brazilian cottontail, forest cottontail	*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*	conejo silvestre, tapetí, conejo brasileño	Commonly hunted. HAR: *wapɨʃruk*
	ʃuʃuí	nine-banded armadillo, long-nosed armadillo	*Dasypus novemcinctus*	armadillo de nueve bandas, carachupa	Commonly hunted.
	t͡sɨ́pi	pygmy marmoset	*Cebuella pygmaea*	chichico, tití pigmeo, mono de bolsillo	Commonly hunted.
	t͡ʃúu	silvery woolly monkey, Poeppig's woolly monkey	*Lagothrix poeppigii*	chorongo, choro, mono lanudo plateado	Very commonly hunted. The Shiwiar name may be a loanword (see **2.3.1**). HAR: *uwɨ́hĩntinʲ*
	wáʃi	white-bellied spider money	*Ateles belzebuth*	mono araña común, maquisapa, marimona	Commonly hunted.
Birds	*aúnt͡s*	Spix's guan	*Penelope jacquacu*	pava de monte, pucacunga, pava amazónica	Very commonly hunted. The Shiwiar name may be a loanword (see **2.3.1**).
	ajátʃui	nocturnal curassow	*Nothocrax urumutum*	mondete, montete, paujil nocturno	Commonly hunted. HAR: *nuŋkája*
	kɨ́rua	channel-billed toucan	*Ramphastos vitellinus*	tucán de pico acanalado	Commonly hunted.

Table 3.5. (cont.) Common animals

Class	Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
Birds	*kúju*	blue-throated piping guan	*Pipile cumanensis*	pava, pava silbosa común, pava rajadora	Commonly hunted. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
	máʃu	Salvin's curassow	*Mitu salvini*	paujil, pavón de Salvin, pavón nagüiblanco	Commonly hunted. Possibly a loanword (see **2.3.1**). HAR: *ajúm*
	sa̋ã̃sa	hoatzin, stinkbird, Canje pheasant	*Opisthocomus hoazin*	shansho, pava hedionda, hoacín	Possibly a loanword (see **2.3.1**).
	t͡sukaŋká	white-throated toucan	*Ramphastos tucanus*	tucán golilblanco, tucán pechiblanco, tucán de pico rojo	Very commonly hunted. The Shiwiar name may be a loan (see **2.3.1**).
	t͡ʃíwʲa	grey-winged trumpeter	*Psophia crepitans*	trompetero aligrís, agamí, aramí	Commonly hunted.
	wáa	great tinamou	*Tinamus major*	perdiz, tinamú grande, tinamú mayor	Very commonly hunted. HAR: *ʃúku, tiʃíp*
Reptiles	*jantána*	smooth-fronted caiman, Schnieder's dwarf caiman	*Paleosuchus trigonatus*	caiman postruso, cachirre, dirin-dirin	Commonly hunted. HAR: *kumpáu*
	kuŋkuímʲ	yellow-footed tortoise, Brazilian giant tortoise	*Chelonoidis denticulata*	motelo, tortuga terrestre de patas amarillas, morrocoy de selva	Commonly hunted.
	t͡ʃaráp	Arrau turtle, South American river turtle, giant South American turtle	*Podocnemis expansa*	charapa, charapa Arrau	Commonly hunted. The Shiwiar name may be a loanword (see **2.3.1**).

Table 3.5. (cont.) Common animals

Class	Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
Fish	*kasúr*	trahira	*Hoplias spp.*	huanchiche, trarira, tararira	Very commonly caught.
	káʃap	freshwater stingray	*Potamotrygon spp.*	raya de río, chucho de río	Commonly caught.
	kuʃám	catfish	*Pimelodus ornatus*	barbudo, cunchi, bagrecito común	Commonly caught.
	múta	piracatinga, vulture catfish, zamurito	*Calophysus macropterus*	mota, piracatinga, blanquillo	Very commonly caught.
	páni	piranha	*Serrasalmus spp.*	piraña, palometa, caribe	Commonly caught. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
	pútu	catfish	*Hypostomus ericius*	carachama	Very commonly caught.

Table 3.5. (cont.) Common animals

Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
átʃu	moriche palm	*Mauritia flexuosa*	morete, aguaje, palma de moriche	Edible fruit, oil, heart of palm, grubs. Used to make brooms. Sometimes cultivated but often wild.
himʲá	chili pepper	*Capsicum spp.*	ají	Used as spice.
íntʃi	sweet potato	*Ipomoea batatas*	camote, batata, papa dulce	Staple food. Used to make manioc beer.
ipʲák	achiote, annatto	*Bixa orellana*	achiote, urucú, rocú	Used as face paint.
jáakutʃ	cocona	*Solanum stramonifolium*	naranjilla, cocona, coconilla	Food.
jáas	cainito	*Chrysophyllum cainito*	caimito	Food.
kái	avocado	*Persea americana*	aguacate, palta	Food.
kírim	common guava, yellow guava, lemon guava	*Psidium guajava*	guayaba, guayabo, guayaba manzana	Food.
kɨátʃ	cherimoya	*Annona spp.*	chirimoya, anona	Food.
kɨŋkɨ́	Indian yam, cush-cush, yampee	*Dioscorea trifida*	papa jíbara, ñame, sacha papa	Staple food.
kuíʃ	pineapple	*Ananas comosus*	piña, piña tropical, ananá	Food. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
kukútʃ	cocona	*Solanum sessiliflorum*	naranjilla, cocona, coconilla	Food.
kumpiá		*Renealmia alpinia*	achira, mishquipanga	Food.

Table 3.6. Plants grown in Shiwiar gardens

Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
kúntʃ͡ai		*Dacryodes spp.*	copal	Food.
máma	manioc, cassava, yuca	*Manihot esculenta*	yuca, mandioca, tapioca	Staple food. Used to make manioc beer.
másu		*Clibadium spp.*	barbasquillo, huaca	Used as poison for fishing.
míik^{j}	common bean, green bean	*Phaseolus vulgaris*	fréjol, frijol, habichuela	Food. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
mɨ̃hɨ̃tʃ͡	small banana	*Musa × paradisiaca*	orito, guineo, plátano de seda	Staple food.
núsɨ	peanut, groundnut, goober	*Arachis hypogaea*	maní, cacahuate, cacahuete	Food.
paántam	banana, plantain	*Musa × paradisiaca*	plátano, banano	Staple food. Ripe sweet plantain (Sp: *maduro)* is called *t͡samáu*. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
páat	sugarcane	*Saccharum spp.*	caña, caña de azúcar	Food.
papátʃ͡nʲa	taro	*Colocasia esculenta*	papa china, taro, pituca	Staple food. Likely loan from Spanish *papa china*.
papáih^{j}	papaya	*Carica papaya*	papaya, papayón, olocotón	Food. The Shiwiar name may be a loanword (see **2.3.1**).
pítʲu	breadfruit	*Batocarpus spp.*	frutipán, pan de árbol	Food.
sáŋku		*Xanthosoma spp.*	pelma	Food.
sɨpuí	common onion, bulb onion	*Allium cepa*	cebolla	Food. Likely loan from Spanish *cebolla*.

Table 3.6. (cont.) Plants grown in Shiwiar gardens

Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
ʃáa	maize, corn	*Zea mays*	maíz	Food. Loan (see **2.3.1**).
taí	chica, puca panga, crajiru	*Arrabidaea chica*	chica, carayurú, bejuco de hierro	Used as a dye.
tímʲu		*Lonchocarpus nicou*	barbasco	Used as poison for fishing. Likely loan (see **2.3.1**).
t͡sápa	calabash tree	*Crescentia cujete*	pilche, mate, pate	Used as a domestic/kitchen tool.
uŋkúʃipʲ ~ aŋkúʃipʲ	calabash tree	*Crescentia cujete*	pote largo, mate alargado, pate alargado	Used as a domestic/kitchen tool.
urút͡ʃ	extra-long staple cotton	*Gossypium barbadense*	algodón de Pima	Used for handicrafts.
uwí	peach-palm	*Bactris gasipaes*	chonta, pijuayo, chontaduro	Food.
wakám	cocoa tree	*Theobroma spp.*	cacao de monte, macambo	Food.
wampá	ice-cream-bean, joaquiniquil, guama	*Inga edulis*	guaba, jinicuile, cajinicuile	Food.
want͡ʃúp		*Xanthosoma spp.*	mandi	Food.

Table 3.6. (cont.) Plants grown in Shiwiar gardens

Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
ahɨ́h	ginger	*Zingiber officinale*	jengibre, quion	Medicinal: used to treat flu.
araráts͡	Spanish elm, Ecuador laurel, cypre	*Cordia alliodora*	laurel, yanabara	Used to build houses.
jáhi	chaliponga, chagropanga	*Diplopterys cabrerana*	chacruna, chagropanga	Used for ritual purposes.
jɐ́ɐ̃s		*Guatteria spp.*	canelo blanco, carahuasca, espintana	Used to build houses.
kánu	Spanish cedar, Cuban cedar	*Cedrela odorata*	cedro, cedro acajou, acaju	Used to make canoes.
kinʲtʲúk	Ecuadorean ivory palm	*Phytelephas aequatorialis*	tagua, piasaba	Used to make thatched rooves, brooms.
kuŋkúk	patawa, sehe, hungurahua	*Oenocarpus bataua; Jessenia bataua*	ungurahua, palma de seje, milpesos	Edible fruit, oil, heart of palm, grubs.
maikʲuá	angel's trumpet, datura, angel's tears	*Brugmansia suaveolens*	floripondio, datura, toé	Ritual: used to induce visions; medicinal: used as painkiller.
matá	chambira palm	*Astrocaryum chambira*	chambira	Used for firewood; edible fruit.
nára	stinging nettle	*Urtica spp.*	ortiga, ishanga	Used for medicinal purposes.
natɨ́m	ayahuasca, caapi, yagé	*Banisteriopsis caapi*	ayahuasca, yagé	Ritual: used to induce visions; medicinal: used as painkiller.
páinʲi	black manwood	*Minquartia guianensis*	guambula, huacapú, manú	Used to build houses.

Table 3.7. Important trees and plants

Shiwiar Name	English Name	Latin Name	Spanish Name	Notes
piríp^{j}iri	sedge	*Cyperus spp.*	piripiri	Ritual; medicinal: used to treat stomach pain.
pít^{j}uk		*Clarisia rasemosa*	lechero, guariuba, tulpay	Used to build houses.
pumpú	Panama hat plant, toquilla palm	*Carludovica palmata*	paja toquilla, jipijapa, pipi	Used to make thatched rooves.
sakɨ	açai palm, mountain cabbage	*Euterpe precatoria*	palmito, huasaí, manaca	Edible fruit, oil, heart of palm, grubs. Used to make brooms.
tuntuám		*Iriartea deltoidea*	pambil, huacrapona, tarapoto	Used to make thatched rooves, beds.
turúhi		*Geonoma spp.*	palmerita	Used to make thatched rooves.
t͡sáaŋ	tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	tabaco, petén, hierba santa	Ritual; medicinal: used to treat the flu.
t͡sáik^{j}		*Cedrelinga cateniformis*	chunchu, huayra caspi, tornillo	Used to build houses.
t͡ʃík^{j}i	arrowroot, maranta, obedience plant	*Maranta arundinacea*	arrurruz, maranta, dale dale	Used for medicinal purposes.
t͡ʃik^{j}áin^{j}a		*Myroxylon balsamum*	balsamo, estoraque	Used to build houses.
wajús	guayusa	*Ilex guayusa*	guayusa	Used for ritual and medicinal purposes.
wampuáʃ	kapok, white silk-cotton tree	*Ceiba trichistandra*	ceibo, huimba	Used for cotton fibre.

Table 3.7. (cont.) Plants grown in Shiwiar gardens

3.6. Language use amongst the Shiwiar

Shiwiar is used as the main language of communication in all 14 Shiwiar villages. As such, it is spoken natively by virtually all Shiwiar people. Nevertheless, the 2010 Ecuadorean census found only 942 Shiwiar speakers, compared to 1,198 people who self-identified ethnically as Shiwiar (INEC 2010). Given that Shiwiar language fluency in the Shiwiar villages is so complete, the mismatch reported by the census is particularly striking. It is possible that, as the census is biased towards sampling accessible urban populations rather than inaccessible jungle settlements, it included Shiwiar people who had moved away from the villages and were embracing a more Spanish-speaking lifestyle in the cities. Also, because the census is based on self-evaluation, it is also possible that some Shiwiar people did not declare their knowledge of the Shiwiar language for reasons of social stigma.[21]

It is important to note that Shiwiar is not the only language spoken by the Shiwiar people. Multilingualism has long been the norm: most Shiwiar speakers are also speakers of Northern Pastaza Kichwa and, increasingly, Spanish. Northern Pastaza Kichwa (referred to hereafter simply as Kichwa) is the Quechuan language spoken by the Canelos Kichwa, Andoa and Sapara people. The Shiwiar have close contact with these three groups because the latter inhabit the area immediately surrounding Shiwiar territory and, as explained in §**3.3.7**, the Shiwiar practice exogamy with them. The result of this is that many Shiwiar people speak Kichwa natively because their mother is a member of one of those three Kichwa-speaking groups. Nevertheless, Kichwa is never used as the main language of communication within Shiwiar villages, but rather only in contact situations when Shiwiar people meet members of neighbouring Kichwa-speaking groups outside of the village context (e.g. on the river). In other words, the main domain of Kichwa use amongst the Shiwiar is one of interethnic communication with neighbouring groups.

Although the Shiwiar are multilingual, there is a strong cultural prohibition against mixing local indigenous languages. Code-switching between Shiwiar and Kichwa, for example, is extremely rare. Shiwiar identity is strongly tied with being able to speak Shiwiar "correctly", and one of way of showing one's competence is to avoid mixing languages. Like in other parts of Amazonia, this cultural prohibition may be at the root of why Shiwiar has relatively few loanwords from other indigenous languages.

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[21] Due to historical and ongoing racism against indigenous people in Ecuador, there is a belief among many indigenous Ecuadoreans that admitting to speaking their heritage language lowers their social status. For this reason, many indigenous people deny their knowledge of their native language when asked.

The Shiwiar have been in uninterrupted contact with Spanish-speaking missionaries since at least the late 1950s, but Spanish has only started playing a big role in Shiwiar communities in recent decades. Nowadays almost all the Shiwiar people have some knowledge of Spanish, but levels of proficiency vary substantially depending on age and gender. Older women have the poorest knowledge of Spanish, and some do not speak or understand Spanish at all. Younger men are the most proficient in Spanish, especially those who have spent some time working in the cities. However, knowledge of Spanish is rapidly growing, and children are increasingly learning it as one of their native languages. Village schools use Spanish as the language of instruction and some Shiwiar parents have even started speaking Spanish to their children.

Despite this development, Shiwiar continues to be fully acquired by children because of its vigorous use amongst adults and between siblings. However, if the shift towards Spanish continues, it is foreseeable that new generations will no longer acquire Shiwiar, thereby stopping the chain of transmission.