



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)

Pedrós Caballero, T.

Citation

Pedrós Caballero, T. (2023, April 6). *A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3590495>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3590495>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

3. Word classes

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

The word classes described in this section are pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, indefinites, interrogative words, adverbs, affirmative and negative particles, adpositions, conjunctions, ideophones and fillers.

3.1. Pronouns

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

3.1.1. Full pronouns

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

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

Table 5. Ashéninka full pronouns

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

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

(63) **Naaka** nopoña kirinka.

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

(64) Piyotzi **éeroka** pimampa?

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

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

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

(66) **Rirori** rákakáakiri.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (71) Aurencio, **riütaki** riyómetàki naari mampaantsi.
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio 3M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-teach-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO sing-INF
 ‘Aurencio, he is who taught how to sing also to me.’ (CMH)
- (72) **Róotaki** otháwinatakàe.
 roo-t-ak-i o-tháwina-t-ak-ae
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-give.bad.omen-&-PFV-INCL.O
 ‘This is what has given us a bad omen.’ (SFW)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other pronouns used only in the 3rd person are masculine *riintzi* and feminine *roentzi*, formed with the gender markers *ri-* (m.) and *ro-* (f.) plus *-intzi*, which I have labelled *restrictive*, given that its meaning is mainly ‘only’ or also ‘yet’. In (78), *riintzi* means ‘only’ referring to *konoya* ‘yellow-footed tortoise’, while, in (79), the meaning is ‘yet’ referring to *honkágari* ‘tinamou’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2. Possessive pronouns

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

Table 6. Ashéninka possessive pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

(85) Nowámetantatziri **nokáatényini** éehatzi nowéthatàri Toni.

n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-eey-i-ni
1S-teach-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

éehatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni
also 1S-greet-&-REA-3M.O Toni
‘We all are teaching and greet Toni.’ (OS)

(86) Róetakiri apáanipáeni **ikáateyini**.

r-oe-t-ak-i-ri apaani=paeni
3M.S-serve.drink-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O one=PL

i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
‘He serves a drink to each of them.’ (SCS)

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

3.2. Demonstratives

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

Table 7. Ashéninka demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

- (87) Opoñáshitaka paata thonkánaka **iroka** kenkitharentsi.
 o-poñ-ashi-t-ak-a paata thonk-an-ak-a
 3F.S-happen-PURP-&-PFV-REA later finish-ABL-PFV-REA
 i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi
 DEM-F=PROX tell-NMLZ
 ‘It happened later that that meeting finished.’ (OS)

- (88) **Irika** éehatzi rànasháataka nihaaki, éehatzi rótsitzi.
 i-ri=ka éehatzi r-anashaa-t-ak-a niha=ki
 DEM-M=PROX also 3M.S-walk-&-PFV-REA water=LOC
 éehatzi r-otsitzi-ti
 also 3M-dog-POSS
 ‘This one (a kid) has also walked across the water, also his dog.’ (FS)

Besides these general demonstratives, there is a demonstrative used as a cataphoric reference and inflected with gender: masculine *ríraga* and feminine *rówaga*. Examples of use are in (89) and (90).

- (89) Ipíyeyanàni **ríraga**, amitákotakíriri inkáganki.
 i-piy-ey-an-a-ni ri-raga
 3M.S-return-PL-ABL-REA-PL M-CAT.DEM
 amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki
 help-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL before
 ‘They return, those who had helped him before.’ (PV)

- (90) Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékhitho, róetapáeni **rówaga**, ketaki.
 méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékhitho
 squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki
 seed=PL F-CAT.DEM forest.peanut
 ‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle: it was seeds of that, forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

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

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

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

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

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

3.3. Quantifiers

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

3.3.1. Numerals

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

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

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

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

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

Table 8. Ashéninka cardinal numbers

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

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

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

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

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

Table 9. Ashéninka ordinal numbers

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

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

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

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

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

apaani	a-ña-awak-a	i-kant-e-t-zi-ri	sábado ⁴²
one	INCL.S-see-RECP-REA.REFL	3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O	Saturday
	‘We only see each other, how to say..., on Saturday.’ (CMH)		

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2. Non-numeral quantifiers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4. Indefinites

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(101).

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

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

The two versions of this indefinite are pronounced [ˈotʰpa]/[ˈitʰpa], following the rule of /i/-deletion after /tʰ/ (see Section 2.3.1).

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

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

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

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

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

Páashini is usually pronounced [‘pa:ʃni]], following the rule of /i/-deletion after /ʃ/ (see Section 2.3.1).

3.5. Interrogative words

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.6. Adverbs

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

3.6.1. Place

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

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

Table 11. Some place adverbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.6.2. Time

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

Table 12. Some time adverbs

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

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

Examples of use of some time adverbs are given below.

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

3.6.3. Other adverbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.7. Affirmative and negative particles

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

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

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

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

(122) **A:** Panáninkitàka?

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

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

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

(123) **A:** Ah, Mapuíllo. Noshíyaka Inuya.

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

B: Tee.

tee
NEG.REA
'No.' (CMM)

(124) **A: Eero** pipoki haka?

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

B: Eero.

eero
NEG.IRR
'No.' (CMM)

(125) Páerani rirori **tee** riyotzi iwáeratzi.

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

(126) **Tekira** notaíro.

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

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

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

- (127) **Tera** okaatzi *cinco*!
 tera o-kaa-t-zi cinco
 NEG.EMPH 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA five
 ‘It isn’t five!’ (CCPC)

- (128) **Téemaita, téemaita** riyaatzi henoki, tee riyaatzi henoki.
 tee=maita r-iyaa-t-zi henoki tee r-iyaa-t-zi henoki
 NEG=COEXP 3M.S-go-&-REA up NEG.REA 3M.S-go-&-REA up
 ‘But no, he didn’t go up (to heaven). (SCS)

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

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

3.8. Adpositions

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

- (129) a. Onámpina(ki) pitotsi b. Otápina(ki) *mesa*.
 onampina(=ki) pitotsi otapina(=ki) mesa⁴⁷
 on.the.border(=LOC) canoe under(=LOC) table
 ‘on the border of the canoe’ ‘under the table’

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

- | | |
|---|--|
| c. Inthomóe(ki) poterya.
inthomoe(=ki) poterya
inside(=LOC) bottle
'inside the bottle' | d. Onkókirðeni(ki) pankotsi.
onkokiroeni(=ki) panko-tsi
outside(=LOC) house-ALI
'outside the house' |
|---|--|

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

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

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

Table 13. Some Ashéninka adpositions

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

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

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

3.9. Conjunctions

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

Table 14. Conjunctions list

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

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

3.10. Ideophones

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

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

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

Table 15. Ashéninka ideophones

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.11. Fillers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘His dog, um..., swims.’ (FS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (140) Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékiho, róetapáeni **rówaga**, ketaki.
 méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho
 squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki
 seed=PL F-CAT.DEM forest.peanut
 ‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle, it was seeds of that, forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (145) Tee niyotzi hempe nokántimi, **ítáanki...**, **ítáanki...**
 tee n-iyó-t-zi hempe no-kant-i-mi i-et-a=ranki
 NEG.REA 1S-know-&-REAWH 1S-say-IRR-2O 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE
 ‘I don’t know what to tell you, how was it..., how was it...’ (CTK)
- (146) Hempe **ítaganki?** **Rira...**, hani ragénkataki.
 hempe i-et-a=ranki ri=ra
 WH 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE M=MED
 hani r-agenka-t-ak-i
 wasp 3M.S-fly.in.circles-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘How was it? Um..., the wasps fly in circles.’ (FS)

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