A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)
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4. Nouns and the noun phrase

4.1. Nouns

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

4.1.1. Gender

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

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

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

(147) Juan éehatzi Rosa **awíthakitawàka**.
      Juan   éehatzi Rosa   Ø–awithaki–t–awak–a
      Juan   also   Rosa   3F.S–hug–&–RECP–REA
      'Juan and Rosa hug each other.'

(148) Juan éehatzi Rosa **othóowotawàka**.
      Juan   éehatzi   Rosa   o–thoowo–t–awak–a
      Juan   also   Rosa   3F.S–kiss–&–RECP–REA
      'Juan and Rosa kiss each other.'

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

(149) Carlos éehatzi Elisa **rowéthatawàka** rakoki.
      Carlos   éehatzi   Elisa   r–owetha–t–awak–a   r–ako=ki
      Carlos   also   Elisa   3M.S–greet–&–RECP–REA   3M–hand=LOC
      'Carlos and Elisa greet each other with their hands.'

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

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

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

4.1.2. Number

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

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

(150) incháponthopáeni
        inchápontho=paeni
        stake=PL
        'stakes' (SCS)

(151) ichénkopáeni
        i–chenko=paeni
        3M–trousers=PL
        'his trousers' (PV)

(152) wanawóntsipáeni
        wanawontsi=paeni
        food=PL
        'kinds of food' (CMH)

I have heard the enclitic *=paeni* pronounced as [ˈpoeni] and [ˈpæini] (the latter can alternate between [ˈpæɪni], [ˈpaini], [ˈpaɪni] and [ˈpaeni]). The difference is not

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

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

(153)   mawa **ohari**
       mawa   ohari
       three   year
       'three years' (CCPC)

(154)   Éekiro rayíitatzi, ikántziri…, ríraga **iníntakòri**.
       éekiro   r–ayiit–atzi   i–kant–zi–ri   ri=raga   i–nintakori
       go.on   3M.S–descend–PROG 3M.S–say–REA–3M.O M=CAT.DEM   3M–follower
       'They go on coming down, how is it?..., those his followers.' (SCS)

(155)   Máaweni ashéninkapáeni, **tsinani**, **shirámpari**, rantawáetèyini.
       máaweni   a–shéninka=paeni
       all   INCL–fellow.people=PL

       tsinani   shirámpari   r–antawae–t–eey–i–ni
       woman   man   3M.S–work–&–PL–FRS–PL
       'All our fellow people (incl.), men, women, are working'. (CTK)

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

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

(156)   itomyaite
       i–tomi–a–ite
       3M–son–&–PL.AN
       'his sons' (SCS)

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

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

(157) a. rènchéerikitè
         r–eentsi–ériki–ti
         3M–child–DIM.PL–POSS
         'his little children' (FS)

      b. itomyériki
         i–tomi–ériki
         3M–son–DIM.PL
         'his little sons' (FS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(159) Éehatzi roori nokói nokántimi: arírika **oshékitapàe** tsimeri.
      éehatzi roori no–koy–i   no–kant–i–mi
      also   3F   1S–want–FRS   1S–say–IRR–2O

      ari=rika   osheki=tapae   tsimeri
      AFF=COND   many=ABUND animal
      'I also want to ask you something: whether there are abundant animals.' (CMM)

(160) **Oshékitapàe** roori, tzirootzi, tsiyároki?
      osheki=tapae   roori tzirootzi   tsiyároki
      many=ABUND   3F   huicungo   urucuri.palm
      'Is there an abundance of those, *huicungos*, urucuri palms?'[50] (CMM)

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

    – From *ompókiro* 'star': *ompókiropachékya* 'stars, group of stars'

    – From *máampiritsi* 'chigger': *máampiritsipachékya* 'chiggers, group of chiggers'

    – From *sheri* 'tobacco': *shéripachékya* 'a certain amount of tobacco'

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

    – From *tsipana* 'leaf': *tsipánamasháa/tsipánamáshi* 'big extension of leaves'

    – From *inchato* 'tree': *inchátomasháa/inchátomáshi* 'big extension of trees'

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.3. Possession

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

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

(163) a. nampítsikì   b. pyáarentsi
       nampi–tsi=ki   pyaare–ntsi
       place–ALI=LOC   masato–ALI
       'in his place' (CTK) '*masato*' (CMH)

(164) a. aníryokyà   b. noeshi
       Ø–aniryo=kya   no–iishi
       1–daughter-in-law=EMPH   1–hair
       'my daughter-in-law' (CCPC) 'my hair' (SFW)

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

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

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

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

Table 16. Possessive prefixes paradigm

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

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

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

4.1.4. Kin terms

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

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

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

Table 17. Ashéninka kin terms

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

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[51] *Paapa* is a recent Spanish loan.

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

English name	Vocative male ego	Vocative female ego	Male possessor	Female possessor
grandson	charini	noshari/ nohari	nocharini, pìcharíni, ichárini, àcharíni[53]	noshari, pishari, oshari, ashari/nohari, pihari, ohari, ahari
granddaughter	sheeni	noshawo/ nohawo	[54]noshawo, pishawo, ishawo, oshawo, ashawo/nohawo, pihawo, rihawo, ohawo, ahawo	
paternal uncle	pawáchori	pawaeni	nírithori, pírithori, irírithòri, írithori, árithori	
maternal uncle/ father-in-law	konki	kooko	nokónkiri, pikónkiri, rikónkiri, okónkiri, akónkiri	
paternal aunt/ mother-in-law	yoeni	ayini	niyoti, piyoti, riyoti, ayoti	nayiro, payiro, ayiro, ayini
maternal aunt	nanaeni		ninìrothóri, pinìrothóri, rinìrothóri, inìrothóri, anìrothóri	
male cousin	iye/yeyi	eméni	nóemithori, píimithori, ríimithori, ímithori, áimithori	
female cousin	choeni	atyoeni	nóenathori, píinathori, ríinathori, íinathori, ánathori	
nephew (brother's son)	notómithóri	notzineri	notómithóri, pitómithóri, itómithóri, atómithóri	notzineri, pitzineri, otzineri, atzineri
nephew (sister's son)/son-in-law	ñotzi		ñotzi/notzineri[55], pitzineri, itzineri, otzineri, atzineri	
niece (brother's daughter)	nishíntyothóri	néwatayìro/ néwatyéero[56]	nishíntyothóri, pishíntothóri, rishíntothóri, ashíntothóri	néwatayìro, péwatayìro, éwatayìro, áwatayìro/ néwatyèero, péwatyèero, éwatyèero, áwatyèero

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

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

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

[56] The last form is used in the Gran Pajonal.

English name	Vocative male ego	Vocative female ego	Male possessor	Female possessor
niece (sister's daughter)	aniryo		aniryo, paniro, raniro, aniryo	nishíntyothóri, pishíntothóri, ishíntothóri, ashíntothóri
husband[57]		noemi		noemi, piimi, oemi, aimi
wife	noena		noena, piina, iina	
brother-in-law	ñani	èméni	naniri, paniri, raniri, aniri	nóemithori, píimithori, óemithori, áimithori
sister-in-law	ìñéni	atyoeni	nóenathòri, píinathòri, íinathòri, áinathòri	nónatsitò, pinátsitò, onátsitò, ánatsitò
daughter-in-law	aniryo	néwatayìro/ néwatyèero[56]	aniryo, paniro, raniro, aniryo	néwatayìro, péwatayìro, éwatayìro, áwatayìro/ néwatyèero, péwatyèero, éwatyèero, áwatyèero

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.5. Nominal suffixes and enclitics

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

4.1.5.1. Demonstrative enclitics

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

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

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

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

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

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

(165)   Rooha ráwihántanàka **ihéekira** mantsiyari.
          rooha   r–awih–ant–an–ak–a   i–heek–i=ra   mantsiya–ri
          then   3M.S–pass–RES–ABL–PFV–REA 3M.S–stay–FRS=MED   ill–M
          'Then he passes to the place where the ill are staying.' (SCS)

4.1.5.2. The locative enclitic *=ki*

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

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

(166) a. anámpikì
a–nampi=ki
INCL–community=LOC
'at our (incl.) community' (OS)

b. nowánikì
n–owani=ki
1–chacra=LOC
'to my *chacra*' (CMH)

c. rakoki
r–ako=ki
3M–hand=LOC
'on his hand' (FS)

d. itháatekì
i–thaate=ki
3M–bag=LOC
'inside his bag' (PV)

e. omooki
o–moo=ki
3F–hole=LOC
'from its hole' (FS)

f. *cámpo*-kì
campo=ki[58]
football.field=LOC
'outside the football field' (SCFF)

g. inchàtáatokì
inchàtáato=ki
trunk=LOC
'towards the trunk' (TSJ)

h. nihaaki
niha=ki
water=LOC
'across the water' (FS)

i. apáantekì
a–paante=ki
INCL–tongue=LOC
'in our (incl.) language' (OS)

(167) *juéves*-kì
jueves=ki[59]
Thursday=LOC
'on Thursday' (SCFF)

(168) notónkamentòki
no–tonk–amento=ki
1–shoot–NMLZ.INS=LOC
'with my rifle'

The character of clitic of this marker comes from the fact that it can be attached to different word classes (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, quantifiers). Moreover, it can attach to different elements of a noun phrase, which is shown in Section 4.2.

4.1.5.3. The diminutive *-aniki*

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

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

[59] *Jueves* is obviously a Spanish word.

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

(169) a. pirintániki   b. enchániki
        pirinto–aniki   eentsi–aniki
        frog–DIM   child–DIM
        'small frog'   'small child' (FS)

     c. pankochániki   d. pòshiñáanikitàki
        panko–tsi–aniki   poshi–ni–aniki–t–ak–i
        house–ALI–DIM   tasty–ADJ–DIM–&–PFV–FRS
        'small house'   'it is tasty' (TSJ)

4.1.5.4. The durative *-paeti*

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

(170) apatoréntsipàeti   konáarentsipàeti
      apato–rentsi–paeti   konaa–rentsi–paeti
      meet–NMLZ–DUR2[60]   fish–NMLZ–DUR2
      'during the meeting'   'during the fishing'

      kitéheripàeti   inkánipàeti
      kitéheri–paeti   inkani–paeti
      day–DUR2   rain–DUR2
      'during the day'   'during the rain'

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

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

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[60] DUR1 is the verbal durative *-wae*.

4.1.5.5. Nominalizers

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

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

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

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

(173) a. owámetaantsipánkokì   b. yotáantsipánkokì
        owame–t–aantsi–panko=ki   iyo–t–aantsi–panko=ki
        teach–&–INF–house=LOC   know–&–INF–house=LOC
        'school' (SCFF)   'school' (CTK)

      c. apatotaantsi   d. mampaantsi
        apato–t–aantsi   mamp–aantsi
        meet–&–INF   sing–INF
        'meeting' (CTK)   'song' (CMH)

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

mampaantsi implies that it is used as a noun, but the woman is just repeating what he says, which may be translated as 'sing' or 'a song'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(176) a. notónkamènto   b.   roshétamènto
no–tonk–amento   r–oshe–t–amento
1–shoot–NMLZ.INS   3M–clean–&–NMLZ.INS
'my rifle' (CCPC)   'his cloth' (PV)

(177) a. añáamentòtsi   b. wáiramentòtsi
       añ-amento-tsi   waira-amento-tsi
       live-NMLZ.INS-ALI   dance-NMLZ.INS-ALI
       'what gives life' (TSJ)   'party' (CTK) [61]

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

(178) a. n–añ–amento   b. n–añ–i
       1–live–NMLZ.INS   1S–live–FRS
       'my life'   'I live.'

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

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

4.1.5.6. The exclamative *=wee*

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

(180) a. kitéheriwèe   b. sháawíiteniwèe   c. tsiréniriwèe   d. náakawèe
       kitéheri=wee   sháawíiteni=wee   tsiréniri=wee   naaka=wee
       day=EXCLM   afternoon=EXCLM   night=EXCLM   1=EXCLM
       'good morning'   'good afternoon'   'good night'   'hello'

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

(181) a. Kaníriwèe!
      kaniri=wee
      cassava=EXCLM
      'I want cassava!/Come to eat cassava!'

    b. Amáyiwèe!
      a–mag–i=wee
      INCL.S–sleep–FRS=EXCLM
      'Let's go to sleep!'

    c. Chéenkariwèe pitotsi.
      cheenka–ri=wee   pito–tsi
      black–REL=EXCLM canoe–ALI
      'The canoe is really/very black!'

There are only two occurrences of =*wee* in my text corpus. One of them is attached to the multifunctional particle *ari* (in this case, used as indicating positive polarity) to say 'thanks' (182). The other one (183) is remarkable because the speaker attaches =*wee* to the Spanish phrase *allí está* 'there it is'. This example shows the exclamative character of this marker and its status as a clitic particularly well.

(182) Hee, **ariwée**.
    hee ari=wee
    AFF AFF=EXCLM
    'Yes, thanks.' (CCPC)

(183) *Allí está***wee**. Ñáakiro, iroka sho ahá, *ocho soles el kilo*, ñáakiro.
    allí está=wee   ña–ak–i–ro   i–ro=ka   sho ahá
    there.it.is=EXCLM see–PFV–FRS–3F.O DEM–F=PROX look INTJ

    ocho soles el kilo ña–ak–i–ro
    ocho soles el kilo see–PFV–FRS–3F.O
    'There it is! You see it, look at this one, eh..., 8 soles per kg, you see it.' (CCPC)

    The phoneme /w/ in this enclitic is always pronounced [β].

4.1.5.7. Suffixes described in other sections: verificative -*pero*, intensifier -*ni* and ignorative -*ni*

The verificative suffix -*pero* can attach to nouns, verbs and even conjunctions as *róotaki* 'that's why, that is', but it occurs much more frequently in verbs than in nouns, which makes it a mainly verbal suffix. Therefore, the description of this suffix for all world classes is in Section 6.4.2.3.

The intensifier suffix -*ni* intensifies the properties expressed by the word to which it attaches, which makes it a mainly adjectival suffix, although it can also attach to nouns. It is described in the chapter on adjectives (Section 5.5.4).

The ignorative suffix *-ni*, which appears on nouns and adjectives, occurs very seldom in my data. Since it was found out while eliciting adjectives, its description is in Section 5.5.5.

4.1.6. Nouns as predicates and nominal tense

Ashéninka nouns can act as predicates through different strategies, which are discussed in the following subsections. A remarkable strategy is by attaching typically verbal suffixes, which is described in Section 4.1.6.1. Another one is with the kinship verbalizer suffix *-nt* (Section 4.1.6.2), and the final one is with the bare noun without any affix (Section 4.1.6.3).

Dixon (2010*a*:78) says that "in logic a proposition consists of a subject (what is being talked about) and a predicate (what is being said about it). Some linguists have taken over this terminology […]". I use this terminology for this section, so that a predicate is understood as a full statement about the world. Under this definition, some examples in Section 4.1.6.1 cannot be considered predicates, but all examples in that section enter the category of *nominal tense* as defined by Nordlinger & Sadler (2004:778), hence the heading of the present section.

4.1.6.1. Verbal suffixes on nouns

Some verbal suffixes can be used on nouns. The nouns with verbal suffixes in examples (186), (188), (189) and (190) cannot be considered predicates because they can form part of a clause with a verbal predicate, yet they can be considered to pertain to the category of *nominal TAM*, specifically *nominal tense*, since they fulfil the four features described by Nordlinger & Sadler (2004:778): 1) they show a distinction in a TAM category; 2) this distinction is not restricted to a small subset of nouns; 3) it is not restricted to nominals functioning as predicates of verbless clauses, but is encoded on NPs in clauses headed by verbs; and 4) the TAM markers are not a syntactic clitic that merely attaches to the noun. More specifically, Ashéninka nouns with verbal suffixes enter the category of "independent nominal tense" (Nordingler & Sadler: 779-82). I did not research this feature in depth, so more research is needed above all to know how the elicited constructions shown in (186) and (188) can function inside

a clause with a verbal predicate. In any case, given the scarce examples in my corpus, verbal suffixes on nouns do not appear to be a frequent occurrence.

Examples (184) and (185) show the use of the future suffix -*eya* on nouns. I have considered the suffix -*eya* on verbs as an allomorph of the irrealis -*ya*, but, while irrealis on verbs can express several meanings (see Section 6.1), this suffix expresses just future on nouns.

(184) Ari **pipànkotéya**?
       ari   pi–panko–t–eya
       FUT   2–house–&–FUT
       'Are you going to live there?' (lit. 'will it be your house?') (CMM)

(185) Arírika pìpiyanáki, ari **pinampitéyawo**?
       ari–rika   pi–piy–an–ak–i   ari   pi–nampi–t–eya–ro
       AFF–COND   2S–go.back–ABL–PFV–FRS   FUT   2–place–&–FUT–3F
       'When you go back, are you going to live there?' (lit. 'will it be your place?')
       (CMM)

Both sentences were uttered by the same speaker in a conversation with a neighbour who was going to move and live in another place. It is remarkable that, in *pinampitéyawo*, the suffix -*ro* is used as it would be on a verb to cross-reference the object, i.e. it seems that it is referring to 'there', which is not uttered in the sentence. Being aware of the possibility of attaching verbal suffixes to nouns from these two instances, I elicited nouns with verbal suffixes, namely the future -*eya* (186), the perfective -*ak* (187) and the frustrative -*wi* (188). The result was that also -*ak* and -*wi* can be used on nouns. I show in (186), (187) and (188) all the examples that I proposed to a speaker with the translation that she gave for each word.

(186) a. powánitèya
          p–owani–t–eya
          2–chacra–&–FUT
          'the place where you'll make your *chacra*'

      b. pinchátotèya
          p–inchato–t–eya
          2–tree–&–FUT
          'the place where you'll plant a tree'

      c. pityáapateya
          pi–tyaapa–t–eya
          2–chicken–&–FUT
          'the chicken you're going to rear'

    d. Nowáperitakotéya.
        no–paperi–t–ako–t–eya
        1–book–&–APPL–&–FUT
        'I'll have finished the book.'

    e. íinateya
        i–ena–t–eya
        3M–wife–&–FUT
        'his future wife'

    f. óemiteya
        o–emi–t–eya
        3F–husband–&–FUT
        'her future husband'

(187) a. Pipánkotàka.
        pi–panko–t–ak–a
        2–house–&–PFV–REA
        'You've already built your house.'

    b. Powánetàka.
        p–owani–t–ak–a
        2–chacra–&–PFV–rea
        'You've already made your chacra.'

(188) a. pipánkowìta
        pi–panko–wi–t–a
        2–house–FRU–&–REA
        'your former house'

    b. powánewìta
        p–owani–wi–t–a
        2–chacra–FRU–&–REA
        'your former *chacra*'

    c. pipánkowitáka
        pi–panko–wi–t–ak–a
        2–house–FRU–&–PFV–REA
        'your former house'

These examples show how verbal suffixes can attach to nouns to express different meanings. However, this process is not fully productive, given that, when I suggested *nomíshotèya* (no-misho-t-eya, 1-cat-&-FUT) to check if it might mean 'my future cat', the speaker said that that this meant that I was going to become a cat. The same happened with my suggestion *nopapéritèya* (no-paperi-t-eya, 1-book-&-FUT): the speaker said that this meant that I was going to become a book. However, in a different session, the speaker uttered *nowáperitakotèya* in (186d), where she added the general

applicative suffix *-ako* and applied the phonological rule of /p/>/w/ in possessed nouns (see Section 2.7.2), which I had neglected in my proposed word. It is worth noting that some examples do not express the meaning 'one's future X' that might be expected.

Another verbal suffix that can be used in nouns is the remote past suffix *-ni*, for which an example is *páwani* (pawa-ni, father-RMPST, 'the deceased father'). In this case, *pawa*, which usually has a vocative function, is used to refer to the father about which one is speaking, which could be 'my father', 'our father', etc. The only example of the suffix from my text corpus is in (189), where the indefinite pronoun *ótsipa* is used as a reference for 'another day'.

(189) Árika **ótsipani** éerorika nokoyi nantawaetzi…
    ari=rika   o–tsipa–ni   eero=rika   no–koy–i   n–antawae–t–zi
    AFF=COND F–other–RMPST NEG.IRR=COND 1S–want–FRS 1S–work–&–REA
    'If some day I didn't want to work…' (CCPC)

This suffix on verbs is described in Section 6.3.7.2.

The anterior suffix (see Section 6.3.7.2) occurs on a noun once in my text corpus. The phrase where it occurs is in (190).

(190) Páerani **anampiite** Katsinkaari, éenitatsi osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáarikì.
    páerani   a–nampi–ite   Katsinkaari
    long.ago INCL–community–ANT   Chicosa

    eeni–t–atsi   osheki atziri   heek–atsi–ri   tonkaari=ki
    EXI–&–PTCP.IPFV many   person   live–PTCP.IPFV–REL mountain=LOC
    'Long ago, in our community, Chicosa, there were many people who lived in the mountains.' (OS)

When I first noticed this suffix, I thought that *-ite* should be the plural animate suffix described in Section 4.1.2 (with *anampiite* meaning 'the people of our community'). However, when I asked a consultant about the meaning of this word, he was very clear that *anampiite* was a reference to the indigenous community a long time ago. Given the almost identical form and the identical meaning with the verbal anterior suffix *-it*, I think that the most reasonable inference is that *-ite* is the same suffix as this verbal *-it*.

A good example of how a noun can host different verbal suffixes is provided by the word *kithoki* 'seed' occurring three times in the same conversation with different verbal suffixes. The whole fragment is in (191). The speakers are speaking to a third person about cacao *chacras*.

(191) A: **Kithókiyetàki** hanta, ewánkawo, ewánkawo. Iroka owákirari okaatzi
oháarentsitì oká[62] (okaatzi) mawa. Iroka haka áapaero, **kithókitanàki**,
ooo…, iroonta, iroonta.

kithoki–yi–t–ak–i   ha=nta   ewanka–ro   i–ro=ka
seed–DISTR–&–PFV–FRS LOC=DIST   young–F   DEM–F=PROX

owakira–ri o–kaa–t–zi   Ø–oháarentsi–ti
new–REL   3F.S–COP.TOT–&–REA   3F–year–POSS

o–kaa–t–zi   mawa i–ro=ka   ha=ka   aapa–i–ro
3F.S–COP.TOT–&–REA three DEM–F=PROX   LOC=PROX join–FRS–3F.O

kithoki–t–an–ak–i   ooo   i–roo=nta
seed–&–ABL–PFV–FRS INTJ   DEM–F=DIST

‘It has given seeds (fruits) one by one, there, the young one, the young one
(a *chacra*). This new one is three years old (lit: it's its three years). This
one here joins to it, it started giving fruits, ooohhh! (it has given many),
that one over there, that one over there…' (CCPC)

B: Owákirari, owákirari, iroka **kithókitàtsiri**. Rooma itáakiri.

owákira–ri i–ro=ka   kithoki–t–atsi–ri   rooma i–ta–ak–i–ri
new–REL   DEM–F=PROX seed–&–PTCP.IPFV–REL this.is 3M.S–burn–REL

‘The new one, the new one, this one that is producing fruits. This is what
he has burnt.' (CCPC)

In the three occurrences of this example, the suffixes attached to *kithoki* 'seed' are the
distributive *-yi*, the perfective *-ak*, the ablative *-an*, the imperfective participle *-atsi*,
the relative *-ri* and the reality status suffix. The noun *kithoki* is used here as a verb
with the meaning 'yield fruits', so that we might say that the same stem is used as a
noun and as a verb. However, stems that function as nouns and verbs seldom occur,
given that they cannot be found in my text corpus aside from *kithoki* in (191).
Moreover, none of the three verbalized occurrences of *kithoki* in (191) bears a subject
prefix, as a verb would usually do. Therefore, I find it much more appropriate to
consider these occurrences a noun with verbal suffixes rather than the same stem
acting as a verb and as a noun.

Verbal suffixes on nouns give a good example of the malleability of Ashéninka
word classes and the high promiscuity that affixes and clitics generally have.

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[62] *Oká* here is an abbreviation of *okaatzi* 'it is'.

4.1.6.2. Kinship verbalizer -nt

Concerning (191), I mentioned that none of the three occurrences of the verbalization of *kithoki* 'seed' bears a subject prefix. Nevertheless, the only occurrence in my text corpus of the kinship verbalizer *-nt* in (192) does carry a subject prefix. The suffix *-nt* builds a special construction in which a kin term can be verbalized.

(192)   Ranírintatyàari.
      r–aniri–nt–atya–ri
      3M.S–brother-in-law.MP–KV–PROG–3M.O
      'He's his brother-in-law.' (TSJ)

The function of the suffix *-nt* in (192) is identical to the one described in Mihas (2015*a*:179-81) for Alto Perené and in Mihas (2016:14) for Asháninka. In both works, she calls this suffix "possessive relation". For AP, Mihas (2015*a*:179) says that "possessed and unpossessed common nouns can be marked with *-nta* to signal the possessive relation of kinship or association". For Asháninka, she says that "the basic unit of the possessive construction is a kin term marked for possessor; the output is a verbal predicate" (2016:14). The suffix's form in both Mihas' works is *-nt* in Asháninka and *-nta* in Alto Perené. For AP, she says that the suffix "applies to bases which denote human referents (the bases include kin terms, social terms, e.g. *pashitori* 'pastor', and a generic term *atziri* 'person')" (2015*a*:179). However, only one of her six examples is not a kin term, and this exception is formed with *atziri* 'person'. The only example of the suffix in my text corpus is with a kin term, so it seems that this is its usual occurrence, even though there may be more scarce uses, as in Mihas' example with *atziri*. Mihas is the only author who has described this suffix in the Campanist literature. The absence of more descriptions and the existence of only one occurrence in my texts show that this suffix is quite infrequent.

In (192), the inalienable root *-aniri* is verbalized. This use of a kin term as a verb does occur in English in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (II, 3), when the Duke of York says "grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle". In (192), the verb is transitive: the subject and the object are a jaguar and a squirrel, and, since both are masculine referents and the brother-in-law relation is mutual, both could be interpreted as being subject or object. A typical doubt arises with the suffix *-ri*, which can be a relativizer or a 3rd person masculine object, so that there are cases in which its function is not clear at all

if both interpretations fit the context. In (192), the context does not allow an interpretation as a relative suffix and the translation provided by a speaker is quite clear: *es su cuñado* 'he is his brother-in-law', or 'he is brother-in-lawing him', as Shakespeare might put it. The name *kinship verbalizer* tries to reflect the suffix's function: it verbalizes a kin term so as to express the kinship relation.

4.1.6.3. Bare nouns as predicates

Sections 4.1.6.1 and 4.1.6.2 have shown the use of nouns as predicates by attaching suffixes, but a noun can also be a predicate without the need of any attached suffix, although it appears to be an infrequent occurrence since there is only one instance in my text corpus. In (193), the noun *pinkáthari* 'authority' is used as a predicate without needing to attach any suffix to the noun and without using a copula.

(193) Nokántawàki naaka **pinkáthari**.
      no–kant–awak–i   naaka   pinkáthari
      1S–say–DES–FRS   1   authority
      'I want to say that I am an authority.' (CTK)

4.1.7. Coordination of nouns

Conjunctive coordination of nouns is expressed with *éehatzi*, a word that means 'also' and is also used as a general conjunctive coordinator, as in (194). When more than two nouns are coordinated, *éehatzi* is repeated before every added noun, as in the three-noun coordination in (195).

(194) Iroñaaka nokènkithatakotíri **manitzi éehatzi meiri**.
      iroñaaka no–kenkitha–t–ako–t–i–ri   manitzi   éehatzi   méyiri
      now   1S–tell–&–APPL–&–IRR–3M.O   jaguar   also   squirrel
      'Now I'm going to tell about a jaguar and a squirrel.' (TSJ)

(195) Royìitákiro **iyókane éehatzi ríshikoti éehatzi ìchamáeroti**.
      r–o–ayiit–ak–i–ro
      3M.S–CAUS–go.down–PFV–FRS–3F.O

      i–koka–ni   éehatzi   r–ishiko–ti   éehatzi   i–chamaero–ti[63]
      3M–coca–POSS   also   3M–lime–POSS   also   3M–chamairo–POSS
      'He has put (in his mouth) his coca, his lime and his chamairo.' (SCS)

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[63] *Chamairo* is the name given in English and Spanish to the liana *Mussatia hyacinthine*. When chewing coca, lime and chamairo are used, chamairo as a sweetener. Lime has a chemical function that is not clear to me.

Regarding disjunctive coordination of nouns, the Spanish loan *o* 'or' is widely used, and there is not an equivalent in Ashéninka. Sometimes *ama* is used instead, but this word is formed by the dubitative enclitic *=ma* and a support vowel, so that its real meaning is 'maybe'. Expressions like 'NOUN or NOUN' can be formed with different strategies. For example, when I asked a speaker how to translate 'give me cassava or banana' without using the Spanish *o*, his answer was the sentence in (196).

(196) Pipena payantzi, tzimátsirìka payantzi; tekátsirika payantzi, pipena kaniri.
       pi–p–i–na   payantzi   tzim–atsi=rika   payantzi
       2S–give–IRR–1O   banana   EXI–PTCP.IPFV=COND   banana

       tekatsi=rika   payantzi   pi–p–i–na   kaniri
       NEG.EXI=COND   banana   2S–give–IRR–1O   cassava
       'Give me banana, if there is banana; if there isn't banana, give me cassava.'

However, it seems that the Spanish loan *o* 'or' is nowadays the usual way to build a disjunctive coordination of nouns and also of clauses.

Coordination of adjectives is treated in Section 5.8, and coordination of clauses, in Section 7.4.1.1.

4.1.8. Ashéninka onomastics

As far as I know, every Ashéninka has a name in the Spanish fashion, i.e. with one or two given names and two family names (the first one from the father and the second one from the mother), and they are registered with this name in the Peruvian national census. In fact, during my 2017 field trip, I was in Atalaya on the day the Peruvian census was carried out and could witness the hectic work in the sites of indigenous organizations preparing everything to go that day to the indigenous communities in order to carry out the census.

Nonetheless, many Ashéninka also use traditional names, which are mostly names of animals, but also of plants and even adjectives (see Section 1.3.2 for the Ashéninka names of my consultants). Two of the participants in one of the conversations that I have glossed (CCPC), a couple of elders from the community of Unini Cascada, introduced themselves with their Ashéninka names: Cheroki for the woman and Píchotzi for the man (both names denote different classes of birds). One of the participants in another conversation (CMH), a young student of Nopoki University, introduced herself with her Spanish name, but her interlocutor addressed

her with an Ashéninka name: Hamani, the Ashéninka word for 'paca'. I asked a speaker about other examples of Ashéninka names, and he mentioned Kóshiri (a kind of white monkey) and Thopiro (a kind of fish similar to an armoured catfish). He himself, born in 1953, told me that his Ashéninka name was Chóokiro, a kind of ant, and that he was usually addressed with this name when he was a child. When I was making the list of my consultants for Section 1.3.2, I asked one of them by phone about their Ashéninka names, and all of them have an Ashéninka name, even the younger ones.

With the enormous biodiversity of their natural environment, the Ashéninka have a very long list of animal and plant names to give their children a name. One could think that these traditional names are going to disappear with the modern times, but, in the Ashéninka classroom of Nopoki University, I saw a paper on the wall with a painting and the Ashéninka names of the students (it was the class where I recorded the conversation mentioned above with Hamani). Thus, it seems that the youngsters like to have an Ashéninka name and use it, as the mentioned conversation shows, when Hamani's interlocutor addresses her with her Ashéninka name.

4.2. The noun phrase

An Ashéninka nominal or noun phrase can consist of a noun plus other elements, which can be demonstratives, adverbs, quantifiers, adjectives or other nouns. These elements are described in the relevant sections, but I have put together in this section all the types of noun phrases that have come to my knowledge, above all with the goal of easing the comparison between the different noun phrases.

The demonstrative is always placed before the noun (see Section 3.2 for a description of demonstratives) (197).

(197) iroka kenkitharentsi
    i–ro=ka   kenkitha–rentsi
    DEM–F=PROX   tell.a.story–NMLZ
    'this story' (OS)

A noun phrase in combination with an adverb is rare, but some occur in my corpus with *éehatzi* 'also' (198).

(198) Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. **Éehatzi ótsitzi** itháatakìri irika haniika.

eentsi éekiro i–kaem–atzi
child goes.on 3M.S–call–PROG

éehatzi ótsitzi i–thaat–ak–i–ri i–ri=ka hani=ka
also dog 3M.S–bark–PFV–FRS–3M.O DEM–M=PROX wasp=PROX
'The child goes on calling. Also the dog barks at these wasps.' (FS)

Quantifiers, both numeral and non-numeral, are always placed before the noun (199).

(199) a. mawa ohari   b. máaweni ashéninka
mawa ohari   máaweni a–shéninka
three year   all   INCL–fellow.person
'three years' (CCPC)   'all our fellow people' (OS)

The indefinite pronoun described in Section 3.4, *ítsipa/ótsipa* (M/F),[64] is also always placed before the noun and is inflected with the gender of the noun (200).

(200) a. ótsipaki nampitsi   b. ítsipa ashéninka
o–tsipa=ki nampi–tsi   i–tsipa a–shéninka
F–other=LOC place–ALI   M–other INCL–fellow.person
'in another place' (OS)   'other fellow persons' (CTK)

As regards adjectives, they can be placed before or after the noun. Some speakers said that both positions are equally normal and frequent, while others said that the position before the noun is the preferred one, although they admitted that the other position was perfectly right as well. According to my experience, I think that the basic order is adjective before noun and the reverse order is perfectly acceptable. However, combinations of adjective plus noun are uncommon: there are only 12 in my text corpus, out of which 8 have the order adjective-noun and 4 the reverse. All but 2 occur in the story of the cheating shaman with the adjective *thayiri* 'cheating' and the nouns *sheripyari* 'shaman' or *ashéninka*. An example of each order is in (201), both of them with the demonstrative proximal enclitic attached to the adjective.

(201) thayírikà sheripyari | ashéninka tháyirikà
thayi–ri=ka sheripyari | a–shéninka thayi–ri=ka
cheating–REL=PROX shaman | INCL–fellow.person cheating–REL=PROX
'this cheating shaman' (SCS) | 'this cheating Ashéninka' (SCS)

Example (202) shows a noun phrase with a numeral and an adjective modifying the noun, which shows a possible order of these three word classes combined.

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[64] Pronounced [ˈitsʰpa]/[ˈotsʰpa], following the *i*-deletion rule described in Section 2.3.1.

(202) apaani atziri thayiri
     apaani   atziri   thayi–ri
     one   person   cheating–REL
     'a cheating person' (SCS)

However, the order in (202) is not the only one in which these three word classes can be combined, given that the adjective can also be placed before the noun even with a numeral in the noun phrase. (202) is the only example in natural texts in my corpus, but I also got some other long noun phrases through elicitation. These are in (203).

(203) a. irowa antawo pankotsi
        i–ro=ra   anta–ro panko–tsi
        DEM–F=MED big–F   house–ALI
        'that big house'

     b. irowa mawa antawo pankotsi
        i–ro=ra   mawa   anta–ro panko–tsi
        dem–f=med   three   big–f   house–ali
        'those three big houses'

     c. irowa antawo pankotsi antyáshipawo
        i–ro=ra   anta–ro   panko–tsi   antyashipa–ro
        DEM–F=MED big–F   house–ALI old–F
        'that big and old house'

     d. irowa mawa pankotsi antawo antyáshipawo
        i–ro=ra   mawa   panko–tsi   anta–ro antyashipa–ro
        DEM–F=MED three   house–ALI big–F   old–F
        'those three big and old houses'

     e. Tzimatsi ikiri antawo chéenkari.
        tzim–atsi   i–kiri   anta–ro   cheenka–ri
        EXI–PTCP.IPFV 3M–nose big–F   black–REL
        'He's got a big and black nose.'

The free order of adjective and noun can be observed in the examples in (203), even when a numeral is used, but, from (203c), (203d) and (203e), it seems that two adjectives cannot occur together before the noun, but they can co-occur after the noun, as (203d) and (203e) show. These examples are translations from the corresponding phrases in Spanish, but it is possible that noun phrases with two adjectives are uncommon. In any case, they can give an idea of how long noun phrases are formed in Ashéninka, which was my goal with this elicitation.

In (201), the demonstrative enclitic is attached to the adjective in both cases. I have not researched if this enclitic can attach to the noun in a noun phrase with an

adjective, but I have done this for the plural enclitic =*paeni* and the locative =*ki* (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.5.2, respectively): they can attach to both the adjective and the noun of a noun phrase.

The locative enclitic =*ki* can attach to both hosts when the adjective precedes the noun, as (204a) and (204b) show, but, when the adjective follows the noun, =*ki* must be attached to the noun (204c) and not to the adjective (204d).

(204) a. antáwoki shíntzipaa
    anta–ro=ki   shíntzipaa
    big–F=LOC   raft
    'on the big raft'

b. antawo shíntzipàaki
    anta–ro   shíntzipaa=ki
    big–F   raft=LOC
    'on the big raft'

c. shíntzipàaki antawo
    shíntzipaa=ki   anta–ro
    raft=LOC   big–F
    'on the big raft'

d. *shíntzipaa antáwoki
    shíntzipaa   anta–ro=ki
    raft   big–F=LOC
    Pretended: 'on the big raft'

=*ki* can also be placed on numerals (205a) and indefinite pronouns (205*a*), as well as on the noun of these NPs.

(205) a. apáaniki pankotsi
    apaani=ki   panko–tsi
    one=LOC   house–ALI
    'in a house'

b. ótsipaki nampitsi
    o–tsipa=ki   nampi–tsi
    F–other=LOC   place–ALI
    'in another place' (OS)

This variety of possible hosts makes =*ki* a quasi-word, which leaves few doubts about its clitic status. However, when I asked a speaker if =*ki* can attach to quantifiers as *osheki* 'many' or *máaweni* 'all', he admitted it only for the latter, but saying that it sounds strange.

In the same fashion as =*ki*, the plural enclitic =*paeni* can be placed on both the adjective and the noun of an NP. The difference is that =*paeni* can also be placed on the adjective even if it follows the noun, so that the four combinations shown in (206), all with the same meaning, are possible.

(206) a. atzíripáeni antari
    atziri=paeni   anta–ri
    person=PL   big–M
    'big people'

b. atziri antáripáeni
    atziri   anta–ri=paeni
    person   big–M=PL
    'big people'

c. antáripáeni atziri
    anta–ri=paeni   atziri
    big–M=PL   person
    'big people'

d. antari atzíripáeni
    anta–ri   atziri=paeni
    big–M   person=PL
    'big people'

The enclitics =*paeni* and =*ki* can be attached together to a noun, and their order is free, so that, with *oháarentsi* 'year, summer', both options in (207) are grammatical.

(207) a. oháarentsipáenikì   b. oháarentsikìpáeni
        oháarentsi=paeni=ki   oháarentsi=ki=paeni
        summer=PL=LOC   summer=LOC=PL
        'in the summertimes'   'in the summertimes'

More than one noun can be combined in a possessive construction to form a nominal phrase with one of them as head. As can be seen in (208a), the possession is indicated by the simple juxtaposition of nouns. The same strategy is used in (208b), where the difference from (208a) is the use of the possessive prefix on the head noun.

(208) a. apaani tahoki   pochari mapoche   b. ishiwanki pantyo
        one   bowl   juice   papaya   i–shiwanki   pantyo
        'a bowl of papaya juice'   3M–feather   duck
                                           'the duck's feather'

When asked for constructions expressing a noun made of a certain material, two speakers gave different answers. The answers by speaker A are in (209), and those by speaker B, in (210).

(209) a. pankotsi mapínanà   b. pankotsi hantárinà
        panko–tsi   mapi–nana   panko–tsi   hantari–na
        house–ALI   stone–MAT   house–ALI wood–MAT
        'stone house'   'wooden house'

     c. hapato imashi waaka
        hapato i–mashi   waaka
        shoe   3M–skin   cow
        'cow skin shoe'

(210) a. mápipánko[65]   b. hantáripánko   c. hapato imashi waaka
        mapi–panko   hantari–panko   hapato i–mashi   waaka
        stone–house   wood–house   shoe   3M–skin   cow
        'stone house'   'wooden house'   'cow skin shoe'

The *c*-examples are identical, but the difference lies in the *a*- and *b*-examples. Speaker B in (210) uses a strategy identical to English, with the material noun before the noun

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[65] The consultant said that *mapi/hantari* and *panko* are different words, but -*panko* 'house' is an inalienable noun and cannot occur alone without a possessive prefix or an alienator suffix. Therefore, I have deemed it more appropriate to write both elements together due to the impossibility of the second one to occur alone with this form. This may be an example of two phonological words in one morphological word, given the two primary stresses, which probably are the reason why the consultant perceives that there are two different words.

made of that material, but speaker A in (209) uses a different strategy: she puts the head noun before the material noun and attaches the suffix *-(na)na* to the latter. This suffix has not appeared in any text or elicitation, nor have I found it in any other work of a Campan language. Based on only these two examples (209a-b), we can see that the suffix is attached to a noun that denotes a material, which is placed after another noun to form an NP that expresses that the first noun is made out of the material that the second name denotes. According to this description, I used the gloss MAT (material) for this suffix. We can see that the suffix's form is different in (209a) (*-nana*) and (209b) (*-na*). The first impression is that this difference is caused by the number of syllables of the host (two in *mapi* and three in *hantari*). However, given that the difference in the different forms of the alienator and the possessive suffixes is caused by the number of morae (see Section 4.1.3), it is very likely that also the number of morae rather than that of syllables makes the difference here. We cannot be sure about it because we would need a word with two syllables and three morae to check if it belongs to the group of shorter or longer words.

Another important difference is that, with the construction used by speaker A in (209a-b), the alienator suffix *-tsi* is attached to the inalienable noun *panko*, as is always done when an inalienable noun occurs without a pronominal prefix, while the construction used by speaker B in (210) does not use the alienator suffix.

Mápipánko and *hantáripánko* in (210a-b) are the only instances of composition with two nominal stems that I have found.

As a summary, we have seen in this section that demonstratives and numerals always precede the noun, while adjectives can precede or follow the noun, but the position before the noun appears to be more frequent. In noun phrases with a noun plus more than one different word classes, the adjective is preceded by the demonstrative or numeral, and the demonstrative precedes the numeral. All this can be schematized as follows:

DEMONSTRATIVE–NUMERAL–ADJECTIVE–NOUN–ADJECTIVE