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A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)

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6. Verbs

The Ashéninka verb is the core of the language. It can be formed by many more morphemes than any other word class, some of which convey meanings usually expressed by adverbs or phrases in English and other European languages. The structure of an Ashéninka verb, despite its possible complexity, can be described in a straightforward way: a pronominal prefix cross-referencing the subject is generally obligatory, but it can be omitted; also an infrequent causative prefix can occur; and these two morphemes are the only possible prefixes, after which the verbal stem follows. Thereafter, there is only one obligatory suffix: the one bearing the reality status (RS) marking,⁷¹ and the rest of the verb is formed with an array of suffixes and enclitics, which can range from one (the obligatory RS) to six in the words of my corpus with the highest number of suffixes, one of which is shown in (251) (in bold) in the context of the sentence where it appears.

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

I have identified a total of 59 different verbal affixes and enclitics. Some of them have an unequivocal meaning, while the meaning of others is more obscure. Even in the most difficult cases, I have done my best to find out their function by asking speakers and consulting my text corpus (in Annex 2 of this thesis) and previous works on other Ashé-Ashá varieties, mainly David Payne (1980, 1981), Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982), Judith Payne (1989) and Mihás (2015a). The reasons for my interpretation are explained in every case.

Verbs throughout this chapter will usually be referred to with their infinitive form, i.e. with the stem plus the suffix *-aantsi* (e.g. *pokaantsi*, from the stem *-pok-* ‘come’) (see Section 4.1.5.5 for the use of the infinitive). With this choice, I follow the tradition initiated by David Payne (1980, 1981), Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) and

⁷¹ However, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

Judith Payne (1989), and also the current use of educational books edited by the indigenous university Nopoki and the Ministry of Education of Peru.

6.1. Reality status

This section is the adaptation of the article Pedrós (2019). The numbering of sections is the same as in the article, but preceded by the number 6.1, corresponding to this section of the thesis. There is the additional Section 6.1.5, which describes some features of the RS system of UP Ashéninka that were not described in the article.

6.1.1. The Campan languages and the reality status

The linguistic literature shows that the Campan languages have the grammatical category called *reality status* in the form of an obligatory mark on the verb that indicates a binary distinction between realis and irrealis.⁷² The actual existence of this category cross-linguistically has been challenged by some authors, which has caused a debate on its validity as a grammatical category (Michael 2014:255-259). Most of the criticism is based on the heterogeneity among different reality status systems and the fact that these systems do not approach “the expected prototype, in which a binary distinction between «realized» and «unrealized» states of affairs is obligatorily marked” (Michael 2014:252). Nonetheless, Michael (2014) argues that Nanti can be used as the canonical example of a reality status system that fits our notional expectations of such a system. Michael (2014) describes the reality status system in Nanti, pointing out at the same time that all Campan languages have a reality status system practically identical to the one in Nanti (Michael 2014:278-279).

In this Section 6.1, I will compare the reality status system of the different Campan languages and will show that this system has been partially lost in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka, which distinguishes this language not only from the rest of the Ashé-Ashá complex, but also from the rest of the Campan languages. This

⁷² However, in UP Ashéninka, any reality status opposition is neutralized with the progressive, future and participle suffixes, so there is actually no reality status category in verbs with these suffixes.

partially fulfilled loss is an example of how a grammatical feature is being lost and thus of a language change in progress.

In Section 6.1.2, I will compare the reality status systems of the different Campan languages as described by different authors, while, in Section 6.1.3, I will do the same with the Ucayali variety based on my own fieldwork and with the Pajonal variety based on Heitzman's (1991) texts. In Section 6.1.4, I try to value the importance of the change undergone by UP Ashéninka as a token of the partial loss of a grammatical feature. In Section 6.1.5, I describe some features of the RS system of UP Ashéninka.

6.1.2. Reality status in the Campan languages (except Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka)

In this section, the reality status system in the Campan languages will be examined according to the existing descriptions. Since all reality status systems are very similar, instead of examining each language separately, I will compare the main features of the pan-Campan reality status system and those that have a relation with the development occurring in UP Ashéninka. I will do this in two steps: first, the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, and second, the Ashé-Ashá languages. In Section 6.1.3.1, I will show my findings in UP Ashéninka and compare its reality status system with those of the other Campan languages. In the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, I will follow a geographical order, starting with the language furthest from UP Ashéninka (Nanti). For the Ashé-Ashá languages, I will follow the order of the dialect continuum proposed in Pedrós (2018:18): from the variety linguistically furthest from UP Ashéninka (Tambo-Ene) to the linguistically closest (Yuruá).

First of all, it is important to note that verbs in all Campan languages have been classified in two classes according to their reality status suffixes: older works have called these classes *reflexive* and *non-reflexive* (Payne 1981, D. Payne 1983b, García 1997, Swift 2008 [1988], Snell 2011, the last one based on fieldwork carried out in the 1980s), while more recent works call them *I-class* and *A-class* (Michael 2008, Lawrence 2013, Michael 2014, Mihas 2015a, Mihas 2015b) based on the realis suffix (usually *-i* and *-a* respectively). The label *reflexive* corresponds to *A-class*, and *non-reflexive*, to *I-class*. The reason why more recent works changed the name is that

a high number of A-class verbs do not have a reflexive meaning, but all reflexive verbs have A-class suffixes. Some verbs can bear both inflections depending on whether they are transitive or reflexive (e.g. *cut something* or *cut yourself*). More recently, O'Hagan (2020:230-35) has used the terms *active* and *middle voice* for Caquinte, which correspond to I- and A-class, respectively. The I-class is by far more numerous. In the same way, some older grammars call realis and irrealis morphemes *non-future* and *future*, respectively. In this article, I will follow the more recent label in both cases (A/I-class and realis/irrealis).

6.1.2.1. Non-Ashé-Ashá languages

The Campan languages outside the Ashé-Ashá complex are Nanti, Matsigenka, Caquinte and Nomatsigenga. At the time of writing the article Pedrós (2019), the descriptions of Nanti and Nomatsigenga (Michael 2008, 2014, and Lawrence 2013, respectively) were the most recent, while Matsigenka and Caquinte descriptions (Snell 2011 and Swift 2008 [1988], respectively) were older and both were publications of the Peruvian division of the Summer Institute of Linguistics –Snell's dictionary and grammar sketch (2011) is based on much earlier fieldwork (the author says that she arrived the first time in Matsigenka territory in 1952). Since 2019, the newer works on Caquinte (O'Hagan 2020) and Nomatsigenga (Castillo 2020) have appeared. I will mention them only when they do not agree with what was said in my article according to Swift (2008 [1988]) for Caquinte and Lawrence (2013) for Nomatsigenga.

6.1.2.1.1. Function of the reality status systems

Nanti's reality status is the most thoroughly described due to Michael's article (2014) devoted to this grammatical feature. Michael (2014:251-252) describes Nanti's reality status system as a verbal mark that expresses a binary opposition between realized and unrealized situations, which can be considered the standard description for this grammatical feature. Nanti's realis marking expresses non-future, positive polarity and actuality, whereas irrealis marking expresses future, negative polarity, hypotheticality (conditional, counterfactual), imperative, obligation, need and prospectiveness (Michael 2014:252). This distribution of grammatical features

between *realis* and *irrealis* fits Michael's distinction between realized and unrealized situations.

Snell (2011:837) uses for Matsigenka the terms *real* and *irreal* in Spanish for *realis* and *irrealis*, and defines them by saying that *realis* expresses “una acción que ya se ha realizado o que está realizándose”⁷³ or “una acción que no va a realizarse en el futuro”⁷⁴, while *irrealis* indicates “una acción que no se ha realizado en el pasado y tampoco está realizándose en el presente”⁷⁵ or “una acción que va a realizarse en el futuro”⁷⁶. Snell (2011:838) also says that *irrealis* is used with imperatives. Snell (2011:837) uses the terms *no-reflexivo* and *reflexivo* to refer to I-class and A-class verbs, respectively.

Swift (2008:55) describes the Caquinte reality status system under the name of *tiempo* ‘tense’ and as an opposition between *futuro/irreal* ‘future/irrealis’ and *no-futuro/real* ‘non-future/realis’, although he uses the terminology *futuro/no-futuro*. In this way, he treats the reality status affixes as a tense category with a future/non-future opposition and does not explain why he also calls them *real* and *irreal*. Actually, Swift (2008) does not talk about the use of *irrealis* with negative polarity and the imperative, but at least an example can be found for both (p. 56 with negative, p. 29 with imperative). Swift (2008:55) says that this is the only obligatory suffix in finite verbs. I-class and A-class verbs are called *non-reflexive* and *reflexive*, respectively (Swift 2008:57). O’Hagan (2020:230-34) uses the more modern terminology *realis/irrealis* and describes the difference between I- and A-class verbs as a voice system in which I-class verbs have active voice and A-class verbs have middle voice.

Lawrence (2013) uses the more recent terminology *realis* and *irrealis*, and *I-class* and *A-class* verbs. She (p. 105) says that “irrealis markers are used for imperative formations, reference to future time, negated verbs and some complement clauses”. Castillo (2020) is a Master thesis that studies *irrealis* in Nomatsigenga, and also uses the terminology *realis-irrealis* and *I-class* and *A-class* (p. 95). His long list of *irrealis*

⁷³ ‘An action that has already happened or is happening.’

⁷⁴ ‘An action that is not going to happen in the future.’

⁷⁵ ‘An action that has not happened in the past and is not happening in the present.’

⁷⁶ ‘An action that is going to happen in the future.’

parameters includes future, commands, warnings, obligation and necessity, desires, volition, abilities, purposes, conditions, counter-factuality, negation and non-referential (generic) events (Castillo 2020:list of contents).

This overview shows that irrealis is used in negative, future and imperative clauses in the four languages. Other uses are described by Michael for Nanti and by Castillo for Nomatsigenga (see above), but the less detailed descriptions existing for the other languages and the lack of space oblige to concentrate this study only in these clause types. In any case, negative, future and imperative clauses clearly refer to actions that have not been realized.

6.1.2.1.2. Reality status affixes

This section shows the forms of the reality status affixes, which are ordered in an identical table for each language so as to ease the comparison, and provides examples of their use. The examples illustrate the realis (*a* examples) and irrealis use in future (*b* examples) and imperative (*c* examples). The use of these affixes in negative clauses will be studied in Section 6.1.2.1.3.

Nanti's reality status affixes are shown in Table 21. The irrealis prefix *ri-* is used following third person masculine proclitics, while *N-* occurs in the other cases, but only before a voiceless stop or affricate (Michael 2014:262). Examples of their use are given in (252).⁷⁷

⁷⁸Table 21. Reality status affixes in Nanti. Adapted from Michael (2014:261).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i> (realized as <i>-i</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-a</i>)	<i>N</i> ⁷⁹ , <i>ri-/r-</i> , <i>-e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>N-</i> , <i>ri-/r-</i> , <i>-empa</i>

⁷⁷ I will use the same abbreviations for all languages so as to ease the comparison, but will not change the grammatical terms used by the authors (e.g. the different denominations *realis-irrealis* and *non future-future* will be respected).

⁷⁸ I will use the same orthography as for UP Ashéninka in all languages in order to ease the comparison. Characters for phonemes non-existing in UP Ashéninka that differ from those of the IPA are: <g>=/g/ or /ɣ/ /, <i>=/i/ or /ĩ/, <ty>=/c/ or /tʃ/, and <v>=/β/. A circumflex (*â*) indicates a high tone in Nomatsigenga.

⁷⁹ *N-* represents in Michael (2014) and other Campanist literature an unspecified nasal consonant that occurs before a stop or an affricate taking its point of articulation. Therefore, *N-* can be realized as [m], [n], [ɲ] or [ŋ] –or even Ø in Nanti.

Nanti

(252) a. Opoki maika.

o=pok-Ø-i maika
 3NM.S=come-IPFV-REA.I now
 ‘She is coming now.’ (Michael 2014:254)

b. Ompoke kamani.

o=N-pok-Ø-e kamani
 3NM.S=IRR-come-IPFV-IRR.I tomorrow
 ‘She will come tomorrow.’ (Michael 2014:254)

c. Tinkasetero.

N-otink-a-se-t-e=ro
 IRR-mash-&-CLF:MASS-&-IRR.I=3NM.O
 ‘Mash it.’ (Michael 2014:263)

In Matsigenka, similarly to Nanti, the prefixes *ri-/r-* occur with third person masculine proclitics: *ri-* before verb stems starting with *m-*, *n-*, *s-* and *sh-*; and *r-* before stems starting with a vowel. The nasal irrealis prefix occurs before voiceless stops or affricates, as in Nanti. Some speakers from the Lower Urubamba use both irrealis prefixes together (Snell 2011:837).

Table 22. Reality status affixes in Matsigenka. Adapted from Snell (2011:837).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>ri-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>ri-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-empa</i>

Snell (2011) does not gloss her Matsigenka examples, but only translates them. However, the simplicity of some one-verb sentences and the information provided by Snell’s dictionary (2011) enables me to gloss some short sentences myself.

Matsigenka

(253) a. Iati.

i-a-t-i
 3M.S-go-&-REA
 ‘He went.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

b. Iriate.

i-ri-a-t-e
 3M.S-IRR-go-&-IRR
 ‘He will go.’ (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

- c. Kemisante.
 kemisant–e
 listen–IRR
 ‘Shut up!’ (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)

According to Swift (2008:57), in Caquinte, the unspecified nasal irrealis prefix occurs “después de vocal y antes de consonante no continua”⁸⁰ (a non-fricative consonant, i.e. a stop or an affricate), which is the same environment as in Nanti and Matsigenka. Caquinte affixes (Table 23) are practically identical to those already presented for Nanti and Matsigenka in Table 21 and Table 22, respectively. Although Swift (2008) does not show an irrealis prefix *r-/ri-* following third person masculine prefixes, as in Nanti and Matsigenka, Zachary O’Hagan (p.c. 2018) says that this prefix exists in Caquinte and considers it the irrealis form of the third person masculine prefix (*iri-*), rather than two different prefixes. However, for a better comparison with the other languages, I represent *r-/ri-* in Table 23 as a separate prefix. The A-class irrealis suffix *-e-mpa* is described by Swift (2008) as two suffixes: *-e* is the irrealis suffix and *-mpa* the A-class suffix, as exemplified in (254d).

Table 23. Reality status affixes in Caquinte. Adapted from Swift (2008:57–58) and Zachary O’Hagan (p.c. 2018).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>N-, ri-/r-, -e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>N-, ri-/r-, -e-mpa</i>

Swift calls realis and irrealis affixes *non-future* and *future*, respectively, and, consequently, the affixes are glossed as such, even in the imperative sentence (254c). Example (254d) shows how Swift (2008:57) analyses the A-class verb irrealis suffix *-e-mpa* as two different suffixes.

- Caquinte
 (254) a. i–kant–i
 3M–decir–NFUT
 ‘Él dijo.’⁸¹ (Swift 2008:56)

⁸⁰ ‘After a vowel and before a non-continuous consonant’

⁸¹ ‘He said.’

- b. i-N-kaNt-e
3M-FUT-decir-FUT
'Él dirá.'⁸² (Swift 2008:56)
- c. pi-N-p-e-na-ro
2-FUT-dar-FUT-1-3F
'Dámela a mí.'⁸³ (Swift 2008:29)
- d. i-N-tsi-ant-ak-e-ne-mpa-ri-ka
3M-FUT-quemar-INS-PFV-FUT-3-REFL-3M-REL
'Eso que él quemará para él.'⁸⁴ (Swift 2008:57)

The Nomatsigenga affixes are the same as in Caquinte except for the A-class irrealis suffix (*-ima* in Nomatsigenga and *-e(-)mpa* in the three other languages). As in the other languages, the unspecified nasal prefix occurs before voiceless stops (Lawrence 2013:121-122), but nothing is said about its occurrence before affricates. However, the clusters *np* and *nk* are realized as [m] and [ŋg], respectively (Lawrence 2013:122). Castillo (2020:99) says that the unspecified nasal prefix occurs before /p/, /t/, /k/ and /tʃ/, thus including an affricate but excluding the other one (/tʃ/). According to Lawrence (2013:122), the prefix *r-* "is used with third-person masculine subjects when the verb stem begins with a vowel". The Nomatsigenga affixes are in Table 24.

Table 24. Reality status affixes in Nomatsigenga. Adapted from Lawrence (2013:104,122).

	Realis	Irrealis
I-class	<i>-i</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-e</i>
A-class	<i>-a</i>	<i>n-</i> , <i>r-</i> , <i>-ima</i>

Examples (255) show sentences in Nomatsigenga with realis marking used for past and irrealis for future and imperative.

Nomatsigenga

- (255) a. Nitsongiro.
na=itsong-i=ro
1S=finish-REA.I=3NM.O
'I finished it.' (Lawrence 2013:104)

⁸² 'He will say.'

⁸³ 'Give it to me.'

⁸⁴ 'What he will burn for him.'

- b. Nitsongero.
 na=N-itsong-e=ro
 1S=IRR-finish-IRR.I=3NM.O
 ‘I will finish it.’ (Lawrence 2013:104-105)
- c. Pomenaro!
 pi=N-p-e=na-ro
 2SG=IRR-give-IRR.I=1SG.O-3NM.O
 ‘Give it to me!’ (Lawrence 2013:105)

We can see that the reality status affixes are practically identical in the four languages. The only differences are *-ima* in Nomatsigenga versus *-empa* in the other three, with the particularity that it is described as two different affixes in Caquinte. We can also see that the irrealis prefix *ri-/r-* is used with third person masculine subjects in the four languages, and that the irrealis unspecified nasal prefix is generally used before voiceless stops or affricates.

6.1.2.1.3. Negation and double irrealis

A negative clause expresses an action that has not been realized; thus, these clauses are marked with irrealis in the Campan languages. However, there are cases in which two irrealis categories are present in a clause, as in the negative future or the negative imperative clause, where the negation and the future or imperative categories both trigger irrealis affixes. In this kind of clauses, the Campan languages present what Lawrence (2013:107) and Michael (2014:271-274) call *doubly* or *double irrealis construction*. This construction consists of a special irrealis negation particle and a verb marked with realis suffixes. Examples of negative clauses with realis (*a* examples) and irrealis (*b* examples) negation particles are provided in the following for each language.

Nanti

- (256) a. Tera ompoke chapi.
 te=ra o=N-pok-e chapi
 NEG=TEMP 3NM.S=IRR-come-IRR.I yesterday
 ‘She did not come yesterday.’ (Michael 2014:254)
- b. Hara ihati.
 ha=ra i=ha-t-i
 NEG.IRR=TEMP 3M.S=go-&-DIRR.I
 ‘He will not go.’ (Michael 2014:272)

Matsigenka

(257) a. Tera iriate.

tera i=ri-at-e

NEG.REA 3M.S=IRR-go-IRR

'He didn't go.' (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

b. Gara iati.

gara i=at-i

NEG.IRR 3M.S=go-REA

'He won't go.' (Snell 2011:838; glosses mine)

Caquinte

(258) a. tee i-N-kaNt-e-hi

NEG.NFUT 3M-FUT-decir-FUT-NEG

'Él no dijo.'⁸⁵ (Swift 2008:56)

b. aato i-kaNt-i

NEG.FUT 3M-decir-NFUT

'Él no dirá.'⁸⁶ (Swift 2008:56)

Nomatsigenga

(259) a. Naroëgi teni nongogaîgïiri.

naro-hegi te=ni na=N-oôg-e-ri

1SG-PL NEG.REA=IPFV.AN 1SG.S=IRR-want-IRR.I-3M.O

'We didn't want to see them.' (Lawrence 2013:134)

b. Kero pitsorogi.

kero pi=tsorog-i

NEG.IRR 2S=scared-REA.I

'Don't get scared.' (Lawrence 2013:106)

As the examples (256) to (259) show, the four languages use the same strategy to build negative clauses: the negation of a verb with an irrealis grammatical feature (future or imperative in the examples) is formed with the irrealis negative particle plus realis suffixes on the verb, while the rest of the negative clauses are formed with the realis negative particle plus irrealis affixes on the verb. In other words, a negative clause is marked irrealis –as is logical because the action has not been realized–, but a clause bearing an irrealis feature (e.g. future, imperative) has a different irrealis negation particle, which makes the use of irrealis affixes redundant and thus realis affixes are used. Table 25 shows the different realis and irrealis negation particles.

⁸⁵ 'He didn't say.'

⁸⁶ 'He won't say.'

Table 25. Realis and irrealis negative particles in Campan non-Ashé-Ashá languages.

	Nanti	Matsigenka	Caquinte	Nomatsigenga
Realis	<i>te(=ra)</i> ⁸⁷	<i>tera</i>	<i>tee</i>	<i>te(=ni)</i>
Irrealis	<i>ha(=ra)</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>aato</i>	<i>keró</i>

6.1.2.1.4. Neutralization of reality status affixes

The four Campan non-Ashé-Ashá languages neutralize the opposition between reality status affixes after the perfective aspect suffix *-ak* in that the I-class realis suffix *-i* is realized /e/, thus being equal to the irrealis suffix *-e*. In Caquinte, the same process occurs after the progressive suffix *-k*, while, after the stative suffix *-ats* and the temporal stative suffix *-ankits*, the neutralization occurs with the irrealis suffix *-e* being realized as /i/ (Swift 2008:57, 60). In Nomatsigenga, there is a complex set of allomorphy rules that neutralizes the opposition realis-irrealis in different environments, which is summed up below.

In all the mentioned cases, if the irrealis nasal prefix is present, the difference between a realis and an irrealis verb is maintained, but, if there is no nasal prefix due to the phonological environment, there is a complete neutralization of the opposition and the realis and irrealis forms of a verb are identical. Examples (260) to (262) show the neutralization of the suffix. All irrealis verbs in the examples are marked with the nasal prefix. Unfortunately, the reference works do not show examples with a total neutralization.

Nanti

(260) a. Ipokake.

i=pok-ak-i

3M.S=come-PFV-REA.I

‘He came.’ (Michael 2014:265)

b. Impokake.

i=N-pok-ak-e

3M.S=IRR-come-PFV-IRR.I

‘He will come.’ (Michael 2014:265)

⁸⁷ Although the Nanti examples in this section are with *tera* and *hara*, Michael (2014) shows other examples with *tetya* (p. 268), *harika* (p. 275), *hame* (p. 276) and *hani* (p. 277).

Matsigenka

- (261) a. Ipokake apa chapi.
 i=pok-ak-e apa chapi
 3M.S=come-PFV-REA father yesterday
 ‘My father came yesterday.’ (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)
- b. Nompokake kamani.
 no=m-pok-ak-e kamani
 1S=IRR-come-PFV-IRR tomorrow
 ‘I’ll come tomorrow.’ (Snell 2011:837; glosses mine)

Caquinte

- (262) a. i-chaki-t-ak-e-ro
 3M-rozar-&-PFV-NFUT-3F
 ‘Él lo rozó/lo ha rozado.’⁸⁸ (Swift 2008:59)
- b. i-N-chaki-t-ak-e-ro
 3M-FUT-rozar-&-PFV-FUT-3F
 ‘Él lo rozará.’⁸⁹ (Swift 2008:59)

The Nomatsigenka case is special because the realis-irrealis opposition can be neutralized in several phonological environments in I-class verbs. Lawrence (2013:108) shows a table with the different realizations of realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*, and both suffixes are identical in the following phonological environments (the realization of the suffix in both realis and irrealis is given between brackets): /p_/ (-*ii*), /m_#/ (-*ii*), /t_#/ (-*e* ~ -*ii*), /n_#/ (-*ii*) and /k_#/ (-*e*). Obviously, with the neutralization in /k_#, the suffixes are always realized as *-e* and thus neutralized after the perfective suffix *-k*, as in the three other languages.

Therefore, we can see that the realis-irrealis opposition can be inexistent in some cases. Michael (2014:265) says about Nanti that, in these cases, “the speaker must depend on adverbial elements or context to determine reality status”.

6.1.2.2. Ashé-Ashá languages

In this section, the same features studied in the previous section will be treated for the Ashé-Ashá languages, so the subsections are also the same. The difference is that varieties instead of languages will be studied, given that the question of how many Ashé-Ashá languages there are is not totally settled. The Ucayali and Pajonal varieties

⁸⁸ ‘He (has) cleared it.’

⁸⁹ ‘He will clear it.’

will be discussed in Section 6.1.3, although they also pertain to the Ashé-Ashá complex.

The sources for the Ashé-Ashá languages are more scarce than for the non-Ashé-Ashá. The only recent grammar is Mihas (2015*a*) on the Alto Perené variety, and there is an older grammar on Apurucayali (Payne 1981). Minor works in which some information can be found are Mihas (2015*b*)⁹⁰ and the pedagogical guide of the indigenous university Nopoki (Zumaeta 2012) on Tambo-Ene, D. Payne (1983*b*) on Pichis, García (1993, 1997)⁹¹ on Yuruá and Heitzman (1991) on Pajonal.

The varieties treated in this section are Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené, Pichis, Apurucayali and Yuruá, and they will be studied in this order, which is the order of the dialect chain proposed in Pedrós (2018:18) –Ucayali-Pajonal is at one extreme of the chain following Yuruá.

6.1.2.2.1. Function of the reality status systems

For Tambo-Ene, Mihas (2015*b*:13-14) says that “the scope of the irrealis suffixes *-e* and *-ea* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events”, and lists the following grammatical categories as belonging to the realm of irrealis: future, imperative, intentional/desiderative/optative, negated realis clauses, prospective events, habitual events that took place in the past, counterfactual clauses, possible condition clauses, purpose clauses, want-complements and converbial clauses.

For Alto Perené, Mihas (2015*a*:258-259) says exactly the same as for Tambo-Ene: “The scope of the irrealis morphemes *-e* and *-ia* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events”, and lists under this category future,

⁹⁰ Mihas (2015*b*) calls this variety *Satipo Asháninka* after the Satipo province, although it has been traditionally called just *Asháninka* and its core area is the Satipo province, which is crossed by the rivers Tambo and Ene. The people in Atalaya call it either *Asháninka* or *Tambo-Ene*. Given that all varieties except Pajonal are named after rivers (Pajonal is a plateau with no important river), I will call it *Tambo-Ene* throughout this Section 6.1 in order to give it a treatment equal to the other varieties.

⁹¹ García (1993) is a Master thesis and García (1997) is a monography in which the contents of the thesis are better arranged, but both are practically identical. Since both works are not easy to find, I will make references to both, so that a reader that has only one can look for the reference.

commands, wishes, averted events, possible conditions, purposive constructions and complement clauses with the verb *-kov-* ‘want.’ She adds (p. 260) that “converbial clauses which provide background information and habitual events are also inflected for irrealis”. As categories marked with realis, Mihas (2015a:258) mentions “completed events, which took place in the past, or events that are still in progress at the moment of speaking”.

Regarding Pichis, D. Payne (1983b:101) describes the opposition between reality status affixes as *future* and *non-future*, and does not mention other grammatical categories in which these affixes are used.

In the same fashion, for Apurucayali, Payne (1981:31) labels the opposition as belonging to the category of tense and as a binary distinction between *future* and *non-future*.

The only available source for Yuruá is García’s Master thesis (1993), improved in a monograph (García 1997). These works describe the reality status system citing Payne, Payne & Sánchez’s (1982)⁹² Apurucayali grammar. Therefore, there is no sense in repeating the same as for Apurucayali.

We can see that the only comprehensive descriptions of the function of the reality status are the more modern in Mihas (2015a, 2015b), while D. Payne’s older works (1981, 1983b) treat the distinction as one between future and non-future without giving further explanations.

6.1.2.2.2. Reality status affixes

Ashé-Ashá reality status affixes are practically identical in each variety. I-class verbs have the suffixes realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*, except for Apurucayali, in which both suffixes are *-i* (see below for explanation). A-class verbs have the realis *-a* and irrealis *-ia* suffixes, except for Tambo-Ene, whose irrealis A-class suffix is *-ea* (D. Payne 1981, 1983b; Mihas 2015a, 2015b). García (1993:54, 1997:37) cites Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) to show the reality status suffixes, so we cannot know well

⁹² Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982) is a revision in Spanish of Payne (1981), but both are practically identical.

what is happening in Yuruá, although García (1993:54, 1997:37) says that the contrast between /e/ and /i/ is starting to disappear in Yuruá.

Although the I-class suffixes are identical in Apurucayali, they contrast after /t/ or the progressive aspect suffix *-ach*, where both /t/ and /tʃ/ change to /ts/ (Payne 1981:121-127) when realis is marked. An example of this contrast is *nomisitzi* (realis, ‘I dreamed’) versus *nomisiti* (irrealis, ‘I will dream’) (Payne 1981:122).

The nasal irrealis prefix is mentioned in D. Payne (1983b:104) (Pichis) and Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:46) (Apurucayali), in both glossed as *future*. In Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:46) say that the prefix always occurs before a *non-continuous* consonant (this must be understood as *non-fricative*, i.e. a stop or affricate), while the necessary environment for this prefix is not explicitly mentioned for Pichis in D. Payne (1983b). Mihas does not explicitly mention the nasal irrealis prefix neither for Tambo-Ene (2015b) nor for Alto Perené (2015a), but the prefix appears in many examples in both of her works (e.g. (263b) and (263c) below). The nasal prefix is also described by Zumaeta (2012:58) for Tambo-Ene. In Yuruá, García (1993, 1997) does not mention the nasal prefix, but the glossed texts at the end of her thesis show several occurrences of the prefix where it is expected (1993:88-99, 1997:64-72).

In Pichis, D. Payne (1983b:105) glosses the prefix *r-* as *future*, which we have already seen in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, and says that it occurs with third person masculine subject prefixes before verbal stems starting with a vowel.

Therefore, we can see that the RS suffix paradigm in the Ashé-Ashá languages except Ucayali-Pajonal is practically identical with only slight variations, and that all varieties have the nasal irrealis prefix, while Pichis also has the irrealis suffix *r-* described in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages.

Some examples illustrating the use of the affixes described in this section are given below. As in Section 6.1.2.1.2 for non-Ashé-Ashá languages, I will try to show an example with realis marking (*a* examples), one with irrealis marking expressing future (*b* examples) and one imperative with irrealis marking (*c* examples).

Tambo-Ene

- (263) a. peerani y-atsik-ant-i-ni maniti
 long.ago 3M.S-bite-CHA-REA-DIST.PST jaguar
 ‘Long ago, jaguars would bite (people).’ (Mihás 2015*b*:6)
- b. i-n-koniha~koniha-t-e aisati
 3M.S-IRR-appear~ITE-&-IRR⁹³ also
 ‘He will appear again and again (in the deep forest).’ Said about a demonic miniature person who kills by breaking a person’s bones. (Mihás 2015*b*:12)
- c. pi-m-p-ah-e-na-ro
 2A-IRR-give-TERM-IRR-1SG.REC-3NM.TH
 ‘Give it back to me.’ (Mihás 2015*b*:9)

Alto Perené

- (264) a. n-a-ak-i kaniri
 1SG.S-take-PFV-REA manioc
 ‘I obtained manioc roots.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:194)
- b. no-sai-t-aty-e-ro niha
 1SG.A-pour-&-PROSP-IRR-3M.O water
 ‘I will empty out the water.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:259)
- c. p-amin-e mapi
 2S-look-IRR stone
 ‘Look for a stone.’ (Mihás 2015*a*:259)

Pichis

- (265) a. n-ir-i
 1-beber-NFUT
 ‘Yo bebía.’⁹⁴ (D. Payne 1983*b*:101)
- b. n-ir-e
 1-beber-FUT
 ‘Beberé.’⁹⁵ (D. Payne 1983*b*:101)

As said in Section 6.1.2.2.1, D. Payne (1983*b*) only describes the binary opposition as one between future and non-future and does not give any example of an imperative sentence.

For Yuruá, there is some inconsistency in the glosses of the RS affixes called *future* and *non-future* in García’s (1993, 1997) collection of texts: in some examples, the translations do not fit the tense indicated by the glosses, *-e* or *-i* are glossed

⁹³ Although Mihás does not give ITE in this example (she glosses REDUPL), she explains that the reduplication has an iterative meaning.

⁹⁴ ‘I was drinking.’

⁹⁵ ‘I’ll drink.’

indistinctively as future or non-future, or a verb is glossed future in the nasal prefix but non-future in the suffix (the latter in García 1993:89, 1997:65). Therefore, I will not give examples of Yuruá to avoid confusion. The interested reader can examine García's texts (1993:83-133, 1997:61-97).

6.1.2.2.3. Negation and double irrealis

Negation in Ashé-Ashá languages functions in the same fashion as described in Section 6.1.2.1.3 for the other Campan languages: a negation of a verb that triggers irrealis marking is formed with the irrealis negation particle plus realis suffixes; a negation of a verb that triggers realis marking is formed with the realis negation particle plus irrealis affixes. Some examples are provided in the following.

Tambo-Ene

- (266) a. te o-n-ko-ye-ni-hi
 NEG.REA 3NM.S-IRR-want-IRR-DIST.PST-NEG
 a-ye o-hime
 3NM.S.take-IRR 3NM.POSS-husband
 'Long ago she didn't want to take a husband.' (Mihás 2015b:5)
- b. eiro o-ta-it-i-ri=me o-tomi, ari
 NEG.IRR 3NM.A-burn-ANT-REA-3M.O=COFA 3NM.POSS-son PP
 ov-ame-t-an-ak-e-ro=me irori
 3NM.A.CAUS-be.accustomed-&-DIR-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=COFA 3NM.FOC.ADD
 'Hadh't she burned her son, it is the case that she (the mother) would have taught her, too (the murderer the art of weaving).' (Mihás 2015b:13)

Alto Perené

- (267) a. te i-m-pok-i
 NEG.REA 3M.S-IRR-come-IRR
 'He didn't come.' (Mihás 2015a:518)
- b. airo pi-shiri-t-a-ro pi-ha-t-e katonko,
 NEG.IRR 2A-think-&-REA-3NM.O 2S-go-&-IRR upstream.area
 airo p-avish-i
 NEG.IRR 2S-pass-REA
 'Don't think about going upstream, you won't pass.' (Mihás 2015a:520)

Regarding Pichis, there is no mention of its negative clause in D. Payne (1983b), nor is there for Apurucayali in Payne (1981) or Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982). However, in Payne's (1981) texts, examples of both negation forms can be found,

shown in (268). Note that (268b) uses an irrealis negation because it is a purpose clause.

Apurucayali

(268) a. Apa ti isaiki ipankoki.

apa ti ir-saik-i ir-panko-ki
father no 3M-be-NFUT 3M-house-LOC

‘My father is not in his house.’ (Payne 1981: 177, 185, 198, 220)⁹⁶

b. ..., iiro akimainkatantari.

iirro a-kim-ainka-ant-a-ri
no 1PL.INCL-feel-OLFACTORY-RSN-REFL.NFUT-REL

‘..., so that we wouldn’t smell him.’ (Payne 1981: 180, 190, 206, 224)

Also for Yuruá, there is no mention of the negative clause in García (1993, 1997), and good examples that illustrate the contrast between the realis and the irrealis negation cannot be found in her texts.

The realis and irrealis negative particles in Ashé-Ashá languages different from UP Ashéninka are almost identical, as is shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Realis and irrealis negative particles in Ashé-Ashá languages except for UP Ashéninka (words for Pichis are from Payne & Payne [1983:130, 156] and for Yuruá, from García [1997:74, 81])

	Tambo-Ene	Alto Perené	Pichis	Apurucayali	Yuruá
Realis	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>
Irrealis	<i>eiro</i>	<i>airo</i>	<i>eero</i>	<i>iirro</i>	<i>eero</i>

6.1.2.2.4. Neutralization of reality status affixes

The five Ashé-Ashá varieties studied in this Section 6.1.2.2 neutralize the opposition realis-irrealis in different cases; that is why they are described individually in the following lines.

In Tambo-Ene, the neutralization is shown in Mihás’ (2015b:3) table of suffixes: the usual I-class realis suffix *-i* becomes *-e* after *-ak* or *-ah*, which causes both realis and irrealis suffixes to have the same form (*-e*). In these cases, a verb has the same form in realis and irrealis when the irrealis nasal prefix is not present, and the

⁹⁶ Payne’s (1981) glosses are not one line below the other, but every level is in different pages, so that the phonetic representations of all texts are together, then the words separated by morphemes in all texts together, and so on.

realis-irrealis opposition is neutralized. This neutralization is shown in (269), where the realis and irrealis suffixes are identical (-*e*).

Tambo-Ene

- (269) a. i-kam-ak-e nosari
 3M.S-die-PFV-REA 1SG.POSS.grandfather
 ‘My grandfather died.’ (Mihás 2015*b*:8-9)
- b. pi-m-p-ah-e-na-ro
 2A-IRR-give-TER-IRR-1SG.REC-3NM.TH
 ‘Give it back to me.’ (Mihás 2015*b*:9)

In Alto Perené, Mihás (2015*a*:258) says that I-class verbs are marked with -*e* for realis instead of the usual -*i* after the perfective or terminative aspect suffixes -*ak* and -*ah*, respectively. This is the same neutralization as described above for Tambo-Ene, although for Tambo-Ene the description refers to all occurrences of -*ak* and -*ah*, not only to perfective and terminative suffixes. Mihás (2015*a*:258) describes two more types of neutralization with stative verbs and first person plural suffixes, but, in these cases, what happens is that the RS suffixes are absent so we could speak here of an exception to the rule of the obligatory RS marking rather than of neutralization of affixes. Examples of the I-class realis suffix realized as -*e* cannot be found in Mihás (2015*a*) for Alto Perené in the sections devoted to the perfective and terminative aspects (Section 8.1.1, pp. 214-216) and reality status (Section 8.5, pp. 258-260).

In Pichis, D. Payne (1983*b*:108) says that the opposition realis-irrealis is neutralized in I-class verbs after one of the two terminative aspects: the perfective -*ak* and the regressive -*ag* (/au/). After -*ak*, the neutralization is realized as -*e*; after -*ag*, as -*i*. In (270), the realis and the irrealis suffix have both the same form (-*e*). In this case, the difference is marked through the nasal prefix in (270*b*).

Pichis

- (270) a. i-chek-ak-e
 3-cortar-PFV-NREFL
 ‘Él cortó.’⁹⁷ (D. Payne 1983*b*:108)

⁹⁷ ‘He cut.’

b. i-n-chek-ak-e
 3-FUT-cortar-PFV-NREFL
 'Él cortará.'⁹⁸ (D. Payne 1983b:108)

In Apurucayali, an overall neutralization comes from the lack of the vowel /e/, so all I-class RS suffixes are *-i*. However, as explained in Section 6.1.2.2.2, /t/ and the progressive aspect suffix *-ach* change to /ts/ before a realis suffix, which marks the opposition in this environment (Payne 1981:121-127). This feature has a clear diachronic origin in that */ti/ evolved to /tsi/ and then /e/ and /i/ merged, so that the former */ti/ and */te/ evolved to /tsi/ and /ti/, respectively. Therefore, the neutralization is general due to the merging of /e/ and /i/, and the exception would rather be the non-neutralization in the phonological environments described above.

A similar process as the one described for Apurucayali in the preceding paragraph seems to be starting in Yuruá. García (1993:54, 1997:37) says that there is an incipient loss of the contrast /e/-/i/ in Yuruá, so the tendency should be the same as in Apurucayali.

We can see that the neutralization after the perfective suffix *-ak*, described in Section 6.1.2.1.4 for the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, is also present in Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené and Pichis, and in all of them there is an additional neutralization after the terminative/regressive aspect suffix *-ah/-ag*. In Apurucayali, the neutralization is general due to the merging of /i/ and /e/, a process that seems to be starting in Yuruá as well. These features are summed up in Table 27. Obviously, there is no neutralization if the irrealis nasal prefix is present due to the phonological environment.

⁹⁸ 'He will cut.'

Table 27. Summary of cases of RS neutralization in Ashé-Ashá languages (except UP Ashéninka).

Variety	Yuruá	Apurucayali	Pichis	Alto Perené	Tambo-Ene
Cases of neutralization	Incipient loss of contrast /e/-/i/	Lack of contrast /e/-/i/. RS opposition in I-class verbs is present only in contrast /tsi/-/ti/.	PFV <i>-ake</i> REG <i>-agi</i>	PFV <i>-ake</i> TER <i>-ahe</i>	<i>-ake</i> <i>-ahe</i>

6.1.2.3. Summary of reality status features

We have seen that the reality status systems of all the studied Campan languages show similar features. They all express a binary distinction between verbs that express what has become real (realis) against what has not become real (irrealis). Therefore, realis marking appears with past and present tense affirmative clauses, while imperative, future and negative clauses are marked with irrealis. More recent and detailed works (Michael 2008, 2014; Mihas 2015*a*, 2015*b*; Castillo 2020) also list a series of clause types that are marked with irrealis and fit the definition of a non-realized action (expression of desire, conditional, etc.). Furthermore, all languages have a realis and an irrealis negative particle, which are used in the same fashion, and all languages present the so-called *double irrealis construction*, which consists of the irrealis negative particle plus realis suffixes on the verb.

We have seen that all languages have two verb classes, which were called *reflexive* and *non-reflexive* in older works, which are equivalent to the more recent *A-class* and *I-class*, respectively. The RS suffixes of the I-class are identical in all languages, with the exception of Apurucayali due to the loss of the contrast between /e/ and /i/, which might also be progressing in Yuruá. These suffixes are realis *-i* and irrealis *-e*. The A-class realis suffix is also identical in all languages (*-a*), while its irrealis counterpart shows some variation. Also all languages have an irrealis nasal prefix that occurs in similar phonological environments (mainly before voiceless stops and affricates). There are different cases in which the distinction realis-irrealis is

neutralized, but all languages share the neutralization of the realis and irrealis suffixes after the perfective aspect suffix *-ak*.

The similarity of the Campan languages can be easily observed, and the great similarity of their RS systems only fits their general similarity and offers no doubt that the present RS systems come from a former RS system in proto-Campan with the features that are summed up in this section. In the next Section 6.1.3, I will describe the changes that Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka has undergone in its reality status system.

6.1.3. Reality status in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka

When I started researching the Ashéninka reality status with Ucayali speakers, I expected to find features similar to those described in Section 6.1.2. However, to my great surprise, I discovered that its reality status system has undergone a profound change that makes it different from the rest of the Campan languages. The differences are that there is no distinction between the I-class RS suffixes, the irrealis nasal prefix has disappeared and the negative clause is marked realis on A-class verbs. However, in I-class verbs, when the RS suffix (always *-i*) occurs after */t/*, the difference between realis and irrealis is preserved in that this */t/* becomes */ts/* in realis situations, yielding thus an opposition realis-irrealis expressed with */tsi/-ti/*, respectively. In these cases, the negative clause is marked realis, as in A-class verbs. This remnant of the realis-irrealis opposition is the same as explained for Apurucayali in Section 6.1.2.2 and represents the realization of the tendency indicated by García (1993:54, 1997:37) for Yuruá (see Section 6.1.2.2.4). The same as in Apurucayali, if we take into account the opposition */ti/-te/* in other Campan languages, we can easily infer that the same opposition existed in Ucayali-Pajonal and a shift */ti/ > /tsi/* and */te/ > /ti/* brought about the present opposition. The lack of contrast between realis and irrealis suffixes implies that I-class verbs, when */t/* does not precede the RS suffix, in the absence of different suffixes and an irrealis prefix, have totally lost the reality status system. Therefore, the RS system only exists with I-class verbs with */t/* preceding the RS suffix and with A-class verbs. In both cases, a verb in a negative clause is marked realis, differently from the other Campan languages. UP Ashéninka keeps the two realis and irrealis negative particles and uses them in the same way as the other Campan languages.

Another peculiar development is that the former irrealis suffix *-e/-eya* has fossilized after the progressive suffix *-aty* and has given birth to a future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* (the latter only in A-class verbs).

The study of the Pajonal texts in Heitzman (1991) (the only published Pajonal texts, to my knowledge) yields the same features as in Ucayali. This accords with the account of my informants from the Ucayali in that they told me that the only difference between Ucayali and Pajonal is in *wh*-words,⁹⁹ which implies that both varieties are practically identical. Details and examples are given in the following lines.

6.1.3.1. Ucayali

As said above, the Ucayali I-class verbs only keep RS marking when /t/ occurs before the RS suffix, while, in all other cases, they have totally lost any RS marking and thus reality status as a grammatical feature, except for the negative clause, where the different negative particles mark the difference. There is no doubt that the irrealis nasal prefix is lost, given that it has never appeared in any elicitation, story or conversation. Regarding the RS suffix, it tends to be realized most times as [ɪ], although it can also be realized as [i], [i̯], [e] or [ɛ̞]. This sound variation could suggest that two different phonemes might be present. However, the work with different speakers and elicitations in which I proposed the speaker a change of [i] to [e] and vice versa showed me that they do not perceive any difference with this variation. My impression is that this suffix is a fossilized reality status marker that has become a sort of dummy vowel, and that it can be represented phonologically as /i/, taking into account that it has a broad range of realizations. This means that unstressed /i/ can be realized as [e], but unstressed /e/ can only be realized as [e]. The best example is the above-mentioned future suffix *-atyee*, which no speaker admits to be realized as *[acii]. Some examples of this fossilized reality status suffix, which I have glossed FRS (fossilized reality status), are in (271). These examples show the disappearance

⁹⁹ It may seem strange that two dialects differ only in *wh*-words and not in other words, but, when one gets to know UP Ashéninka *wh*-words, the explanation is straightforward: the same *wh*-word can have different meanings and different *wh*-words can express the same meaning. Therefore, it is normal that speakers of even different native communities can tend to use one or the other *wh*-word for the same meaning.

of the opposition realis-irrealis through identical suffixes and the absence of the nasal prefix, which would be expected to be present with a verbal root like *-pok-*, starting with a voiceless stop. However, the distinction has been preserved in the different negation particles (271d, e, f).

- (271) a. Nopoki.
no-pok-i
1S-come-FRS
'I'm coming.'
- b. Nopoki oháiteki
no-pok-i oháiteki
1S-come-FRS tomorrow
'I'll come tomorrow.'
- c. Pipoki!
pi-pok-i
2S-come-FRS
'Come!'
- d. Eero pipoki!
eero pi-pok-i
NEG.IRR 2S-come-FRS
'Don't come!'
- e. Tee nopoki.
tee no-pok-i
NEG.REA 1S-come-FRS
'I'm not coming.'
- f. Eero nopoki.
eero no-pok-i
NEG.IRR 1S-come-FRS
'I won't come.'

As explained above, the RS opposition is present when /t/ occurs before the RS suffix. Examples of this occurrence are given in (272). I have glossed *-zi/-i* as RS suffix, but it must be taken into account that *-tzi* represents /tsi/ (usually realized as [tsi]), so that the separation of *-t* and *-zi* in the glosses means that the affrication of /t/ is marking the suffix as realis. Since this affrication occurs both with the epenthetic /t/ and verbal roots finishing in /t/ (e.g. *-kant-* 'say'), there is no better way to gloss the fact that an affrication marks the difference, although it may seem strange to separate a digraph that represents only one phoneme. Examples (272) show realis *-tzi* and irrealis *-ti* occurring where they are expected according to the descriptions given for other Campan languages in Section 6.1.2, except for the negative sentence (272b), where the RS marking differs from the rest of the Campan languages. Besides negative, future and imperative examples, also examples with a desiderative sentence (272g) and conditional sentences (272h, i) are given.

- (272) a. Nonátziro.
no-na-t-zí-ro
1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
'I carry it.'
- b. Tee nonátziro.
tee no-na-t-zí-ro
NEG 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
'I don't carry it.'

- c. Nonátiro inkámani.
 no-na-t-i-ro inkámani
 1S-carry-&-IRR-3F.O tomorrow
 'I'll carry it tomorrow.'
- d. Eero nonátziro inkámani.
 eero no-na-t-zi-ro inkámani
 NEG.IRR 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O tomorrow
 'I won't carry it tomorrow.'
- e. Pinátiro! f. Eero pinátziro!
 pi-na-t-i-ro eero pi-na-t-zi-ro
 2S-carry-&-IRR-3F.O NEG.IRR 2S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
 'Carry it!' 'Don't carry it!'
- g. Nokói nohámpitimi
 no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 'I want to ask you.' (CMM)
- h. Arírika nonátiro, osheki oténanka.
 ari=rika no-na-t-i-ro osheki o-tena-nka
 AFF=COND 1S-carry-IRR-3F.O much 3F.S-be.heavy-ADJZ
 'If I carry it, it will be very heavy.'
- i. Éerorika nonátziro, eero oténakana.
 eero=rika no-na-t-zi-ro
 NEG.IRR=COND 1S-carry-&-REA-3F.O
 eero o-tena-ak-a-na
 NEG.IRR 3F.S-be.heavy-PFV-REA-1O
 'If I don't carry it, it won't be heavy for me.'

As said above, the RS opposition has been preserved in A-class verbs. As can be seen in the examples (273), reality status is marked with two different suffixes: realis *-a* and irrealis *-ya* (*-ya* actually triggers a palatalization from /t/ to /c/ in these examples). The root of the verb in (273) starts with *sh* (except (273g)), so a nasal prefix would also not be present in other Campan languages. However, the roots *-chek-* 'cut', *-kitha-* 'dress' and *-kew-* 'wash' show no trace of a nasal prefix when marked with A-class suffixes either (when they have a reflexive meaning).

- (273) a. Nòshirónta. b. Nòshiróntya.
 no-shiront-a no-shiront-ya
 1S-laugh-REA 1S-laugh-IRR
 'I'm laughing.' 'I'm going to laugh.'

- c. Pishiróntya!
pi-shiront-ya
2S-laugh-IRR
'Laugh!'
- d. Eero pishirónta!
eero pi-shiront-a
NEG.IRR 2S-laugh-REA
'Don't laugh!'
- e. Tee noshironta.
tee no-shiront-a
NEG.REA 1S-laugh-REA
'I'm not laughing.'
- f. Eero noshironta.
eero no-shiront-a
NEG.IRR 1S-laugh-REA
'I won't laugh.'
- g. Nokówaki nowéthatyàwo
no-kow-ak-i no-wetha-t-ya-ro
1S-want-PFV-FRS 1S-greet-&-IRR-3F.O
'I want to greet her.'

Examples (272) and (273) show a particular feature of UP Ashéninka different from the rest of Campan languages: the verbs in the negative clauses (272b) and (273e) are not marked irrealis, but realis.

Some verbs can show the RS opposition through a difference in the suffix class, so that A-class marking indicates realis and I-class marking, irrealis, as shown in (274).

- (274) a. Ipiya.
i-piy-a
3M.S-come.back-REA
'He is coming back.'
- b. Tee ipiya.
tee i-piy-a
NEG.REA 3M.S-come.back-REA
'He is not coming back.'
- c. Ipiyi inkámani.
i-piy-i inkámani
3M.S-come.back-IRR tomorrow
'He'll come back tomorrow.'
- d. Pipiyi!
pi-piy-i
2S-come.back-IRR
'Come back!'
- e. Eero pipiya!
eero pi-piy-a
NEG.IRR 2S-come.back-REA
'Don't come back!'
- f. Nokoyi nopiyi.
no-koy-i no-piy-i
1S-want-FRS 1S-come.back-IRR
'I want to come back.'

Another development of UP Ashéninka is the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* (the latter only in A-class verbs), which is shown in (275). This feature is discussed in detail in Section 6.3.2.2.

- (275) a. Nòmanatyéero.
no-man-atyee-ro
1S-hide-FUT-3F.O
'I will hide it.'
- b. Nòshirontatyéya.
no-shiront-atyeya
1S-laugh-FUT
'I will laugh.'

Verbs with the future suffix do not bear any (fossilized) reality status suffix, which is obligatory in all verbs. This shows that the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* most

probably originated from the progressive aspect suffix *-aty* plus the irrealis suffix *-e/-eya* (the latter used only in A-class verbs). I have said above that unstressed /i/ can be realized as [e]. This was checked by asking speakers if it would be possible to pronounce a word with [i] or [e], and they replied that there was no difference, but no speaker has approved changing *-atyee* ([ace:]) by **-atyii* ([aci:]). This confirms that the phoneme in this suffix is /e/ and its realization is much more restricted than that of /i/.

The features described in this section show that Ucayali Ashéninka has undergone changes in its reality status system that no other Campan variety has. In the next section, I examine if these changes hold in its sister variety spoken in the Gran Pajonal.

6.1.3.2. Pajonal

The literature on the Pajonal variety is very scarce. To my knowledge, the only reference with glossed texts is Heitzman (1991). She glosses the reality status suffixes as *future* and *non-future*, and consistently glosses *-i* as non-future (realis) and *-e* as future (irrealis) in I-class verbs, and *-a* as non-future reflexive and *-ya* as future reflexive in A-class verbs. The only inconsistencies always appear with *-a-e* (REG-NFUT), as in (276), where the realis (non-future) suffix should be *-i*.

Pajonal

- (276) no-heck-ap-a-e no-heck-ap-a-e no-heck-ap-a-e
 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT 1-vivir-ALL-REG-NFUT
 ‘Al volver, seguí viviendo aquí.’¹⁰⁰ (Heitzman 1991:130)

The most interesting feature in Heitzman’s texts is that the nasal prefix is absolutely missing, the same as in Ucayali. Clear examples of where one would expect it to appear are given in (277).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Coming back, I followed living here.’

Pajonal

- (277) a. ... roohatzi no-pok-ant-eya
 entonces 1-venir-DETR-FUT¹⁰¹
 '... entonces vendré.'¹⁰² (Heitzman 1991:122)
- b. no-kant-e-eya shok shok shok yow-a-a-na Tzinkañari-ki
 1-hacer-REG-FUT ir ir ir salir-REG-NFUT.REFL-1S Tzinkañari
 'Lo cruzaré y luego paso a paso, paso a paso, saldré (del monte) en Tzinkañari.'¹⁰³ (Heitzman 1991:131)
- c. i-konte-t-apa-ak-ya paashini
 3M-aparecer-&-ALL-PFV-FUT.REFL otro
 pey-ak-a-Ø...,
 desaparecer-PFV-NFUT.REFL-3S
 'Cuando otra (luna) aparezca y desaparezca...',¹⁰⁴ (Heitzman 1991:122)

Examples (277) express a future action with a verbal root starting with a voiceless stop. Therefore, if Pajonal had an irrealis nasal prefix similar to the other Campan languages, this prefix would occur in these examples.

The opposition between realis *-tzi* and irrealis *-ti*, described in Section 6.1.3.1 for Ucayali, is also present in Heitzman's (1991) Pajonal texts, yet irrealis is transcribed *-te* instead of *-ti*. The examples (278) show this feature. The verb *-iyaa-* 'go' in (278a) is marked irrealis (*future* in Heitzman's terminology) with *-e* and the epenthetic consonant *t*, while, in (278b), the same verb is marked realis with *-i* and the epenthetic consonant *tz*.

Pajonal

- (278) a. Aririka n-iyaa-t-e Tyooni-ki, no-piy-a-e intsipaete.
 cuando 1-ir-&-FUT Tyooni-LOC 1-volver-REG-FUT rápidamente
 'Cuando vaya a Tyooni, volveré rápidamente.'¹⁰⁵ (Heitzman 1991:117)
- b. No-kant-a n-iyaa-tz-i n-anonk-an-ak-a.
 1-hacer-NFUT 1-ir-&-NFUT 1-cruzar.cerro-ABL-PFV-NFUT
 'Yo empecé a cruzar las montañas.'¹⁰⁶ (Heitzman 1991:117)

¹⁰¹ Here I have to say that I totally disagree with the gloss DETR (detransitivizer). The suffix *-ant* in my field data and in other works expresses, among other meanings, the consequence of a cause. In my field data, the discourse connector *roohatzi* 'then' triggers the suffix *-ant* in the following verb, so that is most probably the reason why it occurs here. Moreover, the verb *to come* is clearly intransitive, so there is nothing to detransitivize here.

¹⁰² '...then I'll come.'

¹⁰³ 'I'll cross it and then, step by step, step by step, I'll get out (of the forest) at Tzinkañari.'

¹⁰⁴ 'When another (moon) appears and disappears...'

¹⁰⁵ 'When I go to Tyooni, I'll come back quickly.'

¹⁰⁶ 'I started to cross the mountains.'

The same distinction *t-tz* as described for Ucayali exists here, but the typical Campan opposition *e-i* is also represented. D. Payne (1983b:102) shows for Pichis the same opposition as in Heitzman's texts: *tzi-te*. However, I prefer to be cautious about Heitzman's interpretation of the RS suffix, given that, as I said in Section 6.1.3.1, the realization of /i/ in Ucayali is very broad, which could also be the case in Pajonal, and Heitzman might have been influenced by her expectation of irrealis *e* and realis *i*.

In any case, what Heitzman's (1991) examples clearly reveal is the loss of the irrealis nasal prefix, which puts Pajonal together with Ucayali, and this is a further evidence to group Pajonal with Ucayali besides phonological reasons (the innovation /s/ > /h/ described in Pedrós (2018:11)). Heitzman's texts do not reveal if a verb in a negative sentence is marked realis, as in Ucayali, or irrealis, as in the other Campan languages.

6.1.4. Conclusions

The most important contribution of this Section 6.1 intends to be to show that a Campan language has partially lost the reality status system, one of the most characteristic features of the Campan languages, given that this loss was unknown in the previous literature. However, this discovery can raise some questions about, among other topics, language change and reality status. In this section, I briefly comment on which these questions might be.

The development of reality status markers in UP Ashéninka shows a grammatical change in progress. The binary RS opposition is present in all Campan languages except in this one, in which the RS system has been lost in roughly half of all verbs. This is a token of language change and raises the question of how and why an RS system as the Campan one appears and disappears in a language.

Michael (2014:255-259) presents a good account of what he calls "the reality status debate". In this debate, some authors (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Bybee 1998; De Haan 2012) argue that reality status cannot be considered a valid cross-linguistic category, while others (Givón 1994, Mithun 1995) argue the opposite. The arguments against RS are based on the study of languages for whose description the *realis-irrealis* terminology has been used, and these arguments are mainly that the

described RS systems are too heterogeneous to form a cross-linguistic category and none of them represents what we would expect in a binary system that would differentiate real/actualized from unreal/non-actualized events. The arguments in favor of the validity of RS as a cross-linguistic category are basically that a grammatical feature should not be expected to be identical in all languages so as to be considered valid cross-linguistically. Michael's (2014) new idea is to propose Nanti's RS system, and with it the pan-Campan RS system, as a canonical prototype of RS, since this RS system shows the features that the detractors of RS as a valid grammatical category find that should be expected in a binary RS opposition. Indeed, as Michael (2014) argues, the Campan RS systems exhibit an obligatory binary opposition between realized and unrealized events, as we have seen in the previous sections. Although Swift (2008:55) already defined the Caquinte RS system as a tense opposition between *futuro/irreal* and *no-futuro/real*, he uses the terms *futuro/no-futuro* throughout his grammar, while *irreal/real* are only mentioned once, in the introduction to the category. Payne (2001) uses the terminology *realis/irrealis* in his glosses in a book chapter devoted to causatives. However, the first work on a Campan language that uses the *realis/irrealis* terminology and describes it is Michael (2008). This is probably the reason why the participants in the reality status debate did not mention any Campan language: all the works of the debate are older than Michael (2008) except De Haan (2012), where again no Campan language is mentioned, even though also Mihás (2010) had already been published with the *realis/irrealis* terminology. In this way, the Campan RS system seems to partly refute the arguments against RS as a cross-linguistic grammatical category –*partly* because many more languages would be needed in order to refute them totally.

If, instead of the pan-Campan RS system, one examined only the UP Ashéninka system, the arguments held against RS would continue to have a good basis: the RS opposition is not present in roughly half of the verbs, so a canonical example of RS system would still be missing. What may be enlightening from the pan-Campan system together with the UP Ashéninka evolution is that this example shows us how a perfect RS system evolves, and this might be a good explanation of why it is so difficult to find a good representative of our expected prototypical RS system: since

language is continuously changing, it must be very difficult that the different evolution paths of a language come together to create a perfect RS system as the pan-Campan one, and, when this happens, this system will not hold forever, but language evolution will change it and maybe make it disappear totally or partially, as is the case in UP Ashéninka. In fact, the neutralizations described in sections 6.1.2.1.4 and 6.1.2.2.4 show that every Campan language has lost the RS opposition in a few environments.

Palmer (2001:160) says: "...there are few, if any, languages where there is a simple binary contrast of realis and irrealis. This is hardly surprising, for such a binary contrast would allow for a great deal of ambiguity". Palmer probably did not know the existence of the Campan RS system, but his statement about the ambiguity of a simple binary RS contrast might explain the change undergone by UP Ashéninka. That is, the disappearance of RS marking in roughly half of the verbs poses the question of how useful this system is in a language, and the development of the UP Ashéninka future suffix (see Section 6.3.2.2) shows a token of how RS can be partially replaced with other grammatical categories.

Palmer (2001:185-187) discusses the difference between irrealis and subjunctive and says that each term belongs to a different tradition (*subjunctive* and *indicative* have been used for classical and modern European languages). However, he says that the functions of subjunctive and irrealis differ in main clauses, but that notional features associated with irrealis are also often associated with subjunctive in subordinate clauses. Indeed, in Spanish, future is expressed with the subjunctive in subordinate clauses (e.g. *cuando vuelvas...* 'when you come back...') and imperative is also expressed with subjunctive only in the negative clause (e.g. *no vuelvas* 'don't come back'). In a way, the Spanish subjunctive-indicative system could qualify for an imperfect RS system as one of those to which the detractors of RS refer when they note the lack of a canonical RS system according to our notional expectations. With this, I want to highlight the fact that languages seem to tend to establish a binary opposition between real/actualized and unreal/non-actualized events, and the ways this is performed are very different and are in constant evolution, the result of which is the picture that we have today of the different reality status or subjunctive-indicative systems. This constant evolution should make it difficult to find an example of a

perfect or canonical binary opposition between realis and irrealis. The pan-Campan RS system seems to be the most ideal candidate for this canonical binary system, and UP Ashéninka shows us that such a system is not going to hold forever and thus why it is difficult for it to exist at a specific point in time as nowadays.

The difference between UP Ashéninka and the other Campan languages in RS may show a direction in future typological research: it might be the case that the study of RS or indicative-subjunctive oppositions in closely related groups of languages might show that these oppositions have changed in some languages. If some of these cases might be identified in different groups of related languages, the comparison might yield interesting results about the evolution paths of grammatical oppositions between real/actualized and unreal/non-actualized events.

6.1.5. Other features of the reality status system in UP Ashéninka

Besides the features described in Section 6.1.3, two more that must be described did not appear in my article Pedrós (2019): they are the verb class change caused by some suffixes and the role of the RS suffixes in expressing reflexivity. These two features are described in sections 6.1.5.1 and 6.1.5.2, respectively.

6.1.5.1. Verb class change caused by some suffixes

Some suffixes cause the reality status suffix to shift from I- to A-class or vice versa. They are described in the following lines.

The 2nd person suffix *-mi* causes a preceding A-class suffix to change to I-class. In (279), the A-class verb *wethataantsi* takes the RS suffix *-i* because of the presence of *-mi*.

- (279) Nowéthatzìmi.
 N-owetha-t-zi-mi
 1S-greet-&-REA-2O
 'I greet you.'

When the RS suffix is followed by the 1st person suffix *-na*, realis is marked with A-class and irrealis with I-class suffixes, regardless of the class of the verb, except when the RS suffix is preceded by the perfective suffix *-ak*, in which case the RS

suffix is always I-class. This feature is clearly observed in (280) with its three repetitions of the I-class verb *aminaantsi* ‘look’.

- (280) **Pámininatya**, *tía*, eero **páminana**, **páminiro** *cacao*, ari.
 p-amin-i-na=tya *tía*¹⁰⁷ eero p-amin-a-na
 2S-look-IRR-1O=EMPH aunt NEG.IRR 2S-look-REA-1O
 p-amin-i-ro *cacao*¹⁰⁸ ari
 2S-look-FRS-3F.O cocoa.pod thus
 ‘Look at me, aunt, don’t look at me, look at the cocoa pod, that way.’ (CCPC)

In the third verb, the RS suffix is followed by the 3rd person feminine suffix *-ro*; thus, there is no change. The first verb is an irrealis situation (imperative), and the RS suffix is I-class, while the second verb shows the double irrealis construction described in sections 6.1.2.1.3 and 6.1.2.2.3, in which the verb is marked realis, in this case with an A-class suffix on this I-class verb.

This feature has been checked with elicitations; one with two verbs is in (281) and (282). Examples *a* show the two verbs in irrealis (imperatives) and with I-class inflection, while examples *b* show verbs marked realis (double irrealis construction) and A-inflected.

- (281) a. **Pikántina**. b. Eero **pikántana**.
 pi-kant-i-na eero pi-kant-a-na
 2S-say-IRR-1O NEG.IRR 2S-say-REA-1O
 ‘Tell me.’ ‘Don’t tell me.’
- (282) a. **Pichékinawo**. b. Eero **pichékanawo**.
 pi-chek-i-na-ro eero pi-chek-a-na-ro
 2S-cut-IRR-1O-3F.O NEG.IRR 2S-cut-REA-1O-3F.O
 ‘Cut it for me.’ ‘Don’t cut it for me.’

Example (283) shows the A-class verb *pitsipataantsi* ‘accompany’ with an I-class suffix, which is caused by the presence of *-na* and the verb in irrealis.

- (283) Nokówaki **pitsipátina**.
 no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na
 1S-want-PFV-FRS 2S-accompany-&-IRR-1O
 ‘I want you to accompany me.’ (SCS)

¹⁰⁷ *Tía* is the Spanish word for ‘aunt’. The referred woman is the wife of the speaker’s maternal uncle. The female ego vocative form for the maternal aunt is *nanaeni*, but I cannot state with certainty whether the maternal uncle’s wife is referred to as the actual maternal aunt. In Spanish, *tía* is used for all aunts and all uncles’ wives.

¹⁰⁸ *Cacao* is a Spanish word that refers to the tree, the pod and the obtained powder. I do not know if there is an Ashéninka word for it.

The verb in (283) is in irrealis because it forms a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’, but, if it were in realis, its form would be *pitsipátana*. Another checked verb with the same feature is *wethataantsi* ‘greet’: realis *owéthatana* ‘she greets me’ and irrealis *owéthatina*.

The alternation of realis *-a* and irrealis *-i* before the 1st person object suffix *-na* does not occur when the RS suffix follows the perfective suffix *-ak*. In this case, the RS suffix is always I-class, as is shown in (284) and (285).

- (284) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I’ve heard that you made someone call me.’ (CTK)
- (285) **Aréetapàkina** iroñaaka haka pinámpiki Katsinkaari.
 aree-t-ap-ak-i-na iroñaaka
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-1S now
 ha=ka pi-nampi=ki Katsinkaari
 LOC=PROX 2-community=LOC Chicosa
 ‘I have arrived right now here in your community, Chicosa.’

In (284), the verb *pikàemakàantákina* should have an A-class suffix because of the presence of the resultative suffix *-ant* (see below), but the fact that the perfective suffix *-ak* precedes the RS suffix and the 1st person suffix *-na* follows it triggers an I-class RS suffix. The verb *areetaantsi* ‘arrive’ in (285) is A-class, but the RS suffix is *-i* because it is preceded by the perfective *-ak* and followed by the 1st person suffix *-na*, in this case with the function of subject, which triggers an I-class RS suffix. Example (285) shows that the suffix *-na* does not need to be in object function to cause a verb class change, but it can also have a subject function. The change from I- to A-class triggered by a realis situation and an RS suffix preceding *-na* with subject function can be seen in (286) with the verb *iyataantsi* ‘go’, which adopts the irregular root *ha-* when the subject is suffixed (in this case, *hatá* is the abbreviation of *hataana*). On the contrary, in (287), the position of the RS suffix between the perfective *-ak* and *-na* in subject function triggers I-class inflection.

- (286) Nokanta nomákoryánaki, **hatá (hatana)**.
 no-kant-a no-makory-an-ak-i ha-t-a-na
 1S-COP-REA 1S-rest-ABL-PFV-FRS go-&-REA-1S
 ‘Then I start to rest and then I leave.’ (CCPC)

- (287) “**Hátákina** henoki, hatákina henoki.”
 ha-t-ak-i-na henoki
 go-&-PFV-FRS-1S up
 ‘“I’m going up, I’m going up” (to heaven).’ (SCS)

O’Hagan (2020:234-35) also explains for Caquinte that 1st and 2nd person suffixes can change the verb class and that the perfective suffix influences this change.

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* (288), the frustrative *-wi* (289), the anterior *-it* (290) and the resultative *-ant* (291) cause an I-class suffix to change to A-class. Regarding other functions of the suffix *-ant*, the change from I- to A-class takes place with the instrumental (292) and the time functions of the suffix (293), but not with the job function (294) (see Section 6.7.3 for a description of these functions). All verbs in the examples below are I-class, and all except the one in (294) change to A-class because of the presence of the suffixes *-awak*, *-wi*, *-it* and *-ant*.

- (288) Apaani **añáawaka**, ikántètzi... , *sábado*.
 apaani a-ña-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado
 only INCL.S-see-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O Saturday
 ‘We only see each other, how to say, on Saturday.’ (CTK)
- (289) **Ikówawita** tháwinatyàwo raniro.
 i-kow-a-wi-t-a tháwina-t-ya-ro
 3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O
 r-aniro
 3M-niece.sister’s.daughter.MP
 ‘He vainly wanted to have incestuous sex with his niece (his sister’s daughter).’
 (SCS)
- (290) Ikántaka rira... , iroka tsinani owétsikáshitákiri, ikanta, ana, **okémitzitaka**.
 i-kant-ak-a ri=ra i-ro=ka tsinani
 3MS-COP-PFV-REA M=MED DEM-F=PROX woman
 o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri i-kant-a ana
 3F.S-prepare-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP-REA genipap
 o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a
 3F.S-grate-&-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘So it was that, um..., this woman has prepared genipap for him, she has grated it before (his arrival).’ (SCS)

- (291) Íitakya kaari **pamanta** niha?
 iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 ‘Why didn’t you bring water?’ (CCPC)
- (292) **Roshétantàwo** roshétamènto.
 r-oshe-t-ant-a-ro r-oshe-t-amento
 3M.S-clean-&-INS-REA-3F.O 3M-clean-&-NMLZ.INS
 ‘He cleans it with his cloth (lit: cleaning tool).’ (PV)
- (293) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)
- (294) Owámetakinàri **owámetàntatsíri** poñínkari hanta kirinka.
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 teach-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-inka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 come.from-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST downriver
 ‘The one who taught me is a teacher coming from there, downriver.’ (CMH)

The changes triggered by the object suffixes 1st person *-na* and 2nd person *-mi* described above and illustrated in examples (279) to (287) are predominant over the changes caused by other suffixes, i.e. the changes in RS class triggered by the pronominal suffixes block any other change caused by other suffixes. This predominance is clearly shown in (284) for the suffix *-na*, where the resultative *-ant* does not change the RS suffix to A-class because of the presence of *-na*; and in (295) and (296) for the suffix *-mi*, where the resultative *-ant* and the frustrative *-wi*, respectively, do not change the RS suffix due to the presence of *-mi*.

- (295) **Nokáemantzimìri** nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta pihéekàyini hanta éeroka pinámpikì.
 no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-call-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 hempe pi-kant-a pi-heek-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
 WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-live-PL-FRS-PLLOC=DIST 2 2-community=LOC
 ‘I have called you because I want to ask you how you live there in your community.’ (CTK)
- (296) Ohámpiwitzìmi.
 o-hampi-wi-t-zi-mi
 3F.S-ask-FRU-&-REA-2O
 ‘She was asking you/She asked you in vain.’

6.1.5.2. Reflexivity

I-class verbs can acquire a reflexive meaning by shifting to A-class. A typical pair with the verb ‘wash’ is shown in (297). An example from natural texts with the verb *owankitaantsi* ‘put in a place’ is in (298): in (298a), the verb is transitive and has RS I-class inflection; in (298b), the verb is reflexive and has A-class inflection.

- (297) a. Nokéwiro. b. Nokewa.
 no-kew-i-ro no-kew-a
 1S-wash-FRS-3F.O 1S-wash-REA.REFL
 ‘I wash her/it.’ ‘I wash myself.’
- (298) a. **Rowànkityantypitzitákiro** mapíkira.
 r-owanki-tyantypitzi-t-ak-i-ro mapi=ki=ra
 3M.S-put.on.a.place-full.bag.form-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O stone=LOC=MED
 ‘He puts that with a full bag form on that stone.’ (TSJ)
- b. Irika rira, ikàntétzirikà, éentsika **rowákitakàri** irira maniro.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka eentsi=ka
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O=INT child=PROX
 r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri i-ri=ra maniro
 3M.S-put.on.a.place-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O DEM-M=MED deer
 ‘This, um..., how to say..., this child has put himself on that deer.’ (FS)

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* always triggers an I-class suffix shift to A-class. In this case, the reason is very clear because reciprocity implies reflexivity. Reflexivity is usually defined as the feature that expresses that subject and object refer to the same entity (Crystal 2008:408), whereas reciprocity implies a mutual relationship (Crystal 2008:405), which means that A and B are subjects and A is object of B and B is object of A, i.e. both A and B are subjects and objects. The relation is not exactly the same as in reflexivity, where there may be only one subject A that is its own object, but the close meanings of both concepts put them together in UP Ashéninka as in other languages (e.g. Spanish *se mira* ‘he/she looks at himself/herself’ vs. *se miran* ‘they look at each other’, both with the reflexive pronoun *se*). An example is in (299) with the verb *ñataantsi* ‘see’, which is I-class, but, in this case, the RS suffix is *-a* and carries a reflexive value.

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

6.2. Pronominal affixes

The typical verbal pattern of Campan languages is with subject prefixes and object suffixes, and this is also the case in UP Ashéninka. The subject prefix is quasi-obligatory, i.e. it occurs on the verb almost always, but the object suffix is quite optional. However, there is a special construction in which the subject can be suffixed, and it is also possible for a verb to carry no subject affix. The form of the pronominal prefixes and suffixes is presented in Section 6.2.1, while Section 6.2.2 treats the verbal constructions that depart from the more usual pattern with subject prefixes and object suffixes.

6.2.1. Subject prefixes and object suffixes

There is a set of prefixes and another one of suffixes, which are very similar to each other. The prefixes cross-reference the subject (subject of an intransitive verb and agent of a transitive verb) and the suffixes cross-reference the object (patient of a transitive verb), but there is also a special construction in which a suffix can cross-reference the subject, which is discussed in Section 6.2.2.

The pronominal suffixes always have the same form, while the prefixes are slightly different depending on the first phoneme of the stem, which yields two sets of phonological allomorphs. The sets of suffixes and prefixes are shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Pronominal verbal affixes

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

The prefixes *pi-* and *i-* before a stem starting with *e* raise the vowel to *i* (e.g. *piita*, *pi-et-a*, 2S-be.called-REA, ‘your name is’), and the same happens with the possessive prefixes in nouns starting with *e* (see Section 4.1.3). An example of the use of some

pronominal prefixes and suffixes is shown in (300), where both verbs bear a 3rd person masculine prefix and suffix.

- (300) **Rówakiri hanta, ipityáankàkiri.**
 r-ow-ak-i-ri ha=nta i-pityaank-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-put-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=DIST 3M.S-throw.head.first-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘He puts him there, he throws him head first.’ (FS)

In verbs with two objects, the indirect object (beneficiary) is placed before the direct object (301). When both are 3rd person objects, the direct object (patient) changes its form to *-ni*, while the indirect object retains the 3rd person suffix form (302). The inclusive suffix *-ae* always replaces the reality status suffix (303), and a ditransitive verb in which one of the objects is inclusive also receives the suffix *-ni*, although it is devoid of any function in this case (304). I have glossed it DO (double object) because its only function is to signal that there are two objects in the clause.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(301) Ichékanawo.
 i-chek-a-na-ro
 3M.S-cut-REA-IO-3F.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for me.’</p> | <p>(302) Ichékiniri.
 i-chek-i-ni-ri
 3M.S-cut-FRS-3O-3M.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for him.’</p> |
| <p>(303) Ichekae
 i-chek-ae
 3M.S-cut-INCL.O
 ‘He cuts us (incl.).’</p> | <p>(304) Ichékaeniro.
 i-chek-ae-ni-ro
 3M.S-cut-INCL.O-DO-3F.O
 ‘He’s cutting it for us (inclusive).’</p> |

However, two 3rd person object suffixes can co-occur in a causative construction with an ambitransitive verb as *-ow* ‘eat’. This feature is described in Section 6.6.2.1, on causatives.

6.2.2. Suffixed subject construction and absence of subject affix

The subject of a verb can be cross-referenced with a suffix instead of the usual prefix. This special construction has been described in most of the Campanist literature, but with the particularity that it is described only for intransitive verbs, with the exception of O’Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte, who shows the suffixed subject also in transitive verbs. The fact that, according to most of the Campanist literature, the suffixed subject construction (from now on, SSC) only occurs in intransitive verbs has caused it to be considered a case of ergative-absolutive alignment. Since the usual Campan construction with subject prefixes constitutes a nominative-accusative alignment, the

existence of both constructions in a language should yield a kind of split system (Dixon 1994:70-110). Therefore, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:23-24) for Apurucayali call the SSC “sistema ergativo parcial” ‘partial ergative system’; D. Payne (1983a:22) for Pichis, “construcciones absolutivas” ‘absolute constructions’; Snell (2011:867-68) for Matsigenka, “verbo participial” ‘participial verb’; Mihas (2015a:454-63 for Alto Perené and 2015b:3 for Asháninka), “fluid intransitive marking”. Michael (2008:344) states that “fluid-S marking is rare in Nanti discourse”, and Lawrence (2013:155) says that Nomatsigenka has lost “all traces of fluid-S alignment”.¹⁰⁹ Payne & Payne (2005) devote a whole article to this construction, which they call “split intransitive agreement” (p. 40). Although the article does not indicate which variety is studied, considering that the Paynes worked mainly with Pichis and Apurucayali and the examples show an /e/-/i/ distinction, it can be inferred that the variety studied in this article is Pichis. The fact that O’Hagan (2020:213-14) describes Caquinte with the SSC also in transitive verbs makes an important difference, given that he does not posit the existence of a split system nor an ergative-absolutive alignment. In Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka, the subject can also be cross-referenced with a suffix in transitive verbs. Examples with an intransitive and with a transitive verb are given in (305) and (306), respectively.

- (305) Naaka **hàtákiná** henoki.
 naaka ha-t-ak-i-na henoki
 1 go-&-PFV-FRS-1S up
 ‘I’m going up.’ (SCS)

- (306) **Ñáakina** pankotsi.
 ña-ak-i-na panko-tsi
 see-PFV-FRS-1S house-ALI
 ‘I saw a house.’

In SSC constructions involving transitive verbs, object suffixes are not admitted (306), the same as in Caquinte (O’Hagan 2020:213).

An important fact is that the subject can be cross-referenced with a suffix in all persons except in 3rd person (i.e. only in 1st, 2nd and inclusive persons). Therefore,

¹⁰⁹ It is worth noting that Dixon (1994:78-83) uses the term “fluid-S” to refer to a split based on the control that the speaker has of the activity, but none of the works mentioned here describes a split conditioned in this way.

all the authors mentioned in the preceding paragraph, including O'Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte, consider that a verb in 3rd person without any subject affix is the same construction as a verb with a suffixed subject in the other persons. Yet I have found no explanation in the Campanist literature that supports this statement. We are undoubtedly dealing with two different ways of marking the subject (absence of affix in 3rd person and suffix in the rest).

In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the SSC in UP Ashéninka and show some arguments that confirm that the absence of any affix in verbs in 3rd person may be considered the same construction as that with a suffixed subject in verbs in the other persons; nonetheless, I also describe the possibility of omitting the subject affix in any person, which implies that not all verbs in 3rd person without a subject affix should be considered equivalent to verbs with a suffixed subject in the other persons. Finally, I describe the semantic content of the SSC and argue which alignment type fits the language better.

Some verbs with a relativizing function occur most times without a subject affix, but, given its very relativizing function, they form an entirely different construction from the one discussed in this section. This relative construction is treated in sections 6.3.6 and 7.4.2.2.

6.2.2.1. Do verbs in 3rd person without any subject affix belong to the suffixed subject construction?

Payne & Payne's article (2005) and Mihás' (2015a:454-63) section "Patterns of indexation of S arguments" are the works that devote the longest texts to studying the SSC. Payne & Payne (2005) describe some restrictions of their so-called "split intransitive agreement": verbs with this construction require an aspect suffix and cannot occur with some suffixes that Payne & Payne (2005:39-40, 42-43) list. Mihás (2015a:456) says that "imperatives, hortatives, content interrogatives introduced by the question word *tsika*, and verbal predicates of main clauses, negated by the negative particles *te* 'negative realis' and *airo* 'negative irrealis' do not allow the fluid intransitive marking". In UP Ashéninka, the SSC can occur without aspect suffixes, differently from Payne & Payne's Pichis, and cannot occur with imperatives,

hortatives and negative clauses, as in Mihas' Alto Perené; moreover, it cannot occur with the progressive aspect suffix *-atzi*. Regarding interrogatives introduced with *tsiká* and the suffixes listed by Payne & Payne, I do not have data to confirm whether UP Ashéninka also has these restrictions.

If the same restrictions apply to intransitive verbs in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive with the subject cross-referenced with a suffix, and to intransitive verbs without any subject affix in 3rd person, it seems reasonable to think that both constructions are equivalent. Another reason to consider them equivalent is that, if they were not equivalent, we would have incomplete paradigms in both cases (lack of 3rd person in the former case and lack of 1st and 2nd person and inclusive in the latter case). Yet I can give additional solid grounds to consider that both constructions are equivalent in UP Ashéninka.

A speaker told me that the 1st person equivalent of a verb in 3rd person with zero marking (*hatákowítaka*) would be this verb with a 1st person suffix. This word must be considered in the context of its sentence in (307), otherwise it makes little sense.

- (307) **Hatákowítaka** itayéeterini, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 'Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.' (SCFF)

Hatákowítaka was translated in Spanish as *faltando poco*, which can be translated in English as 'the time approaching' or 'the time being close'. The speaker said that *hatákowítakana*, with the 1st person suffix *-na* at the end, would mean the same in 1st person (*faltándome poco* 'the time approaching for me'). Here we have an SSC that acquires a meaning different from the verb 'go', on which it is built. It is interesting that *hatákowítaka* has no pronominal affix, is used in 3rd person and the speaker admits the same meaning, different from that of the verbal root, for the 1st person when a 1st person suffix is added.

Another argument in favour of considering that a verb in 3rd person without a subject affix is an SSC is the defective verb *kaakitaantsi* 'arrive', which cannot take subject prefixes, but only subject suffixes. This is the only verb with this feature that has come to my knowledge. An example is in (308).

- (308) **Káakitapàki** páashini.
 kaaki-t-ap-ak-i páashini
 arrive-&-ALL-PFV-FRS other
 ‘Another one has arrived.’ (SCS)

All six instances of the verb *kaakitaantsi* in my corpus are in 3rd person and have no subject affix attached. When this verb first appeared in a natural text and I questioned the consultant trying to find out the stem, I was surprised because he did not accept any subject prefix with this verb, but, when asked to formulate it in 1st or 2nd person, he always formed the verb with subject suffixes (309).

- (309) a. **Káakitàkina** b. **Káakitàkimi**.
 kaaki-t-ak-i-na kaaki-t-ak-i-mi
 arrive-&-PFV-FRS-1S arrive-&-PFV-FRS-2S
 ‘I have arrived.’ ‘You have arrived.’

This implies that this verb takes only subject suffixes, but not prefixes. This verb means ‘arrive’, but appears to be used to denote that someone has *just* arrived. The consultant’s explanation regarding examples (307) and (308) seems to confirm the general Campanist thesis that posits that the absence of affixes in 3rd person intransitive verbs is equal in meaning to intransitive verbs with 1st person, 2nd person and inclusive subjects marked with a suffix.

6.2.2.2. Subject prefix omission

The problem with the thesis presented in the previous Section 6.2.2.1 comes from the existence of some verbs in 1st and 2nd person without any subject affix. I.e. if verbs in 1st and 2nd person can occur without any subject affix, they obviously do not belong to the SSC, which is formed with a suffixed subject, so we cannot believe that all verbs in 3rd person without a subject affix belong to the SSC. A speaker told me that the subject prefix can be dropped just to abbreviate, which seems to be the case in some cases. Mihas (2015a:444-45) for Alto Perené says that the subject prefix can be elided in transitive verbs in the presence of a full pronoun. For intransitive verbs, she shows an example of a verb with a relativizing function, of which I said above

that I consider them to belong to an entirely different construction.¹¹⁰ In any case, there are in my corpus some verbs in 1st and 2nd person without a subject affix and without the presence of a full pronoun, yet they are very scarce. The only two examples of verbs in 1st person without a subject affix are in (310) and (311). Example (310) has a full pronoun accompanying the verb, while the referred verb in (311) is a complement of *kowaantsi* ‘want’.

(310) Naaka hatatzi.

naaka ha-t-atzi

I go-&-PROG

‘I’m going to be going (to the place mentioned in the conversation).’ (CMM)

(311) Iroñaaka nokówaki **iri** kamarampi. Nokówaki pitsipátina.

iroñaaka no-kow-ak-i ir-i kamarampi

now 1S-want-PFV-FRS drink-FRS ayahuasca

no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na

1S-want-PFV-FRS 2S-accompany-&-IRR-1O

‘Now I want to drink ayahuasca. I want you to accompany me.’ (SCS)

In (310), the verb is preceded by a full pronoun, but is intransitive; thus, it does not fit Mihas’ description of elided subject prefixes for Alto Perené because the verb does not bear the suffix that Mihas calls *stative* and I call *participle*. In (311), the transitive verb *iraantsi* ‘drink’ is a complement of *kowaantsi* ‘want’ and is not accompanied by any full pronoun. Complements of *kowaantsi* are normally inflected with subject prefixes, as the second clause in (311), also formed with *kowaantsi*, shows. Regarding the 2nd person, the examples also are very scarce: just three, one of which occurs five times in a conversation. One of these occurrences is shown in (312) carrying an object suffix.

(312) **Ñáakiro**, okíthoki...

ña-ak-i-ro o-kíthoki

see-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-seed

‘You see them, the seeds.’ (CCPC)

In my text corpus, there is a big difference in the frequency of verbs without a subject affix in the 3rd person and in the other persons. The number of occurrences of each person with prefixed and suffixed subjects and with no subject affix including

¹¹⁰ Mihas (2015a:444-45) says that an intransitive verb without a subject affix “requires the marker of stative aspect”. This marker is the suffix that I have called *participle* and has a relativizing and adjective-like function (see Section 6.3.6).

its percentage in each category is shown in Table 29. The percentages in the person columns indicate the proportion inside each affixation way; in the total of verbs column, the percentages indicate the proportion regarding the total of verbs.

Table 29. Frequency of verbs according to the affixation of its subject in each person in my corpus of natural texts

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Inclusive	Total of verbs
Prefixed subject	209 (20%)	116 (11%)	687 (64%)	51 (5%)	1,063 (92%)
No subject affix	2 (2%)	7 (8%)	74 (89%)	0%	83 (7%)
Suffixed subject	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0%	0%	5 (0.4%)

I should add that, regarding the verbs with no subject affix, out of the 74 in 3rd person, 16 (21%) are transitive, all 7 verbs in 2nd person are transitive, and 1 of the 2 verbs in 1st person is transitive.

The table shows that subject omission is much more frequent in 3rd person. Obviously, since 3rd person subjects are never cross-referenced with a suffix, there is no instance of this type.

So far, we have seen that verbs in 1st and 2nd person with no subject affix cannot be considered an SSC because the SSC is marked with a subject suffix. Thus, in the case of these verbs with no subject affix, I consider that the best interpretation is that the subject has been dropped just to abbreviate, as a speaker told me (in her words in Spanish, “por abreviar”). I will call this construction *construction with omission of the subject affix* (COSA). In 3rd person, we saw in the previous Section 6.2.2.1 that the SSC is marked with Ø, so that, in 3rd person, the form of a verb in an SSC is identical with its form in a COSA. This poses the question of whether there is a way to differentiate both constructions despite their identical forms. Examples (313) and (314) show two verbs in 3rd person with no subject affix, (313) transitive and (314) intransitive.

- (313) **Kimatzíro** pòshināanikitàki yatharékitho meirí.
 kim-atzi-ro poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i i-yatharékitho méyiri
 feel-PROG-3F.O tasty-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle squirrel
 ‘He is feeling that the squirrel’s testicle is tasty.’ (TSJ)

- (314) **Píinkaki** eentsi; irika éentsinikà ipíinkakìra nihaaki.
 piink-ak-i eentsi i-ri=ka
 fall.in.the.water-PFV-FRS child DEM-M=PROX
 eentsi-ni=ka i-piink-ak-i=ra niha=ki
 child-INTS=PROX 3M.S-fall.in.the.water-PFV-FRS=MED water=LOC
 ‘The child falls in the water. This little child has fallen in the water.’ (FS)

In example (313), the verb *kimatzíro* is transitive and bears an object suffix. In (314), *píinkaki* is intransitive. Interestingly, it is followed by a sentence with the same verb inflected with a subject prefix and with the subject noun accompanied by a demonstrative and a diminutive suffix, and the locative complement (*nihaaki* ‘in the water’) is expressed, although the locative reference is contained in the meaning of the verb (‘fall *in* the water’), i.e. it seems as if the second clause were a development or a more explicit clarification of the first one. Since an SSC cannot occur with object suffixes, we should conclude that (313) is not an SSC, but a COSA. In the case of (314), the verbal morphology does not tell us to which construction the verb should belong.

6.2.2.3. Semantic content of the suffixed subject construction

Regarding the semantic content that the SSC may convey, Payne & Payne (2005:41) say that the speakers consider that their absolutive (verb with a subject suffix) and nominative (verb with a subject prefix) constructions have the same meaning, and this has also been my own experience with my consultants, although I got some further explanation after I inquired in which situations they would use one or the other form, as I explain below. Thus, if the difference between an SSC and a typical construction with a prefixed subject is so subtle that the speakers cannot explain it when asked, it is logical to think that there might be a great deal of variation between different Ashé-Ashá varieties, given that a subtle semantic difference should be more prone to change than a clear-cut difference, and this change might take different directions in different dialects.¹¹¹ This variety can also be found in the morphological restriction

¹¹¹ This is something that can be observed in any language with which one is familiar. For example, in American Spanish, the courtesy difference in the 2nd person pronoun *tú-usted* disappears in plural (only *ustedes* is used), but it remains in European Spanish (*vosotros-ustedes*). This is a difference that affects the courtesy treatment only in plural, but it is difficult to find a heavy grammatical difference, for instance the difference from Portuguese

described by Payne & Payne (2005:39-40) that requires an aspect suffix for verbs in their split intransitive agreement; my text corpus contains 16 verbs with no subject and no aspect affix: 2 in 1st person, 1 in 2nd person and the rest in 3rd person. Moreover, I have heard the frequent expressions *hataana* ‘I’m leaving’ and *hateemi* ‘you’re leaving’, which bear no aspect suffix. Furthermore, the fact that 1st and 2nd person verbs (transitive and intransitive) and transitive verbs in 3rd person can occur without a subject affix, as examples (310) to (313) show, presents morphological constructions quite different from those described by Payne & Payne (2005) and Mihas (2015a).

As said above, my consultants pointed out a slight difference when I questioned them whether they would use a construction with a prefixed or a suffixed subject in the same or different situations: their answers tended to show that the suffixed subject is used when the action expressed by the verb is happening in that very moment, or is going to happen immediately, or has just happened a moment ago. A particularly telling example was provided by a speaker when she told me that she would say *hataana* (ha-t-a-na, go-&-REA-1S) instead of *niyaatzi* (n-iyaa-t-zi, 1S-go-&-REA),¹¹² both meaning ‘I’m going’, if she got up immediately after uttering this word and left. Another example is the difference that another speaker found between *kamákina* (kam-ak-i-na, die-PFV-FRS-1S), which he translated as *me estoy muriendo* ‘I’m dying’, and *nokámaki* (no-kam-ak-i, 1S-die-PFV-FRS), translated as *ya voy a morir* ‘I’m just going to die’. Also, I witnessed a speaker saying to another one *pokemi?* (pok-i-mi, come-FRS-2S) ‘did you come?’, actually better translated as ‘so you came’, when the addressee had just arrived. These examples together with the explanations of these and other speakers transmit the idea of highlighting that the action is happening in the very moment in which one is speaking, or is going to happen immediately, or has just happened.

in the auxiliary verb to form the perfective periphrastic forms (*haber* in Spanish and *ter* in Portuguese, cognate of Spanish *tener*). With this I mean that dialectal differences tend to be grammatically *light*, while different languages tend to differ in *heavier* aspects of grammar. Therefore, a subtle grammatical difference should be more prone to dialectal variation.

¹¹² This is the only verb that I know that has a different root when it occurs without a prefix.

As said above, the semantic content of the SSC may vary between varieties, but Payne & Payne's (2005) description of their split transitive agreement, although arriving at different conclusions from mine, points to a similar meaning. Payne & Payne (2005:47) say that, in their corpus of 3,600 words, they found 189 O-perfective verbs and 146 S-perfective verbs¹¹³ –although they do not mention it, I assume that they are referring to 146 intransitive verbs; otherwise the percentage of verbs in a corpus of 3,600 words would be too small, and their subsequent argumentation would make little sense. In my case, in a text corpus of approximately 3,300 words, I have counted 58 intransitive verbs without a subject prefix and 253 with a subject prefix (I have excluded verbalized adjectives and nouns, relative constructions and copulas). These figures are summarized in Table 30 and show the big difference between Pichis and Ucayali-Pajonal in the use of both constructions.

Table 30. Number and percentage of intransitive verbs with and without a subject prefix in Payne & Payne's (2005) and my corpus

	Verbs without a subject prefix (Payne & Payne's O-perfective)	Verbs with a subject prefix (Payne & Payne's S-perfective)	Words in corpus
Pichis	189 (56%)	146 (44%)	~3,600
Ucayali-Pajonal	58 (19%)	253 (81%)	~3,300

Payne & Payne (2005:47) say that, out of their 146 S-perfective verbs, only 29 are not affected by the restrictions that apply to them, i.e. only 29 might be replaced by the equivalent O-perfective verb and would still be grammatical. Payne & Payne (2005:51-52) argue that their split intransitivity is pragmatically governed and give a very good example in a question posed to a speaker: in a story with several O-perfective verbs in 3rd person (without any subject affix) that relate actions carried out by a deer, the speaker was given the same text with S-perfective verbs (with subject prefixes) to check if he found any difference, and "Perez's answer, after some thought, was that in the first version (with the O-perfective forms) the deer's actions (opening his eyes, shouting, thinking) seemed to all happen at once and in the same

¹¹³ Payne & Payne (2005) call *O-perfective* verbs those without a subject affix in 3rd person or with a suffixed subject in the other persons, and call *S-perfective* verbs those inflected with the more usual subject prefix.

spot. While the second, contrived version (with the S-perfective forms) gave him the feel of much passing time” (Payne & Payne 2005:52). I think that this description has much in common with my consultants’ answers. Since this is a story, the action of the verbs cannot occur at the very moment that one is speaking, but they occur all at once, just the same as the example of the speaker who would say *hataana* and then go immediately. Based on this answer of their consultant, Payne & Payne (2005:50) consider that O-perfective verbs “mark the main story line of a narrative, and tend to cluster at the climax”, but my opinion is that they transmit a sense of immediacy, which obviously marks the climax in a told story, but can also be used in a conversation to express that something is going to happen immediately, or is happening in that very moment, or has just happened. Mihas (2015a:459-63) enumerates some possible causes for her fluid intransitive marking, which she sums up (p. 463) as “a combination of factors, such as semantic properties of the event and its participant, grammatical constraints, and discourse pragmatics”. Therefore, Payne & Payne’s (2005) and Mihas’ (2015a) interpretations do not fit the typical explanation of a fluid-S system given by Dixon (1994:78): an intransitive verb with the subject marked as the agent of the transitive “controls the activity”, and, when it is marked as the object, “control is lacking”.

Summing up, my conclusion is that the SSC expresses immediacy (immediate past or immediate future), or simultaneity, which I consider to belong to the category of tense rather than aspect, given that it indicates the interval of time in which the event takes place, and this interval includes from the very near past to the very near future regarding the moment in which the utterance is done or a situation is described. I show below some examples that illustrate my conclusion. The only example of an SSC in 2nd person in my text corpus is in (315).

(315) Nokémaki **aréetakimi** haka nonámpiki, rowa...

no-kem-ak-i aree-t-ak-i-mi
1S-hear-PFV-FRS arrive-&-PFV-FRS-2S

ha=ka no-nampi=ki ro=ra
LOC=PROX 1-community=LOC F=MED

‘I have heard that you’ve just arrived here in my community, um...’ (CTK)

In (315), with the SSC in *aréetakimi*, the speaker remarks that her addressee has arrived in her community a short time ago –or at least this is what she has heard. An

example of the SSC in 1st person is in (316), which also shows the abbreviation of an SSC construction.

- (316) Nokanta nomákoryánaki, **hatá**.
 no-kant-a no-makori-an-ak-i ha-t-a
 1S-COP-REA 1S-rest-ABL-PFV-FRS go-&-REA
 ‘Then I start to rest and then I leave.’ (CCPC)

The particularity of (316) is that the verb with the SSC is abbreviated, so that the full form *hataana* ‘I go’ becomes *hatá*. This speaker used several abbreviations during this conversation (e.g. *oká* for *okantzi* ‘she says’, *noká* for *nokantzi* ‘I say’, always dropping the last syllable and the nasal coda of the penultimate if it had one), so his abbreviation here is no wonder. I said in Section 6.2.2.2 that the tendency to abbreviate could be the reason for the COSA, but *hatá* (pronounced [haˈt:a]) is a clear example of an SSC with an abbreviation.

As pointed out in the introduction to this Section 6.2.2, O’Hagan (2020:213) for Caquinte is the only author who describes a subject suffix in transitive verbs in a Campan language. This is also possible in UP Ashéninka, although it appears to be a rare occurrence since there is no case in my corpus of natural texts and I discovered it through elicitation. The SSC with transitive verbs admits an explicit object, but not an object suffix accompanying the subject suffix, the same as in O’Hagan’s Caquinte (2020:213). An example is in (317).

- (317) Owákina (kaniri).
 ow-ak-i-na kaniri
 eat-PFV-FRS-1S cassava
 ‘I’ve just eaten (cassava).’

Kaniri ‘cassava’ is between parentheses to indicate that the sentence is grammatical with and without the explicit object, so that an ambitransitive verb as *owaantsi* ‘eat’ can be inflected with the SSC transitively and intransitively. However, the form **owákinawo*, with the 3rd person feminine object suffix *-ro* (realized /wo/) is ungrammatical. The SSC can also be used with only transitive verbs, as in (318).

- (318) Áakina hantari.
 a-ak-i-na hantari
 take-PFV-FRS-1S wood
 ‘I’ve just taken wood’.

6.2.2.4. Verbs in 3rd person with no subject affix: SSC or COSA?

Once the semantic content of the SSC has been ascertained, the question is whether the COSA also has a specific semantic content. We have to take into account that abbreviations exist in well-known languages as English, and there seems to be no important semantic difference between ‘he’s’ and ‘he has’, so it may be the case that dropping the subject prefix is just an occurrence in fast speech without any semantic implication. The difference between the SSC and the COSA in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive is morphologically recognisable, but, in the 3rd person, both constructions have the same form. I show below several examples of verbs in 3rd person without any subject affix, which might represent an SSC or a COSA.

- (319) **Hàpokatyénkarikitanàka**, ipityàankatyénkarikitanàka.
 hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 jump-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA
 i-pityaank-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 3M.S-throw.head.first-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA.REFL
 ‘He jumps spread-legged, he throws himself spread-legged.’ (FS)
- (320) **Hápokanáka**, okimitaka, rówaga..., inchàtáatoki. Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanáka.
 hapok-an-ak-a o-kimi-t-ak-a ro-raga inchàtáato=ki
 jump-ABL-PFV-REA 3F.S-be.similar-&-PFV-REA F-CAT.DEM trunk=LOC
 i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a
 3M.S-leave.a.place-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-jump-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He jumps, as..., um..., to the trunk. He leaves, he jumps.’ (TSJ)

In (319) and (320), and also in (314) above, the speaker utters the verb without a subject affix and then utters a verb with the subject prefix. In (319), the stems of both verbs are different but have a similar meaning. The three examples are from narratives, so it seems that, with this kind of construction, the speaker wants to stamp some dynamism on the narrative with a shortened verb, and then he goes on to utter the verb that explains the event in more detail.

- (321) Tee, naaka nóokanàkiro: “**kóeratawàki**, niyáatakitiita”.
 tee naaka n-ook-an-ak-i-ro
 NEG.REA 1 1S-leave-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 koera-t-awak-i n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita
 watch.over-&-DES-FRS 1S-go-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-ROPT
 ‘No, I left her: “watch over (the house), I’m leaving for a while”.’ (CMM)

In (321), the verb is the Spanish loan *koera*, from *cuidar* ‘watch over’ adapted to the Ashéninka phonology. In this case, the fact that *kóeratawàki* is an imperative may be the reason of the absence of a subject prefix.

- (322) Máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta **hátanaki** rirori ante ipánkopaeni ótsipaki nampitsi.
 máaweni a-shéninka heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
 all INCL-fellow.person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
 ha-t-an-ak-i riroriant-i i-panko=paeni o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 go-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M make-IRR 3M-house=PL F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘All the Ashéninkas who lived there went to make their houses in another place.’ (OS)

The key question is whether the verbs in bold in examples (319) to (326) build an SSC or a COSA. As mentioned above, in (319) and (320), the narrator appears to use the verbs without a subject affix so as to stamp some dynamism, i.e. to convey a sense of immediacy. Thus, (319) and (320) might be considered an SSC. In (322), the verb *iyaantsi* ‘go’ is used with the root *ha-* in the absence of a subject prefix, as in (310) and (316)¹¹⁴; the sentence in (322) is part of a narrative and is uttered after the speaker told that those people had gathered in a meeting and it had finished, so it is possible that the narrator wants to express that those people went to another place immediately after the meeting finished, and then *hátanaki* would be an SSC, but it would also be possible that the speaker omits the subject prefix because of the repetition of the subject with two noun phrases (*máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta* and *rirori*), and, in this case, the verb would be a COSA. As mentioned above, (321) is special because the root is a loan from a Spanish imperative and the verb is also an imperative in Ashéninka.

- (323) Owákira **etyawo**?
 owákira et-ya-ro
 new start-IRR-3F.O
 ‘Is he going to start it soon?’ (CMM)

¹¹⁴ *Ha-* is the allomorph of the root *-iyaa-* ‘go’ when the verb has no prefix. As far as I know, this is the only verb with this feature.

- (324) Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, **ñáapàtziri** meiri.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-come-PFV-FRS 3M-back-POSS
 ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri
 see-ALL-PROG-3M.O squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, he came from behind him (the squirrel), he is watching the squirrel.’ (TSJ)
- (325) Manitzi tee rowawo iyàtharékitho, rowa..., **kímiwitàka**..., ikántètzi..., rowa..., irika rira meiri.
 manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékitho ro=ra
 jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-eat-REA-3F.O 3M-testicle F=MED
 kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 be.similar-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED squirrel
 ‘The jaguar hasn’t eaten his testicle, um..., it is erroneously similar, how to say..., um..., to this squirrel’s one.’ (TSJ)
- (326) Eentsi ithòmákiri rótsitzitè. Eentsi **káemawitàri** pirinto.
 eentsi i-thom-ak-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti
 child 3M.S-hug-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-dog-POSS
 eentsi kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 child call-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog
 ‘The child hugs his dog. The child calls the frog.’ (FS)

Examples (323), (324), (325) and (326) are transitive verbs, and all except (325) bear an object suffix. Since the SSC does not admit object suffixes, we should conclude that these examples are a COSA. The root *-kimi-* ‘seem, be similar’ appears four times in my text corpus without any pronominal affix, all of them except (325) with the barer form *kimitaka*, i.e. as in (325) but without the frustrative suffix *-wi*. All these occurrences are in narratives in which the narrator explains what it seems to be in the line of the story. Therefore, this verb is not used as forming part of the line of events of the story, but it is rather an explanation by the narrator, so that it does not seem to qualify for an SSC; probably, the frequent omission of the subject prefix in this verb is related to its impersonal use (its translation is ‘it seems’, but this ‘it’ has no actual reference: it appears in the translation because a subject must be present in English). The verbs in bold in (323) and (324) should be excluded from being an SSC because they bear an object suffix, but the situation would make these verbs appear as good candidates for the expression of immediacy: in (323), the adverb

accompanying the verb (*owákira* ‘soon’ in this context) already expresses that something is going to start immediately; in (324), the jaguar is watching the squirrel at the same time as it approaches it, so that the verb *ñáapàtziri* ‘he is watching him’ occurs at the same time as the previous *ipókaki* ‘he comes’. However, (326) was uttered while showing the consultant a series of pictures, hence the two different sentences, both with an explicit subject (each sentence describes a different picture), and this context avoids that the speaker links a series of verbs that describe events that occur at the same time or immediately following one another.

The SSC and the COSA in 3rd person overlap in form, but the discussion in the previous paragraph shows that they may also overlap in meaning and that it is really very difficult to ascertain to which construction each verb belongs. This section has posited that the morphologically identifiable SSC in 1st and 2nd person and inclusive expresses a sense of immediacy in time. Section 6.2.2.1 demonstrates that the SSC is marked with null in 3rd person, as the previous Campanist research posits, so the same expression of immediacy in time must also be present in the 3rd person, but the formal overlap with the COSA implies that not all subject-affixless verbs in 3rd person express immediacy in time.

6.2.2.5. Alignment

The final question is what kind of alignment should be posited for the different constructions described in the previous sections. The more usual verbal construction with the affixes shown in Table 28 constitutes a clear nominative-accusative alignment with A and S cross-referenced with a prefix and O with a suffix. Regarding the SSC, the affixes used in this construction are shown in Table 31, which allow us to clearly see which arguments are marked equally to or differently from each other.

Table 31. Suffixes used in the suffixed subject construction (SSC)

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Inclusive
Subject (S)	-na	-mi	Ø	-ae
Agent (A)	-na	-mi	Ø	-ae
Patient (O)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø

In 3rd person, all arguments receive no mark on the verb; thus, all of them are marked in the same way, and this is what is called in the literature *neutral alignment* (e.g. Siewierska 1996:153). In the rest of the persons (1st, 2nd and inclusive), S and A are marked in the same way and differently from O, which points to a nominative-accusative alignment. In this section, also the construction that I have called COSA (construction with omission of subject affix) has been treated. Table 32 shows the affixes used in the COSA.

Table 32. Suffixes used in the construction with omission of subject affix (COSA)

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person masculine	3rd person feminine	Inclusive
Subject (S)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Agent (A)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Patient (O)	-na	-mi	-ri	-ro	-ae

It results quite obvious that the COSA has a nominative-accusative alignment in all persons due to its subject and agent being marked in the same way and the object differently from them. Nonetheless, I consider that the COSA is simply an abbreviation of the usual way of marking with subject prefixes and object suffixes in which the suffix is dropped in casual speech or impersonal verbs with no actual subject as in (325) with *kímiwitàka* ‘seem’.

In any case, we can conclude that UP Ashéninka has a nominative-accusative alignment except in the 3rd person of the SSC, in which the alignment is neutral, and this holds independently of whether the COSA is taken into account or is considered just a mere abbreviation of the more common way of marking with subject prefixes and object suffixes.

Dixon (1994:85) establishes a hierarchy that says that 3rd persons are more likely to be in object than in subject function and that it is “most natural and economical to ‘mark’ a participant when it is in an unaccustomed role”. According to this, it would be more natural and economical to mark the subject in the 3rd person. This appears to be in contradiction with the suffixes in Table 31. However, this set of suffixes has a logical explanation. The 3rd person is more likely than the 1st or the 2nd to be in

object function, and this implies that verbs with a 3rd person object suffix are much more frequent than verbs with a 1st or 2nd person object suffix.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the null subject suffix avoids the ambiguity that might arise if SSC verbs in 3rd person were marked with a subject suffix, given that they would have the same form as COSA verbs in 3rd person with a 3rd person object suffix. However, a verb with a 1st or 2nd person suffix and no prefix can cross-reference a 1st or 2nd person subject in an SSC, or a 3rd person subject and a 1st or 2nd person object in a COSA; since a situation with a 3rd person subject and a 1st or 2nd person object is infrequent, the ambiguity in verbs with a 1st or 2nd person suffix is very unlikely because this suffix cross-references the subject in most cases.

The fact that subjects of transitive verbs can be marked with a suffix rules out a split alignment system, as postulated in most of the Campanist literature (see the introduction to this Section 6.2.2). However, it cannot be overseen that the SSC with transitive verbs is a very rare occurrence. The question that arises is whether this is an innovation of UP Ashéninka and Caquinte or whether this feature existed in other Campan languages and disappeared. Yet more, another question should not be avoided: whether this feature actually exists in other Campan languages and has been missed by the linguists that described them, which would not be surprising given its rare occurrence –I have no instance of transitive verbs marked with a subject suffix in my text corpus, but I discovered it only through elicitation by proposing transitive verbs with a suffix cross-referencing the subject to two different consultants.

If SSCs with transitive verbs were not taken into account, there would be a split system in UP Ashéninka, and this split would happen to be the one described by Dixon (1994:97-101) as “split conditioned by tense/aspect/mood”. Dixon (1994:99) says that, “if a split is conditioned by tense or aspect, the ergative marking is *always* found in past tense or in perfective aspect”. In Section 6.2.2.1, I said that an SSC can bear no aspect suffix; however, out of five SSCs in 1st and 2nd person in my corpus (the only

¹¹⁵ This is a theoretical prediction, but, after counting object suffixes in my corpus, it is confirmed by the following results: there are 21 1st person object suffixes (5% of the total object suffixes), 21 of 2nd person (5%), 3 of inclusive (0.7%) and 408 of 3rd person (90%). It can be argued that the 3rd person probably occurs more often in general, but this 90% can be compared with the 64% of subject prefixes in 3rd person in Table 29.

ones that are SSC with absolute certainty), only one does not bear the perfective suffix. Moreover, the SSC does not admit the progressive suffix, the most frequent marker of imperfectivity. Dixon's statement cited above is based on empirical data from several languages, but he discusses a rationale for this fact, and it is that "something that has not yet happened is best thought as a propensity of the potential agent ('That man might hit someone', rather than 'That person might get hit by someone'); this must involve A and S NPs as a pivot" (Dixon 1994:99), while "a series of completed events could be related to O and S as pivots".¹¹⁶ This rationale can be applied to the concept of immediacy expressed by the SSC. This immediacy can refer to an event that is going to occur in the immediate future, but the immediacy implies that the speaker certainly knows that the event is going to take place, differently from other statements about the future. Also, an immediate past is better known by the speaker than a more remote past, of which the speaker may have forgotten some detail. Therefore, Dixon's (1994:97-99) exposition of the relation between an alignment split and tense/aspect/mood fully applies to the SSC's expression of immediacy.

Summing up, if we consider Table 31, the obvious inference is that the UP Ashéninka SSC has a nominative-accusative alignment in all persons but in 3rd, in which the alignment is neutral. Nonetheless, there is the possibility of considering suffixed subjects in transitive verbs as an anomaly or an exception to the system, given their rare occurrence. If we chose this possibility and considered the system taking aside this rare occurrence, we could not talk about SSC any more, but we should say that A is marked with a prefix, O with a suffix and S normally with a prefix, but there is a special construction in which S can be marked with a suffix, which yields a split conditioned by tense, namely immediate past, immediate future or concurrence with regard to the moment in which one is speaking or, in a narrative, to the moment about which the narrator is speaking.

¹¹⁶ The concept of *pivot* is defined by Dixon (1994:11) as follows: "If a language treats S and A in the same way for rules of clause combining, it will be said to have an 'S/A pivot'; if S and O are treated in the same way, we will talk of an 'S/O pivot'."

6.2.2.6. Summary and conclusions

The preceding sections have discussed the verbal constructions that constitute a departure from the typical Campan verbal construction with subject prefixes and object suffixes. These departures have received different approaches in the Campanist literature. I have arrived at several conclusions regarding these constructions in UP Ashéninka, which are summarized in the following numbered list:

1. In UP Ashéninka, the subject can be marked with a suffix also in transitive verbs, as in Caquinte (O'Hagan 2020:213) and unlike in the other Campan languages, in which, according to their descriptions (see several references in the introduction to this Section 6.2.2), a subject suffix can occur only in intransitive verbs. I have called verbs with a suffixed subject *suffixed subject construction* (SSC).
2. All descriptions of Campan languages say that the subject can be marked with a suffix only in 1st, 2nd and inclusive persons, and, in 3rd person, the equivalent construction is marked with a null suffix, but none of these descriptions gives arguments to support this equivalence. I give some arguments confirming that this statement is partly the case in UP Ashéninka.
3. I describe the possibility of dropping the subject prefix just to abbreviate in all persons. I have called the verbs with this feature *construction with omission of subject affix* (COSA). Only Mihás (2015a:444-45) for Alto Perené describes this possibility, but only in transitive verbs accompanied by a full pronoun, restrictions that do not exist in UP Ashéninka. Therefore, this feature, as I describe it, is novel in the Campanist literature.
4. According to my fieldwork findings and also based on Payne & Payne's (2005:52) explanations, I posit that the semantic content of the SSC is to express that the event takes place in the immediate past, in the immediate future or concurrently with regard to the moment in which the speaker is talking, or, in narratives, to the point in time that is being narrated.
5. I show that, in 3rd person, the SSC and the COSA have an identical form, which poses a big difficulty so as to know to which construction a verb in 3rd person without a subject affix belongs.

6. Taking into account the usual construction with subject prefixes and object suffixes, the SSC and the COSA, the alignment is nominative-accusative except in SSCs in 3rd person, in which it is neutral. However, since the SSC in transitive verbs is very rare, this occurrence might be considered as an anomaly, and, in that case, the UP Ashéninka alignment would be the one that Dixon (1994:97-101) calls a “split conditioned by tense/aspect/mood” due to the semantic content described in 4.

All the issues treated in the preceding sessions leave many open questions for future research in all Campan languages. In Section 6.2.2.5, I said that it is possible that more Campan languages admit a suffixed subject in transitive verbs, which might have been missed by the linguists describing them. Likewise, there may be many important issues that I have missed: I have not had the time to research which of the numerous Ashéninka suffixes an SSC may have, nor whether all verbs are suitable for the SSC, nor different person combinations of subject and object in the SSC and the COSA. Any linguist working on a Campan language with time, means and interest to research the verbal patterns different from the typical prefixed subject and suffixed object has a broad field of study.

6.3. Aspect and tense

The Campan languages have been described as having a category of aspect but not of tense, although older grammars described the opposition realis-irrealis as future-nonfuture (see Section 6.1 for an account of the different descriptions of RS in Campan languages). Moreover, Mihas describes some past tense markers in Alto Perené (2015a:260-66) and Tambo-Ene (2015b).

In this section, all UP Ashéninka aspectual and temporal markers that I have been able to ascertain are described. The theoretical basis for the analysis of aspect is Comrie (1976), according to whose division of aspect the section is structured. Thus, the two first subsections study Comrie’s main division of aspect into perfective and imperfective, with the subdivision of the latter into habitual and continuative, and of this latter into progressive and non-progressive (Comrie 1976:25). The special development of the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix in a progressive and a future suffix is discussed in Section 6.3.2.2, where I compare UP Ashéninka with other Campan

varieties due to the interest of this development. Sections 6.3.3, 6.3.4 and 6.3.5 describe the durative, iterative and regressive markers, respectively. These categories are not included in Comrie's (1976:25) division of aspects, but he mentions the existence of other lexical and grammatical items with inherently aspectual properties and devotes a section to the durative (Comrie 1976:41-44). Traditionally, these markers are considered to belong to the category of aspect, since some authors include them in it, as Bhat (1999:44), who says that, besides the distinction perfective-imperfective, "the temporal (aspectual) structure of an event can show several other types of distinctions such as, for example, that the action may be momentary or durative, [...] occurring once (semelfactive) or occurring several times (iterative)". The durative and iterative meanings are included in Bhat's quote, while the regressive can be considered as belonging to the iterative category (a situation happens again, so it is repeated). Therefore, the iterative proper expresses that an action is performed repeatedly, while the regressive indicates that an action that was previously performed is performed again. In Section 6.3.5, I enhance the description of the regressive suffix with a comparison with other Campan languages due to its special interest.

Section 6.3.6 treats the suffixes that have been called *stative aspect* in the Campanist literature; I explain why I have chosen to label them as *participles*. In Section 6.3.7, I describe the few tense suffixes that I have encountered in the language. Aspect and tense are interrelated categories, but the main reason to put them together in the same section is the need to describe certain features that encompass tense and aspect, namely the development from a progressive to a future suffix.

Regarding restrictions, the perfective suffix *-ak*, progressive *-atzi/-atya* and regressive *-a/-ah* cannot co-occur in the same verb. The habitual *-apiint* co-occurs with no other aspectual or temporal suffix in my corpus, but it occurs only five times, which are too few so as to draw sound conclusions. The perfective and imperfective participles do not co-occur with other aspectual or temporal suffixes, which is quite logical since they already carry an aspectual value. Other suffixes described in this section do not appear to have incompatibilities between them.

6.3.1. Perfective -ak

A very frequent suffix is the perfective *-ak*, which has the same or a very similar form in all Campan languages. Comrie defines the perfective aspect by saying that it “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (1976:16) and that perfective aspect “does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end” (1976:18). He adds that “perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (1976:21). Comrie (1976:16-19) also demonstrates that other typical definitions of perfectivity, such as situations of short or limited duration, punctual or momentary situation, or completed action are not adequate for some instances of the perfective aspect. The Ashéninka perfective aspect fits Comrie’s definition very well.

In the following, different examples of the perfective suffix are given. In (327), besides perfective, the situation can be considered as belonging to the category of perfect as well, given that the accomplished action has relevance for the present situation (the woman has just known that a shaman is cheating, so that she now knows something that she ignored before).

- (327) Iroka tsinánikà **yòtanáki**.
 i-ro=ka tsinani=ka Ø-iyo-t-an-ak-i
 DEM-F=PROX woman=PROX 3F.S-know-&-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘This woman has just got to know it.’ (SCS)

In (328), in *ipíñkakìra* ‘he has fallen in the water’, the action of falling into the water must indeed be considered as a single whole and a complete situation.

- (328) Irika éentsinikà **ipíñkakìra** nihaaki.
 i-ri=ka eentsi-ni=ka
 DEM-M=PROX child-INTS=PROX
 i-piink-ak-i=ra niha=ki
 3M.S-fall.in.water-PFV-FRS=MED water=LOC
 ‘This child has fallen there in the water.’ (FS)

The same single whole and complete situation can be observed in (329) with the action of the speaker’s interlocutor taking her part, which also belongs to the category of perfect because she is now in possession of this part.

- (329) Pàakotapákiro.
 p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro
 2S-take-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 'You have taken your part.' (CMM)

In (330), the perfective is used in an imperative, which is an action to be performed in the future. This example shows the absence of any fixed temporal reference in the Ashéninka perfective, as it can be used for past, present or future events.

- (330) “Pikyáanàkiro, irowa, pishíntothòri”.
 pi-kya-an-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra pi-shintothori
 2S-carry-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED 2-niece.sister's.daughter.FP
 “‘Carry her, um..., your niece (sister’s daughter)’.” (SFW)

Regarding the relation of aspect with tense, Comrie (1976:71) says that aspectual distinctions appear most frequently in the past tense, although they can also be used for present and future times, as he describes throughout a whole section (1976:66-71). Example (330) shows that the perfective suffix can also occur in clauses expressing present or future time.

In (331), the English translation is in present progressive, as is typical in English for a situation that is continuing in time. However, even though this situation holds for an undetermined time, the speaker wants to consider it as a single whole for the purpose of the story (it does not matter how much time the child is sitting, i.e., in Comrie’s words, the statement “involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation” [1976:21]¹¹⁷), and the verb refers to the present time.

- (331) Irika enchániki ihéekaki.
 i-ri=ka eentsi-aniki i-heek-ak-i
 DEM-M=PROX child-DIM 3M.S-sit-PFV-FRS
 ‘This little child is sitting.’ (FS)

In (332) and (333), I show instances of the perfective suffix in different future situations. In (332), the suffix is on the verb of a complement clause of a verb that expresses a future action. In (333), the two verbs of the sentence, in the main and in

¹¹⁷ It would be somewhat difficult to fit this example into other theories of aspect, such as Klein (1994), given that the topic time (the time for which “a claim is made”, p. 3) is entirely included in the situation time (the time for which a situation holds, p. 3), and this inclusion should be considered an imperfective aspect (p. 108). The speaker says that the child is sitting without any reference to the temporal span of his sitting, and this is what fits Comrie’s (1976:21) definition of the perfective aspect.

the subordinate clause, refer to an event that is going to happen in the near future, yet both bear the perfective suffix.

- (332) Amitákotirìni **áakotànakiròni** hanta.
 amitako-t-i-ri-ni
 help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
 bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST
 ‘The one who is going to help him to bring it there.’ (PV)

- (333) Arírika **rayítapàki, piyótawakiràra**.
 ari=rika r-ayit-ap-ak-i
 AFF=COND 3M.S-descend-ALL-PFV-FRS
 p-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘When one comes down, you’re going to guess who’s the one there.’ (SCS)

The perfective suffix *-ak* can be attached to word classes different from verbs and adjectives (pronouns, nouns and *ari*) together with the I-class RS suffix *-i* with a verbalizing function in which the obtained meaning is equivalent to a copula construction. This way, the sequence *-aki* might be considered a verbalizer or a copula suffix. However, I have preferred to gloss it as *-ak-i* (PFV-FRS) to reflect its obvious origin. Actually, a gloss *-aki* is not possible in verbs due to the A-class RS inflection, which allows the realis-irrealis opposition *-aka/-akya*, respectively; however, the A-class inflection does not exist in verbally inflected adjectives, so that, if my segmentation in pronouns and adverbs were *-aki* instead of *-ak-i*, I should apply it also in adjectives. To make it yet more complicated, verbalized nouns only take the A-class RS suffix *-a*. Be that as it may, I consider that both options might be acceptable, but I choose *-ak-i* to keep a uniformity in all word classes inflected with this sequence. In (334), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the 3rd person masculine marker *rii-* together with the lamentative suffix *-ahaant* and the dubitative enclitic *=ma*.

- (334) **Riitaháantakìma** rira kooko oñaashirènkánári.
 rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED
 kooko oñaashirenk-a-na-ri
 maternal.uncle.VOC.FE annoy-REA-IO-REL
 ‘So this was the uncle who annoyed me! (lamenting herself).’ (SCS)

A woman expresses her surprise (hence the dubitative) and her lamentation (hence the lamentative) that it is actually him (her uncle) who was annoying her, so the

morpheme verbalized with *-aki* is here *rii-*. This word could be simplified as *ríitaki* with the meaning ‘he is’ –the other morphemes add their respective nuances. In (335), there is the feminine equivalent to *ríitaki*: *róotaki*. Its meaning here is ‘it is’, so the feminine reference is to the abstract idea ‘that’. *Róotaki* can also have a conjunction-like function, which is described in Section 7.5.

- (335) Nopánkizìri kaniri, payantzi..., **róotaki** nopánkizìri hanta nonámpiki.
 no-panki-t-zi-ri kaniri payantzi
 1S-sow-&-REA-3M.O-REL cassava banana
 roo-t-ak-i no-panki-t-zi-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-sow-&-REA-REL LOC=DIST 1-community=LOC
 ‘What I sow is cassava, banana..., that’s what I sow there in my community.’
 (CMH)

In (336), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the multifunctional word *ari*, which has the function of a future marker in this example. In this way, the meaning of *áritaki* is ‘it will be’.

- (336) Hee, kameetha. **Áritaki nomatákiro**”.
 hee kameetha ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-i-ro
 AFF well FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-do-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Yes, Ok. I’ll do it.’ (TSJ)

This sentence might be uttered just as *ári nomatákiro* with the meaning ‘I’ll do it’. However, the verbalization of *ari* gives the statement more strength, just as if someone said in English ‘it will be that I’ll do it’, which would be a more literal translation of *áritaki nomatákiro*. In (337), the sequence *-aki* is attached to the 1st person pronoun *naaka* so as to yield the meaning ‘I am’.

- (337) Ikantzi: “**Náakataki**”.
 i-kant-zi naaka-t-ak-i
 3M.S-say-REA 1-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘He says: “I am”. ‘ (SCS)

In (337), the copula function of *-aki* is most clearly observed, given that its attachment to its host has the same result as an independent copula would have if it formed a clause with *naaka*.

When attached to nouns, the perfective suffix *-ak* is followed by the A-class RS suffix instead of by the I-class one. Two examples from an elicitation, already shown in Section 4.1.6.1, are in (338).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (338) Pipáñkotàka.
pi-panko-t-ak-a
2-house-&-PFV-REA
'You've already built your house.' | Powáñetàka.
p-owani-t-ak-a
2-chacra-&-PFV-REA
'You've already made your chacra.' |
|--|---|

6.3.2. Imperfective

Comrie (1976:24-25) divides the category of aspect in perfective and imperfective, and defines the imperfective aspect as opposed to the definition of perfective given above: imperfective aspect implies “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” (Comrie 1976:24). Comrie divides the imperfective into habitual and continuous, and the latter into progressive and non-progressive. In UP Ashéninka, this division is perfectly applicable, since there is a habitual and a progressive suffix, and also a way of expressing habituality through irrealis. Comrie (1976:112) states that “one of the most decisive criteria” to identify semantic unmarkedness is “where overt expression of the meaning of the marked category is always optional, i.e. where the unmarked category can always be used, even in a situation where the marked category would also be appropriate”, and goes on to show that the Italian and Spanish non-progressive forms are the unmarked ones. This is also the case for the Ashéninka non-progressive imperfective, which is expressed with the absence of any aspectual suffix, and this feature also fits the morphological criterion to identify unmarkedness: “unmarked categories tend to have less morphological material than marked categories” (Comrie 1976:114). Therefore, the absence of an aspect suffix expresses the plain meaning conveyed by the verb, but the expression of any aspectual nuance (perfectivity, habituality or progressivity) needs the use of an aspect suffix. Thus, the non-progressive imperfective is the default form in Ashéninka and the situation expressed by a verb with no aspect suffix is understood as carrying the bare semantic load of the verb in a non-progressive imperfective situation, although such a verb can also express a situation with a different aspectual meaning that can be inferred from the context.

6.3.2.1. Habitual *-apiint*

The habitual aspect is expressed with the suffix *-apiint*. Habituality can also be expressed by putting a verb in irrealis and without the habitual suffix. An example of the use of *-apiint* is in (339).

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

The category of habitual combines features typical of both realis and irrealis, so that some languages group it with realis and others with irrealis (Givón 1994:270-271). In the case of UP Ashéninka, habituality is inflected with irrealis suffixes, as is shown in (340), where the two final verbs are in irrealis because they refer to actions that are done every day.

- (340) Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsipáeni **ipáyitèri** haka **oyari**?
 p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka wanawontsi=paeni
 2S-get.used-&-PFV-REA-3F.O LOC=PROX food=PL
 i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri ha=ka ow-ya-ri
 3M.S-give-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL LOC=PROX eat-IRR-REL
 ‘Have you got used here to the food they give here to eat?’ (CMH)

However, as example (339) shows, verbs with the suffix *-apiint* do not need to be marked irrealis. Actually, I have no instance of an irrealis suffix in a verb with *-apiint*, which fits very well the ambivalence of habituality regarding the RS opposition mentioned above. Therefore, Ashéninka expresses habituality with irrealis, and with realis when the habitual suffix is used.

6.3.2.2. Development of the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix into a progressive and a future suffix

A progressive suffix is described for Caquinte (Snell 2011:51) with the form *-k*, while there is no description of this suffix in Nanti (Michael 2008) nor Matsigenka (Swift 2008), given that there is no cognate for the suffix in these two languages (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). In Nomatsigenga, Lawrence (2013:100-03) describes a suffix that she calls “progressive”, but it seems to be the suffix that has been called *stative* in the other Campanist literature (see Section 6.3.6). Regarding the Ashé-Ashá cluster, the progressive suffix is described in Zumaeta (2012:73) as *-aty/-at* and in Mihás

(2015b:9-10) as *-atyi/-ati* for Tambo-Ene, in Mihas (2015a:218-19) as *-aty/-atz* for Alto Perené, and in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:41-42) as *-aty/-atz* for Apurucayali. The same suffix with the form *-aty* in A-class verbs and *-atz* in I-class verbs exists in Ucayali-Pajonal, but, combined with the irrealis RS suffixes, it has undergone a shift that has created a future suffix, and I posit that the same development has taken place in the whole Ashé-Ashá group on the grounds expounded below, even though this change has not been previously described.

UP Ashéninka has a progressive suffix with the form *-aty* in A-class verbs and *-atz* in I-class verbs. The peculiarity of this suffix is that the following RS suffix never presents a realis-irrealis opposition, given that it is always *-a* or *-i*.¹¹⁸ Moreover, a future suffix with the forms *-atyee/-atyeya* (in I- and A-class verbs, respectively) is in use, and its form and function suggest a very probable development from the progressive suffix combined with the irrealis suffixes *-e* and *-ya*,¹¹⁹ where /e/ has been lengthened in I-class verbs and *-eya* has generalized in A-class verbs, in which the shorter irrealis suffix *-ya* would make no distinction because the preceding *ty* is a palatal consonant (/c/). Since there is no realis-irrealis opposition in any case with neither the progressive nor the future suffixes, I have deemed it more appropriate to avoid separately glossing an RS suffix after the progressive or the future suffix. Thus, I consider the progressive suffix to be *-atya/-atzi*, and the future suffix, *-atyee/-atyeya*. In (341), two verbs bear the progressive suffix: the first one is I-class, and the second one, A-class. In (342), two verbs with the future suffix are shown: I-class in (342a) and A-class in (342b).

(341) **Noshémnyàkotátziro** nòwatharékhitho, **nówatyàwo**.

no-shemy-ako-t-atzi-ro	no-yatharékhitho	n-ow-atya-ro
1S-crush-APPL-&-PROG-3F.O	1-testicle	1S-eat-PROG-3F.O
'I'm crushing my testicle, I'm eating it.' (TSJ)		

(342) a. Àapithatàtyéeroma?

Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
3F.S-take-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
'Maybe she's going to take it away? (his house from him).' (CMM)

¹¹⁸ If this suffix had to present an RS opposition, it would be expressed through **-atya/-atyeya* and **-atzi/-ati*, but the suffix is always *-atya* (A-class) or *-atzi* (I-class).

¹¹⁹ The irrealis suffix *-e* has nowadays disappeared in UP Ashéninka, as is explained in Section 6.1.

- b. Nòshirontatyéya.
 no–shiront–atyeya
 1S–laugh–FUT
 ‘I’m going to laugh.’

The progressive suffix expresses the typical notion that something is in progress, similarly to the English progressive with *-ing*, as in (341) above, where both progressive verbs can be translated with English ‘crushing’ and ‘eating’. Its imperfective character implies that it cannot combine with the perfective suffix *-ak*.

The progressive suffix is mainly used to refer to present situations. However, there is in my corpus one instance referring to a future situation (343) and another one referring to a past situation (344).

- (343) Naaka **hatatzi**.
 naaka ha–t–atzi
 1 go–&–PROG
 ‘I’ll be going.’ (CMM)

In this example, the speaker says that she will go several times to a place during the following days, i.e. ‘she’ll be going’. In this unusual construction of a verb in 1st person without a subject affix, the verb *iyaantsi* ‘go’ has the irregular root *ha-*, which requires an aspect suffix because the form **hatzi* is impossible. The aspectual choice for the action that is going to be repeated an indeterminate number of times needs to be the progressive.

- (344) Ikántaka irika ashéninka **itháawetàtzi**, itháawetàkiro
 i–kant–ak–a i–ri=ka a–shéninka i–thaawe–t–atzi
 3M.S–COP–PFV–REA DEM–M=PROX INCL–fellow.person 3M.S–hex–&–PROG
 i–thaawe–t–ak–i–ro
 3M.S–hex–&–PFV–FRS–3F.O
 ‘So it happened that this Ashéninka was casting a bad omen on himself, he cast it on himself.’ (SCS)

The consultant explained to me how the verb *thaawetaantsi* ‘cast a bad omen, hex’ works: it is ambitransitive, so that *itháawetàtzi* is intransitive and the subject casts a bad omen on himself, and *itháawetàkiro* is transitive and the object is the curse, while one can also hex someone and then the object would be the hexed person. In (344), a man has triggered a curse on himself because he tried to have an incestuous relation with his niece by using a ruse, and this sentence is uttered after his niece discovers him. Therefore, although this is a narrative that can be told using present forms, this

sentence refers to a past situation in the line of the story. The speaker repeats the same verb twice: once with the progressive suffix and then again with the perfective and object suffixes, probably to clarify that the act of casting a bad omen has already finished. Therefore, the narrator uses the progressive to express something that has been happening for a while, and then chooses the perfective to clarify that the event has already ended.

The progressive suffix cannot be used in a negation. When asked, a speaker did not admit several negated verbs with the progressive suffix. Furthermore, out of 53 occurrences of the realis negation *tee* in my text corpus, none of them negates a verb with a progressive suffix; and, out of 38 occurrences of the progressive suffix, none is in a negated verb. In (345), example *a* is ungrammatical, and *b* is the sentence that the speaker said that he would use to negate the verb with the progressive suffix: he dropped the progressive suffix.

- (345) a. *Tee nówatyawo shinki.
 tee n-ow-atya-ro shinki
 NEG.REA 1S-eat-PROG-3F.O maize
 Pretended: 'I'm not eating maize.'
- b. Tee nowawo shinki.
 tee n-ow-a-ro shinki
 NEG.REA 1S-eat-REA-3F.O maize
 'I don't eat/am not eating maize.'

The future suffix expresses a future situation and appears very frequently in elicitation of sentences in the Spanish future. Both examples in (342) illustrate its use for future situations. Since this suffix seems to have arisen from the union of the progressive plus the irrealis suffixes, one might be tempted to think that it exists in other irrealis situations different from future. However, we must take into account that a progressive situation is difficult to coincide with other irrealis situations, such as imperative or desiderative. In any case, in Ashéninka, the durative suffix *-wae* has a similar function to the progressive aspect and is used to build sentences equivalent to those in English in non-future progressive plus irrealis situations, as in (346), where the durative suffix is in a verb with hortative value.

- (346) Nimaeka, árika osháawitanàhi, hame ate **añáathawàetya** hanta, otáapiki.
 nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i hame
 today AFF=COND 3F.S-afternoon-ABL-REG-FRS HORT.INCL
 Ø-a-t-i a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta o-taapi=ki
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-play-DUR1-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3F-back=LOC
 ‘Today, in the afternoon, let’s go to play there, in the gully (lit.: in its back).’
 (CMH)

Although this diachronic development of the progressive suffix has not been described in other Ashé-Ashá varieties, the same pair of suffixes labelled here *progressive* and *future* do exist in the whole Ashé-Ashá group, as can be inferred from the works on these varieties. Zumaeta (2012:73) does not describe a future suffix in Tambo-Ene, the furthest Ashé-Ashá variety from Ucayali-Pajonal (see Pedrós 2018:16-18; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis), but two of his examples for the progressive suffix show the same future suffix described above, including the lengthening of /e/. One of them is *momaatyero* ‘yo la estaré trayendo’¹²⁰, with the suffix *-atyee*, which I identify as expressing future. In Alto Perené, Mihas (2015b:218-19) presents a suffix that she calls “prospective” with the form *-aty*, homophone of the progressive, and describes its meaning as “a sense of the imminence of the described future action”. Although Mihas describes this suffix as belonging to the imperfective aspect, the description of its meaning indicating future is one of tense. According to Mihas, the irrealis suffix *-e* for I-class verbs and *-eya* for A-class verbs adjoin the prospective suffix (an example is in (347)). The differences from UP Ashéninka is that the *-e* is not lengthened and the meaning described by Mihas is of *imminent* future, not just future.

Alto Perené

- (347) ari=taima no-n-kinkitsa-t-ak-aty-e-ro
 PP=DUB 1SG.A-IRR-tell-&-PFV-PROSP-IRR-3NM.O
 iroñaaka atyo-ini=ka
 now cousin/husband’s.sister-DIM=DEM
 ‘Perhaps, I am going to tell my cousin about something.’ (Mihas 2015a:219)

¹²⁰ ‘I’ll be bringing her/it.’

In Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:41-42) describe the progressive suffix *-aty*,¹²¹ but their examples show the same difference between a progressive suffix used for present tense and a different one for future that I have described above. This difference is shown in (348).

Apurucayali

(348) a. h-otit-**atz-i**

3-meter-PROG-NFUT

‘Estaba metiendo.’¹²²

b. no-N-pok-apa-**aty-ii-ri-ka**¹²³

1-FUT-venir-ALL-PROG-FUT-REL-INDEF

‘Si yo estuviera viniendo.’¹²⁴ (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:42)

Example (348a) has the suffix *-atz*, and (348b), *-aty*, although both are I-class verbs. Apurucayali does not have /e/ in its vowel inventory, so that is why the RS suffix (described as a future-nonfuture opposition in Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982) is *-ii* instead of *-ee* – it is worth noting that the vowel is lengthened, as in Ucayali-Pajonal. The clause in (348b) is conditional. The authors gloss the two final syllables *-rika* as REL-INDEF, but *=rika* is a conditional enclitic in UP Ashéninka and its meaning fits perfectly the translation given in (348b); so, in my opinion, this final part of the verb should rather be considered the conditional enclitic *=rika*. What is obvious is that the clause is conditional and refers to a hypothetical fact, which might still happen in the future, so that the future meaning is inherent.

According to the examples given above in Tambo-Ene, Alto Perené and Apurucayali, it might be questioned whether a clear future suffix has developed in the whole Ashé-Ashá complex, but, if we did not call it future, at least we can say that different realis and irrealis suffixes have developed out of a progressive suffix: *-atzi/-atya* for a realis progressive and *-atye(e)/-atyii/-atyeya* for an irrealis progressive.

¹²¹ Instead of the Ucayali-Pajonal phonemes /c/ and /tʃʰ/, Payne, Payne & Sánchez show a contrast between /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/ represented <č> and <čʰ> (1982:77). Here I represent their /tʃ/ with <ty> so as to ease the comparison with Ucayali-Pajonal.

¹²² ‘He/she was putting in.’

¹²³ *N* is described in the Campanist literature as an unspecified nasal (see Section 2.2.2). The suffix *-apa* is named *adlative* by Payne, Payne & Sánchez. I have named it here *allative* because it is the same suffix that I describe with this name for Ucayali-Pajonal.

¹²⁴ ‘If I were coming.’

All in all, the data presented above show that the general Ashé-Ashá opposition realis-irrealis with the progressive suffix lies not only in the RS suffix, but also in the very form of the progressive suffix (at least in I-verbs), which is realis *-atzi* in I-class verbs and *-atya* in A-class verbs, and irrealis *-atye(e)*/*-atyii* in I-class verbs and *-atyeya* in A-class verbs. In UP Ashéninka, my field data show that *-atyee/-atyeya* has acquired a future meaning. This future meaning of *-atye/-atyeya* can also be observed in Mihas' (2015a:218-19) prospective suffix.

6.3.3. Durative *-wae*

Comrie (1976:41) says that a distinction can be made between durativity and imperfectivity, “where imperfectivity means viewing a situation with regard to its internal structure (duration, phasal sequences), and durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time”. This means that durativity falls outside of the conception of aspect as an opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity, but the definition of aspects as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976:3) implies that the expression of a situation during a certain time could be considered as an expression of aspect. Be that as it may, UP Ashéninka has a durative suffix that can be combined with the perfective suffix, which confirms Comrie's differentiation of the categories of durativity and imperfectivity. Indeed, a speaker can consider a situation as a whole and complete even though they want to express that it has a certain duration. The durative suffix is *-wae*, and it is called “continuative” in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:58), who do not include it within the aspect suffixes. Mihas (2015a:219-20) calls it “durative” and puts it in the group of imperfective suffixes (p. 215), although, in the two examples that she gives, the verb with the durative suffix also bears the perfective suffix (p. 220). I will follow Comrie's terminology and thus will call it *durative*. It is obvious that it cannot be considered an imperfective aspect because it combines with the perfective suffix.

The function of this suffix fits its name perfectly since it expresses that a situation lasts for a certain time. Some examples are given below (note that the gloss is DUR1 because DUR2 is a nominal durative).

- (349) **Pipánkiwàetaki** pishínkiri?
 pi-panki-wae-t-ak-i pi-shinki-ri
 2S-sow-DUR1-&-PFV-FRS 2-maize-POSS
 ‘Have you been sowing your maize?’ (CMM)
- (350) Éehatzi arírika **añáathawàetya**, ikántètzi..., *fútbol*.
 éehatzi ari=rika a-ñaatha-wae-t-ya
 also AFF=COND INCL.S-play-DUR1-&-IRR
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri fútbol
 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O football
 ‘Also when we play, how to say..., football.’ (CTK)
- (351) Ari máaweni, rowa..., **rapàtowáeyani**.
 ari máaweni ro=ra r-apato-wae-eey-a-ni
 thus all F=MED 3M.S-meet-DUR1-PL-RS.REFL-PL
 ‘In this way, everyone, um..., meets each other.’ (CTK)

In the three examples above, the action is supposed to be carried on during a certain time: sowing maize (349) will last for a certain time, as will the game (playing) (350) and the meeting (351). Example (349) shows the combination with the perfective suffix: the speaker refers to the action of sowing as a whole, but this action needs to be carried out during a certain amount of time, a nuance that is expressed through the durative suffix.

6.3.4. Iterative through reduplication

An iterative meaning can be expressed through reduplication of the verbal root. Two examples of full reduplication are in (352) and (353).

- (352) Ééniro **itápótápowaeta** oháawiki.
 ééniro i-tapo~tapo-wae-t-a o-haawiki
 EXL.PST 3M.S-stalk~ITE-DUR1-&-REA 3F-down
 ‘He went stalking on the ground.’ (SCS)

In (352), with the iterative reduplication, the speaker tries to remark on the action of the man stalking on the ground. Since this is a story, the use of the iterative reduplication together with the durative suffix *-wae* is a narrative device similar to what one can see in a film when a camera is focusing some action for a certain time so as to highlight it.

- (353) Ótsitzi **rahánkahánkawitakàwo** poterya inthomoeki.
 ótsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
 dog 3M.S-sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bottle inside=LOC
 ‘The dog has been sniffing inside the bottle in vain.’ (FS)

In (353), the speaker expresses that the dog has repeatedly been sniffing, or intensely, i.e. it has been sniffing thoroughly, and this expression together with the frustrative suffix *-wi* conveys the idea of a thorough search with no success.

According to Comrie (1976:27), “in some discussions of habituality, it is assumed that habituality is essentially the same as iterativity”, and goes on to demonstrate that this assumption is misled. In UP Ashéninka, the existence of a habitual suffix and reduplication to express iterativity shows very clearly that both meanings are different since they are expressed through different morphemes. With this, iterativity falls outside of Comrie’s (1976:25) classification of aspects, although iterativity fits Comrie’s (1976:3) definition of aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”, given that it expresses that the situation happens repeatedly.

6.3.5. Regressive *-a/-ah*

The suffix *-a/-ah* has usually been classified as aspectual in the Campanist literature. The regressive meaning can be considered part of the expression of iterativity because it expresses that the situation concerned already occurred at least once in the past. Michael (2008:256) identifies the regressive suffix *-ah* with the meanings of motion back, repetition of the action or return to the state. Snell does not use the label *regressive* for Matsigenka, but describes a suffix that she calls *returnative* (2011:856) with the form *-aa* and functions similar to Michael’s regressive: it expresses the action of returning to a previous place or state. For Caquinte, Swift (2008:51-52) uses the label *regressive* for the suffix *-ah* and says that it expresses a return to a previous place or state, or doing something again. Lawrence (2013:96-97) also describes a regressive suffix with the form *-ah* that expresses that the subject returns “to the site of the action in order to perform the action another time”.

Regarding the Ashé-Ashá cluster, for Alto Perené, Mihás (2015a) describes a suffix with the form *-a(h)* that she calls *terminative*, and cites Payne & Payne (2005:39) to define its function: “a specialized sense of closure, once and for all”. However, Payne & Payne’s whole quote is “a specialized sense of «closure, once and for all, again, or back.»”, so the meanings “again, or back” are the same as those reported for

the four non-Ashé-Ashá Campan languages; moreover, two of the three of Mihás' examples (2015a:216) also have this meaning, as the use of the English adverb *back* in her translations demonstrates. For Pichis, Payne & Payne (2005:39) describe the suffix *-a* with the quote given above and call it *resolved*. For Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:42) describe a regressive suffix with the form *-ag*. Its function is described as indicating a return to the previous or original place, and they add: "Hemos notado que también ocurre con casi todos los verbos al final de una narración como para culminar o dar desenlace al cuento, aun si el participante no está regresando al sitio de origen."¹²⁵ For Yuruá, García (1997:36) also describes a regressive suffix with the form *-a*, although she says that its subjacent form is *-ag*, with the function of expressing return to the previous or original place.

This summary of the regressive suffix across the Campan languages shows that its form and function are very homogenous across the whole group. Although its form changes slightly (*-ah*, *-aa*, *-a*, *-ag*), these differences might also occur between close dialects of the same language. In UP Ashéninka, the regressive suffix has the forms *-a* and *-ah*. When it is *-a*, it can fuse with the following I-class RS suffix *-i* to yield the diphthong /ae/. A speaker told me that *-a* is the genuine Pajonal form, while *-ah* is a token of the Asháninka influence in the Ucayali speech, specifically from people from the Tambo River area. The function of the regressive suffix in UP Ashéninka is the same as in the other Campan languages: it expresses return to a place or 'again'. These two meanings express going back to a previous space or time, i.e. doing something again is doing something that had previously been done, i.e. returning to the point in time when it was done. This suffix has been classified as an aspect type in all the works cited above, but the spatial meaning falls far aside from the concept of aspect and may be rather considered a directional. So we have a suffix with two parallel meanings, the only difference being that one refers to space and the other one to time, and this difference should include it in quite different domains according to linguistic theory, although the two meanings are intimately connected. This is a good example

¹²⁵ 'We have noticed that it also occurs with almost every verb at the end of a narration so as to culminate or give the tale an outcome, even if the participant is not going back to the place of origin.'

of how difficult it is sometimes to make linguistic items fit in linguistic theory. The spatial meaning is further described in Section 6.5.6. I show two examples with the suffix's aspectual meaning in (354) (with the form *-a*), (355) and (356) (with the form *-ah*).

(354) **Ikántapàeri**: “Piyótina”.

i-kant-ap-a-e-ri p-iyó-t-i-na
3M.S-say-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 2S-know-&-IRR-1O
‘He says again: “Guess who I am!”.’ (SCS)

In this example, a shaman repeats the same action that he has already carried out in the story: one of his followers has come from heaven inside his body and urges his audience to guess who he is. The same command *piyótina* ‘guess me’ had previously appeared in the same story; therefore, the regressive suffix (here with the form *-a*) means ‘again’.

(355) Iréiyakini, éehatzi **raahi**, ramaki ítsipa mantsiyari.

ir-eiy-ak-i-ni éehatzi r-a-ah-i
drink-PL-PFV-FRS-PL also 3M.S-take-REG-FRS
r-am-ak-i i-tsipá mantsiya-ri
3M.S-bring-PFV-FRS M-other ill-M
‘They have drunk, and they take again, bring another ill person.’ (SCS)

Example (355) is taken from the same story as (354), and also narrates an action already performed in this story: in this case, the shaman’s audience bring him an ill person. Thus, the meaning of the regressive suffix in *raahi* is ‘again’.

(356) **Ikántanahya** máaweni apaani, ikantanéyawo rowániki.

i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani
3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR all one
i-kant-an-eya-ro r-owani=ki
3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC
‘Everyone will be back, will be in their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

In (356), the regressive suffix is in the verbal copula *kantaantsi*, which yields the meaning ‘go back/be back’ (this sentence is uttered after another one saying that the referred people will finish a work). In this example, *-ah* carries an aspectual meaning in that the subjects are *again* in their *chacras*, but the spatial meaning is also present because they need to move to their *chacras* from another place.

6.3.6. Participles: perfective *-eentsi/-eencha* and imperfective *-atsi/-acha*

Participles are defined by Crystal (2008:351) as “a traditional grammatical term referring to a word derived from a verb and used as an adjective, as in *a laughing face*.” The suffixes I am going to describe in this section as participles have been labelled principally *stative aspect* in the previous Campanist literature, yet I consider that the term *participle* is the one that best fits the functions of these suffixes, at least in UP Ashéninka, as I argue in the following lines. These suffixes are *-atsi/-acha*, which I call *imperfective participle*, and *-eentsi/-eencha*, which I call *perfective participle* (*-atsi* and *-eentsi* are I-class suffixes, and *-acha* and *-eencha*, A-class suffixes). Similar suffixes with similar functions exist in all Campan languages. My choice of the term *participle* has been much influenced by the fact that their functions are similar to the English present and past participles.

Michael (2008:403-07) shows the suffixes *-tsi* and *-ankicha* in Nanti, and calls both of them “deranked relative”, the former “imperfective” and the latter “perfective”. Snell (2011:857) describes for Matsigenka the suffixes *-ats/-ach* as stative and *-ankits/-ankich* as temporal stative (both I-class/A-class, respectively), all included in the aspect section. Swift (2008:53-54) describes for Caquinte the suffix *-ats* as stative and *-ankits* as temporal stative, also in the aspect section, and does not show A-class suffixes. Regarding Lawrence’s (2013:100-03) Nomatsigenga, she calls these suffixes *progressive* and describes only *-ats/-ach* (I-class/A-class).

In the Ashé-Ashá group, Mihas (2015b:9-10) shows for Tambo-Ene the suffixes *-atsi/-acha* as stative imperfective and *-aintsi/-aincha* as stative perfective, both pairs considered aspects; and the same suffixes and labels can be found in Mihas (2015a:222-23) for Alto Perené, also considered aspects. Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:42-43) describe in Apurucayali the suffixes *-ats/ach* as stative aspect and *-aints/-ainch* as inchoative aspect, although they say that the latter functions as a temporal stative.

The summary in the two preceding paragraphs shows us a pair of identical suffixes: *-ats(i)/-ach(a)* in all languages, and the other pair *-ankits(i)/-ankich(a)* in non-Ashé-Ashá and *-aints(i)/-ainch(a)* in Ashé-Ashá. Mihas’ (2015a; 2015b) and Michael’s (2008) works consider *-i/-a* part of the suffix, while other authors consider

it the RS suffix. In UP Ashéninka, I have also considered that *-i/-a* cannot be separated from the rest of the suffix because there is no RS opposition in any case with these suffixes. The UP Ashéninka forms *-eentsi/-eencha* show a regular correspondence *-ee~-ai* between UP Ashéninka and the rest of Ashé-Ashá.

In all Campan languages, these suffixes have the special feature that they never bear a pronominal affix. They are used on intransitive or ambitransitive verbs. Another common feature of these suffixes is that they are often accompanied by a relative suffix, although they have a relative meaning even without it. Also, they are incompatible with aspectual suffixes in the same verb form. Considering all these features, verbs carrying these suffixes build a special kind of clause, namely a relative one, which is perfective or imperfective according to the type of participle it carries (i.e. perfective or imperfective). Thus, I find that these suffixes cannot be considered stative aspect suffixes, which should require that verbs do not behave so differently from other verbs with aspectual suffixes. Therefore, I consider Michael's term "deranked relative" much more appropriate for the function of these suffixes, which he describes as building "deranked relative clause constructions" (2008:403). The definition of these clauses as relative is probably the most accurate, but, as Michael's label expresses, they are deranked in that they have a series of restrictions that *normal* ("ranked" in Michael's terminology [p. 407]) relative clauses do not have, and it is this deranking that makes them similar to the English participles. Actually, all of Michael's examples (pp. 403-07) can be paraphrased with participles: Michael's translation "that one who died" (p. 404) can be changed into 'the dead one', "I visited my brother, who was drinking there" (p. 405) could be formulated as 'I visited my brother drinking there', "whoever it was that came" (p. 407) could be replaced by 'anyone coming', and so on with the other four examples. Some changes might not be perfectly felicitous in English, but the parallelism appears quite clear. Although I consider Michael's label more appropriate than *stative*, the label *participle* is known by everyone, differently from *deranked*, which may be a less known concept. My choice of the additional labels *perfective* for *-eentsi/-eencha* and *imperfective* for *-atsi/-acha* are the same as in Michael (2008:404): their perfective and imperfective values are quite evident. The UP Ashéninka imperfective

participle *-atsi/-acha* is equivalent to the English present participle, and the UP Ashéninka perfective participle *-eentsi/-eencha*, to the English past participle. Some examples are given below: the imperfective participle is shown in (357) and (358), and the perfective participle, in (359) and (360).

- (357) Riyótawàkiri ikáateyìni irira, ikántètzi... ikaatzi **irátsiri**.
 r-iyo-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 DEM-M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA drink-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘They guess him at his arrival, those, how to say..., who are drinking.’ (SCS)
- (358) Naaka nokoyi niyóteri iryánpáeni **héekatsiri** ótsipaki nampitsi.
 naaka no-koy-i n-iyo-t-i-ri i-rya-ni=paeni
 1 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR-3M.O M-small-ADJ=PL
 heek-atsi-ri o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL F-other=LOC place-ALI
 ‘I want to teach the children who are living in other communities.’ (CMH)

In both (357) and (358), the verb with the imperfective participle bears a relative suffix and is translated as a relative clause introduced by ‘who’ plus a present continuous. As I pointed out above, a translation with the English present participle is also possible: ‘those drinking’ and ‘the children living in other communities’.

- (359) Ikaatzi **pokáentsiri**¹²⁶, ikaatzi...
 i-kaa-t-zi pok-eentsi-ri i-kaa-t-zi
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA come-PTCP.PFV-REL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘Those who have come are..., are...’ (calculating a number) (CCPC)
- (360) Awihéeyèni ríraga, amitákotakiriri inkáganki **paryákotéentsiri** awótsikì.
 awih-eey-i-ni ri-raga
 pass-PL-FRS-PL M-CAT.DEM
 amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki pari-ako-t-eentsi-ri awotsi=ki
 help-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL before fall-APPL-PTCP.PFV-REL path=LOC
 ‘They pass, those who helped the one who had an accident on the path.’ (PV)

In (359) and (360), the verb with the perfective participle also bears a relative suffix and is translated with a relative clause introduced by ‘who’ plus a past form. A translation using the English past participle is possible for *paryákotéentsiri* in (360):

¹²⁶ The diphthong /ae/ and the long vowel /e:/ are interchangeable in many cases in free variation.

‘the fallen one’ but complicated in the case of *pokáentsiri* in (359) (‘the come ones’ would be too infelicitous). However, a translation with the Spanish participle results more illustrative: *el accidentado* (360) and *los venidos* (359) –actually, *el accidentado* is the very translation that the consultant gave me.

The two following examples, (361) and (362), show a use different from that of building a relative clause in the examples above: the function in these two cases is existential. In (361), the host is the existential stem *eeni-*, and, in (362), the non-numeral quantifier *osheki*, albeit with the reduced form *sheki*.

- (361) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one there, in the gully.’ (CCPC)
- (362) **Róotaki shékitatsi.**
 roo-t-ak-i sheki-t-atsi
 F-&-PFV-FRS many-&-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘So there are many.’ (CMM)

Also existential is the negative *tekatsi* ‘there isn’t/aren’t’, which seems to be formed through the grammaticalization of **tee kaatsi* (*tee kaa-atsi*, NEG.REA COP.TOT-PTCP.IPFV). However, the shortening of /e/ and /a/ and the pronunciation [te’kats^h] clearly make it a word on its own (the negative word *tee* is usually stressed when combined with verbs).

As can be seen in the examples, the participial verbs are subject to a series of restrictions, namely the lack of pronominal and aspectual affixes, that makes them suitable for the label *non-finite*, as it is defined by Brown (2006:88): “a verb form that does not show tense or agreement”, which, *mutatis mutandis*, can be formulated for UP Ashéninka as “a verb form that does not show aspect suffixes or pronominal agreement”. The absence of aspectual affixes is no wonder due to the aspectual value carried by the participial affixes themselves.

6.3.7. Tense

The Campan languages do not have a tense system. Only Mihas has described some past suffixes for Tambo-Ene (2015b) and Alto Perené (2015a). In UP Ashéninka, there is no tense system either, but there are a few infrequent suffixes indicating past

similar to those described by Mihás. A future suffix has already been described in Section 6.3.2.2 because I have deemed it necessary to include it in that section in order to present it as the further development of the progressive suffix. Another element indicating future is the multifunctional word *ari*, whose other functions are described in Section 3.6.3. In the two following sections 6.3.7.1 and 6.3.7.2, the morphemes indicating tense are discussed.

6.3.7.1. Future (-*atyee/-atyeya*, *ari*, -*pa*)

The future suffix -*atyee/-atyeya* is described in Section 6.3.2.2 due to its development from the Ashé-Ashá progressive suffix combined with the irrealis suffix. Another element that indicates future in UP Ashéninka is the multifunctional word *ari*. In Section 3.6.3, I described its adverbial uses. Its other function is to express future tense, which frequently arises in elicitations when asking for the translation of sentences in the Spanish future, as is shown in (363).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (363) a. Ari níyotàki.
ari n-iyo-t-ak-i
FUT 1S-learn-&-PFV-FRS
'I'll learn.' | b. Ari nopókaki
ari no-pok-ak-i
FUT 1S-come-PFV-FRS
'I'll come.' |
|--|--|

The same structure with *ari* conferring the verb a future value occurs in natural texts, as in (364).

- (364) **Ari** machétaka rowa.
ari mache-t-ak-a ro=ra
FUT be.so-&-PFV-REA F=MED
'That will be that way.' (TSJ)

Ari can also be the answer to a polar question, and, in this sense, it is the counterpart of *eero*, which, as the irrealis negation, can be a negative answer to a polar question about the future. An example of this use is in (365), where *ari* also occurs with a future value modifying a noun.

- (365) A: Arírika pípiyanáki, ari pinampitéyawo?
 ari=rika pi-piy-an-ak-i ari pi-nampi-t-eya-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-come.back-ABL-PFV-IRR FUT 2-place-&-FUT-3F
 ‘When you come back, will you live there? (lit.: will it be your place?)’

B: **Ari.**
 ari
 FUT
 ‘I will.’ (CMM)

In (365), in the question posed by speaker A, *ari* has the same future value as with the verbs in (363) and (364), but, in this case, the future meaning of *ari* is modifying a noun that acts as a predicate and bears itself a future suffix. Speaker B answers with a simple *ari*, with a meaning perfectly equivalent to English ‘I will’. This use of *ari* is opposed to the negative *eero*, which can be used in the same way, as a one-word answer, as shown in (366).

- (366) A: **Eero** pipoke haka?
 eero pi-pok-i ha=ka
 NEG.IRR 2S-come-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘Won’t you come back here?’

B: **Eero**
 eero
 NEG.IRR
 ‘I won’t.’ (CMM)

Ari can also be used to introduce the apodosis in conditional sentences, not only with the protasis introduced by *arírika*, as is usual in elicitation (367), but also with the protasis introduced by a verb with the counterfactual suffix *-mi* (368). In both examples, *ari* has a future value, despite the English translation with the conditional in (368).

- (367) Arírika pantákiro, **ari** nomátiro niriro.
 ari-rika p-ant-ak-i-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-make-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ari no-ma-t-i-ro n-ir-i-ro
 FUT 1S-can-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O
 ‘If you make it (a juice), I’ll be able to drink it.’

- (368) Niyótiromi, **ari** nokántimi.
 n-iyó-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ‘If I knew it (singing), I would tell you.’ (CMM)

While the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya* and *ari* are quite frequent, another suffix with a future connotation has appeared only once in my corpus: *-pa*. The consultant's explanation was clear-cut: it expresses that the event will take place later, hence the name LATER. This occurrence is in (369).

- (369) Árikya **piyáatanipa**.
 ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 AFF=EMPH 2S-go-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 'So then, you're leaving later.' (CCPC)

The consultant explained that *-pa* here expresses that the subject is going to leave in a future moment. Note that a general future meaning cannot be ascribed to *-pa*, because this would mean that the subject in (369) can leave just one minute after his interlocutor utters this sentence, but the real meaning is that he is going to leave at a certain time later, i.e. not in an immediate nor a remote future. This suffix is most probably related to the adverb *paata* 'later'. More research is needed to establish the suffix's temporal range better, but it is probably the same as for *paata*, usually translated by speakers with Spanish *después* 'later'.

6.3.7.2. Past (remote past *-ni* and anterior *-it*)

Mihas is the only author that describes tense suffixes for Campan languages, for Alto Perené (2015a) as well as for Tambo-Ene (2015b),¹²⁷ although García (1997:31) for Yuruá and Payne & Payne (2005:43) for Pichis mention, but do not describe, an anterior suffix. Mihas (2015a:260) says that "Alto Perené has a simple tense system which makes a past vs non-past distinction". However, this distinction does not seem to be obligatory in any Campan language, which is probably the reason why other authors have not described past suffixes, besides the fact that they are optional and quite infrequent. Mihas (2015a:260-66) describes three past suffixes for Alto Perené: remote past *-ni*, anterior *-it* and generic anterior =*ranki*. In the case of Tambo-Ene, Mihas (2015b:4-5) only shows the distal past *-ni* inside the category of tense and classifies *-it* and =*ranki* in the category of aspect with the label *anterior* as opposed

¹²⁷ Older grammars have described the RS opposition as a future-nonfuture opposition (e.g. Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982 for Apurucayali). I am not taking into account this approach, given that it is not tenable according to the more recent Campanist research.

to perfective and imperfective (2015b:7-8), i.e. Mihas divides the aspectual suffixes and enclitic (only =*ranki*) in three groups: anterior, perfective and imperfective, and *-it* and =*ranki* are the only anterior. These three suffixes also exist in UP Ashéninka: *-ni* has a clear remote past meaning, *-it* appears to have the same anterior meaning as the one described by Mihas, and I have interpreted =*ranki* as the absential demonstrative enclitic (see sections 3.2 and 4.1.5.1).

The suffix *-ni* can also be used on nouns, as was mentioned in Section 4.1.6.1. I have called it *remote past*, which is the same label as in Mihas' AP grammar (2015a), and this name fits its function well in UP Ashéninka. In (370), the remote past meaning is clear.

- (370) Éeniro **nokáatzini**.
 éeniro no-kaa-t-zí-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 'I was a child.' (CMH)

The suffix *-ni* in (370) is attached to the totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, and the intended meaning is what the speaker was a long time ago: a child. The prefix is used in combination with the past existential *éeniro*, which is a quite common construction. Actually, the best explanation I got about this suffix was by a speaker who gave me some examples of it accompanied by *éeniro*, two of which are in (371). Interestingly, (371b) shows a verbalization of the noun *eentsi* 'child'.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (371) a. Éeniro nopókini. | b. Éeniro néentsitzini. |
| éeniro no-pok-i-ni | éeniro n-eentsi-t-zí-ni |
| EXI.PST 1S-come-FRS-RMPST | EXI.PST 1S-child-&-REA-RMPST |
| 'I came long ago.' | 'I was a child.' |

Mihas (2015a:263) describes for AP the anterior suffix *-it* as marking relative tense and says that it indicates that "an event or situation took place before an unidentified moment in the past" or "will take place before some point in the future". I have two occurrences of this suffix in my text corpus; one of them fits this description well, and the suffix also appeared with the same meaning in elicitations. The other occurrence appears to have a rather derivative function. The suffix causes the I-class inflection to shift to A-class inflection in the two examples from natural texts ((372) and (373)) and in my elicitations ((370) and (371)), as well as in Mihas' description. Therefore, I have also labelled it *anterior*. My example with the core

meaning of the suffix is in (372), and the other occurrence with a rather derivative function is in (373).

- (372) Ikántaka rira..., iroka tsinani owétsikáshitàkiri, ikanta, ana, **okémitzitaka**.
 i-kant-ak-a ri=ra i-ro=ka tsinani
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED DEM-F=PROX woman
 o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri i-kant-a
 3F.S-prepare-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP-REA
 ana o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a
 genipap 3F.S-grate-&-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘So, um..., this woman prepares for him, that is..., genipap, she grates (it)
 before (his arrival).’ (SCS)

The important fact for the identification of an anterior suffix in *okémitzitaka* (372) is that the consultant who translated it explained, even before I asked him, that this verb means that the woman grated the genipap before the arrival of the man for whom it was prepared, which is clearly a description of the same meaning described by Mihas (2015a). Also, the change of inflection caused by the anterior suffix coincides with Mihas’ description (*kemitaantsi* ‘grate’ is an I-class verb), so there is little doubt that this is the same suffix as Mihas’ anterior.

- (373) A: **Panáninkitàka?**
 p-ananink-it-ak-a
 2S-get.up-ANT-PFV-REA
 ‘Did you get up at dawn?’
 B: Hee, **nanáninkitàka**: *cinco de la mañana*!
 hee n-ananink-it-ak-a cinco de la mañana
 AFF 1S-get.up-&-PFV-REA 5 a.m.
 ‘Yes, we got up at dawn: at 5 a.m.!’ (CCPC)

The translation I got from *panáninkitàka* and *nanáninkitàka* was just as is in the example: ‘get up at dawn’. The stem *-ananink-* means ‘get up’, so the interpretation with the anterior suffix implies that they get up before something that should be known from the context. In this case, the event before which the event expressed by the verb takes place is the sunrise, and it may be considered that the context is that everyone knows that the sun rises every day. However, the fragment *-ananinkit-* appears to be frozen with the fixed meaning ‘get up at dawn’, which lends the anterior suffix *-it* a rather derivational character in this case.

6.4. Mood and modality

When one looks for definitions of mood and modality in the literature and compares different works, one does not find a relatively common definition or a relatively common division as can be found for tense or aspect. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:176) recognise this difficulty by saying that “it may be impossible to come up with a succinct characterization of the notional domain of modality and the part of it that is expressed grammatically”. Nuyts (2006:1-2) says that there is “no unanimity among scholars as to how the set of modal categories should be characterized, either in terms of its outer borders [...] or in terms of its internal organization”, but he adds that the traditional view divides modality in “three basic semantic dimensions: *dynamic*, *deontic* and *epistemic*”; dynamic refers to capacity, deontic to permission and obligation, and epistemic to indication of estimation of chances of a situation by the speaker (Nuyts 2006:2-6). However, other authors propose different divisions, albeit some are not very different. Bybee & Fleischman (1995:4) say that this terminology comes from modal logic: “epistemic modality has to do with the possibility or necessity of the *truth of propositions*”, and deontic modality is “associated with the *social functions of permission and obligation*”, and define modality (1995:2) by saying that it “covers a broad range of semantic nuances –jussive, desiderative, intentive, hypothetical, potential, obligative, dubitative, hortatory, exclamative, etc.– whose common denominator is the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual and declarative”. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:177-81) distinguish four types of modality: agent-oriented (obligation, necessity, desire, intention, willingness, possibility), speaker-oriented (commands, demands, requests, entreaties), epistemic (possibility, probability, inferred certainty, counterfactual) and subordinating. Timberlake (2007:316-21) distinguishes three realms of modality: epistemology (“knowledge about events and the world”), obligation (directive or jussive, “the responsibility for the state of the world is transferred from one authority to another”, with imperative being the most extreme form of this modality), and contingency (conditional constructions). Dixon (2012:27) dismisses the terms *deontic*

and *epistemic*, which he calls “posh-sounding terminology”, and prefers to refer directly to modalities such as prediction, obligation, necessity, ability, etc.

A further complication comes from the distinction between mood and modality. Bybee & Fleischman (1995:2) say that “mood refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function. Moods are expressed inflectionally, generally in distinct sets of verbal paradigms, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional, etc.” Bhat (1999:130) describes mood with the divisions in which other authors divide modality: epistemic (knowledge-based) and deontic (action-based); he adds that interrogatives are an extension of epistemic mood, and imperatives, of deontic mood. Palmer (2001:4) says that “mood is distinction between *realis* and *irrealis*, in European languages called indicative and subjunctive”. Dixon (2012:2) says that mood has three values “in every language”: imperative, interrogative and declarative.

It is not surprising that the term *mood* fits very well the Latin division of the conjugation in indicative, subjunctive and imperative, as well as that of its daughter Romance languages. In the same way, the meanings attributed to modality fit very well those expressed by the Germanic modal verbs, which present morphological features different from the other verbs. This shows that the categories of mood and modality seem to have been created based on morphological paradigms in Romance and Germanic languages, the mother tongues of most of the scholars who devised these categories, but their meanings can be expressed by very different morphological means in other languages. In Campan languages, Palmer’s (2001:4) division of mood in *realis* and *irrealis* fits very well in the morphology of these languages, given that this grammatical opposition is the only one that is obligatory in the verb. It does not fit so well UP Ashéninka because of the disappearance of the opposition in roughly half of the verbs, but it remains a good main division in terms of mood and modality. As for Dixon’s (2010b:2) three mood values “in every language”, imperative is marked *irrealis*, and declarative and interrogative are marked *realis* or *irrealis* according to the reality value of the clause.

Following Palmer’s (2001:4) division of mood in *realis* and *irrealis*, the binary opposition of reality status should be considered the main mood division in UP

Ashéninka and the rest of the Campan languages. However, given its importance in Ashéninka due to being the only obligatory mark on the verb, I have deemed it more appropriate to devote the first section (6.1) of the chapter on verbs (6) to it because the reality status opposition must be understood first in order to understand the descriptions of other verbal morphemes better. Dixon's (2010b:2) three mood values (declarative, interrogative and imperative) also are sentence types; therefore, these sentence types will be studied in Chapter 7, on syntax. Of the authors cited above, only Timberlake (2007:321-25) describes the conditional sentence and calls it "modality of causation and contingency" (p. 321). Since conditional is also a sentence type, conditional constructions are described in the syntax chapter (Section 7.4.2.1.3). The rest of the modality meanings that are cited above by different authors are described in sections 6.4.1. and 6.4.2, which correspond, respectively, to the two means that UP Ashéninka uses to express modality: 1) a few modal verbs and 2) suffixes and enclitics.

6.4.1. Modal verbs

There are two modal verbs in UP Ashéninka: *kowaantsi* 'want' and *mataantsi* 'can'. These two verbs and other verbal forms that express modal meanings are described in the following lines.

The verb *kowaantsi* 'want' is very frequent. It can be used with the roots *-koy-* (374) preceding *i* or *-kow-* preceding *a* (375) (the root never precedes *e* or *o*).

(374) **Pikoyi** piyote hempe nopoña naaka.

pi-koy-i	p-iyo-t-i	hempe	no-poñ-a	naaka
2S-want-FRS	2S-know-&-IRR	WH	1S-hail.from-REA	1

'You want to know where I hail from.' (CMH)

(375) **Ikówawita** tháwinatyàwo raniro.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a	tháwina-t-ya-ro
3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA	have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O

r-aniro

3M-niece.sister's.daughter.MP

'He wanted to have incestuous sex with his niece (sister's daughter) in vain.'
(SCS)

This verb is always used to express a desire. The complement verb is always marked irrealis, as can be seen in both previous examples. *Kowaantsi* can also be used without a complement verb, as in (376).

- (376) Haa, róotaki **nokówakotzimìri**.
 hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-want-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 ‘Yes, that’s what I want with you.’ (CMH)

The verb *nintaantsi* ‘want, desire’ also expresses volition, but it cannot be used as a modal verb taking another verb as complement. An example of use is shown in (377).

- (377) Iníntawàka.
 i-nint-awak-a
 3M.S-want-RECP-REA
 ‘They love each other.’

The complement verb of *kowaantsi* cannot take the future suffix *-atyee/-atyeya*. Some suffixes that appear in my corpus in complement verbs of *kowaantsi* are frustrative *-wi* (375), general applicative *-ako* (376), perfective *-ak*, ablative *-an*, counter-factual *-mi*, object suffixes, desiderative *-awak*, regressive *-a* and translocative *-it*.

The verb *mataantsi* expresses possibility; that is why I have translated it with ‘can’. It is infrequent (only four instances in my text corpus). This verb has an unusual feature: it is inflected with I-class RS suffixes when an object suffix follows the RS suffix (378), and with A-class suffixes in the other cases (379).

- (378) Eero **amátziro** athàmáetzi.
 eero a-ma-t-zi-ro a-thamae-t-zi
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-can-&-REA-3F.O INCL.S-weed-&-REA
 ‘We wouldn’t be able to weed.’ (CCPC)
- (379) Tee **imátanàha** máaweni iñáathèyani.
 tee i-ma-t-an-ah-a máaweni i-ñáath-ee-y-a-ni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-can-&-ABL-REG-REA all 3M.O-play-PL-RS-PL
 ‘No one can go on playing.’ (SCFF)

The choice of inflection does not have any semantic effect. Actually, both expressions in (380) from an elicitation have the same meaning.

(380) a. Tee **nomata** nayiro henoki.

tee no-ma-t-a n-ay-i-ro henoki
 NEG.REA 1S-can-&-REA 1S-take-FRS-3F.O up
 'I cannot take it (a fruit) up there.'

b. Tee **nomátziro** nayiro henoki.

tee no-ma-t-zi-ro n-ay-i-ro henoki
 NEG.REA 1S-can-&-REA-3F.O 1S-take-FRS-3F.O up
 'I cannot take it (a fruit) up there.'

A possible explanation for this double inflection is that it is a transitive verb and the complement clause is considered an object. Therefore, when the object suffix is absent, the strategy used to make a verb reflexive (a change to A-class inflection) is called into play, even though the verb does not acquire a reflexive meaning. This lack of a reflexive meaning is why I do not gloss the RS A-class suffix as reflexive, as I do when the reflexive meaning is present. This change in RS inflection in the verb *mataantsi* is remarkable because the object suffix is optional and its presence does not cause a change in RS class in the rest of the verbs. The uniqueness of *mataantsi* must be due to its being a modal verb.

The complement verb of *mataantsi* is marked with the same RS value as *mataantsi*. This feature can be observed in (378), and also in the two examples in (381).

(381) a. Nimaeka **nomátiro** niyaati.

nimaeka no-ma-t-i-ro n-iyaa-t-i
 tomorrow 1S-can-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-go-&-IRR
 'I can go tomorrow.'

b. Chapinki **nomátziro** niyaatzi.

chapinki no-ma-t-zi-ro n-iyaa-t-zi
 yesterday 1S-can-&-REA-3F.O 1S-go-&-REA
 'I was able to go yesterday.'

In (381b), both *mataantsi* and the complement verb *iyaataantsi* are inflected realis, while, in (381a), both verbs are inflected irrealis because of the future reference of the sentence.

A verb that indicates necessity is the apparently fossilized form *otzimatyee*, which also Mihas (2015a:205) shows as *ontzimatye* for Alto Perené, with the pan-Campan nasal irrealis prefix absent in UP Ashéninka. Mihas does not segment it, but the existential root *-tzim-* is evident, and it is accompanied by the 3rd person feminine

prefix *o-* and the future suffix *-atyee*, although the meaning ('is necessary', in Alto Perené as well as in UP Ashéninka) appears to be fossilized. The root *-tzim-* occurs with a clear existential meaning in *tzimatsi* 'there is', with the imperfective participle suffix, but also with more inflected forms as *otzimi* and even *otzímaki*, with the perfective aspect suffix, all of them with the meaning 'there is' (see Section 6.9.2). Two different speakers gave the same answer when asked to translate 'I have to go' (speaker A, older age group) and 'I need to go' (speaker B, middle age group), given in (382).

- (382) **Otzímatyee** niyaate.
 o-tzim-atyee n-iyaa-t-i
 3F.S-EXI-FUT 1S-go-&-IRR
 'I have to go (speaker A) / I need to go (speaker B).'

Note that a more literal translation, taking into account the meaning of *-tzim-*, would be 'it will exist that I go (irrealis)'. Speaker A's translation of 'I need to go' was (383a), and speaker B's translation of 'I have to go' was (383b).

- (383) a. Ari niyáataki.
 ari n-iyaa-t-ak-i
 FUT 1S-go-&-PFV-FRS
 'I need to go (lit.: I'll go).' (speaker A)
 b. Niyáaperotàtyee
 n-iyaa-pero-t-atyee
 1S-go-VER-&-FUT
 'I have to go (lit.: I'll go undoubtedly).' (speaker B)

These examples show that a usual way of expressing obligation or necessity is with future markers. Furthermore, this is not the only modal meaning for which a future reference is used. When asked to translate '–Will you be able to come? –Yes, I will be able', speaker A gave (384a) and speaker B (384b) (with the slight difference that, for speaker B, *tsirénitini* 'in the evening' was added).¹²⁸ While speaker A used the verb *mataantsi*, speaker B used the multifunctional word *ari* with a future value.

¹²⁸ Obviously, the sentences to translate were given in Spanish, but the Spanish verbs used for the elicitation have a quite straightforward translation in the English verbs shown here.

- (384) a. –Ari pimátakya pipoki? –Áritaki (nomátakya)¹²⁹.
 ari pi-ma-t-ak-ya pi-pok-i
 FUT 2S-can-&-PFV-IRR 2S-come-FRS
 ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-ya
 FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-can-&-PFV-IRR
 ‘–Will you be able to come? –I will (be able) (lit.: It will be that I can).’
 (speaker A)
- b. –Ari pipókaki tsirénitini? –Hee, ari niyáataki.
 ari pi-pok-ak-i tsirénitini hee ari n-iyaa-t-ak-i
 FUT 2S-come-PFV-FRS evening AFF FUT 1S-go-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘–Will you come in the evening? –Yes, I’ll go.’ (speaker B)

These examples show that the future reference is used to express different modal meanings, at least obligation, necessity and possibility.

Another verb with a modal meaning, namely permission, is *shinetaantsi* ‘permit, authorize’ (385).

- (385) **Ishinétakina** noñáawaetzi.
 i-shine-t-ak-i-na no-ñaawae-t-zi
 3M.S-permit-&-PFV-FRS-1O 1S-talk-&-REA
 ‘I have permission to talk (lit.: they permit me that I talk).’

There may be other verbs expressing modal meanings that have not appeared in my texts nor elicitation, but, except for the frequent *kowaantsi* ‘want’, modal verbs are not frequently used in UP Ashéninka; rather, some speakers prefer to use future markers instead of modal verbs.

6.4.2. Suffixes and enclitics

In this subsection, all suffixes and enclitics that have a semantic value that can be included in the meanings mentioned in the introduction to this Section 6.4 are described. These meanings include capacity, permission, obligation, possibility, necessity, desire, intention, hypothesis, doubt, command, demand, exclamation, willingness, certainty, counterfactuality and prediction. However, imperatives and conditionals are described in the syntax chapter (sections 7.3.2 and 7.4.2.1.3, respectively), given that imperative and conditional are clause types. Although I will avoid a classification in epistemic, deontic or other types of modality, it must be noted

¹²⁹ The consultant said that *nomátakya* can be omitted.

that the only suffixes that might be included in deontic modality express intention or desire (purposive and non-purposive *-ashi*, desiderative *-awak* and reinforced optative *-:ta*). Permission and obligation are usually expressed using modal verbs described in Section 6.4.1.

6.4.2.1. Lamentative *-ahaant*

Lamentative is a label that has been used for some languages (e.g. a suffix in Kwaza [Van der Voort 2015:611], a suffix in Chácobo [Tallman 2018:931-32] or a particle in Tuparí [Singerman 2018:445]), but has not been described for a Campan language; it is only mentioned in a list in Payne & Payne (2005:43) for Pichis with the label “mistakenly”. Yet this suffix turned up in a natural text, after which I checked it through elicitation, and its meaning is quite clear: it conveys the lamentation of the speaker with respect to the event expressed by the verbal stem. Its relation with the meanings set forth above as belonging to the realm of modality lies in the fact that a speaker laments that something has not turned out as they expected, which is related to the speaker’s wishes and desires. A similar argument is given by Overall (2017:479) for the frustrative (see Section 6.4.2.11). Actually, the lamentative could be considered an enhanced frustrative, but, while with the frustrative the event is normally frustrated, with the lamentative the speaker is the frustrated one.

The elicitation of the suffix with different verbs showed that it has a very unusual behaviour: the speaker did not accept the verbs inflected in realis with the lamentative but did accept them inflected in irrealis, and, in this way, they acquired a negative polarity without the need of a negative particle, which is shown in examples (387) to (390). Nevertheless, the two examples from natural texts in my corpus are in realis. Both appear in two following sentences, so the best way to grasp the meaning of the suffix is to show them together (386).

- (386) Okántashirètzi: “Naaka, **rĩtaháantakĩma** rira kooko oñáashirènkanaári.
Ikántaháantzi: «Nopoñaaka hanta henoki...
 o-kant-a-shire-t-zi naaka rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
 3F.S-say-&-soul-&-REA 1 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED
 kooko oñaashirenk-a-na-ri i-kant-ahaant-zi
 maternal.uncle.VOC.FE disturb-REA-1O-REL 3M.S-say-LAM-REA
 no-poñ-ak-a ha=nta henoki
 1S-hail.from-PFV-REA LOC=DIST up
 ‘She says for herself (in her mind/soul): “I..., so this was the uncle who
 disturbed me (lamenting herself). How can he say (lamenting herself): «I hail
 from up there (heaven)...”’ (SCS)

In (386), *rĩtaháantakĩma* is a verbalized 3rd person masculine pronoun. The dubitative enclitic =*ma* expresses the idea of discovering something previously unknown, and the lamentative *-ahaant* conveys the speaker’s lamentation for this discovery. In *ikántaháantzi*, with the verbal root *-kant-* ‘say’, the speaker laments what her uncle said. This *ikántaháantzi* is inflected realis, but we do not know the RS of *rĩtaháantakĩma* because the I-class RS suffix after /k/ is fossilized.

As said above, verbs in realis were not accepted by the consultant who translated the story from which (386) is taken, but he accepted them in irrealis, all of them with negative polarity. I reproduce below the explanations that I got from him with different examples. It is necessary to show these explanations, which describe the situation in which each sentence could be uttered. This is explained after every example. Note that, in all the examples (387) to (390), there is no negative particle preceding the verb, yet it has negative polarity.

- (387) **Ipókaháanti** rarétina naaka.
 i-pok-ahaant-i r-aree-t-i-na naaka
 3M.S-come-LAM-IRR 3M.S-visit-&-IRR-1O 1
 ‘They (family) don’t come to visit me.’
- (388) Riyótaháanti.
 r-iyó-t-ahaant-i
 3M.S-know-&-LAM-IRR
 ‘He doesn’t learn.’

In (387), the speaker complains because his family does not come to visit him. In (388), the situation imagined by my consultant was that a family provides educational resources to their son, but he is not very clever and does not learn very much, so the family laments that he does not learn in spite of the resources they have given him.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (389) Ikántaháanti.
i-kant-ahaant-i
3M.S-say-LAM-IRR
'He never says anything.' | (390) Pikémaháanti éeroka.
pi-kem-ahaant-i éeroka
2S-hear-LAM-IRR 2
'You don't listen.' |
|---|---|

In (389), a man has seen illegal acts (e.g. stealing), but has never said anything about it. In one case, someone accuses him of revealing a secret, but those who know him well reply that he never reveals anything and complain because he has not talked when he should have talked (when witnessing illegal acts). In (390), the situation imagined by my consultant was that a guy has bad behaviour, and his family scolds him for that, but, since he continues with his bad behaviour, the family complains to him because he does not listen to them when they tell him what is right to do.

When I asked my consultant about *ikántaháanti* in (386) (realis) in comparison with its irrealis counterpart in (389), he said that *ikántaháanti* was positive and *ikántaháanti* was negative. From my consultant's explanations, one could be tempted to say that *-ahaant* always triggers irrealis marking and expresses negative polarity, but the natural text examples from (386) do not accept this conclusion. It could be the case that this suffix is mostly used in negative clauses with irrealis marking on the verb, and that is the reason why my consultant did not accept the verbs in realis, or maybe it can be used with positive polarity in a reduced number of verbs, as in (386). Be that as it may, the fact that this suffix combined with irrealis marking can express negative polarity without needing a negative marker makes it the most remarkable, above all because such a suffix has not been described in the Campanist literature. The possibility of using the suffix in verbs marked realis and with positive polarity as in (386) needs further research.

6.4.2.2. Dubitative =*ma*

This marker can occur in very different word classes and has a final position on any host. It can even appear independently attached to an epenthetic vowel yielding the form *ama* 'maybe, perhaps'; that is why I have considered it an enclitic. Payne (1981:29) calls it "dubitative" and says that it "indicates doubt". Mihas (2015a:232-35) also calls it "dubitative" and ascribes it to the expression of doubt, inference, pure speculation, mirativity and rhetorical emphasis in questions. In my corpus, the

dubitative *=ma* expresses probability (391); surprise (392), (393); lack of previous knowledge (394), (395), and disjunctivity (397). All these meanings have in common the expression of uncertainty or lack of knowledge by the speaker. They are analysed in the following lines.

In (391), *=ma* expresses probability or supposition, similarly to English *must*, with a clear epistemic content. With *=ma*, the speaker means that he supposes that the proposition contained in the clause is true but cannot state it with certainty.

- (391) **Pimáperotàma** éeroka, ikáayitzi osheki piñáathari.
 pi-ma-pero-t-a=ma éeroka
 2S-can-VER-&-REA=DUB 2
 i-kaa-yi-t-zi osheki pi-ñáath-a-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-DISTR-&-REA many 2-love-REA-REL
 ‘You must be brave, you, to have many loved ones.’¹³⁰ (CMH)

The enclitic *=ma* is also used in questions in order to express doubt and reinforces the expression of the lack of knowledge that any question implies, as in (392), where the enclitic appears two times attached to the multifunctional word *ari*, which has, in this case, a mere affirmative value.

- (392) “Hempe okáantyaka irika, **árima** ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki áatsimiyantàtsiri, **árima** ipánkinatakàe?”
 hempe o-kaa-ant-ya=ka i-ri=ka ari=ma
 WH 3F.S-COP.TOT-RES-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX AFF=DUB
 i-kant-a-ri i-ri=ka ri=raga poñ-acha-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA-REL DEM-M=PROX M=CAT.DEMcome.from-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 henoki aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma
 up suck.to.cure-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB
 i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 3M.S-make.love-&-PFV-INCL.O
 ‘How is it possible that this one, the one who comes from heaven and sucks to cure, makes love to us?’ (SCS)

In (392), the speaker expresses her surprise for some facts that seem very strange to her. The expression of surprise present in (392) can also occur in a declarative sentence, as in (393), where the speaker expresses her surprise.

¹³⁰ The verb *mataantsi* with the verificative suffix *-pero* means ‘be brave’. One could argue that there is a lexicalization and *-mapero-* should be glossed as a stem lexicalized with two elements. While I consider valid this option, I have preferred to separate both elements so as not to obscure how the potential stem is formed.

- (393) O, **árima** ikanta shéripýàri!
 o ari=ma i-kant-a sheripyari
 INTJ AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA shaman
 ‘Oh, it’s the shaman!’ (SCS)

In the question in (394), the enclitic is on the negative particle *tee* and the speaker reinforces her lack of knowledge about the posed question.

- (394) **Teema** ohéekaperòtzi payiro?
 tee=ma o-heck-a-pero-t-zi p-ayiro
 NEG.REA=DUB 3F.S-live-&-VER-&-REA 2-mother-in-law.FP
 ‘Doesn’t your mother-in-law actually live (there)?’ (CMM)

Besides in questions, the expression of a previous lack of knowledge also occurs in declarative sentences, as in (395), where the expression *kyáatàmakya* is emphasized with the emphatic =*kya*, but, with the dubitative enclitic, the speaker expresses that he did not know it until now.

- (395) **Kyáatàmakya**, ñani.
 kyaa-ta=ma=kya ñani
 true-EMPH=DUB=EMPH brother-in-law.VOC.ME
 ‘It’s true, brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

The enclitic =*ma* can also acquire a disjunctive meaning. There is no occurrence with this meaning in my text corpus, but the reason may be the widespread use of the Spanish disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’, which does occur three times in my corpus. In one of these occurrences, a young man asks a young girl the question in (396) linking two clauses with *o*.

- (396) Éenitatsi pipáapati iheeki *o* pokaki haka?
 eeni-t-atsi pi-paapa-ti i-heck-i
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father-POSS 3M.S-live-FRS
 o pok-ak-i ha=ka
 or come-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘Is your father (there) or has he come here?’ (CMH)

When I was transcribing and translating the conversation, I noticed the Spanish loan and asked the consultant how he would express the same sentence without this Spanish loan, to which he answered with the sentence in (397) –the consultant also used the more genuine *piri* ‘your father’ instead of *pipáapati* in (396), which is built on the Spanish loan *paapa* ‘father’.

- (397) Éénitatsi piri hanta **pokákima** haka?
 éeni-t-atsi p-iri ha=nta pok-ak-i=ma ha=ka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-father LOC=DIST come-PFV-FRS=DUB LOC=PROX
 ‘Is your father there or has he come here?’

In this case, the enclitic *=ma* fulfils its dubitative function in that it expresses the speaker’s lack of knowledge about the answer and poses a disjunctive question in that two options are given and one must be chosen. This example shows how a proposition that is called disjunctive in European languages is formulated in a totally different way in Ashéninka, given that two options are given, but with no disjunctive link between them; rather, a dubitative enclitic is used to express that one of the options is true and the speaker does not know which one.

6.4.2.3. Verificative *-pero*

Payne (1980:160) calls this suffix “veritative” in his multidialectal dictionary and Mihás (2015a:658) “intensifier” for Alto Perené. The suffix can attach to nouns, verbs and even connectors as *róotaki* ‘that is’, but most occurrences in my text corpus are with verbs, and there are only two with nouns and one with *róotaki*. It tends to attach closer to the stem than other suffixes. Its meaning is that the speaker assures that the statement is true, or tries to verify the truth of the statement when posing a question, so that it can be translated with *really* or *actually* practically always. Some examples are provided below.

In (398), *-pero* is on the verb *iyotaantsi*, which is nominalized through its relativization.

- (398) Okántanaka paata, éénitatsi apaani atziri héekatsiri hanta, **yowéeperotàtsiri**.
 o-kant-an-ak-a paata eeni-t-atsi apaani atziri
 3F.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA later EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV one person
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST know-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘It happened later that there was a person living there, a specialist (one who knows to do many things).’ (OS)

The translation ‘specialist’ is as it was formulated by the translating consultant (Sp. *especialista*). The specifier suffix *-wee* indicates that this person knows to do specific tasks, and the verificative suffix *-pero* denotes that there is no doubt that he knows how to do them.

In (399), the verificative suffix is hosted by the noun *mapipooki* ‘stony river bank’, and can be easily translated with ‘actually’ or ‘really’. The noun forms here a predicate with an existential meaning.

- (399) Mapipóokiperòni?
 mapi-pooki-pero-ni
 stone-COL-VER-IGN
 ‘Are there actually stony riverbanks?’ (CMM)

In (400), *-pero* acquires a certain augmentative meaning in that the speaker says that the deer has *really* accelerated, i.e. it has seriously accelerated.

- (400) **Ikañaaperotanàka** rira..., hempe íitagankitya..., maniro.
 i-kaña-a-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra
 3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED
 hempe i-et-a=ranki=tya maniro
 WH 3M.S-be.called-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer
 ‘He has really accelerated, um..., how was it..., the deer.’ (FS)

A somewhat similar augmentative meaning can be found in (401), where *-pero* denotes that the amount to be eaten is considerable.

- (401) Ari **owàperowáetakya**, teema antawo”.
 ari Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya teema anta-ro
 thus INCL.S-eat-&-VER-DUR1-&-PFV-IRR because big-F
 ‘In this way, we’ll be eating more, because it is big.’ (TSJ)

In (402), *-pero* is attached to *róotaki* ‘that is’, which usually acts as a connector between two sentences, although, in this example, it has a rather verbal nature as expressing ‘that is’.

- (402) Rámatawitakiri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékhitho ikìmitakáantawitakàwo
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., **róoperotàki** kameetha iyátharékitho...
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékhitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékhitho
 good 3M-testicle
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar, because he has made it seem (being false),
 um..., how to say..., that that really was his good (tasty) testicle...’ (TSJ)

In this example, the speaker utters a plain *róotaki* and, after two fillers, adds *-pero* to give it more emphasis and the additional meaning ‘really’.

In the previous Section 6.4.2.2, there are two examples with interesting uses of *-pero*. In (391), *-pero* together with the root *-ma-* ‘can’ acquires the meaning ‘be brave’, so that *-mapero-* could be considered a lexicalized stem formed with two components. In (394), it is remarkable that the combination of the dubitative enclitic and the verificative suffix appears to have an opposite meaning. However, the dubitative *=ma* reinforces the expression of the ignorance of the speaker regarding what she is asking, and the use of the verificative *-pero* seeks that her interlocutor gives her a reassuring answer.

Finally, in (403) there is an example that might be considered as expressing the canonical meaning of the suffix, given that it is attached to the adjective *kyaario* ‘true’ together with the conditional enclitic *=rika*, so that this word means ‘if it is really true’: the speaker wants to be sure if the shaman actually comes from heaven.

- (403) Niyótantari **kyáaryoperòrikà** ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka
 héekatzi oháawiki, paata nopòntzításhitawakiríita ana.
 n-íyo-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 ‘In order to know whether it is really true that he comes from heaven and
 whether this Ashéninka doesn’t live down here (on earth), later I’m going to
 grate genipap for him (for his arrival, although he won’t want it).’ (SCS)

The examples above show that the verificative suffix *-pero* has the core meaning ‘really/actually’, which can be extended to have an augmentative meaning, as is the case in (400) and (401).

6.4.2.4. Purposive and non-purposive *-ashi*

The title of this section may seem surprising because it attributes two opposite meanings to a single suffix, but the trick is that the non-purposive meaning is produced by a shift of the RS suffix from I-class to A-class. This suffix is well described in its two variants in Payne’s textbook (1989:267-69) for Pichis, where she says that the purposive meaning indicates intention, i.e. “la acción del verbo marcado con *-ashi*

facilita otra acción posterior”,¹³¹ and, for the non-purposive, she says that something is done with no purpose or by mistake. This interpretation coincides with my own research. However, the question that arises is how this suffix functions with A-class verbs. Payne (1989) does not show any example with an A-class verb. Mihas (2015a:293-95) for Alto Perené does not treat this question either. I thought that it might work the other way round, i.e., a non-purposive meaning of the suffix might cause a shift from A-class to I-class, so I proposed to a speaker two A-class verbs inflected with *-ashi* and I-class suffixes, but he rejected them as ungrammatical forms. Then I proposed them with their usual A-class inflection and *-ashi*, and the meaning was non-purposive, so it seems that it is not possible to use the purposive meaning encoded by the suffix *-ashi* in an A-class verb, given that its meaning in these verbs is always non-purposive.

The purposive meaning can change the valence of the verb in some cases. Thus, the suffix takes an applicative function in these cases, two of which are in (405) and (407).

The two opposite meanings purposive and non-purposive can be observed in example (404) from an elicitation.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (404) a. Nopókashitzi
no-pok-ashi-t-zi
1S-come-PURP-&-REA
'I come for something.' | b. Nopókashita
no-pok-ashi-t-a
1S-come-NPURP-&-REA
'I come for nothing.' |
|--|---|

The translations I got from a speaker in Spanish, *vengo por algo* in (404a) and *vengo por nada* in (404b), illustrate better the intended meaning. Actually, they could be better translated as 'I come for some reason' and 'I come for no reason', respectively, while I have aimed at a more literal translation from Spanish in the examples. Both meanings can be included in the realm of modality because they express the intention of the speaker when performing an action. Some examples from natural texts are shown below.

In (405), the English translation needs to use the verb *look* to express the intended meaning well. In this case, the purposive suffix gives the verb *iyaataantsi* 'go' the

¹³¹ 'The action of the verb marked with *-ashi* facilitates another subsequent action.'

meaning ‘go to look for’, so that an intransitive verb becomes transitive. Therefore, *-ashi* augments the valence of the verb in this case.

(405) **Riyáatàshitziro** raniro.

r-iyaa-t-ashi-t-zi-ro r-aniro
3M.S-ir-&-PURP-&-REA-3F.O 3M-niece.sister’s.daughter.MP
‘He goes to look for his niece (sister’s daughter).’ (SCS)

Example (403) above (Section 6.4.2.3) is a good example of the use of *-ashi* on the verb *nopòntzitàshitawakiriita* ‘I’m going to grate for him (for his arrival, although he won’t want it)’: the first clause of the sentence (starting with *niyótantari...*) expresses a goal, and the main clause (*paata nopòntzitàshitawakiriita*) expresses what the woman is going to do in order to achieve that goal. Therefore, the suffix *-ashi* denotes that the action (grating) is done with a goal, which is the one indicated in the first clause (*niyótantari...*). Example (406) is the sentence that follows example (403) in this story.

(406) Okanta **opòntzitàshitakiri** ana.

o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-grate-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O genipap
‘So it was that she grated genipap for him.’ (SCS)

In (406), the verb *pontzitaansi* ‘grate’ also carries the purposive suffix, which expresses that the grating is done with a purpose, which was explained in the previous sentence in (403).

In (407), *-ashi* on the verb *pokaansi* ‘come’ indicates that there is a purpose in coming, which is expressed in the relative clause *ràmitàkotapákiri* ‘those who are going to help him (when arriving)’.

(407) Ikántaka **ipokàshitakiri** ikáateyini, ràmitàkotapákiri.

i-kant-ak-a i-pok-ashi-t-ak-i-ri
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-come-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O
i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri
3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-help-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL
‘So it is that they have come to him, those who are going to help him (when arriving).’ (PV)

Moreover, as in (405), *-ashi* changes the valence of the verb in that an intransitive verb as *pokaansi* ‘come’ acquires an argument and the meaning shifts to ‘come to someone’. The possibility of *-ashi* to change the valence of a verb is also shown by Payne (1989:267) for Pichis with the same verb *pokaansi*.

While the opposite meanings of the suffix *-ashi* result clear when comparing them in an elicitation, as can be seen in (404), the non-purposive meaning is difficult to grasp in the few occurrences in my texts (only four, two with the same verb). Two of them are commented on below.

In (408), the suffix *-ashi* is on the root *-kam-*, which usually means ‘die’, but also ‘dry’, and triggers a change of the I-class RS suffix typical of this verb to an A-class RS suffix.

- (408) Apáataka íntsipaki, **okamáshitaka**.
 Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki o-kam-ashi-t-ak-a
 3F.S-spoil-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay¹³² 3F.S-dry-NPURP-&-PFV-REA
 ‘The pacays have spoiled, they have dried (gone off).’ (CCPC)

When transcribing and translating this example, the translating consultant explained that the root *-kam-* means ‘die’ or ‘dry’, but, when *-ashi* is added, the verb acquires the meaning ‘go off’. In this way, the non-purposive suffix takes here a rather derivational function, and the change in meaning accords with the function of the suffix: one can dry something with a purpose, but, when fruits dry and go off, they do it against the will of the farmer.

In (409), the non-purposive suffix on the root *-shemy-* ‘crush’ can be attributed to the meaning ‘by mistake’ mentioned above citing Payne (1989:268).

- (409) Róetapáeni **ishèmyaakotáshitawo** rowa..., iyétakitì.
 roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro
 semilla=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O
 ro=ra i-ketaki-ti
 F=MED 3M-forest.nut-POSS
 ‘He was crushing seeds of, um..., forest nut.’ (TSJ)

In this example, the speaker is telling that a squirrel was crushing seeds of forest nut, although it was pretending to be crushing its testicle. The squirrel did not actually did it by mistake, but to induce a jaguar to a mistake, i.e. to cheat it.

¹³² *Pacay* is the name given in English and Spanish (among other names) to the tree *Inga feuilleei*, which produces pods with an edible pulp.

6.4.2.5. Apprehensive *-kari*

The apprehensive suffix *-kari* warns against a predictably unpleasant or dangerous situation that might be caused by the action expressed by the verbal stem. This suffix is infrequent because it has never occurred in any natural text of my corpus. Some examples from elicitations are in (410) to (413).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (410) Powáwokàri.
p-ow-a-ro-kari
2S-eat-REA-3F.O-APPR
‘Be careful, you are going to eat.’ | (411) Pihéekikàri.
pi-heek-i-kari
2S-stay-FRS-APPR
‘Be careful, you stay.’ |
| (412) Piyáatzikàri.
p-iyaa-t-zi-kari
2S-go-&-REA-APPR
‘Be careful, you’re leaving.’ | (413) Ikántzimikàri.
i-kant-zi-mi-kari
3M.S-say-REA-2O-APPR
‘Be careful what he tells you.’ |

Obviously, I got the verbs translated into Spanish, and the translation was always introduced with *cuidado* ‘be careful’. I reproduce here the Spanish translations because I think that they transmit the Ashéninka meaning better than the English translation: *cuidado, vas a comer* (410); *cuidado que te quedas* (411); *cuidado que te vas* (412); *cuidado que te diga* (413). In each case, the speaker warns their interlocutor of the danger of eating, staying, leaving or being told something, so the meaning of this suffix becomes quite clear.

It seems that the verb is always inflected in realis with this suffix, given that all the examples (410) to (413) are imperatives, which are irrealis situations, and all but (411), where the RS suffix is fossilized, are inflected in realis. The same suffix *-kari* also occurs only with realis stems in Alto Perené (Mihás 2015a:242) and in Matsigenka (Zachary O’Hagan p.c. 2021) –both scholars consider it an enclitic (=kari), but I do not have enough examples to consider it as such. Therefore, this irregularity (realis marking in an irrealis situation) probably is a pan-Campan feature.

6.4.2.6. Desiderative *-awak*

The desiderative suffix *-awak* has not been described in the previous Campanist literature; only Snell (2011:851) describes a desiderative suffix for Matsigenka with the form *-vintsa*. The suffix is actually infrequent, with only four occurrences in my corpus, and can be difficult to identify because it has the same form as the

reciprocal *-awak* and as the union of the object motion *-aw* plus the perfective *-ak*. Yet the occurrences in my corpus together with elicitations carried out to clarify its meaning and the difference with the construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’ yield a satisfactory explanation: this suffix expresses the desire to do something that the speaker knows with certainty that is going to be fulfilled. The relation between volition and future can be observed in English, namely in the origin of the future auxiliary *will* in a former desiderative auxiliary. The desiderative *-awak* would be halfway between the expression of desire and the future tense, so that, in elicitations, verbs with *-awak* can be translated both with the Spanish modal verb *querer* ‘want’ or the auxiliary *ir a* (proximal future). Two examples from my corpus are below.

In (414), *nokántawàki* could be translated both as ‘I want to say’ or ‘I’m going to say’. I got the first one when the sentence was translated at first, and then the second one when I asked the consultant about its meaning.

- (414) **Nokántawàki** naaka pinkáthari hëwatakáantziròri nonampi.
 no-kant-awak-i naaka pinkáthari
 1S-say-DES-FRS 1 authority
 hewa-t-aka-ant-zi-ro-ri no-nampi
 be.first-&-CAUS-OCC-REA-3F.O-REL 1-community
 ‘I want to say that I’m an authority who leads my community.’ (CTK)

In (415), the aforementioned interpretation of *-aw-ak* (OM-PFV) would be possible because the woman has not accepted a man that has gone to her, and this man would be the object with the associated motion expressed by the object motion suffix. However, the right interpretation is given by the irrealis suffix on *àapátziyawakyàari*: a negated verb referring to the past should be marked realis, but the expression of volition or future requires irrealis marking.

- (415) Tee **àapátziyawakyàari** iroka tsinani.
 tee Ø-aapatziy-awak-ya-ri i-ro=ka tsinani
 NEG.REA 3F.S-accept-DES-IRR-3M.O DEM-F=PROX woman
 ‘This woman hasn’t wanted to accept him.’ (SCS)

This example also shows that the desiderative suffix triggers irrealis marking. In other instances from my text corpus and from elicitations, the RS-suffix is fossilized, so that (415) is the only instance that I have with the desiderative suffix and a non-fossilized RS suffix.

6.4.2.7. Counter-expectative *-imae*

Payne (1989:245-46) describes for Pichis the counter-expectative suffix *-imae*, which has not appeared in my text corpus, but only in an elicitation dedicated to adversative clauses. This is in (416).

- (416) Tee niyówitawo awotsi, **arèetzimáetàkina**.
 tee n-iyo-wi-t-a-ro awotsi
 NEG.REA 1S-know-FRU-&-REA-3F.O way
 aree-tz-imae-t-ak-i-na
 arrive-&-COEXP-&-PFV-FRS-1S
 'I didn't know the way, but I arrived.'

The proposed Spanish sentence for translation was *No conocía el camino, pero pude llegar a su casa* 'I didn't know the way, but was able to arrive at his house' –obviously, the speaker omitted 'at his house'. This example illustrates the use of the counter-expectative *-imae* with the same meaning as described by Payne (1989) for Pichis, which is to express an adversative condition, i.e. a clause that expresses something contrary to what might be expected from a previous clause or the context. Clearly related to this suffix, there is the counter-expectative enclitic *=maita*, which is used only with the negative realis *tee* and the negative copula *kaari*. This enclitic is described in the sections devoted to these negative words (3.7 and 6.10.4, respectively).

6.4.2.8. Emphatics *-ta*, *=kya*, *=tya*

These three markers have appeared in my text corpus with a similar emphatic meaning, which is just to add emphasis to what is being said. Their consideration as suffixes (*-ta*) or enclitics (*=kya*, *=tya*) can be seen in the examples below.

The suffix *-ta* seems to be prosodically motivated, i.e. it gives the verb an additional syllable that causes a change in prosody that appears to give the uttering more strength. Actually, only in some cases did the speakers accept its emphatic character, while, in other cases, they found no difference when adding or removing *-ta* in a verb. This made me think that there was a sort of syllabic epenthesis so as to make the word sound better in the ears of the speaker, but the fact that speakers explained the existence of *-ta* in some verbs as producing emphasis led me to think that this

better-sounding *-ta* is the same as the emphatic *-ta*, and that the better-sounding has a mild emphatic character.¹³³ Some examples are shown below.

Example (417) is one for which speakers clearly accepted that the form with *-ta* is more emphasized than the form without *-ta*.

- (417) Hempe **ihéekitaka** rirori?
 hempe i-heek-i-ta=ka rirori
 WH 3M.S-live-FRS-EMPH=INT 3M
 ‘Where are they living?’ (CMM)

Actually, a speaker explained that the addition of *-ta* means that the woman who asks the question expects that they live quite far, and another speaker said that it means that this woman expresses a total ignorance of the answer. Both explanations are about emphasis: one emphasizing the distance and the other one emphasizing the ignorance that a question entails. The remarkable feature of *ihéekitaka* is that *-ta* follows the RS suffix, differently from other instances. This may lead us to think that we are dealing with two different markers. Nevertheless, given the prosodic nature of the suffix, I prefer to consider that its position is not fixed, differently from any other affix or enclitic, because the speaker can place it where she can get a better prosodic effect.

Also in (418), the prosodic effect caused by *-ta* can be observed by removing it and comparing how both versions of the word sound. In this case, the insertion of *-ta* allows a weak syllable between both stressed syllables, which gives more strength to the second and primary stress, and thus to the word.

- (418) Ari **akántatátziro**: kontaki.
 ari a-kant-a-ta-t-zi-ro kontaki
 thus INCL.S-say-&-EMPH-&-REA-3F.O *azúcar.huayo*¹³⁴
 ‘Thus we call it: *kontaki*.’ (CMM)

The enclitics *=kya* and *=tya* can be considered two allomorphs of the same morpheme. Actually, Payne (1980:161) considers them thus and calls them “intensivo”, and adds that they are used in the Alto Perené and the community of

¹³³ In order to grasp better this idea, one can think about the difference between English ‘it is’ and ‘it’s’, or between ‘I am’ and ‘I’m’. There is no semantic difference between both parts of each pair, but the speaker conveys more strength to the uttering in the non-contracted forms.

¹³⁴ This tree is *Hymenaea oblongifolia*, called in local Spanish *azúcar huayo*, among other names.

Shahuaya, in the Ucayali area.¹³⁵ Mihas, for Alto Perené, in her doctoral dissertation (2010), calls both *=kya* and *=tya* “pragmatic clitics” (p. 6), and glosses them as emphatic (e.g. pp. 127 and 151), but, in Mihas (2015a:254-57), she calls *=kya* “assertive” and *=tya* “affect”. The latter is described as expressing “impatience and urgency”, “surprise”, “mild preoccupation” and a “sense of frustration”. All these names and descriptions somewhat convey that the suffix gives emphasis, places the focus on its host, expresses an assertion or intensifies the utterance, and all these meanings can be clustered by saying that the speaker tries to give some word a special prominence over the other words. I have considered them enclitics because they can attach to very different hosts and are always at the edge of the word, as the examples below show.

In (419), *=kya* is attached to the adverb *iroentzi* ‘only’ to remark that only the woman speaking in 1st person and no one else weeds.

- (419) **Iróentzikya** nòthamáetzi!
 iroentzi=*kya* no-thamae-t-zi
 only=EMPH 1S-weed-&-REA
 ‘Only I weed!’ (CCPC)

In (420), *=kya* is attached to the verb *pikántziri* ‘what you call’. In this conversation, the speaker’s interlocutor had previously mentioned the Spanish phrase *faena comunal* ‘community work’, and, with the use of *=kya*, the speaker remarks that her interlocutor mentioned this word before.

- (420) Rantawáeyini máaweni, máaweni haga, **pikántzirikya** *faena comunal*.
 r-antawae-eey-i-ni máaweni ha=ra
 3M.S-work-PL-FRS-PL all LOC=MED
 pi-kant-zi-ri=*kya* faena comunal
 2S-say-REA-REL=EMPH community work
 ‘Everyone works, everyone there, in what you call *faena comunal*.’ (CTK)

In (421), the speaker asks her interlocutors what kind of work they do in a *chacra*, and the attachment of *=kya* to the verb *pántziri* ‘what you do’ increases the expression of her expectation before the answer.

¹³⁵ Actually, according to the BDPIO (bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/search/node?keys=shahuaya; accessed in February 2022), the community with the official name Shahuaya is Shipibo-Konibo. Payne probably refers to the community with the official name Nueva Shahuaya, aka Shahuaya. Both are very close to each other in Tahuanía district, where the Ashéninka and Shipibo areas intersect.

- (421) Iita **pántzirikyà** éeroka?
 iita p-ant-zi-ri=kya éeroka
 WH 2S-do-REA-REL=EMPH 2
 ‘And what do you do?’ (CCPC)

In (422), the speaker has asked her interlocutor how many women have passed by that morning, but her interlocutor is counting men, so the speaker, with =*tya* attached to *tsinani* ‘woman’, insists that it is about women that she is asking.

- (422) Tsinánitya!
 tsinani=*tya*
 woman=EMPH
 ‘Women!’ (CCPC)

In (423), =*tya* is attached to the imperative *pámini* ‘look’, which reinforces the command.

- (423) **Pamínitya** nokántàkiro nothámaetzi.
 p-amin-i=*tya* no-kant-ak-i-ro no-thamae-t-zi
 2S-look-FRS=EMPH 1S-say-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1S-weed-&-REA
 ‘Look how I weed! (lit.: look I say that I weed).’ (CCPC)

The enclitics =*kya* and =*tya* can be combined in the same host, as in (424). However, since this is the only occurrence in my corpus, this combination must not be frequent.

- (424) Íitakya kaari pamanta niha? Ari **pámityakya** póomitokì!
 iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 ari p-am-i=*tya*=kya póomito=ki¹³⁶
 AFF 2S-bring-FRS=EMPH=EMPH small.container=LOC
 ‘Why haven’t you brought water? Bring it in a bottle!’ (CCPC)

In this example, the speaker reproaches her interlocutor because she thinks that he should have brought water. The two enclitics put together express the reproach included in the command, so that one would say in English ‘you should have brought it, and bring it next time’.

¹³⁶ *Póomito* is a Spanish loan from *pomito*, the diminutive of *pomo* ‘small container (pot, tub, can, bottle, tube, jar, tin...)’. In this conversation, a plastic bottle was meant.

6.4.2.9. Counterfactual *-mi*

The counterfactual *-mi* is usually translated with the Spanish subjunctive, either in conditional constructions or in sentences expressing what might have been but was not realized. Mihas (2015a:238-39) describes the same suffix for Alto Perené, but as an enclitic, and calls it “counterfactual condition”. Payne’s dictionary (1980:158) also lists it for Alto Perené, but as an alternative form of the dubitative *-ma* (which I consider an enclitic, but Payne does not make distinctions between clitics and affixes). In UP Ashéninka, the counterfactual fulfils a function similar to the Spanish past subjunctive: it expresses a hypothetical situation that might have been realized but was not. Example (425) shows a typical use in a conditional construction in which the speaker makes clear that she does not know how to sing, so that the verb ‘know’ describes a hypothetical situation that is not the case presently.

- (425) **Niyótiromi**, ari nokántimi.
 n-iyo-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-say-IRR-2O
 ‘If I knew (singing), I would say it to you.’ (CMM)

In an elicitation in which I asked a speaker to translate conditional constructions from Spanish to Ashéninka, she used the counterfactual *-mi* to translate the two clauses that I proposed with the Spanish subjunctive, while she used it only in two of the four clauses with the Spanish indicative. Thus, as translation for *si la trajeras a la comunidad, la traerías a nuestra casa* (English translations in examples), with the protasis in the Spanish subjunctive, she produced the sentence in (426); but for *si lo veo, se lo diré*, with the protasis in indicative, she translated it with the sentence in (427). However, for the translation of *si lo sé, no vengo*, with the protasis in indicative, she used the counterfactual suffix (428).

- (426) Arírika **pamákiromi** nampítsiki, ari pámiro pankótsiki.
 ari=rika p-am-ak-i-ro-mi nampi-tsi=ki
 AFF=COND 2S-bring-PFV-FRS-3F.O-COFA community-ALI=LOC
 ari p-am-i-ro panko-tsi=ki
 FUT 2S-bring-FRS-3F.O house-ALI=LOC
 ‘If you brought her to the community, you’d bring her to the house (of ours).’
- (427) Arírika noñáakiri, ari nokántakiri.
 ari=rika no-ña-ak-i-ri ari no-kant-ak-i-ri
 AFF=COND 1S-see-PFV-FRS-3M.O FUT 1S-say-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘If I see him, I’ll tell him.’

(428) Arírika **niyótakimi**, eero nopoki.

ari=rika n-iyo-t-ak-i-mi eero no-pok-i
 AFF=COND 1S-know-&-PFV-FRS-COFA NEG.IRR 1S-come-FRS
 'If I had known it, I wouldn't have come (literal from Spanish proposed
 sentence: if I know it, I don't come).'

A comparison between (427) and (428), both translations of the protasis in Spanish indicative, shows us that the protasis in (427) introduces a condition that still may occur in the future, while the protasis in (428) describes a hypothetical situation that might have occurred in the past, but did not occur. In the English translation for (428), I have written the more faithful translation together with the more literal from Spanish *si lo sé, no vengo*, which uses the indicative but expresses a past situation. A condition that still may occur in the future is the case also in (426); the difference from (427) in the use of *-mi* probably lies on the speaker's judgment of the probability that the event takes place.

The examples (425) to (428) show that the counterfactual *-mi* is used in the protasis of a conditional construction when the condition is very hypothetical or improbable, while a more probable condition is also introduced with *arírika*, but without *-mi* on the verb.

Another use of the counterfactual suffix not in a conditional construction is illustrated in (429).

(429) Ikoyi **rowintáanakirimi**, ikántètzi... rira..., méyiri.

i-koy-i r-owinta-an-ak-i-ri-mi
 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-capture-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri=ra méyiri
 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M=MED squirrel
 'He would have wanted to capture him, how to say..., um..., the squirrel.' (TSJ)

The Spanish translation of this sentence was *hubiera querido atraparla*, with a past subjunctive form. Therefore, in this case, the meaning is similar to that in conditional constructions: the counterfactual expresses something that did not happen but was the desire of the individual who is the subject of the sentence. In this way, this suffix earns its name well since the verb that carries it expresses that the action was not a fact, i.e. it was *counterfactual*. However, the counterfactual can also be used for very improbable situations that might happen in the future, as in (430).

(430) Ikówawita **itháwinatyáwomi**.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a i-tháwina-t-ya-ro-mi
 3M.S-want-&-FRU-&-REA 3M.S-have.incestuous.sex-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA
 'He wanted to have incestuous sex with her.' (SCS)

This sentence is from a story and, at this point of the story, we do not know the outcome, so we do not know if eventually he got to have incestuous sex with her (he did not get it, but we do not know yet), i.e. it might be the case that he fulfilled his desire. The counterfactual suffix on the verb *thawinaantsi* 'have incestuous sex' appears to indicate the infeasibility of the man's desire and also to anticipate that he will not be successful. The important fact to draw from (430) is that *-mi* can be used on verbs that can refer to the past or to the future: when used to refer to the past, the event did not take place; when referred to the future, it is highly unlikely that it will take place. Regarding verbs referring to the present, one example is in (425): the fact expressed by the verb (know how to sing) is not presently fulfilled because the speaker does not know how to sing.

6.4.2.10. Reinforced optative *-ta*

Crystal (2008:342) says that the term *optative* refers "to a category of mood which expresses a desire, hope or wish". Mihas (2015a:228-32) describes the enclitic *=ta* as "optative" for Alto Perené by saying that it "encodes speaker's wish, hope, encouragement, possibility, permission or necessity". Payne's multidialectal dictionary (1980:162) shows *-ta* in the suffix list and calls it "subjuntivo" 'subjunctive' without any further explanation.

These suffixes are probably the same as UP Ashéninka *-ta*. I have represented it in this way because the suffix lengthens the preceding vowel, so that it can take the forms *-ita*, *-ota* or *-ata* depending on whether it is preceded by *i*, *o* or *a*, respectively (I have no instance with *e* and this vowel is very rare at the end of a verbal complex). The suffix attaches mainly to verbs, but I also have examples with adverbs. It is always placed at the end of the word, but I have not considered it an enclitic because it does not fulfil my main criterion as detailed in Section 1.2.5: it does not operate as a quasi-word, given that it attaches almost exclusively to verbs, and only has scope over the host to which it is attached and does not have a wider scope. This suffix has a basic

meaning: the desire or intention to do something despite some hindrance that obstructs the fulfilment of the subject's intention or of something that is against this intention, but this basic meaning has extensions with subtle modal nuances, such as urgency or annoyance. I carried out an extensive elicitation so as to find out the meanings of some suffixes formed with the phonemes /i/, /a/ and /t/, and, thanks to it, I discovered the systematic lengthening of the preceding vowel and the basic meaning of the suffix, after which I could find some instances in my text corpus. In (431), I show some of the translations that I got from verbs inflected with the suffix that I proposed to a speaker, where its basic meaning can be most clearly observed.

- (431) a. Nothótiròota
 no-tho-t-i-ro-ota
 1S-suck-&-IRR-3F.O-ROPT
 'I'm going to suck even though I know it's bad.'
- b. Nompóhirìita.
 n-ompoh-i-ri-ita
 1S-hit-FRS-3M.O-ROPT
 'I hit what is forbidden (an animal).'
- c. Niyáatìita.
 n-iyaa-t-i-ita
 1S-go-&-IRR-ROPT
 'I have to go (even though there is a hindrance).'
- d. Nohéekìita.
 no-heck-i-ita
 1S-stay-FRS-ROPT
 'I stay for anything that might happen (in an argument).'

The four examples (431) show the basic meaning of the suffix: 'I am going to do something in spite of a hindrance'. In (431b), the object is an animal. In (431c), the remark between parentheses is as the consultant expressed it, the same as in (431d).

The following examples are from natural texts.

In (432), the suffix on the imperative with the verb *pokaantsi* indicates urgency.

- (432) Ikántapàkiri hewari: "**Pìpokanakíita** haka".
 i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri hewa-ri
 3M.S-say-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O be.first-REL
 pi-pok-an-ak-i-ita ha=ka
 2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS-ROPT LOC=PROX
 'The chief said to them: "Come here immediately".' (OS)

Regarding the core meaning of the suffix, this example can be interpreted as saying ‘come here in spite of anything you’re doing now’.

In (433), I have included the meaning of *-ita* between parentheses (‘even though he won’t like it’) together with the meaning of the object motion suffix.

- (433) Niyótantyari kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka héekatzi oháawiki, paata **nopòntzitáshitawakiriita** ana.
 n-iyó-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 ‘In order to know whether it is really true that he comes from heaven and whether this Ashéninka doesn’t live down here (on earth), later I’m going to grate genipap for him (for his arrival, even though he won’t like it).’ (SCS)

In this passage, in which a woman is speaking to herself, she states her intention of grating genipap for a man who is going to visit her: she is going to smear the grated genipap on the man’s face, but he will strongly dislike this action. In this context, the basic meaning of the suffix is obvious: ‘I’m going to do something in spite of something’.

In (434), *-ita* is attached to the adverb *éehatzi* ‘also’.

- (434) **Éehatzìita** ikímita chapinki, owákirani riraki iyamarámpiti.
 éehatzi-ita i-kimi-t-a chapinki
 also-ROPT 3M.S-be.alike-&-REA yesterday
 owákira-ni r-ir-ak-i i-kamarampi-ti
 new-INTS 3M.S-drink-PFV-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ‘In the same way as yesterday, again he drinks his ayahuasca.’ (SCS)

In this example, the meaning of the suffix must be understood in the context of this story: this sentence refers to a shaman who had been rejected by his niece (the woman who speaks to herself in (433)) the previous day, and he is going to have a yet worse experience soon. Therefore, the reinforced optative suffix on *éehatzi* can be understood as referring to the fact that he *also* does the same as the previous day despite all the problems that he has had and is going to have.

In (435), the reinforced optative suffix indicates that grated genipap is not going to disappear from the skin even though one washes it.

(435) Ana eero **oshitoyiita**.

ana eero o-shitoy-i-ita
 genipap NEG.IRR 3F.S-get.out-FRS-ROPT
 ‘Genipap doesn’t get out (from the skin, even though we wash ourselves).’
 (SCS)

In this case, rather than a desire impeded by a hindrance, the sentence expresses that there is a hindrance that makes it impossible that the event expressed by the verbal stem (get out from the skin) be fulfilled. The negator (*eero*) is irrealis because irrealis is used in habitual expressions: the verb does not describe a specific action, but something that always happens when such an action takes place (genipap does not get out when you wash it).

In (436), the suffix takes the form *-ata* because it is attached to a word ending in *a*.

(436) Tekatsi, tekatsi teekya, **téekiràata**.

tekatsi tee=kya teekira-ata
 NEG.EXI NEG.REA=EMPH not.yet-ROPT
 ‘There isn’t, no, there is not yet.’ (CCPC)

The speaker is saying that, at that moment, there is no coca to chew. The reinforced optative suffix on *téekira* ‘not yet’ can be ascribed to the fact that he would like that there were coca, so there is a contrast between the speaker’s desire and reality.

The last example (437) shows the suffix with the form *-ota* and on the adverb *apátziro* ‘only’.

(437) Naaka tee niriro pyáarentsi. **Apátziròota** niriro niha.

naaka tee n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 1 NEG.REA 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 apátziro-ota n-ir-i-ro niha
 only-ROPT 1S-drink-FRS-3F.O water
 ‘I don’t drink *masato*. I only drink water.’ (CMH)

In this case, the speaker has been invited to drink *masato* and she refuses it by saying that she only drinks water. The function of *-ota* here can be considered to remark that she only drinks water in spite of any invitation to drink *masato*.

6.4.2.11. Frustrative -wi

The frustrative suffix is relatively frequent in UP Ashéninka. I have included it in the modality section because it implies the speaker’s judgement of a situation. The

inclusion of frustrative in the realm of modality, specifically in the epistemic one, is supported by Overall (2017:479), who says that “frustrative is part of the epistemic domain, as it relates to a speaker’s knowledge and expectations”, although he also says that there is “a tendency for it to take on aspectual and evaluative functions”. Overall (2017:479) proposes the following definition of frustrative: “Frustrative is a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realization of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause”. While this definition can be applied to UP Ashéninka as its core meaning, the extensions of this core can go quite far, as I will show in the following lines. The suffix *-wi* always triggers an I-class RS suffix to become A-class.

I noticed that some verbs with the frustrative suffix were translated with Spanish past imperfective forms, so this made me think that maybe the frustrative might have achieved a past tense meaning –in fact, one of the extended functions of frustrative described by Overall (2017:490-92) is discontinuous past, and the Nanti and Matsigenka frustrative has a past meaning in stative verbs (Lev Michael p.c. 2017). Based on these facts, I proposed verbs with the frustrative suffix to three different speakers to translate in Spanish with the idea of checking if there had been any semantic shift from a purely frustrative to a past tense meaning, and I obtained different results: speaker A (a man of older age) gave me examples of almost every verb, included stative ones, with a frustrative meaning; speaker B (a woman of the middle age group indicated in Section 1.3.2) translated most verbs with Spanish past imperfective forms; and speaker C (a woman of the young age group) translated most stative verbs with Spanish past forms (most imperfective) and most non-stative verbs with a canonical frustrative meaning. I show the different translations in Table 33. I started writing the speakers’ translation in English, but then I realized that the repeated use of the Spanish past imperfective forms was obscured by my English translation. Therefore, I have written in Table 33 the speakers’ answers in Spanish with the translations in English in footnotes (one footnote for each speaker). Between parentheses, there is the implicature described by the speaker with the translation, and, outside the parentheses, the whole sentence that the speaker gave as translation in Spanish.

Table 33. Different translations of verbs with the frustrative suffix by different speakers

	Verb	A (older age group man) ¹³⁷	B (middle age group woman) ¹³⁸	C (younger age group woman) ¹³⁹
1	<i>niyáatawita</i> n-iyaa-ta-wi-t-a 1S-go-EMPH-FRU-&-REA	Había ido (pero no estaba en casa, o hubo un accidente).	Me había ido (pero ya regresé).	Fui en vano, o por gusto.
2	<i>ipókawita</i> i-pok-a-wi-t-a 3M.S-come-&-FRU-&-REA	Venía (pero algo en el camino se lo imposibilitó).	Estaba viniendo .	
3	<i>nokántawitzimi / nokántawita</i> no-kant-a-wi-t-zi-mi 1S-say-&-FRU-&-REA-2O no-kant-a-wi-t-a 1S-say-&-FRU-&-REA	Te había dicho que fuéramos (a comer, pero no has querido).	Te decía.	Estaba diciendo.
4	<i>nompóhawitaka tyaapa / nompóhawita</i> n-ompoh-a-wi-t-ak-a tyaapa 1S-hit-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA hen n-ompoh-a-wi-t-a 1S-hit-&-FRU-&-REA	Había matado una gallina (para ti, pero no has llegado).	Estaba golpeando.	He golpeado en vano.
5	<i>nírawita</i> n-ir-a-wi-t-a 1S-drink-&-FRU-&-REA	Estaba tomando (con amigos, y llegó mi mujer y empezó a regañarme).	Estaba tomando .	Ya había tomado (agua), pero no me sirvió (porque me seguía doliendo la tripa).

¹³⁷ Speaker A: 1: I had gone (but the person I was looking for wasn't at home, or there was an accident). 2: He was coming (but something in the way prevented him from arriving). 3: I had told you that we go (to eat, but you didn't want). 4: I had killed a hen (for you, but you didn't arrive). 5: I was drinking (with friends, and then my wife came and started to scold me). 6: I was standing (in a dry river bed, and then the river came and took me away). 7: She was in love (and the man didn't accept her). 8: He lived far away before (but now no longer). 9: She was asking you. 10: He had called her (but she didn't answer, or didn't accept the call).

¹³⁸ Speaker B: 1: I had gone (but I'm already back). 2: I was coming. 3: I was saying to you. 4: I was hitting. 5: I was drinking.

¹³⁹ Speaker C: 1: I went in vain, or with no purpose. 3: I was saying. 4: I've hit in vain. 5: I had already drunk (water), but it didn't help (because my belly was still hurting). 6: I was standing. 11: I had given you. 12: It didn't burn out. 13: I knew.

	Verb	A (older age group man) ¹³⁷	B (middle age group woman) ¹³⁸	C (younger age group woman) ¹³⁹
6	<i>nokátziyawita</i> no-katziya-wi-t-a 1S-stand-FRU-&-REA	Estaba de pie (en medio de un río seco, y vino el río y me llevó).		Estuve parada.
7	<i>oníntawitàri</i> o-nint-a-wi-t-a-ri 3F.S-love-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O	Estaba enamorada (y el hombre no la acepta).		
8	<i>ihéekawita intaena</i> i-heck-a-wi-t-a intaena 3M.S-live-&-FRU-&-REA far	Antes vivía lejos (ahora ya no).		
9	<i>ohámpiwitizimi</i> o-hampi-wi-t-zi-mi 3F.S.-ask-FRU-&-REA-2O	Te estaba preguntando.		
10	<i>ikáemawitàwo</i> i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ro 3M.S.-call-&-FRU-&-REA-3F.O	La había llamado (pero no había contestado, o no aceptó la llamada).		
11	<i>nopáwitzimìro</i> no-p-a-wi-t-zi-mi-ro 1S-give-&-FRU-&-REA-2O-3F.O			Te había dado.
12	<i>notáwitakàwo</i> no-ta-wi-t-ak-a-ro 1S-burn-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O			No se quemó.
13	<i>niyótawitàwo</i> n-iyo-ta-wi-t-a-ro 1S-know-EMPH-FRU-&-REA-3F.O			Sabía.

The combined translations of Table 33 fit quite well Overall's core definition: an expected outcome has not been realized. This is clearly the idea conveyed in all answers by speaker A except for *live* and *ask* –although, for *live*, it could be argued that the expectation is that one would continue living in the same place as before, i.e. that a stative situation would still hold. The idea of the frustration of an expectation is also present in speaker C's *go*, *hit*, *drink* and *burn*. Translations with the Spanish *pretérito imperfecto* (e.g. *estaba tomando* 'I was drinking') or *pretérito pluscuamperfecto* (e.g. *te había dado* 'I had given you') given by speakers B and C can be considered as expressing an implicature whose associated meaning is that the situation no longer holds or was interrupted. Although elicited examples may be very

useful, they cannot give a good picture of the natural use of the frustrative. Examples of several different uses from natural texts are given below.

In the long sentence in (438), the frustrative indicates falsehood.

- (438) Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho **ikìmitakáantawitakàwo** róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharékitho, káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false) as though, um..., how to say..., that it was real that his testicle was good (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

The frustrative in *ikìmitakáantawitakàwo* indicates that the squirrel has made that something false seems true, i.e. there is a trick implied in the action of the verb. This meaning cannot be included in any of the different frustrative meanings described by Overall (2017). The speaker who told and translated the story where (438) is taken from is speaker A in Table 33. During the elicitation session, he discovered that I was trying to find out the meaning of the suffix *-wi*, and his definition of it was that, when the suffix is used, it means that something went wrong. In (438), a trick is at play, and something is indeed going wrong, but for one of the two participants in the story. The frustrative on the verb *kìmitaantsi* ‘seem, look as’ expressing falsehood is also in (439).

- (439) Tzimatsi páerani apaani atziri thayiri, **kímiwityàri** sheripyari.
 tzim-atsi páerani apaani atziri thayi-ri
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV long.ago one person cheating-REL
 kimi-wi-t-ya-ri sheripyari
 seem-FRU-&-IRR-REL shaman
 ‘Long ago, there was a cheating person, who pretended to be a shaman.’ (SCS)

The same as in (438), the frustrative on *kìmitaantsi* ‘seem, look as’ in (439) means that someone wants to cheat someone else by making that something looks like some

other thing that is not real: in (438), the squirrel makes the jaguar believe that he is crushing his testicle; in (439), a man pretends to make the others believe that he is a shaman. The difference between the verb in realis in (438) and in irrealis in (439) may lie in the fact that, in (438), the squirrel *makes* believe, but, in (439), the shaman *pretends to make* believe.

In (440), with the use of the frustrative, the speaker recognises a mistake.

(440) **Noshíyakàwita** tekatsi hanta.

n-oshiy-aka-wi-t-a tekatsi ha=nta
1S-seem-CAUS-FRU-&-REA NEG.EXI LOC=DIST

‘It seemed to me (erroneously) that there weren’t any there (crabs).’ (CMM)

In *noshíyakàwita*, the speaker indicates that she is mistaken in her guess that there were no crabs in the area referred to in the conversation, so that her expectation (there are no crabs) turns out to be false. Therefore, instead of the non-fulfilment of an expectation, the sentence in (440) expresses the speaker’s recognition of the mistake regarding her expectation.

In (441), the frustrative suffix is attached to an existential, and in (442), to the stative verb *heekaantsi* ‘live, be in a place’. In both cases, the frustrative expresses that something no longer holds.

(441) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.

eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC

‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there in the gully.’ (CCPC)

(442) Pirinto ishitówanaki, **ihéekawita** inthomoeki poterya.

pirinto i-shitow-an-ak-i i-heek-a-wi-t-a
frog 3M.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-be.in.a.place-&-FRU-&-REA

inthomoe=ki poterya

inside=LOC bottle

‘The frog has gone out, it was inside the bottle.’ (TSJ)

As I pointed out above citing a personal comment from Lev Michael (2017), Nanti and Matsigenka, and probably the rest of the Campan languages, can express past tense with the frustrative suffix on stative verbs –the existential *eeni*-, although with features very different from a verb, can be considered as having the same function as a stative verb: to express a stative situation. The meaning conveyed by the frustrative suffix in both (441) and (442) is that the situation no longer holds. This meaning is similar to Overall’s (2017:490-92) frustrative extended function of discontinuous

past, which he describes citing Van der Voort (2004:642) as “a situation that obtained in the past and was interrupted”, but an interrupted situation can be resumed, so this is not the same as a situation that does not exist any more, which is the case in (441) and (442). From the seven examples given by Overall for this extended function, four are with stative verbs and one with a non-stative verb, while the other two are with a noun and an adjective acting as predicates, which can also be considered stative predicates.

In (443), the frustrative suffix is used on a verb that forms a question and expresses the same as an English or Spanish negative question.

- (443) Pimáwitakàwo?
 pi-ma-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 2S-can-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘Haven’t you been able to do it?’ (CMM)

The speaker had asked her interlocutor if she had already sowed her corn, and she replied that she had not burnt the field yet, so the speaker asked whether she had not been able to do it. The frustrative is indicating that the speaker expects a negative answer, i.e. that her interlocutor was not able to burn the field, in the same way as one would do with an English or Spanish negative question. A construction like this one, equivalent to an English negative question, cannot be found in Overall (2017).

Example (444) is a token of the core frustrative meaning of an unfulfilled expectation.

- (444) **Ikántawitakàwo**: “Pípokanàki”. Okántziri: “Eero”.
 i-kant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro pi-pok-an-ak-i
 3M.S-say-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O 2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS
 o-kant-zi-ri eero
 3F.S-say-REA-3M.O NEG.IRR
 ‘He says to her (in vain): “Come”. She says to him: “No”.’ (SCS)

The first speaker utters a command to his interlocutor, but she plainly rejects it. The actual frustrated action is the coming of the woman, but the frustrative suffix is on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’, which conveys that what he says will not have the expected results. In this example, the very action expressed by the verb (‘say’) is not frustrated. An example in which the action expressed by the verb is frustrated is in (445).

- (445) Eentsi **ráminawitàri** pirinto: tekátsitanàki poterya.
 eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 child 3M.S-look-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog
 tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
 NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle
 ‘The child looks for the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’ (FS)

In (445), the frustrative expresses its core meaning as described by Overall (2017:479) cited above: the action of looking at something implies seeing it, but the child looks expecting to see the frog and does not see it, so that his expected outcome is not realized. Also in (446), the canonical meaning of the frustrative appears clearly.

- (446) Róohatzi..., rowa..., ikántètzi, **ikáemantawitakàri** ikáateyini poya kaniri.
 róohatzi ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 later F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kaem-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-call-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 p-ow-ya kaniri
 2S-eat-IRR cassava
 ‘Later..., um..., how to say..., they call him to eat cassava.’ (SCS)

In (446), the reason for the frustrative is that the one called to eat cassava will not come. Therefore, the canonical meaning of the frustrative as defined by Overall (2017:479) (non-realization of an expected outcome) is present in this example.

In (445), the frustrative expresses a bad outcome.

- (447) Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanèemi, ráashirátantanakàwo rowa..., inchato, **ikáatziyawitàga**.
 i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-jump-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA
 r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra
 3M.S-slip.towards-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED
 inchato i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra
 stake 3M.S-stand-&-FRU-&-REA=MED
 ‘So it was that he wanted to jump again, that’s why he slipped towards, um..., the stake, from where he was standing.’ (SCS)

In this case, the frustrative is on the verb *kaatziyaantsi* ‘stand’. The frustrative expresses that the subject’s standing in that place had a bad result: he slipped towards a stake. Therefore, the frustrative is expressing a bad result that immediately follows the stative situation described by the verb marked with the frustrative. It could also be argued that slipping while standing implies that an undesired and unexpected outcome

has occurred (the subject is expected to keep standing), which would fit the more canonical meaning of the frustrative.

Example (448) shows the use of the frustrative together with other suffixes in order to yield a lexicalized form.

- (448) **Hatákwítaka** itayéeterini, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.’ (SCFF)

The Spanish translation of *hatákwítaka* is *faltando poco* ‘shortly before’. In this verb, the combination of three distinct suffixes (frustrative, general applicative and perfective) with the root *ha*-¹⁴⁰ ‘go’ create a meaning different from the one normally expressed by the verbal root.

The previous examples show an array of functions more or less related with the core frustrative meaning as defined by Overall (2017:479) (“non-realization of some expected outcome”). Moreover, the elicitations described at the beginning of this section show that a frustrative suffix can indicate that a situation happened in the past and no longer holds, above all in stative verbs. The core meaning of the frustrative appears most clearly in (445) and (446), and also in (444) on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’, although the frustrated action is the referent’s command (verb *pokaantsi* ‘come’). Examples (438) and (439) show the frustrative on the verb *kimitaantsi* ‘seem’, in both cases to express that someone is cheating others by making something seem what actually is not real; in these cases, the relation with the core frustrative meaning is that the expectation is that something should look as what it really is, and, when this is not the case, the expectation is not realized, i.e. there is a trick to create an expectation in someone in order to cheat them. In (440), the frustrative is also in a verb translated as ‘seem’ (*oshiyaantsi*), but no trick is associated in this case: the speaker just recognises her mistake when guessing a fact; in this case, there is also a non-realized expectation in the speaker’s guess. In (447), the frustrative on *katziyaantsi* ‘stand’ indicates a

¹⁴⁰ This verb is irregular in that, when the root bears no prefix, it takes the form *ha*- instead of the usual *-iyaa*-.

negative event occurring immediately after the stative situation described by the verb marked with the frustrative; the relation with the core frustrative meaning is that the referent would expect the situation of standing to go on, but it is interrupted with a very bad outcome for him. Finally, (448) shows a lexicalized form in which the frustrative together with the general applicative and perfective suffixes and the root *ha-* ‘go’ yield a verb with a meaning different from the one expressed by the verbal root.

The examples in this section show that the frustrative in UP Ashéninka has a very extended meaning from its core one. The Ashéninka frustrative exceeds Overall’s (2017:484-93) extended functions and arrives to acquire a past tense meaning in some cases –discontinuous past also is one of Overall’s extended functions. The speakers’ translations in Table 33 give a good idea of the varieties of meanings that a speaker can figure out when prompted to translate a verb with the frustrative suffix.

6.5. Directionals and associated motion in space and time

Guillaume (2016) studies in depth the features of the grammatical markers that he calls “associated motion” in 66 South American languages, among which there is the Pichis Ashé-Ashá variety with Payne (1982)¹⁴¹ as a source. In this section, I base the description of the Ashéninka morphemes that have been traditionally called *directionals* on the typological findings set forth in Guillaume (2016), given that I think that they are best described following a theoretical frame that is also valid for other languages, although I draw on the terminology used in the previous Campanist literature.

Guillaume (2016:92) defines *associated motion* (AM) as “a grammatical morpheme that is associated with the verb and that has among its possible functions the coding of translational motion”. Guillaume (2016:93-94) makes clear that this concept includes morphemes that indicate motion, but not those that indicate only direction. Accordingly, AM morphemes can be used with non-motion verbs and denote an inherent motion that is not expressed by the semantics of the verbal stem,

¹⁴¹ Payne does not mention the Pichis variety in this article, but the features of the described language clearly show that it is Pichis.

while a morpheme used with a motion verb indicates direction (“path”, as Guillaume calls it). However, Guillaume (2016:94) says that there may be languages with “polysemous markers which express only path in certain contexts and motion (together with path) in others”. This is indeed the case in UP Ashéninka, as we will see throughout this section. These grammatical morphemes have been called *directionals* in the previous Campanist literature, and I also use this name in this thesis, but I defend that they belong to the category of associated motion as defined by Guillaume. J. Payne (1982) (translated in Spanish in J. Payne 1983) investigates in Pichis the aspecto-temporal value that directionals can have. Indeed, when one tries to find out the meaning of directionals from natural texts, one discovers that, in some cases, it is difficult to find an associated meaning of motion or direction. Payne’s (1982) article is enlightening in this regard, but even applying Payne’s theses, sometimes it is difficult to find out the exact function of a given directional. In this section, I try to discover as much as possible about them based on dedicated elicitations and natural texts.

Payne (1982:325-26) describes three directionals for Pichis: the ablative *-an* (“motion away, leaving or response”), the allative *-apa* (“motion toward a certain point or the subject’s arrival”) and the receptive *-aw* (“the subject is receiving the object”). Payne (1982:326) also attributes to *-an* and *-apa* the aspecto-temporal meanings “beginning” and “final”, respectively. In this section, I describe these three morphemes as indicating AM and path/direction, but also the translocative *-it*. I add the description of the regressive *-ah* with a directional function, i.e. indicating path, but not AM. I have yet to add that the applicative AWAY suffix *-pitha* has a somewhat directional function, but mainly a figurative one, so that no real motion is associated with it. This suffix expresses that something is done in order to get away or hide from someone, but this does not imply any physical path or motion; that is why I have not included it in this section, but in Section 6.6.2.2.4. Regarding the name of these suffixes, I follow Payne’s (1982) terminology *ablative* and *allative*, but, for Payne’s *receptive*, I use the name *object motion*, which fits its UP Ashéninka function better, as will be seen in Section 6.5.5.

Guillaume (2016:107-09) differentiates between motion of the subject and motion of the object. Of the four AM suffixes mentioned above (ablative, allative, translocative and object motion), only the object motion suffix expresses motion of the object, as its name indicates, and the other three, motion of the subject. Guillaume (2016:83) also classifies AM markers according to the temporal relation between the motion and the action expressed by the verb: he differentiates between “prior motion”, “concurrent motion” and “subsequent motion”. I will show below that the Ashéninka directionals do not always fit well into this classification.

6.5.1. Directionals explained by native speakers

Before analysing examples from natural texts, it is interesting to show the results of three elicitation sessions devoted to finding out the meaning of the ablative and allative directionals, which are in Table 34. Some verbs with directionals from natural texts (except the first one, which was my own proposal) were given to a speaker, and I asked her for the change in meaning when changing a directional suffix by the other one (except the verb in the last row, whose explanation is from a different speaker). The results are shown in Table 34 for comparison. The first line of each cell is with ablative, and the second line with allative. The sentences in the column *Translation* are the speaker’s translations when I proposed to her the verbs in the column *Verb*.

Table 34. Result of elicitation with directionals

Verb	Gloss	Translation
<i>noñáanàkiro</i> <i>noñáapàkiro</i>	no-ñá-an-ak-i-ro 1S-see-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O no-ñá-ap-ak-i-ro 1S-see-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O	‘I saw her when I left.’ ‘I saw her when I arrived.’
<i>nóokáshitànàkawo</i> <i>nóokáshitapàkawo</i>	n-ook-ashi-t-an-ak-a-ro 1S-leave-NPURP-&-ABL-PFV-&-3F.O n-ook-ashi-t-ap-ak-a-ro 1S-leave-NPURP-&-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O	‘I left her when I left.’ ‘I left her when I arrived.’
<i>itàanàhiro</i> <i>itàapàhiro</i>	i-ta-an-ah-i-ro 3M.S-burn-ABL-REG-FRS-3F.O i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro 3M.S-burn-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O	‘He’s going to burn it (his <i>chacra</i>) on his way (using the opportunity that he’s going that way).’ ‘He’s going to burn it and then he’ll stay there.’

Verb	Gloss	Translation
<i>piyánaka</i> <i>piyápaka</i>	piy-an-ak-a come.back-ABL-PFV-REA piy-ap-ak-a come.back-ABL-PFV-REA	‘He came back again.’ ‘He came back, then left, and now comes back again.’
<i>ikínanaki</i> <i>ikínapaaki</i>	i-kin-an-ak-i 3M.S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS i-kin-apa-ak-i 3M.S-come-ALL-PFV-FRS	‘He came, but now is leaving.’ ‘He came next to you.’
<i>ràmitàkotanáki</i> <i>ràmitàkotapáki</i>	r-amitako-t-an-ak-i-ri 3M.S-help-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri 3M.S-help-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O	‘They helped him and left.’ ‘They have come to help him.’
<i>ipíyeyanàni</i> <i>ipíyeyapàni</i>	i-piy-ey-an-a-ni 3M.S-come.back-PL-ABL-REA-PL i-piy-ey-ap-a-ni 3M.S-come.back-PL-ALL-REA-PL	‘They came back and then left.’ ‘They came back.’
<i>ikántanàkiro</i> <i>ikántapàkiro</i>	i-kant-an-ak-i-ro 3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O i-kant-ap-ak-i-ro 3M.S-say-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O	‘He said/says’. The speaker explains that the first form is said when the subject leaves, and the second one, when he arrives.

All the interpreted differences between the two suffixes in Table 34 have a spatial meaning, which implies that this is probably the first idea that a speaker gets when a verb with a directional is presented to her out of context. The opinion given by a native speaker in an elicitation session is very interesting, but the best way to comprehend the meaning of a grammatical marker is to study its occurrences in natural speech, which is done in the following sections.

6.5.2. Ablative -an

The term *ablative* is defined by Brown (2006:1) as “a case expressing such meanings as movement away, from, origin, separation, and sometimes also instrumental meanings”. We are not dealing here with case, but the expression of “movement away” makes this term quite appropriate for the suffix *-an*; actually, it has been almost unanimously used in the previous Campanist literature (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982, Payne 1982, Swift 2008, Michael 2008, Snell 2011, Lawrence 2013). Exceptions are Payne (1981:264), who calls it “departure”, and Mihás (2015a:224), who calls it “directional source”.

Payne (1982:327-29) describes for Pichis the following functions of the ablative *-an*: motion away from a place, continuation of motion away, response, change of state and beginning of a new action. Some of these functions are illustrated below with examples from my text corpus.

In (449) and (450), *-an* indicates direction (path).

- (449) Irika **rira**, onkiro, hamani, ishitówanaki omóo.
 i-ri=ka ri=ra onkiro hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED mouse paca 3M.S-go.out-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
 ‘This whatchamacallit..., mouse, paca, gets out of the hole.’ (FS)
- (450) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)

In these two examples, *-an* is used with the motion verbs *shitowaantsi* ‘get out’ and *iyaataantsi* ‘go’. In both cases, the ablative suffix indicates that the movement (getting out, going) is done in a direction away from a point of reference: in (449), from the hole, while, in (450), the point of reference is unknown, but the speaker implies a direction away from where she was, although this place does not need to be known. Therefore, (449) and (450) cannot be considered cases of associated motion, given that the motion is expressed by the verbal stem.

An example of associated motion is in (451).

- (451) **Nowánakyàtya**, nowákityà, **nowánakyà**, nokántakyà.
 n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-eat-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Of course, I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, so it will be.’ (CCPC)

This example is from a conversation in a *chacra* at mid-morning, and, with *-an*, the speaker implies that he is going to go to his house to have lunch. Therefore, the motion is expressed by the ablative suffix and not by the verbal root: this totally fits Guillaume’s (2016) concept of associated motion. In (452), *-an* is also used with a non-motion verb, in this case, the verbal copula *kantaantsi*.

(452) **Ikántanahya** máaweni apaani **ikantanéyawo** 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)

In this example, the verbal copula *kantaantsi* is void of meaning, so the full meaning is provided by the ablative suffix: the meaning of both verbs in (452) is the motion itself. Another case of associated motion is in (453).

(453) **Ikántanàkiro**: “Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* nopòkantéyari”.

i-kant-an-ak-i-ro ari o-kaa-t-zi kitáiteri¹⁴²
3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA day

no-pok-ant-eya-ri
1S-come-TIME-IRR-REL

‘He says to her (when leaving): “Such day I’m going to come.” (lit: it will be the day that I’m going to come).’ (SFW)

Examples (451), (452) and (453) show the difficulty of fitting the Ashéninka directionals into Guillaume’s (2016:83) classification in prior, concurrent and subsequent motion. Example (451) denotes a motion prior to the action expressed by the verb (eating), but (453) implies a motion subsequent to this action (saying). The use of the copula in (452) presents a special case, but, since the verb is expressing a motion only due to the ablative suffix, we could say that the motion is concurrent, i.e. the motion is expressed through the act of being (copula) in motion (ablative suffix). In the three examples, *-an* expresses that the motion starts from a point of reference: the place where the conversation is taking place in (451), the place mentioned in the previous statements (a place where communal work is done) in (452), and the place where the action is taking place in the story (where the man speaks to the woman) in (453); i.e. the three examples express Payne’s (1982:327) directional meaning “away from”.

Example (454) is unique in that the ablative suffix seems to indicate a location.

¹⁴² *Kitáiteri* is an Asháninka word; the UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*. The mother of the woman who told this story was Asháninka, that is why she uses some Asháninka words.

- (454) **Tekátsitanàki** poterya.
 tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
 NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle
 ‘There is nothing inside the bottle.’ (FS)

The consultant said that *tekátsitàki*, without *-an*, means ‘there is no bottle’. Therefore, it seems that *-an* is indicating a location inside. However, the context is that a child is looking for his little frog and looks for it inside a bottle, so that *tekátsitanàki* may be interpreted as ‘there is nothing that has got inside the bottle’, whereby the negative existential *tekatsi* receives an associated motion meaning.

The following examples from (455) to (460) show the use of *-an* indicating aspecto-temporal nuances related to those described by Payne (1982:326).

In (455), *-an* expresses the beginning of a new action.

- (455) Ari **piráanaka** éeroka o tee piráa?
 ari p-irag-an-ak-a éeroka o¹⁴³ tee p-irag-a
 AFF 2S-cry-ABL-PFV-REA 2 or NEG.REA 2S-cry-REA
 ‘Did you cry or not?’ (CMH)

In this example, the speaker refers to an event in a distant past caused by the death of his interlocutor’s father. The use of the ablative may emphasize the fact that his interlocutor might have started suddenly crying when she learned about her father’s death.

In (456), *-an* is expressing a change of state.

- (456) ...iroka piyatharékhitho, **okímitanakyàwo**, rowa..., inki.
 i-ro=ka pi-yatharékhitho o-kimi-t-an-ak-ya-ro
 DEM-F=PROX 2-testicle 3F.S-seem.alike-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O
 ro=ra inki
 F=MED forest.peanut
 ‘...this testicle of yours is going to be (taste) like, um..., forest peanut.’ (TSJ)

In this tale, a squirrel cheats a jaguar by making it believe that the jaguar’s testicle is going to taste like forest peanut when it crushes it with a stone, so, in *okímitanakyàwo*, what is meant is that the jaguar’s testicle is going to acquire a tasty flavour (change of state) when it is crushed into pieces. Example (457) could also be interpreted as a change of state.

¹⁴³ *O* is a very clear loan from Spanish, as well as the construction with two clauses linked with a disjunctive conjunction. A more genuine Ashéninka construction would imply the use of the dubitative enclitic *=ma* so as to express a disjunction between two clauses.

- (457) **İkañáanaka** kameetha maniro.
 i-kañaa-an-ak-a kameetha maniro
 3M.S-accelerate-ABL-PFV-REA well deer
 ‘The deer accelerates well (a lot).’ (FS)

The fact of accelerating implies a change of state (change of speed) but also implies motion. Therefore, (457) is a token of the ambivalence that directional suffixes can show: the deer increases its speed (change of state) but also moves on away from the place mentioned in the previous statement in this story, which fits Payne’s (1982:328) meaning “continuing away”. The related meaning ‘continuing action’ can be observed in (458).

- (458) Ráatsimiyanákiro, ráatsimiyanákiro, ráatsimiyanákiro.
 r-aatsimiy-an-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-suck.to.cure-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘He sucks her to cure her, sucks her to cure her, sucks her to cure her.’ (SCS)

In this example, the story’s narrator repeats the same verb three times, which gives a sense of continuing action, which is stressed with the use of *-an*. Although related, this is different from Payne’s “continuing away”, which implies motion. This last meaning is best observed in (459).

- (459) Nopèsanákiro¹⁴⁴, itòanákiro.
 no-peh-an-ak-i-ro i-tow-an-ak-i-ro
 1S-clear-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3S-fell-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘I have cleared it (the *chacra*), he has felled it (a tree).’ (CMM)

When I asked another speaker about the difference between *itòwanákiro* (with the ablative *-an*) and *itòwapákiro* (with the allative *-ap*), she said that the former means that he felled the tree on his way to another place. This explanation accords with Payne’s (1982) “continuing away” meaning and can be considered associated motion because the verb is not a motion verb, but the motion is indicated by the ablative *-an*.

Payne (1982:328) says that the ablative suffix has the meaning “response” when used with verbs of speech and gives an example with the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’ (460).

¹⁴⁴ The speaker who uttered this sentence is from Canapishtea, a community around 15 km east of the Ucayali River; that is why she speaks with /s/ where UP Ashéninka uses /h/. Her speech can be included in the Ucayali-Yuruá variety.

Pichis

(460) Ikantanake.

i-kant-an-ak-e

3M.S-say-ABL-PFV-RS

‘He said, responding.’ (Payne 1982:328; glosses mine)

However, I checked this word with a speaker of UP Ashéninka, and he did not recognise this meaning but said that it means ‘he said when leaving’.

Summing up, the functions of the ablative shown in the examples of this section are: 1) with motion verbs, direction from a point of reference in (449) and (450), 2) with non-motion verbs, associated motion from a point of reference in (451) to (453), 3) beginning of a new action in (455), 4) change of state in (456) and (457), 5) continuing action in (458), and 6) continuing away in (459) –as mentioned, (454) is a special case. These functions are practically the same as those described by Payne (1982:327-29) for Pichis.

6.5.3. Allative -ap(a)

In the previous Campanist literature, this suffix has been mainly called *allative* (Payne 1982, Swift 2008, Lawrence 2013) and *adlative* (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982, Michael 2008, Snell 2011). The exceptions, as well as with the ablative, are Payne (1981:264), who calls it “arrival”, and Mihás (2015a:224), who calls it “directional goal”. Brown (2006:6) defines “allative” as “the case expressing the meaning ‘to’ or ‘toward’ a place”, and Crystal (2008:19) as “a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place”, and these authors do not mention *adlative* in their glossaries. Therefore, I prefer to use the term *allative* due to its existence in linguistic glossaries.

The core meaning of the allative suffix is the opposite of the ablative, i.e. it indicates direction or motion towards a point of reference. Payne (1982:326) describes it for Pichis as “meaning of *toward* a certain point” with motion verbs. With non-motion verbs, she says that the suffix expresses that “the subject of that verb has arrived or is arriving at a certain specific location as the action occurs”. As non-spatial meanings, Payne (1982:326) says that -ap(a), with “verbs of time or quantity”, “means finality in the sense that the end of a sequence has been reached”; “with verbs such as

arrive or overcome”, “that a certain stretch of time has ended.” In the examples below, the functions of *-ap* in UP Ashéninka are analysed and compared with those described by Payne for Pichis in the light of Guillaume’s (2016) description of associated motion.

In (461) and (462), the allative suffix is used with the motion verbs *areetaantsi* ‘arrive’ and *ayitaantsi* ‘come down’.

(461) **Naréetapaka** chapinki.

n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
‘I arrived yesterday.’ (CTK)

(462) **Royítapàkiro** rotétziro itháateki.

r-o-ayit-ap-ak-i-ro i-thaate=ki
3M.S-CAUS-come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-bag=LOC
r-ote-t-zi-ro i-thaate=ki
3M.S-put.inside-&-REA-3F.O 3M-bag=LOC
‘He brings them (fruits) down and puts them inside his bag.’ (PV)

In (461), *-ap* indicates the direction from some unspecified place to the place where this conversation is taking place. In (462), *-ap* also indicates direction, but towards a point of reference, which is in this case the place where a man is putting fruits inside a basket. Mihas (2015a:224) says for Alto Perené that “the reference point on which spatial relationships are based, can be any person or any location.” This is also the case for UP Ashéninka, as can be seen in (462).

Examples (463) and (464) clearly show the allative suffix performing the function of associated motion.

(463) **Ipapákiri** ikáateini.

i-p-ap-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni
3M.S-give-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
‘He gives them (fruits, as he arrives).’ (PV)

(464) Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanàka, ari **ikotyáatapàaka**.

i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a
3M.S-go.away-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-jump-ABL-PFV-REA
ari i-kotyaa-t-apa-ak-a
there 3M.S-sit-&-ALL-PFV-REA
‘He leaves, jumps, there he sits down.’ (TSJ)

In (463), the speaker tells what he sees in a video (the famous Pear Story) when a boy gives his friends two pears as he arrives where they are. In (464), the first two juxtaposed clauses are motion verbs, but not the last one, where only the allative suffix

denotes motion. Therefore, in both (463) and (464), the allative suffix expresses a motion that is absent in the semantics of the verbs *paantsi* ‘give’ and *kotyaataantsi* ‘sit’, which fits Guillaume’s (2016) concept of associated motion. Regarding Guillaume’s (2016:83) classification of associated motion in prior, concurrent and subsequent motion, both (463) and (464) show a motion prior to the action expressed by the verb (he arrives and gives, he arrives and sits down), but, in (465), also an example of associated motion, the motion is rather concurrent with the action of seeing: the jaguar arrives where the squirrel is, and it must see it while it is arriving.

- (465) *Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, ñàapátziri meiri.*
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-come-PFV-FRS 3M-back-POSS
 ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri
 see-ALL-PROG-3M.O squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, came behind him (the squirrel), he’s watching the squirrel as he arrives.’ (TSJ)

In (466), the allative suffix has the meaning ‘final’.

- (466) Ari *ikáatapàki* ikénkithatakòta.
 ari i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a
 thus 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-tell-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL
 ‘Thus is all that is told about (this frog, this story).’ (FS)

Payne (1982:327) says that the form *okaratapaake* “is often used at the end of a story to say, *and that’s the whole story*”. *Ikáatapàki* in (466) is the same form with the only two differences that the masculine prefix instead of the feminine is used and the intervocalic /t/ is deleted in Ucayali-Pajonal (see Section 2.7.5 for the UP Ashéninka development of the sequence /ara/). Actually, (466) is indeed the closing clause of a story. In this case, -ap indicates that the story has finished, i.e. it has arrived at its end. The same meaning ‘final’ appears in (467).

- (467) Okamèethátzi? *Ìnimotapákimi?*
 o-kameetha-t-zi i-nimo-t-ap-ak-i-mi
 3F.S-good-&-REA 3M.S-like-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Is it good? Did you finally like it?’ (CMM)

In this example, a woman has been building her house and her interlocutor asks her if she likes the place. The woman has been doing the necessary works to move there to live, and now she is asked whether, after all this work, she likes the result and the

place. Hence the allative's meaning 'final', which I have reflected in the translation with 'finally'.

Summing up, the UP Ashéninka allative shows in the previous examples more or less the same features as described by Payne (1982:326-27): with motion verbs, direction towards a point of reference in (461) and (462); with non-motion verbs, associated motion towards a point of reference and prior or concurrent motion in (463) to (465), and the aspectual meaning 'final, end' in (466) and (467).

6.5.4. Translocative *-it*

The translocative suffix *-it* has not received much attention in the Campanist literature, but it is mentioned in most descriptive works, albeit with the form *-aki*. This suffix came to my knowledge thanks to an e-mail exchange with Zachary O'Hagan in 2020, which made me solve the puzzle that I had trying to identify a suffix present in some verbs. The description I consider the best is in Snell (2011:856) for Matsigenka, who describes two meanings: a spatial and a temporal one. For the spatial one, she says: "Este sufijo indica que el sujeto se traslada a otro lugar para realizar la acción, con la intención de regresar al lugar de origen";¹⁴⁵ and, for the temporal meaning, "El translocativo se usa también para referirse al transcurso de tiempo con respecto a un evento".¹⁴⁶ The description of these two meanings fits very well the occurrences in my corpus and the results of dedicated elicitations. Regarding other authors, Michael (2008:259) describes for Nanti a perfective (*-aki*) and an imperfective (*-aa*) translocative and says that both indicate "that the action expressed by the verb is realized at a point distal to the deictic center", but the suffix with a description similar to Snell's translocative is Michael's (2008:258-59) "returnative" *-ut*, which he describes as "motion from some initial point to a distal point, and subsequently back to the initial point". Swift (2008:52-53) also uses the name "translocativo" for Caquinte and describes it using exactly the same sentence from Snell quoted previously in this paragraph for the spatial meaning but says nothing about the

¹⁴⁵ 'This suffix indicates that the subject moves to another place in order to carry out the action, with the intention of going back to the place of origin.'

¹⁴⁶ 'The translocative is also used to refer to the passing of time with regard to an event.'

temporal meaning, although this meaning is obvious in one of his examples, translated as “dormí por un rato”.¹⁴⁷ Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:156) shows the suffix *-aki* with the meaning “ida y vuelta”.¹⁴⁸ Payne’s Apurucayali grammar (1981:46) calls the same suffix *-aki* “there/and/back” and says that it indicates that “the subject is going away to do the action with the idea of returning”, but its extended Spanish version (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:60, 63) uses the name “translocativo” with the same description as in the English version. The same label “translocative” is used by Lawrence (2013:98-99) for Nomatsigenga, but with a different form: *-iN*.¹⁴⁹ Lawrence says that “this morpheme gives the meaning that the subject will physically go to another location in order to do something when they arrive –it also implies that they will return to their starting location later”.

I have tried hard through dedicated elicitations to ascertain the meaning of this suffix and others with the phonemes /i/, /t/ and /a/ placed around the RS suffix and cannot say that my conclusions are totally definitive. However, in view of the literature mentioned above, I can posit the same suffix for UP Ashéninka. My description of the suffix is based on the one by Snell (2011:856) for Matsigenka, i.e. the suffix has a spatial meaning (one goes to a place and returns or has the purpose of returning) and a temporal meaning (something is done during a certain lapse of time). The name *translocative* does not reflect the temporal meaning, but also the ablative and the allative have aspecto-temporal meanings not reflected by their names; thus, I also consider the translocative a directional suffix with an aspecto-temporal extension of its spatial meaning. I use the name *translocative* following the Campanist tradition.

Lawrence’s (2013:98) different form for Nomatsigenga (*-iN*) is justified in this way: “The translocative morpheme often follows the perfective morpheme *-k*, [...]”. The form of the translocative is *-aki* in other Campan languages (Michael 2008; Payne 1980; Swift 1988), suggesting that either the Nomatsigenga form or the form found in related languages is a reanalysis”. I also justify my choice of the form *-it* for UP

¹⁴⁷ ‘I slept for a while.’

¹⁴⁸ ‘Go and return.’

¹⁴⁹ *N* represents a nasal with an unspecified point of articulation that takes the position of the following stop or affricate. This phoneme has been described in all descriptions of Campan languages except in mine. In Section 2.2.2, I explain why I do not consider this phoneme for UP Ashéninka.

Ashéninka by positing a reanalysis. Every example of this suffix in every work mentioned above except in Lawrence (2013) has the sequence *-akit*, i.e. according to the authors, an epenthetic /t/ is added after the suffix.¹⁵⁰ The suffix *-akit* may be reinterpreted as the frequent perfective suffix *-ak* plus *-it*. In the works mentioned above, *-aki* is never combined with any aspectual suffix¹⁵¹—actually, Swift (2008:54) says that the translocative is incompatible with the perfective and the regressive aspects—, and the suffix’s spatial meaning is a typical perfective situation (the idea of going, doing something and returning), and also the temporal meaning normally represents a perfective situation (doing something for a certain lapse of time). The suffix *-akit* is used mainly in perfective situations and the perfective *-ak* is one of the most frequent suffixes (the most frequent in my corpus after the RS suffix); if a speaker wanted to express one of the two meanings of the translocative suffix in an imperfective situation—even though an imperfective situation with this suffix be strange—, they might just take *-ak* off the verb to obtain one of the two meanings of the suffix in that imperfective situation; in this way, a possible original suffix *-aki* plus epenthetic /t/ would be reinterpreted as *-ak-it*, i.e. PFV-TRLOC. The opposite reanalysis is that two possible original suffixes *-ak-it* would be reinterpreted as a single suffix *-akit* incompatible with the perfective *-ak*, given that *-it* would always require the perfective *-ak* because it would always occur in perfective situations.

My reinterpretation proposal is partly due to the verb *ikòtyàatítani* in (468), which has a suffix *-it* but not the perfective *-ak*.

- (468) Meiri ari **ikòtyàatítani** 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 while, in the path.’ (TSJ)

The translation ‘for a while’ is mine and tries to reflect the temporal meaning of the suffix. This is the beginning of a tale, and this is the first sentence, which illustrates the setting where the action is going to take place. We do not know how much time

¹⁵⁰ Given that the RS suffix always follows *-akit*, there should be no instance with a consonant following the suffix, so, in my opinion, /t/ in this case should not be considered epenthetic because it always occurs with the suffix: if it was actually epenthetic in the past, now it is totally fossilized.

¹⁵¹ Snell (2011) does not segment her examples, so my statement in this case is my own appreciation.

the squirrel has been sitting, but it is very clear that it has been sitting there for some time, which fits the meaning of the passing of time mentioned above and described by Snell (2011) for Matsigenka. However, this situation is also clearly imperfective because the narrator says that the squirrel is sitting, and it continues sitting almost until the end of the tale. Therefore, interpreting that *-it* is the translocative suffix in *ikòtyàatítani* allows a better understanding of this verb.

Regarding the interpretation of speakers, a speaker said that the bare form *ikótyàata* (i-kotyaa-t-a, 3M.S-sit-&-REA) means that the squirrel is “bien sentada” ‘sitting well, i.e. comfortably sitting’, while *ikòtyàatíta(ni)* (*-ni* can be dropped apparently without a change in meaning) means that it is “sentadita, como escuchando” ‘lightly sitting, as if it were listening’.¹⁵² This explanation accords with the meaning ‘for a certain lapse of time’ because, when one sits with the idea of getting up soon, one may relax less than when one intends to sit for a long time.

Another speaker said that *ikòtyàatíta* means the same as *ikótyàata* (minimal form), but added that *ikòtyàatakita* (*ikòtyàatíta* plus the perfective suffix: i-kotyaa-t-ak-it-a, 3M.S-sit-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA) would convey a past time. In *ikòtyàatakita*, we have the sequence *-akit* mentioned above, and the perfective suffix implies that the action of sitting is thought of as having a beginning and an end. Therefore, if the speaker wants to express the same, but referring to an event that is going on in the present and has not finished, it appears quite natural that he leaves the perfective suffix out. The fact that a speaker says that *ikòtyàatakita* is equivalent to *ikòtyàatíta* but with a past meaning indicates that he identifies the two forms as being identical except for *-ak* added in one of them, and this confirms my line of argumentation and offers little doubt that the *-it* suffix in *ikòtyàatíta* is the translocative, given that there is no doubt that *ikòtyàatakita* bears this suffix because no other suffix can be placed between the perfective and the RS suffix. I think that this equivalence suggested by a speaker

¹⁵² I have interpreted the suffix *-ni*, a form with several different functions, as adjectival in this case, based on the fact that its use may tend to express a property of the squirrel at the present time, in the same way as, in English, one could say ‘the squirrel is sitting’ or ‘the sitting squirrel’, with ‘sitting’ in the latter phrase having an adjectival function. In any case, *-ni* in this verb can be dropped without problems according to different speakers. My guess, according to the questions I posed to speakers and their responses, is that *ikòtyàatítani* is a somewhat frozen expression that describes that someone is sitting for a not very long period of time.

between *ikòtyàatíta* and its alleged past counterpart *ikòtyáatakita* is the best argument to posit that the translocative suffix has been reinterpreted as *-it* in UP Ashéninka or that the sequence *-ak-it* (PRF-TRLOC) has been reinterpreted as a single translocative suffix *-aki(t)* in the other Campan languages except in Nomatsigenga.

Lawrence's three examples (2013:98-99) show an epenthetic /t/ after the translocative suffix, but only in one is it combined with the perfective *-k*. Therefore, the same reinterpretation hypothesis can be applied to Nomatsigenga, which also Lawrence mentions. Lawrence's proposed form (*-iN-t*) is very similar to my proposed form *-it*. It seems that the study of this suffix can pose interesting questions about its function and development in the different Campan languages. In the following lines, examples of the suffix expressing direction, associated motion and temporality are analysed.

In (469), the translocative suffix is used with the motion verb *iyaataantsi* 'go'.

(469) Tee, naaka nóokanàkiro: "kóeratawàki¹⁵³, **niyáatakítíta**".

tee naaka n-ook-an-ak-i-ro

NEG.REA 1 1S-leave-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

koera-t-awak-i n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita

watch.over-&-DES-FRS 1S-go-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-ROPT

'No, I left her: "watch over (the house), I'm leaving for a while". ' (CMM)

The translation 'I'm leaving for a moment' (Spanish *me voy un momento*) is as the translating consultant gave it. In this conversation, the speaker tells her interlocutor that she left her mother-in-law in her house and asked her to look after the house while she is out. 'I'm leaving for a moment' actually means 'I'm leaving and will come back'. The motion is expressed by the verbal root *-iyaa-* 'go' and the translocative denotes the path ('go and return').

Example (470) shows the translocative suffix indicating associated motion.

¹⁵³ The root *-koera-* is a loan from the Spanish *cuidar* 'look after'.

- (470) Nowánakyàtya, **nowákityà**, nowánakyà, nokántakyà.
 n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-eat-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-eat-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Of course, I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, so it
 will be.’ (CCPC)

The suffix is on the non-motion verb *owaantsi* ‘eat’, so that the motion is denoted by the translocative suffix. The translation of *nowákityà* as ‘I’m going to go to have lunch’ is as the translating consultant produced it, but he added that the speaker does not say it explicitly, but it is implicit in the expression. This conversation was held in a *chacra* around 11 a.m., so, if we understand for *nowákityà* ‘I’m going to eat and then come back’, it is clear that he implies ‘I’m going to go to have lunch’.

Example (471) illustrates the temporal meaning of the suffix, which was already shown in (468) without the perfective suffix, which is present in (471).

- (471) Rámatawitakitzi.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-it-zi-ri
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-3M.O
 ‘He cheated him (during a certain time).’ (TSJ)

In this one-verb sentence, the context is that a jaguar has been the victim of a ruse performed by a squirrel. This ruse is being developed throughout most of the story, so it is clear that the action of cheating is extended for a certain time, which fits the temporal meaning of the translocative suffix (passing of a certain lapse of time). The situation is perfective because the story has already been told, so that the speaker considers the act of cheating as a single whole, with a beginning and an end (see Section 6.3.1 for the definition of perfective).

I asked a speaker the difference between *rámatawitakitzi* and *rámatawitakiri*, extracting the translocative *-it*, and she said that the version with *-it* expresses a past meaning –also in questions regarding example (468), a different speaker found a past meaning in the combination of the perfective and the translocative suffix. The difference expressed by this speaker fits very well my description of the translocative in its temporal meaning. In *rámatawitakitzi*, *-it* expresses that the action takes place during a certain lapse of time, and *-ak* indicates that the action is conceived as a single whole, with a beginning and an end; therefore, this lapse of time must belong to the

past because, if it were still ongoing, it could not be conceived as a single whole. In *rámatawitakìri*, *-ak* indicates that the action is conceived as a single whole, but it might refer to the present, or even to the future, i.e. the idea of cheating occurring during a certain lapse of time is absent here, so that the cheating can occur in a single action (e.g. someone telling someone a lie) performed in a second, which can take place in the very moment that one is speaking, or even might take place in the future if the context made it possible (e.g. someone plans to meet someone to tell him a lie, as in the English clause ‘tomorrow I cheat him’).

The translocative suffix *-it* presents features similar to the much more frequent ablative and allative: it can fulfil directional, associated motion and aspect-temporal functions. Nonetheless, it occupies a different position after the aspect suffix (the ablative and allative are always placed immediately before the aspect suffix). While, in other descriptions of Campan languages, the form of the suffix is *-aki*, always followed by an epenthetic /t/, I have interpreted that there must have been some reanalysis in that the sequence *-akit* is better interpreted as *-ak-it* (PFV-TRLOC) in UP Ashéninka, an interpretation that coincides with Lawrence’s (2013:98) for Nomatsigenga. I have to add that I do not consider this interpretation definitive since my data do not allow for a definitive conclusion. That means that more data could invalidate my proposal and prove that the form is *-aki(t)*, but they could also prove that it is right. In any case, I consider it the most reasonable interpretation with the data I have.

6.5.5. Object motion *-aw*

The suffix *-aw* expresses motion of the object, differently from the three other directionals described above. Payne (1982:329) says that, in Pichis, the suffix *-aw*, which she calls “receptive”, “has only one meaning, that of receiving an object or person”, and this “implies that *-aw* occurs only with transitive verbs”. Casique’s textbook (2012:71) says that, in UP Ashéninka, this suffix is used “al recibir o al despedir a una persona”,¹⁵⁴ the same description that can be found in Kindberg

¹⁵⁴ ‘when receiving or saying goodbye to a person.’

(1980:464) for *-av* (<v> represents /β/) in Tambo-Ene. Therefore, Casique and Kindberg add the meaning ‘say goodbye’ to Payne’s ‘reception’. This may be better expressed by saying that the suffix implies motion of the object, either in direction towards or away from the object, hence my label *object motion*.

In all instances in my text corpus, *-aw* expresses associated motion. This is logical, given that most motion verbs are intransitive, and, in the few that are transitive (e.g. ‘bring’), it would be difficult to find one that expresses motion of the object. Moreover, since *-aw* can express object motion towards or away from the subject, a possible directional meaning must be excluded because the suffix can indicate different paths.

In (472), *-aw* is on the non-motion verb *taawatoryaantsi* ‘hit’ performing the function of associated motion.

(472) Itáawatoryàaka, **otàawatoryáawakiri** màpipóoki.
 i-taawatorya-ak-a o-taawatorya-aw-ak-i-ri mapi-pooki
 3M.S-hit-PFV-REA.REFL 3F.S-hit-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O stone-COL
 ‘He hits himself, the group of stones hits him (when he is falling towards them).’ (PV)

Since the verbal stem does not express motion, it is the suffix *-aw* which expresses it, namely motion of the object. This example is interesting because the speaker firstly says *itáawatoryàaka*, where the subject is a boy and, with A-class inflection, it means ‘he hit himself’; and then, the speaker utters *otàawatoryáawakiri*, with I-class inflection, which is the typical of this verb, and the subject is the stones and the object is the boy, i.e. it means ‘the stones hit the boy’. When translating this text, the translating consultant said that both expressions are right. The motion expressed by *-aw* in *otàawatoryáawakiri* refers to the object, i.e. the boy moving towards the stones when he falls down.

A more typical use of object associated motion (denoting a human object approaching a human subject) is in (473).

- (473) **Noñáawakiri** Eshitewa, irira ítsipa héwatapáentsiri.
 no-ña-aw-ak-i-ri Eshitewa
 1S-see-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O Esteban
 i-ri-ra i-tsipa hewa-t-ap-eentsi-ri
 DEM-M-MED M-other first-&-ALL-PTCP.PFV-REL
 ‘I have seen Esteban and the other one who was first (before Esteban) (both passing by).’ (CCPC)

When translating this example, I asked the translating consultant whether the meaning would change leaving out *-aw* (i.e. with *noñáakiri*). He said that, with *-aw*, the men that were seen are passing by, but, without *-aw*, no information about motion is given. This explanation illustrates very well the semantic content of *-aw* in (473): the motion of the object towards the subject.

In example (474), *-aw* is on the verb *kaemaantsi* ‘call’ and the suffix also expresses the motion of the object, but, while in (472) and (473) the object moves towards the subject (Payne’s [1982] “receptive” function), in (474) the object moves away from the subject.

- (474) **Ikáemawaeri** iroñaaka.
 i-kaem-aw-a-i-ri iroñaaka
 3M.S-call-OM-REG-FRS-3M.O now
 ‘Now they call him (as he was leaving them).’ (PV)

The text where this example comes from is the account of a video shown to a speaker (the famous Pear Story). In this passage, one of a group of three boys calls the boy with the bicycle because he has forgotten his hat, and, when he calls him with a whistle, the bicycle boy is moving away from the group of three, so there is no doubt that the object in *ikáemawaeri* is moving away from the subject. This is the only case in my corpus with the object motion suffix in which the object moves away from the subject, and it fits Casique’s (2012:71) and Kindberg’s (1980:464) meaning ‘say goodbye’. It is logical that they interpret the suffix as ‘say goodbye’ instead of ‘object motion away from the subject’ (my interpretation) if the suffix is mainly used with human referents.

Unlike the three other directional suffixes studied in the previous sections, the object motion *-aw* has no aspecto-temporal meaning. Its only function is to signal that the object is moving to or away from the subject. As said above, Payne (1982:329) says that her receptive suffix only occurs with transitive verbs, which obviously is also the case with the 18 occurrences in my text corpus. Moreover, in all the

occurrences, the object is a person, which is no wonder since the fact that the object must be moving implies that, in most cases, it must be animate. Two more examples of the use of *-aw* from my text corpus are in (475) and (476).

- (475) Arírika rayítapàki, **piyótawakiràra**.
 ari=rika r-ayit-ap-ak-i
 AFF=COND 3M.S-descend-ALL-PFV-FRS
 p-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra
 2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED
 ‘When one comes down, you’re going to guess who’s the one there.’ (SCS)
- (476) Éehatzi **ikántawàkiri**: “Éeroka rira..., hàgàri”.
 éehatzi i-kant-aw-ak-i-ri éeroka ri=ra hagari
 also 3M.S-say-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2 M=MED short-eared.dog¹⁵⁵
 ‘They also say to him as he arrives: “You’re, um..., the short-eared dog.” (SCS)

In (475), the members of the plural subject are going to guess who the object is as he arrives. In (476), they talk to him as he arrives. The meaning ‘as he arrives’ in both cases is expressed by the object motion suffix *-aw*.

6.5.6. The regressive *-a/-ah* with a directional function

The regressive suffix has the meaning of going back in time or space. When the meaning implies doing something *again*, it conveys an aspectual nuance; but, when the meaning is spatial, it implies going back to a place where the referred element has previously been, and, in this case, the function of the regressive is to indicate direction, but it never expresses associated motion. Some examples of the spatial regressive function are illustrated below.

In (477), the regressive suffix is on the motion verb *tzinagaantsi* ‘raise’. The suffix expresses that the bicycle is raised back to the standing position where it was before the cyclist fell down, i.e. the verbal stem expresses the motion and the regressive *-a* expresses the direction back to a former position.

- (477) **Itzìnagáero** i-bicicléta-tè.
 i-tzinag-a-i-ro i-bicicleta-ti¹⁵⁶
 3M.S-raise-REG-FRS-3F.O 3M-bicycle-POSS
 ‘He picks up his bicycle.’ (PV)

¹⁵⁵ This canid is *Atelocynus microtis*.

¹⁵⁶ *Bicicleta* is the Spanish word for ‘bicycle’. The speaker pronounced it [βisi’kleta].

In (478), the regressive occurs in two verbs combined with other directional suffixes.

(478) **Riyáatanàhe** apáaniróini **itàapáhiro**.

r-iyaa-t-an-ah-i apáaniróini i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro
3M.S-go-&-ABL-REG-FRS alone 3M.S-burn-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O
'He's going to go back alone to burn it (his *chacra*).' (CMM)

In this example, the AM is expressed by the allative in *itàapáhiro*, and the direction from a point of reference by the ablative in *riyáatanàhe*. In both cases, the regressive expresses that the motion is performed back to a place where the subject had been before: his *chacra*, where he is presently working quite actively. This combination yields a complex expression of motion. In *riyáatanàhe*, with the motion verb *iyaataantsi* 'go', the ablative indicates the direction of the motion from a point of reference (the place where the man usually is, i.e. his house), and the regressive indicates that he has already been there (in his *chacra*) and now is going back. In *itàapáhiro*, with the non-motion verb *tagaantsi* 'burn', the allative expresses a prior associated motion to the place where the man is going to burn his *chacra* (go and then burn), and the regressive indicates the same as in *riyáatanàhe*: he goes back to his *chacra*, where he is presently working often.

In (479), the regressive suffix is also combined with the ablative.

(479) Nimaeka árika **osháawitanàhi**, hame ate añáathawàetya hanta, otáapiki.

nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i hame
today AFF=COND 3F.S-become.afternoon-ABL-REG-FRS HORT.INCL
Ø-a-t-i a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta o-taapi=ki
INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-play-DUR1-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3F-back=LOC
'Today, in the beginning of the afternoon (when it starts being afternoon again),
let's go to play there, in the gully (lit. in its back).' (CMH)

In this case, the combination of regressive plus ablative is on *-shaawit-* 'become afternoon', so that a more literal translation of *osháawitanáhi* considering both suffixes would be 'it starts to become afternoon again', where the meaning 'starts' is provided by the ablative and 'again' by the regressive ('again' because it becomes afternoon every day).

With the previous examples, we can see that the regressive suffix indicates the direction of the motion, but cannot express motion in itself, i.e. does not express AM; rather, the motion is indicated by the verbal stem or by another directional suffix.

Actually, when the regressive is used with a non-motion verb, it has its aspectual meaning ‘again’ (see examples in Section 6.3.5).

6.5.6. Final remarks

The previous sections have shown the double function of directionals, namely spatial and aspecto-temporal, yet both functions are clearly related. The core spatial meaning of the ablative is ‘direction from a place’, i.e. the motion starts in a place, and the temporal meaning ‘beginning’ also means ‘starting from a point in time’. In the same fashion, the core spatial meaning of the allative is ‘direction to a place’, i.e. the motion ends in that place, and the temporal meaning ‘end’ also means ‘ending in a point in time’. In both suffixes, we can see that their core meanings can be summed up as ‘direction from a point in space or time’ (ablative) and ‘direction to a point in space or time’ (allative), with which the spatial and aspecto-temporal functions are the same with the only difference of the dimension (space or time) to which the referred point belongs.

The spatial and aspecto-temporal functions of the translocative suffix are also related, although not as evidently as for the ablative and the allative. The spatial meaning is ‘going to a place, doing something and coming back’, i.e. a go and return motion, while the temporal meaning is ‘doing something for a certain lapse of time’. It could be argued that most events occur during a certain lapse of time, but we can compare this temporal meaning with the English expression ‘for a while’, so that *a certain lapse of time* implies that the event does not occur either continuously or punctually. The spatial meaning implies motion from point A to point B and back to point A in space; therefore, the temporal meaning should be the same, but with A and B being points in time. Since it is impossible to go back in time, the idea of *a certain lapse of time* is the closest in time to the suffix’s spatial meaning.

Regarding the regressive suffix, its double function is best observed when compared with the Spanish *volver* ‘come back’. Spanish *volver* means ‘going back to a place’, but it is also used to express ‘repetition of an action’, so that *volver a* + VERB means repeating the action denoted by the verb. As said above, one cannot go back in

time, but the repetition of an action is the recreation of something past, i.e. a certain illusion of going back in time.

D. Payne (1983a:21) for Pichis and Swift (2008:48-50) for Caquinte state that directionals must always be combined with an aspect suffix, with the exception of the allative in Caquinte. In UP Ashéninka, apart from the special features of the translocative discussed above, I have 15 examples of the ablative without an aspect suffix in my text corpus, but none of the allative nor the object motion suffix. I also researched the matter through elicitation, and the consultant accepted the ablative and the allative without an aspect suffix but not the object motion suffix. However, even with the ablative, the consultant did not accept every verb without aspect suffix: he accepted it with the verb *owaantsi* ‘eat’, but not with *iyaataantsi* ‘go’, *ñaataantsi* ‘see’ or *iyotaantsi* ‘know’. He also confirmed that the instances in my text corpus are right. Nonetheless, there is an instance in my text corpus with *iyataantsi* ‘go’ and without an aspect suffix (480).

- (480) Árikya **piyáatanipa**.
 ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 AFF=EMPH 2S-go-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 ‘So then, you leave later.’ (CCPC)

This example is from a conversation translated by the consultant mentioned above who did not accept a form with *iyataantsi* ‘go’ without an aspect suffix (the form I proposed and rejected as ungrammatical was *niyáatani*, n-iyaa-t-an-i, 1S-go-&-ABL-FRS). Therefore, there seems to be a restriction in that a directional needs to be accompanied by an aspect suffix, but this restriction is somewhat relaxed with the ablative in some verbs or certain constructions, and can also be skipped with the allative, but less frequently than with the ablative. Obviously, the translocative is not included in this discussion due to my positing its present form from a reinterpretation in which the perfective suffix is involved (see details in Section 6.5.4), so that it should always occur with the perfective suffix or without any aspect suffix. I show a pair of examples of the ablative without an aspect suffix below.

- (481) *Ikántanahya* máaweni apaani **ikantanéyawo** 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)
- (482) **Ipíyana** irika, ikántziri, shèripyári thayiri.
 i-piy-an-a i-ri=ka i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-come.back-ABL-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-say-REA-3M.O
 sheripyari thayi-ri
 shaman cheating-REL
 ‘This one has come back, how to say..., the cheating shaman.’ (SCS)

In both (481) and (482), the ablative suffix is on the verb without any aspect suffix. In (481), the ablative suffix appears on the two verbs of the two juxtaposed clauses. In *ikántanahya*, it is combined with the regressive suffix, which indicates that the people are coming back, and *ikantanéyawo rowánikì* is added to specify where they will go back. Therefore, the second phrase tries to clarify the destination, and the regressive suffix in the verb is no longer needed because the idea of going back was already expressed in *ikántanahya*. The verbal copula *kantaantsi* expresses no motion, so that the ablative suffix expresses the motion; thus, this is an example of associated motion. In (482), *piyataantsi* ‘come back’ is a motion verb, and also expresses a direction towards a point of reference, just the opposite of the ablative. In this case, the ablative is better understood as ‘beginning’, so that a literal translation would be ‘he starts coming back’. No aspect suffix is used in this case either.

Payne (1982:333-35) describes an experiment that consists of showing a speaker two identical texts, one with directionals and one without them. The comment of the speaker was that the text with directionals “happens very fast and in sequence” (Payne 1982:335). Payne (1982:335) comments that the text with directionals “temporally links the events to one another as in a real narrative by means of the time referentials”. Payne is talking here about the aspecto-temporal function of directionals rather than the spatial one. Directionals are in no case obligatory, but their existence in a text describes motion and, as Payne argues, establishes a temporal link between successive events in discourse. Therefore, a text with no directionals would be more *plain* or *boring*, similarly to someone speaking a language without a good command of it.

6.6. Valency-changing morphemes

In this section, morphemes that increase or reduce the verb's valency are analysed. In Ashéninka, the valency can be reduced through reflexivity and reciprocity, and increased through causative and applicative affixes.

6.6.1. Valency-reducing morphemes: reflexivity through change of verb class and reciprocal *-awak*

Reflexivity is expressed by converting an I-class RS suffix into A-class. Since this process involves RS marking, it is described in Section 6.1, on reality status, with Section 6.1.5.2 devoted to reflexivity. Reciprocity is expressed with the reciprocal suffix *-awak*, described in the following lines.

The reciprocal suffix *-awak* has a quite transparent function: it indicates that two or more people are carrying out the action expressed by the verb mutually on each other. In my text corpus, all instances but one of *-awak* occur in the same conversation, in which all occurrences but one are with the verb *ñaataantsi* 'see, find, meet': the two interlocutors explain how life is in their respective indigenous communities and they often use the reciprocal suffix on *ñaataantsi* to express that the members of a community meet (find each other). Two examples of the use of the suffix are below.

In (483), *-awak* indicates that all the members of the community meet and thus they mutually find each other. Therefore, the transitive verb 'find' becomes reciprocal, which actually means that each member of the group is subject and the other individuals are objects of the action of finding, and each one is also object of the action of finding carried out by each other member of the group.

(483) Apaani **añáawaka**, ikántètziiri..., *sábado*.

apaani a-ña-a-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado
one INCL.S-find-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-REL Saturday
'We only find each other (meet), how to say..., on Saturday.' (CTK)

Example (484) is the only instance from a text different from the conversation of (483). In this story, one of the characters asks a woman to make love with him.

- (484) Pipókanaki rowa..., ikántètzirowa..., **apánkinatawakáeya**.
 pi-pok-an-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
 2S-come-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED
 a-pankina-t-awak-eya
 INCL.S-make.love-&-RECP-IRR
 ‘Come, um..., how to say..., um..., let’s make love.’ (SCS)

In Ashéninka, the stem *-pankina-* has the meaning ‘make love’, but also other meanings (e.g. one can say *nopánkinatawo noena* ‘I make love with my wife’, but also *nopánkinatawo nowani* ‘I prepare my *chacra*’), and it is always transitive. That implies that, when speaking about two persons making love, the reciprocal suffix must be used to indicate the reciprocity of the sexual intercourse.

All instances of verbs with the reciprocal suffix have A-class reality status suffixes, which is quite logical because of the close relation between reciprocity and reflexivity: if with a reflexive verb the subject performs the action on itself, in a reciprocal verb, each member of a plural subject performs the action on the other members of the plural subject. Therefore, all I-class verbs become reflexive when they bear the reciprocal suffix.

6.6.2. Valency-increasing morphemes: causative and applicative affixes

A causative prefix, a causative suffix and some applicative suffixes are the morphemes that increase valency in UP Ashéninka. Accordingly, this section is divided into two subsections: one describes the causative constructions (6.6.2.1), and the other one describes the applicative suffixes (6.6.2.2).

6.6.2.1. Causatives *-aka(g)* and *o-/oe-/ow-/oomin-*

Ashéninka has two causative affixes: the suffix *-aka(g)* and a prefix with the allomorphs *o-/oe-/ow-/oomin-*. Payne (2001) published a book chapter on causatives in Ashéninka. He does not mention which variety is treated, but the examples show that it is Pichis. Payne (2001:485-86) distinguishes three types of causatives: lexical/derivational with the prefix, morphological/inflectional with the suffix and periphrastic with the verbal copula *kantaantsi* used with the suffix. First of all, it is important to clarify the terminology, above all why Payne considers that the construction with the causative prefix is lexical/derivational. Shibatani (2001:4) says

that some linguists use the name *lexical causatives* for morphologically unanalysable words, such as English ‘kill’ (‘make die’), “but some others use productivity as a criterion for distinguishing lexical causatives from morphological ones”. This might also be Payne’s (2001:488) criterion, given that he says that the prefix is not productive. Payne (2001:485) also says that the prefix is “derivational”, but Dixon (2012:239) says that causatives are “derivations which increase valency”, which implies that all causative strategies are derivational. Therefore, I will refer to the three causatives as the prefix, the suffix and the periphrastic without discussing these terminological questions. The three causatives exist in UP Ashéninka with the same or similar forms as in Payne’s Pichis. An example of each class suffix is provided in (485) (prefix), (486) (suffix) and (487) (periphrastic).

(485) **Róehapokàkiri** èenchániki.

r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri eentsi-aniki
3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O child-DIM
‘He throws the little child.’ (FS)

(486) Pikoyi **niráakáemi** pyáarentsi nimaeka?

pi-koy-i n-ir-aka-e-mi pyaare-ntsi nimaeka
2S-want-FRS 1S-drink-CAUS-FRS-2O masato-ALI today
‘Do you want me to invite you to drink *masato* today? (lit. do you want me to make you drink *masato* today?)’ (CMH)

(487) Tsikárika **ikàntakáakari** rokíkirà **ròmahontyáantakariri?**

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra
WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-eye=LOC=MED
r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri
3M.S-CAUS-dumb-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL
‘How did he₁ get that he₂ got dumb in those eyes of him₂?’ (TSJ)

Payne (2001:487) describes a causative “lexical” suffix *-(t)ag* that has not appeared during my research. Payne (2001:492-93) also describes the combination of an antipassive suffix *-ant* with the causative suffix. Mihas (2015a:309) for Alto Perené says that she prefers to analyse this suffix by calling it “customary” according to its function: “having to do with a customary action”. I agree with Mihas’ analysis, but with the nuance that, according to my research, the suffix is better described as a usual occupation than as a customary action, hence my label *occupation* (see Section 6.7.3).

Payne (2001:486) explains the differences between the three causatives, which regard features as agentivity, successful manipulation and direct contact between

causer and causee, but these features are not defined, which makes it difficult to check whether Payne's findings coincide with my occurrences in UP Ashéninka. However, Dixon (2012:268-80) proposes and defines nine semantic parameters that should be taken into account to compare different causative strategies in a given language, which are the following:

- Relating to the verb: state/action and transitivity (the causative applies to transitive or intransitive verbs, or to both).
- Relating to the causee: control (lacking or having control of the activity), volition (causee acts willingly or unwillingly) and affectedness (causee is partially or totally affected).
- Relating to the causer: directness (causer acts directly or indirectly), intention (causer acts intentionally or accidentally), naturalness (the event happens fairly naturally or with effort) and involvement (causer is or is not involved in the activity).

I have only 3 instances in my text corpus of the periphrastic causative, which makes it impossible to draw generalizations, but there are more of the prefix (26 occurrences) and the suffix (12 occurrences), which allows a comparison between both. Four of Dixon's parameters yield a significant difference, namely transitivity, control, volition and involvement, and, to a lesser degree, naturalness. Table 35 shows the percentages of these parameters in my text corpus for each affix. The other parameters yield similar figures for both affixes.

Table 35. Significant differences in Dixon's (2012:268-69) semantic parameters between the causative prefix and suffix.

	Verb	Causee		Causer	
	With intransitive verbs	Lacking control	Unwilling	Not involved	With effort
Prefix	100%	81%	77%	88%	38%
Suffix	17%	25%	33%	33%	17%

The figures in Table 35 show that the prefix is always used with intransitive verbs, while the suffix can be used with both, but more often with transitive verbs. Moreover, the prefix is used in activities in which the causer is normally not involved and the causee usually lacks control of the event and acts unwillingly, while the suffix is used

with the causer normally involved in the activity, and the causee has control over it and acts willingly. In both affixes, the causer usually acts naturally, i.e. without much effort, but the prefix is more used than the suffix in cases in which effort is required. Regarding Dixon's semantic parameters not shown in Table 35, both causative affixes pattern in the same way: in most cases, they are used with action verbs, the causee is completely affected by the activity, and the causer acts directly and intentionally.

As regards the periphrastic causative, as said above, three instances do not allow to draw generalizations, but, just for information: two instances are with intransitive verbs; in the three instances, the causee lacks control and acts unwillingly; the causer acts with effort in the three instances and is involved in two.

As already pointed out, the causative prefix can have several similar forms. Payne (2001:488) lists the forms *omin-*, *omi-*, *oi-*, *o-* and *ow-* for Pichis. The forms that occur in my corpus are *oe-*, *o-*, *oomin-* and *ow-*. Examples (488), (490), (491) and (492) show instances with *o-* (the most frequent form), and (489) with *oe-*.

- (488) Rawíwáetatzí, **rowáriyàkiro**.

r-awii-wae-t-atzi r-o-pariy-ak-i-ro
3M.S-harvest-DUR1-&-PROG 3M.S-CAUS-fall-PFV-FRS-3F.O
'He goes on harvesting, he makes them (fruits) fall.' (PV)

- (489) Ikañaaperotanàka rira..., hempe íitagankitya..., maniro, **róehapokákiri**.

i-kaña-a-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe
3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH
i-et-a=ranki=tya maniror-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri
3M.S-be.named-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer 3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O
'He accelerates, um..., what's its name?..., the deer, throws him off.' (FS)

- (490) **Roshètaitéroni** ichénkopáeni.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-i-ro-ni i-chenko=paeni
3M.S-CAUS-clean-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL 3M-trousers=PL
'He's going to clean his trousers.' (PV)

- (491) Iroñaaka **noyítiri** nòintakóri.

iroñaaka n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori
now 1S-CAUS-go.down-IRR-3M.O 1-follower
'Now I'm going to make my followers come down.' (SCS)

- (492) Ikantzi: "Irira **ròmáryáaka**."

i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
3M.S-say-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-lie.down-PFV-REA
'He says: "That one whom they have laid down". (SCS)

In examples (488) to (490), the events have the features typical of the causative prefix as is shown in Table 35. The causee lacks control: in (488), because it is inanimate (the fruits are made to fall); in (489), a deer throws off a child who was mounting it; in (490), the verbal root *-shet-* must be interpreted as ‘clean’ in an intransitive use, i.e. as ‘get clean’, so that the literal translation would be ‘he makes his trousers to be clean’, and the trousers obviously lack control. The same reasons for the lack of control are valid to infer the unwillingness of the causees. In the three examples, the causer is not involved, i.e. he does not participate in the activity (does not fall, jump or get clean). Examples (491) and (492) show the difference that the causee acts willingly and, in (491), has control of the activity of going down, which is not the case in (492) because the person whom they lay down is ill and is not supposed to have any force. Regarding effort, examples (488) to (490) imply a certain degree of effort, but (491) and (492) do not (the causer in (491) is a shaman who makes his followers come down from heaven, supposedly just by telling them to come down). Dixon’s naturalness parameter is difficult to evaluate because there are many cases with a certain effort, but it may be very little.

Another feature to remark is that the causee is cross-referenced by the object suffix in examples (488) to (491), while it is not cross-referenced in (492). One of Dixon’s semantic parameters regarding the verb is state/action, and this is the difference between (488) to (491) (action verbs) and (492) (state verb).

Payne (2001:489) only shows the form *-akag* for the causative suffix, although, in most of his examples, the used form is *-aka*. This is due to complicated rules of /u/ deletion (see Black 1991 and Spring 1992 for detailed phonological studies on this phoneme), which appear to be the same in Pichis and Ucayali-Pajonal. Since /u/ is deleted in most cases, I prefer to represent it as *-aka(g)*. Some examples of this suffix are shown below.

In (493), the addressee made someone call the speaker, so that the causative suffix is attached to the transitive root *-kaem-* ‘call’, a transitive verb that gets a new argument (the causee, ‘they’) with the use of the causative.

- (493) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I heard that you had me called.’ (CTK)

In the long sentence in (494), which I reproduce entirely so as to grasp the context better, the verb is transitive (*kimitaantsi* ‘seem’) and the causee is impersonal (‘it seems’).

- (494) Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékhitho **ikìmitakáantawitakàwo**
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántétziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharèkhitho, káarimáita,
 ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékhitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékhitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false)
 as though, um..., what’s its name..., that it was real that his testicle was good
 (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

Example (495) is the only instance in my text corpus of the causative suffix with the form *-akag*. The non-deletion of /u/ has phonological reasons: this is the only instance of the suffix followed by a diphthong in my corpus. The causative suffix is attached to the ambitransitive verb *iraantsi* ‘drink’, a combination that yields the meaning ‘invite to drink’.

- (495) Roo roweyántakàwo **rìrakagéiyakirìni** iyamarámpiti ikáateyìnirà.
 roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-eey-ak-i-ri-ni
 then 3M.S-be.last-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-drink-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-eey-i-ni=ra
 3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 ‘Then the last one arrives, and he invites those to drink his ayahuasca (lit.: makes them drink).’ (SCS)

In (496), the causative suffix is attached to two contiguous ambitransitive verbs: *ñaantaantsi* ‘taste’ and *owaantsi* ‘eat’.

(496) **Iñáantakáakari, rówakáakari.**

i-ñaaant-aka-ak-a-ri r-ow-aka-ak-a-ri
 3M.S-taste-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-eat-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 'He makes him taste; he makes him eat.' (TSJ)

In (497), the causative suffix is on the intransitive verb *shiyaantsi* 'run'.

(497) Eentsi **ishiyakáakari.**

eentsi i-shiy-aka-ak-a-ri
 child 3M.S-run-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 'The child makes him (a deer) run.' (FS)

In (493) and (494), the causative suffix is used with two transitive verbs; in (495) and (496), with three ambitransitive verbs, and in (497), with an intransitive verb. The reference of the object suffix is the causee in (495) to (497), and the object of the caused event in (493) and (494). Therefore, it seems that the reference of the object suffix is the causee in ambitransitive and intransitive verbs and the object of the caused event in transitive verbs. A remarkable example in this respect is in (498), where the ambitransitive verb *owaantsi* 'eat' bears a causative suffix, and both causee and object are cross-referenced with an object suffix.

(498) Shirámpari páerani, arírika okìtehíityamanàki tekátsika oyari, ráakiro ichékopiti éehatzi itónkamènto, riyaaate rowáshitantawáetya, riyaaate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, **rówakayityáiriri** itomi.

shirámpari páerani ari=rika o-kitehiity-aman-ak-i
 man long.ago AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-EARLY-PFV-FRS
 tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti
 NEG.EXI=COND eat-IRR-REL 3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-arrow-POSS
 éehatzi i-tonk-amento r-iyaa-t-i
 also 3M.S-shoot-NMLZ.INS 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 r-owashitant-a-wae-t-ya r-iyaa-t-i
 3M.S-make.maspute-&-DUR1-&-IRR 3M.S-go-&-IRR
 i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
 3M.S-search-&-IRR-3M.O animal 3M.S-bring-FRS-3M.O INCL-house=LOC
 r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri i-tomi
 3M.S-eat-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-3M.O 3M-son
 'Long ago, men, if it dawned early and there was nothing to eat, they took their arrows and their rifle, went to make their *maspute*¹⁵⁷, went to look for animals, brought them to our houses and made their children eat them (the hunted animals).' (CTK)

¹⁵⁷ *Maspute* is the local Spanish word for a little temporary hut built so as to hide waiting for animals to pass by in order to shoot them.

In *rówakayityáririri*, it is implied that men make their children eat the meat of the animals that they hunt, so that the causers are the men, the causees are their children, and the object of the caused event (eating) is the eaten animals. Both causee and object are marked with an object suffix. In Section 6.2.1, I describe a double object construction in which the 3rd person direct object (patient) is cross-referenced with the suffix *-ni* instead of the usual *-ro* (f.) and *-ri* (m.), but, in that construction, there is a direct and an indirect object (patient and beneficiary). However, in the causative construction in *rówakayityáririri*, the causee is treated as a direct object, so there are two patients: the causee is the patient of the causation event (they make *them* eat), and the caused event (eat) also has a patient, hence the two object suffixes.

Regarding Dixon's semantic parameters shown in Table 35, besides transitivity, already discussed in the previous paragraphs, the causee has control of the activity except in (494) because the causee is impersonal ('he has made *it* seem'); in all examples, the causee acts willingly except in (494), also because of the impersonal causee, and in the intransitive verb in (497); the causer acts with effort only in (494), given that a complex ruse is carried out to achieve the goal expressed by the verb with the causative suffix.

The periphrastic causative construction with the suffix *-aka* on the verbal copula *kantaantsi* 'be' is less frequent than the suffix attached to a regular verbal stem. Its function appears to be to emphasize the causative relation, as in the long sentence in (499).

- (499) Tsikárika **ikántakáakawo okímitzìmotákari** manitzi, róotaki iyatharékithe
rowánkítàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?
tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O
o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS
i-yatharekithe r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MED
i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
3M.S-smash-APPL-DUR1-&-REA
'How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar's eyes that it was his
testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?' (TSJ)

The translation in this sentence is difficult to follow from the Ashéninka text, but reflects quite clearly the causative relation. The periphrastic construction consists of the verbal copula *kantaantsi* and the regular verb *kimitaantsi* ‘seem’. The causative suffix is used directly on *kimitaantsi* in other sentences in the same tale, as in (494), so it is perfectly possible that the same speaker uses it in this way, but, in (499), the periphrasis appears to reinforce the causative relation so as to give the rhetoric question more strength.

The verbal copula *kantaantsi* can occur with the causative *-aka* without forming a periphrasis with another verb, as in (500).

- (500) Tsikárika **ikàntakáakawo?** rámatawitziri ikanta ròwamantyáririri.
 tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro r-amatawi-t-zi-ri
 WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-cheat-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kant-a r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA 3M.S-CAUS-die-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL
 ‘How could he make it happen? He cheated him in order to kill him.’ (TSJ)

In this example, the same rhetorical question as in (499) appears, but there is no need for another verb to complete the periphrasis because the context of the tale is quite clear to know what the question refers to: to everything that has been previously told.

6.6.2.2. Applicatives

The Ashéninka applicatives described in this thesis are the general applicative *-ako*, the comitative *-imo*, the benefactives *-went* and *-neent*, the AWAY *-pitha* and the instrumental *-ant*. The instrumental *-ant*, also an applicative, is described in Section 6.7.3 because I think that it is interesting to describe it together with two more suffixes with the same form, and the other five are described in the subsections below. The purposive suffix *-ashi* can have an applicative function in some cases, but it is described in Section 6.4.2.4 due to its main modal function.

Peterson (1999:1) defines *applicatives* in the following way: “The applicative construction, as the term is used in this study, is a syntactic construction signalled by overt verbal morphology which allows the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core object argument.” Another definition, by Polinsky (2013), is: “In an applicative construction, the number of object arguments selected by the predicate is increased by one with respect to the basic construction.”

Combining both definitions, Polinsky says that “the number of object arguments [...] is increased” and Peterson considers that these added object arguments are “thematically peripheral or adjunct” and are coded “as a core object argument”. Applying this to Ashéninka, it can be said that, generally, an applicative suffix adds to the verb an oblique argument, which is often marked with an object suffix –but not always–, which would cross-reference a direct object without the applicative suffix. This is shown with the examples in the following subsections.

Considering the language types defined by Polinsky (2013) based on their applicatives, Ashéninka applicatives belong to the type that can be used on transitive and intransitive verbs and whose applicative objects can have benefactive and other roles.

6.6.2.2.1. General applicative -ako

The suffix *-ako* exists in all Campan languages with the same form. This suffix has received different names in the literature, and this multinaming is just a reflex of its multifunctionality. An overview of the different names and descriptions of the suffix is important to fully understand its functions in the group of Campan languages and relate them to its use in Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka. This overview is ordered, in the non-Ashé-Ashá languages, by decreasing geographical distance and, in the Ashé-Ashá group, by decreasing linguistic distance according to my proposed order of the dialectal chain (Pedrós 2018:18; Section 1.2.2 of this thesis).

Starting with Nanti, Michael (2008:287) says that “the indirective applicative *-ako* indicates that the action of the verb affects the applied object in an indirect manner”.

Snell (2011:841-42) calls this suffix “referencial” for Matsigenka, and suggests that its form might come from *akotsi* ‘hand’ (same word in UP Ashéninka, normally used with the inalienable root *-ako* and a pronominal prefix). Snell describes the suffix as having “significados relacionados con las ideas de *contenido en*, *en un recipiente*, *dentro de algo*, etc. y otros que indican ideas como *con respecto a*, *sobre*, etc.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ ‘meanings related to the ideas of *contained in*, *in a container*, *inside something*, etc., and others that indicate ideas such as *with respect to*, *about*, etc.’

For Caquinte, Swift (2008:70-71) uses the name “dativo” and says that *-ako* adds a complement to the clause. He refers to four examples to explain its functions. The translations of the verbs bearing the suffix and their complements related to *-ako* are ‘I’ll talk about my brother’, ‘brought *masato* (in a container)’, ‘I advanced (in the car)’ and ‘it became blood-colour for me’. According to these examples, the suffix has the meanings ‘about’, ‘in a container’ (second and third translations), and ‘for’, respectively.

For Asháninka, Kindberg (1980:462) includes the suffix in his suffix list and says that its meanings are “adentro, dentro de algo; respecto a” ‘inside, inside something; with respect to’.

For Alto Perené, Mihas (2015a:278-84) uses the name “generalized applicative” for *-ako* and says that it “has multiple functions covering a range of locative, ablative, stimulus, and topic meanings” (p. 278).

For Pichis, Payne (1989:243-44) uses the name “dativo” and says that the suffix carries the meanings “con”, “de”, “acerca de”, “sobre”, “para” (‘with’, ‘of’, ‘about’, ‘on’, ‘for’), etc. She adds that, when it is used with intransitive verbs of motion, the suffix refers to a vehicle or the means used for motion.

As regards Apurucayali, Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:55-56) also use the name “dativo” and say that the suffix implies an additional complement for the verb. They give five examples to illustrate its use, and the translations of these examples are ‘pull with/for me’, ‘I’ll tell about that’, ‘he dug for them’, ‘he looked at him’ and ‘it got dark over them’. The prepositions used in each translation are the meanings assigned to the suffix.

With this summary, the suffix appears to cover a wide range of meanings expressed in English or Spanish employing a preposition and whose common function is to refer to an oblique argument. Another meaning is that the event takes place inside a container or vehicle, as is described for Matsigenka, Caquinte, Asháninka and Pichis.

In view of all this, some examples from my corpus are analysed in the following lines. My choice of the name *general applicative* (glossed just APPL) is firstly based on discarding other options: I consider *dative* an inappropriate name because this term

is normally used for the indirect object (beneficiary or recipient), and the indirect object is already expressed in Ashéninka through object suffixes without the need of any additional marking; *indirective applicative* may be redundant, given that the very concept of applicative excludes that there might be a *directive applicative*, at least in UP Ashéninka. Since this applicative has very different functions and is used much more than the other ones, we can say that it is a *general applicative*, which is my chosen name, similar to Mihas' (2015a) "generalized applicative".

In the first place, I show in (501) *-ako* on two verbs, in both with the meaning 'about'. The applicative function consists of adding an oblique object (the element *about* which the statement is made) to the verb.

- (501) Ari **ikáatakotzi** iroñaaka irika ashéninka, **akénkithàtakótziri** thayiri sheripyari.
 ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka i-ri=ka
 thus 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA now DEM-M=PROX
 a-shéninka a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-zi-ri
 INCL-fellow.person INCL.S-tell-&-APPL-&-REA-REL
 thayi-ri sheripyari
 cheating-REL shaman
 'Thus is all now about this Ashéninka, what we tell about the cheating shaman.'
 (SCS)

The general applicative is normally used at the end of stories in the same way as in (501): to say 'this is what is told about X', 'they tell this about X', etc., and also at the beginning of stories to say 'I'm going to tell about X', similarly to English *once upon a time*. In (501), both verbs refer to the same person: first mentioned as *irika ashéninka* 'this Ashéninka' and then as *thayiri sheripyari* 'the cheating shaman'. This formula is also mentioned in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:31) for Apurucayali as *nokinkithatakotiri* 'I'm going to tell about him/them'.

In (502), *-ako* has a comitative meaning, equivalent to the use of the English preposition 'with'.

- (502) Haa, róotaki **nokówakotzimìri**.
 hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-want-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 'Yes, that's what I want with you.' (CMH)

In this example, the general applicative adds an oblique argument to the verb *kowaantsi* 'want', which can be transitive or act as a modal verb. This oblique

argument is the 2nd person object suffix *-mi*. *Nokówakotzimìri*, taking into account its relative suffix, means ‘what I want (to do) with you’, and is the positive answer to a proposal from the speaker’s interlocutor to go to play later. Thus, the meaning of *-ako* together with the 2nd person suffix *-mi* is equivalent to English ‘with you’.

In the two verbs in (503), the general applicative refers to the beneficiary, i.e. the boy for whom the others are lifting up the fruits and putting them on his bicycle.

- (503) **Itzinàkoténeri rowàkoténeri** henoki *bicicléta-kì*.
 i-tzin-ako-t-i-ne-ri r-ow-ako-t-i-ne-ri
 3M.S-lift-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O 3M.S-put-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O
 henoki bicicleta=ki
 up bicycle=LOC
 ‘They are going to lift them and put them (fruits) for him on the bicycle.’ (PV)

Both verbs have a double object construction with the suffixes *-ne-ri* (3O-3M.O): the object indexed with *-ne*, valid for both genders, refers to the fruits, and the masculine object indexed with *-ri*, to the bicycle boy (the beneficiary). Therefore, in this case, the applicative construction with *-ako* can be translated with the English preposition ‘for’.

In (504), the general applicative refers to the fruits that a man has to gather up in a tree.

- (504) **Iháakiro ótsipa kántziri irira, atèetakotziróri** henoki.
 i-ha-ak-i-ro o-tsipa kántziri i-ri=ra
 3M.S-fill-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-other basket DEM-3M=MED
 atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro-ri henoki
 go.up-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O-REL up
 ‘That one has filled another basket, the one who goes up (to gather them).’ (PV)

The fruits with which the man is filling the basket are referred to by the object suffix *-ro*, so that *-ako* causes an intransitive motion verb as *ateetaantsi* ‘go up’ to get an oblique object that expresses the goal of the motion.

In (505), *-ako* refers to the activity about which the conversation is taking place (farming work), and there is no object suffix nor any overt NP: the applicative suffix refers to the context. In this case, the construction with the general applicative can be translated with the English preposition ‘in’.

- (505) **Cháantakotàki** éniro newánkaritzìni.
 chaant-ako-t-ak-i¹⁵⁹ éniro n-ewanka-ri-t-zi-ni
 work-APPL-&-PFV-FRS EXL.PST 1S-young-M-&-REA-RMPST
 'I worked in that when I was young.' (CCPC)

In (506), *-ako* refers to the passing of time, a meaning that is not mentioned in the works cited above. Also in (507), *-ako* in *hatákowítaka* refers to the passing of time.

- (506) **Nokáatakotàki** apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.
 no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri
 1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS two moon
 wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari
 designate-&-PFV-FRS-1O authority
 'Two months ago, I have been designated an authority.' (CTK)
- (507) **Hatákowítaka itayéeterini**, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 'Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.' (SCFF)

In both examples (506) and (507), there is an expression of time. In (507), *hatákowítaka* appears to be a frozen expression with the meaning 'shortly before', given that the meaning 'go' (the root of the verb) is not expressed. In combination with the frustrative suffix, *-ako* indicates that there is a short time until the action expressed by the following verb will take place. In (506), the time line goes back, so the reference is to the time that has passed, whose extent is made clear in the NP following the verb (*apiti káshiri* 'two months'). The verb *kaataantsi* is used to express an amount when combined with numerals, but the applicative suffix changes the meaning of expressing an existing amount to that of an elapsed time. Therefore, in both examples, *-ako* refers to a lapse of time: in (507) to the future, and in (506) to the past.

In (508), *-ako* has a partitive meaning related to the meaning 'in a container' described for other Campan languages.

¹⁵⁹ The root *-chaant-* is a loan from the Peruvian Spanish verb *chambear* 'work'.

- (508) Pàakotapákiro.
 p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro
 2S-take-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 'You have taken your part.' (CMM)

This sentence is meant almost as a question in which the speaker expects her interlocutor to answer *yes*, as she actually did. The speaker refers to the part of timber that should belong to her interlocutor because she has bought a piece of land. The translation is as the translating consultant produced it, and, since no lexical or grammatical reference to a part of anything is present, the only possible interpretation is that *-ako* has here a partitive meaning related to 'in a container': the interlocutor's timber is not in a container, but belongs to, or is contained inside the property that this woman has bought.

Another example of the partitive/'in a container' meaning is in (509) with the verb *shemyaantsi* 'crush', which is repeated six times with *-ako* in the same tale and only two without it.

- (509) a. Éékiro, éékiro **ishémyakotàtzi** ríraga, meiri.
 éékiro i-shemy-ako-t-atzi ri-raga méyiri
 goes.on 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-PROG M-CAT.DEM squirrel
 'Goes on, he goes on crushing, he, the squirrel.' (TSJ)
- b. Róetapáeni **ishèmyakotáshitawo** rowa, iyétakitì.
 roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro ro=ra
 seed=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O F=MED
 i-ketaki-ti
 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 'It was seeds what he was crushing (not with the real purpose of eating them), um..., of forest peanuts.' (TSJ)

In (509b), the object suffix and the NP to which *-ako* refers (seeds of forest peanut, although the squirrel pretends that it is crushing its testicle) are present, while it is assumed from the context in (509a). The meaning of *-ako* in both examples (509) and the other four occurrences with the same verb can be explained thanks to the comments of a speaker: she said that it means that the testicle is part of the squirrel, and, if *-ako* were not present, the crushed item would be the testicle separated from the squirrel or its whole body. This explanation gives the idea of a partitive meaning, but also of the meaning 'inside a container', if we consider that the squirrel's body is

the container of its testicle. In (509b), if we wanted to interpret that the object is ‘forest peanuts’ instead of ‘the testicle’, the seeds are also inside a shell.

In (510), the same meanings partitive and ‘in a container’ can be found.

- (510) Manitzi tee rowawo iyátharékitho, rowa..., kímíwítàka, ikántètziro..., rowa...,
irika rira meiri: **ñáakotàkiri** pòshiñáanikitàki.
manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékitho ro=ra
jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-eat-REA-3F.O 3M-testicle F=MED
kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
look.similar-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED
i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
DEM-M=PROX M=MED squirrel
ña-ako-t-ak-i-ri poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i
find-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O tasty-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS
‘The jaguar hasn’t eaten his testicle, um..., it was erroneously similar to..., how
to say..., um..., the one of this squirrel: he has found that his is tasty.’ (TSJ)

In this case, the difference from (508) and (509) is that the verb has an object suffix (-*ri*) that does not refer to the object but to the container of the object, i.e. to the animal of which the object is a part (the suffix is masculine, so it can only refer to the squirrel). Therefore, the presence of the general applicative causes that the object suffix does not refer to the object but to the container inside which the object is (the squirrel’s body).

Another instance with the meaning ‘container’ is shown in (511), but in relation to a means of transportation (a bicycle): -*ako* in *áakotànakiròni* indicates that the fruits are transported on a bicycle.

- (511) Amitákotirini **áakotànakiròni** hanta, tsikárika rowapíntziro.
amitako-t-i-ri-ni a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni
help-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR bring-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR
ha=nta tsika=rika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro
LOC=DIST WH=COND 3M.S-eat-HAB-REA-3F.O
‘The one who is going to help him to bring them there, where he usually eats
them (fruits).’ (PV)

The idea that -*ako* indicates that something is done in a vehicle is mentioned by Payne (1989:243-44) for Pichis and was also mentioned by my consultants. The meaning ‘means of transportation’ also appears in Heitzman’s Pajonal (1991:121-22) in “*a-tzina-aco-t-ac-a*” ‘we took off’ and “*no-tzina-aco-t-ac-a*” ‘I took off’, where she translates the root -*tzina-* as “despegar” ‘take off’. The speaker is saying that he took

off in a light plane. Actually, the root *-tzina-* means ‘raise’ and is an I-class transitive verb, and both forms bear the RS reflexive suffix *-a*, which means that they raised themselves. The important observation is that *-aco* is used to mean that they raised themselves in a means of transportation (a plane), which is also a container. However, the bicycle referred to in (511) cannot be considered a container, but is a means of transportation.

Summing up, examples (562) to (505) show the following functions of the general applicative: the passing of time in (562) and (506), several oblique arguments in (501) to (505) –which can be translated in English or Spanish by using different prepositions–, partitive-container in (508) to (510), and container-means of transportation in (511). These meanings are the same as those described at the beginning of this section for the other Campan languages, with the only exception of the passing of time, which is not mentioned in any other description of a Campan language.

6.6.2.2.2. Comitative *-imo*

Payne (1989:247-48) describes the suffix *-imo* for Pichis and calls it “presencial”. She says that the suffix “en general significa que la acción del verbo se hace en presencia del complemento del verbo, y con alguna intención”.¹⁶⁰ She gives some examples in which the suffix together with the object are translated as “por él”, “de ella”, “en medio de ellas” and “frente a ti”¹⁶¹; and, to each of these meanings, she adds between brackets “o en su/tu presencia” ‘or in his/her/their/your presence’. Therefore, the range of meanings described by Payne exceeds by far the one of doing something in the presence of someone, as her name for the suffix suggests. In my text corpus, this suffix is quite scarce, with only two occurrences. However, the result of elicitations is quite straightforward, so that the suffix’s meaning becomes very transparent: it expresses that something is done in the presence of someone or can function as a typical dative (signalling the indirect object).

¹⁶⁰ ‘in general, it means that the action of the verb is done in presence of the complement of the verb, and with some intention.’

¹⁶¹ ‘for him’, ‘from her’, ‘in the middle of them (f.)’, ‘in front of you’.

In the long question in (512), *-imo* is attached to the stem *-kimi-* ‘seem’.

- (512) Tsikárika ikàntakáakawo **okímitzìmotákari** manitzi, róotaki iyatharékithe
rowánkitàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?
tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O
o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS
i-yatharekithe r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MED
i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
3M.S-smash-APPL-DUR1-&-REA
‘How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes that it was his
testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?’ (TSJ)

The translation in Spanish of *okímitzìmotákari manitzi* given by the consultant was “para que parezca a los ojos del tigre” ‘so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes’. Thus, the meaning ‘in the presence of someone’ acquires a metaphorical character in that what has seemed is what the jaguar actually was seeing with his eyes, although it was not the reality.

In (513), the comitative suffix has a rather typical dative meaning, as the translation ‘for him’ shows. This meaning is the same as one of Payne’s examples above (“por él” ‘for him’).

- (513) Tee **oshitóimotziri** kameetha.
tee o-shitow-imo-t-zi-ri kameetha
NEG.REA 3F.S-get.out-COM-&-REA-3M.O well
‘It didn’t turn out well for him.’ (TSJ)

The comitative suffix *-imo* needs an object to which it has to be applied and this object is always cross-referenced with an object suffix, which increases the valence of the verb: in a transitive verb (512) as well as in an intransitive verb (513), it adds an oblique argument. Therefore, the comitative shows a typical applicative function.

6.6.2.2.3. Benefactives *-went* and *-neent*

The benefactive suffix *-went* (always pronounced [βent]) is described in the Campanist literature in Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:56) for Apurucayali (“*-wint*”), Mihás (2015a:288-92) for Alto Perené (“*-vint/-vent*”), Swift (2008:71) for Caquinte (“*-βeNt*”, called “motivo”) and Snell (2011:842) for Matsigenka (“*-vent*”, also called

“motivo”). In spite of the different orthographies, the pronunciation is [β̞ent] or [β̞int] in every variety.

The suffix is applicative in that it adds a participant to the verb, which is made explicit with an object suffix. Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:56) assign the suffix a typical benefactive meaning (in benefit of someone), and also the meanings “a causa de” or “por motivo de” (both ‘because of’) referring to the referent of the object suffix. Mihás (2015a:288) says that “the Beneficiary suffix *-vent~-vint* (in free variation) encodes pure Beneficiary, Maleficiary, Deputative Beneficiary, Substitute, and Topic participants”. Swift (2008:71) says that the suffix has the meanings “a causa de” ‘because of’, “debido a” ‘due to’ or “en nombre de” ‘in the name of’. However, he gives three examples and the translations of the verbs bearing the suffix are ‘order in my name’, ‘he is/was not happy with you’ and ‘she sang for God’ (the referents of the suffix are, respectively, ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘God’). Snell (2011:842) says that the suffix “añade un complemento que es la motivación o razón para la acción o el estado. Tiene aproximadamente el mismo campo de significado que *a causa de*, *a favor de*, *por motivo de*, *debido a* o *en nombre de*”.¹⁶² Summing up, Payne, Payne & Sánchez, Swift and Snell describe a suffix that expresses a typical benefactive meaning and the meaning ‘because of’, while Mihás gives a more complicated description. In my text corpus, there are only two instances of the suffix, with the meanings ‘for them’ (514) and ‘to it’ (515), while, in elicitations, the suffix expresses a typical benefactive meaning (‘in favour of someone’) and a goal. These occurrences are analysed below.

Example (514) shows a typical benefactive and recipient meaning in *onkòtsiwéntziri* ‘they (f.) cook for them (m.)’.

¹⁶² ‘...adds a complement that is the motivation or reason for the action or state. It has approximately the same meaning field as *because of*, *in favour of*, *by reason of*, *due to* or *in the name of*.’

- (514) Arírika okìtehítyamanàki, tsinani anáninki, kameetha **onkòtsiwéntziri** otomi, ishíntopáeni, riyáatantèyari yotáantsipánkoki, otómipáeni.
 ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS woman 3F.S-get.up-FRS
 kameetha Ø-onkotsi-went-zi-ri o-tomi Ø-ishinto=paeni
 well 3F.S-cook-BEN-REA-3M.O 3F-son 3F-daughter=PL
 r-iyaa-t-ant-eya-ri iyo-t-aantsi-panko=ki o-tomi=paeni
 3M.S-go-&-RES-IRR-REL know-&-INF-house=LOC 3F-son=PL
 ‘When it dawns early in the morning, the women get up, cook well for their sons and daughters, and they go to school, their children.’ (CTK)

If the suffix *-went* were absent, the verb would mean ‘they cook them’. In this way, the suffix expresses that the referent of the object suffix is the beneficiary and the receiver.

The peculiarity of (515) is that the suffix is used with an adjective (root *-shintsi-* ‘strong’) that acts as predicate, so this fact is crucial to interpret the meaning of the suffix.

- (515) **Pishíntsiwéntiro** kameetha.
 pi-shintsi-went-i-ro kameetha
 2S-strong-BEN-IRR-3F.O well
 ‘Hit it very strongly.’ (TSJ)

An adjective acting as predicate can be translated in English as ‘be+ADJECTIVE’; thus, the adjective *-shintsi-* ‘strong’ as predicate can be translated as ‘be strong’. In (515), the presence of the benefactive and the object suffixes transforms the meaning in ‘be strong to it’. The context of the tale is that a squirrel is cheating a jaguar by asking it to hit its own testicle, so that the meaning of the verb in this context is ‘hit it strongly’.

A pair of examples from elicitations are in (516).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (516) a. Pimáryawentàna. | b. Pániwentàna. |
| pi-marya-went-a-na | p-ani-went-a-na |
| 2-lie-BEN-&-1O | 2-walk-BEN-&-1O |
| ‘You’re lying for me (in my favour).’ | ‘You walked to see me.’ |

Example (516a) shows a typical beneficiary meaning, while, in (516b), the beneficiary expresses the goal of walking, which is the 1st person cross-referenced with the object suffix.

All in all, the pan-Campan benefactive presents a wide range of meanings similar to those of the Spanish preposition *por*: *por ella* can mean ‘in favour of her’ or

‘because of her’, which appear to be the core pan-Campan meanings of the suffix, while somewhat different meanings can be considered extensions of these.

The suffix *-neent* is very infrequent, given that there is no example in my text corpus and it appeared fortuitously in elicitations while researching *-went*. It is always accompanied by the general applicative *-ako* and its meaning appears to be identical to *-went*. The different nuances that it may express are yet to be researched. The examples from elicitations are in (517).

- (517) a. Noshiróntakonéentakari
 no-shiront-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-laugh-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I laugh at him (at his problems).’
- b. Niráakonéentakari.
 n-ira-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-cry-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I cry/suffer for him (for his absence).’
- c. Nokihákonéentakári.
 no-kih-ako-neent-ak-a-ri
 1S-be.upset-APPL-BEN-PFV-&-3M.O
 ‘I’m upset in favour of him.’

In the three examples (517), the oblique object is a man. In (517c), the translation shows a canonical benefactive meaning, but, in (517a) and (517b), there is a different relation between the subject and the oblique object. A better knowledge of this suffix might lead to consider it not a beneficiary, but just a reinforcement or a specific nuance of the general applicative *-ako*.

6.6.2.2.4. Away *-pitha*

The suffix *-pitha* is described by Payne (1989:284-85) for Pichis as an applicative, as also Mihas (2015a:300-02) does for the cognate *-apitsa* in Alto Perené. In UP Ashéninka, *-pitha* is also an applicative because its presence implies that an element referenced as object (with an object suffix, as an NP or in context) is an oblique object. I have used the label *away* because the suffix indicates that something is done to get away or hide from someone, or to avoid someone, or similar meanings. The oblique object is always a human being, at least as far as I have experienced in UP Ashéninka as well as in Payne’s (1989) and Mihas’ (2015a) examples, although it cannot be ruled out that it may be used to express that something is done in order to get away from an

animal, and even from an object (e.g. we can imagine getting away from or avoiding a house or a village). The only occurrence in natural speech in my corpus is in (518).

- (518) Àapithatàtyéeroma?
 Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
 3F.S-take-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
 'Is she going to take it away? (his house, from him).' (CMM)

In this case, the root *-aa-* 'take' acquires the meaning 'take something from someone' due to the presence of *-pitha*. This is indeed a figurative meaning because no one can take a house and carry it with her, but any not too heavy object can be taken from someone and be moved away in space, and in this case the suffix would acquire a rather directional meaning. In (518), the object suffix refers to the actual object (the house), while the oblique object to which *-pitha* refers (him) is present only in the context. This example proves that the oblique object can cross-reference an element existent only in the context.

The examples with *-pitha* shown below are from Casique (2012:117) and were explained to me by her personally (she is a native speaker). The Ashéninka verbs and the translation to Spanish (given in footnotes) are from Casique (2012), and the segmentation and the translation from Spanish to English are mine.

- (519) Nokyáapithatanàkiri
 no-kyaa-pitha-t-an-ak-i-ri
 1S-get.in-AWAY-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 'I got in to hide from him.'¹⁶³ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)
- (520) Pishitówapithàtiri
 pi-shitow-a-pitha-t-i-ri
 2S-get.out-&-AWAY-&-IRR-3M.O
 'Get out to move away from him.'¹⁶⁴ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)
- (521) Otónkaapithatanákimi.
 o-tonkaa-pitha-t-an-ak-i-mi
 3F.S-climb.a.hill-AWAY-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-2O
 'She climbed a hill to get away from you.'¹⁶⁵ (Casique 2012:117; glosses mine)

¹⁶³ In Casique's textbook: "Yo entré (para esconderme) de él."

¹⁶⁴ In Casique's textbook: "Sal (para apartarte) de él."

¹⁶⁵ There is an evident mistake in Casique (2012), which Casique herself corrected when she explained this sentence to me: her textbook says "Ella subió a la loma (para escapar) de él", and the 2nd person object suffix makes clear that it is not to get away 'from him' ("de él") but 'from you' (*de ti*).

- (522) Omáapithàtziri.
 o-mag-pitha-t-zi-ri
 3F.S-sleep-AWAY-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘She was falling asleep so as not to pay attention to him.’¹⁶⁶ (Casique 2012:117;
 glosses mine)

Examples (519) to (522) show a similar meaning for the suffix *-pitha*: ‘hide’ in (519), ‘move away’ (Spanish *apartarse*) in (520), ‘get away’ (Spanish *escapar*) in (521), and ‘not pay attention’ (Spanish *no hacer caso*) in (522). (520) and (521) express a motion away from someone, and also (519) –hiding does not always imply motion, but it does in this case–, while (522) does not imply any motion, but the idea of being away from someone is obvious, at least away from what he wanted to say. Therefore, the suffix *-pitha* appears to express always the idea of getting away from someone, be it in a literal spatial sense or in a figurative non-spatial sense.

Nonetheless, is this general meaning ‘away’ also applicable to Payne’s Pichis (1989) and Mihas’ Alto Perené (2015a)? Payne (1989:116) says that “Este sufijo indica que la acción se hace con relación a alguien o a su alrededor”,¹⁶⁷ but her examples are the same that I have shown above (it seems that they were taken from Payne 1989 for Casique’s 2012 textbook). Mihas (2015a:300) says that “The Separative applicative *-apitsa* has three meanings: (i) Directional Source with the verbs of motion, (ii) depossession of a valuable inanimate entity with transfer verbs, and (iii) adverbial meanings ‘stealthily’, ‘sneakily’, ‘behind someone’s back’ with other verbs.” Mihas’ meaning (i) is clearly directional, as she herself names it; meaning (ii), depossession, implies taking something *away* from someone; meaning (iii), doing something stealthily or sneakily, implies hiding, as in example (519) above. Therefore, Mihas’ three meanings also imply doing something away from someone.

6.7. Other affixes and enclitics

In the following subsections, the affixes and enclitics that cannot be included in a broader category, such as aspect or modality, are described. They are ordered

¹⁶⁶ The original translation in Casique (2012) says “Ella se dormía (delante) de él” ‘She was falling asleep (before) him’. However, Casique explained to me that the actual meaning is “Ella se dormía para no hacerle caso a él”, which is what I have translated.

¹⁶⁷ ‘This suffix indicates that the action is done in relation to someone or around him/her.’

according to the frequency in which they occur in my text corpus. Thus, the first subsection is devoted to the plural and distributive suffixes, which occur most in my corpus, and from there going down. It is important to remark the very low frequency of some of them: dual *-ta* and time *-ant* occur only twice; and instrumental *-ant*, ball *-cheyinaa*, thick *-she*, liquid *-kira*, attenuative *-neent*, mirative *-ña*, badness *-tha* and desperately *-riko* occur only once. The malefactive *-heempiy* does not occur in natural texts. The rest range from the 55 occurrences of the plural *-aiy/-eey-ni* to the 3 of the partitive *-it*. Nonetheless, some of those with the least frequency have been researched in depth through elicitation, while, for others, I have only little information, which may cast doubts on the accuracy of the description. Whenever this is the case, it is mentioned in the corresponding section. Even though my interpretation of some suffixes may be considered tentative, the information presented here may be of much interest for future research.

6.7.1. Verbal number: plural, distributive and dual suffixes (-aiy/-eey...-ni, -yi...-ni, -ta)

The three morphemes described in this section fall into the category of verbal number as it is described by Corbett (2004:243-64). The plural suffix *-aiy/-eey...-ni* always expresses participant number (Corbett 2004:247-49). The distributive suffix *-yi...(-ni)* can express in some cases a plurality of events (called “event number” by Corbett 2004:246-47), but always involving a plurality of one of the arguments, which should put it in Corbett’s (2004:249-50) category “mixed event and participant number”. However, in some cases, the distributive suffix expresses only participant number. Finally, the dual suffix *-ta* can also express event or participant number, but the duality of events does not need to involve a dual participant.

Corbett (2004:252) mentions the difficulty to distinguish nominal from verbal number when it is marked on verbs –in Ashéninka, this difficulty is especially present in the plural suffix due to the fact that it expresses only participant number. As a diagnostic to identify verbal number, Corbett (2004:253) says that “Verbal number operates on an ergative basis: if the number of participants is relevant it will be that of the most directly affected argument of the verb (the absolutive).” In Ashéninka, we

can say that verbal number refers to the participant most affected by the verb, but the most affected participant must be considered in terms of focus rather than of the absolutive, given that verbal number can refer to any of the participants (S, A and O), while Corbett's absolutive excludes the agent. Example (525) with the plural suffix, (534) with the distributive, and (535a), (536), (537a) and (539) with the dual show verbal number referring to the agent.

6.7.1.1. Plural *-aiy/-eey...-ni*

The alternation between the two plural forms *-aiy* and *-eey* appears to have phonological reasons. In my corpus, *-aiy* occurs after /k/ or linked to a preceding stem with final /a/, and *-eey* occurs in all other environments.¹⁶⁸ In any case, both plural forms and also the distributive are often pronounced as a diphthong /ai/ or /ei/ (in the case of the distributive *-yi*, fused with the preceding vowel). This pronunciation complicates their identification, which can be done taking into account phonological constraints. A frequent word as *ikáateyini* (i-kaa-t-eey-i-ni, 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL, 'they') can be pronounced [i'ka:te,ini] or [i'ka:teini] even by the same speaker. This use of the plural suffixes combined with the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi* with the function of pronouns is described in Section 3.1.3. I use the spellings <aiy> and <eey> following the Ashéninka traditional orthography.

These number suffixes are optional and a plurality can be expressed without them if the context makes it clear. The plurality can refer to any participant. In (523), the plural suffixes on the intransitive verb *heekaantsi* 'live in a place' indicate a plural subject; in (524), the plurality refers to the object, and, in (525), to the agent (subject of a transitive verb).

¹⁶⁸ Payne (1989:218) says that, in Pichis, the diphthong /ai/ is pronounced [ei] after /t/, /s/ or /β/, and [ai] in other cases. This distribution is clearly different from that of Ucayali-Pajonal.

- (523) Nokáemantzimìri nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta **pihéekàyini** hanta éeroka pinámpikì.
 no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
 1S-call-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-ask-&-IRR-2O
 hempe pi-kant-a pi-heek-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
 WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-live-PL-FRS-PLLOC=DIST 2 2-community=LOC
 ‘I have called you because I want to ask how you all live in your community.’
 (CTK)
- (524) Iita **pitsipáyarini**?
 iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni
 WH 2S-accompany-PL-RS-REL-PL
 ‘Whom (pl.) are you (sg.) going to accompany?’ (CMM)
- (525) *Entonces* máaweni **inéeyakirini**.
 entonces máaweni i-n-éey-ak-i-ri-ni
 then all 3M.S-ver-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 ‘Then, everyone sees him.’ (SCS)

Corbett’s (2004:253) statement that the verbal number refers to “the most directly affected argument” is fulfilled in the three previous examples, but, as mentioned in the introduction to this Section 6.7.1, in terms of focus rather than of Corbett’s absolutive. In (523), the intransitive verb *heekaantsi* ‘live’ has only one argument. In (524), the plural object is the most directly affected argument because it is the goal of the question. In (525), the important fact conveyed by the verbal plural is that *everyone* sees him, which is reinforced by *máaweni* ‘all’, so that the plurality refers to the agent.

The second element of the discontinuous plural suffix (-*ni*) can be omitted, although this happens very rarely: out of 34 occurrences of verbs with the plural suffix in my text corpus (forms with the totalitative copula *kaataantsi* are not counted), the suffix -*ni* is omitted only in one case, which is in (526).

- (526) Ràntziwatakápakawo, **ihóokaiyàpáakiro**.
 r-antziwatak-ap-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-stumble.carrying.load-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O
 i-hook-aiy-apa-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-empty-PL-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘He stumbles carrying a load, he scatters them (fruits).’ (PV)

In this example, only the first element of the discontinuous plural suffix (-*aiy*) is present, but not the second element (-*ni*). When speakers are asked to compare a verb with the plural -*ni* with the same form without -*ni*, the answers are not the same for every speaker. Regarding *ihóokaiyàpáakiro*, a speaker said that **ihóokaiyapáakiróni*

(adding *-ni*) was not right, but another speaker said that it means the same as without *-ni*, although it is more common without *-ni*, and I have obtained the same ambiguous answers with other verbs. A possible interpretation based on the fact that *ihóokaiyàpáakiro* has an object suffix and the plurality refers to it, is invalidated by other examples. In some transcription sessions, I noticed that the consultant omitted *-ni* at times although he himself had uttered it in the recording. This makes it quite logical to think that it can be omitted; otherwise he would not have omitted it when transcribing his own speech. Therefore, my interpretation is that *-ni* is normally used with *-aiy/-eey*, but can be optionally dropped. Mihas (2015a:266) also says that *-ni* is optional in Alto Perené.

6.7.1.2. Distributive *-yi...(-ni)*

The distributive suffix *-yi* has a distributive function, but can also express the meaning ‘all’. Actually, in most cases, if all the members of a group are referred to, this implies that *each* of them (distributive meaning) is referred to. A clear distributive meaning is observed when a speaker points out that the verb means ‘one by one’, but this clear distributive meaning is not always discernible in occurrences from natural texts. Some of these cases are discussed below.

In (527), the distributive suffix on the verb *paantsi* ‘give’ means that the food is given to each one of the people referred to, so that a portion is served to each individual and not to a group as a whole, hence the distributive meaning. The irrealis marking in *ipáyitiri* indicates habituality.

(527) Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsi paeni **ipáyitiri** haka oyari?

p-ame-t-ak-a-ro	ha=ka	wanawontsi=paeni
2S-get.used-&-PFV-REA-3F.O	LOC=PROX	food=PL
i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri	ha=ka	ow-ya-ri
3M.S-give-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL	LOC=PROX	eat-IRR-REL

‘Have you got used here to the meals they give here to eat?’ (CMH)

In (528), the plural final suffix *-ni* is used in the verb with the distributive suffix.

(528) **Roshètaitakiróni**, okípatsitáki.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni	o-kipatsi-t-ak-i
3M.S-CAUS-clean-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL	3F.S-dirty-&-PFV-FRS

‘He cleans them all, they (fruits) are dirty.’ (PV)

This is one of the 4 instances of a verb with the distributive and the plural *-ni* in my corpus out of a total of 17 occurrences of the distributive. I explained in Section 6.7.1.1 that, in most cases, the plural *-aiy/-eey* occurs accompanied by *-ni*, but it is the opposite for the distributive, for which it is more common to occur without *-ni*. The verb *roshètaitakiróni* in (528) was one about which I was enquiring in order to find out the obligatoriness or optionality of *-ni*. I was told that the verb without *-ni* means the same and that the distributive suffix expresses that the fruits are cleaned ‘one by one’.

In (529), *héekayitâtsiri* means ‘all those who live’, so that the distributive suffix means ‘all’ rather than ‘each one’, although, in this case, ‘all’ means the same as ‘each individual’ (‘all those who live’ means here the same as ‘each one who lives’).

- (529) *Viernes ari añáawakèya máaweni osheki, osheki atziri, héekayitâtsiri haka, nampítsikì Katsinkaari.*
 viernes ari a-ña-awak-eya máaweni osheki atziri
 Friday AFF INCL.S-see-RECP-IRR.REFL all many person
 heek-a-yi-t-atsi-ri ha=ka
 live-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=PROX
 nampi-tsi=ki Katsinkaari
 community-ALI=LOC Chicosa
 ‘On Fridays, we meet all, many, many people, all those who live here, in the community of Chicosa.’ (CTK)

The distributive in *héekayitâtsiri* in (529) might also be interpreted as indicating “multiple spatial distribution”, one of the meanings that Mihás (2015a:270) describes for Alto Perené, since each family lives in their house and some members of a community do not live in its main settlement. This meaning appears to be the reason for the distributive in *ohéekayítzirà* in (530).

- (530) *Ikántziro..., iroka riri yamarámpiti hanta, irowa..., owákirarikì owaantsi, ohéekayítzirà incháponthopáeni.*
 i-kant-zi-ro i-ro=ka r-ir-i i-kamarampi-ti
 3M.S-say-REA-3F.O DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-drink-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ha=nta i-ro=ra owákira-ri=ki owaani-ntsi
 LOC=DIST DEM-F=MED new-REL=LOC chacra-ALI
 o-heek-a-yi-t-zi=ra inchápontho=paeni
 3F.S-be.in.a.place-&-DISTR-&-REA=MED stake=PL
 ‘How to say..., this one drinks his ayahuasca there, um..., in the new *chacras*, where the stakes are.’ (SCS)

The translating consultant explained to me that the distributive in *ohéekayítzirà* indicates that the stakes are placed in several *chacras*, i.e. in different places, which coincides well with Mihas' (2015a:270) "multiple spatial distribution".

Mihas (2015a:270) says that the distributive suffix in Alto Perené "has a diminutive sense [...] referring to dead people or individuals regarded to be worthy of pity". This is the case in (531), where the diminutive function is also expressed through the attenuative suffix. The individual referred to in this story is indeed worthy of pity.

- (531) Shìinkyàayinéentaka.
 shinki-a-yi-neent-ak-a
 drunk-&-DISTR-ATT-PFV-REA
 'He is a bit drunk.' (SCS)

The distributive suffix can also mean 'the whole, all of it', as in (532), where -yi refers to an uncountable element (*ayahuasca*).

- (532) Irika **iráyitàtsiri** iyamarámpiti.
 i-ri=ka ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kamarampi-ti
 DEM-M=PROX drink-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 'This one who is drinking all his ayahuasca.' (SCS)

The distributive suffix can indicate a plurality of events, but it always involves a plurality of at least one of the arguments. In (527), the event of serving food is repeated many times, and all the arguments are plural (the subject is a group of people who serves it, the beneficiary is a group of people who receives it and the object is a plurality of foods, already expressed by the nominal plural enclitic =*paeni* in *wanawóntsipàeni* 'meals'). In (528), the plurality is the object, but the act of cleaning is repeated for each fruit. In (532), the act of drinking is repeated several times, and the meaning 'all of it' refers to the object. In (533), every participant of the causative verbal form *rówakayityáririri* is plural (subject, object and causee), and there is also a plurality of events (they let them eat a number of times). In (534), the act of guessing is repeated many times (once by each of the members of the subject).

- (533) ...riyaate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, **rówakayityáririri** itomi.
 r-iyaa-t-i i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri
 3M.S-go-&-IRR 3M.S-search-&-IRR-3M.O animal
 r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
 3M.S-bring-FRS-3M.O INCL-house=LOC
 r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri i-tomi
 3M.S-eat-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-REL 3M-son
 ‘...they went to look for animals, brought them to their house, and let their children eat them.’ (CMH)

The same as with the plural suffix, the distributive suffix can refer to every argument of the clause: in (528) and (532), it refers to the object, and in (529) and (530), to the subject. As for the agent (subject of a transitive verb), an example is in (534), where the verb *iyotaantsi* ‘know’ is best translated as ‘guess’ and the distributive refers to ‘all’ or ‘each of them’ besides a plurality of events (everyone guesses once).

- (534) **Riyóyitawakíri**, ikantzi...
 r-iyó-yi-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kant-zi
 3M.S-know-DISTR-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-say-REA
 ‘They guess who he is (as he arrives), they say...’ (SCS)

6.7.1.3. Dual *-ta*

While the plural and the distributive suffixes show similar features (order inside the verbal complex, combinability with the final plural *-ni...*), the dual suffix *-ta* shows very different features, and the only thing in common is that all of them express verbal number. I discovered this suffix through elicitation, and my conclusion is that it indicates that one of the arguments is composed of two elements or that an event is repeated two times, which fits very well the concept of verbal number as defined by Corbett (2004:243-64), who says that the existence of dual verbal number is very rare cross-linguistically (2004:250).

A verb with this suffix can very often be interpreted as bearing the anterior suffix *-it* instead of the dual one, and, out of context, both interpretations are possible in most cases, as examples (535), (537) and (539) show. In my corpus of natural texts, I have identified only one example (541), but the results from elicitations, shown in examples (535) to (540), give a better idea of the suffix’s meaning. I proposed

Ashéninka verbs for translation into Spanish to two different speakers, whom I call A (a woman of the middle age group) and B (a man of the older age group). After each translation, I write between parentheses from which speaker each translation is. Not every verb has a translation from both speakers because my enquiry was directed to find out the meaning of some suffixes formed with /t/, /a/ and /i/, and the speakers were sometimes producing verbs of their own besides translating those that I proposed to them. In some examples, speakers translated the verb with a past meaning, and, in these cases, I infer that they interpreted the verb with the anterior suffix. In cases where two different translations interpreting the verb with different suffixes (dual and anterior) were given, I show the two possible segmentations.

- (535) a. Piyótzitawo.
 p-iyo-t-zi-**ta**-ro
 2S-know-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘You learn two things.’ (A)
 ‘Two people learn it.’ (A)
- b. Piyótzitawo.
 p-iyo-tz-**it**-a-ro
 2S-know-&-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘You knew it before.’ (B)
- (536) Noñéetzitawo.
 no-ñaa-t-zi-**ta**-ro
 1S-see-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘We see it both at the same time.’ (A)
- (537) a. Rántzitàwo.
 r-ant-zi-**ta**-ro
 3M.S-do-REA-DU-3F.O
 ‘They do it both at the same time.’ (A)
- b. Rántzitàwo.
 r-ant-**it**-a-ro
 3M.S-do-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘He did it before.’ (B)
- (538) Powata.
 p-ow-a-**ta**
 2S-eat-REA-DU
 ‘You’ve eaten again.’ (B)
- (539) a. Nompóhitawo.
 n-ompoh-i-**ta**-ro
 1S-hit-FRS-DU-3F.O
 ‘We hit it both at the same time.’ (A)
- b. Nompóhitawo.
 n-ompoh-**it**-a-ro
 1S-hit-ANT-REA-3F.O
 ‘Before hitting (another person), I had hit it.’ (B)

- (540) Nothótzitawo.
 no-tho-t-zi-**ta**-ro
 1S-suck-&-REA-DU-3F.O
 'I suck it the same as you.' (B)

Examples (535), (537) and (539) are ambiguous, as the different translations show, and also (536) and (540) might be ambiguous, although, since only one speaker was asked in these cases, there are not different translations. The only totally unambiguous example is (538) because it is an A-class verb, so that it is impossible to identify a suffix *-it* inside the verbal complex (note that the anterior suffix changes the RS I-class suffix to A-class, hence the RS suffix *-a* in the three (b) examples). Therefore, most I-class verbs with a dual or an anterior suffix can be ambiguous without a clarifying context. Actually, we can see that speaker B tended to an anterior interpretation, while speaker A tended to a dual one.

In (535a), (536), (537a) and (539a), the dual suffix implies a dual subject, although, in (535a), speaker A also gave the option with a dual object. Actually, this speaker became aware of the suffix that I was trying to elicit and told me that *-ta* means that there are two elements involved. Speaker B's translation in (540) has a grammatical singular subject, but implies two people doing the same action. Speaker B's translations in (535b), (537b) and (539b) are best interpreted with the anterior suffix *-it*, and (538) expresses the repetition of an action. It is important to remark that, in (535), I mentioned A's translations to B and he said that it was also right, which confirms the need of a context for a right interpretation. With these results, we can see that the dual *-ta* expresses participant number in (535a), (536), (537a), (539a) and (540); and event number in (538) (repetition). However, the translations 'at the same time' in (536), (537a) and (539a) add a temporal nuance that implies an event carried out twice by two different subjects in the same moment.

The only instance of the dual suffix that I have identified in my text corpus is in the fragment from a conversation in (541), where speaker A is the same one as in the elicitations above.

(541) A: **Pámita** niha éehatzi?
 p-am-i-ta niha éehatzi
 2S-bring-FRS-DU water also
 ‘Did you also bring water?’

C: Hee, **námita**.
 heen-am-i-ta
 AFF 1S-bring-FRS-DU
 ‘Yes, I also brought.’ (CCPC)

In the conversation from which (541) is taken, speaker C had said that he had brought coca leaves to chew, and speaker A asks him whether he has brought *also* water (besides coca leaves). The meaning ‘also’ is expressed by *éehatzi*, but is reinforced with the dual suffix, which refers to two object participants (coca leaves and water). Speaker C does not repeat *éehatzi*, but also uses the dual suffix, which conveys that he brought *both* things. Both *pámita* and *námita* could be interpreted as bearing the anterior instead of the dual suffix, but the dual interpretation accords with *éehatzi*. The verbs are referring to a past action, but the anterior meaning is difficult to conceive because this action is not meant to be previous to any other action, although this interpretation cannot be totally ruled out (e.g. bringing water before arriving at the place where they are talking).

As can be seen in (535a), (536), (537a), (539a) and (540), the dual suffix is placed between the RS and the object suffix, which helps to identify it and avoids the confusion with suffixes with the same or a similar form. This suffix has not been described for another Campan language, so that my positing it may be considered tentative, but, based on the examples above, I think that this analysis is quite reasonable. I have provided all the data I have, so that everyone can draw their own conclusions.

6.7.2. Resultative *-ant/-anant*

I have taken the name *resultative* from Payne, Payne & Sánchez (1982:59-60), who say that the suffix indicates that the action is the result or the justification of another action. Brown (2006:111) defines *resultative* as “designating a clause or sentence element that expresses outcome or consequence”. In UP Ashéninka, the resultative suffix can express consequence, goal, outcome, final event in a series of events, and

cause. This suffix is very frequent and causes a change in RS inflection from I-class to A-class. The alternative form *-anant* is only used in the presence of the causative *-aka* and the relative *-ri*, as is shown in (545). The different meanings of the suffix are illustrated with the examples below.

In (542), the resultative suffix indicates a goal: the goal of hitting it strongly and crushing it is to make it get out good (tasty) (you hit it strongly, ergo it gets out good).

- (542) Pikañáshityàwo pishémyero òshitowantapákyari kaméethèni.
 pi-kañ-ashi-t-ya-ro pi-shemy-i-ro
 2S-hit.strongly-PURP-&-IRR-3F.O 2S-crush-FRS-3F.O
 o-shitow-ant-ap-ak-ya-ri kameetha-ni
 3F.S-get.out-RES-ALL-PFV-IRR-REL well-ADJ
 ‘Hit it strongly and crush it so that it gets out good (tasty, a supposed nut).’
 (TSJ)

In (543), the resultative suffix expresses a consequence.

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

Actually, the question asks which might be the cause of this consequence (which is the cause of the squirrel killing the jaguar?). The line of reasoning is: something happened (the answer to the question), ergo the squirrel killed the jaguar.

In (544), the resultative expresses the cause: he has heard that she had him called, and this is the reason for his arrival (you had me called, ergo I arrived).

- (544) Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri **pikàemakàantákina**.
 n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
 1S-arrive-&-ALL-PFV-REA yesterday
 no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na¹⁶⁹
 1S-hear-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-call-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O
 ‘I arrived yesterday because I’ve heard that you had me called.’ (CTK)

Immediately after the sentence in (544), the speaker uttered the one in (545), which is my only instance of the resultative with the form *-anant*.

¹⁶⁹ In this case, the resultative does not cause a change to A-class inflection because there is a 1st person object suffix after the RS suffix and the verb is in realis, which causes any RS suffix to become I-class inflected (see Section 6.1.1).

(545) Nokoyi niyoti iita **pikàemakáanantakinàri**.

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

In (545), the resultative expresses consequence: he wants to know the reason of her having him called, which is the consequence (there is some reason, ergo you had me called). The form *-anant* is only used when the same verb hosts both the causative *-aka* and the relative *-ri*. This alternative form was discovered by trying to find out if there was another suffix in play with the form **-an*, but my final conclusion undoubtedly is that there is an alternative form *-anant*. The consultant did not accept the forms **pikàemakáanantákina* (without the relative) nor **pikàemakáantakinàri* (with the resultative as *-ant*). Moreover, when trying to change the suffixes in the verb in (546) (*ikímitakáantawitakàwo*), the consultant did not accept the addition of the relative suffix *-ri* (**ikímitakáantawitakawòri*), but said that the right form should be *ikímitakáanantawitakawòri*, with *-anant* instead of *-ant* as the form of the resultative suffix. Therefore, there is no doubt that the added *-an* cannot be considered a different suffix: *-anant* is an alternative form of the resultative.

In (546), the resultative in the long verb *ikímitakáantawitakàwo* is actually a clarification: the narrator says that the squirrel has cheated the jaguar, and then explains in what this cheating consists. However, the resultative can be considered an expression of cause: the squirrel has made seem something false, ergo the jaguar has been cheated.

(546) Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yatharékiho **ikímitakáantawitakàwo**
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotàki kameetha iyátharèkiho...

r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékiho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékiho
 good 3M-testicle

'The squirrel has cheated this jaguar, because he has made it seem (being false), um..., how to say..., that that really was his good (tasty) testicle...' (TSJ)

In (547), the resultative expresses an outcome, and the question asks for the reason of that outcome: something happened (the answer to the question), ergo he died.

- (547) Íitaka **ikámantàkari**?
 iita=ka i-kam-ant-ak-a-ri
 WH=INT 3M.S-die-RES-PFV-REA-REL
 ‘What did he die from?’ (CMH)

Example (548) presents a special case because the verb with the resultative suffix is the final event of a series of events.

- (548) Árika athónkanàkiro, apíyanaki, akáwoshitanàki éehatzi ate **owántyari** hanta.
 ari=rika a-thonk-an-ak-i-ro
 AFF=COND INCL.S-finish-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 a-piy-an-ak-i a-kawoshi-t-an-ak-i éehatzi
 INCL.S-come.back-ABL-PFV-FRS INCL.S-bathe-&-ABL-PFV-FRS also
 Ø-a-t-i Ø-ow-ant-ya-ri ha=nta
 INCL.S-go-&-IRR INCL.S-eat-RES-IRR-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘When we finish (playing), we’ll come back, we’ll bathe and then we’ll go to eat there.’ (CMH)

The speaker is proposing his interlocutor to come back, bathe and then eat, and this final verb bears the resultative suffix. Rather than a cause-consequence relation, the verb with the resultative expresses the final event of a series of events, which may be considered somewhat as the result or outcome of the previous events, so that the final event would not be possible until the previous events have been realized. In this way, the line of reasoning may be: we come back, we bathe, and ergo we eat.

In (549), there is an example of the occurrence with the connector *róohatzi*.

- (549) **Róohatzi ipíyantàna.**
 róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a
 then 3M.S-come.back-RES-ABL-REA
 ‘Then he comes back.’ (SCS)

The resultative occurs almost always in a clause introduced by *róohatzi*. This word is a discursive connector with a function similar to English ‘then’, i.e. it sequences a series of events by introducing a new event. In these cases, the function of *-ant* appears to be similar to that in (548) signalling the last event of a series of events.

In most cases, the verb with the resultative also bears the relative suffix, and there is a relation between the presence or absence of the relative suffix and the meaning expressed by the resultative. When the resultative expresses goal (542), consequence

in (543) and (545), outcome (547) or final event of a series of events (548), then it bears the relative suffix. When the resultative expresses a cause, as in (544) and (546), its presence is due to being preceded by *róohatzi* (549) or the verb is negated (550), then it does not bear the relative suffix. This pattern is repeated along the 49 occurrences in my text corpus with the only exception in (551). In (550), the resultative expresses a goal: we chew coca leaves in order not to be thirsty (we chew, ergo we are not thirsty). However, there is no relative suffix. The same happens in other instances in my corpus in negated verbs, which proves that a negative particle blocks the relative suffix triggered by the resultative.

- (550) Aaki amónkotàki, tekatsi, eero **amírimíritanta**.
 Ø-a-ak-i Ø-amonko-t-ak-i tekatsi
 INCL.S-take-PFV-FRS INCL.S-chew-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI
 eero a-miri~miri-t-ant-a
 NEG.IRR INCL.S-be.thirsty~ITE-&-RES-REA
 ‘We take (coca leaves) and chew, there isn’t (pain), so as not to be thirsty.’
 (CCPC)

In (551), slipping is the consequence of jumping (he jumps, ergo he slips). Therefore, according to the general rule, the verb *ráashiràtantanakáwo* should bear a relative suffix. A possible explanation for its absence is that, since there is a filler after the verb, maybe the speaker was thinking about using this verb as a cause (the consequence might be that he fell on the stake with fatal results), and then he changed the line of narration. Probably, the best kind of explanation for only one exception must be based on the hesitations typical of the spoken language.

- (551) Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanéemi, **ráashiràtantanakáwo**, rowa..., inchato, ikáatziyawitàga.
 i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-want-FRS 3M.S-jump-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA
 r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra inchato
 3M.S-slip-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED stake
 i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra
 3M.S-stand-&-FRU-&-REA=MED
 ‘So he wanted to jump again, so that he slipped, um..., towards the stake, where he was standing (with a bad result).’ (SCS)

6.7.3. Other suffixes with the form *-ant*: occupation, time and instrumental

Casique's textbook (2012:70) shows three meanings of the suffix *-ant* different from cause and consequence: time, instrument and occupation, and the same meanings appear in Kindberg (1980:462) for Asháninka. Even though we are dealing with three different morphemes, I put them together in the same section, following how Casique (2012) and Kindberg (1980) present them, which may ease the comparison between the three suffixes. They occur in a few cases in my text corpus, which are discussed below.

The suffix *-ant* with the meaning 'occupation' indicates that the action expressed by the verbal stem is a normal occupation of the subject. This is the same suffix as Mihas' (2015a:309-10) "customary" in Alto Perené, which has "to do with a customary action". The results of my research show that, in UP Ashéninka, the suffix is better described as expressing a 'usual occupation' than a 'customary action'.

The occupation suffix can be used in nominalizations, as in (552).

- (552) Ikántaka apaani **owámetantatsíri** ikantzi...
 i-kant-ak-a apaani owame-t-ant-atsi-ri i-kant-zi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA one teach-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-say-REA
 'Then, a teacher said...' (SCFF)

The word *owámetantatsíri* 'teacher' in (552) is a neologism with the literal meaning 'the one who teaches'. In this word, the function of *-ant* as an occupation indicator appears to be quite transparent. A similar nominalization is in (553).

- (553) Hempe okántyaka irika, árima ikántari irika ríraga, poñáachari henoki
áatsimiyantátsiri, árima ipánkinatakàe?
 hempe o-kant-ya=ka i-ri=ka ari=ma i-kant-a-ri
 WH 3F.S-COP-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA-REL
 i-ri=ka ri=raga poñ-acha-ri henoki
 DEM-M=PROX M=CAT.DEM come.from-PTCP.IPFV-REL up
 aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 suck.to.cure-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB 3M.S-make.love-&-PFV-INCL.O
 'How can it be that this one, who is the one who comes from heaven in order to suck to cure, how is it that he makes love to us?' (SCS)

In this case, the referred person is a shaman, and the verb with the occupation suffix is *aatsimiyaantsi* 'suck to cure', which is a usual work of a shaman, who cures the ill

by sucking them. Therefore, the suffix indicates a usual occupation of the referred person.

It must be taken into account that, in the Ashéninka traditional society, there are no jobs in the Western sense, given that most people have the same occupations: hunting, fishing, growing a *chacra*, building their own house, etc. Therefore, this suffix traditionally denotes a usual occupation and is used in neologisms to denote true jobs, as in (552), but it does not always occur in a verb nominalized with a relative suffix, but also in non-nominalized verbs, as in (554). Also in this case, the suffix indicates a usual occupation (women usually weed their *chacras*).

- (554) Shirámpari riyatzi rowániki, éehatzi tsinánipáeni **othámaetàntziro** owane.
 shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zi r-owani=ki
 man 3M.S-go-&-REA 3M-chacra=LOC
 éehatzi tsinani=paeni o-thamae-t-ant-zi-ro Ø-owani
 also woman=PL 3F.S-weed-&-OCC-REA-3F.O 3F-chacra
 ‘Men go to their *chacras*, also women weed their *chacras*.’ (CTK)

Instances of *-ant* indicating instrument or time are much scarcer: there are only two instances of time and one of instrument in my text corpus. One instance of time is in (555).

- (555) **Niyáatantanakàri** nònthapákari.
 n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-go-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-find-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘When I went, I ran into him.’ (CMM)

The interpretation of *-ant* as the time suffix in (555) comes mainly from the translation provided by the consultant, who translated the sentence as it is in the translation line. An interpretation as a resultative would make no sense in this case and would not accord with the consultant’s translation. The other instance of the time suffix in my text corpus is in (556).

- (556) “Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* **nopòkantéyari**”.
 ari o-kaa-t-zi kitáiteri¹⁷⁰ no-pok-ant-eya-ri
 FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA day 1S-come-TIME-IRR-REL
 “‘A certain day, I’ll come’.” (SFW)

¹⁷⁰ *Kitáiteri* is an Ashéninka word. This speaker’s mother hailed from the area of the River Tambo, that is the reason why some Ashéninka words appear in her speech. The UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*.

This example is from a tale and, in this fragment, the narrator reproduces the words of a man saying to his wife when he would be back, so that it is supposed that, in the real statement, the man would express a specific day, but the narrator omits it because it is of no importance for the line of the story. The important fact is that the time suffix together with the supposed date (e.g. ‘in five days’) and the totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, which has a quantitative function (see Section 6.10.2), convey a point in time in which the event will be realized. This combination with *kaataantsi* also occurs in an example in Casique (2012), shown in (557).

(557) Tsika ikaatzi **pipókantàri?**

tsika i-kaa-t-zi pi-pok-ant-a-ri
 WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-come-TIME-REA-REL
 ‘At what time did you come?’ (Casique 2012:70; glosses and accents mine)

The verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi* has a quantitative function and is often used with numerals. Therefore, in (556) and (557), the combination of *kaataantsi* with the time suffix has the function of counting units of time, which are days in (556), and, in (557), since no time unit is mentioned, the question is about the hour.

The only instance in my text corpus of the instrumental function of *-ant* is in (558).

(558) **Roshétantàwo** roshétamènto.

r-o-shet-ant-a-ro r-o-shet-amento
 3M.S-CAUS-clean-INS-REA-3F.O 3M-CAUS-clean-NMLZ.INS
 ‘He cleans it with his cloth (lit.: his tool for cleaning).’ (PV)

The same as in (555), a resultative interpretation would make no sense here. The suffix *-ant* indicates that the cleaning is done with a tool, which is specified right after the verb. Example (559) is from an unpublished textbook from the university Nopoki (Casique & Zerdin 2016) and was checked with speakers. It illustrates very well the instrumental use of *-ant*.

(559) **Ikéntantawo** thompari ithowa.

i-kent-ant-a-ro thompari i-thowa
 3M.S-peck-INS-REA-3F.O heron 3M-beak
 ‘The heron pecks with its beak.’ (Casique & Zerdin 2016:56; glosses and accent mine)

The instrumental suffix in (559) refers to the part of the body, equivalent to an instrument, that the heron uses to perform the pecking. Also in (560), from Casique’s

(2012) published textbook, is the instrumental function obvious, since it expresses the tool with which the speaker sweeps.

(560) Iroka **nopíshitantawòri**.

i-ro=ka no-pishi-t-ant-a-ro-ri
DEM-F=PROX 1S-sweep-&-INS-&-3F.O-REL

‘This is what I use to sweep it.’ (Casique 2012:70; glosses and accents mine)

The examples of *-ant* indicating time or instrument are very scarce in my text corpus, and I would not have identified them without the information given by Casique’s textbook (2012:70). The coincidence between the examples in my texts and the textbook, together with the same function mentioned in Kindberg (1980:462) for Asháninka, points to a correct interpretation of examples (555), (556) and (558) (other examples are not from my corpus), even more so if we consider that a different interpretation does not fit the context. More instances of these suffixes are needed so as to understand better their meaning.

The instrumental and time functions of *-ant* trigger A-class RS suffixes, but not the occupation function, as can be seen in examples (552) to (554), where the affected verb is inflected with I-class RS suffixes. This fact makes that *-ant* with the occupation function cannot be confounded with the resultative.

6.7.4. Impersonal *-e(e)/-ae*

The meaning of this suffix is quite straightforward: it expresses that the subject is indeterminate or unknown. A speaker gave a very clear description when I asked him about the difference between the verb ‘kill’ with and without the suffix and with a 3rd person masculine prefix: he said that, with the suffix, the killer is unknown, but, without the suffix, he is known. Therefore, the meaning is similar to the one expressed by the English passive.

Casique (2012:69) shows the form *-ee/-ae* for this suffix and calls it “*sujeito indeterminado*” ‘indeterminate subject’. Mihas (2015a:306-08) describes the same suffix for Alto Perené as *-ai* and calls it “impersonal/generalized subject”. In my corpus, this suffix occurs as *-ee/-ae* and also as *-e*, the last one mainly in the much-repeated filler *ikántètziiri* (i-kant-e-t-zi-ri, 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O), literally ‘they call him’. This word is described in Section 3.11, on fillers.

When used with a verb different from *kantaantsi* ‘say’, the impersonal suffix indicates that the subject is unknown or indeterminate, similarly to the English or Spanish passive. This similarity is evident in (561).

- (561) Naaka nopókantàri nokoyi niyótiro okáatsika haka **riyometétziri** haka.
 naaka no-pok-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i-ro
 1 1S-come-RES-&-REA-REL 1S-want-FRS 1S-know-&-IRR-3F.O
 okáatsika ha=ka r-iyome-t-e-t-zi-ri ha=ka
 WH LOC=PROX 3M.S-teach-&-IMPS-&-REA-REL LOC=PROX
 ‘I have come here because I want to learn all that they teach here.’ (CMH)

In this example, the speaker says that he wants to learn everything that is taught in a school. He may know the teachers, but his intention is to talk about the teaching content in general, so he uses the impersonal suffix. Another example of impersonalization is in (562).

- (562) Hatákwítaka **itayéeterini**, waaka shiyánaka...
 ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni
 go-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-burn-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 cow run-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Being close the time to burn them, the cows started running.’ (SCFF)

The 3rd person masculine subject in *itayéeterini* refers to the people from an indigenous community in general and not to specific individuals: the subject is an indeterminate group of people, and the speaker focuses on the object and the action that it undergoes. Thus, with the use of the impersonal suffix, the speaker gives no importance to the individuals that make up the plural subject.

6.7.5. Demonstrative enclitics

The demonstrative enclitics described for nouns in Section 4.1.5.1 can also attach to verbs with two functions: 1) to form a locative subordinate clause, and 2) the deictic function typical of demonstratives. Subordinate clauses belong to the study of syntax, so function 1) is described in Section 7.4.2.1.6 and function 2) is described in the present section. Function 2) implies that an enclitic can refer to a participant in the event described by the verb, to a location or even to a past time. These features are illustrated below with examples from natural texts.

In (563), the medial enclitic *=ra* has a demonstrative function affecting the referent of the object suffix *-ri*.

(563) Arírika rayítapáki, **piyótawakiràra**

ari=rika r-ayit-ap-ak-i

AFF=COND 3M.S-come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS

p-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ra

2S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED

‘When he comes down, you’re going to guess who’s that one.’ (SCS)

Actually, *piyótawakiràra* could alternatively be separated in two words (*piyótawaki irira*), where *irira* means ‘that one’, and the meaning would be the same, but the translating consultant considered it a single word, and the impression of speakers is the criterion that I am following in this thesis to separate words (see Section 2.3.2 for the reasons to choose this criterion).

In (564), we can observe that the demonstrative medial enclitic has an ambiguous function in that it can refer to the subject of the verb or to a location.

(564) Ihéekayíni **ikàaténirà**.

i-heek-aiy-i-ni i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni=ra

3M.S-sit-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED

‘Those are sitting there.’ (SCS)

I have tried to reflect both meanings in the translation, but this sentence could be translated both as ‘those are sitting’ or ‘they are sitting there’. Actually, both translations mean practically the same and the difference lies in the referent of the deixis, but it seems that, in Ashéninka, the enclitics’ deixis does not need to specifically refer to a participant or a location but to both at the same time, with a meaning such as ‘those there’. Therefore, we can conclude that the demonstrative enclitics have a general deictic function that encompasses both a locative meaning and a reference to a participant in the event, so that example (563) could also have been translated as ‘you’re going to guess who’s the one there’. The context determines which translation is more appropriate.

In (565), the medial enclitic demonstrative can also refer to a location or to the subject of the intransitive verb, but the subject is referred to by a full proximal demonstrative, whose referent is specified in the following clause (*nónintakòri* ‘my followers’), so that, if *irika* refers to the subject, *=ra* should refer to a location.

- (565) **Káakitákirà** irika, noyíteri nónintakòri.
 kaaki-t-ak-i=ra i-ri=ka
 arrive-&-PFV-FRS=MED DEM-M=PROX
 n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori
 1S-CAUS-come.down-IRR-3M.O 1-follower
 ‘These are going to arrive from there; I’m going to make my followers come down.’ (SCS)

In any case, it may have little sense to try to guess which is the referent of the enclitic: probably, it is better to consider it a general deictic that helps to delimit the action with the referred location and participants. However, in some cases, as in (566), the context may offer no doubt. The context, in this case, is a conversation in which the participants were talking about a house in a location, so that the referent of =*ra* is the topic of the conversation (the house).

- (566) Ohéekira
 o-heek-i=ra
 3F.S-live-FRS=MED
 ‘She lives there.’ (CMM)

Also in (567), the referent is clear: the medial enclitic on *rowánkitàkirira* ‘what he put upon there’ signals to the same location as the following *haga* ‘there’, so that the medial enclitic =*ra* is repeated for emphasis.

- (567) Tsikárika ikàntakáakawo okímitzìmotákari manitzi, róotaki iyatharékithe
rowánkitàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?
 tsika=rika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro
 WH=COND 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O
 o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri manitzi roo-t-ak-i
 3F.S-seem-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS
 i-yatharekitho r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri-ra ha=ra ro=ra
 3M-testicle 3M.S-put.upon-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED LOC=MED F=MED
 i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
 3M.S-smash-APPL-DUR1-&-REA
 ‘How would he have done it so that it seems in the jaguar’s eyes that it was his testicle what he put upon there, um..., and was smashing it?’ (TSJ)

The absential enclitic =*ranki* usually has a temporal meaning. In (568), it is used to form the filler *útagankitya*.

- (568) Ikañáaperotanàka rira..., hempe **íttagankitya**..., maniro, róehapokákiri.
 i-kañaa-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe
 3M.S-accelerate-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH
 i-et-a=ranki=tya maniror-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-be.named-REA=ABSE=EMPH deer 3M.S-CAUS-jump-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘He accelerates, um..., what’s its name?..., the deer, throws him off.’ (FS)

Íitaganki is a usual filler –in (568), the speaker added the emphatic =*tya*–, although more infrequent than others, as *rowa* or *ikántètzi*. It is mainly used when the speaker does not know how to continue the discourse and stops thinking about what to say. The absential demonstrative in this case refers to something forgotten, so that the literal question is about how something is named, and the absential indicates that it cannot be seen, i.e. remembered, by the speaker, i.e. it is out of the view of the speaker, which is the core meaning of the absential. Actually, a literal translation would be ‘which was its name?’ For the meaning of the absential demonstrative, see Section 3.2; for more on this and other fillers, see Section 3.11.

In (569), the absential =*ranki* also has a temporal function, but, in this case, it is not in a frozen expression, but used productively on the verb *kantaantsi* ‘say’ indicating past time (a time that is now out of view).

- (569) **Nokántakiriránki**: itáakiri iroka, itáakiri.
 no-kant-ak-i-ri=ranki
 1S-say-PFV-FRS-REL=ABSE
 i-ta-ak-i-ri i-ro=ka i-ta-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-burn-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-burn-PFV-FRS-REL
 ‘It’s what I said before: this is what he has burnt, what he has burnt...’ (CCPC)

The examples above only show the medial and the absential demonstrative enclitics, which are the most numerous in my text corpus. Actually, I have no example of a proximal enclitic on a verb with a demonstrative function –but there are with a subordinate function– and only two examples of the distal enclitic with a demonstrative function. One of them is in (570).

- (570) **Ratéetakotzirònta** henoki.
 r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro=nta henoki
 3M.S-go.up-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O=DIST up
 ‘He goes up (to take them, fruits).’ (PV)

The context of this sentence is a man that climbs a tree to gather fruits, so the distal demonstrative =*nta* refers to the tree crown.

6.7.6. Remnants of classifiers?: form *-ki*, ball *-moko* and *-cheyinaa*, thick *-she*, type *-hato/-hatzi* and liquid *-kira*

Different Campanist works, but not all, mention classifiers. Mihas (2015a:404) says that “there are over sixty classifying forms” in Alto Perené, which she divides into “class terms” (pp. 409-15) and “classifiers” (pp. 415-25). O’Hagan & Michael (2015:6-9) describe a complex classifier system for Matsigenka, and Michael (2008:341) shows a table with 23 classifiers in Nanti. Snell (2011) mentions the Matsigenka classifiers several times, but she does not describe them. The rest of the Campanist literature makes no mention of classifiers. In my case, even being previously aware that classifiers might appear in my fieldwork, an obvious classifier system has not shown up in my glossed texts corpus, but some morphemes that might be considered classifiers, or the remnants of a former more developed classifier system, do have shown up. My impression is that these morphemes are actually remnants of a more developed system like the one in Alto Perené, Matsigenka and Nanti. Actually, if classifiers were relatively frequent in UP Ashéninka, they should have appeared much more often in my corpus. Some of these classifier or classifier-like morphemes are described in Section 4.1.2 due to their collective meaning, which is related to the category of number, and others are shown in the examples below.

I have called *form* the suffix *-ki* because it occurs on verbs in which another morpheme inside the verbal complex describes a form. Therefore, this suffix cannot be considered to bear a meaning of its own, rather it signals that another morpheme, usually an incorporated adjective, indicates a form of some item participating in the event. Also Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:160) shows the suffix *-ki* with the meaning ‘form’, and gives the example *konakintsi* ‘elbow’, which is formed by *kona-* ‘curved’ and *-ki* ‘form’. This description fits quite well the occurrences in my corpus, some of which are shown below.

In (571), *-ki* is on two words: the predicative adjective *oryápetyanikìni* and the adjectivized copula *okáachanchééñakitzi*.

- (571) Omaanta nashi naaka **oryápetyanikini** **okáachanchéeñakitzi**
 nowatharékhitho; ari rowa..., ikántètzirowa..., pòshíni.
 o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
 F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-table-like-FORM-ADJ
 o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékhitho
 3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle
 ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
 AFF F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED tasty-ADJ
 ‘Even though mine is small, table-like and ovoid, my testicle, so..., um..., how
 to say..., um..., it is tasty.’ (TSJ)

Oryápetyanikini is formed with two compounded adjectival stems (*orya-* ‘small, fem.’ and *petyani-* ‘table-like’), and *okáachanchéeñakitzi* is formed with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the adjective *chanceeña-* ‘ovoid’. Both words have an adjectival semantic function in that they describe properties of the noun *nowatharékhitho* ‘my testicle’, also referred to as *nashi naaka* ‘the one of mine’ in the same clause, and both words bearing *-ki* are acting as predicates. Also both words are formed with the long adjectives denoting forms described in Section 5.6 (*petyani-* ‘table-like’ and *chanceeña-* ‘ovoid’). As was explained in that section, the suffix *-ki* does not always occur with words formed with adjectives. In (572), the word with *-ki* is formed with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the stem of the inalienable noun *-moityo* ‘navel’.

- (572) Tee, **okàamoityókitzi**.
 tee o-kaa-moityo-ki-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-navel-FORM-&-REA
 ‘No, it is small and round.’ (CMM)

This is the answer to the question ‘is your *chacra* big?’ In order to say that it is small and round, the speaker literally says ‘it has a navel form’. In this case, the absence of *-ki* would mean ‘it is a navel’ or ‘it becomes a navel’.

Mihas (2015a:660) shows a classifier *-ki* with the meaning ‘round, small’, which fits (571) and (572), so that one could think that this is the meaning of *-ki* in UP Ashéninka. However, in (573), the meaning of *-ki* referring to *-tyenkari* ‘spread-legged’ (here with the attenuative palatalization) has nothing to do with roundness nor smallness.

- (573) Hápokatyénkarikitanàka.
 hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
 jump-&-<ATT>spread-legged-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘He has jumped spread-legged.’ (FS)

Examples (571) to (573) show that *-ki* needs another morpheme in the same word to which it refers so as to indicate that a participant in the event has the form indicated by this morpheme. This description fits Payne's (1980:160) *-ki* 'form' quite well. Example (573) shows that *-ki* does not have the same meaning as Mihas' (2015a:660) classifier *-ki* 'round, small' for Alto Perené.

There is a remarkable resemblance between the morpheme *-ki* and the classifier *-ki* in Baure, an Arawakan language of Bolivia (Admiraal & Danielsen 2014:95-96), which has a similar function to the Ashéninka *-ki*. Admiraal & Danielsen gloss this classifier as "enclosed" and show how it functions in combination with another classifier to express the contents of the object denoted by this other classifier. In this way, the combination of the classifier *-se* 'oval' plus *-ki* can yield the compound classifier *-seki* 'glass', which denotes the contents of a glass, so that, from *mbo* 'three', the word *mboseki* can have the meaning 'three glasses' (Admiraal & Danielsen 2014:96). Although the meaning 'enclosed' is quite different from 'form', the similarity lies in the fact that both morphemes combine with the meaning of the preceding morpheme in the same word. In Mojeño Trinitario, another Bolivian Arawakan language, the similar classifier *-ku* also needs a referent to express a full meaning, but, in this case, the referent is an NP outside the verbal complex (Rose 2019:445); its meaning is to signal that something is inside the referred NP, similar to the Baure "enclosed".

Two morphemes that indicate the form of a ball have appeared in my corpus: *-moko*, with a few occurrences, and the insulting *-cheyinaa*, with only one occurrence. The morpheme *-moko* cannot occur on its own as a full word, so it cannot be considered a noun meaning 'ball'. One instance of it is in (574).

- (574) **Thàtamokotéenchari** henoki.
 that-a-moko-t-eecha-ri henoki
 hang-&-BALL-&-PCTP.PFV-REL up
 'The ball (a wasps' nest) is hanging up there.' (FS)

In this case, *-moko* is used to refer to a wasps' nest. Instead of mentioning the nest directly, the speaker includes *-moko* into this verb to express something ball-like, which should be clear from the context, given that the story was about wasps at this stage.

In (575), *-moko* is not on a verb but on a noun.

(575) Apátyátiri **káeromoko**.

apatya-t-i-ri kaero-moko
kick-&-IRR-REL termite-BALL
'What is kicked is a ball-like termite nest.' (CTK)

The described scene is a group of people playing football with a termite nest as the ball. The word that expresses this kind of ball is formed with *kaero* 'termite' plus the morpheme *-moko*. In this way, *-moko* can denote a ball formed with the substance mentioned in the first component of the word.

In (576), *-moko* appears together with another possible classifier: thick *-she* (thickness, in this case, means only 'not flowing easily' or 'difficult to see through', i.e. equivalent to Spanish *espeso*).

(576) Ishitówaki, **kiháashémokótzi**.

i-shitow-ak-i kihaa-she-moko-t-zi
3M.S-go.out-PFV-FRS black-THICK-BALL-&-REA
'He goes out with this thick black ball (his head).' (SCS)

What is meant with 'thick black ball' is a man's head that is totally painted black with a thick paste. *Kiháashémokótzi* is formed with the two possible classifiers *-moko* and *-she* plus the adjectival stem *kihaa-* 'black'. The union of the three elements yields a multiadjectival description (black, thick and ball-like).

Another morpheme with the meaning 'ball' is *-cheyinaa*, which has an insulting character. The only instance in my corpus is in (577).

(577) Ipáshiwéntaka, **ikiháachéyináataki**.

i-pashiwent-ak-a i-kihaa-cheyinaa-t-ak-i
3M.S-be.ashamed-PFV-REA 3M.S-black-BALL-&-PFV-FRS
'He is ashamed; it is a black ball (his head, insulting).' (SCS)

This example is from the same story as (576) and refers to the same man with his head painted black, but, in this case, the narrator mocks this character by using the insulting morpheme *-cheyinaa*, which reinforces the feeling of shame expressed in the previous verb. *Ikiháachéyináataki* is formed with the same morphemes expressing properties as *kiháashémokótzi* in (576) except *-she*, so that the obtained meaning is the double adjective 'black and ball-like', but with the insulting nuance of *-cheyinaa*.

Another classifier-like morpheme is *-kira*, which indicates a liquid state. The only occurrence in my corpus is in (578).

(578) Róohatzi ohéetàntawakàri **anákira**.

róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira
 then 3F.S-throw-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O genipap-LIQ
 ‘Then she throws to him (as he approaches her) the genipap paste.’ (SCS)

With *anákira*, ‘genipap paste’ is meant. This paste is made by grating genipap and is used for body painting. The formation of *anákira* is quite transparent since its literal translation would be ‘liquid genipap’, i.e. ‘genipap paste’.

In this section, I have described all the instances of morphemes that occur in my corpus of natural texts and have properties typical of or similar to those of classifiers. It is difficult to find a good definition that delimits the scope of classifiers, above all because the limits of the category are very fuzzy. Allan (1977:285) defines them based on two criteria: “(a) they occur as morphemes in surface structures under specifiable conditions; (b) they have meaning, in the sense that a classifier denotes some salient perceived or imputed characteristic of the entity to which an associated noun refers (or may refer)”. Aikhenvald (2000:13) uses this definition and adds that classifiers:

“...are restricted to particular construction types known as ‘classifier constructions’. Classifier constructions are understood as morphosyntactic units (which may be noun phrases of different kinds, verb phrases, or clauses) which require the presence of a particular kind of a morpheme, the choice of which is dictated by the semantic characteristics of the referent of the head of a noun phrase.”

While these definitions can be useful, they are by no means a rule of thumb according to which one can discern if a morpheme is a classifier or not. A more practical way of identifying classifiers is proposed by Grinevald (2000:61), who says that classifiers are “in the intermediate range between lexical and morphosyntactic extremes” of noun categorization: the lexical extreme would be *a glass of*, *a group of*, etc., and the morphosyntactic extreme would be gender or noun classes.

It is worth remarking that Mihas (2015a:660-62) considers classifiers Alto Perené morphemes that I consider to belong to a different category, such as those with the meaning ‘in a container/means of transportation’ of the general applicative *-ako* (‘container’ for Mihas), the collectives *-mashi* (‘flat, broad’, ‘open space’ for Mihas) and *-pooki* (*-poroki* in AP, ‘group’ for Mihas), the nominal durative *-paeti* (*-paite* in AP, ‘period’ for Mihas), or *-thori*, used in kin terms (see Section 4.1.4) (*-tsori* in AP,

‘nuclear-like kin’ for Mihás). I do not think that these morphemes clearly are noun categorization devices; that is why I have not included them in this section.

The low frequency of the morphemes described in this section rules out the existence of what might be called a classifier system in UP Ashéninka, but the existence of these few morphemes, together with the knowledge of a developed classifier system in other Campan languages, indicates that these morphemes most probably are the remnants of a broader classifier system. It is important to remark that most examples shown in this section were uttered by older speakers, so it is possible that the younger generation does not use these morphemes any more.

6.7.7. Specifier *-wee*

The specifier suffix *-wee* indicates that the action expressed by the verb is done with some sort of specialization, i.e. the meaning of the verb becomes restricted to a certain semantic field included in the broader field encompassed by the verbal stem, and the suffix can have a derivative function in that it can change the meaning of the stem.

This suffix seems to derive from the durative suffix *-wae* (described in Section 6.3.3), which can be seen in the coincidence with Nanti. Nanti verbal roots *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-ken-* ‘go in a direction’ change their meaning with the addition of the durative suffix *-bage* to yield *-antabage-* ‘cultivate’ and *-kenabage-* ‘hunt’ (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). The same happens with the UP Ashéninka cognates *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-kin-* ‘come, go’, which change their meanings to *-antawae-* ‘work’ and *-kinawae-* ‘go hunting in the forest’ with the addition of the durative suffix *-wae*, cognate of Nanti *-bage*. The roots *-ant-* ‘do’ and *-ken-/kin-* ‘go in a direction’/‘come, go’ convey a general action, while the stems *-antabage-/antawae-* ‘cultivate’/‘work’ and *-kenabage-/kinawae-* ‘hunt’/‘go hunting in the forest’ convey a specific action that is included in the more general action expressed by the root from which they are derived. In this way, ‘cultivate’ and ‘work’ describe actions included in the more general ‘do’; in the case of *-kenabage-/kinawae-*, the connection can best be observed in the Ashéninka meanings in that ‘go hunting in the forest’ is included in the more general ‘come, go’; the Nanti *-kenabage-* ‘hunt’ probably also implies walking through the forest to find game, which is included in the more general *-ken-* ‘go in a direction’. This equivalence

between Ashéninka and Nanti roots and their derived stems with the durative suffix point to a proto-Campan origin, which evidently means that the stems *-antabage-/antawae-* and *-kenabage-/kinawae-* are frozen forms in which *-bage/-wae* is not productive.

Related to all this, the suffix *-wee*, slightly different from the durative *-wae*, has appeared in three cases in my corpus with a specifier meaning. These occurrences are shown in examples (579) to (581).

- (579) Róokantàcha **nàmonkowéetatzì.**
 róokantàcha n-amonko-wee-t-atzi
 however 1S-chew-SPE-&-PROG
 ‘However, I’m chewing coca.’ (CCPC)

The root *-amonko-* in this example means ‘chew’. A consultant told me that, when one uses this root without *-wee*, one can chew coca leaves or tobacco, but, when *-wee* is added, only coca leaves. Therefore, *-wee* in (579) restricts the scope of the verb to chewing only one item (coca leaves). Obviously, the addressee needs to know beforehand that *-amonko-wee* means ‘chew coca’, i.e. one cannot expect that the addressee knows *-amonko-* ‘chew’ and the mere addition of *-wee* lets her understand ‘chew coca’. Therefore, the restricted meaning would need to be diffused so as to be understood.

Another instance of *-wee* is in (580).

- (580) Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *viérnes-kì* otzímaki, rowa..., **ñáathawéeròntsi.**
 no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki¹⁷¹ o-tzim-ak-i
 1S-get.up-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED Friday=LOC 3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS
 ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
 F=MED play-&-SPE-NMLZ
 ‘I have got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’ (CTK)

In the nominalized verb *ñáathawéeròntsi*, the scope of the meaning of the root *-ñaath-* ‘play’ is restricted to ‘playing sports’. In this way, a general meaning becomes a more specific meaning inside the scope of the general one. The same as in (579), the addressees need to know beforehand that *-ñaath-a-wee* means ‘do sport’, i.e. one cannot expect that the addressees know *-ñaath-* ‘play’ and the mere addition of *-wee* conveys the meaning ‘do sport’. However, the difference between (580) and

¹⁷¹ *Viernes* ‘Friday’ is obviously a Spanish word.

(579) is that *ñáathawéeròntsi* must have been recently coined because doing sport in the Ashéninka society is quite recent, and this is a clue to the possible productivity of the suffix, yet its specific meaning needs to be diffused.

In (581), *-wee* is part of another nominalization, in this case with the root *-iyo-* ‘know’.

- (581) Okántanaka paata, éenitatsi apaani atziri héekatsiri hanta, **yowéeperotàtsiri**.
 o-kant-an-ak-a paata eeni-t-atsi apaani atziri
 3F.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA later EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV one person
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 live-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST saber-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘So it happened later that there was a person living there, a specialist (one who knows to do everything that has been previously told).’ (OS)

The translation ‘specialist’ is as the translating consultant uttered it. In this case, the scope of ‘know’ is reduced to knowing what has been previously told (some practices that are being lost in the modern Ashéninka society, such as dancing, singing in their language, fishing with bow and arrows, hunting with rifle...). The verificative suffix *-pero* adds the nuance that he knows how to do all this very well. In this example, the suffix shows its productivity in that the translation ‘specialist’ means ‘someone who has a knowledge in some specific field’, but the stem does not say in which field he has it. The addressees know it from what has been told in the story, so that they do not need to know beforehand the meaning of the stem *-iyo-wee* because its meaning is ‘know something special’, and ‘special’ is the meaning conveyed by the suffix *-wee*.

According to all this, the specifying function of this suffix seems to have existed in proto-Campan and has yielded frozen derived stems in the daughter languages, but the recently coined stem *-ñaath-a-wee* ‘do sport’ and the productivity of the suffix in the stem *-iyo-wee* ‘have a special knowledge’ show that it can be productive to a certain degree. The question of to which degree it is productive needs further research.

6.7.8. Early *-aman*

The suffix *-aman* with the meaning ‘early in the morning’ is attested in Matsigenka (Snell, 2011:877), Caquinte (Swift 2008:89) and the Ashé-Ashá varieties Asháninka (Kindberg 1980:464), Alto Perené (Mihas 2015a:657), Pichis (Payne 1989:244), Apurucayali (Payne, Payne & Sánchez 1982:58-59) and Yurúa (García 1997:30-31),

in all of them with the same form and meaning. Also in UP Ashéninka, the suffix *-aman* expresses that something is done early in the morning, as in *notzinámanàka* in (580) in the previous Section 6.7.7, where the suffix on the stem *-tzina-* ‘get up’ indicates that the subject has got up early in the morning.

This suffix is often used with the verbal stem *-kitehi-* ‘dawn’. An example of *-aman* with this stem is in (582).

- (582) Éekiro, éekiro roo okítehítaki..., paata **okítehítamànae**.
 éekiro roo o-kitehi-t-ak-i paatao-kitehi-t-aman-a-i
 goes.on then 3F.S-dawn-&-PFV-FRS later 3F.S-dawn-&-EARLY-REG-FRS
 ‘It goes on; then it dawns..., later it dawns early again.’ (SCS)

In this example, the verbal stem *-kitehi-* ‘dawn’ appears twice. It seems that the speaker reformulated the sentence by adding *-aman* on the stem *-kitehi-*, since there is a clear repetition. It is obvious that it dawns early, but the EARLY suffix is normally used with this stem to emphasize the daybreak.

6.7.9. Partitive *-it*

This suffix occurs three times in my corpus, always on a transitive verb, and two of them in two consecutive clauses. According to explanations given by a speaker, its meaning is that the action is performed only on a part of the object. However, its scarce occurrences and the fact that I did not research it in depth imply that this description must be considered tentative. The occurrence in two consecutive clauses is in (583).

- (583) **Ithónkitàkiro** riniro, **róyitakàwo**.
 i-thonk-it-ak-i-ro r-iniro r-oy-it-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-finish-PAR-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-mother 3M.S-eat-PAR-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘He has finished off his mother; he has eaten her (but not her son).’ (SFW)

This sentence is uttered at the end of a story and tells that a jaguar kills and eats a woman who was fleeing with her little son, but the son is able to get away from the jaguar by climbing a tree. The translating consultant explained very clearly that the difference between the verbs with *-it* and without *-it* is that, with *-it*, it is implied that the jaguar has killed and eaten the mother, but not the son, and, without *-it*, it would have killed and eaten mother and son. The other occurrence is in (584).

- (584) Tee nokoyi **itsintziténawo** noeshi, noeshi, rowa..., otomi.
 tee no-koy-i i-tsint-it-i-na-ro no-iishi
 NEG.REA 1S-want-FRS 3M.S-urinate-PAR-IRR-1O-3F.O 1-hair
 ro=ra o-tomi
 F=MED 3F-son
 ‘I don’t want him to urinate on my hair, my hair, um..., her son.’ (SFW)

My interpretation of *itsintziténawo* is that the partitive *-it* indicates that the child would urinate on the speaker’s hair, i.e. on a part of her body, not on her whole body. A clue that leads to this interpretation is that the translating consultant said that the verb without *-it* (**itsintzinawo*/**itsintinawo*) is not possible, so that it seems that the double object construction requires this suffix: the two objects are a woman and a part of her body, and the partitive suffix is needed so as to express that the action of urinating is done on the part of her body and the other object signals whose is this body part. Therefore, the grammatical relations of the two object suffixes are governed by the partitive suffix: the 3rd person inanimate (feminine) object suffix cross-referencing the hair is the undergoer, and the 1st person object suffix is the possessor of the undergoer, and such a double object construction with this verb without the partitive suffix would have no sense.

6.7.10. Attenuative suffix *-neent* and attenuative palatalization

This section describes two different attenuative strategies: the suffix *-neent* and a palatalization of the epenthetic /t/ that transforms this consonant into /c/.

The attenuative suffix *-neent* expresses that the event expressed by the verb occurs in a low degree, i.e. it is equivalent to ‘a bit’. Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:159) mentions this suffix with the forms *-nent*, *-neent* and *-nint* and calls it “sensorial”, which has practically no relation with the meaning found in my fieldwork, but Mihas (2015a:393-94) for Alto Perené describes the suffix *-nint*, which she calls “diminutive” and says that it denotes “do X a little bit”, which is the same as the UP Ashéninka attenuative *-neent*. I prefer the name *attenuative* because *diminutive* is normally used for nouns –also in this thesis–, and *attenuative* is a widely used term. The only instance of this suffix in my text corpus is in (585).

- (585) Shinkyàayinéentaka.
 shinki-a-yi-neent-ak-a
 be.drunk-&-DISTR-ATT-PFV-REA
 ‘He is a bit drunk.’ (SCS)

The meaning expressed here is that the subject is only a bit drunk. The nuance ‘a bit’ is given by the attenuative suffix and also by the diminutive meaning of the distributive suffix (see Section 6.7.1.2).

Mihas (2015a:436-37) describes for Alto Perené the feature that she calls “expressive palatalization”. A similar feature occurs in my corpus, but with some slight difference, due to which I consider it more appropriate to call it *attenuative palatalization*, which, in spite of being a phonological change, must be considered a morpheme because it bears a full meaning. This palatalization occurs in my corpus with the stems *kitehi-* (from *kitéheri* ‘day’), *tsireni-* (from *tsiréniri* ‘night’) and *niyanki* ‘half’, in all cases to denote the passage of parts of the day. Examples with the three stems are in (586) to (588).

- (586) Arírika **okìtehũtamanàki**, tsinani anáninki...
 ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS woman 3F.S-get.up-FRS
 ‘When it dawns early, the women get up...’ (CTK)
- (587) Otsirénityáanaki.
 o-tsireni-t-y-an-ak-i
 3F.S-get.dark-&-ATT-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘It starts getting dark.’ (SCS)

Examples (586) and (587) show a clear parallelism in that a stem that denotes a part of the day is verbalized so as to indicate that that part of the day is beginning, and this beginning is indicated with the attenuative palatalization. Without it, the verbs referred to in (586) and (587) would mean ‘it’s day’ or ‘it’s night’, respectively.

- (588) Róotentsi **óniyankũtye** tsiréniri.
 róoteentsi o-niyankii-t-y-i tsiréniri
 already 3F.S-half-&-ATT-FRS night
 ‘The middle of the night is approaching.’ (SCS)

In (588), the passage of the day is expressed as well, but in a different way. The noun *tsiréniri* ‘night’ is not verbalized, but the verbalized stem is *niyanki* ‘half, middle’. Without the attenuative palatalization, this sentence would mean ‘it is the middle of the night’.

Mihas (2015a:436-37) shows the use of her “expressive palatalization” also with nouns and a classifier. I have no instance of this kind of occurrence in my corpus. However, Mihas (2015a:436) mentions *enchániki* ‘little child’ as the result of an expressive palatalization developed from *eentsi* ‘child’ (*-aniki* is described as a diminutive by Mihas and also in this thesis). I have the words *enchániki* and *eentsi* in my corpus, but my analysis is that the palatalization is caused simply because only /i/ can occur after /ʈ/, so that *eentsi* + *-aniki* gives *enchániki*.

6.7.11. Mirative *-ña*

DeLancey (1997:35-36) defines *mirativity* as a category that marks statements “for which the speaker had no psychological preparation” and a proposition “new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world”. This definition coincides well with the description of the Ashéninka suffix *-ña* given by a speaker: it can express something bad or supernatural, or a total ignorance about the statement. The only occurrence in my corpus is in (589).

- (589) Àmenákiro: “Tsiká **okántakaña**? Kitamáataki”.
 Ø-amin-ak-i-ro tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña kitamaa-t-ak-i
 3F.S-look-PFV-FRS-3F.O WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR white-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘She looks at it: “Oh, what happened? It has become white!”’ (SFW)

In this example, the character of this story has been preparing *masato* and she discovers that it has turned white, which she interprets as a bad omen. Therefore, she is both surprised and frightened. The suffix *-ña* indicates this discovery of something new for her, surprising and frightening, which fits DeLancey’s (1997) description of mirativity well.

The invariable word *iká* also has a mirative meaning. It is described in Section 6.11, on invariable words with a verbal function.

6.7.12. Badness *-tha*

The suffix *-tha* occurs only once in my corpus, and this occurrence made me inquire about it by proposing verbs with the suffix to two different speakers. The result is that it expresses ‘badness’ in its broad sense, i.e. encompassing the meanings ‘poor quality’, ‘badly done’, and ‘with evil’, ‘insultingly’, ‘scornfully’. This suffix has not

been reported in the previous Campanist literature except in Casique's textbook (2012:69) with the meaning "persona mala en opinión del que habla" 'evil person in the speaker's opinion'. The occurrence from a tale is in (590).

- (590) Ari **ròtsikanàminthatári**.
 ari r-otsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri
 there 3M.S-stare-look-BAD-&-REA-3M.O
 'There he stares and looks scornfully at him.' (TSJ)

In this tale, a squirrel has tricked a jaguar so as to make it crush its own testicle, so, when the jaguar does it, it is quickly going to die, but it could still harm the squirrel during the short time until its death, so the squirrel jumps on a tree and stares at the jaguar *scornfully* because the jaguar has been successfully tricked. Another example from an elicitation in which 'evil' or 'scorn' is meant is in (591).

- (591) Ikámantathatziri.
 i-kamant-a-tha-t-zi-ri
 3M.S-say-&-BAD-&-REA-3M.O
 'He secretly says something to him (speaking badly about someone else).'

Both consulted speakers coincided independently in the same translation in (591). The implied evil lies in the fact that someone is speaking badly about or planning something against someone else, and this is done secretly speaking with someone.

A different kind of badness, i.e. expressing poor quality or doing something badly, can be observed in examples (592) to (595) from elicitation.

- (592) Nokémathátziro.
 no-kem-a-tha-t-zi-ro
 1S-listen-&-BAD-&-REA-3F.O
 'I'm listening to a foreign language, so I don't understand well.'
- (593) Niráthátziro.
 n-ir-a-tha-t-zi-ro
 1S-drink-&-BAD-&-REA-3F.O
 'I'm drinking jelly or sorbet (something difficult to drink).'
- (594) Ránithatzi.
 r-ani-tha-t-zi
 3M.S-walk-BAD-&-REA
 'He's walking through water (with much difficulty).'
- (595) Nowáthata.
 n-ow-a-tha-t-a
 1S-eat-&-BAD-&-REA
 'I'm eating, but I'm not concentrated on eating.'

In examples (592) to (595), the actions expressed by the verbs are not realized with ease: in (592), the subject does not understand well what she is listening to; in (593), the subject cannot drink well because the drink is not completely liquid; in (594), the subject cannot walk properly because he is walking through water, and, in (595), the subject is not savouring what she is eating. The four examples have in common that the action is not well done, i.e. it is *badly* done.

Therefore, the suffix *-tha* encompasses a semantic scope similar to that of English ‘bad’ or Spanish *malo*, i.e. that something is not well done or is done with some kind of morally reprehensible behaviour towards someone else.

6.7.13. Desperately *-riko*

The suffix *-riko* has appeared in my corpus with the meaning ‘do something desperately’. This occurrence is in (596).

- (596) Irika ótsitzika shiyaka, **ishiyárikotàka**, irika ikéntakirira, hani.
 i-ri=ka ótsitzi=ka shiy-ak-a i-shiy-a-riko-t-ak-a
 DEM-M=PROX dog=PROX run-PFV-REA 3M.S-run-&-DESP-&-PFV-REA
 i-ri=ka i-kent-ak-i-ri-ra hani
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-sting-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP wasp
 ‘This dog runs, runs desperately, when they sting him, the wasps.’ (FS)

The nuance introduced by *-riko* in the verb is very clear according to the translating consultant: ‘the dog runs desperately’. Further research could shed more light on this suffix, but it is doubtful that such a straightforward description by a speaker (‘do desperately’) may be changed.

6.7.14. Malefactive *-heempiy*

The malefactive suffix *-heempiy* expresses that something is done with a bad result. In the Campanist literature, a similar suffix only appears in Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:162) with the form “-saimpy” and the meaning “imaginario”, and in Kindberg’s Asháninka dictionary (1980:463) with the form “-mempe-” and the meanings “mal resultado; fingido” ‘bad result; feigned’. Payne’s ‘imaginary’ meaning might be related to Kindberg’s ‘feigned’, and Kindberg’s ‘bad result’ is identical with my findings. This suffix does not occur in my text corpus, so I discovered it by

elicitation. It forms a hiatus with the initial vowel of the following suffix (see Section 2.1.3), yet I have chosen to write <y> at the end because the sequences <yi> or <iy> also yield hiatus between /i/ and another vowel in other cases. Another feature is that the suffix triggers a change in RS from I-class to A-class. Some examples are in (597) to (599).

- (597) Rahèempiákawo.
 r-a-heempiy-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-take-MAL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘He takes it with a bad result.’
- (598) Nohèekahèempiáka.
 no-heek-a-heempiy-ak-a
 1S-live-&-MAL-PFV-REA
 ‘I live in a place and have problems.’
- (599) Nokàntahèempiákimi.
 no-kant-a-heempiy-ak-i-mi
 1S-say-&-MAL-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘I say something to you and it comes off badly for you.’

The three examples show that the event expressed by the verbal root has a bad result: in (597) and (598), for the subject, and, in (599), for the object. In (599), *-heempiy* does not add a participant, so that this suffix cannot be considered an applicative in any case. The I-class RS suffix in (599) is triggered by the 2nd person object suffix *-mi*, a constraint that has predominance on the change to A-class caused by the malefactive *-heempiy*.

6.8. Order of affixes and enclitics inside the verbal complex

The straightforward description of the order of affixes and enclitics in the Ashéninka verbal complex is that there is a quasi-obligatory subject prefix and a very infrequent causative prefix, then the stem, and then a high number of suffixes and enclitics. The highest number of suffixes in a verb attested in my corpus is six, which does not rule out higher numbers. Therefore, we have to refer to affixes because there are two prefixes, but the bulk of the discussion concerns suffixes and a few enclitics. The suffixes follow an order inside the verbal complex, which can be clearly observed in their different occurrences in natural texts, but finding out the exact order of the 59 suffixes and enclitics represented in Figure 3 appears to be a practically impossible

task. One has to rely on natural texts and elicitations, and some suffixes occur very seldom, so that only the order regarding the suffixes that occur together in a verb can be determined. Elicitation on suffix order can yield some results, but can also be misleading, given that the linguist can propose combinations of suffixes and stems that never occur in normal speech, and a certain combination may be accepted by a speaker, even though it may sound a bit unnatural to them. Moreover, I know at least two suffixes (DUR1 *-wae* and PURP/NPURP *-ashi*) whose order is interchangeable, which is shown in (600), which suggests that the order between certain suffixes is not totally strict.

- (600) a. Nopíratashiwáetari
 no-pira-t-ashi-wae-t-a-ri
 1S-rear-&-NPURP-DUR1-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘I’m rearing him (an animal) for pleasure (as a pet).’
 b. Nopírawàetáshitari.
 no-pira-wae-t-ashi-t-a-ri
 1S-rear-DUR1-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘I’m rearing him (an animal) for pleasure (as a pet).’

I have made Figure 3 with the position of suffixes based on my text corpus and examples from elicitations dedicated to different topics; only the position of FRU with regard to BEN *-went* and DUR1 was found out through an elicitation devoted to this topic. The position of some suffixes with regard to some others is unknown, but all the positions shown in the table are attested.

Figure 3 needs an explanation in order to be read and understood. The main principle is very simple: the direction of an arrow indicates that the marker from which the arrow departs is placed at the left (before) of the marker to which the arrow points, and all the markers inside a box have the same order regarding the other markers. The only known case of interchangeability, namely of DUR1 *-wae* and PURP/NPURP *-ashi*, is marked with a double-pointed arrow. In this way, the suffixes inside the box of the reality status go after TRLOC, OCC and those inside the box with DES, BAD, HAB, IMPS and INS; and they (those inside the box of the RS) go before DU and those inside the box with MIR, LATER and RMPST. Obviously, since O/S goes after DU, O/S also goes after the box with the RS, and, since aspect (PFV and REG) goes before TRLOC, aspect also goes before RS, i.e. there are no strange exceptions (e.g. DESP goes before

PFV/REG and these before TRLOC, but an unexpected case in which the absence of PFV/REG would cause TRLOC to be before DESP does never occur). For suffixes with no arrow relating them, the order is not attested (e.g. it is unknown if COM goes before or after BEN *-neent*). The longest chain of attested suffixes is:

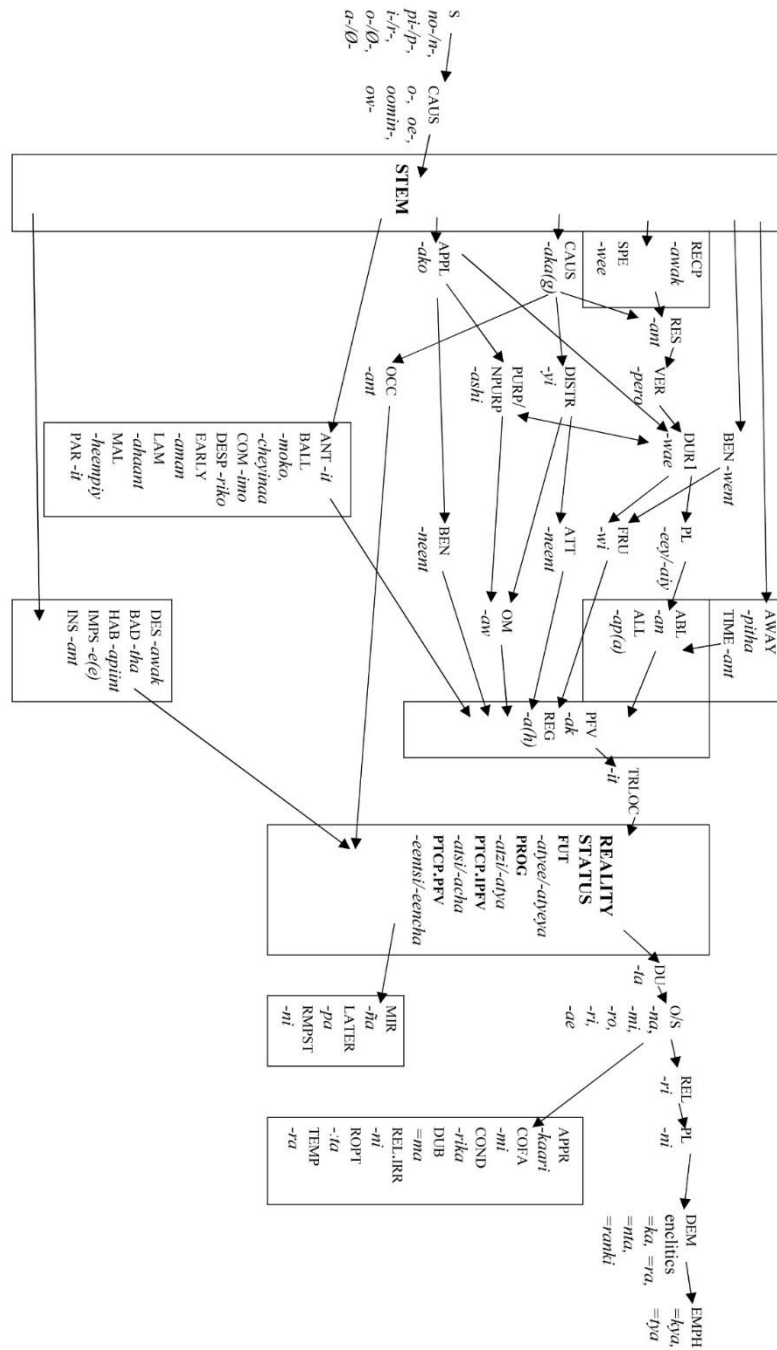
RECP/SPE/CAUS → RES → VER → DUR1 → PL *-eey/-aiy* → ABL/ALL → PFV/REG → TRLOC → RS → DU → O/S → REL → PL *-ni* → DEM → EMPH

Obviously, all these suffixes do not occur together. As said before, it is clear that RECP/SPE/CAUS go before TRLOC in spite of the six suffixes in the middle. There are some markers for which I have little information regarding their order, normally because they are scarce: for DESP, BAD, HAB, IMPS and INS (all in the same box), I only know that they are placed between the stem and the RS suffix; for the box with ANT, BALL, COM, DESP, EARLY, LAM, MAL and PAR, I only know that they go between the stem and the aspect suffixes PFV and REG. At the right of the RS suffix, for MIR, LATER and RMPST, I only know that they go after the RS suffix; and for APPR, COFA, COND, DUB, REL.IRR, ROPT and TEMP, that they go after the O/S suffix.

The suffixes included in the box with the RS are those in which the RS opposition is totally fossilized in all cases (in both I-class and A-class verbs). The stem and the RS and equivalent suffixes are in bold because these are the only obligatory morphemes, so that they mark two clear borders, given that the position of every marker is known with regard to these two. It can be seen that the aspect suffixes PFV and REG are in the same box next to the RS suffix (with the exception of TRLOC, whose special position is explained in Section 6.5.4), but also DUR1 expresses aspect and is in a different position; yet, as explained in Section 6.3.3, this suffix is compatible with PFV and REG, while these two are incompatible. Another aspect suffix is HAB, but this one belongs to the group for which it is only known to be between the stem and the RS. Regarding PROG, it is in the group with the RS because the RS suffix is totally fossilized, but PROG is also incompatible with PFV and REG. Regarding directionals, ABL and ALL are in the same box, and they are incompatible because their meaning is opposed. Regarding the other directional OM, it would be logical to think that it has the same position as ABL and ALL, and thus might be included in the same box, but,

since OM indicates object motion and ABL and ALL subject motion, I prefer to indicate for OM the only order relations that are attested.

Figure 3. Order of affixes and enclitics inside the verbal complex



6.9. Existentials

Ucayali-Pajonal Ashéninka has several words that denote existence, such as English *there is* and *there are*. They are the affirmative existentials *eeni-* and *-tzim-*, the negative existential *tekatsi* and the past existential *éeni-ro*. This implies that there are three different positive existential forms, but only one negative. The two verbal stems *eeni-* and *-tzim-* appear to have no difference, given that they are interchangeable at least in all the cases in which I have posed the question to a speaker, but they are inflected differently: *eeni-* occurs always with an imperfective participle suffix in my corpus, but *-tzim-* can be inflected with different affixes, just as common verbs. The existentials are used for possessive constructions, as is shown in examples (602) for *eeni-*, (609) for *-tzim-*, (613) for *éeni-ro* and (616) for the negative *tekatsi*.

6.9.1. Existential *eeni-*

Eeni- can be a one-word sentence as an answer to a question, as illustrated in B's answer in (601).

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| (601) A: Hantari? Tekatsi hantari? | B: Éenitatsi. |
| hantari tekatsi hantari | eeni-t-atsi |
| wood NEG.EXI wood | EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV |
| 'Wood? Isn't there wood?' | 'There is.' (CMM) |

A construction with *eeni-* and a possessed noun is the normal way to indicate possession, as in (602).

- (602) **Éenitatsi** piimi hanta pinámpiki?
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| eeni-t-atsi | pi-emi | ha=nta | pi-nampi=ki |
| EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV | 2-husband | LOC=DIST | 2-community=LOC |
- 'Do you have a husband there in your community? (lit.: is there your husband there in your community?).' (CMH)

This is how a possessive clause is formed: there is not a verb have, so the construction is literally translated as 'there is/are POSSESSED NOUN'.

An example of a longer sentence with *eeni-* expressing existence is in (603), where it refers to the past. *Eeni-* has no tense reference, so it can refer to the past, the present or the future.

- (603) Páerani, anampiite Katsinkaari, **éénitatsi** osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáarikì.
 páerani a-nampi-ite Katsinkaari
 long.ago INC-community-ANT Chicosa
 eeni-t-atsi osheki atziri heek-atsi-ri tonkaari=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV many person live-PTCP.IPFV-REL mountain=LOC
 ‘A long time ago, in our community Chicosa, there were many people living
 in the mountains.’ (OS)

Eeni- always occurs in my corpus with the imperfective participle suffix *-atsi/-acha*, but can host other suffixes, as in (604), where the frustrative suffix *-wi* is added to *éénitatsi* (note that the frustrative triggers a shift from the I-class suffix *-atsi* to the A-class suffix *-acha*).

- (604) **Éeniwitàcha** antawo hanta sho otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there in the gully (at its back).’ (CCPC)

In this example, the frustrative indicates that something no longer holds (the existence of a big *chacra*). This is the only instance in my corpus with a form different from *éénitatsi*, which appears to be the commonest by far.

6.9.2. Existential verb *tzimaantsi*

The existential verb *tzimaantsi* (root *-tzim-*) can be inflected with subject prefixes and an RS suffix, as in (605), where the referent of the feminine prefix are all the things that are said to exist.

- (605) Rowa..., éehatzi arírika **otzimi**, rowa..., wáiramentòtsi, *actividades* antáetzi, rowa..., *instituciones*, rowa..., *primaria*, *secundaria*, *inicial*...¹⁷²
 ro=ra éehatzi ari=rika o-tzim-i ro=ra waira-amento-tsi¹⁷³
 F=MED also AFF=COND 3F.S-EXI-FRS F=MED dance-NMLZ.INS-ALI
 actividades ant-ae-t-zi-ri ro=ra instituciones ro=ra
 activities do-IMPS-&-REA-REL F=MED institutions F=MED
 primaria, secundaria, inicial
 primary, secondary, initial
 ‘Um..., also when there are, um..., parties, activities that they do, um...,
 institutions, um..., primary, secondary, initial (education)...’ (CTK)

¹⁷² All the words in italics are Spanish words.

¹⁷³ *Waira* is a loan from the Spanish verb *bailar* ‘dance’. It is remarkable how a word for ‘party’ is built: with the verb ‘dance’ and the instrumental nominalizer, so that the literal meaning is ‘tool for dancing’, that is, a party.

In this way, an existential construction has no subject in English (*there is*) or Spanish (*hay*), but the prefix *o-* implies the existence of a grammatical subject in Ashéninka, which refers to the element that is said to exist. This construction also admits other suffixes, such as the perfective *-ak* in (606).

- (607) Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *viérnes-kì* **otzímaki**, rowa..., ñáathawèeròntsi,
 no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki
 1S-get.up-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED Friday=LOC
 o-tzim-ak-i ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
 3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS F=MED play-&-SPE-NMLZ
 ‘I’ve got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’ (SCFF)

In this example, the prefix *o-* cross-references the things that are said to exist, but a 1st or 2nd person subject prefix can also be used when the existing element is one of the participants in the discourse, as in (608).

- (608) Ari nokámaki haga. Eero **notzimi**.
 ari no-kam-ak-i ha=ra eero no-tzim-i
 thus 1S-die-PFV-FRS LOC=MED NEG.IRR 1S-EXI-FRS
 ‘In this way I’d die there. I wouldn’t exist.’ (CCPC)

The conditionals in the translation reflect the context, in which the speaker says that he would die if he worked the whole day in the hotter hours under the sun. The subject prefixes indicate the existing element in the existential construction: when this element is inanimate (always 3rd person), then it is cross-referenced with the feminine prefix *o-*.

The other form of *tzimaantsi* that occurs in my corpus is without a subject prefix and with the imperfective participle suffix, as in (609).

- (609) **Tzimatsi** omoo inchátopàeni.
 tzim-atsi o-moo inchato=paeni
 EXI-PTCP.IPFV 3F-hole tree=PL
 ‘There are holes in the trees (lit.: there are the trees’ holes).’ (FS)

This construction is very similar to *éénitatsi*. Thus, the two existentials *eeni-* and *-tzim-* appear to be quite similar in their grammatical features, but *-tzim-* admits more morphology. This is also an example of *tzimaantsi* in a possessive construction (the translation might also be ‘the trees have holes’).

6.9.3. Past existential *éniro*

The past existential *éniro* is used to express that something existed in the past, and sometimes it is translated by speakers with Spanish *cuando* ‘when’. Its core meaning is ‘there was’, but it can also have the meaning ‘there still is’.

In (610), *éniro* is used with the totalitative copula *-kaa-*.

- (610) **Éniro** nokáatzini.
 éniro no-kaa-t-zí-ní
 EXL.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child (lit.: there was that I was long ago).’ (CMH)

Éniro in (610) is used in combination with the remote past suffix *-ni*, and the function of both suffixes together was described in Section 6.3.7.2, devoted to the remote past suffix. In (610), *éniro* is used with the verb *nokáatzini*, built with the totalitative copula *-kaa-* and the remote past suffix *-ni*, which yields the meaning ‘I was a little child’. The two examples from an elicitation in (371) show that *éniro* can be used with nouns and verbs, although, in (371b), it is used with a verbalized noun.

- (611) a. **Éniro** nopókini.
 éniro no-pok-i-ní
 EXL.PST 1S-come-FRS-RMPST
 ‘I came long ago (lit.: there was that I came long ago).’
 b. **Éniro** néentsitzini.
 éniro n-eentsi-t-zí-ní
 EXL.PST 1S-child-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child (lit.: there was that I was a child long ago).’

This combination between *éniro* and *-ni* appears to be quite usual and expresses that something happened long ago. However, *éniro* does not necessarily occur always with *-ni*. An example without *-ni* is in (612).

- (612) Tee noñeeri naaka hanta, **éniro** nopíyota.
 tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta éniro no-piyo-t-a
 NEG.REA 1S-see-REG-FRS-3M.O 1 LOC=DIST EXL.PST 1S-meet-&-REA
 ‘I haven’t seen them again there, I was in a meeting (lit.: ..., there was that I was meeting).’ (CCPC)

In this case, the past moment to which *éniro* refers is not remote. Therefore, the function of the combination with *-ni* is to express that the past is remote.

In the same way as *eeni-*, *éniro* can be used in possessive constructions, as in (613).

- (613) **Éeniro** pichárinì?
 éeniro pi-charini
 EXL.PST 2-grandfather.MP
 ‘Do you still have a grandfather? (lit.: is there still your grandfather?).’ (CMH)

In this case, the nuance added to the existential meaning is not PAST but ‘still’. Thus, while, in (610), (371) and (612), *éeniro* can be translated with ‘there was’, in (613), it should be translated with ‘there still is’.

Éeniro is constructed with *eeni-* plus *-ro*, which suggests that it could be segmented with these two elements. However, *-ro* is the form of the feminine object suffix and it makes no semantic sense to ascribe it this value in *éeniro*.

6.9.4. Negative existential *tekatsi*

I have described above three positive existentials, but there is only one negative existential form: *tekatsi*. Its form seems to derive from **tee okaatsi* (tee o-kaa-atsi, NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-PTCP.IPFV), but, presently, it is a single word with only one stress on the penult, so, whatever its origin, it is synchronically frozen; actually, it is pronounced [te'kats^h], following the /i/-deletion rule explained in Section 2.3.1. *Tekatsi* has a meaning equivalent to English ‘there is/are not’. Different uses of *tekatsi* are illustrated in the examples below.

In (614), *tekatsi* is used in a relative construction.

- (614) **Tekatsi** kamántirìni.
 tekatsi kamant-i-ri-ni
 NEG.EXI announce-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
 ‘He hasn’t informed (about his coming; lit.: there is not the one who will announce him).’ (SCS)

In this example, *tekatsi* indicates the non-existence of someone who announces the referred man, so that the meaning is that he has not informed about his coming.

The meaning of *tekatsi* can be extended to ‘there is nothing’ if it is retrievable from the context, as in (615): *tekatsi* follows the statement that the dog has been looking for something inside a bottle, hence the understanding that *tekatsi* means ‘there is nothing (inside the bottle)’.

- (615) Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàwo poterya inthomoeki: **tekatsi**, káankinakitàki.
 otsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
 dog 3M.S-sniff~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bottle inside=LOC
 tekatsi kaankinaki-t-ak-i
 NEG.EXI empty-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘The dog repeatedly sniffs inside the bottle in vain: there is nothing, it’s empty.’ (FS)

In the same way as the positive existentials can form possessive constructions, also *tekatsi* can be used to form a negative possessive construction, as in (616).

- (616) **Tekatsi** nopáapate.
 tekatsi no-paapa-ti
 NEG.EXI 1-father-POSS
 ‘I don’t have a father (lit.: there is not my father).’ (CMH)

Tekatsi can be complemented with an inflected verb instead of a noun or a relativized verb, as is shown in (617).

- (617) **Tekatsi** nóokanahi.
 tekatsi n-ook-an-ah-i
 NEG.EXI 1S-leave-ABL-REG-FRS
 ‘I have no one to leave (in a house) (lit.: there is not that I leave [*leave a person in a house* is known from the context]).’ (CMM)

Tekatsi can host suffixes and enclitics, as in (618), where *tekatsi* hosts the conditional enclitic =rika (abbreviated to *tekátsika*) yielding the meaning ‘if there is not’; and in (619), where the ablative *-an* and the perfective *-ak* indicate that the non-existence refers to the inside of the bottle (the absence of *-an* would change the meaning to ‘there is no bottle’; see Section 6.5.2 for details).

- (618) Shirámpari páerani, arírika okìtehítyamanàki **tekátsika** oyari, ráakiro
 ichékopiti éehatzi itónkamènto...
 shirámpari páerani ari=rika o- kitehiity-aman-ak-i
 man long.ago AFF=COND 3F.S-dawn-EARLY-PFV-FRS
 tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti
 NEG.EXI=COND eat-IRR-REL 3M.S-take-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-arrow-POSS
 éehatzi i-tonk-amento
 also 3M.S-shoot-NMLZ.INS
 ‘Long ago, the men, when it dawned early and there was nothing to eat, they took their arrows and rifle...’ (CTK)

- (619) Eentsi ráminawitàri pirinto: **tekátsitanàki** poterya.
 eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 child 3M.S-look-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O frog
 tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya
 NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS bottle
 ‘The child looks for the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’ (FS)

6.10. Copulas

According to Dixon (2010b:159), a copula clause “has as predicate a copula verb, taking two core arguments, Copula Subject (CS) and Copula Complement (CC)” and “has relational rather than referential meaning”, while he attributes the referential meaning to transitive and intransitive clauses. Dixon goes on by specifying the relations that a copula can cover: always identity and/or attribution, often possession, benefaction, and, in some languages, location. UP Ashéninka has three positive and one negative morphemes that fall into this category, i.e. that can fulfil the function of signalling a relation of identity or attribution between a copula subject and a copula complement. These morphemes are the verbal roots *-kant-* and *-kaa-* and the non-verbal positive *-ni* and negative *kaari*. While Dixon (2010b) always talks about *copula verbs*, the concept of *non-verbal copula* is defined by Stassen (1997:76) to differentiate copulas that “on the basis of their formal characteristics, must be considered to belong to the class of VERBS of the language” from other copulas that “lack the morphological features [...] which distinguish the class of verbs in the language”. This distinction of verbal vs non-verbal copulas is useful for Ashéninka, given that *-kant-* and *-kaa-* are inflected as verbs, but the negative *kaari* is invariable and *-ni* is inflected only with a 1st or 3rd person prefix (also marked for gender in the 3rd person). Therefore, I will adopt Stassen’s (1997) terminology in this section.

The verbal copulas *-kant-* and *-kaa-* can fulfil the typical function of a copula as described by Dixon (2010b:159), but, in my text corpus, they usually fulfil other functions, and it is difficult to find examples with the canonical function of a copula. However, these non-copula functions or meanings are cross-linguistically related to copulas, as will be seen in the relevant sections (6.10.1 for *-kant-* and 6.10.2 for *-kaa-*).

Besides the morphemes mentioned above, full pronouns can form zero copula constructions, which is described in Section 3.1.1.

6.10.1. Verbal copula *kantaantsi*

In principle, the verbal copula *kantaantsi* can be inflected as any other verb, but I have not researched its restrictions in depth, so there might be some. The same root *-kant-* also means ‘say’, but the difference is that *kantaantsi* ‘say’ is inflected with I-class RS suffixes, while the copula *kantaantsi* is inflected with A-class suffixes. This verb always occurs in my corpus with the obligatory RS suffix and the quasi-obligatory subject prefix, except for 2 instances (out of 57) where it appears without the subject prefix. Other suffixes that occur attached to *kantaantsi* in my corpus are perfective *-ak*, habitual *-apiint*, impersonal *-ee*, causative *-aka*, object (different forms), general applicative *-ako*, relative *-ri*, ablative *-an*, regressive *-ah*, plural *-eey...-ni* and mirative *-ña*. As said above, this verb can have the function of a canonical copula, but most occurrences have different functions. The only instance in my text corpus of a canonical copula construction is in (620), and (621) is from an elicitation.

- (620) Hee, ari **nokántari** naaka.
 hee ari no-kant-a-ri naaka
 AFF thus 1S-COP-REA-REL 1
 ‘Yes, I am that way.’ (CMH)

- (621) Hanthawo **okanta**.
 hantha-ro o-kant-a
 tall-F 3F.S-COP-REA
 ‘She is tall.’

In both examples, *-kant-* establishes a relation of attribution between the copula subject (*naaka* ‘I’ in (620) and ‘she’ in (621)) and the copula complement (*ari* ‘thus, this way’ in (620) and *hanthawo* ‘tall’ in (621)).

Stassen (1997:92-93) says that dynamic verbs are a diachronic source for copulas “covering the whole or parts of the semantic domain which includes notions such as ‘do/make/build’, ‘happen/occur’, ‘go/turn into/come/become’ and ‘act (like)’.” Some of these notions, namely ‘happen’, ‘appear’ and ‘do’, are expressed by *kantaantsi*. Therefore, it seems that this verb is on the way to grammaticalizing into a copula in

that it can have a canonical copula function but, at the same time, retains related meanings that cannot be considered to form a copula construction. The meaning ‘happen’ can be observed in (622).

- (622) Tsiká **okántakañà**?
 tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña
 WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR
 ‘What has happened?!’ (SFW)

In (623), *-kant-* acquires the meaning ‘appear’.

- (623) **Ikántaka** manitzi, raniri meiri.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi r-aniri méyiri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M-brother.in.law.MP squirrel
 ‘The jaguar appeared, he is the squirrel’s brother-in-law.’ (TSJ)

Although *-kant-* is more commonly inflected with 3rd person subject prefixes, it can also be inflected with 1st and 2nd person prefixes, as in (620) and (624). In (624), the conveyed meaning is ‘do’.

- (624) Ari **pikántapínta**, ari **pikántapínta**.
 ari pi-kant-apiint-a
 thus 2S-COP-HAB-REA
 ‘You usually do it that way.’ (CCPC)

Stassen (1997:65-66) states that “a full copula is assumed to perform the role of the carrier of a number of grammatical categories which have to be marked in the sentence but which, for some reason, cannot be marked on the lexical predicate itself”. This is the function of *-kant-* in (625), which hosts the ablative suffix *-an* to express motion.

- (625) Ikántatzi ari **ikántanakàwo** atzineri, hantákiro potooki.
 i-kant-atzi ari i-kant-an-ak-a-ro a-tzineri
 3M.S-say-PROG there 3M.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O INC-son-in-law
 hantákiro potoo=ki
 beyond ojé=LOC¹⁷⁴
 ‘Our son-in-law says that he went over there, beyond the *ojé*.’ (CCPC)

There is no motion verb in this sentence, but *ikántanakàwo* acquires the meaning ‘go’ thanks to the ablative *-an*. In this case, *-kant-* is also inflected with the object suffix *-ro*, which cross-references the location where the subject is going to.

¹⁷⁴ *Ojé* is the local Spanish name for the tree *Ficus insipida*.

Kantaantsi can have a discursive function acting as a connector, as in (626). The occurrences with this function are quite frequent when telling stories; it is to link a sentence with the preceding one.

- (626) **Ikántaka** irika iníntakòri ayíitapáaki.
 i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka i-nintakori ayiit-apa-ak-i
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M-follower come.down-ALL-PFV-FRS
 ‘So this follower of his came down.’ (SCS)

The occurrences of *-kant-* with this function usually bear a masculine subject prefix (14 occurrences in my text corpus), but there are 2 occurrences with the feminine prefix (627) and one without any subject prefix (628) in my corpus.

- (627) **Okanta** opóntzitàshitàkiri ana.
 o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
 3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-grate-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O genipap
 ‘So she grated genipap for him.’ (SCS)

- (628) **Kántaka** tee, tee réshikèmpitatapàki waaka.
 kant-ak-a tee réshikèmpita-t-ap-ak-i waaka
 COP-PFV-REA NEG.REA disobedient-&-ALL-PFV-FRS cow
 ‘So, no, the cows have not obeyed.’ (SCFF)

In (627), the feminine prefix is probably caused by the feminine subject of the sentence. In (628), the prefix omission may be due to the narrator’s excitement because the story is arriving at a climax (see Section 6.2.2.2 about subject prefix omission).

In some cases, *-kant-* seems to have no discernible function, as in (629).

- (629) Ráminaminawitari **okanta** ochéenkamorókitàki omoo.
 r-amin~amin-a-wi-t-a-ri o-kant-a
 3M.S-look~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3F.S-COP-REA
 o-cheenka-moro-ki-t-ak-i o-moo
 3M.S-black-hole-FORM-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hole
 ‘He goes on looking into a black hole (in a tree) in vain.’ (FS)

In this example, it seems that *okanta* may be dispensable, although I did not check it with a consultant. A more literal translation would be ‘he goes on looking into *what* is a black hole...’, which may emphasize the fact of there being a black hole, or that the hole is very dark (black). The function of this kind of occurrence of *-kant-* may be difficult to ascertain and can be an interesting topic for future research.

Finally, *kantaantsi* can form a periphrastic causative construction, which is described in Section 6.6.2.1, on causatives.

The examples above show that *kantaantsi* can have the function of a canonical copula, as in (620) and (621), but the occurrence as such in natural texts is scarce; however, speakers tend to use it with copula function in elicitations when translating clauses with the Spanish copula *ser*, probably because they tend to reproduce the Spanish syntax when it suits an Ashéninka expression. Other functions include the meanings ‘happen’ (622), ‘appear’ (623) or ‘do’ (624). Moreover, when used with a directional suffix, *kantaantsi* can express a kind of motion that depends on which directional is used (625). This verb also acts as a connector linking sentences when telling a story, as in examples (626) to (628), and can form a periphrastic causative construction.

6.10.2. Verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi*

Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:42) shows the verb *caataantsi* with the meaning “haber cierto número, estar una cantidad, ser contado, ser completo”.¹⁷⁵ Just as Payne does, I consider that *-kaa-* is a verbal root and its infinitive and dictionary form is *kaataantsi*. The meaning described by Payne coincides with my own research; hence the name TOTALITATIVE: *kaataantsi* expresses the existence of a totality of items. Payne’s meanings referring to a certain amount, a quantity occur with the accompaniment of a numeral, so that, in this case, *kaataantsi* can be considered to have the meaning ‘be a total of X items’, where X is a numeral. This meaning puts *kaataantsi* into the category of Hengeveld’s (1992:34-35) “semi-copulas”, which he defines by saying that “a semi-copula adds an element of meaning to the construction in which it occurs, whereas the copula does not.” This added element of meaning is the totalitative function. Besides this core meaning, *kaataantsi* can act as a canonical copula and has some extended meanings, which are analysed below. It is very frequent, with 56 occurrences in my text corpus.

The core meaning of *kaataantsi* is illustrated in (630).

¹⁷⁵ ‘To exist a certain amount, a quantity; to be counted, complete.’

(630) Ari **okaatzi**.

ari o-kaa-t-zi
 thus 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 'In this way, it (the story) finishes (lit.: all is thus).' (SCS)

In this example, the copula subject is 'it', and the copula complement is *ari* 'thus, in this way'. *Kaataantsi* links both elements in an attributive relation ('it is in this way'), but with the added meaning 'all' ('all of it is in this way'). This is a common expression to close a story, which is best translated in English as 'in this way, it finishes', but the literal translation makes clear the semi-copula function. The expression of a finished action with *-kaa-* is a common occurrence. An example is in (631), where the meaning 'end' is reinforced with the allative suffix *-ap*.

(631) **Ikáatapaki** oorya *a las tres de la tarde*, rowa...

i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i oorya a las tres de la tarde ro=ra
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sun at 3 p.m. F=MED
 'They finished at 3 p.m., um...' (SCFF)

In (632), *okaatzi* means 'all' referring to *piyótziri shímapáeni* 'the fishes you know'. In this sense, *-kaa-* acquires an adjectival function modifying the relativized (nominalized) verb *piyótziri*.

(632) Pikántina éeroka **okaatzi** piyótziri shímapáeni héekatsi hanta pinámpiki.

pi-kant-i-na éeroka o-kaa-t-zi p-iyó-t-zi-ri
 2S-say-IRR-1O 2 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-know-&-REA-REL
 shima=paeni heek-atsi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 fish=PL live-PTCP.IPFV LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 'You, tell me all the fishes that you know that live there in your community.'
 (CMH)

The same function with the meaning 'all' and modifying a relativized verb can be observed in (633).

(633) Riyótawákiri ikáateyini irira ikántètziri..., **ikaatzi** irátsiri.

r-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 3M.S-know-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 DEM-M=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA drink-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 'Those guess who he is, how to say..., those who are drinking.' (SCS)

Payne's (1980:42) meaning "estar una cantidad" 'to exist a quantity' mentioned above occurs in my corpus with *kaataantsi* used with numerals for counting. This

function also expresses the core meaning of the suffix in that *-kaa-* means ‘be a total of X items’, where X is a numeral. One instance is in (634), where *ikaatzi* is used to accompany the numeral *apiti* ‘two’.

- (634) *Ikotyaata ikaatzi apiti.*
 i-kotyaa-t-a i-kaa-t-zi apiti
 3M.S-sit-&-REA 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA two
 ‘There are two sitting.’ (FS)

In this example, the construction *ikaatzi apiti* is the subject of *ikotyaata* ‘they sit’. A literal translation of *ikaatzi apiti* would be ‘they are a total of two’. In (635), the counting function is present even without an explicit numeral.

- (635) *Ikaatzi pokáentsiri..., ikaatzi...*
 i-kaa-t-zi pok-eentsi-ri i-kaa-t-zi
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA come-PTCP.PFV-REL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘Those who have come are ... (counting), are...’ (CCPC)

The speaker is counting the people who have come and has not yet uttered a numeral, but it was clear to the translating consultant that the copula referred to a number, even though the context made it clear only later in the conversation.

In (636), the *-kaa-* form *nokáatakotàki* accompanies the numeral *apiti* ‘two’, but, in this case, *-kaa-* hosts the general applicative suffix *-ako*, which implies that *-kaa-* plus the numeral refer to the amount of time passed.

- (636) *Nokáatakotàki apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.*
 no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri
 1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS two moon
 wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari
 designate-&-PFV-FRS-1O authority
 ‘Two months ago, I have been designated an authority.’ (CTK)

The counting function of *-kaa-* can be used to form a possessive construction when the possessed is a specific number of items. An example is in (637). No numeral is used, but the question requires an answer with a numeral.

- (637) *Hempe ikaatzi pirentzi?*
 hempe i-kaa-t-zi pi-rentzi
 WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2-brother.MP
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’ (CMH)

In this example, *kaataantsi* acquires the function of expressing a possessive construction. The close connection of *kaataantsi* with numerals makes it possible to carry out this function, normally reserved for existentials. Actually, I have found in

my text corpus only one instance of an existential with a numeral (*apaani* ‘one’), so it seems that *-kaa-* replaces the existentials when the subject is modified by a numeral higher than 1.

Kaataantsi can have the function of a canonical copula without the totalitative added meaning. A consultant said that the same construction shown in (621) with *-kant-* (*hanthawo okanta* ‘she is tall’) can be formed with *-kaa-* (638).

- (638) *Hanthawo okaatzi.*
 hantha-ro o-kaa-t-zi
 tall-F 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘She is tall.’

However, this construction does not occur in my text corpus, yet a copula function without the totalitative meaning occurs establishing an attributive relation with the copula complement being an incorporated adjective, as in (639), where the adjective *chanceeña-* ‘ovoid’ is incorporated into the verbal construction with *-kaa-*.

- (639) *Omaanta nashi naaka oryápetyanikini okáachancheeñakitzi*
nowatharékithe; ari rowa..., ikántétziro rowa..., pòshíni.
 o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
 F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-small-table-like-FORM-ADJ
 o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékithe
 3F.S-COP.TOT-ovoid-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testicle
 ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
 AFF F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED tasty-ADJ
 ‘Even though mine is small, table-like and ovoid, my testicle, so..., um..., how to say..., um..., it is tasty.’ (TSJ)

There are two adjectives in the clause (*oryápetyanikini* and *okáachancheeñakitzi*), both with the long stems discussed in Section 5.6), and only the second one is formed with the adjective incorporated in a verbal complex with the root *-kaa-*. Both adjectives modify the possessed noun *nowatharékithe* ‘my testicle’, but the reason to form only one with *-kaa-* is probably that the speaker wants to emphasize it. Example (640) shows another incorporation into a verbal complex formed with *-kaa-*, but in this case with the inalienable noun *-moityo* ‘navel’. Note that the FORM suffix *-ki* turns *-moityoki-* into an adjective (‘navel-like’).

- (640) *Tee, okàamoityókitzi.*
 tee o-kaa-moityo-ki-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-navel-FORM-&-REA
 ‘No, it is small and round (navel-like).’ (CMM)

Kaataantsi can be inflected with plural suffixes to build a form that acts as a plural pronoun with the meaning ‘we/you/they all’. I show here an instance in (641), where *nokáatèyini* means ‘we all, all of us’.

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

Since there are no plural pronouns in the language, these constructions fill this gap. However, they are not always equivalent to a pronoun. In (642), *nokáateyini* cannot be translated as ‘we all’, but rather as ‘those of mine, my people’.

- (642) Tee nokoyi nopiyi okímitaka noniro, nopáapati, éehatzi **nokáateyini** páerani iroñaaka nonámpiki.
 tee no-koy-i no-piy-i o-kimi-t-ak-a
 NEG.REA 1S-want-FRS 1S-go.back-IRR 3F.S-be.similar-&-PFV-REA
 no-niro no-paapa-ti éehatzi no-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 1-mother 1-father-POSS also 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 páerani iroñaaka no-nampi=ki
 long.ago now 1-community=LOC
 ‘I don’t want to go backwards to be like my mother, my father, nor like those of mine who were before and now in my (indigenous) community.’ (CMH)

A very literal translation of *nokáateyini* would be ‘those of mine who are’. The 1st person subject prefix in *nokáateyini* cannot refer to ‘we’ because the speaker says that she does not want to be similar to the people who lived and live now in her community, so that the reference of *nokáateyini* is the people of her community, but not the speaker herself. Therefore, a possessive meaning is included in the construction with *-kaa-*, which can be best translated as ‘those of mine’.

In (643), the pronominal construction with *-kaa-* is used with the medial demonstrative enclitic *=ra*, which gives *-kaa-* a more demonstrative function: *ikáateyìnirà* is ‘those’ in the translation line.

- (643) Roo roweyántakàwo rìrakagéiyakirini iyamarámpiti **ikáateyìnirà**.
 roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-ee-y-ak-i-ri-ni
 then 3M.S-be.last-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-drink-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL
 i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni=ra
 3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 ‘Then arrives the last one, who makes those drink his ayahuasca.’ (SCS)

In (644), the pronominal construction *ikáateyini* accompanied by *apáanipáeni* ‘each one’ acquires a distributive function.

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

Kaataantsi can have the same function shown for *kantantsi* in (625), mentioned by Stassen (1997:65) as “the role of the carrier of a number of grammatical categories”. In (645), the only function of *-kaa-* is to be the carrier of the temporal subordinator suffix.

- (645) **Okáatzira** piheeki hanta pinámpiki, óetaka pipánkitziri okaatzi powáyitari?
 o-kaa-t-zi-ra pi-heek-i ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-live-FRS LOC=DIST 2-community=LOC
 o-eta=ka pi-panki-t-zi-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sow-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zi p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-eat-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘When you are there in your community, what’s everything you sow to eat?’
 (CMH)

Although it would be possible to say *pihéekira* and avoid *-kaa-* (with the temporal subordinator *-ra* on *piheeki*), probably the speaker is seeking a discursive effect similar to English ‘when it is the case that you are...’ instead of ‘when you are...’ This function of being the base of a suffix also occurs in (646), where the meaning of being a child is expressed by the past existential *éniro* and the remote past suffix *-ni*, while *-kaa-* is devoid of any semantic content and only functions as the host that *-ni* needs.

- (646) **Éniro nokáatzini**.
 éniro no-kaa-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘I was a child.’ (CMH)

The examples above show a variety of functions and meanings of the verbal totalitative copula *kaataantsi*, which perhaps would be even more with a larger corpus. Summing up, the functions of *kaataantsi* analysed in this section are:

1. The function of a copula with the added totalitative meaning ('be all'), which puts it into the category of semi-copulas as defined by Hengeveld (1992:34-35). This is illustrated in examples (630) to (637).
2. Function 1 has the extended sub-function of counting a number of items when a numeral is present or is inferable from the context, as in examples (634) to (637).
3. The function of a copula without the added totalitative meaning forming an attributive relation with an adjective as copula complement: with an independent adjective (638), with an adjective incorporated inside the verbal construction with the root *-kaa-* (639), and with an adjective derived from a noun plus the FORM suffix *-ki* (640).
4. Acting as a plural pronoun with the meaning 'we/you/they all' in (641) to (644), with a possessive meaning in (642), a rather demonstrative function in (643) and a distributive meaning in (644).
5. Devoid of an own meaning as host for a suffix in (645) (with the temporal subordinator *-ra*) and (646) (with the remote past *-ni*).

6.10.3. Non-verbal animate copula *-ni*

This copula is not inflected as a verb, but only with a person and gender prefix that cross-references the copula subject, which is always animate and can be 1st or 3rd person, but not 2nd. Thus, there are only three forms: 1st person *noni*, and 3rd person feminine *oni* and masculine *ini*. Another unusual feature is that it takes the final position in the clause, which is totally impossible for a verb in Ashéninka. All these non-verbal features put *-ni* inside the category of non-verbal copulas as defined by Stassen (1997:76): "they typically lack the morphological features (such as PNG-marking,¹⁷⁶ or tense-mood-aspect marking) which distinguish the class of verbs in the language. Quite commonly they also differ from 'real' verbs in their syntactic behaviour, as they do not occur in the positions which are canonical for verbs."

I have only one instance in my corpus (647), so I deduce that it is infrequent.

¹⁷⁶ PNG stands for person-number-gender.

- (647) Ikántaka meiri páerani ashéninka **ini**.
 i-kant-ak-a méyiri páerani ashéninka i-ni
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA squirrel long.ago person 3M-COP.AN
 ‘Long ago, the squirrel was a person.’ (TSJ)

In (647), *ini* functions as a canonical copula establishing an identity relation between two nouns. The order in the copulative construction is COPULA SUBJECT-COPULA COMPLEMENT-COPULA. This final position in the clause is totally impossible in Ashéninka verbs.

Other examples with only the copula complement (the copula subject is omitted in Ashéninka and is a pronoun in the English translation) obtained from elicitations are in (648).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (648) a. Tsinani oni .
tsinani o-ni
woman 3F-COP.AN
‘She is a woman.’ | b. Shirámpari ini .
shirámpari i-ni
man 3M-COP.AN
‘He is a man.’ |
| c. Eentsi ini .
eentsi i-ni
child 3M-COP.AN
‘He is a child.’ | d. Chéenkari oni .
cheenka-ri o-ni
black-REL 3F-COP.AN
‘She is black.’ |
| e. Antawo oni .
anta-ro o-ni
big-F 3F-COP.AN
‘She is big.’ | f. Wirákocha oni .
wirákocha o-ni
non-indigenous 3F-COP.AN
‘She is not indigenous.’ |

The copula *-ni* can express identity (648a-c,f) and attributive (648d,e) relations with nouns and adjectives, respectively (*wirákocha* is a noun that denotes a non-indigenous person, i.e. a mestizo or a white).

Possible cognates in other Campan languages are the copulas *-n-* and *-nti* in Nanti (Michael 2008:292-93); *-nti* is described as irregular because it can be inflected with person and gender (1st person *nanti*, 2nd person *binti*, inclusive *hanti*, 3rd person f. *onti*, 3rd person m. *inti*), but no other morphology; the position of *-n-* and *-nti* is not clause-final as in UP Ashéninka *-ni*. Snell’s Matsigenka dictionary (2011:121) shows *-nti* also inflected with person and with the same forms (except inclusive, which does not appear), and also with a non-clause-final position; Matsigenka also has the copula *-n-* (Lev Michael p.c. 2022). Mihas (2015a:207-08) describes for Alto Perené the

copula *na*, which is inflected as a regular verb (e.g. *onatzi*, o-na-tz-i, 3NM.S-be-&-REA, ‘she is’) but has a clause-final position.

In UP Ashéninka, it is possible to use the 1st person with *-ni*, but not the 2nd person (649), which is a very curious and unusual feature. A speaker was very clear in saying that the supposed 2nd person form **pini* does not exist.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (649) a. Shirámpari noni .
shirámpari no-ni
man 1-COP.AN
‘I’m a man.’ | b. Shirámpari *pini .
shirámpari *pi-ni
man *2-COP.AN
Pretended: ‘You’re a man.’ |
|---|--|

6.10.4. Non-verbal negative copula *kaari*

There are three positive existentials and only one negative, and the same happens with the copulas: the previous sections describe three positive copulas, but the only negative copula is *kaari*. This word is invariable, so it cannot be inflected in any way, and this is the reason to consider it a non-verbal copula as defined by Stassen (1997:76).

While the negative particles realis *tee* and irrealis *eero* (Section 3.7) always negate verbs, *kaari* negates nouns and relativized verbs, which can be considered noun phrases.

The canonical function of a copula is best observed in (650), which is from a non-recorded conversation that I heard in which I am referred to.

- (650) Kaari *gringo*.
 kaari gringo
 NEG.COP gringo
 ‘He’s not a gringo.’

The one who is not a gringo is me, and this sentence was uttered by a speaker talking by phone with another speaker. The copula subject is not expressed because it is clear from the context: the conversation was about planning my trip to a native community and the speaker’s interlocutor probably asked whether I was a gringo. The example shows a clear copulative construction establishing a negative identity relation. An instance of a canonical copula construction from a recorded text is in (651).

- (651) Róetapáeni ishèmyakotáshitawo rowa..., iyétakiti; **kaari** iyatharékichopero.
 roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro ro=ra
 seed=PL 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O F=MED
 i-ketaki-ti kaari i-yatharékicho-pero
 3M-forest.peanut-POSS NEG.COP 3M-testicle-VER
 ‘He was crushing seeds, um..., of forest peanuts: it wasn’t really his testicle.’
 (TSJ)

The copulative construction in this example is *kaari iyatharékichopero* ‘it wasn’t really his testicle’. The copula subject is what was said in the previous clause (*róetapáeni* ‘seeds’) and the copula complement is *iyatharékichopero* ‘really his testicle’.

In other instances from my text corpus, *kaari* does not have such a canonical copula function. They are analysed in the following examples.

In (652), *kaari* negates a zero copula construction formed with the pronominal root *roo-* (3F) inflected with verbal affixes (see Section 3.1.1 for the description of this kind of zero copula construction).

- (652) Meiri **kaari** róotaki iyatharékicho.
 méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékicho
 squirrel NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testicle
 ‘The squirrel, it wasn’t his testicle.’ (TSJ)

In this example from the same tale as (651), the same statement is made: ‘it wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle’. Seeing the copular construction in (651), it is clear that *róotaki* in (652) might be omitted. Its occurrence probably conveys more emphasis to the statement.

In (653), *kaari* modifies the relative verb *niyótziròri* ‘what I know’.

- (653) Haka nopókapàki 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
 ‘I’ve come here and I’ve learnt much of what I didn’t know there in my community.’ (CMH)

Kaari modifies the relativized *niyótziròri* ‘what I know’. It is worth to note here that I asked a consultant whether this *kaari* might be replaced by the general realis negator *tee* and he did not accept it. Probably, the reason is that the relativized *niyótziròri* acts

as an NP ('what I knew'='my previous knowledge') and *kaari* is the negator used to negate an NP.

In (654), *kaari* negates a verb that would bear the relative suffix *-ri* if it were positive.

- (654) Íitakya **kaari** pamanta niha?
 iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-bring-RES-REA water
 'Why didn't you bring water?' (CCPC)

In this question, a consultant told me that it is not possible to replace *kaari* with the usual verbal negator *tee*. When the resultative suffix *-ant* expresses consequence or goal, it requires the relative suffix *-ri* (see Section 6.7.2), except when the polarity is negative. Therefore, it seems that *pamanta* is treated as a relativized verb, and the relative *-ri* is absent only due to the negative polarity. A relative construction can be considered a kind of nominalization –as in (653)–, so that, even in this case without the relative suffix due to the negative polarity, the presence of *-ant* may trigger that the verb is negated as a noun rather than as a verb. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the only negators negating verbs with the resultative *-ant* in my corpus are *kaari* and the irrealis negator *eero*. In all the instances in my text corpus, *kaari* is used in realis situations, so further research should find out whether *kaari* has a realis parameter.

In (655), *kaari* appears with the conditional enclitic *=rika* attached.

- (655) Niyótantiyari kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, **káaririka** haka ashéninka
 héekatzi oháawiki, paata nopòntzitáshitawakiriita ana.
 n-iyo-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
 1S-know-&-RES-IRR-REL true-VER=COND 3M.S-hail.from-REA up
 kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
 NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-fellow.person live-PROG 3F-down
 paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri=ita ana
 later 1S-grate-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=ROPT genipap
 'In order to know whether it is really true that he hails from heaven, and it isn't
 that the Ashéninka lives here on the ground, I'm going to prepare genipap later
 for him (for his arrival, although he won't like it).' (SCS)

The conditional *=rika* is also present in *kyáaryoperòrika* 'whether it is really true', and its two occurrences signal the two conditions that the speaker wants to find out: whether it is true that he comes from heaven and whether he does not come from the

ground (the earthly world) –although both express the same condition (the second one negates the contrary of the first one). The translation of *káaririka* is thus ‘whether it isn’t...’, and the rest of the clause states the condition that the speaker wants to find out.

Kaari can also host the counter-expectative enclitic =*maita*, as is shown in the long sentence in (656), yielding the meaning ‘even though it wasn’t’.

- (656) Rámatawitakiri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho ikìmitakáantawitakàwo
 róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotáki kameetha iyátharékitho,
káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi
 3M.S-cheat-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O squirrel DEM-M=PROX jaguar
 i-yatharékitho i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 3M-testicle 3M.S-seem-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 roo-t-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i
 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-say-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS
 kameetha i-yatharékitho kaari=maita
 good 3M-testicle NEG.COP=COEXP
 i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti
 3M.S-crush-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-forest.peanut-POSS
 ‘The squirrel has cheated this jaguar because he has made it seem (being false)
 as though, um..., what’s its name..., that it was real that his testicle was good
 (tasty), yet it wasn’t: he was crushing forest peanuts.’ (TSJ)

The counter-expectative and the conditional enclitics are the only morphemes that occur attached to *kaari* in my corpus. The counter-expectative enclitic =*maita* can also attach to the realis negator *tee* (see Section 3.7) and is practically identical in form to the counter-expectative suffix *-imai* (see Section 6.4.2.7).

6.11. Invariable words with a verbal function

There are a few words with a verbal function that cannot be segmented (for *verbal function*, I understand that they form a predicate on their own). My corpus contains five of these words, which are described below.

Táanitya in (657) means ‘I don’t know anything, I have no idea’.

- (657) **Táanitya**, tee noñeeri naaka hanta, éeniro nopíyota.
 táanitya tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta
 I.know.nothing NEG.REA 1S-see-REG-FRS-3M.O 1 LOC=DIST
 éeniro no-piyo-t-a
 EXI.PST 1S-meet-&-REA
 ‘I know nothing, I didn’t see him there again, I was in a meeting.’ (CCPC)

In this conversation between three people, it is difficult to know what the speaker does not know, but the translation I got was very clear. Moreover, the same word appears in Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (1980:133) with the meaning “¡no sé!” ‘I don’t know’ and qualified as an interjection.

Sho in (658) means ‘look!’

- (658) Ñáakiro, iroka **sho** ahá, ocho soles el kilo, ñáakiro.
 ña-ak-i-ro i-ro=ka sho ahá
 see-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=PROX look INTJ
 ocho soles el kilo ña-ak-i-ro
 eight soles per kilo see-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘You see it, look at this one (a cacao pod), aha, eight soles per kilo, you see it.’
 (CCPC)

This word is remarkable because it is the only one that I have found that breaks the rule that the minimal word has at least two morae. It occurs four times in the same three-person conversation and is uttered by two of the participants. It may mean ‘look!’, but also ‘there’. I insisted on the question whether the *o* might be long, but the translating consultant was very clear in saying that it is short. He added that this word must be uttered while the speaker points with the finger. In this way, the meanings ‘look!’ and ‘there’ turn out to be quite similar, so that the speaker points to some place and, even meaning ‘there’, is urging her interlocutor to look at that point. An example with the meaning ‘there’ is in (659).

- (659) Éeniwitàcha antawo hanta **sho** otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV big-F LOC=DIST there 3F-back=LOC
 ‘There was a big one (a *chacra*) there by the gully.’ (CCPC)

In (660), *máetawaki* means ‘wait!’ I have added the previous statement in the conversation to clarify the context.

- (660) **A:** Éehatzi éerori, *tío*. Páteyìro haga.
 éehatzi eero-ri *tío* p-atey-i-ro ha=ra
 also 2-TOO uncle 2S-hold-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED
 ‘You too, uncle. Hold it there.’
B: Máetawákità.
 maetawaki-ta
 wait-EMPH
 ‘Wait!’ (CCPC)

I asked the translating consultant about *máetawákità* trying to find out whether there is a stem with the perfective suffix *-ak*, and even with the object motion suffix *-aw*. However, the minimal form that he accepted was *máetawaki*, and he did not even accept it inflected with subject prefixes. Therefore, the conclusion is that *máetawaki* is a frozen form with the meaning ‘wait!’

Another frozen expression is *mache* ‘be that way’. In (661), it is accompanied by *ari*, which is a common combination.

- (661) Ari **machétaka** rowa.
 ari mache-t-ak-a ro=ra
 AFF be.thus-&-PFV-REA F=MED
 ‘That will be that way.’ (TSJ)

I asked the translating consultant questions to find out whether a root *-ma-* ‘can’ might be found in this word, but he did not accept forms different from *mache* or *machétaka*. This word also occurs attached to the masculine prefix *ri-* in (662).

- (662) **Rímache** nótisipatya.
 ri-mache no-tsipa-t-ya
 3M-be.thus 1S-accompany-&-IRR
 ‘Them, I’m going to accompany/Yes, I’m going to stay with them.’ (CMM)

I have given two different translations from two different consultants, but the meaning is actually quite similar. The speaker’s interlocutor was asking her whether she was going to accompany her husband’s family to a house, and (662) was the answer. *Mache* is inflected with other affixes in both (661) and (662), but its character of invariable word comes from the fact that it has a verbal function and cannot be segmented as a normal verb. Its meaning is somewhat unclear in (662), but the expressions *ari mache* and *ari machétaka* were researched thoroughly and their meaning ‘be that way’ is quite clear. The feminine counterpart of *rímache* is *róomache*, which is attested in Fernández (2011:72-79), based on fieldwork in the

Gran Pajonal. I have no instance of *róomache*, but I do have an instance of its abbreviated form *rooma* in (663), where the underlying *make* has the same meaning as in (661) and (662).

- (663) **Rooma** itáakiri.
 roo-ma(che) i-ta-ak-i-ri
 3F-be.thus 3M.S-burn-REL
 ‘This is what he has burnt (lit.: it is thus what he has burnt).’ (CCPC)

In (664), the word *iká* expresses surprise, so I have glossed it with the grammatical abbreviation SURP.

- (664) **Ika**, íitaka itháatàkiri? **Iká!** Káakitaki kashékari iró¹⁷⁷ (iroñaaka)!
 iká iita=ka i-thaat-ak-i-ri iká
 SURP WH=INT 3M.S-bark-PFV-FRS-REL SURP
 kaaki-t-ak-i kashékari iroñaaka
 arrive-&-PFV-FRS jaguar now
 ‘What’s that? Who screeched (a bird)? My god! The jaguar arrives now!’
 (SFW)

This word, as the others described in this section, is difficult to classify, and *iká* is actually difficult to translate –just note the two different translations for the two occurrences–, but the translating consultant explained that it is normally used when someone hears a suspicious and unexpected sound, so that, in some contexts, it might be translated as ‘listen!’ or ‘watch out!’ Thus, I think that SURPRISE is the label that best defines it. *Iká* is actually an abbreviation of *ikantzi* ‘he says’, but both meanings do not appear to have much in common. The diachronic origin of *iká* might be that *ikantzi* was uttered with the meaning ‘someone/some animal made a noise (says something)’.

6.12. Incorporation

Incorporation does occur in UP Ashéninka, but very seldom. Adjectival stems make an exception, given that their combinations with other adjectival, nominal or verbal stems are a more frequent occurrence. These combinations are studied in Section 5.7.

I have no example in my corpus of nouns incorporated into verbal complexes with verbal roots, although there are some cases of nouns combined with adjectives

¹⁷⁷ *Iró* is an abbreviated form of *iroñaaka*.

in fully verbalized words (with verbal affixes) (see Section 5.7). I have only one example of an adverb incorporated into a verb, which is in (665).

- (665) **Rowáhenokàkotákiro**, rowákotàkiro *biciclétakì*.
 r-ow-a-henok-ako-t-ak-i-ro bicicleta=ki
 3M.S-put-&-on.top-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O bicycle=LOC
 r-ow-ako-t-ak-i-ro bicicleta=ki
 3M.S-put-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O bicycle=LOC
 ‘He has put it on top, he has put it on the bicycle.’ (PV)

‘On top’ is two words in English, but *henoki* ‘on top, upon’ is an Ashéninka adverb. In (665), *henoki* is incorporated inside the verbal complex, so that the root *-ow-* ‘put’ plus *henoki* yields the meaning ‘put upon, put on top’.

There are only two instances of words with two verbal stems in my corpus; these are in (666) and (667).

- (666) Ari **ròtsikanàminthatári**.
 ari r-otsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri
 there 3M.S-stare-look-BAD-&-REA-3M.O
 ‘There he stares at length and maliciously at him.’ (TSJ)

‘Stares at length’ is the translation of Spanish *observa detenidamente*, which is the translation I got from a consultant. ‘Maliciously’ is the meaning expressed by the badness suffix *-tha*. The combination of the stems *-otsikana-* ‘stare’ and *-amin-* ‘look’ conveys the meaning ‘stares at length, thoroughly’.

- (667) Apáataka íntsipaki, **kàmapiyótaki**.
 Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki kam-a-piyo-t-ak-i
 3F.S-spoil-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay dry.off-&-pile.up-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘The pacays have spoiled, they have dried off in piles (a lot of them).’ (CCPC)

In this case, the verbal stems *-kam-* ‘die, dry off’ and *-piyo-* ‘pile up’ are combined to yield the meaning ‘dry off in piles (a lot of them)’.