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A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)

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Annex 1. List of grammatical morphemes

-Ø	3F.S, 3M.S	-eentsi/-eencha	PTCP.PFV
-a (non-palatalization of preceding consonant)	REA	eero	NEG.IRR
a-/Ø-	INCL.S	éeroka	2
-a(h)	REG	-eriki	DIM.PL
-a/-ya	REFL	hame/thame	HORT.INCL
aaka	INCL	-hato/-hatzi	ADJZ.CL
-aantsi	INF	-hatzi	PL.FOC
-ahaant	LAM	hee, ari	AFF
-aiy/-eey, ...-ni	PL (verbal)	-hempiy	MAL
-ak	PFV	i-	DEM, M
-aka(g)	CAUS	-i	FRS
-ako	APPL	i-/r-,	3M.S
-aman	EARLY	-i/-ya	IRR
-amento	NMLZ.INS	iká	SURP
-an	ABL	-imo	COM
-aniki	DIM	-inka	ADJZ
-ant	INS, OCC, RES, TIME	-intzi	REST
-anant	RES	-it	ANT, PAR, TRLOC
-ap(a)	ALL	-ite	PL.AN
-apiint	HAB	=ka	INT, PROX
-ashi	POSS, PURP, NPURP	-kaa-	COP.TOT
-atsi/-acha	PTCP.IPFV	-kant-	COP
-atyee/-atyeya	FUT	-ki	FORM
-atzi/-atya	PROG	=ki	LOC
-aw	OM	-kira	LIQ
-awak	DES	=kya	EMPH
-awak	RECP	=ma	DUB
-cheyinaa	BALL	=maita	COEXP
-e	IMPS	-maanta	COEXP
eeni-	EXI	-mi	2O, 2S, COFA
éeniro	EXI.PST	-na	1O
		-ntzinka	ADJZ
		-ña	MIR

<i>-na</i>	1S	<i>-rontsi/-rentsi</i>	NMLZ
<i>-na/-nana</i>	MAT	<i>roori</i>	3F
<i>naaka</i>	1	<i>rówaga/ríraga</i>	CAT.DEM
<i>-neent</i>	ATT	<i>-she</i>	THICK
<i>-ni</i>	ADJ, COP.AN, DO, IGN, INTS, REL.IRR, RPST	<i>-ta</i>	DU
<i>no-/n-</i>	1S	<i>:-ta</i>	ROPT
<i>-nt</i>	KV	<i>-tapae</i>	ABUND
<i>=nta</i>	DIST	<i>tee</i>	NEG.REA
<i>o-/Ø-</i>	3F.S	<i>tekatsi</i>	NEG.EXI
<i>o-/oomin/-oe/-ow</i>	CAUS	<i>-tha</i>	BAD
<i>-pa</i>	LATER	<i>-ti/-ni/-ri</i>	POSS
<i>=paeni</i>	PL (nominal)	<i>-ti (non-affrication of /t/)</i>	IRR
<i>-paeti</i>	DUR2	<i>-tsi/-ntsi</i>	ALI
<i>-pero</i>	VER	<i>=tya</i>	EMPH
<i>pi-</i>	2S	<i>-tzi (affrication of /t/)</i>	REA
<i>-pitha</i>	AWAY	<i>tzim-</i>	EXI
<i>-pooki</i>	COL	<i>-wae</i>	DUR1
<i>-ra</i>	TEMP	<i>-wee</i>	SPE
<i>=ra</i>	MED	<i>=wee</i>	EXCLM
<i>=ranki</i>	ABSE	<i>-went</i>	BEN
Reduplication	ITE	<i>-wi</i>	FRU
<i>-ri</i>	3M.O, M, REL, TOO	<i>-ya (palatalization of preceding consonant)</i>	IRR
<i>=rika</i>	COND	<i>-yi</i>	DISTR
<i>-riko</i>	DESP		
<i>rirori</i>	3M		
<i>-ro</i>	3F.O		

Annex 2. Ashéninka glossed texts

The following eleven natural texts were transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers. We listened to the recordings and the consultant dictated me slowly what they had heard. After writing down one or two sentences, I asked for the translation and posed questions to them with the goal of finding out the meaning of each morpheme. Obviously, as my knowledge of the language increased, I was able to recognise many lexical roots and grammatical morphemes, so my questions were directed to find out those that I could not recognise. In the final stages of my fieldwork, I also revised the first recorded texts in order to establish the meaning of the morphemes that I had not been able to recognise.

The texts are ordered by time of recording. The first four (FS, PV, TSJ and CMM) were recorded in 2016, the second four (CMH, CTK, OS and SCFF) in 2017, and the last three (SCS, SFW and CCPC) in 2019. The following list shows the acronyms and the time length of each text. The total time is 67 minutes and 28 seconds. The acronyms are used in the examples throughout the thesis so as to indicate from which text they are taken. At the beginning of each text, a short explanation introduces the speakers. The consultants translated the Ashéninka expressions into Spanish, so this is the language in which the lexical morphemes and the translations are given in order to show the consultants' translations. However, the last line of the glosses with the free translation is translated into English below. There are footnotes commenting on aspects of the texts that I considered of interest. The recordings of these texts are available at osf.io/agkst/?view_only=d0a0b2bdd9cc49998ead9c0a557328f1.

Frog story (FS), 10 min. 43 sec. P. 503.

Pear video (PV), 5 min. 39 sec. P. 515.

Tale of the squirrel and the jaguar (TSJ), 7 min. 29 sec. P. 521.

Conversation between Mathawo and Maruja (CMM), 5 min. 42 sec. P. 536.

Conversation between Mathari and Hamani (CMH), 5 min. 54 sec. P. 555.

Conversation between Thaampi and Kamato (CTK), 5 min. 25 sec. P. 569.

Otényaki's story (OS), 4 min. 13 sec. P. 580.

502 *A grammar of Ashéninka (Ucayali-Pajonal)*

Story of the cows on the football field (SCFF), 2 min. 17 sec. P. 583.

Story of the cheating shaman (SCS), 12 min. 35 sec. P. 587.

Story of the fleeing woman (SFW) 1 min. 55 sec. P. 614.

Conversation between Cheroki, Píchotzi and Chochoki (CCPC) 5 min. 36 sec. P. 619.

Frog story

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording. The speaker is shown several drawings illustrating the frog story, and he explains what he sees. The recording lasts 10 minutes and 43 seconds.

Pirinto, tsiká pihéekakika? Irika eenchániki ihéekaki.

pirinto tsiká pi-heek-ak-i=ka

rana WH 2S-estar-PFV-FRS=INT

i-ri=ka eentsi-aniki i-heek-ak-i

DEM-M=PROX niño-DIM 3M.S-estar.sentado-PFV-FRS

‘Rana, ¿dónde estás? Este niño está sentado.’

‘Frog, where are you? This little child is sitting down.’

Eentsi itsipátari rótsitziti

eentsi i-tsipa-t-a-ri r-otsitzi-ti

niño 3M.S-acompañar-&-REA-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS

‘El niño está acompañado por su perro.’

‘The child is accompanied by his dog.’

Pirinto ihéekaki inthomoeki poterya.

pirinto i-heek-ak-i inthomoe=ki poterya

rana 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS dentro=LOC botella

‘La rana está dentro de una botella.’

‘The frog is inside a bottle.’

Eentsi imaaki.

eentsi i-mag-ak-i

niño 3M.S-dormir-PFV-FRS

‘El niño está dormido.’

‘The child is asleep.’

Pirinto ishitówanaki, ihéekawita inthomoeki poterya.

pirinto i-shitow-an-ak-i i-heek-a-wi-t-a inthomoe=ki poterya

rana 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-estar-&-FRU-&-REA dentro=LOC botella

‘La rana ha salido, estaba dentro de la botella.’

‘The frog has come out, it was inside the bottle.’

Eentsi ráminawitári pirinto: tekátsitanàki poterya.

eentsi r-amin-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto tekatsi-t-an-ak-i poterya

niño 3M.S-mirar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana NEG.EXI-&-ABL-PFV-FRS botella

‘El niño mira (busca) a la rana en vano: no hay nada en la botella.’

‘The boy looks at (for) the frog in vain: there is nothing in the bottle.’

Eentsi ikòakòawitakàri *zapátoki*, ihòokántawitakàri.

eentsi i-kow-a~kow-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri zapato=ki
niño 3M.S-querer-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O zapato=LOC

i-hook-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri
3M.S-vaciar-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-REL

‘El niño ha estado buscándola en vano en el zapato, por eso lo ha vaciado en vano.’
‘The boy has been looking in vain for it in the shoe, so he has emptied it in vain.’

Tee ñagaeri iwírintòti. Ótsitzi rahánkahànkawitakàri.

tee i-ñag-a-e-ri i-pirinto-ti
NEG.REA 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O 3M-rana-POSS

ótsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri
perro 3M.S-olfatear~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O

‘Otra vez no ha visto su rana. El perro ha estado olfateándola en vano.’
‘Again he hasn’t seen his frog. The dog has been sniffing her in vain.’

Ikáemawitàri eentsi pirinto. Ikáemakáemawitàri.

i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri eentsi pirinto
3M.S-llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O niño rana

i-kaem-a~kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri
3M.S-llamar-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O

‘El niño llama a la rana en vano. Sigue llamándola en vano.’
‘The boy calls the frog in vain. He keeps calling it in vain.’

Ótsitzi rahánkahánkawitakàwo poterya inthomoeki: tekatsi, káankinakitàki.

otsitzi r-ahank~ahank-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro poterya inthomoe=ki
perro 3M.S-olfatear~ITE-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O botella dentro=LOC

tekatsi kaankinaki-t-ak-i
NEG.EXI vacío-&-PFV-FRS

‘El perro ha estado olfateando en vano dentro de la botella. No hay nada, está vacía.’
‘The dog has been sniffing in vain inside the bottle. There’s nothing, it’s empty.’

Eentsi ithòmákiri rótsitzitè.

eentsi i-thom-ak-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti
niño 3M.S-abrazar-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS

‘El niño ha abrazado a su perro.’
‘The child hugs his dog.’

Eentsi káemawitàri pirinto. Ragénkatakì hani.

eentsi kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
niño llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana

r-agenka-t-ak-i hani
3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS avispa

‘El niño llama en vano a la rana. Unas avispas vuelan en círculos.’
‘The child calls the frog in vain. Some wasps fly in circles.’

Ótsitzi ithaatzí. Tzimatsi omoo inchátópàeni. Ari ihéekaki hani.
 ótsitzi i-thaat-zi tzim-atsi o-moo inchato=paeni
 perro 3M.S-ladrar-REA EXI-PTCP.IPFV 3F-hueco árbol=PL
 ari i-heek-ak-i hani
 allí 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS avispa
 ‘El perro ladra. Hay huecos en los árboles. Allí están las avispas.’
 ‘The dog barks. There are holes in the trees. The wasps are there.’

Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. Ótsitzi ithaatzí.
 eentsi éekiro i-kaem-atzi ótsitzi i-thaat-zi
 niño continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG perro 3M.S-ladrar-REA
 ‘El niño continúa llamando. El perro ladra.’
 ‘The child goes on calling. The dog barks.’

Haka éentsini, éentsika éekiro ikáematzi rótsitzi,
 ha=ka eentsi-ni
 LOC=PROX niño-INTS
 eentsi=ka éekiro i-kaem-atzi-ri r-otsitzi-ti
 niño=PROX continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS
 ‘Aquí el niño, este niño continúa llamando a su perro.’
 ‘The little boy here, this boy keeps on calling his dog.’

Itháatakiri irika haniika¹⁹⁸. Ñaa ragénkatakí.
 i-thaat-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka hani=ka
 3M.S-ladrar-PFV-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX avispa=PROX
 ñaa r-agenka-t-ak-i
 allá 3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Ladra este (perro) a estas avispas. Allí vuelan en círculos.’
 ‘This (dog) barks at these wasps. There they fly in circles.’

Eentsi éekiro ikáematzi. Éehatzi ótsitzi itháatakiri irika haniika.
 eentsi éekiro i-kaem-atzi
 niño continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG
 éehatzi ótsitzi i-thaat-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka hani=ka
 también perro 3M.S-ladrar-PFV-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX avispa=PROX
 ‘El niño continúa llamando. También el perro ladra a estas avispas.’
 ‘The boy keeps on calling. Also the dog barks at these wasps.’

Thàtamokotéenchari henoki.
 that-a-moko-t-eecha-ri henoki
 colgar-&-BALL-&-PCTP.PFV-REL arriba
 ‘Está colgada la bola (el panal) arriba.’
 ‘The ball (the wasp’s nest) is hanging above.’

¹⁹⁸ The word *hani* ‘wasp’ lengthens *i* when the enclitic demonstrative is attached. The same happens with *níha* ‘water’ and the locative =*ki* in this text below, yielding *níhaaki*.

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 ratón paca¹⁹⁹ 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-hueco
 ‘Este..., esto..., ratón, paca, sale del hueco.’²⁰⁰
 ‘Um..., um..., a mouse, a paca, comes out of the hole.’

Iroka ikántètzi, riraga, ótsitzika ichéntetaka haka inchatáatoki.

i-ro=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri-raga otsitzi=ka
 DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-FRS-3M.O M-CAT.DEM perro=PROX
 i-chente-t-ak-a ha=ka inchatatao=ki
 3M.S-apoyarse-&-PFV-REA.REFL LOC=PROX tronco=LOC
 ‘Este, cómo se llama..., ese, este perro se apoya aquí en el tronco.’
 ‘This, what’s its name...?, this, this dog is leaning on the trunk here.’

Kímitaka rowa..., opáryaki rowa..., ikántétzi, opáryaki imaashi.

kimi-t-ak-a ro=ra o-pari-ak-i i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 parecer-&-PFV-REA F=MED 3F.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 o-pari-ak-i i-maashi
 3F.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3M-piel
 ‘Parece, esto..., que ha caído, esto..., cómo se llama..., ha caído su piel (de las avispas: la colmena).’²⁰¹
 ‘It seems, um..., that it has fallen, um..., what’s its name...?, their skin (of the wasps: their nest) has fallen.’

Hempe ítaganki?, rira, hani ragénkataki.

hempe i-et-a=ranki
 WH 3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE
 ri=ra hani r-agenka-t-ak-i
 M=MED avispa 3M.S-volar.en.círculos-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘¿Cómo era?, esto..., las avispas vuelan en círculos.’
 ‘What was it like? Um... the wasps fly in circles.’

¹⁹⁹ A paca (same name in standard Spanish and English, *majás* in local Spanish) is a rodent of the genus *Cuniculus*. According to Wikipedia, the only species living in Ashéninka territory is *Cuniculus paca* (*paca común* in Spanish and *lowland paca* in English).

²⁰⁰ The drawing that the speaker is describing shows a small rodent going out from a hole in the floor. The speaker mentions the animals that he knows from his environment more similar to the one in the drawing.

²⁰¹ The translating consultant explained to me that *imaashi* ‘his/their skin’ is used to denote ‘nest’ when talking about wasps.

Ráminakiri ótsitzi. Irika rirori hamani ishitówanaki omooki.

r-amin-ak-i-ri ótsitzi
 3M.S-mirar-PFV-FRS-3M.O perro
 i-ri=ka rirori hamani i-shitow-an-ak-i o-moo=ki
 DEM-M=PROX 3M paca 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS 3F-agujero=LOC
 ‘El perro las mira. Esta paca sale del agujero.’
 ‘The dog looks at them. This paca comes out of the hole.’

Èentsínira ikówakówawitári pirinto.

eentsi-ni=ra i-kow-a~kow-a-wi-t-a-ri pirinto
 niño-INTS=MED 3M.S-querer-&~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O rana
 ‘Ese niño busca y busca a su rana en vano.’
 ‘That little child searches and searches for his frog in vain.’

Ráminamínawitári okanta ochéenkamorókitàki omoo.

r-amin~amin-a-wi-t-a-ri o-kant-a
 3M.S-mirar~ITE-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3F.S-COP-REA
 o-cheenka-moro-ki-t-ak-i²⁰² o-moo
 3M.S-negro-hueco-FORM-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hueco
 ‘Mira y mira en vano en un hueco negro (en un árbol).’
 ‘He looks and looks in vain into a black hole (in a tree).’

Irika eentsi róominthágakiri, ikàntétziri, hani.

i-ri=ka eentsi r-oomin-thag-ak-i-ri
 DEM-M=PROX niño 3M.S-CAUS-asustarse-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri hani
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O avispa
 ‘A este niño lo han asustado, cómo se llama..., las avispas.’
 ‘This child gets scared, what’s its name...?, by wasps.’

Iñáakiri, ròmaryáka oháawiki.

i-ña-ak-i-ri r-o-maryag-ak-a o-háawiki
 3M.S-ver-PFV-3M.O 3M.S-CAUS-estar.tumbado-PFV-REA F-debajo
 ‘Lo ha visto (el niño a una lechuza que había en el hueco, o la lechuza al niño), lo ha hecho tumbarse en el suelo (la lechuza al niño).’
 ‘He sees it (the child sees an owl that was in the hole, or the owl sees the child), it has made him lie down on the ground (the owl to the child).’

²⁰² The contrast between the affixed form *-moro* and the noun *omoo*, both meaning ‘hole’, is remarkable. *Omoo* shows a typical development of /moro/ in UP, and also in Yuruá (Payne’s dictionary shows *morotsi* for Alto Perené and *mootsi* for his Ucayali, which I call Yuruá-Ucayali), but this phonic group has not undergone the same change when it is affixed. Probably, the reason has to do with the stress position, i.e. /'moro/ > /mo:/, but /mo'ro/ has remained unaltered.

Ikántaka thoori ishitówanaki, rowa..., ishitówanaki hanta, rowa..., omooki, inchato.
 i-kant-ak-a thoori i-shitow-an-ak-i ro=ra
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA paucar²⁰³ 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED
 i-shitow-an-ak-i ha=nta ro=ra o-moo=ki inchato
 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST F=MED 3F-hueco=LOC árbol
 ‘Así es que sale un paucar, esto..., sale de allí, esto..., del hueco, del árbol.’
 ‘So a paucar comes out, um..., it comes out of there, um..., from the hole, from the tree.’

Irika ótsitzika shiyaka, ishiyárikotàka, irika ikéntakiràra, hani.
 i-ri=ka ótsitzi=ka shiy-ak-a i-shiy-a-riko-t-ak-a²⁰⁴
 DEM-M=PROX perro=PROX correr-PFV-REA 3M.S-correr-&-DESP-&-PFV-REA
 i-ri=ka i-kent-ak-i-ri-ra hani
 DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-picar-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP avispa
 ‘Este perro corre, corre desesperado cuando estas le pican, las avispas.’
 ‘This dog runs, it runs desperately when these sting it, the wasps.’

Royákyáatakiri. Éentsini éekiro rowa, éekiro riyáatatzí ithòtyáakowitári, ikántétziri,
 pirinto.
 r-oyakya-a-t-ak-i-ri²⁰⁵ eentsi-ni éekiro ro=ra r-iyaa-t-atzi
 3M.S-perseguir-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O niño-INTS continúa F=MED 3M.S-ir-&-PROG
 i-thotyaa-ki-wi-t-a-ri i-kant-e-t-zi-ri pirinto
 3M.S-buscar-FRU-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O rana
 ‘Lo persiguen. El niño continúa, esto..., continúa yendo a buscar en vano, cómo se
 llama..., la rana.’
 ‘They chase him. The little boy continues, um..., he continues searching in vain, what’s its
 name...?, the frog.’

Irika thooka raaki rowa, henoki.
 i-ri=ka thoo=ka r-a-ak-i ro=ra henoki
 DEM-M=PROX lechuza=PROX 3M.S-volar-PFV-FRS F=MED arriba
 ‘Esta lechuza vuela, esto..., arriba.’
 ‘This owl flies, um..., up.’

²⁰³ According to the website amazonia.iiap.org.pe, a paucar is the bird *Cacicus cela*, known in English as *yellow-rumped cacique*. Actually, in the drawing there is an owl, which in Ashéninka is *thoo*, and the consultant uses this word three sentences below. Probably, he made a mistake due to the similarity of both nouns.

²⁰⁴ The gloss DESP (with desperation) is based on the description by the speaker (‘corre desesperado’), but I have not found a similar suffix or word in any source. Therefore, this interpretation is based on only one occurrence and must be considered tentative.

²⁰⁵ A consultant explained to me that the root *-oyaa-* means ‘seguir’, and *-oyakya-* ‘perseguir’, i.e. against the will of the followed person (he illustrated both stems with inflected examples). *-kyaa* appears to be a derivational suffix, I do not know if productive or unproductive.

Irika éentsika éekiro ikáematzi, ikáemawitari.

i-ri=ka eentsi=ka éekiro i-kaem-atzi
DEM-M=PROX niño=PROX continúa 3M.S-llamar-PROG

i-kaem-a-wi-t-a-ri

3M.S-llamar-&-FRU-&-REA-3M.O

‘Este niño continúa llamando, la llama (a la rana) en vano.’

‘This child goes on calling, he calls it (the frog) in vain.’

Rótsitziti ihéekaki oháawiyàki.

r-otsitzi-ti i-heek-ak-i o-háawiyaki
3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS 3F-bajo.tierra

‘Su perro está debajo de la tierra.’

‘His dog is under the ground.’

Irika rira, ikàntétzirikà, éentsika rowánkitakàri irira maniro.

i-ri=ka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka
DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O=INT

eentsi=ka r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri i-ri=ra maniro
niño=PROX 3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O DEM-M=MED venado

‘Este, esto..., ¿cómo se llama?, este niño se ha puesto encima de ese venado.’

‘This, um..., what’s its name? This boy has got on top of that deer.’

Rowánkitakári hanta, ikàntétziro, ikéntsikira.

r-owanki-t-ak-a-ri ha=nta
3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-REA.REFL-3M.O LOC=DIST

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro i-kentsi=ki=ra
3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O 3M-cuello=LOC=MED

‘Se ha puesto allí, cómo se llama..., ahí en su cuello (del venado).’

‘He has put himself there, what’s its name...?, there on its neck (the deer’s).’

Irika rira, ráwithàkitakìri kameetha

i-ri=ka ri=ra r-awithaki-t-ak-i-ri kameetha
DEM-M=PROX M=MED 3M.S-abrazar-PFV-FRS-3M.O bien

‘Este..., esto..., lo ha abrazado bien (el niño al venado).’

‘Um..., um..., he hugs it well (the child hugs the deer).’

Eentsi ishỳakáakari, kiho royiri rótsitziti, ithaatzi.

eentsi i-shiy-aka-ak-a-ri
niño 3M.S-correr-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O

kiho r-oy-i-ri r-otsitzi-ti i-thaat-zi
junto 3M.S-poner-FRS-3M.O 3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-ladRAR-REA

‘El niño lo hace correr (al venado), su perro no lo deja (se coloca a su lado), ladra.’

‘The boy makes it (the deer) run, his dog doesn’t let him (stands next to him), it barks.’

Ìkañáanaka kameetha maniro, róehapokàkiri èenchániki.

i-kañaa-an-ak-a kameetha maniro
3M.S-acelerar-ABL-PFV-REA bien venado

r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri eentsi-aniki
3M.S-CAUS-saltar-PFV-FRS-3M.O niño-DIM

‘Acelera bien el venado, lanza al niño’

‘The deer accelerates well, it throws the little child.’

Hàpokatyénkarikitanàka, ipityàankatyénkarikitanàka.

hapok-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
saltar-&-<ATT>despatarrado-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA

i-pityaank-a-t<y>enkari-ki-t-an-ak-a
3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-&-<ATT>despatarrado-FORM-&-ABL-PFV-REA.REFL

‘Ha saltado despatarrado, se ha tirado (caído) de cabeza despatarrado.’

‘He jumps spread-legged, he jumps (falls) head-first, spread-legged.’

Kiho rowánakiri éehatzi rótsitziti.

kiho r-ow-an-ak-i-ri éehatzi r-otsitzi-ti
junto 3M.S-poner-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O también 3M-perro-POSS

‘También se ha puesto junto con su perro.’

‘He also gets together with his dog.’

Haka rowa, ikàntétziri, kímitaka, arírika rowa, ipáryàki, okáriperoetyáaki.

ha=ka ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri kimi-t-ak-a
LOC=PROX F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O parecer-&-PFV-REA

ari=rika ro=ra i-pari-ak-i o-kariperoetya-ak-i
AFF=COND F=MED 3M.S-caer-PFV-FRS 3F.S-mal.camino-PFV-FRS

‘Aquí esto..., cómo se llama..., parece que..., si..., esto..., se ha caído, el camino está mal.’

‘Here um..., what’s its name...?, it seems that..., if..., um..., has fallen, the path is bad.’

Haka okoñáataki eenchánikini.

ha=ka o-koñaa-t-ak-i eentsi-aniki-ni
LOC=PROX 3F.S-aparecer-&-PFV-FRS niño-DIM-INTS

‘Aquí ha aparecido el niño.’

‘Here the little boy has appeared.’

Kímitaka rowa, ráwithàkiwitakàri éentsíini.

kimi-t-ak-a ro=ra r-awithaki-wi-t-ak-a-ri eentsi-ni
parecer-&-PFV-REA F=MED 3M.S-abrazarse-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O niño-INTS

‘Parece que, esto..., el niño lo ha abrazado en vano (al venado).’

‘It seems that, um..., the little boy has hugged it (the deer) in vain.’

Ikañáaperotanàka rira..., hempe íitagankitya..., maniro, róehapokákiri.

i-kañaa-pero-t-an-ak-a ri=ra hempe
3M.S-acelerar-VER-&-ABL-PFV-REA M=MED WH

i-et-a=ranki=tya maniro r-oe-hapok-ak-i-ri
3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE=EMPH venado 3M.S-CAUS-saltar-PFV-FRS-3M.O
'Ha acelerado mucho, este..., cómo se llama..., el venado, lo ha lanzado (al niño).'
'It has accelerated a lot, um..., what's its name...?, the deer, it has thrown him (the child).'

Rówakiri hanta, ipityáankàkiri.

r-ow-ak-i-ri ha=nta i-pityaank-ak-i-ri
3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=DIST 3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-PFV-FRS-3M.O
'Lo ha puesto allí, lo ha tirado de cabeza (al niño).'
'He puts him there, he throws him (the boy) head-first.'

Ipityáankaponchakyáatakiri, hataki nihaaki.

i-pityaank-a-ponchakyya-t-ak-i-ri²⁰⁶ ha-t-ak-i niha=ki
3M.S-tirar.de.cabeza-&-con.las.botas-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O ir-&-PFV-FRS agua=LOC
'Lo ha tirado de cabeza con todas las botas puestas, ha ido al agua.'
'He has thrown him head-first with all his boots on, he's gone into the water.'

Pfínkaki eentsi. Irika éentsinikà ipfínkakira nihaaki.

piink-ak-i eentsi niha=ki
caer.al.agua-PFV-FRS niño
i-ri=ka eentsi-ni=ka i-piink-ak-i=ra niha=ki
DEM-M=PROX niño=INTS=PROX 3M.S-caer.al.agua-PFV-FRS=MED agua=LOC
'El niño se ha caído al agua. Este niño se ha caído ahí en el agua.'
'The child has fallen into the water. This little boy has fallen into the water there.'

Kiho rowákiri, ráwithakitziri, ikyáakiri.

kiho r-ow-ak-i-ri i-ky-a-ak-i-ri
junto 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-abrazar-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-cargar-PFV-FRS-3M.O
'Están juntos, lo abraza (el perro al niño), lo carga (el niño al perro).'
'They are together, it hugs him (the dog hugs the boy), he carries it (the boy carries the dog).'

Irika éentsika ikàntétziro, ròntsirokákawo inchátoka.

i-ri=ka eentsi=ka i-kant-e-t-zi-ro
DEM-M=PROX niño=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O
r-ontsirok-ak-a-ro inchato=ka
3M.S-estar.al.lado-PFV-REA-3F.O árbol=PROX
'Este niño, esto..., está al lado de este árbol.'
'This child, um..., is next to this tree.'

²⁰⁶ The translation I got for *-ponchakya* was 'con todas las botas'. I was told that *-ponch* imitates the sound of soldier boots, and *-kya* must have its origin in the emphatic *=kya*.

Rótsitziti rira, ramáataki.

r-otsitzi-ti ri=ra r-amaa-t-ak-i
 3M-perro-POSS M=MED 3M.S-nadar-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Su perro, esto..., ha nadado.’
 ‘His dog, um..., swims.’

Éentsini éekiro riyáatatzí ikówakówatziri pirinto.

eentsi-ni éekiro r-iyaa-t-atzi i-kow-a~kow-atzi-ri pirinto
 niño-INTS continúa 3M.S-ir-&-PROG 3M.S-querer-&~ITE-PROG-3M.O rana
 ‘El niño continúa yendo a buscar y buscar a la rana.’
 ‘The little boy continues to go looking and looking for the frog.’

Éehatzí rótsitziti kiho rowákiri. Ráthanankákawo inchato.

éehatzí r-otsitzi-ti kiho r-ow-ak-i-ri
 también 3M-perro-POSS junto 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 r-athanank-ak-a-ro inchato
 3M.S-agarrarse-PFV-REA-3M.O árbol
 ‘También su perro está junto a él. Se agarra a un árbol.’
 ‘Also his dog is with him. He clings to a tree.’

Haka inchátoki ráthanankakawòka, ari ñagaeri pirinto.

ha=ka inchato=ki r-athanank-ak-a-ro=ka
 LOC=PROX árbol=LOC 3M.S-agarrarse-PFV-&-REA-3M.O=PROX
 ari i-ñag-a-e-ri pirinto
 ahí 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O rana
 ‘Aquí en este árbol donde se agarra, ahí vuelve a ver a la rana.’
 ‘Here in this tree where he clings, there he sees the frog again.’

Ikotyaata ikaatzí apiti.

i-kotyaat-a i-kaa-t-zi apiti
 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-REA 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA dos
 ‘Están sentados dos.’
 ‘There are two seated.’

Irika éentsini ihéekaki inchatáatoki, inchátoki.

i-ri=ka eentsi-ni i-heck-ak-i inchataato=ki inchato=ki
 DEM-M=PROX niño-INTS 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS tronco=LOC árbol=LOC
 ‘Este niño está en el tronco, en el árbol.’
 ‘This little boy is in the trunk, in the tree.’

Éehatzi rótsitziti ñagaeri irika pirinto.

éehatzi r-otsitzi-ti i-ñag-a-e-ri²⁰⁷ i-ri=ka pirinto
 también 3M-perro-POSS 3M.S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O DEM-M=PROX rana
 ‘También su perro vuelve a ver (encuentra) a esta rana.’
 ‘Also his dog sees (finds) this frog again.’

Irika ítsipapáenika ikáateyini itomyérikí, enchérikí.

i-ri=ka i-tsipa=paeni=ka
 DEM-M=PROX M-otro=PL=PROX
 i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni i-tomi-eriki eentsi-eriki
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M-hijo-DIM.PL niño-DIM.PL
 ‘Estos otros son sus hijitos, sus niñitos.’
 ‘These others are its little children, its little children.’

Irika éehatzi rànasháataka nihaaki, éehatzi rótsitziti.

i-ri=ka éehatzi r-anashaa-t-ak-a niha=ki
 DEM-M=PROX también 3M.S-caminar-&-PFV-REA agua=LOC
 éehatzi r-otsitzi-ti
 también 3M-perro-POSS
 ‘Este también ha caminado por el agua, también su perro.’
 ‘This one has also walked through the water, also his dog.’

Irika eentsi ratéeyakiri rakoki pirinto.

i-ri=ka eentsi r-ateey-ak-i-ri²⁰⁸ r-ako=ki pirinto
 DEM-M=PROX niño 3M.S-subir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M-mano=LOC rana
 ‘Este niño ha subido la rana a su mano.’
 ‘This child has put the frog on his hand.’

Irika piríntokà ikòtyáatapaka.

i-ri=ka pirinto=ka i-kotyaa-t-ap-ak-a
 DEM-M=PROX rana=PROX 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-ALL-PFV-REA
 ‘Esta rana está sentada.’
 ‘This frog is sitting.’

Ítsipáyakarini rènchéerikitè.

i-tsipa-aiy-ak-a-ri-ni r-eentsi-eriki-ti
 3M.S-acompañar-PL-REA-3M.O-PL 3M-niño-DIM.PL-POSS
 ‘Está acompañada por sus niñitos.’
 ‘It is accompanied by its little children.’

²⁰⁷ The root is clearly *-ña-a/-ñag-* ‘see’, but it seems that, used with the regressive suffix, it acquires the meaning ‘find’.

²⁰⁸ The root *-atee-* is intransitive and *-ateey-* is transitive, with the meaning ‘take something by putting it up’, or ‘put up something by taking it’.

Ari ikáatapàki ikénkithatakòta.

ari i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a

así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL

‘Así es todo lo que se cuenta (sobre la rana).’

‘So is all that is said (about the frog).’

Pear video

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording. The speaker is shown the famous *Pear video* (available on YouTube), and he tells what he is watching. The recording lasts 5 minutes and 39 seconds.

Iroka inchato oita *mango*. Rawíitziro okíthoki, atziri.

i-ro=ka inchato o-et-a mango
DEM-F=PROX árbol 3F.S-llamarse-REA mango

r-awii-t-zi-ro o-kíthoki atziri
3M.S-cosechar-&-REA-3F.O 3F-fruto²⁰⁹ persona
'Este árbol se llama mango. Cosecha frutos, una persona.'
'This tree is called mango. He harvests fruits, a person.'

Rawíiwáetatzí. Rowáriyàkiro.

r-awii-wae-t-atzi r-o-pariy-ak-i-ro
3M.S-cosechar-DUR1-&-PROG 3M.S-CAUS-caer-PFV-FRS-3F.O
'Continúa cosechando. Los ha hecho caer (los frutos).'
'He goes on harvesting. He has made them fall (the fruits).'

Ratéetakotzirònta henoki.

r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro=nta²¹⁰ henoki
3M.S-subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O=DIST arriba
'Sube arriba (para cogerlos).'
'He climb ups (to get them).'

Royúitapàkiro rotétziro itháateki.

r-o-ayiiit-ap-ak-i-ro i-thaate=ki
3M.S-CAUS-bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-mochila=LOC
'Lo ha bajado y lo mete en su mochila.'
'He has taken them down and puts them in his backpack.'

Roshètaitakiróni, okípatsitáki.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni o-kipatsi-t-ak-i
3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL 3F.S-sucio-&-PFV-FRS
'Los ha limpiado todos, están sucios (los frutos).'
'He has cleaned them all, they are dirty (the fruits).'

²⁰⁹ The feminine possessive refers to the tree ('the tree's fruit').

²¹⁰ The referent of the general applicative *-ako* here is probably the fruit, referred to with the object suffix, so that the meaning can be 'for the fruit (to reach it)'.

Roshétantàwo roshétamènto.

r-o-shet-ant-a-ro r-o-shet-amento
 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-INS-REA-3F.O 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-NMLZ.INS
 ‘Lo limpia con su mantel (lit: instrumento para limpiar).’
 ‘He cleans them with his tablecloth (lit: instrument for cleaning).’

Rotékiro ikèpatsithátaki.

r-otek-i-ro i-kipatsi-tha-t-ak-i
 3M.S-sacudir-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-sucio-ropa-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Sacude su ropa sucia.’
 ‘He shakes out his dirty clothes.’

Piyánaka iroñaaka hanta henoki ratéetakótziro.

piy-an-ak-a iroñaaka
 regresar-ABL-PFV-REA ahora
 ha=nta henoki r-atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro
 LOC=DIST arriba 3M.S-subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O
 ‘Ahora ha vuelto a subir allá arriba.’
 ‘Now he’s back up there again.’

Ítsipa ikínapàaki hanta, ramákiri ikántètziro, *cabra*.

i-tsipa i-kin-apa-ak-i ha=nta,
 M-otro 3M.S-llegar-ALL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST
 r-am-ak-i-ri i-kant-e-t-zi-ri cabra
 3M.S-traer-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O cabra
 ‘Ha llegado otro por otro lado allí, ha traído, cómo se llama..., *cabra*.’
 ‘Another one has arrived from another side there, he has brought, what’s its name...?, *goat*.’

Awiiwáetaki henoki, rotétziro itháateki.

awii-wae-t-ak-i henoki
 cosechar-DUR1-&-PFV-FRS arriba
 r-o-tet-zi-ro i-thaate=ki²¹¹
 3M.S-CAUS-meter-REA-3F.O 3M-mochila=LOC
 ‘Ha seguido cosechando arriba, lo mete en su mochila.’
 ‘He has continued to harvest up, he puts them in his backpack.’

²¹¹ This word is quite irregular in that the unpossessed form is *thaato*, but the inalienably possessed form is *-thaate*.

Aréetapaka ítsipa, amitákotirìni áakotànakiròni hanta, tsikárika rowapíntziro.

aree-t-ap-ak-a i-tsipá amitako-t-i-ri-ni
llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA M-otro ayudar-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR
a-ako-t-an-ak-i-ro-ni ha=nta
llevar-APPL-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O-REL.IRR LOC=DIST

tsikárika r-ow-apiint-zi-ro
WH 3M.S-comer-HAB-REA-3F.O

‘Ha llegado otro, el que lo va a ayudar a llevarlo allá, adonde se suele comer.’
‘Another one has arrived, the one who is going to help him to bring them there, where the people usually eat.’

Rowáhenokàkotákiro, rowákotàkiro *biciclétaki*.

r-ow-a-henok-ako-t-ak-i-ro
3M.S-poner-&-arriba-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O
r-ow-ako-t-ak-i-ro bicicleta=ki
3M.S-poner-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O bicicleta=LOC
‘Lo ha colocado encima, lo ha colocado en la bicicleta.’
‘He puts it on top, he puts it on the bike.’

Hátanaki iroñaaka, ráanakiro.

ha-t-an-ak-i iroñaaka r-a-an-ak-i-ro
ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS ahora 3M.S-llevar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
‘Se ha ido ahora, se lo llevó.’
‘He’s gone now, he took it.’

Éekiro rawíiwàetatzí henoki.

éekiro r-awii-wae-t-atzi henoki
continúa 3M.S-cosechar-DUR1-&-PROG arriba
‘Continúa cosechando arriba.’
‘He goes on harvesting above.’

Ràntziwatakápakawo. Ihóokaiyàpáakiro.

r-antziwatak-ap-ak-a-ro i-hook-aiy-apa-ak-i-ro
3M.S-tropezar.cargado-ALL-PFV-&-3F.O 3M.S-vaciar-PL-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
‘Ha tropezado yendo cargado (al llegar). Se le desparramaron al llegar.’
‘He trips while carrying a load (upon arrival). They spilled out on arrival.’

Roshètaitéroni ichénkopáeni, itáawatoryàaka, otáawatoryáawakiri màpipóoki.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-i-ro-ni i-chenko=paeni
3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL 3M-pantalón=PL
i-taawatorya-ak-a o-taawatorya-aw-ak-i-ri mapi-pooki
3M.S-golpear-PFV-REA.REFL 3F.S-golpear-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O piedra-COL
‘Se va a limpiar sus pantalones, se ha golpeado, se ha golpeado con el pedregal (lit: el pedregal lo ha golpeado al recibirlo).’
‘He is going to clean his trousers, he hits himself, he hits against the scree (lit: the scree has hit him upon receiving him).’

Ikántaka ipokàshitákiri ikáateyìni, ràmitàkotapákiri.

i-kant-ak-a i-pok-ashi-t-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-venir-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni r-amitako-t-ap-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-ayudar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL
 ‘Esto es, han venido los que van a ayudarle.’
 ‘That is, those who are going to help him have come.’

Roshètaitéroni ichènkopáeni.

r-o-shet-a-yi-t-e-ro-ni i-chenko=paeni
 3M.S-CAUS-limpiar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-3F.O-PL 3M-pantalón=PL
 ‘Se va a limpiar sus pantalones.’
 ‘He’s going to clean his trousers.’

Itzìnagáero i-bicicléta-tè.

i-tzinag-a-i-ro i-bicicleta-ti
 3M.S-levantar-REG-FRS-3F.O 3M-bicicleta-POSS
 ‘Ha levantado su bicicleta.’
 ‘He lifts his bicycle.’

Rotètaitakiróni *mango*.

r-o-tet-a-yi-t-ak-i-ro-ni mango
 3M.S-CAUS-meter-&-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O-PL mango
 ‘Han guardado los mangos.’
 ‘They put back the mangoes.’

Itzinàkoténeri rowàkoténeri henoki *bicicléta*-ki.

i-tzina-ako-t-i-ne-ri r-ow-ako-t-i-ne-ri
 3M.S-levantar-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O 3M.S-poner-APPL-&-IRR-3O-3M.O
 henoki bicicleta=ki
 arriba bicicleta=LOC
 ‘Van a levantárselos y ponérselos en la bicicleta.’
 ‘They’re going to pick them up and put them on the bike for him.’

Rówakìro mapi hanta, rantziwatákari.

r-ow-ak-i-ro mapi ha=nta r-antziwatak-a-ri
 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3F.O piedra LOC=DIST 3M.S-tropezar-REA-REL
 ‘Ha puesto la piedra allá, con la que tropezó.’
 ‘He puts the stone there, which he tripped over.’

Hátane ayírori *mango*.

ha-t-an-i ag-i-ro-ri mango
 ir-&-ABL-FRS llevar-FRS-3F.O-REL mango
 ‘Se van los que se han llevado mangos.’
 ‘Those who have taken the mangoes are leaving.’

Ipíyeyanàni ríraga, amitákotakíriri inkáganki.

i-piy-ey-an-a-ni ri-raga
3M.S-regresar-PL-ABL-REA-PL M-CAT.DEM

amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki
ayudar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL antes

‘Regresan esos (cuando se iban), los que le han ayudado antes.’
‘Those (when they left) return, those who helped him before.’

Ikáemawaeri iroñaaka; róokanàkiro ihónpirirow awótsikì.

i-kaem-aw-a-i-ri iroñaaka
3M.S-llamar-OM-REG-FRS-3M.O ahora

r-ook-an-ak-i-ro i-honpiriro awotsi=ki
3M.S-dejar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-sombrero camino=LOC

‘Ahora lo llaman (cuando se alejaba); se había dejado su sombrero en el camino al partir.’
‘Now they call him (when he was moving away); he had left his hat on the road when he left.’

Ipáwàtziri. Píyaha iroñaaka.

i-p-aw-atzi-ri piy-ah-a iroñaaka
3M.S-dar-OM-PROG-3M.O regresar-REG-REA ahora

‘Se lo están dando. Ahora regresan.’
‘They’re giving it to him. Now they come back.’

Ramákiro ikántetziri, *mango*.

r-am-ak-i-ro i-kant-e-t-zi-ri mango
3M.S-llevar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O mango

‘Se han llevado, cómo se llama..., *mango*.’
‘They have taken, what’s its name...?, *mango*.’

Ipapákiri ikáateini.

i-p-ap-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
3M.S-dar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

‘Lo ha dado a ellos (el mango a los compañeros).’
‘He has given it to them (the mango to the companions).’

Iháakiro ótsipa kántziri irira, atèetakotziróri henoki.

i-ha-ak-i-ro o-tsipa kántziri i-ri=ra
3M.S-llenar-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-otro canasta DEM-3M=MED

atee-t-ako-t-zi-ro-ri henoki
subir-&-APPL-&-REA-3F.O-REL arriba

‘Ha llenado otra canasta ese, el que ha subido (para cogerlos) arriba.’
‘That one has filled another basket, the one who has climbed up (to catch them).’

Awihéeyèni ríraga, amitákotakiriri inkáganki paryákotéentsiri awótsiki.

awih-eeey-i-ni ri-raga

pasar-PL-FRS-PL M-CAT.DEM

amitako-t-ak-i-ri-ri inkáganki pari-ako-t-eentsi-ri²¹² awotsi=ki

ayudar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL antes caer-APPL-PTCP.PFV-REL camino=LOC

‘Pasan esos, los que ayudaron antes al accidentado en el camino.’

‘Those pass by, the ones who helped the injured person on the road earlier.’

²¹² In this case, the general applicative *-ako* indicates a means of transport (the bicycle). The translation I got was ‘el accidentado’, so *-pari-ako-* might be in the path of grammaticalization to form a single stem with the meaning ‘have an accident’, which is derived from the literal ‘fall with a means of transport’.

Tale of the squirrel and the jaguar

The tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores, aka Chóokiro, aged 63 at the time of recording, and takes 7 minutes and 29 seconds to be told.

Iroñaaka nokènkithatakotíri²¹³ manitzi éehatzi meiri.
 iroñaaka no-kenkitha-t-ako-t-i-ri manitzi éehatzi méyiri
 ahora 1S-contar-&-APPL-&-IRR-3M.O jaguar también ardilla
 ‘Ahora voy a contar acerca de un jaguar y una ardilla.’
 ‘Now I am going to tell about a jaguar and a squirrel.’

Ikántaka²¹⁴ meiri páerani ashéninka ini.
 i-kant-ak-a méyiri páerani a-shéninka²¹⁵ i-ni
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA ardilla antaño INCL-paisano M-COP.AN
 ‘Hace mucho tiempo, la ardilla era persona.’
 ‘A long time ago, the squirrel was a person.’

Meiri ari ikòtyàatétani awótsiki.
 méyiri ari i-kotyaa-t-it-a-ni awotsi=ki
 ardilla allí 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-TRLOC-REA-ADJ camino=LOC
 ‘La ardilla estaba allí sentada un rato, en el camino.’
 ‘The squirrel was sitting there for a while, on the path.’

Ishémiro yatharékiho.
 i-sheemi-i-ro i-yatharékiho
 3M.S-machacar-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo
 ‘Machaca su testículo.’
 ‘He crushes his testicle.’

Ikántaka manitzi, raniri meiri; ranírintatyàari.
 i-kant-ak-a manitzi r-aniri méyiri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M-cuñado.MP ardilla
 r-aniri-nt-itya-ri
 3M.S-cuñado.MP-KV-PROG-3M.O
 ‘Apareció el jaguar, el cuñado de la ardilla; es su cuñado.’ (lit. ‘lo *cuñadea*’).
 ‘The jaguar appeared, the squirrel’s brother-in-law; he is his brother-in-law.’ (lit. ‘he *brother-in-laws him*’).

²¹³ Payne et al. (1982:31) for Apurucayali say that a common formula to start a tale is *nonkinkithatakotiri* ‘voy a contar acerca de él’.

²¹⁴ The consultant said that this is a formula to start a tale.

²¹⁵ The word *ashéninka*, with the meaning ‘our fellow people (incl.)’, is often used with the meaning ‘person’.

Ikántaka manitzi, ipókaki itapiiti, ñáapátziri meiri.

i-kant-ak-a manitzi i-pok-ak-i i-tapii-ti²¹⁶
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA jaguar 3M.S-venir-PFV-FRS 3M-espalda-POSS

ña-ap-atzi-ri méyiri
 ver-ALL-PROG-3M.O ardilla

‘Apareció el jaguar, vino por su espalda (de la ardilla), está viendo a la ardilla (al llegar).’

‘The jaguar appeared, it came from behind him (of the squirrel), he is seeing the squirrel (on arrival).’

Inòsikákiro yatharékiho, rompóhiro mapiki.

i-notsik-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiho r-ompoh-i-ro mapi=ki
 3M.S-jalar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo 3M.S-golpear-FRS-3F.O piedra=LOC

‘Jalaba su testículo, lo golpeaba en una piedra.’

‘He was pulling his testicle, hitting it on a rock.’

Rowawo meiri, póshinitàki yatharékiho.

r-ow-a-ro méyiri poshi-ni-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho
 3M.S-comer-REA-3F.O ardilla rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo

‘La ardilla se lo come, está rico, su testículo.’

‘The squirrel eats it, it’s delicious, his testicle.’

Ikántapákiri: “Ñani, ha, íitaka pántziri?”

i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri ñani ha iita=ka p-ant-zi-ri
 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O cuñado.VOC.ME eh WH=INT 2S-hacer-REA-REL

‘Al llegar (el jaguar) le dijo: “Eh, cuñado, ¿qué haces?”’

‘When (the jaguar) arrived he said: “Hey, brother-in-law, what are you doing?”’

“Tekatsi rowa, noshémyàkotátziro nòwatharékiho, nówatyàwo.”

tekatsi r-ow-a no-shemy-ako-t-atzi-ro²¹⁷
 NEG.EXI 3M.S-comer-REA 1S-machacar-APPL-&-PROG-3F.O

no-yatharékiho n-ow-atya-ro
 1-testículo 1S-comer-PROG-3F.O

‘“No hay comida, estoy machacando mi testículo, me lo estoy comiendo”.’

‘“There is no food, I am crushing my testicle, I am eating it”.’

²¹⁶ Although *tapiinti* ‘back (body part)’ is an inalienable noun, as all body parts, here the sentence says that the jaguar appears at the back of the squirrel, and the fact that ‘back’ that does not refer to a body part, but to a position, causes it to be alienable.

²¹⁷ I asked a consultant about the difference between this verb with and without *-ako* and she said that, with *-ako*, it means that the testicle is united to the squirrel’s body (she translated it as ‘con todo’). This may mean that the object refers to a part of something (the squirrel), and the omission of the suffix would imply that the object is a whole item.

Ikantzi: “Póshiniri?” “Hee, póshiniri”. Ipákiri éetyonkini, o ipákiri kapíchoki.²¹⁸
 i-kant-zi poshi-ni-ri hee i-p-ak-i-ri éetyonkini/kapíchoki
 3M.S-decir-REA rico-ADJ-REL AFF 3M.S-dar-PFV-FRS-3M.O un.poco
 ‘Dice (el jaguar): “¿Rico?” “Sí, rico” (dice la ardilla). Le ha dado un poco (la ardilla al jaguar).’
 ‘(The jaguar) says: “Tasty?” “Yes, tasty” (says the squirrel). He gives him a little (the squirrel gives the jaguar).’

Iñáantakáakari, rówakáakari.

i-ñaaant-aka-ak-a-ri r-ow-aka-ak-a-ri
 3M.S-probar-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-comer-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O
 ‘Se lo ha hecho probar, se lo ha hecho comer (el testículo).’
 ‘He has made him taste it, he has made him eat it (the testicle).’

Ikématziro manitzi póshinitàki yatharékiho.

i-kem-atzi-ro manitzi poshi-ni-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho
 3M.S-sentir-PROG-3F.O jaguar rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo
 ‘El jaguar está sintiendo que su testículo (de la ardilla) está rico.’
 ‘The jaguar is feeling that his (the squirrel’s) testicle is tasty.’

Ikantzi: “O!, kaméethataki, ñani! Póshinirìnima.

i-kant-zi o kameetha-t-ak-i ñani poshi-ni-ri-ni=ma
 3M.S-decir-REA INTJ bueno-&-PFV-FRS cuñado.VOC.ME rico-ADJ-REL-IGN=DUB
 ‘Dice (el jaguar): “¡Oh! ¡Qué bueno ha estado, cuñado! No sabía que estaba rico”.’
 ‘(The jaguar) says: “Oh! How tasty it has been, brother-in-law! I didn’t know it was tasty”.’

Ikantzi: “Hee! Póshinirìni.”

i-kant-zi hee poshi-ni-ri-ni
 3M.S-decir-REA AFF rico-ADJ-REL-INTS
 ‘Dice (la ardilla): “Sí, está muy rico”.’
 ‘(The squirrel) says: “Yes, it’s very tasty”.’

Éekiro, éekiro ishémyakotàtzi ríraga, meiri.

éekiro i-ako-t-atzi ri-raga méyiri
 continúa 3M.S- shemy-machacar-APPL-&-PROG M-CAT.DEM ardilla
 ‘Continúa, continúa machacando ella, la ardilla.’
 ‘He goes on, goes on pounding, he, the squirrel.’

Rowánkipetyànikitákiro haga mapíki.

r-owanki-petyani-ki-t-ak-i-ro ha=ra mapi=ki
 3M.S-poner.encima-tablachito-FORM-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED piedra=LOC
 ‘Pone eso *tablachito* ahí, sobre la piedra.’
 ‘He puts that table-like there, on the stone.’

²¹⁸ The transcription is just as it can be heard in the recording: the narrator uses *o* (Spanish conjunction) to indicate that *éetyonkini* and *kapíchoki* have the same meaning.

Ròmpohákiro: tyao!

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro tyao
 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O IDEO:golpear.con.una.piedra
 ‘La ha golpeado: ¡pum!’
 ‘He hits it: bang!’

Ari ròtsikànatakári ikántètziri, manitzi.

ari r-otsikana-t-ak-a-ri
 allí 3M.S-observar.detenidamente-&-PFV-REA-3M.O
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri manitzi
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O jaguar
 ‘Allí se ha parado observándola (a la ardilla), cómo se llama..., el jaguar.’
 ‘There he stays watching him (the squirrel), what’s his name...?, the jaguar.’

Ipáeri éehatzi. Ikántziri: “Pikímiro, ñani.”

i-p-a-i-ri éehatzi i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-dar-REG-FRS-3M.O también 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O
 pi-kim-i-ro ñani
 2S-sentir-FRS-3F.O cuñado.VOC.ME
 ‘Le vuelve a dar otra vez. Le dice: “Pruébalo, cuñado”.’
 ‘He hits it again. He says to him: “Try it, brother-in-law”.’

Kimatziro pòshiñáanikitàki yatharékiro meirí.²¹⁹

kim-atzi-ro poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i i-yatharékiro méyiri
 sentir-PROG-3F.O rico-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo ardilla
 ‘Está sintiendo que está muy riquito el testículo de la ardilla.’
 ‘He is feeling that the squirrel’s testicle is very tasty.’

Ikántaka rira, meiri, ikántziri:

i-kant-ak-a ri=ra méyiri i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED ardilla 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O
 ‘Así es que esa, la ardilla, le dice.’
 ‘So that one, the squirrel, says to him:’

“O, éehatzi! Éehatzi okímita, tsiká okántèeta pashi éeroka, ñaní?”

O éehatzi o-kimi-t-a tsiká o-kant-ee-t-a²²⁰
 INTJ también 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA WH 3F.S-COP-IMPS-REA
 p-ashi éeroka ñani
 2-POSS 2 cuñado.VOC.ME
 ““Oh, también, también igualmente, ¿cómo será el tuyo, cuñado?”
 ““Oh, also, also equally, how will yours be like, brother-in-law?””

²¹⁹ In this sentence, the stress in *méyiri* unusually goes to the last syllable and is part of a longer sequence ([jat^ha₁ rekít^homei¹ ri]). It may be a stylistic effect in the narration.

²²⁰ The interpretation of IMPS here does not seem very logical, given that the subject (the testicle) is referred to. Maybe the impersonal marking is implying doubt (‘cómo será/cómo puede ser’) or expressing that the subject is ignored (they do not know its size).

Omaanta piyatharékhitho éeroka... Nimaeka pòshinitaki éehatzi éerori piyatharékhitho.

o-maanta pi-yatharekhitho éeroka nimaeka poshi-ni-t-ak-i
F-COEXP 2-testículo 2 ahora rico-ADJ-&-PFV-FRS

éehatzi eero-ri pi-yatharékhitho
también 2-TOO 2-testículo

“Mientras que el testículo tuyo... Ahora va a estar rico también tu testículo”.

“While your testicle... Now your testicle will also be delicious”.

Omaanta nashi naaka oryápetyanikìni okáachanchééñakitz̀ni nowatharékhitho; ari rowa, ikántètzìro rowa, pòshíni.

o-maanta n-ashi naaka o-rya-petyani-ki-ni
F-COEXP 1-POSS 1 F-pequeño-tablachito-FORM-ADJ

o-kaa-chanceeña-ki-t-zi-ni no-yatharékhitho
3F.S-COP.TOT-forma.ovoide-FORM-&-REA-ADJ 1-testículo

ari ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra poshi-ni
AFF F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED rico-ADJ

“A pesar de que el mío es pequeño y *tablachito* de forma ovoide, así, esto..., cómo se dice..., esto..., está rico”.

“Despite the fact that mine is small table-like and ovoid, um..., how do you say..., um..., it’s delicious”.

Éehatzi okímita pashi éerori antawo tyantyapitzi piyatharékhitho.

éehatzi o-kimi-t-a p-ashi eero-ri
también 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA 2-POSS 2-TOO

anta-ro tyantyapitzi pi-yatharékhitho
grande-F forma.de.bolsa.llena 2-testículo

“Igual es también el tuyo grande y con forma de bolsa, tu testículo”. (lit: ‘También se parecerá el tuyo...’)

“Also, yours is big and bag-like, your testicle”. (lit: ‘It will look like yours too...’)

Ari owàperowáetakya, teema antawo”.

ari Ø-ow-a-pero-wae-t-ak-ya teema anta-ro
así INCL.S-comer-&-VER-DUR1-&-PFV-IRR porque grande-F

“Así realmente vamos a estar comiendo más, ya que es grande”.

“So we’re really going to be eating more since it’s big”.

Ikantzi manitzi: “Kyáatámakya, ñani.

i-kant-zi manitzi kyaa-ta=ma=kya ñani
3M.S-decir-REA jaguar verdadero-EMPH=DUB=EMPH cuñado.VOC.ME

‘Dice el jaguar: “Es verdad (no lo sabía), cuñado...”’

‘The jaguar says: “It’s true (I didn’t know), brother-in-law...”’

Ari machétaka rowa. Intsi noñáantýàwo naari.”

ari mache-t-ak-a²²¹ ro=ra intsi no-ñaant-ya-ro naa-ri
AFF ser.así-&-PFV-REA F=MED rápido 1S-probar-IRR-3F.O 1-TOO

“Así será esto, pronto lo probaré yo también”.

“Thus it will be, soon I’ll try it too”.

Ikántziri meiri: “Hee, kaméethataki”.

i-kant-zi-ri méyiri hee kameetha-t-ak-i
3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O ardilla AFF bien-&-PFV-FRS

“Le dice la ardilla: “Sí, está bien”.

“The squirrel says: “Yes, that’s fine”.

“Òshitowàntyári kameetha, rowa, piyatharékitho, òhokyàntyári kameetha thanthánikirèe, pòmpohàperótiro pikañáshiperotyàwo kameetha”.

o-shitow-ant-ya-ri kameetha ro=ra pi-yatharékitho
3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien F=MED 2-testículo

o-hoky-ant-ya-ri kameetha thanthánikirèe p-ompoh-a-pero-t-i-ro
3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien entero²²² 2S-golpear-&-VER-&-IRR-3F.O

pi-kañashi-pero-t-ya-ro kameetha
2S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-IRR-3F.O bien

“Para que salga bien, este..., tu testículo, para que salga bien entero, golpéalo bien y con mucha fuerza”.

“For it to come out well, um..., your testicle, so that it comes out completely, hit it well and with great force”.

“Eero, rowa..., péentsikiròtziro. Pishíntsiwintiro kameetha”.

eero ro=ra p-eentsikiro-t-zi-ro pi-shintsi-went-i-ro kameetha
NEG.IRR F=MED 2S-despacio-&-REA-3F.O 2S-fuerte-BEN-IRR-3F.O bien

“No, este..., no lo hagas despacio. Dale bien fuerte”.

“No, um..., don’t do it slowly. Hit it hard”.

“Pikañáshityàwo pishémyero òshitowantapákyari kaméethèni.”

pi-kañashi-t-ya-ro pi-shemy-e-ro
2S-dar.fuerte-&-IRR-3F.O 2S-machacar-FRS-3F.O

o-shitow-ant-ap-ak-ya-ri kameetha-ni
3F.S-salir-RES-ALL-PFV-IRR-REL bien-ADJ

“Machácalo con fuerza para que salga bueno”.

“Crush it hard so that it comes out good”.

²²¹ The expression *ari mache* appears to be grammaticalized. I asked a consultant if it is possible to say **machétatya* (with progressive aspect) or **macheta* (with no aspect marker), but he said that these words do not exist. Therefore, it seems that the forms in use are only *mache* and *machétaka*.

²²² This word seemed to me too long so as to be formed by only one root, so I asked about it, but I did not get satisfactory results, so I decided to gloss the whole word as ‘*entero*’.

Ikantzi manitzi: “Hee, kameetha. Áritaki nomatákiro”.

i-kant-zi manitzi
3M.S-decir-REA jaguar
hee kameetha ari-t-ak-i no-ma-t-ak-i-ro
AFF bien FUT-&-PFV-FRS 1S-poder-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O
‘Dice el jaguar: “Sí, bien. Así lo podré (hacer)”’
‘The jaguar says: “Yes, good. Thus I can (do)”.’

Manitzi ráakiro iyatharékiro.

manitzi r-a-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiro
jaguar 3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo
‘El jaguar ha cogido su testículo.’
‘The jaguar takes his testicle.’

Rowànkityantyapitzitákiro mapíkira.

r-owanki-tyantyapitzi-t-ak-i-ro mapi=ki=ra
3M.S-poner.encima-forma.de.bolsa.llena-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O piedra=LOC=MED
‘Pone eso con forma de bolsa llena encima de esa piedra.’
‘He puts that with the shape of a full bag on top of that stone.’

Ikañáshiperotakàwo kameetha, ròmpohákiro yatharékiro, òshitowantanakyáre ikímitàka irowa meiri.

i-kañashi-pero-t-ak-a-ro kameetha r-ompoh-ak-i-ro
3M.S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-PFV-REA-3F.O bien 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O
i-yatharékiro o-shitow-ant-an-ak-ya-ri
3M-testículo 3F.S-salir-RES-ABL-PFV-IRR-REL
i-kimi-t-ak-a i-ro=ra méyiri
3M.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA DEM-F=MED ardilla
‘Le da bien fuerte, golpea su testículo, para que salga igual como el de esa ardilla.’
‘He hits it hard, hits his testicle so that it comes out just like that squirrel’s one.’

Irika meiri riyòthanétaki kameetha.

i-ri=ka méyiri r-iyothane-t-ak-i kameetha
DEM-M=PROX ardilla 3M.S-inteligente-&-PFV-FRS bien
‘Esta ardilla ha sido bien inteligente.’
‘This squirrel has been very clever.’

Tsiká ikantya, ikántètziri..., rówaga..., irika rówamantýárirri manitzi?

tsiká i-kant-ya i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro-raga
WH 3M.S-COP-IRR 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F-CAT.DEM
i-ri=ka r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri manitzi
DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL jaguar
‘¿Cómo sería, cómo se llama..., esto..., para que esta (la ardilla) matara al jaguar?’
‘What would it be like?, what’s its name...?, um..., so that this (the squirrel) could kill the jaguar?’

Meiri kaari róotaki iyatharékiho, róetapáeni rówaga, ketaki.

méyiri kaari roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho
ardilla NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo

roeta=paeni ro-raga ketaki
semilla=PL F-CAT.DEM maní.del.monte²²³

‘Es que no era el testículo de la ardilla, eran semillas de eso: maní del monte.’

‘It wasn’t the squirrel’s testicle, it was seeds of that: forest peanuts.’

Tsikárika ikàntakáakawo okímitzìmotákari manitzi, róotaki iyatharékiho
rowánkitàkirira haga, rowa..., ishèmyakowáetzi?

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro o-kimi-tz-imo-t-ak-a-ri
WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3F.S-parecer-&-COM-&-PFV-REA-3M.O

manitzi roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékiho r-owanki-t-ak-i-ri=ra
jaguar 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo 3M.S-poner.encima-&-PFV-FRS-REL=MED

ha=ra ro=ra i-shemy-ako-wae-t-zi
LOC=MED F=MED 3M.S-machacar-APPL-DUR1-&-REA

‘¿Cómo ha hecho para que a los ojos del jaguar parezca que era su testículo lo que ponía ahí, esto..., y lo estaba machacando?’

‘How did he make it seem before the jaguar’s eyes that it was his testicle what he was putting there, um..., and he was crushing it?’

Róetapáeni ishèmyakotáshitawo rowa, iyétakitì.

roeta=paeni i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro²²⁴
semilla=PL 3M.S-machacar-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3F.O

ro=ra i-ketaki-ti
F=MED 3M-maní.del.monte-POSS

‘Machacaba semillas, esto..., de maní del monte.’

‘He was crushing seeds, um..., of forest peanuts.’

²²³ According to some sources online, this is the nut tree *Plukenetia volubilis*, which, according to Wikipedia, is called in Spanish *inchi*, *sacha inchi*, *sacha maní*, *maní del Inca* or *maní jibaro*, and in English, *sacha inchi*, *sacha peanut*, *mountain peanut*, *Inca-nut* or *Inca-peanut*. The literal translation in English of *maní del monte* is actually ‘forest peanut’ since *monte* in local Spanish means ‘forest’ rather than ‘mountain’.

²²⁴ The verb with the suffix *-ashi* is A-inflected, which causes the suffix to acquire the meaning ‘with no purpose’. In this case, it is not very consistent, given that there is a clear purpose in the act of crushing the pretended testicle (the actual nuts). I asked the translating consultant if **ishèmyakotáshitziro* is right and he did not accept it as a valid form. Therefore, the A-inflection here might be explained in two ways: 1) the NPURP suffix indicates that the real purpose is not the one expected by crushing something (the squirrel just wants to cheat the jaguar); 2) the phonic group /’tʃʃsiro/ appears to be more difficult to pronounce than /’tʃʃtawo/, so that the change is performed because of phonetic ease. Explanation 1) seems more reasonable, but, if it were right, the consultant would not have dismissed **ishèmyakotáshitziro* as ungrammatical, although maybe he meant that it could not be used for this story. In the story of the cheating shaman, *riyáatáshitziro* is uttered, which proves that the group /’aʃsi/ is possible.

Kaari iyatharékihopero. Rirori rira manítzira, rámatawitakìri kameetha.
 kaari i-yatharékihopero-rirori ri=ra manitzi=ra
 NEG.COP 3M-testículo-VER 3M M=MED jaguar=MED
 r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri kameetha
 3M.S-enganar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O bien
 ‘No era realmente su testículo. A él, este jaguar, lo ha engañado bien (la ardilla).’
 ‘It wasn’t really his testicle. He (the squirrel) has fooled him (the jaguar) well.’

Íitakaperotanàkiro róotaki iyatharékihopero meiri, rowa, ròm pohakótziri.
 i-etak-a-pero-t-an-ak-i-ro roo-t-ak-i i-yatharékihopero
 3M.S-creer-&-VER-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M-testículo
 Méyiri ro=ra r-ompoh-ako-t-zi-ri
 ardilla F=MED 3M.S-golpear-APPL-&-REA-REL
 ‘Ha creído totalmente que era el testículo de la ardilla, este..., lo que golpeaba.’
 ‘He totally believed that it was the squirrel’s testicle, um..., what he was hitting.’

Imàtanàkiro. Rirori rákakáakiri.
 i-ma-t-an-ak-i-ro rirori r-ak-aka-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-imitar-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M 3M.S-contestar-CAUS-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘Él (el jaguar) la ha imitado. Ella (la ardilla) le ha hecho actuar en su contra (al jaguar)
 (lit. le ha hecho contestar).’
 ‘He (the jaguar) imitated him (the squirrel). He (the squirrel) made him act against himself (the
 jaguar) (lit. he made him answer).’

Rowànkityantyapitzitákiro iyatharékihopero, rowa, okaatzì ikántakiriri meiri:
 r-owanki-tyantyapitzi-t-ak-i-ro i-yatharékihopero ro=ra
 3M.S-poner.encima-forma.de.bolsa.llena-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo F=MED
 o-kaa-t-zi i-kant-ak-i-ri-ri méyiri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O-REL ardilla
 ‘Ha puesto esa forma de bolsa llena, su testículo, este..., ha hecho todo lo que le ha
 dicho la ardilla.’
 ‘He put that shape of a full bag, his testicle, um..., he did everything the squirrel told him.’

“Pikañáshiperotyàwo, òshitowantyári kameetha”, rowa..., ikántètzi, rowa..., “iroka
 piyatharékihopero, okímitanakyàwo”, rowa..., “inki.”
 pi-kañashi-pero-t-ya-ro o-shitow-ant-ya-ri kameetha ro=ra
 2S-dar.fuerte-VER-&-IRR=3F.O 3F.S-salir-RES-IRR-REL bien F=MED
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri i-ro=ka pi-yatharékihopero
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O DEM-F=PROX 2-testículo
 o-kimi-t-an-ak-ya-ro ro=ra inki
 3F.S-parecerse-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O F=MED maní
 ‘“Dale con mucha fuerza, para que salga bien”, este..., ¿cómo se llama?, este..., “este
 tu testículo, se va a parecer”, este..., “al maní”.’
 ‘“Hit it very strongly so that it comes out well”, um..., what’s its name?, um..., “this your
 testicle is going to look like”, um..., “the peanut”.’

Ari ikántàkiro.

ari i-kant-ak-i-ro
 así 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Así lo ha dicho.’
 ‘So he said.’

Ráakiro inóshikàkiro rómpohàkiro kameetha mapíkira.

r-a-ak-i-ro i-noshik-ak-i-ro r-ompoh-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-jalar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 kameetha mapi=ki=ra
 bien piedra=LOC=MED
 ‘Lo ha cogido, lo ha jalado y lo ha golpeado bien en esa piedra.’
 ‘He picked it up, pulled it up and hit it well on that rock.’

Ròmpohákiròwa, iroka..., ikantzi:

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro-ra i-ro=ka i-kant-zi
 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O-TEMP DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-decir-REA
 ‘Cuando lo ha golpeado, este..., ha dicho:’
 ‘When he hit it, um..., he said:’

‘Iroka agatharékiho teema róotaki, rowa..., añáamentòtsi’.

i-ro=ka a-yatharékiho teema roo-t-ak-i ro=ra añ-amento-tsi
 DEM-F=PROX INCL-testículo porque3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED vivir-NMLZ.INS-ALI
 ‘“Porque este testículo es lo que nos da la vida (lo que nos sirve para vivir)”.’
 ‘“Because this testicle is what gives us life (what serves to live)”.’

Ròmpohákiro ipótehákiro yatharékiho, ikántàkiro..., manitzi. Kamaki.

r-ompoh-ak-i-ro i-poteh-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiho
 3M.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-reventar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo
 i-kant-ak-i-ro manitzi kam-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O jaguar morir-PFV-FRS
 ‘Ha golpeado y ha reventado su testículo, lo dice..., el jaguar. Se murió.’
 ‘He hits and bursts his testicle, he says it..., the jaguar. He dies.’

Ikoyi rowintáanakirimi ikántètzi, rira, méyiri.

i-koy-i r-owinta-an-ak-i-ri-mi
 3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-atrapar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri=ra méyiri
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M=MED ardilla
 ‘Quisiera haber atrapado, cómo se llama..., esto..., a la ardilla.’
 ‘He wished he had caught, what’s his name...?, um..., the squirrel.’

Méyiri ñáawakìri ishémýàkiro iyatharékiho.

méyiri i-ña-aw-ak-i-ri i-shemy-ak-i-ro i-yatharékiho
ardilla 3M.S-ver-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-machacar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-testículo
'La ardilla ha visto que (el jaguar) ha machacado su testículo.'
'The squirrel saw that he (the jaguar) crushed his testicle.'

Hápokanáka, okímitaka, rówaga..., inchàtáatoki.

hapok-an-ak-a o-kimi-t-ak-a ro-raga inchàtáato=ki
saltar-ABL-PFV-REA 3F.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA F-CAT.DEM tronco=LOC
'Ha saltado, igual como, este..., al tronco (de árbol).'
'He jumped, just like, um..., to the (tree) trunk.'

Ishirínkanàka, ihápokanáka. Ari ikotyáatapàaka.

i-shirink-an-ak-a i-hapok-an-ak-a
3M.S-irse-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-saltar-ABL-PFV-REA
ari i-kotyaa-t-apa-ak-a
ahí 3M.S-estar.sentado-&-ALL-PFV-REA
'Se ha ido, ha saltado. Ahí se ha sentado.'
'He went, he jumped. There he's sitting.'

Ari ròtsikanàminthatári. Manitzi ihápokanáka.

ari r-òtsikana-amin-tha-t-a-ri manitzi i-hapok-an-ak-a
ahí 3M.S-observar-mirar-BAD-&-REA-3M.O jaguar 3M.S-saltar-ABL-PFV-REA
'Ahí observa y mira al jaguar, cómo lo ha fastidiado. El jaguar ha saltado.'
'There he observes and looks at the jaguar, how he has annoyed him. The jaguar jumps.'

Ikoyi rowintánakirìmi irira ranírira.

i-koy-i r-owint-an-ak-i-ri-mi
3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-atrapar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-COFA
i-ri=ra r-aniri=ra
DEM-M=MED 3M-cuñado.MP=MED
'Hubiera querido atrapar a ese cuñado suyo.'
'He would have wanted to catch that brother-in-law of his.'

Róokaka hanta: poo! Kamaki.

r-ook-ak-a ha=nta poo kam-ak-i
3M.S-saltar.para.atrapar-PFV-REA LOC=DIST IDEO:cae.un.peso morir-PFV-FRS
'Ha saltado para atrapar (a la ardilla) allí: ¡puf! (cae al suelo). Se murió.'
'He jumped to catch (the squirrel) there: poof! (falls to the ground). He died.'

Ari ikántakota irika meiri ikyénkithàtakòta²²⁵.

ari i-kant-ako-t-a

así 3M.S-COP-APPL-&-REA

i-ri=ka méyiri i-kenkitha-t-ako-t-a

DEM-M=PROX ardilla 3M.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA.REFL

‘Así es y se cuenta sobre esta ardilla.’

‘So it is and it’s told about this squirrel.’

Ari okaatzi iroñaaka, ikántètziro..., rówaga..., akyénkithàtakotakìri irika meiri.

ari o-kaa-t-zi iroñaaka i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro-raga

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA ahora 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-CAT.DEM

a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-ak-i-ri i-ri=ka méyiri

INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-M=PROX ardilla

‘Así acaba ahora..., cómo se llama..., esto..., lo que hemos contado sobre esta ardilla.’

‘That’s how it ends now..., what’s its name...?, um..., what we’ve told about this squirrel.’

Rámatawitakìri meiri irika manitzi, yàtharékitho ikìmitakáantawitakàwo róotaki, rowa..., ikántètziro..., róoperotàki kameetha iyàtharékitho, káarimáita, ishèmyakotáshitawo iyétakite.

r-amatawi-t-ak-i-ri méyiri i-ri=ka manitzi i-yatharékitho

3M.S-engañar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O ardilla DEM-M=PROX jaguar 3M-testículo

i-kimi-t-aka-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro roo-t-ak-i ro=ra

3M.S-parecerse-&-CAUS-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro roo-pero-t-ak-i kameetha

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F-VER-&-PFV-FRS bueno

i-yatharékitho kaari=maita

3M-testículo NEG.COP=COEXP

i-shemy-ako-t-ashi-t-a-ro i-ketaki-ti

3M.S-machacar-APPL-&-NPURP-&-REA-3M.O 3M-maní.del.monte-POSS

‘La ardilla ha engañado a este jaguar, ya que le ha hecho parecer (siendo falso), esto..., cómo se llama..., que su testículo estaba realmente bueno, pero no era (su testículo): machacaba maní del monte.’

‘The squirrel deceived this jaguar since it made it seem (being false), um..., what’s its name...?, that his testicle was really good, but it wasn’t (his testicle): he was crushing forest peanuts.’

²²⁵ The usual way to start a tale is *nokénkithatakotíri* ‘I’m going to tell about X’, with I-class suffix. A consultant told me that *ikénkithatakotáka* would mean that the tale has finished, *ikénkithatakotána* means that the tale is being told and *ikénkithatakotína* that the tale is going to be told. After revising all the occurrences of this verb, I infer that the form with *-a* is reflexive, that is, *ikénkithatakota* means ‘they tell to themselves’, which fits the Spanish translation ‘se cuenta’. Therefore, the three mentioned cases can be interpreted as: 1) ‘they have told the story to themselves’, 2) with ablative at the end (ABL meaning ‘in motion’), 3) ‘he is going to tell it to me’.

Tsikárika ikántakáakari ròkíkirà ròmahontyáantakariri?

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ri r-oki=ki=ra
WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-ojo=LOC=MED

r-o-mahontya-ant-ak-a-ri-ri²²⁶

3M.S-CAUS-tonto-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O-REL

‘¿Cómo hizo que en esos ojos suyos se quedara tonto?’

‘How did he (the squirrel) make it so that he (the jaguar) became dumb in those eyes of his?’

Irika rira, manitzi, rowa..., téemáita, rowa..., ikántètzirowa, rarétyawo kameétheni
okaatzi iñáakirika.

i-ri=ka ri=ra manitzi ro=ra tee=maita ro=ra
DEM-M=PROX M=MED jaguar F=MED NEG=COEXP F=MED

i-kant-e-t-zi-ri r-aree-t-ya-ro kameetha-ni
3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-llegar-&-IRR-3F.O bien-REL.IRR

o-kaa-t-zi i-ña-ak-i-ri=ka
3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3M.S-ver-PFV-FRS-REL=PROX

‘Este jaguar, este..., sin embargo, este..., ¿cómo se llama?...’, este..., iba a llegar a lo
bueno donde lo había visto.’

‘This jaguar, um..., however, um..., what’s its name?...’, um..., was going to get to the good
where he had seen it.’

Tee oshitóimotzi kameetha. Rámatawitakitziri.

tee o-shitoy-imo-t-zi-ri²²⁷ kameetha
NEG.REA 3F.S-salir-COM-&-REA-3M.O bien

r-amatawi-t-ak-it-zi-ri²²⁸

3M.S-engañar-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-3M.O

‘No le salió bien. Fue engañado.’

‘It didn’t work out for him. He was tricked.’

²²⁶ This word is related to *mahontzi* ‘mute’. There is a similarity with English in that *dumb* has the meanings ‘stupid’ and ‘mute’. Ashéninka also joins both meanings in a single word.

²²⁷ The comitative here takes the sense of a traditional dative.

²²⁸ The interpretation of *-it* as translocative should be interpreted either as the squirrel going, cheating the jaguar and coming back, or as the squirrel cheating the jaguar during a certain period of time. The latter makes much more sense than the former, because the lie is being carried out during the whole tale. I asked a consultant about the difference between *rámatawitakíri* and *rámatawitakitzíri*, and she said that the latter expresses past. This coincides with the explanations of another consultant about *ikótyaatakíta* ‘he is sitting’, so it seems that *-ak-it* (PFV-TRLOC) expresses past, which makes sense with the explanation of *-it* expressing a lapse of time plus the perfective *-ak* (a certain lapse of time viewed as a single whole should have occurred in the past).

Manitzi tee rowawo iyatharékitho, rowa..., kímíwítaka, ikántètzi..., rowa..., irika rira meiri.

manitzi tee r-ow-a-ro i-yatharékitho ro=ra
 jaguar NEG.REA 3M.S-comer-REA-3F.O 3M-testículo F=MED
 kimi-wi-t-ak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ro=ra
 parecerse-FRU-&-PFV-REA 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O F=MED

i-ri=ka ri=ra méyiri
 DEM-M=PROX M=MED ardilla

‘El jaguar no se ha comido su testículo, esto..., se le parece (erróneamente) a..., cómo se llama..., este..., el de esta ardilla.’

‘The jaguar didn’t eat his testicle, um..., it looks (wrongly) like..., what’s its name...?, um..., this squirrel’s one.’

Ñáakotàkiri pòshiñáanikitàki.

ñá-ako-t-ak-i-ri poshi-ni-aniki-t-ak-i
 encontrar-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O sabroso-ADJ-DIM-&-PFV-FRS

‘Se lo ha encontrado muy riquito (a la ardilla).’

‘He has found it very tasty.’

Káarimáita, rowa..., kaari róotaki, rowa..., hempe ikántètzi? rowa..., iyatharékitho.

kaari=maita ro=ra kaari roo-t-ak-i ro=ra hempe
 NEG.COP=COEXP F=MED NEG.COP 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=MED WH

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro ro=ra i-yatharékitho
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O F=MED 3M-testículo

‘Pero sin embargo, esto..., no era..., esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., su testículo.’

‘But yet, um..., it wasn’t..., um..., what’s its name...? um..., his testicle.’

Tsikárika ikántakáakawo?: rámatawitzìri ikanta ròwamantyárirì.

tsikárika i-kant-aka-ak-a-ro r-amatawi-t-zi-ri
 WH 3M.S-COP-CAUS-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-enganar-&-REA-3M.O

i-kant-a r-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri
 3M.S-COP-REA 3M.S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL

‘¿Cómo hizo que ocurriera?: lo engañó para matarlo.’

‘How did he make it happen? He tricked him into killing him.’

Ari ikáatakòtzi iroñaaka akènkithátakotàkiri.

ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka
 así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA ahora

a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-ak-i-ri
 INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS-REL

‘Así es todo ahora lo que contamos sobre ellos (la ardilla y el jaguar).’

‘That’s all we now have to say about them (the squirrel and the jaguar).’

Ikanta páerani, ikántètzi... , ríraga, meyiri ràmatawitzíri rira manitzi. Ari okaatzi.
i-kant-a páerani i-kant-e-t-zi-ri ri-raga
3M.S-COP-REA antaño 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O M-CAT.DEM
meyiri r-amatawi-t-zi-ri ri=ra manitzi ari o-kaa-t-zi
ardilla 3M.S-enganar-&-REA-3M.O M=MED jaguar así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
‘Así fue antaño, cómo se llama..., esa, la ardilla, engañó a ese jaguar. Así termina.’
‘That’s how it was in the past, what’s its name...?, that one, the squirrel, tricked that jaguar.
That’s how it ends.’

Conversation between Mathawo and Maruja

Amalia Coronado, aka Mathawo ‘thin’, aged 58 at the time of the recording, and Maruja, aged around 30-35 (I forgot to ask), are chatting. I noticed that Maruja speaks with *s* instead of *h* (e.g. *-seek-* instead of *-heek-* ‘live, be in a place’). Maruja is from Canapishtea, a community in the Tahuania District that is not on the banks of the Ucayali River but 15 km in a straight line to the east, by the Tahuania River. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 42 seconds.

Amalia: Noeta naaka Amalia. Nopoña Chicosa. Nokoyi nohámpitimi.

no-et-a naaka Amalia no-poñ-a Chicosa
1S-llamarse-REA 1 Amalia 1S-proceder.de-REA Chicosa

no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O

‘Yo me llamo Amalia. Procedo de Chicosa. Quiero preguntarte.’

‘My name is Amalia. I come from Chicosa. I want to ask you.’

Naaka enya ashéninka. Nokoyi nokámantimi: pipánkiwàetaki pishínkiri?

naaka enya ashéninka no-koy-i no-kamant-i-mi
1 etnia ashéninka²²⁹ 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O

pi-panki-wae-t-ak-i pi-shinki-ri²³⁰
2S-sembrar-DUR1-&-PFV-FRS 2-maíz-POSS

‘Soy de etnia ashéninka. Quero decirte: ¿has estado sembrando tu maíz?’

‘I am of the Ashéninka ethnic group. I want to say to you: have you been planting your corn?’

Maruja: Tekira notaíro.

tekira no-tay-i-ro
aún.no 1S-quemar-FRS-3F.O

‘Todavía no lo quemó.’

‘I haven’t burned it yet.’

A: Pimáwitakàwo?

pi-ma-wi-t-ak-a-ro
2S-poder-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O

‘¿No lo has podido (hacer)?’

‘Couldn’t you (do) it?’

²²⁹ The gloss here might be *a-shéninka* (INCL.POS-fellow.person, ‘our fellow person’), but this gloss would not show the meaning used here, which is the name of an ethnic group.

²³⁰ *Shinki* ‘maize’ is one of the very few nouns whose possessive suffix is *-ri* instead of the usual *-ni* and *-ti* (*shinki* should have *-ni* because it has two morae).

M: Hee, nothón...²³¹, nopèsanákiro, itòanákiro.
 hee no-pes-an-ak-i-ro²³² i-tow-an-ak-i-ro
 AFF 1S-rozar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3S-tumbar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Sí, ya lo he rozado, lo ha tumbado (un árbol, su marido).’²³³
 ‘Yes, I’ve already cleared it, he’s knocked it down (a tree, her husband).’

Riyáatanàhe apáaniróeni itàapáhiro.
 r-iyaa-t-an-ah-i apáaniróeni i-ta-ap-ah-i-ro
 3M.S-ir-&-ABL-REG-FRS solito 3M.S-quemar-ALL-REG-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Se va a volver solito a quemarla (la chacra).’
 ‘He’s going to go back alone to burn it (the farm).’

A: Nokoyi nokántimi, arírika..., iita pipánkitiri páashini?
 no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ari=rika iita pi-panki-t-i-ri paashini
 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O AFF=COND WH2S-sembrar-&-IRR-REL otro
 ‘Quiero decirte, si..., ¿qué otra cosa vas a sembrar?’
 ‘I want to say to you whether..., what else are you going to plant?’

M: Kaniri, payantzi...
 kaniri payantzi
 yuca plátano
 ‘Yuca, plátano.’
 ‘Cassava, banana.’

A: Ari pipànkotéya?
 ari pi-panko-t-eya
 FUT 2-casa-&-FUT
 ‘¿Te vas a ir a vivir allí?’ (lit. ‘¿será tu casa?’)
 ‘Are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your house?’)

M: ...arrosa. Nantaki pankotsi.
 arrosa n-ant-ak-i panko-tsi
 arroz 1S-hacer-PFV-FRS casa-ALI
 ...arroz. He hecho la casa.
 ...rice. I have made the house.

²³¹ *Nothon...* is an unfinished word. Later explanations show that the speaker was going to say *nothónkanákiro* (stem *-thonk-* ‘finish’) ‘I have already finished it’, but the recording shows that she didn’t finish this word.

²³² The stem *-pes-* is *-peh-* in UP Ashéninka.

²³³ I know that she’s referring to a tree because they explained it to me later; they even told me that *inchato* ‘tree’ could have been added, but this word is not uttered in the conversation. I suppose that it is clear that, when someone is clearing a field, trees are knocked down.

A: Pantaki pipanko. Antawo?, oryani?

p-ant-ak-i pi-panko anta-ro o-rya-ni
 2S-hacer-PFV-FRS 2-casa grande-F F-pequeño-ADJ
 ‘Has hecho tu casa. ¿Es grande o pequeña?’
 ‘You have made your home. Is it big or small?’

M: Oryani.

o-rya-ni
 F-pequeño-ADJ
 ‘Pequeña’.
 ‘Small’.

A: Arírika pìpiyanáki, ari pinampitéyawo?

ari=rika pi-piy-an-ak-i²³⁴ ari pi-nampi-t-eya-ro
 AFF=COND 2S-regresar-ABL-PFV-IRR FUT 2-lugar-&-FUT-3F
 ‘Cuando regreses, ¿vas a vivir allí?’ (lit. ‘¿serà tu lugar?’)
 ‘When you return, are you going to live there?’ (lit. ‘will it be your place?’)

M: Ari.

ari
 FUT
 ‘Sí (lo haré).’
 ‘Yes, (I’ll do it).’

A: Eero pipoke haka?

eero pi-pok-i ha=ka
 NEG.IRR 2S-venir-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘¿No vas a volver aquí?’
 ‘Aren’t you going to come back here?’

M: Eero.

eero
 NEG.IRR
 ‘No.’
 ‘Nope.’

²³⁴ This is one of the very few verbs with realis *-a* and irrealis *-i*.

A: Okamèethátzi?, ìnimotapákimi? Osheki mereto?

o-kameetha-t-zi i-nimo-t-ap-ak-i-mi²³⁵ osheki mereto
 3F.S-bien-&-REA 3M.S-gustar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-2O muchos mojarra²³⁶
 ‘¿Está bien? ¿Te ha gustado allá? ¿Hay muchas mojarras?’
 ‘Is it okay? Did you like it there? Are there many *mojarras*?’

M: Osheki shima. Éehatzi osheki koryo.

osheki shima éehatzi osheki koryo
 muchos pez también muchos bagre²³⁷
 ‘Muchos peces. También hay muchos bagres.’
 ‘A lot of fishes. There are also many catfish.’

A: Róotakima pihéekantaperótari okáakini?

roo-t-ak-i=ma pi-heek-ant-a-pero-t-a-ri okáakini
 3F-&-PFV-FRS=DUB 2S-vivir-RES-&-VER-&-REA-REL cerca
 ‘¿Por eso es que vives cerca?’ La hablante lo traduce como ‘¿por eso te gusta vivir ahí?’
 ‘Is that why you live nearby?’ The speaker translates it as ‘is that why you like living there?’

M: Mapuíllo!

‘¿Mapuíllo!’ (nombre de una quebrada y una comunidad)
 ‘Mapuillo!’ (name of a creek and a community)

A: Ah, Mapuíllo. Noshíyaka Inuya.

Mapuíllo n-oshiy-ak-a Inuya
 Mapuíllo 1S-parecer-PFV-REA Inuya
 ‘¿Ah, Mapuíllo! Me pareció Inuya (nombre de una quebrada).’
 ‘Ah, Mapuillo! It seemed to me Inuya (name of a creek).’

M: Tee

tee
 NEG.REA
 ‘No.’
 ‘Nope.’

²³⁵ I asked a consultant why this speaker uses the masculine prefix, and she said that *owaantsi* ‘chacra’ can be masculine. There are some very few exceptions of masculine non-animate elements. However, *owaantsi* is referred to with feminine pronominals in other parts of my corpus. I asked another consultant about the matter and he said that this verb can be used with subjects of both sexes implying something abstract, such as “have you liked *that*?”.

²³⁶ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the family *Gerreidae*. They are also called *anchoveta* in local Spanish.

²³⁷ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the order *Siluriformes*, known in English as *catfish*.

A: ¡Mapuñllo, Urubamba! Arírika pameteya hanta, eero pipókaperòte?
 Mapuñllo Urubamba ari=rika p-ame-t-eya ha=nta
 Mapuñllo Urubamba AFF=COND 2S-acostumbrarse-&-IRR LOC=DIST
 eero pi-pok-a-pero-t-i²³⁸
 NEG.IRR 2S-venir-&-VER-&-IRR
 ‘¡Mapuñllo, Urubamba! Cuando te acostumbras a estar allí, ¿no vas a venir?’
 ‘Mapuñllo, Urubamba! When you get used to being there, won’t you come?’

M: Ari nopoke nokènkithatéro nopanko.
 ari no-pok-i²³⁹ no-kenkitha-t-i-ro no-panko
 FUT 1S-venir-FRS 1S-recordar-&-IRR-3F.O 1-casa
 ‘Voy a venir a recordar mi casa.’
 ‘I will come to remember my home.’

A: Teema ohéekaperòtzi payiro?
 tee=ma o-heck-a-pero-t-zi p-ayiro
 NEG.REA=DUB 3F.S-vivir-&-VER-&-REA 2-suegra.FP
 ‘¿No vive pues tu suegra?’
 ‘Does not your mother-in-law live then?’

M: Tee. Hanta oséekatatzi.
 tee ha=nta o-seek-a-ta-t-zi
 NEG.REA LOC=DIST 3F.S-vivir-&-EMPH-&-REA
 ‘No. Está viviendo allí.’
 ‘Nope. She’s living there.’

A: Tee okoane oheeki.
 tee o-kow-an-i o-heck-i
 NEG.REA 3F.S-querer-ABL-FRS 3F.S-vivir-FRS
 ‘No quiere vivir (allí).’
 ‘She doesn’t want to live (there).’

M: Tee. Hanta oséekatatzi.
 tee ha=nta o-seek-a-ta-t-zi
 NEG.REA LOC=DIST 3F.S-vivir-&-EMPH-&-REA
 ‘No. Está viviendo allí.’
 ‘Nope. She’s living there.’

²³⁸ The existence of the NEG.IRR *eero* should trigger realis marking on the verb (*pipòkaperòtzi* instead of *pipòkaperòti*). When I asked a consultant about this, she said that it could be uttered in this way. This example may show that the opposition *ti-tzi* as RS marker may be starting to disappear.

²³⁹ *Nopoke* here shows that Maruja, in spite of speaking with *s* (typical of non-UP Ashéninka varieties), does not use the nasal irrealis prefix.

Nóokáshitanàkawo niyáatantari.

n-ook-ashi-t-an-ak-a-ro²⁴⁰ n-iyaa-t-ant-a-ri
 1S-dejar-NPURP-&-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O 1S-ir-&-RES-REA-REL
 ‘La dejé para irme.’
 ‘I left her to go.’

A: Ari mache noñáakiro.

ari mache no-ña-ak-i-ro
 AFF ser.así 1S-ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Así lo hemos visto.’
 ‘Thus we have seen it’.

Nokantzi: íitaka ohèekantapákari? Àapithatàtyéeroma?

no-kant-zi iita=ka o-heek-ant-ap-ak-a-ri
 1S-decir-REA WH=INT 3F.S-vivir-RES-ALL-PFV-REA-REL
 Ø-aa-pitha-t-atyee-ro=ma
 3F.S-coger-AWAY-&-FUT-3F.O=DUB
 ‘Digo: ¿por qué vive ahí? ¿Se la va a quitar? (su casa).’
 ‘I say: why does she live there? Is she going to take it away? (the house).’

M: Tee, naaka nóokanákiro: “kóeratawàki²⁴¹ niyáatakitiita”.

tee naaka n-ook-an-ak-i-ro
 NEG.REA 1 1S-dejar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 koera-t-awak-i n-iyaa-t-ak-it-i-ita
 cuidar-&-DES-FRS 1S-ir-&-PFV-TRLOC-IRR-OPT
 ‘No, yo la he dejado (en la casa): “cuida (la casa), me voy un momento y vuelvo”.’
 ‘No, I left her (at home): “take care (of the house), I leave for a moment and will come back”.’

A: Pikantzi.

pi-kant-zi
 2S-decir-REA
 ‘Dices (así dices).’
 ‘You say (so you say).’

M: Tekatsi nóokanahi.

tekatsi n-ook-an-ah-i
 NEG.EXI 1S-dejar-ABL-REG-FRS
 ‘No tengo a quien dejar.’ (en la casa)
 ‘I have no one to leave.’ (in the house)

²⁴⁰ The NPURP gloss seems to be totally contradictory with RES in the next verb (the speaker has left her mother-in-law in the house with the purpose of leaving). A possible interpretation might be that the mother-in-law has no purpose, i.e. nothing to do, in the house.

²⁴¹ The stem *-koera-* is a loan from Spanish *cuidar*.

A: Éehatzi nokoyi nokántimi.

éehatzi no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi
 también 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O
 ‘También quiero decirte...’
 ‘I also want to say to you...’

Aríríka pihokyane paata pinámpikìnta, hanta piyáatenta katonko.

ari=rika pi-hoky-an-i paata pi-nampi=ki=nta
 AFF=COND 2S-salir-ABL-FRS luego 2-sitio=LOC=DIST
 ha=nta p-iyaa-t-e=nta katonko
 LOC=DIST 2S-ir-&-IRR=DIST río.arriba
 ‘Cuando salgas luego de tu casa, vas allí río arriba.’
 ‘When you leave your house afterwards, you go upriver there.’

Iita pitsipáyarini? Ríhatzi ikáateyini?, piimi?, ishéninka piimi?

iita pi-tsipa-aiy-a-ri-ni ri-hatzi i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
 WH 2S-acompañar-PL-RS-REL-PL 3M-PL.FOC 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 pi-emi i-shéninka
 2-esposo 3M-familiar
 ‘¿A quiénes vas a acompañar?, ¿a ellos mismos?, ¿a tu esposo?, ¿a la familia de tu esposo?’
 ‘Who are you going to accompany? Themselves? Your husband? Your husband’s family?’

M: Hee.

hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

A: Ríhatzi hèekaitéentsi.

ri-hatzi heek-a-yi-t-eentsi
 3M-PL.FOC vivir-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.PFV
 ‘Ellos mismos son todos los que viven allí.’
 ‘They themselves are all who live there.’

M: Rímache nótsipatya.

ri-mache no-tsipa-t-ya
 3M-ser.así 1S-acompañar-&-IRR
 ‘Sí que voy a estar con ellos.’
 ‘Yes, I will be with them.’

A: Hempe ihéekitaka rirori?

hempe i-heek-i-ta=ka rirori
 WH 3M.S-vivir-FRS-EMPH=INT 3M
 ‘¿Dónde se encuentran ellos?’
 ‘Where are they?’

M: Iséekashitèki, noséikema katonko.

i–seek–ashi–t–i=ki no–seek–e=ma katonko
 3M.S–vivir–PURP–&–IRR=LOC 1S–vivir–&–FRS=DUB río.arriba
 ‘Él va a vivir en otro lugar y yo seguramente río arriba.’
 ‘He’s going to live somewhere else, and I, probably, upriver.’

A: [dice algo corto sin transcribir]... arika hanta?

ari=ka ha=nta
 FUT=INT LOC=DIST
 ‘¿Vas a vivir allí?’
 ‘Are you going to live there?’

M: Noséekashitèki

no–seek–ashi–t–e=ki
 1S–vivir–PURP–&–IRR=LOC
 ‘Allí voy a vivir.’
 ‘I’m going to live there.’

A: Ari oyáatanemi payiro?

ari Ø–oyaa–t–an–i–mi p–ayiro
 FUT 3F.S–seguir–&–ABL–FRS–2O 2–suegra.FP
 ‘¿Te va a seguir tu suegra?’
 ‘Is your mother-in-law following you?’

M: Eero iyaatzi.

eero Ø–iyaa–t–zi
 NEG.IRR 3F.S–ir–&–REA
 ‘No va a ir.’
 ‘She’s not coming.’

A: Ohéekira.

o–heek–i=ra
 3F.S–vivir–FRS=MED
 ‘Vive allí.’
 ‘She lives there.’

M: Naaka hatatzi.

naaka ha–t–atzi
 1 ir–&–PROG
 ‘Yo voy a estar yendo.’
 ‘I’ll be going.’

A: Piyotzi éeroka pimampa?

p–iyo–t–zi éeroka pi–mamp–a
 2S–saber–&–REA 2 2S–cantar–REA
 ‘¿Tú sabes cantar?’
 ‘Do you know how to sing?’

M: Tee
tee
NEG.REA
'No.'
'Nope.'

A: Tee piyotzi. Kyaaryo?
tee pi-yo-t-zi kyaaryo
NEG.REA 2S-saber-&-REA verdadero
'No sabes. ¿De verdad?'
'You do not know. Really?'

M: Kyaaryo!, tee niyótziro! Niyótiromi, ari nokántimi.
kyaaryo tee n-iyó-t-zi-ro
verdadero NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O
n-iyó-t-i-ro-mi ari no-kant-i-mi
1S-saber-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA FUT 1S-decir-IRR-2O
'¿De verdad!, ¡no sé! Si supiera, te lo diría.'
'I really do not know! If I knew, I'd tell you.'

A: Éehatzi roori nokóí nokántimi: arírika oshékitapæ tsimeri.
éehatzi roori no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi
también 3F 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O
ari=rika osheki=tapæ tsimeri
AFF=COND muchos=ABUND animal
'También quiero preguntarte algo: si hay animales en abundancia.'
'I also want to ask you something: whether there are animals in abundance.'

M: Oshékini.
osheki-ni
muchos-INTS
'En cantidad.'
'In quantity.'

A: Osheki thamiri?
osheki thamiri
mucho paujil²⁴²
'¿Hay muchos paujiles?'
'Are there many curassows?'

²⁴² According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the subfamily *Cracinae*, known as *curassow* in English.

M: Tekatsi thamiri.
 tekatsi thamiri
 NEG.EXI pajil
 ‘No hay pajiles.’
 ‘There are no curassows.’

A: Riintzi honkágari?
 ri-intzi honkágari
 M-REST perdiz²⁴³
 ‘¿Aún hay perdices?’
 ‘Are there still tinamous?’

M: Shonkiri.
 shonkiri
 colibrí²⁴⁴
 ‘Colibríes.’
 ‘Hummingbirds.’

A: Honkágari?
 honkágari
 perdiz
 ‘¿Perdices?’
 ‘Tinamous?’

M: Sonkágari.
 sonkágari
 perdiz
 ‘Perdices.’
 ‘Tinamous.’

A: Samani?²⁴⁵
 samani
 paca
 ‘¿Pacas?’
 ‘¿Pacas?’

²⁴³ According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the family *Timanidae*, more generally known in Spanish as *tinamú* and in English as *tinamou*.

²⁴⁴ According to Wikipedia, these are birds of the family *Trochilidae*, known in English as *hummingbird*.

²⁴⁵ The translating consultant transcribed it as *hamani*, although Amalia had said *samani*. I understand that Amalia is here adapting her speech to her interlocutor’s variety.

M: Samani, kemari!
samani kemari
paca tapir²⁴⁶
'Pacas, ¡tapires!'
'Pacas, tapirs!'

A: Kemari! Etzi?
kemari etzi
tapir armadillo²⁴⁷
'¡Tapires! ¿Armadillos?'
'Tapirs! Armadillos?'

M: Oshékini.
osheki–ni
muchos–INTS
'En cantidad.'
'In quantity.'

A: Shawo?
shawo
aguti²⁴⁸
'¿Agutíes?'
'Agoutis?'

M: Osheki.
osheki
muchos
'Muchos.'
'Many.'

A: Pówonto?
pówonto
porotuangó²⁴⁹
'¿Porotuangos?' (clase de ave)
'Wood quails?'

²⁴⁶ This word was translated as *sachavaca*, as this animal is named in local Spanish, while *tapir* is widely known in standard Spanish. According to Wikipedia, this animal is *Tapirus terrestris*, known in Spanish as *tapir amazónico* and other names, and in English as *South American tapir*.

²⁴⁷ This word was translated as *carachupa*, its name in local Spanish, while this animal is more generally known in Spanish as *armadillo*, the same name as in English.

²⁴⁸ According to Wikipedia, these are rodents of the genus *Dasyprocta*, known in English as *agouti*.

²⁴⁹ This word is local Spanish for a kind of bird. *Porotuangó* is synonymous to *codorniz*, which is a European bird in standard Spanish. However, according to Wikipedia, this name is also used for the genus *Odontophorus*, whose members are known in English as *wood quails*.

M: Oshékini, oshékini.
 oshéki-ni
 muchos-INTS
 ‘En cantidad.’
 ‘In quantity.’

A: Komairi tekatsi?
 komáyiri tekatsi
 gamitana²⁵⁰ NEG.EXI
 ‘¿No hay gamitanas?’
 ‘Are there no tambaquis?’

M: Tekatsi komáiri.
 tekatsi komayiri
 NEG.EXI gamitana
 ‘No hay gamitanas.’
 ‘There are no tambaquis.’

A: Antaweti pichákiratì? Antawo powane?²⁵¹
 anta-ro-t-i pi-chákira-ti anta-ro p-owani
 grande-F-&-IRR 2-chacra-POSS grande-F 2-chacra
 ‘¿Es grande tu chacra?’
 ‘Is your *chacra* big?’

M: Tee, okàamoityókitzi.
 tee o-kaa-moityo-ki-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3F.S-COP.TOT-ombligo-FORM-&-REA
 ‘No, es chiquita y tiene forma redonda.’
 ‘No, it’s small and round in shape.’

A: Owákira etyawo?
 owákira et-ya-ro
 nuevo empezar-IRR-3F.O
 ‘¿Recién va a empezar? (a hacer la chacra, su esposo)’
 ‘Is he just starting? (to build the *chacra*, her husband)’

²⁵⁰ According to different sources online, this fish is *Colossoma macropomum*, more generally known in Spanish as *cachama negra* and in English as *tambaqui*.

²⁵¹ This fragment is interesting because Amalia *Mathawo* says *pichákiratì* ‘tu chacra’, where she is using the Spanish loan *chákira* (from *chacra*), and later she corrects herself using the Ashéninka *powane*, from *owaantsi* ‘chacra’ (small cultivated field).

M: Owákira iitákotzi, itówaki, riyáatantákitariránki, itówakotzi, riyáaheni, antawo.

owákira i-et-ako-t-zi i-tow-ak-i
 recién 3M.S-empezar-APPL-&-REA 3M.S-tumbar-PFV-FRS
 r-iyaa-t-ant-ak-it-a-ri=ranki i-tow-ako-t-zi
 3M.S-ir-&-RES-PFV-TRLOC-REA-REL=ABSE 3M.S-tumbar-APPL-&-REA

3M-r-iyaaaheni anta-ro
 cafetal grande-3F

‘Recién ha empezado con ello, ha tumbado (árboles, su esposo), allá donde se fue (con la intención de volver), tumbó, a su cafetal, grandes (árboles).’

‘He has just started with it, he has knocked down (trees, her husband), there, where he went (with the intention of returning), he knocked down large (trees) in his coffee plantation.’

A: Kemóetyaki. Antawatzi arírika amáanitî?

kemóetyaki anta-ro-t-zi ari=rika amaani-t-i
 avanzado.en.desbrozado grande-F-&-REA AFF=COND creciente-&-IRR

‘Avanzado en desbrozado. ¿Se hace grande la quebrada cuando crece?’

‘Advanced in weeding. Does the brook become large when it grows?’

M: Antawo! Éehatzi oshíyawo irowa antawétika Chicosillo.

anta-ro éehatzi Ø-oshy-a-ro
 grande-F también 3F.S-parecerse-REA-3F.O

i-ro=ra anta-ro-t-i=ka²⁵² Chicosillo
 DEM-F=MED grande-F-&-IRR=PROX Chicosillo

‘¡Grande! También se le parece a esa más grande, Chicosillo.’

‘Big! It also looks like that bigger one, Chicosillo.’

A: Mapipóokiperòni?

mapi-pooki-pero-ni
 piedra-COL-VER-IGN

‘¿Hay pedregales de verdad?’

‘Are there really screes?’

M: Mapipooki!

mapi-pooki
 piedra-COL

‘¡Pedregal! (hay)’

‘Screes! (there are)’

²⁵² After some elicitations about *antawétika*, I clearly concluded that =ka it is a demonstrative enclitic. However, it seems that these enclitics together with the demonstrative word can be used for comparison. For instance, you can say *I want that big one* with the meaning *I want the biggest/bigger one*.

A: Tekatsi karatsi?
 tekatsi karatsi²⁵³
 NEG.EXI carachama
 ‘¿No hay carachamas?’
 ‘No armored catfish?’

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchos.’
Dicen algo riéndose y no se entiende.
 ‘Many.’
They say something laughing and it is not understood.

A: Tekatsi kempitzi?
 tekatsi kempitzi
 NEG.EXI carachama
 ‘¿No hay carachamas?’
 ‘No armored catfish?’

M: Oshékini.
 osheki–ni
 muchos–INTS
 ‘En cantidad.’
 ‘In quantity.’

A: Íimopàeni?
 i–moo=paeni
 3M–hueco=PL
 ‘¿Huecos?’ (donde se esconden las carachamas)
 ‘Hollows?’ (where the armored catfish hide)

M: Hee.
 hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

A: Móontzinkari.
 moo–ntzinka–ri
 hueco–ADJZ–M
 ‘Tiene huecos.’
 ‘It has holes.’

²⁵³ *Karatsi* is an adaptation from Spanish *carachama*. Later Amalia corrects herself and uses the Ashéninka word *kempitzi* –they laugh after this sentence, maybe because of the incorrect use of the Spanish loan. According to Wikipedia, this fish is *Pseudorinelepis gemibarbis*, in English *armored catfish*.

M: Imoo.

i-moo

3M-hueco

‘Hay huecos.’

‘There are holes.’

A: Kito?

kito

camarón²⁵⁴

‘¿Camarones?’

‘Caridean shrimp?’

M: Osheki.

osheki

muchos

‘Muchos.’

‘Many.’

A: Totziro?

totziro

churo²⁵⁵

‘¿Churos?’

‘Apple snails?’

M: Osheki.

osheki

muchos

‘Muchos.’

‘Many.’

A: Íitiweero...?

iita i-weero

WH 3M-nombre

‘¿Cómo se llama...?’ (intenta recordar el nombre de algo)

‘What’s its name...?’ (she tries to remember the name of something)

M: Owétaka.

o-eta=ka

F-WH=INT

‘¿El qué?’

,What?’

²⁵⁴ According to Wikipedia, these are crustaceans of the infraorder *Caridea*, known in English as *caridean shrimp*.

²⁵⁵ According to Wikipedia, these are snails of the family *Ampullariidae*, known in English as *apple snail*.

A: Íitaka róoteentsi noñáawaeti iñáaniki wirákocha? (lo dice riéndose)
 iita=ka róoteentsi no-ñáawae-t-i i-ñáani=ki wirákocha
 WH=INT ya 1S-hablar-&-IRR 3M-idioma=LOC no.indígena
 ‘¿Es que ya voy a hablar en castellano?’
 ‘Am I going to speak Spanish now?’

M: Oshero, osheki oshero.
 oshero²⁵⁶ osheki
 cangrejo muchos
 ‘Muchos cangrejos.’
 ‘Lots of crayfish.’

A: Opoki móтана noshironta.
 o-pok-i móтана no-shiront-a
 3F.S-venir-FRS ganas 1S-reír-REA
 ‘Me vienen ganas de reír.’
 ‘I feel like laughing.’

M: Hee.
 hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

A: Noshíyakàwita tekatsi hanta.
 n-oshiy-aka-wi-t-a tekatsi ha=nta
 1S-parecer-CAUS-FRU-&-REA NEG.EXI LOC=DIST
 ‘Me había parecido (erróneamente) que no había allí.’
 ‘I had thought (mistakenly) that there weren’t there.’

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchos.’
 ‘Many.’

A: Imáantakya riintzi rira..., konoya?
 i-maanta=kya ri-intzi ri=ra konoya
 M-COEXP=EMPH M-REST M=MED motelo²⁵⁷
 ‘Entonces, ¿sólo hay, este..., motelos?’
 ‘So, there are only, um..., yellow-footed tortoises?’

²⁵⁶ According to Wikipedia, these crustaceans belong to the superfamilies *Astacoidea* and *Parastacoidea* and are known in English as *crayfish* and other names.

²⁵⁷ According to Wikipedia, this tortoise is *Chelonoidis denticulata*, more generally known in Spanish as *tortuga terrestre de patas amarillas* and in English as *yellow-footed tortoise*.

M: Tekatsi. Konoya tekatsi. Osheki rowari manitzi.

tekatsi konoya osheki r-ow-a-ri manitzi
 NEG.EXI motelo muchos 3M.S-comer-REA-3M.O jaguar

‘No hay. No hay motelos. Muchos se los comen los jaguares.’

‘There are not. There are no yellow-footed tortoises. Many are eaten by jaguars.’

A: Rira..., ikántetzírika? Oshékitapàe roori, tzirootzi, tsiyároki?

ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri=ka osheki=tapae roori
 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O =INT muchos=ABUND 3F

tzirootzi tsiyároki
 huicungo shapaja²⁵⁸

‘Esto..., ¿cómo se llama? ¿Hay abundantes de esos..., huicungos, shapajas?’

‘Um..., what’s its name? Are there plenty of those..., *huicungos*, urucuri palms?’

M: Tekatsi tsiyároki. Omaanta shewo.

tekatsi tsiyároki o-maanta shewo
 NEG.EXI shapaja F-COEXP shebón²⁵⁹

‘No hay shapaja, sólo hay shebón.’

‘There are no urucuri palms, there is only *shebón*.’

A: Róotaki shékitatsi. Tóniròki?

roo-t-ak-i sheki-t-atsi tóniròki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS mucho-&-PTCP.IPFV aguaje²⁶⁰

‘Así es que hay muchos. ¿Aguajes?’

‘So there are many. Moriche palms?’

M: Tekatsi.

tekatsi
 NEG.EXI

‘No hay.’

‘There are not.’

A: Ari akántatátziro: kontaki.

ari a-kant-a-ta-t-zi-ro kontaki
 así INCL.S-decir-&-EMPH-&-REA-3F.O azúcar.huayo²⁶¹

‘Así le llamamos: azúcar huayo.’

‘That’s how we call it: *azúcar huayo*.’

²⁵⁸ According to different sources online, *huicungos* and *shapajas* are palm trees: the first one is *Astrocaryum murumuru*; the second one, *Attalea phalerata*, known in English as *urucuri palm*.

²⁵⁹ According to Wikipedia, *shebón* is the palm *Attalea butyracea*.

²⁶⁰ According to Wikipedia, *aguaje* is the palm *Mauritia flexuosa*, known in English as *moriche palm*.

²⁶¹ The translating consultant was not sure of the translation of *kontaki*, but she said that she thought that it was a kind of *huayo*. The word *azúcar huayo* appears in Wikipedia as one of the Spanish names of the tree *Hymenaea oblongifolia*.

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchos.’
 ‘Many.’

A: Roori rowa..., oeta owéirowànkí? *Boláinapaeni*?
 roori ro=ra o=eta o=weero=ranki bolaina=paeni²⁶²
 3F F=MED F=WH 3F-nombre=ABSE bolaina=PL
 ‘Esto..., ¿cómo se llamaba...? ¿Bolainas?’
 ‘Um..., what’s its name...? *Bolainas*?’

M: Osheki.
 osheki
 muchos
 ‘Muchas.’
 ‘Many.’

A: Hantari? Tekatsi hantari?
 hantari tekatsi hantari
 madera NEG.EXI madera
 ‘¿Madera? ¿No hay madera?’
 ‘Timber? No timber?’

M: Éenitatsi.
 eeni-t-atsi
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘Sí que hay.’
 ‘Yes, there is.’

A: Pàakotapákiro.
 p-a-ako-t-ap-ak-i-ro
 2S-coger-APPL-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Has cogido la parte tuya.’
 ‘You have taken your part.’

M: Hee.
 hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

²⁶² *Bolaina* or *bolaina blanca* is the Spanish name. This timber-yielding tree is, according to Wikipedia, *Guazuma crinita*.

A: Imátakitzi-míro *ingeniero*, rowa..., rowétsikapákiro?

i-ma-t-ak-it-zi-mi-ro ingeniero ro=ra
3M.S-poder-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA-2O-3F.O ingeniero F=MED

r-owetsik-ap-ak-i-ro

3M.S-construir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘¿Te lo pudo (hacer) el ingeniero?, esto... ¿Lo ha construido?’

‘Could the engineer (do) it for you? Um..., has he built it?’

M: Imátàkiro. Niyáatantanakàri nònthapákari.

i-ma-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-poder-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

n-iyaa-t-ant-an-ak-a-ri n-onth-ap-ak-a-ri²⁶³

1S-ir-&-TIME-ABL-PFV-REA-REL 1S-encontrarse-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O

‘Ha podido (lo ha hecho). Cuando me he ido, lo he encontrado.’

‘He could (he did it). When I’ve gone, I’ve found him.’

A: Kaméethatàki.

kameetha-t-ak-i

bien-&-PFV-FRS

‘Está bien.’

‘It’s okay.’

²⁶³ A consultant explained to me that this word is used when two persons arrive at a place at the same time and find each other face to face.

Conversation between Mathari and Hamani

Ronaldo, aka Mathari ‘thin’, and Karen, aka Hamani ‘paca’, both aged 18 at the time of recording and students at Nopoki (indigenous university in Atalaya), chat. Both hail from Chicosa. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 54 seconds.

Mathari: Hempe pipoñaka éeroکا, Hamani?

hempe pi-poñ-a=ka éeroکا Hamani
 WH 2S-proceder.de-REA=INT 2 Hamani
 ‘¿De dónde procedes tú, Hamani?’
 ‘Where do you come from, Hamani?’

Hamani: Pikoyi piyote hempe nopoña naaka.

pi-koy-i p-iyo-t-i hempe no-poñ-a naaka
 2S-querer-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR WH 1S-proceder.de-REA 1
 ‘Quieres saber de dónde procedo yo.’
 ‘You want to know where I come from.’

M: Hee.

hee
 AFF
 ‘Sí.’
 ‘Yes.’

H: Naaka nopoña kirinka. Nonampi oeta Katsinkaari.

naaka no-poñ-a kirinka no-nampi o-et-a Katsinkaari
 1 1S-proceder.de-REA río.abajo 1-comunidad 3F.S-llamarse-REA Chicosa
 ‘Yo procedo de río abajo. Mi comunidad se llama Chicosa.’
 ‘I come from downriver. My community is called Chicosa.’

M: Éenitatsi piimi hanta pinámpiki?

eeni-t-atsi pi-emi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-esposo LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 ‘¿Tienes esposo allí en tu comunidad?’
 ‘Do you have a husband there in your community?’

H: Tékatsi noemi, tékatsi.

tekatsi no-emi
 NEG.EXI 1-esposo
 ‘No tengo esposo, no tengo.’
 ‘I don’t have a husband, I don’t have.’

M: Íitaka pikoiri haka..., pipókantaryari²⁶⁴ haka?

iita=ka pi-koy-i-ri ha=ka pi-pok-ant-ya-ri ha=ka
 WH=INT 2S-querer-FRS-REL LOC=PROX 2S-venir-RES-IRR-REL LOC=PROX
 ‘¿Por qué quieres aquí..., por qué has venido aquí?’
 ‘Why do you want here..., why did you come here?’

H: Nokoyi naaka... Nopókanta kaari...

no-koy-i naaka no-pok-ant-a kaari
 1S-querer-FRS 1 1S-venir-RES-REA NEG.COP
 ‘Yo quiero... He venido porque no...’
 ‘I want... I have come because I don’t...’

Nokoyi naaka niyoti osheki ñaantsi.

no-koy-i naaka n-iyot-i osheki ñaantsi
 1S-querer-FRS 1 1S-saber-&-IRR mucho idioma
 ‘Yo quiero saber muchos idiomas.’
 ‘I want to know many languages.’

Éehatzi nokoyi niyaate hanta hëñokíni.

éehatzi no-koy-i n-iyaa-t-i ha=nta hëñokiini
 también 1S-querer-FRS 1S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST más.allá
 ‘También quiero ir allí, más allá.’
 ‘I also want to go there, beyond.’

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-querer-FRS 1S-retroceder-IRR 3F.S-parecerse-&-PFV-REA

no-niro no-paapa-ti²⁶⁵
 1-madre 1-padre-POSS

éehatzi no-kaa-t-ey-i-ni páerani iroñaaka no-nampi=ki
 también 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL antaño ahora 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘No quiero retroceder y parecerme a mis padres, ni tampoco a los míos que vivían antes y ahora en mi comunidad.’
 ‘I don’t want to go back and be like my parents, or like those of mine who lived before and now in my community.’

²⁶⁴ The translating consultant said that it should be *pipókantari* (realis) instead of *pipókantaryari* (irrealis), as Mathari uttered. I think that the translating consultant meant *ítaka pipókantari haka?* ‘why did you come here?’, but Mathari maybe was thinking about *ítaka pikóyiri pipókantaryari haka?* ‘why did you want to come here?’, and, in this case, it should be irrealis because it is a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi*.

²⁶⁵ *Paapa* is Spanish loan from *papá*, and bears alienable possessive affixes. The genuine Ashéninka word is the inalienable *-iri* (1st person form *niri*).

M: Pamétakawo haka nimaeka piheeki haka?

p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka nimaeka pi-heek-i
 2S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F.O LOC=PROX ahora 2S-vivir-FRS
 ‘¿Ya te has acostumbrado aquí a vivir aquí?’
 ‘Have you already got used to live here?’

H: Hee, hee. Namétakawo. Tee okímita hanta nonámpiki.

hee n-ame-t-ak-a-ro
 AFF 1S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F.O
 tee o-kimi-t-a ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.REA 3F.S-parecerse-&-REA LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Sí, sí. Me he acostumbrado. No se parece a allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘Yes, yes. I’ve got used to it. It doesn’t look like there in my community.’

Nohéekawáetzi..., niyaatzi hanta nowániki.

no-heek-a-wae-t-zi n-iyaa-t-zi ha=nta n-owani=ki
 1S-vivir-&-DUR1-&-REA 1S-ir-&-REA LOC=DIST 1-chacra=LOC
 ‘Estoy viviendo, voy allá a mi chacra.’ (se refiere a la vida en su comunidad)
 ‘I’m living, I’m going there to my *chacra*.’ (referring to life in her community)

Haka nopókapàki niyotapákiro osheki kaari niyótziròri hanta nonámpiki.

ha=ka no-pok-ap-ak-i n-iyot-ap-ak-i-ro osheki
 LOC=PROX 1S-venir-ALL-PFV-FRS 1S-saber-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3F.O mucho
 kaari n-iyot-zi-ro-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.COP 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O-REL LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Aquí he venido y he aprendido mucho de lo que no sabía allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘I have come here and I have learned a lot that I did not know there in my community.’

M: Okáatzira piheeki hanta pinámpiki, óetaka pipánkitzìri okaatzi powáyitari?

o-kaa-t-zi-ra pi-heek-i ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA-TEMP 2S-vivir-FRS LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 o-eta=ka pi-panki-t-zi-ri
 F-WH=INT 2S-sembrar-&-REA-REL
 o-kaa-t-zi p-ow-a-yi-t-a-ri
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-comer-&-DISTR-&-REA-REL
 ‘Cuando estás allá en tu comunidad, ¿qué es todo lo que siembras para comer?’
 ‘When you’re out there in your community, what’s all you sow to eat?’

H: Nopánkitzìri kaniri, payantzi..., róotaki nopánkitzìri hanta nonámpiki.

no-panki-t-zi-ri kaniri payantzi
 1S-sembrar-&-REA-3M.O-REL yuca plátano
 roo-t-ak-i no-panki-t-zi-ri ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-sembrar-&-REA-REL LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Lo que siembro es yuca, plátano... Eso es lo que siembro allí en mi comunidad.’
 ‘What I sow is cassava, banana... That’s what I sow there in my community.’

M: Éenitatsi pipáapati iheeki *o* pokaki haka?

eeni-t-atsi pi-paapa-ti i-heek-i o²⁶⁶ pok-ak-i ha=ka
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-padre-POSS3M.S-vivir-FRS o venir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
 ‘¿Está allí tu padre o ha venido aquí?’
 ‘Is your father there or has come here?’

H: Tekatsi nopáapate. Kamaki. Kamaki páerani. Éeniro...

tekatsi no-paapa-ti kam-ak-i páerani éeniro
 NEG.EXI 1-padre-POSS morir-PFV-FRS antaño EXI.PST
 ‘No tengo padre. Murió hace tiempo. Hace tiempo...’
 ‘I have no father. He died a long time ago. Long time...’

M: Íitaka ikámantákari?

iita=ka i-kam-ant-ak-a-ri
 WH=INT 3M.S-morir-RES-PFV-REA-REL
 ‘¿De qué murió?’
 ‘What did he die of?’

H: Rómpohákiri²⁶⁷ inchato. Rántawáetziro hantari. Rómpohákiri.

Ø-ompoh-ak-i-ri inchato r-antawae-t-zi-ro hantari
 3F.S-golpear-PFV-FRS-3M.O árbol 3M.S-trabajar-&-REA-3F.O madera
 ‘Lo golpeó un árbol. Trabajaba en la madera. Le golpeó.’
 ‘He was hit by a tree. He worked with timber. It hit him.’

M: Ari piráanaka éeroka *o* tee piráa?

ari p-irag-an-ak-a éeroka o tee p-irag-a
 AFF 2S-llorar-ABL-PFV-REA 2 o NEG.REA 2S-llorar-REA
 ‘¿Has llorado o no has llorado?’
 ‘Did you cry or not?’

H: Tee niraya²⁶⁸. Tee niyotzi. Éeniro nokáatzini. Tee niyotzi.

tee n-irag-ya tee n-iyotzi
 NEG.REA 1S-llorar-IRR NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA
 éeniro no-kaa-t-zi-ni
 EXI.PST 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘No lloré. No sabía. Era pequeña. No sabía.’
 ‘I didn’t cry. I didn’t know. I was a child. I didn’t know.’

²⁶⁶ This is the Spanish conjunction *o*, widely used in Ashéninka.

²⁶⁷ The verb is inflected here with a masculine subject prefix, which is clearly incorrect, as the translating consultant pointed out. This is a token of attrition maybe influenced by the fact that *árbol* in Spanish is a masculine word. The right word is *ómpohákiri*, with feminine subject, which I have written in the glosses.

²⁶⁸ The translating consultant said that she would say *niraga* (realis), which is consistent with the sentence with *tee*, but that *niraya* (irrealis) is also right, and another consultant confirmed that both are right. There is some inconsistency in a few cases with the use of the reality status suffixes.

Apátzirotà norento. Róotaki iráanàencha.
 apátziro-ota no-irento roo-t-ak-i iraa-an-eecha
 sólo-ROPT 1-hermana.FP 3F-&-PFV-FRS llorar-ABL-PTCP.PFV
 ‘Sólo mi hermana. Eso es lo que ha llorado.’
 ‘Only my sister. That is what she cried.’

M: Piríro pyáarentsi?

p-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 2S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 ‘¿Bebes masato?’
 ‘Do you drink masato?’

H: Naaka tee niriro pyáarentsi. Apátzirotà niriro niha.

naaka tee n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 1 NEG.REA 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 apátziro-ota n-ir-i-ro niha
 sólo-ROPT 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O agua
 ‘Yo no bebo masato. Sólo bebo agua.’
 ‘I don’t drink masato. I only drink water.’

M: Pikoyi niráakáemi pyáarentsi nimaeka?

pi-koy-i n-ir-aka-e-mi pyaare-ntsi nimaeka
 2S-querer-FRS 1S-beber-CAUS-FRS-2O masato-ALI hoy
 ‘¿Quieres que te invite a beber masato hoy?’ (lit. ‘¿Quieres que te haga beber masato?’)
 ‘Do you want me to invite you to drink masato today?’ (lit. ‘Do you want me to make you drink masato?’)

H: Tee nokoyi. Tee namétawo, tee namétawo niriro pyáarentsi.

tee no-koy-i
 NEG.REA 1S-querer-FRS
 tee n-ame-t-a-ro n-ir-i-ro pyaare-ntsi
 NEG.REA 1S-acostumbrarse-&-REA-3F.O 1S-beber-FRS-3F.O masato-ALI
 ‘No quiero. No me acostumbro, no me acostumbro a beber masato.’
 ‘I do not want. I’m not used to it, I’m not used to drinking masato.’

M: Nimaeka árika osháawitanàhi, hame ate añáathawàetya hanta, otáapiki.

nimaeka ari=rika o-shaawit-an-ah-i
 hoy AFF=COND 3F.S-atardecer-ABL-REG-FRS
 hame Ø-a-t-i a-ñáatha-wae-t-ya ha=nta
 HORT.INCL INCL.S-ir-&-IRR INCL.S-jugar-DUR1-&-IRR LOC=DIST
 o-taapi=ki
 3F-espalda=LOC
 ‘Hoy, al atardecer, vayamos a jugar allí, más abajo (en el barranco; lit.: ‘en su espalda’).’
 ‘Today, at sunset, let’s go to play there, further down (in the gully; lit.: ‘on his back’).’

H: Haa, róotaki nokówakotzimiri.

hee roo-t-ak-i no-kow-ako-t-zi-mi-ri
 AFF 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-querer-APPL-&-REA-2O-REL
 ‘Sí, eso es lo que quiero contigo.’
 ‘Yes, that’s what I want with you.’

M: Árika athónkanàkiro, apíyanaki, akáwoshitanàki éehatzi ate owántyari hanta.

ari=rika a-thonk-an-ak-i-ro a-piy-an-ak-i
 AFF=COND INCL.S-terminar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O INCL.S-regresar-ABL-PFV-FRS
 a-kawoshi-t-an-ak-i éehatzi
 INCL.S-bañarse-&-ABL-PFV-FRS también
 Ø-a-t-i Ø-ow-ant-ya-ri ha=nta
 INCL.S-ir-&-IRR INCL.S-comer-RES-IRR-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Cuando lo hayamos terminado (de jugar), regresaremos, nos bañaremos e iremos a comer allí.’
 ‘When we’re done (playing), we’ll come back, take a bath and go to eat there.’

H: Hee, ari, nokémakèmi.

hee ari no-kem-ak-i-mi
 AFF de.acuerdo 1S-oír-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Sí, de acuerdo, te he escuchado.’
 ‘Yeah, okay, I’ve heard you.’

Éeroka, arírika ashitówanaki, iita pántziri hanta?

éeroka ari=rika a-shitow-an-ak-i iita p-ant-zi-ri ha=nta
 2 AFF=COND INCL.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS WH 2S-hacer-REA-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Tú, cuando salimos, ¿qué haces allá? (fuera de aquí, o sea, de Nopoki).’
 ‘You, when we go out, what do you do there? (away from here, that is, from Nopoki).’

M: Naaka niyáatanaki hanta nonámpiki.

naaka n-iyaa-t-an-ak-i ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 1 1S-ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Yo voy allí a mi comunidad.’
 ‘I go there to my community.’

Namitàkotapátyeeri noniro éehatzi nopáapati.

n-amitako-t-ap-atyee-ri no-niro éehatzi no-paapa-ti
 1S-ayudar-&-ALL-FUT-3M.O 1-madre también 1-padre-POSS
 ‘Al llegar, ayudaré a mi madre y a mi padre.’
 ‘When I arrive, I will help my mother and father.’

H: Íitaka rántziri piri hanta pinámpiki?

iita=ka r-ant-zi-ri p-iri ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 WH=INT 3M.S-hacer-REA-REL 2-padre LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 ‘¿Qué hace tu padre allá en tu comunidad?’
 ‘What does your father do there in your community?’

M: Tekatsi..., tee niyotzi naaka.
 tekatsi tee n-iyó-t-zi naaka
 NEG.EXI NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA 1
 ‘No hay..., no sé yo.’
 ‘There isn’t..., I don’t know.’

Ohámaniti tee niyaate hanta nonámpiki. Nohéekatzi haka.
 o-hamani-t-i tee n-iyaa-t-i²⁶⁹ ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 3F.S-lejano.en.tiempo-&-IRR NEG.REA 1S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST 1-lugar=LOC
 no-heck-atzi ha=ka
 1S-vivir-PROG LOC=PROX
 ‘Hace tiempo que no he ido allí a mi comunidad. Estoy viviendo aquí.’
 ‘I haven’t been there in my community for a long time. I’m living here.’

H: Piniro, iita ántziri roori hanta?
 pi-niro iita Ø-ant-zi-ri roori ha=nta
 2-madre WH 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 3F LOC=DIST
 ‘Tu madre, ¿qué hace ella allí?’
 ‘Your mother, what is she doing there?’

M: Noniro ohéekatzi ótsipaki nampitsi.
 no-niro o-heck-atzi o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 1-madre 3F.S-vivir-PROG F-otro=LOC comunidad-ALI
 ‘Mi madre está viviendo en otra comunidad.’
 ‘My mother is living in another community.’

Antawaétatzi owámetatzìri iryániériki.
 Ø-antawae-t-atzi Ø-owame-t-atzi-ri i-rya-ni-eriki
 3F.S-trabajar-&-PROG 3F.S-enseñar-&-PROG-3M.O M-pequeño-ADJ-DIM.PL
 ‘Está trabajando enseñando a niños pequeños.’
 ‘She’s working teaching little kids.’

H: Róotaki ántziri piniro.
 roo-t-ak-i Ø-ant-zi-ri pi-niro
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 2-madre
 ‘Eso es lo que hace tu madre.’
 ‘That’s what your mother does.’

M: Róotaki ántziri.
 roo-t-ak-i Ø-ant-zi-ri
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL
 ‘Eso es lo que hace.’
 ‘That’s what she does.’

²⁶⁹ In this case, the irrealis on both verbs should express habituality.

H: Éenitatsi *piyáariri*²⁷⁰, pirentzi?

eeni-t-atsi pi-yáariri pi-rentzi
EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2-hermano.FP 2-hermano.MP

‘¿Tienes hermanos?’ (alternativa: ¿*Tienes hermanos, hermanas?*)
‘Do you have brothers?’ (alternative: *Do you have brothers, sisters?*)

M: Éenitatsi.

eeni-t-atsi
EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV
‘Tengo.’ (lit: ‘hay’)
‘I’ve got.’ (lit: ‘there are’)

H: Hempe ikaatzi *piyáariri*?

hempe i-kaa-t-zi pi-yáariri
WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2-hermano.FP

‘¿Cuántos *hermanos* tienes?’
‘How many *brothers* do you have?’

M: Mawa nokaatzi naaka, éenitatsi.

mawa no-kaa-t-zi naaka eeni-t-atsi
tres 1S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV

‘Tres somos nosotros, hay (somos).’
‘Three are we, there are (we are).’

H: Pirentzi?

pi-rentzi
2-hermano.MP
‘¿Hermanos?’ (alternativa: ¿*Hermanas?*)
‘Brothers?’ (alternative: *Sisters?*)

M: Apaani. Ohéekaki hanta, ótsipaki nampitsi.

apaani o-heck-ak-i ha=nta o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
uno 3F.S-vivir-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST F-otro=LOC comunidad-ALI

‘Una. Ha vivido allí, en otra comunidad.’
‘One. She has lived there, in another community.’

²⁷⁰ The translating consultant said that *piyáariri* should be addressed to a woman, which my findings about the kin terms confirm. The right word for the brother of a man in 2nd person is *pirentzi*, which Hamani utters after *piyáariri*. As the following sentences show, it seems that she and also her interlocutor are mistaken in that they speak as if *pi-yáariri* (2-brother.FP) meant ‘brother’ and *pi-rentzi* (2-brother.MP) meant ‘sister’. This may be a semantic change in younger speakers caused by the influence of Spanish.

Éehatzi ohéekaki haka.²⁷¹

éehatzi o-heek-ak-i ha=ka
también 3F.S-vivir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX
'También ha vivido aquí.'
'She has also lived here.'

H: Éeniro picháriní?

éeniro²⁷² pi-charini
EXI.PST 2-abuelo.MP
'¿Aún tienes abuelo?'
'Do you still have a grandfather?'

M: Tekatsi. Kamaki nocháriní. Páerani kamaki.

tekatsi kam-ak-i no-charini páerani kam-ak-i
NEG.EXI morir-PFV-FRS 1-abuelo.MP antaño morir-PFV-FRS
'No tengo. Mi abuelo murió. Murió hace tiempo.'
'I do not have. My grandfather died. He died a long time ago.'

H: Nimaeka éeroka pipòkantákari haka.

nimaeka éeroka pi-pok-ant-ak-a-ri ha=ka
ahora 2 2S-venir-RES-PFV-FRS-REL LOC=PROX
'Ahora pues tú has venido aquí.'
'So now you have come here.'

Íitaka pikóiri éeroka, pipòkantákari haka Nopókiki?

iita=ka pi-koy-i-ri éeroka
WH=INT 2S-querer-FRS-REL 2
pi-pok-ant-ak-a-ri ha=ka Nopoki=ki
2S-venir-RES-PFV-FRS-REL LOC=PROX Nopoki=LOC
'¿Por qué has querido tú..., por qué has venido aquí a Nopoki?'
'Why did you want to... why did you come here to Nopoki?'

M: Naaka nopókantàri nokoyi niyótiro okáatsika haka riyometétziri haka.

naaka no-pok-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyot-i-ro
1 1S-venir-RES-&-REA-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-conocer-&-IRR-3F.O
o-kaa-tsiká ha=ka r-iyome-t-e-t-zi-ri
3F.S-COP.TOT-WH LOC=PROX 3M.S-enseñar-&-IMPS-&-REA-REL
'Yo he venido aquí porque quiero aprender todas las enseñanzas de aquí.'
'I have come here because I want to learn all the teachings here.'

²⁷¹ The misunderstanding with the kin terms goes on here with the use of feminine prefixes when Hamani posed the question about *pirentzi*, 'your brother' (male possessor). It seems that they are using this word with the meaning 'your sister'.

²⁷² In this case, instead of the usual past existential meaning, *éeniro* acquires a different meaning: 'yet, still'.

H: Pikoyi pikímityawo piniro?

pi-koy-i pi-kimi-t-ya-ro pi-niro
 2S-querer-FRS 2S-parecerse-&-IRR-3F.O 2-madre
 ‘¿Quieres ser como tu madre?’
 ‘Do you want to be like your mother?’

M: Ehe, nokoyi nokímityáwo noniro.

hee no-koy-i no-kimi-t-ya-ro no-niro
 AFF 1S-querer-FRS 1S-parecerse-&-IRR-3F.O 1-madre
 ‘Sí, quiero ser como mi madre.’
 ‘Yes, I want to be like my mother.’

Naaka nokoyi niyóteri iryánipáeni héekatsiri ótsipaki nampitsi.

naaka no-koy-i n-iyó-t-i-ri i-rya-ni=paeni
 1 1S-querer-FRS 1S-aprender-&-IRR-3M.O M-pequeño-ADJ=PL
 heek-atsi-ri o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
 vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL F-otro=LOC lugar-ALI
 ‘Quiero aprender (enseñar) a los niños que están viviendo en otras comunidades.’
 ‘I want to teach the children who are living in other communities.’

H: Ari nokémakimi.

ari no-kem-ak-i-mi
 así 1S-oír-PFV-FRS-2O
 ‘Así te he escuchado.’
 ‘So I have heard you.’

M: Páerani piyótziro éeroka apaani mampaantsi?

páerani p-iyó-t-zi-ro éeroka apaani mamp-aantsi
 antaño 2S-saber-&-REA-3F.O 2 uno cantar-INF
 ‘Antes, ¿tú sabías una canción?’
 ‘Before, did you know a song?’

H: Mampaantsi. Hee, niyotzi.

mamp-aantsi hee n-iyó-t-zi
 cantar-INF AFF 1S-saber-&-REA
 ‘Canción. Sí, sé.’
 ‘A song. Yes, I know.’

M: Íitaka owámetákimiri páerani?

iita=ka owame-t-ak-i-mi-ri paéрани
 WH=INT enseñar-&-PFV-FRS-2O-REL antaño
 ‘¿Quién te ha enseñado antes?’
 ‘Who taught you before?’

H: Owámetakinàri owámetàntatsiri poñínkari hanta kirinka.
 owame-t-ak-i-na-ri owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 enseñar-&-PFV-FRS-1O-REL enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 poñ-ínka-ri ha=nta kirinka
 proceder.de-ADJZ-M LOC=DIST río.abajo
 ‘El que me ha enseñado es un maestro procedente de allá río abajo.’
 ‘The one who has taught me is a teacher from there downriver.’

M: Hempe íitaka owámetantátsiri?
 hempe i-et-a-ka owame-t-ant-atsi-ri
 WH 3M.S-llamarse-REA=INT enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘¿Cómo se llama el maestro?’
 ‘What’s the teacher’s name?’

H: Aurencio, ríitaki riyómetàki naari mampaantsi.
 Aurencio rii-t-ak-i r-iyome-t-ak-i naa-ri mamp-aantsi
 Aurencio 3M-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-enseñar-&-PFV-FRS 1-TOO cantar-INF
 ‘Aurencio, él es quien me enseñó a mí también a cantar.’
 ‘Aurencio, he is the one who taught me to sing too.’

M: Piyotzi pakáachàtzi, pitárahàtzi, éeroka tsinani?
 p-iyó-t-zi p-akaacha-t-zi pi-taraha-t-zi²⁷³
 2S-saber-&-REA 2S-pescar.con.anzuelo-&-REA 2S-pescar.con.tarrafa-&-REA
 éeroka tsinani
 2 mujer
 ‘¿Sabes pescar con anzuelo y con tarrafa, tú mujer?’
 ‘Do you know how to fish with a hook and with a *tarrafa*, you woman?’

H: Hee, niyótziro. Niyotzi nakàachátzi, niyotzi notàrahátzi.
 hee n-iyó-t-zi-ro n-iyó-t-zi
 AFF 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O 1S-saber-&-REA
 n-akaacha-t-zi no-taraha-t-zi
 1S-pescar.con.anzuelo-&-REA 1S-pescar.con.tarrafa-&-REA
 ‘Sí, sé. Sé pescar con anzuelo, sé pescar con tarrafa.’
 ‘Yes, I know. I know how to fish with a hook, I know how to fish with a *tarrafa*.’

Niyótziro máaweni.
 n-iyó-t-zi-ro máaweni
 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O todo
 ‘Lo sé todo.’
 ‘I know everything.’

²⁷³ These two words were translated to Amazonian Spanish *ancelear* and *tarrafatear*, which do not exist in standard Spanish. The root *-taraha-* is a clear loan from Spanish *tarrafa* (a kind of fishing net).

M: Pikántina éeroka okaatzi piyótziri shímapáeni héekatsi hanta pinámpiki.
 pi-kant-i-na éeroka o-kaa-t-zi p-iyó-t-zi-ri shima=paeni
 2S-decir-IRR-1O 2 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-saber-&-REA-REL pez=PL
 heek-atsi ha=nta pi-nampi=ki
 vivir-PTCP.IPFV LOC=DIST 2-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Dime tú todos los peces que conoces que viven allá en tu comunidad.’
 ‘Tell me all the fish you know that live there in your community.’

H: Niyótziro kohániri, niyótziro koryo, shompotsi. Róotaki niyótakiri.
 n-iyó-t-zi-ro²⁷⁴ kohániri koryo shompotsi
 1S-saber-&-REA-3F.O cocodrilo bagre²⁷⁵ bujurqui²⁷⁶
 roo-t-ak-i n-iyó-t-ak-i-ri
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-REL
 ‘Conozco el cocodrilo, el bagre, el bujurqui. Esto es lo que conozco.’
 ‘I know the crocodile, the catfish, the *bujurqui*. This is what I know.’

M: Éehatzi piyótziri ikáateyíni²⁷⁷ óetachari²⁷⁸ hetari?
 éehatzi p-iyó-t-zi-ri i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 también 2S-saber-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 i-et-acha-ri hetari
 3M.S-llamarse-PTCP.IPFV-REL carachama²⁷⁹
 ‘¿También conoces esos llamados *carachama*?’
 ‘Do you also know those called *armoured catfish*?’

H: Hee, niyótakiro iheeki mapipooki. Ari iheeki.
 hee n-iyó-t-ak-i-ro i-heek-i mapi-pooki ari i-heek-i
 AFF 1S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-vivir-FRS piedra-COL allí 3M.S-vivir-FRS
 ‘Sí, sé que viven en los pedregales. Allí viven.’
 ‘Yes, I know they live in stony brooks. They live there.’

²⁷⁴ The translating consultant said that this suffix should be the masculine *-ri* because animals are marked masculine unless they are females, and I agree, although a reading as ‘what I know is ...’ could be interpreted if *-ro* should be considered right, although, probably, such an expression should be relativized (*niyótzirori*).

²⁷⁵ According to Wikipedia, these are fishes of the order *Siluriformes*.

²⁷⁶ This word does not exist in standard Spanish, but can be found in a Google search and it yields several results. According to these sources, it is the fish *Chaetobranchius flavescens*.

²⁷⁷ The translating consultant said that this word should be used with people, and, with animals, it should be *ikaatzi*.

²⁷⁸ The translating consultant said that it should be *ítachari*, given that *hetari* is a fish and is marked masculine (all animals are of masculine gender), which is quite consistent.

²⁷⁹ According to Wikipedia, this fish is *Pseudorinelepis genibarbis* and is a species of armoured catfish, known in Spanish as *carachama* or *cashca*.

M: Ah, ari okaatzi. Nokoyi nohámpitimi éehatzi apaani: haka pihéekaki éenitatsi piñáathari *o* tekatsi?

ari o-kaa-t-zi no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi éehatzi apaani
 así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O también uno
 ha=ka pi-heck-ak-i eeni-t-atsi pi-ñáath-a-ri o²⁸⁰ tekatsi
 LOC=PROX 2S-vivir-PFV-FRS EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV 2S-amar-REA-REL o NEG.EXI
 ‘Ah, eso es todo (lo que sabes). Quiero preguntarte también una cosa: ¿tienes aquí un enamorado o no?’
 ‘Ah, that’s all (what you know). I also want to ask you one thing: do you have a lover here? or not?’

H: Éenitatsi osheki.

eeni-t-atsi osheki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV muchos
 ‘Hay (tengo) muchos.’
 ‘There are (I have) many.’

M: Pimáperotàma éeroka, okáayitzi²⁸¹ osheki piñáathari.

pi-ma-pero-t-a=ma éeroka
 2S-poder-VER-&-REA=DUB 2
 i-kaa-yi-t-zi osheki pi-ñáath-a-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-DISTR-&-REA muchos 2S-amar-REA-REL
 ‘Debes tener valor tú, tener muchos enamorados.’
 ‘You must have courage, to have many lovers.’

H: Hee. Ari nokántari naaka. Osheki notsipamínthari: shirámpari, tsinani...

hee ari no-kant-a-ri naaka
 AFF así 1S-COP-REA-REL 1
 osheki no-tsipamintha-ri shirámpari tsinani
 muchos 1S-ser.amigo-3M hombre mujer
 ‘Sí. Así soy yo (lit.: así es lo que soy yo). Tengo muchos amigos: hombres, mujeres...’
 ‘Yes. That’s how I am. I have many friends: men, women...’

M: Pamétakawo haka wanawóntsi paeni ipáyitèri haka oyari?

p-ame-t-ak-a-ro ha=ka wanawontsi=paeni
 2S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F LOC=PROX comida=PL
 i-p-a-yi-t-i-ri ha=ka ow-ya-ri²⁸²
 3M.S-dar-&-DISTR-&-IRR-REL LOC=PROX comer-IRR-REL
 ‘¿Te has acostumbrado aquí a las comidas que dan para comer?’
 ‘Have you got used to the food they give to eat here?’

²⁸⁰ This is the Spanish disjunctive conjunction *o*.

²⁸¹ The translating consultant said that this verb with feminine *o-* is wrong because the loved ones of the lady are supposed to be men, at least at this stage of the conversation. I write masculine *i-* in the glosses.

²⁸² The irrealis here must be due to being habitual actions.

H: Hee, namétakawo. Namétakawo aroso.

hee n-ame-t-ak-a-ro aroso
 AFF 1S-acostumbrarse-&-PFV-REA-3F arroz

‘Sí, me he acostumbrado. Me he acostumbrado al arroz.’
 ‘Yes, I’ve got used to it. I’ve got used to rice.’

Tee noñàapíntziro hanta nonámpiki. Ari okaatzi.

tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ro ha=nta no-nampi=ki
 NEG.REA 1S-ver-HAB-REA-3F LOC=DIST 1-comunidad=LOC

ari o-kaa-t-zi

así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘No lo veo habitualmente allá en mi comunidad. Así es todo (termina).’ (Yo había indicado a los conversantes que ya podían terminar).

‘I don’t usually see it there in my community. That’s how it is (ends).’ (I had indicated to the speakers that they could already finish).

Conversation between Thaampi and Kamato

Lindis Candy, aka Thaampi ‘butterfly’, female, aged 21 at the time of recording and from the community of Chicosa, and Jánder, aka Kamato ‘dragonfly’, male, aged 23 and from the community of Chanchamayo, both Nopoki students, chat. The conversation is about an imaginary situation in which Kamato visits Thaampi in her community, Chicosa. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 25 seconds.

Thaampi: Kitéheri, Jánder.

kitéheri Jánder
 día Jánder
 ‘Buenos días, Jánder.’
 ‘Good morning, Jander.’

Kamato: Kitéheri, Candy.

kitéheri Candy
 día Candy
 ‘Buenos días, Candy.’
 ‘Good morning, Candy.’

Th: Nokémaki aréetakimi haka nonámpiki, rowa...

no-kem-ak-i aree-t-ak-i-mi ha=ka no-nampi=ki ro=ra
 1S-oír-PFV-FRS llegar-&-PFV-FRS-2S LOC=PROX 1-comunidad=LOC F=MED
 ‘He oído que acabas de llegar aquí a mi comunidad, esto...’
 ‘I heard that you just arrived here in my community, um...’

Pipókaki tema pipokatzi paréetina haka, nonámpiki antawo, Katsinkáarikì.

pi-pok-ak-i tema pi-pok-atzi p-aree-t-i-na ha=ka
 2S-venir-PFV-FRS porque 2S-venir-PROG 2S-visitar-&-IRR-1O LOC=PROX
 no-nampi=ki anta-ro Katsinkaari=ki
 1-comunidad=LOC grande-F Chicosa=LOC
 ‘Has venido porque estás viniendo para visitarme aquí, en mi comunidad grande de Chicosa.’
 ‘You have come because you are coming to visit me here, in my large community of Chicosa.’

K: Hee, ari nokántaka.

hee ari no-kant-ak-a
 AFF así 1S-COP-PFV-REA
 ‘Sí, así he hecho.’
 ‘Yes, I have done so.’

Naréetapaka chapinki, nokémakiri pikàemakàantákina.

n-aree-t-ap-ak-a chapinki
1S-llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA ayer

no-kem-ak-i-ri pi-kaem-aka-ant-ak-i-na²⁸³
1S-oír-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2S-llamar-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O

‘Llegué ayer, puesto que les he oído (a gente) que me has hecho llamar.’
‘I arrived yesterday since I heard (from people) that you had me called.’

Nokoyi niyoti iita pikàemakáanantakinàri.

no-koy-i n-iyo-t-i iita pi-kaem-aka-anant-ak-i-na-ri
1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR WH 2S-llamar-CAUS-RES-PFV-FRS-1O-REL

‘Quiero saber por qué me has hecho llamar.’
‘I want to know why you had me called.’

Th: Nokáemantzimiri nokoyi nohámpitimi hempe pikanta pihéekàyini hanta éeroka pinámpiki.

no-kaem-ant-zi-mi-ri no-koy-i no-hampi-t-i-mi
1S-llamar-RES-REA-2O-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-preguntar-&-IRR-2O

hempe pi-kant-a pi-heck-aiy-i-ni ha=nta éeroka pi-nampi=ki
WH 2S-COP-REA 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL LOC=DIST 2 2-comunidad=LOC
‘Te he llamado porque quiero preguntarte cómo están viviendo ustedes en tu comunidad.’ (lit: Por lo que te he llamado es...)

‘I have called you because I want to ask you how you are living in your community.’ (lit: For what I have called you is...)

K: Haa, pikoyi piyótiro hempe noheeki nonámpiki.

hee pi-koy-i p-iyo-t-i-ro hempe no-heck-i no-nampi=ki
AFF 2S-querer-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-3F.O WH 1S-vivir-FRS 1-comunidad=LOC

‘Sí, quieres saber cómo vivimos en mi comunidad.’
‘Yes, you want to know how we live in my community.’

Jánder nohéekinta, ashéninkapáeni.

Jánder no-heck-i=nta a-sheninka=paeni
Jánder 1S-vivir-FRS=DIST INCL-paisano=PL

‘Yo, Jánder, vivo allí, y nuestros paisanos.’
‘I, Jander, live there, and our fellow people.’

²⁸³ In this sentence and the following one, the RES does not cause a change to A-inflection because the RS suffix is between a perfective and a 1st person object suffix, which causes any RS suffix to become I-inflected.

Nokántawàki naaka pinkáthari hèwatakáantziròri nonampi.

no-kant-awak-i naaka pinkáthari
1S-decir-DES-FRS 1 autoridad

hewa-t-aka-ant-zi-ro-ri no-nampi
primero-&-CAUS-OCC-REA-3F.O-REL 1-comunidad

‘Quiero decir que soy una autoridad que dirige mi comunidad (puesto que hago ir el primero).’

‘I want to say that I am an authority that directs my community (since I make it go first).’

Nokáatakotàki apiti káshiri wáetakina pinkáthari.

no-kaa-t-ako-t-ak-i apiti káshiri wae-t-ak-i-na pinkáthari
1S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-PFV-FRS dos luna nombrar-&-PFV-FRS-1O autoridad

‘Hace dos meses me han nombrado una autoridad.’

‘Two months ago I was appointed an authority.’

Tee niyotzi hempe nokántimi, íitáanki..., íitáanki...

tee n-iyot-zi hempe no-kant-i-mi i-et-a=ranki
NEG.REA 1S-saber-&-REA WH²⁸⁴ 1S-decir-IRR-2O 3M.S-llamarse-REA=ABSE

‘No sé qué decirte, ¿cómo se llama...?, ¿cómo se llama...?’

‘I don’t know what to tell you, what’s its name...?, what’s its name...?’

Ashéninkapáeni héekatsiri hanta tee iheeki rowanki.

a-sheninka=paeni heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
INCL-paisano=PL vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST

tee i-heek-i r-owani=ki
NEG.REA 3M.S-vivir-FRS 3M-chacra=LOC

‘Los ashéninka que viven allí no viven en su chacra.’

‘The Ashéninka who live there do not live in their *chacra*.’

Nampítsiki ikántziri áyomunidáate, páashini iheeki rowániki.

nampi-tsi=ki i-kant-zi-ri a-comunidad-ti
lugar-ALI=LOC 3M.S-decir-REA-REL INCL-comunidad-POSS

páashini i-heek-i r-owani=ki
otro 3M.S-vivir-FRS 3M-chacra=LOC

‘En la comunidad es lo que llaman *nuestra comunidad*, otros viven en su chacra.’

‘In the community, it is what they call *our community*, others live in their *chacra*.’

²⁸⁴ I asked a consultant whether *hempe* could be changed by *iita*, *ítaka* and *tsika*, and he accepted *iita* and *tsika*, but not *ítaka* in this sentence. This confirms the interrogative character of =ka because it cannot be used in an indirect question.

Ari rantawáetzi, ari ipánkoshita, ari iheeki.

ari r-antawae-t-zi ari i-pankoshi-t-a
allí 3M.S-trabajar-&-REA allí 3M.S-construir.choza.temporal-&-REA

ari i-heek-i

allí 3M.S-vivir-FRS

‘Allí trabajan, allí construyen su choza temporal, allí viven.’

‘There they work, there they build their temporary shack, there they live.’

Máaroni²⁸⁵ iñáawakáiyani, akántziri akántziro.

máaroni i-ña-awak-aiy-a-ni

todos 3M.S-encontrar-RECP-PL-RS.REFL-PL

a-kant-zi-ri a-kant-zi-ro

INCL.S-decir-REA-3M.O INCL.S-decir-REA-3F.O

‘Todos se encuentran (allí), le decimos (a él), le decimos (a ella).’²⁸⁶

‘Everyone meets (there), we tell (him), we tell (her)’²⁸⁷.

Antawáeròntsi ikántètzi *faena comunal*.

antawae-rontsi i-kant-e-t-zi-ri²⁸⁸ faena comunal

trabajar-NMLZ 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-REL faena comunal

‘El trabajo es llamado *faena comunal*.’

‘The work is called *communal work*.’

Apaani añáawaka, ikántètzi..., *sábado*.

apaani a-ña-awak-a i-kant-e-t-zi-ri sábado

sólo INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-REA.REFL 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O sábado

‘Sólo nos encontramos, cómo se llama..., el sábado.’

‘We just meet, what’s its name...?, on Saturday.’

²⁸⁵ *Máaroni* is an Ashéninka word. The Ashéninka word is *máaweni*, whose origin is quite transparent: *máaroni*>*máawoni*>*máaweni*. Kamato hails from Chanchamayo, in the Tahuania district. He says *máaweni* later. Maybe he is influenced by some Ashéninka student mates, or maybe this is a token of some Ashéninka influence in the Ucayali.

²⁸⁶ The translating consultant said that this expression indicates that they find each other. The expression seems to transmit the idea of everyone chatting with each other.

²⁸⁷ The translating consultant said that this expression indicates that they find each other. The expression seems to convey the idea of everyone chatting with each other.

²⁸⁸ In this case, I have not interpreted *ikántètzi* as a filler, but as the verb of the sentence with the meaning ‘is called’, hence the interpretation of *-ri* as REL, differently from the following sentence, where the existence of another verb and the superfluity of *ikántètzi* favours the filler interpretation.

Ari añáawakáiyani máaweni.

ari a-ña-awak-aiy-a-ni máaweni
allí INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-PL-RS.REFL-PL todos
'Allí nos encontramos todos.'²⁸⁹
'There we all meet.'

Thonkaneya paata.

thonk-an-eya paata
terminar-ABL-IRR luego
'Terminarán (el trabajo) luego.'
'They will finish (the job) later.'

Ikántanahya máaweni apaani, ikantanéyawo rowánikì.

i-kant-an-ah-ya máaweni apaani
3M.S-COP-ABL-REG-IRR todos uno
i-kant-an-eya-ro r-owani=ki
3M.S-COP-ABL-IRR-3F.O 3M-chacra=LOC
'Volverá cada uno, volverá a su chacra.'
'Each one will return, they will return to their *chacras*.'

Ítsipa ashéninka riyate hanta rowánikipáeni.

i-tsipa a-shéninka r-iyaa-t-i ha=nta r-owani=ki=paeni
M-otro INCL-paisano 3M.S-ir-&-IRR LOC=DIST 3M-chacra=LOC=PL
'Otros paisanos se irán allá a sus chacras.'
'Other fellow people will go there to their *chacras*.'

Th: Ótsipa iita..., ótsipa pikántinari, rowa..., iita rowari, iita rantéyirini shirámpari, iita antéyirini tsinani.

o-tsipa iita o-tsipa pi-kant-i-na-ri ro=ra iita r-ow-a-ri
F-otro WH F-otro 2S-decir-IRR-1O-REL F=MED WH 3M.S-comer-REA-REL

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

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

'Qué otra cosa, otra cosa que me digas, esto..., qué comen, qué hacen los hombres, qué hacen las mujeres.'
'What else, what else can you tell me?, um..., what they eat, what the men do, what the women do.'

²⁸⁹ In this piece of conversation, Kamato is using the inclusive prefix. However, since he is speaking with Thaampi and explaining her what they do in his community, he should not use it. I asked an older speaker about it and he said that probably Kamato does not know well what he is saying. Maybe the influence from Spanish is making the inclusive morphemes to shift to a 1st person plural meaning.

Arírika awihe kitéheri.

ari=rika awih-i kitéheri

AFF=COND pasar-FRS día

‘Qué ocurre en el día.’ (lit.: ‘si ocurre (algo) el día’)

‘What happens in the day.’ (lit.: ‘if (something) happens on the day’)

K: Awihe kitéheri? Shirámpari páerani, arírika okìtehítyamanàki tekátsika oyari, ráakiro ichékopiti éehatzi itónkamènto, riyaaate rowáshitantawáetya, riyaaate ithóotyáakotíri tsimeri, rámiri apánkoki, rówakayityárirí itomi.

awih-i kitéheri shirámpari páerani ari=rika
pasar-FRS día hombre antaño AFF=COND

o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tekatsi=rika ow-ya-ri
3F.S-amanecer-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI=COND comer-IRR-REL

r-a-ak-i-ro i-chekopi-ti éehatzi i-tonk-amento
3M.S-coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-flecha-POSS también 3M.S-disparar-NMLZ.INS

r-iyaa-t-i r-owashitant-a-wae-t-ya r-iyaa-t-i
3M.S-ir-&-IRR 3M.S-hacer.maspute-&-DUR1-&-IRR 3M.S-ir-&-IRR

i-thootyaako-t-i-ri tsimeri r-am-i-ri a-panko=ki
3M.S-buscar-&-IRR-3M.O animal 3M.S-llevar-FRS-3M.O INCL-casa=LOC

r-ow-aka-yi-t-ya-ri-ri²⁹⁰ i-tomi
3M.S-comer-CAUS-DISTR-&-IRR-3M.O-3M.O 3M-hijo

‘¿Qué ocurre en el día? Antiguamente los hombres, si amanecía pronto y no tenían qué comer, cogían sus flechas y su escopeta y se iban a hacer su maspute, iban a buscar animales, los llevaban a nuestra casa para hacer a sus hijos que se los comieran.’

‘What happens in the day? Formerly the men, if it dawned early and they had nothing to eat, they took their arrows and their shotgun and went to make their *maspute*, they went to look for animals, they took them to our house to make their children eat them.’

Omaanta tsinani, antziri roori antawáerontsi, okiwáantziro kòtsironáaki, onkòtsitzi payantzi, kaniri, opíshitziro opanko. Ótsipa?

o-maanta tsinani Ø-ant-zi-ri roori antawae-rontsi
F-COEXP mujer 3F.S-hacer-REA-REL 3F trabajar-NMLZ

o-kiwaant-zi-ro kòtsironáaki Ø-onkotsi-t-zi²⁹¹ payantzi kaniri
3F.S-sacar.brillo-REA-3F.O olla 3F.S-cocinar-&-REA plátano yuca

o-pishi-t-zi-ro o-panko o-tsipa
3F.S-barrer-&-REA-3F.O 3F-casa F-otro

‘Sin embargo, las mujeres, el trabajo que hacen es sacar brillo a las ollas, cocinar plátano y yuca, y barrer su casa. ¿Algo más?’

‘However, the women, the work they do is to polish the pots, cook banana and cassava and sweep their house. Anything else?’

²⁹⁰ A double object construction should be *-ne-ri*. However, this verb shows that, in a causative construction, when both the causee and the object of the causativized clause are cross-referenced, the form *-ne-ri* is not used, but, in this case, *-ri-ri* (3M.O-3M.O).

²⁹¹ *-onkotsi-* means ‘boil’, and, for ‘roast’, there is the stem *-akishi-*.

Th: Ótsipa.

o-tsipa

F-otro

‘Algo más.’

‘Something else.’

K: Éeroka, nokoyi nopíyatawàkimi nohámpitawàkimi.

éeroka no-koy-i

2 1S-querer-FRS

no-piy-a-ta-aw-ak-i-mi²⁹² no-hampi-t-aw-ak-i-mi

1S-devolver-&-EMPH-OM-PFV-FRS-2O 1S-preguntar-&-OM-PFV-FRS-2O

‘Tú, quiero que sea mi turno para preguntarte. (lit.: quiero devolvete y preguntarte).’

‘You, I want it to be my turn to ask you. (lit.: I want to give you back and ask you).’

Aréetapàkina iroñaaka haka pinámpiki Katsinkaari.

aree-t-ap-ak-i-na iroñaakaha=ka pi-nampi=ki Katsinkaari

llegar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-1S ahora LOC=PROX 2-comunidad=LOC Chicosa

‘Ahora acabo de llegar aquí a tu comunidad Chicosa.’

‘Now I just got here to your community, Chicosa.’

Nokoyi niyoti hempe pihéekayìni éeroka haka.

no-koy-i n-iyot-i hempe pi-heck-aiy-i-ni éeroka ha=ka

1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR WH 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL 2 LOC=PROX

‘Quiero saber cuántos son ustedes, los que viven aquí.’

‘I want to know how many of you live here.’

Niyòtanákiro pihéekayìni náantanakyàwori nonámpiki nònihàapáhiri
noshéninkapáeni ama róotaki ronki.

n-iyot-an-ak-i-ro pi-heck-aiy-i-ni

1S-saber-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 2S-vivir-PL-FRS-PL

n-a-ant-an-ak-ya-ro-ri no-nampi=ki

1S-llevar-RES-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O-REL 1-comunidad=LOC

no-niha-ap-ah-i-ri no-shéninka=paeni

1S-mostrar-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 1-paisano=PL

a=ma roo-t-ak-i ro=ranki

&=DUB 3F-&-PFV-FRS F=ABSE

‘Voy a saber cuántos son ustedes (cuántos viven) para llevarlo a mi comunidad (ese conocimiento) y mostrar (a mi regreso) a mis paisanos lo quizás desconocido (para ellos).’

‘I am going to know how many you are (how many of you live here) to take it to my community (that knowledge) and show (upon my return) to my fellow people what is perhaps unknown (for them).’

²⁹² This verb is one of those that mark realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*, but the 2nd person suffix *-mi* triggers I-marking.

Nokémawakántahyári ipókahéetahi noyomunidáatekì.
 no-kem-awak-ant-ah-ya-ri i-pok-a-hee-t-ah-i²⁹³
 1S-oir-RECP-RES-REG-IRR-REL 3M.S-venir-&-PL-&-REG-FRS
 no-comunidad-ti=ki
 1-comunidad-POSS=LOC
 ‘Para que podamos entendernos y vengan aquí los de mi comunidad.’
 ‘So that we can understand each other and the people from my community can come here.’

Th: Nimaeka nokoyi nokántimi haka nohéekinta haka, rowa..., *comunidad*
 Katsinkaari, rowa..., nohéekayíni kameetha máaweni, máaweni haka, rowa...,
 máaweni ashéninkapáeni, tsinani, shirámpari, rantawáetèyini.

nimaeka no-koy-i no-kant-i-mi ha=ka no-heek-i=nta
 ahora 1S-querer-FRS 1S-decir-IRR-2O LOC=PROX 1S-vivir-FRS=DIST
 ha=ka ro=ra comunidad Katsinkaari no-heek-aiy-i-ni kameetha
 LOC=PROX F=MED comunidad Chicosa 1S-estar-PL-FRS-PL bien
 máaweni ha=ka a-shéninka=paeni
 todos LOC=PROX INCL-paisano=PL

tsinani shirámpari r-antawae-t-ee-y-i-ni
 mujer hombre 3M.S-trabajar-&-PL-FRS-PL
 ‘Ahora quiero decirte que aquí donde vivo, esto..., en la comunidad de Chicosa,
 esto..., estamos todos bien, todos aquí, esto..., todos nuestros paisanos, mujeres,
 hombres, están trabajando.’

‘Now I want to tell you that here where I live, um..., in the community of Chicosa, um..., we
 are all fine, all of us here, um..., all our fellow people, women, men, are working.’

Shirámpari riyaatzi iwániki²⁹⁴, éehatzi tsinánipáeni othámaetàntziro owane.

shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zi r-owani=ki
 hombre 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3M-chacra=LOC
 éehatzi tsinani=paeni o-thamae-t-ant-zi-ro Ø-owani
 también mujer=PL 3F.S-desbrozar-&-OCC-REA-3F.O 3F-chacra
 ‘Los hombres van a su chacra; también las mujeres desbrozan su chacra.’
 ‘The men go to their fields; the women also clear their fields.’

²⁹³ *-hee* is Ashéninka and indicates PL.

²⁹⁴ This word is formed with the masculine possessive *i-*, when *r-* should be used because the possessed noun starts with a vowel, so that it should be *rowániki*.

Arírika okítehítyamanàki, tsinani anáninki, kameetha onkòtsiwéntziri otomi, ishíntopáeni, riyáatantèyari yotáantsipánkòkì otómipáeni.

ari=rika o-kitehii-t-y-aman-ak-i tsinani Ø-ananink-i
 AFF=COND 3F.S-amanecer-&-ATT-EARLY-PFV-FRS mujer 3F.S-levantarse-FRS
 kameetha Ø-onkotsi-went-zi-ri o-tomi Ø-ishinto=paeni
 bien 3F.S-cocinar-BEN-REA-3M.O 3F-hijo 3F-hija=PL

r-iyaa-t-ant-eya-ri iyo-t-aantsi-panko=ki o-tomi=paeni
 3M.S-ir-&-RES-IRR-REL saber-&-INF-casa=LOC 3F-hijo=PL

‘Cuando amanece temprano, las mujeres se levantan y cocinan bien para sus hijos e hijas, para que vayan a la escuela, sus hijos.’

‘When the sun rises early, the women get up and cook well for their sons and daughters so that they go to school, their children.’

Awíhanaki oorya, shirámpari, tsinani riyaatzi owáneki.

awih-an-ak-i oorya shirámpari tsinani r-iyaa-t-zi Ø-owani=ki
 pasar-ABL-PFV-FRS sol hombre mujer 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3F-chacra=LOC

‘Pasa el día y los hombres y las mujeres van a su chacra (de la mujer).’

‘The day passes and men and women go to their (women’s) *chacras*.’

Osháawityáaki paata, shirámpari riyaatzi, rowa, iwàshitáanta²⁹⁵, riyaatzi, rowa, ishimaata.

o-shaawit-y-ak-i paata
 3F.S-atardecer-ATT-PFV-FRS luego

shirámpari r-iyaa-t-zi r-owashitant-a i-shimaa-t-a
 hombre 3M.S-ir-&-REA 3M.S-hacer.maspute-REA 3M.S-pescar-&-REA

‘Luego atardece, los hombres van, esto..., a hacer su *maspute*, van, esto..., a pescar.’

‘Then it gets dark, the men go, um..., to make their *maspute*, they go, um..., to fish.’

Rantawáeyini máaweni, máaweni haga, pikántzirikya *faena comunal*.

r-antawae-ey-i-ni²⁹⁶ máaweni ha=ra
 3M.S-trabajar-PL-FRS-PL todos LOC=MED

pi-kant-zi-ri=kya faena comunal
 2S-decir-REA-REL=EMPH faena comunal

‘Todos trabajan, todos ahí, en lo que tú llamas *faena comunal*.’

‘Everyone works, everyone there, in what you call *communal work*.’

²⁹⁵ Here Thaampi makes the same mistake as above with *iwani*: in a stem starting with *o*, instead of the right masculine prefix *r-*, she replaces *o-* by *i-*, the masculine prefix used with stems starting with a consonant.

²⁹⁶ This an abbreviation of *rantawáetáyini*, which appears above with the usual epenthetic *t*. Two different consultants said that both words mean the same.

Haka rantéyironi haka, *viernes*.

ha=ka r-ant-ey-i-ro-ni viernes
 LOC=PROX 3M.S-hacer-PL-FRS-3F.O-PL viernes
 ‘Aquí lo hacen el viernes.’
 ‘Here they do it on Friday.’

Viernes ari añáawakèya máaweni osheki, osheki atziri, héekayitàsiri haka, nampítsiki Katsinkaari.

viernes ari a-ña-awak-eya máaweni osheki atziri
 viernes AFF INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-IRR.REFL todos muchos persona
 heek-a-yi-t-atsi-ri ha=ka nampi-tsi=ki Katsinkaari
 vivir-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=PROX comunidad-ALI=LOC Chicosa
 ‘Los viernes, así nos encontramos todos, muchos, muchas personas, que viven todos aquí, en la comunidad de Chicosa.’
 ‘On Fridays, that’s how we all meet, many, many people, who all live here, in the community of Chicosa.’

Éehatzi arírika añáawakeya máaweni, éehatzi arírika añáathawàetya, ikántètzi..., *fútbol*.

éehatzi ari=rika a-ña-awak-eya máaweni
 también AFF=COND INCL.S-encontrar-RECP-IRR.REFL todos
 éehatzi ari=rika a-ñaatha-wae-t-ya²⁹⁷
 también AFF=COND INCL.S-jugar-DUR1-&-IRR
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri fútbol
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O fútbol
 ‘También cuando nos encontramos todos, también cuando jugamos, cómo se llama..., al fútbol.’
 ‘Also when we meet everyone, also when we play, how to say..., football.’

K: Apatiátiri káeromoko.

apatia-t-i-ri kaero-moko
 patear-&-IRR-REL comején-BALL²⁹⁸
 ‘Lo que se patea es una bola de comején.’
 ‘What is kicked is a ball of termites.’

Th: Apátyátiri káeromoko.

apatya-t-i-ri kaero-moko
 patear-&-IRR-REL comején-BALL
 ‘Lo que se patea es una bola de comején.’
 ‘What is kicked is a ball of termites.’

²⁹⁷ The irrealis here is used to express habituality.

²⁹⁸ *Comején* is also known in Spanish as *termita*, an insect of the infraorder *Isoptera*, known in English as *termite*.

Rowa..., éehatzi arírika otzimi, rowa..., wáiramentòtsi, *actividades* antáetziri, rowa..., *instituciones*, rowa..., *primaria, secundaria, inicial...*

ro=ra éehatzi ari=rika o-tzim-i waira-amento-tsi²⁹⁹ actividades
F=MED también AFF=COND 3F.S-EXI-FRS bailar-NMLZ.INS-ALI actividades

ant-ae-t-zi-ri ro=ra instituciones ro=ra primaria secundaria inicial
hacer-IMPS-&-REA-REL F=MED instituciones F=MED primaria secundaria inicial
'Esto..., también cuando hay, esto..., fiesta, actividades que hacen, esto..., las
instituciones, esto..., primaria, secundaria, inicial...'
'This..., also when there is, um..., a party, activities that they do, um..., the institutions, um...,
primary, secondary, pre-school...'

Ari máaweni, rowa..., rapátowáeyani; éehatzi arírika otzimi apatotaantsi ikántziriri,
rowa..., hewari haka nampitsi.

ari máaweni ro=ra r-apatowae-ey-a-ni éehatzi ari=rika
así todos F=MED 3M.S-reunirse-DUR1-PL-RS.REFL-PL también AFF=COND

o-tzim-i apato-t-aantsi i-kant-zi-ri-ri ro=ra
3F.S-EXI-FRS reunirse-&-INF 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O-REL F=MED

hewa-ri ha=ka nampi-tsi
primero-REL LOC=PROX comunidad-ALI

'Así todos, esto..., se reúnen; y también cuando hay una reunión que convoca el que
se llama, esto..., el jefe de aquí de la comunidad.'
'So everyone, um..., get together; and also when there is a meeting called by the one called,
um..., the chief of the community here.'

²⁹⁹ -waira- is a loan from Spanish *bailar*. The 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.

Otáyaki's story

Gladys, aka Otáyaki 'flower', aged 20 at the time of recording and from the community of Chicosa, tells a story in the Ashéninka class at Nopoki university. She did not finish it because she was shy and was speaking very slowly because she was nervous. Therefore, the teacher asked her to stop. The story lasts 4 minutes and 13 seconds.

Nowámetantatzìri nokáatèyini éehatzi nowéthatàri Toni.
 n-owame-t-ant-atzi-ri no-kaa-t-ey-i-ni
 1S-enseñar-&-OCC-PROG-3M.O 1S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
 éehatzi n-owetha-t-a-ri Toni
 también 1S-saludar-&-REA-3M.O Toni
 'Nosotros estamos enseñando y saludamos a Toni.'
 'We are teaching and salute Toni.'

Nimaeka nokénkithate apaani kenkitharentsi ashi anampi.
 nimaeka no-kenkitha-t-i apaani kenkitha-rentsi Ø-ashi a-nampi
 ahora 1S-contar-&-IRR uno contar-NMLZ INCL-POSS INCL-comunidad
 'Ahora voy a contar una historia de nuestra comunidad.'
 'Now I am going to tell a story of our community.'

Páerani anampiite Katsinkaari, éenitatsi osheki atziri héekatsiri tonkáariki.
 páerani a-nampi-ite Katsinkaari
 antaño INCL-comunidad-ANT Chicosa
 eeni-t-atsi osheki atziri heek-atsi-ri tonkaari=ki
 EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV muchos persona vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL montaña=LOC
 'Antiguamente, en nuestra comunidad, Chicosa, había mucha gente que vivía en la montaña.'
 'Long ago, in our community, Chicosa, there were many people who lived in the mountains.'

Páerani atziri riyotzi ikentawaetzi shima, riyotzi itonkawaetzi, riyatzi antámiki, ikinawaetzi.
 páerani atziri r-iyotzi i-kent-a-wae-t-zi
 antaño persona 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cazar.con.flecha-&-DUR1-&-REA
 shima r-iyotzi i-tonk-a-wae-t-zi
 pez 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cazar.con.escopeta-&-DUR1-&-REA
 r-iyaa-t-zi antami=ki i-kinawae-t-zi
 3M.S-ir-&-REA bosque=LOC 3M.S-ir.a.cazar.al.bosque-&-REA
 'Antiguamente, las personas sabían cazar peces con flecha, sabían cazar con escopeta, iban al bosque y andaban por allí.'
 'In the old days, people knew how to hunt fish with an arrow, they knew how to hunt with a shotgun, they went to the forest and walked around.'

Páerani rirori tee riyotzi iwáeratzi.

páerani rirori tee r-iyó-t-zi i-waera-t-zi³⁰⁰
 antaño 3M NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-bailar-&-REA
 ‘Antiguamente, ellos no sabían bailar.’
 ‘In the old days, they didn’t know how to dance.’

Riróripáeni páerani riyotzi imámpaya apáantekì aaka.

rirori=paeni páerani r-iyó-t-zi i-mamp-a³⁰¹ a-paante=ki aaka
 3M=PL antaño 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-cantar-REA INCL-lengua=LOC INCL
 ‘Antiguamente, ellos sabían cantar en nuestra propia lengua.’
 ‘In the past, they knew how to sing in our own language.’

Tee riyotzi iwáiratzi.

tee r-iyó-t-zi i-waira-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-&-REA 3M.S-bailar-&-REA
 ‘No sabían bailar.’
 ‘They didn’t know how to dance.’

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 después EXI-&-PTCP.IPFV uno persona
 heek-atsi-ri ha=nta iyo-wee-pero-t-atsi-ri
 vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST saber-SPE-VER-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘Ocurrió luego que había una persona que vivía allá, un especialista (uno que sabe hacer todo lo que acaba de contar la narradora).’
 ‘It happened later that there was a person who lived there, a specialist (one who knows how to do everything the narrator has just told).’

Ikáemakiri máaweni héekatsiri hanta.

i-kaem-ak-i-ri máaweni heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
 3M.S-llamar-PFV-FRS-3M.O todos vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
 ‘Llamó a todos los que vivían allí.’
 ‘He called everyone who lived there.’

Ipatotapákiri³⁰² anámpikì.

r-apato-t-ap-ak-i-ri a-nampi=ki
 3M.S-reunirse-&-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O INCL-comunidad=LOC
 ‘Los reunió en nuestra comunidad.’
 ‘He brought them together in our community.’

³⁰⁰ -waira- is a loan from Spanish *bailar* ‘dance’.

³⁰¹ An older consultant told me that *imámpaya* is not right. Given that Otéyaki is a speaker more influenced by Spanish, I accept the consultant’s statement and gloss the word according to his correction.

³⁰² The right word should be *rapátotapákiri*, not **ipátotapákiri*.

Ikántapàkiri hewari: “Pìpokanakiíta haka.
i-kant-ap-ak-i-ri hewa-ri
3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O primero-REL
pi-pok-an-ak-i-ita ha=ka
2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS-ROPT LOC=PROX
‘Les dijo el jefe: “Vengan aquí enseguida”.’
‘The chief told them: “Come here right away”.’

Anámpiki hame ante..., hame akénkithawáeti.”
a-nampi=ki hame Ø-ant-i
INCL-comunidad=LOC HORT.INCL INCL.S-hacer-IRR
hame a-kenkitha-wae-t-i
HORT.INCL INCL.S-contar-DUR1-&-IRR
“‘En nuestra comunidad, vamos a hacer, vamos a estar conversando”.’
“‘In our community, we are going to do, we are going to be talking”.’

Opoñáshitaka paata thonkánaka iroka kenkitharentsi.
o-poñashi-t-ak-a paata
3F.S-suceder-&-PFV-REA luego
thonk-an-ak-a i-ro=ka kenkitha-rentsi
terminar-ABL-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX contar-NMLZ
‘Luego sucedió que terminó esta reunión.’
‘Then it happened that this meeting ended.’

Máaweni ashéninka héekatsiri hanta hátanaki rirori ante ipánkopaeni ótsipaki
nampitsi.
máaweni a-shéninka heek-atsi-ri ha=nta
todos INCL-paisano vivir-PTCP.IPFV-REL LOC=DIST
ha-t-an-ak-i rirori ant-i i-panko=paeni o-tsipa=ki nampi-tsi
ir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M hacer-IRR 3M-casa=PL F-otro=LOC lugar-ALI
‘Todos nuestros paisanos que vivían allí ellos se fueron a construir sus casas a otro
lugar.’
‘All our fellow people who lived there, they went to build their houses in another place.’

Story of the cows on the football field

Lindis Candy, aka Thaampi (aged 21 at the time of the recording), a female Nopoki student, tells a story that happened in her community, Chicosa (Katsinkaari in Ashéninka). The story lasts 2 minutes and 17 seconds.

Chapinki, niyáataki, rowa..., nòshitówanàki haka, irowa..., kitéheriki *juéves*-ki, niyáataki noshitówaki haka, owámetàantsipánkokì, niyáatakitzi nonámpiki hanta, Katsinkáarikì.

chapinki n-iyaa-t-ak-i ro=ra no-shitow-an-ak-i ha=ka
ayer 1S-ir-&-PFV-FRS F=MED 1S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX

i-ro=ra kitéheri=ki jueves=ki n-iyaa-t-ak-i
DEM-F=MED día=LOC jueves=LOC 1S-ir-&-PFV-FRS

no-shitow-ak-i ha=ka owame-t-aantsi-panko=ki
1S-salir-PFV-FRS LOC=PROX enseñar-&-INF-casa=LOC

n-iyaa-t-ak-it-zi no-nampi=ki ha=nta Katsinkaari=ki
1S-ir-&-PFV-TRLOC-REA 1-comunidad=LOC LOC=DIST Chicosa=LOC

‘Ayer, me he ido, este..., he salido de aquí, este..., el día jueves, me he ido y he salido de aquí, de la escuela, y me he ido allá a mi comunidad, Chicosa.’

‘Yesterday I left, um..., I left from here, um..., on Thursday, I left and went out from here, from the school, and I went there to my community, Chicosa.’

Juéves-kì naréetapàka osháawityáapàki..

jueves=ki n-aree-t-ap-ak-a o-shaawit-y-ap-ak-i
jueves=LOC 1S-llegar-&-ALL-PFV-REA 3F.S-atardecer-ATT-ALL-PFV-FRS

‘El jueves he llegado al final de la tarde.’

‘On Thursday, I arrived at the end of the afternoon.’

Nomáapaki *viérnes*-kì

no-mag-ap-ak-i viernes=ki
1S-dormir-ALL-PFV-FRS viernes=LOC

‘He dormido hasta el viernes.’

‘I slept until Friday.’

Notzinámanàka, rowa..., *viérnes*-kì otzímaki, rowa..., ñáathawèeròntsi,

no-tzina-aman-ak-a ro=ra viernes=ki
1S-levantar-EARLY-PFV-REA.REFL F=MED viernes=LOC

o-tzim-ak-i ro=ra ñaath-a-wee-rontsi
3F.S-EXI-PFV-FRS F=MED jugar-&-SPE-NMLZ

‘Me he levantado temprano, este..., el viernes había, este..., deporte.’

‘I got up early, um..., on Friday there was, um..., sport.’

Ñáathéyakàni máaweni ashéninka éehatzi tsinánipáeni, rowa...
 ñaath-ey-ak-a-ni máaweni a-shéninka éehatzi tsinani=paeni ro=ra
 jugar-PL-PFV-REA-PL todos INCL-paisano también mujer=PL F=MED
 ‘Estaban jugando todos los paisanos, también las mujeres, esto...’
 ‘All the fellow people were playing, also the women, um...’

Awíhaki paata, rowa..., ikáatapaki oorya a las tres de la tarde, rowa...
 awih-ak-i paata ro=ra
 pasar-PFV-FRS luego F=MED
 i-kaa-t-ap-ak-i oorya a las tres de la tarde ro=ra
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sol³⁰³ a las tres de la tarde F=MED
 ‘Luego pasó, esto..., acabaron a la hora las tres de la tarde, esto...’
 ‘Then it happened, um..., they finished at three in the afternoon, um...’

Ñáathéyani haga, rowa..., ipàtyáatziri pelota.
 ñaath-ey-a-ni ha=ra ro=ra i-patya-atzi-ri pelota
 jugar-PL-RS-PL LOC=MED F=MED 3M.S-patear-PROG-REL pelota
 ‘Allí juegan, los que están pateando la pelota.’
 ‘There they play, those who are kicking the ball.’

Ishitówapáki rowa..., wáakapáeni. Kantéyakani máaweni iryani, rowa...
 i-shitow-ap-ak-i ro=ra waaka=paeni
 3M.S-salir-ALL-PFV-FRS F=MED vaca=PL
 kant-ey-ak-a-ni máaweni i-rya-ni ro=ra
 COP-PL-PFV-REA-PL todos M-pequeño-ADJ F=MED
 ‘Han salido, este..., vacas, y todos los terneros, este...’
 ‘They have come out, um..., cows, and all the calves, um...’

Ishiyéyakáni éehatzi, rowa..., katziyéyapákani wáakapáeni haga.
 i-shiy-ey-ak-a-ni éehatzi ro=ra
 3M.S-correr-PL-PFV-REA-PL también F=MED
 katziy-ey-ap-ak-a-ni³⁰⁴ waaka=paeni ha=ra
 pararse-PL-ALL-PFV-REA-PL vaca=PL LOC=MED
 ‘También correteaban, este..., y las vacas se han quedado paradas allí.’
 ‘They were also running around, um..., and the cows kept standing there.’

Ñáatheyani máaweni ashéninka.
 ñaath-ey-a-ni máaweni a-shéninka
 jugar-PL-RS-PL todos INCL-paisano
 ‘Juegan todos los paisanos.’
 ‘All the fellow people play.’

³⁰³ *Oorya* ‘sun’ is used to mean ‘hour’, which probably is a word that did not exist in the Ashéninka traditional culture.

³⁰⁴ *-shiy-* ‘run’ and *-katziy-* ‘stay’ both belong to the small verb class whose verbs inflect realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*.

Ikántaka irowa. Atzíripáeni ikánteýíni máaweni:

i-kant-ak-a i-ro=ra atziri=paeni i-kant-eeý-i-ni máaweni
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=MED persona=PL 3M.S-decir-PL-FRS-PL todos
 ‘Así fue esto. Las personas dicen todas:’
 ‘So was this. Everyone says:’

“Hame oshánkiri waaka”.

hame Ø-oshank-i-ri waaka
 HORT.INCL INCL.S-espantar-FRS-3M.O vaca
 “‘Vamos a espantar las vacas’.”
 “‘Let’s shoo the cows’.”

Tee imátanàhe máaweni iñáathèyini³⁰⁵.

tee i-ma-t-an-ah-a máaweni i-ñaath-eeý-a-ni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-poder-&-ABL-REG-REA todos 3M.O-jugar-PL-RS-PL
 ‘No puede seguir jugando nadie.’
 ‘Nobody can go on playing.’

Kántaka tee, tee réshikèmpitatapàki waaka.

kant-ak-a tee réshikèmpita-t-ap-ak-i waaka
 COP-PFV-REA NEG.REA desobediente-&-ALL-PFV-FRS vaca
 ‘Fue que no, no han obedecido las vacas.’
 ‘It was that no, the cows didn’t obey.’

Tee, tee imátziri máaweni atzíripáeni, antyáshipàripáeni, roshánkahiri, waaka.

tee i-ma-t-zi-ri máaweni atziri=paeni antyáshipa-ri=paeni
 NEG.REA 3M.S-poder-&-REA-3M.O todos persona=PL viejo-M=PL
 r-oshank-ah-i-ri³⁰⁶ waaka
 3M.S-espantar-REG-FRS-3M.O vaca
 ‘No, no pueden hacerlo todas las personas y los viejos, espantar a las vacas.’
 ‘No, all the people and the old people can’t do it, shoo the cows away.’

Ikántaka apaani owámetantatsíri ikantzi:

i-kant-ak-a apaani owame-t-ant-atsi-ri i-kant-zi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA uno enseñar-&-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-decir-REA
 ‘Entonces un maestro dijo:’
 ‘Then a teacher said:’

³⁰⁵ Thaampi uses an I-class suffix with this verb, but the translating consultant pointed out that it is wrong because the verb is A-class. Actually, Thaampi uses A-class suffixes with the same verb in this story, so this occurrence must be a mistake.

³⁰⁶ The translating consultant said that this word is rather from the Tambo river (Ashéninka) and that the Ashéninka word is *romíshiyeri*.

“Hame, hame³⁰⁷ rowa..., hame onkótsiti rowa..., niha, atàatyéeriri ishìyatyéeri, waaka”.

hame ro=ra Ø-onkotsi-t-i niha
 HORT.INCL F=MED INCL.S-cocinar-&-IRR agua
 a-ta-atyee-ri-ri i-shiy-atyee-ri waaka
 INCL.S-quemar-FUT-3M.O-REL 3M.S-correr-FUT-REL vaca

“’Vamos a cocinar (hervir) agua para quemarlas y que corran las vacas”.’
 “’Let’s cook (boil) water to burn them and let the cows run”.’

Ari ikántaka. Hatákowítaka itayéeterini rowa..., waaka shiyánaka, máaweni shiyánaka máaweni waaka, ishitówanaki, rowa..., *cámpokì*.

arí i-kant-ak-a ha-t-ako-wi-t-ak-a³⁰⁸
 así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA ir-&-APPL-FRU-&-PFV-REA
 i-tay-ee-t-i-ri-ni ro=ra waaka shiy-an-ak-a
 3M.S-quemar-IMPS-&-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR F=MED vaca correr-ABL-PFV-REA

máaweni i-shitow-an-ak-i ro=ra campo=ki
 todos 3M.S-salir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED campo=LOC
 ‘Así fue. Faltando poco para que las quemaran, esto..., las vacas corrieron, todas las vacas, esto..., fuera del campo.’

‘That’s how it went. Shortly before they were burnt, um..., the cows ran, all the cows, um..., out of the field.’

Riyaatzi hanta rowa..., kyáapaki apaani pankótsikì, tantoryáapáki rowa..., iyoshinate apaani atziri.

r-iyaa-t-zi ha=nta ro=ra kya-ap-ak-i apaani panko-tsi=ki
 3M.S-ir-&-REA LOC=DIST F=MED entrar-ALL-PFV-FRS uno casa-ALI=LOC
 tantorya-ap-ak-i i-koshina-ti³⁰⁹ apaani atziri
 destrozar-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M-cocina-POSS uno persona

‘Se fueron allí, esto..., entraron en una casa y destrozaron, esto..., la cocina de una persona.’

‘They went there, um..., they went into a house and trashed, um... someone’s kitchen.’

³⁰⁷ The translating consultant noted that it is *hame* and not **hami*, so here there is an uncommon example of unstressed short *e* considered different from *i*.

³⁰⁸ This word appears to be grammaticalized with the meaning *faltando poco* ‘shortly before’.

³⁰⁹ *Koshina* is a loan from Spanish *cocina*, which becomes *iyoshinate* due to the prefixed *i-*. The translating consultant said that the genuine Ashéninka word is *páamaripánko*, literally ‘fire house’.

Story of the cheating shaman

This tale is told by Rogelio Casique Flores (aka Chóokiro), aged 66 at the time of recording. It takes 12 minutes and 35 seconds to be told.

Tzimatsi páerani apaani atziri thayiri, kímíwityàri sheripyari.

tzim-atsi páerani apaani atziri thayi-ri
EXI-PTCP.IPFV antaño uno persona mentiroso-REL

kimi-wi-t-ya-ri sheripyari
parecer-FRU-&-IRR-REL chamán

‘Antiguamente había una persona mentirosa que aparentaba ser un chamán.’
‘In the old days, there was a cheating person who pretended to be a shaman.’

Tee isheripyáritzi. Ikóshekàshita.

tee i-sheripyari-t-zi i-koshekashi-t-a
NEG.REA 3M.S-chamán-&-REA 3M.S-fingir.con.picardía-&-REA

‘No era un chamán. Ha sido astuto (en hacerse pasar por chamán).’
‘He was not a shaman. He was cunning (in pretending to be a shaman).’

Ikówawita tháwinatyàwo raniro.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a tháwina-t-ya-ro
3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-REA tener.sexo.incestuoso-&-IRR-3F.O

r-aniro

3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Ha querido tener relaciones incestuosas con su sobrina (hija de su hermana).’
‘He wanted to have incestuous relations with his niece (his sister’s daughter).’

Irika ashéninka ikántakiri ikáateyini.

i-ri=ka a-shéninka
DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano

i-kant-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

‘Este ashéninka les ha dicho a ellos (sus paisanos).’
‘This Ashéninka has told them (his fellow people).’

“Iroñaaka nokówaki iri kamarampi. Nokówaki pitsipátina.

iroñaaka no-kow-ak-i ir-i kamarampi
ahora 1S-querer-PFV-FRS beber-FRS ayahuasca

no-kow-ak-i pi-tsipa-t-i-na
1S-querer-PFV-FRS 2S-acompañar-&-IRR-1O

‘Ahora quiero beber ayahuasca. Quiero que me acompañéis.’
‘Now I want to drink ayahuasca. I want you to accompany me.’

Nokoyi noyítiri ñòntakóri”. Ari ikántaka.

no-koy-i n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori ari i-kant-ak-a
 1S-querer-FRS 1S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 1-seguidor³¹⁰ así 3M.S-COP-PFV-FRS
 “‘Quiero hacer bajar a mis seguidores.’ Así fue.’
 “‘I want to bring my followers down.’ That’s how it was.’

Otsirénityáanaki. Ishitáshitaka kameetha.

o-tsireni-t-y-an-ak-i i-shitashi-t-ak-a³¹¹ kameetha
 3F.S-anochecer-&-ATT-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-manta-&-PFV-REA bien
 ‘Empieza a anochecer. Extendió su manta bien.’
 ‘It’s starting to get dark. He spread his blanket well.’

Royítákiro iyókane éhatzi ríshikoti éhatzi ìchamáeroti.

r-o-ayit-ak-i-ro i-koka-ni
 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-coca-POSS
 éhatzi r-ishiko-ti i-chamaero-ti³¹²
 también 3M-cal-POSS 3M-chamairo-POSS
 ‘Se ha puesto su coca, su cal y su chamairo (se ha puesto a mascar coca).’
 ‘He puts his coca, his lime and his chamairo (he starts chewing coca).’

“Piyòtéiyakàni”. Ihéekayini ikàatéinirà.

p-iyó-t-ey-ak-a-ni
 2S-conocer-&-PL-PFV-REA.REFL-PL
 i-heek-aiy-i-ni i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni=ra
 3M.S-estar.sentado-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 “‘Estáis reunidos (os conocéis).’ Esos están sentados.’
 “‘You are gathered (you know each other).’ Those are sitting.’

Rireini, iraki iyamarámpiti.

r-ir-ey-i-ni ir-ak-i i-kamarampi-ti
 3M.S-beber-PL-FRS-PL beber-PFV-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ‘Beben, han bebido su ayahuasca.’
 ‘They drink, they have drunk their ayahuasca.’

³¹⁰ This is an inalienable noun with the non-possessed form *nintakorentsi*. This word denotes a shaman’s follower in heaven, who can be reached only by drinking ayahuasca. ‘*Seguidor*’ (‘follower’) is the best translation that has come to my mind.

³¹¹ *Nóshitashi* means ‘mi manta’, *nóshitashita* ‘extiendo mi manta’.

³¹² *Chamairo* is the name given in English and Spanish to the liana *Mussatia hyacinthina*, according to E. Wide Davis (1983). The ethnobotany of chamairo: *Mussatia hyacinthina*, in *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, vol. 9, issues 2-3: 225-236). When chewing coca, lime and chamairo are used, chamairo as a sweetener. Lime has a chemical function that is not clear to me.

Ari ikántaka. Irika ashéninka hataki, hápokanáka.

ari i-kant-ak-a

así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA

i-ri=ka a-shéninka ha-t-ak-i hapok-an-ak-a

DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano ir-&-PFV-FRS saltar-ABL-PFV-REA

‘Así fue. Este ashéninka se fue, saltó (hacia el cielo).’

‘That’s how it was. This Ashéninka left, he jumped (towards heaven).’

Éehatzi tzimatsi mántsiyàri, mántsiyàritátsiri ashéninka.

éehatzi tzim-atsi mántsiya-ri mántsiya-ri-t-atsi-ri a-shéninka

también EXI-PTCP.IPFV enfermo-M enfermo-M-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL INCL-paisano

‘También había enfermos, ashéninkas que estaban enfermos.’

‘There were also sick people, Ashéninka who were sick.’

Imaryaaka. Ikántaka irika..., ikántètziro..., iníntakòri ayíitapàki, ayíitapàki: poo.

i-maryag-ak-a i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka

3M.S-estar.echado-PFV-REA 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX

i-kant-e-t-zi-ro i-nintakori

3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3F.O 3M-seguidor

ayíit-ap-ak-i poo

bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS IDEO:posarse.en.el.suelo

‘Estaban echados. Pasó que este..., cómo se llama..., su seguidor bajó, bajó: ¡pof!’

‘They were lying. It happened that, um..., what’s its name...?, his follower went down, down: pof!’

Rayíitapàki, ikántapàki.

r-ayíit-ap-ak-i i-kant-ap-ak-i

3M.S-bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS

‘Baja y dice (al llegar):’

‘He goes down and says (upon arrival):’

“Piyótinà, piyótinà”, ikántziri ítsipapáeni, iréiyatsirini iyamarámpiti:

p-iyó-t-i-na i-kant-zi-ri i-tsipa=paeni

2S-saber-&-IRR-1O 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O M-otro=PL

ir-eeey-atsi-ri-ni i-kamarampi-ti

beber-PL-PTCP.IPFV-REL-PL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS

“Adivinadme, adivinadme”, dice a los otros, los que beben su ayahuasca:’

“Guess who I am, guess who I am”, he says to the others, those who drink their ayahuasca:’

“Éeroka tziho”. Ikantzi: “Tee naaka”. “Éeroka pakitha”. “Tee naaka”. “Éeroka tsirootzi”. “Hee naaka”.

éeroka tziho³¹⁴ i-kant-zi tee naaka
2 gallinazo 3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 1

éeroka pakitha³¹⁵ tsirootzi³¹⁶ hee naaka
2 gavilán paucarcillo AFF 1

“‘Tú, gallinazo’”. Dice: “Yo no”. “Tú, gavilán”. “Yo no”. “Tú, paucarcillo”. “Yo sí”.
“‘You, black vulture’”. He says: “Not me”. “You, *gavilán*”. “Not me”. “You, paucarcillo”. “It’s me”.’

Ikantzi: “Tsiká ihéekakika rirori màntsiyári?”.

i-kant-zi tsiká i-heek-ak-i=ka rirori mantsiya-ri
3M.S-decir-REA WH 3M.S-estar-PFV-FRS=INT 3M enfermo-M

‘Dice: “¿Dónde está el enfermo?”’

‘He says: “Where is the sick man?”’

Ikantzi: “Irira ròmaryáaka”.

i-kant-zi i-ri=ra r-o-maryag-ak-a
3M.S-decir-REA DEM-M=MED 3M.S-CAUS-estar.echado-PFV-REA

‘Dicen: “Ese que han tumbado”.’

‘They say: “That one they have laid down”.’

Róotaki ràwihántaka.

roo-t-ak-i r-awih-ant-ak-a
3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-pasar-RES-PFV-REA

‘Con la misma ha pasado.’

‘He just goes there.’

Ráatsimiyapàakiri, ráatsimiyàkiri, ráatsimiyàkiri.

r-aatsimiy-apa-ak-i-ri³¹⁷
3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O

r-aatsimiy-ak-i-ri
3M.S-chupar.para.curar-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Le chupa (al llegar), le chupa.’

‘He sucks at him (upon arrival), he sucks at him.’

³¹⁴ *Gallinazo* is the name used in Peru for the scavenger bird *Coragyps atratus*, known in English as *black vulture* (according to Wikipedia). This vulture is an all-time occurrence in Peruvian Amazonia, including urban areas as Atalaya, where it is frequently seen in the street.

³¹⁵ *Gavilán* is the Spanish name used in Peru for different birds of prey of the family *Accipitridae*. This information is found in the Spanish Wikipedia page “Anexo: Aves del Perú”.

³¹⁶ As the different Ashéninka word indicates, this bird is different from the above mentioned *paucar* (*Cacicus cela*). I have not been able to find out the difference between both species.

³¹⁷ A shaman cures by sucking the affected part of a sick person’s body. The stem *-aatsimiy-* expresses this way of sucking.

Róohatzi ipíyantàna. Hápokana: hapo. Ayítapàki páashini.
 róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-a hapok-an-a hapo
 luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA saltar-ABL-REA IDEO:saltar
 ayiit-ap-ak-i páashini
 bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS otro
 ‘Luego vuelve. Salta: ¡hop! Ha bajado otro.’
 ‘Then he comes back. He jumps: hoop! Another one has gone down.’

Éehatzi ikántapàki: “Piyótina”.
 éehatzi i-kant-ap-ak-i p-iyó-t-i-na
 también 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O
 ‘También dice: “Adiviname”.’
 ‘He also says: “Guess who I am”.’

Irika iráyitâtsiri iyamarámpiti.
 i-ri=ka ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kamarampi-ti
 DEM-M=PROX beber-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ‘Este que está bebiendo toda su ayahuasca.’
 ‘This one who is drinking all his ayahuasca.’

Éehatzi ikántawàkiri: “Éeroka rira, hágari”. Ikantzi: “Tee”. “Éeroka rira, tsirootzi”.
 éehatzi i-kant-aw-ak-i-ri éeroka ri=ra hagari
 también 3M.S-decir-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 2 M=MED zorro³¹⁸
 i-kant-zi tee éeroka ri=ra tsirootzi
 M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 M=MED paucarcillo
 ‘También le dicen al recibirlo: “Tú, este..., zorro”. Dice: “No”. “Tú, este..., paucarcillo”.’
 ‘They also say to him when they receive him: “You, um..., short-eared zorro”. He says: “No”.
 “You, um..., paucarcillo”.’

Ikantzi: “Hee, náakatàki”. Rooha ràwihántanàka.
 i-kant-zi hee naaka-t-ak-i rooha³¹⁹ r-awih-ant-an-ak-a
 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1-&-PFV-FRS luego 3M.S-pasar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA
 ‘Dice: “Yo soy”. Luego pasa.’
 ‘He says: “I am”. Then he goes there.’

³¹⁸ *Zorro* is the Spanish translation I got from a consultant, which is English ‘fox’. Probably, he referred to *Atelocynus microtis*, which, according to Wikipedia, is known in English as *short-eared dog*, *short-eared zorro* or *small-eared dog*.

³¹⁹ *Rooha* is an abbreviation of *róohatzi*.

Ramíniri, ráatsimiyìri mántsyaritàtsiri.

r-amin-i-ri

3M.S-mirar-FRS-3M.O

r-aatsimiy-i-ri

mantsiya-ri-t-atsi-ri

3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL

‘Lo mira, chupa para curar al que está enfermo.’

‘He looks at him, he sucks to heal the one who is sick.’

Ráatsimiyapàkiri, ráatsimiyapàkiri.

r-aatsimiy-ap-ak-i-ri

3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ALL-PFV-FRS-3M.O

‘Lo ha chupado para curarlo, lo ha chupado para curarlo.’

‘He sucks at him to cure him, he sucks at him to cure him.’

Ithónkanàkiro ráatsimiyìri, rooha ipíyantàna éehatzi.

i-thonk-an-ak-i-ro

r-aatsimiy-i-ri

3M.S-acabar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O

rooha i-piy-ant-an-a

éehatzi

luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA también

‘Acaba de chuparle, y luego vuelve también.’

‘He finishes sucking at him, and then comes back too.’

Ikántaka irika thayírika sheripyari ikantzi:

i-kant-ak-a

3M.S-COP-PFV-REA

i-ri=ka

thayi-ri=ka

sheripyari i-kant-zi

DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL=PROX chamán 3M.S-decir-REA

‘Así es que este chamán mentiroso dice:’

‘So this cheating shaman says:’

“Hátákina henoki, hatákina henoki”.

ha-t-ak-i-na henoki

ir-&-PFV-FRS-1S arriba

“‘Me voy arriba, me voy arriba (al cielo)’.”

“‘I’m going up, I’m going up (to heaven)’.”

Téemáita, téemáita riyaa-tzi henoki, tee riyaa-tzi henoki. Éeniro itápotápowaeta oháawiki.

tee=maita r-iyaa-t-zi henoki tee

NEG=COEXP 3M.S-ir-&-REA arriba NEG.REA

éeniro i-tapo~tapo-wae-t-a o-háawiki

EXI.PST 3M.S-acechar~ITE-DUR1-&-REA 3F-debajo

‘Pero no, no iba arriba, no iba arriba. Iba acechando por el suelo (gateando).’

‘But no, he wasn’t going up, he wasn’t going up. He was creeping on the ground (crawling).’

Riyáatàshitziro raniro, hanta othátakota omáapiintzi.

r-iyaa-t-ashi-t-zi-ro r-aniro
3M.S-ir-&-PURP-&-REA-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

ha=nta o-thatako-t-a o-mag-apiint-zi
LOC=DIST 3F.S-preparar.cama-&-REA 3F.S-dormir-HAB-REA

‘Se va a buscar a su sobrina, allá donde ella prepara su cama para dormir.’
‘He goes to look for his niece, where she prepares her bed to sleep.’

Ikówawita itháwinatyáwomi.

i-kow-a-wi-t-a i-tháwina-t-ya-ro-mi
3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-REA 3M.S-tener.sexo.incestuoso-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA

‘Quería³²⁰ tener relaciones sexuales incestuosas con ella.’
‘He wanted to have incestuous sex with her.’

Ikántàkiro ráníro:

i-kant-ak-i-ro r-aniro
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Le dice a su sobrina:’
‘He says to his niece:’

“Pipókanaki rowa..., ikántètzirowa..., apánkinatawakáeya”.

pi-pok-an-ak-i ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

a-pánkina-t-awak-eya
INCL.S-tener.sexo-&-RECP-IRR

‘Ven, esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., vamos a hacer el amor’.
‘Come, um..., what’s its name...?, um..., let’s make love’.

Ikénkishiryáka, ikántàkiro: “Naaka nopoñaka henoki, náakataki áatsimiyáytziríri mantsiyari”.

i-kénkishiry-ak-a i-kant-ak-i-ro
3M.S-pensar-PFV-REA 3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O

naaka no-poñ-ak-a henoki
1 1S-proceder.de-PFV-REA arriba

naaka-t-ak-i aatsimiy-a-yi-t-zi-ri-ri mantsiya-ri
1-&-PFV-FRS chupar.para.curar-&-DISTR-&-REA-3M.O-REL enfermo-M

‘Piensa, le dice: “Yo vengo de arriba (del cielo), soy el que cura a los enfermos”.’
‘He thinks, he says to her: “I come from above (from heaven), I am the one who heals the sick”.’

³²⁰ ‘Quería’ is the consultant’s translation. As in other cases, the speakers tend to translate an Ashéninka verb with the frustrative suffix with the Spanish imperfect.

Okántaka iroka tsinánikà okénkishiryà, okantzi:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka tsinani=ka o-kenkishiry-a o-kant-zi
 3F.S-COP-PFV-READEM-F=PROX mujer=PROX 3F.S-pensar-REA 3F.S-decir-REA
 ‘Pasó que esta mujer piensa, dice.’
 ‘It happened that this woman thinks, says.’

“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 proceder.de-PTCP.IPFV-REL arriba

aatsimiy-ant-atsi-ri ari=ma i-pánkina-t-ak-ae
 chupar.para.curar-OCC-PTCP.IPFV-REL AFF=DUB 3M.S-tener.sexo-&-PFV-INCL.O
 “¿Cómo puede ser que este, este que es el que viene del cielo y chupa para curar, nos hace el amor?”

“How can it be that this one, this one who comes from heaven and sucks to heal, makes love to us?”

Tee àapatziyawakyàari iroka tsinani.

tee Ø-aapatziy-awak-ya-ri i-ro=ka tsinani
 NEG.REA 3F.S-acceptar-DES-IRR-3M.O DEM-F=PROX mujer

‘No lo ha querido aceptar, esta mujer.’
 ‘She has not wanted to accept him, this woman.’

Ipíyana irika, ikántziri³²¹, shèripyári thayiri.

i-piy-an-a i-ri=ka i-kant-zi-ri
 3M.S-volver-ABL-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O

sheripyari thayi-ri
 chamán mentiroso-REL

‘Ha vuelto este, cómo se llama..., chamán mentiroso.’
 ‘This one is back, what’s his name...?, the cheating shaman.’

Éekiro rayítatzi, ikántziri, ríraga, iníntakòri.

éekiro r-ayit-atzi i-kant-zi-ri ri=raga i-nintakori
 continúa 3M.S-bajar-PROG 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O M=CAT.DEM 3M-seguidor

‘Continúan bajando, cómo se llama..., esos, sus seguidores.’
 ‘They keep on coming down, what’s its name...?, those, his followers.’

³²¹ In this case, as in the following sentence, *ikántziri* is a filler, the same as the often-repeated *ikántètziiri*. It can be considered an abbreviation in which the impersonal suffix has dropped.

Ayiitapàki éehatzi: poo. Ikántapàeri: “Piyótina”.
 ayiit-ap-ak-i éehatzi poo
 bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS también IDEO:posarse.en.el.suelo
 i-kant-ap-a-e-ri p-iyó-t-i-na
 3M.S-decir-ALL-REG-FRS-3M.O 2S-saber-&-IRR-1O
 ‘Baja (uno) también: ¡plop! Vuelve a decir: “Adiviname”.’
 ‘(One) comes down too: plop! He says again: “Guess who I am”.’

Ikántziri ikáatéyinirà: “Éeroka rira..., ashiwantzi”.
 i-kant-zi-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni=ra
 3M-decir-REA-3M.O 3M-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED
 éeroka ri=ra ashiwantzi³²²
 2 M=MED golondrina
 ‘Le dicen esos: “Tú, esto..., golondrina”.’
 ‘Those say to him: “You, um..., swallow”.’

Ikantzi “tee”. “Éeroka rira, ikántètziri..., chewontzi.” Ikantzi “hee, naaka.”
 i-kant-zi tee éeroka ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O
 chewontzi i-kant-zi hee naaka
 golondrina 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1
 ‘Dice “no”. “Tú esto..., cómo se llama..., golondrina”. Dice: “Sí, yo”.’
 ‘He says “no”. “You um..., what’s its name...?, swallow”. He says: “Yes, it’s me”.’

Róohatzi riyáataki ráatsimiyìri màntsiyári.
 i-kant-zi hee naaka róohatzi r-iyaa-t-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1 luego 3M.S-ir-&-PFV-FRS
 r-aatsimiy-i-ri mantsiya-ri
 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M
 ‘Luego va a chupar a los enfermos para curarlos.’
 ‘Then he goes to suck at the sick to cure them.’

Ikantzi: “Ráatsimiyákiri, ráatsimiyákiri, ráatsimiyákiri.”
 i-kant-zi r-aatsimiy-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-decir-REA 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-PFV-FRS-3M.O
 ‘Dicen: “Le ha chupado para curarlo, le ha chupado para curarlo, le ha chupado para curarlo”.’
 ‘They say: “He sucked at him to cure him, he sucked at him to cure him, he sucked at him to cure him”.’

³²² The translation *golondrina* is taken from Payne’s multidialectal dictionary (*swallow* in English), given that the translating consultant was not able to give me a Spanish translation for *ashiwantzi* nor *chewontzi* (in the following sentence). However, he said that these birds belong to the same family and are similar to *gavilán*, although they are not birds of prey, and he also said that they are similar to *etho* and that this is a kind of *golondrina*.

Ikáatàkiro rooha ipíyantana.

i-kaa-t-ak-i-ro rooha i-piy-ant-an-a
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-REA
 ‘Lo termina y luego vuelve (a ver a su sobrina).’
 ‘He finishes it and then goes back (to see his niece).’

Okántaka iroka tsinani okénkishiryáka:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka tsinani o-kenkishirya-ak-a
 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-pensar-PFV-REA
 ‘Así es que esta mujer piensa.’
 ‘So this woman thinks.’

“Tsiká ipoñéyaka irika ashéninkakà iroñaaka kowátsiri iñáathatina? Tee noñáapíntziri.

tsiká i-poñ-eya=ka³²³ i-ri=ka a-shéninka=ka iroñaaka
 WH 3M.S-proceder.de-IRR=INT DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano=PROX ahora
 kow-atsi-ri i-ñáatha-t-i-na tee no-ña-apiint-zi-ri
 querer-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-tener.sexo-&-IRR-1O NEG.REA 1S-ver-HAB-REA-3M.O
 “¿De dónde vendrá este ashéninka que ahora quiere hacerme el amor? Nunca lo conocí” (lit. no suelo verlo).’
 “‘Where could this Ashéninka come from, who now wants to make love to me? I never met him” (lit. I don’t usually see him).’

³²³ The irrealis in this verb may be due to the fact that the woman is asking herself a question to which she does not know the answer. In this sense, the Spanish translation ‘vendrá’ as well as the possible English translation ‘might come’ also express an irrealis utterance.

Niyótantaryi kyáaryoperòrikà ipoña henoki, káaririka haka ashéninka héekatzi oháawiki, paata nopòntzitáshitawakiriíta (*nokáwirinkáshitawakiriíta*)³²⁴ ana.”

n-iyó-t-ant-ya-ri kyaaryo-pero=rika i-poñ-a henoki
1S-saber-&-RES-IRR-REL verdadero-VER=COND 3M.S-proceder.de-REA arriba

kaari=rika ha=ka a-shéninka heek-atzi o-háawiki
NEG.COP=COND LOC=PROX INCL-paisano vivir-PROG 3F-debajo

paata no-pontzi-t-ashi-t-aw-ak-i-ri-ita ana³²⁵
después 1S-rallar-&-PURP-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O-ROPT huitó

“Para saber si es realmente verdad que viene del cielo y si no es que el ashéninka vive aquí abajo, luego voy a rallarle huitó (para cuando llegue, a pesar de que no le gustará)³²⁶.”

“In order to find out if it’s really true that he comes from heaven and whether it isn’t that the Ashéninka lives down here, later I’m going to grate genipap for him (for when he arrives, even though he won’t like it).”

Okanta opóntzitáshitàkiri (*okáwirinkáshitàkiri*) ana.

o-kant-a o-pontzi-t-ashi-t-ak-i-ri ana
3F.S-COP-REA 3F.S-rallar-&-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O huitó

‘Así fue que le ralló huitó.’

‘So it was that she grated genipap.’

Ótsipani paata tsiréniri éehatzi rowáyitéri iníntakòri.

o-tsipa-ni paata tsiréniri éehatzi r-ow-ayit-i-ri i-nintakori
F-otro-INTS después noche también 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 3M-seguidor

‘Después, también otra noche ha hecho bajar a sus seguidores.’

‘Later, also another night, he has made his followers come down.’

³²⁴ When telling the story, Chóokiro used the stem *-kawirink-*, here and in the next sentence. However, in the transcription session, he said that he should have used the stem *-pontzit-* ‘grate’, because *-kawirink-* means ‘knead a fruit to soften it’, and the genipap is actually grated in this story, so it is better to gloss here the word that fits the story while showing the one actually uttered in the recording.

³²⁵ The fruit of *huito* is meant here. *Huito* is the tree *Genipa americana*, known in English as *genip tree* (fruit *genipap*, according to Wikipedia).

³²⁶ The added meanings between parentheses are caused by the suffix *-aw* and the enclitic *=ita*, respectively.

Éehatziita ikímita chapinki, owákirani riraki iyamarámpiti, éehatzi rowa..., niyanki tsiréniri, ikántakiri ashéninkapáeni ikáateyíni:

éehatzi-ita i-kimi-t-a chapinkiwákira-ni r-ir-ak-i
también-ROPT 3M.S-parecerse-&-REA ayer nuevo-INTS 3M.S-beber-PFV-FRS
i-kamarampi-ti éehatzi ro=ra niyanki tsiréniri
3M-ayahuasca-POSS también F=MED mitad noche

i-kant-ak-i-ri a-shéninka=paeni i-kaa-t-eeey-i-ni
3M.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O INCL-paisano=PL 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL
'De la misma manera como ayer, de nuevo bebe su ayahuasca, y esto..., a media noche, dice a los ashéninkas.'

'In the same way as yesterday, he drinks his ayahuasca again, and, um..., at midnight, he says to the Ashéninkas.'

"Káakitákirà irika, noyíiteri nónintakòri.

kaaki-t-ak-i=ra i-ri=ka n-o-ayit-i-ri no-nintakori
llegar-&-PFV-FRS=MED DEM-M=PROX 1S-CAUS-bajar-IRR-3M.O 1-seguidor
'"Enseguida van a llegar de allá estos, voy a hacer bajar a mis seguidores".'
'"These are going to arrive right away, I'm going to make my followers come down".'

Naaka niyáatatyee naaka henoki.

naaka n-iyaa-t-atyee henoki
1 1S-ir-&-FUT arriba
'"Yo me voy a ir arriba (al cielo)".'
'"I'm going to go up (to heaven)".'

Riintzi ayíitapáenitsini noníntakòri, piyótawakirira paata".

ri-intzi ayiit-a=paeni-tsi-ni no-nintakori
M-REST bajar-&=PL-PTCP.IPFV-REL.IRR 1-seguidor
p-iyot-aw-ak-i-ri=ra paata
2S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O=MED luego

'"Sólo ellos, los que van a bajar, mis seguidores, a esos vais a adivinar luego".'
'"Only they, those who are going to come down, my followers, you are going to guess who those are later".'

Ikantzi: "Hee ari". Éehatzi róohatzi hápokanaka: hapo.

i-kant-zi hee ari
3M.S-decir-REA AFF de.acuerdo
éehatzi róohatzi hapok-an-ak-a hapo
también luego saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar
'Dicen: "Sí, de acuerdo". Y luego salta: ¡hop!.'
'They say: "Yes, all right". And then he jumps: hop!.'

Ikántaka irika iníntakòri ayiitapáaki. Ikantzi: “Piyótina”.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka i-nintakori ayiit-apa-ak-i
3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3M-seguidor bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS

i-kant-zi p-iyó-t-i-na
3M.S-decir-REA 2S-saber-&-IRR-IO

‘Así fue que este seguidor suyo bajó. Dice: “Adiviname”.’

‘So it was that this follower of his came down. He says: “Guess who I am”.’

Iríkapáeni iráyitátsiri ikántziri:

i-ri=ka=paeni ir-a-yi-t-atsi-ri i-kant-zi-ri
DEM-M=PROX=PL beber-&-DISTR-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O

‘Estos que están bebiendo le dicen.’

‘These who are drinking say to him.’

“Éeroka rira, takoyo”.

éeroka ri=ra takoyo³²⁷
2 M=MED clase.de.pájaro

“Tú, esto..., *takoyo*”.

“You, um..., *takoyo*”.

Ikantzi “tee”. “Éeroka tsirootzi”. Ikantzi “hee, naaka tsirootzi.”

i-kant-zi tee éeroka tsirootzi i-kant-zi hee naaka
3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 2 paucarcillo 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1

‘Dice “no”. “Tú, paucarcillo”. Dice “sí, yo paucarcillo”.’

‘He says “no”. “You, *paucarcillo*”. He says “yes, I am *paucarcillo*”.’

Rooha ráwihántanàka ihéekira mantsiyari. Ramíniri.

rooha r-awih-ant-an-ak-a i-heck-i=ra mantsiya-ri
luego 3M.S-pasar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA 3M.S-estar-FRS=MED enfermo-M

r-amin-i-ri

3M.S-mirar-FRS-3M.O

‘Luego pasa adonde están los enfermos. Los mira (los trata).’

‘Then he goes to where the sick are. He looks at them (treats them).’

³²⁷ The translating consultant said that this is a small bird with a red tail. Payne’s multidialectal dictionary includes this word with the meaning ‘especie de paucarcillo’.

Ikántaka irika tháyiri shèripyári owàyútziriri irika iníntakòri tàpótacha hanta ohéekinta raniro.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka thayi-ri sheripyari
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL chamán
 ow-ayit-zi-ri-ri i-nintakori tapo-t-acha
 CAUS-bajar-REA-3M.O-REL 3M-seguidor acechar-&-PTCP.IPFV

ha=nta o-heek-i=nta r-aniro
 LOC=DIST 3F.S-estar-FRS=DIST 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP

‘Así fue que este chamán mentiroso que hace bajar a estos sus seguidores está acechando allá donde vive su sobrina (hija de su hermana).’

‘So it was that this cheating shaman who brings down these his followers is creeping there where his niece (his sister’s daughter) lives.’

Ikówawitàka ari rantátenkatirómi.

i-kow-a-wi-t-ak-a ari
 3M.S-querer-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA AFF

r-ant-a-tenka-t-i-ro-mi
 3M.S-hacer-&-despatarrado-&-IRR-3F.O-COFA

‘Quería hacerle el amor.’

‘He wanted to make love to her.’

Ikántaka rira..., iroka tsinani owétsikáshitákiri, ikanta, ana, okémitzitaka:

i-kant-ak-a ri=ra
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA M=MED
 i-ro=ka tsinani o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri
 DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-preparar-PURP-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O

i-kant-a ana o-kemi-tz-it-ak-a
 3M.S-COP-REA huita 3F.S-raspar-&-ANT-PFV-REA

‘Así ha sido, esto..., que esta mujer le ha preparado, es..., huita, (lo) ha raspado antes.’
 ‘That’s how it was, um..., that this woman has prepared for him, it’s..., genipap, she has grated it before.’

“Náminawàkiríita kyáaryoperòrika ríitakirika rira, ikántètziiri, poñínkari henoki.”

n-amin-awak-i-ri-ita kyaaryo-pero=rika rii-t-ak-i=rika
 1S-mirar-DES-FRS-3M.O-ROPT verdadero-VER=COND 3M-&-PFV-FRS=COND

ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri poñínka-ri henoki
 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O proceder.de-ADJZ-M arriba

‘“Quiero mirar (comprobar) si es realmente verdad si él es, esto..., cómo se llama..., procedente de arriba”.’

‘“I want to see (check) whether it’s really true that he is, um..., what’s its name..., coming from above”.’

Irika ashéninka tháyiri shèripyári tee rowa..., tee riyowaetzi owétsikáshitákiri raniro ana.

i-ri=ka a-shéninka thayi-ri sheripyari tee ro=ra
 DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano mentiroso-REL chamán NEG.REA F=MED
 tee r-iyó-wae-t-zi
 NEG.REA 3M.S-saber-DUR1-&-REA

o-wetsik-ashi-t-ak-i-ri r-aniro ana
 3F.O-preparar-PURP-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP huito
 ‘Este ashéninka chamán mentiroso no, esto..., no está sabiendo que su sobrina le ha preparado huito.’

‘This cheating Ashéninka shaman doesn’t, um..., he doesn’t know that his niece has prepared genipap for him.’

Ikántaka irika, okántaka rowa, rítsirokà rowa, raniro, ikyáapaki.

i-kant-ak-a i-ri=ka o-kant-ak-a ro=ra
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-M=PROX 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA F=MED

r-itsiro=ka³²⁸ r-aniro i-kyá-ap-ak-i
 3M-hermana.MP=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP 3M.S-entrar-ALL-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así fue que este, fue que..., esto..., su hermana, esto..., su sobrina, entró (el chamán, en casa de su sobrina).’

‘So it was that this, it was that..., um..., his sister, um..., his niece, entered (the shaman entered his niece’s house).’

Tekatsi kamántirini. Ikántawitakàwo: “Pípokanàki.”

tekatsi kamant-i-ri-ni i-kant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ro
 NEG.EXI avisar-IRR-3M.O-REL.IRR 3M.S-decir-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3F.O

pi-pok-an-ak-i
 2S-venir-ABL-PFV-FRS

‘No ha avisado (el chamán) (lit. no existe el que lo va a anunciar). Le dice (en vano): “Ven”.’

‘He has not announced himself (the shaman) (lit. the one who is going to announce does not exist). He says to her (in vain): “Come”.’

Okántziri: “Eero”. Apátziro áakiro, pokaki okáakini.

o-kant-zi-ri eero
 3F.S-decir-REA-3M.O NEG.IRR

apátziro a-ak-i-ro pok-ak-i okáakini
 sólo coger-PFV-FRS-3F.O venir-PFV-FRS cerca

‘Le dice: “No”. Sólo lo ha cogido (el huito), ha venido cerca (se le ha acercado el chamán).’

‘She says: “No”. She has only took it (genipap), he comes close (the shaman approaches her).’

³²⁸ This word is clearly a mistake by the narrator. The sentence is somewhat badly expressed, but the narrator means that the shaman enters his niece’s house.

Róohatzi òntsirokapáakari, ròntsirokapáakawo,
 róohatzi Ø-ontsirok-apa-ak-a-ri
 luego 3F.S-estar.al.lado-ALL-PFV-REA-3M.O
 r-ontsirok-apa-ak-a-ro
 3M.S-estar.al.lado-ALL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘Luego se ha acercado ella a él, se ha acercado él a ella.’
 ‘Then she has approached him, he has approached her.’

Róohatzi ohéetantawakàri anákira, máaweni ipooki, ohéetakiri: shaau.
 róohatzi o-hee-t-ant-aw-ak-a-ri ana-kira máaweni
 luego 3F.S-echar-&-RES-OM-PFV-REA-3M.O huito-LIQ todo
 i-poo=ki o-hee-t-ak-i-ri shaao
 3M-cara=LOC 3F.S-echar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O IDEO:líquido.cayendo
 ‘Y luego le ha echado (ella a él) la pasta de huito, por toda la cara, le ha echado: ¡chof!’
 ‘And then she throws the genipap paste, all over his face, she throws it: chof!’

Tee ramètanyakýáwo irira.
 tee r-ame-t-an-ak-ya-ro i-ri=ra
 NEG.REA 3M.S-acostumbrarse-&-ABL-PFV-IRR-3F.O DEM-M=MED
 ‘No le ha gustado esto a ese.’
 ‘That one hasn’t liked this.’

Ikantzí tháyiri sheripyari: “Shitówanaki”, haté.
 i-kant-zi thayi-ri sheripyari shitow-an-ak-i ha-t-i³²⁹
 3M.S-decir-REA mentiroso-REL chamán salir-ABL-PFV-FRS ir-&-IRR
 ‘Dice el chamán mentiroso: “Salgo”, se fue.’
 ‘The cheating shaman says: “I’m leaving”, he’s gone.’

Ikántaka roweyántaka royíitakíri ikántziri..., iníntakòri rayíitaki.
 i-kant-ak-a r-oweyant-ak-a r-o-ayíit-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-ser.último-PFV-REA 3M.S-CAUS-bajar-PFV-FRS-REL
 i-kant-zi-ri i-níntakori r-ayíit-ak-i
 3M.S-decir-REA-3M.O 3M-seguidor 3M.S-bajar-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así fue que el último que ha hecho bajar dice..., el seguidor ha bajado.’
 ‘So it was that the last one whom he has brought down says..., the follower has gone down.’

Riyótawàkiri ikáateyìni irira ikántètziri, ikaatzi irátsiri.
 r-iyó-t-aw-ak-i-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni i-ri=ra
 3M.S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL DEM-M=MED
 i-kant-e-t-zi-ri i-kaa-t-zi ir-atsi-ri
 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA beber-PTCP.IPFV-REL
 ‘Lo adivinan (al seguidor del chamán) esos, cómo se llama..., los que están bebiendo.’
 ‘Those guess who he is (the shaman’s follower), what’s its name...?, those who are drinking.’

³²⁹ The irrealis here is remarkable and is probably explained by the irregularity of this form of the verb *iyataantsi* ‘go’ with a suffixed subject (null in this form in 3rd person).

Ikantzi: “Éeroka rira, ashiwantzi”. Ikantzi: “Hee, naaka”.
 i-kant-zi éeroka ri=ra ashiwantzi hee naaka
 3M.S-decir-REA 2 M=MED golondrina AFF 1
 ‘Dice: “Tú, esto..., golondrina”. Dice: “Sí, yo”.’
 ‘He says: “You, um..., swallow”. He says: “Yes, me”.’

Roweyántanakàwo ráatsimiyìro mántsiyàwo.
 r-oweyant-an-ak-a-ro r-aatsimiy-i-ro mantsiya-ro
 3M.S-ser.último-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3F.O enfermo-F
 ‘El último que llega es para ella, chupa para curar a una enferma.’
 ‘The last one to arrive is for her, she sucks to cure a sick woman.’

Ráatsimiyànàkiro, ráatsmianàkiro, ráatsimiyànàkiro.
 r-aatsimiy-an-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘La chupa para curarla, la chupa para curarla, la chupa para curarla.’
 ‘He sucks at her to heal her, he sucks at her to heal her, he sucks at her to heal her.’

Róohatzi ipíyantánaka hápokanàka: hapo.
 róohatzi i-piy-ant-an-ak-a hapok-an-ak-a hapo
 luego 3M.S-volver-RES-ABL-PFV-REA saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar
 ‘Luego vuelve y salta: ¡hop!’
 ‘Then goes back and jumps: hop!’

Irika ashéninka tháirikà, ohéetakirira ràníro, kiháamokotzfítaki paata,
 kiháamokotzfítanáki.
 i-ri=ka a-shéninka thayi-ri=ka
 DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano mentiroso-REL=PROX
 o-hee-t-ak-i-ri-ra r-aníro
 3F.S-echar-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O-TEMP 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP
 kihaa-moko-tz-iita-ak-i³³⁰ paata kihaa-moko-tz-iita-an-ak-i
 negro-BALL-&-ROPT-PFV-FRS después negro-BALL-&-ROPT-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘A este ashéninka mentiroso, cuando su sobrina le ha echado (el huito), se ha puesto
 como una bola negra (su cara, totalmente contra su voluntad).’
 ‘This cheating Ashéninka, when his niece threw (genipap) at him, he turned into a black ball
 (his face, totally against his will).’

³³⁰ This word is remarkably difficult to interpret because of *-iita* followed by the perfective and ablative suffixes, given that *-iita* should be at the end of the word. I have decided to interpret that, since the ROPT *-:ta* has occurred in different word classes, it attaches to the construction *kiháamoko* ‘black ball’; and then, this *kiháamokotzfíta* is verbalized with the verbal suffixes.

Éekiro, éekiro roo okítehítaki, paata okítehítamànae.

éekiro roo o-kitehi-t-ak-i
continúa luego 3F.S-amanecer-&-PFV-FRS

paata o-kitehi-t-aman-a-i
después 3F.S-amanecer-&-EARLY-REG-FRS

‘Continúa (el transcurso del tiempo) y luego amanece..., después vuelve a amanecer temprano.’

‘It goes on (the passage of time), and then it dawns..., then it dawns again early.’

Pohátaki wanawontsi roya, pohátaki wanawontsi roya.

poha-t-ak-i wanawontsi r-ow-ya
estar.cocinado-&-PFV-FRS comida 3M.S-comer-IRR

‘Ya está la comida cocinada para comer, ya está la comida cocinada para comer.’

‘The food is already cooked to eat, the food is already cooked to eat.’

Róohatzi..., rowa..., ikántètziri, ikámantawitakàri ikáateyini roya kaniri.

róohatzi ro=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
luego F=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-kaem-ant-a-wi-t-ak-a-ri i-kaa-t-ee-y-i-ni
3M.S-llamar-RES-&-FRU-&-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL

r-ow-ya kaniri
3M.S-comer-IRR yuca

‘Luego..., esto..., cómo se llama..., lo llaman ellos para comer yuca (unos vecinos llaman al chamán).’³³¹

‘Then..., um..., what’s its name...?, they call him to eat cassava (some neighbours call the shaman).’

Irika tháyirikà sheripyari tee ikoyi ishitoyi.

i-ri=ka thayi-ri=ka sheripyari
DEM-M=PROX mentiroso-REL=PROX chamán

tee i-koy-i i-shitoy-i
NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-salir-FRS

‘Este chamán mentiroso no quiere salir.’

‘This cheating shaman doesn’t want to come out.’

Ipáshiwèntaka, ikiháachéyináataki.

i-pashiwent-ak-a i-kihaa-cheyinaa-t-ak-i
3M.S-avergonzarse-PFV-REA 3M.S-negro-BALL-&-PFV-FRS

‘Le da vergüenza, es una bola negra (dicho como insulto).’

‘He’s ashamed, it’s a black ball (said as an insult).’

³³¹ The translating consultant explained to me that this sentence implies that the shaman is not married and that is why he goes to some neighbours’ house to eat. Although the subject and the object are not mentioned in this sentence, it seems that someone living in a traditional Ashéninka society would understand who is calling and who is called.’

Hénokitapáki oorya.
 henoki-t-ap-ak-i oorya
 arriba-&-ALL-PFV-FRS sol
 ‘Está arriba el sol.’
 ‘The sun is up.’

Tekatsi akántiro árima akéwanéero rowa, ana.
 tekatsi a-kant-i-ro ari=ma a-kiw-an-a-e-ro
 NEG.EXI INCL.S-decir-IRR-3F.O AFF=DUB INCL.S-lavar-ABL-REG-FRS-3F.O
 ro=ra ana
 F=MED huito
 ‘No hay manera de borrar (lavar), esto..., el huito.’
 ‘There is no way to erase (wash), um..., genipap.’

Ana eero oshitoyiita. *Como* ayòtéyironi, ana eero oshitoyiita.
 ana eero o-shitoy-i-ita como³³² a-iyó-t-ee-y-i-ro-ni
 huito NEG.IRR 3F.S-salir-FRS-ROPT como INCL.S-saber-&-PL-FRS-3F.O-PL
 ‘El huito no sale (aunque nos lavemos)³³³. Como sabemos, el huito no sale (aunque nos lavemos).
 ‘Genipap does not come out (even if we wash ourselves). As we know, genipap does not come out (even if we wash ourselves).’

Ashoyiro ichéenkamòoti.
 ashoyiro i-cheenka-poo-t-i
 permanente 3M.S-negro-cara-&-IRR
 ‘Se le va a quedar la cara negra permanentemente.’³³⁴
 ‘His face will be permanently black.’

Ikántaka éekiro itáshiyapáki, ishitówaki, kiháashémokòtzi.
 i-kant-ak-a éekiro i-tashiy-ap-ak-i
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA continúa 3M.S-tener.hambre-ALL-PFV-FRS
 i-shitow-ak-i kihaa-she-moko-t-zi
 3M.S-salir-PFV-FRS negro-THICK-BALL-&-REA
 ‘Así es que continúa teniendo hambre, y sale, con la bola en negro espeso (su cabeza).’
 ‘So he continues to be hungry, and he comes out, with the ball in thick black (his head).’

³³² This is obviously a Spanish word. The translating consultant said that it can be replaced by the Ashéninka *rooma*.

³³³ The translation ‘aunque nos lavemos’ (‘even though we wash ourselves’) is the nuance given by the ROPT *-ita*.

³³⁴ The translating consultant told me that huito paste is used as a tattoo, and you can only remove it from your skin after some weeks.

Okántaka iroka ranírokà oñáatziri chénka...:

o-kant-ak-a i-ro=ka r-aníro=ka
3F.S-COP-PFV-REA DEM-F=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP=PROX

o-ña-atzi-ri chénka-
3F.S-ver-PROG-3M.O negro³³⁵

‘Así fue que esta su sobrina está viendo lo negro...’
‘So this niece of his is watching the black...’

Okántashirètzi:

o-kant-a-shire-t-zi
3F.S-decir-&-alma-&-REA

‘Dice para sus adentros (en su mente/alma) (la sobrina):’
‘She says to herself (in her mind/soul) (the niece):’

‘Naaka, riitahántakima rira kooko oñáashirènkànàri.

naaka rii-t-ahaant-ak-i=ma ri=ra
1 3M-&-LAM-PFV-FRS=DUB M=MED

kooko oñáashirenk-a-na-ri
tío.materno.VOC.FE molestar-REA-1O-REL

‘Yo..., así que era este tío el que me molestaba’ (lamentándose).’
‘I..., so it was this uncle who bothered me’ (lamenting herself).’

Ikántahántzi: «Nopoñaaka hanta henoki.

i-kant-ahaant-zi no-poñ-ak-a ha=nta henoki
3M.S-decir-LAM-REA 1S-proceder.de-PFV-REA LOC=DIST arriba

‘¿Cómo puede decir...? (ella se lamenta): «Yo vengo de allá arriba».’
‘“How can he say...? (she laments herself): «I come from up there»”.’

Náakataki áatsimiyiriri mantsiyari»’.

naaka-t-ak-i aatsimiy-i-ri-ri mantsiya-ri
1-&-PFV-FRS chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O-REL enfermo-M

‘“«Yo soy el que chupa a los enfermos para curarlos»”.’
‘“«I am the one who sucks at the sick to cure them»”.’

Iroka tsinánikà yòtanáki, ya.

i-ro=ka tsinani=ka Ø-iyó-t-an-ak-i ya
DEM-F=PROX mujer=PROX 3F.S-saber-&-ABL-PFV-FRS ya

‘Esta mujer lo ha sabido, ya.’
‘This woman has known it, now.’

³³⁵ Here, the narrator cut the word, that is, he stopped and started with the following sentence.

Entonces máaweni iñéyákirini, ikáateyini ikantzi, rowa:

entonces máaweni i-ñ-ey-ak-i-ri-ni

entonces todos 3M.S-ver-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL

i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni i-kant-zi ro=ra

3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL 3M.S-decir-REA F=MED

‘Entonces todos lo han visto, ellos dicen..., esto...’

‘So everyone has seen it, they say..., um...’

‘‘O, árima ikanta shéripýari!’’

o ari=ma i-kant-a sheripyari

INTJ AFF=DUB 3M.S-COP-REA chamán

‘‘¡Oh, si es el chamán!’’³³⁶

‘‘Oh, it is the shaman!’’

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-paisano 3M.S-hacer.mal.agüero-&-PROG

i-thaawe-t-ak-i-ro

3M.S-hacer.mal.agüero-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Así fue que este ashéninka estaba haciendo mal agüero, lo ha hecho.’

‘So it was that this Ashéninka was casting a bad omen on himself, he did it.’

Róoteentsi rohàtzíikitya paata.

róoteentsi r-o-hatziiki-t-ya³³⁶ paata

ya 3M.S-CAUS-clavarse.en.ano-&-IRR luego

‘Ya va a causar que se clave luego una estaca en el ano (él se lo causa a él mismo al hacer mal agüero).’

‘He’s going to cause a stake to be driven into his anus later (he causes it to himself by casting a bad omen on himself).’

Roo roweyántakàwo ñrakagéiyakirini iyamarámpiti ikáateyínirà.

roo r-oweyant-ak-a-ro r-ir-akag-ey-ak-i-ri-ni

luego 3M.S-ser.último-PFV-REA-3F.O 3M.S-beber-CAUS-PL-PFV-FRS-3M.O-PL

i-kamarampi-ti i-kaa-t-ey-i-ni=ra

3M-ayahuasca-POSS 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-PL-FRS-PL=MED

‘Luego llega el último que les ha hecho beber (les ha invitado) su ayahuasca a esos.’

‘Then, the last one arrives, who makes those drink (invites them) his ayahuasca.’

³³⁶ The translating consultant said that this stem means that some sharp object is stuck into the anus. He said that doing this with an arrow was used as a way to execute enemies in clan wars in the Gran Pajonal in former times.

Ikantzi: “Hame rowa, iri éehatzi kamárampi, amónkote koka éehatzi chamaero rowa, iráwàeti ayamarámpiti.”

i-kant-zi hame ro=ra Ø-ir-i éehatzi kamarampi
3M.S-decir-REA HORT.INCL F=MED INCL.S-beber-FRS también ayahuasca

Ø-amonko-t-i koka éehatzi chamaero ro=ra
INCL.S-mascar-&-IRR coca también chamairo F=MED

Ø-ir-a-wae-t-i a-kamarampi-ti
INCL.S-beber-&-DUR1-&-IRR INCL-ayahuasca-POSS

‘Dice: “Vamos, esto..., a beber también ayahuasca, mascar coca y chamairo, esto..., vamos a estar bebiendo nuestra ayahuasca”.’

‘He says: “We’re going to, um..., to also drink ayahuasca, chew coca and chamairo, um..., we are going to be drinking our ayahuasca”.’

Iréiyakini, éehatzi raahi, ramaki ítsipa mantsiyari.

ir-ey-ak-i-ni éehatzi r-a-ah-i
beber-PL-PFV-FRS-PL también 3M.S-coger-REG-FRS

r-am-ak-i i-tsipá mantsiya-ri
3M.S-llevar-PFV-FRS M-otro enfermo-M

‘Han bebido, y vuelven a coger a otro enfermo y lo llevan.’

‘They drink, and they pick up another sick person again and bring him.’

Rowákiri, ráatsimiyìri itomyaite, iníntakòri.

r-ow-ak-i-ri r-aatsimiy-i-ri
3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O

i-tomi-a-ite³³⁷ i-nintakori
3M-hijo-&-PL.AN 3M-seguidor

‘Los ha puesto (ahí), los chupa para curarlos; sus hijos, sus seguidores.’

‘He puts them (there), sucks at them to cure them; his children, his followers.’

Hatane éehatzi rira, sheripyari hátaki henoki. Hápokanáka: hapo.

ha-t-an-i éehatzi ri=ra sheripyari ha-t-ak-i henoki
ir-&-ABL-FRS también M=MED chamán ir-&-PFV-FRS arriba

hapok-an-ak-a hapo
saltar-ABL-PFV-REA IDEO:saltar

‘Se va también, esto..., el chamán se ha ido arriba. Ha saltado: ¡hop!’

‘He’s leaving too, um..., the shaman goes up. He jumps: hop!’

³³⁷ The translating consultant told me that the shaman considers his followers his sons.

Ayítapàkiri irika, ikántètzi... , iníntakòri, ikántapaki: “Piyótina, piyótina”.

ayiit-*ap-ak-i-ri* *i-ri=ka* *i-kant-e-t-zi-ri*
 bajar-ALL-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-M=PROX 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

i-nintakori *i-kant-ap-ak-i* *p-iyot-i-na*
 3M-seguidor 3M.S-decir-ALL-PFV-FRS 2S-saber-&-IRR-IO

‘Este que ha bajado, cómo se llama..., su seguidor, dice (al llegar): “Adivinadme, adivinadme”.’

‘This one who has come down, what is its name...?, his follower, says (upon arrival): “Guess who I am, Guess who I am”.’

Riyóyitawakíri, ikantzi:

r-iyot-yi-t-aw-ak-i-ri *i-kant-zi*
 3M.S-saber-DISTR-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-REA

‘Lo adivinan (cuando lo reciben), dicen:’

‘They guess who he is (when they receive it), they say:’

“Éeroka rira ikántètzi, thoo”. Ikantzi “tee naaka.”

éeroka *ri=ra* *i-kant-e-t-zi-ri* *thoo*³³⁸
 2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O lechuza

i-kant-zi *tee* *naaka*
 3M.S-decir-REA NEG.REA 1

“‘Tú esto..., cómo se llama..., lechuza”. Dice “yo no”.’

“‘You, um..., what’s its name...?, owl”. He says “not me”.’

“Éeroka rira, ikántètzi rira, takóyo”. Ikantzi “hee, naaka.”

éeroka *ri=ra* *i-kant-e-t-zi-ri* *takoyo*
 2 M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O clase.de.pájaro

i-kant-zi *hee* *naaka*
 3M.S-decir-REA AFF 1

“‘Tú, esto..., cómo se llama..., esto..., *takoyo*”. Dice “sí, yo”.’

“‘You, um..., what’s its name...?, um..., *takoyo*”. He says “yes, me”.’

Riyótawákiri. Hátáki ráatsimiyiri mantsiyari.

r-iyot-t-aw-ak-i-ri
 3M.S-saber-&-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O

ha-t-ak-i *r-aatsimiy-i-ri* *mansiya-ri*
 ir-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-chupar.para.curar-FRS-3M.O enfermo-M

‘Lo ha adivinado. Se va a chupar a los enfermos para curarlos.’

‘He guessed it. He goes to suck at the sick people to cure them.’

³³⁸ According to Wikipedia, the Spanish word *lechuza* can be used for the following species that live in the Ashéninka area: *Strix huhula* (black-banded owl), *Strix virgata* (mottled owl), *Lophotrix cristata* (crested owl) and *Tyto furcata* (American barn owl).

Roo ithónkanàkiro. Hápokanàka. Káakitapàki páashini.
 roo i-thonk-an-ak-i-ro hapok-an-ak-a
 luego 3M.S-terminar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O saltar-ABL-PFV-REA
 kaaki-t-ap-ak-i³³⁹ páashini
 llegar-&-ALL-PFV-FRS otro
 ‘Luego ha acabado. Ha saltado. Ha llegado otro enseguida.’
 ‘Then he finishes. He jumps. Another one comes right away.’

Ari ikántaka, rooha ithónkantanakáwo.
 ari i-kant-ak-a rooha i-thonk-ant-an-ak-a-ro
 así 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA luego 3M.S-terminar-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O
 ‘Así fue, luego lo ha terminado (chupar a los enfermos).’
 ‘So it was, then he finishes (sucking at the sick).’

Tee roñáashirenkanèro iroka raníroka.
 tee r-oñaashirenk-an-i-ro
 NEG.REA 3M.S-molestar-ABL-FRS-3F.O
 i-ro=ka r-aníro=ka
 DEM-F=PROX 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP=PROX
 ‘No ha molestado a esta su sobrina.’
 ‘He hasn’t bothered this niece of his.’

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-decir-REA-3F.O DEM-F=PROX 3M.S-beber-FRS 3M-ayahuasca-POSS
 ha=nta i-ro=ra owákira-ri=ki owaani-ntsi
 LOC=DIST DEM-F=MED nuevo-REL=LOC chacra-ALI
 o-heek-a-yi-t-zi=ra inchápontho=paeni
 3F.S-estar-&-DISTR-&-REA=MED estaca=PL
 ‘Cómo se llama..., bebe esta su ayahuasca allá, esto..., en las chacras nuevas, donde
 están las estacas.’
 ‘What’s its name...?, he drinks his ayahuasca there, um..., in the new *chacras*, where the stakes
 are.’

³³⁹ This verb is defective because the translating consultant did not accept my proposals inflecting it with subject prefixes, but only with subject suffixes, so it seems that the subject has to be obligatorily cross-referenced with a suffix in this verb (here null in 3rd person).

Róotaki itháawetákiri iroka ikóyimi roñáashirénkiro raniro.
 roo-t-ak-i i-thaawe-t-ak-i-ri³⁴⁰ i-ro=ka
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 3M.S-coger.mal.agüero-&-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX
 i-koy-i-mi r-oñaashirenk-i-ro r-aniro
 3M.S-querer-FRS-COFA 3M.S-molestar-FRS-3F.O 3M-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.MP
 ‘Esto es que ha hecho mal agüero porque ha querido molestar a esta su sobrina.’
 ‘This is that he has cast a bad omen on himself because he wanted to annoy this niece of his.’

Ohätzíkitákiri paata inchaki.
 ohatziiki-t-ak-i-ri paata inchaki
 clavarse.en.ano-&-PFV-FRS-3M.O luego estaca
 ‘Luego se va a clavar una estaca en el ano.’
 ‘Then a stake is going to get stuck into his anus.’

Ikántaka ikoyi ihápokanèemi, ráashirátantanakàwo rowa, inchato, ikáatziyawitàga,
 tziroyáanaki: hapo.
 i-kant-ak-a i-koy-i i-hapok-an-a-e-mi
 3M.S-COP-PFV-REA 3M.S-querer-FRS 3M.S-saltar-ABL-REG-FRS-COFA
 r-aashira-t-ant-an-ak-a-ro ro=ra inchato
 3M.S-resbalar-&-RES-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O F=MED estaca³⁴¹
 i-kaatziy-a-wi-t-a=ra tziroya-an-ak-i hapo
 3M.S-estar.parado-&-FRU-&-REA=MED pisar.en.falso-ABL-PFV-FRS IDEO:saltar
 ‘Así fue que quiso saltar de nuevo, por eso resbaló, esto..., hacia la estaca, donde
 estaba parado (con un mal resultado), pisó en falso: ¡ploff!’
 ‘So it was that he wanted to jump again, that’s why he slipped, um..., towards the stake, where
 he was standing (with a bad result), he stepped on the wrong foot: plop!’

Ari ohéekaki inchaki, hanta, incháponthopáeni.
 ari o-heek-ak-i inchaki ha=nta inchápontho=paeni
 allí 3F.S-estar-PFV-FRS estaca LOC=DIST estaca=PL
 ‘Allí estaba la estaca, allá, las estacas.’
 ‘There was the stake, there, the stakes.’

³⁴⁰ The verb *thaawetaantsi* is ambitransitive. The Spanish translation is ‘*hacer mal agüero*’ (‘make bad luck’). This consists in someone hexing himself/herself or somebody else, that is, one can make a curse on himself because of an action he has done, as the shaman in this story, but this curse can be done by someone and have its consequence on another person, and, in that case, there would be a human subject and a human object in the clause. The object can also be the curse itself, as is the case in a previous occurrence of this verb in this story. If the verb has no object, the curse has consequences for the subject.

³⁴¹ *Inchato* usually means ‘tree’, but the translating consultant told me that it can also be used with the meaning ‘stake’.

Rooha ohàtzíikitantakàri itziyáakiki: hànák.
 rooha ohatziiki-t-ant-ak-a-ri i-tziyaaki=ki
 luego clavarse.en.ano-&-RES-PFV-REA-3M.O 3M-ano=LOC
 hanák³⁴²
 IDEO:entrar.objeto.punzante
 ‘Luego se le ha clavado en su ano: ¡chak!’
 ‘Then it stuck into his anus: chak!’

Ashi rowákiro, ishínkotaka, kamaki ashéninka.
 ashi r-ow-ak-i-ro i-shinko-t-ak-a
 ahi³⁴³ 3M.S-poner-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-ensartar-&-PFV-REA.REFL
 kam-ak-i a-shéninka
 morir-PFV-FRS INCL-paisano
 ‘Ahí se quedó, se ensartó, murió el ashéninka.’
 ‘There he stayed, he got skewered, the Ashéninka died.’

Ari ikáatakotzi iroñaaka irika ashéninka, akénkithàtakótziri thayiri sheripyari. Ari
 okaatzi.
 ari i-kaa-t-ako-t-zi iroñaaka i-ri=ka a-shéninka
 así 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-APPL-&-REA ahora DEM-M=PROX INCL-paisano
 a-kenkitha-t-ako-t-zi-ri thayi-ri sheripyari
 INCL.S-contar-&-APPL-&-REA-REL mentiroso-REL chamán
 ari o-kaa-t-zi
 así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA
 ‘Así es todo sobre este ashéninka, lo que contamos sobre el chamán mentiroso. Esto
 es todo.’
 ‘This is everything about this Ashéninka, what we told about the cheating shaman. This is all.’

³⁴² *Hanák* was pronounced [,ha'nag].

³⁴³ This is the only occurrence of the word *ashi* in a text. It might be a loan from Spanish *así* and have a similar function to *ari*.

Story of the fleeing woman

This story was told by Cheroki, aka Amelia Andrés Gutiérrez. She was 68 years old at the time of recording. She was born in the Gran Pajonal and moved to the community of Unini Cascada, in the Ucayali area, where she lives now, when she was around 8 years old. Her mother came from the Asháninka area of the Tambo River, which is reflected in some occurrences in her speech. The conversation was recorded in the community of Unini Cascada and lasts 1 minute and 55 seconds.

Iroñaaka iroka tsinani antákiro irowa, okímita owyaare *oshínkinèha*.

iroñaaka i-ro=ka tsinani Ø-ant-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra
 ahora DEM-F=PROX mujer 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED
 o-kimi-t-a o-pyaare o-shinki-neha³⁴⁴
 3F.S-ser.como-&-REA 3F-masato 3F-chicha.de.maíz-POSS

‘Ahora esta mujer ha preparado eso, como es su masato y su chicha de maíz.’
 ‘Now this woman has prepared that, as is her *masato* and her corn chicha.’

Antákiro. Riyaatzi oeme rayi tziwi Parénikì. Riyaatzi rayi tziwi Parénikì oeme.

Ø-ant-ak-i-ro r-iyaa-t-zi
 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-ir-&-REA

o-emi r-a-i tziwi Pareni=ki o-emi
 3F-esposo 3M.S-coger-FRS sal Perené=LOC 3F-esposo

‘Lo ha preparado. Su marido se va a coger sal al Perené. Se va a coger sal al Perené su marido.’

‘She has prepared it. Her husband is going to get salt to the Perené. He’s going to get salt to the Perené, her husband.’

Oyáakiri. Ikántanàkiro:

Ø-o-ya-ak-i-ri i-kant-an-ak-i-ro
 3F.S-esperar-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3M.S-decir-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

‘Lo ha esperado (a su marido). Él le ha dicho (al partir):’

‘She has waited for him (her husband). He told her (on leaving):’

“Ari okaatzi *kitáiteri* nopòkantéyari”.

ari o-kaa-t-zi kitáiteri³⁴⁵ no-pok-ant-eya-ri
 FUT 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA día 1S-venir-TIME-IRR-REL

“‘Tal día voy a venir’ (lit: será el día que voy a venir).’

“‘I am going to come on such a day’ (lit: it will be the day I am going to come).’

³⁴⁴ The translating consultant said that *oshínkinèha* is a word from the Tambo (Cheroki’s mother was from there). The UP Ashéninka Ucayali word for *chicha de maíz* (an alcoholic beverage made of maize) is *shinkya* and ‘her *chicha de maíz*’ is *oshínkyàati*, with the possessive suffix *-ti*. I have glossed *-neha* as the possessive suffix because it is the equivalent to *-ti* in this word, but I actually do not know whether it really is the possessive suffix in Asháninka.

³⁴⁵ *Kitáiteri* is another Asháninka word. The UP Ashéninka word for ‘day’ is *kitéheri*.

Ah ya. Iyótàkiro, antaki antaki, iita ohaki, ohaki, ohaki. Ya.

ah ya Ø-iyó-t-ak-i-ro Ø-ant-ak-i
ah.ya 3F.S-saber-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F.S-hacer-PFV-FRS

iita o-h-ak-i³⁴⁶ ya
WH 3F.S-batir.masato.en.canoa-PFV-FRS ya

‘Ah ya. Lo sabe (cómo prepararlo), prepara, prepara, cómo lo bate en la canoa, bate, bate. Ya.’

‘Okay. She knows it (how to prepare it), she prepares, she prepares, how she beats it in the canoe, beats, beats. Already.’

Ari. Àmenákiro: “Tsiká okántakañà? Kitamáataki”.

ari Ø-amin-ak-i-ro tsiká o-kant-ak-a-ña kitamaa-t-ak-i
vale 3F.S-mirar-PFV-FRS-3F.O WH 3F.S-COP-PFV-REA-MIR blanco-&-PFV-FRS

‘Vale. Lo ha mirado: “¿Qué ha pasado? Se ha puesto blanco” (el masato).’

‘Okay. She looks at it: “What happened? It has turned white” (the *masato*).’

Okántakìri, okántàkiro irento:

o-kant-ak-i-ri o-kant-ak-i-ro Ø-irento
3F.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3M.O 3F.S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-hermana.FP

‘Le dice (a él), le dice a su hermana.’³⁴⁷

‘She says (to him), she says to her sister.’

“Eentyo, ee, tee okaméethatzi, thame ashiyi”.

eentyo ee tee o-kameetha-t-zi thame a-shiy-i³⁴⁸
hermana.VOC.FE INTJ NEG.REA 3F.S-bien-&-REA HORT.INCL INCL.S-correr-IRR

‘“Hey sister, it’s not okay, let’s run away”.’

Okantzì: “Íitarikya? Káakitàki rowa, irika achárinì.

o-kant-zi íitarikya
3F.S-decir-REA WH

kaaki-t-ak-i ro=ra i-ri=ka a-charini³⁴⁹
llegar-&-PFV-FRS F=MED DEM-M=PROX INCL-abuelo.MP

‘Dice: “¿Por qué? Va a llegar, esto..., este nuestro abuelo (el jaguar)”.’³⁵⁰

‘She says: “Why? It’s going to come, this..., this our grandfather (the jaguar)”.’

³⁴⁶ Masato is traditionally prepared inside a container with the form of a canoe. The verb *haantsi* denotes the act of beating masato in this container.

³⁴⁷ The speaker errs putting a masculine object on the verb and then she corrects herself.

³⁴⁸ This is one of the few verbs that form realis with *-a* and irrealis with *-i*.

³⁴⁹ Since two women are talking, they should use the female possessor form *ahari*. Maybe *achárinì* as reference to the jaguar (see next footnote) is a fixed form that is only used with the male possessor form.

³⁵⁰ With ‘our grandfather’, the jaguar is meant. The translating consultant told me that this way to refer to the jaguar was used in the past because uttering *manitzi* ‘jaguar’ could cause the jaguar to come and attack.

Káakitàki rowáe. Róotaki otháwinatakàe’.

kaaki-t-ak-i r-ow-ae
llegar-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-comer-INCL.O

roo-t-ak-i o-tháwina-t-ak-ae
3F-&-PFV-FRS 3F.S-dar.mal.agüero-&-PFV-INCL.O

‘‘Llega y nos come. Esto es que nos ha dado mal agüero (algo abstracto se lo ha dado)’’.’

‘‘He comes and eats us. This is what has given us a bad omen (something abstract has given it)’’.’

Irowa irento: ‘‘Pikyáanákiro, irowa, pishíntothòri’’.

i-ro=ra Ø-irento
DEM-F=MED F-hermana.FP

pi-kya-an-ak-i-ro i-ro=ra pi-shíntothori
2S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=MED 2-sobrina.hija.de.hermana.FP

‘Esa su hermana: ‘‘Carga, esto..., a tu sobrina (hija de hermana)’’.’

‘That sister of hers: ‘‘Charge, this..., your niece (sister’s daughter)’’.’

Okyáanákiro. Tee okeero, tee okoyi. Okantzi:

o-kya-an-ak-i-ro tee o-kya-i-ro
3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O NEG.REA 3F.S-cargar-FRS-3F.O

tee o-koy-i o-kant-zi
NEG.REA 3F.S-querer-FRS 3F.S-decir-REA

‘La ha cargado. No la carga, no quiere. Dice:’³⁵¹

‘She has loaded her. She doesn’t load her, she doesn’t want. She says:’

‘‘Eero. Tee nokoyi itsintzíténawo noeshi, noeshi, rowa, otomi’’.

eero tee no-koy-i i-tsint-it-i-na-ro no-eshi
NEG.IRR NEG.REA 1S-querer-FRS 3M.S-orinar-PAR-IRR-1O-3F.O 1-cabello

ro=ra o-tomi
F=MED 3F-hijo

‘‘No. No quiero que me orine en el pelo, el pelo, esto..., su hijo’’.³⁵²

‘‘No. I don’t want him to pee on my hair, hair, this..., her son’’.

³⁵¹ The statement has little sense. It reflects the disorder with which the speaker is telling the story.

³⁵² A son is mentioned here, while a niece was mentioned two sentences above, and, the object in the next sentence (a child) is in two verbs feminine, and masculine in another verb. Cheroki told the story with a very inconsistent plot.

Aa, *entonces* okyáanàkiro, hataki irento, okyáanàkiro, othómpitanàkiri haka.
 aa entonces o-kya-an-ak-i-ro ha-t-ak-i Ø-irento
 INTJ entonces 3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O ir-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hermana.FP
 o-kya-an-ak-i-ro
 3F.S-cargar-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 o-thompi-t-an-ak-i-ri³⁵³ ha=ka
 3F.S-cargar.en.aparina-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3M.O LOC=PROX
 ‘Ah, entonces la cargó, se fue su hermana, la cargó, lo cargó en *aparina* aquí.’
 ‘Ah, so she loaded her, her sister left, she loaded her, she loaded her in *aparina* here.’

Iita ráawàkiro? Okématziri otápiiki rira, awo: ta-ta-ta-ta.
 iita r-a-aw-ak-i-ro o-kem-atzi-ri o-tapii=ki
 WH 3M.S-coger-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F.S-oír-PROG-3M.O 3F-espalda=LOC
 ri=ra awo³⁵⁴ ta-ta-ta-ta
 M=MED tatatao ONOM
 ‘¿Cómo la ha cogido?³⁵⁵ Lo está oyendo por detrás, este..., el tatatao: ta-ta-ta-ta.’
 ‘How did he take her? She is hearing it from behind, this..., the *tatatao*: ta-ta-ta-ta.’

Ika, íitaka itháatàkiri? Iká, káakitaki kashékari iro³⁵⁶ (iroñaaka).
 iká³⁵⁷ iita=ka i-thaat-ak-i-ri³⁵⁸
 SURP WH=INT 3M.S-ladRAR-PFV-FRS-REL
 iká kaaki-t-ak-i kashékari iroñaaka
 SURP llegar-&-PFV-FRS jaguar³⁵⁹ ahora
 ‘¿Qué es eso? ¿Quién ha gritado? ¿Qué es eso? Ahora ha llegado el jaguar.’
 ‘What’s that? Who has shouted? What’s that? Now the jaguar has arrived.’

³⁵³ *Aparina* is the local Spanish name for a piece of cloth used to carry little children. The Ashéninka word is *thompirontsi*, which is formed with the verbal root *-thompi-* plus the instrumental nominalizer *-rontsi*.

³⁵⁴ This is the bird of prey *Ibycter americanus*. The local Spanish name is *tatatao*, but the Spanish Wikipedia uses as first name *caracara gorgirrojo*, and *red-throated caracara* in English. The translating consultant told me that hearing the sound that this bird makes is considered a bad omen.

³⁵⁵ The translating consultant insisted on the incongruity of this question, which is totally inconsistent with the thread of the story.

³⁵⁶ *Iró* is an abbreviation of *iroñaaka*.

³⁵⁷ *Iká* is used when someone hears a suspicious sound. I have glossed it as *surprise* because it is used when someone gets surprised by a noise, but it could be translated with ‘listen!’.

³⁵⁸ The translating consultant said that the verb *thaataantsi* ‘bark’ can be used for animals different from a dog in the same way that *kaemaantsi* ‘cry/shout/scream’ may also be used. In the same fashion, the Spanish *gritar* and *chillar* ‘cry/shout/scream’ can be used for an animal sound.

³⁵⁹ *Kashékari* is another word for ‘jaguar’ besides the more common *manitzi*. The translating consultant said that *kashékari* is more common in the Gran Pajonal, but *manitzi* is more used in the Ucayali.

Irento oñáatziro, oshíyaka irento. Káakitaki otomi.

Ø-irento o-ña-atzi-ro o-shiy-ak-a irento
3F-hermana.FP 3F.S-ver-PROG-3F.O 3F.S-correr-PFV-REA Ø-irento

kaaki-t-ak-i o-tomi

llegar-&-PFV-FRS 3F-hijo

‘Su hermana lo está viendo, su hermana sale corriendo. Ha llegado su hijo.’

‘Her sister is watching her; her sister runs away. Her son arrives.’

Anàanákiro, royáatanàkiro kashékari.

Ø-ana-an-ak-i-ro

3F.S-pasar.de.largo-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O

r-oyaa-t-an-ak-i-ro kashékari

3M.S-seguir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O jaguar

‘La ha pasado de largo (la hermana que iba detrás a la otra hermana), la ha seguido el jaguar.’

‘She passes her by (the sister who was behind the other sister), the jaguar follows her.’

Ráawàkiro, rowáwakàwo. Atáetanàki otomi henoki.

r-a-aw-ak-i-ro

r-ow-aw-ak-a-ro

3M.S-coger-OM-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-comer-OM-PFV-REA-3F.O

atee-t-an-ak-i o-tomi henoki

subir-&-ABL-PFV-FRS 3M-hijo arriba

‘La ha cogido y se la ha comido. Su hijo ha subido arriba (a un árbol).’

‘He caught her and eats her. Her son has climbed up (a tree).’

Ithónkitàkiro riniro, róyitakàwo.

i-thonk-it-ak-i-ro³⁶⁰

r-iniro

r-oy-it-ak-a-ro

3M.S-acabar-PAR-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M-madre 3M.S-comer-PAR-PFV-REA-3F.O

‘Ha acabado con su madre, se la ha comido (pero no al niño).’

‘He has killed his mother, he has eaten her (but not the child).’

Ya, ari okaatzi.

ya ari o-kaa-t-zi

ya así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Ya, así termina (lit: así es todo).’

‘Okay, that’s how it ends (lit: that’s how it all is).’

³⁶⁰ The translating consultant’s explanation of *-it* was that it is used because the child has got to escape, so that the jaguar has caught and eaten only the mother, which can be interpreted as the jaguar having done only part of his work; hence the gloss PAR (partitive).

Conversation between Cheroki, Píichotzi and Chochoki

This conversation takes place in the *chacra* of the couple Cheroki (kind of bird), aka Amelia Andrés Gutiérrez, and Píichotzi (kind of bird), aka Florencio Pacaya Ríos, at the indigenous community Unini Cascada. The conversation is held between the couple and Píichotzi's niece Luzmila Casique Coronado, aka Chochoki 'sweet fruit', who accompanied me from Atalaya to this community. In principle, only Cheroki and Píichotzi were expected to participate, but, from the beginning, Chochoki started to participate in the conversation, and even I participated briefly because Píichotzi offered me masato, and I thanked him and declined it.

Cheroki was 68 years old at the time of recording, Píichotzi 89 and Chochoki 47. Cheroki and Píichotzi were born in the Gran Pajonal and moved with their families to Unini Cascada when they were between 8 and 10 years old. Cheroki's mother was Asháninka and came from the Tambo River. Chochoki hails from Chicosa.

The problem with this conversation is that there are moments when two or even the three interlocutors are talking at the same time, which made very difficult for the translating consultant to follow what they were saying. This implies that there are a few utterings that have not been transcribed. The conversation lasts 5 minutes and 36 seconds.

Cheroki: Nokántatzi naaka ari noweyaaka inkáganki.

no-kant-atzi naaka ari n-oweya-ak-a inkáganki
 1S-decir-PROG 1 aquí 1S-avanzar.hasta.un.punto-PFV-REA antes
 'Estoy diciendo yo que hasta aquí he avanzado antes.'
 'I'm saying I've come this far before.'

Ikántatzi ari ikántanakàwo atzineri, hantákiro potooki.

i-kant-atzi ari i-kant-an-ak-a-ro a-tzineri
 3M.S-decir-PROG allí 3M.S-COP-ABL-PFV-REA-3F.O INCL-yerno
 hantákiro potoo=ki
 al.otro.lado ojé=LOC³⁶¹
 'Dice nuestro yerno que se fue por allí, al otro lado del ojé.'
 'Our son-in-law says that he went that way, to the other side of the ojé.'

Chochoki: Iita pántzirikyà éeroka?

iita p-ant-zi-ri=kya éeroka
 WH 2S-hacer-REA-REL=EMPH 2
 '¿Y qué hacéis vosotros?'
 'And what do you do?'

Che: Nántziri nothámaetzi naari hanta.

n-ant-zi-ri no-thamae-t-zi naa-ri ha=nta
 1S-hacer-REA-REL 1S-desbrozar-&-REA 1-TOO LOC=DIST
 'Lo que hago es desbrozar yo también allá.'
 'What I do is clear there too.'

³⁶¹ *Ojé* is the local Spanish name for the tree *Ficus insipida*.

Cho: *Mañanero, minga?*³⁶²

Che: *Mañanero, minga kaari.*

mañanero minga kaari
mañanero minga NEG.COP

‘Mañanero, no minga.’

‘*Mañanero*, not *minga*.’

Cho: *Mañanero.*

Che: *Ikaatzi pokáentsiri, ikaatzi...*

i-kaa-t-zi pok-eentsi-ri
 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA venir-PTCP.PFV-REL

‘Son los que han venido (referido a número), son... (los que han venido son...)’

‘They are those who have come (referring to a number), they are... (those who have come are...)’

Pñichotzi: *Noñáawakìri Eshitewa, irira ítsipa héwatapáentsiri.*

no-ña-aw-ak-i-ri Eshitewa
 1S-ver-OM-PFV-FRS-3M.O Esteban

i-ri-ra i-tsipá hewa-t-ap-eentsi-ri
 DEM-M-MED M-otro primero-&-ALL-PTCP.PFV-REL

‘He visto llegar a Esteban y a ese otro que iba primero (delante de Esteban).’

‘I saw Esteban arrive, and that other one who was first (before Esteban).’

Che: *Máetawàkitátya akámítiri, oeta...*

maetawaki-ta=tya³⁶³ a-kami-t-i-ri o-eta
 espera-EMPH=EMPH INCL.S-averiguar-&-IRR-REL F-WH

‘Espera lo que vamos a averiguar, qué...’

‘Wait for what we’re going to find out, what...’

P: *Shirámpari Eshitewa, irira, ikántètzi...*

Shirámpari Eshitewa i-ri=ra i-kant-e-t-zi-ri
 hombre Esteban DEM-M=MED 3M.S-decir-IMPS-&-REA-3M.O

‘Hombres, Esteban, este..., cómo se llama...’

‘Men, Esteban, um..., what’s its name...?’

³⁶² In local Spanish, *mañanero* indicates around 6 a.m., and *minga* between 7 and 9 a.m.

³⁶³ I asked a consultant about this word and he said that you cannot say **maeta* or **máetaki*, nor inflect it with a subject prefix. He only accepted the forms *máetawakíita* and *máetawaki*, which seems to be the shortest form of this expression, and means ‘wait (imperative)’. With this information, I only can consider *máetawaki* an unsegmentable form meaning ‘wait (imperative)’.

Che: Eshitewa, Reyes, Tyooña, irira...
 Eshitewa Reyes Tyooña i-ri=ra
 Esteban Reyes Tyooña DEM-M=MED
 ‘Esteban, Reyes, Tyooña, este...’
 ‘Esteban, Reyes, Tyooña, um...’

P: Fran...

Che: Jámner, Fran, irira..., irira...
 Jámner Fran i-ri=ra
 Jámner Fran DEM-M=MED
 ‘Jámner, Fran, este..., este...’
 ‘Jámner, Fran, um..., um...’

Cho: [Ríe] Haró (ha rowa) tsinani?
 ha ro=ra tsinani
 INTJ F=MED mujer
 ‘Em..., ¿mujeres?’
 ‘Um..., women?’

Che: Okaatzi tsinani roori, rowa, irira aaa...
 o-kaa-t-zi tsinani roori ro=ra i-ri=ra aaa
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA mujer 3F F=MED DEM-M=MED INTJ
 ‘Las mujeres son, esto..., este..., eehh...’
 ‘Women are, um..., um..., er...’

P: *Cinco.*
 ‘Five.’

Che: Tera okaatzi *cinco!* Irira, aaa..., irira, aaa... Ari okaatzi: atzineri, atomi, éeroka:
seis.
 tera o-kaa-t-zi cinco i-ri=ra aaa
 NEG.EMPH 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA cinco DEM-M=MED INTJ
 ari o-kaa-t-zi a-tzineri a-tomi éeroka seis
 así 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA INCL-yerno INCL-hijo 2 seis
 ‘¡No son cinco! Este..., eehh..., este..., eehhh.. Así es: nuestro yerno, nuestro hijo,
 tú: seis.’
 ‘It’s not five! Um..., eehh..., um..., eehhh... It’s so: our son-in-law, our son, you: six.’

Cho: Tsinánitya!
 tsinani=tya
 mujer=EMPH
 ‘¡Mujeres!’
 ‘Women!’

Ch: Tsinani, okaatzi, tsinani, naaka, rowa, nohawo, nishintyo, Yeeni, rowa, néwatayíro, *cinco*.

tsinani o-kaa-t-zi naaka ro=ra no-hawo n-ishintyo Yeeni
mujer 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 1 F=MED 1-nieta 1-hija Yeeni

ro=ra n-ewatayiro³⁶⁴ cinco

F=MED 1-nuera/sobrina.hija.de.hermano.FP cinco

‘Mujeres, son, mujeres, yo, esto..., mi nieta, mi hija, Yeeni, esto..., mi nuera/sobrina (hija de hermano), cinco.’

‘Women, are, women, me, um..., my granddaughter, my daughter, Yeeni, um..., my daughter-in-law/niece (brother’s daughter), five.’

Cho: Ari pikaatzi pithámaetzi, pithámaetzi, ari okaatzi? Panáninkitàka?

ari pi-kaa-t-zi pi-thamae-t-zi ari o-kaa-t-zi
AFF 2S-COP.TOT-&-REA 2S-desbrozar-&-REA AFF 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

p-ananink-it-ak-a

2S-levantarse-ANT-PFV-REA

‘¿Así que esos sois los que desbrozáis, esos son? ¿Os levantáis al amanecer?’

‘So you and those are the ones who clear, aren’t those? Do you get up at dawn?’

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

hee n-ananink-it-ak-a cinco de la mañana

AFF 1S-levantarse-&-PFV-REA cinco de la mañana

‘Sí, nos hemos levantado al amanecer, a las cinco de la mañana.’

‘Yes, we got up at dawn, at five in the morning.’

Cho: A, *cinco de la mañana*.

a cinco de la mañana

INTJ cinco de la mañana

‘¡Hala, a las cinco de la mañana!’

‘Hey, at five in the morning!’

P: *Seis, seis*.

‘Six, six.’

Ch: *Porque sori*³⁶⁵ *me quema*.

‘Porque el sol me quema.’

‘Because the sun burns me.’

Cho: Aaaaaa...

³⁶⁴ I did not ask for a translation of this word because I relied on my kin terms table and thus did not ask the translating consultant, so I do not know which of the two terms with the same form is meant here.

³⁶⁵ *Sori* is a loan from the Spanish *sol* ‘sun’. It is remarkable that she does not use the very common Ashéninka word *oorya*.

Ch: *Sori* háawari. Eero amátziro athàmáetzi.

sori haawa-ri eero a-ma-t-zi-ro a-thamae-t-zi
 sol caliente-REL NEG.IRR INCL.S-poder-&-REA-3F.O INCL.S-desbrozar-&-REA
 ‘El sol está caliente. No podríamos desbrozar.’
 ‘The sun is hot. We couldn’t clear.’

Ari akámaki.

ari a-kam-ak-i³⁶⁶
 así INCL.S-morir-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así estaríamos muertos.’
 ‘That way we’d be dead.’

Cho: Áritatáki.

ari-ta-t-ak-i
 así-EMPH-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así es desde luego.’
 ‘That’s right of course.’

P: Áritáki. Ari nokámaki haga. Eero notzimi. Chaa nokámaki.... [no se entiende lo que dice]

ari-t-ak-i ari no-kam-ak-i ha=ra eero no-tzim-i
 así-&-PFV-FRS así 1S-morir-PFV-FRS LOC=MED NEG.IRR 1S-EXI-FRS
 chaa no-kam-ak-i
 WH 1S-morir-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así es. Así me muero ahí. No existiría. Por ahí voy a morir...’
 ‘That’s how it is. That way, I die there. I would not exist. That’s where I’m going to die...’

Ch: Pamínitya nokántàkiro nothámaetzi.

p-amin-i=tya no-kant-ak-i-ro no-thamae-t-zi
 2S-mirar-FRS=EMPH 1S-decir-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1S-desbrozar-&-REA
 ‘Mira cómo desbrozo (lit: mira digo que desbrozo).’
 ‘Look how I clear (lit: look, I say I clear).’

Cho: Íitakya kaari pamanta niha? Ari pámityakya póomitoki.

iita=kya kaari p-am-ant-a niha
 WH=EMPH NEG.COP 2S-traer-RES-REA agua
 ari p-am-i=tya=kya póomito=ki
 AFF 2S-llevar-FRS=EMPH=EMPH pomo=LOC
 ‘¿Por qué no has traído agua? Tráela en el pomo (recipiente).’
 ‘Why didn’t you bring water? Bring it in the *pomo* (container).’

³⁶⁶ The inclusive is used here although the 2nd person (Chochoki) is not included. This example and others in my corpus appear to show that inclusive forms are shifting in meaning to a 1st person plural under the influence of Spanish. Nonetheless, this is not a very clear example because Cherokee is talking mainly to Chochoki, but Píchotzi, who is included in the inclusive reference, is also present and a part of the listeners.

Che: Ikímitákiro ramaki.

i-kimi-t-ak-i-ro r-am-ak-i
 3M.S-ser.así-&-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-traer-PFV-FRS
 ‘Así es como la ha traído.’
 ‘That’s how he brought it.’

Cho: Haaaa... (INTJ)

Che: Itháatakiro.

i-thaat-ak-i-ro
 3M.S-terminar-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘La ha terminado (el agua).’
 ‘He has finished it (water).’

Cho: Kamaki shikiri?.

kam-ak-i shikiri
 morir-PFV-FRS IDEO:algo.cae.al.suelo
 ‘¿Murió: ¡pum!?’
 ‘Did it die: boom!?’

Che: Táanitya, tee noñeeri naaka hanta. Éeniro nopíyota.

táanitya tee no-ñ-a-e-ri naaka ha=nta
 no.sé.nada NEG.REA 1S-ver-REG-FRS-3M.O 1 LOC=DIST
 éeniro no-piyo-t-a
 EXI.PST 1S-reunirse-&-REA
 ‘No sé nada, no he vuelto a verlo yo allí. Estaba reunida.’
 ‘I don’t know anything, I haven’t seen him there again. I was in a meeting.’

Iróentzikya nõthamáetzi.

i-ro-intzi=kya no-thamae-t-zi
 &-F-REST=EMPH 1S-desbrozar-&-REA
 ‘Sólo yo desbrozo.’
 ‘Only I weed.’

Páminiro nokántziro nõthamáetzi, apáaniróeni, apáaniróeni.

p-amin-i-ro no-kant-zi-ro no-thamae-t-zi apáaniróeni
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O 1S-decir-REA-3F.O 1S-desbrozar-&-REA solo
 ‘Mira cómo desbrozo, solita, solita.’
 ‘Look how I clear the bushes, alone, alone.’

Íitama matéroni peháztini? Apáaniróeni.

iita=ma ma-t-i-ro-ni peh-atzi-ni apáaniróeni
 WH=DUB poder-&-IRR-3F.O-REL.IRR rozar-PROG-REL.IRR solo
 ‘¿Quién podría estar rozando? (Yo) solita.’
 ‘Who could be clearing? (Me) alone.’

P: Kithókiyetàki hanta ewánkawo, ewánkawo.

kithoki-yi-t-ak-i ha=nta ewanka-ro
semilla-DISTR-&-PFV-FRS LOC=DIST joven-F

‘Ha dado semillas (frutos) uno por uno, allá, la joven, la joven (nueva, chacra).’
‘It has borne seeds (fruits) one by one, there, the young one, the young one (new, *chacra*).’

Iroka owákirari okaatzi oháarentsitì oká³⁶⁷ (okaatzi) mawa.

i-ro=ka owakira-ri o-kaa-t-zi Ø-oháarentsi-ti mawa
DEM-F=PROX nuevo-REL 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA 3F-año-POSS tres

‘Esta nueva es de tres años (lit: son sus tres años).’
‘This new one is three years old (lit: it’s their three years).’

Iroka haka áapaero, kithókitanàki, ooo..., iroonta, iroonta.

i-ro=ka ha=ka aapa-i-ro kithoki-t-an-ak-i
DEM-F=PROX LOC=PROX unirse-FRS-3F.O semilla-&-ABL-PFV-FRS

ooo i-roo=nta

INTJ DEM-F=PROX

‘Esta de aquí se le une, ha dado frutos, uuuhhh (ha dado muchos), aquella, aquella...’³⁶⁸

‘This one here joins it, it has borne fruits, uuuhhh (it has borne many), that one, that one...’

Che: Owákirari, owákirari, iroka kithókitàtsiri. Rooma (róomache)³⁶⁹ itáakiri.

owákira-ri i-ro=ka kithoki-t-atsi-ri
nuevo-REL DEM-F=PROX semilla-&-PTCP.IPFV-REL

roo-ma(che) i-ta-ak-i-ri
3F-ser.así 3M.S-quemar-REL

‘La nueva, la nueva, esta es la que está dando frutos (produciendo semillas). Esto es lo que ha quemado.’

‘The new one, the new one, this is the one that is bearing fruit (producing seeds). This is what he has burned.’

Nokántakiriránki: itáakiri iroka itáakiri.

no-kant-ak-i-ri=ranki i-ta-ak-i-ri i-ro=ka
1S-decir-PFV-FRS-REL=ABSE 3M.S-quemar-PFV-FRS-REL DEM-F=PROX

‘Es lo que dije antes: esto es lo que ha quemado.’

‘It’s what I said before: this is what he has burned.’

P: Oooo..., antawo owaantsi.

oooo anta-ro owaani-ntsi
INTJ grande-F chacra-ALI

‘Ooooh, una chacra grande.’

‘Ooooh, a big *chacra*.’

³⁶⁷ Oká here is an abbreviation of *okaatzi*.

³⁶⁸ The translation reflects the somewhat unordered discourse of Píchotzi. Also, his wife was speaking at the same time, so that a part of his speech is impossible to transcribe and is missing.

³⁶⁹ Rooma is an abbreviation of *róomache*.

Cho: Hempe okáataki oháarentsi powani?

hempe o-kaa-t-ak-i oháarentsi p-owani
 WH 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS año 2-chacra
 ‘¿Cuántos años tiene vuestra chacra?’
 ‘How old is your *chacra*?’

Che: Okáataki rowa, *tres años*.

o-kaa-t-ak-i ro=ra tres años
 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-PFV-FRS F=MED tres años
 ‘Tiene, esto..., tres años.’
 ‘It is, um..., three years old.’

Cho: Mawa.

mawa
 tres
 ‘Tres.’
 ‘Three.’

Che: Mawa, mawa ohari.

mawa ohari³⁷⁰
 tres año
 ‘Tres años.’
 ‘Three years.’

Cho: Mawa ohari.

mawa ohari
 tres año
 ‘Tres años.’
 ‘Three years.’

Che: Róomakyà (róomachékya) *oka* ináshita, iroka sho, antáwotáki páerani, antáwotáki.

roo-ma(che)=kya oka³⁷¹ ináshita i-ro=ka sho
 3F-ser.así=EMPH esta aparte DEM-F=PROX mira

anta-ro-t-ak-i páerani
 grande-F-&-PFV-FRS hace.tiempo
 ‘Así está esta (chacra) aparte, mira esta, ya se hicieron grandes (los frutos) hace tiempo, se hicieron grandes.’
 ‘That’s how this one (*chacra*) aside is, look at this one, they already grew big (the fruits) a long time ago, they grew big.’

³⁷⁰ *Ohari* is the abbreviation of *oháarentsi* ‘year’.

³⁷¹ *Oka* is an Asháninka word meaning ‘this’ (in Ashéninka, *iroka*). Cheroki’s mother was from the Tambo River, so this is the reason why she sometimes uses some Asháninka expressions.

Róotaki nayiri.

roo-t-ak-i n-a-i-ri
 F-&-PFV-FRS 1S-coger-FRS-REL
 ‘Esto es lo que cosecho.’
 ‘This is what I harvest.’

Nokíthoyiri okíthoki, nayiri, nopimantzi.

no-kíthoy-i-ri o-kíthoki n-a-i-ri no-pimant-zi
 1S-sacar.semillas-FRS-REL 3F-semilla 1S-coger-FRS-REL 1S-vender-REA
 ‘Las semillas que saco, lo que cosecho, lo vendo.’
 ‘The seeds I take out, what I harvest, I sell it.’

Páminirótya iroonta aha. Páminiro. Piñáakiro?

p-amin-i-ro=tya i-roo=nta aha
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=DIST INTJ

p-amin-i-ro pi-ña-ak-i-ro
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O 2S-ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘Mira aquellas, eh. Míralas. ¿Las has visto?’
 ‘Look at those ones, huh. Look at them. Have you seen them?’

P: Kaa roonta. Rowa sho, óyithoki, ñáakiro? Róotaki.

kaa³⁷² roo=nta ro=ra sho³⁷³ o-kíthoki ña-ak-i-ro roo-t-ak-i
 COP.TOT F=DIST F=MED mira 3F-semilla ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O F-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Allí está. Esto..., mira ahí, las semillas (las mazorcas de cacao), ¿las ves? Eso es.’
 ‘There it is. Um..., look there, the seeds (cocoa pods), do you see them? That’s it.’

Che: Ñáakiro, okíthoki...

ña-ak-i-ro o-kíthoki
 ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O 3F-semilla
 ‘Las ves, las semillas (mazorcas).’
 ‘You see them, the seeds (pods).’

P: Ñáakiro, aníryò, cháantakotàki ééniro newánkaritzìni.

ña-ak-i-ro aníryo
 ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O sobrina.hija.de.hermana.VOC.ME
 chaant-ako-t-ak-i³⁷⁴ ééniro n-ewanka-ri-t-zi-ni
 chambear-APPL-&-PFV-FRS EXI.PST 1S-joven-M-&-REA-RMPST
 ‘Las ves, sobrina, trabajaba en esto cuando era joven.’
 ‘You see, niece, I worked on this when I was young.’

³⁷² This is the only instance of the copula *-kaa-* with no other morpheme. The translating consultant translated *kaa roonta* for ‘allí está’ several times because I insisted in finding out the meaning of *kaa*, so I think that this is the best interpretation.

³⁷³ The translating consultant said that *sho* must be accompanied by a gesture indicating where the addressee should look.

³⁷⁴ The root *-chaant-* is a loan from Spanish *chambear* ‘work’.

Che: *Allí estáwee. Ñáakiro, iroka sho ahá, ocho soles el kilo, ñáakiro.*
 allí está=wee ña-ak-i-ro i-ro=ka sho ahá
 allí.está=EXCLM ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O DEM-F=PROX mira INTJ
 ocho soles el kilo ña-ak-i-ro
 ocho.soles.el.kilo ver-PFV-FRS-3F.O
 ‘¡Allí está! Lo ves, mira este, eh..., ocho soles el kilo, lo ves.’
 ‘There it is! You see, look at this, eh..., eight soles a kilo, you see.’

Ari okanta naari.
 ari o-kant-a naa-ri
 así 3F.S-COP-REA 1-TOO
 ‘Así hago yo también.’
 ‘So do I too.’

Cho: *Haka, páteyiròtya iroka.*
 ha=ka p-atey-i-ro=tya i-ro=ka
 LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=PROX
 ‘Aquí, agarra esto.’
 ‘Here, grab this.’

Che: *Ari nokanta nosóhiríita naaka.*
 ari no-kant-a no-sohir-i-ita³⁷⁵ naaka
 así 1S-COP-REA 1S-sufrir-FRS-ROPT 1
 ‘Así es como sufro yo.’
 ‘This is how I suffer.’

Cho: *Haka, páteyiròtya iroka, páteyiròtya, tía.*
 ha=ka p-atey-i-ro=tya i-ro=ka tía
 LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O=EMPH DEM-F=PROX tía
 ‘Aquí, coge esto, cógelo, tía.’
 ‘Here, take this, take it, aunt.’

P: *Aha, éeroka, tee pikoyi pimiri?*
 aha éeroka tee pi-koy-i pi-mir-i
 INTJ 2 NEG.REA 2S-querer-FRS 2S-tener.sed-FRS
 ‘Eh, tú (se dirige a mí), ¿no quieres beber (masato)?’ (lit. ¿no quieres tener sed?)
 ‘Hey, you (he addresses me), don’t you want to drink (masato)?’ (lit. don’t you want to be thirsty?)

Yo: *Ariwée, tee.*
 ari=wee tee
 AFF=EXCLM NEG.REA
 ‘No, gracias.’
 ‘No, thanks.’

³⁷⁵ The root *-sohir-* is a loan from Spanish *sufrir* ‘suffer’.

Cho: Tee ikoiro imiri

tee i-koy-i-ro i-mir-i
 NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS-3F.O 3M.S-tener.sed-FRS
 ‘No quiere beber.’
 ‘He doesn’t want to drink.’

P: Aaa, tee ikoyi.

aaa tee i-koy-i
 INTJ NEG.REA 3M.S-querer-FRS
 ‘Ah, no quiere.’
 ‘Oh, he doesn’t want to.’

Cho: Pámininatya, *tía*, eero páminana³⁷⁶, páminiro *cacao*, ari.

p-amin-i-na=tya tía eero p-amin-a-na
 2S-mirar-IRR-1O=EMPH tía NEG.IRR 2S-mirar-REA-1O
 p-amin-i-ro cacao ari
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O cacao así
 ‘Mírame, tía, no me mires, mira al cacao, así.’
 ‘Look at me, aunt, don’t look at me, look at the cocoa, like that.’

Éhatzi éerori, *tío*. Pátéyiro haga.

éhatzi eero-ri tío p-atey-i-ro ha=ra
 también 2-TOO tío 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O LOC=MED
 ‘Tú también, tío. Agárralo ahí.’
 ‘You too, uncle. Grab it there.’

P: Máetawákità.

maetawaki-ta
 espera-EMPH
 ‘Espera.’
 ‘Wait.’

Ch: Haka patéyiro éerori.

ha=ka p-atey-i-ro eero-ri
 LOC=PROX 2S-agarrar-FRS-3F.O 2-TOO
 ‘Agarra aquí tú también.’
 ‘Grab here you too.’

Cho: Hee, ariwée. [CLIC: echa una foto] Hee, pámininàkya. Ari, kameetha.

hee ari=wee p-amin-i-na=kya ari kameetha
 AFF AFF=EXCLM 2S-mirar-IRR-1O=EMPH así bien
 ‘Sí, gracias. [CLIC: echa una foto] Sí, miradme. Así, bien.
 ‘Yes, thanks. [CLICK: she takes a photo] Yes, look at me. That’s good.

³⁷⁶ Here there is a good example of the variation in RS class with the object suffix *-na*: in the verb in irrealis, I-class inflection is used, and in the verb in realis, A-class inflection.

P: Róokantàcha nàmonkowéetatzì.
 róokantàcha n-amonko-wee-t-atzi³⁷⁷
 sin.embargo 1S-mascar-SPE-&-PROG
 ‘Sin embargo, estoy mascando coca.’
 ‘I’m chewing coca though.’

Cho: Hee, kaméethatáki. Tekatsi okantya.
 hee kameetha-t-ak-i tekatsi o-kant-ya
 AFF bien-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI 3F.S-COP-IRR
 ‘Sí, está bien. No hay problema.’
 ‘Yes, that’s fine. No problem.’

P: Nàmonkowéetatzì.
 n-amonko-wee-t-atzi
 1S-mascar-SPE-&-PROG
 ‘Estoy mascando coca.’
 ‘I’m chewing coca.’

Cho: Iita pàmonkowéetantàri? Nokoyi niyoti.
 iita p-amonko-wee-t-ant-a-ri no-koy-i n-iyot-i
 WH 2S-mascar-SPE-&-RES-REA-REL 1S-querer-FRS 1S-saber-&-IRR
 ‘¿Por qué mascas coca? Quiero saber.’
 ‘Why do you chew coca? I want to know.’

P: Aaa... Eero notáshiyànta.
 aaa eero no-tashiy-ant-a
 INTJ NEG.IRR 1S-tener.hambre-RES-REA
 ‘Eeeh, para no tener hambre.’
 ‘Eeeh, so as not to be hungry.’

Cho: Eero pitáshiyànta. *Acá, acá, graba* [me dice a mí en castellano].
 eero pi-tashiy-ant-a
 NEG.IRR 2S-tener.hambre-RES-REA
 ‘Para no tener hambre. Acá, acá, graba.’
 ‘To not be hungry. Here, here, record.’

Cho: *Él está mascando para que no tenga hambre.*
 He’s chewing so as not to be hungry.

Yo: *Aaah...*

³⁷⁷ I asked the translating consultant about the difference between using *-amonko-* and *-amonkowie-*, and he said that the former can mean that one is chewing coca or tobacco, but the latter only coca, hence my interpretation of *-wee* as SPE to indicate that coca is chewed.

Cho: Róotaki pámonkotántari. Árikyá piyáatanipa.

roo-t-ak-i p-amonko-t-ant-a-ri ari=kya p-iyaa-t-an-i-pa
 3F-&-PFV-FRS 2S-mascar-&-RES-REA-REL AFF=EMPH 2S-ir-&-ABL-FRS-LATER
 ‘Por eso mascas. Así pues, te vas después.’
 ‘That’s why you chew. So, you leave later.’

P: Hee, hee. Rówaga nokántakya eero notásheyi.

hee r-ow-a=ra
 AFF 3F.S-comer-REA=MED
 no-kant-ak-ya eero no-tashiy-i
 1S-COP-PFV-IRR NEG.IRR 1S-tener.hambre-FRS
 ‘Sí, sí. Después de comer, no voy a tener hambre.’
 ‘Yes, yes. After eating, I won’t be hungry.’

Nowánakyàtya, nowákityà, nowánakyà, nokántakya.

n-ow-an-ak-ya=tya n-ow-ak-it-ya
 1S-comer-ABL-PFV-IRR=EMPH 1S-comer-PFV-TRLOC-IRR
 n-ow-an-ak-ya no-kant-ak-ya
 1S-comer-ABL-PFV-IRR 1S-COP-PFV-IRR
 ‘Por supuesto voy a comer, voy a almorzar, voy a comer, así será.’
 ‘Of course I’m going to eat, I’m going to have lunch, I’m going to eat, that’s how it will be.’

Nopókaki nokyaaki, piyótziri wirákocha, nokyaaki tsiká ikaatzi oorya.

no-pok-ak-i no-kya-ak-i p-iyó-t-zi-ri wirákocha
 1S-venir-PFV-FRS 1S-entrar-PFV-FRS 2S-conocer-&-REA-3M.O no.indígena
 no-kya-ak-i tsiká i-kaa-t-zi³⁷⁸ oorya
 1S-entrar-PFV-FRS WH 3M.S-COP.TOT-&-REA sol
 ‘Vengo, entro..., conoces los mestizos (cómo empiezan a trabajar cuando sale el sol),
 entro cuando está (sale) el sol.’
 ‘I come, I enter..., you know the mestizos (how they start working when the sun rises), I enter
 when the sun is there (rises).’

Nokáatiro namónkowéetziro, náanatzi nówamantyáariri peyari, sheri.

no-kaa-t-i-ro n-amonko-wee-t-zi-ro
 1S-COP.TOT-&-IRR-3F.O 1S-mascar-&-SPE-&-REA-3F.O
 n-a-an-atzi n-o-kam-ant-ya-ri-ri peyari sheri
 1S-coger-ABL-PROG 1S-CAUS-morir-RES-IRR-3M.O-REL demonio tabaco
 ‘Estoy mascándolo, y cogiendo tabaco para matar al demonio.’³⁷⁹
 ‘I am chewing it, and taking tobacco to kill the devil.’

³⁷⁸ *Oorya* ‘sun’ is masculine despite not being an animate being. The translating consultant said that, according to “cuentos ancestrales” ‘ancestral tales’, the sun was a person.

³⁷⁹ Smoking is thought to scare away bad spirits.

Cho: Aaaa, sheri.

aaaa sheri
INTJ tabaco
'Ah, tabaco.'
'Oh, tobacco.'

P: Nokanta nomákoryánaki, hatá (hataana)³⁸⁰.

no-kant-a no-makory-an-ak-i ha-t-a-na
1S-COP-REA 1S-descansar-ABL-PFV-FRS ir-&-REA-1S
'Luego me pongo a descansar y me voy.'
'Then I start to rest and leave.'

Ashi *también* akátsitérika haka.

Ø-ashi también a-katsi-t-i=rika ha=ka
INCL-POSS también INCL-doler-&-IRR=COND LOC=PROX
'También cuando nos duele aquí (se supone que se señala en el estómago).'
'Also when it hurts here (it is supposed that he points at the stomach).'

Cho: Otzíminéenta.

o-tzimineent-a
3F.S-doler.estómago-REA
'(Cuando) duele el estómago.'
'(When) the stomach hurts.'

P: Aaki amónkotàki. Tekatsi. Eero amírimíritanta.³⁸¹

Ø-a-ak-i Ø-amonko-t-ak-i tekatsi
INCL.S-coger-PFV-FRS INCL.S-mascar-&-PFV-FRS NEG.EXI

eero a-miri~miri-t-ant-a³⁸²
NEG.IRR INCL.S-tener.sed~ITE-&-RES-REA
'Cogemos (coca) y mascamos. No hay (dolor). Para no estar teniendo sed.'
'We take (coca) and chew. There is not (pain). To not be thirsty.'

Chapinki nokátsitzi nomaryaaka. Tekatsi.

chapinki no-katsi-t-zi no-maryag-ak-a tekatsi
ayer 1S-estar.enfermo-&-REA 1S-estar.echado-PFV-REA NEG.EXI
'Ayer estaba enfermo, estaba echado. No había (coca).'
'Yesterday I was sick, I was lying down. There was no (coca).'

³⁸⁰ *Hatá* [ha't:a] is an abbreviated form of *hataana*.

³⁸¹ In this fragment, the inclusive subject on all verbs is used in an impersonal way.

³⁸² It is remarkable here that the reduplication takes the root plus the RS suffix, since the root is *-mir-*.

Amákina aníryokya: “Iroka kooko koka”.

Ø-am-ak-i-na Ø-aníryo=kya i-ro=ka kooko koka
3F.S-traer-PFV-FRS-1O 1-nuera.MP=EMPH DEM-F=PROX suegro.VOC.FE coca

‘Me ha traído mi nuera: “Suegro, esto es coca”.’

‘My daughter-in-law brought to me: “Father-in-law, this is coca”.’

Cho: Aaaa, aníryo.

aaa aníryo³⁸³

INTJ nuera.VOC.ME

‘Ah, la nuera.’

‘Ah, the daughter-in-law.’

P: Noká³⁸⁴ (nokantzi) “hee”.

no-kant-zi hee

1S-decir-REA AFF

‘Digo “sí”.’

‘I say “yes”.’

Cho: Koka, eero owanta intsipaeti, eero akémantawo atashe.

koka eero Ø-ow-ant-a intsipaeti
coca NEG.IRR INCL.S-comer-RES-REA enseguida

eero a-kem-ant-a-ro a-tashe

NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-RES-REA-3F.O INCL-hambre

‘La coca (nos sirve) para no estar comiendo a cada momento, para no sentir (nuestra) hambre.’

‘Coca (helps us) so we don’t eat every moment, so we don’t feel (our) hunger.’

P: Eero akémiro atashe, eero akémiro amiri.

eero a-kem-i-ro a-tashe

NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-FRS-3F.O INCL-hambre

eero a-kem-i-ro a-miri

NEG.IRR INCL.S-sentir-FRS-3F.O INCL-sed

‘No vamos a sentir hambre, no vamos a sentir sed.’

‘We are not going to feel hungry; we are not going to feel thirsty.’

³⁸³ In this case, it would be more logical to use the 2nd person possessed form *paniro*. However, it seems that the vocative form also serves to refer to a relative in a non-possessed way, as the Spanish translation ‘la sobrina’ shows.

³⁸⁴ *Noká* is an abbreviation of *nokantzi*.

Ániyáataki, amákotapáki, aaki sheri.

a-niyaa-t-ak-i a-mako-t-ap-ak-i
INCL.S-tragar-&-PFV-FRS INCL.S-cansarse-&-ALL-PFV-FRS

Ø-a-ak-i sheri
INCL.S-coger-PFV-FRS tabaco

‘Tragamos (saliva al mascar coca), (si) nos cansamos, cogemos tabaco.’
‘We swallow (saliva when chewing coca), (if) we get tired, we take tobacco.’

Amákore, amákore, amákore. Eero atasheyi.

a-makor-i eero a-tashey-i
INCL.S-descansar-FRS NEG.IRR INCL.S-tener.hambre-FRS

‘Descansamos, descansamos, descansamos. No vamos a tener hambre.’
‘We rest, we rest, we rest. We won’t be hungry.’

Cho: Árimà?

ari=ma
así=DUB
‘¿Así es?’
‘That’s how it is?’

P: Éehatzi okímita atówawáeti.

éehatzi o-kimi-t-a a-tow-a-wae-t-i³⁸⁵
también 3F.S-parecer-&-REA INCL.S-tumbar-&-DUR1-&-IRR

‘También parece (nos causa el mismo efecto) (cuando) tumbamos árboles.’
‘It also seems to (have the same effect on us) (when) we fell trees.’

Cho: Ari pikántapínta, ari pikántapínta.

ari pi-kant-apiint-a
así 2S-COP-HAB-REA
‘Así lo haces normalmente.’
‘That’s how you normally do it.’

P: Ámenaríka. Tekatsi, tekatsi teekya, téekiràata.

am-i-na=rika tekatsi tee=kya teekira-ata
traer-IRR-1O=COND NEG.EXI NEG.REA=EMPH aún.no-ROPT

‘Cuando me traen. No hay, no hay, aún no (si no hay, no hay todavía).’³⁸⁶
‘When they bring to me. There isn’t, there isn’t, not yet (if there isn’t, there isn’t yet).’

³⁸⁵ There is here no word meaning ‘cuando’, as the consultant translated it, but it can be considered that the irrealis fulfills the same function.

³⁸⁶ The speaker means that he chews coca when someone brings it to him, and in that moment there is no more.

Cho: Pámita niha éehatzi?
 p-am-i-ta niha éehatzi
 2S-traer-FRS-DU agua también
 ‘¿También has traído agua?’
 ‘Have you brought water too?’

P: Hee, námita.
 hee n-am-i-ta
 AFF 1S-traer-FRS-DU
 ‘Sí, también he traído.’
 ‘Yes, I have also brought.’

Cho: Kameetha.
 kameetha
 bien
 ‘Bien.’
 ‘Good.’

P: Árika ótsipani éerorika nokoyi nantawaetzi, náanàkiro notónkamèto,
 nokìnwáetzi, nokínanàki.
 ari=rika o-tsipa-ni eero=rika no-koy-i n-antawae-t-zi³⁸⁷
 AFF=COND F-otro-RMPST NEG.IRR=COND 1S-querer-FRS 1S-trabajar-&-REA
 n-a-an-ak-i-ro no-tonk-amento
 1S-coger-ABL-PFV-FRS-3F.O 1-disparar-NMLZ.INS
 no-kinawae-t-zi no-kin-an-ak-i
 1S-ir.a.cazar.al.bosque-&-REA 1S-irse-ABL-PFV-FRS
 ‘Si algún día no he querido trabajar, cojo mi escopeta y me voy a cazar, me he ido por
 ahí (se supone que señala).’
 ‘If one day I haven’t wanted to work, I take my shotgun and go hunting, I’ve gone that way
 (he’s supposed to point).’

Cho: Iita pitonki?
 iita pi-tonk-i
 WH 2S-disparar-FRS
 ‘¿Qué cazas (lit: a qué disparas)?’
 ‘What do you hunt (lit: what do you shoot)?’

P: Notonki thamiri.
 no-tonk-i thamiri
 1S-disparar-FRS paujil
 ‘Cazo (disparo a) paujiles.’
 ‘I hunt (shoot) curassows.’

³⁸⁷ This verb in a desiderative construction with *kowaantsi* ‘want’ should be in irrealis. Probably, the double irrealis construction with *eero* and the verb in realis occurs also even though *kowaantsi* is between both elements.

Cho: Hamani?

hamani

paca

‘¿Pacas (majás)?’

‘Pacas?’

P: Hamani tsiréniriki. Maniro...

hamani tsiréniri=ki maniro

paca noche=LOC venado

‘La paca es por la noche. Venados...’

‘Paca is at night. Deer...’

Cho: Etzi?

etzi

armadillo

‘¿Armadillos (carachupas)?’

‘Armadillos?’

P: Kitáeriki, *chancho de antami*.

kitáeriki chancho de antami

sajino chancho.de bosque

‘Sajinos (chancho de monte).’³⁸⁸

‘Peccaries.’

Ch: Aháakyà nèwatyéero.

aháakyá n-èwatyéero³⁸⁹

aquí.tienes 1-sobrina.FP

‘Aquí tienes, sobrina.’

‘Here you are, niece.’

Cho: Ari okaatzi.

ari o-kaa-t-zi

de.acuerdo 3F.S-COP.TOT-&-REA

‘Así está bien.’

‘That’s OK.’

³⁸⁸ Here, Píichotzi uses the Ashéninka word (*kitáeriki*) and then a semi-Ashéninka construction with the Spanish loan *chancho* ‘pig’. *Chancho de monte* is a local Spanish expression for the animal also locally known as *sajino*, and Píichotzi uses a Spanish word (*chancho* ‘pig’) with an Ashéninka word (*antami* ‘forest’) united by the Spanish preposition *de* as a further explanation of *kitáeriki*. This is an animal of the family *Tayassuidae*, more generally known in Spanish as *pecarí* and in English as *peccary*.

³⁸⁹ In this kin term, the FP 1st person term is used as vocative, that is why I do not gloss it as VOC here, although the function is vocative.

Che: Éeniwitàcha antawo hanta sho otáapiki.
 eeni-wi-t-acha anta-ro ha=nta sho o-taapi=ki
 EXI-FRU-&-PTCP.IPFV grande-F LOC=DIST allá 3F-espalda=LOC
 ‘Había³⁹⁰ una grande allá, allí en el barranco.’
 ‘There was a big one there, there in the gully.’

Cho: [Dirigiéndose a mí] *Caña*.
 [Turning to me] Cane.

Yo: *Caña*.
 Cane.

Che: Pikémaki?
 pi-kem-ak-i
 2S-oír-PFV-FRS
 ‘¿Me escuchas?’
 ‘Can you hear me?’

Cho: Atákiràkya (àritàkiràkya). Hee, hame áatékya. ¿Vamos ya? ¿Te parece? [se dirige a mí]
 ari-t-ak-i=ra=kya³⁹¹ hee hame Ø-a-t-i=kya
 así-&-PFV-FRS=MED=EMPH AFF HORT.INCL INCL.S-ir-&-IRR=EMPH
 ‘Ya es suficiente (se refiere a la caña que le han dado). Sí, vámonos. ¿Vamos ya? ¿Te parece?’
 ‘Enough is enough (she refers to the cane they have given her). Yes, let’s go. Can we leave already? You think? [talking to me in Spanish]’

Yo: *Bien*.
 Okay.

Che: Ooo..., apáataka.
 ooo Ø-apaa-t-ak-a
 INTJ 3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL
 ‘Oh, se han desperdiciado.’
 ‘Oh, they have rotted.’

P: Eero áawyanèro, aniryo.
 eero aawi-an-i-ro aniryo
 NEG.IRR poder.cargar-ABL-FRS-3F.O sobrina.hija.de.hermana.VOC.ME
 ‘No podrás llevarlo (todo), sobrina.’
 ‘You won’t be able to carry (everything), niece.’

³⁹⁰ The translating consultant translated *éeniwitàcha* with ‘había’. This is yet another token of the tendency to translate the frustrative suffix with the Spanish imperfect past.

³⁹¹ The translating consultant said that this expression means ‘it’s enough’ and did not accept *atákira* nor *àritákira*. I have some occurrences with *áritàki*, but an enclitic =*rakya* is difficult to imagine. I assume that the joint enclitics =*ra=kya* together with *áritàki* are somewhat lexicalized in this expression.

Páminiro ótsipahàto.

p-amin-i-ro o-tsipa-hat-o
 2S-mirar-FRS-3F.O F-otro-ADJZ.CL-F
 ‘Mira los de otra clase.’
 ‘Look at those of the other class.’

Che: Apáataka íntsipaki, okamáshitaka.

Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki o-kam-ashi-t-ak-a³⁹²
 3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay³⁹³ 3F.S-secar-NPURP-&-PFV-REA
 ‘Se han desperdiciado los pacays, se han secado (desperdiciado).’
 ‘The pacays have rotted, they have dried up.’

Apáataka íntsipaki, kàmapiyótaki.

Ø-apaa-t-ak-a íntsipaki kam-a-piyo-t-ak-i
 3F.S-desperdiciar-&-PFV-REA.REFL pacay secarse-&-amontonarse-&-PFV-FRS
 ‘Se han desperdiciado los pacays, se han secado a montones.’
 ‘The pacays have rotted, they have dried up in piles.’

³⁹² The translating consultant told me that the root *-kam-*, besides ‘die’, also means ‘dry’ (verb). He insisted that the addition of *-ashi* indicates that something (food, fruits, etc.) goes off. In this way, the no-purposive suffix *-ashi* (with A-inflection) acquires a derivative function in that it modifies the meaning of the word.

³⁹³ *Pacay* is the name given in Spanish (among other names) and English to the tree *Inga feuilleei*, which produces pods with an edible pulp.

Annex 3. Vocabulary

This vocabulary lists all the words that have appeared during my fieldwork in natural texts or elicitations. The word class is given in italics after the Ashéninka word with the following abbreviations:

adj. Adjective *cop.* Copula *inal.* Inalienable *prep.* Preposition
adv. Adverb *dem.* Demonstrative *num.* Numeral *pron.* Pronoun
conj. Conjunction *ideo.* Ideophone *part.* Particle

Verbs are given in their infinitive form with the verb class (I or A) and the stem shown in italics. Inalienable nouns are given in their non-possessed form, i.e. with the alienator suffix *-tsi/-ntsi*; when nouns are inalienable, this is indicated. In the case of kin terms, normally inalienable, since they do not have a non-possessed form (they have a possessed and a vocative form), the stem without a possessive prefix is given.

After the vocabulary, there is an English index with all the words of the vocabulary alphabetically ordered in English.

aaka *pron.* we (incl.)

aapataantsi *verb, I-class, -aapa-* join

aapatziyaantsi *verb, A-class, -aapatziy-* accept

aapi *noun* grandfather (vocative feminine ego)

aari *noun* brother (vocative feminine ego)

aashirataantsi *verb, I-class, -aashira(t)-* slip

aatsimiyaantsi *verb, I-class, -aatsimiy-* suck to cure (a shaman)

aawitaantsi *verb, I-class, -aawi-* be able to carry

agenkataantsi *verb, I-class, -agenk-* fly in circles

ahankaantsi *verb, I-class, -ahank-* sniff

ahánkane *inal. noun* heart

aiki, aikintsi *inal. noun* tooth

akaachataantsi *verb, I-class, -akaacha-* fish with hook

akóanikì *inal. noun* finger (neologism formed with *-ako-* ‘arm, hand’ and the diminutive *-aniki*; less learned speakers use *-ako-* for ‘arm’, ‘hand’ and ‘finger’)

akóerikì *inal. noun* fingers Neologism formed with *-ako-* ‘arm, hand’ and the plural diminutive *-erikì*. Less learned speakers use *-ako-* for ‘arm’, ‘hand’ and ‘finger’.

ákoperórikì *adv.* to the right

akotsi *inal. noun* hand, arm

amaani *adj.* growing

amaantsi *verb, I-class, -am-* bring

- amaataantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -amaa(t)- swim
- amáetyaka** *adv.* early
- amanantaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -amanant- buy
- ameeni** *noun* grandmother (vocative feminine ego)
- ametaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -ame(t)- get used
- aminaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -amin- look at
- amitakotaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -amitako- help
- amonkotaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -amonko- chew
- ampari** *noun* shade
- ampátiki** *adv.* to the left
- ana** *noun* genipap
- ananinkaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -ananink- get up from bed in the morning
- anashaataantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -anashaa- walk
- anataantsi** *verb, I-class, -ana-* go past
- anítaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -anii(t)- walk
- aniri** *inal. noun* brother-in-law (masculine possessed stem)
- aniro** *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter, daughter-in-law (masculine possessed stem in all persons except 1st and inclusive [*aniryo*])
- aniryo** *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter, daughter-in-law (vocative masculine ego), and masculine possessed stem for 1st person and inclusive
- antaantsi** *verb, I-class, -ant-* do, make
- antami** *noun* forest
- antari/antawo** *adj.* big (m./f.)
- antawaetaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -antawae- work
- antyáshipari/anthásyipawo** *adj.* old (m./f.)
- antziwatakaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -antziwatak- stumble
- añaantsi** *verb, I-class, -añ-* live
- apaani** *num.* one
- apáaniróeni** *adj.* alone
- apaataantsi** *verb, A-class, -apaa-* go off (food)
- apápako, apàpakóoni** *num.* five
- apatotaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -apato- meet
- apátziro** *adv.* only
- apintapaaka** *num.* nine
- apípakòte, apípako** *num.* ten
- apiti** *num.* two
- areetaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -aree- arrive, visit
- ari** *adv.* thus, there; it its a multifunctional word that can also express future and positive polarity
- arini** *noun* brother (vocative feminine ego)
- arírika** *conj.* if, when
- aroso** *noun* rice (from Spanish *arroz*)
- ashéninka** *inal. noun* person, fellow person, Ashéninka, (inclusive form of *sheninkantsi*)
- ashi** *adv.* there
- ashi** *pron.* ours (incl.), hers
- ashiwantzi** *noun* swallow (it is not clear what kind of bird it is)
- ashoyiro** *adv.* permanently
- ataantsi** *verb, I-class, -a-* bring, take

ataantsi *verb, I-class, -a-* fly

ateetaantsi *verb, I-class, -ateey-* go up

ateyaantsi *verb, I-class, -atey-* grasp and put up

athanankaantsi *verb, A-class, -athanank-* grasp

atsitakaantsi *verb, I-class, -atsitak-* bite

atyoeni *noun* female cousin (vocative feminine ego)

atziri *noun* person

awihaantsi *verb, I-class, -awih-* pass by

awiitaantsi *verb, I-class, -awii-* harvest

awithakitaantsi *verb, I-class, -awithaki-* hug

awotsi *noun* path

ayiitaantsi *verb, I-class, -ayiit-* go down

ayini *noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (vocative feminine ego)

-ayiro *inal. noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

chaa *wh-word* how, what/which, (from/to) where, when, how much/many, who(m)

cháanari *noun* big jaguar

chamaero *noun* chamairo

chapinki *adv.* yesterday

charini *noun* grandfather, grandson (vocative masculine ego)

-charini *inal. noun* grandfather, grandson (masculine possessed stem)

chéenkari *adj.* black

cheetsi *inal. noun* horn, thorn

chekaantsi *verb, I-class, -chek-* cut

chekopi *noun* arrow

chenkotsi *inal. noun* trousers

chentetaantsi *verb, A-class, -chente-* lean

chewontzi *noun* swallow (it is not clear what kind of bird it is)

choeni *noun* sister, female cousin (vocative masculine ego)

chopinentsi *inal. noun* chest

chota *ideo.* applause, walking on puddles

chowi *noun* worm

éehatzi *adv.* also

éekiro *adv.* goes on, still

éeni *invariable verb, past existential* there was

eenitaantsi *verb, I-class, eeni-* exist (defective existential verb: it never has a subject prefix)

eentsi *noun* child

eentyo *noun* sister (vocative feminine ego)

éeriki *adj.* green

eero *adv.* no, not (irrealis)

éeroka *pron.* you

éetyonkini *adv.* a bit

éméni *noun* male cousin (vocative feminine ego)

-emi *inal. noun* husband (feminine possessed stem)

-émithori *inal. noun* male cousin (possessed stem)

-émithori *inal. noun* brother-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

-ena *noun* wife (masculine possessed stem)

-énathori *inal. noun* female cousin
(possessed stem)

eni *noun* river

eshitsi *inal. noun* hair

etaantsi *verb, A-class, -e(t)-* be called, begin

etzi *noun* armadillo (family *Dasypodidae*)

ewánkawo/ewánkari *adj.* young, new (f./m.)

-éwatatyèero *inal. noun* niece
brother's daughter, daughter-in-law
(feminine possessed stem)

-éwatayíro *inal. noun* niece brother's
daughter, daughter-in-law (feminine
possessed stem)

ewónkiri/ewónkiro *adj.* midsize
(m./f.)

haantsi *verb, I-class, -h-* whip
masato in canoe, fill

háawari *adj.* hot

háawikitsi *inal. noun* floor

hagari *noun* short-eared dog
(*Atelocynus microtis*)

haka *adv.* here

hamampo *noun* ash

hamani *noun* paca (*Cuniculus paca*)

hamani *adj.* far in time

hampitaantsi *verb,*
I-class, -hampi- ask

hanák *ideo.* a pointed object gets in

hani *noun* wasp

hanta *adv.* yonder

hantákiro *adv.* at the other side,
behind

hantari *noun* wood

hanthari/hanthawo *adj.* long, tall
(m./f.)

hantóo *adv.* there very far

hapato *noun* shoe (from Spanish
zapato)

hapo *ideo.* jumps

hapokaantsi *verb,*
A-class, -hapok- jump

-hari *inal. noun* grandfather,
grandson (feminine possessed stem)

hatziikitaantsi *verb,*
A-class, -hatziiki(t)- stick something
into the anus

-hawo *inal. noun* grandmother
(possessed stem)

-hawo *inal. noun* granddaughter
(possessed stem)

hee *adv.* yes

heekaantsi *verb, I-class, -heek-* sit,
stay/live in a place

heetaantsi *verb, I-class, -hee-* throw

hempe *wh-word* how, (from/to)
where, how much/many

hempeña *wh-word* (from/to) where

henoki *adv.* up

heñokiini *adv.* beyond

heñókini *adv.* above

hetari *noun* carachama (fish
Pseudorinelepis genibarbis)

hewari *adj.* first

hiiiii *ideo.* crying

honkágari *noun* tinamou (bird of the
family *Timanidae*)

honpérirontsi *inal. noun* hat

hoo *ideo.* woman laughing

hookaantsi *verb,*
I-class, -hook- empty

íta(ka) *wh-word* who(m), how,
what/which, why

ítarikya *wh-word* why

- iitzi** *noun* animal leg
íitzintsi *inal. noun* foot
iká *part.* surprise! (expression that indicates surprise)
impáneki *noun* sand
ináshita *adv.* aside
inchaki *inal. noun* stake
inchápontho *inal. noun* stake
inchataato *noun* trunk
inchato *noun* tree
-íniro *inal. noun* mother (possessed stem)
-inìrothóri *inal. noun* maternal aunt (possessed stem)
inkáganki *adv.* before
inkámani *adv.* tomorrow
inkani *noun* rain
inki *noun* peanut
intaena *adv.* far
inthomóe, inthomoeki, inthomoenta *prep.* inside
intsi *adv.* soon, quickly
intsipaeti *adv.* immediately
iraantsi *inal. noun* blood
iraantsi *verb, I-class, -ir-* drink
iragaantsi *verb, A-class, -irag-* weep
irapanantsi *inal. noun* liver
-irento *inal. noun* sister (feminine possessed stem)
-irentzi *inal. noun* brother (masculine possessed stem)
-iri *inal. noun* father (possessed stem)
iriinta/iroonta *dem.* that over there (m./f.)
irika/iroka *dem.* this (m./f.)
irira/irowa *dem.* that (m./f.)
- írithori** *inal. noun* paternal uncle (possessed stem)
iroñaaka *adv.* now, today
iryaani/oryaani *adj.* small (m./f.)
ishiko *noun* lime
-ishíntothóri *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter (feminine possessed stem in all persons except in 1st [nìshíntyothóri])
itotsi *inal. noun* head
ítsipa/ótsipa *indefinite (an)other* (m./f.)
iyáaheni *noun* coffee plantation
-iyáariri *inal. noun* brother (feminine possessed stem)
iyataantsi *verb, I-class, -iyaa-* go (the stem is *-ha-* when there is no subject prefix)
iyé *noun* brother, male cousin (vocative masculine ego)
iyometaantsi *verb, I-class, -iyome-* teach
iyoneenta *adv.* less
iyotaantsi *verb, I-class, -iyo-* know
-iyoti *inal. noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (masculine possessed stem)
kaakitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kaaki-* arrive (defective verb: it has subject suffixes, but not prefixes)
káankinaki *adj.* empty
kaari *neg. cop.* is not
kaataantsi *verbal totalitative cop., I-class, -kaa-* be all
kachari *noun* smoke
kaemaantsi *verb, I-class, -kaem-* call
kaero *noun* termite
kamaantsi *verb*, die, dry off

kamantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -kamant- inform, say

kamarampi *noun* ayahuasca

kameetha *adv.* well

kameetha, kaméethari *adj.* good

kamitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kami-* find out

kaniri *noun* cassava

kantaantsi *verb, I-class, -kant-* say

kantaantsi *verbal cop., A-class, -kant-* be

kántziri *noun* basket

kañaataantsi *verb, A-class, -kaña-* accelerate

kapíchoki *adv.* a bit

kariperoetya *adj.* bad path

kashékari *noun* jaguar (*kashékari* is more common in the Gran Pajonal, and *manitzi*, in the Ucayali)

káshiri *noun* moon

katonko *adv.* upriver

katsinkaari *adj.* cold

Katsinkaari *noun, place name* Chicosa

katsitaantsi *verb, I-class, -katsi-* hurt, be ill

katsitori *noun* ant

katziaantsi *verb, I/A-class, -katziy-* stand (realis A, irrealis I)

kawirinkaantsi *verb, I-class, -kawirink-* knead

kawoshitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kawoshi-* bathe

kemaantsi *verb, I-class, -kem-* hear, feel

kemari *noun* South American tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*)

kemi *noun* pumpkin

kemitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kemi-* grate

kemóetyaki *adj.* advanced in weeding (of a field)

kempitzi *noun* armored catfish (*Pseudorinelepis gemibarbis*)

kenkishiryaantsi *verb, A-class, -kenkishiry-* think

kenkitharentsi *noun* story

kenkithataantsi *verb, A-class, -kenkitha-* tell

kentaantsi *verb, I-class, -kent-* sting, hunt with bow and arrow

kentsitsi *inal. noun* neck

kihaantsi *verb, A-class, -kih-* be upset

kihaari *adj.* genipap colour (bluish black)

kiho *adv.* next to

kihori *adj.* hard

kimitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kim-* seem, be that way

kimpitantsi, kempitarentsi *inal. noun* ear

kinaantsi *verb, I-class, -kin-* leave from a place

kináshiri *adj.* green

kinawaetaantsi *verb, I-class, -kinawae-* go hunting in the forest

kipatsi *noun* earth, soil

kipatsi *adj.* dirty

kirinka *adv.* downriver

kiritzi *inal. noun* nose

kishiri *noun* comb

kishitaantsi *verb, I-class, -kishi-* comb

kitáeriki *noun* peccary (family *Tayassuidae*)

kitamaari *adj.* white

kitéheri *noun* day

kitehitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-kitehi-* dawn

kitérimi *adj.* yellow

kithokintsi *inal. noun* seed, fruit

kithoyaantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-kithoy-* harvest seeds

kito *noun* caridean shrimp
(crustacean of the infraorder *Caridea*)

kitochee *noun* thorns

kityónkari *adj.* red

kiwaantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-kiwaant-* polish

kiwaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, *-kiw-* wash

kohániri *noun* crocodile

koka *noun* coca

komáyiri *noun* tambaqui (fish
Colossoma macropomum)

konki *noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law ((vocative masculine
ego))

-kónkiri *inal. noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law (possessed stem)

konoya *noun* yellow-footed tortoise
(*Chelonoidis denticulate*)

kontaki *noun* tree *Hymenaea*
oblongifolia

koñaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-koña-* appear

kooko *noun* maternal uncle,
father-in-law ((vocative feminine
ego))

koryo *noun* catfish (order
Siluriformes)

koshekashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, *-koshekashi-* cunningly
pretend

koshina *noun* kitchen (from Spanish
cocina)

kòtsironáaki *noun* cooking pot

kotyaaantsi *verb*,
A-class, *-kotyaa-* sit

kowaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, *-kow-* want

kyaa, kyaaryo *adj.* true

kyataantsi *verb*, *I-class*, *-kya-* carry,
enter

máampiritsi *noun* chigger

maanke *noun* snake

máaweni *pron.* all

máetawaki *invariable verb* wait! (it
expresses a command)

magaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, *-mag-* sleep

makoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-makory-* rest

makotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, *-mako-* get tired

mampaantsi *verb*,
A-class, *-mamp-* sing

mampaantsi *noun* song

manaantsi *verb*, *I-class*, *-man-* hide

maniro *noun* deer

manitzi *noun* jaguar (*kashékari* is
more common in the Gran Pajonal,
and *manitzi*, in the Ucayali)

mantsiyari/mantsiyawo *adj.* ill
(m./f.)

mapi *noun* stone

mapipooki *noun* dry river full of
stones

mapoche, mapocha *noun* papaya

maryagaantsi *verb*,
A-class, *-maryag-* lie

mashitsi *inal. noun* skin

mataantsi *verb, I/A-class, -ma-* can (it is I-class with an object suffix, and A-class without it)

mathantsi *inal. noun* clothes

mathari/mathawo *adj.* thin (m./f.)

mawa *num.* three

menkori *noun* cloud

méyiri *noun* squirrel

mintyapake, montyaaka *num.* six

miraantsi *verb, I-class, -mir-* be thirsty

miri *ideo.* a pointed object boring into another one

miritsi *inal. noun* thirst

míshito *noun* cat

moitontsi *inal. noun* navel

mootsi *inal. noun* gap, hole

mótana *noun* desire

naaka *pron.* I

naana/-naana *inal. noun* mother (vocative and feminine possessed stem)

nanaeni *noun* maternal aunt (vocative)

nashi *pron.* mine

nataantsi *verb, I-class, -na-* chew

neetsi *inal. noun* louse

nenetsi *inal. noun* tongue

néwatayéero *noun* niece, daughter-in-law ((vocative feminine ego))

néwatayiro *noun* niece, daughter-in-law (vocative feminine ego)

-ni *cop.* be

niha *noun* water

nimaeka *adv.* now, today

nimotaantsi *verb, I, -nimo-* like

ninka *wh-word* who(m), why

nintaantsi *verb, I-class, -nint-* want, love

nintakorentsi *noun* follower, disciple

nishintyo *noun* daughter (vocative)

nishíntyothóri *noun* niece brother's daughter (vocative masculine ego) and masculine possessed stem for 1st person

nishíntyothóri *inal. noun* niece sister's daughter (feminine possessed stem for 1st person)

niyaataantsi *verb, I-class, -niyaa-* swallow

niyanki *adv.* middle

noemi *noun* husband (vocative feminine ego)

noena *noun* wife (vocative feminine ego)

nohari *noun* grandson (vocative feminine ego)

nohawo *noun* granddaughter (vocative feminine ego)

noshari *noun* grandson (vocative feminine ego)

noshawo *noun* granddaughter (vocative feminine ego)

notómithóri *noun* nephew brother's son (vocative masculine ego)

notsikaantsi *verb, I-class, -notsik-* pull

notyomi *noun* son (vocative)

nòtzinéri/notzineri *noun* nephew brother's son (vocative feminine ego)

ña *adv.* there

ñaantsi *inal. noun* language (possessed *noñaani, piñaani, iñaani, oñaani, añaani*)

ñaaathataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -ñaaatha- play, have sex

ñaaawaetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -ñaaawae- speak

ñagaantsi *verb*, I-class, -ñag- see
(stem usually realized as ñaa)

ñani *noun* brother-in-law (vocative
masculine ego)

ñotzi *noun* nephew sister's son,
son-in-law (vocative masculine ego)
and masculine possessed for 1st
person

ochempi *noun* hill, mountain

óeta(ka) *wh-word* what/which, why

oetaantsi *verb*, I-class, -oe- serve
drink

oháarentsi *noun* year, summer

oháawiki/iháawiki *adv.* below
(f./m.)

oháawiya *adv.* under ground

okáakini *adv.* near

oki, okitsi *inal. noun* eye

omaanta/imaanta *adv.* however
(f./m.)

omarentsi *inal. noun* bracelet

ompohaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -ompoh- hit

ompókiro *noun* star

onámpina(ki) *adv.* next to

onkiro *noun* mouse

onkókiròeni *adv.* outside

onkotsitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -onkotsi- cook, boil

onthaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -onth- come across

ontsirokaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -ontsirok- be next to

oñaashirenkaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oñaashirenk- annoy

oohotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oho(t)- tie

ookaantsi *verb*, I-class, -ook- leave

oorya *noun* sun

opáireki *noun* root

oshankaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oshank- shoo

osheki *adv.* much/many

oshero *noun* crayfish (crustacean of
the superfamilies *Astacoidea* and
Parastacoidea)

oshi *noun* leaf

oshiyaantsi *verb*, A-class, -oshiy- be
similar

otápina(ki) *adv.* below

otekaantsi *verb*, I-class, -otek- shake

oténanka *adj.* heavy

othápikinta *adv.* on the edge

othapyaki *adv.* on the bank (of a
river)

otsikanataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -otsikana- stare

ótsipata, ótsipatàka, ótsipàtsita,
ótsipàtsitapàka *num.* four

ótsitzi *noun* dog

owaantsi *verb*, A-class, -ow- eat

owaantsi *verb*, I-class, -ow- put,
place

owaantsi *inal. noun* chacra (small
cultivated field; possessed *nowani*,
powani, *rowani*, *owani*)

owákira *adj.* new

owametaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -owame- teach

owámetàantsipánko *noun* school
(neologism with -owame- 'teach'
and -panko 'house')

owankitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owanki- put on something

owashitantaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owashitant- make maspute
 (little hut built to hide waiting for
 animals for hunting them)

owethataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owetha- greet

owetsikaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -owetsik- build

oweyaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -owey- move forward until a
 point

oweyantaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -oweyant- be last

oyaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oyaa- follow

oyakyaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -oyakya- chase

oyataantsi *verb, I-class, -oya-* wait

oyatzirori *num.* seven

páamari *noun* fire

paante, páantentsi *inal. noun* mouth

paantsi *verb, I-class, -p-* give

paapa *noun* father (from Spanish
papá ‘father, dad’; it is inalienable
 despite being a kin term because it is
 a loan)

páashini *indefinite* another

paata *adv.* later

páerani *adv.* long ago

pakáa *ideo.* Much rain falling

pakitha *noun* bird of prey of the
 family *Accipitridae*

pana *noun* leaf

pankinataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pankina- make love

pankoshitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pankoshi- build temporary
 hut (formed with the stem *-panko*
 ‘house’)

pankotsi *inal. noun* house

pantyo *noun* duck

paperi *noun* book, paper (from
 Spanish *papel* ‘paper’)

Pareni *noun* Perené (river)

paryaantsi *verb, I-class, -pary-* fall

pashi *pron.* yours

pashiwentaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -pashiwent- be ashamed

patari *ideo.* Something falls on the
 floor

patyataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -patya- kick (probably from
 Spanish *patear* ‘kick’)

pawa *noun* father (vocative)

pawáchori *noun* paternal uncle
 (vocative masculine ego)

pawaeni *noun* paternal uncle
 (vocative feminine ego)

payantzi *noun* banana

pehaantsi *verb, I-class, -peh-* weed

peyari *noun* devil

piinkaantsi *verb, I-class, -piink-* fall
 into the water

pimantaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pimant- sell

pinkáthari *noun* authority

pirinto *noun* frog

piryaari *adj.* dry

piteri *ideo.* drops falling, speaking
 slowly in the ear

pitotsi *canoe*

pitsi *noun* honey

pityaankaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pityaank- throw someone
 head first

piyaantsi *verb, I/A-class, -shiy-* come
 back (realis A, irrealis I)

piyotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -piyo- meet

pochari *noun* juice

pochari *adj.* sweet

pohataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -poha(t)- to be cooked

pokaantsi *verb*, I-class, -pok- come

ponchakyaa *adj.* with boots on

pontzitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -pontzi- grate

poñaantsi *verb*, A-class, -poñ- hail
from

poñashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -poñashi- happen

poo *ideo.* Settle on the floor

pootsi *inal. noun* face

poritsi *inal. noun* leg

póshini *adj.* tasty

poterya *noun* bottle (from Spanish
botella ‘bottle’)

potóo *noun* *Ficus insípida*, called *ojé*
in local Spanish

pówonto *noun* wood quail (bird of
the genus *Odontophorus*)

pyáarentsi *inal. noun* masato
(alcoholic drink made with cassava)

rashi *pron.* his

réshikèmpita *adj.* disobedient

rira *filler* erm, um...

ríraga/rówaga *dem.* that (m./f.)
(cataphoric demonstrative)

rirori *pron.* he

roentzi/riintzi *adv.* only (f./m.)

róohatzi, rooha *adv.* later

róokantàcha, róokantàencha *adv.*
however

róomache/ríimache/mache *defective*
verb so it is

roori *pron.* she

róotaki *part.* this is, so it is

róoteentsi *adv.* already

rowa *filler* erm, um...

shaao *ideo.* liquid falling

shaawitaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shaawi- get dark

sháawiteni *noun* afternoon

-shari *inal. noun* grandson (feminine
possessed stem)

shawo *noun* agouti (rodent of the
genus *Dasyprocta*)

-shawo *inal. noun* granddaughter
(possessed stem)

sheeni *noun* grandmother,
granddaughter (vocative masculine
ego)

shemyaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shemy- crush

sheninkantsi *inal. noun* fellow
person

sheri *noun* tobacco

sheripyari *noun* shaman

sherok *ideo.* getting up, getting out
of a hole

shetaantsi *verb*, I-class, -shet- clean

shetákintsi *inal. noun* fingernail

shetotsi *inal. noun* belly

shewo *noun* palm *Attalea butyracea*

shikire *ideo.* sound of leaves or grass
when walking on it

shikiri *ideo.* something falls on the
floor

shima *noun* fish

shimaataantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shimaa- fish

shinetaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shine- permit

shinki *adj.* drunk

shinki *noun* maize

shinkotaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shinko- skewer

-shíntothóri *inal. noun* niece
brother's daughter (masculine
possessed stem in all persons except
in 1st [*nishíntyothóri*])

-shintyo *inal. noun* daughter
(possessed stem)

shíntzipàa *noun* raft

shirámpari *noun* man

shiraririri *ideo.* slipping

shirinkapaaka *num.* eight

shirontaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shiront- laugh

shitashitaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -shitashi- spread out a
blanket

shithatsi *inal. noun* tail

shitowaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -shitow- get out

shiwanki *noun* feather

shiwankintsi *inal. noun* wing

shiyaantsi *verb*, *I/A-class*, -shiy- run
(realis A, irrealis I)

sho *invariable verb, imperative*
invariable form look!

shompotsi *noun* fish *Chaetobrancus*
flavescens, known in local Spanish as
bujurqui

shonkiri *noun* hummingbird (family
Trochilidae)

táanitya *invariable verb* I know
nothing

táankore *ideo.* getting up, an animal
gets scared and starts running

taawatoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tawatory(a)- hit

tagaantsi *verb, I-class*, -tag- burn

taho *noun* bowl

tahonkaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tahonk- blow

takitsi *noun* organic waste

takoyo *noun* small bird with a black
tail

tampya *noun* wind

tantoryaantsi *verb*,
I-class, -tantory- destroy

tapiitsi *inal. noun* back (body part)

tapotaantsi *verb*,
A-class, -tapo- stalk

taraha *verb, I-class*, -taraha- fish
with *tarrafa* (a kind of net) (from
Spanish *tarrafa*)

tashetsi *inal. noun* hunger

tashiyaantsi *verb, I-class*, -tashiy- be
hungry

tee *adv.* no

teema *conj.* because

téemáita *adv.* however
(counter-expectative negation)

téerika *conj.* otherwise

tekatsi *verb, I-class* there is not
(negative existential)

tekira *adv.* not yet

tenkari *adj.* spread-legged

tetaantsi *verb, I-class*, -tet- put inside

thaataantsi *verb*,
I-class, -thaat- bark, sound of other
animals

thaato *inal. noun* bag (the
possessed form is -thaate)

thagaantsi *verb, I-class*, -thag- be
scared

thakitsi *inal. noun* hip

- thamaetaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -thamae- weed
- thame** *part.* hortative inclusive
- thamiri** *noun* curassow (bird of the family *Cracinae*)
- thapo** *ideo.* Something falls in the water
- thapóok** *ideo.* falling or splashing in the water
- thataantsi** *verb, I-class, -that-* hang
- thatakotaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -thatako- make the bed
- thawetaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -thawe(t)- create bad luck
- thawinataantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -thawina- hex, practise incestuous sex
- thayiri** *adj.* cheating
- theyaantsi** *verb, A-class, -they-* lie
- thokitsi** *inal. noun* egg
- thomaantsi** *verb, I-class, -thom-* hug
- thómithóri** *inal. noun* nephew brother's son (masculine possessed stem)
- thompitaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -thompi- carry in *aparina* (bag to carry a baby)
- thonka** *ideo.* end of something
- thonkaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -thonk- finish
- thoo** *noun* owl
- thoori** *noun* yellow-rumped cacique
- thootyaakotaantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -thootyaako- search
- thotaantsi** *verb, I-class, -thot-* suck
- thowiwiii** *ideo.* something hurts
- tik** *ideo.* walking or running
- tomi** *inal. noun* son Possessed stem
- tóniròki** *noun* moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*)
- tonkaantsi** *verb, I-class, -tonk-* shoot
- tonkaari** *noun* hill, mountain
- tonkamentonsi** *inal. noun* escopeta
- tonkitsi** *inal. noun* bone
- too** *ideo.* sound of shots
- torek** *ideo.* dying
- totziro** *noun* apple snail (family *Ampullariidae*)
- towaantsi** *verb, I-class, -tow-* knock down
- tsiká** *wh-word* how, what/which, (from/to) where, when, how much/many, who(m)
- tsikárika** *wh-word* where, how
- tsimeri** *noun* animal, bird
- tsinani** *noun* woman
- tsintaantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -tsint- urinate
- tsipana** *noun* leaf
- tsipataantsi** *verb*,
A-class, -tsipa- accompany
- tsiréniri** *noun* night
- tsireniantsi** *verb*,
I-class, -tsireni- get dark
- tsiro** *inal. noun* sister (masculine possessed stem)
- tsirooti** *noun* *paucarcillo*
- tsiyároki** *noun* urucuri palm (*Attalea phalerata*)
- tyaantsi** *verb, I-class, -ty-* fall down, faint
- tyaapa** *noun* chicken
- tyakitsi** *noun* black ant
- tyantypitzi** *adj.* with the form of a full bag
- tyao** *ideo.* hitting with a stone

-tyomi *inal. noun* son (possessed stem)

tzhagaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzhag-* break

tziho *noun* black vulture (*Coragyps atratus*)

tzimaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzim-* there be (existential verb)

tzinagaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzinag-* put up

-tzineri *inal. noun* nephew brother's son, son-in-law (feminine possessed stem)

-tzineri *inal. noun* nephew sister's son, son-in-law (masculine possessed stem in all persons except in 1st [ñotzi])

tzirootzi *noun* kind of palm-tree

tziroryaantsi *verb, I-class, -tzirory-* misstep

tziweri *noun* fat fish

tziwi *noun* salt

tziyáakintsi *inal. noun* anus

waaka *noun* cow (from Spanish *vaca*)

waerataantsi *verb, I-class, -waera-* dance (from Spanish *bailar*)

waetaantsi *verb, I-class, -wae-* appoint

waiii *ideo.* something is broken

wanawontsi *noun* food

wathantsi *adj.* fat

wathatsi *noun* meat

watzi *ideo.* opening the way in the jungle

wéerontsi *inal. noun* name

wero *ideo.* blah, blah, blah

wetsikaantsi *verb, I-class, -wetsik-* prepare

wirákocho *noun* stranger, non-indigenous

yatharékiho *inal. noun* testicle

yeenka *noun* grease

yerétotsi *inal. noun* knee

yeyi *noun* brother, male cousin (vocative masculine ego)

yoeni *noun* paternal aunt, mother-in-law (vocative masculine ego)

yotáantsipáanko *noun* school (neologism formed with *-iyó-* 'know' and *-panko* 'house')

English index

a bit éetyonkìni,
kapíchoki
above heñókiini
accelerate
kañaataantsi
accept aapatziyaantsi
accompany
tsipataantsi
**advanced in weeding
(of a field)**
kemóetyaki
afternoon sháawiteni
agouti shawo
all máaweni
alone apáaniróeni
already róteentsi
also éehatzi
animal leg iitzi
animal tsimeri
**animal gets scared
and starts running**
táankore
annoy
oñaashirenkaantsi
(an)other (m./f.)
ítsipa/ótsipa, páashini
ant katsitori
anus tziyáakintsi
appear koñaataantsi
**applause, walking
on puddles** chota
apple snail totziro
appoint waetaantsi
arm akotsi
armadillo etzi
armored catfish
kempitzi

arrive areetaantsi,
kaakitaantsi
arrow chekopi
ash hamampo
aside ináshita
ask hampitaantsi
at the other side
hantákiro
authority pinkáthari
ayahuasca
kamarampi
back (body part)
tapiitsi
bad path
kariperoetya
bag thaato
banana payantzi
**bark, sound of other
animals** thaataantsi
basket kántziri
bathe kawoshitaantsi
be kantaantsi, -ni
be all kaataantsi
be ashamed
pashiwentaantsi
be called etaantsi
be hungry
tashiyaantsi
be ill katsitaantsi
be last oweyantaantsi
be next to
ontsirokaantsi
be scared thagaantsi
be similar
oshiyaantsi
be thirsty miraantsi
be upset kihaantsi
because teema

be cooked
pohataantsi
before inkáganki
begin etaantsi
behind hantákiro
belly shetotsi
below otápina(ki),
(f./m.)
oháawiki/iháawiki
be that way
kimitaantsi
beyond heñokiini
big (m./f.)
antari/antawo
big jaguar cháanari
bird tsimeri
bird of prey pakitha
bite atsitakaantsi
black chéenkari
black ant tyakitsi
black vulture tziho
blah, blah, blah wero
blood iraantsi
blow tahonkaantsi
boil onkotsitaantsi
bone tonkitsi
book paperi
bottle poterya
bowl taho
bracelet omarentsi
break tzihagaantsi
bring amaantsi,
ataantsi
brother aari,
arini, -irentzi, iyáariri,
iye, yeyi

brother-in-law -aniri, -émithori, ñani	coffee plantation iyáaheni	disciple nintakorentsi
build owetsikaantsi	cold katsinkaari	disobedient réshikèmpita
build temporary hut pankoshitaantsi	comb kishiri, kishitaantsi	do antaantsi
bujurqui shompotsi	come pokaantsi	dog ótsitzi
burn tagaantsi	come across onthaantsi	downriver kirinka
buy amanantaantsi	come back piyaantsi	drink iraantsi
call kaemaantsi	cook onkotsitaantsi	drops falling piteri
can mataantsi	cooking pot kòtsironáaki	drunk shinki
can carry aawitaantsi	cow waaka	dry piryari
canoe pitotsi	crayfish oshero	dry off kamaantsi
carachama hetari	create bad luck thawetaantsi	dry river full of stones mapipooki
caridean shrimp kito	crocodile kohániri	duck pantyo
carry kyataantsi	crush shemyaantsi	dying torek
carry in <i>aparina</i> thompitaantsi	crying hiiiiii	ear kimpitantsi, kempitarentsi
cassava kaniri	cunningly pretend koshekashitaantsi	early amáetyaka
cat míshito	curassow thamiri	earth kipatsi
catfish koryo	cut chekaantsi	eat owaantsi
chacra (small cultivated field) owaantsi	dance waerataantsi	egg thokitsi
chamairo chamaero	daughter nishintyo, -shintyo	eight shirinkapaaka
chase oyakyaataantsi	daughter-in-law -éwatatyèero, -éwatay íro, aniryo, néwatatyéero, néwatayìro	empty hookaantsi, káankinaki
cheating thayiri	dawn kitehitaantsi	end of something thonka
chest chopinentsi	day kitéheri	enter kyataantsi
chew amonkotaantsi, nataantsi	deer maniro	erm... rira, rowa
chicken tyaapa	desire mótana	escopeta tonkamentontsi
Chicosa Katsinkaari	destroy tantoryaantsi	exist eenitaantsi
chigger máampiritsi	devil peyari	eye oki, okitsi
child eentsi	die kamaantsi	face pootsi
clean shetaantsi	dirty kipatsi	faint tyaantsi
clothes mathantsi		fall paryaantsi
cloud menkori		fall down tyaantsi
coca koka		fall into the water piinkaantsi

falling or splashing in the water thapóok	follower nintakorentsi	granddaughter -hawo, -shawo, nohawo, noshawo, sheeni
far intaena	food wanawontsi	grandfather aapi, charini, -charini, hari
far in time hamani	foot fítzintsi	grandmother ameeni, -hawo, sheeni
fat wathantsi	forest antami	grandson charini, hari, nohari, noshari, -shari
fat fish tziweri	four ótsipata, ótsipatàka, ótsipàtsita, ótsipátsitapàka	grasp ateyaantsi, athanankaantsi
father -iri, paapa, pawa	frog pirinto	grate kemitaantsi, pontzitaantsi
father-in-law konki, -kónkiri, kooko	fruit kithokintsi	grease yeenka
feather shiwanki	gap mootsi	green éeriki, kináshiri
feel kemaantsi	genipap ana	greet owethataantsi
fellow person sheninkantsi	genipap colour (bluish black) kihaari	growing amaani
female cousin atyoeni, -énathori, choeni	get dark shaawitaantsi, tsireniitaantsi	hail from poñaantsi
fill haantsi	get out shitowaantsi	hair eshitsi
find out kamitaantsi	get tired makotaantsi	hand akotsi
finger akóanikì	get up from bed in the morning ananinkaantsi	hang thataantsi
fingernail shetákintsi	get used ametaantsi	happen poñashitaantsi
fingers akóerikì	getting out of a hole sherok	hard kihori
finish thonkaantsi	getting up táankore, sherok	harvest awiitaantsi
fire páamari	give paantsi	harvest seeds kithoyaantsi
first hewari	go iyaataantsi	hat honpéirontsi
fish shima	go down ayiitaantsi	he rirori
fish shimaataantsi	go hunting in the forest kinawaetaantsi	head itotsi
fish with hook akaachataantsi	go off (food) apaataantsi	hear kemaantsi
fish with tarrafa (a kind of net) taraha	go past anataantsi	heart ahánkane
five apápako, apàpakóoni	go up ateetaantsi	heavy oténanka
floor háawikitsi	goes on éekiro	help amitakotaantsi
fly ataantsi	good kameetha, kaméethari	here haka
fly in circles agenkataantsi		hers ashi
follow oyaataantsi		hex thawinataantsi
		hide manaantsi

hill ochempi, tonkaari	is not kaari	look! sho
hip thakitsi	jaguar kashékari, manitzi	louse neetsi
his rashi	join aapataantsi	love nintaantsi
hit ompohaantsi, taawatoryaantsi	juice pochari	maize shinki
hitting with a stone tyao	jump hapokaantsi	make antaantsi
honey pitsi	jumps hapo	make love pankinataantsi, ñaathataantsi
horn cheetsi	kick patyataantsi	make <i>maspute</i> owashitantaantsi
hot háawari	kitchen koshina	make the bed thatakotaantsi
house pankotsi	knead kawirinkaantsi	male cousin èméni, iye, yeyi, -émithori
how chaa, hempe, íta(ka), tsiká, tsikárika	knee yerétotsi	man shirámpari
however róokantàcha, róokantàencha, téemáita, (f./m.) omaanta/imaanta	knock down towaantsi	many osheki
hug awithakitaantsi, thomaantsi	know iyotaantsi	masato pyáarentsi
hummingbird shonkiri	language ñaantsi	maternal aunt -inìrothóri, nanaeni
hunger tashetsi	later paata, rooha, róohatzi	maternal uncle konki, -kónkiri, kooko
hunt with bow and arrow kentaantsi	laugh shirontaantsi	meat wathatsi
hurt katsitaantsi	leaf oshi, pana, tsipana	meet apatotaantsi, piyotaantsi
husband -emi, noemi	lean chentetaantsi	middle niyanki
I naaka	leave ookaantsi	midsize (m./f.) ewónkiri/ewónkiro
I know nothing tánitya	leave from a place kinaantsi	mine nashi
if arírika	leg poritsi	misstep tziroryaantsi
ill (m./f.) mantsiyari/mantsiyaw o	less iyoneenta	moon káshiri
immediately intsipaeti	lie maryagaantsi, theyaantsi	moriche palm tóniròki
inform kamantaantsi	like nimotaantsi	mother -íniro, naana
inside inthomóe, inthomoeki, inthomoenta	lime ishiko	mother-in-law ayini, -ayiro, -iyoti, yoeni
	liquid falling shaao	mountain ochempi, tonkaari
	live añaantsi	
	live in a place heekaantsi	
	liver irapanantsi	
	long ago páerani	
	long (m./f.) hanthari/hanthawo	
	look at aminaantsi	

mouse onkiro	not tee	peanut inki
mouth paante, páantentsi	not (irrealis) eero	peccary kitáeriki
move forward until a point oweyaantsi	not yet tekira	Perené (river) Pareni
much rain falling pakáa	now iroñaaka, nimaeka	permanently ashoyiro
much osheki	ojé (Ficus insipida) potóo	permit shinetaantsi
name wéerontsi	old (m./f.) antyáshipari/anthásyi	person atziri, ashéninka
navel moitontsi	on the bank (of a river) othapyaki	place (verb) owaantsi
near okáakini	on the edge othápikinta	play ñaathataantsi
neck kentsitsi	one apaani	pointed object boring into another one miri
nephew brother's son notómithóri, nõtzinéri/notzineri, -thómithóri, -tzineri	only apátziro	pointed object gets in hanák
nephew sister's son ñotzi, -tzineri	only (f./m.) roentzi/riintzi	polish kiwaantaantsi
new owákira	opening the way in the jungle watzi	practise incestuous sex thawinataantsi
next to kiho, onámpina(ki)	organic waste takitsi	prepare wetsikaantsi
next to onámpina(ki)	otherwise téerika	pull notsikaantsi
niece brother's daughter nishíntyothóri, -shínto thóri, -éwatayéero, -é watayíro	ours (incl.) ashi	pumpkin kemi
niece sister's daughter -ishíntothór i, nishíntyothóri, -aniro, aniryó	outside onkókiròeni	put owaantsi
niece néwatayéero, néwatayíro	owl thoo	put inside tetaantsi
night tsiréniri	paca hamani	put on something owankitaantsi
nine apintapaaka	palm Attalea butyracea shewo	put up tzinagaantsi
no tee	papaya mapoche, mapocha	quickly intsi
no (irrealis) eero	paper paperi	raft shíntzipàa
non-indigenous wirákocha	pass by awihaantsi	rain inkani
nose kiritsi	paternal aunt ayini, -ayiro, -iyoti, yoeni	red kityónkari
	paternal uncle -frithori, pawáchori, pawaeni	rest makoryaantsi
	path awotsi	rice aroso
	paucarcillo tsirootzi	river eni
		root opáireki
		run shiyaantsi
		salt tziwi
		sand impáneki
		say kantaantsi, kamantaantsi

school owámetàantsipánko, yotáantsipánko	snake maanke	stare otsikanataantsi
search thootyaakotaantsi	sniff ahankaantsi	stay heekaantsi
see ñagaantsi	soil kipatsi	stick something into the anus hatziikitaantsi
seed kithokintsi	so it is róomache, ríimache, mache	still éekiro
seem kimitaantsi	something hurts thowiwiii	sting kentaantsi
sell pimantaantsi	something falls in the water thapo	stone mapi
serve drink oetaantsi	something falls on the floor patari	story kenkitharentsi
settle on the floor poo	something falls on the floor shikiri	stranger wirákocho
seven oyatzirori	something is broken waiii	stumble antziwatakaantsi
shade ampari	son notyomi, -tomi, -tyom i	suck thotaantsi
shake otekaantsi	son-in-law -tzineri, ñotzi	suck to cure (a shaman) aatsimiyaantsi
shaman sheripyari	song mampaantsi	summer oháarentsi
she roori	soon intsi	sun oorya
shoe hapato	sound of leaves or grass when walking on it shikire	surprise! iká
shoo oshankaantsi	sound of shots too	swallow ashiwantzi, chewontzi
shoot tonkaantsi	South American tapir kemari	swallow niyaataantsi
short-eared dog hagari	speak ñaawaetaantsi	sweet pochari
sing mampaantsi	speaking slowly in the ear piteri	swim amaataantsi
sister eentyo, -irento, -tsiro, choeni	spread out a blanket shitashitaantsi	tail shithatsi
sit kotyaataantsi	spread-legged tenkari	take ataantsi
six mintyapake, montyaaka	squirrel méyiri	tall (m./f.) hanthari/hanthawo
skewer shinkotaantsi	stake inchaki, inchápontho	tambaqui komáyiri
skin mashitsi	stalk tapotaantsi	tasty póshini
sleep magaantsi	stand katziyaantsi	teach iyometaantsi, owametaantsi
slip aashirataantsi	star ompókiro	tell kenkithataantsi
slipping shiraririri		ten apípakòte, apípako
small (m./f.) iryaani/oryaani		termite kaero
small bird with a black tail takoyo		testicle yatharékiho
smoke kachari		that (m./f.) irira/irowa

that (m./f.) ríraga/rówaga	tree <i>Hymenaea oblongifolia</i> kontaki	which chaa, íita(ka), óeta(ka), tsiká
that over there (m./f.) iriinta/iroonta	trousers chenkotsi	whip masato in canoe haantsi
there ashi, ñaa, ari	true kyaa, kyaaryo	white kitamaari
there be tzimaantsi	trunk inchataato	who(m) chaa, íita(ka), ninka, tsiká
there is not tekatsi	two apiti	why íitarikya, íita(ka), óeta(ka), ninka
there very far hantóo	um... rira, rowa	wife -ena, noena
there was ééniro	under ground oháawiya	wind tampya
thin (m./f.) mathari/mathawo	up henoki	wing shiwankintsi
think kenkishiryaantsi	upriver katonko	with boots on ponchakyya
thirst miritsi	urinate tsintaantsi	with the form of a full bag tyantyapitzi
this (m./f.) irika/iroka	urucuri palm tsiyároki	woman tsinani
this is, so it is róotaki	visit areetaantsi	woman laughing hoo
thorn cheetsi	wait máetawaki, oyataantsi	wood hantari
thorns kitochee	walk anashaataantsi, aníitaantsi	wood quail pówonto
three mawa	walking or running tik	work antawaetaantsi
throw heetaantsi	want kowaantsi, nintaantsi	worm chowi
throw someone head first pityaankaantsi	wash kiwaantsi	year oháarentsi
thus ari	wasp hani	yellow kitériri
tie oohotaantsi	water niha	yellow-footed tortoise konoya
tinamou honkágari	we (incl.) aaka	yellow-rumped cacique thoori
today iroñaaka, nimaeka	weed pehaantsi, thamaetaantsi	yes hee
to the left ampátiki	weep iragaantsi	yesterday chapinkì
to the right ákoperórikì	well kameetha	yonder hanta
tobacco sheri	what chaa, íita(ka), óeta(ka), tsiká	you éeroka
tomorrow inkámani	when arírika	young, new (f./m.) ewánkawo/ewánkari
tongue nenetsi	where chaa, hempe, hempeña, tsiká, tsikárika	yours pashi
tooth aiki, aikintsi		
tree inchato		

