Elena Mihas

A GRAMMAR OF ALTO PERENÉ (ARAWAK)

Elena Mihas
A Grammar of Alto Perené (Arawak)

Mouton Grammar Library

Edited by
Georg Bossong
Bernard Comrie
Matthew Dryer
Patience L. Epps

Volume 69

Elena Mihas
A Grammar of Alto Perené (Arawak)

With the assistance of
Gregorio Santos Pérez

MIX
Papier aus verantwor-
tungsvollen Quellen
FSC
www.fsc.org   FSC® C083411

For my husband Peter and my parents Galina and Ilya

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

Part III: Word structure and word classes

Part IV: The verb

Part V: The noun

Part VI: Word formation

Part VII: Main clause structure

Part VIII: Special sentence types

Part IX: Complex constructions

Part X: Information structure

List of tables and figures

Tables

Figures

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Ø	zero marking
A	subject of transitive verb
A.CAUS	Agentive causative
ADV	adverbial
ADVZ	adverbializer
AFF	Affect
anim	animate
APL	applicative
APL.GEN	Generalized applicative
APR	Apprehensive
ASSERT	Assertive
ASSUM	Assumptive
AUG	Augmentative
BEN	Beneficiary
CAUS	causative
CC	complement clause; copula complement
CL	classifier
CL.T	class term
CMPL	Completive
CNT.F	Counterfactual Condition
COND	Possible Condition
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	connective
CONTR.TOP	contrastive topic
CUST	Customary
DEM.ADV	demonstrative adverb
DEM.ID	demonstrative identifier
DEM.NOM	nominal demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DISTN	Distance
DISTR	Distributive
DLMT	Delimitative
DUB	Dubitative
DUR	Durative

EP	epenthetic
EXCL	Exclamative
EXH	exhaustive
EXIST	existential
EXPECT	Expectational
FOC	focus
FRUS	Frustrative
G.ANT	Generic Anterior
GR.PL	Group Plural
HAB	Habitual
ICPL	Incompletive
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	Impersonal/Generalized subject
inanim	inanimate
INCH	Inchoative
INST	Instrument
INT	Intent
INTNS	intensifier
INTJ	interjection
INVLNT	Involuntary
IPFV	Imperfective
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MA	Maleficiary
MA.CAUS	Maleficiary causative
N.CONTR	non-contrastive
NEG	negative
NEW.DISC	New Discovery
NM	non-masculine
NMZ	nominalizer
O	object of transitive verb
OBL	oblique
OPT	Optative
P	Patient
PFV	Perfective
PL	plural
PM	Possessum
POSS	possessive
POSS.REL	Possessive Relation
PP	positive polarity
PR	Possessor

PREM	Premonition
PRES	Presential
PROG	Progressive
PROSP	Prospective
Q	Interrogative
R	Recipient
REAL	Realis
REAS	Reason
R.BEN	Recipient-Beneficiary
RC	relative clause
REC	Reciprocal
REDUPL	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
REM.PST	Remote Past
REP	Repetitive
REV	Reversative
S	subject of intransitive verb
SC	subordinate clause
SEP	Separative
SG	singular
SOC.CAUS	Sociative-Causative
ST	stimulus
STAT	Stative
SUBST	Substitute
T	Theme
TEMP	Temporal
TERM	Terminative
TOP	Topic
U	Undergoer
UNSP.POSS	Unspecified Possessor
VCC	verbless clause complement
VCL	vocable
VOC	vocative
WH	content question word

Part I: Introduction

1 The language and its speakers

This chapter discusses the geographical location of the language/ethnic group and speaker numbers in Section 1.1. The language's profile is outlined in Section 1.2. The language's genetic classification is addressed in Section 1.3. A brief survey of prior research on the language is provided in Section 1.4. An account of the language ecologies and current socio-linguistic status of the language is given in Sections 1.5–1.6. Research methods, fieldwork materials, and consultants' profiles are addressed in Section 1.7.

1.1 Geographical location and speaker numbers

The language described in this grammar is that spoken in the Upper Perené valley of Chanchamayo and Perené Districts of Junín Region, Peru. The ethnic population is estimated to be at 6,000 people (Anderson 2002:57). Fieldwork results have revealed that the number of speakers is significantly lower, approximately 1,000. The number of Alto Perené-speaking communities is thirty-seven, as reported by the local government of Distrito Perené (http://www.muniperene.gob.pe). However, fieldwork data show that the total number of settlements is thirty-six: San Jose Huachiroki, Pampa Michi, San Miguel Centro Marankiari, Bajo Marankiari, Villa Perené, Bajo Esperanza, Alto Esperanza, Mariscal Cáceres, San Jerónimo de Urinaki, Pucharini, Chirani, Shinari, Cumbre San Roman, Satinaki, Alto Incariado, Bajo Incariado, Ichatingari, Santa Rosa Ubiriki, Churingaveni, Pachacutec, Campo Verde, Alto Pucharini, Centro Pumpuriani, Kivinaki, Alto Kivinaki, Cerro Picaflor, Shankivironi, Shivitsari, Shintoriato, Bajo Aldea, Sotani, Huacamayo, San Cristobal, Alto Huacamayo, San Jose Kuviriani, San Martin de Ubiriki. They are shown in Figure 1.

Approximately half of the villages are located on the valley floor; the rest are nestled in the hills on both sides of the river. The hillside villages are connected by narrow gravel roads or footpaths which can be accessed by a motorbike or a passenger vehicle. The villages on the valley floor typically lie close to the central highway that runs from Lima to Satipo. The most populous settlements along the highway are Pampa Michi, Santa Ana (which has become the area's major settler-populated town and administrative center of Perené District), Bajo Marankiari, and Pucharini. During the last twenty years, Pichanaki has been transformed from a small Alto Perené settlement on the river Pichanani into a fast-growing settler town and bustling commercial hub of the Perené valley organic green coffee producers.

The names of the communities are essentially spelled in agreement with the writing conventions of the Atlas de Comunidades Nativas de la Selva Central (Benavides 2006).[1]
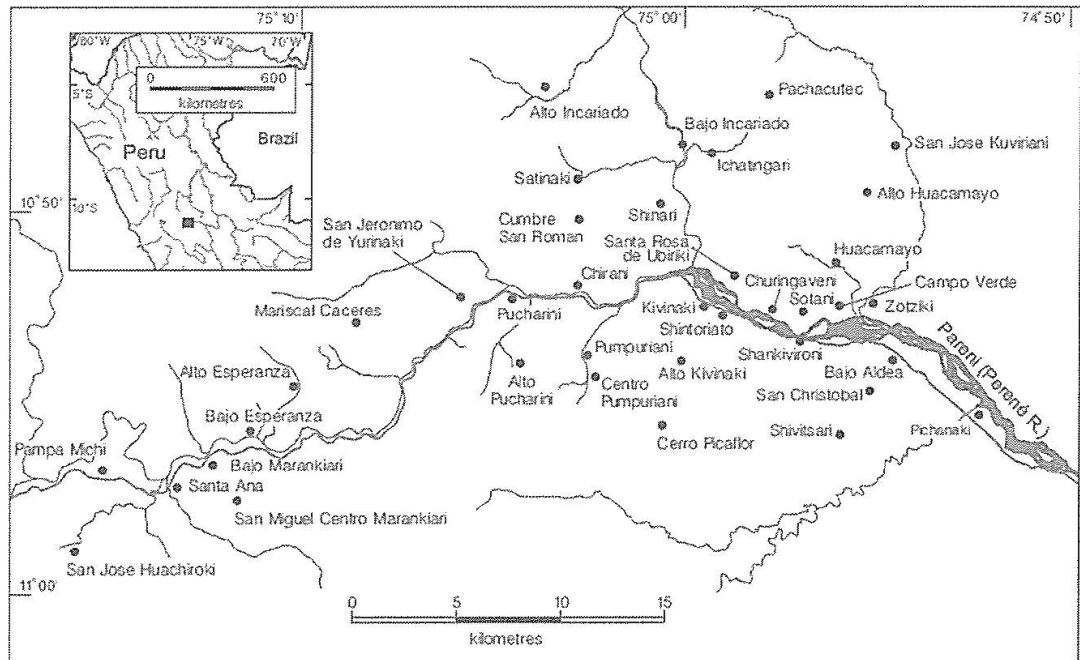
Fig. 1: Alto Perené settlements (by Adella Edwards)

1.2 Linguistic profile of Alto Perené

Alto Perené is a polysynthetic, head-marking, agglutinating, mainly suffixing language with rich verbal morphology. It has eighteen consonants and eight vowels. The language lacks phonemic voice distinction; its stops, fricatives and affricates

---

1 The numbers of speakers and settlements have been contributed by the following native speakers of Alto Perené: Gregorio Santos Pérez (Villa Perené), Elias Meza Pedro (Mariscal Cáceres), Carmen Santos Lopez (Alto Esperanza), Marino Samaniego Domingo (San Miguel Centro Marankiari), Osbaldo Rosas Rodriguez (Bajo Marankiari), Cristobal Jumanga (Pucharini), Enrique Martinez (Bajo Chirani), Mario Prado Lopez (Santa Rosa de Uviriki), Delfin Pongo (Alto Incariado), Adan Santo Castañeda (Cumbre San Roman), Jorge Quinchori (San Jerónimo de Urinaki), Lucas Florez (Renacimiento Kivinaki), Ricardo Camacho (Pampa Michi), Nestor Ramirez (Santo Domingo), Nilda Camiñiri (Shinari), Elmer Quinchori (Aldea Bajo), Victor Camacho (Shintoriato), Adolfo Gutierrez (Churigaveni), Dany Robles (Huacamayo), Adolfo Marcos (Alto San Luis), Dionicio Minkori (Bajo Esperanza), Elmer Antonio (Camonashari), Mateo Cristobal (Platanillo Shimaki), Daniel Bernales Quillatupa (La Merced).

are voiceless. There are two sibilant fricatives *s* and *ʃ*; one glottal fricative *h*; one liquid with a flap articulation *r*; two glides, the bilabial approximant *w* and the palatal glide *j*. It has three nasal stops *m*, *n*, and *ɲ* which contrast with the underspecified nasal *N*. The vowels *i, e, a, o* have long counterparts. The canonical syllable structure is CV. The minimal phonological word must have two syllables and an independent stress. Phonological processes (lenition, palatalization, metathesis, epenthesis, vowel reduction and deletion, high front vowel centralization, syllable/segment omission) occur on the boundaries between a prefix and a root, a root and a suffix, a root and a root, and a suffix and a suffix.

Open word classes are verbs, nouns, Derived adjectives, and ideophones. Underived adjectives form a small closed class of circa thirteen members. Adverbs form a semi-closed class, that is place and locative-existential adverbs are closed subclasses while it is possible to derive some time and modal adverbs from verbs. Personal pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, interrogatives, and indefinite forms are closed classes. Members of open classes can function as predicates; however, only verbs exhibit unrestricted morphological possibilities. For example, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs do not occur in the imperative mood.

Structural properties of nouns involve the categories of case (Spatial case *-ki*), optionally expressed plural number, possession, definiteness (encoded by the bound demonstratives =*ka*, =*ra*, =*nta*), and nominal tense (Ceased Existence *-ni*, Temporal =*ranki*). Derivational categories include degree (diminutive *-aniki*, *-patsaini*, *-ini* and intensifier *-pero*) and noun categorization forms. Possession is morphologically expressed on two groups of nouns: obligatorily (inalienably) possessed and optionally (alienably) possessed. There are also non-possessable nouns which appear bare without any inflectional morphology. Possessive phrases are left-headed. There is no case marking on core constituents (A, S, O); the only case-marking Spatial suffix *-ki* can have any of the following meanings: 'in', 'at', 'on', 'to', 'by', and 'with'. The diffuse spatial meaning of the suffix *-ki* can be extended to the temporal sense 'during/over'.

Verb roots are always bound and minimally have a subject prefix and a reality status suffix (or Stative aspect suffix). They typically appear with other affixes which occupy multiple structural slots for number, incorporated nouns, valence-adjusting/preserving, adverbial, aspectual, reality status, person, tense categories. There are additional slots for relative/nominalizing, subordination (temporal/spatial =*ra* 'when/where'), mood and modality categories (Interrogative =*ka*, Dubitative =*ma*, Possible Condition =*rika*, Counterfactual Condition =*mi*, Optative =*ta*, Apprehensive =*kari*, to name a few), Adverbial Locality =*ka*, =*ra*, =*nta*, and pragmatic clitics, exemplified by Parallel Focus =*ja*, Affect =*tya*, Assertive =*kia*, and Exclamative =*ve*. The language makes a formal distinction between real and unreal events. The scope of the Irrealis suffixes *-e* and *–ia* covers the entire notional range of what is defined as irrealis (unrealized) events: future events, imperative, optative, counterfactual, conditional, purposive, want-complements,

negated realis clauses, converbial clauses, prospective events, and habitual events which took place in the past.

There are two lexical classes of verbs, A-Conjugation and I-Conjugation, labeled on the basis of the reality status inflectional endings they take. Membership in each class is largely unpredictable, except for reflexive verbs which all belong to the A-Conjugation class. In addition to regular verbs, there are two sets of morphologically defective verbs: existential-possessive verbs and copulas. The existential-possessive verbs include the positive polarity verbs *tzimatsi* 'existential-possessive' and *ainiro* 'continue to exist, possess', and the negative polarity verb *tekatsi* 'negative existential-possessive'. The set of copulas is comprised of the existential copulas *na* 'be' and *kant* 'be this way', and the negative polarity copula *kaari* 'negative existential'. Verbs divide into two basic transitivity classes depending on the transitivity type of clauses they occur in: intransitive clauses with one obligatory argument S (intransitive subject) and transitive clauses which have two arguments A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object). Many verbs roots are A/S ambitransitive, that is they can have either transitivity value. Ditransitive clauses are often found with the transfer verbs *p* 'give', *tyank* 'send', and *aa* 'take'.

Alto Perené does not have a valence-decreasing passive derivation. The Reciprocal suffix *-avak*, reality status *-a~-ia* (A-Conjugation), and Customary *-ant* are valence-decreasing operators. The valence-increasing mechanisms include exuberant applicative derivations (Generalized applicative *-ako*, Beneficiary *–vent~-vint*, Beneficiary-Recipient *-ront*, Instrument/Reason *-ant*, Separative *-apitsa*, Presential *-imo*, and Intent *-ashi*), and causativization. The causative morphemes include the Malefactive causative prefix *mi(n)-*, Agentive causative prefix *oi-~i-~v-*, and Sociative-Causative suffix *-aka*.

The Alto Perené verbal TAM system is very complex and includes aspect, reality status, mood, and tense specifications, the latter encoded by three past-tense-oriented markers, Remote Past *-ni*, Anterior-*it*, and Generic Anterior *=ranki*. The language makes aspectual distinctions (Perfective *-ak*, Terminative *-aj*, Completive *-ite*, Inchoative *–imai*, Progressive *-aty* (A-Conjugation)~-atz* (I-Conjugation), Durative *-vai*, Delimitative *-mintsa~-vintsa*, Habitual *-apint*, Customary *-ant*, Prospective *-aty*, Repetitive *-a* 'continuous repetition', Iterative *-apanant* 'one more time'). Other grammatical categories include reality status (Realis *-a*, *-i*; Irrealis *-ia*, *-e*), mood (Interrogative *=ka*) and modality (Dubitative *=ma*, Possible Condition *=rika*, Counterfactual Condition *=mi*, Optative *=ta*, Apprehensive *=kari*). In addition to two aspectual adverbs *tekira* 'not yet' and *aikiro* 'still', there is a set of adverbial modal verbal suffixes, Frustrative *-ve~-vi*, Compassion *-matsi*, Premonition *-amampi*, Involuntary *-mache*, Incompletive *-i*, and New Discovery *-atai*. Other derivational verbal morphemes code time (*-aman* 'early morning'), distance (Distance *-ai*), and degree, exemplified by the diminutive *-nint* 'a little bit', 'slightly' and intensifiers *-pero* 'indeed', 'truly', *-ki* and *-tzii* 'excessive degree'.

Canonical (i.e. second person) imperatives, expressing commands, are formally undistinguishable from polite requests or hortatives since the verb obligatorily takes subject person marker and irrealis inflection to express an unrealized action. The force of command is intensified by the Exclamative clitic =*ve*. There is one negative imperative construction formed with the Irrealis negator *airo*. The negated imperative is formally equivalent to the negated irrealis clause.

Alto Perené exhibits periphrastic negation. The set of negators includes the negative realis particle *te*, negative irrealis particle *airo*, negative polarity verb *tekatsi* 'existential-possessive', the negative polarity verb *kaari* 'negative existential', and the aspectual adverb *tekira* 'not yet'. Their position is fixed; the negators always precede the predicate. The standard negation strategy, which is a basic means of expressing a negated declarative clause, involves the negators *te* and *airo*. The Realis negator *te* is used to negate realis clauses whereas Irrealis negator *airo* negates irrealis propositions. Both negators have scope over the reality status of the negated clause: *te*-negated clauses obligatorily take irrealis marking and *airo*-negated clauses take realis marking. The Irrealis negator -*tsi* can be used on its own, without the Irrealis negative particle *airo*.

The language has various relativizing strategies, attested with canonical and non-canonical relative clause constructions. The canonical relative clause construction involves marking of the predicate of the headed relative clause by the nominalizers -*ri* or -*ni*; -*ri* relativizes the common argument in A, S, O function in realis clauses and in O function in irrealis clauses, while -*ni* is associated with the relativization of the common argument in A and S function in irrealis clauses. Alto Perené uses a number of complementation strategies (juxtaposition, serialization, and nominalization) to express complement relations. The semantic types of adverbial subordinate clauses include temporal, conditional, purposive, causative, resultative, motion purposive, and undesirable consequence. Two other types, counterfactual and manner adverbial clauses, are coordinated. The adverbial subordinate clauses are marked by construction-specific free-standing adverbial subordinators (*arika* 'when/ if', *okanta/ikanta* 'in the meantime', *tekira* 'before', *irojatzi* 'until', *aririka* 'if', *tema*, *kama* 'because', *onkantya/okanta* 'so that'), bound dependency markers, cliticizing conjunctions =*rika* 'when/if', =*ra*, =*nta* 'where', =*ra* 'when', =*kari* 'lest', and nominalization of dependent subordinate predicates in the construction -*ant...* -*ri* 'in order', 'that's why'. Converbial clauses, carrying irrealis inflection, are associated with motion and activity verbs, providing background information about the events which simultaneously occur with the focal activity. Converbial clauses specify the ongoing nature of the supporting event.

The language essentially exhibits nominative-accusative grammatical alignment. Its intransitive verbs show a fluid intransitive indexation pattern of S arguments by a set of markers which occur in the suffixal slot reserved for O arguments. The index-set partially overlaps with the verb indexes of the O series.

The basic constituent word order is verb-object and verb-intransitive subject. The order of the fully expressed verb arguments largely depends on their pragmatic status, with topical pronouns and NPs appearing in the post-verbal position. The focus constituent precedes the verb.

A number of aspects of Alto Perené grammar are cross-linguistically infrequent, such as exuberant applicative derivations, polyfunctionality of its grammatical morphemes, intricate aspectual and modal systems, past tense nominal morphemes, complex conditioning of fluid intransitiviy, expression of irrealis negation as realis, and the straightforward correspondence between conceptually unreal events and their encoding in the language as irrealis.

This grammar is composed of ten parts:
-   the introductory Part I, which outlines Alto Perené language ecologies and details the language's linguistic profile;
-   Part II deals with the sound system of the language and patterns of morphophonemic alterations;
-   the typologically-oriented Part III gives an overview of the Alto Perené basic word structure, morphological processes, and word classes;
-   Part IV concentrates on the verb, including verb predicate types, verb classes, verb categories, and verb's inflectional and derivational operations;
-   Part V examines the noun, covering noun classes, categories, and noun phrase syntax;
-   Part VI gives on overview of word formation strategies;
-   Part VII details main clause structure;
-   Part VIII deals with special sentence types;
-   Part IX addresses in detail complex constructions;
-   Part X discusses information structure.

The rationale behind presenting the account of the grammatical category of the verb (Part IV) before the noun category (Part V) lies in the centrality of the former to the Alto Perené grammar. The particular order of the presentation is entirely motivated by the key role the verb plays in this analysis.

1.3 Alto Perené within the Kampa subgroup and the Arawak[2] language family

Alto Perené belongs to the Ashéninka subgrouping of Kampa of the Arawak language family. The Kampa (or Kampan, or Campa) branch includes Ashéninka, Ashaninka, Caquinte (Kakinte), Nomatsiguenga, Machiguenga (Matsigenka), and Nanti.

The number of Ashéninka varieties listed is somewhat arbitrary in that it is difficult to say whether some varieties should be considered dialects or languages. Linguistic scholarship distinguishes several dialects of Ashéninka (Pajonal, Ucayali, Pichis, Perené, and Apurucayali), but the scholars vary in their estimates of the number of the principal Ashéninka dialects. Importantly, the status of Alto Perené as a separate language is not definitively ascertained. For example, Ribeiro and Wise (1978) and David Payne (1981) distinguish between two language varieties: one includes speakers of Perené, Pichis, and Ucayali Ashéninka and the other speakers of Ashíninka (Axininka or Ajyininka Apurucayali). David Payne (1991) includes three dialect subgroupings: Asháninka, Ashéninka, and Ashéninka Pajonal. Solís Fonseca (2003) makes a distinction between two languages, Campa Asháninka and Campa (Ashéninka) Gran Pajonal. Fabre (2005–2013:5) notes that Ashéninca and Asháninca are two distinct languages, each having dialectal varieties. Alonzo Sutta (2010:81) posits the following varieties as dialects of Ashaninka: Pichis, Ucayali, Tambo-Ene, Perené, Apurucayali, Pajonal, Yurúa. Other conservative assessments of the dialect diversity are by Aikhenvald (1999) and Danielsen (2007) who tentatively consider Perené, Pichis, and Ucayali Ashéninka dialects of Ashéninka Pajonal. Adelaar and Muysken's (2004) classification is the same; the distinction is made between Asháninca and Ashéninca. Campbell (2012:76) lists within the limits of the "Campa branch" the following "languages or dialects": Ashéninka, Asháninka, Caquinte, Pajonal Ashéninka, Machiguenga, Nomatsiguenga, and Nanti.

In contrast, the classifications by Judith Payne (1989) and Payne and Payne (2005) list Pichis, Perené, Ucayali, and Apurucayali as distinct language varieties. Lewis, Simon, and Fennig (2013) identify Pichis, Perené, Ucayali, Apurucayali, and Ashéninka Pajonal as separate languages.

There is no clarity either as to what extent the Kampa languages are genetically related on a higher-level grouping. Wise (1986, 1986, 1990, 2002) proposed an internal classification of Kampa languages within a larger grouping of Preandine

---

2 Sources use different labels for this language family: Arawak (e.g., Aikhenvald 1999, Danielsen 2007, Michael 2008, Solís Fonseca 2003), Arawakan (e.g., Adelaar and Muysken 2004; Campbell 1997; Lewis, Simon, and Fennig 2013; Wise 1986, 1990), and Maipuran/Maipurean (e.g., Campbell 1997; Kaufman 1994; Wise 1990).

family³, including Amuesha, Apuriña and Piro, and compared some of their grammatical characteristics. David Payne (1991) revised Wise's (1986) classification and established the current limits of the Kampa group, reaffirmed by Aikhenvald (1999) and Adelaar and Muysken (2004). Michael's (2008:218) internal classification of Kampa languages splits the Kampa languages into Southern (Matsigenka, Nanti, Nomatsigenga) and Northern (Kakinte, Asháninka, Ashéninka⁴) branches. The most recent classification (Lawrence 2012; Michael 2011) places Nanti, Matsigenka, Kakinte, Ashéninka, and Asháninka into one group, leaving Nomatsigenga apart. Asháninka and Ashéninka are placed in one subgroup, as closely related language varieties. Though there are no doubts concerning the genetic affiliation of Kampa languages, problems still exist regarding the internal genetic relationships within the subgrouping and possible genetic relationships with other Andean languages. The identification of the possible genetic affinity of Kampa with other languages is confounded by the lack of agreement between scholars on a mid-level grouping of Arawak languages. The main problem of Kampa studies is the lack of adequate descriptive data for the individual languages that are included in this group. Additionally, to define the internal divisions within the Kampa subgrouping, more comparative and historical studies on Kampa languages are required.

1.4 Prior research on the language

The speakers refer to themselves as *katonkosatzi* (*katonko* is 'upriver' and *-satzi* 'nominalizer.M') 'upriver people' or *parenisatzi* (*pareni* 'river' and *-satzi* 'nominalizer.M') 'river people'. Another autodenomination is *ashaninka* or *asheninka* 'our fellowman'. In Spanish orthography, the middle vowel is marked by the diacritic acute symbol. The stem *-sheninka* can be marked for varied possessors, e.g., *nosheninka* 'my fellowman', *pisheninka* 'your fellowman', *osheninka* 'her fellowman'. When speakers use Spanish to describe themselves, they say *Asháninka del Alto Perené* 'Asháninka from the Upper Perené River'.

The terms 'Ashéninka Perené' or 'Ashéninca Perené', are commonly employed in scholarly literature (e.g., Aikhenvald 1999:68, 2012:35, 351; Anderson 2000:42–45). This designation has been introduced by linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (see the SIL online language database, www.ethnologue.com). Another common term is Ashéninka del Alto Perené, preferred by Peruvian linguists (e.g., García Salazar 1997; Heise et al. 2000; Romani Miranda 2004). Other terms in circulation are Upper Perené (Payne 1981:5; Campbell

---

3 Some linguists continue to use the term Pre-Andine (e.g., Cysouw 2007, Payne and Payne 2005; Solís Fonseca 2003, Wise 2002) to refer to Kampa languages.
4 I preserve the spelling of language names as they were given by the sources.

1997:181), Perené, dialect of Pajonal Campa (Aikhenvald 1999:68), Alto Perené (Heise et al. 2000:5), Campa Asháninka (Solís Fónseca 2003:144), Perené Ashéninka (Lewis, Simon, and Fennig 2013), Campa Alto Perené (Fabre 2013). At the speakers' request, I use the term 'Alto Perené' in this grammar.

Limited accounts of grammatical features of Alto Perené are found in publications by SIL and local linguists. The illustrated dictionary of five Ashéninka varieties, published for the local bilingual teachers, contains a small number of Perené words (Heise et al. 2000). There is a short survey of pronominal forms in three Ashéninka varieties, Pichis, Perené, and Apurucayali (Reed and Payne 1986). Judith Payne's (1989) useful pedagogical manual, intended for the beginning students of Ashéninka Perené and Pichis, provides a brief account of the pronominal system, possessive prefixes, TAM, negation, complements, directionals, applicative suffixes. It contains samples of connected speech such as dialogs and folk stories, along with comments on the orthographic conventions, sound system, stress patterns, and rules of vowel elision. The Ashéninka speakers' pragmatic considerations in the choice of verb aspect are outlined in David Payne (1984). David Payne (2002) discusses the development of causative constructions; David Payne and Judith Payne (2005) address split intransitivity in five Ashéninka languages including Perené. Cysouw (2007) considers briefly the origin of interrogative words in Perené in the context of his discussion of content interrogatives in Pichis Ashéninka. Alonzo Sutta (2007) is an investigation of the classifier -*tha* in Alto Perené. Martel Paredes (2012) provides an account of reduplication in verbs within the framework of Optimality theory. Medina Gutiérrez (2011) is a basic description of noun phrase syntax. General socio-linguistic information about the Perené variety and its cultural context is provided in Anderson (2000, 2005), Weiss (1974, 1975), and Wise (1985).

Most recent focused publications on the Perené variety include a preliminary outline of phonology, morphology, and syntax (which is a doctoral dissertation) by Mihas (2010), account of ideophones (Mihas 2012a), a survey of subordination phenomena (Mihas 2013b), a description of composite ideophone-gesture utterances (Mihas 2013a), and a discussion of nominal and verbal temporal morphology (Mihas 2014c).

1.5 Language ecologies[5]

1.5.1 Economy

The Perené River, formed at the confluence of the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo rivers, flows in a southeasterly direction at elevations ranging from four hundred to six hundred meters above sea level. The Perené empties into the Tambo River. For some of its length, which is about one hundred sixty-five kilometers, the Perené cuts through narrow, towering canyons, but for the most part the meandering river flows through flat open land. At some locations, the river has moderate-sized floodplains shaped by annual floods that occur during the rainy season which lasts from November to April. The Upper Perené River is notorious for its turbulent currents and whirlpools in its main channel. The valley hillside once had extensive areas of tropical premontane forests occurring roughly from 500 to 1,500 meters above sea level, much of which has long been deforested and is now used in slope-farming systems.

Arawak-speaking populations have been present in the area for a long time, possibly for millennia (Hornborg and Hill 2011:13; Lathrap 1970:177). Their subsistence economy combined hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:85). In the past, hunting with a bow and arrow was a major male occupation. The common hunting method was to build a hunter's shack from palm fronds, then wait for the game to approach, and shoot it at a close distance. The valued game animals included *samani* 'paca'(*Coelogenus paca*), *kintori* 'tapir' (*Tapurus americanus*), *kitairiki* 'collared peccary' (*Tayassu tajucu*), *shintori* 'white-lipped peccary'(*Tayassu pecari*).[6] The most prized game birds were turkey-like *tsamiri* 'razor-billed curassow'(*Mitu mitu*) and *sankatzi* 'Spix's guan'(*Penelope jacquacu*), as well as the smaller-size birds *kentsori* 'gray tinamou quail'(*Tinamus tao Kleei*) and *kontsaro* 'dove species'(*Leptotila verreaxi* or *rufaxila*). In modern times, game animals and birds have become so scarce that they have ceased to be a major source of protein for the local population, and game is no longer hunted.

Unlike hunting, fishing has remained a major subsistence pursuit, regularly practiced by both men and women. The so-called hydrocentricity of Arawak socio-economic ecologies is associated with their "deeply entrenched and indissoluble connection to riverine [...] environments" (Hornborg and Hill 2011:10), which is evident in the consistent exploitation of water features. In the shallow water, catching fish with hands is done by turning over stones and grabbing quickly a

---

5 Section 1.5, Language ecologies is a slightly revised Introduction chapter of Mihas 2014d.
6 My identification of plant and animal species is based on Denevan 1971; Weiss 1975; Johnson 2003; Rojas Zolezzi 1994, 2002; and Shepard 2002.

small fish species *jetari* 'carachama' (*Aphanotorulus unicolor*). Another technique simulates the way bears catch fish, when a person crouches in the water with his or her body fully submerged, with eyes wide open, in search of the fish species *chenkori* 'huasaco' (*Hoplias malabaricus*). In addition, fish is caught in the river with the help of special paraphernalia. In the past, male fishermen used arrows to pierce fish, such as *shima* 'boquichico' (*Prochilodus nigricans*), in the water, which requires a special skill.

Currently, speakers mainly fish with a hand fishnet. Men, women and children commonly catch small fish with a hook, namely *kovana* 'lisa' (*Leporinus trifasciatus*) and *shiva* 'anchoveta'(*Knodus breviceps*). This type of fishing is possible during the whole year, and is done in the water pools with slow-moving or stagnant water. Fish traps are rarely used. The use of vegetable poisons *vako(shi)* 'huaca' (*Clibadium remotiflorum*) or *koñapi* 'barbasco' (*Lonchocarpus nicou*) is becoming less common.

Horticulture used to be of the swidden, slash-and-burn type, with one plot of land being planted, and another left fallow. Males would do the arduous and time-consuming task of clearing the land and planting polycultural cultigens, while women would weed and harvest the crops. Due to the quickly deteriorating soil quality caused by the extensive method of its exploitation, the *ovantsi* 'chacra' had to be abandoned within a few years of its use for long-term fallowing, and the family would look for another plot to clear.

Nowadays, the native population has switched to what Whitten (1985:31) calls "fixed-field agriculture", involving cultivation of crops by owners or users on privately and community-owned plots with set boundaries. To maintain soil fertility, fertilizers and crop rotation are used. The indigenous crops best suited for soils in the humid tropical climate are *shinki* 'maize'(*Zea mays*), *machaki* 'beans'(various genera), *koritzi~koritya* 'sweet potato'(*Ipomoea batatas*), *inki* 'groundnuts/peanuts' (*Arachis hypogaea*), and a variety of tubers such as *mavona* 'yam'(*Dioscurea trifida*), *shoñaki* 'sweet cornroot' or 'dale dale'(*Calathea allouia*), *impari* or *pitoka* 'taro'(*Xanthosoma sagittifolium Schott.*), *poi* 'yam-bean'(*Pachyrhizus erosus*), and the staple crop *kaniri* 'sweet manioc'(*Manihot esculenta*). A variety of other plants, originally grown for household needs, currently are essentially planted for commercial purposes: *pariantzi~parentzi* 'plantains' (*Musa species*), *mapocha* 'papaya' (*Carica papaya*), *tzivana* 'pineapple' (*Ananas comosus*), and *achiote* 'annatto'(*Bixa orellana*). Some families plant commercial crops of *kajai* 'coffee' (*Coffea* species) and *kimito* 'cacao' (*Theobroma cacao*). Upper Perené farmers either directly sell the harvested crops at local or regional markets, or contract with wholesalers from Lima.

Fig. 2: Citrus orchards in the Perené valley

Fig. 3: Pineapple plantations in the uplands, in the vicinity of Pumpuriani

In the old times, gathering was a regular activity, popular with both sexes. The documentary corpus provides evidence that *shitovi* 'mushrooms', all sorts of *chochoki* 'wild fruit', and *inchashi* 'medicinal plants' were routinely collected during daytime walks into the forest. Nowadays, gathering pursuits are largely forgotten. Adult speakers in their 40s and older still maintain a robust knowledge of medicinal plants (see Lenaerts 2006c; Luziatelli et al. 2010), but long forest walks for the purpose of herb gathering are mostly practiced by herbal specialists and healers.

1.5.2 Kinship

The Alto Perené kinship system is ego-focused and non-unilineal (cognatic), that is it includes a person's kin beginning with his or her father and mother, without emphasis on patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Genealogies are shallow, consisting of three to four generations. It is not uncommon for Alto Perené Arawaks to lack the knowledge of their great-grandparents, and even their grandparents (e.g., see Bodley's [1970:65] commentary on Pichis genealogies).

Alto Perené Arawaks are endogamous in that they tend to marry within the Kampa group and beyond, but within the geographical boundaries of the Perené valley. My observations show that the pool of potential mates comprises Yanesha, Ashaninka Tambo-Ene, Ashéninka Pichis, Machiguenga, Nomatsigenga, Shipibo, and descendants of Andean highlanders and Spaniards, commonly called *chori* 'mestizo'.

Polygyny once was common among headmen, but nowadays it is very rare. Overall, excessive pursuit of women and multiple sexual hookups are frowned upon, being described as *ochaa* 'lack of sexual restraint'. Adoptions were routine, especially in the old times of high adult mortality. For adopted kin, verb roots *tsika* 'adopt', or *pira* 'domesticate' are used.

Marriage preferences used to be based on two major subdivisions in kinship relationships: nuclear-like kin and classificatory kin, the latter forming a pool of potential mates. According to Rojas Zolezzi (1994:88), the Alto Perené kinship system is of the Dravidian type. It distinguishes between cross-cousins and parallel cousins, based on the perception that siblings of the same sex are considered to be much closer than siblings of the opposite sex, constituting nuclear-like kin. In particular, female ego's father's brother, *pavachori* (non-vocative form *niritsori*) and mother's sister, *nanaini* (non-vocative form *nonirotsori*) are regarded to be potential parents; their children are both parallel cousins and potential siblings. In contrast, father's sister's children and mother's brother's children are cross-cousins, seen as potential mates. These form classificatory kin. Mother's-brother, *koko (nokonkiri)* is referred to as potential father-in-law, while father's sister, *aiyini (nayiro)* is referred to as potential mother-in-law (Bodley 1970:56; Rojas Zolezzi 1994:88–91). Among the present-day Alto Perené Arawaks, marital arrangements on the basis of kinship

system are shunned, viewed as a stigma of the uncivilized past, incompatible with the teachings of Christian religion (about half of Alto Perené language consultants say that they are Adventists or Catholics). My inquiries about speakers' own and their family members' marital unions indicate that they regard cross-cousin marriage to be an undesirable marital arrangement. These statements reflect a trend, previously reported in genetically related language/ethnic populations. According to a survey, conducted in the 1960s, cross-cousin marriages constituted less than 1 percent out of 800 marital unions in the Ashéninka Pichis and Ashaninka Tambo households (Bodley 1970:71).

1.5.3 Socio-political structure

The indigenous pattern of social organization was based on small dispersed settlements, *nampitsi*, of self-sufficient extended families under the non-hereditary leadership of a local headman, called *jevari* 'leader', currently replaced with nucleated settlements built around a school. These are called in Spanish *comunidad nativa*, 'native community'. In Alto Perené, a speaker will refer to his or her native community by *noyomonirateka* 'my community' or *nonampi* 'my settlement'.

In the old times, social power was vested with three important institutions of *ovayeri* 'warrior', *sheripiari* 'shaman', and *pinkatsari* 'regional leader'. The vanished institution of *ovayeri* 'warrior', literally, 'the one who kills', served the function of a swift rebuttal of the territorial threat posed by an enemy. The *ovayeri* were recognized as such on the basis of their experience in combat and the number of people they killed (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:230; Macera and Casanto 2009). The *ovayeri* were propelled to the leadership role during times of military conflict with an enemy. The enemy were Panoans (Shipibo, Conibo, Cashibo) and the Arawak-speaking Piro (Yine) (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:228). These antagonistic groups were called *ovantzinkari* 'those who kill habitually' or 'killers'. The enemy status was also accorded to the Kampa populations of the valleys of the Tambo, Ene, and Ucayali rivers, or of the uplands of Gran Pajonal 'Great Grasslands'. In the colonial times, the Spanish military and settlers fell into the enemy category as well.

The shaman, called *sheripiari*, was the central figure of the Upper Perené social organization (Varese 2002:162). Native speakers translate the term into Spanish as *él que chupa tabaco* 'the one who consumes tobacco'. In drug-induced nocturnal flights, shamans resolved conflicts with the outside world while mediating between the supernatural owners of the forest and the river, and the souls of dead people; they also mediated interpersonal conflicts while diagnosing and treating sick people. In a shamanistic trance, a shaman 'saw' the disease-causing minor infractions or evil deeds committed by his folk, and identified ways of redressing the harm done. The institution has basically ceased to exist due to massive implantation of Christianity (in particular, its Adventist strain) since the first half of the 20th

century. Currently, there are no old-school shamans in the Upper Perené valley; they have passed on due to old age. Lately, the local political organization CECONSEC (La Central de Comunidades Nativas de la Selva Central) has pledged to publicly support shamans. It is attempting to revive the shamanistic institution by organizing the individuals interested in becoming practicing shamans into an association.

The headman, called *pinkatsari,* was a recognized leader of higher authority, in comparison with *jevari* 'local leader'. The *pinkatsari* was a supreme leader in that he was known to possess common wisdom and knowledge of the forest, be a good hunter and warrior, but most of all, he demonstrated a great power of persuasion in his public speeches (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:225). The *pinkatsari* was also expected to have a good knowledge of *ivenki* 'magic plants', community rituals, the movement of the stars and planets, and changes in the seasons so as to be able to give advice on matters of planting, harvesting, and other subsistence pursuits; his prestige and eloquence were put to the test during the resolution of internal conflicts within the area of his control (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:226).

Nowadays, the tribal chiefs' role has changed to that of being a strategist who facilitates, or sometimes even determines the socio-economic orientation of his or her community in the market economy, and that of being a liason or legal representative of the *nampitsi* in its dealings with the outside world of the state, private businesses, and political organizations. For example, on behalf of his community, Fredi Miguel Ucayali, the chief of Pampa Michi, negotiates with travel agencies to arrange for a regular flow of tourists from Lima who buy native crafts and bring money to the village. The tribal chief of Bajo Marankiari Osbaldo Rosas Rodríguez saw through the construction project of building a few cabins on the Playa Remanso, the Perené river bank. The cabins are now advertised on the community's website as a tourist destination.

1.5.4 Contact with other indigenous groups and non-indigenous outsiders

The Upper Perené River is flanked by the settlements of Yanesha in the north west, Ashéninka Pichis in the north, Ashéninka Gran Pajonal in the north east, and Asháninka Tambo-Ene in the east and south. Figure 4 also illustrates other areas inhabited by speakers of Kampa languages: Ashéninka Apurucayali, Kakinte, Machiguenga, Nanti, Nomatsiguenga, and Ucayali-Yurúa. The cluster of Panoan-speaking populations is found in the map's north section, and the Arawak-speaking Piro (Yine) in the west section. The area of Quechua-speaking Andean highlanders is located to the east of the Perené valley.
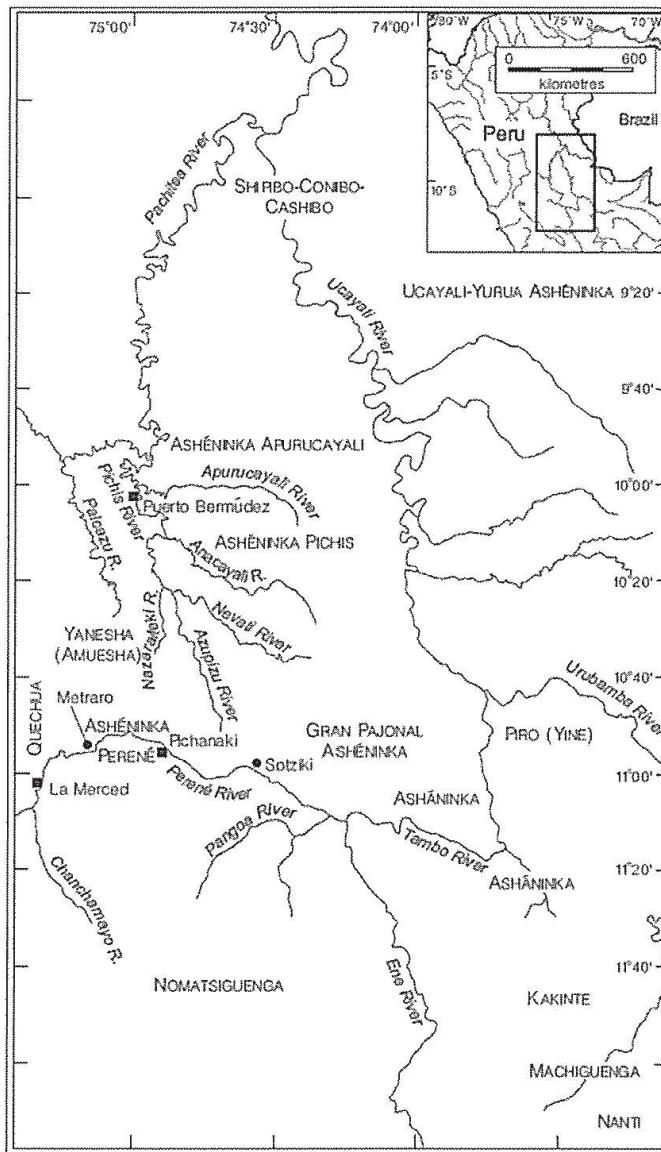
Fig. 4: Areas inhabited by speakers of Kampa languages and other neighboring groups (by Adella Edwards; the map's source is Anderson 2002:33)

Up to the beginning of the last century, Alto Perené Arawaks had controlled salt extraction and trading networks with other Arawak and non-Arawak neighbors, including Panoan populations of Conibo, Cashibo, and Shipibo (Brown and Fernandez 1992:177). There was also small-scale trade with the Inca Empire (Benavides 1986:33; Varese 2002:39). In spite of the loose social structure, solidarity and social networks were created "through marriage ties, residence rules, ritual gatherings, commerce, and political alliances" (Santos-Granero 2002:30). Long before Upper Perené Arawaks came into contact with Spaniards, they had repelled constant attempts "at invasion and annexation" (Descola 1992:121) by Quechua-speaking populations from the Andean highlands (Varese 2002:40).

Among the adjacent ethnic groups (see Figure 4), *amaisha* 'Yanesha', located to the north-west of the Upper Perené valley, historically have been the closest ally.

Weiss regards them as "virtually identical with the Campas in their material culture" (1975:232). Mixed Campa-Yanesha settlements and marriages are a long-standing tradition. The Upper Perené pagan worship of the stone divinity Yompiri and sacred fires is attributed to the influence of Yanesha (Santos-Granero 2004; Weiss 1975:272–273).

In contrast, the *kishisatzi* 'Pajonal Campa', or *pajonalinos* in Spanish, were fearsome neighbors who occupied a vast territory of Gran Pajonal, to the north-east of the Perené valley. In general, all Campa men were characterized as "master bowmen and [...] courageous and ferocious warriors" (Weiss 1974:386), but the aggressiveness and warfare skills of *kishisatzi* were unmatched. Upper Perené language consultants would always emphasize the superior athleticism, ruthlessness, and outstanding scouting and shooting skills of their *kishisatzi* neighbors. On the basis of his ethnographic study, Varese (2002:21-22) indicates that war expeditions of *pajonalinos* involved "kidnapping of women, family revenge, and territorial defense against members of other linguistic groups or members of one's own tribe"; in the rubber boom period, *pajonalino* raids into the Perené valley were "stimulated" by the slave trade.

The most formidable foe was the Arawak-speaking *shimirentsi* 'Piro' and Panoan Conibo, residing in the Ucayali River basin. Both were called *ovantzinkari* 'killers'. These Amazonian peoples were culturally very close, "while [they] differed markedly from Campa/Machiguenga" (Gow 1991:32). Crucially, for both Piro and Conibo, the sources of wealth came from war expeditions, and both were notorious for raiding Campa settlements. Piro and Conibo often served as missionaries' guides, using the opportune moment to pillage Campa villages and take women and children as slaves (Amich 1854:98, 100).

Missionizing attempts, initiated by Jesuits in the late sixteenth century, turned into a sustained evangelizing campaign in the mid-seventeenth century, when a network of short-lived missions, called "ephemeral occupation attempts" by Santos-Granero and Barclay (1998:21), was established by Franciscan friars in the Chanchamayo-Perené area. Accompanied by raging epidemics among converts and constant bloody revolts and uprisings, the biggest under the leadership of Juan Santos Atahualpa in 1742, the missionizing effort came to a halt in the mid-eighteenth century (Lehnertz 1974:149–150; Métraux 1942). The violent repudiation of the imposed Franciscan order was directly motivated by the friars' condemnation of the indigenous lifeways, such as polygyny, use of ethnomedicine for healing purposes, coca chewing, and manioc beer drinking (Veber 2003:192; Varese 1996:61). Other factors of a spiritual order played a prominent role in the failure of missionization. The indigenous rejection of mission life was also predicated on "epidemics, corporal punishment, the uncongenial discipline of mission life, assertions of control over Indian children, and relentless hectoring by monks" (Brown and Fernandez 1992:181).

When the Upper Perené area was eventually reconquered by the Peruvian military a century later, a steady flow of Andean colonists followed. Their settlement had been encouraged by the friars and the State, with the objective of stabilizing the area around the missions, but the colonist influx greatly increased after the recapture of the region by the military. In addition, the massive importation of European, Asian, and non-Andean Peruvian immigrants, initiated by the Peruvian State, made irreversible the concomitant displacement of the native population. By 1890, most of the native population which inhabited the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo valleys and survived the military "pacification" and armed scuffles with the colonists, were displaced (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:234).

The establishment of the British-owned Peruvian Corporation in 1891, with the headquarters in Pampa Whaley, heralded the era of a forceful, profound conversion of the Upper Perené valley into a market-oriented coffee-growing region. The Peruvian Corporation occupied over 500,000 hectares of what used to be communal native land, turning it into *cafetales* 'coffee plantations' and *pastizales* 'pastures.' The area invaded by the corporation became known as the Perené Colony (Barclay 1989). The Alto Perené were allowed to stay only on the condition that they would work for the company. About 500 indigenous workers were employed by 1913 (Bodley 1972:222; Brown and Fernandez 1992:184).

In the context of the military invasion, colonist occupation, and native population decline, few non-violent options of land rights defense were left for the dispersed and demoralized native population. One was through participating in the Perené Colony's land partitionings. To ensure that the indigenous population remaining on the company's land (especially those who lived close to the company's headquarters in Pampa Whaley) was concentrated in a nucleated settlement, making them available to serve as subcontracted coffeeproducers, in the late 1940s the company allotted 1,500 hectares in the Río Vayós area to 100 native families. They came into possession of small lots in the community of Mariscal Cáceres, an average 8.8 hectares per family, in comparison with an average 37.8 hectares per Andean landowner (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:236).

Another way to resist eviction from the land was to buy an individual lot from the Peruvian corporation. Some indigenous families residing in Marankiari, Pumpuriani, Pucharini, and a few other villages followed this route in the 1950s. To obtain guaranteed access to the ancestral land, locals also sought affiliation with the missions of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church which was acting on their behalf within the Perené Colony in the 1920s and 1930s. Later on, many Indian Adventists chose to move to areas with less colonization pressure, for example, to the Pichis valley (Narby 1989:65). In the 1970s and 1980s, the remaining Upper Perené Arawaks took advantage of the 1974 Native Communities Law (Decree Law 20653) to establish native communities which were granted land titles. Due to the unprecedented colonization pressure, in 1989 the newly formed Upper Perené native communities constituted only a fraction (23 percent) of the total number of

the registered *comunidades nativas* in the region of *Selva Central* which encompasses Chanchamayo, Oxapampa and Satipo Provinces (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:245).

In the mid-twentieth century, the Alto Perené made a conscious choice to participate in the cash economy by turning to the production of extensive crops of citrus fruit, plantains, pineapples, cacao, and coffee. Currently, the native population is well-integrated into the regional market economy as agricultural producers or seasonal laborers. For local indigenous populations, commercial agriculture is reported to be a critical means of obtaining cash and access to market goods (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:254). The rapidly increasing degree of household market incorporation and dependence, with concurrent orientation of native communities toward commercialization, has had a significant impact on the views of those in individual households (Narby 1989; Peralta and Kainer 2008). The dynamic of cultural change appears to be directly stimulated by "the fervor to develop and the allure of money and market goods" (Henrich 1997:340), evidenced in many recorded texts from the Alto Perené corpus.

Undeniably, the cumulative effect of colonization-related agents of change has fueled the current entrepreneurial spirit and material aspirations of Upper Perené Arawaks. Among such agents of change are exposure to the metal tools and iron-tool manufacturing technologies supplied by Franciscans, the individualistic Adventist work ethic, and the example of 'civilized' Andean colonists, making the best of their access to Western goods (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:243). Nonetheless, native socio-cultural reproduction remains fairly strong in spite of the unyielding pressure exerted by the Peruvian state, the settler society, and Seventh-Day Adventist missions (Martel Paredes 2009; La Serna Salcedo 2012).

1.5.5 Beliefs

Kampa society has a high degree of certainty about its own ways which, in combination with its "unassailable self-assurance" (Hvalkof 1989:144), may account for the autochthonous cultural tenacity, noted in many scholarly studies (Weiss 1975:234; Elick 1969:235–237; Bodley 1970:183). The premises of Kampa ideas about the world and themselves are rooted in the indigenous Amazonian conceptual frameworks of animism (Descola 1992) and perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 1996, 1998). In particular, animistic indigenous thought embraces an idea that "natural beings possess their own spiritual principles and that it is therefore possible for humans to establish with these entities personal relations", and that these entities "have human dispositions" and "behaviors" (Descola 1992:114).

Moreover, indigenous ontology insists that ex-humans lost their human form due to the voluntary or involuntary bodily metamorphosis. The native population possess a deep-seated belief that humans are perpetually hunted by demonic

entities which practice elaborate killing methods of locals. These convictions are rooted in the conception of the universe as consisting of two "mutually antagonistic" ontological "domains" (Descola 1992:121). The domain of "positive value" includes Ashéninka and Ashaninka, genetically-related Kampa ethnic groups, certain animal and plant species and their masters, and divinities such as *pava* and *tasorentsi,* while the "negative value" domain is comprised of the outsiders (*chori* 'Andeans' and *virakocha* 'whites'), some animal and plant species, and spiritually evil entities, grouped under the term *kamari,* including *kamari matsi* 'demonic human witches' (Descola 1992:121). Among the "negative value" entities are *matsi* 'a human witch' which feeds on the flesh of unsuspecting victims when they are asleep, the demonic *peyari* 'a forest bone spirit in the form of a game animal, usually, a deer' which kills males by an act of copulation; *kiatsi* 'a siren-like river creature in the form of an anaconda (or an armadillo)' which kills by wrapping her prominent antenna-like whiskers around the individual's lower limbs and dragging him into the water depths, to name a few.

In spite of long contact with outsiders and the sustained and intensive Christianization of Alto Perené Arawaks since the 1920s, the indigenous ontological beliefs remain, in Lenaerts' (2006a:554) words, "an extraordinarily resistant cultural bloc." This is evidenced in the fundamentally unchanged ritual production, which, accoridng to Lenaerts (2006a, 2006b) is characteristic of the ritual behavior of Pajonal Ashéninka. Upper Perené Arawaks exhibit elements of "mimetic appropriation" of Christian symbols, with the obvious purpose of using 'the Other's' "powers for their own benefit" (Santos-Granero 2009:488). For example, expert herbal healers, including two language consultants, may use "mimetic" symbolic gestures (the sign of the cross) and ritual objects (a candle) while treating a patient. Nonetheless, those are elements of cosmetic nature, which essentially adorn the rock-solid foundation of indigenous ontology.

1.6 Current socio-linguistic status of the language

Having been among the first Kampa peoples to have contact with non-indigenous outsiders, Upper Perené speakers are on the brink of losing their mother tongue. The domains of language use are extremely limited. There are no native-language television or radio programs, neither are periodicals published. Although the language is taught as a second language in local primary schools, it is not a compulsory subject. Crucially, the language essentially ceased to be spoken at home. The only regular use of the local language occurs during neighborly exchanges between older-generation speakers that I observed during my ethnographic fieldwork in various villages, and at the meetings summoned by the local political organization CECONSEC and those of language consultants. Regular familial exchanges between older family members are limited to certain households,

with the children being excluded from conversations in the native language. In contradistinction, the language of wide communication, Spanish, is spoken in all public domains, that is at work, in state and municipal agencies, in court, school, and hospitals. Religious services in the area's Adventist churches are largely conducted in Spanish, with a few choruses sung in Alto Perené.

Very few speakers, mostly elderly men and women over 80 years of age, speak exclusively Alto Perené. As the result of permanent contact with Spanish-speaking outsiders, a majority of the Alto Perené has assimilated into mainstream Peruvian society. They have acquired many aspects of western culture (they call themselves *civilizados* 'civilized') and are fluent speakers of Spanish. My fieldwork observations corroborate assessments of the speakers' shift to Spanish made by Anderson (2000:44) and Wise (1985:196, 203).

The most troubling fact is that Spanish has become the home language. The youngest Perené-speaking parental generation (they are in their late 40s) prefer to use Spanish as the home language, raising their younger children monolingual. On average, there are six to eight children in such families. The oldest are in their late 20s-early 30s and usually have some degree of proficiency in the language; younger children are essentially monolingual, as stated by Gerardo Castro Manuela in (1.1).

(1.1) *a-ña-nint-a*   *a-yo-ve-t-a-ro*
       1PL.S-speak-DIM-REAL   1PL.A-know-FRUS-EP-REAL-3NM.O
       a-ña-ni   *intaani a-tomi-paye   te*
       1PL.POSS-speak-POSS   only   1PL.POSS-son-PL NEG.REAL
       i-yo-t-aj-e-ro   *i-ña-vai-t-aj-e-ro*
       3M.A-know-EP-TERM-IRR-3NM.O 3M.A-speak-DUR-EP-TERM-IRR-3M.O
       a-ña-ni
       1PL.POSS-speak-POSS
       'Our language, we know our language, but our sons don't know how to speak our language.' (UTC_2010GCM)

Another contributing factor is speakers' attitudes. The indigenous mother tongue has little value in a market-oriented society and is not helpful in everyday economic struggles to bring food home. As one speaker said, reflecting the views of her fellowmen, "The language doesn't sell." In the eyes of the speakers, the language is not emblematic of a 'civilized' identity. If anything, it fosters the profound feeling of inferiority since the Peruvian model of patriotism favors supremacy of the Castilian language and culture at the cost of indigenous linguistic and cultural legacy. Native speakers and their languages are generally viewed as "fundamentally inferior" (Valdiviezo 2010:74) by Peruvian mainstream society. As the result, native speakers are often distancing themselves from their socially shunned language and make a conscious choice to adopt Spanish as a medium of daily communication (see Dorian's [1998:3] incisive analysis of the effects of what

she calls 'ideology of contempt' on minority speakers). As a language of low prestige, Alto Perené is commonly referred to by both settlers and native speakers as *el dialecto* 'the dialect', as if it does not warrant enough merit to be called a language.

Crucially, the Alto Perené comprise one of the smallest groups among the speakers of other Kampa languages, exemplified by 26,000 speakers of Asháninka, 12,000 of Ashéninka Pajonal, 12,000 of Ashéninka Pichis, 13,000 of Ashéninka South Ucayali (Lewis, Simon, and Fennig 2013). Speakers of Alto Perené are vastly outnumbered by Spanish-speaking settlers who reside in the Upper Perené River area. There is a high rate of intermarriage between settlers and Alto Perené families, with Spanish being predominantly used in such households.

The Krauss (2007:1) framework for classifying languages according to degree of their viability involves children, whether they learn their parents' language or not, and includes three major language categories: safe, endangered, and extinct. Alto Perené belongs to the 'definitively' endangered language type matching the profile described by Krauss (2007:5), "the language has passed the crucial basic threshold of viability, is no longer being learned as mother tongue by children in the home, [...] the younger speakers are of the parental generation". Given the small size of the surviving speakers and the intergenerational language transmission break, Alto Perené is in serious danger of extinction within one or two generations.

1.7 Research methods, fieldwork materials, and consultants

The grammar is based on the materials collected during seven annual fieldtrips to the Chanchamayo Province, Perené District, from 2008 to 2014, totaling 18 months. To get from Lima to the Chanchamayo Province, I have used local bus companies. A bus ride across the Andes usually lasts from seven to nine hours, depending on the traffic and weather. The Perené District is located 330 kilometers to the east of Lima, the capital of Peru. The District's lowest altitude is 505 meters above sea level, the highest is 3,300 meters. I was based in La Merced and traveled daily to the villages to meet with my consultants. Our meetings took place during the time when consultants were available, which was usually from 8:30–9:00 in the morning until 4:00–5:00 in the evening. I normally worked with three to five language consultants daily.

The purpose of my fieldwork among Upper Perené Arawaks was to study their language and culture and provide assistance with language revitalization efforts. I relied on close observation, interviews, and documentation, which included audio and video recording, transcription and translation of collected materials, and archiving data with local research organizations and international digital archives. In 2009, in collaboration with the primary language consultants, I began building a multi-genre corpus of audio and video recordings of Alto Perené speakers from

various native communities. The collected multi-genre texts cover the gamut of myths, folk stories, personal stories, ritual songs, jokes, traditional advice, conversations, public speeches, commentaries on past customs and daily pursuits, explanations of uses of tools and plants, and demonstrations of healing techniques. I used a Sony PCM D-50 Linear PCM digital recorder, a Panasonic HDC-HC100P/PC digital camcorder, and a Sony Electret Condenser Stereo Microphone ECM-MS908C to make my recordings. The fifty-five-hour corpus includes recordings of over fifty speakers from twelve villages, typically made in their homes. The audio and video recordings were commonly conducted in group settings, as loosely structured interviews, when speakers were asked to share their perspective on a suggested issue, e.g., land ownership, horticultural techniques, herbal healing, sorcery, and shamanism, in the presence of their family members or neighbors. Such interviews were recorded with many speakers on a regular basis, during a number of fieldwork seasons, which gradually alleviated the speakers' initial tension and discomfort due to the presence of the recording equipment and linguist outsider.

About a third of the collected texts have been transcribed in Alto Perené and translated into Spanish. Texts were transcribed in Alto Perené and translated into Spanish by me and three primary consultants, Gregorio Santos Pérez, of Villa Perené, Delia Rosas Rodríguez, of Bajo Marankiari, and Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, of Bajo Marankiari. The accuracy of transcriptions and translations was rechecked by other consultants at least once, in many cases, twice. The English translations are my own, based on my study of Alto Perené and Spanish interpretations of my language consultants. Verification of the accuracy of English translations, if needed, can be done on the basis of the archived recordings which were deposited in three digital archives: Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), University of Texas at Austin, Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), SOAS, University of London, and The Cairns Institute Language and Culture Research Centre archive, James Cook University. The archives provide unrestricted access to the deposited collections. Samples of video recordings can be found on my Vimeo (user8358283) and YouTube (katonkosatzi1 and katonkosatzi) channels.

The grammar corpus consists of the texts which were audio and/or video-recorded and then transcribed, and texts that I noted down myself while listening to speakers' daily exchanges, interactions at public meetings, and working with my primary consultants on the transcription of recordings. On some occasions, e.g., when I was seeking feedback from my primary consultants on the use of classifiers, temporal, applicative, reciprocal, and reflexive morphology, I tested the grammaticality of the sentences that I would construct myself, asking if the sentence sounds fine or not, and when it could be used. I filled six notebooks with my notes; the number of the sentences in the notebooks exceeds 300.

In addition, I asked three primary consultants to translate in writing lexical items from Spanish into the native language, while preparing a thematic dictionary (the number of translated lexemes totals 1,546). They were also asked to write down

sample sentences, illustrating the use of the targeted lexeme (the number of collected sentences is over 890). This grammar's examples largely draw on the storybook *Añaani katonkosatzi parenini* 'The language of Upper Perené' (Mihas 2011), published with the support of ELDP (Endangered Languages Documentation Programme). It was prepared on the basis of the collected texts, as one of the outcomes of the language documentation project. The storybook contains 83 texts, with translations in Spanish (38,500 words). The length of these texts varies, some being composed of over 220 sentences, others, such as proverbs, contain just one or two lines. Another 58 texts, with translations in English, are published by the Nebraska University Press, as part of the 'Recovering Languages and Literacies of the Americas' initiative, funded by the Mellon Foundation (Mihas 2014d). On average, a text in this anthology contains 50 sentences. In this grammar, I also cited sentences from 65 unpublished transcribed texts which contain personal narratives, transcripts of conversations and language consultants' meetings, folktales, and explanations of place names and herbal medicine. Texts about plant-based treatments tend to be longer, performed as a running commentary on the issue under consideration. Each text contains at least 70 sentences, and one conversation exceeds 340 sentences. The total number of the sentences in the collected text corpus is estimated to be about 12,300. To explicitly identify the source of the cited materials, I have adopted the following system, summarized in Table 1.

To measure frequencies of words and morphemes and productivity of affixes and clitics, along with their distribution, I used the Find function of MS Word in my text collections files, which are digitized versions of the aforementioned corpus of video and audio recordings collected during my 2009–2014 fieldwork. For example, the search function has allowed me to establish low productivity of the Delimitative aspect suffix *-mintsa~-vintsa* (27 tokens) and high productivity of the Assertive clitic *=kia* (143 tokens). I also checked frequencies of particular verbal affixes, in various combinations, to investigate their combinability properties and possible constraints on their joint occurrence (in addition to asking consultants about certain verbal strings sounding fine or not to them, *¿suena bien o no?* 'sounds good or not?'). I made my judgments about (non)restricted morphological possibilities by examining the computer-generated tokens, highlighted on the screen. For instance, to make a claim about the restricted morphological possibilities of the existential-possessive verb *tzimatsi*, I typed the verb root *tzim* 'exist' in the Find window of the MS Word file of the storybook *Añaani katonkosatzi parenini* (Mihas 2011) and perused through the 222 tokens, about 60 of which were combinations of other morphemes (e.g., the epenthetic element *tz* and the Inchoative suffix *-imai*). The remainder of the tokens has demonstrated speakers' reluctance to employ much of the available inflectional or derivational morphology with the root. In addition, I always followed up on what appeared to be low productivity morphemes by asking my primary consultants to give me more examples of their use. The goal was to double-check the findings and

make sure that the low count was not a fluke, and that I was not misinterpreting data.

Tab. 1: Attribution of sources

Attribution of sources	Source
Mihas 2011:page.number	Mihas, Elena. 2011. *Añaani Katonkosatzi Parenini*. Milwaukee: Clark Graphics.
Mihas 2014b:page.number	Mihas, Elena. 2014b. Iñani Katonkosatzi. Diccionario Temático Ilustrado Alto Perené Asheninka-Castellano. Milwaukee: Clark Graphics.
Mihas 2014d:page.number	Mihas, Elena.2014d. Upper Perené Arawak Narratives of History, Landscape, and Ritual. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
UTC_year.consultant.initials, e.g., GCM stands for Gerardo Castro Manuela	Unpublished text collection
Vocabulary.list/page_year. consultant.initials	Examples from the 2011 vocabulary lists provided by language consultants, illustrating the use of lexemes.
Fieldnotes.notebook.number/page_ year.consultant initials	Overheard sentences written down in a notebook
Elicitation.notebook.number/page_ year.consultant.initials	Elicited sentences written down in a notebook

Language difficulties were a concern at the initial stage of fieldwork since my knowledge of Alto Perené was basic, when I needed a great deal of direction and language interpretation from my primary language consultants in my work with other speakers. As my language skills got better, I assumed more responsibilities within the language consultant team and documentary project as a whole, and began working with speakers without mediation, using both Spanish and Alto Perené. The speakers I worked with are comfortable conversing with each other in my presence, and are fond of quizzing me on the language. I was often addressed by males as *chooki* 'sister', and *entyo* 'sister' by females, two kinship terms which refer to the ego's siblings.

Language consultants were contracted for the entire duration of fieldwork periods. In 2010–2014, they were paid the hourly rate of a Peruvian schoolteacher (eight to twelve soles), in some cases, fifteen Peruvian soles, with the payment made at the end of each meeting. The youngest consultants are Frida Thomas Huamán and Carmen Pachiri Quinchori, both born in 1976, and the oldest are Julio Castro Shinkaki (born in 1928). The late Livia Julio de Quinchori, who greatly contirbuted to the conversational corpus in 2010–2014, was believed to be a centenarian (see Figure 6). All speakers, except Elena Nestor de Capurro, are fluent bilinguals. Six consultants have good education; five males are college-trained bilingual teachers,

one female finished high school. Others have either basic literacy skills or are illiterate. Most of the consultants' households combine commercial and subsistence agricultural production. A few have jobs in the public education sector. Many consultants from Bajo Marankiari and Pucharini are members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. It has become a custom that most consultants from Pampa Michi, Bajo Marankiari, and Pampa Silva/Villa Perené would meet with me regularly in their homes during the annual fieldwork season.

The core of the language consultant team was established in 2009, comprising Gregorio Santos Pérez and his wife Dora Meza, Delia Rosas Rodríguez, Raul Martin Bernata, and Daniel Bernales Quillatupa.

I met Gregorio Santos Pérez, fifty-four, through a mutual acquaintance in 2009. Gregorio was raised in Bajo Marankiari, where his parents are still residing, and moved to Santa Ana less than twenty years ago. A bilingual teacher, who was trained by SIL missionaries and has the equivalent of a master's degree in elementary education, Gregorio stands out due to his many talents and passion for language work. He is an excellent narrator, a skillful transcriber and translator, and a thoughtful analyst of his language's grammar. My linguistic work has greatly benefited from Gregorio's hypotheses and interpretations. In the past, Gregorio traveled extensively in the area, due to his various teaching assignments. Nowadays, he makes short trips, either at my request or on his own initiative, to Upper Perené communities to record and write down speakers' narratives. We have become good friends, forging a truly collegial intellectual partnership. Gregorio belongs to a small group of the local bilingual teachers who have been advocating for official recognition of their mother tongue by the Peruvian state, so far unsuccessfully. Currently Gregorio holds a position of a bilingual specialist at the local department of education, la Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local (UGEL) of Chanchamayo Province. He supervises the area's instructors who teach Alto Perené as a foreign language subject in elementary schools.

Gregorio's wife Dora Meza de Santos, forty-nine, a homemaker, was my guide and companion on many trips to remote Upper Perené villages from 2012-14. Dora was born in Mariscal Cáceres, but at an early age, after her mother's death, she was sent to the settler town of Santa Ana, to be schooled in Spanish. Two of the couple's eight children (the oldest) are fluent in the Alto Perené language; others are passive or semi-speakers. Dora's father, Elias Meza Pedro, sixty-eight, of Mariscal Cáceres, has played a significant role in the build-up of the conversational portion of the documentary corpus. His colorful and lengthy conversations with his son-in-law, Gregorio, and his neighbors have provided a good foundation for the analysis of discursive patterns of native speech.

Delia Rosas Rodríguez, forty-seven, is another major contributor to the project. She was among the first female language consultants; I recruited her in Bajo Marankiari in 2009, while I was walking door-to-door in search of Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb, the chief's mother, recommended to me by Gregorio Santos. A meticulous

and skillful transcriber of the collected texts, Delia did a lot of behind-the-scenes work to ensure that the language documentation project came to fruition. Delia has good Spanish literacy skills and is a quick study. In 2010, she learned how to use the digital recorder, video camera, and laptop and, at my request, did video and audio recordings of seven Perené-speaking villagers and transcribed and translated most of the recorded texts. Thanks to her impeccable work ethic, intelligence, reserve, and competitiveness, Delia has moved to a position of leadership within the team. Delia was born in Bajo Marankiari and has resided in the village most of her life. As a teenager, she traveled to Lima in search of work. In Lima, she finished high school and did one year of college coursework, and she also worked as a housemaid for a number of years. Nowadays, Delia runs a small business from her house, selling snacks, bottled beer, and canned light drinks to the villagers. She has two daughters; the older daughter is fluent in the local language, the younger is a passive speaker.

My first Alto Perené language teacher, Raul Martin Bernata, sixty-two, has lived most of his life in Pampa Michi. As a retired paramedic, he possesses an advanced knowledge of medicinal plants. Raul knows many native myths and is well-versed in local history. His weather-beaten notebook contains dozens of myths scribbled in elaborate Spanish. Initially, we would meet a few times a week, but after our team membership dramatically increased, we switched to one weekly meeting. Raul's wife, Victoria Manchi de Martin, fifty-five, is the mother of eleven children, and a skilled artisan who creates her handicrafts for sale, using traditional techniques and materials. Victoria is a proficient speaker, of the Bajo Marankiari provenance. She has regularly participated alongside her husband in our discussions of the medicinal plants' uses.

Daniel Bernales Quillatupa (Aroshi), fifty-three, is one of the principal contributors to the book project. As an employee of the local Department of Education, he had overseen the work of bilingual teachers in Chanchamayo Province for nearly a decade before being appointed a bilingual specialist in the adjacent Satipo Province, and most recently, promoted to a position of coordinator of the Programa de Educación de Logros de Aprendizaje (PELA) at the Ministry of Education in Lima. Born and raised in Bajo Marankiari, educated in an SIL-run college, Daniel has excellent Spanish and native-language literacy skills and a vast knowledge of indigenous culture. Daniel is also a talented artist who created multiple illustrations for the collected texts. The nature of his work was such that he went on business trips during the week, so he mostly worked independently, recording other speakers and transcribing and translating the recorded texts. Daniel is in favor of the use of the pan-regional normalized alphabet for the native languages introduced by the Peruvian Ministry of Education in 2008. In contrast, other consultants from the grandparental generation, along with some tribal and political authorities, prefer the alphabet designed specifically for the Upper Perené population.

The mother of Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, seventy-one, is a very articulate and talented narrator who commonly injects her philosophical comments into the narratives and conversations. I had only sporadic contact with Ruth, since it had been resolved early on that her son, Daniel Bernales, was better suited for making extensive recordings and transcriptions of Ruth's speech. Born and raised in Bajo Marankiari, Ruth possesses a vast knowledge of local history and past customs.

Elena Nestor de Capurro, seventy-four, has lived her adult life in Pampa Michi. She is illiterate and essentially monolingual. Elena is an incredibly talented performer who has a knack for impersonating characters of her profoundly entertaining stories. Her knowledge of native songs and dances is unmatched. Elena has contributed nearly seven hours of songs and stories to the documentation project. She is the widow of the former chief and founder of the native community of Pampa Michi, Agusto Capurro Mayor Kinchori.

Luis Mauricio Rosa, sixty-five, is a fine narrator who knows a great deal about native history and traditional skills. A nice and unassuming man, he tends to respectfully agree with his brother-in-law, Raul Martin, when we have group meetings in Pampa Michi. However, when no authoritative figure is present, Luis comes to life, providing insightful input on language issues under consideration and narrating stories whose elaborate plots and entertaining dialogues impress other speakers. Luis lives alone in the remote village of Santari, in the hills overlooking Santa Ana. Luis often visits with his sister and brother-in-law in Pampa Michi. His specialty is construction of houses with thatch-woven roofs, which requires a unique skill. His expertise is in demand since the numbers of knowledgeable builders are dwindling. Luis's brother, Ernesto Manchi Lopez, sixty-four, is a talented performer who recorded a series of stories and songs in 2010-11. He moved out from the area and permanently resides in the Satipo Province. Both brothers have contributed many folk stories to the documentary corpus.

Fredi Miguel Ucayali, forty-nine, is the current chief of Pampa Michi. He lost his parents early in his life and was raised by his grandparents. Fredi did not finish college coursework in elementary school education but he was able to land teaching jobs in bilingual rural schools. He became politically active in his thirties, and ran for the chief's office in Pampa Michi. Fredi is an articulate and effective orator who strongly advocates for traditional native values. He is also knowledgeable in herbal healing and provides services to both his fellowmen and settlers as a *curandero* 'healer'. Fredi has contributed two hours of songs and comments on the past customs to the documentary corpus.

Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb, seventy-three, is a gold mine of cultural information about her fellowmen's ways of living and a good analyst of grammatical matters. Bertha was born and lived most of her life in Bajo Marankiari, although as a young woman she resided for a while in the small community of San Pablo, not far from Puerto Bermúdez, in the Pichis River area. Her first husband died from cholera at

twenty-six, and the widow with three children had to scratch out a living, while bouncing from one native community to another. She was one of the first women to agree to participate in the documentary project in 2009. Bertha has six children; three of them live in Bajo Marankiari. Her youngest child, Osbaldo Rosas Rodríguez, is the current chief of the village.

Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb's daughter, Victorina Rosas de Castro, fifty-four, and her husband, Gerardo Castro Manuela, fifty-six, were both born in Bajo Marankiari. Victorina is a skilled crafts-maker and the mother of 6 children. The flamboyant and articulate Victorina excels when she performs as a narrator or as an analyst of her mother tongue. Her biggest regret is not having finished college, although she briefly attended two teacher training institutions; she would have made an excellent teacher. My contact with Victorina's spouse, Gerardo, was limited due to his frequent absences from the community. Gerardo is a former chief of Bajo Marankiari and a retired bilingual teacher. He was educated in an SIL-run teacher-training college and worked for many years as a bilingual teacher in elementary schools in Perené-speaking communities. He still signs up for occasional teaching jobs in remote communities. Gerardo has a comprehensive knowledge of indigenous history and has contributed narratives about past customs. This entire family has been active in the documentary project as my language teachers, editors of the texts selected for publication, and my mentors in the practices of folk herbal medicine.

Gerardo's father, Julio Castro Shinkaki (deceased at the age of eighty-seven in 2014), a transplant from the *kirinka* 'downstream' area, was one of the founders of the village of Bajo Marankiari in the 1930s. In spite of his advanced age, Julio was economically self-independent, toiling on his land most of the day. Julio was one of the last witnesses to the process of radical changes in the Upper Perené physical and socio-political environment of the last seventy years. Julio contributed to the corpus his extensive comments on place names.

Ines Pérez de Santos, seventy-one, was born in Bajo Marankiari and has lived most of her adult life in the village. Gregorio Santos, her son, introduced me to Ines in 2009, offering an opportunity to videotape his mother's healing techniques. Since then I have been a frequent visitor in her house. As the principal breadwinner in the family, Ines provides room and board to her youngest sons and a daughter, their numerous children, and occasional visitors and patients. Both Ines and her husband, Moises Santos Rojas, seventy-two, who is a thoughtful and thorough interpreter of his kinfolk's past life experiences, earn their living as herbalists. Ines has a broad network of clients who recommend her services to others and spread the word about her superior skills in folk medicine. Ines and Moises are active members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Bajo Marankiari and often make allusions to biblical commandments in their narrations. Ines is an articulate and captivating narrator and a language expert whose judgments on grammar issues and comments on cultural events and artifacts are taken by others with deference. Both Ines and Moises welcomed me to their house and took their time to patiently explain to me

specific contexts of the uses of many native lexemes and demonstrated the commonly employed methods of herbal healing.

Alberto Pérez Espinoza, sixty-seven, is Ines's brother. He is an excellent fisherman and a smart gatherer of plant and aquatic life that could be used as food. Alberto spends his days on the river, fishing and gathering, and in the evenings helps his wife Bertha Yupanki with making traditional handicrafts. Alberto is an artful narrator who enthusiastically shares his knowledge of traditional stories.

Abdias Caleb Quinchori, seventy-two, the husband of Bertha Rodríguez, was elected chief of Bajo Marankiari in the past. At present, he toils in his vegetable garden and makes brooms, fire fans, and other household objects for sale. Abdias served on the project's editors' team and also recorded a number of stories for the project. His source of knowledge comes from the family oral tradition. Abdias has a good reading and writing proficiency in the native language and served on the editor's team, preparing selected texts for publication. Abdias's sister, Paulina Caleb de Leon, sixty-five, is a fine story-teller and a very proficient speaker. Her speech is clear and well-paced. Paulina earns her living as a seamstress (she has a sewing machine, a rare valuable among native speakers) and has resided in Bajo Marankiari all her life.

Paulina García Ñate (she is not certain of her date of birth, but guesses that she is in her early seventies) is a talented singer and a knowledgeable consultant. Paulina's roots are in Alto Koyani, a small community with deeply rooted native ritual practices in the Pichanaki uplands. Although she has lived for decades in Bajo Marankiari, villagers stress the fact that she hails from a different location and is not a member of the local Adventist community. Paulina lives with her daughter and grandchildren close to the beach and makes her living by selling peanuts and other produce harvested from her small vegetable garden, which she maintains in the floodplain area of the river. Paulina joined the consultant team on her own initiative in 2009 and contributed dozens of ritual and festive songs to the documentary corpus.

Cristobal Jumanga Lopez (deceased in April 2012 at the age of sixty-two) and his brother Abraham Jumanga Lopez (deceased in December 2014 at the age of seventy-five), were born in the Adventist mission of Nevati, in the Pichis River basin. Their adult years were spent in Pucharini, where the brothers' families are currently residing. The families' main occupation is growing cash crops. The brothers' recordings were made in the summer of 2010, outside their family compound in Pucharini. The Jumanga family is known for its political clout, earned during the years of Abraham's son's service as the chief of Pucharini, and his son-in-law's term as president of CECONSEC (la Central de Comunidades Nativas de la Selva Central), the main political organization in the area.

Manuel Rubén Jacinto, seventy-two, is a well-respected Adventist church leader in Pucharini. His parents come from the highlands of Gran Pajonal. He was born in Chivanari, in the Upper Perené valley, and lived nearly all his life in Pucharini. My

interactions with Manuel occurred on a few occasions when I visited the community in 2011 and 2013. Manuel is a thoughtful and knowledgeable story-teller who contributed comments on the local landmarks and place names.

Frida Thomas Huamán, thirty-eight, is the current chief of the small native community of Pumpuriani located in the uplands of the Perené valley. I met Frida in 2012 when Dora Meza de Santos and I were canvassing the village in search of elders willing to share with us their memories of old customs and traditions. In contrast to the lukewarm reception by other villagers, the chief was quite enthusiastic about the opportunity to participate in the language documentation project. Frida has provided detailed commentaries about the area's landmarks and place names. The energetic and assertive Frida, who was born and raised in the village, is an ardent supporter of indigenous land rights and intends to keep her village free of outsiders by not allowing the settlement of married couples with a non-native spouse.

Luzmila Machari Quinchori, forty-eight, is a professional healer from Pumpuriani who specializes in steam bath treatments. She was trained to administer steam baths in Puerto Bermúdez, in the Pichis valley, and earns her living by receiving patients in the Pumpuriani area. Accompanied by Dora Meza de Santos, I made a few recordings of Luzmila after the Pumpuriani chief had recommended her as a good pick for a consulting job.

Carmen Pachiri Quinchori, thirty-eight, is a crafts-maker who lives in Ciudadela, the multilingual native community of La Merced. The Ciudadela residents largely make their living by sales of crafts or herbal remedies, and heavily depend on tourist traffic. I met Carmen during one of my visits to the community in 2012. In the spring of 2013, we met on a regular basis to make recordings of Carmen's traditional stories, many of which she heard as a little girl from her grandmother, Livia Julio de Quinchori, from Mariscal Cáceres, who essentially raised her. Carmen is a competent speaker and uses the native language in daily interactions with her mother Aurora, a resident of the community.

Other consultants with whom I met at least once and recorded their speech were Bernardo Gaspar Signón (Pucharini), Jackeline Maybel Castro Rosas (Bajo Marankiari), Pablo Jacinto Pedros (Bajo Marankiari), Marcos Antonio Santiago (La Merced), Livia Julio de Quinchori (deceased in November 2014, from Mariscal Cáceres), Jose Quinchori Julio (Mariscal Cáceres), Juana Dionicia Kasanto (Mariscal Cáceres), Clelia Mishari (Mariscal Cáceres), María Virginia Lopez (Mariscal Cáceres), Hilda Villegas (Mariscal Cáceres), and Abdias Espirito Kintori (Mariscal Cáceres). In my grammar, I also used texts independently recorded and transcribed by my primary consultants. The data providers for the texts collected by Daniel Bernales Quillatupa included his mother Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, Guzman Segundo Yamane (Puerto Bermudez) and Otoniel Ramos Rodriguez (Churingaveni). Gregorio Santos Pérez collected data from the following language speakers: Nestor Ramirez Rojas (Santo Domingo), Cristobal Jumanga Lopez (Pucharini), Clelia Mishari (Mariscal Cáceres), Natalia Camarena Jacinto (Alto Esperanza), Avelina Lopez (Alto

Esperanza), Edgar Antonio Manuel (Santo Domingo), Mateo Cristobal Casanto (Platanillo Shimaki), Livia Julio de Quinchori (Mariscal Cáceres), Rafael Martinez Quinticuari (Mariscal Cáceres), and Amelia Santos (Alto Esperanza).

1.8 Summary of chapter 1

Alto Perené is spoken by less than 1,000 people of whom about 300 individuals use the language as a means of daily communication; the rest are semi- or passive speakers. Native speakers' main occupation is farming, with special emphasis placed on growing cash crops of citrus fruit, pineapple, plantains, cacao, and coffee. Native communities and individual households are well-integrated into the local market economy. The fact that children do not speak the language reflects the severity of the language's endangerment among the members of this frontier Arawak community of the Upper Perené valley. It appears that the Alto Perené variety is much worse off than other adjacent Kampa languages, exemplified by the neighboring Ashaninka Ene whose pattern of intergenerational transmission has not been affected by sustained language contact with settler society.

The language, placed within the Northern subgrouping of Kampa Arawak (Michael 2008:218), is rightly considered to be part of a dialect chain, but its distinctiveness from other Ashéninka varieties and Ashaninka is far from being clear due to the dearth of comprehensive grammatical descriptions of these varieties and historical and comparative studies into Kampa.

Some aspects of Alto Perené grammar are cross-linguistically infrequent, such as pervasive applicative derivations, versatility of compounding patterns, polyfunctionality of its grammatical morphemes, nominal temporal morphology, and an intricate interplay of the aspectual and modal systems.

Fig. 5: Gregorio Santos Pérez, and his wife, Dora Meza de Santos (Villa Perené, February of 2014)
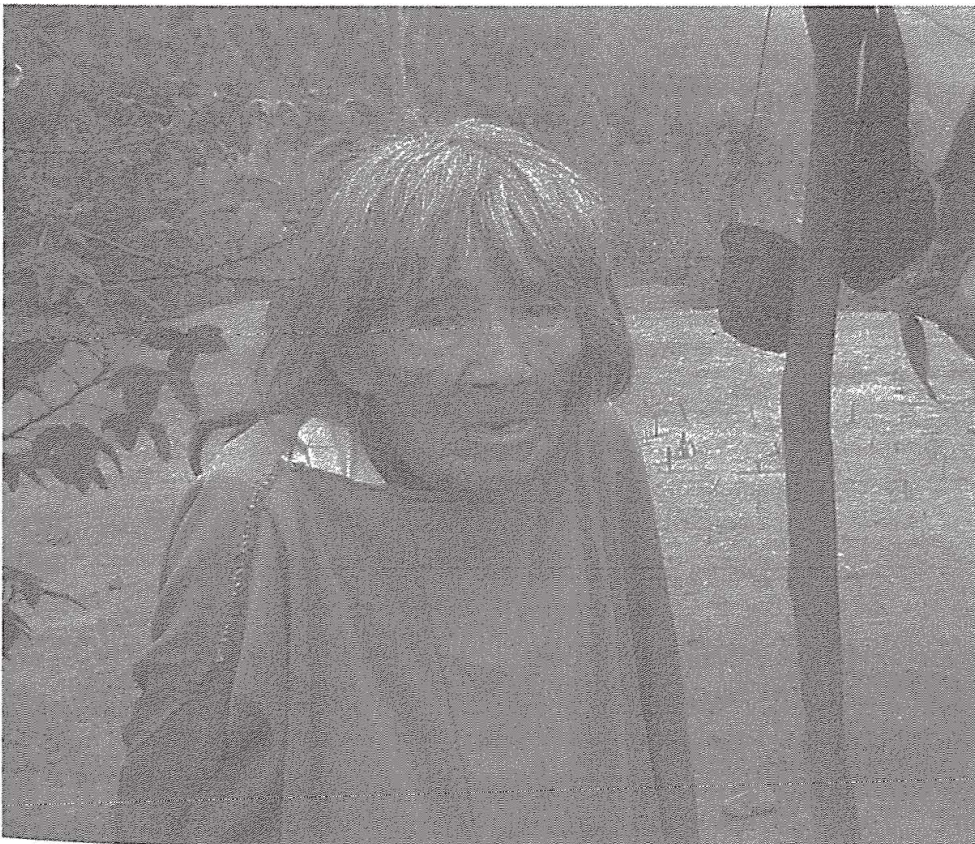

Fig. 6: Livia Julio de Quinchori (Mariscal Cáceres, April 2013)

Fig. 7: Alto Perené language consultants from Bajo Marankiari and Pampa Michi (September 2010)