Kinship terms in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak)

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1. CONTEXT

1.1 Speakers’ location

Ashéninka Perené speakers reside in thirty six settlements scattered in the river valley called Alto Perené (Upper Perené River), cutting through Distritos Perené and Chanchamayo of Provincia Chanchamayo, Departamento Junín, Peru. The speakers refer to themselves as katonkosatzi ‘upriver people’ or parenisatzi ‘river people’. Another autodenomination is ashaninka or asheninka ‘our fellowman’. When speakers use Spanish to describe themselves, they say ‘Asháninka del Alto Perené’, i.e. Asháninka from the Upper Perené River. Ashéninka Perené [prq] belongs to the Kampan (a.k.a. Campa) subgrouping of Arawak, along with other varieties of Ashéninka/Asháninka, which have a various degree of intelligibility, and Caquinte, Nomatsiguenga, Machiguenga, and Nanti.

MAP 1. Location of Kampan languages in eastern Peru (adapted from South American Languages, Historical Distribution, by Jost Gippert, 1993-2003)

1.2 Socio-cultural information about the language and its speakers

- Native speakers reside in the tropical forest of the eastern Andean foothills at the elevations from 500-1650 m above sea level (see Pictures 1-2). Approximately half of the villages are located on the Perené valley floor, while others are hidden in the hills along the river. Some villages are situated further away from the Perené River, in the uplands, called kishii. The villages, called nampitsi ‘pueblo’ or, alternatively, comunidad nativa ‘indigenous community’ in Spanish, are organized around a school and a church, if the community is big enough to support both institutions.
The forest antami, covering the surrounding hills otzishi, and the river pareni, have been the speakers’ environment for millennia, providing the necessary subsistence resources for hunting, fishing, and swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculture.

The area lies within a humid tropical climate. Temperatures fluctuate little during the year, and remain in the range of high 20C-low 30C. However, the level of precipitation during certain times of the year differs dramatically. Summer, called kyaarontsi, is the rainy season, lasting from November through April. The winter time, called osarentsi, is the dry season, during which little rain falls. Farming, fishing, and gathering activities closely follow the seasonal changes in the local ecology (Rojas Zolezzi 1994: 85).

The fertile soils are found on terraces near rivers which allow to grow annual crops (corn, manioc, beans, and vegetables) and permanent crops (citrus fruits, bananas, papaya, coffee, and avocado) (Lathrop 1970:37-38).

Along with Andean colonists choori and descendants of European immigrants virakocha, Kampan Arawaks have integrated into the thriving entrepreneurial economy of the Upper Perené area which intensively exploits available local ecologies for commercial purposes (Santos-Granero & Barclay 1998:252-253). In particular, in the second half of the 20th century Upper Perené Arawaks switched to farming, supplemented by fishing.

The most recent assessment of vitality of the Ashéninka Perené language indicates that the language is on the path to moribundity (Mihas 2010). It has an exceedingly slim prospect of surviving in the future. The contributing factors are the small size of the speaker base, the intergenerational transmission break, limited domains of language use, and ambivalent speakers’ attitudes.

![Google image of the Perené valley](image)
1.3 Language profile

1. SUMMARY. Ashéninka Perené is a polysynthetic, head-marking, agglutinating, mainly suffixing language with rich morphology. Open word classes are verbs, nouns, and derived adjectives. Underived adjectives form a small closed class of circa thirteen members. Adverbs form a semi-closed class (e.g. place and locative-existential adverbs are closed subclasses while it is possible to derive some time and modal adverbs from verbs). Demonstratives, possessives, indefinite forms, personal pronouns, interrogatives are closed classes. Members of open classes can function as predicates; however, only verbal predicates exhibit unrestricted morphological possibilities.

2. STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF NOUNS involve the categories of case (locative case –ki), morphologically expressed gender (masculine –ri, non-masculine -ro), optionally expressed plural number -paye, possession, definiteness (encoded by the demonstrative enclitics), and past tense. The locative case marking –ki on nouns has a diffuse spatial meaning of ‘in/ at/ on/ by/ to.’ When nouns lack gender markers, gender is revealed through the person markers on the verbs, gender markers on adjectives, demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and locative-existential adverbs.

3. POSSESSION is morphologically expressed on two groups of nouns: obligatorily (inalienably) possessed and optionally (alienably) possessed. Morphologically expressed possession covers the following semantic relations.

- Whole-part relationships (a body part of a human, animal or part of an object), e.g. ir-ako eentsi [3MASC.POSS-hand child] ‘the child’s hand’, o-yenka tyaapa [3MASC.POSS-fat chicken] ‘fat of the chicken’, o-ishi sherí [3MASC.POSS-leaf tobacco] ‘tobacco leaves’.
The ordering of the constituents of the possessive phrase is possessee-possessor. The morphological process of possession applies to the possessed NP whereas the possessor NP remains unmarked. Morphology of possessive marking is typical of an Arawak language (Aikhenvald 2012:163). When possession is expressed via juxtaposition, the possessor NP precedes the possessed NP.

**Obligatory possessed nouns** are marked by a possessive prefix. Obligatory possessed nouns are body parts, e.g. no-ito ‘my head’, kinship terms, e.g. no-saro ‘my grandma/granddaughter’, essential personal belongings, e.g. no-vito ‘my canoe’, no-vanko ‘my house’, plant parts, e.g. o-chevaa ‘river’s branch’, and spatial terms, e.g. o-taapi-ki [3NMASC.POSS-back-LOC] ‘down below, at the bottom of a canyon’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2012:163).

**Optionally possessed nouns** are marked by a possessive prefix and one of the possessive suffixes -te, -ni, -ri, so that the grammatical marking for alienable possession is longer than that for inalienable possession. The choice of the suffixes is possibly motivated by the syllabic length: -te is used with trisyllabic words, -ni with disyllabic words: no-otzitsi-te ‘my dog’, no-chakopi-te ‘my arrow’, n-impiri-te ‘my pituca’, no-tsarato-te ‘my bag’, no-ňaa-ňi ‘my language’ no-yoka-ňi ‘my coca’, no-shitsa-ňi ‘my vein’; -ri is tendentially used with artifacts, plant parts, and kin terms, e.g. n-inchashi-ri ‘my leaf’, no-kitsa-ri ‘my fishnet’, no-konki-ri ‘my father-in-law’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2012:167)

There are exceptions, e.g. no-yaniri ‘my manioc’, ir-avo ‘his trail’, which are marked as inalienably possessed.

When alienably possessed nouns appear in an ‘unpossessed’ form, they take the ‘absolute’ or unspecified possessor suffixes -(n)tsi or -(r)nts/-rnts, e.g. avotsi ‘trail, road’, kitsarentsi ‘clothes’.

**Measure terms** are semantically compositional noun phrases which express quantities by identifying units of mass nouns, or specifying certain arrangements of count nouns. Measure terms in Ashéninka Perené include -poroki ‘bunch’, -patsa ‘dot, tiny piece’, -kota ‘piece’, and -vatsa ‘mass’.

**Class terms** in Ashéninka Perené occur as parts of compounds or derivational morphemes. They serve to categorize natural phenomena such as plant parts, snakes, insects, medicinal plants, and fruit. They also classify habitats and geomorphic features, e.g. naranki-mashi ‘a field of orange-trees’; mapinini mapi-ni-ni [stone-DIM-PLACE] ‘the place with little stones’.

**Classifiers** are used to describe the noun referent’s physical properties such as shape, size, and consistency. Ashéninka Perené classifiers are bound morphemes used as nominal derivational suffixes, e.g. -shi ‘small, thin, flexible objects’, -na ‘long, hollow objects’, -naki ‘round, hollow objects’, -menta ‘triangular objects’, and -tsa ‘long, thin, curvy objects’.

5. DEVERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS.

Agent, object, instrument, and action nominalizations are derived from verbs with the help of the nominalizing/relativizing suffixes -ri or -ni (ni-nominalizations which refer to irrealis events are infrequent). For example, ar-atsi-ri [fly-STAT-REL] ‘flier’; amet-apint-a-ri [be.accustomed.to-HAB-REAL-REL] ‘custom (what we’re accustomed to)’; saik-imo-tz-i-ro-ri [be.at-APPLIC.PRES-EP-REAL-3NMASC.O-REL] ‘roommate (in whose presence one lives)’

State nominalizations are derived from verbs via the suffix -(i)nka and are generally marked for possessor, e.g. i-shintsi-nka [3MASC.POSS-be.strong-NMZ] ‘his strength’.

Product nominalizations such as manufactured household items are formed with the suffix
2.2 Kinship terms

-mento, e.g. maa-mento-tsi [sleep-NMZ-NMZ] ‘bed’.

- Quality nominalizations which describe human attributes, e.g. a hard worker, a beauty, a skilled fisherman, etc. are derived from deverbal adjectives or nouns, with the help of the suffixes -ntzi (M)-nto (NMASC) or -tzinkari (M)-tzinkaro (NMASC), showing sensitivity to referent’s gender, e.g. antavai-ri-anto [work.DUR-REL-NMZ.NMASC] ‘a hard-working female’, aavint-ant-tzinkaro [cure-APPLIC.REAS-NMZ.NMASC] ‘female healer’.

2. KINSHIP

2.1 A snapshot of the kinship system

Contemporary native Amazonians […] present striking similarities in their social morphology: small, ideally self-sufficient, politically independent and relatively egalitarian local groups, division of labor exclusively by sex and age, prevalence of cognatic systems, relations with the outside usually characterized with hostility, indifference to genealogical continuity and ancestry. (Descola 1992:115-6)

- Cognatic/ nonunilineal, bilateral, ego-focused system which includes a person’s kin beginning with his/her father and mother; no emphasis on patrilineal or matrilineal descent; genealogies are shallow, 3-4 generations, “hardly anyone” knows their great-grandparents (Bodley 1971:65)
- Absence of residential descent groups
- Endogamous: tend to marry within the Campa group and beyond within the geographical boundaries of the Perené valley; potential mates are Ashaninka Tambo-Ene, Ashéninka Pichis, Yaneshia, Matsigenka, Nomatsigenka, Shipibo
- In scarcely populated, low density areas with the highly mobile, dispersed population endogamous marriages serve to forge alliances and solidarity
- a-shani-nka [1PL.POSS-be.same-NMZ] ‘our fellows’ include all Campas
- Polygyny was common among headmen: pinkatsari ‘chief’ and ovayeri ‘warriors’; ochaaronenta ocha-ro-ni=nta [forrmication-NMZ-AUG=ADV] ‘polygyny’;
- For adopted kin, verbs tsika ‘adopt’ or pira ‘domesticate’ are used, e.g. otsikatana o-tsika-t-an-a [3NMASC.S-adopt-EP-DIR-REAL]‘she adopted [her]’; itsikatari i-tsika-t-ak-a-ri [3NMASC.S-adopt-PFV-REAL-3MASC.O] ‘he adopted him’
- Uxorilocal residence pattern after marriage was common, now it is rare.

2.2 Kinship terms

- All kinsmen are classified on the basis of the distinctions made between four generations (Ego ‘0’, Ego’s parents ‘+1’, Ego’s grandparents ‘+2’, and Ego’s children ‘-1’).
- The terms employed by the speaker typically vary according to the sex of both the speaker and the specified kin; siblings of the same sex are considered to be much closer than siblings of the opposite sex;
- Dravidian kinship system: the system of cross-cousins and parallel cousins; FB pavachori (niritsori) and MZ nanaini (nonirotsori) are regarded to be potential parents and their
children (parallel cousins) are potential siblings; FZ’s children and MB’s children (cross-cousins) are potential mates; MB koki (nokonkiri) is referred to as potential father-in-law and FS aiyeni (nayiro) as potential mother-in-law (Bodley 1971:56; Chevalier 1982:259-265; Rojas Zolezzi 1994:88-91)

- Cross-cousin marriages and exchange marriages are attested but both types constitute only 2% of the 800 marriages surveyed (Bodley 1971).
- The bracketed ‘consanguine’/‘nuclear-like’ group is limited in size; this serves “to reduce the number of potential complexities and contradictions in the classification of ego’s kin” (Chevalier 1982:264)
- Irrespective of Ego’s sex, terms for parents, maternal aunts, children, and parallel nieces and nephews are the same
- Irrespective of Ego’s sex, terms for grandparents and grandchildren are essentially the same; moreover, the reference terms are identical for both generations, nocharini ‘my grandfather/grandson’, nosaro ‘my grandmother/granddaughter’
- No terminological distinction is made between older and younger brothers (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:90)

Picture 3. Kinfolk from San Miguel Marankiarí

Picture 4. Kinfolk from Pucharini
### TABLE 1. Kinship terms (based on my fieldwork notes, Chevalier 1982:260; Rojas Zolezzi 1994:92)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Kinship relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa (niri)</td>
<td>apa (niri)</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina (noniro)</td>
<td>ina (noniro)</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavachori (niritseri)</td>
<td>pavaini (niritseri)</td>
<td>FB, SpMB, MZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanaini (nonirotsori)</td>
<td>nanaini (nonirotsori)</td>
<td>MZ, SpFZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iye(ki) (niorentzi)</td>
<td>aari, yaya (noyaariri)</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyetsori (niorentzi)</td>
<td>ari–yaya-tsori (noyaariri)</td>
<td>FBS, MZS, SpZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chooki (nitsiro)</td>
<td>eentyo (ni rento)</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chookitseri (nitsiro)</td>
<td>eentotsori (ni rento)</td>
<td>FBD, MZD, SpBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notomi, tyomi (notomi)</td>
<td>notomi, tyomi (notomi)</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyomi (notomitsori)</td>
<td>tyomi (notomitsori)</td>
<td>(M)ZS, HZS; (F)ZS, BS, WBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noshinto, shintyo (noshinto)</td>
<td>noshinto, shintyo (noshinto)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shintyo (noshintotsori)</td>
<td>shintyo (noshintotsori)</td>
<td>(M)BD, WBD; (F) ZD, HZD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noina, kooya (noina)</td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iñeeni? (noinatsori)</td>
<td>noime (noime)</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eemeni (noimetsori)</td>
<td>FZS, MBS, SH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koki (nokonkiri)</td>
<td>kooko (nokonkiri)</td>
<td>MB, SpF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airontsii, iyoini (nayiro)</td>
<td>aiyenii (nayiro)</td>
<td>FZ, SpM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani (naniri)</td>
<td>atyo (nonatoto)</td>
<td>SH, WB, MBS, FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MBD, FZD, HZ, BW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñotzi, tyomi (notzineri)</td>
<td>atziniri, tyomi (notzineri)</td>
<td>DH, ZS, WBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DH, BS, HZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniryo (naniro)</td>
<td>avatayero (nevatayero)</td>
<td>SW, ZD, WBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SW, BD, HZD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aani, charini (nocharnini)</td>
<td>aapi (nosari)</td>
<td>all males of generation +2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isha (nosaro)</td>
<td>isha (nosaro)</td>
<td>all females of generation +2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charini (nocharnini)</td>
<td>nosari</td>
<td>grandson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosaro</td>
<td>nosaro</td>
<td>granddaughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PICTURES 5-7. Families from Pampa Michi and Bajo Marankiari**
2.3 Address and referential forms

As seen in Table 1, most kinship terms have both address and corresponding referential forms. The referential terms are taken in parentheses.

2.4 Kinship morphology

2.4.1 Suffix -tsori ‘surrogate, ‘nuclear-like’ kin’

Surrogate ‘a deputy, a substitute’

The suffix -tsori is a class term; of obscure origin. The suffix is becoming obsolete. Many native terms are being replaced with Spanish kinship terms, or names are used to address the person in question.

Parallel cousin

- iye- + tsori ‘my surrogate brother’ (Sp. hermano ‘brother’ or primo ‘cousin’)
- yaya- + tsori/aari- + tsori ‘my surrogate brother’ (Sp. hermano ‘brother’ or primo ‘cousin’)
- chooki- + tsori ‘my surrogate sister’ (Sp. hermana ‘sister’ or prima ‘cousin’)
- eentyo- + tsori ‘my surrogate sister’ (Sp. hermana ‘sister’ or prima ‘cousin’)

Parallel nephew

- notomi- + tsori ‘my surrogate son’ (Sp. sobrino ‘nephew’)

Parallel niece

- noshinto- + tsori ‘my surrogate daughter’ (Sp. sobrina ‘niece’)

Potential father

- niri- + tsori ‘my surrogate father’ (Sp. tío ‘uncle’)

and mother

- noniro- + tsori ‘my surrogate mother’ (Sp. tía ‘aunt’)

Potential wife

- noina- + tsori ‘my surrogate wife’ (Sp. cuñada ‘sister-in-law’) -obsolete

and husband

- noime- + tsori ‘my surrogate husband’ (Sp. cuñado ‘brother-in-law’) -obsolete

2.4.2 Possessive prefixes

There is no special possessive morphology to mark kinship relations. Formally, possessive prefixes coincide with verbal person markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S/A person marker on verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n(o)-</td>
<td>1pSG subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>2p subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-,y-, ir(i)-</td>
<td>3p masculine subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>3p non-masculine subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>1pPL subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2. Forms and functions of bound pronominal forms

- Possessive prefixes show allomorphy. The prefixal vowel is deleted, when it is adjoined to vowel-initial stems. The 1pPL prefix is realized as a- before non-vowel initial stem, or as a zero morph before vowel-initial stems. As far as the 3p prefixes are concerned, they are clearly formed from the personal pronouns iri(ro) ‘he’ and iroo ‘she’. Their phonologically reduced
forms have retained the gender-based alternation of /i/- and /o/-initial stems. The distribution of the 3SG.MASC prefix is as follows: y- before a-/o- initial stems, Ø before i-initial stems, and i- with the [-vowel]-initial stems. The 3SG.NMASC prefixes have irregularity as well: o- is used before [-vowel] stem and zero marking occurs before [+vowel] stem.

- Possessive suffix -ri is commonly attested with kin terms, as shown in (2); -te and -ni are not attested
- It appears that a formal distinction is made between close and less close kin, in (1) and (2), respectively. Simpler marking signals a closer kin relationship.

(1a) daughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>shintotsi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-shinto</td>
<td>‘my daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-shinto</td>
<td>‘your daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iri-shinto</td>
<td>‘his/her daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-shinto</td>
<td>‘our daughter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1b) wife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-ina</td>
<td>‘my wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-ina</td>
<td>‘your wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ina</td>
<td>‘his wife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2a) brother (F)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yaya, aari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-yaari-ri</td>
<td>‘my brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-yaari-ri</td>
<td>‘your brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-yaari-ri</td>
<td>‘her brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2b) father-in-law, MB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>koki (M), koko (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-konki-ri</td>
<td>‘my father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-konki-ri</td>
<td>‘your father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i/o-konki-ri</td>
<td>‘his/her father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-konki-ri</td>
<td>‘our father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In possessive phrases, the possessed NP either is marked for possession, as seen in (3a-3b), or the possessed NP is unmarked, as shown in (3c).

(3a) i-tomi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3MASC.POSS-son</td>
<td>deity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘God’s son’

(3b) ashi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a-tsiro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.POSS</td>
<td>1PL.POSS-sister (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the sister of ours [lit. ‘our sister of ours’]’

(3c) ashi-t-a-ro-ri

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>eentsi-paye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>own-EP-REAL-3NMASC.O-REL</td>
<td>child-PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘children’s parents’

### 2.4.3 Tense and possession

- The nominal temporal markers -ni ‘ceased existence’ and -nta ‘ceased relation with a human referent’ are commonly found on possessed kin stems, e.g., no-tomi-ni [1SG.POSS-son-
CEASED.EXIST] ‘my dead son’, no-tomi-nta-ak-a-ri [1SG.POSS-son-CEASED.R-PFV-REAL-NMZ] ‘the one who was my son’.

- The temporal suffix -nta ‘ceased relation’ is applied to both kin terms expressing the relationship, e.g., the grandmother whose grandson is dead would be called iri-saro-nta-ak-a-ri [3MASC.POSS-grandmother-CEASED.R-PFV-REAL-NMZ] ‘the one who was his grandmother’; the grandson’s terminated relationship to his grandparents is expressed by i-charini-nta-ak-a-ri [3MASC.POSS-grandson-CEASED.R-PFV-REAL-NMZ] ‘the one who was his grandson’.

- The temporal markers can stack up, e.g.

(4) no-tomi-nta-vi-t-a-ri-ni=ra
1SG.POSS-son-CEASED.R-FRUS-EP-REAL-NMZ-CEASED.EXIST=DEM
‘my dead son’

- The suffixes are also found with non-kin terms and non-possessed nouns as well, e.g., no-vito-ni [1SG.POSS-canoe-CEASED.EXIST] ‘my canoe which ceased to exist’, kaminkaro-ni [corpse-CEASED.EXIST] ‘the dead person’, atziri-nta-ak-a-ri [person-CEASED.R-PFV-REAL-NMZ] ‘the one who was a person [i.e., the one who lost a connection to humankind due to his transformation into another form]’.

- Because of the unrestricted application to both possessed and non-possessed bases, the suffixes’ semantic meaning properties are analyzed as indicating the past existence of an entity or of a kin or association relationship, held before the utterance time.

2.4.4 Morphological specification of gender

Two sets of suffixes are used to express the referent’s sex in kinship terms:

-ri (MASC)/ -ro (NMASC), with the corresponding reduced forms -i and -o, and -ntzi (MASC)/-nto (NMASC).

(5a) -ri
niri ‘my father’
nosari ‘my grandfather/son’

ro
noniro ‘my mother’
nosaro ‘my grandmother/granddaughter’
nitsiro ‘my sister’ (M)
nayiro ‘father’s sister (M); spouse’s mother (M/F)’
naniro ‘my son’s wife’ (M)
nevatayero ‘my son’s wife’ (F)

(5b) -i
koki ‘father-in-law’ (M)

-o
kooko ‘father-in-law’ (F)

(5c) -ntzi
nirentzi ‘my brother’ (M)

 nto
nirento ‘my sister’ (F)

2.4.5 Specification of plural number

- There are two group kin terms: noshaninka ‘my kindred kin, my family’ and ashaninka ‘our fellows’.
The concept ‘a couple’ is expressed by the finite verbs poña ‘come from’ (which functions as a coordinating conjunction) and tsipa ‘join’, ‘accompany’.

(6a) pi-ime i-poñ-a pi-ina
2POSS-husband 3M.S-come.from-REAL 2POSS-wife
‘your husband and your wife’

(6b) a-n-tsipa-t-av-ak-aya
1PL.S-IRR-join-EP-RECIP-PFV-IRR.REFL
‘We’ll accompany each other, we’ll keep each other’s company [we’ll be a couple].’

(6c) i-saik-i i-tsipa-t-a-ro i-ina, i-ri-shinto
‘He lived with his wife and daughter.’

Associative non-singular is formed with the nominal suffixes -paye ‘plural number’ and the augmentative/collective -ite, which can be stacked together.

(7a) p-iri-paye aviroka-ite
2POSS-father-PL you-AUG.COLL
‘your parents’

(7b) iyeki-ite-paye a-nampitsi-te-ki=ka
brother-AUG.COLL-PL 1PL.POSS-village-POSS-LOC=DEM
‘brother and sisters of this community’

(7c) iri-paye [father-PL] ‘parents’
in-a-paye [mother-PL] ‘mothers’
koki-paye [mother’s brother-PL] ‘uncles’
nirento-paye [my.sister-PL] ‘my sisters’ (F)
paisato-ite-ni [ancient-AUG.COLL-CEASED.EXIST] ‘ancestors’
int-an-ak-a-ro-ri(paye) [begin-DIR-PFV-REAL-3NMASC-REL-PL] ‘founding fathers’

2.5 Terms of endearment

To form diminutive kinship terms, the following strategies are employed.

- Secondary palatalization of the alveolar stop consonant, t→tʲ as part of the ‘diminutive formation’ strategy (Bateman 2007)

(8a) notomi notyomi ‘my son’
noshinto noshintyo ‘my daughter’
eento? eentyo ‘sister’ (between females and co-wives); cf. eentsi ‘child’
ato? atyo ‘brother’s wife’ (F).cf. nonatoto ‘my brother’s wife’ (F)

- Diminutive suffixes -patsaini, and -janiki, which can stack up.
(8b) no-sari-janiki
1SG.POSS-grandson-DIM
‘my little grandchild’

(8c) no-sary-aaniki-patsaini
1SG.POSS-grandson-DIM-DIM
‘my little grandson’

2.6 Metaphorical usages and polysemy

The terms ‘father’ and ‘mother’ have an extension of ‘owners’ or ‘supernatural Masters’ of animals and evil spirits, e.g.

(9) Iriniro kaamari ‘evil spirit’s Master/mother’
    Iriniro maranki ‘snake’s Master/ mother’
    Iriri tsamiri ‘curassow’s Master/father’

Some kin terms have age-related extensions, to address people located within certain age groups.

(10) ani ‘sister’s husband’, also same-generation male (M)
     koki ‘wife’s father’, mother’s brother’, also any older male (M)
     isha ‘grandmother’, also any old woman (M/F)
     kooya ‘wife’, also any younger or same generation woman (M/F)
     chooki ‘sister’ (M), also any woman of ego’s age (M)
     eentyo ‘sister’ (F), also any mature woman (F)

(11) madrecita ‘my dear’? (father addressing his daughter, driver addressing a female passenger)
     papacito ‘my dear’? (father addressing his son, or addressing his male friend)

CONCLUSIONS

• Two major subdivisions in kinship relationships: ‘nuclear-like’ kin and ‘classificatory’ kin
• The suffix -tsori ‘surrogate-like kin’ is found only with the kinship terms designating ‘nuclear-like’ kin
• Two group terms, noshaninka ‘my family’ (includes both nuclear-like and classificatory kin) and ashaninka ‘my fellows/people’ (includes all Campas)
• Possessive prefixes on kin terms are not unique, coincide with person markers on verbs; close kin morphology is simpler, it tends to lack possessive suffixes; more remote kin is marked with both possessive prefixes and suffixes; only the suffix -ri is attested with kin terms
• Kin terms can be marked for the category of tense by the suffixes -ni ‘ceased existence’ and -nta ‘ceased human relationship’; the suffixes can stack up
• Morphology of gender marking is not limited to the semantic domain of kinship, it’s typical of all nominals, e.g. -ri MASC and -ro NMASC
• The production of terms of endearment is aligned with the extremely common ‘secondary palatalization’ strategy, when the alveolar stop t is pronounced as tʲ, e.g. tonkariki ‘up above’/ tyonkariki ‘a little bit above’ vs. noshinto ‘my daughter’/noshintyo ‘my little daughter’.
Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper: A-subject of transitive verb; ABS-absolutive; ADV-adverbial; APPL-applicative; AUG-augmentative; AUX-auxiliary; CAUS.SOC – causative-sociative; CEASED.EXIST-ceased existence; CEASED.R-ceased human relation; CL-classifier; COLL-collective; DEM-demonstrative; DIM-diminutive; DIR-directional; DUR-durative; EP-epenthetic; FRUS-frustrative; IRR-irrealis; LOC-locative; MASC-masculine; NEG-negative; NMASC-non-masculine; NMZ-nominalizer; O-object of transitive verb; p-person; PFV-perfective; PL-plural; POSS-possessive; PST-past; PURP-purpose; REAL-realis; REAS-REASON; RECIP-reciprocal; REFL-reflexive; REL-relativizer; S-subject of intransitive verb; SG-singular; STAT-stative.

References