

LANGUAGE AND COFFEE IN A TRILINGUAL MATSIGENKA-QUECHUA-SPANISH FRONTIER
COMMUNITY ON THE ANDEAN-AMAZONIAN BORDERLAND OF SOUTHERN PERU

by

Nicholas Q. Emlen

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Anthropology)
in The University of Michigan
2014

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Bruce Mannheim, Chair
Emeritus Professor Conrad P. Kottak
Professor Joyce Marcus
Associate Professor Barbra A. Meek
Assistant Professor Lev David Michael, University of California, Berkeley
Professor Sarah Grey Thomason

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Dedication

For Sophie and my parents, Robert and Julia Emlen;
for my *ahijados*, *compadres*, and *comadres* in the Alto Urubamba;
and for Jhon William Manchaki Valer.

Acknowledgements

I thank the people of Yokiri for graciously accepting me into their community and sharing their lives with me. It is only through their goodwill, patience, and generosity that I was able to conduct this research, and I am grateful for the long days we spent conversing and working (and for the late afternoons we spent relaxing by the school and playing volleyball). In particular, I wish to thank Elvis Nelson Chorobeki Maine, Silverio Maine Capita, Asunción Menkori Korinti, and León Quispe Yapu for their friendship and assistance with my research.

This project is the product of conversations that I had with Bruce Mannheim, whose commitment to South America is a perpetual inspiration, and without whose mentorship and kindness this study would never have taken place. Many of the ideas and themes in this dissertation were developed with the help of Barbra Meek, who provided an excellent model of scholarship and helped me think about the relationship between language and culture in new ways. Joyce Marcus has been a tireless and generous mentor, and her encyclopedic knowledge of South America has helped me see the regional implications of work on the Andean-Amazonian borderland. Sally Thomason helped me think carefully about language, from the finest grammatical details to the broadest

historical phenomena (and everything in between). I count myself extremely fortunate to have learned from Lev Michael, whose profound knowledge of the linguistic and social world of the Urubamba Valley, as well as the theories and methods of linguistics and linguistic anthropology, have been a major influence in this dissertation. I first developed this project with the help of Conrad Kottak, whose expansive knowledge of anthropology and South America helped me think carefully about ethnographic methods while also keeping an eye on the big picture.

Many people in Peru made this fieldwork possible. I wish to thank CISEPA at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú for hosting me, as well as the Comisión Fulbright del Perú. The Consejo Machiguenga del Río Urubamba (COMARU) took me in early in my fieldwork and gave me an office and a living space in Quillabamba, and I thank Rubén Binari Piñarreal and Plinio Kategari Kashiari for their generosity and friendship. I am particularly grateful to Fredy Cusirimay Cusihualpa, as well as Justina Choquehuanca and Claudia Cusirimay, for their great friendship and hospitality in Quillabamba and on the backroads and byways of the coffee frontier. Many speakers of Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish spent long hours transcribing and listening to recordings with me, including Julio Korinti Piñarreal, Noemí González Solís, Gabi Vera, Henry Amador Ríos Tenteyo, Jesús Kategari Kashiari, and Armando Kaybi Álvarez, whose memory will not be forgotten. I benefitted from the friendship and hospitality of Manuel Koriki, Susana Binari Piñarreal, Marco Antonio Ccopa, Santiago Vargas Usca and Higídia Ccopa, Omar Santos Pereira, Jesús Santos, and Imelda Chorobeki. I am also grateful to Padre Roberto Ábalos Illa for his hospitality in Koribeni and for sharing his knowledge of Matsigenka society. Thanks also to the Mendoza sisters for their support

and friendship. In Peru and elsewhere, I also enjoyed the companionship of Annie Murphy, Ruth Goldstein, and the members of the 2008 TAPS field school. Visits from Trent MacNamara, Marc Alongi, and Ben Oliner were a most welcome interlude, and some of my most memorable and enjoyable days in Peru.

At the University of Michigan, I benefitted from the intellectual guidance and mentorship of Judith T. Irvine, Webb Keane, Michael Lempert, and Robin Queen. My work was also greatly improved through conversations with Dan Rosengren, Glenn Shepard, and especially Chris Beier, who accompanied me on the last day of my fieldwork and helped me begin to make sense of it all. I am also grateful to Edith Zevallos Apaza, Rosalía Puma Escalante, and the kind people of Centro Tinku for introducing me to Quechua and Andean life. Thanks to Ricardo Godoy for providing a model for rigorous and compassionate research, as well as a thorough introduction to fieldwork in the lowlands.

I am very fortunate to have found myself among a group of wonderful and talented colleagues and friends at Michigan. Thanks to Erika Alpert, Chris Berk, Laura Brown, Allison Caine, Nishaant Choksi, Craig Colligan, Jonathan Devore, Vanessa Díaz, Georgia Ennis, Erica Feldman, Andrew Foster, Randall Hicks, Jini Kim, Ujin Kim, Gabi Koch, Jessica Lowen, Jane Lynch, Scott McLaughlin, Patrice McShane, Shana Melsynyn, Sandhya Narayanan, Regev Nathansohn, Michael Prentice, Bruno Renero-Hannan, Elana Resnick, Guillermo Salas, Angélica Serna, Josh Shapero, Perry Sherouse, Howard Tsai, and Charles Zuckerman. Thanks especially to Hussein Fancy for a quarter of a lifetime of friendship.

Thanks also to the administration and residents of Taliesin West, who graciously

welcomed me into their community and provided me an ideal environment in which to write this dissertation.

I am deeply grateful to the various institutions that provided funding for this project. My coursework during the 2007-2008, 2008-2009, and 2009-2010 academic years was supported by FLAS fellowships to study Quechua, and in the summer of 2008 I traveled to Cuzco to study Quechua with a FLAS summer fellowship. The University of Michigan Department of Anthropology provided a summer fieldwork fellowship in 2009 and writing fellowships in Fall 2013 and Winter 2014. The main fieldwork period was supported by a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) Fellowship and an NSF Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1021842. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

All photographs are by the author, and all map and graph images are by Sophie Nicolay.

Finally, I wish to thank Sophie Nicolay and my parents, Robert and Julia Emlen, whose love and unwavering support made all of this work possible.

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Orthographic conventions, transcript symbols, and morpheme codes

All names in this study have been changed. I generally retain local orthographic conventions regarding place names, though in some cases there is variation (e.g. Otingamía v. Otinganía), often depending on the languages spoken. Most transcripts consist of a Matsigenka, Quechua, or Spanish transcription and an English gloss. Borrowings and code-switches are indicated with underlined text, and boldface is used to highlight particular elements relevant to the analysis. In cases where a full interlinear gloss is necessary, four lines are given. The first line is a transcription of a recording; the second line provides a morphemic analysis; the third line provides a morphemic gloss; and the fourth line is a free translation. '-' indicates that a speaker has cut off a word or sentence, or has been interrupted. '...' marks elided material.

Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish morpheme codes used in the study are listed below. Only the morphemes appearing in full interlinear glosses in the study are included in these lists. The Matsigenka codes are based on Michael (2008:56-60) and Michael, et

al. (2013:11-16); the Quechua codes are based in part on Adelaar and Muysken (2004:xx-xxv). Transcripts of two long stories (Matsigenka *pakitsa* and Quechua *ukuku*) are given in Appendixes 1 and 2, and three different etymological accounts of the place name *Yokiri* are given in Appendix 3. Full interlinear glosses of the *pakitsa* and *ukuku* stories were too long to include in this study, but fully marked up versions of these texts (and others) can be found at nqemlen.com/texts.

Matsigenka

Morpheme code	Morpheme	Gloss
1S	no-	1st person subject
2P	pi-	2nd person possessor
3mS	i-	3rd person masculine subject
3fS	o-	3rd person feminine subject
3mO	-ri	3rd person masculine object
3fO	-ro	3rd person feminine object
3f	o-	3rd person feminine
ABL	-an	ablative
ALIEN.POSS	-te	alienable possession
ANIM	-ni	animate
APPL	-ant	applicative
EXIST.ANIM	ainyo	animate existential
EXIST.INAN	aityo	inanimate existential
EP	-a, -t	epenthetic element
INAN	-ti	inanimate
IRREAL	N-	irrealis
IRREAL.I	-e	irrealis, I-class verb
PASS.IRR	-enkani	irrealis passive
PERF	-ak	perfective
PL	-ig	verbal plural
REAL.A	-a	realis, A-class verb
REAL.I	-i	realis, I-class verb
REL	-rira	relativizer
SUBJ.FOC1	-ankits	subject focus 1
SUBJ.FOC2	-ats	subject focus 2
TRNLOC.PERF	-aki	perfective translocative

Quechua

Morpheme code	Morpheme	Gloss
1.FUT	-saq	1st person future
3S	-n	3rd person subject
2P	-yki	2nd person possessor
3P	-n	3rd person possessor
ABL	-manta	ablative
AC	-ta	accusative
AL	-man	allative
BN	-pu	beneficiary
CM	-ña	completive ('already', 'anymore', etc.)
H	-mu	hither (motion towards speaker)
O	-ta	object
PL.INCL	-chis	inclusive plural
PR	-sha	progressive
REPORT	=si	reportative evidential
RF	-ku	reflexive
SPEC	=chá	speculative evidential
SQ	=taq	sequential
SS	-spa	same subject (in the switch-reference system)
TO1	=qa	topicalizer 1
TO2	=ri	topicalizer 2
TRLOC	-mu	translocative

Spanish

Morpheme code	Morpheme	Gloss
3S	-n	3rd person subject
IMP1	-ía	imperfective1
IMP2	-aba	imperfective2
PL	-s	nominal plural
PR	-ando	progressive
REPORT	dice	reportative evidential

Abstract

This study examines language contact among Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish in Yokiri, a small coffee-producing frontier community on the Andean-Amazonian borderland of Southern Peru. The community was formed by the intermarriage of Andean agricultural migrants and Matsigenka people from a wide variety of places and circumstances across the region, including a Dominican mission and a handful of Andean colonist plantations that used enslaved Matsigenkas for labor. Yokiri is therefore the site of profound linguistic and cultural variation, and the community members have very different experiences with commercial agriculture and orientations to the rural agrarian society. For this reason, Yokiri defies descriptions of Andeans and Amazonians that attribute monolithic ontologies, values, and linguistic repertoires to 'ethnic groups' and other imagined human aggregates. To understand this phenomenon, this study examines how language is used in three major interactional contexts in Yokiri (public meetings, negotiations with coffee merchants, and talk in the home and fields), and how each of these communicative domains is tied to different ideologies that regiment the patterns of language use. Language choice and code-switching are central to how the people of Yokiri are negotiating their place within the agrarian society that has emerged around

them. A number of linguistic changes have arisen from this profound and intimate multilingualism, including the restructuring of the Matsigenka noun classification system, the borrowing of Spanish discourse markers in both Quechua and Matsigenka, and the circulation of 1) a poetic device used in narrative performance, and 2) reportative evidentiality (a grammatical resource for marking second-hand information). This analysis suggests that Yokiri is an incipient 'discourse area', in which areally-distributed pragmatic phenomena cross-cut genetic linguistic groupings. In this sense, Yokiri is similar to other places in South America where widespread multilingualism has led to localized areas of discursive and structural convergence; however, this study challenges the prevailing scholarly and popular view of Andeans and Amazonians as radically separate in cultural, social, and linguistic terms, and proposes that inter-indigenous language contact is as common between macro-geographical regions such as the Andes and Amazonia as within them.

Chapter 1: Introduction

One morning in the spring of 2012 I stood with an elderly Matsigenka-speaking man in the formidable Artillería pass through the 2000m (6560 feet) ridge behind the Yokiri Valley. Facing south, we looked across the steep and densely-forested hills of the Alto Urubamba region at the snow-capped peaks of the Andes; facing north, we saw the mist rise from the forests beyond the last foothills separating the Andes from the Amazon plain. The man pointed out the sites of pre-Columbian ruins, the course of a major mule trail used during the rubber industry in the early 20th century, and the various places in the landscape where his family worked and traded with Andean *colonos* 'agricultural colonists' before migrating gradually toward the Yokiri Valley as the last patches of forest were claimed for farmland.

This area is an Andean-Amazonian crossroads, where highlanders and lowlanders have traded, fought, intermarried, and coexisted on countless terms throughout their long history together. The story of the small community of Yokiri is the story of the interaction between the residents of these tropical forests (now called Matsigenkas, a term that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century and has been taken up in the

context of modern ethno-political movements) and the Andean *colonos* who have entered their territory to establish coffee farms. Yokiri is made up of families who migrated back and forth across the vast lowland and highland areas between the Kumpiroshiato Valley (near the department of Ayacucho), the Madre de Dios watershed, and the highland province of Paucartambo, in search of land, opportunity, or refuge during the Andean colonization of the eastern Andean slope. Some of these people are considered, by themselves and others, to be either Matsigenkas or *colonos*; but for many others who trace their heritage to various points across the Andean-Amazonian region, such classifications are more contextual, relational, and perspectival.

The recent history of the Alto Urubamba region is defined by agricultural colonization: "a process whereby people settle more or less permanently in a previously uninhabited or only sparsely inhabited region and use the terrain primarily for agricultural purposes" (Schuurman 1979:29-30). The region has always held economic opportunity for Andeans, and it has served as a release valve for the victims of drought, flooding, crop failure, violence, political persecution, and overpopulation in the highlands. In this case, of course, the region was very much inhabited before the *colonos* arrived, and Andean migrants have come into close interaction with Matsigenkas as the agricultural frontier has expanded further into the forests. Yokiri, then, is a frontier community: it is on the leading edge of the expansion of commercial agriculture from the vast agrarian society and landscape of the Andes into the relatively sparsely-populated and undeveloped lowlands, and it was formed by people from various regions who migrated to the valley as a result of economic, ecological, and demographic transformations brought on by agricultural colonization. The often devastating effects of the expansion of

the agricultural frontier into the land of indigenous Amazonians are by now well documented (e.g. Hvalkof 2006; Hvalkof 2008; Schmink and Wood 1984; Schmink and Wood 1992), and Yokiri provides an ethnographic case study in the complex social and linguistic dynamics that attend such economic and demographic transformations.

The intensity of the highland-lowland interaction that characterizes Yokiri's history has led to a linguistic situation of great complexity. Among the fewer than 100 residents of the Yokiri Valley (as of 2012), three languages are spoken: Andean Spanish, Southern Peruvian Quechua (a member of the branch of the Quechuan family designated *Quechua II* (Torero 1964), *Quechua A* (Parker 1963), or *Peripheral Quechua* (Mannheim 1991)), and Matsigenka (a member of the Kampan branch of the Arawak family (Michael 2008:212-219)). There also is some dialect variation in the Matsigenka spoken by families that came from the west and those that migrated from the Yavero Valley east of Yokiri (additionally, some features of the Manu variety may persist among the family that were brought by the Dominican missionaries from that area in the early 20th century).

This study examines Yokiri's great sociolinguistic complexity as part of the quickly-changing and highly unstable social world of the coffee frontier. I take an ethnographic approach to multilingual communication inside and outside of the community to understand how Yokiriños and their neighbors interpret and negotiate their place in that social world, and how the ideological regimentation of language use is an integral part of that process.

1.1 Goals and outline of the study

I chose Yokiri as a field site for this project because of its position on the leading edge of frontier expansion, and because it was the most thoroughly multilingual community I encountered in the region. The major families of Yokiri came together in the context of intense highland-lowland interaction, and the community is the product of the social, economic, and linguistic complexities of the agricultural frontier. Though this interregional and multilingual condition characterizes life for many people in the Alto Urubamba and beyond, it has not received much attention in ethnographic and linguistic accounts of Matsigenkas and Andeans. This study, then, aims to contribute to the anthropological and linguistic literature a description of a different side of both Amazonian and Andean life.

This study seeks to understand how Yokiriños use their diverse linguistic resources to construct different facets of their quickly-changing social world. The community's profound linguistic variation is tied to larger ideological fields--for instance, Spanish plays an important role in Yokiri's ongoing attempt to forge a discursive public space at the center of a nascent democratic political culture, while Quechua is the language of the rural agrarian society and is central to Yokiriños' participation both in the coffee economy and in the forms of sociality that come with it. Matsigenka and Quechua are also both frequently spoken among kin groups in the home and in the fields, where a set of conversational and narrative discourse genres are an important part of the community's cultural and linguistic life. Patterns of code-switching and contact-induced linguistic change are also widespread in Yokiri, but they are unevenly distributed. For instance, code-switching is extremely common in conversation and personal narratives,

but it is all but absent in Matsigenka and Quechua mythological narratives, which are subject to strict regimes of linguistic purism. This is also the case in public meetings, where any transgression of the (tacit) Spanish-only policy is seen as a betrayal of the common project of building community-level social ties that transcend kin allegiances. These patterns of language use, therefore, are embedded in larger fields of social action. A number of points of linguistic convergence have arisen within this complex and ideologically-regimented linguistic ecosystem--for instance, this study examines how pervasive multilingualism in particular discourse genres (conversation and personal narrative performance) has led to a common set of discourse marking strategies, how an iconic poetic feature has become central to narrative performance in the three languages, and how reportative evidential strategies have diffused as speakers increasingly apply a common set of expectations regarding proper and effective discourse among all of the three languages. These convergences are structured by the social contexts and ideologies of discourse in the community. Finally, this study considers how the Matsigenka noun classification system has begun to change as a result of Yokiriños' vastly different language acquisition experiences across the coffee frontier.

This study also seeks to draw attention to contemporary inter-indigenous language contact in western South America. Despite its ubiquity, and despite increasing attention to historical contacts among indigenous languages, ethnographic studies in the region focus almost exclusively on the relationships between a single indigenous language and a single European colonial language. The invisibility of more complex situations flattens out local social worlds and subordinates them to an interpretation of linguistic diversity in which European contact is the only relevant variable. The straightforward opposition

between a colonial language and a single indigenous 'mother tongue' also encourages a vision of bounded and distinct aggregates or 'ethnic groups' (e.g. Brubaker 2004) that each have distinct and coherent beliefs, desires, linguistic repertoires and unified histories that set them apart from (and put them into 'clashes' with) other such aggregates. Yokiri does not conform to this model: some people who consider themselves 'Matsigenka' are near-monolingual Quechua speakers, while some '*colonos*' speak Matsigenka just as well as they speak Quechua or Spanish. This study, therefore, builds on recent research in South America that seeks to complicate the essentializing practice of attributing social characteristics and historical tendencies to 'X-speaking peoples', which persists despite the agreement among linguistic anthropologists that societies across South America are characterized by pervasive multilingualism and areal diffusion (of both linguistic and cultural features) across genetic linguistic groupings.

The recognition of interregional language contact and the non-isomorphism of language, sociocultural phenomena, and history also constitutes a political challenge to essentializing discourses about indigenous people in South America (Starn 1991:73), an important reform that has been underway in both regions for decades. This study's portrayal of Matsigenka-speakers participating in rural Andean agrarian society and of Quechua-speakers living in the tropical forest--in Philip Deloria's formulation, "in unexpected places" (2004)--contributes a different perspective on what people and life in western South America can be like. One result of this shifted focus is that categorical labels such as 'Matsigenka', '*colonos*', or 'indigenous' are not always straightforward--Yokiriños descend from people from a wide range of social, linguistic, and geographical circumstances, and their categories of social difference are contextually emergent,

perspectival, socially constructed, and contestable in a manner that is not always recognized in ethnographies of western South America (cf. De la Cadena 2000). Indeed, Yokiriños do not often think of themselves as belonging to an 'ethnic group' (the notion of 'Matsigenka' as a social grouping itself is a recent notion, and arises only when Yokiriños interact with the state or with the Matsigenka Council (COMARU)), and there is just as much heterogeneity within Yokiri as between Yokiriños and their neighbors. Instead, I approach the region as a network of interacting individuals who recognize various principles of differentiation that are emergent and contextual.

The remainder of Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the imaginary Andean-Amazonian divide, which is an important framework for classifying people and languages in western South America. I then give a brief history of highland-lowland relations in the Alto Urubamba region to demonstrate their close and durable connections despite popular and scholarly discourses that take them to be radically separate. Chapter 2 begins with an overview of the Alto Urubamba region in 2010-2012 and offers a history of the frontier community of Yokiri, which was formed by the migration and intermarriage of a great variety of people as they searched for a place on the agricultural frontier. Chapter 3 describes how Yokiriños interacted with the coffee industry in 2011-2012, and how coffee production is part of a sort of 'rural modernity' that includes participation in the Andean agrarian social world, the accumulation of manufactured goods, speaking Quechua, moving into a nucleated settlement, and in some cases, leaving the community behind.

Chapters 4-6 provide ethnographic descriptions of language use in three different contexts in Yokiri: community meetings, negotiations with coffee merchants, and

interactions in the home and the fields. Interactions in these contexts are closely tied to the political, commercial, and domestic life of the community, and Spanish, Quechua, and Matsigenka/Quechua (respectively) are associated with these domains of social action. Chapter 4 describes how Yokiriños, who have mostly lived according to a family-level social organization in which people do not recognize social commitments to people beyond their own kin groups, have managed to create a supra-kin level ‘community’ among several families that now engage in mutual obligation and privilege. This is achieved through the discursive space of the *asamblea* ‘community meeting’, which is conceived as a Habermasian public space distinct from the private domain of kin-affiliations. Spanish, which is thought to be ethnically unmarked and therefore fit for public discourse, is used almost exclusively in this context and is central to this domain of social action. Chapter 5 analyzes negotiations between the coffee farmers of Yokiri and the Quechua-speaking *colono* merchants that drive through the frontier to buy their product and bring it to market in the provincial capital. These interactions (often in Quechua) are the primary site through which Yokiriños construct their relationship to the coffee economy, and frontier expansion is described in this chapter as a social process that takes place interactionally among various actors across the region. The farmers and the merchants each employ a number of linguistic and non-linguistic strategies to improve their bargaining positions, while displays of solidarity (in the form of drinking, joking, celebrating, and even incorporation into fictive kinship networks) are used to consolidate and reaffirm the commercial relationships. Chapter 6 describes linguistic interactions in Yokiriños’ homes and fields, where they interact almost exclusively with their kin. Because each household is the site of significant linguistic variation, Quechua,

Matsigenka, and to a lesser extent Spanish are all used among families of different backgrounds, and quite a bit of code-switching can be seen. This chapter presents data from three discourse genres: 1) household conversation, 2) mythological narrative performance, and 3) personal narrative performance.

Chapters 6 and 7 also treat patterns of code-switching and language change. Chapter 6 describes how discourse marking strategies, an iconic poetic device involving the delayed release of unvoiced stops, and reportative evidentiality have circulated among the three languages. These analyses present an ethnographic perspective on Yokiri as a 'discourse area' (Beier, et al. 2002)--that is, a site of convergence in discourse practices--as a result of an intensely multilingual culture of language. This diffusion of discourse features across genetic groupings has proven to be common in South America (Urban and Sherzer 1988), and this study offers an ethnographic perspective on how those processes of contact-induced change take place interactionally. Chapter 7 builds on the ethnographic material in the study to analyze variation in the membership criteria of Matsigenka noun classes among the various families of Yokiri. The classification of nouns according to the binary animacy and sex-gender parameters is based in traditional cosmological and ontological principles. These nouns and their classifications are acquired through exposure to discourse in the contexts of Matsigenka myths and interaction with a wide range of animal and plant species in the forest; in Yokiri, speakers of Matsigenka have had widely varying degrees of exposure to both of these linguistic inputs, which has led to variation in noun classification.

1.2 Fieldwork and data

This study is based on 19 months of fieldwork in 2009 and 2010-2012. The first eight months of my fieldwork were dedicated to surveying the relationships between Matsigenkas and *colonos* across the region. I spent most of this time in the *comunidades nativas* of Chirumbia, Koribeni, Monte Carmelo, and Korimani, and in the *colono* towns and settlements of Kiteni, Ivochote, Saniriato, Quellouno, and Palma Real. I also made shorter visits to the *comunidades nativas* of Inkaare, Yokiri, Poyentimari, Timpía, Camisea, Shivankoreni, Kirigueti, Nuevo Mundo, Nueva Luz, Miaría, and Puerto Rico, and the *colono* towns and settlements of Kumpiro, Illapani, Pachiri, Mantalo, Zonakishiato, Pakichari, Kitaparay, Yoyato, and Huillcapampa. I also visited the Malvinas natural gas plant during that time. During these eight months I had an office and living space in the provincial capital of Quillabamba, in the headquarters and boarding house of COMARU (Consejo Machiguenga del Río Urubamba), the indigenous organization that represents Matsigenkas across the region. I used this space to organize my visits and to interact with Matsigenkas from across the region and interview them about their experiences with *colonos*. I also used my time in Quillabamba to conduct extensive interviews with *colonos*, NGO workers, indigenous representatives, journalists, and municipal officials. My stay at the COMARU headquarters provided a very helpful introduction to the Matsigenka world, and it allowed me to make many important connections for the rest of my fieldwork. I am very grateful to Rubén Binari Piñarreal and Plinio Kategari Kashiari for welcoming me there.

In addition to my survey of Andean-Amazonian relations in the Alto Urubamba, I also searched for an area in which to conduct a focused linguistic and ethnographic study

over the remaining period of my fieldwork. I chose the *comunidad nativa* of Yokiri (and the nearby *colono* settlements of Huillcapampa, Nueva Luz, Otingamía, and Estrella) because it was on the leading edge of frontier expansion and it was the most thoroughly trilingual community I had visited during my first eight months of fieldwork. Many people around the region were surprised by my choice, because Yokiri does not fit the profile of remote indigenous Amazonian communities that are most often sought out by linguists and anthropologists (for a similar experience, see Shane Greene's account of choosing an Aguaruna field site (2009:211)). Through my fieldwork, I came to understand that such ostensibly 'atypical' communities were, in fact, anything but.

The people of Yokiri graciously welcomed me into their lives, and I lived in a small building near the school. Nearly every day I hiked out to the widely-dispersed homes of the community members and neighboring *colonos* to work with them in their coffee plantations, socialize with them, learn about the experience of life on the coffee frontier, and to collect linguistic and ethnographic data (most Yokiriños live between one and three hours from the center of the community, so I spent much of my days walking in the forest, as in Figure 1. I also attended community events, *faenas* 'community work parties', celebrations, religious services, and meetings in both Yokiri and nearby *colono* communities, and I occasionally taught classes in primary and secondary schools across the region. I was also put in charge of a cache of manufactured goods that a coffee merchant sold during visits to Yokiri, and over time I was deputized as his storekeeper; this gave me a close perspective on commercial interactions in the community, which I discuss at length in Chapter 5. I communicated with my loved ones in the United States by using the solar-powered telephone in the nearby *colono* settlement of Huillcapampa

(about a three hour hike from Yokiri), where I traveled every couple of weeks to buy food and supplies.



Figure 1: Fieldwork in the Alto Urubamba

I collected data on linguistic interactions inside and outside of the community, and I was able to make recordings of nearly all of the community members speaking each of their languages, so my data is as close to a comprehensive survey as I was able to collect. I compensated the subjects for their intellectual labor during our formal ethnographic and sociolinguistic interviews, and I usually also contributed my agricultural labor during my visits. I recorded conversations, meetings, personal narratives, oral histories, myths, and formal grammatical elicitations. My corpus includes

around 250 hours of audio and video recordings (made mostly in Yokiri, but also in other communities and settlements around the region), and I employed five Quechua- and Matsigenka-speaking research assistants to help transcribe and interpret my data. I was only able to use a relatively small portion of my data in this study.

Conducting research about frontier expansion from the perspectives of both indigenous Matsigenkas and Andean *colonos* was often very difficult. There is a great deal of mistrust and antipathy within and among some members of *comunidades nativas* and some neighboring *colonos* across the region, and in some cases there is a recent history of abuse and violence. For this reason, people within and among *comunidades nativas* and *colono* settlements were often suspicious of me--one *colono* man asked me, for instance, *estás con ellos, o estás con nosotros?* 'are you with them [i.e. the Matsigenkas], or are you with us?' These tensions occurred as much within Matsigenka and *colono* communities as between them. However, these issues gradually dissipated as I came to know and gain the trust of people around the region. Managing the ethics of this long and complex fieldwork was challenging (and in a few places it has been necessary to omit information from this study), but despite these difficulties it is important to note that the overwhelming majority of the people that I spoke to maintained cordial and respectful relations with their neighbors.

I had originally intended to spend 20 months in the field, but in the final weeks of my fieldwork in April and May 2012 the Alto Urubamba became very dangerous and I had to leave a bit ahead of schedule. Increased drug control efforts in Colombia and other parts of Peru have pushed the cocaine industry into the remote areas of Alto Urubamba region in recent years, and in April 2012 a group of heavily-armed nacro-terrorists

abducted around 36 Camisea gas company workers in the town of Kepashiato and held them hostage in a remote corner of the Matsigenka community of Inkaare. After the hostages were freed several days later, a major confrontation between the narco-terrorists and the Peruvian military broke out inside Inkaare, killing people on each side and displacing the approximately 125 residents of Inkaare to a makeshift refugee camp at the COMARU headquarters in Quillabamba. This situation is still dangerous and volatile at the time of writing (April 2014), and Matsigenkas and rural Andean *colonos* alike are victims of a wide range of instabilities and pressures associated with the emergence of the cocaine industry in the valley.

1.3 Imagining the tripartite nation

The nation of Peru is often imagined to be composed of three parallel geographical regions: the *costa* 'coast', *sierra* 'Andean highlands', and *selva* 'Amazonian lowlands'. This division guides much of official and popular discourse in Peru (Orlove 1993; Santos-Granero 2002), and it has provided the framework for much ethnographic and linguistic research on western South America. The tripartite geographical division is also the basis of a broad scheme of racial categorization that posits types of people corresponding to the three geographical/ecological areas: those of European descent on the *costa* (as well as Afro-Peruvians (Greene 2007)), Andean *campesinos* 'peasants' (formerly *indios* 'Indians') in the *sierra*, and *nativos* 'indigenous Amazonians' in the *selva* (Greene 2007; Greene 2009; Steele and Zanotti In Press) (for a different case in Bolivia, in which some urban centers of the lowlands represent modernity vis-à-vis some highland areas, see Babel (N.d; 2010:93-114)). Radcliffe and Westwood describe such

demarcations in terms of "racialized imaginative geographies" (1996:118), in which socially-constructed categories of people are associated with particular geographical regions. The distinction between the Andes and Amazonia as regions that are 1) internally coherent and 2) radically distinct from each other has been reproduced in countless ways in public discourse and administrative policy for centuries, from the colonial distinction between highland *indios cristianos* and lowland *indios infieles*, to the institutionalization of the Andean-Amazonian racial distinction in Peru's land titling system today (Greene 2009)). The purported absolute separation between the Andes and Amazonia been also been explained by the incompatibility of cultural systems that adapted to different ecological contexts: "the extraordinarily limited influence of the Highland on the Montaña is intelligible mainly in terms of unlike environmental conditioning of the cultures" (Steward (1948:508); cited in Adelaar and Muysken (2004:499)). The Andean-Amazonian principle of differentiation is reproduced in discourses of indigeneity today--for instance, indigenous Aguaruna identity can depend in part on "actively making oneself not Andean" (Greene 2009:48), while discourses of Andean indigeneity are partially structured around being not Amazonian (Santos-Granero 2002). The result is a racialized hierarchy of indigeneity in which "the sequence of coast, highlands, and jungle is the story of national progress, an undertaking that had nearly been completed on the coast, that was underway in the highlands, and that had scarcely begun in the jungle" (Orlove 1993:328) (see also Whitten (2011)). This hierarchical distinction between indigenous Andeans and Amazonians recapitulated an interpretation of history (enshrined in Julian Steward's *Handbook of South American Indians* (1940-1947)) in which the grand "Andean civilizations" (typified by the Inkas) were opposed to

the dispersed and technologically primitive "Tropical Forest Tribes" of the lowlands (a division that is recast, for instance, in the distinction between 'hot' and 'cold' societies (Lévi-Strauss 1966)). These groups were to be studied by historians and ethnologists, respectively (Saignes 1985:viii). Because of their association with the Inkas, Andeans occupy a privileged place among indigenous Peruvians, and when the military government rhetorically reframed indigenous Andean *indios* 'Indians' as *campesinos* 'peasants' in the 1960s, Amazonians became further removed from the rest of the nation as "the only indigenous peoples in Peru" (Santos-Granero 2002:567).

But while many Peruvians and scholars of Peru take this tripartite geographical and racial division to be a natural and self-evident fact, it is the product of a centuries-long ideological process of differentiating and organizing the profusion of cultural, social, and linguistic variation into orderly and administrable categories (Orlove 1993). The Andes and Amazonia were a patchwork of profound and often non-contiguous linguistic, cultural, and social diversity before the arrival of Europeans--a condition that persists today despite the subsequent homogenization and reorganization that took place during the colonial period (Mannheim 1991)--and the notion of Peru as a nation was constructed by reducing (to use the colonial idiom) that variation into manageable categories. While the tripartite ideology has become an important emic framework for interpreting diversity in Peru, it distorts the nature of social difference in Peru in two ways: first, it flattens out the profound sociocultural variation and hierarchies of power within each macro-region (e.g. the domination of Matsigenkas by Yines (Gow 1991) and the domination of Nantis by Matsigenkas (Michael 2008:29-32)), while also overlooking how hierarchies are formed dialogically (as in Margarita Huayhua's description of the

subordination that unfolds interactionally in a *combi* in the highlands (2013)). Second, it dismisses the profound connections between the people of each region by imagining them to be radically distinct. These points are recapitulated in linguistic categorizations of South America, as I will discuss below.

The ideological distinction between the Andes and the Amazonian lowlands likely began with the emergence of large-scale pre-Columbian Andean sociopolitical formations, which shifted focus from interregional east-west relations to a pan-Andean north-south axis (Whitten and Whitten 2008:231-232). This process constructed the lowlands as peripheral to the Andes (Santos-Granero 2002:546-547), while extensive interregional trade persisted across the boundary. The Andean-Amazonian ideological division was amplified during the colonial period, when eastern populations that served as intermediaries between the highlands and the lowlands disappeared or were incorporated into the Andean or Amazonian worlds, in some cases using Christianization as a diagnostic (Barclay 2001; Dudley 2011; Oberem 1970; Santos-Granero 1985; Taylor 1988; Uzendoski 2004; Whitten 2011). The "Andeanization" of some intermediate people and spaces (Santos-Granero 1985:34-35) across the eastern slope coincided with European diseases that decimated lowland populations (Raymond 1985:49), breaking continuous inter-regional ties and making the Andean-Amazonian boundary appear even more stark (Barclay 2001; Hornborg and Hill 2011:13; Saignes 1985). The ideological boundary was reinforced after the rebellion led by Juan Santos Atahualpa in the mid-18th century closed much of Amazonia to Andean influence over the next century--the intensity of highland-lowland interaction has waxed and waned over the centuries, and this was a period of relative isolation. These historical processes that periodically severed

Amazonia from the Andes constructed the lowlands as a place of alterity to be explored, conquered, incorporated, and consumed (Santos-Granero 2002) (for a history of Peru's policies regarding indigenous Amazonians, see Stocks (1984)).

This ideological division between the Andes and the Amazonian lowlands has been reproduced in modern anthropological and linguistic research on western South American since Julian Steward codified the distinction between Tropical Forest Tribes and Andean Civilizations, and in general, there has been relatively little collaboration between Andeanists and Amazonianists. For many Andeanists, the world beyond the 'low valleys' (some of which, n.b., are higher than 7,000 feet (e.g. Gade 1975)) is seen as peripheral to Andean life (cf. Shoemaker 1981; Skar 1994), despite the fact that the use of a range of ecological zones has been recognized as a fundamental characteristic of those societies both before and after European contact (Barclay 2001; Mumford 2012; Murra 1972) (note that these agricultural satellites are often established in the territories of lowland indigenous groups, as we will see in this study). Similarly, Amazonianists have not always recognized the influence of Andeans in the lowlands, and have often overlooked them in the search for the more typically Amazonian subjects of anthropological research. According to the 2007 census, only 8.1% of the population of the Peruvian *selva* live in *comunidades nativas* (INEI 2007)¹; however, Andean migrants (who make up much of the other 91.9%) often play only a peripheral role in Amazonianist ethnographies (often in the problematic role of 'national society', as I discuss in Chapter 3) and are in some cases made "invisible" (Nugent 1993; Schmink 2003) through a process of erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000) that constructs them as outside

¹ The 2007 census reports a the total population of the *selva* as 3,675,292, and the total population of its *comunidades nativas* as 299,218.

of the proper scope of research. In some cases this is a methodological choice, as in studies on the relationships between ecology, subsistence strategies, and social organization; however, in recent years scholars have increasingly made attempts to recognize the presence of non-indigenous Amazonians in Amazonia (Journal of Cultural Geography 2011; Nugent and Harris 2004; Schmink 2003) as both an empirical and political issue. Indeed, the systematic erasure of non-Amazonians in the region risks perpetuating an ahistorical and essentializing vision of the region and its people, which is already ubiquitous in popular discourse. For instance, the construction and reconstruction of Matsigenkas in the popular imagination as fundamentally disconnected from non-Matsigenkas has led to such exercises in colonialist fantasy as Mario Vargas Llosa's *El Hablador* (1987) and the grossly irresponsible television series *Mark & Olly: Living with the Machigenga* [sic], in which the Matsigenkas are packaged for consumption as "the most mysterious tribe in the Amazon jungle" (Cicada Productions 2009; for a criticism of the series, see Shepard 2011). These discourses also risk obscuring the very modern and global problems that Matsigenkas face today, in particular the colonization of their land by Andean agricultural migrants, the incursions of extractive industries, and the rise of narco-terrorism.

1.3.1 Language and regionality

The imaginary Andean-Amazonian division is also projected onto the languages of western South America. It is common practice to talk about these languages and their genetic groupings as being either 'Andean' or 'Amazonian', and they are usually studied by different groups of scholars and catalogued in separate volumes (e.g. Adelaar and

Muysken (2004) and Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999a), respectively). But while this macro-geographical grouping provides a useful heuristic for orienting oneself to the continent's languages, it leads to some of the same distortions that attend the imaginary Andean-Amazonian division generally: first, it suggests an undue degree of coherence within each region, and second, it obscures the many connections between the regions.

The first point is illustrated in Aikhenvald and Dixon's argument, based on the comparison of fifteen linguistic features, that the geographically-defined Amazon region constitutes a linguistic area (1998; Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999b:8-9) (see also Derbyshire and Pullum 1986). The authors define the set of languages to be considered 'Amazonian' (and thus treated in their volume *The Amazonian Languages*) thus: "if most of the languages in a family are spoken in the Amazon/Orinoco Basin (e.g. Arawak) then we cover that family. If most of the languages in a family are outside the region (e.g. Guaicuru) then we do not deal with that family" (1999a:4). The pruning that goes into this definition casts some doubt onto Amazonia as a coherent and distinct linguistic space, and indeed, although there are some typological similarities among many languages in Amazonia, its status as a linguistic area separate from adjacent regions is far from clear (Payne 2001)². Of course, the boundaries of all linguistic areas are fuzzy (Thomason 2001:101-102), but the smaller linguistic areas that are found across South America (and Mesoamerica) are more coherent than such macro-groupings (Payne 1990:3). For instance, lowland South America is home to several regions of intense multilingualism and mutual linguistic influence of various kinds: Upper Río Negro/Vaupés (Aikhenvald 1999; Aikhenvald 1996; Epps In press), the Upper Xingu

² However, the Amazonian geographical region may correspond more closely to a "discourse area" of shared discursive practices (Beier, et al. 2002), a notion that I will discuss in Chapter 6.

(Epps In press; Seki 1999), the Southern Guianas, the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the Guaporé-Mamoré region, and the Gran Chaco (Epps In press; see also Muysken 2012). The Andean region is also characterized by profoundly diverse genetic and contact relationships that, as in Amazonia, do not correspond internally or externally to the geographical parameters of the Andean region. In these cases, macro-geographical demarcations are simply poor predictors of genetic or areal linguistic relations.

The second point, that the imaginary distinction between 'Andean' and 'Amazonian' languages obscures linguistic connections between those geographical regions, can be seen in the large number of languages that do not fit easily into that dichotomy. For instance, because the varieties of Quichua spoken in the Amazonian lowlands of Ecuador and northern Peru are related to languages that are more numerous in the Andes, they have been omitted from Dixon and Aikhenvald's *The Amazonian Languages*. But these are major languages in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian lowlands, and as Michael Uzendoski writes, "instead of thinking of Amazonian Quichua dialects as 'Andean', scholars who work in this part of the world consider Amazonian Quichua to be an Amazonian language, one that also happens to be widely spoken in the Andean world" (2009:3). The placement of Amazonian Quichua into the 'Andean' category is therefore an artifact of the Andean-Amazonian imaginary, and overlooks important historical (Zariquiey Biondi 2006) and contemporary highland-lowland connections in northern Peru and Ecuador. Recent descriptive and comparative work conducted around the Andean-Amazonian borderland also suggests the artificiality of this division, and there is strong evidence to suggest a more gradual transition between the highlands and the lowlands than is often assumed (van Gijn 2014). Most notably, the central Peruvian

Arawak language Yanesha' (alt. Amuesha) exhibits significant influence from varieties of both Quechua I and Quechua II (Adelaar 2007; Wise 1976), likely due to the importance of the Yanesha' people in the interregional salt trade (Varese 1968). Cholón and Hibito, spoken in the Alto Huallaga Valley of northern Peru, also exhibit considerable Quechua influence (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:460-475; Tessmann 1930). Shuar has undergone influence from Quichua (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:499, 446n12), and the Zaparoan languages have largely been replaced by Quichua (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:451-452; Muysken 2000:976; see also Whitten 2011). Some features of Ecuadorian Quichua may be explainable in terms of a Barbacoan substrate (Simeon Floyd p.c., Muysken (2012)). The Ecuadorian varieties of Quechua may also have been pidginized by speakers of Barbacoan and Jivaroan languages who learned Northern Quechua as a second language, and who might have also left some substrate influence in the language (Muysken 2000; Muysken 2011). Lamas Quechua may also have substrate influence from lowland languages (Adelaar 2008:266). Pukina's person system is also clearly related to Arawak (Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009), and Kallwaya may have influence from Tacanan languages (Muysken 1997; Muysken 2009) as well as other lowland languages. The phonological characteristics that typify Andean languages have also been shown to spread quite far east, and as far south as Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego (Michael, et al. In press). Matsigenka has a wide array of Quechua loans (Table 1), many of which have been nativized into Matsigenka phonology. Among some speakers there appears to be a merger of the Matsigenka vowels on the three-vowel pattern of Quechua. In addition, some bilinguals and trilinguals use the SOV constituent order typical of Quechua and Andean Spanish in addition to the unmarked SVO Matsigenka constituent order.

However, the grammatical influence of Quechua on Matsigenka appears to be limited among many speakers.

<u>Matsigenka</u>	<u>Quechua</u>
<i>aryo</i> 'really, indeed'	<i>ari</i> 'yes'
<i>varaka</i> 'slingshot'	<i>warak'a</i> 'slingshot'
<i>pirik</i> 'to make a wall'	<i>pirqa</i> 'wall'
<i>koriki</i> 'silver, money'	<i>qulqi</i> 'silver, money'
<i>kori</i> 'gold'	<i>quri</i> 'gold'
<i>pampa</i> 'flat place'	<i>panpa</i> 'flat place'
<i>pampatagantsi</i> 'to be flat'	<i>panpa</i> 'flat place'
<i>ponyarona</i> 'highlander'	<i>puna runa</i> 'person from the altiplano'
<i>virakocha</i> 'white person, highlander'	<i>wiraqucha</i> 'deity, Inka ruler, honorary term'
<i>mishi</i> 'cat'	<i>michi</i> 'cat'
<i>sopai</i> 'devil, demon'	<i>supay</i> 'devil, demon'
<i>ampi</i> 'medicine'	<i>hanp'i</i> 'medicine'
<i>ampeí</i> 'cotton'	<i>anpi</i> 'cotton'***
<i>chopi, chopisere</i> 'soup, food'	<i>chupi</i> 'soup'
<i>kipirina</i> 'cloth sling'	<i>q'ipirina</i> 'cloth sling'
<i>kororo</i> 'larva'*	<i>kuru</i> 'worm'
<i>michanti</i> 'stingy person'	<i>micha</i> 'to be stingy'
<i>ampato</i> 'toad sp.'*	<i>hanp'atu</i> 'toad sp.'
<i>onko</i> 'root vegetable sp.'*	<i>unkucha</i> 'root vegetable sp.'
<i>pachakamu, pachakami</i> 'deity'*	<i>pachakamaq</i> 'creator deity'
<i>inkakuna</i> 'deities'**	<i>inkakuna</i> 'Inkas'

*From Snell (2011); **from Johnson (2003) , ***from Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua (2005)

Table 1: Quechua loans in Matsigenka

All of these cases demonstrate that genetic or areal highland-lowland linguistic relations (in one form or another) are present at nearly every point along the eastern Andean slope, as we might expect from the intense historical and contemporary interactions across this geographical boundary. Furthermore, whatever gaps there appear to be are likely due in part to the paucity of documentation rather than actual highland-lowland isolation. Indeed, if interethnic contact and multilingualism are widespread in areas inhabited by speakers of Arawak languages (Hill 2013; Hill and Santos-Granero

2002; Hornborg and Hill 2011), to the extent that they may be "intrinsic to Arawakan constructions of social identity" (Hill and Santos-Granero 2002:17), it is unlikely that these stopped abruptly at the Andes. Both regions are characterized by widely-dispersed and discontinuous language families that spread as much through multilingualism as through demic migration (Hornborg 2005). As Bruce Mannheim writes, "languages have moved across populations, instead of populations moving with their languages" (1991:52). Yokiri's interregional multilingualism, then, is probably more typical of the Western South American linguistic picture than the modern Andean-Amazonian ideology would lead us to believe. Some of these relationships have been obscured by the severing of connections between the Andes and Amazonia since the colonial period, and by the resulting ideology of separateness that informs much interpretation of the region, but they are likely to become even more clear as new descriptive and comparative linguistic work is conducted. The Andean-Amazonian geographical boundary is very porous indeed, and by this point it is clear that the search for areal and genetic groupings in South America must be conducted between the regions as much as within them (e.g. Adelaar 2013:125).

From an ethnographic perspective, there are a number of challenges that can be raised against the Andean-Amazonian linguistic imaginary. First, the massive migration of Andeans into the eastern slope has meant that Southern Peruvian Quechua is by far the most widely spoken indigenous language in the Peruvian Amazon (indeed, given the very small speaker populations of many Amazonian languages and the presence of significant Inka or pre-Inka infrastructure in the lowlands, this is a role that various varieties of Quechua or other 'Andean' languages may have played for some time). Meanwhile, the territory of many 'lowland' groups extends very far into the highlands--for instance, one

Matsigenka community in the Apurímac watershed includes land above 4000m (13120 feet). This is to say nothing of the fact that thousands of speakers of Amazonian languages have migrated to the highlands and to the coast, some of whom maintain those languages in their new homes.

Another important ethnographic challenge to the Andean-Amazonian ideology comes from a close look at the lives of the many people who are multilingual in languages from both regions (often in addition to Spanish). This is the subject of the current study. The invisibility of this phenomenon is part of the more general invisibility of contemporary inter-indigenous multilingualism, which has been overlooked as part of a pervasive language ideology by which European languages are assumed to be the only relevant points of linguistic contact. In this view, South Americans are thought to speak a single indigenous language (their 'mother tongue') in addition to the colonial European language (the language of 'national society' or the like). But multilingualism among indigenous South American languages has been widespread throughout recorded history to the present (Mannheim 1991), and there are signs everywhere that it is richer and more complex than the simple indigenous-colonial binary suggests. Indeed, many people have more than one 'mother tongue', and experience the nation through an indigenous language such as Quechua as much as through a European language (a point I will take up in Chapter 3). In the Amazonian lowlands we find profound multilingualism in the Vaupés region (Jackson 1983; Sorensen 1967), in the Bajo Urubamba region where some people speak Piro and Asháninka (Gow 1989:569), and in the Madre de Dios watershed where some people speak Matsigenka and Huachipaeri (in some cases, along with Quechua). Some areas of the Andes are home to people who speak (often in addition to Spanish)

Quechua and Aymara (Adelaar 2012; Bastien 1978:xxi; Godenzzi 1995:101; Hardman 1979; Howard-Malverde 1995) (and Sandhya Narayanan, personal communication); Aymara and Chipaya (Cerrón-Palomino 2006:271-272; Torero 1992); Aymara and Uchumataqu (Hannß 2008; Muysken 2002); and Aymara, Quechua, and Kallawaya (Albó 1989:259; Callahan 2011:95; Muysken 2009). These patterns of multilingualism are very common in western South America and may resemble the region's pre-Columbian linguistic ecology (Adelaar 2012:467-468). These multilingual situations are also found between the Andean and Amazonian regions--they are formed locally, so it is no surprise that they also arise as part of highland-lowland relations. Whitten (2011:324), for instance, reports that 20% of Canelos Quichua speakers in Ecuador also speak Achuar, and that many Záparo speakers also speak Quichua (Whitten 1975; see also Whitten 1976; Whitten and Whitten 2008). There are a large number of Asháninka-Quechua-Spanish trilinguals in the department of Ayacucho (e.g. Díaz Martínez 1969), and this study examines the widespread (but rarely noted) trilingualism among Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish in the Alto Urubamba region. What is clear is that inter-indigenous language contact takes place inter-regionally as much as intra-regionally, and that contact among Amazonian languages and among Andean languages is not qualitatively different from contact among languages across the two regions.

1.4 The Alto Urubamba as an Andean-Amazonian crossroads

The Alto Urubamba Valley provides an instructive case study in Andean-Amazonian social, economic, and linguistic interaction. The area has been the site of intense--though intermittent--trade and demographic interchange for at least the last 600

years, and it straddles today's imagined racial/geographical boundary between the *sierra* and the *selva*. During the long and eventful history of the Alto Urubamba, Andeans and the ancestors of today's Matsigenkas have been party to a number of geopolitically significant historical transformations: they both provided coca to the Inkas and interacted frequently in the Inka capital in exile at Vilcabamba, and the lowlanders served as archers in Inka military campaigns. Amazonians worked alongside Andeans to supply coca and sugarcane liquor for the highlands during the colonial period, and they banded together with African slaves in an attempted overthrow of the colonial regime in the early 1600s. Matsigenkas interacted frequently with Andeans during the brutal and genocidal rubber trade of the 19th and 20th centuries that made possible the global automobile industry. Today, Matsigenkas and Andean migrants are integrated into the tropical agricultural economy, while the Camisea gas fields and pipelines underneath the region supply energy across the planet, and while the burgeoning cocaine industry (conducted in part within Matsigenka territory) connects the Alto Urubamba with consumers in wealthy countries. Meanwhile, the cities of towns of the region are full of Matsigenkas who have made their lives with and among Andean migrants. The Alto Urubamba is, then, a palimpsest of Andean-Amazonian interactions that have emerged and receded over hundreds of years, and which have always been central to the valley's history.

However, the intermittent nature of these relations and their subordination to a powerful ideology of alterity has obscured the deep history of this contact, making each tropical foray seem like the first for each newly-arriving group of Andean pioneers. Although Amazonians and Andeans in the Alto Urubamba region have been trading, migrating, and intermarrying since long before Pizarro first glimpsed Peru, Matsigenkas

continue to be cast as savage others (Trouillot 1991; see also Whitten and Whitten 2008) by people near and far. This disavowal of the long history of Andean-Amazonian contact in the Alto Urubamba has also been reproduced by the striking division between the two parallel scholarly literatures of the region: Amazonianists provide anthropological descriptions of Matsigenkas in which appearances of Andeans tend to be fleeting, and Andeanists offer economic and political descriptions of *campesinos*, which normally only mention Matsigenkas in passing in introductory sections on the historical context of La Convención. The result of this scholarly division is the invisibility of Matsigenkas as agents and actors in the history of La Convención, and the obscuring of the historical and contemporary importance of Andean influence in the lives of Matsigenkas. This disjuncture also perpetuates a vision of racial difference in the Alto Urubamba in which the categories are unambiguous and easily discerned, an ideology that will be interrogated throughout the course of this study.

1.4.1 Prehistory to the 20th century

The prehistoric relationships between the Andes and the Amazonian lowlands are complex and only partially understood, but it is clear that there was quite a lot of trade as well as demographic movement between the regions. In recent years, questions of origin (e.g. whether Amazonians originated in the Andes (Meggers 1971) or vice versa (Lathrap 1970) (see also Isbell (2008:1146)) have given way to an examination of the close relationship between Amazonia and the Andes within a continent-wide system of trade and migration largely conducted by speakers of Arawak languages (Hill and Santos-Granero 2002; Hornborg 2005; Hornborg and Eriksen 2011; Hornborg and Hill 2011;

Lathrap 1973). Archaeologists and historians have indeed found that the Inkas and the Andean civilizations before them maintained close relationships with the (often Arawak-speaking) inhabitants of the eastern lowlands (Raymond 1988; Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988; Saignes 1985), and the Inkas play a small role in Matsigenka mythology (Johnson 2003:189; Rosengren 2004:20-21). This relationship was conducted mostly, though not entirely, in the form of trade (Myers 1983): Inka administrative control over the Alto Urubamba and its inhabitants appears to have been relatively weak, likely because the state-building strategy of subjugating pre-existing populations to Inka control (Covey 2006) could not be easily applied to the sparsely-populated and relatively non-hierarchical lowland societies (Le Moine and Raymond 1987), and because the Inkas could acquire most of what they wanted from the lowlands (mostly coca (Renard-Casevitz 1981)) through trade (Álvarez Lobo 1996:34-44; Covey 2006:206; Lyon 1981:8). Annual trading fairs between Andeans and Piros were conducted on the Urubamba River from the Inka period through the early 20th century, at points that moved with the wave of colonization progressively down the valley, from above Machu Picchu in the Inka period (Zuidema 1998), to the confluence of the Yanatile river and Cocabambilla in the 18th and 19th centuries (Camino 1977:131; Gade 1972:211), to Rosalinas in the late 19th century (Menéndez Rúa 1948:153) and eventually to the Cirialo river in the early 20th century (Rosengren 1987:40; Rosengren 2004:28) (see also Gow (1991:32; Zarzar and Roman 1983) Santos-Granero (Santos-Granero 2009c)). Piros often sold Matsigenka women and children to Andeans during these trading fairs (Johnson 2003:32), who were likely incorporated into the Andean population.

Beyond the relationship of trade, the sparse archaeological and historical evidence available suggests that there may have been significant Andean populations in the eastern lowlands during the Inka period, particularly in Vilcabamba (Le Moine and Raymond 1987:123-124; Savoy 1970:128) (even if endemic tropical disease may have limited the extent of their involvement in the region (Gade 1979)). The Inka capital at Vilcabamba (Hemming 1970) is clearly the most visible and historically significant case of such settlement, and the *manaríes* (the likely ancestors of today's Matsigenkas (Lyon 1981:5)) were in close contact with the Inkas there (Rosengren 2004:22). But other Inka activities, for instance the relocation of people to and from the region (Lyon 1981:9; Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:186) (and the bringing of *mitimaes* from Chachapoyas to Amaybamba (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:13; Rostworowski 1963; Wilkinson 2013:142-143)), suggest that there was a significant demographic interchange in other areas of the valley as well (note, for instance, the existence of inter-ethnic coca plantations (Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:72). Some of the Andeans living among residents of the *montaña* may not appear in the historical records because they were fugitives or were not counted regional censuses (Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:72). Indeed, the territory occupied in the early colonial period by the *Antis* or *Manaríes* (Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:185) is well-traversed by the Inka (or pre-Inka) road network, which extended both down the Urubamba Valley from the Inka heartland (see also Wilkinson 2013) at least as far as the Yanatile river (von Hassel 1907:388), and down the Yavero Valley nearly to what is now Huillcapampa (Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:81; von Hassel 1907:377), near Yokiri. The Inka roads probably ended where river travel became more viable (Lyon 1981:8). There were a number of roads that connected the Yanatile and Yavero Valleys (Lyon 1981:6),

and the large Inka or pre-Inka site of Mosocllacta (Álvarez 1932; Ferrero 1966:26-30), which sits in a pass on the ridge that separates the Yanatile and Chapo watersheds inside what is now the *comunidad nativa* of Chirumbia, probably controlled access to the Yavero Valley. Intriguingly, this route between the Yanatile and Yavero rives would have run either through the Artillería pass and through the Yokiri Valley, or through what is now the neighboring community of Nueva Luz. These roads were probably linked to the Vilcabamba network (Renard-Casevitz, et al. 1988:87-88), creating a vast lowland road network from Vilcabamba and the Apurímac valley all the way to the Madre de Dios watershed and beyond. There may have also been earthen roads that continued further into the lowlands but did not leave an archaeological trace (Johnson 2003:30-31). It is likely that such infrastructure was accompanied by significant demographic interchange in addition to its role in trade between the highlands and the Alto Urubamba.

Sources from the early colonial period make little mention of the Alto Urubamba and the people that lived there, which suggests that the highland-lowland trade relationships of the Inka period were interrupted after the European invasion, or at least that they decreased in importance (Johnson 2003:33; Rosengren 2004:21). The first, tentative agricultural colonization of the Urubamba Valley by Europeans began as early as 1541, when the Huiro and Amaibamba haciendas were established in the very southern area of the valley closest to the highlands (Menéndez Rúa 1948:30). Intermittent trade continued with *manaríes* in Vilcabamba, as well as some ultimately unsuccessful mining ventures in the area. The region eventually became a refuge for Andeans fleeing from *encomiendas* and African slaves who worked there or escaped to the region, and who in the early 17th century numbered over 2000 (Bowser 1974:176). Relations between

Amazonians and African slaves in Vilcabamba were tense, but in 1602 and 1604 they came together in a short-lived attempt to overthrow the colony (Bowser 1974:176-177; Rosengren 2004:25). Highland interest in the lowland area of Vilcabamba and the Urubamba Valley was intermittent and limited to agricultural colonization over the rest of the colonial period (particularly after the major rebellion of Juan Santos Atahualpa in the mid-18th century (Brown and Fernández 1991; Varese 1968)), though some haciendas in the Urubamba Valley prospered and supplied coca and sugarcane to the mining economy of the *altiplano* (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:38-39; Sala i Vila 1998:402) until this industry collapsed in the late 17th century. The development of the agricultural economy was limited by the short supply of labor, and the landowners recruited the indigenous population of the valley, African laborers (Ocampo 1907), and migrants from the highlands, which they viewed as more dependable workers than the indigenous people (Gade 1972:215).

The major point of lowland-highland contact in the Urubamba Valley during the 18th century was the mission at Cocabambilla, near what is now the town of Echarate. Cocabambilla was established by the Jesuits, and then taken over by the Dominicans from 1768-1798 and the Franciscans from 1798-1898, at which point the Dominicans were granted the land as part of the Prefectura Apostólica del Urubamba (Rosengren 2004:27-28). Cocabambilla was a commercial as much as a missionary center, and it served as an important point of highland-lowland trade. During this time the people that would be come to be called Matsigenkas were also the subject of Yine raids (Rosengren 2004:29; see also Santos-Granero 2009c), against which their dispersed settlement pattern was an effective defense.

The agricultural economy of the Alto Urubamba declined during the late 18th and early 19th century, only to see a revival among the surviving haciendas in the mid-19th century, facilitated by an expanding transportation network, new interest in agricultural products from La Convención (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:41), and military protection against the lowlanders' periodic attacks on agricultural colonists who were attempting to push the frontier beyond Cocabambilla (Sala i Vila 1998). The province of La Convención was created in 1857 as the Peruvian state sought a connection to the Amazon river network and the Atlantic ocean beyond (Sala i Vila 1998:424), which would grant the Cuzco region a more prominent place in the national economy. A port would be built below the Pongo de Mainique (the highest navigable point on the Urubamba River) and would be connected to the terrestrial transportation network of the Andes. The road network would also open the possibility of agricultural colonization beyond Illapani, the last colonized area of the Urubamba Valley at that point, below what is now the town of Echarate (Sala i Vila 1998:436). During the 19th century, the agricultural economy of La Convención began to intensify and shift from coca and sugar cane to cash crops such as coffee, cacao, fruits, and tea (particularly in Huyro and Amaybamba). Trade with lowlanders remained important, but as the agricultural economy grew, landowners depended on Matsigenkas more and more as a source of labor (Gade 1972:215-216).

Starting in the mid- to late 19th century, the quina and rubber industries transformed the economy of the Alto Urubamba. Between 1850 and 1890, the area around Chirumbia and Rosalinas was a major point of trade for quina, and from 1880 until 1910 countless Matsigenkas slaves (and some Andean migrants) collected rubber in the remote areas of the forest (Gade 1972:217). Rubber traders, Piros, and Matsigenkas

known as *gantatsirira* 'the one who captures'³ (Rosengren 1987:41) carried away Matsigenkas on violent slaving raids (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:69-70). Matsigenkas were also recruited through debt servitude (see also Brown and Fernández 1991:58). The lawless rubber industry, and the diseases that accompanied it, devastated the Matsigenka population (Gade 1972:217; Rosengren 2004:30) and sent some Matsigenkas fleeing to the remote headwaters (where many remain today) while others remained around the centers of the rubber industry along the Urubamba and Yavero rivers (Rosengren 2004:30). After the rubber industry declined in Peru in the early 1910s, this manner of recruitment was maintained to supply labor for the agricultural industry (Camino 1979:138), as we will see in the history of the families of Yokiri in Chapter 2.

In 1902, the Dominicans established a mission at Chirumbia (from Matsigenka *tsirompi-ari* 'fern river'), which was at that point the furthest extent of the agricultural frontier and was near Rosalinas, an important center for the quina and rubber trades (Rosengren 1987:42). The mission took in Matsigenkas from around the region, including many fleeing the violence of the rubber industry and abusive conditions on nearby haciendas (which put the Dominicans into an uneasy relationship to the landowners of the valley). The Chirumbia Valley was chosen because it offered access to Matsigenkas living in the inaccessible area between the Urubamba, Yanatile, and Yavero rivers. Ramón Zubieta described the purpose and placement of the mission in a 1905 letter:

³ *gantatsirira*
ag *-ant* *-ats* *-i* *-rira*
capture APPL SUBJ.FOC REAL REL
'the one who captures'

Since the savages in the whole region of the Urubamba and its tributaries are dispersed into families and small groups, it was necessary to visit them frequently, help them with their needs, and become familiar with them; with the goal of managing to baptize their children and obligate them morally to visit the Missionary in his residence; then once this is all done, to form a settlement where the adults can receive frequent instruction, and the children can attend school and religious services, so that later they form a generation that is fundamentally different from that of their parents.⁴
(1905:44)

The mission at Chirumbia and the other Dominican missions established through the Alto and Bajo Urubamba transformed Matsigenka life, and most of them (with the exception of Chirumbia, which was subsequently abandoned by the Dominicans) continue to play a major role in the region today. To a certain extent, Zubieta's objective has been fulfilled: the Matsigenkas living in mission towns such as Chirumbia and Koribeni live lives that in many respects are more similar to those of the neighboring *colonos* than their forebears. The role of the mission at Chirumbia in the history of Yokiri will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

1.4.2 20th century Andean colonization

The agricultural frontier of La Convención continued to expand down the Urubamba Valley over the course of the 20th century, and the haciendas continued to depend on Matsigenkas for labor (many of whom went back and forth between the missions, the haciendas, and the forest, much to the frustration of the Dominicans) (Fioravanti 1974:46). The arrival of the train from Cuzco to Machu Picchu and Santa

⁴ “Repartidos los salvajes en toda esa región del Urubamba y sus afluentes por familias y pequeñas agrupaciones, había necesidad de visitarlos con frecuencia, ayudarlos en sus necesidades, y familiarizarse con ellos; á fin de conseguir bautizar á sus niños y obligarlos moralmente á visitar al Misionero en su residencia; teniendo todo esto á formar una población en donde los adultos puedan recibir una instrucción frecuente, y los niños asistir á la escuela y á los actos religiosos, para que más tarde, formen una generación esencialmente distinta de la que componen sus padres.”

Teresa (further up the valley from Quillabamba) from the 1930s to the 1950s (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:45-46; Rosengren 2004:16) accelerated the colonization of the valley and its incorporation into the regional economy, while the construction of the road down the valley toward Chahuares (and later, to Kiteni, Tintinikiato, Ivochote, and now to Saniriato) allowed Andeans to occupy tracts of land deep inside Matsigenka territory. This put Andean *colonos* into close and intimate contact with Matsigenkas, particularly as the *colonos* sought labor for the burgeoning agricultural economy. Some Matsigenkas fled further into the hinterland, while others became incorporated into the rural agrarian society. But while this wave of colonization progressed rapidly during the early 20th century, it was all but halted by a malaria epidemic that paralyzed the Urubamba Valley in the early 1930s (Fioravanti 1974:18, 58; Hobsbawm 1969:33-34). The advance of the transportation network stalled for years.

After the Andean colonization of the eastern lowlands regained momentum in the 1950s, hundreds of thousands of Andeans populated the *montaña* and *selva* east and north of the southern Peruvian highlands. There were many reasons for this new stage in Andean migration: demographic pressure and land scarcity in the highlands (Mayer 2009:12-17; Yashar 2005:229-230), a quickly expanding transportation infrastructure that made lowland agriculture more profitable, and public support for opening the eastern lowlands to development (in some cases as a way to avoid serious land reform in the Andes (Aramburú 1982:34; Mayer 2009:17)). Most migrants came in search of land and agricultural labor, while others sought work as merchants and workers in the quickly-growing towns and in the city of Quillabamba. This wave of agricultural colonization into the eastern lowlands was promoted by the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry in the

1960s as a mode of national economic and social development. He saw the agricultural colonization of the Amazonian lowlands (what he called "Peru's own conquest" (1965)) as a solution to the severe imbalance in the "man-land" relationship (Grillo Arbulú and Sharon 2012:118) that plagued the *campesinos* of the highlands. The relocation of poor Peruvians to the lowlands and the expansion of the country's agricultural production would be facilitated by the *carretera marginal*, a road cutting across the eastern slope and integrating it with the highlands (Brown 1984; Denevan 1966). Belaúnde did not recognize the indigenous people of the lowlands (e.g. 1962) and saw Amazonia as a marginal and empty region awaiting colonization (Grillo Arbulú and Sharon 2012). Most state-sponsored colonization projects promoted during this period failed (Schuurman 1979), but the spontaneous colonization of the Urubamba Valley was very successful and transformed the region into Cuzco's tropical agricultural heartland.

The increased pace of agricultural colonization in La Convención coincided with one of the most important peasant uprisings in modern Latin American history (Fioravanti 1974; Hobsbawm 1969). By the late 1950s and the early 1960s, as the unrest caused by population growth and the limited land base in the rural areas had reached its boiling point, the *campesinos* of La Convención joined in a major rebellion against the *haciendas* (led by the folk hero Hugo Blanco) in the early 1960s (Craig 1969). This movement inspired similar actions in the highlands (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:111) and forced the government to enact agrarian reforms in the valley that would later be the model for agrarian reforms across Peru (Mayer 2009:17). As the agrarian reform expropriated the *hacendados'* land, tens of thousands of Andean peasants took up residence in towns and cities, moved back to the highlands, or ventured further down the

Urubamba Valley in search of cheap new land where they could establish large coffee, cacao, and achiote plantations.

The result of all these changes was a dramatic increase in the number of Andeans living in the Amazonian lowlands--for instance, by 1963-1964 only a third of the residents of La Convención were born in the province (Fioravanti 1974:59). This migratory pattern has continued ever since, and some rural areas of the Andean highlands of southern Peru have lost much of their population to both the city of Cuzco (as well as the coastal cities) and to the eastern lowlands. Figure 2 shows population growth between the 1961 and 2007 censuses in the rural highland provinces of Cuzco compared to the lowlands (measured here as combined populations of La Convención and the department of Madre de Dios, the two major destinations for Cuzco *colonos*), and the city of Cuzco:⁵

⁵ Note that these figures do not account for the significant levels of migration to the coast and other regions.

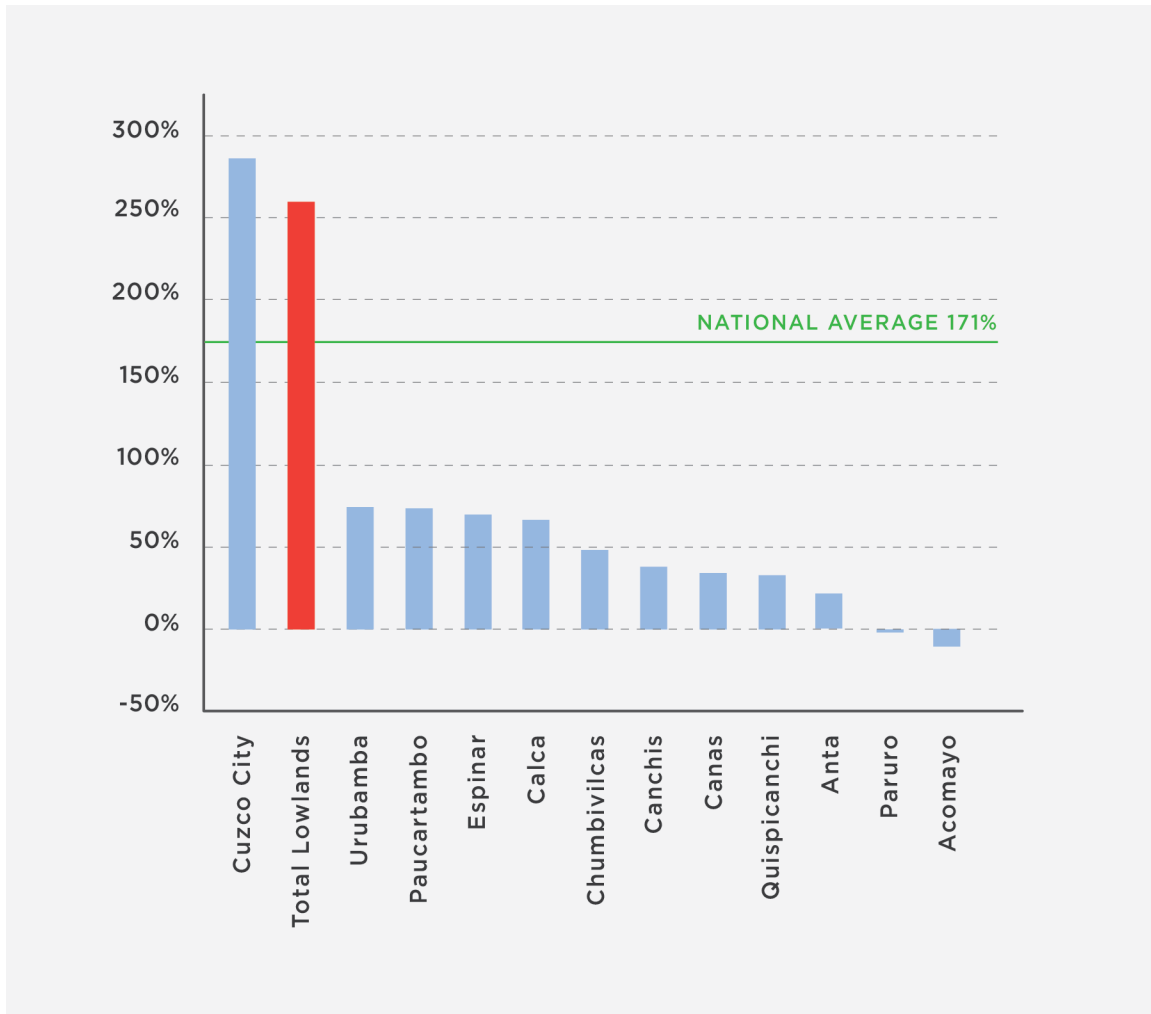


Figure 2: Population growth in the city of Cuzco, the lowlands east of the department of Cuzco (La Convención and Madre de Dios), and the rural highland provinces of the department of Cuzco, 1961-2007
Data source: INEI (1961; 2007)

The depopulation of the rural highlands is illustrated in Figure 3, which shows the rapid decrease in population ratios between the rural highlands, on the one hand, and Amazonia and the city of Cuzco on the other, from 1961-2007. In 1961 there were 5.9 residents of the rural highlands for every 1 resident of the eastern lowlands; in 2007 there were only 2.3. As the highland exodus into the lowlands continues, the population density across the two regions will become more and more evenly distributed.

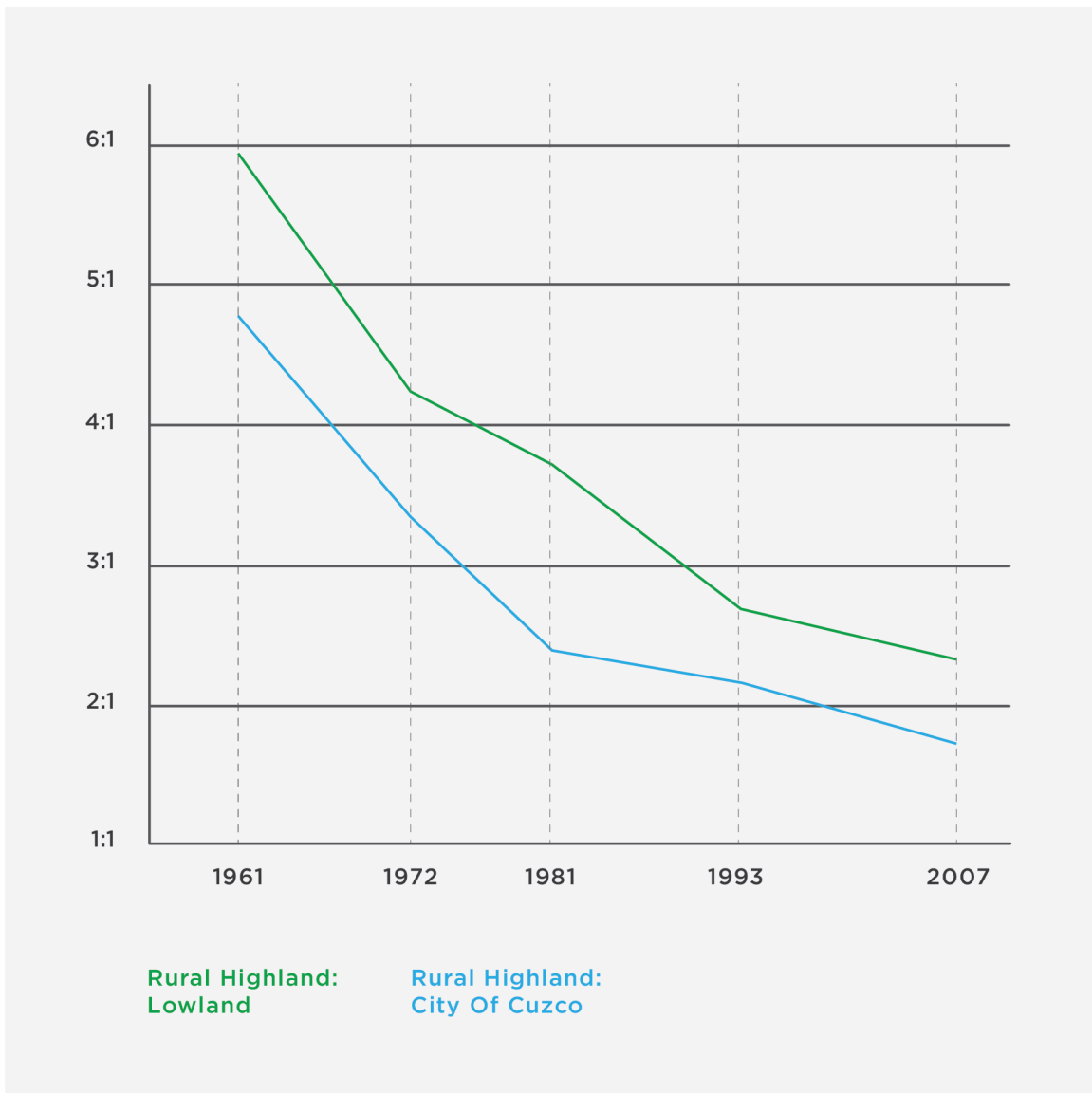


Figure 3: Population ratios between 1) the rural highland provinces of Cuzco and the eastern lowlands (La Convención and Madre de Dios) and 2) the rural highland provinces of Cuzco and the city of Cuzco, 1961-2007

Data source: INEI (1961; 1972; 1981; 1993; 2007).

Much of the colonization of the Urubamba region has followed a general pattern identified by Carlos Aramburú (1982:22-23; 1984:164-165) in which Andean migrants first establish a seasonal plot in the lowlands, then gradually take up permanent residence there as the plantations grow (while maintaining connection to their home communities),

and then eventually leave their agricultural plots to work in services and manufacturing in local towns and cities. Indeed, this was the case among many of the *colonos* I met in the Alto Urubamba, though the entire process often took several generations. Take the example of a man who lives and works in one of the frontier settlements of along the Urubamba River: his father, a poor *campesino* from the highland province of Paruro, migrated to La Convención in the 1950s and found work on one of the *haciendas* high up the Urubamba Valley. After the agrarian reform, he moved down the valley past the agricultural frontier in search of land, and he and his wife eventually settled in an area populated by Matsigenkas. Because the Matsigenkas did not legally own the land, he was able to claim a large forested area and transform it into coffee and cacao plantations. His agricultural and commercial ventures brought him into close contact with neighboring Matsigenkas, who often opposed his presence but had no legal standing to challenge his use of the land. Over the 1970s and 1980s he consolidated his position as a major economic power-broker in the region and gradually sold off his land (by then profitable coffee plantations) at a huge profit to newly-arriving *colonos*. This land became even more valuable when the road from Quillabamba arrived in the 1990s. The man can now afford to send his children to school in Cuzco, and they will live a comfortable life in the burgeoning Peruvian middle class. This transition from *campesino* to middle class took three generations of hard work in the Alto Urubamba--but like most *colonos* in the region, this man and his family saw their time in the lowlands as a temporary step on the way to social mobility in the highlands and the coast.

Indigenous Amazonians did not have a legal framework to protect their land until the 1970s, and much of the Alto Urubamba region that was once occupied by

Matsigenkas was colonized by Andean migrants until that time. However, Matsigenkas have largely been able to secure their own lands since the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, the distribution of landholding in the Alto Urubamba today largely traces the contours of the agricultural frontier in the 1970s and 1980s, when Matsigenka communities began titling their lands. Chapter 2 will present a detailed history of Yokiri as a case study of this stage in Andean-Matsigenka interaction.

The most significant changes in La Convención over the last 20 years have come from the development of the massive Camisea natural gas reserves (of between 11.2 and 18.6 trillion cubic feet, by recent estimates (Reuters 2012)), mostly below Matsigenka communities and other indigenous and protected territories. The Camisea project transports natural gas through a network of pipelines over the highlands and to the coast of Peru where it is shipped to consumers around the world. This project is a major boon to the Peruvian economy (lot 88 alone produces almost 30% of Peru's oil and gas production (Hill 2014)), and revenues have quickly made Echarate quickly one of the richest districts in the country. But the Camisea project has had serious environmental and social impacts on Matsigenka communities (Smith 2005), including periodic chemical spills, the constant nuisance of helicopters flying overhead, and the presence of workers traveling to and from the gas company installations. The most significant effect on Matsigenkas, however, has been the accelerated the rate of colonization as Andean migrants increasingly look to the lowlands for economic opportunities. Revenues from the project have funded aggressive road construction--both for the benefit of the region's citizens as well as the gas companies themselves--and supported the agricultural development of the agricultural sector in the valley. Conflicts surrounding the expansion

of the Camisea project into protected indigenous land have kept La Convención in the national and international news (for instance, the government's decision in January 2014 to allow Pluspetrol to drill 18 new wells despite the objections of the U.N. (Hill 2014)), as has the emergence of the cocaine industry and the major confrontations between the military and narco-terrorists within the Matsigenka community of Inkaare in 2012. Indeed, in the last few years it has become rare to pick up a national newspaper and not find a story about an event of national or international significance unfolding in La Convención. This is the context for Andean-Matsigenka interaction at the beginning of the 21st century.

Chapter 2: Migration and community formation at an Andean/Amazonian crossroads

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a general introduction to the community of Yokiri within the historical context of the Alto Urubamba agricultural frontier presented in Chapter 1. The chapter begins with a description of the relationships between *colonos* and members of *comunidad nativas* across the region today, and moves on to analyze the local ideologies of race and practices of intermarriage inside and outside of *comunidades nativas*. One major point is that the racial categories are highly contingent, relational, and perspectival. The discussion of Yokiri begins with the settlement layout, subsistence practices, and the patterns of interaction with non-community members, and then sketches the history of Yokiri from the early 20th century to the present by drawing on oral histories, personal accounts, and (where possible) published materials. Yokiri was formed by the intermarriage of Andean agricultural migrants and Matsigenka people from a wide

variety of places and circumstances across the region, including a Dominican mission, a handful of Andean colonist plantations that used enslaved Matsigenkas for labor, and forest settlements that correspond to what we might call 'traditional Matsigenka society'. The community members, therefore, have very different experiences with commercial agriculture and orientations to the rural agrarian society, and I describe how conflicts over different ideologies of land use, economic integration, and relations with *colonos* play out among the community's kinship-based political culture. The chapter ends with an introduction to the linguistic dynamics of Yokiri, including the various types of interactional networks inside and outside of the community and the patterns of intergenerational language shift. A major goal of the chapter's close examination of the community's social and linguistic history is to demonstrate that Yokiriños cannot be attributed monolithic ontologies, values, linguistic repertoires, or other characteristics that are often thought to correspond to communities, 'ethnic groups', and other imagined human aggregates.

2.2 *Colonos* and Matsigenkas in the Alto Urubamba, 2010-2012

In 2010-2012, the Alto Urubamba region was closely integrated into the economy and social world of the department of Cuzco. The provincial capital of Quillabamba was a half day's drive on mostly paved roads from the city of Cuzco, and the current Urubamba River port of Ivochote (just a few hours' boat ride from the Pongo de Mainique) was an overnight bus ride beyond that. The massive influx of infrastructure development money from the Camisea natural gas project has made even the most remote corners of the region accessible, and Alto Urubamba has become a major tropical

agricultural center for Cuzco and beyond. The inundation of highland colonization has transformed nearly every corner of land not protected in a reserve or a *comunidad nativa* into farmland. The expansion of the agricultural frontier through the region has created a patchwork of *comunidades nativas* and agricultural land in which Matsigenkas and *colonos* are in constant interaction. Many of these interactions are tense and antagonistic, as in the case of the ubiquitous land conflicts simmering across the region, and as Matsigenkas feel themselves disrespected and taken advantage of by their new neighbors in countless ways. However, in many places in the Alto Urubamba *colonos* and Matsigenkas have come to accept each others' presence. This is particularly true in places where Matsigenkas have begun to join the agrarian society and economy (see Chapters 3 and 5), and see their own goals and efforts as consistent with those of the neighboring *colonos*, even as boundary disputes remain controversial. *Colono* settlements across the agricultural frontier and the city of Quillabamba are also home to many Matsigenkas, and members of the indigenous Matsigenka Council (COMARU, *Consejo Machiguenga del Río Urubamba*) often put on public displays and participate in parades in Quillabamba (some of which are similar in tone and purpose to the native beauty pageant described by Michael Wroblewski (2014) in Ecuador).⁶ The region's urban centers (and some *comunidades nativas*) are also home to a large number of families formed by the intermarriage of *colonos* and Matsigenkas, to the extent that now these unions are the norm rather than the exception. It is therefore more pressing than ever to question the nature of these categories, which are often taken to be empirical rather than ideological constructs. A perspective on the Alto Urubamba as the site of intense interaction between

⁶ Yokiriños have little involvement in these activities or in the discourses of indigeneity that have been taken up across Amazonia (e.g. Greene 2009).

people categorized as Matsigenkas, *colonos*, or something in between, stands in contrast to scholarly analyses of the Alto Urubamba region which tend to describe either the social and economic conditions of *colono* society with very little attention to the presence of Matsigenkas, or to Matsigenka societies in radical isolation from *colonos*. Such a dichotomy means that people occupying the same territory can be misunderstood. Scholars often overlook many of the realities of life in the Alto Urubamba today-- Matsigenkas and *colonos* play a major role in each other's lives, and these people move between those socially-constructed labels and presumed behavior.

2.2.1 Ideologies of race in the Alto Urubamba

People in the rural and remote areas of the Alto Urubamba region recognize two major categories of people in their social world: *nativos* (indigenous Amazonians) and *Andinos* (Andeans) or *colonos* (colonists, which also carries a racial meaning), notions that refer strictly to origin and do not necessarily imply solidarity or group membership (Gow 1991:253). These categories are invoked through countless racial terms with varying referents and implications. This distinction is constructed differently by different people, and at some places and times it is subject to much contestation. Many people also use the term *gringo* for any light-skinned person from North America or Europe, and some (particularly those who do not have experience interacting with such people) also apply that term to people from the Peruvian coast and other South American countries (Santos-Granero 1991:88). Finer distinctions are also made within the two major categories, including modern ethnolinguistic groupings such as *Matsigenka* and *Yine* and race/class categories such as *mestizo* (though this last term is rather rare in the rural Alto

Urubamba since it refers to European heritage, a principle of differentiation that does not play a significant role in the local social world). The ethnonym *Matsigenka* was not used by Matsigenka-speakers themselves until the 1960s, and it appears to have been promoted by the Dominicans in the early 20th century as a way to distinguish their apostolic prefecture from that of the Franciscans, who continued to call Kampan-speaking Amazonians *campas* (Rosengren 1987:37; Rosengren 2004:11-12).

People on either side of the *nativo / colono* line (here, as everywhere in this study, I use local emic definitions and attributions) employ different terms for each category. Andeans often call themselves (to the extent that they call themselves anything) by the Spanish terms *andino* 'Andean', *campesino* 'peasant' (a term that carries racial as well as socioeconomic meaning), and by the Quechua term *runa* 'Quechua-speaking person' (Allen 1988). *Colonos* use a number of words for Matsigenkas, most of which are offensive and derogatory. Neutral Spanish terms include *gente nativa* 'native people' and (less commonly) *Machiguenga* 'Matsigenka', which refers to Matsigenkas specifically; more common Spanish terms include the offensive *chuncho* 'savage' or 'wild Indian' (a common figure in the history of South American racial imagining (Taussig 1986)), *nativo* 'native' (many people find this term offensive, but *gente nativa* 'native people' neutral), *salvaje* 'savage' (mostly archaic), and *Machiganga* (a term one encounters mostly among older *colonos* in Quillabamba and in published texts from the early 20th century). These labels are often affixed with the diminutive Spanish suffix *-ito/-ita* (e.g. *chunchito*, *nativito*), which makes the terms particularly offensive and patronizing. In Quechua, the most common term is *ch'unchu* 'savage' (borrowed into Spanish as *chuncho* 'savage' and related to Matsigenka *chonchoite* "cannibalistic savage" (about which more below).

There are also a number of other grossly offensive Quechua and Spanish slang terms that I will not include here.⁷

Matsigenkas tend to call themselves (and to a lesser extent, other indigenous Amazonians) *Matsigenka*, though until recently they have not considered themselves part of an 'ethnic group' (Rosengren 2003) and racial/ethnic designations such as these are uncommon in discourse. For their part, Matsigenkas in the Alto Urubamba also have a suite of labels for Andean *colonos*, almost all of which are offensive. The most common Matsigenka terms are *ponyarona* 'highlander' (from Quechua *puna runa*, 'highland person'), *virakocha* 'white person' (also from Quechua, which can refer to people with lighter skin, but is also used more or less interchangeably with *ponyarona*), and *tovaiganankitsirira*, a verb phrase that might be glossed as 'the ones who are becoming many'.⁸ In Spanish, Matsigenkas usually refer to Andeans with the terms *colono* 'colonist', *colonizador* 'colonizer', *campesino* 'peasant' (the most neutral term) or, most commonly, *gente blanca* 'white person'.⁹ Note that *gente blanca* 'white people' does not refer to skin color--Andeans tend to have darker skin than Matsigenkas, and pale-skinned people from the Peruvian coast and other countries are usually called *gringos*.

This system of racial categorization, found mostly in the rural and remote areas of the Alto Urubamba where *colonos* and Matsigenkas are in frequent contact, can be rather

⁷ The fact there are so few non-offensive terms for Matsigenkas leaves many *colonos* pausing to search for a word in the presence of an anthropologist. Indeed, in 2010 one could still hear the term *chunchito* 'little savage' uttered by a Peruvian bilingual education expert, demonstrating how dysfunctional the nation's relationship with its indigenous Amazonian inhabitants remains.

⁸ *tovaiganankitsirira*

<i>tovaig</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-ankits</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-rira</i>
be.many	ABL	SUBJ.FOC1	REAL	REL

'The ones who are becoming many'

⁹ Some *colonos* in the region who interact frequently with Matsigenkas have taken to referring to themselves as *gente blanca* as well.

unsettling to people visiting from other areas (for instance, Limeños who are not accustomed to hearing Quechua-speaking highland *campesinos* called *gente blanca* 'white person' or themselves called *gringo*). This points to the fact that this system of categorization is both highly local and fundamentally relational (Barth 1969)--for instance, *gente blanca* 'white people' posits a binary distinction between *ego* and the invaders of *ego's* land, whether they be Europeans arriving in the Andes or Andeans arriving in Amazonia. Another interesting case is the recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) figure of the *chuncho*, a term that calls up contemptible laziness, stupidity and backwardness, but also danger, untrustworthiness, and cannibalism lurking beyond the periphery of the known world. Many Peruvians and *colonos* group all Matsigenkas (and sometimes, all Amazonians) into this category, but Matsigenkas themselves use the related Matsigenka term *chonchoite* to refer to a class of cannibalistic humans or semi-humans lurking at the periphery of their own territory (some Matsigenkas in the Alto Urubamba group these mythic beings together with Nantis, who live in the remote Camisea and Timpía headwaters).

As will be clear throughout this study, these racial categorizations are unstable, relational, and contestable. In Yokiri, some members of family #1 (described below) who have lived in a 'traditional' manner since time immemorial consider the newly-arrived Yokiriños, some of whom grew up in *colono* society and descend from *colono* parents, to be *colonos*. The neighboring *colonos*, on the other hand, consider these same people to be uniformly and unproblematically Matsigenka. Similarly, Diana Steele notes that students in Cuzco that have at least one Matsigenka parent self-identify as Matsigenka (personal communication), while back in the Alto Urubamba such people are often called

ponyarona by Matsigenkas. Racial categorizations can be quite perspectival, then--a case in point is the infamous Pereira family of the *comunidad nativa* of Monte Carmelo, who descend from a half-Matsigenka man and his Matsigenka wives, and who conducted slave raids against Matsigenkas in the region during the 20th century before collaborating with SIL evangelical missionaries from the United States to create a network of bilingual schools. Depending on whom one asks, the Pereiras were either benevolent protectors or ruthless oppressors of the local Matsigenkas (e.g. Camino 1979; Casevitz 1972; Chirif 2004; Gade 1972:217; Johnson 2003:35-36; O. Johnson 1978:38; Rosengren 1987: ch. 7; Snell 2011:7; Strongin 1982:54; Tennant 1958:99). Significantly, the Pereira family are now considered straightforwardly 'Matsigenka' by most outsiders, for instance in censuses (a major site for the construction, negotiation, and codification of racial difference (De la Cadena 1996)) and in their frequent positions of 'indigenous' leadership in the Matsigenka Council (COMARU). However, their classification as *Españoles* 'Spaniards', *Brasileros* 'Brazilians', *gringos*, or *gente blanca* among Yokiriños whose forebears fled their slave raids demonstrates how contingent these categorizations can be; indeed Allen Johnson (2003:36) even reports a brief millenarian movement among Matsigenkas of Monte Carmelo in the 1960s to kill "all whites (including the Pereiras)" (Johnson 2003:36). The Pereira name still evokes fear in some older residents of the Alto Urubamba, and the Pereira family's position as leaders of COMARU upsets some Yokiriños who do not consider them to be 'indigenous' and who are suspicious of their leadership of an organization charged with the protection of Matsigenkas. It is perhaps an uncomfortable irony that it is precisely the Pereira's powerful position of dominance

among Matsigenkas that allowed them to rise to positions of prominence within that organization.

2.2.2 Intermarriage

One important feature of Alto Urubamba society that has remained largely obscure both in scholarly accounts and in the popular consciousness is the prevalence of unions between Matsigenkas and *colonos* (as those social categories have come to be defined by the residents of the region since the notion of 'Matsigenka' emerged in the 20th century). The *colono* settlements near Matsigenka communities are home to many such unions, and intermarriages (mostly between Matsigenka women and *colono* men) have become so common that a handful of Alto Urubamba *comunidades nativas* have begun to admit *colono* spouses (sometimes with carefully restricted privileges) to stem the exodus of women from the communities (such unions in Chirumbia and Koribeni, for instance, are some of the most influential families in the communities (Sánchez Vásquez 2009)). Matsigenkas who move to *colono* settlements and towns, the provincial capital of Quillabamba,¹⁰ and the city of Cuzco (either for work or marriage), become mostly invisible--indeed, a map of the Alto Urubamba, which features a number of small *comunidades nativas* surrounded by a sea of colonized land, gives the impression of a straightforward Matsigenka/*colono* dichotomy that obscures the pervasive intermarriage and close social ties inside and outside of those communities. This erasure is reproduced in state policies (e.g. in the allocation of Quechua bilingual education teachers to *colono* communities, and Matsigenka bilingual education teachers to *comunidades nativas*), as

¹⁰ Many Matsigenkas in Quillabamba and the *colono* settlements around the Alto Urubamba work as cooks and servers in restaurants. There are also many reports that some Matsigenka women are coerced into prostitution, though I did not encounter evidence of this in my own fieldwork.

well as in the research of scholars who overlook the Matsigenkas living outside of *comunidades nativas* and the *colonos* living inside them.¹¹ This study examines Yokiri in the context of its kinship ties to both Matsigenkas and *colonos* inside and outside of the community.

Unions between Matsigenka women and *colono* men have increased dramatically in recent decades as a flood of young Andean men have arrived in the frontier in search of cheap land and work on infrastructure development projects (funded by royalties from the Camisea natural gas project). This migration has led to an extreme gender imbalance in the most remote areas of the agricultural frontier (where most Matsigenkas live), where working conditions favor young, tough men who are unencumbered by family commitments (this is a demographic characteristic common to many frontier societies, and often correlates with violence and lawlessness (Courtwright 1998)). According to the 2007 census, in the district of Echarate (where most Matsigenka communities are located) there are 119.8 men for every 100 women (INEI 2007), while in Quellouno (the district that includes Yokiri) there are 118.2 men for every 100 women). According to the 1972 census, when the imbalance was even more dramatic: in the entire province of La Convención, there were 126.7 men for every 100 women (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:243). The correlation between gender ratio and position on the agricultural frontier, as measured by population density, is illustrated in Figure 4: the districts further up the Urubamba Valley that have been colonized for longer periods of times and have higher population densities have lower male to female ratios (Echarate and Quellouno, where

¹¹ For instance, studies that observe low rates of exogamy within *comunidades nativas* are subject to significant selection bias, as exogamy disqualifies Matsigenkas from living in most *comunidades nativas*.

the *comunidades nativas* are located, are marked in red):¹²

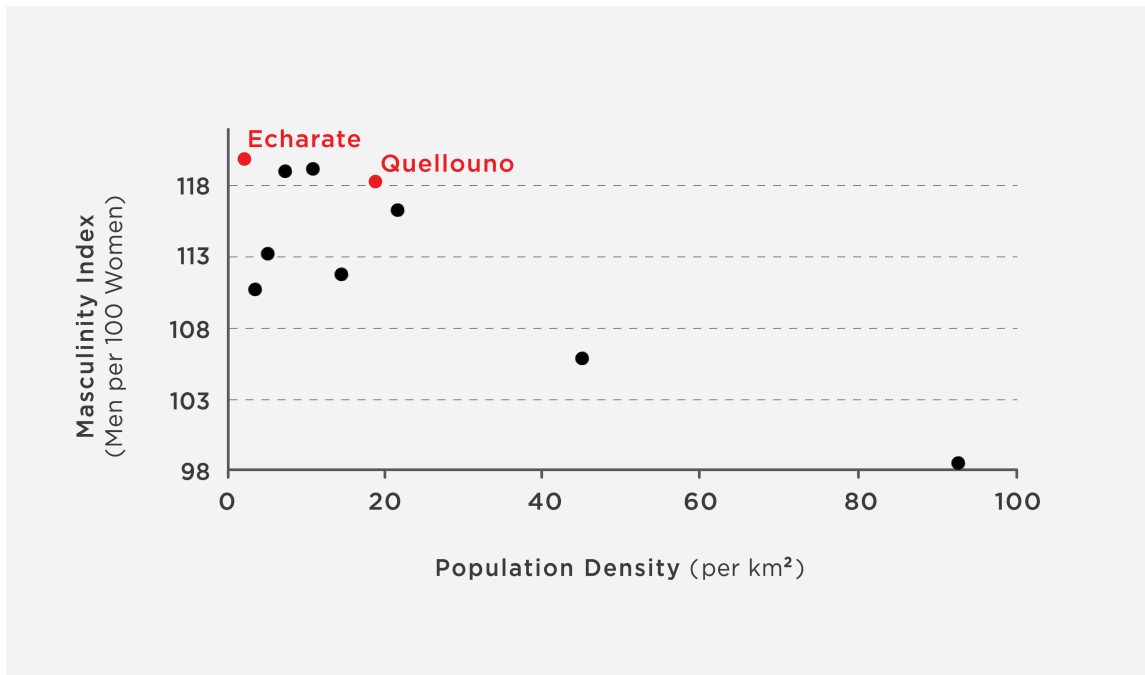


Figure 4: Masculinity index (# men per 100 women) v. population density (per km²) in the ten districts of the province of La Convención, 2007. Red points indicate districts where *comunidades nativas* are located. Data source: INEI (2007).

Many young *colonos* men seek out the nearby Matsigenka women, who they believe are more sexually liberal than highland women (a characteristic often attributed to the climate and the “warmth of their blood”). A common conversational topic in the dusty bars of the frontier is speculation and rumor about female Matsigenka sexual behavior. In some cases, relationships between *colono* men and Matsigenka women are not consensual (Camino 1979:139), but many Matsigenka women are interested in *colono* men, and in some cases find them to be more desirable partners than Matsigenka men

¹² Note that most of the (overwhelmingly male) laborers who travel to the region come on a seasonal basis, and are often not counted in the census. Therefore the sex disparity is probably significantly larger than is represented in the census data here.

because of their economic status and access to the world beyond the forest (Rojas Zolezzi 1998). It is common for Matsigenka women to complain that Matsigenka men are *ocioso* 'lazy', and that *colono* men, in contrast, work hard to provide for their families.

Relationships between Matsigenka women and *colono* men have become very common-- for instance, at least 5 of 17 adult women in one Alto Urubamba Matsigenka community have had a long-term romantic relationship with a *colono*, which is to say nothing of the many other women who entered such relationships and never returned. Only one man from the same community had had a relationship with a *colono* woman. However, many of these *colono* men eventually return to the highlands, and the Matsigenka women are often left raising their children alone (note that these children are simply incorporated into the *comunidades nativas*, obscuring their origins in *colono*-Matsigenka unions). A major anxiety among many Matsigenka families is that *colono* men will come and take away their women (e.g. Tennant 1958:100), and they often encourage their daughters to keep their distance from *colono* men.

This surplus of young men has social and demographic effects all over the valley. For instance, because the exodus of Matsigenka women from *comunidades nativas* has made it more and more difficult for Matsigenka men to find wives, these men have begun to travel to more remote Matsigenka communities where their relatively greater access to money and education on the agricultural frontier makes them attractive to potential partners. In these cases, they either move to the woman's community or bring the woman back to their own communities closer to the frontier. This process, in turn, makes it harder for the more remote Matsigenka men to find wives, in some cases sending them even further into the hinterland in search of women. This unstable dynamic of prestige

and partner choice between *colono* men, Matsigenka women, and Matsigenka men leads to a pattern in which men move into ever remoter areas of the frontier in search of women, while women move in the opposite direction, toward the main-river communities, established economic centers, and the region's towns and cities.

2.3 Yokiri

As of May 2012, Yokiri had 94 residents living on around 3390 hectares (13.09 square miles--just over half the size of the island of Manhattan), making it one of the smallest of all the *comunidades nativas* in the province of La Convención. The community occupies the steep and treacherous hillside east of the Yavero River Valley (pictured in Figure 5 below) from the river to the top of the ridge that marks the extent of its watershed. The hillside is traversed by a network of footpaths that connects the widely-dispersed homes, and a road, built over the late 2000s and still highly unstable, links the community to nearby *colono* settlements. In 2011-2012, Yokiri and the nearby town of Huillcapampa marked the end of the road network, and all travel beyond this point was by foot or boat.¹³

Yokiri's topography is precipitous indeed: the highest (2280 meters, 7480 feet) and the lowest (780 meters, 2560 feet) points of land are a mere 5.8 kilometers (3.6 miles) apart. More than a dozen small streams, most of which are small enough to jump across even in the rainy season, cut through the thick vegetation and converge into the wide, dangerous Santoato River that drains into the Yokiri River. The Yokiri River joins

¹³ In 2012 a new road was under construction to connect the Yavero Valley to the Urubamba River. The road will pass north of Matoriato, down the Yoyato river valley, to the current terminus at Saniriato. Although the Santuario Megantoni is protected land, it is likely that a road will be built through it in the coming years to connect the Bajo Urubamba to the road network of *La Convención*.

the Yavero near its confluence with the Urubamba River, which empties into the Ucayali River and finally the Amazon River before discharging into the Atlantic Ocean some 4000 miles away.



Figure 5: Eastern slope of the Yokiri River Valley, facing north from Artillería pass on the southern border of the community

Yokiri borders the large Matsigenka community of Matoriato to the west, and the *colono* communities of Huillcapampa to the north, Nueva Luz to the east, and Otingamía to the south. Beyond Huillcapampa to the north lies the Santuario Nacional Megantoni (in the background Figure 5 and Figure 7), a massive protected area of steep, forested hills that separates the last foothills of the Andes from the Amazon plain. This imposing boundary, and the often impassable rapids in the Urubamba River's passage through the narrow Pongo de Mainique gorge, have so far prevented extensive Andean colonization in the Amazon plain (as has, for now, the area's protected legal status). The Santuario is the beginning of a great expanse of mostly undeveloped rain forest occupied by Matsigenkas, Nantis, and other Amazonian people. To the south and east of Yokiri lies

Cuzco's tropical agrarian heartland, occupied mostly by Quechua-speaking *campesinos* who swept down the valleys over the last century, clearing forest, displacing the original Matsigenka inhabitants, and incorporating the remote lowland hills into the now contiguous rural agrarian expanse of the Andes.

The Yokiri Valley is in a corner of the Alto Urubamba that, despite being relatively close to the old agricultural heartland of La Convención, is very difficult to access. For this reason, the valley was one of the last corners of the Alto Urubamba region to be reached by Andean *colonos*. To access the Yokiri Valley from the highlands by river, one must either descend the Urubamba River nearly to the Pongo de Mainique and then navigate up the dangerous and rocky Yavero for more than a day, or travel down the Yavero Valley for days, through rapids and waterfalls, from Lares and Lacco. To reach Yokiri from the highlands by land, one must traverse the Chirumbia, Chapo, and Boyero valleys before crossing the formidable Artillería pass (around 2000 meters, 6560 feet), a trip that often took several days before the road was built toward Artillería over the last 15 years. Until the road was built, it was in fact easier to travel from Quillabamba to the main river communities in the Bajo Urubamba (e.g. Timpía, Camisea, and Kirigueti) than to Yokiri. The current residents of Yokiri came to inhabit the valley in the 1970s and 1980s because its inaccessibility made it one of the last patches of unclaimed land left in the region at that time.

2.3.1 Settlement layout

The 94 people of Yokiri live in 19 households widely dispersed across the community (see Figure 6). These households usually consist of a married couple¹⁴, their children, and occasionally an elderly parent or adoptive child, but the houses are generally not physically close enough to be considered part of a larger "residence group" (Michael 2008:5), "hamlet" (Johnson 2003), "kin cluster" (Baksh 1984), or "local cluster" (Johnson 1978). Members of a single kin group, marked with yellow and green squares in the map in Figure 6 and correlated with the kinship chart in Figure 15 (houses marked in white are not affiliated with one of the major kin groups), tend to live in the same area of the Yokiri Valley; but nuclear families generally live alone and their houses are usually more than a 30 minute walk apart. There is also a primary school with 35 students and two or three resident teachers. In 2011 the school had Quechua-speaking *colono* teachers, but in 2012 they were allocated Matsigenka bilingual education teachers. The larger school area functions as the central meeting place of the community (this is where the author lived during fieldwork). There is also a *comuna* 'communal agricultural plantation' about a 30-minute walk from the school, where the men (and during a busy harvest, the women) gather to work to raise money for community investments and projects.

¹⁴ Following Michael (2008:4), I use the terms 'marriage', 'husband', 'wife', etc. to describe long-term monogamous relationships among couples in Yokiri even though they do not participate in the official institution of marriage as such.

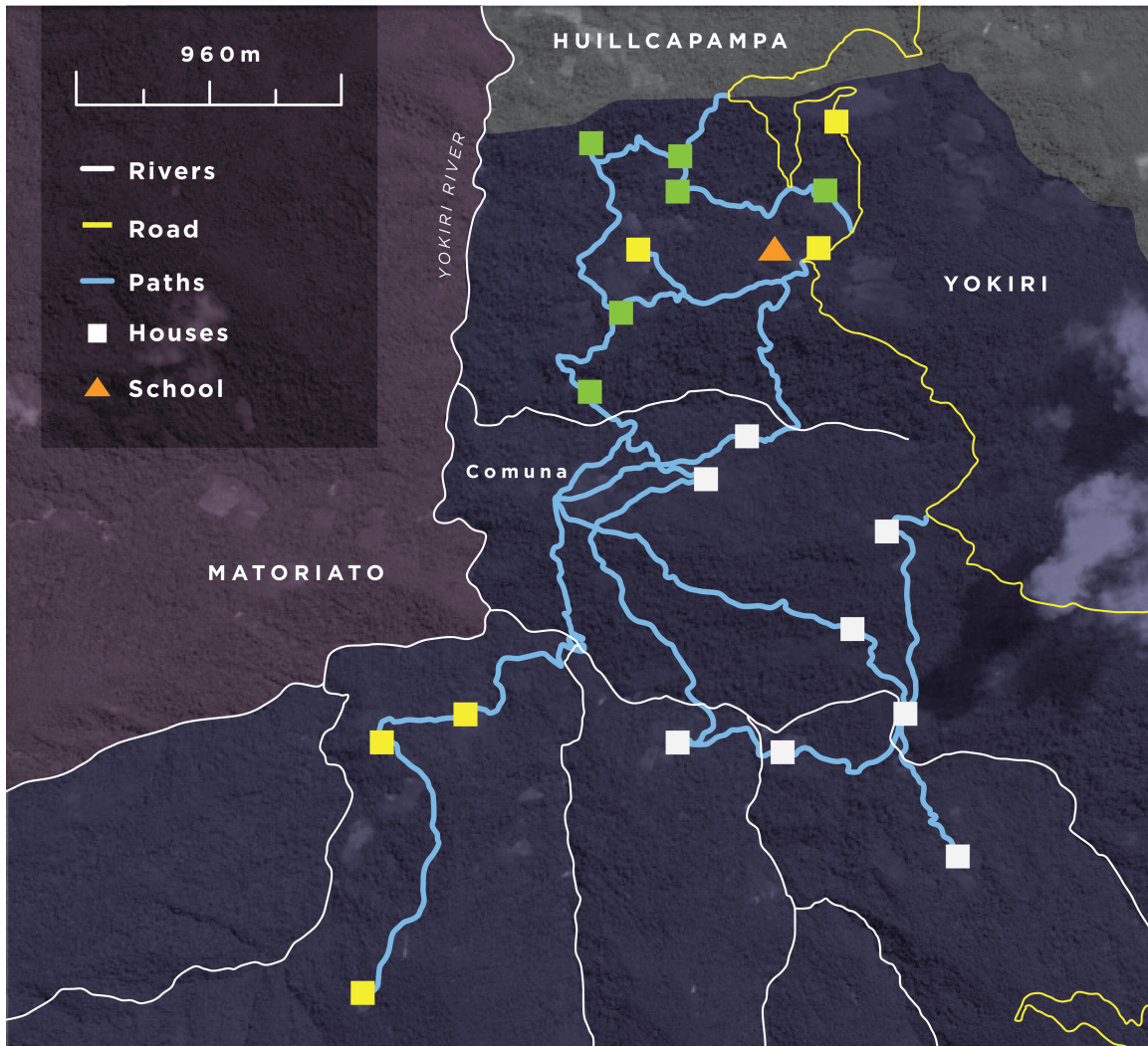


Figure 6: Map of Yokiri
 Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe, Instituto del Bien Común, and the author's GPS data.

For community events such as *asambleas* 'community meetings' and celebrations, the *comuneros* gather at the school area (Figure 7) that constitutes the center of the community (such as it is). This area includes (from left to right, arranged around the soccer/volleyball field) (1) a small outhouse; (2) a warehouse and the author's residence; (3) the *salón comunal* 'community meeting hall'; (4) the thatched-roof community kitchen; (5) a storage building; (6) the primary school; (7) residences for the two or three

teachers (partially obscured by the tree); and (8) a house on the road built by one of the comuneros from family #3:



Figure 7: The school area of Yokiri

Yokiri's widely dispersed settlement pattern is consistent with the "family level" of social organization that has characterized life for many Matsigenkas as far back as records can attest (Johnson 2003:3). This is a mode of social organization, first proposed by Julian Steward for the Great Basin Shoshonean people, by which "...a family, alone and unaided, could obtain virtually all the food it consumed; manufacture all its clothing, household goods, and other articles; rear and train its children without assistance; take care of its sick except in time of crisis; be self-sufficient in its religious activities; and, except on special occasions, manage its own recreation" (Steward 1955:103). Allen Johnson argues, based on fieldwork conducted in the 1970s in the Matsigenka community of Shimaa, that Matsigenkas in the Alto Urubamba live according to these

social organizational principles and that they confirm this controversial (Johnson and Earle 2000:41-42) typological classification. This mode of social organization has proven to be adequate for the provision of resources in the Alto Urubamba, and it has allowed Matsigenkas to avoid the violent incursions and *correrías* 'slaving raids' of outsiders during the 19th and 20th centuries (Camino 1977). To a certain extent, Yokiri also exhibits this mode of social organization: the *comuneros* usually interact only with members of their own families and kin groups, except during special community events such as *asambleas* 'community meetings' and *faenas* 'communal work parties' (a point that I will take up in detail in Chapter 4). This mode of social organization is served by a widely dispersed settlement pattern such as that illustrated by the map above--Yokiri's population density in 2011-2012 was just 2.8 persons per km² (significantly higher than Shima's .3 persons per km² in 1973 (Johnson 2003:142), but still very low). In Chapter 3 I will discuss how ongoing economic and demographic transformations in Yokiri, as well as the Yokiriños' changing relationship to the agrarian society around them, are leading to a nucleated settlement in the school area.

A network of paths traverses the community, and the *comuneros* gather for a *faena* at least once every year to clear the vegetation that has encroached upon the main arteries (the maintenance of the paths leading to each household is the responsibility of the families). Note that secondary paths only connect the residences areas of kin members, since non-kin generally do not interact outside of community level-activities (see Figure 16).

2.3.2 Roads

When the families of Yokiri first came together to form a community, the Yokiri Valley was still very far from the road network. The only way to arrive in the valley in the 1970s and early 1980s was by a footpath from Chirumbia, a two or three days' journey through dense forest and over very difficult terrain. Yokiriños had to carry their coffee along this route until the road from Chirumbia and Llaverqasa began to extend north toward Chapo Boyero and coffee merchants could meet them at the end of the road. Meanwhile another road was being built from Quellouno through Kinkuri and over the formidable hills separating the Yanatile and Yavero rivers (see the right side of Figure 8), where it finally passed through the frigid Abra Reina pass (2400 meters, 7875 feet) and opened up the Yavero Valley in the mid- to late-1980s. Yokiriños report that they began hauling their products to the *colono* settlement of Tupac Amaru (at the foot of the Abra Reina pass) rather than Chirumbia after the road reached there in the early 1990s (at the top right of the map in Figure 8). By the late 1990s the road had extended all the way west down the Yavero Valley to Huillcapampa, where it stopped near the boundary of the *comunidad nativa* of Matoriato.



Figure 8: The two roads to Yokiri
 Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe, Landsat, Instituto del Bien Com3n, and the author's GPS data.

Around 2005, Yokiri agreed to have the road continue through their community to connect the lower Yavero Valley with the Chapo watershed through the Abra Artillería pass (see the right side of the map in Figure 8 and the photo in Figure 9 below). The first stage was built from Huillcapampa to the curve below where the school now sits, and around 2009 it was continued to Artillería and connected to the Chapo-Boyero road. The Yokiriños were very happy to have the road run through their community, and they contributed the labor for the project. Road access has allowed them to increase their coffee production and travel to the district and provincial capitals more easily; however, now that the shortest route out of the lower Yavero Valley to Quellouno and Quillabamba passes through Yokiri, the community has had to deal with the presence of strangers in their territory (for the implications of these changes, see Chapter 5).



Figure 9: The muddy road through Yokiri

2.3.3 Making a living

Most activity in Yokiri is oriented toward the production of subsistence and cash crops. Yokiriños grow a large variety number of subsistence crops, including *sekatsi* 'yuca', *koriti* 'sweet potato', *parianti* 'plantain', *onko* 'tuber sp.', *tinti* 'papaya', *kemi* 'squash', *tsirianti* 'pineapple', *tsivi* 'avocado', *magona* 'yam', *shinki* 'corn', and other native and non-native staples typical of Matsigenka horticulture around the Alto Urubamba (Johnson 1983). Most families keep chickens, ducks, and guinea pigs. A couple of enterprising families also raise pigs or cattle in order to sell their meat during festivals. Wounded or orphaned animals (such as monkeys or *kapeshi* 'ring-tailed coati') that are captured on hunting trips are often kept as pets and eventually eaten.

Hunting does not play a large role in subsistence in Yokiri, since the transformation of the forests north, east, and south of Yokiri into farmland have made it difficult to find game. A few older Yokiriños manufacture and use arrows to hunt, and several people own shotguns or .22 caliber rifles that they carry with them to their more distant plantations in case they encounter an animal. Yokiriños also spend very little time fishing--the Yavero River contains some small fish, but it runs through a steep, dangerous gorge and is difficult to access. In any case, most people generally prefer to buy highland lake fish from the coffee merchants. As a result, people rarely visit the river, and in 2011-2012 some of the younger residents said they had never seen it. Yokiriños do, however, acquire a substantial amount of protein from collecting insects, particularly caterpillar species such as *tsiaro* that are abundant in the rainy season before the harvest begins and families have money to buy products such as eggs and canned tuna fish and sardines. This is part of a broader seasonality in subsistence practices, as Yokiriños tend to buy

much of their food when they have money and access to merchants during the harvest season, and subsist on horticulture, hunting, and gathering during the long stretches between harvests.

While horticulture, hunting, gathering, and raising domestic animals are important to all Yokiriños' diets, most community members prefer to consume foodstuffs that they buy from coffee merchants: noodles, rice, eggs, fresh fish, canned tuna and sardines, salt, oil, sugar, beer, and occasionally, beef (see Chapter 3 for Yokiriños' attitudes to processed foods, and Chapter 5 for information about the relationships with coffee merchants that sell them these products). Yokiriños acquire their money through cash cropping, and much of daily life in the community is spent transforming the landscape into plantations of coffee, cacao, achiote, and peanuts. Each family has a coffee plot in addition to the community's larger plantation, which is used to support community investments and expenses. Yokiriños consider themselves farmers, and they work hard to increase the quantity and quality of their product in an area that is in the first stages of incorporation into the agrarian economy (for a detailed description of the economic and social nature of coffee production in Yokiri, see Chapters 3 and 5).

2.3.4 Interactions with non-Yokiriños

Yokiri borders *colono* settlements on the north, east, and south, and the *comunidad nativa* of Matoriato across the Yokiri Valley to the west. This proximity puts Yokiriños into frequent contact with people from all of these places when they travel out of the community and when they receive visitors in their homes and during public events such as festivals and soccer tournaments. For instance, Yokiri hosted a large soccer

tournament over four consecutive weekends in early 2012 for teams from all of the nearby *colono* settlements (including a couple of teams made up of municipal work crews), and more than 75 spectators spent each day drinking and joking with the Yokiriños and buying the *shitea* 'yuca beer' and roasted guinea pigs that they provided. Some Yokiriños maintain close friendships with these *colonos*, who regard their neighbors from the *comunidad nativa* with curiosity but (generally) also with respect.

Much of the interaction between Yokiriños and their neighbors takes place in the small *colono* settlement of Huillcapampa, the local commercial hub on the Yavero Valley about 10km (6.2 miles) down the road to the northeast of Yokiri. When the roads to Yokiri are impassable during the rainy season (often December-March) and coffee merchants do not arrive to sell their goods, Yokiriños hike two hours down to Huillcapampa and three hours back up in order to buy supplies, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods, and to make calls on the solar-powered public telephone (the only one in the region). They also must pass through Huillcapampa when the Otingamía road is blocked by a landslide (which was often the case in 2011-2012). Yokiriños often save up their money to drink with *colonos* in Huillcapampa, and it is common to see a mixed group of Yokiriños and *colonos* sitting for hours in one of the town's small *cantinas*. Huillcapampa is also home to an *alternancia* agrarian high school (in which students spend two weeks boarding and two weeks at home applying their skills in their parents' plantations) that is attended by students from Yokiri, Matoriato, and all of the nearby *colono* settlements. Teenagers from the *comunidades nativas* and the *colono* settlements become close friends in this school, and they play a major role in the diffusion of information across the valley as they travel back and forth each month.



Figure 10: The *colono* settlement of Huillcapampa

Most Yokiriños have kin in nearby areas, including Matoriato, the *comunidad nativa* of Chirumbia, and in the surrounding *colono* communities. Many Yokiriños have siblings or children who married *colonos* and were therefore not permitted to live in Yokiri, but they often live close to the community and visit frequently. In some cases they and their families spend as long as a month with their kin in Yokiri, particularly during the harvest season when their labor is needed, but members of other kin groups tend to object to visits that last longer than a few weeks. Some Yokiriños also have *compadrazgo* ties with *colonos* in nearby settlements, and *compadres* visit each other frequently (again, especially during labor shortages in the coffee harvest season).

In all of these ways, Yokiriños maintain close relationships with their neighbors in both *comunidades nativas* and *colono* settlements. Networks of visiting and reciprocal labor extend far beyond the borders of the community, and since the kin groups within Yokiri do not generally interact outside of public events, interactions with some non-Yokiriños can be more frequent than among Yokiriños themselves. As I will describe below, the community's relationships with its neighbors can be fraught with conflict, particularly in matters regarding the ongoing territorial dispute with a *colono* on the northern border of the community. In addition, some local *colonos* take advantage of Yokiri's special status as a *comunidad nativa* by applying for various types of economic and infrastructural support in their name. But generally speaking, Yokiri is closely integrated into the social fabric of the rural agrarian society of the Yavero Valley and enjoys generally peaceful and positive relations with its neighbors.

A feature of Yokiri's linguistic environment that illustrates the community members' close relationship to the surrounding *colono* society is the programming that Yokiriños listen to on Radio Quillabamba, the only station to reach across the Alto Urubamba north of Quillabamba. Radio Quillabamba normally broadcasts programs about issues relating to the regional agrarian society and coffee economy, in both Quechua and Spanish, and Yokiriños listen to it on their shortwave receivers in the mornings, evenings, and on work breaks. Residents of La Convención can also pay Radio Quillabamba a small fee to broadcast a message to other members of the valley who they have no other way of reaching (for instance, because of a lack of cellphone coverage) or who they want to call out publicly before the radio-listening audience (e.g. sending birthday wishes or, less often, shaming delinquent debtors). Yokiriños, along with many

of their neighbors in the broadcast radius, listen to Radio Quillabamba every day to acquire information about the local coffee economy and to hear messages intended for them and others. Through their participation in this public (Gal and Woolard 2001b), they imagine themselves as belonging to a regional social grouping (Spitulnik 1996) for whom such concerns are relevant, and which includes members of *comunidades nativas* and *colono* communities alike. However, once every week COMARU runs a one-hour program on Radio Quillabamba called *Iriniane Mavaintini* 'the voice of the [Matsigenka] people', which is conducted entirely in Matsigenka and features information about issues specific to *comunidades nativas*. Through *Iriniane Mavaintini*, Yokiriños imagine themselves to be part of a very different public--the imagined community of 'Matsigenkas'--an imagining that is all the more acute because they know that the great majority of the *colono* listeners to not understand the programming that is being transmitted into their homes. Through *Iriniane Mavaintini*, Matsigenka-speaking listeners imagine themselves as being both distinct from those *colonos* and connected to other listeners within a social aggregate resembling the construct of an 'ethnic group', a notion that has only recently emerged (Rosengren 2003) in the region.¹⁵

2.4 A brief history of Yokiri

To my knowledge, the first mention of the Yokiri Valley in published sources was made by the Spanish Dominican missionary priest Ramón Zubieta, a Spaniard who noted the presence of Matsigenkas living at the confluence of the Yokiri and Yavero rivers

¹⁵ Communication radio frequency 4520, the *comunidad nativa* channel, plays a similar role: every morning and evening members of *comunidades nativas* across the Alto and Bajo Urubamba tune in and communicate on this channel (often in Matsigenka), creating an imagined community among people who have never met but who nonetheless have come to think of themselves as part of an 'ethnic' social grouping.

during a 1903 trip to establish an outpost that would connect the missions at Chirumbia and Ccosñipata (Zubieta 1903:144) (for a discussion of the obscure etymology of *Yokiri*, see Appendix 3). On this trip he traveled down the Yavero Valley from Paucartambo, baptizing Matsigenka children along the way and attempting to draw new converts into the mission's sphere of influence.¹⁶ Georg M. von Hassel also noted the river during an expedition down the Yavero Valley the following year in 1904 (1907:377). Both of these expeditions took place during a period in which Matsigenkas across the Alto Urubamba were being violently rounded up and enslaved as labor for the rubber industry and the growing agricultural sector (Camino 1977). Many Yokiriños report that the families of their grandparents and great-grandparents were terrorized by these *correrías*, and Matsigenkas fled these disturbances to other valleys, further into the hinterlands, or to the Dominican missions.

After the rubber industry in Peru all but disappeared after World War I and the great malaria epidemic of the early 1930s temporarily halted the expansion of Andean colonization (Fioravanti 1974:18, 58), life in the Alto Urubamba was relatively more quiet. The missionaries at Chirumbia struggled to maintain their flock of Matsigenkas, many of whom abandoned the disease-stricken frontier to rejoin their kin in the forest. Meanwhile, several large landowners continued to operate coffee, coca, and sugar cane plantations nearby, and many Matsigenkas worked (often forcibly) alongside Andean migrant workers--for instance, the owner of the Rosalinas property referred to them in an 1896 letter as "*mis pobres chunchos*" 'my poor savages' (Menéndez Rúa 1948). In a 1926 letter, missionary priest Elicerio Martínez estimated that 60 Matsigenkas (as well as 14

¹⁶ On this expedition, Zubieta also provided the first official confirmation that the Paucartambo and the Yavero were in fact the same river. See also Renard-Casevitz and Saignes (1988:81).

Andean *civilizados* 'Christianized Andeans') lived in the mission at Chirumbia, and more than 140 others lived on the *colono* plantations around Chirumbia (1926:702) (see also (Fioravanti 1974:46)). Martínez complained that "one of the greatest difficulties that the missionary almost always comes across is the often close proximity of merchants who are called 'civilized', and who apart from keeping the savages as servants or laborers, let them live in the midst of all their vices, they ply them with liquor and spirits, and they tell them a thousand terrible things about the missionary"¹⁷ (1926:708). However, the Dominicans also availed themselves of Matsigenka labor on their plantations through similar arrangements, leading some to see Chirumbia and Koribeni as "hacienda-missions" (Fioravanti 1974:55)--an accusation that the Dominicans vigorously dispute (Encinas Martín, et al. 2008:70-82) on the grounds that they had the Matsigenkas' interests at heart (they do not, however, address the question of labor organization at the heart of the charge).

Some of the parents and grandparents of Yokiriños traveled back and forth across the very porous frontier to trade with the Dominicans and *colonos* and to reside with both for various lengths of time (note that there were likely many children born to Matsigenka women and *colono* men who were integrated either into Matsigenka or *colono* society at this point--for instance, at least one of the large landowners near Chirumbia had a Matsigenka wife, and some of them learned to speak some Matsigenka). Other Matsigenkas simply joined the agrarian society and likely migrated to the highlands.

¹⁷ "Una de las mayores dificultades con que tropieza casi siempre el misionero es la vecindad más o menos próxima de negociantes que se dicen civilizados, y que a fuer [sic] de tener ellos a los salvajes como sirvientes o braceros, los dejan vivir a sus anchas en medio de todos los vicios, los atiborran de licor y bebidas espirituosas, y les hablan pestes mil contra el misionero."

When the colonization of the Alto Urubamba regained its momentum in the 1950s, Andean migrants traveled far down the river valleys in search of land. The Yavero Valley was colonized from the east as migrants made their way progressively downriver through Lacco, Piñamayo, Calangato, San Martín, Tupac Amaru, Penetración, Estrella, and eventually Huillcapampa in the late 1970s. Meanwhile, other *colonos* pushed their way overland toward the Yavero Valley from the 1950s to the 1970s, claiming land beyond the mission at Chirumbia in the Chapo and Boyero valleys and eventually in Otingamía, adjacent to the Yokiri Valley (see Figure 11):

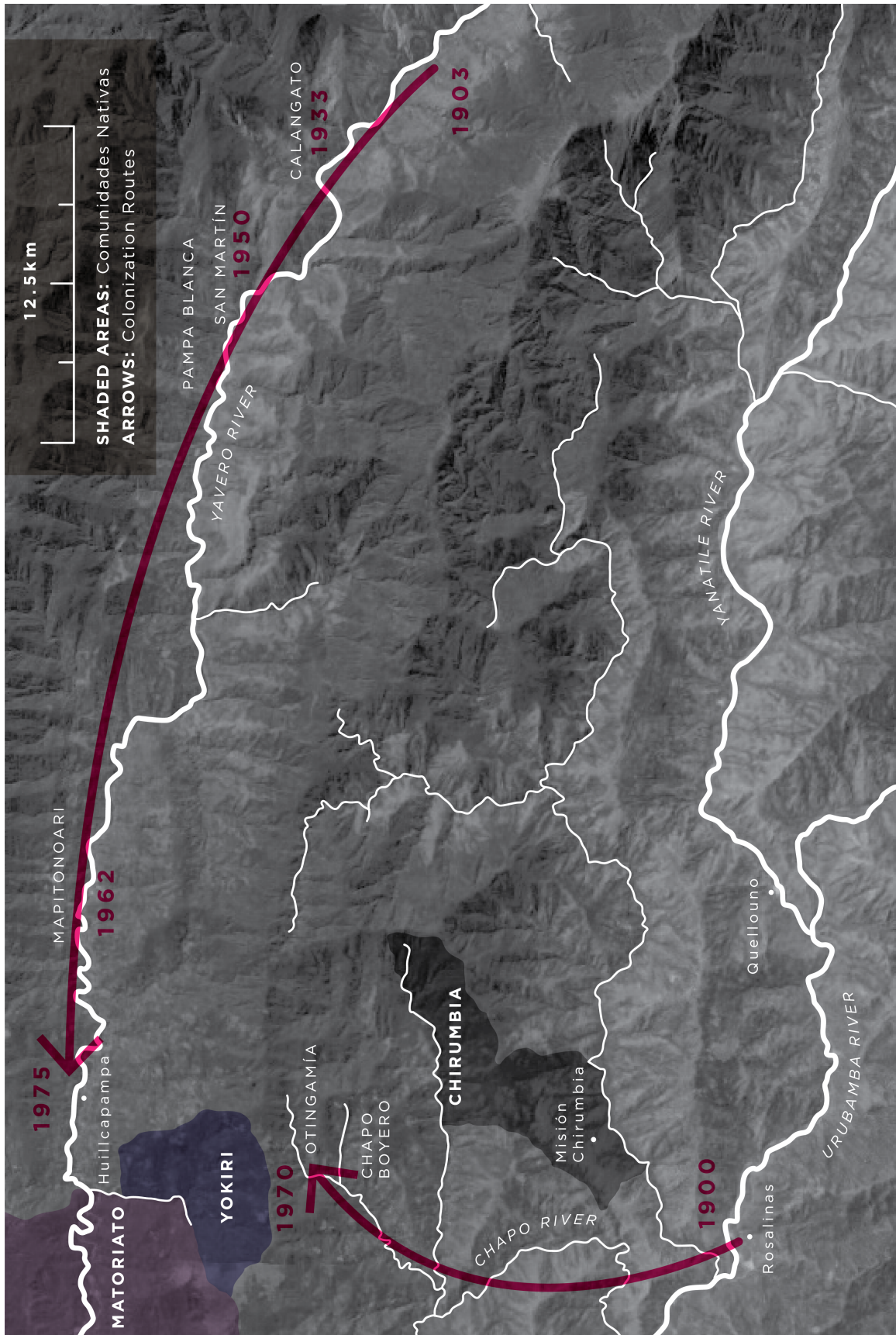


Figure 11: The colonization of the Yavero and Chapo valleys
Map data: Google, Landsat, DigitalGlobe, author's GPS data.

By the mid-1970s, the Yokiri Valley was one of the last corners of land north and west of the Alto Urubamba River that had not been either colonized by Andean migrants or titled by another *comunidad nativa*. At this point a Matsigenka family moved into the valley, having been uprooted by *colonos* in Otingamía, and put out a call to other Matsigenkas around the region who were not already members of a *comunidad nativa* or who were, for one reason or another, unsatisfied with their current lot, to join them in Yokiri where they could title a large tract of land under the new *comunidades nativas* law (this process of scrambling to claim untitled land was not unlike how Andean *colonos* found new land, and some Yokiriños from the Dominican mission at Chirumbia describe their migration to the valley in the idiom of colonization, as in (5). Since the quantity of land the community could claim was proportional to the community's population, and because a large population of children would be needed to establish a school (Killick 2008a), the first Yokiri family wanted as many Matsigenkas as possible to move there.

Between the late 1970s and 2000, Yokiri recruited two types of Matsigenka families seeking refuge from the wave of highland colonization. The first type had their land taken from them by *colonos* and now worked (in some cases as slaves) on those *colonos'* plantations; the move to Yokiri would allow them to have their own land and be free of these exploitative arrangements.¹⁸ The second type were those who wished to

¹⁸ Similarly, Andrew Gray (1998:210) reports that since Asháninkas who had been enslaved by *colonos* have moved away to claim their own land, the "sudden drainage of the labour force has put severe pressure on the economy of both the old colonists and the new settlers, which is completely dependent on very cheap or free Indian labour."

leave the mission at Chirumbia, which had been recently abandoned by the Dominicans and was now in disarray and filling up with land-hungry *colonos*. Yokiri represented a refuge for both types of families, who had found themselves unable to secure suitable land under the onslaught of Andean colonization.

But while many of the Matsigenkas who had been subsumed into the rapidly expanding frontier society welcomed the opportunity to leave the *colonos* behind and take up residence in Yokiri, many others chose to stay where they were.¹⁹ Some had married and established families with *colonos*, and therefore would not have been permitted to join the community even if they had wanted to; others simply preferred the electricity, roads, and commercial goods of *colono* society to the remoteness of Yokiri, even though it meant passing up access to large amounts of free land. Yokiriños maintain close ties to these family members and those that remain in Chirumbia, and these family members visit frequently. However, there is some antipathy on the part of Yokiriños who wished that these Matsigenkas had heeded the call to establish the community when a larger population base would have allowed them to claim more land (including parts of Otingamía, Huillcapampa, and what is now Nueva Luz). Some of the non-Yokiri Matsigenkas, in turn, regret their decision not to move to Yokiri now that a road has been built through the community and the Yokiriños are able to control a large piece of land while also enjoying the comforts of rural agrarian life.

¹⁹ Note a major methodological problem with population estimates of *comunidades nativas*, and census data in particular: Matsigenkas are generally only counted as such if they are members of a CN, even though there are likely hundreds or perhaps even thousands of people living elsewhere who consider themselves Matsigenkas. This bias is offset by the inverse error: hundreds of *colonos* living within *comunidades nativas* are counted in Matsigenka population estimates. There are also hundreds of people inside and outside of CNs who are considered 'mixed' and whose presence calls into question the validity of these labels altogether.

The story of how several diverse and far-flung families came together to form a community in the Yokiri Valley is crucial to understanding life in the community today. Presenting a fine-grained historical account such as this is a difficult task, but it demonstrates the community's internal heterogeneity and close association with people and events far beyond its borders, both of which are important antidotes to ahistorical and essentializing representations of both Amazonians and Andeans. Furthermore, the history of Yokiri is something of a microcosm of the last century of Andean-Amazonian relations in the region, and illustrates the region's complexities well. The next section will describe each family's history (in the order in which they arrived in the Yokiri Valley), based on the testimonies of dozens of formal and informal interviews, conversations, and in some cases, published accounts. As in all oral histories, these accounts can be difficult to interpret and in some cases contradict each other--what follows is the best approximation I could make of a very complex situation.



Figure 12: Two Yokiriños at Abra Artillería, with Otingamía and Chapo Boyero in the background

2.4.1 Family 1

The story of the community of Yokiri begins with Juan (1915?-1980), the patriarch of the first family to arrive in the Yokiri Valley. Juan's father was a *kuraka* in the Alto Urubamba in the early 20th century and lived in the headwaters of the Anchiuay river (in the Chapo drainage), between Yokiri and the mission at Chirumbia. As a *kuraka*, his father recruited Matsigenka laborers between the Urubamba, Yanatile,

and Yavero Valleys (particularly in Chapo) to work in the coffee plantations of large landowners and to collect *katarompanaki* (a tree latex used to make incense) for trade at Rosalinas and Chirumbia (the Dominican priests used the incense during church services). According to some reports, most of Juan's family (including all of his siblings) were killed in slave raid when he was a child, and his father sent him to the Dominican primary school at Chirumbia some time in the mid-1930s. But Juan was not interested in life in the mission and returned to work the land in the Chapo Valley collecting *katarompanaki* and working in *colono* coffee plantations. He also brokered between Matsigenkas and *colonos* seeking labor on their coffee plantations, which was always in short supply on the agricultural frontier. Over the coming decades he worked between Anchiuay, Avantiari, Otingamía, and eventually entered the Yokiri Valley as far north as the Yavero River. He was in close contact with *colonos*, and he learned to speak Quechua and some Spanish as well as Matsigenka.

During this time Juan married a Matsigenka woman who lived in Avantiari (also in the Chapo drainage), and he moved there to work on her parents' land. The woman's parents had fled from the Kumpiroshiato Valley (near what is now the *comunidad nativa* of Shimaá), probably around 1920, and settled in Avantiari. This family' migration from the Kumpiroshiato Valley illustrates the displacements and instabilities that took place during this violent and terrifying period in the Alto Urubamba, when Matsigenkas were being rounded up in *correrías* 'slave raids'. They were attacked by a slave recruiter in Kumpiroshiato, who killed some of the men and children and put the women to work. One night some of the surviving men managed to free the captive women, and the group fled up the Urubamba River to seek refuge at Rosalinas and the nearby mission at

Chirumbia, before eventually moving on to nearby Avantiari. The couple's grandson, now the oldest person in Yokiri, tells the story in Matsigenka (1):

(1)

Yagapitsaiganakeri itsinanetsite
yomperaiganakaro itsinanetsite.¹ Hehe acaso
yapakuaigairo iaigaira anta ivankoeigiku.²
Yovashi maika inintake irogaigakerira
intonkaigakerira yogashi maika okanti maika
pashini ampa shigaiganaera ipokai ishigaigi
tsitenigite.³ Ipokaigi tsitenigeti okutagitenake
anta maika iaigaera.⁴ Okantagani maika
iromperaigaemparora onkotaera okantagani
anta itsamaitaigira ikogaigake "arimera
nontonkakerime chapi."⁵ Ishigakagaiganakaro
maganiro pine tsinane okyaenka pine juvenes
okya antaroigankitsi hehe.⁶ Ogashi maika
ipokaigakera pe.⁷

[The slave recruiter] went around stealing [the Matsigenka men's] wives, he forced their wives to work.¹ Yes, they wouldn't let [the women] go once they went to their houses.² They wanted to kill [the Matsigenkas], to shoot them, so one [of the women] said "we'd better escape" and [the Matsigenka men] came running in the night.³ [The men] came at night, at dawn, so that they could leave.⁴ When [the slave raiders] looked for [the women] so that they would cook where they were working [and realized that they had escaped, they said] "we should have killed them yesterday."⁵ [The Matsigenka men] had helped all the women escape, all the young women, that's right.⁶ That's why they came here [to this region of the Alto Urubamba].⁷

Once the family was established in Avantiari, which was safer due to its proximity to the mission at Chirumbia, Juan moved there to marry his new wife and work on her father's land.

Juan lived in this region for decades, and had (according to my kinship data) four wives and more than a dozen children. Several of these children would eventually join their father in the Yokiri Valley and marry members of families across region to establish the community; others went on to join other comunidades nativas in the area or marry *colonos* and live with them nearby or in the highlands. In the meantime, the children worked in their father's plots scattered throughout the Chapo, Boyero, Otingamía, and Yokiri Valleys. Throughout this time, Juan maintained contact and trade with the

Dominicans and *colonos* and continued in his role as a trilingual intermediary between them and the Matsigenka-speaking inhabitants of the region.

During this time the pressure from Andean colonization began to increase as newly-arriving *colonos* moved their way up through Chapo-Boyero in search of land, and the family's scattered plots were taken over as they were eventually displaced to Otingamía.



Figure 13: Chapo-Boyero (foreground), Otingamía (background), and Artillería pass to Yokiri (top left), viewed from the south

Around 1973, once the *colonos* had begun to arrive in Otingamía, Juan finally moved his family across the Artillería pass into the Yokiri Valley permanently. The family's claim to land in Otingamía continued until the 1990s, and some of the family members remained there, until one of Juan's sons traded the family's 90-hectare tract of

land for a few heads of cattle. This was an economic decision that the family members still resent and cite as an example of the untrustworthiness of *ponyarona* ‘highlanders’. Some Yokiriños lament that Otingamía is not part of the titled community today, and as of 2012 the leaders were planning to explore the inaccessible and uninhabited land at the very top of the Otingamía headwaters to see if they might expand the community's territory.

But while moving to the Yokiri Valley allowed the family to stay ahead of the wave of colonization coming up through Chapo, Boyero, and Otingamía from the south, in the 1970s a different group of *colonos* were on their way down the Yavero Valley toward Yokiri from the east (see the map in Figure 11 above). By the early 1970s there were a handful of *colonos* living between Estrella what is now Huillcapampa, on the eastern boundary of the *comunidad nativa* of Matoriato, and in the late 1970s a devastating flood in the highland district of Lares (province of Calca) sent hundreds of destitute *campesinos* down the Yavero Valley in search of land. They were led by a Salesian priest named Juan Carlos Polentini Wester, who sponsored a series of expeditions into the valley. A member of family #1 describes their arrival in Matsigenka (2):

(2)

Hehe pairani nanti aka pitaigatsi naro hehe.¹
Pairani acaso ainyo ponyarona, mameri.²
Hehe ipokakera pareri ikantagani yoga pareri
ikantagani yoga polentini ³ Ogashi ogashi
itentaigakarira okantagani ogashi maikari
itsamaitaganakera kara.⁴ Hehe game inti irirori
game game itimavageigi katonko anta
okantagani kantinka kentiarenaku kara....⁵
Pairani nopokaigakera acaso ainyo ponyarona,
hehe.⁶ Recién maika itimanakera maika
itsamaitanakera hehe.⁷

Yes, we were the ones who used to live here.¹
Before there weren't any highlanders, there
weren't any.² Yes, when the priest came, what's
his name, Padre Polentini.³ So he brought [the
colonos] along, so that they could work there.⁴
Yes, if it hadn't been for him, they would [still]
be living up the river there, [the colonization
would have stopped] right in Kentiarena...⁵
When we came, there were no highlanders,
that's right.⁶ Just now there are beginning to be
people who [are coming] to work.⁷

Most of these *colonos*, who had grown up in the highlands and were unaccustomed to tropical life, had trouble adapting to the remote lowland frontier and returned home within a year or two. But a few of the toughest and most motivated families stayed, and successive colonizing families learned to survive in this new and unfamiliar environment by their example. This sudden influx of *colonos* in the Yavero Valley put pressure on the northern and eastern sides of Yokiri, and by the time Juan died in 1980, his family found themselves hemmed in between *colonos* on three sides and the recently titled *comunidad nativa* of Matoriato to the west. The time-tested Matsigenka strategy of migrating further into the forest to avoid the oncoming wave of *colonos* was no longer possible, and Juan's family became for the first time a sedentary island in a sea of *colonos*.

The newly-arriving *colonos* tried hard to dislodge family #1 from their land, which from their perspective was being left 'unused', and entreated them to join the *comunidad nativa* of Matoriato. But family #1 held firm and moved quickly to title their land to halt the spread of colonization from the Yavero into the Yokiri Valley itself. Upon

his death Juan left his land to his children as well as his new son-in-law José from family #3 (about whom more below), but before the titling process was completed a *colono* from Calca established himself in the northeast corner of the Yokiri Valley. This *colono* argued that he arrived in the valley before Juan moved permanently from Otingamía, and he told me repeatedly that family #1 were the ones who had invaded his land (*me están invadiendo*--an intriguing inversion of the familiar colonist-indigenous relationship). The territorial dispute still remains unresolved, but Yokiri has by now given up on trying to reclaim the stretch of land that separates the community from the Yavero river below.

In 1986, the non-profit organization CEDIA helped family #1 acquire title to their land in the Yokiri Valley as a *comunidad nativa*. However, since the amount of land that a *comunidad nativa* could claim depended on its population, it was in family #1's interest to gather as many Matsigenkas together as possible in the Yokiri Valley. Families came from the now defunct mission at Chirumbia (families #4 and #5 below) and from *colono* estates that had taken Matsigenkas' land and enslaved them in their coffee plantations (families #2 and #6 below).

2.4.2 Family 2

One of the first people to join family #1 in Yokiri and Otingamía was a man named Mario. Mario was born around 1962 in the headwaters of the Mapitonoari River, which enters the Yavero upriver from Huillcapampa near what is now the *colono* settlement of Estrella. Mario recounts that his grandparents migrated from the Camisea watershed because of slave raids in the area, which he attributes to the Pereira family (who he calls Spaniards or Brazilians), and which killed many of his extended family

members. His parents established themselves in Mapitonoari some time in the 1950s. Around 1964, when Mario was a young child, a couple of Andean *colono* families moved down the Yavero Valley and established a coffee plantation near Mapitonoari. Some of these *colonos* were apparently very abusive to some of the Matsigenkas in the area, and a large group fled to an area near the Kallanga river in what is now Manu (this migration is documented by Padre Polentini himself (2009:15); see also (Shepard, et al. 2010) for more information on Kallanga and its close and ancient connections to the Andes). Mario's father joined this migration to Kallanga in 1964 and left him the care of other family members.

A *colono* family claimed the land that these Matsigenkas inhabited, and they made Mario's family work as laborers and servants. In many cases in the Alto Urubamba, this was a violent and abusive arrangement, such as in the case of family #6 described below; however, Mario reports that the *colonos* were relatively benign by the standards of the Yavero Valley, and they treated him well and taught him how to support himself with commercial agriculture. Mario grew up in constant interaction with these *colonos* as he worked in their coffee plantations and carried their products to market, and he learned to speak Quechua and some Spanish. The *colono* family discouraged him from speaking Matsigenka in their presence, but his family was accorded quite a bit of autonomy in the evenings and he acquired Matsigenka so well that many Yokiriños consider him and his daughters to be the best speakers of Matsigenka in Yokiri as well as experts in matters of Matsigenka folklore. This is an interesting case in which Mario's life-long proximity to *colonos* did not mean a move away from traditional Matsigenka culture and language.

Around 1981 when the *colono* family left Mapitonoari and moved further down the Yavero Valley to Kanariato (a small tributary just upstream from Huillcapampa), they took Mario with them. At this point most of the Matsigenkas who previously inhabited the area had been displaced by the newly-arriving *colonos* from the Polentini expeditions and had moved to Kirahateni, Matoriato, Chirumbia, and elsewhere. Juan had died the year before, and Mario met his widow and learned about family #1's attempts to consolidate their control over the Yokiri Valley (in his words, *hemos agarrado comunidad* 'we grabbed ourselves a community'). They married and had five children before the woman died around 2000. Only one of these children married within Yokiri; two of them married *colonos* in the Yavero Valley, and two are single mothers that live with Mario. Because they are not integrated closely into a kin group, Mario and his children stand somewhat apart from the community's political life.

2.4.3 Family 3

An important figure in the history of Yokiri is José, who was born in what is now Manu national park and grew up in the highland city of Paucartambo. José traveled down the Yavero River as part of Padre Polentini's expedition in the late 1970s and quickly established a relationship with one of Juan's oldest daughters. José occupies an ambiguous place in Yokiri: while he is a *colono* who migrated to the area in search of land, he is also the son of an indigenous Huachipaeri woman, a fact that made him more trustworthy in the eyes of family #1. José's father, a Quechua-speaker from the province of Paucartambo, worked as the administrator of a *hacienda* in what is now Manu Park where his mother worked as a laborer. Both of his parents died when he was a young

child, and he grew up in the care of his father's family in Paucartambo, where he spoke Quechua almost exclusively. But as he grew older, he became acutely aware of his indigenous Amazonian heritage. When he learned that Padre Polentini was leading an expedition to colonize the Yavero Valley, he joined them--in part to find land, and in part to reconnect with his mother's heritage (he was not yet aware of the difference between Matsigenkas and Huachipaeris). A description of José's complex childhood as a Huachipaeri in a highland household can be found in Chapter 6; here, he told me in Spanish about how he left Paucartambo and gradually migrated down the Yavero Valley, where he had family, to Yokiri (3):

(3)

Recién he entrado a los catorce años a la escuela, yo mismo como era huérfano.¹ Así esta temporada recién estaban allí creando escuelas en zonas rurales.² No había escuela.³ Paucartambo, aha, mas abajo de Paucartambo, Challabamba Acobamba he entrado ya catorce años ya.⁴ Así, pues.⁵ Yo he crecido.⁶ Familia de mis padres son hartos.⁷ Hay Huamanes, también hay Mendozas, porque mi papa había sido Gregorio Huamán Mendoza.⁸ Entonces yo bajé aca abajo mas arriba de Lacco, mas arriba, allí estuve una temporada ya jovencito así, después me iba hacia [donde] mis familias.⁹ Ya estuve era diecinueve, veintidos años.¹⁰ Escucho están colono- entrando ya a colonizar a Yavero.¹¹ Ya habrán regresado pues "hay nativos pucha, ay!"¹² Yo pensaba que estaba my raza pues.¹³ Bajé junto con esos colonos pe en el setenta y nueve.¹⁴

Only then did I enter school, at fourteen years old, all by myself since I was an orphan.¹ At that time they were just setting up schools in rural areas.² There was no school.³ In Paucartambo, yes, below Paucartambo, Challabamba, Acobamba, I entered when I was fourteen years old.⁴ That's right.⁵ I grew up.⁶ I have lots of relatives on my father's side.⁷ There are Huamanes, and there are Mendozas, since my father was Gregorio Huamán Mendoza.⁸ The I came down here a little bit above Lacco, further up, and I was there for a while as a young man, and then I went [further down] to where my relatives were.⁹ I was nineteen, twenty-two years old.¹⁰ I heard that some people were colonizing--that they were entering [the forest] to colonize the Yavero Valley.¹¹ Some must have come back, "there are Amazonians, wow, oh no!" I thought they

NQE: Porque, este mismo río Yavero llega hasta Paucartambo, no?¹⁵

Claro, claro, pero yo he llegado vueltas así pues por yanatile.¹⁶

NQE: Ah, por Yanatile has ido.¹⁷

Entonces, bajé entonces, no había sido mi tribu sino había sido matsigenka, aha.¹⁸ Yo estaba allí con los [solteros].¹⁹ Acá estaba mi señora anterior que es María.²⁰ Había estado ya madre soltera, con ella hemos conversado ya hemos hemos convivido con ella.²¹ Así pues.²²

were my race.¹³ So I went down together with those colonos, in 1979.¹⁴

NQE: The Yavero River goes all the way up to Paucartambo, right?¹⁵

Yes, yes, but I went the long way around, through Yanatile.¹⁶

NQE: Oh you went by way of the Yanatile.¹⁷

So I went down, it ended up not being my tribe, but rather the Matsigenkas.¹⁸ I was there with [the single men].¹⁹ My last wife was here, María.²⁰ She was a single mother, and we discussed things, and then we lived together.²¹ That's right.²²

María and José established a household in 1980 and had two children who are now both prominent (though controversial) figures in Yokiri. Around the time that the Yokiriños began the process of titling their land as a *comunidad nativa*, María died while giving birth to their third child. This left José in an uncertain position in the community: because he had arrived as a *colono*, his legitimacy as a member of the *comunidad nativa* depended upon his marriage to María, and now some of family #1 wanted him to leave and take his children with him. At this point, José settled down with a teenaged girl whose family (#4, see below) had just arrived from Chirumbia to join the community. While this incorporation into one of Yokiri's new kin groups secured his place and his children's place in Yokiri, their presence has remained a major source of tension in Yokiri. Members of family #1 do not consider him and his children (even though their mother was their kin) to be Matsigenka--for instance, when the oldest member of family #1 came to my house to record some traditional Matsigenka songs, José's 11-year-old son

stood in the doorway and listened to Luís sing *saniri*, a song about the river caiman. Luís and I had the following exchange in Matsigenka (4a-b):

- (4a) NQE: *Ikemi irirori pimatikanakerira?*
'Does he understand what you're singing?'
- (4b) Luís: *Tera! Inti ponyarona!*
'No! He's a highlander.'

This exchange illustrates one of the fundamental tensions regarding family #3. Recall that this child has two Matsigenka grandparents who grew up in the mission at Chirumbia, one Huachipaeri grandmother from Manu, and one Quechua-speaking grandfather from Paucartambo--his designation as *ponyarona* 'highlander' here refers to his father's status as a Quechua-speaking agricultural migrant, which override his other claims to Matsigenka status. This puts family #3 in an unusual position: while most of the *colonos* around Yokiri consider José and his children to be indigenous Amazonians (indeed, they often draw attention to his Amazonian heritage by referring to José by his Huachipaeri maternal surname rather than his Quechua paternal surname), most Yokiriños consider him to be a *colono*. In Yokiri, this ambiguity is an advantage in some situations, and a liability in others--for instance, José and his sons are able to use their ties to *colono* society and the agricultural economy to exert influence over the rest of the community, but they are also frequently criticized as *ponyarona* 'highlander' and periodically threatened with expulsion from the community.²⁰ Indeed family #3 are the most controversial residents of Yokiri, both for these reasons and because in José and

²⁰ Note that the *comunidades nativas* in Peru frequently face the question of how to handle *colonos* residing in their midst (e.g. Gray 1998:182); however, situations such as this in which the categories of '*colono*' and '*indigenous*' are negotiable and contestable can be considerably more complex.

Isabel are the only couple that have married across the two major kin-based political factions (see Figure 15).

José's experience in the rural agrarian society between Paucartambo and the lower Yavero Valley has made him a skilled and determined agriculturalist, and he is the most aggressive and outspoken advocate for Yokiri's incorporation into the coffee industry. After all, José migrated to Yokiri as a *colono* hoping to make a living as a farmer, a desire that distinguishes him from family #1, who migrated to Yokiri precisely to avoid the expansion of the agricultural frontier. Today most Yokiriños are interested in increasing the community's involvement in the coffee industry, but many find family #3's approach to agriculture to be overly aggressive (see Chapter 3 for more about the politics of coffee production in Yokiri). Some are also worried that José's family might crowd out the other residents--he has so far fathered at least seventeen children (fourteen of whom survive), and they will all need somewhere to live.



Figure 14: A Yokiriño family poses for a photograph at Abra Artillería, overlooking Otingamía

2.4.4 Family 4

Another of the families that accepted family #1's invitation to join the *comunidad nativa* in Yokiri was family #4, who came from the recently abandoned Dominican mission at Chirumbia. The matriarch of family #4, an older woman named Ana, was born in the Madre de Dios watershed around 1940 and was brought to Chirumbia by the Dominicans as a teenager. When she arrived in Chirumbia, she was introduced to the boy who the missionaries had arranged to be her husband, and in the late 1950s the couple settled down near the mission and began a life working in the priests' fields and pastures. They had twelve children (nine of whom survive), and lived a life that was carefully managed by the priests. They were not allowed to drink alcohol or use shamanic plants such as tobacco or ayahuasca, and they were expected to work hard as agriculturalists (the same was true for the Matsigenkas living with SIL missionaries further down the Urubamba Valley (Camino 1979:140-141) As described above, the priests intended to transform them from dispersed horticulturalists and hunter-gatherers with animist religious beliefs into Catholic, Spanish-speaking cash croppers living in nucleated settlements. But the Dominicans' purpose was not to simply transform them into *colonos*, but to create an independent community of Matsigenka Christians--that is to say, they were meant to remain ethnically distinct from the surrounding *colono* society, but socially, religiously, and economically indistinguishable.²¹ The Chirumbia Matsigenkas were in close contact with neighboring *colonos* (many of whom rented land in the Chirumbia Valley from the Dominicans, and took it over when they left), and many learned Quechua. Over the years most of them learned to live more or less like *colonos*,

²¹ One of the biggest problems for the Dominicans has been that many Matsigenkas who have been incorporated the *colono* economy and society no longer wish to live in the mission.

and today land use in Chirumbia is basically indistinguishable from that of the neighboring *colono* settlements.

Since the Dominicans withdrew from Chirumbia in the early 1980s, *colonos* have been allowed to become members of the *comunidad nativa* of Chirumbia, and now most of the residents are either *colonos* or the children and grandchildren of Matsigenka-*colono* unions. Quechua is now more prevalent in Chirumbia than Matsigenka. This takeover of the community by *colonos* was distressing for some of the residents, and after family #4 learned that Juan's family was forming the community of Yokiri, they abandoned their land in Chirumbia in the early 1990s and headed north across the Chapo and Boyero valleys, first to Otingamía, where some family #1 was still working. The matriarch of family #4 explained this in Spanish in (5):

- (5) *Mi esposo ha dicho "mejor como estan entrando, pues tenemos que irnos." Por eso hemos venido a este lado donde este como se llama Juan, a conquistar a Otinganía.*

'My husband said, "since [the *colonos*] are beginning to enter [Chirumbia], we have to leave." That's why we came over here where what's his name, Juan [lived], to conquer Otingania.'

Her use of the verb *conquistar* 'conquer' here is significant: since family #4 saw themselves in competition with Andean *colonos* for unoccupied tracts of land in the interior, they did not consider their migration to be something entirely different from that of the *ponyarona* who had come from the highlands. Indeed, when family #4 moved to the Yokiri Valley in the early 1990s, some members of family #1 saw them as more *colono*-like than Matsigenka-like: they were adept cash-croppers, they amassed manufactured goods, they were not accustomed to life in the forest, and their Matsigenka,

to the extent that they spoke it, was heavily influenced by both Spanish and Quechua. Even today some of the oldest members of family #1 refer to family #4 as *ponyarona* (highlanders), despite the fact that the neighboring *colonos* consider them all to be simply 'Matsigenkas'. Like family #3, the Chirumbia families represent something like an intermediate class between Matsigenkas and *colonos*, although unlike family #3, the legitimacy of their presence in the *comunidad nativa* of Yokiri is not questioned.

During their gradual migration from Otingamía to Yokiri, the teenagers of family #4 began to start families. Two of these teenagers, who had experienced the sociality and material possibilities of agrarian life while living in Chirumbia and objected to moving deep into the forest, left for the highland district of Ocongate in search of a new life. This did not work out, and they both returned within a few years and married members of family #1 instead. Two other teenaged daughters from family #4 settled down with Andean *colono* men who had recently colonized Otingamía, and they and their children still live there and occasionally visit their kin in Yokiri. The rest of the siblings of this family married several siblings of family #1, forming what would become the first kin group and political faction in Yokiri. This is the kin group whose homes are marked with green squares in the map in Figure 6 above. One of the family's daughters, however, married José (as discussed above); this union across the two major kin groups that were being formed in the community was very controversial and remains a major source of tension in Yokiri.

For the Chirumbianos of family #4, the move to the dense forests of Yokiri and Otingamía was a major change from their carefully-controlled lives in the Dominican mission. The children had all been born in Chirumbia (with the exception of the youngest

son, who was born in Otingamía after their departure), where they had never learned to hunt, practice traditional horticulture, or survive in the forest. They also had not acquired the principles of traditional Matsigenka culture, and they had little experience with the cosmology, folklore, and ecological knowledge of their peers. Some of the younger family members were also Spanish-dominant and mixed Spanish with their Matsigenka, to the extent that they spoke it at all. This all changed, however, when they arrived in Yokiri--after the migration their lives were filled with new kinds of knowledge and skills, and they began to speak Matsigenka much more frequently and acquired a fuller lexicon regarding the forest and its inhabitants than they had access to in Chirumbia (see Chapter 7 for the implications of this language acquisition history on the Matsigenka noun classification system). As is the case for most other households in Yokiri, therefore, the intermarriage of family #1 and family #4 created couples with vastly different sociolinguistic backgrounds.

2.4.5 Family 5

Family #5 was formed by the marriage of a man from Chirumbia and another of Juan's daughters. This daughter lived in Otingamía and Yokiri from her birth in the late 1960s until the mid-1980s, when she went to Chirumbia to live with her new husband. They lived there for around ten years, at which point they moved back to Yokiri for two reasons: first (as in the case of family #4), they were bothered by the increasing presence of *colonos* in Chirumbia; and second, the primary school in Yokiri was in danger of closing for lack of students, so they decided to enroll their children to maintain the school (indeed, schooling is a major impetus for official recognition of *comunidades nativas* in

Peru, see Killick (2008a)). Family #5 arrived after the other families had claimed plots of land toward the north end of the community, so they were given land further up the valley (their houses are marked with yellow squares at the bottom of the map in Figure 6).

Family #5 eventually had nine children (aged 5-26 in May 2012), three of whom (so far) have married three of José's children from family #3. This arrangement bound families #3 and #5 tightly together in a kin group that constitutes the second major political faction in Yokiri. As described below, much of the political maneuvering in Yokiri falls along the lines of these two major kin groups. However, José's controversial presence in Yokiri and his union across the political boundary into family #4 have made relations tense within this kin group.

Having grown up in the Dominican mission at Chirumbia, the members of family #5 have many of the same sociocultural and linguistic characteristics as family #4: they are more accustomed to cash-cropping and nucleated settlement than to traditional Matsigenka life in the forest, they did not acquire many of the cosmological and ontological principles associated with Matsigenka folklore, and they do not speak the Matsigenka language to the same degree as other Yokiriños. Since their arrival in the Yokiri Valley, they have begun to learn these things; however, since they have mostly married members of family #3 whose origins are also outside of the traditional Matsigenka world, they have not learned as much as Chirumbia family #4.

2.4.6 Family 6

The last family to heed the call to Yokiri arrived in the early 2000s from San Martín, further up the Yavero River. This family was formed by the marriage of a Matsigenka man and woman whose parents were born in Calangato (alt. Talangato) and Piñamayo, respectively (still further up the Yavero toward Lacco), some time in the 1920s (the migration of this family in the context of the succession of the agricultural frontier is illustrated in the map in Figure 11). On an expedition down the Yavero River in 1904, Georg von Hassel described the area around Piñamayo and Calangato as ideal for colonization: "...in all of the plains that are formed in the bends and turns of the hills and the river, there are magnificent fields for all kind of crops; the ancient [Inka] terraces are only covered by grass, so they don't present serious difficulty for establishing plantations; the many waterfalls that offer their powerful driving power and a beautiful and healthy environment, qualify this valley for colonization; it is an enchanted paradise" (1907:372).²² Sure enough, the area was colonized over the following decades, and when the Dominican missionary priest Wenceslao Fernández Moro visited the same area in the 1930s, he noted, referring to a group that probably included couple #6's grandparents, that "here the Matsigenkas mix together with the *civilizados* [i.e. Andean *colonos*] as they work for the landowners...we might call them 'civilized', since they fit right in with the laborers on the [Calangato and Hacienda Pampa] haciendas" (1934:72-73).²³ After working as *allegados* (see Fioravanti 1974 for more information on this mode of labor

²² "...en todas las llanuras que se forman en los recodos i vueltas de los cerros i del río, se ofrecen magníficos campos para toda clase de cultivos; los antiguos andenes sólo están cubiertos de pasto, por lo que no ofrecen dificultad seria para hacer plantaciones; las numerosas caídas de agua que brindan su poderosa fuerza motriz i un precioso i saludable temperamento, designan este valle para la colonización; es un paraíso encantado."

²³ "...aquí los machiguengas se mezclan con los civilizados en los trabajos de los propietarios de terrenos...Podemos llamarlos civilizados, ya que en todo alternan con los peones de dichas haciendas."

organization), the parents of couple #6 fled the abuses of the *colonos* further downriver around the late 1940s, to San Martín, Pampa Blanca, and Amancaes, where the colonization had not yet arrived. There they started families, and the husband and wife of family #6 were both born in the early 1950s; however, the wave of Andean colonization quickly caught up with them in the mid-1950s. *Colonos* claimed the land around San Martín, and they enslaved the Matsigenkas they found there. The husband and wife of family #6 (Angel and Cristina) describe the situation in Spanish and Quechua (note that the husband mostly speaks in Spanish, while the wife mostly speaks in Quechua, in underlined text) (6):

(6)

Ángel: Mi papá tenía un terreno grande.¹
 Cuando ha venido gente blanca, todo ha quitado
 pe.² Ha venido entra y hace roce y lo que allí es
 a trabajar pe.³ Trae ropa, es engaño ya.⁴
 Trabajando tranquilo mientras azo dueño es él
 pe, gente blanca.⁵ Así era pues.⁶ Ahora es
 dueño ellos ahora pe ooh, caramba.⁷ ... Por eso
 gente blanca ha venido, si no tiene papeles-
 ellos han hecho papel, todo ya está.⁸

Cristina: Mana título mana papel kanchu, nada.⁹
Anchhay gente blancokuna hamunku
hunt'arapunku hunt'arapunku chayman.¹⁰

Ángel: Todo ha llenado.¹¹

Angel: My father had a lot of land.¹ When the
 white people came, they took it all.² They came
 and cleared [the forest for chacras], and
 everyone who was there [i.e. the Matsigenkas]
 had to work.³ They brought [us] clothing, that's
 a deception.⁴ Working, while he's the owner,
 the white peron.⁵ That's how it was.⁶ Now
 they're the owners, damn!⁷ ... That's how the
 white people came, if you don't have papers-
 they got papers, and that was that.⁸

Cristina: If you don't have a title or papers,
 nothing.⁹ That's how the white people came and
filled and filled [the valley] there.¹⁰

Angel: They filled it all up.¹¹

Couple #6 reports that they were made to work for three days in the landowner's coffee plantations and had the rest of the week to work in their own small subsistence plots; if they did not work, they were beaten or expelled from the land and made

destitute. Unlike the relatively more benevolent *colono* family that took family #2's land around Mapitonoari, the *colonos* that took in family #6 subjected them to terrible abuse and violence. For instance, they were forced to dig the mule trail for the *colonos* under conditions that they likened to those in Werner Herzog's 1982 movie *Fitzcarraldo* (see Brown 1982), which had just been screened by the local Dominican missionary priest on a visit to Yokiri.²⁴ As above, the husband speaks Spanish here, and the wife speaks Quechua, in underlined text (7):

(7)

Cristina: Primerota monteraq ñanta kichanku.¹
 Masta tiyanku kay ukhupi ñanta ruwaqñinkuña.²
Hinapi ñanpi tiyanku chaymanta anchuña-³

Ángel: "ojalá que hace ellos pues nativos-"⁴

Cristina: nativoraqchu kichanku ñanta.⁵

Ángel: Hace obligar también "abras camino", así era antes pues.⁶ He visto pues video cuando era noche igualito esto antes.⁷

Cristina: First it was still just forest, [and then] they opened a path.¹ More of them lived here in the forest when they made the path.² In that way they lived on the path, and then it [became] wide-³

Ángel: [they said] "let's make the *nativos* make it-"⁴

Cristina: The *nativos* opened the path.⁵

Ángel: They ordered [us], "open the path," that's how it was.⁶ I saw it on the [Fitzcarraldo] video that night, it used to be just like that.

When couple #6 were young children, their parents passed away with a few years of each other, and they were raised in the homes of extended family members and by the

²⁴ During the filming of this movie, about an abusive and unhinged rubber trader who operated nearby in the late 19th century, "Herzog had to commit some of the same transgressions as the film's protagonist" (Brown 1982:20). The Dominican missionary priest screens it in *comunidades nativas* (often onto a bed sheet hung from a roof beam in the *salón comunal*) during his periodic rounds across the Alto Urubamba, with the intention of inciting outrage against current extractive industries in the region, most notably, the Camisea natural gas project.

colonos themselves in San Martín. When they were children they attended school together for a year or two, and as teenagers they got married and began having children. Like the man from family #2, couple #6 (and later their children) worked on the *colonos'* land as servants and laborers and learned Quechua from a very young age, but they also had quite a lot of exposure to Matsigenka language and folklore in the home. However, once the *colonos* arrived, family #6 was contained to the coffee plantations, and never had sustained experience in the forest--until they arrived in Yokiri some 50 years later.

Beginning in 1980 they had six thoroughly trilingual children (four of whom survive), and the oldest came to Yokiri in the mid-1990s to attend school. This was during the period in which Yokiri's school was in danger of closing for lack of students, and the Yokiriños had requested that Matsigenkas throughout the valley send their children to help keep it open. The oldest son of family #6 reported back to his parents and siblings that there was land available in Yokiri, and because they hadn't married *colonos*, they were accepted there in 2000 (the son reports that the community admitted them because they were able to speak Matsigenka, which continues to be an important identity marker despite the trilingualism and variation in linguistic competence in Yokiri). All members of family #6 report that they are much happier in Yokiri, where they have plenty of land for themselves and their children, and where their only responsibilities beyond their own agricultural work are Yokiri's occasional *faenas* and *asambleas*. Family #6 receives some criticism, however, for not coming earlier when their addition to the community would have allowed Yokiri to claim a larger extension of land.

They left behind a large network of kin in San Martín who have married into *colono* society and who were therefore not welcome to move to Yokiri (for instance, all

of the woman's three sisters married *colono* men and still live around San Martín). These people occasionally turn up in Yokiri, often with their children and *colono* spouses, to participate in public events as well as to assist during the harvest season. Family #6, therefore, is part of a closely-knit kinship network across the Yavero Valley that cross-cuts the division between the *comunidad nativa* and the *colono* society--indeed, the only reason that such a division exists now is because the creation of Yokiri allowed the Matsigenkas who hadn't married *colonos* to separate themselves.

As in the case of Chirumbiano families #4 and #5, family #6's migration to Yokiri represented a move out of rural Andean agrarian society and back into something more like the traditional Matsigenka lives of their parents' and grandparents' generation. This has meant, for example, exposure to a much wider variety of animal and plant species; it also involved speaking Matsigenka more frequently. Though couple #6 grew up speaking Matsigenka in their homes from the 1950s to the 1980s, by the 1980s and 1990s they (particularly the husband) had begun to shift to Quechua, and to a lesser extent, Spanish. Moving to Yokiri meant recovering their Matsigenka, a process they describe in Spanish in (8):

(8)

Ángel: Sí, acá cuando yo he venido he recordado yo, si estaría arriba, qué voy a saber?¹ Hubiera olvidado ya.² Más he venido estoy recordando-₃

Cristina: Escuchando escuchando ya está recién está recordando había estado olvidando pe.⁴

Ángel: Yes, when I came here I [began to] remember [how to speak Matsigenka], if I had [still] been upriver, how would I know it?¹ I would have forgotten in already.² When I came [to Yokiri] I began remembering-₃

Cristina: Listening, listening, just now he's remembering [it], he had been forgetting it.⁴

Family #6 moved to Yokiri when the political structure of Yokiri was already formed, so they do not hold much power and largely stay out of the conflict between the two major kin groups (see below). This tension will be discussed at length below and in Chapter 4.

2.5 Kinship and politics in Yokiri

The kinship arrangement described above bears a number of resemblances to the principles described in some Matsigenka ethnographies, for instance, the marrying of pairs of siblings from two families whose children become ideal marriage partners as cross-cousins--and so on through the generations (Johnson 2003:164) (for a more thorough analysis of Matsigenka kinship, see Casevitz (1977), Renard-Casevitz (2012), and Johnson and Johnson (1975)). This system, in which Yokiriños can (ideally) find a spouse already residing in the community, prevents them from having to look outside of Yokiri for spouses, and therefore having to create relations of obligation and privilege

with people beyond the community (O. Johnson 1978:92-3). Indeed, marrying a non-Yokiriño presents a problem: it requires either permanently leaving the community (thereby depleting its population) or allowing a spouse to occupy land inside the community (which is unacceptable in the case of *colono* spouses). Allen Johnson calls two families that marry together *ad infinitum* an "ideal hamlet" (Johnson 2003:164) in which children can stay near their parents (cf. Kensinger 1995:137)--Yokiriños' adherence to these principles has also served the ultimate objective driving the process of community formation that took place during the 1980s and 1990s, namely keeping *colonos* out during the onslaught of Andean colonization. However, of course, Yokiriños do often settle down outside of the community with *colonos*, and part of the 'freedom ideal' so common among Matsigenkas is that parents usually respect their children's choice of spouses (see the earlier discussion of *colono*-Matsigenka marriages). Some Yokiriños are also ashamed of the traditional cross-cousin marriage pattern, a practice that many *colonos* view with disgust and contempt. The marriage pattern sometimes results in children having the same paternal and maternal surnames as their fathers, which leads to much ridicule and consternation when, for instance, those children attend the high school with neighboring *colono* children in Huillcapampa (one solution to this problem has been simply to give children other surnames--a practice, by the way, that greatly complicates the work of an anthropologist attempting to make sense of the community's kinship network). Yokiriños are torn, then, between the normative exogamy of *colono* society and their own need to maintain their land base. It is too early to tell how the youngest generations of Yokiriños will handle these issues (see Chapter 3).

Each of Yokiri's two main kin groups (Families #1 and #4 on the one hand, and Families #2 and #5 on the other) resemble an "ideal hamlet" in Allen Johnson's terms. The union of the two hamlet-like kin groups into a single territory and legal structure has created a powerful political division through the community (Figure 15). The sole union across the political boundary creates divided allegiances within Yokiri, and it is fraught with tension.

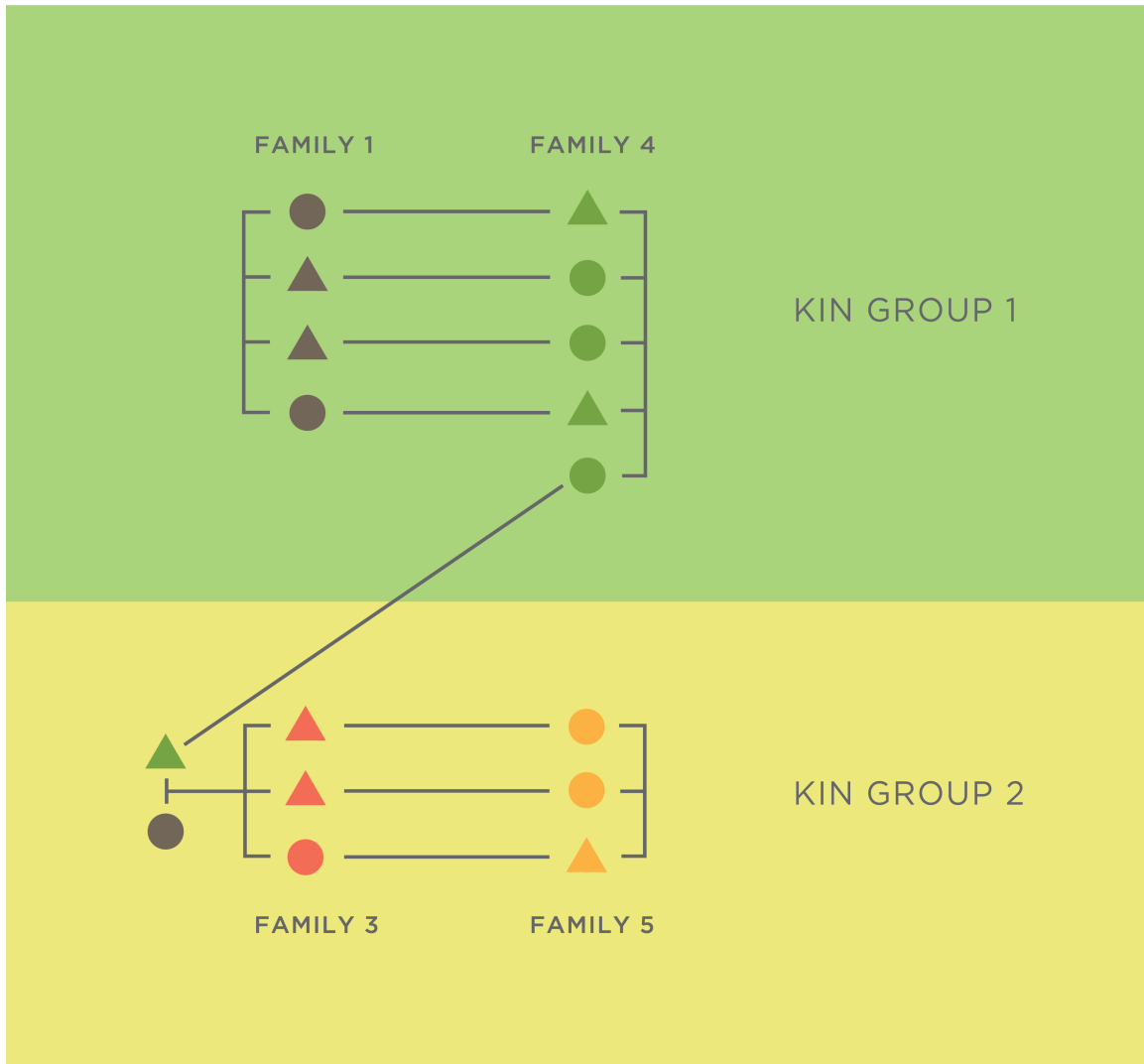


Figure 15: Yokiri's two major kin groups

The kin groups marked in yellow and green correspond to the yellow and green houses marked on the maps in Figure 6 and Figure 16.

Baksh (1984:416-28) notes a similar arrangement in Camaná, where kin groups that came together to form a nucleated settlement maintained the social division between the hamlets in their new home. Indeed, the division is so absolute in Yokiri that members of each kin group have often never seen the homes of the other kin group, despite living quite close together. For instance, the map detail in Figure 16 illustrates how a network of paths connects the homes of one kin group (Families #1 and #4, marked with green

squares) around the land of a non-kinsman (Families #3 and #5, marked with yellow squares) (note that these colors correspond to the kin groups represented in Figure 15):

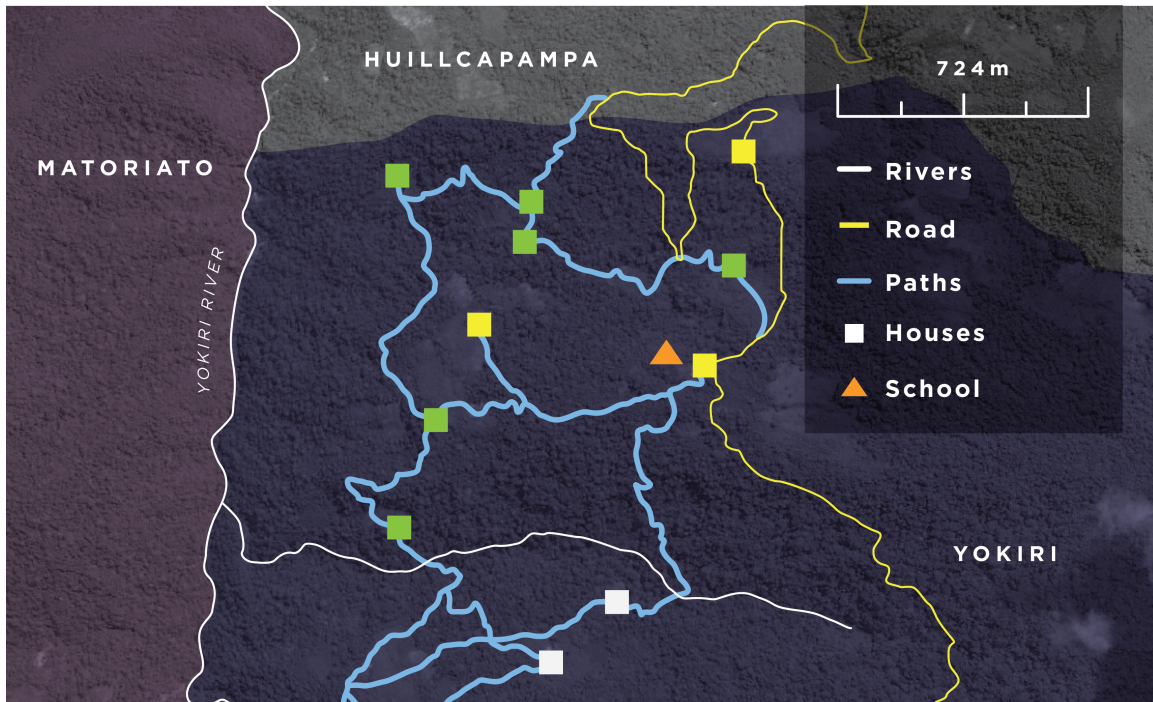


Figure 16: Yokiri map detail, showing foot paths in blue
Note that the green and yellow houses correspond to the kin groups in Figure 15. Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe, author's GPS data.

This settlement layout, and the exclusive patterns of visiting among kin groups, make Yokiri almost like two hamlets that happen to be superimposed onto the same territory. Most of the political life in Yokiri is based in the competition between these two kin groups, and conflicts between them play out in the monthly *asamblea* 'community meeting' (see Chapter 4). Significantly, each kin group comprises a Chirumbia family and an earlier-arriving family, which means that each group is the site of significant cultural and linguistic variation.

2.6 Interactional networks and heteroglossia in Yokiri

Yokiri's sociolinguistic situation is difficult to characterize. First, the history of migration and intermarriage described above has led to striking variation in patterns of communicative behavior: fewer than 100 people speak languages from three distinct genetic groupings²⁵, and there is significant family-, age-, and gender-based variation in linguistic repertoires, patterns of code-switching, and use of discourse genres. Second, the human aggregate at the center of this study is also difficult to define, since Yokiriños interact frequently with Quechua-, Spanish-, and Matsigenka-speaking kin and non-kin outside of the community, in many cases far more frequently than with their Yokiriño neighbors from other kin groups. The *comunidad nativa* of Yokiri, then, cannot be easily defined as 'speech community' (a "human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage" (Gumperz 1968:381)), since the set of people residing in Yokiri is not coterminous with an aggregate of regularly- and frequently-interacting individuals, and since some portions of the body of verbal signs used by Yokiriños are shared with individuals beyond the Yokiri Valley just as much as within the community itself. Yokiriños' strong connections to non-Yokiriños, and their often very weak connections to other Yokiriños, are therefore better described in the social theoretical terms of a network rather than a community, which suggests a more bounded, homogeneous, and integrated social formation than is the case.

A description of language use in Yokiri, therefore, requires embracing socially-structured variation as fundamental and constitutive of human communicative practice

²⁵ In addition, because the Matsigenka speakers in Yokiri and their forebears came from as far east as the Kompirushiato valley, as far north as the Camisea watershed, and as far west as Manu, there are at least two or three varieties of Matsigenka represented in the community.

(e.g. Weinreich, et al. 1968). To this end, I present the heterogeneity of language use in and around Yokiri as it plays out among people of vastly different sociolinguistic backgrounds in a variety of interactional contexts. For instance, public meeting discourse (described in Chapter 4) includes all the members of Yokiri (as well as occasional visitors), and features interdiscursive and metapragmatic connections to other kinds of public speech in La Convención and beyond. Negotiations with coffee merchants (Chapter 5) link Yokiriños to interactional networks across the agricultural frontier, and feature linguistic practices (unevenly distributed among community members) that are connected to ideologies of the regional *campesino* social and economic world. Interactions in the home (Chapter 6) are regimented by discourse genres (also unevenly distributed) that have their own place in the social structure, and that despite being almost exclusively limited to kin groups, bear close connections to similar interactional contexts across the region. Chapters 4-6, therefore, represent the political, economic, and domestic spheres of communicative life, which each are regimented by different principles and ideologies of language use. Note also that not all of these interactions are face-to-face: as described above, regional radio broadcasts in Spanish, Quechua, and Matsigenka are an important site through which Yokiriños imagine themselves as belonging into different kinds of imagined social groupings. The linguistic phenomena found in Yokiri, then, should not be taken as rigid features of an independent and homogeneous discursive world, but rather as parts of highly contextual domains of action and sociality shared by partially-overlapping social groupings and interactional networks both inside and outside of Yokiri. But while Yokiri is the site of widespread variation and diversity, the community's intense and intimate multilingual communicative culture is also the site of

convergence in linguistic practices. In Chapter 6, I will discuss how the forging of a shared set of discursive practices have come to define Yokiri as something like a "discourse area" (Beier, et al. 2002) or a "culture of language" (Mannheim 1999:51).

2.7 Intergenerational language shift in Yokiri

But while Yokiri's multilingualism is intense and pervasive, it is not intergenerationally stable. Indeed, the last four generations of multilingualism in each of Yokiri's six main families show that in addition to the profound differences in linguistic repertoires between the families of Yokiri, it is rare for a generation in any of the families to have precisely the same linguistic repertoire as the preceding generation. But while many situations of language shift are clear and often unilinear, the last 75 years of Yokiri's linguistic history is characterized by many kinds of intergenerational changes. Quechua, for instance, has often been a language of economic incorporation for Matsigenka speakers, even as Quechua speakers increasingly shift toward Spanish; in other cases, the migration to the isolated Yokiri Valley from the agricultural frontier meant increased exposure to Matsigenka, and an intergenerational shift away from Quechua and even Spanish. Consider, for instance, the summaries of language shift for members of four generations of each of the Yokiri's six families in Table 2 through Table 7 below. This is, of course, a rough heuristic intended to give a synopsis of the broad historical patterns without putting much linguistic analytical weight on the evaluations. Linguistic knowledge here is judged by whether the speakers generally have enough knowledge to construct simple sentences in natural discourse. There are almost as many

kinds of patterns as there are families; however, one point of consistency among all six families is that the youngest generation all appear to be shifting to Spanish.

The last four generations of family #1's linguistic history is summarized in Table 2). The man from generation 1 spoke Matsigenka, Quechua, and some Spanish because of his work as an intermediary between Matsigenkas and *colono* landowners, but when he moved his family into Otingamía and Yokiri, his son (generation 2) did not learn to speak Quechua and Spanish as well as him. His son (generation 3), in turn, learned Matsigenka as well as Spanish as a result of the community's increased proximity to *colono* society, and the presence of schools; finally, the member generation 4 (now a teenager) speaks Spanish almost exclusively:

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1915?-1980	X	X	X
2	1945?-	X		
3	1971-	X		X
4	1996-			X

Table 2: Four generations of multilingualism in family #1

Four generations of family #2's linguistic history are shown in (Table 3). The first man (generation 1) was born deep in the forest and had little exposure to Quechua or Matsigenka; however, his son (generation 2) grew up among *colonos* and is fully trilingual, as is his daughter (generation 3), who had a Matsigenka-speaking mother. It is perhaps too soon to tell what kind of linguistic competence her son will acquire (generation 4), but so far it seems that he will mostly speak Spanish.

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1940?-2005?	X		
2	1962-	X	X	X
3	1985?-	X	X	X
4	2009?-			X

Table 3: Four generations of multilingualism in family #2

Table 4 illustrates the linguistic history of family #3. After the patriarch of family #3 (generation 2) was orphaned by his monolingual Quechua-speaking father (generation 1) and Huachipaeri- and Quechua-speaking mother, he was raised in a Quechua-Spanish bilingual household in Paucartambo. Once he moved to Yokiri and married a Matsigenka-speaking woman, his son (generation 3) grew up trilingual. His young daughter (generation 4), however, appears to speak Spanish almost exclusively.

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1925?-		X	
2	1952?-		X	X
3	1978-	X	X	X
4	2008-			X

Table 4: Four generations of multilingualism in family #3

The mother (generation 1) of the matriarch of family #4 (Table 5) was born in the Madre de Dios watershed and spoke only Matsigenka. When her daughter (generation 2) was taken to the mission at Chirumbia, she learned to speak Spanish and her own daughter (generation 3) acquired Matsigenka and Spanish. However, this daughter moved away from Chirumbia to live for several years with a man in the highland district of Ocongate, where she learned to speak Quechua. Her teenaged daughter (generation 4), however, only speaks Spanish.

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1920?-?	X		
2	1940-	X		X
3	1968-	X	X	X
4	1990-			X

Table 5: Four generations of multilingualism in family #4

Similarly, the last four generations of family #5's long history between the mission at Chirumbia and Yokiri consists of a gradual intergenerational shift from Matsigenka to Spanish (Table 6):

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1935?-	X		
2	1963-	X		X
3	1982-	X		X
4	2009			X

Table 6: Four generations of multilingualism in family #5

Family #6's linguistic history (Table 7) is similar to that of family #2's above (Table 3). The man from generation 1 was born far from the agricultural frontier and grew up speaking only Matsigenka, but his son (generation 2) was raised by *colonos* and acquired Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish. His son (generation 3) was raised the same way; however his own son (generation 4) can speak Quechua but does not (as far as I can tell) speak much Matsigenka.

		Matsigenka	Quechua	Spanish
1	1910?-1947?	X		
2	1945?-	X	X	X
3	1980-	X	X	X
4	2002-		X	X

Table 7: Four generations of multilingualism in family #6

These family histories are rough approximations presented here as a heuristic for understanding the last century of Yokiri's linguistic history in the broadest terms. They demonstrate that language shift has worked in a number of ways over the last century, and that it has been neither uniform nor unilinear. This case also suggests that contemporary linguistic patterns in the Alto Urubamba are not reliable reflections of past situations, where Quechua often played a more significant role than it does today. However, the greatest point of consistency across the six families is that that the youngest generations appear to be shifting away from Matsigenka and Quechua to Spanish. Note, however, that the youngest women in Yokiri appear likely to find spouses among the local *colono* population, many of whom are Quechua-dominant, suggesting that future generations may acquire Quechua. Indeed, this illustration only presented those people who came to live in Yokiri (and their forebears)--the members of the families that married *colonos* speak Quechua to a much higher degree than those that settled down in Yokiri.

So far, Yokiriños have not shown much interest in revitalizing either Matsigenka or Quechua, and the discourse of revitalization (Meek 2010) has yet to catch on in Yokiri the way it has among other speakers of Amazonian (e.g. Valenzuela Pilar 2010; Wroblewski 2012) and Andean (e.g. Hornberger 1988; King 2001) languages. One interesting question is which of Yokiri's indigenous languages--Matsigenka or Quechua--

Yokiriños would choose to revitalize. Because Yokiri is a *comunidad nativa*, the education ministry currently sends Amazonian bilingual education teachers, which illustrates how the state deals with the indigenous inhabitants of Peru in terms of the racialized geographic distinction between the Andes and Amazonia (however, because of bureaucratic mismanagement one of these teachers was a Yine speaker rather than a Matsigenka speaker). Interestingly, Yokiriños are exposed to the Matsigenka language revitalization program during primary school, but in order to attend secondary school they must travel to nearby *colono* settlements where they are exposed to the Quechua language revitalization program--for instance, at least 1/3 of children learning Quechua in the *alternancia* secondary school in Huillcapampa come from the *comunidades nativas* of Yokiri and Matoriato. Defining which of Yokiri's languages should be revitalized, according to an ideology of racialized geography and an ideology of language in which people are thought to speak a single 'mother tongue' in addition to a single European colonial language, is a complex process that illustrates the contradictions of life on the Andean-Amazonian frontier.

Chapter 3: Becoming *campesinos*: coffee and the politics of rural modernity

3.1 Introduction

Nearly every aspect of life in Yokiri is defined by the expansion of the agricultural frontier into the region. Chapter 1 demonstrated how this is true historically: the migrations of Matsigenka and *colono* families around the Alto Urubamba region since the mid-20th century have been largely driven by the dynamics of Andean agricultural colonization. Today, Yokiriños orient much of their lives toward the production of coffee and participation in the agrarian social world. The incipient transition from a subsistence to a commercial agricultural economy has had profound social, cultural, and political implications for Yokiriños, most fundamentally in a shift in their values and goals toward what is perceived locally as being *moderno*: growing large amounts of coffee, accumulating manufactured goods, continuing one's education, and attaining a professional career outside of the community. These changing priorities have brought Yokiriños into increasingly intense interactions with neighboring *colonos*, led them to

interact with the landscape in radically different ways, brought them together into a nucleated settlement, and inspired some to leave the community. This process also has important implications regarding ideologies of race: local models of social difference take Matsigenka society to be radically distinct from the *campesino* world of agricultural production, making the cultivation of coffee a site at which Yokiriños can redefine their place as coequal and co-eval *modernos* among their neighbors.

These ideologies of modernity only partially map onto those pursued by people elsewhere in the Andes and beyond--indeed, agricultural life and rural agrarian sociality are often considered to be precisely the antithesis of modernity (i.e. 'tradition'). But one person's tradition can be another person's modernity. The complexity of this situation--that the Quechua-speaking colonizers of the Alto Urubamba are themselves marginalized indigenous people in their places of origin--is often overlooked by scholars of the region who describe Andean colonization in the straightforward terms of 'the encroachment of national society' and 'incorporation into the modern world'. This chapter explores some of the contradictions of rural agrarian modernity and the related complexities of Yokiri's sociolinguistic situation, in which Quechua is recognized as both a colonizing and colonized language and in which relations of power do not cohere into immutable hierarchies, but rather depend on contextual and highly contingent constructions of sociolinguistic meaning and differentiation.

3.2 Producing coffee in Yokiri

Much of life in Yokiri revolves around the cultivation of coffee. Some people also grow cacao, achiote, and peanuts for sale, but coffee is far more important than these

crops. There are two types of coffee plantations in Yokiri: family plots, and the community plot (known as the *comuna*). Yokiriños spend most of their days in their family plots tending to their coffee, cacao, achiote, and peanut plantations as well as a wide variety of subsistence crops. These family plots are worked by households and among members of kin groups who exchange reciprocal labor (*ayni*). The profits from family plots are spent on food, educational and travel expenses, and manufactured goods. The *comuna* is owned by the community as a corporate body, and each registered male over the age of 18 (those not yet *exonerado* 'excused' from communal labor, for age or injury) must attend periodic *faenas* 'communal work parties' and work in the community's plantations. Profits from the *comuna* support community investments such as communal tools, supplies for festivals and celebrations, food for the schoolchildren, legal fees, and travel expenses for *comuneros* who travel outside of the community on official business (more information on the distinction between public and private resources can be found in Chapter 4). Because the community is inside the *zona de amortiguamiento* 'buffer zone' of the protected Santuario Nacional Megantoni, all agricultural production is subject to certain environmental restrictions.

Before the 1970s, the families that came to form Yokiri did not grow large amounts of coffee. Even though some of them had experience working in the coffee plantations of large landowners, their own production was mostly limited to subsistence plots and they did not produce much of their own coffee for market. Coffee production in Yokiri and Otingamía was limited by the transportation network, which still had not entered the lower Yavero Valley from the east nor Chapo Boyero and Otingamía from the south (see the map in Figure 8). The families in Yokiri and Otingamía had to carry their

product on their backs, first to Chirumbia, a journey of two to three days, and later to the end of the road (where they would meet coffee merchants) as it advanced northward (see the map in Figure 8). Once the road connecting the Yanatile and Yavero Valley over the Abra Reina pass arrived at the valley floor in the early 1990s, they began transporting their coffee up the Yavero on mules, but this was still a long and difficult trip that limited the amount of coffee they could produce. It wasn't until the road arrived in range of Yokiri in the mid-2000s, funded by royalties from the Camisea natural gas project (see Chapter 1), that larger scale coffee production became viable.

Another major factor that has limited coffee production in Yokiri (and indeed, everywhere coffee is grown) is the very technical nature of the crop's cultivation. Whereas cacao and achiote thrive without much attention and intervention, coffee is delicate and temperamental, and successful production even for the domestic market requires very specific conditions and techniques that Yokiriños are just learning to manage. First, the choice of a variety of coffee must take into account the plot's elevation, orientation to the sun, and soil conditions, all of which vary greatly across the Yokiri Valley (indeed, there is a difference in elevation of 1500 meters (4920 feet) between the highest and lowest points in the community)--for this reason, a variety that grows well in one farmer's plot might fail in another's, and the only way to make the right choice is through consultation with a municipal agronomist who can analyze soil samples and make recommendations regarding variety choice and the proper cocktail of fertilizer elements for the specific soil conditions (this is one of many ways in which the coffee economy brings Yokiriños into a closer relationship with the state). Seeds for new plants must be chosen from the 3rd to 9th branches from the bottom of a healthy, 4-8 year old

plant, peeled, fermented for 12-16 hours, washed and dried in the shade to 25% humidity, and planted in sifted alluvial soil. The seeds must be carefully interplanted with other crops that provide ample shade (such as banana, cacao, and avocado), and weeds must be constantly cleared from underneath the plants. Once the plant has matured after a careful regime of pruning, the farmer must only harvest the reddest and ripest fruits, being careful not to mix them with unripe fruits, which can ruin a whole sack. These are washed and sorted by immersion in a bucket (the bad and unripe fruits float to the water's surface and are skimmed off), and then run through a carefully adjusted hand-cranked peeler. From here, the seeds are pushed over a sieve and the largest ones fall into a tile-walled fermenting pool (again, materials and specifications provided by municipal agronomists), where the water is eventually drained and the seeds are left to ferment for a specific period of time (usually more than a day). Then the seeds are washed and left out to dry in the sun (see Figure 17 below) until they have reached exactly 12% humidity, at which point they are bagged in 1-quinal (100 lbs.) sacks and brought to the road for sale. Yokiriños time the lengthy harvesting process to coincide with the arrival of a coffee merchant who will buy their product at a favorable price; however, the lack of communication infrastructure and the poor condition of the roads often make such coordination impossible, and I have seen more than one sack of coffee rot on the roadside (see Chapter 5).



Figure 17: Drying communal coffee on the soccer/volleyball field in Yokiri

Any errors throughout this long and difficult process can ruin the harvest, and the successful management of these variables yields coffee that is still only suitable for the domestic market. Producing export-quality coffee, which commands a much higher price, is (as of writing) still very far beyond the capabilities of Yokiriños and most Yavero *colonos* alike. The difficulties of coffee production are only redeemed by the very high price that the crop can command: when I arrived in Yokiri in 2011, merchants were buying coffee for the domestic market at close to 500 soles (around \$179 at the time) per quintal (100 lbs.), more than twice the prices for cacao and achiote. However, early in the 2012 harvest the price offered by some merchants dropped to as low as 300 soles (around \$111) per quintal, which demonstrates how vulnerable farmers in the region can be to fluctuations in the global coffee market (which is particularly damaging considering the amount of time and labor that farmers must devote to the crop). Indeed, the *roya* fungus

that devastated the coffee crop in some areas of Peru during the 2014 harvest season put farmers in a very difficult position and led to confrontations with police (Reuters 2013).

The district of Quellouno, along with other coffee-producing districts across the Peruvian eastern slope, has implemented a major training program to help farmers improve the quality of their product, with the hope that some of them will eventually be able to produce for the export market. Municipal agronomists hold monthly workshops in each registered community and visit the farmers' plantations to check in on their progress and consult about fertilizers, shade, the construction of fermentation pools, and all manner of other technical details. The municipality also provides fertilizer, herbicide, and tiles and cement for the fermentation pools, and some participants are brought on visits (*pasantías*) to successful coffee farms across the region to observe their techniques. The municipal program in the district of Quellouno includes farmers from both *colono* communities and Yokiri (other *comunidades nativas* have generally not participated in the program), and they are in frequent contact in workshops and visits as they learn--together--to increase and improve their coffee production and become successful agriculturalists.

3.3 Becoming *campesinos*

For Yokiriños, participation in the coffee economy is part of a larger process of embracing the habits, values, and goals of the *colono* society that surrounds them. On a daily level, this means redirecting their time and labor to the highly demanding tasks of coffee production, at the expense of other economic activities such as hunting, fishing, and cultivating horticultural plots. It also involves reorienting their priorities within the

ideologies of a new socioeconomic regime that values the accumulation of material goods (first flashlights, radios, metal roofs, and cooking pots, and eventually televisions, motorcycles, and pickup trucks), the development of a national subjectivity (becoming 'Peruvians'), receiving modern health care (though people in Yokiri, like in other *comunidades nativas*, consider biomedical health to be only one component of wellbeing (Izquierdo 2005)), and providing an education for their children so that they might achieve a higher station in life (cf. Baksh 1984:429). This last goal is expressed by Yokiriños as a desire to *ser algo* 'be something'--that is, to move beyond the local social world, control greater economic resources, and perhaps become a *profesional* 'professional' such as an agronomist, teacher, or nurse. In other words, incorporation into the coffee economy--that is, becoming *campesinos*--is how Yokiriños envision becoming *modernos* 'modern'.

But the type of modernity that Yokiriños envision, in which incorporation into the rural agrarian economy and society represents a step up in the world, is quite different from modernity as it is conceived by other people in Peru (and indeed by scholars). For most Peruvians being a *campesino* is the very antithesis of modernity, and every year countless Andeans leave agricultural labor and the rural agrarian society behind to pursue their own kind of modernity in Cuzco, Lima, and beyond. But for Yokiriños, the local models of modernity are *colonos* who own large coffee plantations, drive through the frontier in large trucks buying and selling coffee, spend time in the restaurants of Quillabamba eating fried chicken, drinking soda, and watching soccer games and *telenovelas*, participate in religious life (either Catholic or evangelical), and provide a life

for their children in which they will either become major agricultural producers or move to cities and work as *profesionales*.

3.3.1 Coffee and race

In the minds of Andeans on the coffee frontier, a fundamental difference that distinguishes the social categories of *colonos* and Matsigenkas is the question of work: *colonos* are thought to be hard workers, rising before dawn to transform the forest into productive farmland and earning money for the social advancement of their children, while Matsigenkas are said to be *ociocos* 'lazy' and lacking the will and initiative to dedicate themselves to agricultural labor (despite their access to great quantities land) in order to improve their lives and those of their families. In other contexts, the projection of these perceived differences in land use onto racial categories is reframed in terms of a distinction between ecologically destructive colonists and naturally conservation-minded indigenous Amazonians, an inversion that reevaluates the morality of land use while perpetuating the essentializing racial discourse at its core (Conklin and Graham 1995). In the Alto Urubamba, such discourses and ideologies guide local interpretations of social difference, and to a certain extent it is true that Matsigenka and *colono* communities tend to use their land differently (see also Hvalkof 1989; Renard-Casevitz 1980). However, Yokiri cannot be understood in terms of a straightforward 'clash' between irreconcilable ideologies of land use--here, Matsigenkas work side-by-side with *colonos* as agriculturalists and largely strive to achieve the same model of social advancement (see also Henrich 1997). This represents something of an anomaly in the eyes of the region's residents: in a social world where *nativos* 'indigenous Amazonians' and *campesinos*

'peasants' are thought to be radically distinct and irreconcilable categories of people, indigenous Amazonian agriculturalists--or, *campesinos nativos*--is an almost inconceivable contradiction (Shane Greene describes a similar phenomenon in the Aguaruna community of Bajo Naranjillo, where environmental activists interpret the *comuneros'* interaction with the agricultural economy as a "violation of the secret pact that they think all Amazonian peoples signed in which the rights of indigeneity are conflated with the dreams of an unaltered forest" (2009:161)).²⁶



Figure 18: The property boundary between Huillcapampa (left) and Yokiri (right) is also an ecological boundary

The cultivation of coffee and participation in the values, ideologies, and sociality of the rural Andean agrarian society is therefore an important means by which Yokiriños have come to assert themselves as coequals and coevals with their *colono* neighbors, even

²⁶ Indigenous Amazonians have in recent years begun to form coffee cooperatives, such as the Asháninka Sancore-Palcazú association, and to create indigenous brands.

though their agricultural production is much smaller than that of their *colono* neighbors (see, for instance, the distinct ecological boundary between forest and farmland at the Yokiri-Huillcapampa property line in Figure 18). Alejandro Camino, describing commercial agriculture in the Matsigenka community of Monte Carmelo in the 1970s, takes a negative perspective on this process: "the native Machiguengan of Upper Urubamba, assuming the role of a peasant, in the national economy, seeks equal treatment with his migrant neighbor but fails to achieve it. Converted into a peasant, but unable to manage any element of the national culture...those who have adapted to the national culture are becoming part of a 'peasant lumpen' of the Upper Latin American forest" (Camino 1979:146). Several decades later, Yokiriños are more confident of their management of commercial agriculture and the "national culture."

Yokiriños were very concerned, for instance, that their near-perfect attendance in municipal coffee workshops be noted by the agronomists and by the *colono* participants, and they worked hard at those events to represent Yokiri as a productive and well-organized coffee-producing community. At the same time, they downplayed or obscured some of the most visible cultural practices that make them the target of racial stereotyping and alienation, such as the consumption of insects (see also Camino 1979:145) and cross-cousin marriage (see Chapter 2). In 2011-2012, the community also made significant investments in public events that play an important role in rural agrarian social life: for instance, they invited all the neighboring *colono* communities to attend Yokiri's anniversary and the Santa Rosa of Lima festival (or as she is popularly known, *La Virgen de Santa Rosita*), which both lasted until the early hours of the morning and featured *huayno* and *cumbia* dancing along with prodigious quantities of commercial beer

and *shitea* 'fermented yuca beer'. Both of these celebrations were set up to showcase Yokiri's participation in the region's social world. For instance, rather than set up the blaring sound system inside the *salón comunal* where the dancing would take place, the *comuneros* arranged the speakers outside and turned them to the highest possible volume so that the residents of the adjacent valleys could hear the festivities; similarly, fireworks were set off specifically in places where they would be visible from neighboring *colono* settlements. Another important public expression of participation in the rural agrarian society was Yokiri's 2012 soccer tournament, held over four consecutive weekends, in which teams from all the neighboring *colono* settlements and a few local municipal work crews were invited to compete. Soccer is an important site for Amazonians' engagement with *colono* society as well as the Peruvian nation (Rosengren 1983:60; Walker 2013), and Yokiri's soccer tournament provided the *comuneros* a context in which they could interact with their neighbors as formal equals--a group of 11 men like any other, competing within the same system of rules--while demonstrating their engagement with this most important of Peruvian social institutions.

3.3.2 Quechua and the sociolinguistics of rural modernity

Some studies that address Amazonians' interactions with Andean *colonos* and the rural agrarian society of the Andes tend to exhibit a problematic and uncritical tendency to describe this relationship in terms of an engagement with 'national society', 'the outside world', 'mestizos', 'whites', or other constructs that are taken as self-evident but that obscure the social complexities of Andean expansion into the lowlands. Some of these constructs come from an emic perspective within indigenous Amazonian societies, where

much of the material, ideological, and administrative influence of Peru is experienced through interactions with *colonos*, and where *colonos* can be *gente blanca* 'white people'; but it is important to bear in mind that Quechua-speaking agricultural migrants are not usually considered exemplars of Peruvian-ness and modernity in their places of origin in the highlands, and that they are themselves dominated and colonized people. Indeed, many of my Andeanist colleagues are surprised to hear Quechua-speaking *campesinos* called 'colonists' and 'white people', as are some *colonos* themselves when they first interact with Matsigenkas. This situation significantly complicates the sociolinguistic landscape of this part of Peru, where Quechua is a colonized and politically subordinate language in most contexts (Mannheim 1998), but a colonizing and dominant language in the lives of some indigenous Amazonians (many of whom are of course also keenly aware of Quechua's subordinate place in the linguistic ecology of the Andes). The absence of a straightforward dichotomy between a single colonizing language and a single indigenous language in the Alto Urubamba creates a complex sociolinguistic dynamic in which oppositions and affiliations can be shifting and changeable (for an overt example, consider a 2009 festival in the provincial capital of Quillabamba in which Matsigenkas and *colonos* came together to celebrate the common cause of revitalizing indigenous Matsigenka and Quechua culture and language). As will be clear in the ethnographic descriptions of language use in chapters 4-6 of this study, Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish do not cohere into an immutable sociolinguistic hierarchy, but rather occupy qualitatively different places in the linguistic ecology of Yokiri, and are implicated in a highly contextual and contingent system of sociolinguistic meaning and differentiation. Neither Quechua nor Spanish simply occupies an easily-defined

'dominant slot' in Yokiri's linguistic ecology--all three languages are connected to different domains of sociality and power relations that can be 'dominant' in various ways and at various times. For instance, in Yokiri Spanish is often associated with political modernity (Chapter 4), while Quechua is associated with integration into the agrarian economy and social world (Chapter 5), and Matsigenka and Quechua are both associated with traditional culture and discourse in the home (Chapter 6). This creates an overlapping distribution of sociolinguistic meaning that is highly unstable and contested, and which straightforward notions like 'prestige' or 'dominance' are ill-equipped to explain. In this way, Quechua can come to represent 'national society' in some contexts and 'traditional culture' in others, as well as countless other social-indexical relations of meaning.

The complexities of Yokiri's sociolinguistic environment can be seen, for instance, in the radio programs that are transmitted into most homes in the mornings and the evenings. Some feature cultural material in Quechua, including traditional Andean stories and songs that are framed in the discourse of cultural and linguistic revitalization. Other Quechua programming presents information about the agricultural economy and includes commercials for businesses and services across the rural society of La Convención, and in this capacity Quechua serves as a language of economic and social engagement for Yokiriños. For instance, below in (9) is the transcript of a Quechua radio commercial for the Pollería Piolín chicken restaurant in the provincial capital of Quillabamba, which invokes the middle-class and 'national' signifiers of roasted chicken restaurants, urban living, market goods, and televised soccer:

(9)

Quillabamba upichu masiykuna qara q'umpu
[pelota] hayt'a aparikushan piolin pollo q'aspa
kallpawan, chiw chiw chiw!¹ Daleyamunku
[malqu] wallpachakuna qara q'umpu[ta]
churapakamuspa.² Runakuna qhawanku
pukllayta pollo broaster a la brasa q'aspata
mihuykuspanku.³ Qultin qultin
ch'akipayamushanku refresco gaseosachawan
ima.⁴ Arco punkupiña qara q'umpu [ch'otoq]
ukhupiña!⁵ Gol gol gol gol gol gol gol gol
gol gol gol goooooooooooooooooooooo!⁶
Polleria polleria polleria piolin!⁷
Suyamushaykiku avenida bolognesi banco
continental qulqi taqina wasi chinpanpi
quillabamba llaqtanchispi.⁸

My pale-skinned Quillabamba city-mates are
playing a game of soccer with the strength of
Piolin roasted chicken, cheep cheep cheep!¹
The chicks are running as they pass the ball.²
People are watching the game as they eat
roasted chicken.³ Glug glug, they are quenching
their thirst with drinks and soda.⁴ It's right at
the goal, and inside!⁵ Gol gol gol gol gol gol
gol gol gol gol gol gol
goooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo!⁶ Piolin chicken
restaurant!⁷ We're waiting for you. Bolognesi
Avenue, across from the Banco Continental
bank, in our city of Quillabamba.⁸

Yokiriños hearing commercials such as these often associate Quechua with the urban middle class lifestyle enjoyed by the 'white people' of Quillabamba, a social world that is an important model for social advancement; however, they also acknowledge Quechua's status as a marginalized and colonized language and recognize among Quechua speakers some of the same struggles that they experience as marginalized indigenous people. This creates a sociolinguistic situation of great complexity, in which Quechua can index *campesino* society, middle class Peruvian-ness, or marginalization and resistance to the hegemony of Spanish, depending on the context. The conflicted status of Quechua in Yokiriños' commercial relationships and the language's connection to rural agrarian sociality will be explored further in Chapter 5.

3.4 Yoquiri nucleates

Yokiriños' changing relationship to the rural agrarian society of the Alto Urubamba has had profound implications in how they use their land, invest their time and labor, interact with each other as a 'community' (see Chapter 4), interface with the state,

and imagine the futures that await them and their children. All of these changes are driving Yokiri's first steps toward the abandonment of the dispersed settlement layout so typical of Alto Urubamba communities²⁷ and the formation of what they call an *urbanización* 'town' (similar efforts are also underway in a number of other *comunidades nativas* across the Alto Urubamba). This will consist of a cluster of houses on a site above the school, where in 2011 a municipal work crew used a front-end loader (for which Yokiri contributed the gasoline) to level a large area that one Yokiriño jokingly referred to as the *plaza de armas* (the central square in many Peruvian cities). Yokiriños so far conceive of these houses as temporary residences for visits to the economic and political center of the community; however, some Yokiriños already anticipate that these will eventually become their primary residences, and that their current dispersed homes will come to serve as secondary outposts for agricultural work.

The reasons for creating this *urbanización* are several. First, the primary school children of Yokiri currently walk as long as 3.5 hours, each way, to attend school. They arrive at school exhausted and hungry, and when they get home in the evenings they do not have enough energy or daylight to complete their school assignments. It can also be quite dangerous for a young child to make this trip through the forest, particularly in the rainy season when some rivers are nearly impassable even for the adults. The *urbanización* therefore is an important means for Yokiriño families to provide education for their children, and through it a chance to *ser algo* 'be something'.

²⁷ The situation in *comunidades nativas* of the Alto Urubamba is quite different from those of the Bajo Urubamba, where there are a number of large, densely populated SIL and Dominican missionary communities (e.g. Kirigueti, with more than 1,000 members) laid out like towns with long, broad avenues and even distinct neighborhoods (e.g. 'Barrio San Juan'). These kinds of large, nucleated communities are (with the exception of Koribeni and perhaps Shimaá) all but unknown in the Alto Urubamba, and visits to these communities inspire awe in Yokiriños.

Second, a significant problem for Matsigenkas across the region is that dispersed settlement is quite uncondusive to public investments like electricity and sanitation. When electricity finally arrives in Yokiri (probably in 2014 or 2015), the government will not run cables all the way into the forest to reach each house; those who want electricity in their homes will have to live in the *urbanización*. This is an issue of great importance to Yokiriños, and in early 2012 the community sent a communal work party (also attended by the neighboring *colonos*) to help run medium-tension power lines down the Yavero Valley toward Huillcapampa, where in May 2012 electrical poles were already being erected. In the coming years these lines will run up the hill to Yokiri, and the municipality will also provide basic sanitation services, funded by revenues from the Camisea natural gas project. Yokiriños see electricity is an important part of becoming modern Peruvians: their children can work on school assignments at night, and they can watch soccer and *telenovelas* on satellite television (a practice that has already become ubiquitous in Matsigenka communities that have access to electricity). A few Yokiriño teenagers already have cellphones--which so far they only use to play games and take photos, since coverage does not extend yet to the Yokiri Valley--and they look forward to being able to charge them at home rather than on trips out of the community.²⁸

Third, dispersed settlement has proven to be quite inconvenient as communal events and responsibilities have come to play a more important role in Yokiriños' lives. It used to be that the community only congregated every month, but as Yokiriños have embraced community-level activities such as *asambleas* 'community meetings', *faenas*

²⁸ In 2012 a cellular tower was built on a hillside above the Urubamba River (to the south of Yokiri), near the town of Palma Real, which made it possible to use a cellphone while standing near the high point of land in the Abra Artillería pass. It is likely that coverage will reach Yokiri in the next several years when another tower is built nearby.

'community work parties', and public celebrations and festivals, and as coffee merchants, missionary priests, and municipal agronomists have begun to visit with greater frequency, the constant travel back and forth from the school area to the far-flung homes has become a significant burden. As the people of Yokiri come to conceive of themselves as a 'community' (see Chapter 4) and turn toward cash-cropping, education, the accumulation of manufactured goods, and frequent interaction with people and ideas beyond their boundaries, the pattern of dispersed settlement has become less and less suitable for the new modes of sociality taking hold. This nucleation has led to increased conflict--whereas in the past Yokiriños simply resolved their differences by moving away from one another (e.g. Rosengren 2000), the move toward nucleated settlement means that community members now have to deliberate their problems (often in the public forum of the *asamblea* 'community meeting', as described in Chapter 4).

3.4.1 The contradictions of autonomy and integration

In 2011, around the time that a municipal work group was using a front-end loader to level a large area near the school for the *urbanización*, I visited the house of a Yokiriño man who lives particularly far from the community's political and economic center. We had recently talked about his plan to build a house in the *urbanización*, so I was surprised when he pointed out an area beyond his own land where he hoped to move one day. This move would extend the journey from his house to the school area and *urbanización*--already three hours arduous hours away, through knee-deep streams and up precipitous hillsides--by at least another half hour. Through similar conversations with other Yokiriños, it became clear to me that the desire to join the nucleated settlement did

not represent a simple transition or 'assimilation' to the agrarian society that has come to surround Yokiri, but rather that nucleation fulfilled a specific set of goals and priorities that, powerful though they are, constitute only a part how Yokiriños imagine their future. There remains a distinct set of social and cultural dispositions--the desire for autonomy, stillness, and freedom from political entanglements with *colonos* and non-kin--that continue to figure prominently in Yokiriños' lives, and that are best served by dispersed settlement. Indeed, the increasingly intense pattern of extra-familial interactions itself has inspired a certain claustrophobia in some Yokiriños that has driven this desire for increased isolation.²⁹

The relationship between Yokiriños' centripetal tendencies (toward commercial agriculture, nucleation, consumption of manufactured goods, national subjectivity, and close social connections to neighboring *colonos*) and centrifugal tendencies (toward open spaces, hunting and fishing, and interaction limited to kinsmen--for a similar analysis see Rosengren (1987:42)) must therefore be seen as a tension between two poles that is managed and negotiated in countless ways in the practice of everyday life. In some contexts Yokiriños strive for the former, as in the *asamblea* 'community meeting' in which the residents of the Yokiri Valley forge a level of social organization beyond their own kin groups and deliberate the community's relationship to *colono* society (Chapter 4), and in negotiations with coffee merchants, in which they assert themselves as coequal and coeval participants in the rural agrarian society (Chapter 5). In other contexts they strive for the latter, as when they are in their homes enjoying life among their kin

²⁹Dominican missionary priest Andrés Ferrero noted with frustration the Matsigenkas' reluctance to nucleate in Koribeni. He paraphrased a common sentiment: "*aquí no se puede vivir; todo son cuentos y chismes; me iré donde nadie me moleste o yo no moleste a nadie*" 'one can't live here; it's all stories and gossip; I'll go where nobody can bother me and I won't bother anyone' (Ferrero (1966:87); see also Johnson (2003:34)).

(Chapter 6) and the solitude and peace that comes from separation from the stresses and discomforts of nucleated settlement and interaction with non-kin and neighboring *colonos*. These centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are contextual and coexist in Yokiriños' social lives. They are also governed by the strongly seasonal character of Yokiri's regional integration: during the rainy season when the roads are impassible, school is out of session, coffee is not yet ready for harvest and sale, and there is little money to be spent, one can spend days at a time in the school area without encountering another person. During this time Yokiriños remain around their homes with their kin, subsisting on what they grow, hunt, and gather. On the other hand, during the coffee harvest in the dry season merchants and visitors come and go frequently, the school is filled with children, *comuneros* meet frequently for *asambleas* and *faenas*, and the center of the community buzzes with activity almost every day. In this season, Yokiriños consume a much higher proportion of processed food and interact with people outside of their kin groups far more frequently. Yokiriños' relationship to their homes in the *urbanización* and to their dispersed homes will likely follow this seasonal pattern, at least until Yokiri becomes more closely integrated into *colono* society in the coming years and decades. Autonomy and integration in Yokiri therefore represent a polarity that guides social practice differently in a number of different contexts and at different points during the year--in this case, people themselves are not necessarily categorizable in terms of a distinction between "modernist" and "orthodox" (Rosengren 2003:231-232), or "traditionalists" and "village-dwellers" (Renard-Casevitz 1980:252) (though of course people engage with *colono* society to a greater or lesser extent), but rather conduct their social lives in the balance between these tendencies. This tension between different

ideologies of integration, land use, and modes of social organization is writ large in Yokiriños' historical engagements, disengagements, and reengagements with *colonos* over the course of many decades, and indeed in the development of Andean-Amazonian relations in the Alto Urubamba in general.

The management of the tension between autonomy and incorporation into the rural agrarian society and economy is the subject of much political conflict in Yokiri--after all, practices surrounding coffee production always affect the interests of other residents of the community, as when a *comunero* clears and burns too large a coffee plantation, does not attend a communal work party, or invites more neighboring *colonos* to an event than is deemed appropriate. While all Yokiriños have taken up the cultivation of coffee, there is little agreement on how much should be produced, how much time should be devoted to family and communal plots, how the land should be allocated, which merchants the community should deal with and on what terms, and how closely Yokiri should associate with the neighboring *colonos* in the context of the social world of the coffee frontier. These conflicts are connected to ideologies of land use and sociality that vary greatly among the community and even among kin groups themselves--for instance, the father of family #3, who migrated to Yokiri from the agrarian heartland of Paucartambo, advocates for intensifying the community's production and building a secondary road to the *comuna*; family #1, on the other hand, is generally more inclined to leave the forest intact and limit the community's dealings with outsiders. This division also corresponds to a certain degree of socioeconomic inequality, based in part on differential access to *colono* society. A member of family #3, for instance, is the only person in Yokiri who owns a motorcycle, and he uses it to travel back and forth across

the frontier working side-by-side with *colonos* as a fairly well-remunerated laborer on municipal infrastructure projects. Yokiri's often contentious and bitter political life, largely based on conflicts arising from Yokiri's relationship to the coffee industry and the surrounding agrarian society, plays out between the two major kin groups described in Chapter 2 and will be presented in detail in Chapter 4.

3.5 Leaving

One of the paradoxes of coffee production in Yokiri is that if it is successful, and Yokiriños are able to invest in their children's educations and send them on their way toward a professional career, the young people will leave the community behind. Indeed according to local regimes of value, the social goal of 'being something' (to which the efforts of coffee production are directed) is incompatible with life in Yokiri itself. For instance, when I asked one man what the future might hold for his children, he responded *no sé si se van a quedar, o si van a ser algo* 'I don't know if they're going to stay, or if they're going to be something'--that is, one cannot 'be something' in Yokiri.³⁰ Yokiriño parents are generally very supportive of their children's decision to stay or to leave; but most young people in Yokiri report that, given the choice, they would pursue a life in one of the nearby towns or cities. Yokiri's future and stability are therefore uncertain, as long as young *comuneros* consider remaining in the community an undesirable outcome or even a failure to 'be something' within this new regime of values (as one young man told me after leaving his studies, *desgraciadamente, sigo acá* 'unfortunately, I'm still here').

³⁰ This phenomenon was particularly clear in the 2011 ceremony for the graduating class of Koribeni's secondary school, in which each student was made to stand at a microphone and declare what professional career they intended to pursue (even though only a small proportion would actually continue their studies). The implication was that they were expected to leave the community, since only a handful of professionals (e.g. school teachers and nurses) can be employed there.

In this, Yokiriños and the neighboring *colonos* are alike. As described in Chapter 1, most *colonos* come to work on the agricultural frontier because the cheap land and high demand for tropical products make it a potentially lucrative venture for those tough and determined enough to make it work, and they do not generally intend to remain in the lowlands for longer than is necessary to acquire enough capital to establish themselves in the urban middle class of Quillabamba, Cuzco, or Lima. That is, many Andean migrants consider coffee production to be a step on the way to something else, even if that transition takes two or three generations. Incorporation into *colono* society means taking on some of the values and goals of *colonos*, and Yokiriños have come to share a model of success defined by leaving the agricultural frontier behind. This transformation creates a certain amount of tension in some *comunidades nativas* that fought very hard to secure their land, and are now seeing their young people move away.³¹

Many young people have left Yokiri (as did many before the community was founded, as described in Chapter 2). One teenager from family #5, for instance, moved to Quillabamba in 2011, where he lives with Edison's family (the coffee merchant discussed in Chapter 5) and works in his mechanic shop in exchange for room and board. He attends high school at night and learns to repair *mototaxis* during the day, which puts him in a position to join the Quillabamba working class once he finishes his studies. When school is out of session from January to March he goes home to Yokiri, where he is seen as a sophisticated urbanite by his younger and older siblings who have stayed in the community and dedicated themselves to agriculture. If he chooses to establish a life in the

³¹ A related case is the *comunidad nativa* of Chirumbia, which in response to the presence of *colonos* in their community acquired a territorial extension of more than 9000 hectares in the Bajo Urubamba. However, Chirumbianos are closely integrated into the *colono* society of the Alto Urubamba and are generally not interested in moving to more remote areas without roads, electricity, and manufactured goods. As of 2012, the territorial extension remained unoccupied.

city, he will visit Yokiri frequently, but if he marries a *colona* he will not be able to live there. Many Yokiriños have lived outside of the community for years, but have eventually returned home (often after a failed relationship) and reintegrated themselves into their kin networks and agricultural life. Today Quillabamba is full of young Matsigenkas who come to work in such arrangements, as is illustrated by the sign in the window of a hardware store (Figure 19) advertising work for '1 *nativo* or *mestizo* boy from the country' to help in a hardware store and in the proprietor's home. These arrangements can be quite attractive to members of *comunidades nativas* seeking a foothold in the city, but some employers take advantage of Matsigenkas' relative inexperience with urban life and lack of a local support network to employ them under exploitative conditions.



Figure 19: Sign in Quillabamba advertising work in a hardware store and in the proprietor's home for '*nativo or mestizo* boy from the country'

These Matsigenkas, many of whom stay in Quillabamba and start families with *colonos*, play an important part in the economy and social life of the city; however, they remain largely invisible to popular and scholarly understandings of both Matsigenka society and the agrarian society of La Convención.

Chapter 4: Creating community through public talk

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter describes discourse in Yokiri's monthly *asambleas* 'community meetings', in which the community members work to create a level of social organization beyond kin group allegiances. The *asamblea* is understood to be a democratic Habermasian forum or 'public' in which personal and kin-level commitments are suspended in favor of community-level action. Spanish--in particular, the discourse genre that I refer to as 'official talk'--is used almost exclusively in this interactional context, and Matsigenka and Quechua are all but forbidden due to their association with kin-level (i.e. private, partial, and exclusionary) commitments. Much discourse in the *asamblea* is oriented toward performing the *sacrificio* 'sacrifice' of private resources for the collectivity, a practice that is understood to contribute to the *organización* 'organization' of the community, a necessary element of progress and modernity. Rather than creating a framework for harmonious relations, the drawing together of families who do not otherwise engage in relations of mutual obligation and privilege has created a bitter

rivalry between the community's two major kin groups. This analysis describes Yokiri's community-level social organization as fractious and fragile, and challenges common representations of indigenous South American communities and 'ethnic groups' as sharing a homogeneous set of beliefs and priorities. The chapter ends with a comparison between Yokiri's public discursive culture and that of a different *comunidad nativa* that has not embraced the framework of a Habermasian public.

4.2 Introduction

On the first Sunday of every month, the 95 residents of Yokiri hike to the school area to gather for an *asamblea* ('community meeting') in the wooden, dirt-floored *salón comunal* ('communal hall'). These *asambleas* are one of the few occasions in which the widely-dispersed *comuneros* interact with people beyond their families, and the meetings are the primary site of social and political activity above the level of the kin group. The *asamblea*, which often runs late into the evening with just a short pause for lunch, is where the community deliberates its business--in particular, (1) the internal questions of what obligations and privileges each individual and each family owes to, and is owed by, the collectivity; and (2) the external issues of how the community as a whole should interface with outsiders, including neighboring *colonos*, coffee merchants, government employees, and visitors of all kinds. The *asamblea*, then, is the primary site at which Yokiriños enact and embody the supra-family grouping of the 'community', a unit of social and political organization that was foreign to the families of Yokiri when it was first introduced, but that has since flourished: attendance at *asambleas* and communal

work parties is now nearly perfect, and the *comuneros* are very proud of their high degree of community-level *organización*.

Yokiri's investment in the collectivity represents a major departure from the atomistic, kinship-based social organization that characterized the lives of many Matsigenkas during the 20th century, and that continues to predominate in many communities around the Alto Urubamba region. The establishment of an organizational structure that spans kin-group affiliations has required that Yokiriños embrace--or, at least, recognize--a new framework of social relations in which some individual and family-level commitments are suppressed in favor of action on behalf of the community. At the heart of this recognition is the highly valued act of *sacrificio*: an individual's 'sacrifice' of personal time, labor, and resources, to community--rather than just kin group--projects. These acts reset the bounds of what Janet Chernela has called the "moral community" (2008) to include a more expansive scope of mutually indebted individuals, a community that is created and reified in such acts of reciprocity and formalized in monthly meetings. The *comuneros*' willingness to make such sacrifices is the basis of the community's level of *organización*: the ability of the collectivity to act as a cohesive unit to *avanzarse* 'advance themselves' as modern participants in the rural agrarian society that has emerged around them.

But while the *comunidad nativa* structure provides a straightforward blueprint for the suppression of individual and kin-level autonomy in favor of community-based obligation and benefit, it does not simply replace kin-based allegiances. On the contrary, traditional kin-based and family-level social commitments continue to organize much of life beyond the *comunidad nativa* system and the *asamblea* forum--for instance, food,

resources, and labor on personal land are shared almost exclusively within kin groups, and Yokiriños rarely visit the homes of non-kin even if they live very close (see Chapter 5). As I will discuss below, the dichotomy between kin-based and community-based activities is part of a larger private/public semiotic distinction (Gal 2005) that has gradually come to organize much of life in Yokiri since the introduction and institutionalization of the *comunidad nativa* system.

But kin-based allegiances also play an important role within the community level of social organization itself: while in theory the public sphere is made up of citizens with no private or partial commitments, in practice, kin allegiances persist as a sort of partisan politics in which the two dominant kin groups described in Chapter 2 vie for control. Far from decreasing the importance of kin allegiances, the tying together of the opposed kin groups into a single structure of mutual obligation and privilege (where in the past they simply avoided engaging with each other) actually sharpens kin divisions in Yokiri. Therefore the *asamblea* is the rare site of open conflict in Yokiri, as the *comunidad nativa* structure forces the kin groups to face each other and resolve their differences (or at least air their grievances) in the public forum. The *asamblea*, then, is not simply an expression of Yokiri's community-level social organization, but the site at which it is created, challenged, and reproduced.

An important question is why Yokiriños have embraced a new mode of social organization that routinely brings them into conflict. The answer, in short, is that investing in a collective interest above the level of the kin group is part of the fundamental ideological shift described in Chapter 3: in order to become full participants in the rural agrarian society that has arrived at their borders, they must work together to

make collective investments in the community's institutions and enterprises (such as the school, the road, and the communal coffee harvesting equipment). In addition, it is only through the *comunidad nativa* structure that the Yokiriños and the Peruvian state become legible and intelligible to one other--Yokiriños petition the government for services and investments as a collectivity, and the state organizes its interactions with them as such. At an ideological level, the compulsion to forge community is part of a more fundamental reorientation of priorities and values that together comprise *progreso* 'progress' and modernity: through the common enterprise of hard, coordinated labor, Yokiriños can become agriculturalists, acquire material goods, educate their children, and establish themselves as full and equal participants in the agrarian society, in Andean cultural life, and in the Peruvian nation.

This chapter will examine public speech, normally within the interactional space of the *asamblea*, as a primary site for the enactment of these values and discourses. The people of Yokiri do not simply discuss community in the *asamblea*--through the very act of traveling for hours to spend the day debating issues of community-level significance, they create community. This emergent and fragile construct requires the careful differentiation, through a wide range of semiotic resources, of the communicative practices and moralities of private (kin-level) and public (community-level) domains of activity (Gal 2005:24).

I will argue that Spanish, for instance, is the sole authorized language of the *asamblea* since Matsigenka and Quechua are connected to the family domain and are therefore seen as inappropriate and unfit for public discourse. The Spanish genre of 'official talk' in particular is used to create interdiscursive associations with similar

democratic forums across the rural society of La Convención and beyond, and through it the people of Yokiri assert their political and social equality among their neighbors. The chapter ends with a comparison of code-switching practices between Yokiri and another *comunidad nativa* that has not yet created a culture of public discourse.

4.3 Yokiri as a *Comunidad nativa*

In 1990, Yokiri gained title to its 3390 hectares (13.09 square miles) and became a *comunidad nativa* through law 22175 (*Ley de Comunidades Nativas y de Desarrollo Agrario de la Selva y Ceja de Selva*). This law, which in 1978 replaced the original 1974 *comunidades nativas* law, is the primary legal mechanism through which indigenous Amazonians claim territorial rights (thorough introductions can be found in García Hierro et al. (1998) and Chirif and García Hierro (2007), and a description of the process from the perspective of Ashéninka community members is described by Killick (2008a)). The model of the *comunidad nativa* devised by the Velasco government and promoted by NGOs such as CEDIA was based on a romanticized notion of a quasi-socialist and egalitarian 'community', a notion that was (and continues to be) quite new to Matsigenkas (Smith 2005). Through the law, *Comunidades nativas* own their land collectively, and their *estatutos* 'bylaws' establish the framework for the administration and government of the community and its resources. This system is based on the notion of a public democratic forum in which authority ultimately resides in the *asamblea* 'assembly'. One function of the *estatuto* is to establish a structure of elected administrative offices, together known as the *junta directiva* 'board of directors', which in Yokiri includes a *jefe* 'president', *sub jefe* 'vice-president', *secretario* 'secretary', *tesorero* 'treasurer', two *vocales*

'messengers', two *guardabosques* 'forest rangers', and a *coordinador* 'health coordinator'. These *dirigentes* 'leaders' are expected to carry out the business of the community and execute the will of the community as it is expressed in the *asamblea*.

This structure of community organization and political leadership is clearly quite foreign to the atomistic, kinship-based social organization that characterized life for most of the families that came to form the community of Yokiri. The attempt to institute this system in the Alto Urubamba has met with mixed success--for instance, in most of the communities I visited, the *jefe* and the other *dirigentes* had little influence over the other *comuneros*, and only a small proportion of the residents attended *asambleas*, *faenas*, and other activities involving coordination beyond the kin group. In some communities the only attendees at communal events were members of the *jefe's* family, suggesting that the *comunidad nativa* governing structure had simply been absorbed into the kinship-based social organization. The unwillingness to participate in community-level activities³² is widely reported in ethnographic accounts of Matsigenka social organization, for instance in Allen Johnson's description of the community of Shimaá in the 1970s:

It is extremely difficult to motivate them to participate in group activities: they listen to exhortative speeches attentively with mild expressions and then generally walk away and refuse to join in, whether the project is to maintain the central clearing of the community or to attend Maestro's Columbus Day celebration. They are most reluctant to be led. (Johnson 2003:2)

Similarly, Dan Rosengren (1987; 2003) observes that the *jefe* and the *comunidad nativa* system failed to draw families into collective action in the nearby Matsigenka

³² Joseph Henrich (2000) demonstrates this principle with a comparative economic experiment conducted with subjects around the world, including the Matsigenka community of Camisea. When asked to share a sum of money with a partner, Matsigenkas shared much less than subjects from other places, and their partners were far more willing to accept a small proportion of that money.

communities of Matoriato and Koribeni in the early 1980s. Matsigenka leaders traditionally drew their power from the ability to persuade others rather than from the holding an office (see Michael (2008:9) for a similar phenomenon among the Nantis of Montetoni), and therefore the “failure of the *presidente*” (1987:211) was due in part to the imposed nature of this political position. Furthermore, Rosengren argues that in the 1970s and 1980s the sole purpose of the leader was to enforce the will of the Peruvian state, a distant and abstract force that made demands of Matsigenkas but did not bring them opportunities or benefits. In this context, the Matsigenkas that Rosengren and Johnson describe saw no reason to sacrifice the autonomy they enjoyed at the family level of social organization for investment on behalf of the collectivity.

The reluctance of some Matsigenkas to engage in collective action is also part of a more general aversion to open conflict, since the coordination of action at the level of the community requires that *comuneros* achieve consensus through oppositional debate in the public forum of the *asamblea*. Whereas many Matsigenkas avoid expressions of anger and aggression (Izquierdo and Johnson 2007; Johnson 1999) and resolve their differences by simply moving away from each other (O. Johnson 1978; Rosengren 2000; Rosengren 2003), collective action within the *comunidad nativa* system requires the willingness to stay put and debate, negotiate, and compromise, even if it means raising one's voice. Now that some communities are beginning to nucleate and other communities no longer have enough open land for people to entirely avoid each other, aggression and conflict have become more common (see for instance Baksh (1984:427), O. Johnson (1978:142-145), Rosengren (2003:230), and the description below on disagreements and fights as a result of overcrowding in Matsigenka communities; similarly, Izquierdo and Johnson (2007)

argue that the conflicts and frustrations of nucleated settlement in the Bajo Urubamba has led some Matsigenkas to believe in sorcery).

4.3.1 The success of Yokiri

But while the *comunidad nativa* system has not thrived in much of the Alto Urubamba, the situation in Yokiri in 2011-2012 was very different. Attendance at *asambleas* and *faenas* was nearly perfect, and when a person did not turn up, *comuneros* from all kin groups expressed concern for the person's wellbeing and, sometimes, irritation at their absence. When a man failed to appear at a *faena* 'communal work party', his absence was recorded by the *secretario* and reported in the next *asamblea* where he was made to either justify his absence, pay a fine, or arrange to make up his day's labor in communal work (indeed, it was common to see a lone man working off his debt in the communal coffee plantation in the days after such *asambleas*). Unexcused absences that went unresolved for more than a few weeks provoked consternation and even public shaming in subsequent *asambleas*. Yokiriños describe this kind of commitment to collective investment in terms of *organización* 'organization': the aggregate measure of the community members' willingness to make *sacrificios* to the common good. Yokiri's high level of *organización* was routinely noted by neighboring *colonos* and members of nearby *comunidades nativas*, and the Yokiriños were praised by the municipality's agricultural extension agents for their near-perfect participation in the coffee training program. One *colono* man from Huillcapampa remarked to me in Spanish, *los nativos son casi más organizados que nosotros!* 'the natives are almost more organized than we are!' Yokiriños take their reputation for *organización* very seriously.

What accounts for Yokiri's success as a community? Why have the *comuneros* so willingly committed themselves to the suppression of personal autonomy for the common interest, particularly when the component factions are so polarized? Why, after decades of avoiding conflict, have they embraced oppositional public debate? One reason is that the families of Yokiri were mostly unknown to each other until the *comunidad nativa* structure brought them together. That is, they were not a pre-existing social unit simply awaiting the conferral of official status through law 22175, but rather they came together from across the region specifically to take advantage of that law's protections. Therefore the *comunidad nativa* structure was fundamental to the community's composition from its first days, and has remained so. In addition, some of the founding families of Yokiri came from places and circumstances (for instance, the Dominican mission at Chirumbia, the *colono* settlements of San Martín, and the rural agrarian society around Paucartambo) in which supra-kin level commitments were already a familiar mode of social organization.

Furthermore, since the nearly 40 years since the *comunidad nativa* law was passed and the 22 years since Yokiri was titled, the community structure has become quite well established. Indeed, most of the residents of Yokiri and all of its current *dirigentes* grew up within the *comunidad nativa* system, and only the oldest *comuneros* had any exposure to the modes of leadership that predominated in the Alto Urubamba earlier in the 20th century (e.g. Rosengren 1987). The ethnographic observations discussed above regarding the unwillingness of Matsigenkas to engage in collective action were made during the 1970s and early 1980s, when the *comunidad nativa* system was still new--most Matsigenka communities are now led by new generations of people

who were born since this new system was introduced and are quite accustomed to the community mode of social organization.

But the most important reason for Yokiri's high degree of *organización* is that the *comuneros* regard collective action as the foundation of political modernity, upward mobility, and national integration. It is only through coordinating their activities that they can petition the state for infrastructural investments, defend their borders, and invest in communal resources that will lead to increased access to education and material goods. The most important expression of this collective investment is participation in *faenas*: regular communal work parties in which all of the community's men (and sometimes all of its women, during a busy harvest) are expected to meet and spend a full day working on a communal project such as repairing the road or maintaining the community's coffee plantation. *Faenas* are organized during the *asamblea* and take place every week or two. For example, in September 2011 the *comuneros* dedicated several days of labor to a communal corn and bean plantation to feed the school children; on another occasion, the men joined *colonos* from across the valley in a two-day regional *faena* to hoist medium-tension electrical lines that will eventually carry electricity to the whole Yavero Valley, including Yokiri. The *comuneros* describe these uncompensated public investments of time, labor and resources as *sacrificios* 'sacrifices' (discussed below) that they must make to establish their place as equals in the rural society of La Convención and in the Peruvian nation (for an account of a similarly successful *faena* system in Camaná, see Baksh (1984:418-419) and O. Johnson (1978:281)).

Organización is also the basis of Yokiri's interaction with the state. While state engagement has largely been a burden for Matsigenkas in the past, vast revenues from the

nearby Camisea natural gas fields have meant that the municipalities now offer as many opportunities as demands to some *comunidades nativas*. For instance, the road through Yokiri was funded by Camisea royalties, and it has allowed Yokiriños greater access to other well-funded benefits like education, health care, and economic development projects. This reorientation of values toward the benefits of the rural agrarian economy and the state apparatus that supports it has made the *jefe* a major power broker in many Matsigenka communities. Before the Camisea project flooded the municipalities with money, Dan Rosengren wrote that “...until the day when either the functions of the *presidente* office are changed or the Matsigenka freedom ideal is quenched, the *presidente* institution will remain a failure” (Rosengren 1987:184)--thirty years later, the *comunidad nativa* system has proven to be a success because Yokiriños believe that a community can only benefit from state investment if it is *organizado*. Therefore *organización*, as it is expressed in *faenas*, *asambleas*, and other communal events, is thought to be constitutive of the kind of political and social modernity described in Chapter 3.

4.4 The *asamblea*: the interactional creation of a public

Yokiri's exceptional level of *organización* is forged in the *asamblea*, where the *comuneros* gather each month to discuss and debate the issues that affect them as a community. Through this process, they enact social and political integration between kin groups who, in most other contexts, assert a high level of autonomy from one another. Thus, even though the *asambleas* are frequently characterized by intense and acrimonious conflict, the very act of showing up to the meetings both presupposes and entails the

existence of community-level social organization in Yokiri (see Beier (2003), who shows that feasting and chanting serve a similar role in forging supra-kin level ties among Nantis in Montetoni).

The *asamblea* is conceived as a democratic forum for reasoned debate, in which each community member has the right and responsibility, according to Article 7 of Yokiri's bylaws, to *intervenir con voz y voto* "intervene with voice and vote" (Comunidad Nativa de Yoquiri 1990) in community decisions. In theory, this structure confers to each *comunero* an equal stake in the determination of community policies regardless of personal characteristics such as gender, seniority, kin-group affiliation, or even questions about perceived legitimacy of belonging in the community. In this sense, the *asamblea* is the central site for the constitution of a 'public sphere' in Yokiri, in the Habermasian (1991) sense of a forum, ostensibly open to all members, in which "...groups of private individuals gather to discuss matters of common political concern...on the basis of reason rather than the relative status of the interactants" (Gal and Woolard 2001a:5). The addressees of such public speech are not persons qua individuals, but as de-personalized members of the public (Warner 1992). Thus the *asamblea* is ideologically constructed to be free of private, particular, and emotional commitments based on allegiances within kin-groups, though as I will demonstrate, the boundary between the public forum and these 'private' entanglements in Yokiri is very leaky (Hill 2001) and subject to constant policing and contestation.

4.4.1 The event

The construction of the community level of social organization in Yokiri--that is, a domain of public action that transcends kin-based allegiances--can be seen most clearly on the morning of an *asamblea*, when the families hike in from their widely-dispersed homes and congregate in the central, public space of the *salón comunal*. As they gradually stream in, they sit in the shade outside to chew coca, sip *trago* 'sugarcane alcohol', smoke cigarettes, and chat quietly with their kin, usually in Matsigenka and Quechua. Many of them have been hiking since before dawn, in some cases with large sacks of coffee to sell (since this is a rare occasion to visit the road), and they are exhausted from the trip. As they arrive, they offer a loose clasp of the hand and a brief greeting to everyone (kin and non-kin) nearby. Some sit on stumps, patches of grass, backpacks, or in tipped-up wheelbarrows, and the children run around the open field playing volleyball and soccer or sit quietly in the shade with their parents.

This is often the first time in weeks in which some *comuneros* (and even some members of extended kin networks) see each other, and they use the time to update each other on news and gossip. Some people simply relax, drink, smoke cigarettes, and joke with the people nearby. In some cases, when a particularly controversial topic is expected to be raised during the *asamblea*, the kin groups discreetly trade information, pledge support, and discuss the strategies that they might employ during the meeting. But the atmosphere is congenial, even as *comuneros* prepare for the litigation of what are often bitter and painful conflicts. Except for occasional physical avoidance and the very subtle omission of pleasantries, tensions are rarely expressed before the *asamblea* begins.

At this point the *dirigentes* are normally inside the *salón comunal* or the communal warehouse, busily taking inventory of supplies, preparing paperwork, and arranging the meeting's agenda. Between 9 and 10am the *presidente* pokes his head out of the door and calls out in Spanish, *entren!* 'come in!', and the community members slowly rise and file into the *salón*. Before entering, the Yokirifños generally put away their *trago* and cigarettes (but not their coca, which is chewed throughout the day) and leave behind their personal conversations in Matsigenka and Quechua.

The regimentation of the *asamblea* around the ideology of the public can be seen in the physical arrangement of the space of the *salón comunal* itself: the comuneros sit on low wooden-plank benches around the periphery of the room, where everyone has equal access to the floor, rather than in rows of pew-like benches facing a center podium like in other communities. People generally sit wherever they can find a space and make little attempt to segregate themselves among kin groups. The egalitarian structure of the public forum also manifests in the principle of gender equality: as the *comuneros* take their seats, the *dirigentes* move about the room enforcing a policy of alternating male-female seating order. This is a deliberate departure from most other contexts in Yokiri where men and women tend to clump together into gender-segregated groups, and from meetings in other Matsigenka communities where men and women sit apart from one another. For instance, in *asambleas* I attended in the communities of Koribeni and Monte Carmelo, men sat in rows in the center of the room while the women sat in the benches lining the periphery of the room (see Baksh (1984:417-8) and Beier (2010:384) for similar gendered seating patterns in public contexts). The elected *dirigentes*, who often don the tan- or green-colored municipal employee vests (see Figure 23) that are highly

visible signs of power, authority, and access to influential outsiders in rural La Convención, sit behind a large wooden table on one side of the rectangular room.

It is also significant that the *salón comunal* doubles as one of the school classrooms during the week. Since the school is one of the primary institutions through which the community interacts with the world beyond its borders, and since the two or three teachers residing in the community during the school year are an important link between the community and the state, the school is considered an important part of community-level commitment. The space of the classroom--decorated with multiplication tables, portraits of Peruvian heroes, and a large hand-written poster displaying the lyrics of the Peruvian *himno nacional* 'national anthem'--also provides a fitting environment for the negotiation of modernity and national belonging.

4.4.2 Spanish as the language of public life

The predominant language of public life in Yokiri (and of the *asamblea* in particular) is Spanish. Once the meeting begins, it is rather rare to hear Matsigenka or Quechua until a recess has been called and the *comuneros* file out of the *salón* to converse among themselves (i.e. outside of the domain of public discourse). Even code-switching is unusual. The principle of differentiation at play in this division of linguistic spaces is a language ideological distinction between public and private communication: Spanish is associated with public, community-level discourse, while Quechua and Matsigenka are reserved for private discourse among kin. Susan Gal (2005) argues that this sort of linguistic differentiation is at the heart of a Habermasian public, in which an impersonal common language is necessary for rational debate, and the intrusion of other

languages jeopardizes the integrity of the public (just as, for instance, some voters in California in the 1980s feared that Spanish-English bilingual ballots would introduce partisan partiality into the ostensibly impartial democratic process (Woolard 1989)). According to this ideology, the institutionalization of a language that is seen as ethnically unmarked or "unnative" (Errington 2000) serves the purpose of modern, public discourse in a way that ethnically marked languages cannot. In this case, Quechua and Matsigenka are seen as particular and exclusionary languages of the home and family, and therefore unfit for discourse in a forum that constructs a political allegiance--and indeed, one that is still very fragile--above the level of kin groups.

Occasionally, this tacit language policy is breached during an *asamblea*. In some cases this is not controversial, as when older *comuneros* who do not fully understand Spanish need clarification in Quechua or Matsigenka in order to participate in the forum. But in other cases *comuneros* commit deliberate and provocative transgressions of the public discursive space by using Matsigenka or Quechua. These incidents provide a helpful perspective on the power of this language ideology, the political fault lines that run through Yokiri, and the contestability of the community's public sphere.

The most dramatic and controversial transgressions of the *asamblea's* public discursive space are the rare occasions in which a *comunero* directs Quechua discourse toward the community. These incidents occurred during particularly contentious *asambleas* that I was not welcome to record, but a brief description will demonstrate their power and significance. All such violations I observed were committed by José or his son, the two people who draw most of the controversy in Yokiri, in the context of a heated argument regarding Yokiri's involvement in the coffee economy. In each case the

speaker embedded a brief Quechua statement about cash cropping in a larger exhortative speech in Spanish in order to assert his superior knowledge of agriculture. In one case many of the comuneros were visibly annoyed by this use of Quechua in the *asamblea*, in part because they found it condescending, and in part because it violated the unspoken Spanish-only language policy of the *asamblea*. The use of Quechua was offensive for two reasons: first, only around half of the comuneros understand it well, and so it violates the requirement that public discourse be accessible to all members of the community. Second, Quechua is seen as a partisan and partial language, and its use invokes a number of uncomfortable truths: while it is widely spoken among Yokiriños, it is also the language of the *colonos* who took their land and inflicted terrible suffering on some of them, and who now treat the community members with contempt. It is also the language of an invasive economic and social system that Yokiriños regard with great ambivalence. And insofar as the *comunidad nativa* system was established to protect indigenous Amazonians from the encroachment of highland *colonos*, the presence of Quechua in Yokiri is evidence of an existential failure on the part of the community.³³ The use of Quechua is therefore a dangerous and divisive rhetorical resource: when José or his son used Quechua in the *asamblea*, they invoked Yokiri's uneasy relationship with *colono* society and flaunted their own contested status in a manner that could appear condescending, provocative, or even downright seditious.

³³ I encountered a similar phenomenon in the nearby *comunidad nativa* of Chirumbia, where a large number of Quechua-speaking Andean *colonos* have managed to enroll as *comuneros* and take over much of the community's land. When asked to speak during visits to trilingual communities such as Chirumbia, I normally address the *asamblea* in all three languages; however, when I accompanied a leader of COMARU there on a legal consultation in April 2011, he requested that I refrain from using Quechua since it would undermine COMARU's challenge to their legitimacy as *comuneros*.

The use of Matsigenka also violates the *asamblea's* principle of universal participation, since some Yokiriños--particularly younger people from San Martín and Chirumbia--do not understand Matsigenka well and are not comfortable using it to discuss complex subjects (and indeed, they are often ashamed to do so in front of older and more competent speakers). Thus, even though the community is ideologically (and legally) constructed around the ethnic category of 'Matsigenka', competence in the Matsigenka language is too thinly distributed among the population for it to serve the function of egalitarian public discourse in the *asamblea*. However, the transgression of this boundary can also serve an important strategic function--if the use of Quechua in the public space of the *asamblea* disrupts Yokiri's claim to legitimacy as a *comunidad nativa*, then the use of Matsigenka serves the opposite purpose by asserting the community's legitimacy as an ethnically-defined political unit. This effect obtains at the pragmatic level by excluding those who do not speak or understand the language well (notably, José and his family) from public discourse, and thereby challenges the legitimacy of their residence in the community. However, this is a risky and potentially offensive strategy because it alienates other Yokiriños whose lack of proficiency in Matsigenka is due to their status not as invaders, but rather as victims of invasion (e.g. family 6).

4.4.2.1 Official talk

Spanish, then, is conceived by Yokiriños as a neutral, non-partisan language that is suitable for discourse in an incipient public sphere based on political and social commitments that are (theoretically) independent of kin ties. This public function of Spanish is due in part to its association with official and governmental discourse

everywhere from the nearby *colono* community meetings of rural La Convención to the floor of the Peruvian Congress. The register of 'official Spanish', and the associated interactional genre of 'official talk', are readily recognizable across the region, and Yokiriños entextualize them in the *asamblea* in order to assert the authority (Briggs and Bauman 1992:148) of the community's public sphere as well as the parity of Yokiri among political coequals in the surrounding *colono* society. The institutionalization of Spanish as the language of bureaucratic procedure is even codified in the community's bylaws, according to which "every act must be recorded in Spanish in an authorized notebook, [and] the president, the secretary of the communal assembly, and no fewer than five other people must sign the acts" (Comunidad Nativa de Yoquiri 1990:6).³⁴

Official talk in Yokiri is rarely used outside of the *asamblea*. It is a particularly monologic discourse genre, normally performed while standing, in which a single speaker (usually the *presidente* or one of the other *dirigentes*, and almost always a male) holds the floor for an extended period. The speaker addresses the audience as a whole rather than a specific person, and they offer occasional backchannel in the form of nodding or occasional utterances of support. Other participants who wish to speak usually wait patiently until the previous speaker has finished, and in many cases request permission to take the floor by raising their hands. Many Yokiriños who have little experience with official talk speak quietly and haltingly, often memorizing their speeches beforehand. After the *presidente* introduces a topic of discussion, he opens the floor to debate and the *comuneros* are expected to contribute their own opinions. Yokiriños are often hesitant to be the first to speak--even if they have something to say--and after a long

³⁴ "...toda acta debe extenderse en castellano en libro legalizado, las actas deben firmarlas el jefe y le [sic] secretario de la asamblea comunal y no menos de otros cinco miembros..."

silence, the *presidente* often implores them to engage in the discussion with the entreaty *hablen pe!* 'talk!'

With few exceptions, official talk in Yokiri is conducted in Spanish, with no code-switching (Yokiri is unlike other Matsigenka communities in this respect, as I will discuss below). The register features constructions not used in other interactional contexts, such as the honorific second person possessive *vuestro* 'your (pl.)' and the indirect first person construction *mi persona* 'my person', e.g. *éste es un regalo de mi persona para la comunidad* 'this is a gift for the community **from me** (lit. *from my person*)'. The genre also frequently features a number of opening and closing formulae, as can be seen in the brief speech in (10) that a *dirigente* made during a ceremony, attended by several municipal officials and employees, for the laying of the first stone of the new *salón comunal*. As in most performances of official talk, the speaker began by acknowledging the most prominent addressees (in this case, visitors from the municipality) and closed his speech with the brief formula *eso sería todo, compañeros* 'that is all, my friends'. In his speech he invokes discourses of modernity and emphasizes state's responsibility to make infrastructural investments in Yokiri, an important part of public discourse that I will discuss below.

(10)

Bueno, este, bueno compañeros, este el Señor este ingeniero Álvarez, este, equipo de la municipalidad distrital de Quellouno, tengan ustedes muy buenas tardes. Bueno aquí, como se llama, este, han venido los, este, de la municipalidad y nosotros hemos invitado todos, y bueno, hay que recibir, no? Aquí han venido ya que- para que nos apoyen. Están viendo que muchas cosas lo que nos falta, no? Y ahora la primera piedra van a poner- vamos a poner todos y yo les digo bienvenidos a los autoridades aquí. Ojalá que siga más adelante, que nosotros queremos apoyo más, no? Eso sería todo, comañeros. [light applause]

Okay, um, okay, my friends, um, the engineer Mr. Alvarez, um, the team from the municipality of Quellouno, good evening to all of you. So here, what's it called, um, the [representatives] from the municipality have come here, and we have invited all of them, and we must receive them, no? They came here since- in order to support us. They see that we are lacking many things, no? And now they're- we're all going to lay the first stone, and I say 'welcome' to the authorities here. I hope that [our relationship] moves forward, because we want more support, no? That is all, my friends. [light applause]

By deploying the 'official talk' genre in this event, the speaker creates an indexical association to other such expressions of political modernity across Peru and asserts the community's legitimacy as coequals and coevals in the rural society of La Convención. In other words, the use of 'official talk' asserts Yokiri's equivalence with its neighbors.

Another example of public speech (11) is from an *asamblea* in which the *jefe* attempted to recruit the *comuneros* to attend a meeting in the nearby settlement of Huillcapampa.³⁵ Here he speaks official Spanish and deploys the familiar devices used to frame public discourse (*eso sería todo, comañeros* 'that's all, my friends'). He also invokes the ideology of community-level commitment (*somos una comunidad organizada, y tenemos que bajar y hacer sentir nuestro derecho!* 'We are an organized community, and we have to go down [there] and made our rights heard!'):

³⁵ The provincial municipality of La Convención had planned to construct a new health post in Huillcapampa, but *colonos* from the bordering province of Calca (which contests La Convención's claim to this area of the Yavero Valley) opposed the plan and requested that the health post be built closer to their houses on the other side of the Yavero River. Yokiriños are dedicated supporters of La Convención in this territorial dispute.

(11)

...Entonces de aca tenemos que bajar. Como va a haber un carro que va a subir del proyecto de cafe, vamos a aprovechar. Hay que bajar también hombres y mujeres porque es necesario. Lo iban a poner a este lado pero los otros lo quieren al otro lado. Entonces incluso quiero- como dice estaba pensando tener un voto. Entonces tenemos que ir todos, o sea como ya como- tenemos que bajar todos compañeros. Somos una comunidad organizada, y tenemos que bajar y hacer sentir nuestro derecho! Ya? Eso sería todo, compañeros.

...So we have to go down from here [to Huillcapampa]. Since there will be a truck that's going to come up from the coffee project, we're going to take advantage of it. Both the men and the women have to go down [to Huillcapampa] because it's necessary. They're going to put [the health post] on this side [of the river], but the others want it on the other side. So I also want- what's it called, they're thinking of holding a vote. So we all have to go, I mean since- we all have to go down there, my friends. We are an organized community, and we have to go down [there] and make our rights heard! Okay? That's all, my friends.

This interactional genre, and its constant referral to textual sources of authority including documents, laws, and the community's (Spanish-only) book of acts, are an important part of establishing Yokiri's culture of public discourse.

4.5 Getting down to business

The *asamblea* begins when the *comuneros* are seated and the *presidente* calls the meeting to order with a brief, formulaic greeting such as the one opening the speech in (10). Then, once the *secretario* takes attendance, the *jefe* proceeds with the reading of the day's agenda. The *jefe* maintains tight control over the *asamblea* (which on a few occasions he referred to as *mi asamblea* 'my community meeting') by guiding the discussions and moving the agenda along in a timely manner.

The first agenda item is often the oral reports of the *comisiones* 'commissions' of *comuneros* that have traveled outside of Yokiri to represent the community in official

business, including meetings with COMARU, the acquisition of supplies for the school, or the submission of legal documents regarding the ongoing territorial dispute with a neighboring *colono*. Because these *comisiones* are often conducted by non-*dirigentes* who have little experience in public speaking or in using 'official Spanish', the reports are often brief and nervously delivered. Once the *comisiones* have delivered their reports, the *presidente* and the other *dirigentes* lead the community through routine community business, including the recording and accounting of community equipment that has been rented or borrowed by individuals. The schoolteachers are often asked to advise the community of their travel schedules, since they must travel to the provincial capital of Quillabamba every month to collect their paychecks, a round trip that usually takes at least a week,³⁶ and requires that parents look after their children during their absence.

Once these procedural matters have been settled, the *presidente* begins to broach more consequential, and often controversial, community business. The topics of discussion fall roughly into two categories: community-internal and community-external issues. Community-internal issues include the scheduling of *faenas*, the organization of community celebrations and parties, internal land allocation disputes, and the proper distribution of gifts (such as t-shirts, school supplies, and medicine) that have been made to the community. Issues regarding Yokiri's external relationships include boundary disputes with neighboring *colonos*, commercial agreements with coffee merchants, participation in municipal economic development programs, arrangements with the education ministry regarding the schoolteachers, and petitions for state infrastructural investments. There are also a number of conflicts that are both internal and external in

³⁶ The fact that teachers must miss at least one of every four weeks of the school year to collect their pay is a major--or perhaps the major--weakness in the educational system of rural La Convención.

nature, such as the rights and responsibilities of kin members who live outside of Yokiri but who expect resources from their families in the community (a frequent source of tension that arises from the fact that kin-based allegiances only partially overlap with community membership--for more on the non-isomorphism of kin ties and community membership, see chapters 2 and 5).

4.5.1 Internal business: policing the public/private boundary

Most of the community-internal conflicts that arise in Yokiri and are litigated in the *asamblea* are based on the contested boundary between the private (kin-based) and the public (community-based) domains of action and investment. The drawing together of the people of Yokiri within the *comunidad nativa* structure introduced the expectation that each *comunero* must invest his or her fair share of time, labor, and goods--all of which would otherwise pertain exclusively to kin groups--to the collectivity. But while the ideology of the public sphere enacted in the *asamblea* posits a logic of belonging that is independent of kin group commitments, in fact the joining of the two dominant kin groups together has created something more like a two-party political system. Each kin group carefully monitors the other's willingness to cede resources to the common interest, and are loudly critical of opposing kin group members who are perceived to violate the public trust. When *comuneros* readily commit their resources to the collectivity and the community functions effectively as a whole, they are thought to have achieved *organización*.

Because the primary purpose of the *asamblea* is to enforce the community's commitment to the public, intra-family (i.e. private) problems are rarely raised in this

forum. Conflicts among kin are almost always addressed by the families themselves (see Chapter 6), and it is seen as quite inappropriate for family members to air their disagreements in the public forum of the *asamblea*. Indeed, the only interventions into intra-family conflicts that I witnessed in *asambleas* were extraordinary cases that rose to the level of public concern, such as domestic abuse; but even these conflicts were raised with some reluctance. This careful separation of private and public domains demonstrates how important of the distinction between kin-level and community-level social organization is to Yokiriños.

4.5.1.1 *Sacrificio*

The primary function of the *asamblea*, then, is to enforce each *comunero's* commitment to the collectivity, primarily through the investment of time, labor, and goods. Yokiriños understand this in terms of the principle of *sacrificio*: the 'sacrifice' of one's autonomy and private resources for the benefit of the community. Yokiriños, like members of other *comunidades nativas* in the Alto Urubamba (Johnson 2003:152-154), believe very strongly in personal property. This makes giving up one's private resources an act of great significance, and in the context of the *asamblea*, *sacrificio* is evidence of one's virtuous moral character.

The performance of sacrifice, then, is a major theme in the *asamblea*. *Comuneros* demonstrate their commitment to the collectivity, and call on others to follow suit, by recounting the hardships they have endured on behalf of the community. For instance, the community's communication radio was installed at one woman's house because she lives near the school, and she is responsible for monitoring the regional *comunidad nativa*

frequency every morning and evening for messages to Yokiriños. In 2011 she stood before the *asamblea* and explained what a burden it was for her to give up this time for the community's benefit--but, crucially, that she had volunteered this *sacrificio* without complaint or expectation of anything in return. Such proclamations are frequently deployed to insinuate the opposing kin group's dereliction in their communal responsibilities.

Dirigentes also frequently mobilize communal action by recounting the sacrifices that they must make on behalf of the community. Indeed, community business has demanded more and more of the *dirigentes'* time as Yokiri's relationships with outsiders have intensified: they must now travel to the district and provincial capitals with some regularity to file paperwork, meet with lawyers, secure supplies for the municipal coffee project, and arrange for the allocation of teachers to the primary school. Traveling to Quellouno or Quillabamba usually takes more than a week, and often involves sleeping for at least one night on a public bench, in the flatbed of a dump truck, or in the dirt of a freezing high-elevation pass, if at all. During this time they also must be away from their families and likely fall behind on their agricultural labor. In addition to the idiom of *sacrificio*, these hardships are often expressed in terms of "suffering" (for instance, the *jefe* told me *yo he sufrido mucho por esta comunidad* 'I have suffered greatly for this community'). The *dirigentes* rarely miss an opportunity to remind the other *comuneros* of their sacrifices, and entreat them to follow suit.

The most spectacular displays of *sacrificio* are made in the planning for celebrations such as the community's anniversary and the festivities for Yokiri's patron saint, Santa Rosa of Lima. The *comuneros* contribute material supplies for these events,

and even though (or perhaps because) these contributions are optional, individuals and families attempt to out-sacrifice each other. The youngest and least prominent *comuneros* usually do not have much to spare, and limit their contribution to something small like a few packages of candles or, at most, a crate of beer. But some more prominent Yokiriños use these declarations as an opportunity to out-do other kin groups with a lavish act of public sacrifice. This was a common occurrence in *asambleas*, but the most stunning episode that I witnessed was during the August 2011 celebration for the Santa Rosa of Lima, when each *comunero* stood and publicly stated what they would contribute to the next year's celebrations. This was a special gathering in which a few municipal officials were present. The secretary called on each attendee in turn to take the microphone and make a pledge, which they stated in careful official Spanish, is in (12):

(12)

Ronald:
Yo me comprometo con, yo--ya he conversado con mi compañera para el año 2012, y voy a poner cuatro docenas de cohetones. Ese es el compromiso que voy a tener.

Secretary: [taking microphone from Ronald]:
Cuatro docenas de cohetones va a poner. Un voto de aplauso para el compañero.
[light applause]

Ronald:
'I pledge, I--I discussed it with my wife, for the year 2012, and I'm going to contribute four dozen firecrackers. That is the pledge that I'm going to make.'

Secretary: [taking microphone from Ronald]:
'He's going to contribute four dozen firecrackers. A round of applause for our friend.'
[light applause]

After a few more people made similar promises, the secretary called on Hernán, who had requested to be called last because he had planned to make a dramatic display of *sacrificio* (13). In his speech he used official Spanish, and he began with the formula

discussed above in. Partway through his speech he called out one of the municipal officials and declared an extreme act of *sacrificio*:

(13)

Secretary:

Procediendo el compromiso, vamos a ceder los micrófonos al compañero Hernán. [passes microphone to Hernán]

Hernán:

[inaudible, joking confidently with his kin, laughing] Bueno, este, compañeros, este [inaudible] de Sta. Rosita este lo que están aquí tengan todos muy buenas tardes. Yo como mi voto de Sta. Rosita de Lima, yo-- como me estoy escuchando todo como se llama este los que están presentes, no? ya creo que ya [ha puesto] un torete no? Y a mi, [] no me quedo atrás compañeros y yo también voy a hacer como se llama voy a como se llama ya estoy -- o sea que todos se achican, no? a pesar que tienen plata a pesar que aquel como se llama mi amigo Hernán Díaz, no? A pesar que trabaje en municipio se ha achicado, no? Pero yo no voy a achicar, yo voy a poner un torete!

Crowd: Bravo! [loud applause]

Secretary:

'Moving along with the pledges, let's cede the microphone to our friend Hernán' [passes microphone to Hernán]

Hernán:

[inaudible, joking confidently with his kin, laughing] 'Well, my friends, the [attendees] to [the festival] of Santa Rosita de Lima that are here, good afternoon to all of you. I, as my pledge to Santa Rosita de Lima, I-- since I've been listening to everyone present, no? I think someone pledged a bull, no? And me [], I'm not going to be left behind, and I'm also going to make, what's it called, I'm going to, I'm-- I mean, everyone has [been stingy], no? Even if they have money, even though he, what's his name, my friend [the municipal official] Hernán Díaz, no? Even though he works for the municipality, he [is stingy], no? But I'm not going to be stingy, I'm going to contribute a bull!'

Crowd: Bravo! [loud applause]

The contribution of a bull, which can cost more than 1000 soles (around \$350 dollars), is a major act in Yokiri. The speaker's dramatic display of *sacrificio*, and his defiant and confrontational tone, positioned him and his kin group as dominant forces in the community.

4.5.1.2 Authorized and unauthorized uses of public resources

If the sacrifice of one's private labor, time, and goods to the public interest is seen as a virtuous act of sociality and modernity, then the unauthorized appropriation of public resources for private use is one of the greatest sins that a Yokiriño can commit. There are a number of public assets (e.g. land and tools) that belong to the community as a whole, which can be acquired by *comuneros* in either licit or illicit ways. Yokiriños are very concerned about their fair allocation, and *comuneros* who acquire a public resource for private use in a manner that is deemed inappropriate often face blunt confrontation and severe censure in the *asamblea*.

The most important public resource in Yokiri is the community's land, which is collectively owned and allocated to each family based on how much space they need to support their families. Yokiriños have always been very conscious about the size and location of each family's parcel, and that concern has increased in recent years for four reasons: first, the community's population density is quickly increasing as the families grow, and open space in accessible areas is growing scarce; second, as the construction of the road through the community has made larger-scale coffee plantations economically viable, some *comuneros* have begun to stray beyond the boundaries of their plots to increase their coffee production; third, access to the new road has made accessible parcels of land more desirable than others, and therefore the target of some contestation; and fourth, as part of the process of nucleation discussed in Chapter 3, some *comuneros* have attempted to build houses near the school area on land that has not been authorized for that purpose. Such disputes over the proper allocation and use of the community's

land are the subject of particularly acrimonious confrontations in the *asamblea*, and they are almost always between members of opposed kin groups.

A wide-ranging land conflict in early 2012 provides an illustrative example of these tensions. A couple, Antonio and Pilar, lived in Pilar's elderly mother Ana's house during the early period of their relationship. Antonio and Pilar supported Ana by hunting and working in her garden, and Ana helped them by looking after their children. Over the next few years, as Antonio and Pilar found themselves increasingly overburdened with children and as Ana's health declined, their arrangement persisted long after the time when Antonio and Pilar were expected to strike out and establish their own residence unit. At this point there was no land available near the couple's kin group, so they were allotted a parcel of land on the far side of Yokiri, far away from the road, and where their only neighbors would be members of the opposing kin group. Antonio and Pilar were displeased with this arrangement, so rather than depart for the new plot, they stayed in Ana's house where they could interact regularly with their kin, have access to the road, and continue the mutually-beneficial arrangement with Ana.

But this outcome was unacceptable to José, from the opposing kin group, who occupied the land adjacent to Ana's plot. Looking forward to the coming years and decades, he feared that if Antonio, Pilar, and their children were to put down permanent roots in this already quite crowded corner of the community, there would be no room for his own numerous children to establish residence units. José is also an avid agriculturalist and hopes to expand his coffee operation, which would be impossible if the opposing kin group managed to acquire the adjacent land.

This conflict over the proper allocation of publicly-held land was the subject of acrimonious confrontations in several consecutive *asambleas*. José made loud declamations of Antonio and Pilar's transgressions of community policy, while Antonio and Pilar accused José of a cynical attempt to wrest away their land for his own family. Eventually, Antonio and Pilar also accused José of burning land beyond his allocated plot, and damaging the surrounding forest with his great flames. This conflict regarding the proper balance between private and public resources had not been resolved as of the end of my fieldwork there in May 2012.

Another site at which the private/public distinction is carefully policed is the community's store of public goods such as medicine and tools. Some of these are bought by the community with profits from the communal agricultural plots, while others were donated by visitors or given by a municipal economic development project. Tools such as axes, hoes and shovels can be borrowed, while more valuable machinery such as chainsaws must be rented. Some medicine is communally-owned, and is kept in the community's storehouse where it can be bought by the *comuneros*; the revenue is used to restock the supply. The division of these goods is often the subject of minor conflicts, as when a *comunero* forgets to return a borrowed axe or fails to repair a broken chain on the community's chainsaw. The *secretario* keeps careful records of these transactions, and they are read aloud in each *asamblea*. In addition to these clear-cut cases of the private use of public resources, there are also a few issues subject to contestation: for instance, in 2011 the radio operator began charging the *comuneros* to transmit messages as a way to compensate her for her time, for which she was chastised in the next *asamblea*. The most controversial incident, however, was when a *comunero* acquired a cache of tools from the

municipal coffee project in the name of the community. Instead of alerting the *jefe* to the existence of these communal tools and bringing them to the *asamblea* for distribution, he hid them under his house. The *comuneros* were infuriated by this breach of the public trust, and the situation worsened when it turned out that he had acquired the tools with the help of a neighboring *colono*.

Finally, some goods are given to Yokiri not as public resources, but as gifts for each *comunero*. These include t-shirts and soccer jerseys, mosquito nets, some medicines, and school supplies. The *dirigentes* distribute these goods with studied fairness, and the *comuneros* watch closely to make sure that each person (across kin groups) receives an equitable share. In the case of medicine, this manner of distribution can be problematic because the *comuneros* end up with different kinds of medications regardless of the medical conditions they might encounter (and in one case, the demand for equitable distribution led to cutting a single course of antibiotics in half). Building supplies from the municipal coffee project, such as cement, wire, and tiles for coffee-washing pools, also distributed in this way.

In all of these cases, the distinction between private and public time, labor, land, and goods is closely monitored. Yokiriños regard the sacrifice of private resources for the public good to be a great virtue, while the unsanctioned use of public resources for private purposes is considered a great transgression. Yokiri's public sphere is new and fragile, and the *comuneros* protect it carefully.

4.5.1.3 *No tengo ni mamá ni papá*: The suppression of kin allegiances

One of the fundamental structural tensions within the *asamblea* is that the *jefe* and the *dirigentes*--the people responsible for enforcing the prioritization of community action over kin-based allegiances--are themselves members of kin groups with their own interests and agendas. Because most of the community-level conflicts fall on kinship lines, the tension between these allegiances frequently rises to the surface in the *asamblea*, and the *dirigentes* often find themselves in the difficult position of having to override their own family commitments. The potential contamination of the ostensibly rational and impartial public sphere by personal or family-level commitments, that is, a concern over 'conflict of interest', is simply unavoidable in a small, kinship-based community like Yokiri. The *comuneros* are very aware of these conflicted allegiances, and are quick to call out cases in which the leaders appear to allow private interests into the public space.

The *presidente* and the *dirigentes*, keenly aware of these dangers, make great efforts to avoid the appearance of impropriety by foregrounding the separateness of the public and private spheres. This is accomplished discursively through the constant deployment of Spanish official talk, which establishes the *asamblea* as a kin-neutral space of rational and impartial discourse. In addition, *dirigentes* usually avoid referring to their family members with kin terms such as *mi hermano* 'my brother' or *mi papá* in the *asamblea*--when they must refer to their kin, they use the same honorific name constructions that they use for non-kin, such as *el Señor Antonio* 'Mr. Antonio' or *la Señora Ana* 'Mrs. Ana'. In some cases, they even use these honorifics more frequently than with non-kin--for instance, during one official speech the *presidente* listed the names

of several community members, and only used the honorific *Señor* 'Mr.' for his own father, Aníbal: ...*cuarto, Julián; quinto, Santiago; como sexto tenemos al Señor Aníbal; séptimo Mario...* '...fourth, Julián; fifth, Santiago; **as the sixth we have Mr. Aníbal;** seventh, Mario...' This discursive practice entails an interactional space populated by community members rather than kinsmen, and thereby downplays kin-based allegiances. This must be seen in comparison to communication in the home and the fields (Chapter 6), where people refer to each other almost exclusively by kin terms, and do not relate to each other as members of a *comunidad nativa*.

An example of the delicate negotiation of kin-based and community-based commitments was an emotional (and ultimately cathartic) conflict between the two major kin groups that developed between April and May of 2012. The tension began when the foreman of a municipal construction crew requested that the community provide a cook for his workers while they began building a new *salón comunal* in the community. This was an attractive job, since it was well paid and would involve sustained interaction with prestigious outsiders. The most prominent women from each of the two kin groups declared their interest in being hired.

It fell to the *asamblea* and the *jefe* to choose which of the two women would get the job. The problem, though, was that one of the nominees was the *jefe's* mother. The other kin group charged that the *jefe* could not act impartially in this case, and therefore that his mother should be disqualified from consideration; the *jefe's* family, on the other hand, argued that in the public space of the community, everyone should have an equal chance at getting the job regardless of their kin affiliation. Whereas in other societies a leader might recuse himself to avoid this kind of conflict of interest, everyone in Yokiri

who might take his place in the deliberation was also part of a kin group with a stake in the decision.

This conflict went unresolved for several days, and the tension gradually built as other accusations were added regarding the partiality of the *jefe*, for instance, that he had not enforced sanctions against one of his kinsmen for misusing his land, nor against another for missing a series of *faenas*. The tensions reached a peak several days later during the Santa Rosa of Lima celebrations: after three days of continuous drinking, a fistfight broke out between the husbands of the two women. This kind of violent confrontation is extremely rare in Yokiri and the other *comunidades nativas* of the Alto Urubamba, and it precipitated a surprisingly frank public dialogue about how to manage the separation between private and public commitments. This took place during a hastily-called *asamblea* on the afternoon of the fight, in which the *jefe* attempted repair the fractured spirit of supra-kin level cooperation--a difficult discursive feat, since the *comuneros* were highly aware of his own allegiance to one party in the conflict. During the meeting he made a long and impassioned plea on behalf of community *organización*, and reaffirmed the boundary between private and public spheres by promising to leave his own kin-level commitments out of community-level matters. In his words: *en la asamblea, no tengo ni mamá ni papá* 'in the *asamblea*, I have neither a mother nor a father'--that is, in the public space of the community forum, there are only *comuneros*.

4.5.2 External business

In addition to these issues of community-internal social organization, the *comunidad nativa* political system is the primary structure through which the people of

Yokiri engage with the state and with non-community members outside their borders³⁷. As Yokiriños' interactions with municipal officials, coffee merchants, agricultural extension agents, neighboring *colonos*, and other kinds of outsiders have become increasingly intense, the *asamblea* has come to play an important part in the management of these relations. It is the *jefe's* responsibility is to represent the community's will in external interactions, which usually requires the negotiation of consensus among the *comuneros* in the *asamblea*. This process that can be just as contentious as the resolution of internal conflicts, and it often requires the reconciliation of some of the same ideological and kin-group fissures.

Many communal decisions regarding outsiders are uncontroversial. For instance, everyone agreed that a neighboring *colono* should be confronted for encroaching on the community's boundaries, and that the community should contract a truck to bring everyone to the high point of land for the Santa Rosa of Lima celebrations. But not all matters enjoy an easy consensus. For instance, a perennial point of disagreement in Yokiri is which investments the community should request from the state. Communities are asked to submit petitions for new projects now that the municipalities' infrastructure budgets are bloated with Camisea natural gas revenues, but Yokiriños have different ideas about what kinds of investments will be most beneficial. For instance, one kin group proposed a new *salón comunal* so that community events did not have to take place in one of the cramped primary school classrooms; another wanted a secondary road that would cut through the northwest corner of the community and connect the communal coffee plantation (as well, it should be mentioned, as the land of the kin group favoring

³⁷ Far from being 'illegible' to the state, the *comunidad nativa* structure is the only way that the people of Yokiri and the state become legible to each other.

this option) to the road network. These options were debated in an *asamblea*, and eventually the community voted to request a new *salón comunal*.

Another important part of managing Yokiri's interaction with outsiders is the defense of the community's reputation. This is a matter that Yokiriños take very seriously. Specifically, they are concerned with maintaining their hard-won public recognition as a *comunidad bien organizada* 'well-organized community', particularly in light of the racist discourses, ubiquitous in frontier society, that take Matsigenkas to be incapable of such modern social and political organization. For instance, one way the Yokiriños were able to assert and defend their reputation was through the organization of a month-long soccer tournament for all of the nearby Matsigenka and *colono* communities. This was a difficult series of events to coordinate, and its execution required close collaboration in the *asambleas* and significant *sacrificios* in the weeks before the tournament. The event was a great success, and it confirmed Yokiri's status as a coequal (and perhaps even exemplary) modern political and social unit in the eyes of the neighboring *colonos*.

Individual actions that threaten Yokiri's image of *organización* are also addressed in the *asamblea*. For instance, a small scandal arose when one woman who had not attended *asambleas* for several months finally appeared--to the great surprise of everyone outside her family--with a newborn baby. When the woman visited the health post in Huillcapampa, the doctors criticized her for not scheduling a pre-natal visit or even alerting them to her pregnancy so that they could respond in case of an emergency. This lack of coordination and ineffective interaction with the health post reflected poorly on the *jefe* and on the community. In the subsequent *asamblea*, the *jefe* chastised the woman

and her family, explaining *ya no es como antes* 'it's not like it used to be'-- in other words, members of a modern, organized community do not give birth in remote areas of the forest without alerting the *dirigentes* and consulting with the health post. This incident was seen as a threat to Yokiri's good reputation.

4.5.3 The fractal public

Interestingly, the relationship between Yokiriños and non-Yokiriños partakes of the same public/private semiotic distinction that divides the kin-based and community-based domains described above. The community-internal principle of differentiation, in other words, appears to be projected in a fractally recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) manner onto community-external relations. This can be seen most clearly on the occasions when visitors come to Yokiri: just as Yokiriños are not generally welcome in the private residential areas of people outside their kin groups (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of this point), non-Yokiriños are not normally welcome in the private community space of the *asamblea*. Just as Yokiriños usually wait patiently on the trailhead rather than approach a non-kinsman's house, visitors to Yokiri's *asamblea* are usually made to wait on the roadside (sometimes all day) before being invited inside to address the *asamblea*.³⁸

The projection of the private/public distinction to the level of community-external relations can also be seen in discursive practice. Interestingly, the only time I have witnessed the sustained and ratified use of *Matsigenka* in a public context in Yokiri is when municipal officials were present--in this case, the 'private' indexical associations of *Matsigenka* served to assert the distinctness of the community (this time, as a unified

³⁸ This is often used as assertion of autonomy in Yokiri. For instance, when a neighboring *colona* arrived at an *asamblea* to discuss business in May 2012, the *jefe* made her wait on the road for several hours before inviting her inside: *que espere, pues!* 'Let her wait!' This was also my first introduction to Yokiri.

whole) from the surrounding *colono* society. Similarly, in these contexts Yokiriños differentiated themselves from *colono* society by referring to their fellow *comuneros* with kin terms such as *mi hermano* 'my brother' and *mi hermana* 'my sister', regardless of their kin-group affiliations.

4.6 Yokiri's public discourse in comparative perspective

Yokiri's commitment to collective action is especially striking when compared with other *comunidades nativas* of the Alto Urubamba, where most *comuneros* have not come to conceive of themselves as belonging to a collectivity that transcends kin affiliations. This is most readily apparent in *asambleas* and other public events, the primary site at which the ideology of community-level obligation and privilege is organized and expressed. I attended such events in more than a dozen Matsigenka *comunidades nativas*, and I was struck by how distinct Yokiri's public culture was from those communities.

One illustrative example was the 2011 anniversary of an Alto Urubamba *comunidad nativa*,³⁹ an expression of community-level social organization *par excellence*. This community is larger and more remote than Yokiri, and it has begun to interact regularly with outsiders only recently. Anniversaries are often the most important celebrations of the year in *comunidades nativas*, and in this case the *dirigentes* hoped to assert the community's prestige and *organización* among its Matsigenka and *colono* neighbors by putting on a major multi-day celebration featuring a soccer tournament, speeches, drinking, feasting, and dancing. Municipal officials and other local dignitaries were invited, and the *comuneros* were expected to bring *masato* for the guests and carry

³⁹ I have omitted the name of this community and all identifying information that appears in the transcripts.

on the merriment for as long as they could last (see Chapter 2 for a description of a similar event in Yokiri).

This was a new and relatively unfamiliar venture for the community, and as the event progressed, the *dirigentes* nervously moved the crowd from one activity to the next. The celebrations appeared to be successful during the first afternoon, when several teams from within and outside the community turned up to compete in the soccer tournament and an *osheto* 'monkey sp.' was roasted for the attendees. However, when the party turned indoors later in the evening for speeches, dances, and the distribution of soccer jerseys, the crowd began to thin. The *comuneros* that remained sat with their kin and talked among themselves instead of listening to the speeches, and the *dirigentes* had to shout over the din to make themselves heard. Eventually, once the commemorative jerseys had been distributed, some *comuneros* began to file out of the *salón comunal* and begin the walk home. This was all quite embarrassing for the *dirigentes*, and the *jefe* in particular, because it was public evidence that the community lacked *organización* and effective leadership. As a group of *comuneros* rose to leave, a panicked *dirigente* shouted the plaintive appeal in (14) (plain text in Spanish, underlined text in Matsigenka):

(14)

Señores comuneros por favor, gara piaigai, tera ontsonkatempa, por favor... suplico a cada uno de ustedes, quedan invitados para poder iniciar este aniversario que concierne con nuestro [X] años de vida institucional.¹ No ha acabado la ceremonia, estamos inciciando recién nuestro aniversario.²

Fellow community members please, don't leave, it's not over yet, please...I beg each of you, you are invited so that we can begin this anniversary for our [X] years of institutional life.¹ The ceremony has not finished yet, we're just beginning our anniversary.²

A handful of families stayed to listen to the rest of the speeches, but the attendance was very low the next day and the celebrations were eventually cut short.

4.6.1 Code-switching and social authority in public discourse

This event could not have been more different from Yokiri's 2011 anniversary, which was attended by all of the *comuneros*, lasted for days, and was richly proportioned with contributions of food, *masato*, beer, and supplies. The speech practices in particular reveal different attitudes toward a community public: whereas public discourse in Yokiri is conducted almost exclusively in Spanish and is carefully regimented around the creation and maintenance of community-level social organization, speakers in this community code-switch constantly and (as is clear from the foregoing description) have not established the kind of Habermasian forum for public discourse described above

The prevalence of code-switching is closely related to the community's incipient engagement with the notion of a public. Whereas the Yokiriños have introduced a principle of private/public differentiation through exclusive use of the Spanish-only genre of 'official talk' in public discourse, the *comuneros* of this community have not demarcated a public interactional sphere through such a division. Consider for instance the *dirigente's* appeal in (14) above: as the leader of an official event, he deployed Spanish official talk as part of the metapragmatic regimentation of the public space. However, recognizing that the *comuneros* were unmoved by his plea for community participation, he briefly switched to Matsigenka to make a personal and intimate appeal outside of the frame of public discourse: *gara piaigai, tera ontsonkatempa* 'don't leave, it's not over yet'. In this case, code-switching served as a means of alternating between

two 'voices' (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]) connected to distinct ideologies and moral regimes (Hill 1995): through Spanish, he inhabited the position of the official leader whose authority lies in a powerful but foreign system of values, while through Matsigenka, he stepped outside of this position to speak as a kinsman, friend, and neighbor who, along with his audience, regards this system from the outside.

The kind of public code-switching behavior described above is common in this community. Indeed, the frequency of code-switches and their even distribution across discourse is striking--many *dirigentes* constantly switch back and forth between Spanish and Matsigenka to invoke both modes of authority throughout a speech. For instance, later in the same evening, once the municipal officials had departed and the audience had narrowed down to a few dozen *comuneros*, a few current and former *dirigentes* delivered speeches to those who remained. The *dirigentes* were frustrated and embarrassed that the community had appeared so *desorganizado* in this highly visible event, and some used their speeches to address the value and importance of community involvement. In one such speech, excerpted in (15) below, a former leader (older and more prominent than most people present) recounted the history of the land titling process. As in (14) above, this speech is characterized by frequent and pervasive code-switching as the speaker moves between Matsigenka and Spanish official talk. Spanish discourse is underlined.

(15)

Eh, buenas noches señores, señores directivos y todos, muy buenas noches, no?¹ ... En el año [year] sale el título de propiedad de [community name].² Ovashi otimanunganira aka.³ De repente viroegi yoga ikyari kimoiganagitsi te pineaigena.⁴ Naroegi nantavageigake maani aunque no sera mucho.⁵ Maika nanuventakero ashi comunidad, a lo menos debemos felicitar a [name], que ha luchado bastante, iniaventakera ashi comunidad ompeganakempara ontimakera ampatoitakempara agaigakerora gipatsiegite.⁶ Ganiri yagapitsahaigiro yoga virakocha.⁷ Viroegi tyanirika goigakero yoga yogoigavakero maika agapakera maika, en el año mil novecientos- nopegakara itinkami maani noneavakero maani onake gipatsiegite.⁸ Novetsikakero oga nagakitiro la ampliación otimaira ashi comunidad nativa en [region], de lo cual natsipereaventaigakero naroege como nosotros traba- mameri koriki nanutake paniro.⁹ Mameri pogaigakera korikiegi.¹⁰ La cosa- novetsikaigakero algunas cosas, no, de lo cual okontetanakera en el año- ovashi otimakera tanto de la comunidad de [community name] y tanto de la ampliación otimantakarira maikari maika.¹¹ Creo que viroegi como juvenes yogari antarini de repente kamagantanai pairaninirira viroegi aka onunganira shineventaigakemparo nuestra comunidad.¹² ... Oga otimakera maika como día como veinticuatro nokogavetake irinake presidente de la comunidad [] y con toda la nueva junta directiva nonei aryori maika shineventaigakemparo shatekaigakempara aka maganiri todos los comuneros, pogavoigakera sekatsi ashi shitea.¹³ Sin embargo noneavetaro maika ontirika pikisaigaka onti kisaigankicha yonta tera impokaige ahorita.¹⁴ Pairatake mameri.¹⁵ Kantaka ontinirika tata oita yovetsikaiganake, noneakero naro tera onkametite.¹⁶ Estoy triste.¹⁷ Lamentablemente la nueva junta directiva ikogaigavetaka irovetsikakerora kameti, pero tyani kañoigankitsi?¹⁸ Viroegita kañoigankitsi, comuneros.¹⁹ Tenika patsipereigero viro pero sí naroege natsipereaventaigakero para que salga la titulación oka de siete mil hectareas y otra titulación de la ampliación.²⁰ Nashi novetsikaigakerira naroege nantaigavetakarira, viroegi juvenes te pogogeeronika viro pineirokari okavagetaka kogapage.²¹

Um, good evening [sirs], directors, and everyone, very good evening, no?¹ ... In the year [year] we got the property title for the community of [community name].² That's why live/[it's?] here.³ Perhaps you young ones don't know who I am.⁴ We did some work, even if it wasn't much.⁵ We traveled [to complete the titling] for our community, at least we should congratulate [name], who has fought a lot, he has conversed [i.e. made the official arrangements] so that our community would become, so that there would be, so that we could get together and get our land.⁶ So that the colonists don't take it away.⁷ Some of you know and understand now, that in the year nineteen- when I became leader, I saw that our community was too small.⁸ I did it, I got the territorial extension, now the comunidad nativa in [a nearby region] exists, for which we have all fought, since we worked- there was no money, I walked [i.e. made the arrangements] alone.⁹ You didn't provide any money.¹⁰ The thing- we have done some things, no? Which resulted in the year- that's why the community of [community name] and the territorial extension exist now.¹¹ I think that you as young people, perhaps now that some of the first founders that have passed away, you that are here should be proud of our community.¹² ... Now on a day like the twenty-fourth, I wanted the president of the community [] to be here with all of the new directors' council, and I thought that we were going to celebrate, and that [the building] would be full of all the community members, and that they would bring yuca for masato.¹³ Regardless, from my perspective it seems that the ones who didn't come now are annoyed and angry.¹⁴ Nobody is here.¹⁵ It seems that they're doing something wrong, from my point of view that's not good.¹⁶ I am sad.¹⁷ Unfortunately the new directors' council wanted to have a good celebration, but who are the guilty ones?¹⁸ You are the guilty ones, comuneros.¹⁹ You haven't suffered, but we have, we have suffered in order to obtain the title to seven thousand hectares and the other title to the territorial extension.²⁰ What we did during my tenure, what we were doing, you young people don't know. You must think it was easy.²¹ You thought about bringing masato, but no! From my point of view it's not good.²²

Pisureiganaka pogutera shitea, y no! Noneakero naro te onkametite.²² Antari maika sureigakemparomera es una celebracion conmemorativo patoigakempara maganiro ariangi gaveakoigakerora nuestra comunidad otimakera.²³ Hemos tenido título, game otimi tiitulo, tya gaigakero timaigakera?²⁴ Matsi ari timake karaseigake inkisaigapaakae inti virakocha.²⁵ Eso sería mi única recomendación, gracias.²⁶

We would have thought that since it's a commemorative celebration, everyone would have come together, for the effort and the achievement to make our community exist.²³ We got the title, and if there weren't a title, where would we find to live?²⁴ If we hadn't lived and made our chacras here, the colonists would have kicked us out.²⁵ That's my only recommendation, thank you.²⁶

The management of voice and authority through code-switching can be seen throughout this speech. First, the speaker opens (line 1) and closes (line 26) the speech and with Spanish formulas similar to those described above, claiming the authority of community-level social organization through the metapragmatic framing of his remarks as a performance of public official talk. He also uses Spanish to highlight concepts linked to the *comunidad nativa* social structure, for instance (line 23) *es una celebración conmemorativo* 'it's a commemorative celebration' and (line 6) *a lo menos debemos felicitar a [name], que ha luchado bastante* 'at least we should congratulate [name], who fought a lot'. But despite these devices that invoke community-level authority, much of the speech is in Matsigenka, which the speaker uses to establish kin-level social authority and align himself with those members of the audience who remain uncommitted to the community structure. The speaker's continuous attempt to maintain both modes of authority explains the even distribution of code-switching throughout the speech.

Similarly, in some cases the speaker frames his utterances as official talk through the emblematic (Poplack 1980) use of Spanish discourse markers (a common site of social-indexical code-switching (Goss and Salmons 2000)), and then continues his utterance in Matsigenka to appeal to his audience. For instance, in (16) (from line 4 in the

transcript above) he established his utterance as official talk with a loud *de repente* 'perhaps', followed, after a long pause, by Matsigenka discourse:

- (16) *De repente viroegi yoga ikyari kimoiganagitsi te pineaigena.*
'Perhaps you young ones don't know who I am.'

Similarly, in (17) (from line 14) the speaker keyed the frame of official talk by shouting *sin embargo* 'regardless, nevertheless' over the din before continuing in Matsigenka in order to make a personal and emotional appeal to his audience:

- (17) *Sin embargo, noneavetaro maika ontirika pikisaigaka onti kisaigankicha yonta tera impokaige ahorita.*
'Regardless, from my perspective it seems that you're angry, and the ones who are angry didn't come now.'

A similar discursive strategy is the pairing of a Spanish utterance that reconfirms the speaker's official authority with a Matsigenka utterance that aligns the speaker with his audience. For instance, in both (18) (lines 2-3) and (19) (from line 24) the speaker assumes the official voice to introduce the subject of land titling, and then uses Matsigenka to consider the importance of that subject from the perspective of his kinsman and fellow *comuneros* in the audience:

- (18) *En el año [year] sale el titulo de propiedad de [community name]. Ovashi otimanunganira aka.*
'In the year [X] we got the property title for the community of [community name]. That's why live/[it's?] here.'
- (19) *Hemos tenido titulo, game otimi titulo , tya gaigakero timaigakera?'*
'We got the title, and if there weren't a title, where would we find to live?'

In all of these cases, the speaker code switches frequently between Spanish official talk and Matsigenka in order to claim the authority associated with each of these voices: official public space on the one hand, and the domain of kin-level society on the other. This discursive strategy allows him to assert the legitimacy of the *comunidad nativa's* incipient and fragile community-level social structure (as well as his authority within it) while also aligning himself with an audience that is not yet convinced of this legitimacy.

The code-switching practices discussed above are tied to the fractured and contested nature of collective engagement in this community. A similar speech delivered by the *jefe* of Yokiri during the 2011 anniversary (20) provides an opportunity to compare public discourse practices in the two communities. This speech is comparable in content and context, but unlike (15), it was conducted entirely in Spanish:

(20)

La comunidad nativa de Yokiri fue fundada por seis personas- en el año mil novecientos ochenta y seis ya se inicia con los procesos de formar una comunidad nativa de Yokiri.¹ El año ochenta y ocho se forma, no?² Se hace.³ Por las personas de Sr. [], el Sr. [], el Sr. [], el Sr. [], y el Sr. [], y el Sr. [], quienes en paz descansan.⁴ Antes de hacer estas cositas, quisiera pedirles un minuto de silencio para esas dos personas que han- que están, no?⁵ Ya han dejado de existir, y también para el profesor [], quien venía laborando en esta institución.⁶ Quiero pedirles un minuto de silencio a toditos.⁷

The comunidad nativa of Yokiri was founded by six people- in nineteen eighty-six, that's when the processes were started to form a comunidad nativa, Yokiri.¹ In the year nineteen eighty-eight, it was formed...no?² It was made.³ By Mr. [], Mr. [], Mr. [], Mr. [], and Mr. [], and Mr. [], may they rest in peace.⁴ Before doing these things, I'd like to ask you for a minute of silence for these two people that have- they're, no?⁵ They have passed away, and also for Professor [], who came and worked at this school.⁶ I want to ask you all for a minute of silence.⁷

Unlike in the community discussed above, Yokiriños have forged a strong commitment to community-level action in part through public discourse practices in the *asamblea*. Because the legitimacy of collective action within the *comunidad nativa* structure is now taken for granted in Yokiri, the *jefe* does not need to appeal to his audience by invoking both private and public modes of social authority through the types of code-switching seen above in (15). The public sphere has been established and differentiated from private life in Yokiri, and only the public voice is welcome in the *asamblea*.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter described the central role of public *asamblea* discourse in Yokiri's establishment (somewhat exceptional among the *comunidades nativas* of the Alto Urubamba) of a level of social organization that spans kin groups. The *asamblea* is conceived as a Habermasian forum for democratic participation in which the personal,

kin-level affiliations of each *comunero* are (in theory) irrelevant, and the Spanish genre of official talk is used to the near total exclusion of Matsigenka and Quechua to create an ethnically unmarked public forum. In this forum, acts of *sacrificio* of private resources for the collectivity are highly valued, and each comunero's willingness to uphold the community's *organización* is carefully monitored. This political activity asserts Yokiriños as coequals with other such political units across the *colono* society of La Convención and beyond. Yokiriños believe that progress and modernity--accessed through hard, coordinated work and effective community-level interactions with the state--can only be achieved through the *organización* built in such a forum.

But this willingness to suppress one's private needs and kin loyalties for the benefit of the community should not be mistaken for harmonious relations. Kin allegiances organize nearly all activity outside of the *asamblea* and associated group events, and they persist within the *asamblea* as a bitter political rivalry. Rather than dispel kin-group tensions, the *asamblea* has increased conflict among Yokiriños by forcing them to confront each other rather than simply move away. The description presented here of a *comunidad nativa* as a fractious, heteroglossic, and fragile union of individuals with widely divergent priorities and beliefs challenges the ubiquitous scholarly and popular discourses that attribute univocal positions to indigenous South Americans communities, 'ethnic groups', and even speakers of genetically related languages.

Chapter 5: Farmer-merchant interactions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes interactions between the farmers of Yokiri and the Quechua-speaking coffee merchants who drive through the agricultural frontier to buy their product. These interactions are the primary site through which Yokiriños have begun to engage with the coffee economy, and through it, with the economic and socio-political ideologies and discourses of the rural agrarian society of the Andes. These include such principles as contracts, the value of cash and commodities, and the importance of manufactured goods; but this transformation also involves a more fundamental reorientation toward the social world of the rural Andes (closely connected to Quechua) as well as the Peruvian nation. This is different from other language contact situations in Latin America in which speakers manage their social lives between a single indigenous language and a single European language: in this case, Quechua is the language of economic integration, national consciousness, and 'rural modernity' (see Chapter 3), while Spanish (as described in Chapter 4) is associated with political modernity.

Another goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how the expansion and consolidation of the agricultural frontier takes place at the micro-level through strategic interactions and temporary alliances between trading partners (what I call 'the improvised frontier'). These relationships are very delicate and are subject to constant renegotiation, and because involvement in the nascent coffee economy represents serious financial risks to both Yokiriños and the coffee merchants, both parties are highly dependent on each other's willingness to honor their agreements. For this reason, open conflict is carefully avoided and the struggle for advantageous bargaining position (what might be called 'negotiation') is largely carried out covertly. To this end, discourse genres are strategically deployed to disavow conflict: the confrontational bargaining genre is downplayed, and the idioms of agrarian solidarity (including drinking and joking in Quechua) and kinship are brought to the foreground. The discursive management of these relationships is an important site through which Yokiriños become rural agrarian co-evals within *colono* society.

5.2 Selling coffee

An important site of language contact in Yokiri is the increasingly intense interaction between the *comuneros* and the human face of the agricultural economy: municipal extension agents, local bureaucrats, cattle vaccinators, road and construction crews, and above all, coffee merchants. Much of the day-to-day management of Yokiri's economic and social incorporation into the *campesinado* of La Convención takes place through interactions with these people, so this process provides a micro-level social and interactional perspective on the macro-level phenomenon of frontier expansion. But

while Spanish plays an important part in public discourse and in the formation of a democratic political culture in Yokiri, the community's commercial interactions often include the use of Quechua. For many speakers of indigenous languages in Latin America, political modernity and economic incorporation are both connected to a single European colonial language; this situation is more complex, because Spanish is associated with political modernity and Quechua is associated with economic modernity. These two domains of social action overlap significantly and create a number of paradoxes and tensions.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, there is far more at stake in Yokiri's coffee production than just money. For Yokiriños, entering the *campesinado* 'peasantry' is a fundamental social and cultural realignment that involves (among other things) the development of a national subjectivity and the cultivation of a particular type of agrarian modernity in evidence across the province. In short, it means joining a new Bourdieuan field (Bourdieu 1984) with new types of capital and principles of circulation. As I discussed in Chapter 3, this formulation of modernity involves acquiring money through increasingly intensive and technically advanced farming techniques and the accumulation of material goods. In addition to these signifiers of modernity, a more fundamental transformation of subjectivity is at play--for instance, reimagining one's priorities to include educating one's children so that they might *ser algo* 'be something' and leave Yokiri, establishing *compadrazgo* kinship ties to influential outsiders, and forging a nucleated settlement pattern organized around social and economic integration into *colono* society. At a day-to-day level (as I will demonstrate in this chapter), introduction into this Bourdieuan field also involves participation in rural agrarian sociality--most

notably, through the interactional regime of social drinking and joking so common in the rural Andes.

As discussed in Chapter 3, coffee production is a domain of activity through which Yokiriños engage with a particular type of agrarian modernity, and interactions with merchants in and around coffee sales are an important interactional context for the enactment of these values. The sale of coffee also serves as a structure of relations in which Matsigenkas can interact with *colono* society on (theoretically) equal footing--that is, in the highly routinized interactional genre of a commercial transaction, both parties are "formal equals" (Keane 2008:35), a role that market transactions have served for ethnic minorities elsewhere in Latin America (e.g. French 2000). Participation in the highly structured terms of the coffee industry also gives Yokiriños a more general context in which to assert their social equality--when they sit side-by-side with *colonos* in municipal workshops about fertilizing and fermentation techniques, racial differences become subordinated to the common endeavor of coffee production. This was expressed explicitly by a local bureaucrat who, during an official visit to the community in 2011, discursively neutralized the political and racial disparity between himself and the *comuneros* with the Spanish declaration *todos somos campesinos* 'we're all peasants'--that is to say, economic participation creates a common ground that suspends the marginalized condition of the Yokiriños and opens a space in which Matsigenkas and *colonos* are co-evals (Fabian 1983).⁴⁰ On the other hand, of course, embracing the peasantry is a point of great ambivalence among Matsigenkas who have seen their land

⁴⁰ Andrew Gray notes a similar statement made by a man in an Arakmbut community in 1992: "when someone comes into the community and says '*todos somos Peruanos*' (we're all Peruvians), watch out, he is trying to screw you" (1997:54). In the case mentioned by Gray, the discursive neutralization of the difference between the Arakmbut and the state or Andean *colonos* can be a pretext for coercing community members into a decision beneficial to outsiders.

invaded and their traditional livelihoods threatened by *colonos*. Thus Yokiri's interactions with the various agents of the agrarian economy of La Convención, who together comprise the human face of expertise and progress but also of their subjugation to an alien authority, are freighted with great moral and political value beyond the ostensible market rationality often invoked to explain economic transformations of these kinds (Keane 2008). The terrain on which these struggles play out is linguistic and discursive.

Most (though not all) of the interactions I observed between Yokiriños and coffee merchants were strategically oriented, however indirectly, toward the establishment of maximally favorable terms within the adversarial commercial relationship—a prototypically dialogic process perhaps best glossed as 'negotiation,' though the strategies deployed in this case were rather less conventionalized, spatio-temporally bounded, and tactically straightforward than that term brings to mind. In fact, as I will discuss below, the culminating events in which one would most expect to find the interactional conventions most associated with 'negotiation'—the moment in which a particular amount of cash is exchanged for a particular quantity of coffee—were in a sense the least consequential. The real work is done during the months- (or years-) long struggle for advantageous bargaining position, in which the parties must compete, conspire, and deceive, but also maintain each other's trust and loyalty to preserve the commercial relationship. In this context, open conflict is suppressed, and the moment of the actual transaction is notable for its lack of interdiscursive reference to the interactional genre of 'bargaining' or 'haggling' that is so common in the region. This is one example of how making money from coffee in Yokiri requires the careful

management of various kinds of signs within the moral and political economy (Keane 1997) of the coffee frontier, and of how this economy regiments the circulation and distribution of particular linguistic behavior within the Yokiri speech community.

5.2.1 The improvised frontier

This perspective on frontier expansion leaves aside the macro-explanatory forces of economics and focuses instead on how individuals participated in the day-by-day construction of a nascent coffee economy where there was none before. The economic arrangement at hand was created through innumerable decisions and calculations in a fundamentally dialogic process between the various actors.

Frontier expansion in La Convención has always worked this way. Historically, the transformation of the forests of the province into productive farmland has largely been accomplished by small-holding farmers working far beyond the road network (often, in areas populated by Matsigenkas) and improvising small-scale logistical arrangements to bring their product to market. The development of the frontier economy begins with this sort of collaborative, decentralized work among *colonos*, who establish the channels and routines that are gradually formalized and consolidated by state infrastructural investment. Indeed, in the late 19th and early 20th century, the areas close to the provincial capital of Quillabamba were a lot like Yokiri: heavily forested, lightly populated, and without significant transportation infrastructure. As the economy grew over the course of the next century, the personal arrangements between farmers and merchants grew into large-scale institutional structures, while the foot paths and mule

trails that first linked the valley to the city of Cuzco were replaced by a succession of increasingly well-built roads.

As one travels north beyond the mature mechanisms and routines that function so smoothly in the old economic juggernaut of the southern valley, the agrarian infrastructure's hold on the land gradually loosens. And past the end of the road, the newest participants in the agrarian economy are busy clearing land, planting coffee, and laying the foundations for the next phase of frontier expansion. In these places, the coffee economy is still a small-scale system brokered among kinship networks and negotiated on a personal and highly contingent level, and relations between Matsigenkas and *colonos* are often still volatile and unsettled.

This is the context of Yokiri's current stage of incorporation into the coffee industry. When the *comuneros* dug their road through the community in the late 2000s, they placed themselves in an emergent social order among *colono* farmers and merchants who were pushing the agrarian economy into a region where there was none before. The nature of this creation was partially determined by its extension from the established economic system of the southern valley, but some of the most fundamental features of the structure (the course of the roads, the patterns of colonization, the connections among merchants and particular distributors, and—most significantly for this study—relations to nearby Matsigenkas) were simply improvised. Therefore, the interactions described in this chapter should be seen as constituting an innovative interactional framework, in which the participants draw in part on the conventions and strategies of the established economy, and in part on their own creativity--in short, as issuing from a structuring and structured *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977). Part of this creativity involves how highland *colonos*

and Matsigenkas draw upon knowledge and experiences of each other to deal with each other's presence.

The agricultural frontier favors hard work, toughness, and entrepreneurial creativity. A coffee farmer willing to work his fingers to the bone for decades in a harsh, solitary, and dangerous environment can sell his land for an extraordinary profit when the road finally arrives; likewise, a merchant capable of traveling these unstable and lawless roads to cultivate durable trade networks can establish a small commercial empire as that region develops into a serious producer. For both parties, economic success depends largely on the ability to creatively forge alliances and squeeze profit from them, and in the inchoate social and economic order of the frontier, the strategies and rules are more personal and less defined than in the well-established economic centers of La Convención.

5.3 Yokiri enters the market

Before the Yokiriños built their road, bringing coffee to market was a complex and difficult matter. In the late 1970s, the first *colonos* in Huillcapampa carried their product on mules from the valley bottom at 650m (2130ft) to 2400m (7875ft) over the formidable Abra Reina pass, and back down again to the valley bottom on the other side at 750m (2460ft) (as discussed in Chapter 2, the Yokiriños carried their product in the other direction to Chirumbia until the road arrived in Tupac Amaru, at the foot of the Abra Reina pass, in the early 1990s). Only relatively small quantities of product could be transported on these arduous trips. Over the years the junction between the mule trail and the road network came closer and closer, making coffee production more and more profitable, and when it finally moved into the Yavero Valley and approached

Huillcapampa in the 1990s, the farmers of Yokiri were able to increase their production and engage with coffee merchants in a sustained and substantial manner.

5.3.1 Gregorio

The only merchant working the Yavero Valley during that time was an early-arriving *colono* named Gregorio. Gregorio is tough and uncompromising, and because he had a virtual monopoly on the coffee of the lower Yavero Valley, he was able to offer prices that many farmers found exploitative. This was particularly true for Matsigenkas: as discussed in Chapter 3, many *colonos* and merchants do not take Matsigenkas seriously as coffee producers, and try to take advantage of them. Matsigenkas are not thought to have the knowledge, experience, or--most of all--the ambition required to participate in serious commercial agriculture, particularly with a crop as technically demanding as coffee. The Yokiriños are quite aware of these stereotypes and the danger that they might be taken advantage of, so when they finally built their road through the community during the late 2000s, they began to look around for a new merchant who would offer them better terms (or at least force Gregorio to offer more favorable terms).

5.3.2 Edison

It was at this point in the economic development of Yokiri that Edison first visited the community in early 2011. Edison soon replaced Gregorio as Yokiri's primary link to the regional economy and became a very important person in the community, so his story is worth telling in detail.

Edison was born in the late 1960s in the burgeoning provincial capital of Quillabamba, and grew up in a family of agriculturalists and traders. As a child he helped his family in their coffee and cacao plantations, and he accompanied his father on trips up and down the Urubamba River valley selling bottled soft drinks and learning how to fix cars, trucks, and agricultural machinery in the emerging *colono* settlements. As a boy in the late 1970s, he witnessed the first, triumphant arrival of the Yana Machu train into the Pavayoc terminal, and as a young man he owned one of the first motorcycles in the province of La Convención, which he drove from Cuzco through the snowy Abra Málaga pass (4300 meters, 14110 feet).

During the internal war of the 1980s and 1990s, Edison fought against the Sendero Luminoso in the lowland valleys between the district of Vilcabamba and the VRAE. This experience made Edison exceptionally tough and resourceful (see, for instance, his Quechua narrative about escaping an ambush in (45) below), and his work as a coffee merchant draws on a number of the same skills. Narco-terrorists have exerted control over great expanses of the VRAE and the western part of La Convención ever since the war, and Edison's instincts, training, and knowledge in this dangerous environment are crucial to his success as a frontier tradesman.

After the war, Edison returned to Quillabamba, got married, and opened a small mechanic shop on his father-in-law's property at what was then the outskirts of the quickly expanding city (but is now considered the center of town). During that time he served as president of the *mototaxistas* union and established a comfortable living among the emerging provincial middle class. With the profits from his mechanic shop, he bought a 4x4 pickup truck and served as a driver and guardian for local politicians and leaders of

the Matsigenka Council (COMARU) in remote and often dangerous areas of the province.

Given his qualifications, entrepreneurial ambition, and extensive experience on the agricultural frontier, Edison's foray into secondary work in the coffee industry was a natural next step. There is a lot of money to be made in the rapidly-expanding industry, and as he shuttled engineers, bureaucrats, COMARU officials, and agronomists from one remote frontier hamlet to the next, Edison learned which areas were underserved (or, in many cases, mis-served) by coffee merchants like Gregorio, and often intervened with community leaders during lunch breaks in the official business to broker side deals on the spot.

5.3.3 Edison and Yokiri: Yokiri's coffee production comes of age

This is how Edison established a commercial relationship with Yokiri. In March 2011, he accompanied the leaders of COMARU to Yokiri for a meeting, and during their visit, he gathered information about the local merchants and the prices they were offering. He learned that many Yokiriños were unhappy with their arrangement with Gregorio. Then, in July 2011, there was an incident in which Gregorio was ambushed and robbed late at night on the Boyero-Otinganía road in Yokiri. The assailants allegedly set off dynamite as he approached on the road, pulled him from his truck, relieved him of a large sum of cash, and escaped into the forest. The reports of this incident are conflicting and imprecise, and fingers have been pointed in every conceivable direction. Gregorio was terrified by the attack, and that was the end of his business relationship with Yokiri.

Shortly after this incident, Edison traveled to Yokiri to propose an arrangement with the community. They were anxious to find a new merchant, and Edison's unique skill set qualified him to work in areas, such as Yokiri, that other merchants considered unsafe. He was invited to attend a long *asamblea* with the community, in which they established the terms of their commercial relationship in a tense and serious negotiation. Edison promised 1) to arrive on pre-arranged days, with a regularity corresponding to the volume of the harvest; 2) to attend some community events and celebrations, particularly those that require the transportation of sound systems, generators, and Catholic ritual items from Quillabamba; and 3) to bring market and manufactured goods from Quillabamba for sale. Edison's wife Gladys, who often accompanied him on these trips, would load the truck with great quantities of fish, rice, eggs, machetes, chuño, live chicks and ducklings, flashlights, and anything else that she thought she might be able to sell in Yokiri and on the way. Yokiri, in turn, committed 1) to reserve at least 50% of their harvest for sale to Edison; and 2) to make a storehouse available so that Edison and Gladys would not have to haul their durable wares back and forth across the frontier for each visit⁴¹. This arrangement ensured that Yokiri would have a reliable and punctual buyer for their coffee harvest, and it decreased Edison's risk by guaranteeing that he would have business upon his arrival. However, Yokiri's position was by no means unanimous--in the meetings before and after this negotiation, José mounted a very aggressive campaign against the agreement, on the grounds that *el negocio es libre* ('trade is free')—that is, committing to sell this quantity of product to a single merchant

⁴¹ Because I was close with Edison and lived near the road, the community asked me if I would make a space in my house available to Edison and Gladys for use as a storehouse. For this reason, I became the store keeper and was eventually authorized to sell wares to the community on Edison and Gladys's behalf, which put me in an occasionally awkward position between the two parties but gave me access to the commercial relationship I would not have otherwise had.

before agreeing on price was a poor business decision. This source of tension was an extension of the kin-based conflicts described in Chapter 2.

5.3.4 Risk and mutual dependence

The arrangement negotiated between Edison and the farmers of Yokiri was a way for each party to reduce the economic risks inherent to coffee production and distribution in the remote areas of the frontier (for another example of personal arrangements as mitigators of risk in unstable economic circumstances, see Clark (1991)). For Edison, a trip into the frontier to buy coffee is risky: his route takes him away from his work as a mechanic and a driver for most of the week, and in the most productive part of the harvest season, he must travel nearly every week. He invests in hundreds of dollars of gasoline, hires at least one employee to help him haul the coffee and take the wheel at night, and he and Gladys bring enough wholesale market goods to make money on the way down (while being careful not to buy so much that they are stuck with rotting perishables at the end of the trip). If Edison arrives and the farmers have already sold their coffee to another merchant, he stands to lose quite a lot of his investment.

Producing coffee in Yokiri is also risky business for the farmers. Part of this risk is due to the temperamental nature of coffee (as discussed in Chapter 3)—when the seeds ripen, there is a short window in which to pick, wash, ferment, and dry them, and if a merchant does not arrive when their coffee is ready to be sold, the harvest can quickly rot or dry out in the sack and becomes useless. The consequences of losing a *quintal* (100 lbs.) of coffee can be disastrous, particularly for small coffee farmers whose total annual harvest may be only 5-10 *quintal* sacks. All of the interventions into the quality and scale

of coffee production discussed in Chapter 3 are in vain if farmers cannot depend on merchants to move their product to market on a regular and predictable schedule. For these reasons, each party has quite a lot of leverage against the other, even if Edison is ultimately the dominant participant in the commercial relationship (for a similar case among Ashéninkas and mestizo traders, see Killick (2008b:320)).

Across the coffee-producing areas of Peru, the liabilities that come with this uncertainty are mitigated by the regularity of the regional market schedule. Each *colono* settlement has a weekly *plaza* ‘market day’ (Wednesday, in Huillcapampa) in which the farmers come down from their plantations in the hills to sell their harvest, buy foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and socialize (and to spend some of their profit on beer, which the coffee merchants bring to the frontier in great quantities). For this reason, the frontier settlements are often abandoned for most of the week, but buzzing with activity on the day of the *plaza*. Settlements along a single penetration road often coordinate their *plazas* to fall on the same day or on sequential days, so that merchants can serve all of them in a single trip. One result of this regularity is that merchants constantly cross paths, and often end up engaged in cordial but tense small-talk. Farmers along well-trafficked roads are adept at playing the merchants off each other to extract the highest possible price; but as we will see below, the most precious commodity of all is loyalty, and farmers jeopardize their personal relationships with merchants at their own peril.

Yokiri is too far from the nearest the colonist settlement, Huillcapampa, for the farmers to easily haul their product to the *plaza*. Sometimes they carry their coffee to the road on their backs or on mules and donkeys, and flag down the merchants as they pass. If they live close enough to the road to hear the trucks approaching, they can drag their

coffee sacks to the road at the last moment. Because the road makes numerous switchbacks up the hill to Yokiri, the farmers can often hear the heavy diesel truck honking and clanking up the road more than 15 minutes before it arrives. In other cases, people hide their sacks in the forest near the road in the morning, and sprint to the roadbed when they hear the truck approaching. This, of course, exposes them to the risk of theft, which is very common when coffee prices are high.

Because the farmers depend on the punctual arrival of the merchants, the unreliable road network carries serious economic risks. When a landslide cuts the valley off, the farmers often make frantic radio and telephone calls to the municipality to call in a road crew, drive or hike up to clear the landslide themselves, and in some cases make an *escala*, in which farmers bring their harvest via truck or mule to one side of a landslide and carry their products through the mud and debris to the merchants waiting on the other side. In these cases, the communication radio network and the Radio Quillabamba short-wave station are essential modes of communication between farmers, merchants, and municipal officials.



Figure 20: Yokiriños clear a landslide to open the road for Edison

Another risk for coffee merchants is the dangerous, lawless nature of the frontier (see, for instance, the robbery of Gregorio). What little police presence exists is oriented toward drug interdiction and confronting the militias that protect cocaine smugglers, and smaller crimes like assault and theft are often ignored because of limited resources and bureaucratic incompetence (or, in some cases, because of complicity on the part of corrupt police officers and local officials). Farmers are also very wary of crossing paths with cocaine smugglers traveling through their land at night, which is especially common in remote areas (*comunidades nativas* tend to be some of the most remote areas of the Alto Urubamba region, and as a result Matsigenkas are particularly affected by the recent emergence of the cocaine industry). The massive seasonal influx of temporary workers

from the highlands during the harvest season also brings a dramatic increase in crime, and coffee merchants are particularly concerned about *desconocidos* ‘strangers’ on the road, especially at night.

There are many other problems that can arise in the course of a coffee merchant’s work. The very new road network around Yokiri is still settling into the landscape, and landslides are extremely common. In the rainy season, landslides cover the roads or sweep them away entirely. Every year coffee trucks plunge off of crumbling road beds-- for instance, 51 people were killed in October 2013 when a truck fell 100 meters off a road in Santa Teresa (near Quillabamba) (Briceño 2013). The roads of La Convención, as in lowland roads across the region (Aguilar López and Spedding Pallet 2011), are dotted with necrophany attesting to this constant danger. But more frequently, landslides simply block passage for weeks or months at a time. During my time in Yokiri, the main road to Yokiri was closed for more than seven months due to landslides, which are visible above and below the road pictured below in Figure 21:



Figure 21: Landslides on the new road to Yokiri (Chapo Boyero-Otingamía)

When Edison travels to Yokiri from Quillabamba, he must choose between two roads (see Figure 8). The Chapo Boyero-Otingamía road (pictured in Figure 21 above) takes only 4-6 hours, but it is very new and is often blocked. Alternatively, he may take the Estrella road, which can take more than 9 hours, but has settled into the landscape and is much less likely to be obstructed by a landslide. The Estrella road is not much longer than the Boyero-Otingamía road in terms of distance, but requires ascending the formidable Abra Reina pass and descending through more than 30 dangerous switchbacks back down again to the valley bottom. This elevation gain causes quite a bit of wear on Edison's truck, and the severe drop in temperature in the highest elevations (which often happens very late at night) is very unpleasant.

One important piece of information is where the District of Quellouno's road crew is working at the time--if they have recently traveled down a road, it is likely that they have repaired it and that it is passable. But in many cases the communication radios

are unreachable, and the information that circulates about landslides and the status of the road crews is often outdated and inaccurate. The work is often left to the merchants, who always carry a pick, a shovel, and an axe. It is always a question of judgment whether opening a path through a landslide is worth the labor. For instance, on one occasion in October 2011, Edison, Gladys and I spent hours clearing a small slide (see Figure 22), recruited the neighboring *colonos* for their help, and then slept in the back of Edison's truck to continue work at dawn--only to be forced to turn back when we encountered a much larger slide a few kilometers further on. The trip was represented a significant financial loss for Edison, as well as an inconvenience and liability for the farmers he had arranged to meet.



Figure 22: Edison, Gladys, and the author (not pictured) prepare to spend several hours clearing a small landslide on the road to Yokiri

5.4 The struggle for leverage

Within this context of instability and uncertainty, the agreement between Edison and Yokiri established a relatively reliable system for moving coffee to market. However, the arrangement ensured only that the transactions would take place--the question of price remained undetermined. The framework, therefore, was the starting point for considerable strategic maneuvering and brinksmanship, in which Edison and the Yokiriños each employed a wide variety of strategies to maximize their profit without endangering the relationship. Interestingly, because the parties had already agreed that the transaction would take place, the fundamental bargaining chip in most transactions--the ability to take one's business elsewhere--was off the table. As a result, while some of the strategies were direct and overt and resembled 'negotiation' in its canonical form (e.g. the hours-long, sleeves-up meeting between Edison and the community), most were subtle and indirect. Many strategies (particularly those performed on market day) were carried out in face-to-face interactions and constituted attempts to influence transactions in the short term; other implicit and covert communicatively significant events (such as not appearing for a sale) were deployed to gain leverage in other transactions that would not take place for many months.

Because each of the diverse strategies are oriented in the minds of the participants toward the specific goal of maximizing profit, the interaction is no less coherent for its unusually large scale--that is to say, 'scale' here is an empirical designation (Lempert 2012b:149), since individual moves are constructed by the participants with reference to specific imagined events in the distant future. The temporal structure of the relationship and the sequentiality of the interactional events was crucial to the kinds of strategies

that were deployed and interpreted (Irvine 2005)--for instance, as we will see below, a threat to withdraw takes its force from the other party's ability to interpret it as a response to an antecedent action.

Interestingly, the transactions themselves were not necessarily the most important events in the commercial relationship--just as, for example, the calling of the *yeas* and *nays* on the floor of congress is not necessarily the most important site of a big vote, nor does the institutional setting of court rooms always provide the sole privileged perspective on the resolution of legal conflicts (Brenneis 1988:222-223). For this reason, this macro-interactional event is of some interest to scholars who have begun to look beyond the face-to-face "interaction order" (Goffman 1983) for elements that cannot be reduced to the contributions of present individuals in a single speech event.

This is not to say, of course, that every interaction was 'strategic,' and that the vast array of interactions comprising the relationship is reducible to the singular goal of maximizing profit. Indeed, sometimes (for example) drinking is just drinking, and need not be necessarily attributed to an overly deterministic and calculating model of intentionality (Duranti 1993). This example points to a central methodological and analytical problem in studying an interaction of such scale and multimodal complexity: what is 'in' the interaction? The blurry boundary between strategic behavior and non-strategic behavior, already obscured by the highly subtle and indirect nature of the strategies themselves (and perhaps a misleading dichotomy in its own right), was difficult to discern. This is, of course, an empirical question, and the account presented here depends on the interpretations of the participants.

This presentation of the strategies will be roughly chronological, starting with general positioning strategies that took place early in the relationship, and ending on the hours and minutes leading up to the transactions on market days. Most of the interactional material presented here takes place on market days. The timeline in Table 8 provides a synoptic view of interactions between Edison and the farmers of Yokiri from 2011 to 2012. As will be clear, after October 2011 there was a gradual deterioration in the relationship.

March 2011	Edison visits Yokiri with COMARU, arranges to return in July
April	
May	
June	
July	Gregorio attacked on the road to Yokiri Edison negotiates an agreement with Yokiri
August	Edison buys coffee in Yokiri
September	Edison buys coffee in Yokiri, attends Sta. Rosa of Lima festival, baptizes child Edison buys coffee in Yokiri
October	Edison buys coffee in Yokiri
November	Edison attempts to travel to Yokiri, turns back at a landslide in Otingamía Edison is blocked again at Otingamía, and turns back to travel via Estrella Edison threatens to withdraw Community anniversary; Edison declines to attend
December	Conflicts over unpaid debts Yokiriño child moves to Edison's house in Quillabamba
January 2012	
February	
March	Conflicts over unpaid debts continue Edison clears out his storehouse in Yokiri
April	

Table 8: Timeline of the relationship between Edison and Yokiri

5.4.1 Dispelling conflict and solidifying ties

Once the terms were settled and formalized in July 2011, both parties worked to transform the relationship from one of pure economic obligation to one of personal

allegiance and intimacy. This was accomplished through a number of interactional strategies and structural interventions in the relationship.

First, Edison was incorporated into the social and ritual fabric of the community. He was invited to be the guest of honor at the Santa Rosa of Lima celebrations (the patron saint of Yokiri) at the end of August 2011, where he provided the sound system and served as the emcee for a few days of drinking, dancing, and feasting. This honor was in recognition of his status of power and respect in Yokiri, and it also gave the community an opportunity to make a public display of their resources. Many of the neighboring *colonos* were invited to attend, and (as described in Chapter 2) rather than put the massive loudspeakers inside the *salón comunal* for the three consecutive all-night dance parties, the community set them up outside the building and pointed them outwards so that everyone within a few miles of the community would know that Yokiri had made an impressive investment in the celebrations--a creative intervention in the structure of the participant roles (Irvine 1996) in which the neighboring *colonos* were ratified overhearers of a pointed display of agrarian modernity. A late-night fireworks display was oriented to be visible from the nearby *colono* settlements for the same reason.

Edison and Gladys were also asked to baptize one of the farmer's children during the Santa Rosa of Lima mass, putting them in a *compadrazgo* relationship of mutual obligation with the child's parents (unlike in other areas of the Peruvian Amazon (Killick 2008b:321), Yokiriños still base these relationships in Catholic religious rite of baptism). Edison and Gladys and the child's parents now refer to each other with the kinship address terms *compadre* and *comadre* that invoke this spiritual bond (as they call it). Interestingly, these kin terms are deployed most frequently on market day, when the

commercial nature of the relationship is at its most dangerous and must be obscured by the foregrounding of personal affection. By pulling a veil of spiritual kinship over the economic arrangement, each party reinforced the stability and trust of their commitment-- and raised the stakes on disloyalty (as it is, after all, a graver offense to betray one's spiritual kin than one's trading partner) (for different cases of the relationships between *compadrazgo* ties and economic relationships, see Osborn (1968), Chevalier (1982), and Killick (2008b)).

Perhaps the most significant act of mutual commitment was when the *presidente's* younger brother was sent to Quillabamba to attend high school and live in Edison's house. Ervin earned his room and board by working in the mechanic shop and attended high school at night. Ervin addressed Edison and Gladys with the affection kin terms *tío* 'uncle' and *tía* 'aunt', further repositioning the relationship as one of kinship and personal affection rather than business. Now when Yokiriños travel to Quillabamba to conduct official business, they stay and eat in Edison's house—that is to say, the relationship of hospitality is mutual.

The ties between Edison and Yokiri were also strengthened by the cash loans that Edison doled out early in the coffee harvest season. Yokiriños, in addition to saving up as much storable food as possible and depending heavily on foraging and horticulture, survive the income-less months between the harvests with financial help from merchants (often, these loans are used to pay off debts to other merchants incurred during the unproductive rainy season.) This system functions reasonably smoothly as long as the coffee prices are high--but when the Peruvian coffee industry falters, as in 2011 when the prices dropped, the farmers can quickly find themselves owing more than the entire worth

of their annual harvest. At the end of the 2011 harvest season the families of Yokiri still owed Edison a total of more than \$1500, a significant proportion of their annual income. This is a serious economic liability for Edison, for whom much of this debt will likely end up as a loss. However, Yokiri's debt represents a major improvement in his bargaining position, since it would be very difficult for the community to break ties with him while the debt is still outstanding.⁴² The issuing of long-term debt also signals to both parties that the relationship is durable and that the mutual trust will last for a long time, though by 2012 it appeared that the breaking point was approaching.

5.4.2 Performing loyalty

Despite all of this social work, the veil of solidarity only ever partially obscures the latent tension between Edison and Yokiri. Because of the fragility of this arrangement, both sides felt it necessary to reaffirm the bond by performing loyalty through acts and statements of various kinds. This was part of a general tendency to foreground expressions of solidarity over competition, but loyalty was also an important point of leverage in the economic relationship: each party put the other in its debt by demonstrating their fealty to the original agreement.

Consider, for instance, a trip that Edison, Gladys and I made to Yokiri in October 2011. We traveled down the shorter Boyero-Otinganía road (see Figure 21 and Figure 8) only to be blocked by a landslide just before the Yokiri border. Because Edison had invested so much capital in gasoline and market goods, the inability to reach the farmers

⁴² Historically, a major problem for Matsigenkas has been their tendency to incur insurmountable debt. This situation bears some resemblance to the debt peonage system that rubber traders used to enslave the Yokiriños' great-grandparents in the early 20th century.

and buy their coffee was a major problem; however, a bigger problem was that the relationship was already on the rocks since Edison had recently missed a scheduled visit due to heavy rains. We returned to the road junction, bought more gasoline, and traveled down the Estrella road all the way around to Yokiri. This extra expenditure in time and capital meant that the whole trip was a loss, but it was a necessary investment in the long term stability of the relationship. When he finally arrived in Yokiri, Edison recounted his arduous journey in great detail and framed his efforts as evidence of his commitment and loyalty to the community. The tactic paid off: during the subsequent *asamblea*, several Yokiriños cited this incident in Edison's defense when José renewed his objections to the agreement. The agreement held, and in the end, the value of Edison's reputation for dependability outweighed the losses he sustained by taking the long road to Estrella. It is interesting to note here in passing the considerable power that the farmers had over Edison, which points to the role of these transactions as contexts in which social unequals interact, however briefly, on equal footing.

The farmers of Yokiri, for their part, also made demonstrations of their loyalty to Edison, for instance, by concealing the extent to which they had sold their product to other merchants who visited Yokiri. In fact, José had been making side deals with merchants in Huillcapampa as part of his campaign against the arrangement with Edison, but he and the other *comuneros* under-reported the quantity of coffee they were harvesting in order to give the impression that they were upholding the agreement to reserve half of their product for him. This turned out to be a dangerous strategy--Edison eventually came to suspect that the community was not being entirely truthful based on

information he gathered through the tight-knit frontier gossip network, and when he saw fresh tire tracks on the road in late October.

5.4.3 The threat of withdrawal

At this point, Edison lost faith in Yokiri's commitment to the arrangement, and the relationship began to wear thin. Coffee prices in the valley were lower than expected in 2011, and at this late point in the coffee harvest it was clear that neither party would make as much money from the relationship as they had hoped. In particular, Edison now realized that the cash he loaned to the community would not be paid off this season, and (most offensively) his biggest debtors even began to avoid his visits.

One strategy that each party employed during these moments of doubt was the performance of dissatisfaction and the threat of withdrawal. These are the same tactics employed by a bargainer who walks away from a sale, forcing the other party to rescue the relationship by offering better terms. Brinkmanship is an aggressive strategy that carries significant risk—after all, there is always a chance that the other party will not capitulate—but both parties used it to gain leverage without ending the arrangement.

As mentioned earlier, Edison was beginning to lose his patience with the community by the end of the 2011 harvest season, particularly because of the issue of debt. The most egregious offense occurred when I left the community for a visit to Quillabamba, and when I returned, the list of Edison's storehouse items I had sold on credit had been 'lost'. At the beginning of the next harvest season in March 2012, Edison made a strong tactical move by arriving late at night to clear the durable wares (flashlights, batteries, canned goods, soap, etc.) out of the store, suggesting that he had

reached a breaking point and was in the process of withdrawing his support of the community in the upcoming harvest. This was a risky move, since the community still owed Edison quite a lot of money, and because his near-monopoly on the Yokiri coffee trade was a valuable asset. However, during the next *asamblea*, the community decided (again, against José's strident opposition) to repair the relationship with Edison by prioritizing the repayment of the debt and continuing the previous year's agreement. Indeed, the list of debts reappeared shortly thereafter, and people began to pay him back. Edison later told me that he was confident that his aggressive display of dissatisfaction would pay off, because the *comuneros* depended on his regular visits, and because they knew that the failure of the relationship would reflect poorly on their dependability as trading partners in the gossip network of the emergent agrarian social order (another stereotype leveled against Matsigenkas).

During my time in Yokiri, the community members also improved their economic leverage by performing dissatisfaction and threatening to withdraw. I never saw this happen with Edison (perhaps since Yokiri was on the defensive during most of 2011), but the community sent unequivocal signals of disapproval to other merchants by not coming to meet their trucks. This is one of the primary means by which Matsigenkas across the region manage conflict (Johnson 2003), and its extension to the merchants was very effective. On a few occasions, the community coordinated among themselves during *asambleas* so that nobody would be present when the merchants arrived. Waiting for hours alone in the ghostly silence of the abandoned road was an intimidating and

troubling experience, and it left the merchants scrambling to find some way to offer concessions to repair the relationship.⁴³

5.5 Market day

The sound of a large diesel truck straining to climb the steep road to Yokiri can be heard from several kilometers away. At the first distant grunt of the engine, Yokiriños freeze in place and immediately begin to speculate about who is arriving and what they might be bringing. Since in some seasons the trucks arrive as infrequently as once every two weeks, the sound of a creaking engine halts the school activities and brings the schoolchildren and even the teachers running excitedly to the road.

When a visit has been scheduled, many Yokiriños arrive near the school early in the day to await the merchant's arrival; others, particularly those who live hours away, arrive later, carrying their coffee to the school on the back of a donkey or a mule. People who live close to the road rush to intercept the truck in order to avoid a long and exhausting hike to the school.

Over the course of the morning, people arrive near the school from different directions, some leading mules or donkeys, others sweating and struggling under the weight of large sacks of coffee. They greet everyone as they always do: with a brief, weak clasp of the hand or fingers, usually without making eye contact, quietly muttering Spanish *buenos días* or Matsigenka *kutagitetanai* ('good morning'), or Matsigenka *pigantaga?* (lit. 'are you the same?'). After some quiet conversation, people find a bit of shade to sit and chew coca, smoke cigarettes, and take small sips from a plastic Coca-

⁴³ Since my house was on the road near where the merchants parked, this strategy also forced me into some delicate interactions with bewildered merchants who turned to me for help in interpreting the actions of the community.

Cola bottle filled with sugarcane liquor. This is one of few times during the month when community and family members see each other, and people use the opportunity to socialize.

5.5.1 Before the sale

People arriving at the school clearing can usually be seen approaching from more than 100m away, and both the assembled community members and the merchant discreetly monitor who is arriving and the number and size of the coffee sacks they are carrying. This is the moment in which the cards are laid upon the table--if a conspicuously small amount of coffee is brought to the truck, the merchant might suspect that the farmers have a separate deal with another coffee merchant, or that they feel they can hold out for a higher price elsewhere. If sellers bring a large amount of coffee that appears to be the entirety of their current harvest, the merchant knows that the community is not dealing with another merchant. This is, of course, difficult to interpret, and the farmers retain the upper hand by ducking questions about the quantity of their harvest even among themselves.⁴⁴ This sort of concealment of information is an important strategy in market negotiations of many kinds (Alexander and Alexander 1987:45).

These observations have important implications for the bargaining positions of both sides and for the price that the merchant will eventually offer. But even though this number is on everyone's minds, the topic will usually not be broached until hours later. Until then, Edison's arrival is an occasion for laughing, joking, inquiring after family

⁴⁴ For this reason, I gave up early in my fieldwork on trying to obtain reliable quantitative data about harvest yields.

members, and catching up on news. Some people warily approach the truck and converse with Edison, often in Quechua, which invokes a frame of camaraderie and their shared orientation to the agrarian economy.

Eventually, Yokiriños begin to buy beer from Gladys. She brings many crates of beer to Yokiri (see Figure 23 below), and she sells bottles at a slight markup. She also fills special orders of crates to Yokiriños who operate beer “stores” in their homes, selling bottles to their fellow community-mates at a further markup above Gladys’s cut (sometimes those people even sell their doubly-marked up beer on the spot once Gladys’s supply has run out). Many Yokiriños buy beer on credit that they will pay off later in the afternoon once the coffee transactions have taken place. Usually, groups of 2-4 men or women approach the truck and buy one bottle at a time, inviting their kin to sit or stand in a gender-segregated group and pass around a small plastic cup. The atmosphere around the merchant's truck often resembles a party, and sometimes after a few bottles of beer have been passed around, he turns on the truck's radio so that the assembled Yokiriños can dance huaynos and cumbias.



Figure 23: Drinking beer at a festival in Yokiri

5.5.2 Joking

After a few hours of drinking, the quiet, guarded conversations become louder and bawdier, and Edison is invited to circulate among small congregations of men (but usually not women). Some people stand, while others sit on tree stumps, thresholds, rocks, or upturned beer crates, as in the video still of such a session at the author's house in August 2011, in Figure 24:



Figure 24: Drinking and joking at the author's house in Yokiri

Drunken speech plays an important role in establishing and reaffirming relationships of solidarity and trust between the farmers and the merchants and among the community itself. Drinking is a very important social institution in the rural Andean

region, serving such heterogeneous functions as creating a space for community and ceremonial action (Allen 1988; Isbell 1978), the airing of grievances (Harvey 1991), and the forging of an indigenous ethnic identity (Butler 2006). In Yokiri, the highly regimented interactional patterns of drunken joking constitute a site in which people of different social positions can engage as equals, making this interactional context an important common ground for establishing solidarity between social unequals such as merchants and farmers. Indeed, part of being accepted into the social world of the coffee frontier is being able to participate in the light ribbing that goes back and forth during a drinking session--one must be able to gently mock other merchants and community members (both present and absent) without being overly malicious, and be able 'take a joke' without becoming offended. When I was still adapting to this kind of interactional event early in my residence in Yokiri, people often pulled me aside after joking sessions to make sure I hadn't been offended and to reassure me that good-hearted mocking was part of how the community members express affection. I was a frequent target of this affection, as in this exchange in Quechua between me and a man from family #6 (21):

(21)

Man: Imatan musquranki?

Man: What did you dream about?

NQE: Mana imatapas musquranichu. Qanri, imatan musquranki?

NQE: I didn't dream about anything. And you, what did you dream about?

Man: Sofiata!

Man: Sophia! [Nick's girlfriend in the U.S.]

[Very hearty laughter among all assembled.]

[Very hearty laughter among all assembled.]

One interesting part of this exchange is that the speaker does not speak Quechua very well, but chose Quechua because of its value as a language that is 'good for joking with.' This ritualized linguistic behavior invokes the particular sort of *colono* drinking and joking culture that the Yokiriños have acquired through their interactions with their neighbors: buying bottles of beer, dedicating small toasts to each other as they pass around a small plastic cup, and participating in this kind of joking.

It is also significant that this man chose a very popular set joke in Yokiri. Some people have heard it many times, and there is more here than just ritual ribbing--one of the effects of this joke was to demonstrate his competence in Quechua to Edison, who was present for the interaction. Similarly, the hearty laughter after the joke was actually quite heartier than normal--some of the people who were laughing didn't actually understand the joke (either because they didn't understand Quechua or because they didn't know that my girlfriend's name is Sophia), and were overcompensating through the display of laughter. Yokiriños are keenly aware that merchants in this region tend think of Matsigenkas as easily deceived, and one way that Matsigenkas in Yokiri protect themselves from being taken advantage of is by broadcasting their (often feigned) competence in Quechua. In many cases, the deployment of set Quechua phrases and

jokes like this one (as well as appropriate, well-timed laughter) serves a shibbolethic function in demonstrating to merchants that they understand what is going on. In addition to the demonstration of linguistic competence, these displays are performances of the particular brand of rural *colono* sociality that accompanies coffee production (and signals familiarity with the economic context). Yokiriños and merchants alike told me that Matsigenkas who speak Quechua are often offered better prices, so (the appearance of) Quechua competence is an important linguistic asset in the political economy of the coffee frontier (Irvine 1989).

The festive tone and the riotous, often manic laughter of these drunken joking sessions also serve as a preemptive celebration to the impending transaction. Since each party will suffer great losses if the transaction fails, a lot of work goes into establishing the successful sale as a *fait accompli*. Celebrating the sale before it has happened therefore signals to each party that the transaction is assured (as does avoidance of the bargaining genre, with its implication of a willingness to 'walk away', as described below).

Once the generous flow of beer has lightened the mood and the amicable, egalitarian tone of the interaction has been established, the first, tentative commercial transactions begin to take place between the Yokiriños and Gladys. Women approach the truck, and Gladys stands in the flatbed, selling bags of food such as tomatoes, pasta, sugar, salt, bread, cheese, fish, and onions, as well as durable manufactured goods, including flashlights, bullets, soap, and matches. Many of these purchases are made in cash, but most are simply recorded in Gladys's notebook. In many cases, Gladys's debts are not repaid when the coffee is sold, and the persistence of debt binds the parties for

months or years. Interestingly, the two operations--Gladys's sale of market goods to women on credit and Edison's purchase of coffee from men--are kept quite distinct. Even though some women repay Gladys with the same cash that Edison hands to their husbands later in the day, the debt issued by Gladys is never simply subtracted from the sum paid by Edison--that is, the two businesses are always conducted independently and are mediated by cash. This seems counter-intuitive, as the system would function more smoothly if the figures were simple subtracted in a notebook, or if Edison bought the coffee first and handed over cash that the farmers could use in their transactions with Gladys; but because of the tension surrounding the coffee sale, this always came last. The separation between the two operations served to reassure the *comuneros* that they could make the decisions independently—that is, they could go into debt with Gladys without paying her back after the sale of the coffee. In some cases, Gladys even pretended not to notice when her debtors were selling their coffee to Edison so that they didn't feel pressure to pay her back.

Gladys often speaks in Quechua with the farmers, which keys a frame of solidarity and intimacy. However, during these transactions Yokiriños also often use Matsigenka to communicate among themselves without being understood by Gladys and Edison. This allows them to discuss prices and strategies secretly--though the merchants always know that something is afoot when their interlocutors address each other in Matsigenka. For instance, when one woman was inquiring about the availability of market goods from Edison, her sister remarked to her in a loud whisper:

- (22) Neviteri okitsoki!
n- nevi -t -e -ri o- kitsoki
 IRREAL ask.for EP IRREAL.I 3mO 3f- seed/egg
 ‘Ask him for bullets [lit. seeds/eggs]!’

I was confused by the reference to ‘seeds/eggs,’ and when I asked the woman about it later, she explained that while they would normally use the borrowed term for ‘bullet’ *vara* (from Spanish *bala*), they had fashioned a new use for the term *okitsoki* ‘seed/egg’ so that the merchants would not understand them. Similarly, women often use Matsigenka numerals to discuss their transactions without being understood--however, since Matsigenka traditionally only has the numerals 1, 2, and 3 (and more recently 4 and 5), this is one context in which some Matsigenkas are innovating a numerical system capable of expressing numbers in the tens, hundreds, and thousands.

5.5.3 The transaction

Eventually, once the relationship has been sufficiently reaffirmed and these tentative first purchases have been made, the parties can move to the most dangerous moment in the relationship: the sale of coffee. The subject is usually raised by a Yokiriño anxious to begin the long hike back home before dark.

By this time, Edison has not necessarily decided on the exact price he will offer the farmers. He may have developed an approximate figure based on the prices offered by the distributors in Quillabamba where he will eventually sell Yokiri's product--and the Yokiriños, for their part, listen to short-wave radios in the evenings and learn about the prices offered distributors and cooperatives, so they have some sense of where they stand in the price-setting. Edison also takes into account his current standing with Yokiri, and

evaluation based on how much coffee they have brought to the road, whether he suspects that they are surreptitiously selling to another merchant (who he must, then, attempt to covertly compete with), how the *comuneros* will interpret the current price based on the price he offered on his last visit (since each sale is a new negotiation and is compared against all previous sales), and, most importantly, where the power balance stands and how much leverage he has to lower the price without endangering the relationship. All of these factors figure into Edison's calculations, and the farmers are keenly aware of it--no interaction is more freighted with anxiety. However, the declaration of the price was usually so casual that I often had to pay close attention to avoid missing it, as in (23):

(23)

Man [leaning against the truck]: A cuánto está el café ahora?

Man [leaning against the truck]: What's coffee at right now?

Edison [in the back of the truck, leaning back for a carton of eggs]: Está a trescientos cincuenta.

Edison [in the back of the truck, leaning back for a carton of eggs]: It's at three-hundred and fifty.

Edison cited the figure nonchalantly, and the farmer received the information with the same cool indifference, though the atmosphere around the truck had changed abruptly as all ears perked up and turned discreetly to Edison. Edison has now effectively laid his cards upon the table--the strategic positioning of the previous months, weeks, and hours had led to this moment. The price has now been declared for the first time, and it will apply to each of the farmers.

The next step is the weighing of the coffee: Edison pulls his long, metal scale from the flatbed and hangs it from a bar on the side of the truck, and the two men tie a rope around a sack and hoist it onto the hook. Edison adjusts the counterweight until the parallel bar of the scale is perfectly horizontal. The two men stand back and stare intently at the scale, studiously avoiding eye contact, and once it has settled, Edison announces the weight. If the farmer speaks Quechua, he might ask, *Manachu?* ('Isn't that right?')-- as before, the use of Quechua here reinforces the casual, friendly nature of the interaction.

5.5.3.1 The bargaining genre

In many commercial interactions that Yokiriños and other people in the region engage in, announcement of the price would mark the beginning of a bargaining session-- here, however, it is carefully avoided for reasons I will discuss below. This normative interactional genre (Bakhtin 1986) is often highly conventionalized and metapragmatically regimented (Keane 2008), and it is immediately recognizable by people in the region. In fact, Edison often bargained with Yokiriños for goods other than coffee, sometimes even on days in which he visited to buy coffee—for instance, in July 2011 I saw Edison and a woman engage in a bargaining session over about 100 pounds of yuca on the road before he arrived to where the rest of the farmers were waiting to sell their coffee. Edison and the woman went back and forth for several minutes setting a price and adjusting the quantity of yuca in the truck, and Edison leveraged other events outside of the bargaining session, like the fact that he had just given her a ride to Huillcapampa to return an empty beer crate, to bring down the price. This interaction was

intense and openly oppositional, but it was also cordial and each party appeared to genuinely enjoy the sport of bargaining.

Similar versions of the bargaining genre around the world have received attention in the linguistic, anthropological, and linguistic anthropological literature (Keane 2008). Winnie Orr (2007) and Briggittine French (2000) provide analyses of the formal, interactional and strategic characteristics of the speech genre (see also Uchendu 1967). Orr's study describes how buyers and sellers in markets in Southern China participate in highly routinized interactions in which the cash transaction itself is foregrounded and little attempt is made to create a personal bond between the two parties, while French's analysis of bargaining sessions between Maya and Ladina women in a highland Guatemalan market features discursive techniques in which social relationships are foregrounded to construct a "sense of collaboration" (French 2000:163) and diffuse conflict. Abdennour Kharraki (2001) argues that Moroccan men tend to engage in solidarity strategies in bargaining, while women tend to improve their leverage through assertiveness. Andrew Causey (2003) describes bargaining over souvenirs between Toba Bataks and foreign tourists in Sumatra, in which the parties often have different expectations of what constitutes proper bargaining (as well as different conceptions of 'value') and must engage in highly improvisatory bargaining acts to bridge the cultural gap.

A handful of studies analyze how social identities are negotiated as people participate in market transactions. These studies share an attention to marketplaces as spaces in which social conflicts and paradoxes are enacted, reproduced, and challenged. For instance, Briggittine French (2000) goes on to describe how market transactions

provide a set of highly conventionalized interactional routines which Maya women can deploy to assert social equality with Ladina women--a strategy we see more generally in Yokiri's participation in the coffee economy as a means of achieving formal equality with neighboring *colonos*. Similarly, Deborah Kapchan (1996) describes how women's participation in Moroccan markets (and the corresponding speech genres) has made market transactions into sites for the transformation of gender roles (see also Kharraki 2001). Linda Seligmann (1989) points to the position of Peruvian market women as racialized mediators between rural *campesinos* and urban *mestizos* (see also Swetnam 1978), and presents transcripts (1993) of vicious arguments that break out in failed market transactions between women of different social positions.

5.5.3.2 Dangerous interdiscursivity and generic disavowal

However, while Edison and the farmers of Yokiriños are familiar with the bargaining genre and use it in contexts similar to those described above, it is strikingly and conspicuously absent in the sale of coffee. This is all the more remarkable given the fact that all of the parties are acutely aware of the commercially agonistic nature of the interaction. Indeed, the calculations of things left mostly unsaid and partially understood constitute a virtuosic manipulation of intersubjectivity (e.g. [Edison knows that [the farmers know that [Edison knows that [the farmers are selling to another merchant]]]], *ad infinitum*). Misrecognition, then, a routine that is carefully choreographed among all of the parties present.

Why, then, put so much effort into the performance of misrecognition? I argue that the ultimate basis of leverage in bargaining interactions--the realistic possibility of

pulling out and 'taking one's business elsewhere'--is too dangerous a tactic in this relationship of extreme mutual dependence and vulnerability. To invoke the bargaining genre is to, at minimum, entertain the possibility of allowing the transaction to fail, which would be catastrophic for one or both parties. Therefore neither party can afford to risk invoking it, and both (tacitly) agree to mischaracterize the speech event as something other than bargaining.

Thus a major strategy for maintaining the peace was "manipulating generic intertextuality" (Briggs and Bauman 1992:149)--that is to say, the entextualization of the formal linguistic correlates of solidarity and kinship and the suppression of references to the bargaining genre as a means of disavowing the agonistic commercial nature of the speech event and thereby minimizing the risk of a failed transaction. If interdiscursivity is "the intersubjective cover under which participants give interpretability, significance, and causal consequentiality to any social action by stipulating its non-isolation in the domain of interaction" (Silverstein 2005:9), then one must carefully manage interdiscursive indexes to avoid unwanted interpretations and their consequences. The remarkably un-bargaining-like interaction described above, then, might be understood in terms of the deliberate non-invocation of prior speech event-types through interdiscursive links in favor of others which serve to 1) disavow the agonistic nature of the transaction and 2) guarantee the success of the transaction through the denial that either party will let the transaction fail.

A number of linguistic strategies were deployed during the transactions as part of this generic reframing. First, during transactions between Edison and his *compadres*, each party peppered their speech with the ritual kin address terms *compadre* and *comadre*--in

fact, these terms were used in nearly every utterance during transactions, far more frequently than in other contexts, reiterating the spiritual rather than economic nature of their relationship. Similarly, the *presidente's* younger brother living in Edison's house in Quillabamba used the kinship address terms *tío* and *tía* with Edison and Gladys.

Second, Edison often avoided the bargaining genre by presenting the price as an objective fact issuing from an external source, rather a product of his own agency and responsibility (as in a normal bargaining situation: *I'll give you 350 soles*). This shifting of the responsibility for the price away from himself can be seen in the interaction in (23) above, when he says that coffee *está a trescientos cincuenta* 'it's at three-hundred fifty'--the coffee, of course, isn't "at" any price, this is simply the lowest price that Edison believes he can get away with paying the Yokiriños. This is similar to Brigittine French's observation that market women in Quetzaltenango tend to reduce their responsibility for their positions by stating that a product "doesn't go for [that price]" (2000:164). Similarly, when the coffee has been weighed and Edison has calculated the total price of the sale, he often types this figure into a small calculator--that is, he doesn't use the calculator to compute the figure, but simply to display the number he has entered. This act displaces the responsibility for the price away from him and onto the indifferent and external calculator. Edison further shifts responsibility for the price away from himself by alluding vaguely to complex geopolitical facts such as fluctuating global coffee prices and international currency exchange rates, positioning himself and the farmers as allied together against (often mystified) external forces, and avoiding interdiscursive indexes that would cast the interaction at hand as bargaining event in which the parties present have control over the price. These all constitute manipulations of genre styles--

"constellations of co-occurrent formal elements and structures that define or characterize particular classes of utterances" (Briggs and Bauman 1992:141)--which are deployed to avoid particular the metapragmatic framing of competition and invoke the tropes of intimacy and solidarity in its place. Indeed, if "each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]:293), then farmers and merchants must choose their words carefully to avoid invoking the contexts of open conflict that so often accompany these interactions.

Because the interdiscursive nature of these encounters is so carefully managed, the farmers cannot simply challenge Edison's price as they would in a bargaining situation (at least, not without shattering the delicate metapragmatic illusion that both parties have worked so hard to construct). Indeed, Edison's offer is almost always accepted without question, in keeping with the framing of the event as beyond the agency of the two parties. However, I observed a few instances in which farmers made protests against Edison's position in ways that were carefully calibrated to be as assertive as possible without disrupting the delicate discursive balance.

For instance, as mentioned earlier, José often angrily denounced Edison in community assemblies, claiming in particular that he had rigged his scale to report a lower weight (allegedly, a common practice of unscrupulous merchants across the frontier). José would never raise these objections directly to Edison, but one occasion (24) he challenged Edison in a very subtle and indirect manner as they weighed his coffee:

(24)

Edison: Noventa...noventa y ocho.
[3 second pause]

Edison: Ninety...ninety-eight.
[3 second pause]

José: [staring at the scale with a furrowed brow,
muttering to himself] Estaba a cien cuando lo
pesé abajo.
[4 second pause]

José: [staring at the scale with a furrowed brow,
muttering to himself] I was 100 when I weighed
it down there [at my house].
[4 second pause]

Edison: [staring at the scale, furrowed brow]
Hmm? [long pause, staring at the scale]

Edison: [staring at the scale, furrowed brow]
Hmm? [long pause, staring at the scale]

Here, José reduced his responsibility for this accusation by delivering it as a "dropped remark," an utterance "muttered to oneself for the benefit of an overhearer" (Fisher 1976:229) rather than addressed directly. This strategy of "indirect addressivity" (Lempert 2012a:187) allowed José to make his grievance known while also leaving him a claim to plausible deniability and "keeping an open line of retreat" (Irvine 1993:106, citing Evans-Pritchard) from a conflict that might have escalated quickly into a breakdown in the relationship (it was, after all, quite a damning accusation). The oblique nature of the accusation allowed Edison, in turn, to ignore it entirely.

This tense moment was the quiet climax of José's months-long campaign against Edison. After this incident, José hid the rest of the coffee he had come to sell in the bushes so that he could do business with another merchant instead--an act that Edison noticed, because of the disparity between the quantity of coffee that José carried to the school and the quantity that he eventually sold to Edison. While José would continue to inveigh against Edison in community *asambleas*, this was as close to open, direct conflict as the parties ever came in 2011-2012. This is remarkable, given both parties' willingness

to engage in competitive bargaining elsewhere, and given the ubiquitous confrontational and even hostile bargaining discourse in the region (e.g. a Cuzco market woman's retort to a *campesina*, "don't talk back to me, mule woman" (Seligmann 1993:196)).

But even indirect conflicts of the sort described above were rare. As Edison and the Yokiriños explained to me (each in their own way), the months-long struggle for the upper hand had normally already concluded by this point, making the actual transfer of goods a rather inconsequential moment in the long trajectory of the macro-interaction. The priority at this point was to carefully suppress interdiscursive invocations of oppositional discourse genres that would precipitate a dangerous, destabilizing flare-up--in particular, the bargaining genre, with its implication that the parties are willing to let the transaction fail.

5.6 Conclusion: Language and the negotiation of agrarian modernity

Farmer-merchant interactions are one of the primary sites through which Yokiriños interface with the agrarian economy and enact many of the complex and conflicting values regarding their relationship to *colono* society, the Peruvian nation, and a particular type of agrarian modernity. In these interactions, Yokiriños join (and help create) the emergent and still largely inchoate social and economic field (Bourdieu 1984) of the coffee frontier. This field includes an economic ideology and a regime of socio-political principles like the universal value of cash and the bindingness of contracts and debt--socio-political concepts which, together with the agrarian sociality expressed through rural Andean social rituals such as drinking and joking, make up part of the transformation in which Yokiriños become co-evals through the engagement with *colono*

society on its terms. This is an emic, social, and interactional perspective on how the coffee frontier has expanded to Yokiri.

One goal of this chapter has been to demonstrate how participation in the agrarian economy involves engagement with these values and discourses, and that Yokiriños cultivate a rural agrarian socio-economic habitus in part through the management of the linguistic and (inter-)discursive resources at play in and around the community. That is, the acquisition and deployment of linguistic and discursive skills such as joking, the avoidance of the bargaining genre, the strategic concealment of information, the invocation of the idiom of kinship, and the use of Quechua itself are part of becoming a coffee farmer and of pursuing agrarian modernity. Yokiri's heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981 [1975]) (so profound for such a small group of people), then, presents an array of resources for constructing a "moral geography" (Hill 1995:111) of social action--in this case, of coffee production and its concomitant social transformations.

Chapter 6: Talk in the home and fields

6.1 Chapter overview

This chapter describes domestic discourse in Yokiri, in particular the discursive genres of household talk, personal narrative performance, and mythological narrative performance. Each of these genres features different patterns of language choice, code-switching, use of loanwords, and poetic features. Despite the profound linguistic variation among the people of Yokiri, a number of points of consistency and convergence have emerged in discourse across the three languages. After describing the discourse genres, this chapter will discuss convergence in 1) discourse marking strategies, 2) a sound-symbolic poetic device, and 3) reportative evidentiality. These points of convergence have taken hold within a "culture of language" (Mannheim 1999; Silverstein 1985) that regiments discourse across linguistic boundaries. Yokiri thus constitutes an incipient *discourse area*, a site of convergence in discursive practices among the three languages. These sociolinguistic dynamics are similar to patterns described in areas of intense multilingualism and localized discursive and structural convergence across South

America; this study contributes a perspective across the Andean-Amazonian geographical boundary.

6.2 Introduction

While periodic trips away from the home for *faenas*, *asambleas* (Chapter 4) and coffee sales (Chapter 5) are among the most important events in Yokiri, they only happen every couple of weeks. The *comuneros* spend the rest of their time in their residential areas, working in their fields with their nuclear families and other members of their kin groups during the day, and relaxing and socializing in their homes at night.

Domestic discourse in Yokiri is extremely variable, both among individuals and among interactional contexts and genres. Unlike *asambleas* and interactions with coffee merchants that present metapragmatic frameworks that obtain for all Yokiriños, domestic interactional patterns can vary greatly from one household to the next. This is due largely to the founding of Yokiri through the intermarriage of people from very different sociolinguistic backgrounds (see Chapter 2), making each household the site of considerable linguistic variation. This intra-family sociolinguistic variation is illustrated in Table 9, which describes four households according to the wife's and husband's family affiliation, age, place of birth, and languages in order of proficiency (these four were selected to illustrate the sociolinguistic diversity among Yokiri's households). Each of Yokiri's three languages are present in each household in this sample; however, only the couples in households (b) and (c) share the same dominant language (Spanish and Quechua, respectively):

	Wife	Husband
(a)	Family #1 Age 28 Born in Yavero Valley Matsigenka, Spanish	Family #6 Age 31 Born in San Martín Quechua, Spanish, Matsigenka
(b)	Family #5 Age 24 Born in Chirumbia Spanish, Matsigenka	Family #3 Age 33 Born in Yokiri Spanish, Quechua, Matsigenka
(c)	Family #6 Age 60? Born in San Martín Quechua, Matsigenka, Spanish	Family #6 Age 60? Born in San Martín Quechua, Matsigenka, Spanish
(d)	Family #4 Age 46 Born in Chirumbia Spanish, Matsigenka, Quechua	Family #1 Age 42 Born in Otinganía Matsigenka, Spanish

Table 9: Linguistic competence in four Yokiri households

Because the households have such different linguistic compositions, generalizations about domestic language use in Yokiri are difficult to make; each couple has forged a communicative relationship on the basis of a conjunction of very different experiences and linguistic resources. For instance, in household (b) Spanish is a lingua franca and is used as the predominant domestic language; in households (a) and (d), Matsigenka and Spanish are both used frequently, with significant levels of code-switching; the couple in household (c) speaks Quechua and some Matsigenka in the domestic setting. However, these people also interact frequently with parents, children, siblings and affines from other residence units (usually nearby), whose presence also affects patterns of language use--for instance, the woman in household (b) speaks Matsigenka with her siblings and parents, while her husband primarily speaks Quechua

with his brother and father. The couple in household (c) speak to their daughters-in-law from families #1 and #4 mostly in Matsigenka and Spanish, and their daughter-in-law from family #6 mostly in Quechua. Thus the high frequency of interactions within such internally diverse kin groups leads to sustained multilingual discourse and pervasive code-switching. The children of these families usually acquire the languages of both of their parents and their families, which means that most of the people born since the founding of the community speak or at least understand all three languages; however, there is significant shift toward Spanish underway among most people under the age of twenty-five (see Chapter 2).

Another axis of variation in domestic discourse in Yokiri is the unevenly distributed use of the community's discourse genres. In this chapter, I will describe the three most important speech genres used in the home: household talk, personal narrative performance, and mythological narrative performance. Everyone in Yokiri engages in household talk, and most people perform personal narratives; these genres cross-cut the three languages. Yokiriños who have had the most exposure to Spanish through school and trips outside of the community (usually the younger *comuneros*) frequently incorporate Spanish into their Matsigenka and Quechua when using these speech genres, while the oldest people mostly keep Spanish out of their Matsigenka and Quechua discourse altogether (with the exception of some discourse markers and lexical borrowing). However, only a few people in Yokiri perform mythological narratives, and these performances take place almost exclusively in Matsigenka and Quechua with relatively little code-switching or use of loanwords.

Yokiri's small size, therefore, belies a sociolinguistic situation of considerable complexity. But while the coming together of the diverse families of Yokiri on the agricultural frontier has created a thicket of heteroglossia and variation in and among the households, a number of points of regularity, consistency, and convergence can also be seen. For instance, many of the formal and interactional features that characterize household talk (e.g. code-switching) and that make for a 'good performance' of a myth or personal narrative apply to all three languages, which leads in turn to the circulation of features such as iconicity, discourse markers, and reportative evidentiality among the languages. After all, the speech community has existed for more than three decades--the first children born in Yokiri are in their 30s and now have children, and the first grandchildren of Yokiri are not far behind. Yokiriños have incorporated each of their languages into an intimate multilingual discursive culture in their homes, which has resulted in a relatively stable structure of interactional patterns as well as number of points of convergence in the way each language is used. This chapter will describe the major discourse genres used in the homes of Yokiri and then show how 1) discourse marking strategies, 2) a sound-symbolic poetic device, and 3) reportative evidentiality have come to be sites of convergence among the three languages as a result this intense and sustained multilingualism.



Figure 25: A typical Yokiri house and fields

6.3 Language and everyday life in the home and fields

The daylight hours in Yokiri are devoted to work. Yokiriños rise at dawn and eat a small breakfast before walking out to their agricultural plantations, which in most cases are adjacent to the house or within a few minutes' walk (see Figure 25; for information about the community's subsistence practices and settlement layout, see Chapters 2 and 3). The intensity and length of the work day depend on the season: the coffee harvest (April–November, reaching its peak in July) is the busiest time of the year, while much of the

rest of the year, when heavy rains prohibit some agricultural labor and wash out the roads, is relatively more relaxed. Because Yokiriños grow their subsistence and commercial crops in the immediate vicinity of their houses, they often return to their houses several times during the day to rest, eat, cook, check on their children, and retrieve tools. Men and women (and when school is out, the older children) work side by side in the fields, and the women leave to prepare lunch in the mid morning, calling out to the family when it is ready. This constant movement creates a more or less unbroken interactional space between the home and the fields. The work is also broken up by *hallpas* 'coca-chewing work breaks', usually in the mid-morning and mid-afternoon. These *hallpas*, in which family members pass around coca to chew along with *tokora* 'spicy ash paste' and *chamuro* 'sweet-tasting bark' and drink large bottles of *shitea* 'fermented yuca beer' (called *ovuroki* in other communities), are a major opportunity for the narration of personal stories.

In the late afternoon, Yokiriños finish up their work and gather with their families on benches outside their houses to rest and talk. The men wash their clothes and boots, put away their tools, and collect the coffee or achiote that has been spread out on a tarp to dry in the sun, while the women prepare dinner and the children play in and around the house. As dusk falls, the families gather to eat in the kitchen area of their homes. After dinner they sit around the tables, near the fire on cold evenings, or on the beds in the sleeping areas. This is usually the time when mythological narratives (and in some cases personal narratives) are told.

One important characteristic of interactions in the home and the fields is that they are almost always limited to kin. Most of the social activity outside of community events

such as *asambleas* and *faenas* is conducted according to family-level social organization, such that extended families constantly visit each other and engage in reciprocal labor (which they often call *ayni*, a term more closely associated with Andean social organization). Because the houses are often so far apart, it is common for extended family members to stay with each other for a few days of work before traveling to the other kinsman's house to reciprocate the labor. The result is that the households of a single kin group are in near-constant contact, while visits to non-kin are so rare that many Yokiriños have never seen the houses of people beyond their kin group, even if they have lived within a mile of each other for as long as thirty years. The interactional phenomena described in this chapter, then, are closely associated with communication among kin and with the family-level social organization that predominates in the home, which distinguishes home and field talk from the supra-kin level interactions described in Chapters 4 and 5.

This chapter will describe three of the most important discourse genres used in the home and fields: household talk, personal narratives, and myth narration. Household talk takes place in Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish, and it is used by Yokiriños at all times during the day. It features pervasive code-switching and lexical borrowing. Personal narratives are also performed in all of the three languages, usually when a few family members are present during *hallpas* or in the evenings, and they feature code-switching and loanwords as well as a number of formal features (such as sound symbolism) that are closely associated with both personal and mythological narrative performance. The performance of myths is more rare in Yokiri, and quite a bit more metapragmatically constrained: the performances feature a number of poetic features, opening and closing

formulas, and participant frameworks that are not found in other discourse genres, and they are performed almost exclusively in Matsigenka and Quechua with very little code-switching and lexical borrowing. Myth narration is subject to a strict regime of purism, and narratives are usually only performed by a small number of older community members, and only in the homes after dinner.

6.4 Household talk

Yokiriños frequently converse in their homes as they rest and perform domestic tasks. This sort of casual communication occasionally extends to the fields, though Yokiriños tend not to talk much while they work (unlike many of the neighboring *colonos*, who often maintain a constant flow of Quechua conversation among several people across the *huachos* 'rows of planted crops'). Because of the great sociolinguistic variation among and within each family, the nature of these interactions can be quite different from one household to the next; however, this speech genre in general is characterized in each household by frequent code-switching and lexical borrowing. For example, in the conversation in (25a-d) between a man, his mother, and his wife, the three interlocutors tried to find a needle to repair a broken sandal. The conversation begins in Spanish (25a-c) until the mother (an older woman from family #1) switches the conversation to Matsigenka (25d). Matsigenka discourse is underlined.

(25a) Husband (family #5): *A Olivia pregúntale a Olivia, sabe sus agujas.*
'Ask Olivia, she knows her needles.'

(25b) Mother (family #1): *Delgado nomás como para que entra esto-*
'A skinny one, so it fits into this-'

(25c) Wife (family #1): *De aguja estoy pobre de aguja-*
'Needles, I don't have many needles-'

(25d) Mother (family #1): *Gara okii oka.*
'This one won't fit.'

Similarly, in interaction (26a-b) a man told his wife in Spanish to retrieve some yuca from a nearby garden; she replied in Quechua (note the use of the Spanish discourse marker *pues/pe* 'so, EMPH' in both utterances, a common point of code-switching that will be discussed below). Quechua discourse is underlined.

(26a) Husband: *Anda a escarbar yuca pe!*
'Go dig up some yuca!'

(26b) Wife: *Manaña kanñachu pe!*
'There's none left [EMPH]!'

However, while Matsigenka-Spanish and Quechua-Spanish code-switching are very common, Yokiriños rarely code-switch between Matsigenka and Quechua, perhaps because in most contexts this particular juxtaposition of codes simply does not yield useful pragmatic implicatures (Gumperz 1982).

6.5 Narrative performance

Two types of narratives are performed in Yokiri: mythological narratives, which are usually conducted in Matsigenka and Quechua and recount cosmological information and folklore, and personal narratives, which are conducted in Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish, and describe the experiences of the narrator or (less frequently) another person. Although there are important differences in content, form, and social significance between personal and mythological narratives, both belong to a more general narrative

performance genre that is easily recognizable. Myth and personal narrative performances are characterized by a participant structure in which one person usually holds the floor for an extended period (though the narrations can often be quite dialogic--see for instance (38a-d) below), and by a set of formal features characteristic of 'good storytelling' such as iconic linguistic features and the reported speech of the characters in the narrative, which make the narrative more immediate to the listeners by closing the gap between the narrated event and the context of narration. In the analysis that follows I will demonstrate that these narrative conventions cross-cut the three languages of Yokiri, with the result that the community's common narrative culture is the site of significant discursive and structural convergence.

6.5.1 Myths and stories

An important discourse genre in Yokiri is the narration of myths and traditional stories. These narrative performances are most frequently (though not always) conducted in Quechua and Matsigenka, and are told in the home in the evenings. Myth narration has become relatively rare--most Yokiriños report hearing their grandparents telling stories with greater frequency than the current generations--but they are still considered the site of the best Matsigenka and Quechua that one can hear in Yokiri. There are only a handful of the people in the community who are seen, and see themselves, as qualified to perform these narratives: generally, the oldest members of family #3 (for Quechua) and the oldest members of the families that did not migrate from Chirumbia or the highlands--that is, families #1, #5, and #6 (for Matsigenka). But while these performance were relatively rare in 2011-2012, the narrators' younger family members always listened to them in rapt

attention, on some occasions for as long as two or three hours. These kinds of narratives have received a great deal of attention from scholars; this discussion will simply describe the nature of these speech events and their place in Yokiri's discursive culture.

The conjunction of the Matsigenka and Andean social worlds in Yokiri means that two distinct narrative traditions (described briefly below in turn) exist side by side in many households (though Quechua and Matsigenka myth narration is similar in some respects). Because knowledge of these narrative traditions is very unevenly distributed among community members, there is quite a lot of variation in how stories are told by narrators and even from one performance to the next. However, with the exception with a few story performances in Spanish, Matsigenka stories were almost always told in Matsigenka, and Andean stories were almost always told in Quechua. The older people who had sustained exposure to Andean culture (in the case of Quechua narratives) and traditional Matsigenka folklore (in the case of Matsigenka narratives), often tell very long, rambling, and deeply intertextual stories, and some made references to events that happened in specific places, part of an ongoing, dynamic, and perhaps dialogic process of "writing history into the landscape" (Santos-Granero 1998; see also Santos-Granero 2004). Some of these performances were very creative and improvisational, invoked characters and themes from a much broader network of narratives, and created indexical connections to the interactional contexts of the performances themselves (Mannheim 1999) in a manner that creates "unbroken set of layers from the mythic to the here-and-now" (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998:335). Two important formal strategies for breaking down this barrier between the narrated episode and the context of narration are the use of direct reported speech and sound symbolic devices, both of which and lend

immediacy the emotion to the narration and simulate for the listeners a first-hand perspective on the events. Among the small number of speakers who know the stories well, the performances were highly dialogic, with other participants asking questions, adding information, redirecting the narrative, and even commandeering the performance entirely (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998). All of these features are part of what Yokiriños consider 'good storytelling', both in Quechua and Matsigenka.

But because each household in Yokiri is composed of individuals from very different cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds, it was relatively rare in Yokiri in 2011-2012 for more than one such expert to be present during a narrative performance. As a result, many performances were quite monologic, with an older person member narrating at length with very little interruption or even backchannel from their families. Indeed the kind of dialogic narrative co-construction and virtuosic weaving together of mythic and quotidian themes that characterizes much myth performance in South America (Mannheim 1999) is a particular kind of linguistic and cultural competence that is not evenly distributed among Yokiriños. Most Yokiriños have come to understand these narratives as belonging to the realm of 'traditional culture' mastered only by the oldest people, which reifies the dynamic and dialogic oral culture into something that is at once more static and more distant from everyday discourse (that is, it is less likely to "[crop] up in conversation every now and then" (Allen 1988:96; see also Howard-Malverde 1989). Younger people occasionally perform the narratives, but those with greater knowledge of the stories generally disapprove of these performances that tend to offer brief, 'just the facts' versions and are subject to much less variation, creativity, intertextual reference to other narratives, and dialogic and indexical connections to the

context of narration (e.g. reported speech and sound symbolism) that forge a connection between the mythic and the here-and-now--that is, the features considered essential to a 'good performance'.

This shift in narrative practice is accompanied by an ideology of purism that has emerged around myth narration. One feature of younger people's narratives that is particularly objectionable to older, more authoritative narrators is Matsigenka-Spanish and Quechua-Spanish code-switching and Spanish lexical borrowing (as I discuss below, making a principled distinction between code-switching and borrowing can be very difficult and often not particularly useful for analysis, so I do not attempt to disentangle that issue here). Because Yokiriños consider myths to be the most exemplary sites of Quechua and Matsigenka linguistic practice--and indeed, the last redoubt of traditional culture and knowledge in a context of rapid shift and change--the use of Spanish material in these contexts was considered symptomatic of a loss of both linguistic competence and cultural knowledge among the younger generations. Myth narratives are therefore carefully policed. For instance, in (27a-c) when the narrator (Luz) briefly switched into Spanish during the narration of the *pakitsa* myth described below (28), her husband (Aníbal) chided her (27d) (this is from lines 107-110 in the full version of the myth performance in Appendix 1):

(27a) Luz:

"Maika tya kantake gaigakerira maika?"
"How are we going to catch him?"

(27b) *Aryompa oga pitsagiake oga kipatsi."*
'We should tie together some dirt.'

(27c) *Yapitsagiake kipatsi en forma de muñeca, asi grande pues.*
They tied dirt together in the shape of a doll, big, like that [EMPH].

(27d) Anibal:
No mezclés!
'Don't mix [languages]!

The ideology of linguistic purism applied to myths sets a high bar for which community members are able perform them, which is a factor leading to the intergenerational loss of this discursive tradition.

6.5.1.1 Matsigenka myths

A number of scholars have recorded and analyzed portions of the vast intertextual network of Matsigenka myths (most extensively, Michael, et al. 2013) that together express a complex ontological and cosmological system (Baer 1994) theorized under the theoretical tradition of perspectivism, in which many animals and plants are thought to have human souls or consciousnesses (a notion that will be described in detail below). The great majority of Matsigenka myths tell the story of an ancient, mythological human that commits a moral transgression and is punished by being turned into one of the beings (animals, spirit, some plants, meteorological phenomena, etc.) that currently inhabits the world. In many cases these myths make reference to divinities that traveled the land turning immortal humans and deities into their current forms (Baer 1994; Renard-Casevitz and Dollfus 1988; Santos-Granero 2004); in other cases they are isolated narratives about the transformation of a particular being outside of a broader cosmological system. These myths are creation stories, but they are also, more often than not, "morality tales" (Johnson 2003:118-124, 220) organized around an "emotion schema" (Izquierdo and Johnson 2007; Johnson 1999) that socialize Matsigenkas into

particular moral principles (often, the avoidance of anger (Rosengren 2000) and other dangerous emotions (Shepard 2002b)). A fuller discussion of these myths in relation to perspectivist ontological and cosmological principles can be found in the analysis of Matsigenkas noun classification in Chapter 7.

Matsigenka myth performances normally begin and end with a fixed set of formulas. Narrators optionally begin by announcing the topic of the myth (e.g. *maika nonkenkitsatakempi irashi oe* 'now I'm going to tell you about the cock-of-the-rock'), and then move on to frame of the myth within the mythological pre-differentiation epoch in which all of the beings of the world were still human (*ainyo pairani matsigenka...* 'long ago there was a person...'). The performances end with a closing formula like *maika tsonkataka kenkitsarintsi* 'now the story is over' or *intagati maika* 'that is all'.

6.5.1.1.1 *Pakitsa* story

Among all of the stories that I heard in Yokiri, *pakitsa* 'Harpy Eagle' was the most common. The harpy eagle is an important animal for Andeans and Amazonians--it has been recognized as a skillful predator in the region for millennia (Burger 2008:690-692; Rowe 1967), and before hunting monkeys, some Matsigenkas (at least, in the Manu region) ingest a number of hunting medicines thought to endow hunters with the bird's soul and keen eyesight (see also Santos-Granero 1991; Shepard 1998; Shepard 1999:98-102; Shepard 2002a). In the *pakitsa* story, a man requests *shitea* 'fermented yuca beer' from his wife before going out to burn his chacra for planting. However, the night before his son had had a dream that his father would become too drunk and be killed in the fire, so he warned his mother not to give him too much *shitea*. But the man drank too much

and was burned up in the fire. The son reprimanded his mother and instructed her to wake him up if the man appeared at the door of the house during the night--his body would be composed of ash, and a small amount of water would restore him. When the man appeared, the mother did not wake up her son, but rather threw an excessive quantity of water on her husband, disintegrating him into a puddle of ash on the ground. The ash that remained became the *pakitsa* 'harpy eagle' (with its distinctive puffy, ash-like white feathers around its neck). This is where some versions of the *pakitsa* myth end, but in Yokiri, the story continues: at this point the *pakitsa*-man abducted his daughter and impregnated her, and they lived together in his nest and became cannibals. The *pakitsa*-man was eventually killed while hunting for humans, and upon hearing of his death, his daughter ate their newborn son and disappeared into a river to join the mythical tribe of cannibalistic female *maimeroite* warriors (see Appendix).

The performance of the *pakitsa* myth excerpted in (28) took place in the house of a woman who is recognized as one of the most knowledgeable and talented storytellers in Yokiri. On this evening, the woman told several stories over the course of more than an hour, of which the *pakitsa* myth lasted about 16 minutes. Her husband, five or six of their children, and the author sat and listened attentively during the performance. This narration was almost entirely monologic--since the woman's husband grew up in the Dominican mission at Chirumbia and was not exposed to many Matsigenka stories, he did not have the competence necessary to engage in the sort of narrative co-construction that takes place in other households and communities across the Alto Urubamba.

(28) Pakitsa story (see Appendix for full version)

Dice ainyo pashini itimaigi matsigenka.¹ Ainyo itsinanetsite, ainyo itomiegi.² Ikantiro maika itsinane- yovetsikake omaarane tsamairintsi kara.³ Ikantiro maika "gara- maika- nontaga-nontsivotakera notsamaire."⁴ Ovetsikake ovuroki putake.⁵ Hehe ainyo itomiegi.⁶ Ikanti-iatake iranuvagetera.⁷ Ikantiro maika "maika intsivotake apa tsamairintsi.⁸ Gara pipaigiri ovuroki poiri intagarogiteni itagakari," ikisanivagetaketa tera kameti.⁹ Ikantaigiri "he'e."¹⁰ Iatake iranuvageigera itomi.¹¹ Impogini iporeanake iatake itsivotake ikantiro maika itsinanetsite "pero pena maika mahani ovuroki."¹² Okantiri "gara maika piatake pintsivotakera pitagakari."¹³ Okanti "aryorika" ainyo iraniri ikantiro "maika paatena patiro pamoko noviikakempa garoka oshinkitana."¹⁴ Opakeri patiro pamoko, yoviikaka, iatake intsivotakera tsamairintsi oshinkitakeri putaketa.¹⁵ Oshinkitakeri, itsivotake magatiro otsapipageku oga tsamairintsi okaontakari itsivotake itsivotake.¹⁶ Pairo omorekanake iroro.¹⁷ Ishiganaka ipitake inchapatuku niganki anta.¹⁸ Ikaimanake "eeee."¹⁹ Omorekanake tyarika "heokung heokung."²⁰ Ikemaigi itomi ikanti "irirokatyo apa maika itsivotanake kametikyara inake."²¹ Ikisanivagetake [tatarika] itomi itaganaka.²² "Tsame," ipokaigake. ²³ Ipokaigai "koa koa" ikantiri omorekanake ikaimanake "eeee tainakario tainakario!"²⁴

They say there were some people long ago.¹ [There was a man who] had a wife and children.² He said to his wife- he made a large chacra.³ He said to her, "no- now- I'm going to burn my chacra."⁴ She made strongly fermented chicha.⁵ Yes, and he had children. ⁶ He said- he went to go walking [i.e. hunting].⁷ [The son] said to [his mother], "my father is going to burn the chacra.⁸ Don't give him fermented masato, be careful he might burn himself," [the son] had dreamt a bad [premonition] about it.⁹ They said "okay".¹⁰ His children went out to walk [i.e. hunt].¹¹ Then the sun came out and he went, he lit a fire and he said to his wife, "but give me a little masato."¹² She said "no, if you go burn [the chacra] now, you're going to burn yourself."¹³ She said, "okay", and her brother-in-law was there, he said to her "now serve me a class, I'm going to drink, I don't think it will get me drunk."¹⁴ She gave him one glass, he drank it and went to burn the chacra, [the chicha] had gotten him drunk, since it was strongly fermented.¹⁵ It got him drunk, and so he burned everything, on the sides of the chacra, he burned and he burned.¹⁶ [The fire] was very bright.¹⁷ He escaped [the fire], and he sat on a stump, in the center.¹⁸ He yelled out "eeee".¹⁹ It burned a lot, "heokung heokung".²⁰ His sons heard [him] and said, "our father must be burning, I wonder if he's okay."²¹ His son had dreamt [this], and [now] he's burning.²² "Let's go" [he said], and they came.²³ They came back, "hurry, hurry" he said, "it's burning," he yelled "eeee, come quickly, come quickly!"²⁴

A number of other elements made this a 'good performance' by Yokiriño standards, both in the sense of an entertaining discursive event and as a representative production of traditional Matsigenka knowledge and language. First, it created intertextual links to other stories and beings in the vast network of Matsigenka mythology--in this case, the mythical female *maimeroite* warriors (see line 158 of the full

transcript in Appendix 1). It was also very creative and included a number details that the narrator innovated on the spot. For instance, in line 138 in Appendix 1 narrator gives the elaborate details of a woman eating her son (29):

(29) *Oatake niaku okaatakeri 'tavong tavong tavong', aryompa aryompa oganakari oga igito magatiro ogakari irako ivori intaganivani igonta.*

'She went to the river and bathed him 'tavong tavong tavong', then bit by bit she ate his head, everything, she ate his hand, his leg, only the sole of his foot was left.'

Second, the narrative is full of reported speech and sound symbolism, both of which draw the listeners to the narrative as if they were experiencing the events firsthand. For instance in lines 21-24 of the transcript, when the man's sons run to the chacra to find their father being burned, the reported speech among the characters lends immediacy and suspense to the narrative, as well as a sense of the fear and urgency experience by the sons and his father (30a-d):

(30a) *Ikemaigi itomi ikanti "irirokatyo apa maika itsivotanake kametikyara inake."*
'His sons heard [him] and said, "our father must be burning, I wonder if he's okay.'"

(30b) *Ikisanivagetake [tatarika] itomi maika itaganaka.*
'His son had dreamt [this], and now he's burning.'

(30c) *"Tsame," ipokaigake.*
"'Let's go" [he said], and they came.'

(30d) *Ipokaigai "koa koa" ikantiri "omorekanake" ikaimanake "eeee tainakario tainakario!"*
'They came back, "hurry, hurry" he said, "it's burning," he yelled "eeee, come quickly, come quickly!'"

The frequent sound symbolism in the *pakitsa* performance also simulates a first-hand perspective on the narrative events for the listeners, for instance in the use of the iconic 'splash sounds' *pokung* (31) and *pokorokung* (32):

- (31) *Oshiganakera onkavokakerira otomi tera onkavokeri onti agi nia osaguvagetiri 'pokung'.*
'When she ran to wake up her son, but she couldn't wake him up, she picked up some water and splashed it on [her husband], 'pokung'.' (Line 41)
- (32) *Okaatake okivi- okiviatanake 'pokorokung' asa opegaenkataka.*
She was bathing and she dove in, 'pokorokung', and she disappeared. (Line 155)

It is interesting to note that some sound icons refer to a range of sensory phenomena, which provides a glimpse into speakers' "culturally constituted perceptions of the natural world" (Nuckolls 1996:4-5). For instance, in (33a) the narrator of the *pakitsa* myth used the sound *sorere* 'the sharp stare of an angry person' to describe a woman staring at another woman. In other narratives in Yokiri and other Matsigenka communities, *sorere* can indicate 'a beam of light' (33b) (recorded in the community of Inkaare), and the sting of spicy food (33c) (recorded in Yokiri) (and in one SIL story, 'the heat of the sun' (Davis and Snell 1999 [1968]:51)):

- (33a) *Opampogianake sorere.*
'She stared at, sorere.' (Line 144)
- (33b) *Ikantinkavetanaka sorere yogitsivakiro.*
'He was coming [shining his flashlight], sorere, and then he turned it off.'
- (33c) *Oteganakerira pues sorerere magatiro oga oteganakerira tsitikana pe.*
'It burned him, sorerere, the spicy pepper burned him.'

A final feature of the *pakitsa* narrative that made it a good performance was the near total absence of Spanish code-switches and lexical borrowings. In the excerpt in (28)

above, only the first word (the reportative evidential *dice*, about which more below) is from Spanish, and the rest of the narrative features only a handful of Spanish elements (see Appendix). The *pakitsa* narrator frequently code-switches between Matsigenka and Spanish and uses Spanish loanwords in other communicative contexts, but her adherence to the purist ideology of myth narration made her performance a highly-valued and virtuosic instantiation of 'traditional' oral culture and Matsigenka linguistic practice.

6.5.1.1.2 *Eto* story

The virtues of the *pakitsa* myth performance in (28) become particularly clear when compared with other such performances that Yokiriños considered unsuccessful. Unsuccessful discursive acts (as defined by interactants) are not often analyzed in linguistic studies, but they can often illuminate what it is that makes discursive acts successful. For example, myths that I recorded with younger people tended to be much shorter, less creative, less intertextual, and without many of the features such as sound symbolism and reported speech that are associated with the narrative genre and that are thought to be essential to a good performance. They also often do not make reference to specific places in the local and regional landscape (and the beings that reside there), and are thus sundered from their context as experienced and often urgently important features of the lived world (Santos-Granero 1998; Santos-Granero 2004) and reconceived as 'just stories'. However, they often still adhere to the regime of purism that discourages the use of Spanish loans or code-switches, likely because these are more salient and available to metalinguistic awareness (Silverstein 2001) than the tacit and heterogeneous array of narrative conventions.

For instance, a 25-year-old woman's performance of the *eto* 'spider' myth is reproduced below in (34). She framed her discourse as an instance of myth narration by using the opening and closing formulas described above, the story followed the familiar moral and cosmological contours of Matsigenka folklore, and she used very few Spanish elements. However, the narrative lasted under four minutes, did not feature creative embellishments like in the *pakitsa* myth, and it did not make indexical references to other myths or to the context of the performance. The narrator also did not close the gap between narrated event and the context of narration with sound symbolism (though she did use a good deal of reported speech). For these reasons, older and more authoritative storytellers told me that this was not a good performance--in their words, *tera ogote* 'she doesn't know'.

Maikari maika nonkenkitsatake oga ashi eto.¹
 Pairani otimi oga matsigenka, okimotanakera
 antaroni onti otentaro oga oshaonkate.²
 Ogotagakero okirikavagetakera mampetsa.³ Impo
 tyarika oponiaka pashini matsigenka, opokake
 oneakero okanti "nero, patsipereavagetake maika,
 pikogake tsikya pagate pimanchaki.⁴ Tsikya
 povitankugero oga mampetsapage maika,
 nogotagakempira maika tyampa opaita, o
 pinkirikakera pintsonkageema shintsi,
 pintsonkageema otovaiti intiri, povetsikakera
 pimanchaki ontovaigava kara.⁵ Okantiro "ehe.⁶
 Gotagenaratyo ganira natsipereavagetai maika,
 nompiriniventakerora kara.⁷ Tera, agavagetaka
 maika tyampa opaita, patseipageniro, kashiri
 ontirika agana shiriarini, tera nagate."⁸ Okanti
 "ehe intagati pinigamampotakero oga ampei.⁹
 Kegonkero pagake manchakintsi maika, y
 pisavotakemparora pimanchaki.¹⁰ Kegonkero,
 pinoshikatsetakerora en, en oga pimogutoku oga,
 otsa.¹¹ Irotyo pintankugavakero ontovaigava
 povegotiavagetero otanki mampetsa.¹² Impo
 ogotagakero omataka agaveaka ovetsikakero.¹³
 Kegonkero opokapai irotyo ovagirote pa
 oninatanti pa okisanti.¹⁴ Okantiro "tatampatyo
 povetsikakera maika pe?¹⁵ Aryo pine,
 pipampogiakara pinetsempokitakara maika
 matsi.¹⁶ Tera pimpashiventempa tera pintsaroge
 pikanyogetakara maika?¹⁷ Impo opasavageti
 maika oga opasavageti oga omintsarogakero.¹⁸
 Ogashi tera agavee ontankugavagetaerora
 ovetsikavagetaera omampetsate.¹⁹
 Otimpatuakagakero mampetsa.²⁰ Ogashi maika
 okakagakero, ogashi tera agavee oga,
 ontankugaero onkirikaera omampetsate maika.²¹
 Ogashi [inaudible], okantiro "oga
 pokankitsirira irotyo matsigenka tyakari oponiara
 onta samani," okantiro maika, "irotyo
 okanyotakara 'maika nagaveavetaka
 nogotaganterora gani atsipereavageigi tsinane.'²²
 Onkirikaigera intagati.²³ Onigamampokitai
 ampei.²⁴ Onoshikatsetakero omogutotsaku maika
 tyampa opaita, ovegotiavagetero omampetsate
 kegonkero ontsontatsonkate ovetsikira
 manchakintsi.²⁵ Maikari maika noatera
 kantakaratyo onkaontempara maika."²⁶ Tyampa
 opaita, "antsipereagerora, irota kantankicha."²⁷
 Tera osurentakoigemparonika oga,
 yashikivageiganankitsirira maika" [inaudible].²⁸
 Kantaka onkaontempara maika
 antsipereavageigera maika.²⁹ Irokari okogake
 irota kañotankitsa.³⁰ Nero maika tsonkataka
 kenkitsarintsi.³¹

Now I'm going to tell about the spider.¹ Long
 ago there was a Matsigenka woman, and when
 she grew up, she lived with her grandmother.²
 She taught her to spin thread.³ Then another
 person came, I don't know where she came
 from, she said, "look, you're suffering now, you
 want to finish [weaving] your cushma more
 quickly.⁴ You have to roll up the threads
 quickly, I'll teach you- what's it called- you'll
 finish weaving quickly, you'll finish a lot, and
 then you'll make a lot of cushmas.⁵ She said,
 "yes.⁶ Teach me so that I won't suffer anymore
 and I'll dedicate myself to that.⁷ No, what's it
 called, a month or maybe a year arrives, and I
 still can't finish it.⁸ She said, "yes, you just have
 to swallow the cotton.⁹ Then you take the
 cushma, and, you have to cover yourself with
 the cushma.¹⁰ Then you pull [the thread] out of
 your navel.¹¹ You'll roll up a lot of it into balls
 of thread.¹² She taught her, and she learned how
 to make it.¹³ Then her very mean and angry
 mother-in-law came.¹⁴ She said "what are you
 doing now [EMPH]?¹⁵ You see, you're looking
 at your private parts.¹⁶ You're not ashamed,
 you're not afraid, acting like that?"¹⁷ Then she
 hit her, she hit her, and she scared her.¹⁸ So then
 she couldn't roll up and make her thread.¹⁹ [Her
 mother-in-law] broke the thread.²⁰ So she made
 her forget [how to do it], and she couldn't roll
 up and weave her thread anymore.²¹ She
 [inaudible] [the daughter-in-law] said, "the
 [woman] one that came, wherever she she came
 from," she said to her, "she came and [said] 'I
 can teach women so that they don't suffer.'²²
 Just in weaving.²³ She swallowed the cotton.²⁴
 She pulled it from her navel, what's it called,
 she piled up her thread so that she could finish
 making many cushmas.²⁵ Now I'm going to
 leave, that's how it will be."²⁶ What's it called,
 "now [women] will suffer, and that's the
 reason."²⁷ Their descendents don't think about it
 [inaudible].²⁸ So they will always suffer like
 that.²⁹ That will be their problem.³⁰ There you
 have it, the story is over.³¹

Brief, text-like versions of Matsigenka stories such as these are often told by younger people (many of whom grew up in Chirumbia). Formally, they are rather more similar to the recitation of texts, such as those compiled by SIL missionaries Harold Davis and Betty Snell in *Kenkitsatagantsi matsigenka: cuentos folklóricos de los Machiguenga* (1999 [1968]). In this collection, a handful of elements from the complex universe of Matsigenka narrative culture (and its connections to the lived landscape of the region (Renard-Casevitz and Dollfus 1988)) have been turned into a brief, neat, and bounded set of printed texts shorn from the context of narrative performance (however, it is interesting to note that some of these texts show traces of their origins as myth performances, such as the opening and closing formulas discussed above and sporadic sound symbolism and reported speech). It is also important to note that some of the SIL versions of stories have been largely bowdlerized and sanitized of their un-Christian themes, such as the *pakitsa* story (Davis and Snell 1999 [1968]:27-30) which in some iterations deals with incest and cannibalism (Renard-Casevitz 1991:77-80). Now that SIL-trained school teachers have been teaching and living in Matsigenka communities for several decades (including, for instance one of the teachers in Yokiri in 2012), it is likely that these versions of Matsigenka myths and the textual ideologies that regiment their production have made their way into the narrative practices of people across the region.

6.5.1.2 Quechua myths

There is a large literature on Andean myths and mythography. These have been recorded, compiled, and analyzed in countless publications; however, as in the case of Matsigenka mythology described above, the textual practices by which these myths are

transcribed and recorded often obscures the social nature of their narration (Howard-Malverde 1989). Mannheim (1999:73) writes: "the key to structure in Andean myths is not a phantom mythic archetype that lies below the actual performance; rather structure is immanent in the performances themselves, at one and the same time emergent properties of dialogically constructed performances and components of broader discursive fields." Myth performances, therefore, are an important part of Andean cultural and linguistic life.

Because only a couple of Yokiriños have significant experience in rural Andean society, Quechua myth performances are less common than Matsigenka myth performances in Yokiri. However, some of the same discursive and formal features that make for a 'good performance' in Matsigenka myth performances also apply to Quechua myths, including creativity, intertextuality, reported speech and sound symbolism, and the avoidance of Spanish lexical borrowing and code-switching (except in cases, as in the *ukuku* story below, when the characters themselves speak Spanish in the narrative).

6.5.1.2.1 *Ukuku* story

One of the most popular Quechua narratives in Yokiri is *ukuku*, a story about a bear-man who kidnaps and impregnates a young woman, and whose son then goes on a murderous rampage throughout the countryside while a Spanish priest and eventually a *condenado* demon attempt to kill him. This story originates in Europe and is attested across Latin America (Martin 1987), but it has special significance in the Andes (Allen 1983; Allen 2011; Urton 1985:270-272) where in some regions (particularly around Paucartambo) it is fundamental to folklore and dance, and the *ukuku* dancers play an

important part in the annual *Quyllur Rit'i* pilgrimage (Poole 1990; Salas Carreño 2010). Dozens of versions of this story exist--for instance, Weber (1987) records versions in fifteen varieties of Quechua and one variety of Ashéninka. The performance excerpted below in (35) was more than twenty-five minutes long (see Appendix 2 for the full version; the line numbers in this excerpt correspond to those in the full version).

This narrative was told by José, who grew up in the Paucartambo region where the *ukuku* character figures prominently in folklore and oral culture. Like the performance of the *pakitsa* story above, it was told after dinner in the speaker's home, and since he is the only member of his family capable of performing such a narrative in Quechua, his wife and children listened attentively to the performance with almost no intervention. I was present for this narrative, and he directed it toward me as well as his family because I had requested such a performance. This was considered a very 'good performance': it was deeply creative, it drew the audience in with ubiquitous reported speech and sound symbolism, and it was considered an exemplary performance of traditional language and cultural knowledge, with--apart from a number of Spanish borrowings that have been thoroughly integrated into Quechua--relatively little Spanish influence (compared to personal narratives) as dictated by the regime of purism described above. Interestingly, most of the Spanish elements appear in the reported speech of Spanish-speaking characters such as the Spanish priest.

(35) Ukuku story (see appendix 2 for full version)

Chayqa chikuchakunaqa ratu wiñashan, chikuchakunaqa cinturanmanta uraymanqa riki peluyuq kapun riki.³⁴ Cinturanmanta wichaymanqa q'alalla chayqa mamitanmantachá riki chay lluqsishan riki chayqa.³⁵ Hina riki hatunchaña ña riki pisqa suqta watayuqña kashanku chikuchakuna riki.³⁶ Chayqa mamitanqa llakikun riki, llakikuqtinga, nin riki mamitankuta, tapun "imamanta mamitay llakikunkiri?"³⁷ "Manan qankuna yachankichischu abuelayki abueloyki haqay karu llaqtapi."³⁸ Chayña willan riki khina khina karayku kaypi papayki ikhurichipuwan nispa riki.³⁹ Willan wawankunamanqa riki.⁴⁰ Chayqa nin riki pawluchakunaqa "hakuchu mamay rina watukuq abuelay watukuq riqsimusaqku" nispa riki.⁴¹ Chayqa nin "mana, papaykichá aypamuspa sip'iruwasonman" nispa riki nin riki.⁴² "Maypis sip'iruwasonmanri?"⁴³ Karaspa.⁴⁴ May tukuysi kallpan kanman?" nispa riki.⁴⁵ Ña riki kashanña yaqaña kashanku ya kanchis pusaq watayuq imañachá kashanña yaqaña chunka watayuqpas riki.⁴⁶ "A ver tardeman chayamuqtin pukllapayasaqku a ver, si es que vencirusaqku chayqa, ripusunchis."⁴⁷ Mana vencisaqkuchu chayqa mana."⁴⁸ Tardinta chayamun pawluqa riki, sayk'usqa riki, shhhh.⁴⁹ Chayqa pukllapayayta qallarinku riki papankutaqa, vencirapunku eh papankuta.⁵⁰ Chayqa mamitan kunan "ay kay wawaykuna icha librawanmanchu kanpas" nispa riki.⁵¹ Kusikun mamitankuqa riki.⁵² Chayqa mamitankuta nin riki "kunan papayta ninki 'khayna kay huk hawallapi tiyaspaymi tullullaña kashani flaca total."⁵³ Huk maltonata apamuway mana imachanpi yuraqchayuqta yana ch'illuta allin wirata mana ch'uspiipas taqllananta" nispa riki.⁵⁴

Then the boys grew up fast, the boys had hair from their waists down.³⁴ From their waists up they didn't have hair, [that part] must have come from their mother.³⁵ So they were big, the kids were five or six years old.³⁶ Their mother was sad, and when she got sad they said, they asked their mother, "mother, why are you sad?"³⁷ "You don't know, your grandmother, your grandfather, they are in a far-away place."³⁸ So she told [them], "we were like this and like that, your father kidnapped me and brought me here."³⁹ She told her children.⁴⁰ Then the Pablitos said, "let's go mother, to go visit my grandmother, we'll meet her" they said.⁴¹ She said, "no, if your father catches up with us, he might kill us."⁴² [They said], "what do you mean he'll kill us?"⁴³ Damn!⁴⁴ How much strength could he have?" they said.⁴⁵ By then they were almost seven or eight years old, almost ten years old.⁴⁶ "Let's see, when he arrives in the afternoon we'll play with him, and let's see, if we beat him, we'll go."⁴⁷ If we don't beat him, then we won't."⁴⁸ In the afternoon Pablo arrived, very tired, shhhh.⁴⁹ Then they began to play around with their father, and the beat their father, you know?⁵⁰ Then their mother [said], "ay, these children of mine might be able to free me."⁵¹ Their mother was happy.⁵² Then they told their mother, "now tell my father, 'from living in one place I'm very skinny, totally skinny."⁵³ Bring me a calf that doesn't have any white on it, completely black, nice and fat, where flies don't land."⁵⁴

The narrator's creativity can be seen, for instance, in his statement of the boy's ages as 7, 8, or 10 years old, which gives the impression that he recalls the events from his own memory. The *ukuku* performance is also full of reported speech. For instance, in (36a-f) (lines 137-142 in Appendix 2) the narrator uses a reported conversation to illustrate the priest's frustration that the bear-man's (i.e. his godson's) killing spree has

continued in spite the priest's repeated attempts to have him killed. The reported speech gives the listeners a sense of the conflicted thoughts and emotions of the priest as he tries to manage the ongoing liability of his godson's violent rampage (Spanish elements, mostly the priest's reported speech, are underlined, and Quechua is in plain type):

- (36a) *"Padrino, chay runakuna tokashaqtiy wichamusqa, yaqalla tanqayawanku, wikch'uyamuni pampaman, carajo."*
 'Godfather, when I climbed up to ring [the bell], those men almost pushed me off, and I threw them to the ground, damn.'
- (36b) *"Ay, para qué lo has hecho ahijado" nispa.*
 'Ay, what did you do that for, my godson?' [the priest] said.'
- (36c) *Lluqsimun padre qhawan chay "ah" chaypi yaqa chunka runakuna wañusqa kapushan pampapi riki.*
 'The priest came out and looked, "ah," and there were around ten men dead on the ground.'
- (36d) *Masña askhaña runa debeshan eh, tsk.*
 'Now he owed even more people, tsk.'
- (36e) *Ya.*
 'Right.'
- (36f) *Chayqa chaymantaqa hina kasqa a ver a ver "ima nasaq kayri ahijaduytari karaspa shhhh."*
 'So then that's how it was, let's see, "what am I going to do with my godson, damn, shhhh."

The narrative makes liberal use of sound symbolism to simulate the narrated events for the listeners. For instance, (37) features sound icons when the bear-man climbs up the belltower of the church to ring the bell (*taran taran*), and when the men of the town try to shove him off (*pam!*):

- (37) *Siqaspas tocamushan **taran taran**, chay runakunas siqarunku hap'ispa **pam!***
 'When he climbed up he rang [the bell], **taran taran**, and the men climbed up and grabbed him [and pushed him] **pam!**'

6.5.2 Personal narratives

A more common form of narrative performance in Yokiri is the telling of personal stories, which are often performed in Spanish as well as in Quechua and Matsigenka. These stories relate experiences in the forest, on trips outside of the community, and in interactions with other *comuneros*. Occasionally, the narratives recount the deeds and encounters of other people. Yokiriños relish hearing their kinsmen perform these narratives, and a single narrative can feature moments that funny, sad, thrilling, or scary (see a similar role for hunting talk among Nantis in Montetoni (Beier 2010:377)). Yokiriño from all backgrounds, including adults and some teenagers, engage in this type of performance.

Personal narratives are often performed among a small group, either sitting in a loose circle or in the chairs and benches around a house. The participant structures of the performances can be quite variable: some are relatively monologic, particularly when only the speaker knows the story, and the listeners are eager to learn the details (see for instance the *working in the gold mines of Puerto Maldonado* story in (39) below). In these cases, the listeners offer backchannel and ask brief and unobtrusive questions, but the speaker retains the floor for most of the performance. Other performances are very dialogic, especially when more than one person knows the story, or when the listeners are less concerned about learning the details of the even and more interested in the sport of storytelling. An example of a particularly dialogic narrative is the performance in (38a-d) in which an old man and woman (participants 1 and 2, respectively) told me in Quechua about their experiences as children growing up among the *colonos* that had arrived in the

Yavero Valley in the 1950s and enslaved their parents (see Chapter 2). The two narrators have lived together for almost 50 years, and they are so accustomed to narrating together that they often occupy the floor simultaneously and even co-construct the narrative down to the level of syntax. The excerpt in (38a-d) gives a sense of how both the message and syntactic structure itself emerge from the interaction between the two speakers (note also the high degree of Spanish code-switching and lexical borrowing, underlined below):

(38a)

1	[<i>Colonokuna</i>] antes <u>sufrichiw</u> aranku riki.	mm hm.	mantanchista riki.
2			<u>Sufrichiw</u> aranku nishuta, panchista mantanchista <u>tambi</u> én
1	[the <i>colonos</i>] made us <u>suffer</u> , that's right.	mm hm.	our mothers, yes.
2			They made us <u>suffer</u> a lot, our fathers and our mothers <u>too</u> .

(38b)

1	Nuqanchis huch'uychakuna mana yacha-	aha.	Mana
2	mm hm. huch'uychakuna mana yachanchischuyá.		Mana nuqanchis--
1	When we were little, we didn't know-	Yeah.	We didn't
2	mm hm. when we were little, we didn't know.	We didn't--	

(38c)

1	yacharaykuchu nuqayku. Chayqa wiñaspayku wiñaspayku <u>ya está</u> chikanta <u>ya está</u> yachapuykuña	
2		yuyayta
1	know anything.	Then as we grew up <u>eventually</u> into kids, <u>by then</u> we knew
2		realized

(38d)

1	yuyayta hap'ispayku	yachapuyku imaynachá papayta <u>sufri</u> chiranku
2	hap'ispaykuña <u>o sea ya está</u>	yachapuyku

1 as we realized we knew how they made our parents suffer.
2 as we realized, I mean, by then we knew

This level of dialogism was exceptional--particularly the participant structure by which both narrators occupied the floor simultaneously for minutes on end without being perceived to have committed 'interruption'--though it illustrates the emergent quality of discourse in some narrative performances in Yokiri. Of particular interest is the sentence in (38c-d), which changes hands several times before its conclusion. Narrator 1 begins the sentence (*Chayqa wiñaspayku wiñaspayku ya está chikanta ya está yachapuykuña*- 'Then as we grew up eventually into kids, by then we knew-'), until narrator 2 begins an alternative verb phrase *yuyayta hap'ispaykuña* 'as we realized'. But narrator 2 only gets the first word *yuyayta* out before narrator 1 adopts her phrasing *yuyayta hap'ispayku* 'as we realized' to repair his previous verb phrase *yachapuykuña* 'we knew'. Undeterred, narrator 2 finishes her verb phrase with *hap'ispaykuña*, and introduces the next clause *o sea ya está*- 'I mean, by then-'. Narrator 1 takes over and continues this clause with *yachapuyku imaynachá papayta sufrichiranku* 'we knew how they made our parents suffer', while narrator 2 echoes the phrasing that narrator 1 introduced: *yachapuyku* 'we knew'. Such a sentence, and the message that it encodes, is the dialogic construction of both speakers and cannot be considered the linguistic production of either one as individuals.

One important manner in which the performance of personal narratives is distinct from the narration of myths and traditional stories is the high degree of Quechua-Spanish and Matsigenka-Spanish code-switching and use of Spanish loanwords. Whereas Quechua and Matsigenka myths are subject to a tight regime of linguistic purism,

personal narratives are full of Spanish elements. This is likely due to the fact that personal narratives are usually not based in the world of 'traditional culture' and are therefore not subject to the regime of linguistic purism described above.

6.5.2.1 Working in the gold mines of Puerto Maldonado

The Matsigenka personal narrative in (39) describes one young Yokiriño's trip to the area around the lowland city of Puerto Maldonado, where he spent a season working in the gold mines. This is a typical personal narrative: it was performed for a group of five or six young male Yokiriños (and the author) who listened attentively to the details, and occasionally asked for clarification and made small confirmations and contributions of information. The narrator was the only member of the group who had traveled extensively outside of the community, and the listeners were eager to learn about his experiences. The narrative features a great deal of code-switching and the borrowing of Spanish lexical items and discourse markers, which demonstrated the speaker's experiences in the world beyond the Yokiri Valley. It was considered a very good narrative performance because, in addition to the intrinsic allure of the topic, it featured devices like sound symbolism and reported speech that reduced the distance between the narrated events and the context of narration.

(39)

Inkaara itsaimataigi yoga kara inkiaigapanite yoga ohoku niaku, inoshikaigi kara tya ipaita yoga ikantaiake oro.¹ Entonces noneake naro notsaroganake.² Nokemake tuririririri, kara yoga iniira motor.³ Entonces tera noneerotari, notsarogavagetake.⁴ Nogonketake anta kara aityo ityomiani kaontaka pankotsi, yovetsikaigake ashi plástico.⁵ Kara itimi inti bar, naro tera noneero bar, ikyaenka noneakero bar.⁶ Inti kara ipitaigake entonces kara itimi ashi yoga ipaita yoga yashintaririra yoga bar ipaita Antonio.⁷ Kara noviikaigake ashi patiro nagakero cerveza, opunataka treinta soles.⁸ Entonces naro notsarogavagetake "si aka aka, aka opunataka siete cincuenta, siete soles, anta opunataka treinta soles."⁹ Tya nokantaka notsarogavagetakera?"¹⁰ Inti nokantiri Marco anta "tera pinkamantena koapa, koapa tera pinkante viro aka ocuestati?"¹¹ Iri ikantakena, "tera, inti ikyaenka naro aka pokankicha tera noneero."¹² Entonces nokisaka pe na, aka nokisakeri, "koapa viro pikantakena aka itimi nopinkonkirite."¹³ Entonces piteniroegi pipirintaigake kara, irirori ipokake oga tsinane okantake, "pinintaigake naro?"¹⁴ Ovashi kanti "inti servicio."¹⁵ Entonces naro, "tera, naro tera noninte, Marco inintake."¹⁶ Ipunatake patiro cerveza, patiro oga gaseosa, despues ya está ya oatake a las once, doce, ari kantaka.¹⁷ Naro noata, y noganakeri kara Marco.¹⁸ Noatake anta nikoriko noneake oga niaku, otimageti kara balsa, motores.¹⁹ Kara itsamaitake tovaiti, tovaiti itsamaitaigake.²⁰ Naro nokantake "tyakara itimi yoga Carlos Pérez?"²¹ Tyakara itimi yoga ikangaigiri yoga lagarto?"²² Entonces ikantaigana "anta nikoriko itimi."²³ Anta pineake onta tya opaita, plástico, inti, kara itimi" ikantakena.²⁴ Na naro noatake kara, kara itostavagetanake con cilindro, inoshikakera kara oro.²⁵ Noatake, nokantakeri "ainyovi" nokanti.²⁶ Ikantake "tsinika viro pokankicha?"²⁷ "Naro nopokake aka, naro nonintake nontsamaitakera, entonces naro nopokake aka porque apa inti, inti imantsigatake.²⁸ Naro nonintake koriki.²⁹ Naro maika nonintake nontsamaitakera.³⁰ Intikya viro no sé, pimpaatakana koriki," nokantakeri.³¹ Ikantakena "garoka, garoka, garoka nagavei nompakempira pintsamaitakera, garoka nagavei."³² Entonces nokenkisureaka maika "tyakara nomagakera?"³³

Earlier they were working there, entering deep into the water and bringing out, what's it called, what they call gold.¹ So I saw that, and I was really scared.² I heard tuririririri, there were the motor was making noise.³ So since I wasn't familiar with it, it really scared me.⁴ I arrived there, there was what looked like a small house, they had made it out of a plastic tarp.⁵ There was a bar there, I wasn't familiar with bars, just then I saw a bar [for the first time].⁶ So it was there where they were, he lives there, what's his name, the owner of the bar was named Antonio.⁷ There we drank [a bottle of] beer, it cost thirty soles.⁸ So I got really scared, if here [in Yokiri] it costs seven-fifty, seven soles, there it costs thirty soles.⁹ "What's wrong with me, since I got scared?"¹⁰ I told Marco, "how come you didn't tell me- how come up didn't tell me how much it costs?"¹¹ He said to me, "no, I just came here, I didn't know."¹² So I got mad [EMPH], I got mad at him, "why did you tell me your father-in-law lives here?"¹³ Then the two of us sat there, and a girl came up and she said "do you like me?"¹⁴ Then she said, "there's an [entertainment] service."¹⁵ So I said, "I don't want it, Marco wants it."¹⁶ He bought a beer, a soda, then that was it, she went at eleven or twelve, yes, that's it.¹⁷ I left, and I left Marco there.¹⁸ I went up and I saw the river, there were rafts, motors.¹⁹ There were many working there, many were working there.²⁰ I said, "where does Carlos Pérez live?"²¹ Where does the one they call 'lizard' live?"²² Then they told me, "he lives up there."²³ There where you see the, what's it called, the plastic tarp, that's it, he lives there, he told me.²⁴ Um, I went there, there he was [smelting?] with a cylinder, where he was mining gold.²⁵ "I went and said to him, "how are you?" I said. ²⁶ He said, "who are you that has come here?"²⁷ "I came here, I want to work, so I came here because my father is sick.²⁸ I want money.²⁹ So now I want to work.³⁰ It depends on you, I don't know," I said if you can give me money", I said to him.³¹ He said to me "I don't think I'll be able to give you work, I don't think I'll be able to."³² So I was worried [and I thought], "where am I going to sleep?"³³

The narrator used reported speech to relate to his audience the apprehension and uncertainty he experienced in this new and foreign place. For instance, through the reported utterances in (40a-b) (lines 32-33 in the transcript above) the listeners experience a tense interaction in which the narrator is denied employment by a gold miner and is concerned about where he will sleep that night:

- (40a) *Ikantakena "garoka, garoka, garoka nagavei nompakempira pintsamaitakera, garoka nagavei."*
'He said to me "I don't think I'll be able to give you work, I don't think I'll be able to.'"
- (40b) *Entonces nokenkisureaka maika "tyakara nomagakera?"*
'So I was worried, [and I thought] "where am I going to sleep?"'

Similarly, in (41a-b) (lines 2-3 in the transcript above) the narrator makes use of the sound icon *tuririririri* ('motor noise') to relate to his listeners the fear and disorientation that he felt when he saw heavy mining equipment for the first time:

- (41a) *Entonces noneake naro notsaroganake.*
So I saw that, and I was really scared.
- (41b) *Nokemake tuririririri, kara yoga iniira motor.*
I heard tuririririri, there were the motor was making noise

But while myth performances in Yokiri are characterized by the absence of Spanish code-switching and lexical borrowing, the *Puerto Maldonado* narrative is full of Spanish elements. For instance, in (42a) the narrator uses the Spanish discourse marker *entonces* 'then, so' to introduce a Matsigenka main verb *noviikaigaka* 'we (excl.) drank' before concluding the sentence with the Spanish prepositional phrase *hasta las doce, a la*

una, así, de la noche- de la mañana 'until twelve, one at night- in the morning'. Then in (42b) he switches back to Matsigenka to describe how he finally got a job in the gold mine:

(42a) *Entonces noviikaigaka, noviikaigaka hasta oga noviikaigaka hasta las doce, a la una, así, de la noche- de la mañana.*
'Then we drank, we drank until, we drank until twelve, one at night- in the morning.'

(42b) *Noaigake- osama nomagaigake, oshavinitanake ikantake maika mameri tsini- tsini aka intsamaitakera, maika viro pintsamaitakera aka.*
'We went- later we went to sleep, [and when] it was night, he said, "now there's nobody- nobody to work here, so now you will work here.'"

In the *Puerto Maldonado* personal narrative, as in most personal narratives in both Matsigenka and Quechua, the most frequent Spanish elements are lexical borrowings and discourse markers. The ubiquity of the latter is particularly striking--the *Puerto Maldonado* narrative uses Spanish discourse markers such as *entonces* 'then, so' more frequently than Matsigenka ones. The use of Spanish discourse markers in Matsigenka and Quechua discourse will be taken up below.

6.5.2.2 *Life among the colonists in San Martín; escape from an ambush*

Two performances exemplify Quechua personal narratives in Yokiri: the story about life among the colonists in San Martín in the 1950s and 1960s, co-constructed by the two narrators above in (38a-d), and a story that Edison the coffee merchant told about his military service during a visit to a Yokiriño's home in the fall of 2011 (45). Although Edison is not a resident of Yokiri, his frequent interactions with Yokiriños in the community and at his house in Quillabamba makes him an important and influential

member of the speech community. The juxtaposition of the two narratives demonstrates that the standards of good Quechua personal narrative performances obtain across the region.

In the *life among the colonists in San Martín* narrative excerpted above (38a-d), the narrators give an emotional account of their childhoods after their parents' land had been taken over by Andean *colonos*. They frequently used reported speech to demonstrate their thoughts and emotions, as in (43) when the husband described how the *colonos* first introduced them to salt and manufactured cooking pots (an important symbolic transformation in their lives):

- (43) *Riqsichiwaranku kachita aqnata riqsichiwaranku khaynata "kayta mihunki, kaywan wayk'unkichis" apamuq karanku mankata mankakunata.*
'They introduced us to salt, they introduced it to us like that, "eat this, cook with this," and they brought us cooking pots.'

The narrators also use sound icons such as those described above. For instance, in (44) the man describes how before the *colonos* came, his parents used to light fires by striking a machete on a *tseñkirontsi* 'fire starter' stone. He demonstrates this to his audience with the sound icon *tsin tsin* 'metal on stone sound' (marked in boldface type; Spanish elements are underlined):

- (44) *Anchay hap'ichiq karanku nawan machetechawan **tsin tsin**, aha, **tsin tsin** aqnata, **tsin tsin**. Chaywan aha hap'iy phukunku chaywan hap'ichiq karanku.*
'[My grandparents] used to strike it with, um, with a little machete '**tsin tsin**' yes '**tsin tsin**' like that '**tsin tsin**'. Yes, they strike it with that and blow on it, they used to start [fires] with that.'

gun *to*, which allowed the listeners to imagine the terrifying scene in a more intimate manner.

6.5.2.3 *Return to Manu*

Personal narratives are also often told in Spanish in Yokiri. Many of the features that make for good storytelling in Matsigenka and Quechua--creativity and the use of reported speech and iconic language--also apply to Spanish narratives. For instance, in the Spanish narrative excerpt in (46) José tells a story from his teenage years in which he returned to the Manu area where he was born. He performed this narrative one evening in his home for a few of his children, his wife, and the author (who requested this particular narrative). Because he does not speak much Matsigenka and his wife (from Chirumbia family #4) does not understand Quechua, most of the narratives he told in her presence were in Spanish. José held the floor for about ten minutes with occasional backchannel and requests for clarification from his audience, who listened carefully and considered it to be a very successful and engaging performance. The narrative features frequent reported speech (some of which is in Quechua, which in some cases he translates for the benefit of his wife) as well as some iconic features such as the delayed stop release emphatic device discussed in detail below.

José was born to a Huachipaeri mother who worked on a hacienda near Manu in the early 1950s and a Quechua-speaking father from Paucartambo who administrated the hacienda (for more on José's life history, see Chapter 2). When José was orphaned before age five, he went to live with his father's family in Paucartambo. The family treated him differently because his mother was a Huachipaeri, and as he grew up, he become curious

about his family history. When José was thirteen, his curiosity led him to return to Manu in search of the hacienda where his parents had worked and, eventually, to his mother's community (Spanish is in plain text, Quechua is underlined):

(46)

Entonces yo preguntaba allí a un primo de mi papa que es Samuel: “por qué me dicen ‘ch'unchuñacha’?”¹ O sea en Quechua, “imanaqtin ch'unchuñacha niwankuri?”² “Mamitayki kay karan Huachipaeri, namanta Qosñipata ukhumantan.”³ Pucha, se ha parado mi oreja pue.⁴ Entonces cuando estuve yo trece años yo he preguntado preguntado, me dijeron "tu mamá es de adentro.⁵ Tu mamá es huachipaeri."⁶ O sea, yo he, yo he ido pues a Manu preguntando.⁷ Yo he llegado a tal Guzmán a ver si tal Guzmán- ese Guzmán a ver, yo he conocido ya será pues ya debe ser un señor que habra tenido motobalaga pucha había sacado, había exportado maderas.⁸ Había tenido volquetes tractores pucha volvos para que cargara al Cuzco madera.⁹ Le digo pues en Quechua “personaykichu kanki Guzmán?”¹⁰ “Ari niñucha, imanaqtin?” dice.¹¹ “Kaypi llank'aran Manuel [his father's name]?”¹² “Ahh sí sí pucha caramba!¹³ Tú eres su hijo de, de Manuel?”¹⁴ “Si si!”¹⁵ “Pucha le ha llevado a tu mama y se han muerto los dos.”¹⁶ Pucha, me abraza así pues.¹⁷ Entonces le digo “de ese tenía mi tío” le digo.¹⁸ “Sí sí, en la tarde va a venir, va a venir, te vas a ir conocer.”¹⁹

So then I asked one of my father's cousins, Samuel: “why do they call me ‘little savage’?”¹ Or in Quechua, “why do they call me ‘little savage’?”² “Your mother was Huachipaeri, from the lowlands of Qosñipata.”³ Wow, my ear stood right up.⁴ So when I was thirteen years old, I asked and I asked, and they told me "your mother is from inside [the forest].⁵ Your mother is Huachipaeri."⁶ So I went to Manu, asking around.⁷ I arrived where Guzmán [the *hacendado*] lived, to see if Guzmán- that man Guzmán, I met him, he was an old man by the, I think he had a [chainsaw], he took out- he exported timber.⁸ He had dump trucks, tractors, wow, Volvos to transport wood to Cuzco.⁹ I said to him in Quechua, “are you Guzmán?”¹⁰ “Yes, little boy, what's going on?” [he said].¹¹ “Did Manuel [his father] work here?”¹² “Oh wow, yes, yes, damn!¹³ you're Manuel's son!”¹⁴ “Yes, yes!”¹⁵ “Wow, he took your mother away, and then they both died.”¹⁶ Damn, he hugged me.¹⁷ Then I told him, “I used to have an uncle on his side,” I told him.¹⁸ “Yes, yes, he's going to come in the evening, he's going to come, you'll go meet him.”¹⁹

This was a very exciting adventure story about José's reunion with his mother's family in the *selva*, and he made use of a number of performance features to draw his listeners into the narrative. First, he used reported speech to demonstrate his various emotions and mental states for his audience: for instance, the excerpt begins (lines 2-4) with his initial realization that his mother was Huachipaeri, which he expresses to the listeners by reproducing the conversation and reenacting the epiphany for his audience

(47a-c). Indeed, a simple description of the event would not have been as compelling.

Spanish is in plain text; Quechua reported speech is underlined.

(47a) “...imanaqtin ch'unchuñacha niwankuri?”
“...why do they call me 'little savage'?”

(47b) “Mamitayki kay karan Huachipaeri, namanta Qosñipata ukhumantan.”
“Your mother was Huachipaeri, from the lowlands of Qosñipata.”

(47c) *Pucha, se ha parado mi oreja pue.*
'Wow, my ear stood right up.'

Second, José uses iconic linguistic features to lend immediacy to his narrative.

While this narrative did not include sound-symbolic utterances such as the ones described above, he uses a delayed consonant release device several times (about which more below) to express emphasis. For example, in line 9 he emphasized the great quantity of heavy machinery the hacendado had by delaying the release of the /t/ in *volquetes* 'dump trucks' and the /ch/ in *pucha* 'wow' (48):

(48) *Habia tenido volquet[.2s]es tractores puch[.3s]a volvos para que cargara al Cuzco madera.*
'He had dump trucks, tractors, wow, Volvos, to transport wood to Cuzco.'

The performance also features a high degree of code-switching and use of Spanish loans--in this case, from Spanish to Quechua--when the José reports the speech of Quechua speakers (this is an interesting inversion of his Spanish-Quechua code-switching during the priest's reported speech in the *ukuku* performance in (35).

6.5.2.4 The circulation of discourse markers in Yokiri

As is clear from the preceding analyses, many of the same features (e.g. sound symbolism and reported speech) are part of effective mythological and personal narrative performance. However, one way in which the performance of personal narratives is different from myth narration in both Quechua and Matsigenka is the prevalence of Spanish elements. Some of these elements are loanwords that are thoroughly incorporated into the Quechua and Matsigenka lexicons, while others are clearly code-switches; this is a difficult distinction to make and surely varies from speaker to speaker. Whereas Spanish is all but absent in most performances of mythological narratives (at least, those regarded by Yokiriños as the best exemplars of the genre), Spanish elements are ubiquitous in personal narratives. Aside from lexical borrowing, discourse markers are the most frequent Spanish features used in Quechua and Matsigenka discourse. I will use the term "discourse markers" here in the narrow sense of elements that structure the flow of information and create discourse coherence among units of talk (Schiffrin 1988). The discourse markers that most commonly appear in Matsigenka and Quechua discourse are temporal connectives like *entonces* 'then, so', *antes* 'before' *después* 'after, then', and the lexicalized phrase *ya está* 'already, by that point'; hesitation forms like *o sea* 'I mean'; emphatic markers like *pues/pe* 'so, EMPH'; and the aspect marker *recién* 'just then' (note that some of these markers are themselves Andean Spanish calques on Quechua features, making them points of speech community-wide convergence when they are used in Matsigenka). Some Yokiriños also use Spanish discourse markers that can open the door to more fundamental syntactic changes, such as the logical and temporal connectives *para* 'in order to,' *hasta* 'until,' *porque* 'because,' *si* 'if,' and *cuando* 'when,' that often

accompany the importation of Spanish clause-linking and clause-embedding strategies into Quechua and Matsigenka syntax. Examples of these can be found throughout the examples presented so far in this study.

The introduction of Spanish discourse-marking practices can be seen when myth performances are compared with other discourse genres, such as personal narratives, that admit more Spanish influence. Compare, for instance, the Matsigenka *pakitsa* myth in (reproduced in full in the Appendix, and excerpted above in (28)) with the Matsigenka *working in the gold mines of Puerto Maldonado* personal narrative (excerpted in (39) above). The *pakitsa* myth exhibits very little Spanish influence, and the speaker uses the Matsigenka temporal connective *impo/impogini* 'then' to structure the succession of the events (49a-g)

- (49a) *Onkotakeri impo oka onianiatakeri okisavitakerora itomi.*
'She cooked it, and later, and she made [his son] angry by talking to [the eagle].'
- (49b) *"Pinianiatanakeri maika pakitsa inkaontake matsigenka nianianiataerini."*
'[His son said], "you keep on talking to the eagle as if he were a person that you could chat with."'
- (49c) *Impogini tataka isuretaka iriro irityo yoga pakitsa?*
'Then what must the eagle have thought? (i.e. he must have been offended)'
- (49d) *Iatake intati anta itinkaraakero oga yovetsikakera imenko ivanko yoga pakitsa.*
'The eagle went across to break off [sticks] to build his nest, his house.'
- (49e) *Itinkaraake itinkaraake terong terong yovetsikake aryomenkorika kara.*
'He broke off more and more [sticks] "terong terong" and made his big nest there.'
- (49f) *Impogini otarogavagetake iroro- impo- oga irotyo iriniro yoga matsigenka.*
'Then she swept- then- the man's mother.'
- (49g) *Impogini otarogavageti inti oga oshintu anuvageteroka oga oga sotsiku.*
'Then she swept and her daughter was walking around outside.'

The sequence of events in this myth excerpt is structured entirely with Matsigenka *impo(gini)*. In contrast, the events in the excerpt from the Matsigenka personal narrative *working in the gold mines of Puerto Maldonado* in (50a-f) are structured entirely by the Spanish discourse marker *entonces* 'then, so':

- (50a) *Entonces noneake naro notsaroganake.*
'Then I saw it, and I was really scared.'
- (50b) *Nokemake tuririririri, kara yoga iniira motor.*
'I heard tuririririri, there were the motor was making noise.'
- (50c) *Entonces tera noneerotari, notsarogavagetake.*
'So, since I wasn't familiar with it, it really scared me.'
- (50d) *Nogonketake anta kara aityo ityomiani kaontaka pankotsi, yovetsikaigake ashi plastico.*
'I arrived there, there was what looked like a small house, they had made it out of a plastic tarp.'
- (50e) *Kara itimi inti bar, naro tera noneero bar, ikyaenka noneakero bar.*
'There was a bar there, I wasn't familiar with bars, I had just then begun to see bars.'
- (50f) *Inti kara ipitaigake entonces kara itimi ashi yoga ipaita yoga yashintaririra yoga bar ipaita Antonio.*
'It was there where they were then, he lives there, what's his name, the man who owned the bar was named Antonio.'

The difference between these two narratives is striking: the entire 16-minute performance of the *pakitsa* myth contains only a couple of Spanish discourse markers, while the personal narrative about Puerto Maldonado (also a bit over 16 minutes long) uses Spanish discourse markers *entonces* 'then, so' to structure the flow of the discourse, to the total exclusion of the Matsigenka marker *impo(gini)* 'then'.

The same distribution of Spanish discourse markers according to speech genre can be seen in Quechua discourse in Yokiri, though to a lesser extent. For instance, the narrator of the *ukuku* story uses very few Spanish discourse markers over the course of his nearly 26-minute narrative, structuring the flow of his discourse instead with Quechua particles such as *chaysi* 'so, then (REPORT)', *chayqa* 'so, then, since', and *chaymanta(qa)* 'then', and with the sequential enclitic =*taq* 'then'. The excerpt from the *ukuku* story in (51a-d) features mostly Quechua discourse marking strategies (with the exception of the Spanish discourse marker *ya está* 'until'). Quechua discourse markers are in boldface, and Spanish elements are underlined.

- (51a) ***Chaysi maqanakuyunku ya está graveta.***
So they fought until they were in bad shape.
- (51b) ***Chayqa medianoche "ya" samayunku eh "ya".***
Then [at] midnight "okay," they rested, "okay."
- (51c) *Tiyanku **chayqa** "unuta haywarimuwaychis," unuta haywarinku aqnata*
tumarunku shhhh ch'akipi riki.
They sat **and** [said] "offer us some water," and [the villagers] offered them water and they drank like this 'shhhh' from thirst.
- (51d) ***Chaymantaqa kaqmanta karaspas maqanakullankutaq.***
And then damn! **Then** they began fighting again.

Compare the speaker's discourse-marking practices in this mythological narrative with a personal narrative in which the same speaker describes the history of how he arrived in Yokiri (52a-c). This narrative features some of the same Quechua discourse makers found in the Ukuku myth narrative in (35) (*chayqa* 'so, then, since'), as well as a

higher proportion of Spanish temporal and logical connectives (*más antestaqa* 'before', *entonces* 'so, then', *pero* 'but'):

- (52a) *Chayqa kaypiqa kunan kashani yaqa iskay- iskay chunka kinsayuy wata hinallaraq kay Yokiripi, pero más antestaqa tiyarani Huillcapampapi colonokunawan kуска.*
'So I've been here in Yokiri almost twenty- twenty-three years by now, but before I used to live in Huillcapampa together with the colonos.'
- (52b) *Ñawpaq señoraypas karan kaq paisanallataq, ña wañukapunnña, kunan kaypi señoraypas- qhipa señoraynña kashan.*
'My previous wife was also a Matsigenka, [but] she died, and now I have a wife- a second wife here.'
- (52c) *Chayqa kunan kaypi ña iskay chunka más watanña entonces ña exonerasqanña kapunin.*
So now I've been here for more than twenty years, so I'm excused [from attending *faenas*].

These patterns confirm that the mythological narrative genre in both Quechua and Matsigenka is the site of relatively little Spanish influence (except in the reported speech of some Spanish-speaking characters), while personal narratives and other types of discourse in both languages (such as 'house and field talk' discussed in above) feature the very frequent use of Spanish lexical borrowing and code-switching, particularly in discourse marking strategies.

6.5.2.5 Discourse marking and mixed registers

The heavy use of these discourse markers and other borrowed elements has created relatively stable Spanish-influenced registers (Agha 2005) of Matsigenka, and to a lesser extent, Quechua. These registers (which exhibit varying degrees of Spanish influence) now predominate among most speakers and in most contexts in Yokiri except

in the carefully policed interactional domain of myth narration (see Babel (2011) for a similar enregisterment of Quechua features in Bolivian Spanish). Discourse markers have been shown to be some of the most commonly borrowed elements from Spanish into indigenous Latin American languages (Brody 1987; Brody 1995; Hill and Hill 1986:177-194; Solomon 1995), a cross-linguistic phenomenon that has become clear as researchers have turned their attention to naturally-occurring speech in addition to elicited and edited texts. Extra-sentential discourse markers appear to be highly portable because they are not deeply embedded in syntactic structure; discourse markers have also been shown to diffuse through frequent code-switching (de Rooij 2000; Goss and Salmons 2000; Maschler 2000; Thomason 2001:133), which certainly appears to be the case in Yokiri's intensely multilingual interactional culture. This enregisterment can be seen in Matsigenka narrative excerpt (53) in which a woman describes a trip she and a friend took down the Urubamba River to the Pongo de Mainique, a narrow gorge full of dangerous rapids. Her Matsigenka discourse is replete with Spanish lexical items and the kinds of discourse markers mentioned above (some of which are themselves calques on Quechua features). Some of these can be considered borrowings, while the narrative also includes a longer code-switch into Spanish (*y al día siguiente recién* 'and only the next day'). Spanish elements are underlined.

(53)

Kantaka hasta okutagitetakotai felizmente ainyo napiteiga piteniroegi hasta okutagitetamanaira noaigamanake okimoatake nia.⁴⁸
Noaigamanake y al dia siguiente recien noaigake pongo.⁴⁹ Nagaveigaparo pongo en Pomoreni, oho, bien tumbos puagasetake tera onkametite.⁵⁰ Yagutagaigina nagutaiganake, nokenaiganake canto.⁵¹ Navisaiganai nataguiganai.⁵² Pashini shintoriniku tyarika anta aikiro bien nomatsivokaseiganai, o sea okoveenkati pe, pues notsarogaiganake.⁵³ De allí nagaveiganakaro tya opaita--anta nagaveiganakaro anta oga tya opaita anta panikya cerca pongo, e ikantaigana bien pimpiriniigakera magatiro.⁵⁴ Entonces yoga motorista ya esta ineiro pe iconocetiro pine ya esta yogametaka.⁵⁵
NQE: Mm hm.⁵⁶
Entonces iatake, pero nigankiaku tesakona oga ovoresete--choeni porque inti como encajonado.⁵⁷

[We were there] until the sun came up, luckily the two of us were there together until the sun came up, then we went in the morning, the river was high.⁴⁸ We went in the morning, and only the next day did we go to the Pongo.⁴⁹ When we were about to arrive at the Pongo in Pomoreni, wow! There were big rapids, it was rough, it was bad.⁵⁰ He made us get out, and we got out and went to the riverbank.⁵¹ Then we continued and rode the rapids again.⁵² There was another one in Shintorini that was just the same, we closed our eyes really tight, I mean, it was really scary EMPH, EMPH we were really scared.⁵³ From there we arrived in, what's it called--we were arriving in what's it called, almost, near the Pongo, and he told us "you have to really sit [and secure] everything".⁵⁴ So, the boat pilot already knew [the route] EMPH, yes he knew it, you see, he was already accustomed to it.⁵⁵
NQE: Mm hm.⁵⁶
Then he went [down the rapids], but in the center, there weren't many waves--because it was, like, narrow.⁵⁷

The borrowing of Spanish discourse markers that characterizes these registers of Matsigenka and Quechua in Yokiri has important social implications: first, as described above, they are regimented by interactional context (indeed, the level of mixing in (53) would be quite out of place in a myth narrative). Second, discourse markers can be used to signal social-indexical information about the speaker's access and commitments to the various social domains of the regional society, a phenomenon similar to the social meanings of Mexicano-Spanish syncretism in Mexico (Hill and Hill 1986). In some contexts the use of Spanish discourse markers in Quechua or Matsigenka discourse can be used to indicate a speaker's sophistication and participation in the social universe beyond the Yokiri Valley (invoking a social-semiotic contrast through enregistered

language use (see also Babel (2010))--this was certainly at play in the *working in the gold mines of Puerto Maldonado* story above, in which the narrator showed off his worldly experience. However, in some cases Yokiriños also interpret the use of these registers as evidence of speaker's disdain for the local social world (an accusation, for instance, that was often leveled at the narrator of the *Puerto Maldonado* story). This phenomenon is similar to the mixed "power code" register that Hill and Hill describe in the Malinche Volcano region of Mexico (1986)--significantly, though, the mixed registers of Quechua and Matsigenka speakers are often used by people who have had very little exposure to Spanish and who do not understand it well.⁴⁵ Among these speakers the discourse markers may have been borrowed (they are often nativized into Matsigenka and Quechua phonology, though this is not always diagnostic of borrowing), and in some cases they are surely deployed without social-indexical meaning based on code difference (indeed it is common for such markers to be introduced as emblematic code-switches and then incorporated into the system (Goss and Salmons 2000)). The difference between code-switching and borrowing here (that is, as a matter of the speaker's metalinguistic interpretation of code difference) can vary among speakers, contexts, and even instances of use, so I do not attempt to make such a principled distinction here. The social-indexical implicatures described here should thus be understood as general patterns subject to significant variation.

This raises another important point regarding the borrowing of discourse markers that is made somewhat more clear in a trilingual context: although many of the discourse markers used in the Spanish, Quechua, and Matsigenka interactions discussed

⁴⁵ For instance, Lev Michael (p.c.) reports that monolingual Matsigenka speakers in the remote community of Segakiato often use Spanish discourse markers such as the temporal connective *entonces* 'then.'

here take the form of Spanish words, it is not always the case that their appearance in Matsigenka and Quechua discourse can be entirely (or even primarily) attributed to the direct influence of Spanish. Nor can they be straightforwardly characterized as either borrowings or code-switches; since the Matsigenka and Quechua spoken in and around Yokiri are already saturated with Spanish discourse markers, Yokiriños (particularly those with little command of Spanish) do not necessarily interpret these markers as being 'from Spanish' (see Bright 1979)--nor even as a 'switch'--in every case. Indeed, speakers' interpretations of linguistic form do not always correspond to etymology, and are bound to vary from speaker to speaker (Spitulnik 1998:48). This complicates any straightforward social-indexical explanation of these practices based on "the meaningful juxtaposition of...two distinct grammatical systems" (Gumperz 1982:66), construed as an opposition between a matrix and embedded language (Myers-Scotton 1993) or a donor and recipient language. While in some cases discourse markers clearly serve an emblematic means of signaling familiarity with *colono* society, their presence in discourse in all three languages might mean that speakers associate them with the broader *colono* society without specifically identifying them with Spanish. In other cases, the frequent use of Spanish-influenced registers of Quechua and Matsigenka may push the borrowing of these elements below the threshold of awareness and may not invoke any particular social meaning, since, as Peter Auer writes, "the figure of code-alternation is most salient against a ground which is not in itself mixed, but monolingual" (Auer 1998:20).

6.5.3 Iconicity and delayed stop release in narrative performance

Personal narrative and myth performances are different kinds of social and discursive events, structured by distinct metapragmatic conventions and ideologies of proper language use. However, as described above, there are number of similarities that mark them as part of the more general narrative performance genre: one person is usually recognized as the primary narrator, creativity and intertextuality are highly valued, and a number of poetic and stylistic features are used to enhance the performances. One such feature is iconic language, which manifests in the form of sound icons that imitate phenomena in the narratives (as described above) and other poetic elements such as the delayed release of stops (which I will discuss below).

Both Andean and Western Amazonian societies highly value iconicity in language use. In Southern Peruvian Quechua, this stems from a cultural orientation toward language in which "words are consubstantial with their objects" (Mannheim 1991:184), which leads Quechua speakers to represent the world iconically with their speech. Janis Nuckolls describes a similar orientation toward language among speakers of lowland Pastaza Quechua, where sound-symbolic utterances play a fundamental role in discourse, in which they "simulate the material qualities of the natural, sensible world and thereby articulate Quechua people's cultural constructions of it" (Nuckolls 1996:3). Iconic language is also widespread in Amazonia (Payne 2001), and its ubiquity in both the Andes and Amazonia suggest that it is a broader continental areal phenomenon⁴⁶ (for a comparative example of sound symbolism across genetic groupings, for instance, note its similar use in lowland Pastaza Quechua and the nearby Jivaroan languages (Overall

⁴⁶ van Gijn (2014:115) argues that this is exclusively an Amazonian feature, but in my analysis many of the same sound-symbolic principles apply equally in the Andes (e.g. Mannheim 1991:177-207).

2007:173); for the broader implications of this research for Andean-Amazonian linguistic relations, see Uzendoski (2009)).

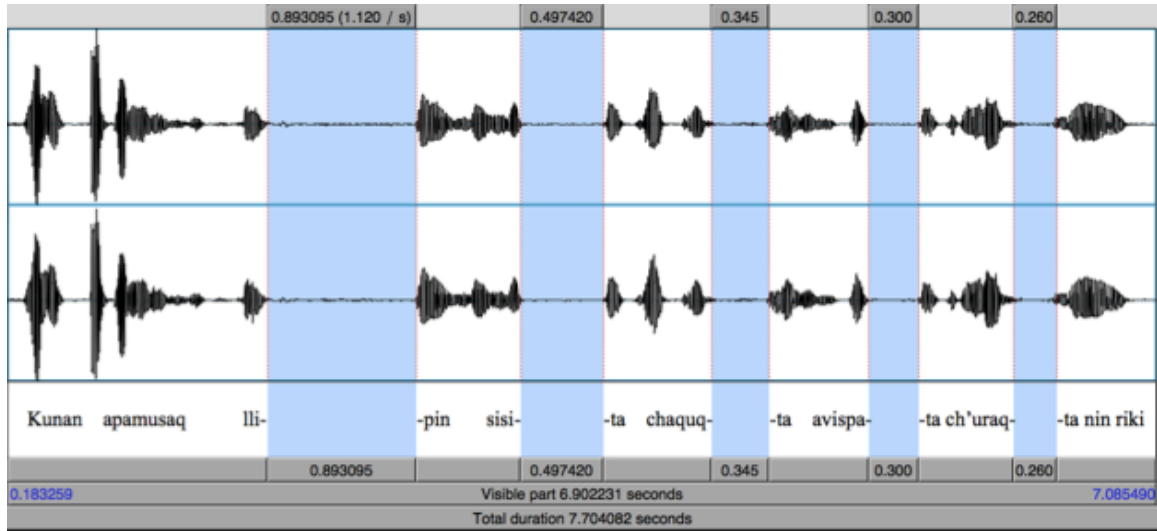
One iconic feature that figures prominently in the performance of traditional stories in Matsigenka and Quechua and personal narratives in Matsigenka, Quechua, and Spanish is the delayed release of unvoiced stops (and less frequently, affricates and nasals) to express emphasis. These delays can, in some cases, last for nearly a second (an eternity in phonetic time). This mode of emphasis-marking is an important feature of narrative performance, as it allows the narrator to foreground information for the listeners and to attribute stances and emotions to characters within the narrative (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998:340). This is normally applied to onsets following stressed syllables (where applicable), and the delayed release is often accompanied by an increase in pitch, a squinting of the eyes, and a tilt of the head. The very long delay in the release of the consonants is iconic of the great intensity, quantity, size, or duration of the action or thing described in the narrative performance.⁴⁷ When used in verb phrases, this iconic function can serve a grammatical aspect function (Nuckolls 1996). The poetic device is used almost exclusively in performances of traditional stories and personal narratives--Yokiriños generally do not use it, for instance, to report the extent of their coffee plantations or the wide variety of their crops in everyday conversation. Delayed stop release occurs in narrative performances in all three of the languages of Yokiri, such that its use is constrained by performance genre but not by language of performance. Below are examples of this sound-symbolic poetic device in Quechua (54), Spanish (55), and Matsigenka (56) narrative performances.

⁴⁷ Note that this is similar to the ejective consonants of Southern Peruvian Quechua, which also underwent diffusion (from Aymara) due to its utility for iconic linguistic expression (Mannheim 1991 ch. 8).

Quechua sentence (54a) is an excerpt from a story performed by an old trilingual Yokiriño man. Here, he reports the speech of a grasshopper who threatens to recruit an army of stinging insects to fight in a battle against a bear. As he lists the insects, he emphasizes their great quantity and variety by delaying the release of stops in their names from between 260ms and 890ms, as can be seen in the blue shaded regions in figure (54b):

- (54a) Kunan apamusaq llipin sisita chaquqta avispata ch'uraqta' nin riki.
kunan apa -mu -saq llipin sisi -ta chaquq-ta
 now carry TRLOC 1.FUT all ant.sp AC termite AC
avispa -ta ch'uraq -ta ni -n riki
 wasp AC ant.sp AC say 3S right
 “‘Now I’m going to bring all of the [species of ant], and the termites, and the wasps, and the [species of ant],” he said.’

(54b)



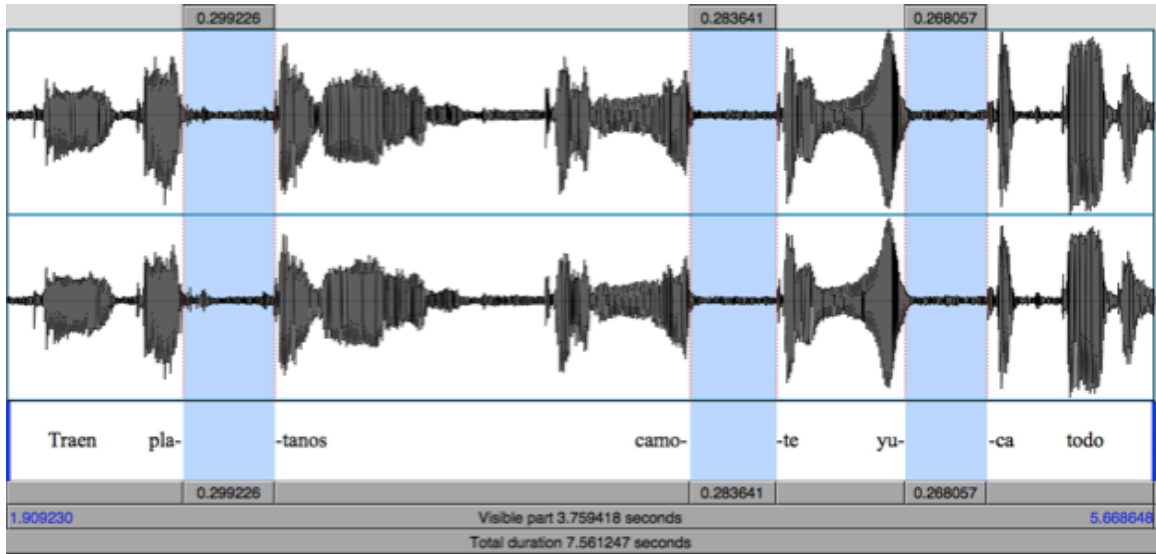
Similarly, Spanish sentence (55a) is from the performance of a personal narrative in which an elderly woman born in the Dominican mission at Chirumbia recounts for her listeners what it was like to live with the priests. In this sentence she describes all of the things for sale at the mission store, emphasizing the great quantity and variety of the products through the use of delayed stop releases in the Spanish words *plátanos* 'bananas', *camote* 'yam', and *yuca* 'yuca' for between 270ms and 300ms (55b).

(55a) Traen plátanos, camote, yuca, todo.

<i>trae</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>plátano</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>camote</i>	<i>yuca</i>	<i>todo</i>
bring	3S	banana	PL	yam	yuca	everything

'They brought bananas, yam, yuca, everything.'

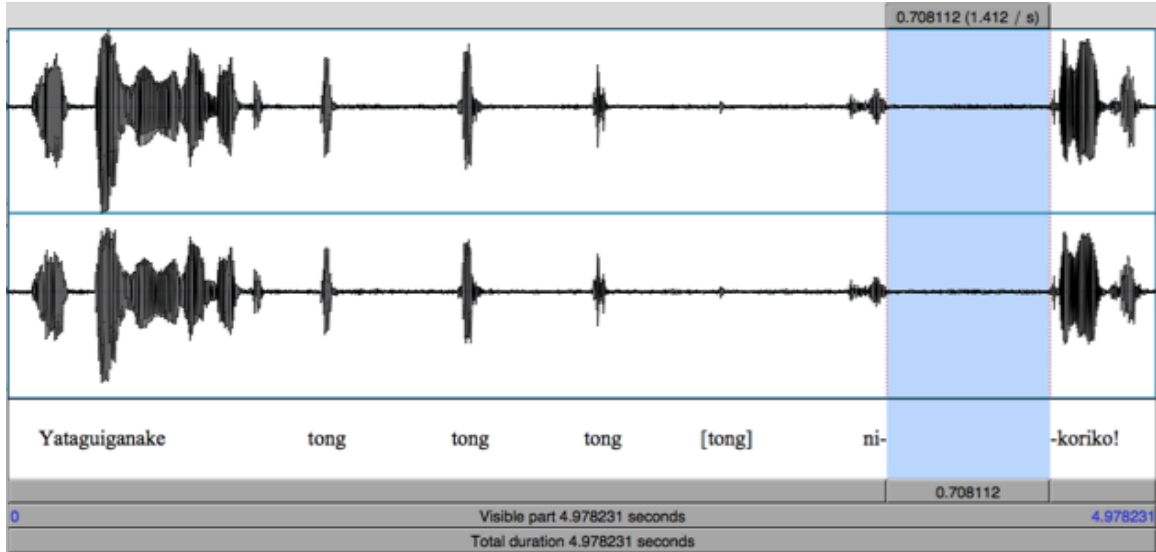
(55b)



Finally, the same poetic device is used in Matsigenka discourse, though not as frequently as in Quechua and Spanish. Matsigenka sentence (56a) is an excerpt from a mythical narrative, performed by a young man from Chirumbia, in which two characters climb very high up a rock face to escape the Ankachaki demon (note also the sound icon *tong tong tong tong* 'climbing sound', another important use of iconic language as described above). The narrator indicates the great height of the cliff through the dramatic 710ms delay in the release of the first unvoiced stop /k/ in the word *nikoriko* 'up, on top' (56b).

(56a) Yataguiganake *tong tong tong* [tong] *nikoriko!*
i- atagu -ig -an -ak -i tong tong tong tong
3mS climb PL ABL PERF REAL.I climbing.sound
nikoriko
up/top
'They climbed up 'tong tong tong tong' [climbing sound] all the way to the top!'

(56b)



The fact that this poetic device is closely associated with the narrative performance genre but largely unconstrained by language of performance⁴⁸ suggests that these patterns issue from a shared set of expressive habits and expectations regarding such performances. As I will discuss below, this unity (or, at least, ongoing unification) of discursive habits across linguistic lines defines Yokiri as a 'discourse area'. It also suggests that the borrowing of discourse-sensitive features among the three languages is partially structured by the discursive culture of the community.

6.5.4 Reportative evidentiality

Another important linguistic feature, in all three languages in Yokiri, is reportative evidentiality: a grammatical resource for the attribution of information to a specific or unspecified second-hand source (for instance, hearsay or the information in a

⁴⁸ Indeed, when I telephoned loved ones in the U.S. after long periods of fieldwork in Yokiri, I occasionally found myself using this emphatic device in English while recounting my experiences.

myth). Yokiriños have a strong tendency to mark information that they did not acquire first-hand, both in conversation and in the performance of personal narratives and myths. Reportative evidentials are not exclusive to discourse in the home, but they are most commonly used there because of the types of information expressed in the home (e.g. myths, gossip).

In Yokiri, two reportative evidential markers are used: the Spanish particle *dice*, which appears very frequently in both Spanish and Matsigenka discourse, and occasionally in Quechua, and the enclitic =*si* (=s after vowels), which is used exclusively in Quechua discourse. *Dice* existed in some varieties of Iberian Spanish and was subsequently lost, but it was retained in Andean Spanish. It was then borrowed into the Matsigenka of some multilingual residents of the Alto Urubamba coffee frontier. The narrow pragmatic functions of reportative evidentials and the relative rareness of evidentiality as a linguistic phenomenon makes its diffusion easily discernible (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998:244). Evidentiality is an areal contact feature in both the Andes and Amazonia, and the Yokiri data provide an opportunity to witness this sort of evidential diffusion unfolding 1) as a social phenomenon, and 2) across the perplexing Andean-Amazonian areal-typological boundary.

Yokiri's linguistic culture includes a metapragmatic inclination to mark information that speakers have acquired indirectly, regardless of language. Speakers most often mark such information if the addressee does not already know the evidential basis of the proposition, but evidentials are often used even if the speaker already knows that the information is second-hand (e.g. in myth narrations). The marking of reportative evidential status is accomplished through both grammatical and discursive strategies:

when Yokiriños report propositions based on second-hand evidence, they normally indicate this using *verba dicendi* (*my mother told me that...*) or with the reportative evidential markers discussed here. These markers appear most frequently in mythological narrative performances, probably because these narratives contain a high degree of information not personally attested by the speaker, but they also appear frequently in other communicative contexts such as personal narratives, community meetings, and personal conversations.

Quechua exhibits a three-way distinction between evidential enclitics. The paradigm includes a direct evidential =*mi*, used to encode that the speaker has the "best possible grounds" (Faller 2002:21) for a proposition; the conjectural =*chá*, which marks bits of information as "speculations, assumptions, hypotheses, as well as inferences" (ibid.), and the reportative =*si*, which is used "when the speaker obtained information from others, which includes secondhand and thirdhand [sic] information, general hearsay/rumor and folktales" (Faller 2002:22). An example of the Quechua reportative evidential is in excerpt (57a-b), from *ukuku* story above, in which the narrator expresses the indirect (and non-specific) source of his information with =*si*:

(57a) Chaymantaqa haykumun cuerpunñataqsi haykumun pedazo por pedazo riki.
chay -manta =qa hayku -mu -n cuerpu -ña =taq
 that ABL TO1 enter TRLOC 3S body CM SQ
 =*si hayku -mu -n pedazo por pedazo riki*
REPORT enter TRNOC 3S piece by piece right
 'Then his body [**they say**] entered [the house], piece by piece.'

(57b) Chaymantaqa haykumun makin chakin chaymantaqa hunt'akapun qhawashansi
carajo kayri nispa.
chay -manta =qa hayku -mu -n maki -n chaki -n
 that ABL TO1 enter TRLOC 3S hand 3P foot 3P
chay -manta =qa hunt'a -ku -pu =n

that ABL TO1 be.complete RF BN 3S
qhawa -sha -n =si carajo kay =ri ni =spa
 look PR 3S **REPORT** damn here TO2 say SS
 'Then his hands and feet entered, then he was complete [i.e. fully inside], and
 [they say] he looked around and said "carajo!"'

Similarly, in (58) a man relays indirectly-acquired information to another man, but unlike in (57a-b), this use of =*si* indexes a specific prior act of speaking by a non-present individual:

(58) *Chay p'unchaymansi tupamushan audienciaykichis riki.*
chay p'unchay -man =si tupa -mu -sha -n
 that day AL **REPORT** meet TRLOC PR 3S
audencia -yki -chis riki
hearing 2P PL.INCL right
 'Your [legal] hearing is [lit. meeting] on that day [**REPORT**].'

Some of the same reportative evidential functions can be seen in the Spanish particle *dice*. *Dice* and a suite of related forms can be found across the Andes, including *dizque* in Colombia (Travis 2006) and *diz/dizque* in Bolivia (Babel 2009) (for an intriguing case of a possible calque of Spanish *dizque* into Ecuadorian Quichua, see Floyd (2005)). Travis (2006:1270) reports that *dizque* also encodes an epistemic modality of doubt or falsity, but I have not attested such a function for *dice* in La Convención except as a second-order pragmatic effect of reportative evidentiality. This set of markers was present in earlier periods of some varieties of Iberian Spanish (Kany 1944), but while it was lost in those varieties, it was retained in Andean Spanish due to reinforcement through contact with Quechua's evidential system (Babel 2009:493).

Like =*si*, *dice* is grammatically non-obligatory, but in the linguistic culture of Yokiri the use of reportative evidential strategies is necessary for the fully felicitous

statement of second-hand information. In Yokiri, the function of *dice* is somewhat more narrow than both Quechua =*si* as it is described in the literature and Babel's and Travis's analyses of *dizque*: it is almost always used in an "impersonal" sense (De Granda 2001:?: Kany 1944) to attribute information to non-specific indirect sources (such as myths, oral history, or general knowledge) rather than specific prior communicative events. For example, in Spanish sentence (59) a young Yokiriño man began a performance of a folktale using *dice* to indicate that he was presenting information from the domain of Matsigenka narrative tradition:

(59) *Dice había un joven que tenía su hijo, no? Achiote jodido comía, dice estaba masticoneando.*

<i>dice</i>	<i>hab</i>	<i>-ía</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>joven</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>-ía</i>	<i>su</i>
REPORT	be	IMP1	a	young.man	that	have	IMP1	3P
<i>hijo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>achiote</i>	<i>jodido</i>	<i>com</i>	<i>-ía</i>	<i>dice</i>		
son	no	achiote	shitloads	eat	IMP	REPORT		
<i>est</i>	<i>-aba</i>	<i>masticone</i>	<i>-ando</i>					
be	IMP2	chew.up	PR					

'[**They say**] there was a young man who had a son, no? He ate shitloads of achiote, [**they say**] he was chewing it up.'

When speakers attribute information such as this to specific people or prior communicative events, they normally use a discursive evidential formulation like *así me contaba mi mamá* 'that's how my mother used to tell it' rather than the particle *dice*.

Similarly, in (60a-d) a Yokiriña woman used *dice* to describe the land-holding situation around Yokiri before she arrived in the community (note: this is not part of a narrative performance--evidentials are most commonly used in narratives, but not exclusively). Through the use of *dice*, she marks her information as issuing from 'general knowledge' about the community:

- (60a) Elena *Lo que es Itakagaro lo que es ahorita del colegio de alternancia de ese colegio de alternancia?*
'The Itakagaro [river], the one that's by the alternancia school, by the alternancia school?'
- (60b) NQE *¿Sí?*
'Yes?'
- (60c) Elena *Ese riito.*
'That little river.'
- (60d) *Dice inclusive era todo dice eso abarcaba Yokiri.*
'[They say] even all of [they say] that, Yokiri included it.'

When she explains that the Itakagaro river used to belong to Yokiri in (60d), she uses *dice* to indicate that she did not acquire this information first-hand (since she did not live in the community at that time), but rather that it is from the domain of 'general knowledge.' If she had wished to cite a specific prior communicative event as the evidential basis for her statement (for instance, if her husband had told her about the territorial extent of the community before her arrival), she would have reported his speech using a *verbum dicendi*.

Dice has been thoroughly incorporated into the Matsigenka discourse of some Yokiriños, particularly the youngest and most multilingual people who have spent significant amounts of time living and working outside of the community. These people overwhelmingly come from Chirumbia and San Martín families; *dice* is rare among the oldest Yokiri residents who grew up further removed from *colono* society. *Dice* is seldom used in Quechua, probably because unlike the Alto Urubamba variety of Matsigenka, Quechua already has a reportative evidential marker. Because the particle *dice* was only recently borrowed into the Matsigenka of some multilinguals on the coffee frontier, it has

not been grammaticalized or integrated into Matsigenka phonology (which lacks /d/), nor into the highly agglutinating morphological structure. Regardless, it is extremely common in Matsigenka discourse.

In (61a-c), a Yokiriño man uses *dice* during the Matsigenka performance of a traditional story to indicate the second-hand nature of his information:

(61a) *Alli ipirinitaigake inoriaigakera dice.*

They sat down, and laid down [there] [**they say**].

(61b) *Y patiro shivitsa inotintakero koa koa koa yogakero kara patiro yogakero colgado.*

And he pulled [up] one rope, 'koa koa koa,' and he left [the other] one hanging.

(61c) *Impogini dice ipitaigakera kara.*

Then [**they say**] they stayed there.

Just as in Spanish example (59) above, *dice* in the Matsigenka discourse in (61a-c) indicates that the information comes from a non-specific source (in this case, the domain of 'mythological knowledge') rather than any specific prior communicative event. In this case the narrator (a young man from Chirumbia) also uses the reportative evidential to express his lack of knowledge of the traditional domain of Matsigenka myths.

In addition to myth narrations, *dice* is also used in Matsigenka personal narratives. In sentence (62) below, an old Yokiriño man retells a rumor during such a performance regarding the ongoing looting of a nearby archaeological site:

(62) *...aityo kara aityo kara magatiro eriapa magatiro picos palas magatiro dice.*

...there's, there's everything there, shotguns, everything, picks, shovels, everything [**they say**].

As in Spanish conversation (60a-d), he uses *dice* in Matsigenka to mark the information as gossip or 'general knowledge' that is indirectly acquired but not unattributed to any specific prior communicative event. These examples show that the use of =*si* in Quechua and *dice* in Matsigenka and Spanish are similar in their pragmatic functions and distribution in interactional contexts and, though *dice* is used more narrowly than =*si* used to mark information obtained only from non-specific second-hand sources.

6.5.4.1 Reportative evidentiality as an areal feature

The foregoing analysis demonstrated that reportative evidentiality is a point of areal convergence in Yokiri: Andean Spanish *dice* is partially modeled on Quechua =*si*, and *dice* has diffused into Matsigenka in the same discursive contexts and with some of the same pragmatic functions. In other words, the marking of second-hand information through reportative evidentials has become a cross-linguistic, speech community-wide phenomenon.

The important question, then, is exactly why Yokiriños have imported reportative evidentiality into Matsigenka, where there was no such system before (for an account of the independent innovation of evidentiality in the Nanti variety of Matsigenka, see Michael (2008)). This is an ethnographic formulation of a question posed by scholars of South America (e.g. Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998; Beier, et al. 2002) who have observed that evidentiality (despite its relative rareness elsewhere in the world) is a common areal feature cross-cutting scores of genetic linguistic groupings across the continent, and that it is particularly susceptible to diffusion (Epps 2005; Floyd 2005). Yokiri, then, provides

an ethnographic case study in the kind of evidential diffusion that is later identified by linguists.

One possible explanation for this convergence in Yokiri is that it is due to a general tendency, analyzed under the rubric of accommodation theory, for interlocutors to "adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features" (Giles, et al. 1991:7) at the micro-level of interaction. If indeed such convergence is simply an "automatic consequence of interaction" (Trudgill 2008:252), Yokiri's intense and decades-old culture of multilingual conversation may be the only explanation necessary for the diffusion of evidentiality across the speech community. On the other hand, there is also good reason to suspect that social factors do indeed play an important role in these ostensibly mechanistic accommodations (Michael In press). In this case, the marking of second-hand information has become an element of the community's metapragmatic culture (for a related example of "discursive convergence" in Tewa/Hopi evidentials, see Kroskrity 1998)--in other words, at stake is not just the formal interactional synchronization suggested by accommodation theory, but also changes in the culturally-specific underlying expectations of what constitutes proper discourse. The diffusion of reportative evidentiality in Yokiri might then be thought of in terms of a shifting relationship to Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, particularly the maxims of Manner and Quantity (Nuckolls and Michael 2012:182), which Aikhenvald (2004:361) identifies as central to evidential practice: while speakers everywhere might work from the assumption that their interlocutors will "avoid obscurity of expression" (Manner) and that their contributions will be "as informative as is required" (Quantity) (Grice 1975:45-46), the standards of what one considers to be sufficiently perspicuous

and informative are by no means universal. In this case, the use of reportative evidentiality in Quechua and Andean Spanish has created the metapragmatic expectation that speakers will mark second-hand information, which is then extended to Matsigenka discourse as (for a similar case among speakers of Piro, see Gow 1991:60-61)

The Yokiri case is significant as a point of areal convergence between languages of the Andean and Amazonian spheres. As discussed in Chapter 1, Amazonia and the Andes have long been considered more or less distinct linguistic areas, despite the presence of some typological similarities, including evidentiality. Indeed, while scholars have considered evidentiality within the context of each of those two neighboring linguistic areas, the possibility of evidential diffusion across the regions has, with few exceptions (e.g. Adelaar 2007:305), been all but ruled out (Aikhenvald 2004:293; Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998:253). However, recent work on the extent highland-lowland interaction calls for a more thorough appraisal of such inter-regional influences in the present as well as the past.

6.6 Conclusion: Yokiri as a discourse area

Cross-cutting the profound linguistic diversity within the tiny community of Yokiri, there are certain communicative habits common to discourse in all three languages. In other words, these communicative conventions are distributed areally--they are part of a common set of discourse practices in the Yokiri speech community that are regimented in part by interactional genre and defined relatively independently of linguistic boundaries. Together, these discourse practices comprise Yokiri's "culture of language" (Mannheim 1999; Silverstein 1985): the metapragmatic framework for the

proper production of discourse, including "the social allocation of grammatical and rhetorical resources, criteria of truth and relevance, patterns of inference, and the availability and role of metalinguistic and poetic forms of talk" (Mannheim 1999:48). Because these discursive convergences have taken place among people who came together to form families from among very different cultural, social, and linguistic backgrounds, Yokiri can be said to constitute a *discourse area*: "an area in which diverse cultural groups have come historically to share discursive practices through processes of intercultural contact and interaction" (Beier, et al. 2002:125). The diffusion of discourse features across genetic groupings of languages is particularly common in South America, and challenges a view of language as "a system in which 'everything hangs together'" (Urban and Sherzer 1988:293). The notion of the *discourse area* parallels the *linguistic area*, "a geographical region containing a group of three or more languages that share some structural features as a result of contact rather than as a result of accident or inheritance from a common ancestor" (Thomason 2001:99). Of course, linguistic areas and discourse areas are normally larger geographical regions with greater time depths than the small and recently-formed community of Yokiri, and the ethnographic approach of this study suggests a different perspective. But since the convergences that characterize linguistic areas and discourse areas are the product of long term micro-level multilingual communicative practice, it stands to reason that such processes of language change can be studied ethnographically as they develop (for instance, in the structural convergence observed in the Indian village of Kupwar (Gumperz and Wilson 1971) and in Northwest Amazonia (Aikhenvald 2002, inter alia)).

Some of the processes identified here have unfolded in the homes of the tiny community of Yokiri over the last few decades, while others have developed at a regional or international level over the course of centuries and manifest in the heteroglossic linguistic ecology of Yokiri today. Thus to identify Yokiri as a discourse area is not to suggest that the points of convergence described here are neatly circumscribed within the community's population (indeed, Yokiri's interactional networks extend far beyond its borders). Many of these features can be found across the Alto Urubamba coffee frontier, and others can be seen across much of the Andes and/or Western Amazonia. All of them, for that matter, are unevenly distributed within the community itself. Rather than trace the boundaries of this area of diffusion, the goal of this chapter is to describe the social mechanisms currently leading to these points of discursive convergence in the multilingual households of Yokiri.

Chapter 7: Knowledge and noun classification on the coffee frontier

“Little by little they are discarding certain customs, beliefs, and superstitions that it seemed almost impossible to make them forget.”⁴⁹

-Fr. Ramón Zubieta, Misión de Chirumbia, 1911 (1912:47)

7.1 Introduction

Another domain of linguistic behavior that is closely tied to the cultural and linguistic transformations described in this study, and the profound sociolinguistic diversity within Yokiri, is the Matsigenka noun classification system. In Matsigenka, nouns are classified according to two binary parameters: animacy (animate/inanimate) and gender (masculine/feminine); however, there is quite a bit of variation in the way that Matsigenka speakers in Yokiri classify nouns. For instance, one common exchange in Yokiri is when one person asks another person to share their *tokora*, a spicy ash paste that

⁴⁹ “Poco á poco se les ve ir desechando ciertas costumbres, creencias y supersticiones que parecía poco menos que imposible hacerles olvidar.”

Yokiriños mix with coca leaves to activate their stimulant power. In sentence (63a), a young man who was born in Chirumbia used the inanimate existential verb *aityo* to ask his uncle to use his *tokora*; however, in sentence (63b), an old man from family #1 made the same request of a neighbor using the animate existential verb *ainyo*:

(63a) Aityo pitokorate?
aityo pi- tokora -te
EXIST.INAN 2P ash.paste ALIEN.POSS
 'Do you have any tokora (spicy ash paste for chewing coca)?'

(63b) Ainyo pitokorate?
ainyo pi- tokora -te
EXIST.ANIM 2P ash.paste ALIEN.POSS
 'Do you have any tokora (spicy ash paste for chewing coca)?'

There is also quite a bit of variation in gender marking of Matsigenka nouns in Yokiri. Compare sentence (64a), in which an older man from family #1 applies the 3rd person masculine marker *i-* to *koriki* 'money', while a younger man with a *colono* father and a Matsigenka mother uses the feminine adjective marker *o-* for the same noun in (64b):

(64a) Tera ineenkani **koriki**.
tera **i-** *N-* *ne* *-enkani* **koriki**
 NEG **3mS** IRREAL see PASS.IRR **money**
 'They had never seen **money**' [lit. 'money hadn't been seen']

(64b) Entonces nagaigake oga **koriki**, quinientos soles.
entonces *no-* *ag* *-a* *-ig* *-ak* *-e* **o-** *oga*
 then 1S take EP PL PERF REAL.I **3f** that
koriki *quinientos* *soles*
money five.hundred soles
 'Then we took the **money**, five hundred soles.'

What accounts for this variation in noun classification in Yokiri? This chapter sketches some patterns that can be seen in Yokiri and draws some conclusions about how differences in the social and cultural context of language acquisition and use has led to variation among speakers of Matsigenka. The criteria for the assignment of animacy and gender status are complex and semantically relatively opaque (at least to the outsider), and their acquisition depends on exposure to a wide range of lexical items and their classificatory exponents in the context of discourse.⁵⁰ For a wide range of Matsigenka nouns, this exposure only takes place through direct, personal experience with the forest and its products and inhabitants, and through the narration of myths (see Chapter 6). For instance, Yokiriños of family #1 acquired their Matsigenka lexicons in the context of 1) daily, intimate interaction with the forest and many hundreds of its species, along with discussions of those environments in which they were also exposed to traditional taxonomies of the natural environment; and 2) the nightly narration of myths that together constitute a vast intertextual encyclopedia of the beings that inhabit the world and the ontological and cosmological principles that explain the nature of their existence.

However, as has been clear throughout this study, such experiences are very unevenly distributed in Yokiri. Many people who grew up in the *colono* plantations of San Martín (family #6) and the Dominican mission at Chirumbia (Families #4 and #5) simply did not have the kinds of linguistic input described above. Indeed, it was only when the Chirumbia and San Martín Matsigenkas moved beyond the agricultural frontier to settle in Yokiri that they first experienced a biologically diverse environment and a host of traditional products (e.g. *tokora* 'spicy ash paste' in (63a a-b), something not often

⁵⁰ These differences between the noun classes are likely reflected elsewhere in Matsigenka grammar, such as in alignment, the use of numerals, and ideophones (e.g. Nuckolls 2010), but this chapter will focus only on agreement.

used in Chirumbia). It was also only at this point that they began using Matsigenka more frequently, and learning more about a wider range of species and beings and their traditional cosmological and ontological statuses. By this time, the fine-grained ontological distinctions encoded in the noun classification system were largely lost. This process appears to be correlated with language shift toward Spanish, and it is likely that as young Yokiriños 1) interact with a narrower range of plant and animal species, 2) are exposed to fewer myths, and 3) shift toward Spanish, the simplifications in the noun classification system described here will become more prevalent. By recognizing variation in perspectivist ontologies within the small community of Yokiri, this analysis draws on the perspectivist theoretical tradition while moving beyond the oft-criticized tendency to unproblematically attribute such ontologies to 'X-speaking peoples'.

This chapter will 1) offer a preliminary description of the semantic principles of Matsigenka noun classification; 2) demonstrate how the noun classification system is currently being reconfigured as a result of changes in Matsigenka society; and 3) discuss some of the social entailments of this domain of variation in Yokiri.

7.2 Matsigenka noun classification

The Matsigenka noun classification system features two binary parameters: animacy (animate/inanimate) and gender (masculine/feminine). Animacy status surfaces as agreement in some adjectives, numerals, quantifiers (*-ni* 'animate' v. *-ti* 'inanimate'), and in the irregular existential verb *ainyo* 'there is/are (anim.)' / *aityo* 'there is/are (inan.)'. The second parameter is a binary sex-gender distinction (masculine v. feminine) that surfaces as agreement in verbal (*i-*, *-ri* 'masc.', *o-*, *-ro* 'fem.'), possessive (*i-*,

‘masc.’, *o-*, ‘fem.’), and some adjectival constructions (*i-* ‘masc.’, *o-* ‘fem.’), as well as in demonstratives (Michael 2008:294-297). Though the combination of two binary parameters suggests four possible combinations, there are no masculine-animate nouns in Matsigenka, leaving only three grammatical agreement classes:

	<i>i-</i> , <i>-ri</i> (masculine)	<i>o-</i> , <i>-ro</i> (feminine)
<i>ainyo</i> , <i>-ni</i>	X	X
<i>aityo</i> , <i>-ti</i>		X

Table 10: The three Matsigenka noun classes

I use the term 'noun classes' here in the same sense as 'gender': a closed system comprising a small number of classes that encompass all of a language's nouns (Dixon 1982; 1986) and that are "reflected in the behavior of associated words," in this case through agreement. This is synonymous with 'gender' (Corbett 1991), but I avoid that term because sex-gender (masculine/feminine) is also one of the parameters in the Matsigenka system.

(65a-c) are examples of how agreement functions with nouns from the masculine-animate (*kemari* 'tapir'), feminine-animate (*saniri* 'caiman'), and feminine-inanimate (*kamona* 'palm sp.') noun classes:

(65a) **Masculine-animate**

Ishiganaka piteni kemari.

i- *shig* *-a* *-ig* *-an* *-ak* *-a* *pite-ni* *kemari*
3mS run EP PL ABL PERF REAL.A two **ANIM** tapir

‘Two tapirs are running away.’

(65b) **Feminine-animate**

Oshigaiganaka piteni saniri.

o- *shig* *-a* *-ig* *-an* *-ak* *-a* *pite-ni* *saniri*

3fS run EP PL ABL PERF REAL.A two **ANIM** caiman
 ‘Two caimans are running away.’

(65c) **Feminine-inanimate**

Okimoiganake piteti kamona.

o- kimo *-ig* *-an* *-ak* *-e* *pite-ti* kamona
3fS grow PL ABL PERF REAL.A two **INAN** palm.sp
 ‘Two *kamona* palms are growing.’

7.2.1 Class membership

Membership in noun classes is assigned, by definition, semantically (Aikhenvald 2006:463; Corbett 1991; Corbett 2007:258), though the transparency and consistency of the groupings varies widely among languages and may be subject to other factors such as phonology. There also appears to be significant variation among speakers and varieties of Matsigenka, and identifying a standard against which Yokiri's reclassification is judged is rather difficult; this analysis traces some general contours that largely obtain among many speakers in the Alto Urubamba and published materials from a range of Matsigenka varieties (Michael 2008:294-297; Snell 2011) The Matsigenka system is simpler than those of other languages that have received attention from linguists, notably that of Dyirbal (Dixon 1972; Lakoff 1987) and the Bantu languages (Demuth 2000; Spitulnik 1987; Spitulnik 1989), but the semantic criteria that determine noun class assignment in Matsigenka are similarly opaque. Matsigenka supports Dixon's observation that semantic correspondence within noun classes “is seldom so slight that it can be ignored and seldom sufficient for categorical statements of semantic content” (1982:178). This section will offer a rough outline to Matsigenka noun classification, arguing that some--but not all--of the apparent arbitrariness and inconsistency can be explained in terms of traditional Matsigenka ontological and cosmological principles. But

beyond the broad-strokes analysis presented here, there are a number of complexities in the system that can only be explained through a large-scale quantitative analysis of the Matsigenka lexicon, which will be conducted on an upcoming field visit. The goal of this chapter is to outline the mechanisms by which Yokiriños have acquired the noun classification system, and to demonstrate how the vastly different social, cultural, and ecological backgrounds of the families of Yokiri have led to variation in how they classify Matsigenka nouns.

A selection of nouns is in Table 11:

Masculine-animate	Feminine-animate	Feminine-inanimate
Former, current, and mythological humans and spirits		
Mammals		
<p><i>kapeshi</i> 'coati' <i>kemari</i> 'tapir' <i>komaginaro</i> 'monkey sp.' <i>maine</i> 'bear sp.' <i>otsiti</i> 'dog' <i>sagari</i> 'rat' <i>shintori</i> 'peccary sp.' <i>shito</i> 'monkey.sp' <i>matsontsori</i> 'jaguar' <i>mishi</i> 'cat' (Q. <i>michi</i>)</p> <p>Snakes <i>kempironi</i> 'snake sp.' <i>maranke</i> 'snake' <i>shankoti</i> 'snake sp.' <i>tavatori</i> 'snake sp.'</p> <p>Birds <i>tontokoti</i> 'owl sp.' <i>kanari</i> 'bird sp.' <i>kintaro</i> 'bird sp.' <i>kirigeti</i> 'bird sp.' <i>oe</i> 'cock-of-the-rock' <i>katsari</i> 'crested oropendula' <i>kimaro</i> 'macaw sp.' <i>tsorito</i> 'parrot sp.'</p> <p>Fish and other aquatic animals <i>chogeti</i> 'small fish sp.' <i>etari, hetari</i> 'small fish sp.' <i>segori</i> 'fish sp.' <i>shima</i> 'fish' <i>kito</i> 'shrimp sp.' <i>kushori</i> 'shrimp sp.' <i>toturo(ki)</i> 'snail sp.' <i>pomporo</i> 'snail sp. (terrestrial)'</p>	<p><i>maniro</i> 'deer'</p> <p>Amphibians <i>motsoro</i> 'tadpole' <i>masero</i> 'toad sp.' <i>tonoanto</i> 'frog sp.' <i>ampato</i> 'toad sp.*' (Q. hanp'atu) <i>aratanta</i> 'frog sp.' <i>inkiro</i> 'tadpole' <i>pirinto</i> 'toad sp.'</p> <p>Reptiles (except snakes) <i>kotua</i> 'tortoise sp.*' <i>chogotaro</i> 'tortoise sp.' <i>shakiririni</i> 'tortoise sp.*' <i>sempiri</i> 'turtle sp.' <i>tsirimpi</i> 'lizard sp.' <i>kempanaro</i> 'iguana' <i>shikorio</i> 'lizard sp.**' <i>korinto</i> 'mythological lizard' <i>saniri</i> 'caiman' <i>makota</i> 'lizard sp.*' <i>pashiro</i> 'lizard sp.' <i>sagoro</i> 'lizard sp.'</p> <p>Other aquatic animals <i>osero</i> 'crab sp.' <i>tamuto</i> 'crab sp.*' <i>pesori</i> 'river dolphin'</p>	
Insects		
<p>Social insects <i>manii, manihi</i> 'ant sp.' <i>sani</i> 'wasp' <i>pitiro</i> 'cricket' <i>yairi</i> 'bee' <i>shitati</i> 'beetle sp.*'</p> <p>Celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena <i>poreatsiri, paava</i> 'sun' <i>kashiri</i> 'moon'</p>	<p>Non-social insects <i>eto, heto</i> 'spider' <i>tintiro</i> 'tarantula sp.*' <i>tsoronto</i> 'spider sp.' <i>aragori</i> 'spider sp.*' <i>kitoniro</i> 'scorpion sp.' <i>eto oshetoempe</i> 'tarantula sp.*'</p>	

<p><i>impokiro</i> 'star' <i>kareti</i> 'lightning'*** <i>yoge</i> 'rainbow'</p> <p>Shamanic plants <i>kamarampi</i> 'ayahuasca' <i>seri</i> 'tobacco'</p> <p><i>kamagarini</i> <i>kasonkaatini</i></p>	<p>Spirits/mythical beings</p> <p><i>pareni</i> <i>maimeroite</i></p>	
<p>Non-former, current, and mythological humans and spirits</p>		
<p>Things <i>konori</i> 'latex from <i>konori</i>' <i>tsineri</i> 'resin from the <i>tsineri</i>' <i>choneri</i> 'resin from <i>tsineri</i>' <i>taviri</i> 'resin from the <i>toneki</i>' <i>tsivaki</i> 'resin from the <i>tsivaki</i>' <i>jabón</i> 'soap' (Sp.) <i>tokora</i> 'spicy ash paste' <i>gasolina</i> 'gasoline' (Sp.) <i>kitsapi</i> 'sewing needle'* <i>koriki</i> 'silver, money' (Q. <i>qulqi</i>) <i>kori</i> 'gold' (Q. <i>quri</i>) <i>ipana</i> 'bill (lit. 'leaf')' <i>imenta</i> 'coin (lit. flat thing)' <i>varaka</i> 'rubber slingshot' (Q. <i>warak'a</i>) <i>aitsiki</i> 'tooth ornament for necklace'* <i>kashiri</i> 'month' <i>igitsoki</i> '[chicken] egg' <i>ikashi</i> 'ant venom'* <i>pitsi</i> 'honey, beeswax' <i>poreatsiri</i> 'clock, watch, hour' <i>komempiki</i> 'liana seed toy'* <i>katarompanaki</i> 'insense type'</p>	<p>Trees and plants</p>	<p>Things <i>pankotsi</i> 'house' <i>savuri</i> 'machete' (Sp. <i>sable</i>) <i>okitsoki</i> 'seed, bullet' <i>pasanta</i> 'wooden grinding plank' <i>kotsiro</i> 'knife' (Sp. <i>cuchillo</i>) <i>pitotsi</i> 'canoe' <i>sotsimoro</i> 'door' <i>tsagi</i> 'woven bag' <i>avotsi</i> 'path' <i>mapu</i> 'stone' <i>nia</i> 'water, river' <i>otishi</i> 'hill' <i>okitsoki</i> 'seed' <i>menkori</i> 'cloud' <i>kipatsi</i> 'earth' <i>inkite</i> 'sky' <i>inkaare</i> 'lake' <i>nenketsiki</i> 'necklace' <i>manchakintsi</i> 'cushma, clothing' <i>igatsareki</i> 'testicle' <i>eriapa</i> 'shotgun' <i>merentsi</i> 'flu' <i>pamoko</i> 'gourd'</p>
<p><i>santonka</i> 'latex-bearing tree sp.' <i>tsivaki</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.' <i>kapi</i> 'latex-bearing tree sp.' <i>hirivatiki</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.' <i>konori</i> 'latex-bearing tree sp.' <i>kogi</i> 'barbasco fishing poison' <i>sumpa</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.'* <i>tsineri</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.' <i>toneki</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.'* <i>kanyai</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.' <i>katarompanaki</i> 'resin-bearing tree sp.'</p>		<p><i>ana</i> 'tree sp.' <i>kapiro</i> 'tree sp.' <i>kamona</i> 'tree sp.' <i>intsipa</i> 'tree sp.' <i>potsiotti</i> 'achiote' <i>koka</i> 'coca' (Q. <i>quqa</i>) <i>paria</i> 'tree sp.' <i>paroto</i> 'tree sp.' <i>kavuniri</i> 'hallucinogenic pl. sp.' <i>chamuro</i> 'sweet-tasting bark' (Sp. <i>chamairo</i>) <i>iraatsipini</i> 'plant sp.'</p>

*(from Snell 2011)

** (from Michael, et al. 2013)

*** (from Shepard 1997:35)

Table 11: Examples of nouns in each of the three Matsigenka noun classes

7.2.1.1 Animacy

The nouns in the masculine-animate and feminine-animate classes in Table 11 include all humans and animals, spirits and deities, the celestial bodies, some meteorological phenomena, some resin-, latex-, and poison-bearing trees and plants, some (often hallucinogenic) plants used by shamans, and a broad group of 'things', many of which are poisonous or sticky, and some of which are related indexically or metonymically to other animate nouns. Inanimates comprise an unmarked "semantic residue" class (Corbett 1991) of nouns that do not meet the criteria for assignment to the animate class (Dahl 2000).

What property (or properties) license the assignment of animacy marking to the heterogeneous nouns listed above? Aside from current humans, animals, and spirits, many of these nouns are animate because, according to traditional Matsigenka ontological and cosmological principles, they were humans in the mythological past, and for some Matsigenkas they retain a human subjectivity (these are listed in the *former, current, and mythological humans and spirits* subcategory in Table 11). A. Irving Hallowell first described a similar phenomenon in the Ojibwe language, noting that "other-than-human persons" (Hallowell 1960; see also Harvey 2005:33-49) were accorded grammatical animacy based on animistic ontological principles. But while the situation in Matsigenka is similar, there are also a number of nouns in the animate class that are not and have never been human, at least as far as I can tell from my own

fieldwork and from published sources (these are listed under the *non-former, current, and mythological humans and spirits* heading in Table 11). For this reason I approach the relationship between grammatical and ontological animacy with caution. Animate nouns include a number of Quechua and Spanish loanwords (some of them recent, e.g. *jabón* 'soap' and *gasolina* 'gasoline'), which supports the theory that there are more criteria for assignment to the 'animate' category than former human-ness. This suggests that the received label 'animate' may not in fact be the most adequate designation for this category, since I have no evidence that Matsigenkas consider objects like *varaka* 'slingshot', *gasolina* 'gasolina', or *taviri* 'resin from the *toneki* tree' (used for arrow fletching) to be ontologically animate (see definitions below); however, until the semantic scope of this category can be clarified, I will continue to use that term for the sake of convenience.

Several analyses of the 'animate' class in Matsigenka have been proposed, beginning with the Dominican missionary José Pío Aza's writings on the Matsigenka language in the 1920s. He wrote that all nouns “greater than plants”⁵¹ and the celestial bodies (Pío Aza 1924:64-65) receive animate marking; however, recognizing a number of exceptions to this analysis, he also mentions a category of “irrational animates” (Pío Aza 1924:71),⁵² expressing a common missionary anxiety (in this case, in grammatical terms) about what kind of entities can be animate and agentive (Keane 2007). Similarly, SIL missionary Betty Snell alludes to a number of “exceptionally” animate nouns (cited in Payne 1987:35), and later writes, intriguingly, that animacy status is consistent when

⁵¹ "... superior a los vegetales."

⁵² "...animados irracionales."

considered “from the Matsigenka point of view” (Snell 2011:818)⁵³, though she does not elaborate on this ontological assertion (see also Mihas (2010) for a similar observation regarding Ashéninka Perené). Allen Johnson concurs with Pío Aza that “the grammatical distinction between inanimate and animate marks the boundary between plants and animals” (Johnson 2003:192) and cites Glenn Shepard’s (1995) definition of animacy in terms of independent motion (an important diagnostic of the ontological status of animacy (Opfer and Gelman 2010)), which might explain the animate status of celestial bodies and perhaps also the viscous, dripping quality of plant secretions (Glenn Shepard, p.c.). Pío Aza (1930), Shepard (1997:35), and Snell (cited in Payne 1987:35) all remark that some of the ostensibly exceptional animates are former humans in Matsigenka folktales, an important point that I will discuss in depth below. Finally, Lev Michael (2008:294) identifies independent motion as a relevant criterion for animacy in the Nanti variety of Matsigenka, and he also proposes that animates such as *jabón* ‘soap’ and *gasolina* ‘gasoline’ might be animate-masculine because they are modeled on the chemical potency of *kogi* ‘barbasco fishing poison’, used primarily by men (indeed, Michael’s ‘chemical potency’ criterion may be relevant to the classification of non-former human animates, see below). These analyses are all useful as preliminary approximations of the ‘animate’ class, but the list of animate nouns in Table 11 suggests that a more exhaustive analysis is required to make a full accounting of the semantics of animacy in Matsigenka.

⁵³ “...del punto de vista matsigenka.”

7.2.1.1.1 Current and former humans

One criterion for assignment to the 'animate' class is the condition of being a current or former human or spirit, which, according to Matsigenka ontological and cosmological principles, includes those spirits, animals, plants, trees, celestial bodies, and some meteorological phenomena that were human in the mythological past and that now retain human subjectivity in their current forms. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro writes:

... animals are people, or see themselves as persons. Such a notion is virtually always associated with the idea that the manifest form of each species is a mere envelope (a 'clothing') which conceals an internal human form, usually only visible to the eyes of the particular species or to certain trans-specific beings such as shamans. This internal form is the 'soul' or 'spirit' of the animal: an intentionality or subjectivity formally identical to human consciousness... (Viveiros de Castro 1998:470-471)

Animacy, then, is a "theory-laden" category (Gelman and Coley 1991) comprising a diverse range of beings that may or may not appear human on the surface, but are grouped together on the basis of the essential, non-obvious property of 'human-ness'. Animacy as an ontological category is a status attributed to living beings (prototypically, humans) that, by nature of their animacy, have sentience or consciousness (that is, the condition of having a mind (Gelman and Spelke 1981:49)) and the capacity to exert agency (Dahl 2008) or causal power, most notably in the form of autonomous or goal-directed movement (Gelman and Gottfried 1996; Opfer and Gelman 2010). These capacities are diagnostic of a subjectivity that defines the boundary between animate 'beings' from inanimate 'things', a division that is central and perhaps innate to human categorization (Opfer and Gelman 2010). But while the animate/inanimate distinction appears to be a fundamental principle for sorting the entities of the world, it is clear from the Matsigenka case and the Amazonianist literature that not all people agree about what

kinds of entities belong on either side of that division (Graham Harvey makes a similar observation regarding grammatical animacy in Ojibwe (2005:47)). While some indigenous Amazonians may infer intentionality (and thus, animacy) from such observable capacities as independent motion to the same degree as other people around the world (Barrett, et al. 2005), they do not necessarily attribute such intentionality to the same set of objects in the world--indeed, a major insight from Amazonian anthropology (particularly since the emergence of the perspectivist tradition) has been to demonstrate both how important the ontological categories of animacy and human-ness are, and just how differently the distinctions between those categories can be drawn.

Indeed, the Matsigenka 'animate' class traces the boundaries of ontological animacy as it is understood by some (but not, as we will see below, all) speakers of Matsigenka. According to Matsigenka cosmology, a panoply of spirits, deities, animals, trees⁵⁴, shamanic plants, mythical figures, celestial bodies, meteorological phenomena, and other beings that currently inhabit the world (catalogued in Baer 1994, inter alia) were once humans or deities (during the earlier "times of indifferentiation" (Camargo 2006:1) or "presocial times" (Santos-Granero 2004:98)), and took their current form through the process of "cosmological transformism" (Viveiros de Castro 1998:471), in some cases transformed into their current state by a deity. Cosmological transformism is an element of the range of ontological phenomena described under the theoretical framework of perspectivism, in which many of the former humans and deities that populate much of the world around them in the form of animals, spirits, plants (Lenaerts 2006; Santos-Granero 2012), etc., retain the kind of human subjectivity, consciousness,

⁵⁴ Some trees (e.g. *tsireri* 'palm sp.' and *kapiro* 'palm sp.') receive inanimate marking even though they were formerly human according to some myths.

and agency (Rosengren 2006) described above, and even in their current form, can be understood to have an underlying human essence (these are sometimes referred to in the literature as "spirit rulers" (Johnson 2003)). The presence of "ensouled" non-humans (as Santos-Granero 2009a calls them in the Yanasha case) makes interactions with humans and among themselves into moments of intersubjectivity, communication, and sociality (Descola 1994). For instance, Allen Johnson observes: "when the hunter encounters a male howler monkey in the forest, he is encountering the powerful spirit ruler, the seripigari (shaman) of the origin folktale, made manifest in the body of this particular animal" (Johnson 2003:205; see also Shepard 2002a, inter alia). Animacy, then, can be understood in this context as the ability to carry on intersubjective and social relations (Camargo 2006), a capacity not at all limited to biological humans. This presents something of a problem for an 'animacy hierarchy' as a universal element of conceptual categorization (often, HUMAN > NON-HUMAN or HUMAN > ANIMAL > INANIMATE) (Comrie 1989:185): while the divisions of such a scheme of categorization may be universal, many Matsigenkas do not agree with English speakers on what belongs in each category.

7.2.1.1.2 Non-former and current humans

There are a large number of nouns in the animate class that are not and have never been humans, at least as far as I am aware. For this reason, the relationship between grammatical and ontological animacy must be treated with caution. The non-former and current human inanimates are rather more difficult to characterize than the human and former human animates described above, and it is here that more data are needed to

adequately account for the classification system. Many of these are chemically potent substances and objects that are sticky (*pitsi* 'honey, beeswax'; *tsineri/choneri* 'resin from the *tsineri* tree'), rubbery (*konori* 'latex from the *konori* tree'; *varaka* 'slingshot'), flammable (*tsivaki* 'resin from the *tsivaki* tree'; *gasolina* 'gasoline'), and poisonous (*kogi* 'barbasco fishing poison', *ikashi* 'ant venom'). Where applicable, this category also includes the trees and plants that produce grammatically animate substances (*konori* 'tree sp.', *tsineri* 'tree sp.', *tsivaki* 'tree sp.'). According to my Matsigenka-speaking informants and the anthropological literature about Matsigenka speakers, none of these are or were humans or spirits. Many of these substances are particularly useful, and may therefore be animate because in many Amazonian societies, "objects of personal use become gradually 'ensouled' or infused with the soul substance of their owners" (Santos-Granero 2009b:12)--however, there are a great number of similarly useful non-potent/sticky/etc. substances that do not receive animate marking. Additionally, some objects and substances that are connected indexically or metonymically (Santos-Granero 2009a:108) to animate nouns also receive animate marking, such as *ipana* 'monetary bill (lit. '[the money]'s leaf') and *imenta* 'coin' (lit. '[the money]'s flat thing'), which are animate through their association with animate *koriki* 'silver, money'; but again here, these patterns are very inconsistent. "Semantic extensions" (Aikhenvald 2006:468-9) such as these are well documented in noun classification systems (see also Lakoff 1987), and they can lead to considerable complexity and opacity--note, for instance, the presence of fishing implements in the Dyirbal 'animate' class 1 because of their association with fish (Dixon 1972). Indexical connections such as these are very culturally sensitive--for instance, one must know about Dyirbal fishing practices to grasp this logic of noun

classification--so these systems can only be understood through careful and cautious ethnographic analysis. A cautionary example is the Matsigenka animate noun *yoge* 'rainbow', which can also refer to a dangerous river demon that can cause miscarriages (Ferrero 1966:343; Renard-Casevitz and Dollfus 1988:16; see also Valadeau, et al. 2010) or brightly colored (often urine- or rust-colored) muddy water (Snell 2011:597), and which is related to the verb *yoge* 'to rust, oxidate' and the magical, brightly-colored *yogevuroki* stones that are associated with gold (Snell 2011:598). This posits an associative network among a range of animate nouns including *yoge* 'rainbow, river demon', *kori* 'gold', and probably also *koriki* 'silver, money' (from Quechua *quri* 'gold' and *qulqi* 'silver', respectively), which may account for the animate status of those precious metals, and which might then include *koriki* and *kori* in the animate class through the 'former human' criterion. Note too that although no Matsigenkas I met identified animate *tokora* 'spicy ash paste for chewing coca' as related to a former human or animate being, Santos-Granero (2009a:108) reports that Yanesha myth, this substance was originally the sperm of the divinity Yompur Ror. Therefore there may be historical linguistic and ontological connections underlying the Matsigenka animate class that are not yet clear, and may never be clear--indeed, the grammatical marking of animacy and ontological notions of animacy evolve and persist in ways that only partially overlap, so this relationship will never be entirely coherent and must be regarded with caution.⁵⁵

A comprehensive accounting of these principles of noun classification is a daunting task, and it is quite beyond the scope of this chapter. However, these

⁵⁵ A number of animates listed in Snell (2011) are also difficult to explain, for instance *suntoratsa* 'belt' (from Spanish *cintura* 'waist' + *-tsa* 'classifier: rope'). Similarly, Snell (2011:819) reports that inanimate *aitsi* 'tooth' is the basis of the animate *aitsiki* 'tooth ornament for necklace', and that inanimate *komempiki* 'liana seed' becomes animate when it refers to a child's liana seed toy.

observations make clear an important point: the logic that assigns these items into a common conceptual domain--in other words, the semiotic ideology through which an interpretant understands them to be 'similar' (Goodman 1972) in some important sense--is highly culturally contingent. Therefore, the classification system can only be completely acquired through sustained exposure to a wide variety of such nouns, which for Yokiriños takes place in the context of 1) intimate experience with the forest, its species, and their traditional uses, and 2) the performance of mythological narratives about the beings that inhabit the world. As I will discuss below, variation in noun classification arises from variation in these contexts of language acquisition.

7.2.1.2 Gender

The binary sex-gender parameter cross-cuts the binary animacy parameter, though animate nouns are overwhelmingly masculine, and feminine nouns are overwhelmingly inanimate. There are no masculine-inanimate nouns in Matsigenka. Feminine-animate, therefore, is by far the smallest Matsigenka noun class, comprising just current and former female humans, animals, spirits, and other beings. Feminine-animate species include a small number of animals that include amphibians, reptiles (minus snakes), non-social insects, some non-fish aquatic animals such as crabs and river dolphins (but not shrimp), and (to my knowledge) the sole mammal *maniro* 'deer sp.' Masculine species are an unmarked class of all non-feminine animals. There are no non-animal feminine-animates, and all other animates are masculine (see Table 11).

The grammatical gender of each species corresponds to the gender of the mythological human that it once was; that is to say, mythological women and men

became grammatically feminine and masculine animate animal species, respectively (see Dixon's (1972) analysis of Dyirbal for a similar phenomenon). However, from a historical perspective it is, of course, just as likely that the sexes of the humans in Matsigenka myths are determined by the grammatical gender of the animals they are said to have become. It is interesting to note a loose correlation between the gender of each species and the presence of now non-productive gender classifying suffixes (masc. *-ri*, fem. *-ro*) (Michael 2008:295).; this will provide an interesting source of data for diachronic comparison with other Kampan languages.

7.3 The social and cultural context of noun class reconfiguration in the Alto Urubamba

Yokiriños acquire the Matsigenka lexicon and its distribution across the noun classes through discourse. Most of the nouns listed in Table 11 are related to species, substances, and beings found in the forest; therefore, Yokiriños only acquire many of these nouns and their classifications insofar as they 1) have exposure to a broad range of creatures and things in the forest, as well as discourse about them, and 2) listen to performances of Matsigenka mythological narratives that feature many of the same characters (see Chapter 6). However, as discussed throughout this study, some Yokiriños grew up producing coffee, without much first-hand experience in the forest (e.g. those from Chirumbia and San Martín), and some were also not exposed to Matsigenka myths (e.g. those from Chirumbia). As Alejandro Camino writes, "the increase in the time devoted to cash crops and school results in the loss of knowledge of the flora and fauna...The traditional cosmology--a universe of beneficent and malefic gods--is

beginning to disintegrate. As it is associated with knowledge of the habitat and traditional culture, the mythology is losing its meaning, being regarded as belonging to the 'old Machiguengans'" (1979:145-146). It is unsurprising, therefore, given the variation in sociolinguistic backgrounds and language acquisition histories present in Yokiri, that there is also quite a lot of variation in how these nouns are classified.

This section will build on the ethnographic analysis presented thus far in the study to describe the circumstances in which Yokiriños of various backgrounds (namely, those from the Yokiri Valley, San Martín, and the Dominican mission at Chirumbia) acquired the Matsigenka lexicon and noun classification system. It will be argued that the 'former human' animate nouns, along with their noun class assignments, are acquired 1) through discourse in the context of sustained personal experience with the various animal and plant species of the forest and their traditional uses (note, however, that such knowledge does not necessarily go very far back in history (Alexiades 2009)); and 2) through exposure to myth performances. Acquisition of many of the 'non-former human' animates, on the other hand, do not appear frequently in myth performances, and their acquisition requires personal experience with, and exposure to discourse about, a wide range of plants and plant products and their traditional uses (e.g. as arrow fletching and fishing poison). As discussed below, the families of Yokiri have had different levels of access to these two types of linguistic input. This recognition of ontological variation within the small community of Yokiri draws on the theoretical insights of perspectivism while challenging the essentializing tendency to uncritically attribute such ontologies to imagined human aggregates such as 'ethnic groups' and 'X-speaking peoples'.

7.3.1 Knowledge and noun class acquisition in and around Yokiri

As described in Chapter 2, the members of family #1 who grew up in Yokiri and Otingamía lived in a manner more or less consistent with what might be called 'traditional Matsigenka society'--that is to say, the small-scale social organization, subsistence strategies, and cosmological system described in anthropological (e.g. Johnson 2003; Rosengren 1987) and missionary (e.g. Barriales 1977; Ferrero 1966) accounts of Matsigenkas in the Alto Urubamba. The near-complete lack of transportation infrastructure meant that the region was very sparsely populated and more biologically diverse than it is now, and, with the exception of intermittent trade and seasonal employment with nearby *colonos* and periodic visits to the mission at Chirumbia, the Matsigenkas lived relatively apart from non-Matsigenkas.

Living and subsisting in these circumstances depended on intimate familiarity with a truly vast range of animal and plant species for hunting and as well as complex knowledge of an array of cultigens and the soil types and techniques required to make them grow (Johnson 1983). Much day-to-day conversation included (and among some people continues to include) the use of a very large lexicon of animal and plant species, and members from family #1 in particular enjoyed sharing their extensive ethnobotanical knowledge with me and each other as we walked around their land. People living in this manner are also acquainted with a great number of substances that can be acquired from the natural environment for various purposes--relevant to this discussion, for instance, are the grammatically animate resins, latexes, and poisons such as *tsivaki* (used for lamp fuel), *taviri* (used for arrow fletching), *hirivatiki* (used as incense), *kogi* (used as a fishing poison), etc. The oldest people who grew up in the Yokiri Valley know dozens of these

substances, their uses, and where to find them, and even the younger Yokiriños of family #1 are familiar with them despite their increasing scarcity in the forest and their displacement by market goods that serve comparable purposes (such as flashlights for illumination and .22 caliber rifles for hunting).

In addition to these substances, people growing up in the Yokiri Valley before the 1980s had an encyclopedic knowledge of medicinal and shamanic plants (Shepard 1999) connected through a "sensory ecology" to fundamental spiritual and cosmological principles of human-spirit interaction (Shepard 2004). Knowledge of the environment and its species, then, was closely tied to perspectivist ontologies, and the repeated exposure to nouns and their principles of categorization in the context of this knowledge perpetuated and reinforced the noun classification system described above.

To live in Yokiri and Otingamía before the 1980s was also to be steeped in Matsigenka mythology. As discussed in Chapter 6, myth narration is relatively more rare in Yokiri these days, but most people born before the 1990s report listening to hours-long evening story sessions as children, in which the oldest and most accomplished storytellers traced the contours of transformism and situated dozens of former male and female humans into the sprawling intertextual network of Matsigenka cosmology (examples can be found in Chapter 6; for more on the relationship between storytelling and perspectivist ontologies, see Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy (2012)). Reproduced below in (66) is a brief version of the *osero* 'crab' story told in Yokiri. During this performance, the audience was exposed to information about the mythological woman that became the *osero*, the woman's characteristics that persist in today's crabs (e.g. skittishness and the tendency to hide behind objects), items and substances (e.g. *pasanta* 'wooden grinding

slab' and *shinkiato* 'corn beer') that are associated with traditional Matsigenka society and that are not often found in the homes of Yokiri today, and a moral message about abusive and overbearing mothers-in-law (see the discussion of "emotion schemas" in Chapter 6).

(66)

Otimi oga paniro matsigenka.¹ Maika tyampa opaita, otimi oga ovagirote onkisantavakara.² Okantiro maika tyampa opaita, "viro maika pantavagetakera, pimpampogiakerira yoga notomi maika, y ponkotimotakerira pinkivatsaratimotakerira maika vinti viro piverataga."³ Intitari kogapage oniavagetakera ovagirote.⁴ Impo okuta okutagitetanaka aganaka kashiri pairo okutagitevegetanake, opokake irotyo ovagirote onkamosotera.⁵ Oneapairo maika oga tyampa opaita ovasaasevegetakera oshinkiatote.⁶ Oh agashtiro maika tyampa opaita, okitaatakero ovamokote, osaavagetiro ovoroku.⁷ Impo oshiganakatyo irotyo, matsigenka omanakara ovasantateku opirinitira ovasantate omanakara kara.⁸ Impo iragavagetaka maika iragavagetaka maika, okanti maika "tyara nonkantera maika, okisavintsavagetakena pagiro maika.⁹ Tyara nonkante maika, kameti gara nopigavagetaa, gani okisavintsagana."¹⁰ Impo omanaka irotyo omanakatari ovasantate.¹¹ Impo oshonkavagetanaka yogari ohime intitari iati intsagaavagetera.¹² Maika irotyo itsagaavagetake yapakuanara otsunkanakera anta yapakuakerira itsamaivagetira itsamaireku.¹³ Impo maika oshonkanaatari impo ipokai, inkamosotapaerora.¹⁴ Mameri ipokaveta yogonkeveta pankotsiku mamerienkagitema.¹⁵ Ineapairo pitakosema oga shinkipatsa ikantira "maika tyakarika oatakera tyakarika oatakera?"¹⁶ Maika impo apavatsaavagetanaka mameri.¹⁷ Impo oga tyampa opaita itinairo pasanta ineiro.¹⁸ Irotyo pa pegaka osero.¹⁹ Pa pegaka osero. ²⁰ Maika ikenkiavagetakero, iragavagetaka ikanti, "maika tyara okantakara maika oga, ina onkisantavakara maika."²¹ Maikari maika yagapanitiro, yamanakero niateniku, yogapai impo, iriro iavagetai tyakarika, samani itimageigira anta iavageta.²² Yokanakero iriniro impo tera inkamosotaero, tera inkamosotaero ikisanakatari tera inkamosotaero iriniro.²³ Maika impo okenkiavagetakerityo iriniro maika, osuretanakari okanti, "gameratyo nokanyovageti maika, maika notomi gameroka yokavagetana maika, maika nokenkiavagetakeri notomi."²⁴ Maika tyara nonkante maika impigaera?²⁵ Maika tyakarika iatakera tera nogote tyakarika itimakera kara."²⁶ Impo tera impigimatae oga otomi kantaka opirinitira irorori paniro okenkisureavageta impo impo okamavagetai.²⁷ Okamavagetairokari paniro opirinitai, tera- mameri inkamosoigakerora, intitari onkisantavakara.²⁸ Aryotari maika okaonta oka kenkisaritsi tsonkataka.²⁹

Once there was a woman.¹ She had a mother-in-law, who was a very abusive person.² [Her mother-in-law] said to her, "you're going to work, you're going to look after my son, you're going to cook for him and wash [his clothes], you're going to do it, you lazy woman."³ Her mother-in-law spoke to her like that just for the heck of it.⁴ Then the next day, when the moon rose and dawn was coming, her mother-in-law came to visit her.⁵ She found her boiling her corn chicha.⁶ Oh! She took a gourd and served it to [her mother-in-law], but [her mother-in-law] threw it in her face.⁷ Then the woman ran away and hid behind her *pasanta* [slab of wood used for grinding grains], she sat [behind] her *pasanta* and hid there.⁸ Then she cried and she cried, and she said "what am I going to do now? My mother-in-law abuses me.⁹ What am I going to do? Perhaps I won't come back, so that they she won't abuse me [anymore]."¹⁰ She kept on hiding, hiding behind her *pasanta*.¹¹ Then it was getting late, and her husband had gone fishing.¹² He was fishing and he dropped off some fish a little after noon, then he went to work in his chacra.¹³ Then, since it was getting late, he came back to visit her.¹⁴ [But] when he came back there was nobody there, it was quiet.¹⁵ He saw the pile of corn dough, and he said, "where might she have gone? Where might she have gone?"¹⁶ It was getting dark, and she wasn't there.¹⁷ Then he picked up the *pasanta*, and he found her there.¹⁸ She had turned into a crab.¹⁹ She had turned into a crab.²⁰ Then he missed her, and he cried and said, "what's going on with my mother? She's so abusive."²¹ So he picked her up and carried her to the stream, and he left her there and went to live somewhere far away.²² He left his mother behind and didn't visit her again, he didn't visit her again because he was angry, he didn't visit his mother again.²³ His mother missed him very much, she thought about him, and she said, "if I hadn't been like that, perhaps my son wouldn't have abandoned me, and now I miss my son very much.²⁴ Now what can I do so that he will return?²⁵ Where might he have gone? I don't know where he lives now."²⁶ But her son never came back, she just stayed there alone and she was very sad, and then she died.²⁷ She probably died while staying there alone, there was no- nobody to visit her, because she was such a bad person.²⁸ That's how this story ends.²⁹

Even brief stories such as this one expose listeners to a broad range of lexical items and their classificatory exponents, as well as a mythological account of each species' genesis that reinforces its grammatical gender. Indeed, many Yokiriños are aware of the connection between the grammatical gender and mythological genesis of various species: I often asked why certain species were masculine or feminine, and people often responded with statements like *kemari inti surari* 'the tapir is a man'. The longer, rambling, intertextual myths like the ones described in Chapter 6, which often feature appearances by many different animal species, are an even richer source of such lexical and grammatical information.

But while some of the older people who grew up in the Yokiri Valley take these stories as part of a perspectivist ontological system, other Yokiriños (particularly young people and those from Chirumbia) understand them to be "just stories" associated with a reified domain of traditional culture and language use belonging exclusively to the oldest members of family #1 (Camino 1979:146; Meek 2007). A telling intermediate example is a woman who was born in the Yokiri Valley in the mid-1960s and is recognized as a local authority in myth narration. When her daughter asked her about the ontological status of the stories (*será verdad?* 'is it true?'), she explained (in Spanish) that the beings and spirits she described do in fact exist, but that *ya somos bautizados* 'we're baptized now' and are therefore no longer vulnerable to the power and agency of the malevolent spirits--in other words, she has closed down the possibility of intersubjectivity with the non-humans in the forest. This represents an important intergenerational ontological shift: she acknowledges the human agency and subjectivity in the beings she describes in her stories, but insulated herself from their agency and subjectivity by becoming a Christian.

In a sense, baptism was a step in closing off the intersubjective world of perspectivist ontology, allowing her family to loosen their grasp on that type knowledge and reframe storytelling as entertainment and 'traditional culture' rather than the articulation of ontological and cosmological principles. The effect on the classification of these nouns is gradual: exposure to the lexical and grammatical information in the performances still reinforces the gender and animacy status of each noun, but the typology no longer provides explanatory models for the world (models, indeed, that were urgently important for people of earlier generations who sought to manage the agency of malevolent beings). This means that the younger generations are left acquiring a noun classification system that follows the contours of an ontological and cosmological system that they no longer have complete access to.

The people who grew up in the Yokiri Valley (especially before the 1980s), then, were exposed to a wide variety of lexical and grammatical material, transmitted in the context of the types of knowledge and experiences that reinforce the traditional noun classification system. This included frequent discussion and use of a wide range of plants, animal, and things in a biologically rich ecosystem, as well as extended explanations of the ontological and cosmological status of those entities in traditional stories. As we will see in the cases of San Martín and Chirumbia below, removal from these language acquisition environments and disconnection from these types of knowledge have led to changes in noun classification.

7.3.2 Knowledge and noun class acquisition in San Martín

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Matsigenkas who grew up in the San Martín Valley since Andean *colonos* arrived in the 1950s lived very differently from those who grew up in the Yokiri and Otingamía Valleys in the 1970s and 1980s. They were forced (in some cases, violently) into slave labor on the land that had been taken from them, and their primary activity was the clearing of forest and the planting of large coffee, cacao, and achiote plantations. The oldest members of the San Martín families currently living in Yokiri (family #6) were children when the *colonos* first arrived in the 1950s, and their vivid recollections are documented in chapter 2. A few elements of their experiences are relevant to the acquisition of noun classes.

To start, these Matsigenkas did not grow up with much first-hand experience of a wide range of animal and plant species in a biologically diverse ecosystem--indeed, it was not until they moved behind the agricultural frontier in the to Yokiri 1990s that they encountered such an environment. They stayed close to the *colonos'* ecologically denuded agricultural plantations in San Martín and lived on the food that they grew in their *chacras* and that the *colonos* provided them (rice, corn, potatoes, some meat from domestic animals, and other products grown on the estates and traded from the highlands). They never learned Matsigenka hunting techniques--nor, therefore, did they learn to collect and use substances such as masculine-animate *taviri* 'resin of the *toneki* tree', which is used for arrow fletching--and they are not familiar with the medicinal and shamanic plants collected and consumed by many other Matsigenka speakers. They recall how their parents and grandparents used forest products like masculine-animate *tsivaki* 'resin of the *tsivaki* tree', which was burned for illumination, but for family #6 this is only

a distant memory from their childhood before the *colonos* came. An elderly man (1) and woman (2) from family #6 explained this to me in Quechua (67a-j):

(67)

a.			
1			k'anchachikurayku ñawpaq [antes]
2			
NQE			
1			before, we used to illuminate
2			
NQE			

b.				
1	chivakimanta chivaki, mechero.		mecherohina karan chivaki.	sach'amanta
2			mm hm	
NQE		Ah, riki.		chay sach'amanta
1	with tsivaki, tsivaki, [like] a lamp.		tsivaki was like a lamp.	from the tree
2			mm hm	
NQE		Oh, right.		from that tree--

c.					
1	sach'a wiqi.	an anchay.	k'anchapurayku.	mecherohina karan	
2	sach'amanta wiqi.	anchay.	mm hm.	mm hm	mechero mana
NQE		riki			
1	the tree resin.	that.	we used to illuminate	it was like a lamp	
2	the resin from the tree, that.	mm hm.	mm hm	lamp	
NQE		right			

d.					
1	antes		askhata	munturyuku chay k'anchachikuyku chaywan	
2	chay chivaki kaqtintaq nina nina		llant'ata askhata munturyuku	aha chaywan	
NQE		riki riki			
Am	before		a lot	we used to pile up a lot--we illuminated with that	
Au	when there was no tsivaki, fire, fire--		we used to pile up a lot of firewood	right, with that	
NQE		right right			

e.					
1	aha	aha anchayna karan papayku	awiluyku	mm hm	
2	aha		mm hm	o sea awiluyta mana riqsinipaschu	
NQE	riki su resina riki		aha		
1	right	right that's how it was.	Our parents, our grandparents	mm hm	
2	right		mm hm	I mean, I didn't know my grandfather	
NQE	right, its resin, right		right		

f.			
1	kunan qhipaña nuqayku wiñayku riqsiyku michiruta kachita linterna k'anchachikunayku		
2			
NQE			
1	and later when we grew up we became familiar with lamps and salt and flashlights, we illuminated		
2			

NQE

g.

1 purinaykupaq aha antes papay mana linterna riqsirankuchu mana
2 linterna chayna na posporochallawan

NQE

1 so we could walk, right before our parents didn't have flashlights
2 flashlight, like that just with, um, matches

NQE

h.

1 nata tsenkirontsi karan tsenkiwan rumi? yuraq rumi? anchay hap'ichiq karanku nawan
2

NQE mm hm mm hm aha

1 um, there was the tsenkirontsi, the tsenki stone? the white stone they used to strike it with, um

2

NQE mm hm mm hm right

i.

1 machetechawan tsin tsin aha tsin tsin aqnata tsin tsin chaywan aha
2 machetewan aha

NQE

1 with a machete 'tsin tsin' yes 'tsin tsin' like that 'tsin tsin' with that, yes

2

NQE with a machete aha

j.

1 hap'iy phukunku chaywan hap'ichiq karanku.
2

NQE

1 they strike it and blow on it. They used to start [fires] with that.
2

NQE

However, even though they largely interacted with Quechua-speaking *colonos* during the day and had minimal access to the forest and its beings and substances, they lived with their extended Matsigenka family members on the *colono* plantations and they report a relatively high degree of autonomy in the evenings and on days of rest. Indeed, the *colonos* cared only that they were productive workers and did not intervene much in their personal lives. They therefore spoke Matsigenka among themselves, and they report that their older relatives (the oldest of whom were born in the late 19th century, before the current phase of agricultural colonization and the return of the Dominicans) told

traditional stories in the evenings. The San Martín Matsigenkas therefore acquired the lexical items (along with their classificatory exponents) contained in those stories-- including the 'former human' animates--even though they did not experience those beings in the forest first-hand as other Matsigenkas did (indeed, the oldest man from San Martín could recall Matsigenka songs about a number animals, even though he had only encountered those animals in the flesh a handful of times). However, because most of the 'non-former human' animate nouns do not often appear in myth narrations (e.g. the range of latex- and resin-bearing trees) and therefore can only be acquired through direct exposure to them, most of the San Martín Yokiriños either did not acquire these nouns or reassigned some of them to the inanimate class along with the rest of the things and trees. When they moved behind the frontier to Yokiri they became more familiar with these entities (to the extent that they can now at least identify many of them), but the distinction between animate and inanimate entities that did not appear frequently in myth narrations has now largely been lost.

7.3.3 Knowledge and noun class acquisition in Chirumbia

In some respects, life for families #4 and #5 in the Dominican mission at Chirumbia was similar to life in San Martín: daily activity was oriented toward agricultural labor and transforming the forest into productive farmland. Chirumbia, like San Martín, is a highly biologically depleted environment with very little species diversity, and the Yokiriños who were born there had little direct experience with the forest. The boys, for instance, spent their days tending the missionaries' cattle in the

pasture at the top of the ridge, a place that was covered with dense, lush rain forest in the early 20th century, but has been grasslands for most of the last 100 years (Figure 26):



Figure 26: The high pasture of the Dominican mission at Chirumbia, formerly lush rain forest

Even the oldest Chirumbianos in Yokiri reported not knowing much about animal or plant species, and often referred me to members of family #1 (sometimes 40 years their juniors) as experts in matters of ecological knowledge and traditional cosmology.⁵⁶ It was only when they moved to Yokiri that they became immersed in a biologically diverse ecosystem and first encountered a wide array of species (and discourse about them), and like the San Martín Yokiriños, they have only partially acquired the kind of ethnobiological knowledge of family #1.

⁵⁶ Note that while this lack of knowledge is a source of shame in some circumstances, as I will discuss below, it is a source of pride in others, as it signifies affiliation with the rural peasant society of La Convención.

But unlike the San Martín Matsigenkas, the personal lives of the Chirumbia Matsigenkas were closely managed. The Dominicans' goal was not (only) to produce coffee, but also to produce Christians, and they discouraged the Matsigenkas from telling traditional narratives that they saw as representations of pagan beliefs (see the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter). As a result, when I asked Chirumbianos about the gender of various species and entities, they were often unaware of the cosmological explanations attributed to them by other Matsigenka-speakers. For instance, when I asked a subject from Chirumbia why she had assigned feminine markers to the normally masculine-animate noun *kashiri* 'moon' (a prominent man in Matsigenka cosmology), she explained that it was because of the *presencia femenina* 'feminine presence' of the moon--a notion obviously external to Matsigenka tradition. Of course, Chirumbianos report that traditional stories were still told in their homes, but to a lesser degree than in Yokiri and San Martín, and over the course of the nearly 80-year operation of the mission at Chirumbia, very little knowledge of the stories remained among most families.

With modest direct experience with the forest and little exposure to the 'former human' animate nouns through myths, Chirumbianos were left with relatively little input for the acquisition of these Matsigenka lexicon items and their classificatory exponents. This pattern attends a more general shift away from Matsigenka language use. Subsequent long-term residence in the Yokiri Valley has meant that many Chirumbianos can now name and identify more of these species, but not within the same system of grammatical and ontological categorization.

7.4 Changes in the noun classification system

The result of these differences in language acquisition is that people from San Martín (family #6) and Chirumbia (families #4 and #5) tend to assign inanimate status to the 'non-former human' animates (i.e. the ones that can only be acquired through direct experience with the forest), and that Chirumbianos additionally tend to regularize all animals and other 'former humans' (i.e. the ones that can be acquired through myths) as masculine. But while my ethnographic and naturally-occurring data suggested that these were strong tendencies, but I did not have a broad enough sample to make any well-formed generalizations. So I tested this observation quantitatively by making a list of 100 nouns from the three noun classes, and eliciting data from 8 subjects by asking them to form sentences like “two crabs are running away” or “there is only one moon,” in which they had to use both gender and animacy markers. Three adults were chosen from Chirumbia (families #4 and #5), two from San Martín (family #6), and three from family #1 who grew up in or around the Yokiri Valley. The sample included 'former humans' and 'non-former humans' from the list in Table 11 above; however, some subjects (particularly those from San Martín and Chirumbia) were unfamiliar with at least some of the nouns. I expected that the subjects who grew up in the Yokiri and Otingamía Valleys before the 1980s would retain the traditional distribution of animacy and gender marking to a greater degree than the subjects from San Martín and Chirumbia, because of variation in the language acquisition environments described above.

7.4.1 Changes: 'former human' animates

Figure 27 illustrates how the Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia subjects classified the 'former human' animate nouns (feminine species and celestial bodies, only-- all masculine species received masculine markers). For the species results (F>M), 0% means that the subjects used feminine markers for all traditionally feminine species; 100% means that the subjects applied masculine markers to all of the traditionally feminine species. Yokiri subjects only changed the feminine species masculine (F>M) in 6% of cases, while San Martín subjects changed the genders in 25% of the cases and Chirumbia subjects changed the genders in 67% of the cases. In the case of celestial bodies (all traditionally animate), Yokiri subjects used inanimate markers (A>I) in 0% of cases, San Martín subjects used them in 0% of cases, and Chirumbia subjects used them in 40% of cases:

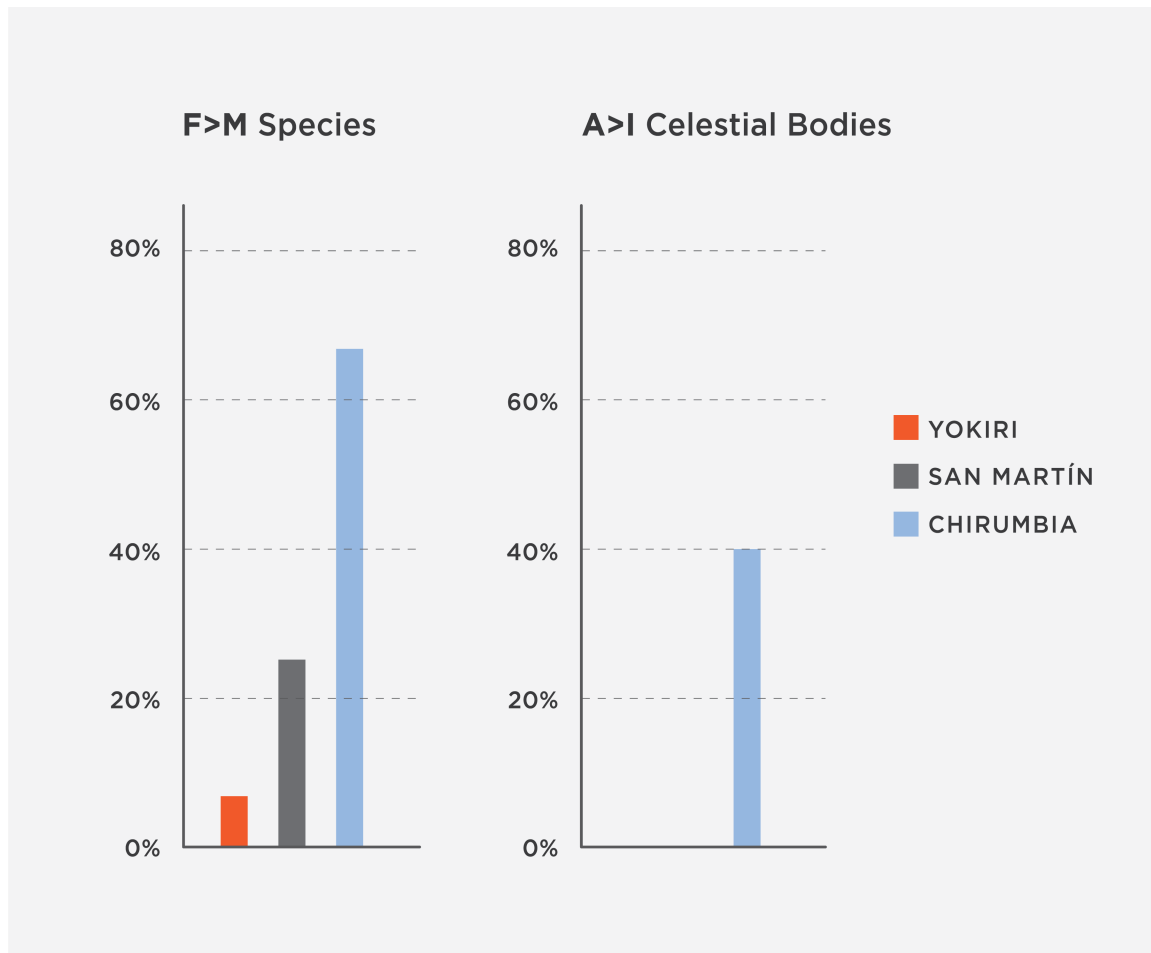


Figure 27: Reclassification of former humans
 Percentage of masculine marking on traditionally feminine species (F>M), among subjects from Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia; percentage of inanimate marking on traditionally animate celestial bodies (A>I), among subjects from Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia. N=89.

These results suggest that the subjects who grew up in Yokiri and San Martín largely retained the traditional gender and animacy classifications of former-human animates: they tended not to regularize the small class of feminine-animate species to the masculine-animate class, and they also tended not to regularize the masculine-animate celestial bodies to the feminine-inanimate class. This can be explained by their exposure to these domains of the lexicon, along with their classificatory exponents, in the context of experience in the forest (in the case of the Yokiri subjects) and in the context of myth

narration (in the case of both the Yokiri and San Martín subjects). The subjects from Chirumbia, on the other hand, were much more likely to regularize traditionally feminine species into the masculine class (F>M), which can be explained by their lack of exposure to discourse about a broad range of species and their consequent regularization of the system. They were also more likely to apply inanimate markers to the traditionally animate celestial bodies (A>I)--this is a more surprising finding, given the frequency of these nouns in everyday discourse, and might be explained in terms of the noun class attrition coming along with language shift among Chirumbianos.

7.4.2 Changes: 'non-former human' animates

Figure 28 illustrates how the Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia subjects classified the traditionally animate things and trees (respectively) that were never human according to Matsigenka cosmology (at least according to my subjects) and that do not appear frequently in myths. Here, the subjects that grew up in and around the Yokiri Valley applied feminine-inanimate markers to traditionally masculine-animate things (A>I) in a smaller percentage of cases (23%) than subjects from San Martín (64%) and Chirumbia (65%). Similarly, Yokiri subjects applied feminine-inanimate markers to traditionally masculine-animate trees (A>I) in a smaller percentage of cases (11%) than subjects from San Martín (63%) and Chirumbia (50%).

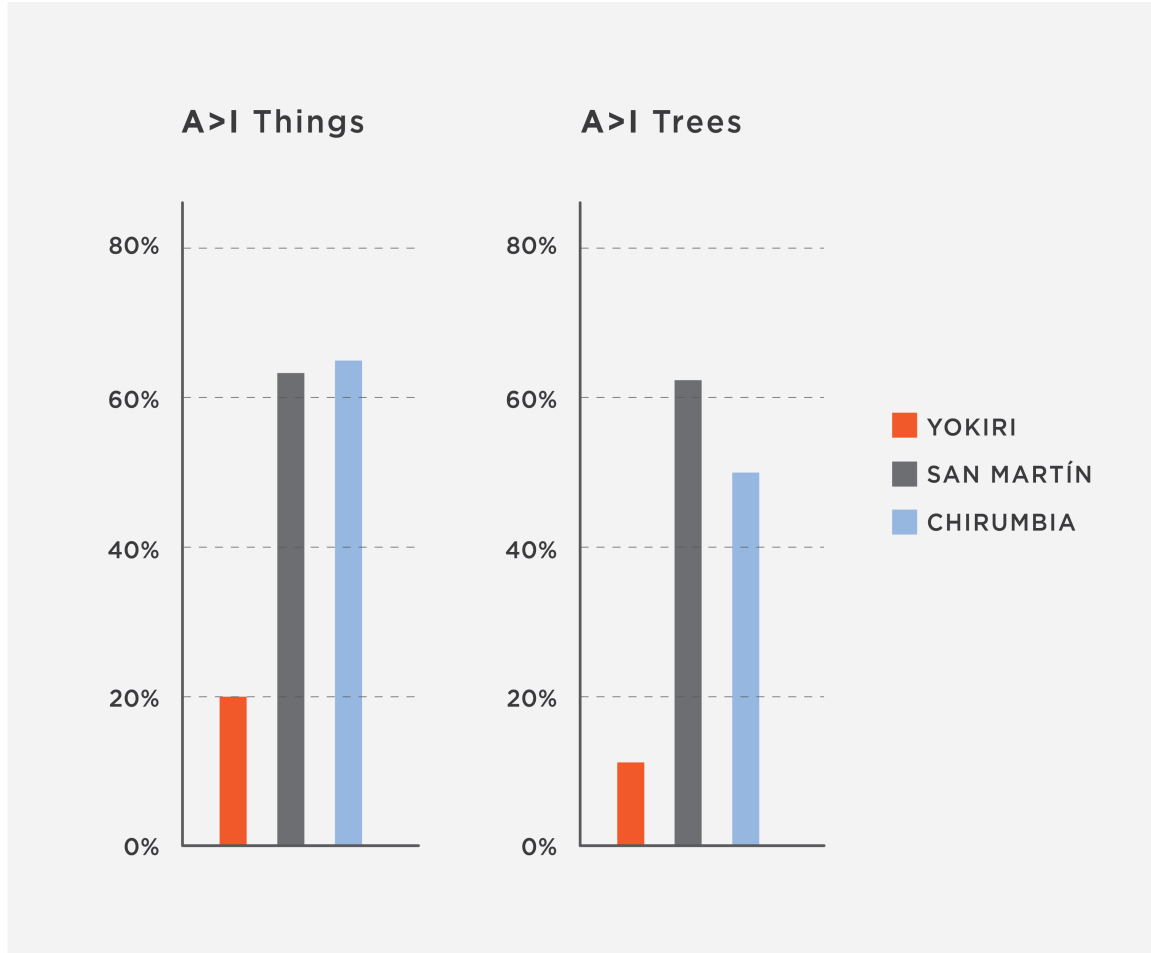


Figure 28: Reclassification of non-former humans

Percentage of inanimate marking on traditionally animate non-former human nouns (A>I) among subjects from Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia; percentage of inanimate marking on traditionally animate trees (A>I) among subjects from Yokiri, San Martín, and Chirumbia. N=85.

These results suggest that the subjects from family #1, who grew up in the Yokiri and Otingamía Valleys interacting closely with a broad range of things and trees in the forest and discussing them in Matsigenka, tended to retain the distinction between animate and inanimate things and trees. The San Martín and Chirumbia subjects, on the other hand, tended to regularize these masculine-animate things and trees into the feminine-inanimate class, effectively breaking down these distinctions among things and

tree (this tendency is also noted by Snell (2011:97) regarding traditionally masculine-animate *pitsi* ‘honey’, which now receives inanimate marking among some people). These innovations can be explained by the fact that the San Martín and Chirumbia subjects did not acquire the classificatory differences among these nouns, because they did not interpret and discuss a wide variety of things and trees in Matsigenka within a biologically rich environment until they arrived in Yokiri later in their lives. This can also be attributed to a process of attrition that attends language shift to Spanish among Yokiriños from San Martín and Chirumbia.

7.4.3 The future of Matsigenka noun classification

These innovations by some sectors of the population of Yokiri suggest a simplification in the noun classification system. In particular, it is notable that Chirumbianos have largely reassigned the nouns of the already small feminine-animate class to the masculine-animate class. This appears to be part of an increased alignment between masculine/animate, on the one hand, and feminine/inanimate, on the other. In other words, when faced with an idiosyncratic and relatively opaque gender system that articulates asymmetrically with animacy, Matsigenkas who do not have the lexical and categorial input required to assign gender marking in a traditional manner tend to exhibit a regularized system in which the gender parameter (masculine/feminine) is coterminous with the animacy parameter (animate/inanimate, respectively). The result is the emergent gender-animacy paradigm in Table 12: here, the feminine-animate species are joining the masculine-animate species, and the non-human, non-animal masculine-animates (things, trees, celestial bodies, meteorological phenomena) are joining the feminine-inanimates.

In this emerging system, masculine is co-extensive with animate, and feminine is co-extensive with the new configuration of inanimate (with the exception of individual female humans, spirits, and animals).⁵⁷

	Masculine	Feminine
Animate	Individual male humans, spirits, and animals Masculine species <i>Masculine-animate things and trees</i>	Individual f. humans, spirits, and animals <i>Feminine species</i>
Inanimate		Everything else

Table 12: Emerging Matsigenka animacy and gender system

Feminine-animate species become masculine-animate; non-human, non-animal masculine-animates (things, trees, celestial bodies, etc.) become feminine-inanimate. The resulting system has two noun classes (with the exception of female human and animal individuals): animate-masculine (humans and animals), and inanimate-feminine (everything else).

This emerging system represents a shift away from an animacy system built upon intimate ecological knowledge and traditional Matsigenka perspectivist ontological and cosmological principles, and toward a configuration of animacy that is more familiar (and in Pío Aza's idiom (1924:71), more "rational") to non-Matsigenkas: humans and animals are animate, everything else (things, plants, trees, meteorological phenomena, etc.) is inanimate.

As more and more Matsigenkas begin to participate in the new agricultural economy appearing at their doorstep, it is likely that the kinds of ecological and cultural knowledge and language acquisition contexts that support the traditional Matsigenka

⁵⁷ Notably, these regularizing patterns appear to have driven the independent transformation of the Nomatsigenka noun classification system.

noun classification paradigm will continue to decline (however, see Alexiades and Peluso (2009) for an example of increased ethnobotanical knowledge among Ese Eja as a result of interactions with outsiders). If this is the case, we might expect the reconfiguration of the paradigm outlined in Table 12 to be ascendant among the younger generations of Matsigenka speakers. Of course, participation in the agricultural economy and its social and cultural correlates are also accompanied by a shift away from Matsigenka toward Spanish and Quechua, so this system may not be transmitted at all. Indeed some of the effects in this change are consistent with other studies (e.g. Dorian 1976; Schmidt 1985) that have analyzed reorientations in noun classification systems as a case of attrition that often accompanies language shift and death.

7.5 Opacity and shame

A coda to this story about the social and cultural mechanisms behind the restructuring of the Matsigenka noun classification system is the effect that these changes have on the evaluations of cultural knowledge among Yokirriños. As discussed throughout this study, a major concern among Yokirriños is who has authoritative command of traditional Matsigenka culture, and who has moved on to embrace the forms of knowledge associated with coffee production and integration into *colono* society. Because both forms of knowledge have social value in different contexts, the deployment of the noun classification system in a more or less traditional manner has important social entailments.

Noun classification is a site of something like a nascent tendency towards purism among family #1, as it represents a domain in which they command more social capital

than the other families. Indeed, for people who grew up in San Martín and Chirumbia, the fact that animacy and gender markers are obligatory in nearly every grammatical Matsigenka sentence sets quite a high bar for elementary conversation. I have observed a number of contexts in which Matsigenkas from Chirumbia and San Martín found even simple verb phrases to be veritable pop quizzes in a traditional Matsigenka ontology that was not transmitted beyond the generation of their parents or grandparents. People with the most subtle mastery of the gender/animacy taxonomy routinely mock those who fail to meet the challenges posed by these "exuberances" (Mannheim 1991:128) in Matsigenka grammar. This, after all, is one of the few domains of behavior and knowledge in which family #1, newcomers as they are to the coffee economy and its material advantages, can exercise some measure of cultural capital over the more worldly Matsigenkas from Chirumbia and San Martín. In these circumstances, those being mocked often confess, self-effacingly, ignorance of the arcana of traditional Matsigenka noun classification. This always, of course, goes far beyond mere grammar--it is a more general admission of perceived cultural shortcomings in some cases, but also of sociocultural ascendancy in others. It is perhaps an unhappy coincidence that the Matsigenka noun classification system both requires a great deal of traditional knowledge and surfaces obligatorily in most sentences; noun classification always makes certain demands on speakers (Jakobson 1959:235-6), and the opacity and complexity of the Matsigenka system makes 'correct speech' (as seen from within a regime of purism) a vanishingly distant goal. It represents, therefore, a particularly salient point of linguistic shame and appears to be one factor in language shift among young Matsigenkas who are

insecure in their ability to manage the classification system in a manner that their elders deem 'correct'.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This study has presented a broad ethnographic description of language use in the small trilingual frontier community of Yokiri. Yokiri's position on the leading edge of agricultural expansion from the Andes into the forests of the Alto Urubamba has resulted in profound social, cultural, and linguistic transformations. I have sought to show how a wide variety of people came together in Yokiri as a result of frontier expansion and how they use their diverse of linguistic resources to manage and negotiate their place in the emerging rural agrarian society today. This perspective puts social and linguistic interaction at the center of frontier expansion, and demonstrates how the creation and consolidation of a coffee industry where there was none before is a social process negotiated interactionally and dialogically. While linguistic diversity in Yokiri is indeed profound--fewer than 100 people speak three genetically unrelated languages--that variation is closely tied to ideologies that regiment language use within the local social world of the coffee frontier. For instance, the use of Spanish (in particular, the discourse genre of 'official talk') is an important part of creating an incipient public political culture that binds Yokiriños together in relationships of mutual obligation and privilege that

extend beyond kin networks. Through this discursively-created construct, Yokiriños imagine themselves as part of a 'community' and assert their place among their *colono* neighbors. Yokiriños often use Quechua in the context of commercial relationships with coffee merchants and other agents of the agrarian economy, and they interpret Quechua not only as a language of economic incorporation, but also as a fundamental part of the rural Andean social world that has emerged around them. While in some places in Latin America a single European colonial language is associated with both political modernity and economic incorporation, in Yokiri these domains are distinct (though overlapping) and are connected to different languages and patterns of language use. Finally, Quechua, Matsigenka, and to a lesser extent Spanish are all used in domestic settings, and Quechua and Matsigenka are considered part of 'traditional culture'. The (perhaps ideologically paradoxical) co-presence of these two domains of traditional culture in Yokiri, and Quechua's status as both a traditional domestic language and a language of capitalist economic integration, present significant complexity and destabilize straightforward and rigid dichotomies such as indigenous v. colonizing, oppressed v. dominant, private v. public, and the like. Sociolinguistic meaning in Yokiri is highly contingent and contextually emergent.

Another goal of this study has been to demonstrate how Yokiriños' complex linguistic history and current patterns of language use are resulting in changes among the three languages. For instance, pervasive code-switching in some discourse genres is leading to a circulation of Spanish discourse-marking strategies in those genres, giving rise to varieties of Quechua and Matsigenka that are influenced--in similar ways--by Spanish. Multilingual communication in Yokiri has also led to a convergence in narrative

practices, such that an iconic poetic device associated with narrative performances has been taken up in such performances across the three languages. Similarly, the use of reportative evidentiality in Quechua and Andean Spanish has led to a speech community-wide metapragmatic expectation that speakers will mark second-hand information as such, and the reportative evidential particle *dice* has entered Matsigenka discourse as a result. These convergences in discourse practices suggest that Yokiri constitutes an incipient "discourse area" (Beier, et al. 2002) or "culture of language" (Mannheim 1999; Silverstein 1985), in which areally-distributed metapragmatic phenomena cross-cut genetic linguistic groupings, and may be the first step toward the types of structural convergence that characterize linguistic areas. Finally, the study examined the Matsigenka noun classification system and demonstrated how it is being restructured as a result of changing circumstances of language acquisition on the coffee frontier.

The community of Yokiri does not fit many of the ideas about Amazonian and Andean societies that are sometimes taken for granted in the public imagination and in scholarly representations of people in western South America. Yokiriños are not easily defined in the terms of such imagined aggregates as *nativos* 'indigenous Amazonians', Matsigenkas, *campesinos* 'peasants', ethnic groups, and X-speaking peoples, to whom isomorphic sets of characteristics such as ontologies, ideologies of land use, linguistic repertoires, and political positions can be attributed (there is even disagreement, as I discussed in Chapter 7, on questions as fundamental as what kinds of animate beings inhabit the world). Yokiri is home to Quechua-speakers who are considered Matsigenkas and Matsigenka-speakers who are considered *colonos* at different times and by different people; but most of the time, such categorical labels are less important to the local social

world than interactionally emergent relations of power and authority. Yokiri therefore challenges discourses regarding Matsigenkas and other Amazonians that take them to be bounded and homogeneous--as I have shown, there is as much variation within Yokiri as between Yokiriños and their neighbors, and some Yokiriños have much closer social ties to neighboring *colonos* than to their fellow community mates. Yokiri also challenges a view of Andeans as existing only in the idealized environment of rural highland life: people from the Andes live throughout the tropical lowlands, and in many cases their lives are so closely joined with those of Amazonians that those labels are largely inadequate to characterize local social worlds. These patterns are likely to increase as the wave of Andean colonization continues to inundate the Amazonian lowlands, and inter-indigenous multilingualism within localized social worlds--irrespective of macro-geographical designations like 'the Andes' and 'Amazonia'--will continue to be as important as they have always been.

Appendix 1: Pakitsa story

Told in Matsigenka by a member of Family 1, Yokiri, 23 August 2011. Spanish elements are underlined. Full interlinear glosses can be found at nqemlen.com/texts.

Dice ainyo pashini itimaigi matsigenka.¹ Ainyo itsinanetsite, ainyo itomiegi.² Ikantiro maika itsinane- yovetsikake omaarane tsamairintsi kara.³ Ikantiro maika "gara- maika- nontaga- nontsivotakera notsamaire."⁴ Ovetsikake ovuroki putake.⁵ Hehe ainyo itomiegi.⁶ Ikanti- iatake iranuvagetera.⁷ Ikantiro maika "maika intsivotake apa tsamairintsi.⁸ Gara pipaigiri ovuroki poiri intagarogiteni itagakari," ikisanivagetaketa tera kameti.⁹ Ikantaigiri "he'e."¹⁰ Iatake iranuvageigera itomi.¹¹ Impogini iporeanake iatake itsivotake ikantiro maika itsinanetsite "pero pena maika mahani ovuroki."¹² Okantiri "gara maika piatake pintsivotakera pitagakari."¹³ Okanti "aryorika" ainyo iraniri ikantiro "maika paatena patiro pamoko noviikakempa garoka oshinkitana."¹⁴ Opakeri patiro pamoko, yoviikaka, iatake intsivotakera tsamairintsi oshinkitakeri putaketa.¹⁵ Oshinkitakeri, itsivotake magatiro otsapipageku oga tsamairintsi okaontakari itsivotake itsivotake.¹⁶ Pairo omorekanake iroro.¹⁷ Ishiganaka ipitake inchatukuku niganki anta.¹⁸ Ikaemanake "eeee."¹⁹ Omorekanake tyarika "heokung heokung."²⁰ Ikemaigi itomi ikanti "irirokatyo apa maika itsivotanake kametikyara inake."²¹ Ikisanivagetake [tatarika] itomi itaganaka.²² "Tsame," ipokaigake.²³ Ipokaigai "koa koa" ikantiri omorekanake ikaemanake "eeee tainakario tainakario!"²⁴

They say there were some people long ago.¹ [There was a man who] had a wife and children.² He said to his wife- he made a large chacra.³ He said to her, "no- now- I'm going to burn my chacra."⁴ She made strongly fermented chicha.⁵ Yes, and he had children. ⁶ He said- he went to go walking [i.e. hunting].⁷ [The son] said to [his mother], "my father is going to burn the chacra.⁸ Don't give him fermented masato, be careful he might burn himself," [the son] had dreamt a bad [premonition] about it.⁹ They said "okay".¹⁰ His children went out to walk [i.e. hunt].¹¹ Then the sun came out and he went, he lit a fire and he said to his wife, "but give me a little masato."¹² She said "no, if you go burn [the chacra] now, you're going to burn yourself."¹³ She said, "okay", and her brother-in-law was there, he said to her "now serve me a class, I'm going to drink, I don't think it will get me drunk."¹⁴ She gave him one glass, he drank it and went to burn the chacra, [the chicha] had gotten him drunk, since it was strongly fermented.¹⁵ It got him drunk, and so he burned everything, on the sides of the chacra, he burned and he burned.¹⁶ [The fire] was very bright.¹⁷ He escaped [the fire], and he sat on a stump, in the center.¹⁸ He yelled out "eeee".¹⁹ it burned a lot, "heokung heokung".²⁰ His sons heard [him] and said, "our father must be burning, I wonder if he's okay."²¹ His son

Ipokapai ikantapaakero iriniro maika "ina matsi apa?"²⁵ Okantiri iatake intsivotera tsamairintsi.²⁶ Nokantakempita "gara pipaigiri ovuroku itagakari."²⁷ "Tera, nokantake- tera nompaigneri.²⁸ Opakeriroka nonevategete maika patiro pamoko yoviikaka iatake."²⁹ "Nokemaigiri 'eee eee'."³⁰ Yavisaiganake ipampogiaigapaakeri [inkante] otsivakaati choeni inkante pirinitanatsi.³¹ Ikaemanake "heee sigue omorekatera."³² Paita paita otsonkatanaka yapevokiaka itagakara iriro onta tsamairintsiku.³³ Impo ikantiro maika "tagaka apa maika.³⁴ Maika nonkireakera maika iripokae katinka poreatsiri tsitenigeti maika.³⁵ Pi- pogikavokakenara maika pinkante '[inaudible] ipokapaake saamenkisema' maika po- pinkavokakena.³⁶ Nontsinkaerira apa nagairira apa" [ikantakerira].³⁷ Impo ipochokitanake, imagiroya imagiroya iriro.³⁸ Paita okantiri maika ikemi anta ikaemavatapai "eeree ayá tainakario ayá tainakario."³⁹ Oshiganaka ashireiro sotsimoro aratinkake osuraritsite saamenkisema inake yaratinakera.⁴⁰ Oshiganakera onkavokakerira otomi tera onkavokeri onti agi nia osaguvagetiri "pokung."⁴¹ Ikenake "shipororo" anta.⁴² Yoveaganaka omirinka oga samampo o sea puro ceniza.⁴³ Hehe puro hehe samampo, hehe.⁴⁴ Oshiganaka okavokakerira otomi, "notomi ipokavetaa piri maika nosagutakerini."⁴⁵ Ikisake ikantiro "antatyo pisagutiri maika?⁴⁶ Nokantasanovetakempi maika pogireakena nro nontsinkaerira, tera pinkeme."⁴⁷ Ikisakero iriniro.⁴⁸ Kantakanityo kara "tsitekyamani" ikantiro maika "maika pintarogavokitakerora, pogakiterira anta itagakara anta."⁴⁹ Hehe tsitekyamani okireaiganake, magatiro otarogakero magatiro ogakitiro anta itagakara inchatuku.⁵⁰ Ogakero.⁵¹ Impogini okuta oati tsitekyamani oneapaakeri gatake yoga pakitsa ityomiani en este inchatukutu.⁵² Agakiri ikantiro maika "ina nagake maika pakitsa ityomiani maika pimpirataempirira apa.⁵³ Pimpirataempirira apa maika virota kaontankitsa maika.⁵⁴ Virotakani pogireakenara maika nontsinkaerime nagaerime apa.⁵⁵ Virota kaontakeri pitsimpokakerita maika viro pimpirataempirira" ikantakero iriniro.⁵⁶ Impogini ainyo oshintoto otyomiani ashintakagakero opiratagakero oshintoto.⁵⁷ Yoga pakitsa en agakeri en kutamampoma ikyaenka ityomiani.⁵⁸ Y anta igitu.⁵⁹ Ikanti "tera" o sea tera ininte anta ompirataempirira irishinto como era su hija, no quería que se lo crie, aha.⁶⁰

had dreamt [this], and [now] he's burning.²² "Let's go" [he said], and they came.²³ They came back, "hurry, hurry" he said, "it's burning," he yelled "eeree, come quickly, come quickly!"²⁴ They came to tell their mother, "mother, where's my father?"²⁵ She told them, "he went to burn the chakra."²⁶ "I told you, 'don't give him masato, he'll burn himself'."²⁷ "No, [I said,] I didn't give him any."²⁸ My daughter-in-law must have given it to him, he drank a glass and went."²⁹ "We heard him 'eee eee'."³⁰ They went to see him, [the fire] was going out a bit and he kept sitting there.³¹ He yelled "eee it's still burning."³² Then it was ending, he had been charred and burnt up in the chakra.³³ Then [the son] said to [his mother], "my father burned himself up."³⁴ Now I'm going to wake up and he will come at midnight.³⁵ You'll wake me up, you'll tell me, 'he came, he's glowing [with embers]', you'll wake me up.³⁶ I'll get my father wet, I'll get him" he said.³⁷ Then he got tired, and he must have fallen asleep, he must have fallen asleep.³⁸ Then she said to him, he heard, he was yelling there "eeree, aya, come here quickly, aya, come here quickly!"³⁹ She ran and opened the door, and her husband was standing there, he was glowing [with embers], standing there.⁴⁰ When she ran to wake up her son, but she couldn't wake him up, and she picked up some water and threw it on [her husband], "pokung."⁴¹ Then suddenly, "shipororo" [splashing sound].⁴² He was all wet, everything was ash, I mean, just ash.⁴³ Yes, just ash, yes.⁴⁴ She ran to wake up her son [and said], "son, your father came and I splashed water on him."⁴⁵ He got mad and said to her, "why did you throw water on him?⁴⁶ I told you to wake me up so I could get him wet, but you didn't listen."⁴⁷ He was angry at his mother.⁴⁸ So "in the morning," he said, "you're going to sweep it up, you're going to leave him there where he burned."⁴⁹ Yes, in the morning she woke up and she swept everything up and left it there, where he burned on the stump.⁵⁰ She left it.⁵¹ Then the next day, in the morning, she went, and she saw and picked up a small eagle perched on um a treetop.⁵² She picked it up and [her son] said [to her], "now mother, I got the small eagle, now you're going to raise my father [i.e. the eagle].⁵³ "You're going to raise my father now, since it's your fault."⁵⁴ If you had woken me up, I would have gotten him wet, and I would have gotten him back.⁵⁵ You're the one who's responsible, you doused him with water, so now you're

NQE: Tera ininte?⁶¹

Aha, tera ininte ikanti "tera."⁶² Impo okantiri ampa opiratagakaro oshinto inti ashintakagakarotari oshinto, aryompa aryompa ikimotanake ikimotanake anta.⁶³ Ikantiri maika otomi "pimpirataemparira gara pashintakagaro incho intita apa viro."⁶⁴ Okantiro "ah, tyampa nonkantake ampa ompiratakemparira iroro?⁶⁵ Aryo virota viro" okantake iriniro.⁶⁶ Aryompa anta ikovintsatira otomi ivatsa komaginaro opasekatiri opasekatiri.⁶⁷ Impo ikimotanake yoga pakitsa aryompa aryompa yantavankitanake.⁶⁸ Impogini maika iatake ikovintsavagetakera otomi anta iaigake yanuvageigakitira.⁶⁹ Iatake yagaigi komaginaro inti iriro kishiatanatsi anta pankotsiku.⁷⁰ Okantiri maika "kishiatanatsivi maika pinkovintsatakitera pinkovintsatakitera komaginaro anta onkimotanakera pinampina irokona irokona pashi" okantakerira.⁷¹ Ipotevankitanake oneiri yaranake.⁷² Yaranake iatake inkenishiku anta inkovintsatera iriro aikiro irityo pakitsa.⁷³ Iaigi itomiegi aikiro ikovintsaiigi yagaigi yamaigi komaginaro ikanti "neri ina komaginaro kote sekataigakempara."⁷⁴ Inti iriro yami yovuokiri en kapashipankoku yoginoriiri yoga yashiriapaaka.⁷⁵ Agiri onkotakeri aikiro iriro iriro aikiro iati ikovintsatira iriro aikiro pakitsa.⁷⁶ Onkotakeri impo oka onianiatakeri okisavitakerora itomi.⁷⁷ "Pinianiatakeri maika pakitsa inkaontake matsigenka nianianiataserini."⁷⁸ Impogini tataka isuretaka iriro irityo yoga pakitsa.⁷⁹ Iatake intati anta itinkaraakero oga yovetsikakera imenko ivanko yoga pakitsa.⁸⁰ Itinkaraake itinkaraake terong terong yovetsikake aryomenkorika kara.⁸¹ Impogini otarogavagetake iroro impo oga irotyo iriniro yoga matsigenka.⁸² Impogini otarogavageti inti oga oshinto anuvagetakeroka oga oga sotsiku.⁸³ Okemiri maika ipoki yarapaake yagapanitiro pe oga oshinto otyomiani.⁸⁴ Yagapanitiro opampogiavakeri koa yarakaganake anta yovetsikakera ivanko intati anta.⁸⁵ Okanti "yamanakeroni noshinto."⁸⁶ Ipokapaake itomi ikantiro "virotakani maika kantageva- kantagetakovagetanatsivi.⁸⁷ Pine gara yagapanutiro incho."⁸⁸ Impo aryompa aryompa yogi- anta yogimonkanakero iriro anta intati anta ipegakagakero ikovintsavageti komaginaro.⁸⁹ Aryompa aryompa oneiro iriniro antarotanake ya iriro irishinto antarotanake ya.⁹⁰ Okantiro maika "noshinto aryo oga antarotanake" okantiro "hehe."⁹¹ Aryompa aryompa onamonkitanake.⁹²

going to raise him" he said to his mother.⁵⁶ [The mother] had a small daughter, she made her daughter take [the eagle] in, she made her raise it.⁵⁷ She picked up the eagle, it had white puffy feathers, it was still small.⁵⁸ And there on his head.⁵⁹ He said "no", I mean, he didn't want his daughter to raise him, since she was his daughter, he didn't want her to raise him, that's right.⁶⁰

NQE: He didn't want [her to]?

That's right, he didn't want that, he said "no".⁶² So better yet, she made her daughter raise him and take ownership of him, and he grew up more and more, he grew up there.⁶³ Her son said to her, "you're going to raise him, don't put my sister in charge of my father, it [should be] you."⁶⁴ [Her mother] said "why would I say that it's best that she raises him?⁶⁵ So, it's your problem" said his mother.⁶⁶ So her son hunted more and more monkey meat, and she fed him and fed him.⁶⁷ Then the eagle grew bit by bit, and his wings matured.⁶⁸ Then her sons went to hunt, they went on hunting trips.⁶⁹ He went and caught monkeys, and [the eagle] kept combing his feathers at the house.⁷⁰ Then she said to him, "you keep on combing yourself, today you have to go hunting, you have to go hunt a monkey, so that your partner will grow a little bit," she said to him.⁷¹ He flapped his wings, and she saw him fly away.⁷² He flew, he went to the forest to hunt as well, the eagle.⁷³ His sons also went to hunt, they caught and brought a monkey, they said "take the monkey, mother, cook it so that we can eat."⁷⁴ He brought it, he dropped it on top of the thatched-roof house and made it stand up there, he made it fall down on top.⁷⁵ She took it in order to cook it, and the eagle went out to hunt again.⁷⁶ She cooked it later, and she made [his son] mad by talking to [the eagle].⁷⁷ [He said], "you keep on talking to the eagle as if he were a person that you could talk to."⁷⁸ What must the eagle have thought?⁷⁹ The eagle went across to break off [sticks] to build his nest, his house.⁸⁰ He broke off more and more [sticks] 'terong terong' and made his big nest there.⁸¹ Then the man's mother was sweeping.⁸² She was sweeping and her daughter was walking around outside.⁸³ She heard him, he came flying and he carried away EMPH her young daughter.⁸⁴ He carried her away, she saw him, suddenly he flew while carrying her there, where he had made his house on the other side of the river.⁸⁵ She said, "he took away my

Yonamonkitagakero irityo pakitsa oga tsinane.⁹³ Yonamonkitagakero.⁹⁴ Impogini maika okantirirotyo "tera noninte tera noninte nogakempara ivatsa nonintake nogakempara yoga o sea kanyorira haroegi, kanyorira haroegi.⁹⁵ Nonintake noganakempara yoga mavaentini."⁹⁶ Ikantiro maika "pinintake pogakempara mavaentini?"⁹⁷ "Hehe nonintake nogakempara."⁹⁸ Ikovintsatanakera pine yoga mavaentini.⁹⁹ Yoganakarira matsigenka.¹⁰⁰ Yoganakari matsigenka.¹⁰¹ Impogini iatake tyarika pine otonko otonkoira oga ipokaigira kamatikya, anta itigahaigirora pitotsi inkante itonkoahaigirora aka katonko aka.¹⁰² Ikantikogake imirinka imaarapage matsigenka.¹⁰³ Iri yagake yamanake anta yogakarira ogakarira irotyo oga matsigenka ogakarira matsigenka.¹⁰⁴ Aryompa aryompa ikanti "tya kantaigakeri maika?"¹⁰⁵ Yoga pakitsa itsonkatanakari maika yoga mavaentini.¹⁰⁶ Maika tyā kantake gaigakerira maika?¹⁰⁷ Aryompa oga pitsagiake oga kipatsi."¹⁰⁸ Yapitsagiake kipatsi en forma de muñeca, así grande pe.¹⁰⁹

Aníbal: No mezcles!¹¹⁰

Y cómo se llama aryompa aryompa aryompa ikanti maika "iripokapaakerika konenani pine iragintakerira iraganakerira pimpatavakeri oga itigahaigirora oga pitotsi, pimpatantakenparira."¹¹¹ "He'e."¹¹² Yogii anta yoviriniakeri parece imaarane matsigenka.¹¹³ Ipokapaake pakitsa yarapaake intsomaapanuterira oga ikuchatapaakaro oga kipatsi kipatsi [ikuchatsapaakara].¹¹⁴ Asatyo ikusokusotake yagaigi shintsi oga komaromento ipasaigakero aka imatiri yagaigakeri.¹¹⁵ Yogamagaigakeri irityo pakitsa.¹¹⁶ Yaguitaigiri itagaigakeri yogamagaigiri.¹¹⁷ Inti iroro ogiake anta iroro mameri anta, mameri.¹¹⁸ Okaemakotairo oshintō "oga noshintō matsi notineri?"¹¹⁹ Okantiri maika "tyara iatakera?"¹²⁰ Tera iripokae."¹²¹ Y onamonkitakerora apagotake apagotake inti otomi.¹²² Inti otomi apagotake inti otomi.¹²³ Impogini maika ogiaketa mameri mameri mameri mameri anta iripokaera.¹²⁴ Okantiri "vironi kaontankitsa vironi vironi kaontankitsa pogamentakara poganakari anta poganakarira matsigenka anta aryotari yo- anta yogenkani ipasatenkani yoyagagani."¹²⁵ Aryo okantiro "ina maika no- anta nompokae- impatyo viro" okantiro maika.¹²⁶ Impo opokai iroro.¹²⁷ Koa koa aguitai irotyo omenkoatakara irotyo pakitsa aguitai koa koa oneiro iniro ogonketapaa.¹²⁸ Okantiro maika

daughter."⁸⁶ His son came and said to her, "it's your fault, you keep on [talking]."⁸⁷ Otherwise he wouldn't have taken my sister away.⁸⁸ But little by little he raised her there on the other side of the river, he hunted monkey.⁸⁹ And bit by bit her mother saw her, she was already grow up.⁹⁰ She said "my daughter, you've grown up," and she said, "yes."⁹¹ Little by little, her belly began to grow.⁹² The eagle had impregnated the woman.⁹³ He had impregnated her.⁹⁴ Then she said [to the eagle], "I don't want, I don't want to eat meat, I want to eat, I mean, [meat] that's like us, like us."⁹⁵ I want to eat people."⁹⁶ He said to her, "you want to eat people?"⁹⁷ "Yes, I want to eat [people]."⁹⁸ So he went to hunt for people.⁹⁹ They ate people.¹⁰⁰ They ate people.¹⁰¹ So he went far away to the place where they come upriver, where they come from downriver, pushing their canoes with poles, that's right, where they ascend upriver here.¹⁰² He said- he only wanted big people.¹⁰³ He picked up a person and carried him [back] there and ate him, she ate the person, she ate the person.¹⁰⁴ Eventually [they] said "what are we going to do?"¹⁰⁵ The eagle is finishing people off.¹⁰⁶ How are we going to catch him?¹⁰⁷ We should tie together some dirt.¹⁰⁸ They tied dirt together in the shape of a doll, big, like that [EMPH].¹⁰⁹

Anibal: Don't mix [languages]! ¹¹⁰

And what's it called [they built it] bit by bit by bit, then they said, "when he comes, when he comes and perches on it to carry it away, you hit him with what they use to row the canoe [i.e. the paddle], you'll hit him with it."¹¹¹ "Okay."¹¹² They waited there, they sat him down, he looked like a big person.¹¹³ The eagle came, he flew down to pick it up with his claws and [hooked] the earth [doll].¹¹⁴ [The eagle] held onto it tightly, and [the people] quickly grabbed the oar and hit him with it, and then they grabbed him.¹¹⁵ They killed the eagle.¹¹⁶ The brought him down and burned him, they killed him.¹¹⁷ And [the daughter] waited there [back at the nest], and he never came back, he never came.¹¹⁸ [The mother] called out to her daughter, "my daughter, what's my son-in-law [i.e. the eagle]?"¹¹⁹ She said to him, "where might he have gone?"¹²⁰ He didn't come back."¹²¹ And since she was pregnant, she gave birth, she gave birth to a son.¹²² It was a son, she gave birth to a son.¹²³ Then she waited and nobody, nobody, nobody, nobody came.¹²⁴ [Her

"aryo pipokai."¹²⁹ "Hehe nopokai maika mameri pitineri aryota ipegaka."¹³⁰ Okantiro "vironi kaontankitsa maika poganakarira mavaentini maika yogagani."¹³¹ "Aryo."¹³² Impogini ainyo otomi.¹³³ Ikantiro maika "ina" maika inti ogakarita otomi iroro opokai noganiro.¹³⁴ Oganakatari matsigenka ogakari otomi.¹³⁵ Impogini okantiro "atsi nonkatakiterira icha."¹³⁶ Okanti "nanityo plate."¹³⁷ Oatake niaku okaatakeri tavong tavong aryompa aryompa oganakari oga igito magatiro ogakari irako ivori intaganivani igonta.¹³⁸ Okantiro maika ogii ogii iniro, mameri, mameri.¹³⁹ Okanti "tyakara- tera ompoke noshinto maika, tyarika okantakara maika?"¹⁴⁰ Otimageti oganakarirokari iariri.¹⁴¹ Amatsinkanakero koa koa oneapaakero inti apagotake igonta.¹⁴² Okantiro maika "tya pinkantakerira maika piariri pogakarira?"¹⁴³ Opampogianake 'sorere'.¹⁴⁴ "Tyara pinkantakerira maika pogakarira piariri?"¹⁴⁵ "Tsame!"¹⁴⁶ Otentanaaro pankotsiku.¹⁴⁷ Otentanaaro pankotsiku oka-¹⁴⁸ Ikovintsavagetira iariri "tera ogempa komaginaro inti onintake oganakempara yoga imirinka yoga tovairiegi matsigenka."¹⁴⁹ Okisavitakero impo okantiro maika "ina tsame kaataigakitera."¹⁵⁰ Oaigake "tsame namampiana pinkaatakera."¹⁵¹ Osuretaka iroro "otimageti ontentanakena otimi intaga ogenara iroro" okantakera iriniro.¹⁵² "Intaga ogenara intaga ogenara."¹⁵³ Opampogiakero okaatake inti okaatake iroro otapikyakona iroro okaatake nikorikokyakona.¹⁵⁴ Okaatake okivi-okiviatanake pokorokung asa opegaenkataka.¹⁵⁵ Okaemakotiro "noshinto," ma, "noshinto," ma.¹⁵⁶ Okontevagetanake kamatikya anta anta pinkante ami- anta amishaetekuni.¹⁵⁷ Kara okontetanake kara iroro anta maimeroiteku anta okontetanake maimeroiteku anta.¹⁵⁸ Kara okontetanake onkante donde ogavakagaigara.¹⁵⁹ Aryo okontetanake opokai.¹⁶⁰ Ogiro mameri mameri "tyarika oatakera maika noshinto?"¹⁶¹ Oatai oneapaakeri otomiegi otomi maika ikantiro "tyaka piatake ina?"¹⁶² "Tera, noatake nogisantanakero maika pitsiro maika onkaatera, nokanti naro nosuretaka 'otimageti intaga ogenara naro.'"¹⁶³ Okiviata okaatake okaatake iro nopampogiake okiviatanake tera onkonteatae.¹⁶⁴ Opegaenkatanake matsi iroro kontevageteroka anta.¹⁶⁵ Onti opegakara maimeroite.¹⁶⁶ Aryo anta kara otsonkataka hehe.¹⁶⁷

mother] said "it's your fault, it's your fault, your habit of eating- of eating people, that's why they killed him and hit him and grabbed him."¹²⁵ So she said to her, "mother I'll come back [to the house]- it's up to you," she said to her.¹²⁶ Then she came back.¹²⁷ Bit by bit, she came back down from where the eagle had made his nest, she came down bit by bit, her mother saw her arrive.¹²⁸ [Her mother] said to her, "so you came back."¹²⁹ "Yes I came back, your son-in-law [the eagle] is gone, he's lost."¹³⁰ She said to her, "it's your own fault for eating people, and now he's been killed."¹³¹ "That's right."¹³² So then she had her son.¹³³ He said to her, "mother," and then she ate her son, and came back empty-handed.¹³⁴ Since she ate humans, she ate her son.¹³⁵ Then she said, "OK, I'm going to bathe my brother."¹³⁶ [Her mother] said, "OK, go ahead."¹³⁷ She went to the river and bathed him 'tavong tavong tavong', then bit by bit she ate his head, everything, she ate his hand, his leg, until only the sole of his foot was left.¹³⁸ She said- her mother waited and waited, but she didn't come back, she didn't come back.¹³⁹ She said, "where- my daughter didn't come, what's going on?"¹⁴⁰ Perhaps she's eating her brother."¹⁴¹ She approached her quietly and saw her, holding the sole of his foot.¹⁴² She said, "now what are you going to do, you ate your brother."¹⁴³ She stared at her 'sorere'.¹⁴⁴ "What are you going to do, you've eaten him?"¹⁴⁵ "Let's go!"¹⁴⁶ She brought her to the house.¹⁴⁷ She brought her to the house, she said-¹⁴⁸ When her brother went hunting, [her mother said] "she doesn't eat monkey, she only wants to eat other people."¹⁴⁹ [The daughter] got angry and said to her [mother], "mother, let's go bathe."¹⁵⁰ They went [and she said] "let's go together so you can bathe."¹⁵¹ She thought, "perhaps she's going to bring me and then kill me," said her mother.¹⁵² "She might kill me, she might kill me."¹⁵³ She looked at her bathing, [her mother] was bathing down below and [the daughter] was bathing a bit further up.¹⁵⁴ She was bathing, and she dove in 'pokorokung', and she disappeared.¹⁵⁵ She called out "my daughter," and there was nothing, "my daughter," nothing.¹⁵⁶ She appeared downriver, there, in the place called Amishaete.¹⁵⁷ She came out a Mamerote [mythical female cannibalistic warrior], she came out a Mamerote.¹⁵⁸ She came out there, in the place where they kill each other.¹⁵⁹ She came out there.¹⁶⁰ [Her mother] waited for her but she didn't come out, "where might my

daughter have gone?"¹⁶¹ She went back and found her sons, and her son said to her, "where did you go, mother?"¹⁶² "No, I went to accompany your sister while she bathed, I said, I thought, 'perhaps she's going to kill me.'"¹⁶³ She was diving and bathing and bathing and suddenly I looked and she dove, and she didn't come back out.¹⁶⁴ She disappeared, surely she would have come out.¹⁶⁵ She turned into a maimeroite.¹⁶⁶ That's it, that's where [the story] ends, yes.¹⁶⁷

Appendix 2: Ukuku story

Told in Quechua by a member of Family 3, Yokiri, 4 November 2011. Spanish elements are underlined. Full interlinear glosses can be found at nqemlen.com/texts.

A ver riki kunan wiraqucha Nicolás Emlen, willasayki huk huk oveha michiqmantawan huk ukukumantawan.¹ Kay cuentoqa as karu karuyá kashan chayqa llapantachá willasayki riki.² A ver ñawpaq tiemposyá kasqa huk sipas, ovehata michisqa, askha ovehan kasqa lumapi.³ Chayqa riki hina michishan michishanyá chay sipasqa kasqañachá riki iskay chunka watayuña kashan.⁴ Entonces hinañataq huk maqtaqa ikhurusqa riki.⁵ Chay maqtaqa kasqa mana runachu sinoqa tukusqa runaman huk ukuku.⁶ montañamanta riki risqa ukuku chayqa.⁷ Runaman tukuspa riki risqa riki huk hoven maqtaqa, huk wayna maqta.⁸ Hinaqa riki p'asñaman riki sipasmanqa achhuykun chayqa.⁹ Parlapayan na amistadta ruwanku riki amiguta chayqa.¹⁰ Chayta ruwaspankuqa riki hinapiqa riki parlapayan hinapiqa pukllayman haykunku riki, "a ver pukllasunchis kunanqa, puñuy puñuypi" nispa riki chayqa riki.¹¹ "Ya" nispa nin.¹² Chayqa "a ver hinas q'ipi q'ipipi riki q'ipiwanki nuqataq puñusaq" nispa riki chayqa.¹³ Hinaqa riki, q'ipikun riki.¹⁴ Chayqa riki maqtaqa riki pawluchaqa riki payqa presentakusqa "nuqaq sutiya pawlucha" nispa chayqa.¹⁵ Pawluchaqa q'ipin riki p'asñataqa.¹⁶ Chayqa ch'usaq ch'usaqlata q'ipin riki p'asñataq ñak'ay riki q'ipin riki llasachá riki chayqa.¹⁷ Hina kashanku pukllashanku q'ipi q'ipipi q'ipi q'ipipi ña riki, iskay semanaña kinsa semanaña

Okay, Mr. Nicholas Emlen, I'm going to tell you about a shepherd and a bear.¹ This story is a bit long, so who knows if I'll tell you the whole thing.² Okay, long ago there was a girl who used to pasture sheep, she had a lot of sheep on the hilltop.³ So she was pasturing them and pasturing them, she must have been twenty years old.⁴ Then at that moment a young man appeared.⁵ The young man was not a person, rather he was a bear that had turned into a person.⁶ The bear was from the tropical forest.⁷ When he turned into a person, the young man went away.⁸ So at that point he went up to the girl.⁹ He spoke to her and they became friends.¹⁰ Once they did that, they talked like that, and they began to play, "okay, let's play 'sleep-sleep' now" he said.¹¹ "Okay," she said.¹² Then, "okay, you carry me on your back, and I'm going to sleep," he said.¹³ Then, she carried him.¹⁴ Then the boy, Pablito, introduced himself, "my name is Pablito" he said.¹⁵ Then Pablito carried the girl.¹⁶ Then the boy carried her as if she were light, and the girl carried [him] with difficulty, he must have weighed a lot.¹⁷ That's how they were playing, by carrying each other, by now two weeks, three weeks.¹⁸ He brought snacks, food so that they could eat, every day Pablito brought cooked corn with meat, parboiled beef, just the big ones.¹⁹ They ate that every day, the girl too,

chayqa.¹⁸ Quqawata riki apan riki mihunata mihunankupaq riki, sapa p'unchaw apan riki pawluchaqa apan chuqllu wayk'uta aychayuqta riki waka aycha t'inputa hatuchaqta riki.¹⁹ Chayta mihushanku riki sapa p'unchaw p'asñapas chay oveha michiqpis ña yachakapushañña riki.²⁰ Hinapiqa pukllashanku pukllashanku hinapiqa q'ipi q'ipipi.²¹ Huk p'unchawqa q'ipishaqtin puñurapusqa riki chay sipasqa, eh?²² Chayqa siku puñurapusqa q'ipinpi chayqa.²³ Rikch'arisqa rikch'arapusqa rikch'arapusqa may montaña ukhupiña montepi.²⁴ Ikhuripusqa riki qaqa mach'ay ukhupi riki, wasi hina kasqa qaqamanta riki chay ukhupi.²⁵ Ikhuripusqa chayqa "ay! imataq kunan kayta ruwakuni, shhhh!" nispa riki llak'isqa.²⁶ Hina riki tiyanku, tiyapunku ya bueno tiyapunku riki ña wataña kashan.²⁷ Chayqa riki wata partinña iskay wataña huk primer wawachanku kamun riki.²⁸ Wawachan riki kamushan riki chayqa riki, "sapa p'unchaw llank'amushani" nispa maytachá purin riki naqa riki pawluchaqa chayqa.²⁹ Tardinqa chayamun chuqllu q'ipintin waka aycha q'ipintin hinasyá hamushan eh payqa riki.³⁰ Chayqa riki mana ima ninpaschu llak'isqa hina kashan riki sipasqa ña wata masña.³¹ Chayqa ña iskay wataña kinsa wataña kashan chayqa hukmantaqa huk wawanku kallanpunitaq riki iskaychaña chaypis qharicha riki.³² Chayqa chaychakunapis sutin pawlucha chayqa hina.³³ Chayqa chikuchakunaqa ratu wiñashan, chikuchakunaqa cinturanmanta uraymanqa riki peluyuq kapun riki.³⁴ Cinturanmanta wichaymanqa q'alalla chayqa mamitanmantachá riki chay llusqishan riki chayqa.³⁵ Hina riki hatunchaña ña riki pisqa suqta watayuqña kashanku chikuchakuna riki.³⁶ Chayqa mamitanqa llakikun riki, llakikuqtinqa, nin riki mamitankuta, tapun "imamanta mamitay llakikunkirí?"³⁷ "Manan qankuna yachankichischu abuelayki abueloyki haqay karu llaqtapi."³⁸ Chayña willan riki khina khina karayku kaypi papayki ikhurichipuwán nispa riki.³⁹ Willan wawankunamanqa riki.⁴⁰ Chayqa nin riki pawluchakunaqa "hakuchu mamay rina watukuq abuelay watukuq riqsimusaqku" nispa riki.⁴¹ Chayqa nin "mana, papaykichá ayparamuspa sip'iruwasanman" nispa riki nin riki.⁴² "Maypis sip'iwasunmanrí?⁴³ Karaspa.⁴⁴ May tukuyisi kallpan kanman?" nispa riki.⁴⁵ Ña riki kashañña yaqaña kashanku ya kanchis pusaq watayuq imañachá kashañña yaqaña chunka watayuqpas riki.⁴⁶ "A ver tardeman chayamuqtin pukllapayasaqku a ver, si es que

and soon the shepherd was getting used to it.²⁰ That's how they played, "carry-carry".²¹ One day when he was carrying her, the girl fell asleep, you know?²² She fell fast asleep on his back.²³ She woke up somewhere deep in the forest.²⁴ There appeared inside a rock cave, it was like a house made of rock, there inside.²⁵ It appeared, "what have I done, shhhh" she said, sad.²⁶ So they lived there, let's see now, they lived there for a year by now.²⁷ Then after a year and a half or two years their first child appeared.²⁸ The baby was appearing, "I'm working every day" he said, where does [Pablito] go?²⁹ He arrives in the afternoon with his load of corn and his load of beef, and that's how he comes.³⁰ She didn't say anything to him, the girl was sad, by now for more than a year.³¹ Then after two or three years another of their children was born, by now there were two little boys.³² So they also [gave] him the name "Pablito."³³ Then the boys grew up fast, the boys had hair from their waists down.³⁴ From their waists up they didn't have hair, [that part] must have come from their mother.³⁵ So they were big, the kids were five or six years old.³⁶ Their mother was sad, and when she got sad they said, they asked their mother, "mother, why are you sad?"³⁷ "You don't know, your grandmother, your grandfather, they are in a far-away place."³⁸ So she told [them], "we were like this and like that, your father kidnapped me and brought me here."³⁹ She told her children.⁴⁰ Then the Pablitos said, "let's go mother, to go visit my grandmother, we'll meet her" they said.⁴¹ She said, "no, if your father catches up with us, he might kill us."⁴² [They said], "what do you mean he'll kill us?⁴³ Damn!⁴⁴ How much strength could he have?" they said.⁴⁵ By then they were almost seven or eight years old, almost ten years old.⁴⁶ "Let's see, when he arrives in the afternoon we'll play with him, and let's see, if we beat him, we'll go."⁴⁷ If we don't beat him, then we won't."⁴⁸ In the afternoon Pablo arrived, very tired, shhhh.⁴⁹ Then they began to play around with their father, and the beat their father, you know?⁵⁰ Then their mother [said], "ay, these children of mine might be able to free me."⁵¹ Their mother was happy.⁵² Then they told their mother, "now tell my father, 'from living in one place I'm very skinny, totally skinny."⁵³ Bring me a calf that doesn't have any white on it, completely black, nice and fat, where flies don't land."⁵⁴ They said, "tell my father", they taught her.⁵⁵ Those boys must have been intelligent, with good

vencirusaqku chayqa, ripusunchis.⁴⁷ Mana vencisaqkuchu chayqa mana."⁴⁸ Tardinta chayamun pawluqa riki, sayk'usqa riki, shhhh.⁴⁹ Chayqa pukllapayayta qallarinku riki papankutaqa, vencirapunku eh papankuta.⁵⁰ Chayqa mamitan kunan "ay kay wawaykuna icha librawanmanchu kanpas" nispa riki.⁵¹ Kusikun mamitankuqa riki.⁵² Chayqa mamitankuta nin riki "kunan papayta ninki 'khayna kay huk hawallapi tiyaspaymi tullullaña kashani flaca total."⁵³ Huk maltonata apamuway mana imachanpi yuraqchayuyta yana ch'illuta allin wirata mana ch'uspiyas taqllananta" nispa riki.⁵⁴ Nispa "ninki papayta" nispa riki, yacharachinku riki.⁵⁵ Inteligentechá kashanku chikuchakuna allin yachaysapa chayqa.⁵⁶ Tutamantanqa nin riki "yaw khayna yasta debilmi total kashani wañupusaqchu hina."⁵⁷ Alimentakunaypaq apamuway wakata huk kinsa watayuq maltata mana imachanpi yuraqchayuyta yana ch'illuta maltata allin wirata ch'uspiyas tiyanqas mana taqllanqachu anchayta" nisqa.⁵⁸ "Ya" nispa.⁵⁹ Chayqa kasukuqsiyá chayqa waka maskhaq tutamantanqa siqayun riki pawluqa riki.⁶⁰ Ñachá calculashankuña riki chayqa.⁶¹ Punku kasqa riki rumimanta qaqamanta riki.⁶² Chayta hukta khakaspanku wikapanku wayqu wayquman riki, carajo!⁶³ Chayqa mamitankuwan siqayapunku 'toqqqqqqq' maytachá llusqiyunku riki.⁶⁴ Lomamanta lomamanta ssssss tirankuyá.⁶⁵ Phawashaspalla pawlutaqsi mana wakata tariyta atinchu.⁶⁶ Huk tropaman lomapi chayan achhuykun tullu yuraqniyuq ch'unpiyuq.⁶⁷ Mana tarin kanpas hinaspa mana mana wirachu riki, tullu kashan riki shhhh.⁶⁸ Hukman chayan hukman chayan mana.⁶⁹ Ñak'ayta tarin tardetaña eh, casináchá riki las tres anchay tardetaña tarin chayqa wakata hap'ispa carajo!⁷⁰ Kunkanta q'iwispa wañuspa tirachimun riki q'ipipi riki shhhh chay karaspa!⁷¹ Wasiman chayamun riki "pucha" mana kapusqakuchu riki.⁷² Punkuta wakarparispa wikapasqaku chayqa.⁷³ Wakata wikapaspa pucha yupinmanta- kamayá.⁷⁴ Chay huk q'inticha riki phawasqa riki p'asñaman "ay carajo!⁷⁵ Piqpa maypa nanchá qharinchá tiramushan kunan?⁷⁶ Huk q'asataña wasaparamushan ña riki."⁷⁷ Naqa riki warmiqa riki wawankunawan iskay iskay q'asataña wasapan riki chay kaqtachá mayta pusanakuranku shhhh.⁷⁸ Chayqa riki huk cuestataña q'asaman rinankupaq kinsa q'asaman wasapananku.⁷⁹ "Pucha" q'intiqa nishan "pichá maychá kunallanmi ayparamusunkichis?"

memory.⁵⁶ In the morning she said, "hey, I'm totally weak, I think I'm going to die."⁵⁷ Bring me a cow so I can feed myself, a three-year old calf that doesn't have any white on it, a purely black calf, and good and fat, where flies land but don't stay, like that" she said.⁵⁸ "Okay," he said.⁵⁹ He was very obedient, so in the morning Pablo went to look for the cow.⁶⁰ At this point they must have already been calculating [their escape].⁶¹ The door was made of rock and stone.⁶² They pulled it off in one go and threw it into the ditch, damn!⁶³ Then they went with their mother 'toqqqqqqq' [running sound], where might they be going?⁶⁴ They ran from the hilltop.⁶⁵ Pablo couldn't find a cow as he ran around.⁶⁶ He approached a herd on a hilltop, but they were skinny with white and brown.⁶⁷ He couldn't find any fat ones, they were all skinny shhhh!⁶⁸ He came to one, he came up to another, nothing.⁶⁹ With great difficulty he found one in the afternoon, it must have already been almost three in the afternoon, and he grabbed the cow, damn!⁷⁰ After killing it by snapping its neck, he brought it on his back, shhhh damn!⁷¹ He arrived at the house, "damn," there was nobody there.⁷² They had torn off the door and thrown it aside.⁷³ Throwing away the cow, damn, [he went] after their footprints.⁷⁴ A hummingbird flew toward the girl [and said], "ay damn!⁷⁵ Whose, whose what's-it-called, husband is running towards us?⁷⁶ He's already crossing over a mountain pass."⁷⁷ What's-her-name, the woman, with her children, had already passed two mountain passes, they kept on going to the next one together shhhh.⁷⁸ Then they walked all the way to a pass, and crossed over three passes.⁷⁹ "Damn" the hummingbird said, "who's that, where [is he coming from], he's about to catch up with you" said the hummingbird.⁸⁰ When they looked back, he was already catching up quickly, you know?⁸¹ Then the two of her children waited, "mamá, you have to keep on running.⁸² We're going to get our father now," they said, damn.⁸³ Then, damn, their mother climbed up, and arriving at the pass she looked out from there.⁸⁴ Her children said, "if blue smoke appears, then in that moment you'll be sad.⁸⁵ If red smoke appears, then in that moment, mother, you'll be happy," they said.⁸⁶ "Okay, sounds good."⁸⁷ She looked and the blue smoke was beginning to rise, shhhh.⁸⁸ "Ay, now he's probably going to kill his children."⁸⁹ She continued climbing and she was already on the far side of the pass, when once again she saw red smoke, you

nispas q'intichaqa riki.⁸⁰ Qhawarikunku chayqa ñachá hinataña tiraramushasqa eh?⁸¹ Chayqa suyanku riki caray iskaynin wawankunaqa riki "mamá iskapashallankipuni.⁸² Nuqayku kunan hap'isaqku kunan carajo papaytaqa" nispa pucha riki.⁸³ Chayqa riki carajo mamitankuqa wichay kashan riki siqapaspa q'asamanña chaysi qhawarikamun chayqa.⁸⁴ Nisqa riki wawankunaqa riki, "azul q'usñi sayarimunqa chayqa chay pachaqa llakikunki.⁸⁵ Puka q'usñilla sayarimunqa chay pachaqa mamá kusikunki" nispa riki.⁸⁶ "Ya, listo."⁸⁷ Qhawarimun chayqa yaqaqa yaqalla azul q'usñi sayarimushasqa eh shhhh.⁸⁸ "Ay kunanqa wañurachinqapaschá wawankunata chaysi."⁸⁹ Siqayshallan yasta q'asa wasapiña hukta qhawarikamun chayqa puka q'usmi, eh?⁹⁰ Chay contenido "ay chayqa wawaykuna salvawanqa" nispa riki.⁹¹ Chayqa hukta wasapanasqalla [inaudible] ya chay iskapashan tirashallan chayqa wawankuna q'ipanta ayparunku eh?⁹² Ya está cercaña riki mamitanpa wasinman riki abueloq wasinman chayqa hukta mayutaña chayayushankutaq kaqmanta chayqa.⁹³ Ñas riki tardeyukushanña eh?⁹⁴ Chayqa iskay iskay p'unchay huq tuta purisiyá riki maytachá karuta riki aparanku chayqa hina.⁹⁵ Yaqaña chayashaqtinqa huqmanta q'inti phawasqa eh shhhh.⁹⁶ "Ay piqpa maypa qusanchá kunan kawsarimuspa kunan tiramushan kunan.⁹⁷ Ayparamusunkichis" nispa nin "chaytañan tiramushan."⁹⁸ Qhawarikun chayqa haqayninta wasapayamushan justos chayansi riki mamitanpa papanpa wasinman riki.⁹⁹ Chayqa waqaspa hap'inku chayqa.¹⁰⁰ Pawluchakunaqa chikuchakunaqa nin riki "kayqa unuta t'inpuchina unuta t'inpuchina" nispa unutas t'inpuchinku hatun hatun kasqa riki.¹⁰¹ Sierrapi kan hatun aqha ruwananku raki anchaypi hunt'ata hatun rakipi.¹⁰² Chayqa "chaypi pasayachina" nispa, "chaypi ñit'irusunchis hukta carajo unu t'inpuman tiyarachisunchis" nispa "chaypi wañupunanpaq" nisqa.¹⁰³ Aphantas unuta t'inpuchin kunanqa.¹⁰⁴ Chaysi chayaramun riki pawlITUqa allin runasyá na hoven pucha allin p'achayuq decente pues pucha riki.¹⁰⁵ "Pasaykamuy" dicen pues "pasaykamuy," tiyayachinku k'uchuchapi hatun allin banca pataman aqnata riki.¹⁰⁶ Llikllawan tapayuspankusyá sumaqta.¹⁰⁷ Chayqa "papá, chaychapi tiyaykuy" iskaynintaq kashan "nit'irusayki" nispa.¹⁰⁸ Plaaaa!¹⁰⁹ Pasayapusqa unu t'inpuyawapusa riki totalta.¹¹⁰ Chayqa chikuchakuna riki wiñan riki chay comunidadpi maypichá riki, abuelonpa llaqtanpi riki.¹¹¹

know?⁹⁰ [She was] happy, "ay, so my children are going to save me" she said.⁹¹ Then at once she climbed up [inaudible], she ran and escaped, and her children were catching up with her.⁹² She was already close to her mother's house, to her grandfather's house, then they arrived at a river again.⁹³ It was already getting late, you know?⁹⁴ Then they say it's a two days' and one night's walk, they were going far away.⁹⁵ When they were about to arrive, the hummingbird flew up to them again, you know, shhhh.⁹⁶ "Ay, whose husband is that, now he's revived and he's running.⁹⁷ "He's going to catch up with you" [the hummingbird] said, "he's already running there."⁹⁸ She looked out there he was climbing to the top [of the pass] just as she arrived at her mother and father's house.⁹⁹ They were crying when they grabbed [the mother].¹⁰⁰ The Pablitos, the kids said "you have to boil water, you have to boil water!" they said, then they boiled the water, a lot of it.¹⁰¹ In the highlands they have a big pot to make chicha, in that big pot, it was full.¹⁰² Then [they said], "we'll make him come in he said, "we'll crush him for once and for all, damn, we'll make him sit in the boiling water" he said, "so that he'll die," he said.¹⁰³ They quickly boiled the water.¹⁰⁴ Then Pablito arrived, a real gentleman, well dressed, decent, damn.¹⁰⁵ "Come in," they said, "come in," and they seated him in the corner on a large bench.¹⁰⁶ They covered [the pot] nicely with a lliklla.¹⁰⁷ Then [they said], "father, sit right there," the two of them were there, "we're going to crush you!" they said.¹⁰⁸ Splash!¹⁰⁹ He fell into the water and died, completely.¹¹⁰ Then the kids grew up in that community, wherever it was, in their grandfather's town.¹¹¹ Then a priest came, a priest.¹¹² We'll get them married- I mean, we'll baptize them.¹¹³ But nobody wanted to be their godfather because from the waist down they had a lot of hair, the two of them.¹¹⁴ So the woman told the priest everything, "that's how it happened," she said.¹¹⁵ The priest accepted to be their godfather and he baptized them, so he had the two little kids as his godsons.¹¹⁶ Then one of them died, I don't know what might have happened.¹¹⁷ There was just one left living, just one Pablito left.¹¹⁸ The boy was twelve years old by then.¹¹⁹ So they put him in the school and they played, and he fought and punched them, and the boy killed his classmates, damn!¹²⁰ Then his mother, with sadness, handed him over to his godfather, to the priest, she took them to the priest, to their godfather,

Chayqa huk cura hamusqa riki padre.¹¹² Chayqa "kaytaqa kasarachisunchá- riki, bautizachisunchá" nispas nin riki.¹¹³ Mana pipas munankuchu padrino kayta porque cinturanmanta urayman kasqa pelo riki llapan iskayninas.¹¹⁴ Chayrayku chayqa willakun riki padreman qalata riki naqa warmiqa "qayna qayna pasashayku" nispa.¹¹⁵ Padre aceptasqa padrino kayta chayqa riki bautizachin ya, ahijadochankuna riki iskaycha kashan chikuchakuna.¹¹⁶ Chayqa hina riki hukninqa wañupusqa, no sé imachá pasapuran riki.¹¹⁷ Hukllaña kawsaña hukllaña kawsan pawlucha riki chayqa.¹¹⁸ Ña chikucha kashan chunka iskayniyuq wataña.¹¹⁹ Chayqa escuelamansi churanku chayqa escuelapi pukllanku [t'inkasu] t'inkan riki oh saqman wañurqarichipun chikuchakunata eh compañerokunata pucha.¹²⁰ Chayqa llakikuypi riki mamitan padrinoman entregapun riki padreman riki cura cura apapun anchay padrinoman chayqa pay edukashan chayqa.¹²¹ Chayqaq inteligentesyá ratulla yachan carajo oh!¹²² Hina ya está jovenña kashan ya está quince años, veinte años.¹²³ Chhaynasyá huk ratu pukllaq rin hukta tanqarparin huktañaq wañuchin askhataña wañuchipusqa.¹²⁴ "Imata kunan kaytari ruwasqa?"¹²⁵ Askha runa deben riki cura riki llaqtantinpi.¹²⁶ "Ah" pensan riki, "imata kunan kayta ruwasqa?"¹²⁷ Ya.¹²⁸ Kunanqa ordenasqa torreman siqaspa campanata tocamuchun.¹²⁹ Chayqa qhipanta rinqa kunan na" askha runata yachachin riki yaqa iskay chunka runata hovichakunata "rinkichis" nispa "qhipanman tanqayamuychis pampaman chayamuspa wañupunanpaq" nispa riki.¹³⁰ "Ya."¹³¹ "Hijo, kunanqa campanata tokamunki altupi misapaq" nispa.¹³² "Ya padrino."¹³³ Siqaspa tocamushan 'taran taran'.¹³⁴ Chay runakunas siqarunku hap'ispa 'pam' tanqayamunku yaqachallamanta tanqaramusqaku pucha chikachallanmanta.¹³⁵ Chayqa [kutiriramuspa chanqarampusqa] runakunata wakillanña iskapamusqa riki ay caramba.¹³⁶ "Padrino, chay runakuna tokashaqtiy wichamusqa, yaqalla tanqayawanku, wikch'uyamuni pampaman, carajo."¹³⁷ "Ay, para qué lo has hecho ahijado" nispa.¹³⁸ Lluqsimun padre qhawan chay "ah" chaypi yaqa chunka runakuna wañusqa kapushan pampapi riki.¹³⁹ Masña askhaña runa debeshan eh, tsk.¹⁴⁰ Ya.¹⁴¹ Chayqa chaymantaqa hina kasqa a ver a ver "ima nasaq kayri ahijaduytari karaspa shhhh."¹⁴² Chayyá.¹⁴³ Ninñataq riki "kunan hijo sanqunta t'uquchimunki ukhuta kay askha runakunawan"

and he educated them.¹²¹ They say he was very intelligent, he learned quickly, damn!¹²² So by now he was a young man, already fifteen years old, twenty years old.¹²³ So they said he went to play for a bit and he pushed one child and killed another, he killed a lot of them.¹²⁴ "What am I going to do with him?"¹²⁵ The priest owed a lot of people all over town.¹²⁶ "Ah," he thought, "what am I going to do with him?"¹²⁷ Okay.¹²⁸ I'll order him to go up the belltower [of the church] and ring the bell.¹²⁹ Then they'll go after him," he instructed around twenty young men, "you'll go and push him from behind when you get there, so that he falls onto the pampa and dies."¹³⁰ "Okay" [they said].¹³¹ "My son, now go up and ring the bell for mass" he said.¹³² "Okay, godfather."¹³³ He climbed up he rang it, 'taran taran'.¹³⁴ The men climbed up and grabbed him and pushed him 'pam', and they almost pushed him off, damn, just by a little bit.¹³⁵ Then when he turned around he threw them off, only some of them escaped, damn.¹³⁶ Godfather, when I climbed up when I rang [the bell], those men almost pushed me off, and I threw them to the ground, damn."¹³⁷ "Ay, what did you do that for, my godson?" [the priest] said.¹³⁸ The priest came out and looked, "ah," and there were around ten men dead on the ground.¹³⁹ Now he owed even more people, tsk.¹⁴⁰ Right.¹⁴¹ So then that's how it was, "I mean, what am I going to do with my godson, damn, shhhh."¹⁴² That's right.¹⁴³ So then he said "son, you're going to dig a deep hole with a lot of men", he said.¹⁴⁴ "You're going to make it fifty meters deep" he said.¹⁴⁵ "You'll watch the men and make them work."¹⁴⁶ "Okay godfather."¹⁴⁷ Around twenty or thirty men were working there, they were digging and he was watching.¹⁴⁸ The boy watched them, "it's good, it's good, ah?"¹⁴⁹ It went deeper and deeper, twenty meters, thirty meters, forty-five meters shhhh.¹⁵⁰ The priest came too [and said], "yes, you just have to go a bit further.¹⁵¹ You're managing the men well, my son [inaudible]."¹⁵² "Okay, padrino."¹⁵³ Then he instructed [the men] "when he's looking there, push him so that he dies", he said.¹⁵⁴ Then almost at fifty meters, "boy, go look and see how much is left," he said.¹⁵⁵ So [he said], "aha, damn, there's some left there in that corner," he said.¹⁵⁶ Then all at once they ran and pushed him, you know?¹⁵⁷ They almost pushed him in, damn shhhh.¹⁵⁸ Then he came out and grabbed them and threw them in the hole, and only a few of them escaped.¹⁵⁹ He didn't die.¹⁶⁰ "Ay," his godfather,

nispa riki.¹⁴⁴ "Pampata kapuchin riki ukhuta cincuenta metros alturasta" nispa.¹⁴⁵ "Qan qhawanki chayta llank'achinki runakunatayá." ¹⁴⁶ "Ya, padrino." ¹⁴⁷ Runakuna yaqa iskay kinsa chunka runa chaypi llank'ashanku riki t'uquyushanku chayqa pay qhawashan.¹⁴⁸ Niñucha qhawapayakun, "aha está bien está bien ah?" ¹⁴⁹ Chay ukhuña ukhuña ya está kashan ña veinte metrosña treinta metrosña cuarenta y cinco metros shhhh.¹⁵⁰ Kurapas hamun riki "aha chikallantaña yapayunkichis allinta." ¹⁵¹ Allinta controlanki hijo [inaudible] runakuna." ¹⁵² "Ya padrino." ¹⁵³ Chayqa chaymanta yachachin riki "anchaypi qhawashaqtin tanqayunkichis chaypi wañuchipunapaq" nispa.¹⁵⁴ Chayqa ña riki yaqaña cincuenta metros, "niñucha qhawaripakuy imanmi faltashan" nispa.¹⁵⁵ Chayqa riki "aha pucha haqay k'uchupiraq faltan" nispa.¹⁵⁶ Hukta phawaripa tanqayunku eh? ¹⁵⁷ Yaqachallamanta tanqayullasqakutaq eh shhhh pucha carajo.¹⁵⁸ Chay kutiriramun hap'ispa chanqayapun t'uquman wakillanña iskapallankutaq riki.¹⁵⁹ Mana wañunchu.¹⁶⁰ "Ay," llakisqa riki padrino riki kuraqa kashan.¹⁶¹ "Kunan imata kayta ruwasaq?" ¹⁶² [inaudible] Askhaña runa debipun riki, uy.¹⁶³ Chayqa noticiata uyarin riki chayamun periodicopichá imapichá riki kuraq makinman maypichá huq lado país maypichá riki huk condenado tuqumpushasqa runata mihuspa condenakapusqa riki.¹⁶⁴ Huk kura masillantaq huk kura wañupusqa askha wata.¹⁶⁵ Chayqa chayta yachasqa riki "pucha" entonces "kaypi mihumuchun carajo" nispas.¹⁶⁶ Chayqa nin riki "hijo haqay tal paispin rinki llank'apakuq." ¹⁶⁷ Chaypin llank'amunki chaypin llank'ana kashan qanpaq pagamusunki" nispas.¹⁶⁸ "Ya padrino listo encantado." ¹⁶⁹ "Mihunata apakunki" nispa riki.¹⁷⁰ Kinsa mulapi riki churayun mihunata cesinata pan- t'antata imakunatayá riki.¹⁷¹ Huq mulataqmi sillanpaq, tawa mula.¹⁷² "Huk killa hunt'an chayanki chay llaqtamansi." ¹⁷³ "Ya listo padrino normal." ¹⁷⁴ Mana payqa manchakunchu.¹⁷⁵ Pero askhatasyá mihuy eh pucha hatun mankakunapi riki.¹⁷⁶ Chayqa alistayapun llapachanta riki mihunakunata kamata uqutatapis churayapusqa ferromanta [inaudible] bastonyá anky bastón [inaudible].¹⁷⁷ "Rinki [inaudible] rinki." ¹⁷⁸ "Ya padrino." ¹⁷⁹ Chayqa riki siqayukun riki chay llaqtata chay rishan rishan mihun mihun iskay p'unchay kinsa p'unchay tawa p'unchay semanaña iskay semanantinpiqa pisichallaña mihunanqa kashan "ay carajo imata kunan

the priest, was sad.¹⁶¹ "What am I going to do with him now?" ¹⁶² [inaudible] He was in debt to a lot of people, uy.¹⁶³ Then he heard the news, [the news] came to the priest's hands perhaps in the newspaper or in something else, that somewhere in some place or country, who knows where, a condenado was eating people, and cursing them.¹⁶⁴ A fellow priest had died many years ago.¹⁶⁵ He found out about that [and said] "damn," then "damn, let him come eat here [i.e. the boy], damn" he said.¹⁶⁶ So he said, "son, you'll go to that place in order to work." ¹⁶⁷ You'll work there, there's work there, and they're going to pay you" he said.¹⁶⁸ "Okay, godfather, sounds great." ¹⁶⁹ "Bring food," he said.¹⁷⁰ He loaded food onto three mules, dried meat, bread- bread, everything.¹⁷¹ And another mule for his saddle, four mules.¹⁷² "You'll travel for a whole month to that place." ¹⁷³ "Okay, sounds good godfather, no problem." ¹⁷⁴ He wasn't afraid.¹⁷⁵ But damn, he ate a lot, in big pots.¹⁷⁶ So he prepared everything, his food and his bed, he put on his sandals [in audible] a metal staff.¹⁷⁷ "Go [inaudible], go" [said the priest].¹⁷⁸ "Okay godfather." ¹⁷⁹ Then he traveled toward that town, going and going and eating and eating, two days, three days, four days, the whole week, two whole weeks, and he was running out of food, "damn, what am I going to do?" ¹⁸⁰ There was no more food, damn, he was only eating a little bit.¹⁸¹ It was like that for two or three weeks, damn, there was no food left.¹⁸² "Damn, I'll eat my mule" [he said, and then] he finally ate one of his mules.¹⁸³ Then at that point there were only three mules.¹⁸⁴ Then he ate another mule, and after two days [inaudible], damn.¹⁸⁵ And over the next three weeks he finished off the rest [of the mules], he ate the others until there was only one mule left.¹⁸⁶ Then some people came.¹⁸⁷ "Where are you going, my friend?" ¹⁸⁸ "I'm going to that town in order to work," he said.¹⁸⁹ "You shouldn't work there, my friend, we're all escaping from there." ¹⁹⁰ The condenado is eating everyone there.¹⁹¹ He might eat us as well, so we're escaping" they said.¹⁹² "What do you mean the condenado is going to eat us, damn, let's go" he said.¹⁹³ "Well, anyway, he won't eat me" he said.¹⁹⁴ He made three men return [with him], and [soon] they were close.¹⁹⁵ They had also brought food and supplies, and I don't know where they must have slept that night, they ate the rest of the remaining mule.¹⁹⁶ They were hungry, and at dawn they continued once again.¹⁹⁷ It was the province of [Chuqu], there

ruwasaq?"¹⁸⁰ Manataq mihuna kanñachu pucha pisillataña mihushan riki.¹⁸¹ Hinamantaqa hukmantaqa riki iskay kinsa semanamanña chhaynataña pucha mana kanchu.¹⁸² Caramba mulaytayá mihupusaq al final hukninta huknin mulanta mihupun wakinta shhhh.¹⁸³ Chay ya está kinsallaña mula.¹⁸⁴ Ya huq mulata mihupullantaq riki iskay p'unchay chayqa [inaudible] pucha.¹⁸⁵ Ña kinsa semana tukuyapushañña huk kaqkunata kaq mihullantaq hukchallaña mulacha.¹⁸⁶ Chayqa runakuna hamushasqaku riki.¹⁸⁷ "Mayta papay rishanki?"¹⁸⁸ "Chay llaqtata rishani llank'apakuq" nispa.¹⁸⁹ "Manan papá llank'awaqchu q'ala iskapamushayku riki.¹⁹⁰ Condenadon chaypiqa runata q'alata mihupushan.¹⁹¹ Mihumuwasunmanchá chaypi iskapakushayku" nispa.¹⁹² "Maypin mihuwasunman condenadori carajo, haku" nispa riki.¹⁹³ "Bueno ya manan nuqataqa mihuanqachu" nispa.¹⁹⁴ Kinsa runata kutichin riki cercallaña kasqa riki.¹⁹⁵ Chayqa paykunapis viveresta apakamusqaku chayqa kachakunata [maypichá] tutata puñunku chayqa huqnin mula puchuntayá mihuyapunku riki.¹⁹⁶ Yarqaypi chayqa paqariqinqa huqmanta siqayapullankutaq.¹⁹⁷ [Chuqu] llaqta kasqa riki provincia riki chaypi q'ala runa iskapakusqakuña.¹⁹⁸ Chay saqiyapusqaku q'ala tiendakuna llapa animalkuna llapan pucha chay condenado mihupushasqa karan q'alata chayta manchakuspanku.¹⁹⁹ Chayqa tarden yaqa las tresta chayanmi chay llaqtaman riki.²⁰⁰ [inaudible] Lliwtasyá willan mihushanmi "mana mihuwasunchu karasmi."²⁰¹ Chayqa kikin casa curalpi suyan riki kaypin wasin curan condenakapun nispa riki.²⁰² Shhhh caramba ya tiendakunatas haykunku chayqa hina wisq'ayusqa kashan riki hinaspa urqumuspas wayk'uyusqa wallpakunapas kashanchá riki.²⁰³ Animalkuna lliwta sip'iyuspa mihuyunku allinta riki "allintapuni kaypi suyasunchisyá."²⁰⁴ Chay bastonninpas kedasqa aqnacharaq riki mana tukusqachu uqutanpas kasqaraq mana tukusqachu riki.²⁰⁵ Chayqa cerca a las cuatro las cincotas haykumun eh chay curvanta pe 'shak'.²⁰⁶ Chayqa primertas haykumun uman riki qhawashan karaspas "imataq kayri" nispa hatun asi.²⁰⁷ Chaymantaqa haykumun kwerpunñataqsi haykumun pedazo por pedazo riki.²⁰⁸ Chaymantaqa haykumun makin chakin chaymantaqa hunt'a kapun qhawashansi "carajo kayri" nispa.²⁰⁹ Chayqa hatarirparin eh condenaduqa hatun kasqa riki carajo.²¹⁰ Pucha hap'insi pawluchata eh shhhh

all of the people had already fled.¹⁹⁸ They had left behind all of their stores and all of their animals, the condenado had eaten everyone and everyone was afraid of him.¹⁹⁹ Then in the afternoon, at around three o'clock, they arrived at the town.²⁰⁰ [inaudible] They told him that he's eating everyone, [but he said] "he won't eat us, damn!"²⁰¹ So he waited for [the condenado] in the very rectory where the [other] priest had been cursed.²⁰² Shhhh, damn, they entered the locked stores and the took food and cooked, there must have been chickens as well.²⁰³ They killed all the animals so they could eat a lot, "we can wait here."²⁰⁴ He still had his staff, and his sandals were still in good shape, they were still there, they hadn't worn out.²⁰⁵ Then around four or five o'clock he entered the curve, 'shak!'²⁰⁶ First his head entered, he was look, "what's this?" he was big, like this [gestures].²⁰⁷ Then his body entered, piece by piece.²⁰⁸ Then his hands and feet entered, then he was complete, and he looked around and said "damn, [look at] this," he said.²⁰⁹ Then the condenado stood up, and he was big, damn.²¹⁰ Damn, he grabbed Pablito shhhh in order to eat him, and they fought very hard.²¹¹ [Pablito], kicking him, lifed the condenado way up high, also punching him, and he sent Pablito into the corner, and he couldn't do anything.²¹² And they fought, really hard.²¹³ Then at midnight, "okay", they rested, "okay."²¹⁴ They sat down, "bring me some water" and they brought him water and they drank it "shhh", they were thirsty.²¹⁵ Then once again, damn, they began to fight again.²¹⁶ Around three o'clock, four o'clock, the condenado was finally about to beat Pablito, damn.²¹⁷ By now the people were helping him, "damn, he might beat him."²¹⁸ Damn, by now [he had him by] the neck, he wasn't kicking him up in the air as much by now, that was it, damn.²¹⁹ At three in the morning, the condenado had fallen to the ground, "waa!"²²⁰ "You'll end up with all of that money, hey friend, you've saved me, and the money was cursing me."²²¹ And he showed him the room full of money, it was up to here [gestures].²²² "I'm going to leave all of it for you," he said.²²³ Then he threw [the condenado] on the ground, and a dove came out and flew up into the air.²²⁴ Only then did Pablito sit down damn he was tired, [inaudible], damn.²²⁵ Then that day they rested.²²⁶ There was a lot of money in the room it was full, shhhh.²²⁷ The priest had collected it, damn, that's how it was.²²⁸ He had exhausted his strength, he didn't have as much strength as

mihunanpaq riki huktas maqanakunku gravetas.²¹¹ Huktas hayt'aspa altomanraq [uqarin] condenadutaqa chay saqmaspapas k'uchumanraq pawluchataqa mana ima nanpaschu eh mana ima nanpaschu.²¹² Chaysi maqanakuyunku ya está graveta.²¹³ Chayqa medianoche "ya," samayunku eh "ya."²¹⁴ Tiyanku chayqa "unuta haywamuwaychis" unuta haywarinku aqnata tumarunku 'shhhh' ch'akipi riki.²¹⁵ Chaymantaqa kaqmanta karaspas maqanakullankutaq.²¹⁶ Yaqa las tres las cuatro yaqa yaqaqa yaqaña venceyta munashan pawluchata condenado eh carajo pucha ay!²¹⁷ Chay runakunapas yanapashankuña riki "pucha vencirunqapaschá" kunanqa riki shhhh.²¹⁸ Pucha ya está kunkamantaña manaña hayt'aspa ancha uqarinñachu ya está shhhh pucha.²¹⁹ Tres de la mañana kunparparikapusqa condenaduqa pampapi riki "waa."²²⁰ "Llapan kay qulqiwanmi kedanki, oye amigo kunan salvawanki kay qulqi condenawasharan" nispa.²²¹ Qulqita qhawayachisqa cuartupi hunt'ata así eh.²²² "Kaytan llapanta saqipusayki" nispa.²²³ Chaysi kunparparikun chaysi llusirapusqa paloma siqayapusqa altoman palomachallaña chayqa riki.²²⁴ Chayraqsi pawlituqa sayk'usqa tiyarparin pucha [inaudible].²²⁵ Chay chayqa chay p'unchay samanku riki.²²⁶ Qulqi riki kasqa askha cuartupi, hunt'apuniyá shhhh.²²⁷ Chay qulqita huñuran riki cura karaspas mmm chayqa hinaryá.²²⁸ Chayqa chaypi kallpan tukukapusqa mana kallpan kasqachu ñawpaq hinachu pisillaña kapusqa kallpan.²²⁹ Huk allin wayna runaq kallpan anchhayna hinallaña kasqa riki kallpan chayqa.²³⁰ Iskay semana kasqaku chayqa q'ala runakuna yachasqaku chayqa chay runa- kinsa runa pasaqkunata "phaway willamuy kutimpuchunku.²³¹ Ya kaypi tiyachunku q'ala nuqa kunan kaypi tiyasaq" nisqa chayqa.²³² Rin riki chayqa kutimpunku q'ala kutiyampunku q'ala riki chayqa hukmanta chay llaqta kutimpunku chayqa pay salvapun chayta riki.²³³ Chaysi kutimun riki huqmanta mulakunapi carga- qulqitas cargayakamun askhata riki.²³⁴ Chay llaqtapi karanchá mulakuna chaykuna astaña chunka iskayniyuq mulapis carajo.²³⁵ Qulqita cargayamun riki mulapi chayqa.²³⁶ Kutimun chay kinsa chay kinsa runakunataq mana kacharinchu.²³⁷ "Qan kanki wayqiykunan amigoykuna chayqa manan qankunawan kutiyasunchis."²³⁸ [inaudible] kay qulqita apaysiway kay mulapi.²³⁹ Padrinuymi askha runa deben chaymanta qulqita pagapuchun chay runakunaman.²⁴⁰

he had before, he only had a little strength left.²²⁹ He used to have the strength of a strong young man.²³⁰ They had been there for two weeks, and all the men found out, and they told men- three men, "run and tell everyone to come back."²³¹ Okay, now everyone should come back and live here, I'm going to live here," he said.²³² He went, and everyone came back, everyone, they all came back to that town once again, he had saved them.²³³ He came back once again with mules carrying the money, a lot of it.²³⁴ In that town there must have been a lot of mules, he went on twelve mules, damn.²³⁵ He carried the money by mule.²³⁶ Then the three men came back, and they didn't want to let him go.²³⁷ "You are our brother, our friend, so no, we're going to return with you."²³⁸ [inaudible] help me carry this money on the mules.²³⁹ My godfather owes a lot of people, so he should pay the money to those people.²⁴⁰ When I was playing with their animals, I killed a lot of them.²⁴¹ So I'm bringing the money so that he can pay for that."²⁴² "Okay young man, okay friend," they said, they said.²⁴³ Then he carried the money on the twelve mules, he went back, and arrived there.²⁴⁴ His godfather, the priest, had already found out, "damn, Pablito killed the condenado there and saved everyone, shhhh."²⁴⁵ "Now will he come back, I wonder" he thought, saying to himself. ²⁴⁶ "It's almost been almost two months." ²⁴⁷ "Papá, good morning."²⁴⁸ "Hello, how are you my son, how are you? How's the work?"²⁴⁹ "Oh, excellent" he said.²⁵⁰ "I brought money, like this.²⁵¹ Father, pay everyone for all those people I killed.²⁵² Will this be enough, or not?"²⁵³ His godfather [inaudible] all the money, "uy damn."²⁵⁴ You see?²⁵⁵ Good job, son," he said.²⁵⁶ Then he paid money EMPH to all the people he owed.²⁵⁷ Then [he said], "papá, let's go to that town to live."²⁵⁸ [inaudible] then he brought his godfather the priest there, and they lived there.²⁵⁹ He became like a king, and they lived well.²⁶⁰ That's where the story ends.²⁶¹

Pukllaspaymi runa itachakunantinta
 itachakunata wañuchinpuni askhata chayqa.²⁴¹
 Chaymanta pagananpaq qulqita apayushani.²⁴²
 "Ya pe ya joven ya papá" dicen nispa.²⁴³
 Chayqa chunka iskayniyuq mulapi
cargayakamun qulqita riki kutimun riki
chayamun riki.²⁴⁴ Ña padrinunqa kuraqa
 yacharusqaña riki "pucha pawluchas chaypi
condenadota wañuchipun salvapunsi chayqa
 shhh.²⁴⁵ Kutimunqachu imaynachá" nispas
pensashan.²⁴⁶ Chayllaman chayayamun yaqa
 iskay killamanta riki.²⁴⁷ "Papá buenos días"
 nispa.²⁴⁸ "Hola que tal hijito qué tal como estás
qué tal trabajo?"²⁴⁹ "Oh excelente" nispasyá
 payqa nin.²⁵⁰ "Qulqita riki aqnata
cargayusqayyá.²⁵¹ Papá pagapuy llapanta chay
 runakuna wañuchisqaymanta.²⁵² Kay
 aypanqachu manachu?"²⁵³ Qulqita q'ala
 [inaudible] padrinunqa, "uy caramba.²⁵⁴ Ya
ves?²⁵⁵ Buen trabajo hijo" nispa.²⁵⁶ Pagapunsiyá
 qulqi pe q'ala chay nasqankunata chayqa
 hina.²⁵⁷ Chayqa "papá haku risunchis chay
 llaqtaman tiyaq."²⁵⁸ [inaudible] pusapun
padrinunta riki chaypi kurata huk naman
 chayqa chaypi tiyapunku chayqa.²⁵⁹ Chay pay
 kapusqa huk rey hinaraq riki ooh tranquilo ya
normal.²⁶⁰ Chaykamalla chay cuento.²⁶¹

Appendix 3: Etymologies of Yokiri

The origin of the place name Yokiri (alt. Yoquiri) is obscure. The first attestations I have found come from the explorations of the Yavero Valley by Dominican missionary priest Ramón Zubieta in 1903 (1903:144) and Georg M. von Hassel in 1904 (1907:377); early than this, it is impossible to know when or how the Yokiri River took its current name, and if it is even Matsigenka in origin. Unlike most Matsigenka place names in the region whose etymologies are relatively transparent--for instance, Matoriato (*matori* 'lightning bug' + *-ato* 'river'), Chirumbia(ri) (*tsirompi* 'fern' + *-ari* 'river'), and Yoyato (*yoge* 'rainbow' + *-ato* 'river')--Yokiri does not suggest an obvious interpretation. However, the etymology of 'Yokiri' is a subject of interest among Yokiriños, and I recorded several explanations. These etymologies provide an interesting perspective on how Yokiriños understand their history and how they incorporate historical and mythical elements into explanations of their history. Note that while anthropologists have pointed out the importance of naming places in Amazonian societies, this is a case of reinterpreting a pre-existing place name.

First, it should be noted that since the families that now inhabit the Yokiri Valley only arrived since the 1970s, their contemporary etymological explanations are speculative. For this reason the oldest man in Yokiri (likely in his 60s or 70s), whose parents and grandparents migrated around the region during the 20th century and were at least aware of the river, was skeptical of these etymologies, as he expresses in (68):

(68)

Yoga shaenka Efraín ikanti "tera."¹ Ikanti "tatarika pairani okantagani ovaïro yokiri?"² Tyaka okanta pairani anta timatsi."³ Ikantake "tera, ikantaigiro kogapage, impatyo gotasanoigatsirira tata oitarika opaitaka Yokiri."⁴

My grandfather Efraín said, "no."¹ He said, "what might the name 'Yokiri' have meant?"² Who knows what was there before?"³ He said, "no, they [i.e. those with etymological theories] are just talking for no reason, it depends on the ones who knew whatever 'Yokiri' meant."⁴

I recorded three etymologies of 'Yokiri', all of which analyzed the word as the verb phrase *yokiri* 'he left him behind' (69):

(69) Yokiri.

<i>i-</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ri</i>
3mS-	leave.behind	-REAL.I	-3mO
'He left him behind'			

But while *yokiri* is indeed a verb phrase in Matsigenka, it is an unlikely candidate for a place name for two reasons: first, as far as I know, Matsigenkas generally do not use verb phrases as place names. Second, the phrase is syntactically awkward--a more natural construction would employ the perfective affix *-ak* or the translocative perfective *-aki*, which indeed were used in both of the Matsigenka etymologies below. For both of these reasons, it is most likely that the etymological explanations that follow are reanalyses of the place name, whose historical origins are obscure.

The first etymological explanation (70) comes from a man from family #2, around 50 years old, whose family migrated down the Yavero Valley during the 1950s and 1960s. By his account, Yokiri was named by people traveling the same route, so the naming of Yokiri and other nearby places followed the contours of his own history in the valley:

(70)

Hehe ogari pashini nonkenkiake.¹ Nonkenkiake pashini ahora yokiri yokiri antes pero okamantana ina pairani yokiri.² Pairani matsigenka pairani pairani ikantaigi matsigenka ikanta yokiri.³ Hehe okamantana ina okanti yokiri yokiri pairani.⁴ Hehe iponia matsigenka katonko hehe.⁵ Aryo ipokaigake ikogaira itsinanetsite oga irirenti mameri itsinanetsite dice.⁶ [inaudible] yaviro okya shigaatanankicha dice.⁷ Hehe oponiaka katonko ipaitapaakero nia iriro matsigenka pe.⁸ Kara patiro niateni ipaitanakerora, hehe maputonoari posante ipaitanakerora.⁹ Okya inkenakerora matsigenka okari inkenakero koa, ironkuatanakempa iriatakeme a huamangaku.¹⁰

NQE: Ah, Huamanga?¹¹

Huamanga, dónde quedará ese Huamanga también?¹²

NQE: Ayacucho?¹³

Por Ayacucho será.¹⁴ Entonces oga onta ikenanakero oga yoga irirenti ikenanake shintipoaku, en balsa pe.¹⁵ Anta yokiro otsitiaku.¹⁶ Inepaake pirinitake osuraritsite pe ikantiro ikantiro "matsi ige?"¹⁷ "Ainyo yoka [inaudible] meronki, frutas, hehe."¹⁸ Parece oga parece capuli, meronki.¹⁹ Okantiri "ainyo yataguitakotake inkuakera meronki."²⁰ Hehe okemi samani kantake igiashiaku 'saatirin'.²¹ Ikantiro maika "ogaka pikisanakeri ige pe."²² [inaudible] "noganakeri choeni."²³ Aryo kantaka ikantaigi opaitaka ikanki yokanakeri irirenti yokiriku, aha, eso okamantanakena pe yokiriku.²⁴ Así pues.²⁵ Yokanakeri irirenti okanti así okamantanakena.²⁶ Okamantanakena ashi yokanakero irirenti.²⁷

Yes, I'm going to tell another one.¹ I'm going to tell another one about Yokiri, my mother told me about Yokiri.² Long ago, people used to called it Yokiri.³ Yes, my mother told me [it was called] Yokiri before.⁴ Yes, people came from upriver.⁵ That's right, they came looking for women, one man's brother didn't have a wife.⁶ They had just fled down the Yavero River.⁷ Yes, they came from upriver and named it in Matsigenka.⁸ They gave names to the rivers, yes, Maputonoari, they gave names to many of them.⁹ The people were going to pass by Yokiri, they were going to pass it by and go around it on the way to Huamanga.¹⁰

NQE: Oh, Huamanga?¹¹

Huamanga, where might that be?¹²

NQE: Ayacucho?¹³

It must be in Ayacucho.¹⁴ So his brother went by on a raft, on a raft.¹⁵ He left it there at the mouth of the river.¹⁶ He found his wife sitting there and he said to her, "what about my brother?"¹⁷ "He [went to collect] meronki, fruits, yes."¹⁸ It looks like a capulí, meronki.¹⁹ She said, "he went up there to pick meronki fruits."²⁰ Yes, she heard from up the valley 'saatirin' (thunder sound).²¹ He said to her, "you must be making my brother angry."²² [inaudible] "I'm going to leave him behind."²³ So they've always called it, they said "he left his brother in Yokiri [i.e. *yokanakeri*]," that's what they used to tell me.²⁴ That's right.²⁵ He left his brother behind, that's what they told me.²⁶ They told me, "he left his brother behind."²⁷

The next etymological explanation (71) comes from the son of the man, from family #1, who expressed skepticism about etymological explanations in (68). Like the narrator in (70), he situates the naming of the valley in the context of his own family's arrival in Yokiri from Otingamía. This account weaves together historical and mythical elements, and asserts that the valley was not called Yokiri until his family arrived there.

(71)

Kara itsamaitapai shainka, impo isureiganaka irirori tsame impatyompa shonkaigera intatonikya.¹ Shonkaigera intatonikya.² Impo ishonkaigapaakero oga tya opaita opaitara ikya tesakona oga oga ompegempa tekyenka opaitempa yokiri.³ Ishonkaigapaakaro, ishonkaigapaakaro pitepageni tsonkavakoaka inake matsigenka ishonkaigakaro otinkamiaku.⁴ Ikenaigapai nikoriko.⁵ Onti ipampiaigapai oga iravo tya ipaita yoga ikantaigiri pairani ikantaigiri...oso.⁶ Apaegi ehe.⁷ Iriro ipokaigapai ishonkaigaka ineaigapaakeri kipatsi omaarane kipatsi aka pue.⁸ Imaarane kipatsi.⁹ Pero pairani ina oneavetaroni.¹⁰ Maika ishonkaigapaakaro ishonkaigapaakaro oka tairishiku maika itimakera yoga yoga Juan Carlos.¹¹ Opaita maika tairishi.¹² Ishonkaigaka, nero ipokai aikiro yogonkeigapaa pairani ineaveigaro pairani aka aikiro yogonkeigapaakaro oga pairani ineaveigaro aikiro ineaigapaakero aikiro, akya ishonkagani aka.¹³ Nero.¹⁴ Yamaigakeri tya opaita shaenka itimavetaka anta oga yokiriku otsitiaku.¹⁵ Aikiro ipokai ponyarona, ishigaa.¹⁶ ... Pashini ipokaigapai inkantaige pairani yoga kovintsaigatsirira y oga ishonkaigakarora anta, ikanti opaita kanyarishiato.¹⁷ Ishonkaigakaro ikovintsavageigira pairani yagi inoshiki ikanti chakopi omaarane oga ikovintsaigira pairani pue, shintoripage magatiropage ikovintsaigira.¹⁸ Ipokaigake iita ipaita irapitene jorge ipaigakena oga onkante maika jorge, pairani ikantagani jorge.¹⁹ Pairani- matsigenka pe.²⁰ Nero ipokaigapai ipokaigapai oka ehe.²¹ Ineaigakero oka opaitara tampinironi.²² Tampianironi.²³ Oga piatimatake piatake ontampiatanake tirinkari

My grandfather worked there [in Otingamía], then they thought, "let's go, what will it be like when we go to the other side [of the hill, to Yokiri]?"¹ Let's cross to the other side.² Then they crossed here to, what's it called, it was just, it wasn't yet called Yokiri.³ They crossed over, they crossed over, four or five Matsigenkas, they crossed over in Otingamía.⁴ They came from up there [pointing to Abra Artillería].⁵ They followed on its path, what's it called...the bear.⁶ Our parents, yes.⁷ They came and crossed over, they found a lot of land here.⁸ A lot of land.⁹ But before, my mother already knew about it.¹⁰ So they crossed over, they crossed over in Tairishi, where Juan Carlos lives now.¹¹ Now it's called Tairishi.¹² They crossed over and came here, and the ones that had known it before also came, they had seen it before and they also crossed over and came here.¹³ That's right.¹⁴ They brought, what's he called, my grandfather, and he lived at the mouth of the Yavero River.¹⁵ The colonos also came, and [the Matsigenkas] fled [from them].¹⁶ ... Others used to come to hunt, and the ones that crossed over there, they called it kanaishiato.¹⁷ They crossed over, and they hunted by taking out a big arrow, I mean they hunted, wild pigs, they hunted everything.¹⁸ They came, and there was a man named Jorge who gave us- his name was Jorge.¹⁹ Long ago- he was a Matsigenka.²⁰ Yes, they came, they came.²¹ They saw this [gestures to the hills across the valley] and called it Tampianironi.²² Tampianironi.²³ When you go, if it's windy, it can kill you.²⁴ Long ago, two men went to hunt there, two went to hunt.²⁵ They went to hunt, they could kill [monkeys]

puede ogakempira pue iro.²⁴ Pa iaigake piteni yoga inkovintsavageigera, inkovintsavageigera piteni.²⁵ Iaigake iaigake pine kovintsavageigera chakopiku patiro yogaigiri.²⁶ Ehe, pine.²⁷ Iaigi ipatimaigi pashini yagake ikanti "gara pipatimatanake."²⁸ Tera inkematsateri irapitene, ikanti "naro naro naro nokovintsatakera naro novegotiakeri komaginaro," oka, pine.²⁹ Iatake iatake tyarika tyarika yamanakerira komaginaro anta.³⁰ Ikemi pairani- naro nogoigi tatarika tatarika tya opaita gakempi ikanti pairani yashireake tsuvani tipe.³¹ Ikanti "tatarika gakeri."³² Isonkavati isonkavageta mameri.³³ Tera iripokae, ehe.³⁴ Itsaroganake irapitene, yoga tentanakarira itsaroganake.³⁵ Ikanti "tyari tyari tyari" atanake shavini anta.³⁶ Ikanti "tatarika otimake irirokya pegakeri yoga tya opaita sankenari."³⁷ Ineapaakero tya yavotaraasetagakeri tya opaita yoga matsontori ikanti irirota gakari.³⁸ Itsaroganake ipokai yagapanitiri komaginaro ipokai.³⁹ Ikanti maika "nopegakitirityo maika nopegakitirityo nokakitiri inkenishiku."⁴⁰ Ipokai yamakitiri oga komaginaro piteni ikanti ipokai pankotsiku okanti "matsi yoga pogisantanakarira."⁴¹ Ikanti yapishigopirea ikanti- pairani otimake shitea onkante maika oga onti oga tya opaita oga onti pao pairani oga pao, okanti "matsi inti irapitene?"⁴² Ikanti "nopegakitiri nokakitiri anta inkenishiku."⁴³ Nokakitiri nokakitiri nokakitiri.⁴⁴ Maika tya ompaitakempa kara oga tya opaita niateni?⁴⁵ Aryo ompaitempa 'nokirira, nokirira, nokirira.'⁴⁶ Y pashini yoga inkantaigerira yoga yoga kantaka maika tovaini opitenkani aka ah inti ompaitempa yokirira yokirira."⁴⁷ Aryo opaitaka maika "yokirira."⁴⁸ Yokiri, yokakitirira yoga tya ipaita o sea, yoga yogisantanakarira yokakitiri tera intentaeri pankotsiku.⁴⁹ Maika aryoka impo okutagitanake oga kantaka maika kutagiteri okutagitanake iaigake inkogaigakiterira inkogaigaaterira.⁵⁰ Ikogaigavetakari omaarane mapu kara oga tya opaita aityo maika oga mapu.⁵¹ Kanyoma matsontori kaontaka pankotsi iaveiga tyarika yoganakero ichakore kantanatsi onti inti ineigapai igonta.⁵² Ikanti inti gakagakari yoga iri sankenari, pairani ikantagani sankenari yoga matsontori sankenari aryo.⁵³ Ikantake-sonkavatanatsi.⁵⁴ Sonkavatanatsi tya ipaita yoga ipegakerira.⁵⁵ Nero.⁵⁶ Omagisantagiteanaka, ikanti, "aryo maika aryo ompaitakempa maika, oka yokiri."⁵⁷ Oga inkenishi magatiro onti opaita yokiri.⁵⁸ Yokakitirira yoga tya ipaita yogisantanakari yokakitiri.⁵⁹ Nero.⁶⁰ Nero maika ishonkaigapaaka- aryo opaitaka yoga

with just one arrow.²⁶ Yes, you see?²⁷ They chased [a monkey] and hit him, but one man said "don't follow him."²⁸ [But] the other man didn't listen to him, and he said "I, I, when I hunt, I catch lots of monkeys," you see?²⁹ He went and went, wherever the [injured] monkey led him.³⁰ He heard- we [Matsigenkas] used to think that when something is going to kill you, the tsuvani bird [makes the sound] 'tipe'.³¹ He said, "I wonder what happened to him."³² He whistled and whistled [to him], [but] he wasn't there.³³ He didn't come back.³⁴ The other one was afraid, the one who accompanied him was afraid.³⁵ He said "what, what, what," it was getting late.³⁶ He said "what happened, perhaps he turned into a jaguar."³⁷ He saw where the jaguar had opened up a path [in the forest], and he said "he ate him."³⁸ He was afraid, he came, he got the monkey and came back.³⁹ He said, "now I've lost him, I've lost him and left him in the forest."⁴⁰ He came and brought the two monkeys, he came to the house and [his wife said] "what about the man you went with?"⁴¹ He said, resting- they used to have masato, [he must have had] what's it called, a gourd, a gourd [like they used to have] long ago, and she said, "what about the other [man]?"⁴² He said "I lost him, I left him there in the forest."⁴³ I left him behind, I left him behind, I left him behind.⁴⁴ Now what will that river be called?⁴⁵ Well, it will be called 'where I left him, where I left him, where I left him.'⁴⁶ And others people who say it, and as long as we stay here, it's going to be called 'where he left him', 'where he left him.'⁴⁷ Like that, it's now called 'where he left him behind' [yokirira].⁴⁸ Yokiri, he left him behind, I mean- the man who went with him and left him and did not accompany him back home.⁴⁹ Then the next day, in the day time, the next day they went looking for him, looking for him.⁵⁰ They looked for him in vain, and there was a large rock, what's it called, there was a rock.⁵¹ It looked like a jaguar, it looked like a house, and when they left, they saw his footprint where he had left his arrow.⁵² He said, "the striped one [i.e. jaguar] ate him," they used to call the jaguar 'the striped one'.⁵³ He said- he kept on whistling.⁵⁴ He kept on whistling, what's his name, the man who lost him.⁵⁵ There you have it.⁵⁶ He was forgetting, so he said, "that's how this place will be called now, Yokiri."⁵⁷ [Now] all the forest [here] is called Yokiri.⁵⁸ The one that left him behind, what's it called, the one who accompanied him left him behind.⁵⁹ You see?⁶⁰ Crossing over here- it's

ikantaigirira maika hasta maika maika okantaka
okantaka opaitakara yokiri.⁶¹ Intagati maika
nonkantakempira.⁶²

called, it's what they call it, until now it has
been called Yokiri.⁶¹ That's all I'm going to tell
you now.⁶²

The final etymological explanation that I recorded in Yokiri was part of a speech during the community's 2011 anniversary, given in Spanish by the *presidente* (72). This was the first anniversary that was attended by municipal officials, and the *presidente* used his speech to solicit their support in development and infrastructure projects. He glossed the community's name in Spanish as *abondono* 'abandonment', which picks up the theme of suggested by the verb *ok* 'to leave behind, abandon' at the center of the etymologies described above, but which frames the etymology in terms of a history of state neglect. This was a pointedly suggestive speech whose implication was not lost on the visiting municipal officials:

(72)

Y también quiero felicitar a todos los visitantes que nos están apoyando, no?¹ Es el primer año que estamos haciendo este tipo de eventos, primer año también que tenemos de repente la presencia de las autoridades del municipio distrital de Quellouno.² Porque son veinte y tres años que estamos pasando, y lo hemos pasado solos.³ Nunca hemos tenido la presencia de una autoridad.⁴ Y el otro, quiero decir, no, que la palabra *Yokiri* significa 'abondono'.⁵ Tiene una historia, pero es algo triste, no?⁶

I also want to acknowledge all the visitors that are supporting us, no?¹ This is the first year that we're having this type of event, [and it's] also the first year that we have the presence of the authorities from the municipal district of Quellouno.² Because it's been twenty-three years, and we've gone through it alone.³ We have never had the presence of a [municipal] authority [at the anniversary].⁴ And I also want to say that the word *Yokiri* means 'abandonment'.⁵ It has a history, but it's a bit sad, no?⁶

These three etymologies (and the skepticism about such etymologies expressed in (68)) illustrate the historical uncertainties of the region, the incorporation of pre-existing

place names into culturally-specific toponymic practices, the integration of historical and mythical events in creating 'place', and the invocation and reframing of etymology for modern political purposes.

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