Documenting ritual songs: Best practices for preserving the ambiguity of Alto Perené (Arawak) shamanic *pantsantsi* 'singing'

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Drawing on extensive fieldwork, the paper explores the ways of interpreting and translating a shamanic *pantsantsi* song by a fieldworker and Alto Perené (a.k.a Ashéninka Perené) language workers. The language's vitality is on a steep downward trajectory. Currently, it is spoken by a few hundred people. Aiming to create a thorough record of shamanic singing for the purpose of Alto Perené preservation, the fieldworker grapples with various stumbling blocks. Among them are the absence of shamans as an institution, the simulative setting of audio and video recordings, the inaccessibility of the text meanings to language consultants, and the non-definitiveness of the translated text. The shamanic language is manipulated in various ways to make it distinct from the profane speech of community members. The manipulative strategies include the singer's allusions to the predation and conviviality schemes, prosodic repetitions, lexical and morphosyntactic manipulations, and voice masking. The meaning of the *pantsantsi* text eludes the non-indigenous fieldworker unless she collaborates with highly proficient language speakers, devotes many years to the committed study of the research language, possesses a good knowledge of the culture-specific background, and draws on multiple sources of translation.

1. Introduction[1] The study explores the ways of interpreting and translating a shamanic song by a field linguist and Alto Perené (a.k.a Ashéninka Perené) language workers in the context of the community's linguistic and cultural practices. The Alto Perené ethnic population is estimated to be about 6,000 people (Anderson 2000:43). The

native population resides in a few dozen settlements scattered along the Upper Perené valley and in the surrounding highlands of the Chanchamayo Province, Junín Region of Peru. The autonym is *katonkosatzi* 'from upriver'. In modern times, most households have been engaged in agricultural activities. They cultivate and sell agricultural goods such as manioc, cocoa seeds, coffee beans, rice, peanuts, citrus fruit, pineapples, and plantains. Gardening, fishing, and gathering are subsistence activities. Individual and collective singing used to be a popular activity for both sexes, but now most music traditions have become obsolete.[2] Because singing is a culture-specific genre, from here on the native term *pantsantsi* 'singing' is employed to refer to this type of performance.

The objective of the study is two-fold: to examine the specific form and meaning of the shamanic *pantsantsi* and to outline the methodology of translating the *pantsantsi* text for its ultimate preservation. The paper will address the following questions: What are the basic characteristics of Alto Perené vocal music? How is the language of the shamanic *pantsantsi* distinct from ordinary speech? What methodological problems arise in connection with the translation and interpretation of the *pantsantsi* text? What are the best practices of the *pantsantsi* text translation?

The shamanic *pantsantsi* is now considered a legacy material. Due to the extinction of shamans as a class, the paper is a work of linguistic salvage. It does not contain an ethnographic description of the shamanic praxis or the pragmatics of their ritual behavior. For the same reason, neither the ritual specialists' social and political roles, nor their relationships with the patients and the linguist, are discussed. The shamanic *pantsantsi* is non-secretive in that it is neither forbidden to perform nor to understand. The non-secretive nature of the shamanic singing is manifested in the clarity and intensity of the ritual specialist's articulation in that all words during the performance are enunciated clearly and loudly.[3] The *pantsantsi* recordings come from the 6-hour audio and video corpus made in 2009–2013 with three singers from the Upper Perené valley of Junín Region, Peru: Paulina Garcia Ñate (born 1940), Elena Nestor de Capurro (born 1939), and Fredi Miguel Ucayali (born 1955).[4] The corpus contains the data providers' detailed comments on the content of the *pantsantsi* texts and the ritual efficacy of their delivery. All performers are bilingual in Alto Perené and Spanish but use the local language as their daily medium of communication. During the recording sessions, the performers sang from memory various

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[2]Traditional singing has fallen out of use in the wake of the dramatic change in the speakers' residence patterns and ways of living since the 1990s (see Mihas 2014). In her 2012 and 2018 interviews, singer Paulina García Ñate commented on the absence of interest in singing-along on the part of her two granddaughters, who are Spanish monolinguals.

[3]In contrast, the Murui (Witoto) and Tariana (Arawak) ritual specialists are reported to whisper their ritual speech, which makes it inaudible and thus inaccessible to the audience (Sasha Aikhenvald and Kasia Wojtylak, personal communication, November 2017).

[4]An additional eight people have contributed at least one singing performance: Ines Pérez de Santos, Paulina Caleb de Leon, Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb, Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, Ernesto Manchi Lopez, Victoria Manchi de Martin, Elias Meza Pedro, and Juana Dionicia Kasanto. The author's documentary fieldwork in Peru was carried out in 2008–2016 and 2018, spanning the period of 26 months. The documentary corpus includes over 50 hours of video and audio recordings made by the author in the communities of Mariscal Cáceres, Pucharini, Pumporiani, Churingaveni, Bajo Marankiari, Pampa Michi, Bajo Aldea, and Villa Perené of Chanchamayo Province, Junín, Peru.

ritual songs which they had learned from their family members when they were children. The recordings were made outside the performers' home residences with no audience present, excepting the linguist. The shamanic *pantsantsi* under consideration was sung by Paulina García Ñate, a laywoman from Bajo Marankiari, in 2011 (Appendix B, [soundfile.01]). Paulina García Ñate's family background makes her a reliable performer. The singer's grandfather was a shaman who used to sing while treating his patients. At the time of the recording, the singer was 71 years old. The song is an enactment performed by the singer in simulative settings, at the linguist's request. The main reason for considering it an enactment boils down to the absence of the song's ritual efficacy, because it was not sung in a drug-induced trance with the intent to diagnose and cure a patient. The performer was seated on a bench outside her house during the entire performance.

The study's methods include language documentation via audio and video recordings of song performances, focused elicitation of language consultants' and data providers' judgements and commentaries on the form and meaning of the recorded ritual texts, and analysis of the collected data on the basis of contemporary ethnomusicological and anthropological insights about the traits of musical rituals across Amazonia.[5] In particular, the study takes into consideration insights about the engagement of ritual specialists in the active manipulation of language attested in many traditional societies (Storch 2011) and generalizations regarding the forms and meanings of the ritual language across language/culture groups (Du Bois 2003; De Menezes Bastos 2013). The measurements of the singer's pitch range were made with the help of the Praat speech analysis software.[6] The illustrative figures (Appendix A) of the singer's pitch tracks were also drawn in Praat.

The paper will proceed as follows: The relevant facts about the language's grammar and pertinent theoretical concepts are given in §2 and §3. The patterns of Alto Perené vocal music are discussed in §4. The manipulative strategies identified in the shamanic singing are discussed in §5. The challenges and best practices of documenting shamanic singing are examined in §6. Conclusions are given in §7.

2. Relevant facts about the language

2. Relevant facts about the language   The Alto Perené ISO 639-3 code is prq. The Glottolog code is ashe1272. The language is also known as Ashéninka Perené (see discussion below). It belongs to the Kampa subgroup of Arawak. A general outline of the Kampa languages is found in Mihas (2017b). Within the group, the non-definitive basic division into Northern Kampa (Ashéninka varieties, Asháninka, and Caquinte) and Southern Kampa (Matsigenka, Nomatsiguenga, and Nanti) is motivated by the shared innovations (Michael 2008:218–219). The proposed division also reflects the geographical clustering of the Kampa languages.

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[5]An anonymous reviewer was worried about the absence of a musical transcription to include annotations of melodic movement according to relative pitch (e.g., see Weiss 1975 for melodic transcriptions of Ashaninka songs). I certainly recognize the value of the reviewer's point. The enhanced musical transcription and analysis are planned for future work, which will engage an ethnomusicologist as a team member.

[6]http://praat.org.

The vitality of Alto Perené is on a downward trajectory. It is currently spoken by a few hundred people most of whom belong to the grandparental generation. The transgenerational language transmission break is accelerated by the concurrent language shift to Spanish, the language of wider communication. The decline in the vitality of the language is linked to the absence of opportunities for its use in the public sphere and lack of socioeconomic incentives to maintain it. Bilingual public education programs are limited to elementary school classrooms and suffer from shortages of fluent teachers and pedagogical materials. Until recently, bilingual teaching and learning materials were published in Ashaninka orthography,[7] which further devalued Alto Perené literacy (see Mihas 2015b for a discussion of the Alto Perené language activists' efforts to ensure the future use of their language).

There is a caveat concerning the language name. In Kampanist literature, the language is generally known as Ashéninka Perené. However, the language name used throughout this paper (and in other recent publications by the author) is Alto Perené. It is a Spanish-language term meaning 'Upper Perené', which was brought into circulation by the indigenous leadership in the last few years. Its introduction coincides with the emergence of community-wide political discourses which recognize the centrality of language in categorizing the language/culture group identity and express profound concerns with the legitimacy of external influences on the community's language name choices (see Elena Mihas' YouTube video channel *katonkosatzi1*[8] which documents contemporary political discourses within the community). Perené is the name of the main watercourse of the region, and the term Alto Perené is perceived by the speakers to be a close counterpart of the auto-denomination *katonkosatzi* 'from upriver'. The alternative name, Ashéninka Perené, is dispreferred by many language consultants and political leadership. They invariably point to two reasons for rejecting it. First, the term was imposed by outsiders, and second, it is a misnomer because the native population uses the name Ashéninka to refer to the Kampa Arawak speakers of the Gran Pajonal highlands. Recognizing the community's authority over its language name, this paper uses the term Alto Perené, rather than Ashéninka Perené, to refer to the language.

The language is highly synthetic, agglutinating, head-marking, and incorporating. It has no case marking of core arguments. The nominative-accusative alignment is found in transitive constructions, evidenced in the verbal person marking pattern. Only A/S arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb, whereas the indexation of objects depends on the referent's topicality. An important typological trait is the

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[7] I rely on the community-approved orthographic system, which has been in use since 2013. Basically, it matches the orthography approved by the Congress on the Normalization of the Alphabet of the Asheninka Language (Congreso de la Normalización del Alfabeto de la Lengua Asheninka) held in Atalaya, Peru, on November 29–20 and December 1, 2018. However, the paper's grapheme <v> deviates from the officially approved <w>. Both graphemes represent the bilabial approximant /ß/. Pending the language consultants' explicit approval of the new grapheme to represent the bilabial approximant, I use the old grapheme <v> in my transcriptions. Some graphemes might be confusing for the reader, namely <j>, which represents the glottal fricative /h/, and <ts> and <tz>, which stand for the alveolar aspirated and unaspirated affricates /tsʰ/ and /ts/, respectively.

[8] https://www.youtube.com/user/katonkosatzi1.

absence of passive derivation. The constituent order is VS/VO, with A occurring either after or before the direct object due to discourse-pragmatic considerations.

The stress system is weight-sensitive. There are heavy (CVVN, CVN) and light syllables (CV). Stress is right-edge oriented. It falls either on the antepenultimate or penultimate syllables within the three-syllable stress window, providing that all syllables are light. A heavy syllable always draws stress within the stress window. Phonetically, primary stress is cued by a combination of increased intensity, longer duration, and higher pitch, compared with the equivalent parameters of the unstressed syllables (see Mihas & Maxwell *forthcoming* on the phonetic properties of word level stress in the genetically related Ashaninka). Phrasal stress (or phrasal pitch accent) is usually drawn to the secondary stressed syllable located on the left edge of the intonation unit, either initial or peninitial, if both syllables are light. When one of the first two initial syllables is heavy, phrasal stress is expected to be attracted to it (see Mihas 2015a:56–58 for details on the Alto Perené prosodic system; see Mihas & Maxwell 2018 for discussion of Ashaninka prosodic patterns). Phrasal stress is cued by high pitch, frequently having the highest F0 value in the intonation unit. The phonological word and prosodic word often show a one-to-one correspondence, but mismatches occur when prosodically deviant clitics adjoin, which behave as if they were independent words (e.g., the exclamative clitic =ve is always stressed and high toned). The phonological word is either isomorphic to the morphological (grammatical) word, or it overlaps with the phonological phrase. The phonological phrase frequently consists of two grammatical words: a long content word (usually, a verbal word) and another short word, such as a noun, a pronoun, or an adverb.

The class of ideophones is fairly large, encompassing over 200 items (see Mihas 2012b for relevant details). Many ideophonic forms tend to express Gestalt iconicity, which is a relation between the form and the perceived event structure (see Dingemanse 2011 for the types of form-meaning in ideophones). The ideophonic form maps on the spatio-temporal structure of the reported event, exemplified by *chiki chiki chiki* 'spatially distributed appearance of localized body swelling as a result of an insect bite'. Other ideophonic forms exhibit direct iconicity (or onomatopoeia) associated with mimicking an audible sound,[9] e.g., *jmmm* is the onomatope mimicking the jaguar roar.

The subject argument indexation on the verb is mandatory. The minimal grammatical verbal word should encompass a subject index from Zone 1 and reality status (or stative aspect) marker from Zone 3, as summarized in Scheme 1. The mandatory morphemes are indicated by bolding in Scheme 1. Overall, verbal affixes occupy particular positions within the zones. Placement in the same zone does not preclude affixes from co-occurring in a verb.

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[9]In ritual music, singers could mimic inaudible sounds of non-human entities (see Brabec de Mori & Seeger 2013:271–272), which are not heard by a field researcher. De Menezes Bastos (2013:293) writes that during his travels with Kamayurá Indians (Tupi-Guarani), they "demonstrated an impressive capacity for phonic detection, discrimination and production in relation to the sounds of the environment, communicating with the 'animals' and 'spirits'". In other words, when a singer hears a bird call, and sings a copy of it in order to establish contact with the bird, he aims to imitate the non-human bird person-entity, not just the musical pattern of the bird call.

Scheme 1. Alto Perené verbal affixal zones

1	STEM	2	3	4
Person (A/S)	Root 1	Applicative	Aspect	Person
Irrealis	Root 2	Reversative	**Reality status**	Nominalizer
Causative	Classifier	Plural number		Relativizer
		Adverbial (degree, time, manner)		Plural number
				Remote Past
		Modality		Tense
		Direction		Negation

The subject argument index is elided in some grammatical constructions. In particular, the focus marking strategy involves the elision of the subject index and the syntactic movement of the focus constituent, which is coreferential with the subject of the verb predicate, to the preverbal focus position (see Mihas 2016 for contrastive focus marking in Northern Kampa). When the subject person index on the verb is elided, the nominalized/relativized verb triggers a bisected interpretation of the clause structure. In (1), the Alto Perené contrastive focus pronoun *naakataki* 'I am the one' occurs in the preverbal slot; it is followed by the nominalized/relativized verb with the gapped subject index.[10]

(1)   ***naakataki***   *ov-ak-a-ri*
       1SG.FOC.EXH   eat-PFV-REAL-NMZ/REL
       'I am the one who ate.'

3. Relevant theoretical concepts   There are four concepts which will be of relevance in the ensuing discussion of the ways of interpreting shamanic singing: animism, perspectivism, multiverse, and mimesis. Each will be briefly addressed below.

The world view of Amazonian peoples is often discussed through the theoretical lenses of animism and perspectivism (e.g., see Descola 2013; Vilaça 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1998 for the relevant discussion). Both describe a particular type of relations between human and non-human beings. Animism is defined as an indigenous "thought which extends human agency to beings of other species" (Viveiros de Castro 1998:469). It presupposes the similarity of the interiorities (i.e., the souls and minds of human and non-human persons are ontologically similar) and dissimilarity of their exterior properties (i.e., the bodies of human and non-human persons are different,

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[10]The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper: 1-first person; 2-second person; 3-third person; A-subject of transitive clause; AFF-affect; ADD-additive; APL-applicative; CL-classifier; COND-conditional; DEM-demonstrative; DIR-directional; DISTR-distributive; DUR-durative; EP-epenthetic; EMPH-emphatic; EXH-exhaustive; EXPECT-expectational; FOC-focus; GEN-generalized; HAB-habitual; ICPL-incompletive; IDEO-ideophone; INST-instrumental; IRR-irrealis; LOC-locative; M-masculine; NM-non-masculine; NMZ-nominalizer; O-transitive object; OPT-optative; PFV-perfective; PL-plural; POSS-possessive; POSS.REL-possessive relation; PP-positive polarity; PRES-presential; PROG-progressive; REAL-realis; REL-relative; S-subject of intransitive clause; STAT-stative; TERM-terminative; TOP-topic; VOC-vocable; U-undergoer.

as Descola (2013:129) points out). The Alto Perené documentary corpus[11] contains a comprehensive record of the narrators' experiences with the surrounding physical environment and descriptions of their interactions with various non-human beings. The hostile non-human beings are frequently referred to as *kamari* 'demons' (or *kamaari*, with the elongated second vowel articulated for emphasis). Illustrative examples of the non-human *kamari* category are given below (see also Mihas 2017a:Chapter 9 for the consultants' verbatim descriptions of non-human beings).

> Those of the *kamari* ilk include forest dwellers such as *peyari* 'forest bone spirit' in the form of a game animal, usually a deer, which kills males by an act of copulation, and *mamaro* 'forest owl', which murders by plucking out a victim's eyes. The water demon *oyechari ~ oye* (in free variation) 'rainbow spirit', believed to inhabit water pools whose bottom is covered with dark green grass, slays by burning an unsuspecting person's skin, once he is in contact with the water contaminated by this *kamari* type. Another formidable water creature, *kiatsi* 'a siren-like aquatic master-owner in the form of an anaconda or an armadillo', kills by wrapping its prominent antenna-like whiskers around the individual's lower limbs and dragging him into the water depths. (Mihas 2015c:5–6)

The concept of perspectivism refers to an "aspect of Amerindian thought according to which the world is inhabited by different sorts of persons, human and non-human, which apprehend reality from distinct points of view" (Viveiros de Castro 1998:469). Perspectivism focuses on the way human and non-human beings see themselves and others: humans normally see themselves as humans, animals as animals, and spirits as spirits. But animals (especially predators) and spirits see themselves as humans and humans as animals (or prey). The perspectivist frame is central to understanding an Alto Perené tale about a woman who foolishly responded to the greetings of the disguised *mamaro* 'forest owl' during her husband's absence (Mihas 2012a:145–159). The moment the woman answers the *mamaro*'s call (and therefore, switches to his non-human perspective, becoming his prey), the predator extracts her eyes, making her look like him. Having switched to the *mamaro*'s perspective, her body assimilates into a non-human form. The woman turns into an indestructable quasi-predator and stalker of her human husband.

Additionally, the concept of bodily (dis)embodiment, as a projection of perspectivism, is critical for the field researcher's understanding of the indigenous ontology of illness. The illness is believed to be caused by "being caught in the sight of the other" who is "feeding" on the victim's body, causing the corporeal "disintegration" or "disembodiment" of the afflicted person (Lenaerts 2006a:14). The predators' demonic "attacks" and "harmful influences" are believed to be the reason for the body-soul disconnection and bodily disintegration (16). Only the shaman called in Alto Perené *sheripiari ~ sheripiyari* 'shaman' (or *antyaviari* 'a very powerful and experienced shaman') is said to possess an ability to identify the cause of the illness and

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[11]https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI136840.

neutralize it. For details on shamanic ritual interventions, see the narratives by Moises Santos Rojas and Ines Pérez de Santos (Mihas 2014:308–316).

The theoretical notion of the multiverse proposed by Halbmayer (2012) is "based on a model of the cosmos that distinguishes multiple worlds and different species of persons. Such cosmologies do not form an integrated universe, but a multiverse of coexisting and interrelated worlds" (115). Human people are envisioned to interact with non-human peoples "through specific forms of behaviour, avoidances, withdrawal, fasting and taboos as well as by demonstrations of respect, by conscious interventions and ritual transformations" (116).[12] Among the Alto Perené, interventions and transformations are conducted by ritual specialists for the purpose of mediation between sick humans and non-humans. Ritual specialists have the power to mediate between an afflicted fellowman and the aggressor.[13] Moreover, they are believed to be the only humans capable of performing reversible short-term self-transformations during their interaction with the non-human world. The temporary bodily transformations of the shaman are achieved during hallucinatory drug-induced trances. The drugs taken include the tobacco concentrate *pocharo* 'tobacco syrup' made from boiled tobacco leaves and (or) *sheri* 'tobacco leaves' (*Nicotiana tabacum*) (see Mihas 2014:299–301, 303–305 for details on tobacco consumption by Alto Perené shamans). When taken in large doses, the tobacco concentrate enables the shaman to see and communicate with the non-human entities.[14] Ashaninka shamans are reported to take *kamarampi* 'ayahuasca' (*Banisteriopsis aapi*), a powerful hallucinogenic drug (Weiss 1973:43), or the tobacco concentrate and ayahuasca are taken in combination.[15]

Lastly, it is now the received wisdom that a great deal of ritual music in Lowland South America is purportedly obtained from or addressed to non-human beings, such as animals, plants, spirits, or the dead (Brabec de Mori & Seeger 2013). In the aca-

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[12]On the basis of his fieldwork among the Carib-speaking groups, Halbmayer (2012:114) suggests that the lowland indigenous multiverse is inhabited by different peoples. They range from human people, to animal-peoples residing in the forest, bird or vulture-people or star-peoples. In a multiverse, the frailty and transformability of the human body remain an issue controlled by "multi-world border management" (119).

[13]This is how Brabec de Mori (2012) describes the transformation process of a Shipibo-Konibo ritual specialist called médico. "The médico would experience that he, a biped human being with arms and hands, would meet with other human beings of similar appearance. Thus, following the reversion in perspectivism, the médico perceives himself as a human person among other human persons – although all persons involved in this experience would be seen as jaguars (spotted quadrupedes) by common Shipibo people observing the situation. […] Shipibo médico Pascual Mahua, for example, explains the dangers of such a transformation for both sides in dramatic terms: The transformed médico sees Shipibo people as prey (e.g., as peccary) and has to control himself in order to not eat them, while Shipibo would shoot the jaguar as soon as becoming aware of his presence, totally convinced by his physical form" (83).

[14]Johnson (2003:215) mentions the existence of "tobacco shamans" and "ayahuasca shamans" among the Matsigenka, noting that ayahuasca is by far the main hallucinogen that is recognized by the Matsigenka. Lenaerts (2006b:551) comments on the specific type of shamanic rituals among Kampas which involves the ingestion of *kamarampi* 'ayahuasca' by the ritual specialist and other community members who participate in the collective ayahuasca ceremony.

[15]The shaman was usually visited by the sick person or his kin and asked for help. The healing treatment would begin with the diagnostics: spitting tobacco mass on the ailing part of the patient's body, sucking the mass with the mouth, and then spewing a mouthful of the collected substance into his hand. After the items are examined and the diagnosis is made, the shaman "sees" in a vision who is responsible for the "disembodiment" of the afflicted person.

demic accounts of ritual music, an act of mimesis refers to "bringing the spirit into the physical world [...]" "by singing a copy of the [its] spirit-form" (Taussig 1993:105). The singer is believed to transcend the permeable boundaries of the other entity during the act of mimesis. Brabec de Mori & Seeger (2013:278) argue that while singing "a copy" of a peccary or a jaguar, the singer becomes the peccary or the jaguar. In sum, mimesis is understood as an imitation of the non-human person via the creation of his or her "copy". This understanding provides an illuminating insight into Paulina García Ñate's voice masking technique (see §5.1).

4. Patterns of Alto Perené vocal music   Vocal music encompasses two singing techniques: individual singing called *pantsantsi* 'singing' and collective singing combined with dancing called *vishiriantsi* 'singing and dancing' (see Footnote 7 for details on the orthography). Both terms are nominalizations composed of the verb roots *pantsa* 'sing individually' and *vishiri* 'sing and dance collectively' plus the event nominalizer *-antsi*. The singing techniques are characterized by the basic prosodic patterns and a shared repertoire of vocables.

In particular, the *pantsantsi* type exhibits three prosodic patterns, which are similar to those documented in ordinary speech. One pattern reflects the general rule of assigning word-level prominence to the antepenultimate or penultimate syllables within the right edge oriented three-syllable stress window, with all syllables being light (see §2). Another common pattern involves the assignment of primary stress to the word-final light syllable for emphasis. The third prosodic pattern concerns the assignment of phrasal stress (or phrasal pitch accent). It is usually drawn either to the initial or peninitial stressed syllables of the prosodic unit in question. It is frequently realized as the highest pitch prominence within the unit. Tonal peaks also occur on medial syllables for emphasis. However, each singer's performance deviates from the basic prosodic patterns, reflecting her individual creativity.

On the account of Alto Perené vocables, the common ones are *ma, na, ya, ra*, and *ni* (see Beier 2001 on the vocables in Nanti chanting). The vocables are normally unstressed, and are disregarded in the assignment of primary stress. In (2), primary stress occurs on the syllables ['ta] and ['ʦʰa]; phrasal stress falls on the first syllable of each prosodic unit. (2) is cited from the *pantsantsi* sung by Ernesto Manchi Lopez (YouTube *katonkosatzi1*).[16] In (2)-(4), the brackets [ ] enclose the phonetically transcribed text, and parentheses ( ) indicate the boundaries of the prosodic units. The vocables are given in italics.

(2) *[ˌpi.nin.'ta.ni.ɾa   ˌka.me.'ʦʰa.ɾi.ɾa]*
     (pi-ninta-ni=*ra*)   (kametsa-ri=*ra*)
     2POSS-like-POSS=VOC be.good-NMZ=VOC
     'your nice lover'

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[16]https://www.youtube.com/user/katonkosatzi1.

Vocables tend to occur word-finally, cliticizing to the last word of the intonation unit, as in (2). Exceptionally, a vocable is sandwiched between the stem and another clitic, as exemplified in (3) by the vocable *ma*. In (3), *ma* precedes the expectational modal clitic =*tyami*. The line is cited from the *pantsantsi* about the mother's loss of her child sung by Paulina García Ñate (YouTube *katonkosatziɪ*).[17] In (3), both prosodic units exhibit two prominences each. Each receives phrasal stress, carried by the initial and peninitial syllables, [eː] and [ɲa], accordingly. Phrasal stress is cued by the significant rise of fundamental frequency. Lower level stress is cued by intensity and duration. In each prosodic unit, the syllable [t̪ʲa] receives primary stress.

(3) *[ˌeː.ɾo.maˈt̪ʲa.mi   a.ˌɲa.he.ɾiˈt̪ʲa.mi]*
    (eero=*ma*=tyami)   (a-ñ-aj-e-ri=tyami)
    NEG.IRR=VOC=EXPECT 1PL.A-see-TERM-REAL=EXPECT
    'We won't see him again.'

Vocables sometimes stack up, as in Line 7 (Appendix B). I reproduce it below in (4). It illustrates two unstressed vocables, *mi* and *na*, joined together. In (4), the primary stressed syllable is [ˈβi]. The vocables *mi* and *na* fall outside the domain of stress assignment.

(4) *[i.ˈβi.ja.ɾo.mi.na]*
    (i-viya-a-ro=*mi*=*na*)
    3M.A-dissolve-REAL-3NM.O=VOC=VOC
    'They (masculine) boiled it *mi na*.' (Lit.'They dissolved tobacco leaves in boiled water *mi na*.')

It is hypothesized that the main function of the vocables is demarcative, i.e. they are associated with the prosodic unit's terminal contour. They carry either the high H% or low L% right-edge boundary tone, as illustrated in Figures 1–3, 6, and 8 (Appendix A).

    The opacity of lyrics is another essential characteristic of secular vocal music. The ambiguity arises largely because of the singer's invocation of "metaphorical" expressions grounded in the indigenous conceptions of the universe and the use of unusual grammatical structures.

    Shamanic singing does not have a special label, being simply called *pantsantsi* 'singing'.[18] One could argue that the absence of a special label is reflective of the fact

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[17]https://www.youtube.com/user/katonkosatziɪ.

[18]In contrast, in Matsigenka (Southern Kampa Arawak), the shamanic ritual singing is a special genre called *marentagantsi* 'singing sacred songs'(in Arias 2015, the genre is called *marentakantsi*). The term is composed of the verb root *marent* 'sing sacred songs' plus the nominalizer *-agantsi*. Snell (2011:267) specifies the meaning of the word in the following terms: "cantar canciones sagradas (para invocar a los espíritus auxiliares). Tradicionalmente, esto era oficio solamente de los chamanes salvo que una mujer, generalmente su esposa, cantara junto con él, siguiéndole, para ayudarle en la ceremonia que siempre se hacía de noche tomando ayahuasca. Se pensaba que el propósito de invocar a los espíritus auxiliares (*inetsaane*) con los que, según se afirmaba, los chamanes hacían contacto, era para que vinieran a cuidarle, a sanar a un enfermo, a defenderle contra los espíritus malos" [sing sacred songs (to invoke spirits-assistants). Tra-

that the same basic patterns characterizing non-ritual vocal music are observed in shamanic singing: compliance with the basic prosodic patterns, the use of vocables, and non-transparency of text. However, shamanic singing is special in that it used to be an important component of the shamanic treatments of sick fellowmen (see §3). Healing songs were often sung by shamans at the start of the healing ritual. The main message of the healing song was to summon helpers. The helpers could be the sick person's brother, parents, or other kin. Or it could be a non-human person. An ally was recruited to assist with the treatment of the afflicted person.[19] In the *pantsantsi* song under consideration, the shaman solicits the help of jaguars to cure a severely afflicted patient. To be understandable to a non-human entity, a special technique is employed to ensure the ritual efficacy of the shamanic performance. It is called "sonic transformation" by Olsen (1996:159). The technique is also known as voice masking. It plays a central role in the act of mimesis (see §5.1 on voice masking). Through the mimesis of the non-human jaguar person, the shaman is believed to become one. Voice masking signals the beginning of the ritual specialist's transformed state, when the powerful animal is presumed to sing through the mouth of the ritual specialist during his communications with the non-human world.[20]

5. Manipulative strategies of the shamanic *pantsantsi*

For a non-indigenous linguist, the difficulty with translating and interpreting shamanic *pantsantsi* songs stems from their special properties. The enacted shamanic *pantsantsi* in question is characterized by a bundled assortment of formal features which set it apart from the ordinary ways of speaking. The complex includes a paralinguistic strategy, such as pitch manipulation (§5.1), and linguistic strategies, such as prosodic repetitions (§5.2), opaque semantics (§5.3), and lexical and morphosyntactic manipulations (§5.4). Each will be discussed in detail below.

ditionally, this was the office of the shamans only unless a woman, usually his wife, sang along with him, following him, to help him in the ceremony that was always done at night, while taking ayahuasca. It was thought that the purpose of invoking the spirits-assistants (*inetsaane*) with whom the shamans reportedly were making contact was for them [the assistants-EM] to come and take care of him, to heal a sick man, to defend him against evil spirits].

[19]Among Matsigenkas, as Johnson (2003:216) points out, the function of the shamanic allies or spiritual "guides" is to help a Matsigenka shaman. When a shaman sings *imarentaka* 'sacred songs', he calls the guides to "help him find his way, keep him from falling in flight, and protect him." See also Rosengren 2002 and Shepard 2003 for accounts of Matsigenka healing rituals.

[20]Voice masking is common in ritual singing among Kampa ritual specialists and overall across Amazonia. For example, among Matsigenkas, voice masking takes the form of sonic "turbulances" indicating the shamanic mimetic transformation in progress (Arias 2015). In particular, in the *marentakantsi* 'singing sacred songs' for healing purposes, "a phonetic deformation of the ritual formulas" and "the unusual prosody" are reported to produce the "turbulances of the language" pointing to an ongoing interaction of the Matsigenka shaman with non-humans (Arias 2015:59). Brabec de Mori (2012) argues that the voice masking technique is wide-spread in Western Amazonia, using as evidence his extensive collection of ca. 2,800 Western Amazonian indigenous songs in Shipibo-Konibo, Ashaninka, Yine, Kukama, and other languages. The scholar notes that among the Shipibo-Konibo, curing songs are sung from the point of view of the powerful non-human beings such as anaconda and jaguar (83–84). The detailed accounts of voice masking employed by Shipibo-Konibo ritual specialists and Warao healers are given by Brabec de Mori (2012:86–92) and Olsen (1996:159–162), respectively.

5.1 Pitch manipulation   The enacted shamanic *pantsantsi* by Paulina García Ñate features a masked voice in the initial segment of the recording.[21] In absolute terms, the female performer's pitch register is different from that of the male, because the female pitch register has a higher reference line. In the audio recording, the female singer presumably has a higher reference line than her grandfather's. However, the overall pitch contours of the *pantsantsi* under consideration are believed to be represented accurately in the Praat-generated figures (Appendix A).

In terms of acoustic phonetics, voice masking is largely achieved via a low pitched voice. Using Praat functions, the singer's overall minimal pitch was measured at 48Hz and maximal at 362Hz. At the beginning of the recording, the pitch measurements were the lowest, within 48–269Hz, as if the words were sung by a male.[22] At the end of the singing performance, the pitch measurements were within 162–320Hz, as if the singer inhabited her normal female voice characterized by a high pitch register.

Table 1. Measurements of the singer's pitch range in Hz

Line (Appendix B)	Pitch range (Hz)
Line 1	48–263
Line 2	66–272
Line 3	97–325
Line 16	273–323
Line 25	162–329

The voice masking technique facilitates the audience's interpretation of the author-ship of the *pantsantsi* text. The singing shaman is understood to be acting as an "animator" or "the sounding box", whereas the author is "the agent who scripts the lines" (Goffman 1981:144–145). If one listens to the recording and follows the text in Appendix B ([soundfile.02]), one cannot help noticing that the very first lines are sung in a deep, low pitched voice. The singer's articulation creates an impression that Line 1, *jmm* 'jaguar sound', is authored by the approaching jaguar person who is promising his help to the shaman. The sound is reminiscent of the poweful predator's grunt, audibly reaching the bottom of the performer's pitch range. Acoustic evidence is supportive of this impressionistic judgement. In Line 1 (Table 1), the performer's singing is accomplished in the low section of her pitch range (or pitch register), vary-ing from 48–263Hz. Line 2, reproduced below in (5), is produced in the range from 66–272Hz. It is understood to be authored by a non-human person.

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[21]Weiss (1973:44) describes the Ashaninka shaman's voice as having "an eerie, distant quality" during a ritual performance that he witnessed. Weiss attributes this voice quality to the influence of the psychoac-tive ayahusca, but it might as well be the shaman's conscious manipulation of the voice quality, or voice masking.

[22]Here I rely on the biological sex-based studies of pitch range across various ethnic populations. For example, the maximum overall range of fundamental frequency (F0) in ordinary conversation among speakers of European languages is about 50–250Hz for men, and about 120–480Hz for women (Fant 1956). The maximum pitch range of females among Alto Perené Arawaks is higher, exceeding 500Hz.

(5)   *ñ-ak-e-ro*   *ñ-ak-e-ro=sa*   *ñ-ak-e-ro=ma*
      see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O   see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=EMPH   see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=VOC
      'You will see it, you will see it. You will see it *ma*.'

Overall, the articulation of the first two lines is characterized by the low pitch range register (48–272Hz). The remainder of the song has a higher overall pitch. It is produced in the mid-to-high part of the performer's pitch range, in the range of 162–362Hz, and is presumed to be authored by a human person.

5.2 Prosodic manipulations   Prosodic manipulations refer to a predictable intonation pattern called here prosodic repetitions.[23] Prosodic repetitions are identified on the basis of the macro-rhythm parameter. In prosodic typology, a macro-rhythm refers to a regular pitch movement composed of repeated tonal sequences (Jun 2014: 522,524). In the Alto Perené shamanic singing, a tonal sequence comprises an uneven number of prosodic units, either three or five, as respectively exemplified in (6) and (7) (see below). The contours of prosodic units are characterized by a particular sequence of tonal targets, as illustrated in Figures 1–8 (Appendix A). The right edge of each prosodic unit carries a nuclear pitch accent (marked by the star <*> symbol) and a boundary tone (marked by the percent <%> symbol). The final pitch accent is assigned to the penultimate syllable of the right edge boundary of the prosodic unit. The boundaries of prosodic units are identified on the basis of the demarcative function of the right-edge boundary tonal events.[24]

The singer employs two combinations of the pitch accent and right-edge boundary tone: H*H% alternates with H*L% either once or twice, and then the sequence terminates with the H*H%.[25] The basic prosodic repetition pattern involves a three-unit sequence, with the first and third units exhibiting identical tonal events on the right edges (Table 2). The extended prosodic repetition pattern is based on five prosodic units, with every other unit comprising a matching sequence of a pitch accent H* and the high H% or low L% right-edge boundary tone. Both three- and five-unit sequences conclude with an intonational phrase which terminates high.

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[23]The shamanic prosodic manipulations involving pitch are distinct from the phenomenon of parallelism. Parallelism is considered a common feature of ritual language across Amazonian language/culture groups. In particular, Michael, Beier, & Sherzer (2002:135) argue that a specific type of pan-Amazonian structural parallelism is created through "prosodic resemblances" between the lines of song texts, when the invariant matrix prosody is accommodated by the elongated or truncated syllables, reduplication, and insertion of vocables (the morphemes which have no referential meaning). The scholars point out that "extensive and pervasive parallelism is especially characteristic of ritual speaking and chanting in the greater Amazonian discourse area" (135). Some Arawak languages, e.g., Nanti (Southern Kampa) (Beier 2001) and Curripaco (Journet 2000) are reported to conform to the prosodic parallelism type.

[24]Within the autosegmental-metrical framework, the Fo contour is analyzed as a sequence of tonal targets (High, Low, and their combinations), which could either mark the *head* (pitch accent) or the *edge* (phrasal or boundary tones) of a prosodic unit. Pitch accent is aligned with a stressed syllable, or lexically accented syllable, and the edge tone is aligned with the initial or final syllable of the prosodic unit (see Jun & Fletcher 2014).

[25]In the figures and tables, tonal events are expressed by the abbreviated symbols: H stands for high tone; L for low tone; L* or H* for a tone which marks pitch prominence combined with intensity and duration; H% or L% for high or low boundary tones on the right edge and %H; %L for high or low tones on

Table 2. The macro-rhythmic pattern illustrated in Figures 1–3 (Appendix A)

Figure	Lines 4–5 (Appendix B)	Sequence of tonal events	
Figure 1	(oitakena sheri *na*)	%LH H* Hp	**H*H%**
Figure 2	(oitakena sheri *na*)	%LH LH*	**H*L%**
Figure 3	(sheri *na*)	%L	**H*H%**

I provide a detailed transcription of Lines 4–5 (Appendix B) in (6) for the sake of convenience.

(6) 1. *oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na
         feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC
         'I was given tobacco *na*.'[26] [27]

     2. *oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na
         feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC
         'I was given tobacco *na*.'

     3. *sheri*=na
         tobacco=VOC
         'Tobacco *na*.'

Table 3 summarizes the macro-rhythmic pattern illustrated in Figures 4–8 (Appendix A). It is formed by a repeated sequence of the pitch accent H*and the alternating high H% or low L% boundary tones. The transcription of Lines 6–7 (Appendix B) is given in (7) for the reader's convenience.

Table 3. The macro-rhythmic pattern illustrated in Figures 4–8 (Appendix A)

Figure	Lines 6–7 (Appendix B)	Sequence of tonal events	
Figure 4	(naakataki)	%LH	**H*H%**
Figure 5	(naakataki)	%LH	**H*L%**
Figure 6	(oitakena *ma*)	%LH	**H*H%**
Figure 7	(manitzipaye)	%H	**H*L%**
Figure 8	(iviyaro *mi na*)	%L	**H*H%**

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the left edge of a prosodic unit; %LH indicates a bitonal left edge boundary tone; and Hp stands for the high-toned non-final phrasal boundary.

[26]The verb root *oi* is literally translated as 'make drink', being used in contexts when a drink is given to a baby or a sick person who is incapable of doing it himself. The semantics of the verb implies a lack of control over the described consumption process on the part of the patientive participant.

[27]One of the primary language consultants, Gregorio Santos Pérez, suggests that it might be the female jaguars who shared tobacco with the shaman. In this case, the gapped subject person marker is due to a morphophonological rule. The rule states that the indexes *o*- '3NM.S/A' and *a*- '1PL.S/A' are deleted when they join the vowel-initial root (Mihas 2015a:135).

(7) 4. *naakataki*
        1SG.FOC.EXH
        'I am the one.'

    5. *naakataki*
        1SG.FOC.EXH
        'I am the one.'

    6. *oi-t-ak-e-na*=ma
        drink-EP-REAL-1SG.O=VOC
        'I was given (it) *ma*.'

    7. *manitzi-paye*
        jaguar-PL
        'By jaguars.'

    8. *i-viy-a-ro*=mi=na
        3M.A-dissolve-REAL-3NM.O=VOC=VOC
        'They dissolved it [tobacco leaves in boiled water] *mi na*.'

5.3 Semantic opacity The semantic opacity of the *pantsantsi* text is grounded in its allusions to the jaguar people world (Lines 1–17, Appendix B) and to an act of psychosomatic aggression committed against the shaman's patient (Lines 21–23, Appendix B). To interpret the text, a non-indigenous linguist might find it advantageous to take a close look at two well-known pan-Amazonian relational schemas depicting relations between human and non-human worlds: the predation schema and the conviviality schema. Particularly, Descola (2013:345) notes that the Lowland South American schema of generalized predation involves "a large number of members of the cosmos […] with each of these human and non-human subjects striving to incorporate the substance and identity of others". The predatory dimension of interactions between humans and non-humans is presumed to be invoked in Lines 21–23 (Appendix B). In the healing ritual song, the aggressor is alluded to as an instigator of the patient's illness who feeds on the patient through the harmful objects inserted in his body. The shaman's task is to find and remove these objects with the help of a jaguar ally.

The conviviality schema makes more transparent Lines 4–7 (Appendix B), which describe the tobacco-sharing act between the jaguar people and the shaman. The schema allows for an interpretation of what Descola (2013:357) calls the "altruistic variant of exchange", when the owner of jaguars shares his tobacco with the shaman. The schema conveys a sense of intimacy and an overall feeling of appreciation of sharing and mutual help among the human and non-human members of the cosmos. It gives meaning to the marital arrangement described in Lines 15 and 17 (Appendix B). The arrangement was perplexing even to the language consultants involved in this project who were bewildered by the shaman's declaration of marital commitment to the jaguar. The lines about the shaman becoming wedded to the jaguar person gen-

erated spirited discussions among the language consultants.[28] Abstracting from the shaman's spousal role, a tentative interpretation proffered here is that the shamanic *pantsantsi* is instrumental in the shaman's transformation into the jaguar's affinal kin. Consequently, it increases the shaman's chances of becoming a successful healer, with the jaguar's help solidly secured.

5.4 Lexical and morphosyntactic manipulations   Lexical manipulations include the employment of ideophones and Spanish loans. Ideophonic expressions *jmm* 'jaguar sound' in the song lyrics in Lines 1 and 16 (Appendix B) signal the jaguar-personhood of the singer. The Spanish word *cura* 'healer' in Line 20 (Appendix B) is an assimilated loan, pronounced as *kora* by the singer. For a shaman, a self-defining appropriate lexical choice is the term *sheripiyari ~ sheripiari* 'shaman' (Line 25, Appendix B). However, the singer also uses the obscure Spanish loan *kora* 'healer' to presumably elevate the status of his ritual office. The use of loans is not uncommon in the shamanic ritual language among Kampas. For example, García (1936:215–216 in Weiss 1975:477) notes that a singing shaman "employs rare terms in the language that the other Machiguengas do not understand well".

Morphosyntactic manipulations involve the Ashaninka clitic *=sa* 'superlative degree meaning or emphasis' and the omission of person markers on verbs. In particular, the singer uses *=sa*, a loan from Ashaninka, a neighboring Kampa variety, in Line 2. *=sa* in *ñakerosa* 'you will see' is hypothesized to serve a polar focus function.

The omission of the subject person markers on the verbs is illustrated in Examples 8–10. They are reproduced here from Lines 2, 4, and 6 (Appendix B) for quick reference.

(8) *ñ-ak-e-ro*   *ñ-ak-e-ro=sa*   *ñ-ak-e-ro*=ma
     see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=EMPH see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=VOC
     'You will see it, you will see it. You will see it *ma*.'

(9) *oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na   *oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na
     feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC
     'I was given tobacco *na*. I was given tobacco *na*.'

(10) *naakataki*   *naakataki*   *oi-t-ak-e-na*=ma   *manitzi-paye*
     1SG.FOC.EXH 1SG.FOC.EXH feed-EP-REAL-1SG.O=VOC jaguar-PL
     'I am the one. I am the one. I was given (it) *ma*. By jaguars.'

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[28]Gregorio Santos Pérez thinks that the singer made a mistake in Lines 15 and 17. Rather than *iinantyari* 'so that he could take as his wife', it should be *noinantyari* (no-ina-ant-ia-ri 1SG.POSS-wife- INST.APL-IRR-REL) 'so that I could take a wife'. He is skeptical about the idea that the shaman would envision himself to be a female being. His commentary goes against the interpretations of the data provider, Paulina García Ñate, and another consultant, Delia Rosas Rodríguez. Both females vehemently insist on the correctness of the recorded performance.

The first explanation which jumps out at the analyst is the performer's concern with the maintenance of the rhythmic structure of the song. However, the localization of the gapped subject markers to the initial few lines of the song text, which describe the transformation of the shaman into a jaguar person, throws the hypothesis into doubt.

The second hypothesis is that it was a female jaguar who gave the shaman the tobacco in (9)–(10). In this case, the morphophonological rule triggers the omission of the argument index on the verb when the agent is third person non-masculine (see Footnote 27). However, this hypothesis does not mesh well with Line 7 (Appendix B), which specifies that the entity which cooked the tobacco mass was a male person: *i-viya-a-ro* (**3M.A**-dissolve-REAL-3NM.O) 'They (masculine) dissolved it [tobacco leaves in boiled water]'.

Alternatively, it could be argued that the omission of the subject person markers on the transitive verbs is implemented to create contrastive focus structures (see §2). However, there are no fronted focus constituents in the preverbal slots in (8)–(9). Neither the topical pronoun *aviroka* 'you' nor the exhaustive focus *avirokataki* 'you are the one who' is present. The putative 'focus' structures with the omitted subject person markers on the verbs in Lines 2, 4, and 6 (Appendix B) and the missing personal pronouns might be intended to leave the addressee's personhood perspective unspecified out of deference. The personhood hypothesis appears to be validated by the subsequent absence of gapped subject person markers on verbs and clear identification of the tobacco's possessor in *pisheri* 'your tobacco', i.e. the jaguar person's tobacco, in Line 12 (Appendix B) (see also Note 4 (Appendix B) for an alternative interpretation of the tobacco's owner). The tenuous support for the personhood hypothesis comes from circum-Kampa languages. Brabec de Mori (2012) mentions the avoidance of the first person perspective in the ritual singing of Shipibo médicos. The reason is the fear of being identified as a human person and being attacked by a non-human being. Brabec de Mori (2012) also notes that his Shipibo-Konibo data providers explain the perceived deviance in the vocal music of Shipibo-Konibo ritual specialists by attributing their authorship to the animals who "produce 'singing errors' and fail correct pronunciation" (83–84). However, this insight applies only to the Shipibo songs called *osanti* 'funny songs' which are often sung during healing sessions "in order to cheer up suffering patients" (84). Their authorship is exclusively assigned to the non-powerful animals incapable of killing a human. With reference to the Alto Perené shamanic *pantsantsi*, the language consultants found it inconceivable to attribute 'singing errors' to the jaguar person.

6. Discussion: The challenges and best practices of documenting shamanic singing

While documenting shamanic singing, a non-indigenous linguist faces multiple challenges. The potential difficulties are the absence of shamans as an institution, the simulative setting of audio and video recordings, the inaccessibility of the text meanings to language consultants, and the uncomfortable non-definitiveness of the translated ritual text. I will briefly address each issue before turning to the discussion of the best practices of documenting shamanic singing.

1) *The absence of shamans as an institution.* After the death of the old shamans in the 90s, there are no practicing shamans left who could be recorded in action, according to language consultants. The withdrawal of ritual specialists is attributed to the heavy missionization of the area. Most native speakers participate in organized religion, either of Adventist or Catholic strain, which condemns shamanic activities and is intolerant of shamans as a class. A possible way of dealing with this situation is to look for the nearest kin of shamans and ask them to go on record (see 2 below). An additional difficulty could arise due to the reluctance of the surviving kin or other rememberers to sing ritual songs. Because ritual singing lies within the purview of shamans, rank-and-file community members express premonitions of bad outcomes for them when asked to sing a shamanic *pantsantsi*. In this situation, an elderly data provider might reconsider their initial refusal when the case is made to them that they are the only remaining living source and that otherwise the ancestral knowledge would disappear without trace, never be known to the subsequent generations of the speakers.

2) *The simulative setting of recordings.* Due to oral tradition, the transmission of shamanic ritual songs has stopped after the death of old shamans. The only extant resource is the relatives of shamans who still remember shamanic discourses and could reproduce them on camera. But the enactment is different as a genre from the actual ritual activity which involves multiple semiotic systems, such as speech, gaze, gesture, head and body movements of the ritual specialist, and coordination of the social action among the participants. Most importantly, the simulative performance lacks ritual efficacy since it does not aim to heal a patient, and the singer does not communicate with non-human beings. Nonetheless, the recordings are of significant utility to both linguistic and native communities due to the wealth of linguistic and cultural information that they possess.

3) *The inaccessibility of the recorded ritual texts to language consultants.* The shamanic ritual texts are notoriously difficult to translate and interpret for a non-indigenous linguist, as well as for the data providers and language consultants, because the texts are saturated with unfamiliar constructions and expressions. Community language workers sometimes lack the necessary cultural knowledge to interpret the recorded ritual texts. Yet the input of language consultants and data providers plays a critical role during the whole process of the ritual text translation and preservation for the future generations of speakers. The feedback of language consultants is especially valuable in view of the paucity of the existing recordings of shamanic ritual songs and lack of scholarly publications analyzing them.

4) *The methodological problem of translation of the ritual text for archiving and publication.* There is a basic challenge of rendering the meaning of a field-recorded text by a non-native speaker (Hellwig 2010). The non-indigenous linguist faces the challenge of producing a thorough translation record on the basis of information obtained from various, often conflicting sources. In particular, the transcripts and interpretations proffered by language consultants are frequently contradictory. Moreover, language consultants tend to regularize unfamiliar grammatical structures to bring them up to the norms of the current speech practice (e.g., see Footnotes 27 and 28).

The dissonant feedback on the meaning of ritual texts suggests that the translation process is likely to be an open-ended undertaking.

Responding to the challenges of text translation and interpretation, Hellwig (2010) suggests, first and foremost, to make sure that the erroneous translations are excluded.[29] To follow the best practice recommendations means staying committed to the longitudinal study of the research language and collaborating on text translation and interpretation with highly proficient speakers. In my case, it was certainly illuminating to discuss the collected ritual texts and the background knowledge associated with them with Alto Perené language consultants. Equally beneficial has been the extensive multiyear immersion in the language's grammar, with the fieldwork spanning the period of 26 months. During this long term study of the language's grammatical structures, my own interpretations of vocal music texts have gradually become more insightful. Indeed, as Wittgenstein (1958[1953]:81) notes, "to understand a sentence means to understand a language".

A non-indigenous fieldworker is likely to succumb to a pitfall of relying on non-native theoretical concepts in her interpretations and translations of data. The researcher's metalanguage unavoidably reflects her own culture-specific theoretical models which may skew her analysis of data (e.g., see Brabec de Mori & Seeger's (2013: 277) commentary on the fieldworkers' theoretical allegiances). Following the established linguistics tradition, I describe conceptual correspondences manifested in the cited shamanic text as "metaphors" and relational schemas, although I am aware of the inadequacy of this interpretation. For the Alto Perené data providers and language consultants, the "metaphorical" expressions are not figurative: they describe what the speakers believe to be real. To alert the reader to the non-nativeness of the proposed perspective, the term is put in quotation marks throughout the paper.

To ensure the best results in the translation and interpretation of the legacy text, gaining a good understanding of the area-specific indigenous cosmologies is certainly advantageous. Particularly, familiarity with the contemporary findings of Lowland Amazonian ethnomusicology and anthropology is beneficial. Nonetheless, caution is advisable in dealing with the loaded theoretical constructs being applied to culture-specific facts. For the non-indigenous fieldworker, a large and diverse documentary corpus remains the primary source for gaining insights into the research community's ways of understanding the surrounding world. The Alto Perené shamanic *pantsantsi* certainly reflects the community's understanding of the temporality of the human body and the non-human entity's agency. It also conveys the idea of the ritual specialist's ability of transforming into a powerful jaguar person through ritual singing.

The final best practice recommendation concerns the comprehensiveness and multimodality of resources linked to the translation and interpretation product. To en-

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[29]In her discussion of errors, Hellwig (2010:814–817) refers to the fieldworker's mistaken linguistic interpretations of grammatical constructions made during the translation process. She illustrates her point with the analysis of Goemai property-denoting expressions. Originally, the author analyzed them as intransitive stative verbs, but later on, she revised her analysis to reflect the fact that certain verbs were attested with a progressive, habitual, or iterative translation only. On the account of the language consultants' "erroneous" interpretations, they are still worthy of being included in the record and commented on, which is the practice this analysis adheres to.

sure the best results in documentation, Evans & Sasse (2007) recommend to consider the "manifold sources of translation" in dealing with the recorded narrative texts in Australian Aboriginal languages. The scholars' summary of the best practices of translation includes the following (85):

- "the fragments of rendition [...] in English" made by the investigator at the beginning of the translation process;

- "the accumulated understanding by the investigator of how the language works";

- "information from gesture" (and other non-verbal channels of communications);

- "relevant information from tellings of the same story by others";

- "other contextual information that was not recorded but is relevant to the translation";

- and "subsequent interpretive remarks made after the story".

In order to create an exhaustive record of the shamanic *pantsantsi* text (Appendix B), the transcript is complemented by a compendium of notes. The notes are envisioned to provide contextual information necessary to make sense of the English translation. The basic transcription structure is presented in the usual three-tier system of the parsed native language structure, gloss, and English translation. The audio and video files have been cited and/or linked to the text. Adding other complementary data to the translated text, such as Praat-generated annotations of tonal targets (and musical transcriptions in the future) will contribute to the enhanced understanding of the *pantsantsi* in question.

In spite of the fieldworker's best effort to create as thorough a record as possible and adherence to the best practices of documentation, the translated shamanic *pantsantsi* text leaves some matters unsettled. Evans & Sasse (2007:85) suggest that "even after integrating all of the above", translation "remains an open-ended process since [...] many unanswered questions remain". The *pantsantsi* text in Appendix B serves as an illustration of the interpretation and translation project's open-endedness. The notes accompanying the text underscore the exploratory approach to the remaining ambiguities. Yet considering the rapidly declining vitality of the Alto Perené language, the present record incrementally contributes towards the goal of documentation and preservation of the community's rich and complex linguistic and cultural heritage.

7. Conclusions   Drawing on extensive fieldwork, the paper explores the ways of interpreting and translating a shamanic *pantsantsi* song by a non-indigenous fieldworker and Alto Perené (a.k.a Ashéninka Perené) language workers. The language's vitality is on a steep downward trajectory. Currently, it is spoken by a few hundred people. Aiming to create a thorough record of shamanic singing for the purpose

of Alto Perené preservation, the fieldworker grapples with various stumbling blocks. Among them are the absence of shamans as an institution, the simulative setting of audio and video recordings, the inaccessibility of the text meanings to language consultants, and the non-definitiveness of the translated text. The shamanic language is manipulated in various ways to make it distinct from the profane speech of community members. The manipulative strategies include the singer's allusions to the predation and conviviality schemes, prosodic repetitions, lexical and morphosyntactic manipulations, and voice masking. The meaning of the *pantsantsi* text eludes the non-indigenous fieldworker unless she collaborates with highly proficient native speakers, devotes many years to the committed study of the research language, possesses a good knowledge of the culture-specific background, and draws on the "manifold sources of translation" (Evans & Sasse 2007:85).

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Appendix A: Figures 1–8

In Figures 1–8, the following abbreviations are used: H stands for high tone; L for low tone; L* or H* for a tone which marks pitch prominence combined with primary and secondary stresses (termed pitch accent); LH* for a bitonal pitch accent; H% or L% for high or low boundary tones on the right edge; %H and %L for high or low tones on the left edge of an intonation unit; %LH indicates a bitonal left edge boundary tone; and Hp stands for the high-toned non-final phrasal boundary.

Lines represent the text in Appendix B; examples (Ex.) refer to the text cited in §5.2.
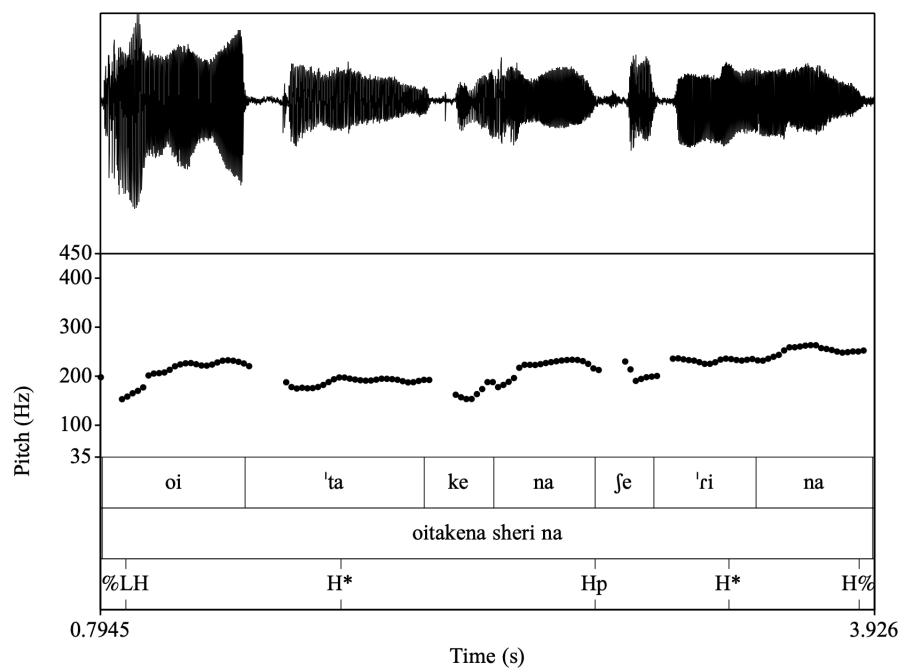

Figure 1. Pitch movement of *oitakena sheri na* 'I was given tobacco *na*' (Line 4/Ex. 6)
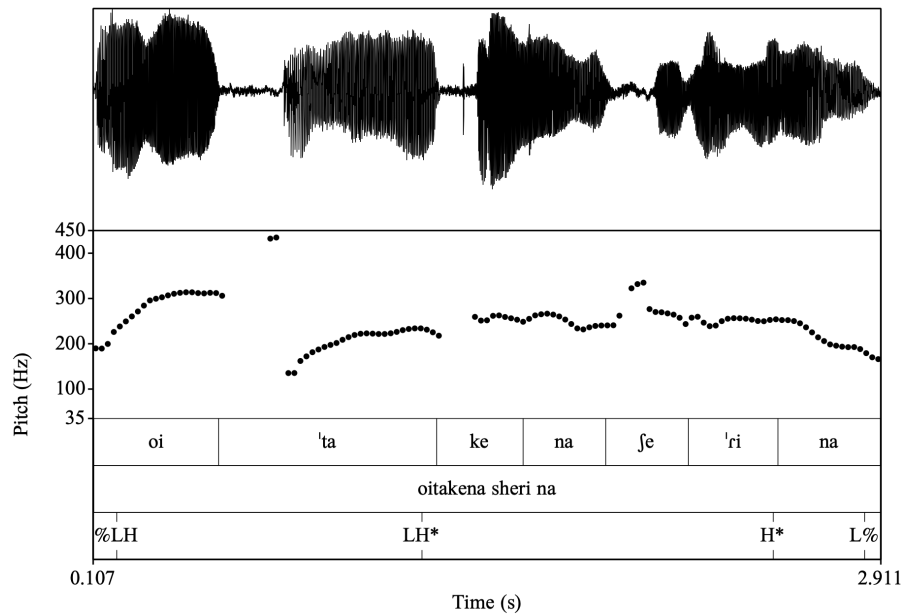
Figure 2. Pitch movement of *oitakena sheri na* 'I was given tobacco *na*' (Line 4/Ex. 6)
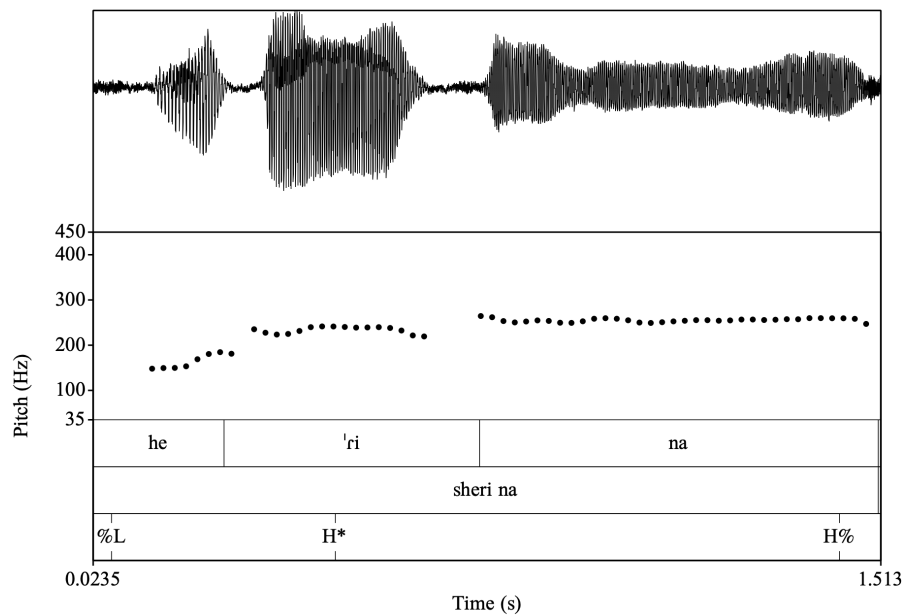

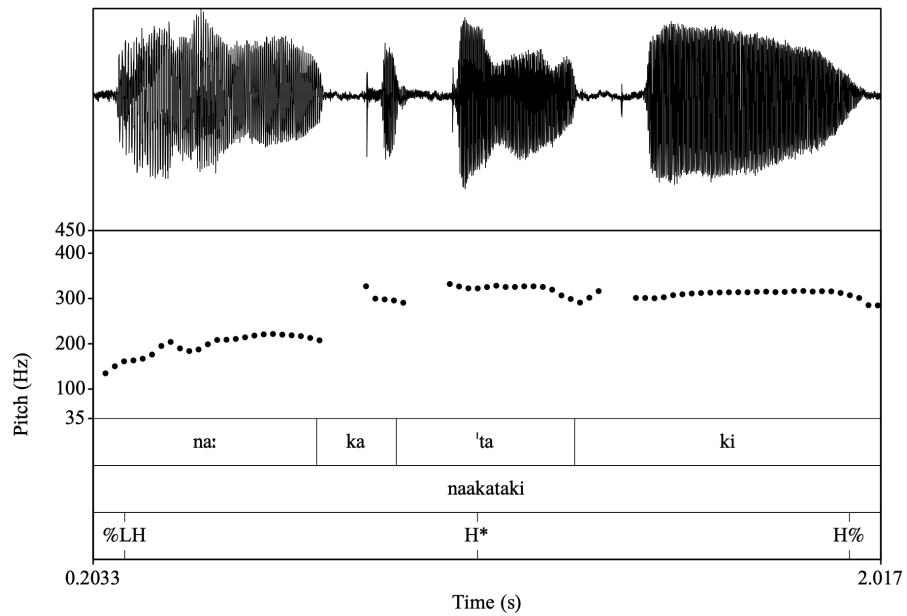**Figure 3.** Pitch movement of *sheri na* 'tobacco *na*' (Line 5/Ex. 6)

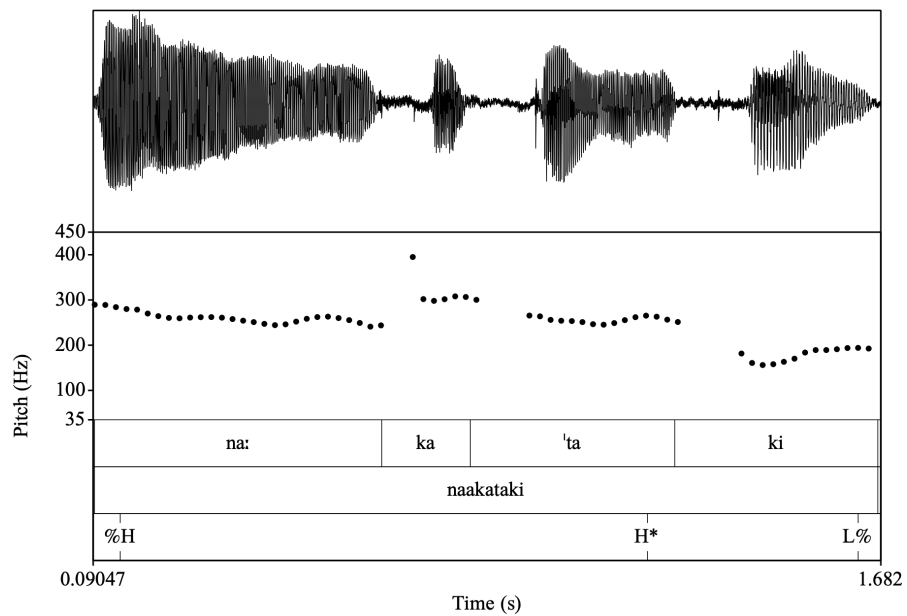**Figure 4.** Pitch movement of *naakataki* 'I am the one' (Line 6/Ex. 7)

Figure 5. Pitch movement of *naakataki* 'I am the one' (Line 6/Ex. 7)
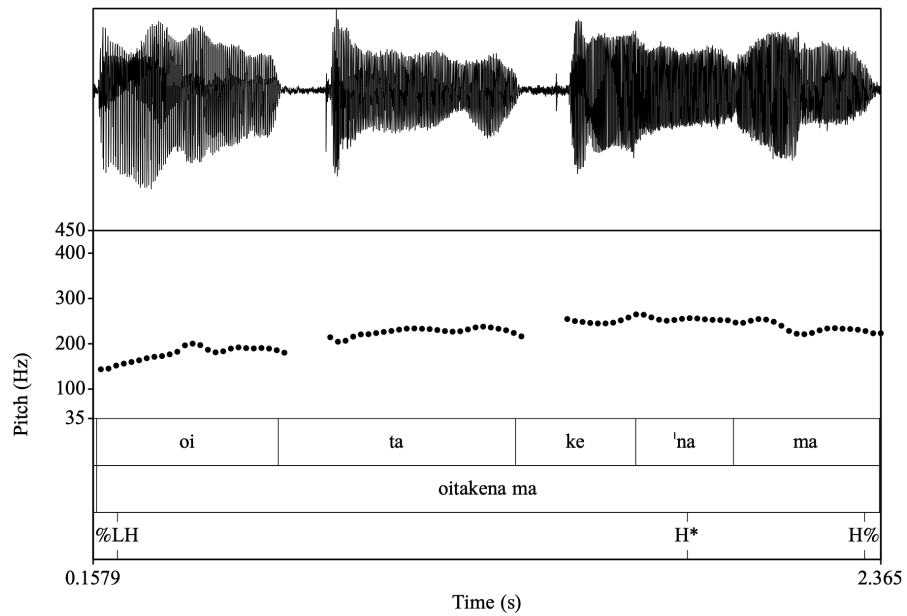
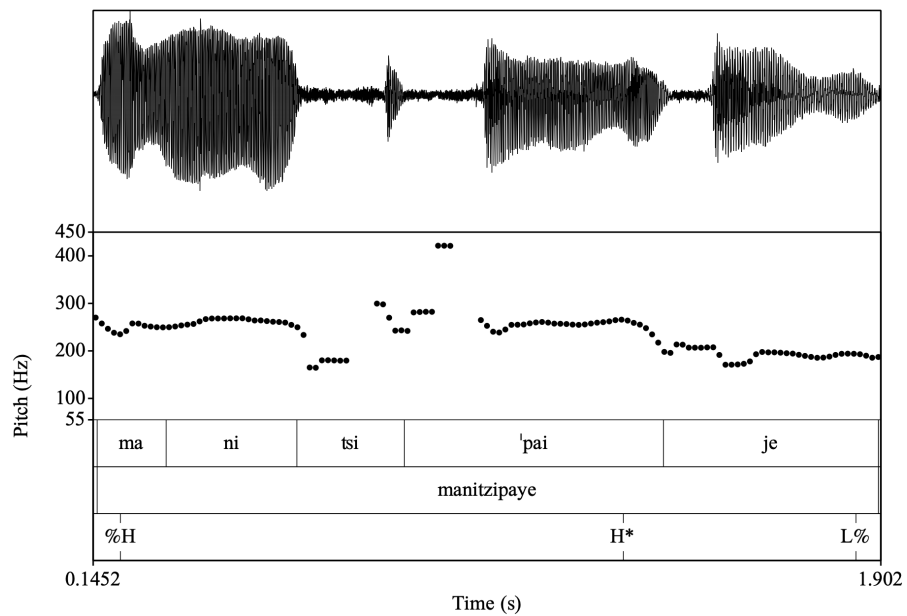**Figure 6.** Pitch movement of *oitakena ma* 'I was given *ma*' (Line 6/Ex. 7)

Figure 7. Pitch movement of *manitzipaye* 'by jaguars' (Line 6/Ex. 7)
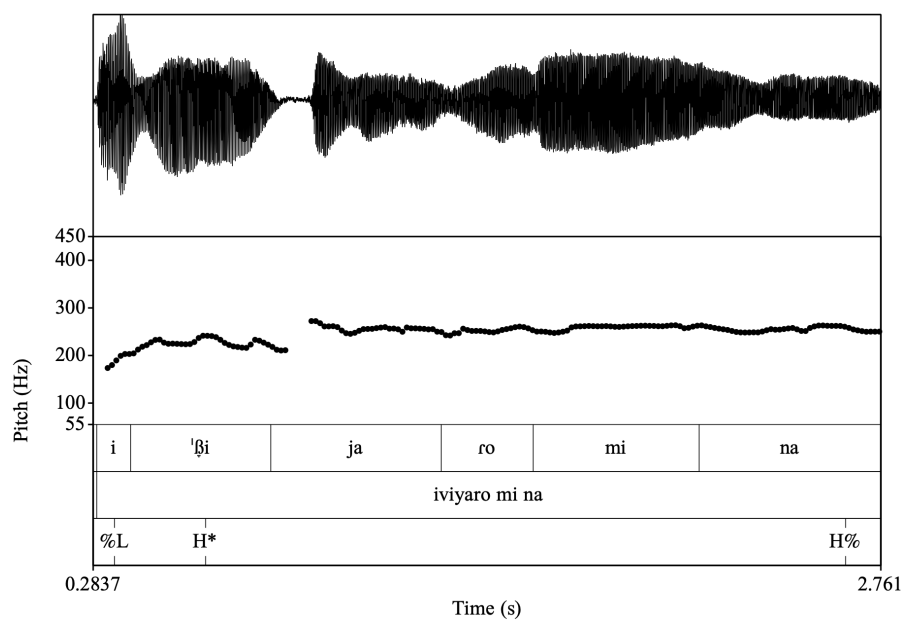
Figure 8. Pitch movement of *iviyaro mi na* 'They dissolved it *mi na*' (Line 7/Ex. 7)

Appendix B: Text of the shamanic *pantsantsi* enacted by Paulina García Ñate (2011)

Video   https://youtu.be/V1dk1gSZXSg

The parenthesis symbol indicates the boundaries of prosodic units, which are isomorphic with phonological phrases. The vocables and ideophones are given in italics due to their special status in the *pantsantsi* grammar.

(1) *(jmm)*
     IDEO
     Hmm 'jaguar sound'.

Note 1. The jaguar sound marks the beginning of the shaman's act of mimesis and his transformed state.

(2) *ñ-ak-e-ro*   *ñ-ak-e-ro*=sa   *ñ-ak-e-ro*=ma
     see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=EMPH see-PFV-IRR-3NM.O=VOC
     You will see it, you will see it. You will see it *ma*.

Note 2. The second person argument index is absent on the verbs. Another unusual feature is the use of the emphatic enclitic =*sa*, a loan from the neighboring Ashaninka variety.

(3) *(korake-t-ak-e-Ø)*   *(manitzi) (manitzi) (manitzi)*
     draw.near-EP-PFV-REAL-3S jaguar   jaguar   jaguar
     He is coming, the jaguar. The jaguar, the jaguar.

Note 3. The line is authored by the shaman who will keep the floor in the remainder of the text, except Lines 8–9, which might be authored by the shaman's wife, see Note 6.

(4) *(oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na*) *(oi-t-ak-e-na*   *sheri*=na*)*
     feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC feed-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O tobacco=VOC
     I was given tobacco *na*. I was given tobacco *na*.

Note 4. Here the singer points to the prior generosity of jaguar persons, invoking the conviviality schema. The donor of the gift of tobacco is unknown. The subject person argument index is either missing on the verbs or the female jaguars might have shared the tobacco with the shaman. In this case, the gapped subject person marker is due to a morphophonological rule (see Footnote 27). However, this interpretation would contradict Line 9 identifying the possessor of the tobacco as a male, *isherinityami* 'his tobacco', unless the possessor is the shaman himself. The plot thickens further if we consider the data provider's comment about the gist of the *pantsantsi* [soundfile.15]. The singer says that the shaman sings about tobacco, but she does not clarify

the tobacco's possessor: *i-kant-tz-i irori i-pantsako-tz-i-ro sheri* (3M.S-say-EP-REAL 3NM.ADD.FOC 3M.A-sing.about-EP-REAL-3NM.O tobacco) 'He says, it, he is singing about (it), tobacco'. Nonetheless, in Line 12, the shaman directly addresses the jaguar person claiming that his tobacco, i.e. the jaguar person's, made him powerful.

(5) *(sheri=na)*
     tobacco=VOC
     Tobacco *na*.

(6) *(naakataki) (naakataki) (oi-t-ak-e-na=ma)   (manitzi-paye)*
     1SG.FOC.EXH 1SG.FOC.EXH feed-EP-REAL-1SG.O=VOC jaguar-PL
     I am the one. I am the one. I was given (it) *ma*. By jaguars.

Note 5. The subject argument index coding the addressee is either missing on the verb, or the agentive participant is a female. See Note 4 above.

(7) *(i-viya-a-ro=mi=na)*
     3M.A-dissolve-REAL-3NM.O=VOC=VOC
     They (masculine) boiled it. (Lit. 'They dissolved tobacco leaves in boiled water *mi na*.')

(8) *(i-piyataka-a-ro)*   *(i-piyataka-a-ro)*
     3M.A-react.properly-REAL-3NM.O 3M.A-react.properly-REAL-3NM.O
     He harnessed it (the power of tobacco). He harnessed it (the power of tobacco).

Note 6. As Gregorio Santos Pérez suggests, the authorship of Lines 8–9 could be attributed to the shaman's wife who is praising the shaman's masterful handling of his tobacco intake.

(9) *(i-sheri-ni=tya=mi)*   *(i-sheri-ni=tya=mi)*
     3M.POSS-tobacco-POSS=AFF=VOC 3M.POSS-tobacco-POSS=AFF=VOC
     His tobacco *mi*, his tobacco *mi*.

Note 7. The possessor of the tobacco is idenitified as a male person, presumably, a jaguar person.

(10) *(o-shinki-t-ak-e-na)*   *(o-shinki-t-ak-e-na*
      3NM.A-intoxicate-EP-PFV-REAL-1GS.O 3NM.A-intoxicate-EP-PFV-REAL-1SG.O

      =ma*)*
      =VOC
      It intoxicated me. It intoxicated me *ma*.

(11) *(kamara-ampi=ra) (kamara-ampi=ma)*
       vomit-herb=DEM   vomit-herb=VOC
       The ayahuasca. The ayahuasca *ma*.

(12) *("n-avi-ant-ia-ro-ri=*ma*)   (pi-sheri")*
       1SG.A-have.power-INST.APL-IRR-3NM.O-REL=VOC 2POSS-tobacco
       "So that I could handle *ma* your tobacco."

Note 8. The singer directly addresses the owner of jaguars here, evidenced by the use of the second person possessive marker *pi-* in **pisheri** 'your tobacco'. This signals the completed transformation of the shaman into a jaguar person and his confidence in the cooperative nature of the established relationship.

(13) *(no-shiy-ant-an-t-ia-ro-ri=*ma*)   (ashi-t-a-*
       1SG.A-be.like-INST.APL-DIR-EP-IRR-3NM.O-REL=VOC   own-EP-REAL-

       ro-ri
       3NM.O-REL
       So that I could become like her. The owner

(14) *manitzi) (manitzi irirori=*ma*)*
       jaguar   jaguar   3M.FOC.ADD=VOC
       of female jaguars. Jaguars themselves (masculine) *ma*.

Note 9. In Lines 13-14, the shaman sings into becoming an ontological equal of the female jaguar person. This line could be linked to the tobacco-sharing act presumably initiated by the female jaguar in Lines 4 and 6.

(15) *(i-ina-nt-ia-ri=*ma   naari)   (naari=*ma*
       3M.POSS-wife-POSS.REL-IRR-REL=VOC 1SG.FOC.ADD 1SG.FOC.ADD=VOC

       naari)
       1SG.FOC.ADD
       So that he could take as his wife *ma* me. Me *ma* me.

Note 10. Here the shamanic ritual action invokes the schema of conviviality since the owner of jaguars is wedded to the shaman. An alternative interpretation proffered by a language consultant is that *iinantyari* 'so that he could take as his wife' is a performance error, and it should be *noinantyari* (no-ina-ant-ia-ri 1SG.POSS-wife-INST.APL-IRR-REL) 'so that I could take a wife' (see Footnote 28). However, this interpretation does not mesh well with the consistent linguistic gender-marking of the shaman's spouse as a male in Lines 15 and 17.

(16) *(*jmm *no-sheripiyari-t-ant-ia-ri)*
IDEO 1SG.S-shaman-EP-INST.APL-IRR-REL
Hmm 'jaguar sound', so that I could act as a shaman.

Note 11. The jaguar sound manifests the shaman's personhood as being a jaguar person. It also signals that the cooperative behavior on the part of the jaguar person enables the shaman to gain superior knowledge to tackle the aggressor causing the patient's disease.

(17) *(i-ina-nt-ia-ri*=ma   *naari)*
3M.POSS-wife-POSS.REL-IRR-REL=VOC 1SG.FOC.ADD
So that he could take as his wife *ma* me.

Note 12. See Note 10 above and Footnote 28.

(18) *(n-amen-ant-aiy-i-t-e*=ma*)*   *(ninka=rika)*
1SG.S-look-INST.APL-PL-ICPL-EP-IRR=VOC who=COND
So that I could tend to all *ma*. Whoever.

(19) *(mantsiya-t-atsi-ni-ri)*   *(mantsiya-t-atsi-ni-ri)*
be.sick-EP-STAT-PL-REL be.sick-EP-STAT-PL-REL
The ones who are sick. The ones who are sick.

(20) *(naaka*=ma   *kora) (naaka*=ma   *amin-aj-e-ni-ri)*
1SG.TOP=VOC healer 1SG.TOP=VOC look-TERM-IRR-PL-IRR.REL
I am *ma* a healer. I am *ma* the one who will tend to all of them.

Note 13. *kora* is an assimilated loan from the Spanish cura 'healer'. The use of the esoteric loan intends to signal the shaman's high authority.

(21) *(n-a-ye-t-e-ro*=ma=tya*)*   *(katsi-tz-imo-t-ak-i-*
1S.A-take-DISTR-EP-IRR-3NM.O=VOC=AFF hurt-EP- PRES.APL-EP-PFV-REAL-
ri=ra)
3M.O=DEM
I will take out all kinds of things. Those which hurt them.

Note 14. The predation schema is invoked in Lines 21–23. The allusion is made to the aggressor, an instigator of the patient's illness, who feeds on the patient's body through the harmful objects inserted in his body. The shaman's task is to take these objects out.

(22)   *(o-katsi-tz-imo-t-ak-i-ri)*   *(i-vatsa-ki-paye=ra)*
      3NM.A-hurt-EP-PRES.APL-EP-PFV-REAL-3M.O   3M.POSS-flesh-LOC-PL=DEM
      They (things) hurt their bodies.

(23)   *(aritaki   naari)*   *(n-a-ako-t-ant-aj-ia-ri*=ma*)*
      PP   1SG.FOC.ADD 1SG.S-take-GEN.APL-EP-INST.APL-TERM-IRR-REL=VOC
      This is the reason for me. To take them all out *ma*.

(24)   *(y-avisako-t-ant-ia-ri-i-i-i-i)*
      3M.S-recover-EP-INST.APL-IRR-REL
      So that they could recover.

(25)   *(naaka   naaka)   (sheripiyari)*
      1SG.TOP 1SG.TOP shaman
      I am, I am. I am a shaman.

(26)   *(no-na-tz-i*   *naaka-a-a-a)*
      1SG.S-be-EP-REAL 1SG.TOP
      I am.