A Linguistic Analysis of Old Omagua Ecclesiastical Texts

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Morphemes and Abbreviations

Here we provide glosses and definitions of Omagua grammatical morphemes. We also include morphemes that occur synchronically but happen to not appear in the texts, when we discuss them in Chapter 2. Table 1 is organized alphabetically by gloss, and Table 2 by morpheme.

Table 1: Morphemes and Abbreviations by Gloss

Gloss	Definition	Morpheme
1SG.MS	First singular masculine speech	*taa/ta=*
1PL.EXCL.MS	First plural exclusive masculine speech	*tanu*
1PL.INCL	First plural inclusive	*yene/yene=*
2SG	Second singular	*ene/ne=*
2PL	Second plural	*epe/pe=*
3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech	*muɾa/ɾa=*
3PL.MS	Third plural masculine speech	*ɾanu ∼ ɾana*
ABL	Ablative	*=sui*
ACT.NOMZ	Active nominalizer	*-taɾa*
ADESS	Adessive	*=kakuɾa*
AGT.NOMZ	Agent nominalizer	*-waɾa*
ALL	Allative	*=kate*
APPL	Applicative	*=supe*
AUG	Augmentative	*=wasu*
CAUS	Causative	*-ta*
CERT	Certainty	*=tina*
CESS	Cessative	*=upa*
COM	Comitative	*=mukui*
COORD	Coordinator	*weɾanu*
CORE.NEG	Core negator	*-sɨma*
DEM.PROX.MS	Proximal demonstrative masculine speech	*akia*
DEM.PROX.MS.PRO	Proximal demonstrative pro-form masculine speech	*akia*
DEM.PROX.FS	Proximal demonstrative feminine speech	*amai*
DEM.PROX.FS.PRO	Proximal demonstrative pro-form feminine speech	*amai*
DEM.DIST.MS	Distal demonstrative masculine speech	*yuká*
DEM.DIST.MS.PRO	Distal demonstrative pro-form masculine speech	*yuká*
DEM.DIST.FS	Distal demonstrative feminine speech	*yukú*
DEM.DIST.FS.PRO	Distal demonstrative pro-form feminine speech	*yukú*
DIM	Diminutive	*=kiɾa*
EXST	Existential	*amiti*

FUT	Future tense	=usu
		=usaɾi
GOAL	Goal	=supe
IMPF	Imperfective aspect	-aɾi
INACT.NOMZ	Inactive nominalizer	=mai
INESS	Inessive	=ɨpɨpe
		=kʷaɾape
INSTR	Instrumental	=pupe
INSTR.NOMZ	Instrumental nominalizer	-ta
INTERR	Interrogative	=pa
INTSF	Intensifier	=katu
IRR	Irrealis mood	=mia
LIM	Limitative	=nani
LOAN.VBLZR	Loan verbalizer	-ʃka
LOC	Locative	=kate
		=kʷaɾape
LOC.DIFF	Diffuse locative	=aɾi
MAN	Manner	=pupe
NASS	Non-assertive	=ɾaʃi
NEG	Negative	ɾoaya
NEG.PURP	Negative purposive	=maka
NOM.FUT	Nominal future	=ɾa
NOM.PST	Nominal past tense	=puɾa
NOM.PURP	Nominal purposive	=ɾa
NON.GEN	Non-genuine	-ɾana
OPT	Optative	tene
PL.MS	Plural masculine speech	=kana
POSS.NOMZ	Possessive nominalizer	=yaɾa
PRIV	Privative	=ɨma
PROH	Prohibitive	ename
PROL	Prolative	=ɾupe
PST.DIST	Distal past tense	=suɾi
PST.PROX	Proximal past tense	=uí
PURP	Purposive	=senuni
REAS	Reason	=ikua
		=sepɨ
REG	Regressive aspect	-katu
SIM	Similative	ɾntɪɾu
		=sana
		=yá
SUBESS	Subessive	=wiɾipe
SUBJ.NOMZ	Subject nominalizer	-suɾi
SUPERESS	Superessive	=aɾɨwa
TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap	=kate
		=pupekatu
TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority	=katekatu
		=sakapɨɾɨ

Table 2: Morphemes and Abbreviations by Morpheme

Morpheme	Gloss	Definition
akia	DEM.PROX.MS	Proximal demonstrative masculine speech
	DEM.PROX.MS.PRO	Proximal demonstrative pro-form masculine speech
amai	DEM.PROX.FS	Proximal demonstrative feminine speech
	DEM.PROX.FS.PRO	Proximal demonstrative pro-form feminine speech
amiti	EXST	Existential
=aɾi	IMPF	Imperfective aspect
=aɾi	LOC.DIFF	Diffuse locative
=aɾiwa	SUPERESS	Superessive
ename	PROH	Prohibitive
ene	2SG	Second singular
epe	2PL	Second plural
=ikua	REAS	Reason
ɪntɪɾu	SIM	Similative
=ɨma	PRIV	Privative
=ɨpɨpe	INESS	Inessive
=kana	PL.MS	Plural masculine speech
=kakuɾa	ADESS	Adessive
=kate	ALL	Allative
	LOC	Locative
=kate	TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap
=katekatu	TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority
=katu	INTSF	Intensifier
-katu	REG	Regressive aspect
=kɨɾa	DIM	Diminutive
=kʷaɾape	INESS	Inessive
	LOC	Locative
=mai	INACT.NOMZ	Inactive nominalizer
=mia	IRR	Irrealis mood
=mukui	COM	Comitative
=nani	LIM	Limitative
=maka	NEG.PURP	Negative purposive
muɾa	3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech
ne=	2SG	Second singular
=pa	INTERR	Interrogative
pe=	2PL	Second plural
=pupe	INSTR	Instrumental
=pupe	MAN	Manner
=pupekatu	TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap
=puɾa	NOM.PST	Nominal past tense
ɾa=	3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech

=ɾa	NOM.PURP	Nominal purposive
	NOM.FUT	Nominal future
-ɾana	NON.GEN	Non-genuine
ɾanu ∼ ɾana	3PL.MS	Third plural masculine speech
=ɾaʃi	NASS	Non-assertive
ɾoaya	NEG	Negative
=ɾupe	PROL	Prolative
=sakapiɾɨ	TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority
=sana	SIM	Similative
=semai	VERID	Veridical
=senuni	PURP	Purposive
=sepɨ	REAS	Reason
-sɨma	CORE.NEG	Core negator
=sui	ABL	Ablative
=supe	APPL	Applicative
=supe	GOAL	Goal
=suɾi	PST.DIST	Distal past tense
-suɾi	SUBJ.NOMZ	Subject nominalizer
-ʃka	LOAN.VBLZR	Loan verbalizer
-ta	CAUS	Causative
-ta	INSTR.NOMZ	Instrumental nominalizer
taa/ta=	1SG.MS	First singular masculine speech
tanu	1PL.EXCL.MS	First plural exclusive masculine speech
-taɾa	ACT.NOMZ	Active nominalizer
tene	OPT	Optative
=tina	CERT	Certainty
=uí	PST.PROX	Proximal past tense
=upa	CESS	Cessative
=usaɾi	FUT	Future tense
=usu	FUT	Future tense
-waɾa	AGT.NOMZ	Agent nominalizer
=wasu	AUG	Augmentative
weɾanu	COORD	Coordinator
=wɨɾɨpe	SUBESS	Subessive
=yá	SIM	Similative
=yaɾa	POSS.NOMZ	Possessive nominalizer
yene/yene=	1PL.INCL	First plural inclusive
yuká	DEM.DIST.MS	Distal demonstrative masculine speech
	DEM.DIST.MS.PRO	Distal demonstrative pro-form masculine speech
yukú	DEM.DIST.FS	Distal demonstrative feminine speech
	DEM.DIST.FS.PRO	Distal demonstrative pro-form feminine speech

Figure 1: Indigenous Groups of Maynas, 1638-1768 (Grohs 1974)
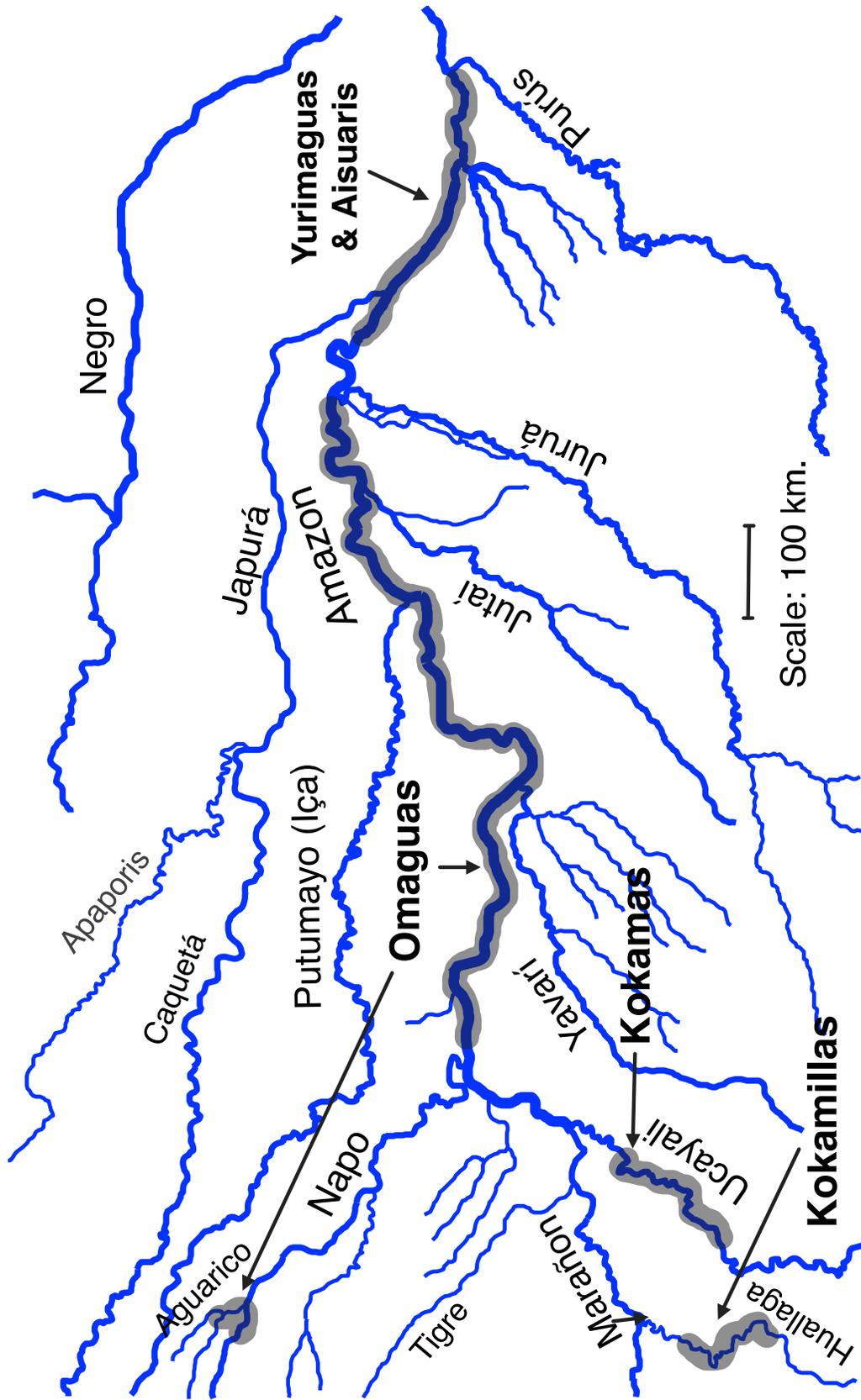
Figure 2: Early Locations of the Omagua, Kokama, Kokamilla, Yurimagua and Aisuari

Chapter 1

Introduction

Ecclesiastical texts written in indigenous South American languages are among the oldest sources of data on these languages, allowing us insight into their grammars and lexicons as they existed centuries before modern documentation and description began to be carried out. The data provided by such ecclesiastical texts, which run the gamut from prayers to catechisms, is especially valuable in cases where the historical development of the language is a focus of research, as is the case for Omagua, the language treated here. Omagua, like its closely-related sister language Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a), has long puzzled linguists, as it exhibits numerous Tupí-Guaraní traits, but is also relatively grammatically and lexically divergent from other Tupí-Guaraní languages. This has led to a provocative hypothesis, advanced by Cabral (1995, 2007) and Cabral and Rodrigues (2003), that Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla are in fact creole languages that developed in the Jesuit *reducciones* (mission settlements) of the *Gobierno de Maynas*[1] during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Whatever the ultimate status of this hypothesis, it is clear that Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla are of significant comparative interest from the wider Tupí-Guaraní perspective, due to how they differ from other Tupí-Guaraní languages.

Ecclesiastical texts like those studied in this volume are also valuable historical documents that, together with contemporary descriptions of misisonary linguistic and evangelical practices, provide us the opportunity to better understand how colonial-era missionaries – in the Omagua case, Jesuits – engaged with indigenous languages. Ecclesiastical texts served as crucial tools to mitigate the difficulties posed by the tremendous linguistic diversity of Amazonia, and formed part of a sophisticated linguistic policy that combined descriptive linguistic research, the maintenance of archives of linguistic materials, and a broader effort to promote Quechua as a *lengua general* in the Amazonian lowlands. A close examination of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts, and descriptions of how similar texts were developed, also reveals that ecclesiastical texts were, in a significant sense, communally created objects, with different missionaries successively modifying the texts.

The principal purpose of the present work is to bring together for the first time all four known ecclesiastical texts produced in Old Omagua, the 17th- and 18th-century predecessor to modern Omagua,[2] and to provide a linguistically informed analysis of these texts. The goal in doing so is to render these texts suitable for further linguistic analysis, especially for comparative analysis aimed at clarifying the relationship of Omagua to other Tupí-Guaraní languages.

The texts analyzed in this work consist of: 1) a version of the Lord's Prayer (*Pater Noster*); 2) a short fragment of one catechism; 3) a complete version of a second catechism; and 4) a Profession

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[1]The colonial-era *Gobierno de Maynas* corresponds roughly to the present-day Department of Loreto in Peru.
[2]Old Omagua is sufficiently different from modern Omagua, especially in terms of the preservation of Tupí-Guaraní morphology lost in the modern language, that a distinct name is useful to distinguish from the modern language.

of Faith. The texts were produced by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th or 18th centuries as part of the broader missionary effort of the Society of Jesus in the Government of Maynas (Province of Quito, Viceroyalty of Peru), which lasted from 1638 to 1767, when King Charles III expelled the Jesuits from Spain and all territories.[3] Together, these works constitute one of the more extensive records of a western Amazonian language from this period. In addition, we include an analysis of brief fragments of Omagua present in the diary of Manuel Uriarte, a Jesuit missionary who worked among the Omagua.[4] The Omagua ecclesiastical texts discussed in this work have come down to us in different ways, which we discuss in the chapters devoted to each text.[5]

At the time of Europeans' arrival in South America, the Omagua people were one of the most numerous and powerful groups in Amazonia, occupying an extensive territory along the Amazon River, from somewhat below the mouth of the Napo, in present-day Peru, to the mouth of the Putumayo/Içá, in present day Brazil, as well as occupying two regions in the upper Napo basin (where they were known as the Omaguayeté),[6] one on the Coca River, and another in and around the mouth of the Curaray (Métraux (1927:36-41), Oberem (1967/1968), Grohs (1974:21-27), Newsom (1996:206-208, 218-220)).[7] The Omagua are first thought to have encountered Europeans in 1538, when the expedition of Diego Nunes carried out exploration of the Huallaga, Marañón and Amazon basins (Stocks (1978:99-102), Myers (1992:129), citing Hemming (1978:185)).[8] The earliest surviving description of Omagua society was written Gaspar de Carvajal ([1542]1934)[9] (b. c1500 Trujillo, Spain – d. 1584 Lima), a Dominican priest attached to the expedition of Francisco de Orellana (b. 1511 Trujillo, Spain), which travelled down the Napo and Amazon Rivers to the Atlantic.

Colonial era estimates of the total Omagua population dating from 1542 to 1649 range from roughly 6,000 to 100,000 (see Myers (1992:137-139) for a summary), but since several 16th- and 17th-century epidemics ravaged the Omagua, some estimates of pre-contact populations reach 2,000,000 (Myers 1992:148-149). The Omagua appear to have exerted significant politico-economic influence throughout the part of Amazonia in which they lived, and exhibited large-scale social organization. Omagua society collapsed in the 1690s, however, under intense pressure from Portuguese slave raids, which resulted in the capture of many thousands of Omaguas and led the majority of the remainder to flee upriver (Anonymous [1731]1922). By the 1720s, the surviving Omagua lived mainly in a small number of mission settlements in Peru and Brazil, and by the early 20th century, ethnographers

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[3]Over the course of approximately the next two years, all Jesuits left Maynas under the supervision of the provincial president José Diguja and a special commissioner José Basave (see Ferrer Benimeli (2000, 2001)).

[4]Note that throughout this work we will spell the names of missionaries of various linguistic backgrounds as they would have been spelled in their native language (e.g., Spanish, French, German, etc.). This is meant to avoid confusion between different historical sources that often translate personal names into the language in which that source is written. At the first mention of a non-Spanish missionary, we will footnote the Hispanic name by which they are known in most sources, since the majority of those sources are written originally in Spanish.

[5]Significantly, these texts are merely the surviving remnants of a much larger body of work mentioned in the Jesuit record, including a number of dictionaries and grammars now lost. Most of this larger body of materials was burned in São Paulo de Olivença (Amazonas, Brazil) in December 1768 while the Jesuits were awaiting transport back to Europe. Other materials were lost in 1749 in a fire at Santiago de la Laguna (Huallaga River, Peru), the headquarters of the Maynas missions, and no doubt more was lost as that mission site deteriorated in the years following 1768.

[6]That is, the 'true Omagua'. Note the reflex of the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní genuine marker *-eté (Jensen 1998:511).

[7]Various pressures within the first ∼100 years of contact forced the Omagua of the upper Napo region to relocate to the Suno, Aguarico and Tiputini basins (see especially Oberem (1967/1968) for details and Grohs (1974:21-23) for summary). Note that the toponym Tiputini corresponds to the Omagua word *tipɨtini* 'murky, turbid'.

[8]de Varnhagen (1840), cited in Stocks (1978:102), reproduces Diego Nunes' report on this expedition.

[9]This is the first English translation of de Carvajal's account, though a summary of it was published in English as de Herrera y Tordesillas (1859) by the British geographer Sir Clements Robert Markham, which itself was extracted from de Herrera y Tordesillas (1726), translated from Spanish by Captain John Stevens, although the Spanish original appears to be lost. The first full Spanish edition was published as de Carvajal ([1542]1894).

such as Günter Tessmann (1930:47-66) were proclaiming the imminent extinction of the Omagua.[10] As of the writing of the present work, the authors are aware of fewer than ten speakers of Omagua, living in San Joaquín de Omaguas, Peru, and in the nearby urban center of Iquitos. The youngest of these speakers was born in 1936.

Interactions between Christian missionaries and the development of Omagua ecclesiastical materials date to the 1621 expedition to the Omaguayeté settlements of the Aguarico River, a tributary of the upper Napo River, by the Jesuits Simón de Rojas and Humberto Coronado, and a lay priest, Pedro Limón (Newsom 1996). During this visit they prepared an Omagua catechism with the aid of a bilingual Quechua-Omagua translator (Maroni [1738]1988:214-217), but the Jesuits did not maintain a stable presence among the Omaguayeté, and following increasing tensions and violence involving the Omaguas and representatives of the colonial government, the Omaguayeté abandoned the Aguarico area and resettled on the Tiputini River, another tributary of the Napo located further downriver, and further from the centers of Spanish colonial power. The ultimate fate of the Rojas and Coronado catechism remains unknown.

A lengthy hiatus in Jesuit missionary activity among the Omagua followed the flight of the Omaguayeté, and was broken only in 1685 when Samuel Fritz arrived in the Omagua settlements along the Amazon proper.[11] As described in detail in Chapter 9, Fritz was successful in creating numerous *reducciones* (mission settlements) and within a few years had developed his own Omagua catechism. Fritz's work inaugurated a period lasting until the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 of intensive work on developing and rewriting a variety of Omagua ecclesiastical texts, the known exemplars of which are analyzed in this volume, as well as a number of grammars and dictionaries, which unfortunately remain lost.

The analysis of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts presented here forms part of larger project, based at the University of California, Berkeley and led by Lev Michael, to document and describe Omagua, and to better understand its linguistic history. The analysis of the texts given in this work is based on several seasons of fieldwork with Omagua speakers,[12] and a detailed analysis of Omagua grammar (Michael et al. in prep). Our analysis of the Old Omagua texts has also benefited from the parallel Comparative Tupí-Guaraní Project, which has facilitated the identification of morphemes and constructions in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts for which counterparts can be found in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, despite their absence from modern Omagua. And not least, our analysis of these texts has been informed by the ongoing collaborative reconstruction of Proto-Omagua-Kokama, involving the authors, Rosa Vallejos Yopán and Vivian Wauters (Wauters and O'Hagan 2011; O'Hagan and Wauters 2012; O'Hagan et al. 2013, in prep).

The present work continues in Chapter 2 with a grammatical sketch of Old Omagua. The purpose of the sketch is two-fold: first, to allow readers to critically evaluate our analysis of the ecclesiastical texts and the translations we provide; and second, to facilitate the comparison of Old Omagua to modern Omagua. In Chapter 3 we present the representational conventions we follow in our analysis of the Jesuit ecclesiastical texts, and provide a discussion of certain recurrent characteristics of the Jesuit texts, such as calques. In Chapters 4–7 we present our analysis of each of the ecclesiastical texts. At the beginning of each chapter we provide a bibliographical history of the relevant text,

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[10]Nevertheless, as late as the middle 1950s, Girard (1958:163-185) was able to record significant ethnographic information on the Omagua of Peru.

[11]A Franciscan expedition departing from Quito and led by the Franciscan priest Laureano de la Cruz spent 17 months among the Omagua living on the Amazon River proper betwen 1647 and 1649, but this expedition did not engage in missionary activities or the preparation of Omagua ecclesiastical texts (Myers (1992:133),de la Cruz ([1653]1900)).

[12]These include two months of fieldwork by Edinson Huamancayo Curí in 2004, one month of fieldwork by Brianna Grohman in 2006, two months of fieldwork in 2010 by Zachary O'Hagan, Clare Sandy, Tammy Stark, and Vivian Wauters, and two months of fieldwork in 2011 by Zachary O'Hagan and Clare Sandy.

summarizing its publication history prior to appearing in this work, and commenting on salient features of each of previously published versions. Each text is presented in a multi-linear format that preserves the orthography original to the published sources from which we have drawn them, which in each of the subsequent lines is transliterated into a phonemic representation, segmented, glossed, translated and annotated. Chapter 8 presents a small additional body of Omagua text produced by a Jesuit: the passages written in Omagua as they appear in the personal diaries of Manuel Joaquín Uriarte, a Spanish Jesuit who carried out missionary work among the Omagua from 1756 to 1764. Chapter 9 examines the role of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts in the missionary practices of the Jesuits who worked with the Omaguas, and clarifies the processes by which the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts were developed. Chapter 10 presents our conclusions

Chapter 2

Grammatical Sketch of Old Omagua

In this chapter we provide a sketch of Old Omagua grammar, with the goal of allowing the reader to understand and critically evaluate our analysis of the Omagua texts presented in Chapters 4-8. Note that this description is not intended to be a comprehensive description of the language.

Our description of Old Omagua relies considerably on our analysis of modern Omagua and on the comparative study of other Tupí-Guaraní languages, as well as, of course, the data present in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical materials themselves. If we make no comment to the contrary in the description below, it can be assumed that a given form is identical in form and function in the modern language. Certain forms attested in Old Omagua are not attested in modern Omagua, and we discuss these on a case-by-case basis. In some instances, our analysis of these Old Omagua forms is significantly informed by the properties of cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, in which case relevant comparative Tupí-Guaraní data is presented, as necessary. Unless citations indicate otherwise, example sentences given in the following description are drawn from the Omagua ecclesiastical texts themselves, in which case they bear an example number by which they can be located in Chapters 4-8. For the sake of space, we have reduced each example in Chapter 2 to show only our phonemic representation, morphological segmentation, and free translation, which corresponds to our TARGET translation (see §3.1).

The only extant descriptions of Old Omagua grammar of which we are aware are very short sketches in Veigl (1788, 1789)[13] and von Humboldt (2011).[14] Both works are of interest as historical documents, but are of somewhat limited use from a modern perspective. Written in terms of Latin grammatical categories, it is not always clear to what degree the Latin grammatical terms used in the descriptions correspond to those appropriate for Omagua. We make reference to these sketches only at those points at which we feel they shed light on our own analyses.

Our description begins in §2.1 with a description of the Old Omagua phonological inventory. We then present a discussion of Old Omagua morphology in §2.2, beginning with a discussion of person-marking (and the closely related issue of pronouns), which surfaces both on verbs and nouns. After the discussion of person-marking we turn to specifically nominal morphology, in §2.2.2, and specifically verbal morphology, in §2.2.3. We provide an overview of Old Omagua syntax in §2.3.

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[13]The Austrian Jesuit Franz Xavier Veigl (b. 1723 Graz – d. 1798 Klagenfurt, Austria) (Jouanen 1943:749) was Superior of the Maynas missions from 1762 until 1766 (ibid.:722), during which time he was resident at Santiago de la Laguna, the headquarters of the Jesuit mission, and may have been exposed to the Omagua of a small group of families resident there (see footnote 43 and §9.1). Veigl's account of the Maynas missions, originally written in Latin, was first published in German translation in 1785 (Veigl 1785), without the Old Omagua grammar sketch. A second edition was reissued in 1798 (Veigl 1798), also lacking the sketch. The first Spanish publication, which is a translation of the 1798 German edition, was not released until 2006 (Veigl [1798]2006).

[14]Humboldt's work, dating from the early 19th century, was based on an 18th-century grammar of Omagua written in Italian by Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (see §4.1.1)

2.1 Phonological Inventory

Old Omagua exhibited twelve phonemic consonants, given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Old Omagua Consonants (Phonemic)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	t			k kʷ
Nasal	m	n			
Fricative		s	ʃ		
Affricate		(ts)			
Flap		ɾ			
Glide	w			y	

The phoneme *ts* is included parenthetically as it is not attested in the Jesuit texts. It occurs in a single pronominal form *tsɨɪ* 1SG.FS in the female genderlect of modern Omagua (see Table 2.2),[15] and we assume it existed in Old Omagua, but attribute its absence in the ecclesiastical texts to the fact that these texts were written in the masculine genderlect. The inventory in Table 2.1 is identical to the consonant inventory of the modern language with the exception of the phoneme *tʃ*. This phoneme is not attested in the Jesuit texts, and because all instances of this phoneme in the modern language can be accounted for as the result of either a historical palatalization processes (e.g., *ti > tʃ) or as borrowings from Quechua, Spanish or Kokama-Kokamilla, we do not grant it phonemic status in Old Omagua.[16]

Old Omagua exhibited five phonemic vowels, as given in Figure 2.1.
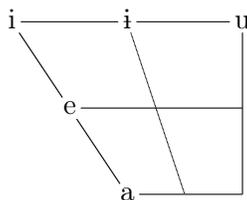
Figure 2.1: Old Omagua Vowels (Phonemic)

The vowel inventory given in Figure 2.1 is identical to that of the modern language, with the exception that modern Omagua ɪ corresponds to Old Omagua *e, the outcome of an unconditioned sound change whereby Proto-Omagua-Kokama *e raised to ɪ (see O'Hagan and Wauters (2012)). We do not believe, however, that this change had yet occurred in Old Omagua, becuase reflexes of Proto-Omagua-Kokama *e are consistently written as <e> in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts.

It is possible, of course, that this change had already occurred by the time the Jesuit texts were produced, and that the Jesuit authors simply did not have the orthographic means to represent this phoneme. However, if that were the case, we would expect considerably more inconsistencies in the texts in the Jesuits' orthographic representation of forms with segments corresponding to

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[15]The 1SG.FS *tsɨɪ* forms a minimal pair with *sɨɪ* 'be.sweet'.

[16]The word *tʃinani* 'be quiet', whose etymological origin we have been unable to determine, is the one exception to this generalization.

synchronic ɪ, namely greater confusion between ɪ and *i*, such that instances of phonemic ɪ would be written as <i>. Inconsistencies of this sort *are*, for example, common with instances of *i*. However, segments corresponding to modern ɪ are always represented orthographically as <e>, leading us to conclude that raising to ɪ had not yet occurred at this stage of Old Omagua.[17]

Old Omagua also exhibited a series of diphthongs of falling sonority, which are also present synchronically: *ai*, *ui* and *aɨ*. The diphthong *ɨi*, attested synchronically, is not attested in the Jesuit texts, presumably because the small class of words in which it occurs are not attested.

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Person-Marking

Omagua verbal arguments can be expressed by referential NPs, free pronouns and phonologically-dependent elements that we refer to as 'pronominal proclitics'. These pronominal proclitics also serve to express possessors pronominally in possessive constructions. Due to their grammatical importance, and to the fact that they are neither properly nominal nor verbal morphology, we discuss them in this section, prior to discussing nominal or verbal morphology as such.

We begin our discussion of Old Omagua person-marking by presenting the modern Omagua person-marking system in §2.2.1.1. We do so in part because the Old Omagua pronominal system, as attested in the Old Omagua texts, appears to be essentially the same as the modern one, with minor differences in the form of the markers.

All forms present in the Jesuit texts are attested synchronically, but because of a genderlect distinction in pronominal forms, and the later innovation of new pronominal forms with certain syntactic and information-structural distributions (not discussed here), only a subset of pronouns attested today are attested in the texts. In §2.2.1.2 we discuss synchronic vowel hiatus resolution strategies that inform our transliteration of the original orthography.

2.2.1.1 Paradigms

Omagua expresses the person and number of verbal arguments via free pronouns and pronominal proclitics whose forms are related. While free pronouns may function as the arguments of verbal and non-verbal predicates, pronominal proclitics may function as the arguments of verbal predicates only (see below). In this function they must have a rightward phonological host: when the proclitic is a subject, the host is the verb root; when it is an object, the host is a VP-enclitic.[18] Referential NPs and coreferential pronominal proclitics do not typically co-occur, although they may in certain information-structurally marked contexts. The proclitics additionally function as the possessors of nouns and as the complements of postpositions, in which case the nominal and postpositional head serve as the phonological host. The realization of a free pronoun versus pronominal proclitic is determined by a complex set of interacting factors, including the presence of VP-final enclitics, word order and information structure, which are not discussed further here.

Omagua pronouns distinguish three persons in the singular and plural, and a clusivity contrast. First and third person forms are sensitive to the gender of the speaker (as opposed to the referent), and are part of a broader genderlect system within the language.[19] Table 2.2 presents Omagua

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[17]Note that POK *e* did not raise in Kokama-Kokamilla (see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:106)).

[18]In the absence of an enclitic that may serve as a host, the object surfaces as a free pronoun, or in the case of third person objects, it deletes.

[19]Genderlect systems have been reported in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, as well as in Tupian languages outside of the Tupí-Guaraní subgroup. In Kayabí (Tupí-Guaraní), third-person singular object pronouns and prefixes are

pronouns: free pronouns are shown to the left of the slash, proclitics are shown to the right; parenthetical vowels are deleted in fast speech when they co-occur with vowel-initial roots.

Table 2.2: Modern Omagua Free Pronouns and Pronominal Proclitics

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC. SPEECH	FEM. SPEECH	MASC. SPEECH	FEM. SPEECH
1	taa / t(a)=	tsɪɪ / ts(ɪ)=	taná / tan(a)=	tsɪná / tsɪn(a)=
1INCL			yini / yin(i)=	
2		mɪ / n(ɪ)=	ɪpɪ / p(ɪ)=	
3	muɾa / ɾ(a)=	ãi / i= ∼ ɾ=	ɾaná / ɾan(a)=	iná / in(a)=

In the 1SG, free pronoun and pronominal proclitic are distinguished by vowel quantity. This alternation in quantity is the result of a broader bimoraic minimum word requirement that applies to nouns.[20] In the 1PL and 3PL, free pronouns and proclitics are distinguished via stress placement, where the former receive a final stress that is otherwise atypical within Omagua prosody. In the 2SG, 2PL and 3SG the distinction is a segmental one. In the 1INCL, neither length, stress or form distinguish the free pronoun from proclitic; such distinctions may only be made based on whether *yini*(=) forms a prosodic word with its host, that is, whether it is assigned its own stress or falls within the domain of stress assignment of the verbal stem. Two alternants are attested for the third-person feminine-speech proclitic: *i*= and *ɾ*=. The former occurs with consonant-initial roots, the latter with vowel-initial roots.

Since that the Jesuit texts are written entirely in the masculine genderlect, there are no attestations of feminine genderlect pronouns in them. However, given that the genderlect system is also found in modern Kokama and hence, we assume, reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, we infer that the genderlect system was present in Old Omagua. Old Omagua does not appear to distinguish via stress placement the pronominal and proclitic forms of the 1PL.EXCL and 3PL as the modern language does; only penultimate stress is attested on these forms. Relatedly, the Lord's Prayer text exhibits a 1PL.EXCL.MS *tanu*, as opposed to modern *tana*. These differences are intriguing, as *u*-final 1PL.EXCL and 3PL forms with no stress alternation are reported in synchronic descriptions of Kokama-Kokamilla (Faust (1972:17); Vallejos Yopán (2010a:200-214)), and are reconstructed for Proto-Omagua-Kokama. However, an in-depth discussion of the history of Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla pronouns is outside the scope of this work. The forms attested in the Jesuit texts are given in Table 2.3.

sensitive to both the gender of the speaker and of the referent; in the plural they are sensitive only to the gender of the speaker (Dobson 1988:28). A similar system is found in Awetí (Tupí), where 1SG, 3SG and 3PL independent pronouns are sensitive to the gender of the speaker (Drude 2002:179). In Tupinambá (Tupí-Guaraní), modal particles have been reported to exhibit genderlect differences (Lemos Barbosa 1956:374-375), although independent pronouns and person cross-referencing prefixes do not.

[20]Evidence from the interaction of nouns and nominal number marking indicates that two vowels (as opposed a single long vowel) are present underlyingly, given which we represent these forms orthographically with two vowels (e.g., *kuu* [kuː] 'swidden' verus *kuuna* [kuˈuna] 'swiddens.FS'). Note that the morphosyntactic environment necessary to prove this underlying structure is not available for pronouns, but given that we assume the surface length of free pronouns to be motivated by the same phonological constraint, we represent them in the same manner as nouns.

Table 2.3: Old Omagua Free Pronouns and Pronominal Proclitics in Jesuit Texts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
	MASCULINE SPEECH	
1	taa / t(a)=	tanu
1INCL		yene / yen(e)=
2	ene / ne=	epe / pe=
3	muɾa / ɾ(a)=	ɾana

2.2.1.2   Vowel Hiatus Resolution

Two postlexical phonological processes may occcur at morpheme boundaries involving a pronominal proclitic (which are all vowel-final) and a vowel-initial root. In slow, careful speech, both vowels are pronounced, but in fast speech, the final vowel of the proclitic either deletes or coalesces with the vowel to its right, depending on the one hand on the root-initial vowel in question, and on the other, the person, number and genderlect of the pronoun. When the root begins with ɨ, both vowels are obligatorily realized, even in fast speech. When the root begins with i, ɪ, u or a, the final vowel of the proclitic deletes, with the exception of a in 1SG.MS *ta=*, which coalesces. These patterns are summarized for masculine speech pronominal proclitics and vowel-initial verb roots in Table 2.4; these processes operate identically with nominal roots.[21] When the pronominal proclitic in question is in the feminine genderlect, only deletion occurs.[22]

Table 2.4: Vowel Coalescence and Deletion Patterns (MASCULINE SPEECH)

Singular			Plural			
Marker	Verb	Realization	Marker	Verb	Realization	Gloss
ta=	*aki*	[taki]	*tana=*	*aki*	[tanaki]	enter
	ikua	**[tekua]**		*ikua*	[tanikua]	know
	iɾɪwa	**[teɾɪwa]**		*iɾɪwa*	[tanɪɾɪwa]	return
	usu	**[tosu]**		*usu*	[tanusu]	go
nɪ=	*aki*	[naki]	*pɪ=*	*aki*	[paki]	enter
	ikua	[nikua]		*ikua*	[ɾanikua]	know
	iɾɪwa	[nɪɾɪwa]		*iɾɪwa*	[pɪɾɪwa]	return
	usu	[nusu]		*usu*	[pusu]	go
ɾa=	*aki*	[ɾaki]	*ɾana=*	*aki*	[ɾanaki]	enter
	ikua	[ɾikua]		*ikua*	[ɾanikua]	know
	iɾɪwa	[ɾiɾɪwa]		*iɾɪwa*	[ɾanɪɾɪwa]	return
	usu	[ɾusu]		*usu*	[ɾanusu]	go

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[21]Alternate vowel hiatus resolution strategies occurring at the boundary of pronominal proclitics and vowel-initial roots have been described for Kokama-Kokamilla (see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:201, 210-214)); similar vowel-deletion processes carry over even to environments with consonant-initial roots, creating consonant clusters that are otherwise atypical in the language (see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:130-132)). Unlike Kokama-Kokamilla, final vowels of pronominal proclitic in Omagua are obligatorily realized before consonant-initial roots.

[22]Recall that female speech exhibits a 3SG allomorph *ɾ=*, such that verb stems with third-person singular subjects pronounced in fast speech are identical in both genderlects.

These phonological processes have guided our transliteration of the Jesuit texts, as in some cases the underlying form of a personal pronoun is not obvious due to processes of vowel coalescence and deletion reflected in the original orthography.

2.2.2 Nominal Morphology

Nominal morphology in both Old Omagua and the modern language, with the exception of one endocentric nominalizer, consists exclusively of clitics. We analyze the Omagua noun phrase as consisting of a number of morphologically fixed positions, occupied by functionally distinct clitics. One prenominal position is filled by pronominal proclitics that encode the person and number of a possessor (§2.2.1). A series of postnominal positions may be occupied by an endocentric nominalizer (§2.2.3.2.4), augmentative or diminutive marker (§2.2.2.2), a nominal past tense marker (§2.2.2.3), plural markers (§2.2.2.1), oblique-licensing postpositions (§2.3.3) and an intensifier =*katu*, as is illustrated in Table 2.5.[23]

Table 2.5: Modern Omagua Noun Phrase Structure

POSS=	NOUN	-NOMZ	=AUG/DIM	=TENSE	=NUM	=OBL	=INTSF

2.2.2.1 Number

Plural number for NPs is expressed by the NP enclitic =*kana* PL.MS, as in (2.1).

(2.1) kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesu**kana**, wɨɾa**kana**, ɨwata**kana** weɾanu, to maɾitipa aikiaɾakana Dios muɾa?

kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ sesu =kana wɨɾa =kana ɨwata =kana weɾanu to maɾi =tipa
sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what =INTERR
aikiaɾa   =kana Dios muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS.PRO =PL.MS God 3SG.MS

'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds and the forests, which of these is God?'
(example (5.6a))

In modern Omagua, plural marking is optional when numerals occur in the noun phrase. In the ecclesiastical texts, however, plural marking, with one exception, is found even when numerals are present, as in (2.2).[24]

(2.2) aikiaɾa **musapɨɾɨka** persona**kana**sui, maniamaitipa awa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

aikiaɾa   musapɨɾɨka persona =kana =sui maniamai =tipa   awa uwaka
DEM.PROX.MS three   person =PL.MS =ABL which   =INTERR man transform
ɨmɨnua
long.ago

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[23]POSS = possessor; NOMZ = nominalizer; AUG = augmentative; DIM = diminutive; NUM = number; OBL = oblique (i.e., oblique-licensing postposition); INTSF = intensifier.
[24]The exception involves plural marking on the Spanish loan word *Dios* 'God'.

'Of these three people, which became man?
(example (5.11a))

Plural-marking is also one of the areas in the grammar that exhibits a genderlect difference, with =*kana* being the masculine genderlect form, and =*na* being the feminine one. As noted in §2.2.1.1, however, the Old Omagua texts are written entirely in the masculine genderlect.

2.2.2.2 Augmentative & Diminutive

Old Omagua exhibited both augmentative and a diminutive morphemes, which are retained in the modern language without any change to their form. Both are NP clitics in modern Omagua, and we infer that they likewise were in Old Omagua.

The augmentative =*wasu* expresses that the referent denoted by the NP is of greater than normal size or that one or more of its attributes is of greater than normal intensity, effectiveness, or scope. This sense is exemplified in (2.3), where the augmentative attaches to the noun *yara* 'master' in reference to the Christian god.

(2.3) ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkana, yawɨkɨtaɾa yaɾa**wasu** Dios muɾa.

ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =katu   maɾain
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village DEM.PROX.MS land   village all   =INTSF thing
=kana   yawɨki -taɾa   yaɾa   =wasu Dios muɾa
=PL.MS make   -ACT.NOMZ master =AUG God 3SG.MS

'God is the Creator of Heaven, Earth, and all things, the great Lord.'
(example (6.2b))

The augmentative is also attested in a quite different context, where it attaches to the interrogative word *mania* 'how', and appears to indicate that the information presupposed by the question runs counter to expectations, as in (2.4). The attachment of the augmentative =*wasu* to an interrogative word is not attested in the modern language, but is in Kokama-Kokamilla (e.g., see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:505)).

(2.4) mania**wasu** jesucristo Diosɾaʃi ɾaumanu ɨmɨnua?

mania =wasu jesucristo   Dios =ɾaʃi   ɾa=   umanu ɨmɨnua
how   =AUG Jesus.Christ God =NASS 3SG.MS= die   long.ago

'How did Jesus Christ, being God, die?'
(example (6.17a))

The diminutive =*kɨɾa* expresses either the positive affect on the part of the speaker toward the referent, that the referent denoted is smaller than normal, or both. It is attested only once in the Old Omagua texts, in a passage from Uriarte's diaries, in which it appears to exclusively encode positive affect, as in (2.5).[25]

(2.5) patiɾi**kɨɾa** usu?

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[25]Note that in Kokama-Kokamilla =*kɨɾa* and a second morpheme, =*tʃasu* encode both size-based and affective semantics (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:239-241, 244-248).

patiɾi =kiɾa usu
priest =DIM go

'Is the priest going?'
(example (8.10))

Cognates of augmentative =*wasu* are attested in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, such as Tapiete -*wasu* (González 2005), and Tupinambá -*gûasu* ∼ -*usu* (Lemos Barbosa 1956) (see Michael et al. (in prep) for further discussion). The diminutive, however appears to have been an innovation in Proto-Omagua-Kokama, since we do not find cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní, and Jensen (1998:508) has reconstructed the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní diminutive to have been *-*ʔí*. It is probably grammaticalized from the verb *ikiɾa* 'be unripe, young', as in *ikiɾamai* 'infant'.

2.2.2.3   Nominal Past Tense =*puɾa*

The nominal enclitic =*puɾa* expresses nominal past tense, approximately parallel to the use of 'former' in the English expression 'former teacher'. The nominal past tense marker occurrs between the augmentative or diminutive and plural markers, as evident in (2.6). In all but one example in the Old Omagua texts, (5.8b), =*puɾa* attaches to the inactive nominalizer =*mai*, as in (2.6).

(2.6)   Dios yawɨkɨmai**puɾa**kana puɾai ɾanu.

Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa   =kana puɾai   ɾanu
God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS CONTR.FOC 3PL.MS

'They are God's creations.'
(example (5.6b))

With the exception of two frozen forms, =*puɾa* does not surface as a nominal past tense marker in modern Omagua. These forms are *kuupuɾa* 'second-growth forest'[26] and *ʃiɾupuɾa* 'rag'.[27] Nevertheless, it is clear that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*puɾa* had nominal past tense semantics, given the existence of cognates with similar semantics in a large number of other Tupí-Guaraní languages, including Tupinambá <pûer> (Lemos Barbosa 1956:100-104) (see Michael et al. (in prep) for further discussion).[28]

Modern Omagua additionally exhibits a clitic =*puɾa* that marks focus following narrative peaks, which appears to be related to the nominal past tense marker (see §2.3.8.1). Vallejos Yopán (2009, 2010a:679-713) describes a morpheme =*puɾa* with information-structural functions which is presumably cognate to the discourse-functional clitic in modern Omagua. The functional and distributional differences between Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla =*puɾa* are important topics for future research (see also §2.3.8.1).

2.2.2.4   Nominal Future Tense =*ɾa*

The nominal enclitic =*ɾa* expresses nominal future tense, and is shown in (2.7).[29]

(2.7)   ene putaɾi, tene ɾayawɨkɨ muɾa mairamania ɨwatimai ɾitamakatemai**ɾai** weɾanu, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate weɾanu.

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[26]That is, it more literally means 'former swidden', from *kuu* 'swidden'.

[27]That is, it more literally means 'former shirt', from *ʃiɾu* 'shirt'.

[28]The morpheme is also attested in regional toponyms, such as the Paranapura River (*paɾana* 'river' and =*puɾa* NOM.PST), a tributary of the Huallaga in northeast Peru.

[29]For additional commentary on this example, see §2.3.6.4.

ene	putaɾi	tene	ɾa=	yawɨkɨ	muɾa	mairamania	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama
2SG	desire(?)	OPT	3SG.MS=	do	3SG.MS	exactly(.as)	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village

=kate	=mai	=ɾa	=i	weranu	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	=kate	weranu
=LOC	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.FUT	=?	COORD	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	=LOC	COORD

'...thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven.'
(example (4.3))

This morpheme is attested only once in Old Omagua with this function, and is not attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla. It is nevertheless clearly reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama based on cognates such as Tupinambá and Kamaiurá -ɾam (Lemos-Barbosa (1956:101-102); Seki (2000)). Interestingly, =ɾa has fully grammaticalized in both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla into a purposive marker that attaches to nouns, and it is likely that this latter function is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, given that it is also attested in Old Omagua, as in (2.8), a response to the question, 'Why did God create all these things?'.

(2.8)   yeneeɾamaiɾa.

yene=	eɾa	=mai	=ɾa
1PL.INCL=	good	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PURP

'For our well-being.'
(example (6.7b))

In this view, the nominal future function of =ɾa was likely on its way out before the two languages split, but it is worth noting that the double functional load encompassing tense and purpose appears to be quite old in the Tupí-Guaraní family, and what appears to be a Proto-Omagua-Kokama-internal grammaticalization path from future to purposive is perhaps better described as the loss of the former function in Proto-Omagua-Kokama (see O'Hagan (2012b) and comments in §2.3.8.1).

2.2.2.5   Possession

Nominal possession is expressed via NP-NP apposition, where the first NP is the possessor and the latter is the possessum.[30] Pronominal possessors must be proclitics (see Table 2.2), otherwise a predicative interpretation obtains (see footnote 30).

(2.9)   **Dios taɨɾa** awaɾa uwaka ɨmɨnua.

Dios	taɨɾa	awa	=ɾa[31]	uwaka	ɨmɨnua
God	son.MALE.EGO	man	=NOM.PURP	transform	long.ago

'The son of God became man.'
(example (6.11b))

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[30]Note that NP-NP apposition may also yield a predicative interpretation (see §2.3.9).

[31]The nominal purposive =ɾa marks the noun that denotes the resulting state of the single argument of the verb *uwaka* 'transform'.

2.2.3   Verbal Morphology

In this section we turn to a discussion of Omagua verbal morphology. Unlike the nominal domain, verbal morphology consists of a broader combination of suffixes and enclitics. We analyze the Omagua verb phrase as consisting of a number of morphologically fixed positions, occupied by functionally distinct suffixes and clitics. A leftmost preverbal position is filled by free pronouns or referential NPs that encode the person and number of an argument. This position is followed by a morphologically independent negator, and then an additional position that is filled by pronominal proclitics that encode the person and number of an argument. Typically, only one preverbal argument position is filled, although doubling may occur with information-structurally marked interpretations.

A series of suffixal positions follow the verb, and these may be filled by activizer, causative, iterative, reciprocal, attenuative, completive, distributive and progressive morphemes (see Michael et al. (in prep) for details). With the exception of the causative and the progressive, the remaining suffixes are unattested in the ecclesiastical texts and do not participate in this sketch. Furthermore, there is good evidence to believe that the progressive marker had a different distribution within the VP in Old Omagua (and in Proto-Omagua-Kokama) than in the modern language (see below).

Following the set of verbal suffixes comes a position that may be filled by pronominal proclitics that encode the person and number of an argument (the object). This is followed by a set of enclitics that encode direction/position, tense, modality and function as clause-linkers.[32] An additional argument position appears to the right of all enclitics, which may be filled by free pronouns or referential NPs. Doubling of morphemes in these two postverbal argument positions does not occur, as it does for those in the two preverbal positions.

These positions and the functions of the morphemes that occupy them may be summarized as in Table 2.6.[33] Dots indicate that, synchronically, additional positions exist between the morphemes that bracket those dots, but which are outside the scope of this work. Note that we assume such morphemes to have existed in Old Omagua, as they are also attested in Kokama-Kokamilla.

Table 2.6: Modern Omagua Verb Phrase Structure

PERS	NEG	PERS=	V	...	-CAUS	...	-PROG	PERS=	=DIR	=TNS	=MOD	PERS

Lastly, it is important to note that the Old Omagua imperfective marker $=ari$ was a clitic that followed clitics encoding direction. Since the time at which these texts were written, $=ari$ has become a bound affix $-ari$ that appears in the rightmost suffixal position and encodes a narrower range of semantic distinctions (see §2.2.3.1.2).

In what follows we review tense, aspect and mood (§2.2.3.1), and derivational morphology (§2.2.3.2), including a causative, applicative and a series of nominalizers. As mentioned above, a wider set of verbal morphology exists in modern Omagua than is attested in the ecclesiastical texts, and much of this falls outside the scope of this chapter (see Michael et al. (in prep)). Additionally, some verbal morphology falls outside the scope suggested by the schema in Table 2.6, and we discuss the distribution of those morphemes on a case-by-case basis.

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[32]Enclitics that encode directional and positional semantics are analyzed as serial verb constructions in Michael et al. (in prep). We do not discuss that analysis here for issues of space.

[33]PERS = person; NEG = negation; V = verb; CAUS = causative; PROG = progressive; DIR = direction; TNS = tense; MOD = modality.

2.2.3.1   Tense-Aspect-Mood

2.2.3.1.1   Tense   Modern Omagua exhibits a four-way tense distinction, which is expressed with the set of non-obligatory VP-final[34] enclitics given in Table 2.7.[35] The Old Omagua texts, however, reveal no morphology exclusively dedicated to encoding tense. Instead, future tense in the ecclesiastical texts is conveyed with the imperfective $=ari$ (§2.2.3.1.2),[36] and past temporal reference is conveyed with an independent temporal adverb *imɨnua* 'long ago'. Neither of these strategies for expressing temporal reference is attested in modern Omagua.

Table 2.7: Modern Omagua Tense Markers

PAST	DISTAL	$=suri$
	PROXIMAL	$=(u)\acute{\imath}$
FUTURE	PROXIMAL	$=usu$
	DISTAL	$=(u)sari$

That the future tense morphemes in Table 2.7 do not appear in the ecclesiastical texts is not surprising, given that they are the result of grammaticalization processes that followed the Jesuit period. The proximal future $=usu$ has only recently grammaticalized from an andative, and the distal future $=usari$ grammaticalized from a sequence of the andative and imperfective ($=usu=ari$),[37] which can still be analyzed as compositional in Old Omagua, both in form and function.[38]

The absence of past tense morphemes, however, is not expected, as both are reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama. The absence of $=suri$ PST.DIST is particularly striking, given that the events in question (the life and deeds of Christ) occurred in the remote past. Instead, past tense is encoded via the morphologically free adverb *imɨnua* 'long ago', as in (2.10).

(2.10)   maniasenuni Dios taɨra awaɾa uwaka **imɨnua**?

mania   =senuni Dios taɨra   awa -ɾa   uwaka   imɨnua
what.action =PURP   God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform long.ago

'Why did the son of God become man?'
(example (6.12a))

Note that the distribution of *imɨnua* in the ecclesiastical texts is unlike its synchronic distribution. It appears sentence-finally and occurs in nearly every context in which a Jesuit author would

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[34]See §2.3.7 for a discussion of verb-final versus VP-final enclitics.

[35]Vowels enclosed in parentheses in Table 2.7 are obligatorily deleted following vowel-final verb roots or stems (all verb roots except one (*paN* 'be rotten') are vowel-final). The vowel *u* surfaces only when the tense enclitic serves as the phonological host to a pronominal proclitic, in which case the vowel of the proclitic either coalesces or deletes, following the patterns in Table 2.4 (e.g., *ta*= =*usari* → [tosari]; *nɨ*= =*usari* → [nusari]; *ɾa*= =*usari* → [ɾusari]).

[36]The fact that aspectual markers may receive tense-like temporal interpretations is not surprising. That is, different types of temporal reference may stem from a pragmatic implicature whereby markers of 'closed' aspects (in the sense of Smith (1991)) come to be interpreted as markers of past tense, and markers of 'open' aspect (ibid.) come to be interpreted as markers of future tense.

[37]Note that $=ari$ IMPERF follows $=usu$ in Old Omagua, although synchronically -*ari* is a bound suffix that precedes $=usu$ (see §2.2.3).

[38]There is evidence that the grammaticalization of $=usari$ predates that of $=usu$, namely in that $=usari$ may co-occur with verbs (e.g., *uri* 'come') whose directional semantics should otherwise render the use of a future historically containing an andative $=usu$ nonsensical. In contrast, $=usu$ FUT may not co-occur on such verbs. That is, synchronic $=usari$ has broadened in its distribution, having entirely lost the directional semantics formerly encoded by $=usu$ AND, whereas $=usu$ FUT has not, presumably because it is homophonous with the still-productive andative.

have presumably wanted to overtly encode past tense. We analyze this frequent sentence-final distribution as, if not fully ungrammatical, highly unnatural Omagua. In fact, there is evidence from Veigl's (1788:199) sketch of Old Omagua, in which he considers <emenua> a marker of the "pluperfect", that the Jesuits interpreted *imɨnua* within a Latinate grammatical framework, and subsequently over-extended its distribution to include any case in which they wished to encode past tense.[39] We should note that this generalization is in stark contrast to the strong command of Omagua grammar on the part of the author that the Omagua of the ecclesiastical texts suggests.

Synchronically, *imɨnua* appears sentence-initially (as do all other temporal adverbs), and in conjunction with =*suɾi* PST.DIST, with which it frequently co-occurs, appears only in the opening clauses of a given discourse in order to set the temporal reference of the event(s), as in (2.11). Typically, both *imɨnua* and =*suɾi* are subsequently dropped.

(2.11) MODERN OMAGUA
imɨnua ɾanakakɨɾi**suɾi** ikati. isui, ɾanauʃima upa. ɾanausu kakɨɾitaɾa ikitukati.

imɨnua	ɾana=	kakɨɾi	=suɾi	ikati
long.ago	3PL.MS=	live	=PST.DIST	there.FS[40]

isui	ɾana=	uʃima	upa
then.FS	3PL.MS=	depart	all

ɾana=	usu	kakɨɾi	-taɾa	ikitu	=kati
3PL.MS=	go	live	-PURP	Iquitos	=LOC

'Long ago they lived there. Then they all left. They went to live in Iquitos.'
(LHC:2011.07.08.1)

2.2.3.1.2 Imperfective =*aɾi*   The VP-final enclitic =*aɾi* encodes imperfective aspect. We analyze it as a clitic in Old Omagua because it occurs outside of morphemes that have been analyzed synchronically as clitics in both Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, e.g., =*usu* AND (see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:402-409, 470-482)). In both languages this form is synchronically a verbal affix that encodes progressive aspect (see Table 2.6), although evidence from early attestations of Kokama indicate that the Proto-Omagua-Kokama form was also a clitic *=*aɾi* that encoded imperfective aspect.[41] This follows from the fact that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*aɾi* grammaticalized from a diffuse

[39]Veigl (ibid.) additionally misinterpreted the function of =*puɾa* (see §2.2.2.3), analyzing it as a marker of the "preterite". However, the appearance of =*puɾa* on *kumesa* 'say', the only example Veigl provides, can be explained by the fact that *kumesa* may also function nominally in both Old (see (5.8b)) and modern Omagua, meaning 'word' or 'language'. We have no reason to believe that =*puɾa* ever attached to verbs.

[40]The speaker who produced this sentence, even though male, frequently alternates between male and female speech forms, presumably because the first ten years of his life were spent in a small, non-Omagua community in which his only exposure to Omagua was via his mother and maternal grandmother. His father was not a speaker of Omagua.

[41]The earliest attestation of Kokama comes from a letter written by the Superior of the Maynas missions, Juan Lorenzo Lucero (b. 1635 Pasto, Colombia – d. 1614 Quito) (Jouanen 1943:737), dated 3 June 1681, and is transliterated as in (2.1). Note that the imperfective =*aɾi* attaches to the pronominal proclitic *na=*, cognate to Old Omagua *ne=*.

(2.1) OLD KOKAMA
kakɨɾi tanupapa, kakɨɾi uɾa, Dios ikatuta naɾi.

kakɨɾi	tanu=	papa	kakɨɾi	uɾa	Dios	ikatu	-ta	**na=**	=**aɾi**
live	1PL.EXCL.MS=	father	live	3SG.MS	God	be.good	-CAUS	2SG=	=IMPF

locative *=aɾi (O'Hagan 2011:89-90), cognates of which in Proto-Tupí-Guaraní are phonologically independent postpositions (Jensen 1998:514).

In Old Omagua (both in the ecclesiastical texts and in the passages from the diaries of Manuel Uriarte (Ch. 8)) =aɾi is recruited to encode future tense as well as deontic modality. We analyze these functions as pragmatic extensions of a marker of an open aspectual class (as opposed to a marker of a closed aspectual class such as a perfective). The future tense function is illustrated in (2.12) & (2.13), and the deontic function in (2.14).

(2.12)   maniasenuni muɾa kʷa[ɾa]ʃipupe yeneyaɾa jesucristo uyawɨɾɨ ɾauɾi**aɾi**?

mania	=senuni	muɾa	kʷaɾaʃi	=pupe	yene=	yaɾa	jesucristo	uyawɨɾɨ
what.action	=PURP	3SG.MS	day	=INSTR	1PL.INCL=	master	Jesus.Christ	again

ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi
3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF

'Why will our Lord Jesus Christ come again on that day?'
(example (6.25a))

(2.13)   uyawɨɾɨ upa yenekakɨɾɨusu**aɾi**.

uyawɨɾɨ	upa	yene=	kakɨɾɨ	=usu	=aɾi
again	all	1PL.INCL=	live	=AND	=IMPF

'Again we will all go to live.'
(example (6.24b))

(2.14)   maɾitipa awakana yawɨkɨ**aɾi** ɨpɨpemai tata tupakʷaɾape ɾanausumaka?

maɾi	=tipa	awa	=kana	yawɨkɨ	=aɾi	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata	tupa
what	=INTERR	person	=PL.MS	do	=IMPF	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire	place

=kʷaɾape	ɾana=	usu	=maka
=INESS	3PL.MS=	go	=NEG.PURP

'What should people do in order to not go to Hell?'
(example (6.28a))

Interestingly, Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits a VP-final future tense enclitic =á, which appears to be a grammaticalization of the Proto-Omagua-Kokama imperfective *=aɾi, a function still retained in Old Omagua as shown in =aɾi shown in (2.12) and (2.13) above. It is part of a small class of monosyllabic grammatical morphemes in the language that attract their own stress, yielding final stress, a pattern that is otherwise atypical within Kokama-Kokamilla and Omagua prosody (Vallejos Yopán (2010a:119-124), Sandy and O'Hagan (2012b)). All other members of this class of morphemes historically exhibited an additional syllable that explains their synchronically aberrant stress pattern

'May our father live, may he live, and God will make you well.'
(Maroni ([1738]1988:224, gloss and translation ours), originally excerpted in Rodríguez (1684))

The original reads *Caquire tanu papa, caquere vra Dios icatotonare* and is translated by Lucero as 'Quédate con Dios hombre esforzado, Dios te guarde y te dé mucha vida' (ibid.). Kokama who Lucero had induced to live at Santa María de Ucayali (located upriver from Lagunas on the Huallaga river), were fleeing a smallpox epidemic that began in June 1680, and advising Lucero that he do the same.

(O'Hagan and Wauters 2012), i.e., with an additional final syllable present, stress would have been assigned in an expected right-aligned trochaic pattern, yielding penultimate stress.[42]

The grammaticalization trajectory described above is problematic in that it entails that Old Kokama-Kokamilla =aɾi grammaticalized as a future, retaining its distribution as a VP-final enclitic, but further grammaticalized to become a verbal affix encoding progressive aspect, as it did in Omagua (see above). However, two points of evidence suggest that this is indeed the origin of Kokama-Kokamilla =á. On the one hand, Espinosa Pérez (1935:47) lists a form <ari> as an alternant to the additional Kokama-Kokamilla future =utsu, which presumably corresponds to the =á documented by Vallejos Yopán. Furthermore, modern Omagua future =(u)saɾi grammaticalized from =usu=aɾi (see (2.13)), which suggests that the grammaticalization of Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=aɾi into a future is a recent occurrence in both languages (see footnote (41)), perhaps occurring under mutual influence between speakers of the two languages, though involving different forms.[43]

2.2.3.1.3 *upa* **'come to an end, run out'** The verb *upa* is a minor verb (in the sense of Aikhenvald (2006)) in a serial verb construction[44] that encodes the exhaustion of the event denoted by the predicate, as in (2.15). We discuss it here because of the aspectual reading it imparts on the construction in which it participates. It is homophonous with the universal quantifier.

(2.15)   yeneikuasenuni Diossemai se, yenesaʃitasenuni muɾa Dios, ɾakumesamaipuɾakana yenea-muyasukatasenuni, aikiaɾa tuyukaaɾi yeneyuɾiti**upa**ɾaʃi, ɨwatimai ɾitamakate yeneususenuni.

yene=   ikua =senuni Dios =semai se yene=   saʃita =senuni muɾa   Dios
1PL.INCL= know =PURP God =VERID ? 1PL.INCL= love   =PURP 3SG.MS God

ɾa=   kumesa =mai   =puɾa   =kana yene=   amuyasukata =senuni
3SG.MS= say   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS 1PL.INCL= observe   =PURP

aikiaɾa   tuyuka =aɾi   yene=   yuɾiti   =upa =ɾaʃi ɨwati
DEM.PROX.MS land   =LOC.DIFF 1PL.INCL= be.in.place =CESS =NASS be.high.up

=mai   ɾitama =kate yene=   usu =senuni
=INACT.NOMZ village =ALL 1PL.INCL= go   =PURP

'So that we may truly know God, so that we may love him, so that we may observe his commandments, and ceasing to remain on Earth, so that we may go to Heaven.'
(example (6.8b))

Although a thorough discussion of serial verbs in modern Omagua is outside the scope of this chapter, the class of minor verbs in the modern language includes the verbs of motion *usu* 'go', *uɾi* 'come' and *ukua* 'go about', as well as the posture verb *yuɾiti* 'be in a place'. The use of *usu* in a serial verb construction is attested in Old Omagua (see §2.2.3.1.1).[45]

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[42]It is possible (at least for a subset of these morphemes) that what appears to be a diachronic process of final CV truncation in many grammatical morphemes in Kokama-Kokamilla, as described above, is rather a synchronic process whereby certain final CVs are truncated only when the morphemes in which they occur appear stem-finally, but are retained when additional clitics follow (see the alternations in the instrumental postposition =pu(pe) in Vallejos Yopán (2010a:280-286)).

[43]In the later missionization period, Kokama and Omagua lived on some of the same mission settlements. This is reported for San Joaquín de Omaguas from the mid-18th century (Uriarte [1776]1986); Sarayacu (Ucayali river), a Franciscan site, in the early 19th century (Lehnertz 1974:271); and Lagunas (Huallaga river), the head of the Jesuit missions until 1768 (Yuyarima Tapuchima, p.c.). Trade patterns existed between residents of San Joaquín de Omaguas and groups of the upper Ucayali as late as 1828 (Maw 1829:185), although it is unknown whether the latter were Sarayacu residents. These facts make the possibility for contact-induced changes quite likely.

[44]See footnote 32.

[45]See Michael et al. (in prep) for a more detailed analysis of modern Omagua serial verbs.

2.2.3.1.4   Irrealis =*mia*   Synchronically, the VP-final enclitic =*mia* IRR appears in a number of construction types, all of which may be considered notionally irrealis. It encodes deontic modality, appears in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals and may indicate that a given state of affairs is hypothetical in nature. It is the only morpheme that occurs in the final clitic position in Table 2.6. Only the counterfactual use is attested in Old Omagua, as in (2.16).[46]

(2.16)   mɨtɨɾɨpe ɨpɨsasui comulgayaɾayakatu maɾai kuɾataɾaʃi, nuamai utʃaya[ɾa]ɾaʃi, ɾanasawaiti**mia** santísimo sacramento?

> mɨtɨɾɨpe   ɨpɨsa =sui comulga   =yaɾa   =ya =katu maɾai kuɾata
> in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =POSS.NOMZ =SIM =INTSF thing drink
> =ɾaʃi nua   =mai   utʃa =yaɾa   =ɾaʃi ɾana=   sawaiti   =mia
> =NASS be.big =INACT.NOMZ sin   =POSS.NOMZ =NASS 3PL.MS= encounter =IRR
> santísimo sacramento
> Holy Sacrament

> 'Drinking in the middle of the night like a communicant, but being a great sinner, would they receive the Holy Sacrament?'
> (example (6.32a))

This morpheme can be reconstructed to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, and has cognates in what have been analyzed as frustratives across the Tupí-Guaraní family (e.g., Tupinambá *βiã* and Wayampí *mijã* (Jensen 1998:538-539)), which is expected, given that both frustratives and irrealis markers encode unrealized states of affairs.[47] While no frustrative function can be reconstructed for Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*mia*, it is not clear that the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní form did not have broader functions in encoding irrealis modality generally, in which case the Proto-Omagua-Kokama form simply reflects an older functional distribution. This analysis goes against (Cabral 1995:271), who argues that POK *=*mia* originates from Proto-Arawak *-*mi* (citing Payne (1993)). No other grammatical morphemes have been definitively shown to be of Arawak origin, and explaining the phonological shape of Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*mia* assuming an Arawak origin is problematic, namely because of the presence of a final *a* (see footnote (47)). That *=*mia* is of Tupí-Guaraní origin also falls out from a widespread patterns of grammaticalization of Tupí-Guaraní functional items in Proto-Omagua-Kokama (see Michael et al. (in prep); O'Hagan (2011, 2012b)).

2.2.3.1.5   Epistemic Modality   The ecclesiastical texts exhibit two second-position clitics with clausal scope that encode epistemic modality, the certainty marker =*tina* and the veridical marker =*semai*, each of which we discuss in turn below. Each marker attaches to the leftmost element in the verb phrase, either the morpheme occupying the person or negation positions in Table 2.6, or a sentence-initial adverbial when one is present.[48]

The marker =*tina* is not attested in modern Omagua, although it exhibits a cognate in Kokama-Kokamilla =*tin* (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:487-490). A reflex of Old Omagua =*semai*, namely =*sɨmai*,

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[46]In the ecclesiastical texts deontic modality is encoded via the imperfective VP-enclitic =*aɾi* (see §2.2.3.1.2).

[47]Jensen (1998) does not reconstruct the actual form of a Proto-Tupí-Guaraní frustrative, but elsewhere in her reconstruction, Proto-Tupí-Guaraní forms are either identical or highly similar to Tupinambá forms (e.g., the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní and Tupinambá clausal nominalizer (**)*βaʔé*), suggesting that the form of the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní frustrative would have been very similar to Tupinambá *βiã*. Sound changes that would yield POK *=*mia* from a form similar, if not identical, to Tupinambá *βiã*, are attested elsewhere, i.e., **β > *m (see POK *=*mai*, from PTG **βaʔé* above) and the neutralization of phonemic nasal vowels.

[48]Note that =*semai*, when it does not appear strictly as a second-position clitic, assumes another function as an exclusive focus operator (see §2.3.8.3).

is attested in modern Omagua, although it is exceedingly rare. Both morphemes form part of a set of second-position clitics that are exclusively dedicated to encoding epistemic modality.[49] In general, given the degree of language attrition in the remaining Omagua speach community, the use of epistemic modal markers is uncommon in both natural and elicited speech, and as such, our description of =*tina* relies heavily on that of Vallejos Yopán for Kokama-Kokamilla (see references above). In contrast to =*tina*, Vallejos Yopán (2010a:269) only briefly describes a cognate to Old Omagua =*semai* (i.e., -*tseme*), as an emphatic marker.[50] We are able to utilize a higher number of attestations of =*semai* in the ecclesiastical texts, as well as from modern Omagua data, in order to draw descriptive conclusions with regard to this morpheme.

The certainty marker =*tina* expresses certainty on the part of the speaker with regard to the truth value of the proposition at hand. The examples in (2.17) and (2.18) represent the only attestations of =*tina* in the ecclesiastical texts. In the former, the first constituent is the independent pronoun *muɾa* 3SG.MS; in the latter it is the adverb *muɾiapai* 'uninterruptedly'.[51]

(2.17)   muɾa**tina** aisetui Dios aisetui awa weɾanu, yeneyaɾa yeneyumunyepetataɾa.

muɾa   =tina   aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa weɾanu yene=   yaɾa yene=
3SG.MS =CERT true -?   God true -? man COORD 1PL.INCL= lord 1PL.INCL=
yumunuyepeta -taɾa
redeem   -ACT.NOMZ

'He [Jesus] is the true God and a true man, as well as our redeemer.'
(example (6.15b))

(2.18)   yenesawakana muɾiapai**tina** ɾanakakiɾiaɾi.

yene=   sawa =kana muɾiapai   =tina ɾana=   kakiɾi =aɾi
1PL.INCL= soul =PL.MS uninterruptedly =CERT 3PL.MS= live   =IMPF

'Our souls will live forever.'
(example (6.22b))

The veridical marker =*semai* expresses the speaker's assertion (i.e., highlighting) of the truth value of the proposition at hand. A pragmatic extension of this highlighting effect is that the truth value of the proposition is interpreted as obtaining to a higher or greater degree, and because of this, translations of clauses containing =*semai* often include adverbs such as *very* or *truly*, whereas translations of clauses containing =*tina* do not, because in the latter case, it is the speaker's certainty regarding the truth value of a proposition, and not the truth value itself, that is being asserted. There are five attestations of the veridical =*semai* in the ecclesiastical texts, two of which are

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[49]Others include Omagua =*taku* and Kokama-Kokamilla =*taka* (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:496-498), a dubitative marker, as well as the Kokama-Kokamilla "speculative" and "reportative" markers =*ɾay* and =*ía* Vallejos Yopán (2010a:492-496). The latter two morphemes are likely reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama given cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní cognates (e.g., Tupinambá *ɾaʔé* (Lemos Barbosa 1956:367-368)), but reflexes of these forms are not attested in modern Omagua, likely due to language attrition (see above). None of the above forms are attested in the ecclesiastical texts.

[50]Kokama-Kokamilla -*tseme* is also found on a number of frozen stems in that language (see O'Hagan (2011:121)).

[51]We argue that the constituent *yenesawakana* 'our souls' is extra-clausal based on the fact that the adverb *muɾiapai* elsewhere in the these texts occurs only clause-initially, and because of the presence of the resumptive pronoun *ɾana*= 3PL.MS. This construction, namely that involving an extra-clausal referent that is coreferential with a resumptive pronoun inside the clause, is information-structurally marked and is utilized to highlight contrastive topics (Sandy and O'Hagan 2012a), and we argue that here *sawakana* 'souls' indeed functions as a contrastive topic (see (6.20)-(6.21) for discourse context).

illustrated in (2.19) and (2.20) below. Note that in (2.20) the complex noun phrase *Dios taɨɾa* 'God's son' is treated as a single constituent in relation to the distribution of *=semai*.

(2.19)   tayaɾa jesucristo, aisetui dios, aisetui awa, ene**semai** tasapiaɾi ene kumesamaikanaɾi.

ta=　　　yaɾa　jesucristo　　aise -tui dios aise -tui awa ene =semai ta=　　　　sapiaɾi
1SG.MS= master Jesus.Christ true -?　God true -?　man 2SG =VERID 1SG.MS= believe
ene　kumesa =mai　　　　=kana　　=aɾi
2SG　say　　=INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS =LOC.DIFF

'My Lord Jesus Christ, true God, true man, I truly believe in you and your words.'
(example (7.1))

(2.20)   Dios taɨɾasemai awa uwaka ɨmɨnua.

Dios taɨɾa　　　　　=semai awa uwaka　　ɨmɨnua
God son.MALE.EGO =VERID man transform long.ago

'The son of God truly became man.'
(example (5.11b))

2.2.3.2   Derivational Morphology

In this section we turn to a description of the Omagua causative *-ta* (§2.2.3.2.1), the applicative *=supe* (§2.2.3.2.2) and a series of nominalizers (§§2.2.3.2.3-2.2.3.2.6).

2.2.3.2.1　Causative *-ta*　The causative *-ta* is a verbal suffix that increases the semantic valence of the verb root by one. When the verb root is intransitive, *-ta* derives a transitive verb, and the erstwhile subject is demoted to object position. Only causativized intransitives are attested in Old Omagua, as in (2.21).

(2.21)   yene ɾasaʃitaɾaʃi, yeneeɾasɨmamaikanasui yene ɾausuepe**ta**senuni, ɨwatimai ɾitamakati yene ɾayawaʃima**ta**senuni weɾanu.

yene　　　ɾa=　　　saʃita =ɾaʃi　yene=　　　eɾa　-sɨma　　　=mai　　　　=kana
1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love　　=NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG =INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS
=sui　yene　　　ɾa=　　　usuepe -ta　=senuni ɨwati　　=mai　　　　ɾitama =kati
=ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC
yene　　　ɾa=　　　yawaʃima -ta　=senuni weɾanu
1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= arrive　　-CAUS =PURP COORD

'Since he loves us, in order to save us from our evils and take us to Heaven.'
(example (5.12b))

In modern Omagua, when the verb root is transitive, *-ta* derives a similarly transitive verb. The erstwhile subject is demoted to object position, and the erstwhile object is realized (optionally) as an oblique licensed by the instrumental *=pupɪ*, as in (2.22).

(2.22)   MODERN OMAGUA
tayapiʃikata ɪnɪ iʃipupupɪ, nani akia carachupa apuka tuyukakʷaɾasui.

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ta=   yapiʃika -ta   mɪ iʃipu   =pupɪ nani akia   carachupa[52] apuka
1SG.MS= grab   -CAUS 2SG rope.vine =INSTR QUOT DEM.PROX.MS armadillo   laugh
tuyuka =kʷaɾa =sui
ground =INESS =ABL

'I made you [jaguar] grab the rope vine, laughed the armadillo from underground.'
(MCT:C5.S3)

In modern Omagua, -*ta* may additionally suffix to a small set of nouns, deriving transitive verbs
with idiosyncratic meanings. These nouns are summarized in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Causativized Nouns in Modern Omagua

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
kɨwawa	comb (n.)	*kɨwawata*	comb (v.)
mɪmɨɾa	son.FEM.EGO	*mɪmɨɾata*	impregnate
paɾuɾi	plank	*paɾuɾita*	repair with plank
puasa	rope	*puasata*	throw rope on (to carry)
sapaɾu	basket	*sapaɾuta*	put in basket
sapua	point, tip	*sapuata*	sharpen to a point
sɪpɨ	price	*sɪpɨta*	pay
ʃiɾu	shirt	*ʃiɾuta*	put shirt on (s.o.)
tanimuka	ashes	*tanimukata*	throw ashes on (e.g., fire)
tɪwɪ	salt (n.)	*tɪwɪta*	salt (v.)
tuyuka	ground, dirt	*tuyukata*	level ground (for house)
yɨwa	arm	*yɨwata*	put arm/handle on (e.g., machete)
yuɾa	floor	*yuɾata*	lay floor boards
yuta	wall	*yutata*	add walls (to house frame)

Furthermore, modern Omagua exhibits a homophonous instrumental nominalizer -*ta*, which
derives "instrumental nouns" from verbs. When -*ta* appears on an active predicate, the resulting
noun denotes the instrument used to perform the event denoted by the predicate; when -*ta* appears
on an inactive (stative) predicate, the resulting noun denotes the entity that brings the state into
being. This morpheme appears to be falling out of the language synchronically; the few stems
elicited are shown in Table 2.9. Note that all of these derived stems may also be interpreted as
causativized verbs.[53]

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[52]This word is a borrowing from local Spanish *carachupa*. The modern Omagua word is *tatu*.

[53]This homophony was noted in the early 19th century by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). He states:

> *Ta* changes a noun into a verb, as (merely with an additional *ri*) in Abipona and Tamanaco [Guaycu-
> ruan and Carib languages, respectively], but also a verb back into a noun. This can best be explained
> by the fact that *ta* expresses a notion of *make*, and to that extent, depending on whether this sense
> is taken as active or passive, turns the noun into an action, or changes the action into that which is
> brought about by it.
> (von Humboldt 2011:427, translation ours, emphasis in original)

The original reads:
> *Ta* verwandelt das Nomen in ein Verbum, wie (nur mit hinzugefügtem *ri*) in der Abiponen u.
> Tamanaca Sprache, allein auch wieder das Verbum in ein Nomen. Dies läßt sich nur allenfalls so

Table 2.9: Verbs Nominalized with -*ta* in Modern Omagua

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
aikua	be sick	*aikuata*	illness
ʃapuni	be fragrant	*ʃapunita*	perfume
yapina	cut hair	*yapinata*	scissors
yapukui	row	*yapukuita*	oar
yupɪ	braid	*yupɪta*	braiding device

The instrumental nominalizer -*ta* is cognate to what has been reconstructed by Jensen (1998:540-541) as a Proto-Tupí-Guaraní circumstantial nominalizer **-*aβ* ∼ -*tsaβ* ∼ -*taβ*, the allomorphs of which co-occur with consonant-final, vowel-final and glide-final roots, respectively. Nouns derived with this suffix may (among other functions) denote an instrument involved in the realization of the event denoted by the verbal head, as in Kayabí *i-momɨk-ap* 'that which is used for sewing' (Jensen 1998:540). Note that the Omagua form, which is also reconstructable as Proto-Omagua-Kokama *-*ta*, shows a generalization of **-*taβ* from co-occurring only with glide-final roots to co-occurring with vowel-final roots. The same pattern is exhibited by reflexes of Proto-Tupí-Guaraní grammatical morphemes that exhibit similar allomorphic distribution (see §2.2.3.2.3), and has been reported for other Tupí-Guaraní languages, namely Kamaiurá and Asuriní do Tocantins (Jensen 1998:540-541).[54]

2.2.3.2.2   Applicative =*supe*   The applicative =*supe* is attested only once in Old Omagua, in a passage from the personal diaries of Manuel Uriarte, and is not attested in modern Omagua. It attaches to a stative intransitive verb root and licenses a direct object with a goal thematic role, as in (2.23).

(2.23)   ename ukaɨra**supe** Andrés. taumanu[sa]kapɨrɨ, eɾusu padre ukakate.

ename ukaɨra   =supe Andrés
PROH   be.stingy =APPL Andrés

ta=   umanu =sakapɨrɨ   eɾusu padre uka   =kate
1SG.MS= die   =TEMP.POST take   father house =ALL

'Don't be stingy with Andrés. After I die, take him to the Father's house.'
(example (8.6))

The applicative is homophonous with the Old Omagua postposition =*supe* (also attested as =*supi* in modern Omagua), which attaches to an NP and licenses an oblique argument functioning as a goal. A cognate -*tsupe* is attested with certain intransitive verb roots in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:380-383), where it 'introduces a benefactive-like participant as the object of the clause' (ibid.:380). However, it appears to be unproductive in that language as well.

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erklären, daβ *ta* den Begriff *machen* ausdrückt, und insofern, je nachdem man diesen Begriff selbst activ u. passiv nimmt, das Nomen in Handlung setzt, oder die Handlung in das durch sie Bewirkte verwandelt.
(ibid.)

Von Humboldt provides the additional form <yasai-ta> 'cover (n.)', not attested in modern Omagua (ibid.).

[54]This analysis goes against O'Hagan (2011:76), who claimed that POK *-*ta* was not of Tupí-Guaraní origin.

2.2.3.2.3 Clausal Nominalizers Old Omagua exhibits two verbal enclitics that function as nominalizers with scope over the entire clause, the active nominalizer -*taɾa* and the inactive nominalizer =*mai*. Their distribution differs in the verbal argument positions they target, and follows a split ergative-absolutive alignment: -*taɾa* derives nouns that correspond to A and S$_A$, whereas =*mai* derives nouns that correspond to S$_P$ and P. There are no attestations in Omagua of a derived noun corresponding to S$_A$. Derived nouns corresponding to A, S$_P$ and P are illustrated in (2.24).

(2.24)   ayaise cristianokana (upai aucakana), Dios kumesa**mai**puɾakana ɾoaya amuyasukata**taɾa**kana
erasɨma**mai**wasuyaɾa, ɾanaumanuɾaʃi, makati Dios yumupuɾi ɾanasawakana?

ayaise	cristiano	=kana	upai	auca	=kana	Dios kumesa	=mai	=puɾa
wicked	Christian	=PL.MS	every	savage	=PL.MS	God say	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST

ayaise   cristiano =kana   upai   auca   =kana   Dios kumesa =mai   =puɾa
wicked   Christian =PL.MS   every   savage =PL.MS   God say   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST
=kana   ɾoaya amuyasukata -taɾa   =kana   eɾa   -sɨma   =mai   =wasu
=PL.MS   NEG   observe   -ACT.NOMZ =PL.MS   good -CORE.NEG =INACT.NOMZ =AUG
=yaɾa   ɾana=   umanu =ɾaʃi   makati Dios yumupuɾi ɾana=   sawa =kana
=POSS.NOMZ 3PL.MS= die   =NASS   where   God send(?)   3PL.MS= soul =PL.MS

'The wicked Christians (every savage), those who do not observe God's commandments, those with great evil, when they die, where does God send their souls?'
(example (6.21a))

We analyze -*taɾa* and =*mai* as nominalizers because stems derived with these morphemes may receive morphology exclusive to nouns, e.g., =*kana* PL.MS (§2.2.2.1) and =*puɾa* NOM.PST (§2.2.2.3). We analyze them as having scope over the entire clause because the nominalized constituent retains some clausal properties. In (2.24) this is evidenced by the presence of the clause-level negator *ɾoaya*, which intervenes between *kumesamaipuɾakana* and *amuyasukatataɾakana*, which could otherwise be analyzed as an NP-NP compound with the meaning 'commandment followers'. The negator *ɾoaya* may not otherwise break up compounds in this way. With regard to =*mai*, clausal scope can be seen in (2.25) & (2.26), from modern Omagua, in which adverbial elements (*ikʷaʃi* 'yesterday' and *ɨantikʷaɾa* 'at the prow') fall within the nominalized constituent.

(2.25)   MODERN OMAGUA
mɨ umai yukú yapɨsaɾa ikʷaʃi yauʃima**mai**?

mɨ   umai yukú   yapɨsaɾa ikʷaʃi   yauʃima =mai
2SG see   DEM.DIST.FS man   yesterday arrive   =INACT.NOMZ

'Have you seen the man that arrived yesterday?'
(ZJO 2011, E-2, p. 21, AmHT, Sp. given)

(2.26)   MODERN OMAGUA
Entonces wipi awa ɨantiɾakʷaɾa yapɨka**mai**, sɨmu ɨpɨ intatai, sɨmu akia wɨɾakɨɾa.

entonces wipi awa ɨantiɾa =kʷaɾa yapɨka   =mai   sɨmu   ɨpɨ   intatai sɨmu
then   one man prow   =LOC   sit.down =INACT.NOMZ listen.to 2PL bother listen.to
akia   wɨɾa =kɨɾa
DEM.PROX.MS bird =DIM

'Then the man sitting at the prow [said], "Listen to this bother, listen to this little bird."'
(MCT:C2.S4)

However, constituents derived with *-taɾa* or *=mai* lack other clausal properties, most notably the overt encoding of arguments, as in (2.27), from modern Omagua.[55]

(2.27) MODERN OMAGUA
Hasta medio cuerpo ɾayatɨma ʃiri**mai**kʷaɾa, uɾi cielosui**mai**.

hasta medio cuerpo	ɾa=	yatɨma	ʃiri	=mai	=kʷaɾa	uɾi	cielo
up.to half	body	3SG.MS=	be.buried	be.muddy	=INACT.NOMZ	=INESS	come	sky

=sui	=mai
=ABL	=INACT.NOMZ

'He was buried in the mud halfway up his body, the one who had come from the sky.'
(MCT:C4.S1)

That these nominalizers have scope over the entire clause is often not visible, as clauses nominalized by *-taɾa* or *=mai* frequently have minimal internal structure, as in (2.28).

(2.28) ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkanamukui, yawɨki**taɾa**, wakuta**taɾa**, yeneyaɾasemai weɾanu, muɾiai Dios muɾa.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	upa	=katu	maɾain
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	all	=INTSF	thing

=kana	=mukui	yawɨki	-taɾa	wakuta	-taɾa	yene=	yaɾa	=semai
=PL.MS	=COM	make	-ACT.NOMZ	carry.in.arm	-ACT.NOMZ	1PL.INCL=	master	=VERID

weɾanu	muɾia	-i	Dios	muɾa
COORD	thus	-?	God	3SG.MS

'The Creator of Heaven, Earth and all things, the protector, and our true Lord as well, thus is God.'
(example (5.2b))

Evidence for the clitic status of *=mai* comes from the fact that it attaches to the entire verb phrase, as in (2.1). It occurs outside of spatial postpositions, which we analyze synchronically as phonologically bound nominal enclitics, given that they follow the nominal plural enclitics *=kana* PL.MS and *=na* PL.FS, analyzed as such because of their scopal properties and distribution within the noun phrase (see Michael et al. (in prep)).[56] Furthermore, the position of *=mai* may vary within the noun phrase with respect to the plural enclitics and spatial postpositions, depending on scope, as can be seen in (2.27) above.[57]

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[55]In one attested example, person is encoded via a pronominal proclitic, as in (2.1).

(2.1) MODERN OMAGUA
ɾanapaɾisaɾa upa **ɾana**kakɨɾɨ ɾitamakʷaɾamai.

ɾana=	paɾisaɾa	upa	ɾana=	kakɨɾɨ	ɾitama	=kʷaɾa	=mai
3PL.MS=	invite	all	3PL.MS=	live	village	=LOC	=INACT.NOMZ

'They used to invite all those who lived in the village.'
(LHC:2011.06.29.1)

[56]The appearance of *=mai* outside of spatial postpositions, although not attested in the Jesuit texts, is also attested in von Humboldt's work (see footnote (53)), in the form <uni huerepe-mai>, which we transliterate and segment as *uni=wiɾipe=mai* 'water=SUBESS=INACT.NOMZ' and translate as 'that which is under the water'. This is line with Humboldt's German translation *'was unter dem Wasser ist'*.
[57]See Table 2.5 for a schema of nominal morphology.

2.2.3.2.4 Subject Nominalizer -*suɾi* The ecclesiastical texts exhibit two attestations of the subject nominalizer -*suɾi*, on *wiʃani* 'be dishonest' and *mɨta* 'deceive', as in (2.29).[58]

(2.29)   nesapiaɾitipa aikiaɾa, upakatu Dios kumesamaikana, aisetui Dios, upai ikuataɾa, ɾoaya wiʃani**suɾi**, ɾoaya mɨta**suɾi**, Dios kumesaikua?

> ne=   sapiaɾi =tipa   aikiaɾa   upa =katu Dios kumesa =mai   =kana
> 2SG= obey   =INTERR DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF God say   =INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS
> aise -tui Dios upai ikua -taɾa   ɾoaya wiʃani   -suɾi   ɾoaya mɨta
> true -?   God every know -ACT.NOMZ NEG   be.dishonest -SUBJ.NOMZ NEG   deceive
> -suɾi   Dios kumesa =ikua
> -SUBJ.NOMZ God say   =REAS

> 'Do you obey all the words of God, true God, all-knowing, not deceitful, because God says them?'
> (example (6.33a))

Additional stems derived with -*suɾi* in modern Omagua are given in Table 2.10.[59]

Table 2.10: Modern Omagua Nouns and Verbs Nominalized with -*suɾi*

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
aikua	be sick	*aikuasuɾi*	sickly person (Sp. *enfermizo*)
kumɨsa	say, speak	*kumɨsasuɾi*	gossip (Sp. *hablador*)
muna	steal	*munasuɾi*	thief
musanaka	heal, cure	*musanakasuɾi*	healer, curer
piata	ask	*piatasuɾi*	nosy person (Sp. *preguntón*)
saipuɾa	be drunk	*saipuɾasuɾi*	drunkard
tamana	ask for	*tamanasuɾi*	begger (Sp. *pidelón*)
umanuta	kill	*umanutasuɾi*	killer

Vallejos Yopán (2010a:232-233) characterizes Kokama-Kokamilla as a 'proficient-agent nominalizer'; however, in Omagua, -*suɾi* may attach to predicates whose arguments receive no thematic agent role, as with the pair *aikua* 'be sick' and *aikuasuɾi* 'sickly person'. Because of these facts, we analyze -*suɾi* as a subject nominalizer. In addition, nouns derived with -*suɾi* denote entities that carry out the event denoted by the root in a habitual fashion, rather than proficiently, and also tend to carry pejorative semantics, with the notable exception of *musanakasuɾi* 'healer'.

Although not attested in Old Omagua, modern Omagua exhibits an endocentric nominalizer -*waɾa*. With two exceptions, this form attaches solely to nouns (Table 2.11),[60] and in fact it has cognates to other endocentric nominalizers across the Tupí-Guaraní family.[61]

We posit that the extension of -*waɾa* to appearing on verbs is the result of the semantic development of -*suɾi*, wherein as the latter acquired increasingly pejorative semantics, -*waɾa* was extended

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[58] An additional attestation is found in Uriarte's diaries, on *yawapaɾa* 'flee' (see (8.4)).

[59] Note that -*suɾi* is no longer widely productive, and the forms in Table 2.10 are all those that have arisen in natural speech or been elicited.

[60] The endocentric nominalizer -*waɾa* is also attested on nouns borrowed from Spanish: *carro* 'car', *carrowaɾa* 'driver of a car'; *minga* 'work party', *mingawaɾa* 'work party participant'; *santo* 'saint (image)', *santowaɾa* 'maker of saints'.

[61] For example, see Tupinambá -*βoɾ* (Lemos Barbosa 1956:264-265) and Kamaiurá *wot* (Seki 2000).

Table 2.11: Modern Omagua Nouns and Verbs Nominalized with -waɾa

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
kaisuma	manioc beer	*kaisumawaɾa*	manioc beer jug
kapi	grass sp.	*kapiwaɾa*	capybara
kumɪsa	say, speak	*kumɪsawaɾa*	chatterbox (Sp. *charlatán*)
kuu	swidden	*kuuwaɾa*	farmer
manipiaɾa	fishhook	*manipiaɾawaɾa*	fisherman
ɾitama	village	*ɾitamawaɾa*	village inhabitant (Sp. *poblador*)
sasɨwa	ant	*sasɨwawaɾa*	anteater
tiama	flute	*tiamawaɾa*	flute player (Sp. *pifanero*)
yumuita	teach	*yumuitawaɾa*	teacher

to fill the functional ground lost by -*suɾi*, namely nominalizing subjects with "neutral" semantics (see the pair *kumɪsawaɾa* 'chatterbox' versus *kumɪsasuɾi* 'gossip'). This is in stark contrast to the distribution of -*waɾa* in Kokama-Kokamilla. Vallejos Yopán (2010a:230-231) argues that -*waɾa* appears predominantly on transitive verbs, with only two attestations on nouns located in her corpus. However, we consider the endocentric function reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama given the syntactic distribution of cognates across the Tupí-Guaraní family.

2.2.3.2.5   Container Nominalizer =ʃiɾu   A passage from Manuel Uriarte's diaries exhibits one attestation of what we have described for modern Omagua as a container nominalizer =ʃiɾu, as shown in (2.30).

(2.30)   kaɾayoa, maɾia**ʃiɾu**kate!

karayoa   maɾia =ʃiɾu   =kate
Portuguese Mary   =CONT.NOMZ =ALL

'Portuguese, to the church!'[62]
(example (8.1))

This morpheme, which is historically related to the Proto-Omagua-Kokama word for 'container',[63] and as such stems derived with =ʃiɾu can roughly be characterized as denoting persons or places which "contain" the state or event denoted by the root (Table 2.12). Synchronically, the root *ʃiɾu* means 'shirt, clothes'.

A more transparent interpretation of 'container' is still visible when =ʃiɾu functions endocentrically (Table 2.13), although we should note that these forms appear to be lexicalized and in some cases yield idiosyncratic meanings (e.g., *kai* 'white monkey sp.' but *kaiʃiɾu* 'mischievous boy').[64]

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[62]In modern Omagua 'church' is most often realized as [maɾˈʃiɾu] or [ˌmaɾiˈʃiɾu], and speakers are not aware of a relation to *Maria*. However, this form is attested (as <Maria zhiru>) in von Humboldt's early 19th century sketch of Omagua (von Humboldt 2011:430), and as such must date to at least the 18th century.

[63]For cognates, see (among other languages) Sirionó *iɾu* 'basket' (Priest and Priest 1985); Tapirapé and Parakanã *iɾo* 'basket' (Praça 2007; da Silva 2003).

[64]One could analyze the forms in Table 2.13 as NP-NP compounds, but given that =ʃiɾu has also extended to derive nouns from verbs, we opt for a nominalization analysis here.

Table 2.12: Modern Omagua Verbs Nominalized with =ʃiɾu

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
aisɪkapa	be ugly	*aisɪkapaʃiɾu*	very ugly person
ikua	know	*ikuaʃiɾu*	wise person, school
ɾu	eat	*ɾuʃiɾu*	plate
mapiɾɨ	be lazy	*mapiɾiʃiɾu*	lazybones
payu	witch	*payuʃiɾu*	witch
sasɨsima	shout.REDUP	*sasɨsimaʃiɾu*	(Sp. *gritón*)
ukaɨɾa	be stingy	*ukaɨɾaʃiɾu*	stingy person

Table 2.13: Modern Omagua Endocentric Nominalizations with =ʃiɾu

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
kai	white monkey sp.	*kaiʃiɾu*	mischievous boy
maɾia	Mary	*maɾiaʃiɾu*	church[65]
nami	ear	*namiʃiɾu*	earring
pɨta	foot	*pɨtaʃiɾu*	sock, footprint
pua	hand	*puaʃiɾu*	ring
sɪtɨma	thigh	*sɪtumaʃiɾu*	pants
tɪputi	excrement	*tɪputiʃiɾu*	entrails
uni	water	*uniʃiɾu*	water jug
yɨwa	arm	*yɨwaʃiɾu*	sleeve

2.2.3.2.6 Possessive Nominalizer =yaɾa The possessive nominalizer =yaɾa, homophonous with the noun *yaɾa* 'owner, master' (cf., Sp. *dueño*), is an enclitic which in Old Omagua exhibits two functions: 1) when functioning endocentrically, it derives a noun that may be construed as the possessor of the nominal head; and 2) when functioning exocentrically, it derives a noun from verbal stems borrowed from Spanish. The former function is illustrated in (2.31). That the non-assertive marker =ɾaʃi (see §2.3.7.2) may attach to a noun here is a result of the fact that it is a non-verbal predicate (*nuamai utʃayaɾa* 'big sinner') that is not being asserted here.

(2.31)   cristianokana nuamai utʃa**yaɾa**ɾaʃi, maɾaitipa ɾanayawɨkɨari ɨpɨpemai [tata tupakʷɾape] ɾanausumaka?

cristiano =kana nua =mai utʃa =yaɾa =ɾaʃi maɾai =tipa
Christian =PL.MS be.big =INACT.NOMZ sin =POSS.NOMZ =NASS what =INTERR
ɾana= yawɨkɨ =ari ɨpɨpe =mai tata tupa =kʷaɾape ɾana= usu
3PL.MS= do =IMPF be.inside =INACT.NOMZ fire place =INESS 3PL.MS= go
=maka
=NEG.PURP

'Christians, being great sinners, what should they do in order to not go to Hell?'
(example (6.29a))

The latter function is illustrated in (2.32). Note that in modern Omagua, =*yaɾa* does not nominalize verbs borrowed from Spanish.

(2.32)   cristianokana eɾa ɾanaconfesa**yaɾa**ɾaʃi, ɾanasawaitiaɾi weɾanu santísimo sacramento?

cristiano =kana   eɾa   ɾana=   confesa =yaɾa   =ɾaʃi   ɾana=   sawaiti
Christian =PL.MS good 3PL.MS= confess =POSS.NOMZ =NASS 3PL.MS= encounter
=aɾi   weɾanu santísimo sacramento
=IMPF COORD Holy Sacrament

'Christians who have confessed properly, will they receive the Holy Sacrament?'
(example (2.32))

In modern Omagua, =*yaɾa* similarly derives a possessive noun, as in (2.33).

(2.33)   Modern Omagua
wainúkana, awi ɾanayapɪsaɾa**yaɾa**.

wainú =kana awi   ɾana=   yapɪsaɾa =yaɾa
woman =PL.MS already 3PL.MS= man   =POSS.NOMZ

'As for the women, they already have husbands.'
(MCT:C4.S3)

In some instances, when the nominal head may not only be construed as an entity that may be possessed, but also one that may be acted upon or be the result of a process, the progressive =*aɾi* may attach to =*yaɾa*. That is, the presence =*aɾi* forces an active interpretation of 'doing' in contrast to a stative interpretation of 'having'. This illustrated in (2.34), from modern Omagua.

(2.34)   Modern Omagua
tsɪumai tsɪamuina. kuu**yaɾa**ɾi kakɨrɨ iná.

tsɪ=   umai   tsɪ=   amui   =na
1SG.FS= remember 1SG.FS= grandfather =PL.FS

kuu   =yaɾa   =aɾi   kakɨrɨ iná
swidden =POSS.NOMZ =PROG live   3PL.FS

'I remember my grandparents. They lived farming.'
(AmHT:2011.06.13.1)

2.3   Syntax and Information Structure

In this section we present an overview of Omagua syntax and information structure. As before, much of our description here is based on our analysis of modern Omagua, but unless noted otherwise, the analysis that follows is true for both stages of Omagua. Conversely, some phenomena we discuss in this section are attested in Old Omagua but unattested in modern Omagua; we mention all such cases. We discuss nominal modification (§2.3.2), adpositional phrases (§2.3.3), negation (§2.3.4), interrogative formation (§2.3.5), noun phrase coordination (2.3.6), clause-linking (§2.3.7), focus (§2.3.8) and non-verbal predication (§2.3.9).

2.3.1 Basic Clause Structure

Omagua main clause alignment follows an active-stative pattern with AVP, S_AV and VS$_P$ word orders.[66] An additional order S$_P$V is also attested, but is less frequent. Arguments may be encoded by nouns, free pronouns or phonologically bound pronominal proclitics (see §2.2.1), but pronominal proclitics must have a rightward phonological host. Omagua verbs are maximally two-place predicates, and all oblique arguments (including indirect objects) must be licensed via a series of phonologically bound nominal enclitics (described as postpositions in §2.3.3).

Contrastive topic subjects encoded via full NPs appear at the left edge of the clause, in which case they are followed by an intonation break and doubled by a pronominal proclitic phonologically bound to the verb. Focus is typically marked *in situ* via intonation, but see §2.3.8. Highly topical third-person objects may be deleted; subjects are obligatory. The realization of a full NP, free pronoun, pronominal proclitic or, in the case of third-person objects, null, is governed by a givenness hierarchy in the vein of Gundel et al. (1993), which we will not treat here (see Sandy and O'Hagan (2012a) and Michael et al. (in prep)). Adverbs tend to occur clause-initially.

2.3.2 Nominal Modification

In Old Omagua, nouns may be modified in one of three ways, via (a combination of): 1) prenominal elements that include demonstratives (§2.3.2.1); 2) another noun (§2.3.2.2); and 3) a nominalized stative verb (§2.3.2.3).

2.3.2.1 Demonstratives and Quantifiers

The ecclesiastical texts exhibit a small number of demonstratives and quantifiers in comparison to both modern Omagua and Proto-Omagua-Kokama, for three main reasons: 1) neither Proto-Omagua-Kokama or modern Omagua possess a large number of demonstrative pronouns and/or quantifiers to begin with; 2) these texts do not require the range of deictic reference that would invoke the use of both proximal and distal demonstratives (only the proximal is attested); and 3) demonstratives differ along genderlect lines and, given that the texts are written exclusively with masculine genderlect forms, no female speech demonstratives are attested. Below we first summarize demonstratives and quantifiers in modern Omagua, and then discuss those forms attested in the ecclesiastical texts, before turning our attention to a small set of historical questions concerning the evolution of these forms from Proto-Omagua-Kokama.

Table 2.14 gives the demonstratives in modern Omagua. Demonstratives may stand alone as arguments, in which capacity they may also take nominal morphology (see §2.2.2). They may also function as determiners, modifying nouns without additional derivation, in which case any nominal morphology attaches to the noun itself, and not to the demonstrative.[67]

Out of the forms in Table 2.14, only *aikiaɾa* DEM.PROX.MS, of which *akia* is a reflex, is attested.[68] This demonstrative is shown as an argument with plural marking in (2.35).

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[66]A = subject of transitive verb; S$_A$ = single argument of active intransitive verb; S$_P$ = single argument of inactive intransitive verb; P = object of transitive verb.

[67]The syntactic distribution of demonstrative pronouns varies significantly between Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla. In the latter (at least with proximal demonstratives), both nominalized and non-nominalized demonstratives may modify nouns, but the latter appear to encode only spatial deixis, whereas the former appear to encode levels of dicourse givenness ("discourse deixis"). Only nominalized demonstratives may take nominal morphology (e.g., number marking), and stand alone as arguments (see Vallejos Yopán (2012:215-222) for more explanation).

[68]See footnote 156 for a discussion of unexpected form of Old Omagua *aikiaɾa*.

Table 2.14: Modern Omagua Demonstratives

	MS	FS
PROX	*akia*	*amai*
DIST	*yuká*	*yukú*

(2.35)   kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨɾakana, ɨwatakana weɾanu, to maɾitipa **aikiaɾakana** Dios muɾa?

kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ   sesu =kana   wɨɾa =kana   ɨwata =kana   weɾanu to maɾi =tipa
sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what =INTERR
aikiaɾa   =kana   Dios muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS.PRO =PL.MS God 3SG.MS

'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds and the forests, which of these is God?'
(example (5.6a))

Table 2.15 summarizes non-numeral quantifiers in modern Omagua.[69]

Table 2.15: Modern Omagua Non-numeral Quantifiers

Omagua	Gloss
upa	all
upai[70]	every
upaimai	every kind of
amua	(an)other
nimakatin ∼ *nimakatimai*	no, any
awɨɾɨka	some, few (count)
mimikatu	some, little (mass)
ʃita[71]	much, many

The order of prenominal modifiers in modern Omagua is summarized in Table 2.16.[72] Note that quantifiers (Table 2.15) and numerals do not co-occur.[73] The ordering of prenominal modifiers is a point of variation between the two catechism texts, which we discuss as part of §9.4.

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[69]Native Omagua numerals range from 'one' to 'four', with 'five' and higher borrowed from Quechua. They may function as pre-nominal modifiers or stand alone as arguments, and in the latter case the suffix *-tai* may encode a definite group (e.g., English 'two of them' versus 'the two of them'). In the ecclesiastical texts the numerals *uɟepe* 'one' (modern Omagua *wipi*) and *musapɨɾika* 'three' are attested.

[70]Modern Omagua *upai* 'every' is restricted to a set of frozen expressions, including *upai kʷaɾaʃi* 'every day', *upai makati* 'everywhere' (Sp. *por todas partes*), *upai maɾi* 'everything', and *upairupɪ* 'everywhere' (Sp. *por todos lados*).

[71]The quantifier *ʃita* may also function as a stative verb meaning 'be much, be many', and there is strong comparative evidence to believe that this was the original function in Proto-Omagua-Kokama. We suspect that the extension from a stative verb to a pre-nominal modifier is the result of influence from Spanish.

[72]QUANT = quantifier; DEM = demonstrative; NUM = numeral; POSS = possessor.

[73]See Table 2.5 for a summary of postnominal elements in the noun phrase.

Table 2.16: Order of Modern Omagua Prenominal Modifiers

QUANT	DEM	NUM	POSS=	NOUN

The quantifiers *upa*, *upai* and *amua* are attested in Old Omagua. The distribution of *upa* 'all' and *upai* 'every' is widespread, i.e., *upai* is not limited to a small number of frozen expressions (see footnote 70). This evidence, in combination with that from Kokama-Kokamilla, leads us to reconstruct Proto-Omagua-Kokama *upa 'all' and *upai 'every'. Under this account, *upai > *upi* in Kokama-Kokamilla (following expected monophthongization processes (O'Hagan and Wauters 2012)) and came to semantically encomopass *upa* 'all', pushing it out altogether. In Omagua, the opposite process occurred, wherein *upa 'all' came to semantically encompass *upai* 'every', nearly pushing out the latter except for the small set of frozen expressions described above.

2.3.2.2 Noun-Noun Modification

Nouns may be modified by another noun, in which case the head follows the modifier, as in (2.36).

(2.36)   uyawɨrɨ ɾauɾiaɾi aikiaɾa **tuyuka ɾitama** upapupekatu.

uyawɨrɨ ɾa=   uɾi =aɾi aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =pupekatu
again   3SG.MS= come =IMPF DEM.PROX.MS land   village end =TEMP.OVRLP

'He will come again when the Earth ends.'
(example (6.23b))

A frequent use of noun-noun modification in modern Omagua is in the derivation of male and female terms for animal names that either lack a gender distinction or are specific to the opposite gender, e.g., *yapɪsaɾa* 'man', *atawaɾi* 'hen', but *yapɪsaɾa atawaɾi* 'rooster'.

2.3.2.3 Modification via Nominalization of Stative Verb

Nouns may be modified by a nominalized stative verb, as shown in (2.37). In the Old Omagua texts, nominalized stative verbs typically precede their head, although in modern Omagua the distribution is the opposite.

(2.37)   ɨwati**mai** ɾitamakate ɾausu ɨmɨnua.

ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama =kate ɾa=   usu ɨmɨnua
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =ALL 3SG.MS= go   long.ago

'He went to Heaven.'
(example (6.19b))

Interestingly, two Old Omagua roots appear to function as adjectives, i.e., they modify nouns without additional derivation, in which function they are only attested prenominally. These are *eɾa* 'good' and *ayaise* 'wicked' (recruited by Jesuit authors to convey notions of 'bad' and 'evil' (see footnote 146)), the former shown in (2.38). In modern Omagua, the reflexes of these forms, *ɪɾa* and *aisɪ*, are stative verbs that must be nominalized in order to modify a noun.

(2.38)   upakatu yenesawakai upai **ayaise** yeneyawɨkɨmaipuɾakana weɾanu ɾakumesasenuni ɾauɾiaɾi.

upa	=katu	yene=	sawa =kai upai ayaise yene= yawɨkɨ =mai
all	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	soul =? every wicked 1PL.INCL= do =INACT.NOMZ

upa =katu yene= sawa =kai upai ayaise yene= yawɨkɨ =mai
all =INTSF 1PL.INCL= soul =? every wicked 1PL.INCL= do =INACT.NOMZ

=puɾa =kana weɾanu ɾa= kumesa =senuni ɾa= uɾi =aɾi
=NOM.PST =PL.MS COORD 3SG.MS= say =PURP 3SG.MS= come =IMPF

'He will come to judge all of our souls and all of our wicked deeds.'
(example (6.25b))

2.3.3 Adpositional Phrases

In Old and modern Omagua, all oblique arguments must be licensed by one of a set of postpositional enclitics, which attach to the argument. Modern Omagua postpositions are shown in Table 2.17. Forms additionally attested in Old Omagua are given in the rightmost column.[74]

Table 2.17: Omagua Postpositions

Omagua	Gloss	Old Omagua
=aɾi	DIFFUSE LOCATIVE	=aɾi
=aɾikatu	in the direction of	
=aɾɨwa	SUPERESSIVE	
=ɨantiɾa	in front of	
=ɨpɨpɪ	INESSIVE	=ɨpɨpe
=kakuɾa	ADESSIVE	
=kati	ALLATIVE, LOCATIVE	=kate
=kʷaɾa	INESSIVE, LOCATIVE	=kʷaɾape
=mɨtiɾipɪ	in the middle of	=mɨtɨɾipe
=mukui	COMITATIVE	=mukui
=pupɪ	INSTRUMENTAL	=pupe
=ɾupɪ	PROLATIVE	
=sui	ABLATIVE	=sui
=supi	GOAL	=supe
=ʃikwaɾaɾa	behind	
=wiɾɨpɪ	SUBESSIVE	=wiɾɨpe

2.3.4 Negation

Old Omagua exhibits three morphemes involved in negation. Following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:45-46), we distinguish these as a clausal negator *ɾoaya*, a core negator *-sima* and a derivational negator *=ɨma*, which functions as a privative.[75] These are discussed in §§2.3.4.1-2.3.4.3.

2.3.4.1 Clausal Negator *ɾoaya*

The clausal negator is shown in (2.39), where it negates the entire proposition.

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[74]See O'Hagan (2011:41-48) for a discussion of the the relationship between Proto-Omagua-Kokama and Proto-Tupí-Guaraní postpositions.

[75]Clausal negation may additionally be known as propositional negation, and core negation as narrow scope or internal negation (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:45).

(2.39)   ene yumiawɨraɾaʃi ta, **roaya** [uya]wɨɾɨ tayumɨrataɾi ene.

ene yumiawɨra =ɾaʃi ta   roaya uyawɨɾɨ ta=   yumɨra -ta   =aɾi   ene
2SG help   =NASS 1SG.MS NEG   again   1SG.MS= get.angry -CAUS =IMPF 2SG

'If you help me, I will not anger you again.'
(example (7.4))

The form of the clausal negator in the Jesuit texts is unexpected in light of extant reconstructions of Proto-Tupí-Guaraní and the modern language. Proto-Tupí-Guaraní exhibits **ɾuã (Jensen 1998:547) and the modern language *ɾua*. In fast speech, synchronic *ɾua* frequently surfaces phonetically as ['ɾoa] as a result of assimilation, a phenomenon which presumably explains the presence of *o* in Old Omagua *ɾoaya*. We posit that the form *ɾoaya* is a result of the freezing of a morphologically complex negating stem consisting of what Jensen (1998:545-549) analyzes as an adverbial negator **ɾuã and a suffix **-*i*, which elsewhere co-occurs with a prefix ***n(a)-* ∼ ***ni-* to negate verbal predicates (see O'Hagan (2011:112-114)). In this scenario, Old Omagua *ɾoaya* (which was most likely underlyingly *ɾuaya*) reduced to *ɾua*, although it is noteworthy that *ɾoaya* is recorded as late as the 1840s by the French explorer Paul Marcoy (aka Laurent Saint-Cricq) in the Omagua of São Paulo de Olivença (Amazon River), Brazil (Marcoy 1875).[76]

2.3.4.2   Core Negator -*sɨma*

The core negator derives a stem meaning 'not X', where X is some property. The form has fallen out of the modern language and is not attested in Kokama-Kokamilla (although the latter shares a cognate in its clausal negator *tɨma*). Within the Jesuit texts, it is only attested on the adjective *eɾa*, as in (2.40), and derives a meaning of 'evil' from 'good'.[77]

(2.40)   yene ɾasaʃitaɾaʃi, yenee**ɾasɨma**maikanasui yene ɾausuepetasenuni, ɨwatimai ɾitamakati yene ɾayawaʃimatasenuni weɾanu.

yene   ɾa=   saʃita =ɾaʃi yene=   eɾa -sɨma   =mai   =kana
1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love   =NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG =INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS

=sui yene   ɾa=   usuepe -ta   =senuni ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama =kati
=ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC

yene   ɾa=   yawaʃima -ta   =senuni weɾanu
1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= arrive   -CAUS =PURP COORD

'Since he loves us, in order to save us from our evils and take us to Heaven.
(example (5.12b))

2.3.4.3   Privative =*ɨma*

The privative =*ɨma* derives a stative predicate meaning 'lacking/without X', where X is a noun, as in (2.41), where it occurs on the derived nominal *eɾasɨmamaiwasu* 'great evil'. We analyze it as a

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[76]The first monographic edition of the work documenting Marcoy's travels in South America appeared in 1869, although it had been published serially in Paris between 1862 and 1867 in *Le Tour du Monde*. The first English edition appeared in 1873 (see bibliographic references in Chaumeil (2001)).

[77]Two Old Omagua roots *eɾa* 'good' and *ayaise* 'wicked' may function attributively without additional morphological marking, i.e., they function as true adjectives. Synchronically, all "attributive adjectives" are nominalized stative verbs, including the reflexes of these two forms *ɨɾa* 'be good' and *aisɨ* 'be wicked'. All other nominal modifiers in Old Omagua appear to be stative verbs that require nominalization to function attributively (e.g., *nua* 'be big').

clitic because it follows other morphemes previously analyzed as clitics (e.g., =*mai*) and because in modern Omagua it forms part of the phonological word.

(2.41) eɾa cristianokana Dios kumesamaipuɾakana eɾa amuyasukatataɾakana eɾasɨmamaiwasu**ɨma**, ɾanaumanuɾaʃi, makati ɾanasawasuakana usu?

eɾa	cristiano	=kana	Dios	kumesa	=mai		=puɾa	=kana	eɾa
good	Christian	=PL.MS	God	say	=INACT.NOMZ		=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	good

amuyasukata	-taɾa		=kana	eɾa	-sɨma		=mai		=wasu	=ɨma
observe	-ACT.NOMZ		=PL.MS	good	-CORE.NEG		=INACT.NOMZ		=AUG	=PRIV

ɾana=		umanu	=ɾaʃi	makati	ɾana=		sawa	-sua	=kana	usu
3PL.MS=		die	=NASS	where	3PL.MS=		soul	-?	=PL.MS	go

'The good Christians, those who observe what God said, those without great evil, when they die, where do their souls go?
(example (6.20a))

The privative survives in modern Omagua, with an identical function, as in (2.42).

(2.42) MODERN OMAGUA
yuká nɪumai mui yakɨɨmamai.

yuká	nɪ=	umai	mui	yakɨ	=ɨma	=mai
DEM.DIST.MS	2SG=	look.at	snake	head	=PRIV	=INACT.NOMZ

'Look at that snake without a head!'

2.3.5 Interrogatives

2.3.5.1 Polar Interrogatives

Old Omagua polar interrogative sentences are surface-identical to declarative sentences with the exception that the clause is marked by either of the second-position clitics =*tipa* or =*pa*.[78] In most cases this results in one of the clitics attaching to a verb, because the verb phrase is most frequently the initial constituent in a given sentence. However, negative interrogatives and interrogative sentences with an initial adverb show an interrogative clitic on the negator or adverb, respectively.

Example (2.43) shows =*tipa* attaching to an initial VP.

(2.43) neyamɨmɨa**tipa** upakatu nĩyamukuikatu neutʃakanapupe neyumɨrataikua yeneyaɾa Dios?

ne=	yamɨmɨa	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ne=	utʃa	=kana
2SG=	grieve	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	2SG=	sin	=PL.MS

=pupe	ne=	yumɨɾa	-ta	=ikua	yene=		yaɾa	Dios
=INSTR	2SG=	get.angry	-CAUS	=REAS	1PL.INCL=		master	God

'Do you grieve with all your heart because you have angered our Lord God with your sins?'
(example (6.36a))

Example (2.44)-(2.45) shows =*tipa* attaching to the negator and an initial adverb, respectively.

(2.44) aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana, ɾoaya**tipa** musapɨɾɨka Dios?

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[78]These clitics also occur on interrogative words in the Jesuit texts (see §2.3.5.2 and §9.4).

aikiaɾa		musapɨɾɨka persona	=kana	ɾoaya	=tipa	musapɨɾɨka	Dios
DEM.PROX.MS	three		person	=PL.MS	NEG	=INTERR three	God

'These three persons, are they not three Gods?'
(example (5.10a

(2.45) uyawɨɾi**tipa** yeneyaɾa jesucristo ɨwatimai ɾitamasui aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate ɾauɾiaɾi.

uyawɨɾi	=tipa	yene=	yaɾa	jesucristo	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=sui
again	=INTERR	1PL.INCL=	master	Jesus.Christ	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ABL

aikiaɾa		tuyuka	ɾitama	=kate	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi
DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	=ALL	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF	

'Will our Lord Jesus Christ come from Heaven to Earth again?'
(example (6.23a))

We should note a variety of distributional facts concerning these two interrogative enclitics. First, the interrogative clitic =*pa* is significantly less frequent than =*tipa*, occurring only four times in all of the Jesuit texts. In all the syntactic positions in which it is attested, namely on interrogative words and the clausal negator, =*tipa* is also attested. In the modern language, only =*pa* occurs, whereas Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits =*tipa* only. Nevertheless, we reconstruct both *=*tipa* and *=*pa* to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, based on cognates across the Tupí-Guaraní family. Evidence for this comes principally from Tupinambá, which exhibited two interrogative markers *pe* and *tepe*, the latter of which has been described by Cabral (1995:209-213) as a marker of rhetorical questions. However, we suspect that the difference between the two markers hinged on knowledge asymmetries between the speaker and his/her interlocutor, although more comparative work is needed across the Tupí-Guaraní family to determine this for certain. The distribution of multiple interrogative markers across the family will ultimately inform our reconstruction of *=*tipa* and *=*pa*, given that a distinction between these two forms does not survive in the modern languages (and is hardly attested even in Old Omagua), such that we cannot rely on synchronic data for the proper reconstruction of the function of these morphemes.

2.3.5.2   Information Questions

In Old Omagua information questions, the questioned constituent is fronted, and either =*tipa* or =*pa* appears on one of the interrogative words shown in Table 2.18. In the catechism fragment, interrogative clitics appear on all interrogative words, whereas in the full catechism they are occasionally omitted, in some cases in questions that otherwise correspond identically to those in the catechism fragment (e.g., example (5.4a) versus (6.4a)). See §9.4 for a more in-depth discussion of this variation.

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[79]In the catechism fragment, *awɨɾi* appears with =*pa* (example (5.5a)), whereas in the full catechism, *awɨɾika* appears without additional morphology (example (6.5a)). Only the latter is attested in modern Omagua.

[80]In three instances (examples (5.3a), (5.6a) and (6.28a)), *maɾai* 'what' is realized as *maɾi*, which is intriguing for two reasons. First, the modern language exhibits only *maɾi* for 'what', while *maɾai* fulfills two separate functions, one as a noun simply meaning 'possession', and another in possessor focus constructions (e.g., 'the book is mine'), which are outside the scope of this paper. Second, *maɾi* is a reduction expected in Kokama-Kokamilla, due to widespread monophthongization processes (see O'Hagan and Wauters (2012)), not in Omagua. This may mean that the influence of Kokama-Kokamilla on Omagua began at quite an early stage, which is unproblematic in itself given that Uriarte ([1776]1986) reports the presence of some Kokama families in San Joaquín as early as the 1750s. However, these facts may help date the writing of the catechisms, given that *maɾi* is attested in both the catechism fragment and the full catechism.

Table 2.18: Old Omagua Interrogative Pronouns

mania	how
maɾiamai	how
awɨɾɨ(ka)[79]	how many
maɾai[80]	what
makati	where
maniamai	which
awa	who
maɾaiɾa	why
maraikua	why
maniasenuni	why

Oblique-licensing postpositional nominal enclitics front with the interrogative word, and in such cases =*tipa* ∼ =*pa* attach outside of these morphemes, as in (2.46). Reflexes of all forms except *maɾiamai* 'how' and *maniasɯnuni* 'why' are attested synchronically. The form *maniamai* synchronically means 'what type of', and not 'which'.

(2.46)   maɾipupetipa Dios yawɨkɨ upakatu maɾainkana?

maɾi =pupe   =tipa   Dios yawɨkɨ upa =katu   maɾain =kana
what =INSTR =INTERR God make   all   =INTSF thing   =PL.MS

'With what did God make all things?'
(example (5.3a))

Note the compositionality of the Old Omagua words for 'why', which are based on *maɾai* 'what' and *mania* 'how', the latter of which in its function in "*why*-words" we gloss as 'what action'. Proto-Omagua-Kokama words for 'why' can be reconstructed as in Table 2.19, with a quadripartite distinction based on the word class of the questioned constituent and whether or not it is the purpose or cause of an event in question. The 'Response' column indicates the morpheme that attaches to the relevant constituent in the response.

Table 2.19: Proto-Omagua-Kokama Words for 'why'

POK	Response	Questioning	Translation
*maɾaiɾa	=*ɾa*	PURPOSE	in order for what thing
*maɾaikua	=*ikua*	CAUSE	because of what thing
*maniasenuni	=*senuni*	PURPOSE	in order for what action
*maniaikua	=*ikua*	CAUSE	because of what action

The distinctions between these forms have nearly collapsed completely in the modern languages, with *maniasenuni* having fallen out of modern Omagua entirely, and neither *maniasenuni* or *maniaikua* attested in Kokama-Kokamilla. However, some distinctions are preserved in Old Omagua. Namely, answers to questions with *maɾaiɾa* are nominal and marked by =*ɾa* (synchronically a purposive that appears only on nouns), and answers to questions with *maniasenuni* are verbal and

marked by the purposive =*senuni* (see §**??**). The form *maɾaikua* is attested in the catechism fragment only, and receives a response with a verb marked by =*senuni*. This appears to indicate that the former quadripartite distinction was either already being lost at the time of the writing of the Jesuit texts, or not fully commanded by the author. The fact that *maniaikua* is not attested in Old Omagua, but is so synchronically, is likely due to happenstance.

2.3.6   Noun-Phrase Coordination

2.3.6.1   Conjunction with *weɾanu*

Old Omagua marks the conjunction of two or more noun phrases via the particle *weɾanu* COORD, which follows the final of a series of conjoined elements, as in (2.47).

(2.47)   kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨrakana, ɨwatakana **weranu**, to maɾitipa aikiaɾakana Dios muɾa?

> kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ   sesu =kana   wɨra =kana   ɨwata =kana   weɾanu to maɾi =tipa
> sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what =INTERR
> aikiaɾa   =kana   Dios muɾa
> DEM.PROX.MS.PRO =PL.MS God 3SG.MS

> 'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds and the forests, which of these is God?'
> (example (5.6a))

It may also conjoin two verb phrases in separate sentences, as in (2.48), and in this case is frequently translated as 'also'.[81] The previous question in the discourse is 'Why did God make all these things?'.

(2.48)   maɾaikuatipa Dios yawɨkɨ weranu muɾa awa?

> maɾai =ikua =tipa   Dios yawɨkɨ weɾanu muɾa   awa
> what =REAS =INTERR God create COORD 3SG.MS man

> 'Why did God also make man?'
> (example (5.8a))

The coordinator *weɾanu* has fallen out of both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, but is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama as it shares cognates across the Tupí-Guaraní family.[82]

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[81]The translation of *weɾanu* as 'also' dates back at least to Hervás y Panduro (1787a:98).

[82]The coordinator =*weɾanu* appears to derive from the fusion of two Tupí-Guaraní clitics. In Kamaiurá, these are =*we* and =*ɾan*. In that language, =*we* has the same distribution as Old Omagua *weɾanu*, conjoining NPs for a reading of 'and also', as in (2.1). Glosses in these examples have been modified from the original for clarity.

(2.1)   ije akwahap sapaĩa galvão manuewawe.

> ije   a-   kwahap sapaĩ -a   galvão manuew -a   =we
> 1SG.PRON 1SG.ERG- know   Sapaĩ -REF Galvão Manuel -REF =COORD

> 'I know Sapaĩ, Galvão and also Manuel.'
> (Seki 2000:248)

The form =*ɾan* conjoins verb phrases, in which function it also appears following the conjoined elements.

(2.2)   akaɾupotat akepota**ran**.

2.3.6.2 Conjunction with Comitative =*mukui*

The comitative postposition =*mukui* may adjoin to the last of a series of conjoined NPs, much like *weɾanu*, as in (2.49).

(2.49) ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkana**mukui**, yawɨkɨtaɾa, waku-
tataɾa, yeneyaɾasemai weɾanu, muɾiai Dios muɾa.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	upa	=katu	maɾain
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	DEM.PROX.MS	land		village	all	=INTSF	thing

=kana	=mukui	yawɨkɨ	-taɾa	wakuta	-taɾa	yene=	yaɾa	=semai
=PL.MS	=COM	make	-ACT.NOMZ	carry.in.arm	-ACT.NOMZ	1PL.INCL=	master	=VERID

weɾanu	muɾia	-i	Dios	muɾa
COORD	thus	-?	God	3SG.MS

'The Creator of Heaven, Earth and all things, the protector, and our true Lord as well, thus is God.'
(example (5.2b))

This strategy is only attested once in Old Omagua, with *weɾanu* fulfilling the same function much more frequently. Recall that *weɾanu* has fallen out of the modern language entirely. Synchronically, nominal coordination is most typically achieved via unmarked juxtaposition.

2.3.6.3 Similative =*ya*

Similarity between nominal referents is indicated via the nominal enclitic =*ya*, which appears following the plural marker =*kana* in (2.50).

(2.50) ɾoaya miaɾakana**ya**katu yenesuumukui ɾanaumanu.

ɾoaya	miaɾa	=kana	=ya	=katu	yene=	suu	=mukui	ɾana=	umanu
NEG	monkey	=PL.MS	=SIM	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	body	=COM	3PL.MS=	die

'They [our souls] do not die with our bodies like animals.'
(example (6.22b))

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a-	kaɾu	-potat	a-	ke	-potat	=ɾan
1SG.ERG-	eat	-DESID	1SG.ERG-	sleep	-DESID	=COORD

'I want to eat and sleep.'
(Seki 2000:239)

Both =*we* and =*ɾan* co-occur in cases wherein one of a subset of conjoined NPs is realized post-verbally (i.e., in non-canonical position), an apparent focus strategy, as in (2.3). Note, however, that the function of *weɾanu* in Old Omagua is not restricted to this limited syntactic environment, and in conjoining both NPs and VPs exhibits hybrid syntactic characteristics of both Kamaiurá =*we* and =*ɾan*.

(2.3) ojomonopawawa ɾak moɾeɾekwaɾa**weɾan**.

o-	jo-	mono	-paw	=awa	ɾak	moɾeɾekwat	-a	=we	=ɾan
3.ERG-	RECIP-	send	-CPL	=PL	?	chief	-REF	=COORD	=COORD

'They all went, and the chief too.'
(Seki 2000:248)

This morpheme has fallen out of the modern language, and instead there exist two strategies to express similarity. In the first, the nominal enclitic =*sana* attaches to the noun functioning as the standard of comparison, as in (2.51).[83]

(2.51)   MODERN OMAGUA
maniaikua nɪyumisaɾika yapɪsaɾasana?

maniaikua	nɪ=	yumisaɾika	yapɪsaɾa	=sana
why	2SG=	play	man	=SIM

'Why do you play like a man?'
(AHC:2011.07.07.1)

In the second strategy, the morphologically free element *ɪntɪɾu* appears between the two constituents being compared, as in (2.52). The two strategies may also co-occur, as in (2.53).

(2.52)   MODERN OMAGUA
miʃu sasɨsɨma ɪntɪɾu yawaɾawasu

miʃu	sasɨsɨma	ɪntɪɾu	yawaɾawasu
cat	howl.REDUP[84]	SIM	jaguar

'The cat howls like a jaguar.'

(2.53)   MODERN OMAGUA
nɪipuɾaka jaula ɪntɪɾu gallinerosananani, nɪyasaisɪmuni akia kaikana.

nɪ=	ipuɾaka	jaula	ɪntɪɾu	gallinero	=sana	=nani	nɪ=	yasai	=sɪmuni	akia
2SG=	make	cage	SIM	hen.house	=SIM	=LIM	2SG=	trap	=PURP	DEM.PROX.MS

kai	=kana
monkey.sp.	=PL.MS

'You make a cage just like a hen house in order to trap these monkeys.'
(MCT:C2.S1)

Old Omagua =*ya* is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla =*yá*, as in (2.54). It is unclear whether Old Omagua =*ya* bore stress as in Kokama-Kokamilla.[85]

(2.54)   MODERN KOKAMA-KOKAMILLA
ipiɾawiɾa mai ayray ukua. awayá ya tsapuyuɾu.

ipiɾawiɾa	mai	ay	=ray	ukua.	awa	=yá	ya	tsapuyuɾu
river.dolphin	spirit	already	=SPE	go.around	person	=CMP	3SG.F	whistle

'It seems that the spirit of the dolphin just goes around. He whistles like a person.'
(Vallejos Yopán 2010a:291)

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[83]The morpheme =*sana* appears to be a grammaticalization from a free nominal that meant 'shadow, reflection', a meaning that is still productive in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:444), which otherwise does not employ a cognate to Omagua =*sana* in similative manner constructions.

[84]Modern Omagua exhibits a small number of frozen reduplicated verb stems that reflect a formerly productive pattern of reduplication of the first non-initial CV (O'Hagan 2011:91-93).

[85]Nevertheless, the origin of final stress is likely attributable to an erstwhile nasal *n*, reported by Cabral (1995:350) for Brazilian Kokama, in which the particles *ya* and *yan* differ along genderlect lines, with the latter uttered by male speakers. Cabral does not discuss the stressability of these forms, and no gender distinction is reported for this morpheme in Vallejos Yopán (2010a).

2.3.6.4   Exact Similative *mairamania*

The form *mairamania* has proven difficult to analyze because, on the one hand, it is not attested in modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla, and on the other, its function and distribution vary slightly across its three attestations in Old Omagua. We tentatively analyze it as a similative that relates verb phrases and encodes exact identity between the comparata, based on the following, most straightforward example in (2.55), from the Lord's Prayer. Note that here *mairamania* occurs between the two VPs.

(2.55)   tenepeta tanu tanuerasɨmamaikana **mairamania** tanu tenepeta tanusawayarakana

tenepeta tanu   tanu=   era -sɨma   =mai   =kana
forgive   1PL.EXCL.MS 1PL.EXCL.MS= good -CORE.NEG =INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS

mairamania tanu   tenepeta tanu=   sawayara =kana
exactly(.as) 1PL.EXCL.MS forgive   1PL.EXCL.MS= enemy   =PL.MS

'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.'
(example (4.5))

In a functionally similar, but distributionally distinct example, *mairmania* precedes the two comparata, as in (2.56). Here the comparata are nominal and are additionally conjoined via *weranu* (see §2.3.6.1). Note that this is the only instance in which both comparata are marked with *weranu*.

(2.56)   ene putari, tene rayawɨkɨ mura **mairamania** ɨwatimai ritamakatemairai weranu, aikiara
         tuyuka ritamakate weranu.

ene putari   tene ra=   yawɨkɨ mura   mairamania ɨwati   =mai   ritama
2SG desire(?) OPT 3SG.MS= do   3SG.MS exactly(.as) be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village

=kate =mai   =ra   =i weranu aikiara   tuyuka ritama =kate weranu
=LOC =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.FUT =? COORD DEM.PROX.MS land   village =LOC COORD

CLOSE: 'Your desire, may he do it exactly like both that which will be in the high village and in this land village.'
TARGET: '...thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven.'[86]
(example (4.3))

What is interesting about this example is that *mairamania* does not appear to be necessary for coordination *per se*. We interpret the double occurrence of *weranu*, which appears to derive a meaning of 'both in X and in Y', as fulfilling this functional requirement. Rather, the semantic contribution of *mairamania* seems to be that of only encoding exact identity. In that vein, its different position in the clause also makes it look more adverbial in nature.

A similar function and distribution can be seen in (2.57), in which *mairamania* again is not involved in coordination. Here *weranu* coordinates the three oblique NPs *rasawamukui*, *rasuumukui* and *rasuɨmukui*.

(2.57)   mura jesucristo, Dios taɨra, aisetui Dios, aisetui awa, rasawamukui rasuumukui rasuɨmukui
         weranu **mairamania**.

mura   jesucristo   Dios taɨra   aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa ra=   sawa
3SG.MS Jesus.Christ God son.MALE.EGO true -?   God true -? man 3SG.MS= soul

=mukui ra=   suu =mukui ra=   suɨ =mukui weranu mairamania
=COM   3SG.MS= body =COM 3SG.MS= blood =COM COORD exactly(.as)

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[86]Here we include both close and target translations for extra clarity.

'It is Jesus Christ, the Son of God, true God, true man, with his soul, his body and his blood exactly.'
(example (6.31b))

In this example, as is true to a lesser degree for (2.55) and (2.56), the theological significance of exact identity is extremely important, given that the catechist is emphasizing the point that the bread and wine of the Sacrament are identical to the body and blood of Christ, respectively. Because *maɾamania* coordinates constituents in only one of its three attestations, we have opted to gloss it as 'exactly(.as)', where the parenthetical 'as' is relevant in those instances when it does function as a coordinator. Otherwise, 'exactly' is meant to capture its adverbial use.

2.3.7 Clause-Linking

Old Omagua exhibited a series of enclitics that function as clause-linkers, a subset of which we discuss here. These are the purposives =*senuni* and =*maka* (§2.3.7.1); the non-assertive marker =*raʃi* (§2.3.7.2); the temporal clause-linkers =*sakapɨɾɨ* TEMP.POST, =*pupekatu* 'when' and =*kate* 'while' (§2.3.7.3); the manner adverbial marker =*pupe* (§2.3.7.4); and the reason clause-linkers =*ikua* and =*sepɨ* 'because (of)' (§2.3.7.5). Interestingly, many clause-linkers derive historically from spatial postpositions (see respective sections).

Enclitic clause-linkers fall into one of two classes: 1) those that attach directly to the verb (i.e., verb-final); and 2) those that attach to the verb phrase if the argument host (most typically the object in a transitive clause) is a pronominal proclitic, but to the verb directly if the hypothetical argument host would be an independent pronoun or noun (i.e., VP-final).[87]

2.3.7.1 Purposive Markers

Two purposive markers are attested in Old Omagua, a marker of positive purpose =*senuni* (§2.3.7.1.1), and a marker of negative purpose =*maka* (§2.3.7.1.2). In modern Omagua =*senuni* is one of three purposive markers, which also include -*taɾa* and -*miɾa*. The realization of a given marker hinges on a complex interaction between ellipsed arguments in the supporting clause (in the sense of Dixon (2009)), coreference restrictions with the absolutive argument of the main clause and semantic criteria, which also hold for modern Kokama-Kokamilla (see Vallejos Yopán 2010a:617-628, 2012).[88]

2.3.7.1.1 Positive Purpose =*senuni* The purposive marker =*senuni* is a verb-final enclitic that attaches to the verb of a supporting clause that describes an event that serves as the purpose for the realization of the event described by the main (focal) clause. This is shown in (2.58).

(2.58)   ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, muɾiapai saɾiwaɾaʃi ɾanakakɨɾɨ**senuni**.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate	muɾiapai	saɾiwa	=ɾaʃi	ɾana=	kakɨɾɨ
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	uninterruptedly	be.happy	=NASS	3PL.MS=	live
=senuni								
=PURP								

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[87]The alternation between proclitic pronominal arguments with VP-final enclitics and independent pronominal arguments with verb-final enclitics hinges on a complex interaction of factors that include discourse givenness and person, which are outside the scope of this work (but see Sandy and O'Hagan (2012a).

[88]These syntactic and semantic restrictions follow from the grammaticalization of these morphemes from nominalizers (see O'Hagan (2012b)).

'To Heaven, so that they may live forever happy.'
(example (6.20b))

This purposive marker is frequent in the ecclesiastical texts, and, notably, the modern Omagua purposives -*taɾa* and -*miɾa* are absent (see footnote 88). Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*tsenuni*, also a purposive marker, grammaticalized from a morphologically independent Tupí-Guaraní spatial postposition meaning 'ahead of' (see Jensen (1998:514), who reconstructs this form as **enoné).

2.3.7.1.2   Negative Purpose =*maka*   The purposive marker =*maka* is a verb-final enclitic that attaches to the verb of a supporting clause that describes an event that serves as the purpose for the realization of the event described by the main (focal) clause. Notably, in =*maka* purposives, the event described in the focal clause is undertaken so that the state of affairs described in the supporting clause will not be realized. This is shown in (2.59).

(2.59)   maɾitipa awakana yawɨkɨaɾi ɨpɨpemai tata tupakᵂaɾape ɾanausu**maka**?

maɾi =tipa   awa   =kana yawɨkɨ =aɾi   ɨpɨpe   =mai   tata tupa
what =INTERR person =PL.MS do   =IMPF be.inside =INACT.NOMZ fire   place

=kᵂaɾape ɾana=   usu =maka
=INESS   3PL.MS= go =NEG.PURP

'What should people do in order to not go to Hell?'
(example (6.28a))

In a closely related function, =*maka* appears in a clause similar to English 'lest', as in (2.60).

(2.60)   ename neiʃaɾi tanu ukukui**maka** eɾasɨmamai.

ename ne=   iʃaɾi   tanu   ukukui   =maka   eɾa -sɨma
PROH 2SG= abandon 1PL.EXCL.MS fall.from.height =NEG.PURP good -CORE.NEG

=mai
=INACT.NOMZ

CLOSE: 'Don't abandon [us] lest we fall [into] evil.'
TARGET: 'Lead us not into temptation.'
(example (4.6))[89]

The negative purposive =*maka* is not attested in modern Omagua, and because of this absence our analysis of =*maka* as a clitic is based only on analogy to =*senuni*. Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits a cognate in its 'postponed prohibitive', which attaches to verbs in monoclausal sentences and is analyzed as a suffix (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:564-566). Its use in (2.60) may be most closely related to the Kokama-Kokamilla function. We have not located cognates in any other Tupí-Guaraní languages. Synchronically, Omagua encodes negation in purposive clauses via a combination of either the clausal negator *ɾua* or the prohibitive *inami* with the positive purposive marker =*sɨnuni*.

2.3.7.2   Non-assertive Marker =*ɾaʃi*

The VP-final enclitic =*ɾaʃi* indicates that the event described by the clause in which it appears is not asserted. Translations of these clause-types in English may include a variety of clause-linkers –

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[89]Here we maintain the close and target translations for better clarity.

e.g., *if, when, since*, etc. – given that English generally encodes a specific type of non-assertedness. In modern Omagua, =*ɾaʃi* most typically appears in the protasis of conditional sentences, although it is not restricted to this sentence-type alone. In the ecclesiastical texts, incontrovertibly conditional sentences are difficult to identify, and =*ɾaʃi* more frequently appears in clauses that must be described in terms of a more generic non-assertedness, as is argued for here, and shown in (2.61).[90]

(2.61)   Dios taɨɾa awaɾa uwaka**ɾaʃi** ɨmɨnua, maɾaitipa ɾaʃiɾa?

Dios taɨɾa   awa =ɾa   uwaka   =ɾaʃi ɨmɨnua maɾai =tipa
God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform =NASS long.ago what =INTERR

ɾa=   ʃiɾa
3SG.MS= name

'The son of God become man, what was his name?'
(example (6.15a))

Throughout the texts we footnote those appearances of =*ɾaʃi* in which we feel that our English translation is overly specific in terms of a particular type of non-assertedness, but which we nevertheless employ to yield a natural-sounding translation.

2.3.7.3   Temporal Relations

The Old Omagua texts exhibit three clause-linking markers that encode the temporal relation between two clauses in a biclausal sentence. Two of these express the temporal overlap between the events described in two clauses: =*pupekatu* 'when', used when the two events are construed as points in time (§2.3.7.3.2); and =*kate* 'while', used when the two events are construed as periods in time (§2.3.7.3.3). The remaining marker =*sakapɨɾɨ* encodes temporal posteriority (§2.3.7.3.1).

2.3.7.3.1   Temporal Posteriority =*sakapɨɾɨ*   In biclausal sentences, temporal posteriority is encoded via the VP-final enclitic =*sakapɨɾɨ*, which attaches to the verb of the temporally anterior clause. It is attested twice in Old Omagua, once in the Full Catechism and once in Manuel Uriarte's diaries, the latter of which is shown in (2.62). Note that our analysis of this morpheme as a VP-final enclitic is based on its distribution in modern Omagua, although there is no direct evidence for this in Old Omagua since no objects are present in the two instances in which =*sakapɨɾɨ* occurs.

(2.62)   taumanu**sakapɨɾɨ**, eɾusu padre ukakate.

ta=   umanu =sakapɨɾɨ   eɾusu padre uka   =kate
1SG.MS= die   =TEMP.POST take   father house =ALL

'After I die, take him [my son] to the Father's house.'
(example (8.6))

Historically, =*sakapɨɾɨ* grammaticalized from the Proto-Omagua-Kokama postposition *=*tsakapɨɾɨ* 'behind', and this function is still attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:29), which exhibits a different strategy for encoding temporal posteriority. The spatial-postpositional function clearly has functional cognates elsewhere in the Tupí-Guaraní family, e.g., Tupinambá <aquypueri> (Lemos Barbosa 1970).

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[90]Note that polyfunctional non-assertive markers of this type are common in lowland Amazonian languages, e.g., see Iquito -*sa-kaɾi* (Lai (2009:67-68), Michael (2009:155-156)).

2.3.7.3.2   Temporal Overlap: Point =*pupekatu* **'when'**   The VP-final enclitic =*pupekatu*
expresses the temporal overlap between the events described by two clauses, when those events may
be construed as points in time (e.g., see English 'when'). In this construction, =*pupekatu* attaches
to the entire verb phrase of the supporting clause. It is attested only once in the ecclesiastical texts,
as in (2.63), and is not described by Veigl (1788).[91]   However, it is highly productive in modern
Omagua.

(2.63)   uyawɨrɨ ɾauriaɾi aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama upa**pupekatu**.

uyawɨrɨ	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	upa	=pupekatu
again	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	come.to.end	=TEMP.OVRLP

'He will come again when the Earth ends.'
(example (6.23b))

Although this morpheme appears to derive historically from two distinct morphemes, the in-
strumental =*pupe* and the intensifier =*katu*, it is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama as
*=*pupekatu* (cf., Kokama-Kokamilla -*puka* (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:642-644)).

2.3.7.3.3   Temporal Overlap: Period =*kate* **'while'**   The allative =*kate* (elsewhere a post-
positional enclitic that attaches to nouns (see Table 2.17)) expresses the temporal overlap between
the events described by two clauses, when those events may be construed as periods of time (e.g.,
see English 'while'). In this construction, =*kate* attaches to the predicate of the supporting clause.
The construction is not attested in the ecclesiastical texts, but is in Veigl's sketch of Old Omagua,
as in (2.64).[92]

(2.64)   a. *ta cumessa cate*

   b. tacumessacate

   c. takumesakate

ta=	kumesa	=kate
1SG.MS=	speak	=TEMP.OVRLP

LATIN: 'dum loquor' ∼ 'in loquendo ego'
ENGLISH: 'while I speak' ∼ 'with me speaking'
(Veigl 1788:199)

In modern Omagua, this function is carried out by the enclitic =*katikatu*, as in (2.65).[93]

(2.65)   MODERN OMAGUA
yapɨtuka ɨnɨ tanakamatausu**katikatu**.

yapɨtuka ɨnɨ	tana=	kamata	=usu	=katikatu
rest	2SG 1PL.EXCL.MS=	work	=AND	=TEMP.OVRLP

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[91]Note that it is not apparent from the example in (2.63) that =*pupekatu* is attaching to the entire verb phrase.
Rather, our evidence for this syntactic distribution comes from modern Omagua, and we have no reason to believe
that the same distribution did not hold for Old Omagua as well.

[92]Latin translations are those in Veigl's original work; English translations are our own. See §3.1 for a discussion of
the format of (2.64), which we use throughout this work in presenting Old Omagua data.

[93]Espinosa Pérez (1935:70) gives this form as <katikjati>. However, the reduplication of grammatical morphemes
(in this case =*kati* ALL), as is entailed by this form, is not attested in Old or modern Omagua, suggesting that
Espinosa Pérez may have been in error. The representation <kj> reflects a post-lexical phonological process
whereby *k* palatalizes following *i*.

'You rest while we go work.'

Modern =*katikatu* may additionally encode the temporal anteriority of a period of time relative to some point in time (e.g., see English 'until'). In this construction =*katikatu* appears in the clause containing the predicate that denotes a point in time, as in (2.66).

(2.66)   MODERN OMAGUA
tanaayukaka tanauk^{w}aɾi**katikatu**.

tana=	ayuka -ka	tana=	uk^{w}aɾi	=katikatu
1PL.EXCL.MS=	hit -RECIP	1PL.EXCL.MS=	be.tired	=TEMP.SUCC

'We fought until we got tired.'

Both *=*kate* and *=*katekatu* can be reconstructed to Proto-Omagua-Kokama (see Michael et al. (in prep)), where the former exhibits the same function as Old Omagua =*kate* and the latter encodes the temporal succession characteristic of synchronic =*katikatu*. Thus it is evident either that the distinction between the two morphemes has collapsed since the writing of the ecclesiastical texts, or that the apparent collapse is the result of language attrition.

2.3.7.4   Manner Adverbial Marker =*pupe*

The instrumental =*pupe* (elsewhere a postpositional enclitic that attaches to nouns (see Table 2.17)) attaches to a verb to express the manner in which a given event is realized. This construction is not attested in the ecclesiastical texts,[94] but is in Veigl's sketch of Old Omagua, as in (2.67).

(2.67)   a. *ta cumessa pupe*
 b. tacumessapupe
 c. takumesapupe

ta=	kumesa	pupe
1SG.MS=	speak	=MAN

LATIN: 'loquendo ego, per modum instrumenti'
ENGLISH: 'with me speaking, as an instrument'
(Veigl 1788:199)

It is also attested in modern Omagua, as in (2.68).

(2.68)   MODERN OMAGUA
taususaɾi uwata**pupɪ** kaɾupamataɾa tsɪipuɾakasɪnuni takuu.

ta=	usu =usaɾi	uwata	=pupɪ	kaɾupama -taɾa	tsɪ=	ipuɾaka	=sɪnuni	ta=
1SG.MS=	go =FUT	walk	=MAN	clear.land -PURP	1SG.FS=	make	=PURP	1SG.MS=

kuu
swidden

'I'll go walking to clear land to make my swidden.'
(LHC:2010.08.10.1)

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[94]In the ecclesiastical texts, the comitative =*mukui* appears in place of =*pupe*, but we analyze the appearance of the latter =*mukui* in this construction as a calque (see §9.3.2.1).

Note that while both =*kate* and =*pupe* involve temporal overlap, and as such may be translated with identical constructions in languages such as Spanish, =*pupe*-constructions differ from =*kate*-constructions in that in the former the event denoted by the verb to which =*pupe* attaches must serve as the means by which event denoted by the verb of the main clause is achieved.

2.3.7.5 Reason Markers

Old Omagua exhibited two clause-linking markers that expressed the reason that a given event is realized: =*ikua* 'because (of)' (§2.3.7.5.1); and =*sepɨ* 'because (of)' (§2.3.7.5.2). Only the former is attested in modern Omagua.

2.3.7.5.1 =*ikua* **'because (of)'** The VP-final enclitic =*ikua* appears in the supporting clause of a biclausal sentence and expresses the reason for which the event of the main clause is realized, as in (2.69). It appears to have grammaticalized from Proto-Omagua-Kokama **ikua 'know'.

(2.69) neyamɨmɨatipa upakatu nĩỹamukuikatu neutʃakanapupe neyumɨrata**ikua** yeneyaɾa Dios?

ne=	yamɨmɨa	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ne=	utʃa	=kana
2SG=	grieve	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	2SG=	sin	=PL.MS

=pupe	ne=	yumɨra	-ta	=ikua	yene=	yaɾa	Dios
=INSTR	2SG=	get.angry	-CAUS	=REAS	1PL.INCL=	master	God

'Do you grieve with all your heart because you have angered our Lord God with your sins?' (example (6.36a))

When =*ikua* occurs, it is always the rightmost element in its phonological word, coming outside of derivational morphology (as in (2.69)) as well as other enclitics, as in (2.70).

(2.70) nesaʃitatipa upakatu nĩỹamukuikatu yenepapa dios, upakatu maɾainkana neukuataɾaʃi, ɾaeɾasemaikatu**ikua**?

ne=	saʃita	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	yene=	papa	dios
2SG=	love	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	father	God

upa	=katu	maɾain	=kana	ne=	ukuata	=ɾaʃi	ɾa=	eɾa	=semai	=katu
all	=INTSF	thing	=PL.MS	2SG=	pass.by	=NASS	3SG.MS=	good	=VERID	=INTSF

=ikua
=REAS

'Do you love our father God with all your heart, even though anything may happen to you, because he is really truly good?' (example (6.35a))

Although the clause-linking function of =*ikua* is restricted to its appearance with predicates, =*ikua* may also attach to nouns, pronouns and interrogative words to license oblique arguments. In this function =*ikua* most commonly co-occurs with *maɾai* 'what', to yield the interrogative word *maɾaikua* 'why' (see §2.3.5.2). It is attested once in the ecclesiastical texts in this function, attaching to the pronominal proclitic *yene=* 1PL.INCL, as in (2.71).

(2.71) yene**ikua** ɾasusanaɾaʃi, cruzaɾi takɨtamai ɾaumanuɾaʃi ɨmɨnua (muɾa).

yene=		=ikua	ɾa=		susana	=ɾaʃi	cruz	=aɾi		takɨta	=mai
1PL.INCL=		=REAS	3SG.MS=		suffer	=NASS	cross	=LOC.DIFF		nail	=INACT.NOMZ

ɾa=		umanu	=ɾaʃi	imɨnua	muɾa.
3SG.MS=		die	=NASS	long.ago	3SG.MS

'Suffering for us, dying nailed to the cross.'
(example (6.16b))

2.3.7.5.2 =*sepɨ* **'because (of)'** The enclitic =*sepɨ* is attested only twice in the ecclesiastical texts, and not at all in modern Omagua. It appears in the supporting clause of a biclausal sentence and expresses the reason for which the event of the main (focal) clause is realized, as in (2.72), where it exhibits the same distribution as =*ikua* (see the parallel response in (6.27b)).[95]

(2.72)   eɾa cristianokana puɾai, uyawɨɾɨ ɾaeɾusuaɾi ɨwatimai ɾitamakate ɾanasawakanamukui ɾanasuukanamukui, muɾiapai saɾɨwaɾaʃi ɾanakakɨɾɨsenuni, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate Dios kumesamaipuɾakana ɾanaamuyasukata**sepɨ**.

eɾa	cristiano	=kana	puɾai		uyawɨɾɨ	ɾa=		eɾusu	=aɾi	ɨwati
good	Christian	=PL.MS	CONTR.FOC		again	3SG.MS=		go	=IMPF	be.high.up

=mai		ɾitama	=kate	ɾana=		sawa	=kana	=mukui	ɾana=		suu	=kana
=INACT.NOMZ		village	=ALL	3PL.MS=		soul	=PL.MS	=COM	3PL.MS=		body	=PL.MS

=mukui	muɾiapai		saɾɨwa	=ɾaʃi	ɾana=		kakɨɾɨ	=senuni	aikiaɾa		tuyuka
=COM	uninterruptedly		be.happy	=NASS	3PL.MS=		live	=PURP	DEM.PROX.MS		land

ɾitama	=kate	Dios	kumesa	=mai		=puɾa		=kana	ɾana=		amuyasukata
village	=LOC	God	say	=INACT.NOMZ		=NOM.PST		=PL.MS	3PL.MS=		observe

=sepɨ
=REAS

'He will take the good Christians to Heaven with their souls and with their bodies, so that they may live forever happy, due to the fact that they observed God's commandments on this Earth.'
(example (6.26b))

Like =*ikua*, =*sepɨ* is also attested attaching to a nominal element, in which case it licenses an oblique argument, as in (2.73).

(2.73)   upai tautʃakana eɾa taconfesayaɾaɾi. utʃakana**sepɨ** patiɾi wanakaɾimai ta amuyasukataɾi.

upai	ta=		utʃa	=kana	eɾa	ta=		confesa	=yaɾa		=aɾi
every	1SG.MS=		sin	=PL.MS	good	1SG.MS=		confess	=POSS.NOMZ		=IMPF

utʃa	=kana	=sepɨ	patiɾi	wanakaɾi	=mai		ta=		amuyasukata	=aɾi
sin	=PL.MS	=REAS	priest	order.about	=INACT.NOMZ		1SG.MS=		observe	=IMPF

'I will properly confess every sin. Because of my sins I will observe the priest's instructions.'
(example (7.5))

---

[95]Note that because =*sepɨ* is not attested in modern Omagua, we cannot make any claims regarding its verb-final versus VP-final status.

Historically, =*sepɨ* appears to have grammaticalized from the Proto-Omagua-Kokama word for 'compensation, reward'.[96] Interestingly, its Kokama-Kokamilla cognate *tʃipɨ* ~ *tʃɨpɨ* (Vallejos Yopán 2010c:9) does not function as a clause-linker (Vallejos Yopán 2010a), which suggests that this grammaticalization process occurred following the divergence of Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla.

2.3.8   Focus Markers

Old Omagua exhibited three focus operators with different distributions and scopal properties: the syntactically independent element *puɾai* 'merely' (§2.3.8.1); the contrastive focus enclitic =*nani* (§2.3.8.2); and the exclusive focus enclitic =*semai* (§2.3.8.3).

2.3.8.1   Contrastive Focus *puɾai*

The particle *puɾai* exhibits two functions in Old Omagua, one in which it may be faithfully glossed as 'merely', and one in which it operates as a marker of contrastive focus. In both functions it appears directly following the constituent over which it has scope. It occurs outside of all affixal and clitic morphology associated with the relevant nominal stem. In the former function, shown in (2.74), a response to the question 'With what did God create all these things?', the constituent over which *puɾai* has scope is the only assertion in the sentence and is not information-structurally contrastive with any other constituent in the discourse. Note its position outside the instrumental postposition =*pupe*.

(2.74)   ɾakumesapupe **puɾai**.

ɾa=   kumesa =pupe   puɾai
3SG.MS= word   =INSTR merely

'Merely with his words.'
(example (5.3b))

Its function as a marker of contrastive focus is shown in (2.75), where it is clear that the *puɾai*-marked constituent is being contrasted with the non-*puɾai*-marked constituent previously stated. Note that in this example, *puɾai* intervenes between the nominal predicate and its argument *ɾanu*, providing further evidence that *puɾai* directly follows the constituent over which it has scope.

(2.75)   nati maɾai aikiaɾa Dios muɾa. Dios yawɨkɨmaipuɾakana **puɾai** ɾanu.

nati maɾai aikiaɾa   Dios muɾa
NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS

Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa   =kana   puɾai   ɾanu
God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS CONTR.FOC 3PL.MS

'God is none of these things. They are God's creations.'
(example (5.6b))[97]

The constituent over which *puɾai* has scope may also be a fronted adverbial, as in (2.76).

(2.76)   awakaisuaɾapuɾa. ɾoaya Dioskaisuaɾa **puɾai** ɾaumanu ɨmɨnua.

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[96]The modern Omagua reflex *sɩpɨ* has come to mean 'value, price', as concerns the transaction of money.
[97]See also footnote 162.

> awa =kai =suɾa   =puɾa
> man =?   =ADVBLZR =FOC
>
> ɾoaya Dios =kai =suɾa   puɾai   ɾa=   umanu ɨmɨnua
> NEG   God =?   =ADVBLZR CONTR.FOC 3SG.MS= die   long.ago
>
> 'As a man. He did not die as God.'
> (example (6.17b)

Note in (2.75) that *puɾai* also occurs in conjunction with the nominal past *=puɾa*, which formally resembles *puɾai*. In yet another example, as in (2.77), various grammatical factors may conspire such that *=puɾa* and *puɾai* appear adjacent to one another.

(2.77)   ɾoaya Dios muɾa. aikiaɾa upakatu maɾainkana Dios yawɨkɨmai**puɾa puɾai** muɾa.

> ɾoaya Dios muɾa
> NEG   God 3SG.MS
>
> aikiaɾa   upa =katu   maɾain =kana   Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa
> DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing   =PL.MS God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST
> puɾai   muɾa
> CONTR.FOC 3SG.MS
>
> 'They are not God. All these things are God's creation.'
> (example (6.6b))

What is interesting from a diachronic perspective is that *puɾai* is not attested synchronically in modern Omagua, and that modern Omagua *=puɾa* no longer productively encodes past tense on nouns, but rather marks focus following narrative peaks (see Michael et al. (in prep) for more discussion).[98] This suggests to us that two distinct forms *=puɾa* and *puɾai* collapsed, perhaps because of a reanalysis of their functions in contexts such as (2.77) in which they co-occur adjacently, and that the function of *puɾai* came to replace that of *=puɾa*. It is worthy of note that the loss of nominal tense may have already begun at this point, since a reflex of the Proto-Omagua-Kokama nominal future *=ɾa* is attested only once with that function in Old Omagua (see §2.2.2.4), it having otherwise already grammaticalized as a purposive marker (O'Hagan 2012b). Nevertheless, that the tense functions of these morphemes are prior is easily shown by comparison with cognates across the Tupí-Guaraní family (see §2.2.2.3). A discussion of whether *puɾai* is at all related to *=puɾa* historically is outside the scope of this work.

2.3.8.2   Contrastive Focus *=nani*

The enclitic *=nani* attaches to nominal elements and encodes contrastive focus. It is attested only twice in the ecclesiastical texts, once in each of two parallel passages from the catechism fragment and the full catechism. The occurrence in the catechism fragment is shown in (2.78).

(2.78)   ɾoaya muɾa musapɨɾɨka Dios. aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana uyepesemai Dios muɾa. san-tísima trinidad**nani** ɾaʃiɾa.

> ɾoaya muɾa   musapɨɾɨka Dios
> NEG   3SG.MS three   God

---

[98]Two frozen stems show the erstwhile nominal past function of *=puɾa* – see §2.2.2.3.

aikiaɾa	musapɨ̇ɾɨ̇ka	persona	=kana	uyepe	=semai	Dios muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	one	=VERID	God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad	=nani	ɾa=	ʃiɾa
Holy Trinity	=CONTR.FOC	3SG.MS=	name

'They are not three Gods. These three persons are truly one God. The Holy Trinity is its name.'
(example (5.10b))

Synchronically, =*nani* has a broader function as a limitative, and is also homophonous with the quotative *nani* (Michael et al. in prep). It is likely that Old Omagua =*nani* did not encode contrastive focus *per se*, but rather that the fronted position of *santísima trinidad* 'Holy Trinity' in (2.78) is responsible for the contrastive focus reading. A similar interaction between frontedness and =*nani* has been reported for Kokama-Kokamilla (see Vallejos Yopán (2009:419-421)), and is also frequent in modern Omagua.

2.3.8.3   Exclusive Focus =*semai*

Unlike the veridical function of =*semai* when it appears in second position with respect to the clause (§2.2.3.1.5), =*semai* may additionally break up initial constituents, in which case it encodes exclusive focus with scope over the entire constituent that it breaks up. In (2.79), =*semai* breaks up the constituent ɾ*akumesamaipupe* 'with his words', whereas in (2.80) it breaks up the constituent *uyepe Dios* 'one God'.[99]

(2.79)   ɾa**semai** kumesamaipupe ɾa ni putaɾimaipupe puɾai.

ɾa=	=semai	kumesa	=mai	=pupe	ɾa=	ni	putaɾi	=mai
3SG.MS=	=EXCL.FOC	say	=INACT.NOMZ	=INSTR	3SG.MS=	?	desire	=INACT.NOMZ

=pupe	puɾai
=INSTR	CONTR.FOC

'With and only with his words, and not merely with his desires.'
(example (6.3b))

(2.80)   aikiaɾa musapɨ̇ɾɨ̇ka personakana uyepe**semai** Dios muɾa.[100]

aikiaɾa	musapɨ̇ɾɨ̇ka	persona	=kana	uyepe	=semai	Dios muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	one	=EXCL.FOC	God 3SG.MS

'These three persons are one God and one God alone.'
(example (5.10b))

---

[99]See §2.2.3.1.5 for a discussion how second-position clitic =*semai* does not otherwise break up complex noun phrases.

[100]Note that in (2.80) *aikiaɾa musapɨ̇ɾɨ̇ka personakana* 'these three people' is extra-clausal in the same that *yenesawakana* 'our souls' is extra-clausal in (2.18) (see footnote 51). Note also that the resumptive pronoun in (2.80), *muɾa* 3SG.MS, does not agree in number with its antecedent. This phenomenon is attested elsewhere in the ecclesiastical texts, though we should note that, in modern Omagua, the expected resumptive pronoun here would be ɾ*aná* 3PL.MS.

2.3.9 Non-Verbal Predication

Non-verbal predicates in Old Omagua are difficult to analyze because they are not uniform in their structure. Our discussion here targets the most commonly attested patterns and those that have correlates in the modern language. We attribute discrepancies between types of non-verbal predicates in the texts to author error, as there are parallel examples between the two catechism texts that differ so minimally that we are unable to analyze both as possible non-verbal predicate structures.

When the argument and the predicate of a non-verbal clause are both referential NPs, the argument precedes the predicate, as it frequently does in modern Omagua as well, as in (2.81).

(2.81)   Dios papa, Dios taɨra, Dios espíritu santo.

Dios papa Dios taɨra   Dios espíritu santo
God father God son.MALE.EGO God Holy Spirit

CLOSE: 'God is the Father, God is the Son, God is the Holy Spirit.'
(example (5.9a))

This ordering is also attested when the argument is a free pronoun, as in (2.82),[101] although in modern Omagua the opposite ordering, namely predicate followed by argument, is more frequent when the argument is a free pronoun.[102] Note that additional material may intervene between the argument and predicate.

(2.82)   **muɾa**tina aisetui **Dios** aisetui awa weɾanu, yeneyaɾa yeneyumunyepetataɾa.

muɾa   =tina   aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa weɾanu yene=   yaɾa yene=
3SG.MS =CERT true -?   God true -?   man COORD 1PL.INCL= lord 1PL.INCL=

yumunuyepeta -taɾa
redeem   -ACT.NOMZ

'He is the true God and a true man, as well as our redeemer.'
(example (6.15b))

Interestingly, interrogative versions of non-verbal clauses occasionally show what appears to be a resumptive pronoun that is coreferential with the nominal predicate in question, as in (2.83), taken from the Catechism Fragment, cf., *muɾa* 3SG.MS.[103] Specifically, we assume this sentence to be the interrogative counterpart to a predicational copula clause (Higgins 1973; Mikkelsen 2005), in which 'Dios' is the argument. This pattern is unexpected, since resumption is not a phenomenon found elsewhere, at least in modern Omagua.

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[101]See also (6.31b).

[102]This is the main source of frequent VS$_P$ ordering as well, as mentioned above. This VS$_P$ order, where V is a non-verbal predicate and S$_P$ is a free pronoun, namely *ɾanu* 3PL.MS, is attested once in the texts, as in (2.1), where the bracketed constituent is the predicate.

(2.1)   [Dios yawɨkɨmaipuɾakana] puɾai **ɾanu**.

Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa   =kana puɾai ɾanu
God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS merely 3PL.MS

'They are merely God's creations.'
(example (5.6b))

[103]However, see (5.9a) for an example of an interrogative that does not exhibit this pattern.

(2.83)   maɾaitipa Dios muɾa?

> maɾai =tipa   Dios muɾa
> what =INTERR God 3SG.MS

'What is God?'
(example (5.2a))

A similar pattern appears in the response to this question, as in (2.84). However, we propose that these two examples differ slightly in that the bracketed material (the nominal predicate) is extraclausal, unlike the interrogative word *maɾai* 'what' in (2.83), and is coreferential with the sentence-final *muɾa* 3SG.MS.

(2.84)   [ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkanamukui, yawɨkɨtaɾa, waku-tataɾa, yeneyaɾasemai weɾanu,] muɾiai Dios **mura**.

> ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =katu   maɾain
> be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village DEM.PROX.MS land   village all   =INTSF thing
> =kana   =mukui yawɨkɨ -taɾa   wakuta   -taɾa   yene=   yaɾa   =semai
> =PL.MS =COM   make -ACT.NOMZ carry.in.arm -ACT.NOMZ 1PL.INCL= master =VERID
> weɾanu muɾia -i Dios muɾa
> COORD thus   -? God 3SG.MS

'The Creator of Heaven, Earth and all things, the protector, and our true Lord as well, thus is God.'
(example (5.2b))

As above, this sentence is a predicational copula clause, wherein the nominal predicate has been left-dislocated and its erstwhile position is filled by a free pronoun, similar to the resumptive strategy in (2.83).[104] In modern Omagua, left-dislocation of this type is associated with a contrastive topic construction, although we do not claim the bracketed constituent in (2.84) to be a contrastive topic. Note, however, that in the Full Catechism counterpart to (2.83), *muɾa* 3SG.MS is absent, although the structure of the two responses is identical.

Specificational copula clauses appear to be achieved via a construction very similar to that in (2.84), but which lacks the final *muɾa* 3SG.MS, as shown in (2.85). In these cases, we claim that the bracketed constituent is intraclausal and is the argument of the copula clause.

(2.85)   [aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana] uyepe titi Dios.

> aikiaɾa   musapɨɾɨka persona =kana   uyepe titi   Dios
> DEM.PROX.MS three   person   =PL.MS one   be.alone God

'These three persons are one God alone.'
(example (5.9a))

However, the parallel sentence from the Full Catechism in (6.9b) exhibits a final *muɾa*, thus confusing the generalization between predicational and specificational copula clauses laid out above (also see footnote 104). These facts lead us not to place much analytical weight on the preceding discussion, but leave it as a series of descriptive generalizations of the patterning of Old Omagua non-verbal predicates.[105]

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[104]Confusingly, this same construction may also yield a specificational clause interpretation, as in (5.10b).

[105]See §9.4 for a step-by-step comparison of the two catechism texts that includes a discussion of the differential treatment of parallel non-verbal clauses.

Chapter 3

Text Conventions

This chapter provides information on the conventions employed in our representation of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts. We begin in §3.1 by describing the general multilinear format in which we present sentences of the texts. In §3.2 we discuss the related issues of the orthographic choices employed in each text to represent Old Omagua phonemes, and how we deduce phonemic representations on the basis of the orthographic representations.

3.1 Textual Representation Format

In our analysis and presentation of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts, portions of text are given in a numbered multilinear format. The goal of this format is to allow the reader to follow the entire process of interpretation and analysis from the original text, through its resegmentation, conversion to a phonemic representation, its morphological segmentation, and ultimately, its translation. We feel that this multilinear format is necessary to render this process maximally transparent and open to verification.

The first issue to address is the segmentation of the original text into portions that bear example numbers. In general, we divide the original text into sentences for purposes of numbering and interlinearization. The major exception to this general principle are the catechism texts, which were organized into question-response pairs in the original documents. For these texts, each example number corresponds to a question-response pair, where the question and response are distinguished by lowercase letters, and the lettered format described in (3.1) below corresponds to lowercase Roman numerals. Returning to the issue of sentence breaks in the non-catechistic texts, it is important to note that in some cases, the question of where sentence breaks lie is itself an analytical decision open to question. This is especially the case for the Profession of Faith (Chapter 7), where the original text is largely devoid of punctuation. In this case we provide the original text, so that our sentence break decisions can be evaluated. In most other cases, however, sentence breaks in our representation correspond to sentence breaks in the original text. Whenever this is not the case we make note of the fact.

Our multilinear format consists of up to eight lines, as exemplified in (3.1), taken from (4.4) in the Lord's Prayer (see §4.2).

(3.1)   a. *Tanu eocmai neyume icume tanu supe*

           b. tanu eocmai neyume icume tanusupe

           c. tanueumai neyume ikume tanusupe.

tanu=	eu	=mai	ne=	yume	ikume	tanu=	=supe
1PL.EXCL.MS=	eat	=INACT.NOMZ	2SG=	give	today	1PL.EXCL.MS=	=GOAL

CLOSE: 'You give us our food today.'
TARGET: 'Give us this day our daily bread.'

The first line, (3.1a), reproduces the text from the published source from which it was extracted without any alteration (except, possibly, the insertion of a sentence break, as discussed above). It should be noted that this line, although it faithfully reproduces the text in the published source,[106] no doubt contains significant errors in comparison to the original manuscripts (to which we do not have access). These errors are likely due to the fact that at least one step in the process of reproducing the manuscripts involved individuals who had little or no knowledge of Omagua. The result was misinterpretations on the part of the the individuals involved of the handwriting in earlier manuscripts, and widespread errors in identifying word boundaries. There is a particular tendency, for example, to confuse the graphemes <a> and <u>; <e> and <c>; <n> and <r>; and <ss> and <fs>. We discuss the issues involved in the interpretation

The second line, (3.1b), consists of a grouping of the graphemes given in (3.1a) such that they form coherent grammatical words words, without in any way changing the graphemes. This often involves combining sets of graphemes that are grouped as distinct "words" in (3.1a), and in some cases splitting up such "words". This rearrangement of word breaks is most striking in the Full Catechism, where it is common for roots to be split up as separate words. This suggests to us large-scale misinterpretation of the manuscript handwriting on the part of a copyist who did not speak Omagua, in the centuries preceding publication (see also footnote 112).

The third line, (3.1c), represents our informed interpretation and phonemic rendering of the actual words in the original manuscript. In most cases, this interpretation and rendering is straight-forward, since Omagua phonology has changed little since the 17th century, and the relationship between the words in (3.1b) and the intended ones is clear, even when scribal errors have crept into the published texts. Our phonemic representations in this line are thus usually identical to that of the corresponding forms in the modern language. When we find it necessary to insert segments in this line in order to arrive at an intelligible morpheme, we enclose the segments in parentheses, and when we find it necessary to excise letters for the same reason, we enclose them in square brackets.

The fourth line, following (3.1c), is a morphological segmentation of the previous line, while the fifth line consists of a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the preceding line. If the example includes more than one sentence, each sentence will begin on a new line here.

The sixth through eighth lines consist of three translations of the preceding Omagua text, labeled CLOSE, TARGET and SPANISH. The CLOSE translation is our relatively literal, but possibly awkward, translation of the preceding Omagua text. The TARGET translation consists of our interpretation of the Jesuit authors' intended meaning of the Omagua prose in the example, based on our understanding of the intended theological message and symbolism. The most notable contrast between these two lines involves Jesuit neologisms (see §??) and calques (see §9.3.2), which are translated literally in the close translation line, but with standard Christian terms in the target translation. In cases where only a close translation line is given, we consider it to be equivalent to a target translation.

The SPANISH translation is given only in cases in which the published source provides a translation of some sort. In the case of the Full Catechism, these Spanish translations correspond to those

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[106]Note that in some cases, there is more than one published version of a given text, and there are inconsistencies between the various versions. In the case of the three versions of the Uriarte catechism (see §6.1), there is no variation between Uriarte ([1776]1952a:229-232) and Uriarte ([1776]1986:614-617)), but there is variation beetween the text in these publications and Espinosa Pérez (1935:155-163).

given for a very similar Quechua catechism that appears alongside the Omagua catechism in the appendix to Uriarte's diaries (Uriarte ([1776]1952a:215-220, [1776]1986:602-607)). In the case of the fragments of Omagua found in Uriarte's diary, the SPANISH translation consists of the translation he provides in text. We include these translations because they are the closest approximation to an 'original' translation available, even though they are typically only partially faithful to the Omagua.

3.2   Orthographic Representations

In this section we discuss three issues relevant to the accurate assignment of phonemic representations for words in the Old Omagua texts: orthographic conventions employed by the original Jesuit authors; common scribal errors made by copyists involved in the reproduction of the texts; and certain diachronic issues relevant to the assignment of phonemic representations

The orthographic conventions employed by the Jesuits who contributed to each of the texts are given in Table 3.1.[107] For the most part, the phonemic interpretation of these orthographic conventions is relatively straightforward, assuming Hispanophone orthographic conventions in the use of graphemes like <c>, <gu>, <hu>, <qu> and <z>. Perhaps the most obvious non-Hispanophone conventions are the use <k> for /k/ and <sch> for /ʃ/, presumably attributable to the prominent role of German-speaking Jesuits in the Omagua ecclesiastical text tradition (see §9.1).

Table 3.1: Phoneme-Orthography Correspondences in Old Omagua Texts

Phoneme	Lord's Prayer	Fragment	Full	Profession	Diaries
p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t	t	t	t	t
k	c, k	c, qu	c, k, qu	c, qu	c, qu
kʷ		gu	qu, cu, co		
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n, nn	n, nn	n	n
s	s	z, ss, c	s, ss, z, c	s, c, z	z, c, ch[108]
ʃ	sch, sc	sch, ch	sch, ssch, sh, ch	sch, ch	s
tʃ	ch		ch	ch	ch
ɾ	r	r	r, rr	r	r
w	hu, v	gu, hu, v	hu, u, v, gu	hu, u, v	gu, u, v, b
y	y	y, j, i	y	y	y, j
i	i, e	i, e	i, y	i, y	i
e	e, i	e, i	e	e	e, i
ɨ	e	e, ue	e, ue	e, ue	e, ue
u	u, o	u, o	u, o	u, o	u, o
a	a	a	a	a	a
ai	ai, ae	ai	ai, ae, ay	ai, ae, ay	ai
ui	ui	ui	ui	ui	
aɨ		aeg	aeg		ag

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[107]Cells are grayed out if the segment in question is not attested in a particular text.
[108]See below for a discussion of the single token in which <ch> corresponds to /s/.

The phonemic representation of Old Omagua forms is relatively straightforward with regard to consonants, with the notable exception of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/. Recall that modern Omagua exhibits a phoneme /tʃ/, but only in a very small set of forms that are mostly attributable to borrowing (see §2.1). Furthermore, Proto-Omagua-Kokama exhibited *tʃ, the source of Old Omagua and modern Omagua /ʃ/. Incidentally, none of the synchronic forms exhibiting /tʃ/ are attested in Old Omagua, but a different set of forms exhibits the sequence <ch>. In some cases we analyze this sequence as corresponding to an Old Omagua phoneme /tʃ/, which was marginal at that time as it is now, while in other cases we consider <ch> to be yet another orthographic strategy for representing Old Omagua /ʃ/, which yields the overlap of <ch> in multiple rows in Table 3.1. We take this line of approach because, on the one hand, it is clear that the forms in which we posit /tʃ/ are loan words from Quechua (see below), while on the other hand it is otherwise obvious that the lenition process that yielded Omagua /ʃ/ from Proto-Omagua-Kokama *tʃ (as well as /s/ from *ts) had already occurred by the time period in which these texts were written. All forms exhibiting orthographic <ch> are given in Table 3.2, with the number of tokens, their phonemic representation in Old Omagua and modern Omagua, their gloss and an indication of the texts in which they appear.[109] Forms above the dashed line contain old Omagua /tʃ/, while those below it contain /ʃ/.

Table 3.2: Old Omagua Forms Containing <ch>

Orthography	Tokens	Old Omagua	Modern Omagua	Gloss	Text
mucha	1	mutʃa	muʃa	kiss	LORD
hucha	8	utʃa	uʃa	fault, sin	FULL, PROF
chira	1	ʃiɾa	ʃiɾa	name	FRAG
quasrachi	1	kʷaɾaʃi	kʷaɾaʃi	day	FULL
richi	1	=ɾaʃi	=ɾaʃi	NASS	FULL
maria chicu	1	maɾiaʃiɾu	maɾiaʃiɾu	church	DIARY
chipate	1	ʃipate	ʃipatɪ	palm sp. (Sp. *yarina*)	DIARY

The Old Omagua word *mutʃa* 'kiss' and *utʃa* 'fault' are loan words from Quechua, in which language they also exhibit the medial affricate /tʃ/ (Taylor 2006:65, 98).[110] They appear to have been introduced into Omagua by the Jesuits themselves, in order to convey the Christian notions of adoration (i.e., of Christ) and sin, as they exhibit the same extended, religious uses in at least some dialects of Quechua (ibid.). Note that in modern Omagua, the affricate in both forms has lenited to /ʃ/; the sense 'adore' does not survive, although the sense 'sin' does. The remaining Old Omagua words, which we claim exhibit the alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/, occur only once with an orthographic representation <ch>, and, with the exception of <chipate> and <mariachicu>, which are each attested only once, occur elsewhere with expected representations of /ʃ/ (see Table 3.1).[111] Lastly, there is one instance of a <ch>:/s/ correspondence in the diaries of Manuel Uriarte (see (8.6) and footnotes therein), in the form <chupi>, which correpsonds to the applicative =*supe*. We do not attribute much significance to this correspondence, since it is attested only once.

In general, the greatest challenges for assigning phonemic representations of Omagua words are found in the orthographic conventions for representing vowels, in particular the unrounded high

[109]LORD = Lord's Prayer; FRAG = Catechism Fragment; FULL = Full Catechism; PROF = Profession of Faith.
[110]See footnote 127).
[111]The form <quasrachi> is conspicuous here, in that the <s> that would otherwise form the sequence <sch>, an expected representation of /ʃ/, appears to be "metathesized". We assume this token to have been improperly copied.

central vowel /ɨ/. The high central vowel is generally represented as <e>, although a less common variant, <ue>, also surfaces, particularly following the bilabial stop /p/. With this representational choice this phoneme is thus always conflated with other vowels, and we must rely on our knowledge of the corresponding form in modern Omagua to infer the appropriate phonemic representation in forms that exhibit orthographic <e> in the Omagua texts. Additionally, the rounded back vowel /u/ is variably represented as either <u> or <o>, presumably due to the fact that the single rounded back vowel in the language occupied a position between cardinal /u/ and /o/, leading to variation in how the Jesuit authors perceived and represented the segment.

A quite different challenge for accurate phonemic representation arises from what we assume to be errors introduced in the process of copying the text. Given the nature of the errors, we believe that the texts were copied at least once by someone who had no knowledge of Omagua. The result was scribal errors that are easily explained if we assume that the copyist was simply attempting to interpret and reproduce hand-written characters based on their shape, without being able to rely on wider knowledge of the Omagua lexicon or Omagua phonotactics.[112] Thus, for example, it is evident that orthographic handwritten <r> was misinterpreted as <v> or <n> on several occasions, where both of the latter resemble <r> (see Table 3.3[113]).

The final issue we consider with relation to the phonemic representation of forms in the Old Omagua texts is the role of sound change. As indicated in §3.1, there are few systematic differences between the phonemic representation of Old Omagua forms and modern Omagua ones. A notable exception to this generalization involves Old Omagua orthographic <e>. Most instances of <e> correspond to modern Omagua /ɪ/, which is a reflex of Proto-Omagua-Kokama *e, also corresponding to Kokama-Kokamilla /e/ (O'Hagan and Wauters 2012). In light of this, <e> is most typically represented as /e/ in our analysis in the line of phonemic representation (see (3.1c)). More infrequently, however (i.e., only in the Lord's Prayer and Catechism Fragment), <e> corresponds to modern /i/, particularly in unstressed position, and crucially also to Kokama-Kokamilla /i/. In these instances, Old Omagua data becomes crucial for reconstructing the proper Proto-Omagua-Kokama segment, since we would otherwise reconstruct *i in such forms. In the majority of these instances, comparative data from elsewhere in the Tupí-Guaraní family has shed light on this particular issue, in that Old Omagua words that exhibit <e> but correspond to both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla /i/ typically correspond to /e/ in other languages of the family. In these cases we represent <e> again as /e/ in our phonemic representation, and note that this yields an additional correspondence set between Old Omagua and modern Omagua (really between Proto-Omagua-Kokama and both daughter languages) *e:i*.

Conversely, and even less frequently, <i> corresponds to modern /ɪ/, which clearly came from Old Omagua /e/. This latter correspondence, which is the least well attested, suggests to us that the /e/ phoneme in some words may have already been raising to /ɪ/ at this time, resulting in

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[112]For the Lord's Prayer and Catechism Fragment, the copying event was likely only that of typesetting the texts for publication, since, although there are numerous unexpected graphemes in the forms of these texts, word breaks are more faithfully reproduced. However, in the Full Catechism and Profession of Faith, which come to us bundled in the appendices to Manuel Uriarte's diaries (see §6.1), word breaks are additionally quite surprising. We consider it most likely that these word breaks are due to a copyist with no knowledge of Omagua reproducing another hanwritten manuscript in the time between when the text was last edited and when it was typeset for publication.

[113]In Table 3.3, empty cells indicate that there are no attested scribal errors with respect to the particular segment in question. Recall that grayed out cells indicate that the respective phoneme is not attested in that text.

[114]We assume this sequence and its counterpart in the immediately lower cell to be misinterpretations of <qu>.

[115]We assume this to be a misrepresentation of <c>, which in all other texts corresponds to /s/.

[116]This sequence almost certainly corresponds to <ss>, given calligraphic practices of the period in which the first of a sequence of two <s>s was written as what essentially resembles a cursive <f>.

[117]We assume this and its counterpart in the immediately lower cell to be a misrepresentation of <e>, which corresponds to both /e/ and /ɨ/ (see below).

Table 3.3: Scribal Errors in the Copying of Old Omagua Texts

Phoneme	Lord's Prayer	Fragment	Full	Profession	Diaries
p			t, h		
t			s, i		
k			gu[114]		
kʷ			gu		
m		n	n		n
n		m, z	m, r		n
s	e[115]		v, r	fs[116]	ch
ʃ					
tʃ					
ɾ		v	x, n		c, n
w		go		bu	ga, n
y		n	l		
i		ie, d	e, u		u
e	a, c[117]	a	a, c	a, c	a
ɨ	c		u		ua
u		a	v, a, re	a, n	n
a		e, s	e, u, i, o	o	e, u
ai		ei			
ui					
aɨ		eag	eag		

alternations on the part of Jesuits in representing /e/ as both <e> and <i>. Support for this conclusion comes from the fact that the same root in the same text is occasionally represented with <e> and occasionally with <i>. Where correspondences between the Proto-Omagua-Kokama and Old Omagua front vowels /i/ and /e/ and the modern Omagua front vowels /i/ and /ɪ/ are not straightforward, we discuss them on a case-by-case basis in footnotes to the texts themselves.[118] Lastly, note that yet other instantiations of <e>, as discussed above, correspond to modern /ɨ/ (and crucially, to *ɨ), making our knowledge of the phonemic representations of these forms in modern Omagua all the more essential to their proper representation in Old Omagua.

[118]See footnote 135 for more details.

Chapter 4

Lord's Prayer

4.1 Bibliographic History and Previous Linguistic Study

4.1.1 Hervás y Panduro (1787a)

The Omagua translation of the Lord's Prayer that we discuss in this chapter was first published in 1787 by Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (b. 1735 Horcajo de Santiago, Spain – d. 1809 Rome) in his *Saggio pratico delle lingue*, which constitute volumes 5 and 6 of his 21-volume *Idea dell'universo*. The two volumes in question include the *Catalogo delle lingue conosciute* (Hervás y Panduro 1784), translated into Spanish as Hervás y Panduro (1800), and the *Vocabolario poligloto* (Hervás y Panduro 1787b), and they attempt to enumerate, classify, and to a very limited degree, describe, all human languages on which he was able to obtain information. Although Hervás y Panduro was a Jesuit,[119] he himself never visited the Americas, instead obtaining a large body of linguistic materials on the indigenous languages of the Americas from his colleagues who found refuge in Italy following the suppression of the Jesuits and their expulsion from the Americas. The manner in which he obtained the Omagua Lord's Prayer that he published is suggested by the following description that he provided of his work:

> Yo pues he procurado leer, y aún comprar (sin temor de la incomodidad a que me exponía la estrechez de mis limitadísimas facultades) libros gramaticales de cuantas lenguas he tenido noticia. Ésta me hizo conocer, que de poco número de ellas había libros impresos, y que por tanto debía yo suplir la falta de éstos, consultando a los que hablaban o entendían los muchísimos lenguajes de que nada se ha impreso. Para esta consulta me han ofrecido mis circunstancias presentes la ocasión más ventajosa de hasta ahora ha habido en el mundo, y que difícilmente se logrará otra vez en los siglos venideros. Esta ocasión ha sido y es la de hallarme en Italia en medio de muchedumbre de jesuitas sabios, antes dispersos por casi toda la faz terrestre para anunciar el santo Evangelio, aún a las naciones más remotas y bárbaras, y ahora compañeros mios envueltos en la misma desgracia, que arrancándonos del seno de la patria, nos ha arrojado a las playas de Italia.
>
> En ésta, rodeado yo de celosos y sabios misioneros de casi todas las naciones conocidas del mundo, he podido fácilmente consultar, a unos de palabra, y a otros por escrito, pidiendo a cada uno las palabras que de la lengua de la nación de su misión pongo en mi vocabulario poligloto y en otros tomos, y alguna noticia de su artificial gramática. Con

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[119]For more biographical details, see Caballero (1868).

la dirección de varios de dichos misioneros he formado algunas gramáticas y otros me han favorecido formándolas. Estos manuscritos, y las muchas cartas con que los misioneros han respondidio a mis preguntas y dudas sobre las lenguas y naciones que las hablan, forman parte preciosa de mi pequeña librería poliglota: y en esta obra cito los nombres de los principales misioneros que me han dado las noticias que en ella pongo sobre las lenguas bárbaras que ellos entendían, y sobre las naciones de que eran misioneros, o que con ellas confinaban.

(Hervás y Panduro (1800:73-74), cited in Fúrlong Cárdiff (1955:61-62))[120]

Despite Hervás y Panduro's proclaimed intent in the above-cited passage to indicate the source of indigenous language texts in the *Saggio pratico delle lingue*, he fails to do so for the Omagua Lord's Prayer (Hervás y Panduro 1787a:98-99). It is likely that Hervás y Panduro obtained the Omagua Lord's Prayer from Joaquín Camaño Bazán (b. 1737 La Rioja – d. 1820 Valencia),[121] an Argentine Jesuit with whom he correspondend intensely regarding South American languages, but that Camaño Bazán was not the ultimate source of the text. This correspondence, part of which is preserved in the Vatican Archives, reveals that Camaño Bazán provided Hervás y Panduro with considerable lexical and grammatical data on Omagua (Clark (1937), Fúrlong Cárdiff (1955:48-87, 138-182)).[122] However, he had no direct experience with Omagua himself, since his missionary activities were confined to the Gran Chaco of modern-day Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil, a region in which Omagua was not spoken. It is clear from his correspondence with Hervás y Panduro, however, that Camaño Bazán had accumulated information on a wide range of South American languages, and it is likely that he obtained the Omagua Lord's Prayer as part of this process, subsequently passing it on to Hervás y Panduro. From whom Camaño Bazán obtained the

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[120]Translation (ours):

I, then, have attempted to read and even purchase (without fear of the inconvenience to which the narrowness of my very limited means exposed me), grammars of as many languages as I have heard of. This made me aware of the fact that only a small number of these were books in print, and as such that I should supplement these by consulting those individuals who spoke or understood the many languages on which nothing has been printed. For this my present circumstances have provided the most advantageous position that there has in the world been up until now, and that will again only be realized with great difficulty in the coming centuries. This position has been and is that of finding myself in Italy amid crowds of wise Jesuits, previously dispersed across nearly the entire face of the Earth to spread the holy gospel, even to the most remote and barbarous of nations, and now companions of mine embroiled in the same disgrace which, tearing us away from the breast of our homeland, has cast us out to the beaches of Italy.

In this [undertaking], surrounded by ardent and wise missionaries from nearly all the nations known in the world, I have been able to easily consult, some by word of mouth, and others by letter, requesting from each one the words that from the language of the nation of their mission I place in my multilingual vocabulary and in other volumes, and some indication of their grammar. With the guidance of several of said missionaries I have formed grammars, and yet others have assisted me in forming them. These manuscripts, and the many letters with which the missionaries responded to my questions and doubts about the languages and nations that speak them, form an indispensable part of my small multilingual library: and in this work I cite the names of the principal missionaries who have provided me the information I put in it regarding the barbarous languages that they understand, and regarding the nations of which they were missionaries or with whom they confined themselves.

[121]For more biographical details see Fúrlong Cárdiff (1955:7-37).

[122] The correspondence served, among other things, as the basis of an unpublished seven-page grammatical sketch of Omagua that Hervás y Panduro produced. Our knowledge of this sketch stems from the fact that the German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt employed it in preparing his own sketch of Omagua at some point in the early 19th century (see introductory comments by Wolf Dietrich in von Humboldt (2011:417)).

text is unclear, although it should be noted that following the expulsion, he lived in northern Italy, in Faenza (Fúrlong Cárdiff 1955:14-15), a region in which many Jesuits who had worked in the Americas lived upon their return to Europe (other cities in the area which were favored by Jesuits included Ravenna, where Uriarte lived (Bayle [1952]1986:82), and Forlì and Cesena, where Hervás y Panduro lived at different points (Caballero 1868). We suppose that one of the former Jesuit missionaries in the region gave Camaño Bazán the text.

Hervás y Panduro published the text in a two-column format, in which short sequences of Omagua words were followed by a word-by-word translation in Italian. We reproduce the text in a manner faithful to its 1787 format in §4.2. It should be noted that the word-by-word translation exhibit a literalism that permits us to see that the translator of the text had a reasonable understanding of Omagua morphology. Likewise, neologism for introduced Christian concepts, such as *iwati ritama* 'Heaven (lit. high village)' are translated literally, suggesting that the translation was carried out by someone with non-trivial knowledge of Omagua. Note that we base our analysis in §4.2 of this text on Hervás y Panduro's 1787 version, and not the derivative Adelung (1813) version or the Rivet (1910) version, which is based on Adelung (1813).

4.1.2 Adelung (1813)

The next version of the Omagua Lord's Prayer was published in 1813 by the German philologist Johann Christoph Adelung (b. 1732 Spantekow, Prussia – d. 1806 Dresden), as part of his *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, a work which, much like those of Hervás y Panduro, sought to classify most of the languages of the world. Unlike Hervás y Panduro, Adelung utilizes the Lord's Prayer, which he obtained in approximately 500 languages, as the central text with which to analyze the grammar of these languages, augmenting them with additional lexical and grammatical material at his disposal (e.g., from Hervás y Panduro's works).[123] Adelung indicates that he obtained the Omagua text from Hervás y Panduro (1787a:98-99). Adelung preserved Hervás y Panduro's orthographic representation and word breaks, but translated Hervás y Panduro's Italian word-by-word translation of the Omagua into German. In addition to speculative commentary regarding the origin of the Omagua people and ethnonym, Adelung provides the first grammatical analysis of this text (1813:609-611), making use of comparative lexical data published in Hervás y Panduro (1787b:161-219) and Gilii (1782).[124] It is clear from Adelung's presentation of Omagua grammar (Adelung 1813:606-607) that he had access to Hervás y Panduro's unpublished grammar sketch of Omagua (see footnote 122).

4.1.3 Rivet (1910)

The next and most recent publication of the Omagua Lord's Prayer – prior to our own – was by Rivet (1910), as part of his descriptive and comparative treatise on Kokama and Omagua. Rivet obtained the text for the Lord's Prayer from Adelung (1813:608-609), but made significant orthographic modifications to the text to bring it more closely in line with with the then-developing standards for the representation of linguistic data.

As would be expected, Rivet provides a much more linguistically sophisticated treatment of the text, including morphemic segmentations and glosses in French for nearly all morphemes he segments. Given the limited resources Rivet had access to, his morphological segments are impressively

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[123]Most volumes of this work were edited and published by Johann Severin Vater following Adelung's death.

[124]Filippo Salvatore Gilii (b. 1721 Legogne – d. 1789 Rome), an Italian Jesuit who carried out missionary work in the Orinoco river basin, also obtained Omagua lexical data from Joaquín Camaño Bazán (see Gilii (1965:297-300), a Spanish translation and republication of his original work carried out by Antonio Tovar).

accurate, although there are certain morpheme boundaries that he failed to identify.

4.2 Text of the Lord's Prayer

In the two columns below we give the *Pater Noster* as it appears originally in Hervás y Panduro (1787a). In (4.2)-(4.7) we present this text in the format outlined in §3.1.

15. *Homagua*, od *Omagua* dia-
letto Guaranì nel regno
del Quito.

Tanu Papa .. *nostro Padre,*
Ehuatirami cate yuri timcui .. *cit-*
tà- alta in sei:
Ene scira tenera muchamura .. *tuo*
nome che-sia felice:
Ene nuamai ritama .. *tua grande*
città
teneruri tanu in .. *venga noi in*:
Ene putari tenera .. *tua volontà*
che-sia
yahuckemura .. *adempiuta*
maeramania .. *siccome*
ehuetemai ritama cate .. *alta cit*
tà in,
maerai veranu .. *così anche*

aikiara tuyuca .. *questa bassa*
ritama cate .. *città in*
veranu .. *ancora.*
Tanu eocmai .. *nostro cibo*
neyume .. *dà-a-noi*
icume .. *oggi*
tanu supe .. *noi per:*
Tenepatatanu .. *perdona-ci*
tanu eraecmamaicana .. *nostri fat-*
ti-cattivi
maeramanía .. *così-come*
tanu tenepeta .. *noi perdoniamo*
tanu sahuayaracana .. *nostri nemici:*
Ename neischari .. *non lasciare*
tanu ucucui .. *noi cadere*
maca .. *accio-non*
eraecmamai .. *peccati-in:*
Ayaisimarae sui .. *avversità dalle*
nimunuy epetatanu .. *libera-ci*

(4.1) a. *Tanu papa ehuatirami cate yuri timcui, ene scira tenera muchamura*

b. tanupapa ehuati ramicate yuritimcui, ene scira tene ramucha mura

c. tanupapa, ɨwati ɾitamakate yuɾitimukui ene ʃiɾa, tene ɾamutʃa muɾa.

tanu=	papa	ɨwati	ɾitama	=kate[125]	yuɾiti	=mukui[126]	ene	ʃiɾa
1PL.EXCL.MS=	father	be.high.up	village	=LOC	be.in.place	=COM	2SG	name

tene	ɾa=	mutʃa	muɾa
OPT	3SG.MS=	kiss[127]	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'Our father, being high up in the village, your name, may he kiss it.'[128]
TARGET: 'Our father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name.'

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[125]The postposition =*kate* exemplifies one of a restricted set of *e:i* correspondences between Old and modern Omagua that runs counter to the more common *e:ɪ* correspondence (see footnote 135).

[126]The use of the comitative =*mukui* in this context would be ungrammatical in modern Omagua, and may be a calque on the part of the author. Modern Omagu manner adverbial constructions employ the instrumental postposition =*pupɪ* (see §2.3.7.4). Note that the comitative and instrumental would both be translated by Spanish *con* or German *mit*, depending on the native language of the author, which might explain the use of =*mukui*.

[127]Note that we translate *mutʃa* based on the meaning of its modern Omagua reflex *muʃa* 'kiss', and translate it as

(4.2)   a. *Ene nuamai ritama teneruri tanu in*

   b. ene nuamai ritama tene ruri tanuin

   c. ene nuamai ɾitama, tene ɾauɾi[129] tanuin.

   ene nua   =mai   ɾitama tene ɾa=   uɾi   tanu=   in[130]
   2SG be.big =INACT.NOMZ village OPT 3SG.MS= come 1PL.EXCL.MS= ?

   CLOSE: 'Your big village, may it come [to] us.'
   TARGET: 'Thy kingdom come...'

(4.3)   a. *Ene putari tenera yahuckemura maeramania ehuatemai ritama cate, maerai veranu
       aikiara tuyuca ritama cate veranu.*

   b. ene putari tene rayahucke mura maera mania ehuatemai ritamacate maerai veranu,
       aikiara tuyuca ritamacate veranu.

   c. ene putaɾi, tene ɾayawɨkɨ muɾa maiɾamania ɨwatimai ɾitamakatemaiɾai weɾanu, aikiaɾa
       tuyuka ɾitamakate weɾanu.

   ene putaɾi   tene ɾa=   yawɨkɨ[131] muɾa   maiɾamania[132] ɨwati
   2SG desire(?)[134] OPT 3SG.MS= do   3SG.MS exactly(.as)   be.high.up

   =mai   ɾitama =kate =mai   =ɾa   =i weɾanu[133] aikiaɾa
   =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.FUT =? COORD   DEM.PROX.MS

   tuyuka ɾitama =kate weɾanu
   land   village =LOC COORD

   CLOSE: 'Your desire, may he do it exactly like both that which will be in the high village
   and in this land village.'
   TARGET: '...thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven.'

'hallow' in the target translation. We will not treat this form in our later discussion of Jesuit calques (see 9.3.3) because the contemporary meaning of this form is unclear, given that it is a Quechua loan (Taylor 2006:65).

[128]Omagua exhibits no morphological or syntactic passive. In the Omagua Lord's Prayer, constructions intended to translate passives in the corresponding Spanish sentences involve active verbs with third person non-referential pronominal subjects, as is the case here.

[129]It is unusual for heteromorphemic vowel hiatus to be represented as unresolved in the ecclesiastical texts, as it is in the form *ɾauɾi*. In general in these texts, forms like this are represented in their 'resolved' form, in one of the vowels has been deleted. Note that the 'unresolved' form is nevertheless grammatical in modern Omagua, although it is rare in fast speech; the fast speech form is *ɾuɾi*, and follows from general principles of Omagua vowel hiatus resolution across morpheme boundaries involving a pronominal proclitic and verb (see §2.2.1.2).

[130]The form *in* does not have any know reflexes in modern Omagua, nor have we been able to identify cognates in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Espinosa Pérez 1989; Vallejos Yopán 2010c) or other Tupí-Guaraní languages. A postposition would be expected in this position, however, in order to license the oblique argument *tanu=* 1PL.EXCL.MS. We suspect that this form is a scribal error in representing the postposition that actually appeared in this position in an earlier version of the manuscript.

[131]The form *yawɨkɨ* is not attested in modern Omagua, but is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla *yauki* 'do, make'. We have glossed the form as either 'do' or 'make' at different points in these ecclesiastical texts, depending on which gloss is more appropriate to the discourse context. In modern Omagua, the word *ipuɾaka* has come to fill the role of *yawɨkɨ*; *ipuɾaka* is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla *ipuɾakari* 'hunt', which is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, and has cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g. Tupinambá *poɾakaɾ* 'hunt/fish for' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:128).

[132]The form *maiɾamania* has proved difficult to analyze, as it is not attested in modern Omagua, and because it is attested only three times in these ecclesiastic texts, each time with different, albeit related, functions. The form appears to be involved in similative constructions that relate VPs and encode an exact identity between the comparata (see §2.3.6.4).

[133]Typically *weɾanu* COORD appears once following a sequence of conjoined elements (see §2.3.6.1). We suggest that its appearance here following *each* of the conjoined elements yields a reading of 'both X and Y', although this is

(4.4) a. *Tanu eocmai neyume icume tanu supe*

  b. tanu eocmai neyume icume tanusupe

  c. tanueumai neyume ikume tanusupe.[135]

tanu=	eu	=mai	ne=	yume	ikume	tanu=	=supe
1PL.EXCL.MS=	eat	=INACT.NOMZ	2SG=	give	today	1PL.EXCL.MS=	=GOAL

  CLOSE: 'You give us our food today.'
  TARGET: 'Give us this day our daily bread.'

(4.5) a. *Tenepatatanu tanu eraecmamaicana maeramania tanu tenepeta tanu sahuayaracana*

  b. tenepata tanu tanueraecmamaicana maeramania tanu tenepeta tanusahuayaracana

  c. tenepeta tanu tanuerasɨmamaikana[136] mairamania tanu tenepeta tanusawayaɾakana

tenepeta	tanu	tanu=	eɾa	-sɨma	=mai	=kana
forgive[138]	1PL.EXCL.MS	1PL.EXCL.MS=	good	-CORE.NEG	=INACT.NOMZ	=PL.MS

mairamania	tanu	tenepeta	tanu=	sawayaɾa[137]	=kana
exactly(.as)	1PL.EXCL.MS	forgive	1PL.EXCL.MS=	enemy	=PL.MS

  CLOSE: 'Forgive us our evils as we forgive our enemies.'
  TARGET: 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.'

(4.6) a. *Ename neischari tanu ucucui maca eraecmamai*

  b. ename neischari tanu ucucuimaca eraecmamai

  c. ename neiʃaɾi tanu ukukuimaka eɾasɨmamai.

---

  the only attestation of such a construction in these texts, and this construction is not attested in modern Omagua.

[134] No reflex of *putaɾi* is attested in modern Omagua, nor is a cognate attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Espinosa Pérez 1989; Vallejos Yopán 2010c). Cognates are widely attested in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, however, and Mello (2000:190) reconstructs the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní verb **potar* 'want'. Our gloss here reflects this etymology, as well as the standard phrasing of the Lord's Prayer (i.e., 'thy will be done'). Note that this forms bears no nominalizing morphology, which would be expected if *putaɾi* were a verb, leading us to suspect that its appearance here is the result of a calque.

[135] This sentence exhibits two irregular correspondence between Old and modern Omagua: *e:i* (*yume* 'give' & *supe* GOAL); and *i:ɨ* (*ikume* 'today' (modern Omagua *ɨkumɨ*)). Proto-Omagua-Kokama exhibited *e* and *i*; *e* generally raised to ɨ in Omagua, while generally remaining e in Kokama-Kokamilla (see O'Hagan and Wauters (2012)). The *e:i* correspondence appears in only a small number of forms, and only word-initially or word-finally. However, the vowels in the Old Omagua forms in question are what we would expect, given the corresponding reconstructed Proto-Tupí-Guaraní forms: ***meʔeŋ** (Mello 2000:179) & ***tsupé** (Jensen 1998:514), which makes these attested forms essential for reconstructing the correct vowel for Proto-Omagua-Kokama (e.g., **yume* 'give').

  The *i:ɨ* correspondenceis only attested in this single form, and we currently know of no cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages that would clarify the Proto-Omagua-Kokama form. It should be noted that modern Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits the cognate *ikume*, suggesting that Proto-Omagua-Kokama form was **ikume*, and that the modern Omagua exhibits an irregular lowering process for this particular form.

[136] Modern Omagua exhibits no ditransitive constructions whatsoever; recipient arguments require postpositions to license them. We hypothesize that the appearance of *tenepeta* 'forgive' with two arguments, neither of which is licensed by a postposition, to be the results of a calque of the Spanish construction *Perdónanos nuestros pecados* or the German construction *Vergib uns unsere Schuld* 'Forgive us our sins', depending on the native language of the author of the Omagua Lord's Prayer.

[137] Old Omagua The form *sawayaɾa* 'enemy' is unattested in modern Omagua, but is cognate to Tupinambá *oβajaɾ* 'enemy, brother-in-law (male ego)' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:114).

[138] The form *tenepeta* is not attested in modern Omagua, nor have we been able to locate cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. However, it occurs in contexts in which it must clearly mean 'forgive', and we gloss it as such throughout the rest of this work.

ename[139]	ne=	iʃaɾi	tanu[140]	ukukui	=maka[141]	eɾa	-sɨma
PROH	2SG=	abandon	1PL.EXCL.MS	fall.from.height	=NEG.PURP	good	-CORE.NEG

=mai
=INACT.NOMZ

CLOSE: 'Don't abandon [us] lest we fall [into][142] evil.'
TARGET: 'Lead us not into temptation.'

(4.7)   a.   *Ayaisimarae sui nimunuy epetatanu*

     b.   ayaisi maraesui nimunuyepeta tanu

     c.   ayaise[143] maɾaisui[144] neyumunuyepeta tanu

ayaise	maɾai	=sui	ne=	yumunuyepeta[145]	tanu
wicked[146]	thing	=ABL	2SG=	save	1PL.EXCL.MS

CLOSE: 'You save us from the wicked thing.'
TARGET: 'Deliver us from evil.'

---

[139]The modern Omagua prohibitive is *inami*, and the form given throughout these texts, namely *ename*, represents an irregular correspondence between Old and modern Omagua *e:i* (see footnote 135).

[140]In this sentence, either *iʃaɾi* 'abandon' is missing an object or *ukukui* 'fall from height' is missing a subject, although it is unclear from the context which is the case.

[141]See also §2.3.7.1.2.

[142]Note that this sentence lacks a postposition to license *eɾasɨma* as an oblique argument to *ukukui* 'fall from height'.

[143]Although this form is written in the original orthography with a final <i>, we change it to *e* here for two reasons: first, in the full catechism, it appears with a final <e> (e.g., see (6.21a)); and second, we would expect the Old Omagua form to end in *e*, based on the synchronic form *aisɨ* (see vowel correspondences described in footnote 135).

[144]The representation of Old Omagua *maɾai* in the ecclesiastical texts varies between <marae> and <marai>. We represent it phonemically as /maɾai/ (namely with the diphthong /ai/ and not /ae/) because of its modern Omagua reflex *maɾai* and its Kokama-Kokamilla cognate *maɾi*. The final vowel in the latter form is the result of widespread monophthongization (O'Hagan and Wauters 2012), and suggests that the second vowel of the Proto-Omagua-Kokama diphthong was *i*. Interestingly, the orthographic representations of this form (and forms derived from it) are in complementary distribution across the texts here: <marae> appears in the Lord's Prayer and full catechism to the exclusion of <marai>; and <marai> appears in the catechism fragment and in the passages from Uriarte's diaries, to the exclusion of <marae>.

[145]See footnote 193.

[146]Except for this instance, we translate Old Omagua *ayaise* as 'wicked' in both CLOSE and TARGET translation lines, which is in line with the meaning of its modern Omagua reflex *aisɨ* (see footnote 143). With the exception of its appearance here, in these texts it modifies nouns denoting persons, particularly in order to convey the idea of 'bad Christians' (as opposed to 'good Christians'). We take the extension of 'wicked' to 'evil' to be a result of Jesuit authors' searching for an antonym to *eɾa* 'good' (see §9.3.3), which does not exist in Omagua (at least in modern Omagua). Why *eɾasɨmamai* 'evil' is not employed here is unclear, since elsewhere it used to translate 'evil' into Old Omagua(e.g., see (6.12b)).

Chapter 5

Catechism Fragment

5.1 Bibliographic History and Previous Linguistic Study

5.1.1 González Suárez (1904)

The catechism fragment that we analyze in this chapter was first published in 1904 by Federico González Suárez (b. 1844 Quito – d. 1917 Quito), then Bishop of Ibarra,[147] as an appendix to his *Prehistoria ecuatoriana*, which sought to clarify the pre-Colombian history of the region that would later become the nation of Ecuador.[148] Other appendices to this work include ecclesiastical texts and wordlists in Quechua and a number of other lowland languages (González Suárez 1904:43-75). González Suárez simply presents the texts, without word-by-word translations or other linguistic treatment.

Regarding the provenance of the manuscript on which the catechism fragment is based, González Suárez remarks:

> El manuscrito de donde hemos tomado estas piezas de la doctrina en los idiomas de las tribus salvajes del Oriente perteneció, indudablemente, a algún misionero jesuita del siglo décimo octavo: creemos, sin peligro ninguno de equivocarnos, que **fue del Padre De Franciscis, siciliano, que estaba en Mainas, cuando los jesuitas fueron expulsados de las misiones** por orden de Carlos tercero en 1767, pues de ese Padre poseemos algunos manuscritos, con los cuales tiene mucha semejanza.
>
> Conociendo en Quito nuestra afición a recoger papeles antiguos, nos fue obsequiado este manuscrito, diciéndonos: "Quizá esto le servirá a Ud.: es cosa vieja, y parece que sólo a Ud. le servirá".
>
> (González Suárez 1904:75, emphasis ours)[149]

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[147]Ibarra was an Ecuadorean diocese within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Quito.

[148]González Suárez was Archbishop of Quito from 1905 onwards. For more biographical details, see Saville (1918).

[149]Translation (ours):

> The manuscript from which we have taken these pieces of doctrine in the languages of the savage tribes of the East belonged, undoubtedly, to some Jesuit missionary of the 18th century: we believe, without danger of being in error, that it **was from Father de Franciscis, a Sicilian, who was in Mainas when the Jesuits were expelled from the missions** by order of Carlos III in 1767, since from that Father we possess some manuscripts with which it shares a striking resemblance.
>
> Our habit of collecting old documents being known in Quito, this manuscript was turned over to us, it being said: "Perhaps this may be of use to you: it's an old thing, and it seems that it will only be of use to you".

The Jesuit missionary mentioned in this passage is Ignacio Maria Franciscis (b. 1705 Palermo – d. 1777 Palermo),[150] and although González Suárez is likely correct in identifying Franciscis as the source of the manuscripts, it is highly unlikely that he was the author of the Omagua catechism fragment (see §??).

Regarding the content of the manuscripts, González Suárez (1904:75) continues:

> El manuscrito contiene toda la doctrina cristiana en el idioma de los Icaguates y de los Yameos: en el idioma de los Omaguas no tiene las oraciones, sino solamenete las preguntas: además tiene dos catecismos en lengua quichua, por los cuales se conoce cuál era el aspecto o la fisionomía filológica (diremos así), que a fines del siglo décimo octavo presentaba el quichua, introducido y vulgarizado por los misioneros en las reducciones cristianas de la comarca oriental transandina.[151]

Crucially, it should be noted that the original manuscript apparently contained a complete Omagua catechism and not only the fragment printed in González Suárez (1904), and reproduced in Chapter 5, as indicated by the following footnote:

> En nuestro manuscrito no hay más que las preguntas y las respuestas de la doctrina en la lengua omagua: faltan enteramente las oraciones; por esto transcribimos sólo doce preguntas.
> (González Suárez 1904:66)[152]

The fate and current location of the original manuscript is unknown to us. Note that the text that we analyze in §5.2 is the original González Suárez (1904) version, and not the Rivet (1910) version, which was based on the González Suárez version, or the Cabral (1995) version, which was based on the Rivet (1910) version.

5.1.2 Rivet (1910)

The catechism fragment was analyzed and republished in Rivet (1910), in conjunction with the Omagua Lord's Prayer, as discussed in §4.1. As with his treatment of the Omagua Lord's Prayer, Rivet provides mostly accurate morphemic segmentations and French glosses, as well as altering the graphemic representation to avoid orthographic choices inherited from the Spanish orthography used for the original. For this latter reason, González Suárez's version remains essential for obtaining an accurate version of the orthography in the original manuscript.

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[150] Jouanen (1943:732). de Velasco ([1789]1981:518) gives Viterbo as the place of death, and he is likely correct, since Uriarte ([1776]1986:290) also indicates that Franciscis was residing in Viterbo when Uriarte was writing the second part of his diaries, no earlier than February 1773 (Uriarte [1776]1986:187).

[151] Translation (ours):

> The manuscript contains the Christian doctrine in the language of the Icaguates and the Yameos: in Omagua it does not have the prayers, only the questions: additionally there are two catechisms in Quechua, by which we can know what the appearance or philological features (so to speak) were, which Quechua exhibited at the end of the 18th century, introduced and corrupted by the missionaries in the Christian settlements of the eastern trans-Andean region.

[152] Translation (ours):

> In our manuscript there are not more than the questions and answers to the doctrine in Omagua: the prayers are lacking entirely; because of that we transcribe only twelve questions.

5.1.3 Cabral (1995)

Cabral's (1995:372-383) re-analysis of the catechism fragment represents the first modern treatment of this text, and indeed, the only modern treatment of any of the four Omagua ecclesiastical texts other than our own. Cabral took Rivet's (1910) text as the starting point for developing a phonemic representation of the text, in much the same spirit as the phonemic re-interpretation we carry out in the present work. Cabral's analysis benefited from her fieldwork-based research on Brazilian Kokama grammar, and she provides both morphemic segmentations and morpheme glosses for the texts, as well as free translations.

Since Cabral's re-analysis is the only other modern treatment of an Omagua ecclesiastical text, we annotate the text presented below in some detail at those points where our analysis diverges significantly from hers. In many cases, the divergences we remark on probably arise from the fact that Cabral was relying on her analysis of modern Brazilian Kokama to parse the Old Omagua text. Although modern Kokama and modern Omagua are closely related languages, they are not identical, and the difference between modern Brazilian Kokama and Old Omagua is even greater. Cabral also attempted to push the morphological segmentation as far as possible, in some cases yielding segmentations that are, with the benefits of hindsight afforded by further work on the Kokama-Kokamilla of Peru (Vallejos Yopán 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010a,b, 2012), Omagua (Michael et al. in prep), and Proto-Omagua-Kokama (O'Hagan 2011; Wauters and O'Hagan 2011; O'Hagan and Wauters 2012), clearly incorrect. It is important to point out, however, that despite these points, Cabral's analysis of this text constitutes a significant improvement over Rivet's (1910) analysis.

5.2   Text of Catechism Fragment

(5.1)   a.   i.   *Icuata epe ta zupe, amititipa Dios?*

　　　　ii.   Icuata epe tazupe, amititipa Dios?

　　　　iii.   ikuata epe tasupe, amititipa Dios?

ikua	-ta[153]	epe	ta=	=supe	amiti	=tipa	Dios
know	-CAUS	2PL	1SG.MS=	=GOAL	EXST	=INTERR	God

　　　　CLOSE: 'Teach me, does God exist?'

　　b.   i.   *Amiti mura.*

　　　　ii.   Amiti mura.

　　　　iii.   amiti muɾa.

amiti	muɾa
EXST	3SG.MS

　　　　CLOSE: 'He exists.'

---

[153]The use of *ikuata* here is unexpected. First, in modern Omagua, *ikuata* is best glossed as 'tell', and its use presupposes that the recipient of the information related by the communicative action in question is unaware of the state of affairs thereby related. This makes little sense in the context of a priest receiving answers to catechistic questions. Rather, we would expect *kumesa* 'say' to be used, as it is in the full catechism (see (6.1a)). Second, the argument structure that *ikuata* exhibits here would be incorrect for the modern language, and we strongly suspect it to be incorrect for Old Omagua. In particular, the recipient of the information should be treated as the direct object, not an oblique argument, as it is here. The sentence given here appears to extend the syntax of *kumesa*, for which a recipient would be encoded with =*supe* (since the verb does not have a core recipient argument), to *ikuata*. That the goal argument in *ikuata* should be encoded as a direct object follows from the fact that it is the causativized form of *ikua* 'know'.

(5.2) a. i. *Maraitipa Dios mura?*

    ii. Maraitipa Dios mura?

    iii. maɾaitipa Dios muɾa?

       maɾai =tipa   Dios muɾa
       what =INTERR God 3SG.MS

       CLOSE: 'What is God?'

  b. i. *Eguate mai ritama, aiquiara tuyuca ritama, upacatu maraincama mucui, yagueque-tara, guacutatara: yenenara semai viranu, muriai Dios mura.*

    ii. Eguatemai ritama, aiquiara tuyuca ritama, upacatu maraincamamucui, yagueque-tara, guacutatara: yenenarasemai viranu, muriai Dios mura.

    iii. ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkanamukui, yawɨkɨtaɾa, wakutataɾa, yeneyaɾasemai weɾanu, muɾiai Dios muɾa.

       ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =katu
       be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village DEM.PROX.MS[156] land   village all   =INTSF
       maɾain[154] =kana   =mukui yawɨkɨ -taɾa   wakuta   -taɾa
       thing   =PL.MS =COM   make -ACT.NOMZ carry.in.arm -ACT.NOMZ
       yene=   yaɾa   =semai   weɾanu[155] muɾia -i   Dios muɾa
       1PL.INCL= master =VERID[157] COORD   thus   -?[158] God 3SG.MS

       CLOSE: 'He who makes the high village, this land village and all things, he who holds [us] in his arm, as well as our true master, thus is God.'
       TARGET: 'The Creator of Heaven, Earth and all things, the protector, and our true Lord as well, thus is God.'

---

[154] Note that when *maɾai* 'thing' is followed by =*kana* PL.MS in the ecclesiastical texts, an (orthographic) <n> appears between these two morphemes. We take this to be evidence that Old Omagua retained traces of the nasality that was historically associated with the final vowels of these words, as attested in cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages such as Tupinambá *maɾã* 'thing' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:83). In modern Omagua, nasality never surfaces in this word. We represent the form in question as *maɾain* in the interlinearization.

[155] The etymology of *weɾanu* has confounded many authors, beginning with Adelung (1813:609-610). Hervás y Panduro (1787a), Adelung (1813) and Rivet (1910) all translate it as 'also', but no author gives any obvious reason for doing so. Cabral (1995:374) does not provide a gloss for this form. However, as we discuss in §2.3.6.1, *weɾanu* has clear Tupí-Guaraní cognates that justify it being glossed as 'also'.

[156] Our analysis of this form differs from Cabral (1995:374), who segments it as *aikia* + *ɾa* 'this' + LOC. Cabral's analysis is questionable for a number of reasons. First, there is no known locative *ɾa* in Omagua (according to our own work on the language) or in Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral herself does not describe one, nor does Vallejos Yopán (2010a:279-318). Second, morphemes with spatial semantics in Omagua are NP enclitics, and as such, do not attach to prenominal elements such as demonstratives (as it does according to Cabral's analysis), but rather to the right edge of the entire NP (most typically the noun). And third, the demonstrative is invariably *aikiaɾa* in the ecclesiastical texts, even when there is no location expressed anywhere in the sentence, as is the case here. Note that we reconstruct the masculine speech proximal demonstrative to Proto-Omagua-Kokama as **aikia* (cf., Omagua *akia* and Kokama-Kokamilla *ikia* (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:214)). We currently cannot account for the presence of a final *ɾa* in the Old Omagua form, and have found no obvious cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages (e.g., see Jensen (1998:550-552)).

[157] Here our analysis differs significantly from Cabral (1995:374), who segments =*semai* as *se* + *mai* 'sweet' + REL 'sweet, who is sweet'. While this is a possible segmentation of this sequence of phonemes (i.e., Omagua *see* 'be sweet' and =*mai* INACT.NOMZ), we argue that the form that appears here is actually the monomorphemic veridical marker =*semai* 'true, truly'. There are several pieces of evidence that support this conclusion. First, =*semai* is cognate to the morpheme -*tseme*, found in varieties Kokama-Kokamilla spoken in Peru, which Vallejos Yopán (2010a:269) describes as an emphatic marker. Second =*semai* is attested in these texts as appearing on elements in which a construal of 'sweetness' is implausible, such as numerals (see (5.10b)). Finally, in modern Omagua, *see*

(5.3) a. i. *Marepupe tipa, Dios yagueque upacatu maraincama?*

  ii. Marepupetipa, Dios yagueque upacatu maraincama?

  iii. maɾipupetipa Dios yawɨkɨ upakatu maɾainkana?

  maɾi[159] =pupe =tipa   Dios yawɨkɨ upa =katu   maɾain =kana
  what   =INSTR =INTERR God make all =INTSF thing   =PL.MS

  CLOSE: 'With what did God make all things?'

  b. i. *Ra cumesia pupe puɾai.*

  ii. Racumesiapupe puɾai.

  iii. ɾakumesapupe puɾai.

  ɾa=   kumesa =pupe puɾai
  3SG.MS= word[160] =INSTR merely

  CLOSE: 'Merely with his words.'

(5.4) a. i. *Macate tipa Dios Juriti?*

  ii. Macatetipa Dios Juriti?

  iii. makatetipa Dios yuɾiti?

  makate =tipa   Dios yuɾiti
  where =INTERR God be.in.place

  CLOSE: 'Where is God?'

  b. i. *Eguatemai ritama cate, aiquiara tuyuca ritamacate, muriapai, Vayuriti veranu.*

  ii. Eguatemai ritamacate, aiquiara tuyuca ritamacate, muriapai, vayuriti veranu.

  iii. ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate, muɾiapai ɾayuɾiti weɾanu.

  ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama =kate aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama =kate
  be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land   village =LOC

  muɾiapai   ɾa=   yuɾiti   weɾanu
  uninterruptedly 3SG.MS= be.in.place COORD

  CLOSE: 'In the high village, and at the same time in this land village he is.'
  TARGET: 'He is always in Heaven as well as on Earth.'

'be sweet' may only be used literally, i.e., to predicate a property of edible items, and is not used metaphorically as a term of positive evaluation or praise, as Cabral in effect claims with her translation. See §2.3.8.3 for a more thorough description of the distribution of =*semai* in Old Omagua.

[158]The modern Omagua of this word is *muɾia*, and we cannot currently account for the presence of the final *i* in the Old Omagua form. Note that in its one other attestation in these texts, it is also *muɾiai* (see (6.34b)). Cabral (1995:375) segments this form as *muɾi + ay*, 3 + 'Compl'. However, this analysis is questionable given that: 1) there is no pronoun *muɾi* in either Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral herself does not describe one (1995:329), nor does Vallejos Yopán (2010a:201)); and 2) the Omagua cognate to *ay* is actually *awi*, and moreover, it appears only clause-initially, and not in second position, as Cabral's analysis here would have it.

[159]In the ecclesiastical texts the form *maɾai* 'what' is considerably more common than *maɾi* 'what', but here we find an example of the latter form. The appearance of *maɾi* here is intriguing in light of the fact that, in modern Omagua, *maɾi* is best glossed as 'what', while *maɾai* is best glossed as 'thing'. However, it is clear from the ecclesiastical texts, and via reconstruction, that that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *maɾai* was polysemous, and could mean either 'what' or 'thing'. That it appears as *maɾi* here, and in modern Omagua for that matter, is unexpected, given that the monophthongization processes necessary to yield *maɾi* from *maɾai*, with the exception of this form, are known to have occurred only in Kokama-Kokamilla, and not in Omagua. The presence of the reduced form here might be a sign of early Kokama-Kokamilla influence on Omagua.

[160]Here as well as in modern Omagua, *kumesa* may function as a verb meaning 'say', or as a zero-derived noun meaning 'word, language' (e.g., *umawa kumɨsa* 'the Omagua language').

(5.5) a. i. *Aguerepa Dios amiti?*

   ii. Aguerepa Dios amiti?

   iii. awɨɾɨpa Dios amiti?

   awɨɾɨ   =pa   Dios amiti
   how.many =INTERR God EXST

   CLOSE: 'How many Gods are there?'

   b. i. *Uyepe titi.*

   ii. Uyepe titi.

   iii. uyepe[161] titi.

   uyepe titi
   one   be.alone

   CLOSE: 'Only one.'

(5.6) a. i. *Guaraschi, Yasie, Sesuscana, Hueracana, eguatacana veranu, tomaritipa aiquiara-cana Dios muɾa?*

   ii. Guaraschi, Yasie, Sesuscana, Hueracana, eguatacana veranu, to maritipa aiquiara-cana Dios mura?

   iii. kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨɾakana, ɨwatakana weɾanu, to maɾitipa aikiaɾakana Dios muɾa?

   kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ   sesu =kana   wɨɾa =kana   ɨwata =kana   weɾanu to maɾi =tipa
   sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what =INTERR

   aikiaɾa   =kana   Dios muɾa
   DEM.PROX.MS.PRO =PL.MS God 3SG.MS

   CLOSE: 'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds and the forests, which of these is God?'

   b. i. *Natimarai aiquiara Dios muɾa, Dios yagueque mai puracana, puravanu.*

   ii. Nati marai aiquiara Dios mura. Dios yaguequemaipuracana pura vanu.

   iii. nati maɾai aikiaɾa Dios muɾa. Dios yawɨkɨmaipuɾakana puɾai ɾanu.

   nati maɾai aikiaɾa   Dios muɾa
   NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS

   Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa   =kana   puɾai   ɾanu[162]
   God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS merely 3PL.MS

   CLOSE: 'God is none of these. They are merely what God made.'
   TARGET: 'God is none of these things. They are merely God's creations.'

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[161]In modern Omagua the word for 'one' is *wipi*. However, we consider the orthographic representation here to be faithful to the proper phonemic representation of the time, given cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g., Tupinambá *ojepé* 'one' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:116).

[162] Our analysis here differs from that of Cabral (1995:377), who suggests that orthographic <puravanu> is actually *pura awa nu* EMPH 'person' PLUR. However, this analysis is questionable for a number of reasons. First, In both modern Omagua and modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2009:400-402, 2010a:679-709), =*pura* appears to the right of the nominal root it occurs with, and to the left of any plural enclitics; under Cabral's analysis, however, it appears to the left of the nominal root. And second, =*nu* is specifically the feminine genderlect form

(5.7) a. i. *Mareiqua tipa Dios yaguepe jupacatu aiquiara maraincama?*

ii. Mareiquatipa Dios yaguepe jupacatu aiquiara maraincama?

iii. maɾaikuatipa Dios yawɨkɨ[163] upakatu aikiaɾa maɾainkana?[164]

maɾai =ikua	=tipa	Dios	yawɨkɨ	upa	=katu	aikiaɾa	maɾain	=kana
what =REAS	=INTERR	God	make	all	=INTSF	DEM.PROX.MS	thing	=PL.MS

CLOSE: 'Why did God make all these things?'

b. i. *Agoa era zenoni.*

ii. Awa erazenoni.

iii. awa eɾasenuni.

awa	eɾa	=senuni
man	good	=PURP

CLOSE: 'So that man is good.'
TARGET: 'For the well-being of man.'[165]

(5.8) a. i. *Mareiqua tipa Dios yagueque, varanu mura agoa?*

ii. Mareiquatipa Dios yagueque varanu mura agoa?

iii. maɾaikuatipa Dios yawɨkɨ weɾanu muɾa awa?

maɾai =ikua	=tipa	Dios	yawɨkɨ	weɾanu	muɾa	awa[166]
what =REAS	=INTERR	God	create	COORD	3SG.MS	man

CLOSE: 'Why did God also make man?'

---

of the plural, which poses a problem, since the ecclesiastical texts are otherwise entirely written in the masculine genderlect. We suggest that the orthographic sequence <puravanu> results from a scribal error in copying the forms *puɾai ɾanu*. We suggest that the final *i* of *puɾai* was lost in the copying of the original manuscript, and that the original handwritten <r> was misinterpreted as <v>, an extremely common occurrence throughout the texts, as they have come down to us. Perhaps the most convincing evidence in favor our interpretation of *puɾa* as a truncated form of *puɾai* is that fact in the parallel clause in the full catechism (see (6.6b)), the corresponding form is given as <purai>. If the interpretation of <puravanu> as *puɾai ɾanu* is granted, we find that the free form *puɾai* occurs in its expected syntactic position (see §2.3.8.1), and that *ɾanu* encodes the correct number for the argument in the non-verbal predicate, namely third-person plural (see §2.3.9). Note that under the interpretation here, the form of the 3PL.MS pronoun found in the catechism fragment differs from that found in the full catechism (i.e., *ɾana*). However, this is not as problematic as it may seem, as we reconstruct the Proto-Omagua-Kokama 3PL.MS pronoun to be *u*-final (*ɾanu), along with the 1PL.EXCL.MS pronoun (*tanu) (see Michael et al. (in prep)). Note that the latter form is in fact attested in the Omagua Lord's Prayer. It appears, then, that different ecclesiastical texts used different forms of the 3PL.MS pronoun, perhaps due to Omagua-internal dialectal diversity, or due to ongoing language change in the time between the preparation of the two versions of the catechism.

[163]We replace the original orthographic <p> with *k* here, given that the word must clearly be *yawɨkɨ*, based on its translation and its orthographic representations elsewhere in the catechism fragment and the parallel question in the full catechism (see (6.7a)).

[164]Even though Cabral (1995:375) previously segments the same sequence as *maɾain kana* 'thing' PLUR, as we do, here Cabral (1995:378) segments *maɾainkana* as *mara in kana* 'thing' LOC PLUR. However, the *i* of *maɾain* is clearly part of the root, and the presence of the *n* has previously been accounted for (see footnote 154). Moreover, as we have discussed elsewhere (see footnote 130), there is no independent evidence a locative *in* in Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:279-318).

[165]Note that in the parallel clause in the full catechism (see (6.7b)), the Omagua sentence is more faithful to the expected theological message (i.e., that God made the things of the world for the good of man, not so that man would be good). The author of the parallel clause in the full catechism appears to have been more aware of the relatively subtle semantic difference between the construction that uses the purposive =*senuni* (as appears here), and the construction that involves the absolutive nominalizer =*mai* and nominal purposive =*ɾa* (as appears in the parallel sentence in the full catechism).

b.   i. *Dios semai raicua zenoni, mura va ipuschita zenoni, racumesse puracana, va zenu zenoni; umanumaipura rayanaschina zenoni eguatemai, vitamacate.*

ii. Diossemai raicuazenoni, mura vaipuschitazenoni, racumessepuracana vazenuzenoni; umanumaipura rayanaschinazenoni eguatemai vitamacate.

iii. Diossemai ɾaikuasenuni, muɾa ɾasaʃitasenuni,[167] ɾakumesapuɾakana ɾasenusenuni, umanumaipuɾa ɾayawaʃimasenuni ɨwatimai ɾitamakate.

Dios =semai	ɾa=	ikua =senuni	muɾa	ɾa=	saʃita =senuni	ɾa=
God =VERID	3SG.MS=	know =PURP	3SG.MS	3SG.MS=	love =PURP	3SG.MS=

kumesa =puɾa	=kana	ɾa=	senu =senuni	umanu =mai
word =NOM.PST	=PL.MS	3SG.MS=	hear =PURP	die =INACT.NOMZ

=puɾa	ɾa=	yawaʃima =senuni	ɨwati =mai	ɾitama =kate
=NOM.PST	3SG.MS=	arrive =PURP	be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ	village =LOC

CLOSE: 'So that he may truly know God, so that he may love him, so that he may hear his words, so that the dead may arrive in the high village.'

TARGET: 'So that he may truly know God, so that he may love him, so that he may hear his words, so that the dead may arrive in Heaven.'

(5.9) a. i. *Ahua tipa Dios?*

ii. Ahuatipa Dios?

iii. awatipa Dios?

awa =tipa	Dios
who =INTERR	God

CLOSE: 'Who is God?'

i. *Dios Papa, Dios Taegre, Dios Espiritu Santo: aiquiara masia puereca Persona cana, uyepe titi Dios.*

ii. Dios Papa, Dios Taegre, Dios Espiritu Santo: aiquiara masiapuereca Personacana, uyepe titi Dios.

iii. Dios papa, Dios taɨra, Dios espíritu santo. aikiaɾa musapɨrɨka personakana uyepe titi Dios.

Dios papa	Dios taɨra	Dios espíritu santo
God father	God son.MALE.EGO	God Holy Spirit

aikiaɾa	musapɨrɨka	persona =kana	uyepe[168]	titi	Dios
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person =PL.MS	one	be.alone	God

CLOSE: 'God is the Father, God is the Son, God is the Holy Spirit. These three persons are one God alone.

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[166]Note that *muɾa* 3SG.MS and *awa* 'man' are coreferential, and that this is a grammatical construction in Omagua.

[167]Our re-interpretation of orthographic <ipuschita> as *saʃita* 'love' is fairly radical, but plausible. Note that *ipuʃi*, although a grammatical Omagua verb (meaning 'make heavy', from *ipuʃi* 'be heavy' and -*ta* CAUS), is nowhere in these texts, or in modern Omagua, attested to mean 'love' (and moreover, 'make heavy' would be nonsensical in the given context). Also note that *saʃita* is widely attested in these texts and in modern Omagua as 'love', and appears in the parallel clause in the full catechism (see (6.8b)), where the orthographic representation <vaschita> is much less controversially construable as *saʃita*. We also believe that it is relatively easy for a handwritten <s> in the manuscript to have been interpreted as a short <i> and a <p> with a relatively short tail.

[168]For an explanation of our phonemic representation of this form, see footnote 161.

(5.10) a. i. *Aiquiara musa puereca Persona cana, roaya tipa musa puereca Dios?*

  ii. Aiquiara musapuereca Personacana, roayatipa musapuereca Dios?

  iii. aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana, ɾoayatipa[169] musapɨɾɨka Dios?

aikiaɾa	musapɨɾɨka	persona	=kana	ɾoaya	=tipa	musapɨɾɨka	Dios
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	NEG	=INTERR	three	God

  CLOSE: 'These three persons, are they not three Gods?'

  b. i. *Roaya mura musa puereca Dios: adquiara musa puereca Persona cana, uyepe semai Dios mura, Santisima Trinidad nanirachira.*

  ii. Roaya mura musapuereca Dios: adquiara musapuereca Personacana, uyepesemai Dios mura, Santisima Trinidadnani rachira.

  iii. ɾoaya muɾa musapɨɾɨka Dios. aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana uyepesemai Dios muɾa. santísima trinidadnani ɾaʃiɾa.

ɾoaya	muɾa	musapɨɾɨka	Dios
NEG	3SG.MS	three	God

aikiaɾa	musapɨɾɨka	persona	=kana	uyepe	=semai	Dios	muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	one	=VERID	God	3SG.MS

santísima	trinidad	=nani	ɾa=	ʃiɾa
Holy Trinity		=CONTR.FOC	3SG.MS=	name

  CLOSE: 'They are not three Gods. These three persons are truly one God. The Holy Trinity is its name.'

(5.11) a. i. *Aiquiara muesa puereca Persona cana zui manis mai tipa ahuaguaca emenua?*

  ii. Aiquiara muesapuereca Personacanazui, manismaitipa ahua guaca emenua?

  iii. aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakanasui, maniamaitipa awa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

aikiaɾa	musapɨɾɨka	persona	=kana	=sui	maniamai	=tipa	awa[170]
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	=ABL	which	=INTERR	man

uwaka	ɨmɨnua
transform	long.ago

  CLOSE: 'Of these three people, which transformed into a man long ago?'
  TARGET: 'Of these three people, which became man?

  b. i. *Dios Taegra semai, Ahuaguaca emenua.*

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[169]Our analysis here differs from Cabral (1995:380), who segments *roaya* as *roa ya* NEG 3+. However, Cabral's segmentation is untenable for a number of reasons. Although the negative morpheme *ɾua* is indeed attested in modern Omagua, Cabral identifies the other element she segments off as the Kokama-Kokamilla 3SG.FS pronoun *ya=* (see Vallejos Yopán (2010a:201)), which is not found in modern Omagua (see Table 2.2). Moreover, this is a feminine genderlect form; but recall that the ecclesiastical materials are written in the masculine genderlect (see footnote 162), making the identification of <ya> with the feminine genderlect Kokama-Kokamilla pronoun form doubly problematic. A second difficulty with Cabral's analysis is posed by the position of <ya>: pronominal proclitics in Omagua never attach to the interrogative enclitic =*tipa*, as they attach only to nominal, verbal and postpositional hosts. Finally, analyzing <ya> as a pronoun of any type in this sentence is problematic for syntactic reasons, since that the verbal argument is already expressed by *muɾa*, the 3SG.MS pronoun (note that this forces Cabral to gloss *muɾa* as EMPH). The <ya> sequence nevertheless remains perplexing: see §2.3.4.1 for additional discussion of *roaya*. See also Cabral (1995:381) for additional problematic segmentations involving a supposed 3SG.FS *ya=*.

ii. Dios Taegrasemai, Ahua guaca emenua.

iii. Dios taɨrasemai awa uwaka ɨmɨnua.

Dios taɨra =semai awa uwaka ɨmɨnua
God son.MALE.EGO =VERID man transform long.ago

CLOSE: 'The son of God truly transformed into man long ago.'
TARGET: 'The son of God truly became man.

(5.12) a. i. *Mareicua tipa Dios Teagra Ahuaguaca emenua?*

ii. Mareicuatipa Dios Teagra Ahua guaca emenua?

iii. maɾaikuatipa Dios taɨra awa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

maɾai =ikua =tipa Dios taɨra awa[171] uwaka ɨmɨnua
what =REAS =INTERR God son.MALE.EGO man transform long.ago

CLOSE: 'Why did the son of God transform into a man long ago?'
TARGET: 'Why did the son of God become man?

b. i. *Yenne va zaschita raschi, yenne eracema mai caza zui; yenne rusui epeta zenoni, eguatemai ritamacati; yenne rayavaschimata zenoni veranu.*

ii. Yenne vazaschitaraschi, yenneeracemamaicazazui yenne rusuiepetazenoni, eguatemai ritamacati yenne rayavaschimatazenoni veranu.

iii. yene ɾasaʃitaɾaʃi, yeneeɾasɨmamaikanasui yene ɾausuepetasenuni, ɨwatimai ritamakate yene ɾayawaʃimatasenuni weɾanu.

yene ɾa= saʃita =ɾaʃi yene= eɾa -sɨma =mai
1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love =NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG =INACT.NOMZ

=kana =sui yene ɾa= usuepe -ta =senuni ɨwati
=PL.MS =ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP be.high.up

=mai ritama =kate yene ɾa= yawaʃima -ta =senuni weɾanu
=INACT.NOMZ village =LOC 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= arrive -CAUS =PURP COORD

CLOSE: 'Since[172] he loves us, in order to save us from our evils and make us arrive in the high village.'
TARGET: 'Since he loves us, in order to save us from our evils and take us to Heaven.'

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[170]Complements of *uwaka* 'transform' must take =*ra* NOM.PURP, as does the corresponding complement in the parallel clause in the full catechism (see (6.11a)).

[171]See footnote 170.

[172]The use of 'since' is meant to translate the non-assertive marker =*ɾaʃi* NASS, and to indicate that the proposition 'he loves us' is presupposed, or non-asserted.

Chapter 6

Full Catechism

6.1 Bibliographic History and Previous Linguistic Study

6.1.1 Espinosa Pérez (1935)

The complete Omagua catechism presented here was first published in 1935 by Lucas Espinosa Pérez (b. 1895 Villabasta, Spain – d. 1975 Guecho, Spain), as part of of his historical, ethnographic, and linguistic treatise on the Kokamas and Omaguas of Peru, *Los tupí del oriente peruano*. Espinosa Pérez was a Augustinian missionary of Spanish origins who began missionary work in northern Peruvian Amaznia in 1920, working closely with the Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla communities of the Huallaga, Ucayali, Marañón, Amazon, Itaya and Nanay river basins, and eventually becoming a fluent speaker of both languages.

Espinosa first obtained the text through Constantino Bayle (b. 1882 Zarza de Granadilla, Spain – d. 1953 Madrid), a Spanish Jesuit who was preparing for publication the manuscript of the diaries of Manuel Joaquín Uriarte (b. 1720 Zurbano, Spain – d. ∼1802 Vitoria, Spain),[173] a Spanish Jesuit missionary who worked in the Maynas missions prior to the Jesuit expulsion. Bayle sought Espinosa's help in transliterating a set of ecclesiastical texts in lowland Amazonian languages[174] that accompanied the diaries, one of which was the complete catechism in Omagua that we analyze here (see §6.1.2).[175]

It is clear that Espinosa's version of the catechism represents a significant, but not entirely consistent reworking of the original manuscript. Espinosa Pérez (1935:146, emphasis ours) characterized his editorial work in preparing the original manuscript for publication in the following way:

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[173]Uriarte's exact date of death remains elusive. Bayle ([1952]1986:57) claims that a margin note in the volume containing Uriarte's original 1720 baptismal record indicates that he died "sobre el año 1802" ("around the year 1802"). Jouanen (1943:747) gives 1800, but indicates that he is uncertain. Various authors appear to have simply chosen a date (e.g., Cipolletti (2001:241), Downes (2005:156), Negro Tua (2007:106)).

[174]Within the appendices to Uriarte's diaries, Quechua texts far outnumber texts in any other indigenous languages (Omagua (Tupí-Guaraní), Tikuna (isolate, see footnote 261) and Yameo (Peba-Yaguan, extinct)), and include (with Spanish titles): *El "pater noster"*; *El ave maría*; *El credo*; *La salve regina*; *Los mandamientos de la ley de Dios*; *Los mandamientos de la santa madre iglesia son cinco*; *Los siete sacramentos de la santa iglesia*; *La confesión general que se dice después del rezo*; *Acto de contrición que dice el padre y repiten todos, acabada la misa, los domingos, fiestas, sábados y antes del rosario, a la tarde*; *Canciones que cantaban los niños, en tiempo de misa, en Omaguas, después de rezar con los misterios de fe*; *De la confesión y dolor*; *Del santísimo sacramento – jueves*; *De la santísima virgen – sábado*; *Sobre los novísimos*; *Del purgatorio – el lunes*; *Sobre el cielo – en las fiestas*; *Acto de contrición – viernes*; *Otro en otro tono* (Uriarte ([1776]1952a:211-227, [1776]1986:598-613)).

[175]The puzzling outcome that Espinosa's publication of the text preceded Bayle's is likely due to the disruptive effects of the Spanish Civil War, which delayed Bayle's preparation of Uriarte's diaries.

La copia del original me fue entregado para su corrección, la que he ejecutado **uniendo o separando lo que era necesario, pero conservando intactos los signos o letras**, excepto en aquellos casos en que el uso indebido de aquéllas incluía un error de concepto o alteraba el verdadero sentido de la frase. Además, lo he traducido al español, palabra por palabra, en un orden riguroso correspondiente al texto. En esa forma lo pongo en este Apéndice como documento interesantísimo y como base de comparación con el texto Kokama que va más adelante.[176]

Interestingly, despite Espinosa Pérez's efforts 'correct' the original manuscript, his decisions on the representation of the Omagua in the text appear to have been ignored by Bayle in his later publication (see below), since Espinosa's representations and Bayle's vary greatly, particularly with regard to word breaks. It should be noted that the word boundaries in Espinosa's version correspond closely to the ones we ultimately chose, based on our analysis of the manuscript as reproduced in Uriarte ([1776]1952a), but that the word word boundaries in the latter published version coincide in a haphazard fashion with those of the Old Omagua words, as we analyze them. We have assumed Bayle ultimately opted for a representation that was more faithful to the original manuscript, despite Espinosa's cogent and linguistically-informed analysis of the manuscript.

6.1.2 Uriarte ([1776]1952a), Uriarte ([1776]1986)

As alluded to above, the complete catechism was also published in 1952 by Constantino Bayle, this time as an appendix to the two-volume diaries of Manuel Uriarte (see above), who worked in the Maynas missions from 1750-1768, and was missionary in San Joaquín de Omaguas from 1756 until 1764 (Uriarte [1776]1986). The 1952 edition was republished in a single volume in 1986, and because of greater circulation and availability to the reader, page references here reflect the latter edition, although we also consulted the 1952 version. In addition to the complete catechism in Omagua, the appendices contain several ecclesiastical texts in Quechua, Tikuna (isolate) and Yameo (Peba-Yaguan, extinct) (see Uriarte ([1776]1986:597-624)).

Our own analysis is based on Bayle version of the catechism, because it is not always clear in which cases Espinosa Pérez chose to modify the original orthographic representation in the manuscript (both in terms of individual graphemes and word breaks), and we wished to base our analysis on the version that, as we believe, most closely represents the original manuscript. We have, however consulted Espinosa Pérez's version in those cases in which we were unable to interpret the Omagua in Bayle's text ourselves, cases in which Espinosa Pérez occasionally provided an alternate, and we think credible, interpretation of the orthography. Given his personal knowledge of Omagua, we suspect that Espinoza was able to make more informed decisions about ambiguous written letters in the handwritten manuscript (e.g., <n> versus <r>), whereas Bayle had to rely solely on his visual inspection of the manuscript.

The complete Omagua catechism apparently did not include a Spanish translation, since neither Espinosa nor Bayle provide one. There does, however, exist a translation for a Quechua catechism

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[176]Translation (ours):

> The copy of the original was given to me for correction, which I have undertaken by joining or separating what was necessary, but preserving intact symbols and letters, except in those cases in which the improper use of those [letters] resulted in a conceptual error or altered the true sense of the phrase. Furthermore, I have translated it into Spanish, word for word, in a rigorous order that corresponds to the text [i.e., the Omagua word order]. In that form I place it in this Appendix as one of the most interesting of documents and as a base of comparison with the Kokama text that appears subsequently.

(Uriarte [1776]1986:602-607), which closely – but not entirely – parallels the Omagua one. These translations have guided our interpretation of the general intent for many passages in the text, which has been important, since the literal translation of quite a number of passages is rather enigmatic. Please see §3.1 for details about the inclusion of the original Spanish in our interlinear representation.

6.2   Text of Full Catechism

(6.1) a. i. *Taegra cana pecumessa tasupe amititipa Dios?*

ii. taegracana pecumessa tasupe, amititipa dios?

iii. taɨrakana, pekumesa tasupe, amititipa Dios?

taɨra	=kana	pe=	kumesa	ta=	=supe	amiti	=tipa	Dios
son.MALE.EGO	=PL.MS	2PL=	say	1SG.MS=	=GOAL	EXST	=INTERR	God

CLOSE: 'Children, you tell me, does God exist?'
TARGET: 'Children, tell me, does God exist?
SPANISH: *'Decidme, hijos, ¿hay Dios?'*

b. i. *Amiti mura.*

ii. Amiti mura.

iii. amiti muɾa.

amiti	muɾa
EXST	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'He exists.'
SPANISH: *'Sí Padre; Dios hay.'*

(6.2) a. i. *Marae tipa Dios?*

ii. Maraetipa Dios?

iii. maɾaitipa Dios?

maɾai	=tipa	Dios
what	=INTERR	God

CLOSE: 'What is God?'
SPANISH: none

b. i. *Euate mairrisama, ay quiara tuyre carritama upacatu mara encana Yahuequetara, Yara huassu Dios mura.*

ii. euatemai risama, ayquiara tuyreca ritama upacatu maraencana yahuequetara, yarahuassu dios mura.

iii. ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkana, yawɨkɨtaɾa yaɾawasu Dios muɾa.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	upa	=katu
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	all	=INTSF

maɾain	=kana	yawɨkɨ	-taɾa	yaɾa	=wasu	Dios	muɾa
thing	=PL.MS	make	-ACT.NOMZ	master	=AUG	God	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'He who created the high village, this land village and all things, our great master God is.'
TARGET: 'God is the Creator of Heaven, Earth, and all things, the great Lord.'
SPANISH: none

(6.3) a. i. *Mara e pupe Dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upacatu Mara encana?*

  ii. maraepupe dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upacatu maraencana?

  iii. maɾaipupe Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua aikiaɾa upakatu maɾainkana?

maɾai	=pupe	Dios	yawɨkɨ	ɨmɨnua	aikiaɾa	upa	=katu	maɾain	=kana
what	=INSTR	God	make	long.ago	DEM.PROX.MS	all	=INTSF	thing	=PL.MS

  CLOSE: 'With what did God make all these things long ago?'
  TARGET: 'With what did God make all these things?'
  SPANISH: none

  b. i. *Rasemai cumessamai pupe raniputari maipupe purai.*

  ii. ra semai cumessamaipupe ra ni putarimaipupe purai.

  iii. ɾasemai kumesamaipupe ɾa ni putaɾimaipupe puɾai.

ɾa=	=semai[177]	kumesa	=mai	=pupe	ɾa=	ni	putari
3SG.MS=	=EXCL.FOC	say	=INACT.NOMZ	=INSTR	3SG.MS=	?	desire

=mai	=pupe	puɾai
=INACT.NOMZ	=INSTR	CONTR.FOC

  CLOSE: 'With and only with what he says, and not merely with what he desires.'
  TARGET: 'With and only with his words, and not merely with his desires.'
  SPANISH: none

(6.4) a. i. *Macate Dios yuriti?*

  ii. macate dios yuriti?

  iii. makate Dios yuɾiti?

makate	Dios	yuɾiti
where	God	be.in.place

  CLOSE: 'Where is God?'
  SPANISH: *'¿Dónde está Dios?'*

  b. i. *Euatemairritama cate ayquiaratuya carritama cate, upacatu macate Dios yuritimura.*

  ii. euatemai ritamacate ayquiara tuyaca ritamacate, upacatu macate dios yuriti mura.

  iii. ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate, upakatu makate Dios yuɾiti muɾa.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	=kate	upa
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=LOC	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	=LOC	all

=katu	makate	Dios	yuɾiti	muɾa
=INTSF	where	God	be.in.place	3SG.MS

  CLOSE: 'In the high village, in this land village, everywhere is God.'
  TARGET: 'God is in Heaven, on Earth, everywhere.'
  SPANISH: *'En el cielo, en la tierra y en todo lugar está.'*

(6.5) a. i. *Ahuxeca Dios amiti?*

  ii. Ahuxeca dios amiti?

  iii. awɨɾɨka Dios amiti?

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[177]Here the placement of =*semai* is unexpected, as it breaks up the possessor ɾa= from the possessum *kumesamai*. However, this distribution corresponds to a distinction in the function of =*semai*. See §2.3.8.3 for more description.

awɨrɨka[178] Dios amiti
how.many God EXST

CLOSE: 'How many Gods are there?'
SPANISH: '¿Cuántos dioses hay?'

    b.   i. *Vyete titi Dios.*

        ii. Vyete titi Dios.

       iii. uyepe[179] titi Dios.

uyepe titi   Dios
one   be.alone God

CLOSE: One God alone.
SPANISH: 'Un solo Dios no más.'

(6.6)   a.   i. *Quasrachi Yaze cesucana Huera-cana, miara cana, Ehuatacana, roayatipa Dios?*

        ii. Quasrachi, yaze, cesucana, hueracana, miaracana, ehuatacana, roayatipa dios?

       iii. kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨrakana, miaɾakana, ɨwatakana, ɾoayatipa Dios?

kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ sesu =kana wɨra =kana miaɾa[180] =kana ɨwata =kana ɾoaya
sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS animal   =PL.MS jungle =PL.MS NEG
=tipa   Dios
=INTERR God

CLOSE: 'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds, the animals, the forests, are they not God?'
SPANISH: 'Pues el sol, luna, estrellas, pájaros, bosques y todas las demás cosas no son Dios?'

    b.   i. *Roaya Dios mura, eyquiara upacatu, mara encana Dios yahueque maipura purai mura.*

        ii. roaya dios mura, eyquiara upacatu, maraencana dios yahuequemaipura purai mura.

       iii. ɾoaya Dios muɾa. aikiaɾa upakatu maɾainkana Dios yawɨkɨmaipuɾa puɾai muɾa.

ɾoaya Dios muɾa
NEG   God 3SG.MS

aikiaɾa   upa =katu maɾain =kana Dios yawɨkɨ =mai
DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing =PL.MS God make =INACT.NOMZ

=puɾa   puɾai   muɾa
=NOM.PST CONTR.FOC 3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'They are not God. All these things are what God made.'
TARGET: 'They are not God. All these things are God's creation.'
SPANISH: 'No porque todas las otras cosas son criaturas suyas y hechas de su poder infinito.'

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[178]Note that *awɨrɨka* 'how many' differs from *awɨrɨ* 'how many', the word that appears in the corresponding sentence in the catechism fragment (see (5.5a)). Modern Omagua exhibits *awɨrɨka* exclusively, while Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits *awɨrɨ*.

[179]See footnote 161.

[180]In both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, *miaɾa* serves as a hypernym for 'monkey', but here the word appears to be used by Jesuit authors as a general term for 'animal', to the exclusion of birds. There is some reason

(6.7) a. i. *Marae rapa Dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upai mara encana?*

   ii. Maraerapa dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upai maraencana?

   iii. maɾairapa Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua aikiaɾa upai maɾainkana?

maɾai =ɾa   =pa   Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua   aikiaɾa   upai[181] maɾain
what =NOM.PURP =INTERR God make   long.ago DEM.PROX.MS every   thing
=kana
=PL.MS

CLOSE: 'Why did God create all these things long ago?'
TARGET: 'Why did God create all these things?'
SPANISH: '*¿Para qué crió* [sic] *Dios todas estas cosas?*'

   b. i. *Ye me era maera.*

   ii. Yemeeramaera.

   iii. yeneeɾamaiɾa.[182]

yene=   eɾa =mai   =ɾa
1PL.INCL= good =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PURP

CLOSE: 'For our well-being.'
SPANISH: '*Para bien del hombre.*'

(6.8) a. i. *Mania zenoni Dios yahueque emenua y ennae verano?*

   ii. Maniazenoni dios yahueque emenua yennae verano?

   iii. maniasenuni Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua yene weɾanu?

mania   =senuni Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua   yene   weɾanu
what.action =PURP   God make   long.ago 1PL.INCL COORD

CLOSE: 'Why did God make us as well long ago?'
TARGET: 'Why did God create us as well?'
SPANISH: '*¿Y para qué crió* [sic] *Dios al hombre?*'

   b. i. *Yenne yqua zenoni Dios semai sey enevaschita zenoni mura Dios, recumessa mai pura canna yenea amuya sucata zenoni: ayquiara tukurari yeneyuriti uparichi Euatemairritama cateyacussa zenoni.*

   ii. yenne yquazenoni dios semai se yene vaschitazenoni mura dios, re cumessamaipuracanna yenea amuya sucatazenoni: ayquiara tukurari yene yuriti upa richi euatemai ritamacate yacussazenoni.

   iii. yeneikuasenuni Diossemai se, yenesaʃitasenuni muɾa Dios, ɾakumesamaipuɾakana yeneamuyasukatasenuni, aikiaɾa tuyukaaɾi yeneyuɾitiupaɾaʃi, ɨwatimai ɾitamakate yeneususenuni.

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to think that this use may have been correct at the time that the catechism was written, since its cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages refer, for example, to game animals in general, and not monkeys (e.g., Tupinambá *emiaɾ* 'presa, caça' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:55)). Espinosa Pérez (1935:156) indicates that *miaɾakana* is to be interpreted as a hypernym for all quadrupeds. Note that *miaɾa* does not appear in the parallel clause in the catechism fragment (see (5.6a)).

[181]Here *aikiaɾa* and *upai* appear in the reverse order we would expect, given that modifiers are systematically prenominal in modern Omagua (see §**??**.

[182]See footnote 165.

yene=	ikua	=senuni	Dios	=semai	se	yene=		saʃita	=senuni	muɾa
1PL.INCL=	know	=PURP	God	=VERID	?[184]	1PL.INCL=		love	=PURP	3SG.MS

Dios	ɾa=	kumesa	=mai		=puɾa	=kana	yene=
God	3SG.MS=	say	=INACT.NOMZ		=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	1PL.INCL=

amuyasukata[183]	=senuni	aikiaɾa		tuyuka	=aɾi	yene=		yuɾiti
observe		=PURP	DEM.PROX.MS	land		=LOC.DIFF	1PL.INCL=	be.in.place

=upa	=ɾaʃi	iwati		=mai	ɾitama	=kate	yene=		usu	=senuni
=CESS	=NASS	be.high.up		=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	1PL.INCL=		go	=PURP

CLOSE: 'So what we may truly know God, so that we may love him, so that we may observe what he said, and ceasing to remain on this land, so that we might go to the high village.'

TARGET: 'So that we may truly know God, so that we may love him, so that we may observe his commandments, and ceasing to remain on Earth, so that we may go to Heaven.'

SPANISH: *'Para que en esta vida le conozca y sirva, guardando sus Mandamientos, y acabada, ir a gozarle en el Cielo.'*

(6.9)   a.   i.   *Aua tipa Dios?*

ii.   Auatipa Dios?

iii.   awatipa Dios?

awa	=tipa	Dios
who	=INTERR	God

CLOSE: 'Who is God?'

SPANISH: *'¿Quién es este Dios?'*

b.   i.   R: *Dios Papa, Dios Teagra, Dios Espíritu Santo, ayquiara musa puere ca personacana uyepe titi Dios mura.*

ii.   Dios Papa, Dios Teagra, Dios Espiritu Santo, ayquiara musapuereca personacana uyepe titi Dios mura.

iii.   Dios papa, Dios taɨɾa, Dios espíritu santo. aikiaɾa musapɨɾɨka personakana uyepe titi Dios muɾa.

Dios papa	Dios taɨɾa		Dios espíritu santo
God father	God son.MALE.EGO		God Holy Spirit

aikiaɾa		musapɨɾɨka	persona	=kana	uyepe	titi		Dios	muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS		three	person	=PL.MS	one	be.alone		God	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'God is the Father, God is the Son, God is the Holy Spirit. These three persons are one God alone.

SPANISH: *'Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, tres Personas distintas y un solo Dios verdadero.'*

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[183] The verb *amuyasukata* is not attested in modern Omagua, and our gloss here is based on the Spanish translation *guardar* in the corresponding Quechua catechism. We should point out that this form is an unexpectedly long root for Omagua, and it is likely that it is a Jesuit neologism (in the vein of *yumunuyepeta* (see footnote 193)), although its morphological composition is unclear.

[184] The sequence <se> does not correspond to any grammatical morpheme in modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Faust 1972; Cabral 1995; Vallejos Yopán 2004, 2010a) of which we are aware, and we have been unable to locate any cognates to it in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. Note that the sentence is completely grammatical without the <se>. Espinosa Pérez (1935:157) simply groups it together with =*semai*, yielding <semaise> 'very much'.

(6.10) a. i. *Ayquiara musa puereca personacana roaya pa musa puereca Dios cana?*

      ii. Ayquiara musapuereca personacana roayapa musapuereca dioscana?

      iii. aikiaɾa musapiɾika personakana, ɾoayapa musapiɾika Dioskana?

aikiaɾa	musapiɾika	persona	=kana	ɾoaya	=pa	musapiɾika	Dios
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	NEG	=INTERR	three	God

=kana
=PL.MS

CLOSE: 'These three people, are they not three Gods?'
SPANISH: *'Pues estas tres personas, ¿no son tres Dioses?'*

    b. i. *Roaya puereca Dios cana, ayquiara musa puerecana persona cana persona uypetiti Dios mura Santísima Trinidad nanimairashira.*

      ii. Roaya puereca Dioscana, ayquiara musapuerecana personacana persona uype titi Dios mura Santisima Trinidadnanimai rashira.

      iii. ɾoaya [musa]piɾika Dioskana. aikiaɾa musapiɾika personakana persona uyepe titi Dios muɾa. santísima trinidadnanimai ɾaʃiɾa.

ɾoaya	[musa]piɾika	Dios	=kana
NEG	three	God	=PL.MS

aikiaɾa	musapiɾika	persona	=kana	persona	uyepe	titi	Dios	muɾa
=PL.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	person	one	be.alone	God	3SG.MS

santísima trinidad	=nani	=mai	ɾa=	ʃiɾa
Holy Trinity	=CONTR.FOC	=?[185]	3SG.MS=	name

CLOSE: 'They are not three Gods. These three persons are one God alone. The Holy Trinity is its name.'
SPANISH: *'No, sino un solo Dios verdadero.'*

(6.11) a. i. *Ayquiara musa puereca persona cana suimaniamai Ahua rahuaca emenua?*

      ii. Ayquiara musapuereca personacanasui, maniamai ahuara huaca emenua?

      iii. aikiaɾa musapiɾika personakanasui, maniamai awaɾa uwaka iminua?

aikiaɾa	musapiɾika	persona	=kana	=sui	maniamai	awa	=ɾa
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	=ABL	which[186]	man	=NOM.PURP[187]

uwaka	iminua
transform	long.ago

CLOSE: 'Of these three people, which transformed into a man long ago?'
TARGET: 'Of these three people, which became man?
SPANISH: *De estas tres personas, ¿cuál se hizo hombre?'*

    b. i. *Dios Taegra Ahua rahuaca emenua.*

      ii. Dios taegra ahuara huaca emenua.

      iii. Dios taiɾa awaɾa uwaka iminua.

Dios	taiɾa	awa	=ɾa	uwaka	iminua
God	son.MALE.EGO	man	=NOM.PURP	transform	long.ago

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[185]The appearance of =*mai* here is inexplicable for a number of reasons: 1) in modern Omagua =*mai* never occurs to the left of the limitative =*nani*; 2) the sentence is entirely grammatical without =*mai*; and 3) the parallel clause in the catechism fragment (see (5.10b)) lacks =*mai*. For these reasons we gloss it with a question mark.

CLOSE: 'The son of God transformed into a man long ago.'
TARGET: 'The son of God became man.'
SPANISH: *'La segunda persona, que es el Hijo de Dios.'*

(6.12) a.   i. *Mania zenoni Dios Taegra Ahua rahuaca emenua?*

      ii. Maniazenoni dios taegra ahuara huaca emenua?

      iii. maniasenuni Dios taɨra awaɾa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

mania	=senuni	Dios	taɨra	awa	=ɾa	uwaka	ɨmɨnua
what.action	=PURP	God	son.MALE.EGO	man	=NOM.PURP	transform	long.ago

CLOSE: 'Why did the son of God transform into a man long ago?'
TARGET: 'Why did the son of God become man?'
SPANISH: none

  b.   i. *Rasaschita raschi yame; yenne erac mamaicana sui, ehuepe maitopatata sui verano rusuyepeta zenoni yenne.*

      ii. Rasaschitaraschi yame; yenneeracmamaicanasui, ehuepemai topa tatasui verano rusuyepetazenoni yenne.

      iii. ɾasaʃitaɾaʃi yene, yeneeɾasɨmamaikanasui ɨpɨpemai tupa tatasui[188] weɾanu ɾausuepetasenuni yene.

ɾa=	saʃita	=ɾaʃi	yene	yene=	eɾa	-sɨma	=mai
3SG.MS=	love	=NASS	1PL.INCL	1PL.INCL=	good	-CORE.NEG	=INACT.NOMZ

=kana	=sui	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tupa	tata	=sui	weɾanu	ɾa=	usuepe
=PL.MS	=ABL	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	place	fire	=ABL	COORD	3SG.MS=	escape

-ta	=senuni	yene
-CAUS	=PURP	1PL.INCL

CLOSE: 'Since he loves us, so that he might save[189] us from our evils and the inner fire place.'
TARGET: 'Since he loves us, so that he might save us from our evils and from Hell.'
SPANISH: none

(6.13) a.   i. *Aua ceueca cuara pe Dios Teagra Ahuara huaca emenua?*

      ii. Aua ceuecacuarape dios teagra ahuara huaca emenua?

      iii. awa sewekakʷaɾape Dios taɨra awaɾa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

awa	seweka	=kʷaɾape	Dios	taɨra	awa	=ɾa	uwaka	ɨmɨnua
who	womb	=INESS	God	son.MALE.EGO	man	=NOM.PURP	transform	long.ago

CLOSE: 'In whose womb did the son of God transform into a man long ago?'
TARGET: 'In whose womb did the son of God become man?'
SPANISH: *'¿En dónde el Hijo de Dios se hizo hombre?'*

  b.   i. *Virgen Santa María ceueca cuarape Ahua rehuaca emenua, Espíritu Santo sui, mura Virgen Santa María ceueca sui rahuariemenua.*

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[186]In modern Omagua, *maniamai* has come to mean 'what type (of thing)'.

[187]See footnote 170.

[188]In this setence the typical order of the component words of the the neologism *tata tupa* 'Hell' are reversed.

[189]The non-compositional meaning 'save', from *usuepe* 'escape' and *-ta* CAUS, is also found in modern Omagua.

ii. Virgen Santa Maria ceuecacuarape ahuare huaca emenua, Espiritu Santosui, muɾa Virgen Santa Maria ceuecasui rahuari emenua.

iii. virgen santa maría sewekakʷaɾape awaɾa uwaka iminua. espíritu santosui muɾa, virgen santa maría sewekasui ɾauwaɾi iminua.

virgen santa maría seweka	=kʷaɾape	awa	=ɾa	uwaka	iminua
Virgin Mary	womb =INESS	man	=ATTR	transform	long.ago

espíritu santo	=sui	muɾa	virgen santa maría seweka	=sui	ɾa=	uwaɾi
Holy Spirit	=ABL	3SG.MS	Virgin Mary	womb	=ABL	3SG.MS= be.born

iminua
long.ago

CLOSE: 'He transformed into a man in the womb of the Virgin Mary long ago. He is of the Holy Spirit and was born of the womb of the Virgin Mary long ago.'
TARGET: 'He became man in the womb of the Virgin Mary. He is of the Holy Spirit and was born of the womb of the Virgin Mary.'
SPANISH: *'En el vientre virginal de Santa María.'*

(6.14) a. i. *Virgen Santa Maria huarita sacapuere veranu muri apai tipa Virgen rayuriti?*

ii. Virgen santa maria huaritasacapuere veranu muriapaitipa virgen rayuriti?

iii. virgen santa maria uwaɾitasakapiɾi weɾanu, muɾiapaitipa virgen ɾayuɾiti?

virgen santa maria	uwaɾi	-ta	=sakapiɾi	weɾanu	muɾiapai
Virgin Mary	be.born	-CAUS	=TEMP.POST	COORD	uninterruptedly

=tipa	virgen	ɾa=	yuɾiti[190]
=INTERR	virgin	3SG.MS=	be.in.place

CLOSE: 'After the Virgin Mary gave birth, was she a virgin uninterruptedly?'
TARGET: 'After the Virgin Mary gave birth, did she remain a virgin?'
SPANISH: *'Habiendo parido Santa María Virgen, ¿quedó siempre Virgen?'*

b. i. *Muri apai Virgen rayuritimura.*

ii. Muriapai virgen ra yuriti mura.

iii. muɾiapai virgen ɾayuɾiti muɾa.

muɾiapai	virgen	ɾa=	yuɾiti[191]	muɾa
uninterruptedly	virgin	3SG.MS=	be.in.place	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'She was a virgin uninterruptedly.'
TARGET: 'She remained a virgin.'
SPANISH: *'Sí, siempre fué Virgen purísima.'*

(6.15) a. i. *Dios Teagra Ahua rahuaca raschi emenua mara etipa raschira?*

ii. Dios teagra ahuara huacaraschi emenua, maraetipa raschira?

iii. Dios taiɾa awaɾa uwakaɾaʃi iminua, maɾaitipa ɾaʃira?

Dios taiɾa	awa	=ɾa	uwaka	=ɾaʃi	iminua	maɾai	=tipa
God son.MALE.EGO	man	=NOM.PURP	transform	=NASS	long.ago	what	=INTERR

ɾa= | ʃiɾa
3SG.MS= | name

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[190]The use of *yuɾiti* to indicate maintenance of a state is likely the result of a calque. Both in modern Omagua and elsewhere in the ecclesiastical texts, it only indicates remaining in a physical location.
[191]See footnote 190.

CLOSE: 'The son of God transformed into man long ago, what was his name?'
TARGET: 'The son of God become man, what was his name?'
SPANISH: *'¿Cómo se llama el Hijo de Dios hecho hombre?'*

   b. i. *Jesu Xto. raschira: muratina aycetui Dios, aycetui Ahua veranu yenne Yara, yenne niumune yepetatara.*

      ii. Jesu xto. raschira: muratina aycetui dios aycetui ahua veranu, yenneyara, yenneni-umuneyepetatara.

     iii. jesucristo ɾaʃiɾa. muratina aisetui Dios aisetui awa weranu, yeneyaɾa yeneyumun-yepetataɾa.

jesucristo	ɾa=	ʃiɾa
Jesus.Christ	3SG.MS=	name

muɾa	=tina	aise[192] -tui	Dios	aise -tui	awa	weɾanu	yene=	yaɾa
3SG.MS	=CERT	true -?[194]	God	true -?	man	COORD	1PL.INCL=	lord

yene=	yumunuyepeta[193] -taɾa
1PL.INCL=	redeem -ACT.NOMZ

CLOSE: 'His name is Jesus Christ. He is the true God and a true man, as well as he who redeems us.'
TARGET: 'His name is Jesus Christ. He is the true God and a true man, as well as our redeemer.'
SPANISH: *'Jesucristo, verdadero Dios y verdadero hombre, y nuestro Redentor.'*

(6.16) a. i. *Maria mai Jesu Xto. ni umu nuyepeta emenua yenne?*

      ii. Mariamai Jesu Xto. niumunuyepeta emenua yenne?

     iii. maɾiamai jesucristo yumunuyepeta yene?

maɾiamai	jesucristo	yene
how(?)[195]	Jesus.Christ redeem	1PL.INCL

CLOSE: 'How did Jesus Christ redeem us?'
SPANISH: *'¿Cómo nos redimió Jesucristo?'*

   b. i. *Yenne ycuarasussanaraschi, Cruz ari taque tamai raumanuraschi (mura).* (Entre paréntesis, con lápiz: *mura.*)

      ii. Yenneycua rasusanaraschi, Cruzari taquetamai raumanuraschi (mura).

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[192]The Old Omagua root *aise* 'true' survives in modern Omagua only in the frozen form *aisɪmai*, 'truth', which is employed in discourse to assert the truth value of a proposition (cf., Spanish *verdad* or *de veras*).

[193]A reflex of the Old Omagua word *yumunuyepeta* is not attested in modern Omagua, but note the similarity of this stem to Old Omagua *usuepeta* 'save', which does exhibit a modern Omagua reflex. Both stems appear to have been at some point in time compositional: *usuepeta* contains *usu* 'go' and *-ta* CAUS; *yumunuyepeta* contains *yumunu* 'send' and *-ta* CAUS. Because we do not expect Omagua to have exhibited a native word to express the Christian concept of redemption (note that our gloss of 'redeem' relies heavily upon the original Spanish translation of a similar Quechua catechism (see §3.1)), we consider it most likely that *yumunuyepeta* is a Jesuit neologism.

[194]Based on the reflex of Old Omagua *aise* in modern Omagua (see footnote 192), it is clear that the sequence <tui> was not part of the root. It does not correspond to any morpheme in modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Faust 1972; Cabral 1995; Vallejos Yopán 2004, 2010a) of which we are aware, and we have been unable to locate any cognates to it in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. However, if Old Omagua *aise* did not form part of the same class of adjectives as *eɾa* 'good' and *ayaise* 'evil' (see §2.3.2.3 and footnote 146), and was actually a stative verb (as many quality-denoting roots are in modern Omagua), it would need to be nominalized in order to modify either *Dios* or *awa* (note that the nominalization of stative verbs to serve as nominal modifiers is widely attested in these texts (see §2.3.2.3)). This raises the possibility that <tui> was a nominalizer.

iii. yeneikua ɾasusanaɾaʃi, cruzaɾi takɨtamai ɾaumanuɾaʃi imɨnua (muɾa).

yene=	=ikua	ɾa=	susana[196]	=ɾaʃi	cruz	=aɾi	takɨta
1PL.INCL=	=REAS	3SG.MS=	suffer	=NASS	cross	=LOC.DIFF	nail

=mai	ɾa=	umanu	=ɾaʃi	imɨnua	muɾa[197].
=INACT.NOMZ	3SG.MS=	die	=NASS	long.ago	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'Suffering for us, dying long ago nailed to the cross.'
TARGET: 'Suffering for us, dying nailed to the cross.'
SPANISH: *'Padeciendo y muriendo clavado en una cruz por nosotros.'*

(6.17) a. i. *Mania huassu Jesu Xto.-Dios raschi raumanuemenua?*

ii. Maniahuassu Jesu Xto.-Diosraschi ra umanu emenua?

iii. maniawasu jesucristo Diosɾaʃi ɾaumanu imɨnua?

mania	=wasu	jesucristo	Dios	=ɾaʃi	ɾa=	umanu	imɨnua
how	=AUG	Jesus.Christ	God	=NASS	3SG.MS=	die	long.ago

CLOSE: 'How did Jesus Christ, being God, die long ago?'
TARGET: 'How did Jesus Christ, being God, die?'
SPANISH: *'¿Cómo Jesucristo murió siendo Dios (inmortal)?'*

b. i. (Con letras desvaídas: R: *Aguacai ruana pure (?) Roaya.*) R: *Dios caisuara purai raumanua menua.*

ii. Aguacairuanapure (?) Roaya. Dioscaisuara purai raumanu amenua.

iii. awakaisuaɾapuɾa. ɾoaya Dioskaisuaɾa puɾai ɾaumanu imɨnua.[198]

awa	=kai	=suaɾa	=puɾa
man	=?[199]	=ADVBLZR	=FOC

roaya	Dios	=kai	=suaɾa[200]	puɾai	ɾa=	umanu	imɨnua
NEG	God	=?	=ADVBLZR	CONTR.FOC	3SG.MS=	die	long.ago

CLOSE: 'As a man. He did not die as God long ago.'
TARGET: 'As a man. He did not die as God.'
SPANISH: none

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[195]This is the only attestation of *maɾiamai* as a manner interrogative word. Elsewhere in these texts, as in modern Omagua, manner interrogatives are expressed with *mania*. An alternative interpretation is that the the word in the original manuscript was actually *maniamai*, where what has been interpreted as an <r> in <Maria mai> was actually an <n> in the original manuscript. However, *maniamai* is attested elsewhere in these texts meaning 'which (one)', and in modern Omagua as 'what type (of thing)'. This would not be a great improvement over the choice of *maɾiamai*, given that response to this question clearly indicates that *maɾiamai* is intended to mean 'how'. Consequently, we gloss it as such.

[196]The verb root *susana* is not attested in modern Omagua, but it has cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g., Tupinambá *osaŋ* 'suffer' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:118).

[197]The 3SG.MS pronoun *muɾa* is not grammatically obligatory in this context, which we suppose accounts for the fact that it is enclosed in parentheses in the original manuscript.

[198]The copyist of the manuscript appears to have erred in identifying the break between these two sentences, and we have repartitioned them between the second and third lines of our multilinear representation in order that the partitioned sentences make more sense in the broader doctrinal context. The principal source of confusion are the words <Aguacai ruana pure>, which appear with the annotation *con letras desvaídas* 'with faded words', perhaps indicating a subsequent addition or correction. The transcriber appears to have interpreted <Roaya> as belonging to these 'faded' words, and not to the other adjacent material, resulting in a rather doctrinally problematic sentence. In particular, under the problematic partitioning, the sentence reads that Jesus died as a god, rather than as a man, as is doctrinally correct. Note that under the partition we propose, *roaya* appears

(6.18)   a. i. *Jesu Xto. umanuraschi uyahuere tiparaca quere emenua?*

ii. Jesu Xto. umanuraschi, uyahueretipa racaquere emenua?

iii. jesucristo umanuɾaʃi, tipa ɾakakɨɾɨ ɨmɨnua?

jesucristo	umanu =ɾaʃi	uyawɨɾɨ =tipa	ɾa=	kakɨɾɨ	ɨmɨnua
Jesus.Christ die	=NASS again	=INTERR	3SG.MS= live	long.ago

CLOSE: 'Jesus Christ having died, did he live again long ago?'
TARGET: 'Jesus Christ having died, did he live again?'
SPANISH: *'Habiendo muerto en cuanto hombre, ¿resucitó?'*

b. i. *Vyahuere racaquere emenua musso puereca coema ari.*

ii. Vyahuere racaquere emenua mussopuereca coemaari.

iii. uyawɨɾɨ ɾakakɨɾɨ ɨmɨnua musapɨɾika kʷemaaɾi.

uyawɨɾɨ	ɾa=	kakɨɾɨ	ɨmɨnua	musapɨɾika	kʷema =aɾi
again	3SG.MS=	live	long.ago	three[201]	dawn =LOC.DIFF

CLOSE: 'He lived again on the third day long ago.'
TARGET: 'He lived again on the third day.'
SPANISH: *'Sí, resucitó al tercer día.'*

(6.19)   a. i. *Jesu Cto. uyahuere quereraschi emenua macate reusuemenua?*

ii. Jesu Cto. uyahuere quereraschi emenua, macate reusu emenua?

iii. jesucristo uyawɨɾɨ [ɾaka]kɨɾɨɾaʃi ɨmɨnua, makate ɾausu ɨmɨnua?

jesucristo	uyawɨɾɨ	ɾa=	kakɨɾɨ =ɾaʃi	ɨmɨnua	makate	ɾa=	usu
Jesus.Christ	again	3SG.MS=	live =NASS	long.ago	where	3SG.MS=	go

ɨmɨnua
long.ago

CLOSE: 'Jesus Christ having lived again long ago, where did he go?'
TARGET: 'Jesus Christ having lived again, where did he go?'
SPANISH: *'Y después de resucitado Jesucristo, ¿a dónde se fué?'*

b. i. *Euete mairatama cate raussu emenua.*

ii. euetemai ratamacate raussu emenua.

iii. ɨwatimai ɾitamakate ɾausu ɨmɨnua.

ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama =kate	ɾa=	usu	ɨmɨnua
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village =ALL	3SG.MS=	go	long.ago

CLOSE: 'He went to the high village long ago.'
TARGET: 'He went to Heaven.'
SPANISH: *'Subió por sí mismo a los Cielos.'*

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clause-initially (rather than clause-finally, as the transcriber had it), the expected position for the clausal negator. We take this as good evidence (in addition to the doctrinal points) that our decision regarding the sentence breaks is correct.

[199]While we have encountered no morpheme corresponding to <cai> in Omagua, nor has one been described for Kokama-Kokamilla by Vallejos Yopán (2004, 2010a), Faust (1972:104) describes a particle *kai* that 'attracts someone's attention', and which appears to be involved in encoding insistence on the part of the speaker.

[200]Our re-representation of <ruana> as =*suaɾa* involves substantial alteration, but we take the representation <suara> in the following structurally parallel clause as good evidence that here the transcriber misinterpreted *s* as <r> and *ɾ* as <n>, both of which are copying errors attested elsewhere in these texts.

[201]The use of *musapɨɾika* as an ordinal numeral here is likely a calque, as numeral terms have only a cardinal function in the modern language.

(6.20) a. i. *Era Xtiano cana Dios cumessamai puracana era amuyasu cata taracana era cema-*
mai huassu ema, ranu umanuraschi macate rana sahuassuacana ussu?

ii. era xtianocana dios cumessamaipuracana era amuyasucatataracana eracemamai-
huassuema, ranuumanuraschi, macate ranasahuassuacana ussu?

iii. eɾa cristianokana Dios kumesamaipuɾakana eɾa amuyasukatataɾakana eɾasɨmamaiwasuɨma,
ɾanaumanuɾaʃi, makate ɾanasawasuakana usu?

era	cristiano	=kana	Dios	kumesa	=mai		=pura	=kana	era
good	Christian	=PL.MS	God	say	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	good

amuyasukata	-taɾa		=kana	era	-sɨma	=mai		=wasu	=ima
observe	-ACT.NOMZ	=PL.MS	good	-CORE.NEG	=INACT.NOMZ	=AUG	=PRIV

rana=	umanu	=ɾaʃi	makate	rana=	sawa	-sua	=kana	usu
3PL.MS=	die	=NASS	where	3PL.MS=	soul	-?[202]	=PL.MS	go

CLOSE: 'The good Christians, those who observe what God said, those without great evil, when they die, where do their souls go?
TARGET: 'The good Christians, those who observe God's commandments, those without great evil, when they die, where do their souls go?
SPANISH: *'Después de muertos los buenos cristianos que han guardado los Mandamientos de Dios, ¿adónde irán sus almas?'*

b. i. *Euate mairitama cate muriapai sareguaraschi ranacaquere zenoni.*

ii. Euatemai ritamacate, muriapai sareguaraschi ranacaquerezenoni.

iii. ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, muɾiapai saɾɨwaɾaʃi ɾanakakɨɾisenuni.

iwati	=mai	ritama	=kate	muriapai	sariwa	=raʃi
be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	uninterruptedly	be.happy	=NASS

rana=	kakɨɾɨ	=senuni
3PL.MS=	live	=PURP

CLOSE: 'To the high village, so that they live being happy uninterruptedly.'
TARGET: 'To Heaven, so that they may live forever happy.'
SPANISH: *'Subirán a la Gloria.'*

(6.21) a. i. *Ayaice xtiano cana* (Con letra desvaída: *upai Aucacana*). *Dios cumessamai pura*
cana roaya amuyasu cataracana era ecmamae huassi yara rana aumanuraschi, macate
Dios yumupuricana sahuacana?

ii. ayaice xtianocana (upai aucacana) Dios cumessamaipuracana roaya amuyasucatara-
cana eraecmamaehuassiyara, ranaaumanuraschi, macate Dios yumupuri canasahua-
cana?

iii. ayaise cristianokana (upai aucakana), Dios kumesamaipuɾakana ɾoaya amuyasukatataɾakana
eɾasɨmamaiwasuyaɾa, ɾanaumanuɾaʃi, makate Dios yumupuɾi ɾanasawakana?

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[202] The sequence <sua> does not correspond to any morpheme identified for either modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Faust 1972; Cabral 1995; Vallejos Yopán 2004, 2010a), and we have been unable to locate any cognates to it in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. Note that the sentence is completely grammatical without <sua>. Espinosa Pérez (1935:159) represents the same portion of text as <sahuacana>, without the complicating <sua>. It is unclear if he simply ignored a sequence of letters in the manuscript that made no sense to him, or if the introduction of these letters is an error on Bayle's part.

ayaise cristiano =kana upai auca[203] =kana Dios kumesa =mai
wicked Christian =PL.MS every savage =PL.MS God say =INACT.NOMZ

=puɾa =kana ɾoaya amuyasukata -taɾa =kana eɾa -sɨma
=NOM.PST =PL.MS NEG observe -ACT.NOMZ =PL.MS good -CORE.NEG

=mai =wasu =yaɾa ɾana= umanu =ɾaʃi makate Dios
=INACT.NOMZ =AUG =POSS.NOMZ 3PL.MS= die =NASS where God

yumupuɾi[204] ɾana= sawa =kana
send(?) 3PL.MS= soul =PL.MS

CLOSE: 'The wicked Christians (every savage), those who do not observe what God said, those with great evil, when they die, where does God send their souls?'
TARGET: 'The wicked Christians (every savage), those who do not observe God's commandments, those with great evil, when they die, where does God send their souls?'
SPANISH: *'Y las almas de los malos que han muerto sin guardar los Mandamientos de Dios, ¿adónde irán?'*

    b. i. *Euepete maitatopa quarape, muriapai ucairaschi, ranayuritizenoni.*

       ii. Euepetemai ta topaquarape, muriapai ucairaschi ranayuritizenoni.

      iii. ɨpɨpemai[205] ta[ta] tupakʷaɾape, muɾiapai ukaiɾaʃi ɾanayuɾitisenuni.

ɨpɨpe =mai ta[ta] tupa =kʷaɾape muɾiapai ukai =ɾaʃi
be.inside =INACT.NOMZ fire place =INESS uninterruptedly burn =NASS

ɾana= yuɾiti =senuni
3PL.MS= be.in.place =PURP

CLOSE: 'To the inner fire place, so that they may be there burning uninterruptedly.'
TARGET: 'To Hell so that they may burn forever.'
SPANISH: *'Al fuego del infierno para quemar sin fin.'*

(6.22) a. i. *Yenne sahucana roayapa yennezúcana mucui umanu?*

      ii. Yennesahucana roayapa yennezúcanamucui umanu?

    iii. yenesawakana, ɾoayapa yenesuukanamukui umanu?

yene= sawa =kana ɾoaya =pa yene= suu =kana =mukui
1PL.INCL= soul =PL.MS NEG =INTERR 1PL.INCL= body =PL.MS =COM

umanu
die

CLOSE: 'Our souls don't die with our bodies?'
SPANISH: *'Pues qué, ¿nuestras almas no mueren con nuestros cuerpos?'*

    b. i. R: *Roaya, miaracana yacatu yennezumucui ranaumanu; yenne Sahuacana muria-paitina ranaca quereari.*

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[203]This word *auca* is borrowed from Quechua. Given that Quechua only began to be used as a *lingua franca* in San Joaquín de Omaguas in the 1720s (Michael submitted), the appearance of this word suggests that this text was written or at least modified in this later period. It should be noted that this deduction is not entirely ironclad, since the Jesuits working in Maynas may have become familiar with Quechua during their preparatory time in Quito, prior to entering the Maynas missions.

[204]The word for 'send' in modern Omagua, which is also reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, is *yumunu*. We cannot currently account for the sequence <puri> on this form.

[205]Here we alter the original <t> to *p*, as this accords with the expected form *ɨpɨpe* in the Jesuit neologism for 'Hell', as evident in other instances of this form (see (6.27b)).

ii. Roaya, miaracanayacatu yennezumucui ranaumanu; yenneSahuacana muriapaitina ranacaquereari.

iii. ɾoaya miaɾakanayakatu yenesuumukui ɾanaumanu. yenesawakana muɾiapaitina ɾanakakiɾiaɾi.

ɾoaya	miaɾa[206]	=kana	=ya	=katu	yene=	suu	=mukui	ɾana=	umanu
NEG	animal	=PL.MS	=SIM	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	body	=COM	3PL.MS=	die

yene=	sawa	=kana	muɾiapai	=tina	ɾana=	kakiɾi	=aɾi
1PL.INCL=	soul	=PL.MS	uninterruptedly	=CERT	3PL.MS=	live	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'They do not die with our bodies like animals. Our souls live uninterruptedly.
TARGET: 'They do not die with our bodies like animals. Our souls will live forever.'
SPANISH: *'No, que vivirán eternamente.'*

(6.23) a. i. *Huyahuentipa Yenne yara Jesu Cto. euate mairitama zui anquiquiara tuyucaritama cate rauriari?*

ii. Huyahuentipa Yenneyara Jesu Cto. euatemai ritamazui a(nqui)quiara tuyuca ritamacate rauriari?

iii. uyawiɾitipa yeneyaɾa jesucristo iwatimai ɾitamasui aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate ɾauɾiaɾi.

uyawiɾi	=tipa	yene=	yaɾa	jesucristo	iwati	=mai
again	=INTERR	1PL.INCL=	master	Jesus.Christ	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ

ɾitama	=sui	aikiaɾa	tuyuka ɾitama	=kate	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi
village	=ABL	DEM.PROX.MS	land village	=ALL	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'Will our master Jesus Christ from the high village to this land village again?'
TARGET: 'Will our Lord Jesus Christ come from Heaven to Earth again?'
SPANISH: *'¿Nuestro señor Jesucristo vendrá otra vez del Cielo a la tierra?'*

b. i. *Huyahuere rauriari aiquiara tuyucaritama upa pupe catu.*

ii. Huyahuere rauriari aiquiara tuyuca ritama upapupecatu.

iii. uyawiɾi ɾauɾiaɾi aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama upapupekatu.

uyawiɾi	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi	aikiaɾa	tuyuka ɾitama	upa
again	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF	DEM.PROX.MS	land village	come.to.end

=pupekatu
=TEMP.OVRLP

CLOSE: 'He will come again when this land village ends.'
TARGET: 'He will come again when the Earth ends.'
SPANISH: *'Sí, vendrá al fin de este mundo.'*

(6.24) a. i. *Mura guarashi pupe uyahuere tipa yeneca quere usuari?*

ii. Mura guarashipupe uyahueretipa yenecaquereusuari?

iii. muɾa kʷaɾaʃipupe uyawiɾitipa yenekakiɾiusuaɾi?

muɾa[207]	kʷaɾaʃi	=pupe	uyawiɾi	=tipa	yene=	kakiɾi	=usu	=aɾi
3SG.MS	day	=INSTR	again	=INTERR	1PL.INCL=	live	=AND	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'That day, will we go to live again?'
SPANISH: none

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[206] See footnote 180.

b. i. *Vyahuere upa yenneca* (entre líneas, *Ru*)[208] *caquere usuari.*

   ii. Vyahuere upa yene(ca)caquereusuari.

   iii. uyawɨrɨ upa yenekakɨrɨusuari.

uyawɨrɨ	upa	yene=	kakɨrɨ	=usu	=arɨ
again	all	1PL.INCL=	live	=AND	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'Again we will all go to live.'

SPANISH: none

(6.25) a. i. *Maria zenoni mura aquaschi pupe yenne Yara Jesu Cto. uyahuere ruraiari?*

   ii. Mariazenoni mura aquaschipupe yenneYara Jesu Cto. uyahuere ruraiari?

   iii. maniasenuni[209] mura kʷa[ɾa]ʃipupe yeneyaɾa jesucristo uyawɨrɨ ɾauɾiari?

mania	=senuni	mura[210]	kʷaɾaʃi	=pupe	yene=		yaɾa	jesucristo
what.action	=PURP	3SG.MS	day	=INSTR	1PL.INCL=		master	Jesus.Christ

uyawɨrɨ	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi
again	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'Why will our Lord Jesus Christ come again on that day?'

SPANISH: *'¿A qué vendrá Jesucristo ese último día?'*

b. i. *Vpacatu yenne sahuacai upai ayaize yene yahue quemai pura cana veranu racumessa zenoni rurari.*

   ii. Vpacatu yennesahuacai upai ayaize yeneyahuequemaipuracana veranu racumessazenoni rurari.

   iii. upakatu yenesawakai upai ayaise yeneyawɨkɨmaipuɾakana weɾanu ɾakumesasenuni ɾauɾiari.

upa	=katu	yene=	sawa	=kai[211]	upai	ayaise	yene=	yawɨkɨ
all	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	soul	=?	every	wicked	1PL.INCL=	do

=mai	=puɾa	=kana	weɾanu	ɾa=	kumesa	=senuni	ɾa=
=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	COORD	3SG.MS=	say[212]	=PURP	3SG.MS=

uɾi	=aɾi
come	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'He will come in order to say all of our souls and all of the wicked things we have done.'

TARGET: 'He will come to judge all of our souls and all of our wicked deeds.'

SPANISH: *'Habiendo antes resucitado a todos, vendrá a juzgarlos.'*

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[207] Note that in modern Omagua, *mura* does not exhibit any deictic or inter-clausal discourse anaphoric properties, in contrast to its apparent function in the text here. Although we know of no cognate to *mura* in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, let alone one with the relevant deictic or anaphoric properties, it is worth noting that the feminine genderlect counterpart to *mura*, namely *ãi*, is the reflex of the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní distal deictic *aʔé* 's/he, that one there' (Jensen 1998:551). The fact that *mura* appears to have deictic or discourse anaphoric properties here suggests that it originated as a masculine genderlect deictic pronoun, and that some of those properties were still retained in Old Omagua.

[208] We interpret this to mean that <Ru> appear between lines of text. Since it is not an identifiable morpheme, and contributes nothing to the grammaticality or meaning of the sentence, we ignore it.

[209] Here we change the original <Mariazenoni> to *maniasenuni*. The latter word appears elsewhere in the ecclesiastical texts as the reason interrogative word and is also the expected form for the reason interrogative based on the reconstruction of Proto-Omagua-Kokama interrogative words (see Table 2.19). There is no root *maria* elsewhere

(6.26) a. i. *Mura quarasschi pupe macate Jesu Cto. erusuari era Xtianocana?*

ii. Mura quarasschipupe macate Jesu Cto. erusuari era xtianocana?

iii. muɾa kʷaɾaʃipupe, makate jesucristo eɾusuaɾi eɾa cristianokana?

muɾa[213]	kʷaɾaʃi	=pupe	makate	jesucristo	eɾusu	=aɾi	eɾa	cristiano
3SG.MS	day	=INSTR	where	Jesus.Christ	take	=IMPF	good	Christian

=kana
=PL.MS

CLOSE: 'On that day, where will Jesus Christ take the good Christians?'
SPANISH: '¿Y dónde enviará Jesucristo entonces a los buenos?'

b. i. *Era xtiano cana purai uyahuere raerusuari euate mairitama cate, rana sahuacana mucui ranazucana mucui, muriapai sararaquaraschiranaca querezenoni; ayquiara tuyucaritama cate Dios cumessamai pura cana rana amuya sucatu sepue.*

ii. Era xtianocanapurai uyahuere raerusuari euatemai ritamacate, ranasahuacanamucui, ranazucanamucui, muriapai sara(ra)quaraschi ranacaquerezenoni; ayquiara tuyuca ritamacate Dios cumessamaipuracana ranaamuyasucatasepue.

iii. eɾa cristianokana puɾai, uyawɨɾɨ raeɾusuaɾi ɨwatimai ɾitamakate ɾanasawakanamukui ɾanasuukanamukui, muriapai saɾɨwaɾaʃi[214] ɾanakakɨɾɨsenuni, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate Dios kumesamaipuɾakana ɾanaamuyasukatasepɨ.

eɾa	cristiano	=kana	puɾai	uyawɨɾɨ	ɾa=	eɾusu	=aɾi	ɨwati
good	Christian	=PL.MS	CONTR.FOC	again	3SG.MS=	go	=IMPF	be.high.up

=mai	ɾitama	=kate	ɾana=	sawa	=kana	=mukui	ɾana=	suu
=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	3PL.MS=	soul	=PL.MS	=COM	3PL.MS=	body

=kana	=mukui	muriapai	saɾɨwa	=ɾaʃi	ɾana=	kakɨɾɨ	=senuni
=PL.MS	=COM	uninterruptedly	be.happy	=NASS	3PL.MS=	live	=PURP

aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	=kate	Dios	kumesa	=mai	=puɾa
DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	=LOC	God	say	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST

=kana	ɾana=	amuyasukata	=sepɨ
=PL.MS	3PL.MS=	observe	=REAS

CLOSE: 'He will take the good Christians to the high village with their souls and with their bodies, so that they may live being happy uninterruptedly, due to the fact that they observed what God said on this land village.'
TARGET: 'He will take the good Christians to Heaven with their souls and with their bodies, so that they may live forever happy, due to the fact that they observed God's commandments on this Earth.'
SPANISH: 'Al Cielo para alegrarse perpetuamente en cuerpo y alma.'

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in the ecclesiastical texts or in the modern language, and handwritten <n> may have easily been interpreted by a copyist or by Bayle as <r>.

[210]See footnote 207.

[211]See footnote 199.

[212]Here we gloss *kumesa* as 'say' but translate it as 'judge'. Modern Omagua exhibits no word that expresses the notion of 'judgment' in the sense of Jesus' judgment of souls and deeds on Judgment Day. Note, however, that it is a feature in many Peruvian Amazonian languages that words glossable as 'say' or 'speak' have the connotation of 'criticize', a notion not that distant from 'judge'. Alternatively, the use of *kumesa* here to express the notion of 'judgment' may be a Jesuit innovation, based on the idea that to speak of wicked deeds is to reveal them, thereby making them vulnerable to moral censure.

[213]See footnote 207.

(6.27) a. i. *Mua quaraschi pupe macate Jesu Cto. yumapuriu suari Ayaize mai cana?*

ii. Mua quaraschipupe macate Jesu Cto. yumapuriusuari Ayaizemaicana?

iii. mu[ɾ]a kʷaɾaʃipupe, makate jesucristo yumupuɾiusuari ayaisemaikana?

muɾa[215]	kʷaɾaʃi	=pupe	makate	jesucristo	yumupuɾi	=usu	=aɾi	ayaise
3SG.MS	day	=INSTR	where	Jesus.Christ	send(?)	=AND	=IMPF	wicked

=mai	=kana
=INACT.NOMZ	=PL.MS

CLOSE: 'On that day, where will Jesus Christ send the wicked ones?'
SPANISH: '*¿Adónde echará a los malos?*'

b. i. *Vpacatu ayaizemaicana uyazauehuere rayu mupuri usuari epue pemaita tato paraguape rana sahuacana mucui, rana zucana mucui, muri apairana ucairaschi ranayuriti zenoni: ay quierea tuya carita macate Dios cumessamai puracaca roaya rana amuya su cata yeua.*

ii. Vpacatu ayaizemaicana uya(zaue)huere[216] rayumupuriusuari epuepemai tata toparaguape ranasahuacanamucui, ranazucanamucui, muriapai ranaucairaschi ranayuritizenoni: ayquierea tuyaca ritamacate dios cumessamaipuracaca roaya ranaamuyasucatayeua.

iii. upakatu ayaisemaikana, uyawɨɾi ɾayumupuɾiusuari ɨpɨpemai tata tupakʷaɾape ɾanasawakanamukui ɾanasuukanamukui, muriapai ɾanaukairaʃi ɾanayuritisenuni, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate Dios kumesamaipuɾakana ɾoaya ɾanaamuyasukataikua.

upa	=katu	ayaise	=mai	=kana	uyawɨɾi	ɾa=	yumupuɾi	=usu
all	=INTSF	wicked	=INACT.NOMZ	=PL.MS	again	3SG.MS=	send(?)[218]	=AND

=aɾi	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata	tupa	=kʷaɾape	ɾana=	sawa	=kana
=IMPF	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire	place	=INESS	3PL.MS=	soul	=PL.MS

=mukui	ɾana=	suu	=kana	=mukui	muriapai	ɾana=	ukai	=ɾaʃi
=COM	3PL.MS=	body	=PL.MS	=COM	uninterruptedly	3PL.MS=	burn	=NASS

ɾana=	yuɾiti	=senuni	aikiaɾa	tuyuka	ɾitama	=kate	Dios	kumesa
3PL.MS=	be.in.place	=PURP	DEM.PROX.MS	land	village	=LOC	God	say

=mai	=puɾa	=kana	ɾoaya	ɾana=	amuyasukata	=ikua[217]
=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	NEG	3PL.MS=	observe	=REAS

CLOSE: 'He will send all the wicked ones again to the inner fire place with their souls and with their bodies, so that they may be there burning uninterruptedly, because they did not observe what God said on this land village.'
TARGET: 'He will send all the wicked ones again to Hell with their souls and with their bodies, so that they may burn forever, because they did not observe God's commandments on Earth.'
SPANISH: '*A todos los malos y malas, por no haber guardado sus Mandamientos, los arrojará al infierno, en cuerpo y alma, para quemarse sin fin.*'

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[214]Here we make a fairly radical change of <sararaquaraschi> to *saɾɨwaɾaʃi*. We believe this is justified for two reasons. First, in (6.20b), in which the topic in question concerns the fact that the souls of good Christians are happy in Heaven, Omagua *saɾɨwa* is spelled <saregua>, a representation which follows common orthographic practices in these texts (see Table 3.1). In the passage in question here, a very similar topic is at issue, namely the fate of the souls that Jesus takes to Heaven. It is doctrinally correct that these souls would be forever happy, and this message is strongly suggested by the Spanish translation of the corresponding sentence in the Quechua catechism. Second, there is a plausible series of scribal errors that would link the original form to the one we have proposed: 1) the sequence <ra> was copied twice; an <e> in the manuscript was interpreted by the transcriber as an <a>; and a <g> was interpreted as a <q>.

(6.28) a. i. *Mare tipa Ahuacana y ahue que ari Eupe maitatatopa quarape renausu maca?*

      ii. Maretipa Ahuacana yahuequeari Eupemai tata topaquarape renausumaca?

      iii. maɾitipa awakana yawɨkɨaɾi ɨpɨpemai tata tupakᵂaɾape ɾanausumaka?

maɾi[219] =tipa	awa	=kana	yawɨkɨ =aɾi	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata
what =INTERR	person	=PL.MS	do =IMPF	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire

tupa =kᵂaɾape	ɾana=	usu =maka
place =INESS	3PL.MS=	go =NEG.PURP

CLOSE: 'What do men do in order to not go to the inner fire place.'
TARGET: 'What should people do in order to not go to Hell?'
SPANISH: *'¿Qué debe hacer el hombre (o mujer) para no ir al infierno?'*

  b. i. *Roaya Xitiano raschi sapuera Bautismo puepe Ctiano renahuaca ari; rasui, Dios cumussamai paracana sta Iglesia cumussamai paracana veranu rana amuya su cataraschi, roaya rana asuari Epue penai tatatopa quarape.*

      ii. Roaya Xitianoraschi, sapuera Bautismopuepe Ctiano renahuacaari; rasui, Dios cumussamaiparacana sta Iglesia cumussamaiparacana veranu ranaamuyasucataraschi, roaya ranaasuari Epuepemai tata topaquarape.

      iii. ɾoaya cristianoɾaʃi, sapɨra bautismopupe cristiano ɾanauwakaɾi. ɾasui Dios kumesamaipuɾakana santa iglesia kumesamaipuɾakana weɾanu ranaamuyasukataɾaʃi, ɾoaya ɾanausuaɾi ɨpɨpemai tata tupakᵂaɾape.

ɾoaya cristiano =ɾaʃi	sapɨra	bautismo =pupe	cristiano[220]	ɾana=	uwaka
NEG Christian =NASS	first(?)	baptism =INSTR	Christian	3PL.MS=	transform

=aɾi
=IMPF

ɾasui	Dios kumesa =mai	=puɾa	=kana	santa iglesia kumesa
then.MS	God say =INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	holy church say

=mai	=puɾa	=kana	weɾanu ɾana=	amuyasukata	=ɾaʃi	ɾoaya
=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	COORD 3PL.MS=	observe	=NASS	NEG

ɾana=	usu =aɾi	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata tupa =kᵂaɾape
3PL.MS=	go =IMPF	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire place =INESS

CLOSE: 'Not being Christian, first they become Christian by way of the baptism. Then, observing what God said as well as what the Church said, they will not go to the inner fire place.'
TARGET: 'Not being Christian, first they should become Christian by way of the baptism. Then, observing God's commandments as well as the Church's commandments, they will not go to Hell.'
SPANISH: *'Quien no está bautizado, primero, hacerse cristiano con el santo bautismo,*

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[215]See footnote 207.

[216]In our representation of this word we excise <zaue> to yield <uyahuere> *uyawɨrɨ* 'again'. Espinosa Pérez (1935:161) encloses the sequence <za a> in parentheses at the same point in the text, suggesting that there was some difficult-to-interpret set of letters in the original manuscript. It is not clear from his discussion, hwoever, what precisely his use of parentheses indicates. Note that *uyawɨrɨ* 'again' would be quite appropriate here given the overall doctrinal point at this point in the catechism, i.e., that on Judgment Day, Jesus will send the wicked Christians **back** to Hell, where they have been waiting prior to Judgment Day.

[217]Note that here we have changed <yeua> to *ikua*. We assume that the original <c> was interpreted by a transcriber as <e>, and that the original form of the word was <ycua>, which is one of two typical orthographic representations of *ikua* in the ecclesiastical texts (see Table 3.1 and (6.33a)), the other being <icua>.

[218]See footnote 204.

y lo segundo, guardar los diez Mandamientos de Dios y los cinco de la Iglesia, así escaparán al infierno.'

(6.29) a. i. *Christiano cana nuamai hucha ya raraschimeraetipa rana ya hueque ari, Epue pemai rana a su maca?*

        ii. Christianocana nuamai huchayararaschi, meraetipa ranayahuequeari, Epuepemai ranaasumaca?

      iii. cristianokana nuamai utʃayararaʃi, maraitipa ranayawɨkɨari ɨpɨpemai [tata tupakʷrape][221] ranausumaka?

cristiano	=kana	nua	=mai	utʃa	=yara	=raʃi	marai
Christian	=PL.MS	be.big	=INACT.NOMZ	sin	=POSS.NOMZ	=NASS	what

=tipa	rana=	yawɨkɨ	=ari	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata tupa	=kʷarape
=INTERR	3PL.MS=	do	=IMPF	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire place	=INESS

rana=	usu	=maka
3PL.MS=	go	=NEG.PURP

CLOSE: 'Christians, having big sins, what do they do in order to not go to the inner fire place?'
TARGET: 'Christians, being great sinners, what should they do in order to not go to Hell?'
SPANISH: *'El mal cristiano que ha quebrantado los divinos Mandamientos, ¿qué debe hacer para no ir al infierno?'*

    b. i. *Upacatu rana y la[222] mucui ranaya me mueraschi ranayo muerata yeua[223] Dios ay ceparana cetaraschi sapiari, upai rana huchcana cana Confessai ari Missa yahue quetara Patiri (Super macus murapuray Dios secuyara tenepetari).*

        ii. Upacatu ranaylamucui ranayamemueraschi, ranayomueratayeua Dios, aycepa ranasetaraschi sapiari, upai huchcana canaConfessaiari Missa yahuequetara Patiri(Super[224] macus mura puray Dios secuyara tenepetari).

      iii. upakatu ranaĩyamukui ranayamɨmɨaraʃi, ranayumɨrataikua Dios, aisepa ranasetaraʃi sapiari, upai rana utʃakana ranaconfesaya[ra]ri misa yawɨkɨtara patirisupe macus mura purai Dios secuyara tenepetari.

upa	=katu	rana=	ĩya[225]	=mukui	rana=	yamɨmɨa	=raʃi	rana=
all	=INTSF	3PL.MS=	heart	=COM	3PL.MS=	grieve	=NASS	3PL.MS=

yumɨra	-ta	=ikua	Dios	aise	-pa[226]	rana=	seta	=raʃi	sapiari	upai
get.angry	-CAUS	=REAS	God	true	-?	3PL.MS=	want	=NASS	obey[227]	every

rana=	utʃa	=kana	rana=	confesa	=yara	=ari	misa	yawɨkɨ
3PL.MS=	sin	=PL.MS	3PL.MS=	confess	=POSS.NOMZ	=IMPF	mass	make

-tara	patiri	=supe	macus	mura	purai	Dios secu	=yara
-ACT.NOMZ	priest	=GOAL	?	3SG.MS	CONTR.FOC	God ?	=POSS.NOMZ

tenepeta	=ari
forgive	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'Grieving with all their heart, because they angered God, and truly wanting to obey, they confess every sin to the priest who makes the mass, (?).'

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[219]See (5.6a) in the catechism fragment, where *marai* similarly appears reduced as *mari*.
[220]As a complement of *uwaka* 'transform', *cristiano* should be marked with the nominal purposive enclitic =ra, as *awa* is in (6.11a) and subsequent examples (see footnote 170).

TARGET: 'Grieving with all their heart, because they angered God, and truly wanting to obey, they should confess all of their sins to the celebrant (?).'

SPANISH: *'Dolerse de todo corazón de haber enojado a Dios, tan bueno, con sus pecados, y proponiendo hacer penitencia, confesarlos todos al sacerdote, que está en lugar de Dios y le absolverá de todos ellos.'*

(6.30)   a.   i.   *Christiano cana era rana confessa ya raraschi rana sahuiteari veranu Santísimo Sacramento?*

   ii.   Christianocana era ranaconfessayararaschi, ranasahuiteari veranu Santisimo Sacramento?

   iii.   cristianokana eɾa ranaconfesayaɾaɾaʃi, ranasawaitiaɾi weɾanu santísimo sacramento?

cristiano	=kana	eɾa	rana=	confesa	=yaɾa	=ɾaʃi	ɾana=
Christian	=PL.MS	good	3PL.MS=	confess	=POSS.NOMZ	=NASS	3PL.MS=

sawaiti[228]	=aɾi	weɾanu	santísimo	sacramento
encounter	=IMPF	COORD	Holy	Sacrament

CLOSE: 'Christians, they who properly have confessions, will they encounter the Holy Sacrament?'

TARGET: 'Christians who have confessed properly, will they receive the Holy Sacrament?'

SPANISH: *'Y el cristiano bien confesado, ¿podrá recibir el Santísimo Sacramento?'*

   b.   i.   *Ranacahuai icari.*

   ii.   Rana cahuaiicari.

   iii.   ranasawaitiaɾi.

rana=	sawaiti[229]	=aɾi
3PL.MS=	encounter	=IMPF

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[221] At this point we interpolate the collocation *tata tupak^w aɾape* between *ɨpɨpemai* and *ɾana=*, since it is clear from the corresponding Spanish that the *ɨpɨpemai* that appears in this sentence is the first element of the neologism *ɨpɨpemai tata tupak^w aɾape* 'Hell', as in in (6.28b). Note that Espinosa Pérez (1935:161), in his representation of this sentence interpolates <tata topacate> here, suggesting either that Espinosa made essentially the same judgment, or that these words were present in the original manuscript, and that Bayle failed to copy them.

[222] We interpret the string <y la> as a copying error of the word <iya> 'heart', where <y> had a large upward loop at the right edge of the <y> that resembled an <l>.

[223] See footnote 217.

[224] The presence of the parentheses here is difficult to understand, since the material in the parentheses seems necessary for the sentence to be grammatical and sensible. We interpret the <super> as the postposition *=supe*, and treat it as part of the preceding clause, given that the nominal compound *misa yawɨkɨtaɾa patiɾi* 'mass-making priest' would not otherwise be licensed in the clause.

[225] The modern Omagua word *ĩya* 'heart', is one of a small number of words that exhibit nasal vowels.

[226] Here *aise* appears with morphology distinct from that in (6.15b) (see also footnote 192), further evidence that *aise* is a root. The function of <pa> is unclear, although it is clearly functionally distinct from the interrogative enclitic *=pa*. It has no reflexes in modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla, although we suggest that here it has an adverbializing function.

[227] In modern Omagua, *sapiaɾi* is polysemous, meaning both 'obey' and 'believe'. We gloss it as 'obey' throughout the ecclesiastical texts, since that appears to the appropriate interpretation in the contexts in which the word appears, and because the 'obey' sense appears to be the historically prior one, based on the meanings of cognate forms in other Tupí-Guaraní languages (e.g., Tupinambá *apiaɾ* 'obedecer a' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:31)). In fact, the polysemy of Omagua *sapiaɾi*, which can be reconstructed to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, appears to be the result of the collapse of two distinct roots (see also Tupinambá *ɾobiaɾ* 'crer, acreditar em' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:140)), perhaps via the causativized reflexive form of *ɾobiaɾ* 'crer, acreditar em', *mojeɾobiaɾ* 'honrar, obedecer' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:94).

CLOSE: 'They will encounter [it].'
TARGET: 'They will receive it.'
SPANISH: *'Sí podrá.'*

(6.31) a. i. *Hua tipa yuriti Santísimo Sacramento o puperi?*

ii. Huatipa yuriti Santisimo Sacramentoopupe(ri)?

iii. awatipa yuriti santisimo sacramentoɨpɨpɪ?

awa =tipa	yuriti	santísimo sacramento	=ɨpɨpɪ
who =INTERR	be.in.place	Holy Sacrament	=INESS

CLOSE: 'Who is in the Holy Sacrament?'
SPANISH: *'¿Quién está en el Santísimo Sacramento?'*

b. i. *Mura Jesu Cto. Dios Teagra, aycetui, Dios, aycetui Ahua, raSahua mucui razumucui, rasoe mucui verana, maeramani.*

ii. Mura Jesu Cto. Dios Teagra, aycetui Dios, aycetui Ahua, raSahuamucui, razumucui, rasoemucui verana, maeramani.

iii. mura jesucristo, Dios taɨra, aisetui Dios, aisetui awa, rasawamukui rasuumukui rasuɨmukui weranu mairamania.

mura	jesucristo	Dios taɨra	aise[230] -tui	Dios	aise -tui	awa
3SG.MS	Jesus.Christ	God son.MALE.EGO	true -?[231]	God	true -?	man

ra=	sawa =mukui	ra=	suu =mukui	ra=	suɨ =mukui	weranu
3SG.MS=	soul =COM	3SG.MS=	body =COM	3SG.MS=	blood =COM	COORD

mairamania
exactly(.as)

CLOSE: 'It is Jesus Christ, the Son of God, true God, true man, with his soul, his body and his blood exactly.'
SPANISH: *'Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, verdadero Dios y verdadero Hombre, con su cuerpo, su sangre, su ánima, como está en los cielos; así está ocultamente en el Santísimo Sacramento.'*

(6.32) a. i. *Meterepe epuessa sui comulgaiara y acatumarae curataraschi, nuamai hucha yaraschi rana sahuaitimia Santísimo Sacramento?*

ii. meterepe epuessasui comulgaiarayacatu marae curataraschi, nuamai huchayaraschi, ranasahuaitimia santisimo sacramento

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[228]Here our transliteration of <sahuite> as *sawaiti* relies heavily on (6.32a), in which the orthographic representation of the same word is clearly <sahuaiti>. This latter form, particularly with the medial sequence <ai>, is the expected one given the modern reflex *sawaita*. It is worth mentioning, however, that there is variation in the form of this root in modern Omagua. Only one speaker of Omagua retains a distinction between *sawaita* 'encounter' and *sawiti* 'respond', while all other speakers have collapsed the two to *sawiti*, which admittedly resembles the representation <sahuite> here. It is possible that this variation existed even in the Jesuit period, possibly influenced by the monophthongization processes widespread in Kokama-Kokamilla (O'Hagan and Wauters 2012). Also see §9.3.3.

[229]In our transliteration here we take the sequence <cahuaiicari> to have been a copying error from an earlier manuscript in which the word was given as <sahuaiteari>. The copying errors would be, under this hypothesis: original <s> copied as <c>, <t> copied as <i>, and <e> copied as <c>. All these copying errors are attested elsewhere in the ecclesiastical texts as they have come down to us.

[230]See footnote 192.

[231]See footnote 194.

iii. mɨtɨɾɨpe ɨpɨsasui comulgayaɾayakatu maɾai kuɾataɾaʃi, nuamai utʃaya[ɾa]ɾaʃi, ɾanasawaitimia santísimo sacramento?

mɨtɨɾɨpe ɨpɨsa =sui[232] comulga[233] =yaɾa =ya =katu
in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =POSS.NOMZ =SIM =INTSF
maɾai[234] kuɾata =ɾaʃi nua =mai   utʃa[235] =yaɾa   =ɾaʃi
thing drink =NASS be.big =INACT.NOMZ sin =POSS.NOMZ =NASS
ɾana= sawaiti[236] =mia santísimo sacramento
3PL.MS= encounter =IRR Holy Sacrament

CLOSE: 'Drinking in the middle of the night like a communicant, having big sins, would they encounter the Holy Sacrament?'
TARGET: 'Drinking in the middle of the night like a communicant, but being a great sinner, would they receive the Holy Sacrament?'[237]
SPANISH: none

b. i. *Roayamania ranasahuaitimia.*
  ii. roaya mania ranasahuaitimia.
  iii. ɾoaya mania ɾanasawaitimia.

roaya mania ɾana= sawaiti =mia
NEG how 3PL.MS= encounter =IRR[238]

CLOSE: 'There is no way they would encounter it.'
TARGET: 'There is no way they would receive it.'
SPANISH: none

(6.33) a. i. *Nesepiari tipa ay quiera upacatu Dios comessamaicana, aicetui Dios, upai higuatara, roaya vischanisuri, roaya mue tasuri, Dios cumessa Ycua?*

  ii. Nesepiaritipa ayquiera, upacatu Dios comessamaicana, aicetui Dios, upai higuatara, roaya vischanisuri, roaya muetasuri, Dios cumessaYcua?

  iii. nesapiaɾitipa aikiaɾa, upakatu Dios kumesamaikana, aisetui Dios, upai ikuataɾa, ɾoaya wiʃanisuɾi, ɾoaya mɨtasuɾi, Dios kumesaikua?

---

[232]The appearance of the ablative =*sui* in *mɨtɨɾɨpe ɨpɨsasui* is likely the result of a calque based on Spanish *en medio de la noche* or German *mitten in der Nacht* (depending on the native language of the author). The corresponding modern expression for 'midnight' is *ɨpɨsamɨtɨɾɨpɨ*, where =*mɨtɨɾɨpɨ* functions as a postposition, without need for the (additional) postposition =*sui*.

[233]From Spanish *comulgar* 'receive communion'.

[234]The appearance of *maɾai* 'thing' as an apparent object here is probably a relic of the generic element noun incorporation process common in Tupí-Guaraní languages Dietrich (1994:112)'. The construction is not attested in modern Omagua.

[235]In modern Omagua, the affricate of this form has lenided, i.e., *uʃa*.

[236]See footnote 228.

[237]The doctrinal point being made here is not immediately clear, but we believe that the Jesuits were attempting to clarify that merely drinking sacramental wine was insufficient for absolution, and that the wine had to be drunk in the context of Holy Communion in order for it to have the desired spiritual effect. In particular, we interpret the mention of drinking in the middle of the night 'like a communicant' as referring to the hypothetical act of sneaking into the church and surreptitiously drinking the sacramental wine. We find it plausible that the Jesuits would have found it particularly important to communicate to new indigenous converts that salvation can only be achieved with the mediation of the priest, and not directly from the bread and wine consumed in the rites.

[238]Omagua permits third-person object pro-drop in this context; the appropriate pronominal object would be *muɾa*.

<table>
<tr><td>ne=</td><td>sapiaɾi</td><td>=tipa</td><td>aikiaɾa</td><td></td><td>upa</td><td>=katu</td><td>Dios</td><td>kumesa</td><td>=mai</td></tr>
<tr><td>2SG=</td><td>obey</td><td>=INTERR</td><td>DEM.PROX.MS</td><td></td><td>all</td><td>=INTSF</td><td>God</td><td>say</td><td>=INACT.NOMZ</td></tr>
</table>

=kana	aise[239]	-tui	Dios	upai	ikua	-taɾa	roaya	wiʃani	-suri
=PL.MS	true	-?[240]	God	every	know	-ACT.NOMZ	NEG	be.dishonest	-SUBJ.NOMZ

roaya	miɨta	-suɾi	Dios	kumesa	=ikua
NEG	deceive	-SUBJ.NOMZ	God	say	=REAS

CLOSE: 'Do you obey this, all of the things that God says, true God, he who knows everything, he who is not dishonest, he who does not deceive, because God says them?'

TARGET: 'Do you obey all the words of God, true God, all-knowing, not deceitful, because God says them?'

SPANISH: '¿Creéis todo lo dicho por ser palabras de Dios, que no puede engañar ni engañarse?'

    b.   i. *Upcatu ta Hia mucuicatu tasapiari.*

        ii. Upacatu taHiamucuicatu tasapiari.

        iii. upakatu taĩyamukuikatu tasapiaɾi.

upa	=katu	ta=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ta=	sapiaɾi
all	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	obey

CLOSE: 'I obey them with my all my heart.'

SPANISH: 'Sí lo creo con todo corazón.'

(6.34)   a.   i. *Nesara tipa upacatu ne hia mucui catu Dios ari enehuchacana ratenepe ta ari, neumanuraschi raerusuari ene Sahua Euate mairitama cate, naraschi?*

        ii. Nesaratipa upacatu nehiamucuicatu Diosari ene huchacana ratenepetaari, neumanuraschi, raerusuari ene Sahua Euatemai ritamacate, naraschi?

        iii. nesaɾatipa upakatu neĩyamukuikatu Diosaɾi ene utʃakana ɾatenepetaɾi, neumanuɾaʃi, ɾaeɾusuaɾi ene sawa ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, naɾaʃi?

ne=	saɾa	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	Dios
2SG=	await[243]	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	God

=aɾi	ene[241]	utʃa	=kana	ɾa=	tenepeta	=aɾi	ne=	umanu	=ɾaʃi
=LOC.DIFF	2SG	sin	=PL.MS	3SG.MS=	forgive	=IMPF	2SG=	die	=NASS

ɾa=	eɾusu	=aɾi	ene[242]	sawa	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate	naɾaʃi
3SG.MS=	take	=IMPF	2SG	soul	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	?

CLOSE: 'Do you await God with all your heart, that he will forgive your sins, and that when you die he will take your soul to the high village?'

TARGET: 'Do you have faith in God, with all of your heart, that he will forgive your sins, and that when you die he will take your soul to Heaven?'

SPANISH: '¿Esperas firmemente en Dios que te ha de salvar?'

    b.   i. *Muriaytasara ta hia (hua?) mucuicatu.*

        ii. muriay tasara tahiamucuicatu.

        iii. muɾiai tasaɾa taĩyamukuikatu.

---

[239]See footnote 192.

[240]See footnote 194.

muɾia -i ta= saɾa ta= ĩya =mukui =katu
thus -?[244] 1SG.MS= hope[245] 1SG.MS= heart =COM =INTSF

CLOSE: 'Thus I hope with all my heart.'
SPANISH: *'Sí, espero.'*

(6.35)   a.   i. *Nesaschita tipa upcatu ne hai mucui catu yenne Papa Dios upacatu mara encana neucua tarischi ra erasemaicatu y cua?*

        ii. Nesaschitatipa upcatu nehaimucuicatu yennePapa Dios upacatu maraencana neucuatarischi raerasemaicatuycua?

       iii. nesaʃitatipa upakatu nĩyamukuikatu yenepapa dios, upakatu maɾainkana neukuataraʃi, ɾaerasemaikatuikua?

ne= saʃita =tipa upa =katu ne= ĩya =mukui =katu yene=
2SG= love =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 1PL.INCL=

papa dios upa =katu maɾain =kana ne= ukuata =ɾaʃi ɾa= eɾa
father God all =INTSF thing =PL.MS 2SG= pass.by[246] =NASS 3SG.MS= good

=semai =katu =ikua
=VERID =INTSF =REAS

CLOSE: 'Do you love our father God with all your heart, even though you may pass by all things, because he is really truly good?'
TARGET: 'Do you love our father God with all your heart, even though anything may happen to you, because he is really truly good?'
SPANISH: *'¿Amas a Dios muy bueno, sobre todas las cosas?'*

   b.   i. *Upacatu ta hia mucuicatu tasas chitamura.*

        ii. Upacatu tahiamucuicatu tasaschita mura.

       iii. upakatu taĩyamukuikatu tasaʃita muɾa.

upa =katu ta= ĩya =mukui =katu ta= saʃita muɾa
all =INTSF 1SG.MS= heart =COM =INTSF 1SG.MS= love 3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'I love him with all my heart.'
SPANISH: *'Sí, le amo.'*

(6.36)   a.   i. *Ne yememua tipa upacatu nehia mucuicatu ne huchacana pupe ne ya muerata y cua yenne yara Dios?*

        ii. Neyememuatipa upacatu nehiamucuicatu nehuchacanapupe neyamuerataycua yenneyara Dios?

       iii. neyamɨmɨatipa upakatu nĩyamukuikatu neutʃakanapupe neyumɨɾataikua yeneyaɾa Dios?

---

[241]Based on the same construction in modern Omagua, we would expect that the possessor be expressed with the proclitic *ne=*, as indepenent pronouns are never used to indicate possessors (see §2.2.1).

[242]See footnote 241.

[243] We suspect that the use of *saɾa* 'await' with the diffuse locative *=aɾi*, later in the sentence, is a calque on Spanish *esperar en* 'have faith in' (see §9.3.2.3).

[244]See footnote 158.

[245]See footnote 243.

[246]The use of *ukuata* 'pass by' appears to be the result of a calque based on Spanish *pasar* (see §9.3.3).

ne=	yamɨmɨa	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ne=	utʃa
2SG=	grieve	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	2SG=	sin

=kana	=pupe	ne=	yumɨra	-ta	=ikua	yene=	yaɾa	Dios
=PL.MS	=INSTR	2SG=	get.angry	-CAUS	=REAS	1PL.INCL=	master	God

CLOSE: 'Do you grieve with all your heart because you have angered our master God with your sins?'

TARGET: 'Do you grieve with all your heart because you have angered our Lord God with your sins?'

SPANISH: '¿Te pesa haberle ofendido?'

    b.   i. *Upacatu ta hia mucui catu ta ya memue amura.*

        ii. Upacatu tahiamucuicatu tayamemuea mura.

        iii. upakatu taĩyamukuikatu tayamɨmɨa mura.

upa	=katu	ta=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ta=	yamɨmɨa	mura
all	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	lament[247]	3SG.MS

CLOSE: 'I lament it with all my heart.'

SPANISH: '*Me pesa mucho.*'

(6.37)   a.   i. *Neceta tipa nesapiari upacatu ne hia mucuicatu?*

        ii. Necetatipa nesapiari upcatu nehiamucuicatu?

        iii. nesetatipa nesapiaɾi upakatu neĩyamukuikatu?

ne=	seta	=tipa	ne=[248]	sapiaɾi	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu
2SG=	want	=INTERR	2SG=	obey	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF

CLOSE: 'Do you want to obey with all your heart?'

SPANISH: '¿*Propones la enmienda?*'

    b.   i. *Upacatu ta hia mucui taseta tasapiari.*

        ii. Upacatu tahiamucui taseta tasapiari.

        iii. upakatu taĩyamukuikatu taseta tasapiaɾi.

upa	=katu	ta=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	ta=	seta	ta=	sapiaɾi
all	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	want	1SG.MS=	obey

CLOSE: 'I want to obey with all my heart.'

SPANISH: '*Sí.*'

---

[247]Given that *yamɨmɨa* is transitive in this instance (i.e., note object *muɾa*), we gloss it as 'lament', as opposed to 'grieve' in (6.36a). Note that *yamɨmɨa* is not attested as a transitive verb in modern Omagua.

[248]In modern Omagua, the subject of a complement clause verb that is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause verb is elided. We do not know if the repetition of the coreferential pronominal proclitic was grammatical in Old Omagua.

Chapter 7

Profession of Faith

Below we give the Profession of Faith as it appears originally in the appendix to Uriarte's diaries (Uriarte [1776]1986:617). In this way the reader can evaluate our decisions as to sentence breaks in comparison with those that (presumably) reflect the original manuscript. In (7.1)-(7.6) we present this short text in the format outlined in §3.1.

<p align="center">ACTUS FIDEI, SPEI, ET CHRITATIS, AC CONTRITIONIS, SIMULQUE ATRITIONIS.
EN LENGUA OMAGUA</p>

Ta-Yara Jesu Cto., aycetui Dios, aycetui Abua enesamai tasapiari enecumafsamacana ari. Enesemai tasaschita upacatu mara encana ucuataraschi. Ene era Dios taschitaraschi, Epuepe maitata topa toaquase araschi veranu, taya me muea upacatu ta huchacana pupe tayo muerata y cua ene era Dios ene yumaya huresrachita, ro ayahuere taya muerata ari Ene: upaita huchacana era ta confefsa yara ari: huchacana sepue Patiri. Ta Papa Jesu Cto., Cruz ariencumanu yena, tenepeta ta, ta huchacana, erusuta. Euate mairitama cate. Amén. JHS

(7.1) a. *Ta-Yara Jesu Cto., aycetui Dios, aycetui Abua, enesamai tasapiari enecumafsamacana ari.*

   b. Tayara jesu cto., aycetui dios, aycetui abua, enesamai tasapiari ene cumafsamacanaari.

   c. tayara jesucristo, aisetui dios, aisetui awa, enesemai tasapiari ene kumesamaikanari.

   ta=   yara   jesucristo   aise[249] -tui dios aise -tui awa ene =semai ta=
   1SG.MS= master Jesus.Christ true   -?[251] God true -? man 2SG =VERID 1SG.MS=
   sapiari ene kumesa =mai   =kana   =ari[250]
   believe 2SG say   =INACT.NOMZ =PL.MS =LOC.DIFF

   CLOSE: 'My master Jesus Christ, true God, true man, I truly believe in you and the things you say.'
   TARGET: 'My Lord Jesus Christ, true God, true man, I truly believe in you and your words.'

---

[249]See footnote 192.

[250]The appearance of diffuse locative =*ari* would be ungrammatical in the corresponding modern Omagua sentence as the object of *sapiari* 'obey, believe' requires no oblique-licensing postposition. We suspect that the appearance of the diffuse locative is the result of a calque on the Spanish *creer en* 'believe in'.

[251]See footnote 194.

(7.2)   a. *Enesemai tasaschita upacatu mara encana ucuataraschi.*

          b. Enesemai tasaschita upacatu maraencana ucuataraschi.

          c. enesemai tasaʃita upakatu maɾainkana ukuataɾaʃi.

ene	=semai	ta=	saʃita	upa	=katu	maɾain	=kana	ukuata	=ɾaʃi[252]
2SG	=VERID	1SG.MS=	love	all	=INTSF	thing	=PL.MS	pass.by	=NASS

CLOSE: 'I truly love you, even though all things may pass by.'
TARGET: 'I truly love you, even though anything may happen.'

(7.3)   a. *Ene era Dios taschitaraschi, Epuepe maitata topa toaquase araschi veranu, taya me muea upacatu ta huchacana pupe tayo muerata y cua ene era Dios.*

          b. Ene era Dios taschitaraschi, Epuepemai tata topa toaquasearaschi veranu, tayamemuea upacatu tahuchacanapupe tayomuerataycua ene era Dios.

          c. ene eɾa dios ta[sa]ʃitaɾaʃi, ɨpɨpemai tata tupa taakɨsɨaɾaʃi weɾanu, tayamɨmɨa upakatu tautʃakanapupe tayumɨɾataikua ene eɾa dios.

ene	eɾa	dios	ta=	saʃita	=ɾaʃi	ɨpɨpe	=mai	tata	tupa	ta=
2SG	good	God	1SG.MS=	love	=NASS	be.inside	=INACT.NOMZ	fire	place	1SG.MS=

akɨsɨa[253]	=ɾaʃi	weɾanu	ta=	yamɨmɨa	upa	=katu	ta=	utʃa	=kana
fear	=NASS	COORD	1SG.MS=	grieve	all	=INTSF	1SG.MS=	sin	=PL.MS

=pupe	ta=	yumɨra	-ta	=ikua	ene	eɾa	dios
=INSTR	1SG.MS=	get.angry	-CAUS	=REAS	2SG	good	God

CLOSE: 'Loving you good God, and fearing the inner fire place, I grieve because I have angered you good God, with all of my sins.'
TARGET: 'Loving you good God, and fearing Hell, I grieve because I have angered you, good God, with all of my sins.'

(7.4)   a. *Ene yumaya huresrachita, ro ayahuere taya muerata ari Ene.*

          b. Ene yumayahuresrachi ta, roaya huere tayamuerataari Ene.

          c. ene yumiawɨraɾaʃi ta, ɾoaya [uya]wɨrɨ[254] tayumɨrataɾi ene.

ene	yumiawɨra	=ɾaʃi	ta	ɾoaya	uyawɨrɨ	ta=	yumɨra	-ta	=ari	ene
2SG	help	=NASS	1SG.MS	NEG	again	1SG.MS=	get.angry	-CAUS	=IMPF	2SG

CLOSE: 'If you help me, I will not anger you again.'

(7.5)   a. *Upaita huchacana era ta confefsa yara ari: huchacana sepue Patiri.*

          b. Upai tahuchacana era taconfefsa yaraari. huchacanasepue Patiri [huanacarimai ta amuya-sucatari].[255]

---

[252]Note that the argument structure of *ukuata* 'pass by' is reversed in comparison to (6.35a) (see footnote 246).

[253]The modern Omagua reflex of this form is *aksɨa*. Our transliteration of <aquasea> as *akɨsɨa*, in particular the transliteration of the word-medial <a> as *ɨ*, is based on two sources: 1) Espinosa Pérez (1935:163, emphasis ours) transcribes <raquesea>, which suggests that the medial vowel in question was *ɨ*, and not *a*; 2) The Kokama-Kokamilla cognate is *akɨtʃa*, which exhibits *ɨ* in the second syllable, as well as the Kokama-Kokamilla reduction of *ɨa* to *a*, a process which occurred in final position in words of three syllables or more (O'Hagan and Wauters 2012).

[254]Our insertion of *uya* here makes the sentence comprehensible, and also follows Espinosa Perez's (1935:164) transliteration of this portion of the catechism: <roaya huyahuere>.

c. upai tautʃakana eɾa taconfesayaɾaɾi. utʃakanasepɨ patiɾi wanakaɾimai ta amuyasukataɾi.

upai	ta=	utʃa	=kana	eɾa	ta=	confesa	=yaɾa	=aɾi
every	1SG.MS=	sin	=PL.MS	good	1SG.MS=	confess	=POSS.NOMZ	=IMPF

utʃa	=kana	=sepɨ	patiɾi	wanakaɾi	=mai	ta=	amuyasukata	=aɾi
sin	=PL.MS	=REAS	priest	order.about	=INACT.NOMZ	1SG.MS=	observe	=IMPF

CLOSE: 'I will confess every sin well. Because of my sins I will observe what the priest orders.'

TARGET: 'I will properly confess every sin. Because of my sins I will observe the priest's instructions.'

(7.6) a. *Ta Papa Jesu Cto., Cruz ariencumanu yena, tenepeta ta, ta huchacana, erusuta. Euatemairritama cate. Amén. JHS*

b. TaPapa Jesu Cto., Cruzari enc umanu yena, tenepeta ta tahuchacana, erusu ta Euatemai rritamacate.

c. tapapa jesucristo, cruzari ene umanuikua, tenepeta taa tautʃakana. eɾusu taa ɨwatimai ɾitamakate.

ta=	papa	jesucristo	cruz	=aɾi	ene	umanu	=ikua	tenepeta	taa
1SG.MS=	father	Jesus.Christ	cross	=LOC.DIFF	2SG	die	=REAS	forgive	1SG.MS

ta=	utʃa	=kana[256]
1SG.MS=	sin	=PL.MS

eɾusu	taa	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate
take	1SG.MS	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL

CLOSE: 'My Father Jesus Christ, because you died on the cross, forgive me my sins. Take me to Heaven.'

---

[255]The text in brackets does not appear in either Uriarte ([1776]1952a) or Uriarte ([1776]1986), but only in Espinosa Pérez (1935:164). Although it is enclosed in parentheses in the latter work (which likely reflects that it was enclosed in parentheses in the original manuscript), it must be included for the clause following the colon to be grammatical.

[256]See footnote 136.

Chapter 8

Omagua Passages in Uriarte's Diaries

In this chapter we present and analyze all of the Omagua utterances that Manuel Uriarte included in his diaries, which were published as Uriarte ([1776]1952b,6) and Uriarte ([1776]1986). We include these utterances as part of this larger work for two reasons. First, they are examples of mid-18th-century Omagua, and as such, help us to understand how Omagua differed at this point in time from modern Omagua. Second, unlike the ecclesiastical texts published with his diaries, there is no question regarding the authorship of the Omagua utterances found in Uriarte's diaries themselves, which helps us judge Uriarte's command of Omagua. This in turn allows us to better evaluate the likelihood of Uriarte playing a major role in the authoring of one or more of the ecclesiastical texts discussed in previous chapters.

We now briefly summarize what we know and can guess about these diaries. Manuel Uriarte kept a diary throughout his eighteen-year stay in Maynas, and up to the Jesuit expulsion. By this point his diaries had reached two large volumes, together with a set of ecclesiastical documents (Sp. *papeles espirituales*), linguistic notes (Sp. *apuntes de lenguas*) and conversations (Sp. *pláticas*). Fearing he would not be allowed to take his personal papers back with him to Europe at the time of the expulsion, Uriarte spent the months leading up to the arrival in Maynas of the new secular head of the missions, Manuel Mariano Echeverría, reducing his diaries to a *compendio* that he could take along with his other papers in a small chest. Immediately preceding his departure from San Regis (located on the Marañón River), his final missionary posting, Uriarte sent his original diaries to Echeverría, who had established himself in Lagunas, on the Huallaga River. Bayle writes the following with regard to the fate of his original diaries:[257]

> Los tomos los envió al Sr. Echeverría, Superior de los Curas, «suplicándole los guardase o quemase, si corrían peligro»; en caso contrario que los remitiese a su familia. Desde Rávena (13 de enero de 1776) escribe a su hermano Agustín: «Don Manuel Mariano, Prevendado [sic] quitense (y a falta suya Dn. Marcos o Dn. José Bazabe nro. Comisario) le darán las Memorias o Diarios que le dejé allá encargados en dos tomos.»
> (Bayle [1952]1986:48)[258]

---

[257]See Uriarte ([1776]1986:523) for the original account of these events.
[258]Translation (ours):

> The volumes he sent to Sr. Echeverría, Father Superior, "begging that he keep them or burn them if they were in danger"; if not, that he remit them to his family. From Ravenna (13 January 1776) he writes to his brother Agustín: "To Don Manuel Mariano, Prebendary of Quito (and in his absence Dn. Marcos or Dn. José Bazabe, his deputies), will they give the Memorias or Diarios that I left in their care in two volumes".

When Uriarte and his Jesuit companions arrived at the Portuguese-controlled settlement of São Paulo de Olivença in Amazonas, Brazil,[259] the Jesuit Superior, Francisco Javier Aguilar (b. 1720 Montilla, Spain – d. 1789 Rimini, Italy) (Jouanen 1943:723), demanded that they burn all of their papers.[260] Uriarte made a final attempt to hand off his *compendio*, now the only record of his diaries in his possession, to José Basave, special commissioner appointed to oversee the Jesuit exodus. The fates of the *compendio* and the original version of the diaries that Uriarte sent to Echeverría remains unknown.

Uriarte is reported to have rewritten his diaries upon his arrival in Italy, beginning in December 1771 and finishing in early 1776 (Espinosa Pérez 1955:428). The level of detail throughout the diaries (e.g., names, exact dates, etc.) is impressive, especially if Uriarte actually worked entirely from memory, as is reported. In fact, the level of detail leads us to suspect that Uriarte was indeed able to smuggle some set of papers relating to his diaries out of the New World, although Uriarte does not specifically mention any such surviving papers.[261]

The Omagua passages found in Uriarte's diaries on the whole demonstrate a relatively strong control of Omagua grammar, although we have annotated them at points where the Omagua is either ungrammatical or exhibits the effects of calquing from Spanish. For some passages, Uriarte provides an in-text translation into Spanish, which is also given here. The English translations provided are our own. We contextualize each example to aid in their interpretations, and the Omagua passages are separated into sections according to the part and section number in which they are located in the original manuscript on which the published versions are based.

8.1   Part II, Section 71

In May 1756 a group of Portuguese soldiers, having deserted a military camp (Sp. *real*) on the Rio Negro, arrived at San Joaquín seeking rest, shelter and food.[262] Uriarte accepted them, but insisted that, along with being well-mannered residents of the community, they must participate actively in the church.

The soldiers acceded, and Uriarte remarks that a lay Omagua church official (Sp. *fiscal mayor*), with the surname Maiquitari, used to shout out the utterance given in (8.1) whenever a Portuguese soldier was late for Sunday church activities or a fiesta.[263]

(8.1)   a.   *¡Carayoa, María Chicucati!*

      b.   ¡Carayoa, MaríaChicucati!

      c.   kaɾayoa, maɾiaʃiɾukate!

         kaɾayoa[264]   maɾiaʃiɾu =kate

         Portuguese church   =ALL

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[259]See Ferrer Benimeli (2000, 2001) for a review of the Jesuits' route, and Espinosa Pérez (1955:427-428) for a summary.

[260]See Uriarte ([1776]1986:535-536) for the original narration of these events.

[261] Uriarte ([1776]1986:239) does report, however, that he was able to hide a Tikuna ecclesiastical text in a book and subsequently smuggle it to Italy. We assume that the Tikuna ecclesiastical texts that are included in his published diaries (Uriarte [1776]1986:618-621) derive from this text. Furthermore, two Austrian Jesuits, Franz Xavier Plindendorfer (b. 1726 Wegscheid) (Jouanen 1943:742) and Franz Xavier Veigl, are reported to have sequestered some subset of their personal papers in their pillow sacks (Uriarte [1776]1986:536), suggesting that other Jesuits may have at least been able to do the same.

[262]See Uriarte ([1776]1986:241-245) for a more detailed account of these events.

[263]The utterances are presented in the same multilinear format found in the preceding chapters and outlined in §3.1.

'Portuguese, to the church!'
ORIGINAL: *'¡Portugués, a la iglesia!'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:243)

8.2   Part II, Section 82

In August 1757, Uriarte is summoned to a house in San Joaquín where a young Omagua man named Manuel has hanged himself. Uriarte, who does not initially suspect suicide, is struck by a comment made by the young man's grieving mother: "'Se habría acordado que otros hartos parientes se mataban en el monte'" (Uriarte [1776]1986:253).[265] To get to the bottom of the matter, Uriarte asks the question in (8.2a). The mother responds in (8.2b). In the end Uriarte denounces the suicide, indicating to the family that the man will not be buried in the church, and that they may throw his body in the river.

(8.2)   a.   i.   *Aiquara gue ca agua rati-ti ayucarann?*

        ii.   Aiquara gueca agua ratiti ayuca rann?

        iii.   aikiaɾa wɨka awa ɾatiti ayuka ɾanu?

aikiaɾa	wɨka[266]	awa	ɾa=	titi	ayuka	ɾanu[267]
DEM.PROX.MS	be.strong	person	3SG.MS=	be.alone	kill[268]	3PL.MS

        'Did this strong man kill himself?'

  b.   i.   *Roaya amua pua zui nunanuzenom.*

        ii.   Roaya amua puazui nunanuzenom.

        iii.   ɾoaya amua puasui ɾ[a]umanusenuni.

ɾoaya	amua	pua	=sui	ɾa=[269]	umanu	=senuni
NEG	other	hand	=ABL	3SG.MS=	die	=PURP

        'So that he wouldn't die from another hand.'
        (Uriarte [1776]1986:253)

The Omagua in (8.2) exhibits a number of grammatical inconsistencies, and unfortunately, the in-text translation that appears following each of these two passages does not appear to be

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[264]This word appears to have been adopted by several distinct linguistic groups by the middle of the 18th century as an ethnonym for the Portuguese, and is also attested in a mid-18th-century grammar of Secoya (a Tukanoan language) (see Cipolletti (1992:191)). Uriarte comments, with regard to this form, "los blancos *carayoas* (así entienden, portugueses)" (Uriarte [1776]1986:242). The modern Omagua term for a white man is *mai.*

[265]Translation (ours): "'He must have remembered that so many other relatives killed each other in the forest'."

[266]Based on Omagua and the other ecclesiastical text we would expect the stative verb *wɨka* 'be strong' to be nominalized with =*mai* here, as stative verbs must be nominalized in order to function as nominal modifiers.

[267]See footnote 162.

[268]In modern Omagua, *ayuka* means 'hit', though it is clear from cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *ayuka meant 'kill'. Synchronically, 'kill' is *umanuta* (i.e., *umanu* 'die' and -*ta* CAUS).

[269]Here we change <n> to ɾ and insert *a.* Our alteration is motivated by the deduction that the subject must be third person, since we assume it to be coreferential with the subject of the preceding sentence (see main body discussion). The lack of a final vowel in ɾa= in the original text is presumably due to an instance of heteromorphemic vowel hiatus resolution (a trait of fast speech), which is unusual in the ecclesiastical texts (see footnote 129).

Uriarte's own, and as such we do not make use of it here.[270] Perhaps the greatest problems involve the reflexive construction *ɾatiti ayuka ɾanu* (presumably 'he killed himself'). This utterance would not be grammatical in modern Omagua, with *titi* 'be alone' in clause-initial position, although it is grammatical when *titi* follows the entire verb phrase, as in (8.3). Likewise the syntactic role of the 3PL.MS pronoun *ɾanu* is unclear, given that the reflexive verb should not take an object argument.

(8.3) awitaku las once yini, nani takumɪsa titikatu.

awi	=taku	las once	yini	nani	ta=	kumɪsa	titi	=katu
already	=DUB	eleven o'clock	1PL.INCL	QUOT	1SG.MS=	say	be.alone	=INTSF

"'It's already eleven o'clock', I said to myself."
(MCT:C1.S5)

The use of ablative =*sui* in (8.2b) is clearly a calque based on the Spanish *de otra mano* 'by another hand', as =*sui* otherwise only indicates motion away from some relevant reference point, and not an instrumental role. Lastly, the response in (8.2b) suggests that the question in (8.2a) should begin with a reason interrogative pronoun, but it does not.

8.3   Part II, Section 105

In the latter part of 1759, Uriarte and the residents of San Joaquín repeatedly came into conflict with the local secular governor (see Uriarte ([1776]1986:269-275)), who eventually threw an Omagua man named Pantaleón in the stocks. Uriarte then reports a relative of Pantaleón as having uttered the sentence in (8.4). The *curaca*, Tadeo Gualinima, freed Pantaleón without informing either the governor or Uriarte, and the two fled with their extended families to the Ucayali. They returned in 1760, but in the interim the governor had, on Uriarte's recommendation, appointed Nicolás Zumiari[271] as the new *curaca*.

(8.4)   a. *Ayaize Tuisa, yane zeta ya napara. Enome yomuera Patiri. roaya epecatarasi Pantaleón, upaicana usuari cauacati.*

b. Ayaize Tuisa, yanezeta yanapara. Enome yomuera Patiri. roaya epecatarasi Pantaleón, upaicana usuari cauacati.

c. ayaise tuisa, yeneseta yawapaɾa. ename yumɨɾa patiɾi. ɾoaya epekataɾaʃi pantaleón, upaikana usuaɾi kawakate.

ayaise	tuisa[272]	yene=	seta	yawapaɾa[273]
wicked	chief	1PL.INCL=	want	flee

ename	yumɨɾa	patiɾi
PROH	get.angry	priest[274]

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[270]The translation appears to have been inserted by Bayle himself, as it is identical to a translation provided in a footnote on the same page that comes from Lucas Espinosa, and more closely resembles an interlinear gloss than a free translation, which Uriarte's own translations clearly are. In line with our own discussion of the grammatical inconsistencies of this passage, Espinosa himself comments on this passage in the following way: "Noto alguna diferencia en la estructura de las palabras comparando con el modo de expresión que emplean actualmente los omaguas, pero son perfectamente inteligibles las frases" [Translation (ours): "I notice some difference in the structure of the words when comparing them with the mode of expression that the Omagua employ currently, but the phrases are perfectly intelligible"] (Uriarte [1776]1986:253).

[271]The surname also appears spelled as <Zamiari> in Uriarte's diaries.

ɾoaya epeka[275] -ta   =ɾaʃi pantaleón upai =kana usu =aɾi   kawa =kate
NEG   be.open -CAUS =NASS Pantaleón every =PL.MS go   =IMPF forest =ALL

'The governor is wicked, we want to flee. Don't get angry, Father. If he doesn't free Pantaleón, everyone will go to the forest.'
ORIGINAL: *'Éste es un mal gobernador; nosotros queremos huir; si no lo suelta del cepo todos iremos al monte.'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:273)

8.4   Part III, Section 13

During the Spanish invasion of Portugal in the latter half of 1762 (part of the events of the Seven Years' War), the residents of San Joaquín feared reprisals from Portuguese soldiers in the western portion of Brazil.[276] Word reached Uriarte via José Bahamonde (b. 1710 Quito – d. 1786 Ravenna) (Jouanen 1943:726), resident priest at Pebas, located nearer the Brazilian border, that a garrison of 40 Portuguese soldiers was in fact stationed further east at *Tauatini* (modern-day Tabatinga).[277] In these tense circumstances, an indigenous man named Simón Nicanor came to Uriarte with the news that he heard a tremendous noise while fishing in the *quebrada de Mayorunas* (location unknown), which Nicanor attributed to the soldiers' drums. This rumor spread through San Joaquín, and many residents fled into the forest to escape a possible assault. During their absence, those Omagua that remained in the community snuck into the homes abandoned by those who fled and filled them with shells of *charapas* and *taricayas* (two turtle species).[278] Uriarte reports that when the residents eventually returned, the Omaguas who played the prank laughed, uttering (8.5).

(8.5)   a. *Tariqueja; yaua para suri.*

b. Tariqueja; yauaparasuri.

c. taɾikaya, yawapaɾasuɾi.

taɾikaya[279] yawapaɾa -suɾi
turtle.sp.   flee   -SUBJ.NOMZ

'*Taricaya*, fleeing person (i.e., coward).'
(Uriarte [1776]1986:315)

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[272]The word *tuisa* is not attested in modern Omagua, but it has clear cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní langauges, e.g., Tupinambá *uβiʃaβ* 'chief' (Lemos Barbosa 1951:155)), based on which we give it the same gloss here, although it clearly denotes the governor.

[273]In modern Omagua, this form has reduced to *yaupaɾa*. This same reduction pattern has occurred with all words beginning with the sequence *yawa*, when the second syllable appears in unstressed position preceding a stop (e.g., *yawakaɾa 'menstruate' > *yaukaɾa*).

[274]In Uriarte's Omagua passages, *patiɾi* appears in both vocative and non-vocative contexts. In modern Omagua, Spanish *padre* has replaced the vocative function of *patiɾi*, and the latter is only attested in non-vocative contexts. In the following examples we gloss *patiɾi* as 'priest' but translate late it as a vocative where appropriate.

[275]In modern Omagua overt verbal subjects are obligatory, but no subject appears before *epekata* 'open' here. Note that otherwise, the same subject requirement appears to hold for Old Omagua.

[276]See Uriarte ([1776]1986:312-316) for a more detailed account of these events.

[277]Note, incidentally, the use of the Omagua toponym *Tawatini* (from *tawa* 'clay' and *tini* 'be white') and not the later Nheengatú toponym *Tabatinga*.

[278]*Podocnemis expansa* (Arrau turtle) and *Podocnemis unifilis* (Yellow-spotted Amazon river turtle), respectively.

[279]We have chosen this transliteration of <tariqueja> based on the modern Omagua reflex *taɾikaya*. However, we recognize that there are significant leaps implicit in our decision that may not be faithful to the phonemic

(Uriarte [1776]1986:ibid.) goes on to explain, stating: "Con que entendieron la frase y callaron: que querían decirles, que eran huidores, que corrían al monte lo mismo que las charapas al río".[280]

8.5   Part III, Section 28

In approximately June 1763,[281] Manuel Ezeguazo,[282] who was the elderly Omagua mayor (Sp. *alcalde*) of San Joaquín, died. Uriarte reports the following interaction near to his death:

> ...éste [Manuel Ezeguazo], que había sido de mucha autoridad entre los Omaguas, me dijo cerca de morir: "Padre, no te olvidarás de mi hijo Andrés (era de unos siete años); le darás algún cuchillo". Yo le respondí: "No sólo eso, sino lo criaré en casa, como mi hijo, si su madre quiere".[283]
> (Uriarte [1776]1986:329)

Uriarte reports that Manuel then uttered (8.6) to his wife.

(8.6)   a.   *Ename ucagrachupi Andrés; taumanu cápuaré,[284] erusu Padre ucacati.*

   b.   Ename ucagrachupi Andrés; taumanucápuaré, erusu Padre ucacati.

   c.   ename ukaɨrasupe Andrés. taumanu[sa]kapɨrɨ,[285] erusu padre ukakate.

ename	ukaɨra	=supe	Andrés
PROH	be.stingy	=APPL	Andrés

ta=	umanu	=sakapɨrɨ	erusu	padre	uka	=kate[286]
1SG.MS=	die	=TEMP.POST	take	father	house	=ALL

'Don't be stingy with Andrés.[287] After I die, take him to the Father's house.'
ORIGINAL: *'No lo mezquines, llévalo, muerto yo, a casa del Padre.'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:329)

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representation of this word in the Jesuit period. For example, although <e> is elsewhere in these texts confused with /a/, the fact that it follows <qu> leads us to believe that it is really <e> in the manuscript (otherwise <qu> should be <c>, given standard Spanish orthographic conventions).

[280]Translation (ours): "With which they understood the phrase and quieted down: that they meant to say to them that they were cowards, that they ran to the forest the same as a *charapa* [turtle sp.] to the river.")

[281]Uriarte ([1776]1986:329) places the date near to the celebration of Corpus Christi, a Catholic holiday that takes place 60 days after Easter, which in 1763 fell on April 3.

[282]This surname is also spelt <Eceguazu> (Uriarte [1776]1986:232), and corresponds to the Omagua word *isɨwasu* 'deer'.

[283]Translation (ours): 'This [man], who had a lot og authority among the Omagua, told me close to his death: "Father, you won't forget my son Andrés (he was about seven years old); you'll give him a knife or something". I responded to him: "Not just that, but I'll raise him in my home as my own son, if his mother is willing".'

[284]Note that accent marks are not found in the Lord's Prayer or catechism fragment, and only once in the full catechism (see (6.22a)). Their inclusion here is interesting, but difficult to interpret because of their sporadic appearance.

[285]The insertion of *sa* is supported by Espinosa's representation of the manuscript (see footnote 288). It is unclear, however, if Bayle accidentally omitted this sequence sequence of letters in his own representation of the manuscript, or if Espinosa Pérez inserted it without comment in order to make the utterance intelligible.

[286]Note that, unlike the Lord's Prayer and full catechism, in which =*kate* is always rendered orthographically as <cate>, Uriarte consistently writes it as <cati> in the passages throughout this chapter. The only other attestation of the representation <cati> is in the catechism fragment, in which it occurs once (with <cate> elsewhere). This distribution in orthographic representation is similar to that of *maɾai* 'thing' (see footnote 144), although in the latter case a single orthographic representation (<marai>) is found throughout the catechism fragment.

[287]That is, she is not to be so protective of and/or possessive over her son as to prevent Uriarte from caring for him.

The above example is the only attestation in the ecclesiastical texts of the applicative function of =*supe*, which elsewhere functions as a postposition that attaches to nouns and licenses oblique arguments denoting a goal. It is not attested synchronically. However, an applicative -*tsupe* has been described for Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010a:380-382), and we assume it to be reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama (see §2.2.3.2.2).[288] With regard to its form, note that Uriarte writes <chupi>, with an initial unexpected affricate.[289] We assume this to be an idiosyncratic orthographic representation, and not evidence for the alternative hypothesis that the applicative and oblique-licensing postposition reconstruct to distinct morphemes in Proto-Omagua-Kokama.

8.6   Part III, Section 50

At the beginning of 1764, when Uriarte was about to end his seven-year period as the missionary among the Omagua in San Joaquín, he attempted to hand over a set of wax tablets to the incoming priest, on which were recorded the debts owed by community residents to the mission for borrowing tools to carry out various tasks. However, the incoming priest, apparently overwhelmed at the thought of remaining alone in San Joaquín, refused responsibility for the tablets, telling Uriarte that he should turn them over to a secular official named Ponce. Uriarte refused, and instead pardoned all of the residents' debts.

The Omaguas of San Joaquín were apparently unsatisfied with this turn of events, since they subsequently complained to Ponce that they did not receive payment for wax that they had collected. One infers that Uriarte took the cancellation of their debts to the mission as having relieved him of the obligation to pay them, but that the Omaguas understood the situation differently, as evident from the utterance in (8.7), which was relayed to him via Ponce.

(8.7)   a.   *Visanipura tenepeta mura: roaya yene zagauite marai, Mapa zupe Patiri zui.*

   b.   Visanipura tenepeta mura: roaya yenezagauite marai, Mapazupe Patirizui.

   c.   wiʃanipura tenepeta mura. ɾoaya yenesawaiti maɾai mapasupe patiɾisui.

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[288]Espinosa appears to agree with the interpretation of =*supe* as an applicative. The following passage contains his initials and appears as footnote (12) in Uriarte ([1776]1986:329).

A la letra: No mezquinar para Andrés; yo muerto después llevar Padre casa a (Enane ucacra chupi andres ta-umanu zacapuare, erusu Padre uca cati). *No para mezquinar a Andrés*, expresión enfática equivalente a éstas: *No has de mezquinar, no mezquines a Andrés. Mezquinar:* modismo regional equivalente a *escatimar*. Traducción completa: No escatimes a Andrés; yo, después que muera, (lo) llevarás a casa del Padre.

Translation (ours):

Literally: Not be stingy for Andrés; I dead after take Father house to (Enane ucacra chupi andres ta-umanu zacapuare, erusu Padre uca cati). *Not to be stingy with Andrés*, an emphatic expression equivalent to the following: *You must not be stingy with, don't be stingy with Andrés. Mezquinar*, a regionalism equivalent to *escatimar*. The complete translation: Don't skimp with Andrés; after I die, take (him) to the house of the Father.

Note that Espinosa's representation of this section of the manuscript (included parenthetically in the quote above) differs from Bayle's. Both contain features that are divergent from the proper phonemic representation of the Omagua, such that it is impossible to know which more faithfully reflects the manuscript. However, we should note that, in general, Espinosa appears to have taken more liberty in his transcription of the manuscript, presumably because of his own personal knowledge of Omagua.

[289]Additionally, note that, although the final vowel <i> appears to follow Uriarte's typical pattern of representing Old Omagua final /e/ as <i>, he in fact represents the final vowel of this morpheme as <e> in (8.7).

wiʃani   =puɾa tenepeta[290] muɾa
be.dishonest =FOC forgive   3SG.MS

ɾoaya yene=   sawaiti[291] maɾai[292] mapa   =supe[293] patiɾi =sui
NEG 1PL.INCL= receive   thing   honeycomb =GOAL   priest =ABL

'[He] forgave it [our debt] disingenuously.[294] We didn't receive anything from the priest for [the collection of] the wax.'
ORIGINAL: *'De chanza diría el Padre que nos perdonaba las deudas; nada nos dió para buscar cera.'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:348)

8.7   Part IV, Section 16

In the beginning of 1765, Uriarte was ordered to relocate from Santa Bárbara de Iquitos (on the upper Nanay River) to San Joaquín de Omaguas while Franz Veigl, then Superior, was away. Upon Uriarte's departure for Santa Bárbara in September, an Omagua resident at San Joaquín reportedly uttered (8.8).

(8.8)   a.   *Patiriquera uri uyauera.*

  b.   Patiriquera uri uyauera.

  c.   patirikɨɾa, uɾi uyawɨɾɨ.

      patiɾi =kɨɾa uɾi   uyawɨɾɨ
      priest =DIM come again

      'Come again, Father.'
      ORIGINAL: *'Padre Chiquito, vuelve otra vez.'*
      (Uriarte [1776]1986:414)

8.8   Part IV, Section 58

Uriarte attributes the utterance in (8.9) to a group of Omagua who hoped that Uriarte might provide them with tools during a visit he made to San Joaquín in the early months of 1767 (before April), from his residence at San Pablo de Napeanos.

(8.9)   a.   *ye ne Patiri quera; umeucu.*

  b.   yenePatiriquera; ume ucu.

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[290]Here *tenepeta* 'forgive' lacks a subject *ɾa=*, just as *epekata* does in (8.4).

[291]Note that we reverse <au> in our transliteration of <zagauite>, as we understand this to be the same form as *sawaiti* in the full catechism (see footnote 228). Interestingly, the orthographic representation of phonemic /w/ here involves <gu>, whereas in the full catechism this segment is represented as <hu> (see Table 3.1). This suggests that the manuscript of the full catechism was not written by Uriarte (see footnote 286 for other intertextual orthographic similarities).

[292]In modern Omagua, we would expect the negative indefinite pronoun *nimaɾi* 'nothing', rather than *maɾai* 'thing'. It is possible, of course, that the use of *nimaɾi* in such grammatical contexts results from Spanish influence (cf., *no nos dio nada* 'he didn't give us anything').

[293]See footnote 289.

[294]Here we translate *wiʃanipuɾa* as 'disingenuously' as a closest approximation to a frustrative. Note that neither Old or modern Omagua exhibit a morphological frustrative, but that *wiʃani* forms part of an adverbial frustrative in modern Omagua, *wiʃaniati* 'in vain'.

c. yenepatirikɨra, yume uku.

yene=   patiri =kɨra yume uku
1PL.INCL= priest =DIM give   needle

'Father, give us needles.'
ORIGINAL: *'Nuestro Padre Chiquito, danos agujas.'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:456-457)

8.9   Part IV, Sections 121-122

In October 1768, as Uriarte and his Jesuit companions were being escorted out of Maynas as part of the Jesuit expulsion, they spend several days in San Joaquín. Uriarte reports the following dialogue between him and the Omagua resident there at this time.

(8.10)   a. *Patiriquera usu?*

     b. Patiriquera usu?

     c. patirikɨra usu?

       patiri =kɨra usu
       priest =DIM go

       'Father, are you going?'[295]
       ORIGINAL: *'¿Ya te vas, padre chiquito?'*
       (Uriarte [1776]1986:527)

(8.11)   a.   i. *Patiri maraicua usu ene?*

         ii. Patiri maraicua usu ene?

         iii. patiri, maraikua usu ene?

            patiri maɾai =ikua   usu ene
            priest what =REAS go   2SG

            'Father, why are you going?'
            ORIGINAL: *'¿Por qué te vas, Padre?'*

     b.   i. *Dios aiquiara ceta.*

         ii. Dios aiquiara ceta.

         iii. dios aikiaɾa seta.

            dios aikiaɾa   seta
            God DEM.PROX.MS.PRO want

            '[Because] God wants it.'
            ORIGINAL: *'Porque Dios lo quiere.'*
            (Uriarte [1776]1986:527)

(8.12)   a. *Eraya usu, yene patiricana; Zani za-ni yereba; Dios yumuyauereepe.*

     b. Eraya usu, yenepatiricana; Zani za-ni yereba; Dios yumuyauere epe.

     c. eɾaya usu yenepatiɾikana. sani sani eɾewa. Dios yumiawɨra epe.

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[295]Although we translate this example with a vocative *patiri* (see footnote 274), the lack of a second-person subject *ne=* means that the translation would literally be 'Is the priest going?' However, we assume that our translation reflects the Omagua that Uriarte intended.

eɾaya usu yene=   patiri =kana
well   go   1PL.INCL= priest =PL.MS

sani sani eɾewa
soon soon return

Dios yumiawɨra epe
God help   2PL

'Go well, our Fathers. Return very soon. God help you.'
ORIGINAL: *'Andad con bien, nuestros Padres; dad presto la vuelta. Dios os ayude.'*
(Uriarte [1776]1986:528)

8.10   Isolated Lexical Items

In addition to the passages above, the following Omagua words appear in isolation, as in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Omagua Lexical Items in Uriarte ([1776]1986)

Orthography	Phonemic	Gloss	Page
egua ti	ɨwati	be high up	368
muzana	musana	cure (n.)	324, 330
zumi	sumi	dark shaman (Sp. *brujo*)	233, 319
chipate	[296]tʃipate	palm sp. (Sp. *yarina*)	112, 228

Although the word *sumi* has not arisen in current fieldwork on Omagua, Chantre y Herrera (1901:75) gives the form <zumi> for Old Omagua, and a cognate *tsumi* 'curandero' ('healer') is also attested in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos Yopán 2010c:46). Espinosa Pérez (1955:305) also gives the form <sumí> 'brujo' for Yameo, although the direction of borrowing is unclear.

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[296]In modern Omagua the initial affricate has lenided to a fricative (i.e., *ʃipatɨ*).

Chapter 9

Historical Context of Old Omagua Texts

The principal goals of this chapter are to clarify the role of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts in the missionary practices of the Jesuits who worked with the Omaguas, and to better understand the processes by which the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts were developed. We begin by situating the ecclesiastical texts within the broader language policy of the Maynas Jesuits, showing that these texts constituted a critical tool for evangelical work in the context of extreme linguistic diversity, and constant turnover in missionaries in particular mission sites. We also show that work on the development of ecclesiastical texts was grounded in significant basic linguistic work and were objects of continuous revision and elaboration in the context of a communal textual tradition. Turning to the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts themselves to better understand the textual practices involved in their development, we examine the Jesuit development of neologisms, use of calques, and by comparing the two catechistic texts, demonstrate that although the texts are quite similar in many respects, supporting the notion of a communal text tradition, they also show traces of different grammatical competencies in the Jesuits who contributed to their development, making it clear that different missionaries worked on them. Finally, we attempt to clarify to the degree possible who these contributors might have been.

We begin by presenting a brief overview of Jesuit interactions with the Omagua in §9.1.[297] In doing so we focus on the continuity (or lack thereof) of relations between the Jesuits and Omaguas, which becomes relevant to our discussion in §9.5 of the likely trajectory of text creation and revision the Old Omagua ecclesiastical text. We next present an overview of Jesuit language policy in Maynas in §9.2, focusing on the interplay between *lenguas generales* and *lenguas particulares*, the development of descriptive linguistic resources in *lenguas particulares*, practical language learning and use of translators, and finally, the general use and development of ecclesiastical texts in Maynas. We then turn in §9.3 to a close examination of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts, first discussing how the creators of these texts made use of neologisms to express certain theological notions, and the degree to which the texts exhibit calquing on languages other than Omagua, which serves as a measure of the linguistic sophistication of those involved in developing the texts. In §9.4 we compare the two versions of the Omagua catechisms which give us insight into how the texts changed over time, and the ways in which the linguistic abilities of the missionaries involved varied. Finally, in §9.5 we present a discussion of which specific Jesuits may have been involved in the development of the texts, how those texts are related to each other and how they come down to us today.

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[297]See the discussion of early interactions between Omaguas and Europeans in Chapter 1 for contextualization.

9.1 Jesuit Interactions with the Omagua in Maynas

In this section we summarize the history of interaction between the Omagua and the Jesuit missionaries who worked with them,[298] with the goal of providing information relevant to contextualizing the textual practices which gave rise to the ecclesiastic texts analyzed in previous chapters.

Although there were sporadic efforts to missionize the Omaguas of the upper Napo region in the 1620s and 1630s (see Chapter 1), sustained interaction between Jesuits and Omaguas dates to the arrival of Samuel Fritz[299] (b. 1651 Trautenau, Bohemia[300] – d. 1725[301] Jeberos, Peru) in 1685.[302]When Fritz arrived in their territory, the Omagua inhabited the islands in the middle of the Amazon River, in a region stretching approximately from the confluence of the Amazon and Napo to the confluence of the Amazon and Juruá (Myers 1992:134). Fritz founded almost 40 mission settlements (Anonymous [1731]1922), the most important of which was San Joaquín de Omaguas, founded in the first years of Fritz's missionary activities, and then moved, by January 1689 (Anonymous [1731]1922:59), to the mouth of the Ampiyacu river, near the modern-day town of Pebas in the Peruvian Department of Loreto (Espinosa Pérez 1955:236).[303]

In the decade following Fritz's arrival, relations between Omaguas and Jesuits appear to have been amicable, and the Omagua communities experienced relative peace. By the 1690s, however, slave raids, originally launched intermittently from Pará (modern-day Belém, Brazil), became so intense and frequent that the downrivermost Omagua, as well as neighboring Yurimaguas and Aisuaris, fled to the comparative safety of the Jesuit mission settlements nearer the mouth of the Napo River, including San Joaquin de Omaguas. This influx of Omagua refugees coincided with the deterioration of the relationship between the Jesuits and the longer-term Omagua residents of the mission settlements.[304] By 1697, Omagua unhappiness with the Jesuits reached the point of open conflict, and Omaguas in several settlements rose up against the Jesuit missionary presence, under the leadership of the Omagua *cacique* (indigenous leader) Payoreva. At Fritz's behest, a small

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[298]Historical works focusing on interactions between Omaguas and Europeans in the early colonial period, and on what can be inferred about immediately pre-contact Omagua society include Jorna (1991); Myers (1992); Newsom (1996); Oberem (1967/1968); Porro (1981, 1983, 1994); Reeve (1993); Grohs (1974) and references therein. See also Chapter 1 for an overview of early population distributions and estimates of the total number of Omagua.

[299]Fritz detailed his early missionary activity among the Omagua in a set of personal diaries written between 1689 and 1723. Lengthy passages from these diaries were compiled and interspersed with commentary by an anonymous author in the time between Fritz's death and 1738, when they appear in the collection of texts that comprise Maroni ([1738]1988). They were first published in English in 1922 by George Edmundson, who located a Spanish copy of the diaries in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora in Portugal (Anonymous [1731]1922).

[300]We here adopt Jouanen's (1943:732) birth date and place, as his data generally appears reliable.

[301]There are discrepancies surrounding the date of Fritz's death (e.g., Edmundson (1922:31), de Velasco ([1789]1981:507). Although a thorough review of these claims (and those surrounding Fritz's birth) is outside the scope of this work, we side with Astrain (1925:414), Jouanen (1943:732) and Sierra (1944:161) in providing 1725. Astrain (ibid.) cites a tribute to Fritz in the *cartas anuas* of that year that appear to prove his claim without a doubt. For the narration of events surrounding Fritz's death, see Maroni ([1738]1988:370) (there are some significant errors in Edmundson's English translation of this passage).

[302]There are discrepancies in the dates given for Fritz's arrival among the Omagua (e.g., de Velasco ([1789]1981:501) and Edmundson (1922:5)). Fritz himself states that he began missionary activities among them in 1685 (Anonymous [1731]1922:130). Astrain (1920:615), citing a letter dated 10 December 1685 from Heinrich Richter, another Jesuit who arrived in Maynas in company with Fritz, claims Fritz's arrival in Maynas to have been 18 November 1685. Astrain (1920:615-616) cites another letter from Juan Lorenzo Lucero, then Jesuit Superior, dated 31 December 1685, in which Lucero describes the locations to which the recently arrived fathers had dispersed, indicating that Fritz has gone downriver to establish 10 mission settlements (Sp. *pueblos*) among the 31 communities (Sp. *pueblecitos*) in which the Omagua were then divided.

[303]For additional summaries of Fritz's missionary activities, see Jouanen (1943:397-410) and Sierra (1944:153-161).

[304]See Jouanen (1943:397-407) and Grohs (1974:76-78) for summaries of Omagua uprisings and displacement and Anonymous ([1731]1922:99-114) for details.

military force quelled the revolt, and Fritz subsequently instituted annual visits by secular military forces to intimidate the Omagua and stave off potential uprisings.

As Fritz's control over the mission settlements began to slip, two additional missionaries were placed among the Omagua, in 1698: Wenzel Breyer (b. 1662 Dub, Bohemia – d. 1729 Quito),[305] who joined Fritz in San Joaquín de Omaguas, and Franz Vidra (b. 1662 Szewitz, Bohemia – d. 1740 Santiago de la Laguna),[306] who took up residence in Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, an Omagua settlement downriver of San Joaquín de Omaguas. In 1701, the Omagua, led again by Payoreva and this time joined by Peba and Caumari groups (both Peba-Yaguan peoples),[307] set fire to the church and home of Franz Vidra in San Joaquín de Omaguas and abandoned the mission settlement there, subsequently fleeing to the downriver communities of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Pablo de Omaguas and Iviraté.

In 1704 Fritz succeeded Gaspar Vidal as Jesuit Superior (Anonymous ([1731]1922:114), Jouanen (1943:722)),[308] relocating to Santiago de la Laguna (modern-day Lagunas, Department of Loreto), on the Huallaga River.[309] He left responsibility for the Omagua missions to Giovanni Battista Sanna (b. 1666 Cagliari, Sardinia),[310] who had begun working among the Omagua in 1701 (Anonymous [1731]1922:108).

Portuguese slave raids continued against the Omagua, Yurimagua and Aisuari, and in response to this untenable situation, Sanna attempted to relocate those living in San Joaquin de Omaguas and nearby settlements to Yarapa, a settlement on the lower Ucayali River, where he hoped they would be safe. Just as this relocation was taking place, at some point between May and June 1710, however, the group was attacked by the Portuguese, resulting in the capture of Sanna and a group of Omaguas and the deaths of many others. With Sanna's capture, the last of the Jesuit missions among the Omagua was destroyed.[311]

By October 1712 the majority of the surviving Omaguas had regrouped on the lower Ucayali (ibid.:128), and in October 1715, Juan de Zaldarriaga was sent to form a new Jesuit mission settlement there. This effort to renew a Jesuit presence among the Omagua failed when de Zaldarriaga died in April 1716 (ibid.:130). Another effort was made in May 1719, when Luis Coronado was sent to the same area. Coronado relocated the Omaguas he found to a new settlement on the Amazon River, upriver of the mouth of the Nanay River, but died in March 1721, once again leaving the Omaguas without a resident priest (Maroni [1738]1988:365).[312]

It was not until July 1723, when two German Jesuits, Bernard Zurmühlen (b. 1687 Münster – d. 1735 Lagunas, Peru)[313] and Johannes Baptist Julian (b. 1690 Neumarkt – d. 1740 Latacunga,

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[305]Jouanen (1943:727); also known as Wenceslao Breyer.

[306]Jouanen (1943:748).

[307]See Rivet (1911) for classification and early linguistic data, Espinosa Pérez (1955), Payne (1985) and Powlison (1995) for more recent linguistic data and historical information, and Pena (2009) for a reconstruction and historical summary of the family.

[308]For the names and dates of tenure of all Superiors of the Maynas missions, see Jouanen (1943:722).

[309]Fritz was replaced as Superior by Gregorio Bobadilla (ibid.:129) in December 1712; and in January 1714 he began missionary work in Limpia Concepción de Jeberos (modern-day Jeberos, Department of Loreto), where he would live until his death in March 1725 (see footnote 299), effectively ending his direct involvement with Omagua communities.

[310]Jouanen (1943:745); also known as Juan Bautista Sanna.

[311]In October of 1710, a group of Omagua refugees arrived at the mission at Lagunas, telling Fritz that most of the downriver Omagua settlements were abandoned, and that some Omaguas were currently being held at Carmelite mission settlements in Portuguese territory. They also reported that Sanna had gone to Pará to speak to the Portuguese governor there, in an ultimately unsuccessful bid to stop the slave raids against the Omaguas (ibid.:127).

[312]Edmundson omits the year of Coronado's death in his English translation (Anonymous [1731]1922:130). Jouanen (1943:729) gives a death date of 2 March 1723.

[313]For Zurmühlen's birth, see Jouanen (1943:749); for his death, see de Zárate et al. ([1735]1904:339). He is also

Ecuador),[314] were sent to found a new mission settlement among the Omagua that a stable relationship between the Jesuits and surviving Omaguas was re-established (Anonymous [1731]1922:130). Zurmühlen remained with the Omagua until 1726, when he was appointed Superior and departed for Lagunas (it is unclear at what point Julian left),[315] and during this time, he moved the settlement approximately one half day's journey upriver, at the suggestions of the Omagua themselves,[316] into territory previously inhabited by the Yameo, a Peba-Yaguan group among which Zurmühlen had also carried out missionary work (de Zárate et al. ([1735]1904:299), de Zárate ([1739]1904:374), de Velasco ([1789]1981:509)).

Zurmühlen's tenure among the Omagua marked a period that lasted until the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 in which San Joaquín de Omaguas was not only stable, but became the principal center for missionary activity in the lowland regions of Maynas. The record of the missionaries present in San Joaquín between Zurmühlen's departure in 1726 and Iriarte's arrival in 1748 (see below) becomes somewhat unclear, however. It is clear that Karl Brentano (b. 1694 Komárom, Hungary – d. 1752 Genoa)[317] was resident there as early as March 1737 and as late as August 1738, during which time he made significant efforts to populate San Joaquín de Omaguas with additional Peba-Yaguan groups from the hinterlands of the Itaya river basin (Brentano had previously worked with the Peba-Yaguan Yameos in San Regis). De Velasco ([1789]1981:509) indicates that Ignatius Mickel (b. 1692 Häusling, Austria – d. 1780 Landsberg, Germany)[318] worked for 27 years among the Omagua, Payagua, Yameo and Jebero, but we have encountered no specific reference to him working in San Joaquín. Note that by 1738, Mickel was stationed at San Regis (Maroni [1738]1988:391), which appears to have regularly interchanged priests with San Joaquín,[319] making it likely that Mickel would have spent time in San Joaquín. The French explorer Charles Marie de la Condamine visited San Joaquín in July 1743, but does not mention the presence of a resident missionary (de la Condamine [1745]1813:225-228).

In 1748, Martín Iriarte (b. 1707 Galar, Spain – d. 1779 Ravenna)[320] began working in San Joaquín de Omaguas, departing in 1756 when he was appointed Superior (Uriarte [1776]1986:221). Upon Iriarte's appointment as Superior, Manuel Joaquín Uriarte (b. 1720 Zurbano, Spain – d. ~1802 Vitoria, Spain) was appointed Vice Superior and took up residence in San Joaquín, remaining there for the next seven years (Uriarte [1776]1986). Uriarte returned to his previous mission site of San Regis in early 1764 (Uriarte [1776]1986:347-348), at which time Josef Palme (b. 1733 Rumburg-Warnsdorf, Bohemia – d. 1770 Bologna)[321] became missionary at San Joaquín (ibid.), remaining there until 1768 (Uriarte [1776]1986:630), when the Jesuits were expelled from Maynas.

Table 9.1 summarizes in chronological order our knowledge of Jesuit missionaries who worked among the Omagua.

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known as Bernardo Zurmillen, with various inconsistencies in the spelling of the surname.

[314]Jouanen (1943:736); also known as Juan Bautista Julián.

[315]Zurmühlen was Superior until 1729, when he was succeeded by his former counterpart, Julian, who remained Superior until 1735 (Jouanen 1943:722). Zurmühlen carried on as missionary at Lagunas beginning in 1730, lasting until his death on 15 April 1735 (de Zárate et al. [1735]1904:294-295).

[316]See the 1731 letter from Pablo Maroni, then missionary among the Yameo, to Ángel María Manca (Maroni [1738]1988:379).

[317]Jouanen (1943:726)

[318]Jouanen (1943:738-739); also known as Ignacio Mickel.

[319]For example, Brentano himself had been missionary at San Regis as late as September 1734 (Maroni [1738]1988:391).

[320]Jouanen (1943:735)

[321]Jouanen (1943:741); also known as José Palme.

[322]In addition to the men listed here, the following men were brought from Quito to San Joaquín by Fritz in August 1707, and left to work with Sanna: Pierre Bollaert (b. 1675 Malines, Belgium – d. 1709 San Joaquín de Omaguas); Andrés Cobo (b. 1673 Popayán, Colombia – d. 1758 Quito); Matías Laso (b. 1676 Buga, Colombia – d. 1721 at

Table 9.1: Jesuit Missionaries Among the Omagua, 1621-1768

Name[322]	Origin	Period	Location[323]
Simón de Rojas	???	1621	Aguarico River
Humberto Coronado	???	1621	''
Samuel Fritz	Bohemia[324]	1685–1704	San Joaquín and downriver
Wenzel Breyer	Bohemia	1698–1706(?)[325]	''
Franz Vidra	Bohemia	1698–1701–?[326]	''
Giovanni Battista Sanna	Sardinia	1701–1710	''
Juan de Zaldarriaga	Spain	1715–1716	lower Ucayali
Luis Coronado	Spain	1719–1721	lower Ucayali & San Joaquín
Bernard Zurmühlen	Westphalia[327]	1723–1726	San Joaquín
Johannes Baptist Julian	Bavaria	1723–?	''
Wilhelm Grebmer	Baden	?–1735–?	Yurimaguas (Huallaga River)
Karl Brentan	Hungary	?–1737–?	San Joaquín
Ignatius Mickel	Austria	???	???
Martín Iriarte	Spain	1748–1756	San Joaquín
Manuel Joaquín Uriarte	Spain	1756–1764	''
Josef Palme	Bohemia	1764–1768	''

It is also important to note that not all the Omaguas on the Amazon River during who survived the Portuguese slave raids fled upriver towards San Joaquín de Omaguas during the period beginning in the 1690s. Significant numbers of Omagua remained in Portuguese territory, particularly in and around what is the now the Brazilian town of São Paulo de Olivença, where they came to be called called 'Kambebas'.[328] This town had originally been founded by Fritz in approximately 1693, and orginally named San Pablo de Omaguas (Anonymous [1731]1922:31, 91).[329] As late as 1987 speakers

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[322] sea); and Ignacio Servela (vital information unknown) (Jouanen 1943:726, 728, 736). We do not include them in this table because we have been unable to determine the nature or length of their missionary activities with the Omagua, though they appear to be minimal.

[323] Note that the name 'San Joaquín de Omaguas' refers to several distinct locations from 1689 forward. The San Joaquín of Fritz and Sanna's day was located near the mouth the Ampiyacu river; the San Joaquín established by Coronado was just above the mouth of the Nanay; and the San Joaquín established by Zurmühlen was approximately one half day's travel upriver of this site, and was located near to the modern community of San Salvador de Omaguas (Tessmann (1930:48), Myers (1992:140-141), O'Hagan (2012a)). Modern-day San Joaquín de Omaguas is yet further upriver, and appears to have been first established between 1862 and 1876 from a population of Omagua working under the rubber baron Sinforoso Collantes (O'Hagan 2012a).

[324] Note that Bohemia was at the time of Fritz's birth under the rule of the Habsburg monarchy, and corresponds to the majority of the modern-day Czech Republic.

[325] Wenzel Breyer was appointed Vice Superior in November 1706 when Fritz undertook his second journey to Quito (Anonymous [1731]1922:117), although it is unclear if he missionized in Omagua communities up to that time.

[326] The last mention of Vidra working in Omagua territory that we have located is upon Fritz's return from Quito in August 1701.

[327] For those missionaries of greater German descent, we provide the name of the independent Germanic margraviate (German *Markgrafschaft*), duchy (German *Herzogtum*) or electorate (German *Kurfürstentum*) extant over the area in and during the time at which they were born, given that Germany was not unified until 1871.

[328] See Jorna (1991), Bonin and Cruz da Silva (1999) and Maciel (2000, 2003) (and references therein) for a history of the Kambeba in this region.

[329] Loureiro (1978:95) erroneously gives 1689 as the founding date for San Pablo de Omaguas, but see Anonymous ([1731]1922:91) for a clear refutation of this.

of Kambeba lived as far downriver as Tefé (Grenand and Grenand 1997:5).[330]

9.2   Language and Evangelization in Maynas

Few factors shaped Jesuit missionary activities in the *Gobierno de Maynas* as much as its tremendous linguistic diversity. Even today, after almost five centuries of steady language shift, the Peruvian Department of Loreto is still home to some 23 languages, divided between nine language families and five linguistic isolates, in a region little larger than Germany ((Solís Fonseca 2002:140)). The following passage from 1699, drawn from a letter written to his brother by Wenzel Breyer, an occasional companion of Samuel Fritz, provides a vivid sketch of the linguistic situation in Maynas and the issues it posed for the Jesuit missionaries.

> Hay aquí tantos pueblos y tantas lenguas, que entre la ciudad de S. Francisco de Borja y el río Napo se encuentran hasta 60 de ellos; sin embargo, toda aquella región se puede atravesar en 200 horas de camino. Como cada pueblo tiene su propia lengua y un misionero no puede aprender sino una o dos de ellas, la evangelización necesariamente se atrasa. Si todos los indios no hablaran más que una lengua, hace tiempo que estos pueblos podrían haberse convertido al cristianismo.
> (Matthei (1969:252), excerpted in Downes (2008:70))[331]

The purpose of this section is to describe how the Jesuits responded and adapted to this linguistically complex state of affairs, and to situate the production of ecclesiastical texts in the Maynas Jesuits' use of indigenous languages in their evangelical efforts.

In the broadest terms, the Jesuits in Maynas pursued a two-pronged strategy in their evangelical work, where one prong involved the promotion of *lenguas generales*, especially Quechua, across diverse linguistic communities, and the second involved the simultaneous use of 'local languages' or *lenguas particulares* in a number of different ways in the relevant communities (see Solís Fonseca (2002:53-54) for a discussion of these terms). It is clear that a significant fraction of the Maynas Jesuits hoped that the promotion of Quechua as a *lengua general* would allow evangelical work to be carried out in a single linguistic framework across all the communities in which they worked and, not incidentally, free them of the obligation to master each local language. But it is equally clear that the adoption of Quechua by the Amazonian peoples with which the Maynas Jesuits worked was a slow and halting process at best, requiring evangelical activity to be carried out in the relevant *lenguas particulares*.

The Maynas Jesuits approached the challenge posed by the *lenguas particulares* with a number of interlocking strategies based either on developing competence in the *lengua particular* by

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[330]The downriver location of some Kambeba in Tefé may support Loureiro's (1978:95) hypothesis that Fritz's Omagua settlement of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Anonymous [1731]1922:91) corresponds to the modern Brazilian town of Fonte Boa. However, the Kambeba of the 20th century appear to have been extremely mobile (see additional work by Benedito Maciel here: `http://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/kambeba/`), and it is not clear whether the presence of Kambeba speakers in Tefé is a result of more recent migration.

[331]Translation (ours):

> Here there are so many villages and so many languages, that between the city of San Francisco de Borja and the Napo River one finds 60 of them; however, that entire region can be crossed in 200 hours of travel. As each village has its own language and a missionary can only learn but one or two of them, evangelization is consequently set back. If all the Indians were to speak one language, these villages would have been converted to Christianity a long time ago.

the missionary or on the use of resources that allowed missionaries to carry out work in *lenguas particulares* without having developed significant competence in the languages in question. These strategies included practical language learning, the preparation of descriptive linguistic materials, including grammars and dictionaries, the use of multilingual members of indigenous communities as translators, and the preparation of ecclesiastical texts in indigenous languages.

The development of relative fluency in local languages was an ideal, and there are numerous mentions in the Jesuit chronicles of missionaries known for their mastery of *lenguas particulares*. In the first phases of Jesuit involvement with a given ethnolinguistic group, such learning relied either on monolingual language learning (as was probably the case with Fritz when he first arrived in the Omagua communities) or on learning from individuals bilingual in the *lengua general* Quechua and the *lengua particular* of the community. This first wave of missionaries, however, put considerable effort into the development of descriptive resources concerning the languages with which they were becoming familiar, which were then employed by subsequent missionaries to speed their own learning of the relevant *lenguas particulares*. It is likely that most Jesuits made some use of translators, however, since even the most skilled language learner would have required time to develop fluency, and in many cases, the duration of assignments at particular mission sites was sufficiently brief that fluency was not a practical goal. The fact that many mission settlements were inhabited by more than one ethnolinguistic group compounded the challenge to practical learning, of course. In this context, ecclesiastical texts written in *lenguas particulares* served as crucial resources which accumulated hard-won linguistic knowledge and allowed relative continuity in evangelical activity despite the rather frequent rotation of individual missionaries in and out of particular missions. In particular, these texts allowed missionaries with modest ability in the *lenguas particular* of a given settlement to catechize its inhabitants and to perform prayers and masses without the need to constantly rely on translators. The production of ecclesiastical texts in local languages was, as we shall see, the fruit of extensive linguistic research, and a process of continuous tinkering.

9.2.1 *Lenguas generales* and *lenguas particulares* in Maynas

In this section we describe the Jesuit promotion of *lenguas generales* and the limits to the success of this linguistic policy, which left a considerable need for the development of linguistic and ecclesiastical resources in *lenguas particulares*.

The Jesuit promotion of *lenguas generales* focused on Quechua,[332] in which most, if not all, of the Jesuits in Maynas appear to have been conversant (Chantre y Herrera 1901:94).[333] The following passage, which follows Maroni's ([1738]1988:168-169) discussion of the challenges posed by the linguistic diversity in Maynas, clearly articulates the role of Quechua as a *lengua general* in the Jesuit project there:

> Por esto, nuestros misioneros, desde que se fundaron estas misiones, han tenido particular

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[332]It is not entirely clear what Quechuan variety (or varieties) were promoted by the Maynas Jesuits. Typically referred to as 'Inga', some sources indicate that the language is the same as that used in Cuzco. This is unlikely, however, both for geographical reasons (Cuzco Quechua was spoken quite distantly from Maynas) and because the surviving ecclesiastical texts prepared in 'Inga' by the Maynas Jesuits do not exhibit orthographic reflexes of the phonological features that distinguish Cuzco Quechua from more northerly varieties. The fact that many of the Jesuits learned 'Inga' in Quito suggests that one of the languages involved was a variety of Ecuadorean Quichua, while the fact that the center of gravity of the Maynas missions lay towards Huallaga and upper Marañon River basins suggests that San Martín Quechua would have played an important role.

[333]Other than Quechua, the other language which appears to have been promoted as a *lengua general* was Omagua itself. There is only a single mention of Omagua serving this role, however, and its use appears to have been limited to the Peba-Yaguan groups living close to San Joaquin de Omaguas during the latter decades of the Jesuit presence in Maynas (Maroni [1738]1988:168-169).

empeño para (sic) entroducir en las reducciones que se han ido entablando, el uso de la lengua del Inga, que es la general del Perú, la cual, según se habla en las provincias del Cuzco, es la más copiosa y expresiva de cuantas se usan en esta América meridional. Como hallaron ya principios desta lengua en la ciudad de Borja y provincia de los Maynas, donde iban introduciéndola los españoles que asistian en aquella conquista, no fué muy dificultoso el extenderla á otras reducciones que comunicaban con la de los Maynas.[334]

An important avenue for the promotion of Quechua was evidently the education of indigenous children in the *reducciones* and Spanish-controlled town, where the teaching of Christian doctrine and that of Quechua went hand-in-hand. Consider, for example, the following passage, which describes the founding, by Father Cujía, of boarding schools for young indigenous in the town of Borja:

> Y queriendo concurrir también á la reducción de los gentiles de un modo muy prove- chosos, y no menos eficaz que sus compañeros, ideó, promovió y estableció en la misma ciudad [i.e. Borja], dos casas en que se juntasen los niños y niñas de las naciones ami- gas que quisiesen enviar su hijos á Borja. Una casa era como seminario de jóvenes que aprendían la lengua general del Inga, la doctrina cristiana... La otra casa era como un hospicio de niñas recientemente bautizadas que, fuera de enterarse bien de la doctrina y de la lengua inga, aprendían de algunas señoras piadosas de la ciudad, que se ofrecieron á enseñarlas gustosas, los ejercicios propios del sexo...
> (Chantre y Herrera 1901:139)[335]

This practice was by no means restricted to Borja and nearby indigenous peoples (probably mainly Cahuapanan, Jivaroan, and Candoshian). Similar efforts were reported among the Tukanoan peoples of the Napo (ibid.: 391, 420), the Iquitos of the Nanay (ibid.: 489), and among the Peba-Yaguan peoples of the Ampiyacu area. With respect to the latter, Chantre y Herrera reports that Father José Casado was so successful in promoting Quechua in San Ignacio de los Pevas that the residents of the *reducción* began to use Quechua not only with outsiders, but among themselves:

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[334]Translation (ours):

> Because of this, our missionaries, from the moment these missions were founded, have undertaken to introduce into the *reducciones* that have been established the use of the Inca language [read Quechua], which is widespread in Peru, and which, according to what is spoken in the Province of Cuzco, is the most copious and expressive of so many [languages] used in South America. Given that they encountered the beginnings of this language in the city of Borja and the Province of Maynas, where those Spaniards involved in the conquest had been introducing it, it was not very difficult to extend it to other *reducciones* that communicated with the Maynas one.

[335]Translation (ours):

> And wanting to participate also in the conversion of the heathens in a very useful manner, and no less effective than his companions, conceived, sponsored, and founded in the same city [i.e. Borja], two houses in which they gathered together the boys and girls of the friendly peoples who wanted to send their children to Borja. One house was like a seminary for youngsters who learned the *lengua general* of the Inga and the Christian doctrine... The other house was like a lodging for recently baptized girls, who, apart from becoming well acquainted with the Christian doctrine and the Inga language, learned from a number of pious ladies of the city, who enthusiastically offered to teach them, the particular skills of their sex...

...él en persona les enseñaba la lengua general del Inga con tanto empeño y aplicación, que llegó á conseguir en poco tiempo que toda la gente moza se gobernase en aquella lengua, no sólo tocante al catecismo, pero aun en el trato de unos con otros. Daba gracias al cielo de haber conseguido este señalado triunfo en un pueblo donde la lengua del Inga facilitaba la instrucción, tan difícil hasta entonces por la variedad de lenguas de tantas naciones.

(ibid.: 472-473)[336]

The more general Jesuit reliance on Quechua is also suggested by Chantre y Herrera's (1901:637) description of the general conduct of masses in the Maynas missions as carried out 'en la lengua inga, ó en la particular de la nación', and the fact that when the Jesuits introduced Western musical traditions in the missions, the songs were composed in Quechua (ibid.: 651, 654).

The active promotion of Quechua by the Jesuits is also suggested by the observation by Paul Marcoy regarding a group of Kokamas that he encountered in 1847 a little upriver of São Paulo de Olivença, whom he remarked spoke Quechua 'which had been taught their grandfathers by the missionaries' (Marcoy 1873: vol. IV, 397) a clear reference to the Jesuits of the 18th century.

And of course, the role of Quechua as a *lengua general* entailed that learning of this indigenous language was a priority for all Maynas Jesuits. Guillaume D'Être (b. 1669 Douai, France – d. 1745 Quito),[337] for example, wrote regarding his early language learning:

Llegué a esta misión en el año 1706 y mi primer cuidado fue el de aprender la lengua del **Inga**, que es general de todas estas naciones.

(D'Être [1731]1942:31, emphasis in original)[338]

Despite efforts to promote Quechua as a *lengua general*, it does not appear that widespread bilingualism in Quechua was common in the communities in which the Jesuits were involved. Rather, as the following observation of D'Être's suggests, a relatively small number of bilingual individuals played a key mediating role.

Siendo la lengua común de los que habitan las dos riberas de este gran río, tiene, no obstante, cada pueblo su lengua particular, y solamente en cada nación se hallan algunos que entienden y hablan la lengua dominante.

(D'Être [1731]1942:31)[339]

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[336]Translation(ours):

...he personally taught them the *lengua general* of the Inga with such determination and effort that in short order he succeeded in having the common people [i.e. indigenous people] handle their affairs in that language, not only with respect to the catechism, but even in interactions between themselves. He gave thanks to heaven for this striking triumph in a settlement where the langauge of the Inga aided instruction, so difficult until then because of the variety of languages of so many peoples.

[337](Jouanen 1943:730)

[338]Translation (ours):

I arrived at this mission in the year 1706 and my first duty was to learn the Quechua language, which is widespread throughout all these nations.

[339]Translation (ours):

Even with the language being common to those who inhabit the two banks of this great river [presum-

There is ample evidence that Quechua served as the lingua franca in the Maynas missions, but that knowledge of Quechua was not sufficiently universal to supplant the need for evangelical work in local languages. Maroni ([1738]1988:169), for example, following his discussion of the promotion of Quechua as a *lengua general*, remarks:

> ...sin embargo desto [i.e. the promotion of Quechua as a *lengua general*], no hay reducción, por antiqua que sea, en que no se encuentren muchos, especialmente ancianos y mujeres, que ignoran del todo esta lengua, y así se ve precisado el misionero aprender (sic) la nativa dellos, siquiera para doctrinarlos y confesarlos.[340]

Even in San Joaquin de Omaguas, for example, we find that as late as 1756, Manuel Uriarte ((**?**:225Uriarte1986) clearly felt the need to become familiar not only with Omagua but also with Mayoruna (a Panoan language)[341] and Masamae (a Peba-Yaguan language closely related to Yameo).

The inadequacy of Quechua as a *lengua general* entailed that the Maynas Jesuits had to commit themselves learning *lenguas particulares.* Significantly, the Maynas Jesuits institutionalized this engagement with indigenous languages by encouraging the development of descriptive resources on these languages, so that knowledge of these languages could be preserved, thereby not requiring that each new missionary working with speakers of a given language begin from zero. The resulting Jesuit linguistic tradition in Maynas is the topic of the next section.

9.2.2 Jesuit Linguistics in Maynas

Detailed and broadly-gauged linguistic research comprised an important part of the work of the Maynas Jesuits, and was key to their ability to learn the indigenous languages of the region and prepare ecclesiastical texts in them. The products of this research included grammatical descriptions (*artes*) and dictionaries (*vocabularios*), whose development is described by Chantre y Herrera (1901:92) in the following terms:

> Al principio se contentaron los padres con hacer sus observaciones y advertencias gramaticales, llenando mucho pliegos de papel para sacar en limpio los números y las declinaciones más generales de los nombres. Lo mismo hicieron para rastrear y reducir á conjugaciones los verbos más usuales y señalar los tiempos. Poco á poco y á paso lento, sudando y remando llegaron á formar las gramáticas que estaban en uso, por las cuales se ve claramente el artificio de las lenguas. Porque distinguen nombres y pronombres, con sus números, géneros, declinaciones y casos. Tienen sus conjunciones, adverbios y posposiciones en vez de preposiciones, como se usa en la lengua vascongada, y vemos

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ably the Marañón], each village has, however, its own language, and in each nation one finds only a few who understand and speak the dominant language [i.e., Quechua].

[340]Translation (ours):

> ...despite this [i.e. the promotion of Quechua as a *lengua general*], there is no *reducción*, however old it may be, in which one does not encounter many, especially elders and women, who know nothing of this language, and it is thus necessary for the missionary to learn their native language, at least to catechize them and hear their confessions.

[341]See Fleck (2003:1-4) and (Fleck 2007:139-142) for a discussion of this ethnonym.

varias veces en la latina. Los verbos se conjugan de un modo regular y tienen sus tiempos: presente, pretérito y futuro. En suma, se observa una construcción cabal de la misma manera que observar se puede en otras lenguas cultas.[342]

Unfortunately, the vast majority of the linguistic work by the Maynas Jesuits is lost to us, so it is difficult to directly evaluate the quality or quantity of the work. Most of these works were destroyed by the Jesuits themselves upon their expulsion from Maynas (Uriarte [1776]1986:535-536) (see footnote 5), and although there are indications that some manuscripts survived, their location in archives in the Americas and Europe remains to be ascertained. Nevertheless, some sense of the output of this work is conveyed by Hervás y Panduro (1800:271-272):

> Me consta que entre dichos manuscritos eran excelentes los del P. Juan Lucero, que entró en las misiones el año 1661, y perfeccionó las gramáticas y los catecismos de muchas lenguas, y principalmente de los idiomas *paranapuro* [sic] y *cocamo* [sic]. Así mismo sé que el V.P. Enrique Riaer [sic],[343] que entró en las misiones el año 1685, escribió un vocabulario y catecismos de las lenguas *campa*, *pira*, *cuniva* y *comava*, que son difíciles, y también hizo observaciones sobre sus dialectos. Me consta también que el P. Samuel Fritz (que entró en las misiones el año 1687, y fue el primero, registró todo el Marañón y sus ríos colaterales, e hizo mapa del Marañón), escribió gramáticas y vocabularios de algunas lenguas, y principalmente de la *omagua* y *jebera*. El P. Bernardo Zumillen [sic], que entró en las misiones el año 1723, dejó excelentes manuscritos sobre algunas lenguas: el P. Matías Lazo, que entró en las misiones el año 1700, fue el primero que escribió la gramática de la lengua *jurimagua*: el P. Guillermo Grebinet [sic],[344] que entró en las misiones el año 1700, dejó muchos manuscritos sobre algunas lenguas, y principalmente sobre la *omagua* y la *cocama*. El P. Adam Widman, que entró en las misiones el año 1728, estuvo en ellas hasta el año de nuestra expulsión, y murió preso en Lisboa, perfeccionó las gramáticas de muchas lenguas, y sobre éstas dejó excelentes manuscritos.»[345]

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[342]Translation (ours):

At first the fathers contented themselves with making grammatical observations and warnings, filling many sheets of paper to lay out clearly the the number and most common declensions of the nouns. The did the same in tracing and reducing to conjugations the most common verbs, and indicating the tenses. Little by little, and by measured steps, sweating and laboring, they eventually developed the grammars that came into use, by which one could clearly see the structure [lit. *artificio*] of the languages, because they distinguish nouns and pronouns, adverbs, and postpositions, in place of prepositions, as are used in Basque, and we sometimes see in Latin. The verbs are conjugated in a regular manner and have their tenses: present, past, and future. In sum, one finds a sensible construction in the same way as one finds in other cultured languages.

[343]In the original Italian version, the surname is *Ricter* (Hervás y Panduro 1784:66).
[344]In the original Italian version, the surname is *Grebmer* (Hervás y Panduro 1784:66).
[345]Translation (ours):

I know that among these manuscripts were excellent those of Father Juan Lucero, who entered the missions in 1661, and perfected grammars and catechisms of many languages, principally the languages Paranapura [aka Shawi, Cahuapanan] and Kokama [Tupí-Guaraní]. Likewise I know that the V.P. Richter, who entered the missions in 1685, wrote a word list and catechism of Kampa [likely Ashéninka, Arawak], Piro [Arawak], Conibo [Panoan] and *comava* [?], which are very difficult, and also made observations regarding their dialects. I know as well that Father Samuel Fritz (who entered the missions in 1687, and was the first, recorded all of the Marañón and its tributaries, and made a map of the Marañón), wrote grammars and word lists of some languages, principally Omagua and Jebero [aka Shiwilu, Cahuapanan]. Father Bernard Zurmühlen, who entered the missions in 1723, left excellent

Chantre y Herrera (1901:93) similarly indicates that the Jesuits had created grammars and dictionaries for at least 20 languages in Maynas, including '...Omagua, which now has a grammar [lit. *arte*] and a large dictionary, and is one of the easiest to learn: sweet, soft, and harmonious' (ibid: 92).

The role of both the descriptive linguistic resources and ecclesiastical texts that were developed as part of the Jesuit linguistic project in Maynas is clear in Juan de Velasco's description, reported by Hervás y Panduro (1800:271-272, emphasis ours), of Jesuit linguistic policy in the *reino de Quito*, which encompassed Maynas:

> Sobre las gramáticas de las lenguas del reino de Quito, el señor Abate Velasco me escribe en estos términos: «Habiéndose hecho común por órden de los superiores seglares la lengua quichua en la misiones del reino de Quito, y siendo muchísmos y diversísimos los idiomas de las naciones quiteñas, **los misioneros formaban la gramática y el catecismo del idioma de la respectiva nación que empezaban a catequizar; y estas gramáticas y catecismos quedaban manuscritos en la librería de la misión para instrucción de los que sucedían en ésta.**[346]

Materials in and on *lenguas particulares* were archived in both the regional Jesuit headquarters in Santiago de la Laguna (modern-day Lagunas, Department of Loreto) and at the Jesuit college in Quito. In this way, Jesuit priests arriving to Quito to begin their period as missionaries in Maynas were able to begin learning the languages spoken in the mission settlement to which they would be deployed. In 1724, Francisco Javier Zephyris (b. 1695 Brixen, Austria – d. 1769 Vienna)[347] wrote to his brother portraying this undertaking:

> Todavía me encuentro en Quito rompiéndome la cabeza con el aprendizaje de las diversas lenguas indígenas, que son por entero extrañas para un misionero europeo. Un sacerdote experimentado como es el P. Juan Bautista Julián de la provincia de Alemania superior, nos escribía que al llegar a su reducción no había podido hablar ni una sola palabra con los indios, ni menos entenderlos.
> (Matthei (1972:134), excerpted in Downes (2008:71))[348]

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manuscripts on some languages: Father Matías Lazo, who entered the missions in 1700, was the first to write a grammar of Yurimagua [unclassified]: Father Wilhelm Grebmer, who entered the missions in 1700, left many manuscripts on some languages, principally Omagua and Kokama. Father Adam Widman, who entered the missions in 1728, remained there until the year of our expulsion, and died a prisoner in Lisbon, perfected the grammars of many languages, and with respect to these, he left excellent manuscripts".

[346]Translation (ours):

Regarding the grammars of the languages of the Kingdom of Quito, abbot Velasco [Juan de Velasco] writes to me in the following way: "Quechua having been made the standard in the Kingdom of Quito by order of the lay superiors, and the languages of the nation of Quito being many and highly diverse, **the missionaries formed a grammar and catechism of the language of the relevant nation that they began to catechize; and these grammars and catechisms remained in manuscript form in the mission library for the instruction of those that followed in this [undertaking].**

[347]Jouanen (1943:749). Brixen is today located in Italy.
[348]Translation (ours):

9.2.3 Practical Language Learning and Reliance on Translators

As indicated in the previous section, Maynas Jesuits made use of descriptive linguistic materials when available, but there were no doubt many cases in which materials were not available. In either case, the commitment to learning *lenguas particulares* appears to have been significant. Uriarte, for example, identifies practical language learning as his most important task upon taking up his post at San Joaquín de Omaguas:

> Dejada por Dios la sosegada vida, que tenía entre mis sanregis, hube de mudar rumbo y aplicarme a las diversas ocupaciones que incumbían a este pueblo y oficio, de cuidar de otros nuestros, pues fuera de **la primera obligación de doctrinar y aplicarme a diversas lenguas**, aunque predominaba la omagua (mas para adultos era precisa noticia de mayoruna, masamaes), era preciso atender al abasto de toda la Misión baja y de Napo...
> (Uriarte [1776]1986:225, emphasis ours)[349]

The degree to which individual Jesuits became gained fluency in *lenguas particulares* appears to have varied significantly, and some, like the Italian Jesuit Ignacio Maria Franciscis, who worked briefly in San Joaquín de Omaguas, were singled out for their language learning ability. Franciscis[350] (b. 1705 Palermo – d. 1777 Palermo)[351] spent four months with Uriarte in San Joaquín de Omaguas in order to oversee the mission annex of San Fernando de Mayorunas,[352] and both Juan de Velasco (b. 1727 Riobamba – d. 1792 Faenza), an Ecuadorean Jesuit, and Uriarte commented on Franciscis' talent for language learning. De Velasco ([1789]1981:517-518, emphasis ours) comments:

> I am still in Quito slaving over learning these diverse native languages, which are entirely foreign to a European missionary. A priest as experienced as Father Johannes Baptist Julian, from Upper Germany, wrote to us that upon arriving at his mission settlement he hadn't been able to speak even one word with the Indians, let alone understand them.

[349]Translation (ours):

> God having abandoned the peaceful life that I had led among my *sanregis* [i.e., the residents of San Regis], I was compelled to change course and apply myself to the various affairs that are incumbent upon this community [San Joaquín] and office, watching over our other concerns, since apart from the **first obligation to proselytize and apply myself to the various languages**, even though Omagua predominated (save for the adults for whom the gospel was also needed in Mayoruna and Masamae [a Yameo dialect]), it was necessary to attend to the supply of the entire lower Mission and that of the Napo...

[350]Franciscis' work in the New World began when he arrived in the Darién region of the Reino de Tierra Firme (modern-day Panama) in 1741 (Pacheco (1959:300), cited in Gallup-Díaz (2001:549)), where he wrote a grammar, vocabulary and catechism in *lengua dariela* (Hervás y Panduro 1800:280), a Chocoan language (Constenla Umaña 2004). He subsequently worked in Guayaquil and Quito before coming to Maynas in 1748 (Uriarte ([1776]1986:288), de Velasco ([1789]1981:513)). He was made missionary at Pebas and then later transferred to San José de Pinches (a mission on the Pastaza founded in 1698 by Nicolás Lanzamani (de Velasco [1789]1981:510)), where he seems to have spent several years (Uriarte [1776]1986:289). Following his four-month stay in San Joaquín (see above), he was ordered back to Pinches, and then to Guayaquil, where he resided at the time of the expulsion (Uriarte [1776]1986:290).

[351]See footnote 150.

[352]San Fernando de Mayorunas, a Panoan settlement on the opposite bank of the Amazon river from San Joaquín de Omaguas, was officially christened in January 1757 (Uriarte [1776]1986:249), but had been extant at least since 1754 (Uriarte [1754]1942:76).

El P. Ignacio María Franciscis fue hombre doctísimo y de muy raros talentos, espe-
cialmente para **hacerse dueño, en poco tiempo, de los más difíciles idiomas** ...
Tenía un don especialísimo para darse a entender y para instruir maravillosamente aun
a los más rudos, don con que podía haber hecho grandes progresos, si no se los hubiera
impedido su esencial insubsistencia...[353]

And similarly (ibid.:517):

Llegó a poseer con perfección los idiomas del Perú, de los Encabellados y de los Omaguas,
y con suficiencia los de los Yameos y Mayorunas.[354]

The fact that Franciscis was deemed such a prodigy makes it clear that most missionaries
had considerably greater difficulty in mastering the local languages. Especially in multilingual
settlements, there is evidence that different missionaries specialized in different languages. The
following passage, for example, which describes the blessing of a new church in San Joaquín IV in
1755, illustrates the complementary linguistic abilities of the missionaries working in and around
the mission settlement ([1776]1986:214):

Fueron viniendo los Padres para la dedicación o bendición; primero, el P. Joaquín Pietra-
grasa, que bendijo la iglesia y cementerio con las ceremonias del ritual, acompañado en
procesión por la gente; el Padre Manuel Santos, portugués, que cantó Misa, y los Padres
Iriarte, Bahamonde y Martínez, con el pueblo. Hubo tres días de funciones; en el primero
dije yo, como pude, un breve panegírico en castellano. El segundo, el P. Vicesuperior,
en lengua omagua, y en el tercero, el P. Bahamonde, en yamea e inga.[355]

Despite the efforts of missionaries to learn the relevant *lenguas particulares*, it is clear that multi-
lingual indigenous individuals, who served as interpreters, played a crucial role in Jesuit missionary
activity in Maynas. Uriarte, for example, made use of interpreters during his time as missionary,[356]

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[353]Translation (ours):

Father Ignacio Maria Franciscis was a very learned man of unique talents, especially as concerned
mastering the most difficult of languages in little time ... He had a very special gift for making
himself understood and instructing the coarsest of individuals, a gift with which he would have been
able to make great progress, if only his core intransigence had not impeded him.

[354]Translation (ours):

He came to possess the languages of Peru perfectly, those of the Encabellado [likely the Secoya (see
Cipolletti (1992)] and the Omagua, and proficiently those of the Yameo and Mayoruna.

[355]Translation (ours):

The fathers were coming for the dedication or blessing; first, Father Joaquín Pietragrasa, who blessed
the church and cemetery with the ritual ceremonies, accompanied by the people; Father Manuel Santos,
Portuguese, who sang Mass, and Fathers Iriarte, Bahamonde and Martínez, with the *pueblo*. There
were three days of rites; on the first, I, as much as I was able, gave a brief panegyric in Spanish.
On the second [day], the **Father Vice Superior [Iriarte], in Omagua**, and on the third, Father
Bahamonde, in Yameo and Quechua.

[356]For his use of Iquito (Zaparoan) translators in the headwaters of the Chambira during his time at San Pablo de
Napeanos, near the modern-day city of Iquitos, see Uriarte ([1776]1986:197-199); for his use of Omagua interpreters
in his early days in San Joaquín, see Uriarte (ibid.:249).

and explicitly advises the training of young children as interpreters in a series of directives he writes for future missionaries:

> ...con los niños especialmente, que son la esperanza, poner todo empeño, haciéndose querer de ellos, atrayendo los que se pueda a su casa y ocupándolos en **aprender la doctrina y lenguas para ser después intérpretes**, varayos, capitanes, fiscales, etc... (Uriarte [1776]1986:223, emphasis ours)[357]

9.2.4   Ecclesiastical Text Development and Use

The ecclesiastical texts were central to continuity in evangelical practices in the Jesuit *reducciones*, both in maintaining uniformity in the texts that Catholic practice demanded that its adherents commit to memory, and also in aiding newly-arrived priests quickly to attain sufficient competence to carry out basic evangelical activities. Manuel Uriarte ([1776]1986:192), for example, notes that upon his arrival in 1754 in San Pablo de Napeanos, an Iquito and Masamae *reducción* on the lower Nanay River, he found a variety of ecclesiastical texts in Iquito, Yameo and Quechua, which were written by his predecesor José Bahamonde (b. 1710 Quito – d. 1786 Ravenna),[358] and it is clear that the availability of these resources were invaluable in both learning to speak the local languages and in carrying out evangelical work in them (see also Chantre y Herrera (1901:485)). And as Chantre y Herrera (1901:637) observes, the availability of translated ecclesiastical texts allowed the missionaries to adapt their linguistic choices to the communities in which they worked:

> ...y si eran varios [i.e. the languages used in the community], [the priest held mass] en la principal y más común según el padre juzgaba más conveniente, porque en todas las lenguas que eran muchas tenían los misioneros sus traducciones.[359]

It is ecclesiastical texts of this type that are the empirical focus of this volume, and the purpose of this section is clarify how these critical resources in the Jesuit project in Maynas were developed. The key point we make with respect to this issue is that the development of these texts is most accurately conceived of as a communal and collaborative endeavor, both among concurrently active missionaries and speakers of indigenous languages who shared knowledge of a given language, but also through time, as successive generations of missionaries sought to improve and clarify the ecclesiastical texts that came down to them.

It is clear that in developing the first versions of ecclesiastical texts in *lenguas particulares*, the Maynas Jesuits typically relied on multilingual individuals to translate a version in the *lengua particular* from an extant Quechua text. D'Etre, for example, describes the development of the first

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[357]Translation (ours):

> ...especially with the children, who are our hope, make every effort, endearing them, attracing those one can to one's house and occupying them with learning the doctrine and languages to later become interpreters, *varayos*, captains, *fiscales* [lay church positions], etc...

[358](Jouanen 1943:726)
[359]Translation (ours):

> ...and if there were several [i.e. languages used in the community], [the priest taught] in the main and most common [language], as the father found convenient, because in all the languages, and they were numerous, the missionaries had translations [i.e. of the ecclesiastical texts].

versions of ecclesiastical texts in eighteen indigenous languages during his tenure as Superior, from 1719 until 1726 (Jouanen 1943:722), in the following terms:

> No me era posible aprender las lenguas de tántas naciones, teniendo ellas entre sí tan poca semejanza, como la francesa con la alemana. Tomé, pues, el partido, para no ser inútil a la mayor parte de los pueblos, valerme de aquellos que sabían su lengua natural y la del Inga, y con su asistencia traduje en diez y ocho lenguas, por preguntas y respuestas, el catecismo, y lo que se debe enseñar a los neófitos, o en la administración de los sacramentos, o disponiéndolos a una santa muerte.
> (D'Être [1731]1942:32)[360]

Uriarte ([1776]1986:288) alludes to a similar approach in describing the work of Franciscis, who was present in San Joaquín for a brief period, making clear both the use of Quechua as a starting point and his reliance on translators.

> ...Padre Ignacio María Franciscis, siciliano y sujeto muy religioso y capaz, gran teólogo, filósofo, matemático, humanista, poeta; sabía muchas lenguas, como griega, hebrea, alemana, inglesa, francesa. Y de todas de la Misión hizo con gran trabajo Catecismo, correspondiente a las preguntas del inga, que se usa.[361]

In describing Franciscis' work on Mayoruna (Panoan) ecclesiastical texts, Uriarte ([1776]1986:290) makes clear the importance of the translator:

> ...le sugerí un medio con que ejercitase su celo con fruto y sin fatiga. Éste fue que yo cuidaría, como antes, de los nuevos, y el Padre, con el intérprete Vicente, fuese sacando bien en su lengua instrucciones para bautizar, confesar, etc., y enseñase a ratos lengua inga a dos niños hijos del capitán, que tenía en casa y le servían.[362]

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[360]Translation (ours):

It was not possible for me to learn the languages of so many nations, there being as little similarity between them as between French and German. I took on the role, so as to not be useless to the majority of the communities, of availing myself of those that knew their mother tongue as well as Quechua, and with their assistance I translated into eighteen languages, by question and answer, the catechism and what should be taught to neophytes or in the administration of sacraments or in the dispensation of a holy death.

[361]Translation (ours):

...Father Ignacio Maria Franciscis, a Sicilian and very capable subject, great theologian, philosopher, mathematician, humanist, poet; he knew many languages, such as Greek, Hebrew, German, English, French. And of all those [languages] of the Mission, he made with great effort a catechism of each, corresponding to the questions in Quechua, which is used.

[362]Translation (ours):

...I suggested to him a means by which he might exercise his zeal productively and without tiring. This was that I would watch after the new [converts], as before, and that the Father [Franciscis], with the interpreter Vicente, would go about gathering in their language instructions for baptizing, confessing, etc., and occasionally teach Quechua to two boys, sons of the *capitán*, that he had in his house and who served him.

The first version of an ecclesiastical text created by translation from a Quechua original, it was then available for improvement by those missionaries with sufficiently sophisticated knowledge of the *lengua particular* in question. The process of successive re-translation and editing by multiple missionaries that some ecclesiastical texts were subject to is nicely captured by the following passage, which describes a collaborative effort over three years by brother Peter Schooneman (b. 1711 Haarlem, The Netherlands – d. 1778)[363] and P. Uriarte to improve the Iquito catechism:

> A poco más de un mes de la despedida, subió el hermano Pedro á Santa Barbara, y conferenciando con el padre sobre la lengua de los Iquitos, empezaron la grande obra de corregir el catecismo en que había algunas cosas que enmendar, añadir, quitar y declarar. Porque, aunque se había traducido de la lengua Inga y por medio de un bien intérprete, y los misioneros anteriores habían trabajado muy bien en limarle y pulirle y ajustarle, todavía el hermano Pedro, como más práctico de la lengua en que había formado su vocabulario, descubría cosas que se debían corregir. Tres años enteros emplearon en el penoso ejercicio de perfeccionarse bien en la lengua para la corrección, y cada día encontraban nuevas dificultades, como le sucedió a San Xavier, ya en el *ex María Virgine*, ya en el *mortuus*, porque la única palabra de la lengua significa que no se casó la Virgen, y la otra significa muerte contra voluntad. Al fin todo se fué enmendando, declarando, y ajustando.
> (Chantre y Herrera 1901:544)[364]

It is worth noting that not only did Schooneman and Uriarte work together in improving the catechism, but it is clear that even the text that they took upon themselves to improve had been subject to editing and alteration by previous missionaries. One consequence of the evolving nature of these texts is that it complicates treating them as a stable text with a single author. Rather, it appears to have been more typical for a text to have been in a continuous state of redaction over the several decades that most Maynas missions were occupied.

There is clear evidence that the Omagua catechisms that have come down to us were likewise the product of a process of successive editing and retranslation. For example, even though we do not have access to the original manuscript, the published versions of the Full Catechism indicate that portions of the text had been crossed out, and other text inserted in the margins or between the lines (see (6.17b), (6.21a) and (6.24b)). And as we shall examine in detail in §9.4, the two versions of the catechism are highly similar, but exhibit minor differences indicative of retranslation and editing by individuals with different strengths in their understanding of Omagua grammar.

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[363](Jouanen 1943:746); also known as Pedro Choneman.
[364]Translation (ours):

> A little more than a month after saying farewell, brother Pedro went upriver to Santa Barbara, and talking with the father [there] about the language of the Iquitos, began the huge task of correcting the catechism, in which there were a few things to fix, add, remove, and clarify, because, although it had been translated from Quechua, and by means of a good translator, and although previous missionaries had worked well to refine, polish, and fix it, brother Pedro, as the most versed in the language whose dictionary he had compiled, discovered things that needed to be corrected. They spent three entire years in the punishing exercise of perfecting their knowledge of the language into order to correct the catechism, and each day encountered new difficulties, as happened to Saint Xavier, for example, in the case of [the terms] *ex María Virgine* and *mortuus*, because the only words in the language [to express these concepts] mean that the Virgin did not marry, and the other means involuntary death. Eventually they fixed and clarified everything.

9.3 Jesuit Language Use in Old Omagua Ecclesiastical Texts

In this section we examine aspects of Omagua language use in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts that reflect the goals and linguistic abilities of the Jesuit missionaries involved in their development. In §9.3.1 we discuss the Jesuit creation and use of Omagua neologisms, which reflects linguistic creativity on the missionaries' part in light of perceived lacunae in the Omagua lexicon in key areas of Catholic religious thought and practice. In §9.3.2 we turn to evidence of calquing in the ecclesiastical texts, which reveals the areas in which the missionaries' linguistic knowledge remained partial.

9.3.1 Neologisms in Old Omagua Ecclesiastical Texts

In developing ecclesiastical texts in the indigenous languages of Maynas, Jesuit authors frequently confronted the fact that those languages lacked lexical items that denoted important concepts in Christian doctrine. Pablo Maroni ([1738]1988:168) (excerpted in Downes (2008:70)) makes the following observation with that in mind:

> Añádase que estas lenguas, al mismo paso que abundan de vocablos para explicar la variedad de manjares y bebidas, plantas, frutas, animales, y aun de la misma sabandija, asimismo son muy escasas y faltas de palabras para explicar lo que toca a la enseñanza cristiana, al pecado, a Dios, al alma y sus espirituales operaciones y otras cosas semejantes. Todas estas naciones ni un vocablo tienen para decir que creen lo que se les dice...[365]

The Jesuit authors of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts responded to this difficulty by developing neologisms to express notions relevant to Catholic religious practice.[366] These attested Jesuit neologisms are given in (9.1)-(9.7), where the CLOSE translation is a literal translation and the TARGET translation indicates the concept that the Jesuits were attempting to convey with the neologism. In the last line of each example we indicate with an abbreviation the names of the texts in which each neologism occurs,[367] The examples ordered by frequency in the texts, with the most frequent neologisms first.

(9.1) ɨwatimai ɾitama

    ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama
    be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village

    CLOSE: 'high village'
    TARGET: 'Heaven'
    (LORD, FRAG, FULL, PROF)

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[365]Translation (ours):

> Furthermore, these languages, at the same time that they abound in words to explain the variety of delicacies and drinks, plants, fruits, animals and even minute insects, words to explain that which deals with Christian teaching, sin, God, the soul and its spiritual doings, and other similar things are extremely scarce and lacking. Not even one word do these nations have to say that they believe what they are being told...

[366]Less frequently, they borrowed words from Quechua, e.g., *utʃa* 'sin', which is attested in modern Omagua as *uʃa* 'sin, fault'; *utʃa* 'fault' is attested in some Quechuan varieties (Rosat Pontalti 2009).
[367]LORD = Lord's Prayer; FRAG = Catechism Fragment; FULL = Full Catechism; PROF = Profession of Faith.

(9.2) tuyuka ɾitama

tuyuka ɾitama
land　village

CLOSE: 'land village'
TARGET: 'Earth'
(LORD, FRAG, FULL)

(9.3) ɨpɨpemai tata tupa

ɨpɨpe　=mai　　　　tata tupa
inside　=INACT.NOMZ fire　place

CLOSE: 'inner fire place'
TARGET: 'Hell'
(FRAG, FULL, PROF)

(9.4) yawɨkɨmaipuɾakana

yawɨkɨ =mai　　　　=puɾa　　=kana
make　=INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS

CLOSE: 'what X made'
TARGET: 'creations'
(FRAG, FULL)

(9.5) kumesamaipuɾakana

kumesa =mai　　　　=puɾa　　=kana
say　　=INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS

CLOSE: 'what X said'
TARGET: 'Commandments'
(FULL)

(9.6) misa yawɨkɨtaɾa patiɾi

misa yawɨkɨ -taɾa　　　patiɾi
mass make　-ACT.NOMZ priest

CLOSE: 'mass-making priest'
TARGET: 'celebrant'[368]
(FULL)

(9.7) nuamai ɾitama

nua　　=mai　　　　ɾitama
be.big =INACT.NOMZ village

CLOSE: 'big village'
TARGET: 'Kingdom'
(LORD)

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[368]That is, the priest who presides over the celebration of the Eucharist.

(9.8)   wakutatara

    wakuta   -tara
    carry.in.arms -ACT.NOMZ

    CLOSE: 'carrier in arms'
    TARGET: 'protector'
    (LORD)

It is worth noting that there is complete consistency in the use of neologisms; no alternate neologisms are attested in any of the ecclesiastical texts or in Manuel Uriarte's diaries, suggesting that these terms became standardized. Modern Omagua speakers, however, do not recognize these terms as having the neologistic meanings intended by the Jesuit missionaries. Modern Omaguas, for example, translate *ɨwatimai ɾitama* as 'high village' and not as 'Heaven'. In some cases, however, changes in the language have rendered Jesuit neologisms uninterpretable to modern Omaguas, as in the cases of (9.4) & (9.6), where *yawɨkɨ* 'make', in use during the Jesuit missionary period, has been replaced by *ipuɾaka* 'make' (see footnote 131 for more details).

In addition to the obvious neologisms enumerated above, there are two lexical items *amuyasukata* 'observe' (in the sense of observing God's commandments) and *yumunuyepeta* 'redeem', that are not attested in modern Omagua, and which we suspect to be Jesuit neologisms.[369] Both words appear in the Lord's Prayer and Full Catechism, and the first also appears in the Profession of Faith.

We believe both words are morphologically complex, since they would be unusually long for morphologically simplex words, and we suspect that they were created by Jesuits to express the given theological notions, which seem unlikely to have been present in pre-colonial Omagua religious or moral thought. We have, however, been unable morphologically segment these words and thus treat them as roots for the purposes of interlinearization.

9.3.2   Calques in Old Omagua Ecclesiastical texts

Unlike the neologisms described in §??, which are pervasive in the ecclesiastical texts, grammatical and lexical calques are infrequent. In other words, as far as we are able to tell in light of modern Omagua, the Omagua found in the ecclesiastical texts appears to be largely grammatically correct, suggesting that those involved in the development of the texts exhibited a high degree of fluency in the language.

We discuss each type of calque separately in the following sections, indicating the source in the original text of each example discussed here. The translations given in this section are the target translations in the original text.

9.3.2.1   Comitative =*mukui* in Manner Adverbial Constructions

In modern Omagua, manner adverbials are expressed using the intrumental postposition =*pupɪ* (Old Omagua =*pupe*), as described in §2.3.7.4. However, in (4.1) of the Lord's Prayer, reproduced in (9.9), we find a manner adverbial construction in which the comitative =*mukui* is used instead of the instrumental.[370]

(9.9)   tanupapa, ɨwati ɾitamakate yuɾiti**mukui**, ene ʃiɾa, tene ɾamutʃa muɾa.

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[369]Our translation of these words are based on the Spanish translation of the corresponding portions of the very similarly organized Quechua catechism found in the appendix to Manuel Uriarte's diary (see §6.1.2).
[370]Also see footnote 126.

tanu=		papa	ɨwati	ɾitama	=kate	yuɾiti	=mukui	ene	ʃiɾa	tene
1PL.EXCL.MS=		father	be.high.up	village	=LOC	be.in.place	=COM	2SG	name	OPT

ɾa=	mutʃa	muɾa
3SG.MS=	kiss[371]	3SG.MS

'Our father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name.'
(see (4.1))

We consider the use of the comitative =*mukui* instead of the instrumental =*pupe*) in (9.9) a calque, because of 1) its divergence from the modern manner adverbial construction; and 2) the fact that comitative and instrumental meanings are expressed by a single preposition in Spanish (*con*) and German (*mit*), rendering confusion regarding the difference between the two Omagua postpositions plausible. In addition, Veigl's (1788:199) description of Omagua indicates that the instrumental =*pupe* was employed in adverbial manner constructions during the Jesuit period (see §2.3.7.4). Veigl (ibid.) does not explictly rule out the use of the comitative =*mukui* in this construction, but his failure to indicate that comitative can be used in place of the instrumental does suggest so.

9.3.2.2 Functional Extension of =*sui* ABLATIVE

In modern Omagua, the ablative postposition =*sui* licenses an oblique argument that denotes the source of a motion event.The Full Catechism, however, exhibits uses of this postposition to license obliques that do not participate in motion events, as in (9.10)-(9.12). In all these cases, the ungrammatical use of the ablative can be explained as an attempt to translate the Spanish preposition *de* 'of, from' in the corresponding Spanish sentence. The Spanish preposition in question is of course used to indicate sources of motion events, but has a considerably wider use, so that identifying the Omagua ablative postposition with the Spanish preposition would lead to overgeneralizing the distribution of the ablative.

In (9.10), =*sui* indicates a partitive genitive relation, a function unattested in modern Omagua.

(9.10)   aikiaɾa musapɨɾika **personakanasui**, maniamai awaɾa uwaka ɨmɨnua?

aikiaɾa	musapɨɾika	persona	=kana	=sui	maniamai	awa	-ɾa	uwaka
DEM.PROX.MS	three	person	=PL.MS	=ABL	which	man	=NOM.PURP	transform

ɨmɨnua
long.ago

'Of these three people, which became man?
(see (6.11a))[372]

In (9.11), =*sui* licenses an oblique argument that denotes the source of a non-motion event, or perhaps a metaphorical motion event, both functions unattested in the modern language.

(9.11)   virgen santa maría sewekakʷaɾape awaɾa uwaka ɨmɨnua. **espíritu santosui** muɾa, virgen santa maría sewekasui ɾauwaɾi ɨmɨnua.

virgen santa maría	seweka	=kʷaɾape	awa	-ɾa	uwaka	ɨmɨnua
Virgin Mary	womb	=INESS	man	=ATTR	transform	long.ago

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[371]See footnote 127.

[372]See (5.11a) in the Catechism Fragment for an equivalent calque on the same, parallel question.

espíritu santo =sui muɾa virgen santa maría seweka =sui³⁷³ ɾa= uwaɾi imɨnua
Holy Spirit =ABL 3SG.MS Virgin Mary womb =ABL 3SG.MS= be.born long.ago

'He became man in the womb of the Virgin Mary. He is of the Holy Spirit and was born of the womb of the Virgin Mary.'
(see (6.13b))

Finally, in (9.12), =*sui* licenses the adverbial expression *mitɨɾipe ipɨsa* 'midnight'. In modern Omagua, adverbs, including *ipɨsa* 'night, at night', do not need to be licensed by a postposition, and we posit that this construction is a calque on Spanish *de medianoche* 'at midnight'. Not that the use of postposition =*mitɨɾipe* 'in the middle of' is itself ungrammatical here, since it appears before its putative complement, reflecting a morpheme-by-morpheme calque of *medianoche.*

(9.12)   **mitɨɾipe ipɨsasui** comulgayaɾayakatu maɾai kuɾataɾaʃi, nuamai utʃaya[ɾa]ɾaʃi, ɾanasawaitimia santísimo sacramento?

mitɨɾipe ipɨsa =sui comulga =yaɾa =ya =katu maɾai kuɾata
in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =POSS.NOMZ =SIM =INTSF thing drink
=ɾaʃi nua =mai utʃa =yaɾa =ɾaʃi ɾana= sawaiti =mia
=NASS be.big =INACT.NOMZ sin =POSS.NOMZ =NASS 3PL.MS= encounter =IRR
santísimo sacramento
Holy Sacrament

'Drinking in the middle of the night like a communicant, but being a great sinner, would they receive the Holy Sacrament?'
(see (6.30a))

Uriarte use of Omagua ablative in his diaries likewise suggests calquing of Spanish *de* 'of, from', as in (9.13), where the ablative is used to express *de otro mano* 'from another hand', which issues of idiomaticity aside, we would expect to be expressed with the instrumental.³⁷⁴

(9.13)   ɾoaya amua **puasui** ɾ[a]umanusenuni.

ɾoaya amua pua =sui ɾa= umanu =senuni
NEG other hand =ABL 3SG.MS= die =PURP

'So that he wouldn't die from another hand.'
(see (8.2b))

9.3.2.3   Extensions of =*aɾi* DIFFUSE LOCATIVE

Old Omagua exhibited a diffuse locative =*aɾi*, whose modern reflex licenses an oblique argument that denotes an extended region that serves as a spatial ground with respect to a figure denoted by another referring expression, and is in contact with that figure. The ecclesiastical texts exhibit two instances in which presence of the diffuse locative appears to be motivated by the desire to find an Omagua counterpart to the preposition *en* 'on in Spanish verb-plus-particle constructions in which the preposition does not encode any spatial semantics. These examples include (9.14), from

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³⁷³Note that this instance of =*sui* is grammatical, since the verb *uwaɾi* elsewhere means 'fall', i.e., it is a motion verb.
³⁷⁴Note that we do not consider the fact that we know Uriarte's use of the Omagua ablative to have been calqued on Spanish *de* to be sufficient evidence to conclude that Uriarte was the author of the ecclesiastical text sentences with calques uses of =*sui*.

the Full Catechism, and (9.15) from the Profession of Faith, where the use of =aɾi appears to be motivated by the partial semantic overlap between the Old Omaga diffuse locative =aɾi and the Spanish preposition *en*.

In (9.14), for example, the diffuse locative co-occurs with the verb *saɾa* 'await', which in Omagua takes a direct object without requiring an adposition. The construction in (9.14) appears to be a direct calque of Spanish *esperar en* 'have faith in', where the use of *saɾa* 'await' stems from the homophony of *esperar* 'wait' and 'hope', and use of the diffuse locative stems from the (overgeneralizing) identification of the diffuse locative with the Spanish preposition.[375] In order to make clear the presence of the calque we gloss *saɾa* as 'await' but translate it as 'hope' in the target translations given here.

(9.14)   nesaɾatipa upakatu neĩyamukuikatu **Diosaɾi** ene utʃakana ɾatenepetaɾi, neumanuɾaʃi, ɾaeɾusuaɾi
           ene sawa ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, naɾaʃi?

ne=	saɾa	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ĩya	=mukui	=katu	Dios	=aɾi	ene
2SG=	await	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	God	=LOC.DIFF	2SG

utʃa	=kana	ɾa=	tenepeta	=aɾi	ne=	umanu	=ɾaʃi	ɾa=	eɾusu	=aɾi	ene
sin	=PL.MS	3SG.MS=	forgive	=IMPF	2SG=	die	=NASS	3SG.MS=	take	=IMPF	2SG

sawa	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate	naɾaʃi
soul	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=ALL	?

'Do you have faith in God, with all of your heart, that he will forgive your sins, and that when you die he will take your soul to Heaven?'
(see (6.34a))

A similar calque is found in (9.15), where the Spanish verb-plus-particle expression *creer en* 'believe in' appears to be the basis of the use of the diffuse locative with the Omagua verb *sapiaɾi* 'believe, obey'. Note that *sapiaɾi* is itself a transitive verb that takes a direct object with no need for a postpostion, and that, at least in modern Omagua, does not participate in a construction resembling that found in (9.15).

(9.15)   tayaɾa jesucristo, aisetui dios, aisetui awa, enesemai tasapiaɾi ene **kumesamaikanaɾi**.

ta=	yaɾa	jesucristo	aise	-tui	dios	aise	-tui	awa	ene	=semai	ta=	sapiaɾi
1SG.MS=	master	Jesus.Christ	true	-?	God	true	-?	man	2SG	=VERID	1SG.MS=	believe

ene	kumesa	=mai	=kana	=aɾi
2SG	say	=INACT.NOMZ	=PL.MS	=LOC.DIFF

'My Lord Jesus Christ, true God, true man, I truly believe in you and your words.'
(see (7.1))

9.3.3   Semantic Extension of Lexical Items

The use of Omagua linguistic forms in ways inconsistent with native speaker uses of those same items is not limited to functional morphemes, but extends to lexical items. An instance of semantic extension of an Omagua lexical item based on Spanish lexical semantics was already encountered in §9.3.2.3 where Omagua *saɾa* 'await' was used to translate Spanish *esperar* 'hope, await', where

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[375]Note that German, the native language of several Jesuit missionaries who worked among the Omagua, does not express the sense of 'have faith in' with a construction that would result in this type of calque (i.e., *in X Vertrauen haben*).

the former Spanish sense was the one required in the passage in question. We now consider similar semantic extensions of Omagua words that stem from the fact that a Spanish translational equivalent of an Omagua word participates in a homophony or polysemy network.

The first example we consider here involves the use of *ukuata* 'pass by' in the Full Catechism to express the notion 'happen, occur', as evident in (9.16). This appears to be a calque based on the fact Spanish *pasar* expresses both 'pass by' and 'happen'. Beyond the fact that *ukuata* 'pass by' expresses only physical motion the subject of the verb past the object of the verb (at least in the modern language), the argument structure of Omagua *ukuata* 'pass by' reverses that intended by Spanish construction on which the Omagua expression in the catechism is calqued (i.e, *aunque todas las cosas te pasen*). That is, the second person appears as the subject and 'all things' as the object, which is the opposite of the Spanish construction.

(9.16)   nesaʃitatipa upakatu nı̃yamukuikatu yenepapa dios, upakatu maɾainkana ne**ukuata**ɾaʃi, ɾaeɾasemaikatuikua?

ne=	saʃita	=tipa	upa	=katu	ne=	ı̃ya	=mukui	=katu	yene=	papa	dios
2SG=	love	=INTERR	all	=INTSF	2SG=	heart	=COM	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	father	God

upa	=katu	maɾain	=kana	ne=	ukuata	=ɾaʃi	ɾa=	eɾa	=semai	=katu
all	=INTSF	thing	=PL.MS	2SG=	pass.by	=NASS	3SG.MS=	good	=VERID	=INTSF

=ikua
=REAS

'Do you love our father God with all your heart, even though anything may happen to you, because he is really truly good?'
(see (6.35a))

The use of verb *sawaiti* 'encounter' (of which modern Omagua *sawaita* is a reflex) in the Full Catechism presents a similar case, where the verb has been extended to express the notion 'receive', in the sense of receiving the Holy Sacrament, as shown in (9.17).[376] We take this to be a calque motivated by the polysemy of Spanish *recibir*, whic can denote at least two quite different types of 'receiving' events: 1) one in which the grammatical subject is the recipient of some inanimate object (e.g. a gift); or 2) one in which the grammatical subject acts as a host, receiving a guest. The semantics of Omagua *sawaita* partially overlaps with that of *recibir*, denoting two types of events: 1) one in which a host welcomes a visitor; or 2) one in which the grammatical subject encounters some other entity (e.g. on a path). Old Omagua *sawaiti* thus presumably overlapped with *recibir* in the host-guest event type meaning, leading the authors of the catechism to identify the two words, thereby leading to the semantic extention of *sawaiti* to cover the other sense of *recibir*, which was not natively denoted by the Old Omagua verb.

(9.17)   cristianokana eɾa ɾanaconfesayaɾaɾaʃi, ɾana**sawaiti**aɾi weɾanu santísimo sacramento?

cristiano	=kana	eɾa	ɾana=	confesa	=yaɾa	=ɾaʃi	ɾana=	sawaiti
Christian	=PL.MS	good	3PL.MS=	confess	=POSS.NOMZ	=NASS	3PL.MS=	encounter

=aɾi   weɾanu santísimo sacramento
=IMPF COORD Holy Sacrament

'Christians who have confessed properly, will they receive the Holy Sacrament?'
(see (6.30a))

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[376]See also footnote 228.

A somewhat different process of semantic extension affected the word *ayaise* 'wicked' in the Lord's Prayer, which both in modern Omagua and the other ecclesiastical texts, predicates negative personality attributes like dishonesty or a propensity for anger or violence to people. In the Lord's prayer, however, we find the word being used more broadly to indicate a notion like 'bad, evil', which can also be predicated of inanimates. We take the extension from 'wicked' to 'evil' to be a result of Jesuit authors' searching for an antonym to *eɾa* 'good', which can be predicated of animates, inanimates, and even events, indicating general positive evaluation, without the kind of restriction to personality attributes we see for *ayaise* 'wicked'. No such antonym exists as a single lexical item in modern Omagua at least, leading us to believe that *ayaise* was used in the Lord's Prayer in a way that extended the native semantics of the term.[377]

(9.18) ayaise maɾaisui neyumunuyepeta tanu

ayaise	maɾai	=sui	ne=	yumunuyepeta	tanu
wicked	thing	=ABL	2SG=	save	1PL.EXCL.MS

'Deliver us from evil.'
(see (4.7))

Finally we consider the use of *kumesa* 'say' as a translational equivalent of 'judge' in the Full Catechism, as in (9.19). Modern Omagua exhibits no word that expresses the notion of 'judgment' in a moral, legal, or eschatological sense, and it is clear that elsewhere in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts *kumesa* serves to express 'say', as in the modern language. We infer, then, that *kumesa* meant 'say' in Old Omagua, and that the Jesuits extended the term to 'judge' in the ecclesiastical texts. The precise motivation for this extension is obscure, but it is worth noting that in both modern Loreto Spanish and in several Peruvian Amazonian languages, *decir* 'say' and its indigenous counterparts often carry the connotation of 'criticize' (although this is not the case for modern Omagua),[378] a notion not that distant from 'judge'. If this secondary sense was also salient in the region when the ecclesiastical texts were being developed, it may have served as a motivation for extending the meaning of *kumesa* 'say'. This extension may of course be wholly a Jesuit innovation, grounded in the notion of judgement as a speech act, or on the idea that to speak of wicked deeds is to reveal them, thereby making them objects of possible moral censure.

(9.19) upakatu yenesawakai upai ayaise yeneyawɨkɨmaipuɾakana weɾanu ɾa**kumesa**senuni ɾauɾiaɾi.

upa	=katu	yene=	sawa	=kai	upai	ayaise	yene=	yawɨkɨ	=mai
all	=INTSF	1PL.INCL=	soul	=?	every	wicked	1PL.INCL=	do	=INACT.NOMZ

=puɾa	=kana	weɾanu	ɾa=	kumesa	=senuni	ɾa=	uɾi	=aɾi
=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	COORD	3SG.MS=	say	=PURP	3SG.MS=	come	=IMPF

'He will come to judge all of our souls and all of our wicked deeds.'
(see (6.25b))

Finally, we consider a strategy employed in the Lord's Prayer for expressing passive voice, that relies on extending the function of the third person masculine pronoun to a non-referential role. This strategy is exemplified in (9.9) in §9.3.2.1. The construction, *tene ɾa= mutʃa muɾa* lit. 'let him kiss it', which aims to translate a jussive passive in the corresponding Spanish sentence (i.e. *sanctificado sea tu nombre* 'hallowed be thy name' = 'let his name be hallowed'), involves a transitive active verb.

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[377]See footnote 146 for additional comments.
[378]See *sawata* 'criticize'.

A passive-like effect is achieved by treating the third-person pronominal subject pronoun (here *ra*= 3SG.MS) as non-referential, so that the pronominal object (here *mura* 3SG.MS), coreferential with a full NP (here *ʃira* 'name'), is the sole referential argument of the verb, mimicking a passive. No other strategy is attested for expressing anything like passive voice in any of the Old Omagua texts, and there are no morphological and or syntactic strategies for doing so in the modern language, suggesting that the on-referenital use the subject pronoun in this case is an example of grammatical creativity on the part of the contributors to the ecclesiastical text in question.

9.4 Linguistic Comparison of Catechism Texts

The goal of this section is to describe the differences between the Catechism Fragment and the Full Catechism, focusing on the differences in the Jesuit contributor's use of, and facility with, Omagua grammar. This comparison demonstrates that although the two texts exhibit significant similarities, there are also subtle but pervasive grammatical differences between them, strongly suggesting that these two texts reflect contributions by at least two different missionaries to a common Omagua text tradition.[379] Both texts reveal that the contributors had significant control over most areas of Omagua grammar but that they had different strengths and weaknesses in their ability to deploy certain aspects of Omagua grammar.

We examine the differences between the catechistic texts in the order that the differences occur, but we can make a number of general observations about these differences at the outset, summarized in Table . First, the Full Catechism exhibits two cases of ungrammatical ordering of prenominal modifiers, while the Catechism Fragment exhibits no such cases. However, various phenomena involved in question formation are better handled in the Full Catechism. For example the distribution of interrogative clitics and the use of *wh*-words distinguishing between reason or purpose interrogatives are both handled correctly in the in the Full Catechism.

Both texts also show heavy use of the adverb *iminua* 'long ago' to express past temporal reference, in the apparent absence of a grammatical morpheme to express past tense as such, in a manner that was probably quite unusual for natively spoken Omagua in that period. The Full Catechism also exhibits ungrammatical placement of this word, a temporal adverb, between a verb and its complement.

Note that the example passages in this section, which are copied from Chapters 5 & 6, are reduced to a three-line interlinear format (phonemic representation, interlinearization and target gloss) in this section, with passages from the Catechism Fragment preceding their counterparts in the Full Catechism. Portions of the passages being discussed and compared are in bold face and parenthetical notes refer the reader to the location of the corresponding five-line interlinear versions.

1st Question-Response Pair   The translations of 'tell' in the question differ in (9.20a) and (9.21a), with *ikuata*, literally 'teach', chosen in the former and *kumesa* 'say' in the latter. Note that it is ungrammatical for theme argument of *ikuata* to be realized as an oblique (licensed here by the postposition =*supe* GOAL), while it is required that the recipient argument of *kumesa* 'say' (i.e., the hearer) be realized as an oblique, as it correctly is in (9.21a) (see footnote 153). In this case, then, the Catechism Fragment exhibits an apparent grammatical error not found in the Full Catechism

(9.20)   a. **ikuata** epe tasupe, amititipa Dios?

       ikua -ta   epe ta=   =supe amiti =tipa   Dios
       know -CAUS 2PL 1SG.MS= =GOAL EXST =INTERR God

[379]See §3.2 for a discussion of orthographic differences between the texts.

‘Teach me, does God exist?’

b. amiti muɾa.

amiti muɾa
EXST 3SG.MS

‘He exists.’
(see (5.1))

(9.21) a. taiɾakana, pe**kumesa** tasupe, amititipa Dios?

taiɾa   =kana pe= kumesa ta=   =supe amiti =tipa   Dios
son.MALE.EGO =PL.MS 2PL= say   1SG.MS= =GOAL EXST =INTERR God

‘Children, tell me, does God exist?

b. amiti muɾa.

amiti muɾa
EXST 3SG.MS

‘He exists.’
(see (6.1))

2nd Question-Response Pair   These passages exhibit two noteworthy differences. First, in the question portion the Catechism Fragment passage, (9.22), exhibits a resumptive pronoun *muɾa* 3SG.MS that is absent in the Full Catechism passage, (9.23) . The presence of this pronoun in this context is optional in the modern language, suggesting that the contributors simply opted for different constructions in this case, both grammatical. Second, the response passage that delineates the ontological status of God is more elaborated in the Catechism Fragment than in the Full Catechism, where *wakutataɾa* ‘protector’ is absent from the latter text. Furthermore, the Catechism Fragment response exhibits two uses of the comitative postposition (=*mukui*) NP coordination strategy, and one use the coordination particle *weɾanu*, both of which are absent from (9.23). The uses of the two different strategies in the Catechism Fragment are both grammatical, and constitute more masterful uses of Omagua than the simple list in the Full Catechism passage.

(9.22) a. maɾaitipa Dios **muɾa**?

maɾai =tipa   Dios muɾa
what   =INTERR God 3SG.MS

‘What is God?’

b. ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkana**mukui**, yawɨkɨtaɾa, **waku-tataɾa**, yeneyaɾasemai **weɾanu**, muɾiai Dios muɾa.

ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =katu   maɾain
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village DEM.PROX.MS land   village all   =INTSF thing

=kana   =mukui yawɨkɨ -taɾa   wakuta   -taɾa   yene=   yaɾa
=PL.MS =COM   make -ACT.NOMZ carry.in.arm -ACT.NOMZ 1PL.INCL= master

=semai   weɾanu muɾia -i   Dios muɾa
=VERID COORD thus   -? God 3SG.MS

‘The Creator of Heaven, Earth and all things, the protector, and our true Lord as well, thus is God.’
(see (5.2))

(9.23) a. maɾaitipa Dios?

maɾai =tipa   Dios
what =INTERR God

'What is God?'

b. ɨwatimai ɾitama, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitama, upakatu maɾainkana, yawɨkɨtaɾa yaɾawasu Dios muɾa.

iwati   =mai   ɾitama aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama upa =katu   maɾain
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village DEM.PROX.MS land   village all =INTSF thing
=kana   yawɨkɨ -taɾa   yaɾa   =wasu Dios muɾa
=PL.MS make   -ACT.NOMZ master =AUG God 3SG.MS

'God is the Creator of Heaven, Earth, and all things, the great Lord.'
(see (6.2))

3rd Question-Response Pair   The questions in this pair exhibit a difference in the presence of the interrogative clitic =*tipa*, which appears on the instrumental-bearing interrogative word *maɾi=pupe* 'with what' in the Catechism Fragment in (9.24), but is absent on the corresponding element *maɾai=pupe* in the Full Catechism, in (9.25) (note that the forms of the interrogative word 'what' are slightly different). The Full Catechism and modern Omagua exhibit the same pattern in not allowing the interrogative clitic to co-occur with a postposition, such as the instrumental =*pupe*, on interrogative words. If we assume that this is the correct pattern, we conclude that the contributors to the Catechism Fragment over-generalized the distribution of the interrogative clitic from interrogative words that question core arguments only to all interrogative words, include ones that question obliques.

(9.24)   a. **maripupetipa** Dios yawɨkɨ upakatu maɾainkana?
         maɾi =pupe =tipa   Dios yawɨkɨ upa =katu   maɾain =kana
         what =INSTR =INTERR God make   all =INTSF thing   =PL.MS

         'With what did God make all things?'

      b. ɾakumesapupe puɾai.
         ɾa=   kumesa =pupe puɾai
         3SG.MS= word   =INSTR merely

         'Merely with his words.'
         (see (5.3))

(9.25)   a. **maɾaipupe** Dios yawɨkɨ **imɨnua aikiaɾa upakatu** maɾainkana?
         maɾai =pupe Dios yawɨkɨ imɨnua aikiaɾa   upa =katu   maɾain =kana
         what =INSTR God make   long.ago DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing   =PL.MS

         'With what did God make all these things?'

      b. ɾa**semai kumesamai**pupe ɾa ni putaɾimaipupe puɾai.
         ɾa=   =semai   kumesa =mai   =pupe ɾa=   ni putaɾi
         3SG.MS= =EXCL.FOC say   =INACT.NOMZ =INSTR 3SG.MS= ? desire
         =mai   =pupe puɾai
         =INACT.NOMZ =INSTR CONTR.FOC

         'With and only with his words, and not merely with his desires.'
         (see (6.3))

Another difference between the questions concerns the prenominal modification of *maɾainkana* 'things'. The Full Catechism exhibits two prenominal modifiers *aikiaɾa* DEM.PROX.MS and *upakatu* 'all' in the opposite order to that attested in modern Omagua, while the Catechism Fragment only exhibits the modifier *upakatu*. If we assume that the correct order in Old Omagua was the same as in modern Omagua, the prenominal modifier order exhibited in Full Catechism passage is incorrect.

One final observation regarding the question passages concerns the position of the temporal adverb *iminua* 'long ago' in the Full Catechism question, which appears between the verb *yawiki* and its object. Temporal adverbs very rarely occur in this position in the eccelsiastical texts, and it is ungrammatical for them to appear in this position in modern Omagua, suggesting that it appearance in this position in (9.25) is ungrammatical. Note that this adverb is entirely absent from the corresponding question in the Catechism Fragment.

Turning to the responses, we see that the Full Catechism passage in (9.25) exhibits a number of additional features, some of them anomalous. First, this response includes an additional clause that clarifies that in God's creation of the world by means of the Word, the Word was necessary, and God's desire (= will?) alone did not suffice. Also of interest, the form expressing 'word' in this response, namely *kumesa=mai*, bears an overt nominalizer, in contrast to the zero-derived nominalization in the corresponding Catechism Fragment response in (9.25). In modern Omagua this form is also zero-derived, suggesting that the form bearing the overt nominalizer may represent an overgeneralization by the contributors to the Full Catechism. Finally, we see that the Full Catechism exhibits the exclusive focus clitic =*semai* (see footnote 177).

4th Question-Response Pair   The questions in this pair differ in the seemingly ungrammatical appearance of the interrogative clitic on the non-core argument interrogative word in the Catechism Fragment, in (9.26), providing another example of the overgeneralization of this clitic apparent in (9.24) above.

A difference in the content of the responses is evident in the substitution of *upakatu makati* 'everywhere' in the Full Catechism for *muɾiapai* 'always' in the Catechism Fragment in describing God's location in the world, where the articulation given in the Full Catechism seems more doctrinally felicitous. The Catechism Fragment also exhibits the use of *weɾanu*, an NP coordinator (§2.3.6.1). The Full Catechism exhibits an optional sentence-final resumptive pronoun *muɾa* 3SG.MS that is absent from the Catechism Fragment.

(9.26)   a. makate**tipa** Dios yuɾiti?

makate =tipa   Dios yuɾiti
where   =INTERR God be.in.place

'Where is God?'

b. ɨwatimai ɾitamakate, aikiaɾa tuyuka ɾitamakate, **muɾiapai** ɾayuɾiti weɾanu.

ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama =kate aikiaɾa   tuyuka ɾitama =kate
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land   village =LOC

muɾiapai   ɾa=   yuɾiti   weɾanu
uninterruptedly 3SG.MS= be.in.place COORD

'He is always in Heaven as well as on Earth.'
(see (5.4))

(9.27)   a. makate Dios yuɾiti?

makate Dios yuɾiti
where   God be.in.place

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'Where is God?'

b. ɨwatimai ritamakate, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate, **upakatu makate** Dios yuriti **mura**.

ɨwati   =mai   ritama =kate aikiara   tuyuka ritama =kate upa
be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land   village =LOC all

=katu   makate Dios yuriti   mura
=INTSF where   God be.in.place 3SG.MS

'God is in Heaven, on Earth, everywhere.'
(see (6.4))

5th Question-Response Pair   The interrogative words differ in the corresponding questions in (5.5a) and (6.5a), where in the former we see *awiri*, and in the latter *awirika* 'how many'. The form in the Fragment is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, on the basis of its appearance in Kokama, but the latter form is attested in modern Omagua. In (5.5a), *awiri* combines with the interrogative clitic =pa,[380] but in (6.5a) *awirika* does not combine with either interrogative clitic, a restriction that is maintained synchronically (i.e., **awirikapa*). The responses to these questions differ (trivially) in whether *Dios* 'God' is present or not.

6th Question-Response Pair   The basic doctrinal issue addressed in the corresponding questions in Catechism Fragment and Full Catechism is the same, but the structure of the questions is somewhat different. In the Catechism Fragment, the question posed, regarding a number of entities in the natural world, is 'Which of these is God?', where the expected answer is 'None of them', while in the Full Catechism the question is '[are these things] not God?', where the expected answer is 'No, they are not God'. The Full Catechism also includes *miara* 'animal' (see footnote 180) in its list of possible entities with which God might be identified, while the fragment does not. With respect to grammatical issues, it is noteworthy that the Full Catechism employs the interrogative word *mari* 'what' with an interrogative clitic in (9.28) to express 'which', where in the modern language we expect *makatimai* 'which', with no interrogative clitic. The Catechism Fragment does not have a corresponding element due to the different structure of the question, making it difficult to determine if the use of *mari* 'what' in the Full Catechism would have been grammatical in Old Omagua at the time.

(9.28)   a. kʷaraʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨrakana, ɨwatakana weranu, to **mari**tipa aikiarakana Dios mura?

kʷaraʃi yasɨ   sesu =kana   wɨra =kana   ɨwata =kana   weranu to mari =tipa
sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what =INTERR

aikiara   =kana   Dios mura
DEM.PROX.MS.PRO =PL.MS God 3SG.MS

'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds and the forests, which of these is God?'

b. **nati** marai aikiara Dios mura. Dios yawɨkɨmaipurakana purai **ranu**.

nati marai aikiara   Dios mura
NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS

Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =pura   =kana   purai   ranu
God make   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS merely 3PL.MS

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[380]Note that this is one of the few instances in the ecclesiastical texts of =*pa*, which is the interrogative clitic used in the modern language. The clitic =*tipa* is much more common in the catechisms, but is absent in modern Omagua (see §2.3.5).

'God is none of these things. They are merely God's creations.'
(see 5.6))

(9.29) a. kʷaɾaʃi, yasɨ, sesukana, wɨrakana, **miaɾa**kana, ɨwatakana, ɾoayatipa Dios?

kʷaɾaʃi yasɨ   sesu =kana wɨra =kana miaɾa =kana ɨwata =kana ɾoaya
sun   moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS animal =PL.MS jungle =PL.MS NEG

=tipa   Dios
=INTERR God

'The sun, the moon, the stars, the birds, the animals, the forests, are they not God?'

b. ɾoaya Dios muɾa. **aikiaɾa upakatu** maɾainkana Dios yawɨkɨmaipuɾa puɾai **muɾa**.

ɾoaya Dios muɾa
NEG   God 3SG.MS

aikiaɾa   upa =katu maɾain =kana Dios yawɨkɨ =mai   =puɾa
DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing =PL.MS God make =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST

puɾai   muɾa
CONTR.FOC 3SG.MS

'They are not God. All these things are God's creation.'
(see (6.6))

Turning to the responses, we find that they are slightly different in content, as evident in (9.28) and (9.29), reflecting the differences in the questions posed. As a result, the Full Catechism exhibits a noun with two prenominal modifiers *aikiaɾa upakatu maɾainkana* 'all of these things' with no counterpart in the Catechism Fragment. Significantly, this collocation shows the same reversed order of prenominal modifiers found in (9.25), confirming contributors to this text felt this to be the correct order. This response also exhibits what appears to be simple grammatical error, a third-person singular pronoun, *muɾa*, that does not agree in number with its antecedents, namely those things that are not to be identified with God. The counterpart of this pronoun in the Catechism Fragment, *ɾanu* in (9.28), does exhibit the correct agreement.

Finally, the Catechism Fragment response exhibits the collocation *nati maɾai*, which is clearly intended to mean 'none' or 'none of them' (cf. *maɾai* 'thing'). Interestingly, neither modern Omagua or modern Kokama exhibit a reflex of *nati*, which appears to function as a negation element here, nor has it yet proved possible to identify a corresponding element in Tupinambá or any other Tupí-Guaraní language.

7th Question-Response Pair   The questions in these pairs exhibit two differences, the most significant being the difference in choice of interrogative word. The Catechism Fragment question, in (9.30), employs reason interrogative (formed from *maɾai* 'what' and *=ikua* REAS), while the Full Catechism question, in (9.31), employs a purpose interrogative (formed from *maɾai* 'what' and *=ra* NOM.PURP) (see §2.3.5). The responses make clear that the purpose interrogative is correct, indicating that the use of reason interrogative in the Catechism Fragment reflects the failure of the contributors to that text to master the subtle distinction between reason and purpose interrogatives in Old Omagua. The fact that a contributor to the Full Catechism had mastery of the reason-purpose distinction in Omagua interrogative formation suggests a fairly high degree of fluency. The Catechism Fragment does, however exhibit the correct ordering of prenominal modifiers to *maɾainkana*, while the Full Catechism exhibits the reverse order.

(9.30)   a. **maɾaikua**tipa Dios yawɨkɨ **upakatu aikiaɾa** maɾainkana?

maɾai	=ikua	=tipa	Dios	yawɨkɨ	upa	=katu	aikiaɾa		maɾain	=kana
what	=REAS	=INTERR	God	make	all	=INTSF	DEM.PROX.MS	thing	=PL.MS

'Why did God make all these things?'

b. awa eɾa**senuni**.

awa	eɾa	=senuni
man	good	=PURP

'For the well-being of man.'
(see (5.7))

(9.31) a. **maɾaiɾa**pa Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua **aikiaɾa upai** maɾainkana?

maɾai	=ɾa	=pa	Dios	yawɨkɨ	ɨmɨnua	aikiaɾa	upai	maɾain
what	=NOM.PURP	=INTERR	God	make	long.ago	DEM.PROX.MS	every	thing

=kana
=PL.MS

'Why did God create all these things?'

b. yeneeɾa**maiɾa**.

yene=	eɾa	=mai	=ɾa
1PL.INCL=	good	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PURP

'For our well-being.'
(see (6.7))

The responses are both fully grammatical, but exhibit interestingly different strategies for indicating purpose. The Catechism fragment response employs the purpose postposition =*senuni*, which cliticizes to *eɾa* 'good' directly, as we would expect, while the Full Catechism response employs the nominal purposive =*ɾa*, which attaches to the nominalized *eɾa=mai* (see footnote 165).

8th Question-Response Pair The questions in this pair exhibit the pattern seen in the previous pair, where the Catechism Fragment incorrectly employs a reason interrogative word in a context which calls for a purpose interrogative, while the Full Catechism employs the purpose interrogative word *maniasenuni* (see §2.3.5). The Full Catechism question exhibits another instance *ɨmɨnua* 'long ago' occuring between the verb and its object, a position in which temporal adverbs may not appear in the modern language (see above and §xxx). Note that the questions also differ slightly in their content, with the Catechism Fragment asking why 'man' was created, with the Full Catechism using the first person plural inclusive pronoun *yene* instead.

(9.32) a. **maɾaikua**tipa Dios yawɨkɨ weɾanu **muɾa** awa?

maɾai	=ikua	=tipa	Dios	yawɨkɨ	weɾanu	muɾa	awa
what	=REAS	=INTERR	God	create	COORD	3SG.MS	man

'Why did God also make man?'

b. Diossemai ɾaikuasenuni, muɾa ɾasaʃitasenuni, ɾakumesapuɾakana ɾasenusenuni, umanu-maipuɾa ɾayawaʃimasenuni ɨwatimai ɾitamakate.

Dios	=semai	ɾa=	ikua	=senuni	muɾa	ɾa=	saʃita	=senuni	ɾa=
God	=VERID	3SG.MS=	know	=PURP	3SG.MS	3SG.MS=	love	=PURP	3SG.MS=

kumesa	=puɾa	=kana	ɾa=	senu	=senuni	umanu	=mai	=puɾa
word	=NOM.PST	=PL.MS	3SG.MS=	hear	=PURP	die	=INACT.NOMZ	=NOM.PST

ɾa=	yawaʃima	=senuni	ɨwati	=mai	ɾitama	=kate
3SG.MS=	arrive	=PURP	be.high.up	=INACT.NOMZ	village	=LOC

'So that he may truly know God, so that he may love him, so that he may hear his words, so that the dead may arrive in Heaven.'
(see (5.8))

(9.33) a. **maniasenuni** Dios yawɨkɨ **ɨmɨnua yene** weɾanu?

    mania   =senuni Dios yawɨkɨ ɨmɨnua   yene   weɾanu
    what.action =PURP   God make   long.ago 1PL.INCL COORD

    'Why did God create us as well?'

    b. yeneikuasenuni Diossemai se, yenesaʃitasenuni muɾa Dios, ɾakumesamaipuɾakana yene**amuyasukata**sen aikiaɾa tuyukaaɾi yeneyuɾitiupaɾaʃi, ɨwatimai ɾitamakate yeneususenuni.

    yene=   ikua =senuni Dios =semai se yene=   saʃita =senuni muɾa   Dios
    1PL.INCL= know =PURP   God =VERID ? 1PL.INCL= love   =PURP 3SG.MS God

    ɾa=   kumesa =mai   =puɾa   =kana yene=   amuyasukata
    3SG.MS= say   =INACT.NOMZ =NOM.PST =PL.MS 1PL.INCL= observe

    =senuni aikiaɾa   tuyuka =aɾi   yene=   yuɾiti   =upa =ɾaʃi
    =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land   =LOC.DIFF 1PL.INCL= be.in.place =CESS =NASS

    ɨwati   =mai   ɾitama =kate yene=   usu =senuni
    be.high.up =INACT.NOMZ village =ALL 1PL.INCL= go   =PURP

    'So that we may truly know God, so that we may love him, so that we may observe his commandments, and ceasing to remain on Earth, so that we may go to Heaven.'
    (see (6.8))

The responses differ in relatively minor ways related to expressive choices in the content corresponding to differences in the questions, but the Catechism Fragment interestingly does not employ the apparent neologism *amuyasukata* 'observe' (see §9.3.1) found in the Full Catechism, instead employing *senu* 'hear, listen' to express the concept of observing God's commandments.

10th Question-Response Pair   The two questions in this pair differ in the form of the interrogative clitic – *=tipa* in the Catechism Fragment, and *=pa* in the Full Catechism – and whether the predicative noun *Dios* is overtly marked for plural number, as in Catechism Fragment. Note that the form of the clitic appears to vary freely in Old Omagua, and that number marking on semantically plural nouns modified by a numeral is optional in modern Omagua, suggesting that both questions are fully grammatical, with the differences simply reflecting different expressive choices. Finally, it is interesting to note in light of the apparent prenominal modifier ordering errors evident in the Full Catechims in other cases, that in both questions the ordering of prenominal modifiers is correct (i.e. *aikiaɾa musapɨrɨka* 'these three').

(9.34)   a. aikiaɾa musapɨrɨka personakana, ɾoaya**tipa** musapɨrɨka Dios?

    aikiaɾa   musapɨrɨka persona =kana   ɾoaya =tipa   musapɨrɨka Dios
    DEM.PROX.MS three   person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three   God

    'These three persons, are they not three Gods?'

    b. ɾoaya **muɾa** musapɨrɨka Dios. aikiaɾa musapɨrɨka personakana **uyepesemai** Dios muɾa. santísima trinidadnani ɾaʃiɾa.

    ɾoaya muɾa   musapɨrɨka Dios
    NEG 3SG.MS three   God

aikiɾa | musapɨɾika persona =kana | uyepe =semai | Dios muɾa
DEM.PROX.MS three | person =PL.MS one | =VERID God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani | ɾa= | ʃiɾa
Holy Trinity =CONTR.FOC | 3SG.MS= | name

'They are not three Gods. These three persons are truly one God. The Holy Trinity is its name.'
(see (5.10))

(9.35) a. aikiɾa musapɨɾika personakana, ɾoaya**pa** musapɨɾika Dios**kana**?

aikiɾa | musapɨɾika persona =kana | ɾoaya =pa | musapɨɾika Dios =kana
DEM.PROX.MS three | person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR | three God =PL.MS

'These three people, are they not three Gods?'

b. ɾoaya [musa]pɨɾika Dioskana. aikiɾa musapɨɾika personakana persona **uyepe titi** Dios muɾa. santísima trinidadnani**mai** ɾaʃiɾa.

ɾoaya [musa]pɨɾika Dios =kana
NEG three God =PL.MS

aikiɾa | musapɨɾika persona =kana | persona uyepe titi | Dios muɾa
=PL.MS three | person =PL.MS person | one be.alone | God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani | =mai ɾa= | ʃiɾa
Holy Trinity =CONTR.FOC | =? 3SG.MS= | name

'They are not three Gods. These three persons are one God alone. The Holy Trinity is its name.'
(see (6.10))

The responses, each of which we analyze as consisting of three short sentences, differ in a number of important ways. In the first sentence, which is a non-verbal clause, the Full Catechism lacks the pronominal form *muɾa* 3SG.MS, found in the corresponding Catechism Fragment sentence. Based on modern Omagua, we expect *muɾa* to be necessary here for the sentence to be grammatical (see §2.3.9). Note that in the second sentence of the response, however, also a non-verbal clause, the Full Catechism exhibits *muɾa* in the expected position, just as in the Catechism Fragment, suggesting that its absence in the first sentence of the Full Catechism response may reflect a simple oversight, rather than a lack of mastery of the grammar of non-verbal clauses.

The responses also differ in how the notion of God being a single god (despite being a trinity) is expressed in the second sentence, with the collocation *uyepe titi* 'one alone' appearing in the Full Catechism (and attested in modern Omagua), while the Catechism fragment employs the veridical: *uyepe=semai* 'truly one'. We believe both of these constructions were grammatical. Finally, the third sentence of each of the responses exhibit the use of *=nani* as a contrastive focus marker on *trinidad* (also a strategy attested synchronically (see §2.3.8.2)), but the presence of the nominalizer *=mai* following the contrastive focus marker in the Full Catechism is inexplicable, and was presumably ungrammatical.

11th Question-Response Pair The questions in this pair differ in two ways. We see that the interrogative word *maniamai* 'which' in Catechism Fragment,[381] in (9.36), bears the interrogative

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[381]In modern Omagua, *makatimai* 'which'.

clitic =*tipa*, whereas the corresponding interrogative word in the Full Catechism, (9.37), does not. The *wh*-word *maniamai* is attested in modern Omagua (albeit with a meaning of 'what type of'), where it cannot be marked by =*pa*, the interrogative clitic in modern Omagua. The questions also differ in their the treatment of the object of *uwaka* 'transform', *awa* 'man', with the Full Catechism object bearing the nominal purposive clitic =*ɾa*, as we expect based on modern Omagua, but the corresponding element in the Catechism Fragment laking this clitic, rendering the construction ungrammatical. The responses show the same difference in appropriate use of the nominal purposive.

Other than the difference in the use of the nominal purposive, the responses also differ in the Fragment marking *taɨɾa* 'son' with the veridical =*semai* VERID to maintain the fact that it is God's true son who transformed into a man.

(9.36) a. aikiaɾa musapɨɾika personakana**sui**, maniamai**tipa** awa uwaka **ɨmɨnua**?

   aikiaɾa   musapɨɾika persona =kana   =sui maniamai =tipa   awa uwaka
   DEM.PROX.MS three   person =PL.MS =ABL which   =INTERR man transform
   ɨmɨnua
   long.ago

   'Of these three people, which became man?'

   b. Dios taɨɾa**semai** awa uwaka **ɨmɨnua**.

   Dios taɨɾa   =semai awa uwaka   ɨmɨnua
   God son.MALE.EGO =VERID man transform long.ago

   'The son of God truly became man.
   (see (5.11))

(9.37) a. aikiaɾa musapɨɾika personakana**sui**, maniamai awa**ra** uwaka **ɨmɨnua**?

   aikiaɾa   musapɨɾika persona =kana   =sui maniamai awa =ɾa
   DEM.PROX.MS three   person =PL.MS =ABL which   man =NOM.PURP
   uwaka   ɨmɨnua
   transform long.ago

   'Of these three people, which became man?'

   b. Dios taɨɾa awa**ra** uwaka **ɨmɨnua**.

   Dios taɨɾa   awa =ɾa   uwaka   ɨmɨnua
   God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform long.ago

   'The son of God became man.'
   (see (6.11))

12th Question-Response Pair   The same difference in the use of *maɾaikua* and *maniasenuni*, discussed above in the questions of (9.32) and (9.33) is found in (5.12) and (6.12). In the responses, the Fragment shows an additional clause describing Christ's taking Christians to Heaven that is absent in the Full Catechism, although the latter states that Christ will save Christians both from their evils and from Hell, whereas the former does not mention Hell (see footnote 188).

Interim Summary   In Table 9.2 we summarize the major findings laid out at the beginning of this section with regard to the grammatical characteristics of each of the two catechistic texts. A check mark indicates grammatical uses of the construction in question, while an 'X' indicates ungrammatical uses.

Table 9.2: Summary of Grammatical Differences Between Catechistic Texts

	CALQUED OBLIQUE CX.	=mukui COORD	weranu COORD	UNGRAM. INTERROG	GRAM. PRENOM. MOD. ORDER	UNGRAM. REASON CL.	UNGRAM. NOM. PRED.
FRAG, Q&R 1	X						
FULL, Q&R 1	∅						
FRAG, Q&R 2		✓					
FULL, Q&R 2		∅					
FRAG, Q&R 3				X	∅		
FULL, Q&R 3				∅	X		
FRAG, Q&R 4			✓	X			
FULL, Q&R 4			∅	∅			
FRAG, Q&R 5				X			
FULL, Q&R 5				∅			
FRAG, Q&R 7					✓	X	
FULL, Q&R 7					X	∅	
FRAG, Q&R 8						X	
FULL, Q&R 8						∅	
FRAG, Q&R 10					✓		✓, ✓
FULL, Q&R 10					✓		X, ✓
FRAG, Q&R 11				X			
FULL, Q&R 11				∅			
FRAG, Q&R 12						X	
FULL, Q&R 12						∅	

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9.5 Text History

The goal of this section is to combine our knowledge of the history of Jesuit interactions with the Omaguas and our analysis of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts to identify likely Jesuit contributors to the development of the texts, and to the degree possible, clarify how these texts have come down to us in the present.

Our assessment of which Jesuits are likely to have contributed to the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts is based on: 1) the length of their engagement with the Omaguas ; 2) their fluency in Omagua, as explicitly discussed in historical materials, or as implied by explicit mention of their involvement in the preparation of descriptive linguistic materials; 3) the political and demographic stability of the mission settlements in which the missionary in question worked; and, of course, 4) any explicit mention of their having developed ecclesiastical texts (see Table 9.3). We emphasize, however, that in no case is it possible to identify the contributors with certainty, as none of the manuscript copies of these texts are known to be signed or annotated in any way that indicates their provenance.

Table 9.3: Reported Authors of Old Omagua Texts

Name	Origin	Period	Location
Simón de Rojas	???	1621	Aguarico River
Humberto Coronado	???	1621	''
Samuel Fritz	Bohemia	1685-1704	San Joaquín and downriver
Wilhelm Grebmer	Baden	?-1735-?	Yurimaguas (Huallaga River)

The first Omagua catechism mentioned in the historical record dates to the Jesuits' first major encounter with the Omaguas, Simón de Rojas' and Humberto Coronado's 1621 expedition to the Aguarico River basin (see Chapter 1). The ultimate fate of this document is unknown, although given broader Jesuit linguistic practices (see §9.2), we expect that a copy of this catechism was archived in Quito. Although the Catechism Fragment was located in Quito (see Chapter 5) we do not believe that it is a copy of the Rojas and Coronado catechism, as there is, as we discuss below, good reason to believe that the Catechism Fragment is a copy of a text in use in the Maynas missions in the mid 18th century.

We also do not know if Samuel Fritz was aware of the existence of this first catechism when he passed through Quito, en route to Maynas, in 1685 ((Jouanen 1943:732)), or whether he availed himself of it. However, the fact that he does not mention the catechism in his correspondence, in which he does discuss the linguistic diversity of Maynas, the fact that he was learning Quechua in Quito, and the likelihood that he would be sent to work among the Omagua (Bravo Santillán and Grosser 2007:69), suggests that he did not. We suspect, then, that de Rojas and Coronado catechism was never incorporated into the main Maynas Old Omagua ecclesiastical text tradition, possibly due to the fact that there was a significant break, both in time, and institutionally, between Rojas' and Coronado's efforts to missionize the Upper Napo Omaguas, and Fritz's engagement with the Omaguas some 64 years later.

Samuel Fritz is of course the prime candidate for having initiated the Old Omagua ecclesiastical text tradition. Fritz is reported to have a prepared an Omagua wordlist and grammar ((Hervás y Panduro 1800:200)), which testifies to his linguistic abilities, and we deem it very likely that Fritz came to be fluent in Omagua, given his complete immersion in Omagua society and the success of his evangelical activities. We also have no reason to believe that Quechua was spoken by the Omagua during the early years of Fritz's work in their communities, meaning that Fritz probably did not

rely on translation from a Quechua model, a common first step in ecclesiastical text preparation by the Maynas Jesuits (see §9.2.4). Fritz was also the longest-serving Jesuit missionary among the Omaguas,[382] giving him ample time in which to prepare and make use of the texts. And given his prominence in the Jesuit hierarchy of Maynas, it is very likely that the ecclesiastical texts he developed were both archived in Santiago de la Laguna and served as the basis for the versions that we analyze here.

With Fritz's departure for Lagunas in 1704 to serve as Superior begins a long period characterized of significant upheavals and dislocations for the Omaguas and the missionaries who worked with them. Between 1710 and 1723 in particular, there was no stable Jesuit presence among the Omaguas (see §9.1), making it unlikely that further work on ecclesiastical texts was carried out until the successful re-establishment of San Joaquín de Omaguas in 1723 by Bernard Zurmühlen and Johannes Baptist Julian. Since by this time the Jesuit linguistic and textual practices we describe in §9.2 were presumably well established, it is likely that they brought with them to the new settlement copies of earlier linguistic and ecclesiastical materials produced, one assumes, by Fritz.[383]

Although San Joaquín de Omaguas was stable after the mid-1720s, it was not until the arrival of Martín Iriarte in 1748 that any missionary spent more than three years among the Omagua since Sanna, some 40 years earlier.[384] It is clear that Iriarte spoke Omagua fluently (see §9.2.2), and since he stayed in San Joaquín for eight years, would have had ample time to improve Omagua ecclesiastical texts. Indeed, even if these texts had been entirely lost in the years following Fritz's departure (an unlikely event in any case, given the practice of maintaining copies in Santiago de la Laguna and Quito, as well as in the principal mission site), Iriarte would probably have been able to re-create them. Iriarte is thus the first clear candidate for a major contributor to the Omagua ecclesiastical texts since Fritz.

Manuel Uriarte succeeded Iriarte in 1756, but the brief Omagua passages from his diaries are heavily calqued (see Chapter 8), casting doubt on his ability to contribute to the ecclesiastical texts, which for the most part appear to reflect considerable knowledge of Omagua grammar.

The last priest stationed in San Joaquín, Josef Palme, arrived in 1764 and stayed until the Jesuits were entirely expelled from Maynas 1768. Little is known about Palme's facility with Omagua, but it is certainly conceivable that he contributed to polishing the ecclesiastical texts. Note, however, that Palme could not have had any influence on the Catechism Fragment, since that text had been taken by Franciscis before Palme's arrival (see §5.1.1 and footnote 350). If Palme contributed to what comes down to us as the Full Catechism, this may account for some minor variation between the two texts. We conclude from this survey that some or all of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts that we analyze in this volume are likely based on versions created by Samuel Fritz in the

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[382]Fritz worked among the Omagua between 1685 and 1704, with two long absences from Omagua mission settlements (in addition to two journeys to Quito): 1) his trip to and subsequent imprisonment in Pará (modern-day Belém, Brazil) from September 1689 until July 1691; 2) a stay in Lima that lasted from July 1692 until May 1693 (Edmundson 1922:24-26).

[383]Fritz may have archived his work in Quito during his trips there in 1701 and 1707 (Edmundson (1922:28-29); Anonymous ([1731]1922:107-108, 115)) or in Santiago de la Laguna in 1704, when he became Superior. Note also that both Zurmühlen and Julian could have continued their interaction with a much smaller group of Omagua while Superiors at Lagunas (see footnote 315), and archived any written records there.

[384]Here it is important to mention the Omagua manuscripts written by Wilhelm Grebmer (see §9.2.2). Although it is unclear whether these constituted ecclesiastical or linguistic texts, or both, they would have been based on work with Omaguas living in Yurimaguas, where he was missionary in 1735, or at Santiago de la Laguna, where he would have resided during his tenure as Superior from 1744 to 1748 (Jouanen 1943:722). Both Yurimaguas and Santiago de la Laguna were highly stable settlements by this period, and Grebmer would have most certainly archived his writings at the latter site, although this entire collection was destroyed in a fire that decimated that parrish in 1749. However, he left his position as Superior to become Provincial in Quito, and it is possible that he took a copy of his writings to archive in Quito just before the 1749 fire.

1690s, and possibly added to or modified by Martín Iriarte in the early 1750s. Other than these two missionaries, known for their Omagua linguistic ability, no clear candidates as contributors to the Omagua texts emerge.

The survival of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts is in certain respects surprising, since in the latter phases of their explusion in 1767-8 the Maynas Jesuits destroyed most of the linguistic descriptions and ecclesiastical materials that they had developed, in order that they not fall into the hands of other religious orders (see Chapter 8 and footnote 5). The actual manuscripts that have come down to us appear to have done so by three different routes. Although much about their histories remains obscure, the Catechism Fragment's survival appears to have centrally involved Ignacio Franciscis, the survival of the Lord's Prayer centrally involved Joaquín Camaño, and the remaining texts appear to have been preserved by Manuel Uriarte.

As described in §5.1.1, the Catechism Fragment was published by González Suárez after a copy of the manuscript was given to him as part of a collection of ecclesiastical texts uncovered in Quito. Where this collection was discovered is unclear, but it may have been held in private hands. In any case, Suárez identified the handwriting of the Catechism Fragment as Franciscis', based on its similarity to a document that he confidently identifies as written by Franciscis. Ignacio Franciscis worked briefly in San Joaquín de Omaguas with Manuel Uriarte in 1761, and we deduce that he copied a catechism text available there, and and brought it back to Quito, where he himself ended up before the expulsion (see §5.1.1 and footnote 350). Franciscis is almost certainly not the author of the catechism fragment, however, since he was in San Joaquín de Omaguas for only four months. In fact, it appears, given the highly linguistically disparate nature of the ecclesiastical texts in his handwriting in this collection, that Franciscis was actively collecting texts in different languages, copying them wherever he found them.

The text of the Lord's Prayer published by Hervás y Panduro was probably given to him by Joaquín Camaño (see §4.1), who was one of Hervás y Panduro's main sources for linguistic information about South American languages (Clark 1937). Although Camaño never worked with Omaguas, he was clearly quite knowledgeable about the language, suggesting that he had access to materials on it. Where Camaño obtained the text is unknown at this point, but it is worth noting that Camaño lived in Faenza, Italy subsequent to the expulsion (Fúrlong Cárdiff 1955:14-15), close to Iriarte and Uriarte, who lived in nearby Ravenna (Bayle [1952]1986:82). As we discuss below, it is clear that Uriarte preserved several texts, and may have given Camaño the copy of the Lord's Prayer. This might explain why this text does not appear in the appendix to Uriarte's diaries.

The remaining ecclesiastical texts survived as part of the manuscript of Uriarte's diaries, but it is not entirely clear that Uriarte brought the texts back to Europe from Maynas. Uriarte claims to have re-written his diaries in their entirety following the expulsion, since he supposedly destroyed the original during the Jesuit expulsion, but he does explicitly indicate that he was able to smuggle a single ecclesiastical text in Tikuna with him back to Italy (Uriarte [1776]1986:239). This latter text forms part of the set of indigenous ecclesiastical texts found with his diary. It is curious, however, that he mentions smuggling only the Tikuna text, and not any of the other manuscripts appearing with his diary, raising the possibility that they may have been brought to Europe by others (e.g., by Iriarte), and then bundled with the diary manuscript. It is possible, of course, that Uriarte re-wrote the catechism from memory, but he presumably would not have been able to do so for the other ecclesiastical texts bundled with his diary, meaning that these other texts must have found their way to Europe by some means. We also doubt that the two catechism versions we compare in §9.4 would be so similar if Uriarte had rewritten the Full Catechism from memory after several years' living in Italy, and some fifteen years after having ceased working with the Omaguas. In this light, it is important to recall that someone, possibly Uriarte, provided Bazán with the grammatical and lexical data that informed Hervás y Panduro's and Gilii's works, suggesting that some Jesuit or

Jesuits succeeded in bringing a significant quantity of linguistic materials to Italy.

As to how Uriarte acquired the Omagua text itself (assuming he did not write it in Italy), he may have done so by: 1) copying a version kept at San Joaquín when he left from there in 1764 to return to San Regis de Yameos; or 2) taking it for himself during the trip that led the remaining Jesuits out of Maynas in 1768, when all of the remaining priests in the lower Marañón mission left via San Joaquín. If he also smuggled out a Yameo text, to which he would presumably have had access, given that he resided in San Regis de Yameos for the four years preceding the expulsion, this would then account for the group of Omagua, Yameo and Tikuna texts in the appendix to his diaries. This account would also explain why the texts in Franciscis' manuscript are not in the same set of languages as those appended to Uriarte's diaries. Franciscis may have simply copied a set of texts that Uriarte had in his possession in 1761 but not 1768, or he may have gathered the texts from missionaries besides Uriarte. In sum, this account leads to the conclusion that the text copied by Franciscis and published in González Suárez (1904) is slightly older than the one in Uriarte ([1776]1986). Dissimilarities between the two catechisms (which were reviewed in §9.4) can be accounted for either as changes by Uriarte (assuming he took a copy when he left San Joaquín in 1764) or by Palme between 1764 and 1768 (assuming Uriarte took a copy when left San Joaquín for the last time in 1768 after the expulsion).

Chapter 10

Conclusion

On the basis of a careful analysis of Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts, the present work has sought to shed light on the grammar of Old Omagua as it was spoken in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and on the process by which the Jesuit missionaries of Maynas developed these texts. This work also provides high-quality representations of the ecclesiastical texts in question to serve as a resource for further analysis by others.

Old Omagua grammar, as revealed in the ecclesiastical texts, is largely similar to the that of the modern language, but the texts provide clear evidence for morphemes and constructions that are absent in the modern language, yielding key insights into earlier stages of the language. In several cases, such as the privative =*ima*, the structural elements either no longer or scarcely found in the modern language are retentions from the Tupí-Guaraní precursor to Omagua, serving to show that Old Omagua, and by extension, Proto-Omagua-Kokama, preserved aspects of Tupí-Guaraní morphology no longer found in its modern daughter languages. In other cases, such as the negative purposive =*maka*, the texts provide evidence for a morpheme absent in the modern language, but present in Omagua's modern sister language, Kokama-Kokamilla. Such evidence allows one to reconstruct such morphemes to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, which is especially valuable for morphemes that lack cognates in more typical Tupí-Guaraní languages. In yet other cases the texts provide evidence regarding the original phonological form of elements which have since undergone phonological erosion, as in the case of the Old Omagua *ɾoaya*, which has reduced to *ɾua* in the modern language. The full implications of the linguistic information contained in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts for the reconstruction of Proto-Omagua-Kokama and the linguistic history of its daughter languages lies beyond the scope of the present work, but it is clear that considerably greater progress will be possible by making use of these texts.

The insights into Jesuit linguistic and text-development practices yielded by the ecclesiastical texts and complementary historical materials are significant. Ecclesiastical texts like the Omagua ones analyzed in the present work were critical components of one of two prongs of a broader language policy that combined the promotion of Quechua as a *lengua general* with evangelical work carried out the Amazonian *lenguas particulares* of each group. The ecclesiastical texts made it possible for missionaries to carry out crucial evangelical activities such as catechizing converts and youths, and teaching key prayers, even before mastering the relevant local languages. As such, these texts were central to maintaining a degree of continuity in the face of relatively frequent rotations of mission personnel. These texts are also evidence of a sophisticated language policy that promoted the development of descriptive linguistic resources and the maintenance of archives that preserved both descriptive materials and ecclesiastical texts for use by subsequent missionaries.

A close comparison of the two catechistic texts analyzed in this volume confirms an intriguing

conclusion to be drawn from the historical materials describing the development of ecclesiastical texts, namely, that the ecclesiastical texts were not produced by a single author at a single point in time, but instead successively re-worked and polished as part of a communal text tradition. The two catechisms are overwhelmingly similar, but show a variety of subtle differences in the words or grammatical constructions employed to express a given notion, which points to contributions by different individuals. Perhaps the best evidence for the involvement of different individuals, however, is that the contributors to the different texts exhibit different masteries of Old Omagua grammar. Although the contributors to both texts exhibit significant knowledge of the language, the contributors to the Full Catechism, for example, show mastery of the subtle distinction between reason and purpose interrogative words, while the contributors to the Catechism Fragment conflate this distinction, resorting in all cases to reason interrogatives. In contrast, the contributors to the Catechism Fragment generally ordered pre-nominal modifiers correctly, while the contributors to the Full Catechism inverted the correct order on a number of occasions.

This work also sought to narrow down the likely contributors to the ecclesiastical texts, identifying Samuel Fritz and Manuel Iriarte as probably having been important in the communal text tradition in which the Old Omagua texts were embedded. A great deal is unknown about the details of these contributions, however, and the precise means by which these texts survived the destruction of Jesuit linguistic descriptions and ecclesiastical texts during the expulsion remains unclear.

This work represents a first exploration of the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts analyzed here, and they no doubt have much more to tell us, both about the language in which they were written, and the circumstances and manner in which they were created. Even this initial foray, however, shows us that the long-neglected texts created by the Jesuits of Maynas constitute invaluable linguistic and historical resources.

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