

# Language Attrition or Language Change?

## A Case Study of an Omagua Idiolect\*

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## 1 Introduction

- This presentation explores notions of language attrition, change, and semi-speaker by examining the unique grammar of a speaker of Omagua in the context of language obsolescence
  - Tupí-Guaraní language of Peruvian Amazonia (Michael et al. in prep)
  - Closely related to Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010)
- I argue that the resultant grammar was heavily influenced by Spanish-based calquing
  - Reinforced by prescriptive ideologies unique to this speaker (among Omagua speakers)
  - Made possible by a keen ability to identify and gloss grammatical morphemes
  - The degree of systematicity in these domains (or lack thereof) correlates with the availability of transparent word substitution
- However, variation is confined primarily to the domain of verbal suffixes and enclitics
- This work builds on the typology of speakers between Omagua and Kokama (Vallejos 2014a,b)
  - Omagua spoken by ~5 speakers from San Joaquín de Omaguas (SJQ, Amazon River)
  - Kokama spoken by ~1,000 speakers across ~120 communities (Vallejos 2010:31-32)

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<sup>†</sup>AFF = affect; ALL = allative; AND = andative; CAUS = causative; CL = clausal; CPL = completive; COND = conditional; DEM = demonstrative; DIR = directional; EXCL = exclusive; FS = feminine speech; FUT = future; INCL = inclusive; ITER = iterative; INTERR = interrogative; LIM = limitative; LOC = locative; ME = male ego; MS = masculine speech; MOD = modal; NEG = negation; NOMZ = nominalizer; PERS = person; PL = plural; PROG = progressive; PROL = prolative; PROX = proximate; PURP = purpose; REAS = reason; SG = singular; TNS = tense; VP = verb phrase.

- Roadmap: §1.1 Sociolinguistic Situation; §1.2 Speaker A. Biography; §2 Omagua Grammar Basics; §§3 & 4 Case Studies; §5 Idiolectal Features; §6 Collaboration with Speaker A.; §7 Discussion & Conclusion

## 1.1 Sociolinguistic Situation

- 1880s: Jesuit-era SJQ is moved to its current site in response to plantation-style labor managed by highland and foreign settlers (O'Hagan in prep)
- ~1913: the first Spanish-speaking schoolteacher arrives in SJQ (Huanaquiri Tuisima, p.c.)
  - At this time most communication with outsiders was conducted in lowland Quechua
- The arrival of a Spanish-language school and at least some 50 years of increased contact with outsiders meant that by the 1930s Omagua was moribund
  - 1910s: children acquired Omagua as a dominant language, later becoming bilingual
  - 1930s: children acquired Spanish as a dominant first language
    - \* In early life spoken to in Omagua by parents and grandparents who had not yet acquired Spanish or would never acquire it fully
    - \* However, individuals born in 1930, 1931, and 1936 are fully conversational in Omagua
- 1948-1965: numerous families emigrate to urban Iquitos and elsewhere in search of work
- 1960s: many Omagua-dominant individuals have passed away
- In the last decades of the 20th century, Omagua was used mainly as in-group language among elders born near the turn of the century
- At present short phrases are occasionally used in jest, or, less frequently, to teach young descendants, but otherwise the language is not spoken

## 1.2 Speaker A. Biography

- Born: February 7, 1933 in San Joaquín de Omaguas
  - 9th of 12 children born between c1916 and c1943
  - Nearest elder sibling (b. 1930) shows none of the restructuring exhibited by A.
  - Mother (c1900-c1956): Omagua, born in SJQ, native Omagua speaker, Spanish later
    - \* Maternal-grandmother (1873-c1943): Omagua, born in Omaguas (old Jesuit mission), native Omagua speaker, Omagua-dominant
    - \* Maternal grandfather (1872-c1946): Omagua, born in Omaguas (old Jesuit mission), native Omagua speaker, Omagua-dominant
  - Father (c1895-1980s): Kokama, born in Lagunas (Huallaga River), Spanish later
    - \* Paternal grandmother: Kokama, born in Lagunas (Huallaga River)
    - \* Paternal grandfather: Kokama, born in Lagunas (Huallaga River)
- Left SJQ in 1948 in search of work, returning in June 1965 (Huanaquiri Tuisima 2011)
  - Served three terms as *teniente gobernador* between 1965 and 1989

- The subsequent period was one of intense social and political reorganization in SJQ
- 2003-2006: wrote 12 notebooks of Omagua narratives with line-by-line Spanish translation, resulting in a digitized and parsed corpus of ~100,000 words
- 2010: began collaborating with author in colleagues in *in situ* fieldwork

## 2 Omagua Grammar Basics

- I describe relevant grammatical facts of 5 of 6 Omagua speakers
  - I refer to this variety as the ‘standard’, and deviations from it as ‘non-standard’
  - Representative of speech of members of distinct nuclear families
  - Representative of speech of Speaker A.’s own elder sister (b. 1930)
  - Exhibits patterns expected based on comparison with Kokama-Kokamilla
- Omagua is a largely isolating language with little affixal morphology and no case or agreement
- Information-structurally unmarked word order is SVO, with postpositions
- A genderlect distinction pervades person-markers, demonstratives, and nominal plural enclitics
- Person is marked via a series free pronouns and phonologically bound pronominal proclitics
  - Three persons and two numbers are distinguished, with an inclusive-exclusive distinction
  - First- and third-person forms additionally distinguish the gender of the speaker
  - Proclitics function as nominal possessors, while verbal arguments may be encoded via any of the markers in Table 1

Table 1: Omagua Free Pronouns and Pronominal Proclitics

|       | SINGULAR     |              | PLURAL         |                |
|-------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
|       | MASC. SPEECH | FEM. SPEECH  | MASC. SPEECH   | FEM. SPEECH    |
| 1     | tá / t(a)=   | tsí / ts(i)= | taná / tan(a)= | tsmá / tsm(a)= |
| 1INCL |              |              | yini / yin(i)= |                |
| 2     | mɪ / n(i)=   |              | ɪpɪ / p(i)=    |                |
| 3     | mura / r(a)= | ãi / i= ~ r= | raná / ran(a)= | iná / in(a)=   |

- Omagua verbs exhibit no obligatorily marked morphosyntactic categories except person
  - Most verb phrases consist only of a person-marker and verb
- The verbal word optionally consists of four suffix slots, and three enclitic slots
  - Suffixes encode causation, iterativity, completivity, and progressivity
  - Enclitics encode direction, tense (four distinctions), and modality

Table 2: Omagua Verb Phrase Template

|       |      |            |            |            |             |         | =CLAUSE-LINKERS |      |             |      |
|-------|------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------|-----------------|------|-------------|------|
| PERS= | VERB | <i>-ta</i> | <i>-ka</i> | <i>-pa</i> | <i>-ari</i> | (PERS=) | =DIR            | =TNS | <i>=mia</i> | PERS |
|       |      | -CAUS      | -ITER      | -CPL       | -PROG       |         |                 |      | =MOD        |      |

- When proclitic objects intervene between suffixes and enclitics, enclitics attach to the object, forming a separate phonological word
- Most biclausal constructions involve verbal enclitics that supplant all other enclitics
  - The former enclitics are often transparently grammaticalized from other still contentful lexical items (e.g., =*ikua* REASON < *ikua* ‘know’)
- Interrogative pronouns appear sentence-initially

### 3 Case Study 1: Oral Text (2004)

- (1) ...
- (2) **maniapkatu** *ta* *wawankira* *ta=* *mama* *ta=* *papa* *rana=* *sita* *ta*  
 when 1SG.MS child 1SG.MS= mother 1SG.MS= father 3PL.MS= love 1SG.MS  
 ‘When I was a child my mother and my father loved me.’
- Use of interrogative pronoun as clause-linker (cf. Spanish *cuando* ‘when’)
- (3) ...
- (4) **sakapiri** *maestro* *kumisa* *ta=* *=supi*  
 after teacher say 1SG.MS= =GOAL  
 ‘Afterwards, the teacher said to me.’
- Use of VP-final clause-linker as temporal adverb (cf. Spanish *después* ‘afterwards’ & *después de (que)* ‘after’)
- (5) *akia* *wawankira* *ikua* **-ra** *-ta* *ni*  
 DEM.PROX.MS child know -? -CAUS 2SG  
 ‘This child will teach you.’
- *-ra* possibly the Kokama verbalizer *-ra* (Vallejos 2010:385-387)
  - Not attested as ‘teach’ in Vallejos Yopán and Amías Murayari (2014)
    - *-ra* and *-ta* do not co-occur in Kokama
- (6) ...
- (7) *awi* *wata* *upa* **-pa**  
 already year end -CPL  
 ‘The year ended.’

- Use of completive *-pa* as past tense
- (8) ...
- (9) *upa -pa akia wata*  
 end -CPL DEM.PROX.MS year  
 ‘This year came to an end.’
- Use of completive *-pa* as past tense
- (10) ...
- (11) *ta= maestra ikumi ra= ariwa -ta ta musapirika gradu*  
 1SG.MS= teacher now 3SG.MS= be.on.top.of -CAUS 1SG.MS three grade  
 ‘My teacher, she advanced me to the third grade.’
- Use of cardinal numeral in ordinal function
  - Unlicensed noun phrase (i.e., no postposition)
- (12) *akia A. maestra kumisa ta= =supi*  
 DEM.PROX.MS A. teacher say 1SG.MS= =GOAL  
 ‘‘A.’s teacher said to me:’’
- Improper use of masculine genderlect forms (cf. *amai* and *tsi=*)
- (13) *akia wawankira upa ra= ikua ikua -ra -ari -ta =mai*  
 DEM.PROX.MS child all 3SG.MS= know know -CAUS -PROG -CAUS =NOMZ:CL  
 ‘‘This child knows everything that they are learning.’’
- Improper use of masculine genderlect forms (cf. *amai* and *r=*)
  - *-ra* possibly the Kokama verbalizer *-ra* (see above)
  - Non-standard ordering of progressive *-ari* and causative *-ta*
    - Unclear contribution of the causative suffix
- (14) ...
- (15) *ikumi tana= ikua mania tana= wawankira usu ra= ikua -ra -ari*  
 now 1PL.EXCL= know how 1PL.EXCL child go 3SG.MS= know -? -PROG  
 ‘‘Now we know how our child is learning.’’
- Improper use of exclusive (cf. *yini=* INCL)
  - *-ra* possibly the Kokama verbalizer *-ra* (see above)
- (16) *yapifika amua wata*  
 grab other year  
 ‘Another year arrived.’
- Lexical confusion with *yaufima* ‘arrive’
- (17) ...
- (18) *ta ikua -ra -ta musapirika gradu*  
 1SG.MS know -? -CAUS three grade  
 ‘‘I teach (up to) the third grade.’’

- Improper use of masculine genderlect form (cf. *tsi*)
- *-ra* possibly the Kokama verbalizer *-ra* (see above)

(19) ...

- (20) *irusu ni= wawankira Nauta =kati Ikitu =kati ra= fikara -ta =smuni*  
 take 2SG- child Nauta =ALL Iquitos =ALL 3SG.MS= seek -CAUS =PURP  
*ra= ikua -pa =usu*  
 3SG.MS= know -CPL =AND

“‘Take your child to Nauta, to Iquitos, so that he might seek out [???].”

- Improper masculine genderlect form (cf. *i=*)
- Lexical confusion with *fikari* ‘seek’
- Non-standard use of causative *-ta*
- Final word is a finite verb phrase when a noun phrase is expected

(21) ...

- (22) *ta rua amiaska irusu =smuni ta= wawankira nimakati*  
 1SG.MS NEG be.abe take =PURP 1SG.MS= child nowhere

“‘I can’t take my child anywhere.”

- Non-standard use of *=smuni* on complement of *amiaska* ‘be able’

(23) ...

- (24) *ikum ta= papa yupuni -ta irusu ta muriapai kati*  
 now 1SG.MS= father begin -CAUS take 1SG.MS also.MS far.off  
 ‘Now my father began to take me further afield (i.e., for work).’

- Non-standard use of causative *-ta*

(25) ...

- (26) *mi rua amiasuka ni= yumi =smuni ta= sita =mai*  
 2SG NEG be.able 2SG= give =PURP 1SG.MS= want =NOMZ:CL

“‘You can’t give (me) what I want (i.e., need).”

- Non-standard use of *=smuni* on complement of *amiasuka* ‘be able’  
 – Different argument structure than (22), with subject present

(27) ...

- (28) *sakapiri ra= kumisa ta= =supi*  
 after 3SG.MS= say 1SG.MS= =GOAL  
 ‘Afterwards, he said to me.’

- Use of VP-final clause-linker as temporal adverb (cf. Spanish *después* & *después de*)

(29) ...

- (30) *kamata -ta -ari mi usu*  
 work -CAUS -PROG 2SG go

“‘Go to work.”

- Apparent lexical confusion with monomorphemic purpose clause marker *-tara*
- (31) **rua** *yumisarika* **-ari**  
 NEG play -PROG  
 “‘Don’t horse around.’”
- Confusion of clausal negation with prohibitive particle *inami* (cf. Spanish *no*)
  - Non-standard use of progressive *-ari*
- (32) *muria ta= ifari wawankira kakiri -ta -ari*  
 thus.MS 1SG.MS= leave.behind child live -CAUS -PROG  
 ‘Thus I left my childhood behind.’
- Use of causative *-ta* and progressive *-ari* as nominalizer (?)
    - Correct ordering of suffixes (see (13))
- (33) *akiakati ta= kumisa upa -ta*  
 here.MS 1SG.MS= story end -CAUS  
 ‘Here my story ends.’
- Non-standard use of causative *-ta* (cf. *upa* ‘end’)

## 4 Case Study 2: Written Text Excerpt (2003-2006)

- (34) ...
- (35) *kamutuni Cusi usu -pa umai -pa -tara akia ipisa*  
 tomorrow Cusi go -CPL watch -CPL -PURP DEM.PROX.MS night  
 “‘Tomorrow Cusi will go to keep watch tonight.’”
- Use of completive *-pa* as [???
  - Non-standard co-occurrence of aspect and purpose suffix
  - Calqued *akia ipisa* on Sp. *esta noche* (cf. *ikumin ipisa*)
- (36) **sakapiri** *usu -pa -ari -pa Lino*  
 after go -CPL -PROG -CPL Lino  
 “‘Afterwards, Lino will go.’”
- Use of VP-final clause-linker as temporal adverb (cf. Spanish *después* & *después de*)
  - Use of completive *-pa* as [???
  - Non-standard multiple instances of completive *-pa*
  - Non-standard ordering of progressive *-ari* and completive *-pa*
- (37) *yaufima karuka Cusi ira -ta -ta -pa*  
 arrive afternoon Cusi be.good -CAUS -CAUS -CPL  
 ‘The afternoon arrived, and Cusi had gotten ready.’
- Non-standard multiple instances of causative *-ta*

- (38) **sakapiri** *ra= usu -pa ra= yaufima ra= kuu =kati awi*  
 after 3SG.MS= go -CPL 3SG.MS= arrive 3SG.MS= swidden =LOC already  
*karuka =nani*  
 afternoon =LIM  
 ‘Afterwards, he goes and arrives at his swidden.’
- Use of VP-final clause-linker as temporal adverb (cf. Spanish *después* & *después de*)
  - Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- (39) ...
- (40) **sakapiri** *ra= kumisa*  
 after 3SG.MS= say  
 ‘Afterwards, he said.’
- Use of VP-final clause-linker as temporal adverb (cf. Spanish *después* & *después de*)
- (41) ...
- (42) *awi ipisa Cusi yapika =nani sara =sapari animalu yaufima*  
 already night Cusi sit =LIM await =AFF animal arrive  
 ‘At nightfall, Cusi sat there waiting for the animal to arrive.’
- Non-standard subjectless verb *sara* ‘await’
  - Lexical confusion with *=sapara*
- (43) *yaufima mitiripikatu ipisa animalu rua yaufima -pa*  
 arrive middle night animal NEG arrive -CPL  
 ‘Midnight arrived and the animal hadn’t arrived.’
- Calqued *mitiripikatu ipisa* on Sp. *medianoche* (cf. *=mitiripi* ‘in the middle of’)
  - Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- (44) ...
- (45) *rua ra= uri -pa*  
 NEG 3SG.MS= come -CPL  
 ‘‘He hasn’t come.’’
- Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- (46) *Cusi yura -pa sapifi maniapkatunani ra= yapita -pa*  
 Cusi have -CPL be.sleepy suddenly 3SG.MS= remain -CPL  
 ‘Cusi was sleepy and suddenly he had fallen asleep.’
- Elsewhere unattested verb *yura* ‘have’ (cf. *amiti* ‘exist’)
  - Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- (47) **akiriari** *Cusi ukiri -pa animalu ru -pa -pa akia trigu*  
 while Cusi sleep -CPL animal eat -CPL -CPL DEM.PROX.MS wheat  
 ‘While Cusi was sleeping, the animal ate the wheat.’
- Elsewhere unattested clause-linker *akiriari* (see below)



- Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- Non-standard multiple instances of completive *-pa*

(48) ...

(49) *awi kanata ra= umai upa =rupi*  
 already be.clear 3SG.MS= look all =PROL  
 ‘Clear now, he looks around everywhere.’

- Non-standard subjectless verb *kanata* ‘be clear’

(50) *ra= usu afun kati ra= umai upa ru -pa -pa trigu =kana*  
 3SG.MS= go more far.off 3SG.MS= see all eat -CPL -CPL wheat =PL.MS  
 ‘He goes further and sees all of the wheat eaten up.’

- Elsewhere unattested clause-linker *akiriari* (see below)
- Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- Non-standard multiple instances of completive *-pa*

(51) ...

(52) *ikuamura ta rua sinu -pa -pa akia akia -pa kuu =kwara*  
 because.of.that 1SG.MS NEG hear -CPL -CPL DEM.PROX.MS enter -CPL swidden =LOC  
*ra= ru =sinuni*  
 3SG.MS= eat =PURP  
 ‘Because of that I didn’t hear it enter the swidden to eat.’

- Calqued *ikuamura* on Sp. *por eso*
- Use of completive *-pa* as [??]
- Non-standard multiple instances of completive *-pa*
- Lexical confusion between *akia* ‘this’ and *aki* ‘enter’

## 5 Idiolectal Features

- Some observed idiolectal features of the speech of speaker A. are:
  - Syntactic re-analysis of VP-final clause-linkers and interrogative pronouns
  - Loss of rigid post-verbal affix ordering with apparent semantic re-analysis
  - Loss of metrical tense distinctions (e.g., =*suri* PST.DIST)
  - Low mastery of genderlect distinctions
  - Low mastery of inclusive-exclusive distinction
  - Low mastery of grammatical requirements of different kinds of complement clauses
  - Cardinal numerals used with ordinal function
  - Confusion of clausal negator *rua* and prohibitive *inami*
- Two important ideologies explicitly conveyed by Speaker A. for good documentation work are:
  1. Translation should proceed ‘word by word’ to ensure greatest faithfulness to the target

2. Verbs should be translated in one of three ways:
  - ‘past’ with *-pa*
  - ‘yendo’ (referring to the Spanish gerund) with *-ari*
  - ‘future’ with *=usu*

## 5.1 Re-analysis of Clause-linkers

- Speaker A.’s clause-linkers fall into three classes (Table 3):<sup>1</sup>
  - Those related in form to VP-final clause-linkers but that exhibit a new syntactic position
  - Those related in form to sentence-initial elements with similar semantics to clause-linkers
  - Those composed of elements unrelated to clause-linking
- These three categories can be conceptualized as involving increasing degrees of calquing

Table 3: Innovative Clause-linking Markers (adapted from Wauters (2010:9))

| Speaker A. (clause-initial) |                   | Source (Standard)   |                                  |                |                     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Form                        | Meaning           | Form                | Meaning                          | Position       | Sp. Model           |
| <i>rafi</i>                 | ‘if’              | <b>=rafi</b>        | ‘if’                             | VP-final       | <i>si</i>           |
| <i>sakapiri</i>             | ‘after’           | <b>=sakapiri</b>    | ‘after’                          | VP-final       | <i>después (de)</i> |
| <i>ikatu</i>                | ‘until’           | <b>=katikatu</b>    | ‘until’                          | VP-final       | <i>hasta (que)</i>  |
| <i>ikuamura</i>             | ‘because of that’ | <b>=ikua; mura</b>  | ‘because of’; 3SG.MS             | VP-final; n/a  | <i>por eso</i>      |
| <i>maniapkatu</i>           | ‘when’            | <b>maniapkatu</b>   | ‘when (INTERR)’                  | clause-initial | <i>cuándo</i>       |
| <i>wipi wiri</i>            | ‘once’            | <i>wipi uyawiri</i> | ‘once’ ( <i>uyawiri</i> ‘again’) | clause-initial | <i>una vez</i>      |
| <i>akiamari</i>             | ‘until’           | <b>akia; mari</b>   | ‘this’; ‘what’                   | n/a; n/a       | <i>hasta (que)</i>  |
| <i>akiriari</i>             | ‘while’           | <b>aki</b>          | ‘enter’                          | verb root      | <i>mientras</i>     |
| <i>karukapari</i>           | ‘during’          | <b>karuka (?)</b>   | ‘be late’                        | verb root      |                     |
| <i>akiara</i>               | ‘until’           |                     |                                  |                |                     |
| <i>tarafi</i>               | ‘provided that’   |                     |                                  |                |                     |

- One type of reanalysis involves fronting of a VP-final clitic to the beginning of the clause<sup>2</sup>

(53) *rana= sita =rafi rana= ipuraka ipuku*  
3PL.MS= want =COND 3PL.MS= make be.long  
‘If they wanted, they would make them (i.e., shirt sleeves) long.’ (LHC:2011.07.15.2)
- Another type involves fronting of a VP-final enclitic and combination with another element
  - Here *=ikua* is transparently interpreted as ‘because of’, and then combined with the independent pronoun *mura*, by analogy with Sp. *por eso*

<sup>1</sup> Boldfaced items are still occasionally attested in the speech of Speaker A.

<sup>2</sup> All of the following examples are in the standard.

- (54) *ta= mama irura taná ta= kunia umanu =ikua*  
 1SG.MS= mother bring 1PL.EXCL 1SG.MS= sister.ME die =REAS  
 ‘My mother brought us (here) because my sister died.’ (LHC:2011.07.15.1)

- Since interrogative pronouns may appear in embedded questions, these forms are selected for reanalysis as clause-linkers over corresponding VP-final enclitics (cf. 2)

- (55) *rua ta= ikua maniapkatu rana= kamata =usari*  
 NEG 1SG.MS= know when 3PL.MS= work =FUT  
 ‘I don’t know when they’ll work.’ (LHC:2010.08.10.3)

- (56) *ra= yafua ra= yamimia =pupikatu*  
 3SG.MS= cry 3SG.MS= be.sad =when  
 ‘She cries when she’s sad.’ (MCT:C4.S3)

- Yet another type involves fairly creative parses of Spanish lexical items
  - Sp. *mientras* ‘while’ can be seen as consisting of the verb *entrar* ‘enter’, inflected for the second singular present indicative
  - On these grounds an innovation is formed based on Omagua *aki* ‘enter’, namely *akiriari*

## 5.2 Loss of Rigid Post-verbal Affix Ordering

- Verbal suffixes follow a rigid order in Omagua (Table 2), and may not be reduplicated
- The completive suffix indicates that the event denoted by the verb is true of all participants following an absolutive distribution

- (57) *upa awa =na umanu -pa*  
 all person =PL.FS die -CPL  
 ‘Everyone died.’ (LCT:2010.08.13.1)

- (58) *sarampión umanu -ta -pa awa =na*  
 measles die -CAUS -CPL person =PL.FS  
 ‘Measles killed off everyone.’ (LCT:2010.08.13.1)

- Non-standard collocations of verbal suffixes found in the speech of Speaker A. are in Table 4
- Certain reduplicated sequences may be explained if *-pa* has both been reanalyzed as a past tense marker and retained as a completive marker
  - Tense is still not obligatory, as many verbs appear devoid of any suffix
- Other reduplicated sequences (e.g., *-ta-ta*) cannot be explained as straightforwardly
- Stark (2010:30-31) has proposed that certain sequences have been reanalyzed by Speaker A. as monomorphemic and exhibiting distinct, predictable meanings
  - For example, *-pari* is said to express habituality, but this is at odds with (36)

Table 4: Non-standard Verbal Suffix Collocations

| Sequence             | Glosses        |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>-pa -ta</i>       | CPL CAUS       |
| <i>-pa -ka</i>       | CPL ITER       |
| <i>-ari -ta</i>      | PROG CAUS      |
| <i>-ari -pa</i>      | PROG CPL       |
| <i>-ta -ta</i>       | CAUS CAUS      |
| <i>-ari -ari</i>     | PROG PROG      |
| <i>-pa -pa</i>       | CPL CPL        |
| <i>-pa -ka -pa</i>   | CPL ITER CPL   |
| <i>-pa -ari -pa</i>  | CPL PROG CPL   |
| <i>-ari -ta -ari</i> | PROG CAUS PROG |
| <i>-ari -pa -ari</i> | PROG CPL PROG  |

- She has also observed (ibid.:22-26) that both completive *-pa* and progressive *-ari* are occasionally used by Speaker A. as apparent nominalizers
- Neither proposal accounts for all instances of the completive and progressive
  - Furthermore, it does not account for reversals in affix order
- Interestingly, most sequences in Table 4 are attested in surface forms in the language, provided the root end in the necessary sequence (e.g., *ari-ta-ari* ‘get dressed-CAUS-PROG’)
  - These sequences could be a partial motivation for innovative affix orderings

### 5.3 Differences Between Oral and Written Texts

- Oral text recorded in the midst of three years of written text production
- In the oral text, a greater proportion of verbs are bare of inflection
- In the oral text, there is a single type of reversed affix order, and no suffixes are reduplicated
- Greater proportions of inflected verbs, affix order reversal, and suffix reduplication are present in the written text

## 6 Collaboration with Speaker A.

- After the creation of a corpus of Speaker A. and the first season of fieldwork, we desired to spend more time documenting the standard
  - Comparatively **less** well described
  - Documentation accurate for understanding idiolectal features and relation to Kokama

- However, Speaker A. is politically prominent and eager to work, and discontinuing collaboration was dispreferred
  - Since 2000s Speaker A. has positioned themselves as the “last” most knowledgeable speaker
  - Known to outsiders (e.g., in regional government) in this capacity
- We undertook to collaborate with Speaker A. on non-grammatical tasks
  - Transcription of texts recorded with other speakers, which had already begun
  - High-quality phonetic lexical elicitation (phonologically conservative speaker)
  - Elicitation of flora and fauna terminology
  - Local genealogy
  - Regional history
- Yielded positive interactions and results
  - It was still palpable to all that Speaker A. was no longer involved in the same tasks
  - Our commitment to Speaker A. and the language generally overcame these difficulties

## 7 Discussion & Conclusion

- Because the meanings of Omagua clause-linkers are more transparently mappable to Spanish, there is greater systematicity in Speaker A.’s reanalysis of these markers as clause-initial
  - However, some VP-final enclitics are occasionally attested as such
- The meaning of Omagua verbal suffixes – particularly *-pa* and *-ari* – are less mappable
  - The result is greater inconsistency in the meaning they contribute to a clause
  - They are not attested on every verb in the speech of Speaker A., even though they were subject to prescriptivism in terms of tense
    - \* Presumably because they are non-obligatory in the standard
- The greatest explanatory factor appears to be word-for-word translations from Spanish
  - Yet, other domains show no such influence (e.g., nominal postpositions)
- Speaker A. does not fit into the categories of speaker argued for in Kokama (Vallejos 2014a,b)
  - Fluent speakers: Speaker A. is not fluent
  - Semi-speakers: Speaker A.’s speech is not characterizable simply in terms of reduction of grammatical complexity; does not codeswitch
  - Neo-speakers: Speaker A. did not acquire Omagua later in life, and has always retained some knowledge of it
- The exact details of Speaker A.’s acquisition situation are hard to arrive at
  - Elder sibling (b. 1930) shows none of the same idiolectal features, and claims to have spoken Spanish with siblings

- Unclear whether acquisition was partial or was complete followed by subsequent attrition
  - \* Speaker A. claims to have been monolingual until age 10 (almost certainly false)
- Regardless, at some point Speaker A.’s knowledge must have been partial, given calque-based reanalyses and lack of systematicity
- However, verbal morphological complexity has arguably increased in written texts
- Open questions:
  - Why does only a certain structural domain appear to be targeted (cf. postpositions)?
  - What is it about writing that yields the creativity seen in attested verbal affix orders?
  - Is it possible to see nascent systematicity in Speaker A.’s speech?
  - Regardless, should we consider this language attrition or language change?
    - \* Is systematicity the distinguishing factor between attrition and change?
    - \* What if one domain shows greater systematicity than another?
    - \* What if the systematic domain is largely due to calquing?
  - How should we typologize Speaker A. as a speaker (see Grinevald and Bert (2011))?

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