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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†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.
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 Omagüas
  - 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 \( \sim 100,000 \) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MASC. SPEECH</strong></td>
<td><strong>FEM. SPEECH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tá / t(a)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
<td><strong>Não marcado</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi / n(i)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mura / r(a)=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERS=</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>-ta</th>
<th>-ka</th>
<th>-pa</th>
<th>-ari (PERS=)</th>
<th>=CLAUSE-LINKERS</th>
<th>=DIR</th>
<th>=TNS</th>
<th>=mia</th>
<th>PERS</th>
<th>=MOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-CAUS</td>
<td>-ITER</td>
<td>-CPL</td>
<td>-PROG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

– 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 kumusa 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 -ta mu
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.’

4
• 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 kumusa 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) ‡rusu ru= 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 amiasuka ‡rusu =smuni ‡ta= wawankira nimakati
1SG.MS NEG be.able take =PURP 1SG.MS= child nowhere

“I can’t take my child anywhere.”

• Non-standard use of =smuni on complement of amiasuka ‘be able’

(23) ... 

(24) ‡ikumi ‡ta= papa yupuni -ta ‡rusu ‡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) ‡rua amiasuka ‡ru= yumi =smuni ‡ta= stta =mai
2SG NEG be.able 2SG= give =PURP 1SG.MS= want =NOMZ:CL

“They 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= kumusa ‡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 ‡rua ‡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. tkum 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) yauftima 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= **kumsa**
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** ‘wait’
- Lexical confusion with =**sapara**

(43) **yaufima mitiripkatu ipisa animalu rua yaufima -pa**
arrive middle night animal NEG arrive -CPL
‘Midnight arrived and the animal hadn’t arrived.’

- Calqued **mitiripkatu 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= unai 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= unai 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 smu -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 =smuni
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):[4]
  – 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))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker A. (clause-initial)</th>
<th>Source (Standard)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasif</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakapiri</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikatu</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikuamurakatu</td>
<td>‘because of that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipi wiri</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akia; mari</td>
<td>‘once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karukapari</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akaira</td>
<td>‘provided that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarasif</td>
<td>‘during’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- One type of reanalysis involves fronting of a VP-final clitic to the beginning of the clause:[2]

(53)  
\[
\text{rana=}\ s\text{ta} =\text{rasif} \ rana= \text{ipuraka ipuku} \\
3\text{PL.MS=} \text{want} =\text{COND} 3\text{PL.MS=} \text{make } \text{be.long}
\]

‘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

1Boldfaced items are still occasionally attested in the speech of Speaker A.
2All of the following examples are in the standard.
Since interrogative pronouns may appear in embedded questions, these forms are selected for reanalysis as clause-linkers over corresponding VP-final enclitics (cf. 2).

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

- 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...
Table 4: Non-standard Verbal Suffix Collocations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Glosses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pa -ta</td>
<td>CPL CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa -ka</td>
<td>CPL ITER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari -ta</td>
<td>PROG CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari -pa</td>
<td>PROG CPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta -ta</td>
<td>CAUS CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari -ari</td>
<td>PROG PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa -pa</td>
<td>CPL CPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa -ka -pa</td>
<td>CPL ITER CPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa -ari -pa</td>
<td>CPL PROG CPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari -ta -ari</td>
<td>PROG CAUS PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari -pa -ari</td>
<td>PROG CPL PROG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• 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 themself 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)]?*

References


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