

A Linguistic Analysis of Old Omagua Ecclesiastical Texts

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Morphemes and Abbreviations

Here we provide glosses and definitions of grammatical morphemes encountered in this work. For simplicity, we include only grammatical morphemes that appear in Old Omagua. All glosses of morphemes that appear in our occasional exemplification of modern Omagua also happen to be represented here, although the form of the morpheme itself may be somewhat different. Table 1 is organized alphabetically by gloss, and Table 2 by morpheme.

Table 1: Morphemes and Abbreviations by Gloss

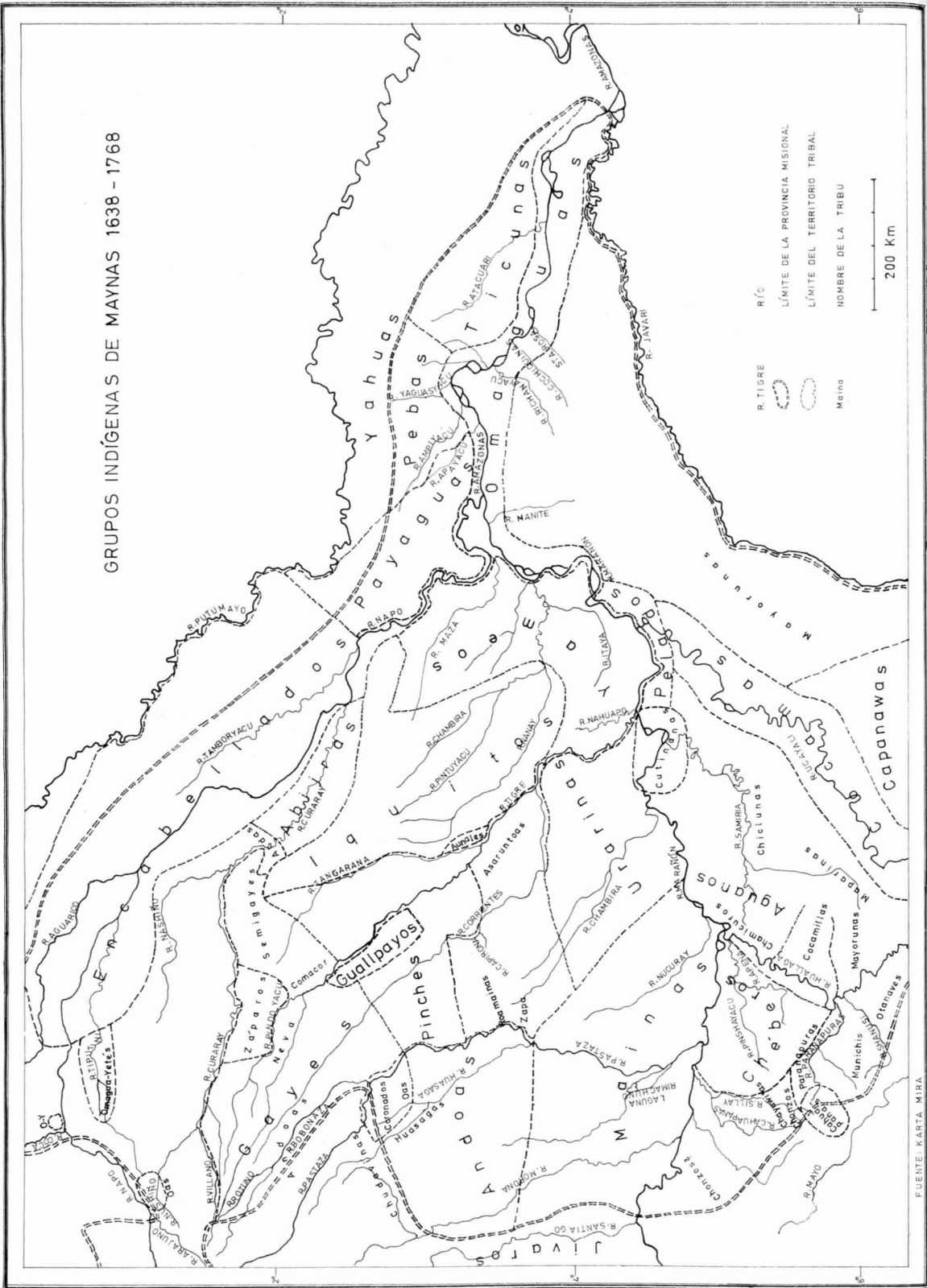
Gloss	Definition	Morpheme
1SG.MS	First singular masculine speech	<i>taa/ta=</i>
1PL.EXCL.MS	First plural exclusive masculine speech	<i>tanu</i>
1PL.INCL	First plural inclusive	<i>yene/yene=</i>
2SG	Second singular	<i>ene/ne=</i>
2PL	Second plural	<i>epe/pe=</i>
3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech	<i>mura/ra=</i>
3PL.MS	Third plural masculine speech	<i>ranu ~ rana</i>
ABL	Ablative	<i>=sui</i>
AND	Andative	<i>=usu</i>
ALL	Allative	<i>=kate</i>
APPL	Applicative	<i>=supe</i>
AUG	Augmentative	<i>=wasu</i>
CAUS	Causative	<i>-ta</i>
CERT	Certainty	<i>=tina</i>
CESS	Cessative	<i>=upa</i>
COM	Comitative	<i>=mukui</i>
COORD	Coordinator	<i>weranu</i>
CORE.NEG	Core negator	<i>-sima</i>
DEM.PROX.MS(.PRO)	Proximal demonstrative masculine speech	<i>aikiara</i>
DIM	Diminutive	<i>=kira</i>
EXST	Existential	<i>amiti</i>
FOC:CONTR	Contrastive focus	<i>purai</i>
FOC:EXCL	Exclusive focus	<i>=nani</i>
FOC:VER	Verum focus	<i>=semai</i>
GOAL	Goal	<i>=supe</i>
IMPF	Imperfective aspect	<i>=ari</i>
INESS	Inessive	<i>=ipipe, =k^w arape</i>
INSTR	Instrumental	<i>=pupe</i>

INTERR	Interrogative	= <i>pa</i>
INTSF	Intensifier	= <i>katu</i>
IRR	Irrealis mood	= <i>mia</i>
LIM	Limitative	= <i>nani</i>
LOC	Locative	= <i>kate</i> , = <i>k^w arape</i>
NASS	Non-assertive	= <i>rafi</i>
NEG	Negative	<i>roaya</i>
NEG.PURP	Negative purposive	= <i>maka</i>
NOM.PST	Nominal past tense	= <i>pura</i>
NOM.PURP	Nominal purposive	= <i>ra</i>
NOMZ:ACT	Active nominalizer	- <i>tara</i>
NOMZ:CONT	Container nominalizer	- <i>firu</i>
NOMZ:INACT	Inactive nominalizer	= <i>mai</i>
NOMZ:POSS	Possessive nominalizer	= <i>yara</i>
NOMZ:SUBJ	Subject nominalizer	- <i>suri</i>
OPT	Optative	<i>tene</i>
PL.MS	Plural masculine speech	= <i>kana</i>
PRIV	Privative	= <i>ima</i>
PROH	Prohibitive	<i>ename</i>
PURP	Purposive	= <i>senuni</i>
REAS	Reason	= <i>ikua</i> , = <i>sepi</i>
SIM	Similative	= <i>ya</i>
SUBESS	Subessive	= <i>wiripe</i>
TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap	= <i>kate</i> , = <i>pupekatu</i>
TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority	= <i>katekatu</i> , = <i>sakapiri</i>

Table 2: Morphemes and Abbreviations by Morpheme

Morpheme	Gloss	Definition
<i>akia</i>	DEM.PROX.MS(.PRO)	Proximal demonstrative (pro-form) masculine speech
<i>amiti</i>	EXST	Existential
= <i>ari</i>	IMPF	Imperfective aspect
<i>ename</i>	PROH	Prohibitive
<i>ene</i>	2SG	Second singular
<i>epe</i>	2PL	Second plural
= <i>ikua</i>	REAS	Reason
= <i>ima</i>	PRIV	Privative
= <i>ipipe</i>	INESS	Inessive
= <i>kana</i>	PL.MS	Plural masculine speech
= <i>kate</i>	ALL, LOC	Allative, Locative
= <i>kate</i>	TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap
= <i>katekatu</i>	TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority
= <i>katu</i>	INTSF	Intensifier
= <i>kira</i>	DIM	Diminutive
= <i>k^w arape</i>	INESS, LOC	Inessive, Locative

<i>=mai</i>	NOMZ:INACT	Inactive nominalizer
<i>=mia</i>	IRR	Irrealis mood
<i>=mukui</i>	COM	Comitative
<i>=nani</i>	FOC:EXCL	Limitative
<i>=maka</i>	NEG.PURP	Negative purposive
<i>mura</i>	3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech
<i>ne=</i>	2SG	Second singular
<i>=pa</i>	INTERR	Interrogative
<i>pe=</i>	2PL	Second plural
<i>=pupe</i>	INSTR	Instrumental
<i>=pupekatu</i>	TEMP.OVRLP	Temporal overlap
<i>=pura</i>	NOM.PST	Nominal past tense
<i>ra=</i>	3SG.MS	Third singular masculine speech
<i>=ra</i>	NOM.PURP	Nominal purposive
<i>ranu ~ rana</i>	3PL.MS	Third plural masculine speech
<i>=rafi</i>	NASS	Non-assertive
<i>roaya</i>	NEG	Negative
<i>=sakapiri</i>	TEMP.POST	Temporal posteriority
<i>=semai</i>	FOC:VER	Veridical
<i>=senuni</i>	PURP	Purposive
<i>=sepi</i>	REAS	Reason
<i>-sima</i>	CORE.NEG	Core negator
<i>=sui</i>	ABL	Ablative
<i>=supe</i>	APPL	Applicative
<i>=supe</i>	GOAL	Goal
<i>-suri</i>	NOMZ:SUBJ	Subject nominalizer
<i>-ta</i>	CAUS	Causative
<i>taa/ta=</i>	1SG.MS	First singular masculine speech
<i>tanu</i>	1PL.EXCL.MS	First plural exclusive masculine speech
<i>-tara</i>	NOMZ:ACT	Active nominalizer
<i>tene</i>	OPT	Optative
<i>=tina</i>	CERT	Certainty
<i>=upa</i>	CESS	Cessative
<i>=usu</i>	AND	Andative
<i>=wasu</i>	AUG	Augmentative
<i>weranu</i>	COORD	Coordinator
<i>=wiriŋe</i>	SUBESS	Subessive
<i>=ya</i>	SIM	Similative
<i>=yara</i>	NOMZ:POSS	Possessive nominalizer
<i>yene/yene=</i>	1PL.INCL	First plural inclusive



GRUPOS INDÍGENAS DE MAYNAS 1638 – 1768

Figure 1: Indigenous Groups of Maynas, 1638-1768 (Grohs 1974)

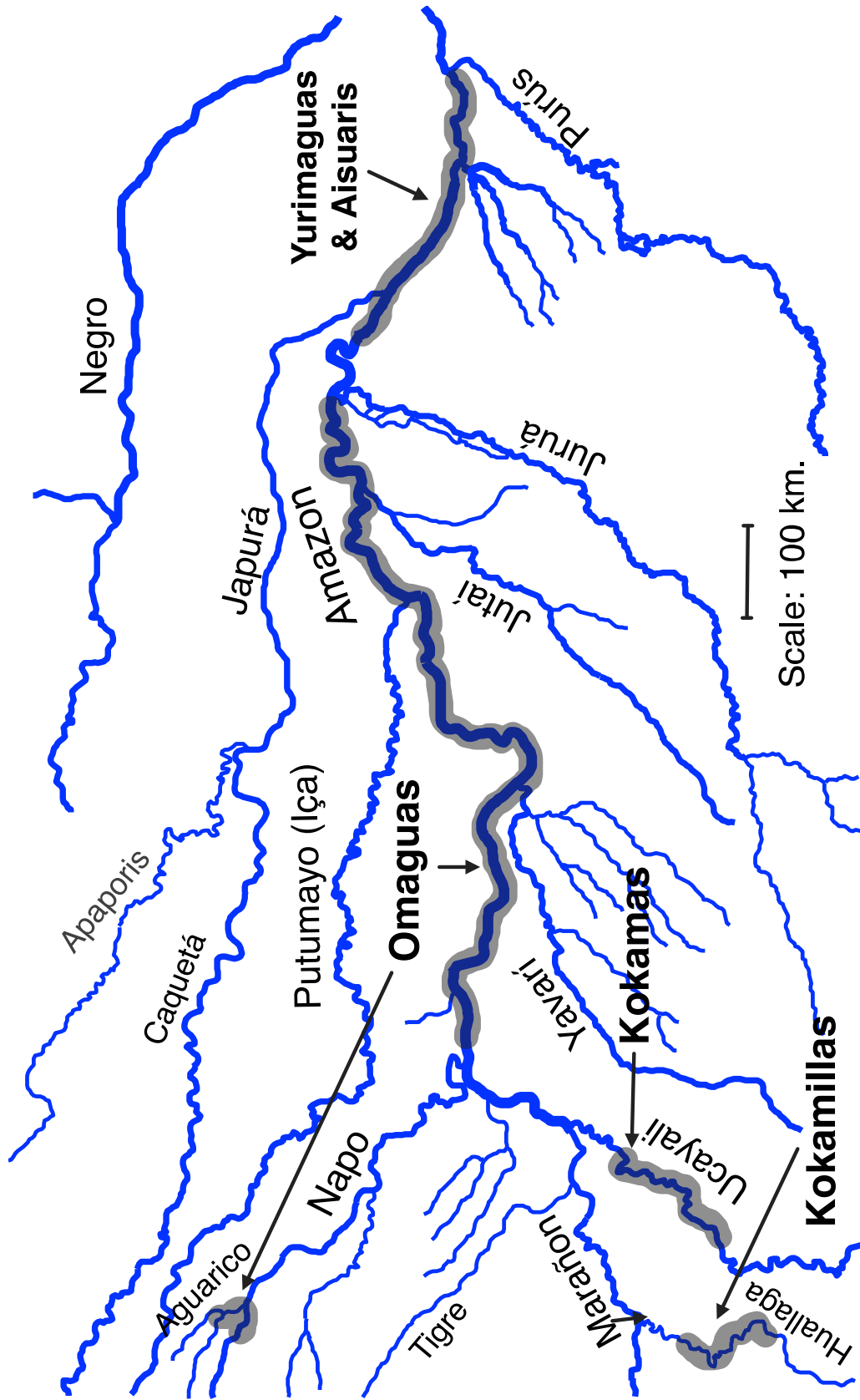


Figure 2: Early Locations of the Omagua, Kokama, Kokamilla, Yurimagua and Aisuari

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 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, 2011) and Cabral & 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, although more recent work has shown that in fact these languages must be of a pre-Columbian origin (Michael 2014a). Regardless, 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 missionary 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 purpose of the present work is to compile for the first time all four known ecclesiastical texts produced in Old Omagua, the 17th- and 18th-century predecessor to modern Omagua,²

¹The colonial-era *Gobierno de Maynas* corresponds roughly to the present-day Department of Loreto in Peru.

²Old Omagua is sufficiently different from modern Omagua, especially in terms of the preservation of Tupí-Guaraní morphology, that a distinct name is useful to distinguish it from the modern language.

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 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/Iça, 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 (Grohs (1974:21-27); Métraux (1927:36-41); Newsom (1996:206-208, 218-220); Oberem (1967/1968)).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 (Myers (1992:129), citing Hemming (1978:185); Stocks (1978:99-102)).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

³Over 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 (Ferrer Benimeli 2000, 2001).

⁴Throughout 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, 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.

⁵Significantly, 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.

⁶The 'true Omagua'; note the reflex of the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní genuine marker *-eté (Jensen 1998:511).

⁷Various pressures within ~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). The hydronym Tiputini corresponds to the Omagua word *tipitini* 'murky, turbid'.

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

⁹This 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 is lost. The first full Spanish edition was published as de Carvajal ([1542]1894).

(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 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

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

¹¹A 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 between 1647 and 1649, but this expedition did not engage in missionary activities or the preparation of Omagua ecclesiastical texts (de la Cruz ([1653]1900); Myers (1992:133)).

¹²These include two months of fieldwork by Edinson Huamancayo Curí in 2004, one month of fieldwork by

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, and Vivian Wauters (O'Hagan 2011, 2014; O'Hagan & Wauters 2012; O'Hagan et al. 2013, in prep; Wauters & O'Hagan 2011).

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, 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 multilinear 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 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.

Brianna Grohman in 2006, two months of fieldwork in 2010 by Zachary O'Hagan, Clare Sandy, Tammy Stark, and Vivian Wauters, two months of fieldwork in 2011 by Zachary O'Hagan and Clare Sandy, and one month of fieldwork in 2013 by Zachary O'Hagan.

Chapter 2

Grammatical Sketch of Old Omagua

In this chapter we provide a sketch of Old Omagua grammar, so that the reader can understand and critically evaluate our analysis of the ecclesiastical texts presented in Chapters 4-8. Our description of Old Omagua relies on our analysis of modern Omagua grammar (Michael et al. in prep) 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 both phonological shape and grammatical function in the modern language. However, 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 informed by cognate morphemes in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, in which case relevant comparative Tupí-Guaraní data is presented. Unless citations indicate otherwise, example sentences given in the following description are drawn from the Omagua ecclesiastical texts, in which case they can be located with the relevant example number 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 the Latin grammatical tradition, it is not always clear to what degree Latin grammatical categories 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 inven-

¹³The 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 32 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).

¹⁴Humboldt’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).

tory.¹⁵ We then present a discussion of Old Omagua morphology in §2.2.1, beginning with a discussion of person-markers, which surface both on verbs and nouns. Following this 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.

2.1 Phonological Inventory

Old Omagua exhibited thirteen phonemic consonants, as in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Old Omagua Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	t			k k ^w
Nasal	m	n			
Fricative		s	ʃ		
Affricate		ts	tʃ		
Flap		r			
Glide	w			j <y> ¹⁶	

The inventory in Table 2.1 is identical to that of the modern language. Note that /ts/ is not attested in the Jesuit texts, and it occurs in the modern language in a single feminine genderlect form: *tsɪ*= 1SG.FS (see Table 2.2). We assume it existed in Old Omagua, and attribute its absence in the ecclesiastical texts to the fact that they were written in the masculine genderlect. Also not attested in the Jesuit texts is /tʃ/, which in the modern language occurs mainly in Quechua, Spanish, and Kokama-Kokamilla loans, and a small number of words of unknown, non-TG, origin, such as *tʃinani* ‘be quiet’.

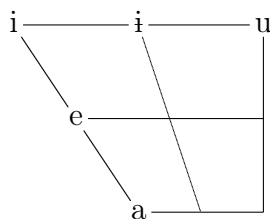


Figure 2.1: Old Omagua Vowels

Old Omagua exhibited five phonemic vowels, as in Figure 2.1. The vowel inventory is identical to that of the modern language, with the exception that modern Omagua *i* corresponds

¹⁵The Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts provide no insight into the prosodic system of the language (e.g., via diacritics), and so we do not include a description of it here. We refer the reader to Sandy & O’Hagan (submitted) for further details on Omagua phonology.

¹⁶We will use the grapheme <y> in our phonemic representations of the Omagua palatal glide. We refer the reader to Sandy & O’Hagan (submitted) for argumentation for the phonemic status of glides.

to Old Omagua **e*, the outcome of an unconditioned sound change whereby Proto-Omagua-Kokama **e* raised to *ɪ* (O’Hagan & Wauters 2012). We do not believe, however, that this change had yet occurred in Old Omagua, because reflexes of Proto-Omagua-Kokama **e* are consistently written as <*e*> in the 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 inconsistencies in the Jesuits’ orthographic representation resulting from confusion between *ɪ* and *i*, with instances of phonemic *ɪ* being written as <*i*>. However, the vowel corresponding to modern *ɪ* is always represented orthographically as <*e*> in the ecclesiastical texts, leading us to conclude that raising to *ɪ* had not yet occurred at this stage of Old Omagua.¹⁷

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Person-Marking

Omagua verbal arguments can be expressed by referential noun phrases, free pronouns, and phonologically dependent pronominal proclitics. These proclitics also express possessors in possessive constructions. Due to their importance and the fact that they are neither properly nominal nor verbal morphology, we discuss these markers prior to discussing nominal or verbal morphology more narrowly defined.

We begin our discussion by presenting the modern Omagua person-marking system, given in §2.2.1.1. We do so in part because the Old Omagua person-marking system appears to be essentially the same as the modern one, with minor differences in the form of some markers. All markers present in the Jesuit texts are attested today, but only a subset of the person-markers found in the modern language are attested in the texts. This is due to the fact that: 1) although Omagua exhibits a masculine and feminine genderlect distinction in certain parts of the person-marking system, the ecclesiastical texts are written exclusively in the masculine genderlect; and 2) Omagua has recently innovated certain new person-markers with particular syntactic and information-structural distributions (not discussed here). And in §2.2.1.2 we discuss vowel hiatus resolution patterns found in modern Omagua that inform our transliteration of person markers in the original texts.

2.2.1.1 Paradigms

Omagua expresses the person and number of verbal arguments via free pronouns and pronominal proclitics, whose forms are related. Omagua free pronouns may express the arguments of both verbal and non-verbal predicates, but pronominal proclitics only express the arguments of verbal predicates (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

¹⁷Old Omagua also exhibited a series of diphthongs of falling sonority, which are also present synchronically: *ai*, *ui*, and *ai*. The diphthong *ii*, attested in the modern language, is not attested in the Jesuit texts, presumably because the small class of words in which it occurs do not appear in the ecclesiastical texts.

is a VP-enclitic.¹⁸ Referential noun phrases and coreferential pronominal proclitics do not typically co-occur, although they may in certain information-structurally marked contexts. Proclitics additionally function as the possessors of nouns and as the complements of postpositions, in which case the nominal or postpositional head serves as the phonological host. Whether an argument is realized as a free pronoun or a pronominal proclitic is determined by a complex set of interacting factors, including the presence of verbal enclitics, word order, and information structure, which we do not discuss further here.

Omagua person-markers distinguish three persons in the singular and plural, and exhibit a clusivity contrast in the first person plural. First and third person forms are sensitive to the gender of the speaker (as opposed to the referent), forming part of a broader genderlect system in the language.¹⁹ Table 2.2 presents the Omagua person-markers, with free pronouns are shown to the left of the slashes and proclitics to their right; parenthetical vowels are deleted in fast speech when they appear before 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)=	tsii / ts(i)=	taná / tan(a)=	tsiná / tsin(a)=
1INCL			yini / yin(i)=	
2	mi / n(i)=		ipi / p(i)=	
3	mura / r(a)=	ãi / i= ~ r=	raná / ran(a)=	iná / in(a)=

In the 1SG, free pronoun and pronominal proclitic differ in vowel quantity, due to a broader bimoraic minimum word requirement on free nouns and pronouns.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 (Sandy & O'Hagan submitted). 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,

¹⁸When not expressed as enclitics, first- and second-person objects surface as free pronouns, while third-person objects either surface as free NPs or have no surface expression.

¹⁹Genderlect systems are reported for 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 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 (Tupian), 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.

²⁰Stress patterns indicates that the 'long' vowels in question are in fact doubled monomoraic vowels, and not a single bimoraic vowel. In particular, the penultimate stress pattern targets the second monomoraic vowel for stress, and not the putative long vowel in its entirety (e.g., *kuu* [ku:] 'swidden' versus *kuuna* [ku'una] 'swiddens (FS)'). The morphology that would be necessary to prove that 'long' vowels in pronouns have the same structure is not available for pronouns, but since we assume the surface length of free pronouns is motivated by the same phonological constraint as that which affects nouns, we assume that pronominal long vowels are likewise doubled monomoraic vowels.

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 *r=*): the former occurs with consonant-initial roots, the latter with vowel-initial roots.

Since the Jesuit texts are written entirely in the masculine genderlect, there are no attestations of feminine genderlect person-markers in them. However, given that the genderlect system is also found in modern Kokama-Kokamilla and hence, we infer, reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, we assume that the genderlect system was present in Old Omagua. Because the ecclesiastical texts do not indicate stress, we cannot know if 1PL.EXCL and 3PL Old Omagua pronominal and proclitic person markers are distinguished by position of primary stress, as the modern markers are. Finally, note that the Lord’s Prayer exhibits 1PL.EXCL.MS *tanu*, as opposed to modern *tana*. The forms attested in the Jesuit texts are given in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Old Omagua Person-markers in Jesuit Texts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
	MASCULINE SPEECH	
1	taa / t(a)=	tanu
1INCL		yene / yen(e)=
2	ene / ne=	epe / pe=
3	mura / r(a)=	rana

2.2.1.2 Vowel Hiatus Resolution

Two postlexical phonological processes optionally occur at boundaries between a pronominal proclitic (which are all vowel-final) and a vowel-initial root. In slow 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 quality of the root-initial vowel, and on the person, number, and genderlect of the pronoun. When roots begin with *i*, both the proclitic-final and root-initial vowels are realized, even in fast speech. When the root begins with *i*, *r*, *u* or *a*, the final vowel of the proclitic deletes, with the exception 1SG.MS *ta=*, which coalesces with the root-initial vowel. These patterns are summarized for masculine speech proclitics and vowel-initial verb roots in Table 2.4; these processes operate identically with nominal roots. When the proclitic is in the feminine genderlect, the proclitic-final vowel uniformly deletes. We note that these phonological processes have guided our transliteration of the Jesuit texts, as in some cases the texts reflect processes of vowel coalescence and deletion.

2.2.2 Nominal Morphology

Nominal morphology in both Old Omagua and the modern language consists exclusively of clitics, with the exception of two endocentric nominalizers. We analyze the Omagua noun phrase as exhibiting a number of fixed positions that are occupied by functionally distinct clitics. One pronominal position is filled by the pronominal proclitics that encode

Table 2.4: Vowel Coalescence and Deletion Patterns

Singular			Plural			Gloss
Marker	Verb	Realization	Marker	Verb	Realization	
<i>ta=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[taki]	<i>tana=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[tanaki]	enter
	<i>ikua</i>	[tekua]		<i>ikua</i>	[tanikua]	know
	<i>irwa</i>	[teriwa]		<i>irwa</i>	[tanirwa]	return
	<i>usu</i>	[tosu]		<i>usu</i>	[tanusu]	go
<i>ni=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[naki]	<i>pi=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[paki]	enter
	<i>ikua</i>	[nikua]		<i>ikua</i>	[ranikua]	know
	<i>irwa</i>	[nirwa]		<i>irwa</i>	[pirwa]	return
	<i>usu</i>	[nusu]		<i>usu</i>	[pusu]	go
<i>ra=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[raki]	<i>rana=</i>	<i>aki</i>	[ranaki]	enter
	<i>ikua</i>	[rikua]		<i>ikua</i>	[ranikua]	know
	<i>irwa</i>	[rirwa]		<i>irwa</i>	[ranirwa]	return
	<i>usu</i>	[rusu]		<i>usu</i>	[ranusu]	go

the person and number of a possessor (§2.2.1). Postnominal positions include ones for an endocentric nominalizer, augmentative or diminutive marker (§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.

Table 2.5: Modern Omagua Noun Phrase Template

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

2.2.2.1 Number

Plural nominal number is expressed by the noun phrase enclitic =*kana* PL.MS, as in (2.1).

- (2.1) *k^warafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, iwatakana weranu, to maritipa aikiarakana Dios mura?*

k^warafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana iwata =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?’
 (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).²¹

(2.2) aikiara **musapirika** personakanasui, maniamaitipa awa uwaka iminua?

aikiara *musapirika* *persona* =*kana* =*sui* *maniamai* =*tipa* *awa*
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which =INTERR man
uwaka *iminua*
 transform long.ago

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

Plural-marking is also an area of the grammar that exhibits a genderlect distinction, 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 noun phrase clitics in modern Omagua, and we assume that the same held for Old Omagua.

The augmentative =*wasu* expresses that the referent denoted by the noun 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 God.

(2.3) iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkana, yawikitara yarawasu Dios mura.

iwati =*mai* *ritama* *aikiara* *tuyuka* *ritama* *upa* =*katu*
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =*kana* *yawiki* -*tara* *yara* =*wasu* *Dios* *mura*
 thing =PL.MS make -NOMZ:ACT 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 different context, where it attaches to *mania* ‘how’, and appears to indicate that the information presupposed by the question runs counter to expectations (2.4). The attachment of the augmentative =*wasu* to an interrogative word is not attested in the modern language, but is in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:505).

(2.4) mania**wasu** jesucristo Diosrafi raumanu iminua?

mania =*wasu* *jesucristo* *Dios* =*rafi* *ra*= *umanu* *iminua*
 how =AUG Jesus.Christ God =NASS 3SG.MS= die long.ago

²¹The exception involves plural marking on the Spanish loan word *Dios* ‘God’.

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

The diminutive =*kira* expresses either positive affect on the part of the speaker toward the referent, that the referent denoted is smaller than normal, or both. It is attested once in the Old Omagua texts, where it appears to exclusively encode positive affect (2.5).²²

(2.5) patirik**ira** usu?

patiri =*kira* *usu*
 priest =DIM go

‘Is the priest going?’
 (example (8.10))

Cognates of =*wasu* are attested in other Tupí-Guaraní languages (cf. Tapiete -*wasu* (González 2005:104) and Tupinambá -*wasu* ~ -*usu* (Lemos Barbosa 1956)). The diminutive, however, appears to be an innovation in Proto-Omagua-Kokama: we do not find cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní language and Jensen (1998:508) has reconstructed a Proto-Tupí-Guaraní diminutive *-*ʔi*. Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*kira* is probably grammaticalized from what in Omagua is *ikira* ‘be unripe, young’, as in *ikiramai* ‘infant’.

2.2.2.3 Nominal Past Tense =*pura*

The nominal enclitic =*pura* expresses nominal past tense, glossable in English as the adjective ‘former’. The nominal past tense marker occurs between the augmentative or diminutive and plural markers, as shown in (2.6). In all but one example in the Old Omagua texts, (5.8b), =*pura* attaches to the inactive nominalizer =*mai*, as in (2.6).

(2.6) Dios yawikimaip**urakana** purai ranu.

Dios yawiki =*mai* =*pura* =*kana* *purai* *ranu*
 God make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS FOC:CONTR 3PL.MS

‘They are God’s creations.’
 (example (5.6b))

With the exception of a small number frozen forms, =*pura* is not productive in modern Omagua.²³ Nevertheless, given its appearance in Old Omagua, we argue that it was productive in Proto-Omagua-Kokama, especially given cognates with similar function in many Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g., Tupinambá -*p^wer* (Lemos Barbosa 1956:100-104).

Modern Omagua additionally exhibits a clitic =*pura* that marks narrative peaks, which appears to be related to the nominal past tense marker. Vallejos Yopán (2009, 2010a:679-713) describes a presumably cognate Kokama-Kokamilla morpheme =*pura* with information-structural functions. The functional and distributional differences between Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla =*pura* are important topics for future research (see also §2.3.9.1).

²²In Kokama-Kokamilla, =*kira* and a second morpheme, =*tfasu*, encode both size-based and affective semantics (Vallejos 2010a:239-241, 244-248).

²³For example, see *paranapura* ‘oxbow lake’ (regional Spanish *tipishca*), which denotes a branch of a river that is no longer connected to the main river itself (from *parana* ‘river’).

2.2.2.4 Nominal Future Tense =*ra*

The nominal enclitic =*ra* expresses nominal future tense, as shown in (2.7).²⁴ Given the existence of cognate nominal future tense morphemes such as Tupinambá and Kamaiurá -*ram* (see Lemos Barbosa (1956:101-102); Seki (2000:187)), this function is presumably reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama.

- (2.7) ene putari, tene rayawiki mura mairamania iwatimai ritamakatemairai weranu, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate weranu.

ene putari tene ra= yawiki mura mairamania iwati =mai
 2SG desire(?) OPT 3SG.MS= do 3SG.MS exactly(.as) be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT
ritama =kate =mai =ra =i weranu aikiara tuyuka ritama
 village =LOC =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.FUT =? COORD DEM.PROX.MS land village
 =*kate weranu*
 =LOC COORD

‘...thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven.’

(example (4.3))

This morpheme is attested only once in the ecclesiastic texts with a nominal future tense function, and is absent from modern Kokama-Kokamilla. This morpheme survives in both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, however, as a purposive marker that attaches to nouns as in (2.8), a response to the question ‘Why did God create all these things?’. Since this function is found in both daughter languages, it is presumably reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama.

- (2.8) yeneeramaira.

yene= era =mai =ra
 1PL.INCL= good =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PURP

‘For our well-being.’

(example (6.7b))

2.2.2.5 Possession

Nominal possession is expressed via NP-NP apposition, with the order possessor possessum, or by means of a pronominal possessor proclitic.²⁵

- (2.9) **Dios taira** awara uwaka iminua.

Dios taira awa =ra²⁶ uwaka iminua
 God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform long.ago

‘The son of God became man.’

(example (6.11b))

²⁴For additional commentary on this example, see §2.3.7.4.

²⁵NP-NP apposition may also yield a predicative interpretation (see §2.3.10), and if a free pronoun precedes a noun, it is obligatorily interpreted as a predicative relationship.

²⁶Note that =*ra* marks the noun that denotes the resulting state of the subject of *uwaka* ‘transform’.

2.2.3 Verbal Morphology

The Omagua verb phrase exhibits a number of distinct positions, occupied by functionally distinct sets of suffixes and clitics. Although the verbal domain exhibits a large number of enclitics, like the nominal one, verbs exhibit somewhat more affixal morphology than nouns. A leftmost preverbal position is filled by free pronouns or nouns 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. 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 (Michael et al. in prep). With the exception of the causative and progressive, the remaining suffixes are unattested in the ecclesiastical texts and we do not discuss them further in this sketch. In addition, there is evidence that the progressive marker had a distribution in Old Omagua (and in Proto-Omagua-Kokama) different than that in the modern language.

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. This is followed by a set of enclitics that encode direction/position, tense, modality, and function as clause-linkers. An additional argument position appears to the right of all enclitics, which may be filled by free pronouns or nouns. 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 are summarized in Table 2.6. Dots indicate that 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 Template

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

Lastly, it is important to note that it is clear the Old Omagua imperfective marker =*ari* was a clitic that appeared to the right of clitics encoding direction. Since the 18th century, the morpheme has become an affix -*ari* that appears in the rightmost suffixal position, and experienced some semantic shift (see §2.2.3.1.2).

2.2.3.1 Tense-Aspect-Mood

2.2.3.1.1 Tense Modern Omagua exhibits a four-way tense distinction encoded by the set of optional verbal enclitics given in Table 2.7.²⁷ The Old Omagua texts, however, reveal

²⁷Vowels enclosed in parentheses are obligatorily deleted when they directly attach to a verb stem. 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 deletes or coalesces with the vowel of the tense enclitic, following the patterns in Table 2.4 (e.g., *ta*= =*usari* → [tosari]; *ni*= =*usari* → [nusari]; *ra*= =*usari* → [rusari]).

no morphology exclusively dedicated to encoding tense. Instead, future temporal reference is conveyed with the imperfective *=ari* (§2.2.3.1.2),²⁸ and past temporal reference is conveyed with an independent temporal adverb *iminua* ‘long ago’. Neither of these strategies for expressing temporal reference is attested in modern Omagua.

Table 2.7: Modern Omagua Tense Markers

PAST	DISTAL	<i>=suri</i>
	PROXIMAL	<i>=(u)í</i>
FUTURE	PROXIMAL	<i>=usu</i>
	DISTAL	<i>=(u)sari</i>

The future tense morphemes in Table 2.7 only grammaticalized since the Jesuit period, and unsurprisingly do not appear in the ecclesiastical texts. 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*).²⁹

More surprisingly, both past tense morphemes are also unattested in the ecclesiastical texts. Both reconstruct to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, however, and 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 of past tense morphology, past temporal reference is expressed with the adverb *iminua* ‘long ago’, as in (2.10).

(2.10) maniasenuni Dios taíra awara uwaka **iminua**?

mania *=senuni Dios taíra* *awa -ra* *uwaka iminua*
 what.action =PURP God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform long.ago

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

We note that the distribution of *iminua* in the ecclesiastical texts is unlike its modern distribution. In modern Omagua, *iminua* appears sentence-initially (as do all other temporal adverbs), often in conjunction with *=suri* PST.DIST, and appears only in the opening clauses of a given discourse in order to set temporal reference, as in (2.11). Typically, both *iminua* and *=suri* are subsequently dropped.

(2.11) MODERN OMAGUA

iminua ranakakirisuri ikati. isui, ranaufjima upa. ranausu kakiritara ikitukati.

iminua rana= kakiri =suri ikati
 long.ago 3PL.MS= live =PST.DIST there.FS³⁰

²⁸The 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.

²⁹Note that *=ari* follows *=usu* in Old Omagua, although today *-ari* is a suffix that precedes *=usu* (see §2.2.3).

isui rana= ufima upa
 then.FS 3PL.MS= depart all

rana= usu kakiri -tara 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)

In the ecclesiastical texts, however, it appears sentence-finally and, tellingly, nearly always in contexts in which a Jesuit author would have used past tense in, say, Spanish. We suspect that the pervasive sentence-final use of *iminua* is, if not fully ungrammatical, highly unnatural Omagua. In fact, there is evidence from Veigl’s (1788:199) sketch of Old Omagua, in which he calls <emenua> a “pluperfect” marker, that the Jesuits interpreted *iminua* within a Latinate grammatical framework, and subsequently overgeneralized its distribution to include any case in which they wished to express past tense.

2.2.3.1.2 Imperfective =ari The verbal enclitic =*ari* encodes imperfective aspect, although in both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla it is a verbal affix that encodes progressive aspect (see Table 2.6). We analyze it as a clitic in Old Omagua because it occurs outside of morphemes that have been analyzed as clitics in both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, e.g., =*usu* (Vallejos 2010a:402-409, 470-482). Moreover, early attestations of Kokama indicate that the Proto-Omagua-Kokama form was also a clitic *=*ari* that encoded imperfective aspect.³¹ This follows from the fact that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*ari* grammaticalized from a diffuse locative *=*ari* (O’Hagan 2011:89-90), which is cognate to phonologically independent postpositions in Proto-Tupí-Guaraní (Jensen 1998:514).

In Old Omagua (both in the ecclesiastical texts and in the passages from the diaries of Manuel Uriarte (Ch. 8)) =*ari* is recruited to encode future tense as well as deontic modality.

³⁰The 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.

³¹The earliest attestation of Kokama comes from a letter written by Juan Lorenzo Lucero (b. 1635 Pasto, Colombia – d. 1714 Quito) (Jouanen 1943:737), dated 3 June 1681, and is transliterated as in (2.1). Note that the imperfective =*ari* attaches to the pronominal proclitic *na=*, cognate to Old Omagua *ne=*.

(2.1) OLD KOKAMA

kakiri tanupapa, kakiri ura, Dios ikatuta nari.

kakiri tanu= papa kakiri ura Dios ikatu -ta na= =ari
 live 1PL.EXCL.MS= father live 3SG.MS God be.good -CAUS 2SG= =IMPF

‘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.). Kokamas who Lucero had induced to live at Santa María de Ucayali were fleeing a smallpox epidemic that began in June 1680, and advising Lucero that he do the same.

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 mura k^wa[ra]fipupe yeneyara jesucristo uyawiri rauri**ari**?

mania =senuni mura k^warafi =pupe yene= yara jesucristo
 what.action =PURP 3SG.MS day =INSTR 1PL.INCL= master Jesus.Christ
uyawiri ra= uri =ari
 again 3SG.MS= come =IMPF

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

(2.13) uyawiri upa yenekakirusu**ari**.

uyawiri upa yene= kakiri =usu =ari
 again all 1PL.INCL= live =AND =IMPF

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

(2.14) maritipa awakana yawiki**ari** ipipemai tata tupak^warape ranausumaka?

mari =tipa awa =kana yawiki =ari ipipe =mai tata tupa
 what =INTERR person =PL.MS do =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
 =k^warape rana= 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 verbal future tense enclitic =*á*, which appears to have grammaticalized from the Proto-Omagua-Kokama imperfective *=*ari*. It is one of a small number of monosyllabic grammatical morphemes in Kokama-Kokamilla that attract final stress, a pattern that is otherwise atypical within Kokama-Kokamilla and Omagua prosody (Sandy & O’Hagan (submitted); Vallejos (2010a:119-124)). All other members of this class of morphemes historically exhibited an additional syllable that explains their synchronically aberrant stress pattern (O’Hagan & Wauters 2012).

The grammaticalization trajectory described above is problematic in that it entails that Old Kokama-Kokamilla =*ari* grammaticalized as a future, retaining its distribution as a verbal 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. Furthermore, modern Omagua future =(u)sari grammaticalized from =*usu=ari* (see (2.13)), which suggests that the grammaticalization of Proto-Omagua-Kokama *=*ari* into a future is a recent occurrence in both

languages (see footnote 31), perhaps occurring under mutual influence between speakers of the two languages, though involving different forms.³²

2.2.3.1.3 *upa* ‘come to an end, run out’ The verb *upa* is a minor verb (see Aikhenvald (2006)) in a serial verb construction that encodes the cessation of the event denoted by the predicate (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, yenesafitasenuni mura Dios, rakumesamaipurakana yeneamuyasukatasenuni, aikiara tuyukaari yenyuritiuparafi, iwatimai ritamakate yeneususenuni.*

yene= *ikua* =*senuni Dios =semai se yene= safita =senuni mura*
 1PL.INCL= know =PURP God =FOC:VER ? 1PL.INCL= love =PURP 3SG.MS
Dios ra= kumesa =mai =pura =kana yene=
 God 3SG.MS= say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS 1PL.INCL=
amuyasukata =senuni aikiara tuyuka =ari yene= yuriti
 observe =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land =LOC.DIFF 1PL.INCL= be.in.place
 =*upa =rafi iwati =mai ritama =kate yene= usu =senuni*
 =CESS =NASS be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT 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))

The class of minor verbs in the modern language includes the verbs of motion *usu* ‘go’, *uri* ‘come’, and *ukua* ‘go about’, as well as the posture verb *yuriti* ‘be in a place’. The use of *usu* in a serial verb construction is attested in Old Omagua (see §2.2.3.1.1).³³

2.2.3.1.4 **Irrealis** =*mia* In modern Omagua, the verbal enclitic =*mia* appears in a number of construction types, all of which may be considered notionally irrealis (Michael 2014b). 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).³⁴

(2.16) *mitiripe ipisasui comulgayarayakatu marai kuratarafi, nuamai utjaya[ra]rafi, ranasawaitimia santísimo sacramento?*

³²In the later missionary period, Kokamas and Omaguas lived in 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 headquarters of the Jesuit missions until 1768 (Yuyarima Tapuchima, p.c.). Trade 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.

³³See Michael et al. (in prep) for a more detailed analysis of modern Omagua serial verbs.

³⁴In the ecclesiastical texts deontic modality is encoded via the imperfective VP-enclitic =*ari* (see §2.2.3.1.2).

mitiripe ipisa =sui comulga =yara =ya =katu marai
 in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =NOMZ:POSS =SIM =INTSF thing
kurata =rafi nua =mai utfa =yara =rafi rana= sawaiti
 drink =NASS be.big =NOMZ:INACT sin =NOMZ:POSS =NASS 3PL.MS= encounter
 =*mia santísimo sacramento*
 =IRR 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 is cognate to Tupí-Guaraní frustratives (e.g., Tupinambá *βiʔã* and Wayampí *mijã* (Jensen 1998:538-539)).³⁵ Although we cannot reconstruct a frustrative meaning for Proto-Omagua-Kokama **=mia*, frustrative meanings do fall within in the broader category of irrealis meanings, since they express a form of event non-realization, and it is possible the Proto-Tupí-Guaraní morpheme did in fact have broader irrealis semantics, in which case the Proto-Omagua-Kokama morpheme simply reflects the older semantics of this form. In any event, treating Proto-Omagua-Kokama **=mia* as a retention from Tupí-Guaraní is at odds with (Cabral 1995:271) who suggests that Kokama **=mia* is a borrowing of some reflex of Proto-Arawak **-mi* (Payne 1993). Although the question deserves further study, we feel that a Tupí-Guaraní origin for this morpheme is more likely for two reasons: first, the phonological form of Proto-Omagua-Kokama **=mia* is readily explained by assuming it is cognate to, e.g., Tupinambá *βiʔã*, while the final *a* poses a puzzle if we assume that it derives from a borrowed reflex of Proto-Arawak **-mi*; and second, no other Proto-Omagua-Kokama grammatical morphemes have been definitively shown to be of Arawak origin, casting some doubt that the Tupí-Guaraní precursor to Proto-Omagua-Kokama ever experienced sufficiently intense contact with an Arawak language to borrow the frustrative.

2.2.3.1.5 Certainty =*tina* The ecclesiastical texts exhibit a second-position clitic =*tina* that expresses certainty on the part of the speaker with regard to the truth value of a proposition. This morpheme forms part of a set of second-position clitics that encoded epistemic modality in Proto-Omagua-Kokama.³⁶ They attach to the right edge of the leftmost element in the verb phrase, either the morpheme occupying the person or negation positions in Table 2.6, or a sentence-initial adverb when one is present. In general, the use of epistemic markers is uncommon in natural and elicited speech among the remaining Omagua speakers, possibly due to language attrition, and our description of =*tina* thus relies heavily on Vallejos’ description of cognate =*tin* in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:487-490).

³⁵Jensen (1998) does not reconstruct a PTG frustrative, but reconstructions of forms with reflexes in Tupinambá that are very similar to the frustrative (e.g., the PTG and Tupinambá clausal nominalizer *(*)βaʔé*) suggest that a PTG frustrative would be very similar in form to Tupinambá *βiʔã*.

³⁶Others include Omagua =*taku* and Kokama-Kokamilla =*taka* (Vallejos 2010a:496-498), a dubitative marker, as well as the Kokama-Kokamilla ‘speculative’ and ‘reportative’ markers =*ray* and =*ía* Vallejos (2010a:492-496). The latter two morphemes are likely reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama given cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní cognates (e.g., Tupinambá *raʔé* (Lemos Barbosa 1956:367-368)), but reflexes of these forms are not attested in modern Omagua. None of the above forms are attested in the ecclesiastical texts.

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 *mura* 3SG.MS; in the latter it is the adverb *muriapai* ‘uninterruptedly’.³⁷

(2.17) **muratina** aisetui Dios aisetui awa weranu, yenyara yenyumunyepetatarā.

mura =tina aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa weranu yene= yara yene=
 3SG.MS =CERT true -? God true -? man COORD 1PL.INCL= lord 1PL.INCL=
yumunuyepeta -tara
 redeem -NOMZ:ACT

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

(2.18) yenesawakana muriapaitina ranakakiriari.

yene= sawa =kana muriapai =tina rana= kakiri =ari
 1PL.INCL= soul =PL.MS uninterruptedly =CERT 3PL.MS= live =IMPF

‘Our souls will live forever.’
 (example (6.22b))

2.2.3.2 Derivational Morphology

In this section we examine the Omagua causative *-ta* (§2.2.3.2.1), the applicative *=supe* (§2.2.3.2.2) and a series of nominalizers (§§2.2.3.2.3-2.2.3.2.5).

2.2.3.2.1 Causative *-ta* The causative verbal suffix *-ta* is only attested on intransitive stems in Old Omagua, and derives a transitive verb in those cases, with the erstwhile subject is demoted to object position, as in (2.19).

(2.19) yene rasafitarafi, yeneerasimamaikanasui yene rausuepetasenuni, iwatimai ritamakati yene rayawajimatasenuni weranu.

yene ra= safita =rafi yene= era -sima =mai
 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love =NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT
=kana =sui yene ra= usuepe -ta =senuni iwati
 =PL.MS =ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP be.high.up
=mai ritama =kati yene ra= yawajima -ta =senuni weranu
 =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= arrive -CAUS =PURP COORD

³⁷ Note that the position of *=tina* in (2.18) requires comment, since it does not seem to be in second position. We argue, however, that the constituent *yenesawakana* ‘our souls’ is extra-clausal, and that thus *=tina* is in second position. Our conclusion is based on two facts: 1) that the adverb *muriapai* otherwise appears only clause-initially in the ecclesiastical texts, suggesting that the element that appears before it is extra-clausal; and 2) the presence of the resumptive pronoun *rana=* 3PL.MS in the clause. Omagua exhibits a contrastive topic construction that involving an extra-clausal NP and a coreferential resumptive pronoun (Sandy & O’Hagan 2012), and since it is plausible that *sawakana* ‘souls’ is indeed a contrastive topic, it follows that it is likely extra-clausal (see (6.20)-(6.21) for discourse context).

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

In modern Omagua, transitive verbs may also be derived with *-ta*, with the erstwhile subject being demoted to object position, and the erstwhile object optionally realized as an oblique argument licensed by the instrumental =*pupi*, as in (2.20).

(2.20) MODERN OMAGUA
 tayapifikata mi ifipupupi...

ta= *yapifika -ta* *mi* *ifipu =pupi*
 1SG.MS= grab -CAUS 2SG liana =INSTR

‘I made you [jaguar] grab the liana...’
 (MCT:C5.S3)

2.2.3.2.2 Applicative =*supe* The applicative =*supe* is attested only once in Old Omagua, 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 (2.21).

(2.21) ename ukairasupe Andrés. taumanu[sal]kapiri, erusu padre ukakate.

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

ta= *umanu =sakapiri* *erusu 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. An unproductive cognate =*tsupe* is attested with certain intransitive verb roots in Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:380-383), where it ‘introduces a benefactive-like participant as the object of the clause’ (ibid.:380).

2.2.3.2.3 Clausal Nominalizers Old Omagua exhibits three nominalizers: the active nominalizer *-tara*, the inactive nominalizer =*mai*, and the subject nominalizer *-suri*, which differ in the verbal argument positions they eliminate in the nominalization process. We begin by focusing on the first two nominalizers, which target arguments based on an ergative-absolutive alignment: *-tara* derives nouns that correspond to A or S_A arguments of the verb,³⁸ whereas =*mai* derives nouns that correspond to S_P or P arguments. Derived nouns corresponding to A, S_P, and P are illustrated in (2.22).

³⁸Note that there are no attestations in Old Omagua of a derived noun corresponding to S_A, although such nominalizations are amply attested in the modern language.

- (2.22) *ayaise cristianokana* (upai aucakana), Dios kumesa**mai**purakana roaya amuyasukatatarakana erasim**mai**wasuyara, ranaumanurafi, makati Dios yumupuri ranasawakana?

ayaise cristiano =kana upai auca =kana Dios kumesa =mai
wicked Christian =PL.MS every savage =PL.MS God say =NOMZ:INACT
=*pura* =*kana* *roaya amuyasukata -tara* =*kana* *era -sima*
=NOM.PST =PL.MS NEG observe -NOMZ:ACT =PL.MS good -CORE.NEG
=*mai* =*wasu* =*yara* *rana=* *umanu =rafi makati Dios*
=NOMZ:INACT =AUG =NOMZ:POSS 3PL.MS= die =NASS where God
yumupuri rana= sawa =kana
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))

Verb stems nominalized with *-tara* and *=mai* may take exclusively nominal morphology such as the plural *=kana* PL.MS (§2.2.2.1) and nominal past *=pura* NOM.PST (§2.2.2.3). Verbs derived with these nominalizers retain some verbal properties, such as being negated by the clausal negator *roaya*, as in (2.22), which intervenes between *kumesamaipurakana* and *amuyasukatatarakana*, which could otherwise be analyzed as an NP-NP compound with the meaning ‘commandment followers’. The negator *roaya* does not break up nominal compounds in such a manner way, suggesting that the first element in the putative compound is not entirely nominal in nature. Similar facts point to the verbal nature of forms derived with *=mai*, as in (2.23) & (2.24), from modern Omagua, where the adverbial elements (*ik^wafi* ‘yesterday’ and *iantik^wara* ‘at the prow’) fall between the nominalized verb and its associated nominal element.

- (2.23) MODERN OMAGUA

*mi umai yukú yapisara ik^wafi yaufim**mai**?*

mi umai yukú yapisara ik^wafi yaufima =mai
2SG see DEM.DIST.FS man yesterday arrive =NOMZ:INACT

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

- (2.24) MODERN OMAGUA

Entonces wipi awa iantirak^wara yapik**mai**...

entonces wipi awa iantira =k^wara yapika =mai
then one man prow =LOC sit.down =NOMZ:INACT

‘Then the man sitting at the prow [said]...’
(MCT:C2.S4)

Verbs derived with *-tara* or *=mai* do exhibit reduced verbal properties, however, most notably the loss of person markers, as in (2.25), from modern Omagua.³⁹

³⁹In one attested example, person is encoded via a pronominal proclitic, as in (2.1).

(2.25) MODERN OMAGUA

Hasta medio cuerpo rayatima firimaik^wara, uri cielosuimai.

hasta medio cuerpo ra= yatima firi =mai =k^wara uri
 up.to half body 3SG.MS= be.buried be.muddy =NOMZ:INACT =INESS come
cielo =sui =mai
 sky =ABL =NOMZ:INACT

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

We see in (2.26) that the nominalized verb retains its P arguments, however.

(2.26) iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkanamukui, yawikitara, wakutatara, yenyarasemai weranu, muriai Dios mura.

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa =katu
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =kana =mukui yawiki -tara wakuta -tara yene=
 thing =PL.MS =COM make -NOMZ:ACT carry.in.arm -NOMZ:ACT 1PL.INCL=
yara =semai weranu muria -i Dios mura
 master =FOC:VER 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 postpositions, which we analyze synchronically as phonologically bound nominal enclitics, given that they follow the nominal plural enclitics =*kana* and =*na*, analyzed as such because of their scopal properties and distribution within the noun phrase (see Michael et al. (in prep)).⁴⁰ 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 (2.25) above.⁴¹

(2.1) MODERN OMAGUA

ranaparisara upa **ranakakiri** ritamak^waramai.

rana= parisara upa rana= kakiri ritama =k^wara =mai
 3PL.MS= invite all 3PL.MS= live village =LOC =NOMZ:INACT

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

⁴⁰The appearance of =*mai* outside of postpositions, although not attested in the Jesuit texts, is also attested in von Humboldt’s work (2011), in the form <uni huerepe-mai>, which we transliterate and segment as *uni=wiripe=mai* ‘water=SUBESS=NOMZ:INACT’ and translate as ‘that which is under the water’. This is line with Humboldt’s German translation ‘was unter dem Wasser ist’.

⁴¹See Table 2.5 for a schema of nominal morphology.

The third clausal nominalizer, *-suri*, targets the syntactic subject position. It is attested twice in the ecclesiastical texts, on *wifani* ‘be dishonest’ and *mita* ‘deceive’, as in (2.27).⁴² This example also provides evidence for the quasi-verbal status of forms derived with *-suri*, since it appears modified by the negator *roaya*, which otherwise only appears with predicates.

(2.27) nesapiaritipa aikiara, upakatu Dios kumesamaikana, aisetui Dios, upai ikuatara, roaya wifanisuri, roaya mitasuri, Dios kumesaikua?

ne= sapiari =tipa aikiara upa =katu Dios kumesa =mai
 2SG= obey =INTERR DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF God say =NOMZ:INACT
 =kana aise -tui Dios upai ikua -tara roaya wifani -suri
 =PL.MS true -? God every know -NOMZ:ACT NEG be.dishonest -NOMZ:SUBJ
roaya mita -suri Dios kumesa =ikua
 NEG deceive -NOMZ:SUBJ God say =REAS

‘Do you obey all the words of God, true God, all-knowing, not deceitful, because God says them?’

(example (6.33a))

Vallejos (2010a:232-233) characterizes Kokama-Kokamilla as a ‘proficient-agent nominalizer’; however, in Omagua, *-suri* may attach to predicates whose arguments receive no thematic agent role, as with the pair *aikua* ‘be sick’ and *aikuasuri* ‘sickly person’. Because of these facts, we analyze *-suri* as a subject, and not agent, nominalizer. In addition, nouns derived with *-suri* 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.

2.2.3.2.4 Container Nominalizer *-firu* Omagua exhibits a ‘container nominalizer’, so-called because it is historically related to Proto-Omagua-Kokama ‘container’,⁴³ which has come to mean ‘shirt, clothes’ in modern Omagua. As evident in Table 2.8, stems formed with *-firu* include ones where the container sense is fairly literal, as in *unifiru* ‘water jug’, and ones that are increasingly abstract, such as *mariafiru* ‘church’, exemplified in 2.28, from Uriarte’s diary, and *kaiifiru* ‘mischievous boy’ (cf. *kai* ‘capuchin sp.’).

(2.28) karayoa, maria**firukate!**

karayoa maria -firu =kate
 Portuguese Mary -NOMZ:CONT =ALL

‘Portuguese, to the church!’⁴⁴

(example (8.1))

⁴²An additional attestation is found in Uriarte’s diaries, on *yawapara* ‘flee’ (see (8.4)).

⁴³Cognates of this form in other TG language are plentiful, including, among many others, Sirionó *iru* ‘basket’ (Priest & Priest 1985), and Tapirapé and Parakanã *iro* ‘basket’ (Praça 2007; da Silva 2003).

⁴⁴In modern Omagua ‘church’ is most often realized as [mar’firu] or [,mari’firu], 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.

Table 2.8: Modern Omagua *-furu* Stems

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
<i>kai</i>	white monkey sp.	<i>kai^{furu}</i>	mischievous boy
<i>maria</i>	Mary	<i>maria^{furu}</i>	church
<i>nami</i>	ear	<i>nami^{furu}</i>	earring
<i>pita</i>	foot	<i>pita^{furu}</i>	sock, footprint
<i>pua</i>	hand	<i>pua^{furu}</i>	ring
<i>sitima</i>	thigh	<i>situma^{furu}</i>	pants
<i>tiputi</i>	excrement	<i>tiputi^{furu}</i>	entrails
<i>uni</i>	water	<i>uni^{furu}</i>	water jug
<i>yiwa</i>	arm	<i>yiwa^{furu}</i>	sleeve

The more abstract associations between entities and their metaphorical ‘containers’ evident in the forms for ‘church’ and ‘mischievous boy’ are prevalent in deverbal nouns formed with *-furu*, exemplified in Table 2.9, nominalizations indicate that the trait expressed by the verb root is characteristic of the person to which the nominalized verb refers.

Table 2.9: Modern Omagua Verbs Nominalized with *-furu*

Root	Gloss	Stem	Gloss
<i>aisikapa</i>	be ugly	<i>aisikapafuru</i>	very ugly person
<i>ikua</i>	know	<i>ikua^{furu}</i>	wise person, school
<i>mapiri</i>	be lazy	<i>mapirifuru</i>	lazybones
<i>payu</i>	hex	<i>payufuru</i>	witch
<i>sasisima</i>	shout.REDUP	<i>sasisimafuru</i>	(Sp. <i>gritón</i>)
<i>ukaira</i>	be stingy	<i>ukairafuru</i>	stingy person

2.2.3.2.5 Possessive Nominalizer =*yara* The possessive nominalizer =*yara*⁴⁵ is an enclitic that derives a noun construed as the possessor of the nominal head, as in (2.29).

(2.29) *cristianokana nuamai utfayararafi...*

cristiano =kana nua =mai utfa =yara =rafi
 Christian =PL.MS be.big =NOMZ:INACT sin =NOMZ:POSS =NASS

‘Christians, being great sinners...’
 (example (6.29a))

⁴⁵See also *yara* ‘owner, master’.

In Old Omagua, *=yara* attaches to two Spanish verb roots *confesar* ‘confess’ and *comulgar* ‘receive communion’. On the former it behaves as a verbalizer, and in that single instance we have glossed it as such. On the latter, however, it derives an agent noun (‘one who receives communion’), and in this instance we preserve the NOMZ:POSS gloss, although we note that in modern Omagua *=yara* does not attach to Spanish loan verbs.

2.3 Syntax

In this section we present an overview of Omagua syntax, including information structure. As before, much of our description here is based on our analysis of modern Omagua, and unless otherwise noted, the descriptions that follow are true for both modern and Old Omagua. Some phenomena we discuss in this section are attested only in Old Omagua. Topics discussed include nominal modification (§2.3.2), adpositional phrases (§2.3.3), negation (§2.3.4), interrogative formation (§2.3.6), noun phrase coordination (2.3.7), clause-linking (§2.3.8), focus (§2.3.9), and non-verbal predication (§2.3.10).

2.3.1 Basic Clause Structure

Information-structurally unmarked constituent order in Omagua exhibits active-stative alignment: AVP, S_AV, and VS_P, as shown for modern Omagua in (2.30).⁴⁶

- (2.30) a. ...niyasaismuni kaikana. AVP
ni= yasai =sɪnuni kai =kana
 2SG= trap =PURP capuchin.sp. =PL.MS
 ‘...so that you [can] trap the monkeys.’
 (MCT:C2.S1)
- b. isiwasu yapana kawarupi. S_AV
isiwasu yapana kawa =rupi
 deer run forest =PROL
 ‘The deer ran off into the forest.’
 (LHC:2011.07.01.1)
- c. awi yamaʃi raná. VS_P
awi yamaʃi raná
 already be.hungry 3PL.MS
 ‘They were hungry.’
 (MCT:C3.S1)

Arguments can be expressed 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 bivalent, and any additional arguments (including indirect objects) must be licensed by phonologically bound NP enclitic postpositions (see §2.3.3).

⁴⁶A = 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.

Contrastive topic subjects encoded via nouns 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 §2.3.9. Highly topical third-person objects may be null, while subjects are obligatory. The realization of an argument as a referential noun, free pronoun, pronominal proclitic or, in the case of third-person objects, null, is governed by a givenness hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993), which we will not treat here (see Sandy & O’Hagan (2012) and Michael et al. (in prep)). Adverbs tend to occur clause-initially.

2.3.2 Nominal Modification

In Old Omagua, nouns could be modified by three types of elements (which could be combined): 1) pronominal elements that include demonstratives (§2.3.2.1); 2) other nouns (§2.3.2.2); and 3) nominalized stative verbs (§2.3.2.3).

2.3.2.1 Demonstratives and Quantifiers

The ecclesiastical texts exemplify only a small number of demonstratives and quantifiers in comparison to the full range of such elements in modern Omagua and Proto-Omagua-Kokama, presumably because these texts exhibit a restricted range of deictic reference, and because that the texts are written exclusively with masculine genderlect forms, such that no feminine genderlect demonstratives are attested. Below we 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 diachronic issues concerning the evolution of these forms from Proto-Omagua-Kokama.

Table 2.10 lists the demonstratives found in modern Omagua. Demonstratives may serve as arguments by themselves, in which capacity they may also take nominal morphology (see §2.2.2). They may also function as determiners, in which case any nominal morphology attaches to the noun itself, and not to the demonstrative.⁴⁷

Table 2.10: Modern Omagua Demonstratives

	MS	FS
PROX	<i>akia</i>	<i>amai</i>
DIST	<i>yuká</i>	<i>yukú</i>

With respect to the forms in Table 2.10, only *ikiara*, corresponding to modern *akia*, is attested.⁴⁸ This demonstrative is shown as an argument with plural marking in (2.31).

⁴⁷The 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 discourse givenness (“discourse deixis”). Only nominalized demonstratives may take nominal morphology and stand alone as arguments (see Vallejos (2010a:215-222) for more explanation).

⁴⁸See footnote 134 for a discussion of the unexpected form of Old Omagua *ikiara*.

(2.31) k^w arafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, iwatakana weranu, to maritipa **aikiarakana** Dios mura?

k^w arafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana iwata =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?’
 (example (5.6a))

Table 2.11 summarizes non-numeral quantifiers in modern Omagua.⁴⁹ The order of modifiers in modern Omagua is summarized in Table 2.12. Note that quantifiers (Table 2.11) and numerals do not co-occur.⁵⁰ The ordering of modifiers is a point of variation between the two catechism texts, which we discuss as part of §9.4.

Table 2.11: Modern Omagua Non-numeral Quantifiers

Omagua	Gloss
<i>upa</i>	all
<i>upai</i> ⁵¹	every
<i>upaimai</i>	every kind of
<i>amua</i>	(an)other
<i>nimakatimai</i>	no, any
<i>awirika</i>	some, few (count)
<i>mimikatu</i>	some, little (mass)
<i>fita</i> ⁵²	much, many

Table 2.12: Order of Modern Omagua Nominal Modifiers

QUANT	DEM	NUM	POSS=	NOUN
-------	-----	-----	-------	------

The quantifiers *upa*, *upai*, and *amua* are attested in Old Omagua. The fact that *upa*

⁴⁹Native 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 (cf. English ‘two of them’ versus ‘the two of them’). In the ecclesiastical texts the numerals *uyepe* ‘one’ (modern Omagua *wipi*) and *musapirika* ‘three’ are attested.

⁵⁰See Table 2.5 for a summary of postnominal elements in the noun phrase.

⁵¹Modern Omagua *upai* ‘every’ is restricted to a set of frozen expressions, including *upai k^w arafi* ‘every day’, *upai makati* ‘everywhere’, *upai mari* ‘everything’, and *upairupi* ‘everywhere’.

⁵²The quantifier *fita* 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.

‘all’ and *upai* ‘every’ are widespread in the ecclesiastical texts, in combination with Kokama-Kokamilla facts, leads us to reconstruct **upa* ‘all’ and **upai* ‘every’.⁵³

2.3.2.2 Noun-Noun Modification

Nouns may be modified by other nouns, in which case the head follows the modifier (2.32).

(2.32) *uyawiri rauriari aikiara tuyuka ritama upapupekatu.*

uyawiri ra= uri =ari aikiara tuyuka ritama 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., *yapisara* ‘man’, *atawari* ‘hen’, but *yapisara atawari* ‘rooster’.

2.3.2.3 Modification via Nominalization of Stative Verb

Nouns may be modified by a nominalized stative verb, as shown in (2.33). In the Old Omagua texts, nominalized stative verbs typically precede their head, although in modern Omagua the distribution is the opposite.

(2.33) *iwatimai ritamakate rausu iminua.*

iwati =mai ritama =kate ra= usu iminua
be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL 3SG.MS= go long.ago

‘He went to Heaven.’

(example (6.19b))

Lastly, two Old Omagua roots function as adjectives, i.e., they modify nouns without derivation, in which function they are only attested prenominaly. These are *era* ‘good’ and *ayaise* ‘wicked’ (recruited by Jesuit authors to convey notions of ‘bad’ and ‘evil’ (see footnote 124)), the former shown in (2.34). In modern Omagua, the reflexes of these forms, *ira* and *aisi*, are stative verbs that must be nominalized in order to modify a noun.

(2.34) *upakatu yenesawakai upai ayaise yenyawikimaipurakana weranu rakumesasenuni rauriari.*

upa =katu yene= sawa =kai upai ayaise yene= yawiki =mai
all =INTSF 1PL.INCL= soul =? every wicked 1PL.INCL= do =NOMZ:INACT
=*pura* =*kana* *weranu ra= kumesa =senuni ra= uri =ari*
=NOM.PST =PL.MS COORD 3SG.MS= say =PURP 3SG.MS= come =IMPF

⁵³Under this account, **upai* > *upi* in Kokama-Kokamilla (following expected monophthongization processes (O’Hagan & Wauters 2012)) and extended its meaning to encompass the former meaning of *upa* ‘all’, leading to the complete loss of the latter form. In Omagua, by contrast, the opposite process occurred, whereby **upa* ‘all’ extended its meaning to include that of *upai* ‘every’, nearly eliminating the latter except in small set of frozen expressions (see footnote 51).

‘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, 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 2.13. Forms additionally attested in Old Omagua are given in the rightmost column.⁵⁴

Table 2.13: Omagua Postpositions

Omagua	Gloss	Old Omagua
= <i>ari</i>	DIFFUSE LOCATIVE	= <i>ari</i>
= <i>arikatu</i>	in the direction of	
= <i>ariwa</i>	SUPERESSIVE	
= <i>iantira</i>	in front of	
= <i>ipipi</i>	INESSIVE	= <i>ipipe</i>
= <i>kakura</i>	ADESSIVE	
= <i>kati</i>	ALLATIVE, LOCATIVE	= <i>kate</i>
= <i>k^wara</i>	INESSIVE, LOCATIVE	= <i>k^warape</i>
= <i>mitiripi</i>	in the middle of	= <i>mitiripe</i>
= <i>mukui</i>	COMITATIVE	= <i>mukui</i>
= <i>pupi</i>	INSTRUMENTAL	= <i>pupe</i>
= <i>rupi</i>	PROLATIVE	
= <i>sui</i>	ABLATIVE	= <i>sui</i>
= <i>supi</i>	GOAL	= <i>supe</i>
= <i>fikwarara</i>	behind	
= <i>wiripi</i>	SUBESSIVE	= <i>wiripe</i>

2.3.4 Negation

Old Omagua exhibits four negation morphemes. Following Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:45-46), we distinguish three of these as a clausal negator *roaya*, a core negator *-sima*, a derivational negator *=ima*, which functions as a privative,⁵⁵ and a prohibitive, *ename*. These are discussed in §§2.3.4.1-2.3.4.4.

2.3.4.1 Clausal Negator *roaya*

The clausal negator is shown in (2.35), where it negates the entire proposition.

⁵⁴See O’Hagan (2011:41-48) for a discussion of the the relationship between Proto-Omagua-Kokama and Proto-Tupí-Guaraní postpositions.

⁵⁵Clausal negation is additionally known as propositional negation, and core negation as narrow scope or internal negation (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:45).

(2.35) ene yumiawirarafi ta, **roaya** [uya]wiri tayumiratari ene.

ene yumiawira =rafi ta roaya uyawiri ta= yumira -ta =ari
 2SG help =NASS 1SG.MS NEG again 1SG.MS= get.angry -CAUS =IMPF
ene
 2SG

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

The form of the clausal negator found in the ecclesiastical texts is somewhat unexpected given its form in modern Omagua, *rua*, and the corresponding form reconstructed to Proto-Tupí-Guaraní, **ruã* (Jensen 1998:547). The difference in the quality of the first vowel may be explicable as an assimilatory effect,⁵⁶ but the additional final syllable presents a greater challenge. We propose that *roaya* was at one point a morphologically complex negation element consisting of what Jensen (1998:545-549) considers an ‘adverbial negator’ **ruã* and the standard negation suffix *-*i*, which elsewhere co-occurs with a prefix **n(a)-* ~ **ni-* to negate verbal predicates (see O’Hagan (2011:112-114)). On this view, Old Omagua *roaya* (presumably underlyingly /ruaya/) reduced to *rua* in modern Omagua, which must have happened relatively recently, since *roaya* is recorded as late as the 1840s by the French explorer Paul Marcoy in São Paulo de Olivença (Amazon River), Brazil (Marcoy 1875).

2.3.4.2 Privative =*ima*

The enclitic =*ima* is a denominal privative that derives a stative predicate denoting the absence or lack of the entity or quality denoted by the nominal root to which it attaches (2.36). We analyze it as a clitic because it follows other morphemes analyzed as clitics (e.g., =*mai*) and because in modern Omagua it forms a phonological word with morphological material to its left.

(2.36) era cristianokana Dios kumesamaipurakana era amuyasukatatarakana erasimamaiwasu**ima**,
 ranaumanurafi, makati ranasawasuakana usu?

era cristiano =kana Dios kumesa =mai =pura =kana era
 good Christian =PL.MS God say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS good
amuyasukata -tara =kana era -sima =mai =wasu =ima
 observe -NOMZ:ACT =PL.MS good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT =AUG =PRIV
rana= umanu =rafi makati rana= 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))

⁵⁶Modern *rua* frequently surfaces phonetically as either [roa] or [ro].

2.3.4.3 Core Negator *-sima*

The core negator *-sima* is not attested in either modern Omagua or Kokama, and only appears with a single property-denoting root, *era* ‘good’, in the ecclesiastical texts, from which it derives the negative stem *erasima* ‘evil’, as in (2.37). Its similarity in form and meaning to the privative is noteworthy, but due to the rarity with which it is attested, it is not possible at this stage to clarify the relationship between these two morphemes.

(2.37) *yene rasafitarafi, yeneerasimamaikanasui yene rausuepetasenuni, iwatimai ritamakati yene rayawafimatasenuni weranu.*

yene ra= safita =rafi yene= era -sima =mai
 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love =NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT
=kana =sui yene ra= usuepe -ta =senuni iwati
 =PL.MS =ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP be.high.up
=mai ritama =kati yene ra= yawafima -ta =senuni weranu
 =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC 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))

2.3.4.4 Prohibitive *ename*

The Old Omagua prohibitive marker *ename* is a sentence-initial particle that is attested three times in this corpus, once in the Lord’s Prayer, and twice in the Uriarte diaries. We give a modern example of the prohibitive construction in (2.38), which shows that the verbal subject is expressed in modern Omagua prohibitives, as in the clausal negation and optative constructions, which similarly involve sentence-initial particles. Note that in modern Omagua both vowels *e* have raised to *i*, representing an irregular correspondence *e:i*.

(2.38) *inami mi sasima.*

inami mi sasima
 PROH 2SG shout

‘Don’t shout.’
 (MCT:C6.S1)

Strikingly both prohibitive examples in Uriarte’s diaries ((8.4) & (8.6)) lack subject person-marking. It is not clear if the lack of person-marking in these examples accurately represents Old Omagua prohibitive constructions, however, since it is also attested in the Lord’s Prayer, with person-marking (4.6).

2.3.5 Optative *tene*

The Old Omagua optative *tene* is a sentence-initial particle, like the negator *roaya* and the prohibitive *ename*. It is attested only in the Lord’s Prayer, as in (2.39).

(2.39) *tene rayawiki mura.*

tene ra= yawiki mura
 OPT 3SG.MS= do 3SG.MS

‘...[thy will] be done.’
 (example (4.3))

Modern Omagua exhibits an optative with the same syntactic description as the Old Omagua morpheme, but the form of this sentence-initial particle is *tina*, which would not result from regular sound changes to the attested Old Omagua form. More puzzlingly, a morpheme with the form =*tina* appears both in the ecclesiastical texts and modern Kokama, and it is clearly a second-position epistemic modal clitic in both cases (see §2.2.3.1.5). We are not in a position to account for either sound changes that produced modern Omagua *tina* from Old Omagua *tene*, or a reanalysis of a second-position epistemic modal clitic as a sentence-initial optative particle.

2.3.6 Interrogatives

2.3.6.1 Polar Interrogatives

Old Omagua polar interrogative sentences are distinguished from declarative sentences in bearing one of two second-position interrogative clitics: =*tipa* or =*pa*.⁵⁷ In most sentences, the interrogative clitics encliticize to a sentence-initial verb, as in (2.40), but in negative interrogative sentences, and in interrogative sentences bearing an initial adverb, the clitics appear encliticized to the negation particle or adverb, as in (2.41) and (2.42), respectively.

(2.40) neyamimiat**tipa** upakatu niyamukuikatu neutfakanapupe neyumirataikua yeneyara Dios?

ne= yamimia =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui =katu ne= utfa
 2SG= grieve =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 2SG= sin
 =kana =pupe ne= yumira -ta =ikua yene= yara Dios
 =PL.MS =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))

(2.41) aikiara musapirika personakana, roayat**tipa** musapirika Dios?

aikiara musapirika persona =kana roaya =tipa musapirika Dios
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three God

‘These three persons, are they not three Gods?’

(example (5.10a))

(2.42) uyawirit**tipa** yeneyara jesucristo iwatimai ritamasui aikiara tuyuka ritamakate rauriari.

⁵⁷These clitics also occur on interrogative pronouns in the Jesuit texts (see §2.3.6.2 and §9.4).

uyawiri =tipa yene= yara jesucristo iwati =mai
 again =INTERR 1PL.INCL= master Jesus.Christ be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT
ritama =sui aikiara tuyuka ritama =kate ra= uri =ari
 village =ABL 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. The interrogative clitic =*pa* is significantly less frequent than =*tipa*, occurring only four times in all of the Jesuit texts, and can be replaced by =*tipa* on all the hosts on which it is attested, namely, interrogative pronouns and the clausal negation particle. Interestingly, while both interrogative clitics are attested in Old Omagua, modern Omagua only exhibits =*pa*, whereas Kokama-Kokamilla only exhibits =*tipa*. We reconstruct both *=*tipa* and *=*pa* to Proto-Omagua-Kokama based on the attestation of both clitics in Old Omagua, and on data from other Tupí-Guaraní languages, especially Tupinambá, which exhibited two interrogative markers, *pe* and *tepe*. Cabral (1995:209-213) distinguished the latter from the former, apparently an unmarked interrogative marker, as a marker of rhetorical questions. We suspect that the two markers are distinguished by knowledge asymmetries between speaker and interlocutor, although further comparative work is needed across the Tupí-Guaraní family to evaluate this hypothesis.

2.3.6.2 Content Interrogative

Old Omagua content interrogatives exhibit fronted interrogative pronouns, listed in Table 2.14, that bear one of the two interrogative second position clitics, =*tipa* or =*pa*. In the Catechism Fragment, interrogative clitics appear on all interrogative words, whereas in the Full Catechism they are occasionally omitted, including in cases of questions that otherwise correspond identically to those in the Catechism Fragment (e.g., (5.4a) versus (6.4a)). See §9.4 for a more in-depth discussion of this variation.

Table 2.14: Old Omagua Interrogative Pronouns

<i>mania</i>	how
<i>mariamai</i>	how
<i>awiri(ka)</i> ⁵⁸	how many
<i>marai</i> ⁵⁹	what
<i>makati</i>	where
<i>maniamai</i>	which
<i>awa</i>	who
<i>maraira</i>	why
<i>maraikua</i>	why
<i>maniasenuni</i>	why

Postpositional nominal enclitics front with their associated interrogative pronouns, and in such cases, interrogative clitics follow the postpositions, as in (2.43). Reflexes of all forms except *mariamai* ‘how’ and *maniasnuni* ‘why’ are attested in modern Omagua, although *maniamai* ‘which’, in Old Omagua, has come to mean ‘what type of’.

(2.43) maripupetipa Dios yawiki upakatu marainkana?

mari =*pupe* =*tipa* *Dios yawiki upa* =*katu* *marain* =*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 *marai* ‘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 2.15, 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 2.15: Proto-Omagua-Kokama Words for ‘why’

POK	Response	Questioning	Translation
* <i>marairā</i>	= <i>ra</i>	PURPOSE	‘in order for what thing’
* <i>marai^{ikua}</i>	= <i>ikua</i>	CAUSE	‘because of what thing’
* <i>maniasenuni</i>	= <i>senuni</i>	PURPOSE	‘in order for what action’
* <i>maniaikua</i>	= <i>ikua</i>	CAUSE	‘because of what action’

The distinctions between these forms have nearly collapsed in both 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 *marairā* are nominal and marked by =*ra*, and answers to questions with *maniasenuni* are verbal and marked by the purposive =*senuni*. The form *marai^{ikua}* 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.

⁵⁸In the Catechism Fragment, *awiri* appears with =*pa* (5.5a), whereas in the Full Catechism, *awirika* appears without additional morphology (6.5a). Only the latter is attested in modern Omagua.

⁵⁹In examples (5.3a), (5.6a), and (6.28a), *marai* ‘what’ is realized as *mari*, which is intriguing for two reasons. First, the modern language exhibits only *mari* for ‘what’, while *marai* fulfills two separate functions, one as a noun glossable as ‘possession’ or ‘thing’, and another as a possessive predicate (e.g., ‘the book is mine’). Second, *mari* is the form that would be expected in Kokama due to widespread monophthongization processes (O’Hagan & Wauters 2012), but not in Omagua. This may mean that the influence of Kokama on Omagua began at quite an early stage, which may be unsurprising, given that Uriarte ([1776]1986) reports Kokama families in San Joaquín de Omaguas as early as the 1750s.

2.3.7 Noun-Phrase Coordination

2.3.7.1 Coordination with *weranu*

Old Omagua coordinated two or more noun phrases using the particle *weranu* COORD, which follows the last of a series of coordinated NPs, as in (2.44).

- (2.44) *k^warafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, iwatakana weranu, to mariti aikiarakana Dios mura?*

k^warafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana iwata =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?’
 (example (5.6a))

This particle can also function adverbially with the meaning ‘also’, as in (2.45), where the previous question in the catechism was ‘Why did God make all these things?’.⁶⁰

- (2.45) *marai kua =tipa Dios yawiki weranu mura awa?*

marai =ikua =tipa Dios yawiki weranu mura awa
 what =REAS =INTERR God create COORD 3SG.MS man

‘Why did God also make man?’
 (example (5.8a))

The coordinator *weranu* has vanished from modern Omagua and Kokama, but is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, as it exhibits cognates across Tupí-Guaraní.⁶¹

⁶⁰Note that translation of *weranu* as ‘also’ dates back at least to Hervás y Panduro (1787a:98).

⁶¹Evidence from other Tupí-Guaraní suggest that coordinator =*weranu* derived from the fusion of two distinct clitics involved in coordination constructions. Kamairú, for example, exhibits =*we* and =*ran*, where =*we* has the same distribution as Old Omagua *weranu*, coordinating NPs with a sense of ‘and also’, as in (2.1). The form =*ran*, on the other hand, coordinates verb phrases, and likewise appears following the coordinated elements.

- (2.1) *ije akwahap sapaĩ 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)

- (2.2) *akarupotat akepotaran.*

a- karu -potat a- ke -potat =ran
 1SG.ERG- eat -DESID 1SG.ERG sleep -DESID =COORD

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

2.3.7.2 Coordination with Comitative =*mukui*

In both modern and Old Omagua, the comitative postposition =*mukui* may, like *weranu* did in Old Omagua, encliticize to the last of a series of coordinated nouns, as in (2.46), the sole attestation of this strategy in the ecclesiastical texts. Note that in modern Omagua, however, nominal coordination is most typically achieved via unmarked juxtaposition, and in Old Omagua, with the use of *weranu*.

- (2.46) *iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkanamukui, yawikitara, wakutatara, yenyarasemai weranu, muriai Dios mura.*

iwati =*mai* *ritama aikiara* *tuyuka ritama upa =katu*
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =kana =mukui yawiki -tara wakuta -tara yene=
 thing =PL.MS =COM make -NOMZ:ACT carry.in.arm -NOMZ:ACT 1PL.INCL=
yara =semai weranu muria -i Dios mura
 master =FOC:VER 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))

2.3.7.3 Similitive =*ya*

Similarity between nominal referents is expressed in Old Omagua by the nominal enclitic =*ya*, which appears following the plural marker =*kana*, if present, as in (2.47).

- (2.47) *roaya miarakanayakatu yenesuumukui ranaumanu.*

roaya miara =kana =ya =katu yene= suu =mukui rana= 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))

Significantly, =*we* and =*ran* co-occur when one of the coordinated 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 *weranu* in Old Omagua is not restricted to this limited syntactic environment, and in coordinating both NPs and VPs exhibits hybrid syntactic characteristics of both Kamaiurá =*we* and =*ran*. Note that glosses in these examples have been modified from the original for purposes of clarity.

- (2.3) *ojomonopawawa rak morerekwaraweran.*

o- jo- mono -paw =awa rak morerekwat -a =we =ran
 3.ERG- RECIP- send -CPL =PL ? chief -REF =COORD =COORD

‘They all went, and the chief too.’

(Seki 2000:248)

Old Omagua =*ya* is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla =*yá*, as in (2.48). It is unclear whether Old Omagua =*ya* bore lexical stress as the Kokama-Kokamilla form does.⁶²

(2.48) MODERN KOKAMA-KOKAMILLA
 ipirawayá ya tsapuyuru.

awa =*yá* *ya* *tsapuyuru*
 person =CMP⁶³ 3SG.FS whistle

‘He [the dolphin] whistles like a person.’
 (Vallejos 2010a:291)

This similitive morpheme has disappeared from modern Omagua, which employs two different strategies to express similarity. In the first, the nominal enclitic =*sana* attaches to the noun functioning as the standard of comparison, as in (2.49).⁶⁴

(2.49) MODERN OMAGUA
 maniaikua nryumisarika yapisarasana?

maniaikua ni= yumisarika yapisara =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 *ntiru* appears between the two constituents being compared, as in (2.50). The two strategies may also co-occur, as in (2.51).

(2.50) MODERN OMAGUA
 mifu sasisima ntiru yawarawasu.

mifu sasisima ntiru yawarawasu
 cat howl.REDUP⁶⁵ SIM jaguar

‘The cat howls like a jaguar.’

(2.51) MODERN OMAGUA
 nipuraka jaula ntiru gallinerosananani...

ni= ipuraka jaula ntiru gallinero =sana =nani
 2SG= make cage SIM hen.house =SIM =LIM

‘You should make a cage just like a hen house...’
 (MCT:C2.S1)

⁶²The final stress is attributable to a former final *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. A closed final syllable of this sort would attract stress. Cabral does not discuss the stress patterns associated with these forms, however, and Vallejos (2010a) does not report a gender distinction for this morpheme.

⁶³CMP = completive

⁶⁴The morpheme =*sana* appears to have grammaticalized from a noun meaning ‘shadow, reflection’, which is no longer found in Omagua, but is attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:444). The Kokama similitive construction does not, however, employ a morpheme cognate to Omagua =*sana*.

⁶⁵Modern 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).

2.3.7.4 Exact Similitive *mairamania*

This section addresses the function of *mairamania*, a form that has proven difficult to analyze because it is not attested in either modern Omagua or Kokama, and because its function and distribution vary slightly across its three attestations in the Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts. We tentatively analyze it as a manner similitive that participates in constructions that compare events or states of affairs (as expressed by clauses or postpositional phrases) and indicate exact identity between the comparata. The most straightforward example of this function is given in (2.52), where *mairamania* occurs between two VPs.

(2.52) *tenepeta tanu tanuerasimamaikana mairamania tanu tenepeta tanusawayarakana*

tenepeta tanu *tanu=* *era -sima* *=mai* *=kana*
 forgive 1PL.EXCL.MS 1PL.EXCL.MS= good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT =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))

A similar function is exemplified in (2.53), but here *mairamania* precedes the two comparata, which are postpositional phrases, and are also coordinated with *weranu* (see §2.3.7.1). Note that his example is exceptional, in being the only case in which both comparata are marked with *weranu*.

(2.53) *ene putari, tene rayawiki mura mairamania iwatimai ritamakatemairai weranu, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate weranu.*

ene putari *tene ra=* *yawiki mura* *mairamania iwati* *=mai*
 2SG desire(?) OPT 3SG.MS= do 3SG.MS exactly(.as) be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT
ritama =kate =mai *=ra* *=i weranu aikiara* *tuyuka ritama*
 village =LOC =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.FUT =? COORD DEM.PROX.MS land village
=kate weranu
 =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.’⁶⁶
 (example (4.3))

The functional contribution of *mairamania* in this example seems to be that of expressing exact identity between the comparata, with the function of coordination fulfilled by the two instances of *weranu*, which we take to yield a meaning of ‘both in X and in Y’. In short, *mairamania* appears to have a more adverbial function in this case.

A similar function and distribution can be seen in (2.54), in which *mairamania* again is not involved in coordination. Here *weranu* coordinates the three oblique noun phrases *rasawamukui*, *rasuumukui*, and *rasuimukui*.

⁶⁶Here we include both close and target translations for extra clarity.

(2.54) *mura jesucristo, Dios taira, aisetui Dios, aisetui awa, rasawamukui rasuumukui rasuimukui weranu mairamania.*

mura jesucristo Dios taira aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa ra=
 3SG.MS Jesus.Christ God son.MALE.EGO true -? God true -? man 3SG.MS=
sawa =mukui ra= suu =mukui ra= sui =mukui weranu
 soul =COM 3SG.MS= body =COM 3SG.MS= blood =COM COORD
mairamania
 exactly(.as)

‘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 (2.52) and (2.53), the theological significance of exact identity is extremely important, since the catechist is emphasizing that the bread and wine of the sacrament are identical to the body and blood of Christ. Because *mairamania* 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 functions as a coordinator. Otherwise ‘exactly’ is meant to capture its adverbial use.

2.3.8 Clause-Linking

Old Omagua exhibited a series of enclitics that function as clause-linkers, a subset of which we discuss here. These are the purpose clause markers *=senuni* and *=maka* (§2.3.8.1); the non-assertive marker *=rafi* (§2.3.8.2); the temporal clause-linkers *=sakapiri* ‘after’, *=pupekatu* ‘when’, and *=kate* ‘while’ (§2.3.8.3); and the reason clause-linkers *=ikua* and *=sepi* ‘because (of)’ (§2.3.8.4).⁶⁷ These enclitic clause-linkers fall into one of two classes: 1) those that attach directly to the verb, outside all other verbal affixes and clitics; and 2) those that alternate between attaching at this same position, when objects are realized as an independent pronoun or noun, and, when objects are realized as pronominal proclitics, attaching to right of that clitic, which appears following the verb.

2.3.8.1 Purposive Markers

Two purpose clause markers are attested in Old Omagua, a marker of positive purpose *=senuni* (§2.3.8.1.1), and a marker of negative purpose *=maka* (§2.3.8.1.2). In modern Omagua *=senuni* is one of three positive purposive markers, including *-tara* and *-mira*, whose distribution depends on coreference restrictions between main clause arguments and omitted supporting clause (in the sense of Dixon (2009)) arguments, and semantic criteria, as discussed by Vallejos (2014) for Kokama-Kokamilla.

2.3.8.1.1 Positive Purpose *=senuni* The purpose clause marker *=senuni* is a verb-final enclitic that appears in a supporting clause that describes an event that serves as the purpose for the realization of the event described by the main (focal) clause (2.55).

⁶⁷See O’Hagan (2014) for a reconstruction of some of these markers.

(2.55) *iwatimai ritamakate, muriapai sariwarafi ranakakirisenuni.*

iwati =*mai* *ritama* =*kate* *muriapai* *sariwa* =*rafi*
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL uninterruptedly be.happy =NASS
rana= *kakiri* =*senuni*
 3PL.MS= live =PURP

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

This marker is frequent in the ecclesiastical texts, while the modern Omagua purpose clause markers *-tara* and *-mira* are strikingly absent. Proto-Omagua-Kokama **=tsenuni*, of which Old Omagua *=senuni* is a reflex, grammaticalized from a morphologically independent postposition meaning ‘ahead of’ (Jensen 1998:514).

2.3.8.1.2 Negative Purpose =maka In *=maka* purposive constructions, a focal clause denotes an action that is carried out in order that the event denoted in the supporting clause, which bears the verb-final enclitic *=maka*, not be realized, as in (2.56).

(2.56) *maritipa awakana yawikiari ipipemai tata tupak^warape ranausumaka?*

mari =*tipa* *awa* =*kana* *yawiki* =*ari* *ipipe* =*mai* *tata tupa*
 what =INTERR person =PL.MS do =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
 =*k^warape* *rana*= *usu* =*maka*
 =INESS 3PL.MS= go =NEG.PURP

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

In (2.57), the function of the negative purposive is handily glossed by English ‘lest’.

(2.57) *ename neifari tanu ukukui^{maka} erasimamai.*

ename *ne*= *ifari* *tanu* *ukukui* =*maka* *era* -*sima*
 PROH 2SG= abandon 1PL.EXCL.MS fall.from.height =NEG.PURP good -CORE.NEG
 =*mai*
 =NOMZ:INACT

CLOSE: ‘Don’t abandon [us] lest we fall [into] evil.’
 TARGET: ‘Lead us not into temptation.’
 (example (4.6))⁶⁸

The negative purpose clause marker *=maka* is not attested in modern Omagua, although Kokama exhibits an apparently cognate ‘postponed prohibitive’, which is not a clause-linker, and is analyzed as a verbal suffix (Vallejos 2010a:564-566). We have not located cognates to these morphemes in any other Tupí-Guaraní languages. Note that the Omagua negative purposive construction employs the purposive marker *=sinuni* and either the clausal negator *rua* or the prohibitive *inami*.

⁶⁸Here we maintain the close and target translations for better clarity.

2.3.8.2 Non-assertive Marker =*rafi*

The verbal enclitic =*rafi* indicates that the event denoted by the clause in which it appears is in some general sense not asserted, as in conditional clauses, and certain reason and temporal clause-linking constructions. Translations of such clauses in English include a variety of clause-linking markers, such as *if*, *when*, *since*, etc., reflecting the fact that English generally distinguishes types of non-assertedness more finely. In modern Omagua, =*rafi* most commonly appears in the protasis of conditional sentences, but in the ecclesiastical texts, there are no cases of incontrovertibly conditional sentences, and =*rafi* instead appears in clauses like that in (2.58).⁶⁹

(2.58) ene era dios ta[sal]fita**rafi**, ipipemai tata tupa taakisia**rafi** weranu, tayamimia upakatu tautfakanapu tayumirataikua ene era dios.

ene era dios ta= safita =*rafi* ipipe =*mai* tata tupa
 2SG good God 1SG.MS= love =NASS be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
 ta= akisia =*rafi* weranu ta= yamimia upa =*katu* ta= utfa
 1SG.MS= fear =NASS COORD 1SG.MS= grieve all =INTSF 1SG.MS= sin
 =*kana* =*pupe* ta= yumira -*ta* =*ikua* ene era dios
 =PL.MS =INSTR 1SG.MS= get.angry -CAUS =REAS 2SG good God

‘Loving you good God, and fearing Hell, I grieve because I have angered you, good God, with all of my sins.’

2.3.8.3 Temporal Relations

The Old Omagua ecclesiastical texts exhibit three clause-linking markers that express temporal relations between clauses. Two of these markers express the temporal overlap relations: =*pupekatu* ‘when’, used when the two events are construed as points in time (§2.3.8.3.2); and =*kate* ‘while’, used when the two events are construed as periods in time (§2.3.8.3.3). The remaining marker, =*sakapiri*, expresses temporal posteriority (§2.3.8.3.1).

2.3.8.3.1 Temporal Posteriority =*sakapiri* ‘after’ Temporal posteriority relations in biclausal sentences are expressed with the verbal enclitic =*sakapiri*, 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, given in (2.59). Note that we consider this morpheme to be a verbal enclitic based on its distribution in modern Omagua, since the probative evidence of a VP with an object is absent in the two instances in which =*sakapiri* occurs in the ecclesiastical texts.

(2.59) taumanus**sakapiri**, erusu padre ukakate.

ta= umanu =*sakapiri* erusu padre uka =*kate*
 1SG.MS= die =TEMP.POST take father house =ALL

⁶⁹Note that polyfunctional non-assertive markers of this type are common in lowland Amazonian languages, e.g., see Iquito *-sa-kari* (Lai (2009:67-68), Michael (2009:155-156)).

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

This clause linker grammaticalized from the Proto-Omagua-Kokama postposition **=tsakapiri* ‘behind’, with this spatial function still attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:29), which exhibits a different strategy for encoding temporal posteriority. The spatial function is also clearly attested elsewhere in the Tupí-Guaraní family, e.g., Tupinambá *akip^w eri* (Lemos Barbosa 1970).

2.3.8.3.2 Temporal Overlap: Point =*pupekatu* ‘when’ The verbal enclitic =*pupekatu* expresses temporal coincidence between the events denoted by two clauses, where those events are construed as point-like in time. It is attested only once in the ecclesiastical texts (2.60), and is not described by Veigl (1788). As was the case with =*sakapiri*, 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.

(2.60) *uyawiri rauriari aikiara tuyuka ritama upapupekatu.*

uyawiri ra= uri =ari aikiara tuyuka ritama upa
 again 3SG.MS= come =IMPF DEM.PROX.MS land village come.to.end
 =*pupekatu*
 =TEMP.OVRLP

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

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

2.3.8.3.3 Temporal Overlap: Period =*kate* ‘while’ The enclitic =*kate*, which is related to the homophonous allative postposition, expresses the temporal overlap between the events of two clauses, when those events may be construed as periods of time. In this construction, =*kate* attaches to the predicate of the supporting clause. The construction is not attested in the ecclesiastical texts, but is found in Veigl’s sketch of Omagua (2.61).⁷⁰

(2.61) 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)

⁷⁰Latin translations are those in Veigl’s original work; English translations are our own.

In modern Omagua, durative temporal overlap is expressed by *=katikatu*, as in (2.62).⁷¹

(2.62) MODERN OMAGUA
yapituka mi tanakamatausukatikatu.

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

‘You rest while we go work.’

Modern *=katikatu* may additionally encode the temporal anteriority of a period of time up to relevant temporal reference point (as in English ‘until’). In this construction *=katikatu* appears in the clause containing the predicate that denotes a point in time, as in (2.63).

(2.63) MODERN OMAGUA
tanaayukaka tanauk^warikatikatu.

tana= ayuka -ka tana= uk^wari =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 (O’Hagan 2014), where the former exhibits the same function as Old Omagua *=kate* and the latter encodes the temporal succession characteristic of modern *=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.

2.3.8.4 Reason Markers

Old Omagua exhibited two reason markers: *=ikua* ‘because (of)’ (§2.3.8.4.1); and *=sep̃i* ‘because (of)’ (§2.3.8.4.2). Only the former is attested in modern Omagua.

2.3.8.4.1 *=ikua* ‘because (of)’ The verbal 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 (2.64). It grammaticalized from Proto-Omagua-Kokama **ikua* ‘know’.

(2.64) *neyamimiatipa upakatu ñiyamukuikatu neutfakanapupe neyumirataikua yenevara Dios?*

ne= yamim̃ia =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui =katu ne= utfa
 2SG= grieve =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 2SG= sin
=kana =pupe ne= yum̃ira -ta =ikua yene= yara Dios
 =PL.MS =INSTR 2SG= get.angry -CAUS =REAS 1PL.INCL= master God

⁷¹Espinosa Pérez (1935:70) gives a morpheme of the form <katikjati> as having this function. However, the reduplication of grammatical morphemes (in this case *=kati* ALL) that this form seems to entail is not attested in Old or modern Omagua, suggesting that Espinosa Pérez may have been in error. (The representation <kj> reflects a postlexical phonological process whereby *k* palatalizes between *i* and *a*.)

‘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 (2.64) as well as other enclitics (2.65).

(2.65) nesafitatipa upakatu niyamukuikatu yene papa dios, upakatu maraikana neukuatarafi, raerasemaikatu**ikua**?

ne= safita =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui =katu yene= papa
 2SG= love =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 1PL.INCL= father
 dios upa =katu marain =kana ne= ukuata =rafi ra= era =semai
 God all =INTSF thing =PL.MS 2SG= pass.by =NASS 3SG.MS= good =FOC:VER
 =katu =ikua
 =INTSF =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))

Beyond its clause linking function, =*ikua* may also attach to nouns, pronouns, and interrogative words to license oblique arguments that are construed as the reason for the events denoted by the remainder of the clause. It is attested once in the ecclesiastical texts with this function, attaching to *yene*= 1PL.INCL, as in (2.66). In modern Omagua it commonly attaches *marai* ‘what’, yielding the interrogative word *maraikua* ‘why’ (see §2.3.6.2).

(2.66) yene**ikua** rasanarafi, cruzari takitamai raumanurafi iminua (mura).

yene= =ikua ra= susana =rafi cruz =ari takita
 1PL.INCL= =REAS 3SG.MS= suffer =NASS cross =LOC.DIFF nail
 =mai ra= umanu =rafi iminua mura.
 =NOMZ:INACT 3SG.MS= die =NASS long.ago 3SG.MS

‘Suffering for us, dying nailed to the cross.’

(example (6.16b))

2.3.8.4.2 =sepi ‘because (of)’ The enclitic =*sepi* is attested twice in the ecclesiastical texts, but is not found in modern Omagua. It appears in the supporting clause of a biclausal sentence and expresses the reason for which the event of the main clause is realized (2.67), and is indistinguishable in both position and meaning from =*ikua*.⁷²

(2.67) era cristianokana purai, uyawiri raerusuari iwatimai ritamakate ranasawakanamukui ranasuukanamukui, muriapai sariwarafi ranakakirisenuni, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate Dios kumesamaipurakana ranaamuyasukatase**pi**.

⁷²See the parallel response in (6.27b).

era cristiano =kana purai uyawiri ra= erusu =ari iwati
 good Christian =PL.MS FOC:CONTR again 3SG.MS= go =IMPF be.high.up
=mai ritama =kate rana= sawa =kana =mukui rana= suu
 =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL 3PL.MS= soul =PL.MS =COM 3PL.MS= body
=kana =mukui muriapai sariwa =rafi rana= kakiri =senuni
 =PL.MS =COM uninterruptedly be.happy =NASS 3PL.MS= live =PURP
aikiara tuyuka ritama =kate Dios kumesa =mai =pura
 DEM.PROX.MS land village =LOC God say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST
=kana rana= amuyasukata =sepi
 =PL.MS 3PL.MS= observe =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*, *=sepi* may also attach to a nominal element and license an oblique argument, which is construed as the reason for which the events denoted by the remainder of the clause are realized, as in (2.68).

(2.68) *upai tautfakana era taconfesayarari. utfakanasepi patiri wanakarimai ta amuyasukatari.*

upai ta= utfa =kana era ta= confesa =yara =ari
 every 1SG.MS= sin =PL.MS good 1SG.MS= confess =NOMZ:POSS =IMPF

utfa =kana =sepi patiri wanakari =mai ta= amuyasukata
 sin =PL.MS =REAS priest order.about =NOMZ:INACT 1SG.MS= observe
=ari
 =IMPF

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

It appears likely that *=sepi* grammaticalized from the Proto-Omagua-Kokama word for ‘compensation’,⁷³. The Kokama-Kokamilla cognate *tʃipi* (Vallejos Yopán & Amías Murayari 2014:53) does not function as a clause-linker (Vallejos 2010a), which suggests that this grammaticalization process occurred following the divergence of Omagua and Kokama.

2.3.9 Focus Markers

Old Omagua exhibited three focus operators with different distributions and scopal properties: the syntactically independent contrastive focus element *purai* (§2.3.9.1); the exclusive focus enclitic *=nani* (§2.3.9.2); and the verum focus second-position clitic *=semai* (§2.3.9.3).

⁷³The modern Omagua reflex *sipi* has come to mean ‘value, price’, as concerns the transaction of money.

2.3.9.1 Contrastive Focus *purai*

The contrastive focus particle *purai* directly follows the constituent over which it has scope, occurring outside of all affixal and clitic morphology. In (2.69) the *purai*-marked constituent is contrasted with the non-*purai*-marked constituent previously stated. Here *purai* intervenes between the nominal predicate and its argument *ranu*, providing further evidence that *purai* directly follows the constituent over which it has scope.

(2.69) *nati marai aikiara Dios mura. Dios yawikimaipurakana purai ranu.*

nati marai aikiara Dios mura
NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS

Dios yawiki =mai =pura =kana purai ranu
God make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS FOC:CONTR 3PL.MS

‘God is none of these things. They are God’s creations.’
(example (5.6b))⁷⁴

The constituent over which *purai* has scope may also be a sentence-initial adverbial (2.70).

(2.70) *awakaisuarapura[i].⁷⁵ roaya Dioskaisuara purai raumanu iminua.*

awa =kai =suara purai
man =? =ADVBLZR FOC:CONTR

roaya Dios =kai =suara purai ra= umanu iminua
NEG God =? =ADVBLZR FOC:CONTR 3SG.MS= die long.ago

‘As a man. He did not die as God.’
(example (6.17b))

Note in (2.69) that *purai* also occurs in conjunction with the nominal past =*pura*, which it resembles in form. In other cases, as in (2.71), grammatical factors may conspire such that =*pura* and *purai* appear adjacent to one another.

(2.71) *roaya Dios mura. aikiara upakatu marainkana Dios yawikimaipura purai mura.*

roaya Dios mura
NEG God 3SG.MS

aikiara upa =katu marain =kana Dios yawiki =mai
DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing =PL.MS God make =NOMZ:INACT
=pura purai mura
=NOM.PST FOC:CONTR 3SG.MS

‘They are not God. All these things are God’s creation.’
(example (6.6b))

⁷⁴See also footnote 141.

⁷⁵See footnote 179.

Interesting from a diachronic perspective is that *purai* is not attested in modern Omagua, and that modern Omagua *=pura* no longer productively encodes past tense on nouns, but rather marks narrative peaks (Michael et al. in prep). This suggests to us that two distinct forms *=pura* and *purai* collapsed, perhaps because of a reanalysis of their functions in contexts such as (2.71), in which they occur adjacent to one another, and that the function of *purai* came, in a sense, to replace that of *=pura*. Nominal tense may already have been well on its way to being lost at this point in Omagua history, since only a single instance of the reflex of the Proto-Omagua-Kokama nominal future *=ra* is attested with that function in Old Omagua (see §2.2.2.4), it having otherwise already grammaticalized as a purpose clause marker (O’Hagan 2012). The prior nominal tense functions can be inferred, however, by comparison with cognates across the Tupí-Guaraní family (see §2.2.2.3).

2.3.9.2 Exclusive Focus *=nani*

The exclusive focus enclitic *=nani* attaches to nominal elements.⁷⁶ It is attested twice in the ecclesiastical texts, once in each of two parallel passages from the Catechism Fragment and the Full Catechism. The former is shown in (2.72).

(2.72) *roaya mura musapirika Dios. aikiara musapirika personakana uyepesemai Dios mura. santísima trinidadnani rajira.*

roaya mura musapirika Dios
NEG 3SG.MS three God

aikiara musapirika persona =kana uyepe =semai Dios mura
DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS one =FOC:VER God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani ra= jira
Holy Trinity =FOC:EXCL 3SG.MS= name

‘They are not three Gods. These three persons are truly one God. The Holy Trinity is its name.’

(example (5.10b))

2.3.9.3 Verum Focus *=semai*

Verum focus – encoded via the second-position clitic *=semai* – focuses, or highlights, the truth value of a proposition. One construal of verum focus is that the relevant truth value obtains to a higher or greater degree than might be expected, and thus clauses containing *=semai* often translated with adverbs such as *very* or *truly*.⁷⁷ This morpheme survives in modern Omagua, although its Kokama-Kokamilla cognate, the emphatic marker *-tseme*,

⁷⁶See also Vallejos (2010a:170) for description of the Kokama-Kokamilla cognate *=nan*, and Vallejos (2009:419-421) for description of the interaction of *=nan* and left dislocation.

⁷⁷Note that translations of clauses containing the certainty marker *=tina* (§2.2.3.1.5) do not contain degree adverbs of this type, since it is the speaker’s certainty regarding the truth value of a proposition, and not the truth value itself, that is being asserted.

receives only a brief description in Vallejos (2010a:269), and appears to be found on a number of frozen stems only (O’Hagan 2011:121).

Two attestations of =*semai* are illustrated in (2.73) and (2.74). Note that in (2.74) the complex noun phrase *Dios taira* ‘God’s son’ is treated as a single constituent with respect to the distribution of =*semai*.

(2.73) tayara jesucristo, aisetui dios, aisetui awa, enes**semai** tasapiari ene kumesamaikanari.

ta= yara jesucristo aise -tui dios aise -tui awa ene =semai
 1SG.MS= master Jesus.Christ true -? God true -? man 2SG =FOC:VER
ta= sapiari ene kumesa =mai =kana =ari
 1SG.MS= believe 2SG say =NOMZ:INACT =PL.MS =LOC.DIFF

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

(2.74) Dios tairasemai awa uwaka iminua.

Dios taira =semai awa uwaka iminua
 God son.MALE.EGO =FOC:VER man transform long.ago

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

2.3.10 Non-Verbal Predication

Like the modern language, Old Omagua exhibited non-verbal predicates that lack a copular verb. The most common order of constituents in these constructions was argument-predicate, as in (2.75), also a common order in the modern language.

(2.75) Dios papa, Dios taira, Dios espíritu santo.

Dios papa Dios taira 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 order is also attested when the argument is a free pronoun (2.76).⁷⁸ Note that additional material may intervene between the argument and predicate.

⁷⁸Note that this ordering preference is a common source of VSP order in the modern language, and is attested once in the ecclesiastical texts, in (2.1).

(2.1) [Dios yawikimaipurakana]_{PRED} purai ranu.

Dios yawiki =mai =pura =kana purai ranu
 God make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS FOC:CONTR 3PL.MS

‘They are God’s creations.’
 (example (5.6b))

(2.76) **muratina** aisetui **Dios** aisetui awa weranu, yeneyara yeneyumunypetatarata.

mura =tina aise -tui Dios aise -tui awa weranu yene= yara yene=
 3SG.MS =CERT true -? God true -? man COORD 1PL.INCL= lord 1PL.INCL=
yumunuyepeta -tara
 redeem -NOMZ:ACT

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

When the subject is especially heavy, a different construction obtains, where the heavy subject appears in sentence-initial position, and a coreferential resumptive pronoun, *mura* 3SG.MS, appears following the predicate, as exemplified in (2.77).

(2.77) [iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkanamukui, yawikitara, wakutatara, yenyarasemai weranu]_{SUBJ}, muriai Dios **mura**.

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa =katu
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =kana =mukui yawiki -tara wakuta -tara yene=
 thing =PL.MS =COM make -NOMZ:ACT carry.in.arm -NOMZ:ACT 1PL.INCL=
yara =semai weranu muria -i Dios mura
 master =FOC:VER 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))

A similar pattern appears in the question in (2.78), drawn from the Catechism Fragment, which yielded the response given in (2.77), suggesting that resumptive pronoun in (2.77) may be a consequence of fronting the heavy subject to some position to the left of the typical subject position.⁷⁹ In modern Omagua, left-dislocation of this type is associated with a contrastive topic construction, although we cannot be sure the bracketed constituent in (2.77) is a contrastive topic. Note, in any case, that in the Full Catechism counterpart to (2.78), *mura* 3SG.MS is absent, although the structure of the two responses is otherwise identical, suggesting that resumption may be optional in such cases (or alternatively, that one of these examples reflects an error by the Jesuit author).

(2.78) maraitipa Dios mura?

marai =tipa Dios mura
 what =INTERR God 3SG.MS

‘What is God?’
 (example (5.2a))

⁷⁹Not that there are examples, such as (5.9a), of interrogative constructions that do not exhibit resumption. It is not clear if such resumption is optional or such variation reflects a lack of mastery of this construction on the part of the Jesuit authors.

Finally, we note that even declarative non-verbal clauses exhibit optionality in resumption in the ecclesiastical texts. In (2.79) from the Catechism Fragment, structurally parallel to (2.77), we see no resumptive pronoun following *Dios*, although the equivalent sentence from the Full Catechism, (6.9b), exhibits one.⁸⁰

(2.79) [aikiara musapirika personakana]_{SUBJ} uyepe titi Dios.

aikiara *musapirika 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))

⁸⁰See §9.4 for a systematic comparison of the two catechism texts, which includes a discussion of the differing 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 Multilinear Text 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 breaks can be evaluated. In most other cases, 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 =NOMZ:INACT 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,⁸¹ 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, 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 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 footnote 88).

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 straightforward, 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.

⁸¹Note 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 ?:229-232 and Uriarte ([1776]1986:614-617), but there is variation between the text in these publications and Espinosa Pérez (1935:155-163).

The most notable contrast between these two lines involves Jesuit neologisms (see §9.3.1) 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 given for a very similar Quechua catechism that appears alongside the Omagua catechism in the appendix to Uriarte’s diaries (Uriarte (? :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 phonemic representation of forms 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 phonemic representations.

The orthographic conventions employed by the Jesuits who contributed to each of the texts are given in Table 3.1.⁸² For the most part, the phonemic interpretation of these orthographic conventions is relatively straightforward, assuming Hispanophone orthographic conventions in the use of graphemes (or sequences thereof) such as <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).

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

⁸²Cells are grayed out if the segment in question is not attested in a particular text.

⁸³See below for a discussion of the single token in which <ch> corresponds to /s/.

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
k ^w		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 ⁸³
ʃ	sch, sc	sch, ch	sch, ssch, sh, ch	sch, ch	s
tʃ	ch		ch	ch	ch
r	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
i	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	
ai		aeg	aeg		ag

modern Omagua, their gloss, and an indication of the texts in which they appear.⁸⁴ Forms above the dashed line contain old Omagua /tʃ/, while those below it contain /ʃ/.

The Old Omagua word *mutfa* ‘kiss’ and *utfa* ‘fault’ are loan words from Quechua, in which language they also exhibit the medial affricate /tʃ/ (Taylor 2006:65, 98).⁸⁶ 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).⁸⁷ Lastly, there is one instance of a <ch>:/s/

⁸⁴LORD = Lord's Prayer; FRAG = Catechism Fragment; FULL = Full Catechism; PROF = Profession of Faith.

⁸⁵See regional Spanish *yarina*.

⁸⁶See footnote 104.

⁸⁷The 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

Table 3.2: Old Omagua Forms Containing <ch>

Orthography	Tokens	Old Omagua	Modern Omagua	Gloss	Text
<i>mucha</i>	1	mutʃa	muʃa	‘kiss’	LORD
<i>hucha</i>	8	utʃa	uʃa	‘fault, sin’	FULL, PROF
<i>chira</i>	1	ʃira	ʃira	‘name’	FRAG
<i>quasrachi</i>	1	k ^w araʃi	k ^w araʃi	‘day’	FULL
<i>richi</i>	1	=raʃi	=raʃi	NASS	FULL
<i>maria chicu</i>	1	mariaʃiru	mariaʃiru	‘church’	DIARY
<i>chipate</i>	1	ʃipate	ʃipati	‘palm sp.’ ⁸⁵	DIARY

correspondence in the diaries of Manuel Uriarte (see (8.6) and footnotes therein), in the form <chupi>, which correponds 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 high central vowel /i/. 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 different challenge for accurate phonemic representation arises from what we assume to be errors introduced in the process of copying the texts. Given the nature of these errors, we believe that the texts were copied at least once by someone who had no knowledge of Omagua. The result were scribal errors that are easily explained if we assume that the copyist was simply attempting to interpret and reproduce handwritten characters based on their shape, without being able to rely on wider knowledge of the Omagua lexicon or Omagua phonotactics.⁸⁸ Thus, for example, it is evident that handwritten <r> was occasionally misinterpreted as <v> or <n>, where both of the latter resemble <r> (see Table 3.3⁸⁹).

been improperly copied.

⁸⁸For 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 quite surprising. We consider it most likely that these word breaks are due to a copyist with no knowledge of Omagua reproducing another handwritten manuscript in the time between when the text was last edited

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 ⁹⁰		
k ^w			gu		
m		n	n		n
n		m, z	m, r		n
s	e ⁹¹		v, r	fs ⁹²	ch
ʃ					
tʃ					
r		v	x, n		c, n
w		go		bu	ga, n
y		n	l		
i		ie, d	e, u		u
e	a, c ⁹³	a	a, c	a, c	a
i	c		u		ua
u		a	v, a, re	a, n	n
a		e, s	e, u, i, o	o	e, u
ai		ei			
ui					
aï		eag	eag		

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 & 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

and when it was typeset for publication.

⁸⁹In Table 3.3, empty cells indicate that there are no attested scribal errors with respect to the particular segment in question. Grayed-out cells indicate that the respective phoneme is not attested in that text.

⁹⁰We assume this sequence and that in the immediately lower cell to be misinterpretations of <qu>.

⁹¹We assume this to be a misrepresentation of <c>, which in all other texts corresponds to /s/.

⁹²This 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>.

⁹³We assume this and its counterpart in the immediately lower cell to be a misrepresentation of <e>, which corresponds to both /e/ and /i/ (see below).

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 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.⁹⁴ Lastly, note that yet other instantiations of <e>, as discussed above, correspond to modern /i/ (and crucially, to *i), making our knowledge of the phonemic representations of these forms in modern Omagua all the more essential to their proper representation in Old Omagua.

⁹⁴See footnote 113 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), which 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,⁹⁵ he himself never visited the Americas, instead obtaining linguistic materials on the indigenous languages spoken there 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 míos 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

⁹⁵For more biographical details, see Caballero (1868).

por escrito, pidiendo a cada uno las palabras que de la lengua de la nación de su misión pongo en mi vocabulario polígloto y en otros tomos, y alguna noticia de su artificial gramática. Con 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 respondido a mis preguntas y dudas sobre las lenguas y naciones que las hablan, forman parte preciosa de mi pequeña librería políglota: 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))⁹⁶

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),⁹⁷ an Argentine Jesuit with whom he corresponded 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

⁹⁶Translation (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.

⁹⁷For more biographical details see Fúrlong Cárdiff (1955:7-37).

Omagua (Clark (1937), Fúrlong Cárdiff (1955:48-87, 138-182)).⁹⁸ However, he had no direct experience with Omagua, 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 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.⁹⁹ 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 into 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 exhibits 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 Sprachkunde*, 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 grammars of these languages, augmenting them with additional lexical and grammatical material at his disposal (e.g., from Hervás y Panduro's works).¹⁰⁰ 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)

⁹⁸ 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 German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt, who 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)).

⁹⁹ 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).

¹⁰⁰ Most volumes of this work were edited and published by Johann Severin Vater following Adelung's death.

and Gilií (1782).¹⁰¹ 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 98).

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 the then developing standards for the representation of linguistic data. As would be expected, Rivet provides a linguistically much more sophisticated treatment of the text, including morphemic segmentations and glosses in French for nearly all morphemes. Given the limited resources that Rivet had access to, his morphological segments are impressively 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. <i>Homagua</i> , od <i>Omagua</i> dia- letto Guaraní nel regno del Quito.	aikiara tuyuca .. <i>questa bassa</i> ritama cate .. <i>città in</i> veranu .. <i>ancora</i> . Tanu eocmai .. <i>nostro cibo</i> neyume .. <i>dà-a-noi</i> icume .. <i>oggi</i> tanu supe .. <i>noi per:</i> Tenepatanu .. <i>perdona-ci</i> tanu eraecmamaicana .. <i>nostri fat-</i> <i>ti-cattivi</i> maeramania .. <i>così-come</i> tanu tenepeta .. <i>noi perdoniamo</i> tanu sahuayaracana .. <i>nostri nemici:</i> Ename neischari .. <i>non lasciare</i> tanu ucucui .. <i>noi cadere</i> maca .. <i>accio-non</i> eraecmamai .. <i>peccati-in:</i> Ayaisimarae sui .. <i>avversità dalle</i> nimunuy epetatanu .. <i>libera-ci</i>
Tanu Papa .. <i>nostro Padre</i> , Ehuatirami cate yuri timcui .. <i>cit-</i> <i>tà- alta in sei:</i> Ene scira tenera muchamura .. <i>tuo</i> <i>nome che-sia felice:</i> Ene nuamai ritama .. <i>tua grande</i> <i>città</i> teneruri tanu in .. <i>venga noi in:</i> Ene putari tenera .. <i>tua volontà</i> <i>che-sia</i> yahuckemura .. <i>adempiuta</i> maeramania .. <i>siccome</i> ehuetemai ritama cate .. <i>alta cit</i> <i>tà in,</i> maeraí veranu .. <i>così anche</i>	

¹⁰¹Filippo Salvatore Gilií (b. 1721 Legogne – d. 1789 Rome), an Italian Jesuit who carried out missionary work in the Orinoco basin, also obtained Omagua lexical data from Joaquín Camaño Bazán (see Gilií (1965:297-300), a Spanish translation and republication of his original work carried out by Antonio Tovar).

- (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, iwati ritamakate yuritimukui, ene fira, tene ramutfa mura.*

tanu= *papa iwati* *ritama =kate*¹⁰² *yuriti* *=mukui*¹⁰³ *ene*
 1PL.EXCL.MS= father be.high.up village =LOC be.in.place =COM 2SG
fira tene ra= *mutfa mura*
 name OPT 3SG.MS= kiss¹⁰⁴ 3SG.MS

CLOSE: ‘Our father, being high up in the village, your name, may he kiss it.’¹⁰⁵
 TARGET: ‘Our father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name.’

- (4.2) a. *Ene nuamai ritama teneruri tanu in*
 b. *ene nuamai ritama tene ruri*¹⁰⁶ *tanuin*
 c. *ene nuamai ritama, tene ra uri tanuin.*

*ene*¹⁰⁷ *nua* *=mai* *ritama tene ra=* *uri tanu=* *in*¹⁰⁸
 2SG be.big =NOMZ:INACT 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 aikiaru tuyuca ritama cate veranu.*

¹⁰²The 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:i* correspondence (see footnote 113).

¹⁰³The comitative *=mukui* in this context would be ungrammatical in modern Omagua, and may be a calque on the part of the author. Modern Omagua manner adverbial constructions employ the instrumental postposition *=pupi*. 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*.

¹⁰⁴We translate *mutfa* based on the meaning of its modern Omagua reflex *mufa* ‘kiss’, and translate it as ‘hallow’ in the target translation. We will not treat this form in our discussion of Jesuit calques (9.3.3) because the contemporary meaning of this form is unclear, given that it is a Quechua loan (Taylor 2006:65).

¹⁰⁵Omagua 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.

¹⁰⁶It is unusual for heteromorphemic vowel hiatus to be represented as “resolved” in the ecclesiastical texts. This form derives from an underlying *ra= uri* in which the vowel of the pronominal proclitic has been elided following expected vowel hiatus resolution strategies (see §2.2.1.2).

¹⁰⁷There are two things unexpected about the second-person independent pronoun *ene* here. First, in the modern language, only pronominal proclitics may function as nominal possessors (i.e., we expect *ne=*). Second, when a proclitic possessor is present, a modifier consisting of a nominalized stative verb (cf. *nuamai* ‘big’) must occur postnominally. Thus we expect the order *ne= ritama nua =mai*.

¹⁰⁸The form *in* does not have any known reflexes in modern Omagua, nor have we been able to identify cognates in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Espinosa Pérez 1989; Vallejos Yopán & Amías Murayari 2014) 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.

- b. ene putari tene rayahucke mura maera mania ehuatemai ritamacate maeraí veranu, aikiara tuyuca ritamacate veranu.
- c. ene putari, tene rayawiki mura mairamania iwatimai ritamakatemairai weranu, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate weranu.

ene putari tene ra= yawiki¹⁰⁹ mura mairamania¹¹⁰ iwati
 2SG desire(?)¹¹² OPT 3SG.MS= do 3SG.MS exactly(.as) be.high.up
 =*mai ritama =kate =mai =ra =i weranu¹¹¹*
 =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.FUT =? COORD
aikiara tuyuka ritama =kate weranu
 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.’

- (4.4) a. *Tanu eocmai neyume icume tanu supe*
 b. *tanu eocmai neyume icume tanusupe*
 c. *tanueumai neyume ikume tanusupe.*¹¹³

¹⁰⁹The form *yawiki* is not attested in modern Omagua, but is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla *yawiki* ‘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 *ipuraka* has come to fill the role of *yawiki*; *ipuraka* is cognate to Kokama-Kokamilla *ipurakari* ‘hunt’, which is reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, and has cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g. Tupinambá *porakar* ‘hunt/fish for’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:128).

¹¹⁰The form *mairamania* 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 similitive constructions that relate VPs and encode an exact identity between comparata (see §2.3.7.4).

¹¹¹Typically *weranu* COORD appears once following a sequence of coordinated elements (see §2.3.7.1). We suggest that its appearance here following *each* of the coordinated elements yields a reading of ‘both X and Y’, although this is the only attestation of such a construction in these texts, and this construction is not attested in modern Omagua.

¹¹²No reflex of *putari* is attested in modern Omagua, nor is a cognate attested in modern Kokama-Kokamilla (Espinosa Pérez 1989; Vallejos Yopán & Amías Murayari 2014). 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 form bears no nominalizing morphology, which would be expected if *putari* were a verb, leading us to suspect that its appearance here is the result of a calque.

¹¹³This sentence exhibits two irregular correspondences between Old and modern Omagua: *e:i* (*yume* ‘give’ & *supe* GOAL); and *i:i* (*ikume* ‘today’ (modern Omagua *ikumí*)). Proto-Omagua-Kokama exhibited **e* and **i*; **e* generally raised to *i* in Omagua, while generally remaining *e* in Kokama-Kokamilla (O’Hagan & 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: **me?ej* (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:i* correspondence is 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

tanu= eu =mai ne= yume ikume tanu= =supe
 1PL.EXCL.MS= eat =NOMZ:INACT 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 sahuayara-*
cana
 b. *tenepata tanu tanueraecmamaicana maeramania tanu tenepeta tanusahuayara-*
cana
 c. *tenepeta tanu tanuerasimamaikana*¹¹⁴ *mairamania tanu tenepeta tanusawayarakana*
tenepeta tanu tanu= era -sima =mai
 forgive¹¹⁶ 1PL.EXCL.MS 1PL.EXCL.MS= good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT
*=kana mairamania tanu tenepeta tanu= sawayara*¹¹⁵
 =PL.MS exactly(.as) 1PL.EXCL.MS forgive 1PL.EXCL.MS= enemy
=kana
 =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 ucucui maca eraecmamai*
 c. *ename neifari tanu ukukuimaka erasimamai.*
*ename*¹¹⁷ *ne= ifari tanu*¹¹⁸ *ukukui =maka*¹¹⁹ *era*
 PROH 2SG= abandon 1PL.EXCL.MS fall.from.height =NEG.PURP good
-sima =mai
 -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT
 CLOSE: ‘Don’t abandon [us] lest we fall [into]¹²⁰ evil.’
 TARGET: ‘Lead us not into temptation.’

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.

¹¹⁴Modern 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, is the result 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.

¹¹⁵The Old Omagua form *sawayara* ‘enemy’ is unattested in modern Omagua, but is cognate to Tupinambá *oßajar* ‘enemy, brother-in-law (male ego)’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:114).

¹¹⁶The 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.

¹¹⁷The 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 113).

¹¹⁸In this sentence, either *ifari* ‘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.

¹¹⁹See also §2.3.8.1.2.

¹²⁰This sentence lacks a postposition to license *erasima* as an oblique argument to *ukukui* ‘fall from height’.

- (4.7) a. *Ayaisimarae sui nimunuy epetatanu*
 b. *ayaisi maraesui nimunuyepeta tanu*
 c. *ayaise*¹²¹ *maraisui*¹²² *neyumunuyepeta tanu*
*ayaise marai =sui ne= yumunuyepeta*¹²³ *tanu*
 wicked¹²⁴ thing =ABL 2SG= save 1PL.EXCL.MS
 CLOSE: ‘You save us from the wicked thing.’
 TARGET: ‘Deliver us from evil.’

¹²¹Although 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 *aisi* (see footnote 113).

¹²²The representation of Old Omagua *marai* in the ecclesiastical texts varies between <marae> and <marai>. We represent it phonemically as /marai/ (namely with the diphthong /ai/ and not /ae/) because of its modern Omagua reflex *marai* and its Kokama-Kokamilla cognate *marí*. The final vowel in the latter form is the result of widespread monophthongization (O’Hagan & 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>.

¹²³See footnote 174.

¹²⁴Except 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 *aisi* (see footnote 121). 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 *era* ‘good’ (see §9.3.3), which does not exist in Omagua (at least in modern Omagua). Why *erasimamai* ‘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,¹²⁵ as an appendix to his *Prehistoria ecuatoriana*, which sought to clarify the pre-Columbian history of the region that would later become the nation of Ecuador.¹²⁶ 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)¹²⁷

¹²⁵Ibarra was an Ecuadorian diocese within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Quito.

¹²⁶González Suárez was Archbishop of Quito from 1905. For biographical details, see Saville (1918).

¹²⁷Translation (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**

The Jesuit missionary mentioned in this passage is Ignacio Maria Franciscis (b. 1705 Palermo – d. 1777 Palermo),¹²⁸ 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.

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 solamente 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.¹²⁹

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)¹³⁰

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.

Sicilian, who was in Maynas when the Jesuits were expelled from the missions by order of Charles 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”.

¹²⁸Jouanen (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).

¹²⁹Translation (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.

¹³⁰Translation (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.

5.1.2 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, additionally altering the graphemic representation to avoid orthographic choices inherited from the original Spanish orthography. For this latter reason, González Suárez’s version remains essential for obtaining an accurate version of the orthography in the original manuscript.

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 field-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 (see footnote 135), in some cases yielding segmentations that are, with the benefits of hindsight afforded by further work on the Kokama-Kokamilla of Peru (Vallejos 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010a,b, 2014), Omagua (Michael et al. in prep), and Proto-Omagua-Kokama (O’Hagan 2011, 2014; O’Hagan & Wauters 2012; O’Hagan et al. 2013; Wauters & O’Hagan 2011), clearly incorrect. It is important to point out, however, that despite these points, Cabral’s analysis of this text constitutes a major 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 -ta¹³¹ 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 mura.
amiti mura
 EXST 3SG.MS
 CLOSE: ‘He exists.’

- (5.2) a. i. *Maraitipa Dios mura?*
 ii. Maraitipa Dios mura?
 iii. maraitipa Dios mura?

marai =tipa Dios mura
 what =INTERR God 3SG.MS
 CLOSE: ‘What is God?’

- b. i. *Eguate mai ritama, aiquiara tuyuca ritama, upacatu maraincama mucui, yaguequetara, guacutatara: yenenara semai viranu, muriai Dios mura.*
 ii. Eguatemai ritama, aiquiara tuyuca ritama, upacatu maraincamamucui, yaguequetara, guacutatara: yenenarasemai viranu, muriai Dios mura.
 iii. iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkanamucui, yawikitara, wakutatara, yenyarasemai weranu, muriai Dios mura.

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS¹³⁴ land village all
=katu marain¹³² =kana =mukui yawiki -tara wakuta
 =INTSF thing =PL.MS =COM make -NOMZ:ACT carry.in.arm
-tara yene= yara =semai weranu¹³³ muria -i Dios
 -NOMZ:ACT 1PL.INCL= master =FOC:VER¹³⁵ COORD thus -?¹³⁶ God
mura
 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.’

¹³¹The 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 is 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. 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’.

¹³²When *marai* ‘thing’ is followed by *=kana* PL.MS in the ecclesiastical texts, an <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 *marã* ‘thing’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:83). In modern Omagua, nasality never

- (5.3) a. i. *Marepupe tipa, Dios yagueque upacatu maraincama?*
 ii. *Marepupetipa, Dios yagueque upacatu maraincama?*
 iii. *maripupetipa Dios yawiki upakatu marainkana?*
marⁱ137 =pupe =tipa Dios yawiki upa =katu marain =kana
 what =INSTR =INTERR God make all =INTSF thing =PL.MS
 CLOSE: ‘With what did God make all things?’
- b. i. *Ra cumesia pupe purai.*
 ii. *Racumesiapupe purai.*
 iii. *rakumesapupe purai.*
ra= kumesa =pupe purai
 3SG.MS= word¹³⁸ =INSTR FOC:CONTR
 CLOSE: ‘With his words.’

surfaces in this word. We represent the form in question as *marain* in the interlinearization.

¹³³The etymology of *weranu* has confounded many authors, beginning with Adelung (1813:609-610). Hervás y Panduro (1787a), Adelung (1813), and Rivet (1910) 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 §2.3.7.1, *weranu* has clear Tupí-Guaraní cognates that justify it being glossed as ‘also’.

¹³⁴Our analysis of this form differs from Cabral (1995:374), who segments it as *aikia + ra* ‘this’ + LOC. Cabral’s analysis is untenable for a number of reasons. First, there is no known locative *ra* in Omagua (according to our own work on the language) or in Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral herself does not describe one, nor does Vallejos (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). Third, the demonstrative is invariably *aikiara* in the ecclesiastical texts, even when there is no location expressed anywhere in the sentence, as is the case here. We reconstruct the masculine speech proximal demonstrative to Proto-Omagua-Kokama as **aikia* (cf. Omagua *akia* and Kokama-Kokamilla *ikia* (Vallejos 2010a:214)). We currently cannot account for the presence of a final *ra* in the Old Omagua form, and have found no obvious cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages (e.g., see Jensen (1998:550-552)).

¹³⁵Here 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 *su* ‘be sweet’ and *=mai* NOMZ:INACT), we argue that the form that appears here is actually the monomorphemic verum focus marker *=semai*. There are several pieces of evidence that support this conclusion. First, *=semai* is cognate to the morpheme *-tseme*, found in the varieties Kokama-Kokamilla spoken in Peru, which Vallejos (2010a:269) describes as an emphatic marker. Second *=semai* is attested in these texts appearing on elements in which a construal of “sweetness” is implausible, such as numerals (see (5.10b)). Finally, in modern Omagua, *su* ‘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.

¹³⁶The modern Omagua reflex of this word is *muria*, 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 *muriai* (see (6.34b)). Cabral (1995:375) segments this form as *muri + ay, 3 + ‘Compl’*. However, this analysis is untenable given that: 1) there is no pronoun *muri* in either Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral herself does not describe one (1995:329), nor does Vallejos (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.

¹³⁷In the ecclesiastical texts the form *marai* ‘what’ is considerably more common than *marⁱ* ‘what’, but here we find an example of the latter form. The appearance of *marⁱ* is intriguing in light of the fact that, in modern Omagua, *marⁱ* is best glossed as ‘what’, while *marai* is best glossed as ‘thing’. However,

- (5.4) a. i. *Macate tipa Dios Juriti?*
 ii. *Macatetipa Dios Juriti?*
 iii. *makatetipa Dios yuriti?*
makate =tipa Dios yuriti
 where =INTERR God be.in.place
 CLOSE: ‘Where is God?’
- b. i. *Eguatemaí ritama cate, aiquiara tuyuca ritamacate, muriapai, Vayuriti veranu.*
 ii. *Eguatemaí ritamacate, aiquiara tuyuca ritamacate, muriapai, vayuriti veranu.*
 iii. *iwatimaí ritamakate, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate, muriapai rayuriti weranu.*
iwati =mai ritama =kate aikiara tuyuka ritama
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land village
=kate muriapai ra= yuriti weranu
 =LOC 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.’
- (5.5) a. i. *Aguerepa Dios amiti?*
 ii. *Aguerepa Dios amiti?*
 iii. *awiripa Dios amiti?*
awiri =pa Dios amiti
 how.many =INTERR God EXST
 CLOSE: ‘How many Gods are there?’
- b. i. *Uyepé titi.*
 ii. *Uyepé titi.*
 iii. *uyepé¹³⁹ titi.*
uyepé titi
 one be.alone
 CLOSE: ‘Only one.’

it is clear from the ecclesiastical texts, and via reconstruction, that that Proto-Omagua-Kokama *marai* was polysemous, and could mean either ‘what’ or ‘thing’. That it appears as *mari* here, and in modern Omagua for that matter, is unexpected, given that the monophthongization processes necessary to yield *marai* from *marai*, 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.

¹³⁸Here 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 kumisa* ‘the Omagua language’).

¹³⁹In 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).

- (5.6) a. i. *Guaraschi, Yasie, Sesuscana, Hueracana, eguatacana veranu, tomaritipa aiquiara-cana Dios mura?*
 ii. *Guaraschi, Yasie, Sesuscana, Hueracana, eguatacana veranu, to maritipa aiquiaracana Dios mura?*
 iii. *k^w arafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, iwatakana weranu, to maritipa aikiarakana Dios mura?*
k^w arafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana iwata =kana weranu to mari
sun moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ?¹⁴⁰ what
=tipa aikiara =kana Dios mura
=INTERR 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 mura, Dios yagueque mai puracana, puravanu.*
 ii. *Nati marai aiquiara Dios mura. Dios yaguequemaipuracana pura vanu.*
 iii. *nati marai aikiara Dios mura. Dios yawikimaipurakana purai ranu.*
nati marai aikiara Dios mura
NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS
Dios yawiki =mai =pura =kana purai ranu¹⁴¹
God make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS FOC:CONTR 3PL.MS
 CLOSE: ‘God is none of these. They are what God made.’
 TARGET: ‘God is none of these things. They are God’s creations.’

¹⁴⁰There is no grammatical morpheme or lexical item in modern Omagua that would elucidate the function of <to> here, and we have been unable to locate plausibly related cognate morphemes in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. However, we entertain the possibility that the original orthographic sequence <tomari> here is related to the original orthographic sequence <ti marai> in the following response (i.e., where the first <i> in the latter is a copyist error and the variation between *mari* and *marai* is attested elsewhere in the ecclesiastical texts). If this reasoning is on the right track, then it is the entire sequence <tomari> that must mean ‘which’, and the initial sequence <na> that must function as a negator of some sort in the response. While modern Omagua does show a negative indefinite pronoun ‘no(ne)’ (see *nimakatimai*) that consists of a negator *ni* plus ‘which’, words for ‘what’ *mari* and ‘which’ *makatimai* show no trace of any initial sequence resembling either <to> or <ti>.

¹⁴¹Our analysis here differs from that of Cabral (1995:377), who suggests that <puravanu> is actually *pura awa nu* EMPH ‘person’ PLUR. However, this analysis is untenable 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 of the plural, which poses a problem, since the ecclesiastical texts are otherwise written entirely in the masculine genderlect. We suggest that the orthographic sequence <puravanu> results from a scribal error in copying the forms *purai ranu*; we suggest that the final *i* of *purai* 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. Perhaps the most convincing evidence in favor of our interpretation of *pura* as a truncated form of *purai* 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 *purai ranu* is granted, we find that the free form *purai* occurs in its expected syntactic position (see

- (5.7) a. i. *Mareiqua tipa Dios yaguepe jupacatu aiquiara maraincama?*
 ii. *Mareiquatipa Dios yaguepe jupacatu aiquiara maraincama?*
 iii. *maraikuatipa Dios yawiki¹⁴² upakatu aikiara marainkana?¹⁴³*
marai =ikua =tipa Dios yawiki upa =katu aikiara marain
what =REAS =INTERR God make all =INTSF DEM.PROX.MS thing
=kana
=PL.MS
 CLOSE: ‘Why did God make all these things?’
- b. i. *Agoa era zenoni.*
 ii. *Awa erazenoni.*
 iii. *awa erasenumi.*
awa era =senuni
man good =PURP
 CLOSE: ‘So that man is good.’
 TARGET: ‘For the well-being of man.’¹⁴⁴
- (5.8) a. i. *Mareiqua tipa Dios yagueque, varanu mura agoa?*
 ii. *Mareiquatipa Dios yagueque varanu mura agoa?*
 iii. *maraikuatipa Dios yawiki weranu mura awa?*
marai =ikua =tipa Dios yawiki weranu mura awa¹⁴⁵
what =REAS =INTERR God create COORD 3SG.MS man
 CLOSE: ‘Why did God also make man?’

§2.3.9.1), and that *ranu* encodes the correct number for the argument in the non-verbal predicate, namely third-person plural (see §2.3.10). 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., *rana*). However, this is not as problematic as it may seem, as we reconstruct the Proto-Omagua-Kokama 3PL.MS pronoun to be *u*-final (**ranu*), along with the 1PL.EXCL.MS pronoun (**tanu*) (O’Hagan et al. 2013). The latter form is in fact attested in the Omagua Lord’s Prayer. Thus it appears 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.

¹⁴²We replace the original orthographic <p> with *k* here, given that the word must clearly be *yawiki*, based on its translation and its orthographic representations elsewhere in the Catechism Fragment and the parallel question in the Full Catechism (see (6.7a)).

¹⁴³Even though Cabral (1995:375) previously segments the same sequence as *marain kana* ‘thing’ PLUR, as we do, here Cabral (1995:378) segments *marainkana* as *mara in kana* ‘thing’ LOC PLUR. However, the *i* of *marain* is clearly part of the root, and the presence of the *n* has previously been accounted for (see footnote 132). Moreover, as we have discussed elsewhere (see footnote 108), there is no independent evidence a locative *in* in Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:279-318).

¹⁴⁴Note 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 *=ra* (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 raicuzenoni, mura vaipuschitazenoni, racumessepuracana vazenuzenoni; umanumaipura rayanaschinazenoni eguatemai vitamacate.*
 iii. *Diossemai raikuasenuni, mura rasafitasenuni,¹⁴⁶ rakumesapurakana rasenusenuni, umanumaipura rayawafimasenuni iwatimai ritamakate.*

Dios =semai ra= ikua =senuni mura ra= safita =senuni
 God =FOC:VER 3SG.MS= know =PURP 3SG.MS 3SG.MS= love =PURP
ra= kumesa =pura =kana ra= senu =senuni umanu
 3SG.MS= word =NOM.PST =PL.MS 3SG.MS= hear =PURP die
=mai =pura ra= yawafima =senuni iwati
 =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST 3SG.MS= arrive =PURP be.high.up
=mai ritama =kate
 =NOMZ:INACT 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 taira, Dios espíritu santo. aikiara musapirika personakana uyepe titi Dios.*

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

¹⁴⁵Here *mura* 3SG.MS and *awa* ‘man’ are coreferential; this is a grammatical construction in Omagua.

¹⁴⁶Our re-interpretation of orthographic <ipuschita> as *safita* ‘love’ is fairly radical, but plausible. Note that *ipufita*, although a grammatical Omagua verb (meaning ‘make heavy’, from *ipufi* ‘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 *safita* 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 *safita*. 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.

aikiara musapirika persona =kana uyepe¹⁴⁷ 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.’

- (5.10) a. i. *Aiquiara musa puereca Persona cana, roaya tipa musa puereca Dios?*
 ii. *Aiquiara musapuereca Personacana, roayatipa musapuereca Dios?*
 iii. *aikiara musapirika personakana, roayatipa¹⁴⁸ musapirika Dios?*

aikiara musapirika persona =kana roaya =tipa musapirika
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three
Dios
 God

CLOSE: ‘These three persons, are they not three Gods?’

- b. i. *Roaya mura musa puereca Dios: adquiara musa puereca Persona cana, uyepesemai Dios mura, Santisima Trinidad nanirachira.*
 ii. *Roaya mura musapuereca Dios: adquiara musapuereca Personacana, uyepesemai Dios mura, Santisima Trinidadnani rachira.*
 iii. *roaya mura musapirika Dios. aikiara musapirika personakana uyepesemai Dios mura. santisima trinidadnani rafira.*

roaya mura musapirika Dios
 NEG 3SG.MS three God

aikiara musapirika persona =kana uyepe =semai¹⁴⁹ Dios mura
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS one =FOC:VER God 3SG.MS
santisima trinidad =nani ra= fira
 Holy Trinity =FOC:EXCL 3SG.MS= name

CLOSE: ‘They are not three Gods. These three persons are truly one God. The Holy Trinity is its name.’

¹⁴⁷For an explanation of our phonemic representation of this form, see footnote 139.

¹⁴⁸Our 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 *rua* is indeed attested in modern Omagua, Cabral identifies the other element she segments off as the Kokama-Kokamilla 3SG.FS pronoun *ya=* (see Vallejós (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 141), making the identification of <ya> with the Kokama-Kokamilla feminine genderlect 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 *mura*, the 3SG.MS pronoun (note that this forces Cabral to gloss *mura* 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=*.

¹⁴⁹Here the placement of =*semai* is unexpected, as it breaks up the numeral *uyepe* from *kumesamai*, thus not appearing in second position relative to the initial entire noun phrase, as seen elsewhere in these texts. We suspect this to be an error on the part of the Jesuit author in question.

- (5.11) a. i. *Aiquiara muesa puereca Persona cana zui manis mai tipa ahuguaca emenua?*
 ii. *Aiquiara muesapuereca Personacanazui, manismaitipa ahua guaca emenua?*
 iii. *aikiara musapirika personakanasui, maniamaitipa awa uwaka iminua?*
aikiara musapirika persona =kana =sui maniamai =tipa
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which =INTERR
awa¹⁵⁰ uwaka iminua
 man 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, Ahuguaca emenua.*
 ii. *Dios Taegrasemai, Ahua guaca emenua.*
 iii. *Dios tairasemai awa uwaka iminua.*
Dios taira =semai awa uwaka iminua
 God son.MALE.EGO =FOC:VER 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 Ahuguaca emenua?*
 ii. *Mareicuatipa Dios Teagra Ahua guaca emenua?*
 iii. *maraikuatipa Dios taira awa uwaka iminua?*
marai =ikua =tipa Dios taira awa¹⁵¹ uwaka iminua
 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, equatema ritamacati; yenne rayavaschimata zenoni veranu.*
 ii. *Yenne vazaschitaraschi, yenneeracemamaicazazui yenne rusuiepetazenoni, equatema ritamacati yenne rayavaschimatazenoni veranu.*
 iii. *yene rasafitarafi, yeneerasimamaikanasui yene rausuepetasenuni, iwatimai ritamakate yene rayawafimatasenuni weranu.*
yene ra= safita =rafi yene= era -sima
 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= love =NASS 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG
=mai =kana =sui yene ra= usuepe -ta =senuni
 =NOMZ:INACT =PL.MS =ABL 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP
iwati =mai ritama =kate yene ra= yawafima
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC 1PL.INCL 3SG.MS= arrive
-ta =senuni weranu
 -CAUS =PURP COORD

¹⁵⁰Complements of *uwaka* ‘transform’ must take *=ra* NOM.PURP, as does the corresponding complement in the parallel clause in the Full Catechism (see (6.11a)).

CLOSE: ‘Since¹⁵² 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.’

¹⁵¹See footnote 150.

¹⁵²The use of ‘since’ is meant to translate the non-assertive marker =*rafi* 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 his historical, ethnographic, and linguistic treatise on the Kokamas and Omaguas of Peru, *Los tupí del oriente peruano*. Espinosa Pérez was a Augustinian missionary who began missionary work in northern Peruvian Amazonia 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),¹⁵³ 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 languages¹⁵⁴ that accompanied the diaries, one of which was the complete catechism in Omagua that we analyze here (see §6.1.2).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³Uriarte’s exact date of death is 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 have simply chosen a date (e.g., Cipolletti (2001:241), Downes (2005:156), Negro Tua (2007:106)).

¹⁵⁴Within the appendices to Uriarte’s diaries, Quechua texts far outnumber texts in any other indigenous languages (Omagua (Tupí-Guaraní), Tikuna (isolate, see footnote 247) 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 (? :211-227, [1776]1986:598-613)).

¹⁵⁵The 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.

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:

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.¹⁵⁶

Interestingly, despite Espinosa Pérez’s efforts to “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 and Bayle’s representations 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 boundaries in the latter published version coincide in a haphazard fashion with those of the Old Omagua words, as we analyze them. We assume that 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 Bayle¹⁵⁷ as an appendix to the two-volume diaries of Manuel Uriarte, 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

¹⁵⁶Translation (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.

¹⁵⁷The manuscript of Uriarte’s diaries were previously part of the private collection of the Spanish bibliophile Antonio Grañño Martínez (b. c1870 – d. 1945 Madrid) – see Pérez Bustamante (1945).

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 the 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 Espinosa was able to make more informed decisions about ambiguous graphemes 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 (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. *tairakana, pekumesa tasupe, amititipa Dios?*
taira =kana pe= kumesa ta= =supe amiti =tipa
 son.MALE.EGO =PL.MS 2PL= say 1SG.MS= =GOAL EXST =INTERR
Dios
 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 mura.*
amiti mura
 EXST 3SG.MS
 CLOSE: ‘He exists.’
 SPANISH: ‘*Si Padre; Dios hay.*’
- (6.2) a. i. *Marae tipa Dios?*
 ii. *Maraetipa Dios?*

iii. maraitipa Dios?
marai =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. *iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkana, yawikitara yarawasu Dios mura.*

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all
 =katu marain =kana yawiki -tara yara =wasu Dios mura
 =INTSF thing =PL.MS make -NOMZ:ACT 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. *maraipupe Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upakatu marainkana?*

marai =pupe Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upa =katu marain
 what =INSTR God make long.ago DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing
 =kana
 =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. *rasemai kumesamaipupe ra ni putarimaipupe purai.*

ra= =semai¹⁵⁸ kumesa =mai =pupe ra= ni putari
 3SG.MS= =FOC:VER say =NOMZ:INACT =INSTR 3SG.MS= ? desire
 =mai =pupe purai
 =NOMZ:INACT =INSTR FOC:CONTR

CLOSE: ‘With and only with what he says, and not with what he desires.’

TARGET: ‘With and only with his words, and not with his desires.’

SPANISH: none

- (6.4) a. i. *Macate Dios yuriti?*
 ii. macate dios yuriti?
 iii. makate Dios yuriti?
makate Dios yuriti
 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. iwatimai ritamakate, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate, upakatu makate Dios yuriti mura.
iwati =mai ritama =kate aikiara tuyuka ritama
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land village
 =kate upa =katu makate Dios yuriti mura
 =LOC all =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. awirika Dios amiti?
*awirika*¹⁵⁹ 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. uyepe¹⁶⁰ titi Dios.
uyepe titi Dios
 one be.alone God
 CLOSE: One God alone.
 SPANISH: ‘Un solo Dios no más.’

¹⁵⁸See footnote 149.

¹⁵⁹Note that *awirika* ‘how many’ differs from *awiri* ‘how many’, the word that appears in the corresponding sentence in the Catechism Fragment (see (5.5a)). Modern Omagua exhibits *awirika* exclusively, while Kokama-Kokamilla exhibits *awiri*.

¹⁶⁰See footnote 139.

- (6.6) a. i. *Quasrachi Yaze cesucana Huera-cana, miara cana, Ehuatacana, roayatipa Dios?*
 ii. Quasrachi, yaze, cesucana, hueracana, miaracana, ehuatecana, roayatipa dios?
 iii. k^warafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, miarakana, iwatakana, roayatipa Dios?
k^warafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana miara¹⁶¹ =kana iwata =kana
sun moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS animal =PL.MS jungle =PL.MS
roaya =tipa Dios
 NEG =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 yahuequemaiपुरा purai mura.
 iii. roaya Dios mura. aikiara upakatu marainkana Dios yawikimaipura purai mura.
roaya Dios mura
 NEG God 3SG.MS
aikiara upa =katu marain =kana Dios yawiki =mai
 DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing =PL.MS God make =NOMZ:INACT
=pura purai mura
 =NOM.PST FOC:CONTR 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.*’

- (6.7) a. i. *Marae rapa Dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upai mara encana?*
 ii. Maraerapa dios yahueque emenua ayquiara upai maraencana?
 iii. marairapa Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upai marainkana?

¹⁶¹In both modern Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla, *miara* 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 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 *emiar* ‘presa, caça’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:55)). Espinosa Pérez (1935:156) indicates that *miarakana* is to be interpreted as a hypernym for all quadrupeds. Note that *miara* does not appear in the parallel clause in the Catechism Fragment (see (5.6a)).

*marai =ra =pa Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upai*¹⁶²
 what =NOM.PURP =INTERR God make long.ago DEM.PROX.MS every
marain =kana
 thing =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. *yeneeramaira.*¹⁶³

yene= era =mai =ra
 1PL.INCL= good =NOMZ:INACT =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 yennaе verano?*

iii. *maniasenuni Dios yawiki iminua yene weranu?*

mania =senuni Dios yawiki iminua yene weranu
 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 yenyuriti uparichi Euatemairritama cateyacussa zenoni.*

ii. *yenne yquazenoni dios semai se yene vaschitazenoni mura dios, re cumes-samaipuracanna yenea amuya sucatazenoni: ayquiara tukurari yene yuriti upa richi euatemaі ritamacate yacussazenoni.*

iii. *yeneikuasenuni Diossemai se, yenesafitasenuni mura Dios, rakumesamaipurakana yeneamuyasukatasenuni, aikiara tuyukaari yenyuritiuparafi, iwatimai ritamakate yeneususenuni.*

yene= ikua =senuni Dios =semai se yene= safita =senuni
 1PL.INCL= know =PURP God =FOC:VER ?¹⁶⁵ 1PL.INCL= love =PURP
mura Dios ra= kumesa =mai =pura =kana
 3SG.MS God 3SG.MS= say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS
*yene= amuyasukata*¹⁶⁴ *=senuni aikiara tuyuka =ari*
 1PL.INCL= observe =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land =LOC.DIFF

¹⁶²Here *aikiara* and *upai* appear in the reverse order we would expect, given that modifiers are systematically prenominal in modern Omagua.

¹⁶³See footnote 144.

yene= yuriti =upa =rafi iwati =mai ritama
 1PL.INCL= be.in.place =CESS =NASS be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village
=kate yene= usu =senuni
 =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 Espíritu Santo, ayquiara musapuerca personacana uyepe titi Dios mura.*
 iii. *Dios papa, Dios taíra, Dios espíritu santo. aikiara musapirika personakana uyepe titi Dios mura.*

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

aikiara musapirika persona =kana uyepe titi Dios mura
 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.*’

¹⁶⁴The 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 174)), although its morphological composition is unclear.

¹⁶⁵The sequence <se> does not correspond to any grammatical morpheme in modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral 1995; Faust 1972; Vallejos 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. *aikiara musapirika personakana, roayapa musapirika Dioskana?*

aikiara musapirika persona =kana roaya =pa musapirika
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three
Dios =kana
 God =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 musapuerecana personacana persona cana persona uypetiti Dios mura Santísima Trinidad nanimairashira.*
 ii. *Roaya puereca Dioscana, ayquiara musapuerecana personacana persona uype titi Dios mura Santísima Trinidadnanimai rashira.*
 iii. *roaya [musa]pirika Dioskana. aikiara musapirika personakana persona uype titi Dios mura. santísima trinidadnanimai rafira.*

roaya [musa]pirika Dios =kana
 NEG three God =PL.MS

aikiara musapirika persona =kana persona uype titi Dios mura
 =PL.MS three person =PL.MS person one be.alone God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani =mai ra= fira
 Holy Trinity =FOC:EXCL =?¹⁶⁶ 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 ahua huaca emenua?*
 iii. *aikiara musapirika personakanasui, maniamai awara uwaka iminua?*

aikiara musapirika persona =kana =sui maniamai awa
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which¹⁶⁷ man
 =ra uwaka iminua
 =NOM.PURP¹⁶⁸ 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 ahua huaca emenua.*

¹⁶⁶The 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.

- iii. Dios taira awara uwaka iminua.
Dios taira awa =ra uwaka iminua
 God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform long.ago
 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 taira awara uwaka iminua?

mania =senuni Dios taira awa =ra uwaka
 what.action =PURP God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform
iminua
 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, ehuepema topa tatasui verano rusuyepetazenoni yenne.

iii. rasafitarañi yene, yeneerasimamaikanasui ipipema tupa tatasui¹⁶⁹ weranu rausuepetasenuni yene.

ra= safita =rafi yene yene= era -sima
 3SG.MS= love =NASS 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL= good -CORE.NEG
=mai =kana =sui ipipe =mai tupa tata =sui
 =NOMZ:INACT =PL.MS =ABL be.inside =NOMZ:INACT place fire =ABL
weranu ra= usuepe -ta =senuni yene
 COORD 3SG.MS= escape -CAUS =PURP 1PL.INCL

CLOSE: ‘Since he loves us, so that he might save¹⁷⁰ 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?

¹⁶⁷In modern Omagua, *maniamai* has come to mean ‘what type (of thing)’.

¹⁶⁸See footnote 150.

¹⁶⁹In this sentence the typical order of the component words of the the neologism *tata tupa* ‘Hell’ are reversed.

¹⁷⁰The non-compositional meaning ‘save’ (cf. *usuepe* ‘escape’ and *-ta* CAUS) is also found in modern Omagua.

- iii. awa sewekak^warape Dios taira awara uwaka iminua?
awa seweka =k^w arape Dios taira awa =ra uwaka
 who womb =INESS God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform
iminua
 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.*
 ii. *Virgen Santa Maria ceuecacuarape ahuare huaca emenua, Espiritu Santosui, mura Virgen Santa Maria ceucasui rahuari emenua.*
 iii. *virgen santa maría sewekak^warape awara uwaka iminua. espíritu santosui mura, virgen santa maría sewekasui rauwari iminua.*

virgen santa maría seweka =k^w arape awa =ra uwaka iminua
 Virgin Mary womb =INESS man =ATTR transform long.ago

espíritu santo =sui mura virgen santa maría seweka =sui ra=
 Holy Spirit =ABL 3SG.MS Virgin Mary womb =ABL 3SG.MS=
uwari iminua
 be.born 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 uwaritasakapiri weranu, muriapaitipa virgen rayuriti?*
virgen santa maria uwari -ta =sakapiri weranu muriapai
 Virgin Mary be.born -CAUS =TEMP.POST COORD uninterruptedly
 =tipa virgen ra= yuriti¹⁷¹
 =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. *muriapai virgen rayuriti mura.*
muriapai virgen ra= yuriti¹⁷² mura
 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 ahua huacaraschi emenua, maraetipa raschira?
 iii. Dios taíra awara uwakarafi iminua, maraitipa rafira?

Dios taíra awa =ra uwaka =rafi iminua marai
 God son.MALE.EGO man =NOM.PURP transform =NASS long.ago what
 =tipa ra= fira
 =INTERR 3SG.MS= name

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 niiumune yepetatar.*
 ii. Jesu xto. raschira: muratina aycetui dios aycetui ahua veranu, yenneyara, yenneniumuneyepetatar.
 iii. jesucristo rafira. muratina aisetui Dios aisetui awa weranu, yeneyara yeneyumuneyepetatar.

jesucristo ra= fira
 Jesus.Christ 3SG.MS= name
mura =tina aise¹⁷³ -tui Dios aise -tui awa weranu yene= yara
 3SG.MS =CERT true -?¹⁷⁵ God true -? man COORD 1PL.INCL= lord
yene= yumunuyepeta¹⁷⁴ -tara
 1PL.INCL= redeem -NOMZ:ACT

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.*’

¹⁷¹The use of *yuriti* 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.

¹⁷²See footnote 171.

¹⁷³The Old Omagua root *aise* ‘true’ survives in modern Omagua only in the frozen form *aisimai*, ‘truth’, which is employed in discourse to assert the truth value of a proposition (cf. Spanish *verdad* or *de veras*).

¹⁷⁴A 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

- (6.16) a. i. *Maria mai Jesu Xto. ni umu nuyepeta emenua yenne?*
 ii. *Mariamai Jesu Xto. niunuyepeta emenua yenne?*
 iii. *mariamai jesucristo yumunuyepeta yene?*
mariamai jesucristo yene
 how(?)¹⁷⁶ 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 rasanaraschi, Cruzari taquetamai raumanuraschi (mura).*
 iii. *yeneikua rasanarafi, cruzari takitamai raumanurafi iminua (mura).*
yene= =ikua ra= susana¹⁷⁷ =rafi cruz =ari takita
 1PL.INCL= =REAS 3SG.MS= suffer =NASS cross =LOC.DIFF nail
=mai ra= umanu =rafi iminua mura¹⁷⁸.
 =NOMZ:INACT 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. *maniaswasu jesucristo Diosrafi raumanu iminua?*
mania =wasu jesucristo Dios =rafi ra= umanu iminua
 how =AUG Jesus.Christ God =NASS 3SG.MS= die long.ago

that *yumunuyepeta* is a Jesuit neologism.

¹⁷⁵Based on the reflex of Old Omagua *aise* in modern Omagua (see footnote 173), 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 (Cabral 1995; Faust 1972; Vallejos 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 *era* ‘good’ and *ayaise* ‘evil’ (see §2.3.2.3 and footnote 124), 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.

¹⁷⁶This is the only attestation of *mariamai* 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 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 *mariamai*, given that response to this question clearly indicates that *mariamai* is intended to mean ‘how’. Consequently, we gloss it as such.

¹⁷⁷The verb root *susana* is not attested in modern Omagua, but it has cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, e.g., Tupinambá *osaj* ‘suffer’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:118).

¹⁷⁸The 3SG.MS pronoun *mura* is not grammatically obligatory in this context, which we suppose accounts for the fact that it is enclosed in parentheses in the original manuscript.

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. *awakaisuarapura[i].*¹⁷⁹ *roaya Dioskaisuara purai raumanu iminua.*¹⁸⁰

awa =kai =suara purai

*man =?*¹⁸¹ =ADVBLZR FOC:CONTR

*roaya Dios =kai =suara*¹⁸² *purai ra= umanu iminua*

NEG God =? =ADVBLZR FOC:CONTR 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

(6.18) a. i. *Jesu Xto. umanuraschi uyahuere tiparaca quere emenua?*

ii. *Jesu Xto. umanuraschi, uyahueretipa racaquere emenua?*

iii. *jesucristo umanurafi, tipa rakakiri iminua?*

jesucristo umanu =rafi uyawiri =tipa ra= kakiri iminua

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.*

¹⁷⁹It is clear from the apparent messiness of the manuscript at this juncture that the copyist had difficulty in reproducing the text faithfully, and we assume that here an apparent =*pura* must in fact be *purai*, since otherwise there are no attestations of =*pura* encoding contrastive focus in Old Omagua (see §2.3.9.1). We thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this otherwise aberrant =*pura* to our attention.

¹⁸⁰The 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 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.

¹⁸¹While we have encountered no morpheme corresponding to <cai> in Omagua, nor has one been described for Kokama-Kokamilla by Vallejos (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.

¹⁸²Our re-representation of <ruana> as =*suara* 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 *r* as <n>, both of which are copying errors attested elsewhere in these texts.

- ii. Vyahuere racaquere emenua mussopuereca coemaari.
 iii. uyawiri rakakiri iminua musapirika k^wemaari.
uyawiri ra= kakiri iminua musapirika k^wema =ari
 again 3SG.MS= live long.ago three¹⁸³ 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 uyawiri [raka]kirirafi iminua, makate rausu iminua?
jesucristo uyawiri ra= kakiri =rafi iminua makate ra=
 Jesus.Christ again 3SG.MS= live =NASS long.ago where 3SG.MS=
usu iminua
 go 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. iwatimai ritamakate rausu iminua.

iwati =mai ritama =kate ra= usu iminua
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT 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.*’

- (6.20) a. i. *Era Xtiano cana Dios cumessamai puracana era amuyasu cata taracana era cemamai huassu ema, ranu umanuraschi macate rana sahuassuacana ussu?*
 ii. era xtianocana dios cumessamaipuracana era amuyasucataracana eracemamahuassuema, ranuumanuraschi, macate ranasahuassuacana ussu?
 iii. era cristianokana Dios kumesamaipurakana era amuyasukatatarakana erasimamaiwasuima, ranaumanurafi, makate ranasawasukana usu?

era cristiano =kana Dios kumesa =mai =pura =kana
 good Christian =PL.MS God say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS
era amuyasukata -tara =kana era -sima =mai
 good observe -NOMZ:ACT =PL.MS good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT
=wasu =ima rana= umanu =rafi makate rana= sawa -sua
 =AUG =PRIV 3PL.MS= die =NASS where 3PL.MS= soul -?¹⁸⁴
=kana usu
 =PL.MS go

¹⁸³The use of *musapirika* as an ordinal numeral here is likely a calque, as numeral terms have only a cardinal function in the modern language.

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. *iwatimai ritamakate, muriapai sariwarafi ranakakirisenuni.*

iwati =mai ritama =kate muriapai sariwa =rafi
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL uninterruptedly be.happy =NASS
rana= kakiri =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 amuyasucataracana eraecmamaehuassiyara, ranaaumanuraschi, macate Dios yumupuricanasahuacana?*
 iii. *ayaise cristianokana* (*upai aucakana*), *Dios kumesamaipurakana roaya amuyasukatatarakana erasimamaiwasuyara, ranaumanurafi, makate Dios yumupuriranasawakana?*

ayaise cristiano =kana upai auca¹⁸⁵ =kana Dios kumesa
 wicked Christian =PL.MS every savage =PL.MS God say
=mai =pura =kana roaya amuyasukata -tara
 =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS NEG observe -NOMZ:ACT
=kana era -sima =mai =wasu =yara rana=
 =PL.MS good -CORE.NEG =NOMZ:INACT =AUG =NOMZ:POSS 3PL.MS=
umanu =rafi makate Dios yumupuri¹⁸⁶ rana= sawa =kana
 die =NASS where God 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?’

¹⁸⁴The sequence <sua> does not correspond to any morpheme identified for either modern Omagua or Kokama-Kokamilla (Cabral 1995; Faust 1972; Vallejos 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.

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. ipipemai¹⁸⁷ ta[ta] tupak^warape, muriapai ukairafi ranayuritisenuni.

ipipe =*mai* *ta[ta]* *tupa* =*k^w* *arape* *muriapai* *ukai*
 be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place =INESS uninterruptedly burn
 =*rafi* *rana*= *yuriti* =*senuni*
 =NASS 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, roayapa yenesuukanamukui umanu?

yene= *sawa* =*kana* *roaya* =*pa* *yene*= *suu* =*kana*
 1PL.INCL= soul =PL.MS NEG =INTERR 1PL.INCL= body =PL.MS
 =*mukui umanu*
 =COM 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 muriapaitina ranaca quereari.*

ii. Roaya, miaracanayacatu yennezumucui ranaumanu; yenneSahuacana muriapaitina ranacaquereari.

iii. roaya miarakanayakatu yenesuumukui ranaumanu. yenesawakana muriapaitina ranakakiriari.

¹⁸⁵This 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 2014a), 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.

¹⁸⁶The word for ‘send’ in modern Omagua, which is also reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, is *yumunu*. We cannot currently account for the sequence <pur> on this form.

¹⁸⁷Here we alter the original <t> to *p*, as this accords with the expected form *ipipe* in the Jesuit neologism for ‘Hell’, as evident in other instances of this form (see (6.27b)).

*roaya miara*¹⁸⁸ =*kana* =*ya* =*katu* *yene*= *suu* =*mukui rana*=
 NEG animal =PL.MS =SIM =INTSF 1PL.INCL= body =COM 3PL.MS=
umanu
 die

yene= *sawa* =*kana* *muriapai* =*tina* *rana*= *kakiri* =*ari*
 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. *uyawiritipa yeneyara jesucristo iwatimai ritamasui aikiara tuyuka ritamakate rauriari.*

uyawiri =*tipa* *yene*= *yara* *jesucristo* *iwati*
 again =INTERR 1PL.INCL= master Jesus.Christ be.high.up
 =*mai* *ritama* =*sui* *aikiara* *tuyuka ritama* =*kate*
 =NOMZ:INACT village =ABL DEM.PROX.MS land village =ALL
ra= *uri* =*ari*
 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. *uyawiri rauriari aikiara tuyuka ritama upapupekatu.*

uyawiri *ra*= *uri* =*ari* *aikiara* *tuyuka ritama* *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?*

¹⁸⁸See footnote 161.

iii. *mura* ¹⁸⁹ *k^w arafi =pupe uyawiri =tipa yene= kakiri =usu =ari*
 3SG.MS day =INSTR again =INTERR 1PL.INCL= live =AND =IMPF
 CLOSE: ‘That day, will we go to live again?’
 SPANISH: none

b. i. *Vyahuere upa yenneca* (entre líneas, *Ru*)¹⁹⁰ *caquere usuari*.

ii. *Vyahuere upa yene(ca)caquereusuari*.

iii. *uyawiri upa yenekakiriusuari*.

uyawiri upa yene= kakiri =usu =ari
 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*¹⁹¹ *mura* *k^wa[ra]jipupe yeneyara jesucristo uyawiri rauriari?*

*mania =senuni mura*¹⁹² *k^w arafi =pupe yene= yara*
 what.action =PURP 3SG.MS day =INSTR 1PL.INCL= master

jesucristo uyawiri ra= uri =ari

Jesus.Christ 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 yenyahuequemaipuracana veranu racumes-sazenoni rurari*.

iii. *upakatu yenesawakai upai ayaise yenyawikimaipurakana weranu rakumesasenuni rauriari*.

*upa =katu yene= sawa =kai*¹⁹³ *upai ayaise yene= yawiki*
 all =INTSF 1PL.INCL= soul =? every wicked 1PL.INCL= do

=mai =pura =kana weranu ra= kumesa =senuni
 =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS COORD 3SG.MS= say¹⁹⁴ =PURP

ra= uri =ari

3SG.MS= come =IMPF

¹⁸⁹ 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 *a?é* ‘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.

¹⁹⁰ 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.

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.*’

(6.26) a. i. *Mura quarasschi pupe macate Jesu Cto. erusuari era Xtianocana?*

ii. *Mura quarasschipupe macate Jesu Cto. erusuari era xtianocana?*

iii. *mura k^warafipupe, makate jesucristo erusuari era cristianokana?*

*mura*¹⁹⁵ *k^waraf* =*pupe* *makate jesucristo erusu =ari era 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 sahua-*
cana mucui ranazucana mucui, muriapai sararaqaraschiranaca querezenoni;
ayquiara tuyucaritama cate Dios cumessamai pura cana rana amuya sucatu
sepue.

ii. *Era xtianocanapurai uyahuere raerusuari euatemai ritamacate, ranasahua-*
canamucui, ranazucanamucui, muriapai sara(ra)quaraschi ranacaquerezenoni;
ayquiara tuyuca ritamacate Dios cumessamaipuracana ranaamuyasucatasepue.

iii. *era cristianokana purai, uyawiri raerusuari iwatimai ritamakate ranasawakanamukui*
*ranasuukanamukui, muriapai sariwarafi*¹⁹⁶ *ranakakirisenuni, aikiara tuyuka*
ritamakate Dios kumesamaipurakana ranaamuyasukatasepi.

era cristiano =kana purai uyawiri ra= erusu =ari
 good Christian =PL.MS FOC:CONTR again 3SG.MS= go =IMPF
iwati =mai ritama =kate rana= sawa =kana =mukui
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL 3PL.MS= soul =PL.MS =COM
rana= suu =kana =mukui muriapai sariwa =raf
 3PL.MS= body =PL.MS =COM uninterruptedly be.happy =NASS

¹⁹¹Here 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 2.15). There is no root *maria* elsewhere 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*.

¹⁹²See footnote 189.

¹⁹³See footnote 181.

¹⁹⁴Here 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.

rana= *kakiri* =*senuni aikiara* *tuyuka ritama* =*kate Dios kumesa*
 3PL.MS= live =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land village =LOC God say
 =*mai* =*pura* =*kana rana*= *amuyasukata* =*sepi*
 =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =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.*’

- (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[r]a k^warafi pupe, makate jesucristo yumupuriusuari ayaisemaikana?*
*mura*¹⁹⁷ *k^warafi* =*pupe* *makate jesucristo* *yumupuri* =*usu* =*ari*
 3SG.MS day =INSTR where Jesus.Christ send(?) =AND =IMPF
ayaise =*mai* =*kana*
 wicked =NOMZ:INACT =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*¹⁹⁸ *rayumupuriusuari epuepemai tata toparaguape ranasahuacanamucui, ranazucanamucui, muriapai ranaucairaschi ranayuritizenoni: ay quierea tuyaca ritamacate dios cumessamaipuracaca roaya ranaamuyasucatayeua.*
 iii. *upakatu ayaisemaikana, uyawiri rayumupuriusuari ipipemai tata tupak^warape ranasawakanamukui ranasuukanamukui, muriapai ranaukairafi ranayuritisenuni, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate Dios kumesamaipurakana roaya ranaamuyasukataikua.*

¹⁹⁵See footnote 189.

¹⁹⁶Here we make a fairly radical change of <sararaqaraschi> to *sariwarafi*. 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 *sariwa* 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 linking 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>.

upa =katu ayaise =mai =kana uyawiri ra= yumupuri
 all =INTSF wicked =NOMZ:INACT =PL.MS again 3SG.MS= send(?)²⁰⁰
=usu =ari ipipe =mai tata tupa =k^w arape rana=
 =AND =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place =INESS 3PL.MS=
sawa =kana =mukui rana= suu =kana =mukui muriapai
 soul =PL.MS =COM 3PL.MS= body =PL.MS =COM uninterruptedly
rana= ukai =rafi rana= yuriti =senuni aikiara tuyuka
 3PL.MS= burn =NASS 3PL.MS= be.in.place =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land
ritama =kate Dios kumesa =mai =pura =kana roaya
 village =LOC God say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS NEG
rana= amuyasukata =ikua¹⁹⁹
 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.*’

- (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. *maritipa awakana yawikiari ipipemai tata tupak^w arape ranausumaka?*
mar²⁰¹ =tipa awa =kana yawiki =ari ipipe =mai
 what =INTERR person =PL.MS do =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT
tata tupa =k^w arape rana= usu =maka
 fire 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.*

¹⁹⁷See footnote 189.

¹⁹⁸In our representation of this word we excise <zaue> to yield <uyahuere> *uyawiri* ‘again’. Espinosa Pérez (1935:161) encloses the sequence <za a> in parentheses at the same point, suggesting that there was some difficult-to-interpret set of letters in the original manuscript. It is not clear from his discussion, however, what precisely his use of parentheses indicates. Note that *uyawiri* ‘again’ would be appropriate here given the overall doctrinal message 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.

¹⁹⁹Here we have changed <yewa> 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>.

²⁰⁰See footnote 186.

- ii. Roaya Xitianoraschi, sapuera Bautismopuepe Ctiano renahuacaari; rasui, Dios cumussamaiparacana sta Iglesia cumussamaiparacana veranu ranaa-muyasucataraschi, roaya ranaasuari Epuepema tata topaquarape.
- iii. roaya cristianorafí, sapira bautismopupe cristiano ranauwakari. rasui Dios kumesamaipurakana santa iglesia kumesamaipurakana weranu ranaamuyasukatarafí, roaya ranaasuari ipipema tata tupak^warape.

*roaya cristiano =rafi sapira bautismo =pupe cristiano*²⁰² *rana=*
 NEG Christian =NASS first(?) baptism =INSTR Christian 3PL.MS=
uwaka =ari
 transform =IMPF

rasui Dios kumesa =mai =pura =kana santa iglesia
 then.MS God say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS holy church
kumesa =mai =pura =kana weranu rana= amuyasukata
 say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS COORD 3PL.MS= observe
=rafi roaya rana= usu =ari ipipe =mai tata tupa
 =NASS NEG 3PL.MS= go =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
=k^warape
 =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, y lo segundo, guardar los diez Mandamientos de Dios y los cinco de la Iglesia, así escapan al infierno.*’

- (6.29) a. i. *Christiano cana nuamai hucha ya raraschimeractipa rana ya hueque ari, Epue pema rana a su maca?*
- ii. Christianocana nuamai huchayararaschi, meraetipa ranayahuequeari, Epuepema ranaasumaca?
- iii. cristianokana nuamai utfayararafí, maraitipa ranayawikiari ipipema [tata tupak^wrape]²⁰³ ranausumaka?

cristiano =kana nua =mai utfa =yara =rafi marai
 Christian =PL.MS be.big =NOMZ:INACT sin =NOMZ:POSS =NASS what
=tipa rana= yawiki =ari ipipe =mai tata tupa
 =INTERR 3PL.MS= do =IMPF be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
=k^warape rana= usu =maka
 =INESS 3PL.MS= go =NEG.PURP

²⁰¹See (5.6a) in the Catechism Fragment, where *marai* similarly appears reduced as *mari*.

²⁰²As 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 150).

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 la²⁰⁴ mucui ranaya me mueraschi ranayo muerata yeua²⁰⁵ 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 cana Confessaiari Missa yahuequetara Patiri (Super²⁰⁶ macus mura puray Dios secuyara tenepetari).*
- iii. *upakatu ranaĩyamukui ranayamimiarafi, ranayumirataikua Dios, aisepa ranasetarafi sapiari, upai rana utjakana ranacofesaya[ra]ri misa yawikitara patirisupe macus mura purai Dios sekuyara tenepetari.*

upa =katu rana= iya²⁰⁷ =mukui rana= yamimia =rafi rana=
all =INTSF 3PL.MS= heart =COM 3PL.MS= grieve =NASS 3PL.MS=
yumira -ta =ikua Dios aise -pa²⁰⁸ rana= seta =rafi sapiari
get.angry -CAUS =REAS God true -? 3PL.MS= want =NASS obey²¹⁰
upai rana= utfa =kana rana= confesa =yara =ari misa
every 3PL.MS= sin =PL.MS 3PL.MS= confess =NOMZ:POSS =IMPF mass
yawiki -tara patiri =supe macus mura purai Dios
make -NOMZ:ACT priest =GOAL ? 3SG.MS FOC:CONTR God
sekuyara²⁰⁹ tenepeta =ari
substitute =NOMZ:POSS 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... (?)’

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.*’

²⁰³Here we interpolate the collocation *tata tupak^w arape* between *ipipemai* and *rana=*, since it is clear from the corresponding Spanish that the *ipipemai* that appears in this sentence is the first element of the neologism *ipipemai tata tupak^w arape* ‘Hell’, as in in (6.28b). Espinosa Pérez (1935:161), in his representation of this sentence, interpolates <tata topacate> here, suggesting either that he made essentially the same judgment, or that these words were present in the original manuscript, and that Bayle failed to copy them.

²⁰⁴We 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>.

²⁰⁵See footnote 199.

²⁰⁶The presence of the parentheses here is difficult to understand, since the parenthetical material 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 yawikitara*

- (6.30) a. i. *Christiano cana era rana confessa ya raraschi rana sahuiteari veranu Santísimo Sacramento?*
 ii. Christianocana era ranaconfessayararaschi, ranasahuiteari veranu Santísimo Sacramento?
 iii. cristianokana era ranaconfesayararafi, ranasawaitiari weranu santísimo sacramento?
cristiano =kana era rana= confesa =yara =rafi rana=
 Christian =PL.MS good 3PL.MS= confess =VBLZR =NASS 3PL.MS=
*sawaiti*²¹¹ =ari *weranu 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. ranasawaitiari.
*rana= sawaiti*²¹² =ari
 3PL.MS= encounter =IMPF
- CLOSE: ‘They will encounter [it].’
 TARGET: ‘They will receive it.’
 SPANISH: ‘*Sí podrá.*’

patiri ‘mass-making priest’ would not otherwise be licensed in the clause.

²⁰⁷The modern Omagua word *ñya* ‘heart’, is one of a small number of words that exhibit nasal vowels.

²⁰⁸Here *aise* appears with morphology distinct from that in (6.15b) (see also footnote 173), 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.

²⁰⁹The noun *sekuyara* is unattested in modern Omagua, although it appears to be cognate with Tupinambá *eko?ar* (cf. <ecoara>) ‘habitante, morador, residente’ (Lemos Barbosa 1970). The morphologically more complex Tupinambá stem *ereko?ar* (cf. <erecoara>) is variously translated as ‘amo, depositário, guarda, possuidor, regente de canto, tutor, zelador’, which all denote roles that an individual may stand in. Given these general semantics, and the fact that the Spanish translation of the corresponding passage from the Quechua catechism is ‘who is in God’s place’ (i.e., as a confessor, etc.), we gloss *sekuyara* as ‘substitute’.

²¹⁰In modern Omagua, *sapiari* is polysemous, meaning both ‘obey’ and ‘believe’. We gloss it as ‘obey’ throughout the ecclesiastical texts, since that appears to be 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 *apiar* ‘obedecer a’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:31)). In fact, the polysemy of Omagua *sapiari*, which can be reconstructed to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, appears to be the result of the collapse of two distinct roots (see also Tupinambá *robíar* ‘crer, acreditar em’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:140)), perhaps via the causativized reflexive form of *robíar* ‘crer, acreditar em’, *mojerobíar* ‘honrar, obedecer’ (Lemos Barbosa 1951:94).

²¹¹Here our transliteration of <sahuite> as *sawaiti* relies heavily on (6.32a), in which the orthographic

- (6.31) a. i. *Hua tipa yuriti Santísimo Sacramento o puperi?*
 ii. *Huatipa yuriti Santísimo Sacramentoo pupe(ri)?*²¹³
 iii. *awatipa yuriti santísimo sacramentoi pipi?*
awa =tipa yuriti santísimo sacramento =ipipi
 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 taira, aisetui Dios, aisetui awa, rasawamukui rasuumukui rasuimukui weranu mairamania.*
mura jesucristo Dios taira aise²¹⁴ -tui Dios aise -tui awa
 3SG.MS Jesus.Christ God son.MALE.EGO true -?²¹⁵ God true -? man
ra= sawa =mukui ra= suu =mukui ra= sui =mukui
 3SG.MS= soul =COM 3SG.MS= body =COM 3SG.MS= blood =COM
weranu mairamania
 COORD 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.*’

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 & Wauters 2012). Also see §9.3.3.

²¹²In 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.

²¹³Here it is unclear what to make of the orthographic sequence following <Sacramento>. Espinosa Pérez (1935:162) associates the final <ri> with <Sacramento>, giving <Sacramentoari> (n.b., with an inserted <a>, yielding a combination of ‘sacrament’ plus the modern diffuse locative = *ari*). However, this results in the order of postpositions = *ari* = *pupe*, which is unattested in modern Omagua. Instead, we opt for an analysis in which the entire sequence following <Sacramento> is a single morpheme (excising the final <ri>), and interpret the first <o> following <Sacramento> as an orthographic variant for /i/, yielding = *ipipe*. It is noteworthy that this analysis also has the advantage of employing a postposition that expresses a relation of containment, as seems to be warranted here.

²¹⁴See footnote 173.

²¹⁵See footnote 175.

(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 santísimo sacramento*

iii. *mitiripe ipisasui comulgayarayakatu marai kuratarafi, nuamai utfaya[ra]rafi, ranasawaitimia santísimo sacramento?*

*mitiripe ipisa =sui*²¹⁶ *comulga*²¹⁷ =yara =ya =katu
 in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =NOMZ:POSS =SIM =INTSF
*marai*²¹⁸ *kurata =rafi nua =mai utfa*²¹⁹ =yara =rafi
 thing drink =NASS be.big =NOMZ:INACT sin =NOMZ:POSS =NASS
*rana= sawaiti*²²⁰ =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?’²²¹

SPANISH: none

b. i. *Roayamania ranasahuaitimia.*

ii. *roaya mania ranasahuaitimia.*

iii. *roaya mania ranasawaitimia.*

*roaya mania*²²² *rana= sawaiti =mia*
 NEG how 3PL.MS= encounter =IRR

CLOSE: ‘They would never encounter it.’²²³

TARGET: ‘They would never receive it.’

SPANISH: none

²¹⁶The appearance of the ablative =sui in *mitiripe ipisasui* 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 *ipisamitiripi*, where =mitiripi functions as a postposition, without need for the (additional) postposition =sui.

²¹⁷From Spanish *comulgar* ‘receive communion’.

²¹⁸The appearance of *marai* ‘thing’ as an apparent object here is probably a relic of a noun incorporation process common in Tupí-Guaraní languages (Dietrich 1994:112) but no longer attested in modern Omagua.

²¹⁹In modern Omagua, the affricate of this form has lenided, i.e., *ufa*.

²²⁰See footnote 211.

²²¹The 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.

²²²The combination of the negator and *mania* ‘how’ is analogous to modern Omagua *nimania* (where *ni* is also a negator), which is one way to express the meaning ‘never’. Although the exact constituents of the construction are unattested as such today, we translate *roaya mania* as ‘never’ based on this parallelism.

²²³Omagua permits third-person object pro-drop in this context; the appropriate pronoun would be *mura*.

- (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. *nesepiaritipa aikiara, upakatu Dios kumesamaikana, aisetui Dios, upai ikuatara, roaya wifanisuri, roaya mitasuri, Dios kumesaikua?*
ne= sapiari =tipa aikiara upa =katu Dios kumesa
 2SG= obey =INTERR DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF God say
=mai =kana aise²²⁴ -tui Dios upai ikua -tara roaya
 =NOMZ:INACT =PL.MS true -?²²⁵ God every know -NOMZ:ACT NEG
wifani -suri roaya mita -suri Dios kumesa =ikua
 be.dishonest -NOMZ:SUBJ NEG deceive -NOMZ:SUBJ 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. *Upacatu ta Hia mucuicatu tasapiari.*
 ii. *Upacatu taHiamucuicatu tasapiari.*
 iii. *upakatu taiyamukuikatu tasapiari.*
upa =katu ta= iya =mukui =katu ta= sapiari
 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 Sahuá Euate mairitama cate, naraschi?*
 ii. *Nesaratipa upacatu nehiamucuicatu Diosari ene huchacana ratenepetaari, neumanuraschi, raerusuari ene Sahuá Euatemai ritamacate, naraschi?*
 iii. *nesaratipa upakatu neiyamukuikatu Diosari ene utjakana ratenepetari, neumanurafi, raerusuari ene sawa iwatimai ritamakate, narafi?*
ne= sara =tipa upa =katu ne= iya =mukui =katu Dios
 2SG= await²²⁸ =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF God
=ari ene²²⁶ utfa =kana ra= tenepeta =ari ne= manu
 =LOC.DIFF 2SG sin =PL.MS 3SG.MS= forgive =IMPF 2SG= die
=rafi ra= erusu =ari ene²²⁷ sawa iwati =mai
 =NASS 3SG.MS= take =IMPF 2SG soul be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT

²²⁴See footnote 173.

²²⁵See footnote 175.

ritama =kate narafi
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. *muriyai tasara taiyamukuikatu.*

muria -i ta= sara ta= iya =mukui =katu
thus -?²²⁹ 1SG.MS= hope²³⁰ 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. *nesafitatipa upakatu niyamukuikatu yenepapa dios, upakatu marainkana neukuatarafi, raerasemaikatuikua?*

ne= safita =tipa upa =katu ne= iya =mukui =katu
2SG= love =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF
yene= papa dios upa =katu marain =kana ne= ukuata
1PL.INCL= father God all =INTSF thing =PL.MS 2SG= pass.by²³¹
=rafi ra= era =semai =katu =ikua
=NASS 3SG.MS= good =FOC:VER =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 taiyamukuikatu tasafita mura.*

²²⁶Based on the same construction in modern Omagua, we would expect that the possessor be expressed with the proclitic *ne=*, as independent pronouns are never used to indicate possessors (see §2.2.1).

²²⁷See footnote 226.

²²⁸We suspect that the use of *sara* ‘await’ with the diffuse locative *=ari*, later in the sentence, is a calque on Spanish *esperar en* ‘have faith in’ (see §9.3.2.3).

²²⁹See footnote 136.

²³⁰See footnote 228.

upa =katu ta= ñya =mukui =katu ta= safita mura
 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. *Neyemematipa upacatu nehiamucuicatu nehuchacanapupe neyamueratay-cua yenneyara Dios?*
 iii. *neyamimiatipa upakatu niñyamukuikatu neutfakanapupe neyumirataikua yeneyara Dios?*

ne= yamimía =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui =katu ne=
 2SG= grieve =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 2SG=
utfa =kana =pupe ne= yumira -ta =ikua yene= yara
 sin =PL.MS =INSTR 2SG= get.angry -CAUS =REAS 1PL.INCL= master
Dios
 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 taiñyamukuikatu tayamimía mura.*

upa =katu ta= ñya =mukui =katu ta= yamimía mura
 all =INTSF 1SG.MS= heart =COM =INTSF 1SG.MS= lament²³² 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 upacatu nehiamucuicatu?*
 iii. *nesetatipa nesapiari upakatu neiñyamukuikatu?*

ne= seta =tipa ne=²³³ sapiari upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui
 2SG= want =INTERR 2SG= obey all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM
 =katu
 =INTSF

²³¹The use of *ukuata* ‘pass by’ appears to be the result of a calque based on Spanish *pasar* (see §9.3.3).

²³²Given that *yamimía* is transitive in this instance (i.e., note *mura*), we gloss it as ‘lament’, as opposed to ‘grieve’ in (6.36a). Note that *yamimía* is not attested as a transitive verb in modern Omagua.

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 tasapiari.*

upa =katu ta= iya =mukui =katu ta= seta ta=
all =INTSF 1SG.MS= heart =COM =INTSF 1SG.MS= want 1SG.MS=
sapiari

obey

CLOSE: ‘I want to obey with all my heart.’

SPANISH: ‘Sí.’

²³³In 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.

ACTUS FIDEI, SPEI, ET CHRITATIS, AC CONTRITIONIS, SIMULQUE
ATRITIONIS.
EN LENGUA OMAGUA

Ta-Yara Jesu Cto., aycetui Dios, aycetui Abua enesamai tasapiari enecumaf-samacana 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 hures-rachita, 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 enecumaf-samacana 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 aise²³⁴ -tui dios aise -tui awa ene =semai
1SG.MS= master Jesus.Christ true -?²³⁶ God true -? man 2SG =FOC:VER
ta= sapiari ene kumesa =mai =kana =ari²³⁵
1SG.MS= believe 2SG say =NOMZ:INACT =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.'

²³⁴See footnote 173.

- (7.2) a. *Enesemai tasaschita upacatu mara encana ucuataraschi.*
 b. *Enesemai tasaschita upacatu mara encana ucuataraschi.*
 c. *enesemai tasaſita upakatu marainkana ukuatarafi.*
*ene =semai ta= safita upa =katu marain =kana ukuata =rafi*²³⁷
 2SG =FOC:VER 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, Epuepema tata topa toaquase araschi veranu, tayamemuea upacatu tahuchacanapupe tayomuerataycua ene era Dios.*
 c. *ene era dios ta[sal]ſitarafi, ipipema tata tupa taakisiarafi weranu, tayamimia upakatu tautſakanapupe tayumirataikua ene era dios.*
ene era dios ta= safita =rafi ipipe =mai tata tupa
 2SG good God 1SG.MS= love =NASS be.inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place
*ta= akisia*²³⁸ *=rafi weranu ta= yamimia upa =katu ta=*
 1SG.MS= fear =NASS COORD 1SG.MS= grieve all =INTSF 1SG.MS=
utfa =kana =pupe ta= yumira -ta =ikua ene era dios
 sin =PL.MS =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 yumiawirarafi ta, roaya [uya]wiri*²³⁹ *tayumirataari ene.*
ene yumiawira =rafi ta roaya uyawiri ta= yumira -ta
 2SG help =NASS 1SG.MS NEG again 1SG.MS= get.angry -CAUS
=ari ene
 =IMPF 2SG

²³⁵The 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’.

²³⁶See footnote 175.

²³⁷The argument structure of *ukuata* ‘pass by’ is reversed in comparison to (6.35a) (see footnote 231).

²³⁸The modern Omagua reflex of this form is *aksia*. Our transliteration of <aquesea> as *aksia*, in particular the transliteration of the word-medial <a> as *i*, is based on two sources: 1) Espinosa Pérez (1935:163, emphasis ours) transcribes <raquesea>, which suggests that the medial vowel in question was *i*, and not *a*; 2) The Kokama-Kokamilla cognate is *akitfa*, which exhibits *i* in the second syllable, as well as the Kokama-Kokamilla reduction of *ia* to *a*, a process which occurred in final position in words of three syllables or more (O’Hagan & Wauters 2012).

²³⁹Our insertion of *uya* here makes the sentence comprehensible, and also follows Espinosa Pérez’s (1935:164) transliteration of this portion of the catechism: <roaya huyahuere>.

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 amuyasucatar].²⁴⁰
 c. upai tautfakana era taconfesayarari. utfakanasepi patiri wanakarimai ta amuyasukatari.

upai ta= utfa =kana era ta= confesa =yara =ari
 every 1SG.MS= sin =PL.MS good 1SG.MS= confess =NOMZ:POSS =IMPF

utfa =kana =sepi patiri wanakari =mai ta= amuyasukata
 sin =PL.MS =REAS priest order.about =NOMZ:INACT 1SG.MS= observe
 =ari
 =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 tautfakana. erusu taa iwatimai ritamakate.

ta= papa jesucristo cruz =ari ene umanu =ikua tenepeta
 1SG.MS= father Jesus.Christ cross =LOC.DIFF 2SG die =REAS forgive

taa ta= utfa =kana²⁴¹
 1SG.MS 1SG.MS= sin =PL.MS

erusu taa iwati =mai ritama =kate
 take 1SG.MS be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL

CLOSE: ‘My Father Jesus Christ, because you died on the cross, forgive me my sins. Take me to Heaven.’

²⁴⁰The text in brackets does not appear in either ? 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.

²⁴¹See footnote 114.

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 authoring 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, he 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 (Marañón River), his final missionary posting, Uriarte sent his original diaries to Echeverría, who had established himself in Lagunas (Huallaga River). Bayle writes the following with regard to the fate of his original diaries:²⁴²

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)²⁴³

²⁴²See Uriarte ([1776]1986:523) for the original account of these events.

²⁴³Translation (ours):

The volumes he sent to Sr. Echeverría, Father Superior, “begging that he keep them or burn

When Uriarte and his Jesuit companions arrived at the Portuguese-controlled settlement of São Paulo de Olivença in Amazonas, Brazil,²⁴⁴ the Jesuit Superior, Francisco Javier Aguilar (b. 1720 Montilla, Spain – d. 1789 Rimini, Italy),²⁴⁵ demanded that they burn all of their papers.²⁴⁶ Uriarte made a final attempt to hand off his *compendio*, by that point the only record of his diaries in his possession, to José Basave, special commissioner appointed to oversee the Jesuit exodus. However, the fate 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 (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.²⁴⁷

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.

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.²⁴⁸ Uriarte accepted them, but insisted that, along with being well mannered residents of the community, they participate actively in the church. The soldiers acceded, and Uriarte remarks that a lay Omagua church official (Sp. *fiscal mayor*) used to shout out the utterance given in (8.1) whenever a Portuguese soldier was late for Sunday church activities or a fiesta.²⁴⁹

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”.

²⁴⁴Ferrer Benimeli (2000, 2001) details their route, and Espinosa Pérez (1955:427-428) provides a summary.

²⁴⁵Jouanen (1943:723).

²⁴⁶See Uriarte ([1776]1986:535-536) for the original narration of these events.

²⁴⁷Uriarte ([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.

²⁴⁸See Uriarte ([1776]1986:241-245) for a more detailed account of these events.

²⁴⁹The utterances are presented in the same format found in the preceding chapters and outlined in §3.1.

- (8.1) a. *¡Carayoa, María Chicucati!*
 b. ¡Carayoa, MaríaChicucati!
 c. karayoa, mariafirukate!
*karayoa*²⁵⁰ *mariafiru* =*kate*
 Portuguese church =ALL
 ‘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).²⁵¹ 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. aikiara wika awa ratiti ayuka ranu?
*aikiara wika*²⁵² *awa ra*= *titi ayuka ranu*²⁵³
 DEM.PROX.MS be.strong person 3SG.MS= be.alone kill²⁵⁴ 3PL.MS
 ‘Did this strong man kill himself?’
- b. i. *Roaya amua pua zui nunanuzenom.*
 ii. Roaya amua puazui nunanuzenom.
 iii. roaya amua puasui r[a]umanusenuni.
roaya amua pua =sui ra=²⁵⁵ *umanu =senuni*
 NEG other hand =ABL 3SG.MS= die =PURP
 ‘So that he wouldn’t die from another hand.’
 (Uriarte [1776]1986:253)

²⁵⁰This 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 (Tukanoan) (see Cipolletti (1992:191)). Uriarte comments regarding this form: “los blancos *carayoas* (así entienden, portugueses)” (Uriarte [1776]1986:242). The modern Omagua term for a white person is *mai*.

²⁵¹Translation (ours): “‘He must have remembered that so many other relatives killed each other in the forest.’”

²⁵²Based on Omagua and the other ecclesiastical texts we expect the stative verb *wika* ‘be strong’ to be nominalized with =*mai* here, as stative verbs must be nominalized in order to function as nominal modifiers.

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 Uriarte’s own, and as such we do not make use of it here.²⁵⁶ Perhaps the greatest problems involve the reflexive construction *ratiti ayuka ranu* (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 *ranu* is unclear, given that the reflexive verb should not take an object argument.

(8.3) awitaku las once yini, nani takumisa titikatu.

awi =*taku las once* *yini* *nani ta=* *kumisa 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 Zumiri²⁵⁷ as the new *curaca*.

²⁵³See footnote 141.

²⁵⁴In modern Omagua, *ayuka* means ‘hit’, though it is clear from cognates in other Tupí-Guaraní languages that Proto-Omagua-Kokama **ayuka* meant ‘kill’. In modern Omagua, ‘kill’ is *umanuta* (cf. *umanu* ‘die’).

²⁵⁵Here we change <n> to *r* 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. The lack of a vowel in *ra=* 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 106).

²⁵⁶The 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).

²⁵⁷The surname also appears spelled as <Zamiari> in Uriarte’s diaries.

- (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 yawapara. ename yumira patiri. roaya epekatarafi pantaleón, upaikana usuari kawakate.*
*ayaise tuisa yene= seta yawapara*²⁵⁸
 wicked chief 1PL.INCL= want flee
- ename yumira patiri*
 PROH get.angry priest²⁵⁹
- roaya epeka*²⁶⁰ *-ta =rafi pantaleón upai =kana usu =ari 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.²⁶¹ Word reached Uriarte via José Bahamonde (b. 1710 Quito – d. 1786 Ravenna),²⁶² resident priest at Pebas, located nearer the Brazilian border, that a garrison of 40 Portuguese soldiers was in fact stationed further east at *Tawatini* (modern-day Tabatinga).²⁶³ 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*

²⁵⁸In modern Omagua, this form has reduced to *yaupara*. 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., **yawakara* ‘menstruate’ > *yaukara*).

²⁵⁹In Uriarte’s Omagua passages, *patiri* appears in both vocative and referential contexts. In modern Omagua, Spanish *padre* has replaced vocative *patiri*, and the latter is only attested in referential contexts. In what follows we gloss *patiri* as ‘priest’ but translate late it as a vocative where appropriate.

²⁶⁰In 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.

²⁶¹See Uriarte ([1776]1986:312-316) for a more detailed account of these events.

²⁶²Jouanen (1943:726).

²⁶³Note, incidentally, the use of the Omagua toponym *Tawatini* (from *tawa* ‘clay’ and *tini* ‘be white’) and not the later Nheengatú toponym *Tabatinga*.

and *taricayas* (two turtle species).²⁶⁴ 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. *tarikaya, yawaparasuri.*
*tarikaya*²⁶⁵ *yawapara -suri*
 turtle.sp. flee -NOMZ:SUBJ
 ‘*Taricaya*, fleeing person (i.e., coward).’
 (Uriarte [1776]1986:315)

(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”.²⁶⁶

8.5 Part III, Section 28

In approximately June 1763,²⁶⁷ Manuel Ezeguzo,²⁶⁸ who was the elderly Omagua mayor (Sp. *alcalde*) of San Joaquín, died. Uriarte reports the following interaction near to his death:

...éste [Manuel Ezeguzo], 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”.²⁶⁹
 (Uriarte [1776]1986:329)

Uriarte reports that Manuel then uttered (8.6) to his wife.

- (8.6) a. *Ename ucagrachupi Andrés; taumanu cápuaré,*²⁷⁰ *erusu Padre ucacati.*
 b. *Ename ucagrachupi Andrés; taumanucápuaré, erusu Padre ucacati.*
 c. *ename ukairasupe Andrés. taumanu[s]akapiri,*²⁷¹ *erusu padre ukakate.*

²⁶⁴*Podocnemis expansa* and *Podocnemis unifilis*, respectively.

²⁶⁵We have chosen this transliteration of <tariqueja> based on the modern Omagua reflex *tarikaya*. However, we recognize that there are significant leaps implicit in our decision that may not be faithful to the phonemic 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).

²⁶⁶Translation (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* to the river.”

²⁶⁷Uriarte ([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.

²⁶⁸This surname is also spelt <Eceguazu> (Uriarte [1776]1986:232), and corresponds to *isiwasu* ‘deer’.

²⁶⁹Translation (ours): ‘This [man], who had a lot of 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”.’

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

*ta= umanu =sakapiri erusu padre uka =kate*²⁷²
 1SG.MS= die =TEMP.POST take father house =ALL

‘Don’t be stingy with Andrés.’²⁷³ After I die, take him to the Father’s house.’
 ORIGINAL: ‘*No lo mezquinas, llévalo, muerto yo, a casa del Padre.*’
 (Uriarte [1776]1986:329)

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 in the modern language. However, an applicative *-tsupe* has been described for Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010a:380-382), and we assume it to be reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama (see §2.2.3.2.2).²⁷⁴ With regard to its form, note that Uriarte writes <chupi>, with an initial unexpected

²⁷⁰Diacritics are not found in the Lord’s Prayer or Catechism Fragment, and only once in the Full Catechism (see (6.22a)). Their inclusion is interesting, but difficult to interpret because of their sporadic appearance.

²⁷¹The insertion of *sa* is supported by Espinosa’s representation of the manuscript (see footnote 274). It is unclear, however, if Bayle accidentally omitted this 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.

²⁷²Note 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 *marai* ‘thing’ (see footnote 122), although in the latter case a single orthographic representation (<marai>) is found throughout the Catechism Fragment.

²⁷³That is, she is not to be so possessive over her son as to prevent Uriarte from caring for him.

²⁷⁴Espinosa 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 mezquinas 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.

affricate.²⁷⁵ 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 they had collected. One infers that Uriarte took the cancellation of their debts 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. *wifanipura tenepeta mura. roaya yenesawaiti marai mapasupe patirisui.*

wifani = *pura tenepeta*²⁷⁶ *mura*
 be.dishonest =FOC forgive 3SG.MS

roaya yene= *sawaiti*²⁷⁷ *marai*²⁷⁸ *mapa* = *supe*²⁷⁹ *patiri* = *sui*
 NEG 1PL.INCL= receive thing honeycomb =GOAL priest =ABL

‘[He] forgave it [our debt] disingenuously.²⁸⁰ 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)

²⁷⁵Note 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).

²⁷⁶Here *tenepeta* ‘forgive’ lacks a subject *ra*=, just as *epekata* does in (8.4).

²⁷⁷Note 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 211). 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 272 for other intertextual orthographic similarities).

²⁷⁸In modern Omagua, we would expect the negative indefinite pronoun *nimari* ‘nothing’, rather than *marai* ‘thing’. It is possible, of course, that the use of *nimari* in such grammatical contexts results from Spanish influence (cf., *no nos dio nada* ‘he didn’t give us anything’).

²⁷⁹See footnote 275.

²⁸⁰Here we translate *wifanipura* as ‘disingenuously’ as a closest approximation to a frustrative. Note that

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. *patirikira, uri uyawiri.*
patiri =kira uri uyawiri
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.*
c. *yenepatirikira, yume uku.*
yene= patiri =kira 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 spent several days in San Joaquín. Uriarte reports the following dialogue between him and the Omaguas resident there at this time.

- (8.10) a. *Patiriquera usu?*
b. *Patiriquera usu?*
c. *patirikira usu?*

neither Old or modern Omagua exhibit a morphological frustrative, but that *wifani* forms part of an adverbial frustrative in modern Omagua, *wifaniati* 'in vain'.

patiri =kira usu
priest =DIM go

‘Father, are you going?’²⁸¹
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 marai =ikua usu ene
priest what =REAS go 2SG
‘Father, why are you going?’
ORIGINAL: ‘*¿Por qué te vas, Padre?*’

- b. i. *Dios aikiara ceta.*
ii. *Dios aikiara ceta.*
iii. *dios aikiara seta.*
dios aikiara 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 yumuyauerepe.*

- b. *Eraya usu, yenepatiricana; Zani za-ni yereba; Dios yumuyauere epe.*

- c. *eraya usu yenepatirikana. sani sani erewa. Dios yumiawira epe.*

eraya usu yene= patiri =kana
well go 1PL.INCL= priest =PL.MS

sani sani erewa
soon soon return

Dios yumiawira 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)

²⁸¹Although we translate this example with a vocative *patiri* (see footnote 259), 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.

8.10 Isolated Lexical Items

In addition to the passages above, the following Omagua words in Table 8.1 appear in isolation in Uriarte’s diaries.

Table 8.1: Omagua Lexical Items in Uriarte ([1776]1986)

Orthography	Phonemic	Gloss	Page
<i>egua ti</i>	iwati	be high up	368
<i>muzana</i>	musana	cure (n.)	324, 330
<i>zumi</i>	sumi ²⁸²	dark shaman (Sp. <i>brujo</i>)	233, 319
<i>chipate</i>	²⁸³ tʃipate	palm sp. (Sp. <i>yarina</i>)	112, 228

²⁸²Espinosa Pérez (1955:305) also gives the form <sumí> ‘brujo’ for Yameo, although the direction of borrowing is unclear.

²⁸³In modern Omagua the initial affricate has lenited to a fricative (i.e., *fipati*).

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 at 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 §9.1.²⁸⁴ 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 *linguas generales* and *linguas particulares*, the development of descriptive linguistic resources in *linguas 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, as well as the ways in which the linguistic abilities of the missionaries varied. Finally, in §9.5

²⁸⁴See the discussion of interactions between Omaguas and Europeans in Chapter 1 for contextualization.

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.

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,²⁸⁵ with the goal of contextualizing the practices which gave rise to the ecclesiastical 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 Fritz²⁸⁶ (b. 1651 Trautenau, Bohemia²⁸⁷ – d. 1725²⁸⁸ Jeberos, Peru) in 1685.²⁸⁹ 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).²⁹⁰

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

²⁸⁵Historical 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 Grohs (1974); Jorna (1991); Myers (1992); Newsom (1996); Oberem (1967/1968); Porro (1981, 1983, 1994); Reeve (1993) and references therein. See also Chapter 1 for an overview of early population distributions and estimates of the total number of Omagua.

²⁸⁶Fritz 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).

²⁸⁷We here adopt Jouanen’s (1943:732) birth date and place, as his data generally appears reliable.

²⁸⁸There 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).

²⁸⁹There 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 had gone downriver to establish 10 settlements (Sp. *pueblos*) among the 31 communities (Sp. *pueblecitos*) in which the Omagua were divided.

²⁹⁰For summaries of Fritz’s missionary activities, see Jouanen (1943:397-410) and Sierra (1944:153-161).

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 Joaquín 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.²⁹¹ 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.²⁹² At Fritz's behest, a small 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),²⁹³ who joined Fritz in San Joaquín de Omaguas, and Franz Vidra (b. 1662 Szewitz, Bohemia – d. 1740 Santiago de la Laguna),²⁹⁴ 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),²⁹⁵ 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)),²⁹⁶ relocating to Santiago de la Laguna (modern-day Lagunas, Department of Loreto), on the Huallaga River.²⁹⁷ He left responsibility for the Omagua missions to Giovanni Battista Sanna (b. 1666 Cagliari, Sardinia),²⁹⁸ 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 Joaquín 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.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹See Jouanen (1943:397-407) and Grohs (1974:76-78) for summaries of Omagua uprisings and displacement and Anonymous ([1731]1922:99-114) for details.

²⁹²See *payuru* 'laquer' and *iwa* 'trunk', this collocation being a common to form arboreal species names.

²⁹³Jouanen (1943:727); also known as Wenceslao Breyer.

²⁹⁴Jouanen (1943:748).

²⁹⁵See Rivet (1911) for classification and early linguistic data, Espinosa Pérez (1955), Payne (1985), Powlison (1995) for more recent linguistic data and historical information, and Peña (2009) for a reconstruction and historical summary of the family.

²⁹⁶For the names and dates of tenure of all Superiors of the Maynas missions, see Jouanen (1943:722).

²⁹⁷Fritz 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 286), effectively ending his direct involvement with Omagua communities.

²⁹⁸Jouanen (1943:745); also known as Juan Bautista Sanna.

²⁹⁹In October of 1710, a group of Omagua refugees arrived at the mission at Lagunas, telling Fritz that most

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 to a new settlement on the Amazon River, upriver of the mouth of the Nanay, but died in March 1721, once again leaving the Omaguas without a resident priest (Maroni [1738]1988:365).³⁰⁰

It was not until July 1723, when two German Jesuits, Bernard Zurmühlen (b. 1687 Münster – d. 1735 Lagunas, Peru)³⁰¹ and Johannes Baptist Julian (b. 1690 Neumarkt – d. 1740 Latacunga, Ecuador),³⁰² 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),³⁰³ and during this time he moved the settlement one half day's journey upriver, at the suggestions of the Omagua themselves,³⁰⁴ into territory previously inhabited by the Yameo, a Peba-Yaguan group among which Zurmühlen had also carried out missionary work (de Velasco ([1789]1981:509), de Zárate ([1739]1904:374), de Zárate et al. ([1735]1904:299)).

Zurmühlen's tenure among the Omagua marked a period – which lasted until the Jesuit expulsion in 1767 – in which San Joaquín de Omaguas was not only stable, but also 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. What is clear is that Karl Brentano (b. 1694 Komárom, Hungary – d. 1752 Genoa)³⁰⁵ 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)³⁰⁶ 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),

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).

³⁰⁰Edmundson 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.

³⁰¹For Zurmühlen's birth, see Jouanen (1943:749); for his death, see de Zárate et al. ([1735]1904:339). He is also known as Bernardo Zurmillen, with various inconsistencies in the spelling of the surname.

³⁰²Jouanen (1943:736); also known as Juan Bautista Julián.

³⁰³Zurmühlen 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).

³⁰⁴See the 1731 letter from Pablo Maroni, then missionary among the Yameo, to Ángel María Manca (Maroni [1738]1988:379).

³⁰⁵Jouanen (1943:726)

³⁰⁶Jouanen (1943:738-739); also known as Ignacio Mickel.

which appears to have regularly interchanged priests with San Joaquín,³⁰⁷ 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)³⁰⁸ 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)³⁰⁹ became missionary at San Joaquín (ibid.), remaining there until 1768 (Uriarte [1776]1986:630).

Table 9.1 summarizes in chronological order our knowledge of Jesuit missionaries who worked among the Omagua.

Table 9.1: Jesuit Missionaries Among the Omagua, 1621-1768

Name ³¹⁰	Origin	Period	Location ³¹¹
Simón de Rojas	???	1621	Aguarico River
Humberto Coronado	???	1621	Aguarico River
Samuel Fritz	Bohemia ³¹²	1685–1704	San Joaquín and downriver
Wenzel Breyer	Bohemia	1698–1706(?) ³¹³	San Joaquín and downriver
Franz Vidra	Bohemia	1698–1701–? ³¹⁴	San Joaquín and downriver
Giovanni Battista Sanna	Sardinia	1701–1710	San Joaquín and downriver
Juan de Zalduendo	Spain	1715–1716	lower Ucayali
Luis Coronado	Spain	1719–1721	lower Ucayali & San Joaquín
Bernard Zurmühlen	Westphalia ³¹⁵	1723–1726	San Joaquín
Johannes Baptist Julian	Bavaria	1723–?	San Joaquín
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	San Joaquín
Josef Palme	Bohemia	1764–1768	San Joaquín

³⁰⁷Brentano himself had been missionary at San Regis as late as September 1734 (Maroni [1738]1988:391).

³⁰⁸Jouanen (1943:735)

³⁰⁹Jouanen (1943:741); also known as José Palme.

³¹⁰The following men were brought from Quito to San Joaquín by Fritz in August 1707: 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 sea); and Ignacio Savela (Jouanen 1943:726, 728, 736). We do not include them in this table because we have been unable to determine the nature of their missionary activities with the Omagua, though they appear to be minimal.

It is also important to note that not all the Omaguas on the Amazon River who survived the Portuguese slave raids fled upriver towards San Joaquín de Omaguas during the period beginning in the 1690s. Significant numbers of Omaguas 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’.³¹⁶ This town had been founded by Fritz in approximately 1693 and originally named San Pablo de Omaguas (Anonymous [1731]1922:31, 91).³¹⁷ As late as 1987 speakers of Kambeba lived as far downriver as Tefé (Grenand & Grenand 1997:5).³¹⁸

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

³¹¹The 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)). Modern-day San Joaquín de Omaguas is yet further upriver, and appears to have been first established circa 1880 from a population of Omaguas working under the labor boss Sinforoso Collantes (O’Hagan in prep).

³¹²Bohemia 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.

³¹³Wenzel Breyer was appointed Vice Superior in November 1706 upon Fritz’s second journey to Quito (Anonymous [1731]1922:117). It is unclear if he had missionized in Omagua communities up to that time.

³¹⁴The last mention of Vidra working in Omagua territory is upon Fritz’s return from Quito in August 1701.

³¹⁵For those missionaries of greater German descent, we provide the name of the independent margraviate (*Markgrafschaft*), duchy (*Herzogtum*) or electorate (*Kurfürstentum*) extant over the area in and during the time at which they were born, given that Germany was not unified until 1871.

³¹⁶See Jorna (1991), Bonin & Cruz da Silva (1999), and Maciel (2000, 2003) and references therein for a history of the Kambeba in this region.

³¹⁷Loureiro (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.

³¹⁸The downriver location of some Kambebas 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 modern-day Fonte Boa. However, the Kambeba of the 20th century appear to have been extremely mobile (see 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.

que una lengua, hace tiempo que estos pueblos podrían haberse convertido al cristianismo.

(Matthei (1969:252), excerpted in Downes (2008:70))³¹⁹

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 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,

³¹⁹Translation (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 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 *linguas 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 *lingua 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 *Linguas generales* and *linguas particulares* in Maynas

In this section we describe the Jesuit promotion of *linguas 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 *linguas particulares*.

The Jesuit promotion of *linguas generales* focused on Quechua,³²⁰ in which most, if not all, of the Jesuits in Maynas appear to have been conversant (Chantre y Herrera 1901:94).³²¹ 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 *lingua general* in the Jesuit project there:

Por esto, nuestros misioneros, desde que se fundaron estas misiones, han tenido particular empeño para ... introducir 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.³²²

³²⁰It 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 Marañón River basins suggests that San Martín Quechua would have played an important role.

³²¹Other than Quechua, the other language which appears to have been promoted as a *lingua 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).

³²²Translation (ours):

Because of this, our missionaries, from the moment these missions were founded, have under-

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 indigenous youths in the town of Borja:

Y queriendo concurrir también á la reducción de los gentiles de un modo muy provechoso, 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 amigas 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)³²³

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:

...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

taken 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.

³²³Translation (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...

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)³²⁴

The 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 it was a priority for all Maynas Jesuits. Guillaume D'Être (b. 1669 Douai, France – d. 1745 Quito),³²⁵ 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)³²⁶

Despite efforts to promote Quechua as a *lengua general*, however, 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)³²⁷

³²⁴Translation(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 among themselves. He gave thanks to Heaven for this striking triumph in a settlement where the language of the Inga aided instruction, so difficult until then because of the variety of languages of so many peoples.

³²⁵(Jouanen 1943:730).

³²⁶Translation (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.

³²⁷Translation (ours):

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 *lingua general*, remarks:

...sin embargo de esto [i.e., the promotion of Quechua as a *lingua general*], no hay reducción, por antigua 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 ... la nativa de ellos, siquiera para doctrinarlos y confesarlos.³²⁸

Even in San Joaquin de Omaguas, we find that as late as 1756, Manuel Uriarte ([1776]1986:225) clearly felt the need to become familiar not only with Omagua but also with Mayoruna (a Panoan language)³²⁹ and Masamae (a Peba-Yaguan language closely related to Yameo). More generally, the inadequacy of Quechua as a *lingua general* entailed that the Maynas Jesuits had to commit themselves to learning *linguas particulares*. Significantly, they 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*), the development of which 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

Even with the language being common to those who inhabit the two banks of this great river [presumably 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].

³²⁸Translation (ours):

...despite this [i.e., the promotion of Quechua as a *lingua 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.

³²⁹See Fleck (2003:1-4) and (Fleck 2007:139-142) for a discussion of this ethnonym.

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 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.³³⁰

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 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],³³¹ 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],³³² 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,

³³⁰Translation (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. They did the same in tracing and reducing to conjugations the most common verbs, and indicating the tenses. Little by little, and with measured steps, sweating and laboring, they eventually developed the grammars that came into use, by which one could clearly see the structure 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.

³³¹In the original Italian version, the surname is *Ricter* (Hervás y Panduro 1784:66).

³³²In the original Italian version, the surname is *Grebmer* (Hervás y Panduro 1784:66).

y murió preso en Lisboa, perfeccionó las gramáticas de muchas lenguas, y sobre éstas dejó excelentes manuscritos.³³³

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 orden de los superiores seglares la lengua quichua en la misiones del reino de Quito, y siendo muchísimos 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.**»³³⁴

³³³Translation (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 Parapapura [a Cahuapanan language] 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, covered 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 [Shiwilu, Cahuapanan]. Father Bernard Zurmühlen, who entered the missions in 1723, left excellent 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.

³³⁴Translation (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].**”

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)³³⁵ 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))³³⁶

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 (más 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)³³⁷

³³⁵Jouanen (1943:749). Brixen is today located in Italy.

³³⁶Translation (ours):

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.

³³⁷Translation (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...

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. Franciscis³³⁸ (b. 1705 Palermo – d. 1777 Palermo)³³⁹ spent four months with Uriarte in San Joaquín de Omaguas in order to oversee the mission annex of San Fernando de Mayorunas,³⁴⁰ and both Juan de Velasco (b. 1727 Riobamba – d. 1792 Faenza), an Ecuadorian Jesuit, and Uriarte commented on Franciscis’ talent for language learning. De Velasco ([1789]1981:517-518, emphasis ours) comments:

El P. Ignacio María Franciscis fue hombre doctísimo y de muy raros talentos, especialmente 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...³⁴¹

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.³⁴²

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

³³⁸Franciscis’ 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 Chococoan 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).

³³⁹See footnote 128.

³⁴⁰San 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).

³⁴¹Translation (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.

³⁴²Translation (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.

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 (Uriarte [1776]1986:214):

Fueron viniendo los Padres para la dedicación o bendición; primero, el P. Joaquín Pietragrasa, 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.³⁴³

Despite the efforts of missionaries to learn the relevant *lenguas particulares*, it is clear that multilingual 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,³⁴⁴ 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)³⁴⁵

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

³⁴³Translation (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.

³⁴⁴For 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).

³⁴⁵Translation (ours):

...especially with the children, who are our hope, make every effort, endearing them, attracting 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...

its adherents commit to memory, and also in aiding newly arrived priests quickly in attaining sufficient competence to carry out basic evangelical activities. 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 predecessor José Bahamonde (b. 1710 Quito – d. 1786 Ravenna),³⁴⁶ 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.³⁴⁷ 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.³⁴⁸

It is ecclesiastical texts of this type that are the empirical focus of this volume, and the purpose of this section is to 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'Être, for example, describes the development of the first versions of ecclesiastical texts in eighteen 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 tantas 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)³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶(Jouanen 1943:726)

³⁴⁷See also Chantre y Herrera (1901:485).

³⁴⁸Translation (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].

³⁴⁹Translation (ours):

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.³⁵⁰

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.³⁵¹

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)³⁵² and Uriarte to improve the Iquito catechism:

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.

³⁵⁰Translation (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.

³⁵¹Translation (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.

³⁵²(Jouanen 1943:746); also known as Pedro Choneman.

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)³⁵³

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 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.³⁵⁴

³⁵³Translation (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.

³⁵⁴We note that the process of redaction was not motivated by changes in the language itself during the Jesuit period (see Michael (2014a) for a discussion).

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 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...³⁵⁵

The Jesuit authors of the ecclesiastical texts responded to this difficulty by developing neologisms to express notions relevant to Catholic practice.³⁵⁶ Attested Omagua 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. In the last line of each example we indicate the names of the texts in which each neologism occurs,³⁵⁷ The examples ordered by frequency in the texts, with the most frequent neologisms first.

(9.1) *iwatimai ritama*

iwati =*mai* *ritama*
be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village

³⁵⁵Translation (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...

³⁵⁶Less frequently, they borrowed words from Quechua – e.g., *utfa* ‘sin’ (Rosat Pontalti 2009), attested in modern Omagua *ufa* ‘sin, fault’ – or from Spanish without phonological adaptation – e.g., *virgen* ‘virgin’.

³⁵⁷LORD = Lord’s Prayer; FRAG = Catechism Fragment; FULL = Full Catechism; PROF = Profession of Faith.

CLOSE: ‘high village’
TARGET: ‘Heaven’
(LORD, FRAG, FULL, PROF)

(9.2) tuyuka ritama

tuyuka ritama
land village

CLOSE: ‘land village’
TARGET: ‘Earth’
(LORD, FRAG, FULL)

(9.3) ipipemai tata tupa

ipipe =mai tata tupa
inside =NOMZ:INACT fire place

CLOSE: ‘inner fire place’
TARGET: ‘Hell’
(FRAG, FULL, PROF)

(9.4) yawikimaipurakana

yawiki =mai =pura =kana
make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS

CLOSE: ‘what X made’
TARGET: ‘creations’
(FRAG, FULL)

(9.5) kumesamaipurakana

kumesa =mai =pura =kana
say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS

CLOSE: ‘what X said’
TARGET: ‘Commandments’
(FULL)

(9.6) misa yawikitara patiri

misa yawiki -tara patiri
mass make -NOMZ:ACT priest

CLOSE: ‘mass-making priest’
TARGET: ‘celebrant’³⁵⁸
(FULL)

(9.7) nuamai ritama

³⁵⁸That is, the priest who presides over the celebration of the Eucharist.

nua =*mai* *ritama*
be.big =NOMZ:INACT village

CLOSE: ‘big village’
TARGET: ‘Kingdom’
(LORD)

(9.8) *wakutatara*

wakuta -*tara*
carry.in.arms -NOMZ:ACT

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. For example, they translate *iwatimai ritama* as ‘high village’ and not as ‘Heaven’. In some cases, changes in the language have rendered Jesuit neologisms uninterpretable to modern Omaguas, as in the cases of (9.4) & (9.6), where *yawiki* ‘make’, in use during the Jesuit missionary period, has been replaced by *ipuraka* ‘make’ (see footnote 109 for more details).

In addition to the 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 also suspect to be Jesuit neologisms.³⁵⁹ 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 to morphologically segment these words and thus treat them as roots for interlinearization.

9.3.2 Calques in Old Omagua Ecclesiastical texts

Unlike the neologisms described in §9.3.1, 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.

³⁵⁹Our 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).

9.3.2.1 Comitative =*mukui* in Manner Adverbial Constructions

In modern Omagua, manner adverbials are expressed using the instrumental postposition =*pupi* (Old Omagua =*pupe*). 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.³⁶⁰

(9.9) tanupapa, iwati ritamakate yurit**mukui**, ene fira, tene ramutfa mura.

tanu= *papa iwati ritama =kate yuriti =mukui ene fira tene*
 1PL.EXCL.MS= father be.high.up village =LOC be.in.place =COM 2SG name OPT
ra= *mutfa mura*
 3SG.MS= kiss³⁶¹ 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. Veigl (*ibid.*) does not explicitly 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 relation, a function unattested in modern Omagua.

(9.10) aikiara musapirika **personakanasui**, maniamai awara uwaka iminua?

aikiara musapirika persona =kana =sui maniamai awa =ra
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which man =NOM.PURP
uwaka iminua
 transform long.ago

³⁶⁰Also see footnote 103.

³⁶¹See footnote 104.

‘Of these three people, which became man?
(see (6.11a))³⁶²

In (9.11), =*sui* licenses an oblique argument that denotes the source of a non-motion event, or perhaps a metaphorical motion event, both unattested in the modern language.

(9.11) *virgen santa maría sewekak^w arape awara uwaka iminua. espíritu santosui mura,*
virgen santa maría sewekasui rauwari iminua.

virgen santa maría seweka =k^w arape awa -ra uwaka iminua
Virgin Mary womb =INESS man =ATTR transform long.ago

espíritu santo =sui mura virgen santa maría seweka =sui³⁶³ ra= uwari
Holy Spirit =ABL 3SG.MS Virgin Mary womb =ABL 3SG.MS= be.born
iminua
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* appears to license the adverbial expression *mitiripe ipisa* ‘midnight’. In modern Omagua, adverbs, including *ipisa* ‘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’. Furthermore, the use of =*mitiripe* ‘in the middle of’ is itself ungrammatical here, since it precedes its putative complement, reflecting a morpheme-by-morpheme calque of *medianoche*.

(9.12) **mitiripe ipisasui** comulgayarayakatu marai kuratarafi, nuamai ut[jaya[ra]rafi, ranasawaitimia santísimo sacramento?

mitiripe ipisa =sui comulga =yara =ya =katu marai
in.middle.of night =ABL receive.communion =NOMZ:POSS =SIM =INTSF thing
kurata =rafi nua =mai utfa =yara =rafi rana= sawaiti
drink =NASS be.big =NOMZ:INACT sin =NOMZ:POSS =NASS 3PL.MS= encounter
=mia santísimo sacramento
=IRR 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’s use of the 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 otra mano* ‘from another hand’, which, issues of idiomaticity aside, we would expect to be expressed with the instrumental.³⁶⁴

³⁶²See (5.11a) in the Catechism Fragment for an equivalent calque on the same, parallel question.

³⁶³This instance of =*sui* is grammatical, since *uwari* elsewhere means ‘fall’, i.e., it is a motion verb.

³⁶⁴We 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 calqued uses of =*sui*.

(9.13) roaya amua **puasui** r[a]umanusenuni.

roaya amua pua =sui ra= 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 =*ari* DIFFUSE LOCATIVE

Old Omagua exhibited a diffuse locative =*ari*, 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 the Full Catechism, and (9.15) from the Profession of Faith, where the use of =*ari* appears to be motivated by the partial semantic overlap between the Old Omagua diffuse locative =*ari* and the Spanish preposition *en*.

In (9.14), for example, the diffuse locative co-occurs with the verb *sara* ‘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 *sara* ‘await’ stems from the homophony of *esperar* ‘await’ and ‘hope’, and use of the diffuse locative stems from the (overgeneralized) identification of the diffuse locative with the Spanish preposition.³⁶⁵ In order to make clear the presence of the calque we gloss *sara* as ‘await’ but translate it as ‘hope’ in the target translations given here.

(9.14) nesaratipa upakatu neĩyamukuikatu **Diosari** ene utʃakana ratenepetari, neumanuraʃi, raerusuari ene sawa iwatimai ritamakate, naraʃi?

ne= sara =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukai =katu Dios =ari
 2SG= await =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF God =LOC.DIFF
ene utʃa =kana ra= tenepeta =ari ne= umanu =raʃi ra= erusu
 2SG sin =PL.MS 3SG.MS= forgive =IMPF 2SG= die =NASS 3SG.MS= take
=ari ene sawa iwati =mai ritama =kate naraʃi
 =IMPF 2SG soul be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT 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 *sapiari* ‘believe, obey’. Note that *sapiari* is itself a transitive verb that takes a direct object with no need for a postposition, and that, at least in modern Omagua, does not participate in a construction resembling that found in (9.15).

³⁶⁵Interestingly, German, the native language of several Jesuits who worked among the Omagua, does not express ‘have faith in’ with a construction that would result in calque (cf. *in X Vertrauen haben*).

(9.15) tayara jesucristo, aisetui dios, aisetui awa, enesemai tasapiari ene **kumesamaikanari**.

ta= yara jesucristo aise -tui dios aise -tui awa ene =semai
 1SG.MS= master Jesus.Christ true -? God true -? man 2SG =FOC:VER
 ta= sapiari ene kumesa =mai =kana =ari
 1SG.MS= believe 2SG say =NOMZ:INACT =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 forms in ways inconsistent with native speaker uses of those same forms is not limited to functional morphemes, but also extends to contentful 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, in which Omagua *sara* ‘await’ was used to translate Spanish *esperar* ‘hope, await’, where 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 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, the opposite of the Spanish construction.

(9.16) nesafitatipa upakatu ñiyamukuikatu yenepapa dios, upakatu marainkana neukuatarafi, raerasemaikatuikua?

ne= safita =tipa upa =katu ne= ñya =mukui =katu yene= papa
 2SG= love =INTERR all =INTSF 2SG= heart =COM =INTSF 1PL.INCL= father
 dios upa =katu marain =kana ne= ukuata =rafi ra= era =semai
 God all =INTSF thing =PL.MS 2SG= pass.by =NASS 3SG.MS= good =FOC:VER
 =katu =ikua
 =INTSF =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).³⁶⁶ We take

³⁶⁶See also footnote 211.

this to be a calque motivated by the polysemy of Spanish *recibir*, which 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 extension of *sawaiti* to cover the other sense of *recibir*, which was not natively denoted by the Old Omagua verb.

(9.17) *cristianokana era ranaconfesayararafi, ranasawaitiari weranu santísimo sacramento?*

cristiano =kana era rana= confesa =yara =rafi rana=
 Christian =PL.MS good 3PL.MS= confess =NOMZ:POSS =NASS 3PL.MS=
sawaiti =ari weranu santísimo sacramento
 encounter =IMPF COORD Holy Sacrament

‘Christians who have confessed properly, will they receive the Holy Sacrament?’
 (see (6.30a))

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 individuals. 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 *era* ‘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.³⁶⁷

(9.18) *ayaise maraisui neyumunuyepeta tanu*

ayaise marai =sui ne= yumunuyepeta tanu
 wicked thing =ABL 2SG= save 1PL.EXCL.MS

‘Deliver us from evil.’
 (see (4.7))

Next 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

³⁶⁷See footnote 124 for additional comments.

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),³⁶⁸ 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 yenyawikimaipurakana weranu rakumesasenuni rauriari.

upa =katu yene= sawa =kai upai ayaise yene= yawiki =mai
 all =INTSF 1PL.INCL= soul =? every wicked 1PL.INCL= do =NOMZ:INACT
=pura =kana weranu ra= kumesa =senuni ra= uri =ari
 =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 ra= mutfa mura*, literally ‘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. 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 *fira* ‘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 non-referential 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.³⁶⁹ Both texts reveal that the contributors

³⁶⁸See *sawata* ‘criticize’.

³⁶⁹See §3.2 for a discussion of orthographic differences between the texts.

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 that 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 9.2.

The Full Catechism exhibits two cases of ungrammatical ordering of pronominal 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 reason from purpose are both handled correctly in the Full Catechism. Both texts also show heavy use of the adverb *imɪnuɑ* ‘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, an 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 131). 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
 ‘Teach me, does God exist?’

b. amiti mura.

amiti mura
 EXST 3SG.MS
 ‘He exists.’
 (see (5.1))

(9.21) a. tairakana, **pekumesa** tasupe, amititipa Dios?

taira =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 mura.

amiti mura
 EXST 3SG.MS
 ‘He exists.’
 (see (6.1))

2nd Question-Response Pair These passages exhibit two noteworthy differences. First, the question portion the Catechism Fragment passage (9.22) exhibits a resumptive pronoun *mura* 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 *wakutatarā* ‘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 of the coordination particle *weranu*, 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. maraitipa Dios **mura**?

marai =tipa Dios mura
 what =INTERR God 3SG.MS
 ‘What is God?’

b. iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkanam**mukui**, yawikitara, **wakutatarā**, yenyarasemai **weranu**, muriai Dios mura.

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa =katu
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =kana =mukui yawiki -tara wakuta -tara
 thing =PL.MS =COM make -NOMZ:ACT carry.in.arm -NOMZ:ACT
yene= yara =semai weranu muria -i Dios mura
 1PL.INCL= master =FOC:VER 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. maraitipa Dios?

marai =tipa Dios
 what =INTERR God
 ‘What is God?’

b. iwatimai ritama, aikiara tuyuka ritama, upakatu marainkana, yawikitara yarawasu Dios mura.

iwati =mai ritama aikiara tuyuka ritama upa =katu
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village DEM.PROX.MS land village all =INTSF
marain =kana yawiki -tara yara =wasu Dios mura
 thing =PL.MS make -NOMZ:ACT 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 *mari=pupe* ‘with what’ in the Catechism Fragment in (9.24), but is absent on the corresponding element *marai=pupe* in the Full Catechism, in (9.25).³⁷⁰ 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 overgeneralized 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 yawiki upakatu marainkana?

mari =pupe =tipa Dios yawiki upa =katu marain =kana
what =INSTR =INTERR God make all =INTSF thing =PL.MS

‘With what did God make all things?’

b. **rakumesapu** purai.

ra= kumesa =pupe purai
3SG.MS= word =INSTR FOC:CONTR

‘With his words.’

(see (5.3))

(9.25) a. **marai** **pupe** Dios yawiki **iminua aikiara upakatu** marainkana?

marai =pupe Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upa =katu marain
what =INSTR God make long.ago DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing
=*kana*
=PL.MS

‘With what did God make all these things?’

b. **rasemai kumesamai** **pupe** ra ni putarimaipu purai.

ra= =semai kumesa =mai =pupe ra= ni putari
3SG.MS= =FOC:VER say =NOMZ:INACT =INSTR 3SG.MS= ? desire
=*mai =pupe purai*
=NOMZ:INACT =INSTR FOC:CONTR

‘With and only with his words, and not with his desires.’

(see (6.3))

Another difference between the questions concerns the prenominal modification of *marainkana* ‘things’. The Full Catechism exhibits two prenominal modifiers *aikiara* 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

³⁷⁰Note also that the forms of the interrogative word ‘what’ are slightly different.

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 ecclesiastical texts, and it is ungrammatical for them to appear in this position in modern Omagua, suggesting that its 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 a 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 is an overgeneralization by the contributors to the Full Catechism. Finally, we see that the Full Catechism exhibits the exclusive focus clitic =*semai* (see footnote 149).

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 (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 *muriapai* ‘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 *weranu*, an NP coordinator (§2.3.7.1). The Full Catechism exhibits an optional sentence-final resumptive pronoun *mura* 3SG.MS that is absent from the Catechism Fragment.

(9.26) a. makatetipa Dios yuriti?

makate =tipa Dios yuriti
 where =INTERR God be.in.place
 ‘Where is God?’

b. iwatimai ritamakate, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate, **muriapai** rayuriti weranu.

iwati =mai ritama =kate aikiara tuyuka ritama =kate
 be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land village =LOC
muriapai ra= yuriti weranu
 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 yuriti?

makate Dios yuriti
 where God be.in.place

‘Where is God?’

- b. *iwatimai ritamakate, aikiara tuyuka ritamakate, upakatu makate Dios yuriti mura.*

iwati =*mai* *ritama* =*kate* *aikiara* *tuyuka ritama* =*kate*
be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =LOC DEM.PROX.MS land village =LOC
upa =*katu* *makate Dios yuriti mura*
all =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*,³⁷¹ but in (6.5a) *awirika* does not combine with either interrogative clitic, a restriction maintained today (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 161) 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. *k^warafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, iwatakana weranu, to maritipa aikiarakana Dios mura?*

k^warafi yasi *sesu* =*kana* *wira* =*kana* *iwata* =*kana* *weranu to mari*
sun moon star =PL.MS bird =PL.MS forest =PL.MS COORD ? what
=*tipa* *aikiara* =*kana* *Dios mura*
=INTERR 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 yawikimaipurakana purai **ranu**.

³⁷¹This is one of the few instances in the texts of =*pa*, the interrogative clitic used in the modern language; =*tipa* is much more common in the catechisms, but is absent in modern Omagua (see §2.3.6).

nati marai aikiara Dios mura
 NEG.INDEF DEM.PROX.MS.PRO God 3SG.MS

Dios yawiki =mai =pura =kana purai ranu
 God make =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS FOC:CONTR 3PL.MS

‘God is none of these things. They are God’s creations.’
 (see 5.6))

- (9.29) a. *k^warafi, yasi, sesukana, wirakana, miarakana, iwatakana, roayatipa Dios?*

k^warafi yasi sesu =kana wira =kana miara =kana iwata =kana roaya
 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. *roaya Dios mura. aikiara upakatu marainkana Dios yawikimaipura purai mura.*

roaya Dios mura
 NEG God 3SG.MS

aikiara upa =katu marain =kana Dios yawiki =mai
 DEM.PROX.MS all =INTSF thing =PL.MS God make =NOMZ:INACT
 =pura purai mura
 =NOM.PST FOC:CONTR 3SG.MS

‘They are not God. All these things are God’s creation.’
 (see (6.6))

Turning to the responses, we find that they differ in content, as evident in (9.28) and (9.29), reflecting the differences in the questions posed. Thus the Full Catechism exhibits a noun with two prenominal modifiers *aikiara upakatu marainkana* ‘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 that 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 *mura* that does not agree in number with its antecedent, namely those things that are not to be identified with God. The counterpart of this pronoun in the Catechism Fragment (*ranu* in (9.28)) does exhibit the correct agreement.

Finally, the Catechism Fragment response exhibits the collocation *nati marai*, which is clearly intended to mean ‘none’ or ‘none of them’ (cf. *marai* ‘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 (9.30) employs a reason interrogative (formed from *marai* ‘what’ and =*ikua* REAS), while the Full Catechism question (9.31) employs a purpose interrogative (formed

from *marai* ‘what’ and =*ra* NOM.PURP – see §2.3.6). The responses make clear that the purpose interrogative is correct, and as a result we take the use of reason interrogative in the Catechism Fragment to reflect the failure of the contributors to that text to master the subtle distinction between reason and purpose interrogatives in the language. The fact that a contributor to the Full Catechism did have mastery of the reason-purpose distinction in Omagua interrogative formation suggests a fairly high degree of fluency.³⁷²

- (9.30) a. **maraikuatipa** Dios yawiki **upakatu aikiara** marainkana?
marai =ikua =tipa Dios yawiki upa =katu aikiara marain
 what =REAS =INTERR God make all =INTSF DEM.PROX.MS thing
 =*kana*
 =PL.MS
 ‘Why did God make all these things?’
- b. awa eras**enuni**.
awa era =senuni
 man good =PURP
 ‘For the well-being of man.’
 (see (5.7))

- (9.31) a. **marairapa** Dios yawiki iminua **aikiara upai** marainkana?
marai =ra =pa Dios yawiki iminua aikiara upai
 what =NOM.PURP =INTERR God make long.ago DEM.PROX.MS every
marain =kana
 thing =PL.MS
 ‘Why did God create all these things?’
- b. yeneer**maira**.
yene= era =mai =ra
 1PL.INCL= good =NOMZ:INACT =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 *era* ‘good’ directly, as we would expect, while the Full Catechism response employs the nominal purposive =*ra*, which attaches to the nominalized *era=mai* (see footnote 144).

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 §2.3.6). The Full Catechism question exhibits

³⁷²Recall, however, that the Catechism Fragment does, however exhibit the correct ordering of pronominal modifiers to *marainkana*, while the Full Catechism exhibits the reverse order.

another instance *iminua* ‘long ago’ occurring between the verb and its object, a position in which temporal adverbs may not appear in the modern language (see above). Note that the questions also differ slightly in their content, with the Catechism Fragment asking why ‘man’ was created and the Full Catechism using the first person inclusive pronoun *yene* instead.

(9.32) a. **marai**kuatipa Dios yawiki weranu **mura** awa?

marai =ikua =tipa Dios yawiki weranu mura awa
 what =REAS =INTERR God create COORD 3SG.MS man
 ‘Why did God also make man?’

b. Diossemai raikuasenuni, mura rasafitasenuni, rakumesapurakana rasenusenuni, umanumaipura rayawajimasenuni iwatimai ritamakate.

Dios =semai ra= ikua =senuni mura ra= safita =senuni
 God =FOC:VER 3SG.MS= know =PURP 3SG.MS 3SG.MS= love =PURP
ra= kumesa =pura =kana ra= senu =senuni umanu
 3SG.MS= word =NOM.PST =PL.MS 3SG.MS= hear =PURP die
=mai =pura ra= yawajima =senuni iwati
 =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST 3SG.MS= arrive =PURP be.high.up
=mai ritama =kate
 =NOMZ:INACT 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 yawiki **iminua yene** weranu?

mania =senuni Dios yawiki iminua yene weranu
 what.action =PURP God make long.ago 1PL.INCL COORD
 ‘Why did God create us as well?’

b. yeneikuasenuni Diossemai se, yenesafitasenuni mura Dios, rakumesamaipurakana yene**amuyasukata**senuni, aikiara tuyukaari yenyuritiuparaji, iwatimai ritamakate yeneususenuni.

yene= ikua =senuni Dios =semai se yene= safita =senuni
 1PL.INCL= know =PURP God =FOC:VER ? 1PL.INCL= love =PURP
mura Dios ra= kumesa =mai =pura =kana yene=
 3SG.MS God 3SG.MS= say =NOMZ:INACT =NOM.PST =PL.MS 1PL.INCL=
amuyasukata =senuni aikiara tuyuka =ari yene=
 observe =PURP DEM.PROX.MS land =LOC.DIFF 1PL.INCL=
yuriti =upa =rafi iwati =mai ritama =kate yene=
 be.in.place =CESS =NASS be.high.up =NOMZ:INACT village =ALL 1PL.INCL=
usu =senuni
 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 deriving from differences in the questions, but the Catechism Fragment interestingly does not employ the 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 Catechism that in both questions the ordering of prenominal modifiers is correct (i.e., *aikiara musapirika* ‘these three’).

- (9.34) a. *aikiara musapirika personakana, roayatipa musapirika Dios?*

aikiara musapirika persona =kana roaya =tipa musapirika Dios
DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three God

‘These three persons, are they not three Gods?’

- b. *roaya mura musapirika Dios. aikiara musapirika personakana uyepesemai Dios mura. santísima trinidadnani rafira.*

roaya mura musapirika Dios
NEG 3SG.MS three God

aikiara musapirika persona =kana uyepe =semai Dios mura
DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS one =FOC:VER God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani ra= fira
Holy Trinity =FOC:EXCL 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. *aikiara musapirika personakana, roayapa musapirika Dioskana?*

aikiara musapirika persona =kana roaya =pa musapirika Dios
DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS NEG =INTERR three God
=kana
=PL.MS

‘These three people, are they not three Gods?’

- b. *roaya [musa]pirika Dioskana. aikiara musapirika personakana persona uyepetititi Dios mura. santísima trinidadnanimai rafira.*

roaya [musa]pirika Dios =kana
 NEG three God =PL.MS

aikiara musapirika persona =kana persona uyepe titi Dios mura
 =PL.MS three person =PL.MS person one be.alone God 3SG.MS

santísima trinidad =nani =mai ra= fira
 Holy Trinity =FOC:EXCL =? 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 *mura* 3SG.MS found in the corresponding Catechism Fragment sentence. Based on modern Omagua, we expect *mura* to be necessary here for the sentence to be grammatical (see §2.3.10). In the second sentence of the response, however, also a non-verbal clause, the Full Catechism exhibits *mura* 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 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 verum focus: *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 an exclusive focus marker on *trinidad* (also a strategy attested in the modern language (see §2.3.9.2)), but the presence of the nominalizer *=mai* following the exclusive 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 Fragment³⁷³ (9.36) bears the interrogative 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 *=ra*, as we expect based on modern Omagua, but the corresponding element in the Catechism Fragment lacking 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 *taira* ‘son’ with the verum focus marker *=semai* to maintain the fact that it is God’s true son who transformed into a man.

(9.36) a. *aikiara musapirika personakanasui, maniamaitipa awa uwaka iminua?*

³⁷³In modern Omagua, *makatimai* ‘which’.

aikiara musapirika persona =kana =sui maniamai =tipa awa
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which =INTERR man
uwaka iminua
 transform long.ago

‘Of these three people, which became man?’

- b. Dios tairas**emai** awa uwaka **iminua**.

Dios taira =semai awa uwaka iminua
 God son.MALE.EGO =FOC:VER man transform long.ago

‘The son of God truly became man.

(see (5.11))

- (9.37) a. aikiara musapirika personakanas**sui**, maniamai awa**ra** uwaka **iminua**?

aikiara musapirika persona =kana =sui maniamai awa =ra
 DEM.PROX.MS three person =PL.MS =ABL which man =NOM.PURP

uwaka iminua
 transform long.ago

‘Of these three people, which became man?’

- b. Dios taira awa**ra** uwaka **iminua**.

Dios taira awa =ra uwaka iminua
 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 *maraikua* and *maniase-nuni*, 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 169).

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.

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.

Table 9.2: Summary of Grammatical Differences Between Catechistic Texts

	Calqued oblique cx.	= <i>mukui</i> COORD	<i>weranu</i> COORD	Ungramm. interrog.	Gramm. prenominal modifier order	Ungramm. reason cl.	Ungramm. 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						∅	

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 de 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 & 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 de Rojas' and Coronado's efforts to missionize the Upper Napo Omaguas, and Fritz's engagement with the Omaguas sixty four years later.

Samuel Fritz is of course the prime candidate for having initiated the Old Omagua ecclesiastical text tradition. Fritz is reported to have 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 among the Omaguas,³⁷⁴ giving him ample time in which to prepare and make use of the texts. 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 by 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.³⁷⁵

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.³⁷⁶ It is clear that Iriarte spoke Omagua fluently (see §9.2.2), and since he stayed in San Joaquín for eight years, he 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), 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 after Fritz.

Manuel Uriarte succeeded Iriarte in 1756, but the Omagua passages in 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 in 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

³⁷⁴Fritz 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).

³⁷⁵Fritz may have archived his work in Quito during his trips there in 1701 and 1707 (Anonymous ([1731]1922:107-108, 115); Edmundson (1922:28-29)) 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 smaller group of Omaguas while Superiors at Lagunas (see footnote 303), and archived written records there.

³⁷⁶Here 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 parish 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.

Catechism Fragment, since that text had been taken by Franciscis before Palme's arrival (see §5.1.1 and footnote 338). 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 1690s, and possibly added to or modified by Martín Iriarte in the early 1750s. Other than these two missionaries, 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 expulsion in 1767 and 1768 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 brought it back to Quito, where he himself ended up before the expulsion (see §5.1.1 and footnote 338). 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 on 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 rewritten 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 Camaño with the grammatical and lexical data that informed Hervás y Panduro's and Gili'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 other 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 *roaya*, which has reduced to *rua* 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 *lingua general* with evangelical work carried out in the Amazonian *linguas 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 reworked 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 prenominal modifiers correctly, while the contributors to the Full Catechism inverted the correct order on a number of occasions.

This work has 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. Many of the details of these contributions remain unknown, 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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