MOJEÑO TRINITARIO FILLERS AND PLACEHOLDER
FRANÇOISE ROSE, ATELIER MORPHOSYNTAXE, DDL, LYON, 8 JUIN 2021
OVERVIEW

- Preliminary information on Mojeño Trinitario
- Overview of disfluencies in Mojeño Trinitario
- Focus on the Mojeño Trinitario placeholder *manje'e*
  - Syntactic distribution
  - Morphology (mirroring)
  - Replication in the delayed constituent
  - Functions
  - Frequency in discourse
  - Diachronic hypothesis
MOJEÑO TRINITARIO

- Arawak
- Lowland Bolivia
- Sister languages
  - Mojeño Ignaciano
  - Mojeño Javeriano (moribund, Rose 2010)
  - Mojeño Loretano (extinct)
- Historical account of the variety spoken in the Jesuit mission (Marbán 1701)

Preliminary Info on Trinitario: Nouns vs Verbs

- Nouns and verbs can be syntactically interchangeable
  - Nouns can be used as predicates without derivational morphology (with person suffixes for S vs person prefixes for S/A on verbs)
  - Verbs can be used as referential expressions with or without nominalizers, but are then preceded by a determiner
- Nouns and verbs share most of their morphology
  - Mostly suffixes
  - Same person markers for S/A and POSS except 3rd person prefix ti- restricted to verb
  - Crucially for this talk, irrealis marking differs on verbs (-a or a-) and non-verbs (-ina) (Rose 2014)

### VERB STRUCTURE

#### Lexical Derivation

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<th>RED APPROX</th>
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Clitics: a distributional definition
- Defined as those elements that can be found on the negative auxiliary (rather than on the predicate)
- Same set found on nouns and verbs
- Functions: TAME, degree, discourse

Same phonological and prosodic behavior as suffixes
- Except that many of the clitics have a free variant with an initial /ri/ sequence
PRELIMINARY INFO ON TRINITARIO: GENDER/NUMBER

- Gender/number paradigm found in articles, demonstratives, pronouns, person prefixes (Rose 2015)

+ SG/PL distinction within NH (in ÑEM only)

OVERVIEW OF DISFLUENCIES IN MOJEÑO TRINITARIO
DISFLUENCIES IN MOJEÑO TRINITARIO SPEECH

- In Flex text corpus by Françoise Rose (24076 words, 3112 utterances)
  - Placeholder glossed PH and translated « um »
  - Other disfluencies transcribed as « ... »
    - Lengthening, truncation, pauses
    - Primary goal was to account for the recorded speech and facilitate the morphosyntactic analysis at the same time
  - Placeholder: 10.05 /1000 words
  - Other disfluencies: 4.12 /1000 words

- In DoReCo 15.215 words corpus with glosses and phonological alignment
  - Placeholder glossed HES by linguist
  - Filled pauses & false starts tagged by a non-expert
  - Primary goal was to exclude irregular sequences from the quantitative analysis
  - Placeholder: 13.34 /1000 words
  - Filled pauses: 19.58 /1000 words
  - False starts: 28.78 /1000 words

PAUSES

- In Flex text corpus, « ... » = pauses, truncations, lengthening
  - 4.12 /1000 words (almost 3 times per minute)
  - Some with audible breath intakes (Metouchi 2018)
- 38% occur after determiner (ART or DEM)

(1)  juiti vnaekchowyorepo eto to... pjoka... vemtone, semtone, psuka... pona mporape...
     psuka... Francisca.
     juiti v-naek-cho-w=yore=po eto to p-jo-ka v-emtone
     now 1PL-start-ACT-MID=FUT=PFV 3NH ART.NH DEM-NH.SG-PROX 1PL-work

     s-emtone p-su-ka po-na m-porape p-su-ka Francisca
     3F-work DEM-F-PROX other-CLF.H 1SG-older_sibling DEM-F-PROX Francisca
     ‘Today we will start the... this... our work, her work, this... my sister... this...
     Francisca.’ 4.001

FILLED PAUSES

- DoReCo « filled pause » tags:
  - Some search sounds: ee, V/mm

(2) ene ma 'noperunga ee... nuem'o po to janiono
    ene ma 'noperu-gram ee mu-em' o=po to janiono
    and ART.M younger-DIM FIL 3M-watch-ACT=PFV ART.NH wasp-PL
    ‘And the little boy um... saw the bees.’ 11.019

(3) mm ya, nechits'oyre to taye' kuento to... mm vichi.
    mm ya n-echji-s' o=vre to ta-yee' kuento
    FIL yes(Sp) 1SG-speak-ACT-APPL1=FUT ART.NH 3NH-GPN tale(Sp)
    to mm vichi
    ART.NH FIL cricket
    ‘Um well, I am going to tell the story of the um... cricket.’ 35.001
FILLED PAUSES

- DoReCo « filled pause » tags:
  - Some search sounds: ee, Ṽ
  - Utterance initial ene
    - Represent 57% of filled pauses tags
    - Can be analyzed as demonstrative with locative meaning ‘there, here’, manner meaning ‘this way, like this’ or coordination connector ‘and, then’
    - Found utterance-initially (tagged or not as filled pause) in 19% of the utterances
    - Speaker variation: for Kid’s Cut & Break 34 stimuli clips, FCT uses 4 times ene sentence-initially, but always within a single clip description, while SGG uses 15 times ene sentence-initially, mostly when starting a new clip description (descriptions seen as a temporal sequence, or empty filler?)

‘There was a boy, at night, the moon was bright. **And** he plays in the company of a little dog. **And** there is also a small toad.’ 11.002-004
TRUNCATIONS

- Truncations
  - Full syllables (6)
  - Or uncompleted syllables, can be just initial consonant (5)

(5)  
\[ n \text{- na-woo'-o to tinyenochonomyor'i psukro machicha ma rey.} \]
\[ n \text{ na-woo'-o to t-im-yeno-cho-n-on=yo=ri'i psu-kro} \]
\[ *** \text{ 3PL-WANT-ACT ART.NH 3-CAUS-wife-VZ-1SG-PL=FUT=IPFV DEM=-F-POT.LOC} \]

ma-chicha       ma rey
3M-soul/daughter ART:M king(sp)
'They want me to marry the daughter of the king.' 6.069

(6)  
\[ kuti ño- nokñojoo'i 'chañono te pjuena npeno \]
\[ kuti ño no-kñ-ojo=o'i 'chañono \]
\[ it\_seems *** H.PL-NVIS-EXIST=IPFV person-PL \]

\[ te \text{ p-ju-ena n-peno} \]
\[ PREP.NH DEM-NH.SG-DIST 1SG-HOUSE.POSD \]
'It seems there are people in my house.' 6.101
The word can be completed but still repaired

(7) "emaripe orte to vjañosraa'i" tajich- najichoñiji,  
"..." tajich- na-jich=aju=iji
 *** 3PL-say=RES=RFT

"For one hour we have been watching him", they said again.’ 6.126

(8) to ventemetrogne te to taetzkpirawoo'i- taetzkipirayoori'i te to ta-peno eto,
tapiookopuji to ta-peno
to vente metro-gne te to ta-etekp-ira=wo=ri'i
ART.NH twenty meter-ORD PREP.NH ART.NH 3NH-arrive-EV.NZ-MID=IPFV

ta-etekp-ira=yoo=ri'i te to ta-peno...
3NH-arrive-EV.NZ=FUT=IPFV PREP.NH ART.NH 3NH-house.POSD 3NH...
‘Twenty meters before reaching his house, he called his house.’ 6.098
REPAIRS

- Repairs
  - Often for partial correction
    - Mostly person marking (very frequent, as in (7)), or other morphology (TAME, as in (8))
    - Root selection
    - Or wrong phonological realization
  - Sometimes no correction, but plain repetition (buying time?)
  - Sometimes utterance abandoned: false starts

(9) \textit{tchuch-} \ldots \textit{\textae} \ldots \textit{sankuwo-} \ldots \textit{\textae} \textit{k}u'o pjo 'chene tsiojko \textae pjo 'pona smeno}
\textit{tchuch} \textit{\textae} \textit{sankuwo} \textit{\textae} \textit{k}u'-o \textit{pjo} \textit{chene}...
\textit{3M-pass-CLF.path-ACT} \textit{DEM-NH.SG} path...

‘He crosses the path and enters in another forest.’ S\textunderscore Path\textunderscore C.058
Word that gets integrated syntactically and may carry morphology, and is usually followed by a delayed constituent: *manje’e*  

```
(10) "oo- wo... wo wukpako pʰɪɡia ‘chane, tajicho eñi manje’e…, tajicho eñi pʰɪɡia, eñi... eñi tyɔnyore eeto to... manje’e vechogieno vimosgiennon, vikogonon, te pjoθa
viowasa’iɪ tajicho neñin eño manje’en a tyɔny o vikogon vechogien
oo wo w-ku-θpà-ko p-θi-gia ‘chane
INTER NEG NEG 1PL-IRR.NEG-kill-ACT DEM-M-PROX person
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tajicho eñi manje’e tajicho eñi p-θi-gia eñi eñi ty-om=yore
because 3M PH because 3M DEM-M-PROX 3M 3M 3-take_along=FUT
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eto to manje’e v-echo-giθi-ono v-imot-giθi-ono
3NH ART.NH PH 1PL-KNOW-GEN.P.NZ-PL 1PL-KNOW-GEN.P.NZ-PL
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v-θi-ko-θi-ono te p-θo-θa
1PL-KNOW-ΑCT-GEN.P.NZ-PL θPREP.NH DEM-NH.SO-PROX
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v-θi-ow-sa-ra’t=ɪ’ tajicho neñin eño
1PL-LIVE-HAB.P.NZ-HAB.A,NZ=IPFV because EXIST.NEG.3PL 3PL
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manje’e-na ty-om-a to v-θi-ko-gne v-echo-giθie
PH-IRR 3-take_along-IRR ART.NH 1PL-KNOW-ΑCT-GEN.P.NZ 1PL-KNOW-GEN.P.NZ
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‘How... Let’s not kill this man, because he um... because this one he... he is going to carry our um... knowledge, our ways and our understanding, of our life here, because there is no one to um... carry our knowledge.’ 19.095
EXCURSUS ON THE DUBITATIVE MARKER =PUKA

- Epistemic clitic expressing dubitative, potential, speculative with variable scope depending on basis
- Used on nouns to express doubt on the identity of the referent, not on its existence or its signifier

(11)  
\[ \text{psu 'seno terori'i une skochane p või simapuka} \]
\[ p-su 'seno t-ero=ri'i une s-ko-chane p-õi s-ima=puka} \]
\[ \text{DEM-F woman 3-drink=IPFV water 3F-VZ-person DEM-M 3F-husband=DUB} \]
\[ \text{‘The woman drinks water with a man who might be her husband.’ PathS.075} \]

- Expresses doubt of the speaker without disfluency
EXCURSUS ON THE DUBITATIVE MARKER =PUKA

- Used on indeterminate pronouns for interrogation or indeterminacy « whatever »

(12) kopeni ywe’po to tapókogi, tajpuka tapore, vkiprujyore
kope-ni y-ve’=po to ta póko-gi
past_day=PST 1PL-take_out-ACT=PFV ART.NH 3NH-leaf-CLF.cyl

taj=puka ta-pore v-kipruj=yore
3NH.INDT=DUB 3NH-root 1PL-VZ-medicine=FUT
‘Formerly, we used to take the leaves, any root to heal us’ 30.037

- A frequent construction for generic/vague meaning « something »

(13) ene mpiko, nyujchókanu to tajpuka, tkove nakpa o kchiru, etoripo to giore nokia’ya
mi’giann.
enye m-piko t-nyujchó-k-a-nu to taj=puka tkove
and 1SG-be_scared 3-sting_foot-ACT-IRR-1SG ART.NH 3NH.INDT=DUB thorn

na’kpa o kchiru eto-ripo to giore
1SG-IRR-have_thorn or(sp) ant 3NH-ADD ART.NH snake
‘And I am scared that something will prick me, a thorn who will prick me, or an ant,
the snake as well’ 30.044
FOCUS ON THE MOJEÑO TRINITARIO PLACEHOLDER
DISTRIBUTION OF THE PLACEHOLDER

- Essentially used to delay **nouns**, **verbs**, and adjectives when searching for a word
  - Proper or common nouns, even generic possessive noun, nominalizations and expressions of time
  - Verbs, also denominal verbs (and verbs « used as conjunctions »)
- Is integrated syntactically
- Takes morphology

→ The placeholder is a **lexeme**

(14) \[
\text{\textit{ kutiripka te pjoro jmue viya ‘chope sivi to manje’e to... pjuena Plantotáraku}} \\
\text{\textit{ kuti=ripka te p-jo-ro j-mu-e viya ‘chope sivi}} \\
\text{\textit{ like=DUB PREP.NH DEM-NH.SG-MED DEM=M-DIST gentleman big bird.sp}} \\
\text{\textit{ to manje’e to p-ju-ena Plantotá-ra-ku}} \\
\text{\textit{ ART.NH PH ART.NH DEM-NH.SG-DIST Plantota=DERIV-CLF.path}} \\
\text{‘It must be like where the man called “big bird” lives, um... there on the river Plantota’ 20.026}}
\]
Minimal morphology on placeholder when preceding a nominal

- No prefixes at all
- Mainly some TAME clitics
- And PL suffix
- No derivation marker

Sometimes no mirroring of PL and TAME clitics on *manje’e* while present on delayed noun

Syntactic integration: usually preceded by an article
PLURAL MORPHOLOGY ON THE PLACEHOLDER (NOUN MIRRORING)

(15)  nakasaegiaa'ini jmakñono manje'ono pakrarano, jmakñi, manje'e.
na-kasae-gi-a=a'i=ni j-ma-kñ-ono manje'-ono pakrara-no
3PL-hunt-ACT-IRR=IPFV=PST DEM-NH.PL-NVIS-PL PH -PL collared_pecary-PL

j-ma-kñi
DEM-NH.PL-NVIS PH
‘They could have […] hunted those um... taitetus, those... um... (whatever?).’ 29.045

(16)  psu 'sene tyon'o te manje'e... mariono simoorokri'i pjo une
p-su 'sene t-yon'-o te manje'e mari-ono
DEM-F woman 3-go-APPL1 PREP.NH PH stone-PL
‘The woman walks on um... stones’ S_Path_S.060
TAME MORPHOLOGY ON THE PLACEHOLDER (NOUN MIRRORING)

(17) ywoo'o to manje'eyore 'motnekoyore te pjoka
    y-woo'-o to manje'=yore 'motne-ko=yore te p-jo-ka
    lPL-want-ACT ART.NH PH=FUT work-NPOSD=FUT PREP.NH DEM-NH.SG-PROX
    ‘We want the um... work to be here.’ 33.010

(18) etopo to... manje'e naniruyore, namuii'oyre, to... to napenoyore
    eto=po to manje'=e na-ni-ru=yore na-muii'o=yre
    3NH=PFV ART.NH PH 3PL-eat-SP.P.NZ=FUT 3PL-clothes=FUT

to to na-peno=yore
    ART.NH ART.NH 3PL-house.POSD=FUT
    ‘There was (enough) for the food, their clothes, their house.’ 19.187
Minimal morphology on placeholder when preceding a delayed verb

- No prefixes at all
- No derivation morphology
- Only some TAME markers
  - TAME clitics
  - Nominal irrealis –ina instead of verbal irrealis a- or -a
- Sometimes no mirroring TAME clitics on manje’e while present on delayed verb
MORPHOLOGY ON THE PLACEHOLDER (VERB MIRRORING)

(19) ene to... manje'eworepuiji ema, ma Napo tyonworepuiji...
    ene to manje'e=wor=pu=iji ema
    and ART.NH PH=once_again=PFV=RPT 3M
    ma Napo t-yon=wor=pu=iji
    ART.M Napoléon 3-go=once_again=PFV=RPT
    ‘and then um... Napo went another time...’ 20.052

(20) jmaka 'chane wo ... manje'ena tponrerigiapoo'i
    j-ma-ka 'chane wo manje'e-na t-ponre-ri-gi-a-po=o'i
    DEM-M-PROX person NEG PH-IRR 3-think_about-PLURACT-ACT-IRR-MID=IPFV
    ‘This man, he did not know how to think.’ 43.024
Discourse clitics on the placeholder (delaying time expression)

(22)  Porke manje'eriptsero las dos y venteripo.
    porke  manje'e=rip=tse=ro  las dos y  venteripo
because  PH=PFV=contrast=UNQ  two_o’clock_and(Sp)  twenty(Sp)=PFV
‘because um... it's already 2:20.’ 37.034
MORPHOLOGY ON THE PLACEHOLDER AND POS

- Placeholder without derivational morphology before denominal verbs
- Placeholder without derivational morphology before certain deverbal nouns
- Placeholder with nominalizer before other deverbal nouns

\[(21)\]  
\[\text{asike tiimuikpoo'iji eñi to... to manje'eraa'i to nipsisraa'i} \]
\[\text{asike t-iimmui-k=poo'i=jí eñi to to manje'e-ra=a'i} \]
\[\text{so(sp) 3-dance-act=conc.mot.ifv=rpt 3m art.nh art.nh ph-ev.nz=ifv} \]
\[\text{to na-pis-ra=a'i} \]
\[\text{art.nh 3PL-be_scared-ev.nz=ifv} \]
\[\text{‘So he went dancing, them being scared.’ 19.160} \]
CONCLUSION ON MORPHOLOGY ON PLACEHOLDER

- No elicitation → no evidence for lack of morphological compatibility
  - Possibly compatible with all TAME clitics
- Takes little derivational morphology
  - The placeholder generally replaces a stem, sometimes a root
    - Or different levels of cross-categorical derivational morphology?
- Takes either transcategorial morphology (clitics, PL) or nominal morphology (IRR –ina) even when substituting a verb
  - The placeholder is morphologically a nominal element
    - Even if it can be used syntactically as a predicate
    - And sometimes even act as a verbal root (with nominalizer)
REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT

- **Syntactic replication** in delayed **nominal** constituent after placeholder
  - Replication of determiner is variable

(23) siempretsero nuni nitko to... manje’e... nechjiko te’ to propio manje’e vechjiriiwo.
    siempretsero nuni nitko to manje’e n-echji-ko
    always(sp)=contrast=UNQ 1SG 1SG-know-ACT ART.NH PH 1SG-speak-ACT

  te’ to propio manje’e v-echjiriiwo
  PREP.NH ART.NH real(sp) PH 1PL-language
  ‘but I still know it, um, I still speak in the own, um, our language.’ 31.003

(24) ēto ŋiįjichpuįį: eįi, ŋikanaeκpuiįį te to manje’e to ’chope merómero
    ēto ŋi-ji=pu=į ’iŋi  eįi  ŋi-k-aae-k=pu=įį
    3NH 3M-say=PFV=RPT 3M 3M-CAUS-pass-CLF.liquid-ACT=PFV=RPT

  te to manje’e to ’chope nero to
  PREP.NH ART.NH PH ART.NH big caiman
  ‘He (the Japuruqui) said so, that he helped the man to cross the water on great caiman
  (as a canoe)’ 19.170
REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT

- Replication of preposition is also variable

(25)  
timuijiko tomuire te to... manje’e... te to ‘une :  
t-imuii-ji-ko  
t-oimuire te to  
3-watch-CLF.amorph-ACT 3NH-also PREP.NH ART.NH PH PREP.NH ART.NH water  
‘he saw them too in the um... in the water:’ 06.024

- Replication of verb is rare (here repair)

(26)  
siempre=te=ro nutrient n-it-ko to... manje’e... nechjiko te’ to propio manje’e vechjiriwoo.  
always(sp)=contrast=UNQ 1SG 1SG-know-ACT ART.NH PH 1SG-speak-ACT  
te’ to propio manje’e v-echjiriwo  
PREP.NH ART.NH real(sp) PH 1PL-language  
‘but I still know it, um, I still speak in the own, um, our language.’ 31.003
Determiner can be corrected after placeholder (gender/number, ART → DEM)
REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT

- **Syntactic replication** in verbal delayed constituent after placeholder
  - Subject can be replicated, with variable form (GN → Pro, Pro → GN)
    
    (28) je'chura'gnee'i su 'sena manje'e esu sjapamul'ji
        je'chu-ra'i-gne-e'i su 'sena manje'e esu sjapamul'ji
        truly-HAB.A.NZ=INTENS=IPFV.ART.F woman PH
        ‘Actually, the woman um... she wasn’t ashamed’ 19.121
    
  - Negation can be replicated, but placeholder most often used before the negative auxiliary (13 tokens vs 2)
  - Subordinator can be replicated

- Subordinator can be replicated

(29) " oo- wa... wo wkukpako pišigia 'cane, tačicho eñi manje'e..., tačicho eñi pišigia, eñi...
    eñi tyomyyore eto to... manje'e vechogišono vnomogjišono
    oo wo wo w-ku-kpa-ko p-ñi-gšia 'cane
    INTER NEG NEG 1PL-IRR,NEG-kill-ACT DEM-M-PROX person

  "How... Let's not kill this man, because he um... because this one he... he is going to carry our um... knowledge" 19.095
REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT

- **Syntactic replication** in *verbal* delayed constituent after placeholder
  - Object/Adverb can be inserted before the verb in the delayed constituent
    - Here subject correction

(30) wo akujnopo muti manje’eyore pnoñono vkopakovre
    wo a-ku-jnopo muti manje’=yore p-no-ñ-onono
    NEG 2PL-IRR.NEG-run 1SG PH=FUT DEM-H.PL-PROX-PL 1PL-kill-ACT=FUT

‘Do not run off, I… um… we are going to kill them.’ 22.006
**REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT**

- **Morphological replication** in delayed constituent after placeholder
  - Either same morphology as on placeholder (30, verbal; 31, nominal)
  - Or more morphology (whether some or not on the placeholder) as in (32)

(30) `wo akujino mti manje’eye re nina ono vupakoyre.
    wo a-kn-joro mti manje’eye re p-no-n ono v-kopa-kali
    NEG 2PL-IIR,NEG-RUN 1SG PH=FUT DEM-H,PL-PROX-PL 1PL-kill-ACT=FUT
    ‘Do not run off, I… um… we are going to kill them.’ 22,006`

(31) `jina ono manje’oni ni Nina oga ni ril
    j-na-n ono manje’on-ril n-im’o-ghi-on=ril
    DEM-NH,PL-PROX-PL PH-PL=IPFV 1SG-watch-ACT-GEN.P,NZ-PL=IPFV
    ‘This is what I have seen’ 25.150`

(32) `et- etor’iti eto to manje’er’iti to… to… niye’er’iti te pu-echji riwo casti go naka’i
    et eto-ri’i=ji eto to manje’er’i’i to to niye’er’i=ri’i=ji
    *** 3NH=IPFV=RPT 3NH ART.NH PH=IPFV ART.NH ART.NH 3M-GPN=IPFV=RPT`

`te pu-echji riwo casti go na-ko’i
PREP.NH other-language punishment(sp) 3PL-say
‘This was like… his… they say punishment(Sp) in Spanish (lit. the language of the others).’ 19.159`
REPLICATION IN THE DELAYED CONSTITUENT

- **Morphological replication** in delayed constituent after placeholder
  - Rarely different morphology
  - Very rarely less morphology

(34)  
\begin{verbatim}
mu-emoti  to  manje'e=yore  vi-atajiwo-no  viti
3M-know  ART.NH  PH=FUT  1PL-suffering-PL  1PL
\end{verbatim}
‘he knows about um…our suffering.’ 25.059

(35)  
\begin{verbatim}
wi=po  t-epusi-gi-a-no  manje'e=ri'i  t-echji-ko-no
NEG=PFV  3-kneel-ACT-IRR-PL  PH=IPFV  3-speak-ACT-PL
\end{verbatim}
‘They don’t kneel anymore, they speak’ 25.130
Suggestion by Egorova 2021 (in a discussion after conference talk) for Evenki: inflected placeholders substitute for single items vs. uninflected placeholders substitute for chunks of discourse (maybe relevant for any morphology)

- Difficult to assert whether a placeholder substitutes for a single item or a chunk of discourse
  - Easier in NP because of determiners
  - What about small changes like Pro/NP?

- Seems to generally hold that inflected placeholder substitute for single items, with some exceptions
- Uninflected placeholders often also substitute for single items
- Need of a quantative study with clear criteria (M2 trainee?)
FUNCTIONS: WORD SEARCH

- Very generally, followed by the delayed constituent
- Can be used when searching for signifier (lexical retrieval), best choice of wording, or information
  - Searching for a proper name vs. searching for a native term vs. searching for time of the day
    - 5/6 uses of *manje*e in one text with delayed constituent being Spanish borrowings
- Can be used for self-repair
  - Especially when translating a borrowed term into native language

(36) *tsufrichwo manje*e *tkatajiwo
    *t-sufrich-wo  *manje*e  *t-k-atajiwo
    3-suffer-MID  PH  3-vz-suffering
    ‘he is suffering(Sp) um... he has difficulties’ 21.068
Sometimes, repair is delayed

1. Several tries with same structure

(37) te to manje'e makop- takopayakari'iji to manje'e takopayakari'iji to manje'e takopayakari'ini to 'chini, ene takootokaeni tanigiaeni
teo to manje'e makop ta-kopaya-k-a=ri'=iji
PREP.NH ART.NH PH *** 3NH-reach-ACT-IRR=IPFV=RPT

to manje'e ta-kopaya-k-a=ri'=iji
ART.NH PH 3NH-reach-ACT-IRR=IPFV=RPT

to manje'e ta-kopaya-k-a=ri'=ini to 'chini
ART.NH PH 3NH-reach-ACT-IRR=IPFV=PST ART.NH jaguar

enetakoooto-k-a=enitami-gi-a=eni
and 3NH-grab-ACT-IRR=PST 3NH-eat-ACT-IRR=PST

‘If um... the jaguar had reached him then it would have caught him and eaten him’
6.107
FUNCTIONS: DISFLUENCY

- Sometimes, repair is delayed
  - 2. Structure is modified by parenthetical additions, then delayed constituent inserted in a new construction

\[(38)\]

\[t\text{-}a\text{ruchuchójn}ji\ \text{eto\ to...\ etopookoric}hu\ \text{eto\ to...\ manj}e\text{e‘}\pona\ \text{taêneju‘}\text{e\ to\ smeno,\ eto}\ \text{tkijaree‘}ji\ \text{Yawa,}\]
\[t\text{-}ar\text{-}u\text{c}hu\text{-}ch=ójn=iji\ \text{eto\ to\ eto\text{-}pooko=richu}\]
\[3\text{-}\text{resume\text{-}exit\text{-}ACT=RES=RPT}\ 3\text{NH}\ \text{ART.NH}\ 3\text{NH\text{-}INTENS=RESTR}\]

\[\text{eto\ to\ manj}e\text{e‘}\pona\ \text{taêneju‘}\text{e\ to\ smeno}\]
\[3\text{NH}\ \text{ART.NH}\ \text{PH}\ \text{other\text{-}CLF.H}\ 3\text{NH\text{-}inspire\_awe\text{-}CLF.interior}\ \text{ART.NH}\ \text{forest}\]

\[\text{eto}\ \text{t\text{-}kijare\text{-}e‘i\text{ji}}\ \text{Yawa}\]
\[3\text{NH}\ 3\text{-}\text{vz\text{-}name=IPFV=RPT}\ \text{Yagua}\]

‘appeared again the...the very same, the um... another beast of the forest, its name is Yagua.’ 19.169
Sometimes, repair is delayed

3. Asking the addressee for help

(39) tkov'ee'iji rotepa'i ee... te' to... manje'e... taa to taejare pjoŋgi ňechjis'ogne'e'i? te...
Villa Tunari.

3-VZ-GPN=IPFV=RPT lot-CLF.ground FIL PREP.NH ART.NH PH

taja to ta-ejare p-jo-ŋgi ň-echji-s'-o-gne=e'i eũi

3NH.INDT ART.NH 3NH-name DEM-NH.SG-PAST.EV 3M-speak-ACT-APPL1-
GEN.P.NZ =IPFV 3M

te Villa Tunari
PREP.NH Villa_Tunari
‘He had a piece of land in... um... What is the name of that place that he talked about?
In... Villa Tunari.’ 34.002-003
FUNCTIONS: DISFLUENCY

- Sometimes, wording abandoned (false start)
  - Change in structure

(40)  

\[
\text{en} \text{e } \text{wi} = \text{po } \text{manje' } e \text{ eto } \text{muiri-ji} \text{=rich' } o = \text{o' } i \text{ waka} \\
\text{and } \text{NEG=PFV PH} \quad \text{3NH all-CLF.amorph=still=IPFV meat} \\
\text{to } \text{t-og'e'-o} \\
\text{ART.NH 3NH-body-CLF.body} \\
\text{‘And no um… their bodies were still just 100% meat.’ 27.022} \]
Extremely rare occurrences not followed by delayed constituent

1. Vague expression?

(41)  \textit{ene nompo nakopakopo tepenopo ma 'moyo, su 'senogirapuka tepenopo tajapo manje'ena.}  
\textit{ene n-om=po na-kopa-ko=po t-epeno=po ma 'moyo}  
\textit{and 3\text{PL}-take\_along=PFV 3\text{PL}-kill\_ACT=PFV 3\text{-die}=PFV ART.M child}  
\textit{su 'seno-gira=puka t-epeno=p0 tajna=p0 manje'e-na}  
\textit{ART.F woman\_DIM=DUB 3\text{-die}=PFV EXIST.NEG.3NH=PFV PH-IRR}  
\textquote{‘and when they are all here, they take him, they kill him, the boy or the girl dies, s/he dies, there is nothing, um....’} 30.116
Extremely rare occurrences not followed by delayed constituent

2. Associative?

(42)  \[\text{ene wipo etina na- nakemtoneji to tajpuka taye'ono to 'chojirokowono, ponapo eto to manje'eri'it}\\  ene, wi=po et-tra na n-a-k-emtone-ji to taj=puka\\ and NEG=PFV 3NH-IRR *** 1SG-IRR-VZ-work-CLF.amorph ART.NH 3NH.INDT=DUB\\\]

\[ta ye'-ono to 'chojirokowo-no po-na-po eto to manje'ere=ri'i\\ 3NH-GPN-PL ART.NH story-PL other-CLF.H-ADD 3NH ART.NH PH=IPFV\\\]

‘And this I haven’t worked on, on whatever of the stories, or something else of... um... (original Spanish translation: \_no pienso las cosas, las historias, otra cosa de estas cosas\_)’ 2.029

(43)  \[\text{nakasaegi'a'ini imaktono manje'ono pakraraano, imakai, manje'e, na-kasa=et-a-t=ni j-ma ki-ono manje'-ono pakrara-no}\\ 3PL-hunt-ACT-IRR=PFV=PST DEM-NH.PL-NVIS-PL PH-PL collared_pecary-PL\\\]

\[j-ma kni manje'e\\ DEM-NH.PL-NVIS PH\\\]

‘They could have [...] hunted those um... \_taileus\_, those... um... \_(whatever?)\_’ 29.045
Average frequency in all Mojeño Trinitario texts: 10.05 / 1000 words (out of ~25,000 words)

Cross-linguistically medium frequency

- Russian: 5/1000 words in a corpus of informal elicited narratives (Podlesskaya and Kibrik, 2006)
- Chinese: 6.68/1000 words in a conversational corpus (Zhao and Jurafsky, 2005)
- Negidal: 12/1000 words (Pakendorf 2021)
- Komnzo: 13.48/1000 words (Döhler 2021)
- Bine: 18.71/1000 words (Döhler 2021)
Comparing frequency of placeholders in different types of texts

- Difference in monologues (10.2 \%) vs. dialogs (9.3\%) is not statistically significant (p=0.57).
- Difference in spontaneous (10.03\%) vs. elicited (9.95 \%) texts is not statistically significant (p=0.96).
- Difference due to genres
  - No placeholder at all in the fake conversations, song and speeches (all rehearsed genres).
  - More placeholders (>10\%) in biographies, expositions, history, negotiations, and traditional narratives.
- But seldom statistically significant (too few texts per genre, Fisher test)
  - Except for fake conversation (0\%, p<.001), fiction based on stimulus (1.6\%, p<.01) with very few placeholders
  - and traditional narratives (11.5\%, p<.05) with the highest rate of placeholders (the thread of the story is shared, not its rendering; performance)
DIACHRONIC HYPOTHESIS

- Topic not broached by Gill for Mojeño Trinitario in his grammar, Olza et al. for Mojeño Ignaciano, nor Marbán for Old Mojeño

- Mojeño Trinitario
  - Gill’s dictionary of Mojeño Trinitario p. 27

  manje’e palabra tartajosa (para llenar el espacio mientras uno piensa de lo que va a decir)

  manje’e stuttering word (to fill the space while one thinks of what to say)
DIACHRONIC HYPOTHESIS

- Mojeño Ignaciano (confused)

- Ott & Ott 1967 mention a hesitation word
  - Hesitation pronoun haʔe (can take plural, used before nouns and pronouns, sometimes preceded by haha probably demonstrative)
  - Also cites forms hakaini, nakaini (look like demonstratives)

- Ott 1983: 35

  - Filler jacahe ~ jacahe takes suffixes

• \textit{manje'e} = \textit{mani} + \textit{je'e}
  
  • Syncope on trochaic parse triggers deletion of /i/
  
  • \textit{ma-ni}  NH.PL-PROX ‘proximal non-human plural demonstrative’

\begin{equation}
\text{(44)} \quad \text{\underline{mani apina wkugi 'chopigiono}}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\text{\underline{ma-ni}} & \quad \text{\underline{api-ná}} & \quad \text{\underline{wkugi}} & \quad \text{\underline{'chope-gi-ono}} \\
\text{NH.PL-PROX} & \quad \text{two-CLF GEN} & \quad \text{tree} & \quad \text{big-CLF.CYL-PL}
\end{align*}

‘These two big trees...’ S_C&B_F.048
DIACHRONIC HYPOTHESIS

- Nominal demonstratives in Mojeño Trinitario are made of:
  - An optional \( p \)- demonstrative prefix (\( \rightarrow j \)- before \( m \))
  - A personal CV formative (< 3rd person pronominal paradigm)
  - A suffix from a set of 7 suffixes, or absence of suffix, encoding
    - distance (proximal, medial, distal)
    - epistemic/evidentiality (past evidence, no visual evidence, potential localization, non-assertion of localization)
    - recognitional use (=discourse new, hearer old, private shared knowledge) with no suffix

Proximal demonstrative are regularly used (beside exophoric use) for

1. Cataphora/new-this (?)

(45) juiti vnaekchowyorepo pjoka vye'e gravasión
    juiti v-naek-cho=w-yore=po p-jo-ka v-ye='e gravasión
    now 1PL-start=ACT=MID=FUT=PFV DEM-NH.SG-PROX 1PL-GPN recording(Sp)
    ‘Today we are going to start this recording.’ 03.001

(46) te pjuena onogi te to kampo su veno su saenaeni ene na… techjikonri'i; pnoni
    'chosionripo psu Carmen, psu Benina,wich'o takmeerikomrijcheni.
    te p-ju-ena onogi te to kampo su veno
    PREP.NH DEM-NH.SG-DIST there PREP.NH ART.NH countryside ART.F Lady
    su sa-ena=eni ene na t-echji-ko=n=ri'i p-no-ni
    ART.F 3F-mother=PST and *** 3-speak=ACT-PL=IPFV DEM-H.PL-PROX old-PL=PFV
    ‘There in the country, the Lady... his late mother, and those that are already old speak
    (the language)’ 20.014
Proximal demonstrative are regularly used (beside exophoric use) for

2. Some uses close to recognitional use (discourse new, hearer old, BUT cultural rather than private knowledge)

> juiti pno-i tkomimroropuekono tiimuimuikono te jmani piestano, ni Japtugi, ni... ni torito, ni pakuniro tamutu
> juiti p-no-ni t-ko-mimro-CV-pue-ko-no t-imui-CV-ko-no
> now DEM-H.PL-PROX 3-VZ-mask-RED-CLF.ground-ACT-PL 3-dance-RED-ACT-PL

> te j-ma-ni piesta-no ni Japtugi ni ni torito
> PREP.NH DEM-NH.PL-PROX festivity-PL ART.M Japutuqui ART.M ART.M torito

> ni paku-miro ta-mutu
> ART.M dog-CLF.face 3NH-all

‘Nowadays these put masks and dance in the festivals, the Japutuqui, the Torito, the dog-faced man, all of them.’ 19.190

Another demonstrative set than the proximal one is more regularly used for true recognitional use.
DIACHRONIC HYPOTHESIS

- *manje'e = mani + je'e*

  - *je'e* VALD Interjection almost only used in conversations, to validate the previous discourse (of speaker or addressee): confirmation, approval "voilà, alors".

  `je'e, one te pjo'ka to p-ioua-ra'-i' piti?`
  VALD and PREP DEM ART.NH 2SG-village-HAB.A.NZ-ASS PRO2SG
  '(Loc 1: I am well, and you? Loc 2: I'm just well too.) Loc 1: Well, and here is where you live?` (text10.005)

  `eto n-echo-gieno nuti je'e. rusrupaya`
  ART.NH 1SG-know-PAT.NZ PRO1SG VALD thanks
  'This is what I know, yes. Thank you.' (text19.191partial)

  `movera-mpo to sap-gira-no.`
  many-PL-PFV ART.NH lead-DIM-PL

  `je'e, te ta pemmmavo apina-n ri`.`
  VALD PREP SN1s-be.recent two-PL-ASS
  'There were many small frogs. Well, at first, there were two.' (text11.038-11.039)
Arguments in favor of manje'e < mani+je'e

- Cross-linguistically, placeholders often come from demonstrative pronouns
- Mojeño Ignaciano placeholders are also non-human proximal demonstrative forms
  - Tr. uses a plural form, Ig. a singular form: Tr. ma ≠ Ig. ja NH.PL vs NH.SG, Tr. ni ≠ Ig. ca PROX(PL) vs PROX(SG)
- Proximal demonstratives are used for cataphora or new-this and uses close to recognitional use
  - Himmelmann 1996:235: “in all languages of the sample, it is always the demonstrative generally employed for recognitional use that is also found in these contexts [i.e. as fillers]. »
  - Not fully true for Mojeño Trinitario.
- Irrealis marking –ina indicates that manje'e is a non-verbal element
- Trochaic parsing is restricted to non-prefixable (pro)nominal bisyllabic roots: consistent with DEM analysis of mani
- Discourse markers (like je'e) are used in general terms for discourse management
manje'e is:

- A lexeme carrying morphology and being syntactically integrated → a placeholder
- Belonging to the nominal class
- Used to delay various word classes
- With variable mirroring and replication
- Essentially used for word search
- Probably derived historically from a demonstrative