

# Placeholders versus general extenders in Tungusic languages

ALT

*Fillers and placeholders*

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# Placeholders...

(1) *həwəki:hələ*      *aŋi-l-duk*      *sita-l-duk*  
God      INTJ      PH-PL-ABL      clay-PL-ABL

*o-d̥a-fki:*      *bi-s̥ə*      *bəjə-l-bə*  
make-IPFV-PTCP      be-PTCP      person-PL-ACC

'God made people **out of whatsisname**, out of clay' (Evenki)

(2) *ə-do:-tin*      *aŋi-d̥ə-rə*  
NEG-CVPURP-3PL      PH-IPFV-PTCP

*isə-w-d̥ə-rə=do:*      *loku-sa-d̥a-ra=da:*  
see-PASS-IPFV-PTCP=FOC      hang-STAT-IPFV-PTCP=FOC

'So that they will not **be whatsisname**, be seen, hang' (Evenki)

# and general extenders

- (3) *muldi:-ka-r*      *ərəgərit*      *e:-wa=da*  
not.be.able-DIM-PL    absolutely    what-ACC=FOC

*doku-d'a-mi :da*      ***e:-d'a-mi :da***  
*write-IPFV-CVB=FOC*      ***what-IPFV-CVB=FOC***

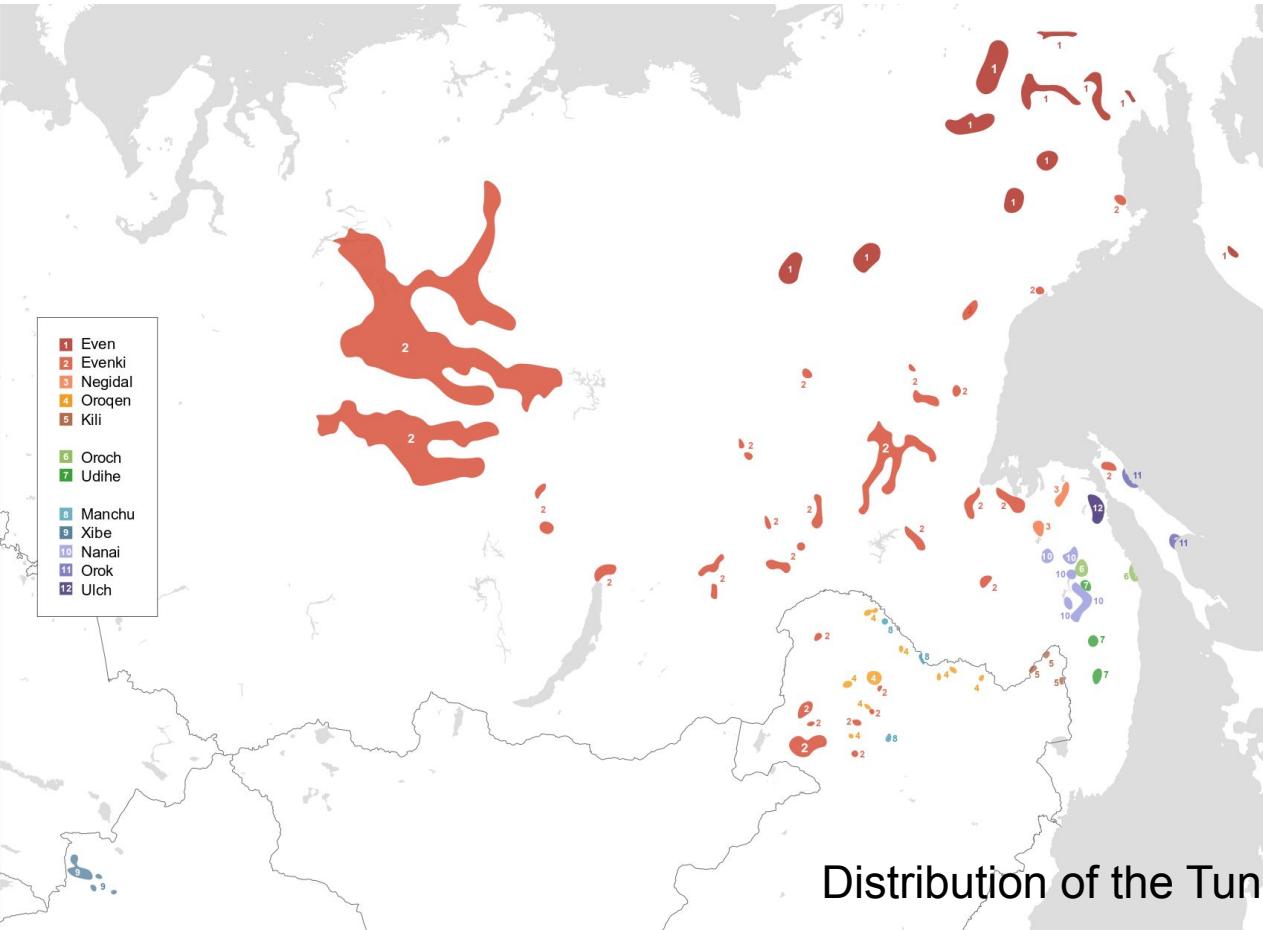
'They were not able to write anything or do anything' (Evenki)

- (4) *uta-zi*      *wa-i*      *diga-i*      *uta-zi*      *diga-Ø-li*  
that-INS    kill-PTCP eat-PTCP    that-INS    eat-PRS-3SG

*ule:-we*      ***je-we***      *diga-i*  
*meat-ACC*      ***what-ACC***      eat-PTCP

'Then they eat what he has killed, they eat meat and the rest'  
(Udihe)

# Tungusic languages



Distribution of the Tungusic languages (Noaheditis) 4

# General extenders (Overstreet 1999)

- words like “et cetera” in enumerations
- used for ad-hoc categorization (Mauri 2018)
- often exhibit “mirroring” – cf. placeholders!
- forms:
  - phrases like “and” + demonstratives + words like “thing”
  - pronouns
  - phrases like “let’s say”
  - reduplication
  - special morphemes
- can be found in written texts

(Tolskaya and Tolskaya 2008) comparing them to PH

# Aims

Compare placeholders and general extenders  
in Tungusic languages:

- etymology
- grammatical features
- functions

# Problems

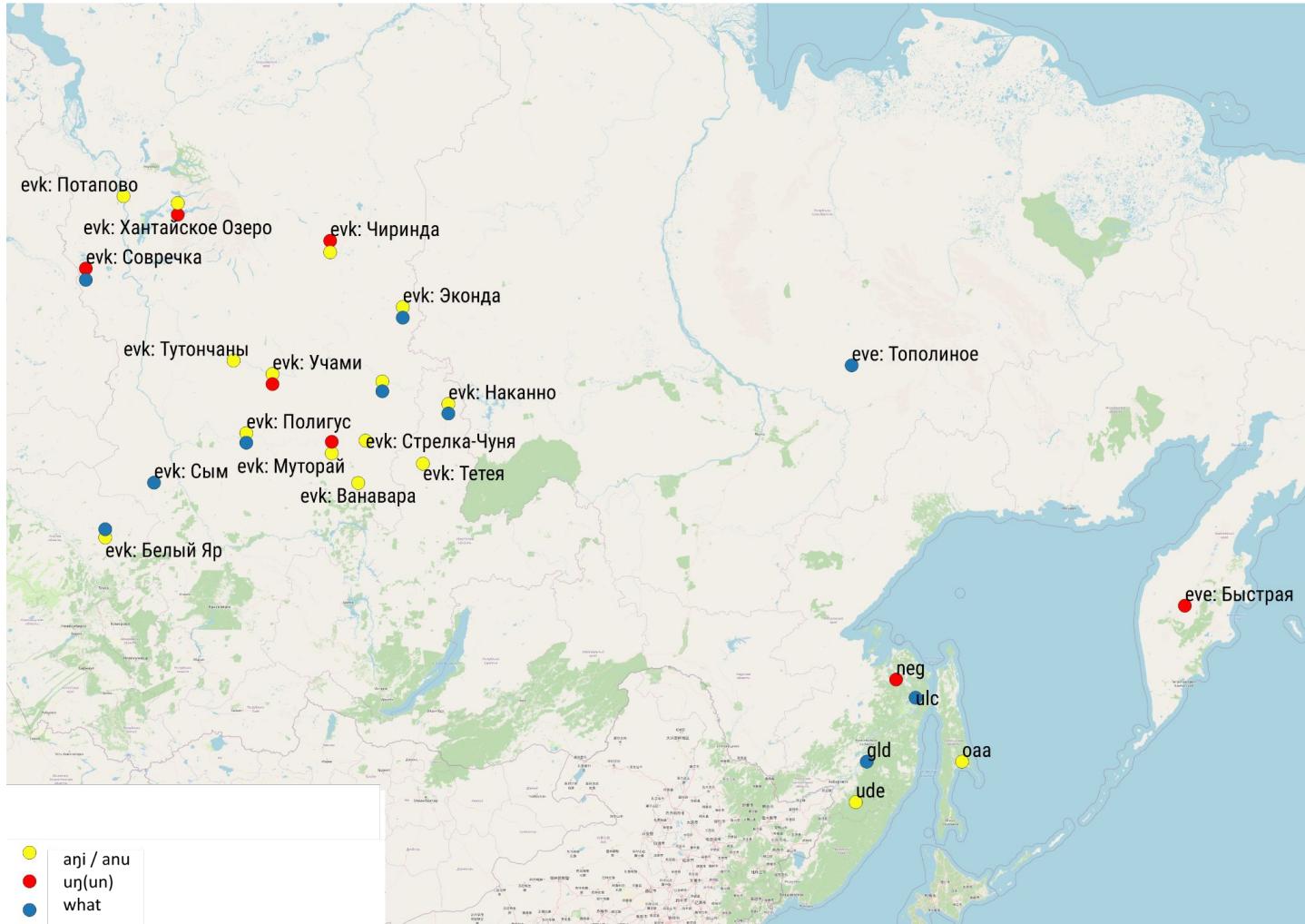
- the whole language family is endangered ⇒
  - frequent use of vague language due to attrition
- research based on corpora
  - “unnaturalness” of the texts
- difficult to invent an experimental setting
  - not always possible to study “mirroring”
- low prestige
  - absence of fillers in published texts
  - less attention from linguists

# Tungusic languages

- **Jurchenic**
  - †Jurchen
  - Manchu
  - Xibe
- **Nanaic**
  - Nanai
  - Ulch
  - Ulta (Orok)
- **Orochic**
  - Udihe
  - †Oroch
- **Ewenic**
  - Evenki
  - Negidal
  - Even
  - Solon
  - Oroqen

# Tungusic placeholder stems

- *aŋi / anu* (Evenki dialects, Udihe, Oroch, Ulta)
- *uŋ(un)* (Evenki dialects, Even, Negidal)
  - *uŋun* vs *aŋi* in Evenki
- ‘what’-stem (Evenki dialects, Even, Nanai, Ulch, Sibe, Ulta, Udihe(?))
- demonstratives (Sibe, ?)



# anji / anu

(5) *d'əm-mu:-l-mi*      *aŋi-ŋna-kal*      *gu:sə:*  
eat-DES-INCH-CVB    PH-HAB-IMPER.2SG    say-PTCP

*əri-ŋ-mə-w*      *tuge: síwu-ŋna-kal*  
this-ALIEN-ACC-POSS.1SG    so    lick-HAB-IMPER.2SG

'If you are hungry, do so, he said, **lick** this [your paw]'  
(**Evenki**)

(6) *aja ñaŋga=da*      *ñaŋga*      *aŋi-nde-ze-m(i)*      *sin-e-we*  
good    little=FOC      little    PH-SEM-SUBJ-1SG    2SG-EP-ACC

[kesu-li-nde-ze-m(i)]

torture-INCH-SEM-SUBJ-1SG

'Ok, let me **do this**, torture you a little'

(**Udihe**, Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001)

# anji / anu

(7) čo:tči tar ſofor nari anu ba:ru-ni  
then that driver man PH side-POSS.3SG

val    ba:ru-ni    zvoni-ri-ni val    gasa-tai-ni  
Val    side-POSS.3SG phone-PRS-3SG Val    village-ALL-POSS.3SG  
'Then that driver phoned **in this direction**, in the direction of  
Val, to the village of Val' (**Uilta**, (corpus))

(8) tojo:=tſi mapactſa: anji-wa anji-xa-ni loo-xo-ni  
then=FOC old.man PH-ACC PH-PST-3SG hang-PST-3SG  
'Then the old man **did whatitsname**, hanged <fish to dry it>'  
(**Oroch**, (Kazama 1996))

# un(un)

(9) <i>tiniw</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bəri-ri-w</i>	<i>uŋ-u</i>	<i>halka-w</i>
yesterday	1SG	lose-NFUT-1SG	PH-ACC	<u>hammer-ACC</u>

'Yesterday, I lost whatchamacallit, the hammer' (**Even**)

(10) <i>tos</i>	<i>a:tin</i>	<i>bi-tə-a-n</i>	<i>o-ta-s</i>	<i>uŋun-a</i>	<i>tosta-ja</i>
salt	NEG	be-PST-3SG	NEG-FUT-2SG	PH-CVB	<u>salt-CVB</u>

'There was no salt, <so> you won't **do this**, salt' (**Negidal**)

(11) <i>bəjə</i>	<i>uŋun-mə</i>	<i>dəwit-pa</i>	<i>ha:-Ø-ndə</i>
man	PH-ACC	<u>David-ACC</u>	know-NFUT-2SG

'Friend, do you know **whatshisname**, David' (**Evenki**)

# ‘what’-stem

(12)	<i>na:n</i>	<i>motor-wa</i>	<i>xaj-ri-ni</i>	<i>motor</i>	<i>ŋən-i-wə-n</i>
	3SG	motor-ACC	what-PRS-3SG	motor.boat	go-PTCP-ACC-3SG

ətəw-ri-ni

watch-PRS-3SG

‘He **does this, watches** the boat go’ (**Ulch**)

(13)	<i>ahatkan</i>	<i>ia-w=kana</i>	<i>hiaran<u>u</u></i>	<i>gari-dʒi</i>	<i>hokok-ra-n</i>
	girl	what-ACC=CONTR	branch-ACC	take-CVB	break-NFUT-3sg

‘The girl took **whatsitsname, a branch**’ (**Even**) [Matić ])

# Tungusic general extender stems

- ‘what’-stem
- demonstratives (Sibe)

# Tungusic placeholders: functions

- the speaker cannot:
  - recall the target word
  - pronounce it due to some extra-linguistic reasons
- the speaker wants
  - to switch to a new topic
  - to draw attention to the target word
    - for the listener to help them recall it
    - the target word is somewhat “out of order”, like borrowed names in Sibe

# Tungusic general extenders: functions

- the speaker does not want to describe the whole possible set of objects or actions
- the speaker is not sure if they have chosen the right word

(14) *küxoxi=tene läsi uligdiga tʃinda xai*

oriole=FOC very beautiful bird also

*dili-le-ni*                  *ogo-xi*                  *iː-xi*

head-LOC-POSS.3SG    *crest-ADJ*                  what-ADJ

'Oriole is a very beautiful bird with a crest or something like that on its head' (**Udihe**)

- alternative questions:

(15) *guli-zeŋe-fi=es*                  *ja-zanya-fi=es?*

leave-FUT-1PL.IN=DIS                  what-FUT-1PL.IN=DIS

'Shall we leave or not' (**Udihe** [Tolskaya & Tolskaya 2008])

# Tungusic placeholders: mirroring

- nominal target words:
  - number
  - case
  - possession
  - frequent derivational markers
    - equative, caritive, diminutive markers
- verb target words:
  - person
  - number
  - TAM
  - frequent derivational markers (“Aktionsart”)

BUT not voice markers

# Tungusic general extenders: mirroring

- all markers, including voice

(16)    *ə-wki:*        *minə*                  *e:-ra*                  *əyi-fko:n-ə*  
NEG-PTCP              1SG.ACC              what-PTCP              play-CAUS-PTCP  
'She did not let me do this, let me play' (**Evenki**)

(17)    *toyo-wo*        *o:kin=da:*    *e:-wko:*        *əru-t*  
fire-ACC              when=FOC           NEG-PTCP           bad-ADVZ  
*janu-w-rə*                  *ə-wko:*                  *e:-w-ra=da:*  
*talk-PASS-PTCP*    NEG-PTCP              what-PASS-PTCP=FOC

'One should not talk to fire badly or do similar things'  
(**Evenki**)

## Placeholders

ways to express

a variety of stems

## General extenders

mainly ‘what’-stem

etymology

unclear

clear

mirroring

not full

full

(usually no voice or most  
derivational affixes)

# Hypothesis

- *anji / uŋun* are original placeholder stems
- ‘what’:
  - general extender → placeholder

# Hypothesis: pros

- generally similar functions
- (Ganenkov et al 2010):
  - Udi: pronoun → placeholder → general extender (similative plural constructions)
- *aŋi / uŋun*:
  - unclear etymology
  - found in different branches of the family
- Negidal:
  - several cases of ‘what’ as a placeholder

(18) <i>taj</i>	<i>hujan</i>	<i>e:kun-du-n</i>		
that	forest	what-DAT-POSS.3SG		
			<i>səβəki-du-n</i>	<i>təje-Ø-s</i>
			spirit-DAT-POSS.3SG	treat-NFUT-2SG
				<i>ti:</i>
				so

‘In that forest you treat whatshisname, spirit so’

# References

\*Sibe

(Zikmundova 2013), (Kogura 2021), (Kogura 2022))

- <http://nanai.web-corpora.net>, (Kazama 2007); texts ((Avrorin 1986), (Kazama 1993))
- (<http://ulch.web-corpora.net>)
- ([uilta.web-corpora.net](http://uilta.web-corpora.net); field materials, texts ((Ikegami 2002), (Yamada 2011, 2015, 2017)))
- (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001, Tolskaya and Tolskaya 2008), texts (Schneider 1936)
- texts (Kazama 1996)
- field materials, <https://qisly.net>, <https://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora>
- Pakendorf & Aralova 2017
- Matić 2008), texts ((Nikolaeva et al. 2019))