This paper discusses the process of verbal reduplication in the Trinitario dialect of Mojeño, an Arawak language spoken in the Bolivian lowlands. Trinitario displays partial reduplication of the verb root. Reduplication of the final syllable of the root expresses repetition or attenuation of the event expressed by the verb. This paper revises the analysis of Trinitario reduplication patterns as presented in Gill (1957), in light of additional first-hand data and the recent identification of a prosodic vowel deletion rule. It points to a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of the basic reduplication pattern and to a second reduplication pattern implying a double copy of the final syllable of the root. The major interest of the Trinitario data is to demonstrate the great complexity of the morphology-prosody interface. The regular processes of vowel deletion and compensatory lengthening indeed affect the base only after the copy is derived, which results in a surface pattern where the copy and the base do not look alike.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses the process of reduplication in the Trinitario dialect of Mojeño, an Arawak language spoken in the Bolivian lowlands. Trinitario displays partial reduplication of the verb root, expressing repetition or attenuation of the event expressed by the verb.

The Mojeño language (also called Moxo) consists of 4 dialects: Trinitario, Ignaciano, Loretano and Javeriano. The total Mojo population is over 32,000, with around 3,220 speakers of Trinitario and Ignaciano (Crevels and Muysken 2009). Trinitario and Ignaciano are endangered dialects, while Javeriano is moribund with approximately five speakers with varying levels of proficiency. Loretano is extinct. There is a grammar of the Mojeño language as spoken in the 17th century, which is a very valuable tool (Marbán 1701). There is no linguistic description of Javeriano and Loretano. Both Ignaciano and Trinitario have been previously described (Olza Zubiri, et al. 2002 and Gill 1957, respectively). These
two dialects are, in general, very similar except for the pervasive vowel deletion process affecting Trinitario (Rose 2008; 2011; to appear).

In this paper, I revise the analysis of Trinitario reduplication patterns as presented in Gill (1957, 117–118), in light of the prosodic vowel deletion rule. The analysis presented in this paper is based on both the author’s field data and examples given in Gill’s presentation of reduplication. The field data on Trinitario was collected by the author in Trinidad and San Lorenzo de Moxos between 2005 and 2010. The resulting database consists of 30 texts consisting of approximately 2,000 sentences. Several hundred elicited sentences were added to this database. This data and Gill’s work generally concur on major patterns but complement each other as far as minor patterns are concerned. This will be discussed later. All examples, mine and Gill’s, are phonologically transcribed using IPA.1

After some background information on Trinitario (section 2), the functions of reduplication are presented (section 3). The remainder of the paper analyzes the details of the phonological patterns of reduplication (section 4). It first shows the basic pattern of reduplication. The influence of reduplication on stem morphology, the effect of vowel deletion, and minimality constraints are then investigated. Finally, a second pattern of reduplication is presented, where double-copy occurs. The analysis presented in this paper allows for a revision of Gill’s analysis. The analysis suggested in this paper is more coherent with the overall system of the language insofar as it provides a single analysis of both stem and affix allomorphy and multiple reduplication processes. Section 5 concludes with a discussion of the ramifications of this analysis for theoretical debates concerning the morphology-prosody interface and for the typology of reduplication.

2 Background Information on Mojeño Trinitario

2.1 Phonology
The phoneme inventory of Mojeño Trinitario is presented in the following two tables.

1 My corpus is transcribed in the official alphabet (Fabricano et al. 2003), which differs from the one used by Gill. Since this paper deals with phonology, IPA is used.