Ineke Smeets

A Grammar of Mapuche

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A Grammar of Mapuche

by

Ineke Smeets

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To Luis Quinchavil

Preface

This book presents a description of the native language of the Mapuche (or Araucanians) in Chile, more specifically of the Mapuche language spoken in the central Mapuche territory around the city of Temuco in the province of Cautín. This description of the Mapuche language is based on research and interviews with native speakers between 1977 and 1981 in Chile and the Netherlands. The present book is a corrected, slightly revised, and enlarged version of my doctoral dissertation (Smeets 1989). The considerable delay of the final publication was due to health problems. Continuous requests for a copy of the dissertation and the need to make the linguistic data available ensured that cancellation of the publication never became an option.

This book contains a grammar, a collection of texts and a Mapuche-English dictionary. It is divided into nine parts. The Introduction (Part I, chapters 1-3) touches upon the ethnohistory of the Mapuche people and the previous study of the Mapuche language. An outline of the grammar is presented in chapter 3. The phonology and morphophonology are discussed in Part II (chapters 4-9). Part III (chapters 10-21) deals with nominal morphology and morphosyntax. Noun phrases and nominal sentences are treated in Part IV (chapters 22-24). The morphology and morphosyntax of the verb, which are the core of the Mapuche grammar, are described in Part V (chapters 25-31). Part VI (chapter 32) deals with particles. Part VII (chapters 33-35) contains further notes on syntax. A collection of texts is presented in Part VIII. Part IX contains a Mapuche - English dictionary. A survey of the intransitive and transitive conjugations is given in an appendix.

My greatest thanks are due to Luis Quinchavil, who was my principal Mapuche informant, and to Rafael Railaf, Mario Millapi, Jacinta Mena and Maria Huenchun for initiating me to their language. I am very grateful to my promotor Frits Kortlandt for his acute comments, which gave rise to many stimulating conversations, and my co-promotor Willem Adelaar who helped me in more than one way with his vast knowledge of Amerindian linguistics. I am indebted to Aert Kuipers who started the project off, to Carl Ebeling for his stimulating criticism and to my brother Rieks Smeets for answering my numerous questions. Many thanks are due to Sjors van Driem who offered valuable advice on the dissertation and generously corrected some of its English. It goes without saying that all errors in this book are mine. I am very grateful to Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen who converted the original files, collected specific parts of the material for the dictionary and co-edited portions of the book. I wish to thank Robert Croese who

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Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
adj.	adjective
Adj	adjective (dictionary)
ADJ	adjectivizer
adv.	adverb
Adv	adverb (dictionary)
ADV	adverbializer
AFF	affirmative
AIML	aimless
AVN	agentive verbal noun
Aux	auxiliary (dictionary)
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant/complement
CA	causative
CF	constant feature
CIRC	circular movement
COLL	collective
COND	conditional
Conj	conjunction (dictionary)
CSVN	completive subjective verbal noun
d	dual
DO	direct object
DS	dative subject
DISTR	distributive
EDO	external direct object
EXP	experience
FAC	factitive
GR	group
Hh	hither
IDO	internal direct object
IMM	immediate

IMP	imperative
improd.	improductive suffix
IND	indicative
INST	instrumental object
INT	intensive
intr.	intransitive
INV	involuntarily
IO	indirect object
IPD	impeditive
ITJ	interjection
ITR	interruptive
IVN	instrumental verbal noun
JM	Jacinta Mena
LOC	locative
L.A.	Latin America(n)
LQ	Luis Quinchavil
MIO	more involved object
MH	Maria Huenchun
MM	Mario Millapi
N	noun
Na	anaphoric pronoun (dictionary)
Nd	demonstrative pronoun (dictionary)
NEG	negation
Ni	interrogative pronoun (dictionary)
Np	personal pronoun (dictionary)
NP	noun phrase
Nposs	possessive pronoun (dictionary)
NRLD	non-realized
ns	non-singular
Num	numeral (dictionary)
OO	oblique object
OVN	objective verbal noun
∅	zero
p	plural (after 1,2,3 and in translations)
PART	particle
Part	particle (dictionary)
PASS	passive
PFPS	perfect persistent
PL	plural
PLPF	pluperfect
poss	possessive pronoun
PR	progressive
Prep	preposition (dictionary)
PRPS	progressive persistent

PS	persistence
PVN	plain verbal noun
PX	proximity
Qu	Quechua
RE	iterative/restorative
REF	reflexive/reciprocal
REL	relative
REP	reportative
RR	Rafael Railaf
S	subject
SAT	satisfaction
SFR	stem formative in reduplicated forms
s	singular
SIM	simulative
so.	someone
Sp.	Spanish
ST	stative
sth.	something
SUD	sudden
SVN	subjective verbal noun
TEMP	temporal
Th	thither
TR	transitivizer
tr.	transitive
TVN	transitive verbal noun
v	verb
V	vowel
VERB	verbalizer
Vi	intransitive verb
Vt	transitive verb

Mapuche material is printed in italics.

[ ]	include phonetic transcriptions, and supplementary words in English translations which are not represented in the Mapuche text
( )	include etymological notes
⟨ ⟩	include notes which do not refer immediately to the grammatical topic under discussion
+ +	include underlying forms analyzed in morphemes
" "	quotation marks
' '	include translations
-	separates constituent morphemes of a word form. In otherwise unanalyzed forms it separates stems in a compound.
/	separates synonymous Mapuche forms
___	zero morphs are represented by underlined glosses

.	separates constituent elements of a gloss
´	indicates primary stress in phonetic transcription
`	indicates secondary stress in phonetic transcriptions
*	reconstructed or rejected form
→	direction of a transitive relationship; develops into

Superscript numbers indicate slot numbers.

Single numbers between round brackets refer to examples. Complex numbers between round brackets refer to texts and lines, e.g. (1,14) refers to text 1, line 14. Chapter and section are indicated by numbers separated by a dot, e.g. 16.3 refers to chapter 16, section 3.

A portemanteau morph is represented by glosses which are not separated, e.g. -(*ü)n* Ind1s indicates indicative mood and first person singular person subject.

The alfabetical order used in this book is the following:
a, b, ch, đ, d, e, f, g, i, y, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, ng, o, p, q, r, s, sh, t, tr, u ü, w, x.

Part I

Introduction
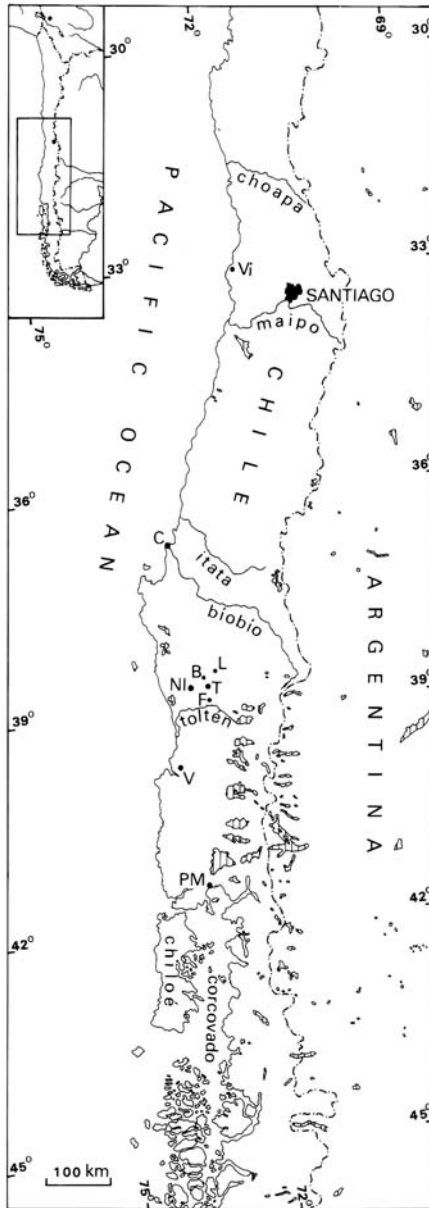
Map 1: Topographic map of central Chile

Legend: B — Boyeco, C — Concepción, F — Freire, L — Lautaro, NI — Nueva Imperial, PM — Puerto Montt, T — Temuco, V — Valdivia, Vi — Valparaíso/Viña del Mar.

Chapter 1

The Mapuche people

The majority of the Mapuche people live in Chile in an area which extends from the river Bío-Bío (lat. 36°) to Lake Llanquihue (lat. 41°), in particular in the (ninth) Region of La Araucanía (provinces of Cautín and Malleco). The city of Temuco is the geographical and socio-economic centre of the Mapuche territory. A substantial number of Mapuche live in the metropolitan area of Santiago.

Estimates of the Mapuche population in Chile today vary from 400,000 to 1,000,000. According to the Chilean 2002 census 442,840 people of 15 years and older declared themselves to be of ethnic Mapuche origin (out of a total of 604,000 Mapuche). The 1992 census, however, shows a number of 907,406 people of 15 years and older who declared to belong to the Mapuche people. The great discrepancy in the outcome of the two censuses leaves doubt about the validity of these numbers, which may be partly explained by the difference in the wording of the two questionnaires. By means of the *Ley Indígena* no. 19,253 Chile acknowledges the existence of eight indigenous peoples within its boundaries (Aymará, Rapa Nui, Quechua, Mapuche, Atacameños, Colla, Kawashkar and Yagán) of which the Mapuche are by far the largest in number. According to the 2002 census the Mapuche people constitute 87% of the total indigenous population of Chile.

About 300,000 Mapuche live in Argentina, in the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Buenos Aires and la Pampa. The majority of them live in the province of Neuquén (Fernández Garay 2005: 20).

Mapuche 'people of the land' is the name by which the Mapuche call themselves. It is derived from the Mapuche words *mapu* 'land' and *che* 'person, people'. The Mapuche people are also referred to as *Araucanians* (see below).

The Actual Situation
The majority of the Mapuche today are small scale farmers practising subsistence agriculture on badlands. The products, such as barley, chickens, geese, sheep and fruit, are used for domestic consumption or sold on local markets. Traditional products of handicraft, in particular textiles and jewelry, find their way to the global market through international companies and the internet.

The systematic reduction of Mapuche territory, which started in the 1880s with the confinement of the Mapuche in reserved areas and the selling of Mapuche land to Chilean peasants and immigrants from Europe, undermined the social organization of the Mapuche. Mapuche communities today are local units of individual families who participate in social or economic events on an individual basis. Originally the patrilineal, extended family, consisting of the man and his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, used to live and work together on the ancestral land. Nowadays, after a long process of usurpation and constant division and subdivision of land, the nuclear families of a patrilineage find themselves more and more spread out over the land of the community. Outside the local Mapuche communities life is dominated by the Spanish speaking, Western-European Chilean society in which the Mapuche have unwittingly become a minority. Over the past decades a growing number of Mapuche left the rural areas in search of work in the cities. Today about 40% of the Mapuche live in the metropolitan area of Santiago. Loss of culture, social marginalization and discrimination go hand in hand as a result of this rural exodus. The Mapuche, however, do not give up on their land and language, two important pillars of their culture. They resist their loss of autonomy brought about by the laws and practices of the government, local authorities and forestry companies. There is a multitude of Mapuche organizations ranging from small, local cultural organizations to militant political groups which strive for autonomy. Unfortunately there is not one organization which represents the interests of the entire population. However, the slogan *nütuayiñ mapu* 'we[p] will take [our] land back' rallies many different groupings. The Mapuche make full use of modern media like the internet to argue their case. Within the inner circle of the family and their community the Mapuche continue to speak their native language. There are no reliable figures concerning the number of speakers but in the rural areas in particular a substantial part of the Mapuche speak their own language. For what it is worth, the Wikipedia internet site 2006 mentions a total number of 400,000 Mapuche speakers in Chile and 40,000 in Argentina (without reference to their source).

Names and subgroups
At the time of the arrival of the Spanish invaders in the sixteenth century, the indigenous population of Chile is estimated at one million people. The majority, about 600,000, lived in the area between the rivers Bío-Bío and Toltén (Salas 1992b: 28). Before the Spanish, the Inca's had tried to subjugate the indigenous people they met in the area between the rivers Maule and Bío-Bío. The Inca's called them, in reference to their fierce resistance, *awka* (from Quechua *awqa* 'enemy', 'rebel') or *purum awqa* 'uncivilised enemy'.

The Spanish called the area south of the river Bío-Bío, between the mountain Nahuelbuta and the ocean, *Arauco* and its inhabitants *Araucanos*. The term Arauco was first used in writing by Alonso de Ercilla, the author of the Spanish epic "La Araucana" (1569–89), which relates the history of the war between

the Spanish and the indigenous inhabitants of central Chile. In the book, the latter are referred to as the Indians of the locality of *Arauco* 'muddy water' (derived from the Mapuche words *raq* 'clay' and *ko* 'water'). Later the term Arauco was used for the entire area between the rivers Bío-Bío and Toltén, which the Spanish failed to conquer (see below). As a consequence, the term Araucano got the wider, generic meaning of referring to the independent indigenous inhabitants of the area that was not submitted to the Spanish crown. Later still the autonomous area was called *La Araucanía* 'land of the Araucanos' (Salas 1992a: 30–31). Today this area more or less overlaps with the ninth Region of Chile, which comprises the provinces of Neuquén and Cautín, and is called La Araucanía. The Mapuche never adopted the name of Araucanians as a self-designation. For them, the term is *wingka* (the Mapuche word for 'stranger, non-Mapuche, aggressor, thief').

Salas (1992a) claims that in the sixteenth century the indigenous population did not have a specific name by which they called themselves. He supposes that the presence of invading aggressors called for the need of self-identification which led to phrases like *re che* 'authentic/pure people' and *mapuche* 'people of the land/indigenous people' as a means of self-identification. Various names have been given to subgroups of Mapuche. In the historical and anthropological literature one uses the term *Picunche* (*pikum* 'North') to refer to the Mapuche who, at the time of the arrival of the Spanish, lived north of the river Bío-Bío, between the rivers Mapocho and Maule. According to Salas (1992a) there is no ground for this use of the name Picunche. The term, he says, is a deictic term ('northerner') and not the name of a subgroup. Today the term Picunche is used as such and refers to Mapuche people from the north, i.e. north of the river Bío-Bío. For the Mapuche people who lived in the south, between the province of Valdivia and the island of Chiloé, one used the term *Huilliche* (*willi* 'south'). According to Salas (1992a) this term is also a deictic term and does not refer to a particular subgroup of Mapuche. Today the term is actually used as a deictic term and refers to the Mapuche people who live in the provinces of Valdivia, Osorno and Chiloé. The *Pehuenche* inhabited the eastern Andean slopes in what is today the Argentinian province of Neuquén. Their name is derived from the Mapuche word *pewen* 'pine-nut (of the Araucaria tree)'. These nomadic Pehuenche depended on the collection of the pine-nuts. They had a language and identity of their own, distinct from the ones of the Mapuche (Adelaar 2004: 505). According to Salas a number of these Pehuenche crossed the Andes in the eighteenth century and settled on the upper reaches of the river Bío-Bío. The indigenous people who live in that area today are called Pehuenche and speak a Mapuche dialect. They are not necessarily related to the historical Argentinian Pehuenche (Adelaar 2004). The name *Moluche* (or *Ngoluche* or *Nuluche*) has been used (by Lenz 1895–7 among others) to refer to the inhabitants of the southern part of La Araucanía. This name was not used by the people themselves, but rather by the Mapuche in the mountains who called the people in the plains Moluche (*ngull-* 'to set (of the sun)').

Other names for groups of Mapuche used by others than themselves include *Puelche*, (*puel* 'east') for the inhabitants of the eastern slopes of the Andean cordillera and *Lafkenche* (*lafken* 'sea') for the Mapuche who live in the coastal areas. In the present book the term Mapuche is used to designate all indigenous inhabitants of central Chile. For more details on the subgroups of Mapuche, see Cooper 1946: 690–694, Salas 1978: 361–6 and Salas 1992a: 29–32.

Origin of the Mapuche

There is uncertainty about the origin of the Mapuche people. One hypothesis, brought forward by Tomás Guevara, claims that there was a people speaking one language who lived in Chile between latitudes 25° and 44°. This people descended from the first settlers in the area, fishermen who, coming from the north, gradually occupied the coastal areas up to the isle of Chiloé.

Another theory, formulated by Ricardo E. Latcham, claims that initially there used to be two peoples. One people consisted of fishermen in the coastal area who eventually spread into the central valley where they developed into hunters and collectors. Another people which practised agriculture and cattle breeding joined them from the North. This group mixed with the original inhabitants and they gradually occupied the area which extended from Coquimbo to Chiloé. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century a group of invaders from the Argentinian pampa occupied a strip of land between the rivers Itata and Toltén, thus dispersing the original inhabitants to the north and to the south. This led to the groups Picunche in the north, Huilliche in the south, and Mapuche in the middle.

On the basis of archeological evidence the second hypothesis meets with less and less enthusiasm (Salas 1992a: 34). Lately there seems to be a consensus that the Mapuche are one people with a single language, originated in Chile (Bengoa, pers. comm.). The Argentinian Mapuche stem from the Chilean Mapuche. In the seventeenth century economic necessity drove the Mapuche across the Andean cordillera to settle in the Argentine territory. (Fernández Garay 2005: 16).

History

The recorded history of the Mapuche begins with the Inca invasion under Tupac Yupanqui in the second half of the 15th century. The Incas occupied the territory as far south as the river Maule. The Inca penetration stopped either at the river Maipo (Cooper 1946: 696) or at the river Bío-Bío (Salas 1992a: 35). There is also disagreement on the extent of the influence of the Inca's on the Mapuche culture. Whereas Cooper claims that the Inca influence " . . . does not appear to have been very profound" (Cooper 1946: 696), Salas states that the Inca empire imposed its complex socio-political organization on the indigenous inhabitants who lived north of the river Maule. The Inca influence on them was "massive" (Salas 1992a: 35). The Mapuche who lived south of the river Maule, however, managed to prevent Inca occupation of their territory (around 1480)

and kept their freedom, their loose tribal organization and their semi-nomadic lifestyle of hunters and collectors (Salas 1992a: 35–38).

At the time of the Spanish invasion, in the mid sixteenth century, the Mapuche formed a sedentary people of farmers with a democratic, decentralized political organization. Military leaders, which were chosen for their capacities, held their function only during war time. Kinship heads and local chiefs, which were as a rule hereditary, had little power and there was no overall chief (Cooper 1946: 724). Social organization was based on the extended family. Several extended families, who worked together on communal land, formed a *lof*, which is now the Mapuche term for a reservation. In the entire Mapuche territory which ran from Coquimbo to the isle of Chiloé the people spoke one language. They joined in religious ceremonies and social events like sports activities. In Mapuche religion, the central figure is the Supreme Being, the Creator, who is both male and female, both young and old. He/she is called *ngüne-che-n* ('ruler of people') or *ngüne-mapu-n* ('ruler of land'). The Mapuche recognize various personal and impersonal demons. The *machi* is the intermediary between the real world and the supernatural.

For more than three centuries the Mapuche fought the Spanish, mostly in the central Mapuche territory. The Spanish conquered the territory north of the river Bío-Bío with relative ease (in the sixteenth century). Penetration further south met with particularly fierce resistance of the Mapuche population so much so that the Spanish were driven to defend what they had conquered north of the river Bío-Bío. The Mapuche astounded the Spanish with their martial tactics, courage and perseverance. In 1641 the river Bío-Bío was formally acknowledged by the Spanish crown as the border south of which began the autonomous territory of the Mapuche people, the area between the rivers Bío-Bío and Toltén. This area has since that time been known as La Frontera 'the frontier' (or La Araucanía). South of the river Toltén the Spanish penetrated with less violence and more efficiency. Through the recognition of Mapuche authorities and the conclusion of military and economic treaties with various indigenous groups, helped by the missionary activities of the Jesuit and Capuchin orders, the Spanish effectively colonized the southern part of the Mapuche territory (Salas 1992a: 37). By the time Chile became an independent state (1818), the Mapuche in the north were completely assimilated and the Mapuche in the south dwindled in numbers as a result of assimilation (Adelaar 2004: 507). Once the new republic had secured its independence and set up its political organization, the Chilean government proceeded to the incorporation of the autonomous Mapuche territory into the new state. The Mapuche were settled in reserved areas ('reducciones') in what once was their own territory. The rest of their land was used to build cities, roads and railroads and to establish farms for Chilean peasants and European immigrants. The Mapuche who considered these actions invasive responded in the way they had responded to the Inca and Spanish aggression, that is with constant raids and revolts. The last revolt took place between 1880 and 1882 when the Mapuche were finally

subdued in the military campaign known as the *Campaña de pacificación de la Araucanía*. The process of incorporation of Mapuche territory proceeded and was considered to be finished at the end of the nineteenth century. Cities were founded, a rural population of Chilean and European farmers was settled in privately owned farms and the Mapuche were confined to formally defined areas, assigned by means of title deeds. The organization of the land in privately owned plots undermined the unity and organization of the Mapuche people. It created animosity between the Mapuche and the non-Indian population, and it still does. The land which the Mapuche were allowed was little and of poor quality. Consequently, the Mapuche suffer from social marginalization, poverty and discrimination. The Mapuche were particularly oppressed during the years of the dictatorial regime of Pinochet (1973–1989). A great number of them fled their native territory and migrated to cities. Others were exiled from their country and started a new life in Europe.

From the seventeenth century economic necessity had driven groups of Mapuche to enter the Argentine *pampas* and Patagonia in search for horses and cows which roamed about freely (Fernández Garay 2005: 16–19). The Mapuche were feared for their violent and efficient raids (known as *malón*). Part of the Mapuche invaders settled down and established colonies. They made contact with the local *Tehuelche* which was at times peaceful and at times hostile. The Mapuche language and culture slowly penetrated the indigenous inhabitants of the *pampa* and eastern Patagonia. Practically all Tehuelche groups which lived in the central-northern part of Patagonia have been 'araucanized' (Fernández Garay 2005: 16–19). By the end of the nineteenth century the Indians in the *pampas* and Patagonia were finally subdued by military campaigns and integrated in the new Argentinian state. The Mapuche in Argentina suffered from similar integration politics as the Chilean Mapuche. They were confined in reservations with little and poor land. Many of them migrated to cities in search of work. Missionaries and schooling enhanced the disintegration of the Mapuche culture.

Chapter 2

The Mapuche language

At the time of the arrival of the Spanish the Mapuche language was the only language spoken in central Chile, that is from Coquimbo to the island of Chiloé. The Jesuit priest Luis de Valdivia, who made the first description of the Araucanian language (1606), wrote that the language was used in the entire Kingdom of Chile ("... *la lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile*"). The linguistic homogeneity of central and southern Chile in the mid-sixteenth century stands in "... marked contrast with the situation of linguistic diversity and multilingualism emerging from seventeenth-century descriptive accounts of almost any other area in the Americas" (Adelaar 2004: 508). Valdivia mentions differences between the dialect of the bishopric of Santiago, known as *Mapocho* or *Mapuchu* (named after the river of that name), and a dialect further south which he called "*Beliche*". Adelaar states that some of the characteristics Valdivia ascribed to the *Beliche* dialect nowadays apply to the language of the Mapuche in the provinces of Malleco and Cautín (Adelaar 2004: 508). The *Mapocho* dialect, spoken in the area which the Spanish had conquered in an early stage, has long been extinct. The dialects which survived are the dialects which were spoken in the area between the rivers Bío-Bío and Toltén, the former Araucanía, and the dialects further south. The Argentinian Mapuche variety was brought there by Mapuche from the former Araucanía. The Chilean and Argentinian Mapuche varieties bear a strong linguistic similarity.

Names and dialects
Missionaries who studied and described the Mapuche language referred to the language as *Chili đungu*, *Chili đüngu* or *Chili dugu*. The Mapuche call their language *mapuđungu*, *mapuđungun* or simply *Mapuche* (*mapu* 'land', *đungu* 'idea, language, word'; -*n* is a verbal noun marker, see 26.4.6). The Mapuche who speak the southern dialect and live in the provinces of Valdivia, Osorno and Chiloé, the Huilliche, call their language *tsesungun* 'language of the people'. At the end of the nineteenth century Rodolfo Lenz observed, quite like Valdivia before, that the dialectal differences within the Araucanian territory were insignificant (Lenz 1895-7: XXII). Lenz distinguished the Picunche in the north, the Moluche or Ngoluche in the southern part of Araucanía, the Pehuenche in the

Map 2: Distribution of Mapuche dialects. Dialect subgroup boundaries after Croese (1980).

Andean cordillera in what is now the province of Malleco and the Huilliche in the south. In his opinion the differences were minimal between Pehuenche and Moluche, more noticeable between the latter two and Pikunche, and substantial between Pehuenche-Moluche and Huilliche.

The only recent attempt at classifying Mapuche dialects was made by Robert A. Croese (1980). On the basis of a dialect survey which he held at the end of the 1970's, Croese distinguishes eight dialects divided over three branches. The northern branch comprises dialects I and II, the southern branch consists of dialect VIII and the central branch comprises dialects III-VII. The geographical distribution of the dialects is indicated in map 2. The dialectal subgroups I and II correspond to the Picunche in Lenz' classification. Subgroups III-VII correspond to the Moluche-Pehuenche whereas the dialectal subgroup VIII corresponds to the Huilliche. The differences between the dialects are largely phonetic, and primarily concern the sonority of fricatives. Croese's classification confirms the one made by Lenz in a northern, central and southern branch. Salas (1992a: 61) feels that the differences between the Mapuche in the Andean cordillera and the Mapuche in the valleys in the province of Malleco are too few and too small so as to justify the classification in two subgroups. Likewise, the differences between the speech of the Mapuche on the coast, in the valleys and in the cordillera in the province of Cautín are so small that a classification in three different groups is exaggerated (Salas 1992a: 61). Croese finds that dialects I and II are mutually intelligible as are dialects III-VII. He finds some initial communication problems beteeen the dialects I-II and II-VII and establishes no mutual intelligibility between the speakers of dialects I-VII and VIII. Salas feels that Croese overestimates the differences between the dialects I-II and III-VII. He agrees with Croese and Lenz in concluding that Huilliche (dialect VIII) and the other seven dialects are not mutually intelligible. For a discussion of the phonetic characteristics of Huilliche, see Salas (1992a: 86–92).

The actual situation
The majority of the Mapuche population today correspond with the Moluche group in Lenz' classification. The present-day Huilliche are few in number. They live in the southern provinces of Valdivia and Osorno (in particular around Lago Ranco and in the area of San Juan de la Costa) and Chiloé. As it seems, the vitality of their language is waning (Salas 1992a: 62). One can only guess at the total number of Mapuche speakers in Chile. It is estimated at 40% of the total Mapuche population (Adelaar 2004: 14) or at 400,000 speakers (Wikipedia 2006). The socio-linguistic situation of the Mapuche has changed rapidly. At the time of the incorporation of the Mapuche into the new Chilean state (at the end of the nineteenth century) the majority of the Mapuche population of La Araucanía spoke only Mapuche (Salas 1992a: 43). Today practically all Mapuche speakers are bilingual. Given the dominance of the Spanish speaking society the Mapuche were forced to speak Spanish. As the non-Mapuche inhabitants of La Araucanía (and elsewhere) do not speak Ma-

puche there is an absolute need for the Mapuche to speak Spanish if they wish
to participate in Chilean society. The degree of bilingualism is very much de-
pendent on residency in the Mapuche community, participation in the Chilean
society and, generally speaking, the orientation in life of the individual, towards
the traditional or the modern-urban way of life. Elderly people and young
children living in the Mapuche community are on the one end of the spectrum,
speaking predominantly Mapuche, with, on the other end, urban Mapuche
professionals who speak Spanish only. Many Mapuche who have had little edu-
cation speak a *Mapuchisized* Spanish ("*castellano mapuchizado*") (Hernández
and Ramos 1978, 1979, 1984) for which they are ridiculed. The problem is that
many Mapuche who want to provide their children with an important tool for
social promotion, raise their children in poor Spanish. For a vivid picture of
the situation of Mapuche-Spanish bilingualism, see Salas (1992a: 43–49).

The Indigenous Law of 1993 (*Ley Indígena 1993*) states in article 32 that
the State will provide for a system of bilingual, intercultural education. So far,
this promise has not yet materialized. The Mapuche strife for equal, bilingual,
intercultural education. To this end they aim for official recognition of their
language in the constitution and for the development of a standardization of the
Mapuche language laid down in an official grammar. So far, bilingual education
has meant that the Mapuche learn - a little - Spanish. They are not taught
Mapuche nor are they taught in their own language. The Spanish speaking
residents of La Araucanía do not speak Mapuche nor do they have any know-
ledge of the Mapuche culture. At present, small-scale experiments are made in
primary schools in La Arucanía to teach Mapuche children in both Mapuche
and Spanish. The rather egalitarian traditional Mapuche society, characterized
by a low degree of specialization and internal stratification is reflected in the
rather uniform use of the language. There is no difference in appreciation of
the one (local) variety over the other, nor are there major differences in the
speech of men, women, children, youngsters, adults and elderly people (Sa-
las 1992a: 63). There are, however, differences in style, notably emotionally
affected speech versus neutral speech, see section 4.5.

Whilst an official grammar has not yet been produced, several attempts have
been made to standardize the orthography. The most widely used orthography
(including in this book) is the one drawn up by a committee of Mapuche repre-
sentatives and linguists, the Alfabeto Mapuche Unificado (Sociedad Chilena de
Lingüística 1986). The Mapuche have a rich tradition of oral literature. Typical
forms of narratives are stories of fiction (*epeo* or *apeo*) such as myths, fables and
stories about the deceased, demons or witches, and stories about real-life events
(*ngütram* or *nütram*). See Salas 1992a: 211–332 for a discussion of Mapuche
literature and a presentation of texts. See below for publications of Mapuche
stories. The oratory art (*wewpin*) was and still is highly valued. Since the
middle of the twentieth century Mapuche writers have emerged, mainly poets.
They publish in Mapuche or Spanish or both.

The Mapuche language is not widely used in the media. It may be heard on

the radio, but not on television. The Mapuche who make use of the internet, do so almost exclusively in Spanish. There is a great number of social and political Mapuche organizations, many of which publish a leaflet or a paper, mainly in Spanish.

In Argentina the Mapuche language is in the process of extinction. Children and youngsters do not speak Mapuche. The language has for them merely symbolic value (Fernández Garay 2005: 22).

Linguistic Classification

The relationship between Mapuche and other South American languages has not yet been established. So far, various suggestions have been made. In 1896 Lenz claimed that Mapuche is an isolated language, as did McQuown (1955: 512), Chamberlain (1913: 245), Voegelin and Voegelin (1965: 76) and Swadesh (1959: 22) (cited by Stark (1970: 58)). Englert (1936) suggested a relationship between Mapuche, Quechua and Aymara (Salas 1980: 49). Greenberg (1987: 99) classifies Mapuche together with Tehuelche, Puelche (Gününa Küne) and the languages of Tierra del Fuego in the Southern Andean branch. Stark (1970) and Hamp (1971) propose a genetic relationship between Mapuche and Maya. Key (1978ab) classifies Mapuche in the Tacana-Panoan group. Payne and Croese (1988) suggest a relation between Mapuche and the Arawak family. Their hypothesis is based on sets of lexical cognates, grammatical correspondences, and non-linguistic factors such as the original habitat of the Mapuche and the original Mapuche culture "being essentially of the Tropical Forest type" (Croese 1987: 5). Conclusive evidence for the genetic status of the Mapuche language is lacking. Adelaar describes the Andes and the pre-Andean lowlands as an area in which genetically isolated languages and small language families predominate. "Not the number of languages, but rather the number of irreducible genetic units constitutes its most striking feature. The resulting impression of extreme linguistic diversity is partly due to insufficient documentation . . ." (Adelaar 2004: 22). Adelaar points out that in the Andes more languages became extinct during the last five centuries than anywhere else on the South American continent. The majority of these languages have remained undocumented. The loss of so many undocumented languages "implies the loss of just as many potential links between the languages still in use" (Adelaar 2004: 22).

Mapuche studies

The Mapuche language has been studied and documented since the seventeenth century. Adalberto Salas, a prolific writer on Mapuche, presents an excellent bibliography in "La Lingüística Mapuche, guía bibliográfica" (Salas 1992b) which is an enlarged and updated version of "La Lingüística Mapuche en Chile" (Salas 1980). The first grammars were written by priests of the Jesuit or Capuchin order to serve as teaching material for missionaries who sought to spread the Christian faith among the indigenous people of Chile. The grammars of Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) are written in the scholastic tradition. The fourth grammar (1903) is by the German Capuchin missionary

Félix de Augusta, who collected his material in the field and used his own
analytical devices beyond the limitations of the Latin-based tradition. In 1910
Augusta published a number of texts collected by himself and the priest Sieg-
fried de Fraunhaeusl in Huapi and Panguipulli, in the central and southern part
of the Mapuche territory ("Lecturas Araucanas"). Augusta completed his work
with an excellent and extensive dictionary "Araucaño-español" and "Español-
araucano" (1916). The fifth Mapuche grammar was published in 1962, "Idioma
mapuche", written by Ernesto Moesbach. This grammar, which is a poor copy
of Augusta's, suffers from a latinizing interpretation of the Mapuche language.
Adalberto Salas (1938-2000) has made a significant contribution to the study
of Mapuche with a great number of articles on Mapuche phonology and mor-
phology and his book "El mapuche o araucano" which presents a phonological
and grammatical "panorama" of the Mapuche language for a non-specialist au-
dience. In 1989 I published a Mapuche grammar with texts in a limited edition
("A Mapuche grammar"). The present book is a revised and enlarged version
of the 1989 edition. A classroom textbook is Catrileo (1987). A short refe-
rence grammar is Zúñiga (2000). In his book on Andean Languages Adelaar
discusses the Mapuche language in the chapter on the "Araucanian sphere"
(2004, 502-544). Fernández Garay (2005) is a short grammatical description of
the Argentine Mapuche language for an audience of non-specialists.

Since the middle of the twentieth century a growing number of articles have
been published on the Mapuche language. A rather exhaustive bibliography
may be found in Salas 1992a and 1992b. I will mention a selection of arti-
cles, on phonology: Suárez (1959), Echeverría and Contreras (1965), Rivano
(1990), on morphology: Salas (1970a, 1970b, 1978, 1979a, 1979b), Grimes
(1985), Harmelink (1986, 1987, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1992), Rivano (1988, 1989),
Arnold (1996), on Huilliche: Contreras and Alvarez-Santullano Busch(1989),
Alvarez-Santullano Busch (1992), and on historical-comparative linguistics:
Stark (1970), Key (1978), Croese (1980). Argentinian varieties of Mapuche are
dealt with in Fernández Garay (1981, 1988, 1991, 1998, 2001, 2005), Fernández
Garay and Malvestitti (2002) and Golluscio (1997, 1998, 2000).

Several collections of texts have been published. Before the publication of
"Lecturas Araucanas" by Augusta (1910), Rodolfo Lenz had collected a large
number of texts in different parts of the Mapuche territory. He published them
between 1895 and 1879 together with ethnographic and linguistic notes in the
"Anales de la Universidad de Chile" under the title "Estudios araucanos".
Moesbach followed with the publication of the autobiography and memoirs
of Pascual Coña, a Mapuche leader, in "Vida y costumbres de los indígenas
araucanos en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX" (Moesbach 1930). The texts
give an invaluable insight in the beliefs, customs and lives of the Mapuche at
the end of the nineteenth century. Salas (1992a) discusses the different genres in
Mapuche oral literature and includes a number of texts. Argentinian Mapuche
stories are presented in Golbert de Goodbar (1975), Fernández Garay (2002)
and Fernández Garay in collaboration with Poduje and Crochetti (1993).

Chapter 3

This grammar

This book presents a description of the Mapuche language as it is spoken in the central area of Mapuche territory in Chile, that is in the ninth Region of La Araucanía, in the province of Cautín, around the city of Temuco. The data for this book were collected by the author in collaboration with five Mapuche speakers. This book does not follow a specific theoretical model. The primary goal is to make the language facts accessible. The author has received her linguistic training in the Department of Comparative Linguistics of Leiden University the general theoretical orientation of which was inspired by Pragian structuralism.

3.1   Sources

During a period of four years (1977–1981) I worked intermittently with two Mapuche speakers, who at the time stayed in the Netherlands as political exiles. My main informant was Luis Quinchavil, who was born in 1938 and raised in Nueva Imperial. He was a serious man, who devoted himself to the struggle for a just society in Chile. He has been reported missing since 1981, when, determined to fight, he returned to his native land. This book is dedicated to Luis Quinchavil in honour of his exemplary Mapuche dignity and perseverance.

My second informant was Rafael Railaf, born in 1933 in Lautaro, a flamboyant man, who was engaged, with humour and optimism, in opposing the injustice done to his people and his country.

Toward the end of 1981 I spent two months in Chile and worked there with Mario Millapi from Boyeco, a perceptive man, in his late forties. He was a farmer living in the traditional way, and converted to Christianity. He presented a Christian religious program on the radio. In Chile I occasionally checked lexical material with Jacinta Mena, a woman from a village between Temuco and Freire. I checked phonetic details with Maria Huenchun from Nueva Imperial. See map 2 for the locality of Nueva Imperial, Lautaro, Boyeco and Freire.

All informants were bilingual and fluent speakers of Mapuche. The medium of conversation was mainly Spanish. Luis Quinchavil and Mario Millapi used little Spanish loans unlike Rafael Railaf.

This grammar is a description of the dialect of Luis Quinchavil from Nueva Imperial, with reference to the differences recorded from the other informants.

3.2   Outline of the grammar

This section gives a brief survey of the main linguistic features of the Mapuche language. Mapuche is a highly agglutinative language. It makes use of suffixation, compounding and reduplication. Verbal morphology is complex. Word order is relatively free.

The phonetics and phonology of Mapuche are rather simple. Mapuche has the following 25 native phonemes:

five plosives:	bilabial *p*, alveolo-dental *t*, palatal *ch* [č], retroflex *tr* [č̣], velar *k*,
four fricatives:	labio-dental *f*, interdental *đ* [θ], alveolar *s*, palatal *sh* [š],
four glides:	bilabial *w*, palatal *y*, retroflex *r* [ɻ], velar *q* [γ],
four nasals:	bilabial *m*, alveolo-dental *n*, palatal *ñ*, velar *ng* [ŋ]
two laterals:	alveolo-dental *l*, palatal *ll* [l̃],
six vowels:	*a* (low central), *e* (mid front), *o* (mid back rounded), *i* (high front), *u* (high back rounded) and *ü* (mid central [ə] in unstressed position and high central [ï] in stressed position).

The Mapuche phonemic system includes the following four consonants which are restricted to Spanish loans: bilabial plosive *b*, (inter-)dental plosive *d*, velar plosive *g* and velar fricative *x*. Spanish r, rr are usually replaced by the Mapuche retroflex *r*.

The transcription used in this book is in line with the "Alfabeto Mapuche Unificado", drawn up by the Sociedad Chilena de Lingüística (1986), except for two characters. Whereas the SCL write *d* for the interdental fricative [θ], I write *đ*, in order to distinguish [θ] from the voiced plosive *d* [d], which occurs in Spanish loans. The SCL write *g* for the velar glide [γ]. I use the character *g* for the voiced velar plosive which can be found in Spanish loans and I use *q* for the velar glide.

Stress has a limited functional load. There is a tendency to have stress before the last consonant of a word. Chapters 4–9 contain a description of the phonology and morphophonology.

Mapuche has nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, verbs and particles. Verbs are clearly distinct from non-verbs since verbs do not occur uninflected.

Nouns which are coreferential with a person marker in the verb are not inflected. Such nouns can have the function of subject, direct object or dative subject (see below). Nouns can be inflected by the instrumental *-mew* ∼ *-mu*. This suffix covers a wide semantic range. It indicates instrument, time, place, circumstance, cause, and is also used in comparative constructions. Nouns which take *-mew* ∼ *-mu* do not corefer with a person marker and are referred to as instrumental object (INST, see 10.1). Nouns which are not coreferen-

tial with a person marker or inflected by the instrumental have the function of complement (see below). Nouns can be modified by pronouns, adjectives and numerals. Modifiers precede the constituent which they modify. Relations between nouns -spatial, quantitative, partitive, possessive, comitative or coordinative- are expressed by juxtaposition (see chapter 23).

There are demonstrative, personal, possessive and interrogative pronouns. Mapuche has a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns. It distinguishes two frames of reference, context and situation (14.3). Personal and possessive pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural in first and second person forms. For the third person number is optional. Pronouns can have the instrumental object marker *-mew* ∼ *-mu*. For pronouns, see chapters 14–17.

Nominal morphology is relatively simple. There is some suffixation, compounding and reduplication (see chapters 18, 19 and 20 respectively). Transposition of nouns and adjectives into verbs takes place by means of verbalizing suffixes (chapter 21). Suffixes which change verbs into nouns are discussed in Part V. For flectional nominalization, see 26.4, for derivational nominalizers, see chapter 28.

A simple verb stem consists of a simple uninflected verbal root or of a simple or compound nominal root which is immediately followed by a verbalizing suffix (in slot 36). A complex verb stem contains more than a single stem (see 25.1).

Mapuche has about 100 verbal suffixes. They occur in a more or less fixed position relative to one another. On the basis of their relative position in the verb form, and their function, verbal suffixes have been assigned to a slot. There are 36 slots. These are numbered from the end of the verb form toward the beginning, slot 1 occupying word final position, slot 36 being closest to the root. Certain slots contain a number of mutually exclusive fillers, one of which may be a zero marker. Suffixes which occupy different slots may exclude one another for grammatical or semantic reasons.

Slots 1–15 contain flectional suffixes, which have a fixed position. They include suffixes indicating person, number, mood, nominalization, aspect, tense, negation and truth value. Slots 16–27 contain derivational suffixes most of which are semantic modifiers. Aspect markers and valency modifiers fill slots 28–36. Most fillers of slots 16–36 have a fixed position.

A Mapuche verb form consists of a root followed by one or more optional derivational suffixes and at least one inflectional suffix. A predicate is a finite verb form which obligatorily contains a subject marker in slot 3. A slot 3 filler necessarily combines with a modal marker in slot 4.

(1)   *amu-y-m-i*
       go-IND^4–2^3-s^2

       'you^s went'

A verb form which has an empty subject slot contains a nominalization marker in slot 4. Such a form is non-finite and is called a subordinate. Subordinates

may indicate an event as such or the patient or agent of an event. They can be used as an instrumental or locative, or as a temporal, causal or final clause.

(2)   *amu-lu*
       go-SVN[4]

       'the one who went'

The subject of most subordinates is expressed by a possessive pronoun.

(3)   *iñché ñi   amu-mu-m*
       I   poss1s go-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

       'where I went', 'with which I went'

There are three groups of person markers. They indicate subject (slot 3), direct object (slot 6) or dative subject (slot 1). In a verb form which contains one person marker, the subject is by definition the single argument. Subject is first, second or third person. First and second person subject are obligatorily marked for number (slot 2), which may be singular, dual or plural. Number is optional for third person subject. In a verb form which contains only a subject and a direct object marker, the subject is the agent and the direct object is the patient. There are two direct object markers: *-fi-* and *-e-*. The suffix *-fi-*, the external direct object marker (EDO), indicates that the patient has to be looked for in the situation at large, outside the speech act. The referent of *-fi-* always is a third person. The number of the *-fi-* referent is optionally indicated by means of a personal pronoun.

(4)   *pe-fi-y-m-u*
       see-EDO[6]-IND[4]–2[3]-d[2]

       'you[d] saw him/her/it/them'

The suffix *-e-*, the internal direct object marker (IDO), indicates that the referent of the subject is to be identified on the basis of the discourse and is the patient and not the agent of the event. The patient may be a first or second person or a contextually determined third person. The agent is indicated by the dative subject marker (slot 1). The suffix *-e-* necessarily combines with a slot 1 filler.

Dative subject is either a third person (marked *-(m)ew*) or a non-third person (marked *-∅*).

(5)   *pe-e-y-m-u-mew*
       see-IDO[6]-IND[4]–2[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

       'he/she/they saw you[d]'

For the sake of brevity, a third person subject, direct object or dative subject will usually be translated as 'he' or 'him'.

Slots 6 and 1 can be filled in predicates and subordinates. Verbs which can contain a slot 6 filler (and a slot 1 filler in case slot 6 is occupied by *-e-*) are transitive. Intransitive verbs contain a subject marker only. They cannot have

slots 6 and 1 filled (for person markers, see 25.2, 26.1, 26.3 and 26.6 and the appendix with the transitive and intransitive paradigms).

Mapuche has a formally unmarked perfective and a number of aspectuals, most of which have imperfective meaning. There are very few verbs that have imperfective meaning without taking an aspectual suffix (for aspect, see 25.3).

A distinction which bears on aspectual meaning is the distinction between realized and non-realized situations. A verb which contains the suffix -a-, which marks non-realization and fills slot 9, denotes a situation which is presented as not being an actual fact, i.e. a situation that will, must or can take place. The suffix -a- is primarily used to indicate that a situation will take place and is therefore usually translated as future tense. A verb with an empty slot 9 denotes a situation which is presented as realized. Such an unmarked form will usually be interpreted by the hearer as denoting a situation which is an actual fact. All verb forms, except infinitives and imperatives and forms which contain -(ü)wma[4] Completive Subjective Verbal Noun or -mu-[7] Pluperfect, are specified for the distinction realization/non-realization.

Perfective verbs which do not contain -a- in slot 9 are translated as past tense. They denote either a complete event which is presented as having actually taken place or the transition from one situation to another which is presented as having actually taken place. Verbs which have imperfective meaning and do not contain -a- in slot 9 may be translated as present or past tense. They denote a situation which is presented as an actual fact and which may continue to be so up to the present moment.

Chapter 25 presents a coherent survey of both person and aspect markers. The fillers of the slots 1–36 are discussed in detail in chapter 26. The number of the subsections corresponds with the slot number of the suffixes under discussion. For an inventory of the slot fillers I refer to the table of contents.

Syntactic relations are expressed by verbal suffixes and, to some extent, by word order. A verb can occur without any noun phrase. There are no more than two noun phrases which are coreferential with a person marker in a single verb form. One of them specifies the subject, the other specifies either the direct object or the dative subject. Furthermore, a verb can be accompanied by one or more instrumental object noun phrases, which are marked by -mew ∼ -mu, and an indefinite number of complements. The term complement refers to any constituent that is subordinate to the verb and does not have the function of subject, direct object, dative subject or instrumental object. A complement may be an adverb(ial phrase) or a noun phrase (including a subordinate). Complements cover a wide semantic range. Complement noun phrases may for instance denote an object which does not form part of the core situation. Compare:

(6)   *nü-fi-n*
      take-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I took it/him/her/them'

(7)   *nü-n*   *mapu*
      take-IND1s[3] land

      'I took land'

(8)   *nü-fi-n*   *mapu*
      take-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] land

      'I took the land'

(9)   *nü-ñma-fi-n*   *mapu*
      take-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] land

      'I took land from him/her/them'

In (7) *mapu* 'land' is not coreferential with a person marker and therefore has the function of a complement. In (8) *mapu* is coreferential with -*fi*-[6] and therefore is a direct object. In example (8) *mapu* specifies the referent of -*fi*-. It denotes a specific piece of land, whereas *mapu* in (7) is used generically. When a verb has a direct object and a complement object, the animate, more agentive or definite object is assigned direct object function, see (9). For the difference between an instrumental object and a complement, see 10.1.

Word order in a phrase is fixed (see chapter 23 and 25.4). Word order in a sentence is basically free. There is, however, a preferred order, which is influenced by:

1. the semantic role of the noun phrase referents. The agent in a transitive event precedes the verb. The patient or the subject of an intransitive verb follow the verb form.

2. topicality. The entity under discussion tends to take sentence initial position. See chapters 33–35 for notes on syntax (Part VII). The chapters on morphology also contain a huge amount of information on syntax.

Particles constitute a separate, small class of morphemes which express the attitude of the speaker towards what has been said. They modify a noun phrase, a verb phrase or an entire sentence. Seventeen particles are discussed in Part VII (chapter 32).

This book concludes with a presentation of analyzed and translated texts (Part VIII) and a Mapuche-English dictionary (Part IX).

Part II

Phonology and morphophonology

Chapter 4

Phonemes

The Mapuche sound system contains 19 consonant phonemes and 6 vowel phonemes. Unless specified otherwise, the description of the phonetic realization of phonemes holds for all four informants (LQ, MH, RR and MM).

4.1 Consonants

The Mapuche consonant phonemes are presented in the chart below.

	lab.	interdent.-alv.		pal.	retr.	vel.
plosives	p		t	ch	tr	k
fricatives	f	$đ$	s	sh		
glides	w			y	r	q
nasals	m		n	$ñ$		ng
laterals			l	ll		

The Mapuche phoneme system includes the following consonants which occur exclusively in loans: the voiced plosives b, d, g and the voiceless fricative x. My data do not call for a distinction between an interdental series $\underset{\sim}{t}$, $\underset{\sim}{n}$, $\underset{\sim}{l}$ and an alveolar series t, n, l (contrary interpretations are dealt with in 4.4).

Due to the very low frequency of sh, the functional load of the opposition s-sh is rather limited. In quite a few cases sh alternates with s (see 4.5.1). The situation is not the same for all four informants. In the speech of LQ and MH, sh occurs in a limited number of native roots and in a very few Spanish loans (see below). In the speech of RR and MM, sh is even less frequent. Below I list the -native and borrowed- roots which contain sh in the speech of LQ. These roots have been checked with MH and RR, who did not know some of them (indicated by "no" in the chart below). With MM they have not been checked systematically. In a number of roots listed below sh alternates with s, $đ$, r or y. These cases are mentioned in 4.5.1. Whenever information is not available for a specific informant, this is indicated by a hyphen.

	LQ	MH	RR	MM
ash	'beautiful', 'trick'	*id.*	*ađ*	*ađ*
allush	'tepid'	no	no	no
aposh-	'to help to walk'	*id.*	no	—
chüngküsh	'round'	—	*chüngküđ*	—
füshkü	'fresh'	*id.*	*füskü*	—
kashü	'grey'	*kađü*	no	—
kawüsh	'spoon'	—	*kawüđ*	—
kishu	'alone'	*id.*	*id.*	*id.*
kushe	'old woman'	*id.*	*id.*	*id.*
llikosh-	'to sit on one's heels'	*id.*	no	*id.*
meshken	'dried and milled peppers'	*id.*	*mesken*	—
misha-	'to share food'	*id.*	no	—
pañush	'soft'	no	*pañuđ*	—
pishku-	'to cook pulse without salt'	—	*piđku-*	—
pishpish-	'to peep'	*id.*	no	*pispis-*
shañe	'nest'	*đañe*	*đañe*	—
shañwe	'pig'	*sañwe*	no	—
shingé	'moving along'	—	*singé*	*singé*
shiwill-	'to stir'	—	*điwill-*	—
shuchetu-	'to break wheat-ears'	*id.*	*id.*	—
shüllo	'partridge'	*id.*	*sillo*	—
shüllwiñ	'bumblebee'	*id.*	no	—
üllesh	'sweet (of fruit)'	*id.*	no	—
weshá	'bad'	*id.*	*weđá*	*id.*
angkash-	'to take on the back' (cf. Sp. llevar en ancas *id.*)	—	no	—
llashu	'lasso' (cf. Sp. lazo *id.*)	—	—	—
shanchu	'pig'	no	*chanchu*	*shañchu*
shiweñ	'acorn' (cf. Sp. dihuén *id.*)	*điweñ*	*diweñ*	—
ufisha	'sheep' (cf. old Sp. owesha *id.* and contemporary Sp. oveja *id.*)	*id.*	*ufisa*	*ufisa*

In the speech of LQ *s* occurs in only three native roots:

	LQ	MH	RR	MM
masew	'shrimp'	*mashew*	no	—
muska	'brandy of maize'	*id.*	*id.*	—
peskiñ	'flower'	*peshkiñ*	*perkiñ*	—

In the speech of RR and MM, *s* is more frequent in native material (I did not check the frequency of *s* in the speech of MH). All informants use *s* frequently in Spanish loans.

The relation of the palatal and labial glides *y* and *w* to the high vowels *i* and *u* is dealt with in 4.3.1. For the relation between the velar glide *q* and the central high vowel *ü*, see 4.3.2.

4.1.1 Phonetic specification of consonant phonemes

p, *m* and *w* are bilabial, whereas *f* is labiodental.

Apart from the usual realization of *tr* as a retroflex affricate [*č̣*], RR also has a retroflex stop [*ṭ*], e.g. *nütram* [*nič̣ám* ∼ *niṭám*] 'conversation'.

đ is a voiceless interdental fricative [*θ*] with three of my informants (LQ, MH and MM). In the speech of RR, word initial and intervocalic *đ* is realized as a voiced fricative [*δ*], as a voiced stop [*d*] or, less frequently, as a voiceless fricative [*θ*], e.g. *đuam* [*δuám* ∼ *duám* ∼ *θuám*] 'necessity, need'.

The articulation of the alveo-dentals *t*, *n*, *l* is relatively front before *i* and *e*, and relatively back before *u* and *o*. Before other vowels (*ü*, *a*) either variant may be found. With RR, the alveolar articulation is more frequent than with other informants.

k is palato-velar before *i*, *e*, and velar in other environments.

r is a retroflex resonant with a little friction [*ɻ*].

y before *u* may also be realized as a voiced palatal fricative [*ž*] (RR), e.g. *yuw* [*yuṷ* ∼ *žuṷ*] 'nose'.

4.1.2 On the orthography of consonant phonemes

In order to avoid confusion between the Mapuche retroflex affricate *tr [č̣*] and the Spanish cluster *tr*, as in patrón 'master', I write the latter *t.r*, thus: *pat.ron* 'master'.

A cluster of two interdental-alveolar laterals is written *l.l*, in distinction to the palatal lateral *ll [l̃*]. A cluster of an interdental-alveolar and a palatal lateral is written *l.ll*. A cluster of a palatal lateral and an interdental-alveolar lateral is written *ll.l*. A cluster of two palatal laterals is written *ll.ll*.

4.2   Vowels

Mapuche has six vowel phonemes: *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*, *ü*, *u*. They are presented in the following chart.

	front	central	back
high	*i*	*ü*	*u*
mid	*e*		*o*
low		*a*	

4.2.1 Phonetic specification of vowel phonemes

The pronunciation of *ü* tends to be mid [*ə*] in unstressed position and high [*ɨ*] in stressed position. Word final *ü* is optionally followed by a voiced velar glide [*γ*], e.g. *antü* [*ántə* ∼ *antɨ́γ*] 'day, sun' (for a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon, see 4.3.2; for stress, see chapter 7). In my data there is no evidence for a phonemic distinction between mid [*ə*] and high [*ɨ*] (such

a distinction is suggested by the graphs ə and ü, used in the dictionary of Augusta (1916)).

The mid vowels *e* and *o* are relatively high before a homorganic glide. This is obligatory with *o* but optional with *e*, e.g. *llowün* [l̃owín] 'I received', *toki* [tóki] 'axe'; *fey* [fɛi̯ ∼ fei̯] 'he, she, it', *newen* [nɛwén] 'strength' (high-mid [e] is found less frequently with LQ than with RR and MM).

The low vowel *a* is slightly retracted [ɑ] before *ng*, before consonant clusters and before final consonants except *q*, e.g. *ange* [ɑ́ŋɛ] 'face', *narki* [nɑ́rki] 'cat', *küpan* [kəpɑ́n] 'I came'.

The vowel *a* is slightly fronted [a] before *q* and before word final CV (except -*ng*V), e.g. *chaq* [čaɣ ∼ čáəɣ] 'both', *kapi* [kápi] 'pod'. In other environments (before word medial CV, before a vowel or in word final position) both [ɑ] and [a] can be found, but a fronted pronunciation is preferred before an intervocalic consonant.

Henceforth, the allophonic variation of vowel phonemes, treated in this section, will not be reflected in the phonetic notation.

4.3   Vowels and glides

This section deals with the high vowels *i*, *u*, *ü* in relation to the glides *y*, *w*, *q*.

The vowels *i* and *u* are phonemically distinct from their respective glide counterparts *y* and *w* (see 4.3.1 below). The vowel *ü* and the glide counterpart *q* could be interpreted as belonging to a single phoneme, but for reasons to be discussed in 4.3.2 below I prefer a two-phoneme analysis.

4.3.1   *i, u* vs *y, w*

In order to establish the phonemic status of the high vowels and the glides one must consider the sequences in which they occur. *i, y* and *u, w* occur in sequences with non-high vowels:

(a)	*penien*	[penién]	'I see'
	eluen	[eluén]	'youˢ gave me'
(b)	*tranyen*	[čanyén]	'I fell carrying sth.'
	alwe	[álwe]	'soul'
(c)	*fey*	[fei̯]	'he, she, it'
	chew	[čeu̯]	'where?'

([i̯] and [u̯] are used for high vocoids which constitute the least prominent member in a diphthong).

In all cases the high vowels and the glides are less prominent than the adjacent non-high vowels. Nevertheless, the high vowels in (a) are more prominent than the glides in (b). *i* and *u* in (a) are part of the vocalic nucleus of the syllable, whereas *y* and *w* in (b) are not. This will suffice to show that high vowels and corresponding glides are phonemically distinct before non-high vowels. There is no such distinction after non-high vowels (c).

In (c) a morphophonological argument underlies the choice for an interpre-

tation *y, w* rather than *i, u*. Suffixes that have the shape *-y-* or *-w-* remain
consonantal when preceded by another consonant and require the insertion of
an additional vowel, e.g. (*allfül* + *w* + *y*) → *allfüluwüy* [al̃fúluwɨ̃ɨ̃] ∼ *allfülü
wüy* [al̃fúliwɨ̃ɨ̃] 'he wounded himself' (´ indicates primary stress; ` secondary
stress).

High vowels *i, u* and glides *y, w* form sequences in the following ways:
– glide-vowel sequences: *yi, yu, wi, wu*
– vowel-glide sequences: *iy, uy, iw, uw*
– vowel-vowel sequences: *iu, ui, ii, uu* (*uu* only in compounds).

In sequences involving glides, the vowel element is clearly more prominent;
in vowel-vowel sequences both vowels have equal prominence. Examples:

yu:	*lefyu*	[*lefyú*]	'we^d ran'
iu:	*iñchiu*	[*iñčiú*]	'we^d'
iw:	*küchiw*	[*kičíṷ*]	'arse'
wi:	*pefwiy*	[*pefwíɨ̯*]	'he saw him'
ui:	*ponui*	[*ponuí*]	'outside' (also *ponwí*)
uy:	*pefuy*	[*pefúɨ̯*]	'he saw'
yi:	*konyiñ*	[*konyíñ*]	'we^p entered'
ii:	*peliiñ*	[*pelíiñ* ∼ *pelíʔiñ*]	'if we^p see' (for [*ʔ*], see 8.1.2)
iy:	*koniy*	[*koníɨ̯*]	'he entered' (also *konüy*)
wu:	*fey küđawuwma*	[*kiθawúɱma*]	'he had worked' (also *küđawüwma*)
uu:	*aku-umawün*	[*akúumàwïn* ∼ *akúʔumàwïn*]	'I got sleepy' (LQ)
uw:	*eluwken*	[*elúṵken*]	'I usually give myself'

4.3.1.1 Contrast between vowels or glides and homorganic sequences

y vs *iy* in word initial position, before a vowel:
  yall [*yál̃*] 'child (of a man)'
  iyal [*iyál*] 'food'

i vs *yi* in word initial position, before a consonant:
  in [*in*] 'I ate'
  yiñ [*yiñ*] 'our^p'

y vs *yi* in word final position, after a vowel:
  may [*maɨ̯*] 'yes'
  tayí [*tayí*] 'a moment ago' (this is the only example of word final *yi*)

i vs *iy* in word final position, after a consonant:
  mi [*mi*] 'your^s'
  koniy [*koníɨ̯*] 'he entered' (also *konüy*)
  Note *fayiy* [*fayíɨ̯*] 'it fermented' (also *fayüy*) (MM)

i vs *iy* word medially, before a vowel:
  lelien [*lelién*] 'you^s looked at me'
  leliyen [*leliyén*] 'I looked at many things'

i vs *iy* word medially, before a consonant:
  koñiwen [*koñíwen*] 'mother and child'
  weniywen [*weníi̯wen*] 'friends of one another'
  (*weniy* ∼ *wenüy* RR, *wenüy* LQ, MH, MM)

ii vs *iyi* word medially:
  akuliiñ [*akúliìñ* ∼ *akúliʔìñ*] 'if we^p bring'
  leliyiñ [*lèliyíñ*] 'we^p looked'

y vs *yy* word medially:
  meyem [*meyém*] 'when he defecates'
  feyyem [*fei̯yém* ∼ *feyém*] 'when it fits'

In casual speech sequences of identical consonants are usually realized as a single consonant (see 8.1.3).

w vs *uw* in word initial position, before a vowel:
  wariya [*waríya*] 'city'
  uwa [*úwa*] 'maize'

u vs *wu* in word initial position, before a consonant:
  umaw [*umáu̯*] 'sleep'
  wutruy [*wučúi̯*] 'it fell down' (MM only; in his speech this is the only example of word initial *wu-*)

u vs *uw* word medially, before a vowel:
  eluan [*eluán*] 'I shall give'
  eluwan [*eluwán*] 'I shall give myself'

u vs *uw* word medially, before a consonant:
  eluken [*elúken*] 'I usually give'
  eluwken [*elúu̯ken*] 'I usually give myself'

w vs *ww* word medially:
  llowen [*l̃owén*] 'you^s received me'
  llowwelan [*l̃òu̯welán* ∼ *l̃òwelán*] 'I received no more'

4.3.1.2 Contrast involving non-homorganic sequences

iu vs *iyu*:
  iñchiu [*iñčiú*] 'we^d'
  lelifiyu [*lelífiyù*] 'we^d looked at him'

ui vs *uwi*:
  ponui [*ponuí*] 'outside' (also *ponwí*)
  allfüluwiy [*alfǘluwìi̯*] 'he wounded himself' (also *allfülüwüy*)
ui vs *uyi*:
  ponui [*ponuí*] 'outside' (also *ponwí*)
  lelifuyiñ [*lelífuyìñ*] 'we^p looked'

4.3.2 *ü* and *q*
The vowel *ü* and its glide counterpart *q* are presented as separate phonemes.

An alternative analysis would assign all realizations of *ü* and *q* to a single phoneme *Ü*, as the distribution of [*ï*] and [γ] is complementary:
– word initially one finds [γ*ï*] (LQ, MH) and, with some speakers, also [*ï*] (RR, MM), e.g. *üllesh* [γ*ïl̃éš* ∼ *ïl̃éš*] 'sweet (of fruit)'. Word initial [γ] followed by another vowel than [*ï*] does not occur.
– after a vowel one finds [γ], e.g. *reqle* [*ɹéγle*] 'seven', but one finds [γ] and [*ïγ*] in free variation in word final position after *a*, e.g. *chaq* [*čaγ* ∼ *čáïγ*] 'both'.
– after a consonant one finds [*ï*], e.g. *mülen* [*mïlén*] 'I stay'. Word finally both [*ï*] and [*ïγ*] are found in this case, e.g. *kelü* [*kélï* ∼ *kelíγ*] 'red'.

Between consonants, however, several complex sequences occur:
– the sequence [*ïγ*] in, for instance, [*lïγle*] 'if it turns white'. If *Ü* were set up as a phoneme covering the realizations of both *ü* and *q*, the sequence [*ïγ*] in [*lïγle*] would have to be written *ÜÜ*, *lÜÜle* 'if it turns white', in contrast with for instance [*mïlén*] 'I stay', which would be written *mÜlen*.
– the sequence [*ïγï*] in [*lïγïlfin*] 'I made it white' could also be written *ÜÜ*, *lÜÜlfin*, for the difference in environment (C - CV vs C - CC) would indicate satisfactorily which sequence *ÜÜ* stands for.
– however, in a case such as [*lïγïlán*] 'I shall make white', the sequence [*ïγï*] would have to be written *ÜÜÜ*, *lÜÜÜlan*, in order to show the contrast between [*ï*], [*ïγ*] and [*ïγï*] in the environment C - CV.

In order to avoid orthographic confusion and the formulation of excessively complicated rules I prefer to treat *ü* and γ as separate phonemes.
Two other considerations favour such an analysis:
– one informant (RR) shows alternation between *k* and *q* (see 4.5.1).
– a historical alternation *q* ∼ *k* is reflected in verbal morphology:
   naq- 'to go down', *naküm-* 'to carry down', *naqüm-* 'to cause to go down'
   lleq- 'to grow' (intr.), *lleqüm-* ∼ *lleküm-* 'to grow sth.'
   Compare: *lef-* 'to run', *lepüm-* 'to make run' (for causative *-(ü)m-*, see 26.34).
Since in word initial position one finds either [γ*ï*] (LQ, MH) or [γ*ï*] and [*ï*] in free variation (RR, MM), I write only *ü* in that position. Word final [*ï*] and [*ïγ*], which occur in free variation in the speech of all four informants, are also written *ü*.
The monosyllabic root *lüq* [*lïγ*] 'white' is analyzed *Cüq*, even before pause. This analysis is imposed by the following considerations:
– the presence of [γ] is compulsory, not optional, as it is with polysyllabic roots.
– morphophonologically, *lüq* is treated as a root with a final consonant; polysyllabic roots ending in [*ï(γ)*] are treated as vowel final (cf. *lüq-küle-y* 'it is white'; *antü-le-y* 'there is sun', for *-(kü)le-* Stative (*-küle-* after C, *-le-* after V), see 26.28).
– instead of final *üq* [*ïγ*] (only found with LQ), the other informants use *iq* [*iγ*]; *liq* 'white' (RR, MM, MH).

4.4   Evidence for an interdental-alveolar contrast

A distinction between an interdental series t̪, n̪, l̪ and an alveolar or plain series
t, n, l was recorded as early as 1606. Lenz (1896: 128–129) summarizes the
observations in earlier sources, to one of which, Valdivia (1606), I had no access.

According to Lenz, Valdivia (1606) recognized a distinction between dental
t̪, n̪, l̪ (written *t* `, *n* `, *l* `) and "prepalatal" t, n, l (written *t* ´, *n* ´, *l* ´). In
Valdivia's wordlist, Lenz found *l* ` in only three entries ("*cal* `, *l* `*a*, *pell* `*e*") and
n ` in only five entries ("*caven* `, *chun* `*il*, *cun* `*a*, *n* `*o*, *ven* `"). Lenz does not
give examples with *t* `.

Febrés (1765) mentions the existence of dental n̪ and l̪ (not t̪), but prefers
to neglect them, because the dentals are seldom used and because he finds the
difference between dentals and alveolars hard to perceive (Lenz 1896: 129).

Havestadt (1777) does not give evidence of a(n inter-)dental-alveolar distinc-
tion.

After a long period of fieldwork, Lenz (1896: 129–132) noted a difference bet-
ween the two series. As he found it difficult to hear, he asked his informant Cal-
vun to nodd each time a dental was pronounced. He listed the words in which
he found either t̪, n̪, l̪, or t, n, l, or both in free variation. For lack of sufficient
material he leaves the phonemic status of the dentals and alveolars undecided.

In his dictionary, Augusta (1916) lists various lexemes which have dental n̪
or l̪ in contrast with n and l. Dental t̪ is not mentioned.

Moesbach (1962: 28) could not find uniformity in the use of the dental and
alveolar series and therefore rejects the distinction.

Suárez (1959), whose article is based on material collected by Lenz, gives both
the three dentals t̪, n̪, l̪ and the three alveolars t, n, l as separate phonemes.

A similar analysis is found in Echeverría and Contreras (1965) and in Key
(1978ab). Neither Suárez, nor Echeverría and Contreras, nor Key give instances
of contrast between the dental and alveolar series.

Salas (1970a: 92–93) distinguishes "interdental *t.*, *n.*, *l.*", and "alveolar *t*,
n, *l*" ("*müt.a* 'cuerno/puesto al animal', *tu* 'tomar'; *n.engem* 'moverse', *nepe*
'despertar'; *l.a* 'morir', *lef* 'correr'").

Croese (1980: 14) could not find a native speaker who distinguished con-
sistently between a dental and an alveolar series. He concludes: "Encontramos
que la antigua distinción entre dental y alveolar es irrelevante para cualquier
diferencia dialectal actual. A través de las preguntas no encontramos ninguna
conciencia entre los nativos de la separación de los fonemas aludidos".

Both Golbert de Goodbar (1975) and Fernández Garay (1981) base their
analysis on material collected in Argentinian Mapuche territory. Golbert de
Goodbar distinguishes both t̪, n̪, l̪ (which she calls "dental or interdental") and
alveolar t, n, l ("*mat̪u* 'rápido', *puwtui* 'llegó'; *n̪ome* 'al otro lado', *nai̪i* 'el bajó';
pal̪u 'tía paterna', *pilu* 'diciendo'" (Golbert de Goodbar 1975: 179). Fernández
Garay (1981) distinguished dental n̪, l̪ from alveolar n, l, and mentioned only
dental t̪, not alveolar t fot the dialect spoken in the province of Río Negro
(Fernández Garay 1981: 21–22). However, with the progressive loss of the

language and its replacement by Spanish the distinction is now lost. In the
province of La Pampa a dental-alveolar distinction was never heard (personal
comment Fernández Garay 2006).

Because of these differences in the analysis of the interdental and alveolar
series, I gave the matter special attention. The instances given by Lenz (1896:
131–132) and other authors were checked with LQ. He seemed to be familiar
with the distinction, but could not make it consistently. My data, in agreement
with Croese's findings, do not call for a distinction between an interdental series
t̪, *n̪*, *l̪* and an alveolar series *t*, *n*, *l*. A tentative conclusion might be that the
distinction is dying out.

4.5   Phoneme alternation and free variation

Alternation of phonemes in specific morphemes and morpheme sequences is a
notable and frequent phenomenon, which chiefly affects the fricatives. Phoneme
alternation seems to express an emotion on the part of the speaker. It is
discussed in 4.5.1. In specific morphemes and morpheme sequences, pairs of
vowels occur in free variation, without involving a semantic difference. Free
variation of vowel phonemes is treated in 4.5.2.

4.5.1 Phoneme alternation

RR, with whom phoneme alternation is more frequent than with the other
informants, suggested that phoneme alternation expresses a difference in emo-
tional value, in degree of formality and in size of the person or object referred
to. The use of phoneme alternation would also be related to the age and sex
of the speaker. My data do not permit a definite statement on this matter.

Phoneme alternation was mentioned by Febrés (1765: 5–6). He says that "t"
and "th" are replaced by "ch" to express affection: *fotüm* 'son', *fochüm* 'dear
son', and that "r" is replaced by "d" and [*ž*] ("el ja, jo, ju Catalan, o gia Italiano,
o ge, gi Frances") in order to speak affectedly ("melindroso"). Havestadt (1777:
273–292) states that "softer letters" (that is, palatal consonants in relation to
their non-palatal counterparts) denote a diminutive: *fotüm* 'son', *fochüm* 'little
son', and says that phoneme alternation serves to express love and affection
and shows a certain eloquence. Lenz (1896: 130–131) lists the instances of
alternation he found and adds that his data are insufficient to allow for an
explanation.

Other authors, Augusta (1916: XVI), Erize (1960: 16–17), Key (1978b: 284),
Moesbach (1962: 28) and Croese (1980: 26) also mention this type of phoneme
alternation. So far, however, the semantic implications of phoneme alternation
have not been described satisfactorily. More research needs to be done.

Below I present instances of phoneme alternation found with my informants.

Alternation involving fricatives is more frequent than any other type of pho-
neme alternation, and will be dealt with first. The unmarked member of each
pair is given in the left column. With each pair mention is made of the speaker
who used it. Whereas alternation of phonemes was not explicitly checked with

MH and MM, the matter was gone through with LQ and RR. Whenever mention is made of LQ or RR, this implies exclusion of the others. As far as MH and MM are concerned, I only mention the instances I found accidentally.

Whenever *đ* participates in the alternation, it seems to represent the regular, least 'marked' form (a few items are exceptional in that the *sh*-variant is the unmarked one). *đ* can be replaced by *s*, by *sh* and, more rarely, by *r* or *y*. As was noted earlier (4.1), for some speakers (RR and MM) *sh* is virtually lacking. These speakers have mostly *s*, where others have *sh*, or both *s* and *sh*.

đ and *sh* alternate in:

(LQ)	*ađ ∼ ash* 'form', 'habit'
	chüngküđ ∼ chünküsh 'round'
	kawüđ ∼ kawüsh 'spoon'
	pañush ∼ pañuđ 'soft'
	piđku ∼ pishku 'legume'
	shiwill- ∼ điwill- 'to stir'
(LQ/MH)	*angkađ- ∼ angkash-* 'to have so. on the back of one's horse'
(MH)	*üllesh ∼ ülleđ* 'sweet (of fruit)'

đ and *s* alternate in:

(RR)	*ađ ∼ as* 'form', 'habit'
	đüllwi ∼ süllwi 'worm'
	piđku ∼ pisku 'legume' (elder women use *pisku*, RR)
	wüđko ∼ wüsko 'a bird'
(MM)	irrespective of the environment, *s* is often used instead of *đ*, e.g. *đungu* [θúŋu ∼ súŋu] 'matter, idea', *ađün* [aθí́n ∼ así́n] 'I am nice', *ađkawünngey* [á̱θkawïnŋèi̱ ∼ áskawïnŋèi̱] 'he is whining'.

đ, *sh* and *s* alternate in:

(all)	*kuđe ∼ kushe ∼ kuse* 'old woman'
(LQ)	*weshá ∼ weđá ∼ wesá* 'bad'

đ, *s* and *r* alternate in:

(RR)	*chüngküđ ∼ chüngküs ∼ chüngkür* 'round'
	weđá ∼ wesá ∼ werá 'bad' (*weđá* is more strongly negative than *wesá*)

đ, *s* and *y* alternate in:

(RR)	*pañuđ ∼ pañus ∼ pañuy* 'soft'

đ and *r* alternate in:

(LQ)	*achiđkon ∼ achirkon* 'gastric acid'

s and *sh* alternate in:

(LQ)	*sañwe ∼ shañwe* 'pig'
	sanchu ∼ shanchu 'pig'
(LQ/RR)	*suchetu- ∼ shuchetu-* 'to break wheat-ears'
(MH)	*muska ∼ mushka* 'liquor of maize'
	peshkiñ ∼ peskiñ 'flower'

(RR/MM) *kisu* ∼ *kishu* 'alone'

sh and *r* alternate in:
(MH)   *füshkü* ∼ *fürkü* 'fresh, cool'
            pishpish- ∼ *pirpir-* 'to peep'

r and *y* alternate in:
(RR)   *mürke* ∼ *müyke* 'roasted flour' (*müyke* is used by elderly people)
            ñarki ∼ *ñayki* 'cat' (*ñayki* 'small cat')
            pakarwa ∼ *pakaywa* 'toad' (*pakaywa* 'small toad')
            würá ∼ *wüyá* 'bad'

tr and *t* alternate in:
(RR)   *itrokom* ∼ *itokom* 'everybody'
            kutran ∼ *kutan* 'illness'
            nütram ∼ *nütam* 'conversation'
            pütrün ∼ *pütün* 'many'
            trana- ∼ *tana-* 'to fall'
            trünün- ∼ *tünün-* 'to gallop'
            ütrüf- ∼ *ütüf-* 'to throw'
            (LQ uses only *tr* in these cases)

t and *ch* alternate in:
(RR)   *fotüm* ∼ *fochüm* 'son (of a man)' (*fotüm* 'my son') (LQ: *fotüm*)
            fütá ∼ *füchá* 'old (man)' (*füchá* refers to a man with whom the speaker has an emotional relation) (LQ: *füchá*)
            püchü ∼ *pütü* 'small'
            tata ∼ *chacha* says a child to his father (*chacha* shows more affection)
            tatay ∼ *chachay* says a father to his child (*chachay* shows more affection) (LQ: *chachay*)
            ti ∼ *chi* 'the' (LQ: *ti*)
            tunté ∼ *chunté* 'how much?' (*chunté* refers to a greater quantity or a larger distance) (LQ: *tunté*)

tr and *ch* alternate in:
(LQ)   *tripa-* ∼ *chipa-* 'to leave'

k and *q* alternate in:
(RR)   the suffix *-künu-* ∼ *-qünu-* (see 26.32), e.g. *traf-künu-fi-n* ∼ *traf-qünu-fi-n* 'I let it fastened' (LQ: *-künu-*)
            the particle *ka* ∼ *qa* (see 32.16), e.g.
            welu fali-y ta-mün kellu-el ka / . . . *qa*
            but/it is worth/your^p/ being helped/PART
            'but it is wonderful that you^p were helped'

w and *q* alternate in:
(MM)   *umaw-* ∼ *umaq-* 'to sleep' (LQ, RR: *umaw-tu-*)

q and *r* alternate in:

(RR)   *liq* ∼ *lir* 'white' (LQ: *lüq*)
            naq- ∼ *nar-* 'to go down' (LQ: *naq-*)

n and *ñ* alternate in:
(LQ)   *achellpen* ∼ *achellpeñ* 'floating ashes'

4.5.2 Free variation of vowel phonemes

Free variation of vowel phonemes has been attested for

e and *i* in:
(all)   *-lle-* (26.11) and suffixes which consist of, or end in, C*e* (C stands
            for a velar) when they are followed by the endings *-y* 3IND, *-y-ngu*
            3dIND or *-y-ngün* 3pIND (see 26.4.2), e.g.
            fe-m-lle-y may ∼ *fe-m-lli-y may* 'they certainly did that'
            küđaw-ke-y-ngün ∼ *küđaw-ki-y-ngün* 'they^p always work'
            fey-pi-rke-y ∼ *fey-pi-rki-y* 'they say he said it'
            elu-nge-y ∼ *elu-ngi-y* 'he was given'
            külen-nge-y ∼ *külen-ngi-y* 'he has a tail'
(RR)   *nge-la-y* ∼ *ngi-la-y* 'there is no . . .'
            nie-n ∼ *nee-n* 'I have'
(MM)   *wesa-ka-đungu-n* ∼ *wisa-ka-đungu-n* 'wretched talker'
            küme-y ∼ *kümi-y* 'it is good'

e and *ü* alternate in:
(all)   the suffix *-we-* (see 26.19) when it is followed by the endings *-y*,
            3IND, *-y-ngu* 3dIND, or *-y-ngün* 3pIND (see 26.4.2), e.g. *nie-we-y*
            mapu ∼ *nie-wü-y mapu* 'they still have land'
            the postconsonantal variant of the suffix *-(i)l-* (see 26.34) in:
            küđaw-ül- ∼ *küđaw-el-* 'to make so. work'
            leq-ül- ∼ *leq-el-* 'to cause to hit'
            trupef-ül- ∼ *trupef-el-* 'to frighten so.'
            the postconsonantal variant of the suffix *-(ü)l-* (see 26.29) in:
            wirar-ül- ∼ *wirar-el-* 'to shout at'
(LQ/RR)   *angken* ∼ *angkün* 'dry'
(MM)   *üyew* ∼ *üyüw* 'over there'
            tüyew ∼ *tüyüw* 'over there'

ü and *i* alternate in:
(all)   when followed by *-y* (see 26.4.2), the connective vowel *ü* (see 8.1.1)
            alternates with *i*, e.g.
            lef-üy ∼ *lef-iy* 'he ran'
(LQ/RR)   *konüy* ∼ *koniy* 'he entered'
(RR)   *pichi* ∼ *püchi* ∼ *püchü* ∼ *püti* ∼ *pütü* 'small'
            weniy ∼ *wenüy* 'friend'
            wükeñü- ∼ *wikeñü-* 'to whistle'

ü and *u* alternate in:
(all)   before *w*, e.g.

>   *ayü-w-ün* ∼ *ayu-w-ün* 'I am glad'
>   *fey küđaw-üwma* ∼ *fey küđaw-uwma* 'he had worked'
> (LQ)   *mufü* ∼ *müfü* 'how much?'
>   *ngulluđ-* ∼ *ngülluđ-* 'to wipe'

u and *o* alternate in:

(all)   before *a*, e.g.
          đuam ∼ *đoam* 'necessity, need'
          the suffix *-nu-* ∼ *-no-* (see 26.10), e.g.
          kim-nu-chi ∼ *kim-no-chi pichi che* 'innocent child'
(MM)   *wampu* ∼ *wampo* 'boat'

For *o* ∼ *u* alternations in loans, see 9.1 below.

Vowel alternation occurs both in stressed and unstressed syllables.

4.6   Idiolectal differences

In this section I am concerned with form differences in specific morphemes
and morpheme sequences, manifested between the idiolects of the individual
informants. These differences are not numerous. They mainly concern the
use of *sh* or *s* (see 4.1). A variety of other phoneme differences in specific
morphemes is dealt with below:

The suffix sequence *-fi-n* (*-fi-*, see 26.6, *-n*, see 26.3) in the speech of LQ and
RR is *-fi-ñ* in the speech of MM, e.g.

pe-fi-n 'I saw him' (LQ, RR), *pe-fi-ñ* (MM).

ñarki ∼ *narki* 'cat' (LQ, MH), *ñarki* 'cat', *ñayki* 'small cat' (RR), *ñarki* ∼
ñayki (MM)

ngüküf- 'to wink' (LQ), *nüküf-* (MM)

waqllepeñ 'deformed living creature' (LQ), *wayllepeñ* (RR,MM)

lüq 'white' (LQ), *liq* ∼ *lir* (RR), *liq* (MH, MM),

koñü-ntu 'nephews' (LQ, MH), *koñi-ntu* (RR)

wenüy 'friend' (LQ, MM, MH), *weniy* ∼ *wenüy* (RR)

llawfeñ 'shade' (LQ, MM), *llawfüñ* (RR)

kütó 'also, even' (LQ), *kütú* (RR)

kuwü 'hand' (LQ), *küwü* (RR, JM).

Chapter 5

Phonemic structure
of roots, suffixes and words

A Mapuche word consists either of a root only or of a root followed by one or more suffixes. It is not exceptional for a verbal root to be followed by as many as seven suffixes, e.g.

(1) *ütrüf-tuku-künu-me-tu-fi-y-m-ün*
     throw-put.at-PFPS[32]-Th[20]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2]

    'you[p] threw him out and left him there' (where he had come from)

Compounding is productive; some Mapuche words can comprise two or even three roots, e.g.

(2) *kellu-nü-kawell-me-a-fe-n?*
     help-take-horse-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

    'would you[s] go and help me fetch the horse?'

Both reduplicated roots and roots containing reduplicated elements are found in Mapuche (see 26.36).

In this chapter I discuss the structure of roots (5.1), suffixes (5.2) and words (5.3). In section 5.4 the influence of borrowing on the structure of words will be dealt with.

5.1 Root structure

A Mapuche root consists of a sequence of consonants and vowels with the restriction that a cluster of two consonants is allowed between vowels only. Larger clusters do not occur. A root cannot contain more than a single consonant cluster. Sequences of vowels were found in the following roots only: *đuam ∼ đoam* 'necessity, need', *miaw-* 'to wander', *nie-* 'to have', *piuke* 'heart', *ponui ∼ ponwí* 'outside', *trapial* 'tiger'. In these sequences the initial vowel is never stressed. For sequences which are otherwise similar, but which have stress on the first vowel, a vowel-glide-vowel interpretation is chosen, e.g. *wariya* [*waríya*] 'city', *trafiya* [*čafíya*] 'tonight', *luwa* [*lúwa*] 'seaweed', *kuwü* [*kúwï*] 'hand'.

Roots consist of one, two or three syllables. Trisyllabic roots are not frequent. The minimal root comprises a single vowel.

Examples of Mapuche roots:

V	*i-*	'to eat'
CV	*ka*	'other'
VC	*am*	'soul'
CVC	*kal*	'hair'
VCV	*ale*	'moon'
CVCV	*ruka*	'house'
VCVC	*aling*	'fever'
VCCV	*alka*	'male'
CVCCV	*lewfü*	'river'
VCCVC	*aywiñ*	'shadow'
CVCVC	*yiwiñ*	'fat'
CVCCVC	*changkiñ*	'island'
VCVCV	*ekepe*	'lever'
CVCVCV	*kollella*	'ant'
CVCCVCV	*kollkoma*	'coot'
CVCVCCV	*pifüllka*	'flute'
VCVCCVC	*achellpen/*	'floating ashes'
	achellpeñ	
CVCVCVC	*kuñifall*	'orphan'
CVCCVCVC	*liwpüyiñ*	'a pine bush'

Not recorded are roots of the types VCCVCV, VCVCCV, VCVCVC, VCCVCVC and CVCVCCVC.

5.2 Suffix structure

Suffixes have the same phonological structure as roots except for the fact that an initial consonant cluster is allowed, while consonant clusters do not occur non-initially in suffixes. A sequence of vowels was found in the following three suffixes: *-nie-* (see 26.32; *-nie-* is related to the root *nie-* 'to have'), *-(kü)tie-* (MM only, see 26.30) and *-(k)iaw-* (see 26.30, cf. *miaw-* 'to wander').

There are nonsyllabic, monosyllabic and disyllabic suffixes, e.g.

V	*a* NRLD[9]	*amu-a-n*	'I shall go '
C	*l* CA[34]	*amu-l-a-n*	'I shall send '
VC	*el* OVN[4]	*ñi amu-l-el*	'what I sent '
CV	*fi* EDO[6]	*amu-l-a-fi-n*	'I shall send it '
CVC	*fem* IMM[21]	*amu-fem-ün*	'I went immediately '
CCV	*wma* CSVN[4]	*amu-wma*	'I had gone '
CVCV	*rume* SUD[21]	*amu-rume-n*	'I went suddenly'

Not recorded are suffixes of the types VCV, VCVC and larger.

5.3   Structure of words

The general restrictions which apply to roots also hold for words. There are, however, three exceptions for which suffixation is responsible:

a. Sequences of two or even three vowels, e.g. *fey-pi-a-n* 'I shall say', *fey-pi-a-e-n* 'you^s will say to me'. In one case I found a sequence of four vowels: *ina-nie-a-e-lu-mu ti añchü-malleñ troki-w-ü-y* 'they thought that the midget would follow them' (see 8.1.4.4).

b. Words containing more than a single consonant cluster, e.g. *ellka-ñma-fi-n ñi libru* 'I hid his book from him'.

c. A sequence of three consonants: C*fw* (see 6.3.2 and 8.1.5), e.g. *angkađ-fwi-n* (+ *angkađ-fu-fi-n* +) 'I had him on the back of my horse'.

Stems containing a reduplicated element and compounds comprising several root morphemes may also contain more than a single consonant cluster, e.g. *würwür-würwür-nge-* 'to be steaming', *angkađ-püra-* 'to mount on the back'.

5.4   The influence of borrowing

Roots borrowed from Spanish may contain more than a single consonant cluster, initial consonant clusters, and initial *au* (which is never the case in native roots), e.g. *pwente* 'bridge', Sp. puente, *auri-w-ü-n* [aúɾiwǹn] 'I was bored', Sp. aburrirse 'to be bored'.

Chapter 6

Distribution of phonemes

In this chapter I first discuss the distribution of consonants (single consonants, biconsonantal and triconsonantal clusters) in roots, in suffixes and at morpheme boundaries. Subsequently I deal with the distribution of vowels (single vowels and sequences of two or three vowels) in the same environments.

6.1 Single consonants

6.1.1 Single consonants in roots

All consonants except *q* occur in initial position (initial *q* [γ] is analyzed as part of the phonetic realization of *ü*, see 4.3.2).

Examples:

p	*pilu*	'deaf'
t	*tunté*	'how much?'
k	*kulliñ*	'animal'
b	*basu*	'glass' (Sp. vaso)
d	*depwé*	'after that' (Sp. después)
g	*gayeta*	'biscuit' (Sp. galleta)
ch	*chađi*	'salt'
tr	*trawma*	'blind'
f	*filu*	'snake'
đ	*đulli-*	'to choose'
s	*sapatu*	'shoe' (Sp. zapato)
sh	*shüllo*	'partridge'
x	*xulio*	'July' (Sp. julio)
w	*wenüy*	'friend'
y	*yall*	'child (of a man)'
r	*re*	'merely'
m	*may*	'yes'
n	*nor*	'straight'
ñ	*ñochi*	'slow'
ng	*ngolli-*	'to get drunk'

l	*la*	'the deceased'
ll	*llum*	'in secret'

All consonants occur intervocalically.
Examples:

p	*tripa-*	'to leave'
t	*petú*	'still'
k	*ruka*	'house'
b	*resibi-*	'to receive' (Sp. recibir)
d	*radio*	'radio' (Sp. radio)
g	*ortiga*	'stinging nettle' (Sp. ortiga)
ch	*füchá*	'big'
tr	*kütral*	'fire'
f	*tüfá*	'this'
đ	*kađi*	'side'
s	*masew*	'crawfish'
sh	*kishu*	'alone'
x	*fiaxe*	'journey' (Sp. viaje)
w	*trewa*	'dog'
y	*aye-*	'to laugh'
r	*püra-*	'to climb'
q	*kaqül*	'phlegm'
m	*đumiñ*	'dark'
n	*küna*	'reed'
ñ	*kiñe*	'one'
ng	*đungu*	'idea, matter, language'
l	*kolü*	'brown'
ll	*filla*	'scarcity'

All consonants except *x* and the plosives and affricates occur in final position.
Examples:

f	*lif*	'clean'
đ	*püđ*	'thick' (of substance)
s	*lápis*	'pencil' (Sp. lápiz)
sh	*pañush*	'soft'
w	*füw*	'wool'
y	*lloy*	'stupid'
r	*trukur*	'mist'
q	*lüq*	'white'
m	*nütram*	'conversation'
n	*namun*	'foot'
ñ	*kuđañ*	'testicle'
ng	*lipang*	'arm'
l	*kuyül*	'charcoal'
ll	*kuñifall*	'orphan'

6.1.2   Single consonants in suffixes

The phonemes *t*, *w*, *y*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *ng* and *l* may constitute suffixes by themselves.
Examples:

t	AVN[4]	*pe-e-t-ew*	'when he saw him'
w	REF[31]	*pe-w-ü-n*	'I saw myself'
y	IND[4]	*pe-y-iñ*	'we[p] saw'
r	ITR[18]	*anü-r-pa-n*	'on my way here I sat down'
m	2[3]	*pe-y-m-ün*	'you[p] saw'
n	IND1s[3]	*pe-n*	'I saw'
ng	3ns[3]	*pe-y-ng-ün*	'they[p] saw'
l	COND[4]	*allfü-l-e*	'if he gets wounded'

All consonants except *tr*, *đ*, *s*, *sh* and *q* occur in initial position (in the speech of RR initial *q* occurs as variant of *k* : *-künu-* ∼ *qünu-*[32]).
Examples:

p	*pe* PX[13]	e.g. *nütram-ka-pe-n*	'I just talked '
t	*tu* RE[16]	e.g. *amu-tu-n*	'I went back'
k	*ke* CF[14]	e.g. *küđaw-ke-n*	'I work'
ch	*chi* IMP1s[3]	e.g. *amu-chi*	'I'm off'
f	*fal* FORCE[25]	e.g. *i-fal-ün*	'I must eat'
w	*we* PS[19]	e.g. *müle-we-y*	'he still is'
y	*ye* PL[24]	e.g. *wül-ye-y*	'he gave many things'
r	*rume* SUD[21]	e.g. *pe-rume-n*	'I suddenly saw'
m	*mu* PLPF[7]	e.g. *yall-nge-mu-m*	'where I was born'
n	*nu* NEG[10]	e.g. *küpa-nu-l-i-i-ñ*	'if we[p] do not come'
ñ	*ñma* IO[26]	e.g. *weñe-ñma-nge-n*	'I was robbed'
ng	*nge* PASS[23]	e.g. *kücha-nge-y*	'it was washed'
l	*la* NEG[10]	e.g. *i-la-n*	'I did not eat'
ll	*lle* AFF[11]	e.g. *küđaw-ke-lle-fu-y*	'of course they worked'

The phonemes *t*, *k*, *đ*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *l*, as well as *đ* in alternation with *s* occur intervocalically.
Examples:

t	*kütie* INT[30]	e.g. *trari-kütie-fi-ñ*	'I fastened it tight'(MM)
k	*yekü* ITR[18]	e.g. *anü-yekü-pa-n*	'on my way here I sat down now and then'
đ	*püđa* AIML	e.g. *treka-yaw-püđa-lu engün*	'they[p] wandered'
đ∼s	*püđa∼püsa*	(RR, MM), for *-püđa-*, see 27.1.	
m	*rume* SUD[21]	e.g. *wirar-rume-y*	'he suddenly screamed'
n	*künu* PFPS[32]	e.g. *nürüf-künu-fi-n*	'I let it closed'
r	*püra* INV	e.g. *aye-püra-y*	'he laughed without wanting it' (for *-püra-*, see 27.1)
l	*faluw* SIM[22]	e.g. *allkü-faluw-ün*	'I pretended to listen'

Only *w*, *m*, *n*, *ñ* and *l* occur in final position.

Examples:

w	*faluw* SIM[22]	e.g. *kim-faluw-ün*	'I pretended to know'
m	*fem* IMM[21]	e.g. *küpa-fem-ün*	'I came immediately'
n	*ün* p[2]	e.g. *küpa-y-m-ün*	'you[p] came'
ñ	*iñ* p[2]	e.g. *küpa-y-iñ*	'we[p] came'
l	*el* OVN[4]	e.g. *ñi kim-el*	'what I know'

6.2   Biconsonantal clusters

The restrictions which apply to the occurrence of Mapuche consonant phonemes in root final position (6.1.1) also hold for the occurrence of consonants as the first member of a cluster in medial position. Plosives do not occur in that position except for a few clusters which are restricted to borrowed items (*pt, pl, pw, pr, t.r, kt, kw, kl, br, by*).

6.2.1   Biconsonantal clusters in roots

The consonants *đ*, *s*, *sh*, *y* and *r* do not occur as the second member of a cluster in native roots.

The following clusters occur in roots which neither are borrowed, nor contain a reduplicated element:

fk, ftr, đk, sk, shk, wk, wch, wf, wm, wng, wl, yt, yk, ych, yf, yw, ym, yñ, yl, yll, rp, rk, rf, rw, qy, ql, qll, mp, mt, mk, mf, mng, nt, nch, ntr, nf, nw, nm, ñk, ñch, ngk, ngl, lp, lt, lk, lch, ltr, lf, lw, lm, lng, llp, llk, llf, llw, llm.

The cluster *qt* is found only in the verb *pülleqtu-* 'to be alert'. *pülleqtu-* is probably made up of a root **pülleq-* and a suffix *-tu-*. **pülleq-* does not occur without *-tu-*.

The following clusters occur only in roots which contain a reduplicated element:

fn, shp, ngtr, wñ, ytr, yng.

The following clusters occur in borrowed roots only:

pt, pw, pr, pl, t.r, kt, kw, kl, by, br, dr, fy, fr, fl, st, sy, sm, wt, wy, rt, rb, rd, rg, rm, rn, nd, ns, ls.

Among the borrowed clusters nine occur initially: *pl, pw, pr, kw, fy, fr, sy, wy* and *nw*. All other clusters, whether borrowed or not, are intervocalic.

6.2.2   Biconsonantal clusters in suffixes

The clusters *wy, wm, rk, nt* and *ñm* occur initially in suffixes.

Medially, only *nt* occurs, in *-kantu-* (26.22).

A suffix never ends in a consonant cluster.

6.2.3   Biconsonantal clusters at morpheme boundaries

The following clusters occur at morpheme boundaries between a root and a suffix or between suffixes, but not in native roots:

fp, ft, fch, ff, fw, fy, fr, fq, fm, fng, fl, fll, đp, đt, đch, đf, đw, đy, đr, đq, đm, đn, đng, đl, đll, sp, st, sch, sf, sw, sy, sr, sm, sn, sng, sl, sll, sht, shk, shf, shw, shy,

shr, shm, shn, shng, shl, shll, mch, mw, my, mr, mm, mn, ml, mll, np, nk, ny, nr, nn, nng, nl, nll, ñp, ñt, ñf, ñw, ñy, ñr, ñm, ñn, ñng, ñl, ñll, ngp, ngt, ngch, ngf, ngw, ngy, ngr, ngm, ngn, ngng, ngll, ly, lr, ln, l.l, l.ll, llt, llch, lly, llr, lln, llng, ll.l, ll.ll, wp, wt, ww, wy, wr, wn, wll, yp, yy, yr, yn, rt, ry, rr, rm, rn, rng, rl, rll, qp, qk, qch, qtr, qf, qr, qw, qy, qm, qn, qng, ql, qll.

There are no suffixes with initial *tr*, *đ*, *s* or *sh*, which explains why these phonemes do not occur after a morpheme boundary such as mentioned above. Suffix initial *ñ* is only found in the suffixes -*ñmu-* SAT[25], -*ñma-* IO[26] and -*ñma-* OO[35], which cannot occur immediately after a consonant.

Clusters with initial *s* occur only in the speech of RR and MM.

The clusters *fq* and *đq* occur only in the speech of RR in a verb containing the suffix -*qünu-* ∼ -*künu-*[32] (see 4.5.1 and 26.32).

The phonemes *tr* ∼ *ch* and *đ* occur as a second member of a cluster in compounds comprising the roots *tripa-* ∼ *chipa-* 'to leave, to become' and *đuam-* 'to wish, to become half. . . '.

The following clusters occur at morpheme boundaries in compounds, but not at morpheme boundaries such as mentioned above, nor in native roots: *fđ, đtr, đđ, shch, shtr, shđ, ntr, lđ, rđ, wđ.*

The clusters *wd* and *wtr* were found in compounds of partly Spanish origin: *chaw-dios* 'God-the-father' (*chaw* 'father', Sp. Dios 'God'), *pilla-w-tripa-l-e* 'if he is caught' (*pilla-w-*, Sp. pillado 'caught' (from pillar 'to catch'), *tripa-* 'to leave', 'to become').

6.3 Triconsonantal clusters

6.3.1 Triconsonantal clusters in borrowed roots
The following triconsonantal clusters occur in borrowed roots, in medial position: *nt.r* and *spw*, e.g. *ent.rega-* 'to hand', Sp. entregar, *ispwela* 'spur', Sp. espuela.

6.3.2 Triconsonantal clusters at morpheme boundaries
C*fw* is the only type of triconsonantal cluster found in native words. The following clusters were recorded: *ffw, đfw, shfw, wfw, rfw, mfw* and *lfw*.

The cluster *fw* added to the Spanish root *kompañ-* (Sp. acompañar) produces the triconsonantalcluster *ñfw*, e.g. *kompañ-fwi-n* 'I accompanied him'.

6.4 Single vowels

6.4.1 Single vowels in roots
All vowels occur in initial position. The phoneme *o*, however, occurs initially in only one root: *orkon* 'house-post' (which may be a Spanish loan: horcón 'big fork'). The phoneme *u* is not very frequent in initial position. Examples:

a   *ale*   'moon'

e	*elu-*	'to give to'
i	*ilo*	'meat'
ü	*ülchá*	'girl'
u	*umaw-tu-*	'to sleep'

All vowels occur between consonants.
Examples:

a	*rapi-*	'to vomit'
e	*lef-*	'to run'
o	*poḓ*	'dirt'
i	*lif*	'clean'
ü	*füw*	'wool'
u	*kurü*	'black, dark'

All vowels occur in final position.
Examples:

a	*mara*	'hare'
e	*kofke*	'bread'
o	*foro*	'bone'
i	*kapi*	'Spanish pepper'
ü	*antü*	'day, sun'
u	*filu*	'snake'

6.4.2 Single vowels in suffixes

The occurrence of the vowel *o* in suffixes is restricted to the suffix *-nu-* ∼ *-no-* NEG[10], where *u* varies freely with *o*, e.g. *allkü-pe-nu-el* ∼ *allkü-pe-no-el* 'unheard of'.

The phonemes *a*, *e*, *i* and *u* occur as suffixes by themselves.
Examples:

a	NRLD[9]	e.g. *kon-a-n*	'I shall enter'
e	3[3]	e.g. *kon-l-e*	'if he enters'
i	1[3]	e.g. *kon-l-i*	'if I enter'
u	d[2]	e.g. *kon-y-u*	'we[d] entered'

The vowel *ü* is not a suffix. It is often inserted to avoid awkward sequences (see 8.1.1).

The phonemes *e* and *i* occur in initial position.
Examples:

e	*el*	OVN[4]	e.g. *ñi kim-el*	'what I know'
i	*iñ*	p[2]	e.g. *pe-l-i-iñ*	'if we[p] see'

Both *u* and *ü* occur as variants in the postconsonantal variant of the suffix *-(u)w-* ∼ *-(ü)w-* REF[31], e.g. *wül-uw-ün* ∼ *wül-üw-ün* 'I surrendered'.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *u* and *ü* occur between consonants.
Examples:

a	*fal*	FORCE[25]	e.g. *amu-fal-ün*	'I have to go'

e	*fem*	IMM[21]	e.g. *amu-fem-ün*	'I immediately went'
u	*rume*	SUD[21]	e.g. *amu-rume-n*	'I suddenly went'
ü	*künu*	PFPS[32]	e.g. *anü-künu-fi-n*	'I let him sit down'

The vowels *a, e, i, u* and *ü* occur in final position. Examples:

a	*wma*	CSVN[4]	e.g. *füta-nge-wma*	'she had been married'
e	*ye*	PL[24]	e.g. *wül-ye-n*	'I gave many things'
i	*chi*	IMP1s[3]	e.g. *leli-mu-chi*	'look at me!'
u	*mu*	PLPF[7]	e.g. *ñi küđaw-mu-m*	'where I had worked'
ü	*yekü*	ITR[18]	e.g. *lef-yekü-pa-n*	'on my way here I ran now and then'

6.5 Sequences of two vowels

6.5.1 Sequences of two vowels in roots

Sequences of two vowels occur in no more than six Mapuche roots (mentioned in 5.1). They are the following:
in medial position: *ia, ie, iu, ua,*
in final position: *ui*.
The following vowel sequences occur in borrowed roots only:
in initial position: *au,*
in medial position: *ao, ei, ia, io,*
in final position: *ea, ia, io*.

6.5.2 Sequences of two vowels in suffixes

Two sequences of two vowels were found in suffixes: *ia, ie* (the suffixes were mentioned in 5.2).

6.5.3 Sequences of two vowels at morpheme boundaries

The chart below presents the sequences of two vowels found at morpheme boundaries. Sequences occurring only between root morphemes in a compound are underlined.

	a	*e*	*o*	*i*	*ü*	*u*
a	*aa*	*ae*		<u>*ai*</u>		
e	*ea*	*ee*				
o	*oa*	*oe*				
i	*ia*	*ie*				
ü	*üa*	*üe*				
u	*ua*	*ue*		*ii*		<u>*uu*</u>

The sequence *aa* occurs only in the speech of MM, as a variant of *aya*. Other informants always have *aya* instead, see 26.9.

As there is no suffix with initial *u*, vowel sequences with *u* as their second member do not occur outside compounds.

The sequence *ou* was found in a compound of partly Spanish origin: *ilo-ufisha-* 'to slaughter sheep' (*ilo-* 'to slaughter', *ufisha* 'sheep', derived from Sp. oveja).

6.6   Sequences of three vowels in morphologically complex forms

The following sequences of three vowels are found in forms consisting of a root and suffixes:

iae	e.g. *feypi-a-e-n*	'you[s] will say to me'
eae	e.g. *ye-a-e-n-ew*	'he will carry me'
üae	e.g. *nü-a-e-n*	'you[s] will take me'
uae	e.g. *elu-a-e-n*	'you[s] will give to me'

Chapter 7

Stress

Stress has a limited functional load. Minimal pairs do not occur. In phonetic transcriptions stress is indicated by a stress mark on the stressed vowel (´ for primary stress and ` for secondary stress).

The tendency is to have stress on the vowel before the last consonant of the word. Trisyllabic words tend to have the second vowel stressed, e.g.

ruka	[ɹúka]	'house'
ruka-mu	[ɹukámu]	'in the house'
lef-üy	[lefǘɨ̯]	'he ran'
kuñifall	[kuñífaɭ̃]	'orphan'
chüngküđ-y-iñ	[čɨŋkɨ́θyiñ]	'we^p rolled (intr.)'

Longer words may have several stressed syllabes. In general, every second and every last vowel is stressed. The second vowel usually has primary stress, e.g.

af-ma-tu-la-n	[afmátulàn]	'I did not admire'
nak-üm-fi-y-u	[nakɨ́mfiyu]	'we^d brought him down'
allkü-pe-nu-el	[allkɨ́penuèl]	'unheard of'
kellu-pu-tu-ke-fu-n	[keɭúputùkefùn]	'I usually went back there to help'

In longer forms two main accents may be heard, e.g.

anü-ñma-ñma-ki-e-l-i ñi makuñ [anɨ́ñmañmàkiéli] 'don't you^s sit on my poncho!'

küđaw-el-me-we-la-fi-y-iñ [kɨθáwelmèweláfiyìñ] 'we^p did not work there for him any more'

This general rule is modified by several factors:

(a) In a sequence of two vowels it is always the second vowel which is stressed, e.g. *iñchiu* [iñčiú] 'we^d', *piuke* [piúke] 'heart'.

(b) Several words have fixed stress. Unpredictable stress is indicated by a stress mark ´ on the stressed vowel.

A number of disyllabic words of the type (C)V(C)CV have final stress. They include the following nouns and pronouns: *fütá* 'husband', *iñché* 'I', *pülé* 'side', *tunté* ~ *chunté* 'how much?', *tüfá* 'this', *tüyé* 'that over

there', *ülchá* 'girl', *üná* 'itch' and *üñí* 'myrtle-berry' (for an interpretation of *iñché*, see chapter 15). The others are adjectives, numerals, adverbs and auxiliaries. They rarely occur in isolation. They are the following: *anú* 'in case', *đewmá* 'nearly', *epé* 'almost', *fewlá* 'now', *füchá* 'old', *füré* 'savoury', *külá* 'three', *kümé* 'good', *kuyfí* 'former(ly)', *küpá* 'wishing', *kütó* 'even', *müná* 'very', *müté* 'very', *newé* 'not very', *ngellú* 'hardly', *penú* 'maybe', *pepí* 'being able', *petú* 'still', *ponwí* 'outside', *reké* 'like', *rumé* 'very', '-ever', *shingé* 'moving up', *tayí* 'just now, a moment ago', *weshá* 'bad', *wülá* 'then' and *wüné* 'first'. The particle *amá* (32.13) always receives stress on the final vowel.

One trisyllabic root has final stress: *achawáll* 'chicken' (possibly a Quechua loan, see 9.2 below).

(c) The following suffixes have fixed stress: *-yékü-* ITR[18], *-rumé-* SUD[21], *-kántu-* PLAY[22], *-falúw-* SIM[22], *-(kü)lé-* ST[28] and *-künú-* PFPS[32].
     The suffix sequence *-ng[3]-ün[2]* 3p is unstressed.

(d) Five-syllable words tend to have the penultimate vowel stressed, e.g. *ilo-kulliñ-fe* [ilòkulĩ̂ñfe] 'butcher', *ramtu-pe-a-y-mün* [r̩àmtupeái̯mïn] 'you[p] may ask'.

(e) A reduplicated element is stressed according to the general rules stated above, e.g.
     külol-külol [kïlólkïlól] 'throat'
     tranga-tranga [čáŋačáŋa] 'cheek'.
     Reduplicated elements are equally prominent: no syllable is predominantly stressed, e.g.
     kuykuy-pangi [kúi̯kúi̯páŋi] 'rafter'.

(f) One-syllable words may receive stress when they are preceded or followed by one, or at most two, unstressed syllable(s), e.g.
     papel-tu-y kom 'he read everything' [papéltui̯ kóm].
     kom fey kim-el-ke-f-e-y-iñ-mu 'he used to teach us[p] everything' [kom féi̯ kimélkefeyíñmu].

Chapter 8

Morphophonology

8.1 Variation

8.1.1 Schwa-insertion

A schwa (phonemicized as *ü*) is obligatorily inserted in (a) clusters of three consonants, and (b) clusters of two consonants in word final position. In this way awkward sequences are avoided. The inserted schwa may receive the stress, e.g.

küđaw-üñmu-n [*kïθawíñmun*] 'I worked for my own pleasure';
lef-ün [*lefín*] 'I ran'.

A schwa is optionally inserted between a consonant and the suffix sequence *-l-e* -COND[4]-3[3], e.g. *kim-l-e* ∼ *kim-ü-l-e* 'if he knows', and between a consonant and the suffix sequences *-y-iñ* -IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] and *-y-u* -IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2], e.g. *lef-y-iñ* ∼ *lef-ü-y-iñ* 'we[p] ran'. This schwa is never stressed.

In the speech of MM, one may find either *ü* or *i* between a consonant and *-y-iñ* or *-y-u*, e.g. *lef-y-iñ* ∼ *lef-ü-y-iñ* ∼ *lef-i-y-iñ* 'we[p] ran'. Neither *-ü-* nor *-i-* are stressed.

8.1.2 ʔ-insertion

A glottal stop is obligatory between vowels belonging to different root morphemes in compounds (this glottal stop is optional in the speech of RR), e.g. *kim đewma-iyal-la-y* [*kím θeu̯máʔiyallàᶤ*] 'he does not know how to prepare food'. An optional glottal stop occurs in the sequences *ii* and *uu*, e.g.

leli-l-i-iñ [*lelíliìñ* ∼ *lelíliʔìñ*] 'if we[p] look',
aku-umaw-ün [*akúumàwïn* ∼ *akúʔumàwïn*] 'I got sleepy'.

8.1.3 Sequences of identical consonant phonemes

In casual speech, sequences of identical consonant phonemes are realized as single consonants. In a more distinctive pronunciation these sequences are realized as geminates, e.g.

kon-nu-l-i [*konúli* ∼ *konnúli*] 'if I do not enter'.

8.1.4 Vowel sequences

8.1.4.1 *ae*

The sequence *ae* is usually realized as a diphthong [*ae*], but may be replaced by *a*. However, when *a* is followed by the suffix sequences *-e-n-ew* -IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] or *-e-n* -IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1], the sequence *ae* was never found replaced by *a*, e.g.
leli-la-e-y-u [*lelílaèyu*] ∼ *leli-la-y-u* [*lelílayù*] 'I shall not look at you[s]'; *feyentu-la-e-n-ew* [*feyéntuláenèụ*] 'he did not believe me'.

When *a* is followed by the suffix *-el* OVN[4], the sequence *-ae-* is always replaced by *-a-* (LQ, RR). Only in the speech of MM both *-ae-* and *-a-* are found in this case, e.g. *ayü-la-y ñi küpa-y-al* (+ *küpa-y-a-el* +) (LQ, RR) 'he did not want to come'; *iñché elu-fi-n ñi iy-a-el* 'I let her eat' (MM); *werkü-fi-y ñi i-me-al* (+ *i-me-a-el* +) (MM) 'he ordered him to go and eat'.

Along with *tüfá-engu* 'they[d] here' and *tüfá-engün* 'they[p] here' (*tüfá* 'this', *engu* 'they[d]', *engün* 'they[p]') one finds *tüfá-y-engu* and *tüfá-y-engün* respectively.

8.1.4.2 *ee*

The sequence *ee* is realized as [*ee*], [*e:*] or [*e*], e.g. *pülcha-ye-e-y-ew* [*pǐlčáyeeyèụ* ∼ *pǐlčáye:yèụ* ∼ *pǐlčáyeyèụ*] 'they carried him in their hands'.

8.1.4.3 *ie*

When the negative marker *-ki-* (slot 10) is followed by *e*, the sequence *ie* [*ie*] is optionally replaced by *ee* or contracted to *e* [*e:* ∼ *e*], e.g. *sungu-we-ki-e-l-i* ∼ *sungu-we-ke-e-l-i* ∼ *sungu-we-k-e-l-i* [*sungúwekè:li* ∼ *sungúwekèli*] 'don't speak to me any more'.

8.1.4.4 *iea*

When the root *nie-* 'to have' or the homophonic suffix *-nie-* (see 26.32) are followed by *-a-* (see 26.9), the expected sequence *iea* is optionally contracted to *ia*, e.g. *ina-ni-a-lu-mu ti añchü-malleñ troki-w-ü-y* (+*ina-nie-a-e-lu-mu* +) 'they thought that the midget would follow them'.

8.1.5 *fu + fi*

The combination *fu + fi* yields *fwi* [*fwi*], e.g. *iñché pe-fwi-l-i* (+*pe-fu-fi-l-i* +), *feypi-a-fwi-n* (+*feypi-a-fu-fi-n* +) 'I would have told him, if I had seen him' (see 26.8 for *-fu-* IPD[8] and 26.6 for *-fi-* EDO[6]).

8.1.6 *fu + e*

The combination *fu + e* yields *fe*, e.g. *ellka-l-ke-rke-f-e-y-ew* (+*ellka-l-ke-rke-fu-e-y-ew* +) 'she hid him, they say' (for *-e-* IDO[6], see 26.6).

8.1.7 *-iy*

Word finally after *-fi-*, *-y* optionally yields ∅, e.g. *feypi-fi-y* [*feịpífiị* ∼ *feịpífi*]

'he told him' (for *-y-* IND[4], see 26.4.2).

8.1.8 *ñ*-insertion

In a few compounds, of which the first stem ends in a vowel and the second
element is the stem *püra-m-* (*püra-* 'to go up', *-m-* causative, see 26.34), *ñ* is
inserted. They are the following:

anü-ñ-püra-m- 'to make sit up', cf. *anü-püra-* 'to sit up'

tofkü-ñ-püra-m- 'to spit up'

tralka-tu-ñ-püra-m- 'to shoot in the air'

witra-ñ-püra-m- 'to make rise'.

   Other cases of *ñ*-insertion are:

motri-ñ-ke 'fat (people)' (*motri* 'fat', *-ke* Distributive, see 18.1.5)

epu-ñ pülé 'on both sides' (*epu* 'two', *pülé* 'side')

ka-ñ pülé 'on the other side' (*ka* 'other')

ka-ke-ñ pülé 'at other places' (*-ke* DISTR, see 18.1.5)

küla-ñ pülé 'on three sides' (*külá* 'three')

illku-ñ-pe-fi-n 'I scolded him' (*illku-* 'to become angry')

lladkü-ñ-pe-fi-n 'I scolded him' (*lladkü-* 'to become angry/sad')

uma-ñ-pa-ke-la-y 'he does not stay here' (*uma-* 'to stay (as a guest)').

   Compare *-ñ*, which is a variant of *-(ü)n* PVN[4] (see 26.4.6.3), e.g. *trari-ñ*
kawellu 'a team of horses' (tie-PVN[4] horse).

8.2 Radical consonant alternation

In etymologically related pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs a number of
alternations are found. Here we have to do with unproductive relic phenomena.
The following list is exhaustive:

p ~ f; *k ~ q*; *ng ~ ∅*

apüm- 'to finish', *af-* 'to come to an end'

lepüm- 'to cause to run (animals)', *lef-* 'to run'

trapüm- 'to cause to fit in/on', *traf-* 'to fit in/on' (intr.)

lleküm- 'to plant' (tr.), *lleq-* 'to come up (plants)', cf. *lleqüm-* 'to make come
up'

naküm- 'to carry down', *naq-* 'to go down', cf. *naqüm-* 'to take down'

langüm- 'to kill', *la-* 'to die'.

Chapter 9

Loans

9.1 Spanish loans

As a result of borrowing, new phonemes and phoneme combinations were introduced into the language.

Spanish verbs were often borrowed in the third person singular, e.g. *pwede-* 'to be able', Sp. puede 'he can'.

A few Spanish nouns were borrowed in their plural form, e.g. *napor* 'turnips', Sp. nabos.

The following reflexes of Spanish v, b have been found:

p	e.g.	*patiya* 'basin', Sp. batea
		impol- 'to wrap up', Sp. envolver
b	e.g.	*basu* 'glass', Sp. vaso
		gobyernu 'government', Sp. gobierno
		serbesa 'beer', Sp. cerveza
b ∼ f	e.g.	*pobre ∼ pofre* 'poor', Sp. pobre
f	e.g.	*faril* 'barrel' Sp. barril
		lofo 'wolf', Sp. lobo
		yerfa 'grass', Sp. hierba
w	e.g.	*waka* 'cow', Sp. vaca
		kawell(u) 'horse', Sp. caballo
		kawle 'cable', Sp. cable.

In one instance Spanish t has been replaced by the retroflex affricate [č̣]: *trafla* 'plank', Sp. tabla.

Spanish d is replaced by:

f in: *felantar* 'apron', Sp. delantal

r in: *sera* 'silk', Sp. seda.

Spanish g is *g* or *k* in Mapuche:

gayeta 'cookie', Sp. galleta

enggaña- 'to deceive', Sp. engañar

kana- 'to earn', Sp. ganar.

Spanish j [x] has been replaced by *k* in:

keka-w- 'to complain', Sp. quejarse.

In clusters with p and in word final position, s is lost, as in Chilean Spanish, e.g.

depwé 'after that', Sp. después

repeta- 'to respect', Sp. respetar. But note *ispwela* 'spur', Sp. espuela.

In clusters with consonants other than p, s remains, e.g.

estudio 'study', Sp. estudio

entusiasma-w- 'to become enthusiastic', Sp. entusiasmarse.

One exception: *sosialimu* 'socialism', Sp. socialismo.

Elsewhere, Spanish s, z have been replaced

by s,	e.g.	*kosina* 'kitchen', Sp. cocina
		sapatu 'shoe', Sp. zapato
		lápis 'pencil', Sp. lápiz
by r,	e.g.	*awar* 'beans', Sp. habas
		napor 'turnips', Sp. nabos
by sh ∼ đ	e.g.	*angkash- ∼ angkađ-* 'to take so. on the back of one's horse', Sp. llevar en ancas
by đ,	e.g.	*püređu* 'prisoner', Sp. preso.

Spanish s, z are lost in:

aretu-lapi- 'to lend a pencil', Sp. lápiz 'pencil'

kapata-nge- 'to be the leader', Sp. capataz 'leader'.

The old Spanish pronunciation of jota [š] (Entwistle 1969: 231) is reflected in:

akucha 'needle', Sp. aguja

allfiđa 'pea', Sp. arveja

ufisha 'sheep' (LQ, MH), Sp. oveja.

Spanish l has been replaced by *r* in:

felantar 'apron', Sp. delantal.

Spanish ll may be replaced by *y*, but it may also remain *ll*, as happens in Chilean Spanish, e.g.

kaweyu ∼ kawellu 'horse', Sp. caballo

gayeta 'cookie', Sp. galleta

kuchillu 'knife', Sp. cuchillo.

Spanish r, rr are usually replaced by the Mapuche retroflex *r*. In recent loans Spanish r, rr can still be heard, as in *presedente* 'president'.

Spanish r is replaced by *ll* in:

allfiđa 'pea', Sp. arveja.

In the speech of RR I have recorded the verbal root *deyuni-* 'to unite', Sp. reunir, where r is replaced by a voiced dental fricative [δ*eyúni*].

The sequence -sc- is replaced by -*x*- in:

rexata- 'to take back', Sp. rescatar, and by *k* in:

peka- 'to fish', Sp. pescar.

The sequences gua-, hue-, -bue-, and -eo are replaced by *wa-*, *wü-*, *-we-* and *-ew* respectively, in:

wapo 'brave', Sp. guapo
würta 'vegetable garden', Sp. huerta
awela 'grandmother', Sp. abuela
tornew 'tournament', Sp. torneo.

In the Spanish endings -ador and -ado, d is lost, as it is in Chilean Spanish, e.g.

gobernaor 'governor', Sp. gobernador
pillaw 'caught', Sp. pillado
awokaw 'lawyer', Sp. abogado.

In most cases a schwa (*ü*) is inserted in the following consonant clusters: pr, br, fl, fr, kl (pr, br and kl do not occur in Mapuche), e.g.

püreɖu 'prisoner', Sp. preso
kabüra 'goat', Sp. cabra
fülor 'flower', Sp. flor (RR)
füri- 'to bake', Sp. freír
külafo 'nail', Sp. clavo.

Spanish a is replaced by *e* in:
kawell(u) 'horse', Sp. caballo
kanesta 'basket', Sp. canasta.

The vowels *i* and *e* alternate in:
resiwi- ∼ *resiwe-* 'to receive', Sp. recibir.

Spanish e is replaced by *i* in:
patiya 'basin', Sp. batea
ispwela 'spur', Sp. espuela.

Spanish i is replaced by *e* in:
presedente 'president', Sp. presidente.

Spanish initial o is replaced by *u* in:
ufisha 'sheep', Sp. oveja.

Spanish word final o either remains *o*, or is replaced by *u*. Often *o* and *u* occur in free variation, e.g.

toro 'bull', Sp. toro
sapatu 'shoe', Sp. zapato
awto ∼ *awtu* 'car', Sp. auto
kampo ∼ *kampu* 'country', Sp. campo.

The first syllable is lost in:
kompañ- 'to accompany', Sp. acompañar
fürolla- 'to muddle', Sp. embrollar
kalera 'stairs', Sp. escalera.

Note also the following cases:
auri-w- 'to be bored', Sp. aburrirse
chumpiru 'hat', Sp. sombrero
fülang 'white', Sp. blanco (MM)
fürolla- 'to muddle', Sp. embrollar

impol- 'to wrap up', Sp. envolver
kaniru 'mutton meat', Sp. carnero
lichi-tu- 'to milk', Sp. leche 'milk' (possibly through Qu. lichi 'milk', pers. comm. W. Adelaar)
moda- 'to move', Sp. mudarse
sanchu ∼ *shanchu* 'pig', L.A. Sp. chancho.

9.2   Other loans

The following words are derived from Quechua and/or Aymara (pers. comm. W. Adelaar):

achawáll 'chicken', (probably derived) from Qu. atawallpa 'cock'
awka 'wild', Qu. awqa 'enemy, rebel'
chillka 'letter', Qu. qillqa 'inscription, writing'
ekota 'sandal', Qu. ushuta (via Sp. ojota)
ichona 'scythe', Qu. ichuna
kangka- 'to roast', Qu. kanka-
kawitu 'bed', Qu. kawitu
minggako- 'to farm in common', Qu. minkaku- 'to hire labourers'
wampo ∼ *wampu* 'canoe', Qu. wampu 'vessel'
warangka 'thousand', Qu. or Aymara waranqa
pataka 'hundred' is borrowed from Aymara pataka.
    Payne and Croese (1988) mention also:
challwa 'fish', Qu. chalwa
kalku 'witch', Qu. qarqu ("mal agüero")
mishki 'sweet', 'honey', Qu. mishki.

Part III

Morphology and morphosyntax of the noun

Chapter 10

Nouns

Nouns which are coreferential with a person marker are not inflected. Such nouns can have the function of subject (1), direct object (2) or dative subject (4). Nouns which take the instrumental suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* are not coreferential with a person marker and are referred to as instrumental object (INST), see 10.1 below. Nouns which are neither coreferential with a person marker nor inflected by the instrumental, have the function of complement (3).

(1) *iñché ñi   ñuke   ngüma-y*
     I   poss1s mother cry-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

     'my mother cried'

(2) *leli-fi-n   ñi   ñuke*
     watch-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss1s mother

     'I watched (her) my mother'

(3) *leli-n   ñi   ñuke*
     watch-IND1s[3] poss1s mother

     'I watched my mother'

In (2), the attention of the subject is focused on the mother. In (3) the subject is less concentrated on the mother. For *-fi-*, see 25.2.2 and 26.6.

(4) *leli-e-n-ew   ñi   ñuke*
     watch-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s mother

     'my mother watched me'

Nouns are not inflected for number. Plurality of a nominal referent can be expressed by lexical means or implied by the preposition *pu* Collective (11.1) or the suffix *-ke* Distributive (18.1.5).

10.1   The instrumental *-mew* ∼ *-mu*

The instrumental suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* is affixed to nouns (including verbal nouns) and pronouns only. It indicates instrument (5–7), place (8–16), time (17–19), cause (20–22) and is used in comparative and partitive constructions

(23–24, 25–27). The suffix *-mew ∼ -mu* may also refer to the circumstances under which an event takes place (28–29).

(5) *anel-tu-fi-ñ* *kiñe kuchillo-mew*
threaten-TR[33]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] one knife-INST

'I threatened him with a knife'

(6) *apo-li-y* *ta-ñi* *nge küllewün-mew*
become.full-ST[28]-IND[4]-3̲[3] the-poss3 eye tear-INST

'her eyes are full of tears'

(7) *are-tu-n-mew* *monge-li-y*
lend-TR[33]-PVN[4]-INST get.life-ST[28]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

'he lives of borrowing'

The instrumental does not only indicate a place where, but also a direction in which, from which, etc. The ambiguity of the suffix *-mew* as a direction marker may be cleared up by adding a verb which indicates direction, as in (11) below.

(8) *fey-mew füchá puru-y-ng-ün*
that-INST long dance-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

'there they[p] danced for a long time'

(9) *uma-pu-n* *ta-ñi* *peñi-mu*
stay-LOC[17]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s brother-INST

'I stayed at my brother's'

(10) *đewma-ke-fu-y-iñ* *linea kiñe wariya-mu ka* *wariya-mu*
make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-1̲ns[3]-p[2] cable one town-INST other town-INST

'we[p] used to make a cable from one town to another (town)'

(11) *potrü-tripa-n* *ti* *wangku-mu*
fall.backward-leave/go.out-IND1s[3] the chair-INST

'I fell backward from the chair'

(12) *tüfá püntü-le-y* *ka-ke-lu-mew*
this separate-ST[28]-IND[4]-3̲[3] other-DISTR-SVN[4]-INST

'this stands apart from the others', 'this stands apart among the others'

The suffix *-mew ∼ -mu* is left out when the place or the direction is specified by a name. Leaving out *-mew ∼ -mu* changes the function of the noun from instrumental object into complement. Compare (13) and (14):

(13) *amu-a-y* *wariya-mew*
go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3̲[3] town-INST

'he will go to town'

(14)   *amu-a-y*   *Temuko*
　　　　go-NRLD^9-IND^4-3^3 Temuco

　　　　'he will go to Temuco'

Some locational and temporal nouns may be used adverbially (see 10.2 below). With these nouns *-mew* ∼ *-mu* is optional.

(15)   *furi-mew müle-y*   */furi müle-y*
　　　　back-INST be-IND^4-3^3/back be-IND^4-3^3

　　　　'he is at the back'

The relation between a locational noun and another noun is expressed by juxtaposition (see 23.3). The second noun optionally takes the affix *-mew* ∼ *-mu*.

(16)   *furi ruka-mew müle-y*   */furi ruka müle-y*
　　　　back house-INST be-IND^4-3^3/back house be-IND^4-3^3

　　　　'he is at the back of the house'

Instrument and location are also expressed by the nominalizing suffix *-m* IVN^4 (instrumental verbal noun, see 26.4.8.1). In order to disambiguate *-m*, the suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* can be added, but only when *-m* indicates location.

When the suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* has temporal meaning, it may indicate a period of time during which an event takes place or a moment, before or after an orientation moment, at which an event takes place.

(17)   *külá antü-mew kutran-fu-n*
　　　　three day-INST   illness-IPD^8-IND1s^3

　　　　'I have been ill for three days'

(18)   *külá antü-mew tripa-n*
　　　　three day-INST   leave-IND1s^3

　　　　'I left three days ago', 'I left three days later'

(19)   *külá antü-mew tripa-ya-n*
　　　　three day-INST   leave-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

　　　　'I will leave in three days', 'I will leave three days later'

The noun *antü* 'day' is one of the nouns which may be used adverbially. As a result, *-mew* ∼ *-mu* can be left out in (17–19) without creating a clear semantic difference.

When *-mew* ∼ *-mu* has causal meaning as in (20–22), it is found especially with subordinates (21–22). Compare:

(20)   *chafo-a-fu-y-m-i*   *wütre-mew*
　　　　catch.a.cold-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND^4-2^3-s^2 cold-INST

　　　　'you^s could catch a cold in view of the cold'

(21) *pepí   wiri-la-n   rumé wütre-le-n-mew*
      being.able write-NEG^{10}-IND1s^{3} very   cold-ST^{28}-PVN^{4}-INST

      'I cannot write because it is very cold'

(22) *ayü-w-küle-n   eymi mi   fey-pi-n-mew   ti đungu*
      like-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-IND1s^{3} you^{s} poss2s that-say-PVN^{4}-INST the word/idea

      'I am glad because of you^{s} saying that'

In (23) and (24), *-mew* ∼ *-mu* serves to introduce the standard of comparison.

(23) *Rude iñché-mew ina-n*
      Rude I-INST   next-PVN^{4}

      'Rude [is] younger than me'

(24) *iñché ñi   trewa đoy-üy   fey ñi   trewa-mew*
      I   poss1s dog   more-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$ he poss3 dog-INST

      'my dog is bigger than his dog'

The examples (25–27) show *-mew* ∼ *-mu* in partitive constructions.

(25) *itro-kom-mew wente-le-lu*
      quite-all-INST   top-ST^{28}-SVN^{4}

      'the topmost of all'

(26) *wüne-lu-mew müle-pu-y*
      first-SVN^{4}-INST be-LOC^{17}-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$

      'he is among the first'

(27) *iñchiu misha-w-a-y-u   korü-mew*
      we^{d} share.with-REF^{31}-NRLD^{9}-IND^{4}-$\underline{1ns}^{3}$-d^{2} soup-INST

      'we^{d} will eat some of the soup together'

The suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* is not often used to express the circumstances under which an event takes place. One prefers to use *-(kü)le-n* -ST^{28}-PVN^{4}. Compare (28) and (29):

(28) *re   llüka-n-mew müle-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*
      only fear-PVN^{4}-INST be-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-3ns^{3}-p^{2}

      'they^{p} lived only in fear'

(29) *llüka-le-n   amu-y-ng-ün*
      fear-ST^{28}-PVN^{4} go-IND^{4}-3ns^{3}-p^{2}

      'afraid they^{p} went away'

The instrumental object is the argument which is lowest in agentivity. It refers to the actant which is least involved in the event. Compare the following pairs of examples:

(30) *allkü-tu-le-n   fey-mew*
      hear-TR[33]-ST[28]-IND1s[3] he-INST

      'I overhear him'

(31) *allkü-tu-nie-fi-n*
      hear-TR[33]-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I am listening to him'

(32) *đungu-nge fey-mew!*
      speak-IMP2s[3] he-INST

      'tell him!'

(33) *đungu-fi-nge!*
      speak-EDO[6]-IMP2s[3]

      'talk to him!'

(34) *elfal-ke-fu-y   ti wawa ñi   pu   wenüy-mew*
      entrust-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the baby poss3 COLL friend-INST

      'he would entrust the baby to his friends'

(35) *elfal-ke-fwi-y   ti wawa ñi   pu   wenüy*
      entrust-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] the baby poss3 COLL friend

      'he would entrust his friends with the baby'

  In (34) and (35), *ti wawa* (34–35) is a complement, *ñi pu wenüy* (35) is
coreferential with -*fi*- and is the direct object.

(36) *illu-le-n   serbesa-mew*
      feel.like-ST[28]-IND1s[3] beer-INST

      'I feel like [having] a beer'

(37) *illu-le-n   serbesa-tu-al*
      feel.like-ST[28]-IND1s[3] beer-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'I feel like having a beer'

(38) *rakiđuam-küle-n fey-mew*
      think-ST[28]-IND1s[3] he-INST

      'I am thinking of him'

(39) *rakiđuam-küle-n fey ñi   tripa-yal*
      think-ST[28]-IND1s[3] he poss3 leave-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'I think that he is going to leave'

  With transitive verbs, the instrumental may be used to indicate an additional
actant, after subject, direct object and complement:

(40) *iñché trafkintu-l-fi-n*   *kiñe ufisha Xuan kiñe sako ketran-mew*
      I   exchange-BEN²⁷-EDO⁶-IND1s³ one sheep Juan one sack wheat-INST

      'I exchanged with Juan one sheep for one sack of wheat'

In (40), *iñché* 'I' is the subject. *Xuan* is the direct object and coreferential
with *-fi-* EDO⁶. Addition of the suffix *-(l)el-* BEN²⁷ changes the patient into the
beneficiary of the event. The phrase *kiñe ufisha* is a complement and denotes
the patient of the event. *Kiñe sako ketran-mew* is the instrumental object.

The suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* also occurs in the following expressions:

(41) *müná nümü-le-y*   *pütrem-mew*
      very   smell-ST²⁸-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ tobacco-INST

      'it smells very much of tobacco'

(42) *küme-y*   *kutran-pütra-mew*
      good-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ illness-stomach-INST

      'it is good against stomach-ache'

(43) *küme-y*   *püto-ko-nge-n-mu*
      good-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ drink-water-PASS²³-PVN⁴-INST

      'it is good to be drunk'

(44) *müna-li-y*   *teki-mu*
      skilful-ST²⁸-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ weave-INST

      'she is skilful at weaving'

   ⟨*teki* is derived from Sp. tejar 'to weave'.⟩

(45) *fey petú pule-y*   *pali-n-mew*
      he   still be.adept-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ ball.game-PVN⁴-INST

      'he is still adept in playing the ball game'

(46) *mañum-nie-e-y-u*   *witran-mew*
      thank-PRPS³²-IDO⁶-IND⁴-$\underline{1ns}$³-d²-$\underline{DS}$¹ visit-INST

      'I am grateful to youˢ for [your] visit'

(47) *tuku-nge-ke-fu-y*   *küđaw-mew*
      put.at-PASS²³-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ work-INST

      'he was put to work'

(48) *mari pesu-mew antü küđaw-ke-fu-n*
      ten   peso-INST   day   work-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND1s³

      'I used to work for ten pesos a day'

(49)   *ađ-nu-mew*
       form-NEG-INST

       'for no reason'

(50)   *ella-mew* (RR)
       a.bit-INST

       'at the beginning', 'in a while'

10.2   Adverbially used nouns

Certain nouns which indicate time, location or quantity can be used adverbially.
They are the following:

antü 'sun, day', 'one day, by day, daily, in ... days, ... days ago'
semana 'week', 'weekly, in ... weeks, ... weeks ago'
küyen 'moon, month', 'monthly, in ... months, ... months ago'
tripantu 'year', 'a year, in ... years, ... years ago'
pukem 'winter', 'in winter'
liwen 'morning', 'in the morning'
wün 'dawn', 'at dawn'
trafiya 'evening', 'in the evening'
pun 'night', 'one night, by night'
and the days of the week, e.g.
lune 'Monday' (Sp. lunes 'Monday')

furi 'back', 'at the back'
miñche 'bottom, underside', 'under'
wente 'top, upperside', 'on top of'
wenu 'space above something', 'above, at the top'
wif 'breadth, row', 'along'
wülngiñ 'front', 'in front'
pülé 'side, direction' (see 10.4)

angka 'half, trunk'
llaq 'half, part'
mür 'pair, couple', 'in pairs'
rupa 'time', 'once, after'

and the compounds *fach-antü* 'today' (this-day) and *ka-mapu* 'far' (other-land).

(51)   *alü   pun   tripa-y*
       much night leave-IND[4]-ӡ[3]

       'he left late at night'

(52)   *wente ruka   müle-y*
       top   house be-IND[4]-ӡ[3]

       'he is at the house'

(53)   *wenu ruka müle-y*
       above house be-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he is upstairs in the house'

(54)   *angka rüpü müle-y*
       half   way   be-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he is half-way'

The use of *-mew* INST is optional with adverbially used nouns:

(55)   *kiñe mamüll müle-y   wülngiñ ruka(-mew)*
       one   tree   be-IND[4]-3[3] front   house(-INST)

       'there is a tree in front of the house'

Nouns which may be used adverbially can, like other nouns, take a verbalizer. Thus, one may find:

(56)   *külá antü-nge-y   ñi   puw-ün*
       three day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s arrive-PVN[4]

       'it is three days ago that I arrived'

   or:

(57)   *külá antü puw-ün   /külá antü-mew puw-ün*
       three day   arrive-IND1s[3]/three day-INST   arrive-IND1s[3]

       'I arrived three days ago'

Compare (53)with the following example:

(58)   *wenu-le-y   ruka-mew*
       above-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] house-INST

       'he is upstairs in the house'

10.3   Quantity nouns

Certain nouns are derived from an adverb or a numeral. They indicate quantity or size. These quantity nouns end in the suffix *-n*, which is probably related to the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n*[4]. In this case, these *-n* forms are derived from a verbalized adverb, see 26.4.6.3. I refer to the following nouns:

alü-n 'much' (*alü-*VERB[36]-PVN[4]; *alü* 'much')
fante-n 'this much' (*fante* 'this much')
fente-n 'that much' (*fente* 'that much')
fentre-n 'much' (*fentre* 'much')
pütrü-n 'much' (*pütrü* 'much')
pichi-n ∼ *pichi-ñ* 'a few' (*pichi* 'little')
rangi-ñ 'middle' (*rangi* 'mid')
tunte-n 'how much?' (*tunté* 'how much?')
wüne-n 'first, elder, eldest' (*wüné* 'first')

ina-n 'last, younger, youngest' (*ina* 'next')
and nouns which are derived from a numeral, e.g. *mari-n* 'ten' (*mari* 'ten')

   Examples:

(59)   *külá đoy fentre-n   epu-mew*
       three more much-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-PVN^{4} two-INST

       'three [is] a higher number than two', 'three [is] more than two'

(60)   *ngilla-y   pichi-n   mapu*
       buy-IND^{4}-<u>3</u>^{3} little-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-PVN^{4} land

       'he bought a little land'

(61)   *iñché mari-n   kulliñ*
       I   ten-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-PVN^{4} cattle

       'the ten animals [are] mine'

(62)   *pichi-ñ-mew   tripa-wye-y*
       little-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-PVN^{4}-INST leave-PLPF^{15}-IND^{4}-<u>3</u>^{3}

       'he had left shortly before'

(63)   *fante-n-mu   ngilla-n*
       this.much-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-PVN^{4}-INST buy-IND1s^{3}

       'I bought [it] for this much'

Quantity nouns are mentioned here because they are widely used, and often occur in partitive noun phrases (see 23.2). Quantity nouns do not contain verbal suffixes. They can only take *-ke* DISTR, which is a nominal suffix (see 18.1.5). Quantity nouns are treated as a unit. Henceforth they will not be analyzed in morphemes.

10.4   Postposition *pülé*

The noun *pülé* 'side, direction' is connected to a preceding word by juxtaposition. The preceding word may be a noun, a pronoun, a numeral or an adjective. The resulting noun phrase can be used adverbially.

(64)   *lafken pülé*
       sea   side

       'the direction of the sea', 'in the direction of the sea', 'at the seaside'

(65)   *tüfá pülé*
       this side

       'this side', 'hither'

(66)   *iñchiñpülé*
       we^{p} side

       'our^{p} side', 'towards us^{p}'

(67)   *kom pülé*
     all   side

    'all sides', 'everywhere'

(68)   *kiñe pülé*
     one   side

    'one side', 'at one side'

(69)   *kañ pülé*
     other side

    'the other side', 'to the other side'

The postposition *pülé* is also found with the adverb *üyüw* 'over there': *üyüw pülé* 'at that side over there'.

10.5   Preposition *pu*

The preposition *pu* indicates location. It does not occur without a following noun. It is not frequent. The preposition *pu* LOC is mainly used by elderly people.

(70)   *iñché müle-n   pu wariya*
     I   be-IND1s^3 LOC town

    'I am in town'

(71)   *puw-üy   kiñe pu malliñ*
     arrive-IND^4-3^3 one   LOC lake

    'he landed in a lake'

(72)   *pu trafiya*
     LOC evening

    'in the evening'

Note the order of the constituents of (71): *pu* LOC follows a numeral.

Preposition *pu* is probably related to *pu(w)-* 'to arrive', 'to stay' and the verbal suffix *-pu-* LOC, which fills slot 17 (see 26.17).

Chapter 11

Adjectives

An adjective is used as a modifier of a following noun.

(1) *kümé wentru*
     good   man

     'a good man'

An adjective does not occur as a nominal predicate. Instead, one can use a verbal predicate which is derived from an adjective.

(2) *ti   wentru küme-y*
     the man   good-$\underline{\text{VERB}}^{36}$-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

     'the man is good'

For verbalization, see chapter 21.

The adjectives *man* 'right' and *wele* 'left' can be used as nouns:

(3) *man kuwü-mew nü-fi-nge!*
     right hand-INST   take-EDO^6-IMP2s^3

     'take it with the right hand!'

(4) *man-mew nü-fi-nge!*
     right-INST   take-EDO^6-IMP2s^3

     'take it with the right [hand]!'

The noun *poꝺ* 'dirt' can be used as an adjective.

The following adjectives can be used as adverbs:

füchá 'long, old', 'much, a long time'
pichi 'small, young', 'a little, a short while'
kümé 'good', 'well'
weshá 'bad', 'badly'
ñochi 'slow', 'slowly'
rüf 'true', 'truthfully'
we 'young, fresh, new, unripe', 'just, recently'

(5)   *pichi wentru nie-n*
      small man   have-IND1s[3]

      'I have a small man'

(6)   *pichi đungu-n*
      small speak-IND1s[3]

      'I spoke for a short while'

By means of the nominalizer *-(ü)n* PVN[4], adjectives can be derived from
verbal roots, e.g. *arkü-* 'to evaporate', *arkü-n* ∼ *arke-n* 'evaporated'; *kangka-*
'to roast', *kangka-n* 'roasted'. This special use of *-(ü)n* PVN is dealt with in
section 26.4.6.2.

11.1   *pu* collective

The morpheme *pu* modifies a noun, which usually refers to human beings. *Pu*
indicates that the noun refers to a collective, which consists of two or more
component parts. These parts share a common feature which is expressed by
the noun, e.g.

(7)   *ñi   pu   che*
      poss1s COLL person

      'my people', 'my family'

(8)   *ñi   pu   wenüy aku-a-y*
      poss1s COLL friend arrive-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'my friends will arrive'

(9)   *kümé wenüy-ka-w-y-iñ*   *ta ti pu   wingka iñchiñ, pu   italiano*
      good friend-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] the the COLL stranger we[p],   COLL Italian

      iñchiñ
      we[p]

      'I became good friends with these strangers; with the Italians'

(10) *fey-pi-mu-chi,   pu   fotüm!*
      that-say-2A[23]-IMP1s[3], COLL son

      'tell me, sons!'

The morpheme *pu* has a counterpart in the suffix *-ke* DISTR (distributive).
Whereas *pu* stresses the unity of the various component parts, *-ke* stresses their
individuality by indicating that each single part bears the feature referred to by
the word that takes *-ke*. Neither *pu* nor *-ke* are genuine pluralization markers,
although each of them refers to a whole that consists of two or more items. For
-ke, see 18.1.5.

Chapter 12

Adverbs

Mapuche has the following adverbs:

anú	'in case'
aymüñ	'fairly, somewhat, not very'
alü	'much'
allwe	'somewhat, a little'
chaq	'both, equally' (LQ only)
chumül	'recently'
đew	'already', 'yet'
đewmá	'almost, nearly'
đoy	'more'
ella	'a bit, shortly after'
epé	'almost'
fante	'this much' (derived from *fa-* 'to become like this')
fente	'that much' (derived from *fe-* 'to become like that')
fentre	'much'
ina	'near, next to, behind'
itro	'quite' (in compounds only)
yaq	'both' (LQ), 'together (but not equally)' (RR)
yochi	'enough'
yom	'too, over-'
ka	'different, also, again, and'
kam	'or'
kishu	'alone'
kom	'all, completely'
kuyfí	'formerly, a long time ago'
kütó	'even, also'
may	'yes'
mungel	'especially, precisely, always'
müchay	'in a little while, soon'
müná	'very'
mür	'in pairs, together'

müté	'very, (too) much'
mütem	'only, after all, nevertheless, yet' (LQ, RR) (MM: *müten*)
newé	'not so very' (with negative verb)
ñall	'just (when ...), surely (because ...)'
ngellú	'only after a long while'
penú	'maybe'
petú	'still'
ponwí ∼ ponuí	'outside'
pülle	'close'
püntü	'separately'
pürüm	'in a moment, quickly'
pütrü	'much'
rangi	'mid'
re	'only, merely'
reké	'like, likewise, as it were'
rul	'all the time'
rumé	'very, (too) much', '-ever'
rumel	'always'
tayí	'just now a moment ago'
tunté	'how much?'
turpu	'never' (with negative verb)
trür	'together, equally'
wechu	'on top'
wekun	'outside'
welu	'wrong, reverse, in turns, but, all the same'
well	'sometimes', 'incomplete'
weñche	'not very, a little'
wichu	'separately'
wiya	'yesterday'
wülá	'then, until'
wüle ∼ wile	'tomorrow'
wüné	'first'

An adverb is used as a modifier of a verb (1–2), of another adverb (3–4) or of an adjective (5–6).

(1) *epé*   *puw-üy*
      almost arrive-IND4-3³

   'he almost arrived'

(2) *alü*   *püra-n*
      much climb-IND1s³

   'I climbed high'

(3) *rumé alü   püra-n*
     very   much climb-IND1s³

‘I climbed very high’

(4) *pichi đoy alü-y*
     little more much/big-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³

‘he has grown a little bigger’

(5) *rumé kümé wentru*
     very   good   man

‘a very good man’

(6) *allwe   allush ko*
     somewhat tepid   water

‘fairly tepid water’

The adverbs *kütó* ‘even’, *mungel* ‘precisely’, *reké* ‘like’ and *rumé* in the meaning of ‘-ever’ follow the noun phrase or verb which they modify.

(7) *kom amu-a-y-iñ   wariya-mew, fey kütó amu-a-y*
     all   go-NRLD⁹-IND⁴-$\underline{1ns}$³-p² town-INST,   he   even go-NRLD⁹-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³

‘weᵖ will all go to town; even he will go’

(8) *iñché eymi reké küđaw-a-n*
     I   youˢ   like   work-NRLD⁹-IND1s³

‘I will work like youˢ [do]’

(9) *nge-we-la-y   reké*
     be-PS¹⁹-NEG¹⁰-IND⁴-$\underline{3}$³ as.it.were

‘there is nothing left as it were’

(10) *tuchi kalle-mew mungel nge-me-y-m-i?*
     which street-INST precisely be-TH²⁰-IND⁴-2³-s²

‘in which street have youˢ been exactly?’

(11) *ngolli-le-ke-y-m-i   mungel!*
     get.drunk-ST²⁸-CF¹⁴-IND⁴-2³-s² always

‘youˢ are *always* drunk!’

The adverb *rumé* ‘very’ has a second function; it renders a preceding noun indefinite. It is especially used with interrogative pronouns (see chapter 17). The negation marker *nu* (slot 10) can precede *rumé*, e.g. *chew* ‘where?’, *chew rumé* ’wherever’, *chew nu rumé* ‘nowhere’.

(12) *kiñe-ke-mew plata rumé elu-nge-ke-la-y   che*
     one-DISTR-INST money -ever give-PASS²³-CF¹⁴-NEG¹⁰-IND-$\underline{3}$³ person

‘sometimes people were not even given money’

(13) *kiñe rumé elu-e-n*
       one -ever give-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      'give me at least one!'

When *rumé* follows a verb, it adds a concessive value:

(14) *kure-nge-fu-y   rumé, welu nie-la-y   fotüm*
       wife-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]-ever -ever but have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] son

      'even though he is married, he does not have sons'

The adverbs *đoy* 'more', *kuyfí* 'formerly' and *well* 'incomplete' may be used as an adjective:

(15) *fey iñché-mew đoy pichin   libru nie-y*
       he I-INST   more small.quantity book have-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he has fewer books than I [have]' Compare (4).

(16) *kuyfí   pichi-ka-el ...*
       a.long.time.ago small-CONT[16]-OVN[4]

      'a long time ago, when I was still young ... '

(17) *iñché nütram-ka-n   kiñe kuyfí che   iñchiu*
       I   conversation-FAC[33]-IND1s[3] one former person we[d]

      'I talked with one of the elderly men'

The morphemes *ka* 'different, and, again, also' and *kom* 'all, completely' can also be used as adjectives. *Kom* 'all, completely' and *kishu* 'alone' are mentioned here because they are frequently used as adverbs. They are discussed in section 15.1 on substitutive personal pronouns.

The adverbs *anú* 'in case' and *kam* 'or' are used as conjunctions. The morpheme *anú* is found with conditional forms only:

(18) *anú   mawün-l-e tripa-la-y-a-y-m-i*
       in.case rain-COND[4]-3[3] leave-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'in case it rains, you[s] must not go out'

(19) *iney đoy kim-üy?   eymi kam iñché?*
       who more know-IND[4]-3[3]? you[s] or   I?

      'who knows more? you[s] or me?'

The morpheme *kam* is also used as a question marker and as a particle meaning 'since' (32.12).

One also finds *ka* 'and', *welu* 'but', *wülá* 'until' and *well* 'sometimes' as conjunctions.

(20) *... pi-y ta-ñi   đomo ka ta-ñi   llalla   ka*
       say-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss1s woman and the-poss1s mother.in.law also

      '... said my wife and my mother-in-law too'

The conjunction *ka* can be used with *ta* in a preceding conditional clause 'if ... , then ... ' (see *ta*, 14.3.2 (47)). The adverb *ka* is probably related to the particle *ka*, for which see 32.16.

(21) *lewfü-mew müle-y   kochü ko,   welu lafken kotrü ko   nie-y*
river-INST   be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ sweet water, but   sea   salt   water have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'in a river there is fresh water, but the sea has salt water'

(22) *tripa-la-ya-y-m-i   ruka-mew, iñché wiño-l-i   wülá*
go.out-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-s^2 house-INST, I   return-COND^4-1^3-$\underline{s}^2$ then

'you^s must not go out of the house until I come back'

(23) *well   putu-ke-n,   well   putu-ke-la-n*
sometimes drink-CF^{14}-IND1s^3, sometimes drink-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3

'sometimes I drink, sometimes I don't'

The following adverbs are derived from a verb and contain the nominalizer *-(ü)n* PVN^4 (see 26.4.6.2):

chumngen 'then, while' (cf. *chum* 'how?')
femngen 'at last, yet' (cf. *fe-* 'to become like that')
femngewen 'scarcely, barely'
rupan 'after' (cf. *ru-* 'to cross')

Chapter 13

Numerals

Mapuche has a decimal numerical system which comprises the following numerals:

kiñe	'one'
epu	'two'
külá	'three'
meli	'four'
kechu	'five'
kayu	'six'
reqle	'seven'
pura	'eight'
aylla	'nine'
mari	'ten'
pataka	'hundred' (derived from Qu/Ay)
warangka	'thousand' (derived from Qu/Ay)

A complex number higher than ten is expressed by a sequence of numerals. A sequence in which a lower number precedes a higher number indicates multiplication:

(1)   *epu mari*
       two ten

       'twenty'

A sequence in which a higher number precedes a lower number indicates addition:

(2)   *mari epu*
       ten   two

       'twelve'

Multiplication takes precedence over addition:

(3)   *epu mari kechu*
       two ten   five

       'twenty-five'

(4)   *pataka epu mari kechu*
      hundred two ten   five

      'hundred and twenty-five'

(5)   *kechu warangka kayu mari*
      five   thousand six   ten

      'five thousand and sixty'

(6)   *külá pataka warangka*
      three hundred thousand

      'three hundred thousand'

High numbers like the one in (6) cause confusion (cf. (11,19)). Complex high numbers are more commonly expressed in Spanish. Ordinal numerals are derived from a numeral, which is followed by the verbalizer *-nge*[36], the subjective verbal noun marker *-∅*[4] and the adjectivizer *-chi*, e.g. *kiñe-nge-chi* 'first', 'unique', see 18.2.2.

Numerals are used as modifiers of a noun (7–8) or a verb (9), but can also be used independently (10–11).

(7)   *mari kechu tripantu nie-y*
      ten   five   year   have-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is fifteen years'

(8)   *mari kiñe antü amu-le-y   ta-chi küyen*
      ten   one day go-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] the-ADJ month

      'it is the eleventh of this month' (lit.: this month is going eleven days)

(9)   *epu uma-me-y-u*
      two stay-TH[20]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

      'we[d] went to stay there twice'

(10) *külá nie-n*
      three have/get-IND1s[3]

      'I have got three'

(11) *külá fe-m-nge-y*
      three become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it looks like a three'

The adverb *rumé* '-ever' can follow a numeral: *kiñe rumé* 'if only one', *kiñe nu rumé* 'not even one'.

Before *pülé* 'side, direction', the numerals *epu* 'two' and *külá* 'three' have the alternants *epuñ* and *külañ* respectively: *epuñ pülé* 'at both sides', *külañ pülé* 'at three sides'.

The numeral *kiñe* is also used in the following ways:

a) as an impersonal pronoun:

(12)   *ñochi treka-le-y   kiñe* (8,63)
       slowly walk-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ one

       'one walked slowly'

b) as an indefinite article:

(13)   ... *ye-ke-fu-y   engün kiñe sako-mew*
       carry-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p]   one   sack-INST

       ' ... they[p] carried in a sack'

This use of *kiñe* is probably derived from Spanish. The more a speaker uses Spanish words while speaking Mapuche, the more he will use *kiñe* as an indefinite article.

c) as a modifier meaning 'some', 'unique, only' or 'particular':

(14)   *kiñe epu mari kechu tripantu-nge-y* ... (4,1)
       one   two ten   five   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

       'it was some twenty-five years ago ...'

(15)   *nü-ñma-nge-n   ñi   kiñe kulliñ!*
       take-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] poss1s one   animal

       'my only animal was taken away from me!' (lit.: I was taken away my only animal)

(16)   *fey-mu fey entu-fi-y-iñ   tüfa-chi kiñe küɖaw* (14,29)
       that-INST that take.out-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] this-ADJ one   work

       'that is why we[p] set up this particular work'

d) in the following expressions:

kiñe mufü 'quite a few' (*mufü* 'how much?'), cf. Sp. unos cuantos 'a few'
kiñe-ke 'some, a few' (cf. -*ke* DISTR, 18.1.5)
ka-ke kiñe-ke 'each apart' (other-DISTR one-DISTR).

Chapter 14

Demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns

This chapter deals with pronouns which are almost exclusively demonstrative (14.1), with *fey* 'that', which may have demonstrative and anaphoric meaning (14.2), and with the pronouns *ta* and *ti* which are used anaphorically only (14.3).

14.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Mapuche has a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns:

tüfá	'this'
tüfey ~ *tüfiy*	'that'
tüyé	'that over there' (in derivates also *üyé*, *tié*)

The pronoun *tüfey* takes standard stress (on the vowel before the last consonant). The element *tü-* is never stressed. The demonstrative pronouns *tüfá*, *tüfey* and *tüyé* refer to animate and inanimate entities. The pronoun *tüfá* may have anaphoric meaning, see (8), (10), (19) and 14.3. The demonstrative pronouns occur independently, as modifiers of a noun phrase (with *-chi* ADJ, see below), in pronominal compounds with *fey* (see 14.2) or with an anaphoric pronoun (see 14.3). The pronoun *tüfá* may be used as a temporal or locational adverb.

(1)   *tüfá nor-küle-y*
      this straight-ST^{28}-IND^4-3^3

      'this is straight'

(2)   *tüyé*   *leli-fi-nge!*
      that.over.there look-EDO^6-IMP2s^3

      'look at him over there!'

(3)   *tüfá ruka*
      this house

      'this [is a] house' (for nominal sentences, see chapter 24)

(4)   *iñchiñ tüfá kon-a-y-iñ*
       we^p this enter-NRLD^9-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2

       'at this moment we^p will enter'

Demonstrative pronouns take adjectivizer *-chi* (18.2.2) when used as modifiers of a noun phrase:

tüfa-chi 'this'
tüfey-chi 'that'
tüye-chi 'that over there'

The modifier *tüye-chi* alternates with *üye-chi* and *tie-chi*.

(5)   *tüfa-chi pichi ruka müle-n*
       this-ADJ small house be-IND1s^3

       'I live in this small house'

(6)   *tüfey-chi fülor, chem üy   nie-y   am?*
       these-ADJ flower, what name have-IND^4-3^3 PART

       'these flowers, what name do they have?'

Instead of *tüfey(-chi)*, which does not occur often, *fey(-chi)* is commonly used. Thus one finds *tüfa-mew* 'here', *tüye-mew* 'over there' and *fey-mew* 'there', not **tüfey-mew*; and *tüfá pülé* 'this side', *tüyé pülé* 'that side over there' and *fey pülé* 'that side', not **tüfey pülé*. For *pülé*, see 10.4.

In a few cases I found *fa-chi* instead of *tüfa-chi*: *fa-chi pülé* 'this side', *fa-chi ađ* 'this side'. The modifier *fa-chi* also occurs in two compounds, see remark (i) at the end of this chapter.

The demonstrative pronouns *tüfá* and *tüfey* may be derived from a root **fa-* and **fe-* respectively, which are also found in the deictic verbs *fa-* 'to become like this' and *fe-* 'to become like that' (see chapter 30).

14.2 *fey* 'that'

The pronoun *fey* ∼ *fiy* 'that' has both demonstrative and anaphoric meaning. It also forms part of the personal pronominal system as indicator of the third person. When used independently or inflected with *-mew* INST, *fey* indicates third person unmarked for proximity/distance or else it is used adverbially (*fey* 'he, she, it, then' or 'certainly' (in answer to a question), e.g. *fey-mew* 'to, for, by, etc. him/her/it, therefore, then').

The adnominal adjective *fey-chi* is used as a modifier of a noun phrase whose referent is usually defined by the context.

A compound consisting of *fey* and a demonstrative pronoun indicates third person marked for proximity/distance (*fey-tüfá* 'this here', *fey-tüfey* 'that there', *fey-tüyé* 'that over there'). These compounds can take *-chi* ADJ or *-mew* INST. One finds *fey-tüfa-chi* 'this', not **fey-chi tüfa-chi*.

The pronoun *fey* can also form part of a compound with an anaphoric pronoun, for *fey-ta*, *fey-ti* and *fey-ta-tí*, see 14.3 below. Personal pronominal *fey*

is further discussed in chapter 15.

Most examples given in this chapter are taken from texts, since anaphoric (or anaphorically used) pronouns are best understood in their context. Reference to the text and line is given between brackets.

(7)   *fey-chi fülor, chem üy   nie-y   am?*
      that-ADJ flower, what   name have-IND[4]-[3][3] PART

      'these flowers, what name do they have?'

In (7) *fey-chi* has anaphoric meaning. Compare with (6) where *tüfeychi* has demonstrative meaning.

(8)   *fey-chi küđaw nie-y   tüfa-chi laftra pichi-ke   wekufü* (LQ;1,39)
      that-ADJ work   have-IND[4]-[3][3] this-ADJ stunted little-DISTR demon

      'that is the work these stunted little demons do'

Like *fey*, *fey-chi* can be used adverbially. Adverbial *fey-chi* does not occur often. Compare:

(9)   *fey   pichin   mapu nie-y-iñ*   (MM; 12,3).
      then small.quantity land   have-IND[4]-[1ns][3]-p[2]

      'we[p] then had a bit of land'

(10) *fey-chi iñché đoy pe-we-la-fi-n   tüfa-chi misionero* (LQ; 4,41)
      that-ADJ I   more see-PS[19]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] this-ADJ missionary

      '[and] then I did not see this missionary any more'

In (10) the noun *rupa* 'time' has probably been left out after *fey-chi*, cf. *fey-chi rupa* 'that time, then'.

(11) *fey-tüfa-chi achawáll kewa-y-ng-u   tüye-chi   achawáll yengu*
      that-this-ADJ chicken   fight-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2] that.over.there-ADJ chicken   they[d]

      'this chicken here fought with that chicken over there'

(12) *fey-tüfa-mew müle-y   ta-yu   küđaw-pe-ye-m*
      that-this-INST   be-IND[4]-[3][3] the-poss1d work-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

      'here is [the place] where we[d] work'

In a few rare cases I found an independent adjectivized pronoun:

(13) *fey-tüfa-chi đungu-y*
      that-this-ADJ speak-IND[4]-[3][3]

      'this one spoke'

In (13) a noun has probably been left out after *fey-tüfa-chi*.

The pronoun *fey* forms part of a compound with *pi-* 'to say, to want': *fey-pi-* 'to tell something to somebody' and with *engu* 3d and *engün* 3p. See remark (ii) at the end of this chapter, and chapter 15.

14.3   Anaphoric pronouns

There are two anaphoric pronouns: *ta* and *ti*. They reflect a distinction bet-
ween two frames of reference: context and situation. Both express the presup-
position of the speaker that the referent of the pronoun can be identified by
the hearer. The referent of *ta* is to be found in the context. The referent of
ti is to be found in the situation at large. Whereas *ta* refers to information
shared by speaker and hearer only, *ti* refers to general information. Examples
(14) and (15) illustrate the difference of frame of reference between *ta* and *ti*.
In these examples both morphemes are used as a definite article. Compare:

(14)   *fey ta doktor*
          he   the doctor

       'he [is] the doctor' (i.e. the doctor we talked about)

(15)   *fey ti   doktor*
          he   the doctor

       'he [is] the doctor' (i.e. he has the generally known profession of doctor)

The referent of a noun phrase can simultaneously be defined contextually and
situationally, in which case both *ta* and *ti* are used, or either *ta* or *ti*, depending
on the speaker (see 14.3.1).

The morpheme *ta* nearly always refers to what has been said. It may, howe-
ver, refer to what follows, as in

(16)   *depwé welu ta: ...*
          later   but   the

       'but later [they were told] this: ...'

The element *ta* is an important discourse guide. It is not just an 'ornamental
particle' (Augusta 1916: 225, Moesbach 1962: 177). By means of *ta*, the
speaker checks if the hearer can follow him. The use of *ta* urges the hearer to
identify the referent. A great storyteller like RR uses *ta* continuously, much
like someone who never stops saying 'you know'. LQ is extremely economical
with *ta*. He is a very deliberate speaker. He would first write his stories down
and then have them taped, which explains the extremely low frequency of *ta*
in his texts. MM takes a position in between. He uses *ta*, but not so much as
RR.

The distinction context/situation is not only reflected by *ta/ti*, but also by
the verbal roots *fa-* 'to become like this'/*fe-* 'to become like that' (chapter 30)
and the direct object markers *-e-* IDO[6]/*-fi-* EDO[6]. For *-e-/-fi-* see 25.2.2 and
26.6.

Below I discuss the use of *ta* and *ti*. Unless they form part of a compund, *ta*
and *ti* do not take the instrumental object marker *-mew* ∼ *-mu* INST.

The morphemes *ta* and *ti* occur as modifiers of a following noun phrase,
in which function they are uninflected (cf. (14) and (15)), or form part of an

adjectivized compound with a demonstrative pronoun. Attested are: *fey-ta-chi* and *fey-ti-chi* (see 14.3.1).

Unlike *ti*, the morpheme *ta* can take the adjectivizer *-chi*.

The element *ta* is used as an anaphoric dummy (see 14.3.2). Both *ta* and *ti* form part of a demonstrative pronominal compound which can be used independently. Attested are: *ta-tí, tüfa-ta, ta-tüfá, fey-ta, fey-ti* and *fey-ta-tí*. The demonstrative pronoun *tüfá* 'this' is not compatible with *ti* (see 14.3.3).

The morpheme *ta* may occur in a compound with a possessive pronoun (see 14.3.4).

The elements *ta* and *chi* (alternant of *ti*) are found in the particles *anta* and *anchi* (see 14.3.5, 32.9 and 32.10).

14.3.1   *ta* and *ti* as modifiers

The modifiers *ta* and *ti* precede the noun phrase they modify. In the speech of LQ, the modifier *ta* does not occur without *-chi* ADJ. Attested are *fey-ta-chi* and occasionally *ta-chi*. Most frequently, however, *(fey-)tüfa-chi* is used as a contextually defined modifier.

(17)   *fey-ta-chi   pu   Mapuche kim-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   fende-n   ñi*
       this-the-ADJ COLL Mapuche   know-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 sell-PVN[4] poss3

       mapu (LQ: 5,45)
       land

       'these Mapuche knew they sold their land'

(18)   *fey-tüfá ta-chi   toki ta-ñi   küđaw-mu-m*
       that-this the-ADJ axe   the-poss1s work-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

       'this here [is] the axe I have worked with'

(19)   *kom tüfa-chi đungu rumé llađkü-n-nge-y*
       all   this-ADJ matter very   get.sad-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'all these things are very distressing'

The modifier *ta* is rare in the speech of MM. He also uses *fey-ta-chi*, *ta-chi* and *tüfa-chi*. In the speech of RR (and JM), *ta* regularly occurs uninflected.

(20)   *đewma-ke-fu-n   ta tore*
       make/finish-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the tower

       'I used to make these masts, you know'

(21)   *ta makuñ-mu ta kim-e-y-u*
       the poncho-INST the learn-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

       'I knew you[s] by the poncho' (i.e. I recognized you because of the poncho you wear, the one we discussed)

Only RR uses *ta* and *ti* simultaneously as modifiers of a noun phrase. The referent is usually only contextually defined. The sequence *ta ti* is distinguished

from the compound *ta-tí* by a pause which can be heard between *ta* and *ti* in careful speech and by stress: *ta* and *ti* take equal stress, whereas *ta-tí* is stressed on the last vowel. The compound *ta-tí* is discussed in 14.3.2 below. The element *ta* always precedes *ti*.

(22) *may, ta ti wingka, chew am amu-tu-y?*   (RR; 11,30)
      yes,   the the stranger, where PART go-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'yes, and as for that stranger, where did he go back to?' (LQ told RR about a non-Mapuche neighbour, who had taken Mapuche land and was eventually thrown out)

(23) *la-y   kiñe pichi che;   weñe-nentu-nge-r-pu-y   ta ti*
      die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ one small person; steal-take.out-PASS[23]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the

      pichi che   (RR; 8,5)
      small person

      'when a child died, it would eventually be robbed [of a finger]'

However seldom, *fey-ta* may occur as a modifier (see MM; 14,44).

In the speech of LQ, the referent of *ti* may be situationally or contextually defined or both.

(24) *küđaw-el-me-we-la-fi-y-iñ   ti   ülmen . . .* (LQ; 3,14)
      work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] the rich

      'we[p] did not go and work for the rich any more . . . '

(25) *iñché   ramtu-fi-n: "chem   wekufü   miaw-ki-y   pun,*
      I   ask-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]: "what   demon   wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ night,

      chum-nge-y   ti pu wekufü?" (LQ; 1,6)
      how-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the COLL demon

      'I asked them: "which demons wander at night [and] what are these demons like?" '

The referent of *ti* is situationally defined in (24), but contextually defined in (25).

In the speech of RR and MM, the referent of *ti* is nearly always defined situationally. Occasionally, *ti* alternates with *chi* (for t ∼ ch alternation, see 4.5.1).

(26) *kom i-nge-lu   chi iy-a-el,   fey amu-tu-y*
      all   eat-PASS[23]-SVN[4] the eat-NRLD[9]-OVN[4], then go-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'when all the food was eaten, then he went back'

(27) *kulli-ke-fwi-y   ti nge-n   ruka* (MM; 13,12)
      pay-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the have-PVN[4] house

      'he used to pay the house owner'

The compound *fey-ti* is also used as a modifier of a noun phrase. In the speech of LQ, the referent of *fey-ti* may be both situationally and contextually defined. In the speech of RR and MM, it can only be defined situationally. In non-elicited speech *fey-ti* usually occurs as the head of a relative clause. This holds for all informants.

(28)   *fey-ti   pu   ñuwa trem-üm-fi-y   ti   pichi-ke   đomo* (LQ; 5,20)
       that-the COLL bandit grow-CA[34]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the small-DISTR woman

       'and the bandits raised those girls'

(29)   *fey-ti   küpa-lu   anü-a-y*
       that-the come-SVN[4] sit.down-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

       'those who have come will have to sit down'

Compare the modifiers *fey-ti* 'the, that' and *fey-chi* 'that' (see 14.2). All informants use both *fey-ti* and *fey-chi*. Unlike *ti* ∼ *chi* 'the', *fey-ti* and *fey-chi* are not interchangeable. Whereas *fey-ti* may occur as the head of a relative clause, *fey-chi* cannot. *Fey-chi* often occurs as a modifier of a noun, *fey-ti* seldom does. Both *fey-ti* and *fey-chi* may occur independently: *fey-ti* as a first argument in a nominal sentence, *fey-chi* as an adverb 'then'. The compound *fey-ti* can take *-chi* ADJ. *Fey-ti-chi* does not occur often. It is attested about eight times. In all cases, the referent of *fey-ti-chi* is contextually defined.

(30)   *fey-ti-chi   ruka-mew rumé kutran-ka-w-pu-ki-y   fey-ti*
       that-the-ADJ house-INST very   illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-CF[14]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] that-the

       feyentu-nu-wma   (LQ; 4,10)
       believe-NEG[10]-CSVN[4]

       'in this house they suffer a lot, those who have not believed [in Him]'

For *fey-ti-chi*, see also (1,4; 8,15; 8,45; 11,44; 11,47; 14,20; 14,43). The use of anaphoric modifiers by the three speakers is summarized in the chart below. C stands for contextually defined, S for situationally defined and D for demonstrative.

	LQ	RR	MM
ta	-	C	C
ta-chi	C	C	C
fey-ta	-	-	C
fey-ta-chi	C	C	C
tüfa-chi	C,D	C,D	C,D
ti	S,C	S	S
ta ti	-	C	-
fey-ti	S,C	S	S
fey-ti-chi	C	C	C
fey-chi	C	C	C

14.3.2 Dummy *ta*

The morpheme *ta* is used as an anaphoric dummy. It may be coreferential with an element of a preceding sentence:

(31)   *rangiñ-mu ta müle-n* (JM)
       middle-INST the be-IND1s[3]

       'I am in between [of them]'

More frequently, however, the dummy *ta* is coreferential with an element of the same sentence, usually the subject noun phrase. This noun phrase often occurs in apposition, in sentence initial or in sentence final position. This use of dummy *ta* has been recorded from all informants.

(32)   *witral, pi-nge-y   ta Mapuche*
       loom,   say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-ꞵ[3] the Mapuche

       '*witral*, it is called in Mapuche'

(33)   *chum-nge-y   ta, ka-ke   kiñe-ke wekufü?* (LQ; 1,8)
       how-VERB[36]-IND[4]-ꞵ[3] the, other-DISTR one-DISTR demon

       'what are they like, each of them demons?'

(34)   *as-ka-w-ün-nge-y,   ta tüfá!* (RR)
       trick-FAC[33]-REF[31]-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-ꞵ[3], the this

       'he is capricious, this one is!' (is said of a child which is obnoxiously capricious)

(35)   *küla-nge-rke-y-ng-ün,   ta ti* (RR)
       three-VERB[36]-REP[12]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2], the the

       'apparently there are three of them'

(36)   *wisa-ka-sungu-n,   ta eymi* (RR)
       bad-FAC[33]-speak-PVN[4], the you[s]

       'what a wretched talker you[s] [are]!'

In these constructions where *ta* is coreferential with a fronted predicate (34–35) or a noun phrase (36), *ta* constitutes a nominal sentence with *ti*, *tüfá*, a personal pronoun or a noun. The morpheme *ta* always precedes the second nominal argument. Without a second argument *ta* does not make up a nominal sentence. Compare:

(37)   *ñisol ta, manta-nie-fi-y   fey-chi pu   che*
       leader the, order-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-ꞵ[3] that-ADJ COLL person

       '[he is] the leader, he commands the people'

(38)   *iniy tüfá? iñché ta*
       who this   I   the

       'who [is] this?/who [did] this?/whose [is] this? I [am]/I [did]/mine'

The phrases *ñisol ta* (37) and *iñché ta* (38) are responsives. They do not constitute a sentence. However, *ñisol ta ti* 'that is a leader' and *iñché ta ti* 'that is me' are full sentences. Compare also the following examples:

(39) *iñché ñi   chedkuy,   ta ti*
      I   poss1s father.in.law/son.in.law, the the

      'it [is] my in-law' (i.e. my in-law, that is him)

(40) *korü, ta ti*
      soup, the the

      'it [is] soup' (in answer to the question: 'what is that in that pot?')

(41) *korü nu, ta ti*
      soup NEG, the the

      'it [is] not soup'

For nominal sentences, see chapter 24.

Dummy *ta* also occurs as a modifier of a preceding word or phrase. This use of *ta* is recorded from RR, MM and JM. In the speech of MM, *ta* alternates with *fey-ta* and *ta-tí* when it follows a conjunctional.

(42) *kuyfí   ta nge-ke-la-fu-y   ta papel* (RR; 7,18)
      a.long.time.ago the be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the paper

      'a long time ago, you know, there was no such paper' (i.e. a title deed)

(43) *lang-üm-üy   engün ta* (RR; 7,66)
      die-CA[34]-IND[4]-3[3] they[P]   the

      'they killed them[P], you know ...' (i.e. the Mapuches who are introduced later in the sentence)

(44) *fey-mew ta anü-künu-w-pu-y*   (RR; 8,71)
      that-INST the sit.down-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'and there, they sat down' (i.e. on the road, near the hill, mentioned in the preceding sentences)

(45) *fey-mu   fey-ta   faw müle-pa-tu-y-iñ   fey-tüfa-chi lelfün-mew*
      that-INST that-the here be-hh[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] that-this-ADJ field-INST

      (MM; 12,27)

      'therefore, for this reason, you know, we[P] are back here on this plot'

(46) *tüfa-chi mesa ka   fe-li-y   ka-nge-lu   mesa ta*
      this-ADJ   table also be.like.that-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] table the

      chum-le-n
      how-ST[28]-PVN[4]

      'this table is like the other table'

The verbal noun *chum-le-n* 'being how' in (46) is an irregular form. It contains a suffix *-le-* which is probably to be associated with the stative marker *-(kü)le-*[28]. This suffix is connected with the verb *müle-* 'to be' (locative). This might explain the fact that *chum-* is not followed by *-küle-*, the regular post-consonantal variant of *-(kü)le-*[28], but by *-le- ∼ -üle-* (*chumlen ∼ chumülen*).

In (46) and also in (47), *ta* behaves as a sort of conjunctional element. ... *ta*, ... *ka* may be rendered 'if ... , then ... ':

(47)   *mawün-l-e   ta, amu-la-ya-y-iñ*   *ka*
       rain-COND[4]-3[3] the, go-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] then

       'if it rains, then we^p won't go'

Dummy *ta-tí* may also occur as a complement of a verb. This is recorded for RR and MM only.

(48)   *fey-pi-le-y*   *ta-tí*
       that-say-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-the

       'he said so'

(49)   *fe-m-nge-we-n*   *ta-tí*
       become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-IND1s[3] the-the

       'I still am like that'

14.3.3   *ta* and *ti* in independent compounds with a demonstrative pronoun

Recorded are *ta-tüfá*, *tüfa-ta*, *fey-ta*, *fey-ti* and *fey-ta-tí*. They cannot take the instrumental object marker *-mew* INST.

The compounds *ta-tüfá*, *tüfa-ta*, *fey-ta*, *fey-ti* and *fey-ta-tí* occur as first nominal argument in a nominal sentence, whereas *ta-tí* does not occur in that position. The independent use of demonstrative anaphoric pronominal compounds has been recorded from all informants.

(50)   *fey-ta   doktor*
       that-the doctor

       'he [is] a doctor' (i.e. he, the one we talked about, you know, he is a doctor)

Compare (14): there is a pause between *fey* and *ta* in (14) which cannot be heard in (50). The compund *fey-ta* (50) is stressed on the first vowel while *fey* and *ta* in (14) take equal stress.

(51)   *fey-ta   chum-nge-chi*   *ñi   la-n   ñi   chaw-em* (MM; 13,77)
       that-the how-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ poss3 die-PVN[4] poss1s father-EX

       'this [is] how my late father died'

In (51) *ta* refers forwards, to the story which is to come.

The compound *fey-ti* may have demonstrative meaning:

(52) *fey-ti   nu, welu tüfá*
that-the not, but   this

'it [is] not that, but this'

(53) *fey-ti   ñi   müle-n chi pichi che   kewa-fi-lu   ñi   chaw*
that-the poss3 be-PVN[4] the small person hit-EDO[6]-SVN[4] poss3 father

'that [is] the boy who hit his father'

Compare (54) and (55):

(54) *fey-ta-tí   doktor*
he-the-the doctor

'he [is] a doctor' (i.e. the person we talked about and which I point out to you is a doctor)

(55) *fey-ta ti   doktor*
he-the the doctor

'he [is] the doctor' (i.e. the person we talked about is the one who is the doctor)

A pause can be heard between *fey-ta* and *ti* in (55). Theoretically, **fey ta ti doktor* should be possible in the speech of RR, but he considered either *ta* or *ti* sufficient. **Fey-ti ta doktor* is not acceptable.

Only *fey-ta* is attested as an argument of a verb:

(56) *fey-ta   kümé che-nge-y*
that-the good   person-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

'that is a good man' (i.e. the person just discussed is a good person)

(57) *nel-üm-nge-l-e   fey-ti-mu,   nie-la-y   chew ñi*
become.loose-CA[34]-PASS[23]-COND[4]-3[3] that-the-INST, have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] where poss3

puw-al   (LQ; 10,62)
stay-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'if they are set free from there, they have nowhere to stay' (i.e. if people are fired from the fundo by the landowner, they have nowhere to go)

(58) *fey-ta-mu   ñi   küđaw-pe-ye-m*
that-the-INST poss1s work-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

'there [is] the place where I work' (i.e. the place we discussed is where I work)

Compare *fey-ta-mu* 'in there' with *fey-mu ta* and *fey-mu fey-ta* 'there/ therefore/then, you know' in (44) and (45). Compare also *fey-tüfá-mew* in (12).

14.3.4 *ta-* in a compound with a possessive pronoun

In the speech of RR and MM, *ta* may be the first member of a compound with a possessive pronoun. RR hardly ever uses a possessive pronoun without *ta-*. With MM, *ta-* is not that frequent.

(59) *ta-ñi   chaw*
      the-poss1s/3 father

   'that father of mine/his/her/theirs'

   Ta- is generally absent in possessive phrases like:

(60) *chaw ñi   ruka*
      father poss3 house

   'fathers' house'

   Ta- is always used in the following type of phrase:

(61) *ta-yiñ   pu Mapuche-nge-n*
      the-poss1p COLL Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

   'we[p]/us[p] Mapuche'

   In this type of phrase, *ta* enhances the in-group notion. The use of *ta* in a compound with a third person possessive pronoun does not reflect a *suus/eius* distinction, as in Latin. The morpheme *ta* can be used whether or not it is coreferential with a topic noun phrase or a personal suffix in the verb.

   Possessive pronouns are very frequent in Mapuche. They are used to indicate the subject (or direct object) of a subordinate. The element *ta* is often used before a possessive pronoun to insert a pause, to take a breath or to think about what one is going to say.

(62) ...*küme-ke   kona   nü-y   ta-ñi   kwida-ya-m   ta-ñi   kulliñ,*
      good-DISTR servant take-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 watch-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] the-poss3 cattle,

      ta-ñi   kwida-ya-m   ta-ñi   ye-w-ün   ta-ñi   nie-ke-el
      the-poss3 watch-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] the-poss3 carry-REF[31]-PVN[4] the-poss3 have-CF[14]-OVN[4]
      (RR; 7,4)
      'they took good servants to look after their cattle [and] the stuff they have'

(63) ...*fiy pe-me-e-n-ew   ñi   kiñe peñi, ñi   malle ñi fotüm.*
      then see-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s one cousin, poss1s uncle poss3 son.

      "fey perdi-y   ta-ñi   tío, ta-ñi   malle" pi-me-e-   -n-ew,
      "he die-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss1s uncle, the-poss1s uncle" say-Th[20]-IDO[6]- -IND1s[3]-DS[1],

      "ta-mi   chaw", pi-me-e-n-ew   (MM; 13,95–97)
      "the-poss2s father", say-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

   '... [and] he went to see me, my only cousin, my uncles' son, "he died, my uncle, my uncle" he told me, "your father", he told me'

14.3.5 *ta* and *chi* with a particle

The morphemes *ta* and *chi* are probably part of the particles *anta* and *anchi* respectively. When combined with the particle *an*, *ta* is used to indicate that the topic of the question is determined contextually and *chi* is used to indicate that the topic of the question is determined situationally. See 32.9 and 32.10.

(64) *iney anta eymi?*
      who PART you[s]
      'who [are] you[s]?'

(65) *iney anchi?*
      who PART
      'who [is] that?'

Remarks

(i) There are a few compounds which contain a demonstrative pronoun:
     fach-antü 'today', derived from *tüfa-chi* 'this' and *antü* 'day'; *fachi-pun* 'to-night' (*pun* 'night'); *fewlá* 'now', derived from *fey* 'that' and *wülá* 'then'.

(ii) Personal pronominal *fey* forms part of a compound with the personal pronouns *engu* (3d) and *engün* (3p). *Fey-engu/fey-engün* precede the predicate. *Engu/engün* follow the predicate. One also finds:
     fey-ta-engu/fey-ta-engün 'these[d/p]' (anaphoric)
     tüfá-engu/tüfá-engün 'these[d/p]' (anaphoric and demonstrative) (also *tüfá-yengu/tüfá-yengün*).

Chapter 15

Personal pronouns

Mapuche distinguishes three persons and three numbers. In the system of personal pronouns and that of personal suffixes, indication of number is obligatory for first and second person and optional for the third person. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction. There is no male/female distinction.

The personal pronouns are:

iñché	I	1s
iñchiu	we	1d
iñchiñ	we	1p
eymi	you	2s
eymu	you	2d
eymün	you	2p
fey	he/she/it	3s
fey-engu	they	3d
fey-engün	they	3p

Whereas *fey* 'he/she/it' refers to animate and inanimate entities, *fey-engu/fey-engün* 'they[d]/they[p]' refer to animate entities only. The morpheme *fey* is actually a demonstrative pronoun. In contrast with the personal pronouns for first and second person, *fey* can take the adjectivizer *-chi* ADJ, and it can form part of a compound with a demonstrative or anaphoric pronoun (14.2, 14.3). The pronouns *(fey-)tüfá* 'this' and *(fey-)tüyé* 'that over there' are also used as third person pronouns. They do not occur frequently, for they are the marked members of the proximity/distance distinction in the demonstrative series.

Number is optional for the third person. Direct object and dative subject suffixes do not differentiate number. Conditional and imperative forms do not contain number markers that are coreferential with a third person subject suffix. Indicative forms show a two-term number distinction for the third person, with an unmarked term (-$\emptyset$-[3]) referring to the third person irrespective of number and a marked term (-*ng*-[3]) referring to the third person non-singular. The morpheme *-ng-* refers to animate participants only and is obligatorily followed either by *-u-* d or *-ün* p. The ending *-ng-u/-ng-ün* is the bound form of *engu/engün*. Both the bound and the free form are used to indicate third

person subject (see (3–4) below). The nominal referent of -∅-^{3} can be singular, dual or plural if it is inanimate. It can be singular or plural if it is animate. A dual animate nominal referent is always coreferential with -*ng-u*.

(1) *fey*   *aku-y*
     he/she/it arrive-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

     'he/she/it arrived'

(2) *fey-engu* *aku-y-ng-u*
     that-they^d arrive-IND^4-3ns^3-d^2

     'they^d arrived'

(3) *fey-engün* *aku-y/aku-y-ng-ün*
     that-they^p arrive-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$/arrive-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

     'they^p arrived'

For the sake of brevity, *fey* will be rendered by the gloss 'he'.

First and second person pronouns and *fey* can have any syntactic function. Whereas *fey* occurs before and after verbs, *fey-engu/fey-engün* are used in pre-verbal position. They are coreferential with subject markers. The pronouns *engu/engün* (∼ *yengu/yengün* after a vowel) occur in post-verbal position and also in comitative constructions (23.4). In post-verbal position, *engu/engün* may be coreferential with S, DO or DS markers in the verb. When coreferential with an S marker, *engu/engün* can follow a DO noun phrase.

(4) *aku-y*   *engün*
     arrive-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ they^p

     'they^p arrived'

(5) *anü-m-ka-y*   *pinu yengün*
     sit.down-CA^{34}-FAC^{33}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ cane they^p

     'they^p planted cane'

(6) *leli-fi-n*   *engu*
     watch-EDO^6-IND1s^3 they^d

     'I watched the two of them'

Not only third person pronouns but also first and second person pronouns are used to disambiguate or emphasize the referent of personal suffixes and possessive pronouns (chapter 16). Compare:

(7) *eymu leli-mu-y-iñ*   *iñchiñ*
     you^d watch-2A^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 we^p

     'you^d watched us^p'

(8)   *eymün leli-mu-y-iñ*   *iñchiñ*
      you[p]   watch-2A[23]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] we[p]

      'you[p] watched us[p]'

Personal pronouns can also be used to indicate possession. As such they occur only as the second element in a nominal sentence:

(9)   *tüfá eymi*
      this you[s]

      'this [is] you[s]', 'this [is] yours'

Possessive pronouns are not used independently.

The first person pronouns *iñché* 'I', *iñchiu* 'we[d]' and *iñchiñ* 'we[p]' may be interpreted as *ə-n-che, *ə-n-che-u and *ə-n-che-iñ respectively: ə is fronted before ñ; *n* indicates first person singular subject in indicative forms and is palatalized under the influence of *ch*; *che* 'person'; *u* marks dual number; *-iñ* marks plural number in combination with a 1ns subject.

The morph *e-* in *eymi* 'you[s]', *eymu* 'you[d]' and *eymün* 'you[p]' is probably related to the internal direct object marker *-e-* IDO[6] (see 26.6); *-m-* indicates second person subject; *-i*, *-u* and *-ün* indicate singular, dual and plural number respectively, in combination with a second person subject. Note also the forms *emu* 'you[d]' and *emün* 'you[p]' which are found in comitative constructions instead of the more regular forms *eymu* and *eymün* (see 23.4).

15.1   Substitutive personal pronouns

The following words (or expressions) can be used as substitutive pronouns:

kishu 'self'
kom 'all'
fill 'all sorts'
kiñe 'one'
kiñe-ke 'some'
ka-ke kiñe-ke 'each one'

These words can take the place of a personal pronoun.

The morpheme *kishu* indicates 'I myself', 'you yourself', etc., or 'my own', 'your own', etc. It also occurs as an adverb meaning 'alone'.

(10) *kishu đewma-n*
      self   finish-IND1s[3]

      'I finished [it] myself'

(11) *nie-ke-fu-y*   *kishu ta-ñi*   *kolexio kishu ñi*   *ruka-mew*
      have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] self   the-poss3 school   self   poss3 house-INST

      (MM; 13,9)

      'he used to have his own school, in his own house'

In the speech of RR and MM, *kishu* is often used to indicate third person,

without the additional meaning of 'self', 'own', etc. The referent of *kishu* is always contextually determined, which is not necessarily so with the third person pronouns *fey/fey-engu/fey-engün*.

(12) *kishu yengün küpá   perder-nu-lu*   (RR; 9,81)
      self   they[p]   wishing lose-NEG[10]-SVN[4]

      '(after all) they[p] did not want to lose'

The morpheme *kom* 'all' is found as a substitutive personal pronoun and also as an adjective or an adverb.

(13) *kom amu-y-ng-ün*
      all   go-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      'they[p] all went'

(14) *inché kom kim-ün*
      I   all   know-IND1s[3]

      'I know [them] all'

(15) *kom antü*
      all   day

      'all days', 'the entire day'

(16) *kom kurü*
      all   black

      'entirely black'

The morpheme *fill* 'all sorts' occurs as a substitutive pronoun and as an adjective.

(17) *fill   miaw-ke-y*
      all.sort wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'all sorts [of people] wander'

(18) *fill   meke-y*
      all.sort be.busy-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is busy with all sorts [of things]'

(19) *nie-n   fill   ropa*
      have-IND1s[3] all.sort clothes

      'I have all sorts of clothes'

The numeral *kiñe* 'one' is used as an impersonal pronoun (see chapter 13, example 12). When *kiñe* takes the distributive marker *-ke* DISTR, as in *kiñe-ke* 'some' and *ka-ke kiñe-ke* 'each one' (*ka* 'other'), it may occur independently or as a modifier.

(20) *kiñe-ke   wüné wiño-y,   ka-ke-lu   đoy*
      one-DISTR first   return-IND^4-3^3, other-DISTR-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-SVN^4 more

      alü-ntu-y-ng-ün
      much-VERB^{36}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

      'some went back earlier, others stayed longer'

Chapter 16

Possessive pronouns

Mapuche has the following possessive pronouns:

ñi	mine/his/hers/its/their	1s/3
yu	our	1d
yiñ	our	1p
mi	your	2s
mu	your	2d
mün	your	2p

Possessive pronouns occur only as modifiers. They precede the noun phrase which they modify. A possessive pronoun and the modified noun may be separated by an adjective and/or a numeral.

(1) *mi   füchá ruka*
     poss2s big   house
     'your[s] big house'

The morpheme *ñi* is the possessive pronoun for first person singular and for third person singular, dual or plural.

(2) *ñi ruka*
     'my/his/her/their house'

Personal pronouns can be used to disambiguate or to emphasize the referent of a possessive pronoun:

(3) *inché ñi ruka*
     'my house'
     fey ñi ruka
     'his/her house'
     fey-engu ñi ruka
     'their[d] house'
     fey-engün ñi ruka
     'their[p] house'

In the speech of RR one also finds:

(4)   *ñi ruka engu*
        'their[d] house'
        ñi ruka engün
        'their[p] house'

Yet *ñi* can still be ambiguous when it is preceded or followed by a personal pronoun. In a sentence like (5), *ñi* 'his/her' may or may not be coreferential with the subject.

(5)   *fey   müle-la-y   fey   ñi   ruka-mew*
        he/she be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] he/she poss3 house-INST

        'he/she is not in his/her house'

However, there is a tendency to add *fey* before *ñi* when *ñi* is not coreferential with the subject noun phrase. Otherwise, such sentences will have to be disambiguated by the context.

For the sake of brevity, *ñi* will be labelled either poss1s or poss3 in the following examples.

Possessive pronouns do not occur independently. Personal pronouns can be used instead. These occur only as the second element in a nominal sentence (see (9) in chapter 15) or with the verbalizer *-nge-* (21.2).

(6)   *inché kintu-n   kiñe ruka ta-ñi   püñeñ-nge-a-lu*
        I   look.for-IND1s[3] one house the-poss1s son-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

        'I looked for a house for my son' (lit.: I looked for a house which will be my son's)

See also (211) in 26.4.10.1.

Sentences such as 'I lost mine' do not have a Mapuche equivalent. The noun phrase referring to the lost object would be preceded by a possessive pronoun (*ñam-üm-ün ñi libru* 'I lost my book').

Chapter 17

Interrogative pronouns

A sentence acquires the character of a question by the presence of an interrogative pronoun, the interrogative verb *chum-* 'to do how/what?' or a question particle (see chapter 32). Question particles may also occur in combination with interrogative pronouns or *chum-*. A question which contains an interrogative pronoun or *chum-* requires a specific answer. Mapuche has the following interrogative pronouns:

iney ∼ *iniy*	'who?'
chem	'what, which?'
chew	'where?'
chumül	'when?'
chumal	'for what purpose?'
chumngelu	'why?'
chumngechi	'how?'
tuchi ∼ *chuchi*	'which one of . . . ?'
tunté(-n) ∼ *chunté(-n)*	'how (much)?'
mufü	'how much?'

For an analysis of interrogative pronouns, see 17.1. The interrogative pronoun *iney* ∼ *iniy* 'who?' refers to persons only. The pronouns *chem* 'what?', *tuchi* ∼ *chuchi* 'which one of . . . ?', *tunté(n)* ∼ *chunté(n)* 'how much?' and *mufü* 'how much?' refer to animate and inanimate entities. The interrogative *chumngechi* 'how (much)?' indicates extent, size or quantity, while *mufü* 'how much?' only indicates quantity. The pronoun *mufü* 'how much?' does not often occur. It is found more frequently in the meaning of 'a pair of', 'a few'. The interrogative *tunten* ∼ *chunten* is a quantity noun, which contains the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n* PVN[4] (see 10.3 and 26.4.6.3).

The pronouns *tunté* ∼ *chunté* 'how (much)?', *chumngechi* 'how?' and *mufü* 'how much?' are used independently.

The pronouns *chem* 'what?' and *tuchi* ∼ *chuchi* 'which one of . . . ?' are used both independently and as modifiers of a noun phrase. Finally, *iney* ∼ *iniy* 'who?', *chew* 'where?', *chumül* 'when?', *chumal* 'for what purpose?' and *chumngelu* 'why?' only occur independently.

Interrogative pronouns take sentence initial position.

(1)   *iniy ñi   chaketa am?*
      who poss3 coat   PART

      'whose coat [is] it?'

(2)   *tunté püra-y?*
      how   go.up/climb-IND^4-3^3

      'how high is it?'

(3)   *chew amu-le-y?*
      where go-ST^{28}-IND^4-3^3

      'where is he going?'

Interrogative pronouns can be used in indirect questions.

(4)   *ramtu-fi-n   chew ñi   amu-le-n*
      ask-EDO^6-IND1s^3 where poss3 go-ST^{28}-PVN^4

      'I asked him where he is going'

(5)   *kim-la-n   iniy ñi   fey-pi-n*
      know-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 who poss3 that-say-PVN^4

      'I don't know who said that'

Relative clauses which are preceded by an antecedent do not contain a relative pronoun. An exception is *chew* 'where', which may be used for the purpose of disambiguating the instrumental verbal noun marker *-m* IVN^4, which can refer to either instrument or place.

(6)   *ti papel chew ñi   tuku-mu-m   ñi   changüll-kuwü* ... (5,39)
      the paper where poss3 put.at-PLPF^7-IVN^4 poss3 finger-hand

      'the paper on which they had put their finger(print) ...'

Addition of *rumé* '-ever' renders an interrogative pronoun indefinite (*iney rumé* 'who-ever'). Negation marker *nu* (see slot 10) can be inserted, *iney nu rumé* 'nobody whatsoever'. For *rumé* '-ever', see chapter 12.

The pronouns *iney* 'who?' and *chem* 'what?' take the instrumental object marker *-mew* INST. RR often uses *chem-mew* 'what-for?' instead of *chumngelu*:

(7)   *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?*
      what-INST   PART become.like.that-CA^{34}-AFF^{11}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-SVN^4

      'why wouldn't they do that?' (i.e. but of course they did that!)

(8)   *chem-mew nu   rumé*
      what-INST   NEG -ever

      'not under any condition', 'by no means'

Remarks.

(i) *chem* 'what?' may form part of a compound; *chem-pi-* 'to say what?' (*pi-* 'to say', 'to want').

(ii) *chumül* 'when?' is also used as an adverb meaning 'recently', 'ever'.

17.1   Analysis of interrogatives

The majority of interrogative pronouns and the interrogative verb *chum-* 'to do how/what?' share the interrogative element *ch-*. The element **chu* does not occur as a free morpheme. In the dictionary of Augusta (1916: 28), *chu-* occurs in *chu-pi-* 'to say what?', which is said to alternate with *chem-pi-* 'to say what?'. In the book *chum* is mentioned as a short form for *chumngechi* 'how?' (Augusta 1916: 26).

I found *chum* 'how?' only in derivations with the verbalizers *-nge-* VERB[36] (*chum-nge-* 'to be how?') and *-∅-* VERB[36] (*chum-* 'to do how/what?') and in compounds (*chum-miaw-* 'to walk round doing what?'). The verb *chum-* 'to do how/what?' probably contains the causative marker *-(ü)m-* CA[34] on the analogy of *fe-m-* 'to make like that' (become.like.that-CA[34]-). Forms which are derived from *chum* parallel forms derived from *fa-/fe-* 'to become like this/that' (see chapter 30). Below I give a further analysis of interrogative pronouns which contain *ch-*.

chuchi:	*chu-chi:*	interrog-ADJ (see 18.2.2)
chunté:	*chu-nté:*	interrog-ADV (see 18.3)
chumül:	*chu-m-ül:*	interrog-CA[34]-?
chumal:	*chu-m-a-el:*	interrog-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]
chumngelu:	*chu-m-nge-lu:*	interrog-CA[34]-PASS[23]-SVN[4]
chumngechi:	*chu-m-nge-chi:*	interrog-CA[34]-PASS[23]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ

The meaning of *-ül* in *chumül* is unknown. It is not found elsewhere.

The meaning of *-m* in *chem* is unknown. It is likely not to be associated with *-(ü)m-* CA[34].

The element *-w* in *chew* is probably an adverbializer. It is reflected in *fa-w* 'here', *tüye-w* 'over there' and *kiñe-w* 'together' (see 18.3).

Chapter 18

Suffixation

18.1 Suffixes which do not change class

18.1.1 *-(e)ntu* group

The suffix *-(e)ntu* (*-entu* after C, *-ntu* after V) is affixed to a noun. It refers to a group as a whole or a place which is characterized by the presence of many items referred to by the noun. The suffix *-(e)ntu* is labelled GR.

koñü-ntu	'nephews', 'young ones' (*koñü* 'nephew', 'young one')
mansana-ntu	'apples', 'appleyard' (*mansana*: Sp. mansana 'apple')
pinu-ntu	'reed', 'place with much reed, haystack' (*pinu* 'reed')
kura-ntu	'stones', 'stony land' (*kura* 'stone')
koyam-entu	'oaks', 'place with many oaks' (*koyam* 'oak')

(1) *rangi mamüll-entu*
     mid   tree-GR

   'in the middle of trees'

(2) *umaw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *pinu-ntu-mew*
     sleep-VERB^{36}-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-$\underline{1ns}^{3}$-p^{2} reed-GR-INST

   'we^{p} used to sleep in a haystack'

18.1.2 *-wen* relative

The suffix *-wen* is affixed to a noun. It refers to a group of two or more persons who are related to each other through a relation which is indicated by the noun. The suffix *-wen* is labelled REL.

laku-wen	'paternal grandfather and grandson(s), namesakes' (*laku* 'grandfather, grandson')
fotüm-wen	'father and son(s)' (*fotüm* 'son (of a man)')
ađ-wen	'kin' (*ađ* 'relative')
müri-wen	'co-wives' (*müri* 'co-wive')
kompañ-wen	'partners, fellows' (*kompañ*: Sp. compañero 'comrade')

(3)   *peñi-wen   iñchiu*
      brother-REL we[d]

      'we[d] [are] brothers'

(4)   *kom wenüy-wen-nge-a-y-iñ*
      all   friend-REL-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] will all be friends'

18.1.3   *-em / -yem* ex

The suffix *-em* is used by LQ and MM. RR uses *-yem* instead. The suffix *-em/-yem* is affixed to a noun. It indicates that the person or thing referred to by the noun is dead, defunct or no longer in function, e.g.

  ñuke-yem   'late mother' (*ñuke* 'mother') (RR)
  longko-yem   'former leader' (*longko* 'head, leader') (RR)

(5)   *fey-ta   chumngechi ñi   la-n   ñi   chaw-em* (MM; 13,77)
      that-the how   poss3 die-PVN[4] poss1s father-EX

      'this [is] how my late father died'

(6)   *fey-tüfá ñi   küđaw-yem* (RR)
      that-this poss1s work-EX

      'this [is] my former job'

The suffix *em / -yem* is probably related to the particle *em* which is attested after verbs which contain the impeditive marker *-fu-*[8]. The particle *-em* indicates that the speaker deplores a past situation or a situation which has not come about (see 32.14).

(7)   *kisu fill   domingu amu-ke-fu-y   em iglesia-mew*
      self   every sunday   go-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] EX church-INST

      'he used to go to church every Sunday'

18.1.4   *-(ü)rke* reportative

The suffix *-(ü)rke* (*-ürke* after C, *-rke* after V) is affixed to a noun. It is actually a verbal suffix which indicates that the situation expressed by the *-(ü)rke-* form has not been witnessed by the speaker himself. The suffix *-(ü)rke-*[12] indicates that the speaker is informed by others, that he has heard rumours or that he has deduced a conclusion. When *-(ü)rke-* follows a noun, it has the same meaning as the verbal suffix *-(ü)rke-*. Nominal *-(ü)rke-* is also used to express surprise. The suffix *-(ü)rke* does not often occur with nouns. It is labelled REP (reportative).

(8)   *trewa-rke!*
      dog-REP

      'a dog!', 'what a big dog!' / 'it must have been a dog' (e.g. when the speaker sees that all the meat has been eaten)

18.1.5 *-ke* distributive

The suffix *-ke* is affixed to adjectives, adverbs and numerals. It indicates that the referent of the noun or the verb which is modified by the *-ke* form is a whole which consists of several component parts, each of which has the feature expressed by the *-ke* form.

(9)　*lüq-ke*　　*ruka*
　　 white-DISTR house

　　 'white houses'

The referent of the noun *ruka* 'house' consists of several parts and each part has the feature 'white' expressed by the adjective *lüq*.

(10)　*pichi-ke*　*ngül-üm-nie-y*　　　　　*plata*
　　　little-DISTR get.together-CA^{34}-PRPS^{32}-IND^4-3^3 money

　　　'little by little he saves money'

The referent of the verb 'saving money' consists of several situations and each situation is characterized by the feature *pichi* 'little', i.e. each time money is saved, a little money is put aside.

The suffix *-ke* is the counterpart of the word *pu* COLL which refers to a collective (see 11.1). Whereas *pu* stresses the whole of the collective, the suffix *-ke* stresses the composition of the entity as consisting of distinct parts. Neither *pu* nor *-ke* are genuine plural markers. The plurality of the referent can only be understood by implication. The suffix *-ke* and the word *pu* COLL can be used simultaneously, e.g.

(11)　*tüfa-chi pu*　*weḍa-ke che*　*kom pülé miaw-üy-ng-ün*
　　　this-ADJ COLL bad-DISTR person all　side walk.round-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

　　　'these bad people walked round everywhere' (i.e. a collection of people of which each member is bad)

(12)　*kom ñi*　　*pu*　*yall fücha-ke-we-y*
　　　all　poss3 COLL child big-DISTR-PS^{19}-IND^4-3^3

　　　'all his children were already big' (i.e. each of his children were already grown up)

Compare also the following examples of *-ke*:

(13)　*fill*　　*pulku*
　　　every wine

　　　'all sorts of wine'

(14)　*fill-ke*　　*pulku*
　　　every-DISTR wine

　　　'all sorts of different wines'

(15) *iñché nie-n   we-ke   tomate*
      I   have-IND1s[3] fresh-DISTR tomato

      'I have fresh tomatoes' (each of my tomatoes is fresh)

(16) *epu-ke   tripantu nge-me-n*
      two-DISTR year   be-Th[20]-IND1s[3]

      'I have been there every two years'

(17) *küla-ke   amu-y-ng-ün*
      three-DISTR go-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      'they[p] went in groups of three'

(18) *küla-ke   elu-fi-n   mansana*
      three-DISTR give-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] apple

      'I gave them three apples each'

      'I gave an apple to each three of them'

      'I gave them three apples at the time'

(19) *wichu-ke   ye-nie-y-iñ   makuñ*
      apart-DISTR carry-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] coat

      'we[p] carry the coats separately'

(20) *welu-ke   küɖaw-y-u*
      in.turns-DISTR work-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

      'we[d] worked in turns'

(21) *pütrü-ke-n   mansun-mew küɖaw-ke-fu-y   che*
      much-DISTR-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4] ox-INST   work-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] person

      'people used to work each with a great number of oxen'

(22) *pichi-ke-n   karta aku-aku-nge-y*
      small-DISTR-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4] letter arrive-arrive-SFR[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

      'little by little small numbers of letters arrived'

In (21–22) *-ke* forms part of a quantity verbal noun (for this type of noun, see 10.3).

Although *-ke* is not usually affixed to a noun, it is attested after a noun in the following noun phrases:

faril-ke pulku   'barrels of wine' (*faril*: Sp. barril 'barrel')
nge-n-ke mapu   'landowners' (have-PVN[4]-DISTR land)
wenu-ke mamüll   'high in each tree' (above-DISTR tree)

The suffix *-ke* occurs in the following expressions:

kiñe-ke 'some' (*kiñe* 'one')
kiñe-ke-ntu 'some' (one-DISTR-GR)

kiñe-ke-mew 'sometimes' (one-DISTR-INST)
ka-ke kiñe-ke 'each of them' (other-DISTR one-DISTR)
ka-ke-lu 'others' (other-DISTR-<u>VERB</u>[36]-SVN[4])
kishu-ke-ntu 'each alone' (alone-DISTR-GR)
ngellu-ke 'with difficulty' (*ngellú* 'only after a long while')
müchay-ke 'all the time' (*müchay* 'soon')

The suffix *-ke* is also used with adjectivizer *-chi*. For *-ke-chi*, see 18.2.2.

It is interesting to connect the nominal suffix *-ke* DISTR with the verbal suffix *-ke-* CF[14] (constant feature). The constant feature marker *-ke-* is used to express iterativity or habituality, see 25.3 and 26.14.

18.1.6 *-we* temporal

The suffix *-we* is affixed to numerals. It indicates a period subsequent to an orientation moment. The suffix *-we* is labelled TEMP.

(23) *epu-we*
      two-TEMP

      'the day after tomorrow', 'two days later'

When the instrumental object marker *-mew* INST is affixed to a *-we* form, the resulting form refers to a period which precedes an orientation moment.

(24) *epu-we-mew*
      two-TEMP-INST

      'two days ago', 'two days before'

The suffix *-we* is also found with the following adverbs:

alü 'much'; *alü-we* 'later, after that' (it is seldom used and RR does not use it.)
fente 'that much'; *fente-we* 'on that day'
müté '(too) much'; *müte-we* '(too) much'

18.2 Class changing suffixes

Suffixes which change a non-verb into a verb are not treated in this section. They are dealt with separately in chapter 21.

18.2.1 *-tu* adverbializer

The suffix *-tu* changes a noun or a verbal noun containing *-(ü)n* PVN[4] into an adverb. It indicates (a) manner, (b) place or direction or (c) time:

(a) *namun-tu* 'on foot' (*namun* 'foot')
     newen-tu 'forceful' (*newen* 'force')
     welu-ke-n-tu 'in turns' (in.turns-DISTR-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4]-ADV)
(b) *waywün-tu* 'at the south end' (*waywün* 'south')
     inal-tu 'along, about, next to' (*inal* 'bank, side', see 18.3, cf. *ina* 'near, next', *ina-* 'to follow')

  naqel-tu 'downwards, in the direction of the sea' (*naqel*, see 18.3, cf. *naq-* 'to descend')

  tüfá püle-tu 'in this direction' (*tüfá pülé* 'this side')

  küpa-n-tu 'coming, on my way here' (come-PVN[4]-ADV)

  amu-n-tu 'going, on my way there' (go-PVN[4]-ADV)

(c) *liwen-tu* 'early' (*liwen* 'morning')

  alü-n-tu 'for a long time' (much-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4]-ADV)

  tunte-n-tu 'for how long?' (how.much-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4]-ADV)

  fante-n-tu 'so far, until this moment' (this.much-<u>VERB</u>[36]-PVN[4]-ADV)

  The suffix *-tu* ADV is furthermore found in the following expressions:

kiñe-tu 'in one go, (for) once' (*kiñe* 'one')

kishu-tu 'on one's own initiative, for one's own account' (*kishu* 'alone, self')

wüne-tu 'once' (LQ, MM), 'for the first time' (RR) (*wüné* 'first')

af-ke-n-tu 'the whole time, continuously, for a long time' (end-CF[14]-PVN[4]-ADV)

traf-tu 'altogether, total' (cf. *traf-* 'to fit' (intr.))

no-pa-tu 'at this side (of a river)' (cross-Hh[17]-<u>NOM</u>-ADV)

no-me-tu 'at that side (of a river)' (cross-Th[20]-<u>NOM</u>-ADV), see 28.2.

18.2.2 *-chi* adjectivizer

The suffix *-chi* changes a noun into an adjective. It can be affixed to a demonstrative or anaphoric pronoun (e.g. *tüfá* 'this', *tüfa-chi* 'this', see 14.1) or to a verbal noun which contains -∅ SVN[4] (subjective verbal noun), *-el* OVN[4] (objective verbal noun), *-fiel* TVN[4] (transitive verbal noun) or *-t-* AVN[4] (agentive verbal noun). A verbal noun to which *-chi* ADJ has been affixed always precedes the modified noun. A modifying verbal noun which does not take *-chi* follows the modified noun. The subjective verbal noun marker -∅ SVN[4] does not occur without *-chi*.

(25) *lef-chi   che*
       run-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ person

     'running person, running people'

(26) *lang-üm-el-chi   ufisha*
       die-CA[34]-OVN[4]-ADJ sheep

     'killed sheep'

(27) *ufisha lang-üm-el*
       sheep   die-CA[34]-OVN[4]

     'sheep that was/were killed'

  For verbal nouns, see 26.4.

  The following *-chi* forms can be used as modifiers of a noun or a verb:

fey-chi 'that, then' (*fey* 'that')

ina-nge-chi 'last' (next-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)

ka-nge-chi 'different' (other-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
fa-m-nge-chi 'thus, such' (become.like.this-CA[34]-PASS[23]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
fe-m-nge-chi 'thus, such' (become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
and *-chi* forms which are derived from a numeral, e.g.
kiñe-nge-chi 'once, first' (one-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
epu-nge-chi 'twice, second', etc. (two-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
   The suffix *-chi* is also found in the following expressions:
chum-nge-chi 'how?' (how-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ)
kiñe-chi 'one time' (*kiñe* 'one') (JM)
   In a few rare cases, *-chi* ADJ is preceded by *-ke* DISTR. Such a *-ke-chi* form
is used adverbially. All attested *-ke-chi* forms are enumerated below:

ñochi-ke-chi 'slowly' (*ñochi* 'slow, slowly')
matu-ke-chi 'quickly' (*matu/matukel* 'quick, quickly')
mür-ke-chi 'in pairs' (*mür* 'pair, in pairs')
llüka-n-ke-chi 'fearing' (fear-PVN[4]-DISTR-ADJ)
chum-nge-n-ke-chi 'in one way or another' (how-VERB[36]-PVN[4]-DISTR-ADJ)
chum-nge-nu-ke-chi 'without difficulty' (LQ) (how-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-DISTR-ADJ)
(this form seems to lack a nominalizer)
chum-nge-nu-n-ke-chi 'without difficulty' (MM) (how-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-PVN[4]-DISTR-ADJ)

18.3   Improductive suffixes
All attested instances of improductive suffixes are enumerated below.

-ngel
ađ-ngel 'gifts for a deceased friend' (*ađ* 'form', 'habit')

-kiñ
ađ-kiñ 'view' (*ađ* 'form', 'position', *ađ-kin-tu-* 'to watch', *kintu-* 'to look for')
traf-kiñ 'somebody of one's own kind, a trading partner' (*traf* 'colleague', *traf-*
'to fit' (intr.), 'to meet', *traf-kin-tu-* 'to trade')

-tu
ka-ruka-tu 'neighbour' (*ka-ruka* 'neighbour' (other-house))

-l
kuwü-l 'sleeve' (*kuwü* 'hand')
apo-l 'filling (of dried peppers)' (*apo-* 'to become full')
kiñe-püle-l-pun 'after midnight' (*kiñe pülé* 'one side', *pun* 'night')
kura-l-nge 'iris' (*kura* 'stone', *nge* 'eye')

-el
naq-el-tu 'downwards, towards the west/the sea' (*naq* 'bottom', *naq-* 'to go
down')

-em
fill-em 'all sorts' (*fill* 'all sorts')

-w
kiñe-w 'together, as one' (*kiñe* 'one')
tüye-w ∼ *tüyü-w* ∼ *üye-w* ∼ *üyü-w* 'over there' (*tüyé* etc. 'that over there')
che-w 'where?' (cf. *chem* 'what?')

-pu
fa-nte-pu 'by this time' (*fa-nte* 'this much', see 28.2)
fe-nte-pu 'by that time' (*fe-nte* 'that much', see 28.2)
tu-nte-pu 'by when?' (*tu-nté* 'how much?', see 28.2)

-ñma
fücha-ñma 'very long' (LQ) (*füchá* 'long')
we-ñma 'very new' (LQ) (*we* 'new')
wesha-ñma 'very bad' (LQ) (*weshá* 'bad')
rume-ñma 'extremely' (*rumé* 'very')
welu-ñma 'wrong, reversely' (*welu* 'but, wrong, reversely')
alü-ñma 'for a long time' (*alü* 'much'), cf. *alü-ñma-mew* 'much later, a long time after that'
fentre-ñma 'for a long time', RR also: *fentre-yma* (*fentre* 'much')
epu-ñma 'with the two of us' (RR) (*epu* 'two')
ka-ruka-ñma 'neighbour' (*ka-ruka* 'neighbour' (other-house))

-ka-
ella-ka-mu 'in the beginning, not much later' (*ella* 'a little'; *-mu* INST)

-a-
fül-a 'close' (*fül* 'close').

Chapter 19

Compounding

Compounding is a productive process. The common type is a noun which consists of two nominal root morphemes in an attributive relationship. In an attributive compound the first noun modifies the second, e.g.

mapu-che 'Mapuche' (land-person)
wariya-che 'townspeople' (town-person)
garbanso-korü 'chickpea soup' (chickpea-soup)
pulku-fotella 'wine bottle' (wine-bottle)
kutran-che 'sick person' (illness-person)
mapuche-đomo 'Mapuche woman' (*mapuche*-woman)

Other nominal compounds which consist of two nominal root morphemes are the following:

chaw-dios 'God the father' (father-God)
wenu-mapu 'heaven' (above-land)
poso-ko 'well' (well-water)
af-kađi 'side, neighbour', 'close' (end-side)

The following compound words are nouns which contain one or two unknown members:

mellfu-wün 'lip' (*wün* 'mouth')
ke-wün 'tongue' (*wün* 'mouth')
külle-wün 'tear' (*wün* 'mouth'?)
korko-pel 'throat' (*pel* 'front part of the neck, throat')
to-pel 'back part of the neck'
wichill-ko 'creek' (*ko* 'water') (JM: *willki-ko/willkil-ko* 'creek')
wiyo-longko 'crown (of a head)' (LQ, RR) (*longko* 'head')
wiyo-llollo 'crown (of a head)' (MM, JM), 'crown (of a tree)', 'outlet for smoke in the roof of a house' (cf. *lolo* 'hole')
añchü-malleñ 'midget' (a spirit) (cf. *añchü* 'remainder of wheat in a sieve' (RR). Midgets are said to be fond of roasted flour)

One nominal compound which consists of two nouns is used as an adjective:

piru-longko 'crazy, daft' (worm-head)

Compound words that are not nouns are infrequent. There are compound adjectives which consist of two adjectives:

kurü-kelü 'dark-red' (black-red)
lüq-kelü 'light-red' (white-red)

There are compound adverbs which consist of two adverbs:

müchay-mütem 'immediately' (soon-only)
we-wlá 'just now' (*we-wülá*; new-then)
tayí-wülá 'just now' (just.now-then)
wüle-wla 'first thing in the morning' (*wüle-wülá*,
tomorrow-then)
fewla 'now' (*fey-wülá*: that-then)
fewlawla 'right now' (*fewla-wülá*; now-then)
ina-fül 'close', 'neighbour' (next-close)
itro-re 'only' (quite-only)

There are a number of compounds which consist of two words that belong to different word classes. All recorded instances are listed below:

fücha-chaw 'grandfather' (old-father)
trem-che 'a grown-up' (grown-person)
ka-ruka 'neighbour' (other-house)
ka-mel 'next year' (*ka* 'other', *mel* 'time', Augusta 1916: 144)
ka-mapu 'far' adv. (other-land)
alü-mapu 'far' adv. (much-land)
fachi-pun 'tonight' (this-night)
fach-antü 'today' (this-day)
we-che 'young' adj. (new-person)
welu-ɖuam 'crazy' adj. (reverse-intention)
itro-tripa 'right in front' (*tripa* 'exit', in compounds only)
itro-kom 'all, everyone' (*kom* 'all, completely')
itro-fill 'every kind' (*fill* 'every kind') (*itro* 'quite' is found in compounds only)

Chapter 20

Reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive process in nominal morphology. Nouns which consist of a reduplicated element refer to body parts, plants or animals. The repeated element does not occur as a free morpheme. All recorded cases are listed below:

tüki-tüki 'Adam's apple'
külol-külol 'throat, larynx'
püla-püla 'handpalm'
tranga-tranga 'jaw'
truli-truli 'elbow'
kuđa-kuđa 'kidneys'
kalle-kalle 'wild plant with long roots' ("Liertia ixiodes iridacea", Augusta 1916: 81)
kül-kül 'sort of fern' (used by medicine-women for medical purposes)
truf-truf 'loose soil'
treng-treng 'steep mountain' (from myths: mountain that rises when the water rises)
chon-chon 'flying head' (a demon)
kill-kill 'nightbird'
kong-kong 'owl'
kow-kow 'night-bird' (Sp. el nuco)
wür-wür 'steam' (RR, MM) (*würwen* 'steam' (LQ))

Along with *luwa-luwa* 'seaweed', one finds *luwa* 'seaweed'.

Other nouns which contain a reduplicated element are the following:

keñ-keñ-ko 'waterplant' (*ko* 'water')
tru-tru-ka 'big horn'
kuy-kuy-pangi 'ridge-pole (of a house)' (*pangi* 'species of tiger') (JM: *kuykuy* 'bridge' of any kind: beam, tree, etc.)
moyotil-tililil (LQ) 'song of a blackbird' (JM: *moyotil-tiltil* idem)

Adverbial reduplicated forms consist of a repeated root which can occur as a free morpheme. I have recorded have only very few:

matu-matu 'very quick(-ly)' (*matu* 'quick(-ly)')
müchay-müchay 'as soon as possible' (*müchay* 'soon')
rangi-rangi 'right in the middle' (*rangi* 'mid')
ka-ka 'repeatedly' (*ka* 'other, and, also')

Note also *mari-mari* 'hello', which is the common Mapuche greeting. It is not clear whether its base is *mari* 'ten' or another word.

Chapter 21

Verbalization

Nouns, adjectives, adverbs and numerals can be changed into verbs by means of affixation. There are six verbalizing suffixes: *-∅-*, *-nge-*, *-tu-*, *-(n)tu-*, *-l-* and *-ye-*. They immediately follow the root and fill slot 36.

21.1   Verbalizer -∅-

Any noun, adjective or numeral and a number of adverbs can serve as a verbal stem.

Verbs which are derived from an adjective or a numeral always have inchoative meaning. Verbs which are derived from a noun or an adverb may or may not have inchoative meaning:

aling 'fever'; *aling-* 'to get fever'
che 'person'; *che-* 'to become a person', 'to become sober'
trangliñ 'ice'; *trangliñ-* 'to become ice', 'to freeze'
lif 'clean'; *lif-* 'to become clean'
loko 'crazy'; *loko-* 'to become crazy' (Sp. loco 'crazy')
lüq 'white'; *lüq-* 'to become white'
külá 'three'; *küla-* 'to become three'
đew 'already'; *đew-* 'to become ready'
fente 'that much'; *fente-* 'to become that much'

A verb which is derived from an adjective may contain the distributive marker *-ke* DISTR, see (12) in 18.1.5.

A verb which contains *-∅-* VERB and is derived from a noun may have factitive meaning, e.g.

kofke 'bread'; *kofke-* 'to make bread'
ruka 'house'; *ruka-* 'to make a house'
püñeñ 'child (of a woman)'; *püñeñ-* 'to give birth'
kuram 'egg'; *kuram-* 'to lay an egg'
kütrüng 'parcel, bundle'; *kütrüng-* 'to make a parcel/a bundle, to wrap'

Many verbs which contain *-∅-* VERB and are derived from a noun or an adverb are difficult to classify semantically. However, the semantic relationship between a noun or an adverb and the derived verb is not unpredictable. In al-

most all cases the referent of the verb seems to be the most obvious or natural to cross one's mind when thinking of the referent of the noun or the adverb. Compare:

challwa 'fish'; *challwa-* 'to fish'
moyo 'breast'; *moyo-* 'to suck'
arof 'sweat'; *arof-* 'to sweat'
chilla 'saddle'; *chilla-* 'to saddle'
küđaw 'work'; *küđaw-* 'to work'
mafü 'dowry'; *mafü-* 'to give a dowry'
nütram 'conversation'; but *nütram-* 'to report a conversation' (cf. *nütram-ka-* 'to talk to', *-ka-* Factitive, see 26.33)
ina 'next'; *ina-* 'to follow'
trafiya 'tonight'; *trafiya-* 'to stay the night'
namuntu 'on foot'; *namuntu-* 'to go on foot'
may 'yes'; *may-* 'to consent, to obey, to wish'

Verbs which are derived from a temporal noun can be rendered as 'to last' or 'to have spent' a period of time indicated by the noun. When the verb means 'to have spent', it obligatorily contains direction marker *-me-* Th[20] (thither) or *-pa-* Hh[17] (hither), e.g.

(1)   *külá antü-a-y*
         three day-<u>VERB</u>[36]-NRLD[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

         'it will last three days'

(2)   *külá antü-me-n*
         three day-VERB[36]-Th[20]-IND1s[3]

         'I was there for three days'

In this chapter, the zero verbalizer will be labelled in the morpheme gloss; it is not written elsewhere in this book.

21.2   Verbalizer *-nge-*

Nouns, adjectives, numerals and the interrogative element *chum* 'how?' may take the verbalizer *-nge-*. The resulting verb indicates an intrinsic quality or a permanent characteristic or trait.

wentru 'man'; *wentru-nge-* 'to be a man'
küntro 'cripple'; *küntro-nge-* 'to be cripple'
külá 'three'; *küla-nge-* 'to be three'
chum 'how?'; *chum-nge-* 'to be how?'

A *-nge-* form is intransitive. It cannot be transitivized; an intrinsic quality or a permanent charateristic or trait cannot be caused or aquired. Examples:

(3) *rumé kümé wentru-nge-y*
     very good man-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he is a very good man'

(4) *wenüy-wen-nge-y-u*
     friend-REL-VERB[36]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

     'we[d] are friends'

(5) *küđaw-nge-y*
     work-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it is difficult/ it takes an effort'

(6) *kishu-nge-y*
     alone-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he is alone' (i.e. he is always alone)

(7) *nor-nge-y*
     straight-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it is straight' (i.e. it is always straight)

(8) *küla-nge-y*
     three-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'there are three of them' (e.g. in a family there are three children)

The verbal suffix *-(kü)le-* Stative[28] (*-küle-* after C, *-le-* after V) may be used to indicate a quality or characteristic that is not permanent or intrinsic (see 25.3 and 26.28). Compare the following two examples with (6) and (7):

(9) *kishu-le-y*
     alone-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he is alone' (e.g. all other people left and now he is alone)

(10) *nor-küle-y*
     straight-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it stands upright'

With a noun root, *-nge-* is not only 'to be' but also 'to have' a permanent characteristic or trait:

(11) *trewa-ađ-nge-y*
     dog-face-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he has the face of a dog'

(12) *kümé trawa-nge-y*
     good body-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'she has a fine body', 'it is a fine body'

(13) *karü-ke   nge-nge-y*
      green-DISTR eye-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'he has green eyes', 'they are green eyes'

(14) *karü-nge-y*
      green-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it has green' (i.e. that dress has green in it), 'it is green' (it is the colour
   green)

A verb which is derived from a word that refers to a colour by means of the
verbalizer -∅- may refer not only to a temporary characteristic or trait or to
one that is the result of a change of state, but also to an intrinsic quality, e.g.

(15) *karü-y*
      green-<u>VERB</u>[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it has become green, it is green'

Note that colour words can be used both as an adjective or as a noun.

A *-nge-* form which is derived from a noun can also indicate that it is charac-
teristic for the referent of the subject to cause a certain effect indicated by the
noun, e.g.

(16) *kutran-nge-y*
      illness/pain-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it inflicts pain'

(17) *ngüñü-n-nge-y*
      get.hungry-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it causes hunger/ it makes hungry'

A *-nge-* form which is derived from a noun that indicates a period of time
may be rendered as 'ago':

(18) *mari tripantu-nge-y*
      ten   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it was ten years ago'

This use of *-nge-* is also found with *we* 'new, recent(ly)':

(19) *we-nge-y*
      recent-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'recently'

A *-nge-* form can also be used to indicate the weather. The root of such a
form is either a noun or the adjective *kümé* 'good':

(20) *kürüf-nge-y*
      wind-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'there is wind'

(21) *antü-nge-y*
      day/sun-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'there is sun'

(22) *weshá antü-nge-y*
      bad   day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it is bad weather'

The suffixes *-nge-* VERB[36] and *-(kü)le-* ST[28] can be used simultaneously, but this is infrequent (see also 25.3):

(23) *weshá antü-nge-le-y*
      bad   day-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it is still bad weather'

A *-nge-* form which is derived from a noun or a nominalized verb and ends in the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n* PVN[4] refers to a period of time which is characterized by the circumstance or event referred to by the noun or the verb *-nge-n* is added to, e.g. *filla-nge-n* 'time of scarcity', *kosecha-nge-n* 'harvest season', *ketra-w-ün-nge-n* 'ploughing season', *pewü-n-nge-n* 'budding season'. The ending *-nge-n* is also found in the expression *pu Mapuche-nge-n* 'we Mapuche' (see (7, 68)).

The verbalizer *-nge-* used to be identical with the verb root *nge-*. The verb *nge-* is translated as 'to be' (existential) or 'to have been'. In the latter case the verb contains direction marker *-me-* Th[20] or *-pa-* Hh[17].

(24) *nge-we-la-y*
      be-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'there is no more'

(25) *iñché nge-pa-n*
      I   be-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

      'I have been here [before]'

The verb *nge-* 'to be', 'to have' is left in the noun *nge-n* 'master, boss, owner' which contains the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n*[4].

The verbalizer *-nge-* and the verb *nge-* differ in a few respects:
The verbalizer *-nge-* does not occur without a nominal element immediately preceding it. Nothing can be inserted between the nominal stem and *-nge-*. A form which is derived from *nge-* 'to be' may occur without a noun phrase (see (24)), it may be preceded by a subject noun phrase (see (25)) or followed by a subject noun phrase:

(26) *nge-la-y   chadi*
      be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] salt

      'there is no salt'

Compare:

(27)   *chaɖi-nge-la-y*
       salt-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it lacks salt', 'it is not salty'

A subject noun phrase which precedes a *nge-* form is usually found with *nge-* 'to have been'; a subject noun phrase which follows a *nge-* form is usually found with *nge-* 'to be' (existential).

The verb stem *nge-* 'to be' may be transitivized; a stem which takes *-nge-* VERB cannot.

(28)   *nge-l-me-fi-ñ*   *tüyüw*   *chi waka*
       be-CA[34]-Th[20]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]   over.there the cow

       'I have taken the cows over there'

21.3   Verbalizer *-tu-*

The verbalizer *-tu-* is affixed to nouns. The resulting verb can be rendered as 'to consume', 'to use' or 'to take' what is referred to by the noun. A *-tu-* form may be transitive or intransitive.

kofke 'bread'; *kofke-tu-* 'to eat bread'
pulku 'wine'; *pulku-tu-* 'to drink wine'
füñapuwe 'poison'; *füñapuwe-tu-* 'to take poison, to poison'
kitra 'pipe'; *kitra-tu-* 'to smoke a pipe'
antü 'sun'; *antü-tu-* 'to take sun', 'to have sexual intercourse by day'
umaw 'sleep'; *umaw-tu-* 'to sleep'
trutruka 'horn'; *trutruka-tu-* 'to play the horn'
torompe 'trumpet'; *torompe-tu-* 'to play the trumpet'
tralka 'gun'; *tralka-tu-* 'to shoot'
namun 'foot'; *namun-tu-* 'to go on foot'
taku-n 'dress'; *taku-n-tu-* 'to put on a dress' (*taku-* 'to cover')
peshkiñ 'flower' (LQ), 'feather' (RR, JM); *peshkiñ-tu-* 'to put on flowers/feathers'
üy 'name'; *üy-tu-* 'to call by the name'
añil 'indigo'; *añil-tu-* 'to paint indigo'
papel 'paper'; *papel-tu-* 'to read'
lichi 'milk'; *lichi-tu-* 'to milk'
mamüll 'wood', 'tree'; *mamüll-tu-* 'to fetch wood'

(29)   *trutruka-tu-fi-ñ*
       horn-VERB[36]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I played that horn' (lit.: I horn-played it)

(30)   *trutruka-tu-n*
       horn-VERB[36]-IND1s[3]

       'I played horn'

(31) *üy-tu-fi-ñ*
       name-verb[36]-edo[6]-ind1s[3]

     'I called him by the name'

   A *-tu-* form can also be rendered as 'to go to':

wariya 'town'; *wariya-tu-* 'to go to town'
kolexio 'school'; *kolexio-tu-* 'to go to school'

   The verbalizer *-tu-* occasionally occurs as a factitive:

kallfü 'purple'; *kallfü-tu-* 'to make purple'
lif 'clean'; *lif-tu-* 'to clean'
kütral 'fire'; *kütral-tu-* 'to make fire'

(32) *kütral-tu-fi-ñ*   *ti   mamüll*
       fire-verb[36]-edo[6]-ind1s[3] the wood

     'I made a fire of that wood'

   The verbalizer *-tu-* is found in a number of 'unpredictable' cases, e.g.

kutran 'illness, pain'; *kutran-tu-* 'to hurt'
küđaw 'work'; *küđaw-tu-* 'to have difficulty in, to do one's best'
payun 'beard'; *payun-tu-* 'to shave', 'to take someone by the beard'
machi 'medicine-woman'; *machi-tu-* 'to work as a medicine-woman'

   Note the difference between a verb that contains *-tu-* verb and a verb derived
from the same root that contains *-tu* adv and *-∅-* verb, e.g. *namun-tu-* 'to eat
a foot' (foot-verb[36]-) vs *namun-tu-* 'to go on foot' (foot-adv-<u>verb</u>[36]-)

   The verbalizer *-tu-* is probably related to the transitive verb *tu-* 'to take'.

21.4   Verbalizer *-(n)tu-*

The verbalizer *-(n)tu-* (*-ntu-* after V, *-tu-* after C) is affixed to adjectives. The
resulting verb may be translated as 'to consider an object to be' what is referred
to by the adjective, e.g.

kümé 'good'; *küme-ntu-* 'to like, to think it is good'
are 'warm'; *are-ntu-* 'to feel warm'
fane 'heavy'; *fane-ntu-* 'to think it is heavy'
alü 'much', big/ tall'; *alü-ntu-* 'to think it is big/ tall'

   The suffix *-(n)tu-* is also found in the following verbs:

chum-nge-n-tu- 'to think what of it?' (*chum-nge-n*; what/how-be-pvn[4])
fali-l-tu- 'to think it worthwhile' (cf. Sp. valer 'to be worth')

   Note the difference between *alü-ntu-* 'to think it is big/ tall', and *alü-n-tu-*
'to stay a long time', which is analyzed: much-<u>verb</u>[36]-pvn[4]-adv-<u>verb</u>[36]-.

21.5   Verbalizer *-l-*

The verbalizer *-l-* is affixed to nouns, adverbs, numerals and the interrogative
pronoun *tunté* 'how much?'. The resulting verb may be rendered as 'to give

somebody something', e.g.

man kuwü 'right hand'; *man-kuwü-l-* 'to give the right hand'
alü 'much'; *alü-l-* 'to give much'
kiñe 'one'; *kiñe-l-* 'to give one'

(33) *tunte-l-e-y-mew?*
      how.much-VERB[36]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{2}$[3]-$\underline{s}$[2]-DS[1]

      'how much did he give to you[s]?'

(34) *alü-l-e-n-ew*   *mapu*
      much-VERB[36]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] land

      'he gave me a lot of land'

(35) *küla-l-fi-ñ*   *engün mansana*
      three-VERB[36]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] they[p]   apple

      'I gave them[p] three apples'

The verbalizer *-l-* is probably connected with the verb *wül-* 'to give some-thing'.

21.6   Verbalizer *-ye-*

The verbalizer *-ye-* can be affixed to nouns. The resulting verb indicates the relationship denoted by the noun whereby the subject is related to another person.

(36) *llalla-ye-w-y-u*
      mother./son.in.law-VERB[36]-REF[31]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]

      'she is my mother-in-law; I am her son-in-law' (lit.: we[d] are *llalla* to one another)

Most Mapuche kinship terms are self-reciprocal terms; the mother-in-law calls her son-in-law *llalla* and he refers to his mother-in-law by the same term.

(37) *Xuan üñam-ye-fi-y*   *Lisa*
      Juan   lover-VERB[36]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] Lisa

      'Juan has Lisa for a lover'

(38) *üñam-ye-w-küle-y-ng-u*
      lover-VERB[36]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2]

      'they[d] are lovers'

(39) *chem-ye-w-üy-m-u?*
      what-VERB[36]-REF[31]-IND[4]-2[3]-d[2]

      'how are you[d] related?'

The verbalizer *-ye-* may be related to the verb *ye-* 'to carry'.

Noun phrases and nominal sentences

Chapter 22

Simple noun phrase

A simple noun phrase contains a head which may be a (common) noun, a pronoun or a proper noun.

A noun can be modified by

(a) any number of adjectives, although a noun phrase does not normally contain more than one adjective,

(b) a numeral, or

(c) a pronominal modifier (either demonstrative/anaphoric or possessive).

These constituents occur in the following, fixed order: pronominal modifier - numeral - adjective - noun.

(1) *külá lüq   ruka*
     three white house

     'three white houses'

(2) *tüfa-chi lüq   ruka*
     this-ADJ white house

     'these white houses'

(3) *tüfa-chi külá lüq   ruka*
     this-ADJ three white house

     'these three white houses'

A noun phrase does not usually contain more than two modifiers, although (3) is perfectly acceptable.

An adjective may be modified by an adverb. The adverb immediately precedes the adjective:

(4) *rumé pichi ruka*
     very   small house

     'a very small house'

(5)   *đoy pichi ruka*
       more small house

     'a smaller house'

The word *pu* COLL (see 11.1) stands between a pronominal modifier and the first adjective:

(6)   *ñi   pu küme-ke wenüy*
       poss1s COLL good-DISTR friend

     'my good friends'

(7)   *tüfa-chi pu   fücha-ke longko*
       this-ADJ   COLL old-DISTR head/leader

     'these old leaders'

A possessive pronoun may be preceded by a specifying personal or substitutive personal pronoun, e.g.

(8)   *iñché ñi   pu küme-ke wenüy*
       I   poss1s COLL good-DISTR friend

     'my good friends'

(9)   *kom ñi   pu küme-ke wenüy*
       all   poss1s COLL good-DISTR friend

     'all my good friends'

A noun which can be used adverbially (10.2) may be modified by an adverb:

(10)   *alü pun*
       much night

     'late at night'

A noun phrase whose head can be a (common) noun, a pronoun or a proper noun may be modified by a postpositional adverb, e.g.

(11)   *chem lüq   ruka rumé*
       what   white house -ever

     'whatever white house'

(12)   *Maria kütó ngüma-y*
       Maria   even cry-IND[4]-[3]

     'even Maria cried'

Chapter 23

Complex noun phrase

A complex noun phrase contains more than one noun. The relation between the nouns is either subordinative or coordinative. There are various types of subordinative complex noun phrases: possessive, partitive and genitive. Coordinative noun phrases include comitative constructions.

23.1 Possessive noun phrase

The noun phrase which refers to the possessor precedes the noun phrase which indicates the possessed. A possessive pronoun which corefers to the possessor noun phrase stands in between:

(1) *chaw ñi   wenüy*
     father poss3 friend
     'father's friend'

(2) *iñché ñi   wenüy*
     I   poss1s friend
     'my friend'

(3) *iñché ñi   chaw ñi   pu kümé wenüy*
     I   poss1s father poss3 COLL good friend
     'my father's good friends'

(4) *Xoan ñi   pu wenüy ñi   chaw*
     Joan poss3 COLL friend poss3 father
     'the father(s) of Joan's friends'

(5) *ta-ñi   lamngen ñi   fütá*
     the-poss1s/3 sister   poss3 husband
     'my/her/his/their sister's husband'

(6)   *tüfa-chi kawellu ñi   pilun*
      this-ADJ   horse   poss3 ear

      'the ear of this horse'

(7)   *đomo ñi   küđaw lif-tu-al   ruka*
      woman poss3 work   clean-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] house

      'it [is] a woman's work to clean the house' (cf. *đomo-küđaw* 'woman's work')

(8)   *kolü tren ñi   chofer*
      red   train poss3 chauffeur

      'the engine-driver of the red train'

(9)   *ta-ñi   wangku ñi   ađ*
      the-poss1s/3 chair   poss3 colour

      'the colour of my/his/her/their chair'

   Genitive constructions are preferred in order to refer to an object which belongs to, forms part of or is connected to something else, see 23.3 below.

   The possessor noun phrase may be placed after the noun phrase that refers to the possessed. The possessive pronoun keeps its position before the noun phrase that refers to the possessed. This order may occur
(a) when the referent of the possessive pronoun is known from the context or the situation, e.g.

(10)   *... pi-y   ñi   rakiđuam kümé kim-ke   wentru*
       say-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 thought   good wise-DISTR man

       '... relate their thoughts, of good wise men'

(b) when the head of the possessed noun phrase is an intransitive subordinate. The possessor noun phrase indicates the subject and follows the verb, as subjects of intransitive verbs often do:

(11)   *kim-la-n   ñi   chum-le-n   ñi   püñeñ*
       learn-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] poss3 how-ST[28]-PVN[4] poss1s child

       'I don't know how my child is doing'

The order possessed noun phrase - possessor noun phrase occurs often when the possessor noun phrase contains a relative clause, e.g.

(12)   *fey-ti   ñi   müle-n chi pichi che   kewa-fi-lu   ñi   chaw*
       that-the poss3 be-PVN[4] the small person hit-EDO[6]-SVN[4] poss3 father

       'here is the child that hit his father' (lit.: that [is] his being [of] the boy who hit his father)

   The possessive pronoun may be left out in expressions with *đuam* 'need, intention', e.g.

(13)   *kishu đuam*
    self   need

    'on his own account'

(14)   *plata đuam*
    money need

    'for money'

(15)   *küđaw-ke-n   ñi   pu   che   ñi   đuam*
    work-CF[14]-IND1s[3] poss1s COLL person poss3 need

    'I work for my family'

(16)   *fey montu-rki-y   ñi   lamngen ñi   đuam*
    he   escape-REP[12]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 sister   poss3 need

    'he escaped through his sister'

23.2   Partitive noun phrase

The first noun phrase indicates measure, size or quantity; the second noun phrase refers to the object measured:

(17)   *kongka küna*
    sheaf   rush

    'a sheaf of rush'

(18)   *wikef kofke*
    piece   bread

    'a piece of bread'

(19)   *pichin plata*
    bit   money

    'a bit of money'

(20)   *fotella kümé pulku*
    bottle   good   wine

    'a bottle of good wine' (cf. *pulku-fotella* 'wine bottle')'

(21)   *külko kelü üñí*
    basket red   cherry

    'a basket of red cherries'

(22)   *füta-ke   kaman Mapuche*
    big-DISTR quantity Mapuche

    'large numbers of Mapuche'

(23) *tunten   kilo ilo   ufisha?*
      how.much kilo meat sheep
      'how many kilos of mutton?'

(24) *kiñe-ke   ñi   pu   wenüy*
      some-DISTR poss1s COLL friend
      'some of my friends'

23.3   Genitive noun phrase
The object referred to by the first noun phrase forms part of, belongs to or is
connected to the referent of the second noun phrase.

(25) *namun mesa*
      leg   table
      'table-leg'

(26) *tüfa-chi pilun kawellu*
      this-ADJ ear   horse
      'this horse ear'

Compare (6): *tüfachi kawellu ñi pillun* 'the ear of this horse'.

(27) *aḏ   mapu*
      habit land
      'customs of a country', 'things associated with the country'

(28) *mollfüñ che*
      blood   person
      'human blood'

(29) *ilo   ufisha*
      meat sheep
      'mutton'

(30) *ti   aḏ   ta-ñi   wangku*
      the colour the-poss1s/3 chair
      'the colour of my/his/her/their chair'

Compare (9): *ta-ñi wangku ñi aḏ* 'the colour of my/his/her/their chair'.

The first noun phrase may consist of a locational noun which can be used
adverbially (see 10.2). A complex noun phrase which contains such a noun can
also be used adverbially:

(31)   *wif   lewfü*
       width river

       'width of the river', 'along the river'

(32)   *rangiñ rüpü*
       middle road

       'middle of the road', 'in the middle of the road'

(33)   *wülngiñ iñché ñi   ruka*
       front   I   poss1s house

       'front of my house', 'in front of my house'

(34)   *wenu pu   mamüll*
       above COLL tree

       '(space) above the trees', 'high up in the trees'

A locational noun phrase can also consist of an adverbialized noun and another noun.

(35)   *furi-tu   wingkul*
       back-ADV hill

       'behind the hill'

Compare:

(36)   *furi wingkul*
       back hill

       'the back of the hill', 'behind the hill'

Note also the following genitive noun phrases. The first component is a verbal noun derived from an intransitive verb. The second noun has the function of subject.

(37)   *naq-ün   antü*
       go.down-PVN[4] sun

       'afternoon' (when the sun has reached its highest point and goes down)

(38)   *kon-ün   antü*
       enter-PVN[4] sun

       'twilight after sunset' (lit.: when the sun enters [the earth])

A complex noun phrase of which the first component is a verbal noun has normally a 'genitive object', i.e. the second component is the object of the verb:

(39)   *wiri-n   longko*
       stripe-PVN[4] head

       'hair parting'

(40) *nge-n*   *ruka*
      have-PVN[4] house

      'house owner'

(41) *nge-n*   *ko*
      have-PVN[4] water

      'master over water'

The noun *nge-n* 'master' may take the distributive marker *-ke* DISTR:

(42) *nge-n-ke*   *mapu*
      be-PVN[4]-DISTR land

      'land owners' (i.e. various people each of which has a piece of land (of his own))

(43) *nengüm-ün ti ruka*
      move-PVN[4]   the house

      'movement of the house'

In (43) *ti ruka* 'the house' may be subject or object of the preceding verbal noun.

23.4 Comitative noun phrase

A comitative noun phrase consists of two or three noun phrases, e.g.

(44) *iñché eymi iñchiu i-y-u*
      I   you^s we^d   eat-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

      'you^s and I ate'

One noun phrase denotes the principal participant, cf. *iñché* 'I' (44). Another noun phrase denotes the companion, cf. *eymi* 'you^s' (44). The third noun phrase is a personal pronoun which agrees in person with the principal participant but in number with the total number of participants involved in the event, cf. *iñchiu* 'we^d' (44).

The noun phrase which denotes the companion precedes the noun phrase which indicates the total number of participants. The noun phrase which denotes the principal participant is optional. It precedes the noun phrase which denotes the companion. Compare with (44):

(45) *eymi iñchiu i-y-u*
      you^s we^d   eat-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

      'you^s and I ate'

The following personal pronouns are used to denote the total number of participants:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
\textit{iñchiu} & \text{'we}^{\text{d}}\text{'}\\
\textit{iñchiñ} & \text{'we}^{\text{p}}\text{'}\\
\textit{emu} & \text{'you}^{\text{d}}\text{'}\\
\textit{emün} & \text{'you}^{\text{p}}\text{'}\\
\textit{engu} & \text{'they}^{\text{d}}\text{'}\\
\textit{engün} & \text{'they}^{\text{p}}\text{'}
\end{array}$$

Note *emu* 2d and *emün* 2p instead of the regular personal pronoun for 2d and 2p: *eymu, eymün*.

The principal participant may be first, second or third person. The companion may be second or third person. A first person principal participant may have a second or third person for companion. A second or third person principal participant can only have a third person for companion.

The principal participant is coreferential with the subject marker (slot 3); the number marker (slot 2) indicates either the number of the principal participant (see (46)) or the total number of participants involved in the event (see (47)).

(46)   *fey iñchiu nütram-ka-n*
       he   we$^{\text{d}}$ conversation-FAC^{33}-IND1s^{3}

     'I talked with him' (lit.: he, we$^{\text{d}}$, I talked)

(47)   *fey iñchiu nütram-ka-y-u*
       he   we$^{\text{d}}$ conversation-FAC^{33}-IND^{4}-$\underline{1\text{ns}}^{3}$-d^{2}

     'he and I talked together' (lit.: he, we$^{\text{d}}$ talked)

For Salas' informants, however, forms which take a number marker indicating the number of the principal participant (like in (46)) "sound funny" ("suenan raro" (Salas 1981: 124)).

(48)   *yiñ   karukatu iñchiñ i-y-iñ   kiñe sanchu*
       poss1p neighbour we$^{\text{p}}$ eat-IND^{4}-$\underline{1\text{ns}}^{3}$-p^{2} one   pig

     'we$^{\text{p}}$ ate a pig with our neighbours'

(49)   *pu   longko iñchiñ nge-me-n   Santiago*
       COLL leader   we$^{\text{p}}$ be-TH^{20}-IND1s^{3} Santiago

     'I have been to Santiago with the leaders'

(50)   *amu-a-y-m-i   Pedro emu*
       go-NRLD^{9}-IND^{4}-2^{3}-s^{2} Pedro you$^{\text{d}}$

     'you$^{\text{s}}$ will go with Pedro'

(51)   *kom ñi   pu   che   engün kañ pülé amu-y*
       all   poss3 COLL person they$^{\text{p}}$ other side   go-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$

     'he went elsewhere with his entire family'

(52)   *aku-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   pichi-ke   che   engün*
       arrive-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-3ns^{3}-p^{2} poss3 small-DISTR person they$^{\text{p}}$

'they[p] arrived with their children'

The pronouns *engu* 3d and *engün* 3p may be used as a connective between two noun phrases:

(53) *püntü-ke   fende-a-n   mesa engün wangku*
separately-DISTR sell-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] table they[p] chair

'I shall sell the tables and chairs separately'

(54) *alü   kamapu-le-y   Peru engu Arxentina*
much far-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] Peru they[d] Argentina

'Peru and Argentina are far away'

23.5   Coordinative noun phrase

A coordinative noun phrase consists of an unlimited number of noun phrases which are simply enumerated without any special connective. Such noun phrases are connected by 'and' or 'or' in English.

(55) *elu-nge-ki-y   yerfa, asukar, rüngo*
give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] herb, sugar, flour

'they were given herbs, sugar [and] flour'

(56) *kuyfí   üyüw   müle-ke-fu-y-iñ   ñuke   iñchiñ, lamngen,*
a.long.time.ago over.there be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2] mother we[p], sister,

peñi   (12,2)
brother

'a long time ago we[p] used to live there, [my] mother, [my] sister [and] brother'

(57) *... külá inkilinu, epu inkilinu, kiñe inkilinu (10,48)*
three tenant,   two tenant,   one   tenant

'[they had] ... three tenants, or two or one'

Sometimes *ka* 'also, and, other' is inserted before the last noun phrase:

(58) *... kim-püra-me-n   ñi   pu   pichi-ke   peñi,   pu   wenüy ka*
learn-climb-Th[20]-IND1s[3] poss1s COLL small-DISTR brother, COLL friend   and

ñi   pu   chaw (3,1)
poss1s COLL father

'I became aware of my brothers, friends and (my) parents'

The word *kam* 'or' is used when the hearer is given an option of two possibilities:

(59) *iney đoy kim-üy,   eymi kam iñché?*
who   more know-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], you[s] or   I

'who knows more, you[s] or I?'

Instead of a series of coordinated noun phrases one may find the verb being repeated:

(60)   *ye-y   ta   plata   yengün,   ye-y   ta   rali,   ye-y*
       bring-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the   money   they[P],   bring-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the   plate,   bring-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   ta   ufisha,   ye-y   ta   kiñe   trari-ñ   kawellu,   ye-y   ta
   the   sheep,   bring-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the   one   tie-PVN^4 horse,   bring-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the

   waka, ...
   cow,   ...

   'they[P] brought money, they brought plates, they brought sheep, they brought one team of horses, they brought cows ...'

Chapter 24

Nominal sentences

A nominal sentence consists of two nominal arguments. It denotes a situation which is characterized by the presence of one entity which is identical to another. The second argument in a nominal sentence identifies the first.

(1)　*fey　　wentru*
　　　that/he man

　　　'that/he [is] a man'

(2)　*fey-chi　đomo　ñi　　ina-n　　lamngen; tüfá iñché*
　　　that-ADJ woman poss1s next-PVN[4] sister;　　this I

　　　'that woman [is] my youngest sister; this [is] me'

(3)　*tuchi ta-mi　　lamngen?*
　　　which the-poss2s sister

　　　'which one [is] your[s] sister?'

(4)　*tüfá ñi　　küpa-le-n*
　　　this poss3 come-ST[28]-PVN[4]

　　　'here he comes'

(5)　*femngechi ta-ñi　　orden ...*
　　　such　　　the-poss3 order

　　　'such [was] the order ...'

The word *femngechi* is used both as an adverb and as an adjective (18.2.2).

(6)　*kuyfí　　　ñi　　yi-we-no-n　　　poroto*
　　　a.long.time poss1s eat-PS[19]-NEG[10]-PVN[4] bean

　　　'[it has been] a long time since I ate beans'

The element *nu* is used to indicate that the situation denoted by the preceding nexus is not the case. Note that the suffix -*nu*-[10] occurs as a negation marker in conditional forms and verbal nouns (see 26.10).

(7)   *fey   wentru nu*
      that/he man   NEG

      'that/he [is] not a man' (it is not the case that he is a man, cf. (1))

(8)   *tüfa-chi pu   che   kom Mapuche nu?*
      this-ADJ COLL person all   Mapuche NEG

      '[are] these people not all Mapuche?' (is it not the case that these people
      are all Mapuche?)

(9)   *tunté   kulli-lle-l-i   rumé, mütewe   nu*
      how.much pay-AFF^{11}-COND^4-1^3-s^2 -ever, much/very NEG

      'no matter how much I paid, [it was] not much'

In (9) the nominal sentence consists of an adverb (*mütewe*) and the nexal
negator *nu*. Because of the presence of the adverb one may assume that a verb
has been left out. The morpheme *nu* negates the situation denoted by the verb.

The second argument can occur in fronted position. Compare:

(10) *fey iñché ñi   ñuke*
      she I   poss1s mother

      'she [is] my mother'

(11) *iñché ñi   ñuke,   ta ti*
      I   poss1s mother, the the

      'that [is] my mother'

The anaphoric pronoun *ta*, which is coreferential with the fronted noun
phrase, is qualified by *ti* 'the'.

(12) *iñché, ta ti*
      I,   the the

      'that [is] me', 'that [is] mine'

(13) *iñché nu, ta ti*
      I   NEG, the the

      'that [is] not me', 'that [is] not mine'

Instead of *ti*, one may find *tüfá*, a personal pronoun or a noun.

(14) *machi,   ta ti ruka*
      medicine.woman, the the house

      'to the medicine-woman belongs the house'

For *ta* in nominal sentences, see 14.3.2 (34–38).

Note that *ta* may occur as a dummy in a nominal sentence. Compare the
following two examples:

(15) *iñchiu ta đomo*
      we[d]   the woman

      'we[d] [are] women'

(16) *iñchiu đomo*
      we[d]   woman

      'we[d] [are] women'

Part V

Morphology and morphosyntax of the verb

Chapter 25

Introduction

A Mapuche verb form consists of a root followed by one or more optional derivational suffixes and at least one inflectional suffix. The group of inflectional markers, which make up the end of the verb form, contains suffixes which indicate person, number, mood, flectional nominalization, tense, aspect and negation. Mapuche has about 100 verbal suffixes. They can be roughly distinguished into a number of categories which occur in the following order:

(Root) - Valency modifiers - Aspect - Semantic modifiers - Truth value - Flection

On the basis of their relative position and their function the verbal suffixes have been assigned to a slot. I have distinguished 36 slots, which are numbered from the end of the verb form toward the root. The verbal suffixes are dealt with in more detail in chapter 26.

A verbal predicate is a finite verb form which obligatorily contains a subject marker in slot 3 and a coreferential number marker in slot 2. A predicate has a modal marker in slot 4. Three moods can be distinguished: the indicative (IND), the conditional (COND) and the imperative (IMP).

A subordinate is a non-finite form (i.e. has an empty subject slot) and contains a flectional nominalization marker in slot 4 (for the difference between a flectional and a derivational nominalizer, see 26.4.5). A subordinate can have the same arguments and complements as any other verb. It combines with a verb as a subject, a direct object, an instrumental object or a complement noun phrase. It may also combine as a modifier with a noun.

A verb form takes at least one suffix and generally no more than ten. A subordinate takes less suffixes than a predicate.

In predicates, there are three functional positions for person markers: slot 3 has subject function (S), slot 6 has direct object function (DO) and slot 1 has dative subject function (DS). The lack of subject markers in subordinates is compensated for by the use of possessive pronouns. Subordinates can take slot 6 and slot 1 fillers. Since person markers are distributed over several slots, they are briefly discussed together in the present chapter for the sake of coherence (25.2).

The same holds for aspectuals. Mapuche has a formally unmarked perfective and a number of aspectuals which fill slots 5, 8, 14, 16, 18, 28 and 32. Aspect and the distinction between realization and non-realization (slot 9) are treated in section 25.3. For the discussion of aspect I heavily rely on Comrie (1976) and on Comrie (in Shopen (1985)).

This chapter begins with a section on the verb stem (25.1) and is concluded with a section on auxiliary verbs (25.4).

Chapters 26 - 31 deal with verbal morphology. After a description of the verbal suffixes which fill each of the 36 positions (chapter 26), I discuss suffixes which have not been assigned a functional position because of their infrequency (chapter 27). Chapter 28 deals with derivational nominalizers. Compounding is discussed in chapter 29. Deictic and defective verbs are dealt with in chapters 30 and 31 respectively.

25.1   Verb stem

A simple verb stem consists of a single uninflected verbal root, e.g.
anü- 'to sit down',
or of a single or compound nominal root which is followed by a verbalizing suffix in slot 36, e.g.
umaw-tu- 'to sleep' (sleep-VERB[36]-),
kofke- 'to make bread' (bread-<u>VERB</u>[36]-),
kutran-longko- 'to get headache' (illness-head-<u>VERB</u>[36]-).
A complex verb stem contains two or three stems. It may consist of two verb stems, e.g.
anü-püra- 'to sit up' (sit.down-go.up-), which consists of two uninflected verbal roots.
A complex verb stem may consist of a reduplicated root and a stem formative in slot 36, e.g.
anü-anü-tu- 'to sit down repeatedly', 'to pretend to sit down', (sit.down-sit.down-SFR[36]-) (a reduplicated verbal root does not occur without a stem formative in slot 36).
It may consist of a verbal root and a verbal stem which is derived from a nominal root, e.g.
đungu-nütram-ka- 'to have a conversation with' (speak-conversation-<u>VERB</u>[36]-FAC[33]-).
A complex verb stem may also consist of a verb stem and a nominal stem. The nominal stem follows the verb stem, e.g.
kintu-küđaw- 'to look for work' (look.for-work-<u>VERB</u>[36]-),
wenüy-ka-che- 'to make friends with people' (friend-<u>VERB</u>[36]-FAC[33]-person-<u>VERB</u>[36]-).
Nominal stems are usually incorporated into transitive verbs with the function of a direct object. Combinations of intransitive verbs and nominal stems in subject function occur as well, e.g.

aku-umaw- 'to get sleep' (arrive-sleep-<u>VERB</u>[36]-),

afü-wün- 'to get an infected mouth' (get.cooked/ripe/rotten-mouth-<u>VERB</u>[36]-).

   The first verb stem in a compound may contain a suffix in slot 35, 34 or 33, e.g. *amu-l-nü-* 'to continue to take' (go-CA[34]-take-). Albeit seldom, the first verb stem in a compund may take another derivational suffix together with a suffix in slot 35, 34 or 33, e.g. *ru-l-pa-nütram-* 'to interpret' (pass-CA[34]-Hh[17]-conversation-<u>VERB</u>[36]-).

   I found only two complex verb stems that contain three consecutive roots. Both stems consist of two verbal roots followed by a noun:

angkaɫ-püra-kawellu- 'to take someone/to ride behind on the back of a horse' (take/ride.on.the.back-go.up-horse-<u>VERB</u>[36]-)

kellu-nü-kawell- 'to help catch the horse' (help-take-horse-<u>VERB</u>[36]-) (*kawell(u)* Sp. caballo 'horse').

25.2   Person markers

In this section I discuss subject markers (25.2.1), direct object markers (25.2.2), dative subject markers (25.2.3) and two suffixes which fill slot 23 and are used to complete the agent-patient paradigm (25.2.4). A survey of all person markers is presented in the appendix (p. 363).

25.2.1 Subject (slot 3)

The subject can be first, second or third person. The following subject markers fill slot 3:

-(ü)n (*-ün* after C, *-n* after V) is a portemanteau morph and indicates indicative mood and first person singular subject. label: IND1s

-∅-   indicates first person non-singular subject in indicative forms. label: 1ns

-i   marks first person subject in conditional forms. label: 1

-y-   marks first person non-singular subject in conditional forms which contain the dative subject marker *-∅* or *-(m)ew* DS[1]. This holds for LQ and RR. MM uses *-iy*. label:1ns

-chi   is a portemanteau morph and marks imperative mood and first person singular subject. label: IMP1s

-m-   marks second person subject in indicative, conditional and imperative forms, except second person singular subject in imperative forms. label: 2

-nge   is a portemanteau morph and marks imperative mood and second person singular subject. label: IMP2s

The indicative differentiates a third person subject which is not marked for number and a non-singular third person subject:

-∅   marks third person subject, unmarked for number. label: 3

-ng-   marks third person non-singular subject. label: 3ns

The conditional and the imperative do not differentiate number for a third person subject:

-e   marks third person subject in conditional forms. label: 3

-*y*- marks third person subject in conditional forms which contain -*(m)ew*
       DS[1]. label: 3

-*pe* is a portemanteau morph and indicates imperative mood and third person
       subject. label: IMP3

Portemanteau morphs which include a subject marker are assigned subject
position (slot 3).

Number markers (slot 2), which distinguish singular, dual and plural, are co-
referential with subject markers. There are two exceptions to this rule: 1s→2s
(see 25.2.3) and 1→2 (with a total number of participants greater than two),
in which case the total number of participants involved in the action is indi-
cated by the number marker, see 25.2.4. First and second person subject are
obligatorily marked for number. With a third person subject number marking
is optional. The suffix -*ng*- is obligatorily followed by a number marker in slot
2: -*u* for dual or -*ün* for plural. The endings -*ng-u* and -*ng-ün* can be replaced
by postposed independent elements *engu* and *engün* respectively. Singularity
of a third person is not formally marked.

In the chart below I summarize the subject and number markers:

mood/person	Ind	Cond	IMP
1s	-$(\ddot{u})n^3$	-i^3-$\emptyset^2$	-chi^3
1d	-$\emptyset^3$-u^2	-i^3-u^2	
1p	-$\emptyset^3$-$i\tilde{n}^2$	-i^3-$i\tilde{n}^2$	
2s	-m^3-i^2	-m^3-i^2	-nge^3
2d	-m^3-u^2	-m^3-u^2	-m^3-u^2
2p	-m^3-$\ddot{u}n^2$	-m^3-$\ddot{u}n^2$	-m^3-$\ddot{u}n^2$
3	-$\emptyset^3$	-e^3	-pe^3
3d	-ng^3-u^2		
3p	-ng^3-$\ddot{u}n^2$		

There is no imperative form for first person non-singular subject. The indica-
tive 1d and 1p may be used adhortatively (see 26.4.4). Note that the endings
which indicate subject and number show formal similarities with personal and
possessive pronouns (cf. chapters 15 and 16).

(1) *iñché umaw-tu-n*
     I   sleep-VERB[36]-IND1s[3]

     'I slept'

(2) *amu-y-m-i*
     go-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

     'you^s went'

(3) *wirar-üy*
     scream-IND[4]-3̲[3]

     'he/she/they screamed'

(4)   *fey-engün küđaw-üy-ng-ün*
      that-they[p] work-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      'they[p] worked'

(5)   *kiñe nge umer-küle-y*
      one   eye   shut-ST[28]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

      'one eye is shut'

The nature of the involvement of the subject in the situation denoted by the verb is determined by the meaning of the verb. In a verb which takes one person marker (a one-place verb) the subject is by definition the single argument. In a verb which takes a subject marker and the direct object marker *-fi-* (a two-place verb) the subject is the agent and the direct object the patient (see 25.2.2). In a verb which takes a subject marker, the direct object marker *-e-* and a dative subject marker (a three-place verb) the subject is the patient and the dative subject the agent (see 25.2.3). The direct object marker in a three-place verb indicates that the referent of the subject marker is the patient of the event and that it is determined by the context. The semantic role of subject and direct object markers is also determined by the presence of slot 26, 27, 29 and 35 fillers. The filler of slot 27 for instance turns the patient into the beneficiary of the event.

25.2.2   Direct object (slot 6)

Only transitive verbs have an occupied slot 6. Slot 6 is filled by either of two direct object markers: *-fi-* and *-e-*. They are mutually exclusive. Both suffixes occur in predicates and in subordinates.

The suffix *-fi-* is actually a deictic element (cf. the pronoun *fey ∼ fiy* 'that' (14.2) and the deictic verb *fe-* 'to become like that' (chapter 30)). Its field of reference is the situation. The suffix *-fi-* refers to a participant which is to be found in the situation at large outside the speech act. Such a participant cannot be a first or a second person, since they participate in the speech act, nor can it be a third person which is identified by the context. The referent of *-fi-* is therefore a third person which is identified by the situation. It is labelled External Direct Object (EDO). The suffix *-fi-* does not differentiate number; its referent may be singular, dual or plural. Personal pronouns can be used to specify the number of the direct object. The referent of *-fi-* may be animate or inanimate. The suffix *-fi-* is used with definite objects; it can be left out with less definite objects, see (8) below. The referent of the subject marker in a *-fi-* form is the agent of the event and is a first or a second person, or a third person which is more prominent in discourse than the referent of *-fi-*.

(6)   *leli-fi-nge*
      look.at-EDO[6]-IMP2s[3]

      'look[s] at him/her/it/them !'

(7)   *fey kellu-fi-y   ñi   chaw engu ñi   ñuke*
      he   help-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 father they[d] poss3 mother

      'he helped his father and mother'

(8)   *fey kellu-y   ñi   chaw engu ñi   ñuke*
      he   help-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 father they[d] poss3 mother

      'he helped his father and mother'

The difference between (7) and (8) lies in the use of *-fi-*: *-fi-* specifies the direct object noun phrase in (7). The implication of (7) is that the subject helped his parents in particular or only his parents, whereas (8) means that the subject helped and that his parents were amongst the persons he helped. In (8) the noun phrase *ñi chaw engu ñi ñuke* has the function of a complement: it is not coreferential with a person marker, nor does it take the instrumental *-mew*. For *-fi-*, see also 26.6. The use of *-fi-* in the ending *-fi-el* TVN (transitive verbal noun) is dealt with in 26.4 and 26.6.

The suffix *-fi-* is mutually exclusive with the other slot 6 filler: the suffix *-e-*. Whereas the suffix *-fi-* points to the situation outside the speech act and refers to an object or person which is less prominent in terms of discourse than the referent of the subject, the suffix *-e-* does the reverse: *-e-* urges the hearer to identify the subject on the basis of the discourse and indicates that the referent of the subject is the patient and not the agent of the event. The subject may be a first or a second person, or a third person which is in focus at the moment of speaking. In other words, the subject is either a participant in the speech act or a person which can be identified on the basis of the context. The suffix *-e-* allows the principal participants to keep subject position, in the role of patient. The suffix *-e-* is labelled Internal Direct Object. The distinction between *-e-* and *-fi-*, between between context and situation, is also shown in the demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns *tüfá* 'this', *ta* 'the (you know)' vs. *fey* ~ *fiy* 'that', *ti* 'the' and the deictic verbs *fa-* 'to become like this' and *fe-* 'to become like that' and their derivates (see chapter 14). The suffix *-e-* is also analysed as an inverse marker (to be discussed in 25.2.4 below). However, the frequency of references to either context or sitation as the basis for identification leads me to believe that the suffix *-e-* has a dual function: it indicates that the referent of the subject marker is the patient of the event and can be identified on the basis of the context. The agent of the event denoted by an *-e-* form is indicated by a suffix which follows the subject and number markers, and occupies slot 1 (see 25.2.3 below). Since the suffix *-e-* necessarily co-occurs with a slot 1 filler, the actor of an *-e-* form can always be identified. The suffixes *-fi-* and *-e-* may be used with all (transitive) verbs. For examples of *-e-*, see 25.2.3 below; for *-e-*, see also 26.6.

25.2.3 Dative subject (slot 1)

Slot 1 has one overt filler, *-(m)ew* and one zero filler. The suffix *-(m)ew*

indicates a third person agent unmarked for number. The referent of -(m)-ew
may be animate or inanimate. A zero filler in slot 1 marks a first or second
person singular agent.

A dative subject marker necessarily co-occurs with the internal direct ob-
ject marker -e- IDO[6] (25.2.2). The subject, which is contextually determined
(marked by -e-[6]), is the patient.

(9)   *mangkü-e-n-ew*
      kick-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      'he/she/they kicked me'

The form *mangkü-e-n-ew* may be interpreted as 'I had myself kicked by him'.
This interpretation reflects the prominent position of the subject (see also 25.2.4
below where the suffix -e- is compared with the second person agent/ reflexive
marker -(u)w-). In order to avoid confusion with the instrumental object mar-
ker -mew (see 10.1), the filler of slot 1, (-(m)ew or -∅-), is labelled Dative
Subject, and not instrumental subject. Predicates can take -(m)ew or the
zero filler in slot 1. Subordinates do not take -∅[1]. The suffix -(m)ew[1] is only
combined with the nominalizers -lu SVN[4] (subjective verbal noun) or -t- AVN[4]
(agentive verbal noun).

The distribution of -(m)ew is as follows: -ew is found after -n (Ind1s[3]), -m-
(2[3]), -∅- (3[3]) and -t- (AVN[4]); -mew is found elsewhere. An alternant of -mew is
-mu. In combination with the subjective verbal noun marker -lu SVN, however,
one finds only -mu, never -mew.

A predicate which contains a dative subject marker takes regular slot 3 fillers,
with the following exceptions:
 (i) in conditional forms, third person subject is indicated by -y-[3] and, as in
     indicative forms, not by -∅-, see (11–12),
(ii) the number marker for 2s is -∅-, see (13),
(iii) instead of -i-[3] one finds -y-[3] to mark 1ns subject in conditional forms which
      take the dative subject marker -∅ or -(m)ew DS[1]. This holds for LQ and RR.
      MM uses -iy,
(iv) the suffix -(m)ew does not co-occur with -ng-u (3d) or -ng-ün (3p). A third
      person subject in a three-place verb can never be marked for number,
 (v) there is one regular imperative form that takes a slot 1 filler: -e-chi-mew for
     3→1s. Other imperative forms with a slot 1 filler have been elicited, but
     speakers were not consistent, nor did they agree with each other (see 26.4.4).
Below I summarize the endings which include -e-[6], the dative subject marker
-(m)ew-[1] and the markers for mood (slot 4), subject (slot 3) and number (slot
2).

        Ind.
3→1s   -e[6]-n[3]-ew[1]
3→1d   -e[6]-y[4]-∅[3]-u[2]-mew[1]
3→1p   -e[6]-y[4]-∅[3]-iñ[2]-mew[1]

$3\rightarrow2$s $-e^6\text{-}y^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}\emptyset^2\text{-}ew^1$
$3\rightarrow2$d $-e^6\text{-}y^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}u^2\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow2$p $-e^6\text{-}y^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}\ddot{u}n^2\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow3$ $-e^6\text{-}y^4\text{-}\emptyset^3\text{-}ew^1$
            Cond.
$3\rightarrow1$s $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}i^3\text{-}\emptyset^2\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow1$d $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}y^3\text{-}u^2\text{-}mew^1$ ($-e\text{-}l\text{-}iy\text{-}u\text{-}mew$ (MM))
$3\rightarrow1$p $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}y^3\text{-}i\tilde{n}^2\text{-}mew^1$ ($-e\text{-}l\text{-}iy\text{-}i\tilde{n}\text{-}mew$ (MM))
$3\rightarrow2$s $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}\emptyset^2\text{-}ew^1$
$3\rightarrow2$d $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}u^2\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow2$p $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}m^3\text{-}\ddot{u}n^2\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow3$ $-e^6\text{-}l^4\text{-}y^3\text{-}ew^1$ ($-e\text{-}l\text{-}iy\text{-}u$ (MM))
            Imp.
$3\rightarrow1$s $-e^6\text{-}chi^3\text{-}mew^1$
$3\rightarrow1$d $-pe\text{-}y\text{-}u\text{-}mew$
$3\rightarrow1$p $-pe\text{-}y\text{-}i\tilde{n}\text{-}mew$
$3\rightarrow2$s $-pe\text{-}y\text{-}mew$
$3\rightarrow2$p $-pe\text{-}y\text{-}mu\text{-}mew$
$3\rightarrow2$p $-pe\text{-}y\text{-}m\ddot{u}n\text{-}mew$

The imperative forms containing *-pe-* were elicited from LQ only. The reliability of these forms is doubtful, see also 26.4.4.

(10) *fey kom kulli-e-y-iñ-mu*
      he all   pay-IDO⁶-IND⁴-<u>1ns</u>³-p²-DS¹

      'he paid usᵖ all'

(11) *ñi   chaw kewa-e-y-ew*
      poss1s father beat-IDO⁶-IND⁴-<u>3</u>³-DS¹

      'my father beat him'

(12) *pewmangen ñi   chaw kewa-fe-l-y-ew*
      hopefully   poss1s father beat-IPD⁸.IDO⁶-COND⁴-3³-DS¹

      'if only my father would beat him'

(13) *mütrüm-e-y-m-ew*
      call-IDO⁶-IND⁴-2³-<u>s</u>²-DS¹

      'he/she/they called youˢ'

(14) *mütrüm-e-y-m-ün-mew*
      call-IDO⁶-IND⁴-2³-p²-DS¹

      'he/she/they called youᵖ'

The patient of a *-lu-* form which contains *-mu* DS¹ is expressed by a personal pronoun which follows the verb (see also 26.4.10.2):

(15) *mütrüm-e-lu-mu eymi, amu-la-y-m-i*
      call-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] you[s], go-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'when he/she/they called you[s], you[s] did not go'

The patient of an event denoted by a subordinate that takes *-t-* AVN[4] and
-ew DS[1] is expressed by a possessive pronoun which precedes the verb (see also
26.4.9):

(16) *eymi ayü-w-üy-m-i*   *fey mi*   *pe-me-e-t-ew*
      you[s]   love-REF[31]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] he   poss2s see-TH[20]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

      'you[s] were glad that he/she/they came to see you[s]'

A zero filler in slot 1 occurs in predicates only. It depends on the filler of slot
3 whether $-\emptyset^1$ denotes a first person singular or a second person singular agent.

When $-\emptyset^1$ co-occurs with a first person singular subject, the dative subject
marker indicates a second person singular:

(17) *pe-e-n*
      see-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1]

      'you[s] saw me'

(18) *anel-tu-e-n*   *kuchillo-mew*
      <u>threaten</u>-TR[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1] knife-INST

      'you[s] threatened me with a knife'

(19) *nel-üm-e-n*
      get.loose-CA[34]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1]

      'you[s] set me free', 'set me free!'

When $-\emptyset^1$ co-occurs with a first person non-singular in slot 3 and a dual
number marker in slot 2, the relationship denoted is 1s→2s.

(20) *pe-e-y-u*
      see-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

      'I saw you[s]'

(21) *anel-tu-la-e-y-u*
      <u>threaten</u>-TR[33]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

      'I did not threaten you[s]'

Below I summarize the endings which include *-e-*[6], the dative subject marker
$-\emptyset^1$ and the markers for mood (slot 4), subject (slot 3) and number (slot 2).

	Ind.	Cond.	Imp.
2s→1s	*-e*[6]*-n*[3]*-$\emptyset$*[1]	*-e*[6]*-l*[4]*-i*[3]*-$\emptyset$*[2]*-$\emptyset$*[1]	*-e*[6]*-chi*[3]*-$\emptyset$*[1]
1s→2s	*-e*[6]*-y*[4]*-$\emptyset$*[3]*-u*[2]*-$\emptyset$*[1]	*-e*[6]*-l*[4]*-y*[3]*-u*[2]*-$\emptyset$*[1]	
		(*-e*[6]*-l*[4]*-iy*[3]*-u*[2]*-$\emptyset$*[1] (MM))	

There is no imperative form for 2s→1s and 1s→2s. The indicative form for 2s→1s may be used as an imperative.

Note that where 1s and 2s are involved in a situation, slot 3 is always filled by a first person marker.

The expression of a 1s→2s relationship is one of the two cases in which the number marker in slot 2 refers to the total number of participants involved in the event instead of referring to the subject only. The other case, the expression of a 1→2 relationship in which the total number of participants is greater than two, is dealt with below (25.2.4).

It follows from the above that there are two ways of expressing a 3 → 3 relationship. The suffixes $-fi-^6$ and $-e^6$ ... $-ew^1$ can both co-occur with a third person subject marker. The difference between a $-fi-$ form and an $-e-$ ... $-ew$ form which both contain a third person subject marker lies in the field of reference. The referent of the subject of an $-e$ ... $-ew$ form is in focus at the moment of speaking and is the patient of the event. The agent of the event, indicated by a Dative Subject marker, is less prominent in terms of discourse than the referent of the subject. With $-fi-$ it is the other way around: the referent of the subject is more prominent than the referent of $-fi-$ and the agent of the event, while the patient denoted by $-fi-$ can be identified on the basis of the situation, outside the context. Compare:

(22) *fey amu-y;   chali-fi-y   ñi   wenüy*
       he   go-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$; greet-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 friend

      'he went [and] greeted his friend'

(23) *fey amu-y;   chali-e-y-ew   ñi   wenüy*
       he   go-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$; greet-IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$-DS^1 poss3 friend

      'he went [and] was greeted by his friend'

(24) *kellu-fi-y   ñi   pu   wenüy*
       help-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 COLL friend

      'he helped his friends'

(25) *kellu-e-y-ew   ñi   pu   wenüy*
       help-IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$-DS^1 poss3 COLL friend

      'he was helped by his friends/ his friends helped him'

Note that the dative subject noun phrase (usually) follows the verb when both the subject and the object are a third person (for word order, see chapter 3). Mapuche has a true passive, indicated by the suffix $-nge-^{23}$. An $-e$ ... $-ew$ form differs from a passive form that takes a third person subject in the following respect: the actor of an $-e$ ... $-ew$ form is obligatory and its identity can always be established, either on the basis of the discourse or because it is specified by an overt noun phrase. The agent of an event denoted by a passive form is not indicated.

(26)   *kellu-nge-y*
       help-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3̱[3]

       'he/she/they was/were helped'

Compare also the sentences (50) and (51) in story 6. Note that the agent of an *-e . . . -ew* form may be animate or inanimate (for the latter see (2) in 26.6).

25.2.4   *-mu-* 2A[23] and *-(u)w-* 1A[23]

Two suffixes which are situated in slot 23 complete the agent-patient paradigm. They are *-mu-* and *-(u)w-*.

They do not co-occur with a DO or a DS marker. The morpheme *-mu-*[23] always co-occurs with a first person subject, which may be marked as singular, dual or plural by a suffix in slot 2. The subject denotes the patient. The morpheme *-mu-* indicates a second person agent unmarked for number. The agent may be singular, dual or plural provided that the total number of participants is greater than two. The morpheme *-mu-* is labelled second person agent (2A). It occurs in predicates and in subordinates that take *-lu* SVN[4].

(27)   *đungu-mu-n*
       speak-2A[23]-IND1s[3]

       'you[d/p] spoke to me'

The addressee in (27) may be dual or plural. Personal pronouns can be used to specify the referent of *-mu-*.

(28)   *eymu kellu-mu-la-y-iñ*
       you[d]   help-2A[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-1̱ns[3]-p[2]

       'you[d] did not help us[p]'

The morpheme *-(u)w-* (*-uw-* after C, *-w-* after V) is used to indicate a 1→2 relationship in which the total number of participants is greater than two. Slot 3 is filled by a first person non-singular marker and slot 2 is filled by a plural number marker. The suffix *-(u)w-* is labelled first person agent (1A). It is found in indicative and conditional forms and in subordinates that take *-lu* SVN[4].

(29)   *kellu-w-y-iñ*
       help-1A[23]-IND[4]-1̱ns[3]-p[2]

       'I helped you[d/p]', 'we[d/p] helped you[s/d/p]'

The number of patient and agent may be specified by the use of personal pronouns.

(30)   *iñchiñ üngüm-uw-y-iñ   eymi*
       we[p]   wait.for-1A[23]-IND[4]-1̱ns[3]-p[2] you[s]

       'we[p] waited for you[s]'

Below I summarize the endings which include the suffix *-mu-*2A or *-(u)w-*1A (slot 23) and the markers for mood (slot 4), subject (slot 3) and number (slot 2).

	Ind.	Cond.	Imp.
2d/p→1s	$-mu^{23}-n^3$	$-mu^{23}-l^4-i^3-\emptyset^2$	$-mu^{23}-chi^3$
2s/d/p→1d	$-mu^{23}-y^4-\emptyset^3-u^2$	$-mu^{23}-l^4-i^3-u^2$	
2s/d/p→1p	$-mu^{23}-y^4-\emptyset^3-i\tilde{n}^2$	$-mu^{23}-l^4-i^3-i\tilde{n}^2$	
1→2	$-(u)w^{23}-y^4-\emptyset^3-i\tilde{n}^2$	$-(u)w^{23}-l^4-i^3-i\tilde{n}^2$	

The indicative 2s/d/p→1d and 2s/d/p→1p may be used adhortatively.

In Huilliche, the southernmost dialect of Mapuche, the 1→2 relationship (with a total number of participants of greater than two) is indicated by the combination of *-e-* and a second person subject marker in slot 3 (Moesbach 1962: 80, and Augusta 1903: 84–86 (cited by Salas 1979a: 307)), e.g. *pe-e-y-m-i* 'I saw you^s', *pe-e-y-m-u* 'I saw you^d'; *pe-e-y-m-ün* 'I saw you^p'.

The morpheme $-(u)w-^{23}$ is originally the same as the morpheme $-(u)w-^{31}$ which indicates reflexivity or reciprocity. Synchronically, the two suffixes differ in meaning and in position, see (26.31.1). The reflexive/reciprocal marker $-(u)w-^{31}$ indicates that agent and patient are identical.

(31)   *kellu-w-y-iñ*
         help-REF^{31}-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-p^2

   'we^p helped each other', 'we^p helped ourselves' (cf. (29))

The use of the combination of $-(u)w-$ 2A^{23} and a 1p subject to indicate a relationship 1→2 (with a total number of participants greater than two) implies the inclusion of the addressee in the role of patient within the group of the speaker. The use of the combination of *-e-* IDO^6 and a 1d subject to indicate 1s→2s holds the same implication. Compare (29) with:

(32)   *kellu-e-y-u*
         help-IDO^6-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2-<u>DS</u>^{1}

   'I helped you^s'

The combination of *-e-*^{6} and a 1s or 1d subject is used in a minimal speech situation in which the referent of both 1 and 2 includes one person ("diálogo minimo", Salas 1979a: 39). The suffixes $-(u)w-^{23}$ and $-mu-^{23}$ are used in an expanded speech situation in which the referent of 1 and/or 2 includes more than one person ("diálogo expandido", Salas 1979a: 39).

The internal direct object marker *-e-*^{6} has a function which is comparable to that of $-(u)w-$. The suffix *-e-*^{6} is coreferential with the subject marker.

(33)   *kellu-e-n-ew*
         help-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1

   'he/she/they helped me'

(I had myself helped by a third person)

(34)   *kellu-e-n*
       help-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1]

   'you^s helped me' (I had myself helped by you^s)

It is remarkable that the subject-object paradigm is completed with suffixes which occupy a position in between derivational suffixes, away from the inflectional block at the end of a verb form. The suffixes *-mu-* 2A and *-(u)w-* 1A share their position, slot 23, with the passive marker *-nge-*. All three suffixes may be analyzed as derivational suffixes which remove one argument and indicate an implicit agent. The suffix *-mu-* for instance, which combines with a first person subject marker, implies that the agent is a second person: the agent does not come from outside because in that case the passive marker *-nge-* would be used. The agent does not make part of the group of the patient because in that case the suffix *-(u)w-* would be used. Therefore the agent is implied to be a second person. The fillers of slot 23, *-mu-* and *-(u)w-* on the one hand and *-nge-* on the other hand, show a distinction between an internal and an external agent, just like *-e-* and *-fi-* distinguish between an internal and an external patient.

In conclusion, the Mapuche subject-object paradigm has led to various interpretations (to be discussed below). It is not a straightforward system with one single underlying basic principle. Discourse seems to be an important organizing guide. The most prominent position, that of the subject, is taken by either a first, a second or a prominent third person in a relationship, either as an agent or as a patient, with a third person, an outsider. In relationships which involve a first and a second person, it is the first person which takes the subject position, either with a coreferential number marker, or with a number marker which refers to the total number of the participants involved. In other words, the first person takes precedence over the second, which takes precedence over the (prominent or 'proximate') third person, which takes precedence over the distant or 'obviative' third person, that is in predicates. In subordinates it is the second person which is marked in relationships which involve a first and a second person, not the first person (see 26.4.5).

Finally, a comment on Salas' interesting and extensive studies of Mapuche person markers (Salas 1978 and 1979a) and on Arnold's analysis of Mapuche as an inverse voice system (Arnold 1994 and 1996). Salas' analysis is based on "northern dialects". The Huilliche dialect, spoken in the southern part of the Mapuche territory, is explicitly excluded (Salas 1978: note 13). Salas' data correspond to mine. Salas distinguishes a "persona focal" (i.e. "la persona gramatical a la cual el tema verbal está adscrito") and a "persona satélite" (i.e. "una persona o entidad interactuante con la persona focal", Salas 1978: 173). *Persona focal* may be first, second or third person. A verb obligatorily contains a *persona focal* marker. *Persona focal* corresponds to what I have named 'subject'.

A "persona satélite" is optional and is only found with transitive verbs. Salas lists the following *persona satélite* markers, which indicate person and gram-

matical function:

-*fi*-, definite third person patient

-*e . . . meo*, definite third person agent

-*nge*, indefinite third person agent (passive voice)

-*e*, second person agent in "diálogo minimo"

-*mu*, second person agent in "diálogo expandido"

-*u*, second person patient, incorporated in the *persona focal*.

   A *persona satélite* implicitly indicates the semantic role of the *persona focal*; where the *persona satélite* is agent, the *persona focal* is patient and vice versa.

   Salas established a hierarchy of grammatical persons which is based on the inventory of *persona focal* and *persona satélite* markers:

persona focal may be: 1s, 1d, 1p, agent or patient

                            2p, agent or patient

                            3 definite, agent or patient

persona satélite may be: 2 agent in diálogo minimo (-*e*)

                            2 agent in diálogo expandido (-*mu*)

                            2 patient (-*u*)

                            3 definite agent (*e . . . meo*)

                            3 definite patient (-*fi*-)

                            3 indefinite agent (-*nge*)

   This inventory shows that a first person is never *persona satélite*, a second person and a definite third person may be *persona focal* or *persona satélite*, but an indefinite third person is never *persona focal*. In this way Salas establishes a one-way hierarchy of grammatical persons in which 1 has the highest ranking, followed by 2, definite 3 and, finally, indefinite 3. The person highest in the hierarchy is *persona focal*, the person lower in the hierarchy is *persona satélite*. Thus, given an interaction between 1 and 2, 1 is *persona focal* and 2 is *persona satélite*. Since this hierarchy is independent of the function of the grammatical persons, Salas is of the opinion that the distinction between *persona focal* and *persona satélite* is the basic distinction in the person marking system, which leads Salas to the conclusion that this system reflects an egocentric organization of the universe (1978: 177).

   This conclusion is not entirely justified because it is based on person marking in predicates only. Subordinates do not take a *persona focal* at all. It is furthermore at variance with the fact that in Huilliche 2 is *persona focal* in a 1→2 relationship (see above).

   A serious shortcoming of Salas' analysis is that the suffixes are not assigned a functional position. The establishment of the relative position and the function of the suffixes reveals that there is a single suffix -*e*- instead of three (Salas lists -*e . . . meo*, definite third person agent; -*e*, second person agent in "diálogo minimo", and -*e* as allomorph of -*u*, second person patient incorporated in the *persona focal*). The establishment of the relative position and function of the verbal suffixes also reveals that -*e*- has the same function and position as -*fi*-

(slot 6) and that *-mu-*, *-(u)w-* and *-nge-* have the same function and position
(for a detailed discussion of the function of slot 23, see 26.23). Although Salas
shows that the suffixes *-e* and *-fi-*, on the one hand, and *-nge*, *-mu-*, *-u*, on the
other, occupy a different position in the suffixal string, he confines himself to
stating that these are "dos manifestaciones posicionales del casillero de persona
satélite" (Salas 1979a: 150).

  Arnold (1994 and 1996), based on descriptions by Salas (1978, 1979a, 1980,
1992a) and myself (Smeets 1989), and following Grimes (1985), puts Mapuche
in the grammatical tradition of the Algonquian languages as an inverse voice
system. A central feature of an inverse system, Arnold states, is the interac-
tion between a saliency hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3proximate > 3obviative, where
proximate means more salient in terms of discourse structure and obviative
indicates a more distant third person argument) and a thematic relations hier-
archy (agent > goal > benefactive > theme) such that the direct verbal form is
used when the actor is higher on the saliency hierarchy than the undergoer but
the inverse is used when the undergoer is higher on the saliency hierarchy. In
Mapuche, Arnold continues, the difference between the direct and the inverse
is "whether the actor is the grammatical Subject (direct) or the grammatical
Object (inverse). In other words, the higher argument is always the gramma-
tical Subject of the sentence, whether or not it is the Actor ("logical Subject")
(Arnold 1996: 26). Arnold bases her analysis of Mapuche as an inverse system
on three arguments: the use of *-fi-* or *-e-* together with subject markers in
predicates, the use of the subordinates *-fi-el* and *-e-t-ew* with person marking
possessive pronouns, and the word order of coreferential noun phrases. Thus, in
predicates one finds the direct form when a first, second or third person is the
actor (indicated by subject markers) and a third person is the patient, indicated
by *-fi-* (labelled as object marker by Arnold). In the reverse case, when a third
person actor is combined with a first, second or third person, the latter (the
patient) is indicated by the subject markers, *-fi-* is replaced by *-e-* and the actor
is indicated by an "object marker" *-(m)ew*) following the subject markers. In
case of two third person arguments both direct and inverse forms are possible.
If the proximate third person is actor, the form is direct, if it is the undergoer
and the obviative third person is the actor, the form is inverse, and the actor
is indicated by an object marker. Inverse forms are also used for interactions
between a second person actor and a first person patient. In case of 2s→1s, Ar-
nold analyses, the form includes *-e-*, the subject marker indicates the patient,
followed by a second person marker (a zero), which indicates the actor. When
the total number of participants involved in the action is greater than two, *-e-*
is replaced by *-mu-* ("2A"), and the patient is indicated by subject markers.
While the analysis of *-mu-* rather remains in the dark (is it an inverse marker?,
where is the object marker?), interactions between a first person actor and a
second person patient present a greater problem in the analysis of present-day
Mapuche as an inverse system. Contrary to what one would expect on the
basis of the saliency hierarchy, the 1s→2s form includes *-e-*, but the subject

marker does not indicate the patient. The subject is the first person dual, i.e. the total number of participants involved in the action. Historically however, and in Huilliche today, 1s→2s follows Arnold's lines. In 1 → 2 interactions it is the total number of participants involved in the action which decides for either *-e-* (in Salas' terms in "diàlogo minimo") or the reflexive *-w-* (in "dialogo expandido") in case of 1→2 and a total number of participants greater than two. As I have said before (see also 26.31.1) the reflexive *-(u)w-* and the suffix *-(u)w-* which is used in 1→2 forms (total greater than two), although historically probably one and the same morpheme, synchronically differ, both in meaning and in position. Arnold places the 1→2 forms at a level between Inverse and Direct. "It seems that while the historical placement of 2nd person in Subject position is preserved, placing 1st person in a lower position than 2nd person is avoided, following the inherent force of the saliency hierarchy. The result is the extension of the 1st person dual and plural forms to include the total number of Actor and Undergoer" (Arnold 1994: 32). Resuming, the saliency hierarchy is followed in the codification of the interactions 1→3, 2→3 and 3prox. →3obv. In case of 3→1 and 3 → 2 there is but one, inverse, form, which does not allow for the distinction between a third person proximate and a third person obviative in the role of actor. Only 3→3 forms may be either direct or inverse. Interactions between a first and a second person present indeed a middle ground, not only in predicates, but also in subordinates. In section 26.4.9 the subordinate markers *-fi-el* and *-e-t-ew* are discussed together with the preceding possessive pronouns which indicate either actor or undergoer. Where *-fi-el* and *-e-t-ew* are used to indicate 1,2,3prox→3 and 3→1,2,3prox interactions respectively, the codification follows the lines of Arnold. The problem is, again, with interactions which involve a first and a second person. In these cases the subordinate is marked by *-fi-el* and preceded by a possessive pronoun which always indicates the second person, be it actor or patient. Arnold explains this phenomenon as a result of the wish to avoid placing the one person above the other. Another possible explanation, but these are merely guesses, is more pragmatic. The possessive pronoun (*ñi*), which indicates first person singular and third person, combined with a subordinate marked by *-fi-el* is used to indicate the actor in 1s→3 and 3prox→3obv interactions. To use *ñi* to indicate the actor in a 1s→2 interaction would only add to the ambiguity. The third argument for Arnold's analysis of Mapuche as an inverse system lies in the word order of overt noun phrases. Arnold argues, based on data from Rivano 1988, that "the exact mirror placement of the Actor and the Undergoer in the direct and inverse sentences indicates that the Subject and Object switch in the inverse, thus producing a unified account of the word order" (Arnold 1996: 33). According to my data (see chapter 34) word order in Mapuche is Agent Verb Patient for 1, 2, 3prox→3, 1→2 and 2→1 interactions. When a third person actor is combined with a first or second person the actor generally precedes the verb. In case of 3obv→3prox, the order tends to be Patient Verb Actor. However, as the patient is in focus at the moment of speaking, it is often

not expressed by a noun phrase. Although the rules for word order in Mapuche are not strict, and therefore counter-examples are easy to find, it is difficult to accept the SOV and VOS examples presented by Arnold, based on Rivano (all examples of 3obv→3prox). I have never come across such word orders in spontaneous speech and, in my experience, elicitation of all mathematically possible word orders tends to create great confusion. The argument of word order is weak in an otherwise stimulating analysis.

25.3   Aspect

Verbs without an overt aspectual suffix have perfective meaning (for 'aspectual' see Comrie in Shopen 1985,3: 343). The perfective denotes a situation in its entirety without regard to its internal temporal constituency. It can be used to denote a punctual situation, i.e. a situation which is conceived of as having no duration. This does not, however, preclude the use of the perfective in combination with a noun phrase or an adverb to denote a situation of some duration or a situation which is internally complex, e.g.

(35)   *lef-üy*
       run-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

       'he ran'

(36)   *epu antü lef-üy*
       two day   run-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

       'he ran for two days'

(37)   *pichi-ke   lef-üy*
       little-DISTR run-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

       'he ran a little every now and then'

The perfective denotes a complete event with beginning, middle and end included. It can therefore be used to express the transition of one situation to another with emphasis on the beginning or the end of a situation.

(38)   *pe-fi-n   fey*
       see-EDO^6-IND1s^3 he

       'I saw him', 'I got sight of him'

(39)   *lüq-üy*
       white-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

       'it became white', 'it has become white'

The perfective implies the successful completion of an event. The impeditive marker *-fu-*^{8} can be added to indicate that an event has not successfully reached its termination (see (72) below and 26.8 for *-fu-*).

The imperfective makes explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Mapuche has very few verbs that have imperfective

meaning without taking an aspectual suffix. These lexically stative verbs are: *meke-* 'to be busy' and *nge-* 'to be' (existential). A small number of verbs have both perfective and imperfective meaning without taking an aspectual suffix. The verbs *kim-* 'to learn, to know' and *nie-* 'to get, to have' may denote either the beginning of a situation or the result of an event.

(40) *iñché kim-üñma-fi-n*   *ñi   lamngen*
       I   learn/know-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 sister

       'I got acquainted with his sister'

(41) *iñché kim-fi-n*
       I   learn/know-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I know/knew her'

The verbs *troki-* 'to opine', *ɖuam-* 'to need, to want', *miaw-* 'to wander' and the auxiliaries *pepí* 'being able', *küpá* 'wishing' and *kim* 'knowing how to' denote a complete event or an ongoing event which may or may not exist in the present, e.g.

(42) *kom pülé miaw-üy*
       all   side   walk.round-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he walks/walked about everywhere'

The verbs *müle-* 'to be' (locative) and *nge-* 'to be' (existential) denote an ongoing event or the completion of an event, e.g.

(43) *iñché müle-n   Temuko*
       I   be-IND1s[3] Temuco

       'I live/lived in Temuco'

(44) *iñché müle-me-n   Temuko*
       I   be-Th[20]-IND1s[3] Temuco

       'I have been in Temuco'

Mapuche has various overt aspectuals. Since the majority of the verbs that are not marked for aspect have perfective meaning, most aspectuals have imperfective meaning.

The suffix *-ke-*, which fills slot 14, is used to express a constant feature of the subject (CF). A *-ke-* form denotes a situation which is characteristic over an extended period of time. The situation may consist of several individual situations which occur at intervals and during which the same event, denoted by the verb, takes place every time the situation occurs. The individual events occur so often that they make up a situation which is described as a characteristic or constant feature of the subject.

(45) *rumé   i-ke-y*
       (too).much eat-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

'he eats (too) much'

(46) *iñché re   kurü lápi-mew wiri-ke-n*
      I   only black pen-INST   write-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

      'I only write with a black pen'

A *-ke-* form may denote a situation in which the event denoted by the verb takes place during an extended period of time. The period of time is so long that the situation is presented as a characteristic or constant feature of the subject.

(47) *rüf đungu-ke-n*
      true speak-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

      'I always speak the truth'

Stative verbs can take the constant feature marker *-ke-* CF, except *nge-* 'to be' (existential) and verbs that contain the verbalizer *-nge-*[36] (permanent quality), e.g.

(48) *kom pülé müle-ke-y*
      all   side be-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'He is always everywhere'

The situation denoted by the *-ke-* form continues in the present. Discontinuation of the situation is indicated by the impeditive *-fu-*[8].

(49) *katrü-ketran-me-ke-fu-n*
      cut-corn-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

      'I used to go to mow corn'

The combination *-ke*[14]*-fu*[8]- occurs frequently in narratives. It denotes a characteristic situation which no longer holds.

The suffix *-ye-*[5] occurs in complementary distribution with *-ke-*[14]. Like *-ke-*, *-ye-* denotes a characteristic or constant feature. The suffix *-ye-* CF[5] is found with the nominalizers *-m* IVN[4] and (only in a few cases) *-fiel* TVN[4]. The suffix *-ke-*[14] occurs elsewhere.

(50) *küđaw-ye-m, wüywü-ke-n*
      work-CF[5]-IVN[4], become.thirsty-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

      'every time I work, I get thirsty'

The stative suffix *-(kü)le-*[28], the progressive marker *-meke-*[28], the progressive persistent action marker *-nie-*[32] and the perfect persistent action marker *-künu-*[32] are used to denote a state. With verbs which indicate a posture of the body the suffixes *-meke-* and *-künu-* may co-occur. Otherwise these four suffixes are mutually exclusive.

The suffixes *-(kü)le-* (*-küle-* after C, *-le-* after V), *-nie-* and *-künu-* have different ramifications for telic and atelic verbs. A telic verb denotes a process or

event that leads up to a terminal point (e.g. *lüq-* 'to become white', *anü-* 'to sit down', *ellka-* 'to hide'). An atelic verb denotes a situation which does not have a terminal point built into it (e.g. *rakiɖuam-* 'to think', *rüngkü-* 'to jump', *umaw-tu-* 'to sleep'). Verbs which denote a process or event that leads up to an inevitable terminal point behave like atelic verbs (e.g. *ürfi-* 'to drown', *la-* 'to die', *fücha-* 'to become old', see also 26.28).

A telic verb that contains *-(kü)le-*, *-nie-* or *-künu-* is result-oriented. An atelic verb that contains one of these suffixes is event-oriented. The change of state which is the result of an event is attributed to the patient or the intransitive subject of the corresponding perfective.

(51) *lüq-küle-y*
      white-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it is white' (being white is neither an intrinsic nor a permanent quality of the subject; it is the result of an event)

(52) *lüq-nie-fi-n*
      white-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I keep/kept it white'

(53) *lüq-künu-fi-n*
      white-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I left it white'

With a transitive telic verb the subject of the *-nie-* or *-künu-* form is implied to be the actor of the foregoing event, e.g.

(54) *lüq-üm-nie-fi-n*
      white-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I keep/kept it white'

In (54) the subject has caused the patient to be and stay white. Example (52) gives no information about the way the state of being white came about.

With atelic verbs, *-(kü)le-*, *-nie-* and *-künu-* denote an ongoing event.

(55) *weyel-küle-n*
      swim-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

   'I am/was swimming'

(56) *weyel-nie-fi-n*
      swim-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I keep/kept him swimming'

(57) *weyel-künu-fi-n*
      swim-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I let him swim'

An intransitive atelic verb that takes *-nie-* or *-künu-* denotes a situation in which the patient may or may not be agentive (cf. (57) and (53)). The subject of a transitive atelic verb is coreferential with the subject of the corresponding *-nie-* or *-künu-* form. The subject is the agent; the direct object is the patient.

(58)   *leli-fi-n*
         watch-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

         'I watched him'

(59)   *leli-nie-fi-n*
         watch-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

         'I am/was watching him, I keep/kept an eye on him'

Verbs that contain *-nie-* or *-künu-* are transitive; the action is directed towards the direct object. Verbs that contain *-(kü)le-* are intransitive; they do not take a suffix in slot 6. Therefore, verbs that logically need a patient do not take *-(kü)le-*, e.g.

(60)   *pe-nie-fi-n*   *fey*
         see-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] he

         'I keep/kept an eye on him'

and not **pe-le-n*.

Both *-nie-* and *-künu-* indicate that a state - either an ongoing event or the result of an event - persists. In the case of *-nie-*, the subject makes an effort to keep the state as it is ('I keep/kept it white' (52)). In the case of *-künu-*, the subject makes no effort to change the state ('I left it white' (53)). The suffix *-nie-* denotes an ongoing event which may or may not continue in the present; *-nie-* is labelled Progressive Persistent (PRPS). The morpheme *-künu-* denotes a past situation; the moment at which the state of the patient came about is over; the state persists; the subject refrains from changing the state as it is. The suffix *-künu-* is labelled Perfect Persistent (PFPS).

The suffix *-(kü)le-* is labelled Stative (ST). It denotes a state which may or may not involve agentivity on the part of the subject, cf. *amu-le-n* 'I am going', *ellka-le-y* 'it is hidden'. With a few verbs, *-(kü)le-* may denote either an ongoing event or the resulting state (26.28), e.g.

(61)   *la-le-y*
         die-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

         'he is dead', 'he is dying'

The suffix *-meke-* which shares slot 28 with *-(kü)le-* stresses the agentivity of the subject. It denotes an ongoing event. It is labelled Progressive (PR). Forms which contain the morpheme *-meke-* may be transitive or intransitive. Compare:

(62) *iñché ülkantu-meke-n*
      I   sing-PR[28]-IND1s[3]

     'I am/was busy singing'

(63) *iñché ülkantu-le-n*
      I   sing-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

     'I am/was singing'

(64) *nütram-ka-w-meke-y-u*
      conversation-FAC[33]-REF[31]-PR[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

     'we[d] are/were busy talking to one another'

(65) *nütram-ka-w-küle-y-u*
      conversation-FAC[33]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

     'we[d] are/were talking to one another'

The suffix *-meke-* is infrequent. It may easily cause confusion with the sequence *-me[20]-ke[14]-* which consists of the direction marker *-me* Thither (Th) and the constant feature marker (CF) *-ke* (see (49)).

Instead of the suffix *-meke-*, one often uses the adverb *petú* 'still' to denote an ongoing event. One finds *petú* with telic and atelic verbs. A verb preceded by *petú* denotes an event which continues beyond a certain point. Combined with a perfective verb, *petú* denotes progress:

(66) *petú lüq-üy*
      still   white-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

     'it is becoming white' (compare (39))

When *petú* combines with an imperfective verb it is translated as 'still'.

(67) *petú ülkantu-le-y*
      still   sing-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

     'he is/was still singing'

Compare also the following forms (*pinta-* 'to paint'):

pinta-y 'he painted'
pinta-ke-y 'he is/was a painter'
pinta-le-y 'it is/was painted'
pinta-nie-fi-y 'he keeps/kept it painted'
pinta-künu-fi-y 'he left it painted'
pinta-meke-y 'he is/was busy painting'
petú pinta-y 'he is/was (still) painting'

Stative suffixes may co-occur with the constant feature markers *-ke-* CF[14] or *-ye-* CF[5].

(68) *pinta-meke-ke-y*
      paint-PR[28]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is always busy painting'

The suffix *-(kü)le-*, however, seldom co-occurs with *-ke-* CF or *-ye-* CF.

The verbs *meke-* 'to be busy', *müle-* 'to be' (locative), *miaw-* 'to wander' and *nie-* 'to get, to have' do not take a suffix in slots 32 or 28.

The verb *nge-* 'to be' (existential) and verbs that contain the verbalizer *-nge-* [36] (permanent quality) may co-occur with *-(kü)le-* [28]:

(69) *witran-nge-le-pa-y*
      visitor-be-ST[28]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is being a visitor' cf. (7) in 26.28

The verbs *troki-* 'to opine' and *đuam-* 'to need, to want' and verbs preceded by the auxiliaries *küpá* 'wishing', *pepí* 'being able' and *kim* 'knowing how to' can take a suffix in slots 32 or 28:

(70) *küpá leli-fi-n*
      wishing look.at-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I want to look at him'

(71) *küpá leli-nie-fi-n*
      wishing look.at-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I want to keep an eye on him'

The imperfective aspectuals, in particular *-ke-*, *-(kü)le-* and *-nie-* are very frequent. After all, the large majority of the verbs without an aspectual have perfective meaning. Mapuche has a few aspectuals which co-occur with both perfective and imperfective verbs. They are the impeded action marker *-fu-* [8], the repeated action marker *-tu-* [16], the continued action marker *-ka-* [16], the interrupted action marker *-(ü)r-* [18] and the repeatedly interrupted action marker *-yekü-* [18].

The suffix *-fu-* fills slot 8. It is labelled Impeditive (IPD). It is used to indicate the unsuccessful completion of an event, e.g.

(72) *anü-fu-n*
      sit.down-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

      'I sat down' (and something went wrong; e.g. the chair fell, or I did not feel comfortable)

With verbs that denote a characteristic or constant feature, *-fu-* has a rather neutral meaning: it indicates that the situation has ended. Compare:

(73) *turpu nie-ke-la-fu-n   koche*
      never   have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] car

      'I never had a car' (but now I have)

(74) *turpu nie-ke-la-n*   *koche*
       never   have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] car

       'I never had a car' (and I still don't)

The suffixes *-tu-* and *-ka-* fill slot 16. They are mutually exclusive. The suffix *-tu-* indicates that a situation is repeated or restored. Since it parallels the meaning of the Latin prefix re-, *-tu-* is labelled RE.

(75) *amu-tu-y-iñ*
       go-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

       'we[p] went again', 'we[p] went back'

The suffix *-ka-* indicates that a situation is continued beyond a certain moment. It is labelled Continuative (CONT).

(76) *müle-ka-y*   *ta-mi*   *chaw?*
       be-CONT[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss2s father

       'is your[s] father still there?'

The suffixes *-(ü)r-* (*-ür-* after C, *-r-* after V) and *-yekü-* fill slot 18. They do not co-occur. Both suffixes denote a situation which is interrupted by the occurrence of an event. The morpheme *-(ü)r-* indicates that the situation is interrupted once whereas the morpheme *-yekü-* indicates that the situation is interrupted repeatedly. They are labelled Interruptive (ITR). Both *-(ü)r-* and *-yekü-* obligatorily co-occur with a direction marker. The suffix *-(ü)r-* co-occurs with *-pa-* Hither[17] (towards the speaker) or *-pu-* Locative[17] (location elsewhere). The suffix *-yekü-* co-occurs with *-pa-* Hh[17] or *-me-* Thither[20] (away from the speaker).

(77) *anü-r-pa-n*
       sit.down-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

       'on my way here, I sat down'

(78) *anü-yekü-pa-n*
       sit.down-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

       'on my way here, I sat down every now and then'

The suffix *-(ü)r-* is also used to denote a dynamic situation which is viewed as consisting of several successive phases and develops gradually towards the present (when *-(ü)r-* co-occurs with *-pa-* Hh[17]) or towards another moment of orientation (when *-(ü)r-* co-occurs with *-pu-* LOC[17]).

(79) *kim-nie-r-pu-y*   *kom tüfa-chi đungu*
       learn-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] all   this-ADJ matter

       'he gradually became aware of all these things'

The suffix *-(k)iaw-*[30] (*-kiaw-* after C, *-yaw-* after V) is not an aspectual but implies imperfective meaning. It denotes an ongoing event which involves mo-

vement in no particular direction. The suffix *-(k)iaw-* is labelled Circular movement (CIRC).

(80)   *wirar-kiaw-üy*
        scream-CIRC[30]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

        'he screams/screamed all over the place'

The suffixes *-nie-* (Progressive Persistent), *-künu-* (Perfect Persistent) and *meke-* (Progressive) parallel the verbal stems *nie-* 'to get, to have, to hold', *künu-* 'to let (something or someone be)' and *meke-* 'to be busy' respectively. The stative suffix *-(kü)le-* ST and the circular movement marker *-(k)iaw-* CIRC are clearly associated with the verbal stems *müle-* 'to be' (location) and *miaw-* 'to wander' respectively. These verbal stems do not co-occur with the homophonous suffixes. I treat *-nie-*, *-künu-*, *-(kü)le-*, *-meke-* and *-(k)iaw-* as suffixes for reasons to be discussed in section 29.1.

An important distinction which bears on aspectual meaning is the distinction between realized and non-realized situations. Slot 9 is filled by the suffix *-a-* which indicates non-realization. A verb which contains *-a-* NRLD[9] denotes a situation which is presented as not being an actual fact. It denotes a situation that will, must or may take place. In the latter case, *-a-* is combined with the impeditive marker *-fu-*[8], see 26.8.

(81)   *chew amu-a-y-m-i?*
        where go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

        'where do you[s] go?', 'where will you[s] go?'

(82)   *amu-la-ya-y-m-i*
        go-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

        'you[s] will not go', 'you[s] shall not go'

(83)   *amu-a-fu-y-m-i*
        go-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

        'you[s] could go', 'you[s] might go'

The most frequent use of the suffix *-a-* NRLD[9] is to indicate that a situation is expected to take place at some moment following the speech moment or another orientation moment. An *-a-* form is therefore usually translated as future tense. The suffix *-a-* occurs in perfective and imperfective verbs.

(84)   *leli-a-e-y-u*
        watch-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]-$\underline{DS}$[1]

        'I shall watch you[s]'

(85)   *leli-nie-a-e-y-u*
        watch-PRPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]-$\underline{DS}$[1]

        'I will keep an eye on you[s]'

A perfective verb that denotes the transition from one situation to another and takes *-a-* tends to stress the beginning of the situation.

(86)   *lüq-a-y*
       white-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it will become white'

A verb with an empty slot 9 denotes a situation which is presented as realized. Such an unmarked form will usually be interpreted by the hearer as denoting a situation which is an actual fact. He will understand that the denoted event has taken place or that the transition from one situation to another has taken place.

Any verb form except the imperative, the infinitive (marked *-(ü)n* PVN[4]) and the completive subjective verbal noun which is marked *-(ü)wma*[4] may take the suffix *-a-* with the restriction that the aspectuals *-ke-* CF[14] and *-ye-* CF[5], which mark for constant feature, and the pluperfect tense marker *-mu-*[7] cannot co-occur with *-a-* NRLD[9]. There is an obvious semantic reason for this incompatibility: a completed event denoted by *-(ü)wma*[4] or an event which results in a situation which is presented as a characteristic or constant feature denoted by *-ke-*[14] or *-ye-*[5], or an event which is realized before an orientation moment in the past denoted by *-mu-*[7] has ipso facto taken place.

Verbs that denote a situation of some duration - i.e. lexically imperfective verbs, verbs that take an imperfective aspectual (*-ke-*, *-ye-*, *-meke-*, *-(kü)le-*, or *-nie-*) or perfective verbs which are preceded by *petú* 'still' - and are not marked *-a-* NRLD[9] denote a situation which is presented as an actual fact and which may continue up to the present moment. Such verbs may be translated as present or past tense.

(87)   *nie-y-iñ*   *weshá kosecha*
       have-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] bad   harvest

       'we[p] have/had a bad harvest' (*nie-* 'to have' is imperfective, *nie-* 'to get' is perfective)

A situation denoted by the constant feature markers *-ke-* CF[14] or *-ye-* CF[5] which takes place during an extended period of time is implied to continue up to the present moment unless explicitly disclaimed by *-fu-* IPD[8]. Durative situations denoted by a lexically imperfective verb or a stative suffix may or may not continue in the present. If they do not, this can be specified by *-fu-* IPD[8], the pluperfect markers *-mu-*[7] or *-(ü)wye-*[15], the nominalizer *-(ü)wma*[4] which denotes the completion of an event, by lexical means or by the context.

(88)   *kiñe tripantu-mu nie-y-iñ*   *weshá kosecha*
       one   year-INST   have-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] bad   harvest

       'a year ago, we[p] had a bad harvest'

(89) *pepí   küđaw-ün*
      being.able work-IND1s[3]

      'I can/could work'

(*pepí* denotes a durative situation: the subject has acquired an ability and continues to have that ability)

(90) *fücha-lu newé   pepí   küđaw-we-la-n*
      old-SVN[4] not.very being.able work-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'when I got old, I could not work much any more'

Perfective verbs that do not take *-a-* NRLD in slot 9 are translated as past tense. They denote either a complete event which is presented as having actually taken place (see (35–37)) or the transition from one situation to another which is presented as having actually taken place (see (38–39)). A *-künu-* form that does not contain *-a-* is translated as past tense because the choice of tense is contingent upon the moment the subject refrains from changing the state of the patient. That moment has actually passed (cf. (53) *lüq-künu-fi-n* 'I (have) left it white', (52) *lüq-nie-fi-n* 'I keep/kept it white').

For the sake of convenience, imperfective verbs will hence be translated as present tense.

25.4   Auxiliaries

An auxiliary is an uninflected verb stem which immediately precedes the verb with which it is combined. Mapuche has the following auxiliaries:

pepí	'being able'
kim	'knowing how to'
küpá	'wishing'
shingé	'moving up'
kalli	'enabling'

(91) *pepí   küđaw-la-n*
      being.able work-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'I am not able to work'

(92) *küpá   pu-le-n   liwen*
      wishing arrive-ST[28]-IND1s[3] morning

      'I want to arrive in the morning'

(93) *kim   tuku-fi-n*
      knowing put.at-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I know how to put it'

(94) *pichi shingé   amu-m-ün*
      little moving.up go-IMP[4]-2[3]-p[2]

'move up a little, you^P'

The morpheme *kalli* 'enabling' is seldom used. It indicates that the event denoted by the verb is allowed, possible or at least not impeded. The auxiliary *kalli* combines with third person imperatives.

(95)   *kalli   đungu-pe*
       enabling speak-IMP3^3

       'let him speak'

According to Augusta (1916: 81–82) *kalli* can also combine with first person imperatives and with subordinates.

The stems *pepí* 'being able', *kalli* 'enabling' and *kim* 'knowing how to' can be inflected in other contexts. The stem *pepí* obligatorily takes the transitivizer *-l-*^{33} or the factitive *-ka-*^{33}, e.g. *pepi-l-* 'to be able to do something', *pepi-ka-* 'to prepare'. The morpheme *kalli* combines with *-ka-* FAC^{33}, e.g. *kalli-ka-w-* 'to take one's ease'. The verb root *kim-* can be translated as 'to learn', 'to know'. Compare with (93):

(96)   *kim-tuku-fi-n*
       learn-put.at-EDO^6-IND1s^3

       'I gradually got to understand/know it'

Between *kim* and *tuku-fi-n* in (93) a pause can be heard which is lacking in (96). In a few compound verbs the verb *tuku-* adds aspectual value (29.1).

Chapter 26

Slots

26.0 Introduction

Verbal suffixes have been assigned to a slot on the basis of their relative position in the verb form and their function. There are 36 slots. They are numbered from the end of the verb form toward the beginning, slot 1 occupying word final position and slot 36 being closest to the root. Some slots have several mutually exclusive fillers, one of which may be a zero marker. Suffixes which occupy different slots may exclude one another for grammatical or semantic reasons.

Slots 1–15 contain flectional suffixes, which have a fixed position. Slots 16–27 contain derivational suffixes, some of which are mobile. Slots 27–36 contain derivational suffixes which have a fixed position, except for the rather mobile suffix -$(u)w$-, which usually fills slot 31 and marks reflexivity/reciprocity. Mobile suffixes have been assigned to the position in which they most frequently occur. A difference of order of the suffixes does not always result in a semantic difference.

The mobility of some verbal suffixes does not fail to affect the validity of the system of assigning each suffix to a slot. The slot system is more rigid than can be accounted for by the data. However, the great majority of the verbal suffixes have a fixed position and a clear function, which permits the establishment of slots. Wherever a suffix deviates from the rule, this will be mentioned in the section in which the relevant suffix is described.

Suffixes which indicate direction and the reflexive/reciprocal marker -$(u)w$-[31] may be part of the stem. The first member of a compound may take a suffix in slots 33, 34 or 35.

In this chapter each slot will be discussed, starting with slot 1 and finishing up with slot 36. A few suffixes which are so infrequent that it has not been possible to establish their position among the other suffixes are described in chapter 27. Derivational nominalizers are discussed in chapter 28. Improductive suffixes are dealt with in 27.2 and 28.2.

26.1   Slot 1. Dative subject

Slot 1 has one overt filler, *-(m)ew*, and one zero filler. The suffix *-(m)ew* indicates a third person agent, unmarked for number. A zero filler in slot 1 marks a first or second person singular agent. When $-\emptyset^1$ co-occurs with a 1s subject, it indicates a 2s agent. When $-\emptyset^1$ co-occurs with a 1d subject, it indicates a 1s agent. A dative subject marker (DS) necessarily co-occurs with the internal direct object marker *-e-* IDO[6]. The suffix *-e-* indicates that the referent of the subject marker is the patient of the event and can be identified on the basis of the context. The subject may be a first or a second person, or a third person which is in focus at the moment of speaking. The dative subject marker occurs with all (transitive) verbs.

(1) *pataka aylla tripantu nie-n,   pi-e-n-ew*
     hundred nine year   have-IND1s[3], say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

     '"I am 109 years old", he told me'

(2) *chem-pi-e-n   rumé, feyentu-ke-la-e-y-u*
     what-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] -ever, believe-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

     'no matter what you[s] say to me, I don't believe you[s]'

Note that the sequence *ae* is usually realized as a diphtong but may be replaced by *a* (see 18.1.4.1 and (156–157) in 26.4.8.3).

(3) *Xuan nü-tu-y   ñi   libru fey ñi   nü-ñma-wye-e-t-ew*
     Juan take-RE[16]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 book he poss3 take-IO[26]-PLPF[15]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

     Luis
     Luis

     'Juan took back his book which Luis had taken away from him (Juan)'

For the use and distribution of DS markers I refer to the introduction on verbal morphology, section 25.2.3. Historically, the dative subject suffix *-(m)ew* may be connected with the nominal suffix *-mew* ∼ *-mu* which marks an instrumental object (see 10.1). Synchronically, the two are definitely distinct. The suffix *-mew* INST, which alternates with *-mu*, is a nominal suffix, whereas *-(m)ew* DS[1], which does not alternate with *-mu*, is a verbal suffix. In the verbal noun in (4) the two suffixes occur together.

(4) *poye-ke-la-n   ñi   chaw ñi   kewa-ke-e-t-ew-mew*
     like-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] poss1s father poss1s beat-CF[14]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]-INST

     'I don't like my father because he always beats me'

26.2   Slot 2. Number

All number markers are slot 2 fillers. They differentiate singular, dual and plural. The dual is both inclusive and exclusive. The following suffixes indicate number:

-∅   singular ,   for 1Cond and 2Ind in forms that contain *-(m)ew* DS[1]
-*i*   singular ,   for 2Ind and 2Cond
-*u*   dual ,   for 1nsInd, 1Cond, 2Ind, 2Cond, 2Imp and 3Ind
-*iñ*   plural ,   for 1nsInd and 1Cond
-*ün*   plural ,   for 2Ind, 2Cond, 2Imp, and 3Ind

In the chart in 25.2.1, the number markers are presented in combination with the subject markers. Number markers are coreferential with subject markers except where the relationships 1s → 2s and 1 → 2 (total > 2) are concerned, for which see 25.2.3 and 25.2.4. Since only predicates take subject markers, it follows that number markers occur in predicates only.

Number marking is obligatory for the first and second person; it is optional for the third person.

Indicative forms show a two-term number distinction for the third person, with an unmarked term referring to the third person irrespective of number and a marked term (*-ng-*) referring to the third person non-singular. The morpheme *-ng-* is obligatorily followed by either *-u* d or *-ün* p. The sequence *-ng-u/-ng-ün* is the bound form of *engu/engün* 3d/3p (see chapter 15). Number marking for third person subject does not co-occur with a dative subject marker.

Personal pronouns may be used to indicate third person number in conditional and imperative forms. Compare:

(1)   *fey amu-nu-l-e,   amu-la-ya-n*
      he   go-NEG^{10}-COND^4-3^3, go-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'if he does not go, I won't go either'

(2)   *amu-nu-l-e   engu, amu-la-ya-n*
      go-NEG^{10}-COND^4-3^3 they^d, go-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'if they^d dont't go, I won't go either'

(3)   *amu-nu-l-e   engün, amu-la-ya-n*
      go-NEG^{10}-COND^4-3^3 they^P,   go-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'if they^P don't go, I won't go either'

(4)   *(fey-engün) amu-la-y-ng-ün*
      (that-they^P)   go-NEG^{10}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

      'they^P did not go'

(5)   *amu-la-y   engün*
      go-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}$ they^P

      'they^P did not go'

Third person number tends not to be indicated when the referent of the subject marker is inanimate or its number is indicated or implied by nominal suffixes, lexical means or the context.

(6)   *kallfü-nge-y*   *ñi*   *nge*
      blue-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s eye

      'my eyes are blue'

(7)   *kallfü-le-y*   *ñi*   *nge*
      blue-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s eye

      'my eye is blue' (i.e. my eye is bruised)

(8)   *re*   *pu*   *longko traw-uw-ke-fu-y*
      only COLL leader   get.together-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'only the leaders used to get together'

(9)   *alün*   *Mapuche la-y*
      large.quantity Mapuche   die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'many Mapuche died'

There is a striking difference between the speakers LQ and RR in the use of third person number markers. In the speech of LQ, who is a very articulate speaker, third person number is nearly always indicated, whereas it is often left out in the lively speech of RR.

Salas (1979b) calls *-ng-u* and *-ng-ün* pseudo-suffixes, "resultantes de una reducción por enclisis de las formas libres *engu* y *engün*" (Salas 1979b: 227). Based on the lack of third person number markers, the obligatory use of number markers for the first and second person, the lack of a third person pronoun (*fey* is a "deíctico anafórico" (Salas 1979b: 231)), the existence of first and second person pronouns which differentiate number and the lack of number marking in substantives, Salas concludes once more that "... dialogismo y egocentrismo no son rasgos aislados en la estructura gramatical del Mapuche sino son omnipresentes en sus puntos cruciales" (Salas 1979b: 236).

26.3   Slot 3. Subject

Subject markers are slot 3 fillers. Predicates obligatorily take a subject marker and have a modal marker in slot 4. Subordinates have an empty subject slot and take a flectional nominalization marker in slot 4.

For a presentation and discussion of subject morphemes I refer to the introduction on verbal morphology, section 25.2.1. The analysis of the subject markers presented in this book is accounted for in the following chapter, section 26.4.1. See also the appendix for the transitive and intransitive paradigms.

26.4   Slot 4. Mood and flectional nominalization

Every verb form takes a slot 4 filler. A predicate takes a modal suffix in slot 4; a subordinate takes a flectional nominalizer in slot 4. A modal suffix is always followed by a slot 3 filler. A subordinate has an empty slot 3.

The moods are the indicative, the conditional and the imperative. They are

dealt with in sections 26.4.1–26.4.4. Mapuche has seven flectional nominalizers. They are discussed in sections 26.4.5–26.4.11.

There are three negation markers: *-la-* for indicative forms, *-ki-* for imperative forms and *-nu-* for conditional forms and subordinates. The negation markers fill slot 10, see 26.10.

26.4.1 Introduction to mood

The following suffixes indicate mood:

-(ü)y-	Indicative,	*-üy* in the environments C-# or C-C,
		-y- elsewhere,
-(ü)l-	Conditional,	*-ül-* in the environment C-C,
		-ül- ~ *-l-* in the environment C-*e*#,
		-l- elsewhere,
-∅-	Imperative,	with 2d and 2p. With 1s, 2s and 3,
		the imperative mood is encoded in portemanteau morphs.

The chart below gives a summary of mood, subject and number markers.

mood	IND	COND	IMP
person			
1s	$-(ü)n^3$	$-l^4-i^3-∅^2$	$-chi^3$
1d	$-y^4-∅^3-u^2$	$-l^4-i^3-u^2$	
1p	$-y^4-∅^3-iñ^2$	$-l^4-i^3-iñ^2$	
2s	$-(ü)y^4-m^3-i^2$	$-(ü)l^4-m^3-i^2$	$-nge^3$
2d	$-(ü)y^4-m^3-u^2$	$-(ü)l^4-m^3-u^2$	$-∅^4-m^3-u^2$
2p	$-(ü)y^4-m^3-ün^2$	$-(ü)l^4-m^3-ün^2$	$-∅^4-m^3-ün^2$
3	$-(ü)y^4-∅^3$	$-(ü)l^4-e^3$	$-pe^3$
3d	$-(ü)y^4-ng^3-u^2$		
3p	$-(ü)y^4-ng^3-ün^2$		

Portemanteau morphs which include a subject marker are assigned subject position (slot 3), see 25.2.1. After C, the ending *-yiñ* (1pIND) alternates with *-üyiñ*, and *-yu* (1dIND) alternates with *-üyu* (MM: also *-iyiñ* and *-iyu*), see 8.1.4.

There are no 1d and 1p imperative forms, 1d and 1p indicative forms may be used adhortatively, see 26.4.3.

An alternative analysis of the endings of indicative forms would be the following: *y* indicates 1ns in indicative forms. This would be supported by the fact that *-i-* is a first person marker in conditional forms and that *y* can be found in the 1d and 1p possessive pronouns, *yu* poss1d and *yiñ* poss1p.

A second alternative analysis would be: *y* indicates third person. This would be supported by the fact that *y* marks third person subject in conditional forms that take the dative subject marker *-(m)ew*[1].

However, comparing 2IND and 2COND, it is obvious that *-y-* is not a person marker. The fact that *-y-* and *-l-* occupy the same position and the fact that

-*l*- is a mood marker press the conclusion that -*y*- is a mood marker.

A different analysis, -*y*- is a mood marker and -*y*- is a person marker, has to be refuted on the following grounds:

1. the second -*y*- does not have distinctive features. Replacement of the second -*y*- by another element does not result in a different verb form.
2. a sequence of three consonants is impossible in Mapuche and would necessarily lead to *ə*-insertion. A schwa is found between the endings -*yu* or -*yiñ* and a preceding consonant (also -*i*- in the speech of MM) but is optional and infrequent.

Finally, I have analyzed -*pe* IMP3 as a portemanteau morph on the analogy of the two other portemanteau morphs which can be found in the same paradigm: -*chi* IMP1s and -*nge* IMP2s. One might analyze -*pe* as consisting of -*p*- IMP[4] and -*e*[3] third person, considering that third person subject in conditional forms is indicated by -*e*. It is, however, not evident that an imperative and conditional form with -*e*- share a semantic element which distinguishes them from an indicative form. For a résumé of all subject and mood markers, see the appendix.

26.4.2 Indicative

An indicative form expresses a statement about an event taking place.

(1) *karü   mollfüñ-tu-y   ta ti che*
     green/raw blood-VERB[36]-IND[4]-[3] the the person

     'he ate raw blood, that one!'

(2) *fey-ta-chi silla tüyé   fente-y*
     that-the-ADJ chair that.over.there that.much-IND[4]-[3][3]

     'this chair is as big as that chair'

(3) *inché fey-pi-e-y-u   welu feyentu-la-e-n*
     I   that-say-IDO[6]-IND[4]-[1ns][3]-d[2]-[DS][1] but believe-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-[DS][1]

     'I told you^s but you^s did not believe me'

(4) *tuchi rüpü ina-ya-n?*
     which road follow-NRLD[10]-IND1s[3]

     'which road shall I follow?'

(5) *đew   angiđ-üy chiam tüfa-chi ilo   sanchu?*
     already dry-IND[4]-[3][3] PART   this-ADJ meat pig

     'did this pork dry up yet?'

For interrogative indicative forms, see chapter 17 and chapter 32. 1d and 1p indicative forms may express exhortation, for which see 26.4.4, (32) and (33).

26.4.3 Conditional

A subordinate conditional form expresses a contingency. It generally precedes the main clause. The verb in the main clause indicates an event the realization

of which is dependent on the fulfilment of the condition put forward in the conditional clause.

(6)   *mawün-l-e,   tripa-la-ya-n*
      rain-COND^4-3^3, leave-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'if it rains, I will not go out'

(7)   *allkü-tu-nie-l-e-n;*   *ngüma-l-e   ñi   pichi-che*
      hear-TR^{33}-PRPS^{32}-BEN^{27}-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1;   cry-COND^4-3^3 poss1s   small-person

      fey-pi-a-e-n
      that-say-NRLD^9-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1

      'listen for me; if my baby cries, you^s will/must tell me'

(8)   *iñché pe-rume-l-i   plata, ruka ngilla-fem-a-fu-n*
      I   see-SUD^{21}-COND^4-1^3-s^2 money, house buy-IMM^{21}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND1s^3

      'if I were suddenly to see money, I would immediately buy a house'

(9)   *eymi   petú   i-l-m-i,   chilla-l-a-e-y-u   mi*
      you^s still   eat-COND^4-2^3-s^2,   saddle-BEN^{27}-NRLD^9-IDO^6-IND^4-1ns^3-d^2-DS^1 poss2s

      kawellu
      horse

      'if meanwhile you^s go on eating, I will saddle your^s horse for you^s'

(10) *đew   moyo-l-ül-m-i   mi   püñeñ, kellu-pa-ya-e-n*
      already suck-CA^{34}-COND^4-2^3-s^2 poss2s child,   help-Hh^{17}-NRLD^9-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1

      'if you^s have finished nursing your^s child, you^s will/must come and help me'

   Concessive value is added by the adverb *rumé* '-ever'.

(11) *mawün-l-e   rumé, tripa-ya-n*   (Compare with (6))
      rain-COND^4-3^3 -ever,   leave-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'even if it rains, I will go out'

(12) *tunté   kulli-l-i   rumé, mütewe nu*
      how.much pay-COND^4-1^3-s^2 -ever,   much   NEG

      'no matter how much I pay, [it is] not enough' (lit.: ... it is not much)

   For *rumé* see also chapter 12 (14).
   A conditional form seldom takes the non-realized action marker *-a-* NRLD^9. A conditional form which takes *-a-* denotes an event which is presented as going to take place in the immediate future, whereas an event which is denoted by a conditional form not containing *-a-* may or may not take place.

(13) *fey-pi-a-l-m-i,*   *kümé witra-künu-w-a-y-m-i*
that-say-NRLD[9]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], good get.up-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'if you[s] are going to speak, you[s] must stand up right'

For *-a-* NRLD[9], see 26.9.

A conditional form can take the impeditive marker *-fu-*[8]. When it combines with the conditional, *-fu-* indicates that the event did not take place or did not take place according to expectation (for *-fu-*, see 26.8). Compare:

(14) *eymi müle-fu-l-m-i,*   *küđaw-a-fu-y-u*
you[s] be-IPD[8]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], work-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

'if you[s] had been [here], we[d] could have worked'

(15) *eymi müle-l-m-i,*   *küđaw-a-fu-y-u*
you[s] be-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], work-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

'if you[s] are [here], we[d] might work'

(16) *aku-wye-fu-l-m-i,*   *pe-pa-ya-fwi-y-m-i*
arrive-PLPF[15]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], see-hh[17]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'if you[s] had arrived [by then], you[s] would have seen him'

The conditional clause generally precedes the main clause unless *wülá* 'then' follows the conditional form, e.g.

(17) *iñché amu-a-n*   *rupan küđaw-l-i*   *wülá*
I go-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] after work-COND[4]-1[3]-<u>s</u>[2] then

'I shall go if I am through with my work' (lit.: I shall go if I have finished working then)

Compare:

(18) *fey-pi-e-l-y-u,*   *wülá đungu-a-y-m-i*
that-say-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1], then speak-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'if I tell you[s], then you[s] must speak'

(19) *đungu-la-ya-y-m-i,*   *fey-pi-e-l-y-u*   *wülá*
speak-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], that-say-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] then

'you[s] will not speak until I tell you[s] so'

A conditional form can be the main verb of a sentence. In that case it necessarily takes the impeditive suffix *-fu-*[8]. Such a conditional form expresses a wish or a proposition.

(20) *fey-engün aku-nu-fu-l-e!*
that-they[p] arrive-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-3[3]

'if only they[p] would not arrive!'

(21) *iñché đewma-fe-l-y-u   kay makuñ?*
     I   make-IPD[8].IDO[6]-COND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] PART coat

    'what if I would make a coat for you[s]?'

(22) *kom amu-fu-l-i-iñ   kay?*
     all   go-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-p[2] PART

    'why don't we[p] all go?' (lit.: if we[p] all go?)

  The particle *kay* can be used to express a proposition, see 33.4.

  When a conditional clause which occurs as a main clause contains the expression *pewmangen* 'hopefully', the suffix *-fu-* is optional.

(23) *pewmangen fach-antü mawün-l-e*
     hopefully   this-day   rain-COND[4]-3[3]

    'if only it would rain today'

⟨ The word *pewmangen* may be derived from *pewma-* 'to dream', which may contain *pe-* 'to see' and *uma-* 'to stay' ⟩

  The conditional marker *-l-* combines with negative imperative forms, for which see 26.4.4.

26.4.4 Imperative

An imperative form which takes a second person subject expresses an order or a prohibition.

(24) *matukel-m-ün!*
     quick-IMP[4]-2[3]-p[2]

    'hurry up you[p]!'

(25) *wirar-ki-l-nge*
     shout-NEG[10]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3]

    'don't shout!'

  With a first or third person subject, the imperative indicates a proposition or a wish.

(26) *amu-chi may!*
     go-IMP1s[3] PART

    'I'm off'

(27) *entu-chi   tüfá*
     take.out-IMP1s[3] this

    'let me take this out'

(28) *i-pe   mütem engün!*
     eat-IMP3[3] only   they[p]

    'let them[p] just eat'

(29)   *chew rumé rüngkü-pe!*
       where -ever   jump-IMP3^3

       'let him jump wherever he wants to'

(30)   *küme-le-pe   ñi   fochüm!*
       good-ST^{28}-IMP3^3 poss1s son

       'may my son be all right'

(31)   *koyla-tu-ki-l-pe   engün!*
       lie-TR^{33}-NEG^{10}-COND^4-IMP3^3 they^p

       'may they^p not lie'

There is no 1d and 1p imperative. Instead, 1d and 1p Ind may express adhortation.

(32)   *i-y-u*
       eat-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2

       'we^d ate', 'let's^d eat'

(33)   *püra-kawellu-nge, anay, amu-y-u!*
       climb-horse-IMP2s^3,   friend, go-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2

       'get on your^s horse, friend, let's^d go!'

Note that when 1d and 1p Ind are used adhortatively, negation is indicated by *-ki-l-*, which combines with imperative forms, and not by *-la-*, which combines with indicative forms, e.g. *amu-ki-l-y-u* 'let's not go!' (for negative imperative forms, see below, 26.10 and the appendix).

The transitive imperative paradigm is incomplete:
1. There is no 2s → 1s imperative form. Instead, 2s → 1s Ind may express an order, e.g. *leli-e^6-n^3* 'you^s watched me', 'watch me!'
   The other subject markers in 2 → 1 imperative forms are regular: *-mu^{23}-chi^3* for 2 → 1s, *-mu^{23}-y^4-u^2* for 2 → 1d and *-mu^{23}-y^4-iñ^2* for 2 → 1p, e.g. *leli-mu-chi* 'watch me!', *leli-mu-ki-l-chi* 'don't watch me!'.
2. Transitive imperative forms with a third person agent are uncommon. Only 3 → 1s and 3 → 3 imperative forms (with the external direct object suffix *-fi-* EDO^6) occur in spontaneous use.

(34)   *leli-e-chi-mu!*
       watch-IDO^6-IMP1s^3-DS^1

       'may he watch me'

(35)   *ramtu-fi-pe   ñi   ñuke!*
       ask-EDO^6-IMP3^3 poss3 mother

       'may he ask his mother'

Imperative forms with a third person agent and a first person dual or plural

patient or a second person patient have been elicited from LQ only. He used the following endings:

-pe-y-u-mu	3 → 1d
-pe-y-iñ-mu	3 → 1p
-pe-y-mu	3 → 2s
-pe-y-m-u-mu	3 → 2d
-pe-y-m-ün-mu	3 → 2p

e.g. *leli-pe-y-mu* 'may he watch you^s', *leli-ki-l-pe-y-mu* 'may he not watch you^s'.

The reliability of these forms is doubtful. I never found them in spontaneous use. LQ did not always confirm them. RR did not accept them. And MM would translate *leli-pe-y-mu* as 'he just looked at you^s', interpreting *-pe-* as the proximity marker which fills slot 13.

Imperative forms which express an X → 3 relationship are regular. Beside *-fi-nge* IMP2s → 3 one may find *-fe*, e.g.

(36)   *i-fi-nge/i-fe*
        eat-EDO^6-IMP2s^3/eat-EDO^6.IMP2s^3

        'eat it!'

Negative imperative forms present a few problems:

The suffix *-ki-* indicates negation in imperative forms. Compare:

(37)   *amu-ki-l-y-u*
        go-NEG^{10}-COND^4-1ns^3-d^2

        'let's^d not go'

(38)   *amu-la-y-u*
        go-NEG^{10}-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2

        'we^d did not go'

(39)   *amu-nu-l-i-u*
        go-NEG^{10}-COND^4-1^3-d^2

        'if we^d don't go'

The suffix *-ki-* obligatorily combines with the conditional marker *-l-* in slot 4. This poses the problem of two mood markers in one form, e.g.

(40)   *leli-ki-l-nge!*
        watch-NEG^{10}-COND^4-IMP2s^3

        'don't watch!'

Beside *-ki-l-* one may use *-ki^{10}-nu^{10}-l^4-*, e.g. *leli-ki-nu-l-nge* 'don't watch!'. The sequences *-ki-l-* and *-ki-nu-l-* do not seem to differ semantically. This is the only exeption to the rule that suffixes which fill one slot do not co-occur.

The subject slot of negative imperative forms is filled by suffixes which otherwise combine with non-negative imperative forms. However,

1. the subject marker in 2s → 1s negative imperative forms is *-i*, and not *-chi*, which indicates 1s subject in imperative forms, nor *-n* as in *leli-e-n* 'you looked at me/ look at me':

(41)   *leli-ki-e-l-i*
       watch-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1[3]-s̲[2]-D̲S̲[1]

   'don't watch me!'

Compare:

(42)   *leli-nu-e-l-i*
       watch-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1[3]-s̲[2]-D̲S̲[1]

   'if you^s don't watch me'

2. the subject of 3 → 1s negative imperative forms is marked by either *-chi* or *-i*, e.g.

(43)   *leli-ki-e-l-chi-mu/leli-ki-e-l-i-mu*
       watch-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-COND[4]-IMP1s[3]-DS[1]/watch-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1[3]-s̲[2]-DS[1]

   'may he not watch me'

In non-negative imperative 3 → 1s forms only *-chi* is used, see (34). For the negative imperative paradigm see also the appendix.

Negative imperative froms are infrequent. Note that a negative command can also be expressed by a negative indicative form which is marked *-a-* NRLD[9] for non-realized action, e.g. *amu-la[10]-ya[9]-y[4]-m[3]-i[2]* 'you^s must not go', see 26.9.

26.4.5 Introduction to flectional nominalization
Subordinates are non-finite verb forms which have an empty subject slot (slot 3) and a flectional nominalizer in slot 4. There are seven flectional nominalizers:

-(ü)n	Plain Verbal Noun (PVN), *-ün* after C, *-n* after V
-el	Objective Verbal Noun (OVN)
-m	Instrumental Verbal Noun (IVN)
-fiel	Transitive Verbal Noun (TVN)
-t-	Agentive Verbal Noun (AVN)
-lu ∼ -∅	Subjective Verbal Noun (SVN)
-(ü)wma	Completive Subjective Verbal Noun (CSVN), *-üwma* after C, *-wma* after V.

Basically, all forms which take a flectional nominalizer occur as
1. subordinates of verbs, as subject, direct object, instrumental object or complement noun phrase, indicating an event as such, a participant, an instrument, time, place, reason, purpose or background event,
2. subordinates of nouns: they modify a noun,
3. predicates in a nominal sentence.

Some nominalized forms can be used as a finite verb form. The subject of a subordinate is usually indicated by a possessive pronoun, which immediately

precedes the subordinate. However, when a subordinate is used as a temporal or causal clause or as a finite verb form, the subject is indicated by a personal pronoun.

(44) *ramtu-e-y-u* *chew ñi müle-n*
  ask-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] where poss3 be-PVN[4]

  'I asked you[s] where he lives'

(45) *llaďkü-le-y-iñ* *ta-mi pi-el-mew*
  get.angry-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the-poss2s say-OVN[4]-INST

  'we[p] are angry because you[s] said [that]', 'we[p] are angry because of what you[s] said'

(46) *kim-nie-n* *mi entu-el*
  learn-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] poss2s take.out-OVN[4]

  'I know that you[s] took [it] out', 'I know what you[s] took out'

(47) *kim-nie-n* *chem mi entu-el*
  learn-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] what poss2s take.out-OVN[4]

  'I know what you[s] took out'

(48) *chew am ta müli-y ti ufisha ñi lang-üm-el?*
  where PART the be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the sheep poss1s die-CA[34]-OVN[4]

  'where is the sheep that I killed?'

(49) *ngilla-la-ya-y* *kofke nie-nu-lu plata*
  buy-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] bread have-NEG[10]-SVN[4] money

  'he who has no money will not buy bread'

(50) *tüfá ñi küpa-le-n*
  this poss3 come-ST[28]-PVN[4]

  'here he comes'

Forms which contain a flectional nominalizer are regularly inflected. Apart from a subject marker and a coreferring number marker, subordinates can take any verbal suffix. Forms which contain a derivational nominalizer do not take verbal flectional suffixes. They can take derivational suffixes only. Nominalized forms which contain a derivational nominalizer do not behave as verbs. They are deverbal nouns, which do not contain reference to time, cf. (11–13) in 26.13. Derivational nominalizers are dealt with in chapter 28.

The flectional nominalizers differ as follows:

1. The plain verbal noun suffix -(*ü*)*n* PVN cannot co-occur with the non-realization marker -*a*- NRLD[9]. An -(*ü*)*n* form is therefore unspecified for the distinction realization/non-realization. The suffix -(*ü*)*wma*, which denotes an event which has taken place and reached completion, can evidently not

combine with -*a*- NRLD[9] either. All other subordinates can take -*a*- NRLD[9]. The instrumental verbal noun suffix -*m* obligatorily co-occurs with either the non-realized action marker -*a*- NRLD[9], the pluperfect tense marker -*mu*-PLPF[7], the constant feature suffix -*ye*- CF[5] or the sequence -*pe-ye*- PX[13]-CF[5] which contains the proximity marker -*pe*- and the constant feature suffix -*ye*-.

2. Forms which contain the plain verbal noun marker -(*ü*)*n*, the objective verbal noun suffix -*el* or the instrumental verbal noun marker -*m* are intransitive. They cannot take the internal direct object suffix -*e*- IDO[6], the external direct object suffix -*fi*- EDO[6], the second person agent marker -*mu*-2A[23] or the first person agent marker -(*u*)*w*- 1A[23]. Forms which take the transitive verbal noun suffix -*fiel* or the agentive verbal noun marker -*t*- are by definition transitive. The transitive verbal noun marker -*fiel* obviously contains the external direct object suffix -*fi*-. The suffix -*fiel* is, however, treated as a single suffix because the use of -*fi*- in combination with -*el* is very different from the use of -*fi*- EDO[6]. The suffix -*fiel* cannot co-occur with -*e*- IDO[6], -*mu*- 2A[23] or -(*u*)*w*- 1A[23]. The agentive verbal noun marker -*t*- obligatorily co-occurs with the external direct object suffix -*e*- IDO[6] and the dative subject marker -*ew* DS[1]. It does not combine with -*mu*- 2A[23] or -(*u*)*w*- 1A[23]. The agent of an -*e-t-ew* form is always third person, unmarked for number. The agent of a -*fiel* form can be first, second or third person.

A subordinate which contains the subjective verbal noun morpheme -*lu* can take slot 6 and slot 23 fillers. The subjective verbal noun suffix -∅ and the completive subjective verbal noun marker -(*ü*)*wma* do not combine with -*e*-[6], -*fi*-[6], -*mu*-[23] or -(*u*)*w*-[23]. In some exceptional cases I found -(*ü*)*n*, -*el* and -*fiel* in combination with -*mu*-[23] or -(*u*)*w*-[23]. They are mentioned in section 26.23.

3. All subordinates, except those with -∅ SVN, can occur as independent noun phrase or as modifier of a noun phrase. The subjective verbal noun marker -∅ occurs as modifier only. It obligatorily combines with the adjectivizer -*chi*. For -*chi*, see 18.2.2. The modifiers -∅ SVN and -(*ü*)*n* PVN always precede the modified, whereas the modifier -*lu* SVN always follows the modified. Modifiers which contain -*el*, -*m*, -*fiel*, -*t*- or -(*ü*)*wma* may follow or precede the modified. When these subordinates precede the modified they combine with -*chi* ADJ. In careless speech -*chi* is sometimes left out.

The flectional nominalizers are used in various ways:

-(*ü*)*n* indicates an event as such, unspecified for the distinction realization/non-realization.

An -(*ü*)*n* form occurs as an adjective denoting an attribute or quality of the modified noun.

A third use of -(*ü*)*n* is to form a substantive denoting a person or thing involved in the event referred to by the verb. Label: Plain Verbal Noun.

-*el* is primarily used as a passive participle, indicating the patient of the event.

It can also be used to indicate an event as such. The event denoted by
-*el* is either non-realized (marked -*a*- NRLD[9]) or realized (unmarked).
The morpheme -*el* is seldom used as an instrumental/locative. Label:
Objective Verbal Noun.

-*m* is primarily used as an instrumental or a locative. It may also indicate an
event as such. In combination with -*a*- NRLD[9], -*m* may denote a purpose.
In combination with the constant feature suffix -*ye*- CF[5], -*m* may be
used to form a temporal clause. The morpheme -*m* never denotes a
participant. Label: Instrumental Verbal Noun.

-*fiel* and -*t*- can be used as an infinitive, passive participle, locative or instru-
mental. The distinctions between -(*ü*)*n*, -*el* and -*m* are neutralized in
-*fiel* and -*t*-. Whereas -(*ü*)*n*, -*el* and -*m* are used in an intransitive scena-
rio, -*fiel* or -*t*- are used in a transitive scenario. Label of -*fiel*: Transitive
Verbal Noun.

The suffix -*t*- can also be used to denote the agent of an event. In that
case it alternates with -*lu* ∼ -∅. Label of -*t*-: Agentive Verbal Noun.

-*lu*, -∅ and -(*ü*)*wma* are used to denote the subject of an event. Label of -*lu* ∼
-∅: Subjective Verbal Noun.

The morpheme -(*ü*)*wma*, which is used to denote the subject of a com-
pleted event which has no present relevance, is labelled: Completive Sub-
jective Verbal Noun.

The morpheme -*lu*, and in special cases also -*el*, -*fiel* and -*t*-, can occur
as a temporal or causal clause. The subject is indicated by a personal
pronoun.

A form that contains -a^9-*lu* or -(*ü*)*wma* or, in special cases, -a^9-*el* or
-a^9-*e-t-ew* can be used as a finite verb form.

In short, the -(*ü*)*n* form (primarily an infinitive) is intransitive and unspe-
cified for the distinction realization/non-realization. Forms which contain -*el*
(primarily a passive participle) or -*m*- (primarily an instrumental/locative) are
intransitive but can take the non-realization marker -*a*-. The distinctions bet-
ween -(*ü*)*n*, -*el* and -*m* are neutralized in -*fiel* and -*t*- which may be used as an
infinitive, a passive participle or an instrumental/locative, are transitive and
can take the non-realization marker -*a*-.

It follows from the above that flectional nominalizers have a number of over-
lapping functions. It is nevertheless clear that most of these suffixes have one
primary function. One may therefore assume that historically the flectional
nominalizers had one distinct function and that the complexity and ambiguity
of the subordinates today is the result of a merger of functions. This process
is a likely consequence of the use and distribution of the nominalizers.

Much of the ambiguity of nominalized forms can be removed by the use of
interrogative pronouns, the instrumental -*mew* ∼ -*mu* or the context. Howe-
ver, speakers occasionaly prefer to use a predicate where a subordinate is not
satisfactory or too complicated.

For the sake of descriptive convenience I use the primary function as a starting

point for the discussion of each of the flectional nominalizers.

Subordinates do not often take aspectuals or tense markers. Subordinates which can take *-a-* NRLD[9] and therefore denote a situation which is presented as either realized or non-realized, can take the impeditive morpheme *-fu-* IPD[8] (a suffix which specifies the course or the result of a situation). A situation which is presented as realized or non-realized is by implication placed within a certain time. A subordinate which denotes such a situation may therefore take a tense marker (*-mu-* PLPF[7] or *-(ü)wye-* PLPF[15]). Subordinates take less derivational suffixes than predicates generally do.

Although verbal nouns can function as subject, direct object, instrumental object or complement, they do not often occur in the function of direct object.

The suffixes are treated in the following order: *-(ü)n* PVN (26.4.6), *-el* (26.4.7), *-m* (26.4.8), *-fiel* and *-t-* (26.4.9), *-lu* ∼ *-∅* (26.4.10) and *-(ü)wma* (26.4.11).

26.4.6   -(ü)n Plain verbal noun
The three uses of *-(ü)n* are discussed in the following order: infinitive *-(ü)n* (26.4.6.1), adjective *-(ü)n* (26.4.6.2), substantive *-(ü)n* (26.4.6.3).

26.4.6.1   Infinitive
The suffix *-(ü)n* indicates an event as such, unspecified for the distinction realization/non-realization. It follows that *-(ü)n* does not co-occur with tense markers. The suffix *-(ü)n* may combine with the aspectuals *-ke-* CF[14], *-(kü)le-* ST[28] or *-meke-* PR[28].

An *-(ü)n* form does not contain reference to actants. It may, however, be preceded by a possessive pronoun, which indicates the subject. The possessive pronoun may be left out when the subject of the predicate and the subject of the subordinate are referentially identical (e.g. (58)). A subject noun phrase follows the *-(ü)n* form, as subject noun phrases of intransitive verbs tend to do (e.g. (58)). For word order, see chapter 34.

Infinitive *-(ü)n* may function as subject (51–54), direct object (55–56), instrumental object (57–61) or complement (62–87). In (88) and (89), *-(ü)n* is used as a predicate.

(51)   *pütrem-tu-n   küme-la-y*
         cigarette-VERB[36]-PVN[4] good-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'smoking is not good'

(52)   *af-a-y   kewa-n*
         stop-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] fight-PVN[4]

   'the fighting will stop'

(53)   *mari tripantu-nge-y   ñi   lantu-n*
         ten   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] poss3 become.widower-PVN[4]

   'it was ten years ago that he became a widower'

(54) ... *enggaña-nge-ki-y   ta-yiñ   pu   familia, ta-yiñ   pu*
      ... deceive-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IND^4-3^3 the-poss1p COLL family,   the-poss1p COLL

      küđaw-fe-nge-n   (10,16)
      work-NOM-VERB^{36}-PVN^4

      'our^p families were deceived, and so were we^p workers' (lit.: they are
      deceived our families, our being workers)

Compare also: *ta-yiñ mapuche-nge-n* 'we Mapuche' (lit.: our being Ma-
puche). See also 21.2.

(55) *ta-mi   wülel-ün ayü-la-fi-n*
      the-poss2s beat-PVN^4 love-NEG^{10}-EDO^6-IND1s^3

      'I don't like you^s to beat'

(56) *kümé   pe-nie-la-fi-n   ñi   pinta-le-n   kam   ñi*
      good   see-PRPS^{32}-NEG^{10}-EDO^6-IND1s^3 poss3 paint-ST^{28}-PVN^4 or   poss3

      pinta-le-nu-n
      paint-ST^{28}-NEG^{10}-PVN^4

      'I can't see (it) well whether it is painted or not'

A predicate can have two co-ordinate subordinates (56). The subjects of the
two subordinates are referentially identical. The adverb *kam* 'or' can, but need
not, stand between the subordinates, see also (65). Instead of two co-ordinate
subordinates, two co-ordinate predicates may be used. Thus, instead of (56)
one may find *kümé pe-nie-la-fi-n pinta-le-y chi pinta-le-la-y chi* 'I can't see (it)
well whether it is painted or not', lit.: I can't see it well, it is painted maybe, it
is not painted maybe. In such a construction, *chi* is obligatory. The morpheme
chi is a particle which expresses doubt, see 32.1.

In combination with subordinates, the instrumental suffix *-mew ∼ -mu* INST
often has causal meaning (57–59). With *-(ü)n*, however, *-mew ∼ -mu* may also
occur as an instrumental (60) or in the meaning of: 'as far as ... is concerned',
'with regard to' (61).

(57) *ñall anta mi   ülmen-nge-n-mew   llüka-ya-e-y-u!*
      just PART poss2s rich-VERB^{36}-PVN^4-INST become.afraid-NRLD^9-IDO^6-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2-<u>DS</u>^{1}

      'just because you^s are rich you^s expect me to be afraid of you^s!'

(58) *lladkü-le-n   kim-nu-n-mu   ñi   chum-le-n   ñi   püñeñ*
      become.sad-ST^{28}-IND1s^3 know-NEG^{10}-PVN^4-INST poss3 how-ST^{28}-PVN^4 poss1s son

      'I am sad because I don't know how my son is doing' (lit.: I am sad for
      not knowing his how being my son)

Example (58) shows that a subordinate (*ñi chum-le-n*) can be subordinate
to another subordinate (*kim-nu-n-mu*).

(59) *ayü-w-küle-n*   *fey   ñi   müle-pa-n-mew*
      love-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-IND1s^3 he   poss3 be-hh^{17}-PVN^4-INST

      'I am glad because he is here'

(60) *itro-re   weñe-n-mew monge-l-uw-küle-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*
      merely-only steal-PVN^4-INST get.life-CA^{34}-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

      'merely by stealing they^P kept themselves alive'

(61) *allush-ye-m   ko,   fey küme-y   püto-ko-nge-n-mu*
      tepid-CF^5-IVN^4 water, then good-IND^4-3^3 drink-water-PASS^{23}-PVN^4-INST

      'when water gets tepid, then it is good to drink'

A subordinate can occur as an object clause with both transitive and intransitive predicates. When it is coreferential with a DO marker, the subordinate noun phrase has the function of DO (see (55–56)). When it does not corefer to a DO marker, it has the function of complement (62–69).

(62) *lluwatu-nie-a-fi-n*   *ñi   aku-tu-n*
      pay.attention-PRPS^{32}-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND1s^3 poss3 arrive-RE^{16}-PVN^4

      'I shall watch him coming back'

(63) *allkü-la-y-m-i*   *mungel chem mi   pedi-nge-n*
      hear-NEG^{10}-IND^4-2^3-s^2 exactly what poss2s request-PASS^{23}-PVN^4

      'you^s did not hear exactly what you^s were requested'

(64) *kim-nie-ke-n*   *kuyfí   ñi   nge-nu-n   t.raktor*
      know-PRPS^{32}-CF^{14}-IND1s^3 formerly poss3 be-NEG^{10}-PVN^4 tractor

      'I know that in the old days there were no tractors'

(65) *iñché akorda-nie-la-n*   *fey ñi*
      I   remember-PRPS^{32}-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 he poss3

      kure-nge-n   ñi   kure-nge-nu-n
      wife-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 poss3 wife-VERB^{36}-NEG^{10}-PVN^4

      'I don't remember whether he is married or not' (lit.: I don't remember he his having a wife his not having a wife)

(66) *meke-w-üy*   *ñi   fey-pi-w-ün*
      be.busy-REF^{31}-IND^4-3^3 poss3 that-say-REF^{31}-PVN^4

      'they are busy speaking to each other'

(67) *kon-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ñi   ngan-ün*
      enter/start-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 poss3 sow-PVN^4

      'they^P used to start sowing'

(68) *wim-tu-le-n*   *ñi*   *kishu-le-ke-n*
  get.used-TR^{33}-ST^{28}-IND1s^3 poss1s alone-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-PVN^4

  'I am used to being alone' (lit.: I am used to my characteristic being alone)

(69) *iñché küpá   kon-ün   tüfa-chi ruka-mu chum-le-n   ta ti ruka ta*
  I   wishing enter-IND1s^3 this-ADJ house-INST how-ST^{28}-PVN^4 the the house the

  ponuí
  inside

  'I want to go into this house [to see] how it is inside'

The Plain Verbal Noun may occur as a complement to the verb *nge-* 'to be' in constructions which can be rendered by 'it is (im)possible to ...'.

(70) *ru-me-n   nge-la-y   faw*
  pass.through-Th^{20}-PVN^4 be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}$ here

  'it is impossible to pass here'

The auxiliary *pepí* 'being able' may precede the subordinate:

(71) *pepí   amu-n nge-la-y*
  being.able go-PVN^4 be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}$

  'it is impassable'

(72) *allke-n   nge-y   ti nengüm-ün ti ruka*
  hear-PVN^4 be-IND^4-$\underline{3}$ the move-PVN^4 the house

  'one can hear the house moving', 'one can hear the movement of the house' (lit.: the moving of the house is to be heard)

The verb *nengüm-* 'to move' (72) can be either transitive or intransitive. The word *allke-n* is derived from *allkü-* 'to hear'. In this type of construction, *allke-n* is used instead of *allkü-n*.

  The suffix *-(ü)n* may indicate the circumstances in which the subject is involved in the event. It obligatorily combines with the stative morpheme *-(kü)le-* ST^{28}. This construction does not contain a possessive pronoun.

(73) *müpü-le-n   puw-üy*
  fly-ST^{28}-PVN^4 arrive-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

  'he arrived flying'

(74) *ina-nge-chi   kom kümé đuam-küle-n chali-w-üy-ng-ün*
  next-VERB^{36}-$\underline{\text{SVN}}^4$-ADJ all   good   wish-ST^{28}-PVN^4 greet-REF^{31}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

  'in the end they$^{\text{p}}$ all greeted each other cheerfully'

(75) *kom kulliñ-küle-n   kañ   pülé amu-y*
      all   cattle-ST[28]-PVN[4] other side go-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he went elsewhere with all his cattle'

Combined with negation marker *-nu-*[10], the suffix *-(ü)n* forms a subordinate clause meaning 'without ...'. The subordinate clause may or may not contain a possessive pronoun; the subjects of the predicate and the subordinate are referentially identical.

(76) *fey ñi   ngüma-nu-n   kutran-ka-w-üy*
      he poss3 cry-NEG[10]-PVN[4] illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he suffered without crying'

(77) *chem-pi-nu-n   rumé anü-y*
      what-say-NEG[10]-PVN[4] -ever sit.down-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he sat down without saying anything (whatsoever)'

Preceded by *petú* 'still' and containing *-nu-* NEG[10], the *-(ü)n* form is used as a subordinate clause meaning 'before ...'. The subject of the subordinate may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the predicate. The subject of the subordinate is always explicitly indicated.

(78) *iñché petú ñi   amu-nu-n   entu-permiso-fi-ñ   ñi   ñuke*
      I   still poss1s go-NEG[10]-PVN[4] take.out-permission-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss1s mother

      'before going I asked my mother permission'

(79) *petú yu   küđaw-nu-n   ngilla-me-a-n   kofke*
      still   poss1d work-NEG[10]-PVN[4] buy-TH[20]-NRLD[10]-IND1s[3] bread

      'before we[d] start working I'll go and buy bread'

A complement PVN may have concessive meaning. In that case it is often preceded by an interrogative pronoun.

(80) *chew ñi   amu-n amu-pe!*
      where poss3 go-PVN[4] go-IMP3[3]

      'let him go wherever he wants to!' (lit.: where his going let him go)

(81) *chem ñi   küpá   i-n   i-pe!*
      what poss3 wishing eat-PVN[4] eat-IMP3[3]

      'let him eat whatever he wants to!'

Instead of (80) and (81) one may use *chew rumé amu-pe* 'let him go wherever [he wants to]' and *chem rumé i-pe* 'let him eat whatever [he wants to]' respectively. Compare also:

(82) *kiñe-ke-mew pun-ma-y-iñ;   chew yiñ   pun-ma-n*
      one-DISTR-INST night-EXP[35]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]; where poss1p night-EXP[35]-PVN[4]

umaw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ   (2,5–6)
sleep-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

'sometimes we[p] were overtaken by the night; wherever we[p] were (overtaken by the night) we[p] used to sleep'

(83) *kiñe-ke   rumé ngolli-n   welu ye-nie-tu-y-ng-ün*
one-DISTR very   get.drunk-PVN[4] but   carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

fentren   ilo   (6,59)
large.quantity meat

'some, although very drunk, nevertheless took a large quantity of meat back home' (lit.: some very getting drunk, but they took back large quantity of meat)

A complement PVN may have causal meaning even though it does not take the instrumental suffix *-mew ∼ -mu*. This does not occur often.

(84) *kisu may ñi   küpá   amu-n wariya-mew amu-y*
self   PART poss3 wishing go-PVN[4] town-INST   go-IND[4]-3[3]

'because he himself wanted to go to town, he went'

(85) *pichi kosecha-y   ketran re   ñi   chofü-nge-n   müten*
little harvest-IND[4]-3[3] corn   only poss3 lazy-VERB[36]-PVN[4] only

'he harvested little corn merely because he is lazy'

In the speech of LQ, the plain verbal noun suffix *-(ü)n* PVN may indicate a location:

(86) *kim-nie-n   fey ñi   müle-n*
know-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] he   poss3 be-PVN[4]

'I know where he is', 'I know that he is present'

This use of *-(ü)n* occurs in the speech of LQ only. It is, however, not uncommon to use *-(ü)n* PVN in a locative relative clause, see (80) and (82). Compare also:

(87) *ellka-l-ke-rke-fe-y-ew   mawiđa-ntu-mew, chew ñi*
hide-CA[34]-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] wood-GR-INST,   where poss3

müle-n đoy fentren   ngakiñ (5,6)
be-PVN[4] more large.quantity bird

'he used to be kept hidden by her, I am told, in a wooded place, where there are rather many birds'

(88) *tüfá ñi   müle-n mi   changüll-kuwü*
this poss3 be-PVN[4] poss2s finger-hand

'this [is] your[s] finger(-print)'

(89)   *eymi may ta-mi   küpá   Temuko-tu-n!*
        you[s]   PART the-poss2s wishing Temuco-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

        'after all, you[s] wanted to go to Temuco!'

26.4.6.2   Adjective

The suffix *-(ü)n* may be used as an adjective, modifying a following noun. It denotes an attribute or quality of the modified noun.

(90)   *fey re   are-tu-n   ropa   nie-y*
        he   only borrow-TR[33]-PVN[4] clothes have-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

        'he has only borrowed clothes'

(91)   *pe-n   kiñe pewü-n   mamüll*
        see-IND1s[3] one   bud-PVN[4] tree

        'I saw one budding tree'

In four instances I found the modifier *-(ü)n* in combination with a possessive pronoun denoting the subject. They are the following:

(92)   *chew müli-y   chi đomo ta-ñi   đungu-n?* (MM)
        where be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the woman the-poss1s speak-PVN[4]

        'where is the woman I spoke with?'

(93)   *chew müli-y   iñché ñi   ngilla-n libru?* (MM)
        where be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] I   poss1s buy-PVN[4] book

        'where is the book I bought?'

(94)   *ta-ñi   organisasion ta-ñi   nie-n   engün* (RR; 7,14)
        the-poss3 organization   the-poss3 have-PVN[4] they[p]

        'the organization they[p] have'

(95)   *ta-ñi   fente   ta-ñi   pichi-ke   nie-n   engün* (RR; 7,54)
        the-poss3 that.much the-poss3 little-DISTR have-PVN[4] they[p]

        'the little they[p] each have'

These instances are found in spontaneous speech, but they were not always confirmed, nor could similar cases be elicited. Sepúlveda in an article on relativization in Mapuche (1978) presents *-(ü)n* and *-el* as equivalent alternatives to form a (passive) relative clause (Sepúlveda 1978: 165). According to my data, however, *-(ü)n* and *-el* differ in the following respects:

(i)   *-(ü)n* forms a one-word clause, whereas *-el* forms a relative clause which may contain a subject and other constituents such as instrumental objects or complements.

(ii)   an *-(ü)n* form occurs as a modifier only. An *-el* form may occur independently or as a modifier.

(iii) modifier -$(\ddot{u})n$ does not combine with -a- NRLD[9]. Indeed, it does not combine with any suffix other than a stem formative. When -el is used as an adjective, it can take -a- NRLD[9], aspectuals or tense markers. The suffix -el denotes an event which is placed within a stretch of time, whereas -$(\ddot{u})n$ indicates a timeless feature. Compare:

(96) *ti füñapuwe-tu-n   wentru*
       the poison-VERB[36]-PVN[4] man

   'the poisoned man'

(97) *ti wentru iñché ñi   füñapuwe-tu-el   fach-antü*
       the man   I   poss1s poison-VERB[36]-OVN[4] this-day

   'the man I poisoned today'

The relation between infinitive -$(\ddot{u})n$ and adjective -$(\ddot{u})n$ is unclear. I found adjectival -$(\ddot{u})n$ only in combination with verb stems ending in a vowel. The -$(\ddot{u})n$ forms given by Sepúlveda are also derived from verb stems which end in a vowel. For the sake of completeness, I list the adjectival -$(\ddot{u})n$ forms I found: *ali-n* 'hot', *angkü-n ∼ angke-n* 'dry, parched', *arkü-n ∼ arke-n* 'evaporated', *are-tu-n* 'borrowed', *ayü-n* 'loved', *apo-n* 'full', *entri-n* 'hungry, starved', *funa-n* 'rotten, putrid', *füñapuwe-tu-n* 'poisoned', *füri-n* 'fried', *kangka-n* 'roasted', *kofi-n* 'heated', *kuchu-n* 'wet', *kufü-n* 'warm', *lladkü-n* 'sad, distressing', *llocho-n* 'loose', *llüka-n* 'afraid', *meño-n* 'full' (RR, JM), *monge-n* 'alive', *motri-n* 'fat', *ngolli-n* 'drunk', *ngüfo-n* 'wet, soaked', *ngülü-n* 'picked, gleaned', *pelo-n* 'lightened, lit', *piwü-n* 'dried up, dry', *poye-n* 'liked', *rütra-n* 'forged', *rünga-n* 'buried, under the ground', *trafo-n* 'broken', *üfi-n* 'tight', *üñü-n* 'hungry' (RR), *üre-n* 'wet', *wadkü-n* 'boiled', *welli-n* 'empty', *weñe-n* 'stolen', *wera-n* 'hurt'.

The following adverbs contain -n:
chumngen 'then, while', possibly *chum-nge-n* how-VERB[36]-PVN[4] or how-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PVN[4],
femngen 'at last, yet', possibly *fe-m-nge-n* become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PVN[4],
femngewen 'scarcely, barely', possibly *fe-m-nge-we-n* become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-PVN[4],
rupan 'after', possibly *ru-pa-n* cross-Th[17]-PVN[4]

The relation between final -n in these forms and -$(\ddot{u})n$ PVN[4] cannot be exactly determined.

26.4.6.3 Substantive

The suffix -$(\ddot{u})n$ may be used to form a substantive, which indicates a person or thing involved in the event denoted by the verb. An -$(\ddot{u})n$ substantive does not take any other suffix than a stem formative.

kawell-tu-n 'a person on a horse' (horse-VERB[36]-PVN[4])
ngüne-che-n 'God' (rule-person-PVN[4])
kata-n 'hole' (pierce-PVN[4])
kücha-tu-n 'laundry' (wash-TR[33]-PVN[4])

taku-n 'dress' (cover-PVN[4])
lepü-n 'patio' (sweep-PVN[4])
mawün-nge-n 'rainy season' (rain-VERB[36]-PVN[4]) (see also 21.2)

In a few cases one finds *-en*, *-eñ* or *-ñ* instead of *-(ü)n*, e.g.

tofken 'spittle', *tofkü-* 'to spit'
allfeñ 'wound', *allfü-* 'to get wounded'
kulliñ 'cattle', *kulli-* 'to pay'

A number of quantity nouns which are derived from a verbalized adverb or numeral form a subgroup of *-(ü)n* substantives, e.g.

alü-n 'large quantity' (much-VERB[36]-PVN[4])
pichi-n ∼ *pichi-ñ* 'small quantity' (little-VERB[36]-PVN[4])

(98) *pichi-ñ-mew   fente-nge-y*
      small-VERB[36]-PVN[4]-INST sell-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it was sold for a low price'

⟨The verb *fente-* 'to sell' is derived from Sp. vender id.⟩ The quantity nouns are listed in section 10.3.

26.4.7 *-el* Objective verbal noun

The suffix *-el* can combine with the non-realized action marker *-a-* NRLD[9]. The event denoted by *-el* may therefore be presented either as non-realized (marked *-a-* NRLD[9]) or as realized (unmarked). The sequence *-a*[9]-*el*[4] is nearly always contracted into *-al* by LQ and RR. MM prefers *-a-el*. The suffix *-el* does not combine with the pluperfect tense markers *-mu-* PLPF[7] or *-(ü)wye-* PLPF[15]. The Objective Verbal Noun is used as a passive participle (26.4.7.1) or as an infinitive (26.4.7.2).

26.4.7.1 Passive participle

The possessive pronoun which may precede the subordinate denotes the agent of the event.

(99) *tüfá ñi   pi-el   ñi   ñuke*
      this poss3 say-OVN[4] poss1s mother

      'this [is] what my mother said'

(100) *nge-la-y   iy-al,   welu petú müle-we-y   putu-al*
      be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] eat-NRLD[9].OVN[4], but still be-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3] drink-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'there is no food, but there still is [something] left to drink' (lit.: what one can eat [there] is not, but there is still left what one can drink)

⟨ The word *iyal* is the common word for 'food', cf. also (102).⟩

(101) *fey-chi chanchu eymi mi   ngilla-el trongli-le-y*
      that-ADJ pig   you[s] poss2s buy-OVN[4] lean-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'that pig you[s] bought is lean'

(102) *eymi mi   iy-a-fel-chi   iy-al   ütrüf-entu-fi-n*
  you^{s} poss2s eat-NRLD^{9}-IPD^{8}.OVN^{4}-ADJ eat-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4} throw-take.out-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

  'I have thrown away the food that you^{s} would have eaten'

(103) *kiñe đungu allkü-pe-nu-el   fey-pi-a-y-u   iñché*
  one   matter hear-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-OVN^{4} that-say-NRLD^{9}.IDO^{6}-IND^{4}-1ns^{3}-d^{2}-DS^{1} I

  'I will tell you^{s} something that is unheard of' (lit.: I will tell you^{s} one matter which has not been heard)

In one instance (RR; 7,71) the modifier *-el* combines with the passive marker *-nge-* PASS^{23}. This form was confirmed by MM.

(104) *itro-kom pülé müli-y   ta ti pepi-l-nge-nu-el   đungu*
  quite-all   side be-IND^{4}-3^{3} the the be.able-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-NEG^{10}-OVN^{4} matter

  'everywhere there is this impossible situation' (lit.: all sides there is the the matter which is not handled)

I found the following two examples of a passive participle marked for pluperfect tense:

(105) *iñché ñi   wüne-tu trafie-wye   wenüy fewlá la-y*
  I   poss1s first-ADV come.across-PLPF^{15}-OVN^{4} friend   now   die-IND^{4}-3^{3}

  'the friend of mine whom I had come across the other day is now dead'

(106) *iñché ñi   angkađ-uwye   iñché ñi   wenüy*
  I   poss1s take.on.the.back-PLPF^{15}-OVN^{4} I   poss1s friend

  'the one I had taken on the back [of my horse] [is] a friend of mine'

Since I could not elicit more instances of *-(ü)wye* as a pluperfect marker in a passive participle I tentatively assume a zero morph as the alternant of *-el* after *-(ü)wye-* to indicate a passive participle. Note that *-el* does not combine with *-(ü)wye-*.

26.4.7.2 Infinitive
The suffix *-el* may be used to denote an event as such. Since *-el* can take *-a-* NRLD^{9}, the event is presented as non-realized (marked *-a-*^{9}) or as realized (unmarked). Whereas *-(ü)n* denotes an event as such which is devoid of any time reference, *-el* refers to an event which, by implication, is placed within a stretch of time.

Infinitive *-el* occurs most frequently as a complement (111–122). It may, however, also function as subject ((107) and (108)) or as instrumental object (110).

(107) *fali-y   ta-mün   kellu-el*
    be.worth-IND^{4}-3^{3} the-poss2p help-OVN^{4}

  'it was worthwhile that you^{p} helped'

(108) *kuyfí   ñi   yi-we-no-el   ta ilo*
      formerly poss1s eat-PS[19]-NEG[10]-OVN[4] the meat

'[it has been] a long time since I ate meat' (lit.: my not having eaten the meat any more [has been] a long time)

Compare:

(109) *kuyfí   ñi   yi-we-no-n   ta ilo*
      formerly poss1s eat-PS[19]-NEG[10]-PVN[4] the meat

'it has been a long time since I ate meat' (lit.: my not eating the meat any more [has been] a long time)

(110) *llaɖkü-le-n   kim-nu-el-mu   ñi   chum-le-n   ñi   püñeñ*
      become.sad-ST[28]-IND1s[3] know-NEG[10]-OVN[4]-INST poss3 how-ST[28]-PVN4 poss1s son

'I am sad because I don't know how my son is doing'

Compare (110) with (58): *llaɖkü-le-n kim-nu-n-mu ñi chum-le-n ñi püñeñ* 'I am sad for not knowing how my son is'. In cases where infinitive *-(ü)n* and infinitive *-el* are alternatives, i.e. in cases where the event as such is not presented as non-realized, *-(ü)n* is preferred over *-el*, e.g. (58) is preferred over (110). In the speech of LQ and RR, subordinate clauses introduced by 'without' or 'before' are indicated by the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n* PVN[4] only. MM uses either *-(ü)n* or *-el* but prefers *-(ü)n*. Thus, he prefers (76) over (111) .

(111) *fey ñi   ngüma-nu-el   kutran-ka-w-üy*
      he poss3 cry-NEG[10]-OVN[4] illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

'he suffered without having cried'

The ending *-al ~ -a[9]-el[4]* often occurs as an object clause, in the function of complement.

(112) *nie-la-y-ng-ün   chew ñi   müle-al*
      have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] where poss3 be-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'they[p] have nowhere to live'

(113) *iñché kim-ün   fey ñi   küpa-yal*
      I   learn-IND1s[3] he poss3 come-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'I have learnt that he will come'

(114) *rakiɖuam-küle-n ñi   tripa-yal*
      think-ST[28]-IND1s[3] poss1s leave-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'I am thinking of leaving'

(115) *pi-y-m-i   mi   küɖaw-al*
      want-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] poss2s work-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'you[s] wanted to work'

(116) *elu-ñma-e-y-u*   *fey emu mi   tripa-yal*
       give-IO^{26}-IDO^{6}-IND^{4}-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^{2}-<u>DS</u>^{1} he you^{d} poss2s leave-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4}

    'I gave you^{s} permission to leave with him'

(117) *illu-e-n-ew*   *ta-ñi   lang-üm-nge-al*   *iñché*
       desire-IDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}-DS^{1} the-poss1s die-CA^{33}-PASS^{23}-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4} I

    'he wants me to be killed' (lit.: he wants me my future being killed I)

(118) *reye-y*   *ñi   amu-al*
       insist-IND^{4}-<u>3</u>^{3} poss3 go-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4}

    'he insists on going'

(119) *iñché epera-n*   *ñi   wün-al*
       I   wait.for-IND1s^{3} poss3 dawn-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4}

    'I waited till it was dawn' ⟨ *epera-* is Sp. *esperar* 'to wait for'.⟩

(120) *amu-n   kim-al*   *chem đungu ñi   nie-n*
       go-IND1s^{3} learn-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4} what matter poss3 have-PVN^{4}

    'I went to learn what news he has'

Note that the possessive pronoun, which indicates the subject of the subordinate, may be left out when the subject of the predicate and the subject of the subordinate are coreferential.

(121) *fey   kon-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ñi   kekaw-al*
       then start-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-3ns^{3}-p^{2} poss3 complain-NRLD^{9}.OVN^{4}

    'then they^{p} usually started to complain'

Compare (67) where *kon-* has a PVN complement.

The verb *kon-* 'to start' belongs to a group of verbs which can have a complement which is marked either *-al* ∼ *-a-el* or *-a^{9}-lu^{4}* when the subject is third person, see 26.4.10.3.

Compare (68) with:

(122) *wim-tu-le-n*   *ñi   kishu-pe-el*
       get.used-TR^{33}-ST^{28}-IND1s^{3} poss1s alone-PX^{13}-OVN^{4}

    'I am used to being alone'

The constant feature suffix *-ke-^{14}* does not combine with *-el*. The proximity marker *-pe-^{13}* does not combine with *-(ü)n*.

The predicate *müle-y* 'there is' forms a debitive construction with an *-al* ∼ *-a-el* subordinate. It denotes an obligation, a duty, a necessity or an otherwise inevitable situation.

(123) *iñché wüné müle-y   ñi   kümé rüngü-m-al*
I   first   be-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s good   become.ground-CA[34]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'first I have/had to grind well'

In a construction with *müle-y*, it is the subordinate which takes the derivational suffixes if any.

(124) *müle-y   ñi   küpa-fem-al*
be-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 come-IMM[21]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'he has/had to come immediately'

Since *müle-* is a stative verb, the *müle-y* construction may be translated as either past or present tense. See also the debitive use of *-a-*[9], 26.9.

NB. The fact that *-el* may be used as a passive participle or as an infinitive may cause ambiguity, e.g. (46): *kim-nie-n mi entu-el* which can be rendered 'I know that you[s] took [it] out', or 'I know what you[s] took out'. Interrogative pronouns or the context may disambiguate a sentence like (46). Cf. (47) *kim-nie-n chem mi entu-el* 'I know what you[s] took out'.

The suffix *-el* is seldom used to denote an instrument by means of which or a location where an event has taken place, e.g. *nü-w-el* take-REF[31]-OVN[4] 'the thing with which I held myself'. The instrumental verbal noun marker *-m* is used instead, see 26.4.8 below.

26.4.7.3   Special uses

The suffix *-el* is used as a passive complement when it combines with the verb *troki-* 'to opine' (*troki-* combines with *-lu* SVN[4] for an active complement, see 26.4.10.3).

The subject of a complement of *troki-* is indicated by a personal pronoun.

(125) *iy-el   troki-fi-ñ*
eat-OVN[4] opine-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'I thought it had been eaten'

⟨The suffix sequence *-fi-n* EDO[6]-IND1s[3] in the speech of LQ and RR is *-fi-ñ* in the speech of MM, see 4.6.7.⟩

(126) *iñché fach-antü pe-pa-yal   troki-w-küle-n*
I   this-day   see-HH[17]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] opine-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

'I think that someone will come to visit me today' (lit.: I today being come and seen I think of myself)

The suffix *-el* may be used to indicate a passive temporal clause. The subject is always third person.

(127) *küđaw đewma-el tripa-y-iñ*
work   finish-OVN[4] leave-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

'when the work was done, we[p] went away'

The suffix *-el* may indicate an active temporal clause with a 1s subject. The subject is indicated by a personal pronoun.

(128) *fey-engün ayü-w-üy-ng-ün*   *iñché amu-el ñi*   *umaw-tu-al*
      that-they[P] love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] I   go-OVN[4] poss1s sleep-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'they[P] were glad when I went to sleep'

Compare:

(129) *fey-engün*   *ayü-w-üy-ng-ün*   *iñché*   *ñi*   *amu-el*   *ñi*
      that-they[P]   love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]   I   poss1s   go-OVN[4]   poss1s

    umaw-tu-al
    sleep-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'they[P] were glad that I went to sleep'

Instead of passive temporal *-el*, one may use *-nge-lu*. Instead of active temporal *-el*, one may use *-lu*. For temporal *-lu*, see 26.4.10.2.

A form containing *-fal-fel* may be the main verb of a sentence The ending *-fel* is probably a contraction of *-fu*[8]*-el*[4]. The suffix *-fal-*[25] indicates force. The subject may be indicated by a personal pronoun.

(130) *đungu-fal-fel*   *mapu-đungu-mew*
      speak-FORCE[25]-IPD[8].OVN[4] country-language-INST

    'one should speak the Mapuche language'

(131) *iñchiñ amu-fal-tu-fel*
      we[P]   go-FORCE[25]-RE[16]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

    'we[P] should go back'

    The ending *-fel* is also used in cases in which *-fel* does not bear upon flection:

1. *-fel* combines with a conditional form which expresses a wish, e.g.

(132) *küpa-fu-l-e-fel,*   *müná küme-a-fu-y!*
      come-IPD[8]-COND[4]-3[3]-IPD[8].OVN[4], very   good-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

    'if only he would come, that would be very nice!'

  For *-fel* see also *-fu-*[8], 26.8.

2. *-fel* combines with a noun and seems to add concessive value, e.g.

(133) *wenüy-wen-fel*   *eymu welu fe-m-fal-la-y-m-i*
      friend-REL-IPD[8].OVN[4] you[d]   but   become.like.that-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    'although you[d] are friends, you[s] should not do that'

The relation between *-fel* as it is used in (130–131) and *-fel* as it is found in (132–133) is unclear.

Finally, *-al* ∼ *-a-el* may be used as a finite verb form with a 1s subject. The sequence *-a-lu* may be used instead. For this use of *-al* and *-a-lu* I refer the reader to sections 26.4.10.3 and 26.9.

26.4.8 -*m* Instrumental verbal noun

The suffix -*m* IVN[4] obligatorily co-occurs with the non-realized action suffix -*a*-
NRLD[9], the pluperfect tense marker -*mu*- PLPF[7], the constant feature morpheme
-*ye*- CF[5] or the sequence -*pe-ye*- PX[13]-CF[5] which contains the proximity marker
-*pe*- and the constant feature suffix -*ye*-. The sequence *-*pe-m* does not occur.

The suffix -*mu*- PLPF[7] indicates pluperfect tense. It occurs in subordinates
only. For -*mu*-[7], see 26.7. The suffix -*ye*-[5] marks a characteristic or constant
feature. It combines only with -*m*[4] and, in special cases, with -*fiel*[4]. For -*ye*-
CF[5], see 25.3 and 26.5. The suffix -*pe*-[13] indicates proximity to the speaker
and is labelled Proximity (PX). When the suffix -*pe*-[13] is used in combina-
tion with the constant feature morpheme -*ye*-[5], -*pe*- indicates a constant and
characteristic situation. For -*pe*-, see 26.13.

The instrumental verbal noun may indicate an instrument or a location
(26.4.8.1) or an event as such (26.4.8.2). The suffix -*m* may indicate pur-
pose when it co-occurs with -*a*- NRLD[9] (26.4.8.3). In combination with -*ye*-
CF[5], -*m* forms a temporal clause (26.4.8.4).

26.4.8.1 Instrumental/locative -*m*

Instrumental/locative -*m* is found in combination with -*mu*- PLPF[7], -*pe-ye*-
PX[13]-CF[5] or -*a*- NRLD[9].

(134) *poḏ-küle-we-y   ti   kareta amu-mu-m   che*
      dirty-ST[28]-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3] the cart   go-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] person

   'the cart in which the people have gone is still dirty'

When the possessive pronoun is left out, the subject may be impersonal.

(135) *chüngar-mu-m*
      stab-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

   'stabber/ a thing with which one has stabbed'

(136) *tüfá ta-mi   firma   ta-mi   fende-mu-m ta mapu*
      this the-poss2s signature the-poss2s sell-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] the land

   'this [is] your[s] signature with which you[s] have sold the land'

(137) *iñchiñ ta-yiñ   lleq-mu-m*
      we[p]   the-poss1p grow.up-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

   'where we[p] have grown up'

(138) *chew chi   müle-ke-fu-mu-m-chi   koyam-entu?*
      where PART be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]-ADJ oak-GR

   'where [is the place where there] used to be a group of oaks?'

Locative -*m* may co-occur with -*mew* INST (139) or *chew* 'where?' (143) .

(139) *fey peḏa-y   iñché ñi   pe-mu-m-mew*
      he find-IND[4]-3[3] I   poss1s see-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]-INST

    'he found it where I had seen it'

In combination with -pe^{13}-ye-^{5}, the suffix -m denotes an instrument or place which is characterized by the lexeme without reference to time.

(140) *nü-nge-pe-ye-m*
      take-PASS^{23}-PX^{13}-CF^5-IVN^4

      'a handle'

(141) *chew müli-y*   *ñi*   *kücha-tu-pe-ye-m?*
      where be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s wash-TR^{33}-PX^{13}-CF^5-IVN^4

      'where is [the thing] I always wash with?'

(142) *üyüw*   *nie-y*   *ruka umaw-tu-pe-ye-m*   *che* *ka* *re* *ñi*
      over.there have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ house sleep-VERB^{36}-PX^{13}-CF^5-IVN^4 people and only poss3

      kosina-pe-ye-m   *mütem*
      kitchen-PX^{13}-CF^5-IVN^4 only

      'over there people have a house in which they sleep and one in which they only cook'

(143) *chew mün* *ngilla-ka-pe-fu-ye-m*   *fende-nge-y*
      where poss2p buy-FAC^{33}-PX^{13}-IPD^8-CF^5-IVN^4 sell-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

      '[the place] where you[p] used to do your[p] shopping has been sold'

Instrumental/locative -m does not often occur with -a- NRLD^9.

(144) *nie-la-y-ng-ün*   *chew ñi*   *müle-a-m*
      have-NEG^{10}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 where poss3 be-NRLD^9-IVN^4

      'they[p] don't have [a place] where they can stay'

Instead of -a-m in (144), one may use -$al \sim$ -a-el.

26.4.8.2 Infinitive

When -m is used to denote an event as such, it may combine with -mu- PLPF^7 or -pe-ye- PX^{13}-CF^5. It follows that in the infinitive series there is an opposition between -($ü$)n (unspecified for realization), -el (realized) and -mu-m (realized before an orientation moment in the past). Compare:

(145) *iñchiñ illku-le-y-iñ*   *eymün mün* *pi-mu-m*
      we[p]   get.angry-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 you[p]   poss2p say-PLPF^7-IVN^4

      'we[p] were angry that you[p] had said [that]'

(146) *iñchiñ illku-le-y-iñ   eymün mün   pi-n*
        we[p]   get.angry-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] you[p]   poss2p say-PVN[4]

'we[p] are/were angry that you[p] said [that]'

(147) *illku-le-y-iñ   eymün mün   pi-el*
        get.angry-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] you[p]   poss2p say-OVN[4]

'we[p] are angry that you[p] said [that]'

(148) *kiñe epu mari kechu tripantu-nge-y   ñi   la-mu-m*
        one two ten   five   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 die-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

'it had been 25 years since he died' (lit.: his having died is 25 years)

(149) *kiñe epu mari kechu tripantu-nge-y   ñi   la-n*
        one two ten   five   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 die-PVN[4]

'it has been 25 years since he died' (lit.: his dying is 25 years)

(150) *kechu antü-y   fey ñi   pe-nge-mu-m*
        five   day-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] he poss3 see-PASS[23]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

'it had been five days since he was seen'

Infinitive *-pe-ye-m* occurs seldom. Compare:

(151) *iñché wim-tu-le-n   ñi   lef-pe-ye-m*
        I   get.used-TR[33]-ST[28]-IND1s[3] poss1s run-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

'I am used to running' (lit.: I am used my characteristic running)

(152) *iñché wim-tu-le-n   ñi   lef-pe-el*
        I   get.used-TR[33]-ST[28]-IND1s[3] poss1s run-PX[13]-OVN[4]

'I am used to running' (lit.: I am used my realized running)

(153) *iñché wim-tu-le-n   ñi   lef-ke-n*
        I   get.used-TR[33]-ST[28]-PVN[4] poss1s run-CF[14]-PVN[4]

'I am used to running' (lit.: I am used my characteristic running)

The sequence *-a-m* is not used as an infinitive; *-al* ∼ *-a-el* is used instead. For *-a-m*, see below.

26.4.8.3   Final *-a-m*
In combination with *-a-* NRLD[9], the instrumental verbal noun may be used to form a final clause.

(154) *iñché kellu-a-e-y-u   kishu mi   meke-nu-a-m*
        I   help-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] alone poss2s be.busy-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

'I will help you[s] so that you[s] don't have to do it on your own'

(155) *ina-ye-ngüma-y-iñ* *ta-ñi* *ñawfü-a-m*
follow-oo[35]-cry-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the-poss3 get.consolation-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

 'we[p] cried with [her] so that she would find comfort'

 Note the difference between final *-a-m* and infinitive *-a-el*. Compare:

(156) *elu-a-y-u*   *permisio ta-mi* *amu-tu-a-m*
give-NRLD[9].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] permission the-poss2s go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

 'I will give you[s] permission so that you[s] can go back'

(157) *elu-a-y-u*   *permisio ta-mi* *amu-tu-a-el*
give-NRLD[9].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] permission the-poss2s go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

 'I will give you[s] permission to go back'

(158) *fey* *amu-y* *ngilla-ka-yal*   *chem* *rumé* *ye-nu-n*   *ñi*
he go-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] buy-FAC[33]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] what -ever carry-NEG[10]-PVN[4] poss3

 küpa-l-tu-a-m   *ñi* *ngilla-ka-n*
come-CA[34]-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] poss3 buy-FAC[33]-PVN[4]

 'she went shopping without taking anything (whatsoever) in which to bring back her purchases'

(159) *fey amu-y* *ñi* *ngilla-ka-ya-m*
she go-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 buy-FAC[33]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

 'she went in order to go shopping'

(160) *traw-uw-üy-ng-ün* *ñi* *fyesta-ya-m*
gather-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 feast-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

 'they[p] gathered together in order to feast', '. . . so that they[p] could feast'

(161) *traw-uw-üy-ng-ün* *ñi* *fyesta-yal*
gather-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 feast-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

 'they[p] gathered together to feast'

26.4.8.4 Temporal *-ye-m*

The suffix *-m* may indicate a temporal clause when it combines with *-ye-* CF[5], which marks a characteristic or constant feature. Temporal *-ye-m* is used to denote a situation which has the characteristic feature that every time event A (denoted by the subordinate) takes place, event B (denoted by the predicate) takes place. Temporal *-ye-m* may combine with *-a-* NRLD[9]. Since the subject of the subordinate and the subject of the predicate are referentially identical, the possessive pronoun, which may be used to denote the subject of the subordinate, is practically always left out.

(162) *che-le-ye-m* *rumé kümé che-nge-fu-y* (6,36)
   person-ST[28]-CF[5]-IVN[4] very good person-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

  'when he was sober, he was a very good man'

(163) *amu-ye-m ñi* *familia-mu rumel ye-ke-y* *ye-w-ün*
   go-CF[5]-IVN[4] poss3 family-INST always carry-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ carry-REF[31]-PVN[4]

  'every time she goes to her family, she takes presents'

(164) *soam-ke-la-y*   *kuchara iy-a-ye-m*
   need-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ spoon eat-NRLD[9]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

  'one does not need a spoon when one is going to eat'

(165) *pe-ye-m* *küđaw, fey* *fente-künu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *yiñ*
   see-CF[5]-IVN[4] work, then that.much-PFPS[32]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] poss1p

  treka-n
   walk-PVN[4]

  'every time we[p] found work, we[p] stopped walking'

Instead of *-ye-m*, one may find a predicate marked indicative mood. Such a predicate does not take an aspectual. Thus, instead of (165) one may find:

(166) *pe-y-iñ* *küđaw, fey* *fente-künu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *yiñ*
   see-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] work, then that.much-PFPS[32]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] poss1p

  treka-n (2,4)
   walk-PVN[4]

  'every time we[p] found work, we[p] stopped walking' (lit.: we[p] found work, then we[p] used to stop walking)

For juxtaposition of predicates expressing iterativity, see 35.1.

A remarkable feature of a *-ye-m* form is that it can take the suffix *-fi-* EDO[6]. The sequence *-ye-m* is the only exception to the rule that *-m*, *-(ü)n* and *-el* do not take person markers.

(167) *pe-fi-ye-m*   *pu* *kamañ* *utu-ke-fwi-y*   *ñi*
   see-EDO[6]-CF[5]-IVN[4] COLL shepherd go.to-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3

  nütram-ka-pa-ya-fiel   (6,39)
   conversation-FAC[33]-Hh[17]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

  'every time he saw the shepherds he went over to talk to them'

In one instance I found instrumental *-m* in combination with *-mu-* PLPF[7], *-fi-* EDO[6] and *-ye-* CF[5]:

(168) *chew müli-y* *mi* *chüngar-mu-fi-ye-m?*
   where be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss2s stab-PLPF[7]-EDO[6]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

  'where is [the thing] with which you[s] stabbed him?'

26.4.9   *-fiel* Transitive verbal noun and *-t-* agentive verbal noun

The suffixes *-fiel* and *-t-* may denote an event as such, an instrument or location or the patient of an event. The morpheme *-t-* may also denote the agent of an event. Whereas *-(ü)n* PVN, *-el* OVN and *-m* IVN denote a situation in which only one actant may be involved, *-fiel* and *-t-* denote a situation in which more than one actant is involved.

The suffix *-t-* obligatorily co-occurs with the internal direct object marker *-e-* IDO[6] and the dative subject morpheme *-ew* DS[1]. The suffix *-e-* indicates that the subject of the relevant form is contextually determined (or more prominent in terms of discourse) and the patient of the event. The morpheme *-ew* indicates third person agent. The subject of an *-e-t-ew* form is indicated by a possessive pronoun which precedes the subordinate. The subject may be first, second or third person.

Compare:

ñi pe-e-t-ew my/his/her/their being seen by him/her/it/them
yu pe-e-t-ew our[d] being seen by him/her/it/them
yiñ pe-e-t-ew our[p] being seen by him/her/it/them
mi pe-e-t-ew your[s] being seen by him/her/it/them
mu pe-e-t-ew your[d] being seen by him/her/it/them
mün pe-e-t-ew your[p] being seen by him/her/it/them

The suffix *-fiel* is used to indicate a $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $2 \rightarrow 1$ relationship or an $X \rightarrow 3$ relationship in which any person may be agent.

When a *-fiel* subordinate is preceded by a possessive pronoun which indicates second person, the relationship is either $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $2 \rightarrow 1$. Compare:

mi pe-fiel your[s] seeing me/us[d]/us[p] or my/our[d]/our[p] seeing you[s]
mu pe-fiel your[d] seeing me/us[d]/us[p] or my/our[d]/our[p] seeing you[d]
mün pe-fiel your[p] seeing me/us[d]/us[p] or my/our[d]/our[p] seeing you[p]

Thus, where 1 and 2 are involved in a situation denoted by *-fiel*, 2 is indicated by a possessive pronoun, whether it has the function of agent or patient. Note that *-fiel* does not combine with *-mu-* 2A[23] or *-(u)w-* 1A[23].

Personal pronouns may be used to disambiguate *-fiel* subordinates. The personal pronoun which precedes the possessive pronoun indicates the agent, whereas the pronoun which indicates the patient follows the subordinate, e.g.

iñché mi pe-fiel eymi my seeing you[s]
eymi mi pe-fiel iñché your[s] seeing me

In a few doubtful cases I found *iñchiñ yiñ pe-fiel* 'our[p] seeing you[s]' and *iñché ñi pe-fiel* 'my seeing you[s]'.

The agent in an $X \rightarrow 3$ relationship is indicated by a possessive pronoun which precedes the subordinate. The patient can be specified by a personal pronoun which follows the subordinate, e.g.

mi pe-fiel fey your[s] seeing him/her/it
mu pe-fiel engu your[d] seeing them[d]

The agent of an event denoted by *-fiel* may be specified or emphasized by means of a personal pronoun which precedes the possessive pronoun. Compare:

ñi pe-fiel fey my/his/her/their seeing him/her/it
iñché ñi pe-fiel fey my seeing him/her/it
iñché mi pe-fiel my seeing you[s]

The personal pronouns are often left out. The forms can then be disambiguated by the context only. Compare:

(169) *küpá   kim-fu-n   chumngechi mi   pe-fiel*   (8,1)
        wishing know-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] how   poss2s see-TVN[4]

 'I would like to know how you[s] see him', '... what you[s] think of him'

(170) *kim-la-y-u   mi   chem-pi-a-fiel*
        know-NEG[10]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2] poss2s what-say-NRLD[10]-TVN[4]

 'we[d] don't know what to tell you[s]'

In the speech of MM, *-fiel* forms which are preceded by a possessive pronoun which indicates second person are disambiguated by the fact that these constructions are only used to indicate a 2 → 1 relationship (or a 2 → 3 relationship). A 1 → 2 relationship is indicated by a co-ordinated predicate. Compare:

(171) *chew anta müli-y   ti   makuñ wiya   mi   elu-fiel?*
        where PART be-IND[4]-3[3] the poncho yesterday poss2s give-TVN[4]

 'where is the poncho which you[s] gave me/us[d/P]/him/her/them[d/P] yesterday?'

(172) *chew anta müli-y   ti   makuñ; wiya   elu-e-y-u?*
        where PART be-IND[4]-3[3] the poncho; yesterday give-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

 'where is the poncho I gave you[s] yesterday?' (lit.: where is the poncho? yesterday I gave to you[s])

It follows from the above that both *-e-t-ew* and *-fiel* may indicate a 3 → 3 relationship. Whereas *-e-t-ew* marks a contextually determined patient (or a patient which is more prominent than the agent in terms of discourse), *-fiel* indicates a situationally determined patient which is less prominent than the agent. Compare:

(173) *Rosa werkü-fi-y   Maria ñi   kellu-a-fiel*
        Rosa order-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] Maria poss3 help-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

 'Rosa ordered Maria to help him/her/them'

(174) *Rosa werkü-fi-y   Maria ñi   kellu-a-e-t-ew*
        Rosa order-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] Maria poss3 help-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-TVN[4]-DS[1]

 'Rosa ordered Maria to help her' (i.e. Rosa)

For -e-[6] vs -fi-[6], see 25.2.3 and 26.6. The ending -*fiel* is treated here as one suffix although it is made up of the suffixes -*fi*- and -*el*. Combined with -*el*, the suffix *fi*- covers a wider semantic range than the direct object marker -*fi*- which indicates a third person patient. The sequence -*fi-el* is used to denote all interactions between a first, second and third person except $3 \rightarrow 1$, $3 \rightarrow 2$, and $3 \rightarrow 3$ when the patient is more prominent than the agent. The suffix -*fi*- acts as a general transitivizer when it is combined with -*el*. The ending -*fi-el* may be considered a form of object-incorporation, a phenomenon which is frequent in the Mapuche language, see 29.2. The ending -*fi-el* is used as a transitive counterpart of the suffixes -(*ü*)*n*, -*el* and -*m* and has therefore a larger semantic range than -*el*. For these reasons the sequence -*fi-el* is treated here as one suffix, -*fiel*, labelled as transitive verbal noun marker.

Both -*fiel* and -*t*- can take -*a*- NRLD[9] and may therefore indicate a situation which is presented as non-realized (marked -*a*-[9]) or as realized (unmarked). Mapuche does not have a transitive counterpart of the plain verbal noun marker -(*ü*)*n* PVN[4].

The pluperfect marker -*mu*-[7] may combine with -*fiel* when this suffix is used as a locative. The pluperfect marker -(*ü*)*wye*- PLPF[15] may co-occur with -*fiel* or -*t*- when they are used as a passive participle. The suffixes -*mu*-[7] and -(*ü*)*wye*-[15] are infrequent. The functions of -*fiel* and -*t*- are dealt with in the following order: infinitive (26.4.9.1), instrumental/locative (26.4.9.2), passive participle (26.4.9.3), final clause (26.4.9.4) and active participle -*t*- (26.4.9.5). Special uses of -*fiel* and -*t*- are dealt with in 26.4.9.6.

26.4.9.1   Infinitive

(175) *eymi may ta-mi   pedi-fiel!*
      you[s] PART the-poss2s ask.for-TVN[4]

   'you[s] asked for it, didn't you!' (is said to a child which refuses the porridge she has asked for) Compare with (89).

(176) *iñché ñi   sungu-fiel ta-ñi   ñuke   ayü-la-y*
      I   poss1s speak-TVN[4] the-poss1s mother love-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'my mother did not like me to speak to him'

(177) *yewe-n   mi   fey-pi-a-fiel   eymi*
      be.ashamed-IND1s[3] poss2s that-say-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] you[s]

   'I am ashamed to tell you[s]'

   Compare (178) and (179) :

(178) *kim-nie-n   fey ñi   ayü-nie-e-t-ew*
      know-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] she poss3 love-PRPS[32]-IDO[6]-TVN[4]-DS[1]

   'I know that he loves her'

The conversation is about a man and a woman. In the sentence(s) preceding (178), the woman has the function of the subject. In (178) the woman is the

patient of the event, but, being the topic of the conversation, she must have
the function of subject. So, -*e-t-ew* is used. In (179) the woman is the agent
of the event. Being agent and topic she naturally has the function of subject.
So, -*fiel* is used.

(179) *kim-nie-n   fey ñi   ayü-nie-fiel*
        know-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] she poss3 love-PRPS[32]-TVN[4]

        'I know that she loves him'

The suffix -*fiel* is also used when it is irrelevant whether one of the partici-
pants is the topic of the conversation.

(180) *poye-ke-la-n   ñi   chaw ñi   rumé kewa-ke-e-t-ew-mew*
        like-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] poss1s father poss1s very   beat-CF[14]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]-INST

        'I don't like my father because he beats me a lot'

(181) *fey rupa-y   mi   chem-pi-nu-e-t-ew   rumé*
        he   pass-IND[4]-3[3] poss2s what-say-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] -ever

        'he passed without saying anything to you[s]'

(182) *petú ñi   ramtu-nu-fiel fey-pi-e-n-ew*
        still   poss1s ask-NEG[10]-TVN[4] that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

        'before I had asked him, he told me'

26.4.9.2 Instrumental/locative

(183) *chew müli-y   mi   chüngar-fiel?*
        where be-IND[4]-3[3] poss2s stab-TVN[4]

        'where is [the thing] you[s] stabbed me/us[d/p]/him/her/it/them with?'

        'where is [the thing] I/we[d/p] stabbed you[s] with?'

        'where is the one you[s] stabbed?'

(184) *ñi   anel-tu-e-t-ew   ñam-küle-y*
        poss3 threaten-TR[33]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] get.lost-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

        '[the thing] he/she/they threatened me/him/her/them with is lost'

Locative subordinates are often preceded by *chew* 'where?' in order to mini-
mize ambiguity.

(185) *ti   ruka chew ñi   pe-mu-fiel   la   pampa fewlá*
        the   house where poss3 see-PLPF[7]-TVN[4] the plains   now

        nge-we-tu-la-y
        be-PS[19]-RE[16]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

        'that house [from] where one saw the plains is not there any more'

⟨ *la pampa* is Sp. la pampa 'the plains'. ⟩

26.4.9.3 Passive participle

(186) *tüfá ñi   pi-e-t-ew*
this poss1s/3 say-IDO^6-AVN^4-DS^1

'this [is] what he/she/they told me/him/her/them'

(187) *Xoanna nü-tu-y   ti libru ñi   nü-ñma-wye-e-t-ew   Lisa*
Joanna   take-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the book poss3 take-IO^{26}-PLPF^{15}-IDO^6-TVN^4-DS^1 Lisa

'Joanna took back the book that Lisa had taken away from her (Joanna)'

(188) *Xoanna nü-tu-y   ti libru ñi   nü-ñma-wye-fiel   Lisa*
Joanna   take-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the book poss3 take-IO^{26}-PLPF^{15}-TVN^4 Lisa

'Joanna took back the book that she had taken away from Lisa' ('she' may be either Joanna or anyone else)

26.4.9.4 Final clause

When *-fiel* or *-t-* combine with *-a-* NRLD^9, they may indicate a purpose, thereby neutralizing the distinction between *-a-el* and *-a-m*, see 26.4.8.3.

(189) *fey müná kutran-ka-w-üy   mi   trem-üm-a-t-ew*
she very   illness-FAC^{33}-REF^{31}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss2s grow-CA^{34}-NRLD^9.IDO^6-AVN^4-DS^1

'she made a lot of sacrifices in order to raise you^s'

(190) *fey-mu iñché küpa-n   mün fey-pi-pa-ya-fiel: müle-y   mün*
that-INST I   come-IND1s^3 poss2p that-say-HH^{17}-NRLD^9-TVN^4: be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss2p

allkü-tu-ñma-ya-fiel   ñi   đungu (4,5)
hear-TR^{23}-IO^{26}-NRLD^9-TVN^4 poss3 matter

'therefore I have come to tell you^p this: "you^p must listen to His Word" '

(191) *traw-uw-üy-ng-ün   ñi   rünga-l-a-fiel*
gather-REF^{31}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 poss3 dig-CA^{34}-NRLD^9-TVN^4

'they^p gathered together to bury him'

26.4.9.5 Active participle *-t-*

The suffix *-t-* may denote the agent of an event. The agent is always third person. The patient is first or second person or a contextually determined third person. An active participle with a third person agent and a situationally determined third person is indicated by *-fi-lu*. Instead of *-e-t-ew*, one may find *-e-lu-mu*, see *-lu*, 26.4.10.1.

(192) *tüfá nga ñi   pi-el   ñi   werkü-e-t-ew*
this PART poss3 say-OVN^4 poss1s order/send-IDO^6-TVN^4-DS^1

'this [is] what he who has sent me said'

(193) *kim-nie-fi-y-m-i*   *ti   wentru mi   leli-nie-e-t-ew?*
      know-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] the man   poss2s watch-PRPS[32]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

      'do you[s] know that man who is watching you[s]?'

(194) *kiñe-ke   petaf elu-fi-y   ta-ñi   pu   wenüy ta-ñi   petú ñi*
      one-DISTR piece give-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 COLL friend   the-poss3 still poss3

      kellu-e-t-ew
      help-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

      'he gave one piece to each of his friends who were helping him' (Subjects
      of predicate and subordinate are referentially identical.)

   Instead of an *-e-t-ew* form (194), one may use a predicate: *kiñe-ke petaf elu-fi-y ta-ñi pu wenüy petú kellu-e-y-ew* lit.: each one a piece he gave his friends, he is helped by them.

26.4.9.6   Special uses

Forms which contain *-fiel* or *-t-* may be used as a complement of the verb *troki-* 'to opine' when 1s is involved in the situation denoted by the subordinate. The suffix *-fiel* is used to indicate a 1s → 2s, 2s → 1s or 1s → 3 relationship. The morpheme *-t-* is used to indicate 3 → 1s. The subject is indicated by a personal pronoun.

(195) *iñché trupef-el-a-e-t-ew*   *troki-w-ün*
      I   get.frightened-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-TVN[4]-DS[1] opine-REF[31]-IND1s[3]

      'I thought that he was going to frighten me'

   The suffix *-fiel* may also be used to indicate a 1 → 2 or a 2 → 1 relationship when more than two persons are involved in the event. See also *-fi-lu* and *-e-lu-mu* as a complement of *troki-* (26.4.10.3).

   The suffixes *-fiel* and *-t-* may form a temporal clause: *-fiel* for 1s → 2s, 2s → 1s or 1s → 3 and *-t-* for 3 → 1s. Subject and object are indicated by personal pronouns.

(196) *fey ayü-w-üy*   *iñché pe-me-fiel   fey*
      he love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3] I   see-Th[20]-TVN[4] he

      'he was happy when I went to see him'

   Compare:

(197) *fey ayü-w-üy*   *iñché ñi   pe-me-fiel   fey*
      he love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3] I   poss1s see-Th[20]-TVN[4] he

      'he was happy that I went to see him'

   When *-fiel* forms a temporal clause and indicates a 1s → 3 relationship, -fiel alternates with *-fi-lu*. However, when *-fiel* indicates a 1s →2s or a 2s → 1s relationship in a temporal clause, *-fiel* does not have a *-lu* alternant.

(198) *eymi mütrüm-fiel iñché küpa-n   mi   pe-pa-ya-fiel*
  you[s] call-TVN[4]   I   come-IND1s[3] poss2s see-HH[17]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

  'when you[s] called me, I came to see you[s]'

(199) *añiđ-üy   ñi   trawa wima-e-t-ew   kuri*
  burn-IND[4]-ʒ[3] poss1s body   flog-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] stinging.nettle

  'my body burned when I was stung by a stinging nettle'

Instead of temporal *-e-t-ew* 3 → 1s, *-e-lu-mu* may be found, see temporal *-lu*, 26.4.10.2.

A *-fiel* or *-t-* form which takes *-a-* NRLD[9] may be used as a finite verb form: *-a-fiel* for 1s → 3 and *-a-e-t-ew* for 3 → 1s. As such *-fiel* and *-t-* are used to complete the *-lu* paradigm, see 26.4.10.3

26.4.10 *-lu* ∼ *-∅* Subjective verbal noun
The suffixes *-lu* and *-∅* may be used as an active participle (26.4.10.1). The morpheme *-lu* can also form a temporal or causal clause (26.4.10.2). In 26.4.10.3 special uses of *-lu* are dealt with.

26.4.10.1 Active participle
The suffixes *-lu* and *-∅* may be used to form an active participle denoting the subject when the subordinate is intransitive or the agent when the subordinate is transitive. A *-lu* subordinate can be used as an independent noun or as a relative clause which follows the modified noun and which can contain several constituents such as a direct object, an instrumental object or a complement noun phrase.

The suffix *-∅*[4] is obligatorily followed by *-chi* ADJ. A form that contains *-∅-chi* can be used as a modifier only. It precedes the modified. A *-∅* subordinate forms a one-word clause.

Both *-lu* and *-∅* may combine with the non-realization marker *-a-* NRLD[9]. They do not combine with either one of the pluperfect markers *-mu-* PLPF[7] or *-(ü)wye-* PLPF[15]. Compare:

(200) *miaw-chi   che*
  wander-SVN[4]-ADJ person

  'wandering people'

(201) *che   miaw-lu*
  person wander-SVN[4]

  'people who wandered'

(202) *kim-nu-chi   pichi che*
  know-NEG[10]-SVN[4]-ADJ small person

  'an ignorant/innocent child'

(203) *pichi che   kim-nu-lu*
     small person know-NEG^{10}-SVN^4

'a child that doesn't know'

(204) *ti   wentru füñapuwe-tu-nge-lu   wesha-l-ka-le-y*
     the man   poison-VERB^{36}-PASS^{23}-SVN^4 bad-CA^{34}-FAC^{33}-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'the man who has been poisoned is in bad shape'

(205) *ti   füñapuwe-tu-nge-chi   wentru wesha-l-ka-le-y*
     the poison-VERB^{36}-PASS^{23}-$\underline{\text{SVN}}^4$-ADJ man   bad-CA^{34}-FAC^{33}-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'the poisoned man is in bad shape'

Compare:

(206) *ti   füñapuwe-tu-el-chi   wentru wesha-l-ka-le-y*
     the poison-VERB^{36}-OVN^4-ADJ man   bad-CA^{34}-FAC^{33}-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'the poisoned man is in bad shape'

(207) *ti   füñapuwe-tu-n   wentru wesha-l-ka-le-y*
     the poison-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 man   bad-CA^{34}-FAC^{33}-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'the poisoned man is in bad shape'

(207) contains the general statement that poisoned people are in bad shape. The man in (204–206) has actually been poisoned.

(208) *iñché đuam-ün kiñe mákina katrü-ke-lu   ka   ketra-ke-lu*
     I   need-IND1s^3 one   machine cut-CF^{14}-SVN^4 and plough-CF^{14}-SVN^4

'I want one cutting and ploughing machine'

⟨ *mákina* is Sp. máquina 'machine'. ⟩

(209) *fey-chi wentru lang-üm-lu   ñi   peñi   faw pülle-le-y*
     that-ADJ man   die-CA^{34}-SVN^4 poss3 brother here close-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'that man who killed his brother lives nearby'

(210) *elu-e-n   fey ti   đoy wenu-le-lu*
     give-IDO^6-IND1s^3-$\underline{\text{DS}}^1$ he   the more top-ST^{28}-SVN^4

'you^s gave me the topmost', 'give me the topmost!'

(211) *müli-y   kiñe trari-ñ mansun ka kiñe kareta müli-y   tüfá ta-ñi*
     be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ one   tie-PVN^4 ox   and one   cart   be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ this the-poss1s

ñawe-nge-a-lu
daughter-VERB^{36}-NRLD^9-SVN^4

'there is one team of oxen and one cart here which will be for my daughter' (lit.: which will be my daughter's)

The suffix -∅ svn[4] cannot combine with person markers. The active participle -*lu* may co-occur with either one of the direct object markers -*fi*-[6] or -*e*-[6]. The internal direct object marker -*e*-[6] necessarily co-occurs with the dative subject suffix -*mu* ds[1], which marks third person agent. Both -*fi-lu* and -*e-lu-mu* (never *-*e-lu-mew*) indicate a 3 → 3 relationship. The sequence -*e-lu-mu* is used when the patient is contextually determined. Instead of -*e-lu-mu*, one may use -*e-t-ew* (see 26.4.9.5). Compare:

(212) *kim-nie-fi-n   ti   wentru petú kewa-fi-lu   Xuan*
       know-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the man   still beat-EDO[6]-SVN[4] Juan

       'I know that man who is beating Juan'

(213) *kim-nie-fi-n   ti   wentru petú kewa-e-lu-mu   Xuan*
       know-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the man   still beat-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] Juan

       'I know that man who is beaten by Juan'

(214) *fey üyaqtu-ke-fwi-y   chem che   rumé*
       he get.irritated.with-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] which person -ever

       illku-tu-nie-ñma-e-lu-mu   ñi   wenüy
       get.angry-TR[33]-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] poss3 friend

       'he got irritated with whomever got angry with his friends'

(215) *kiñe-ke   petaf elu-fi-y   ta-ñi   pu   wenüy petú kellu-e-lu-mu*
       one-DISTR piece give-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 COLL friend still help-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1]

       'he gave one piece each to his friends who were helping him'

In (215) the subjects of the predicate and the subordinate are referentially identical, cf. (194).

Forms which contain -*e-lu-mu* or -*e-t-ew* do not often occur as an active participle. I have not found -*e-lu-mu* as an active participle in spontaneous speech. The sequence -*e-t-ew*, which can be used as an active or passive participle, is clearly ambiguous. An -*e-lu-mu* form can also be ambiguous: I found it as a passive participle in a few unreliable cases which were elicited and later denied. It is difficult to elicit a relative clause which expresses a 3 → 3 relationship. The informant is quickly confused and avoids this kind of construction by using a predicate. Forms that contain -*e-lu-mu* or -*fi-lu* are primarily interpreted as temporal clauses (see below). Note that Mapuche does not have an active participle the head of which is first or second person 'I who . . . ', 'you who . . . ').

26.4.10.2   Temporal/causal -*lu*
A -*lu* subordinate may be used to form a temporal or causal clause. A causal clause which is marked by -*lu* often contains the particle *kam* 'since' (see 32.12). In the speech of MM, a -*lu* subordinate has temporal meaning only. In the

speech of RR, a causal *-lu* clause may be preceded by *porke* 'since', 'because'
(Sp. porque 'since', 'because'). The subject can be indicated by a personal
pronoun.

(216) *fey la-y   pataka mari kechu tripantu nie-lu*
    he   die-IND[4]-[3][3] hundred ten   five   year   have-SVN[4]

    'he died when he was 115 years old'

(217) *ñall đungu-a-lu   inché ka   che   đungu-y*
    just speak-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] I   other person speak-IND[4]-[3][3]

    'just when I was about to speak, someone else spoke'

(218) *tüfa-chi đomo engu kiñe yall rumé nie-la-y   đew   füchá*
    this-ADJ woman they[d] one   child -ever have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-[3][3] already old

    che-lu   kam (6,25)
    person-SVN[4] PART

    'with this woman he did not even have a single child, since they were old
    already'

(219) . . . *porke wim-küle-we-fu-lu   ta-ñi   enggaña-che-al*
    since get.used-ST[28]-PS[19]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] the-poss3 deceive-person-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    engün kay nga ti?
    they[p]   PART PART the?

    '. . . since they[p] were already used to the fact that they[p] deceived people,
    weren't they?'

When the suffix *-lu* is used to form a temporal or causal clause, it may
combine with the suffixes *-e-*[6], *-fi-*[6], *-mu-* 2A[23] or *-(u)w-* 1A[23].

The suffix sequence *-mu-lu* is used to indicate a $2 \rightarrow 1$ relationship in which
the total number of participants is greater than two.

The sequence *-(u)w-lu* is used to indicate a $1 \rightarrow 2$ relationship in which the
total number of participants is greater than two.

For 1s $\rightarrow$ 2s and 2s $\rightarrow$ 1s relationships, the morpheme *-fiel* is used.

The suffix sequence *-fi-lu* is used when the patient is third person. The agent
may be first, second or third person.

The sequence *-e-lu-mu* is used to indicate a third person agent. The patient
may be first, second or third person.

The agent may be expressed by a personal pronoun which precedes the sub-
ordinate. The patient may be expressed by a personal pronoun which follows
the subordinate.

Compare the following constructions (*allkü-tu-* hear-TR[33]- 'to listen to'):

eymi allkü-tu-mu-lu inchiñ   'when you[s] listened to us[p]'
eymün allkü-tu-mu-lu inché   'when you[p] listened to me'
inché allkü-tu-w-lu eymu   'when I listened to you[d]'

iñchiu allkü-tu-w-lu eymi	'when we[d] listened to you[s]'
iñché allkü-tu-fiel eymi	'when I listened to you[s]'
eymi allkü-tu-fiel iñché	'when you[s] listened to me'
iñché allkü-tu-fi-lu fey	'when I listened to him'
fey allkü-tu-fi-lu fey	'when he listened to her'
fey allkü-tu-e-lu-mu iñché	'when he listened to me'
fey allkü-tu-e-lu-mu fey	'when he was listened to by her'

Instead of *-fi-lu* 1s → 3, *-fiel* may be used. Instead of *-e-lu-mu* 3 → 1s, *-e-t-ew* may be used. In the speech of MM, *-e-t-ew* may be used for 3 → 1s and 3 → 2s relationships.

NB. Subject and object of *-fiel* and *-t-* forms which indicate a temporal/causal clause are indicated by personal pronouns.

(220) *küpa-la-y-m-i   fey mütrüm-e-lu-mu eymi*
        come-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] he call-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] you[s]

   'you[s] did not come when he called you[s]'

(221) *allkü-tu-fi-lu   iñchiñ ngüma-y-iñ*
        hear-TR[33]-EDO[6]-SVN[4] we[p]   cry-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'when we listened to it, we[p] cried'

(222) *lang-üm-fi-lu   ñi   peñi   püređu-nge-y*
        die-CA[34]-EDO[6]-SVN[4] poss3 brother prisoner-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'when he had killed his brother, he was taken prisoner'

   'the one who killed his brother was taken prisoner'

⟨ The Mapuche word *püređu* is derived from Spanish preso 'imprisoned, prisoner'. ⟩

(223) *püređu-nge-y   lang-üm-fi-lu   kam ñi   peñi*
        prisoner-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] die-CA[34]-EDO[6]-SVN[4] PART poss3 brother

   'he was taken prisoner because he had killed his brother'

(224) *pe-fi-lu   ñi   chaw amu-tu-y*
        see-EDO[6]-SVN[4] poss3 father go-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'when he saw his father, he went back'

(225) *pe-e-lu-mu   ñi   chaw amu-tu-y*
        see-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] poss3 father go-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'when he was seen by his father, he went back'

The suffix *-lu* may combine with the passive morpheme *-nge-* PASS[23]. Instead of temporal/causal *-nge-lu*, the objective verbal noun marker *-el* may be used (see also (127).

(226) *fey đew   fey-pi-nge-lu/fey-pi-el,   fey   tuw-üy   ta-ñi*
      he   already that-say-PASS[23]-SVN[4]/that-say-OVN[4], then start-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3

ngüma-n
cry-PVN[4]

'after he had been told, he started to cry'

26.4.10.3   Special uses

The suffix *-lu* may be used as a complement of the verb *troki-* 'to opine'. Subject and object may be indicated by a personal pronoun.

(227) *wenu-mapu küpa-lu   troki-nge-y*
      above-land   come-SVN[4] opine-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

'he seemed to come from heaven'

The objective verbal noun marker *-el* OVN[4] may be used instead of *-nge-lu* PASS[23]-SVN[4] (see 26.4.7.3), e.g.

(228) *i-nge-lu/iy-el   troki-fi-n*
      eat-PASS[23]-SVN[4]/eat-OVN[4] opine-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'I thought it had been eaten'

(229) *ina-ni-a-lu-mu   ti añchümalleñ troki-w-üy*   (8,32)
      follow-PRPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] the midget   opine-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

'they think that they are being followed by the midgets'

Agent-patient relationships in subordinates which combine with *troki-* are indicated in the way described for temporal/causal *-lu*, with the exception of $1 \rightarrow 2$ and $2 \rightarrow 1$ relationships in which the total number of participants is more than two. $1 \rightarrow 2$ (total > 2) and $2 \rightarrow 1$ (total > 2) relationships may be indicated by the suffixes *-(u)w-lu* or *-mu-lu* respectively or by *-fiel*.

In combination with the non-realized action marker *-a-* NRLD[9], the suffix *-lu* may occur as a complement of the following verbs: *amu-* 'to go', *küpa-* 'to come', *lef-* 'to run', *treka-* 'to walk', *tripa-* 'to go out', 'to leave', *kon-* 'to start', 'to enter', *llitu-* 'to start', 'to come from', *küđaw-tu-* 'to have difficulty in', *llüka-* 'to become afraid of', *pi-* 'to want' and *werkü-* 'to order'.

The subject of the predicate is referentially identical with the subject of the subordinate and can only be third person. The subject of the subordinate is not indicated explicitly. In the speech of MM, this type of construction may also have a 1s subject. MM was, however, not very sure about this.

(230) *pi-la-y   üy-a-lu*
      want-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] burn-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

'it does not want to burn'

(231) *tripa-y   küđaw-a-lu*
       go.out-IND[4]-3[3] work-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

       'he went out to work'

(232) *kon-üy-ng-ün   nütram-ka-ya-fi-lu*
       start-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] conversation-FAC[33]-NRLD[10]-EDO[6]-SVN[4]

       'they[p] started to talk with him'

These verbs may also occur with an *-el/-fiel* complement, in which case the subject can be first, second or third person, cf. (232): *kon-üy-ng-ün ñi nütram-ka-ya-fiel* 'they[p] started to talk with him'.

A *-lu* form may occur as an inflected verb form: it takes a zero verbalizer, stative marker *-(kü)le-*[28] and flectional suffixes, as in the following constructions:

(233) *mawün-a-lu-le-y*
       rain-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it looks as if it is going to rain'

(234) *angkü-le-lu-le-y*
       get.dry-ST[28]-SVN[4]-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it looks as if it is dry'

(235) *küpá   umaw-küle-lu-le-y-m-i*
       wishing sleep-ST[28]-SVN[4]-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

       'you[s] look as if you[s] want to go to sleep'

(236) *fe-le-a-lu-le-y*
       become.like.that-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it looks as if it is going to be like that'

A form which takes the suffixes *-a-* NRLD[9] and *-lu* SVN[4] may be used as a finite verb form. Such a form denotes a situation which is expected to take place at an indefinite moment in the future. Compare:

(237) *fey füta-nge-a-lu*
       she husband-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

       'she'll get married' (I expect her to get married sometime)

(238) *fey füta-nge-a-y*
       she husband-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'she is going to get married' (there is a plan for her to get married)

(239) *kiñe antü amu-tu-a-lu   Olanda*
       one day   go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] Netherlands

       'one day I will go back to the Netherlands'

(240) *kiñe antü amu-tu-a-n*   *Olanda*
     one   day   go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] Netherlands

    'one day I shall go back to the Netherlands'

Sentence (239) indicates that the subject may go back to the Netherlands some day. Example (240) indicates that the subject intends to go back to the Netherlands in the near future.

When the subject is 1s, the morpheme *-al* ∼ *-a-el* may be used instead of the suffix *-a-lu*, e.g. *kiñe antü amu-al Olanda* 'one day I will go back to the Netherlands'.

Agent-patient relationships are indicated in the way described for temporal/causal *-lu* with one exception: the suffix *-fiel*, which is otherwise used to complete the *-lu* paradigm to indicate a 1s → 2s or 2s → 1s relationship, cannot be used as a finite verb form for 1s → 2s or 2s → 1s relationships. The suffix *-fiel* can be used as an alternant for *-fi-lu* in 1s → 3 relationships.

For the non-realized action marker *-a-*[9], see 26.9.

26.4.11 *-(ü)wma* Completive subjective verbal noun

The suffix *-(ü)wma* (*-üwma* after C, *-wma* after V) indicates the subject of a completed event. It does not combine with the internal direct object suffix *-e-* IDO[6], the external direct object marker *-fi-* EDO[6], the second person agent morpheme *-mu-* 2A[23], the first person agent marker *-(u)w-* 1A[23] or the impeditive suffix *-fu-* IPD[8]. The suffix *-(ü)wma* is infrequent.

(241) *puw-tu-ye-m*   *ruka-mew*   *ti*   *kekaw-kiaw-uwma*
     arrive-RE[16]-CF[5]-IVN[4]   house-INST   the   complain-CIRC[30]-CSVN[4]

    kintu-ka-w-pu-tu-ke-fu-y   *ñi*   *chem*
    look.for-FAC[33]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 what

    küpa-l-el-a-fiel   *tüfa-chi ülmen* (5,51)
    come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] this-ADJ   rich

    'when the one who had made a complaint came back home, he would look there for all kinds of things to bring to these rich [people]'

(242) *kom ti   pu   che   müle-wma tüfa-chi eluwün-mew*
     all   the COLL person be-CSVN[4]   this-ADJ funeral-INST

    amu-ye-tu-y-ng-ün   *ñi*   *ruka-mew* (6,58)
    go-carry-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 house-INST

    'all the people who had been at this funeral went back home taking [food with them]'

A form which takes the suffix *-(ü)wma* may be used predicatively.

(243) *welu iñché rumé llüka-nten-nge-wma   pichi-ka-lu*   (8,34)
       but   I   very   become.afraid-NOM-VERB[36]-CSVN[4] small-CONT[16]-SVN[4]

    'but when I was still young, I was a coward' (but I [am] someone who was
    someone who easily gets very frightened when I was still young)

Sometimes the subject is missing. The context must disambiguate such forms.

(244) *law-üwma*
       become.bald-CSVN[4]

    'he has become bald' (X is someone who has become bald)

(245) *kurü-wma*
       black-CSVN[4]

    'it has become black' (X is something which has become black)

(246) *nütram-ka-e-n-ew   chum-nge-wma   ti   walon* (5,3)
       conversation-FAC[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] how-VERB[36]-CSVN[4] the war

    'he told me how the war had been'

In (246) the suffix -(*ü*)*wma* seems to be used as an infinitive marker. This
idea is corroborated by the fact that MM would add a possessive pronoun:
nütram-ka-e-n-ew ñi chum-nge-wma ti walon, lit.: he told me its how having
been the war. I have not found comparable -(*ü*)*wma* forms.

26.5   Slot 5. -*ye*- constant feature
The suffix -*ye*- CF denotes a characteristic or constant feature. It can combine
with the instrumental verbal noun marker -*m* IVN[4] only (see 26.4.8). the suffix
-*ye*- occurs in complementary distribution with -*ke*- CF[14], which also denotes a
characteristic or constant feature.

A form which contains -*ye*[5]-*m*[4] forms a temporal clause. It denotes a situation
which is characterized by the fact that every time when event A (denoted by
the subordinate) occurs, event B (denoted by the main predicate) occurs. The
sequence -*ye-m* may combine with the non-realized action marker -*a*- NRLD[9].

(1) *trana-nge-ye-m   pañillwe tripa-ki-y   ñi   eskoria*
     beat-PASS[23]-CF[5]-IVN[4] iron   go.out-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 slag

    'when iron is beaten, slags come off'

  ⟨ *eskoria* is Sp. escoria 'slag'. ⟩

(2) *wiño-ye-m   ketra-pa-tu-ke-n   tüfa-chi mapu*
     return-CF[5]-IVN[4] plough-HH[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IND1s[3] this-ADJ land

    'every time I come back, I plough this land here'

(3) *pelo-ke-la-y*   *tuku-nie-nu-ye-m*   *ñi*   *gafa*
     get.light-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]   put.on-PRPS[32]-NEG[10]-CF[5]-IVN[4]   poss3   glasses

   'he does not see well when he does not wear his glasses'

⟨ *gafa* is Sp. gafas 'glasses, spectacles' ⟩
See also 26.4.8.4 for temporal *-ye-m*.
   The suffix *-ye-*[5] may occur in combination with the proximity morpheme
-pe- PX[13] and the instrumental verbal noun suffix *-m* IVN[4] simultaneously. A
form which takes *-pe-ye-m* may be used as an instrumental/locative or as an
infinitive. The sequence *-pe-ye-m* does not combine with the non-realization
suffix *-a-* NRLD[9].

(4) *küđaw-pe-ye-m*
     work-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

   'a place where/a thing with which one works'

(5) *fey-ta-chi*   *trafla rumel müle-pe-ye-m*   *kafé*
     that-the-ADJ shelf   always be-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4]   coffee

   'this shelf [is the place] where the coffee always is'

⟨ *trafla* 'shelf' is derived from Sp. tabla 'shelf, plank'; *kafé* is Sp. café. ⟩
For the sequence *-pe-ye-m*, see also 26.4.8.1 and 26.4.8.2.
   The suffix *-ye-* does not combine with the pluperfect tense marker *-(ü)wye-*
PLPF[15]. In one instance I found the sequence *-ye-m* in combination with the
pluperfect tense morpheme *-mu-* PLPF[7] and the external direct object marker
-fi-, see (168) in 26.4.8.4. For *-ye-*, see also 25.3 (50).

26.6   Slot 6. Direct object

Slot 6 is filled by either of two suffixes: *-fi-* and *-e-*. Both suffixes are deictic
elements. The field of reference of *-fi-* is the situation at large, outside the
speech act. The field of reference of *-e-* is the speech situation. The suffix *-fi-*
indicates that beside the most prominent participant a second participant is
involved in the event. The prominent participant has the function of subject
and the role of agent. It follows that the second participant denoted by *-fi-* has
the function of direct object and the role of patient. A participant which is to
be identified by the situation cannot be a first or a second person -since they
participate in the speech situation- nor a third person which is to be found in
the context. The referent of *-fi-* is therefore a third person which is identified
by the situation. It is unmarked for number and may be animate or inanimate.
The subject of a *-fi-* form may be first, second or third person. For the suffix
-fi-, which is labelled External Direct Object (EDO), see also 25.2.2.
   The suffix *-e-* indicates that the most prominent participant, which is denoted
by a subject marker, is determined by the context and has the role of patient.
A participant which can be identified by the context may be a first or second
person or a third person which is in focus in terms of discourse. The subject

of an -e- form may therefore be first, second or third person. For the suffix -e-, which is labelled Internal Direct Object (IDO), see also 25.2.2 and 25.2.3.

The agent of an event denoted by an -e- form is indicated by a dative subject marker (slot 1) with which the suffix -e- obligatorily combines. For dative subject (DS), see 25.2.3 and 26.1.

The suffixes -fi- and -e- occur in predicates and certain subordinates. The suffix -e- combines with the agentive verbal noun marker -t- AVN[4] or the subjective verbal noun morpheme -lu SVN[4]. The suffix -fi- combines with the subjective verbal noun suffix -lu SVN[4] or the suffix sequence -ye-m- CF[5]-IVN[4]. See 26.4.9 for the suffix -t-, 26.4.10 for the suffix -lu and 26.4.8.4 for the sequence -ye-m. When the external direct object marker -fi- co-occurs with the objective verbal noun morpheme -el OVN[4], it does not merely indicate a situationally defined patient. The patient of a -fiel form may be first, second or third person. Synchronically, the suffix -fiel simply seems to indicate that there is a patient involved in the event. Historically, the ending -fiel may have resulted from object incorporation. The ending -fiel is treated as a single suffix, for which see 26.4.9.

The suffix -e- enables the speaker to maintain the prominent participant in the function of subject while in the role of patient.

(1)   *kim-ürke-la-y*   *ñi   ñuke. ñi   chaw*
       know-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 mother; poss3 father

       đuam-ürke-la-e-y-ew.   *yall-tuku-rke-e-y-ew*   *ka*
       care.for-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1]; child-put.in-REP[12]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] other

       đomo-mew (6,4)
       woman-INST

       'he did not know his mother. his father did not care for him. he begot him
       as an illegitimite child with another woman' (lit.: he did not know his
       mother, it is reported. He did not have himself cared for by his father, it
       is reported. He was begotten as an illegitimite child by him with another
       woman, it is reported)

There is one exception to the rule that the subject of an -e- form denotes the patient: the subject of an -e- form which expresses a 1s → 2s relationship indicates a first person, see (20) and (21) in 25.2.3. For the suffix -e-, see also 25.2.2 and 25.2.3.

Although an -e- form is marked for subject, direct object and dative subject, it cannot have more than two noun phrases which are coreferential with a person marker in the verb: one noun phrase which is coreferential with the subject marker (or with the possessive pronoun when the suffix -e- combines with the suffix -t-[4]) and one noun phrase which is coreferential with the dative subject marker.

(2)   *Xasinta püna-e-y-ew*   *ti chiklet*
       Jacinta   paste-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] the chewing.gum

       'Jacinta got stuck onto the chewing gum'

In (2) *Xasinta* is the subject noun phrase. The constituent *Xasinta* is co-referential with the slot 3 filler. The phrase *ti chiklet* is dative subject noun phrase: it is coreferent with the slot 1 filler.

The subject noun phrase is often omitted, as its referent is obvious from the context.

(3)   *ür-e-y-ew*   *ti alka*
       cover-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] the cock

       'she [the chicken] was mounted by the cock'

Note that the agent noun phrase which is coreferential with the slot 1 filler follows the verb and the patient noun phrase which is coreferential with the slot 3 filler precedes the verb. This order illustrates the prominence of the subject (patient) in an *-e-* form which indicates a $3 \rightarrow 3$ relationship. The word order in transitive constructions which express a $1 \rightarrow 2$, a $2 \rightarrow 1$ or an $X \rightarrow 3$ relationship is usually: agent verb patient. This order may also be found in *-e-* forms which contain a third person subject marker.

(4)   *fentren*   *che* *pülcha-ye-y-ew*   (+ *pülcha-ye-e-y-ew* +) (4,37)
       large.quantity person lift-carry-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1]

       'it was lifted up and carried away by a large number of people'

For word order, see chapter 34.

An noun phrase which is coreferential with the external direct object marker *-fi-* is a direct object noun phrase.

(5)   *llüka-l-ka-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün*   *ti nge-n   ruka*
       become.afraid-CA[34]-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] the have-PVN[4] house

       'they[p] used to intimidate the house owner'

In such a construction, in which the external direct object is denoted by an noun phrase, the suffix *-fi-* may be left out. In case the suffix *-fi-* is left out (6), the noun phrase *ti nge-n ruka* has the function of a complement. A direct object noun phrase is more definite than a complement object noun phrase. Compare:

(6)   *llüka-l-ka-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ti nge-n   ruka*
       become.afraid-CA[34]-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] the have-PVN[4] house

       'they[p] used to intimidate the house owner'

The patient in (5) is one particular house owner. The patient in (6) is a person who is referred to as a member of a class of house owners. See also (7) and (8) in 25.2.2.

With some verbs the DO marker does not indicate the patient but the recipient of the event. These verbs include: *elu-* 'to give to' (which contrasts with *wül-* 'to

give something'), *fey-pi-* 'to say to', *kulli-* 'to pay to' and verbs which contain the verbalizer -*l*-[36], e.g. *kiñe-ke-l-* 'to give one each to'. Compare:

(7)   *elu-fi-n*   *kiñe trewa*
      give-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] one   dog

      'I gave him/her/them one dog'

(8)   *wül-fi-n*   *ti   trewa*
      give-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the dog

      'I gave the dog [away]'

These verbs and other verbs like *ngilla-tu-* 'to ask something from someone', *are-l-* 'to lend something to someone' or *elfal-* 'to entrust someone with' may take two objects. The animate, more agentive or definite object is encoded in the verb and has the function of DO (or S in the case of a passive verb). The other object is not coreferential with a DO marker and has the function of a complement.

(9)   *iñché ngilla-tu-fi-n*   *kofke ta-ñi   palu*
      I   buy-TR[33]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] bread the-poss3 aunt

      'I asked my aunt for bread'

(10) *elu-nge-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *iy-al*
      give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] eat-NRLD[10].OVN[4]

      'we[p] were given food'

The complement noun phrase may be incorporated into the stem.

(11) *entu-tün-fi-n*   *ñi   yall*
      take.out-louse-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss1s son

      'I loused my son'

(12) *fey-pi-fi-n*
      that-say-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I told him/her/them that'

The distinction between situation and context which characterizes -*fi*- vs. -*e*- is also reflected in the anaphoric pronouns *ti* 'the' and *ta* 'the' (14.3) and in the deictic verbs *fa*- 'to become like this' and *fe*- 'to become like that' (chapter 30).

26.7   Slot 7. -*mu*- pluperfect

The suffix -*mu*- PLPF indicates that an event is realized before an orientation moment in the past. The suffix -*mu*- occurs in complementary distribution with the suffix -*(ü)wye*-[15], which also marks pluperfect tense. The morpheme -*mu*- is infrequent. It can only combine with the instrumental verbal noun marker -*m* IVN[4], which denotes an event as such, an instrument or a location,

or, when this suffix is used as a locative, with the transitive verbal noun suffix
-*fiel* TVN[4]. The suffix -*mu*- does not combine with the non-realization marker
-*a*-[9].

In the intransitive infinitive and instrumental/locative series, there is an
opposition between the plain verbal noun suffix -*(ü)n* PVN[4] (unspecified for
the distinction realization/non-realization), the objective verbal noun suffix
-*el* OVN[4] (marked for non-realization or unmarked) and the sequence -*mu*[7]-*m*[4]
(marked for pluperfect tense). Note that the suffix -*el* is not frequent as a mar-
ker of the infinitive and seldom occurs as an instrumental/locative. Compare:

(1)   *epu antü-nge-y*   *ñi*   *kutran-küle-n*
       two day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s illness-ST[28]-PVN[4]

       'two days ago I was ill' (my being sick is two days ago)

(2)   *epu antü-nge-y*   *ñi*   *kutran-küle-el*
       two day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s illness-ST[28]-OVN[4]

       'two days ago I was ill' (my realized being sick is two days ago)

(3)   *epu antü-nge-y*   *ñi*   *kutran-küle-mu-m*
       two day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s illness-ST[28]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

       'two days ago I was ill' (my having been sick is two days ago)

In contrast with (1) and (2), sentence (3) implies that the subject is no longer
ill.

(4)   *fey kim-nie-y*   *chew ta-yu*   *pe-w-mu-m*
       he   know-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-3[3] where the-poss1d see-REF[31]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

       'he knows/knew where we[d] (had) met'

For more examples of instrumental/locative -*mu-m*, see 26.4.8.1 (134–139).
I found the combination -*mu-fiel* PLPF[7]-TVN[4] only twice in spontaneous
speech.

(5)   *welu pülle-pu-el*   *chew ñi*   *pe-mu-fiel*   *engu*
       but   near-LOC[17]-OVN[4] where poss1s see-PLPF[7]-TVN[4] they[d]

       pe-we-tu-la-fi-n   (8,46)
       see-PS[19]-RE[16]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'but when I came near the place where I had seen them[d], I did not see
       them any more'

See also (185) in 26.4.9.2. The suffix -*mu*- is attested once in combination
with the sequence -*ye*[5]-*m*[4], for which see (168) in 26.4.8.4.

26.8   Slot 8. -*fu*- impeditive

The suffix -*fu*- IPD indicates the unsuccessful realization of an event. The
denoted event does not have the expected consequences or is prevented from

reaching its completion. A -fu- form actually evokes a double image. On the one hand, an event takes place, and on the other, an expected event or state does not take place or does not come about. There is always a 'but'.

The suffix -fu- may occur in indicative and conditional forms and in subordinates except those marked with the plain verbal noun suffix -(ü)n PVN[4] or the completive subjective verbal noun suffix -(ü)wma CSVN[4]. The morpheme -(ü)n cannot combine with the suffix -fu- because the suffix -(ü)n denotes an event which is not specified for the distinction realization/ non-realization. The suffixes -(ü)wma and -fu- are incompatible because the ending -(ü)wma indicates a completed event.

(1)   *nge-me-fu-n,   müle-rke-la-y-ng-ün*
      be-Th[20]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3], be-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      'I was there [but] they[p] were not in [yet]'

(2)   *küpá   amu-fu-y-iñ   welu elu-ñma-nge-la-y-iñ*
      wishing go-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] but   give-IO[26]-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] wanted to go but were not allowed to'

The expected event or state which is not realized is not always mentioned explicitly. In most cases it can be understood from the context.

(3)   *iñché reye-fu-n   ta-ñi   müle-al   tüfa-chi ruka-mew*
      I   want.badly-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s be-NRLD[9].OVN[4] this-ADJ house-INST

      'I wanted to live in this house so badly' (but it never came to anything)

(4)   *ayü-fe-y-u* (17.7)
      love-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

      'I loved you[s]' (but you[s] did not love me)

The unexpected consequence or result is not always negative.

(5)   *pichin   plata nie-fu-y   welu fill   antü ngilla-ki-y   kofke*
      small.quantity money have-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] but   every day   buy-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] bread

      'he had little money but still he would buy bread every day'

For other examples of the suffix -fu-, see (49) and (72–73) in 25.3. When the morpheme -fu- combines with the non-realized action marker -a-, it indicates that the planned event fell through or did not have the expected consequences.

(6)   *faw müle-la-ya-fu-y-m-i*
      here be-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'you[s] would not be here' (the plan that you[s] would not be here has not been realized successfully)

The sequence -a-fu- indicates a hypothetical possibility.

(7)   *amu-a-l-m-i*   *wekun, makuñ-tu-nge.*
       go-NRLD^9-COND^4-2^3-s^2 outside, coat-VERB^{36}-IMP2s^3;

       chafo-a-fu-y-m-i   *wütre-mew*
       catch.a.cold-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND^4-2^3-s^2 cold-INST

       'if you^s go outside, put on a coat. you^s might catch a cold in view of the cold'

(8)   *chumngechi chi   kim-a-fu-y-iñ?*
       how   PART know-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-p^2

       'how could we^p know?'

   In section 26.9 (30–44), the sequence *-a-fu-* is dealt with more extensively.

(9)   *mari-we aku-fu-l-m-i,*   *pe-pa-ya-fwi-y-m-i*
       ten-NOM   arrive-IPD^8-COND^4-2^3-s^2, see-hh^{17}-NRLD^{10}-IPD^8.EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-s^2

       'if you^s had arrived ten days ago, you^s would/might have seen him'

For the suffix *-fu-* in conditional forms see also (14) and (16) in 26.4.3.
   With verbs which denote a lasting situation or a characteristic or constant feature, i.e. with verbs which denote a situation which is implied to continue into the present, the suffix *-fu-* indicates that the denoted situation has ended.

(10)   *pichi-ka-lu*   *kampu müle-ke-fu-n*
       small-CONT^{16}-SVN^4 country be-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3

       'when I was (still) young, I lived in the country'

The combination *-ke^{14}-fu-* is very frequent in narratives.

(11)   ... *tripa-ke-fu-n*   *ñi   küđaw-tu-al.   fey-chi plata ta-ñi*
       leave-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 poss1s work-RE^{16}-NRLD^9.OVN^4. that-ADJ money the-poss1s

       gana-ke-fel   ta   ti   pu   ülmen-mew gana-ke-fu-n   ta-ñi
       earn-CF^{14}-IPD^8.OVN^4 the the COLL rich-INST   earn-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 the-poss1s

       libru, gana-ke-fu-n   ta-ñi   weshakelu. femngechi ta
       book, earn-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 the-poss1s things.   thus   the

       chillka-tu-ke-fu-n   ta   ta-ñi   mapu-mew (9, 19–21)
       inscription-VERB^{36}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 the the-poss1s land-INST

       'I would go out to find work again. [With] that money, which I would earn from those rich people, I would earn my books and things. That way I used to study in my country'

⟨*weshakelu* 'things, stuff' may be derived from *weshá* 'bad' (bad-DISTR-SVN^4).⟩

26.8.1 Special uses
When a conditional form occurs as the main verb of a sentence it necessarily takes the suffix *-fu-*. Such a conditional form expresses a wish or a proposition.

(12)   *wew-fu-l-i-fel!*
       win-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

       'if only I would win!'

For the morpheme *-fu-* in desiderative conditional forms, see also 26.4.3 (20–22). The ending *-fel* is not obligatory in a conditional form which expresses a wish. For the sequence *-fel*, see 26.4.7.3 (130–133).

The suffix *-fal-* FORCE[25] may indicate an obligation or duty. In combination with the suffix *-fu-*, it expresses a friendly suggestion or advice to perform a certain action, or an unfulfilled duty.

(13)   *eymün amu-fal-fu-y-m-ün*
       you[p]   go-FORCE[25]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2]

       'you[p] ought to go'

(14)   *iglesia-mew amu-fal-fu-y*   *welu amu-la-y*
       church-INST   go-FORCE[25]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]   but   go-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he should have gone to church but he didn't (go)'

⟨ iglesia 'church' is Sp. iglesia 'church'.⟩

(15)   *fe-le-fal-nu-fel*
       become.like.that-ST[28]-FORCE[25]-NEG[10]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

       'it should not be that way', 'it should not have been that way'

(16)   *eymi kücha-w-fal-fel*
       you[s]   wash-REF[31]-FORCE[25]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

       'you[s] should have washed yourself'

For the combination *-fal-fel*, see also 26.4.7.3 (130–131). For the force marker *-fal-*[25], see 26.25.

A *-fu-* form which is preceded by the auxiliary *küpá* 'wishing' may express a polite wish:

(17)   *küpá   kim-fu-n   chumngechi mi   pe-fiel*
       wishing know-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] how   poss2s see-TVN[4]

       'I would like to know how you[s] see him', '... what you[s] think of him'

Note that the suffix *-fu-* can also have its original meaning in a verb form which is preceded by *küpá* 'wishing', cf. (2) of this section.

26.8.2 Discussion

Traditionally, the suffix *-fu-* has been analyzed as a past tense marker. Croese (1984: 64–65) summarizes the labels which have been attached to the morpheme *-fu-* in the literature. They are the following: "pretérito imperfecto" (Valdivia 1606: 13, Golbert de Goodbar 1975: 100), "imperfecto" (Havestadt 1777: 19, Lenz 1944: 439) or "copretérito" (Augusta 1903: 25–27, Moesbach

1962: 67–68). Salas (1970a: 80–81), Fernández Garay (1981) and Croese (1984) ascribe both temporal (-*fu*- as a past tense marker) and modal value (-*fu*- as counterfactual) to the suffix -*fu*- (or -*fü*-, which is the Argentinian Mapuche variant of -*fu*-). I agree with Croese when he states that the function of -*fu*- "es una noción de contraexpectación que significa, 'consecuencia no esperada' ... " (Croese 1984: 67). Croese adds, however, that "el mayor uso discursivo de -*fu*, sin embargo, da una referencia de tiempo pasado ..." (Croese 1984: 68).

The analysis of the suffix -*fu*- as a tense marker is not unique. The suffixes -*a*- and -*afu*- are also analyzed as tense markers. The morpheme -*a*- is analyzed as a future tense marker by all the authors mentioned above. The sequence -*afu*- is treated as a single suffix and is labelled "mixto primero" by Valdivia or "pospretérito" by Lenz, Augusta and Moesbach (Croese 1984: 64–65). Golbert de Goodbar (1975: 100) states that the morpheme -*afu*- indicates probability, impossibility or a polite request. Salas (1970a: 81) states that "el sufijo temporal -*afu* ... expresa una acción hipotética anterior, la que actúa como una condicionante ... para peticiones corteses ... para negativas corteses ... acciones que no se cumplieron porque dejó de cumplirse la acción que las condicionaba ... y situaciones actuales negativas que han sido posibles porque se dejó de hacer algo en el pasado". Although Fernández Garay (1981: 14) states that the sequence -*afü*- consists of the suffixes -*a*- and -*fü*-, she continues to discuss -*afü*- as a single suffix, to which she ascribes modal value. The suffix -*afü*- would express doubt, a hypothetical possibility, a wish or add concessive meaning (Fernández Garay: 14–19).

Croese (1984: 69) divides -*afu*- into -*a*- and -*fu*-. The combination -*a*-*fu*-, he states, expresses a doubtful situation in the future or a polite request.

As I have demonstrated above, the suffix -*fu*- is not a tense marker. The implication of a -*fu*- form depends on the combination which the suffix -*fu*- forms with either the non-realization marker -*a*- NRLD[9] or a form which is unmarked for the distinction realization/non-realization. A -*fu*- form unmarked for this distinction denotes an event which has not been realized successfully or according to expectation. The implication of such a -*fu*- form is that the denoted event took place in the past. When the suffix -*fu*- combines with the non-realized action marker -*a*-, it indicates that a non-realized event, one which is planned, expected or held possible, may not, will not or cannot be realized or could not have been realized. When the suffix -*fu*- combines either with the morpheme -*a*- NRLD[9] or with an unmarked form, it expresses a 'but', an incompleteness, a frustrated expectation, plan or wish. The meaning of the suffix -*fu*- is essentially the same, whether it combines with the non-realization marker -*a*- NRLD[9] or with an unmarked form. The combination -*a*-*fu*- must therefore be analyzed as a sequence of two suffixes. Note that the suffixes -*a*-[9] and -*fu*-[8] cannot be separated by another suffix.

In an interesting study of the suffix "-Fï" (a variant of -fu- in Argentinian Mapuche) Lucia Golluscio (2000) elaborates on the pragmatic function of the suffix

-Fï which she classifies as "a metapragmatic operator which acts to alert to, interrupt, or rupture conventional implicature in speech". Following a discourse-oriented approach Golluscio states that " ... when the speaker adds -Fï to a verb in discourse, a process of (counter)inference is triggered in his/her addressee. In other words, a member of the Mapuche speech community knows that the occurrence of -Fï after the verbal stem means the rupture of some kind of pragmatic relationship created in speech" (Golluscio 2000: 259). Golluscio concludes by saying that the suffix -Fï bears upon "the Tense-Aspect-Modality relationships in Mapudungun" in the sense that the rupture indicated by -Fï and the speaker's evaluation of the event "creates a close, but not automatic, relationship of -Fï with past events or states". As far as aspect is concerned, "-Fï generally triggers meanings related to completion ... ". Finally, Golluscio links the suffix -Fï with the "Irrealis domain in Mapudungun" pointing at "the combination of the meaning of -Fï as a marker of alerting to, blocking, or rupturing conventional implicature in speech and its consequent task in indexing the speaker's subjective evaluation" (Golluscio 2000: 260).

26.9   Slot 9. -*a*- non-realized situation

The suffix -*a*- indicates that the denoted situation is not realized (NRLD). A verb which takes the morpheme -*a*-[9] denotes a situation which is presented as not being an actual fact. The basic interpretation of a verb marked with the suffix -*a*- is that the denoted situation will take place at a moment subsequent to the orientation moment. An -*a*- form is therefore often translated as future tense. In the speech of LQ and RR, the suffix -*a*- has an allomorph -*ya*- after the phoneme *a*.

(1)   *trür   amu-a-y-u   üyüw*
      together go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2] over.there

      'together we[d] will go over there'

The various uses of the non-realization marker -*a*- will be discussed below (26.9.1). A verb with an empty slot 9 denotes a situation which is presented as realized. Such an unmarked form will usually be interpreted by the hearer as denoting a situation which is an actual fact. He will understand that the denoted event has taken place or that the transition has taken place from one situation to another.

(2)   *trür   amu-y-u   üyüw*
      together go-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2] over.there

      'together we[d] went over there'

Both perfective and imperfective verbs can take the non-realization marker -*a*-[9] or be unmarked for the distinction realization/non-realization (see 25.3 (81–89)). Imperative forms and subordinates which are marked either with the plain verbal noun suffix -*(ü)n* PVN[4] or the completive subjective verbal noun suffix -*(ü)wma* CSVN[4] cannot take the non-realization marker -*a*-[9]. The suffix

-a- does not combine with the pluperfect marker *-mu-*[7] nor with the debitive *-fal-*[25]. All other forms and all other suffixes including *-(ü)wye-* PLPF[15] can combine with the suffix *-a-* (see also 25.3).

26.9.1 Uses of the suffix *-a-*

(i) The suffix *-a-* indicates a plan or an intention to realize or a prospect of realizing the denoted event.

(3)   *tunten   antü aku-a-y-m-i?*
      how.much day   arrive-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-s^2

     'at what time do you^s arrive?'

(4)   *naq-ün   antü aku-a-n*
      descend-PVN^4 day   arrive-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

     'I will come in the afternoon' (when the sun starts going down)

(5)   *iñché llellipu-pu-fi-n   ti domo küpa-yal*
      I   request-LOC^{17}-EDO^6-IND1s^3 the woman come-NRLD^9.OVN^4

     'there I requested the woman to come'

(6)   *iñché kim-la-n   fey ñi   chem chum-al*
      I   know-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 he poss3 what do.what/how-NRLD^9.OVN^4

     'I don't know what he is going to do'

(7)   *ñall küpa-ya-el   iñché, ka   wentru aku-y*
      just come-NRLD^9-OVN^4 I,   other man   arrive-IND^4-3^3

     'just when I was about to come, another man arrived'

(8)   *eymi ka   antü mapu-dungu-a-y-m-i*
      you^s other day   country-language-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-s^2

     'one day you^s will speak Mapuche' (i.e. your knowledge of the Mapuche language is increasing in such a way that you are bound to speak Mapuche)

(ii) The suffix *-a-* expresses the probability of an event taking place under the condition put forward in the subordinate clause.

(9)   *tüfá fey-l-e   tüye-mew,   fey   kümé dungu-a-y*
      this fit-COND^4-3^3 that.over.there-INST, that/then good speak-NRLD^9-IND^4-3^3

     'if this fits in there, then it will work fine' (i.e. if the tape fits into the recorder, the apparatus will 'speak' well)

(10)   *tüfá iñchiu amu-l-i-u,   rupan antü puw-a-y-u*
      this we^d go-COND^4-1^3-d^2, after sun   arrive-NRLD^9-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2

     'if we^d go now, we^d will arrive after noon' (when the sun passes in our direction)

(11)   *kelü-künu-w-l-e*   *antü, wün-ma-n-mew*   *kümé*
       red-PFPS^{32}-REF^{31}-COND^4-3^3 sun,   dawn-EXP^{35}-PVN^4-INST good

       antü-nge-a-y
       sun/weather-VERB^{36}-NRLD^9-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

       'if the sun turns red, the weather will be nice at dawn'

(iii) In indicative forms, the suffix -a- is used to express an obligation imposed by
       the speaker on the listener.

(12)   *küpá   amu-la-fu-y-iñ*   *welu "amu-a-y-m-ün"*
       wishing go-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 but   go-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-p^2

       pi-nge-y-iñ
       say-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

       'we^p did not want to go but we^p were told "you^p must go"'

An imperative form expresses a more direct command. Compare:

(13)   *sungu-a-fi-y-m-i*
       speak-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-s^2

       'you^s must speak with him'

(14)   *sungu-fe*
       speak-EDO^6-IMP2s^3

       'speak with him'

A negative -a- form may express a command or the absence of a need or
obligation.

(15)   *sungu-la-ya-fi-y-m-i*
       speak-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-s^2

       'you^s must not speak with him', 'you^s need not speak with him'

The debitive construction which consists of the verb *müle-y* (be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$)
'there is' and a subordinate which takes the suffix -a- expresses an exigency,
duty, obligation or necessity, an inevitable situation or an inductive statement.
The *müle-y* construction does not express a direct command. The subject of
the subordinate is indicated by a possessive pronoun. Personal pronouns may
be used to disambiguate the phrase or to put emphasis on the subject. When
the subordinate denotes a situation in which more than one actant is involved,
subject and object are indicated in the same way as noted for transitive verbal
nouns (see 26.4.9)

(16)   *iñché müle-y   mi   pe-a-fiel*
       I   be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss2s see-NRLD^9-TVN^4

       'I have to see you^s'

(17)   *müle-y*   *ñi*   *aye-al*   *pe-e-l-y-u*   *eymi*
       be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s laugh-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4 see-IDO^6-$COND^4$-1ns^3-d^2-$\underline{DS}^1$ you^s

       'I have to laugh when I see you^s'

(18)   *müle-y*   *ñi*   *weđweđ-küle-al*   *ñi*   *tripa-yal*
       be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 crazy-ST^{28}-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4 poss3 go.out-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4

       femngechi antü-mew
       such   sun/weather-$INST$

       'he must be crazy to go out in such weather'

(19)   *epu rupa-chi müle-la-y*   *ta-ñi*   *depide-w-tu-al;*
       two   time-ADJ be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 say.goodbye-REF^{31}-RE^{16}-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4;

       kiñe rupa müten
       one   time   only

       'one does not say goodbye twice to one another; just once'

⟨ for *-chi*, see 18.2.2. The verb *depide-* is derived from Sp. *despedirse* 'to say goodbye to one another'.⟩

(20)   *iñché müle-y*   *ñi*   *amu-nu-a-el*   *Temuko*
       I   be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s go-NEG^{10}-$NRLD^9$-OVN^4 Temuco

       'I don't have to go to Temuco'

The *müle-y* construction cannot occur as a subordinate. It is not used in indirect speech, for instance, although it may occur as a (direct or alleged) quote.

(21)   *wüné fey-pi-y-ng-ün:*   *müle-y*   *yiñ*   *đoy*
       first   that-say-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2: be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1p more

       pülle-ke-tu-w-küle-al   (5,29)
       near-$DISTR$-TR^{33}-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4

       'first they^p said [that] we^p must live closer to each other'

Debitive *-a-* can occur in subordinates. In contrast with the direct command expressed by an indicative *-a-* form, a subordinate which is marked with the suffix *-a-* may not only express an indirect command which is not exclusively addressed to the listener, but also an exigency, duty, obligation, etc.

(22)   *iñché manta-fi-ñ*   *ta-ñi*   *tuku-a-fiel*   *ta-ñi*   *ropa*
       I   order-EDO^6-$IND1s^3$ the-poss3 put.at-$NRLD^9$-TVN^4 the-poss3 clothes

       'I told her that she had to put on her clothes'

(23)   *fey đewma-y*   *ñi*   *chum-al*
       he   make-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 do.how/what-$NRLD^9$.OVN^4

       'he did what he had to do'

(24) *petú alü-le-y   rüpü ñi   ina-yal*
      still big-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] road poss1s follow-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   'the road which I have to follow is still long'

(25) *müchay đoy are-nge-a-lu   troki-fi-n*
      shortly more warm-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] opine-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I think it should be warmer in a little while'

(26) *kellu-a-e-y-u   kishu mi   đewma-nu-al*
      help-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] alone poss2s do-NEG[10]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   'I will help you[s] so that you[s] won't have to do [it] on your own'

For the *müle-y* construction, see also 26.4.7.2 (123–124).

   Another debitive construction may be formed with the suffix *-fal-* FORCE[25].
The morpheme *-fal-* indicates either that the subject is forced to perform an
action or that the subject forces someone else to perform an action.

(27) *đewma-fal-fi-n   ti ruka*
      make-FORCE[25]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the house

   'I must build the house', 'I gave orders to build the house' (I must have
   the house built)

   The suffix *-fal-* is used differently in the speech of the speakers LQ, RR and
MM. For the suffix *-fal-*, see 26.25.

(iv) The suffix *-a-* expresses an advice or permission to perform an action.

(28) *mexor amu-tu-a-y-m-i*
      better go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

   'you[s] better go back'

   ⟨ *mexor* is Sp. mejor 'better'.⟩

(29) *fiy wülá fiy tüfá küpá amu-tu-l-m-i   amu-tu-a-y-m-i*
      that then that this wishing go-RE[16]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2] go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

   'and then, if you[s] want to go back then, you[s] may go'

(v) When the suffix *-a-* combines with the impeditive marker *-fu-*[8], it expresses
   a hypothetical possibility. The sequence *-a-fu-* can be used to express an
   open-ended possibility.

(30) *nü-ki-fi-l-nge.   trafo-l-a-fu-y-m-i*
      take-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3]; break-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

   'don't take it. you[s] might break [it]'

(31) *pepí   amu-n nge-la-y   kawellu-mu, welu namun-tu*
      being.able go-PVN[4] be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3̲[3] horse-INST,   but   foot-ADV

      puw-a-fu-y   che
      arrive-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3̲[3] person

      'it is impossible to go on a horse, but people might get there on foot'

The sequence *-a-fu-* expresses the possibility of an event taking place under the condition put forth in the conditional clause.

(32) *iñché küɖaw-me-nu-l-i   Arxentina, pepí*
      I   work-TH[20]-NEG[10]-COND[4]-1[3]-s̲[2] Argentina,   being.able

      wew-la-ya-fu-n   plata
      earn-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] money

      'if I did not go to work in Argentina, I would not be able to earn money'

Compare:

(33) *iñché küɖaw-me-nu-fu-l-i   Arxentina, pepí*
      I   work-TH[20]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-s̲[2] Argentina,   being.able

      wew-la-ya-fu-n   plata
      earn-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] money

      'if I had not gone to work in Argentina, I would not have been able to earn money'

(34) *eymi ɖoy pichi tayí   aku-pe-l-m-i,*
      you[s]   more little   a.moment.ago   arrive-PX[13]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2],

      pe-pa-ya-fwi-y-m-i
      see-HH[17]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'if you[s] had arrived a little bit earlier, you[s] would have seen him'

(35) *fenten   pichi-ke   achawáll müle-la-ya-fu-y*
      that.much small-DISTR chicken   be-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

      'there would not have been that many chickens' (if we had not taken care of them)

The sequence *-a-fu-* indicates that a prospective situation does not, will not or did not take place.

(36) *sungu-wye-a-fwi-y*
      speak-PLPF[15]-NRLD[10]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

      'he would have spoken with him' (but he didn't)

(37) *küpa-la-ya-fu-y   rangi antü?*
      come-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] mid   day

      'wasn't he supposed to come at noon?' (he hasn't shown up yet)

(38) *tüfá ñi   fe-m-a-fel*
      this poss1s become.like.that-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

      'this [is] what I should have done'

  Finally, the sequence *-a-fu-* may indicate either a potentiality, e.g.

(39) *iñché kim-la-n   chew ta-ñi   umaw-tu-a-fel   tüfa-chi*
      I   know-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] where the-poss1s sleep-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].OVN[4] this-ADJ

      pun
      night

      'I don't know where I can sleep tonight'

or a polite, friendly request, e.g.

(40) *kellu-nü-kawell-me-a-fe-n?*
      help-take-horse-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      'could you^s help me to catch the horse?'

or a wish, e.g.:

(41) *küpa-fu-l-e-fel,   müná küme-a-fu-y!*
      come-IPD[8]-COND[4]-3[3]-IPD[8].OVN[4], very   good-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'if only he would come, that would be very nice!'

  For the ending *-fel*, see 26.4.7.3 (130–133).

(vi) A conditional form seldom takes the non-realized action marker *-a-*. When
      the suffix *-a-* combines with the conditional, it indicates a plan or intention
      to perform an action in the immediate future. A conditional form marked
      with the suffix *-a-* may also have debitive meaning.

(42) *fey aku-a-l-e,   đew   aku-a-fu-y*
      he arrive-NRLD[9]-COND[4]-3[3], already arrive-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'if he were going to come, he would have arrived by now'

The suffix sequence *-a-fu-* has been found only once or twice in a conditional
form.

(43) *wiño-a-fu-l-i,   i-pa-tu-a-fu-n*
      return-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2], eat-hh[17]-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

      'if I had to go back, I would come to eat'

(44) *iñché küđaw-me-nu-a-fu-l-i   Arxentina, pepí*
      I   work-Th[20]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2] Argentina,   being.able

wew-la-ya-fu-n   *plata*
earn-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] money

'if I had not gone to work in Argentina, I would not have earned money'

MM opines that (44) and (33) have the same meaning.

(vii) A subordinate which takes the non-realization marker -*a*- may be used as a finite verb form. In contrast with an indicative -*a*- form which indicates a plan or intention to perform an action at a definite point of time, a subordinate which is marked with the suffix -*a*- expresses a prospective situation which will be realized at an indefinite moment in the future.

(45)   *ta-ñi*   *ñawe-nge-a-lu*   *fey-ta-chi   kulliñ*
the-poss1s daughter-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] that-the-ADJ cattle

'[one day] this cattle will be my daughter's'

(46)   *iñché kücha-w-a-lu*
I   wash-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

'I will wash myself'

(47)   *eymi ka   antü mapu-đungu-a-lu*
you^s other day   country-matter/language-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

'one day you will speak the Mapuche language' (Compare with (8) in 26.9)

For the ending -*a-lu*, see also (237) and (239) in 26.4.10.3. I found a few finite -*a-lu* forms which contain the impeditive marker -*fu*-:

(48)   *fey aku-a-fu-lu*   *welu aku-la-y*
he   arrive-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] but   arrive-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

'he would come but he didn't'

(49)   *eymi amu-a-fu-lu*   *España welu kutran-üy-m-i*
you^s go-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] Spain   but   illness-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'you^s were going to go to Spain but you^s fell ill'

(50)   *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?*
what-INST   PART become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

'why shouldn't they have done that?' (of course they did)

The morpheme sequence -*a-fu-lu* is also found in the following construction:

(51)   *đoy kümé awkan-tu-a-fu-lu,*   *đoy weshá*
more good   game/match-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4], more bad

awkan-tu-y
game/match-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

'instead of playing better, they played worse'

I found one instance of an *-a-lu* form which expressed a supposition:

(52)   *aku-a-lu   kiñe witran, fey đungu-a-lu:*
       arrive-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] one visitor, he speak-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]:

       "chum-nge-n-tu-y-m-i?"
       how-VERB[36]-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

       'suppose a visitor comes [and] says: "what do you[s] think [about it]?" '

26.10   Slot 10. Negation

Slot 10 may be filled by either one of the following negation markers: *-la-*, *-ki-* or *-nu-*.

The suffix *-la-* NEG[10] occurs in indicative forms.

(1)   *la-le-la-y*
        die-ST[28]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

        'he/she is not dead'

The suffix *-ki-* NEG[10] is found in imperative forms only. The morpheme *-ki-* obligatorily combines with *-l-* which I interpret as the conditional marker *-l-* COND[4] on the basis of its position in the suffixal string.

(2)   *lang-üm-ki-fi-l-nge   tüfa-chi üñüm*
        die-CA[34]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3] this-ADJ bird

        'don't kill that bird!'

The sequence *-ki[10]-nu[10]-l[4]-* may occasionally be found instead of the sequence *-ki[10]-l[4]-*. Thus, instead of the previous example (2) one may find:

(3)   *lang-üm-ki-nu-fi-l-nge   tüfa-chi üñüm*
        die-CA[34]-NEG[10]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3] this-ADJ bird

        'don't kill that bird!'

This form presents the problem of two negation markers and two mood markers in one form. The morpheme sequence *ki-nu-l-* is not frequent.

As I stated before (in 25.2.1), the intransitive imperative paradigm is not complete. There is no imperative form for first person non-singular subject. The indicative 1d and 1p may be used adhortatively, e.g. *leli-y-iñ* 'we[p] looked', 'let us[p] look'. However, the suffix *-la-* which is used for negation of the indicative form is replaced by the sufiix sequence *-ki-l-* to indicate negation when the verb form is used adhortatively. Compare *leli-la-y-iñ* 'we[p] did not look' and *leli-ki-l-y-iñ* 'let us[p] not look'. Likwewise, 2 → 1 indicative forms which may also be used adhortatively are marked with the negation marker *la-* for the indicative but with *-ki-l-* when they are used adhortatively, e.g. *leli-mu-y-iñ* 'you[s/d/p] looked at us[p]', 'look at us[p]', *leli-mu-la-y-iñ*, 'you[s/d/p] did not look at us[p]', *leli-mu-ki-l-y-iñ* 'do'nt you[s/d/p] look at us[p]'. In 2s → 1s negative imperative forms the subject marker is *-i* and not *-chi*, which indicates a 1s subject in

imperative verb forms e.g. *leli-ki-e-l-i* ' don't look at me'. Note that the ending
-ki-e-l-i alternates with *ke-e-l-i* or *ke-l-i* (see 8.1.4.3). The subject of 3 → 1s
negative imperative forms is marked by either *-chi* or *-i*, e.g. *leli-ki-e-l-chi-mu*
∼ *leli-ki-e-l-i-mu* 'may he not look at me'. For other examples of the negation
marker *-ki-*, see (25), (31), (37), (40), (41) and (43) in 26.4. For the negative
transitive paradigm, see the appendix.

The negation marker *-nu-* occurs in conditional forms, subordinates or nomi-
nal constructions. The suffix *-no-* may be found instead of *-nu-*.

(4)   *petú kuɖu-nu-l-m-i,*   *ye-l-me-a-e-n*   *fürkü*
      still   lay.down-NEG[10]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], carry-BEN[27]-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1] cool

      ko
      water

      'if you[s] are not going to bed yet, you[s] must bring me cool water'

For more examples of the negation marker *-nu-* in conditional forms, see (20)
in 26.4, and (32–33) and (44) in 26.9.

(5)   *petú ñi*   *nie-nu-n*   *kayu tripantu kolexio-tu-y*
      still   poss3 have-NEG[10]-PVN[4] six   year   school-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

      'he started going to school before he was six years old'

For more examples of the suffix *-nu-* in subordinates, see (49), (56), (58),
(64), (65), (76–79), (103) , (104) , (109–111), (158) and (181) in 26.4.
The suffix *-nu-* may occur as a nexal negator in a nominal sentence.

(6)   *fey-ti*   *ruka nu*
      that-the house NEG

      'that [is] not a house'

See also chapter 24 (7–9).
The suffix *-nu-* may be used as a negator of nominal constructions which
contain *rumé* '-ever':

iney rumé   'who-ever ';   *iney nu rumé*   'nobody'
chem rumé   'what-ever ';   *chem nu rumé*   'nothing'
chew rumé   'wherever ';   *chew nu rumé*   'nowhere'
      Compare:

(7)   *ɖoy chem rumé nie-ke-la-fu-y-iñ*
      more what   -ever   have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] did not have anything more'

(8)   *ɖoy chem nu rumé nie-ke-fu-y-iñ*
      more what   NEG -ever   have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] had nothing more'

(9)   *iney rumé nge-la-y   faw*
      who -ever be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] here

      'there isn't anyone here'

The morpheme *nu* is also found in other nominal constructions, e.g.

(10) *đewmá mari tripantu nie-l   (+nie-el+) tripa-n ñi*
      almost ten   year   have-OVN[4] leave-IND1s[3] poss1s work-NRLD[9].OVN[4],

      küđaw-al, welu müté   ka-mapu nu
      but   very other-country NEG

      'when I was almost ten years old, I went away to work, but not very far
      away'

Note that the adverb *turpu* 'never' combines with negative verbs.

(11) *eymi turpu kellu-ke-la-y-m-i*
      you[s] never help-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'you[s] never help'

26.11   Slot 11. *-lle-* affirmative

The suffix *-lle-* adds emphasis. It occurs in predicates and subordinates.

(1)   *fe-m-lle-n   may; chem-mew am*
      become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-IND1s[3] PART; what-INST   PART

      fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu   iñché! (9,12–13)
      become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] I

      'I certainly did that. why shouldn't I have?!'

(2)   *kwida-kulliñ-ke-fu-y   ka küđaw-ke-lle-fu-y   may ka*
      tend-cattle-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] also work-CF[14]-AFF[11]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] PART PART

      'they tended the cattle, and they also worked of course'

⟨ *kwida-* 'to tend [a flock]' is derived from Sp. cuidar 'to look after', 'to care
for'. ⟩

   With the exception of conditional verbs, verbs which take the suffix *-lle-* are
very often followed by the affirmative particle *may* (32.5). The affirmative suffix
lle- may also occur outside the verb and form a compound with the particle
may, see 32.6. Compare:

(3)   *fe-m-lle-y   may*
      become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

      'they certainly do, yes'

(4)   *fi-y*   *llemay*
      become.like.that-IND[4]-3[3]   PART

      'certainly, yes' (lit.: that is certainly so)

The particle *may* is related to the adverb *may* 'yes'. Note that in answer to a question or in response to a statement either the verb is repeated (e.g. *đewma-y-m-i tüfa-chi küđaw?* 'did you[s] finish this work?' *đewma-la-n* 'no, I didn't', lit.: I did not finish), or the deictic verb *fe-* 'to become like that' is used. There is no Mapuche equivalent for English 'no', and *may* 'yes' or *may may* 'yes yes' seldom occurs as an answer.

(5)   *tunté*   *i-lle-l-i*   *rumé, motri-la-ya-n*
      how.much eat-AFF[11]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2] -ever, get.fat-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

      'no matter how much I eat, I won't get fat'

The infix *-kelle-*, which indicates an urgent order or need, may be found in imperative forms. The morpheme sequence *-kelle-* may consist of the constant feature marker *-ke-* CF[14] and the affirmative suffix *-lle-* AFF[11]. The sequence *-ke-lle-* is infrequent.

(6)   *iñché wüné amu-ke-lle-chi*
      I   first go-CF[14]-AFF[11]-IMP1s[3]

      'let me go first!'

(7)   *pichi fe-le-ke-lle-m-ün!*
      little become.like.that-ST[28]-CF[14]-AFF[11]-IMP[4]-2[3]-p[2]

      'you[p] wait a minute!' (lit.: be a little like that)

26.12   Slot 12. *-(ü)rke-* reportative

The suffix *-(ü)rke-* (*-ürke-* after C, *-rke-* after V) indicates that the denoted situation has not been witnessed by the speaker himself. The morpheme *-(ü)rke-* indicates that the speaker is informed by others, has heard rumours or has deduced a conclusion. Although the source of information is left unspecified, it is usually obvious who or what the source of information is. The suffix *-(ü)rke-* is also used to express unawareness. I found the suffix *-(ü)rke-* in indicative forms only. The reportative marker *-(ü)rke-* is very frequent in narratives.

(1)   *amu-rke-lle-y-ng-ün*
      go-REP[12]-AFF[11]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      '[oh yes,] they[p] certainly went, I am told'

(2)   *antü-küđaw-kiaw-ke-rke-fu-y*
      day-work-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he used to work here and there as a day-labourer, they say'

(3)   *weđweđ-pe-rke-la-y,   ta   tüfá. amu-ru-me-y   fenten*
      crazy-PX[13]-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], the this. go-cross-Th[20]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] that.much

      mawün-mew
      rain-INST

      'he must be crazy, that one. he went through all that rain'

(4)   *iñché ta kom i-nge-y   pi-n   welu petú müle-we-rke-y*
      I   the all   eat-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] think-IND1s[3] but   still   be-PS[19]-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

      'I thought [that] everything had been eaten, but there appeared to be
      [something] left'

(5)   *anü-rke-n*
      sit.down-REP[12]-IND1s[3]

      'I sat down thoughtlessly'

Instead of the suffix -*ürke*-, one may find the morpheme -*erke*-.

(6)   *ariñ-erki-y*
      get.burned-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

      'it's got burned' (I can taste it)

The suffix -*(ü)rke*- may express unawareness on the part of a participant
other than the speaker.

(7)   *fey montu-rki-y   ñi   lamngen ñi   đoam* (5,5)
      he   escape-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] poss3 sister   poss3 care

      'he escaped, he was told, with the help of his sister'

(8)   *weñe-nie-ñma-rke-fi-y-ng-ün   ñi   mapu*
      steal-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-REP[12]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 land

      'they[p] kept robbing them of their land without them being aware of it'

(9)   *kiñe korona amá ye-nie-tu-rke-la-y-u   nga?* (8,66)
      one   crown   PART carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2] PART

      'aren't you aware that we[d] wore a crown?' (don't you remember? it was
      in the month of All Saints. we wore a crown)

The suffix -*(ü)rke*- may be affixed to a noun, in which case it can also express
surprise, see 18.1.4.

26.13   Slot 13. -*pe*- proximity

The suffix -*pe*- is difficult to assess. The morpheme -*pe*- is infrequent in spon-
taneous speech and the common ground of its semantic characteristics is not
clear. The suffix -*pe*- occurs in predicates and subordinates, in affirmative and
negative sentences as well as in questions. A verb form marked with -*pe*- ap-
pears to indicate an event in the recent past, a feature, a strong probability

and doubt. There is no reason to assume more than one suffix *-pe-*. I have not come across a verb form marked with more than one suffix *-pe-*. The relative position of the morpheme *-pe-* in the attested verb forms seems to justify the assignation of *-pe-* to one slot, that is slot 13, before the reportative marker *-(ü)rke-*[12] (see (3) in 26.12) and after the continuative marker -ka-[16] (see (15) below).The suffix *-pe-* does not co-occur with a suffix in slot 14 or 15. In the past (Smeets 1989: 324) I have labelled the suffix *-pe-* Time Deletor because addition of the morpheme *-pe-* seemed to result in an attributive relationship between the subject and the verb: the subject is left characterized or defined by the action he performed or the situation he was in shortly before the moment of speech.

(1)   *ñi   püto-ko-pe-el*
       poss1s drink-water-PX^{13}-OVN^4

       'my drink' (i.e. that of which I have recently been drinking)

(2)   *iñchiu kwida-kulliñ-pe-y-u*
       we^d tend-cattle-PX^{13}-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^2

       'we^d have been tending cattle'

The subject of (2) has just arrived in his house and he is asked 'what have you been doing?'. The answer (2) may be interpreted as 'we are cattle tenders'.

The interpretation of the suffix *-pe-* as a time deletor was not satisfactory as it did not explain the entire range of meanings of *-pe-*. Lucia Golluscio (2000) offers a better suggestion, when she states: "The suffix *-pe* is an evidential marker originally associated with direct perception which diachronically developed a deictic value of 'immediacy/proximity to speaker'. In line with this indexical meaning, the occurrence of *-pe* also signals the speaker's commitment to the factuality of the situation referred to by the verb marked by *-pe*. In other words, the occurrence of *-pe* creates both a pragmatic relationship of 'proximity' between the situation referred to by the verb and the moment of speech and, at the same time, a pragmatic inference of 'validity' of the facts spoken about" (Galluscio 2000: 252). Golluscio suggests a relationship between the suffix *pe-* and the verb *pe-* 'to see' (Zuñiga 2000: 53). I will use the label "proximity" (PX) for the suffix *-pe-* as the term seems best to cover most, though not all, manifestations of the suffix *-pe-*.

The suffix *-pe-* expresses temporal proximity in cases where the verb form marked with *-pe-* denotes a situation which has taken place shortly before the moment of speech.

(3)   *pi-pe-y*
       say-PX^{13}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

       'he just said'

(4)   *đew   amu-pe-n*
      already go-PX^{13}-IND1s^3

      'I have just been there'

(5)   *we   yall-pe-y*
      new/recent get.child-PX^{13}-IND^4-ʒ^3

      'he got a child recently'

(6)   *chew anta müli-y   ta ti ufisha ñi   fewlá lang-üm-pe-el?*
      where PART be-IND^4-ʒ^3 the the sheep poss1s now   die-CA^{34}-PX^{13}-OVN^4

      'where is the sheep I just killed?'

Note that the meaning of the suffix *-pe-* 'recently' is often, but not always, supported by lexical means.

(7)   *minggako   reké troki-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi   küđaw-pe-l   engün*
      collective.labour like   opine-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-ʒ^3 the-poss3 work-PX^{13}-OVN^4 they^p
      (10,30)
      'they^p considered their work as collective labour'

In (7) *ta-ñi küđaw-pe-l* 'the work they^p have been doing shortly before the moment of speech' indicates a feature of the situation the subject has been involved in for a while before the moment of speech. "The work" is defined by the fact that the subject has been doing it recently. In (8) below a place is defined as a "closet" because the subject has recently left his clothes in that place for a while. It need not be a proper closet, it may be just a corner of the house.

(8)   *ñi   el-pe-mu-m*
      poss1s leave-PX^{13}-PLPF^7-IVN^4

      'my "wardrobe"' (i.e. the place where I have been leaving my clothes for a while shortly before the moment of speech)

(9)   *allkü-pe-nu-el-chi   đungu allkü-n*
      hear-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-OVN^4-ADJ word   hear-IND1s^3

      'I heard something unheard of'

(10) *ñi   ye-pe-fel-chi   bolsa ñam-küle-y*
      poss3 carry-PX^{13}-IPD^8.OVN^4-ADJ bag   get.lost-ST^{28}-IND^4-ʒ^3

      'the bag he used to carry got lost'

In (10) the suffix *-pe-* seems to have lost the notion of 'recently'. The verb form marked with *-pe-* was translated as 'la bolsa que siempre llevó'. Instead of *ye-pe-fel-chi* one could have used *ye-ke-fel-chi*. I found more nominalized verb forms marked with *-pe* in which the suffix *-pe-* indicates a constant or characteristic feature (like the suffix *-ke-*) rather than a situation which has recently taken place.

(11) *iñché wim-tu-le-n   ñi   lef-pe-el*   (MM)
      I   get.used-TR^{33}-ST^{28}-IND1s^3 poss1s run-PX^{14}-OVN^4

      'I am used to run'

The use of the suffix *-pe-* as an indicator of a characteristic or constant situation may have resulted from the use of the morpheme *-pe-* with the instrumental verbal noun marker *-m*^{4}. The suffix sequence *-ye-m* which contains the constant feature marker *-ye-*^{5} is exclusively used to indicate a temporal clause. The instrumental verbal noun marker *-m* can only be used as an instrumental/locative or infinitive marked for characteristic or constant feature when it is combined with the sequence *-pe*^{13}*-ye*^{5} (see 26.4.8). Note that the suffix *-pe-* does not co-occur with the constant feature marker *-ke-*^{14}.

When *-pe-* combines with the negation marker *-la-*^{10}, it expresses an assumption on the part of the speaker that something is very likely to be the case.

(12) *aña-pe-la-ya-y*
      hurt-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND^4-3^3

      'it is probably going to hurt'

(13) *ütrüf-tuku-n   kiñe fotella pulku pu lewfü. fantepu, pulku*
      throw-put.at-IND1s^3 one bottle wine LOC river. by.now, wine

      utru-l-e,   re   fotella müle-we-pe-la-y
      stream-COND^4-3^3, only bottle be-PS^{19}-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-3^3

      'I threw a bottle of wine into the river; I suppose that, if the wine has streamed out, only the bottle is left by now'

(14) *pelo-le-pe-la-ya-y*   ka   kiñe mari tripantu
      get.light-ST^{28}-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND^4-3^3 other one ten year

      'he will probably be able to see for another ten years'

(15) *akorda-nie-ka-pe-la-y-m-i?*
      remember-PRPS^{32}-CONT^{16}-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-2^3-s^2

      'you^s probably still remember that, don't you?'

(16) *lef-we-pe-la-ya-fu-y*   may?
      run-PS^{19}-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND^4-3^3 PART

      'won't he run any more?' (I think he will)

When the suffix *-pe-* is used in non-negative predicates, it may express doubt. Compare with (16):

(17) *lef-we-pe-a-fu-y*
      run-PS^{19}-PX^{13}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IND^4-3^3

      'he may not run anymore' (he may still run, but I don't think so)

(18)   *amu-pe-a-n*   *may?*
　　　 go-PX^{13}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 PART

　　　 'shall I go?'

(19)   ... *welu fewlá chum-le-pe-y-ng-ün*   *chemay?*
　　　 but   now   do.what-ST^{28}-PX^{13}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 PART

　　　 '...but as for what they^p are doing now? ...' (I don't know)

A non-negative predicate which is marked with *-pe* and expresses doubt usually occurs in questions which contain the question particle *may* or *-chemay* (see chapter 32).

In three instances the suffix *-pe-* was found in a position behind the suffix *-tu-* which occupies slot 16 and marks for repetition or restoration of a situation (see (7-9) in 26.16).

Proximity between the situation referred to and the moment of speech, and proximity in the sense of commitment of the speaker to the factuality of the situation cover the majority of the cases in which I found the suffix *-pe-*, but not all. More data are needed to ascertain the origin and meaning of the morpheme.

26.14   Slot 14. *-ke-* constant feature

The suffix *-ke-* expresses a constant or characteristic feature of the subject, see 25.3 (45–50).

The suffix *-ke*^{14} and the suffix *-ye-* CF^5, which also indicates a constant feature, are mutually exclusive. The suffix *-ye-* combines only with the instrumental verbal noun marker *-m* IVN^4, the morpheme *-ke-* is used elsewhere.

A *-ke-* form denotes a situation which may continue into the present. A form marked with *-ke-* is therefore often translated as present tense. Discontinuation of a situation denoted by a *-ke-* form is indicated by the impeditive *-fu-* IPD^8.

(1)   *pođ-küle-ke-y*
　　　 dirty-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

　　　 'it is always dirty'

(2)   *küpá   leli-ke-n   pelíkula*
　　　 wishing watch-CF^{14}-IND1s^3 movie

　　　 'I like to watch movies'

⟨ *pelíkula* is Sp. película 'movie'.⟩

(3)   *antü-küđaw-kiaw-ke-rke-fu-y*
　　　 day-work-CIRC^{30}-CF^{14}-REP^{12}-IPD^8-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

　　　 'he used to work as a day-labourer'

(4) *tüfa-mew pe-ke-e-y-u*   *kuyfí*
     this-INST   see-CF[14]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] formerly

     'I used to meet you^s here'

A *-ke-* form may be used to express a general rule.

(5) *umañ-pa-ke-la-y*   *ta witran ta*
     stay-Hh[17]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the visitor   the

     'a visitor does not stay here'

(6) *kisu am ñi   ñawe   kure-ye-tu-ke-nu-lu*   *am wentru*
     self PART poss3 daughter wife-VERB[36]-RE[16]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-SVN[4] PART man

     'for a man does not have his daughter for a wife'

The suffix *-ke-* CF[14] seldom occurs in conditional forms.

(7) *eymi kuyfí   sungu-ke-l-m-i*   *iñché*
     you^s formerly speak-CF[14]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2] I

     aye-nie-a-fe-y-u
     laugh-PRPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

     'in former times when you^s would speak, I could not help but laugh at
     you^s'

In conditional forms, the combination of the constant feature marker *-ke-*
CF[14] and the impeditive marker *-fu-* IPD[8] does not indicate discontinuation of
a characteristic situation. In conditional forms, *-fu-* indicates that the denoted
situation has not been realized, e.g.

(8) *eymi kuyfí   sungu-ke-fu-l-m-i* . . .
     you^s formerly speak-CF[14]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

     'if you^s had spoken in former times . . . '

The sequence *-ke-fu-* is very infrequent in conditional forms.
The suffix *-ke-* does not often occur in subordinates.

(9) *kuyfí   ñi   soam-ke-nu-n*   *ñi   chaw iñché*
     formerly poss1s care.for-CF[14]-NEG[10]-PVN[4] poss1s father I

     'it has been a long time that I stopped caring for my father'

In (9), instead of the suffix *-ke-* the proximity marker *-pe-* may be used.

(10) *eymi kim-fi-y-m-i*   *ti pichi somo kuyfí   ta-yu*
     you^s know-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] the little woman formerly the-poss1d

     awkan-tu-ke-fel?
     play-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

     'do you^s know the girl I used to play with a long time ago?'

(11) *fill   antü miaw-ke-fu-chi   wentru wariya-mew la-y*
      every day   walk.round-CF[14]-IPD[8]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ man   town-INST   die-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

      'the man who walked round in town every day has died'

(12) *đewmá ngilla-ka-ke-fu-ye-m*
      finished buy-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

      ñam-üm-künu-fem-ke-tu-y
      get.lost-CA[34]-PFPS[32]-IMM[21]-CF[14]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

      'every time she has done her shopping she immediately loses [it]'

For the position of the repetition marker *-tu-* RE[16] in (11), see 26.16. The suffix *-ke-* may combine with the instrumental verbal noun marker *-m* IVN[4] when it co-occurs with the pluperfect marker *-mu-* PLPF[7].

(13) *fey-ta-chi   trafla rumel müle-ke-mu-m   kafé*
      that-the-ADJ shelf   always be-CF[14]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] coffee

      'this shelf [is] where the coffee used to be'

Compare:

(14) *fey-ta-chi   trafla rumel müle-pe-ye-m   kafé*
      that-the-ADJ shelf   always be-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4] coffee

      'this shelf [is] where the coffee always is'

(15) *el-ke-mu-m   taku-n*
      leave-CF[14]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] cover-PVN[4]

      'a wardrobe' (where one used to leave clothes)

(16) *el-pe-mu-m   taku-n*
      leave-PX[13]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] cover-PVN[4]

      'a wardrobe' (where one has left clothes)

The suffix *-ke-* CF[14] cannot combine with the completive subjective verbal noun marker *-(ü)wma* CSVN[4]. I have found one form in which the suffix *-ke-*[14] co-occurs with the proximity marker *-pe-*[13] and the negation marker *-la-*[10].

(17) *yewe-ke-pe-la-y-ng-ün   ñi   tripa-yal*
      be.ashamed-CF[14]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 leave-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'they[p] must be ashamed to go away'

Compare (17) and (18) below. In (17), *-ke-* CF[14] follows the progressive persistent marker *-nie-*[32]. In (18), the distributive, nominal suffix *-ke-* DISTR is part of the nominal stem and precedes the suffix *-nie-*[32]:

(18) *kom pe-nie-ke-y-m-ün-mew   mün   chum-meke-n*   (4,3)
      all   see-PRPS[32]-CF[14]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2]-DS[1] poss2p do.what/how-PR[28]-PVN[4]

      'He sees everything you[p] are doing'

(19) *püntü-ke-nie-w-üy-ng-u?*
      apart-DISTR-PRPS[32]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2]

‘are they[d] apart from each other?’

26.15   Slot 15. *-(ü)wye-* pluperfect

The suffix *-(ü)wye-* (*-üwye-* after C, *-wye-* after V) indicates that an event is realized before an orientation moment in the past or in the future. The suffix *-(ü)wye-* can combine with the non-realization marker *-a-* NRLD[9].

(1) *füta-nge-wye-rke-y*
     husband-VERB[36]-PLPF[15]-REP[12]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

‘she had been married, they say’

(2) *fanten   antü aku-wye-a-y-m-i*
     this.much day   arrive-PLPF[15]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

‘that day you[s] will have arrived’

The suffix *-(ü)wye-* may be found in indicative or conditional forms or in subordinates which are marked either by the zero morph *-∅* OVN[4] (see (105–106) in 26.4), the morpheme *-fiel* TVN[4] (see (188) in 26.4) or the morpheme *-t-* AVN[4] (see (187) in 26.4). These subordinates can take the pluperfect marker *-(ü)wye-* when they are used as a passive participle. The suffix *-(ü)wye-* occurs in complementary distribution with the pluperfect marker *-mu-*[7] (see 26.7). The suffix *-(ü)wye-* can combine with the proximity marker *-pe-* PX[13] or the impeditive marker *-fu-* IPD[8]. The morpheme *-(ü)wye-* is infrequent.

(3) *aku-wye-l-m-i,   pe-pa-ya-fwi-y-m-i*
     arrive-PLPF[15]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], see-Hh[17]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

‘if you[s] had arrived, you[s] would have seen him here’

The morpheme *-üwye-* alternates with its optional allomorph *-uwye-*.

(4) *law-uwye-fu-y*
     become.bald-PLPF[15]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

‘he had become bald’ (but he is not bald any more)

26.16   Slot 16. *-tu-* repetitive/restorative, *-ka-* continuative

The suffix *-tu-* indicates that a situation is repeated or restored. It is labelled RE.

(1) *nel-üm-tu-fi-n*
     become.loose-CA[34]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

‘I set him free again’, ‘I restored his freedom to him’

(2)   *nor-tu-y*
      straight-RE[16]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he/it became straight again', 'he got on the right path again'

(3)   *đoy küme-l-ka-le-tu-n*
      more good-CA[34]-FAC[33]-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND1s[3]

      'I am better again'

(4)   *witra-tripa-tu-y*
      get.up-leave-RE[16]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he got up and left [for home]'

(5)   *ütrüf-tuku-künu-me-tu-fi-y-iñ*   (11,36)
      throw-put.at-PFPS[32]-Th[20]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] threw him out and left him where he came from'

(6)   *wiño-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ*
      return-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] always went back [home] again'

The suffix *-tu-*[16] normally occurs before a filler of slots 15–1 (see (6) above, and (9) in 26.12). However, when the morpheme *-tu-* combines with the proximity marker *-pe-* PX[13], the suffix *-tu-* follows the suffix *-pe-*, e.g.

(7)   *amu-pe-tu-la-y*
      go-PX[13]-RE[16]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he probably went back'

(8)   *aku-pe-tu-a-fu-n*
      arrive-PX[13]-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

      'I may arrive' (where I was before)

(9)   *treka-ka-pe-tu-la-ya-y*
      walk-CONT[16]-PX[13]-RE[16]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he may still walk again'

This irregular word order is probably due to the suffix *-tu-*, which is a bit versatile, and not to the suffix *-pe-*, which is otherwise regular. The suffix *-tu-*[16] may occasionally be found after *-ke-*[14], cf. (12) in 26.14. Note that in (9) *-tu-* combines with *-ka-* CONT. These suffixes are otherwise mutually exclusive. Maybe a second, homophonous, suffix *-tu-* will have to be assumed.

In one instance, the morpheme *-tu-*[16] has a lexicalized meaning: *fey-pi-tu-* 'to say something different all the time' (*fey-pi-* that-say-).

The suffix *-ka-* indicates that a situation is continued beyond a certain moment.

(10) *iñché leli-n   ñi   ruka-mew ñi*
      I   watch-IND1s[3] poss1s house-INST poss3

      müle-ka-n   ñi   müle-ka-nu-n   ñi   narki
      be-CONT[16]-PVN[4] poss3 be-CONT[16]-NEG[10]-PVN[4] poss1s cat

      'I looked in my house [to see] if my cat was still there or not'

(11) *pichi-ka-y*
      small-CONT[16]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is small (for his age)'

(12) *mawün-lle-fu-l-e   rumé, fe-le-ka-ya-y*
      rain-AFF[11]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-3[3] -ever,   become.like.this-ST[28]-CONT[16]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3]

      müten mapu
      only   land

      'even though it may rain, the land will stay just like this'

  See also (15) in 26.13 for the suffix *-ka-*.
  The morpheme *-ka-* is not frequent. The adverb *petú* 'still' is used more often and seems to compete with *-ka-*. This may be due to a historical process in which the gradual loss of the morpheme *-ka-* proceeds through a stage where the adverb *petú* and the morpheme *-ka-* are used simultaneously (13–14) and ends up with *petú* being exclusively used to express continuation (15–16) and *-ka-* used only in marginal and petrified cases (17–19).

(13) *petú meke-ka-y-m-i   i-n?*
      still be.busy-CONT[16]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] eat-PVN[4]
      'are you[s] still eating?'

(14) *kuyfí   iñché petú pichi-ka-el . . .*
      formerly I   still small-CONT[16]-OVN[4]
      'a long time ago when I was still young . . .'

(15) *petú leli-le-n*
      still watch-ST[28]-IND1s[3]
      'I am still watching'

(16) *petú pelo-y*
      still become.light-IND[4]-3[3]
      'it is getting light'

(17) *kom amu-ka-fu-l-i-iñ   kay rüngü-m-al?*
      all   go-CONT[16]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1[3]-p[2] PART become.ground-CA[34]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]
      'why don't we[p] all go to grind [stuff]?' ([what] if we[p] all went to grind?)

(18)   *leli-mu-ka-chi*
       watch-2A[23]-CONT[16]-IMP1s[3]

       'you[d/p] may look at me'

(19)   *fey-pi-ka-fi-chi*
       that-say-CONT[16]-EDO[6]-IMP1s[3]

       'I had better tell him, why don't I tell him'

26.17   Slot 17. *-pa-* hither, *-pu-* locative

The use of direction/location markers is very frequent in Mapuche. The suffix *-pa-* indicates that the denoted situation either involves a movement towards the speaker or takes place at a location near the speaker. The suffix *-pa-* is labelled Hither (Hh).

(1)   *traf-pa-ya-e-n*   *estasion-mew*
       meet-Hh[17]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] station-INST

       'come and meet me at the station'

(2)   *iñché üyüw   müle-n,   welu fewlá faw müle-pa-n*
       I   over.there be-IND1s[3], but now   here be-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

       'I live over there, but I am here now'

The suffix *-pa-* may indicate that the denoted situation involves a development towards the present.

(3)   *ka   fe-le-pa-tu-n*   (15,26)
       and become.like.that-ST[28]-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND1s[3]

       'and I was again as I was before'

(4)   *welu iñché kim-kon-pa-n*   *nie-we-rke-y-iñ*   *kayu mari*
       but   I   learn-enter-Hh[17]-IND1s[3] have-PS[19]-REP[12]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] six   ten

       kechu mütem
       five   only

       'but I realized we apparently only had 65 left'

The suffix *-pa-* forms part of the stem when it combines with the verbs *nge-* 'to be' (see (5) in 26.30) or *ye-* 'to carry'; *ye-pa-* 'to take after someone'.

Another suffix which may fill slot 17 is *-pu-*. The morphemes *-pa-* and *-pu-* do not co-occur. The suffix *-pu-* indicates that the denoted event takes place at a location away from the speaker. It is labelled Locative (LOC).

(5)   *pe-pu-fi-y*
       see-LOC[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he saw it there'

(6) *fey-ta-chi*   *wentru*   *puw-lu*   *nütram-ka-pu-fi-y*   *kom*
     that-the-ADJ   man   arrive-SVN[4] conversation-FAC[33]-LOC[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]   all

     pu   *Mapuche* (4,2)
     COLL   Mapuche

     'when this man arrived, he talked there with all the Mapuche'

(7) *traf-pu-a-e-n*   *estasion-mew*
     meet-LOC[17]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] station-INST

     'meet me (there) at the station' (Compare (1))

The meaning of the morpheme *-pu-* does not imply motion. The suffix *-pu-*
indicates a situation which is presented as permanent and takes place at a
location away from the speaker.

(8) *tüfá* *ñi*   *lamngen fey*   *müle-pu-y*   *San KarloBarilochi*
     this   poss1s sister that/then be-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3[3] San Carlos.de.Bariloche

     'this sister of mine then settled down in San Carlos de Bariloche'

(9) *ent.rega-pu-y*   *ta-ñi*   *plata*
     deliver-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 money

     'they handed over their money' (which will remain in the possession of
     the bride-takers)

The suffix *-pa-* is probably related to the verb *küpa-* 'to come', and the suffix *-pu-* is probably related to the verb *pu(w)-* 'to arrive, to stay' and the preposition *pu*, which indicates location (10.5). Certain motion or location verbs require a directional. They are mentioned in chapter 31.

A third directional suffix is *-me-* Thither. This suffix fills slot 20 and indicates motion away from the speaker, with a connotation of temporariness. The suffix *-me-* does not combine with *-pu-* and can combine with the suffix *-pa-* in marginal cases only. For the suffix *-me-*, see 26.20. For more information on the relative position of the fillers of slots 17-20, see 26.20.1

26.18   Slot 18. *-(ü)r-* interruptive, *-yekü-* interruptive

The suffixes *-(ü)r-* (*-ür-* after C, *-r-* after V) and *-yekü-* indicate that the situation is interrupted in order to perform the action referred to by the verb. The suffix *-(ü)r-* indicates that the situation is interrupted once, whereas the suffix *-yekü-* indicates that the situation is interrupted repeatedly. Both suffixes are labelled Interruptive (ITR). The morphemes *-(ü)r-* and *-yekü-* do not co-occur.

Both *-(ü)r-* and *-yekü-* obligatorily co-occur with a direction marker. The suffix *-(ü)r-* goes together with the venitive marker *-pa-* Hh[17] or the locative marker *-pu-* LOC[17]. The suffix *-yekü-* goes together with the suffix *-pa-* Hh[17] or the andative morpheme *-me-* Th[20]. The suffix *-me-*[20] always follows *-yekü-*[18].

(1)   *fey-pi-nge-r-pa-n*
      that-say-PASS[23]-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

      'on my way here, I was told'

(2)   *ramtu-nie-r-pu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *ñi*   *nie-n*   *küđaw*
      ask-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] poss3 have-PVN[4] work

      'on our way there, we[p] asked if they had work'

(3)   *lef-yekü-pa-n*
      run-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

      'I have come running every now and then'

(4)   … *re*   *putu-yekü-me-tu-y-ng-ün,*   *re*
          only drink-ITR[18]-Th[20]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2], only

      witra-künu-w-yekü-me-tu-y-ng-ün   (8,62)
      get.up-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-ITR[18]-Th[20]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

      'all the time they[p] drank [and] stood still on their way back'

The sequence *-ye-amu-* may be found instead of *-yekü-me-* (MM) (cf. *amu-* 'to go'), e.g. *anü-yekü-me-n/anü-ye-amu-n* 'on my way there, I sat down every now and then'.

The sequence *-(ü)r-pu-* may be used to denote a dynamic situation which is viewed as consisting of several successive phases and develops gradually towards an orientation moment.

(5)   *femngechi fücha-ke wentru-nge-r-pu-y-iñ*   (3,23)
      thus   big-DISTR man-VERB[36]-ITR[18]-LOC[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      '[and] thus each of us[p] became an adult'

(6)   *fentren-mew*   *đoy aku-le-r-pu-y*   *ka-mapu-le-chi*
      large.quantity-INST more arrive-ST[28]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] other-land-ST[28]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ

      pu   *Mapuche*
      COLL Mapuche

      'after a long time, more and more Mapuche kept coming who lived far away'

With the verb *amu-* 'to go', the interruptive marker *-(ü)r-* may be rendered 'to proceed'.

(7)   *iñché Temuko ñi*   *tuw-ün*   *amu-r-pu-n*   *Lautaro*
      I   Temuco poss1s arrive-PVN[4] go-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3] Lautaro

      'I passed through Temuco and proceeded to Lautaro' (lit.: arriving in Temuco I proceeded to Lautaro)

For more information on the relative position of the fillers of slots 17-20, see 26.20.1.

26.19 Slot 19. *-we-* persistence

The suffix *-we-* indicates a situation which persists after a previous event has taken place. It is labelled PS. The suffix *-we-* is probably related to the adjective *we* 'new, young, fresh', which can also be used as an adverb meaning 'just, recently'.

(1) *müle-we-y   ko   tetera-mew?*
     be-PS[19]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] water kettle-INST

   'is there water left in the kettle?'

(2) *kishu-le-we-pe-la-y*
     alone-ST[28]-PS[19]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'he has probably been left alone'

(3) *fe-m-nge-we-n   ta-tí*
     become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-IND1s[3] the-the

   'that's how I am now' (lit.: I have been left like that)

(4) *iñché küpá   yi-we-la-n*
     I   wishing eat-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

   'I don't want to eat any more'

(5) *fewlá đewma-nge-we-nu-lu   troki-fi-n*
     now   do-PASS[23]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-SVN[4] opine-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I thought that nowadays it was not done any more'

The suffix *-we-* may be used to denote a situation which existed earlier and still exists or exists again.

(6) *wütre-we-y*
     cold-PS[19]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'she is cold already' (It is cold outside. Why does she go out? She is cold already)

(7) *fey la-y   fücha-ke-we-lu   ñi   pu   fotüm*
     he   die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] big-DISTR-PS[19]-SVN[4] poss3 COLL son

   'he died when his sons had already grown up'

(8) *ngüküf-küle-we-tu-y*
     quiet.down-ST[28]-PS[19]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'it is already quiet again'

Compare:

(9) *ngüküf-küle-tu-y*
     quiet.down-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'it is quiet again'

(10)   *alü-we-l-i,   füta-nge-a-n*
       big-PS[19]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2], husband-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

       'when I am big, I shall get married'

(11)   *lef-we-pe-a-fu-y*
       run-PS[19]-PX[13]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he may run again'

(12)   *lef-we-ka-pe-la-ya-fu-y*
       run-PS[19]-CONT[16]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'he will probably go on running again'

For more information on the relaive position of the fillers of slots 17-20, see 26.20.1

26.20   Slot 20. *-me-* thither

The suffix *-me-* indicates that the denoted situation involves motion away from the speaker or another orientation point. In contrast with the locative marker *pu-* LOC[17], the suffix *-me-* has a connotation of temporariness. The suffix *-me-* is labelled Thither (Th). The relative position of the suffix *-me* is discussed in 26.20.1 below.

(1)   *eymi ayü-w-üy-m-i   fey mi   pe-me-e-t-ew*
      you[s]   love-REF[31]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]   he   poss2s   see-Th[20]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

      'you[s] were glad that he went to see you[s]'

(2)   *kuđu-le-me-we-la-n*
      lay.down-ST[28]-Th[20]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'I am not going to lay down there any more'

(3)   *traf-me-a-e-n   estasion-mew*
      meet-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] station-INST

      'go meet me at the station'

Compare sentence (3) with example (7) in 26.17. The suffix *-pu-*[17] in (7) indicates that speaker and addressee will meet at the station. The suffix *-me-* in (3) indicates that the addressee must go to the station in order to meet the speaker. Compare also:

(4)   *küđaw-me-n*
      work-Th[20]-IND1s[3]

      'I went to work'

(5)   *küđaw-pu-n*
      work-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]

      'I worked there'

The suffix *-me-* may be used to indicate a stay at a location away from the speaker. The duration is limited. The suffix *-pu-* would be used to indicate a permanent stay.

(6) *külá tripantu-me-n Arxentina*
     three year-Th[20]-IND1s[3] Argentina

     'I was in Argentina for three years'

(7) *kiñe epu mari kechu tripantu-nge-y   miaw-me-y   kiñe*
     one two ten five year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] walk.round-Th[20]-IND[4]-3[3] one

     misionero (4,1)
     missionary

     'some 25 years ago, a missionary walked around over there' (the missionary did not stay there)

(8) *tüng-me-pe-la-ya-n*
     delay-Th[20]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

     'I will probably be delayed over there'

The suffix *-me-* may be used to indicate a gradual development towards an orientation moment. As such it may co-occur with the venitive suffix *-pa-* Hh[17]. The sequence *-me[20]-pa-*[17] only combines with the verb *kim-* 'to learn'.

(9) *iñché kim-püra-me-pa-n   kayu mari tripantu-nge-rki-y   ñi*
     I   learn-go.up-Th[20]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3] six ten year-VERB[36]-REP[12]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3

     puw-ün   ti wingka (11,11)
     arrive-PVN[4] the stranger

     'I realized [that] that that stranger had stayed for sixty years'

(10) *kim-püra-me-pa-fi-ñ   ñi   fe-le-we-n*
     learn-go.up-Th[20]-Hh[17]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 become.like.that-ST[28]-PS[19]-PVN[4]

     'I have come to know him the way he is'

26.20.1 Order of the fillers of slots 17–20

The suffixes which fill slots 17–20 do not always occur in the order in which I have presented them. The order presented is the most frequent and can be explained as follows:

(i) The fillers of slot 17 have the same function and are mutually exclusive. The same holds for the fillers of slot 18.

(ii) The fillers of slot 18 always precede the fillers of slot 17. The suffix *-(ü)r-*[18] can be separated from a slot 17 filler by the suffixes *-we-* PS[19], *-fal-* FORCE[25] or *-(u)w-* REF[31]. I have not been able to establish whether or not a suffix can separate the suffix *-yekü-* ITR[18] from a slot 17 filler because the interruptive marker *-yekü-* is an infrequent suffix.

(iii) Although the suffix *-me-* Th[20] has the same function as the fillers of slot 17
and follows one filler of slot 18 (*-yekü-*), it is not assigned to slot 17 for the
following reasons:

– Unlike the other directionals, which fill slot 17, the andative marker *-me-*
can have a quite different position. The suffix *-me-* may precede the passive
marker *-nge-* PASS[23], the second person agent marker *-mu-* 2A[23] (see (16)
in 26.23.1) and the plural marker *-ye-* PL[24].

– The andative suffix *-me-*[20] usually precedes the persistence marker *-we-*
PS[19]. In a few instances, which have been elicited and may not be very
reliable, I found the suffix *-me-*[20] after the suffix *-we-*[19]. The persistence
marker *-we-*[19] may occur between a slot 18 and a slot 17 filler. In rare cases
the suffix *-we-*[19] may follow a slot 17 filler, but most frequently the suffix
-we-[19] precedes a slot 18 filler.

For my informants, a different order of the slots 17–20 fillers does not result
in a semantic difference. Compare:

(11)   *i-me-we-ke-la-y/i-we-me-ke-la-y*
       eat-Th[20]-PS[19]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]/eat-PS[19]-Th[20]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

       'he does not always go to eat there any more'

(12)   *leli-w-ür-pa-we-la-y-iñ/*
       watch-REF[31]-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]/

       leli-w-ür-we-w-pa-la-y-iñ
       watch-REF[31]-ITR[18]-PS[19]-REF[31]-Hh[17]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]

       'on our way here we[p] did not look at each other any more'

I have never found the persistence marker *-we-*[19] immediately preceded by
the reflexivity/reciprocity marker *-(u)w-* REF[31]. A form like **leli-w-we-r-pa-
la-y-iñ* is unacceptable. The reason for this probably is that *-w-* before *-we-*
cannot be heard distinctly. Note that the reflexive morpheme *-(u)w-* REF[31] can
occur twice in a verb form (12).

26.21   Slot 21. *-fem-* immediate, *-rume-* sudden

Slot 21 can be filled by either the immediate action marker *-fem-* or the sudden
action marker *-rume-*. A verb form which takes *-fem-* denotes immediate action.
The suffix *-fem-* is labelled Immediate (IMM).

(1)   *kintu-fem-fu-y   ka   đomo*
      look.for-IMM[21]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] other woman

      'he immediately looked for another woman' (but did not succeed in finding
      her)

(2)   *ye-nge-fem-pa-y/ye-fem-nge-pa-y*
      carry-PASS[23]-IMM[21]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]/carry-IMM[21]-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

      'it was brought here immediately'

(3)   *fey müle-y   ñi   küpa-fem-al*
      he be-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 come-IMM[21]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'he has to come immediately'

The suffix *-fem-* is attested after the reflexive marker *-(u)w-* REF[31], the passive marker *-nge-* PASS[23], the simulative suffix *-faluw-* SIM[22], and before the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31], the passive marker *-nge-* PASS[23] and the interruptive suffix *-(ü)r-* ITR[18]. A different suffix order does not result in a semantic difference.

A verb form which takes the suffix *-rume-* denotes sudden action. The suffix *-rume-* is labelled Sudden (SUD).

(4)   *chüngar-rume-fi-y*
      stab-SUD[21]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he suddenly stabbed him'

(5)   *aling-rume-r-pa-n*
      fever-SUD[21]-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

      'on my way here, I suddenly got fever'

(6)   *ta-ñi   đomo llüka-le-y   iñché ta-ñi   ñuke*
      the-poss1s woman become.afraid-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] I   the-poss1s mother

      wülel-rume-a-e-t-ew
      hit-SUD[21]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

      'my wife is afraid that my mother will suddenly hit her'

The suffix *-rume-*[21] is attested after the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31], the passive marker *-nge-* PASS[23], the playful activity marker *-kantu-* PLAY[22] and the simulative suffix *-faluw-* SIM[22] as well as before the persistence suffix *-we-* PS[19], the interruptive suffix *-(ü)r-* ITR[18], etc. I have not found the sudden action suffix *-rume-*[21] to occur in combination with the andative suffix *-me-* TH[20]. In one form, the sudden action marker *-rume-*[21] is found to precede the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26]:

(7)   *đoy-rume-ñma-e-n-ew   ñi   fotüm*
      more-SUD[21]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s son

      'he suddenly became taller than my son'

26.22   Slot 22. *-kantu-* play, *-faluw-* simulation

Slot 22 can be filled by either one of the suffixes *-kantu-* or *-faluw-*.

A verb which takes the suffix *-kantu-* denotes an action which is performed in jest, for fun or not in earnest. The suffix *-kantu-* is labelled PLAY.

(1)   *melkay-kantu-y-iñ*
      slide-PLAY[22]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] slid for fun'

(2)   *poye-kantu-fi-ñ*
      caress-PLAY[22]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I caressed him'

(3)   *ina lewfü treka-kantu-me-n*
      next river   walk-PLAY[22]-Th[20]-IND1s[3]

      'I went for a walk along the river' (just for fun)

(4)   *kawüs-kantu-we*
      spoon-PLAY[22]-NOM

      'a thing with which one can spoon something out' (but which is not meant
      to serve that purpose, e.g. a piece of wood)

The suffix *-kantu-* is attested after the sequence *-fal-uw-* FORCE[25]-REF[31] and
before the sudden action marker *-rume-* SUD[21], the andative suffix *-me-* Th[20],
the persistence marker *-we-* PS[19], etc. In the following examples, the suffix
-kantu- takes a different position:

(5)   *wikür-kantu-l-fi-ñ   ta-ñi   chaw*
      tear-PLAY[22]-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the-poss3 father

      'I made faces at his father'

(6)   *lep-üm-kantu-nge-y*
      run-CA[34]-PLAY[22]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

      'they made her run' (they made a mare run for exercise)

(7)   *wikeñ-kantu-meki-y*
      whistle-PLAY[22]-PR[28]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

      'he is whistling'

The suffix *-faluw-*, the other filler of slot 22, indicates simulation. It is labelled
Simulative (SIM).

(8)   *weyel-faluw-ün*
      swim-SIM[22]-IND1s[3]

      'I pretended to swim'

(9)   *illku-le-faluw-ün*
      get.angry-ST[28]-SIM[22]-IND1s[3]

      'I pretended to be angry'

   Compare:

(10) *illku-faluw-küle-n*
      get.angry-SIM[22]-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

      'I am pretending to be angry'

Note that the different order of the suffixes in (9) and (10) reflects a semantic difference. It is only when the simulative suffix *-faluw-* combines with the stative marker *-(kü)le-* ST[28] that a difference in element order proves to result in a semantic difference.

Negation markers, which fill slot 10, cannot change position. In Mapuche one cannot distinguish between 'not to pretend to' and 'to pretend not to'.

(11)   *pe-w-faluw-la-e-y-u*
       see-REF[31]-SIM[22]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]-$\underline{DS}$[1]

      'I did not pretend to see you[s]', 'I pretended not to see you[s]'

The combination of the simulative suffix *-faluw-* and a negation marker is practically always used to render 'not to pretend to'.

(12)   *llaq allkü-n,   welu allkü-w-faluw-la-n*
       half hear-IND1s[3], but   hear-REF[31]-SIM[22]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'I half heard it, but I pretended not to hear it'

Note the suffix *-(u)w-* in (11) and (12). The morpheme *-(u)w-* fills slot 31 and is a reflexive/reciprocal marker. The majority of the verbs which contain the simulative marker *-faluw-* take the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-*[31]. These verbs may be either transitive (as in (11–12)) or intransitive (as in (14–16)). The presence of the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-*[31] does not seem to add anything to the meaning of the verb. Although the suffix *-(u)w-*[31] can be left out without creating a semantic difference, the speakers MM and JM, with whom I checked these forms in particular, agreed that a *-faluw-* form with the morpheme *-(u)w-* is "clearer" than a *-faluw-* form without it.

An actually reflexive or reciprocal verb, which contains the reflexive marker *-(u)w-*[31], does not take a second suffix *-(u)w-*, e.g.

(13)   *ina-w-küle-faluw-y-u*
       next-REF[31]-ST[28]-SIM[22]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]

      'we[d] pretended to be following each other'

The use of an 'empty' reflexive/reciprocal marker *-(u)w-* in combination with the simulative suffix *-faluw-* may be explained by the correspondence with the Spanish verb *hacerse* 'to pretend', which contains the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun *se*.

(14)   *loko-w-faluw-ün*
       crazy-REF[31]-SIM[22]-IND1s[3]

      'I pretended to be crazy' (Sp. *me hice que soy loco*)

(15)   *pelo-w-faluw-la-n*
       get.light-REF[31]-SIM[22]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'I pretended that I could not see' (Sp. *me hice que no veo*)

(16)   *wentru-w-faluw-üy*
       man-REF[31]-SIM[22]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'she pretended to be a man' (Sp. se hizo que es hombre)

   The inchoative meaning of the verbs *loko-* 'to go crazy' (14), *pelo-* 'to become light' (15), *wentru-* 'to become a man' (16) and *illku-* 'to get angry' (10) seems to be lost when these verbs take the simulative suffix *-faluw-*.

   The suffix *-faluw-* is attested after the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31] and the passive suffix *-nge-* PASS[23] and before the sudden action suffix *-rume-* SUD[21], the immediate action suffix *-fem-* IMM[21], the interruptive suffix *-(ü)r-* ITR[18], the venitive suffix *-pa-* Hh[17] etc.

   The suffix *-faluw-* can be analyzed as: *-fa-l-uw-* become.like.this-CA[34]-REF[31]- 'to make oneself become like this'.

26.23   Slot 23. *-nge-* passive, *-(u)w-* first person agent, *-mu-* second person agent

Slot 23 can be filled by either one of the suffixes *-nge-*, *-(u)w-* (*-uw-* after C, *-w-* after V) or *-mu-*. Only transitive verbs can take a suffix in slot 23.

   A suffix which fills slot 23 indicates that a participant has been deleted from the situation described by the sentence. The suffix *-nge-* indicates that the deleted participant is to be found in the situation at large, outside the speech act; the deleted participant is, therefore, a third person. The subject of a *-nge-* form may be first, second or third person and has the role of patient. The deleted participant has the role of agent. The suffix *-nge-* is labelled Passive (PASS).

(1)   *lang-üm-nge-y*
       die-CA[34]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'he/she/it/they was/were killed'

   The agent of the event denoted by a *-nge-* form may or may not be identifiable for the listener. It is essential that the agent not be mentioned. In example (2) the agent can be identified on the basis of the context:

(2)   *fey   nü-nge-y   ti   awion* (4,36)
       then take-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3] the plane

   '[and] then the plane was taken' (i.e. by the people who had seen the crash)

   The suffix *-(u)w-* indicates that the deleted participant can be determined on the basis of the context. The subject marker of an *-(u)w-* form indicates first person non-singular and implicitly includes the other participant in the speech act, the listener. The suffix *-(u)w-*[23], which is originally the same as the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31], is not a true reciprocal marker. The morpheme *-(u)w-*[23] indicates that the subject is an agent and the other person, which is included in the subject referent, is a patient. The morpheme *-(u)w-*[23] is labelled first person Agent (1A).

(3)   *lang-üm-uw-y-iñ*
      die-CA[34]-1A[23]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'I/we killed you'

The first person agent marker *-(u)w-* is used when the total number of participants is greater than two. Thus, example (3) may be rendered 'I killed you[d/s]' or 'we[d/p] killed you[s/d/p]'. An *-(u)w-* form always takes a plural number marker in slot 2. For a discussion of the first person agent morpheme *-(u)w-* 1A[23] vs. the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme *-(u)w-* REF[31], see 26.31.1.

The subject of a verb which takes the morpheme *-mu-*[23] indicates first person. The participant which is deleted from the situation indicated by a *-mu-* form must be second person. It cannot be first person because the subject marker indicates first person. The participant which is deleted from the situation cannot be third person (for then one would have used the passive marker *-nge-*), nor can it be included in the subject referent (for then one would have used the reflexive marker *-(u)w-*). The subject of a *-mu-* form has the role of patient. The deleted participant has the role of agent. The suffix *-mu-* is labelled second person Agent (2A).

(4)   *lang-üm-mu-n*
      die-CA[34]-2A[23]-IND1s[3]

      'you[d/p] killed me'

The suffix *-mu-* is used when the total number of participants is greater than two. The number marker (slot 2) corefers to the subject marker and may indicate singular, dual or plural. For the first person agent marker *-(u)w-* 1A[23] and the second person agent marker *-mu-* 2A[23], see also 25.2.4. For the transitive paradigm, see the appendix.

The subject of a *-nge-* form is the patient of the denoted event. The subject of the passive verb form has the same role as the direct object of the corresponding active verb.

(5)   *füñapuwe-tu-nge-y*   *ti   wentru*
      poison-VERB[36]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the man

      'the man was poisoned'

(6)   *epé   ap-üm-nge-pa-fu-y-iñ*
      almost end.(intr.)-CA[34]-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] were almost finished'

(7)   *nü-ñma-nge-me-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ñi   pu   kulliñ*
      take-IO[26]-PASS[23]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 COLL cattle

      'one used to go and take their cattle away from them[p]' (lit.: they[p] used to be deprived of their cattle)

(8)   *kulli-nge-ke-fu-y*   *kiñe pichi waka*
      pay-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] one   small cow

      'he was paid one calf'

(9)   *elu-ñma-nge-la-y-iñ*
      give-IO[26]-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] were not given permission'

(10) *"Landesa" pi-nge-y*   *ta ti*
      Landesa   say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3] the the

      'it is called "Landesa"'

Note that the subject noun phrase of an intransitive verb usually follows the verb. The same applies to the subject noun phrase of a *-nge-* form: it follows the verb (cf. (5)).

When a verb takes an agent noun phrase and a patient noun phrase, the agent noun phrase precedes and the patient noun phrase follows the verb. Therefore, verbs which take the first person agent marker *-(u)w-*[23] or the second person agent marker *-mu-*[23] are preceded by the agent noun phrase (which may or may not corefer to the subject marker) and followed by the patient noun phrase (which may or may not corefer to the subject marker).

(11) *eymün allkü-y-m-ün iñchiñ mütrüm-uw-lu eymün*
      you[p]   hear-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] we[p]   call-1A[23]-SVN[4]   you[p]

      'you[p] heard [it] when we[p] called you[p]'

(12) *akorda-nie-la-n*   *eymün fey-pi-mu-n*   *chi*
      remember-PRPS[32]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] you[p]   that-say-2A[23]-IND1s[3] PART

      fey-pi-mu-la-n   *chi*
      that-say-2A[23]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] PART

      'I don't remember whether you[p] told me or not'

The suffix *-nge-* may occur in predicates and subordinates. The suffixes *-(u)w-* and *-mu-* may occur in indicative and conditional forms and in subordinates which are marked with the subjective verbal noun marker *-lu* SVN[4]. In approximately ten instances, the suffix *-mu-* was found co-occurring with the nominalizer *-fiel* TVN[4], e.g.

(13) *ayü-y-m-ün mün muntu-ñma-mu-a-fiel*   *ñi   kiñe kulliñ?*
      love-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] poss2p take.away-IO[26]-2A[23]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] poss1s one   animal

      'do you[p] want to take away my only animal?'

(14) *iñché epera-n*   *mün fey-pi-mu-a-fiel*   *iñché*
      I   wait.for-IND1s[3] poss2p that-say-2A[23]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] I

      'I waited for you[p] to tell me'

Usually the second person agent marker *-mu-* is left out when the transitive verbal noun marker *-fiel* is used to denote a 2 → 1 relationship with a total number of more than two persons. Personal and possessive pronouns may be used to reduce ambiguity.

(15) *iñchiñ fey-pi-w-y-iñ*   *eymi petú mi   fey-pi-nu-fiel   iñchiñ*
       we[p]   that-say-1A-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] you[s] still poss2s that-say-NEG[10]-TVN[4] we[p]

       'we[p] told you[s] before you[s] told us[p]'

In one case, the second person agent marker *-mu-* 2A was found in combination with *-el* / OVN[4]. In such a case one would expect the form *-kellu-mu-fiel*.

(16) *ayü-y-m-ün   mün   kellu-mu-al   küɖaw-mew?*
       love-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] poss2p help-2A[23]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] work-INST

       'do you[p] want to help me with [my] work?'

The suffix *-(u)w-*[23] is not attested with either the suffix *-fiel* TVN[4] or the suffix *-el* OVN[4].

Subordinate clauses with a second person agent and a first person patient or, the other way around, with a first person agent and a second person patient seldom occur in spontaneous speech and are hard to elicit. They often give rise to ambiguity. Juxtaposed main clauses are often preferred.

(17) *chem rumé mi   pedi-fiel   elu-e-y-u*
       what   -ever   poss2s ask.for-TVN[4] give-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

       'whatever you[s] asked from me, I gave [it] to you[s]'

Compare:

(18) *chem rumé pedi-e-n   elu-e-y-u*
       what   -ever   ask.for-IDO[6]-IND1s3-DS[1] give-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

       'whatever you[s] asked from me, I gave [it] to you[s]'

26.23.1 Position of slot 23 fillers

The suffixes *-mu-* and *-(u)w-* are not attested in combination with a great variety of derivational suffixes. The second person agent marker *-mu-* is found after the beneficiary marker *-(l)el-* BEN[27], the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26] and the debitive suffix *-fal-* FORCE[25] and before the venitive suffix *-pa-* HH[17], the repetition marker *-tu-* RE[16] and the continuative suffix *-ka-* CONT[16]. The andative marker *-me-* TH[20] has been attested before the second person agent suffix *-mu-* 2A[23] twice, e.g.

(19) *ngilla-l-me-mu-y-iñ   kofke?*
       buy-BEN[27]-TH[20]-2A[23]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] bread

       'did you go and buy bread for us[p]?'

The first person agent suffix *-(u)w-* is found after the progressive persistent action marker *-nie-* PRPS[32], the beneficiary suffix *-l(el)-* BEN[27] and the indirect

object marker -*(ü)ñma*- IO[26] and before the venitive suffix -*pa*- Hh[17]. The passive suffix -*nge*- is relatively mobile. It always follows the benefactive marker -*(l)el*- BEN[27] or the indirect object marker -*(ü)ñma*- IO[26], but the passive suffix -*nge*- may either precede or follow the debitive suffix -*fal*- FORCE[25], the pluralizer -*ye*- PL[24], the immediate action suffix -*fem*- IMM[21], the sudden action suffix -*rume*- SUD[21] or the andative suffix -*me*- Th[20]. According to the informants, order differences do not result in semantic differences. Compare:

(20)   *ye-nge-fem-üy/ye-fem-nge-y*
       bring-PASS[23]-IMM[21]-IND[4]-3[3]/

       'it was brought immediately'

The suffix -*nge*- most frequently occurs after the pluralizer -*ye*- PL[24] and before a slot 22 or 21 filler. In one instance I found the passive suffix -*nge*- twice in the same form:

(21)   *ye-nge-fal-nge-pa-y*
       bring-PASS[23]-FORCE[25]-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

       'it must be brought here'

In the verb *pe-nge-l*- see-PASS[23]-CA[34]- 'to show' (lit.: to cause to be seen), the passive suffix -*nge*- forms part of the stem.

26.24   Slot 24. -*ye*- pluralizer

The suffix -*ye*- is a pluralizer (PL). When the suffix -*ye*- occurs with an intransitive verb, it indicates a multiple subject.

(1)   *anü-le-ye-y*
      sit.down-ST[28]-PL[24]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'they sit'

Since a first or a second person subject are obligatorily marked for number, the pluralizer -*ye*- is especially used with verbs which take a third person subject. With a first or second person plural subject, the plural marker -*ye*- indicates that the referents of the subject are numerous.

(2)   *amu-ye-fal-y-iñ*
      go-PL[24]-FORCE[25]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'we^p have to go in great numbers'

When the plural marker -*ye*- occurs with a transitive verb, it indicates that the patients of the event are numerous. The pluralizer -*ye*- corefers to the external direct object marker -*fi*- EDO[6] when -*fi*- denotes the patient (3). The pluralizer -*ye*- corefers to a complement noun phrase when this noun phrase denotes the patient (4–5). The plural marker -*ye*- can denote numerous patients without coreferring to a DO marker or a complement noun phrase (6).

(3)   *weđa-l-ka-künu-ye-fi-n*
       get.full-CA[34]-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-PL[24]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I let them be satiated'

(4)   *wiri-lel-ye-fi-n*   *karta ñi   ñuke*
       write-BEN[27]-PL[24]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] letter poss1s mother

       'I wrote a number of letters for my mother'

(5)   *traf-nie-ye-r-pu-n*   *pütrün   che*
       meet-PRPS[32]-PL[24]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3] large.number people

       'on my way here, I kept meeting lots of people'

(6)   *iñché ye-ye-pa-n*
       I   bring-PL[24]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3]

       'I brought many [things]'

26.24.1 Position of the pluralizer *-ye-*

The suffix *-ye-* does not often occur in spontaneous speech. I found the plural marker *-ye-* in many elicited forms where *-ye-* proves to be a very mobile suffix. The pluralizer *-ye-* may precede the beneficiary marker *-(l)el-* BEN[27], the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26] or the debitive marker *-fal-* FORCE[25]. The suffix *-ye-* may occur following the passive suffix *-nge-* PASS[23], the andative marker *-me-* TH[20] or the persistence marker *-we-* PS[19]. The suffix *-ye-* always precedes fillers of slots 18, 17, etc. The plural marker *-ye-* is not attested in combination with a filler of slot 22 or 21. The suffix *-ye-* may co-occur in any position with fillers of slots 27, 26, 25, 23, 20 and 19 mentioned above. Once again, an order difference does not seem to result in a semantic difference.

26.25   Slot 25. *-fal-* force, *-(ü)ñmu-* satisfaction

The suffix *-fal-* indicates either (1) that there is a necessity or obligation for the subject to perform the action, or (2) that the subject orders someone else to perform the action. The suffix *-fal-* is labelled FORCE.

(1)   *iñché ngilla-fal-ün*   *kamisa*
       I   buy-FORCE[25]-IND1s[3] shirt

       'I had to buy a shirt', 'I had a shirt bought'

   In the speech of LQ, the morpheme *-fal-* (1) 'to have to' occurs in intransitive and transitive verbs, and the morpheme *-fal-* (2) 'to order' is more frequent in transitive verbs than in intransitive verbs. The suffix *-fal-* is infrequent.

(2)   *üyüw   weyel-kiaw-fal-ün*
       over.there swim-CIRC[30]-FORCE[25]-IND1s[3]

       'I have to swim around over there'

(3)   *ellka-künu-lel-fal-ye-nge-y*
      hide-PFPS[32]-BEN[27]-FORCE[25]-PL[24]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'various [things] have to remain hidden from him/her/them'

(4)   *đew   moyo-l-lu   mi   pichi-che, fey-chi*
      already breast-CA[34]-SVN[4] poss2s small-person, that-ADJ

      kellu-fal-pa-fe-n
      help-FORCE[25]-Hh[17]-IPD[8]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      'after you[s] had fed your[s] baby, (then) you[s] had to help me'

The suffix -*fal*- (1) 'to have to' is also used to indicate that it is desirable or advisable to perform the action.

(5)   *wenüy-wen-fel   iñchiu welu fe-m-fal-la-y-m-i*
      friend-REL-IPD[8].OVN[4] we[d]   but become.like.that-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[3]

      'even though we[d] are friends, you[s] must not do that'

(6)   *fey lang-üm-fal-ma-e-n-ew   ñi   ufisha*
      he die-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s sheep

      'he had my sheep killed', 'he has to kill my sheep'

Note that the agent of the action, the one who is ordered to perform the action denoted by the verb, is not encoded in the verb form. The direct object of a verb form which contains the suffix -*fal*- 'to order' indicates the patient of the action. The following example is the only case I found in which the agent of the action is mentioned. The agent is instrumental object indicated by the the instrumental suffix -*mew* INST.

(7)   *Luis-mew ellka-l-fal-fi-n   tabako*
      Luis-INST   hide-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] tobacco

      'I ordered Luis to hide the tobacco', 'I have to hide the tobacco with Luis'

A verb which takes the suffix -*fal*- (1) 'to have to' denotes a lasting situation, i.e. a situation which may or may not continue into the present. Such a -*fal*- form is therefore usually translated in the present tense.

I did not find the morpheme -*fal*- in combination with the constant feature marker -*ke*- CF[14]. The debitive suffix -*fal*- does not combine with the non-realization marker -*a*- NRLD[9]. Note that the suffix -*a*- can have debitive meaning (see 26.9 (12–13)).

In combination with the impeditive suffix -*fu*- IPD[8], the suffix -*fal*- indicates an unfulfilled duty or a friendly suggestion to perform a certain action.

(8) *ellka-w-fal-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ti   pu   weñe-fe, welu*
     hide-REF[31]-FORCE[25]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] the COLL steal-NOM, but

     lef-ma-w-üy-ng-ün
     run-EXP[35]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

     'the thieves should have hidden, but they[p] fled (instead)'

(9) *pütrem-tu-fal-la-fu-y-m-i*
     cigarette-VERB[36]-FORCE[25]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

     'you[s] should not smoke'

For the sequence *-fal-fu-*, see also 26.8.1 (13–16) and 26.4.7.3 (130–131). In the speech of MM, the suffix *-fal-* (1) 'to have to' is only used when *-fal-* combines with the impeditive marker *-fu-* IPD[8]. When it does not combine with the suffix *-fu-*, the suffix *-fal-* indicates that the subject forces someone else to perform the action. Thus, in the speech of MM, (1) *iñché ngilla-fal-ün kamisa* can only be rendered 'I had a shirt bought'.

The suffix *-fal-* may be derived from *fa-* 'to become like this' and contain the causative *-(ü)l-*[34] (*-fa-l-* 'to cause to become like this'). Note that not only the non-realization marker *-a-*[9] but also the *müle-y* construction (*müle-y* be-IND[4]-3[3] followed by a subordinate marked with the non-realization marker *-a-*) may be used to express an obligation or necessity (see 26.9.1 (iii)). The debitive marker *-fal-*[25] must not be confused with the derivational nominalizer *-fal-* which indicates that the action denoted by the verb can be done (see 28.1).

The suffix *-(ü)ñmu-* (*-üñmu-* after C, *-ñmu-* after V) indicates that the subject is involved in the situation on his own behalf, for his own pleasure. The suffix *-(ü)ñmu-* is labelled Satisfaction (SAT). The suffixes *-(ü)ñmu-* and *-fal-* are mutually exclusive. The morpheme *-(ü)ñmu-* is infrequent.

(10) *treka-ñmu-a-n*
      walk-SAT[25]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

      'I am going to have a nice walk'

(11) *kintu-tie-ñmu-fu-n*
      look.for-INT[30]-SAT[25]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

      'I have been looking the whole time' (i.e. I have been looking intensively for something on my own behalf but did not find it)

(12) *küđaw-üñmu-n*
      work-SAT[25]-IND1s[3]

      'I worked for my own benefit'

(13) *küđaw-tu-ñmu-n*   *ñi*   *ni-a-el*   *ñi*   *manta*
      work-VERB[36]-SAT[25]-IND1s[3] poss1s have-NRLD[9]-OVN[4] poss1s coat

    'I have done my very best to get my coat' (I worked hard to be able to buy the coat and I won't lend it to anyone)

For another example of the suffix *-(ü)ñmu-*, see (5, 48). The suffix *-(ü)ñmu-* cannot combine with the benefactive marker *-(l)el-* BEN[27] or the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26].

26.25.1 Position of the suffixes *-fal-* and *-(ü)ñmu-*

The suffix *-fal-* is mobile. It may precede the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31], the beneficiary suffix *-(l)el-* BEN[27] or the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26]. Compare:

(14) *ye-lel-fal-nge-me-y-m-i*
      carry-BEN[27]-FORCE[25]-PASS[23]-TH[20]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    kofke/ye-fal-el-nge-me-y-m-i   *kofke*
    bread/carry-FORCE[25]-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-TH[20]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] bread

    'someone has to get bread for you[s]' (lit.: you[s] have to be brought bread)

(15) *ina-nie-fal-uw-y-u*
      follow-PRPS[32]-FORCE[25]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    /ina-nie-w-fal-y-u
    /follow-PRPS[32]-REF[31]-FORCE[25]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    'we[d] have to follow each other'

  (15) can also be interpreted as:

(16) *ina-nie-faluw-y-u*
      follow-PRPS[32]-SIM[22]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    'we[d] pretended to follow'

I have not found the simulative suffix *-faluw-* SIM[22] in combination with the debitive marker *-fal-*[25]. The plural marker *-ye-* PL[24] may precede the debitive suffix *-fal-*, albeit very infrequently. The passive suffix *-nge-* PASS[23] may precede the debitive suffix *-fal-*:

(17) *amu-l-fal-ye-nge-y/amu-l-nge-fal-ye-y*
      go-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-PL[24]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]/go-CA[34]-PASS[23]-FORCE[25]-PL[24]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'many [things] have to be sent'

I have not observed the suffix *-fal-* in combination with a slot 22 or 21 filler. The debitive marker *-fal-* does not occur after the andative suffix *-me-* TH[20] or the persistence marker *-we-* PS[19].

The mobility of "mobile" suffixes is influenced by the number of derivational suffixes in a verb. The more suffixes there are, the less mobile they are.

(18)   llellipu-ñma-fal-ye-nge-me-y   ñi   pu   fotüm
       request-IO[26]-FORCE[25]-PL[24]-PASS[23]-Th[20]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 COLL son

   'someone has to go and ask my sons for a lot of things'

   Instead of the expression in (18) one may use llellipu-ye[24]-ñma[26]-fal[25]-nge[23]-me[20]-y. A different order of suffixes was not acceptable. If one or two derivational suffixes are ommitted in a form like (17), the remaining suffixes may assume various positions. Note that, in spontaneous speech, a verb is generally not found with more than about five derivational suffixes.

   The suffix -(ü)ñmu- has not been attested as often as the suffix -fal-. The satisfaction marker -(ü)ñmu- is found following the intensive action marker -(kü)tie- INT[30] and the stative marker -(kü)le- ST[28], and preceding the constant feature marker -ke- CF[14]. The suffix -(ü)ñmu- has been assigned to slot 25 because of its relative position and its function and because it is mutually exclusive with the debitive marker -fal- FORCE[28].

26.26   Slot 26. -(ü)ñma- indirect object

Addition of the indirect object suffix -(ü)ñma- (-ñma- after V, -üñma- after C, -üñma- ~ -ma- after w, l, y, or sh) changes the patient into
1. a participant who is adversely affected by the event, e.g.

   (1)   nü-fi-n
          take-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

          'I took him/her/it/them'

   (2)   nü-ñma-fi-n
          take-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

          'I took something away from him/her/them'

   (3)   femngechi weñe-nie-ñma-rke-fi-y-ng-ün   ñi   mapu pu Mapuche
          thus   steal-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-REP[12]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 land COLL Mapuche

          'in that way, I heard, they[p] kept robbing the Mapuche of their land'

2. a participant who is indirectly affected by the event, viz. through possession of or relationship with the patient. The patient is indicated by a complement noun phrase.

   (4)   angkash-ma-nge-n   ñi   pichi wentru
          take.behind.one-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] poss1s small man

          'they took my little boy on the back [of the horse]'

   (5)   i-ñma-nge-y   kiñe sanchu ñi   karukatu
          eat-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3] one pig   poss1s neighbour

          'they ate a pig of my neighbour's' (lit.: my neighbour was eaten one pig)
   ⟨ the expression karukatu may be analyzed as ka-ruka-tu other-house-improductive suffix. For the improductive suffix -tu, see 18.3. ⟩

Note that the indirect object of an -(ü)ñma- form is not necessarily injured by the event. He may be indirectly affected in a neutral way.

(6)   *iñchiñ nü-ñma-fi-y-iñ   kellu*
      we[p]   take-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] help

      'we[p] accepted help from him'

Whereas the indirect object marker -(ü)ñma- is used to indicate a detrimental or neutral effect on a participant, the beneficiary marker -(l)el- BEN[27] is used to denote the beneficiary of an event, see 26.27.

The referent of the indirect object marker is animate.

(7)   *lang-üm-üñma-nge-n   ñi   fotüm*
      die-CA[34]-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] poss1s son

      'they killed my son'

(8)   *ñi   ngünen-nge-n-mew   feyentu-ñma-nge-ke-la-y   ñi*
      poss3 mendacious-VERB[36]-PVN[4]-INST believe-IO[26]-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3

      đungu-n
      speak-PVN[4]

      'because he is a liar nobody believes what he says'

(9)   *kim-üñma-fi-ñ   ñi   lamngen*
      know-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 brother/sister

      'I know her brother/sister'

⟨ *lamngen* (9) denotes a brother or sister of a woman or the sister of a man.⟩

(10) *are-ngül-üm-üñma-e-n-ew   ñi   mansun ta-ñi*
      lend-get.together-CA[34]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s ox   the-poss3

      karukañma-mew
      neighbour-INST

      'he lent my oxen to his neighbour'

⟨ the expression *karukañma* may be analyzed as *ka-ruka-ñma* other-house-improductive suffix. For the improductive suffix -*ñma*, see 18.3. ⟩

(11) *müle-y   mün allkü-tu-ñma-ya-fiel   ñi   đungu* (4,5)
      be-IND[4]-3[3] poss2p hear-TR[33]-IO[26]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] poss3 matter

      'you[p] have to listen to His word'

(12) *ka   pichi putu-ñma-pu-fi-y-iñ   (6,55)*
      and little drink-IO[26]-LOC[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

      'and there we[p] drank to him' (to the deceased)

(13) ye-ñma-fi-n   ñi   ngülam ñi   chaw
      carry-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 advice   poss1s father

      'I took my fathers' advice'

In the speech of RR, the indirect object marker *-ñma-* has an optional allo-
morph *-yma-*.

(14) nü-yma-k-e-l-i (+nü-yma-ki-e-l-i+) ta-ñi   araw!
      take-IO[26]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2]   the-poss1s plough

      'don't take my plough away from me!'

The direct object of the verbs *elu-* 'to give to someone' and *fey-pi-* 'to say
(that) to someone' indicates the recipient, not the patient of the event. These
verbs do not take the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* in slot 26 but may
incorporate the morpheme *-(ü)ñma-* into the stem, e.g., *fey-pi-ñma-* 'to say
something about, to speak ill of', *elu-ñma-* 'to give permission'.
    The suffix *-(ü)ñma-* may combine with the beneficiary suffix *-(l)el-* BEN[27],
for which see 26.27.

26.26.1 Position of the indirect object suffix *-(ü)ñma-*

The suffixes *-fal-* FORCE[25] and *-ye-* PL[24] may precede the morpheme *-(ü)ñma-*.

(15) fey lang-üm-fal-ma-e-n-ew   /lang-üm-üñma-fal-e-n-ew
      he die-CA[34]-FORCE[25]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]/die-CA[34]-IO[26]-FORCE[25]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      ñi   ufisha
      poss1s sheep

      'he had my sheep killed', 'he has to kill my sheep'

26.27   Slot 27. *-(l)el-* beneficiary

Addition of the suffix *-(l)el-* (*-lel-* ∼ *-l-* after V; *-el-* after C) changes the patient
of an event into the beneficiary. The beneficiary is always animate. Compare:

(1)   nie-e-y-u
      have-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

      'I hold you[s]'

(2)   nie-l-e-y-u
      have-BEN[27]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

      'I hold [something] for you[s]'

The patient of a *-(l)el-* form is denoted by a complement noun phrase.

(3)   nie-l-e-y-u   mi   kulliñ
      have-BEN[27]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] poss2s cattle

      'I take care of your[s] cattle for you[s]'

(4)   *nie-l-nge-y-m-i*   *mi*   *kulliñ*
      have-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] poss2s cattle

     'one takes care of your[s] cattle for you[s]' (lit.: you[s] are taken care of your[s] cattle)

(5)   *küđaw-el-me-ke-fwi-y-iñ*   *ñi*   *mapu*
      work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] poss3 land

     'we[p] used to go and till his land for him'

Compare:

(6)   *küđaw-üñma-nge-y-m-i* *ta-mi*   *mapu*
      work-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] the-poss2s land

     'your[s] land was tilled' (without your permission)

(7)   *tüye-chi*   *pantalon kücha-lel-fal-nge-y*
      that.over.there-ADJ trousers   wash-BEN[27]-FORCE[25]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'those trousers over there have to be washed for him'

(8)   *are-tu-lel-e-n-ew*   *kiñe makuñ*
      lend-TR[33]-BEN[27]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] one   poncho

     'he borrowed a poncho for me'

In a few elicited instances, the suffix *-(l)el-* occurs twice. These forms may be unreliable.

(9)   *anü-künü-lel-el-fi-ñ*   *ñi*   *tasa*
      sit.down-PFPS[32]-BEN[27]-BEN[27]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 cup

     'I left his cup for him' (lit.: I left his cup seated for him)

⟨ *tasa* is Sp. tasa 'cup'. ⟩

The beneficiary suffix *-l(el)-* may combine with the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-*[26]. When the suffix *-(ü)ñma-* combines with the morpheme *-(l)el-*, the suffix *-(ü)ñma-* indicates that the indirect object is the possessor of the patient.

(10) *ye-lel-fal-ma-nge-y-m-i*   *mi*   *maleta*
      carry-BEN[27]-FORCE[25]-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] poss2s suitcase

     'they have to carry your[s] suitcase for you[s]'

⟨ *maleta* is Sp. maleta 'suitcase'. ⟩

(11) *anü-künu-lel-ma-fi-n*   *ñi*   *tasa*
      sit.down-PFPS[32]-BEN[27]-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 cup

     'I left his cup for him' Compare with (9)

The combination of the suffixes *-(l)el-* and *-(ü)ñma-* is infrequent. Usually, when the beneficiary and the indirect object are coreferential, only the suffix *-(l)el-* is used.

In this connection, my data on the morphemes *-(l)el-* and *-(ü)ñma-* differ from the data which Salas (1970a) presents. According to my data, the sequence *-lel-ma-* is infrequent (in the speech of LQ and RR) or non-existent (in the speech of MM), and the sequence *-ñma-ñma-* unacceptable. Note that I did attest the sequence *-(ñ)ma*[35]*-(ü)ñma-*[26] (see 26.35). In Salas (1970a), the sequences *-lel-ma-* and *-ñma-ñma-* are presented as perfectly normal. The sequence *-lel-ma-* is used to indicate that the indirect object is the possessor and the beneficiary. The sequence *-ñma-ñma-* is used to indicate that the indirect object is the possessor and adversely affected by the event (Salas 1970a: 78). In contrast to Salas, who only found the suffixes *-(l)el-* and *-(ü)ñma-* in passive constructions (Salas 1970a: 76), I found the morphemes *-(l)el-* and *-(ü)ñma-* both in passive and in non-passive constructions.

The verbs *elu-* 'to give somebody something' and *wül-* 'to give something' do not take the beneficiary marker *-(l)el-*. There is, however, a verb *wülel-* 'to beat' which may be derived from *wül-* 'to give' and contains the beneficiary suffix *-(l)el-*. The verb *wülel-* can take the beneficiary suffix *-(l)el-*: *wülel-el-* 'to beat somebody for somebody'.

26.27.1 Position of the beneficiary suffix *-(l)el-*

The suffix *-(l)el-* has a rather stable position. It always precedes the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26]. The suffix *-(l)el-* may be preceded by the debitive marker *-fal-* FORCE[25]. In rare instances, the benefactive marker *-(l)el-* may be preceded by the pluralizer morpheme *-ye-* PL[24].

26.28 Slot 28. *-(kü)le-* stative, *-meke-* progressive

The suffixes *-(kü)le-* (*-küle-* after C, *-le-* after V) and *-meke-*, as well as the suffixes *-nie-* PRPS and *künu-* PFPS, which fill slot 32, denote a state. The suffixes *-künu-* and *-meke-* may co-occur when they are added to posture verbs and verbs which indicate a way of moving the body (posture verbs are verbs which refer to a way of holding the body, such as 'to lean'). Otherwise these four suffixes are mutually exclusive. The fillers of slots 28 and 32 have been briefly discussed in 25.3. The present section and section 26.32 deal with these suffixes in greater detail.

The suffixes *-(kü)le-*, *-nie-* and *-künu-* have different ramifications for telic and atelic verbs. Telic verbs include verbs which can be rendered 'to become', 'to get' or 'to make' and posture verbs. Atelic verbs denote a situation which does not have a terminal point built into it. Atelic verbs include motion verbs, verbs which indicate bodily or mental activity, static verbs and verbs which denote a process or event which leads up to an inevitable point. The latter category of verbs include: *af-* 'to end' (intr.), *la-* 'to die', *fücha-* 'to become old' (of a man), *kushe-* 'to become old' (of a woman), *llüpañ-* 'to brood', *püñeñ-* 'to give birth to', *küllew-* 'to burst open' (of grain), *ürfi-* 'to drown', *aku-* 'to arrive', 'to reach' and *pu(w)-* 'to arrive', 'to stay'.

A telic verb which contains -*(kü)le-*, -*nie-* or -*künu-*, is result-oriented. An atelic verb which contains one of these suffixes is event-oriented. The change of state which is the result of an event denoted by a telic verb is attributed to the intransitive subject or to the patient of the corresponding perfective, e.g.

fay-küle-y	'it has fermented'	(ferment-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3])
motri-le-y	'he is fat'	(*motri-* 'to become fat')
weñangkü-le-y	'he is homesick'	(*weñangkü-* 'to become homesick')
wüywü-le-y	'he is dizzy'	(*wüywü-* 'to become dizzy')
wef-küle-y	'it is visible /has come into view'	(*wef-* 'to appear')
wechođ-küle-y	'it has a hole'	(*wechođ-* 'to get a hole')
ngüfo-le-y	'it is wet'	(*ngüfo-* 'to become wet')
welli-le-y	'it is empty'	(*welli-* 'to become empty')
ngüñü-le-y	'he is hungry'	(*ngüñü-* 'to get hungry')
ñam-küle-y	'it is lost'	(*ñam-* 'to get lost')
nüla-le-y	'it is open'	(*nüla-* 'to open')
pimu-le-y	'it is inflated'	(*pimu-* 'to inflate something')
lepü-le-y	'it is swept'	(*lepü-* 'to sweep')
anü-m-küle-y	'it is planted'	(*anü-m-* 'to make sit down', 'to plant')
kupaf-küle-y	'he is beaten up'	(*kupaf-* 'to beat up')
trari-le-y	'it is tied'	(*trari-* 'to tie')
ngüre-le-y	'it is woven'	(*ngüre-* 'to weave')
anü-le-y	'he is sitting'	(*anü-* 'to sit down')
rekül-küle-y	'he is leaning'	(*rekül-* 'to lean')

Note that posture verbs do not occur without the morpheme -*künu-* PFPS[32] when they denote the inception of an event (*rekül-künu-w-üy* 'he leaned over'), see 26.32.

With atelic verbs, the stative suffix -*(kü)le-* denotes an ongoing event, e.g.

weyel-küle-y	'he is swimming '	(*weyel-* 'to swim')
ru-pa-le-y	'he is passing '	(*ru-pa-* 'to pass')
wifül-küle-y	'he is zigzagging '	(*wifül-* 'to zigzag')
nufnuftu-le-y	'he is sniffing '	(*nufnuftu-* 'to sniff')
wawlutu-le-y	'it is lowing '	(*wawlutu-* 'to low')
rakiđuam-küle-y	'he is thinking '	(*rakiđuam-* 'to think')
allkü-tu-le-y	'he is listening '	(*allkü-tu-* 'to listen')
reye-le-y	'he is insisting '	(*reye-* 'to insist')
umawtu-le-y	'he is sleeping '	(*umaw-tu-* 'to sleep')
ülkantu-le-y	'he is singing '	(*ülkantu-* 'to sing')
af-küle-y	'it is coming to an end '	(*af-* 'to end' (intr.))
aku-le-y	'he is arriving '	(*aku-* 'to arrive')
kushe-le-y	'she is getting old ' ' '	(*kushe-* 'to become old' (of a woman))
ürfi-le-y	'he is drowning '	(*ürfi-* 'to drown')

With certain verbs, the suffix *-(kü)le-* denotes either a change of state which is the result of an earlier event or an ongoing event, e.g.

püra-le-y   'he is upstairs'   *(püra-* 'to go up')
                 'he is climbing'
pire-le-y   'it is covered with snow'   *(pire-* 'to snow')
                 'it is snowing'
arof-küle-y   'he is covered with sweat' *(arof-* 'to sweat')
                 'he is sweating'

The presence of an adverb (2) or a compound verb (4) can narrow down the meaning of the suffix *-(kü)le-*. Compare:

(1)   *poɗ-küle-y*
      dirty-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is dirty'

(2)   *müchay-ke poɗ-küle-w-üy*
      soon-DISTR   dirty-ST[28]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is getting dirtier and dirtier'

(3)   *añiɗ-küle-y*
      get.hot/scorch-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he has been scorched', 'it is scorching'

(4)   *añiɗ-kon-küle-y*
      get.hot/scorch-enter-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it is scorching'

(5)   *wiri-le-y*
      write-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'it is written'

(6)   *wiri-kon-küle-y*
      write-enter-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he is writing'

For the verb *kon-* 'to enter' in compound verbs, see 29.1.

It is not always clear beforehand whether a *-(kü)le-* form is result-oriented or event-oriented or both. Compare for instance the verb *küllew-* 'to burst open' (of grain), which behaves like an atelic verb (*küllew-küle-y* 'it is bursting open'), and the verb *pawkü-* 'to burst open, to explode' (of an egg or gas bottle), which behaves like a telic verb (*pawkü-le-y* 'it is exploded'). Take for instance *tripa-* 'to leave', which behaves like an atelic verb (*tripa-le-y* 'he is leaving'), and *tripa-* 'to go out', which behaves like a telic verb (*tripa-le-y* 'he is outside'). Also compare atelic *witra-* 'to pull' (*witra-le-y* 'he is pulling') and telic *witra-* 'to get up' (*witra-le-y* 'he is standing').

Not all factive verbs behave like telic verbs, e.g.

wiđi-le-y	'he is making pottery '	(*wiđi-*	'to make pottery')
rütra-le-y	'he is forging '	(*rütra*	'to forge')
điwüll-küle-y	'he is stirring '	(*điwüll-* 'to stir')	

A result-oriented *-(kü)le-* form denotes a present feature which the subject has acquired as a result of an earlier process or event. Apparently the verbs mentioned above do not result in a change of characteristics of the patient. They do not denote a process or event which results in a present feature of the subject. Likewise, **rapi-le-y* 'it is vomited' or **muntu-le-y* 'it is taken away' are unacceptable utterances. Instead, the passive *rapi-nge-y* 'it has been vomited' or *muntu-nge-y* 'it has been taken away' should be used.

Factive verbs which have an incorporated object or are derived from a noun behave like atelic verbs, e.g.

rüngo-le-y	'he is making flour '	(*rüngo-*	'to make flour')
đewma-iyal-küle-y	'he is preparing food '	(*đewma-iyal-* 'to make food')	

A result-oriented *-(kü)le-* form is used to denote a non-intrinsic quality, i.e. a quality which is the result of an earlier process or event, or a temporary quality. The verbalizer *-nge-*[36] (21.2) denotes the presence of an intrinsic quality. Compare the following *-(kü)le-* and *-nge-* forms:

küntro-le-y 'he limps'; *küntro-nge-y* 'he is lame'
fentre-le-y 'they are many' (Sp. están muchos); *fentre-nge-y* 'they are many' (Sp. son muchos)
welu-đuam-küle-y 'he is/has gone out of his mind'; *welu-đuam-nge-y* 'he is crazy'
pilu-le-y 'he is deaf' (temporarily or he is pretending to be deaf); *pilu-nge-y* 'he is deaf' (always)
kallfü-le-y/kallfü-y 'it is blue'; *kallfü-nge-y* 'it is blue' (always)

The suffixes *-nge-* VERB[36] and *-(kü)le-* may co-occur. Their combination is infrequent. It means that the subject temporarily finds itself in a state of having the intrinsic quality denoted by the root.

(7)   *witran-nge-le-pa-y*
      visitor-VERB[36]-ST[28]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'he is a visitor here' (he is behaving formally, as a visitor)

(8)   *nge-n-nge-le-lu*
      have-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-ST[28]-SVN[4]

   'the one who is the owner/boss' (lit.: he who is being the one who is the one who has)

The suffix *-nge-* VERB[36] may indicate a weather condition or celestial phenomenon:

(9) *ale-nge-le-y*
     moon-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

     'the moon is still there'

A *-(kü)le-* form is intransitive and cannot take a slot 6 filler. This implies that verbs which logically need a patient do not take the morpheme *-(kü)le-*. Thus, **utu-le-y* does not occur. Instead, the expression *utu-nie-fi-y* 'he is approaching it' is found. Instead of the expressions **ngoyma-le-y* and **pe-le-y*, the expressions *ngoy-ma-nie-fi-y* 'he forgets it' and *pe-nie-fi-y* 'he sees it' are found.

A *-(kü)le-* form may occur with an incorporated object (10), with an instrumental object (11) or with a complement noun phrase (12).

(10) *kintu-küđaw-küle-n*
      look.for-work-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

      'I am looking for work'

(11) *rakiđuam-küle-n fey-mew*
      think-ST[28]-IND1s[3] he-INST

      'I am thinking of him'

(12) *rakiđuam-küle-n ñi   tripa-yal*
      think-ST[28]-IND1s[3] poss1s leave-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'I am thinking of leaving'

Verbs which denote a lasting situation and are not marked with the suffix *-a-* NRLD[9] denote a situation which is an actual fact and may continue to be so up to the present moment. Such verbs may be translated in the present or past tense. For the sake of brevity, *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* forms are translated in the present tense only.

26.28.1 Uses of *-(kü)le-*
In combination with the plain verbal noun marker *-(ü)n* PVN[4], the suffix *-(kü)le-* denotes a background event.

(13) *witra-le-n   đungu-a-y-m-i*
      get.up-ST[28]-PVN[4] speak-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

      'you^{s} must speak standing up'

A *-(kü)le-* form is not only used to denote a temporary quality, but also to indicate that the subject seems to have the quality denoted by the nominal stem.

(14) *añil-küle-y*
      indigo-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

      'it looks indigo'

(15)   *achawall-küle-y*
       chicken-st^{28}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'it looks like a chicken'

(16)   *peñi-ye-w-küle-y-u*
       brother-verb^{36}-ref^{31}-st^{28}-ind^4-1ns^3-d^2

       'we^d look as if we are brothers'

(17)   *mawün-küle-lu-le-y*
       rain-st^{28}-svn^4-st^{28}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'it looks as if it is raining'

For the combination of the subjective verbal noun marker *-lu* svn^4 and the stative suffix *-(kü)le-*, also see 26.4.10.3 (233–236).

(18)   *mawün-ke-chi-le-y*
       rain-distr-<u>svn</u>^{4}-adj-st^{28}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'it is rainy, it looks like rain'

(19)   *la-ke-chi-le-y*
       dead.person-distr-<u>svn</u>^{4}-adj-st^{28}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'it looks like a corpse'

For the combination of the distibutive suffix *-ke-* and the adjectivizer *-chi-*, *-ke-chi-*, see 18.2.2.

When the stative marker *-(kü)le-* combines with motion verbs, it may indicate that the subject moves in one particular direction.

(20)   *weyel-küle-y*
       swim-st^{28}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'he is swimming in one direction'

Compare:

(21)   *weyel-kiaw-üy*
       swim-circ^{30}-ind^4-ɜ^3

       'he is swimming around'

The suffix *-(kü)le-* may be used to indicate that the subject is still capable of performing the action denoted by the verb.

(22)   *püñeñ-küle-n*
       child-st^{28}-ind1s^3

       'I am still capable of having a child'

(23) *iñché pu-le-n   tüfa-chi küđaw-mew*
      I   arrive-ST^{28}-IND^3 this-ADJ work-INST

      'I am still capable of doing this work'

26.28.2 *-meke-*

The suffix *-meke-* denotes an ongoing event and stresses the agentivity of the subject. The suffix *-meke-* is labelled Progressive (PR). Forms which take the morpheme *-meke-* may be transitive or intransitive.

(24) *iñché kücha-tu-meke-fi-ñ   ti   ropa*
      I   wash-TR^{33}-PR^{28}-EDO^6-IND1s^3 the clothes

      'I am busy washing the clothes'

(25) *iñché pe-fi-lu   i-meke-n   Pati iñché ka   ina-ye-ngünü-n*
      I   see-EDO^6-SVN^4 eat-PR^{28}-PVN^4 Pati I   also follow-OO^{35}-get.hungry-IND1s^3

      'when I saw Pati eating, I got hungry too'

(26) *añütu-meki-y*
      be.drowsy-PR^{28}-IND^4-₃^3

      'he is drowsy'

In comparison with the suffix *-(kü)le-*, the morpheme *-meke-* is used more often to indicate the main event rather than a background event. The suffix *-meke-* is far less frequent than the suffix *-(kü)le-*. For a juxtaposition of *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* forms, see (62–65) in 25.3.

Instead of a *-meke-* form, a construction may be used consisting of the verb *meke-* 'to be busy' and a subordinate. Compare:

(27) *iñché meke-n   ta-ñi   kutran-tu-n*
      I   be.busy-IND1s^3 the-poss1s illness-VERB^{36}-PVN^4

      'I am suffering'

(28) *iñché kutran-tu-meke-n*
      I   illness-VERB^{36}-PR^{28}-IND1s^3

      'I am suffering'

(29) *meki-y   ñi   katrü-ka-n   ilo*
      be.busy-IND^4-₃^3 poss3 cut-FAC^{33}-PVN^4 meat

      'he is busy cutting the meat into pieces'

(30) *katrü-ka-meki-y   ilo*
      cut-FAC^{33}-PR^{28}-IND^4-₃^3 meat

      'he is busy cutting the meat into pieces'

26.28.3 Position of *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-*

The suffixes *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* have been assigned to slot 28 on the basis of their common function and mutual exclusiveness. The suffix *-meke-* is attested following the more involved object marker *-(ü)l-* MIO[29] (see (5) in 26.29). I have not found either the stative marker *-(kü)le-* or the progressive action marker *-meke-* in combination with the intensive action marker *-(kü)tie-* INT[30] or the circular movement marker *-(k)iaw-* CIRC[30]. The suffixes *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* probably do not combine with the suffix *-(k)iaw-* because the morpheme *-(k)iaw-* implies imperfective meaning, denoting an ongoing event which involves movement in no particular direction.

The suffixes *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* are usually preceded by the reflexive marker *-(u)w-* REF[31], although the suffix *-(u)w-*[31], being a very mobile suffix, may follow the stative marker *-(kü)le-*. I have not encountered *-*meke-w-*[31].

Since *-(kü)le-* forms are intransitive, the suffix *-(kü)le-* does not combine with a suffix in slot 27, 26, 23, 6 or 1. The stative suffix *-(kü)le-* is attested following the simulation marker *-faluw-* SIM[22] (see (10) in 26.22). Otherwise the suffixes *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-* always precede a suffix in slots 27–1.

26.29   Slot 29. *-(ü)l-* more involved object

The suffix *-(ü)l-* (*-ül-* after C, *-l-* after V) indicates a more direct, intense or complete involvement of the patient in the event. The suffix *-(ü)l-* is labelled More Involved Object (MIO). Compare:

(1)   *kintu-yaw-ül-üy*   *ñi*   *trewa*
      look.for-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 dog

      'he is searching for his dog all over the place'

(2)   *kintu-yaw-üy*   *ñi*   *trewa*
      look.for-CIRC[30]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 dog

      'he is looking around for his dog'

(3)   *wirar-el-fi-ñ*
      shout-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I shouted at him'

(4)   *wirar-fi-ñ*
      shout-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I shouted to him'

In (3) the shouting is more directly aimed at the patient. Note that with the verb *wirar-* 'to shout', the morpheme *-el-* is an allomorph of the suffix *-ül-*, cf. 4.5.2.

(5)   *iñche illku-le-n   eymi mi   wirar-ül-meke-ke-fiel-mew   iñché*
      I   get.angry-ST[28]-IND1s[3] you[s] poss2s shout-MIO[29]-PR[28]-CF[14]-TVN[4]-INST I

      'I am angry because you[s] are always shouting at me'

   The suffix -*(ü)l*- is not very productive.

(6)   *koyla-tu-künu-l-fi-ñ*
      lie-VERB[36]-PFPS[32]-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I lied to him'

(7)   *maychü-l-fi-ñ*
      wave-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I signaled to him'

   Compare:

(8)   *maychü-fi-ñ*
      wave-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

      'I waved at him'

(9)   *fey müná küme-y   kompañ-kiaw-ül-ün-mew*
      he   very   good-IND[4]-3[3] accompany-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-PVN[4]-INST

      'it is very good to have him as a companion'

26.30   Slot 30. -*(k)iaw*- circular movement, -*(kü)tie*- intensive

The suffix -*(k)iaw*- (-*kiaw*- after C, -*yaw*- after V) denotes an ongoing event which involves movement in no particular direction. The suffix -*(k)iaw*- is labelled Circular Movement (CIRC). A verb which takes the morpheme -*(k)iaw*- denotes an ongoing event and can therefore be translated in the present or past tense.

(1)   *llüngüs-uw-kiaw-üy*
      drag-REF[31]-CIRC[30]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he drags/dragged himself around'

(2)   *rüngkü-yaw-ün*
      jump-CIRC[30]-IND1s[3]

      'I jump/jumped around'

(3)   *antü-küɖaw-kiaw-ke-rke-fu-y*
      day-work-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

      'he used to work here and there as a day-labourer, I am told'

(4) *iñché ngüñu-n   waria-tu-yaw-lu*
     I   get.hungry-IND1s[3] town-VERB[36]-CIRC[30]-SVN[4]

     'I got hungry when I walked around in town'

(5) *mungel nge-pa-yaw-ki-y-m-i   faw?*
     always   be-HH[17]-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] here

     'are you[s] always around here?'

In the expression *nge-pa-* 'to be here, to have been here', the suffix *-pa-* is part of the stem.

(6) *puw-tu-ye-m   ruka-mew ti   kekaw-kiaw-uwma*
     arrive-RE[16]-CF[5]-IVN[4] house-INST the complaint-CIRC[30]-CSVN[4]

     kintu-ka-w-pu-tu-ke-fu-y   *ñi*   *chem*
     look.for-FAC[33]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]   poss3   what

     küpa-l-el-a-fiel   tüfa-chi ülmen (5,51)
     come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] this-ADJ rich

     'when the one who had been complaining arrived back home, he would look for all kinds of things back there which he could bring to this rich man' (lit.: ... he used to look there for himself for all kinds of things his what bringing to this rich)

The suffix *-(k)iaw-* is not found in combination with a slot 28 or 32 marker. The suffix *-(k)iaw-* implies an ongoing event.

Slot 30 can be filled by either the suffix *-(k)iaw-* or the suffix *-(kü)tie-*. The suffix *-(kü)tie-* indicates that an action is performed with great intensity. It is labelled Intensive (INT). The morphemes *-kütie-*, *-küte-* or *-tie-* may be found. The distribution is not quite clear; the morpheme *-kütie-* ∼ *-küte-* is found after *u*, *i*, *n*, *r* or *q*. The morpheme *-tie-* is found after *u*, *i*, *a*, *ü*, *m*, *w* or *l*.

The suffix *-(kü)tie-* is attested with MM only.

(7) *ütrüf-tu-tie-fi-ñ   kura-mew*
     throw-TR[33]-INT[30]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] stone-INST

     'I threw stones at him vehemently'

(8) *üfi-küte-fi-ñ*
     tie-INT[30]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

     'I tied it firmly'

(9) *wirar-kütie-l-fi-y-u*
     shout-INT[30]-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

     'we[d] shouted at him very loudly'

(10)   *đungu-kütie-fi-ñ*
       speak-INT[30]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I gave him a piece of my mind'

(11)   *kintu-tie-ñmu-fwi-n*
       look.for-INT[30]-SAT[25]-IPD[8]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I carefully looked for it for my own benefit' (but in vain)

26.31   Slot 31. *-(u)w-* reflexive/reciprocal

The suffix *-(u)w-* (*-uw* after C, *-w-* after V) indicates reflexivity when combined with a singular subject. The reflexive morpheme *-(u)w-* indicates reflexivity or reciprocity when it combines with a dual or plural subject.

(1)   *petú üna-w-ün*
      still   scratch-REF[31]-IND1s[3]

      'I am scratching myself'

(2)   *leli-nie-w-üy-ng-u*
      watch-PRPS[32]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2]

      'they[d] are watching each other', 'they[d] are watching themselves'

(3)   *chem-ye-w-üy-m-u?*
      what-VERB[36]-REF[31]-IND[4]-2[3]-d[2]

      'what is the nature of your[d] relationship?' (lit.: what are you[d] vs. one another?)

(4)   *peñi-ye-w-y-u*
      brother-VERB[36]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

      'we[d] are brothers'

(5)   *misa-w-küle-y-ng-u*
      share.food-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2]

      'they[d] are sharing their food' (they eat from one plate)

(6)   *lif-tu-w-ün-nge-n*
      clean-TR[33]-REF[31]-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND1s[3]

      'I am cleanly'

(7)   *ngilla-ñma-w-ke-fu-y*   *đomo*
      buy-IO[26]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] woman

      'they used to buy women from each other'

(8) *kümé wenüy-ka-w-y-iñ*   *ta   ti   pu   wingka iñchiñ, pu*
     good   friend-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the the COLL stranger we[p],   COLL

     italiano iñchiñ (9,46)
     Italian   we[p]

     'I made good friends with those strangers, with the Italians'

The suffix *-(u)w-* may indicate that the subject is the beneficiary of the event. The reflexive marker *-(u)w-* does not combine with the benefactive suffix *-(l)el-* BEN[27].

(9) *pichi-ke   kintu-ka-w-küle-pe-la-y-ng-ün*
     small-DISTR look.for-FAC[32]-REF[31]-ST[28]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

     'bit by bit they[p] probably looked for all kinds of things for themselves'

The suffix *-(u)w-* does not combine with a suffix in slot 23, 6 or 1. The reflexive morpheme *-(u)w-* may occur with intransitive verbs, i.e. with verbs which do not take a suffix in slot 6.

(10) *fey-chi mungel   nge-la-y   chem kellu-w-ün   rumé*
      that-ADJ particularly be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] what help-REF[31]-PVN[4] -ever

      'in that period in particular, people did not help each other' (lit.: in that period in particular there was no helping each other whatever)

(11) *iñchiu inafül-ma-w-küle-y-u*
      we[d]   close/next-EXP[35]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

      'we[d] sit close/next to each other'

(12) *adkintu-w-küle-y-iñ*
      look.at-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

      'we[p] are looking at each other'

(13) *anü-m-uw-küle-n*   *dungu-mew*
      sit.down-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND1s[3] matter-INST

      'I insist on this matter' (lit.: I have sat myself down in this matter)

A verb which takes the perfective persistent morpheme *-künu-* and therefore indicates that the action is directed towards the direct object requires the reflexive morpheme *-(u)w-* REF[31] in order to indicate that subject and direct object are referentially identical.

(14) *lüq-künu-w-üy*
      white-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

      'it remained white' (it left itself white)

(15) *witra-künu-w-nge!*
       get.up-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-IMP2s[3]

     'get up and stay up!'

   The suffix *-(u)w-* may be used to denote a process.

(16) *kura-w-üy*
       stone-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it became stony'

(17) *kelu-w-üy*
       red-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he became red, he blushed' (cf. *kelü-y* 'it has become red, it is red')

(18) *pichi-w-üy*
       small-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'he became small' (cf. *pichi-y* 'he has become small, he is small')

   A large number of reflexive/reciprocal forms are lexicalized, e.g.

(19) *kutran-ka-w-küle-n*
       illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

     'I am suffering'

(20) *ayü-w-küle-n*
       love-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

     'I am content/happy'

(21) *elu-w-küle-fu-n*   *ñi*   *tripa-yal*
       give-REF[31]-ST[28]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] poss1s leave-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

     'I was ready to leave'

(22) *wisha-ñma-w-küle-y*
       bad-EXP[35]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it is broken', 'it has gone to pieces'

(23) *aye-ka-w-küle-n*
       laugh-FAC[33]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

     'I am roaring with laughter'

   In the majority of forms in which the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* combines with
the simulative suffix *-faluw-* SIM[22], the suffix *-(u)w-* seems to be semantically
void, see 26.22 (11), (12) and (14–16).

26.31.1 *-(u)w-* REF[31] vs. *-(u)w-* 1A[23]

The morpheme *-(u)w-*[23], which indicates first person agent, was originally the same as the reflexive morpheme *-(u)w-* REF[31]. Synchronically, the two suffixes differ both in meaning and in position.

The first person agent marker *-(u)w-* 1A[23] combines with a 1p subject. This combination, which is used to indicate a $1 \rightarrow 2$ relationship (with a total number of participants greater than two), implies the inclusion of the addressee in the role of patient in the group of the speaker. In contrast to the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* REF[31], which indicates that the subject and object are coreferential, the first person agent marker *-(u)w-* 1A[23] indicates that the object is part of the subject. The subject and object of an *-(u)w-*[23] form are not coreferential.

The position of the two suffixes *-(u)w-*[23] 1A and *-(u)w-* REF[31] in the verb is clearly different. The first person agent marker *-(u)w-*[23] is attested following the progressive persistent marker *-nie-* PRPS[32], the benefactive suffix *-(l)el-* BEN[27] and the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26] and never following a suffix in slots 22–1. The reflexive marker *-(u)w-*[31] is normally found following a slot 32 filler and before a slot 30 filler. The reflexive suffix *-(u)w-* is, however, a mobile suffix. It may occur after the stative suffix *-(kü)le-* ST[28], the debitive *-fal-* FORCE[25], the playful activity marker *-kantu-* PLAY[22], the immediate action marker *-fem-* IMM[21], the sudden action suffix *-rume-* SUD[21], the andative suffix *-me-* TH[20], the persistence marker *-we-* PS[19] and the interruptive suffix *-(ü)r-* ITR[18].

(24) *leli-w-fem-üy/leli-fem-uw-üy*
       look.at-REF[31]-IMM[21]-IND[4]-3̲[3]/look.at-IMM[21]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

   'he immediately looked at himself'

In a few forms which I found by elicitation, the reflexive suffix *-(u)w-*[31] occurs twice.

(25) *leli-w-ür-pa-we-w-la-y-iñ*
       look.at-REF[31]-ITR[18]-Hh[17]-PS[19]-REF[31]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-1̲ns[3]-p[2]

   'on our way here, we[p] did not look at ourselves/each other anymore'

(26) *allfü-l-uw-ür-we-w-pa-la-y-iñ*
       get.wounded-CA[34]-REF[31]-ITR[18]-PS[19]-REF[31]-Hh[17]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-1̲ns[3]-p[2]

   'on our way here, we[p] did not wound ourselves/each other anymore'

26.32 Slot 32. *-nie-* progressive persistent, *-künu-* perfect persistent

Slot 32 may be filled by either one of the suffixes *-nie-* and *-künu-*. A *-nie-* form denotes a lasting situation in which the agent makes an effort to keep the patient in the state in which it finds itself. A *-künu-* form denotes a situation in which the agent makes no effort to change the state in which the patient finds itself.

Like the stative suffix -*(kü)le*- ST[28], the suffixes -*nie*- and -*künu*- have different ramifications for telic and atelic verbs (for a description of telic and atelic verbs, see 25.3 and 26.28). A telic verb which contains the suffix -*nie*- or the suffix -*künu*- is result-oriented. An atelic verb which contains one of these suffixes is event-oriented.

When the suffixes -*nie*- or -*künu*- combine with a telic verb, the state of the patient is the result of an earlier event.

(1)　*püntü-nie-fi-ñ*
　　　separate.(intr.)-PRPS^{32}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

　　　'I keep it separated'

(2)　*püntü-künu-fi-ñ*
　　　separate.(intr.)-PFPS^{32}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

　　　'I left it separated'

With a transitive telic verb, the subject of the -*nie*- or -*künu*- form is implied to be the agent of the preceding event.

(3)　*kütrüng-nie-fi-n*
　　　wrap-PRPS^{32}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

　　　'I keep it wrapped' (I wrapped it up and keep it that way)

A -*nie*- or -*künu*- form which is based on an intransitive telic verb gives no information about the way the state in which the patient finds himself has come about (cf. (1) in the present section).

When the suffixes -*nie*- or -*künu*- combine with an intransitive atelic verb, the patient of the -*nie*- or -*künu*- form may or may not be agentive.

(4)　*müpü-nie-fi-n*
　　　fly-PRPS^{32}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

　　　'I keep him flying', 'I hold him in the air'

(5)　*angiđ-nie-fi-n*
　　　dry/scorch-PRPS^{32}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

　　　'I keep it drying/scorching' (I hold it while it gets dry/scorched)

The subject of a transitive atelic verb has the same role as the subject of the corresponding -*nie*- or -*künu*- form. The subject is the agent. The object is the patient.

(6)　*ayü-nie-e-y-u*
　　　love-PRPS^{32}-IDO^{6}-IND^{4}-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-d^{2}-<u>DS</u>^{1}

　　　'I love you^{s}'

(7) *wirar-nie-e-n-ew*
     shout-PRPS[32]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

     'he is shouting at me'

A *-nie-* form denotes an ongoing event which may or may not continue into the present. A *-nie-* form may therefore be translated in the present or past tense. Both the morpheme *-nie-* and the morpheme *-künu-* indicate that a state, whether an ongoing event or the result of an event, persists. The suffix *-nie-* is labelled Progressive Persistent (PRPS). A form which takes the suffix *-künu-* denotes a past situation. The moment at which the state of the patient came about has passed. The agent refrains from changing the current state. A *-künu-* form is translated in the past tense. The suffix *-künu-* is labelled Perfect Persistent (PRPS). Forms which contain *-nie-* or *-künu-* are transitive.

The suffix *-nie-* is related to the verb *nie-* 'to get, to have'.

(8) *iñchiu inafül-ma-nie-w-y-u*
     we[d]   next/close-EXP[35]-PRPS[32]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

     'we[d] keep close to one another'

(9) *ngoyma-nie-fi-n*
     forget-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

     'I don't remember it'

(10) *payun-tu-nie-fi-n*
     beard-VERB[36]-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

     'I am shaving him', 'I am holding him by his beard'

(11) *küđaw-nie-n   ñi   mapu*
     work-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] poss1s land

     'I cultivate my land' (i.e. it does not lie fallow. The subject is not necessarily working the land at the moment of speaking)

(12) *raküm-künu-fi-n   ti pwerta*
     shut-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the door

     'I left the door shut'

  ⟨ *pwerta* is Sp. puerta 'door'. ⟩

(13) *fey wesha-l-ka-künu-ke-y   iy-al*
     he bad-CA[34]-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] eat-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

     'he always makes a mess of the food'

(14) *pe-künu-fi-n*
     see-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

     'I saw it' (and let it stand where it was)

The suffix *-künu-* may be used to stress either the end of an event, e.g.

(15)   *iñchiu pütrem-tu-künu-a-y-u*
       we[d]   cigarette-VERB[36]-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

       'we[d] will finish this cigarette first' (lit.: we[d] will let the cigarette be smoked)

(16)   *me-künu-fi-n*
       shit-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I shat it out'

or the beginning.

(17)   *fey treka-künu-w-a-n*
       then walk-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

       'then I'll go for a walk'

The perfective form of posture verbs obligatorily contains the suffix *-künu-*. Since a *-künu-* form is transitive, the reflexive marker *-(u)w-*[31] must be added when the goal of the action is not specified. Compare:

(18)   *trongo-künu-y   tol*   (MM)
       frown-PFPS[32]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] forehead

       'he frowned, thereby causing wrinkles to appear on his forehead'

(19)   *trongo-künu-w-üy*
       frown-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

       'he frowned' (he drew his eyebrows together)

(20)   *potri-künu-w-ün*
       bend.forward-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-IND1s[3]

       'I bent forward'

(21)   *üñif-künu-a-fi-ñ   ti   manta*
       lay.down-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the coat

       'I will spread out the coat'

When the suffix *-künu-* combines with a posture verb or a verb which indicates body motion, *-künu-* can co-occur with the progressive marker *-meke-*[28]. Fillers of slots 28 and 32 are otherwise mutually exclusive.

(22)   *trelü-künu-meke-y-m-i*
       belch-PFPS[32]-PR[28]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

       'you[s] are belching'

The suffix *-künu-* is related to the verb *künu-* 'to let be'. The verb *künu-* is highly infrequent.

(23)   *müchay künu-y*
    soon   let.be-IND[4]-3[3]

    'she did [it] quickly'

(24)   *kiñe pülé künu-w-a-n*
    one   side   let.be-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

    'I will stay on one side'

(25)   *Galvarino pülé künu-w-pu-a-y-m-i*   *am?*
    Galvarino   side   let.be-REF[31]-LOC[17]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] PART

    'do you[s] come from Galvarino?'

The position of both suffixes *-nie-* and *-künu-* is fixed. Both suffixes always precede fillers of slots 31–1 and follow fillers of slots 36–33.

26.33   Slot 33. *-tu-* transitivizer, *-ka-* factitive

Slot 33 can be filled by either the suffix *-tu-* or *-ka-*.

The suffix *-tu-* may be added to intransitive and transitive verbs. The suffix *-tu-* adds an object. When the suffix *-tu-* is combined with an intransitive verb, the resulting *-tu-* form has one object. When the suffix *-tu-* is combined with a transitive verb, the resulting *-tu-* form has two objects. The suffix *-tu-* is labelled Transitivizer (TR).

yafkü-	'to get angry'	*yafkü-tu-*	'to get angry with somebody '
müri-	'to become jealous'	*müri-tu-*	'to become jealous of somebody'
kon-	'to enter' (intr.)	*kon-tu-*	'to enter into', 'to attack'
wiño-	'to return' (intr.)	*wiño-tu-*	'to go back for', 'to return to'
pelo-	'to become light'	*pelo-tu-*	'to light', 'to illuminate'
ñiđüf-	'to sew'	*ñiđüf-tu-*	'to sew sth. at sth.', 'to mend'
ütrüf-	'to throw'	*ütrüf-tu-*	'to throw something at somebody '
tofkü-	'to spit'	*tofkü-tu-*	'to spit sth. at '
tuku-	'to put somewhere'	*tuku-tu-*	'to put sth. somewhere'
anel-	'to threaten'	*anel-tu-*	'to threaten somebody with sth.'

When a verb takes two objects, the animate, more agentive or more definite object is encoded in the verb and has the function of direct object. The second object is not encoded in the verb and has the function of complement.

(1)   *tofkü-tu-fi-ñ*   *kiñe garbanso Luisa*
    spit-TR[33]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] one   pea   Luisa

    'I spat out a pea at Luisa'

⟨ *garbanso* is Sp. garbanzo '(chick-)pea'. ⟩

(2)   *tuku-tu-a-e-y-u*   *tüfa-chi pantalon*
    put.at-TR[33]-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] this-ADJ   trousers

    'I will put these trousers on you[s]'

The second object can be incorporated into the stem, e.g.

(3)   *are-tu-ketran-e-n*
       borrow-TR[33]-wheat-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       'you[s] borrowed wheat from me'

or form the basis of the stem, e.g.

(4)   *kura-tu-e-n-ew*
       stone-TR[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       'he threw stones at me'

As example (3) shows, the transitivizer *-tu-* may be part of the first stem of a compound.

A number of *-tu-* forms have lexicalized meaning. Compare:

leli-	'to watch'	*leli-tu-*	'to fool'
aye-	'to laugh'	*aye-tu-*	'to laugh at, to make fun of somebody '
allkü-	'to hear'	*allkü-tu-*	'to listen'
katrü-	'to cut'	*katrü-tu-*	'to block somebody's way'
witra-	'to pull'	*witra-tu-*	'to take by the arm'

The suffix *-ka-* is labelled Factitive (FAC) and indicates that the agent causes the event denoted by the verb to take place.

(5)   *watro-ka-w-üy*
       break.(intr.)-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

       'it broke into (various) pieces'

(6)   *iñché pepi-ka-fi-ñ   ñi   kümé küđaw-fe-nge-al*
       I   be.able-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 good   work-NOM-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

       'I prepared him to be a good worker'

(7)   *wüné wenüy-ka-fi-y   pu   Mapuche engün*
       first   friend-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3̲[3] COLL Mapuche   they[P]

       'first they made friends with the Mapuche'

(8)   *ngünen-ka-l-fi-n*
       lie-FAC[33]-MIO[29]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'I lied to him'

(9)   *iñché ta-ñi   wenüy tayí   aye-ka-fi-ñ*
       I   the-poss1s friend   just.now laugh-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

       'that friend of mine just joked with him'

The factitive suffix *-ka-* often adds intensive value, e.g.

(10)   *ngünüy-ka-fi-y-ng-ün*   *ti   pu   añchümalleñ*
       observe-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] the COLL midget

   'they[p] watched the midgets carefully'

The suffix *-ka-* may be part of the first stem of a compound, e.g.

(11)   *ramtu-ka-sungu-fi-ñ*
       ask-FAC[33]-speak-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I questioned him'

A number of *-ka-* forms have lexicalized meaning. Compare:

kutran	'illness'	*kutran-ka-w-*	'to suffer '
aye-	'to laugh'	*aye-ka-w-*	'to roar with laughter'
trüfon-	'to cough'	*trüfon-ka-w-küle-*	'to be coughing'
kachu	'grass'	*kachu-ka-l-*	'to make [an animal] eat grass'

The suffix *-ka-* may be added to the auxiliaries *pepí* 'being able' (see (6) above) and *kalli* 'enabling', e.g. *kalli-ka-w-* enabling-FAC[33]-REF[31]- 'to take one's ease', see 25.4.

The suffixes *-tu-* and *-ka-* may combine with a slot 34 filler, for which see 26.34.

26.34   Slot 34. *-(ü)m-* causative, *-(ü)l-* causative

Slot 34 may be filled by either one of the causative suffixes *-(ü)m-* (*-üm-* after C, *-m-* after V) or *-(ü)l-* (*-ül-* after C, *-l-* after V). Both are labelled Causative (CA). The suffix *-(ü)m-* is not productive and combines with only about 35 roots. The causative morpheme *-(ü)m* is found with intransitive verbs only. Compare:

ñam-	'to get lost, to disappear'	*ñam-üm-*	'to lose'
are-	'to become hot'	*are-m-*	'to heat'
trem-	'to grow'	*trem-üm-*	'to raise'
la-	'to die'	*lang-üm-*	'to kill'
af-	'to end' (intr.)	*ap-üm-*	'to finish' (tr.)
lleq-	'to come up'	*lleq-üm- ~ llek-üm-*	'to cause to come up'

The suffix *-(ü)m-* is the only suffix which brings about phonological changes in the verb root to which it is added. See the last three examples above and 8.2.

(1)   *ütrüf-nak-üm-e-y-u*   *mi   wangku-mew*
      drop-go.down-CA[34]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] poss2s chair-INST

   'I dropped you[s] in your[s] chair'

The suffix *-(ü)l-* is productive. It combines with transitive and intransitive verbs and with loan verbs (unlike *-(ü)m*).

küpa-	'to come'	*küpa-l-*	'to bring'
apo-	'to become full'	*apo-l-*	'to fill'

ürkü-	'to become tired'	*ürkü-l-*	'to make tired'
pelo-	'to become light'	*pelo-l-*	'to make somebody see'
putu-	'to drink'	*putu-l-*	'to make somebody drink'
đungu-	'to speak'	*đungu-l-*	'to make somebody speak'
tuku-	'to put at'	*tuku-l-*	'to make somebody put at'
pofre-	'to become poor'	*pofre-l-*	'to make poor' (cf. Sp. pobre 'poor')

(2) *apo-l-ma-fi-n*   *ñi   wün   iy-al-mew*
     become.full-CA[34]-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 mouth eat-NRLD[9].OVN[4]-INST

   'I filled his mouth with food'

The suffix *-ül-* has an optional allomorph *-el-* in the following verbs:

küđaw- 'to work'	*küđaw-ül- ∼ küđaw-el-*	'to make work'
trupef- 'to get frightened'	*trupef-ül- ∼ trupef-el-*	'to frighten'
leq- 'to hit' (intr.)	*leq-ül- ∼ leq-el-*	'to hit' (tr.)

The allomorph *-el* is found instead of *-ül-* in the following verbs:

af-	'to end' (intr.)	*af-el-*	'to end' (tr.), 'to be bored with'
aywiñ-	'to become a shadow'	*aywiñ-el-*	'to cast a shadow on'
kim-	'to learn, to know'	*kim-el-*	'to inform', 'to let somebody know'
ariñ-	'to get burned'	*ariñ-el-*	'to burn'
traf-	'to fit'	*trap-el-*	'to fasten, to tie'
mutrur-	'to bump against'	*mutrur-el-*	'to make somebody bump against'
wim-	'to get used'	*wim-el-*	'to accustom to'
ađ-	'to become beautiful'	*ađ-el-*	'to make beautiful'
lingar-	'to become white'	*lingar-el-*	'to make white', 'to bleach' (MM)
fülang-	'to become white'	*fülang-el-*	'to make white'
			(cf. Sp. blanco 'white')

Instead of the suffix *-(ü)l-*, the morpheme *-lel-* is found in combination with the verb *i-* 'to eat', e.g. *i-lel-* 'to make somebody eat'.

The suffix *-(ü)l-* may be added to the adverb *petú* 'still', yielding *petu-l-* 'to continue to', and to the auxiliary *pepí* 'being able', to yield *pepi-l-* 'to be able to, to handle'.

The suffix *-(ü)l-* may be part of the first stem of a compound.

(3) *amu-l-nü-nie-r-pu-tu-y-iñ*
     go-CA[34]-take-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

   'we[p] gradually continued taking [it] back'

A few *-(ü)l-* forms and the verb stems from which they are derived show a distinction between unintentional/intentional action. They are the following:

llocho-	'to loosen', 'to become loose'	*llocho-l-*	'to loosen unintentionally'
ngüfo-	'to make/become wet'	*ngüfo-l-*	'to make wet unintentionally'
wacho-	'to break' (tr./intr.)	*wacho-l-*	'to break unintentionally'
katrü-	'to cut'	*katrü-l-*	'to cut unintentionally'

A number of -(ü)l- forms have lexicalized meaning. Compare:

rünga-	'to dig'	*rünga-l-*	'to bury'
puw-	'to arrive'	*puw-ül-*	'to achieve'

There are but a few verbs which may take either -(ü)m- or -(ü)l-. They are the following:

lüq-	'to become white'	*lüq-üm-/lüq-ül-*	'to make white'
wim-	'to get used'	*wim-üm-/wim-el-*	'to accustom'
		cf. *wim-tu-*	'to get used to'
lef-	'to run'	*lep-üm-*	'to make run' (animals)
		lef-ül-	'to make run' (people)

The suffixes -(ü)m- and -(ü)l- can combine with a slot 33 filler. Compare:

pelo-	'to become light'	*pelo-m-*	'to illuminate', 'to turn on the light'
		pelo-m-tu-	'to illuminate', 'to give light to'
angkü-	'to become dry'	*angkü-m-*	'to dry' (tr.)
		angkü-m-tu-	'to dry something on something else'
anü-	'to sit down'	*anü-m-*	'to seat'
		anü-m-ka-	'to plant'
kim-	'to learn, to know'	*kim-el-*	'to inform'
		kim-el-tu-	'to make sb. acquainted with sth.'
wim-	'to get used'	*wim-el-*	'to accustom'
		wim-el-ka-	'to make accustomed to'
putu-	'to drink'	*putu-l-*	'to make somebody drink'
		putu-l-ka-	'to make somebody drink a lot'
pepí	'being able'	*pepi-l-*	'to be able to'
		pepi-l-ka-	'to arrange, to prepare'

A number of verbs do not take the causative suffix -(ü)l- CA[34] without simultaneously taking the factitive morpheme -ka- FAC[33], e.g.

aye-	'to laugh'	*aye-l-ka-*	'to make somebody laugh'
küme-	'to become good'	*küme-l-ka-*	'to treat well', 'to be good at'
llüka-	'to become afraid'	*llüka-l-ka-*	'to frighten'
lladⱪkü-	'to become sad'	*lladⱪkü-l-ka-*	'to make sad'
wesha-	'to become bad'	*wesha-l-ka-*	'to treat badly', 'to make bad'

26.35   Slot 35. -(ñ)ma- experience, -ye- oblique object

Slot 35 may be filled by either the experience marker -(ñ)ma- or the oblique object marker -ye-. The experience marker -(ñ)ma- (-ñma- after V, -ma- after C) indicates that the subject of an intransitive verb experiences the process or event denoted by the verb. The suffix -ñma- is labelled Experience (EXP).

(1)   *poy-ma-y*
       boil-EXP[35]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

    'he got a boil'

Compare:

(2) *poy-üy*
    boil-IND[4]-3[3]

    'a boil appeared'

(3) *iñché aku-ñma-n   kiñe kümé đungu*
    I   arrive-EXP[35]-IND1s[3] one good matter

    'I received a nice message'

(4) *iñché af-ma-n   kofke*
    I   end.(intr.)-EXP[35]-IND1s[3] bread

    'I ran out of bread'

(5) *alü-pun-ma-n*
    much-night-EXP[35]-IND1s[3]

    'I went to bed late at night' (lit.: I experienced much night)

(6) *pichi-ñma-y   ñi   đewma-ya-fiel*
    little-EXP[35]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 finish-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

    'it did not take him long to finish it'

(7) *pichi-ñma-pa-y*
    little-EXP[35]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'he was only here for a moment'

(8) *iñché kon-ma-n   trufür ñi   nge-mew*
    I   enter-EXP[35]-IND1s[3] dust poss1s eye-INST

    'I got dust in my eye'

(9) *trangliñ-ma-le-y*
    ice-EXP[35]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'it is frozen, it is covered with ice'

(10) *afü-ñma-w-küle-y   ñi   wün*
    get.cooked-EXP[35]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] poss1s mouth

    'my mouth is inflamed'

In the following examples the *-ñma-* form, derived from an intransitive verb, is transitive.

(11) *weñche-ñma-fi-n   ti yerfa*
    on.top-EXP[35]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the herb

    'I put it on top of the herbs'

(12)   *anü-ñma-nie-ñma-e-n*   *ñi   makuñ*
       sit.down-EXP[35]-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-$\underline{\text{DS}}$[1] poss1s coat

       'you^s sat on my coat' (lit.: you^s sat on me my coat)

(13)   *anü-ñma-e-y-ew*   *wekufü*
       sit.down-EXP[35]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]-DS[1] demon

       'he was possessed by a demon'

(14)   *chaɖi-ñma-fi-ñ*   *ti katrü-n ilo*
       salt-EXP[35]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the cut-PVN[4] meat

       'I put salt on the piece of meat'

   The suffixes *-ma-* EXP[35] and *-(u)w-* REF[31] may form part of the stem, e.g.

(15)   *lef-ma-w-e-n-ew/lef-ma-w-tu-e-n-ew*
       run-EXP[35]-REF[31]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]/run-EXP[35]-REF[31]-TR[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       'he ran away from me, he escaped from me'

   Note the verb *witran-ma-* visitor-EXP[35]-, which means 'to visit' and 'to receive
a visitor':

(16)   *witran-ma-n/witran-ma-nge-n*
       visitor-EXP[35]-IND1s[3]/visitor-EXP[35]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3]

       'I've got a visitor'

(17)   *witran-ma-nie-pa-e-n-ew*
       visitor-EXP[35]-PRPS[32]-Hh[17]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       'he is paying me a visit here'

   Addition of the oblique object suffix *-ye-* changes the direct object into an
oblique object. The oblique object marker *-ye-* is infrequent. Compare:

ɖungu-	'to speak to'	*ɖungu-ye-*	'to speak about', 'to speak ill of'
ngüma-	'to cry'	*ngüma-ye-*	'to weep for'
allkü-	'to hear'	*allkü-ye-*	'to hear about'
ɖuam-	'to want'	*ɖuam-ye-*	'to need'
traf-	'to fit, to get stuck, to wait for, to meet'	*traf-ye-*	'to come across'

(18)   *iñché ɖuam-nie-n   mi   kellu*
       I   want-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3] poss2s help

       'I want your^s help'

(19)   *ɖuam-ye-nie-fi-n*   *ñi   kellu-a-e-t-ew*
       want-OO[35]-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss1s help-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

       'I need him to help me'

(20) *iñché ngüma-ye-n   ñi   lamngen*
      I   cry-OO[35]-IND1s[3] poss1s sister

      'I wept for my sister'

   Compare:

(21) *iñche ina-ye-ngüma-n   ñi   lamngen*
      I   follow-OO[35]-cry-IND1s[3] poss1s sister

      'I wept with my sister'

(22) *traf-ye-n   kiñe wenüy estasion-mew*
      meet-OO[35]-IND1s[3] one   friend station-INST

      'I came across a friend at the station'

   Compare:

(23) *traf-me-n   kiñe wenüy estasion-mew*
      meet-Th[20]-IND1s[3] one   friend station-INST

      'I went to meet a friend at the station'

26.36   Slot 36. Verbalizers and stem formatives in reduplicated forms

Slot 36 may be filled either by a verbalizing suffix or by a stem formative. The stem formative is found with verbs which contain a reduplicated element.

Nouns, adjectives, adverbs and numerals can be changed into verbs by means of affixation. There are six verbalizing suffixes: *-∅-*, *-nge-*, *-tu-*, *-(n)tu-*, *-l-* and *-ye-*. These have all been discussed in chapter 21.

Mapuche has a number of reduplicated verb forms which contain a reduplicated element and a stem formative. The reduplicated element may or may not occur as a verb root. The stem formative is an obligatory suffix.

There are four stem formatives which may occur in reduplicated verb forms: *-tu-*, *-nge-*, *-ye-* and *-∅-*. These suffixes are labelled Stem Formatives in Reduplicated forms (SFR). Verbal reduplication is productive.

26.36.1   *-tu-*

A stem which contains the stem formative *-tu-* is based on a reduplicated verb root. The verb root may be transitive or intransitive. The resulting reduplicated verb has the same valence as the verb root. A reduplicated *-tu-* form denotes a non-serious event and indicates that the action is performed for fun, in a playful way, or that the subject is pretending or just attempting to perform the action. Some reduplicated *-tu-* forms are clearly onomatopoeic. Compare:

anü-anü-tu-	'to pretend to sit down'	*anü-*	'to sit down'
la-la-tu-	'to faint'	*la-*	'to die'
kinging-kinging-tu-	'to whine like a dog'	*kinging-*	'to whine'

aye-aye-tu-	'to smile' (LQ)	*aye-*	'to laugh'
küllü-küllü-tu-	'to aim'	*küllü-*	'to hit'
nü-nü-tu-	'to grope about'	*nü-*	'to take'
malü-malü-tu-	'to explore by feeling'	*malü-*	'to feel'
nengüm-nengüm-tu-	'to move for fun, or to feel whether something is solid' (tr.)	*nengüm-*	'to move' (tr./intr.)
wal-wal-tu-pel-	'to gargle'	*wal-wal-*	'to babble' (of water);
		pel	'throat'

The following reduplicated *-tu-* form does not have a verb root: *nuf-nuf-tu-* 'to sniff' (tr.).

(1)   *kona-kona-tu-tu-y-m-ün?*   (11,27)
      soldier-soldier-SFR^{36}-RE^{16}-IND^4-2^3-p^2

   'did you^p get courage again?'

The root of *kona-kona-tu-* 'to pretend to be a soldier', 'to get courage' (1) is the noun: *kona* 'soldier, fighter, servant'.

26.36.2   *-nge-*

A stem which contains the stem formative *-nge-* is based on a reduplicated verb root. The verb root may be transitive or intransitive. The resulting reduplicated verb is intransitive. A reduplicated *-nge-* form denotes a lasting situation in which the event takes place repeatedly and with intensity. Compare:

aku-aku-nge-	'to arrive bit by bit'	*aku-*	'to arrive'
lüykü-lüykü-nge-	'to drip constantly'	*lüykü-*	'to drip'
nengüm-nengüm-nge-	'to move constantly'	*nengüm-*	'to move'
mawün-mawün-nge-	'to drizzle'	*mawün-*	'to rain'
ngüma-ngüma-nge-	'to cry constantly'	*ngüma-*	'to cry'
wirar-wirar-nge-	'to shout constantly'	*wirar-*	'to shout'
kinging-kinging-nge-	'to whine like a dog'	*kinging-*	'to whine'
pensa-pensa-nge-	'to think hard'	*pensa-*	'to think'
		cf. Sp. pensar	'to think'
würwür-würwür-nge-	'to be steaming'	*würwür-*	'to steam'

(2)   *fill   antü weyel-weyel-ngi-y*
      every day   swim-swim-SFR^{36}-IND^4-3^3

   'he swims every day'

26.36.3 *-ye-*

The root of a reduplicated *-ye-* form is a transitive verb root. The reduplicated verb which contains the stem formative *-ye-* is transitive and denotes a lasting situation in which the event takes place repeatedly and with intensity. The stem formative suffix *-ye-*[36] is infrequent. Compare

resibi-resibi-ye-	'to receive constantly'	*resibi-*	'to receive',
			(cf. Sp. recibir 'to receive')
nengüm-nengüm-ye-	'to move constantly'	*nengüm-*	'to move'

(3)   *üna-üna-ye-e-n-ew*
         tickle-tickle-SFR[36]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       'it tickles me'

A reduplicated *-ye-* form is the transitive counterpart of a reduplicated *-nge-* form. Compare:

ap-üm-ap-üm-ye-	'to finish up bit by bit'	*ap-üm-*	'to finish' (tr.)
af-af-nge-	'to end bit by bit' (intr.)	*af-*	'to end' (intr.)
pi-pi-ye-	'to say constantly' (tr.)	*pi-*	'to say'
pi-pi-nge-	'to say constantly' (intr.)	*pi-*	'to say'

26.36.4 *-∅-*

A verb containing a reduplicated element, which does not occur as a stem, and an empty slot 36 is onomatopoeic and denotes a sound made by men, animals or by things. Such a reduplicated form is intransitive.

kar-kar-	'to quack, to croak, to cackle'
kiđ-kiđ-	'to squeek, to giggle'
ñaw-ñaw-	'to meow'
ngay-ngay-	'to bray' (LQ), 'to neigh' (RR)
pish-pish-	'to chirp, to peep'
tral-tral-	'to snore'
tril-tril-	'to shiver' (of cold or fever)
truf-truf-	'to boil over, to overflow'
wal-wal-	'to stream, to flow' (water)
wir-wir-	'to squeal, to squeak' (pigs, new chairs, etc.)

(4)   *ñawñaw-küle-y*   *tüye-chi*   *narki*
         meow-SFR[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] that.over.there-ADJ cat

       'that cat over there is meowing'

A zero stem formative can be added to a reduplicated verb root which, in most cases, denotes a posture. The resulting reduplicated verb denotes a state which is the present result of an earlier event and is attributed to a manifold subject. The subject slot (slot 3) is filled by a third person marker.

(5) *anü-anü-y*
     sit.down-sit.down-<u>SFR</u>^{36}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

     'they are sitting [there]'

(6) *trana-trana-y*
     fall/throw-fall/throw-<u>SFR</u>^{36}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

     'they are all over the floor'

(7) *püđ-püđ-üy*
     spread.out-spread.out-<u>SFR</u>^{36}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

     'they are spread out higgledy-piggledy'

In two instances, a reduplicated verb with a zero stem formative in slot 36 denotes an action which is performed quickly (MM):

(8) *yi-yi-künu-fi-ñ*
     eat-eat-<u>SFR</u>^{35}-PFPS^{32}-EDO^6-IND1s^3

     'I ate it quickly'

(9) *püra-püra-künu-w-nge!*
     go.up-go.up-<u>SFR</u>^{36}-PFPS^{32}-REF^{31}-IMP2s^3

     'get upstairs quickly!'

26.36.5 Other cases of reduplication

The verb *ađ-entu-(n)entu-* 'to copy exactly, to make a picture of, to photograph', 'to render the last honours to' is the only verb in which the second element of a compound is found reduplicated, cf. *ađ-entu-* 'to copy', *ađ* 'form, image', *(n)entu-* 'to take out'.

(10) *ađ-entu-nentu-fi-ñ*   *ti la*
      image-take.out-take.out-<u>SFR</u>^{36}-EDO^6-IND1s^3 the dead

      'I rendered the last honours to the deceased'

Another case of partial reduplication is yielded by the verb *(fey)pi-* 'to say', e.g. *(fey)-pi-pi-ye-* 'to say constantly' (tr.) and *(fey)-pi-pi-nge-* 'to say constantly' (intr.).

The verb *trüqüy-trüqüy-* 'to burst open' (leaves) is the only verb in which the repeated element is not a root but an inflected verb form, cf. *trüq-* 'to burst open', *trüq-üy* burst.open-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3} 'it burst open'.

Chapter 27

Unnumbered suffixes

This chapter deals with unnumbered productive suffixes (27.1) and improductive suffixes (27.2).

27.1 Unnumbered productive suffixes

Two productive suffixes have not been assigned to a slot; they are too infrequent to establish their relative positions. These suffixes are *-püđa-* and *-püra-*.

The suffix *-püđa-* denotes an aimless event (AIML). It is situated in the verb form somewhere after the circular motion suffix *-(k)iaw-* CIRC[30] or the stative event marker *-(kü)le-* ST[28] and before the non-realization morpheme *-a-* NRLD[9].

(1) *treka-yaw-püđa-ya-lu*   *engün* (10,74)
    walk-CIRC[30]-AIML-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] they[p]

'they[p] will walk about aimlessly'

(2) *kishu-le-püđa-y*   *mapu* (12,2)
    alone-ST[28]-AIML-IND[4]-3[3] land

'the land lies idle'

(3) *chum-a-el*   *am* *amu-püđa-y-m-i Temuko?*
    what-NRLD[9]-OVN[4] PART go-AIML-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] Temuco

'for what reason did you[s] go to Temuco?' (there is no point in going to Temuco)

In examples given by Salas (1970b: 128–129), the aimless event morpheme *-püđa-* occurs after the venitive suffix *-pa-* HH[17] and before the pluperfect tense morpheme *-(ü)wye-* PLPF[15].

The suffix *-püra-* indicates that the subject performs an action involuntarily. The morpheme *-püra-* is labelled Involuntarily (INV).

(4) *i-püra-fi-ñ*
    eat-INV-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'I ate it reluctantly'

(5)   *aye-püra-n*
         laugh-INV-IND1s[3]

       'I laughed unwillingly'

27.2   Improductive verbal suffixes

All attested instances of improductive suffixes are mentioned below.

-đa-   *pe-đa-* 'to find by chance' (*pe-* 'to see')
-f-   *trangaf-* 'to chew' (cf. *trangatranga* 'jaw')
-ka-   *chum-ka-w-mew rumé* (LQ) ∼ *chum-ka-nu rumé* (RR)
               '(in) no way, for no reason' (*chum* 'to do what/how?'; *-mew* INST;
               rumé '-ever')
-lla-   *awü-nge-lla-n!* 'how wretched I am!' (*awü-* 'to cause pain to')
-mpe- ∼   *illku-mpe-* 'to rebuke someone' (LQ) (*illku-* 'to get angry')
 -ñpe-   *illku-ñpe-* 'to call someone names' (MM) (*illku-* 'to get angry')
               lladkü-ñpe- 'to rebuke someone' (MM) (*lladkü-* 'to get sad')
               ñiwa-ñpe- 'to cheat on (husband or wife)'
-ntu-   *nü-ntu-* 'to rape', 'to take away' (*nü-* 'to take')
               kintu-ntu- 'to look everywhere for' (*kintu-* 'to look for')
               ina-ntu- 'to chase' (*ina-* 'to go behind, to follow')
               la-ntu- 'to become a widow/widower' (*la-* 'to die')
-tu-   *tran-tu-* 'to turn over' (*tran(a)-* 'to fall')
-o-   *tremo-* 'to recover from illness' (*trem-* 'to grow up').

Chapter 28

Derivational nominalizers

This chapter deals with productive derivational nominalizers (28.1) and improductive derivational nominalizers (28.2).

28.1 Productive derivational nominalizers

There are four suffixes by means of which a noun or an adjective can be derived from a verb: *-fe*, *-we*, *-fal* and *-(ü)nten*. These suffixes may be added to any verb stem, including compounds, reduplicated verbs and verbalized roots. The verb stem may take a suffix in slot 35, 34 or 33. Derivational nominalizers are labelled Nominalizer (NOM).

The suffix *-fe* denotes a characteristic agent.

(1) *kofke-tu-fe*
     bread-VERB³⁶-NOM

     'bread-eater'

(2) *lawen-tu-che-fe*
     medicine-VERB³⁶-person-NOM

     'doctor' (someone who cures people)

(3) *ñüđüf-ka-fe*
     sow-FAC³³-NOM

     'someone who sews all kinds of things'

(4) *ilo-kulliñ-fe*
     meat-cattle-VERB³⁶-NOM

     'a butcher' (a person who makes animals into meat)

The suffix *-we* denotes a characteristic place or instrument.

(5) *anü-we*
     sit.down-NOM

     'bottom' (of a person or a cup)'

(6)   *anü-tu-we*
        sit.down-TR[33]-NOM

        'a seat, a thing on which one sits down'

(7)   *müle-we*
        be-NOM

        'place where one resides'

(8)   *angkü-m-tu-we*
        get.dry-CA[34]-TR[33]-NOM

        'a poison', 'a device to dry something on'

(9)   *püra-püra-we*
        go.up-go.up-NOM

        'stairs'

The suffix *-fal* indicates that the event denoted by the verb can be done. The morpheme *-fal* occurs with transitive verbs only.

(10)   *i-fal*
         eat-NOM

         'edible'

(11)   *allkü-fal*
         hear-NOM

         'audible'

(12)   *pepi-l-fal*
         be.able-CA[34]-NOM

         'feasible, practicable'

The suffix *-(ü)nten* (*-ünten* after C, *-nten* after V) indicates that the event denoted by the verb can be realized quickly and easily.

(13)   *angkü-nten*
         get.dry-NOM

         'dries quickly'

(14)   *afü-nten*
         get.cooked-NOM

         'gets done quickly' (of food)

A form which contains a derivational nominalizer can take one or more verbalizers.

(15) *müchay   ap-üm-fal-iy   tüfa-chi küđaw*
      quickly/soon end(intr.)-CA^{34}-NOM-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-IND^4-3^3 this-ADJ work

      'this work can be finished quickly'

(16) *. . . iñché rumé llüka-nten-nge-wma   pichi-ka-lu*   (8,34)
      I   very   get.afraid-NOM-VERB^{36}-CSVN^4 small-CONT^{16}-SVN^4

      'I really used to be someone who easily got scared when I was young'

Example (17) shows that a form can take several suffixes which convert an element from one part of speech to another.

(17) *wisa-ka-đungu-fe-nge-y-m-i*
      bad-<u>VERB</u>^{36}-FAC^{33}-speak-NOM-VERB^{36}-IND^4-2^3-s^2

      'you$^{\text{s}}$ are someone who always does and says nasty things'

A form which ends in a derivational nominalizer does not contain any reference to time. This lack of the feature time and the lack of verbal flectional suffixes is what distinguishes a derivational nominalizer from a flectional nominalizer. Compare:

(18) *trari-we*
      tie-NOM
      'a belt'

(19) *trari-pe-ye-m*
      tie-PX^{13}-CF^5-IVN^4

      'with which one usually ties'

(20) *küđaw-fe*
      work-NOM
      'worker'

(21) *küđaw-lu*
      work-SVN^4

      'people who have worked'

28.2 Improductive derivational nominalizers

All attested instances of improductive suffixes are mentioned below.

-l   *apo-l* 'filling (of dried peppers)' (*apo-* 'to become full')
            ina-l 'the next', 'bank' (of river) (*ina-* 'to follow')
            wüne-l 'the first' (*wüne-* 'to precede, to be the first')
            tripa-l 'end' (*tripa-* 'to leave, to go out')
            montu-l 'protector' (*montu-* 'to escape'; *montu-l-* 'to save')
-lo   *i-lo* 'meat' (*i-* 'to eat')

-*nte*   *fa-nte* 'this much' adv. (*fa-* 'to become like this')

fe-nte 'that much' adv. (*fe-* 'to become like that')

tu-nté 'how much?' (*chu-* interrogative element; *tu-chi* 'which?')

-*ntu*   *ayü-ntu* 'big potato' (*ayü-* 'to like, to love'; *ayü-ntu-* 'to select the best')

tripa-ntu 'year' (*tripa-* 'to leave, to go out')

-*ñko*   *awki-ñko* 'echo' *awki-* 'to reflect'

-*tu*   *trape-tu* 'braid' (*trape-* 'to plait')

-*w*   *uma-w* 'sleep' (*uma-* 'to stay for the night'; *umaw-* ∼ *umaw-tu-* 'to sleep')

fa-w 'here' (*fa-* 'to become like this')

-∅   *anü-m-ka* 'planting' (sit.down-CA[34]-FAC[33]-NOM)

ađ-üm-ka 'concern, preparation' (form-CA[34]-FAC[33]-NOM)

pekan-ka đungu 'a bad, harmful, injurious thing or situation' (*pekan-ka-w-* 'to become bad, unsound, inferior, to fail'; cf. Sp. pecar 'to sin'; *đungu* 'matter')

la-ntu 'widow(er)' (*la-* 'to die'; *la-ntu-* 'to become a widow(er))'

ađ-kantu 'non-relative which is treated as if he were a relative' (LQ) (relative-PLAY[22]-NOM)

ül-kantu 'song' (song-PLAY[22]-NOM)

ađ-ngel-kantu 'someone who is given *ađ-ngel*' *(ađ-ngel* 'gifts for a deceased friend', see 18.3)

yall-tuku 'illegitimate child' (child-put.in-NOM)

katrü-ntuku 'a piece, partition' (cut-put.in-NOM)

no-me 'the opposite' (cross-Th[20]-NOM)

no-pa 'the opposite' (cross-Hh[20]-NOM)

ru-pa 'time' (pass-Hh[17]-NOM)

Chapter 29

Compounding

Compounding is a productive process. A verb stem may form a compound with another verb stem (29.1). A noun stem may be incorporated into a verb stem (29.2). Section 29.3 deals with nominal compounds which contain a verb stem.

29.1   V + V > V

The first member of a compound which consists of two verb stems is a simple verb root or a non-verbal root which is followed by a verbalizing suffix (slot 36). Both the first and the second verb stem of such a compound may take a suffix in slots 33–35. The resulting compound verb derives its valence from the second member. Compare:

V + Vi > Vi

anü-püra-	'to sit up' (sit.down-go.up-)
ütrüf-kon-	'to fall in' (fall/throw-enter-)
katrü-ru-me-	'to go through' (cut-cross-Th[20]-)
af-naq-	'to stop going down' (stop.(intr.)-go.down-)

V + Vt > Vt

af-nak-üm-	'to stop taking down' (stop.(intr.)-go.down-CA[34]-)
tran-ye-	'to fall while carrying sth.' (fall-carry-)
witra-nentu-	'to pull out' (pull-take.out-)
angkad̵-küpa-l-	'to bring on the back' (of a horse) (take.on.the.back-come-CA[34]-)

   The semantic relationship between the two members of a compound verb may be of various types. The second member may specify the direction of the event denoted by the first member (1–3). The compound verb may denote a situation in which two events take place simultaneously (4–6). The relationship between the first and the second member may be comparable to the relationship between an auxiliary and a predicate (7).

(1)   *angkađ-küpa-l-nie-nge-n*
        take.on.the.back-come-CA^{34}-PRPS^{32}-PASS^{23}-IND1s^3

        'I was brought here on the back (of a horse)'

(2)   *anü-nak-üm-el-nge-y*   *iy-al*
        sit.down-go.down-CA^{34}-BEN^{27}-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ eat-NRLD^9.OVN^4

        'the food was put down for him' (lit.: he has been put down food)

(3)   *witra-ñpüra-m-fi-y-u*   *tüfa-chi mesa*
        pull-go.up-CA^{34}-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-d^2 this-ADJ table

        'we^d lifted up this table'

(4)   *weyel-no-nie-ñma-e-y-u*   *mi   ufisha*
        swim-cross-PRPS^{32}-IO^{26}-IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-d^2-DS^1 poss2s sheep

        'I took your^s sheep across swimming'

(5)   *fül-üm-tuku-fi-n*   *ti   maleta kawitu-mew*
        near-CA^{34}-put.at-EDO^6-IND1s^3 the suitcase bed-INST

        'I put the suitcase closer to the bed'

(6)   *rumé ayü-w-üy-ng-ün*   *pülle-tu-pe-fi-lu*   *ti   fücha üñüm* (4,26)
        very   love-REF^{31}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 near-TR^{33}-see-EDO^6-SVN^4 the big   bird

        'they^p were enthusiastic when they came close (to) and saw the big bird'
        (viz. airplane)

(7)   *af-đungu-y-iñ*
        stop.(intr.)-speak-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

        'we^p stopped speaking'

When the first member of a compound verb ends in a vowel and the second member is the verb *püra-* 'to go up', a linking phoneme *ñ* is inserted before *püra-* in a few unpredictable cases, see (3) above and 8.1.8.

After a vowel, the verb *-tuku-* alternates with *-ntuku-* as second member of a compound verb.

The second member of a compound verb may serve to add aspectual value. When *đuam-* 'to need, to want', *naq-* 'to go down', *kon-* 'to enter, to begin', *püra-* 'to go up' or *tuku-* 'to put at' occur as the second member of a compound verb, they may add aspectual meaning to the compound (they may also occur as a second member in a purely lexical meaning). The verbs *đuam-* and *naq-* are productive as aspectuals. When the verb *đuam-* combines with an intransitive verb, it denotes a process which is half-way completed, e.g.

angiđ-đuam-	'to become dry'	*angiđ-*	'to become dry'
kushe-đuam-	'to become old' (of a woman)	*kushe-*	'to become old' of a woman)

küme-đuam-   'to become content'   *küme-*   'to be(come) good'

When the verb *đuam-* combines with a transitive verb, the resulting compound denotes a half finished situation, e.g.

ap-üm-đuam-   'to have half finished'   *ap-üm-*   finish.(intr.)-CA[34]-
nor-üm-đuam-   'to have half   *nor-üm-*   straight-CA[34]-
         straightened up'
weđa-l-đuam-   'to have half satisfied'   *weđa-l-*   become.satisfied-CA[34]-

When the verb *naq-* 'to go down' occurs as the second member of a compound verb, it may indicate that the process denoted by the first member is reaching completion, e.g.

kushe-naq-   'to become old' (of a woman)   *kushe-*   'to become old' (of a woman)

ngüküf-naq-   'to die down' (noise)   *ngüküf-*   'to die down'
tüng-naq-   'to quiet down' (person)   *tüng-*   'to quiet down'

The verbs *kon-* 'to enter, to begin', *püra-* 'to go up' and *tuku* 'to put at' add aspectual meaning in the following compound verbs:

añiđ-kon-küle-   'to be scorching' (scorch-enter-ST[28]-), cf. *añiđ-küle-* 'to be scorching', 'to be scorched'
wiri-kon-küle-   'to be writing' (write-enter-ST[28]-), cf. *wiri-le-* 'to be written'
putu-kon-küle-   'to be addicted to liquor' (drink-enter-ST[28]-), cf. *putu-le-* 'to be drinking'
kim-kon-   'to find out, to understand' (learn-enter-)
kim-püra-me-(pa-)   'to realize' (learn-go.up-Th[20]-(Hh[17]-))
kim-tuku-   'to have come to know bit by bit' (learn-put.at-)
gana-ntuku-   'to continue to earn' (earn-put.at-), cf. Sp. *ganar* 'to earn'

It is not unusual to incorporate a verb stem in order to add aspectual meaning. The aspectuals *-nie-* PRPS[32], *-künu-* PFPS[32], *-(kü)le-* ST[28] and *-meke-* PR[28] could be analyzed as incorporated verb stems: *-nie-*, *-künu-* and *-meke-* parallel the verb stems *nie-* 'to have, to get, to hold', *künu-* 'to let be' and *meke-* 'to be busy' respectively. The static event marker *-(kü)le-* is related to the verb *müle-* 'to be'.

The position of the suffixes *-nie-* and *-künu-* (in slot 32) is a position which can be taken by the second member of a compound verb. The suffixes *-(kü)le-* and *-meke-*, however, occupy a position which is too far away from the stem to validate their analysis as an incorporated verb.

In contrast with most verbs which are part of a compound verb stem, the morphemes *-nie-*, *-künu-* and *-meke-* have aspectual rather than lexical meaning.

On the basis of their position, meaning, and distribution (*künu-* only occurs as a free morpheme in a few exceptional cases and the form *-(kü)le-* is different from *müle-*), the morphemes *-nie-*, *-künu-*, *-meke-* and *-(kü)le-* are treated as suffixes. It is clear, however, that these suffixes are relics of verb compounding processes which have developed into productive systems of suffixation.

It is probable that other derivational suffixes, e.g. the circular motion marker
-*(k)iaw-* CIRC[30], the debitive morpheme -*fal-* FORCE[25], the playful activity mar-
ker -*kantu-* PLAY[22], the simulation marker -*faluw-* SIM[22], the immediate action
morpheme -*fem-* IMM[21], the sudden action suffix -*rume-* SUD[21], the locative
suffix -*pu-* LOC[17] and the venitive suffix -*pa-*[17], are the result of a historical
process of verb compounding.

   Although most compound verbs acquire a meaning which is predictable on
the basis of their constituent elements, there are a number of idiomatic cases,

traf-entu-	'to bewitch' (fit/meet-take.out-)
af-ma-ye-	'to support, to provide for' (end-EXP[35]-carry-)
la-ye-l-	'to lose someone through his death' (die-carry-CA[34]-)
leli-wül-	'to glance at' (look.at-give-)
yall-tuku-	'to get an illegitimate child' (multiply/get.child-put.at-)
chali-ntuku-	'to introduce one's fiancé(e) to one's parents' (greet-put.at)
ap-üm-püra-	'to stop doing something without wanting it'

29.2   V + N > V

Both transitive and intransitive verbs can form a compound stem with an
incorporated noun. The valence of the resulting verb does not change as a
result of the noun incorporation. When the incorporated noun combines with
a transitive verb, the relationship between verb and incorporated noun is one
between event and patient.

entu-poñü-	'to dig up potatoes' (take.out-potato-)
kintu-mara-	'to hunt hares' (look.for-hare-)
püto-ko-	'to drink water' (drink-water-)
llüka-l-ka-che-	'to frighten people' (become.afraid-CA[34]-FAC[33]-person-)
kücha-kuwü-	'to wash your hands' (wash-hand-)

   The incorporated object does not have a specific referent. Verbs with incor-
porated objects indicate unitary, institutionalized events (Mithun 1984). When
the patient has a specific referent, the noun is not incorporated and has the
function of direct object or complement. Compare:

(8)   *nentu-antü-y   ti   pu   che*
       take.out-day-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the COLL person

       'those people fixed a date' (those people did the date-fixing)

(9)   *đoy pichin   antü nentu-y*
       more small.quantity day   take.out-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

       'they fixed a shorter term'

   I have not attested a verb with both an incorporated object and a coreferen-
tial DO marker or external object NP. When a verb takes a direct object and an
incorporated object, the animate, more agentive or more definite object is refer-
red to by a person marker, and the other object is incorporated into the stem.

(10) *are-tu-ketran-e-n-ew*
       borrow-TR^{33}-wheat-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1

      'he borrowed wheat from me' (he wheat-borrowed me)

(11) *utru-ko-ñma-ya-e-n*   *ñi   peshkiñ*
       pour-water-IO^{26}-NRLD^9-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1 poss1s flower

      'you^s will water my flowers' (you^s will pour water on me my flowers)

I have found three compound verbs which contain two verb stems and an incorporated noun:

kellu-nü-kawell-   'to help catch horses' (help-take-horse-)
nie-püñeñ-el-   'to leave someone pregnant' (have-child-leave-)
angkađ-püra-kawellu-   'to take someone/to ride on the back of a horse'
    (take/ride.on.the.back-climb-horse-VERB^{36}-). ⟨ *angkađ-* is derived from Sp. anca 'haunch', a ancas 'behind another person'. ⟩

When a noun combines with an intransitive verb, the noun has subject function. The person referred to by the subject marker (slot 3) experiences the process or event denoted by the verb.

(12) *waw-yuw-küle-y-m-i*
       leak-nose-ST^{28}-IND^4-2^3-s^2

      'you^s have a bloody nose'

(13) *lef-umaw-pa-n*
       run-sleep-HH^{17}-IND1s^3

      'my sleep is gone'

(14) *đewmá puw-trafiya-l-e,   amu-tu-a-n*
       finished arrive-evening-COND^4-3^3, go-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

      'when the evening has fallen, I shall go back'

(15) *kon-antü-le-y   ta ti ko*
       enter-sun-ST^{28}-IND^4-3^3 the the water

      'the water is warm because of the sun'

Noun incorporation is more frequent with transitive verbs than with intransitive verbs.

29.3   Nominal compounds

A noun stem may be formed by compounding a verb and a noun. This process is not productive. I found the following nominal compounds which consist of a verb and a noun:

anü-ruka/anü-naq-ruka   'a round house with a round roof'
    (sit.down-house/sit.down-go.down-house)

trap-el-akucha 'breast decoration for women' (fit-CA[34]-needle), cf. Sp. aguja 'needle'

trari-kuwü 'bracelet' (bind-hand)

trari-longko 'head decoration' (bind-head)

chafo-kutran 'coughing disease' (cough-illness)

shiwill-ko 'porridge' (stir-water)

I have found one compound adverb which consists of a verb stem and an adverb:

(16) *amu-pichi-ke lef-ün*
　　 go-little-DISTR　run-IND1s[3]

　'I went running every now and then'

Chapter 30

Deictic verbs

Deictic verbs are derived from the roots *fa-* 'to become like this' and *fe-* 'to become like that'. These roots do not occur without a derivational suffix.

A verb which is derived from the root *fa-* denotes a situation which is contextually determined. A verb which is derived from the root *fe-* denotes a situation which is situationally determined. Compare:

(1) *fa-le-wma*   *iñché*
     become.like.this-ST[28]-CSVN[4] I

     'that is how I was' (referring to what has been said before)

(2) *pichi fe-le-nge!*
     little become.like.that-ST[28]-IMP2s[3]

     'stay like that for a minute!',' hold on a minute!' (a picture is being taken of the addressee)

The roots *fa-* and *fe-* also reflect a proximity/distance distinction, in physical distance as well as in time.

(3) *iñché ñi*   *tasa eymi mi*   *tasa fante-n-üy*
     I   poss1s cup you[s] poss2s cup this.much-PVN[4]-<u>VERB</u>[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

     'my cup is as big as your[s] cup here'

(4) *iñché ñi*   *tasa eymi mi*   *tasa fente-n-üy*
     I   poss1s cup you[s] poss2s cup that.much-PVN[4]-<u>VERB</u>[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

     'my cup is as big as your[s] cup over there'

(5) *fantepu*   *la-pe-la-y*
     by.this.time die-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

     'he is probably dead by now'

(6) *fentepu   wülá amfe!*
  by.that.time then PART

  'only then?!' (speaker and addressee discuss the moment at which they
  will sell the bricks they have made. The speaker considers the suggested
  moment to be too far away in time)

Derivatives of the root *fe-* are more frequent and numerous than derivatives
of the root *fa-*. Some *fa-* derivatives are used so seldom that *fe-* derivatives
have acquired a general deictic function. The field of reference may be either
contextual or situational.

(7) *ka   fe-le-pa-tu-n*   (15,26)
  again become.like.that-ST^{28}-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-IND1s^3

  'I was in the same situation as before'

(8) *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?!*
  what-INST   PART become.like.that-CA^{34}-AFF^{11}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-SVN^4

  'why shouldn't [they] have done that?!' (but of course they did)

(9) *fente-l-e-n*
  that.much-VERB^{36}-IDO^6-IND1s^3-<u>DS</u>^{1}

  'give me that/this much!', 'you^s gave me that/this much'

(10) *fa-m-nge-chi   küđaw-ke-n*
  become.like.this-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-<u>SVN</u>^{4}-ADJ work-CF^{14}-IND1s^3

  'this is how I work'

(11) *fe-m-nge-chi   fey-ta   đoy pichin   mapu-mu*
  become.like.that-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-<u>SVN</u>^{4}-ADJ that-the more small.quantity land-INST

  wirko-le-la-y-iñ   (12,16)
  heap-ST^{28}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-p^2

  'this way we^p are not crowded together on a rather small piece of land'

(12) *kawellu fe-m-nge-y*
  horse   become.like.that-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-IND^4-<u>3</u>^{3}

  'it looks like a horse'

The verb *fe-m-nge-* 'to look like' does not have a counterpart **fa-m-nge-*.

(13) *kom trür fente-ke-fu-y-iñ*   (3,9)
  all   equal that.much-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-<u>1ns</u>^{3}-p^2

  'we^p were all the same age'

(14)   *fente-künu-e-n!*
        that.much-PFPS[32]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

      'leave me in peace!'

The verb *fe-* 'to become like that' is often used as a verbal dummy, e.g. in answer to a question or in response to a statement, see (9,6), (9,12), (9,73), (9,78) and 26.11 (3) and (4).

Chapter 31

Defective verbs

This chapter deals with verbs that do not occur without a particular suffix.

When used as simple verb roots, posture verbs obligatorily combine with either the perfect persistence marker *-künu-* PFPS[32], the progressive persistence marker *-nie-* PRPS[32] or the stative morpheme *-(kü)le-* ST[28], e.g.

(*kopüđ-*	'to lay down on one's belly')
kopüđ-künu-	'to lay someone down on his belly'
kopüđ-künu-w-	'to lay oneself down on one's belly'
kopüđ-küle-	'to lie on one's belly'
kopüđ-nie-	'to hold someone on his belly'

In compounds, posture verbs occur without the suffixes *-künu-*, *-nie-* or *-(kü)le-*, e.g. *külü-naq-* 'to lean down on one's elbow' (lean.on.elbow-go.down-).

The group of posture verbs includes the following verbs:

kuđu-	'to lie down' (to sleep)
kopüđ-	'to lie down on one's belly'
üñif-	'to lie down on the floor'
külü-	'to lean on one's elbow'
llikosh-	'to sit down on one's heels', 'to squat'
payla-	'to lie down on one's back'
potri-	'to lean over'
potrong-	'to bow forward' (the head)
potrü-	'to bow forward' (the body)
rekül-	'to lean'
wira-	'to sit down with spread legs'

The following verbs require a directional (slots 17 and 20):

fül- 'to come near' requires the suffixes *-me-* TH[20], *-pa-* HH[17] or *-pu-* LOC[17]

llekü- 'to approach' requires the suffixes *-me-* TH[20], *-pa-* HH[17] or *-pu-* LOC[17]

pülle- 'to come near' requires the suffixes *-me-* TH[20], *-pa-* HH[17], or *-pu-* LOC[17]

ru- 'to pass, to go through' requires the suffixes *-me-* TH[20] or *-pa-* HH[17]

nge- 'to have been' requires the suffixes *-me-* TH[20] or *-pa-* HH[17] (*nge-la-*[10] 'not to be' does not require a directional)

antü- 'to spend a day', *küyen-* 'to spend a month' and *tripantu-* 'to spend a

year' require the suffixes -me-[20] Th, -pa-[17] Hh or -pu-[17] LOC.

When these verbs take a transitivizer or a causativizer, the directional is optional.

The following three compound verbs obligatorily take a directional:

kim-püra-   'to realize' (learn-go.up-) requires the suffixes -me- Th[20] or -pa- Hh[17] and may take both suffixes

kim-kon-   'to find out, to understand' (learn-enter-) requires the suffix -pa- Hh[17]

trem-tripa-   'to become conscious of while growing up' (grow.up-go.out-) requires the suffix -pa- Hh[17].

Part VI

Particles

Chapter 32

Particles

The particles constitute a separate, small class of morphemes which express the attitude of the speaker towards what has been said. They do not occur without a noun phrase or verb phrase with which they are related. Particles can modify an entire sentence. They occur in interrogative and affirmative sentences.

Particles follow the noun phrase or verb phrase with which they are related; they can take sentence final position; they never occur in sentence initial position. A sentence may contain more than one particle.

32.1 The particle *chi*

The particle *chi* expresses doubt. It is most frequent in questions. An interrogative sentence which contains *chi* expresses a question which the speaker poses himself; the question does not require an answer.

(1) *chum-a-n*   *chi?*
do.what/how-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 PART
'what shall I do?'

(2) *mawün-a-y*   *chi?*
rain-NRLD^9-IND^4-ɹ̠^{3} PART
'will it rain?'

(3) *monge-le-ka-y*   *chi?*
get.life-ST^{28}-CONT^{16}-IND^4-ɹ̠^{3} PART
'is he still alive?'

(4) *chumngechi chi*   *đewma-a-fi-ñ?*
how   PART finish/make-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND1s^3
'how shall I finish/make it?'

(5) *amu-y*   *chi*
go-IND^4-ɹ̠^{3} PART
'maybe he went away'

(6) *kim-la-n*   *kim-üy*   *chi* *kam* *kim-la-y*   *chi*
     know-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] know-IND[4]-ȝ[3] PART or   know-NEG[10]-IND[4]-ȝ[3] PART

'I don't know if he knows or not' (lit.: I don't know he knows maybe or he does not know maybe)

32.2   The particle *am*

A question which contains *am* is based on previous knowledge of the situation on the part of the speaker. An *am* question is used to ask for more precise information, to express surprise or to provoke. In affirmative sentences *am* has causal meaning, 'since'.

(7) *chumül mungel am*   *amu-a-y-m-ün*   *eymün?*
     when   exactly PART go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] you[P]

'when exactly do you[P] go?'

(8) *chumngechi am*   *đewma-a-fi-ñ?*
     how   PART finish/make-NRLD[9]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'how shall I finish/make it?'

The task is nearly finished and the speaker asks his principal how precisely he has to finish his work (8). Compare (4): the speaker wonders how he will finish his work.

(9) *fey chumal am*   *rekülama-pa-fi-y-m-i?*   (7,65)
     then why   PART claim-HH[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'then what have you[s] come to claim it for?'

The person addressed has come to reclaim his land after he had realized that he had "sold" it by signing a title-deed.

(10) *nepe-le-y*   *ñi*   *püñeñ am?*
      wake.up-ST[28]-IND[4]-ȝ[3] poss1s child   PART

'is my child awake?" (the mother has heard sounds)

(11) *kam nge-nge-la-y-m-i*   *am?!*
      or   eye-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] PART

'don't you[s] have eyes?'

(12) *kam kim*   *wiri-nu-lu*   *troki-mu-n*   *am?!*
      or   knowing write-NEG[10]-SVN[4] opine-2A[23]-IND1s[3] PART

'and you think that I don't know how to write?!'

(13) *chem-mew am*   *fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?!*
      what-INST   PART become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

'why shouldn't they have done that?!' (of course they did!)

(14) *đew   am   kure-nge-lu   iñché, müle-y   ta-ñi*
      already PART wife-VERB[36]-SVN[4] I,   be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the-poss1s

      đewma-ya-el   kiñe ruka
      make/finish-NRLD[9]-OVN[4] one house

      'since I had gotten married, I had to build a house'

(15) *küme-ntu-nu-lu   am iñché, fey-mu küpá   i-we-la-n*
      good-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-SVN[4] PART I,   that-INST wishing eat-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

      'since I did not like it, I did not want to eat [it] any more'

32.3 The particle *nga*

The particle *nga* is used to recall a past situation, often with an undertone of sadness or regret.

(16) *tüfá nga ñi   fe-m-a-fel*
      this PART poss1s become.like.that-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].OVN[4]

      'this [is] what I should have done'

(17) *müná nga kutran-tu-y   nga ñi   piwke pobre-nge-lu   nga*
      very PART illness-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART poss1s heart poor-VERB[36]-SVN[4] PART

      iñché ... (15,2–3)
      I

      'my heart ached a lot, for I was poor ...'

Other examples in which the particle *nga* is used to recall a past situation can be found in texts 9 (9,20), 10 (10,76) and 11 (11,44).

(18) *fe-m-ke-fu-y   nga yiñ   chaw (13,70)*
      become.like.that-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART poss1p father

      'that is how our[p] father used to do things' (the father is dead now)

The songs which are presented in texts 15–17 abound with the particle *nga* expressing sadness or regret. In the speech of MM in particular, *nga* can be used in an affirmative answer.

(19) *đew   nge-me-y-m-i   nga?*
      already be-Th[20]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] PART

      'have you[s] been there yet?'

(20) *may, chumül nge-me-n   nga*
      yes, once   be-Th[20]-IND1s[3] PART

      'yes, I have been there once'

(21) *kim-üy   nga*
    know-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART

    'yes, he knows'

Instead of *nga* one may occasionally find *nga ti*. The expression *nga ti* seems to have a stronger meaning than *nga* (see example (29) below).

32.4   The particle *kay*

The particle *kay* is used to suggest to the listener a situation presented in contrast to a previous situation.

(22) *iñché amu-tu-a-n;   eymi kay?*
    I   go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]; you[s] PART

    'I am going back, [and] what about you[s]?'

(23) *fey kay   kümé wentru-ngi-y?*
    he PART good   man-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

    'as for him, is he a good man?'

(24) *welu chem wiño-l-e   kay, chem-pi-me-a-fu-y   fewlá?*
    but   what   return-COND[4]-3[3] PART, what-say-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] now

    'but what, on the other hand, if they do come back, what would they say then?'

The particle *kay* 'on the other hand' also occurs in non-interrogative sentences, cf. (10,69).

The morpheme *kay* is used to express a proposition. As such it often combines with a conditional form which contains the impeditive marker -*fu*- IPD[8].

(25) *kom amu-ka-fu-l-i-iñ   kay?*
    all   go-CONT[16]-IPD[8]-COND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] PART

    'why don't we[p] all go?' (lit.: if we[p] all would go?)

(26) *iñché đewma-l-fe-l-y-u   kay   kiñe manta?*
    I   make-BEN[27]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-COND[4]-1[3]-d[2]-$\underline{DS}$[1] PART one   coat

    'what if I were to make you[s] a coat?'

The particle *kay* is used when the speaker has an interest in the activity of the addressed person.

(27) *eymi amu-a-lu   kay wariya-mew ru-pa-n   antü?*
    you[s] go-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] PART town-INST   pass-Hh[17]-PVN[4] sun

    'will you[s] be going to town this afternoon?' (the speaker wants the listener to go to town)

In some cases *kay* merely seems to have an exclamatory function.

(28)   *chum-a-fu-y*   *kay?*
       do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

   'what can he do?!' (someone who is poor, what can he do?)

   'how could he?!' (he should never have done that)

   In the following example *kay* combines with *nga ti*:

(29)   *porke   wim-küle-we-fu-lu   ta-ñi   enggaña-che-al*
       because get.used-ST[28]-PS[19]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] the-poss3 deceive-person-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   engün kay   nga   ti?
   they[p]   PART PART the

   'because they[p] were already used to deceiving people, weren't they?'

32.5   The particle *may*

The particle *may* is used in questions which are expected to provoke an affirmative answer.

(30)   *amu-pe-a-n   may?*
       go-PX[13]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART

   'so I had better go now?'

(31)   *eymi may ta-mi   pedi-fiel?!*
       you[s]   PART the-poss2s request-TVN[4]

   'after all, you[s] asked for it, didn't you?!'

(32)   *eymi may ta-mi   küpá   Temuko-tu-n?!*
       you[s]   PART the-poss2s wishing Temuco-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

   'you[s] wanted to go to Temuco, didn't you?!'

   With imperative forms, *may* is used to change a command into friendly coercion.

(33)   *amu-nge may*
       go-IMP2s[3]   PART

   'you[s] go now'

(34)   *amu-chi may*
       go-IMP1s[3]   PART

   'I'm off, let's go" (this is the usual way to introduce one's leaving)

(35)   *yi-ki-fi-l-nge   may*
       eat-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3] PART

   'you[s] need not eat it'

   The particle *may* is related to the adverb *may* 'yes'.

32.6   The particle *llemay*

The particle *llemay* conveys certainty on the part of the speaker. The particle *llemay* consists of the affirmative suffix *-lle-* AFF[11] and the particle *may*.

(36)   *fe-y*   *llemay*
       become.like.that-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART

       'that is so', 'certainly'

(37)   *depwé fe-m-üy-ng-ün*   *llemay*   (10,37)
       later   become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] PART

       'sure, later they[p] certainly did that'

   ⟨ *depwé* 'later' is derived from Sp. después 'later'. ⟩

(38)   *ka   nie-rki-y*   *llemay ɖungu yengün*
       also have-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART   matter they[p]

       'of course they[p] also had problems'

   A *llemay* answer is stronger than a *nga* answer. Compare:

(39)   *kim-üy*   *llemay*
       know-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART

       'oh, he knows allright!'   Compare (21)

   The particle *llemay* is used to deny a negative supposition or statement.

(40)   *chumül nge-me-n*   *llemay*
       once   be-Th[20]-IND1s[3] PART

       'I have actually been there once'   Compare (20)

   Instead of *llemay* one may find *-lle-* AFF[11] inside the verb and *may* after the verb.

(41)   *fe-m-lle-y-m-i*   *may*
       become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] PART

       'you[s] certainly did that'

   For the affirmative suffix *-lle-* AFF[11], see 26.11.

32.7   The particle *chemay*

The particle *chemay* expresses amazement on the part of the speaker.

(42)   *wiya   trür   amu-a-y-u*   *pi-e-n-ew,*   *fewlà*
       yesterday together go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2] say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1], now

       chem-pi-le-pe-tu-y   *chemay* . . .
       what-say-ST[28]-PX[13]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART

       'yesterday he told me we[d] would go together, [but] what does he think [of it] *now* . . . ?!'

(43)   *welu fewlá chum-pe-tu-y   chemay; müchay pun ka*
       but   now   do.what/how-PX^{13}-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ PART;   soon   night again

       nütram-ka-tu-a-fi-n
       conversation-FAC^{33}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND1s^3

       'but what is he up to now!; tonight I will talk to him again'

The particle *chemay* may consist of *chem* 'what? and *may* 'yes'. *chemay* is infrequent.

32.8   The particle *chekay*

The particle *chekay* indicates that the speaker does not have the faintest idea.

(44)   *chew chekay amu-y-ng-ün?*
       where PART   go-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

       'where the hell did they^p go?'

(45)   *iniy iñchiu chekay küđaw-a-y-u?*
       who we^d PART   work-NRLD^9-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-d^2

       'with whom, for God's sake, shall I work?'

(46)   *chem chekay ru-pa-y   trafiya?*
       what PART   pass-Hh^{17}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ evening

       'what the hell happened last night?'

As for example (46), the speaker heard noises and is eager to learn what happened. Compare (47) which indicates that the speaker wonders about what has happened:

(47)   *chem chi   ru-pa-y   trafiya?*
       what PART pass-Hh^{17}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ evening

       'what happened last night?'

The particles *chekay* and *chi* can co-occur.

(48)   *chem chekay chi?*
       what PART   PART

       'what the hell [is] that?' (the speaker asks himself)

The relation between *kay* and *chekay* is unclear.

32.9   The particle *anta*

The particle *anta* is used to indicate that the topic of the question is contextually determined.

(49) *fey anta fey tüfá?*
      she PART that this

      '[is] this her?' (the adressed person is asked whether the woman who is
      present is the one they had been talking about)

(50) *chum-a-n   anta tüfá?*
      do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART this

      'what must I do now?'

(51) *chumngelu anta?*
      why   PART

      'why [did he do] that?'

The particle *anta* is used when the question relates to the addressed person
or to something close to the speaker and the addressed person.

(52) *iney anta eymi?*
      who PART you[s]

      'who [are] you[s]?'

(53) *chem anta ru-pa-y   trafiya?*
      what PART pass-HH[17]-IND[4]-3[3] evening

      'what happened last night?' (the speaker knows that the addressed person
      knows what has happened, cf. (46) and (47))

The particle *anta* can occur in affirmative sentences.

(54) *ñall   anta mi   ülmen-nge-n-mew*
      surely PART poss2s rich-VERB[36]-PVN[4]-INST

      llüka-ya-e-y-u!
      become.afraid-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1]

      'surely because you[s] are rich, you[s] expect me to fear you!'

The particle *anta* probably contains the particle *am* and the anaphoric pro-
noun *ta* 'the' (14.3).

32.10   The particle *anchi*
The topic of the question which contains *anchi* is situationally determined.

(55) *fey anchi fey tüfá?*
      she PART   that this

      '[is] that her?' (the woman is pointed out, cf. (49))

(56) *chem anchi?*
      what PART

      'what [is] that?' (it is pointed out)

The topic of an *anchi* question is not close to the speaker and the listener.

(57)   *iney anchi?*
       who   PART

   'who [is] that?' (the person in question is rather far away)

The particle *anchi* can occur in affirmative sentences.

(58)   *fey anchi kümé wentru-nge-y*
       he PART good man-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'he is a good man'

The particle *anchi* is infrequent. Its meaning is not altogether clear. It probably consists of the particle *am* and the anaphoric pronoun *chi* 'the', which has a situationally determined referent. *anchi* is to *anta* as *chi/ti* is to *ta* (14.3).

32.11   The particle *chiam*

The particle *chiam* is used to express something which the speaker wonders about, but which he puts to the listener. A *chiam* question requires an answer.

(59)   *mawün-a-y   chiam?*
       rain-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

   'will it rain, what do you think?'

Compare (2) *mawün-a-y chi?*, in which the speaker ponders a query.

(60)   *monge-le-ka-y   chiam?*
       get.life-ST[28]-CONT[16]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

   'is he still alive?'

Compare (3) *monge-le-ka-y chi?*, in which the speaker ponders the proposition.

(61)   *eymi amu-a-y-m-i   chiam wariya-mew ru-pa-n   antü?*
       you[s] go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] PART town-INST pass-HH[17]-PVN[4] sun

   'will you[s] be going to town this afternoon?' (the speaker does not want the listener to go to town)

Compare (27), which expresses self-interest on the part of the speaker.

(62)   *Soyla entu-y   chiam kulliñ?*
       Soyla take.out-IND[4]-3[3] PART cattle

   'did Soyla release the cattle?' (the speaker hears the sound of a gate being opened and wonders about it, and then he puts the question to the listener)

The particle *chiam* probably consists of the particles *chi* and *am*. *chiam* is infrequent.

32.12   The particle *kam*

The particle *kam* can be used in both interrogative and affirmative sentences. As the morpheme *kam* is infrequent in interrogative sentences, its meaning as a question particle is difficult to establish. The particle *kam* seems to be used in rhetorical questions and in questions put to ask for more precise information. In affirmative sentences the particle *kam* has causal meaning, 'since'. The particle *am* may often be used as an alternant of *kam*. MM does not use *kam*.

(63)   *iñché kam wariya-che?*
     I   PART town-person

     '[am] I a townsman?' (you can see I am not!)

(64)   *katrü-mamüll-nu-a-lu*   *troki-mu-n*   *kam?*
     cut-wood-NEG^{10}-NRLD^{9}-SVN^{4} opine-2A^{23}-IND1s^{3} PART

     'do you think that I can't cut wood?!' (of course I can)

(65)   *Galvarino pülé künu-w-pa-y-m-u*   *kam*
     Galvarino   side   let-REF^{31}-Hh^{17}-IND^{4}-2^{3}-d^{2} PART

     'after all, you^{d} come from Galvarino'

(66)   *püređu-nge-y*   *lang-üm-lu* *kam ñi*   *ngillañ*
     prisoner-PASS^{23}-IND^{4}-3^{3} die-CA^{34}-SVN^{4} PART poss3 brother.in.law

     'he was taken prisoner because he had killed his brother-in-law'

(67)   *iñché kam wariya-che*
     I   PART town-person

     'after all, I [am] a towns-man'   Compare (63)

For more examples of *kam* in affirmative sentences, see (4,22), (5,9), (5,24), (6,25), (6,44), (7,10) and (11,75). The particle *kam* is probably related to the adverb *kam* 'or'.

32.13   The particle *amá*

The particle *amá* is used to ask confirmation of the listener concerning something the speaker does not exactly recall.

(68)   *küpa-nu-a-fu-lu*   *rangi antü amá?*
     come-NEG^{10}-NRLD^{9}-IPD^{8}-SVN^{4} mid   day   PART

     'wasn't he supposed to come at noon?'

(69)   *chum-a-n*   *amá?*
     do.what/how-NRLD^{9}-IND1s^{3} PART

     'what was it again that I have to do?'

The particle *amá* can be used when the listener does not exactly recall.

(70)   *kiñe korona amá ye-nie-tu-rke-la-y-u*   *nga?* (8,66)
       one   crown   PART carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2] PART

       'don't you remember, we[d] wore a crown on the way back?'

32.14   The particle *em*

The particle *em* indicates that the speaker deplores a past situation or a situation which has not come about.

(71)   *kisu fill   dominggu amu-ke-fu-y   em iglesia-mew*
       self   every Sunday   go-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] PART church-INST

       'he used to go to church every Sunday' (the deceased father of MM)

(72)   *tüyé   ñi   miaw-ün   ti   wentru ta-ñi   elu-a-fe-t-ew*
       over.there poss3 wander-PVN[4] the man   the-poss3 give-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

       em   küđaw
       PART work

       'the man who would give me work wanders over there'

(73)   *fach-antü fey-pi-a-fel   em   ñi   đewma-ya-fiel   ñi*
       this-day   that-say-NRLD[9]-IPD[8].OVN[4] PART poss1s finish-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] poss1s

       đewma-nu-a-fiel
       finish-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

       'today I was going to say whether I would be able to finish it or not' (but, I'm sorry, I can't say)

   Compare the nominal suffix *-em / -yem* EX (18.1.3).

32.15   The particle *amfe*

The particle *amfe* is used in exclamations.

(74)   *fentepu   wülá amfe!*
       that.moment then PART

       'only then!?!' (the speaker considers the agreed date to be too late)

(75)   *fey kütú amfe!*
       he   even PART

       'even he!?!'

(76)   *fe-m-üy   amfe!*
       become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

       'did he do that just like that!?!'

   The particle *amfe* may be related to *am*.

32.16   The particle *ka* ∼ *qa*

The meaning of the particle *ka* (*ka* ∼ *qa* in the speech of RR) is not altogether clear.

The particle *ka* may be used

1. to present a situation as a matter of course.

(77)   ... *ta-ñi*   *đoy kümé ta-ñi*   *müle-a-m*   *ka*   (10,58)
         the-poss3 more good   the-poss3 be-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] PART

   '[they did it] to be more sure, of course'

(78)   *entonse fiy   fende-w-ke-fu-y*   *reké*   *ta-ñi*   *pu*
         then   that sell-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-ʒ[3]   as.it.were the-poss3 COLL rich-INST

   ülmen-mu (10,68)
   PART

   '[and] therefore they used to hire themselves out, as it were, to their rich [bosses]' (of course they did that, why shouldn't they have?!)

(79)   *fey-ti   newé   kristianu-nge-nu-lu*   *kay fiy-ta   newé*
         that.the not.very Christian-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-SVN[4] PART that-the not.very

   đoam-la-y   *ka*   (14,13)
   need/want-NEG[10]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] PART

   'it is obvious that those who are not so very Christian do not want [it] so much'

2. to express indignation or cynicism.

(80)   *püti-ke   llemay, ka fali-la-y*   *ta ti plata ka!* (9,70)
         little-DISTR PART,   and be.worth-NEG[10]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the the money PART

   'little indeed!, and that money wasn't worth anything either!'

(81)   *fiy   llemay; pulku kütó ta   nie-l-nge-y*   *ka*   (9,78)
         that PART;   liquor even the have-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] PART

   'sure, they even had liquor for them too!'

(82)   *may, ka-nge-lu,*   *fey*   *ayü-w-üy*   *ka*   (11,8)
         yes,   other-VERB[36]-SVN[4], he/they love-REF[31]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] PART

   'yes, as for the others, they were glad' (LQ talks about the fact that some people laugh at the misery of the Mapuche)

(83)   *fütá kaman plata pi-n*   *iñché welu qa!* (10,9)
         big   quantity money think-IND1s[3] I   but   PART

   'and I thought that that was a lot of money!'

32.17   The particle *ke*

The suffix *ke* is highly infrequent. It seems to be used to present a situation in contrast with another situation or contrary to a certain expectation.

(84)   *tüfá ke   ta küme-y*
      this PART the good-IND^4-3^3

    'this one is good' (not that one)

(85)   *fewlá ke   ka*
      now   PART PART

    'Oh yes, now!'

(86)   *kümé antü-nge-l-e   ke   ta*
      good   weather-VERB^{36}-COND^4-3^3 PART the

    'if, on the other hand, the weather is good . . . '

  See also (11,40) and (13,10).

Part VII

Further notes on syntax

Chapter 33

Introduction

A sentence consists of one or more predicates (i.e. verb forms with a subject marker in slot 3 and a modal marker in slot 4) with or without a subject noun phrase, a direct object noun phrase, a dative subject noun phrase, instrumental object noun phrases or complements. Noun phrases which have the function of subject (S), direct object (DO) or dative subject (DS) are not inflected. Noun phrases with the function of instrumental object (INST) are marked by the instrumental morpheme *-mew* ∼ *-mu* (see 10.1).

A complement is any constituent which is subordinate to the verb and does not have the function of S, DO, DS or INST. A complement may be a noun phrase (including a subordinate), an adverb or an adverbial phrase. A complement noun phrase is not inflected. A predicate which can constitute a sentence is marked for indicative or imperative mood. A conditional form usually occurs in or constitutes a subordinate clause. It forms a main clause in marginal cases only (for which see 26.4.3).

A subordinate (i.e. a non-finite verb form with an empty subject slot and a flectional nominalization marker in slot 4) can be used as a finite verb in a few exceptional cases only (see 26.4.7.3 and 26.4.10.3). A subordinate combines with a verb as a subject, a direct object, an instrumental object or a complement. It can have the same arguments and complements as any other verb form. A subordinate clause has fewer constituents than a main clause (see 34.2).

Verb forms, either finite or non-finite, may combine with an auxiliary. An auxiliary always precedes the verb immediately (see 25.4 for examples).

Word order in main clauses is discussed in 34.1, word order in subordinate clauses in 34.2. Coordination and subordination are treated in 35.3. Nominal sentences, which do not contain a verb form, have been dealt with in chapter 24.

Chapter 34

Word order

34.1 Word order in main clauses

A sentence may consist of a single predicate, e.g.

(1) *umaw-tu-la-n*
     sleep-VERB^{36}-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3

     'I did not sleep'

  or a predicate preceded by an auxiliary, e.g.

(2) *küpá   umaw-tu-la-n*
     wishing sleep-VERB^{36}-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3

     'I did not want to sleep'

   A transitive verb can be accompanied by four arguments, two of which may corefer to a person marker in the verb form (see 25.2). An intransitive verb can have two arguments, one of which is coreferential with the subject marker.

   The subject noun phrase (which is usually third person) of an intransitive verb tends to follow the verb form, e.g.

(3) *af-iy   ñi   rakiɖuam pu Mapuche*
     end.(intr.)-IND^4-ɜ^3 poss3 thought COLL Mapuche

     'the patience of the Mapuche has run out'

(4) *... kim-nge-ke-la-fu-y   ñi   müle-n pichi-ke   che* (5,8)
     know-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IND^4-ɜ^3 poss3 be-PVN^4 small-DISTR person

     'one does not know that there are babies'

      This is especially the case when
(a) the verb is preceded by another constituent, e.g.

(5) *rumé kuñiwün-nge-y   kishu-yaw-ün* (1,3)
     very dangerous-VERB^{36}-IND^4-ɜ^3 alone-CIRC^{30}-PVN^4

     'it is very dangerous to walk about alone'

(6)   *fey-chi perdi-y   ta-yiñ   chaw-em*   (13,41)
      that-ADJ pass.away-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss1p father-EX

      '[and] then our^p (late) father passed away'

  ⟨ *perdi-* is derived from Sp. perderse 'to get lost, to die'. ⟩
(b)   the subject noun phrase contains a number of constituents, e.g.

(7)   *kuyfí   üyüw   müle-ke-fu-y-iñ   ñuke   iñchiñ, lamngen, peñi*
      formerly over.there be-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 mother we^p,   sister,   brother
      (12,2)

      'a long time ago, we^p used to live over there, [my] mother, sister [and]
      brother'

(c)   the verb is a subordinate (see 34.2 below).
  The subject noun phrase may also precede an intransitive verb, e.g.

(8)   *kiñe-ke ñi   pu   ñawe   füta-nge-y*
      one-DISTR poss3 COLL daughter husband-VERB^{36}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

      'some of his daughters were married'

  The noun phrase which expresses the agent in a transitive event precedes the
verb. The agent noun phrase can corefer to the subject marker (9), the suffix
in slot 23 (10) or to the dative subject marker (11):

(9)   *iñché allkü-fi-ñ   ñi   chaw*
      I   hear-EDO^6-IND1s^3 poss1s father

      'I heard my father'

(10) *eymün kellu-mu-la-y-iñ*
      you^p help-2A^{23}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

      'you^p did not help us^p'

(11) *iñché werkü-e-y-u*
      I   send-IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-d^2-$\underline{DS}^1$

      'I sent you^s'

  The noun phrase which expresses the patient follows the verb. The patient
may be coreferential with the direct object marker (see (9) above) or with the
subject marker, as in

(12) *eymün kellu-mu-la-y-iñ   iñchiñ*
      you^p help-2A^{23}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 we^p

      'you^p did not help us^p'

  When the dative subject marker indicates third person agent and the subject
marker indicates third person patient the order is often: Patient-Verb-Agent.
This has to do with the fact that the patient in such a situation is often the topic
of the conversation and therefore has an advanced position in the sentence.

(13) *tüfá-engün ngüne-ke-e-y-ew   pu   machi*   (1,26)
this-they[p]   guide-CF[14]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] COLL medicine.woman

'these [spirits] are directed by *machis*'

In potentially ambiguous situations the order is always: Agent-Verb-Patient.

(14) *Xuan chem-pi-e-y-ew   Winsente feyentu-ke-la-fwi-y*
Juan   what-say-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] Vincente   believe-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]

'whatever Juan said to Vincente, he (Vincente) did not believe him'

The patient may be indicated by a noun phrase which does not corefer to a person marker in the verb. This noun phrase has the function of complement. Again, the order is: Agent-Verb-Patient.

(15) *iñché wül-ün   kiñe trewa*
I   give-IND1s[3] one dog

'I gave one dog'

An intransitive verb can also have a complement object.   The order is: (Subject-)Verb-Complement.

(16) *iñché ñi   chaw kon-üy   ngan-ün*
I   poss1s father start-IND[4]-3[3] sow-PVN[4]

'my father started sowing'

(17) *llüka-le-n   ñi   kuđu-pu-a-el*
become.afraid-ST[28]-IND1s[3] poss1s go.to.bed-LOC[17]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

'I am afraid to go to bed'

A third argument can be introduced when a (transitive) verb combines with two objects or contains the indirect object suffix *-(ü)ñma-* IO[26] or the benefactive suffix *-(l)el-* BEN[27]. The order is: Agent-Verb-Complement-Direct Object.

When a verb has a direct object and a complement object, it is the animate, more agentive or more definite object which is encoded in the verb.

(18) *Maria püto-l-fi-y   ko   Rosa*
Maria   drink-CA[34]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] water Rosa

'Maria made Rosa drink water'

Rosa is coreferential with the external direct object marker *-fi-* EDO[6] and has DO function.

When a verb contains the indirect object marker *-(ü)ñma-*[26] or the benefactive *-(l)el-*[27], the patient is changed into an adversely or indirectly affected participant or into a benificiary respectively. The noun phrase which refers to the patient functions as a complement and nearly always precedes the direct object noun phrase.

(19) *iñché allkü-ñma-fi-ñ   ñi   đungu ñi   chaw*
      I   hear-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 word   poss1s father

      'I heard my fathers' words' (cf. (9))

(20) *iñché đewma-l-e-y-u   kiñe ruka mi   wenüy*
      I   make-BEN[27]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] one   house poss2s friend

      'I made a house for your[s] friend'

A verb can be accompanied by two objects, both of which have the function of a complement. The animate, more agentive or more definite object occurs last, i.e. has the position in the sentence of a direct object noun phrase.

(21) *iñché wül-ün   kiñe trewa kiñe wentru*
      I   give-IND1s[3] one dog   one man

      'I gave one dog to one man'

A transitive verb can take a direct object noun phrase and an object clause. The object clause, not being coreferential with a person marker in the verb, has the function of a complement. The order is: (Agent-)Verb-Direct Object-Complement.

(22) *llellipu-fi-n   ti đomo ñi   küpa-yal*
      request-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the woman poss3 come-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      'I asked the woman to come'

A transitive verb can be accompanied by a fourth argument. This argument is lowest in agentivity, least involved in the situation and is marked by the instrumental suffix *-mew ~ -mu*, i.e. has the function of an instrumental object (10.1). The order is Agent-Verb-Complement-Direct Object-Instrumental Object. Verb forms with four arguments are rare.

(23) *iñché trafkintu-l-fi-n   kiñe ufisha Xuan kiñe sako ketran-mew*
      I   exchange-BEN[27]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] one sheep Juan one sack wheat-INST

      'I exchanged with Juan one sheep for one sack of wheat'

An intransitive verb can also take an instrumental object noun phrase as an argument.

(24) *allkü-tu-le-n   fey-mew*
      hear-TR[33]-ST[28]-IND1s[3] he-INST

      'I can overhear him' (cf. (31) in 10.1)

I have not found intransitive verbs accompanied by an object complement and an instrumental object argument simultaneously.

Note that the order of the arguments presented above is the order in which the arguments are most frequently found. Word order in a sentence is basically free, and it is not difficult to find examples which contradict just about every statement made on the subject.

The position in a sentence of elements other than the verb and its arguments can only roughly be indicated.

Instrumental objects or complements which modify the relation between the principal participant (the subject or the agent) and the event usually occur immediately before the verb.

(25) *ti pu   ngakiñ pichi-ke   che   reké ngüma-ki-y*   (5,7)
     the COLL bird   small-DISTR person like cry-CF^{14}-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$

‘these birds cry like babies’

(26) ... *müpu-le-n   puw-üy*   (4,20)
         fly-ST^{28}-PVN^{4} arrive-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$

‘he arrived by plane’

(27) *kishu ñi   đoam la-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi   pu   kulliñ* (7,21)
     self   poss3 need   die-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$ the-poss3 COLL cattle

‘their cattle used to die a natural death’

Instrumental objects which indicate instrument, place or direction usually follow the verb (and its arguments).

(28) *monge-le-ki-y   ta ti mollfüñ che-mew   mungel* (8,10)
     get.life-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$ the the blood   person-INST especially

‘they live primarily on human blood’

(29) *masom-tuku-fi-ñ   ti mamüll kütral-mew*
     light-put.at-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3} the wood   fire-INST

‘I put wood on the fire’

Adverbs or adverbial phrases which indicate place, direction and time can be found almost anywhere before or after the verb or between the verb and its arguments.

(30) *fey-mu fey-ta faw müle-pa-tu-y-iñ   fach-antü fey tüfa-chi*
     that-INST that-the here be-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-IND^{4}-$\underline{1ns}^{3}$-p^{2} this-day   that this-ADJ

     lelfün-mew (12,27)
     field-INST

‘so, for this reason, we^{p} are back here today on this plot’

(31) *tüfa-chi wentru fill dominggu nie-pu-ke-fu-y   trawü-n* (4,16)
     this-ADJ man   each Sunday   have-LOC^{17}-CF^{14}-IPD^{8}-IND^{4}-$\underline{3}^{3}$ gather-PVN^{4}

‘this man held a meeting there every Sunday’

(32)   *müté fentre pun   kishu miaw-ke-la-ya-y-m-i*   (1,2)
very   much   night alone wander-CF[14]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'you[s] must not wander about alone very late at night'

(33)   *kom kulliñ-küle-n   kañ   pülé amu-y*
all   cattle-ST[28]-PVN[4] other side go-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

'he went elsewhere with all his cattle'

The elements which together present the main situation (the verb, its arguments, the adverbials which modify the relation between the principal participant and the verb, and the adverbials which indicate how, when and where the situation took place) can be followed by words, phrases or clauses which indicate the reason or purpose of the event.

(34)   *tripa-ke-y-ng-ün   pun wül-kutran-a-lu   pu karukatu-mew*
leave-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] night give-sickness-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] COLL neighbour-INST

(1,12)
'they[p] go out at night to inflict illness on the neighbours'

(35)   *weñe-ñma-fi-ñ   kawell ta-ñi   chaw ta-ñi   wenüy elu-a-fiel*
steal-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] horse   the-poss1s father the-poss1s friend give-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

'I stole a horse from my father to give it to my friends'

(36)   *amu-n   wariya-mew ñi   ngilla-tu-al   kofke mi*
go-IND1s[3] town-INST   poss1s buy-TR[33]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] bread poss2s

entri-we-nu-a-m
get.hungry-PS[19]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

'I went to town to buy bread so that you[s] would not be hungry any more'

(37)   *pepí   wiri-la-n   rumé wütre-le-n-mew   ñi   kuwü*
being.able write-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] very cold-ST[28]-PVN[4]-INST poss1s hand

'I cannot write because my hand is very cold'

(38)   *tüfa-chi đomo engu kiñe yall rumé nie-la-y   đew   fücha-che-lu*
this-ADJ woman they[d] one child -ever get-NEG[10]-IND[4]-ʒ[3] already old-person-SVN[4]

engu kam (6,25)
they[d] PART

'with this woman he did not get any children because they[d] were already old'

The elements which make up the main situation may be preceded by words, phrases or clauses which describe a background situation.

(39)   *chumngen ñi   trem-küle-n   đoy fill   đungu,   đoy fill   küđaw*
while   poss1s grow-ST[28]-PVN[4] more all.kind matter/idea, more all.kind work

kim-nie-r-pu-n (3,2)
learn-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]

'while I grew up, I gradually became acquainted with all kinds of ideas and practical matters'

(40) *kuyfí iñché petú pichi-ka-el, kiñe mari tripantu*
formerly I still small-CONT[16]-OVN[4], one ten year

nie-pe-la-n fey-chi, ñi chaw engu ñi ñuke
have-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] that-ADJ, poss1s father they[d] poss1s mother

nütram-ka-e-n-ew (1,1)
conversation-FAC[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

'a long time ago, when I was still young -I probably was about ten years old at the time- my father and mother talked to me'

(41) *amu-ye-m ñi familia-mew rumel ye-ke-y ye-w-ün*
go-CF[5]-IVN[4] poss3 family-INST always bring-CF[14]-IND[4]-[3][3] bring-REF[31]-PVN[4]

'whenever she goes to her family, she brings presents'

Conjunctionals, i.e. words or phrases which refer to the preceding sentence or sentences, occupy sentence initial position.

(42) *fey-mew ngüma-ye-m rumé kim-nge-ke-la-fu-y ñi*
that-INST cry-CF[5]-IVN[4] very know-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-[3][3] poss3

müle-n pichi-che (5,8)
be-PVN[4] small-person

'therefore, when they cry, one does not know very well that there are babies'

See also (30) in the present chapter.

(43) *fey-mu fey-ta re kim-uw-küle-y-iñ kom*
that-INST that-the merely know-REF[30]-ST[28]-IND[4]-[1ns][3]-p[2] all

'that's why, you know, we[p] all know each other'

Interrogatives occupy sentence initial position.

(44) *chew nge-me-y-m-i?*
where be-Th[20]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

'where have you[s] been?'

Word order can be summarized as follows: the verb and the arguments are grouped together in the middle of the sentence in the order A-V-C-DO-INST, interspersed with adverbials which modify the relation between the principal participant and the verb and preceded or followed by adverbials which indicate instrument, time, place or direction. Causal and final phrases or clauses generally occupy sentence final position. Words, phrases or clauses which

describe the background of the main situation generally precede the elements which denote the main situation. These may in turn be preceded by conjunctionals. This order is the one most frequently found. Temporal clauses, for instance, may also occur in final position. Causal clauses may also be found in initial position.

Word order is influenced by topicality: the entity under discussion tends to occupy sentence initial position (see also (13) and (38) above).

(45) *fey-chi küđaw-mew ta küđaw-ün* (9,44)
      that-ADJ work-INST   the work-IND1s^3

      'that [is the] kind of work I did, you know'

(46) *chillka-tu-n   pi-nge-y   ta mapuche-mew* (7,19)
      inscription-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 say-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the Mapuche-INST

      ' "chillkatun" it is called in Mapuche'

(47) *fey-chi đungu fey ta-tí   ka nütram-ye-pe-n   fach-antü pichin*
      that-ADJ idea   that the-the also conversation-OO^{35}-PX^{13}-IND1s^3 this-day   a.little
      (14,67)
      'as for this idea, you know, I also discussed it a little today'

(48) *rumé ka-mapu kam müle-pu-lu   engün küđaw-tu-y-ng-ün   ñi*
      very   other-land PART be-LOC^{17}-SVN^4 they^p work-VERB^{36}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 poss3

      puw-al   (6,44)
      arrive-NRLD^9.OVN^4

      'since they^p lived very far away, it required effort for them to arrive'

Furthermore, one tends to avoid a sequence of two instrumental objects and a heap of adverbials before the verb and its arguments which instead tend to be spread over the sentence.

34.2   Word order in subordinate clauses

Word order in a subordinate clause is not essentially different from word order in a main clause. The subject noun phrase of an intransitive verb usually follows the verb. With a transitive verb the order is Agent-Verb-Complement Object-Direct Object.

(49) *ñall tripa-ya-el   iñché, kiñe wentru aku-y*
      just leave-NRLD^9-OVN^4 I,   one man   arrive-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

      'just when I was about to leave, a man arrived'

(50) *Xosé ñi   ngilla-ñma-fiel-chi libru Xuan ñam-küle-y*
      José   poss3 buy-IO^{26}-TVN^4-ADJ   book Juan get.lost-ST^{28}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

      'the book which José bought from Juan is lost'

A subordinate clause has less adverbials than a predicate. It may take an adverbial which modifies the relation between the principal participant and the verb or one which indicates instrument, place or time. A subordinate clause seldom contains another subordinate clause in the function of adverbial complement, as in

(51) *nie-ke-fu-y   fillem   engün ñi   fundu-mew ñi*
      have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] every.kind they[p]   poss3 farm-INST   poss3

      tripa-no-a-m   ñi   pu   küđaw-pe-lu   ñi   amu-al
      leave-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] poss3 COLL work-PX[13]-SVN[4] poss3 go-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      wariya-mew (9,77)
      town-INST

      'they[p] used to have all kinds of things on their farms so that their labou-
      rers did not have to go out in order to go to town'

A subordinate has a few special characteristics:
(i)   the possessive pronoun which refers either to the agent or to the patient
       (see 26.4.6–26.4.11) always precedes the subordinate,
(ii)   an interrogative pronoun can only be preceded by a possessive pronoun.
       Compare:

(52) *iñché fey-pi-a-e-y-u   chumngechi ñi   ru-pa-n*
      I   that-say-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2]-$\underline{DS}$[1] how   poss3 pass-Hh[17]-PVN[4]

      ta đungu
      the matter

      'I will tell you[s] how things develop'

(53) *petú nütram-ka-y-u   yu   chumngechi resibi-al*
      still conversation-FAC[33]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-d[2] poss1d how   receive-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

      yu   pu   witran
      poss1d COLL visitor

      'we[d] are discussing how we[d] are going to receive our[d] visitors'

⟨ *resibi-* is derived from Sp. recibir 'to receive'. ⟩

Chapter 35

Coordination and subordination

This chapter deals with juxtaposition of main clauses (35.1), subordination of conditional clauses to main clauses (35.2) and with direct speech (35.3).

35.1   Juxtaposition of main clauses

Juxtaposition of main clauses can express

1)   coordination

(1)   *ye-y   ta plata yengün, ye-y   ta rali, ye-y   ta ufisa,*
       bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the money they[P],   bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the plate, bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the sheep,

       ye-y   ta kiñe trari-ñ kawellu, ye-y   ta waka, ye-y
       bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the one   tie-PVN[4] horse,   bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3] the cow,   bring-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

       ufisa
       sheep

       'they[P] bring money, you know, [and] plates, sheep, a team of horses, cows
       and sheep'

Such clauses can also be connected by *ka* 'and'. It is quite common to have long enumerations with continuous repetition of the verb. However, it is also possible to name the verb just once, as in (55) and (56) in 23.5.

2)   contrast

(2)   *pero tüfá kiñe-ke-ntu fiy   müle-wü-y,   kiñe-ke-ntu fiy*
       but   this one-DISTR-GR that be-PS[19]-IND[4]-ʒ[3], one-DISTR-GR that

       wiño-tu-y
       return-RE[16]-IND[4]-ʒ[3]

       'whereas some are still there now, others have gone back'

3)   a causal relationship

(3)   *i-la-ya-fi-ñ   tüfá. ngüñü-le-la-n*
       eat-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] this. get.hungry-ST[28]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

       'I will not eat this. I am not hungry'

4)   a temporal relationship

(4)   *la-y   kiñe pichi che,   weñe-nentu-nge-r-pu-y   ta ti*
      die-IND^4-ɜ^3 one   small person, steal-take.out-PASS^{23}-ITR^{18}-LOC^{17}-IND^4-ɜ^3 the the

      pichi che   (8,5)
      small person

      'when a child died, that child would eventually be robbed'

(5)   *kiñe-ke-mew wentru-w-üy-ng-ün,   nü-nge-ke-fu-y,   kiñe*
      one-DISTR-INST man-REF^{31}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2, take-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-ɜ^3, one

      mamüll-mew trari-ntuku-künu-nge-ke-fu-y   (5,16)
      tree-INST   tie-put.at-PFPS^{32}-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-ɜ^3

      'sometimes when they^P resisted, they were caught [and] left tied to a tree'

(6)   *umaw-tu-le-y   ti pu   nge-n   kulliñ, fey-engün*
      sleep-VERB^{36}-ST^{28}-IND^4-ɜ^3 the COLL have-PVN^4 animal, that-they^P

      *adkintu-yaw-ül-ki-y . . .   (1,17)
      watch-CIRC^{30}-MIO^{29}-CF^{14}-IND^4-ɜ^3

      'when the cattle owners are asleep, they go about watching . . .'

5)   iterativity
Every time event A takes place, event B place takes place (event A being expressed by the first clause).

(7)   *fey küdaw-ün, wüywü-ke-n*
      that work-IND1s^3, get.thirsty-CF^{14}-IND1s^3

      'every time I work, I get thirsty'

(8)   *nie-la-y-ng-ün   chum-al   rumé, pe-fi-y   pun*
      have-NEG^{10}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 do.how/what-NRLD^9.OVN^4 -ever,   see-EDO^6-IND^4-ɜ^3 night

      che, ñuwi-l-ke-fi-y,   ka   rüpü-mew
      person, get.lost-CA^{34}-CF^{14}-EDO^6-IND^4-ɜ^3, other road-INST

      amu-l-ke-fi-y   (1,35–36)
      go-CA^{34}-CF^{14}-EDO^6-IND^4-ɜ^3

      'when they have nothing to do [and] see people in the night, they make them get lost [and] go astray'

6)   correlation

(9)   *chunté   puw-üy   ta-ñi   mapu, ta chunté   puw-ke-fu-y*
      how.much arrive-IND^4-ɜ^3 the-poss3 land,   the how.much arrive-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-ɜ^3

      engün (7,23)
      they^P

'they[p] settled everywhere as far as their land extended' (lit.: how much the land stretched, how much they[p] did stay. The Mapuche did not have fences, so they could settle down anywhere and use the land)

(10) *chew yiñ   pun-ma-n   umaw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   (2,6)
where poss1p night-EXP[35]-PVN[4] sleep-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'wherever night fell upon us, we[p] would sleep'

(11) *chem rumé pedi-e-n,   elu-e-y-u*
what -ever request-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-<u>DS</u>[1], give-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

'whatever you[s] asked of me, I gave to you[s]'

A main clause may be used instead of a subordinate relative clause, as in

(12) *chew anta müle-y   ta-chi makuñ wiya   nga elu-e-y-u?*
where PART be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-ADJ coat   yesterday PART give-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

'where is that coat I gave you[s] yesterday?'

Main clauses may be connected by *kam* 'or', Sp. o 'or' or by the adverb *welu* 'but':

(13) *epu waka ilo-ngi-y   o kiñe kawellu o ka   kiñe waka*
two cow   slaughter-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] or one   horse   or also one   cow

ilo-ngi-y
slaughter-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'two cows are slaughtered, or one horse, or also one cow'

(14) *kiñe tripantu puw-puw-nge-y   ñi   awtu-mew, welu ka   tripantu-*
one year   arrive-arrive-<u>SFR</u>[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 car-INST,   but   other year-INST

mew   müpü-le-n (4,19–20)
fly-ST[28]-PVN[4] arrive-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'one year he kept on coming by car, but the next year he came by plane'

In the speech of RR, main clauses can be connected by *porke*, which is Sp. porque 'because'.

(15) *ta depwé, nee-n   mari reqle tripantu, amu-tripa-r-pu-n,   porke*
the later, have-IND1s[3] ten   seven year,   go-leave-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3], because

auri-w-ün   ta-ñi   mapu-mew, porke
get.bored-REF[31]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s land-INST,   because

gana-ke-la-fu-n   reké   ta plata (9,22–23)
earn-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] as.it.were the money

'then later, when I was seventeen years old, I followed my own path because I was bored in my country, because I did not earn money, as it were'

The more Spanish words a speaker uses while speaking Mapuche, the more he will use juxtaposed main clauses instead of a main clause and a subordinate. Especially subordinate clauses which have more than one argument tend to be avoided by less fluent speakers.

35.2   Conditional clauses and main clauses

A conditional form occurs as a finite form in marginal instances only (see 26.4.3). A conditional clause is usually subordinated to a main clause and generally precedes the main clause.

(16)   *eymi amu-l-m-i,   iñché ka   amu-a-n*
         you^s go-COND^4-2^3-s^2, I   also go-NRLD^9-IND1s^3

         'if you^s go, I'll go too'

(17)   *pofre-le-l-e   rumé, elu-a-fe-n-ew*
         poor-ST^{28}-COND^4-3^3 -ever, give-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1

         'even if he were poor, he would give [it] to me'

If the conditional clause contains the adverb *wülá* 'then', it follows the main clause.

(18)   *müle-fal-fu-y-m-i   faw, iñché ɖew   wiño-fu-l-i   wülá*
         be-FORCE^{25}-IPD^8-IND^4-2^3-s^2 here, I   already return-IPD^8-COND^4-1^3-s̲^{2} then

         'you^s should stay here until I get back' (lit.: you^s should be here if I am back then)

See also (17–19) in 26.4.3.

35.3   Direct speech

Direct quotes may be introduced by a verb (72) or concluded with a verb (73). They may occur without an introducing verb or a concluding verb (74), and they may occur with either (75).

(19)   *fey-pi-pu-y: "iñché werkü-e-n-ew   chaw-dios eymün mün*
         that-say-LOC^{17}-IND^4-3̲^{3}: I   send-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1 father-God you^p poss2p

         nütram-ka-pa-ya-fiel: müle-y   wenu kiñe wentru, rumé
         conversation-FAC^{33}-Th^{17}-NRLD^9-TVN^4: be-IND^4-3̲^{3} above one   man,   very

         kim-üy … " (4,3)
         know-IND^4-3̲^{3}

         'there he said this: "I have been sent by God the Father to tell you^p: there is a man, he knows a lot …"'

(20)   *i   depwé fiy   kintu-ntu-e-n-ew*   *ta-ñi   pu   wenüy.* "*tüfá*
       and later   then look.for-improd.-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] the-poss1s COLL friend.   this

       ñi   fe-le-n   ñi   đungu. femngechi
       poss3 become.like.that-ST[28]-PVN[4] poss1s matter. so

       nü-ntu-nie-ñma-nge-n   *mapu. tüfá ñi   müle-n ñi   planu.*
       take-improd.-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] land.   this poss3 be-PVN[4] poss1s map.

       fanten   nü-ntu-nie-ñma-nge-n"   *pi-r-pu-e-n-ew*
       this.much take-improd.-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3], say-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

       ta-ñi   pu   wenüy
       the-poss1s COLL friend

       'and then, after that, those friends of mine looked for me everywhere.
       "this is the matter. this is how I have been robbed of land. this is my
       map. this much they have taken from me", those friends of mine told
       me'

       ⟨ *i* is Sp. y 'and'. *-ntu-* in *kintu-ntu-* and *nü-ntu-* (73) is an improductive
       suffix, see 27.2. ⟩

(21)   "*bweno nü-tu-a-y-iñ.*
       right,   take-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

       chum-qünu-w-a-y-iñ   *am?*"
       do.how/what-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] PART

       'allright, are we[p] going to take [it] back? how are we[p] going to prepare
       ourselves?'

   (21) is the answer of RR to his friends in (20).
   ⟨ *bweno* is Sp. bueno 'right'. ⟩

(22)   *fey-engu fey-pi-e-n-ew:*   "*müté fentre pun   kishu*
       that-they[d] that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]: very   much   night alone

       miaw-ke-la-ya-y-m-i,   *rumé kuñiwün-nge-y*
       wander-CF[14]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], very   dangerous-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

       kishu-yaw-ün", *fey-pi-e-n-ew*   *ñi   chaw engu ñi   ñuke*
       alone-CIRC[30]-PVN[4], that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s father they[d] poss1s mother
       (1,2–3)
       'they[d] said to me: "you[s] must not wander about alone very late at night.
       Going about alone is very dangerous", my father and mother told me'

   But usually direct quotes are pre-posed.

(23) *"ruka-w-pu-a-y-u"*   *pi-y*   *ta-ñi*   *đomo ka*
house-REF[31]-LOC[17]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2] say-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss1s woman and

ta-ñi   *llalla*   *ka. "kishu-le-püđa-y   mapu", pi-y*
the-poss1s mother.in.law also. alone-ST[28]-AIML-IND[4]-3[3] land,   say-IND[4]-3[3]

(12,20–21)

' "we[d] will build a house and settle down" said my wife and my mother-in-law. "the land lies idle", they said'

The verb *(fey)pi-* always combines with direct quotes, never with subordinate clauses. One usually finds *feypi-* when the verb precedes the direct quote and *pi-* when it follows the direct quote. The verbs *ramtu-* 'to ask', *kim-püra-me-pa-* 'to realize' and *kim-kon-* 'to find out, to understand' usually combine with a subordinate but may also combine with direct quotes (cf. (25) in 14.3, (4) in 26.17 and (9) in 26.20).

Appendix

Paradigms

Paradigms

Introduction

All Mapuche verbs follow the same pattern of conjugation. Intransitive predicates are minimally marked for mood (indicative, conditional or imperative, slot 4), subject (slot 3) and number (slot 2). Apart from these suffixes, transitive predicates may contain a direct object marker in slot 6, a dative subject marker in slot 1 and an agent marker in slot 23. The suffixes are discussed in chapters 25 and 26. The tables below give a résumé of the morphemes of the intransitive conjugation (table 1) and the transitive conjugation (table 3). The conjugation of intransitive verbs is given for the verbs *amu-* 'to go' and *kon-* 'to enter'. The conjugations of the transitive verbs *leli-* 'to look at' and *mütrüm-* 'to call' illustrate the transitive paradigm.

Intransitive verbs

Table 1. Intransitive paradigm

Slot	Indicative			Conditional			Imperative		
	4	3	2	4	3	2	4	3	2
1s		(ü)n		l	i	∅		chi	
1d	y	∅	u	l	i	u	(y	∅	u)
1p	y	∅	iñ	l	i	iñ	(y	∅	iñ)
2s	(ü)y	m	i	(ü)l	m	i		nge	
2d	(ü)y	m	u	(ü)l	m	u	∅	m	u
2p	(ü)y	m	ün	(ü)l	m	ün	∅	m	ün
3	(ü)y	∅		(ü)l	e			pe	
3d	(ü)y	ng	u						
3p	(ü)y	ng	ün						

There is no imperative form for first person non-singular subject. The indicative 1d and 1p may be used adhortatively. The relevant morphemes are given between brackets in tables 1 and 3. Note that negation in adhortatively used indicative forms is marked by *-ki-(nu-)l-*, the negation marker for imperative forms.

Table 2: Conjugations of the intransitive verbs *amu-* 'to go' and *kon-* 'to enter'

	Ind.	Cond.	Imp.	Ind.	Cond.	Imp.
1s	amun	amuli	amuchi	konün	konli	konchi
1d	amuyu	amuliu	amuyu	konyu	konliu	konyu
1p	amuyiñ	amuliiñ	amuyiñ	konyiñ	konliiñ	konyiñ
2s	amuymi	amulmi	amunge	konüymi	konülmi	konnge
2d	amuymu	amulmu	amumu	konüymu	konülmu	konmu
2p	amuymün	amulmün	amumün	konüymün	konülmün	konmün
3	amuy	amule	amupe	konüy	konle	konpe
3d	amuyngu			konüyngu		
3p	amuyngün			konüyngün		

Transitive verbs

Table 3. Transitive paradigm

	Indicative						Conditional						Imperative					
Slot	23	6	4	3	2	1	23	6	4	3	2	1	23	6	4	3	2	1
1s→2s		e	y	∅	u	∅		e	l	y	u	∅						
1→2 total > 2	(u)w		y	∅	iñ		(u)w		l	i	iñ							
2s→1s		e		n				e	l	i	∅	∅		(e		n)		
2dp→1s	mu			n			mu		l	i	∅		mu			chi		
2sdp→1d	mu		y	∅	u		mu		l	i	u		(mu		y	∅	u)	
2sdp→1p	mu		y	∅	iñ		mu		l	i	iñ		(mu		y	∅	iñ	
1s→3		fi		n			fi	l	i	∅			fi			chi		
1d→3		fi	y	∅	u		fi	l	i	u			(fi		y	∅	u)	
1p→3		fi	y	∅	iñ		fi	l	i	iñ			(fi		y	∅	iñ)	
2s→3		fi	y	m	i		fi	l	m	i			fi			nge		
2d→3		fi	y	m	u		fi	l	m	u			fi		∅	m	u	
2p→3		fi	y	m	ün		fi	l	m	ün			fi		∅	m	ün	
3→3		fi	y	∅			fi	l	e				fi			pe		
3d→3		fi	y	ng	u													
3p→3		fi	y	ng	ün													
3→1s		e		n		ew		e	l	i	∅	mew		e		chi		mew
3→1d		e	y	∅	u	mew		e	l	y	u	mew						
3→1p		e	y	∅	iñ	mew		e	l	y	iñ	mew						
3→2s		e	y	m	∅	ew		e	l	m	∅	ew							
3→2d		e	y	m	u	mew		e	l	m	u	mew						
3→2p		e	y	m	ün	mew		e	l	m	ün	mew						
3→3		e	y	∅		ew		e	l	y		ew							

The ending -fi-nge 2s→3 Imp alternates with *fe*.

In the speech of MM a short hight front vowel (only phonetic and never stressed) may be heard between a consonant and the glide *y*: *-iy-u* Ind1d, *-iy-iñ* Ind1p, *-e-l-iy-u* Cond1s→2s, *-e-l-iy-u-mew* Cond3→1d, *-e-l-iy-iñ-mew* Cond3→1p.

In 2s→1s negative imperative forms the subject is indicated by *-i-*. The resulting ending *-kieli* alternates with *-keeli* and *-keli*. In 3→1s negative imperative forms the subject may be indicated by *-chi* or *-i*. The endings for the transitive negative imperative paradigm are summarized below:

2s→1s	-kieli ∼ -keeli ∼ -keli
2d/p→1s	-mukilchi
2s/d/p→1d	-mukilyu
2s/d/p→1p	-mukilyiñ
1s→3	-kifilchi
1d→3	-kifilyu
1p→3	-kifilyiñ
2s→3	-kifilnge
2d→3	-kifilmu
2p→3	-kifilmün
3→1s	-kielchimu ∼ -kielimu

Table 4: Conjugations of the transitive verbs *leli-* 'to look at' and *mütrüm* 'to call'

	Indicative	Conditional	Imperative
1s→2s	lelieyu	lelielyu	
	mütrümeyu	mütrümelyu	
1→2	leliwyiñ	leliwliiñ	
total > 2	mütrümuwyiñ	mütrümuwliiñ	
2s→1s	lelien	lelieli	lelien
	mütrümen	mütrümeli	mütrümen
2d/p→1s	lelimun	lelimuli	lelimuchi
	mütrümmun	mütrümmuli	mütrümmuchi
2s/d/p→1d	lelimuyu	lelimuliu	lelimuyu
	mütrümmuyu	mütrümmuliu	mütrümmuyu
2s/d/p→1p	lelimuyiñ	lelimuliiñ	lelimuyiñ
	mütrümmuyiñ	mütrümmuliiñ	mütrümmuyiñ
1s→3	lelifin	lelifili	lelifichi
	mütrümfin	mütrümfili	mütrümfichi
1d→3	lelifiyu	lelifiliu	lelifiyu
	mütrümfiyu	mütrümfiliu	mütrümfiyu
1p→3	lelifiyiñ	lelifiliiñ	lelifiyiñ
	mütrümfiyiñ	mütrümfiliiñ	mütrümfiyiñ
2s→3	lelifiymi	lelifilmi	lelifinge

	mütrümfiymi	mütrümfilmi	mütrümfinge
2d→3	lelifiymu	lelifilmu	lelifimu
	mütrümfiymu	mütrümfilmu	mütrümfimu
2p→3	lelifiymün	lelifilmün	lelifimün
	mütrümfiymün	mütrümfilmün	mütrümfimün
3→ 3	lelifiy	lelifile	lelifipe
	mütrümfiy	mütrümfile	mütrümfipe
3d→3	lelifiyngu		
	mütrümfiyngu		
3p→3	lelifiyngün		
	mütrümfiyngün		
3→1s	lelienew	lelielimew	leliechimew
	mütrümenew	mütrümelimew	mütrümechimew
3→1d	lelieyumew	lelielyumew	
	mütrümeyumew	mütrümelyumew	
3→1p	lelieyiñmew	lelielyiñmew	
	mütrümeyiñmew	mütrümelyiñmew	
3→2s	lelieymew	lelielmew	
	mütrümeymew	mütrümelmew	
3→2d	lelieymumew	lelielmumew	
	mütrümeymumew	mütrümelmumew	
3→2p	lelieymünmew	lelielmünmew	
	mütrümeymünmew	mütrümelmünmew	
3→3	lelieymew	lelielyew	
	mütrümeymew	mütrümelyew	

Part VIII

Texts

Introduction

The texts presented here consist of stories, conversations and songs. Texts 1-6 are stories told by Luis Quinchavil (1938) of Nueva Imperial. Although he was a fluent Mapuche speaker, Luis Quinchavil insisted on preparing his stories and reading them aloud from paper. Rafael Railaf (1933) and Mario Millapi (born around 1934) spoke spontaneously. Text 7 is a story told by Rafael Railaf of Lautaro. Discussions between Luis Quinchavil and Rafael Railaf are presented in texts 8-11. Railaf's wife, Rosa, is a third participant in the first discussion (text 8). Mario Millapi of Boyeco is the author of three stories presented in texts 12-14. The songs (texts 15-17) are interpreted by Rafael Railaf.

Texts 1-11 and 15-17 were recorded on tape in 1978 and 1979 in the Netherlands, in the house of the author (texts 1-6) or in the house of the author's mentor, Professor Willem Adelaar (texts 8-11 and 15-17). The texts were transcribed and translated (into Spanish) with the help of Luis Quinchavil. Texts 12-14 were recorded on tape in Chile in 1980, in the field just outside the house of Mario Millapi.

Within each text, Mapuche sentences are numbered. The first line contains Mapuche forms divided into morphemic segments. The corresponding English glosses and grammatical abbreviations immediately follow in the second line. The English translations is in the third line. The texts are presented in the same lay-out as the Mapuche examples in the grammar. A row of dots ... indicates a pause followed by a renewed start. Notes on the content or the grammar are printed at the end of each text.

Text 1. Demons

In this text Luis Quinchavil talks about demons. Above the earth, *wenu-mapu*, in the blue sky, live the Gods, who have mastery over man and nature, who give life and fecundity to men, animals and plants, and control the forces of nature. The God known as *ngüne-che-n* rule-man-PVN[4] 'the ruler of men' or *ngüne-mapu-n* 'the ruler of the land' combines two pairs of opposite characteristics, male-female and old-young, and is addressed as *chaw* 'father', *chaw ngünechen* or *rey chaw* 'king father', as *kushe* 'old (woman)', *kushe ngünechen* or *rey kushe*, as *wentru ngünechen* 'young man *ngünechen*' or as *malen ngünechen* 'young woman *ngünechen*' (Cooper 1946: 742). According to Schindler (1990: 63) the young man God and the young woman God are called *pillañ wentru* 'pure young man' and *pillañ malen* 'pure young woman', respectively. Cooper on the other hand (Cooper ibid.: 747) states that *pillañ* is associated with volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods and tidal waves. The term *pillan* is also used for spirits of the deceased of a lineage (Jofre: 10). The spirits of deceased headmen, warriors and *machi* (medicine women), who also reside in the world above, are called for help by the living headmen, soldiers and *machi* respectively. Whereas the inhabitants of the world above,*wenu-mapu*, provide for the good, for fecundity, prosperity and happiness, demons are held responsible for the bad. Demons live on or in the earth, in woods or caves, and have the fysical appearance of a human or an animal (partly or entirely). They live on human blood and flesh and bring about illness, misfortunes or disaster. Witches (*kalku*) or *machi* have the power to call the demons into action. Witches are women and live alone in woods or caves (Jofre ibid.: 12). *Machi*, nearly always women, are the intermediaries between the real world and the world above. They are able to read the will of the Gods, they heal the sick and perform rituals.

   The following story was first written down by LQ. It was then read by him from a paper while it was recorded. This may account for the clearly articulated speech reflected in the text. The subject of the text, demons, adds to the aloofness of the speaker. Even though LQ does not believe in demons, he does not like to talk about them, lest he should provoke their anger. For demons, see also text 8.

1. *kuyfí   iñché petú pichi-ka-el,   kiñe mari tripantu nie-pe-la-n*
   formerly I   still small-CONT[16]-OVN[4], one ten   year   have-TD[13]-NEG[10]-

       fey-chi,   ñi   chaw engu ñi   ñuke   nütram-ka-e-n-ew.
   IND1s[3] that-ADJ, poss1s father they[d] poss1s mother conversation-FAC[33]-IDO[6]-

   IND1s[3]-DS[1]

   'a long time ago, when I was still young -I probably was about ten years old at the time- my father and mother talked to me.'

2. *fey-engu   fey-pi-e-n-ew:*   *"müté fentre-pun   kishu miaw-ke-la-*
   that-they[d] that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]: very much-night alone wander-CF[14]-

   ya-y-m-i".
   NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

   'they[d] said to me: "you[s] must not wander about alone very late at night".'

3. *"rumé kuñiwün-nge-y*   *kishu-yaw-ün",*   *fey-pi-e-n-ew*
   very dangerous-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] alone-CIRC[30]-PVN[4], that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-

   ñi   chaw engu ñi   ñuke.
   DS[1] poss1s father they[d] poss1s mother

   ' "it is very dangerous to go about alone", my father and mother said to me.'

4. *fey-mew   iñché ramtu-fi-n:*   *"chumngelu kuñiwün-nge-y*
   that-INST I   ask-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]: why   dangerous-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

   fentre-pun miaw-ün?".
   much-night wander-PVN[4]

   'then I asked them: "why is it dangerous to wander about late at night?".'

5. *fey-mew   fey-pi-e-n-ew*   *engu: "pun   fill   wekufü*
   that-INST   that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] they[d]:   night all.sorts demon

   miaw-ki-y".
   wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'then they[d] said to me: "at night all sorts of demons wander about".'

6. *iñché   ramtu-fi-n:*   *"chem   wekufü   miaw-ki-y   pun,*
   I   ask-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]: what   demon   wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]   night,

   chum-nge-y   ti   pu   wekufü?".
   how-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] the COLL demon

   'I asked them: "what kind of demons wander about at night?, what are these
   demons like?".'

7. *fey-engu   fey-pi-e-n-ew:*   *"rumé fill   wekufü müle-y,*
   that-they[d] that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]: very all.sorts demon be-IND[4]-3[3],

   müle-y   ta-chi   chonchon[1] wekufü, müle-y   ti   witra-n-alwe[2]
   be-IND[4]-3[3] the-ADJ flying.head demon, be-IND[4]-3[3] the stand.up-PVN[4]-soul

   wekufü ka   müle-y   ti   añchümalleñ[3] wekufü".
   demon and be-IND[4]-3[3] the midget   demon

   'they[d] said to me: "there is a whole lot of different demons, there is a flying
   head demon, there is a raised soul demon, and there is a midget demon".'

8. *fey-mew   iñché ramtu-fi-n:*   *"chum-nge-y   ta   ka-ke*
   that-INST I   ask-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]: how-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] the other-DISTR

   kiñe-ke   wekufü?"
   one-DISTR demon

   'then I asked them: "what is each of these demons like?"'

9. *fey-pi-e-n-ew   engu:* "*pu   chonchon   wekufü   müpü-yaw-ki-y*
   that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] they[d]: COLL flying.head demon   fly-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-
        pun".
   IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] night

   ' "flying head demons fly about at night".'

10. "*pe-nge-ke-la-y,   welu longko-che   pi-nge-y   ñi*
    see-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], but   head-person say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3
    miaw-ke-n".
    wander-CF[14]-PVN[4]

    ' "one cannot see them, but one says that head-beings roam about".'

11. "*fey-ta-chi   pu   chonchon nge-n-nge-y*[4]   *pu   kalku-mew*".
    that-the-ADJ COLL flying.head have-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] COLL witch-INST

    ' "these flying heads are owned by witches".'

12. "*tripa-ke-y-ng-ün   pun wül-kutran-a-lu   pu   ka-ruka-tu-*
    go.out-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] night give-illness-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] COLL other-house-
    mew[5]   *ka   ngünüy-kiaw-ül-ki-y-ng-ün   chum-le-n   pu*
    improd.-INST and spy-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] how-ST[28]-PVN[4] COLL
    che".
    person

    ' "they[p] go out at night to inflict illness on the neighbours and they[p] spy
    around [to see] how people are".'

13. "*ka-nge-lu   witra-n-alwe   wekufü pi-nge-y*".
    other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] stand.up-PVN[4]-soul demon say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "another [demon] is called a raised soul demon".'

14. "*fey-ti-chi   witra-n-alwe   rumé fücha-ke-y-ng-ün*".
    that-the-ADJ stand.up-PVN[4]-soul very big-DISTR-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    ' "these raised soul demons are very big".'

15. "*fey-engün aḏkintu-yaw-ül-ki-y*[6]   *kulliñ*".
    that-they[p] watch-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] cattle

    ' "they[p] go about watching cattle".'

16. "*fey-ta-chi   fücha-ke witra-n-alwe   nie-y   re   pu   ülmen*
    that-the-ADJ big-DISTR stand.up-PVN[4]-soul have-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] only COLL rich
    che,   nie-lu   fentre-n   kulliñ".
    person, have-SVN[4] big.VERB[36]-PVN[4] cattle

    ' "only rich people who have much cattle have these big raised souls".'

17. "*umaw-tu-le-y   ti   pu   nge-n   kulliñ, fey-engün*
    sleep-VERB[36]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the COLL have-PVN[4] cattle, that-they[p]
    aḏkintu-yaw-ül-ki-y   ñi   weñe-nge-nu-al
    watch-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 steal-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    kiñe kulliñ   rumé”.
    one animal -ever

‘ “when the cattle owners sleep, they[p] (the raised souls) go about to see that not even one animal is stolen”.’

18. *“tüfá-engün rumé kümé tuku-tu-l-uw-küle-ki-y-ng-ün”*[7].
    this-they[p] very good put.at-TR[33]-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

‘ “they[p] are very well dressed”.’

19. *“kiñe-ke-mew   kawell-kiaw-ki-y-ng-ün”.*
    one-DISTR-INST horse-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

‘ “sometimes they[p] ride about”.’

20. *“miaw-ül-ki-y-ng-ün   fücha-ke   ispwela”*[8].
    wander-CA[34]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] big-DISTR spur

‘ “they[p] wander about with big spurs”.’

21. *“ñi   foro   pun   achef-küle-ke-y”.*
    poss3 tooth night shine-ST[28]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

‘ “their teeth shine in the night”.’

22. *“kiñe-ke-mew   ayü-y-ng-ün   pe-nge-l-uw-ki-y-ng-ün*[9]
    one-DISTR-INST love-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] see-PASS[23]-CA[34]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]
    kishu miaw-chi   che-mew”.
    alone wander-SVN[4]-ADJ person-INST

‘ “sometimes they[p] like to show themselves to people who wander about alone”.’

23. *“ka-nge-lu   kiñe pichi wekufü”.*
    other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] one small demon

‘ “another [demon is] a small demon”.’

24. *“trem-ke-la-y”.*
    grow-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

‘ “he does not grow”.’

25. *“rumé ash-ün-nge-y,   awka-n-tu-fe-nge-y*[10],
    very naughty-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3], wild-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-NOM-VERB[36]-IND[4]-
    aye-fe-nge-y,   welu rumé llüka-l-ka-che-ke-y”.
    3[3], laugh-NOM-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3], but very become.afraid-CA[34]-FAC[33]-person-
    CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

‘ “he is very naughty, he is playful, he laughs, but he frightens people a lot”.’

26. *“tüfá-engün ngüne-ke-e-y-ew   pu   machi”.*
    this-they[p] direct-CF[14]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] COLL medicine.woman

‘ “these [spirits] are directed by *machis*”.’

27. *“püñeñ reké nie-ke-e-y-ew;   rumé kümé af-ma-ye-nie-nge-ki-y*[12],
    son   like have-CF[14]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1]; very good end.(intr.)-EXP[35]-carry-

$$rumé \quad i\text{-}lel\text{-}nge\text{-}ki\text{-}y,$$
PRPS[32]-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$,   very   eat-CA[34]-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$,
ilo-kulliñ-el-nge-ki-y".
meat-animal-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

' "they are treated by them as sons; they are very well taken care of, they are fed a lot, animals are slaughtered for them".'

28. *"fey-ta-engün   i-ke-y   re   mollfüñ".*
    that-the-they[p] eat-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ only blood

' "these [spirits] eat only blood".'

29. *"pun   werkü-nge-ki-y   fill   pülé   ñi   tripa-yal*
    night send-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ all.sorts direction poss3 go.out-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    ñi   fill-ađ-tu-al   chem che   rumé".
    poss3 wicked-trick-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] what person -ever.

' "at night they are sent off in every direction (to go out) to play tricks on whomever [they come across]".'

30. *"kiñe-ke-mew   ti   pu   machi   illku-tu-nie-fi-ye-m*
    one-DISTR-INST the COLL medicine.woman become.afraid-TR[33]-PRPS[32]-
                    kiñe-ke   ñi   pu   ka-ruka-tu,   fey-mew   đoy
    EDO[6]-CF[5]-IVN[4] one-DISTR poss3 COLL other-house-improd., that-INST more
    müchay-ke werkü-nge-ki-y".
    fast-DISTR send-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

' "sometimes, when the *machis* are angry with some of their neighbours, (then) they are sent off on a mission all the time".'

31. *"fey-mew   allkü-tu-yaw-me-ki-y-ng-ün   chem pi-pi-nge-n*
    that-INST hear-TR[33]-CIRC[30]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] what say-say-SFR[36]-
            ti   pu   che".
    PVN[4] the COLL person

' "then they[p] wander about listening to what people are saying".'

32. *"wiño-me-ye-m,   kom   fey-pi-pa-tu-ke-fi-y   ti*
    return-Th[20]-CF[5]-IVN[4], all   that-say-Hh[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the
    machi".
    medicine.woman

' "when they go back, they tell everything to the *machi*".'

33. *"fey-mew   kom kim-ke-y   chem nütram-ka-meke-n*
    that-INST all   know-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ what conversation-FAC[33]-PR[28]-PVN[4]

    ñi   pu   kayñe".
    poss3 COLL enemy

' "this way they know everything their enemies are talking about".'

34. *"fey-ta-engün   ka   pe-nge-l-uw-ki-y   fentre-pun kishu-*
    that-the-they[p] also see-PASS[23]-CA[34]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ much-night alone-

    yaw-chi   *che-mew".*
    CIRC[30]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ person-INST

  ' "these [spirits] also show themselves to people who go about alone late at
  night".'

35. *"nie-la-y-ng-ün*   *chum-al*   *rumé, pe-fi-y*
      have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] do.how/what-NRLD[9].OVN[4] -ever, see-EDO[6]-IND[4]-
      pun   che,   ñuwi-l-ke-fi-y".
      <u>3</u>[3] night person, get.lost-CA[34]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

  ' "[when] they[p] have nothing to do [and] see people in the night, they make
  them to get lost".'

36. *"ka   rüpü-mew amu-l-ke-fi-y".*
    other road-INST go-CA[34]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

  ' "they make them go astray".'

37. *"puw-tu-ye-m*   *ruka-mew, fey-pi-pu-tu-ke-fi-y*
    arrive-RE[16]-CF[5]-IVN[4] house-INST, that-say-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]
    ti   machi   ñi   chem che   ñi   pe-n,   chem che   ñi
    the medicine.woman poss3 what person poss3 see-PVN[4], what person poss3
    ñuwi-l-fiel".
    get.lost-CA[34]-TVN[4]

  ' "when they return, there they say to the *machi* which person they have seen
  [and] which person they have made to get lost".'

38. *"fey-mu   ti   machi   kom kim-ke-y   chem che   ñi*
    that-INST the medicine.woman all   know-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] what person poss3
    miaw-ke-n   pun".
    wander-CF[14]-PVN[4] night

  ' "that's the way the *machis* know everything, [about] which people roam
  about at night".'

39. *"fey-chi   küđaw nie-y   tüfa-chi laftra pichi-ke   wekufü".*
    that-ADJ work   have-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] this-ADJ stunted small-DISTR demon

  ' "that is the job of these stunted small demons".'

Notes

1. According to Augusta (1916: 26) *choñchoñ* is a big nocturnal bird. I write
    chonchon: although the first *n* is slightly palatalized under the influence of
    the following *ch*, the final *n* is definitely not palatalized.

2. In Augusta (1916: 274) one finds *wichan alwe* "almas de muertos las cuales
    según la creencia antigua de los indígenas están al mando de unos brujos a
    quienes se compran con el fin de hacer mal al prójimo, pues introduciéndose
    en el cuerpo de sus víctimas le agujerean el corazón y chupan la sangre".
    According to Augusta, the noun *wichan alwe* could be derived from "*wi-*

chaln ... aliarse, coligarse con alguno". My informants use *witra-n-alwe*, which is probably derived from *witra-* 'to stand up' and contains the plain verbal noun marker *-n* PVN[4]. Witches are able to create a supernatural being from the remains of a deceased person.

3. Because of its length, "*añchümalleñ*" is bound to be a compound. It may contain *añchü* 'what remains in a sieve' (see chapter 19). According to Augusta (1916: 10) "*añchimalleñ*" is a "sustantivo compuesto" and means "trasgo, duende pigmeo <que se ve como luz en la pampa>, <que hace mil desórdenes traviesos en la casa>", but there is no mention of the elements of which it is composed.

4. The noun *nge-n* have-PVN[4] usually means 'owner'. In this case it must refer to what is owned, for flying head spirits are at the service of machis.

5. The suffix *-tu* is an improductive suffix (18.3).

6. The origin of the verb *aḏkintu-* is not altogether clear. *aḏ* 'form, habit, character, circumstances, direction, place fitted for ...'; *aḏ-kiñ* 'view' (*-kiñ* is an improductive suffix, see 18.3); *-tu-* is probably *-tu-* VERB[36] (21.3).

7. The verb shows an anomalous suffix order. For *-l^{34}-tu^{33}-*, see 26.34.

8. *ispwela* is Sp. *espuela* 'spur'.

9. The suffix *-nge-* PASS[23] forms part of the stem (26.23.1). The reflexive marker *-(u)w-* REF[31] is a mobile suffix (26.31).

10. *awka* 'wild'; *awka-* 'to become wild', 'to wage war on'; *awka-n* 'war', 'play'; *awka-n-tu-* 'to play, to sport'.

Text 2. Work

In this story Luis Quinchavil tells the author how he used to leave his home,
from the age of ten years, in order to find work and earn a little money for his
parents.

1. *liwen-tu   tripa-ke-fu-y-iñ   yiñ   kintu-küđaw-al.*
   morning-ADV leave-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] poss1p look.for-work-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   'we[p] used to go out in the morning to look for work.'

2. *kom pu   ülmen müle-lu ina   rüpü ramtu-nie-r-pu-ke-fu-y-iñ*
   all   COLL rich   be-SVN[4] next/near road ask-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-
                    ñi   nie-n   küđaw.
   IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] poss3 have-PVN[4] work

   'on our way we[p] used to ask all the rich [people] who lived along the road
   whether they had work.'

3. *kom antü treka-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
   all   day step-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'we[p] used to walk all day.'

4. *pe-y-iñ   küđaw, fey   fente-künu-ke-fu-y-iñ*
   see-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] work,   that/then that.much-PFPS[32]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]
   yiñ   treka-n
   poss1p step-PVN[4]

   'every time we[p] found work, (then) we[p] used to stop walking.'

5. *kiñe-ke-mew   pun-ma-y-iñ.*
   one-DISTR-INST night-EXP[35]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'sometimes night fell[1] on us[p].'

6. *chew yiñ   pun-ma-n,   umaw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
   where poss1p night-EXP[35]-PVN[4], sleep-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   '[and] wherever night fell upon us[p], we[p] would sleep.'

7. *iñchiñ[2] küđaw-ka-we   re   ichuna[3] mütem ka   yiñ   lipang.*
   we[p]   work-FAC[33]-NOM only sickle   merely and poss1p arm

   'our[p] only tools [were] a sickle and our[p] arms.'

8. *đoy   chem rumé nie-ke-la-fu-y-iñ.*
   more what -ever have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'we[p] did not have anything else.'

9. *pe-y-iñ   küđaw, itro-re   külleq-mu katrü-ketran-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
   see-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] work,   quite-only hill-INST   cut-wheat-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-

   <u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'every time we[p] found work, we[p] only cut wheat on slopes.'

10. *elu-nge-ke-fu-y-iñ   iy-al.*
    give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] eat-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'we[p] were given food.'

11. *umaw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *pinu-ntu-mew.*
     sleep-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] hay-GR-INST

     'we[p] used to sleep in haystacks.'

Notes

1. In the transitive sense of colloquial English 'it got dark on us'.
2. LQ has left out the possesssive pronoun *yiñ* poss1p after *iñchiñ* 'we[p]'.
3. *ichuna* is Sp. echona ∼ echuna 'sickle'.

Text 3. Youth

In reply to the author who asked where he went to work and in which circumstances he used to work Luis Quinchavil told the following story.

1. *iñché pichi-ka-lu,   kim-püra-me-n   ñi   pu   pichi-ke*
   I   small-CONT[16]-SVN[4], learn-go.up-Th[20]-IND1s[3] poss1s COLL small-DISTR

   peñi[1], pu wenüy ka ñi   pu   chaw.
   brother, COLL friend and poss1s COLL father

   'when I was still young, I came to appreciate my little brothers, friends and my parents.'

2. *chumngen ñi   trem-küle-n,   đoy fill   đungu,   đoy fill*
   while   poss1s grown-ST[28]-PVN[4], more all.kind matter/idea, more all.kind

   küđaw kim-nie-r-pu-n.
   work learn-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]

   'while I was growing up, I gradually became acquainted with all kinds of ideas [and] all kinds of work.'

3. *aylla tripantu puw-ül-el,   kolexio-tu-n.*
   nine year   arrive-CA[34]-OVN[4], school-VERB[36]-IND1s[3]

   'when I became nine years old, I went to school.'

4. *wiño-me-ye-m   kolexio-mew, puw-tu-n   ruka-mew fill*
   return-Th[20]-CF[5]-IVN[4] school-INST, arrive-RE[16]-IND1s[3] house-INST all.kind

   küđaw-mu kellu-pu-tu-ke-fu-n   ñi   chaw engu ñi
   work-INST help-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] poss1s father they[d] poss1s

   ñuke.
   mother

   'whenever I returned from school [and] arrived back home, I used to help my father and mother there with all kinds of work.'

5. *đewmá mari tripantu nie-l[2],   tripa-n   ñi   küđaw-al,*
   almost ten year   have-OVN[4], go.out-IND1s[3] poss1s work-NRLD[9].OVN[4],

   welu müté ka-mapu   nu.
   but very other-land NEG

   'when I was almost ten years old, I went away to work, but not very far.'

6. *fill   kosecha mungel   tripa-ke-fu-n.*
   every harvest especially go.out-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

   'I especially went away every harvest season.'

7. *küđaw-el-me-ke-fwi-n   kiñe ülmen,*
   work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3] one rich,

   katrü-ketran-el-me-ke-fwi-n.
   cut-wheat-BEN[27]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I usually went to work for a rich [man], I usually went to cut wheat for him.'

8. *ka   wenüy iñchiñ tripa-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
   other friend we[p]   go.out-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'we used to go with other friends.'

9. *kom trür fente-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
all equal that.much-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'we[p] were all the same age.'

10. *kiñe epu küyen küđaw-el-me-ke-fwi-y-iñ*   *ti ülmen.*
one two month work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the rich

'for about two months we[p] used to go working for the rich.'

11. *đewma-y ñi katrü-w-ün[3], fey kom kulli-e-y-iñ-mu*
finish-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 cut-REF[31]-PVN[4], that/then all pay-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-

     yiñ küđaw, fey wülá wiño-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ
DS[1] poss1p work, that/then then return-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

yiñ ruka-mew.
poss1p house-INST

'when they had finished the harvesting, then they paid us[p] all for our[p] work, [and] then we[p] used to go back to our[p] homes.'

12. *yiñ wew-el plata elu-pu-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ[4] yiñ*
poss1p earn-OVN[4] money give-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] poss1p

ñuke.
mother

'the money we[p] earned we[p] used to give to our[p] mothers back home.'

13. *đoy fücha-ke we-che wentru-lu iñchiñ, đoy ka-mapu chipa-y-iñ*
more old-DISTR young-person man-SVN[4] we[p], more other-land go.out-IND[4]-

     küđaw-al.
-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] work-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'when each of us[p] had become (an) older (young man), we[p] went further away to work.'

14. *küđaw-el-me-we-la-fi-y-iñ*   *ti ülmen*
work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-REM[19]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the rich

katrü-w-ün-nge-n[5].
cut-REF[31]-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

'we[p] did not work for the rich any more in the harvest season.'

15. *fewlá wariya-ülmen küđaw-el-me-fi-y-iñ.*
now town-rich work-BEN[27]-Th[20]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'now we[p] went to work for rich townsfolk.'

16. *fücha-ke wariya-mew fill küđaw-mew ru-pa-y-iñ.*
big-DISTR town-INST all.kind work-INST pass-Hh[17]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'in the big towns we[p] passed through all kinds of work.'

17. *kiñe-ke-ntu tripa-y-iñ đoy kiñe tripantu.*
one-DISTR-GR go.out-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] more one year

'some of us[p] left for more than a year.'

18. *kiñe-ke   wüné wiño-y,   ka-ke-lu   đoy*
    one-DISTR first go.back-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], other-DISTR-SVN[4] more

    alü-n-tu-y-ng-ün.
    much-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    'some went back earlier, others stayed longer.'
19. *kiñe-ke   wariya-mew kure-nge-pu-y-ng-ün.*
    one-DISTR town-INST   wife-VERB[36]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    'some got married in town (and stayed there).'
20. *fey-engün đoy küđaw-tu-y-ng-ün   ñi   wiño-al.*
    that-they[p] more work-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 go.back-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'they[p] had more trouble in going back.'
21. *kiñe-ke   wiño-y-ng-ün,   welu ñi   kure mapu-mew.*
    one-DISTR go.back-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2], but poss3 wife land-INST

    'some went back, but to their wife's land.'
22. *ka-ke-lu   wiño-y   ñi   rüf mapu-mew.*
    other-DISTR-SVN[4] go.back-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] poss3 true land-INST

    'others went back to their own land.'
23. *femngechi fücha-ke   wentru-nge-r-pu-y-iñ.*
    thus   big-DISTR man-VERB[36]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]

    'that's how we[p] gradually became grown-up men.'

Notes

1. *peñi* is used by a man and denotes his brother, his mother's brother's son or a close friend.
2. *nie-l* is short for *nie-el* have-OVN[4].
3. *katrü-w-* cut-REF[31]- 'to cut oneself' and also 'to harvest'.
4. *-pu-* LOC[17]indicates that the money will stay in the possession of the mothers.
5. *-nge-n* VERB[36]-PVN[4]is used to denote a characteristic period, e.g. *filla-nge-n* scarcity-VERB[36]-PVN[4]'a period of scarcity'; *mawün-nge-n* rain-VERB[36]-PVN[4]'rainy season', see 21.2.

Text 4. Missionary

Luis Quinchavil talks about the presence of Christian missionaries in the Mapuche reservations in his youth, which would be between 1945 and 1960.

1. *kiñe epu mari tripantu-nge-y,   miaw-me-y   kiñe misionero*
   one two ten   year-VERB^{36}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$, wander-Th^{20}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ one missionary
   iñché ñi   lof-mew.
   I   poss1s reservation-INST

   '(it was) some twenty years ago, a missionary walked around in my reservation.'

2. *fey-ta-chi   wentru puw-lu   nütram-ka-pu-fi-y*
   that-the-ADJ man   arrive-SVN^4 conversation-FAC^{33}-LOC^{17}-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$
   kom pu   mapuche.
   all   COLL Mapuche

   'when this man arrived, he talked to all the Mapuche.'

3. *fey-pi-pu-y: "iñché werkü-e-n-ew   chaw-dios eymün*
   that-say-LOC^{17}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$: I   send-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1 father-God you^p
   mün   nütram-ka-pa-ya-fiel: "müle-y   wenu kiñe wentru;
   poss2p conversation-FAC^{33}-Hh^{17}-NRLD^9-TVN^4: be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ above one man;
   rumé kim-üy;   kom pülé müle-ke-y;   kom pe-nie-ke-y-m-ün-mu^1
   very know-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$; all   side be-CF^{14}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$; all   see-PRPS^{32}-CF^{14}.IDO^6–
                        mün   chum-meke-n.
   IND^4-2^3-p^2-DS^1 poss2p do.what/how-PR^{28}-PVN^4

   'there he said this: "I have been sent by God the Father to come to tell you^p: "there is a Man above; He knows a lot; He is everywhere; He sees everything you^p are doing".'

4. *"weñe-y-m-ün,   kewa-tu-y-m-ün,   feyentu-la-fi-y-m-ün;   fey*
   steal-IND^4-2^3-p^2, beat-TR^{33}-IND^4-2^3-p^2, believe-NEG^{10}-EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-p^2; he
   kom kim-nie-y".
   all   know-PRPS^{32}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   ' "[whether] you^p steal, [whether] you^p fight, [whether] you^p don't believe in Him; He knows [it] all".'

5. *fey-mu   iñché küpa-n   mün   fey-pi-pa-ya-fiel: "müle-y*
   that-INST I   come-IND1s^3 poss2p that-say-Hh^{17}-NRLD^9-TVN^4: be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$
   mün   allkü-tu-ñma-ya-fiel   ñi   đungu".
   poss2p hear-TR^{33}-IO^{26}-NRLD^9-TVN^4 poss3 matter

   ' "that's why I have come to say this to you^p: "you^p must listen to His Word".'

6. *"allkü-tu-ñma-nu-fi-l-m-ün,   la-rume-l-m-ün,*
   hear-TR^{33}-IO^{26}-NEG^{10}-EDO^6-COND^4-2^3-p^2, die-SUD^{21}-COND^4-2^3-p^2,
   wenu-mapu pe-pu-a-fi-y-m-ün".
   above-land see-LOC^{17}-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-p^2

   ' "if you^p don't listen to His [Word], if you^p suddenly die, you^p will meet Him

in heaven".'

7. *"welu fey kom llow-la-ya-y-m-ün-mew".*
   but   he   all   receive-NEG[10]-NRLD[9].IDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2]-DS[1]

   ' "but He will not receive all of you[p]".'

8. *"fey llow-ke-fi-y   re   ñi   pu   küme-ke   yall".*
   he receive-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] only poss3 COLL good-DISTR child

   ' "He receives only His good children".'

9. *"ka-ke-lu,   fey-ti   feyentu-nu-wma,   mapu-mew nie-l-fi-y*
   other-DISTR-SVN[4], that-the believe-NEG[10]-CSVN[4] land-INST have-BEN[27]-

                           ka   ruka".
   EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] other house

   ' "for the others, for those who have not believed in Him, He has another
   house on earth".'

10. *"fey-ti-chi   ruka-mew   rumé kutran-ka-w-pu-ki-y*
    that-the-ADJ house-INST very illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

    fey-ti   feyentu-nu-wma".
    that-the believe-NEG[10]-CSVN[4]

    ' "in this house those who have not believed in Him suffer greatly".'

11. *"fey-mew iñché werkü-pa-e-n-ew   eymün mün   küpa-l-el-a-fiel*
    that-INST I   send-Hh[17]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] you[p]   poss2p come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-

                tüfa-chi kümé đungu".
    NRLD[9]-TVN[4] this-ADJ good matter

    ' "that's why I was sent here to bring this good message for you[p]".'

12. *rüf wüne-tu puw-lu   tüfa-chi misionero, trawü-w-üy*
    true first-ADV arrive-SVN[4] this-ADJ missionary, get.together-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3]
    fentren   mapuche.
    large.quantity Mapuche

    'the very first time this missionary arrived, a large number of Mapuche got
    together.'

13. *rumé afmatu-nge-y;   wenu-mapu küpa-lu   troki-nge-y;*
    very admire-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]; above-land come-SVN[4] opine-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3];
    rumé yewe-nge-y;   feyentu-nge-y   ñi   chem-pi-n;
    very respect-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]; believe-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 what-say-PVN[4];
    rume-ñma   afmatu-nge-y.
    very-improd. admire-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'he was admired a lot; they thought that he came from heaven; he was res-
    pected a lot; they believed what he said; he was admired an awful lot.'

14. *turpu pe-nge-ke-la-fu-y   femngechi wentru: kolü*
    never see-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] such   man   brown
    longko-nge-y,   karü nge-nge-y,   fücha-y,   kümé
    head/hair-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]; green eye-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]; big-IND[4]-3[3]; good

tuku-tu-l-uw-küle-y,   *awto-mew puw-üy.*
put.at-TR[33]-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$; car-INST   arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'one had never seen such a man: he had brown hair, he had green eyes, he was tall, he was well dressed, [and] he arrived by car.'

15. *fey-chi   newé   petú kümé kim-nge-la-y   müle-n   awto.*
    that-ADJ   not.very still good know-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ be-PVN[4] car

'at that time one did not yet know very well that there were cars.'

16. *tüfa-chi wentru fill   dominggu nie-pu-ke-fu-y*
    this-ADJ man   every Sunday   have-LOC[17]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

    trawü-n.
    get.together-PVN[4]

'this man held a meeting there every Sunday.'

17. *fentren-mew   đoy   aku-le-r-pu-y   ka-mapu-le-chi*
    large.quantity-INST more arrive-ST[28]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ other-land-ST[28]-

              pu   mapuche.
    SVN[4]-ADJ COLL Mapuche

'after some time more and more Mapuche came who lived far away.'

18. *aku-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   pichi-ke   che   engün, ñi   pu*
    arrive-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 small-DISTR person they[p], poss3 COLL

    lamngen[2]   engün, kim-lu   engün tüfa-chi wentru ñi   miaw-pu-n
    brother/sister they[p], know-SVN[4] they[p] this-ADJ man   poss3 wander-LOC[17]-

         fey   pülé.
    PVN[4] that side

'they[p] used to come with their children and their brothers and sisters, when they[p] knew that this man walked around in that area.'

19. *kiñe tripantu puw-puw-nge-y   ñi   awtu-mew.*
    one   year   arrive-arrive-SFR[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 car-INST

'one year he kept on coming in his car.'

20. *welu ka   tripantu-mew müpü-le-n   puw-üy.*
    but other year-INST   fly-ST[28]-PVN[4] arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'but the other year he arrived flying.'

21. *fey-chi   puw-lu,   rumé fentren   che   puw-üy.*
    that-ADJ arrive-SVN[4], very large.quantity person arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'that time, when he arrived, a very large number of people arrived.'

22. *kuyfí   kam pe-ke-fu-y-iñ   awion   ru-pa-ye-m   wenu*
    formerly PART see-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] airplane pass-Hh[17]-CF[5]-IVN[4] above

    mapu mütem.
    land   only

'after all, in former times we[p] saw an airplane only when it passed over the land.'

23. *welu tüfa-chi wentru puw-lu   ñi   awion-mew,   đoy   füchá*
    but   this-ADJ man   arrive-SVN[4] poss3 airplane-INST, more big
    afmatu-n   müle-y.
    admire-PVN[4] be-IND[4]-3[3]

    'but when this man arrived in his airplane, there was an [even] greater admiration.'

24. *kom pu   che   komütu-y   chum-le-n   ponwí,*
    all   COLL person gaze.with.rapture-IND[4]-3[3] how-ST[28]-PVN[4] inside,
    chum-le-n   wekun ti   awion.
    how-ST[28]-PVN[4] outside the airplane

    'all the people gazed with rapture at how the plane looked from the inside and from the outside.'

25. *fey-chi   aku-y   đoy   fücha-ke ka-mapu-le-chi   pu*
    that-ADJ arrive-IND[4]-3[3] more big-DISTR other-land-ST[28]-SVN[4]-ADJ COLL
    che.
    person

    'this time people came who lived even further away.'

26. *rumé ayü-w-üy-ng-ün   pülle-tu-pe-lu   ti   füchá üñüm.*
    very love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] near-TR[33]-see-SVN[4] the big   bird

    'they[p] were enthusiastic when they came close (to) and saw the big bird.'

27. *femngechi kom ti   pu   che   fill   dominggu küpa-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.*
    thus   all   the COLL person every Sunday   come-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    '[and] so all these people used to come every Sunday.'

28. *fentren-tu   femngechi puw-puw-nge-y   tüfa-chi misionero.*
    large.quantity-ADV thus   arrive-arrive-SFR[36]-IND[4]-3[3] this-ADJ missionary

    'for a long time this missionary kept coming this way.'

29. *welu kiñe rupa üllüf-üy.*
    but   one time get.an.accident-IND[4]-3[3]

    'but one day he got an accident.'

30. *kiñe dominggu pichi-ke   mawün-mawün-nge-y;   mapu ngüfo-le-y,*
    one Sunday   little-DISTR rain-rain-SFR[36]-IND[4]-3[3]; land get.wet-ST[28]-IND[4]-
       küpa-tu-a-lu   wariya-mew.
    3[3], come-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] town-INST

    'one Sunday it drizzled a bit; the land was wet, when he was about to come back into town.'

31. *petú dewmá müpü-a-lu,   katrü-tu-y   kiñe koral-mew.*
    still almost fly-NRLD[9]-SVN[4], cut-TR[33]-IND[4]-3[3] one fence-INST

    'when he was almost about to fly, he bumped against a fence.'

32. *fey ütrüf-naq-üy;   puw-üy   kiñe pu   malliñ.*
    he   throw/fall-go.down-IND[4]-3[3]; arrive-IND[4]-3[3] one LOC lake

    'he crashed [and] landed in a lake.'

33. *welu chum-la-y*   *rumé ti wentru, welu ñi awion*
   but do.how/what-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ -ever the man, but poss3 airplane
   watro-ka-w-üy.
   break.(intr.)-FAC^{33}-REF^{31}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   'but the man was unhurt, although his plane was destroyed.'

34. *kom ti pu che müle-wma trawü-n-mew   lef-üy-ng-ün*
   all the COLL person be-CSVN^4 get.together-PVN^4-INST run-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2
   ñi pe-me-al   chum-le-n   ti wentru.
   poss3 see-Th^{20}-NRLD^9.OVN^4 how/what-ST^{28}-PVN^4 the man

   'all the people that had been at the meeting ran to see how the man was.'

35. *rumé ayü-w-üy-ng-ün   ñi chum-nu-n   rumé.*
   very love-REF^{31}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 poss3 how/what-NEG^{10}-PVN^4 -ever

   'they$^{\mathrm{p}}$ were very glad that he was unhurt.'

36. *fey   nü-nge-y   ti awion.*
   that/then take-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the airplane

   'then the plane was taken up.'

37. *fentren   che pülcha-ye-y-ew^3.*
   large.quantity person pick.up.together-carry.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$-DS^1

   'it was lifted up and carried away by a large number of people.'

38. *el-nge-pu-y   ina ruka.*
   leave-PASS^{23}-LOC^{17}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ close house

   'it was left behind close to the houses.'

39. *fey-mew fentren-tu   müle-y tüfa-chi awion.*
   that-INST large.quantity-ADV be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ this-ADJ airplane

   'there this plane remained for a long time.'

40. *ngellú   ye-me-nge-tu-y.*
   only.after.a.long.time carry-Th^{20}-PASS^{23}-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   'only after a long time was it carried back.'

41. *fey-chi iñché đoy pe-we-la-fi-n   tüfa-chi misionero.*
   that-ADJ I more see-PS^{19}-NEG^{10}-EDO^6-IND1s^3 this-ADJ missionary

   '[and] then I did not see this missionary any more.'

Notes

1. *pe-nie-ke-y-m-ün-mu = +pe-nie-ke-e-y-m-ün-mu +.*
2. *lamngen* denotes a woman's brother or sister or a man's sister.
3. *pülcha-ye-y-ew = + pülcha-ye-e-y-ew +.*

Text 5. The war

In this story Luis Quinchavil talks about the colonization of the Mapuche by the Spaniards, which lasted for 300 years and is referred to by my informants as *walon* 'the war'. In various publications the word *malon* is used instead of walon (*malon* 'guerilla, correría para saquear las casas o llevarse animales' (Augusta: 139)). For a brief description of the history of the Mapuche people, see chapter 1.

1. *iñché kiñe rupa nütram-ka-n   kiñe-le-we-chi   kuyfí*
   I   one   time   conversation-FAC[33]-IND1s[3] one-ST[28]-PS[19]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ former
   che   iñchiu.
   person we[d]

   'once I talked to one of the remaining people of former times.'

2. *tüfa-chi füchá chaw fey-chi   "pataka   aylla tripantu nie-n",*
   this-ADJ old   father that-ADJ hundred nine   year   have-IND1s[3],
   pi-e-n-ew.
   say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

   'this old man then said to me: "I am 109 years old".'

3. *nütram-ka-e-n-ew   chum-nge-wma   walon.*
   conversation-FAC[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] how/what-VERB[36]-CSVN[4] war

   'he told me how the war had been.'

4. *fey đoy   pichi füchá wentru-lu, fey-pi-rke-e-y-ew   ñi*
   he more small big   man-SVN[4], that-say-REP[12]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]-DS[1] poss3
   lamngen chumngechi ñi   montu-n.
   sister   how   poss3 escape-PVN[4]

   'when he was a rather young man, he was told by his sister how he had escaped.'

5. *fey montu-rki-y   ñi   lamngen ñi   đoam.*
   he escape-REP[12]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 sister   poss3 need/care

   'he had escaped, so she said, with the help of his sister.'

6. *ellka-l-ke-rke-fe-y-ew   mawiđa-ntu-mew, chew   ñi*
   hide-CA[34]-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]-DS[1] wood-GR-INST,   where poss3
   müle-n đoy fentren   ngakiñ.
   be-PVN[4] more large.quantity bird

   'he used to be kept hidden by her, she said, in a wooded place where there were rather many birds.'

7. *ti   pu   ngakiñ pichi-ke   che   reké ngüma-ki-y.*
   the COLL bird   small-DISTR person like cry-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'these birds cry like babies.'

8. *fey-mew   ngüma-ye-m rumé kim-nge-ke-la-fu-y   ñi*
   that-INST cry-CF[5]-IVN[4] very know-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3

müle-n   pichi-ke   che.
be-PVN⁴ small-DISTR person

'therefore, when they cry, one does not exactly know whether there are babies [there].'

9. *tüfa-chi pu   ñuwa   kam ye-ke-rke-fu-lu   pichi-ke   che*
this-ADJ COLL bandit PART carry-CF¹⁴-REP¹²-IPD⁸-SVN⁴ small-DISTR person
kütó.
even

'for these bandits used to take even babies, so they say.'

10. *ti   pu   ñuwa tripa-ke-rke-fu-y-ng-ün   ella pun.*
the COLL bandit go.out-CF¹⁴-REP¹²-IPD⁸-IND⁴-3ns³-p² a.bit night

'the bandits used to set out shortly after nightfall.'

11. *fentre-nge-ke-rke-fu-y-ng-ün.*
much-VERB³⁶-CF¹⁴-REP¹²-IPD⁸-IND⁴-3ns³-p²

'there were always many of themᵖ.'

12. *kintu-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   chew ñi   müle-n   mapuche ruka.*
look.for-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND⁴-3ns³-p² where poss3 be-PVN⁴ Mapuche house

'theyᵖ used to look for [places] where there were Mapuche houses.'

13. *pe-y-ng-ün   kiñe ruka, wüné llüka-l-ka-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün*
see-IND⁴-3ns³-p² one house, first become.afraid-CA³⁴-FAC³³-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸.EDO⁶-
ti   nge-n   ruka.
IND⁴-3ns³-p² the be/have-PVN⁴ house

'whenever theyᵖ saw a house, theyᵖ first intimidated the house owner.'

14. *fey-pi-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün: "elu-mu-nu-l-i-iñ   eymi*
that-say-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸.EDO⁶-IND⁴-3ns³-p²: give-2A²³-NEG¹⁰-COND⁴-1³-p² youˢ
mi   chem nie-n,   lang-üm-uw-a-y-iñ   eymi ka   mi
poss2s what have-PVN⁴, die-CA³⁴-1A²³-NRLD⁹-IND⁴-<u>1</u>ns³-p² youˢ and poss2s
pichi-ke   che".
little-DISTR person

'theyᵖ said to him: "if you don't give usᵖ what youˢ have, we will kill youˢ and yourˢ children".'

15. *ti   wesha-ke¹ mapuche llüka-ye-m,   kom ñi   nie-n*
the bad-DISTR Mapuche get.afraid-CF⁵-IVN⁴, all   poss3 have-PVN⁴
wül-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
give-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND⁴-3ns³-p²

'when the poor Mapuche became afraid, theyᵖ gave [them] everything they had.'

16. *kiñe-ke-mew   wentru-w-üy-ng-ün,   nü-nge-ke-fu-y,*
one-DISTR-INST man-REF³¹-IND⁴-3ns³-p², take-PASS²³-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND⁴-<u>3</u>³
kiñe mamüll-mew trari-ntuku-künu-nge-ke-fu-y.
one tree-INST   tie-put.at-PFPS³²-PASS²³-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸-IND⁴-<u>3</u>³

'sometimes [when] they[p] resisted, they were taken [and] left tied to a tree.'

17. *fey nü-ñma-nge-ke-fu-y ñi kulliñ, ketran, achawáll.*
that/then take-IO^{26}-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 cattle, wheat, chicken

'then they were left bereft of their cattle, wheat [and] chickens.'

18. *nie-ye-m kawchu-ñawe, kawchu-kure ka*
have-CF^5-IVN^4 young.lady-daughter, young.lady-wife also

nü-ñma-nge-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
take-IO^{26}-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

'whenever they had a young daughter [or] a young wife, they[p] were bereft [of them] too.'

19. *kiñe-ke-mew nie-la-y fücha-ke ülcha-ñawe*
one-DISTR-INST have-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ big-DISTR teenage.girl-daughter

ye-ñma-nge-ke-fu-y ñi pichi-ke đomo.
carry-IO^{26}-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 small-DISTR woman

'sometimes, when they did not have big teenage daughters, their young girls were taken along.'

20. *fey-ti pu ñuwa trem-üm-fi-y ti pichi-ke đomo,*
that-the COLL bandit grown-CA^{34}-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the little-DISTR woman,

fey kure-ye-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün.
that/then wife-VERB^{36}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.EDO^6-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

'[when] these bandits had raised those young girls, then they took them for a wife.'

21. *ñi wiño-nu-a-m ñi ruka-mew, chaf-ma-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün*
poss3 go.back-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IVN^4 poss3 house-INST, peel-IO^{26}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.EDO^6-

    ñi namun, ñi pepí treka-no-a-m.
IND^4-3ns^3-p^2 poss3 foot, poss3 being.able walk-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IVN^4

'so that they would not go back home, they[p] used to peel their feet so that they were not able to walk.'

22. *pichi-ke wentru ka ye-nge-ke-fu-y.*
little-DISTR man also carry-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'boys were also taken away.'

23. *chumngen ñi trem-küle-n tuku-nie-nge-ke-fu-y*
while poss3 grown-ST^{28}-PVN^4 put.at-PRPS^{32}-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

küđaw-mew.
work-INST

'while they were growing up, they were put to work.'

24. *ti pu ñuwa kam küđaw-ke-nu-fu-lu itro-re weñe-n-mew*
the COLL bandit PART work-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-SVN^4 quite-only steal-PVN^4-INST

monge-l-uw-küle-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
get.life-CA^{34}-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-3ns ^{3}-p^2

'since these bandits did not work, they[p] used to keep themselves alive merely

by stealing.'

25. *fey   tüfa-chi   pu   mapuche re   llüka-n-mew*
    that this-ADJ COLL Mapuche only become.afraid-PVN[4]-INST

    müle-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
    be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    'these Mapuche only lived in fear.'

26. *đewmá pun-ye-m,   pülleqtu-le-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   chem ñuwa*
    almost night-CF[5]-IVN[4], watch.out-ST[28]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] what bandit

    ñi   pe-pu-a-t-ew   engün.
    poss3 see-LOC[17]-NRLD[9].IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] they[P]

    'whenever the night was about to fall, they[P] were on the watch [to see] which
    bandit would visit them[P].'

27. *welu đewmá kom pülé kim-el   ñi   chum-miaw-ün*
    but almost all   side know-OVN[4] poss3 do.what/how-walk.round-PVN[4]

    tüfa-chi   pu   weđa-ke   che,   llum   pichi-ke   trawü-w-üy-ng-ün
    this-ADJ COLL bad-DISTR person, in.secret little-DISTR get.together-REF[31]-

    ti   pu   mapuche longko
    IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] the COLL Mapuche head

    'but when one knew about everywhere that these awful people walked about
    doing what [they do], little by little the Mapuche chiefs gathered together in
    secret.'

28. *fey-mew   nütram-ka-y-ng-ün   ñi   chum-al,*
    that-INST conversation-FAC[33]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 do.what/how-NRLD[9].OVN[4],

    chumngechi ñi   ingka-w-al.
    how   poss3 defend-REF[31]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'then they[P] talked about what they should do, how they should defend them-
    selves.'

29. *wüné fey-pi-y-ng-ün: "müle-y   yiñ   đoy   pülle-ke-tu-w-küle-al,*
    first that-say-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]: be-IND[4]-3[3] poss1p more near-DISTR-TR[33]-

    đewma-yal   ñi   ruka engün[2] wingkul-mew,
    REF[31]-ST[28]-NRLD[9].OVN[4], make-NRLD[9].OVN[4] poss3 house they[P]   hill-INST,

    nie-al   kiñe kungkull, chem đungu rumé müle-l-e,
    have-NRLD[9].OVN[4] one horn,   what matter -ever be-COND[4]-3[3],

    kungkull-tu-fem-al,   fey-mew kom pu   che   đoy
    horn-VERB[36]-IMM[21]-NRLD[9].OVN[4], that-INST all COLL person more

    pülle-le-lu   ñi   trawü-w-fem-al.
    near-ST[28]-SVN[4] poss3 get.together-REF[31]-IMM[21]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'first they[P] said [that] we[P] must stay closer to one another, that they must
    build their[P] house on hills, that they must have a horn, that, if there were
    any news, they must play the horn immediately, that therefore all the people
    must live closer together in order to be able to assemble immediately.'

30. *ka   kishu-ke   đewma-y-ng-ün   ñi   mapuche tralka ñi*
and self-DISTR make-IND⁴-3ns³-p poss3 Mapuche gun   poss3
kewa-tu-a-fi-ye-m   *ti   pu   ñuwa.*
hit-TR³³-NRLD⁹-EDO⁶-CF⁵-IVN⁴ the COLL bandit

'and theyᵖ each made their own Mapuche gun for whenever they would have to fight the bandits.'

31. *đewmá fentren   newen nie-lu   engün, kon-tu-nge-we-la-y-ng-ün.*
finished large.quantity force   have-SVN⁴ theyᵖ, enter-TR³³-PASS²³-

PS¹⁹-NEG¹⁰-IND⁴-3ns³-p²

'when theyᵖ developed great strength, theyᵖ were not attacked any more.'

32. *welu ti   pu   ñuwa ka   rüpü ina-y-ng-ün.*
but the COLL bandit other road follow-IND⁴-3ns³-p²

'but the bandits took another road.'

33. *pepí   muntu-we-nu-lu,   wüné wenüy-ka-fi-y*
being.able take.away-PS¹⁹-NEG¹⁰-SVN⁴, first   friend-FAC³³-EDO⁶-IND⁴-3³
pu   mapuche engün.
COLL Mapuche theyᵖ

'when they could not take away [anything] any more, theyᵖ first made friends with the Mapuche.'

34. *fill   pulku   ye-lel-fi-y-ng-ün,   ka   pütrem*
all.sorts wine/liquor bring-BEN²⁷-EDO⁶-IND⁴-3ns³-p², and/also tobacco
ye-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün   ñi   *ruka-mew.*
bring-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸.EDO⁶-IND⁴-3ns³-p² poss3 house-INST

'theyᵖ brought them all sorts of liquor and theyᵖ also used to bring tobacco to their houses.'

35. *fey-mew ngolli-l-fi-ye-m,   chem papel rumé*
that-INST get.drunk-CA³⁴-EDO⁶-CF⁵-IVN⁴, what paper -ever
pe-nge-l-el-fi-ye-m   *kümé đungu reké*
see-PASS²³-CA³⁴-BEN²⁷-EDO⁶-CF⁵-IVN⁴ good matter like
fey-pi-ke-fwi-y-ng-ün:
that-say-CF¹⁴-IPD⁸.EDO⁶-IND⁴-3ns³-p²

'then, every time they had made them get drunk, every time they showed them some paper, theyᵖ used to explain it to them as if it were fair:'

36. *"faw tuku-l-m-ün   changüll-kuwü, fey*
  here put.at-COND⁴-2³-p² finger-hand,   that/then
chum-nge-we-la-ya-y-m-ün   *rumé".*
do.what/how-PASS²³-PS¹⁹-NEG¹⁰-NRLD⁹-IND⁴-2³-p² -ever

' "if youᵖ put a finger[print] here, then youᵖ will not be harmed any more at all".'

37. *"af-a-y   kewa-n,   kom wenüy-wen-nge-a-y-iñ".*
    end(intr.)-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ beat-PVN[4], all   friend-REL-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-

    1ns[3]-p[2]

    ' "the fighting will stop, we[p] will all be friends".'
38. *fey-chi   kam kiñe mapuche rumé kim   papel-tu-nu-lu,   kom*
    that-ADJ PART one Mapuche -ever knowing paper-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-SVN[4], all
    feyentu-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   chem-pi-e-t-ew   ti   pu
    believe-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 what-say-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] the COLL
    ñuwa.
    bandit

    'since not even one Mapuche could read at that time, they[p] all used to believe
    what these bandits told them.'
39. *welu ti papel chew ñi   tuku-mu-m   ñi   changüll-kuwü ti   pu*
    but   the paper where poss3 put.at-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] poss3 finger-hand   the COLL
    mapuche, fey-pi-ke-rke-fu-y   fey-chi:
    Mapuche, that-say-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ that-ADJ

    'but that paper on which the Mapuche had put their finger[print] ran as
    follows:'
40. *"chem che   rumé tuku-l-e   ñi   changüll-kuwü faw, đew*
    what person -ever put.at-COND[4]-3[3] poss3 finger-hand   here, already
    fende-y   ñi   mapu, đew   nü-y   fentren   plata".
    sell-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 land,   already take-IND[4]-3[3] large.quantity money

    ' "whoever puts his finger[print] here, has sold his land [and] received a lot of
    money".'
41. *"chew   rumé kekaw-me-l-e[3],   fali-la-ya-y".*
    where -ever complain-Th[20]-COND[4]-3[3], be.worth-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

    ' "wherever he goes to complain, it will not be worth [anything]".'
42. *femngechi weñe-nie-ñma-rke-fi-y-ng-ün   ñi   mapu pu*
    thus   steal-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-REP[12]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 land   COLL
    mapuche.
    Mapuche

    'in that way the Mapuche were being robbed of their land.'
43. *tüfa-chi pu   ñuwa trür   küđaw-ke-rke-fu-y-ng-ün   pu*
    this-ADJ COLL bandit together work-CF[14]-REP[12]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] COLL
    ñiđol-longko engün.
    chief-head   they[p]

    'these bandits used to work together with the head chiefs.'
44. *fey-mew   kom ađ-künu-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi*
    that-INST all   right.direction-PFPS[32]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3

chum-a-fiel   *pu*   *mapuche.*
do.what/how-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] COLL Mapuche

'that way they[p] arranged everything that they would do with the Mapuche.'

45. *fey-ta-chi*   *pu*   *mapuche kim-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ñi*   *fende-n*
   that-the-ADJ COLL Mapuche know-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 sell-PVN[4]
   ñi   *mapu.*
   poss3 land

'these Mapuche knew that they sold their land.'

46. *rakiđuam-nu-n*   *rumé wemü-ntu-nge-rume-ye-m[4],*
   think-NEG[10]-PVN[4] -ever chase.away-take.out-PASS[23]-SUD[21]-CF[5]-IVN[4],
   fey   *kon-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*   *ñi*   *kekaw-al.*
   that/then enter/start-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 complain-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'every time they were suddenly expelled without realizing [it], (then) they[p] started making complaints.'

47. *welu ti*   *pu*   *ñiđol-longko wariya-mew, kom kim-nie-lu*   *tüfa-chi*
   but   the COLL chief-head   town-INST,   all   know-PRPS[32]-SVN[4] this-ADJ
   đungu, fey-pi-ke-fwi-y   *ti*   *pu*   *mapuche:*
   matter, that-say-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] the COLL Mapuche

'but the head chiefs in town, who knew everything about this business, told the Mapuche:'

48. *"küpa-l-el-mu-l-i*   *kiñe ofisha ñi*   *ilo-tu-ñmo-al,*
   come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-2A[23]-COND[4]-1[3]-s[2] one sheep poss1s meat-VERB[36]-SAT[25]-
              müchay-mütem nü-tu-a-y-m-ün   *mapu".*
   NRLD[9].OVN[4], soon-only   take-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] land

' "if you bring one sheep for me to eat, you[p] can take back [your] land as soon as possible.'

49. *"nie-nu-l-m-ün*   *ofisha, küpa-l-el-mo-a-n*   *kiñe*
   have-NEG[10]-COND[4]-2[3]-p[2] sheep, come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-2A[23]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] one
   epu fücha-ke   achawall".
   two big-DISTR chicken

' "if you[p] don't have a sheep, you must bring me one [or] two big chickens".'

50. *"femngechi đoy   müchay miaw-a-y*   *mün*   *đungu".*
   so   more soon   wander-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-3[3] poss2p matter

' "that way your[p] case will be handled more quickly".'

51. *puw-tu-ye-m*   *ruka-mew ti   kekaw-kiaw-uwma*
   arrive-RE[16]-CF[5]-IVN[4] house-INST the complain-CIRC[30]-CSVN[4]
   kintu-ka-w-pu-tu-ke-fu-y   *ñi*   *chem*
   look.for-FAC[33]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 what
   küpa-l-el-a-fiel   *tüfa-chi ülmen.*
   come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] this-ADJ rich

'when the one who had been complaining arrived back home, he would look

back there for all kinds of things which he could bring to this rich man.'

52. *đew   wül-üy   ñi   wül-al,   ka   chem ngünen rumé*
    already give-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 give-NRLD[9].OVN[4], other what lie   -ever
    fey-pi-nge-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
    that-say-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    'after they had given what they had to give, they[p] were told some other lie.'

53. *femngechi wünü-le-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   đungu.*
    thus   stretch.out(intr.)-ST[28]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 matter

    'so their problems increased.'

54. *đewmá   ti pu ñiđol-longko kim-üy   đoy chem rumé ñi*
    almost/finished the COLL chief-head   learn-IND[4]-3[3] more what -ever poss3
    nie-we-nu-n   ti kekaw-fe,   fey-wülá fey-pi-ke-fu-y:
    have-PS[19]-NEG[10]-PVN[4] the complain-NOM, that-then that-say-CF[14]-IPD[8]-
    IND[4]-3[3]

    'after the head chiefs had learned that the complainer had nothing left, then
    they used to say:'

55. *"eymi mi   đungu fali-la-y,   đew   fende-y-m-i   mapu".*
     you[s] poss2s matter be.worth-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3], already sell-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] land

    ' "your[s] case is worthless, you[s] have sold [your] land".'

56. *"tüfá ñi   müle-n   mi   changüll-kuwü, fewlá ka   che   nge-n-nge-y".*
     this poss3 be-PVN[4] poss2s finger-hand,   now   other person be/have-PVN[4]-
     VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

    ' "here is your[s] finger[print], another person is the owner now".'

57. *"müle-y   mi   allkü-al,   küpá püređu-le-nu-l-m-i".*
     be-IND[4]-3[3] poss2s hear-NRLD[9].OVN[4] wishing prisoner-ST[28]-NEG[10]-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    ' "you[s] must listen, if you[s] don't want to be imprisoned".'

58. *kom tüfa-chi đungu rumé lladkü-n-nge-y.*
    all   this-ADJ matter very get.sad-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'all these things are very distressing.'

59. *fey-chi   mungel   chem kellu rumé nie-nu-lu   engün.*
    that-ADJ especially what help -ever have/get-NEG[10]-SVN[4] they[p]

    'especially at that time, when they[p] did not get any help.'

60. *kim-nu-n   rumé wül-nie-lu   ñi   mapu ti pu mapuche.*
    know-NEG[10]-PVN[4] -ever give-PRPS[32]-SVN[4] poss3 land the COLL Mapuche

    'when the Mapuche kept giving their land away without knowing [it].'

61. *fey-mew   fey-pi-e-n-ew   tüfa-chi füchá chaw:*
    that-INST that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] this-ADJ old   father

    'then this old man said to me:'

62. *"papel-tu-a-y-m-i,   kellu-a-y-m-i   pu   peñi*
    paper-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], help-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] COLL brother

    yiñ   ngünen-ka-l-nge-we-no-a-m   iñchiñ".
    poss1p lie-FAC[33]-MIO[29]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] we[p]

    ' "you[s] must study, you[s] must help [your] brothers so that we[p] are not lied to
    any more".'

63. *tüfa-chi füchá chaw   trem-lu   ka   kim-nie-r-pu-y   kom*
    this-ADJ old   father grown-SVN[4] also learn-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]- LOC[17]-IND[4]-3̲[3]

    tüfa-chi đungu.
    all   this-ADJ

    'when this old man grew up, he too had learned all these things.'

64. *fey-mew   rumel   ngülam-ka-ke-fwi-y   we-che-ke*
    that-INST always advise-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-3̲[3] young-person-DISTR

    wentru.
    man

    'therefore he always gave advice to young men.'

65. *fey la-y   pataka   mari kechu tripantu nie-lu.*
    he die-IND[4]-3̲[3] hundred ten   five   year   have-SVN[4]

    'he died when he was 115 years old.'

66. *iñchiñ pülé đoy nge-we-la-y   femngechi kuyfí   che.*
    we[p]   side more be-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3̲[3] so   former person

    'in our[p] parts such an agèd man is no more.'

Notes

1. *weshá* 'bad' also means 'poor', cf. *kümé* 'good', 'rich'.
2. Note that the subject is changed from 1p into 3.
3. *kekaw-* is derived from Sp. quejarse 'to complain'. *fali-* 'to be worth' is
   derived from Sp. valer.
4. *wemü-ntu-nge-rume-ye-m = + wemü-entu-nge-rume-ye-m +.*

Text 6. An old man

In the following text Luis Quinchavil talks about an old man he once knew in Chili.

1. *amu-l-a-n*　　　　*ñi*　*nütram*　*tunté*　*ñi*　*kim-fiel*
go-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] poss1s conversation how.much poss1s know-TVN[4]
tüfa-chi füchá chaw.
this-ADJ old father

'I shall continue my story [and tell you] as far as I knew this old man.'

2. *wüné, Xoan Soñan Kinchekew pi-nge-fu-y*　　　　*ñi*　*üy.*
first, Joan Soñan Kinchekew say-PASS[23]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 name

'first of all, his name was Joan Soñan Kinchekew.'

3. *we-che*　　*wentru-nge-lu,*　*fill*　*pülé antü-küđaw-kiaw-ke-rke-fu-y*[1].
young-person man-VERB[36]-SVN[4], all.sorts side day-work-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-REP[12]-

IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

'when he was a young man, he used to work around in all sorts of places as a day-labourer.'

4. *rumé weshá trem-ürki-y,*　　　*kim-ürke-la-y*　　　*ñi*　*ñuke,*
very bad grown-REP[12]-IND[4]-3[3], know-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 mother,
ñi　　*chaw*　*đuam-ürke-la-e-y-ew,*　　　　*yall-tuku-rke-e-y-ew*
poss3 father care.for-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1], child-put.at-REP[12]-
　　　　　　ka　*đomo-mew.*
IDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]-DS[1] other woman-INST

'he grew up in great misery, he did not know his mother, his father did not care for him, he begot him as an illegitimate child with another woman.'

5. *chumngen ñi*　*küđaw-kiaw-ül-el-fiel*　　　*fill*　*pu*　*ülmen,*
while poss3 work-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-BEN[27]-TVN[4] all.sorts COLL rich,
pichi-ke　*ngül-üm-nie-rki-y*　　　　　*plata ngilla-ya-m*
little-DISTR join(intr.)-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-REP[12]-IND[4]-3[3] money buy-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]
kulliñ.
cattle

'while he worked around for all sorts of rich [people], little by little he saved money to buy cattle.'

6. *ngilla-ye-m elfal-ke-fu-y*　　　　*ñi*　*pu*　*wenüy-mew.*
buy-CF[5]-IVN[4] entrust-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 COLL friend-INST

'whenever he bought [some], he used to entrust [them] to his friends.'

7. *kiñe-ke-mew*　*alkila-w-ke-fu-y*[2]　　　　*kiñe tripantu.*
one-DISTR-INST hire.out-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] one year

'sometimes he would hire himself out for one year.'

8. *kulli-nge-ke-fu-y*　　　*kiñe pichi waka.*
pay-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] one small cow

'he used to be paid one calf.'

9. *femngechi ngül-üm-ürki-y*   *fentren*   *kulliñ.*
    thus   join(intr.)-CA^{34}-REP^{12}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ large.quantity cattle

'that way he gathered a lot of cattle.'

10. *la-lu*   *ñi*   *chaw, elu-nge-y*   *fentren*   *mapu.*
    die-SVN^4 poss3 father, give-PASS^{23}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ large.quantity land

'when his father died, he was given a lot of land.'

11. *đew*   *nie-lu*   *mapu, đewma-y*   *ñi*   *ruka ka kintu-y*   *kiñe*
    already get-SVN^4 land,   make-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 house and look.for-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ one
    đomo ñi   *kishu-le-no-a-m.*
    woman poss3 alone-ST^{28}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IVN^4

'after he had gotten land, he built his house and looked for a woman so that he would not be alone.'

12. *pe-rki-y*   *señora-đomo^3.*
    see-REP^{12}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ lady-woman

'he found a non-Mapuche woman, so they say.'

13. *tüfa-chi đomo-mew*   *nie-fu-y*   *epu wentru, külá đomo-yall.*
    this-ADJ woman-INST get-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ two man,   three woman-child

'with this woman he had two boys [and] three girls.'

14. *fewlá meli-le-we-y-ng-ün.*
    now   four-ST^{28}-PS^{19}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2

'now there are four of them^p left.'

15. *la-y*   *kiñe đomo.*
    die-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ one   woman

'one girl has died.'

16. *welu wüné la-ntu-y^4.*
    but   first   die-improd.-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'but first he became a widower.'

17. *pichin-mew*   *ka*   *kure-nge-tu-y.*
    small.quantity-INST again wife-VERB^{36}-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'a little while later he got married again.'

18. *fewlá pe-y*   *mapuche-đomo.*
    now   see-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ Mapuche-woman

'this time he found a Mapuche woman.'

19. *müté tunte-ntu-la-y,*   *ka*   *la-ntu-y.*
    very   how.much-VERB^{36}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$, again die-improd.-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'it did not last very long, he became a widower again.'

20. *epu wentru-yall el-el-e-y-ew*   *ñi*   *kure.*
    two man-child   leave-BEN^{27}-IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$-DS^1 poss3 wife

'his wife left him two boys.'

21. *ka   kintu-fem-fu-y   ka   đomo.*
    again look.for-IMM[21]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] other woman

   'again he immediately looked for another woman.'

22. *ka   kiñe señora pe-y.*
    again one lady   see-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'again he found a non-Mapuche woman.'

23. *tüfa-chi señora kiñe pichi đomo-püñeñ nie-fu-y.*
    this-ADJ lady   one small woman-child have-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'this lady had a little daughter.'

24. *füta-nge-wma-rke,   ka   la-ntu-rke[5].*
    husband-VERB[36]-CSVN[4]-REP, also die-improd.-REP

   'she had reportedly been married [before and] was also a widow.'

25. *tüfa-chi đomo   engu kiñe yall rumé nie-la-y,   đew   füchá*
    this-ADJ woman   they[d] one child -ever get-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], already old
    che-lu   engu kam.
    person-SVN[4] they[d] PART

   'with this woman he did not get even one child, for they[d] were already old.'

26. *fey newé   pepí   küđaw-we-la-y,   welu kom ñi   pu   yall*
    he not.very being.able work-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], but all poss3 COLL child
    füchá-ke-we-y.
    big-DISTR-PS[19]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'he could not work very well any more, but all his children were already big.'

27. *kiñe-ke   ñi   pu   ñawe   füta-nge-y.*
    one-DISTR poss3 COLL daughter husband-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'some of his daughters were married.'

28. *ka   ñi   fotüm kure-nge-y.*
    also poss3 son   wife-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'his sons were also married.'

29. *đewmá rumé füchá che-lu,   fey ka-ke   kiñe-ke   ñi   pu   yall*
    finished very old   person-SVN[4], he other-DISTR one-DISTR poss3 COLL child
    elu-fi-y   mapu, kishu-ke ñi   küđaw-al   engün.
    give-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] land, self-DISTR poss3 work-NRLD[9].OVN[4] they[p]

   'when he had become a very old man, he gave land to each of his children so
   that they[p] could work [it] for themselves.'

30. *ka   kiñe-ke-l-fi-y   kulliñ.*
    also one-DISTR-VERB[36]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] cattle

   'he also gave each of them some cattle.'

31. *tüfa-chi füchá che   rumé mallma-nge-fu-y.*
    this-ADJ old   person very boastful-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'this old man was very boastful.'

32. *mallma-w-ke-fu-y*   *ñi*   *nie-n*   *fentren*
      become.boastful-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 have-PVN[4] large.quantity
      kulliñ, fentren   *mapu.*
      cattle, large.quantity land

      'he used to boast of having a lot of cattle [and] a lot of land.'

33. *chem fyesta-mew rumé đewmá ngolli-ye-m,*   *üyaqtu-ke-fu-y*
      what feast-INST -ever finished get.drunk-CF[5]-IVN[4], pick.a.quarrel-CF[14]-IPD[8]-
          chem che   *rumé ñi*   *illku-tu-nie-fiel.*
      IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ what person -ever poss3 get.angry-TR[33]-PRPS[32]-TVN[4]

      'at whatever feast, whenever he had become drunk, he picked a quarrel with
      whomever he was angry with.'

34. *rumé weđa-ka-ke-fwi-y*   *fey-ti*   *đoy nie-nu-lu.*
      very bad-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ that-the more have-NEG[10]-SVN[4]

      'he used to treat very badly those who had less [than he had].'

35. *welu kewa-tu-fe-nge-la-fu-y.*
      but hit-TR[33]-NOM-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'but he was not a fighter.'

36. *che-le-ye-m[6]*   *rumé, kümé che-nge-fu-y.*
      person-ST[28]-CF[14]-IVN[4] -ever, good person-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'when he was sober, he was a good man.'

37. *đewmá turpu küđaw-we-nu-lu,*   *fill*   *antü tripa-ke-fu-y*
      finished never work-PS[19]-NEG[10]-SVN[4], every day go.out-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$
      ñi   *witran-ma-me-a-fiel*   *ñi*   *pu*   *ka-ruka-tu.*
      poss3 visit-EXP[35]-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] poss3 COLL other-house-improd.

      'when he had reached the stage that he did not work any more, he used to go
      out every day to pay a visit to his neighbours.'

38. *ka*   *chipa-ke-fu-y*   *wingkul-mew ñi*   *ađkintu-al*   *chem*
      also go.out-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ hill-INST   poss3 look.at-NRLD[9].OVN[4] what
      rumé.
      -ever

      'he also used to go to the hills to have a look at whatever.'

39. *pe-fi-ye-m*   *pu*   *kamañ,*   *utu-ke-fwi-y*   *ñi*
      see-EDO[6]-CF[5]-IVN[4] COLL shepherd, approach-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3
      nütram-ka-ya-fiel.
      conversation-FAC[33]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

      'whenever he saw shepherds, he would approach them to talk to them.'

40. *femngechi puw-ül-üy*   *ñi*   *antü la-y.*
      thus   arrive-CA[34]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 day die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

      'thus he reached his day [and] died.'

41. *la-lu,   rumé füchá eluwün[7] müle-y   yiñ   lof-mew.*
    die-SVN[4], very big   funeral be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss1p reservation-INST

    'when he died, there was a very big funeral in our[p] reservation.'

42. *epé   kayu antü nie-nge-y   ñi   rünga-l-nge-nu-n.*
    nearly six   day have-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 dig-CA[34]-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-PVN[4]

    'for nearly six days he was not buried.'

43. *wüné üngüm-nge-y   ñi   pu   fotüm ka   wariya-mew müle-pu-lu.*
    first wait-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 COLL son   other town-INST   be-LOC[17]-SVN[4]

    'first, one waited for his sons who lived in another town.'

44. *rumé ka-mapu   kam müle-pu-lu   engün, küđaw-tu-y-ng-ün   ñi*
    very other-land PART be-LOC[17]-SVN[4] they[p], work-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3
    puw-al.
    arrive-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'since they[p] lived very far away, it required effort for them[p] to arrive.'

45. *kom fey-chi   antü müle-y   pepi-ka-w-ün.*
    all   that-ADJ day be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] be.able-FAC[33]-REF[31]-PVN[4]

    'all these days, preparations were going on.'

46. *kom yiñ   pu lof   ngilla-y-iñ   pulku, ilo-y-iñ*
    all   poss1p COLL reservation buy-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] liquor, slaughter-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]
    kulliñ yiñ   llow-a-m   yiñ   pu   witran.
    cattle poss1p receive-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] poss1p COLL visitor

    'with all [the people from] our[p] reservation we[p] bought liquor [and] we[p] sl-
    aughtered cattle in order to be able to receive our[p] visitors.'

47. *aku-lu   eluwün-antü, liwen-tu   entu-nge-y   ina   ruka.*
    arrive-SVN[4] funeral-day,   morning-ADV take.out-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] close house

    'when the day of the funeral had come, he was taken out [of the house] early
    in the morning [and put] near the houses.'

48. *ka pichin-mew   wenche-ñma-nge-y[8].*
    and small.quantity-INST top-OO[35]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'and a little while later the course of his life was discussed.'

49. *đew   wenche-ñma-el, fey   kishu-ke   yiñ   pu   wenüy*
    already top-OO[35]-OVN[4], that/then self/own-DISTR poss1p COLL friend
    elu-fi-y-iñ   ilo,   pulku.
    give-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] meat, liquor

    'after the course of his life had been discussed, (then) we[p] gave each of our[p]
    friends meat [and] liquor.'

50. *đewmá rangi antü kom pu   che   ngolli-le-y.*
    almost mid   day all   COLL person get.drunk-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'around noon everyone had become drunk.'

51. *ella naq-ün antü awiñma-nge-y*[9].
    a.bit go.down-PVN[4] sun ride.around.deceased-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'when the sun went down a bit, everyone rode around the deceased.'
52. *rumé fentren kawellu-tu-n awiñma-e-y-ew.*
    very large.quantity horse-VERB[36]-PVN[4] ride.around.deceased-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]-

    DS[1]

    'a very large number of horsemen rode around him.'
53. *kiñe-ke wentru nie-lu tralka tralka-tu-ñpüra-m-üy*[10] *wenu*
    one-DISTR man have-SVN[4] gun gun-VERB[36]-go.up-CA[34]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] above
    kümé amo-a-m ñi am.
    good go-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] poss3 soul

    'some of the men who had a gun shot it up in the air so that his soul would
    be allright.'
54. *epé kon-ün antü ye-fi-y-iñ eltun-mew*[11] *yiñ*
    almost enter-PVN[4] sun carry-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] cemetery-INST poss1p
    rünga-l-a-fiel.
    dig-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

    'when the sun had almost set, we[p] brought him to the cemetary to bury him.'
55. *ka pichi putu-ñma-pu-fi-y-iñ.*
    and little drink-IO[26]-LOC[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'and there we[p] drank a little to him.'
56. *fey taku-fi-y-iñ tuwe-mew.*
    that/then cover-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] soil-INST

    'then we[p] covered him with soil.'
57. *fante-pu re ñi foro müle-we-pe-la-y.*
    this.much-improd. only poss3 bone be-PS[19]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'by now only his bones will be left.'
58. *kom ti pu che müle-wma tüfa-chi eluwün-mew amu-ye-tu-y-ng-ün*
    all the COLL person be-CSVN[4] this-ADJ funeral-INST go-carry-RE[16]-IND[4]-
    ñi ruka-mew.
    3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 house-INST

    'all the people who had been at this funeral went back home taking [food with
    them].'
59. *kiñe-ke rumé ngolli-n welu ye-nie-tu-y-ng-ün*
    one-DISTR very get.drunk-PVN[4] but carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]
    fentren ilo.
    large.quantity meat

    'some, although very drunk, nevertheless took a lot of meat back home.'
60. *femngechi af-iy yiñ eluwün.*
    thus end(intr.)-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss1p funeral

'[and] so our[p] funeral ended.'

Notes

1. *-(ü)rke-* REPS[12]indicates that the denoted situation was not witnessed by the speaker himself. In narratives which relate such a situation, *-(ü)rke-* is frequently repeated.
2. *alkila-* is derived from Sp. alquilar 'to rent', 'to hire'.
3. *señora* is Sp. señora 'lady, woman',
4. for improductive *-ntu-*, see 27.2.
5. *-(ü)rke(-)* may be combined with nouns, see 18.1.4.
6. *che-* 'to become a person', 'to become sober'.
7. *eluwün* 'funeral' may be analysed as *el-uw-ün* leave-REF[31]-PVN[4]. Compare *eltun* 'cemetary' (line 54), which may be analysed as *el-tu-n* leave-RE[16]-PVN[4].
8. Friends of the deceased discuss the course of his life while sitting around him in a circle.
9. *awiñma-* 'to dance and/or ride a horse around a deceased to pay honour to the deceased' is probably derived from "*awn* ... la danza y vueltas a caballo que se ejecutan alrededor del *rewe* en las rogativas o del muerto en los entierros" (Augusta 1916: 13). (*rewe* is a carved tree trunk used in religious ceremonies). Augusta (ibid.) mentions "*awünman* hacer a un difunto el honor de *awn*".
10. In compounds of which the second member is *püra(-m)-* climb-(CA[34])-, *ñ* may be inserted, see 8.1.8.
11. See note 7 above.

Text 7. Olden times

In the presence of his wife and eldest son, the author's mentor, Professor Willem Adelaar, and the author, Rafael Railaf talks freely, without any preparation, about how the Mapuche used to live in olden times.

1. *fach-antü pichi nütram-ka-w-a-y-iñ.*
   this-day   little conversation-FAC[33]-1A[23]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

   'today I am going to tell you [something].'

2. *kuyfí   müli-y   füta-ke   kim-ke   wentru[1].*
   formerly be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] old-DISTR wise-DISTR man

   'a long time ago there used to be ancient wise men.'

3. *müli-y   pu longko nie-ke-lu   ta-ñi   pu   weycha-fe.*
   be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] COLL head   have-CF[14]-SVN[4] the-poss3 COLL make.war-NOM

   '[and] there were leaders who had their own warriors.'

4. *küla-ke   pataka küme-ke   kona   nü-y   ta-ñi*
   three-DISTR hundred good-DISTR servant take-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss3

   kwida-ya-m[2]   ta-ñi   kulliñ, ta-ñi   kwida-ya-m
   look.after-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]   the-poss3 cattle, the-poss3 look.after-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

   ta-ñi   ye-w-ün[3]   ta-ñi   nie-ke-el.
   the-poss3 carry-REF[31]-PVN[4] the-poss3 have-CF[14]-VN[4]

   'they each hired 300 good servants to look after their cattle, [and] the stuff they had.'

5. *puw-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi   nütram-ka-n   engün ta*
   arrive-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss3 conversation-FAC[33]-PVN[4] they[p] the

   ata[4]   puel-mapu.
   as.far.as puel-mapu

   'their[p] conversations reached as far as *puel-mapu*[5].'

6. *puel-mapu pi-nge-y   ta mapuche-mew Arxentina.*
   puel-mapu say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the Mapuche-INST Argentina

   'Argentina is called *puel-mapu* in Mapuche.'

7. *ka femngechi trawu-w-ke-fu-y   ta ti kim-ke*
   and thus   get.together-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the wise-DISTR

   wentru chum-künu-al   ta-ñi   ađ-qünu-al
   man   do.how/what-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] the-poss3 form-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   ta-ñi   küme-ke   đungu, ... ta-ñi   nütram-ka-w-al
   the-poss3 good-DISTR matter,   the-poss3 conversation-FAC[33]-REF[31]-

   *   ta-ñi   ađ-entu-al   küme-ke   đungu,*
   NRLD[9].OVN[4] the-poss3 form-take.out-NRLD[9].OVN[4] good-DISTR matter,

   chuchi-künu-al   küme-ke   nütram[6].
   which-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] good-DISTR conversation

   'and so the wise men used to meet [in order to discuss] how they should

arrange their business ..., in order to discuss with one another [how] they should settle their affairs, how they should carry on their deliberations.'

8. *fiy, trawu-w-ke-fu-y   ta ti pu longko.*
that, get.together-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the the COLL head

   '[and] so the leaders used to meet.'

9. *ngilla-yma-w-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi   pu đomo yengün[7],*
buy-IO[26]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 COLL woman they[p],
   wül-ke-fu-y   kulliñ, wül-ke-fu-y   plata.
give-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] cattle, give-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] siver/money

   'they[p] used to buy their women from each other, they used to give cattle, they used to give silver.'

10. *kuyfí   kam müle-ke-fu-y   ta ti rütra-n   plata.*
formerly PART be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the the forge-PVN[4] silver

   'for in the olden days there was this forged silver, you know.'

11. *kishu ñi   đoam đewma-ke-fu-y   ta ti plata yengün.*
self poss3 need make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the the silver they[p]

   'they[p] used to make this silver for themselves.'

12. *ta ti plata đewma-nge-ke-lu,   rütra-nge-ke-lu,   ye-ke-fu-y*
the the silver make-PASS[23]-CF[14]-SVN[4], forge-PASS[23]-CF[14]-SVN[4], carry-CF[14]-
           engün kiñe saku-mew, pi-y.
IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] they[p] one bag-INST, say-IND[4]-3[3]

   'they[p] carried this silver, which they used to make, which they used to forge, in a bag, they say.'

13. *ngilla-nge-ke-fu-y   ta küme-ke   ye-w-ün.*
buy-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the good-DISTR carry-REF[31]-PVN[4]

   '[with this silver] they used to buy good things.'

14. *ka ta-ñi   organisasion ta-ñi   nie-n   engün chumkanu rume[8] ta*
and the-poss3 organization the-poss3 have-PVN[4] they[p] no.way -ever the
   kishu đuam ta pu kona manda-w-ke-la-fu-y   kishu
self need the COLL servant send-REF[31]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] self
   đuam.
need

   'and the organization they[p] had ..., in any case they never sent their servants for their own needs.'

15. *pi-y   ta ti pu longko, pi-y   ta ti kim-ke*
want/say-IND[4]-3[3] the the COLL head, want/say-IND[4]-3[3] the the wise-DISTR
   wentru, ta ti ađ-qünu-lu   đungu, fiy-mew kishu engün kon-ke-fu-y
man,   the the form-PFPS[32]-SVN[4] matter, that-INST self they[p] enter-CF[14]-
           đungu-mu   yengün.
IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] matter-INST they[p]

   '[when] the leaders wanted ..., [when] the wise men wanted to plan something,'

then they used to take up some matter themselves.'

16. *pekanka*[9] *đungu ta müle-ke-la-fu-y*   *ta kuyfí.*
    disorder matter the be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the formerly

'in former times there was no such disorder.'

17. *sosialimu reké ta müle-ke-fu-y*   *ta-ñi*   *pu   rakiđoam ta   ti*
    socialism like the be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 COLL thought   the the
    füta-ke   longko; müle-ke-la-fu-y   *ta koral, nge-ke-la-fu-y*
    old-DISTR head;   be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the fence, be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-
    ta ..., ent.rega-nge-ke-rke-tu-y   *tüfa-ta papel.*
    IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the ,   hand.over-PASS[23]-CF[14]-REP[12]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ this-the paper

'these ancient leaders used to have socialist ideas; there were no fences, there
was no such ..., one did not hand over such a paper[10].'

18. *kuyfí   ta nge-ke-la-fu-y*   *ta papel.*
    formerly the be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[3]-$\underline{3}^3$ the paper

'in earlier days no such paper existed, you know.'

19. *chillka-tu-n,*   *pi-nge-y*   *ta mapuche-mew.*
    inscription-VERB[36]-PVN[4], say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the Mapuche-INST

'*chillkatun* it is called in Mapuche.'

20. *sosialimu reké ta itro-kom ta reuni-ke-fu-y*   *ta-ñi*   *awka*
    socialism like the quite-all the join-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 wild/mare
    yengün ta-ñi   weycha-ya-m.
    they[p]   the-poss3 make.war-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

'like in socialism they[p] joined everything, [they joined] their mares in order
to make war.'

21. *nie-ke-fu-y*   *ta füta-ke   kaman   ta kulliñ; kishu đoam*
    have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the big-DISTR quantity the cattle; self   need
    la-ke-fu-y   *ta-ñi   pu   kulliñ.*
    die-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 COLL cattle

'they used to have large numbers of cattle; their cattle used to die a natural
death.'

22. *ka nge-ke-la-fu-y*   *ta koral.*
    and be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the fence

'and these fences did not exist.'

23. *chunté   puw-üy   ta-ñi   mapu, ta chunté   puw-ke-fu-y*
    how.much arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 land,   the how.much arrive-CF[14]-IPD[8]-
          engün.
    IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p]

'they[p] settled everywhere, as far as their land extended.'

24. *depwé aku-y   ta ti pu   epañole; weycha-nge-pa-y,*
    later   arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the COLL spaniard; make.war-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$,

kiñeñ pülé tayma-entu-nge-pa-y   ta   füta-ke   longko-yem.
one   side remove-take.out-PASS²³-Hh¹⁷-IND⁴-3̱³ the old-DISTR head-EX

'later the Spaniards came; the former ancient leaders were fought [and] put aside.'

25. *kim-ke   wentru meki-y   ñi   kümé ađ-qünu-n   đungu*
   wise-DISTR man   be.busy-IND⁴-3̱³ poss3 good form-PFPS³²-PVN⁴ matter

   ñi   weycha-yal,   ta-ñi   defende-al   ta-ñi   mapu,
   poss3 make.war-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴, the-poss3 defend-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the-poss3 land,

   defende-al   ta-ñi   kulliñ, defende-al   ta-ñi   pu
   defend-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the-poss3 cattle, defend-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the-poss3 COLL

   püñeñ, defende-al   ta-ñi   oro, defende-al   ta-ñi
   son,   defend-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the-poss3 gold, defend-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the-poss3

   plata.
   silver

   'wise men[11] were busy organizing their affairs well to make war, to defend their land, their cattle, their sons, their gold [and] their silver.'

26. *külá pataka   tripantu meki-y   weycha-n   pu   mapuche.*
   three hundred year   be.busy-IND⁴-3̱³ make.war-PVN⁴ COLL Mapuche

   'for 300 years the Mapuche were engaged in warfare.'

27. *aku-y   wülá küme-ke   tralka, fiy   wülá epé*
   arrive-IND⁴-3̱³ then good-DISTR gun,   that then almost

   ap-üm-nge-pa-fu-y-iñ[12].
   end(intr.)-CA³⁴-PASS²³-Hh¹⁷-IPD⁸-IND⁴-1̱ns³-p²

   'then good guns came [and] then we^p were almost finished off.'

28. *ka   tüfá ru-pa-aku-lu   chi pu   epañole, aku-y*
   and then pass-Hh¹⁷-arrive-SVN⁴ the COLL spaniard, arrive-IND⁴-3̱³

   ka-ke   wingka.
   other-DISTR stranger

   'and then, when these Spaniards had gone by, other strangers came along.'

29. *wül-pa-y   planu yengün.*
   give-Hh¹⁷-IND⁴-3̱³ plan   they^p

   'they^p gave out title-deeds.'

30. *pichi-ke-l-nge-tu-y   mapu füta-ke   longko-yem.*
   little-DISTR-VERB³⁶-PASS²³-RE¹⁶-IND⁴-3̱³ land   old-DISTR head-EX

   'little land was given back to each of the former ancient leaders.'

31. *pichi-ke-l-nge-pa-tu-y   mapu ta-yiñ   pu   familia.*
   little-DISTR-VERB³⁶-PASS²³-Hh¹⁷-RE¹⁶-IND⁴-3̱³ land   the-poss1p COLL family

   'little land was given back to each of our^p families.'

32. *nge-we-la-y   ta küme-künu-al   ta đungu.*
   be-PS¹⁹-NEG¹⁰-IND⁴-3̱³ the good-PFPS³²-NRLD⁹.OVN⁴ the matter

'there were no more [people] who could organize things.'

33. *müle-tu-y*[13]   *presedente.*
be-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ president

'[suddenly] there was a president.'

34. *kuyfí   ta   nge-ke-la-fu-y   ta   presedente.*
formerly the be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the president

'in olden times, there was no such [thing as] a president, you know.'

35. *re   pu   longko ta   trawu-w-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi*
only COLL head   the get.together-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3
aɖ-qünu-al   ɖungu.
form-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] matter

'leaders merely got together in order to organize things.'

36. *nge-ke-la-fu-y   ta ..., elixi-nge-ke-la-fu-y*[14]
be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the , choose-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$
chumkanu rumé ta   presedente.
no.way   -ever the president

'there was no such ..., in any case one did not have the habit of choosing such a president.'

37. *aku-y   ta ti   pu   wingka, elixi-nge-fu-y   fiy*
arrive-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the COLL stranger, choose-PASS[23]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ that/then
wülá presedente.
then president

'[from the moment] those strangers came, a president was chosen.'

38. *"wota-ya-y-iñ",   pi-y   ta ti   pu   wingka.*
vote-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2], say-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the COLL stranger

' "we[p] shall vote", those strangers said.'

39. *"tüfá kümé ɖungu müli-y".*
this good matter be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

' "that is a good thing".'

40. *"kümé presedente ɖulli-entu-a-y-iñ",   pi-y.   engün.*
good president   choose-take.out-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2], say-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p]

' "we[p] will choose a good president", they[p] said.'

41. *ɖoy küme-künu-a-fu-lu   ɖungu yengün, ɖoy weɖa-künu-y*
more good-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4] matter they[p],   more bad-PFPS[32]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$
ñi   ɖungu yengün.
poss3 matter they[p]

'instead of making things better, they[p] made things worse.'

42. *af-iy   ñi   rakiɖuam   pu   mapuche.*
end(intr.)-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 thought/patience COLL Mapuche

'the patience of the Mapuche ran out.'

43. *tüfá aku-lu   ka   weycha-n   đungu, wiño-tu-tu-fu-y*[15]
    this arrive-SVN[4] other make.war-PVN[4] matter, return-RE[16]-RE[16]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

    kümé rakiđuam.
    good thought

    'now that another method of warfare had set in, good[16] ideas kept coming
    back.'

44. *küme-ke   kim wentru ta kümé ađ-qünu-fu-y   ta đungu.*
    good-DISTR wise man   the good form-PFPS[32]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] the matter

    'good wise men planned things well.'

45. *wüya-ke   kim wentru kay ka künu-y   ta-ñi   đungu, kishu*
    bad-DISTR wise man   PART also let.be-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 matter, self

    mütem ta nie-a-lu   ta-ñi   pu   interese.
    only   the have-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] the-poss3 COLL interest

    'bad wise men, on the other hand, also organized their things, [but] only for
    their own interests.'

46. *ka-ke-lu   pi-la-y   ta-ñi   elu-a-fiel.*
    other-DISTR-SVN[4] want-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] the-poss3 give-NRLD[9]-TVN[4]

    'they did not want to give to others.'

47. *fey-chi füta-ke đungu ta ru-pa-y   ta füta-ke kuyfí mapu,*
    that-ADJ big-DISTR matter the pass-HH[17]-IND[4]-3[3] the old-DISTR former land,

    füta-ke kuyfí che.
    old-DISTR former person

    'these big events occurred in ancient lands of yore, with the ancient people of
    yore.'

48. *tüfá   petú müle-we-y   mapuche.*
    this/now still be-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3] Mapuche

    'today there are still Mapuche left.'

49. *Chile petú müle-wü-y   külá warangka chi,   meli warangka chi*
    Chile still be-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3] three thousand PART, four thousand PART

    mapuche müle-wü-y.
    Mapuche be-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'in Chile there are still about 300,000 or 400,000 Mapuche left.'

50. *"el prowinsia Kautin" pi-nge-y   ta ti prowinsia chew ta-ñi*
      the province Cautín   say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-3[3] the the province where the-poss3

    müle-mu-m,   ta ti chew ta-ñi   ringkona-nge-mu-m[17]   *ta ti*
    be-PLPF[7]-IVN[4], the the where the-poss3 corner-PASS[23]-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] the the

    pu   mapuche.
    COLL Mapuche

    ' "the province of Cautín" is called the province in which the Mapuche lived,
    where they have been cornered.'

51. *püti-ke-y*   *ñi*   *mapu yengün.*
    small-DISTR-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 land   they[p]

    'their[p] pieces of land are small.'
52. *kiñe-ke*   *metro-y*[18]   *mapu engün.*
    one-DISTR metre-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] land   they[p]

    'their[p] land measures a few metres.'
53. *fende-ke-l-chi*   *tukuyu-ke-chi-le-wü-y*[19]   *ta-ñi*   *mapu engün.*
    sell-CF[14]-OVN[4]-ADJ cloth-DISTR-ADJ-ST[28]-PS[19]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss3 land   they[p]

    'their[p] land looks like cloth that is sold [by the metre].'
54. *ta-ñi*   *fente*   *ta-ñi*   *pichi-ke*   *nü-n*   *engün.*
    the-poss3 that.much the-poss3 little-DISTR take/get-PVN[4] they[p]

    'so little [it is] what they[p] each got.'
55. *"chofü-nge-y*   *pu*   *mapuche", pi-y-ng-ün.*
    lazy-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] COLL Mapuche, say-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    ' "Mapuche are lazy", they[p] said.'
56. *"küɖaw-la-y*   *engün", pi-y,*   *"putu-kon-küli-y*   *engün",*
    work-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p],   say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3],   drink-enter-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p],
    pi-y.
    say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "they[p] don't work", they said, "they[p] drink", they said.'
57. *chem-mew am*   *fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?!*
    what-INST PART become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

    '[but] why shouldn't [they] do that?!.'
58. *kishu engün püti-ke-l-ke-fi-y*   *mapu.*
    self   they[p] little-DISTR-VERB[36]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] land

    'they[p] themselves used to give each of them little land.'
59. *ka*   *enggaña-fi-y*   *pulku-mu.*
    and deceive-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] liquor-INST

    'and they deceived them with liquor.'
60. *wim-el-ka-fi-y*   *engün ta*   *ti*   *pu*   *mapuche ta-ñi*
    get.used-CA[34]-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p]   the the COLL Mapuche the-poss3
    putu-n-mew   *ngolli-l-ka-fi-lu*   *engün.*
    drink-PVN[4]-INST get.drunk-CA[34]-FAC[33]-EDO[6]-SVN[4] they[p]

    'they[p] accustomed the Mapuche to drinking by making them get drunk.'
61. *re*   *enggaña-mew ta*   *nü-ntu-ñma-fi-y*   *ta-ñi*   *mapu,*
    only deceit-INST   the take-improd.-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]   the-poss3   land,
    pulku-mew.
    liquor-INST

    'with plain deceit they took their land away from them, with liquor.'

62. *ka   kim-nu-lu   rumé chillka-tu-al   ti   pu*
     and   know-NEG[10]-SVN[4] -ever inscription-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] the COLL

     mapuche, ngilla-yma-nge-y   ta mapu, putu-l-ka-künu-fi-y
     Mapuche, buy-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the land, drink-CA[34]-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-

          engün.
     IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p]

     'and because the Mapuche did not know how to write, their land was sold
     [after] they had made them drink.'

63. *"tüfá ta-mi   firma   ta-mi   fende-mu-m   ta mapu".*
     this the-poss2s signature the-poss2s sell-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] the land

     ' "this [is] your[s] signature by means of which you[s] have sold the land".'

64. *"fanten   ta kulli-e-y-u".*
     this.much the pay-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-d[2]-$\underline{DS}^1$

     ' "I have paid you[s] this much".'

65. *"fey   chumal am   rekülama-pa-fi-y-m-i?"[20],   pi-fi-y.*
     that/then what.for PART claim-hh[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], say-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

     ' "then what have you[s] come to claim it for?", they said to them.'

66. *kupaf-ka-künu-fi-y   engün, la-ngüm-üy   engün ta . . . ,*
     beat-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p], die-CA[34]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[p] the ,

     lang-üm-üy   füta-ke   kaman   mapuche engün.
     die-CA[34]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ big-DISTR quantity Mapuche they[p]

     'they[p] beat them up and left them that way, they[p] killed the . . . , they[p] killed
     large numbers of Mapuche.'

67. *re   kupaf-ka-n-mu.*
     only beat-FAC[3]-PVN[4]-INST

     'just by beating [them] up.'

68. *femngechi ta   ap-üm-ap-üm-ye-nge-y*
     thus   the end(intr.)-CA[34]-end(intr.)-CA[34]-SFR[36]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

     ta-yiñ   pu   mapuche-nge-n.
     the-poss1p COLL Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

     'and so, you know, we[p] Mapuche have gradually been finished off.'

69. *fey-chi đungu-mew ta epe-ke   af-iy   ta-yiñ*
     that-ADJ matter-INST the almost-DISTR end(intr.)-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss1p

     mapuche-nge-n   ta Chile.
     mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4] the Chile

     'with these methods we[p] Mapuche have gradually almost ceased to exist in
     Chile.'

70. *ka-ke   mapu, Arxentina, may ka müli-y   mapuche, Boliwia*
     other-DISTR land, Argentina, PART also be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ mapuche, Bolivia

     müli-y.
     be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'in other countries, in Argentina, there are also Mapuche for certain, in Bolivia too.'

71. *itro-kom pülé müli-y   ta   ti   pepi-l-nge-nu-el   đungu.*
    quite-all side be-IND[4]-3[3] the the be.able-CA[34]-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-OVN[4] matter

'everywhere you have this impossible situation.'

72. *fey   ta   ti   füta-ke   riku.*
    that the the big-DISTR rich

'[and] that is because of these awful rich [people].'

Notes

1. *kim-lu wentru* or *kim wentru* 'wise men' form a group of intellectual leaders. The *longko* (cf. line 3) form another group of leaders who were responsible for more practical matters, mainly warfare.
2. *kwida-* is derived from Sp. cuidar ' to look after'.
3. *ye-w-ün* carry-REF[31]-PVN[4] is translated as 'stuff'; it can refer to all kinds of material things.
4. *ata* is Sp. hasta 'as far as'.
5. The etymology of *puel-mapu* is not clear; it may be rendered 'the land to the east'. Augusta (1916: 199) mentions *puel-mapu* "la Argentina" under the entry *pue* "la región superior del abdómen; la inferior e interior; el abdómen".
6. This sentence is an anacoluthon. lit.: and thus the wise men used to meet one another how to leave their future giving form to their good matters, . . . their future discussing their future picturing good matters, which future leaving good conversations. *ađ-entu-* 'to copy, to make a drawing, a picture'.
7. After a vowel *engün* 'they[P]' optionally alternates with *yengün*.
8. *chumkanu rumé* is an irregular construction, see 27.2.
9. *pekanka* is probably derived from Sp. pecar 'to sin, to do wrong'.
10. i.e. land was communal property. 'A paper' refers to a title-deed.
11. The *longko* 'leaders, chiefs' were put aside; the *kimke wentru*, who were the more intellectual leaders, took over the job of the *longko*.
12. *-fu-* IPD[8] is used to indicate that the purpose (of finishing off the Mapuche) has not been achieved altogether.
13. *-tu-* RE[16] has iterative/restorative meaning. Yet, sentence 33 expresses that the phenomenon of president suddenly presented itself. Maybe we have to assume two homophonous suffixes *-tu-*.
14. *elixi-* is derived from Sp. elegir 'to select'.
15. Repetition of the same suffix in a verbform is not usual.
16. Good = left-wing; bad = right-wing.
17. *ringkona* is derived from Sp. rincón 'corner'.
18. *metro* is Sp. metro 'metre'.

19. For *-ke-chi-le-*, see (18-19) in 26.28.1.
20. *rekülama-* is Sp. reclamar 'to claim'.

Text 8. Conversation about demons

In the following text Luis Quinchavil, Rafael Railaf and his wife Rosa talk about demons.

1. LQ: *iñché ramtu-fi-n*[1]:   *"kim-la-fi-n*   *ti   añchümalleñ;*
      I   ask-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]: know-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the midget;

   küpá   kim-fu-n   chumngechi mi   pe-fiel".
   wishing know-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] how   poss2s see-TVN[4]

   LQ: 'I asked him: "I don't know this midget; I would like to know how you[s] see him".'

2. RR: *ti   añchümalleñ müle-y   ta renü-mew*[2].
      the midget   be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the cave-INST

   RR: 'the midget lives in this cave.'

3. *kuyfí   ñi   müle-n ta ti   renü.*
   formerly poss3 be-PVN[4] the the cave

   'this cave has been there for a long time.'

4. *trem-tripa-pa-y   ta ti   pu   fücha-ke longko.*
   grown-go.out-Hh[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the COLL old-DISTR head

   'the old leaders grew up [knowing about these caves].'

5. *la-y   kiñe pichi che,   weñe-nentu-nge-r-pu-y   ta*
   die-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] one small person, steal-take.out-PASS[23]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the

   ti   pichi che.
   the small person

   'when a child died, that child would eventually be robbed.'

6. *we   la-ye-m,   nentu-ñma-nge-y   kiñe changüll-kuwü.*
   recent die-CF[5]-IVN[4], take.out-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] one finger-hand

   'whenever [a child] had just died, he would be robbed of one finger.'

7. *tüfey-chi changüll-kuwü ye-nge-y   renü-mew, fey*
   that-ADJ finger-hand   carry-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] cave-INST, that/then

   đewma-me-nge-ke-fu-y   ti   añchümalleñ.
   make-Th[20]-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the midget

   'that finger was taken to the cave [and] then the midget was made.'

8. *re   kiñe changüll-kuwü-mew mütem.*
   only one finger-hand-INST   merely

   'of just one finger only.'

9. *"amu-a-y-m-i   tüfey-chi ruka-mew, ka tüfey-chi ruka-mew*
   go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] that-ADJ house-INST, and that-ADJ house-INST

   amu-a-y-m-i".[3]
   go-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

   ' "you[s] must go to that house, and to that house (you[s] must go)".'

10. *monge-le-ki-y*   *ta*   *ti*[4] *mollfüñ che-mew*   *mungel.*
get.life-ST[28]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] the the blood   person-INST especially

'they live especially of human blood.'

11. *awkan-tu-ki-y*   *pichi che*   *reké, rüngkü-kantu-ki-y*   *ka*
play-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] small person like, jump-PLAY[22]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] and
puru-ki-y.
dance-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

'they play like children, they jump for fun and they dance.'

12. *ngüñü-le-ye-m*   *engün, fey*   *ngüma-ki-y*   *pichi che*
get.hungry-ST[28]-CF[14]-IVN[4] they[p], that/then cry-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] small person
reké.
like

'whenever they[p] are hungry, they cry like babies.'

13. *pe-fi-n*   *pun iñché ta-ñi*   *pu*   *wenüy iñchiñ.*
see-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] night I   the-poss1s COLL friend we[p]

'I saw him in the night with my friends.'

14. *"tüfá ta*   *añchümalleñ", pi-e-n-ew.*
   this the midget,   say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

' "this [is] the midget", they told me.'

15. *chum-la-e-n-ew*   *rumé fey-ti-chi*   *añchümalleñ.*
do.what/how-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] -ever that-the-ADJ midget

'that midget did not do anything to me.'

16. *kon-ki-y*   *fill*   *đungu-mew; kon-ki-y*   *putu-n-mew;*
enter-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] all.sorts matter-INST; enter-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] drink-PVN[4]-INST;
kon-ki-y   *ngilla-tu-n-mew*[5];   *kon-ki-y*   *kewa-n-mew,*
enter-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] request-TR[33]-PVN[4]-INST; enter-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] hit-PVN[4]-INST,
kuđe-n-mew;   *kon-ki-y*   *pali-n-mew*[6],   *welu đoy*
competition/race-PVN[4]-INST; enter-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] ball-PVN[4]-INST, but more
miaw-ki-y   *pali-n-mew.*
wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] ball-PVN[4]-INST

'they take to all kinds of things; they take to drinking; they take to praying [and feasting]; they take to fighting [and] to racing; they take to hockey, but most of all they are engaged in hockey.'

17. *fücha-ke pali-n-mew*   *kon-kiaw-ki-y*   *ti añchümalleñ.*
big-DISTR ball-PVN[4]-INST enter-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] the midget

'they join in big hockey games, the midgets.'

18. *kawellu kuđe-y,*   *ka*   *kon-üy-ng-ün*   *ka.*
horse   race-IND[4]-3[3], also enter-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] also

'[when] there are horse races, they[p] compete too.'

19. *kim-nie-nge-wye-y*   *külá antü-mew, meli antü-mew tuchi*
  know-PRPS[32]-PASS[23]-PLPF[15]-IND[4]-3[3] three day-INST, four day-INST which
  kawellu ñi   wew-nge-al,   tuchi kawell ñi   wew-al,
  horse   poss3 win-PASS[23]-NRLD[9].OVN[4], which horse poss3 win-NRLD[9].OVN[4],
  tuchi kawell ñi   ütrüf-entu-al   ñi   kuwü.
  which horse   poss3 throw-take-out-NRLD[9].OVN[4] poss3 hand

  'three or four days before it was known which horse would lose, which horse
  would win and which horse would win by the length of a hand.'
20. *entonse   kuđe-y-ng-ün   kiñe waka, kiñe kawell, kiñe trari-ñ   mansun.*
  at.that.time race-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] one cow,   one horse,   one tie-PVN[4] ox

  'at that time a cow, a horse [and] a yoke of oxen raced.'
21. *femngechi newen ta   nü-w-küle-y   ta   fücha-ke   longko kuyfí.*
  such   force the take-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3] the old-DISTR head   formerly

  'with such force the old leaders of former times competed with each other.'
22. *kiñe-ke-mew   pun aymüñ perimontu-ki-y   reké che,*
  one-DISTR-INST night rather see.ghosts-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] as.it. were

  'sometimes at night, [when] people more or less see ghosts, as it were,'
23. *fillem   nengüm-nengüm-tu-ki-y   mesa, wangku, chem rumé.*
  all.sorts move(tr.)-move(tr.)-SFR[36]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] table, chair,   what -ever

  '[then] they (the midgets) are busy moving all sorts of things, tables, chairs,
  anything.'
24. *fey   kon-ke-fu-y   nütram-ka-n   ñi*
  that/then start/enter-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] conversation-FAC[33]-PVN[4] poss1s
  fücha-ke   che.
  old-DISTR person

  'then my elders used to start talking.'
25. *iñché allkü-tu-ke-fu-n.*
  I   hear-TR[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

  'I listened.'
26. *"fey am wekufü pi-nge-ke-y   ñi   miaw-ün".*
  that soul demon say-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3 wander-PVN[4]

  ' "one says that it is the soul of the demon that wanders".'
27. *pichi-ka-lu   kam iñché, pun   mungel   nütram-ka-ke-fu-y-ng-ün*
  small-CONT[16]-SVN[4] PART I,   night especially conversation-FAC[33]-CF[14]-
                        ñi   fücha-ke   che.
  IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss1s old-DISTR person

  'for, when I was still young, my elders used to especially talk at night.'
28. *fey   rumé llüka-ke-fu-n   ñi   kuđu-pu-al*
  that/then very become.afraid-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] poss1s lay.down-LOC[17]-

           iñché femngechi kishu.
NRLD[9].OVN[4] I   thus   alone

'then I became very much afraid to go to bed all alone.'

29. *üyüw   nie-y   ruka umaw-tu-pe-ye-m   che   ka   re*
over.there have-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ house sleep-VERB[36]-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4] person and only

ñi   kosina-pe-ye-m   mütem.
poss3 cook-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4] merely

'over there[7] people have a house in which they sleep and one in which they only cook.'

30. *pun   nütram-ka-y   fücha-ke   che.*
night conversation-FAC[33]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ old-DISTR person

'at night elderly people talked.'

31. *fey   müná llüka-ki-y   pichi-ke   che   ñi*
that/then very become.afraid-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ small-DISTR person poss3

kuđu-pu-al.
lay.down-LOC[17]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'then children become very much afraid to go to bed.'

32. *ina-ni-a-lu-mu[8]   ti añchümalleñ troki-w-ki-y.*
follow-PRPS[32]-NRLD[9].IDO[6]-SVN[4]-DS[1] the midget   opine-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'they think that the midgets are following them.'

33. *pewma-ki-y   fill   kütó.*
dream-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ all.sorts even

'they dream all kinds of things.'

34. *welu iñché rumé llüka-nten-nge-wma   pichi-ka-lu.*
but I   very get.afraid-NOM-VERB[36]-CSVN[4] small-CONT[16]-SVN[4]

'as for me, I was very much someone who easily became afraid when I was still young.'

35. *welu trem-el,   pun   miaw-ke-fu-n   kishu đumiñ-mew.*
but grown-OVN[4], night wander-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] alone dark-INST

'but, when I was grown up, I used to wander alone at night in the dark.'

36. *pukem mungel   müná đumiñ-nge-y.*
winter especially very   dark-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'especially in winter, it is very dark.'

37. *fey   pichi-ke   akorda-ke-fu-n[9]   ti nütram:*
that/then little-DISTR remember-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the story

'in that [context] I remember saying this:'

38. *"chumngechi ñi   pe-rume-a-fiel   fewlá pe-rume-me-a-fi-n*
how/while   poss1s see-SUD[21]-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] now see-SUD[21]-Th[20]-NRLD[9]-

           chiam", pi-ke-fu-n.
EDO[6]-IND1s[3] PART, say-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

' "shall I suddenly see him now or shan't I?", I used to say[10].'

39. *welu kiñe rupa nu   rumé pe-la-n.*
but   one time NEG -ever see-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

'but I did not see [him] even once.'

40. *fey-mew iñché newé   feyentu-ke-la-n.*
that-INST I   not.very believe-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

'therefore I do not believe [in him] very much.'

41. *kiñe rupa antü, epé   kon-ün   antü, epu pichi-ke   che   pe-n,*
one time day, almost enter-PVN[4] sun, two small-DISTR person see-IND1s[3],
epu pichi-ke   che,   femngechi müté ka-mapu   nu.
two small-DISTR person, so   very other-land NEG

'once, in the daytime, when the sun was almost down, I saw two children, two children, not so very far away.'

42. *kiñe pichi wingkul-mew   awkan-tu-le-n   amu-y-ng-u.*
one small hill/mountain-INST play-VERB[36]-ST[28]-PVN[4] go-IND[4]-3ns[3]-d[2]

'they[d] were playing on a hill.'

43. *iñché newé   ḍuam-künu-la-fi-n.*
I   not.very need/attention-PFPS[32]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'I did not pay much attention to them.'

44. *ina   rüpü müle-y   epu mapuche ruka.*
along road be-IND[4]-3[3] two Mapuche house

'along the road there were two Mapuche houses.'

45. *"fey   fey-ti-chi   ruka-mew   müle-chi   pichi-ke   che   penú*
that   that-the-ADJ house-INST be-SVN[4]-ADJ small-DISTR person maybe
pi-n".
say/think-IND1s[3]

' "maybe the children live in those houses", I thought.'

46. *welu pülle-pu-el   chew ñi   pe-mu-fiel   engu,*
but   near-LOC[17]-OVN[4] where poss1s see-PLPF[7]-TVN[4] they[d],
pe-we-tu-la-fi-n.
see-PS[19]-RE[16]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'but when I went near [the place] where I had seen them[d], I did not see them again any more.'

47. *kiñe-ke   ñi   pu   wenüy we-che-ke   wentru-lu iñchiñ, ḍewmá*
one-DISTR poss3 COLL friend young-person-DISTR man-SVN[4] we[p],   almost
tornew   müle-ye-m   tripa-ke-fu-y-iñ
tournament be-CF[5]-IVN[4] go.out-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]
pelota-tu-al.
ball-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'with some of my friends we[p] used to go out, when we[p] were young men, to play with the ball whenever a tournament was on.'

48. *kiñe-ke   epé   wün puw-tu-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
    one-DISTR almost dawn arrive-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'some of us[p] used to get back when it was almost dawn.'

49. *kiñe-ke-mew   püntü-w-ke-fu-y-iñ;   trür*
    one-DISTR-INST separate-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]; together
    puw-tu-ke-la-fu-y-iñ;   kiñe wüné puw-tu-y,
    arrive-RE[16]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]; one first arrive-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3],
    ka-nge-lu   ina-nge-chi.
    other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] next-VERB[36]-<u>SVN</u>[4]-ADJ

    'sometimes we[p] separated; we[p] did not get back together; one got back first, another later.'

50. *kiñe rupa fey-pi-e-n-ew   kiñe ka-ruka-tu:*
    one time that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] one other-house-improd.:

    'one time a neighbour told me:'

51. *"trür   trem-y-u   ti   weḏa ünu-n[11]   iñchiu".*
    together grown-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2] the bad loath-PVN[4] we[d]

    ' "we[d] grew up together, the bastard and I".'

52. *fey fey-pi-e-n-ew: "pe-n   añchümalleñ", pi-y.*
    he that-say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]: see-IND1s[3] midget,   say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'then he told me: "I have seen a midget", he said.'

53. *"küñatu-e-n-ew",   pi-y.*
    take.by.the.hand-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1], say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "he took me by the hand", he said.'

54. *"rüf nelküm-la-e-n-ew[12],   amu-maynatu-e-n-ew".*
    true let.lose-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1], go-tangle.up-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

    ' "he really didn't let go of me, he made me stumble".'

55. *"ella pichi fante-y".*
    a.bit small this.much-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "he was a bit small like this".'

56. *"iñché wülel-ke-fwi-n,   welu turpu llüka-la-y".*
    I   hit-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3], but never get.afraid-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "I used to hit him, but he was never afraid".'

57. *"ngüma-y   pichi che   reké".*
    cry-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] small person like

    ' "he cried like a baby".'

58. LQ: *welu iñché newé   feyentu-ke-la-n   ñi   kiñe rupa nu*
        but I   not.very believe-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] poss1s one time NEG
    rumé ñi   pe-nu-fiel-mew   penú, welu küpá
    -ever poss1s see-NEG[10]-TVN[4]-INST maybe, but wishing

pe-ke-fwi-n.
see-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

LQ: 'but I do not believe [in him] very much because I did not see him even once, although I did want to see him.'

59. *eymi kam pe-lu, eymi feyentu-a-e-y-u.*
you[s] PART see-SVN[4], you[s] believe-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]

'since you[s] saw him, I will believe you[s].'

60. Rosa: *kiñe-chi amu-le-tu-y-iñ, kuyfí am müle-ke-la-fu-y*
one-ADJ go-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2], formerly PART be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-

weíkulo, namun-tu amu-le-tu-y-iñ.
IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] car, foot-ADV go-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

Rosa: 'once we[p] were walking home; as there were no cars in the old days, we[p] were walking home on foot.'

61. *tüfa-yengün kiñe fotella pulku ye-nie-tu-y.*
this-they[p] one bottle wine/liquor carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'this one here[13] [and his companions], they[p] had one bottle of wine on their way back.'

62. *re putu-yekü-me-tu-y-ng-ün, re*
only drink-ITR[18]-Th[20]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2], only

witra-künu-w-yekü-me-tu-y-ng-ün[14].
get.up/stand.still-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-ITR[18]-Th[20]-RE[16]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

'all the time they[p] drank and they[p] stood still on their way back.'

63. *ñochi treka-le-y kiñe.*
slow walk-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] one

'one walked slowly.'

64. *müná kümé antü-le-y ta ti ale[15].*
very good sun-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the moon

'the moon looked a lot like a sun.'

65. RR: *San-Xoan-küyen-mew.*
San-Joan-month-INST

RR: '[it was] in the month of Saint John.'

66. Rosa: *no, Tosanto-küyen-mew: kiñe korona amá ye-nie-tu-rke-la-y-u*
no, All.Saints.Day-month-INST: one crown PART carry-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-

nga!
REP[12]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2] PART

Rosa: 'no, in the month of All Saints' Day: [don't you remember] we[d] wore a crown on our way back?'

67. *fey anü-künu-w-pu-y kiñe ruka-mew.*
he sit.down-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] one house-INST

'he sat down in a house.'

68. *machi   ta   ti   ruka.*
    medicine.woman the the house

    'that house [belonged to] a machi.'

69. *tüfá ta   ti   wingkul.*
    this the the hill/mountain

    'there [was] the hill[16].'

70. *kiñe rüpü müle-y.*
    one road be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'there was a road.'

71. *fey-mew   ta   anü-künu-w-pu-y   tüfa-yengün.*
    that-INST the sit.down-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] this-they[P]

    'there, you know, they[P] sat down.'

72. *iñché fey   đoy alü-mapu anü-künu-w-pu-n.*
    I   that/then more much-land sit.down-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]

    'then I sat down a bit further away.'

73. *fey-mew   aku-y   ta   ti   machi.*
    that-INST arrive-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the medicine.woman

    'and then came this machi.'

74. *ngolli-le-y.*
    get.drunk-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'she was drunk.'

75. *"fey-mew, eymün am   ti   chaw?"*
     that-INST, you[P] PART the father/man

    ' "well, are you[P] men?"[17]'

76. *"no chaw   iñché, ta nie-n   ta kollü   wentru", pi-y,*
    not father/man I,   the have-IND1s[3] the brown   man,   say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3],
    "kollü wentru ta nie-n".
    brown man   the have-IND1s[3]

    ' "I [am] not a man, I have a brown man", she said, "this brown man I have".[18]'

77. *"kwida-lel-mu-chi,   kümé wentru-nge-pe-ye-m   ta che".*
    take.care-BEN[27]-2A[23]-IMP1s[3], good man-VERB[36]-PX[13]-CF[5]-IVN[4] the person

    ' "take care [of him] for me because the man is a good man".'

78. *"no chaw,   fey-pi-ki-l-nge;*
    no father/man, that-say-NEG[10]-COND[4]-IMP2s[3];
    yafka-w-a-fu-y-u!"
    make.angry-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    ' "no man, don't you[s] say that; we[d] may make ourselves angry!".[19]'

79. *en ese momento küpa-y   ta   ti   kiñe kollü.*
    at this moment   come-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the one brown

    'at that moment this brown one came.'

80. *küpa-y!,   küpa-y!.*
    come-IND[4]-[3][3], come-IND[4]-[3][3]

    'he came! he came!'

81. *leli-nie-fi-n   iñché, ka ta-ñi   lamngen   ka pe-rki-y*
    watch-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] I,   and the-poss3 brother/sister and see-
                   ka.
    REP[12]-IND[4]-[3][3] also

    'I watched him, and this brother of mine saw [him] too.'

82. *antü-le-chi   ale   kam.*
    sun-ST[28]-SVN[4]-ADJ moon PART

    'after all, [there was] a moon which looked like a sun.'

83. *welu fantre-y   ñi   külen ka!*
    but this.much-IND[4]-[3][3] poss3 tail PART

    'but his tail was this big!'

84. LQ: *külen-ngi-y?*
        tail-VERB[36]-IND[4]-[3][3]

    LQ: 'did he have a tail?'

85. Rosa: *may, külen-ngi-y.*
          yes, tail-VERB[36]-IND[4]-[3][3]

    Rosa: 'yes, he had a tail.'

86. RR: *narki-l-uw-ki-y-ng-ün,   trewa-l-uw-ki-y-ng-ün,*
        cat-CA[34]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2], dog-CA[34]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2],
    che-l-uw-ki-y-ng-ün.
    person-CA[34]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    RR: 'they[p] turn themselves into cats, dogs [or] men.[20]'

87. Rosa: *fey-mew küpa-y   nga kollü wentru.*
          that-INST come-IND[4]-[3][3] PART brown man

    Rosa: '[and] then came a brown man.'

88. RR: *fey utru-nentu-y   ñi   pulku.*
        she pour-take.out-IND[4]-[3][3] poss3 liquor/wine

    RR: 'she spilled her wine.[21]'

89. Rosa: *i   ese fantre-chi   füchá kuchillu miaw-ül-ki-y.*
          and this this.much-SVN[4]-ADJ big   knife   wander-CA[34]-CF[14]-IND[4]-[3][3]

    Rosa: 'and this one here walked about with a knife this big.'

90. *amu-le-tu-lu   kam pun iñchiñ, entu-fem-pa-y   ñi*
    go-ST[28]-RE[16]-SVN[4] PART night we[p],   take.out-IMM[21]-Hh[17]-IND[4]-[3][3] poss3
    füchá kuchillu.
    big   knife

    'as we[p] were going back into the night, he[22] immediately drew his big knife.'

91. *"no   chaw,   fe-m-üñma-ki-e-l-i*
   no   father/man,   become.like.that-CA^{34}-IO^{26}-NEG^{10}-IDO^{6}-COND^{4}-1^{3}-s^{2}-DS^{1}
   ñi   kollü   wentru ñi   kümé wentru-nge-pe-ye-m   che,   ñi
   poss1s brown man   poss3 good man-VERB^{36}-PX^{13}-CF^{5}-IVN^{4} person, poss3
   repeta-nge-pe-ye-m   che",   pi-y.
   respect-PASS^{23}-PX^{13}-CF^{5}-IVN^{4} person, say-IND^{4}-3^{3}

   ' "no man, don't you[s] do that against my brown man, for he is a good [and] respected man", she[23] said.'

92. Rosa: *i   le   manda   la   kuchilla.*[24]
       and him he.sends the big.knife

   Rosa: 'and he threw the big knife [at him].'

93. *rangi-rangi furi   wülel-fi-y.*
   mid-mid   back hit-EDO^{6}-IND^{4}-3^{3}

   'he hit him right in the middle of his back.'

94. RR: *pichi wüne-ntuku-künu-lel-fi-n.*
     little first-put.at-PFPS^{32}-BEN^{27}-EDO^{6}-IND1s^{3}

   RR: 'I left it stuck [in the ground] a bit before him.'

95. LQ: *wirar-üy   kay?*
     scream-IND^{4}-3^{3} PART

   LQ: 'did he scream?'

96. Rosa: *no, püna-kon-lu   mapu-mew fe-m-üy.*
       no, stick/glue-enter-SVN^{4} land-INST   become.like.that-CA^{34}-IND^{4}-3^{3}

   Rosa: 'no, he pretended to press himself against the ground.'

97. *después   pe-we-tu-la-fi-y-iñ.*
   afterwards see-PS^{19}-RE^{16}-NEG^{10}-EDO^{6}-IND^{4}-1ns^{3}-p^{2}

   'after that we[p] did not see him any more.'

Notes

1. LQ addresses the author, telling what he had asked RR; *-fi-* in *ramtufin* refers to RR.
2. *renü* is a cave in which witches meet or a ". . . cueva subterránea en que se forman los hechiceros" (Augusta 1916: 208).
3. Note that this quote is not introduced by or concluded with a verb. Line (9) denotes the order given by the *machi* to the midget.
4. *ta ti* is probably coreferential with the subject marker and refers to the midgets.
5. A *ngillatun* is a religious ceremony led by a *machi* which serves to make contact with the supernatural, cf. *ngilla-tu-* 'to ask something from someone'. Today, a *ngillatun* is the most important way to express and celebrate a common Mapuche identity. The festivities may take several days and in-

　　volve a lot of drinking and dancing.
6. *pali-n* is a century-old Mapuche game, comparable to hockey.
7. RR, being in the Netherlands, refers to Chile as *üyüw* 'over there'.
8. *ina-ni-a-lu-mu* is short for *ina-nie-a-e-lu-mu*.
9. *akorda-* is derived from Sp. acordarse 'to remember'.
10. lit.: how my suddenly going to see him now I shall suddenly go and see him, I used to say.
11. *ünu-* 'to loath'; *ünu-n* 'an awful person'. *weđá ünu-n* is a word with a strongly pejorative connation.
12. *nelküm-* = *nel-üm-* become.loose-CA[34]-.
13. Rosa points at her husband RR.
14. The suffix *-me-* TH[20]always follows *-yekü-* ITR[18].
15. i.e. the moon was full and produced a lot of light.
16. i.e. the hill referred to in line 42.
17. I don't know why the *machi* asked this question. Line 75 was translated by LQ as 'sois hombres?'.
18. The midget can present itself as a bird, which is called a 'brown man'.
19. The meaning of line 78 is unclear to me.
20. i.e. midgets can present themselves as cats, dogs or men.
21. The subject is Rosa.
22. i.e. RR drew his knife.
23. The subject is the *machi*.
24. Note that the sentence is entirely Spanish.

Text 9. Conversation about youth

In the following text Luis Quinchavil and Rafael Railaf discuss their lives when they were young.

1. LQ: *iñchiu newé   müté kuyfí   kim-uw-la-y-u,   Rafael.*
    we[d]   not.very very formerly learn-REF[31]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2], Rafael.

    LQ: 'not so very long ago we[d] got to know each other, Rafael.'

2. *kiñe rupa, epu rupa chi   pe-w-y-u   Temuko nga.*
    one time, two time PART see-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2] Temuco PART

    'one time, maybe two times we[d] saw each other in Temuco, didn't we?'

3. *akorda-nie-ka-pe-la-y-m-i?*
    remember-PRPS[32]-CONT[16]-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    'you[s] probably still remember, don't you?'

4. RR: *akorda-nie-n.*
        remember-PRPS[32]-IND1s[3]

    RR: 'I remember.'

5. LQ: *welu đew   fücha-ke wentru-y-u,   wülá kim-uw-y-u,*
        but   already big-DISTR man-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2], then know-REF[31]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2],
    no?
    no

    LQ: 'but we[d] got to know each other when we[d] were already grown men, didn't we?'

6. RR: *fe-m-y-u.*
        become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    RR: 'we[d] did.'

7. LQ: *fey, petú ñi   fücha-ke wentru-nu-n   che, fill   đungu-mew*
        that, still poss3 old-DISTR man-NEG[10]-PVN[4] man, all.sorts matter-INST
    ru-pa-ki-y.
    pass-Hh[17]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    LQ: 'well, before people become grown men, they go through all kinds of things.'

8. *fey   küpá kim-fu-n   eymi mi   chumngechi mi*
    that/then wishing know-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] you[s] poss2s how   poss2s
    trem-ün,   chew mi   trem-ün.
    grown-PVN[4], where poss2s grown-PVN[4]

    'now I would like to know how you[s] grew up [and] where you[s] grew up.'

9. *kiñe rupa kisá[1]   tripa-y-m-i   kintu-küđaw-al.*
    one time maybe go.out-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2] look.for-work-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'maybe you[s] once went away to look for work.'

10. *ülmen syempre[2] küđaw-el-nge-me-ki-y.*
    rich   always   work-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-Th[20]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'one always went to work for rich [people].'

11. *eymi femngechi küđaw-pe-la-y-m-i   ka   pichi-ka-lu?*
you[s] thus   work-PX^{13}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-2^3-s^2 also small-CONT^{16}-SVN^4

'you[s] probably also did that kind of work when you were still young?'

12. RR: *fe-m-lle-n   may.*
become.like.that-CA^{34}-AFF^{11}-IND1s^3 PART

RR: 'I certainly did, yes.'

13. *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu*
what-INST PART become.like.that-CA^{34}-AFF^{11}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-SVN^4
iñché?!
I

'why shouldn't I have?![3]'

14. *ta-yiñ   pu   che[4]   ta nie-ke-fu-y   ta kulliñ, ka*
the-poss1p COLL person the have-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the cattle, and
nie-ke-fu-y ...,   ta pichi-ke   nie-y   ta mapu yengün.
have-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$, the small-DISTR have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the land they[p]

'our[p] family had cattle, they also had ... they[p] each had a little land, you know.'

15. *tüfá petú müli-y   ta ti   mapu.*
this still be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the the land

'that land is still there now.'

16. *welu chumkanu rumé ta   ngilla-l-ke-la-fe-n-ew   ta*
but no.way   -ever the buy-BEN^{27}-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IDO^6-IND1s^3-DS^1 the
sapatu ta-ñi   ñuke-yem, ta-ñi   chaw-yem.
shoe   the-poss1s mother-EX, the-poss1s father-EX

'but on not one occasion did my late mother and father buy shoes for me.'

17. *chumngechi ta-ñi   trem-ün   syempre ta pofre-le-ke-fu-n.*
while   the-poss1s grown-PVN^4 always   the poor-ST^{28}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3

'when I grew up, I was always poor.'

18. *afkentu[5]   küđaw-ka-künu-ke-fu-n   ruka-mew.*
for.a.long.time work-FAC^{33}-PFPS^{32}-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 house-INST

'for a long time I used to do all kinds of work in the house.'

19. *rupa küđaw-ün,   tuku-ka-künu-n   ka kosecha-künu-n,*
over work-IND1s^3, put.at-FAC^{33}-PFPS^{32}-IND1s^3 and harvest-PFPS^{32}-IND1s^3,
tripa-ke-fu-n   ñi   küđaw-tu-al.
go.out-CF^{14}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 poss1s work-RE^{16}-NRLD^9.OVN^4

'after I had finished working, after I had done all kinds of planting and after I had harvested, I used to go out to work again.'

20. *fey-chi   plata ta-ñi   gana-ke-fel   ta ti   pu ülmen-mew,*
that-ADJ money the-poss1s earn-CF^{14}-IPD^8.OVN^4 the the COLL rich-INST,

gana-ke-fu-n   ta-ñi   libru, gana-ke-fu-n   weshakelu[6].
earn-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s book, earn-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] things

'[with] that money which I used to earn with those rich [people], I used to earn my books [and] things.'

21. *femngechi ta   chillka-tu-ke-fu-n   ta   ta-ñi*
    thus   the inscription-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the the-poss1s
    mapu-mew.
    land-INST

    'that's how I used to study in my country.'

22. *ta   depwé nee-n[7]   mari reqle tripantu, amu-tripa-r-pu-n.*
    the later have-IND1s[3], ten seven year,   go-leave-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]

    'then later, [when] I was seventeen years old, I followed my own path.'

23. *porke   auri-w-ün[8]   ta-ñi   mapu-mew, porke*
    because be.bored-REF[31]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s land-INST, because
    gana-ke-la-fu-n   reké   ta   plata.
    earn-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] as.it.were the money

    'because I was bored in my country, because I did not earn money as it were.'

24. *nie-ke-la-fu-n   ta   chumngechi ta-ñi   amu-l-ni-al*
    have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the how   the-poss1s go-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-
               ta-ñi   chillka-tu-al.
    NRLD[9].OVN[4] the-poss1s inscription-VERB[36]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'I did not have any [means] to continue my studies.'

25. *amu-tripa-r-pu-n   Arxentina.*
    go-leave-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3] Argentina

    'I left for Argentina.'

26. *külá tripantu-me-n   Arxentina.*
    three year-TH[20]-IND1s[3] Argentina

    'I spent three years in Argentina.'

27. *kiñe lamngen   iñchiu amu-y-u.*
    one sister/brother we[d]   go-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]

    'I went with one sister[9].'

28. *tüfá ñi   lamngen   fey   müle-pu-y   San*
    this poss1s sister/brother that/then be-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3[3] San
    Karlobarilochi.
    Carlos.de.Bariloche

    'this sister then settled down in San Carlos de Bariloche.'

29. LQ: *petú müle-pu-ka-y?*
         still be-LOC[17]-CONT[16]-IND[4]-3[3]

    LQ: 'does she still live there?'

30. RR: *petú müle-pu-y.*
         still be-LOC[17]-IND[4]-3[3]

RR: 'she does.'

31. *füta-ngi-y,*   *kiñe pichi wentru nie-y*   *ka   kiñe pichi*
    husband-VERB[36]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$, one small man   have-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ and one small
    đomo.
    woman

    'she is married [and] she has one boy and one girl.'

32. *külá tripantu-me-n   Arxentina.*
    three year-TH[20]-IND1s[3] Argentina

    'I spent three years in Argentina.'

33. *itro-kom rekore-n[10]   ta   Arxentina; anduve[11] Kórdowa, Baía   Blanka,*
    quite-all go.over-IND1s[3] the Argentina; I.went   Córdova, Bahia Blanca,
    Mendosa, Bwenos Ayres, de la Plata, la Rioxa, Tukumán.
    Mendosa, Buenos Aires, de la Plata, la Rioja, Tucumán

    'I went all over Argentina, you know; I have been in Córdoba, Bahia Blanca,
    Mendosa, Buenos Aires, de la Plata, la Rioja [and] Tucumán.'

34. *i[12] kiñe fütá firma-mew kon-ün.*
    and one big firm-INST enter/start-IND1s[3]

    'and I started in a big firm.'

35. *la firma se llama   "firma Landesa" pi-nge-y   ta ti firma[13].*
    the firm REF it.is.called firm Landesa say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the firm

    'the firm is called "firma Landesa", that firm is called.'

36. LQ: *Landesa?*
        Landesa

    LQ: 'Landesa?'

37. RR: *Landesa.*
        Landesa

    RR: 'Landesa'

38. LQ: *chum-ke-fu-y-m-i?*
        do.what/how-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2^3-s[2]

    LQ: 'what did you[s] do?'

39. RR: *đewma-ke-fu-n   ta   tore, đewma-ke-fu-n   ta*
        make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the tower, make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the

    RR: 'I used to make these towers, I used to make these . . . '

40. *nie-ke-fu-n   kwadriya[14]; külá mari wentru nie-ke-fu-n.*
    have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] team;   three ten man   have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

    'I used to have a team; I used to have thirty men.'

41. *đewma-ke-fu-y-iñ   tore ka đewma-ke-fu-y-iñ   tendido*
    make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] tower and make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] laying
    de kawle[15].
    of cable

'we[p] used to make towers and lay down cables.'

42. *"la   linea alta tensión", pi-la-y   anta ti   pu   wingka?*
    the cable high tension,   say-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] PART the COLL stranger

' "la linea alta tensión", the strangers call it, don't they?'

43. LQ: *hmmmm, may*
        hmmmm, yes

    LQ: 'hmmmm, yes.'

44. RR: *fey-chi   küđaw-mew ta   küđaw-ün.*
        that-ADJ work-INST   the work-IND1s[3]

    RR: 'that kind of work I did, you know.'

45. *kayu küyen obreru-le-n[16].*
    six   month labourer-ST[28]-IND1s[3]

    'I was a labourer for six months.'

46. *depwé fiy   kayu küyen-mu   iñché kümé wenüy-ka-w-y-iñ   ta*
    later that six   month-INST I   good friend-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] the

    ti   pu   wingka iñchiñ, pu   Italiano iñchiñ.
    the COLL stranger we[p],   COLL Italian we[p]

    'after those six months I became good friends with those strangers, with Italians.'

47. *fiy   elu-nge-n   lugar[17].*
    that/then give-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] place/post

    'then I was given a post.'

48. *"kapata-nge-y-m-i[18]",   pi-e-n-ew   engün.*
    foreman-VERB[36]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] they[p]

    ' "you[s] are the foreman", they[p] told me.'

49. *"wüne-l-küle-y-m-i",   pi-e-n-ew.*
    first-CA[34]-ST[28]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

    ' "you[s] are the foreman", they told me.'

50. *fiy   iñché fiy   we   trem-küle-n,   porke   apena[19]*
    that/then I   that/then new/recent grown-ST[28]-PVN[4], because scarcely

    mari pura tripantu nee-n,   yewe-ke-fu-n   ta-ñi
    ten   eight year   have-IND1s[3], be.ashamed-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] the-poss1s

    werkü-a-fiel   ta ti füta-ke   wingka.
    order-NRLD[9]-TVN[4] the the old-DISTR stranger

    'then, just being grown-up, because I was scarcely 18 years old, I was ashamed to order about these old strangers.'

51. LQ: *si.*
        yes

    LQ: 'yes.'

52. RR: *füta-ke   kordofese*[20] *pütrü-ki-y;   küla-ke   mari tripantu nie-y*
    old-DISTR Cordovan big-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]; three-DISTR ten   year   have-
           engün, epu-ke   mari kechu tripantu nie-y   engün.
    IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p], two-DISTR ten   five   year   have-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p]

    RR: 'the old Cordovans were older; they[p] were 30 [or] 25 years old.'

53. *fiy   yewe-ke-fwi-n.*
    that be.ashamed-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

    'therefore I was ashamed before them.'

54. *fiy   depwé fiy   gana-ke-fu-n   fütá kaman   plata.*
    that/then later   that earn-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] big quantity money

    'then, after that, I used to earn large sums of money.'

55. *syempre ka   newé   entusiasma-w-ke-la-fu-n*
    always   PART not.very become.enthusiastic-REF[31]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]
    ta-ñi   plata-mew   ta-ñi   ni-al[21].
    the-poss1s money-INST the-poss1s have/get-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

    'I have never been very enthusiastic about getting that money of mine.'

56. *fiy   depwé fiy   đewma-ke-fu-y-iñ   linea kiñe wariya-mu*
    that/then later   that make-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] cable one town-INST
    ka   wariya-mu.
    other town-INST

    'then, after that, we[p] laid a cable from one town to another.'

57. *ka   wariya-mu amu-l-ke-fu-y-iñ.*
    other town-INST go-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'we[p] extended [it] to other towns.'

58. *depwé fiy   manda-nge-n*[22]   *Komodoro Ribadawia.*
    later   that order/send-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] Comodoro Ribadavia

    'after that I was sent to Comodoro Ribadavia.'

59. *Komodoro Ribadawia depwé fiy   đewma-y-iñ   una linea.*
    Comodoro Ribadavia later   that make-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] a   cable

    'then we[p] made a cable in Comodoro Ribadavia.'

60. *"piku t.runkaw" pi-nge-y   ta ti   mapu.*
    peak truncated say-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the land

    ' "pico truncado" that land is called.'

61. LQ: *chumngechi mapu am   ti? ta üy* ...
        how   land PART the the name

    LQ: 'how [is] that land? [is that] the name ...?'

62. RR: *ta ti   üy   ta ti   mapu; "piku t.runkaw" pi-y   engün.*
        the the name the the land;   peak truncated say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] they[p]

    RR: 'that [is] the name of the land; "pico truncado", they[p] say.'

63. *entonse fiy ata*[23] *Komodoro đewma-y-iñ kiñe fütá linea alta*
    well that as.far.as Comodoro make-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] one big cable high
    tension.
    tension

    'well, we[p] laid a big high-tension cable as far as Comodoro.'

64. *depwé ru-pa-y ta . . . , aku-y ta ti teremoto*[24].
    later pass-HH[17]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the , arrive-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the earthquake

    'after that happened the . . . , the earthquake came.'

65. *ka radio-mew allkü-tu-y-iñ.*
    and radio-INST hear-TR[33]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'and we[p] heard [it] on the radio.'

66. *fiy fiy-chi tripantu fiy küpa-tu-n iñché Chile.*
    that/then that-ADJ year that/then come-RE[16]-IND1s[3] I Chile

    'then, in that year, I came back to Chile.'

67. *femngechi ta amu-tripa-ki-y ta pofre-nge-ye-m ta che*
    thus the go-leave-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the poor-VERB[36]-CF[5]-IVN[4] the person
    ta-ñi đoy kümé iy-a-m.
    the-poss3 more good eat-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

    'that's why people go away, when they are poor, to eat better.'

68. *porke Chile nunka*[25] *küme-ke küđaw müle-ke-la-y; syempre ta*
    because Chile never good-DISTR work be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] always the
    weđa-ke küđaw müle-ki-y.
    bad-DISTR work be-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'because in Chile there is never nice work; there is always awful work, you know.'

69. LQ: *weđa-ke küđaw ka rumé pichi-ke kulli-nge-y che.*
    bad-DISTR work also very little-DISTR pay-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] person

    LQ: '[and] for that awful work people are paid very little too!'

70. RR: *püti-ke llemay, ka fali-la-y*[26] *ta ti plata ka!*
    little-DISTR PART, also be.worth-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the the money PART

    RR: 'little for sure! and that money wasn't worth anything either!'

71. LQ: *kiñe-ke-mew plata rumé elu-nge-ke-la-y che.*
    one-DISTR-INST money -ever give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] person

    LQ: 'sometimes people did not even get money!'

72. *elu-nge-ki-y ketran, elu-nge-ki-y yerfa*
    give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] wheat, give-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] herb

    'they were given wheat, herbs . . . [27]'

73. RR: *ka fe-m llemay!*[28]
    also become.like.that-CA[34] PART

    RR: 'Oh yes, sure!'

74. LQ: ... *asúkar, rüngo*
          sugar,   meal

   LQ: '... sugar, meal ...'

75. RR: *may, "pulperia"   pi-y   ta ti   pu   wingka.*
        yes,   grocer's.shop say-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the the COLL stranger

   RR: 'Oh yes, "puperia", the strangers said.'

76. LQ: *kuyfí   rumé müle-ke-fu-y   fey-chi   đungu, no?*
        formerly very be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ that-ADJ matter, no

   LQ: 'in earlier days these things happened a lot, didn't they?'

77. *nie-ke-fu-y   fill-em   engün ñi   fundu-mew ñi*
   have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ all.sorts-improd. they[P] poss3 farm-INST   poss3
   tripa-no-a-m   ñi   pu   küđaw-pe-lu   amu-al
   go.out-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] poss3 COLL work-PX[13]-SVN[4] go-NRLD[9].OVN[4]
   wariya-mew.
   town-INST

   'they[P] used to have all kinds of things on their farms so that their labourers
   did not have to go out to go to town.'

78. RR: *fiy   llemay; pulku kütó ta nie-l-nge-y   ka!*
        that PART;   liquor even the have-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ PART

   RR: 'sure, they even had liquor for them too!'

79. LQ: *byen[29], ka   femngechi đoy   fali-n-mew   elu-nie-nge-y*
        right, and thus   more be.worth-PVN[4]-INST give-PRPS[32]-PASS[23]-
             ti   pu   küđaw-pe-lu.
   -IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the COLL work-PX[13]-SVN[4]

   LQ: 'right, and that was given to the labourers for a rather high price.'

80. RR: *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu?!*
        what-INST PART become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

   RR: 'why wouldn't [they] have done that?!'

81. *kishu yengün küpá   perder-nu-lu   yengün, gana-ntuku-le-a-lu[30]!*
   self   they[P] wishing lose-NEG[10]-SVN[4] they[P], earn-put.at-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

   'after all, they[P] did not want to lose; they wanted to earn [even more]!'

82. *pichi đoy   barato ngilla-y   ta-ñi   ye-w-ün   engün.*
   little more cheap buy-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 carry-REF[31]-PVN[4] they[P]

   'they[P] bought their stuff rather cheap.'

83. *depwé đoy   fali-n-mew   wül-tu-y   engün.*
   later   more be.worth-PVN[4]-INST give-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ they[P]

   '[and] later they[P] sold [it] again for a higher price.'

84. *itro-kom pülé ta nentu-ñma-ngi-y   ta-ñi   küđaw ta ti   pu*
   quite-all side the take.out-IO[26]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 work   the the COLL

küđaw-fe   engün, itro-kom pülé.
work-NOM they[p], quite-all side

'everywhere the labourers are put off as far as their work is concerned, every-where.'

85. *wesakelu; kofke-mew, rüngo-mew, asukar-mew, yerfa-mew, chađi-mew,*
    things;   bread-INST, meal-INST, sugar-INST, herb-INST, salt-INST,

    yiwiñ-mew, ilo-mu,   pulku-mew.
    fat-INST,   meat-INST, liquor-INST

    'with things; with bread, with meal, with sugar, with herbs, with salt, with fat, with meat [or] with liquor.'

86. *chem-lle-a-l-e   rumé, reklama-l-e   ka,   "ka   chew   am*
    what-AFF[11]-NRLD[9]-COND[4]-3[3] -ever, claim-COND[4]-3[3] PART, also where PART

    pe-a-y-m-i,   ka amu-l-m-i   wariya-mew, đoy fali-a-y
    see-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2], also go-COND[4]-2[3]-s[3] town-INST,   more be.worth-

                        ta-mi   ye-w-ün   ta-mi   ye-me-al",
    NRLD[9]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss2s   carry-REF[31]-PVN[4]   the-poss2s   carry-Th[20]-

                pi-künu-nge-y.
    NRLD[9]-OVN[4], say-PFPS[32]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

    'whatever they would do, even if they would protest, "you[s] will see [it] else-where too, also when you[s] go to town; things you[s] are going to get there are more expensive", they were told.'

87. *konforma-y[31]   füta-ke   mapuche, kam mapuche newé   kim*
    comply-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ old-DISTR Mapuche, PART Mapuche not.very knowing

    chillka-tu-nu-lu.
    inscription-VERB[26]-NEG[10]-SVN[4]

    'the ancient Mapuche complied, for, after all, the Mapuche could not read and write very well.'

Notes

1. *kisá* is Sp. quizás 'maybe'.
2. *syempre* is Sp. siempre 'always'.
3. i.e. 'of course I did!'.
4. *pu che* (COLL-person) is used to refer to a closely related group of people, e.g. a family or the residents of a reservation.
5. *afkentu* is probably derived from *af-* 'to end' (intr.).
6. *weshakelu* may be analyzed as *wesha-ke-lu* bad-DISTR-SVN[4]. It denotes a miscellaneous collection of goods.
7. Along with *nie-* 'to have', RR uses *nee-*.
8. *auri-w-* is derived from Sp. aburrirse 'to be bored'. Note that *porke*, which is Sp. porque 'because', introduces a predicate.

9. Since the speaker is a man, *lamngen* denotes 'sister'.
10. *rekore-* is Sp. recorrer 'to go over'.
11. anduve 'he went' is a Spanish word and has Sp. flection. It is derived from Sp. andar 'to walk, to go'.
12. *i* is Sp. y 'and'. *firma* is Sp. firma 'firm'.
13. This first half of this sentence Spanish; *se llama* is a form of Sp. llamarse 'to be called'.
14. *kwadriya* is Sp. quadrilla 'team'.
15. *tendido de kawle* is Sp. tendido de cable 'laying of cable'.
16. *obreru* is Sp. obrero 'labourer'.
17. *lugar* is Sp. lugar 'place, post, office'.
18. *kapata-* is derived from Sp. capataz 'foreman'.
19. *apena* is Sp. apenas 'hardly, scarcely'.
20. *kordofese* are residents of the city of Córdoba.
21. *ni-al* is short for *nie-al* have-NRLD[9].OVN[4].
22. *manda-* is derived form Sp. mandar 'to order, to send'.
23. *ata* is Sp. hasta 'up to, as, as far as.'
24. *teremoto* is Sp. terremoto 'earthquake'.
25. *nunka* is Sp. nunca 'never'. Note that *nunka* (like Mapuche *turpu* 'never') combines with a negative verb, .
26. *fali-* is derived from Sp. valer 'to be worth'.
27. *yerfa* is Sp. hierba 'grass, herbs'. LQ is interrupted by RR (line 73), then continues (line 74) and is interrupted again (line 75).
28. *fe-m llemay* lacks flection markers. It is a petrified construction meaning 'sure, certainly'.
29. *byen* is Sp. bien 'well'.
30. After a vowel *tuku-* 'to put at' is replaced by *ntuku-* when is occurs as the second member of a compound.
31. *konforma-* 'to comply' is Sp. conformar.

Text 10. Conversation about work on big farms

In the following text Luis Quinchavil and Rafael Railaf discuss the circumstances in which they used to work when they were young.

1. LQ: *ka   rumé küđaw-ül-nge-y   che   kuyfí,   nu[1]?*
      and very   work-CA[34]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underset{\sim}{3}$[3] person formerly, no

   LQ: 'and in earlier days people were very much forced to work, weren't they?'

2. *ella   chipa-y[2]   antü, kon-üy   antü wülá fente-küđaw-üy-ng-ün[3].*
   a.bit   go.out-IND[4]-$\underset{\sim}{3}$[3] sun, enter-IND[4]-$\underset{\sim}{3}$[3] sun then that.much-work-IND[4]-

   3ns[3]-p[2]

   '[they worked] from early sunrise, [and only when] the sun went down, they[p] stopped working.'

3. RR: *meli mari antü küđaw-ün.*
      four ten   day work-IND1s[3]

   RR: 'I worked for forty days.'

4. *pichi ka-mapu-le-y   ti   fundu.*
   little other-land-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underset{\sim}{3}$[3] the farm

   'the farm was a bit far away.'

5. *a la nwewe[4] kon-ke-fu-n,   tripa-ke-fu-n   rangi pun.*
   at.nine   enter/start-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3], leave-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] mid night

   'I started at nine o'clock, I left at midnight.'

6. LQ: *rangi pun?*
      mid   night

   LQ: 'at midnight?'

7. RR: *rangi pun.*
      mid   night

   RR: '[yes] at midnight.'

8. *mari pesu-mew antü.*
   ten   peso-INST day

   'for ten pesos a day.'

9. *fütá kaman   plata   pi-n   iñché welu qa.*
   big quantity money say/think-IND1s[3] I   but   PART

   'and I thought that that was a lot of money![5]'

10. LQ: *chumngechi kulli-nge-ke-fu-y-m-i?*
       how   pay-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    LQ: 'how were you[s] paid?'

11. *antü kulli-nge-ke-fu-y-m-i?*
    day pay-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-2[3]-s[2]

    'were you[s] paid by the day?'

12. RR: *mari pesu kulli-nge-ke-fu-n   antü.*
       ten   peso pay-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] day

RR: 'I was paid ten pesos a day.'

13. *ka   fürolla-ka-künu-nge-n*[6]   *ka.*
    also fool-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-PASS[23]-IND1s[3] PART

'and I was fooled in various ways too!'

14. *"rekülama-l-m-i,   püreso-a-y-u",*   *pi-e-n-ew*
    claim-COND[4]-2[3]-s[2], prisoner-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1], say-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

ñi   pat.ron[7].
poss1s boss

' "if you[s] protest, I will put you[s] in prison", my boss told me.'

15. *así konformabamo*[8].
    so we.complied

'[and] so we complied.'

16. *femngechi ta fente   ka enggaña-nge-ki-y*[9]   *ta-yiñ   pu*
    thus   the that.much also deceive-PASS[23]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss1p COLL

familia, ta-yiñ   pu   küđaw-fe-nge-n.
family, the-poss1p COLL work-NOM-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

'that way, you know, they also deceived our[p] families [and] us[p] labourers.'

17. LQ: *fill-em-mew   chem-mew rumé wew-ke-la-y-iñ.*
       all.sorts-improd.-INST what-INST -ever win-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

LQ: 'in every respect we[p] never win, in no way.'

18. RR: *chumkanu rumé wew-ke-la-y-iñ,*   *pwe*[10].
       no.way   -ever win-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2], PART

RR: '[oh no!] in no way do we[p] ever win!'

19. LQ: *iñché kim-nie-ke-n   kuyfí   ..., welu ella   pichi-ka-el,*
       I   know-PRPS[32]-CF[14]-IND1s[3] formerly ,   but a.bit little-CONT[16]-

       kiñe rupa rumé küđaw-me-la-n   femngechi fücha-ke
OVN[4], one time -ever work-Th[20]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] such   big-DISTR

fundu-mu[11].
farm-INST

LQ: 'I know that in earlier days . . . , but when I was still a bit young, I have never gone to work on such big farms.'

20. *welu kim-nie-ke-n   ñi   peñi   küđaw-ke-fu-y   iñché*
    but know-PRPS[32]-CF[14]-IND1s[3] poss1s brother work-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] I
    petú pichi-ka-el.
    still little-CONT[16]-OVN[4]

'but I know [that] my brothers used to work [there] when I was still young.'

21. *pichi-ke   kim-nie-ke-n,   kuyfí   kam nge-nu-lu*
    little-DISTR know-PRPS[32]-CF[14]-IND1s[3], formerly PART be-NEG[10]-SVN[4]

t.raktor, pütrü-ke-n   mansun-mew küđaw-ke-fu-y   che.
tractor, big/much-DISTR-PVN[4] ox-INST   work-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] person

'I know a little [that], since in earlier days tractors did not exist, people used to work with a number of oxen.'

22. RR: *fe-m-ke-fu-y.*
become.like.that-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

RR: 'they did [yes].'

23. LQ: *femngechi ka-mapu   pe-ke-fu-n,   no?*
so   other-land see-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3], no

LQ: 'I used to see [that] from a distance, you know?'

24. *pülle iñchiñ inafül müle-y   kiñe füchá fundu.*
near we[p]   close be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ one big   farm

'close to us[p] there was a big farm.'

25. *fey-mu   wirar-kiaw-ke-fu-y   ti   pu*
that-INST shout-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the COLL

'there they used to go about shouting, the ... '

26. RR: ... *pu   küđaw-fe.*
COLL work-NOM

RR: '... the labourers.'

27. LQ: ... *pu   küđaw-fe, welu fentren   trari-ñ   mansun, külá mari,*
COLL work-NOM, but large.quantity tie-PVN[4] ox,   three ten,
epu mari
two ten

LQ: '[yes] the labourers, but [there were] many teams of oxen, thirty [or] twenty ...'

28. RR: *meli mari!*
four ten

RR: 'forty!'

29. LQ: *hmmmm, külleq-mu mungel.*
hmmmm, hill-INST   especially

LQ: 'hmmm, especially on the slopes.'

30. RR: *minggako*[12]   *reké troki-ke-fu-y   ta-ñi   küđaw-pe-l*
collective.labour like opine-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss3 work-PX[13]-OVN[4]
engün.
they[p]

RR: 'they[p] viewed the work they did as collective labour.'

31. LQ: *hmmmm, welu depwé đewmá*[13] *puw-lu   t.raktor, ya*[14]   *newé*
hmmmm, but   later   finished arrive-SVN[4] tractor, already not.very
llow-we-la-y   che   engün ka,   no?
receive-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ person they[p] PART, no

LQ: 'hmmmm, but later when the tractors had come, then they[p] did not hire so many people any more, did they?'

32. RR: *küđaw ta   nge-we-la-y.*
     work   the be-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

RR: 'indeed, there was no work any more.'

33. LQ: *pichi-ke   nie-we-y   küđaw-pe-lu   re   külleq*
     little-DISTR have-PS[19]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] work-PX[13]-SVN[4] only slope

küđaw-a-lu.
work-NRLD[9]-SVN[4]

LQ: 'they kept a few labourers only to work on the slopes.'

34. RR: *re   külleq-mew qa.*
     only slope-INST PART

RR: 'only on the slopes [yes].'

35. *tuku-we-la-y-ng-ün   rumé ta-ñi   külleq-mew ka.*
put.at-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] -ever the-poss3 slope-INST PART

'they[p] did not plant anything at all on their slopes.'

36. *re   tuku-y   ta   chem . . . anü-m-ka-y[15]   pinu yengün.*
only put.at-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the what   sit.down-CA[34]-FAC[33]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] reed they[p]

'they just put some . . . they[p] planted reed.'

37. LQ: *depwé fe-m-üy-ng-ün   llemay.*
     later   become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] PART

LQ: 'sure, later they[p] did that.'

38. *ella-mew küđaw-ka-ke-fu-y   külleq engün.*
a.bit-INST work-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] slope they[p]

'[but] in the beginning they[p] used to cultivate the slopes.'

39. RR: *küđaw-ka-ke-fu-y.*
     work-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

RR: 'right.'

40. LQ: *welu đewmá rüf nie-we-nu-al   küđaw, küđaw-pe-lu*
     but   almost true have-PS[19]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] work,   work-PX[13]-SVN[4]

parese ke[16] mungel   küđaw-we-la-y   ñi   külleq engün.
it.seems that especially work-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss3 slope they[p]

LQ: 'but when one practically had no work left, it seems that labourers did not cultivate their[p] slopes any more at all.'

41. *itro-re   anü-m-ka-y-ng-ün.*
quite-only sit.down-CA[34]-FAC[33]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

'they[p] just planted [it].'

42. RR: *anü-m-ka-y-ng-ün.*
     sit.down-CA[34]-FAC[33]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

RR: 'right.'

43. LQ: *welu kiñe-ke   fücha-ke fundo müli-y,   huh?.*
     but   one-DISTR big-DISTR farm   be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], huh

LQ: 'but there were some big farms, weren't there?!'

44. RR: *ta-tüfá   tüfá petú may.*
        the-this this still PART

   RR: 'there still [are] today.'

45. LQ: *may, petú müli-y.*
        yes, still be-IND[4]-[3][3]

   LQ: 'yes, there still are.'

46. *kuyfí   ñi   müle-n . . . , welu nie-ke-fu-y-ng-ün   ñi   inkilinu*[17]
    formerly poss3 be-PVN[4] ,   but have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] poss3 tenant
    engün, no?
    they[p], no

   'a long time ago there were . . . , but they[p] used to have their own tenants,
   didn't they?'

47. RR: *nie-ke-lle-fu-y   may inkilinu engün, pero chumkanu rumé*
        have-CF[14]-AFF[11]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-[3][3] PART tenant they[p], but no.way   -ever
    mari inkilinu nie-ke-la-fu-y   engün ka.
    ten   tenant have-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-[3][3] they[p] PART

   RR: 'they[p] certainly had tenants, but they[p] surely did not have ten of them!'

48. *külá   inkilinu, epu inkilinu, kiñe inkilinu, ta ti   inkilinu moso-le-ke-fu-y;*
    three tenant,   two tenant,   one tenant,   the the tenant   servant-ST[28]-CF[14]-
                kwida-kulliñ-ke-fu-y   ka küđaw-ke-lle-fu-y-ng-ün
    IPD[8]-IND[4]-[3][3]; take.care-cattle-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-[3][3] and work-CF[14]-AFF[11]-IPD[8]-
                ka.
    IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2] PART

   '[they had] three tenants [or] two [or] one, these tenants used to be servants;
   they used to look after cattle and they certainly did all kinds of work.'

49. *ka   pichi-ke   ka ta ti   orixeru*[18]*, pi-la-y   engün anchi?*
    and little-DISTR also the the earpiece, say-NEG[10]-IND[4]-[3][3] they[p] PART

   'and they[p] also [worked] a bit as eavesdroppers, don't they[p] call [them] that?'

50. *ta   ti   đallu-ntuku-che-lu?*[19]
    the the consult/accuse-put.at-person-SVN[4]

   'the ones who betrayed people?'

51. *así ke*[20] *itro-kom pülé ta allkü-tu-yaw-üy   ta ta-ñi*[21]
    thus that quite-all side the hear-TR[33]-CIRC[30]-IND[4]-[3][3] the the-poss3

   'and so, they walked about everywhere listening to . . .'

52. LQ: . . . *chem-pi-y* . . .
        what-say-IND[4]-[3][3]

   LQ: '. . . what they said . . .'

53. RR: . . . *chem-pi-y   ta-ñi   pu   küđaw-fe.*
        what-say-IND[4]-[3][3] the-poss3 COLL work-NOM

   RR: '. . . what their labourers said.'

54. *fey-pi-ntuku-y*^{22} *ñi*   *pat.ron-mew.*
     that-say-put.at-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 boss-INST

     'they passed [it] on to their boss.'

55. *femngechi ta ta-ñi*   *chem*   ...,   *ta-ñi*   *femngechi ta-ñi*   *orden*
     such   the the-poss3 what ,   the-poss3 such   the-poss3 order
     ta-ñi   *nie-lel-e-t-ew*   *ta-ñi*   *ülmen ka.*
     the-poss3 have-BEN^{27}-IDO^6-AVN^4-DS^1 the-poss3 rich   PART

     'such was the ..., such was the order their rich [bosses] had [given] them^{23}.'

56. LQ: *welu fey-engün* *đoy* *kulli-nge-ke-la-fu-y*   *rumé, no?*
       but that-they^p more pay-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ -ever, no?

     LQ: 'but in any case they^p did not get paid more, did they?'

57. RR: *chumkanu rumé đoy*   *kulli-nge-ke-la-fu-y.*
       no.way   -ever more pay-PASS^{23}-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

     RR: 'in any case they did not get paid more.'

58. *ta-ñi*   *đoy kümé ta-ñi*   *müle-a-m*   *ka.*
     the-poss3 more good the-poss3 be-NRLD^9-IVN^4 PART

     '[they did it] to be more sure.'

59. LQ: *ta-ñi*   *nelküm-nge-nu-a-m*^{24}.
       the-poss3 lossen/fire-PASS^{23}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IVN^4

     LQ: 'so that they would not get fired.'

60. RR: *may, ta-ñi*   *nelküm-nge-nu-al.*
       yes,   the-poss3 loosen/fire-PASS^{23}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9.OVN^4

     RR: 'sure, not to get fired.'

61. LQ: *welu fey-mu*   *mungel*   *inkilinu küđaw-ki-y*   *pu*   *wingka, pofre*
       but that-INST especially tenant   work-CF^{14}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ COLL stranger, poor
     wingka,   *no?*
     stranger, no

     LQ: 'but especially strangers, poor strangers, did that kind of work as a tenant, didn't they?'

62. *đoy*   *nie-ke-nu-lu*   *reké*   *ñi*   *chew ñi*   *amu-al;*
     more have-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-SVN^4 as.it.were poss3 where poss3 go-NRLD^9.OVN^4;
     nel-üm-nge-l-e   *fey-ti-mu,*   *nie-la-y*
     become.loose-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-COND^4-3^3 that-the-INST, have-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$
     chew ñi   *puw-al.*
     where poss3 arrive/stay-NRLD^9.OVN^4

     'because they sort of have less places to go; if they get fired from there, they have nowhere to go.'

63. *iñché femngechi kim-fi-n*   *đoy* *đewmá nü-lu*   *fundu iñchiñ.*
     I   thus   learn-EDO^6-IND1s^3 more finished take-SVN^4 farm   we^p

     'I learned that after we^p had taken over a farm.'

64. *chew   rumé kasi*[25] *pe-la-n*   *mapuche inkilinu iñché!*
   where -ever almost see-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] Mapuche tenant   I

   'almost nowhere did I see a Mapuche tenant.'

65. *wingka   mungel.*
   stranger especially

   'mostly strangers.'

66. *ka-keñ   pülé welu müle-pe-la-y.*
   other-DISTR side but be-PX[13]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'but there probably were at other places.'

67. RR: *chem-mew am   fe-m-lle-nu-a-fu-lu,*
        what-INST PART become.like.that-CA[34]-AFF[11]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

   kwando pu   wingka nie-nu-lu   ñi   chew puw-al!
   when   COLL stranger have-NEG[10]-SVN[4] poss3 where stay-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   RR: 'why wouldn't the strangers do that when they have nowhere to go!'

68. *entonse fiy   fende-w-ke-fu-y   reké   ta-ñi   pu*
   then   that sell-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] as.it.were the-poss3 COLL

   ülmen-mu ka.
   rich-INST   PART

   '[and] therefore they used to hire themselves out, as it were, to their rich [bosses].'

69. *fey-ti   pu   mapuche kay   syempre kay wiño-tu-ke-fu-y*
   that-the COLL Mapuche PART always   PART go.back-RE[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   ta-ñi   mapu-mew.
   the-poss3 land-INST

   'the Mapuche, however, always used to go back to their land.'

70. *chunté   pichi nie-wü-y   rumé mapu ta-ñi   chaw-mapu-mu*
   how.much little have-PS[19]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] -ever land   the-poss3 father-land-INST

   puw-tu-y.
   arrive/stay-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'no matter how little land they had left, they went back to live in their fatherland.'

71. *fey-ti   pu   wingka kay fey   nie-la-y   ñi*
   that-the COLL stranger PART that/then have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] poss3

   puw-a-m.
   arrive/stay-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

   'the strangers, on the other hand, did not have a place to stay.'

72. *fey   tripa-la-y   engün, pwe?*
   that leave-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] they[p], PART

   'so they[p] did not go away, huh?'

73. *chum-a-fu-y   engün kay?*
   do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] they[p] PART

'what could they[p] do?'

74. *amu-l-e   kañ   pülé, pe-nu-l-e   küđaw, treka-yaw-püđa-ya-lu*[26]
    go-COND[4]-3[3] other side, see-NEG[10]-COND[4]-3[3] work,   walk-CIRC[30]-AIML-

       engün.
    NRLD[9]-SVN[4] they[p]

'if they go elsewhere [and] do not find work, they will walk about aimlessly.'

75. LQ: *welu kiñe-ke   ti   pofre wingka ella-mu,   iñchiñ yiñ*
     but   one-DISTR the poor stranger a.bit-INST, we[p]   poss1p

  mapuche-nge-n   kam   rumé kümé piwke-nge-lu,   no? ...
  Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4] PART very good heart-VERB[36]-SVN[4], no?

  kiñe-ke   fücha-ke   longko fey   elu-ñma-fi-y[27]   *engün ñi*
  one-DISTR old-DISTR head   that/the give-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3] they[p] poss3

  inafül   puw-al.
  nearby stay-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

LQ: 'but in the beginning some of those poor strangers — for we[p], Mapuche,
have a big heart, don't we? — ... some ancient leaders allowed them to live
nearby.'

76. *welu depwé fey-ti-chi   weđa-ke   wingka nü-nie-ñma-r-pu-tu-e-y-iñ-mu*
    but   later that-the-ADJ bad-DISTR stranger take-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-

       mapu nga?
    RE[16]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]-DS[1] land PART

'but later these awful strangers continued to take land back from us[p], remember?'

Notes

1. Note that word final *o* varies freely with *u* even in loans.
2. *chipa-* ∼ *tripa-* 'to leave' (LQ).
3. When *fente* 'that much' occurs as the first member in a compound verb it
   must be rendered 'to stop'. Line 2 runs literally: the sun came up a bit,
   the sun went down then they[p] stopped working.
4. *a la nwewe* is Sp. a las nueve 'nine o'clock'.
5. RR is bitter; his salary was very low.
6. *fürolla-* is derived from Sp. embrollar 'to muddle, to confuse'.
7. *rekülama-* ∼ *reklama-* is Sp. reclamar 'to claim', *püresu-* is derived from Sp.
   preso 'prisoner', *pat.ron* is Sp. patrón 'boss'.
8. This sentence is entirely Spanish.
9. *enggaña-* is Sp. engañar 'to deceive'.
10. *pwe* is Sp. pues 'well, right?'.
11. The sentence *iñché kimnieken kuyfí* ... is not finished; LQ interrupts himself
    and starts again in line 20.

12. *minggako* 'collective labour'; *minggako-* 'to farm in common' is a Quechua loan, cf. Qu. minkaku- 'to hire labourers'.

13. *đewmá* usually means 'almost' but is also used to denote that an event is already taking place or has already taken place, cf. *đewma-* 'to make, to finish'; *đew* 'already'.

14. *ya* is Sp. ya 'already'.

15. *anü-m-ka-* is the common word for 'to plant'. RR means to say that the farm owners did not cultivate the slopes any more. They just planted reed, which does not require maintenance.

16. *parese ke* is the Spanish construction parece que 'it seems that'.

17. *inkilinu* is Sp. inquilino 'tenant'.

18. *orixeru* is derived from Sp. orejera 'earflap, earpiece'.

19. *đallu-ntuku-* consult/accuse-put.at- 'to betray' has lexicalized meaning.

20. *así ke* is Sp. así que 'so, consequently'.

21. Considering the possessive pronoun *ta-ñi*, RR is about to use a verbal noun. But, after being interrupted by LQ who uses a predicate, RR continues with the predicate which is suggested to him by LQ.

22. *fey-pi-ntuku-* that.say-put.at- 'to tell, to pass on' has lexicalized meaning.

23. Lit.: ... the order which their rich had for them.

24. *nelküm-* = *nel-üm-* get.loose-CA[34]- 'to loosen'.

25. *kasi* is Sp. casi 'almost'.

26. *-püđa-* AIML has not been numbered, see 27.1.

27. *elu-ñma-* give-IO[26]- 'to allow' has lexicalized meaning.

Text 11. Conversation about land disappropriation
After the "final pacification" of Araucania in the 1880s, the Mapuche were
confined to specific areas (reducciones 'reservations'). Larger and better pieces
of land were handed out to non-Indian Chilean farmers and immigrants from
Europe. The resentment the Mapuche feel about this policy and the resulting
antagonism between the Indian and non-Indian population are still vivid today.

1. LQ: *iñchiñ inafül   femngechi puw-üy   kiñe wingka.*
      we[P]   near/close thus   arrive/stay-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] one stranger

   LQ: 'for instance, a stranger settled down near us[P].'

2. RR: *yana   wüyá wingka?*
      half.breed bad   stranger

   RR: 'a half-breed wicked stranger?'

3. LQ: *hmmm, fey elu-ngi-y,   turpu nie-rke-la-fu-y*
      hmmm, he give-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], never have-REP[12]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   chew ñi   müle-al,   no?
   where poss3 be-NRLD[9].OVN[4], no

   LQ: 'hmmm,they gave him land, he never had a place to stay, you know?'

4. RR: *püchi-künu-l-nge-y   mapu?*
      little-PFPS[32]-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] land

   RR: 'did they let him [have] a little land?'

5. LQ: *may, pichi-l-ngi-y   mapu ñi   chew ...*
      yes, little-VERB[36]-PASS[23]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] land   poss3 where

   LQ: 'yes, they gave him little land where he ...'

6. RR: ... *chew ñi   müle-al.*
         where poss3 be-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

   RR: '... where he could stay.'

7. LQ: ... *ñi   đewma-yal   ñi   ruka.*
         poss3 make-NRLD[9].OVN[4] poss3 house

   LQ: '... where he could build his house.'

8. *welu ru-pa-le-chi[1]   tripantu-mew fey đoy amu-l-nie-y*
   but pass-Hh[17]-ST[28]-$\underline{SVN}$[4]-ADJ year-INST   he more go-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   ñi   ...
   poss3

   'but as years went by, he went on [and took] more and more ...'

9. RR: *amu-l-nie-tu-y!*
      go-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   RR: 'he kept on [taking]!'

10. LQ: *amu-l-nie-tu-y.*
       go-CA[34]-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   LQ: 'he kept on [taking].'

11. *iñché kim-püra-me-pa-n ...,*   *kayu mari tripantu-nge-y*   *ñi*
    I   know-go.up-Th[20]-Hh[17]-IND1s[3] , six   ten   year-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] poss3

    puw-ün   ti   wingka,   welu đoy   rangiñ   nü-nie-ñma-rke-e-y-iñ-mu
    arrive-PVN[4] the   stranger, but   more half   take-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-REP[12]-IDO[6]-

                                    yiñ   ...
    IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]-DS[1] poss1p

    'I realized that ..., that stranger stayed for sixty years, but he had taken
    from us[p] more than half of our[p] ...'

12. RR: ... *mapu?*
              land

    RR: '... land?'

13. LQ: *may, yiñ   lof.*
         yes, poss1p reservation

    LQ: 'of our[p] reservation, yes.'

14. *iñchiñ[2] fücha-ke   che,   fey-engün   kewa-kewa-nge-ki-y.*
    we[p]   big/old-DISTR person, that-they[p] fight-fight-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3[3]

    'our[p] elders, they[p] were constantly fighting.'

15. RR: *kishu yengün welu[3] qa?*
         self   they[p] but   PART

    RR: 'with each other?'

16. LQ: *kishu yengün.*
         self   they[p]

    LQ: 'right.'

17. RR: *kim-la-y   rumé chew   ñi   iniy ñi   nie-n ...,   ñi*
         know-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] -ever where poss3 who poss3 have-PVN[4] , poss3

    nü-nie-ñma-e-t-ew   ñi   mapu engün.
    take-PRPS[32]-IO[26]-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1] poss3 land   they[p]

    RR: 'they did not even know where nor from whom he had ..., that he had
    taken their land from them[p].'

18. LQ: *may, ka-nge-lu,   fey   ayü-w-üy   ka.*
         yes,   other-VERB[36]-SVN[4], he/they love-REF[31]-IND[4]-3[3] PART

    LQ: 'yes, the others, they were glad.'

19. *iñchiñ[4] lof   ella-mu, kishu-ke lof   elu-el   ñi   mapu,*
    we[p]   reservation a.bit-INST, self-DISTR reservation give-OVN[4] poss3 land,

    kiñe warangka[5] epu mari kechu ektária[6].
    one thousand   two ten five   hectare

    'in the beginning, our[p] reservation [had] 1025 hectares, when each reservation
    was given its land.'

20. RR: *nü-ntu-nie-y?*
         take-improd.-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-3[3]

RR: 'did he take [it] away?'

21. LQ: *no, nie-y*   *ta-yiñ*   *lof.*
     no, have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss1p reservation

LQ: 'no, our^p reservation had.'

22. RR: *ah, nie-y*   *ta-mün*   *lof?*
     ah, have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss2p reservation

RR: 'ah, your^p reservation had!'

23. *füta-ke*   *kaman*   *mapu, hey?*
   big-DISTR quantity land,   hey

'a lot of land, hey?'

24. LQ: *welu iñché kim-kon-pa-n*   *nie-we-rke-y-iñ*
     but   I   know/learn-enter-Hh^{17}-IND1s^3 have-PS^{19}-REP^{12}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

kayu mari kechu mütem, ka-nge-lu   *kom nie-y.*
six   ten   five   only,   other-VERB^{36}-SVN^4 all   have-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

LQ: 'but I understood [that] we^p had only 65 left, the other one had everything.'

25. RR: *đoy*   *rangiñ nü-ntu-nie-ñma-y-m-ün-mu*   *reké?!*
     more half   take-improd.-PRPS^{32}-IO^{26}-IND^4-2^3-p^2-DS^1 as.it.were

RR: 'he had more or less taken away from you^p more than half?!'

26. LQ: *may, fey-chi*   *đewmá^7 ya^8*   *đoy*   *kim-kon-y-iñ*
     yes,   that-ADJ   finished   already   more   know/learn-enter-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

ka.
PART

LQ: 'yes, but this time we^p had become more aware!'

27. RR: *kona-kona-tu-tu-y-m-ün?*
     soldier-soldier-SFR^{36}-RE^{16}-IND^4-2^3-p^2

RR: 'you^p got courage again?'

28. LQ: *kona-kona-tu-tu-y-iñ.*
     soldier-soldier-SFR^{36}-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2

LQ: 'we^p did.'

29. *fey*   *nü-tu-y-iñ*   *mapu.*
that/then take-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 land

'we^p then took [our] land back.'

30. RR: *may, ta ti wingka, chew am amu-tu-y?*
     yes,   the the stranger, where PART go-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

RR: 'yes, [and] that stranger, where did he go back to?'

31. *tripa-tu-y*   *kam pichi-künu-l-tu-fi-y-m-ün*   *mapu?*
leave-RE^{16}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ or   little-PFPS^{32}-BEN^{27}-RE^{16}-EDO^6-IND^4-2^3-p^2 land

'did he go back home or did you^p let him [have] a little land again?'

32. LQ: *no, entu-fi-y-iñ*   *wekun.*
     no, take.out-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] outside

     LQ: 'no, we[p] evicted him.'

33. *fey ñi*   *inafül*   *kiñe pichi ..., ngilla-y*   *pichin mapu.*
     he poss3 near/close one little ,   buy-IND[4]-3[3] small. quantity

     'close to his own [former land] a little ..., he bought a little land.'

34. *welu mapuche ngilla-ñma-la-fi-y.*
     but Mapuche buy-IO[26]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'but he did not buy it from a Mapuche.'

35. RR: *ka*   *wingka?*
     other stranger

     RR: '[from] another stranger?'

36. LQ: *may, fey-mew*   *ütrüf-tuku-künu-me-tu-fi-y-iñ.*
     yes, that-INST throw-put.at-PFPS[32]-Th[20]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

     LQ: 'yes, [and] then we[p] threw him out again.'

37. *kom nü-tu-y-iñ.*
     all take-RE[16]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

     'we[p] took back everything.'

38. *fewlá petú kom küđaw-küle-y,*   *yiñ*   *fücha-ke*   *che.*
     now still all work-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3], poss1p big-DISTR person

     'today they all still cultivate it, our[p] elders.'

39. *wüđa-m-nge-la-y.*
     split.up(intr.)-CA[34]-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

     'it has not been split up.'

40. RR: *chum-ka-la-y*   *ke[9]*   *tüfá?*
     do.what/how-CONT[16]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] PART this

     RR: 'they did not do anything about it?'

41. LQ: *no, chum-la-y*   *rumé.*
     no, do.what/how-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] -ever

     LQ: 'no, they did not do anything at all.'

42. *iñchiñ petú ñi*   *müle-n Frey küđaw-fi-y-iñ,*   *pwe.*
     we[p] still poss3 be-PVN[4] Frey work-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2], PART

     'we[p] still cultivated it when Frey was there.'

43. RR: *ahyaya.*
     ahyaya

     RR: 'ahyaya.'

44. LQ: *đewmá müle-a-lu*   *eleksion nga*   *setenta, fey-mew*   *fey-ti-chi*
     almost be-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] election PART seventy, that-INST that-the-ADJ

     gobyernu   *Frey entonse rumé fali-li-y,*   *pwe.[10]*
     government Frey then   very be.worth-ST[28]-IND[4]-3[3], PART

LQ: 'when the elections were imminent, in the seventies, then this Frey government was very good, you know.'

45. RR: *fali-li-y ta-chi fey-chi đungu.*
be.worth-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the-ADJ that-ADJ matter

RR: '[yes], that was good.'

46. LQ: *may, ka müle-fu-y ti gowernaor[11] wariya-mew.*
yes, and be-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the governor town-INST

LQ: 'yes, and there was this governor in town.'

47. *fey-ti-chi gowernaor trem-ürki-y iñchiñ pülé.*
that-the-ADJ governor grown-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] we[p] side

'this governor had grown up in our[p] region.'

48. *fey rumé kümé kom kim-nie-rki-y chumngechi yiñ*
he very good all know-PRPS[32]-REP[12]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] how poss1p
nü-ñma-nge-n yiñ mapu.
take-IO[26]-PASS[23]-PVN[4] poss1p land

'he knew everything very well about how we[p] had been robbed of our[p] land.'

49. *fey fey-ta ka đuam-nie-lu woto[12] kam, fey-chi engün*
that/he that-the also need-PRPS[32]-SVN[4] vote PART, that-ADJ they[p]
kellu-kantu-e-y-iñ-mu ka.
help-PLAY[22]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]-DS[1] PART

'since they needed votes, these [people] sort of helped us[p].'

50. *welu iñchiñ nü-ñma-fi-y-iñ kellu ka.*
but we[p] take-IO[27]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2] help PART

'as for us, we[p] accepted [their] help, of course.'

51. *fey kom küme-l-ka-künu-y-iñ đungu fey-chi.*
that/then all good-CA[34]-FAC[33]-PFPS[32]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2] matter that-ADJ

'then we[p] all had [our] affairs nicely settled that way.'

52. *fey-mu tüfá tüfa-chi gobyernu-mu chum-nge-la-y*
that-INST this this-INST government-INST do.what/how-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-
rumé.
$\underline{3}$[3] -ever

'therefore, you know, under that government, one was not harmed at all.'

53. RR: *welu fali-y ta-mün kellu-el qa, porke*
but be.worth-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the-poss2p help-OVN[4] PART, because
nü-ntu-tu-lu mün mapu eymün.
take-improd.-RE[16]-SVN[4] poss2p land you[p]

RR: 'but it was good that you[p] were helped, because you[p] have taken back your[p] land.'

54. LQ: *fali-y llemay, welu fey-engün ka đuam-ma-nie-fe-y-iñ-mu*
be.worth-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART, but that-they[p] also need-EXP[35]-PRPS[32]-

ka!
IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1] PART

LQ: 'sure, that was good, but they[p] also wanted something from us[p]!'

55. *fey-mu   llemay fey-engün   đuam-fu-y   woto fey-chi,   pwe!*
that-INST PART   that-they[p] need-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] vote that-ADJ, PART

'obviously they[p] needed votes in exchange for that, didn't they?!'

56. *iñchiñ aprowecha-fi-y-iñ*[13]   *ka   fey   ka.*
we[p]   take.advantage-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] also that/he/they also

'we[p] took advantage of them too.'

57. *chum-a-fu-y-iñ*   *kay?*
do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] PART

'what [else] could we[p] do?'

Notes

1.   *-pa-* Hh[17]is part of the stem.
2.   The speaker probably omitted the possessive pronoun *yiñ* poss1p.
3.   *welu* 'but, although, reverse, in exchange, mutually'.
4.   See note 2.
5.   *warangka* is borrowed from Quechua or Aymara waranqa 'thousand'. Considering lines 24 and 25, LQ probably means to say that his reservation contained 125 hectares.
6.   *ektária* is Sp. hectárea 'hectare'.
7.   *đewmá* 'almost, finished', cf. *đewma-* 'to make, to finish'; *đew* 'already'.
8.   *ya* is Sp. ya 'already'.
9.   For *ke*, see 32.17.
10. Note that this sentence contains an uncommon amount of Spanish loans for LQ: *eleksion* is Sp. elección 'election'; *setenta* is Sp. setenta 'seventy'; *gobyernu* is Sp. gobierno 'government'; *entonse* is Sp. entonces 'then'; *fali-* is derived from Sp. valer 'to be worth'; *pwe* is Sp. pues 'well, right, you know?'.
11. *gowernaor* is Sp. gobernador 'governor'.
12. *woto* is Sp. voto 'vote'.
13. *aprowecha-* is derived from Sp. aprovechar 'to take advantage of'.

Text 12. Our reservation

In this story Mario Millapi talks about the land where he lives with his relatives and his wife's relatives. The land is situated in Boyeco, north of the city of Temuco. The reservation as such is not marked visibly.

1. *iñché müle-pa-tu-y-iñ   faw đoy   külá tripantu-mew.*
   I   be-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] here more three year-INST

   'I, we[p] have been back here for more than three years.'

2. *kuyfí   üyüw   müle-ke-fu-y-iñ   ñuke   iñchiñ, lamngen,*
   formerly over.there be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] mother we[p],   sister,
   peñi.
   brother

   'a long time ago, we[p] used to live over there[1], [my] mother, sister [and] brother.'

3. *fey-mu   fey aku-tu-lu   ñi   peñi . . . , kañ   pülé miaw-ke-y*
   that-INST he arrive-RE[16]-SVN[4] poss1s brother , other side wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-
      kishu, Santiago miaw-ke-y,   küđaw-kiaw-ke-y   . . .
   <u>3</u>[3] self,   Santiago wander-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], work-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'and then, when my brother came back . . . , he hung around elsewhere, he hung around in Santiago, he worked around . . .'

4. *aku-tu-lu   fey kishu küđaw-a-m,   wichu küđaw-a-m   kisu,*
   arrive-RE[16]-SVN[4] he self   work-NRLD[9]-IVN[4], apart work-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] self,
   fey   el-künu-fi-ñ   ñuke   engu.
   that/then leave-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] mother they[d]

   'when he came back to work on his own, to work separately on his own, then I left him with my mother[2].'

5. *iñché fiy   küpa-n   fey tüfa-chi mapu-mew, ta-ñi   đomo*
   I   that/then come-IND1s[3] that this-ADJ land-INST,   the-poss1s woman
   ñi   mapu.
   poss3 land

   'then I came to this land here, my wife's land.'

6. *fey   küpa-y-iñ   kom.*
   that/then come-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] all

   'then we[p] all came.'

7. *üyüw   ñi   peñi fey müle-y   kisu, ñi   lamngen engu, ina-n*
   over.there poss1s brother he be-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] self, poss1s sister   they[d], follow-
      lamngen, ka ñi   ñuke.
   PVN[4] sister,   and poss1s mother

   'over there my brother lives on his own, with my sister, a younger sister, and my mother.'

8. *fey đoy   kümé küđaw-küle-tu-y.*
   he more good work-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'he is fairly good at work again.'

9. *ka   nie-y   waka.*
also have-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ cow

'he also has cows.'

10. *el-el-künu-fi-ñ   ti   waka kisu ñi   küđaw-a-m   kümé,*
leave-BEN[27]-PFPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the cow   self poss3 work-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] good,

ni-a-m³   plata.
have-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] money

'I left him the cows so that he could work fine on his own, so that he would have money.'

11. *kishu am   kañ   pülé miaw-ke-fu-lu,   fey küme-l-ka-yaw-la-y*
self   PART other side wander-CF[14]-IPD[8]-SVN[4], he good-CA[34]-FAC[33]-CIRC[31]-

đoy   kañ   pülé miaw-lu.
NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ more other side wander-SVN[4]

'for he used to go about on his own elsewhere, [and] he was not doing well when he hung around elsewhere.'

12. *aku-tu-lu   fey, müle-naq-pa-tu-y,*
arrive-RE[16]-SVN[4] he, be-go.down-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$,

wim-pa-tu-y.
get.used-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'when he came back, he settled here again [and] got used [to it] again.'

13. *fey-mu   fach-antü petú müle-ka-y.*
that-INST this-day   still be-CONT[16]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

'therefore he still lives [here] today.'

14. *küđaw-küle-y   ka iñché tüfa-mu fey ka   küđaw-küle-n   ka.*
work-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ and I   this-INST that also work-ST[28]-IND1s[3] also

'he works and I work here too.'

15. *kellu-w-küle-y-iñ   kom.*
help-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2] all

'we[p] all help each other.'

16. *femngechi fey-ta   đoy   pichin   mapu-mu*
thus   that-the more small.quantity land-INST

wirko-le-la-y-iñ.
pile.up-ST[28]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2]

'this way we[p] are not heaped up all together on a rather small piece of land.'

17. *kisu kalli-ka-w-küđaw-küle-y-iñ⁴,   đoy   ka   faw fiy   đoy*
self enable-FAC[33]-REF[31]-work-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p[2], more also here that more

müle-lu am   lelfün.
be-SVN[4] PART field

'we[p] work on our own and leave each other in peace, especially since there is quite a lot of space here.'

18. *kisu-le-fu-y*   *tüfa-chi lelfün.*
    alone-ST[28]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] this-ADJ field

    'this plot lay fallow.'

19. *fey*   *iñché pe-pa-fi-ñ.*
    that/then I   see-Hh[17]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

    'then I came to have a look at it.'

20. *"ruka-w-pu-a-y-u",*   *pi-y*   *ta-ñi*   *đomo,*
    house-REF[31]-LOC[17]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2], say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss1s woman,
    ka ta-ñi   *llalla*   *ka.*
    and the-poss1s mother.in.law also

    ' "we[d] will build a house and settle down", said my wife and my mother-in-law too.'

21. *"kishu-le-püđa-y*   *mapu", pi-y.*
    alone-ST[28]-AIML-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] land,   say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "the land lies fallow", she said.'

22. *"ka*   *che*   *üta-l-uw-küle-a-fu-y,*   *ka*   *che*
    other person graze-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], other person
    trem-üm-kulliñ-küle-a-fu-y",   *pi-fi-y.*
    grown-CA[34]-cattle-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-IPD[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] say-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ' "other people might graze [their cattle], other people might be raising cattle", she said to her.'

23. *"faw kwida-pa-fi-y-iñ*   *ta-chi*   *mapu".*
    here take.care-Hh[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the-ADJ land

    ' "let us[p] take care of this land here." '

24. *fey-ti*   *ka-ke-lu,*   *đomo ñi*   *lamngen, fey*   *nge-la-y*
    that-the other-DISTR-SVN[4], woman poss3 sister,   he/they be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]
    faw, kañ   *pülé miaw-üy.*
    here, other side wander-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'the others, my wife's sister [for instance], they are not here, they are elsewhere.'

25. *küđaw-kiaw-ki-y-ng-ün.*
    work-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND[4]-3ns[3]-p[2]

    'they[p] work here and there.'

26. *kiñe-ke*   *monge-le-y*   *ka kiñe-ke*   *la-y.*
    one-DISTR get.life-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] and one-DISTR die-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'some are alive, and others have died.'

27. *fey-mu*   *fey-ta*   *faw müle-pa-tu-y-iñ*   *fach-antü fey tüfa-chi*
    that-INST that-the here be-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this-day   that this-ADJ
    lelfün-mew.
    field-INST

    'therefore, for this reason, we[p] are back here today on this plot.'

28. *welu kiñe lof-mu   müten[5] müle-ka-y;   kañ   pülé*
    but   one reservation-INST only   be-CONT[16]-IND[4]-3[3]; other side
    tripa-la-n.
    go.out-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

    'but it is still in one and the same reservation; I did not go out to other places.'

29. *kiñe lof-mu   müten ka-ruka-tu-le-y-iñ   kom.*
    one reservation-INST only   other-house-improd.-ST[28]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] all

    'we[p] are all neighbours in one reservation.'

30. *faw trem-y-iñ   kom.*
    here grown-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] all

    'we[p] all grew up here.'

31. *ka   ñi   đomo   ka   trem-üy   faw tüfa-chi lof-mew.*
    also poss1s woman also grown-IND[4]-3[3] here this-ADJ reservation-INST

    'my wife grew up here too, in this reservation.'

32. *iñché ka   fey kañ   pülé tuw-no-chi   che   iñchiñ re   faw*
    I   also that other side come.from-NEG[10]-SVN[4]-ADJ person we[p] only here
    trem-ka-lu   müten.
    grown-CONT[16]-SVN[4] only

    'me too, I am [one of those] people that do not come from somewhere else, since we[p] have been [born and] raised right here.'

33. *fey-mu   fey-ta   re   kim-uw-küle-y-iñ   kom.*
    that-INST that-the only know-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] all

    'therefore, you know, we[p] all know each other.'

34. *kom re   familia-wen müle-y.*
    all   only familia-REL be-IND[4]-3[3]

    'it is all [in the] family.'

35. *tute-w-küle-tu-y-iñ   đoy   fach-antü.*
    please-REF[31]-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] more this-day

    'we[p] like each other better again today.'

36. *fey-mu   ta tuku-l-pa-meke-tu-fi-ñ[6]   fach-antü*
    that-INST the put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-PR[28]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] this-day
    fey-tüfa-chi   đungu.
    that-this-ADJ matter

    'therefore I have brought up this matter again today.'

Notes

1. MM points in the direction of his mother's house.
2. MM is the eldest and is therefore responsible for the well-being of his brother.

3. *ni-a-m* is short for *nie-a-m* have-NRLD[9]-IVN[4].
4. *kalli-ka-w-* followed by a verb indicates 'to let each other perform the event denoted by' the verb.
5. *müten* (MM) = *mütem* (LQ,RR) 'only'.
6. *tuku-l-pa-* 'to bring to mind, to remember' has a lexicalized meaning. The suffixes *-l-* CA[34] and *-pa-* HH[17] are part of the stem.

Text 13. My father
In this story Mario Millapi talks about his late father.

1. *iñché   may   tüfá   ka   ka[1]   pichi   nütram-ka-ya-n ...,*   *fiy*
   I   PART   this   also   also   little   conversation-FAC[33]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3],   that
   ta-ñi   chaw-em   tuku-l-pa-a-fi-ñ.
   the-poss1s father-EX put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-NRLD[9]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'yes, I will now tell a bit ..., well, I will remember my late father.'

2. *ta-ñi   chaw   epu mari tripantu-mew nge-tu-y   ta-ñi*
   the-poss1s father two ten   year-INST   be-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss3
   la-mu-m.
   die-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

   'it has been twenty years now since my father died.'

3. *ta   kuyfí   pichi-ke   wentru-ngi-y,   ta-ñi   pu   peñi*
   the formerly little-DISTR man-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], the-poss3 COLL brother
   el-künu-y.
   leave-PFPS[32]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'in earlier times he had little boys, he left his brothers behind.'

4. *iñché fiy   wüne-n.*
   I   that/then first-PVN[4]

   'I [was] then the eldest.'

5. *iñché nge-la-n   fey-tüfa-mew ta-ñi   ruka-mew fey-chi   la-lu.*
   I   be-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] that-this-INST the-poss3 house-INST that-ADJ die-SVN[4]

   'I was not here in his house when he died.'

6. *iñché etudiya-le-fu-n[2]   Temuko fiy   la-lu   ta-ñi   chaw.*
   I   study-ST[28]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] Temuco that/then die-SVN[4] the-poss1s father

   'I was a student in Temuco at the time my father died.'

7. *kishu kuyfí   etudiya-y   ka, kishu fey-ta*
   self   formerly study-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] also, self   that-the
   profesor-nge-fu-ye-m[3].
   teacher-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-CF[5]-IVN[4]

   'in former times he studied, when he was a teacher.'

8. *kim-el-tu-che-ke-fu-y.*
   learn/know-CA[34]-TR[33]-person-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

   'he used to teach people.'

9. *nie-ke-fu-y   kishu ta-ñi   kolexio kishu ta-ñi   ruka-mew.*
   have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] self   the-poss3 school self   the-poss3 house-INST

   'he used to have his own school in his own house.'

10. *welu wüné nie-nu-lu   ruka   kañ   pülé nie-ke-fu-y*
    but   first   have-NEG[10]-SVN[4] house other side have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    ta-ñi   *kolexio ka*   *ruka-mew.*
    the-poss3 school other house-INST

   'but, because he did not have a house at first, he used to have his school elsewhere, in another house.'

11. *arenda-ke-fu-y*[4]   *chi ruka.*
    lease-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the house

   'he rented that house.'

12. *are-tu-ke-fu-y*[5]   *fiy* *kulli-ke-fwi-y*   *ti* *nge-n*
    lend-TR[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] that pay-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the be/have-
        ruka.
    PVN[4] house

   'he rented it [and] paid the house owner.'

13. *fey-mu*   *müle-ke-fu-y.*
    that-INST be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'he used to live there.'

14. *femngechi iñché kim-pa-fi-ñ.*
    thus   I   learn/know-Hh[17]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'that is how I got to know him.'

15. *miaw-ke-fu-y*   *kañ* *pülé pukem.*
    wander-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] other side winter

   'he used to hang around elsewhere in winter time.'

16. *kutran-ka-w-ke-fu-y-iñ*   *no-a-m*   *ko-mew,*
    illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2] cross-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] water-INST,
    no-me   *ko*   *müle-ye-m*   *đewmá*   *fey-tüfey-chi*
    cross-Th[20]-$\underline{NOM}$ water be-CF[5]-IVN[4] almost/finished that-that-ADJ
    kolexio-tu-a-m.
    school-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

   'we[p] used to suffer whenever we had to cross the water, whenever we were on the other side of the water, to get in that school.'

17. *ka* *kishu ka* *miaw-ke-fu-y*   *femngechi, kishu fiy*
    and self   also wander-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] thus,   self   that/then
    kutran-ka-w-ke-fu-y.
    illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

   'he also went about like that, he used to suffer too.'

18. *iñchiñ kim-el-tu-e-y-iñ-mu*   *kom faw* *müle-chi*
    we[p]   learn/know-CA[34]-TR[33]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]-DS[1] all   here be-$\underline{SVN}$[4]-ADJ
    pu   *we-che-ke*   *wentru.*
    COLL new/young-person-DISTR man

   'he taught all of us[p] young men who lived there.'

19. *kishu kim-el-e-n-ew.*
    self learn/know-CA[34]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

    'he taught me.'

20. *welu rumé wenüy-nge-fu-y   kishu.*
    but very friend-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] self.

    'besides he had many friends.'

21. *rumé kümé che   pi-nge-fu-y.*
    very good person say/think-PASS[23]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

    'he was considered a very good person.'

22. *trap-üm-ke-fwi-y   che,   wenüy-ka-ke-fwi-y,*
    fit(intr.)-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] person, friend-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8].EDO[6]-
            wingka-wenüy[6] nie-fu-y,   mapuche ka   kañ   pülé müle-lu.
    IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], stranger-friend have-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], Mapuche also other side be-SVN[4]

    'he used to bring people together, he used to make friends, he had *wingka*
    friends [and] also Mapuche [friends] who lived elsewhere.'

23. *rumé küme-ke   wenüy nie-ke-fu-y.*
    very good-DISTR friend have-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

    'he used to have very good friends.'

24. *ka iñché ka   fiy   ka   femngechi kim-pa-fi-ñ   tüfá ta-ñi*
    and I   also that also thus   learn/know-HH[17]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] this the-
            chaw.
    poss1s father

    'and I know my father that way now too.'

25. *fey epu mari tripantu-mu la-y,   pen nga   ti[7].*
    he two ten year-INST   die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], alas PART the

    'he died twenty years ago, God bless him.'

26. *fey   kishu-le-we-y-iñ.*
    that/then alone-ST[28]-PS[19]-IND[4]-$\underline{1ns}$[3]-p[2]

    'we[p] remained alone then.'

27. *kishu[8] la-lu,   profesor-küle-fu-y,   petú petú kim-el-tu-nie-fu-y*
    self   die-SVN[4], teacher-ST[28]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], still still learn/know-CA[34]-TR[33]-
                  pichi-ke   che.
    PRPS[32]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] little-DISTR person

    'when he died, he was a teacher, he was still teaching children.'

28. *rangiñ tripantu amu-le-y,   xunio-küyen-mu[9] fiy   fey la-y.*
    middle year   go-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], June-month-INST that/then he die-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

    'it was getting on toward the middle of the year, toward the month of June,
    [and] then he died.'

29. *fey-mu   fey-ta   fach-antü đewmá epu mari tripantu amu-le-y.*
    that-INST that-the this-day   almost two ten   year   go-ST[28]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

'from then until today almost twenty years have passed.'

30. *iñchiñ   fiy   ta-yiñ   pu   peñi-wen-nge-n   lamngen fey*
    we[p]   that/then the-poss1p COLL brother-REL-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 sister that
    müle-ye-lu,   fiy   kom re   ina-n-nge-y-ng-ün;   iñché
    be-PL^{24}-SVN^4, that/then all only next-PVN^4-VERB^{36}-IND^4-3ns^3-p^2; I
    fiy   wüne-n.
    that/then first-PVN^4

    'we[p], [my] brothers and sisters [and I], who were numerous, were all younger;
    I [was] the eldest then.'

31. *iñché la-lu   ñi   chaw fiy   müle-pa-tu-n.*
    I   die-SVN^4 poss1s father that/then be-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-IND1s^3

    'when my father died, I came back here.'

32. *kampu-mew aku-tu-n.*
    field-INST   arrive-RE^{16}-IND1s^3

    'I came back to the country.'

33. *iñché am   wüne-n;   ñuke kishu-le-wü-y,   ka   ñi   pu*
    I   PART first-PVN^4; mother alone-ST^{28}-PS^{19}-IND^4-\underline{3}^{3}, and poss1s COLL
    peñi   ka   pichi-ke-nge-y.
    brother also little-DISTR-VERB^{36}-IND^4-\underline{3}^{3}

    'after all, I [was] the eldest; mother was left alone, and my brothers were
    young.'

34. *fey-mu   fey   iñché müle-y   ñi   müle-pa-tu-a-el,*
    that-INST that/then I   be-IND^4-\underline{3}^{3} poss1s be-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-OVN^4
    kwida-pa-tu-a-fiel   ti   ruka, kwida-pa-tu-a-fiel
    take.care-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-TVN^4 the house, take.care-Hh^{17}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-TVN^4
    ti   mapu, kom, ka   küɖaw-a-el   ka,   ka-ke-lu   am
    the land,   all,   and work-NRLD^9-OVN^4 also, other-DISTR-SVN^4 PART
    pichi-ka-lu.
    little-CONT^{16}-SVN^4

    'therefore, I then had to be back here to take care of the house, the land [and]
    everything and also to work, for the others were still young.'

35. *femngechi el-künu-r-pu-e-y-iñ-mu   ta-yiñ   chaw.*
    thus   leave-PFPS^{32}-ITR^{18}-LOC^{17}-IDO^6-IND^4-\underline{1ns}^{3}-p^2-DS^1 the-poss1p father

    '[and] so our[p] father left us[p].'

36. *reqle-nge-fu-y-iñ   ta-yiñ   pu*
    seven-VERB^{36}-IPD^8-IND^4-\underline{1ns}^{3}-p^2 the-poss1p COLL
    peñi-wen-lamngen-wen-nge-n.
    brother-REL-sister-REL-VERB^{36}-PVN^4

    'we[p] were seven, my brothers and sisters [and I].'

37. *külá   wentru ka   meli đomo.*
    three man   and four woman

   'three boys and four girls.'

38. *kiñe ñi   ina-n   lamngen fey kim-la-y   ñi   chaw.*
    one poss1s follow-PVN^4 sister   she know-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s father

   'only my youngest sister, she did not know my father.'

39. *kim-pa-la-y.*
    learn/know-Hh^{17}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   'she did not get to know him.'

40. *petú müle-la-y.*
    still be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

   'she was not there yet.'

41. *fey-chi   perdi-y^{10} ta-yiñ   chaw-em.*
    that-ADJ pass.away-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ the-poss1p father-EX

   '[and] then our^p (late) father passed away.'

42. *fey fente   kümé trap-üm-nie-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu*
    he that.much good fit(intr.)-CA^{34}-PRPS^{32}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1
    kom.
    all

   'he used to unite us^p so well.'

43. *piwke-ye-fe-y-iñ-mu.*
    heart-carry-IPD^8.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1

   'he felt for us^p.'

44. *kom trap-üm-ke-fe-y-iñ-mew.*
    all   fit(intr.)-CA^{34}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1

   'he used to unite us^p all.'

45. *nütram-ka-ke-fe-y-iñ-mew: "kümé đungu-mu*
    conversation-FAC^{33}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1: good matter-INST
    müten müle-a-y-m-ün",   pi-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu   kom.
    only   be-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-p^2, say-CF^{14}-IPD^8.EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1 all

   'he used to tell us^p: "you^p must be involved with good things only", he used
   to say to all of us^p.'

46. *"pekan^{11} ka   đungu-mu   kon-ke-la-ya-y-m-ün",*
    sin   PART matter-INST enter/start-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-NRLD^9-IND^4-2^3-p^2
    pi-nie-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu.
    say-PRPS^{32}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1

   ' "you^p must not get into anything sinful", he used to say to us^p.'

47. *femngechi nütram   elu-elu-ye-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu,*
    such   conversation give-give-SFR^{36}-CF^{14}-IPD^8.IDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2-DS^1,

pun đewmá müle-tu-y-iñ,   kom trawü-le-tu-y-iñ.
night almost be-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2], all   get.together-ST[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'he used to have such conversations with us[p], [when] night was falling [and] we[p] were all together again.'

48. *fiy kishu am   kim-fu-lu,   kishu am   kim-lu,*
he self   PART learn/know-IPD[8]-SVN[4], self   PART learn/know-SVN[4],

estudiya-y,   papel-tu-y   kom.
study-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], paper-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] all

'for he had learned himself, for he had learned himself; [after all] he studied, he read everything.'

49. *kim-üy   chumngechi   ñi   müle-ke-fel   kuyfí   füta-ke*
know-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] how   poss3   be-CF[14]-IPD[8].OVN[4] formerly old-DISTR

che,   ta-yiñ   pu   küpalme   chumngechi   ta-yiñ
person,   the-poss1p COLL   family   how   the-poss1p

trawü-l-uw-meke-ke-fel,   kom   fey
get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-PR[29]-CF[14]-IPD[8].OVN[4],   all   he

kim-el-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu.
learn-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1]

'he knew how ancient people used to live a long time ago [and] how our[p] family used to get together, he taught us[p] everything.'

50. *fey-mu   fey   fey nie-ñma-fi-ñ   ta-ñi   đungu,   iñché*
that-INST that/then he have-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] the-poss3 matter/idea, I

tuku-l-pa-ke-fi-ñ.
put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

'therefore I have his ideas; I regularly bring them to mind.'

51. *femngechi đewmá chem đungu rumé kon-a-n;   fey   ka   kishu*
thus   finished what matter -ever enter-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]; that PART self

ta-ñi   đungu   fey   tuku-l-pa-ñma-ke-fi-ñ,
the-poss3 matter/idea/word that/then put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-IO[26]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-

fey-mu   fey   küme-yaw-ke-n.
IND1s[3], that-INST that/then good-CIRC[30]-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

'that is how I deal with any matter; then I bring his words in mind [and] then I am all right.'

52. *kishu am   fey pekan đungu đuam-la-fu-y.*
self   PART he sinful matter want-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3].

'for he himself did want want wrong things.'

53. *weñe-fe-nge-la-fu-y.*
steal-NOM-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'he was not a thief;'

54. *re   wenüy-ka-che-fe-nge-fu-y   müten.*
    only friend-FAC[33]-person-NOM-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] merely;

    'he was a man who only made friends.'

55. *ayü-la-fu-y   fey-ti   wesa-ke   đungu.*
    love-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] that-the bad-DISTR matter

    'he did not like these bad things.'

56. *ayü-ke-la-fu-y   kon-al   chem đungu rumé ka.*
    love-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] enter-NRLD[9].OVN[4] what matter -ever PART

    'he did not like to get mixed up with just anything.'

57. *iñchiñ ka   fey   ka   fey-pi-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu   ka.*
    we[p]   also that also that-say-CF[14]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1] PART

    'he used to tell us[p] that also.'

58. *"kon-la-ya-y-m-ün   chem wesa-ke   đungu-mu   rumé",*
    enter-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2] what bad-DISTR matter-INST -ever,
    pi-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu.
    say-CF[14]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1]

    ' "don't you[p] get involved with anything bad", he used to say to us[p].'

59. *kümé küđaw-fe-nge-y.*
    good work-NOM-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'he was a good worker.'

60. *tunté   pofre-nge-y   rumé, fiy yam-nge-y,*
    how.much poor-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] -ever, he respect-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]
    piwke-ye-nge-y.
    heart-carry-PASS[23]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'although he was poor, he was respected [and] loved.'

61. *kom fe-le-y   ta-ñi   pu*
    all   become.like.that-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss1s COLL
    peñi-wen-nge-n.
    brother-REL-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

    'my brothers are all like that.'

62. *re   küđaw-fe-nge-y,   kümé küđaw-fe.*
    only work-NOM-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], good work-NOM

    'they are just workers, good workers.'

63. *pofre-nge-y-iñ   ka,   nie-la-y-iñ   müté, welu kümé*
    poor-VERB[36]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] PART, have-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] very   but good
    ru-l-pa-antü-le-y-iñ.
    pass-CA[34]-Hh[16]-day-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'we[p] are poor; we[p] do not have much, but we[p] live through the day all right.'

64. *fey femngechi fey   kiñe-w[12]   . . . , kiñe mapu-mu el-künu-r-pu-e-y-iñ-mu,*
    he thus   that one-improd. ,   one land-INST leave-PFPS[32]-ITR[18]-

<div align="center">

kiñe ruka-mu el-künu-r-pu-e-y-iñ-mu
</div>

LOC[17]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1], one house-INST leave-PFPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-

<div align="center">

ta-yiñ kiñe-w-küle-a-m.
</div>

IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1] the-poss1p one-improd.-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

'[and] so united, ... he left us[p] behind on one [piece] of land, in one house so that we[p] would be united.'

65. *ñuke fiy petú monge-le-y.*
mother that/then still get.life-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'mother was still living then.'

66. *fiy kwida-nie-fi-y-iñ ta-yiñ ñuke*
that/she take.care-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the-poss1p mother

kutran-ka-w-küle-no-a-m.
illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-ST[28]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

'we[p] take care of our[p] mother so that she does not have to suffer.'

67. *fey femngechi amu-le-y-iñ tüfá.*
that thus go-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this

'that is how we[p] get on today.'

68. *tuku-l-pa-meke-ke-fi-y-iñ*[13] *rumel ta-ñi chaw-em.*
put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-PR[28]-CF[14]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] always the-poss1s father-EX

'we[p] always recall my late father.'

69. *fey-ti kim-pa-lu fey tuku-l-pa-ke-y kom.*
that-the learn/know-Hh[17]-SVN[4] that put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] all:

'those who knew him remember everything.'

70. *"fe-m-ke-fu-y nga yiñ chaw*[14];
become.like.that-CA[34]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1p father;

piwke-ye-fe-y-iñ-mu", pi-ke-y.
heart-carry-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1], say-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

' "that is what our[p] father used to do; he felt for us[p]", they say.'

71. *fey-mu fey ta-tí ka iñché ka tuku-l-pa-meke-tu-y-iñ*
that-INST that the-the also I also put.at-CA[34]-Hh[17]-PR[28]-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-

fach-antü kümé chaw-em.
p[2] this-day good father-EX

'therefore, you know, I, we[p] remember [our] good late father today.'

72. *fey-mu fiy ta yepa-le-r-pu-y-iñ iñchiñ,*
that-INST that the take.after-ST[28]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] we[p],

yepa-ntu-nie-r-pu-fi-y-iñ kümé đungu-mu
take.after-TR[33]-PRPS[32]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] good matter-INST

yiñ kon-küle-al, trawü-l-uw-meke-al.
poss1p enter-ST[28]-NRLD[9].OVN[4], get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-PR[28]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'in this respect, we[p] are alike, we[p] take after him in that we[p] want to be involved in good things [and] that we will stick together.'

73. *kom fey-chi   đungu rumé ayü-ke-fu-y,   organisasion-mu   ñi*
    all   that-ADJ matter very love-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], organization-INST poss3
    müle-al   kom.
    be-NRLD[9].OVN[4] all

    'he liked these things a lot, [you know] that everybody would be [together] in
    one organization.'

74. *fey-mu   fey ta-tí   iñché ka   fe-le-r-pu-n*
    that-INST that the-the I   also become.like.that-ST[28]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3]
    ka   fach-antü.
    also this-day

    'in this respect I have become that way too.'

75. *fey-chi   đungu "erensiya"   pi-ke-y   ta   pu   che.*
    that-ADJ matter   inheritance say-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the COLL person

    'people call that "herencia".'

76. *fey   reké   ta   nie-ñma-fi-ñ   ñi   đungu*
    that/then as.it.were the have-IO[26]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] poss3 matter/word/idea
    ta-ñi   chaw.
    the-poss1s father

    'I more or less have my father's ideas.'

77. *fey-ta   ñi   chumngechi ñi   la-n   ñi   chaw-em[15].*
    that-the poss3 how   poss3 die-PVN[4] poss1s father-EX

    'this [is] how my father died.'

78. *fey may ka fey-pi-a-fi-ñ.*
    that PART also that-say-NRLD[9]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

    'I will tell that too, sure.'

79. *iñché wariya müle-pu-fu-n.*
    I   town   be-LOC[17]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]

    'I lived in town.'

80. *estudiya-le-pu-n   kurso agrícola ta-ñi   kim-a-fel*
    study-ST[28]-LOC[17]-IND1s[3] course agriculture the-poss1s know-NRLD[9]-
             đoy chumngechi ñi   kümé küđaw-meke-n   mapu.
    IPD[8].OVN[4] more how   poss1s good work-PR[28]-PVN[4] land

    'I took a course there in agriculture so that I would know more about how to
    cultivate the land in the right way.'

81. *fey-chi estudio fey-chi kim-el-tu-n,   llow-pu-fu-n*
    that-ADJ study   that-ADJ know-CA[34]-TR[33]-IND1s[3], receive-LOC[17]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]
    iñché petú fiy   la-rume-y   ñi   chaw.
    I   still that/then die-SUD[21]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] poss1s father

    'I taught, I took that course [when] suddenly my father died.'

82. *sabado-antü-mu*[16].
    saturday-day-INST

    'on a Saturday.'

83. *fiy   pe-me-e-n-ew,   nütram-ka-me-e-n-ew.*
    that/then see-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1], conversation-FAC[33]-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

    'he went to see me then, he went to talk to me.'

84. *trawü-y-u   chew   ñi   müle-mu-m.*
    get.together-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2] where poss1s be-PLPF[7]-IVN[4]

    'we[d] met [at the place] where I lived.'

85. *nie-y   apoderaw*[17] *iñché*
    have-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] authorized I

    'he authorized me.'

86. *fey-mu   fey   tarde*[18]   *wüđa-tu-y-u.*
    that-INST that/then afternoon separate(intr.)-RE[16]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]

    'then in the afternoon we[d] separated again.'

87. *fey kishu aku-tu-lu   pichi putu-rki-y.*
    he self   arrive-RE[16]-SVN[4] little drink-REP[12]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'when he came home, he drank a little, I am told.'

88. *pichi putu-rki-y   pulku.*
    little drink-REP[12]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] liquor/wine

    'he drank a little wine.'

89. *fey kutran pulku   reké fe-m-üy   ka   antü-mu,*
    he illness liquor/wine like become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] other day-INST,

    dominggu-antü[19].
    sunday-day

    'he behaved as if he had something like wine disease the other day, on Sunday.'

90. *fey   pütra-mu,   pi-y   am,   kom antü, kiñe kom antü ñi*
    that stomach-INST, say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART, all   day,   one all   day poss3

    kutran-küle-n.
    illness-ST[28]-PVN[4]

    'in the stomach, they said, for one day, for one whole day he was ill.'

91. *lawen   elu-nge-fu-y.*
    medicine give-PASS[23]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'he was given medicine.'

92. *fey   küme-l-ka-la-y.*
    that good-CA[34]-FAC[33]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'it did not work.'

93. *fiy   tarde   fiy   perdi-y.*
    that/then afternoon that/then pass.away-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'then in the afternoon he passed away.'

94. *iñché nge-la-n.*
  I   be-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]

'I was not there.'

95. *fey   ka   antü-mu, dia lune[20],   lune-antü,   fiy*
  that/then other day-INST, day Monday, Monday-day, that/then

  pe-me-e-n-ew   ñi   kiñe peñi[21],   ñi   malle ñi   fotüm.
  see-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] poss1s one   brother, poss1s uncle poss3 son

'then, the other day, on Monday, (on Monday, then) my only cousin, my uncle's son went to see me.'

96. *"fey perdi-y   ta-ñi   tio[22],   ta-ñi   malle",*
  he   pass.away-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] the-poss3 uncle,   the-poss3 uncle,

  pi-me-e-n-ew.
  say-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

' "he passed away, my uncle, my uncle", he said to me.'

97. *"ta-mi   chaw", pi-me-e-n-ew.*
  the-poss2s father, say-Th[20]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

' "your[s] father", he said to me.'

98. *fey   iñché kim-we-la-n   ñi   chum-al.*
  that/then I   know-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3] poss1s do.what/how-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'then I did not know what to do any more.'

99. *fey   küpa-tu-n.*
  that/then come-RE[16]-IND1s[3]

'then I came back.'

100. *fey kiñe antü-y   müten ta-ñi   chaw.*
  he one   day-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] merely the-poss1s father

'it lasted only one day [for] my father.'

101. *kutran-ka-w-la-y   ke[23].*
  illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] PART

'he did not suffer.'

102. *kiñe antü kutran-ka-w-üy.*
  one   day   illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

'he suffered one day.'

103. *fey   püröm perdi-y,   kutran-la-fu-y.*
  that/then quickly pass.away-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3], illness-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3]

'then he passed away quickly, he had not been ill.'

104. *fey ñi   küme-le-n   fiy perdi-y   femngechi.*
  he poss3 good-ST[28]-PVN[4] he pass.away-IND[4]-$\underline{3}$[3] thus

'while he was in good health, (then) he passed away.'

Notes

1. MM has the speech habit of using *ka* 'and, also, other' as an expletive.
2. *etudiya-* ∼ *estudiya-* is derived from Sp. estudiar 'to study'.
3. *profesor* is Sp. profesor 'teacher'.
4. *arenda-* is derived from Sp. arrendar 'to lease', 'to rent'.
5. *are-* ∼ *are-l-* 'to let, to lease', *are-tu-* 'to borrow from', *are-ngül-üm-* let-get.together-CA^{34}- 'to let, to lease'.
6. A *wingka* is a non-Mapuche,
7. *pen nga ti* is a petrified expression indicating sorrow or regret. The etymology of *pen* is not clear.
8. *kishu* ∼ *kisu* 'alone, self, own' is often used by MM to indicate third person.
9. *xunio* is Sp. junio 'June'.
10. *perdi-* 'to pass away' is derived from Sp. perderse 'to get lost, to disappear'.
11. *pekan* 'disorder, sin' is derived from Sp. pecar 'to sin'.
12. *kiñe-w* 'as one, united' contains an improductive suffix *-w*, cf. 18.3.
13. *-pa-* HH^{17} forms part of the stem.
14. *chaw* 'father' also denotes a close male relative of one's father's generation.
15. MM had told me that he would speak about his father's death. Line 76 was MM's last sentence. I then asked him: "but you were going to tell me about your father's death?". MM then continued with line 77 in answer to my question.
16. *sabado* is Sp. sabado 'Saturday'.
17. *apoderaw* is derived from Sp. apoderar 'to empower, to authorize'. Line 85 means that MM's father, knowing that he is about to die, passes his authority on to his eldest son.
18. *tarde* is Sp. tarde 'afternoon, evening'.
19. *dominggu* is Sp. domingo 'Sunday'.
20. *dia lune* is Sp. día 'day' and lunes 'Monday'.
21. *peñi* 'brother' can also denote a close male relative of one's own generation.
22. *tio* is Sp. tio 'uncle'.
23. For *ke*, see 32.17.

Text 14. Brick

In 1980, when this story was recorded, Mario Millapi and many other Mapuche
were unemployed. Like many of his relatives and friends, Millapi did not parti-
cipate in the Chilean economy at all. Between them they exchanged food and
clothing. In this story Mario Millapi tells how he and his friends join hands
in an effort to make some money. With the help of the one horse they own
together, Millapi and his friends mix mud and straw. The mixture is dried in
the sun in wooden moulds. The resulting bricks are piled up in a mound and
dried and hardened by the fire that is lit inside. The bricks are sold as building
material.

1. *ka   pichi   nütram-ka-ya-n   may   tüfá,   ka*
   and/also little   conversation-FAC[33]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]   PART   this,   and/also

   fach-antü   ñi   ta-yiñ[1]   antü-mew   müle-el,   ta-yiñ
   this-day   poss1s   the-poss1p   day-INST   be-OVN[4],   the-poss1p

   chumngechi küđaw-küle-n,   chum-le-r-pu-n.
   how   work-ST[28]-PVN[4], do.how/what-ST[28]-ITR[18]-LOC[17]-PVN[4]

   'sure, I will now tell a little [about] . . . , how we[p] are during the day nowadays,
   how we are working [and] what is going on.'

2. *ka-ke   antü-nge-y   đoy   ta-ñi   pepi-l-nge-we-nu-n*
   other-DISTR day-VERB[36]-IND[4]-3[3] more the-poss3 be.able-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-

                  küđaw.
   NEG[10]-PVN[4] work

   'these are different times in which it is no longer possible to work.'

3. *pepi-l-nge-we-nu-n   chum-künu-a-el*
   be.able-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-PVN[4]   do.what/how-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

   küđaw-mew ta   che.
   work-INST   the person

   'in which what people want to achieve through [their] work is no longer pos-
   sible.'

4. *kishu   ñi   küđaw-küle-a-el   kam   kiñe-w[2]   küđaw-a-el*
   self   poss3   work-ST[28]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4] or   one-improd. work-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

   pepi-l-uw-we-la-y.
   be.able-CA[34]-REF[31]-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

   'it is no longer possible to work on your own or to work together.'

5. *fey-mu   fey fach-antü ta-yiñ   lof-mew   tüfá*
   that-INST that this-day   the-poss1p reservation-INST this

   kiñe-w-küle-y-iñ.
   one-improd.-ST[28]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

   'therefore we[p] are united today in our[p] reservation here.'

6. *müle-y   fentre-ke-n   wenüy.*
   be-IND[4]-3[3] much-DISTR-PVN[4] friend

'there are many friends.'

7. *aku-ke-y*   *ñi*   *nütram-ka-pa-a-lu*[3]   *fey tüfa-chi*
  arrive-CF[14]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ poss3 conversation-FAC[33]-Hh[17]-NRLD[9]-SVN[4] that this-ADJ
  lof-mew.
  reservation-INST

  'they come to talk in this reservation.'

8. *ka iñché ka pe-nge-pa-ke-n.*
  and I   also see-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

  'and they come and see me too.'

9. *"kümé đungu ta müli-y*   *trawü-l-uw-a-y-m-ün",*
  good   matter the be-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-2[3]-p[2]
  pi-nge-pa-ke-n.
  say-PASS[23]-Hh[17]-CF[14]-IND1s[3]

  ' "it is a good thing [that] you[p] are going to join [hands]", they come and tell
  me.'

10. *fey*   *iñché fey-pi-ke-n*   *ñi*   *pu*   *wenüy:*
  that/then I   that-say-CF[14]-IND1s[3] poss1s COLL friend

  'I then say to my friends:'

11. *"kiñe-w*   *küđaw-ül-m-ün,*   *müná küme-a-fu-y".*
  one-improd. work-COND[4]-2[3]-p[2], very   good-NRLD[9]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$

  ' "it would be very good if you[p] work together".'

12. *fey-ti*   *pu*   *...,*   *wül-kiaw-ül-üy*   *tüfa-chi đungu welu đoy*
  that-the COLL ,   give-CIRC[30]-MIO[29]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ this-ADJ matter but   more
  kristianu-nge-lu.
  Christian-VERB[36]-SVN[4]

  'those who ..., they go about with this message for those who are fairly
  Christian.'

13. *fey-ti*   *newé*   *kristianu-nge-nu-lu*   *kay fiy-ta*   *newé*
  that-the not.very Christian-VERB[36]-NEG[10]-SVN[4]   PART that-the not.very
  đoam-la-y   *ka.*
  need/want-NEG[10]-IND[4]-$\underline{3}^3$ PART

  'those who are not so very Christian do not want [it] that much.'

14. *fey-tüfey-chi küme-ke*   *đungu, kiñe-w*   *küđaw-a-el-chi đungu, kümé*
  that-that-ADJ good-DISTR matter, one-improd. work-NRLD[9]-   matter, good
  trawü-l-uw-küle-al,   *organisasion nie-al*   *a*
  get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-NRLD[9].OVN[4] organization have-NRLD[9].OVN[4] on
  dominggu-mu[4] *antü-mu yiñ*   *ka*   *ngilla-tu-al*
  sunday-INST   day-INST poss1p PART buy-TR[33]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]
  chaw-ngüne-che-n-mu   *ka,*   *fey-chi*   *đungu*   *fiy*   *fach-antü*
  father-rule-person-PVN[4]-INST   PART,   that-ADJ   matter   that   this-day

müle-y.
be-IND[4]-3[3]

'these good things, to work together, to be closely united, to have a meeting on Sunday to pray to God the Father, these things are here today.'

15. *kuyfí   nge-ke-la-fu-y.*
formerly be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]

'in earlier times they were not.'

16. *nge-ke-la-fu-y   kapilla tüfa-chi   lof-mew.*
be-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] chapel this-ADJ reservation-INST

'there was no chapel on this reservation.'

17. *kolexio müten   müle-ke-fu-y   welu aku-ke-la-fu-y*
school   merely be-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3] but   arrive-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-3[3]
turpu chem relixion rumé newé.
never what religion -ever not.very

'there was only a school but, there has never been any church.'

18. *femngechi folil-uw-pa-ke-la-y.*
thus   root-REF[31]-Hh[17]-CF[14]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3]

'that has not taken roots here.'

19. *fach-antü fiy   müle-tu-y   đoy; nie-tu-y-iñ   kapilla katólika*
this-day   that be-RE[16]-IND[4]-3[3] more; have-RE[16]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] chapel catholic
ka   kiñe-ke   ewanxeliku-nge-lu   ka.
and one-DISTR preacher-VERB[36]-SVN[4] PART

'there are more of them[5] today; we[p] have a catholic chapel and some [men] who are preachers.'

20. *welu   fach-antü kiñe-w-küle-y-iñ   fey-ti-chi   kiñe-ke*
but   this-day   one-improd.-ST[28]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] that-the-ADJ one-DISTR
ewanxeliku.
preacher

'but today we[p] are one with these preachers.'

21. *kiñe-w   küđaw-küle-y-iñ.*
one-improd. work-ST[28]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

'we[p] work together.'

22. *nie-fi-y-iñ   ti kiñe organisasion "ađ   mapu"*
have-EDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2] the one organization   form/habit land
pi-nge-lu.
say-PASS[23]-SVN[4]

'we[p] have this one organization "ađ mapu"[6] it is called.'

23. *re   mapuche ta-ñi   trawü-l-uw-küle-n.*
only Mapuche the-poss3 get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-ST[28]-PVN[4]

'only Mapuche join [it].'

24. *fey-mu   fey   iñchiñ kiñe küɖaw ina-nie-y-iñ   kom ta-yiñ*
    that-INST that we[p]   one work   follow-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] all the-poss1p
    chumngechi   wew-a-m   plata,   chumngechi   ta-yiñ   kümé
    how   earn-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]   money,   how   the-poss1p   good
    ruka-nge-a-m.
    house-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

    'therefore we[p] join in one project[7] so that we[p] can all earn money [and] have good houses.'

25. *fente   fali-we-lu   am   tüfá ngilla-ya-m   mamüll, trafla*
    that.much be.worth-PS[19]-SVN[4] PART this buy-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] wood,   plank
    ruka   ɖewma-nge-a-m.
    house make-PASS[23]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]

    'for today it is so very expensive to buy wood and planks to build a house.'

26. *rumé fali-y,   plata   nge-la-y.*
    very   be.worth-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], money be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'it is very expensive [and] there is no money.'

27. *ka yiñ   nie-el,   pichi-ke   kulliñ, ka fali-we-la-y.*
    and poss1p have-OVN[4], little-DISTR cattle, also be.worth-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'and what we[p] have, [some] small cattle, is not worth much any more either.'

28. *manel-uw-ün   nge-la-y.*
    trust/give.guarantee-REF[31]-PVN[4] be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'there is no guarantee.[8]'

29. *fey-mu   fey entu-fi-y-iñ   tüfa-chi kiñe küɖaw.*
    that-INST that take.out-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this-ADJ one   work

    'therefore we[p] have undertaken this particular project.'

30. *fey   ɖewma-y-iñ   petú ladrillo[9].*
    that make-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] still brick

    'we[p] make bricks.'

31. *ladrillo küɖaw ɖewma-ina-nie-fi-y-iñ.*
    brick   work   make-follow-PRPS[32]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'we[p] do this brick-project together.'

32. *fey-mu   trawü-l-uw-meke-ki-y-iñ.*
    that-INST get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-PR[29]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'through that [project] we[p] make an effort to become united.'

33. *kom pu   wenüy müle-y-iñ.*
    all   COLL friend be-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

    'we[p] are all friends.'

34. *ayu-w-küle-y   femngechi küɖaw-mu yiñ   kon-ün.*
    love-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] thus   work-INST poss1p enter/start-PVN[4]

    'it is satisfying that we[p] start on a project like this.'

35. *ayu-w-ma-nie-fi-y-iñ*   kom   ka   yiñ   pichi-ke
love-REF^{31}-EXP^{35}-PRPS^{32}-EDO^6-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2 all   and   poss1p   little-DISTR
pe-a-m   plata.
see-NRLD^9-IVN^4 money

'we^p are all happy with it, and (we are happy) to have bits of money.'

36. *fey-mu*   *ka*   *manel-uw-küle-y*   *fey*   *đoy*   *kümé*
that-INST   also/again   trust-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-IND^4-3^3 that/then   more   good
monge-nie-tu-a-fu-m,   *küme-ke*   *ruka*   *yiñ*
get.life-PRPS^{32}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IVN^4,   good-DISTR   house   poss1p
nie-tu-a-fu-m   *kom.*
have-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-IPD^8-IVN^4 all

'therefore there is confidence again that [we] might have a better life again [and] that we^p all might have good houses again.'

37. *wesa-ke*   *ruka*   *müle-lu, nge-la-y*   *plata, nge-ke-nu-lu*
bad-DISTR   house   be-SVN^4,   be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-3^3 money,   be-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-SVN^4
küme-ke   *ruka.*
good-DISTR house

'for there are bad houses - there is no money - there are no good houses, are there?'

38. *fey-mu*   *fey*   *ta-tí*   *iñchiñ*   *trawü-l-uw-ün-mu*   *ka*
that-INST   that   the-the   we^p get.together-CA^{34}-REF^{31}-PVN^4-INST   and
kim-ün-mu   *pichi-ke-n*   *papel-tu-n*   *ka kim-ün-mu*
know-PVN^4-INST little-DISTR-PVN^4 paper-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 and know-PVN^4-INST
pichi-ke-n   *ngüne-che-n*   *ñi*   *đungu,*   *fey-mu*   *fey-ta*
little-DISTR-PVN^4 rule-person-PVN^4 poss3 matter/word, that-INST that-the
đoy troki-tu-le-y-iñ   *ta-yiñ*   *kümé küđaw-küle-al,*
more opine-TR^{33}-ST^{28}-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2 the-poss1p good work-ST^{28}-NRLD^9.OVN^4,
ta-yiñ   *kümé*   *ina-ni-a-fiel*   *tüfa-chi*   *organisasion*
the-poss1p good   follow-PRPS^{32}-NRLD^9-TVN^4 this-ADJ   organization
trawü-l-uw-meke-al,   *nütram-ka-ya-el,*
get.together-CA^{34}-REF^{31}-PR^{28}-NRLD^9.OVN^4, conversation-FAC^{33}-NRLD^9-OVN^4
đoy ta-yiñ   *kim-uw-a-el.*
more the-poss1p know/learn-REF^{31}-NRLD^9-OVN^4

'therefore, you know, because we join [hands] and because [we] know a little [how] to write and because [we] know a little of God's Word, therefore, you know, we^p rather think that we^p must be doing it the right way, that we^p must join this project in a good way, in order to make an effort become united, to talk, [and] to get to know each other better.'

39. *kuyfí*   *newé*   *nge-ke-la-fu-y*   *femngechi*
formerly not.very be-CF^{14}-NEG^{10}-IPD^8-IND^4-3^3 such

trawü-l-uw-ün.
get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-PVN[4]

'in former days there was no such unity.'

40. *müle-ka-ke-fu-y,*   *welu pichi-n-tu-ki-y.*
be-CONT[16]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3], but   little-PVN[4]-VERB[36]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

'there used to be [unity], but it lasted [only] a short time.'

41. *fey   tüfey-chi   pu   wingka   kim-lu   fey   müten   fey-ta*
that   that-ADJ   COLL   stranger know-SVN[4] that/then merely   that-the
aɗ-nie-ke-fe-y-iñ-mu.
form/position-PRPS[32]-CF[14]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1]

'because these strangers knew [how], just because of that, they used to keep
us[p] in our place.'

42. *fach-antü fiy   ɗewmá   kisu petú aɗ-üm-uw-ka-fu-y-iñ*[10]
this-day   that/then almost/finished self   still form/position-CA[34]-REF[31]-
                                    ta-yiñ   mapuche-nge-n.
CONT[16]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] the-poss1p Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

'today we[p] Mapuche learned various skills.'

43. *müle-ye-y   kiñe-ke   kim-lu,   mapuche, fey fey-ta   welu*
be-PL[24]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] one-DISTR learn/know-SVN[4], Mapuche, that that-the but
kümé piwke-nge-lu   ka   pichin   kim-lu   fey-ti-chi
good heart-VERB[36]-SVN[4] and small.quantity learn/know-SVN[4] that-the-ADJ
relixion ɗungu, Kristu ta-ñi   ɗungu.
religion matter, christ the-poss3 matter/word

'there are many Mapuche who have learned and have a good heart nonetheless
and know a bit of this religion, of Christ's Word.'

44. *fey   fey-ta   küme-ke   ɗungu elu-elu-ye-e-y-iñ-mu*
that   that-the   good-DISTR matter give-give-SFR[36]-IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]-DS[1]
fach-antü.
this-day

'He gives us[p] these good things all the time now.'

45. *welu iñchiñ ka   kim-nie-y-iñ   ɗewmá,   ta-yiñ*
but   we[p]   also learn/know-PRPS[32]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] almost/finished the-poss1p
pu   mapuche-nge-n.
COLL Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4]

'but we[p] know [these things] too, we[p] Mapuche.'

46. *aɗ-üm-fi-y-iñ   ɗewmá fey-ta-chi   trawü-l-uw-ün*
form-CA[34]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] finished that-the-ADJ get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-
        ta-yiñ   kiñe-w-a-el,   ɗoy kim-uw-a-el,
PVN[4] the-poss1p one-improd.-NRLD[9]-OVN[4], more learn/know-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-
        ɗoy   kellu-w-a-el.
OVN[4], more help-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

'we[p] have learned how to gather together, how to become united, to get to know each other better [and] to help each other better.'

47. *fey-mu   fiy   fach-antü fey-chi   đungu   püra-m-ye-nie-fi-y-iñ*
    that-INST that this-day   that-ADJ matter/idea go.up-CA[34]-carry-PRPS[32]-
           tüfá.
    EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this

    'therefore we[p] keep up this thought today.'

48. *femngechi iñchiñ ta-yiñ   pu   mapuche-nge-n   am   kiñe-ke*
    thus   we[p]   the-poss1p COLL Mapuche-VERB[36]-PVN[4] PART one-DISTR
    newé   ayü-ke-nu-lu   ka   fey   tüfa-chi trawü-l-uw-ün
    not.very love-CF[14]-NEG[10]-SVN[4] also that this-ADJ get.together-CA[34]-REF[31]-
       đungu.
    PVN[4] matter

    'for there are some of us[p] Mapuche who do not appreciate this get-together business very much.'

49. *welu kuyfí   pi-y   am   ta-yiñ   pu   küpalme kümé*
    but formerly say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART the-poss1p COLL family   good
    feyentu-w-küle-fu-y.
    believe/trust-REF[31]-ST[28]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'in earlier times, so they say, there was trust within our[p] families.'

50. *fach-antü nge-we-la-y   newé   fey-ti   feyentu-w-ün.*
    this-day   be-PS[19]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] not.very that-the believe/trust-REF[31]-PVN[4]

    'today there is not so much trust any more.'

51. *aymüñ aye-tu-w-ki-y   che.*
    rather laugh-TR[33]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] person

    'people rather laugh at each other.'

52. *aye-nie-w-ki-y   ka   fey-ti   nütram-ka-fu-lu*
    laugh-PRPS[32]-REF[31]-CF[14]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] also that-the conversation-FAC[33]-IPD[8]-SVN[4]
    "kümé đungu püra-m-a-n"   pi-fu-lu.
     good matter go.up-CA[34]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] say-IPD[8]-SVN[4]

    'they laugh at those who talked, who said: "I will bring out something good".'

53. *newé   feyentu-nge-la-y.*
    not.very believe/trust-PASS[23]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]

    'there is not much faith.'

54. *welu tüfá ñochi-nge-ka-fu-y   ta-yiñ   feyentu-w-ün*
    but this slow-VERB[36]-CONT[16]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] the-poss1p believe/trust-REF[31]-
      petú.
    PVN[4] still

    'but now our[p] trust in each other is slowly growing.'

55. *fiy   đewma-l-i-iñ   fey-chi   küđaw, pe-nge-l-i-i-ñ*
    that/then   make/finish-COND[4]-1[3]-p[2] that-ADJ   work,   see-PASS[23]-CA[34]-

 ta-yiñ   küđaw-mu-m   ka,   fey-mu   fey-ta   đoy
COND[4]-1[3]-p[2] the-poss1p work-PLPF[7]-IVN[4] PART, that-INST that-the more

 feyentu-al   troki-w-küle-y-iñ   tüfá.
trust/believe-NRLD[9].OVN[4] opine-REF[31]-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this

'then, if we[p] finish this work, if we[p] show that we[p] have worked, then we[p] believe that there will be more trust today.'

56. *femngechi đungu-mu   ta küđaw-küle-y-iñ   fach-antü.*
thus   matter/idea-INST the work-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] this-day

'we[p] work in this spirit today.'

57. *femngechi đungu   ina-nie-tu-fi-y-iñ.*
such   matter/idea follow-PRPS[32]-RE[16]-EDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'we[p] adhere to this idea.'

58. *kishu ađ-üm-uw-a-el-chi   đungu, kishu ta-yiñ*
self   form/position-CA[34]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]-ADJ matter, self   the-poss1p

 pepi-l-uw-a-m   chem đungu-mu   rumé, ta-yiñ
be.able-CA[34]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4]   what matter-INST -ever, the-poss1p

 üngüm-küle-nu-a-m   kañ   pülé   küpa-l-el-nge-al
wait.for-ST[28]-NEG[10]-NRLD[9]-IVN[4] other side   come-CA[34]-BEN[27]-PASS[23]-

            ta itro-fill.
NRLD[9].OVN[4] the quite-all.kind

'the idea that one has to learn oneself how to do things in order get prepared for whatever so that we[p] do not wait till everything is brought to [us[p]] from elsewhere.'

59. *afkentu   fe-m-iy-iñ[11]   ka.*
for.a.long.time become.like.that-CA[34]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2] PART

'we[p] have done that for so long.'

60. *afkentu   üngüm-küle-y-iñ.*
for.a.long.time wait.for-ST[28]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'we[p] have been waiting for so long.'

61. *kisu nie-nu-lu   pepi-l-uw-ün   reké*
self have-NEG[10]-SVN[4] be.able-CA[34]-REF[31]-PVN[4] like

 fe-le-ke-fu-y-iñ.
become.like.that-ST[28]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

'we[p] were like that because we did not have anything like support for one another.'

62. *welu tüfá đewmá kim-lu   am iñchiñ ka pichi-ke-n,   ka*
but this finished learn/know-SVN[4] PART we[p]   also little-DISTR-PVN[4], also

 iñchiñ tunten   ñi   kim-ün   ñi   nie-n   wingka, ka
we[p]   how.much poss3 learn/know-PVN[4] poss3 have-PVN[4] stranger, and

 femngechi kim-ün   ta ka nie-ka-rke-fu-y-iñ
thus   learn/know-SVN[4] the also have-CONT[16]-REP[12]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-p[2]

ta-yiñ   mapuche-nge-n,   tüfá wülá fey-ta
the-poss1p Mapuche-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 this then that-the

pelo-tu-tu-y-iñ.
get.light-TR^{33}-RE^{16}-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2

'but now, since we^p have also learned a little bit, [since we have learned] how much strangers know and have - we^p Mapuche apparently had such knowledge also — (but . . .) now, you know, we^p have seen the light again.'

63. *fey-mu   ka   ta-yiñ   kishu ta-yiñ   mapuche đungu-n   ka,   ka*
    that-INST also the-poss1p self   the-poss1p Mapuche speak-PVN^4 also, also

    petú ina-tu-tu-fi-y-iñ   wülá.
    still follow-TR^{33}-RE^{16}-EDO^6-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2 then

    'therefore since that time we^p have also been close to our^p own . . . , to our^p Mapuche language again.'

64. *petú wiño-kintu-tu-fi-y-iñ^{12}.*
    still return-look.for-RE^{16}-EDO^6-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2

    'we^p take notice of it again.'

65. *fey-mu   ta-tí   ka rumé ayü-w-küle-y-iñ   ka femngechi petú*
    that-INST the-the also very love-REF^{31}-ST^{28}-IND^4-1ns^3-p^2 and thus   still

    ayü-ñma-nge-n   müté yiñ   kewün ta-yiñ   mapuche đungu-n^{13}.
    love-IO^{26}-PASS^{23}-IND1s^3 very poss1p tongue the-poss1p Mapuche speak-PVN^4

    'because of this, we^p are very happy and our^p tongue, our^p Mapuche language, is very much loved.'

66. *fey-mu   fiy   đoy ayü-w-ün   müle-tu-y.*
    that-INST that more love-REF^{31}-PVN^4 be-RE^{16}-IND^4-3^3

    'therefore there is more happiness again.'

67. *fey-chi   đungu   fey   ta-tí   ka   nütram-ye-pe-n*
    that-ADJ   matter/idea that the-the also conversation-OO^{35}-PX^{13}-IND1s^3

    fach-antü pichin.
    this-day   small.quantity

    'I have talked a little today about this idea.'

Notes

1. MM corrects *ñi* poss1s for *ta-yiñ* the-poss1p.
2. *-w* is an improductive suffix, see 18.3.
3. Note that after *a* the non-realization marker *-a-* varies with *-ya-* in the speech of MM, cf. line 1 of the present text.
4. *a dominggu* is Sp. a domingo 'on Sunday'.
5. 'Them' refers to churches.
6. *ađ mapu* may be rendered as 'customs of the country' or 'things associated

with the land'. The organization "*ađ mapu*" is an important organization which stands up for the interests of the Mapuche people.

7. MM refers to the brick making project which has been initiated by him and his fellows on the reservation.

8. MM probably means to say that they cannot get a loan to furnish starting capital.

9. *ladrillo* is Sp. ladrillo 'brick'.

10. *ađ* 'form, position, face, habit, view, skill', *ađ-üm-* 'to learn how to do/make something'.

11. In the speech of MM, *ü* or *i* may be inserted between a consonant and *-y-u* or *-y-iñ*, cf. 8.1.1.

12. *wiño-kintu-* return-look.for- 'to look back'.

13. *ayü-ñma-nge-n* ... *yiñ kewün* ... should be either *ayü-ñma-nge-n* ... *ñi kewün* ... (lit.: I am loved my tongue) or *ayü-ñma-nge-y-iñ* ... *yiñ kewün* ... (lit.: we[p] are loved our[p] tongue). The Mapuche language is referred to in Mapuche either by *mapu-đungu* land-matter/word/language, by *đungu*, by *mapu-đungu-n* land-speak-PVN[4] or by *mapuche*.

Text 15. Song 1

The songs in texts 15-17 are interpreted by Rafael Railaf. The theme and the melody of a Mapuche song are fixed; the words can be varied by the singer.

1. *kuyfí,*   *kuyfí,*   *iñché*   *we-che-nge-lu,*   *we-che*
   formerly,   formerly,   I   young-person-VERB^{36}-SVN^4,   young-person

   wentru-nge-lu   *iñché, we-che*   *wentru-nge-lu*   *nga^1 iñché,*
   man-VERB^{36}-SVN^4 I,   young-person man-VERB^{36}-SVN^4 PART I

   'a long time ago, a long time ago, when I was young, when I was a young man, when I was a young man,'
2. *müná nga*   *kutran-tu-y*   *nga*   *ñi*   *piwke.*
   very   PART illness-VERB^{36}-IND^4-3^3 PART poss1s heart

   'my heart ached very much.'
3. *pobre-nge-lu*   *nga*   *iñché.*
   poor-VERB^{36}-SVN^4 PART I

   'for I was poor.'
4. *chuchi pülé künu-a-n*   *nga*   *ñi*   *rakiɖoam?* (2×)
   which side let-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 PART poss1s thought

   'how must I know my own mind?' (2×)^2
5. *kon-ün*   *nga*   *ɖungu-mew, kon-ün*   *nga*   *küme-ke*
   enter/start-IND1s^3 PART matter-INST, enter/start-IND1s^3 PART good-DISTR

   ɖungu-mew.
   matter-INST

   'I undertook things, I undertook good things.'
6. *müle-pu-y*   *nga,*   *müle-pu-y,*   *müle-pu-y*   *nga*
   be-LOC^{17}-IND^4-3^3 PART,   be-LOC^{17}-IND^4-3^3,   be-LOC^{17}-IND^4-3^3 PART

   küme-ke   *ɖungu*   *ka*   *müli-y*   *nga*   *wüya-ke*   *ɖungu*   *ka*   *ma^3*
   good-DISTR matter and be-IND^4-3^3 PART bad-DISTR matter and ITJ

   müli-y   *nga*   *wüya-ke*   *ɖungu.*
   be-IND^4-3^3 PART bad-DISTR matter

   'there were bad things, there were . . . , there were good things and there were bad things and there were good things.'
7. *fente*   *nga*   *ñi*   *pobre-nge-n*   *amu-tripa-n,*   *amu-tripa-n*
   that.much PART poss1s poor-VERB^{36}-PVN^4 go-leave-IND1s^3, go-leave-IND1s^3

   mu^4.
   ITJ

   'being so poor, I went away, I went away.'
8. *chum-a-n*   *nga*   (2×), *pi-y*   *nga*   *ñi*   *rakiɖoam.*
   do.how/what-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 PART ,   say-IND^4-3^3 PART poss1s thought

   'what must I do? (2×), I thought.'

9. *chum-a-n*   *nga,*   *pi-y*   *nga*   *ñi*   *rakiđoam.*
    do.how/what-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART, say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1s thought

    'what must I do?, I thought.'

10. *nge-nu-n-mu*   *nga*   *kofke,*   *nge-nu-n-mu*   *nga*   *ilo,*
     be-NEG[10]-PVN[4]-INST   PART   bread,   be-NEG[10]-PVN[4]-INST   PART   meat,
     nge-nu-n-mu   *nga küme-ke*   *rakiđoam.*
     be-NEG[10]-PVN[4]-INST PART good-DISTR thought

    'for there was no bread, there was no meat, there were no good ideas.'

11. *amu-tripa-n*   (3×) *nga*   *ñi*   *mapu-mew.*
     go-leave-IND1s[3]   PART poss1s land-INST

    'I went and left (3×) my country.'

12. *müná nga*   *weñangkü-y*   *nga*   *ñi*   *piwke* (2×).
     very   PART feel.grieve/pain-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1s heart

    'my heart ached very much.' (2×)

13. *el-künu-n*   *nga*   *ñi*   *küme-ke*   *weniy, el-künu-n*
     leave-PFPS[32]-IND1s[3] PART poss1s good-DISTR friend, leave-PFPS[32]-IND1s[3]
     nga   *ñi*   *küme-ke*   *familia.*
     PART poss1s good-DISTR family

    'I left my good friends behind, I left my good relatives behind.'

14. *chuchi*   *pülé*   *künu-w-a-n*   *rumé,*   *pi-y*   *nga*   *ñi*
     which   side   let-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]   -ever,   say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3]   PART   poss1s
     rakiđoam (2×).
     thought

    'which way shall I go?, I thought.' (2×)

15. *amu-tripa-n*   *nga*   (2×) *puel mapu*[5].
     go-leave-IND1s[3] PART   puel land

    'I went away and left (2×) for *puel mapu.*'

16. *külá*   *tripantu-me-n*   *nga*   *ka*   *mapu.*
     three   year-Th[20]-IND1s[3] PART other land

    'I stayed in an other land for three years.'

17. *kana-me-n*   *nga*   *plata*   (2×).
     earn-Th[20]-IND1s[3] PART money

    'I earned money there.' (2×)

18. *fali-la-y*   *nga*   *ñi*   *fe-m-yaw-ün* (2×),
     be.worth-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1s become.like.that-CA[34]-CIRC[30]-PVN[4],
     pi-y   *nga*   *ñi*   *rakiđoam* (2×).
     say-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1s thought

    'it is no use to walk around like this (2×), I thought.' (2×)

19. *chumül*   *chi*   *nga*   *wiño-tu-a-n,*   *chumül*   *nga*   *ñi*
     when   PART   PART   return-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3],   when   PART   poss1s

wiño-tu-al?
return-RE[16]-NRLD[9].OVN[4]

'when shall I go back? when will be my return?'

20. *müná nga akorda-n   nga ñi   pu   weniy.*
    very PART remember-IND1s[3] PART poss1s COLL friend

'I thought of my friends a lot.'

21. *müná küme-ke   weniy nga nge-n   nga ñi   mapu-mew* (2×).
    very good-DISTR friend PART have-IND1s[3] PART poss1s land-INST

'I had very good friends in my country.' (2×)

22. *chum-künu-chi   li[6] nga müli-we-n   tüfa-chi mapu-mew.*
    do.how/what-PFPS[32]-IMP1s[3] ITJ PART be-PS[19]-IND1s[3] this-ADJ land-INST

'what shall I do?, I am still in this country.'

23. *fali-pa-la-n   (2×) tüfa-chi mapu-mew.*
    be.worth-Hh[17]-NEG[10]-IND1s[3]   this-ADJ land-INST

'I am worthless here (2×) in this country.'

24. *mexor[7] nga amu-tu-a-n* (2×),   *pi-y   nga ñi   rakiđoam.*
    better   PART go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3], say-IND[4]-3[3] PART poss1s thought

'I'd better go (2×), I thought.'

25. *mexor nga amu-tu-a-n,   pi-y   nga ñi   rakiđoam.*
    better PART go-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3], say-IND[4]-3[3] PART poss1s thought

'I'd better go, I thought.'

26. *aku-tu-lu   nga Chile iñché, iñché, kure-nge-pa-tu-lu   nga*
    arrive-RE[16]-SVN[4] PART Chile I,   I,   wife-VERB[36]-Hh[17]-RE[16]-SVN[4] PART
    iñché, ka   fe-le-pa-tu-n.
    I,   also/again become.like.that-ST[28]-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND1s[3]

'when I came back to Chile, when I got married here, I was in the same situation as before.'

27. *ngi-la-y[8]   nga plata, ngi-la-y   nga kulliñ, ngi-la-y*
    be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] PART money, be-NEG[10]-IND[4]-3[3] PART cattle, be-NEG[10]-
            nga mapu nga ñi   küđaw-a-m.
    IND[4]-3[3] PART land   PART poss1s work-NRLD[9]-OVN[4]

'there was no money, there was no cattle, there was no land to work on.'

28. *fe-m-nge-we-y   nga ñi   đoam.*
    become.like.that-CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-IND[4]-3[3] PART poss1s need

'my needs were still the same.'

29. *ka   femngechi nga   müná würá nga*
    and thus   PART very bad PART
    kutran-ka-w-küle-pa-tu-n.
    illness-FAC[33]-REF[31]-ST[28]-Hh[17]-RE[16]-IND1s[3]

'and so I suffered very much [when I came] back here again.'

30. *epu ne-n*^{9} *nga ñi   fochüm, külá ne-n*   *nga   ñi*
two have/get-IND1s^3 PART poss1s son,   three have/get-IND1s^3 PART poss1s
fochüm.
son

'I got two sons, I got three sons.'

31. *pi-la-n*^{10} *nga, nge-la-y,*   *are-l-nge-la-y*^{11}.
see-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 PART, be-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$, lease-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-NEG^{10}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$

'I did not see [anything], there was [nothing], [nothing] was lent^{11}.'

32. *re   napor*^{12} *nga müli-y   ñi   ruka-mew.*
only turnips PART be-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ poss1s house-INST

'there were only turnips in my house.'

33. *ñiwa-ñiwa-tu-fu-n*   *em* (2×).
do.one's.best-do.one's.best-SFR^{36}-IPD^8-IND1s^3 PART

'all the time I did my best.' (2×)

34. *kana-la-n*   *nga plata* (2×).
earn-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 PART money

'[but] I did not earn money.' (2×)

35. *fe-m-nge-we-y*   *nga ñi   ɖoam.*
become.like.that-CA^{34}-PASS^{23}-PS^{19}-IND^4-$\underline{3}^3$ PART poss1s need

'my needs were still the same.'

36. *mexor nga kon-a-n*   *nga weycha-n-mew.*
better PART enter/start-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 PART fight-PVN^4-INST

'I had better join the struggle.'

37. *nü-ntu-ñma-tu-a-fi-y-iñ*   *nga yiñ   mapu*
take-improd.-IO^{26}-RE^{16}-NRLD^9-EDO^6-IND^4-$\underline{1ns}^3$-p^2 PART poss1p land
nü-ntu-nie-ñma-e-t-ew   *nga tüfa-chi füta-ke   riku.*
take-improd.-PRPS^{32}-IO^{26}-IDO^6-AVN^4-DS^1 PART this-ADJ big-DISTR rich

'we^p are going to take our^p land back from them, [our land] which these fat rich [people] have taken away [from us].'

38. *la-kon-a-n*   *rumé* (2×).
die-enter-NRLD^9-IND1s^3 -ever

'even if I die.' (2×)

39. *akorda-we-tu-la-n*   *rumé   nga ñi   pu   weniy* (2×).
remember-PS^{19}-RE^{16}-NEG^{10}-IND1s^3 very/-ever PART poss1s COLL friend

'I did not even think of my friends any more.' (2×)

40. *ütrüf-el   nga ñi   piwke reké fe-m-ün.*
throw-OVN^4 PART poss1s heart like become.like.that-CA^{34}-IND1s^3

'I did as if my heart had been thrown away.'

41. *kishu-tu nga ñi   piwke-mew, rakiɖoam-mew lladkü-tu-w-ün.*
alone-ADV PART poss1s heart-INST, thought-INST   get.sad-TR^{33}-REF^{31}-IND1s^3

'I became sad, alone, in my heart, in [my] thoughts.'

42. *kümé tripa-l-i   nga, kümé tripa-ya-n;   weđá tripa-l-i*
    good leave-COND⁴-1³-s̱² PART, good leave-NRLD⁹-IND1s³; bad   leave-COND⁴-
         nga, weđá tripa-ya-n.
    1³-s̱² PART, bad   leave-NRLD⁹-IND1s³

    'if it turns out all right for me, I will end up all right; if it turns out bad for
    me, I will end up in a bad way.'

43. *đew   nga ñi   reké well   nga ñi   fe-m-ün,*
    already PART poss1s like incomplete/damaged PART poss1s become.like.that-
              pi-y   nga ñi   rakiđoam.
    CA³⁴-IND1s³, say-IND⁴-3³ PART poss1s thought

    'I already felt as if I had been damaged, I thought.'

44. *weycha-n-mew nga kon-a-n.*
    fight-PVN⁴-INST PART enter/start-NRLD⁹-IND1s³

    'I will start fighting.'

45. *chum-a-n?*   (3×)
    do.how/what-NRLD⁹-IND1s³

    'what shall I do?' (3×)

46. *chunté   weñangkü-lle-fu-l-i   rumé, đewmá wedá*
    how.much   feel.grieve/pain-AFF¹¹-IPD⁸-COND⁴-1³-s̱² -ever,   finished bad
    tripa-y-iñ.
    leave-IND⁴-1̱ns³-p²

    'no matter how much pain I feel, weᵖ are already bad off.'

47. *afkentu   nga weñangkü-n*   (2×).
    a.long.time PART feel.grieve/pain-IND1s³

    'I have grieved for so long already.' (2×)

Notes

1. *nga* PART is used to recall a past situation, often with an undertone of
   sadness or regret.
2. ( ) include the number of times (the part of) the sentence is repeated (which
   follows the last punctuation marker).
3. *ma* has been labelled ITJ: interjection. I cannot determine its meaning. I
   have the impression that *ma* is only added to fit the melody.
4. *mu* is probably only used to fit the melody.
5. Argentina is called *puel mapu*, see note 5 of text 7.
6. I am not sure about the interpretation of *chum-künu-chi li nga*. *-chi* may
   be IMP1s³ or the adjectivizer *-chi* (18.2.2) or the particle *chi* (32.1). *li* is
   unknown.
7. *mexor* is Sp. mejor 'better'.

8. *nge-* ∼ *ngi-* 'to be' (existential) (RR).
9. *ne-* ∼ *nie-* 'to have, to get' (RR).
10. *pe-* ∼ *pi-* 'to see' (RR).
11. Nobody lent him anything.
12. *napor* is derived from the plural form of Sp. nabo 'turnip'.

Text 16. Song 2

1. *epu-nge-a-y* ta-ñi kure pi-fu-n, anay
   two-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-**3**[3] the-poss1s wife want-IPD[8]-IND1s[3], ITJ

   ñaña[1]. 2×
   dear

   'I had wanted to have two wives, [my] dear.' 2×

2. *ka antü* (3×)*, la-l-i anay ñaña* (2×),
   other day, die-COND[4]-1[3]-**s**[2] ITJ dear

   '[then] some day (3×), if I die, [my] dear (2×),'

3. *kiñe ta longko pülé ta meke-a-y ñi ngüma-n,*
   one the head side the be.busy-NRLD[9]-IND[4]-**3**[3] poss3 cry-PVN[4],

   ka-nge-lu ta namun pülé anay ñaña (2×).
   other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] the foot side ITJ dear

   'one will cry at the head [of the bed], the other at the foot-end, my dear (2×).'

4. *chum-a-n?* (3×)
   do.how/what-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

   'what shall I do? (3×)'

5. *đewmá el-künu-a-n nga ñi epu nga ñi kure* (2×).
   finished leave-PFPS[32]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART poss1s two PART poss1s wife

   'I will leave my two wives behind (2×).'

6. *kiñe nga meke-a-e-n-ew nga ñi ekull-e-t-ew*
   one PART be.busy-NRLD[9]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1] PART poss1s shawl-IDO[6]-AVN[4]-DS[1]

   nga ñi longko, ka-nge-lu nga ñi namun.
   PART poss1s head, other-VERB[36]-SVN[4] PART poss1s foot

   'one will be busy wrapping up my head [in her shawl], the other my feet.'

7. *đungu-ye-meke-nge-tu-a-n* (2×).
   speak-OO[35]-PR[28]-PASS[23]-RE[16]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

   'they will talk about me all the time (2×).'

8. *ka antü* (2×) *fütá kümé fütá kaman küme-ke weniy el-künu-a-n,*
   other day big good big quantity good-DISTR friend leave-PFPS[32]-

   anay ñaña (2×).
   NRLD[9]-IND1s[3], ITJ dear

   'one day (2×), I will leave behind a large number of good friends, my dear (2×).'

Notes

1. *anay* is said to men and women and has a friendly connotation. It may be used by both men and women. *ñaña* is a respectful term. It is used by men only and refers to a female relative or friend.

Text 17. Song 3

The introduction to this love-song (lines 1 - 5) is spoken.

1. *kuyfí   kiñe ɖomo   pe-n.*
   formerly one woman see-IND1s[3]

   'a long time ago I met a woman.'
2. *müná würá ayü-fi-n.*
   very   bad   love-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'I loved her very much.'
3. *müná küpá   kure-ye-fu-y-iñ[1].*
   very   wishing wife-VERB[36]-IPD[8]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-p[2]

   'we[p] very much wanted to get married[1].'
4. *ɖakel-fi-n,   ayü-la-e-n-ew.*
   declare.one's.love-EDO[6]-IND1s[3], love-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]

   'I declared her my love, [but] she did not love me.'
5. *kiñe fütá trawü-n-mew   pe-fi-lu   iñché, fe-m-nge-we-n[2]*
   one big   get.together-PVN[4]-INST see-EDO[6]-SVN[4] I,   become.like.that-

   nga   ñi   ɖoam ülkatu-lel-fi-n[3]:
   CA[34]-PASS[23]-PS[19]-PVN[4] PART poss1s need sing-BEN[27]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3]

   'when I saw her at a big get-together, I desperately sang for her:'
6. *chum-a-n   ñaña, chum-a-n*
   do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] dear, do.what/how-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]

   ñaña? (2×).
   dear

   'what must I do, [my] love, what must I do, [my] love? (2×).'
7. *müná fütá kuyfí   nga[4] ayü-fe-y-u   ñaña.*
   very   big formerly PART love-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] dear

   'a long time ago I loved you[s] very much, [my] love.'
8. *ayü-fe-y-u   nga ñaña.*
   love-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-1ns[3]-d[2]-DS[1] PART dear

   'I loved you[s], [my] love.'
9. *fali-l-la-e-n[5]   (2×) ñaña.*
   be.worth-CA[34]-NEG[10]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-DS[1]   dear

   'you[s] thought nothing of me (2×), [my] love.'
10. *chum-künu-w-a-n   nga (2×) chi,   pi-n[6]   nga*
    do.what/how-PFPS[32]-REF[31]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART   PART, say-IND1s[3] PART

    ñaña.
    dear

    'what shall I do with myself (2×), I thought, [my] love.'

11. *kure-nge-a-n,*   *pi-fu-n*   *nga,*   *kure-nge-a-n*
wife-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3],   say-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]   PART,   wife-VERB[36]-NRLD[9]-
        ñaña, pi-fu-n   *ñaña.*
IND1s[3] dear,   say-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] dear

  'I am going to get married, I thought, I am going to get married, [my] love, I thought, [my] love.'

12. *đakel-fe-y-u*   *nga,*   *đakel-fe-y-u*
declare.one's.love-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]   PART,   declare.one's.love-
             eymi nga.
IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] you[s] PART

  'I declared you[s] my love, I declared my love to you[s].'

13. *allkü-tu-ñma-la-y[7]*   *nga*   *ñi*   *đungu*   *ñaña.*
hear-TR[33]-IO[26]-NEG[10]-IND[4]-<u>3</u>[3] PART poss1s matter/word dear

  'she did not listen to my words, [my] love.'

14. *chem nga*   *chem nga*   *rüpü nga*   *ina-ya-n*   *nga,*   *pi-fu-n*
what PART what PART road PART follow-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART say-IPD[8]-IND1s[3]
nga   *ñaña.*
PART dear

  'which road must I follow?, I thought, [my] love.'

15. *müná nga*   *ayü-fe-y-u*   *ñaña* (2×).
very   PART love-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1] dear

  'I loved you[s] very much, [my] love (2×).'

16. *ka*   *antü,*   *ka*   *antü kure-ye-w-l-i-u*   *nga*   *ñaña,*
other   day,   other   day   wife-VERB[36]-REF[31]-COND[4]-1[3]-d[2]   PART   dear,
kim-entu-a-n   *nga,*   *kim-entu-a-n*
learn/know-take.out-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3] PART, learn/know-take.out-NRLD[9]-IND1s[3]
ñaña (2×).
dear

  'one day, one day, if we[d] get married, love, I shall declare, I shall declare [my love] (2×) dear.'

17. *pe-ka-ke-fu-n*   *nga*   (2×) *küme-ke*   *đomo.*
see-FAC[33]-CF[14]-IPD[8]-IND1s[3] PART   good-DISTR woman

  'I used to see (2×) various good women.'

18. *fente*   *nga*   *ayü-ke-la-fi-n*   *ñaña.*
that.much PART love-CF[14]-NEG[10]-EDO[6]-IND1s[3] dear

  'I did not love them that much, [my] love.'

19. *fanten-mu*   *nga*   (2×) *kim-nie-fe-y-u*
this.much-INST PART   learn/know-PRPS[32]-IPD[8].IDO[6]-IND[4]-<u>1ns</u>[3]-d[2]-<u>DS</u>[1]
ñaña.
dear

  'so far (2×) I have known you[s], [my] love.'

20. *chumal am   kay   ta   fente   ta   lla**d**kü-tu-e-n*
    why   PART PART the that.much the become.sad/angry-TR[33]-IDO[6]-IND1s[3]-
    ñaña?
    <u>DS</u>[1] dear

    'why did you[s] make me so sad, [my] love?'

Notes

1. It is not clear why RR uses 1p subject. The use of the suffix *-fu-* indicates
   that the woman did not want to marry him.
2. *femngewen* is a petrified form meaning 'with difficulty, scarcely, just in
   time'.
3. *ülkatu-* 'to sing' is derived from *ül* 'song'. LQ and MM use *ülkantu-* for 'to
   sing'.
4. *nga* PART is used to recall a past situation, often with an undertone of
   sadness or regret.
5. *fali-* is derived from Sp. valer 'to be worth'.
6. *pi-* 'to say, to want' can also be rendered 'to talk to oneself, to think'.
7. In the speech of RR, *-ñma-*[26] and *-yma-* occur in free variation.

Part IX

Dictionary Mapuche - English

Introduction

This dictionary contains the lexical data which have been gathered during fieldwork sessions with Luis Quinchavil Suárez (LQ) from Nueva Imperial, Rafael Railaf (RR) from Lautaro, Mario Millapi (MM) from Boyeco and Jacinta Mena (JM) from a village between Temuco and Freire. The dictionary is based on the speech of Luis Quinchavil Suárez. Nearly all lexical data were checked with Rafael Railaf. The recorded differences are mentioned in the dictionary. The lexical material thus collected has not been checked systematically with Mario Millapi and Jacinta Mena. The differences which were recorded at random are are also mentioned. This dictionary does not pretend to give a complete list of all lexical items of the Mapuche language. It contains all lexical items which occur in the grammar and the texts, and many more. Borrowed items are included when they differ in form, meaning or use from the corresponding Spanish (or Quechua or Aymará) items. The dictionary also contains derived forms which show semantic, phonological or grammatical particularities, idiomatic expressions and many sentences and phrases to illustrate the use of the relevant lexical items. Suffixes are not included in the dictionary. For the botanical nomenclature of the names I am indebted to Félix José de Augusta (1966).

The lexical items are presented in the following alfabetical order: a, b, ch, đ, d, e, f, g, i, y, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, ng, o, p, q, r, s, sh, t, tr, u, ü, w. Each entry contains minimally a monomorphemic item followed by an indication of the wordclass and the meaning. If any, derived compound forms are presented before other derivatives. Derived forms which do not change the word class of the lexical item under discussion are presented before derivatives which do change the word class. Forms which are derived from derivatives follow their source. Illustrative phrases and sentences immediately follow the relevant (monomorphemic or derived) form. Segmentation of derived forms is indicated by hyphens. Segmentation of forms in illustrative phrases and sentences is not marked. A monomorphemic item which does not occur by itself but has derivatives is marked with an asterisk.

Class-membership, which is given with each entry and each derived form, is indicated by the following symbols:

Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
Aux	auxiliary
Conj	conjunction
ITJ	interjection
N	noun
Na	anaphoric pronoun
Nd	demonstrative pronoun
NEG	negation
Ni	interrogative pronoun
Np	personal pronoun
Nposs	possessive pronoun
Num	numeral
Part	particle
Prep	preposition
Vi	intransitive verb
Vt	transitive verb

achawáll (N) chicken; (probably) derived from Qu. atawallpa cock.

achef-küle- (Vi) to shine.

achellpen ∼ **achellpeñ** (N) floating ashes.

achiđkon ∼ **achirkon** (N) gastric acid.

ađ ∼ **ash**; *ađ* ∼ *as* (RR) (N) 1. form, exterior, appearance, face, colour, beauty, picture, image, copy; *ađ pülé* 'front, to the front'; *ka ađ* 'other side, back side'; *tañi wangku ñi ađ* 'the colour of the chair'; 2. direction, side, right place; *ađ lafken* '(in) the direction of the sea'; *wenu ađ pülé* 'upwards'; 3. habit, custom, trick; *ađ mapu* 'customs of the land'; *weshá ađ* 'bad habit'; 4. relative; *ñi ađwen* 'my relatives, my folk';

ađ- ∼ *ash-* ∼ *as-* (Vi) to become beautiful; *ađüy* 'she is beautiful, sympathetic, funny'; *ađküley* 'she looks beautiful, she is being funny, it is in the right place';

ađ-amu- (Vi) to go in a certain direction;

ađ-el- (Vt) to arrange, to settle, to point out; *ađelen rüpü* 'show me the road';

ađ-el-fal (Adj) manageable, easy to handle, useful;

ađ-entu- (Vt) to copy, to make a picture/photo of, to bring out, to manage to do something; *kümé ađentuy ñi đungu* 'he speaks well';

ađ-entu- ti la (Vt) to pay a last tribute of respect to the deceased;

ađ-entu-w- (Vi) to get used to (*-mew*);

ađ-entu-nentu- (Vt) to make an exact copy of;

ađ-ye- (Vt) to have someone for a relative, to look like, to resemble, to carry in a certain direction, to direct in a certain direction, to follow the customs of;

ađ-kiñ- (Vi) to have a look;

ađ-kiñ-küle- (Vi) to be in sight;

ađ-kiñ-nge- (Vi) to be visible;

ađ-kin-tu- (Vt) to look at, to watch, to observe;

ađ-tuku- (Vt) to put in the right position, to put in the right direction;

ađ-ka- (Vt) to outwit, to manoeuvre, to handle;

ađ-ka-w-küle- (Vi) to be fidgety/restless/annoying;

ađ-künu- (Vt) to leave something in the right position/direction/situation;

ađ-ma-nie- (Vt) to be in the right position with respect to, to have the disposal of;

ađ-nie- (Vt) to hold in a certain position; *ađnien ñi pilun* 'I have my ears raised';

fill ađ-nge- (Vi) to be cute/naughty;

kümé ađ-nge- (Vi) to have a pretty face, to be sympathetic;

ađ-nge-l (N) present for a deceased relative or close friend to be buried with the body of the deceased;

ađ-nge-l-kantu (N) friend to whom one would give an *ađngel*;

ađ-üm- (Vt) to learn how to;

ađ-üm-el- (Vt) to teach how to;

ađ-üm-ka- (Vt) to prepare;

ađ-üw- (Vi) to gain an insight, to see the light, to come to an understanding; *ađüwyu* 'we[d] came to an understanding'.

af (N) end; *af metawemew* 'at the end of a row of jars';

af- (Vi) to come to an end; *afay kewan* 'the fighting will stop'; *afküley* 'it is coming to an end';

af-đuam- (Vt) to get bored with;

af-đuam-ün-nge- (Vi) to be boring;

af-đungu- (Vt) to be done talking to;

af-ina-n (N) the last, the youngest;

af-kađi (N, Adv) side, person by one's side, close friend, close to, next to; *afkađi ruka* 'close to the house'; *afkađiley* 'he is by my side';

af-kađi-nie- (Vt) to be by the side of, to assist someone;

af-kentu (Adv) continuously, for a long time, since a long time;

af-kentu- (Vi) to linger;

af-el- (Vt) to stop, to cease, to lose interest in;

af-el-uw- (Vi) to get bored;

af-el-uw-ün-nge- (Vi) to be boring;

af-ma- (Vi) to become broke/penniless;

af-ma-ye- ∼ *af-ma-nie-* (Vt) to keep someone, to maintain someone;

af-ma-tu- (Vt) to admire;

ap-üm- (Vt) to bring to an end, to finish; *müchay apümelenew ñi đungu* 'he settled my affairs quickly';

ap-üm-tuku- (Vt) to make full use of, to invest all one's money in;

ap-üm-fal- (Vi) to be easy to deal with.

afkentu (Adv) continuously, for a long time, since a long time; see *af-*.

afkentu- (Vi) to linger; see *af-*.

afmatu- (Vt) to admire; see *af-*.

afü- (Vi) to get cooked, to ripen;

afü-wün- (Vi) to get an inflamed mouth/lips; *afüñmawküley ñi wün* 'my mouth is infected';

afü-m- (Vt) to cook, to ripen, to cause to boil;

afü-m-tuku- (Vt) to put something in a pot to cook;

afü-n (Adj) cooked; *afün ilo* 'cooked meat'; *afün kachu* 'matured grass, grass that is ready to be mowed';

aye- (Vi, Vt) to laugh (about);

aye-ka- (Vt) to laugh with someone;

aye-ka-w- (Vi) to roar with laughter;

aye-ka-we (N) joke, instrument to entertain with;

aye-l- (Vt) to smile at;

aye-l-ka- (Vt) to make someone laugh;

aye-tu- (Vt) to laugh at, to mock.

aylen (N) ember; *aylen kütral* 'fire of embers';

aylen- (Vi) to catch fire.

aylla (Num) nine.

aymüñ (Adv) fairly, somewhat, not very, rather; *fachantü aymüñ alingkülen* 'I have a little fever today';

aymüñ-el- (Vt) to make out with difficulty.

ayü- (Vt) to like, to love; *feyengu ayüniewüy* 'they[d] love each other';
ayü-w- (Vi) to become/be happy/content; *müná ayüwüy iñchiu yu puwel* 'he was very glad that we[d] came';
ayü-n (Adj) loved.

aywiñ (N) shadow; cf. *llawfeñ* 'shade'; *aywiñ kütral* 'shadow caused by the light of the fire';
aywiñ- (Vi) to become a shadow;
aywiñ-el- (Vt) to cast a shadow on.

akorda- (Vt) to remember; Sp. acordarse.

aku- (Vi) to arrive (here), to reach maturity; cf. *puw-* 'to arrive (there)';
aku-ñma- (Vt) to get, to receive, to have something coming to maturity; *iñché akuñman awar* 'I have my beans almost ripe';
aku-nten (Adj) ripening easily;
aku-nten-nge- (Vi) to be something that ripens easily.

akucha (N) needle; Sp. aguja.

ale (N) moon, moonlight; *aleley* 'it looks like the moon, it looks like moonlight';
alengey 'there is moonlight, there is a moon'.

ali- (Vi) to become hot;
ali-m- (Vt) to make hot;
ali-n (Adj) hot.

aling (N) fever;
aling- (Vi) to get fever.

alka (Adj) male (birds, poultry).

alkila- (Vt) to rent; Sp. alquilar.

alof- (Vi) to shine, to sparkle, to glitter (by night).

alü (Adv) much, very; *alü ikey* 'he eats a lot'; *alüke kamapuley* 'they are each very far away';
alü-antü (Adv) when the sun is high;
alü-pun (Adv) in the middle of the night;
alü- (Vi) to become much, to become big;
alü-l- (Vt) to give much to;
alü-ntu- (Vi) to stay for a long time;
alü-ñma- (Vi) to stay for a long time, to take much time; *đewmá alüñmapaymi?* 'have you[s] been here long?';
alü-n (Adj) much, a lot of; *niey alün ruka* 'he has a lot of houses';
alü-n-mew ∼ *alü-ñma-mew* (Adv) after a long time.

alwe (N) spirit of a dead person, dead person;
witra-n-alwe (N) raised spirit (demon); see *witra-*; *alwe mapu* 'land of the dead';
alweley 'he looks like a dead man'.

allfeñ (N) wound; see *allfü-* 'to get wounded'.

allfiđa (pea) ; Sp. arveja.

allfü- (Vi) to get wounded;
allfü-l- (Vt) to injure someone;

allfü-l-tu- (Vt) to damage (plants, seedlings); *fey ñi kulliñ allfültuñmaenew ñi poñü* 'his cattle damaged my potatoes';

allfeñ (N) wound.

allkü- (Vt) to hear;

allkü-tu- (Vt) to listen to, to pay attention to;

allke-n (Adj) audible;

allke-n-nge- (Vi) to be audible.

allush (Adj) tepid (only LQ);

allush- (Vi) to become tepid.

allwe (Adv) somewhat, a little (of quality, not quantity); *allwe choďi* 'yellowish'; *allwe ayeyawüy* 'he walks around with a faint smile on his face'.

allwiñ (N) bundle; *meñkuniey ñi allwiñ* 'she has her bundle on her back'.

am (N) soul.

am Part see 32.2.

amá Part see 32.13.

amu- (Vi) to go, to continue; *tunté amuley ∼ konüy tachi küyen?* 'which day of the month is it?' (lit: 'how far has this month gone/entered?'); *mari kiñe antü amuley ∼ konüy* 'it is the eleventh';

amu-l- (Vt) to send, to continue, to start up (a machine);

amu-l-tuku- ∼ amu-ntuku- (Vt) to loose something which cannot be retrieved; *iñché amultukun küchatun witrun komew* 'I lost a piece of laundry in the current of the water'.

anay ITJ is said to men and women. *anay* has a friendly connotation; *eymi amunge, anay* '[it is better that] you$^{\text{s}}$ go!'; see (16, 1).

anchi (Part) see 32.10.

anel- (Vt) to threaten, to menace;

anel-tu- (Vt) to threaten someone with something.

anta (Part) see 32.9.

antü (N, Adv) sun, day, weather, one day, daily, in ... days, ... ago; *tripay antü* 'the sun is up'; *fachantü* 'today'; *nieyiñ weshantü ∼ weshá antú* 'we$^{\text{p}}$ have bad weather'; *antü tripantu* 'dry year'; *fachantü afantüy* 'the term has expired today'; *alüantü ∼ rupan antü* 'when the sun is high'; *rangi antü* 'at midday'; *ellá naqün antü* 'when the sun is almost going down'; *epé konün antü* 'when the sun is about to set';

antü- (Vi) to be ... days ago, to last ... days; *küla antüy* 'it is three days ago';

nentu-antü- (Vt) to fix a date;

antü-ñma- (Vi) to stay ... days, to have a ... day, to get sun; *rangi antüñmamen* 'I stayed there half a day';

antü-tu- (Vi, Vt) to sunbathe, to have sexual intercourse by day.

anú (Adv) in case; *anú mawünmali* 'in case it rains'.

anü- (Vi) to sit down, to take root;

anü-naq- (Vi) to sit down;

anü-nak-üm- (Vt) to put down;

anü-ntuku- (Vt) to put down in;

anü-ñma- (Vt) to sit down on/in, to bewitch; *iñché ñi cheđkuy ñi ruka anü-ñmaley kutranmew* 'the house of my brother-in-law is full of disease'; *anüñma-nieñmaen ñi makuñ* 'you⁵ are sitting on my poncho'; *anüñmaley ñi wekufümew* 'he is possessed by demons';

anü-m- (Vt) to make sit down, to plant;

anü-tu-we (N) seat;

anü-we (N) buttocks.

añchü (N) remainder of wheat in a sieve.

añchümalleñ (N) midget (demon), see (1, 7). *añchümalleñ* possibly contains *añchü* 'remainder of wheat in a sieve'. Midgets are said to be fond of roasted flour. The *anchümalleñ* is a small, deformed, childlike creature raised by the witches (*kalku*) in order to play tricks on people or cause them harm, see (1).

añiđ- (Vi) to become very hot/dry (by the heat of fire), to prick; *añiđtukukünu-pafinge!* 'let it dry by the fire!'; *añiđüy ñi trawa wimamuetew kuri* 'my skin itched where a nettle had stung me'.

añil (indigo) N, Adj; Sp. añil; *añil takun* 'dress dyed indigo'; *añilküley* 'it appears indigo';

añil-tu- (Vt) to dye something indigo.

añütu- (Vi) to doze, to drowse.

angiđ- (Vi) to become dry, to become scorched (by fire), to prick; *đew angiđüy tüfachi ilo?* 'is this meat dry yet?'; *iñché angiđkülen kütralmew* 'I am very close to the fire, I get scorched by the fire'; *angiđüy ñi trawa ortigamew* 'my skin tingled from the nettle'.

angim (Adj) dried; *angim uwa* 'dried corn';

angim- (Vt) to dry something (by the fire).

ange (N) face.

angka (N, Adv) half, trunk, half-way; *angka rüpü wiñomey* 'half-way he went back'; *angka wenu* 'between heaven and earth';

angka- (Vi) to become half; *angkalewey ñi tasa* 'my cup is still half full'.

angkađ- ∼ **angkash-** (Vt) to take someone behind one (on a horse); Sp. llevar en ancas; cf. *mankađ-* (JM) and *mangka-tu-* (RR); *iñché angkađküpalngen* 'I was brought here on a horse'.

angken ∼ **angkün** (Adj) dry; see *angkü-*.

angkü- (Vi) to become dry/arid (by the sun), to become barren, to dry out; cf. *piwü-* 'to become dry (what was wet)';

angkü-m- (Vt) to make dry;

angkü-m-tu- (Vt) to make something dry on/with something;

angkü-m-tu-we (N) a place to dry something, a thing to dry with;

angkü-ñma- (Vi) to become dry/constipated; *angküñman ñi pel* 'my throat got parched';

angkü-n ∼ *angke-n* (Adj) dry, parched;

angkü-nten (Adj) drying fast.

apena (Adv) scarcely; Sp. apenas.

apew (N) story; *epew* (RR);

apew-tu- (Vi) to tell stories.

apo- (Vi) to become full; *apoley* 'it is full, it is high tide';

apo-l- (Vt) to fill;

apo-l (N) stuffed sheep or goat (a dish);

apo-l-tu- (Vt) to eat stuffed sheep or goat;

apo-ñma- (Vi) to get full with;

apo-ñma-le- (Vi) to be pregnant, to have a lot of milk (after giving birth);

apo-n (Adj) full.

aposh- (Vt) to help (a child) to walk (not RR).

ap-üm- (Vt) to finish; see *af-*.

are (Adj) warm. *are* is as warm as *kufü* 'warm' and warmer than *eñum* 'warm'. *are* is much more frequent than *kufü*.

are- (Vi) to become warm; *areley* 'it is warm'; *arengey* 'it is warm (weather)';

are-m- (Vt) to make warm;

are-ntu- (Vi) to become warm/drowsy (a person);

are-ñma-w- (Vi) to get inflamed/infected, to get heated (hay); *areñmawaymi mi changüllkuwü* 'you^s will have infected toes'; *areñmawüy ketran* 'the hay got heated'.

are- (Vt) to lend to; *are-l-* 'to lend to' is more frequent; *arelenew kiñe mansun* 'he lent me one ox';

are-ngül-üm- (Vt) to lend something; *arengülümkelan plata mapuchemew* 'I don't lend money to a Mapuche';

are-tu- (Vt) to borrow from; *aretuenew ketran* ∼ *aretuketranenew* 'he borrowed wheat from me';

are-tu-n (Adj) borrowed; *fey re aretun ropa niey* 'he only has borrowed clothes'.

arenda- (Vt) to lease; Sp. arrendar.

ariñ (Adj) burnt, scorched;

ariñ- (Vi) to get burnt, scorched; *ariñüy ñi iyal* 'my food got burnt';

ariñ-el- (Vt) to burn.

arken (Adj) evaporated; see *arkü-*.

arkü- (Vi) to evaporate; *arküley* 'it is evaporating';

arkü-n ∼ *arken* (Adj) evaporated.

arof (N) sweat;

arof- (Vi) to sweat;

arof-el- (Vt) to make someone sweat.

as see *ađ*.

asúkar (N) sugar; Sp. azúcar.

asul (Adj) blue; Sp. azul;

asul- (Vi) to become blue; *asulüy* 'it became blue, it is blue (always)'; *asulküley* 'it is blue (now), it looks blue'; *asulngey* 'it is partly blue, there is some blue';

asul-tu- (Vt) to dye something blue.

ash see *ađ*.

ata (Adv) as far as; Sp. hasta.

auriw- (Vi) to get bored; Sp. aburrirse; *auriwkülen* 'I am bored'.

awar (N) beans; Sp. habas.

awela (N) grandmother; Sp. abuela.

awi (Adj) hot, heated; *awi kuyüm* 'hot sand';

awi- (Vi) to become hot/heated;

awi-ñ (N) a small portion of something to be roasted, movement of hot air above hot sand or above a fire, glowing embers;

awi-ñ- (Vi) to glow from heat.

awiyaw- (Vi) to glide around (eagles, vultures).

awiñma- (Vt) to ride around the deceased; *awü-ñma-* (MM). The deceased is placed on a bier and the visitors at the funeral ride several rounds on horseback around the bier to pay a last tribute of respect.

awion (N) airplane; Sp. avion.

awka (N) wild horse, herd; Qu. awqa enemy, rebel;

awka- (Vi) to become wild, to go to war;

awka-ntu- (Vt) to play, to play a match;

awka-n (Adj, N) wild, play; *awkan kawellu* 'wild horse'.

awki- (Vi) to reflect;

awkiñko (N) echo.

awokaw (N) lawyer; Sp. abogado.

awto ∼ **awtu** (N) car; Sp. auto.

awü- (Vt) to hurt, to cause pain to; *awüenew ñi fotüm, kom fendeñmaenew ñi kulliñ* 'my son hurt me, he has sold all my cattle'; *awüngellan* 'how miserable I am!';

awü-ka- (Vt) to beat up badly;

awü-nge-n (N) suffering.

awü-ñma- (Vt) to ride around the deceased (MM); see *awi-ñma-*.

basu (N) glass; Sp. baso.

byen (Adv) right; Sp. bien.

chacha ∼ **chachay** (N) says a child to his father, also *tata* ∼ *tatay*. *chacha* ∼ *chachay* is more affectionate.

chaɖi (N, Adj) salt, salty;

chaɖi-nge- (Vi) to contain salt; *chaɖingelay ti korü* 'there is no salt in the soup';

chaɖi- (Vi) to be salty;

chaɖi-ñma- (Vt) to put salt in/on something.

chaf- (Vt) to peel.

chafo- (Vi) to catch a cold, to cough; *amualmi wekun, makuntunge, chafoafuymi wütremew* 'if you[s] go outside, put on a coat, you[s] might catch a cold';

chafo-kutran (N) cold (illness of nose and throat).

chali- (Vt) to say hallo to, to say words of welcome to;

chali-ntuku- (Vt) to introduce someone.

chaküll (N) skeleton, framework; *chakülküley* '[the fence] is a skeleton (shows gaps)';

chaküll-künu- (Vt) to clean an animal untill you are left with the bones.

challa (N) pot, ketlle.

challwa (N) fish; Qu. chalwa;
  foro-challwa (N) fish-bone;
  challwa- (Vt) to fish.
chamall (N) black dress for women which leaves one shoulder bare and reaches down to the ankles;
  chamall-tu- (Vt) to put on a *chamall*; *chamalltukünungey* 'she was put on a *chamall*'.
chang (N) foot.
changkiñ (N) island.
changüll (N) finger;
  changüll-kuwü (N) finger, fingerprint.
chaq (Adv) both, equally.
chape- (Vt) to plait;
  chape-tu (N) braid;
  chape-tu- (Vt) to put someone's hair into braids.
chaq (Adv) both (not RR); cf. *yaq*.
chaw (N) father;
  fücha-chaw (N) grandfather;
  malle-chaw (N) stepfather.
chaw- (Vi) to hatch out, to come out of the egg;
  chaw-üm- (Vt) to hatch.
chaway (N) earring.
che (N) human being, person; *fentren che* 'lots of people'; *ñi pu che* 'my family, my folk';
  che- (Vi) to become sober;
  che-le- (Vi) to be sober, to be healthy.
cheđkiy (N) (maternal) grandfather, grandchild; *cheđkingean* 'I will have grandchildren'.
cheđkuy (N) father-in-law (of a man), son-in-law (of a man);
  cheđkuy- (Vt) to make someone a father-in-law.
chefkü- (Vi) to bound, to bounce; *chefkülpüramfin ti pelota* 'I made the ball bounce up'.
chekay (Part) see 32.8.
chekođ- (Vi) to squat, to sit down on one's heels.
chem (Ni) what?, which?; cf. *tuchi*; *chem rumé* 'whatever'; *chemmew nu rumé* 'not under any circumstance'; *chemyewüymu?* 'how are you^d related?'.
cheripa (N) trousers.
cherufe see *chewürfe*.
chew (Ni) where?, from where?, whereto?; *chew tuwüymi?* 'where are you^s from?'; *chew rumé* 'wherever'; *chew nu rumé* 'nowhere'.
chewürfe (N) fireball; *cherufe* (RR). A fireball, which appears with loud noises coming from volcanoes and mountains, is held responsible for a volcanic eruption. In old stories, the *chewürfe* is a giant who keeps girls in captivity and robs people of their head. Pieces of the *chewürfe*, probably pieces of meteorites, are

used by the *machi* to predict the future.

chi ∼ **ti** (Na) the; see 14.3.

chiam (Part) see 32.11.

chilla (N) saddle;

  chilla- (Vt) to saddle up a horse.

chillka (N) letter, inscription; Qu. qillqa inscription, writing;

  chillka-tu- (Vt) to write, to study.

chipa- ∼ **tripa-** (Vi) to leave, to go out, to turn out; see *tripa-*.

chođ (Adj) yellow, orange;

  chođ- (Vi) to become yellow/orange; *chođüy* 'it is yellow/orange'.

chofü (Adj) lazy.

chonchon (N) flying head. The *chonchon* is a demon which appears at night as a flying head or a bird. The witches send the *chonchon* out to cause harm to mankind.

chong- (Vi) to go out (fire, machines);

  chong-üm- (Vt) to put out, to extinguish, to switch off; *allkütulelen, wađküle, chongümelaen* 'listen for me, if it boils, put [it] out for me'.

chuchu (N) (maternal) grandmother, grandchild.

chuchi ∼ **tuchi** (Ni) which?; *tuchi* is more frequent.

chum- (Vt) to do how/what?; *chuman?* 'what must I do?'; *welu fewlá chumpetuy chemay, müchay pun ka nütramkatuafin* 'but what he is up to now . . . , I will have a word with him again in a little while this evening'; *chumngen?* 'what did they do to me?';

  chum-miaw- (Vi) to walk around doing what?;

  chum-al (Ni) for what purpose?; *chumal eluafiymi iyal?* 'what do you^s bring her food for?';

  chum-nge-chi (Ni) how?; *chumngechi chi kimafuyiñ?* 'how could we^p know?'; *chumngechi wirarülleli rumé iniy rumé allkünmalayaenew* 'no matter how hard I scream, no-one will hear me';

  chum-nge-lu (Ni) why?; *chumngelu rumé* 'for whatever reason';

  chum-nge-n (Adv) while; see (3, 2); *chumngenkechi akun* 'I arrived one way or another'; *chumngenunkechi akun* 'I arrived without trouble';

  chum-nge-n-tu- (Vt) to feel how about, to think what of;

  chum-ül (Ni, Adv) when?, recently, at some time, once; *chumül amuaymi chile?* 'when will you^s go to Chile?'; *chumül ngemen nga* 'I have once been there, I have been there recently'; *chumül rumé* 'any time'; *chumül nu rumé* 'never';

  chum-ka nu rumé ∼ *chum-ka-w-mew nu rumé* (Adv) in no case, by no means (RR).

chumal (Ni) for what purpose?; see *chum-*.

chumngechi (Ni) how?; see *chum-*.

chumngelu (Ni) why?; see *chum-*.

chumngen (Adv) while; see *chum-*.

chumpiru (N) hat; Sp. sombrero.

chumül (Ni, Adv) when?, recently, at some time; see *chum-*.

chunté ∼ **tunté** (Ni) how much?; see *tunté*.

chüđkü- (Vi) to drip, to flow; *chüđküley ti ko* 'the water is running'.

chüngküđ ∼ **chüngküsh** (Adj) round; *chüngküđ* ∼ *chüngküs* ∼ *chüngkür* (RR);
  chüngküđ- (Vi) to roll.

chüngküll (N) wheel.

đakel- (Vt) to declare one's love to someone, to woo.

đallu- (Vt) to consult, to submit a proposal to someone;
  đallu-ntuku- (Vt) to accuse, to betray.

đeyiñ (N) volcano.

đew (Adv) already, any more (with negation), after; *đew pürapuy* 'he is already
  at the top'; *đew đuamwelay* 'there is no need any more'; *đew mütrümkünueyu,
  iñché amutun* 'after I called you, I walked away';
  đew- (Vi) to draw to a close, to end; *iñchiu kiñew đewüy tayu küđaw* 'we[d] were
  done with our[d] work simultaneously'.

đewmá (Adv) almost, nearly, about to; *đewmá afüy* 'it was about to end';
  đewmá alüñmapaymi? 'have you[s] been here long?';
  đewma- (Vt) to make, to finish; *kim đewmaiyallay* 'he does not know how to
  cook'.

đewü (N) mouse.

đi(-tu)- (Vt) to reach, to attain, to catch up with.

điwüll- (Vt) to stir.

đoam ∼ **đuam** (() MM); see *đuam*.

đoy (Adv) more. *đoy* is also used to form the comparative and the superlative
  of an adjective or adverb; *küla đoy fentren epumew* 'three [is] more than two';
  đoy fentreley 'he is bigger'; *fey itrokommew đoy inanngey* 'he is the youngest
  of all';
  đoy- (Vt) to surpass; *đoyüy ñi chaw* 'he is taller than his father'.

đomo (N) woman; *đomoüñüm* 'female bird';
  đomo- (Vi) to become a woman;
  đomo-tu- (Vt) to have sexual intercourse with (a woman).

đuam ∼ **đoam** (N) need, attention; *ülkantuken ñi ñuke ñi đuam* 'I sing for my
  mother';
  kintu-đuam- (Vt) to provoke, to jeopardize;
  kintu-ka-đuam- (Vt) to look for trouble;
  đuam- (Vt) to want, to need, to care for; *iñché đuamfiñ tüfachi đomo* 'I need
  this woman'; *đuamüymi kiñe galleta?* 'do you[s] want a cookie?'; *đuamlan* 'no';
  đuamkülelay 'he does not care';
  raki-đuam- (Vi, Vt) to think (of). As a second member of a compound *đuam-*
  may indicate that the situation or event referred to is half-way completed (see
  29.1); *rüngümđuamfin* 'I was half-way with the milling';
  đuam-ye- (Vt) to need something or someone for a purpose; *đuamyefin ñi chaw*
  'I need to see my father (about something)'; *đuamkülelay* 'he is not in a hurry,
  he has got plenty of time';
  đuam-nge- (Vi) to have a business to attend to.

đulli- (Vt) to choose.

đumđum (N) twilight;

  đumđum- (Vi) to become twilight;

  đumđum-nge- (Vi) to be twilight.

đumiñ (N, Adj) dark; *iñché anülen đumiñmew* 'I am sitting in the dark';

  đumiñ-nge- (Vi) to be dark.

đungu (N) idea, matter, language, word; *ramtuenew tüfachi đungu* 'he asked me this (question)'; *iñchiu allküfiyu feychi đungu* 'we[d] heard that story';

  mapu-đungu ∼ *mapu-đungu-n* (N) the Mapuche language;

  đungu- (Vt) to talk to someone;

  mapu-đungu- (Vi, Vt) to speak Mapuche.

đüllwi (N) worm; also *süllwi* (RR).

đüñi (N) eyebrow.

defende- (Vt) to defend; Sp. defender.

depwé (Adv) after that, later; Sp. despues.

dia (N) day; Sp. dia.

dominggu (N) Sunday; Sp. domingo.

echiđ- (Vi) to sneeze (LQ); cf. *echiw-*.

echiw- (Vi) to sneeze (RR); cf. *echiđ-*.

eymi (Np) you[s].

eymu (Np) you[d].

eymün (Np) you[p].

eyütu- (Vi) to groan, to moan.

ekepe (N) lever.

ekota (N) sandal; Qu. ushuta (via Sp. ojota).

ektária (N) hectare; Sp. hectárea.

ekull (N) shawl;

  pichi-ekull (N) nappy.

el- (Vt) to let someone or something behind, to leave someone or something in a certain condition; *elelürputuafiymi* 'on your way back you[s] must leave it there for him'; *đew kümeelküley* 'it has already been taken care of, it is already fixed';

  el-tu- (Vt) to bury someone;

  el-tu-n (N) cemetary;

  el-uw-ün (N) funeral.

eleksión (N) election; Sp. elección.

elfal- (Vt) to entrust someone with something or someone; *elfalfiñ ñi püñeñ* 'I entrusted her with my baby'.

elixi- (Vt) to choose, to select; Sp. elegir.

eltun (N) cemetery; see *el-*.

elu- (Vt) to give to; cf. *wül-* (Vt) 'to give something'; *elungekefuyiñ iyal* 'we[p] were given food'; *iñchiú eluwyu kuwü* 'we[d] shook hands';

  elu-ñma- (Vt) to give permission to someone, to allow someone; *iñché lleküpuel, eluñmangelan ñi konal* 'when I had come near, I was not allowed to enter'.

eluwün (N) funeral; see *el-*.

ella (Adv) a bit, shortly after; *ella naqün antü* 'when the sun is going down a little bit (shortly after noon)';
ella-mew (Adv) in a little while, at first; also *ella-ka-mu* (RR).
ellka(-l)- (Vt) to hide; *ellkalünmafichi?* 'shall I hide it from him?';
ellka-fey-pi- (Vt) to tell someone in secret;
ellka-nie- (Vt) to keep something hidden;
ellka-w-kantu- (Vi) to play hide and seek.
em (Part) see 32.14.
entonse (Adv) at that time, then, well; Sp. entonces.
ent.rega- (Vt) to hand over; Sp. entregar.
entu- ∼ **nentu-** (Vt) to take out/away;
nentu-antü- (Vt) to fix a term;
entu-permiso- (Vt) to ask someone permission;
entu-poñü-nge-n (N) the season for lifting potatoes;
entu-püñeñ- (Vt) to perform an abortion on someone;
rünga-entu- (Vt) to dig up;
tayma-entu- (Vt) to remove, to dispose.
entri- (Vi) to become very hungry, to become starved;
entri-n (Adj) very hungry, starved.
eñum (Adj) warm; *eñum ko* 'warm water';
eñum- (Vi) to become warm;
eñum-tu- (Vt) to make warm, to think something is warm.
enggaña (N) deceit;
enggaña- (Vt) to deceive; Sp. engañar; *enggañacheley* 'he is cheating people'.
engkañ (Adj) defective, handicapped; *engkañngeymi mi lipang* 'your^s arm is deformed'; *rumé engkañngey* 'he has many handicaps'.
engu (Np) they^d; *engu* after C, *yengu* after V.
engün (Np) they^p; *engün* after C, *yengün* after V; *Payllalef engün* 'the family Payllalef'.
epañole (N) Spaniards; Sp. españoles.
epé (Adv) almost, nearly; *epé akuley* 'he is almost there'; *epéwün* 'at dawn, at daybreak'.
epew (N) story (RR, MM); cf. *apew* (LQ);
epew- (Vi) to tell a story;
epew-tu- (Vt) to tell someone a story.
epu (Num) two; *epuñ pülé* 'on two sides';
epu-nge-chi (Adj, Adv) second;
epu-we (Adv) the day after tomorrow;
epu-we-mew (Adv) the day before yesterday;
epu-ntu- (Vi) to get a pair of twins.
ewanxeliku (N) preacher; Sp. evangélico.
fa- (Vi) to become like this;
fa-pi- (Vt) to speak thus to someone;
fa-le- (Vi) to be like this; *faley* 'it is like this (the speaker shows something)';

cf. *feley* 'it is like that, it is so, that is right (affirmation of what has just been said)';

fa-m- (Vt) to do like this (the action is shown to the listener);

fa-m-nge-chi (Adv) thus, so, like this; *famngechi küɖawken* 'I am used to work like this'; cf. *femngechi* 'like that';

fa-chi ∼ *tüfa-chi* (Adj) this; *fachi pülé* 'this side, this way';

fa-ch-antü (Adv) today;

fa-chi-pun (Adv) tonight;

fa-nté (Adv) this much. *-nte* is an improductive suffix, see 27.2. *fanté alüy* 'it is this big';

fa-nte- (Vi) to be this big/much; *iñché fantekünufiñ tachi wirin* 'I finished writing at this point';

fa-nte-l- (Vt) to give this much to someone; *iñché fantelayu asúkar* 'I will give you^s this much sugar';

fa-nte-n (N) this quantity, this size; *fanten küpalelaen kofke* 'bring me this much bread'; *fanten antü akuwyeaymi* 'you^s will have arrived by that day';

fa-nte-n- (Vi) to be this big/much; *iñché ñi trewa fantey* ∼ *fantenüy* 'my dog is this big';

fa-nte-n-mu (Adv) so far, for/with/out of this much; *fantenmu ngillan* 'I bought [it] for this much';

fa-nte-n-tu (Adv) so far, until this moment;

fa-nte-pu (Adv) by this time, around this day; *fantepu afpelay* 'it is probably finished/exhausted by now';

fa-w (Adv) here.

fachi (Adj) this; see *fa-*.

fachantü (Adv) today; see *fa-*.

fachipun (Adv) tonight; see *fa-*.

fay- (Vi) to ferment; *fayküley* 'it has fermented';

fay-üm- (Vt) to cause to ferment.

fali- (Vi) to be worth; Sp. valer; *faliy* 'it is expensive'; *falilay* 'it is cheap';

fali-l- (Vt) to value, to have a high opinion of.

fam- (Vt) to do like this; see *fa-*.

famngechi (Adv) in this way; see *fa-*.

fane- (Vi) to weigh; *faniy ti maleta* 'the suitcase is heavy';

fane-tu- (Vt) to think something is heavy, to weigh. *pesa-* (Vt) 'to weigh', Sp. pesar, is preferred;

fane-fane-tu- (Vt) to try to establish the weight of something by weighing it in the hand or by touching it;

fane-n (Adj) heavy.

fante (Adv) this much; see *fa-*.

fantentu (Adv) so far, untill this moment; see *fa-*.

fantepu (Adv) by this time, around this day; see *fa-*.

faril (N) barrel; Sp. barril.

faw (Adv) here; see *fa-*.

fe- (Vi) to become like that; cf. *fa-* 'to become like this';

fe-le- (Vi) to be like that; *tüfachi mesa ka feliy kangelu mesa ta chumlen/chum-ngen* 'this table is like that one'; *felenge anay!* 'stay like that!'; *felefalnufel* 'it should not be that way';

fe-m- (Vt) to do something like that/that way, to do something the same way; *kuyfí femngekelafuy* 'in olden times it was not done that way'. *fe-m-* is also used as a verbal dummy, e.g. (in answer to a question like 'did they clean the house?') *femüy* 'yes, they did';

fe-m-nge- (Vi) to look like, to resemble, to be like that; *fey ñi chaw femngey* 'he looks like his father'; *piku femngey* 'it looks like northern wind';

fe-m-nge-chi (Adv, Adj) thus, in that way, such;

fe-m-nge-chi-le- (Vi) to be thus;

femngen (Adv) at last, after all, with great difficulty; *femngen akukan* 'I came after all';

femngewen đoam (Adv) hardly, scarcely; *femngewen ñi đoam đewman* 'I have only just finished [it]';

fe-nté (Adv) that much, thus. *-nte* is an improductive suffix, see 27.2. *iñché ñi tunté nün, fey ka fente nüy* 'he took as much as I had taken' (lit.: my taking how much, he too took that much);

fe-nte- (Vi) to be that much; *iñché fey fentey* 'he is as big as I am';

fe-nte-l- (Vt) to give that much to; *fentelen!* 'give me that much!';

fe-nte-künu- (Vt) to stop, to cease, to leave alone; *iñché fentekünun ñi küđaw* 'I stopped working';

fe-nte-n (N) that much; *fenten!* 'that much!, enough!' (someone is offered food and indicates the quantity he likes);

fe-nte-n- (Vi) to be that much/big; *fey ñi ruka tüfá fentenüy* 'his house is as big as this one';

fe-nte-pu (Adv) then, by that time; *fentepu wülá amfe!* 'then!!' (someone suggests a date, the listener thinks the date is too far away and says: that late!);

fe-nte-we (Adv) then, that day; *fentewe* refers to a specific day, is more precise than *fentepu*. *iñché fentewe ka amuan* 'I will also go that day'.

fey (Np, Adv) he, she, it, that, they, the, then; probably derived from *fe-*; *eluñmaeyu fey emu mi tripayal* 'I give you[s] permission to leave with him';

fey wülá (Adv) then, that moment;

fey-engu (Np) they[d];

fey-engün (Np) they[p];

fey-tüfá (Np) this here;

fey-tüfey (Np) that there;

fey-tüyé (Np) that over there;

fey-chi (Adj, Adv) that, then;

fey-mew (Adv) then, there, from/in/out of there, because of that.

fey- (Vi) to fit; *feywelay tañi pantalon* 'my trousers do not fit any more';

fey-üm- (Vt) to fit; *feyümfiñ ti sapatu* 'I fit in the shoes'.

feychi (Adj, Adv) that, then; see *fey*.

feyengu (Np) they[d]; see *fey*.

feyengün (Np) they[p]; see *fey*.

feypi- (Vt) to say to someone; also, but less frequent, *pi-*;
ellka-fey-pi- (Vt) to tell someone in secret;
fey-pi-ntuku- (Vt) to accuse, to denounce, to give away;
fey-pi-le- (Vi) to think, to say to oneself.

feyentu- (Vt) to believe, to trust, to obey.

felantar (N) apron; Sp. delantal.

femngechi (Adv, Adj) so, thus, such; see *fe-*.

femngen (Adv) at last, after all, with great difficulty; see *fe-*.

femngewen (Adv) hardly, scarcely; see *fe-*.

fende- ∼ **fente-** (Vt) to sell; Sp.vender.

fenté (Adv) that much, thus; see *fe-*.

fenten (N) that much; see *fe-*.

fentekünu- (Vt) to stop, to cease, to leave alone; see *fe-*.

fentepu (Adv) then, by that time; see *fe-*.

fentewe (Adv) then, that day; see *fe-*.

fentre (Adv) much, very; cf. *alü* and *pütrü*; *fentre konüy* 'he entered deep inside';
fentre-pun (Adv) late at night;
fentre-ñma (Adv) very much, too much; *fentreñma rumé faney* 'he weighs far too much';
fentre-ñma- (Vi) to stay a long time;
fentre- (Vi) to become much;
fentre-l- (Vt) to give much to;
fentre-le- (Vi) to be much; *miñché ruka fentreley đewü* 'under the house [the place] is swarming with mice';
fentre-n (N, Adj) a large quantity, much, many; *külá đoy fentren epumew* 'three [is] more than two'; *fentren che* 'many people';
fentre-n-tu- (Vi) to stay a long time, to take along time, to linger; *fentrentuy mi kartalnufiel* 'it has been a long time since you[s] wrote to me'.

fentren (N, Adj) a large quantity, much, many; see *fentre*.

fewlá (Adv) now, just now; is a contraction of *fey-wülá*; *fewlá akuymi?* 'did you[s] just arrive?';
fewlawla (Adv) right now; is a contraction of *fewlá-wülá*.

fiaxe (N) journey; Sp. viaje.

fiy ∼ **fey** (Np) he, she, it, that, then.

filu (N) snake.

fill (Adj) all kind, all sorts, every; *fill pichike küđawken* 'I do all sorts of small jobs'; *fill pülé* 'in different places, on different sides'; *fillke pülé* 'everywhere';
fill-antü (Adv) dayly;
fill-pun (Adv) every night;
itro-fill (Adj) every kind; *itrofill nütram* 'light conversation about all sorts of things';

fill-em (N) all sorts of things. *-em* is an improductive suffix, see 18.3. *niekefuy ñi fillem engün ñi fundumew* 'they^p had all sorts of things on their farm'.

fill (Adj) naughty, wicked, troublesome;

  fill ađ-nge- (Vi) to be naughty/wicked/troublesome;

  fill ađ-tu- (Vt) to do naughty things to someone;

  fill-miaw- (Vi) to hang around doing naughty things;

  fill-pi- (Vt) to say naughty things to;

  fill-küle- (Vi) to be dirty;

  fill-meke- (Vi) to be busy doing naughty things.

filla (N) scarcity, lack;

  filla-ngen (N) time of scarcity;

  filla- (Vi) to become in want of, to run short of; *fillalen* 'I have got nothing left'.

fillem (N) all sorts of things; see *fill*.

fillka (N) the wife of a man's brother, the brother of a woman's husband.

fillkuñ (N) lizard.

fitrun (N) smoke; *pitrun* (RR);

  fitrun- (Vi) to become smoke;

  fitrun-uw- (Vi) to burn almost completely;

  fitrun-tu- (Vi) to be bothered by smoke, to get smoke in the eyes.

fochiđ- (Vt) to suck.

fochüm ∼ **fotüm** (N) son (of a man) (RR); see *fotüm*.

foki (N) climbing plant.

folil (N) root.

foro (N) bone, tooth;

  foro-challwa (N) fishbone;

  llangka-foro (N) collarbone.

fotella (N) bottle; Sp. botella.

fotüm (N) son (of a man); *fochüm* ∼ *fotüm* (RR);

  fotüm-wen (N) father and son.

fotra (N) swamp, mud.

fotrü (ITJ) exclamation of regret; *ay fotrü* 'what a shame!, what a pity!'.

funa- (Vi) to become rotten, to become putrid;

  funa-n (Adj) rotten, putrid; *funan ilo* 'putrid meat'.

fundo ∼ **fundu** (N) farm; Sp. fundo.

furi (N, Adv) back (human body, object), at the back of; *furi pwerta müley* 'he is behind the door'; *furimu müliy* 'he is at the back';

  furi-ntuku- (Vt) to turn one's back to;

  furi-rekül-küle- (Vi) to be seated while leaning backwards;

  furi-tripa-le- (Vi) to be outside a group, to be far away from one's family, to be off the right path;

  furi-le- (Vi) to be at the back of, to be behind, to be outside a group;

  furi-nie- (Vt) to have behind one's back;

  furi-nge- (Vi) to have a back.

futrül- (Vt) to pile up, to heap up.

füchá (Adj, Adv) old, big, tall, very, a long time; also, but less frequent, *fütá*;
  kiñe füchá trewa 'old dog'; *füchá wentru* 'adult (man)';
  fücha-chaw (N) grandfather;
  fücha-che (N) old man;
  fücha-pun (Adv) late at night;
  fücha-kon- (Vi) to be deep, to be big inside;
  fücha-rume- (Vi) to be broad, to be thick;
  fücha-tuw- (Vi) to be long;
  fücha- (Vi) to become old;
  fücha-l- (Vt) to make big.

füđo (N) navel (JM); *püđo* (RR).

füđü (N) partridge; also *shüllo, sillo* (RR).

fül*;
  ina-fül (N, Adv) side, near, close; *iñché eymi mi inaful mülen* 'I am (sitting)
  next to you[s]';
  ina-fül-tu- (Vt) to approach;
  fül-küle- (Vi) to be near; *iñché fülkülen Pedromew* 'I am close to Pedro';
  fül-ma- + direction marker (Vt) to go/come close to;
  fül-me- (Vi) to go near;
  fül-pa- (Vi) to come near;
  fül-pu- (Vi) to arrive close to;
  fül-üm- (Vt) to bring close/near;
  fül-üm-tuku- (Vt) to put close to.

fülang (Adj) white (MM); *pülang ∼ pilang* (JM); derived from Sp. blanco;
  fülang- (Vi) to become white;
  fülang-el- (Vt) to make white.

fülor (N) flower; Sp. flor.

füntro- (Vi) to smoke (fire).

füñapuwe (N) poison;
  füñapuwe-tu- (Vt) to poison someone, to take poison;
  füñapuwe-tu-n (Adj) poisoned.

füré (Adj) spicy, hot; *füré korü* 'hot/spicy soup';
  füre- (Vi) to become hot/spicy; *fürey ilo* 'the meat is spicy'.

fürene- (Vt) to do someone a favour; *pengelen rüpü, füreneen* 'show me the way,
  please'.

füri- (Vt) to fry, to bake; Sp. freír; *fürin ilo* 'fried meat'; *fürin kofke* 'baked
  bread'.

fürolla- (Vt) to muddle; Sp. embrollar.

füshkü (Adj) fresh, cool; *füskü* (RR); *füshkü antü* 'a fresh, cool day';
  füshkü- (Vi) to become fresh;
  füshkü-tu- (Vi) to take shade.

fütá ∼ füchá (Adj) big, old; see *füchá*.

füta (N) husband;

füta-nge- (Vi) to have a husband, to be married (a woman); *küpá fütangen* 'I want to get married'.

füw (N) wool;

füw- (Vt) to spin.

gayeta (N) cookie, biscuit; Sp. galleta;

gayeta-tu- (Vi) to eat cookies.

gobyernu (N) government; Sp. govierno.

gowernaor (N) governor; Sp. gobernador.

i- (Vt) to eat; also *yi-*, often in case of a preceding vowel; *iy-* before V; *iyalafiymi tüfá* 'you^s must not eat that'; *iñché küpá yiwelan* 'I don't want to eat any more';

iy-al (N) food; also *yael* (RR);

kim đewma-iyal- ∼ *kim đewma-yael-* (Vt) to know how to cook;

i-lel- ∼ *i-lel-tu-* (Vt) to make someone eat; *yiyikünufiñ* 'I ate that very quickly'.

ichona ∼ **ichuna** (N) scythe; Sp. echona ∼ echuna.

iy- (Vt) to eat; see *i-*.

iyal (N) food; see *i-*.

ilo (N) meat; *ilo trokifiñ* 'it looks like meat to me';

ilo- (Vt) to slaughter;

ilo-ufisha- (Vt) to slaughter sheep;

ilo-tu- (Vi) to eat meat;

ilo-n (Adj) slaughtered.

illam- (Vt) to despise, to depreciate (MM); *iñché pobrengelu nga iñché illam-ngekefun* 'when I was poor, I used to be despised'.

illku- (Vi) to become angry;

illku-l- ∼ *illku-l-ka-* (Vt) to make someone angry;

illku-l-uw- (Vi) to become angry, to make oneself angry;

illku-mpe- (Vt) to rebuke someone (LQ);

illku-ñpe- (Vt) to call someone names, to abuse someone (MM). See 27.2 for *-mpe-* ∼ *-ñpe-* improd. suffix.

illku-tu- (Vt) to become angry with someone.

illu- (Vt) to feel like, to get an appetite for; *rume illulen serbesa* 'I very much feel like a beer'; *illuniengen tañi langümngeal* 'they want to kill me'.

impol- (Vt) to wrap up; Sp. envolver.

ina (Adv) along, next to, near, behind; *ina lewfü trekan* 'I walked along the river';

ina-fül (N, Adv) side, near, next to; *inafül lewfü trekan* 'I walked close to the river'; *fey ñi inafül ngillay mapu* 'he bought land next to him';

ina-fül- (Vi) to get near/next to (*-mew*); *inafülküley* 'it is close by';

ina- (Vi) to follow, to go behind someone; *petú alüley rüpü ñi inayal* 'it is still a long way to go'; *inamefin* 'I went behind her';

ina-amu- (Vi) to go behind;

ina-ye- (Vt) to join in, to follow someone in; *iñché pefilu imeken Pati iñché ka inayengüñün* 'when I saw Pati eating I also got hungry';

ina-ye-ngüma- (Vt) to cry with someone (in order to give comfort);

ina-küpa- (Vi) to come behind;

ina-l (N) bank, side, next; *pu inal* 'the next ones';

ina-l-tu (Adv) along, alongside, next to. *ina-l-tu* is more frequent than *ina* (Adv). *ina* ∼ *inaltu ruka* 'next to the house'; *inaltu lewfü trekan* 'I walked on the banks of the river (following exactly the course of the river)'; *inaltu wingkul* 'at the foot of the mountain, around the mountain (following its outline)'; *ina-yawün* 'I walked about behind', cf. *inaltuyawün* 'I walked about alongside';

ina-l-tuku- (Vt) to sow late, to put in the soil late;

ina-n (N, Adj) last, younger, youngest; *fey itrokommew đoy inanngey* 'he is the youngest of all';

af-ina-n (N) very youngest;

ina-n-tu- (Vt) to run after someone;

ina-nge-chi (Adj, Adv) last, behind; *feytüfá đoy inangechi akuy feytüfachi epu chemew* 'he arrived after these two people'.

inafül (N, Adv) side, near, next to; see *ina-*.

inal (N) bank, side, next; see *ina-*.

iney ∼ **iniy** (Ni) who?; *iniyemu ngemeymi Santiago?* 'with whom have you[s] been to Santiago?'; *iney rumé* 'whoever'; *iney nu rumé* 'nobody whatsoever'.

iniy ∼ **iney** (Ni) who?.

interese (N) interest; Sp. interés.

iñché (Np) I; *iñché ñi* 'my'.

iñchiñ (Np) we[p]; *iñchiñ yiñ* 'our[p]'.

iñchiu (Np) we[d]; *iñchiu yu* 'our[d]'.

ingka- (Vt) to defend.

ispwela (N) spur; Sp. espuela.

itro (Adv) quite, completely, straight; occurs only in compounds;

itro-fill (Adj, N) all sorts; *itrofill đungu nütramkawayiñ* 'we[p] are going to talk about all sorts of things';

itro-kom (N) all, everybody; *itrokommu trapümün plata* 'I collected money from everybody';

itro-re (Adv) merely;

itro-tripa (N, Adv) area before/in front of something, before (space or position); *itrotripa rukamu nen kiñe wangku* 'I have a chair in front of my house'.

itrokom (N) everybody; see *itro*.

yafka- (Vt) to make someone angry; cf. *yafkü-*.

yafkü- (Vi) to get angry (MM);

yafkü-tu- (Vt) to get angry with someone.

yafü (Adj) hard; *yafü pañillwe* 'hard iron';

yafü- (Vi) to become hard;

yafü-l- (Vt) to cheer up, to animate;

yafü-l-uw- (Vi) to muster up one's courage.

yall (N) child (of a man); *feychi wentru meli niy yall feychi đomomu* 'that man has four children with that woman';

yall- (Vt) to beget, to multiply; *yallngey* 'he was begotten';

yall-üm- (Vt) to multiply;

yall-tuku (N) illegitimate child;

yall-tuku- (Vt) to get an illegitimate child.

yam- (Vt) to respect.

yana (N) half-breed.

yanchü- (Vi) to shiver;

yanchü-wütre- (Vi) to shiver with cold.

yaq (Adv) both, together (but not equally); *yaq tremkülerpuyiñ* 'we[p] grew up together (being of different age/in different circumstances)'; cf. *trür tremkülerpuyiñ* 'we[p] grew up together (being of more or less the same age/in more or less similar circumstances)'.

ye- (Vt) to bring, to carry; *yeniey ina lewfü* 'he carries [it] along the river'; *yelelenew* 'he brought [it] for me'; *kümé yenien ñi küđaw* 'I am good at my work';

ina-ye- (Vt) to join someone in, to follow someone in;

ye-ñma- (Vt) to follow the advice of.

yengu (Np) they[d]; see *engu*.

yengün (Np) they[p]; see *engün*.

yene (N) whale.

yepa- (N) to take after (in character and features); *yepa-* ∼ *yepa-ntu-* (MM); *yepaenew* 'he takes after me'.

yerfa (N) grass, herb; Sp. hierba.

yewe- (to be ashamed to, to respect someone, to be shy with) ; *rumé yewengey* 'he was much respected'; *yewefiñ* 'I respected him, I was shy towards him'; *iñché yewefun ñi feypiafiel* 'I was ashamed to tell him';

yewe-l-ka- (Vt) to bring shame on someone, to embarrass;

yewe-n (N) shame, fiancé(e) and future parent-in-law.

yewün (N) things, stuff, belongings; probably drived from *ye-*.

yiñ (Nposs) our[p].

yiwiñ (N, Adj) fat (human and animal); *yiwiñ sañwe* 'pig's fat'.

yiwül (N) loop, noose; *yüwül* (JM);

yiwül-kuwü (N) ring (ornament worn round a finger);

yiwül- (Vt) to work with a shuttle;

yiwül-we (N) shuttle.

yochi (Adv) enough, sufficient;

yochi- (Vi) to be enough; *yochilefuy chiam ñi iyael?* 'would the food be enough?'.

yom (Adv) too, over-;

yom ru-me- (Vi) to go on, to go beyond what is planned for/what is advisable), to go too far, to do better than others; *yom dewmay* 'he built another, bigger one)';

yom đuam- (Vi) to be a loud-mouth.

yu (Nposs) our[d].

yungum (Adj) sharp; *yungumke kuchillu nien* 'I have sharp knives';

yungum- (Vt) to sharpen;

  yungum-wili- (Vi) to file one's fingernails.

yuw (N) nose;

  way-yu- (Vi) to get a nosebleed.

ka (Adj, Adv, Conj) other, different, also, again, and; *kake che* 'other people'; *ka tasa* 'a different cup'; *ka semana* 'next week'; *ka ñiđolküley* 'he is also the leader'; *ka lantuy* 'he became a widower again'; *đewmay ñi ruka ka kintuy kiñe đomo* 'he built his house and looked for a woman'; *kañ pülé* 'on the other side';

  ka-ka (Adv) again and again;

  ka-mapu (Adj, Adv) far;

  ka-mel (Adv) next year; *mel* 'time' (Augusta);

  ka-ruka ∼ *ka-ruka-tu* (N) neighbour;

  ka-ruka-tu- (Vt) to visit a neighbour, to move next to a person;

  ka-ke kiñe-ke (N, Adj) each one;

  ka-ke-lu (N) the others;

  ka-le- (Vi) to be different (not character); *kaleay chi tañi pipingen* 'perhaps he will strike a different note';

  ka-nge- (Vi) to be different (character); *kangey* 'he is different, he is peculiar';

  ka-nge-chi (Adj, Adv) different, differently;

  ka-nge-lu (N) the other .

ka (Part) see 32.16.

kabüra ∼ **kapüra** (N) goat; Sp. cabra.

kachilla (N) wheat.

kachu (N) grass, pasture; *eymi ta küpalelafilu ta kachu* 'you^s must bring him grass';

  kachu- (Vi) to come up (grass);

  kachu-ka-l- (Vt) to make an animal graze, to pasture.

kađi (N) side, rib, bed-fellow;

  af-kađi (N) person next to another person, bosom friend, companion, advisor;

  af-kađi-le- (Vi) to be next to a person;

  af-kađi-nie- (Vt) to have someone at one's side;

  kađi-l-entu- (Vt) to put aside, to catch up with someone.

kafé (N) coffee; Sp. café;

  kafe- (Vi) to make coffee;

  kafe-tu- (Vi) to drink coffee.

kafkü- (Vi, Vt) to whisper (to);

  kafkü-l- (Vt) to whisper to.

kafüđ- (Vt) to scrape, to scratch.

kay (Part) see 32.4.

kaykay- (Vi) to cackle (sound made by a hen after laying an egg) (JM), cf. *kuchacha-*.

kayñe (N) enemy.

kayu (Num) six.

kakak(ü)- (Vi) to crow, to make the sound of a cock; *kakara-* (MM), *kakaya-*

(JM); *kiñetu kakaküle alka* 'at the first crowing sound of the cock, at dawn'.

kakül (Adj) sideways; *kakülküliy* 'he is lying/sitting sideways'.

kal (N) hair, fleece, pelt;

kal-cha (N) pubic hair, hair in the armpits; *kal küwü* 'hair on one's hand'; *kal ufisha* 'fleece of a sheep'.

kalera (N) staircase, ladder; Sp. escalera.

kalku (N) witch. Witches, usually male, occasionally female, bring harm to people and animals. They use stones, birds and supernatural creatures like the *añchümalleñ*, the *chonchon* and the *witranalwe* for their practice of witchcraft. Witches are held responsible for illness and death.

kallekalle (N) wild plant with long roots; Liertia ixiodes iridacea, iridácea (Augusta). The roots of the plant are used to make a comb.

kallfü (Adj) purple, blue;

kallfü- (Vi, Vt) to become purple, to be purple, to make purple; *kallfüy* 'it is purple (permanent characteristic)'; *petú kallfüy* 'it is becoming purple'; *kallfüley* 'it is purple (having become purple)'; *kallfüngey* 'it has purple'.

kalli (Aux) enabling; see 25.4; *kalli amupe!* 'let him go!';

kalli-ka-w- (Vi) to be at ease, to feel at ease; *kallikawküđawkülen* 'I am working without hurry'.

kam (Conj) or; *feyta kam kangelu?* 'this one or the other one?'; *iniy đoy kimüy, eymi kam iñché?* 'who knows more, youˢ or me?'

kam (Part) see 32.12.

kama (N) big quantity (RR); *kaman* (MM); *iñché kaman ilo nien* 'I have a lot of meat'; *kamalekefuy che* 'there were a lot of people'.

kamañ (N) shepherd, guardian (a person or a dog); *kulliñ kamañ* 'herdsman'.

kamapu (Adj, Adv) far; see *ka*.

kamel (N) next year; see *ka*.

kampo ∼ **kampu** (N) country; Sp. campo.

kana- (Vt) to earn; Sp. ganar.

kanesta (N) basket; Sp. canasta.

kanin (N) vulture.

kaniru (N) mutton; Sp. carnero.

kañ (Adj, Adv, Conj) variant of *ka* 'other'; see *ka*.

kansu (N) goose; Sp. ganso.

kangka- (Vt) to roast;

kangka-n (Adj) roasted;

kangka-we (N) spit.

kapata (N) foreman; Sp. capataz.

kapi (N) pod; *füreke kapi niey tüfachi trapi* 'this red pepper has hot seed-pods'.

kapun- (Vt) to castrate (RR, JM).

kapüra ∼ **kabüra** (N) goat; Sp. cabra.

kaqül (N) spittle, spit.

kara (N) town. Is an old word, still found in names of places, e.g. Carahue.

karkar- (Vi) to quack (chicken, cock, goose).

karuka (N) neighbour; see *ka, ruka*.

karü (Adj) green, raw; *pilang* ∼ *pülang karü* 'light-green'; *kurü karü* 'dark-green';
  karü- (Vi) to become green, to be green.

kasa- (Vt) to hunt; Sp. cazar.

kashü (Adj) grey (not RR); *kashü ngürü* 'grey fox';
  kashü- (Vi) to become grey, to be grey.

kata- (Vt) to pierce;
  kata-ru-l-me- (Vt) to pierce through;
  kata-n (N) hole;
  kata-we (N) dagger.

katrü- (Vt) to cut, to mow, to cut someone off; *iñché katrün ñi changüllkuwü*
  'I cut my finger'; *katrükonkilnge kangelu petú nütramkale!* 'don't interrupt
  someone when he is talking!';
  katrü-ketran- (Vi) to mow wheat;
  katrü-ka- (Vt) to cut into several pieces;
  katrü-ka-w- (Vi) to cut oneself several times;
  katrü-l- (Vt) to cut unwittingly, to pull to pieces;
  katrü-ntuku- (Vt) to cut off, to cut without wanting to;
  katrü-ntuku-n (N) room (in a house), part that is cut off;
  katrü-tu- (Vt) to cut someone off, to block someone's way, to bump against
  (*-mew*);
  katrü-w- (Vi) to harvest;
  katrü-w-ün-ngen (N) harvest season;
  katrü-n (N) piece, cut.

kawallete (N) ridge (of a roof); Sp. caballete.

kawchu (N) young lady.

kaweyu (N) horse; Sp. caballo; *kawell(u)* is more frequent.

kawell(u) (N) horse; Sp. caballo; also *kaweyu*;
  angkađ-püra-kawellu- (Vi) to mount a horse behind another person;
  (püra-)kawell-küle- (Vi) to ride horse;
  kawellu-tu- (Vt) to sit/ride on something or someone, as if on a horse;
  kawellu-tu-n (N) a person on horseback.

kawe- (Vi) to row;
  kawe-pe-ye-m (N) stick to row with, oar.

kawitu (N) bed; Qu. kawitu.

kawle (N) cable; Sp. cable.

kawlitu- (Vt) to scratch.

kawüsh ∼ **kawüđ** (N) spoon; see *kawüđ-*.

kawüđ ∼ **kawüsh** (N) spoon; *kawüđ-* ∼ *kawüsh-* (Vt) to spoon out;
  kawüđ-we (N) spoon, a thing to spoon something out with;
  kawüđ-kantu-we (N) a piece of wood to spoon something out with.

ke (Part) see 32.17.

kechu (Num) five.

keđiñ- (Vt) to shear (sheep).

kekaw- (Vt) complain; Sp. quejarse.

kele (N) rheum (in the corners of the eye when waking up).

kelü (Adj) red;

kelü- (Vi) to be red;

kelü-tripa- (Vi) to go red, to blush;

kelü-w- (Vi) to become red.

kellu- (Vt) help;

kellu-ntuku- (Vt) to help out.

keñkeñko (N) waterplant; probably consisting of *keñkeñ*(?) and *ko* 'water'.

ketra- (Vt) to plough;

katrü-ketran- (Vi) to mow;

ketra-n (N) crop (corn, wheat, potatoes etc.);

ketra-w-ün-ngen (N) ploughing season.

ketre (N) chin.

ketro (Adj) mute.

kewa- (Vt) to hit, to beat (to defeat), to fight; *kewakewangekiy* 'they were fighting all the time'; *kewafin* 'I hit him, I fought with him'; *kewangen* 'I was hit, I was beaten';

kewa-l- (Vt) to let fight;

kewa-tu- (Vt) to fight, to combat, to go to war against; *ka kisuke đewmayngün ñi Mapuche tralka ñi kewatuafiyem ti pu ñuwa* 'each one of them^P prepared his Mapuche gun in order to fight the thieves'.

kewün (N) tongue; probably contains *wün* 'mouth'.

kiđkiđ- (Vi) to squeak, to giggle.

kilkay (N) necklace (silver necklace with a coin on each link).

killkill (N) night-bird.

kim (Adj) knowing, wise, well-behaved;

kim (Aux) to know how to, see 25.4; *kim đungulay* 'he does not know how to speak';

kim- (Vt) to know, to learn (to gain knowledge of, to be informed), to remember; *kimüñmalafin ñi rakiđuam* 'I don't know what his thoughts are'; *iñché kimlan* 'I don't know'; *iñché pichi kimnien* 'as far as I know'; *kimnuchi pichiche* 'innocent child'; *iñché petú kimün fey akulu fey* 'I have just learned that he has arrived'; *newé kümé kimnielan* 'I don't remember very well';

kim-kon- (Vi) to find out;

kim-püra- (Vi) to realize;

kim-tuku- (Vt) to have known for some time;

kim-el- (Vt) to teach, to let someone know;

kim-el-tuku- (Vt) to let someone know (as a warning);

kim-el-fal- (Vt) to make generally known;

kim-el-fe ∼ *kim-el-che-fe* (N) teacher;

kim-küle- (Vi) to be prudent, sensible, conscious, aware;

kim-tu- (Vt) to remember;

kim-fal (Adj) known, recognizable;

kim-fal-uw- (Vi) to make oneself known; *kimfaluwpalay* 'when he came in, he did not make himself known'.

kincha (N) vegetable garden.

kintu- (Vt) to look for, to search, to look;

kintu-đuam- (Vt) to look for trouble, to pick a quarrel with someone;

kintu-mara- (Vi) to look/hunt for hare;

kintu-ka-w-küle- (Vi) to be looking for all kind of stuff for oneself, to be shopping.

kiñe (Num, Adv, Adj) one, once, about/more or less (with numbers), single. *kiñe* is sometimes used as an indefinite article. *kiñe umameyu* 'we^d stayed there one night'; *kiñe pülé* 'on one side'; *kiñe rumé* 'if only one'; *kiñe nu rumé* 'not even one'; *kiñe epu küyen* 'for about two months'; *kiñe mufü* 'quite a few';

kiñe-chi (Adv) once;

kiñe-ke (Adj, N) some, a few, one by one, one each;

ka-ke kiñe-ke (Adj, N) each one; *kake kiñeke yenieyiñ makuñ anu mawünle* 'we^p take each of us a coat with us in case it rains';

kiñe-ke-mew (Adv) sometimes;

kiñe-ke-ntu (N) some; *kiñekentu tripayiñ* 'some of us^p left';

kiñe-l- (Vt) to give one to;

kiñe-le- (Vi) to be one, to be single/alone;

kiñe-le-chi (Adj) single;

kiñe-nge- (Vi) to be single/alone (always);

kiñe-nge-chi (Adj, Adv) first, unique, alone, for the first time, (for) once;

kiñe-tu (Adv) (for) once, for the first time;

kiñe-w (Adv) together.

kinging- (Vi) to whine (sound made by a dog);

kinging-kinging-nge- (Vi) to be whining constantly;

kinging-kinging-tu- (Vi) to imitate the whining of a dog;

kinging-kinging-tu-l- (Vt) to imitate the whining of.

kisá (Adv) maybe; Sp. quizá(s).

kishu (Adv) alone, self/own (giving emphasis to the individual character of the person referred to); *kishu ∼ kisu* (RR, MM). *kishu* is also used as a substitutive personal pronoun, see 15.1. *kishu küđawkülen* 'I am working alone'; *kishukentu amuayu* 'we^d will go alone (each of us)'; *kishu đunguaymew eymi* 'he will talk to you^s himself'; *kishu engün amufaltunofel* 'they^p should not go';

kishu-le- (Vi) to be alone;

kishu-tu (Adv) on one's own initiative, for one's own account.

kitra (N) pipe;

kitra-tuwe (N) clay to make pipes from, also a place-name;

kitra-tu- (Vt) to smoke a pipe.

ko (N) water;

püra-n-ko (N) spring;

wichill-ko (N) creek.

kochü (Adj) sweet (sugar, appels, oranges), as opposed to *kotrü* 'salt, sour';

kochü- (Vi) to become sweet, to be sweet;
  kochü-l- (Vt) to make sweet.
kofi- (Vi) to become (burning) hot/heated;
  kofi-m- (Vt) to heat up;
  kofi-n (Adj) hot; *kofin pañillwe* 'hot iron'.
kofke (N) bread;
  kofke- (Vt) to make bread;
  kofke-fe (N) baker;
  kofke-tu- (Vi) to eat bread;
  kofke-tu-fe (N) bread-eater.
koyam (N) young oak tree; Nothofagus obliqua (Augusta).
koyla (N, Adj) lie, deceitful; *iñché koyla ɖungu pin* 'I told a lie';
  koyla-nge- (Vi) to be deceitful;
  koyla-tu- (Vt) to lie to someone;
  koyla-tu-fe (N) liar;
  koyla-tu-n (N) lie.
kolexio (N) school; Sp. colegio;
  kolexio-tu- (Vi) to go to school.
kolü ∼ kollü (Adj) brown, reddish brown, beige;
  kolü- (Vi) to become brown, to be brown.
kollella (N) ant.
kollkoma (N) coot (not RR, not JM).
kollü ∼ kolü (Adj) brown, reddish brown, beige; see *kolü*.
kom (Adj, Adv) all, entire, completely; *kom kurü* 'entirely black'; *kom pun* 'all nights, the entire night'; *iñché ta kom kimün* 'I know everything'.
kompañ (N) comrade; Sp. compañero; *kompañwen* 'friends/partners of one another';
  kompañ- (Vt) to accompany; *fey müná kümey kompañkiawülünmew* 'he is very good to hang around with'.
komütu- (Vt) to gaze with rapture.
kon (N) opponent (in a game).
kon- (Vi) to enter, to start; *konpange!* 'come in!'; *füchá konüy* 'it is deep'; *tunté konüy tachi küyen?* 'which day of the month is it?'; *mari kiñe antü konüy* 'it is the eleventh'; *konayiñ nganün* 'we[p] will begin to sow/plant'; *kiñe fütá firmamew konün* 'I joined a big firm'; *konün antü* 'when the sun goes down'; *konün pun* 'at nightfall';
  anü-kon- (Vi) to sit down in, to move in with in-laws;
  kon-antü- (Vi) to get the heat of the sun;
  ütrüf-kon- (Vi) to fall in;
  kon-ma- (Vi) to get, to take in; *konmay trufür ñi nge* 'I got dust in my eye';
  kon-tu- (Vt) to enter, to go into, to invade; *ruka kontungen* 'my house was broken into';
  lef-kon-tu- (Vt) to attack suddenly.
koná (N) young man, soldier, servant;

kona-kona-tu- (Vi) to take courage, to pretend to be a young man;
kona-kona-tu-l- (Vt) to encourage.

koñoll (Adj) (deep) purple;
koñoll- (Vi) to become purple, to be purple;
koñoll-tu- (Vt) to dye purple;
koñoll-we (N) purple dye.

koñü (N) baby/young (of a woman or an animal), child of a woman's sister(-in-law) or brother(-in-law); *koñi* (RR);
nie-koñü-le- (Vi) to be pregnant/with young;
koñü-ntu (N) nephews and nieces;
koñü-wen (N) mother and young;
koñü-nge- (Vi) to have a young;
koñü- (Vi) to give birth; *kiñe koñün waka* 'a cow which has calved'.

kongka (N) sheaf; *kongka küna* 'a bundle of reed'.

kongkong (N) owl.

kongkül- (Vi) to growl (pigs).

kopüđ-*;
kopüđ-küle- (Vi) to lie face downward;
kopüđ-künu-w- (Vt) to lie/sit down face downward;
kopüđ-nie- (Vt) to hold in a face downward position.

koral (N) fence, yard; Sp. corral; *mamüll koral* 'wooden fence'.

korkopel (N) throat; cf. *pel* 'neck, throat'.

korü (N) soup;
korü- (Vi) to make soup;
korü-tu (Vi) to eat soup.

kosecha (N) harvest; Sp. cosecha; *kosechangen* 'harvest season';
tripa-l-kosecha (N, Adv) (at) the end of the harvest season.

kotrü (Adj) salt, salty, sour;
kotrü- (Vi) to be salt; *rumé kotrüy lafkenko* 'seawater is very salt'; *kotrüy ti kesu* 'this cheese is (too) salt'; *kotrüy ti mansana* 'the apple is sour';
kotrü-künu- (Vt) to salt;
kotrü-l- (Vt) to salt; *kotrülngey ti korü* 'the soup was salted';
kotrü-le- (Vi) to be salty.

kotror (Adj) faded, greyish (colour of dirty white clothes), foul; *kotror che* 'foul/dirty people'.

kowkow (N) owl;
kowkow- (Vi) to howl.

kristianu (Adj) Christian; Sp. cristiano.

kuchacha- (Vi) to cackle (after laying an egg) (MM).

kuchi (N) vagina (RR).

kuchilla ∼ **kuchillu** (N) knife; Sp. cuchillo.

kuchu- (Vi) to get wet; *kuchulen* 'I am wet';
kuchu-n (Adj) wet; *kuchun libru* 'wet book'.

kuđakuđa (N) kidneys.

kuđañ (N) testicle.

kuđe ∼ **kushe** ∼ **kuse** (Adj, N) old, old woman; see *kushe*.

kuđe- (Vi) to play (in a contest/game), to bet;
  kuđe-l- (Vt) to have a horse running a race;
  kuđe-fe (N) jockey;
  kuđe-n (N) horserace.

kuđi (N) millstone (the bottom stone which does not move);
  ñum-kuđi (N) the millstone on top of the bottom stone.

kuđu- (Vi) to lie down, to go to bed.

kufü- (Vi) to become warm; *kufüy ko* 'the water has warmed up';
  kufü-n (Adj) warm.

kuyfí (Adv, Adj) formerly, a long time ago, former; *kuyfí rumé mülekefuy feychi đungu* 'in earlier days these things happened a lot'; *iñché nütramkan kiñe kuyfí che iñchiú* 'I talked to an elderly person'.

kuykuy (N) bridge which consists of one pole or a framework of poles which rests on either side of a stream or a river;
  kuykuy-pangi (N) ridgepole.

kuyül (N) charcoal.

kuyüm (N) sand.

kuliw (N) distaff.

kultraf- (Vt) to slap with the palm of the hand or with a whip;
  kultraf-tuku- (Vt) to slap on something;
  kultraf-tu- (Vt) to slap.

kultrung (N) drum (wooden dish covered by a goat's skin, is used by the machi);
  trüpu-kultrung- (Vi) to beat the *kultrung*.

kulli- (Vt) to pay someone; *fey kom kullieyiñmu* 'he paid all of us';
  kulli-ñ (N) animal, cattle.

kullkull (N) flute made of horn.

kullumtu- (Vi, Vt) to wash one's face, to wash the face of someone.

kum (Adj) red, iron-coloured red;
  kum-püllü (N) red earth.

kunaw- (Vi) to swell up, to inflate, to become inflamed.

kuñifall (N) orphan.

kuñil- (Vt) to feel pity for;
  kuñil-tu- (Vt) to feel pity/ sorry for, to take care of.

kuñiwün (Adj) dangerous.

kungkull (N) horn (music instrument made of horn);
  kungkull-tu- (Vi) to play the horn.

kupaf- (Vt) to beat someone up with a stick;
  kupaf-ka- (Vt) to give someone a good beating.

kupül- (Vt) to fasten (a baby) to the cradleboard;
  kupül-we (N) cradleboard.

kura (N) stone, rock; *la kura* 'loose rock, rock debris' (lit. dead stone); *mongen kura* 'solid rock' (lit. living stone);

kura-l-nge- (N) pupil;
kura-tu- (Vt) to throw stones at;
kura-w- (Vi) to turn into stone.
kuram (N) egg;
antü-kuram (N) unfertilized egg;
kuram- (Vi) to lay an egg.
kure (N) wife;
kure-wen (N) husband and wife; *kiñeke wariyamew kurengepuyngün* 'some got married in town and stayed there';
kure-ye- (Vt) to take for a wife, to marry;
kure-ye-w- (Vi) to marry each other;
kure-nge- (Vi) to have a wife, to get married (to a woman);
kure-tu- (Vt) to have sexual intercourse with a woman.
kuri (N) stinging-nettle.
kurü (Adj) black, dark; *kurükelü* 'dark-red'; *kurükechiley* 'it seems black';
kurü- (Vi) to become black, to be black; *kurüy* 'it is black (always)', cf. *kurüley* 'it is black (has become black)'; *kurüngey* 'it has black (in it)'.
kushe ∼ **kuse** (N, Adj) old woman, granny, old (woman, house);
kushe-papay (N) old dear;
kushe- (Vi) to be/become an old woman;
kushe-đuam- (Vi) to (be middle-aged and) get older, to advance in years;
kushe-naq- (Vi) to get old; *kushenaqüy* 'she has become old (and did not get any children or has not travelled anywhere)';
kushe-le- (Vi) to be in the process of becoming an old woman.
kutran (N) illness;
kutran-che (N) sick person, patient;
chafo-kutran (N) cold (illness of nose and throat);
kutran-longko (N) headache;
kutran- (Vi) to fall ill;
kutran-pütra-le- (Vi) to have stomach-ache;
kutran-ka-w- (Vi) to suffer;
kutran-nge- (Vi) to feel pain;
kutran-longko-nge- (Vi) to have headache;
kutran-tu- (Vi, Vt) to hurt.
kuwü (N) hand; *küwü* (RR, JM);
changüll-kuwü (N) finger;
yiwül-kuwü (N) ring (ornament worn round a finger);
trari-kuwü (N) bracelet;
troy-kuwü (N) wrist;
kuwü-l (N) sleeve;
man-kuwü-l- (Vt) to shake someone's right hand.
kücha(-tu)- (Vt) to wash;
kücha-fal (Adj) washable;
kücha-tu-fe (N) someone who washes;

kücha-tu-n (N) piece of laundry.

küchiw (N) arse.

küđaw (N) work;

küđaw-nge- (Vi) to be difficult;

küđaw- (Vi, Vt) to work;

antü-küđaw- (Vi) to work as a day-labourer;

küđaw-ka- (Vi) to do all kind of jobs;

küđaw-ka-we (N) tool;

küđaw-ma-nge- (Vi) to become bewitched;

küđaw-pie-nie- (Vt) to be concerned with;

küđaw-tu- (Vt) to have difficulty to, to take trouble to; *iñché küđawtun kimal olandés* 'I had difficulty learning Dutch'.

küđe (N) torch (of reed or wood);

küđe-tu- (Vt) to light, to illuminate.

küfiw- (Vi) to swell; *iñché küfiwkülen ñi pütra* 'my stomach is swollen'.

küyen (N, Adv) moon, month, monthly, in ... months, ... months ago;

küyen- (Vi) to elapse (a month), to be a month ago, to spend a month.

külá (Num) three;

küla-n (N) trio, set of three.

külafo (N) nail; Sp. clavo.

külchaf- ∼ **kültraf-** (Vt) to soak, to drench.

külche (N) intestine.

külen (N) tail.

külko (N) basket, made of *foki*.

külkül (N) sort of fern, used to cover wounds and heal them.

külolkülol (N) throat, larynx.

külow (N) bar of a loom (the upper and lower bar of a loom on which the warp threads are stretched).

külto- (Vi) to become loose.

kültraf- ∼ **külchaf-** (Vt) to soak, to drench.

külü- (Vi, Vt) to lean;

külü-naq- (Vi) to lean down; *külürupan antü* 'after midday, around 14.00 hours, when the sun is going down';

külü-künu-w- (Vi) to lie to one side;

külü-le- (Vi) to bend, to lean.

küllaytu- (Vt) to wash someone's head;

küllaytu-w- (Vi) to wash one's head.

külle (N) tear (RR); *külle-wün* (JM); *apoliy tañi nge küllewünmew* 'her eyes are full of tears'.

külleq (N) hill, slope;

külleq-tu- (Vi) to climb a hill in a zigzagging manner.

küllew (N) seed, grain;

küllew- (Vi) to burst open (grain, corn while being roasted); *küllewküllewerkiy* 'it is on the verge of bursting open'.

küllmatu- (Vt) to lick.

küllü- (Vt) to hit;

  küllü-küllü-tu- (Vt) to take aim at.

kümé (Adj, Adv) good, nice, well; *kümé che* 'good person'; *müná kümé dungu!* 'how good!, isn't that good!'; *müná kümé aɖngey* 'she looks very pretty'; *kümé antü* 'good/nice weather';

  kümé rüngüm- (Vt) to grind fine;

  küme- (Vi) to be good/nice; *feyta ɖoy kümey* 'this one is better'; *kümey* 'it is good, it tastes good';

  kümé-ɖuam- (Vi) to feel better;

  küme-el- (Vt) to arrange, to repair;

  küme-el-peshkiñ-fe (N) gardener;

  küme-küme-tu- (Vt) to taste;

  küme-le- (Vi) to be good/well done/allright; *kümeley* 'he is allright (not sick)';

  küme-l-ka- (Vi, Vt) to do right (to), to be good at, to treat well; *kümelkan ñi amunuel* 'I made the right decision by not going';

  küme-l-ka-le- (Vi) to be (doing) allright, to be well off;

  küme-l-ka-w- (Vi) to brighten up, to become better;

  küme-nie- (Vt) to let someone be, to treat someone well;

  küme-ntu- (Vt) to like, to think it is nice/good;

  küme-ñma- (Vi) to experience something good, to have a good day;

  küme-nge- (Vi) to be good, to be nice weather.

küna (N) reed, used for thatching (about one metre high green, flexible grass);

  küna ruka 'a house with a thatched roof'.

küntro (Adj) crippled, lame;

  küntro-le- (Vi) to be crippled/lame (temporarily);

  küntro-nge- (Vi) to be crippled/lame (always).

küñatu- (Vt) to take by the hand.

küñe (N) twins.

küpá (Aux) wishing, see 25.4; *upa* (JM); *küpá amulafuyiñ* 'we[p] did not want to go'; *küpá pütokon* 'I like to drink water'.

küpa- (Vi) to come; *pichi küpange!* 'come here for a second!';

  küpa-l- (Vt) to bring; *küpaleleyu tüfá* 'I brought this for you[s]'; *llüngüɖküpa-l-* 'to drag this way (in the direction of the speaker)'; *rütreküpal-* 'to push this way (in the direction of the speaker)'.

küpalme (N) family (group of persons descended from a common ancestor); probably related to *küpa-* 'to come'.

küpam (N) dress; same as *chamall*.

kürew (N) starling.

küri (Adj) lustful (women only);

  küri- (Vi) to be lustful.

kürun (N) sister of a man's wife, sister's husband (of a woman); *kürunwen iñchiu* 'we[d] [are] *kürun*'.

kürüf (N) wind; *kürüfngey* 'there is wind'; *kürüftukumawünngey* 'it is windy and

stormy';

kürüf- (Vi) to get up (wind).

kütó (Adv) even, also; *kütu* (RR); *kom amuayiñ wariyamew, fey kütó amuay* 'we[p] will all go to town, even he'; *iñché witranmamean ñi lamngen welu ñi chaw kütó pemean* 'I will go and visit my sister but I will see my father too'.

kütral (N) fire; *anükonkülen kütralmew* 'I am sitting near the fire';

kütral-tu- (Vt) to make fire, to light a fire, to burn; *kütraltufiy mamüll* 'he set fire to the wood, he burned the wood'.

kütrü- (Vt) to wring; *kütrüfiñ ti ropa* 'I wrung water out of the clothes'.

kütrüng (bunch, bundle, parcel) ;

kütrüng- (Vt) to tie, to bind, to wrap up (in a shawl or a piece of cloth).

la (N, Adj) deceased, corpse, dead; *la wentru* 'dead man'; *la kura* 'loose rock, rock debris' (lit. dead stone);

la- (Vi) to die; *petú lay* 'he is dying';

la-ye-l- (Vi) to lose someone (through death); *iñché layelün ñi ñuke* 'I lost my mother (she died)';

la-kon- (Vi) to be still-born, to die of boredom;

la-la-tu- (Vi) to faint;

la-le- (Vi) to be dying, to be half-dead;

la-ngüm- (Vt) to kill; *langümngey* 'he was killed'; *langümüñmangen tañi fotüm* 'I was confronted with the death of my son';

la-ntu (N) widower;

la-ntu- (Vi) to become a widower.

laf (Adj) flat, level;

lap-üm- (Vt) to stretch (out), to comb; *lapümüñmuwan* 'I am going to strech my legs'.

lafken (N) sea, lake, fontanelle;

lafken-longko (N) fontanel(le (JM).

laftra (Adj) short, stunted.

laka- (Vt) to divide, to split, to break (bread), to crack (nuts), to cut (apple, wood); *lakafiñ kofke* 'I broke the bread';

laka-n (N) piece.

laku (N) grandfather, grandson.

lamngen (N) sister (of a woman or a man), brother (of a woman), children of father's brother and children of mother's sister (of a woman);

lamngen-wen (N) brother(s) and sister(s), sisters.

lantra (Adj) big(-boned), thick, sturdy, swollen;

lantra- (Vi) to become thick/sturdy/swollen; *lantrakünuñmakeeymu tañi trawa tati nerüm* 'that flee caused you[s] a swollen skin'.

lapatu- (Vt) to patch up.

law- (Vi) to become hairless/featherless (animals only); *lawüy ñi kal ufisha* 'the sheep lost its fleece';

law-üm- (Vt) to pluck, to fleece.

lawen (N) medicine;

lawen- (Vt) to make medicine;

lawen-tu- (Vt) to cure;

lawen-tu-che-fe (N) doctor.

lef- (Vi) to run;

lef-umaw-pa- (Vi) not to be able to sleep again;

lef-kon-tu- (Vt) to attack suddenly;

lef-el- ∼ *lef-ül-* (Vt) to make (a person or an animal) run;

lef-ma-w(-tu)- (Vt) to run away from;

lep-üm- (Vt) to race, to run.

lelfün (N) (open) field, plain, pampa.

leli- (Vt) to watch, to look at;

leli-ntuku- (Vt) to have a look inside;

leli-wül- (Vt) to look at (a less examining, less conscious way of looking than *leli-*);

leli-kantu- (Vt) to have a quick look at;

leli-le- (Vi) to be focused; *leliniefin* 'I am watching her';

leli-tu- (Vt) to pull someone's leg.

lem- (Vt) to be able to carry/lift something; *kiñe füchá wangku eluen, lemlafin, feymew küpaltulafin* 'you^s gave me a big couch, I could not carry it, [and] therefore I did not bring it';

lem-fal (Adj) portable.

lepü- (Vi, Vt) to sweep;

lepü-lepü-nge- (Vi) to be sweeping;

lepü-n (N) yard;

lepü-we (N) broom.

leq- (Vi) to hit, to touch; *leqniey kechu* 'he has got five hits';

leq-el- ∼ *leq-ül-* (Vi, Vt) to guess right, to hit in a deliberate attempt.

lewfü (N) river.

li (ITJ).

libru (N) book; *lifro* ∼ *lifru* (JM); Sp. libro.

lichi (N) milk; Sp. leche, possibly through Qu. lichi milk;

lichi- (Vi) to produce milk (a woman or a cow);

lichi-tu- (Vt) to milk.

lif (Adj) clean;

lif- (Vi) to become clean;

lif-tu- (Vt) to clean, to wipe; *we liftuley* 'it has just been cleaned'; *liftuñmafiy ñi arof* 'he wiped off his sweat'; *liftun che* 'proper people'; *liftuwün che* 'people who take good care of themselves'.

lingar- (Vi) to turn white, to show white (snow, ice, laundry); *lingarkünuan ñi sabana* 'I am going to have my sheets white';

lingar-el- (Vt) to whiten;

lingar-küle- (Vi) to be white.

lipang (N) arm.

liq ∼ **lir** (Adj) white (RR); cf. *lüq* (LQ, MM).

liwen (N, Adv) morning, in the morning, early; *rumé liwen puwün* 'I arrived very/too early';
pu liwen (Adv) in the morning;
wülé liwen (Adv) tomorrow morning; *müná kümé liwen(antü)ngiy!* 'it is a beautiful morning!';
liwen-tu (Adv) early;
liwen-tu- (Vi) to become morning.
liwpüyiñ (N) a pine bush.
lof (N) reservation.
lofo (N, Adj) wolf, wild; Sp. lobo; *lofo kawellu* 'wild horse (not tame)';
lofo-le- (Vi) to be wild;
lofo-l-ka- (Vt) to make wild, to scare, to frighten.
loyo (N) some edible mushroom (not JM).
lolkiñ (N) flute, a plant; Senecio otites Kuze, fam. Compositae (Augusta). The plant has 1.5 meter long, hollow branches which are used to make a flute.
lolo (N) hole; *lolomu ta ngürü* 'the fox [is] in his hole';
lolo-malliñ (N) a lake with many holes (in which the frogs live);
lolo-le- (Vi) to be a hole;
lolo-nge- (Vi) to have a hole, to have holes;
lolo-w- (Vi) to dig yourself a hole;
lolo-w-küle- ∼ *lolo-kon-küle-* (Vi) to be inside a hole.
longko (N) head, leader;
wiyo-longko (N) crown (of the head).
lu(w)a (N) seaweed; also *lu(w)a-lu(w)a*.
luan (N) guanaco.
luyufluyuftu- (Vi) to flash (lightning).
luku (N) knee;
luku-tu- (Vi) to kneel down.
lutu (N) mourning; Sp. luto;
lutu-le- (Vi) to be in mourning;
lutu-tu- (Vt) to mourn for.
lune (N) Monday; Sp. lunes.
lüf (Adj) burnt; *lüf kofke* 'burnt bread';
lüf- (Vi) to get burnt, to burn; *lüfüy ñi kuwü* 'my hand got burnt'; *lüfay, külüay antü* 'the sun will turn red and go down';
lüf-üm- (Vt) to burn (RR);
lüp-üm- (Vt) to burn, to set fire to;
lüp-üm-tuku- ∼ *lüp-om-tuku-* (Vt) to set fire to something big.
lüykü (N) drop;
lüykü- (Vi) to drip; cf. *lüylüy-* (MM);
lüykü-lüykü-nge- (Vi) to be dripping; *lüykü-lüykü-nge-* ∼ *tüykü-tüykü-nge* (MM, JM).
lüylüy- (Vi) to drip (MM); *lüylüyküley ta che* 'that man is dripping'.
lükay (N) sling (ropes with metal balls at the end).

lüpü-*;

  lüpü-le- (Vi) to lie flat on one's stomach.

lüpüm- (Vt) to burn, to set fire to; see *lüf*.

lüq (Adj) white; *liq* (RR, JM);

  lüq- (Vi) to become white, to be white;

  lüq-küle- (Vi) to be white;

  lüq-nge- (Vi) to have the colour white;

  lüq-ül- ∼ *lüq-üm-* (Vt) to make white.

lladkü- (Vi) to become sad, to get angry. For MM and JM *lladkü-* means above all 'to get angry'; *iñché lladkün kutranlu ñi ñuke* 'I got distressed because my mother fell ill';

  lladkü-le- (Vi) to be sad;

  lladkü-l-ka- (Vt) to make sad, to cause grieve to;

  lladkü-ñpe- ∼ *illku-ñpe-* (Vt) to rebuke someone (MM); for *(-ñpe-)*, see 27.2;

  lladkü-tu- (Vt) to be angry with someone;

  lladkü-w-faluw- (Vi) to pretend to get angry;

  lladkü-n (Adj) sad, distressed;

  lladkü-n-nge- (Vi) to cause sorrow.

llako (Adj) lukewarm.

llalla (N) mother-in-law (of a man), son-in-law (of a woman);

  llalla-ye- (Vt) to have a mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship with someone.

llangi (N) cupboard (not MM, JM).

llangkatu (N) beads of glass (used to make a necklace), necklace. These beads are also used to fill the *wada* 'rattle'.

llangkü- (Vi) to drop;

  llangkü-naq- (Vi) to drop;

  llangkü-m- (Vt) to drop; *ñi tasa llangkümüy* 'she dropped her cup';

  llangkü-m-tuku- (Vt) to drop something in something.

llaq (N) part, half. *llaq* is not exactly a half, but rather a big part, cf. *angka* 'half' and *rangiñ* 'middle'. *llaq eluen* 'give me a part'; *llaqküley ñi kulliñ* 'it is a part of my cattle';

  llaq-dewma-künu- (Vt) to leave something half done.

llaq- (Vt) to drink a toast to someone, to offer a drink to someone; probably derived from *llaq* 'part'. Someone proposes a toast to a friend, drinks from his glass and offers his glass to his friend. *llaqkünungey* 'he was proposed a toast'.

llashu (N) lasso; *laso* (JM); Sp. lazo.

llawe (N) groin.

llawfeñ (N) shade; *llawfüñ* (RR);

  llawfeñ-tu- (Vi) to sit down in the shade.

llekü- (Vi) to approach, to draw near (*-mew*). *llekü-* obligatorily contains a direction marker. *iñché lleküpuel, eluñmangelan ñi konal* 'when I had drawn up very close, I was not allowed in';

  lle-küm-; see *lleq-*.

llemay (Part) see 32.6.

llepü (N) flat, wicker dish.

lleq- (Vi) to grow, to come up (seedlings); *antümew müchay lleqkiy ngan* 'thanks to the sun the seeds come up quickly'; *tayiñ lleqmum* '[the land] where we^p grew up';

lleq-üm- (Vt) to make seeds come up (the sun);

llek-üm- (Vt) to grow, to cultivate; *petú llekümfiñ sanaoria* 'I am growing carrots'; *llekümküleluley* 'it looks like a nursery'.

llellipu- (Vt) to request, to ask from; *llellipupifin ta đomo ñi küpayal* 'I asked the woman there if she came'.

llikosh-*;

llikosh-küle- (Vi) to squat, to crouch;

llikosh-künu-w- (Vi) to squat down, to crouch down.

llitu- (Vi, Vt) to start; *llituy ta mawün* 'it started to rain'; *llituy tachi küđaw* 'he started with that work'.

lliw- (Vi) to melt (MM); cf. *lluw-* (LQ, RR), *llüw-* (JM).

lliwa- (Vt) to sense, to notice (MM); cf. *lluwatu-*;

lliwa-tu- (Vt) to be on the watch for, to be attentive to.

llocho- (Vi, Vt) to come loose, to loosen; *llocholey* 'it is loose'; *llochowüy trewa* 'the dog set itself free';

llocho-tripa- (Vi) to break out/away;

llocho-l- (Vt) to loosen, to unfasten;

llocho-n (Adj) loose.

lloy (Adj) foolish, stupid.

lloyü- (Vi) to bend over, to bow down; *lloyüy ti ketran* 'the wheat bent over (with the weight of its spikes)';

lloyü-naq- (Vi) to bend over/down, to bow (people).

llongkoño (N) a mushroom.

llow- (Vt) to receive; *llowüñmaenew ñi đungu* 'he received my message';

llow-đungu- (Vt) to answer (RR);

llow-tu- (Vt) to catch in, to receive in; *llowtufiy ti ketran* 'he caught the wheat (in his hands, when the bag burst open)'.

llufü (Adj) deep; *llufüngerkiy, konpulayaymi* 'it is deep, you^s must not go in there'; *feytati llufü(n) lafken* 'that [is] a deep lake'.

llum (N, Adv) something secret, in secret (not RR); *pu llum* 'in secret'.

lluw- (Vi) to melt; cf. *lliw-* (MM), *llüw-* (JM); *lluwüy trangliñ* 'the ice has melted'.

lluwatu- (Vt) to sense, to notice, to be on the watch for; *lluwatuniefalün* 'I have to be alert, I have to watch [it]'.

llüfke (N) lightning.

llüka- (Vi, Vt) to become afraid, to fear; *llükangey* 'he was feared';

llüka-l-ka- (Vt) to frighten, to scare;

llüka-n-che (N) someone who gets frightened easily, fearful person;

llüka-nten (Adj) easily frightened, fearful;

llüka-nten-nge- (Vi) to be frightened easily, to be fearful.

llüngki (N) frog.

llüngüđ- (Vt) to drag; *llüngüđkiawülfiy* 'she trailed it along'; *llüngüđuwkiawüy ti wawa* 'the baby crawled around';
llüngüđ-amu-l- (Vt) to push, to shovel;
llüngüđ-küpa-l- (Vt) to drag.

llüpañ- (Vt) to brood; *llüpañmaniey ñi kuram* 'she is hatching out her eggs'; *kiñe llüpañ achawall* 'a broody chicken' (JM);
llüpañ-ül- (Vt) to set [eggs] to be hatched.

llüw- (Vi) to melt (JM); cf. *lliw-, lluw-*.

ma (ITJ).

macha (N) vagina.

machi (N) medicine woman, medicine man (but usually a woman). On the basis of her capacity to communicate with the Gods, the *machi* performs a key role in rituals such as the *ngillatun* and the *machitun*.
machi- (Vi) to become a *machi*;
machi-l- (Vt) to make someone a *machi*;
machi-tu- (Vt) to cure someone, to perform a healing practice (as a *machi*) on behalf of someone.

mađomtuku- ∼ **masomtuku-** (Vt) to arrange burning logs in order to stir the fire; probably derived from *mađom* (N) 'burning log' (Augusta); *mosomtukufiñ mamüll kütralmew* 'I put wood in the fire'.

mafü (N) brideprice;
mafü- (Vt) to pay a brideprice to the (family of the) fiancée;
mafü-w-ün (N) the exchange of gifts at the occasion of a wedding.

may (Part) see 32.5-32.7. *may* is also used to confirm what has just been said; 'yes, certainly, sure, that's right', etc. *maymay* is used not only as a firm confirmation, but also as a greeting ('hallo');
may- (Vt) to agree to, to obey, to want; *maypeay chi ñi chaw* 'I am not sure if my father will consent';
may-pi- (Vt) to say yes to, to agree to, to want.

maychü- (Vt) to wave to (to indicate a direction), to lure;
maychü-l- (Vt) to wave hallo/goodbye to, to give signs to.

maykoño (N) dove.

mayna- (Vt) to tie the legs of an animal;
mayna-le- (Vi) to be tied;
mayna-tu- (Vt) to trip someone (up);
mayna-tu-w- (Vi) to trip over.

makuñ (N) poncho (for men).

malal (N) fenced area (to keep animals from straying).

malen (N) girl.

malon (N) surprise attack, raid, war.

malü- (Vt) to feel, to examine;
malü-pe-ye-m ∼ *malü-we* (N) colour chart, pattern book;
malü-tu- (Vt) to go through; *malütuñmafiñ ñi maleta* 'I went through his

suit-case';

malü-malü-tu- (Vt) to grope, to feel for.

malle (N) uncle, nephew. Originally *malle* referred to an uncle and nephew from father's side. My informants use *weku* 'uncle from mother's side' to refer to an uncle from father's as well as mother's side. One female informant referred to the husband of her mother's sister as *malle. malle* is found in the following compounds:

malle-chaw (N) husband of the sister of a man's mother, brother of a woman's father, stepfather;

malle-fotüm (N) nephew (son of a man's brother), stepson;

malle-ñawe (N) niece (daughter of a man's brother), wife of the son of a man's brother, stepdaughter.

malliñ (N) lake, puddle, pool.

mallkotu- (Vt) to catch (with the hands).

mallma- (Vi) to become boastful/presumptuous;

mallma-nge- (Vi) to be boastful/presumptuous;

mallma-w- (Vi) to boast; *mallmawkefuy ñi nien fentren kulliñ* 'he used to boast that he had a lot of catlle';

mallma-n (Adj) boastful, presumptuous.

mamakü- (Vi) to moo.

mamüll (N) wood, tree;

mamüll-koral (N) wooden fence;

mamüll-tu- (Vi) to get wood.

man (Adj, N) right (in contrast with left), the right; *ñi man pülé* '(on) my right hand/side'; *epu man küwü nen* 'I have got two right hands';

man-küle- (Vi) to be on the right side.

mandal- (Vt) to order, to send; Sp. mandar.

manel (N) trust;

manel- (Vt) to vouch for/to stand surety for, to trust; *iñché kiñe warangka manelayu* 'I will lend you^s hundred peso's';

manel-nie- (Vt) to have confidence in;

manel-uw-küle- (Vi) to be confident;

manel-uw-ün (N) trust, garantee, confidant;

manel-uw-ün-nge- (Vi) to be trustworthy, to be a trusty.

mansana (N) apple; Sp. manzana.

mansun ∼ **manđun** (N) ox.

mañiw (N) a tree; Podocarpus chilina (Augusta).

mañku (N) condor.

mañum- (Vt) to thank, to be grateful;

mañum-küle- (Vi) to be grateful;

mañum-nie- (Vt) to be grateful to.

mangiñ (N) flood.

mangkađ- (Vt) to take someone on the back (of a horse) (JM); cf. *angkađ-* and *mangkatu-*.

mangkatu- (Vt) to take someone on the back (of a horse) (RR).

mangkü (N) kick;

  mangkü- (Vt) to kick; *welemew mangküfiy* 'he kicked him with the left [foot]'.

mapu (N) land, ground, earth, country; *rüngalfin mapumew* 'I buried him in the ground';

  mapu-che (N) Mapuche, man/woman of the land;

  alü-mapu ~ ka-mapu (Adj, Adv) far; *kamapu tuwün* 'I came from far away';

  ka-mapu-le- (Vi) to be far away.

mara (N) hare;

  kintu-mara- (Vi) to hunt hare.

mari (Num) ten; *mari kiñe* 'eleven'; *epu mari* 'twenty';

  mari-mari (ITJ) hallo;

  mari-ke (Adv) in groups of ten;

  mari-we (Adv) ten days later.

masew (N) crawfish, shrimp (not RR, JM).

matu (Adv, Adj) quick(ly), fast; *kiñe matu amuachi wampo đoamün* 'I want a boat that goes fast'; *feychi wentru rumé matungiy* 'that man is very fast';

  matu-matu (Adv) quickly;

  matu-ka-w- (Vi) to hurry;

  matu-ke (Adv) quickly, fast; *matuke kimelngepe Pedro* 'let him inform Pedro quickly/at once!';

  matu-ke-chi (Adv) quickly; *matukechi!* 'hurry up!, come on!';

  matu-kel (Adv) quickly, fast; *matukel amunge!* 'go quickly!';

  matu-kel- (Vi, Vt) to hurry; *matukelnge!* 'hurry up!'; *matukelküley* 'he is going fast'.

matukel (Adv) quickly, fast; see *matu*.

matra (N) marrow;

  matra-tu- (Vi) to eat marrow.

mawiđa (N) wood (small forest);

  mawiđ-antu (N) place with a lot of wood.

mawün (N) rain; *wutruy mawün* 'rain poured down';

  mawün- (Vi) to rain; *petú mawünüy* 'it is raining';

  mawün-mawün-nge- (Vi) to be raining;

  mawün-ma- (Vi) to get rain; *mawünmapalan* 'I did not get rain on my way here';

  mawün-nge-n (N) rainy season.

me (N) excrement, crap (humans and animals); *me nümünngey* 'it smells of crap';

  me-waka (N) cow-dung;

  me- ~ me-me-tu- (Vi) to defecate, to crap;

  me-künu- (Vt) to have a crap.

meke- (Vi, Vt) to be busy; *mekekaymi küđawün?* 'are you[s] still busy working?';

  wisake sungu mekefiy 'he is involved in bad things'.

mel (N) time (Augusta);

ka-mel (Adv) next time, next year.

meli (Num) four.

melkay (Adj) slippery, smooth;

melkay- (Vi) to slide, to glide;

melkay-nge- (Vi) to be slippery.

mellfüwün (N) lip; probably contains *wün* 'mouth'; *mellfü**.

memekü- (Vi) to bleat; *memekükey ufisha* 'a sheep bleats'.

meñku- (Vt) to sling up [a load] on one's back; *meñkuniey ñi allwiñ* 'she carries her bundle on her back';

meñku-we (N) earthen vat which is carried on the back.

meño- (Vi) to become full; *meñoy* 'it has filled up'; *epé meñoliy* 'it is almost full';

meño-n (Adj) full; *kiñe meñon metawe* 'a full jar'.

merun (N) mucus.

meshken (N) dried and milled pepper; probably derived from *međkü-* 'to grind, to crumble' (Augusta).

meta- (Vt) to take in one's arms;

meta-nie- (Vt) to have in one's arms;

meta-we (N) earthen jar.

metrül (N) pillow.

mi (Nposs) your[s].

mewlen (N) whirlwind.

miaw- (Vi) to wander, to walk around;

miaw-ül- (Vt) to carry around, to have on one's person, to wear; *fey miawülüy aretun ropa* 'he walks around in borrowed clothes'.

miñche (N, Adv) bottom, space underneath, under, underneath; *miñche karüy* 'the bottom is green'; *miñche ruka(mew) fentreley đewü* 'underneath the house there are a lot of mice'.

minggako (N) collective labour;

minggako- (Vi) to farm in common; Qu. minkaku- to hire labourers.

misha (N) person who eats from the same plate;

misha-wen (N) two or more persons who have a *misha*-relation with oneanother (good friends);

misha- (Vt) to share food with someone; *iñchiu mishawayu korümew* 'we[d] are going to eat the soup together'.

mishki (Adj, N) sweet, honey.

modaw- (Vi) to change (clothes), to move (house); Sp. modarse.

moy (N) boil;

moy- (Vi) to get a boil.

moyo (N) woman's breast, nipple;

moyo- (Vt) to suck (baby);

moyo-l- (Vt) to breast-feed; *đew moyolülmi mi püñeñ, kellupayaen* 'when you[s] have fed your[s] child, you[s] must come and help me';

moyo-nge- (Vi) to have a nipple.

moyotiltililil ∼ **moyotiltiltil** (N) song of a blackbird.

mollfü- (Vi) to bleed;

mollfüñ (N) blood;

mollfüñ-tu- (Vi) to drink/eat blood, to get stained with blood; *karü mollfüñtuy tati che* 'that guy drinks/eats raw blood'.

montu- (Vi) to escape, to manage to get away, to survive; *meli montuyiñ, kiñe lay* 'the four of us escaped, one died';

montu-l- (Vt) to save, to set someone free;

montu-l-che-fe (N) the Saviour.

montron- (Vt) to heap up; Sp. montón heap.

monge- (Vi) to get life, to recover (to get well again);

monge-l- (Vt) to resuscitate, to heal, to cure;

monge-l-uw- (Vi) to perk up, to pick up, to make a living;

monge-l-uw-küle- (Vi) to keep oneself alive, to support oneself, to be feeling better again;

monge-le- (Vi) to be alive, to be healthy, to live;

monge-n (Adj) living, alive; *mongen kura* 'solid rock';

monge-we (N) something that keeps one alive (wheat, harvest, food).

mongkol (N, Adj) something globe-shaped, round (spherical); cf. *triwür* 'something round (circular)'.

moso (N) servant; Sp. mozo.

motri- (Vi) to become fat;

motri-l- ∼ *motri-l-tu-* (Vt) to make fat, to fatten (up);

motri-le- (Vi) to be fat;

motri-n (Adj) fat; *niey motriñke ufisha* 'they have got fat sheep'.

mu (Nposs) your[d].

muđay (N) sort of chicha (liquor made of maize, wheat or peas). MM and JM use *muđay* to refer to liquor made of wheat only; cf. *muska* 'maize liquor'; *uwamuđay* 'maize liquor';

muđay- (Vi, Vt) to become *muđay*, to make *muđay* of; *muđayfiñ ti ketran* 'I made *muđay* of the wheat'.

mufü ∼ **müfü** (Ni, Adj) how much?, some; *mufü đuamüymi?* 'how much do you[s] want?'; *müfü yall nieymi?* 'how many children do you[s] have?'; *kiñe mufü* 'some';

mufü- (Vt) to give some to.

mukur (Adj) bitter; *mukur* ∼ *mukür* (JM);

mukur- (Vi) to become bitter; *mukurüy tati rüngo* 'the flour has gone bitter (when kept too long)'.

mulpun (N) soot (JM); cf. *mülpun*.

muntu- (Vt) to take away; *muntunieñmaenew ñi wangku* 'he took my chair away'.

munu- (Vt) to carry (in an apron) (JM); *munufiñ ti mansana* 'I carried the apples in my apron';

munu-l- (Vt) to wrap up (a child);

munu-l-küle- (Vi) to be wrapped up.

mungel (Adv) especially, precisely (when *mungel* follows the noun phrase it modifies), always (not MM); *chew mungel ngemeymi?* 'where eactly have you[s] been?'; *pukem mungel müná đumiññgey* 'especially in the summer it is very dark'; *mungel ngepayawkiymi faw?* 'do you[s] always hang around here?'; *ngol-lilekiymi mungel!* 'you[s] are always drunk!'.

mupi- (Vi) to tell the truth;
mupi-nge-n (N) truth.

muska (N) liquor of maize (not LQ); cf. *muđay*.

mutrur- (Vi, Vt) to stumble, to trip, to run into;
mutrul-tuku-w- (Vi) to stumble (JM);
mutrur-el- (Vt) to make someone bump against.

müchay (Adv) in a little while, soon, fast; *iñché müchay amuan pilen* 'I intend to go soon'; *müchay eluayu* 'I will give [it] to you[s] in a little while'; *müchay pürange!* 'go up fast!';
müchay-müten (Adv) at once, immediately; *müchaymüten pürange* 'go up at once!';
müchay-ke (Adv) all the time; *müchayke konpay pichike achawall* 'the little chickens come in all the time'.

müfü (Ni, Adj) how much?, some; is infrequent; cf. *mufü*.

müküf- (Vt) to tighten;
müküf-naküm- (Vt) to tighten down, to fasten down (e.g. reed onto a bamboo cane in order to make a thatched roof).

müle- (Vi) to be (in a place), to live (to reside); *kamel mülemen Arxentina* 'I was in Argentina last year'; *iñché üyüw mülen, welu fewlá faw mülepan* 'I live over there, but I am here now'; *iñché ñi mülen* 'the place where I live'. In combination with a possessive pronoun (indicating the subject) and a nominalized verb form *müley* forms a debitive construction, e.g. *müley mi allküal* 'you[s] must listen', see 26.4.7.2.

mülpun (N) soot.

mültrün (N) cake of boiled wheat;
mültrün-tu- (Vi) to eat *mültrün*.

müllo (N) brain.

mün (Nposs) your[d].

müná (Adv) very, a lot, too much; *müná asiy* 'she is very pretty'; *múná ikey* 'he eats a lot, he eats too much'.

münale- (Vi) to be good at something, to be handy; *münaliy ta tekimu* 'she is good at weaving'; *münaliy ti wentru* 'that man is skilful'.

müñetu- (Vi, Vt) to take a bath, to bath someone.

müpü (N) wing;
müpü- (Vi) to fly;
müpü-nge- (Vi) to have wings.

mür (N, Adv) pair, couple, in pairs, together; *tüfachi epu mesa mür femngerkiy* 'these two tables seem to be a pair'; *tayu epu püñeñ mür amuy engu Temuko*

'my two sons went to Temuco together';

mür-ke-chi (Adv) in pairs, together;

mür-küle- (Vi) to be together.

müri (N) co-wive;

müri-wen (N) co-wives;

müri-tu- (Vt) to become jealous with someone (women);

müri-tu-le- (Vi) to be jealous;

müri-tu-fe (N) jealous woman;

müri-tu-fe-nge-l- (Vt) to make someone jealous.

müri- (Vi, Vt) to choke (over); *iñché mürin* 'I choked'; *mürifiñ ti pan* 'I choked over the bread';

müri-le- (Vi) to be choking.

mürke (N) roasted flour; *mürke ∼ müyke* (RR);

mürke- (Vt) to make roasted flour, to grind; *mürkechi, yewüntukuan ta mürke* 'let's make *mürke*, [then] I will take it with me as a present'.

müta (N) horn;

müta-nge- (Vi) to have a horn/horns;

müta-tu- (Vt) to take by the horns.

müté (Adv) very, (too) much; *müté kümé đunguy* 'he speaks very well'; *müté đunguy* 'he talks a lot'; *müté küpakelay* 'he comes almost never';

müte-we (Adv, Adj) very, (too) much; *mütewe no* 'it [is] not (too) much'.

mütem (Adv) merely, only, after all, nevertheless, yet; *müten* (MM, JM); *iñché nien külá peso, eymi nieymi kiñe mütem* 'I have three peso's, you^s have got only one'; *ipe mütem!* 'let him just eat!'; *iñché mütem küđawken* 'I am the only one who works'; *pichintuy mütem* 'he has been here for just a little while'; *đew lay ñi ñuke welu iñché amutuan mütem* 'my mother died but I will go all the same';

müchay-müten (Adv) immediately.

müten (Adv) merely, only, after all, nevertheless, yet (MM, JM); cf. *mütem*.

mütratu- (Vi) to wrestle, to fight.

mütrüm- (Vt) to call.

naytu- (Vt) to untie (a knot, a rope); *naytuwüy ti wawa* 'the baby untied itself'.

naküm- (Vt) to carry/put down; cf. *naq-*.

namun (N) foot;

namun-tu (Adv) on foot;

namun-tu- (Vi) to go on foot;

namun-tu-le- (Vi) to be standing.

nanüng (N) mother-in-law, daughter-in-law (of a woman), wife of the son of a woman's paternal aunt.

nangka- (Vt) to fuck (rude).

napor (N) beet (vegetable); Sp. nabo.

naq (N) lower level, lowland; *naw* (JM); *naqmapumu* 'in the lowlands';

naq pülé (Adv) downwards, in the direction of the sea;

naq-mu (Adv) down, downwards;

naq- (Vi) to go down, to descend; *naq-* ∼ *nar-* (RR); *naw-* (JM). *naq-* occurs frequently in compounds to indicate a downward direction or a deterioration.
anü-naq- (Vi) to sit down;
trana-naq- (Vi) to fall down;
kushe-naq- (Vi) to become old (woman); *naqküley* 'he is going down'; *petú naqmey* 'it is low tide' (lit.: it is going down); *petú naqmelay* 'it is high tide' (lit.: it is not going down); *nawpay tañi umaw* 'I got sleepy';
naw-pa kürüf (N) wind that comes from the East;
nak-üm- (Vt) to get/take down;
anü-nak-üm- (Vt) to put down;
naq-ün antü ∼ *naq-antü* (N, Adv) (in the) afternoon, when the sun is going down;
naq-el-tu (Adv) downwards, in the direction of the sea.

narki ∼ **ñarki** (N) cat; cf. *ñayki*.

nawel (N) tiger; *nawel buta* 'name of a mountain in the West'.

nee- ∼ **nie-** (Vt) to have, to get (RR); cf. *nie-*.

neykü- (Vi) to get loose (JM); cf. *nel-*;
neykü-m- (Vt) to let loose, to let go;
neykü-m-uw- (Vi) to break loose, to set oneself free.

neyü- (Vi) to breathe;
neyü-le- (Vi) to be breathing;
neyü-neyü-nge- (Vi) to be breazing heavily;
neyü-n ∼ *neye-n* (N) breath.

nel- (Vi) to get loose;
nel(k)-üm- (Vt) to let loose, to let go, to set free, cf. *neykü-m-* (JM).

nentu- (Vt) to take out/away; also *entu-*;
rapi-nentu- (Vt) to throw up;
rüfü-nentu- (Vt) to serve out, to dish up.

nengüm- (Vi, Vt) to move; *petú nengümüy* 'it is moving'; *petú nengümfiy* 'he is moving it';
nengüm-küle- (Vi) to be moving; *allkenngey ti nengümün ti ruka* 'one can hear the house shaking'.

nepe- (Vi) to wake up; *nepele ñi pichiche, feypiaen* 'tell me if my child wakes up';
nepe-l- (Vt) to wake up;
nepe-le- (Vi) to be awake.

nerüm (N) flea.

newé (Adv) not very. *newé* combines with a negative verb. *newé kümentukelan* 'I don't really like it'; *newé đoy alülay* 'he is not that much taller'.

newen (N) force, strength;
newen-küle- (Vi) to be firm/strong/tight;
newen-nge- (Vi) to have strength/power;
newen-pe- (Vt) to stand up for;
newen-tu- (Vi, Vt) to make an effort, to exert force (on), to put pressure on;

newentukieli 'don't be hard on me!'.

nie- (Vt) to have, to hold, to get; *nee-* ∼ *nie-* (RR); *nieyiñ weshá kosecha* 'we^p have a bad harvest'; *nieleyu* 'I will hold [it] for you^s'; *femngen nierpun kiñe ruka* 'I finally got a house';

nie-püñeñ- (Vi) to become pregnant;

nie-püñeñ-küle- (Vi) to be pregnant; cf. *püñeñ nie-* 'to have a child';

nie-w- (Vi) to get each other, to get married; *eluñmangelayu yu niewal* 'we^d did not get permission to get married'.

nikef- (Vi) to wink;

nikef-tu- (Vt) to wink at.

no- (Vi) to cross; occurs seldom without a direction marker; *nopatunge* 'come to this side!, this way!'. Only JM uses *no-* as a transitive verb; *iñché nofiñ ti lewfü* 'I crossed the river';

no-l- (Vt) to take across; *nolniey lewfümew* 'he carries [it] across the river';

no-me-tu (Adv, Adj, N) across, (on) the opposite side; *fey petú weyeliy tañi nometu lewfü puwam* 'he swims to get across the river'; *nometu ruka* 'the house on the opposite side'; *penien nometu* 'I see the other side';

no-pa (Adv) on this side; *nopa pwente* 'on this side of the bridge';

nopatu (Adv, Adj) across, (on) this side, this way.

nor (Adj) straight;

nor- (Vi) to become straight, to go straight (lead an honest life); *nortuy* 'he went straight again';

nor-küle- (Vi) to be straight, to stand up straight, to be in a line; *norkülechi kalle* 'a straight street'; *norkülelay* 'it is crooked/curved/bent';

nor-nge- (Vi) to be straight; *norngiy ti mapu* 'the land is flat'.

notuka- (Vt) to dispute with.

nu (NEG) not. The negation marker *-nu-* occurs as a nexal negator, see 26.10. *fey nu* 'that [is] not him, he [is] not the one'; *tüfachi pu che kom mapuche nu?* '[are] these people not all Mapuche?'.

nufnuftu- (Vi, Vt) to sniff (RR), 'to smell something from a distance' (MM).

nüyu (N) fruit of the chupón, nursing bottle. *nüyu* is the fruit of the plant Greigia sphacelata (Augusta).

nü- (Vt) to take, to grasp, to get, sometimes *nüq-*; *nütuayiñ mapu* 'we^p are going to take our^p land back'; *are nüfin ñi te* 'he took his tea hot';

nü-nie- (Vt) to hold, to hold on to;

nü-ntu- (Vt) to rape;

nü-ñma- (Vt) to take away from someone;

nü-tu- (Vt) to take someone prisoner;

nü-nü-tu- (Vt) to grope about for something, to hold and let go every now and then;

nü-w-el (N) handle;

nüwel toki (N) helve of an axe.

nüyün (N) earthquake;

nüyün- (Vi) to shake; *petú nüyünüy* 'it is shaking'.

nüla- (Vt) to open; *nülakünuñmakielimu tañi malal* '[make sure] that he does not leave my fence open';
nüla-le- (Vi) to be open.

nüm (N) North; *nüm pülé* 'to the North'.

nümü- (Vi) to smell; *müná nümüley ta ruka pütremmew* 'the house smells very much of cigarettes';
nümü-tu- (Vt) to smell, to have a sniff at; *nümütufiñ ti rayen* 'I smelled that flower';
nümü-nümü-tu- (Vt) to use one's smell to learn what it is;
nümü-n (N) smell; *kümé nümünngey* 'it has a nice smell'.

nüngay- (Vi) to get irritated/annoyed;
nüngay-ül- ∼ *nüngay-tu-* (Vt) to irritate; *nüngayülmukilyiñ!* 'don't irritate us^P!'.

nürüf- (Vt) to close;
nürüf-künu- (Vt) to close and let it be closed.

nütram (N) conversation, story;
ru-l-pa-nütram-ke-lu (N) interpreter;
nütram- (Vt) to tell someone, to pass on to;
nütram-ka- (Vt) to talk to, to have a conversation with;
nütram-ka-n (N) conversation.

nüwkü- (Vt) to hand over, to pass on;
nüwkü-l- (Vt) to hand over to, to pass on to.

ñachi (N) jelly of raw blood. Raw, warm blood of a sheep or a goat is mixed with lemon, salt and a sort of parsley to form a jelly. *iñché ñachi ta đewman* 'I made *ñachi*';
ñachi-tu- (Vi) to eat *ñachi*.

ñachi (Adj) ticklish (people only); cf. *nayi*;
ñachi-ka-l- (Vt) to tickle;
ñachi-nge- (Vi) to be ticklish.

ñađu (N) sister-in-law (sister of a woman's husband, wife of a woman's brother);
ñađu-wen (N) sisters-in-law;
ñađu-ye-w- (Vi) to be sisters-in-law.

ñayi (Adj) ticklish (children and animals, especially wild horses); cf. *ñachi*;
ñayi-nge- (Vi) to be ticklish.

ñayki (N) (small) cat (RR, MM); cf. *narki, ñarki*.

ñall (Adv) just (when), once (if ever), surely (because); *ñall küpayael iñché, kiñe wentru akuy* 'just when I was about to come, a man arrived (and held me up)'; *ñall đungualu iñché, ka che đunguy* 'just when I was about to speak, another man started to talk'; *ñall amule, amuay* 'once it moves, there is no stopping it (e.g. a heavy stone on the edge of a cliff)' (lit.:if it goes, it will go); *ñall anta mi đoy kimünmu lesulafin pifen* 'just because you^s know more, you^s think you can wrong me'; *ñall anta mi ülmenngenmew llükayaeyu* 'just because you^s are a cacique, you^s expect me to be afraid of you^s'; *ñall anta tami longkongenmew ađkayafin pifen* 'just because you^s are the leader, you^s think

you^s can manipulate me'.

ñam- (Vi) to get lost, to lose one's way; *petufiymi ñamkülechi mansun?* 'did you^s find the lost ox?';

ñam-ko- (Vi) to sink;

ñam-kon-pu- (Vi) to disappear in;

ñam-üm- (Vt) to lose; *iñché ñamümün ñi bolsa* 'I lost my bag'.

ñamko (N) buzzard.

ñaña (ITJ) dear (says a man to a woman).

ñarki (N) cat (LQ, RR); also *narki* (LQ), cf. *ñayki*.

ñaw-ñaw- (Vi) to meow;

ñawñaw-küle- (Vi) to be meowing constantly.

ñawe (N) daughter (of a man).

ñawfü- (Vi) to find comfort/solace; *inayengümayiñ tañi ñawfüam* 'we^p cried with her so that she would find solace';

ñawfü-l- (Vt) to comfort someone.

ñi (Nposs1s,3) my, his, her.

ñiđol (N) chief, leader, boss, master; *tati ñiđol ta, mantaniefiy feychi pu che* 'he [is] the boss, he commands these people';

ñiđol-küle- (Vi) to be the leader, to be in command;

ñiđol-künu- (Vt) to put someone in command.

ñiđüf- (Vt) to sow (in little holes in the soil).

ñif- (Vi) to become dry (laundry) (MM);

ñip-üm- (Vt) to dry.

ñimi- (Vt) to weave a pattern; *ñimifin makuñ* 'she weaved a poncho with a pattern';

ñimi-le- (Vi) to be weaving with a pattern;

ñimi-nge- (Vi) to have a pattern;

ñimi-n (N) pattern.

ñimitu- (Vt) to pick up; *ñimitufiñ ta rüpümu* 'I picked it up from the street'.

ñimkun (N) spindle.

ñiwa-*;

ñiwañpe- (Vt) to cheat on (wife or husband);

ñiwa-ñiwa-tu- (Vi) to do one's best (15, 33);   cf. *ñua-* 'to be dishonest, to commit adultery' (Augusta).

ño- (Vt) to get enough of, to get fed up with; *ñoy kofke tachi pichiche* 'the baby has had enough of the bread'; *iñché ñofiñ* 'I am fed up with it'.

ñochi (Adj, Adv) slow(ly); *tüfachi awto müná ñochi amuley* 'that car goes very slowly'; *kiñe ñochi wentru* 'a man who walks slowly, an easy going man';

ñochi-ke-chi (Adv) slowly.

ñochi- (Vi) to fit (JM);

ñochi-le- (Vi) to look good, to fit.

ñoy (Adj) foolish, stupid.

ñom (Adj) tame; *ñom kawellu* 'a tame horse';

ñom-küle- (Vi) to be tame;

ñom-üm- (Vt) to tame.

ñuke (N) mother (of a man or a woman);

ñuke-ye-(e)l (N) mother's sister, stepmother (lit.: the one I have for a mother);

ñuke-ntu (N) daughter of mother's brother.

ñum;

ñum-kuđi (N) millstone (the top stone, the moving part).

ñum- (Vi) to go to waste (JM); *ñumiy ti kusi* 'the millstone has gone to waste/cannot be used any more'.

ñuwa (N) bandit.

ñuwi- (Vi) to lose one's way;

ñuwi-l- (Vt) to make someone lose his way.

ñüđüf- (Vt) to sew;

ñüđüf-tu- (Vt) to mend, to repair;

ñüđüf-ka-fe (N) seamstress.

ñüküf- (Vi) to calm down (MM); cf. *ngüküf-*; *ñüküfkületuy* 'it is quiet again';

ñüküf-naq- (Vi) to die down (noise).

nga (Part) see 32.3.

ngayngay- (Vi) to bray, to neigh.

ngakiñ (N) a bird. It is said that this bird lives close to the earth and makes the sound of a crying baby. No-one has actually seen this bird.

ngan- (Vt) to sow, to plant (beans, carrots, potatoes);

ngan-poñü- (Vi) to plant potatoes;

ngan-küle- (Vi) to be sown/planted;

ngan-fe (N) planter, someone who sows;

ngan-üw-ün-ngen (N) sowing/planting season.

nge (N) eye;

kura-l-nge (N) pupil;

relmu-nge (N) iris.

nge- (Vi) to be (existential), to have been (here/there); also *ngi-* 'to be' (RR); *faw ngelay mara* 'there are no hare here'; *ngewelay* 'it is no more, it is finished'; *fachantü ngepachi đomo* 'the woman who was here today'; *chew mungel nge-meymi?* 'where exactly have you^s been?'; *ngemefuliiñ kay?* 'what if we^p went there?';

nge-l- (Vt) to take, to bring; *iñché ngelmefiñ chi waka* 'I took the cow over there';

nge-n (N) owner, master; *ngen ko* 'the master of the water'; *eymi ngenolanda-ngeymi?* 'are you^s the boss of Holland?';

nge-n-pi-n (N) master of speech (the one who says the prayers and conducts the offering of animals during the *ngillatun*-ceremony). See 21.2 for the verbalizer *-nge-*.

ngeđiñ (N) eyebrow.

ngeđu- (Vt) to eradicate; *ngeđuley* 'it has been pulled up by the roots'.

ngefüñ (N) hazel (bush).

ngellú(-ke) (Adv) only after a long time, only just, with great difficulty/effort;

ngellú amuy 'he went only after a long time'; *ngellú đewmafiñ* 'he finished [it] with great difficulty/only just'.

ngen (N) owner, master; see *nge-*.

ngeñika- (Vt) to urge, to press; *ngeñikakieli* 'don't push me!'.

ngi- (Vi) to be (existential) (RR); see *nge-*.

ngila- (Vi) to wade; *ngilaley komew* 'he wades through the water'.

ngillá (Aux) ordering, see 26.4; *ngillá đewmalfin ruka* 'I had a house built for him'; *ngillá ketrañmafalfin ñi mapu* 'I have to order him to plough his land'.

ngilla- (Vt) to buy; *ngillalelfin ruka* 'I bought him a house'; *ngillaniefin* 'I bribed him';

ngilla-ka- (Vi) to shop;

ngilla-tu- (Vt) to ask of, to pray; *iñché ngillatun kiñe trewa ñi chaw* 'I asked my father for a dog';

ngilla-tu-n (N) a feast of one or more days during which people pray, sing and eat together. During the *ngillatun*, the Mapuche ask the Gods and their ancestors for a good harvest and plenty of food for the entire community.

ngillañ (N) brother-in-law (a sister's husband, husband of a sister-in-law).

nginuf- (Vi) to inhale through the nose;

nginuf-nginuf-tu (Vi) to sob, to sniff.

nginul- (Vi) to blow one's nose.

ngoyma- (Vt) to forget; *ngoymaniefin* 'I have forgotten [all] about it, I don't remember'; *ngoymangekey fürenengemum* 'one forgets the favours received'.

ngolli- (Vi) to get drunk;

ngolli-le- (Vi) to be drunk;

ngolli-fe (N) drunkard;

ngolli-n (Adj) drunk.

nguy(ü?)- (Vt) to forget (MM); *iñché nguyün feychi asul libru* 'I forgot that blue book'.

ngulluđ- ∼ **ngülluđ-** (Vt) to wipe (stains, small wounds); *wulluđ-* (JM).

ngüđi (N) earwax;

ngüđi- (Vt) to stop up, to plug, to put the stop on;

ngüđi-we (N) plug, top.

ngüfo- (Vi, Vt) to become wet, to make wet; *ngüfor-* (MM); *ngüfofin* 'I made it wet (deliberately)';

ngüfo-ntuku- (Vt) to dip in and make wet;

ngüfo-l- (Vt) to make wet (unwittingly);

ngüfo-n (Adj) wet.

ngüfor- (Vi, Vt) to become wet, to make wet (MM); cf. *ngüfo-*.

ngüküf- (Vi) to die down, to quiet down; *nüküf-* (MM); *ngüküfkülewetuy tati ruka* 'it has already become quiet again in the house';

ngüküf-naq- (Vi) to quiet down.

ngül- (Vi) to come together, to gather; *ngülüy ti ko* 'the water came together'; *ngül-üm-* (Vt) to bring together, to gather, to collect; *arengülüm-* 'to lend something'.

ngülam (N) advice;

ngülam- ∼ *ngülam-ka-* ∼ *ngülam-tu-* (Vt) to give advice to.

ngülü- (Vt) to take the seeds/stones out of (fruit), to shell (beans, peas), to remove stones out of a piece of land;

ngülü-n (Adj) without pits, stoned; *ngülün mapu* 'land from which stones have been removed'.

ngülla (N) udder (MM, JM).

ngülliw (N) pinecone.

ngülluđ- ∼ **ngulluđ-** (Vt) to wipe (stains, small wounds).

ngüma- (Vi) to cry; *wirarüy ñi ngüman* 'she cried her heart out';

ngüma-ye- (Vt) to cry for;

ina-ye-ngüma- (Vt) to cry with;

ngüma-ngüma-nge- (Vi) to be crying all the time, to sob one's heart out;

ngüma-ngüma-tu- (Vi) to cry in a melodramatic/theatrical way.

ngümfađ (Adj) soft (not rigid/stiff) (JM); *ngümfađ kawitu* 'a soft bed'.

ngünaytu- (Vt) to keep, to preserve, to look after; *ngünaytuñmamutuayiñ* 'preserve us[p] (from evil, Oh Lord)'; *ngünaytuniey ñi poroto* 'she preserves her beans for a long time'.

ngüne- (Vt) to rule, to govern, to manage;

ngüne-che-n (N) God, The one who rules over people;

ngüne-mapu-n (N) God, The one who rules over the land;

ko-ngüne-che-n (N) God of the water;

mapu-ngüne-che-n (N) God of the land;

ngüne-đuam- (Vt) to examine, to investigate, to scrutinize, to realize;

ngüne-fal (Adj) flexible, supple;

ngüne-fe (N) driver, horseman.

ngünel (Adj) serious, honest, righteous, quiet;

ngünel-küle- (Vi) to be serious, honest, righteous, quiet.

ngünen (N, Adj) lie, deceitful;

ngünen-ka(l)- ∼ *ngünen-ka-ntu(l)-* (Vt) to lie to, to fool, to cheat, to take someone in;

ngünen-ka-che-fe (N) someone who likes to fool people;

ngünen-ka-ntu-fe (N) liar;

ngünen-nge- (Vi) to be deceitful; *ñi ngünenngenmew feyentuñmangekelay ñi đungun* 'because he is a liar no-one believes what he tells'.

ngünüy- (Vi) to spy, to observe;

ngünüy-kiaw-ül- (Vt) to go around spying on.

ngüño (N) crop (part of a bird's throat).

ngüñü- (Vi) to get hungry;

ngüñü-le- (Vi) to be hungry; *ngüñülen akuayngu* 'they[d] will be hungry when they[d] arrive';

ngüñü-n (N) hunger, appetite;

ngüñü-n-nge- (Vi) to make hungry.

ngüre- (Vt) to weave;

ngüre-le- (Vi) to be woven;

ngüre-we (N) wooden stick to weave the weft through, comb to press down the woven material.

ngürü (N, Adj) fox, cunning/deceitful; *kiñe ngürü wentru* 'a cunning man';

ngürü-ka-l- (Vt) to deceive.

ngütantu (N) bed (MM).

obreru (N) labourer; Sp. obrero.

ofisha ∼ **ufisha** (N) sheep; Sp. oveja.

oyma- (Vt) to forget (JM); see *ngoyma-*.

ora (N) hour; Sp. ora; *chem oray?* 'what is the time?'.

orixeru (N) earpiece; Sp. orejera.

orkon (N) house-post (not RR); Sp. horcón. A house generally has tree posts.

pachüq- (Vt) to spread, to disperse;

pachüq-küle- (Vi) to be jumbled up.

pafu (N) turkey; Sp. pavo.

payla*;

payla-künu-w- (Vi) to lie down on one's back;

payla-le- (Vi) to be lying on one's back.

payun (N) beard, moustache, whiskers;

payun- (Vi) to get a beard/moustache;

payun-tu- (Vt) to shave someone, to grasp someone by the beard.

pakar- ∼ **pakaka-** (Vi) to croak (frogs, toads);

pakar-wa (N) toad;

pakaywa (N) small toad (RR).

pali (N) ball, wooden ball with the size of a billiard ball;

pali- (Vi) to play hockey;

pali-fe (N) hockey-player;

pali-n (N) hockey;

pali-we (N) hockey-stick.

palu (N) a man's or a woman's paternal aunt, children of a woman's brother or sister;

palu-ngillañ (N) husband of a paternal aunt.

palüm (N) lizard.

panü (N) armful;

panü- ∼ *panü-künu-* (Vt) to take on the shoulders;

panü-nie- (Vt) to carry on the shoulders, to have an armful.

pañillwe (N) iron.

pañu (N) handkerchief; Sp. paño, pañuelo.

pañush ∼ **pañuđ** (Adj) soft (skin, cloth); *pañuđ* ∼ *pañus* ∼ *pañuy* (RR).

pañü (N) a sheltered place in the sun;

pañü-tu- (Vi) to sunbathe in a sheltered place.

pangi (N) puma; Felis concolor (Augusta).

pangil (N) medicinal herb.

pangkul- (Vi) to swell up;

pangkul-küle- (Vi) to be swollen.

papay (ITJ) dear; is a respectful, sympathetic term to address women. *trankinulnge, papay!* 'don't fall, dear!'; *marimari, papay!* 'hallo, dear!';
  kushe-papay (N) old lady, granny.

papel (N) paper; Sp. papel;
  papel- (Vt) to make paper;
  papel-tu- (Vt) to read.

pataka (Num) hundred; Aymara pataka; *epu pataka* 'two hundred'; *pataka kiñe mari epu* 'hundred and twelve'.

patiya (N) basin; Sp. batea.

pator (N) shepherd; Sp. pastor;
  che-pator (N) shepherd;
  trewa-pator (N) sheepdog.

patu (N) duck; Sp. pato; *karkarkey patu* 'a duck quacks'.

pawkü- (Vi) to burst open, to explode (an egg or a gasbottle); *pawküy ñi chüngküllawto* 'my tire burst';
  pawkü-le- (Vi) to be burst open, to be exploded.

pe- (Vt) to see, to find, to get; *kechu antüy fey ñi pengemum* 'it has been five days since anyone saw him'; *petufiymi ñamkülechi mansun?* 'did you[s] find the lost ox?'; *iñché perumeli fentren plata, kiñe we ruka ngillafemafun* 'if I would suddenly get a lot of money, I would immediately buy a new house';
  pe-me- (Vt) to go to visit;
  pe-ntuku- (Vt) to greet, to say words of welcome to; *pentukuwüy* 'they exchanged greetings';
  pe-nge-l- (Vt) to demonstrate, to show; *pengelen rüpü* 'show me the road!'; *pengelelfinge* 'show it to him!';
  pe-pa- (Vt) to come to visit; *pepaeyumew tayu kümé karukatu* 'our[d] good neighbour came to visit us[d]';
  pe-w-ka-lle-al (ITJ) goodbye!, see you!.

peđa- (Vt) to find by chance, to come across; also *pesha-* (JM).

peyllen (N) wart.

peka- (Vt) to fish (RR); Sp. pescar.

pekan (Adj) worthless, bad; Sp. pecar; *pekan đungu* 'nonsense, lie, something stupid'; *pekan đungu mekey* 'he does all sorts of stupid things (drinking, fighting)';
  pekan-ka (N) something worthless, trouble; *tüfata pekanka đungu nu* 'this [is] serious/this [is] not rubbish';
  peka-n-ka- (Vt) to mess something up, to ruin something, to spoil;
  peka-n-ka-w- (Vi) to behave nasty, to make trouble.

pekeñ (N) little owl; Speotyto cunicularia (Augusta).

pel (N) throat;
  korko-pel (N) where one cuts off an animal's head;
  to-pel (N) neck (front part); *to**.

pele (N) clay soil; cf. *raq* 'clay used for pottery';

añil-pele (N) indigo clay (to dye with).

pelo (N) light, clearness;

pelo- (Vi) to get light, to be able to see; *peloy* 'he can see'; *pelolay* 'he cannot see, he is blind';

pelo-l- (Vt) to make someone see;

pelo-le- (Vi) to be light/bright/clear/visible, to be able to see, to have good eyes; *peloley* 'it is clear, it is visible, there is light';

pelo-m(-tu)- (Vt) to illuminate, to light;

pelo-m-tu-we (N) lamp;

pelo-nge- (Vi) to have light, to be light/bright; *pelongiy ti pyesa* 'the room is bright';

pelo-tu- (Vt) to give light, to see clearly; *pelotufiñ* 'I gave him light, I saw him clearly';

pelo-n (Adj) light, bright; *pelon ruka* 'a light/bright house'.

pellin (N) the hard trunk of a tree (e.g. of an oak tree).

pen (ITJ) alas; see (13.25).

penú (Adv) maybe; *peno* (MM); *kuyfí we akulu iñché, rumel peniekefuyiñ wenüy, tüfá pewetulafiñ, penú müliy chi, mülelay chi* 'in olden times, when I came back, we[p] used to see friends, [but] then I did not see them any more, [and I wondered if] they were there or not';

penú pi- (Vi) to think that maybe ... , to guess; *iñché wülewlá penó pin* 'I thought [that it would be] tomorrow'; *iñché feymew penó pin* 'I thought that maybe [he would come] from there'.

peñi (N) a man's brother, a man's cousin (son of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt). *peñi* is also used by men of more or less equal status to address oneanother.

malle-mew peñi (N) son of the brother of a man's father;

ngillañ-peñi (N) husband of the sister of a man's wife;

peñi-wen (N) *peñi* to oneanother;

peñi-ye- (Vt) to be *peñi* in relation to.

pepí (Aux) being able, see 25.4; *pepí küđawlan* 'I cannot work'; *pepí weyelün* 'I can swim'; cf. *kim weyelün* 'I know how to swim';

pepi-ka- (Vt) to prepare, to get ready, to arrange; *pepikafiñ ñi kümé küđawfe-ngeal* 'I prepared him so that he would be a good worker';

pepi-ka-w- (Vi) to prepare oneself, to get ready;

pepi-l- (Vt) to be able to do, to understand how to; *pepillafin* 'I can't do it'; *pepiluwlayu* 'we[d] don't understand each other';

pepi-l-fal (Adj) possible, manageable; *pepilfallay* 'it cannot be done'.

perdi- (Vi, Vt) to pass away, to lose; Sp. perder(se).

perimontu- (Vi, Vt) to see ghosts, to have a vision, to see something unusual, to become frightened of.

perkiñ (N) feather, bundle of feathers (worn as ceremonial attire) (RR, JM); cf. *peskiñ*;

perkiñ-tu- (Vi) to put on feathers.

perkü- (Vi) to fart.

permis(i)o (N) permission; Sp. permiso; *eluayu permisio tami amutual* 'I gave you[s] permission to go back';

entu-permiso- (Vt) to ask someone for permission; *iñché petú ñi amunun entupermisofiñ ñi ñuke* 'before I went, I asked my mother for permission'.

peskiñ ∼ **peshkiñ** (N) flower; cf. *perkiñ* (RR, JM).

pesu (N) peso; Sp. peso.

peshkiñ ∼ **peskiñ** (N) flower; cf. *perkiñ*.

petaf (N) piece, portion (RR); *kiñeke petaf elufiy tañi pu wenüy* 'he gave a piece to each of his friends'.

petú (Adv) still, yet. Combined with a perfective verb, *petú* denotes progress, see 25.3. *petú naqüy* 'he is going down'; cf. *naqüy* 'he went down'; *petú naqküley* 'he is still down'; *petú ñi naqnun kullumtuken* 'before I go down, I wash my face';

petu-l- (Vi, Vt) to go on, to be busy (with); *petulüy ñi küđawün* ∼ *petú küđawüy* 'he is working'.

petraf (Adj) thin, skinny;

petraf-küle- (Vi) to be thin, skinny; *petrafküley ti kawchu* 'that girl has a flat belly'.

pewen (N) pine tree, pine cone; Araucaria imbricata (Augusta);

peweñ-che (N) people from the East (who live in the mountains and collect pine cones).

pewma (N) dream;

pewma- (Vi, Vt) to dream (of), probably contains *pe-* 'to see' and *uma-w-* 'to sleep'; *iñché pewmaeyu* 'I dreamt of you[s]';

pewma-ng-e-n (ITJ) oh! I wish/hope … ; *pewmangen akunufule!* 'Oh! I wish they would not come!'.

pewü- (Vi) to bud, to sprout; *petú pewüy koyam* 'the oak tree is budding';

pewü-le- (Vi) to have sprouted;

pewü-n (Adj, N) in bud, bud;

pewü-n-nge-n (N) budding season.

pi- (Vt) to say, to intend, to want (to do). The verb *pi-* 'to say' is predominantly used to close a direct quote, whereas *fey-pi-* 'to say (to)' is used to introduce a direct quote; *wotayayiñ, piy tati pu wingka* ' "we[p] shall vote", the strangers said'; *wüle tripayan pilen* 'I intend to leave tomorrow'; *fey piy ñi amual, iñché pilan* 'he wanted to go, I did not'; *müley ñi pial* 'he has to want [it]';

pi-pi-nge- (Vi) to say the same thing over and over again.

pichi (N) a herb; Fabiana imbricata R. et Pav., fam. Solanaceae (Augusta).

pichi (Adj, Adv) little, small, young, a little; *pichi* ∼ *püchi* ∼ *püchü* ∼ *püti* ∼ *pütü* (RR); *fill pichike küđaw müley* 'there are all sorts of small jobs [to do]'; *pichi mawünüy* 'it rained a little'; *pichi alün waka* 'cow of an average size';

pichi-che (N) baby;

pichi-wentru (N) young man;

pichi-achawall (N) chick;

pichi-waka (N) calf;

pichi-ntu (Adv) a little while;

pichi-ntu- (Vi, Vt) to stay a little while, to take a little while; *pichintuy ñi küđaw* 'my work did not take long'; *pichintufiñ ñi küđaw* 'I spent a little time on my work';

pichi-ñma (Adv) a little while;

pichi-ñma- (Vi) to stay/take a little while; *pichiñmamen Temuko* 'I was in Temuco for a little while'; *pichiñmay mikro* 'the bus was delayed for a little while';

pichi- (Vi) to be little/small; *pichilan* 'I am not small';

pichi-tuw- (Vi) to be short;

pichi-ru-me- (Vi) to be narrow;

pichi-le- (Vi) to be little/small; *pichiley* 'there is little';

pichi-n (N) a small quantity; *ngillay pichin mapu* 'he bought a little land'; *đoy pichin lifru* 'less books'; cf. *đoy pichi lifru* 'smaller books';

pichi-n-mew (Adv) after a little while, a little while later;

pichi-n-tu- (Vt) to think it is small/little;

pichuñ (N) feather.

piđku ∼ pishku (N) legume (peas and beans); *piđku- ∼ pisku-* (RR);

  piđku-awar (N) bean;

  piđku-allfiđa (N) pea;

  piđku- (Vt) to prepare legumes;

  pisku-tu- (Vi) to eat legumes.

piđoy (N) disc made of clay or lead attached to the end of a distaff.

pifüllka (N) flute, wooden flute of about 25 centimeters long.

piku (N) North, northern wind;

  piku-n-che ∼ piku-m-che (N) people from the North;

  piku- (Vi) to veer towards the North, to become northern wind;

  piku-le- (Vi) to be northern wind, to look like northern wind;

  piku-nge- (Vi) to be northern wind.

pilu (Adj) deaf; *pilutripay* 'he was born deaf';

  pilu- (Vi) to become deaf;

  pilu-le- (Vi) to be deaf (temporarily), to play deaf;

  pilu-nge- (Vi) to be deaf (always);

  pilu-n (N) ear (organ), ear (of an object like a cup).

pilla- (Vt) to catch, to surprise; Sp. pillar.

pimu- (Vt) to blow (up), to inflate; *pimuenew ti nge* 'he blew in my eye'.

pinu (N) straw, also used as a general term for reed; *pinu ruka nien* 'I have a house with a thatched roof'; *pinu küna* '*küna* reed'; *pinu rüme* '*rüme* reed';

  pinu-ntu (N) a place with a lot of reed, haystack.

pire (N) snow, hail;

  pire- (Vi) to snow, to hail; *petú pirey* 'it is snowing, it is hailing';

  pire-le- (Vi) to be covered with snow/hail, to be snowing, to be snowy, to rain down, to be hailing, to look like hail.

piru (N) worm;
  piru-longko (Adj) crazy, mad (lit.: worm-head);
  piru-longko-le- (Vi) to be crazy (temporarily), to act crazy;
  piru-longko-nge- (Vi) to be mentally ill, to be crazy.
pisku (N) legume (peas and beans) (used by old women (RR)); *pisko* (JM); see
  piđku.
pispis- (Vi) to peep (MM, JM); also *pishpish-*; *pispismekey pichike achawall*
  'the chicks are peeping'.
pishku (N) legume (peas and beans); see *piđku, pisku.*
pishpish- (Vi) to peep; cf. *pispis-.*
pitraw (N) blister;
  pitraw- (Vi) to get a blister; *pitrawüy ñi namun* 'my foot blistered';
  pitraw-küle- (Vi) to be blistered.
pitrong- (Vt) to peck, to pick; *feytüfachi achawall pitrongfiy tüyechi achawall*
  'this chicken pecked at that chicken over there'.
pitru (N) scabies, itch;
  pitru- (Vi) to get scabies; *pitruley* 'he has got scabies'.
pitrun (N) smoke (RR); cf. *fitrun.*
piwke (N) heart; *piuke ∼ piwke* (JM);
  kümé-piwke-nge- (Vi) to have a warm heart, to be generous.
piwü- (Vi) to dry (up); cf. *angün* 'dry (bone dry)';
  piwü-m- (Vt) to dry; *petú piwümuwün* 'I am drying myself';
  piwü-n (Adj) dried up, dry; cf. *angkün* 'dry (bone dry)'; *piwün küchatun* 'dry
  laundry'; *piwün mamüll* 'dry wood';
  piwü-nten (Adj) dries easily, quick-drying.
pyesa (N) room; Sp. pieza.
plata (N, Adj) money, silver; Sp. plata; *plata trarilongkotukünungiy* 'she was
  put on a silver headdress'.
pobre ∼ pofre (Adj) poor; Sp. pobre; see *pofre.*
pođ (N, Adj) dirt, dirty; *pođmew* 'in the dirt';
  pođ- (Vi) to become dirty;
  pođ-üm- (Vt) to make dirty.
pofre ∼ pobre (Adj) poor;
  pofre- (Vi) to become poor;
  pofre-l- (Vt) to make poor;
  pofre-le- (Vi) to be poor (temporarily), to have little money;
  pofre-nge- (Vi) to be poor (always).
poy (N) boil, abscess, risen dough;
  poy- (Vi) to swell, to rise;
  poy-ma- (Vi) to get a boil, to get a swollen ... ; *poyman ñi namun* 'I got an
  abscess in my foot'.
poye- (Vt) to caress, to fondle, to be fond of, to respect;
  poye-fal (Adj) amiable, sympathetic;
  poye-n (Adj) beloved, well-liked, respected, spoilt; *rumé poyen wentru tüfá*

'that [is] a well-beloved man'.

ponon (N) lung(s).

ponson (N) broche, a needle of 10-20 centimetres with a silver ball on the top end.

ponün*;

ponünponün-nge- (Vi) to flicker (light), to waver; *ponünponünngey küđe* 'the torch is wavering'.

ponuí ∼ **ponwí** (Adv) inside.

poñü (N) potato;

poñü-l- (Vt) to sow potatoes.

pongko- (Vt) to embrace, to hug (JM).

porke (Conj) because, since; Sp. porque.

poso (N) well; Sp. pozo; *feytichi poso alükonüy* 'that well is very deep';

poso-ko (N) well.

potri- (Vi) to lean (over);

potri-tripa- (Vi) to topple; *potritripan ti wangkumu* 'I toppled out of the chair';

potri-le- (Vi) to be leaning (over).

potrong (Adj) bent; *potrong-* 'to bow forward' (the head);

potrong-küle- (Vi) to be bent;

potrü-*

potrü-künü-w- (Vi) to bow forward (the body).

presedente (N) president; Sp. presidente.

prowinsia (N) province; Sp. provincia.

pu (Prep) in, see 10.5; *puwüy pu malliñ* 'he landed in a lake'; *pu wallentu* 'in the middle of the bushes'; *ütrüftukun kiñe fotella pulku pu lewfü* 'I threw a bottle of wine in the river'.

pu(w)- (Vi) to arrive. The distribution of *pu(w)-* is not entirely clear. *puw-* is most frequent. I found *pu-fu-n* 'I arrived, but' (RR) and *iñché pu-n* 'I arrived' (JM), and I found *puw-küle-*[28] (RR) only once; *müná ayuwüy iñchiu yu puwel* 'he was very glad that we^d had arrived'; *küpá pulen liwen* 'I want to arrive early'; *petú puwlaymi küđawmew* 'you^s are too young to work';

puw-trafiya- (Vi) to become late;

pu-le- (Vi) to be good at; *iñché pulen tüfachi küđawmew* 'I am good at this work'; *iñché petú pulen lefünmew* 'I can still run';

puw-ül- (Vt) to fulfill, to reach, to deliver, to arrive with; *femngechi puwülüy ñi antü, lay* 'and thus his time had come and he died'; *puwülüy epu mari tripantu* 'he reached the age of twenty'; *meñku puwülüy* 'he arrived with a bag'.

puel (N) East;

puel-che (N) people from the mountains/the East;

puel-mapu (N) Argentina.

pukem (N, Adv) winter, in winter.

pulku (N) wine, liquor; *metawe pulku* 'a jar of wine'; *pütokofiñ ti pulku* 'I drank that wine';

pulku-tu- (Vi) to drink wine; *pichi pulkutukünuan* 'I am going to have a few

drinks'.

pun (N, Adv) night, one night, by night;

alü-pun ∼ *fücha-pun* (Adv) late at night; *alüpuniy* 'it has become/is late at night';

ella-pun (Adv) in the evening;

fachi-pun (Adv) tonight;

kon-ün pun (Adv) late in the evening (after about 21.00 hours);

kiñe-püle-l-pun (Adv) after midnight;

rangi-pun (N, Adv) (at) midnight;

pun-ma- (Vi) to be at nightfall, to spend the night;

kom-pun-ma- (Vi) to spend the whole night;

rangi-pun-ma- (Vi) to spend half the night;

alü-pun-ma- (Vi) to go to bed late at night.

pura (Num) eight.

puru- (Vi) to dance.

putu- (Vt) to drink (alcohol); *putukonküliy* 'he drinks';

putu-l- (Vt) to make someone drink.

pu(w)- (Vi) to arrive; see *pu-*.

püđ (Adj) thick (liquids); *püđ korü* 'thick soup';

püđ- (Vi) to become thick, to spread, to become dispersed; *püdiy ti ufisha* 'the sheep dispersed'; *püđpüđküley* 'it is all over the place';

püđ-üm- (Vt) to thicken.

püđo (N) navel (RR); *füđo* (JM).

pülay (N) inside of the hand/foot (RR); cf. *pülapüla*;

pülay kuwü (N) handpalm;

pülay namun (N) inside/bottom of the foot.

pülay (N) climbing plant (JM); Mühlenbeckia tamnifolia Meisn., fam. Polygonaceae (Augusta).

pülang ∼ **pilang** (Adj) white (JM); cf. *fülang* (MM); Sp. blanco.

pülapüla (N) handpalm (LQ only); cf. *pülay*.

pülapüla (N) plant with seven veins (JM); Modiola caroliniana Don, fam. Malvaceae (Augusta).

pülcha- (Vt) to lift up together.

pülé (N, Adv) side, direction, see 10.4; *külañ pülé pođküliy* 'it is dirty on three sides';

lafken pülé (Adv) in the direction of the sea; *tüfá pülé mülekefun kuyfí* 'I used to live here';

epu-ñ pülé(-tu) (Adv) on both/two sides;

fill-ke pülé (Adv) everywhere;

kiñe-püle-l-pun (Adv) after midnight, more than halfway through the night;

naq pülé (Adv) in the direction of the sea, downwards;

wente pülé (Adv) to the East (where the sun comes up).

pülef (Adj) thin (paper).

pültrü- (Vt) to hang; *pültrüley* 'it is hanging'.

pülü (N) fly;

pichi-pülü (N) midge.

pülle (Adv) close, near; *pülle ta müliy tañi ruka* 'the house is nearby'; *Xasinta küɖawkiy pülle iñchiu* 'Jacinta works near us^(p)';

pülle- + direction marker (Vi) to approach, to come/go near;

pülle-nie- (Vt) to have nearby;

pülle-tu- (Vt) to approach, to come/go near; *pülleketuniewüymu kam kamapu niewüymu?* 'do you^d live close to one another or far away from each other?';

pülle-tu-pe- (Vt) to approach and see.

pülleqtu- (Vt) to watch out for;

pülleqtu-le- (Vi) to be alert.

püllü (N) soul, spirit, earth (land that lies fallow, e.g. wasteland or the floor in a house); *kolü püllü* 'brown earth';

kum-püllü (N) red earth;

püllü-tu- (Vt) to invoke the spirit of a sick person in order to establish the nature of his disease (work of the *machi*).

püna- (Vt) to stick, to glue; *pünaeyew ti chiklet* 'she got stuck to her chewing gum'; *pünafiñ* 'I stuck to her, I hung around her';

püna-m- (Vt) to glue something to.

püne- (Vt) to use, to employ; *iñché arelfiñ kiñe kareta eymi mi püneal* 'I borrowed a cart so that you^s could use it'; *pünefiñ ti kawellu* 'I used the horse';

püne-le- (Vi) to be occupied/engaged.

püno- (Vt) to step on, to trample on, to humiliate;

pünon (N) track, footprint.

püntü (Adv) apart, separately; *püntü amuley* 'they go separately'; *püntüke fendelan mesa engün wangku* 'I don't sell the tables without the chairs';

püntü- (Vi) to separate; *püntüwüyngu* 'they^d separated'; *püntüley ti ufisha* 'that sheep goes on its own';

püntü-l- (Vt) to separate.

pünün (N) penis.

püñeñ (a woman's child, her sister's child, child of her husband's brother, child of her father's sister) ; *iñché püñeñ nien* 'I have a child';

entu-püñeñ- (Vt) to abort;

nie-püñeñ- (Vi) to become pregnant;

nie-püñeñ-el- (Vt) to leave [a woman] pregnant;

püñeñ- (Vi) to give birth;

püñeñ-küle- (Vi) to be giving birth, to be still able to get children;

püñeñ-nge- (Vi) to have a child.

püñmo (N) a man's daughter-in-law, a woman's father-in-law, brother of her husband's mother, brother of her husband's father.

püra- (Vi) to climb, to go up;

anü-püra- (Vi) to sit up straight;

püra-m- (Vt) to bring/take up, to raise; *pichi püramüy ketran re ñi chofüngen mütem* 'he produced little wheat just because he is lazy';

anü-ñ-püra-m- (Vt) to sit someone up;

tofkü-ñ-püra-m- (Vt) to spit up;

alü-püra ∼ *fücha-püra* (Adj) high;

alü-püra- ∼ *fücha-püra-* (Vi) to be high;

alü-püra(-pa)-n ∼ *fücha-püra(-pa)-n antü* (Adv) (too) late.

püređu (N) prisoner; *püreso* (JM); Sp. preso;

püređu- (Vt) to imprison, to catch/capture.

püro- (Vt) to make a knot in, to tie;

püro-n (N, Adj) knot, tied with a knot/knots; *püron llasu* 'a rope with knots, a fastened rope'.

pürüm (Adv) in a moment, immediately, quickly; *pürüm amuan* 'I will go in a moment'; *pürüm pürange!* 'go up immediately!'; *pürüm eluayu* 'I will give [it] to youˢ quickly'.

pütef- (Vi, Vt) to sputter, to splash, to sprinkle; *püteftripay* '[sparks] sputtered out';

pütef-nak-üm- (Vt) to sprinkle down;

pütef-püra-m- (Vt) to sprinkle up.

püto- (Vt) to drink (not alcohol);

püto-ko- (Vt) to drink (not alcohol), to drink water; contains *ko* 'water'. *püto-ko-* is more often used as a general term for drinking non-alcoholic beverages than the verb *püto-*; *rumë küpá pütokon* 'I would very much like to drink (water)'; *küpá pütokon ko* 'I want to drink water'. JM uses *püto-ko-* as a general term for drinking (alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages); *pütokofiñ ti pulku* 'I drank that wine';

püto-ko-l- (Vt) to make someone drink (water).

pütra (N) stomach, belly;

kutran-pütra-nge- (Vi) to cause stomach-ache.

pütrar (N) louse (on the body); cf. *tün*.

pütre- (Vt) to burn; *pütrefiñ ñi kuwümew* 'I burned it in my hand'.

pütrem (N) tobacco, cigarette, cigar;

pütrem-tu- (Vt) to smoke; *feyengün pütremtukelay* 'theyᵖ don't smoke'; *pütrem-tukünayu* 'let usᵈ smoke first'.

pütrü- (Vi) to be tall, to be big (age), to be much;

pütrü-kon- (Vi) to be deep;

pütrü-le- (Vi) to be much; *pütrüley* 'there is a lot';

pütrü-n (Adj) big, much; *iñché pütrün đungu kimnien* 'I know a lot of things'; *pütrüken mansunmew küđawkefuy che* 'people worked with a lot of oxen';

pütrü-n-tu (Adv) for a long time.

pwe (ITJ) well, so, allright; Sp. pues.

pwede- (Vi) to be able; derived from Sp. poder; *pwedenuliiñ* 'if weᵖ can't'.

pwente (N) bridge; Sp. puente.

qa (Part) see 32.16.

ray- (Vi) to flower; *petú rayüy ti mamüll* 'that tree is in bloom';

rayen (N, Adj) flower, in flower;

rayen-wa (N) corn-cob.

raki- (Vt) to count, to calculate;

raki-le- (Vi) to be counted/calculated;

raki-đuam (N) thought, *raki-đuam ~ raki-đoam* (RR); *feypiley ñi rakiđuam* 'this reflects my feelings';

raki-đuam- (Vt) to think; *rakiđuamkülen feymew* 'I am thinking of him'; *raki-đuammaniefin* 'I am thinking of him (I want him to do something for me)'.

raküm (N) little wall/screen made of twigs, stuck in the floor to shelter from the wind that comes in through the door or used to fill a gap in a fence;

raküm- (Vt) to close off; *iñché rakümfiñ* 'I closed it off, I put a screen [before the door]'; *rakümfiñ ti sañwe* 'I shut the pig in'; *rakümkonküliy tati sañwe* 'the pig is shut in'; *rakümkünufiñ ti pwerta* 'I shut the door'.

rali (N) plate.

ramtu- (Vt) to ask someone; *kom pu ülmen mülelu ina rüpü ramtunierpukefuyiñ ñi nien küđaw* 'on our way we^p asked all the rich people who lived along the road if they had any work'; *ramtulelen* 'ask [it] for me'; *ramtuniefiñ* 'I am asking him, I am questioning him';

ramtu-ka-đungu- (Vt) to interrogate someone.

rangi (Adv) mid, in the middle of; *rangi rüpü amulen* 'I am walking in the middle of the road';

rangi-antü (Adv, N) (in) the middle of the day, (at) noon;

rangi-pun (Adv, N) (in) the middle of the night, (at) midnight; *rangi pu trawün* 'in the middle of the meeting'; *rangi mamüllentu* 'amidst/in the middle of trees';

rangiñ (N) middle, half; *kiñe rangiñ kofke* 'half a loaf';

rangi-ñ-el-we (N) beam used to separate the warp (of a loom);

rangiñ- (Vi) to arrive in the middle; *rangiñkonkülen tañi lamngenmu tañi ñukemu* 'I am sitting in between my brother and my mother'.

rapi- (Vi) to vomit; *petú rapiy* 'he is vomiting';

rapi-nentu- (Vt) to throw up.

raq (N) clay, potter's clay.

re (Adv) only, merely; *iñché re waka nien* 'I have got only cows';

itro-re (Adv) only, merely;

re falta (Adv) in vain, for nothing; Sp. en balde; *re falta amuy* 'he went there for nothing'.

reye- (Vi) to want eagerly, to want at any price/all costs; *iñché reyefun tañi müleal tüfachi rukamu* 'I very much wanted to stay in this house (but)'; *fey reyeley* 'he is being stubborn'.

reyü- (Vi) to get together, to mix; *reyüy ñi kulliñ* 'my cattle came together';

reyü-l- (Vt) to bring together, to mix; *rüngo engu chađi reyülan* 'I will mix the flour and the salt';

reyü-le- (Vi) to be together (in a group), to be mixed.

reka-*;

reka-künu-w- (Vi) to adopt a position with the legs apart;

reka-le- (Vi) to be in a position with the legs apart.

reké (Adv) like, something like, as it were, actually, really; *iñché reké küđawkelay* 'he does not work the way I do'; *alengey reké* 'it seems to be something like a streak of moonlight'; *đoy rangiñ muntunieñmaeyiñmu reké* 'they actually took more than half [of our land]'; *iñché küđawyem elungekelafun reké ta iyal* 'when I worked they practically gave me nothing to eat'; see also (5, 35).

rekore- (Vi) to go through/over; Sp. recorrer.

rekül-*;
  rekül-küle- (Vi) to lean (upon one's elbow, on one's arm, against a wall);
  rekül-künu-w- (Vi) to sit/lay down leaning (upon one's elbow/on one's arm/ against a wall).

rekülama- ∼ **reklama-** (Vt) to claim (RR); Sp. reclamar.

rele- (Vi) to have time, to be without work; *relepelayan* 'I may have some time'.

relmu (N) rainbow;
  relmu-nge (N) iris.

renü (N) cave. Witches meet in caves at night.

reng- (Vi) to cake (onto) (JM); *rengiy ti trangliñ* 'the ice has become thick';
  reng-küle- (Vi) to be caked; *rüngküliy ti asukura* 'the sugar is caked (after one has drunk the tea and a surplus of sugar remains on the bottom of the cup)';
  reng-üm-nak-üm- (Vt) to cause something to settle and thicken.

repeta- (Vt) to respect; Sp. respectar.

reqle (Num) seven.

resibi- ∼ **resiwi-** ∼ **resiwe-** (Vt) to receive; Sp. recibir.

retrontu (N) a place with a lot of reed; probably contains *-ntu*, see 18.1.1.

retrü (N) walking stick;
  retrü-tu- (Vi) to walk with a stick; *retrütuyawün tati kuselu ta iñché* 'I walk with a stick because I am an old woman'.

reuni- (Vt) to join; Sp. reunir.

rewe (N) pole of the *machi*. The *rewe* is a trunc of a tree, about 1.5 to 2 meters high, in which 4 to 6 or even 8 steps have been carved on the front side and which is adorned at the top with a human head carved out of the trunk. The *machi* climbs the *rewe* during religious ceremonies. The *rewe* stands outside the house of the *machi*.
  rewe-tu- (Vt) to perform a healing ceremony, to cure.

rexata- (Vt) to take back; Sp. rescatar.

riku (Adj, N) rich, rich man; Sp. rico. The term *riku* is also used to refer to 'white' Chileans who earned money or got land at the expense of the Mapuche.
  riku- (Vi) to become rich.

ringkona- (Vt) to corner; derived from Sp. rincón.

roni- (Vt) to scratch/to pull/to get hold of with nails/claws (JM);
  roni-w- (Vi) to scratch oneself.

ropa (N) clothes; Sp. ropa;
  ropa-tu- (Vt) to dress someone.

rosaw (Adj) pink (JM); Sp. rosado.

row (N) branch;

row-rewe (N) branch of the *rewe*.

ru-* does not occur without the direction markers *-me-* or *-pa-*;

ru-me- (Vi, Vt) to cross/to pass in that direction, to be thick (in diameter), to overtake, to surpass; *rumenngelay faw* 'it is impossible to cross here'; *petú rumelay* 'there is still time (it has not passed yet)'; *tunte rumey?* 'how thick is it?'; *kiñe rumey* 'it has one fibre/thread';

ru-pa- (Vi) to cross, to pass in this direction, to be wide (measuring from side to side); *petú rupay ñi kutranlongko* 'my headache goes away'; *rupachi semana* 'last week'; *tunté rupay?* 'how wide is it?'; *alü rupay* 'it is wide';

ru-l- (Vt) to pass on; *rulelpaen* 'pass on to me, give me';

adkintu-ru-l- (Vt) to watch something/someone passing in the distance;

kata-ru-l-me- (Vt) to pierce through;

ru-l-me-we (N) throat;

ru-l-pa-nütram-ke-lu (N) interpreter;

ru-pa ∼ *ru-pa-n* (Adv) after, when done; *rupan ilu iñchiñ amuyiñ* 'when we^p were done eating, we^p went'; *iñchiñ fewlá rupan porotutuyiñ* 'we^p have just eaten beans';

külü-ru-pa-n antü (Adv) after noon, in the afternoon.

ruka (N) house; *ka ruka* 'a different house';

ka-ruka ∼ *ka-ruka-tu* (N) neighbour;

ka-ruka-tu- (Vt) to visit a neighbour;

ruka- (Vt) to build a house out of/from; *rukafiñ tachi trafla* 'I built a house from these planks';

ruka-ntuku- (Vt) to put/store something in the house;

ruka-ntu- (Vt) to take someone in the house, to provide a home for;

ruka-w-pu- (Vi) to settle down.

ruku (N) chest.

rul (Adv) all the time; *rul ngümangümangekey* 'he is always crying and crying'.

rumé (Adv) very, (too) much; *rumé no* '[it is] not much'; *rumé inal(tu)* 'just beside'; *rumé wüya che* 'very bad people'; *rumé faney* 'it weighs a lot';

rume-ñma (Adv) very, much, too (much); *rumeñma faney* 'it weighs too much'; *fentreñma rumé faney* 'it weighs much too much'.

rumé (Adv) at least, -ever, even. *rumé* follows the noun or clause it modifies, see chapter 17; *kiñe rumé eluen* 'give me at least one'; *chem rumé ipe* 'let him eat whatever [he wants]'; *chem fyestamew rumé* 'at what-ever party'; *plata rumé elungekelay che* 'people did not even get money'; *chipayan mawünkülele rumé* 'I will leave even if it rains'; *doy newentu rumé wülelelimu, feypilayafin iñché ñi kimel* 'no matter how hard they beat me, I will not tell them what I know'; *chum-kanu rumé* ∼ *chum-ka-w-mew rumé* (Adv) no way, under no circumstances (RR); *chumkawmew rumé yefallay tüfachi mesa* 'it is absolutely impossible to carry this table'. Combined with a negative subordinate, *rumé* means 'without'; *chem pinun rumé anüy* 'he sat down without saying anything'.

rumel (Adv) always; *rumel küpalay yewün* 'they will always bring presents'.

runa- (Vt) to scoop up, to lift with the hands (JM); cf. *truna-*.

rupa(n) (Adv) after, when done; see *ru-*.

rupa (N) time; *kiñe rupa müten amun* 'I went only once'.

rutratu- (Vt) to pick up between thumb and finger(s).

rütretu- (Vt) to pinch; cf. *wutretu-*.

rüf (Adj, Adv) true, truthfully, really; *kakelu wiñoy ñi rüf mapumew* 'some went back to their real country'; *rüf langümngele* 'if he is really killed';
rüf-dungu (N) truth;
rüf-dungu- (Vt) to tell the truth;
rüf-tripa- (Vi) to be the truth; *rüftripay nga ti đungu* 'it is true what you said';
rüf-künu- (Vt) to tell the truth;
rüf-el- (Vt) to make come true.

rüfe- (Vi) to root (turn up the ground with the snout);
rüfe-rüfe-nge- (Vi) to be rooting;
rüfe-tu- (Vt) to root something up.

rüfü- (Vt) to serve out, to dish up;
rüfü-nentu- (Vt) to serve out, to dish up; *rüfünentumekiy ti korü* 'he is busy serving out the soup';
rüfü-we (N) ladle, tablespoon.

rükü (Adj) miserly, stingy;
rükü- (Vi) to become miserly/stingy;
rükü-le- (Vi) to behave as a miserly/stingy persom;
rükü-nge- (Vi) to be miserly/stingy; *kiñe rüküngechi wentru* 'a miserly/stingy man'.

rüme (N) reed; higher reed than *küna*, also used for thatching;
rüme-ntu (N) place with a lot of reed.

rümpel (Adj) jealous;
rümpel- (Vi) to become jealous; *fey rümpelkefiy* 'he is jealous of him';
rümpel-küle- (Vi) to be jealous;
rümpel-fe (N) jealous man/woman; *rümpelfengelfiy* 'he made him jealous'.

rüna (N) root of a plant, used to comb hair with.

rünga- (Vt) to dig (up), to excavate; *rüngafiñ ti mapu* 'I dug up the earth';
rünga-entu- (Vt) to dig out/up;
rünga-l- (Vt) to bury; *rüngalfiñ mapumu/trufkenmu* 'I buried/covered it with earth/ashes';
rünga-l-küle- (Vi) to be buried;
rünga-n (Adj) buried; *rüngan ko* 'well (buried water)'.

rüngi (N) bamboo.

rüngkü- (Vi) to jump; *ringkü-* (JM);
rüngkü-le- (Vi) to be jumping.

rüngo (N) meal (coarsely ground);
rüngo- (Vt) to make meal; *rungoley* 'he is making meal, it looks like meal'; cf. *rüngü-*.

rüngü- (Vi, Vt) to become ground (grain, sugar etc.), to turn, to grind;
rüngü-le- (Vi) to be ground; *rüngüniey* 'he is grinding';

rüngü-m- (Vt) to grind, to mill.

rüpü (N) road.

rütra- (Vt) to forge;
  rütra-le- (Vi) to be forging;
  rütra-fe (N) smith, silversmith;
  rütra-n (Adj) forged.

rütre- (Vt) to push;
  rütre-amu-l- (Vt) to push forward;
  rütre-küpa-l- (Vt) to pull towards oneself.

rütro (N) small braid in women's hair;
  rütro-lonko-le- (Vi) to wear small braids.

rüwew- (Vt) to scratch; *rüwewfiñ ti longko* 'he scratched his head';
  rüwew-küle- (Vi) to be scratching.

sayuna- (Vi) to have breakfast; Sp. desayunar.

saku (N) sack, bag; Sp. saco.

sanchu ∼ **shanchu** (N) pig; Sp. chancho; *sañchu* (MM), *chanchu* (RR).

sañwe ∼ **shañwe** (N) pig.

sapatu (N) shoe; Sp. zapato.

semana (N, Adv) week, weekly, in . . . weeks, . . . weeks ago; *rupachi semana* 'last week'.

seña- (Vt) to mark; Sp. seña sign; *pepí señafiñ ti waka* 'I have not been able to mark the cows'.

señora (N) lady; Sp. señora;
  señora-đomo (N) non-Mapuche woman.

sera (N) silk; Sp. seda; *sera pañu* 'silk scarf'.

serbesa (N) beer; Sp. cerveza.

sillo (N) partridge (RR); cf. *shüllo*.

syempre (Adv) always; Sp. siempre.

sosialimu (N) socialism.

suchetu- ∼ **shuchetu-** (Vt) to take/break off the heads.

süllwi (N) worm (RR).

shanchu ∼ **sanchu** (N) pig; see *sanchu*.

shañe (N) nest; *đañe* (RR);
  shañe-üñüm (N) bird's nest.

shañwe (N) pig; *sañwe* (MH).

shingé (Aux) moving along/up; *singé* (RR); *shingé amunge* 'move up!'.

shiweñ (N) acorn; Sp. dihueñ.

shiwill- ∼ **diwill-** (Vt) to stir;
  shiwill-küle- (Vi) to be stirring;
  shiwill-ko (N) porridge.

shuchetu- ∼ **suchetu-** (Vt) to take/break off the tops, to head; *shuchetufiñ ti kachilla* 'I took off the wheat-ears'.

shüllo (N) partridge; cf. *sillo*.

shüllwiñ (N) bumblebee.

ta (Na) the; see 14.3; *pepillafin ta küđaw* 'I can't do this job';

  ta-ti (Na) the; *ta-tüfá, tüfa-ta, ta-chi*, see *tüfá*; *fey-ta*, see *fey*.

tachi (Nd) this; see *tüfá*.

tayí (Adv) just now, a moment ago; *iñché tayí pu liwen mikrotupen* 'I have taken the bus this morning'; *iñché đoy tayí akutuafun* 'I might have come a little bit sooner'.

tayma- (Vt) to remove;

  tayma-entu- (Vt) to remove, to depose; *taymaentungepay ta fütake longkoyem* 'the former old leaders have been deposed'.

taku- (Vt) to cover; *iñché takuwün* 'I covered myself';

  taku-n (N) dress, clothing.

tapül (N) leaf.

tata (ITJ) daddy; also *chacha*, which has a more affectionate connotation.

tewfü- (Vt) to destroy, to take apart.

ti (Na) the, *ti ∼ chi* (RR); see 14.3; *kümé ađngey ti/chi pichi señora* 'that young lady looks pretty';

  ta-ti (Na) the; *fey-ti*, see *fey*.

tiyechi (Adj) that over there; see *tüyé*.

tofken (N) spittle; see *tofkü-*.

tofkü- (Vi) to spit;

  tofkü-nak-üm- (Vt) to spit down;

  tofkü-ñ-püra-m- (Vt) to spit up;

  tofkü-tu- (Vt) to spit at, to spit out;

  tofkü-n ∼ tofken (N) spittle.

toki (N) axe, war-chief.

tol (N) forehead.

tonon- (Vt) to weave;

  tonon-we ∼ püra-m-tonon-we (N) stick on which the warp is fastened with threads in order to make a weaving pattern.

topel*; see *pel*.

tornew (N) tournament; Sp. torneo.

torompe (N) trumpet; Sp. trompeta.

Tosanto (N) All Saints' Day; Sp. (fiesta de) Todos los Santos.

tu- (Vt) to get hold of, to take (out); *tun ñi kutran tranel ñi rukamew* 'I got injured when I fell in my house'; *tuñmafiñ Rosa ñi kutran* 'I contracted my illness from Rosa';

  tu-w- (Vi) to come from, to start; cf. *tuw-*.

tuchi (Ni) which?; *tuchi ∼ chuchi* (RR); *tuchi rüpü inayan?* 'which way shall I go?'; *tuchi tami lamngen?* 'which one [is] your[s] sister?';

  tuchi rumé (Ni) which-ever;

  tuchi nu rumé (Ni) not any, none; *tuchikünu-w-* 'to go where?'.

tuku- (Vt) to put (in/on/at), to plant; in compounds also *-ntuku-*; *iñché tuku-künulelfiñ kiñe trapelakucha tami kure ñi üküllamew* 'I put a broche on the shawl of your[s] wife'; *tukufiñ kasetmew* 'I put it (the tape) in the tape recorder';

tukuniengekefuy küđawmew 'they used to be put to work';

yall-tuku (N) illegitimate child;

anü-ntuku- (Vi) to sit down in;

yall-tuku- (Vt) to get an illigitimate child (man);

kim-tuku- (Vt) to have known/understood for some time; *kimtukufiñ* 'I have known him for ever';

kim-el-tuku- (Vt) to let someone know beforehand, to warn;

ütrüf-tuku- (Vt) to throw in;

wül-tuku- (Vt) to surrender;

tuku-tu- (Vt) to dress;

tuku-tu-w- ∼ *tuku-tu-l-uw-* (Vi) to get dressed;

tuku-tu-l-uw-ün (N) clothes, dress.

tukuyu (N) fabric.

tunté (Ni) how (much)?; *tunté* ∼ *chunté* (RR); *tunté püray?* 'how high is it?'; *tunté kamapuleyngu chiam?* 'how far away are they[d]?'; *iñché ñi mapu petú kimlan ñi tunté puwün* 'I still don't know how far my land extends';

tunte-ntu (Ni) how much time?; *tuntentu müleayu?* 'for how long shall we[d] stay?';

tunte-ntu- (Vi) to stay/to be for how long; *tuntentuy faw?* 'how long did he stay here?';

tunte-l- (Vt) to give how much to;

tunte-ñma- (Vi) to stay/be for how long, to take how long; *tunteñmamen?* 'for how long did I stay there?'; *müté tunteñmakelay ñi đewmangeayem kiñe ruka* 'it does not take that much time to build a house';

tunte-n (N, Adj) how much?; *tuntenmu ngillaymi?* 'for how much did you[s] buy [it]?'; *tunten antü?* 'how late is it?';

tunte-n-tu- (Vi) to take how much.

tupu (N) broche, a silver disc with a needle of about 25 centimeters.

turpu (Adv) never (with negative verb); *eymi turpu tripakelaymi* 'you[s] never go out'.

tute- (Vt) to please, to satisfy, to do good; *tuteay mi đungu* 'it will do your[s] business good'; *tunté kümelkakünulelfili rumé, tutelayafin* 'no matter how well I do it for him, I can't satisfy him';

tute-w-küle- (Vi) to be pleased (with what one has (done)), to get on well together.

tuw- (Vi) to come from, to originate from, to begin. *tuw-* may be related to *tu-* 'to get hold of, to take (out)'. *chew tuwüymi?* 'where do you[s] come from?'; *iñché Chile tuwün* 'I come from Chile'; *iñché tuwün ñi küđawal* 'I began to work'. *tuw-* (?) is also found in: *alü-tuw-* 'to be long'; *fentre-tuw-* 'to be long'; *fücha-tuw-* 'to be long'; *pichi-tuw-* 'to be short'; *pütrü-tuw-* 'to be long'; *tüfachi kalle pichituwüy* 'this street is short'; *fey müná tuwüy* 'he can run fast'.

tuwe (N) earth, soil, lump; *fey takufiyiñ tuwemew* 'we[p] covered him with earth'.

tüfá (Nd) this, then, now; *tüfá norküley* 'this (one) is straight'; *tüfá ruka* 'this [is] a house'; *iñchiñ tüfá konayiñ* 'at that moment we[p] will come in'; *tüfá pülé*

'(on) this side';

tüfá engün (Nd) these people;

fey-tüfá (Nd) this here;

tüfa-ta ∼ ta-tüfá (Nd) this, see 14;

tüfa-chi (Adj) this; *tüfachi ruka pichikay* 'this house is small';

tüfa-mew (Adv) here.

tüfey (Nd) that; *tüfey ∼ tüfiy* (RR); *tüfey!* 'here! (take it)'; *tüfey chem chekay?* 'what [would] that be?';

tüfey-mew (Adv) there;

tüfey-chi (Adj) that; *tüfeychi wentru ellá ayeley* 'that man is laughing a bit'. *fey* is used much more often than *tüfey*, see 14.

tüyé (Nd) that over there; also *üyé*; *tüyé iniy chekay?* 'who [is] there? / who would that be?'; *tüyé pülé* 'in that direction over there';

tüye-chi (Adj) that over there; also *üye-chi, tie-chi*;

tüye-mew ∼ üyemew ∼ üyümu ∼ tüyü-w ∼ üyüw (Adv) over there.

tüykü*;

tüykü-tüykü-nge- (Vi) to be dripping; also *lüykü-lüykü-nge-*.

tüyüw (Adv) over there; *tüyüw ∼ tüyew* (MM); see *tüyé*.

tükitüki (N) Adam's apple.

tün (N) louse (on the head);

entu-tün- (Vt) to louse.

tüng- (Vi) to calm down, to take long, to stay on;

tüng-naq- (Vi) to die down, to decrease, to become quiet;

tüng-küle- (Vi) to be quiet;

tüng-me- (Vi) to stay/linger there;

tüng-pa- (Vi) to stay/linger here;

tüng-ün (N) peace.

tüngkül (N) wheel.

traf (N) colleague; *ñi pu traf moso* 'my colleagues';

traf- (Vi) to fit, to join, to fix; *iñché trafün tüfachi wangkumew* 'I fit in this chair'; *kümé trafküleymi?* 'are you^s comfortable?'; *trafüy kay?* 'is it fixed?';

traf-kon- (Vi) to fit in;

traf- + direction marker (Vt) to meet, to wait for; *trafmetuaen* 'wait for me there when I get back';

traf-ye- ∼ traf-iye- (Vt) to meet, to come across, to stumble on; *trafyeyeken ∼ trafiyeyeken fillantü fentren che faw* 'I meet a lot of people here every day';

trap-üm- (Vt) to unite, to put together, to assemble; *iñché tüfá trapümafin faw* 'I will gather it here'; *traftu trapümyiñ plata* 'we^p all put money together'; cf. *trapel*;

traf-kiñ (N) person with whom one exchanges food and goods; *iñché tañi trafkiñ tati* 'that [is] my mate/partner/kind'; *trafkiñ ta leliniealu kay* 'always look at your own kind (for a marriage partner)';

traf-kiñ-ye- (Vt) to have someone for an exchange partner; *trafkiñyewküleyu* 'we^d are exchange partners, we^d are mates';

traf-kin-tu- (Vt) to exchange; *trafkintuñmafiñ tati lapi tati relomu* 'I swopped a pencil with her for a watch';

traf-tu (Adv) together, in company, united; *traftu kelluayiñ* 'we^p will help together'.

trafiya (N, Adv) (in the) evening, tonight;

wiya-trafiya (Adv) yesterday evening;

puw-trafiya- (Vi) to fall (the night); *đewmá puwtrafiyale amutuan* 'I will go back when the night has fallen';

trafiya- (Vi) to spend the night; *kiñe trafiyameyu* 'we^d spent one night there'.

trafiye- ∼ **trafye-**; see *traf*.

trafkintu-; see *traf*.

trafla (N) plank; Sp. tabla; *feytachi trafla rumel mülekemum kafé* 'the shelf where the coffee always was'.

trafo- (Vi) to break; *trefo-* (JM); *trafotripalu tasamu* '(a piece) which broke off from the cup';

trafo-l- (Vt) to break; *trafolafuymi* 'you^s might break them (eggs, cups)';

trafo-le- (Vi) to be broken; *trafoley ñi anüwe* 'the bottom (of the cup) is broken';

trafo-n (Adj) broken.

traytray- (Vi) to gurgle;

traytrayküle- (Vi) to be gurgling.

tralka (N) gun;

tralka- (Vi) to thunder;

tralka-tu- (Vt) to shoot;

tralka-n (N) thunder.

tralof- (Vt) to hit, to beat (with a fist or a stick);

tralof-küle- (Vi) to be hit/beaten.

traltral- (Vi) to snore.

tran(a)- (Vi) to fall. The distribution of *tran-/trana-* is not entirely clear.

tranüy 'he fell'; *tranay* 'he will fall';

tran-ye- (Vt) to fall whilst carrying something;

trana-naq- (Vi) to fall down;

trana-tripa- (Vi) to fall from;

trana-künu- (Vt) to throw on the floor;

trana-künu-w- (Vi) to fall on the floor;

trana-le- (Vi) to be lying down, to be spread out;

tran-tu- (Vt) to topple, to throw on the floor, to turn over;

tran-üw-tu ∼ *tran-uw-tu* (Adv) falling, staggering; *tranüwtu amuy* 'he went staggering'.

trana- (Vt) to hammer, to pound, to crush; *tranangeyem pañillwe tripakiy ñi eskoria* 'when the iron is hammered, slags come off';

trana-trapi-we (N) stone to crush peppers with.

trañma- (Vt) to squash, to crush.

trangatranga (N) jaw.

trangliñ (N) ice;
  trangliñ- (Vi) to freeze; *trangliñküley ti mapu* 'the earth is frozen';
  trangliñ-ma- (Vi) to get frozen, to get covered with ice;
  trangliñ-nge- (Vi) to be ice.

trapel- (Vt) to make fast, to tie (up); probably derived from *traf-*; *trapelfiñ ti waka* 'I tied the cow (to a pole)';
  trapel-küle- (Vi) to be tied;
  trapel-akucha (N) silver pendant. This piece of jewelry is tied to a necklace. It is about 20 centimeters long and consists of several rows of jacquets linked together with thread and silver disks. At the bottom of the pendant there often is a silver cross. The term *trapelakucha* is also used to refer to a large silver broche (20 cm long and 10 cm wide) which consists of an upper plate in the form of two birds which is linked by means of three chains of about 12 flat links to a bottom plate adorned with a row of silver coins.

trapi (N) (red) pepper; *füreke kapi niey tüfachi trapi* 'this pepper has hot seeds'; *angim trapi* 'dried peppers';
  meshken-trapi (N) dried and ground peppers;
  trana-trapi-we (N) millstone.

trapial (N) puma; Felis concolor (Augusta).

trapilko- (Vi) to choke.

trapüm-; see *traf*.

trar (N) pus;
  trar- (Vi) to fester, to discharge pus;
  trar-üm- (Vt) to squeeze out pus.

trari- (Vt) to tie, to fasten; *trarikünufiñ trapemu ti ufisha* 'I tied the sheep with a rope';
  trari-kuwü (N) bracelet;
  trari-longko (N) head-band for women decorated with silver coins;
  trari-longko-tu- (Vt) to put on a headband;
  trari-ñ-kawellu (N) a pair of horses;
  trari-ñ-mansun (N) yoke of oxen;
  trari-le- (Vi) to be tied; *ñi sapatu trariliy* 'my shoes are tied';
  trari-we (N) belt.

trawa (N) body, skin, shell; *kümé trawa niey* 'she has a beautiful body/skin';
  trawa-mamüll (N) bark.

trawma (Adj) blind.

trawü- (Vi) to get together, to join;
  trawü-l- (Vt) to bring together, to join, to collect;
  trawü-l-uw- (Vi) to get together, to meet, to assemble;
  trawü-w- ∼ *trawu-w-* (Vi) to get together, to gather, to meet; *külá wentru trawüwüyngün wiya* 'yesterday three men got together';
  trawü-n (N) group of people, meeting; *niepukefuy trawün* 'he used to hold a meeting there'; *wiya kiñe füchá trawün müley Temuko* 'yesterday there was a big crowd in Temuco'.

trefo-; see *trafo-*.

treka- (Vi, Vt) to walk, to step, to measure; *kom antü trekakefuyiñ* 'we^p used to walk all day long';

  treka-künu-w- (Vi) to set off, to set out for;

  treka-le- (Vi) to be walking;

  treka-tu- (Vt) to walk up to;

  treka-treka-tu- (Vi) to walk a bit, to walk to and fro;

  treka-n (N) step.

trelü- (Vi, Vt) to burp, to belch; *trülkü-* (RR);

  trelü-künu- (Vt) to belch out; *trelüfiñ ∼ trelükünufiñ ti iyal* 'I belched the food'.

trem (Adj) grown;

  trem-che (N) adult, grown-up;

  trem- (Vi) to grow (up);

  trem-tripa- (Vi) to grow up;

  trem-küle- (Vi) to be growing (up);

  trem-üm- (Vt) to raise.

tremo (Adj) healthy;

  tremo- (Vt) to get well, to recover;

  tremo-l- (Vt) to cure, to heal.

trengtreng (N) (mythological) steep mountain. Mountains which rise when the water level rises.

treq- (Vi) to burst open (JM); see *trüq-*.

treqül (N) lapwing.

trewa (N) dog.

trilil- ∼ **triltril-** (Vi) to sing (a bird, for instance the lapwing (*treqül*)); *triltrikü-* (JM).

tri(l)trang (Adj) naked;

  triltrang-küle- (Vi) to be naked;

  triltrang-künu- (Vt) to undress, to strip;

  triltrang-tu- (Vt) to undress, to strip;

  triltrang-tu-w- (Vi) to get undressed, to strip.

triltrikü- (Vi) to sing (a bird, sound of the *treqül*) (JM); cf. *trilil-*.

trinin- (Vt) to hit someone hard, to smash (MM); *trininkütiefiñ ti ñarki* 'I smashed the cat hard on the floor'.

trintri (N) curl; *iñché trintrilongko ta nien* 'I have got curls';

  trintri- (Vi) to curl;

  trintri-longko- (Vt) to make into curls;

  trintri-l- (Vt) to make into curls; *iñché trintrilongkoan/trintrilan tañi longko* 'I am going to curl my hair'.

tripa- ∼ **chipa-** (Vi) to go out, to leave, to come up (sun), to turn out; *tripalayaymi rukamew iñché wiñoli wülá* 'don't go outside until I get back'; *potrütripan ti wangkumu* 'I toppled from the chair'; *pilu tripay* 'he was born deaf'; *epé tripay antü* 'the sun is almost up'; *kelü tripay* 'it turned out red, he blushed';

ađ-tripa- (Vi) to leave in that direction, to turn out well (photo, painting);

kümé tripa- (Vi) to turn out well, to come through allright, to pass (exam);

kümé tripan ñi külá eksamenmew 'I passed for my three exams';

weshá tripa- (Vi) to turn out badly, to fail;

kümé tripa-đungu-nge- (Vi) to speak well (to have a good way of speaking, i.e. a loud voice);

ka tripa-miaw- (Vi) to have a different way of walking;

kümé tripa-tuku-l-uw-ün-nge- (Vi) to have a good way of dressing;

anü-tripa- (Vi) to sit down outside;

trana-tripa- (Vi) to fall down on the floor;

witra-tripa- (Vi) to get up and leave;

tripa-l- (Vt) to reach the end of, to do until the end; *tripalawkantuyiñ* 'we[p] were at the end of the game'; *tripalpuniy* 'he stayed up all night';

tripa-l-kosecha-nge-n (N) at the end of the harvest season;

tripa-tu- (Vt) to leave from someone's house, to go away from; *tripatuy* 'he got out [of prison]';

itro-tripa (N, Adv) area before/in front of, before (space/position.

tripantu (N, Adv) year, a year, in ... years, ... years ago; *chem tripantu nieymi?* 'how old are you[s]?'; *mülepatuyiñ faw đoy külá tripantumew* 'we[p] have been back here for more than three years';

tripantu- (Vi) to reach the age of ... years;

tripantu- + direction marker (Vi) to stay/spend ... years;

tripantu-nge- (Vi) to be ... years ago; *kayu mari tripantungey ñi puwün ti wingka* 'that stranger stayed for sixty years'.

triwe (N) laurel; Laurelia aromatica (Augusta).

triwür (Adj, N) round (circular); cf. *mongkol* 'round (spherical)';

triwür-kunu-w- (Vi) to present itself round; *rupachi mawünmew triwürkünuwüy relmu* 'after the rain a rainbow showed itself a half circle'.

trof- (Vi) to explode, to crack, to make the sound of a whip;

trop-üm- (Vt) to crack.

troy (N) joint (medical);

troy-kuwü (N) wrist.

troki- (Vt) to consider to be, to think of, to respect; *ruka trokifwin* 'I thought that that was a house (but)'; *ilo trokiniefin* 'it looks like meat to me'; *iñché fey trokifwin* 'I thought that it was him (but)'; *eymi putulelu trokieyu* 'I thought that you[s] were drunk'; *pobrengelu am iñché feymew che trokingelan* 'because I am poor, people don't respect me';

troki-w- (Vi) to think that; *iñché fey pepayaetew trokiwün* 'I thought that he was going to see me'; *iñché kutranalu trokiwkülen* 'I think I am going to be ill'.

troltro (N) cardoon; Sonchus asper Hill., fam. Compositae (Augusta).

tromfül (Adj) twisted, bent (RR); see *trümfül*.

tromü (N) cloud; *tromükechilelu* 'it looks cloudy';

tromü- (Vi) to get clouded;

tromü-le- (Vi) to be clouded.

trongkü- (Vt) to bump against/into (walking in the dark) (MM); *trongküy ñi namun* 'I bumped my foot'.

trongli (Adj) thin, skinny;
trongli- (Vi) to become thin;
trongli-le- (Vi) to be thin;
trongli-nge- (Vi) to be slender (from birth).

tror (N) foam, froth; *petú tripay tror* 'foam is coming out (of the casserole)';
tror- (Vi) to foam, to froth;
tror-küle- (Vi) to be foaming/emitting froth.

trufken (N) ash.

truftruf (N) loose soil;
truftruf- (Vi) to boil over, to flow over;
truftruf-kon- (Vi) to boil over.

trufür (N) dust;
trufür- (Vi) to become dust, to raise (as dust); *trufürüy ti trufken* 'the ashes raised in the air as dust'.

trukur (N) mist.

truli (N) deer.

trulitruli (N) elbow.

truna- (Vt) to gather/to pick up by the handful;
truna-nie- (Vt) to hold by the handful;
truna-tu- (Vt) to gather a little heap/pile and pick it up by the handful; *trunatun eluayu* 'I will give you[s] a handful'.

trupef- (Vi) to get scared, to get shocked, to get frightened;
trupe-küle- (Vi) to be scared/shocked/frightened;
trupef-ül- ∼ *trupef-el* (Vt) to scare, to frighten; *iñché trupefülngepelayan* 'maybe they are going to scare me'.

trutruka (N) horn; music instrument, about two to three meters long, made of bamboo;
trutruka- (Vi) to make a *trutruka*;
trutruka-tu- (Vt) to play the *trutruka*.

trüfon (N, Adj) cough, someone with a cold, having a cold; *trüfon wentru* 'a man with a cough/cold'; *trüfonkutranngen* 'I am ill and have a cough';
trüfon- (Vi) to cough;
trüfon-ka-w-küle- (Vi) to be coughing;
trüfon-küle- (Vi) to have a cough.

trüfül (Adj) crooked (not straight).

trüla- (Vi, Vt) to break, to split; *trülafiñ ti mamüll* 'I split the wood';
trüla-n (N) piece; *kiñe trülan kofke* 'a piece of bread'.

trülke (N) hide, skin, leather;
trülke- ∼ *trülke-ntu-* (Vt) to skin, to take the skin off.

trülkü- (Vi) to burp, to belch (RR); cf. *trelü-*;
trülkün (N) burp.

trümfül ∼ **trünfül** (Adj) twisted, bent; *tromfül* (RR);

trümfül- ∼ *trünfül-* (Vi) to become twisted/bent;

trümfül-küle- ∼ *trünfül-küle-* (Vi) to be twisted/bent.

trüntrün- (Vi) to shiver, to shudder (with cold/fever).

trüpu- (Vi) to drum;

trüpu-kultrun- (Vi) to play the drum;

trüpu-kultrun-küle- (Vi) to be playing the drum;

trüpu-we ∼ *trüpü-we* (N) drumstick.

trüq- (Vi) to crack, to burst open; *treq-* (JM); *trüqüy* 'it cracked (leaves/
seedpods)';

trüqüy-trüqüy-nge- (Vi) to be cracking/bursting open.

trür (Adv) equally, similarly; *kom trür fentekefuyiñ* 'we^p were all of the same
age'; *trür tremküleyiñ* 'we^p grew up in a similar way';

trür- (Vi) to become as tall as;

trür-küle- (Vi) to be the same height, to be together; *epuke trürkülerpuaymün*
' you^p must go together by twos';

trür-üm- (Vt) to make equal/even.

ufisha (N) sheep; *ufisa* (RR); Sp. oveja.

uma- ∼ **umañ-** (Vi) to stay the night; *iñché uman trafiya Arturomew* 'I spent
the night at Arturo's'; *umañpakelay ta witran* 'visitors don't stay here';

umaw (N) sleep; *akuy tañi umaw* 'I got sleepy';

umaw- (Vi) to sleep; *umaw-* ∼ *umaq-* (MM). In the speech of LQ, *umaw-* is
infrequent. It is found in the following cases:

küpá umaw- (Vi) to feel sleepy;

umaw-faluw- (Vi) to pretend to sleep;

umaw-küle- (Vi) to be asleep;

aku-umaw- (Vi) to get sleepy;

lef-umaw-pa- (Vi) not be able to sleep any more.

umaw-tu- (Vi) to go to sleep, to fall asleep, to sleep; is more frequent than
umaw-; *küpá umawtun* 'I want to go to sleep'; *iñché trafiya kümé umawtun* 'I
slept well last night';

umaw-tu-faluw- (Vi) to pretend to sleep;

umaw-tu-l- (Vt) to put to sleep, to put to bed;

umaw-tu-le- (Vi) to be sleeping/asleep;

umaw-tu-we (N) place where one sleeps.

umaw-tu- see *uma-*.

umer-* ;

umer-küle- (Vi) to have one's eyes closed; *kiñe nge umerküley* 'one eye is
closed'.

umül- (Vi) to roll (JM);

umül-amu-l- (Vt) to make something roll;

umül-umül-nge- (Vi) to be rolling.

unu- (Vt) to feel disgust with/at, to loath (JM); cf. *ünu-*; *unufiñ* 'I felt disgusted
with him'; *unufalün* 'I must throw up, I feel like throwing up'.

upa (Aux) wishing (JM); cf. *küpá*.

upe- (Vt) to forget; *upenien* 'I have forgotten'.

utu- (Vt) to approach, to come near to; *utungey tati ngenñawe* 'the father of the girl was approached'.

utru- (Vi, Vt) to pour; *witru-* (JM); *utruy ko* 'water poured out';
  utru-ko- (Vt) to pour water; *utrukoñmaen ñi peshkiñ* 'you^s are going to water my flowers';
  utru-nentu- (Vt) to pour out, to spill; *fey utrunentuy ñi pulku* 'he spilled his wine';
  utru-ntuku- (Vt) to pour in; *utrunutukuan ko tasamew* 'I will pour water in the cup';
  utru-l- (Vt) to pour out, to throw out.

utruf- (Vt) to throw;
  utruf-tu- (Vt) to throw at.

uwa (N) maize, corn; *wa* (JM).

üđe- (Vt) to hate;
  üđe-nie- (Vt) to have a grudge against.

üfi- (Vi, Vt) to become tight, to tighten; *üfifiñ* 'I tightened it';
  üfi-le- (Vi) to be tight;
  üfi-n (Adj) tight; *üfin weshakelu* 'tight things/clothes'.

üy- (Vi) to catch fire; *üyle kütral amuntukuan tetera* 'if the fire starts to burn, I will put the kettle on';
  üy-üm- (Vt) to set fire to.

üy (N) name; *Xoan pingefuy ñi üy* 'his name was Juan'; *ađ üy* 'a beautiful name';
  üy-el- (Vt) to name (not JM);
  üy-el-ka- (Vt) to give a nickname (not JM);
  üy-üm- (Vt) to name;
  üy-üm-el- (Vt) to give a name to;
  üy-üm-ka- (Vt) to give a nickname;
  üy-üm-ka-n (N) nickname;
  üy-üm-tuku- (Vt) to give one's name to; *üyümtukuaymi tami püñeñ* 'you^s will give your name to your^s child';
  üy-tu- (Vt) to call someone by his name.

üyaqtu- (Vt) to pick a quarrel, to look for trouble;
  üyaqtu-le (Vi) to be looking for trouble.

üyé (Nd) that over there; see *tüyé*.

üyüw (Adv) over there; see *tüyé*.

ükülla (N) shawl; a large black shawl for women, fastened with a silver broche.

üküm- (Vi) to fall silent;
  üküm-küle- (Vi) to be silent.

ül (N) singing, song;
  ül- (Vi) to sing. More frequent is
  ül-kantu- (Vi) to sing; *iñché petú ülkantun* 'I am singing';
  ül-kantu-le- (Vi) to be singing.

ülchá (N) (teenage) girl (unmarried girl/young woman); *üllchá* (JM); *petú ülcha-ɖomo* '[I am] still a girl'.

ülen (N) glowing piece of wood.

ülkantu- (Vi) to sing; see *ül*.

ülmen (Adj, N) rich, rich person, noble person, leader (in olden times); *ñall anta mi ülmenngenmew llükayaeyu* 'you[s] expect me to be afraid of you just because you[s] are a cacique'; *küɖawelmekefwiyiñ ti ülmen* 'we[p] went to work for that rich man';
  ülmen-küle- (Vi) to be rich.

ültre- (Vt) to push; also *rütre-*.

ülwen (N) dew.

üllchá (N) teenage girl (unmarried girl/young woman (JM); see *ülchá*.

üllesh (Adj) sweet (fruit) (not RR).

üllüf- (Vi) to get an accident;
  üllüf-el- (Vi) to cause an accident.

ümi (N) eyelash.

üna- (Vi, Vt) to tickle; *ünaenew* 'he tickled me'; *petú ünawün* 'I am scratching myself';
  üna-üna-ye- (Vt) to tickle (all the time);
  üna-le- (Vi) to be tickling;
  üna-tu- (Vt) to bite, to sting; *petú ünatuenew nerüm* 'a flea has stung me'; *fey tüfachi achawall ünatufiy tüyechi achawall* 'this chicken has bitten that chicken'.

ünif- (Vt) to stretch out, to spread out; *üñif-* (MM); *ünifkünuafin ti makuñ* 'I will spread out the coat for him';
  ünif-künu-w- (Vi) to lie down all stretched out.

ünu- (Vt) to feel disgust at/with, to loath; *unu-* (JM);
  ünu-le- (Vi) to be disgusted;
  (weɖa) ünun (N) something disgusting, a repulsive person, bastard, son-of-a-bitch (rude); *matuke amunge, weɖaünun pichi wentru, kulliñmew!* 'go immediately, stupid boy, go to the cattle!'.

üñam (N) lover, mistress; *üñamyewküleyngu* 'they[d] are lovers'.

üñí (N) myrtle-berry.

üñiftu- (Vt) to glean.

üñü- (Vi) to become hungry;
  üñü-n (Adj) hungry.

üñüm (N) bird;
  kalku-üñüm (N) witch-bird.

üngapu- (Vi) to yawn; *üngaf-* (JM);
  üngapu-le- (Vi) to be yawning;
  üngapu-üngapu-nge- (Vi) to be yawning all the time.

üngko (N) stake, post, wooden pole (RR).

üngüm- (Vt) to wait for; *üngümngey ñi pu fotüm* 'they waited for his sons';
  üngüm-küle- (Vi) to be waiting.

ür- (Vt) to mate; *üreyew ti alka* 'the cock covered her'.

üre- (Vi) to become wet;
  üre-le- (Vi) to be wet;
  üre-m- (Vt) to make wet, to soak;
  üre-n (Adj) wet; *üren weskakelu* 'wet clothes'.
ürfi- (Vi) to drown;
  ürfi-le- (Vi) to be drowning.
ürkü- (Vi) to become tired; *ürkiy tañi namun* 'my legs got tired';
  ürkü-l- (Vt) to tire;
  ürkü-le- (Vi) to be tired;
  ürkü-tu- (Vi) to rest, to relax;
  ürkü-tu-le- (Vi) to be resting/relaxing;
  ürkü-n (Adj) tired.
üta- (Vi, Vt) to graze; *ütay ti ufisa* 'the sheep grazed'; *ütafiy ti kachu* 'he ate the grass';
  üta-le- (Vi) to be grazing.
ütren (N) nit (egg of a louse).
ütrüf- (Vt) to throw; *ütrüfün kiñe kura* 'I threw a stone';
  ütrüf-entu- (Vt) to throw out;
  ütrüf-entu- ñi kuwü (Vt) to beat by a nose length;
  ütrüf-kon- (Vi) to fall in;
  ütrüf-naq- (Vi) to fall down;
  ütrüf-nak-üm- (Vt) to throw down, to hurl down;
  ütrüf-nak-üm-uw- (Vi) to throw oneself down;
  ütrüf-tuku- (Vt) to throw in;
  ütrüf-tuku-tu-l-uw- (Vi) to throw oneself in;
  ütrüf-künu- (Vt) to throw;
  ütrüf-tu- (Vt) to throw at; *ütrüftuen kuramew* 'you^s threw a stone at me';
  ütrüf-ül- (Vt) to throw away
wa (N) maize, corn (JM); see *uwa*.
wachi (N) trap;
  wachi- (Vt) to catch with a trap.
wacho- (Vi) to get off the breast; *wachoy ti püñeñ* 'the child got off the breast';
  wacho-l- (Vt) to wean; *wacholpüñeñnien* 'I have a child that is weaned off'.
waɖa (N) rattle; a dried gourd with dried seeds inside, used by the *machi*.
waɖkü- (Vi) to boil;
  waɖkü-le- (Vi) to be boiling; *waɖkülechi ko* 'boiling water';
  waɖkü-m- (Vt) to cause to boil;
  waɖkü-n (Adj) boiled.
waychüf- (Vi, Vt) to fall over, to turn over, to turn round, to turn (wheel, handle);
  waychüf-tuku- (Vt) to put on inside out;
  waychüfkü-le- (Vi) to be fallen, to be turned over, to be upside down.
wayun (N) thorn.
waywün (N) South.

waka (N) cow; Sp. vaca.

walon (N) war.

walwal- (Vi, Vt) to ripple, to gargle; *walwaliy ti ko* 'the water rippled'; *walwalfiñ ti ko* 'I gargled [with] the water';
walwal-küle- (Vi) to be rippling;
walwal-tu- ∼ *walwal-tu-pel-* (Vt) to gargle.

walle (N) young tree; Nothofagus obliqua (Augusta).

wampo ∼ **wampu** (N) canoe, boat; *kiñe matu amuachi wampu đuamün* 'I want a fast boat'.

wangku (N) chair, bench;
wangku-tu- (Vt) to sit down on a chair.

wangkü- (Vi) to bark.

wang(ü)len (N) star.

wapi (N) shallow area.

wapo (Adj) brave, good-looking; Sp. guapo.

waqllepeñ (N) deformed person or animal; *wayllepeñ* (RR, MM);
waqllepeñ-küle- (Vi) to be a deformed person/animal.

warangka (N) thousand; Qu. or Aymara waranqa; *kechu warangka kayu mari* 'five thousand and sixty'.

wariya (N) town, city;
wariya-che (N) townsfolk;
wariya-tu- (Vi) to go to town.

watro- (Vi, Vt) to break; *ngüneđoamlafiñ tañi watroafel* 'I did not realize that it might break'; *watrokay ñi tasa* 'he broke his cup in various pieces';
watro-l- (Vt) to break (unintentionally).

waw- (Vi) to leak; *iñché ñi ruka petú wawiy* 'my house leaks'; *petú wawüy iñché ñi rukamew* 'it leaks in my house';
waw-yu- (Vi) to get a nosebleed;
waw-küle- (Vi) to be leaking.

wawlutu- (Vi) to low;
wawlutu-le- (Vi) to be lowing.

we (Adj, Adv) young, fresh, new, unripe, just, recently; *we akutun* 'I just returned';
we-che (N) young person;
we-wülá (Adv) just (now);
we-ñma (Adj) brand-new;
we-le- (Vi) to be new/fresh; *weletuy* 'it is renewed';
we-nge- (Vi) to be recent; *wengey* 'it is a little while ago'.

wechar- (Vt) to tear up, to tear to pieces, to take apart (JM).

wechođ (N) hole;
wechođ- (Vi) to get a hole;
wechođ-küle- (Vi) to have a hole;
wechođ-nge- (Vi) to have a hole (always).

wechu (Adv) on top (RR);

wechu-ntu (Adv) on top; *wechuntu kordillera* 'on top of the mountain';

wechu-ka- (Vt) to go to the top, to climb up; *wechukatumekekilnge wangkumew* 'stop jumping up and down the chair!';

wechu-n (N) top.

weđá ∼ weshá ∼ wesá (Adj, Adv) bad, badly; see *weshá*.

weđa- (Vi) to become full, to become satisfied (hunger);

weđa-l- (Vt) to stuff someone with food;

weđa-le- (Vi) to be full/satisfied;

weđa-l-đuam- (Vt) to stuff someone half full with food;

weđa-l-ka- (Vt) to cram someone with food (too full).

weđkan (N) piece, part; cf. *wüđka-*.

weđweđ (Adj) crazy, naughty, mad, reckless;

weđweđ- (Vi) to become crazy;

weđweđ-ka-w- (Vi) to play the fool;

weđweđ-küle- (Vi) to be crazy, to behave foolishly; *müley ñi weđweđküleal tripayal femngechi antümew* 'he must be mad to go out in such a weather';

weđweđ-nge- (Vi) to be crazy (always).

wef- (Vi) to appear, to come into view; *müná ashkiy wefpayem antü* 'it is very beautiful when the sun appears';

wef-küle- (Vi) to be visible.

weíkulo (N) car; Sp. vehículo.

weycha- (Vt) to fight, to wage war on; *petú weychayu* 'we[d] are at war with oneanother';

weycha-le- (Vi) to be at war;

weycha-fe (N) soldier, fighter;

weycha-n (N) fight, war; *konan weychanmew* 'I will engage in the (political) struggle'.

weyel- (Vi) to swim;

weyel-ye-nie- (Vt) to swim with/carrying something;

weyel-no- (Vi) to swim across;

weyel-küle- (Vi) to be swimming.

weyu- (Vi) to leak out, to drain, to drip;

weyu-le- (Vi) to be draining/leaking; *ti challa weyuliy* 'the pot is leaking';

weyu-nge- (Vi) to have a leak.

weku (N) uncle. Originally a maternal uncle, *weku* refers nowadays to father's brother (also *malle, malle-chaw*), mother's brother, the husband of father's sister or the husband of mother's sister (the latter also *malle, malle-chaw*).

wekufü (N) demon. Demons such as *añchümalleñ, chonchon* and *witranalwe* are used by witches (*kalku*) to cause people harm. The word *wekufü* refers to something diabolic rather than to a specific creature. *eymi wekufüleymi* 'you[s] look like a demon'.

wekun (Adv) outside;

wekun rukamew (Adv) outside the house;

wekun-küle- (Vi) to be outside.

wekür- (Vi) to get worn-out;

 wekür-küle- (Vi) to be worn-out.

welang (Adj) half-ripe; *welang ketran* 'wheat that is half-ripe';

 welang-küle- (Vi) to be half-ripe.

wele (N, Adj) left; *mangküfinge welemew* 'kick him with the left (foot)'.

welu¹ (Conj) but, nevertheless, all the same; *lewfümew müley kochü ko, welu lafken kotrü ko niey* 'in the rivers there is freshwater, but the sea has got salt water'; *kutrankülefuy rumé welu kofketuy* 'although he was ill, he ate some bread'; *đew lay ñi ñuke welu iñché amutuan mütem* 'my mother died, but I will go all the same'.

welu² (Adv) wrong, instead, by turns;

 welu-đuam- (Vi) to become daft, foolish, absent-minded;

 welu-đuam-küle- (Vi) to be daft, foolish, absent-minded;

 welu allkü- (Vt) to hear wrong;

 welu kon- (Vi) to enter/to start in the place of someone else;

 welu leq- (Vi) to be/fall wide of the mark;

 welu nü- (Vt) to grap for wrong, to fail to grap;

 welu ∼ welu-ke(-n) ∼ welu-ke-ntu (Adv) by turns; *weluke(ntu) iyngu* 'they^d ate by turns';

 welu-ñma (Adv) the other way round, upside down, inside out;

 welu- (Vi) to get exchanged; *ti lifru weluy* 'the book was exchanged' (I have this book in exchange for another);

 welu-künu- (Vt) to make an exchange, to leave something in the place of something else, to ignore a passer-by;

 welu-le- (Vi) to be exchanged, to be wrong, to be inside out;

 welu-l-ka- (Vt) to make a mistake, to do something wrong, to exchange, to do something with the opposite effect; *welulkañmafiñ tañi tasa ta lifrumu* 'I exchanged my cup for that book'.

weluđuam- see *welu*².

welulka- see *welu*².

well (Adv, Adj) sometimes, unequal, dissimilar;

 well . . . well (Adv) now . . . then . . . ; *well amuken, well amukelan* 'sometimes I go, sometimes I don't go';

 well-küle- (Vi) to be dissimilar/unequal.

welli- (Vi) to become empty; *petú wellilay ñi tasa* 'my cup is not empty yet';

 welli-le- (Vi) to be empty;

 welli-m- (Vt) to make empty, to vacate;

 welli-n (Adj) empty.

wemul (N) deer.

wemü- (Vt) to chase away; *wemüfiñ ti achawall;* 'I chased away the chickens'.

wenche ∼ weñche (N, Adv) top, on top of (JM); cf. *wente*.

weniy ∼ wenüy (N) friend (RR); cf. *wenüy*.

wente (N, Adv) top, on top of; *wenche* (JM); *wentemu tukufinge ti mamüll* 'put it on top of the wood'; *wente pülé* 'to the top, to the East'; *feychi wente* 'the

one on top'; *đoy wentemu mülelu* 'the one at the top, the highest one' (of a pile, for instance); *wente mesa müliy* 'it is on top of the table';

wente-ko- (Vi) to float;

wente-kon- (Vi) to enter (the household) as second wife;

wente-(n)tuku- (Vt) to put on top of; *wenchetukuan myel tüfamew* 'I will put honey on this';

wenche-ñma- ∼ *weñche-ñma-* (Vt) to put on top of, to discuss the life of (a deceased). When someone has died, his relatives and friends gather around his body and discuss the course of his life while they eat and drink. *wencheñmafiyiñ* 'we^p discussed his life'; *wenche yiñmafiyiñ* 'we^p ate around him (the deceased)';

wente-tu (Adv) on top;

wente-le- (Vi) to be on top, to be the top; *itrokommew wentelelu* 'the highest of all';

wente-lli (N) rump.

wencheñma- ∼ **weñche-ñma-** (Vt) to discuss the life of (a deceased); see *wente.*

wentru (N) man; *wentrupüñeñ* 'son (male child of a woman)'; *wentruüñüm* 'male bird'; *pichiwentru* 'young man';

wentru- (Vi) to become a man; *iñché füchá wentrun* 'I am an adult, I have become a grown-up';

wentru-nge- (Vi) to be a man, to be macho;

wentru-tu- (Vt) to have sexual intercourse with (a man);

wentru-w- (Vi) to resist.

wenu (N, Adv) space above something, firmament, above; *wenu ruka(mew) müpüyawüy* 'he is flying around above the house'; *wenuke mamüll* 'above each tree'; *wenu ashün* 'the beauty of the firmament';

wenu ađ pülé (Adv) upwards, uphill;

wenu-mapu (N) heaven;

wenu-le- (Vi) to be above; *đoy wenulelu* 'the uppermost'.

wenüy (N) friend; also *weniy* (RR);

wenüy-wen (N) friends among each other;

wenüy-wen-nge- (Vi) to be friends among/with each other;

wenüy-ka- (Vt) to make friends with.

weñangkü- (Vi, Vt) to get sad, to get homesick (for), to long for; *wüñangkü-* (MM); *weñangküy ñi mapu* 'he started to feel homesick for his country';

weñang-küle- (Vi) to feel grief, to be homesick, to be longing; *weñangküley ñi mapumew* 'he is homesick for his country, he is longing for his country';

weñangkü-tu- (Vt) to long for, to miss; *weñangkütufiñ ñi püñeñ* 'I miss my child'.

weñche (Adv) more or less, not very, rather, a little; *weñche kurüy* 'it is rather black'; *weñche peniefin* 'I see it vaguely'.

weñcheñma- ∼ **wencheñma-** (Vt) to discuss the life of; see *wente.*

weñe- (Vt) to steal; *weñeñmaenew ñi mapu* 'he stole my land from me';

weñe-w- (Vi) to run off, to go away;

weñe-fe (N) thief;

weñe-n (Adj) stolen.

werá ∼ **weđá** ∼ **wesá** (Adj) bad (RR); cf. *weshá*.

werá (Adj) rather/quite a lot, a great deal; *werá kuyüm müley inaltu lafken* 'there is a great deal of sand along the sea'; *iñchiñ tayiñ mapumew rumé werá pofrengey che* 'in our country people are very poor'.

wera- (Vi) to get hurt, to get injured/damaged;

wera-le- (Vi) to hurt;

wera-n (Adj) hurt; *weran kawell* 'an injured horse'.

werkü- (Vt) to order, to send; *iñché werkün ñi fotüm kiñe kawellu ngillamealu* 'I sent my son to buy a horse';

werken (N) boss, messenger.

wesá ∼ **weshá** ∼ **weđá** (Adj, Adv) bad, badly; see *weshá*.

wesakelu ∼ **weshakelu** (things, clothes, goods, merchandise) ; probably derived from *weshá*.

weshá ∼ **weđá** ∼ **wesá** (Adj, Adv) bad, badly; *weđá* ∼ *wesá* ∼ *werá* (RR); *wisá* ∼ *wisá* (JM); *weshá chengey* 'he is a bad person'; *eymi ta fill wisake sungu ta mekeymi* 'you[s] are involved in all kind of bad things'; *weshá ađ niey* 'he has bad manners';

weshá ađ-nge- (Vi) to be ugly;

weshá antü-nge- (Vi) to be bad weather;

weđa-đuam- (Vi) to be in a bad way (unhappy, unhealthy);

wesha-sungu- (Vt) to abuse someone, to call someone names;

wesha-pi- (Vi, Vt) to speak ill/ badly of;

wesha-miaw- (Vi) to hang around making mischief;

(weđa-)ünu-n (N) disgusting person, used as a term of abuse: bastard, son-of-a-bitch;

wesha-ñma (Adv) badly;

wesha-ñma-nge- (Vi) to be a bad person;

weshañma-w- (Vi) to break down, to fall apart, to become a bad person;

wisha-ñma-w-küle- (Vi) to be broken/in pieces, to feel awful;

wesha-ka- (Vt) to treat someone badly;

wisa-ka-w-ün sungu-n (N) dispute, quarrel in words;

wesha-le- (Vi) to be bad, to be bad weather;

wesha-l-ka- (Vt) to do something badly, to treat someone badly;

wesha-l-ka-le- (Vi) to be in a bad condition (broken down, in need of repair, ill-situated).

weshakelu ∼ **wesakelu** (N) things, clothes, goods, merchandise; probably derived from *weshá*.

wew- (Vt) to earn, to win, to beat; *yiñ wewel plata* 'the money we[p] earned'; *wewfiñ* 'I earned it, I beat him';

wew-küle- (Vi) to be winning;

wew-nge- (Vi) to be beaten.

wewpi- (Vi) to make a speech/an oration;

wewpi-fe (N) orator.

wewülá (Adv) just (now); consists of *we* and *wülá*.

wichar- ∼ **witraf-** (Vt) to tear up; see *witraf-*.

wichill*;

wichill-ko (N) creek; *willkiko* ∼ *willkilko* (JM); *witrullko* (MM).

wichu (Adv) apart, separately; *Alfonso küđawkiy wichu iñchiumew* 'Alfonso works on his own, apart from us^P'; *wichu amuley* 'he goes on his own'; *wichuke yenieyiñ makuñ* 'we^P carry the coats each apart';

wichu- (Vi) to separate, to go apart; *iñché wichuken ayünufiyem ti đungu* 'I always retire when I don't like the things (that are going on)'; *puwliiñ wariyamew wichukeyawpuayiñ* 'when we^P arrive in town, we^P will each go our own way';

wichu-l- (Vt) to separate;

wichu-le- (Vi) to be apart/separate; *tüfá wichuley kakelumew* 'this stands apart from the other ones'.

wichün- (Vt) to twist, to turn round (MM); cf. *wüchür-* (JM);

wichün-wichün-nie- ∼ *wichün-ka-meke- ti nge* (Vt) to roll one's eyes.

wiđi- (Vi) to make pottery (JM); cf. *wüđü-*;

wiđi-fe (N) potter.

wif (N, Adv) length, strip, row, lengthwise, along; *kiñe wif eluenew mapu* 'he gave me a strip of land'; *wif metawemew* 'in a row of jars'; *wif lewfü fentreyawüy che* 'a lot of people walk along the river';

wif- (Vi) to broaden, to spread out, to occupy the full length/width; *wifpuy ti lewfü* 'the river widens over there';

wif-küle- (Vi) to be wide;

wif-künu- (Vt) to stretch out at full length; *wifkünuwüy ti trewa* 'the dog stretched himself out';

wif-ül- (Vt) to zigzag; *ti filu wifülüy* 'the snake zigzagged'; *wifülkülen kontuy rümemew* 'he went zigzagging in the reed';

wifon- (Vt) to soak;

wifo-ntuku- (Vt) to dip in.

wifül- (Vi) to zizag; see *wif*.

wiya (Adv) yesterday;

wiya-trafiya (N) yesterday evening.

wiyo*;

wiyo-longko (N) crown (head);

wiyo-llollo (N) crown (head, tree).

wiyu (N) little bird with a white crest.

wiyü- (Vi) to get dizzy, to get sick (JM); cf. *wüyü-*;

wiyü-longko-nie- (Vi) to be dizzy;

wiyü-l- (Vt) to make someone dizzy;

wiyü-le- (Vi) to be dizzy, to be sick.

wikef- (Vi) to break off; *wikefüy ti tasa* 'a piece broke off the cup';

wikef-küle- (Vi) to be broken off; *tasa wikefküley* 'the cup has a piece missing'.

wikeñ- ∼ **wükeñ-** (Vi) to whistle (birds, people, wind) (RR); cf. *wükeñ-*.

wikür- (Vt) to tear, to rip; *wikürfiñ ti makuñ* 'I tore the coat';
  wikür-wün-tu- (Vt) to make silly faces at someone;
  wikür-kantu-l- (Vt) to make silly faces at, to pull a face at (jeering).

wile ∼ **wüle** (Adv) tomorrow; cf. *wüle*.

wili (N) nail.

wilki (N) thrush (bird); *willki* (JM).

wilpa (N) rope of peppers or garlic; *wilpa trapi* 'a rope of peppers';
  wilpa- (Vt) to thread, to string.

wilüf- (Vi, Vt) to gleam, to shine, to glitter, to sparkle (glass, mirror, silk, paper,
  stars); *đewmá wilüfniefin* 'I have got it almost shiny'; *wiyapun wangülen rumé
  kümé wilüfüy* 'last night the stars sparkled'; *wilüfÿ ñi nge* 'her eyes sparkled';
  wilüf-küle- (Vi) to be gleaming/shining/glittering/sparkling;
  wilüf-ül- (Vt) to make something gleam/shine/glitter/sparkle.

wille-*;
  wille-künu- (Vi) to urinate;
  wille-ñ (N) urine (JM); cf. *wülleñ*,

willi (N) South;
  willi-che (N) people from the South, Huilliche.

willki (N) thrush (bird) (JM); cf. *wilki*;
  willki(l)-ko (N) creek; cf. *wichill-ko*.

wim- (Vi) to get used; *đew wimün* 'I already got used [to it]';
  wim-el- ∼ *wim-üm-* (Vt) to make someone used to (-*mew*);
  wim-el-ka- ∼ *wim-üm-ka-* (Vt) to take much trouble making someone used to;
  wim-tu- (Vt) to get used to.

wima- (Vt) to hit someone (with something flexible like a belt or a branch), to
  lash; *añiđüy ñi trawa wimamuetew kuri* 'my skin pricked where the nettle had
  stung me'.

wimültu (N) framework of sticks or bamboo on which straw and reed are fas-
  tened in order to make a thatched roof;
  wimültu- (Vi, Vt) to make a framework.

winol- (Vi) to crawl;
  winol-küle- (Vi) to be crawling in one direction.

wiño- (Vi) to go back, to return; *petú wiñolay* 'he is not back yet';
  wiño-kintu- (Vt) to look back;
  wiño-tu- (Vt) to go back to, to go back for.

wingka (N) stranger, a non-Mapuche, a white man who abuses the Mapuche
  people; *pichike wingkaniey* 'he has got a little bit of a *wingka*';
  wingka-w- (Vi) to become estranged, to abandon Mapuche ways.

wingkul (N) hill, mountain.

wingüđ- (Vt) to drag along.

wira*;
  wira-künu-w- (Vi) to adopt a position with the legs apart;
  wira-le- (Vi) to sit with the legs apart.

wiraf- (Vi) to gallop;

  wiraf-küle- (Vi) to be running at a gallop.

wirar- (Vi, Vt) to shout; *wirarnieenew* 'he is shouting at me';

  wirar-wirar-nge- (Vi) to be shouting all the time; *wirarwirarngey ñi ngüman* 'she was crying loudly';

  wirar-el- (Vt) to shout at (someone far away).

wiri- (Vt) to write, to draw a line/lines;

  wiri-l- (Vt) to write to;

  wiri-l-ka- (Vt) to make someone write;

  wiri-n (N) line; *tüfá wirinlonko* 'that [is] a parting (in the hair)'.

wirko (N) pile;

  wirko-l- (Vt) to pile up, to heap up;

  wirko-le- (Vi) to be piled up, to be cramped; *femngechi feyta đoy pichin mapu wirkolelayiñ* 'now we[p] are no longer crowded on a small piece of land'.

wirwir- (Vi) to squeal (pigs), to squeak (new chairs); *wirwirüy sañwe* 'the pig squealed'.

wisá ∼ wishá (Adj, Adv) bad, badly (JM); cf. *weshá*.

wita- (vi) to beat, to pulse, to throb; *petú witay tañi kuwü* 'my hand is throbbing';

  wita-le- (Vi) to be beating, to be throbbing.

witra-[1] (Vi) to stand up, to get up; *iñché witran epé rangi antü* 'I got up just before noon'; *kom anüleyiñ welu iñché witran yemeal ko* 'we[p] were all seated but I got up to fetch water'; *witrange!* 'get up!'; *witrawitray* 'they are standing';

  witra-witra-tu- (Vi) to get up and sit down again;

  witra-ñ-püra-m- (Vt) to put straight; *epuñma witrañpüramfiyu tüfachi mesa* 'the two of us we[d] put this table straight';

  witra-künu- (Vt) to put straight and leave it straight;

  witra-künu-w- (Vi) to get up and stay put, to come to a stand still; *witrakünuwnge!* 'get up and stand still!'; *iñché trekalefun, perumen fentren che, fey witrakünuwün* '[while] I was walking, I suddenly saw a lot of people [and] then I stopped';

  witra-l- (Vt) to make someone get up;

  witra-le- (Vi) to be standing up;

  witra-ñma-nie- (Vt) to stand up/to stop next to someone;

  witra-n-alwe (N) raised soul (demon). Witches (*kalku*) can raise the spirit of the dead and transform it into a *witranalwe*, a tall, well dressed, usually male, apparition with sparkling eyes. The *witranalwe* leaves a bad smell behind, see also text 1.

witra-[2] (Vt) to pull, to draw; *witraniengen* 'I am being pulled';

  witra-nentu- (Vt) to pull out;

  witra-ntuku- (Vt) to pull in;

  witra-tu- (Vt) to pull, to draw, to lead someone by the arm/hand; *witrayuwyu* 'we[d] walked arm in arm'; *witratunien ñi trewa* 'I keep my dog on the leash'.

witraf- (Vt) to tear (up), to slice; *witraffiñ ti koral* 'I tore the fence' (in order

to get through); *pürüm mekiy ñi witrafkan ilo* 'they were immediately busy cutting the meat up';

witraf-küle- (Vi) to be torn.

witral (N) warp, loom;

witra-witral-we (N) one of the two vertical posts which make up the side of the framework of a loom;

witral- (Vt) to form the warp, to weave; *ti füw witralngey* 'the wool was wound to form the warp';

witral-nge- (Vi) to have a loom.

witran (N) visit, visitor; *kiñe witran nien* 'I have got one visitor';

witran-ma- (Vi, Vt) to get a visitor/visitors, to visit; *witranmamefin* 'I went to pay him a visit'; *witranmapaenew* 'they came to visit me'; *witranmaniepan ñi ñuke* 'I am visiting my mother'; *witranmaniepaenew* 'she is visiting me';

witran-nge- (Vi) to pay a visit; *witranngepun tañi lamngenmu* 'I paid my brother a visit'.

witror- (Vi) to hiccup, to hiccough;

witror-küle- (Vi) to have the hiccups.

witru- (Vi, Vt) to stream, to throw; *witruy ko* 'the water streamed';

witru-amu-le- (Vi) to be streaming;

witru-ko- (Vt) to throw water on;

witru-naq- (Vi) to flow down;

witru-nentu- (Vt) to throw out;

witru-witru-nge- (Vi) to be streaming;

witru-le- (Vi) to be streaming;

witru-n (N) stream;

witru-we (N) sling.

witrullko (N) creek (MM); cf. *wichill*.

witrur (N) tendon (RR), back of the knee (JM).

woto- (Vi) to vote; Sp. votar.

wuđa- (Vi) to separate (JM); cf. *wüđa-*.

wulluđ- (to wipe, to clean) (JM); cf. *ngulluđ- ∼ ngülluđ-*;

wulluđ-küle- (Vi) to be wiped, to be cleaned.

wutretu- (Vt) to pinch, to squeeze (JM); cf. *rütretu-*.

wüchür- (Vt) to twist, to turn round (JM); cf. *wichü-*;

wüchür-küle- (Vi) to be twisted/distorted.

wüđa- (Vi) to split up, to separate; *wuđa-* (JM, MM); *wüđayngu* 'they^d split up';

wüđa-le- (Vi) to be separated;

wüđa-m- (Vt) to split up; *wuđa-m- ∼ wüđa-m-* (JM);

wüđa-m-el- (Vt) to split up and give away;

wüđa-m-ka- (Vt) to split up in many parts;

wüđam-küle- (Vi) to be split up.

wüđka- (Vi) to break;

wüđka-n (N) piece; *wüđkan kofke* 'a piece of bread'.

wüɖko ∼ **wüsko** (N) a bird (RR).

wüɖü- (Vt) to make pottery; *wiɖü-* (JM);

  wüɖü-le- (Vi) to be making pottery;

  wüɖü-fe (N) potter.

wüyá ∼ **würá** (Adj, Adv) bad, badly (RR); cf. *weshá*.

wüyü- (Vi) to become dizzy, to become sick; *wiyü-* (JM);

  wüyü-le- (Vi) to be dizzy/sick.

wüywü- (Vi) to become thirsty; *iñché wüywün küɖawel* 'I got thirsty when I was working';

  wüywü-le- (Vi) to be thirsty.

wükeñ- (Vi) to whistle; *wikeñ-* ∼ *wükeñ-* (RR); *wükeñkiy wiyu* 'the *wiyu* whistles'.

wül- (Vt) to give something, to hand over; cf. *elu-* 'to give to'; *wülüy aywiñ* 'it gave shade'; *iñché wülün kiñe trewa kiñe wentru(mew)* 'I gave a dog to a man';

  wül-tuku- (Vt) to promise (one's daughter); *wültukuy ñi ñawe feychi wentrumew* 'he promised his daugther to that man';

  wül-uw- (Vi) to give oneself, to surrender, to lend oneself.

wülá (Adv) then, until; *kuɖuleay ta kutran, tremole wülá witrayay* 'the patient must stay in bed, if he gets better, then he may get up'; *küpale wülá amuan* 'I will go the moment he comes'; *tripalayaymi rukamew iñché wiñoli wülá* 'don't go out of the house until I get back'; *epu mari tripantu wülá puwülüymi fey pütremtuaymi* 'when you[s] will be twenty years old, you[s] are allowed to smoke (don't smoke before you are twenty years old)';

  fey wülá (Adv) then, that moment;

  fewlawla (+ *fey-wüla-wüla* +) (Adv) right now, this minute;

  wülewla (+ *wüle-wüla* +) (Adv) tomorrow (with emphasis).

wüle ∼ **wile** (Adv) tomorrow; only *wüle* (JM, MM);

  wülewla (+ *wüle-wüla* +) (Adv) tomorrow (with emphasis).

wülel- (Vt) to hit, to slap, to smack, to stump.

wülngiñ (N, Adv) front, (immediately) in front, near the door; *wülngiñ ñi ruka(mew) müliy kiñe walle* 'right in front of my house there is a tree'.

wüllü-*;

  wüllü-künu- (Vi) to urinate;

  wüllü-tu- ∼ *wülli-tu-* (Vi) to urinate (RR):

  wülleñ (N) urine; cf. *willeñ* (JM).

wün (N, Adv) dawn, at dawn; *epé wün tripay* 'he left when it was almost dawn';

  wün- (Vi) to dawn; *petú ñi wünnun rumé* 'before it dawns';

  wün-ma- (Vi) to experience dawn, to see the sun rise;

  wün-ma-n-mew (Adv) the next day, the following morning.

wün (N) mouth;

  ke-wün (N) tongue;

  mellfu-wün (N) lip.

wüné (Adj, Adv) first(ly), sooner, in front; *wüné puwüy* 'he arrived first'; *iñchiumew wüné puwüy* 'he arrived ahead of us[d]'; *wüneke puwchi che* 'the ones

who arrived first';

wüné pülé (Adv) to the front;

wüne-tu (Adv) first;

wüne- (Vi, Vt) to be the first, to precede; *wünenge* 'after you!';

wüne-le- (Vi) to be first, to be in front;

wüne-lu-mew (Adv) first (MM); *wünelumew mülepuy* 'he is there first';

wüne-l (N) the first;

wüne-l- (Vt) to let someone go first, to do something first (before somebody else);

wüne-l-küle- (Vi) to be the first/leader/captain;

wüne-l-tuku- (Vt) to sow/plant early/first;

wüne-n (N) first, elder, eldest; *iñché ñi wünen* 'my elder (brother or sister)'.

wünfü- (Vi) to snap;

wünfü-ka-w- (Vi) to snap all of them/everywhere; *wünfükawkülerkiy ti mamüll wenu* '(I understand that) a lot [of branches] high up in the tree have snapped'.

wünü- (Vi) to stretch, to become longer;

wüne-le- (Vi) to be stretched; *wünülefuy ñi đungu* 'their problems had accumulated';

wünü-m- (Vt) to stretch.

wüñangkü- (Vi) to become sad, to become homesick (for), to long for (MM); cf. *weñangkü-*.

wüngüđ- (Vt) to drag (along).

würá ∼ wüyá (bad) (RR);   cf. *weshá*.

würta (N) vegetable garden; Sp. huerta.

würwan (N) smell, odour; *kümé würwanngey* 'it has a nice smell';

würwan-tuku- (Vt) to inhale the odour, to sniff up.

würwen (N) steam;   cf. *würwür*.

würwür (N) steam (RR, MM);

würwür- (Vi) to steam;

würwür-küle- (Vi) to be steaming;

würwür-würwür-nge- (Vi) to be steaming a lot.

wütre (N, Adj, Adv) cold; *wütre antü* 'a cold day'; *makuntunge chafoafuymi wütremew* 'put on a coat, youˢ might catch a cold because of the cold';

wütre- (Vi) to become cold;

yanchü-wütre- (Vi) to shiver with cold;

wütre-ntu- (Vt) to find it cold;

wütre-nge- (Vi) to be cold weather.

wütrü (N) wooden ladle, portion.

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