

Mapudungun

Fernando Zúñiga

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All correspondence concerning *Languages of the World/Materials* should be addressed to:

LINCOM EUROPA
Freibadstr. 3
D-81543 Muenchen

LINCOM.EUROPA@t-online.de
<http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA>

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I INTRODUCTION

The Mapuche and their language. Historical lore has it that the encounter between the Mapuche (*mapu* 'land' and *che* 'person, people') and the Spaniards has had a geographically differentiated outcome. The northerners, or Picunche, were soon conquered and the southerners, or Huilliche, gradually lost their specific cultural identity, while the Central Mapuche successfully resisted domination for more than 350 years. Even at the beginning of the 21st century, they are still struggling for survival in spite of the dominant culture's attempts to erase them, assimilate them, or ignore them.

Conservative estimates place the Mapuche population at approximately 400,000 in South-Central Chile (Región de la Araucanía and Región de los Lagos), and at approximately 40,000 in Central Argentina (Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Buenos Aires, Santa Cruz and La Pampa), while more generous countings yield a figure close to 1,000,000 in both countries. An unknown but certainly substantial proportion of these ethnic Mapuche—at least some 200,000—are still fluent speakers of their language, Mapudungu(n) (cf. *dungu(n)* 'speech'). Other names for Mapudungun are Araucanian (Spanish *araucano*, for which two different etymologies have been proposed: Mapudungun *rag-ko* lit. 'clay-water' and Quechua / Aymara *awka* 'savage (enemy)'; nowadays, this name is rejected by both scholars and the indigenous organizations), Mapuchedungun(n), and (Re)chedungu(n) or Tsedungu(n) for the eastern dialect and in Argentina.

The genetic affiliation of Mapudungun is also obscure, although links to Arawakan (Payne 1984), Mayan (Stark 1970, Hamp 1971), Panoan (Loos 1973) and Quechuan and others (Greenberg 1987) have been posited. Typologically, it is an agglutinative, fairly consistently head-marking language showing productive suffixation, reduplication, and nominal incorporation as its paramount morphological processes.

Purpose and scope of this book. Apart from Ineke Smeets' doctoral dissertation (1989) and a couple of articles in both well-known and obscure publications, not much has appeared in English about Mapudungun. This short reference grammar provides an entrance to the fascinating world of a rich and not very well-known native South American language to readers without access to the classic works in Spanish. It sketches the areas of phonology, morphology and syntax of Mapudungun proper with some marginal comments on the southern (Huilliche) and eastern (Pehuenche) dialects spoken in Chile, and includes a selection of texts from different sources with morphemic interlinear glosses and translations. For further reference, the interested reader should consult Fabre's (1998:720ff) recent survey of the literature on Mapudungun.

II PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

1 Phoneme inventory

1.1 Consonants

TABLE 1
CONSONANTS AND GLIDES

	labial	interdental	dental	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar
plosive	p		t	t			k
fricative	f	d		s			
affricate					ch	tr	
nasal	m		n	n	ɲ		ŋ
liquid			l	l	ll	r	
glide	w				y		g

Notes:

- The fricative /f/ can have two realizations: labiodental [f] or bilabial [ɸ], and it is rounded before /o/ and /u/ and unrounded elsewhere. In the northern and the Pehuenche dialects, it is voiced (/v/). The southern dialect shows some variation between the following realizations: voiceless [f], voiced [v], glottal [h] and velar [x].
- The fricative /d/ = [θ] is voiced (/ð/) in the northern and eastern dialects.
- The fricative /s/ oscillates between an alveolar and an palatal realization. It is rarer than the other fricatives and appears mostly, but not exclusively, in Spanish loanwords.
- The plosive /k/ is slightly more palatal before /e/ and /i/ than it is before /a/, /o/, /u/ and /i/.
- The palatal affricate /ch/ is voiceless, and the retroflex one (/tr/) is similar to the *tr* sound in English *tree* but unaspirated. The latter sound causes syllable-final /l/ and /n/ to acquire a retroflex coloring, e.g. in *tralkan* 'thunder' and *Tren-Tren* '(a name)'. Sometimes a plosive retroflex realization of /tr/ is found instead of the affricate. In the southern dialect, the realization of /ch/ oscillates between palatal [tʃ] and alveolar [ts], and the realization of /tr/ oscillates between [tɾ] and [tʂ].
- The retroflex liquid is voiced word-initially and may appear as an alveolar trill. Intervocally and word-finally it is usually devoiced. The southern dialect has

a strongly retroflex voiceless /s/ in all positions, which contrasts with alveolar /s/.

- g) The velar nasal /ŋ/ has an alveolar realization before /e/ and /i/. Between /m/ and /e/, it may appear vocalized as *u*, e.g. *lamngen* ~ *lamuen* 'brother/sister of woman'.
- h) The northern and eastern dialects lack a dental series of consonants *ʈ*, *ɳ* and *ʈ* and show only the alveolar phonemes *t*, *n* and *l*. The southern dialect lacks *ɳ* and shows free variation between *ʈ* and *t*.
- i) The southern dialect shows a retroflex lateral which may contrast with the alveolar one, e.g. *kūla* 'three' vs. *kūla* 'bamboo', or appear as variant, e.g. *wili* ~ *wili* 'fingernail'.

1.2 Vowels

TABLE 2
VOWELS

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

Notes:

- a) Back vowels are rounded; front and central vowels are unrounded.
- b) For the purposes of some processes mentioned further down, the glides in Table 1 correspond to the high vowels in Table 2, i.e. /y/ to /i/, /g/ to /ü/ and /w/ to /u/.
- c) Word-final /o/ is sometimes realized (and written) as *u*.
- d) The high central vowel /ü/ has two realizations:
- close to [i] word-initially (e.g. *ülcha* 'maiden') and word-finally (e.g. *tromü* 'cloud'), and
 - close to [ə] word-finally (e.g. *tromü* 'cloud') and between consonants (e.g. *küllche* 'gut'); in this latter case, the schwa sound is usually briefer than the other vowels (i.e. *k^hllche*) if speech is not particularly careful or deliberate.
- e) In addition to these six vowels there are the diphthongs *ey*, *ay*, *oy*, *uy*, *aw*, *ew*, *ow* and possibly also *uw*. In these cases, the glides /y/ and /w/ are rather realized as non-syllabic *j* and *w*, respectively.
- f) Before some word-initial (and after some word-final) vowels there appear a slight secondary homorganic glide, i.e. *ülcha* 'maiden', *ule* 'tomorrow' and *iwiñ* 'fat' can be pronounced, especially in careful and deliberate speech, as ^h*ülcha*, ^h*ule* (usually written *wule*) and ^h*iwiñ*, respectively.

2 Phonotactics

Mapudungun syllable structure is rather simple, there being no tautosyllabic clusters. Only vowels can function as syllable nuclei, and two adjacent vowels are always heterosyllabic in deliberate speech. Monomorphemic words can be monosyllabic (e.g. *wa* 'maize'), disyllabic (e.g. *ru.ka* 'house') and trisyllabic (*a.cha.wall* 'hen'), but only polymorphemic words like *ka.trü.ka.chu.me.an* 'I am going to cut some grass' consist of more syllables.

Schematically, well-formed Mapudungun syllables are built according to the formula:

$$(X_1) V (X_2)$$

where X_1 is a consonant or a glide (except *g*, cf. below) and X_2 is a consonant or a glide (except plosives, affricates, *s* and *ng*, cf. below).

2.1 Possible onsets X_1

- \emptyset (i.e., initial vowels):
 - a* as in *achawall* 'hen'
 - e* as in *engu* 'they_d'
 - i* as in *ilo* 'meat'
 - o* as in *oflu-n* 'I sipped' (rare, mostly loanwords)
 - u* as in *umaw* 'sleep'
 - ü* as in *üñüm* 'bird'
- All plosives:
 - p* as in *pülki* 'arrow'
 - k* as in *kalko* 'warlock'
 - ʈ* as in *ʈapül* 'leaf (of a tree)'
 - t* as in *tangi* 'raft'
- All fricatives:
 - f* as in *fey* 'this, that'
 - d* as in *domo* 'woman'
 - s* as in *sonü* 'wrinkle'
- All affricates:
 - ch* as in *chem* 'what'
 - tr* as in *tripa-n* 'I went out'

- All nasals:

<i>m</i>	as in <i>machi</i> 'shaman'
<i>n̄</i>	as in <i>namun</i> 'foot, leg'
<i>n</i>	as in <i>nawel</i> 'tiger'
<i>ñ</i>	as in <i>ñam-ün</i> 'I got lost'
<i>ng</i>	as in <i>ngange-n</i> 'I desired'

- All liquids:

<i>l</i>	as in <i>lafken</i> 'sea'
<i>l̄</i>	as in <i>liwen</i> 'morning'
<i>ll</i>	as in <i>llay-ün</i> 'I stayed behind'
<i>r</i>	as in <i>ruka</i> 'house'

- Glides:

<i>w</i>	as in <i>wa</i> 'maize'
<i>y</i>	as in <i>yall</i> 'son/daughter of a man'
<i>g</i>	is not attested word-initially but only syllable-initially as in <i>nag-antü</i> 'dusk'

2.2 Possible codas X₂

- Ø (i.e., final vowels):

<i>a</i>	as in <i>ruka</i> 'house'
<i>e</i>	as in <i>trome</i> a plant, Sp. <i>tatora</i> (cyperus vegetus)
<i>i</i>	as in <i>kachilla</i> 'wheat'
<i>o</i>	as in <i>ilo</i> 'meat'
<i>u</i>	as in <i>kachu</i> 'grass'
<i>ü</i>	as in <i>pewü</i> 'spring'

- Some fricatives:

<i>f</i>	as in <i>trof</i> 'burst'
<i>d</i>	as in <i>chod</i> 'yellow'

- Almost all nasals:

<i>m</i>	as in <i>kom</i> 'all'
<i>n̄</i>	as in <i>füñ</i> 'fruit, seed'
<i>n</i>	as in <i>lef-ün</i> 'I ran'
<i>ñ</i>	as in <i>mollfüñ</i> 'blood'
<i>ng</i>	as in <i>Treng-Treng</i> (also <i>Tren-Tren</i> , a proper name)

- All liquids:

<i>l</i>	as in <i>kütral</i> 'fire'
<i>l̄</i>	as in <i>traffel</i> 'sore throat'
<i>ll</i>	as in <i>mamüll</i> 'firewood'
<i>r</i>	as in <i>trür</i> 'both'

- All glides:

<i>w</i>	as in <i>polew</i> 'pennyroyal'
<i>g</i>	as in <i>lig</i> 'white'
<i>y</i>	as in <i>fey</i> 'this, that'

2.3 Resyllabification

Although adjacent vowels are almost always heterosyllabic in careful speech, in rapid speech some vowels may appear in a reduced status, e.g. *tra.pi.al* ~ *tra.p'al* 'lion' and *pu.el* ~ *p'el* 'east', especially in word-final position as in *wa.ri.a* ~ *wa.ri'* 'city'. In particular, a word-final sequence *e.o* can be reduced to *e^o* ~ *ew* and further to *u*, as in *fey.me.o* ~ *fey.mew* ~ *fey.mu* 'then, therefore'; cf. also *a.o* in *cha.o* ~ *chaw* 'father'.

3 Stress and intonation

Mapudungun stress is not contrastive but largely predictable on grounds of syllable structure, as detailed below.

Disyllabic words. Disyllabic words ending in a vowel may be stressed on the first or the last syllable. If the first syllable also ends in a vowel, the stress tends to be on the ultima; otherwise it is usually on the penult, e.g.:

- (1) a. *ruka* [ru.'ka] ~ ['ru.ka] 'house'
 b. *narki* ['nar.ki] 'cat'

Disyllabic words ending in a consonant tend to be stressed on the ultima, e.g.:

- (2) *lef-ün* [le.'fin] 'I ran'

Trisyllabic words. Trisyllabic words ending in a vowel tend to be stressed on the penult, e.g.:

- (3) *mawida* [ma.'wi.da] 'mountain'

Trisyllabic words ending in a consonant tend to be stressed on the ultima with a secondary stress on the first syllable, e.g.:

- (4) *achawall* [a.cha.'wall] 'hen'

Words with more than three syllables. These tend to be stressed on the ultima and have a secondary stress on either the first or the second syllable, depending whether this syllable ends in consonant or vowel, e.g.:

- (5) a. *ka-mapu-le-y* [ka.ma.pu.'ley] ~ [ka.,ma.pu.'ley] 'it is far away'

- b. *kutran-küle-y* [ku.,tran.kü.'ley] 's/he is sick'

Special verb forms. Verb forms including the morpheme *-fi* tend to stress it, e.g.:

- (6) *leli-fi-mi* [le.li.'fi.mi] 'you_s looked at him/her'

Intonation. There is no phonemic tone in Mapudungun, either to distinguish lexemes or to differentiate forms within paradigms. Tone, however, correlates with stress, primarily stressed syllables carrying a high tone, secondarily stressed ones a middle tone and unstressed syllables bearing a neutral low tone. Focused constituents may carry an extra-high tone on their stressed syllable.

In addition, there are three types of tonal inflections appearing before pauses between segments, viz. (i) descending (\\), (ii) ascending (/) and (iii) sustained (—). Pauses may be classified as brief or internal (|) and long or external (||).

- a) The descending type occurs at the end of assertions, commands and questions with interrogative words, as in (7) below:

- (7) a. *rume müle-rke-y filla* \\ ||
 very be-REP-IND hunger
 'There was a ravenous hunger, they say.'

- b. *tripa-nge* \\ ||
 go.out-IMP:2s
 'Go out!'

- c. *chem küpal-i-mi* \\ ||
 what bring-IND-2s
 'What have you, brought?'

- b) The ascending type occurs with questions without interrogative words, as in (8) below:

- (8) *küme-ka-le-y-mi peñi* / ||
 good-still-RES-IND-2s brother
 'Are you (still) OK, brother?'

- c) Brief pauses are usually preceded by the ascending type, but it is the sustained type that occurs before a direct quote:

- (9) *Fey chi ngürü* / | *puw-ürke-y chew*
 that ART fox arrive.there-QUOT-IND where

tañi müle-mum ta kiñe chinge. \\ ||
 3POSS be-NL PART one skunk

Feymew feypu-rke-fi: — | "Montu-l-en chinge." \\ ||
 then say.there-QUOT-DIR:IND escape-APPL-2s>1s skunk
 'They say that the fox came to where a skunk dwelled. Then [the fox] said there to him, they say: "Save me, skunk!"'

4 Orthography

The orthography used throughout this book is the one used by the Chilean Linguistic Society (*Sociedad Chilena de Lingüística*).

- Augusta and Moesbach used the graphs *t*, *n* and *l* to represent the dental sounds, but nowadays it is customary to find *ʈ*, *ɳ* and *ʎ* instead in linguistic publications and just *t*, *n* and *l* (the same graphs as for alveolar sounds) in other texts. These authors also distinguished in writing between *ø* and *ü* where modern orthography writes only *ü*. The velar nasal (in older texts simply *g*) was written *ŋ* by these authors, and the glide *g* as *q*. In addition, they usually omitted epenthetic *ü* in writing, so *engün* 'they_p' was *eŋn*.
- Sometimes it is possible to find the graph *x* instead of the digraph *tr* representing the retroflex affricate, *č* or *c* instead of *ch*, *v* instead of *ü*, *g* instead of *ng*, *j* instead of *ll*, *q* instead of *g*, and *z* instead of *d*.
- In Argentina, the graph *i* is frequently used instead of *ü* to represent the high central vowel.
- The fricative *s* is sometimes written *sh*.

Since monosyllabic heads are stressed, they are sometimes found carrying an acute to reflect this fact and facilitate the pronunciation of NPs, e.g.:

<i>kom pu ché</i>	(all p person)	'all the people'
<i>kó mew</i>	(water PPOS)	'in the water'
<i>tami yú</i>	(2sPOSS nose)	'your _s nose'

III MORPHOLOGY

1 Nominal morphology

1.1 Pronominal elements

Table 3 below shows the two sets of pronouns that are inflected for person, viz. personal and possessive. The 3rd person forms are somewhat different in that *fey* can be used irrespective of number in the personal set, although the special forms *feyengu* 'they_d' and *feyengün* 'they_p' may be used to disambiguate.

TABLE 3
PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

	Personal	Possessive
1s	<i>iñche</i>	<i>ñi</i>
1d	<i>iñchiw</i>	<i>yu</i>
1p	<i>iñchiñ</i>	<i>iñ</i>
2s	<i>eymi</i>	<i>mi</i>
2d	<i>eymu</i>	<i>mu</i>
2p	<i>eymün</i>	<i>mün</i>
3s	<i>fey</i>	<i>ñi</i>
3d	<i>feyengu</i>	<i>ñi</i>
3p	<i>feyengün</i>	<i>ñi</i>

Personal set. These forms are normally used only when emphasizing or focusing (cf. 1a). This is particularly frequent with the 1s form *iñche* when followed by the possessive *ñi*, which is the same for 1s and 3 (cf. 1b).

- (1) a. *Iñche Rosa pi-nge-n.*
1sPERS R. say-PASS-1s
Eymi iney pi-nge-y-mi am?
2sPERS who say-PASS-IND-2s Q
'My name is Rosa. What is your_s name?'
- b. *Iñche ñi ñuke kutran-küle-y.*
1sPERS 1sPOSS mother ill-RES-IND
'My mother is ill.'

Possessive set. These forms precede nouns and most nonfinite verb forms. They may appear with a proclitic or prefixed element *ta* (sometimes written separately) that does not seem to add anything to the meaning.

- (2) *Tami ñuke kutran-küle-y.*
 2sPOSS mother ill-RES-IND
 'Your_s mother is ill.'

Comitative and possessive uses of the personal set. Non-singular pronouns may denote company or group of some sort. For the 3rd person, *engu* (dual) and *engün* (plural) are the forms used, and it can be argued that *Rayen engu* 'with Rayén' in (3a) constitutes an NP equivalent to English *with Rayén*. The position of the pronoun does not alter the meaning, e.g. both *chaw engu ñuke* and *chaw ñuke engu* 'father and mother' occur. For 3rd person, only *engu* and *engün* appear. Additionally, personal pronouns are used to signify 'mine', 'yours', and 'ours' (3d); for 3rd person, *kisu* 'same, own' is used instead of *fey*.

- (3) a. *Rayen engu amu-a-n. =*
 R. 3dPERS go-FUT-1s

Rayen iñchiw amu-a-yu.
 R. 1dPERS go-FUT-1d
 'I will go with Rayén.'

- b. *Tañi wenüy küme-le-y kom ñi pu che engün.*
 1sPOSS friend good-RES-INDall 3POSS p people 3pPERS
 'My friend is doing well with all his people.' (H 144)

- c. *Eymi amu-a-y-mi Temuko mi chaw eymu.*
 2s go-FUT-IND-2s T. 2sPOSS father 2dPERS
 'You_s will go to Temuco with your_s father.'

- d. *Tüfa iñche / kisu tati.*
 this 1sPERS same ART
 'This is mine / his/hers.'

Demonstratives. The demonstrative pronouns are *tüfa* 'this one', *tüfey* 'that one' and *ti(y)e* 'that one (over there)'. They appear without *tü* when combined with adpositions, e.g. *fapüle* 'here' and *feymew* 'then', and *fey* seems to be more frequent than *tüfey* as distal demonstrative. Number marking may appear on them, e.g. *tüfayengu* 'these two' or *pu tüfayengün* 'these'.

Together with the attributivizer *-chi*, the demonstratives can precede a nominal head, e.g. *tüfachi pu wentrü* 'these men', so e.g. *tüfey trewa* is a

predication ('that is a dog') while *tüfeychi trewa* is an NP ('that dog'). *Tüfachi* also appears as *tachi*, *tichi* and *ti*, and it seems that these forms have lost a good deal of their demonstrative force, *tüfachi*, (*ta*)*ti*, and especially (*ta*)*chi* sometimes functioning as a definite article. To emphasize the attributive demonstratives, *fey* is used: *fey tüfachi takun* 'exactly this dress'.

1.2 Numerals

Cardinal numbers. Mapudungun shows a decimal system where only *pataka* 'hundred' and *warangka / mil* 'thousand' are loanwords (cf. Ayacucho Quechua *pachak* 'hundred' and *waranqa* 'thousand', and Spanish *mil* 'thousand'):

1	<i>kiñe</i>	2	<i>epu</i>	3	<i>küla</i>	4	<i>meli</i>	5	<i>kechu</i>
6	<i>kayu</i>	7	<i>regle</i>	8	<i>pura</i>	9	<i>aylla</i>	10	<i>mari</i>

- Higher numerals are formed by juxtaposition, i.e.
 $12 = \text{mari epu}$, $20 = \text{epu mari}$.
- More complex numbers follow the same rules:
 $28 = (2 \times 10) + 8 = \text{epu mari pura}$
 $305 = (3 \times 100) + 5 = \text{küla pataka kechu}$
 $9999 = \text{aylla warangka aylla pataka aylla mari aylla}$

Numerals behave syntactically like adjectives and are combinable with concrete count nouns:

- (4) a. *Nie-n kiñe ruka, kiñe domo ka epu yall.*
 have-1s one house one woman and two child.of.man
 'I have a house, a wife and two children.'
- b. *Küla pun uma-pu-y.*
 three night lodge-TRANS-IND
 'S/he lodged there three nights.'

Observe in (4a) above that *kiñe* can also function as indefinite article for nouns in the singular.

Cardinal numerals can also function as verbal roots with the meaning 'be X', e.g. *epu-y ñi kuram* (two-IND 1sPOSS egg) 'I have two eggs (lit. my eggs are two)'.

Ordinal numbers. Although only *wünen* 'first' and *inan* 'second' are used frequently, ordinals can be created for any number by suffixing either (-) *nge-lu*

or (-)le-lu to the cardinal, i.e. *meli-nge-lu* 'fourth', *epu-le-lu* 'second' *mari epu nge-lu* 'twelfth', etc. In order to be used attributively, -lu is replaced by -chi, as in *kechu-nge-chi Karlos* 'Charles V'.

Other numerals. To denote times of occurrence, -chi is added to a cardinal number, e.g. *mari-chi* 'ten times'. Alternatively, the nouns *nag* or *rupa* 'occasion, time' can be used with the cardinal number, e.g. *epu nag / rupa* 'twice'. The morpheme -we is suffixed to convey the meaning 'in ... days (from now)', e.g. *epu-we* 'in two days (from now)'. The suffix -ke can be added to form distributives, e.g. *meli-ke* 'each four'. The suffix -ngentu can be added to form collectives, e.g. *mari-ngentu* '(group of) ten' (Spanish *decena*).

1.3 Nouns

Inflection. Nouns are not marked for gender, although the nouns *wentru* 'man' and *domo* 'woman' may be used as attributes to disambiguate if needed, e.g. *püñeñ* 'child of woman', *wentru püñeñ* 'son of woman', *domo püñeñ* 'daughter of woman'.

Noun phrases with a non-singular head not preceded by a numeral can be preceded by the marker *pu*, e.g. *pu wentru* '(the) men'. This is typically found with animate heads, but not exclusively, as in *tachi pu kuram* 'the eggs' in a context which is clear enough (otherwise *pu* means 'in, within' with inanimate nouns, e.g. *pu ruka* 'in the house', cf. III.3.1).

There is neither topic nor case marking, but the general postposition *mew* often attracts stress to the last syllable of the preceding noun and could be evolving / had evolved into a case suffix or clitic. In this latter case, Mapudungun would have two cases: -Ø rectus (basically for core actants) and -*mew* obliquus (for peripheral actants or locations).

Derivation. An associative plural for relatives is made with -*wen*, e.g. *foñüm-wen* 'father and son', *püñeñ-wen* 'mother and daughter' and *ad-wen* 'kin' (from *foñüm* 'son of man', *püñeñ* 'woman's child' and *ad* 'relative, member of a group', respectively).

- (5) a. *Ñawe-wen* *amu-y* *waria mew.*
 daughter.of.man-ap go-IND city PPOS
 'Father and daughter went to the city.'

- b. *Küla wenüy-wen* *aku-y.*
 three friend-ap arrive-IND
 'The three friends arrived.'

The fairly productive suffix -*ntu* derives nouns referring to a place characterized by the presence of the item denoted by the root, e.g. *kura-ntu* 'stony land' and *milla-ntu* 'place where there is gold' (from *kura* 'stone' and *milla* 'gold', respectively).

The suffix -*fe* derives deverbal nomina agentis, e.g. *küdaw-fe* 'worker' (cf. *küdaw* 'work') and *ngilla-ka-fe* 'merchant' (cf. *ngilla-* 'buy', *ngilla-ka-* 'shop'; for the meaning of -*ka*, cf. III.2.9).

The suffix -*we* derives deverbal nomina instrumenti or nomina loci, e.g. *trari-we* 'belt' (cf. *trari-* 'bind, tie') and *kütral-we* 'hearth' (cf. *kütral* 'fire (n.)'). The latter more precisely means 'place where the action X is performed', so *ira-tu-we* means 'place where one chops firewood' and not 'place where there is chopped firewood' (cf. *ira-(tu-)* 'chop wood').

The suffixes -*peyüm* and -*kemum* derive deverbal nomina instrumenti, e.g. *ira-tu-peyüm* 'adze' (cf. *ira-(tu-)* 'chop wood') and *ketra-kemum* 'plow (n.)' (cf. *ketra-* 'plow (v.)') — see Section III.2.2 for the suffixes -*yüm* and -*mum*.

Compounding. This process is highly productive:

N-N	<i>mapu-che</i>	(land-people)	'people of the land'
	<i>longko-moyo</i>	(head-breast)	'nipple'
V-N	<i>wef-ko</i>	(spring-water)	'fountain'
	<i>lef-kawellu-n</i>	(run-horse-N)	'horse race'
Adj-N	<i>pichi-che</i>	(little-people)	'child, young'
	<i>fütra-che</i>	(big-people)	'elder, adult'

It is customary to write as one word compounds that are usual or culturally salient, e.g. *mapuche* 'Mapuche' or *pichiche* 'child'. Other compounds are written in two words, e.g. *che mamüll* 'wooden statue' or *kuram kansu* 'goose egg'. The order of the elements is important, since *mamüll che* would mean 'wood people' (in the sense of people somehow defined by wood, e.g. because they are wood gatherers or the like). It is not the case that head-final compounds are written in one word and head-initial ones in two.

1.4 Non-singular -ke and adjectives

Attributive adjectives precede their heads and carry the suffix -*ke* when in the non-singular, as shown in (6a, 6b). This suffix can have a distributive meaning, as in (6c), where it appears on the numeral *küla* 'three', and is attested on only a few nouns (6d) :

- (6) a. *Tüfachi ülmən* *nie-y* *küme-ke kawell.*

this rich.man have-IND good-ns horse
 'This rich man has good horses.' (A 20)

b. *Nie-y-ngün motriñ-ke waka.*
 have-IND-3p fat-ns cow
 'They_p have fat cows.' (A 21)

c. *Küla-ke elu-fi-ñ manshana.*
 three-ns give-DIR-1s apple
 'I gave them three apples each / I gave an apple to each three of them / I gave them three apples at a time.' (Sm 140)

d. *faril-ke puntu* (barrel-ns wine) 'barrels of wine'
ngen-ke mapu (owner-ns land) 'landowners' (Sm 141)

That *-ke* is not merely a plural marker can be seen from its optional appearance in e.g. *epu küme(-ke) kawell* 'two good horses'.

Verbalization and deverbalization. The suffix *-fal* derives adjectives equivalent to English *-able/-ible* from verbal stems, e.g. *kim-fal* 'notable' (cf. *kim-* 'know') and *i-fal* 'edible' (cf. *i-* 'eat').

Adjectives can be verbalized by the mere suffixation of verbal morphology, with the meaning 'become X / be in a Y state', e.g. *chod-i tañi kachilla* (yellow-IND 1sPOSS wheat) 'my wheat became yellow'. When the quality denoted by the adjective is permanent, the verb *nge-* 'be' is suffixed to the stem, e.g. *kolü-nge-y ti üñüm* (brown-be-IND ART bird) 'the bird is brown'; temporary states are referred to with an aspectual form (e.g. *kolü-le-y* 'it is (temporarily) brown', cf. III.2.9).

Attribution and the suffix *-chi*. Bare adjectives do not normally function as nominal heads. Instead, they are verbalized and then turned into a nonfinite verb form, e.g. the *lu*-form (cf. III.2.2). For example, *ti ka lifru* means 'the other book' (*ka* 'and, also, other'), but in order to say 'the other one', *ti kange-lu* (ART other-be-LU) is used; in the non-singular, *ti ka-ke-lu* (ART other-ns-LU) is used instead.

In addition to the various nonfinite verb forms used to form attributive clauses (cf. IV.3.2), it is possible to suffix this morpheme to a verb stem plus other non-personal morphology (cf. also II.1.4):

- (7) a. *küdaw-küle-chi wentru*
 work-PROG-ATTR man
 'man who is working'
 b. *tami küpa-lel-fi-el-chi kofke*

2sPOSS come-APPL-FI-EL-ATTR bread
 'the bread I brought you_s'

Comparison. Comparisons are formed with *reke* 'as':

- (8) *Tüfachi kofke kura reke yafü-le-y.*
 this bread stone as hard-RES-IND
 'This bread is hard as stone.' (H 149)

The comparative and the superlative are formed analytically with the adverbs *doy* or *yod* 'more'; also the equivalent of the elative requires a word like *müte* 'very, much' or the like:

- (9) a. *Eymi mi lamngen ad-nge-chi ülkantu-y,*
 2sPERS 2sPOSS sister beautiful-be-ATTR sing-IND
welu iñche ñi lamngen yod ad-nge-chi.
 but 1sPERS 1sPOSS sister more beautiful-be-ATTR
 'Your_s sister sang beautifully, but mine sang even better.' (M 165)

- b. *Kom tañi pu foñim mew yod mayfe*
 all 1sPOSS p son.of.man PPOS more obedient
nge-y Manuel.
 be-IND M.
 'The most obedient of my sons is Manuel.' (M 165)

- c. *Mapudungun doy küdaw-nge-y wingka-dungun mew.*
 M. more work-be-IND foreigner-speech PPOS
 'Mapudungun is more difficult than Spanish.' (H 154)

- d. *Müte küme-y tüfachi iyael.*
 very good-IND this food
 'This food is excellent.' (M 165)

1.5 Interrogatives and other related elements

Most interrogative words begin with *ch* in Mapudungun:

- *chem* 'what'
- *chew* 'where'
- *chum-nge-lu* 'why'
- *chuchi* 'which'
- *chum(-nge-chi)* 'how'
- *chum-ül* 'when'

Other items of importance are *iney* 'who' (*iney no rume* 'nobody'; cf. also *kiñe no rume* 'no (one)') and *tunten* 'how many/much'. *Chem* 'what' is used together with a negated predicate to convey the meaning 'nothing' (alternatively, *chem no rume* can be used). Note also the following:

- *kom* 'all', *fill* 'each, all kinds, all, every', *kidu/kisu* 'same, own, alone'
- *itro-kom* / *itro-fill* 'all of the ...'
- *fem-nge-lu* / *fem-nge-chi* 'such' (cf. *fem-* 'do so')
- *alün*, *fentren* 'much/many', *pütrün* 'many'
- *pichin* 'little, few', *mufün* 'several'
- *ka* 'other':
kake che 'other family', *kake-lu* 'others', *ka-nge-chi* 'different'
- *kiñe - ka-nge-lu* 'one - the other', *kiñe-ke* 'some', *kiñe-ke rume* 'each one', *kiñe ketu* 'one by one', *kiñe no rume* 'no (attributive)'

Unlike in many European languages, the distinction between count nouns and mass nouns is irrelevant for the usage of these items:

- (10) *Alün achawall* / *alün kachilla nie-y*.
many hen much wheat have-IND
'S/he has many hens / much wheat.' (H 123)

2 Verbal morphology

The main categories marked on verbs are number and person, tense, aspect, mood, direction, motion, voice, and negation. Moreover, verbs can be categorized as either finite or nonfinite. The former consist minimally of a stem and a full ending where the following is encoded: mood, person and number (of at least one argument). The latter consist minimally of a stem and a reduced ending where no person (or one person less than in finite verbs, see below) is marked. See Appendix 1 for the verbal template with all morphemes discussed in this book.

2.1 Finite verb forms and mood

Monopersonal verbs. Although some forms are idiosyncratic and of unknown origin (viz. 1sIND *-n*, 3sSUBJ *-le*, 1sIMP *-chi*, 2sIMP *-nge* and 3sIMP *-pe*), it is possible to draw the following generalizations:

- (a) mood morphemes: *-i* (IND) *-l* (SUBJ) \emptyset (IMP)
 (b) person morphemes: *-i* (1st) *-m* (2nd) \emptyset (3rd)
 (c) number morphemes: *-i* (s) *-u* (d) *-n* (p)

TABLE 4
MOOD, PERSON AND NUMBER ON MONOPERSONAL
FINITE VERBS (*amu-* 'go')

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative
1s	<i>amu -n</i>	<i>amu -li</i>	<i>amu -chi</i>
1d	<i>amu -yu</i>	<i>amu -liyu</i>	<i>amu -yu</i>
1p	<i>amu -iñ</i>	<i>amu -liyiñ</i>	<i>amu -iñ</i>
2s	<i>amu -ymi</i>	<i>amu -lmi</i>	<i>amu -nge</i>
2d	<i>amu -ymu</i>	<i>amu -lmu</i>	<i>amu -mu</i>
2p	<i>amu -ymün</i>	<i>amu -lmün</i>	<i>amu -mün</i>
3s	<i>amu -y</i>	<i>amu -le</i>	<i>amu -pe</i>
3d	<i>amu -yngu</i>	<i>amu -le engu</i>	<i>amu -pe engu</i>
3p	<i>amu -yngün</i>	<i>amu -le engün</i>	<i>amu -pe engün</i>

Some epenthesis (e.g. 1p *-l-i-i-n* > *-liyiñ*, 2p *-m-n* > *-mün*), reduction (e.g. 1p indicative *-i-i-n* > *-iñ*) and assimilation (e.g. 1p *-i-n* > *-iñ*) rules apply. When the verb morphology prior to the mood suffix ends in *-i* (e.g. *pi-* 'say'), the 2nd and 3rd person forms have only one *i* (i.e. *pimi* 'you, say', *pi* 's/he says', etc.) — more generally, adjacent *i*'s are simplified to a single *i*. Roots ending in non-vowels trigger an epenthetic *ü* in the 1s, e.g. *lef-ün* 'I ran', and indicative *-i* is syllabic, e.g. *lef-i* 's/he ran'. Non-singular 3rd person forms are based on a zero-marked form and suffix the pronominal elements *engu* for 3d and *engün* for 3p. In the imperative, an epenthetic *y* may appear between *-pe* and the elements *-engu* and *-engün*. The subjunctive forms are the ones provided by Harmelink (1996), with an intrusive *-i(y)* after the subjunctive morpheme. Older works mention only the more regular forms with subjunctive *-l* immediately followed by the person and number suffixes in most of the cases.

Bipersonal verbs. As with monopersonal forms, some resyllabification, assimilation and epenthetic rules apply. Some reflexive forms (bearing the reflexive suffix *-w*) have been included in Tables 5a through 5d for comparison. Bipersonal forms with a 3rd person object appear in two series: one is identical to the monopersonal forms (Table 4) and one has the same endings but is additionally marked with the suffix *-fi* (see further down the subsection on transitivity inversion). Forms with a 3rd person actor bear the suffix *-mew*, whose origin apparently is the general postposition *mew*. Further observe the assimilation occurring in the 1s>3 configuration, i.e. *-fi-n* > *-fiñ*, and an epenthetic *-y* in e.g. 1p *-w-i-i-n* > *-wiyiñ* and *-fi-i-n* > *-fiyiñ*. The element *mew* on 3>X forms is reduced to *-ew* in 3>1s *-enew* and 3obv>3prox *-eyew*. 3d and 3p forms (which simply suffix or cliticize *-engu* or *-engün* after the 3rd person ending, respectively) will be henceforth omitted for brevity.

TABLE 5a
BIPERSONAL FINITE ENDINGS (INDICATIVE)

O \ A	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3
1s	-wün	—	—	-en	-mun	→	-enew
1d	—	-wiyu	—	←	-muyu	→	-eyumew
1p	—	—	-wiyiñ	←	-muiñ	→	-eiñmew
2s	-eyu	←	-wiyiñ	-w-imi	—	—	-eymew
2d	←	←	-wiyiñ	—	-w-imu	—	-eymumew
2p	←	←	-wiyiñ	—	—	-w-imün	-eymünmew
3obv	-n	-iyu	-iñ	-imi	-imu	-imün	-i
3prox	-fiñ	-fiyu	-fiiñ	-fimi	-fimu	-fimün	-fi / -eyew

TABLE 5b
BIPERSONAL FINITE ENDINGS (SUBJUNCTIVE)

O \ A	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3
1s	-wli	—	—	-eli	-muli	→	-elimew
1d	—	-wliyu	—	←	-mulyu	→	-eliyumew
1p	—	—	-wliyiñ	←	-mulyiñ	→	-eliyiñmew
2s	-eliyu	←	-wliyiñ	-wلمي	—	—	-elmew
2d	←	←	-wliyiñ	—	-wلمو	—	-elimumew
2p	←	←	-wliyiñ	—	—	-wلمün	-elimünmew
3obv	-li	-liyu	-liyiñ	-lmi	-lmu	-lmün	-le
3prox	-fili	-filiyu	-filiyiñ	-filmi	-filmu	-filmün	-file / -elieyew

Some speakers may use forms different from the ones given in Table 5b, like *-wlyu* for the 1d reflexive, *-wmulyu* for 2d>1, and forms with an epenthetic *ü* between the *w* and the *l* for the 2nd person reflexive endings. More notably, some speakers may use the 3>1p endings *-eiñmew* (indicative) and *-eliyiñmew* (subjunctive) also for the 3>1d configuration, and somewhat more marginally also 3>2p endings to cover the 3>2d case.

The imperative appears in the affirmative (Table 5c) and the negative, which uses subjunctive morphology (Table 5d). Some 2>1 forms given by Harmelink (1996) are clearly anomalous: *-eyumew* for 2p>1d and *-eiñmew* for 2p>1p. Besides, the 2s>1s form is *-en* instead of **-echi*. 1>2 configurations (*) usually appear in the indicative. For 2s>3, *-fi-nge* is sometimes reduced to *-fe*. There do not seem to exist inverse forms corresponding to direct 3>3obv *-pe* and 3>3prox *-fipe*.

TABLE 5c
BIPERSONAL FINITE ENDINGS (IMPERATIVE AFFIRMATIVE)

O \ A	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3
1s	-wchi	—	—	-en	-muchi	→	-echimew
1d	—	-wiyu	—	←	-muyu	→	-eyumew
1p	—	—	-wiyiñ	←	-muiñ	→	-eiñmew
2s	*	*	*	-wnge	—	—	-eymew
2d	*	*	*	—	-wmu	—	-eymumew
2p	*	*	*	—	—	-wmün	-eymünmew
3obv	-chi	-yu	-iñ	-nge	-mu	-mün	-pe
3prox	-fichi	-fiyu	-fiiñ	-finge	-fimu	-fimün	-fipe

In the negative paradigm of Table 5d, *-ki-e* can appear as both *-kee* or (not written) *-kie* or *-ke*. There also exist forms marked for subjunctive with imperative endings, e.g. *ramtu-ki-l-nge* (ask-NEG-SUBJ-IMP:2s) 'do not ask' and *ramtu-ki-l-pe* (ask-NEG-SUBJ-IMP:3) 'let him/her not ask'; see III.2.4. Harmelink (1996) provides anomalous forms for 2ns>1d (*-mukeliyumew*) and 2ns>1p (*-mukeeliyiñmew*). For all 3>1/2 configurations, forms with an intrusive *-la* exist, e.g. *-kelaeyumew* instead of *-keeyumew* for 3>1d, etc. As in the imperative affirmative, inverse forms corresponding to direct 3>3 *-kile* and *-kifile* do not seem to exist.

TABLE 5d
BIPERSONAL FINITE ENDINGS (IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE)

O \ A	1s	1d	1p	2s	2d	2p	3
1s	-wkili	—	—	-keeli	-mukeli	→	-keelimew
1d	—	-wkiliyu	—	←	-mukeliyu	→	-keeyumew
1p	—	—	-wkiliyiñ	←	-mukeliyiñ	→	-keeiñmew
2s	*	*	*	-wkilmi	—	—	-keeymew
2d	*	*	*	—	-wkilmu	—	-keeymumew
2p	*	*	*	—	—	-wkilmün	-keeymünmew
3obv	-kili	-kiliyu	-kiliyiñ	-kilmi	-kilmu	-kilmün	-kile
3prox	-kifili	-kifiliyu	-kifiliyiñ	-kifilmi	-kifilmu	-kifilmün	-kifile

As with nonfinite verb forms, there is a fair amount of variation between competing forms, especially in the moods other than the indicative. Whereas different speakers may prefer forms with or without epenthetic *y* in some instances, epenthetic *ü* is always obligatory.

Transitivity inversion. There is a systematic opposition between forms where a S[peech] A[ct] P[articipant] (1st and 2nd persons) acts upon a 3rd person and those where it is the other way round. For the former, either zero-marked or *fi*-marked verb forms are used (DIRECT); *-fi* appears with proximate 3rd person objects, i.e. those high in animacy and/or definiteness (e.g., it is always used when the object is a proper name or is introduced by the applicative, cf. III.2.3).

For forms where an SAP acts upon another SAP (called local scenario, with two sets: the [M]inimal [L]ocal [S]cenario where only two participants are involved, and the non-MLS for the rest of the forms), there appears either a suffix *-e*, a suffix *-mu* or a suppletive reflexive form (INVERSE). 3>3 configurations can be either direct or inverse, and 3>SAP are always *e*-marked.

Consider the summary in (1) below, where END refers to the monopersonal mood-person-number ending corresponding to the topical person (the actor in direct forms and the object in inverse forms) and A and O to actor and object, respectively; the 3rd person can be more (PROXIMATE) or less (OBLIVIOUS) topical/definite/animate:

(1) a. DIRECT FORMS

a1) SAP > 3obv $-\emptyset$ -END_A

Iñche nie- \emptyset -n kiñe fiitra lasu.
1sPERS have-DIR-1s one big lasso
'I have a big lasso.' (S 311)

a2) SAP > 3prox *-fi*-END_A

Pe-fi-ñ Juan.
see-DIR-1s J.
'I saw Juan.'

a3) 3prox > 3obv *-fi*-END_A

Pe-fi Juan.
see-DIR:IND J.
'S/he saw Juan.'

b. INVERSE FORMS

b1) 3 > SAP *-e*-END_O-*mew*

Kalfüpan engu Antüpan kellu-e-n-ew.
C. 3dPERS A. help-INV-1s-MEW
'Calfupán and Antipán helped me.' (A 80)

b2) 3obv > 3prox *-e*-END_O-*mew*

Juan langüm-e-y-ew.
J. kill-INV-IND-MEW
'S/he was killed by Juan / Juan killed him/her.'

b3) SAP > SAP

· 1s > 2s *-e*-END_{1d}

Wiya pe-e-yu waria mew.
yesterday see-INV-1d city PPOS
'I saw you_s in the city yesterday.'

· 2s > 1s *-e*-END_O

Elu-e-n asukura
give-INV-1s sugar
'You_s gave me some sugar.' (H 134)

· 1 > 2 (rest) *-w*-END_{1p}

Ramtu-w-a-fu-iñ.
ask-REFL-FUT-RI-1p
'We_{d/p} would ask you_{s/d/p} / I would ask you_{d/p}.'

· 2 > 1 (rest) *-mu*-END_O

Elu-mu-a-n kiñe manshun.
give-INV-FUT-1s one ox
'Give me an ox!' (command given to 2d/p)

Elu-mu-a-yu kiñe manshun.
give-INV-FUT-1d one ox
'Give us_s an ox!' (command given to 2s/d/p)

Elu-mu-a-iñ kiñe manshun.
give-INV-FUT-1p one ox
'Give us_p an ox!' (command given to 2s/d/p)

This particular system is sometimes said to be a Central Mapudungun innovation, since the rather archaic southern variant Huilliche shows local scenario markings that in a sense might be considered well-behaved: *-eymi* for 1>2s, *-eymu* for 1>2d and *-eymün* for 1>2p, i.e. *e*-END for all 1>2 configurations.

Since the exact conditions under which the suffix *-fi* occurs are still not fully understood, it will be glossed as DIRECT with finite forms and left as -FI with nonfinite forms until further research casts some light on the factors determining its appearance.

2.2 Nonfinite verb forms

These forms are reduced as compared with finite verbs in two respects. First, they lack the kind of person marking that appears on the latter, so that one person has to be marked externally by means of a possessive or, in the case of the *lu*-form, by means of a personal pronoun. Second, their tense-aspect-mood inflectional potential is constrained; although both the *el*- and the *lu*-forms may occur with the future marker *-a* and the resultative / progressive *-le*, neither the ruptured implicature morpheme *-fu* nor other related suffixes seem to be compatible with the nonfinite forms in general.

Since (a) not all of them have to occur in embedded constructions (the *lu*-form can appear as sole predicate in main clauses in the future tense) and (b) the subjunctive forms typically occur in dependent clauses, I have preferred the labels NONFINITE and FINITE to DEPENDENT and INDEPENDENT. Nonfinite forms are not full nominalizations because (i) they are modified by adverbs and not by adjectives, and (ii) their argument structure is basically unaltered in its morphosyntactic reflexes (with the notable exception of the person that has to be marked externally).

The forms are the following (named after their characteristic suffix):

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) <i>n</i> -form | (iii) <i>lu</i> -form | (v) <i>am</i> -form |
| (ii) <i>el</i> -form | (iv) <i>yüm</i> -form | (vi) <i>mum</i> -form |

Table 6 below gives an overview of the *el*-, the *lu*- and the *yüm*-forms corresponding to different personal configurations, as well as the possessive and personal pronouns they occur with. A and O stand for actor and object, respectively.

TABLE 6
OVERVIEW OF SOME NONFINITE VERB FORMS

	<i>el</i> -form		<i>lu</i> -form		<i>yüm</i> -form	
	possessive	verb form	pronoun	verb form	possessive	verb form
1/2/3>3	A	<i>(-fi)-el</i>	A	<i>(-fi)-lu</i>	A	<i>(-fi)-yüm</i>
3>1/2/3	O	<i>-etew</i>	O	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>	O	<i>-e-yüm-mew</i>
1s>2s	O	<i>-fi-el</i>	O	<i>-fi-lu</i>	O	<i>-fi-yüm</i>
2s>1s	A	<i>-fi-el</i>	O	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>	A	<i>-fi-yüm</i>
1>2 (rest)	O	<i>-w-fi-el</i>	O	<i>-w-lu</i>	O	<i>-w-yüm</i>
2>1 (rest)	A	<i>-mu-fi-el</i>	O	<i>-mu-lu</i>	A	<i>-mu-yüm</i>

The *n*-form. This form typically functions as argument (2a and 2b) and as verbal attribute (2c). It may also function as nominal attribute (2d).

- (2) a. *Kim-la-n ülkantu-n.*
know-NEG-1s sing-N
'I cannot sing.' (A 173)
- b. *Af-a-y kewa-n.*
stop-FUT-IND fight-N
'The fighting will stop.' (Sm 243)
- c. *Müpü-le-n puw-iy.*
fly-PROG-N arrive.there-IND
'S/he arrived flying.' Sp. *llegó volando* (Sm 248)
- d. *Chew müle-y iñche ñi ngilla-n lifru?*
where be-IND 1sPERS 1sPOSS buy-N book
'Where is the book I bought?' (Sm 252)

As can be seen from (2d), the *n*-form is combined with the S/A-possessive (here with an additional *iñche* 'I' to disambiguate, cf. III.1.1). Other uses of this form include (i) its combination with *-nge* to denote possibility (e.g. *ngilla-n-nge-y* wade-N-NGE-IND 'it is possible to wade across'), and (ii) its combination with an optional *mew* to signify causality, simultaneity, posteriority, etc. (e.g. *pañilwe trana-nge-n mew chapüd-üke-y* iron hit-PASS-N PPOS get.flat-HAB-IND '(by) being hit, iron gets flat'). It may appear combined with *-fi*, *-w* and/or *-mu* in local scenario configurations, but the *el*- and *lu*-forms discussed below are the preferred ones in these cases; inverse forms corresponding to 3>1/2/3 configurations do not exist.

The *el*-form. This form has two shapes, viz. direct *-el* or inverse *-etew*¹, as shown in Table 7 below. The following features are especially noteworthy: (a) all forms of the local scenario are construed with the 2nd person possessive, irrespective of semantic role and grammatical relation; (b) the 1d>3 configuration does not appear with the expected 1d possessive *yu* but with the 1p possessive *iñ*; (c) non-minimal local scenario forms parallel finite forms in that 1>2 forms have the reflexive suffix *-w* and 2>1 forms show the 2ns marker *-mu* in addition to the ending; (d) *-fi* appears on all local scenario

¹ I have assumed an underlying morpheme *-t* which may or may not be related to the *el*-suffix, mainly in order not to be too speculative. I would be tempted to posit an underlying **-et* which appears as *-el* in word-final position and is reduced to *-t* after the inverse suffix *-e*, but our present knowledge of Mapudungun historic phonology does not allow me to be more positive about this hypothesis.

forms, although there is no 3rd person reference whatsoever, and (e) for the non-minimal 1>2 scenarios the 1p possessive *iñ* instead of the 2nd person possessive distinguishing number is attested as well².

TABLE 7
THE *EL*-FORM

configuration	possessive pronoun	nonfinite form
1s > 3	<i>ñi</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-el</i>
1ns > 3	<i>iñ</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-el</i>
2 > 3	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-el</i>
3 > 3	<i>ñi</i> (O)	<i>-etew</i>
3 > 1	<i>ñi/yu/iñ</i> (O)	<i>-etew</i>
3 > 2	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (O)	<i>-etew</i>
1s > 2s	<i>mi</i> (O)	<i>-fi-el</i>
2s > 1s	<i>mi</i> (A)	<i>-fi-el</i>
1 > 2 (rest)	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (O)	<i>-w-fi-el</i>
2 > 1 (rest)	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (A)	<i>-mu-fi-el</i>

The *el*-form can be used as an argument (3a, 3b) or as a nominal attribute (3c, d):

- (3) a. *Ayü-la-y ñi küpa-el.*
love-NEG-IND 3POSS come-EL
'S/he does not want to come.'
- b. *Llellipu-nge tami rey*
ask-IMP:2s 2sPOSS king

tañi nentu-a-tew karsel mew.
1sPOSS get.out-FUT-EL:INV jail PPOS
'Ask your, king to get me out of jail.' (A 211)
- c. *tichi wentru trafye-el*
ART man come.across-EL
'the man that s/he came across'

² The Mapudungun of some speakers show a slightly different paradigm: for 1/2/3>3 and 3>1/2/3 configurations, *(fi)-el* and *etew*-forms are used as in Table 7, but all local scenario forms have *-fi-el* and the possessive consistently corresponds to the O. In addition, even for speakers whose paradigm is the one given in the table, the non-minimal local scenario forms may behave somewhat erratically regarding the presence or absence of *-w* and *-fi*. The exact status of these different paradigms is still unclear.

- d. *Tati kawellu tami ngilla-el rume newen-nge-y.*
ART horse 2sPOSS buy-EL very strong-be-IND
'The horse that you_s bought is very strong.' (H 257)
- e. *Fey ayü-w-üy ñi pe-me-fi-el fey.*
3PERS love-REFL-IND 1sPOSS see-AND-FI-EL 3PERS
'S/he was happy that I went to see him/her.' (Sm 280)

As can be seen from comparing (3d) with (3e), the suffix *-fi* may occur on an *el*-form with 3rd person object as indicated in Table 7, but it seems to be sensitive to topicality/definiteness/animacy, as on finite forms.

Consider the paradigms given in Table 7a below. The former corresponds to the forms given in Table 7 and the latter to alternative, more regular and simplified forms. Further observe that is apparently more idiomatic to use *feypi-* 'say' only in interactions with a 3rd person and *pi-* 'say' in the local scenarios. For more on these two clearly related verbs, see Chapter IV.4.

TABLE 7a
EL-FORMS

	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	Meaning
1/2/3>3	PERS _A <i>feypi-fi-el</i>	POSS _A <i>feypi-fi-el</i>	'what 1/2/3 told him/her'
3>1/2/3	POSS _O <i>feypi-etew</i>	POSS _O <i>feypi-etew</i>	'what s/he told 1/2/3'
1s>2s	<i>mi_O pi-fi-el</i>	<i>iñche_A mi_O pi-fi-el</i>	'what I told you _s '
2s>1s	<i>mi_A pi-fi-el</i>	<i>eymi_A ñi_O pi-fi-el</i>	'what you _s told me'
1>2 (rest)	POSS _O <i>pi-w-fi-el</i>	PERS _A POSS _O <i>pi-fi-el</i>	'what 1 told 2' (rest)
2>1 (rest)	POSS _A <i>pi-mu-fi-el</i>	PERS _A POSS _O <i>pi-fi-el</i>	'what 2 told 1' (rest)

Finally, the *el*-form is used together with *müle-y* 'it is' with the meaning 'it is necessary':

- (4) *Feymew chi machi müle-y ñi küymia-el...*
then ART shaman be-IND 3POSS fall.into.trance-EL
'Then the shaman must fall into trance ...' (S 170)

The *lu*-form. This nonfinite form is used with an external personal pronoun instead of a possessive, and the suffix *-lu* may alternate with the attributivizer morpheme *-chi* (in the Pehuenche dialect, the full form *-lu-chi* is found). Observe the various forms in Table 8 below:

TABLE 8
THE LU-FORM

configuration	personal pronoun	nonfinite form
1 > 3	<i>iñche/iñchiw/inchiñ</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-lu</i>
2 > 3	<i>eymi/eymu/eymün</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-lu</i>
3 > 3	<i>fey</i> / NP (O)	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>
3 > 1	<i>iñche/iñchiw/inchiñ</i> (O)	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>
3 > 2	<i>eymi/eymu/eymün</i> (O)	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>
1s > 2s	<i>eymi/eymu/eymün</i> (O)	<i>-fi-lu</i>
2s > 1s	<i>iñche/iñchiw/inchiñ</i> (O)	<i>-e-lu-mew</i>
1 > 2 (rest)	<i>eymi/eymu/eymün</i> (O)	<i>-w-lu</i>
2 > 1 (rest)	<i>iñche/iñchiw/inchiñ</i> (O)	<i>-mu-lu</i>

Several features are noteworthy: (a) forms with *-w-lu* for 1s>2s and forms with *-fi-lu* for 1>2(rest) are attested as well; (b) unlike the *el*-form, the 2s>1s form aligns with the other inverse forms instead of the 1s>2s form; (c) the personal pronoun consequently corresponds to the object for all inverse and/or local scenario forms, irrespective of person, and (d) 1>2 (rest) forms, but not the 2>1 (rest) forms, may bear the suffix *-fi*.

As to its function, the *lu*-form is typically used as a postposed participle:

- (5) a. *Rume newen-nge-y tati kawellu wew-lu ti kuden.*
 very strong-be-IND ART horse win-LU ART play
 'The horse that won the race is very strong.' (H 257)
- b. *Feychi witrán elu-nge-lu ufisa kulli-la-y.*
 ART foreigner give-PASS-LU sheep pay-NEG-IND
 'The foreigner to whom the sheep was given did not pay.' (A 187)
 also: *ufisa elu-nge-chi witrán* (cf. Section IV.3.)
- c. *Wüne aku-a-lu elu-a-fi-ñ manshana.*
 first arrive-FUT-LU give-FUT-DIR-1s apple
 'I will give the apple to the one who arrives first.' (A 188)

A *lu*-form combined with the future marker *-a* can be used with verbs of motion like *amu-* 'go', *tripa-* 'exit', *wicha-* 'join' and *traf-* 'gather' to convey purpose (6a), in which case subject coreferentiality is obligatory. In addition, if a causal relation is to be stated explicitly, a *lu*-form is used with the particle (*k*)*am* coming second within the particular clause (6b, 6c), perhaps being cliticized (cf. Section IV.3.2):

- (6) a. *Kamilu amu-y mawida mew kintu-a-lu manshun.*
 C. go-IND mountain PPOS search-FUT-LU ox
 'Camilo went to the mountain to look for the oxen.' (A 194)
- b. *Tüfachi kulliñ weñe-fe-achawall-nge-y*
 this animal steal-NA-hen-be-IND

i-ke-lu=am ilo.
 eat-HAB-LU=because meat
 'This animal is a hen-thief because it feeds on meat.' (S 164)
- c. *Pepi-tripa-we-ke-la-n, fütura-lu=kam iñche.*
 can-exit-already-HAB-NEG-1s old-LU=because 1sPERS
 'I cannot go out any more because I am (too) old.' (A 193)

The *lu*-form is combinable with expressions like *petu* 'still', *dewma* 'already' and *wüla* '(only) after'. These words are frequently used to clarify the relationship between the main clause and the embedded constituent:

- (7) a. *Kom entu-a-lu wüla mi küdaw*
 (M 138) all take.away-FUT-LU after 2sPOSS work

küpa-tu-a-y-mi.
 come-TU-FUT-IND-2s
 'You_s will return only after you_s finish your_s work.'
- b. *Dewma epe la-lu mütrüm-el-nge-y lawen-tu-che-fe.*
 already almost die-LU call-APPL-PASS-IND medicine-TU-person-NA
 'The physician was called when s/he was about to die.'

Protases of conditional sentences can also be rendered by *lu*-forms:

- (8) *Kon-ke-nu-lu kiñe wentru ka-ke che*
 enter-HAB-NEG-LU one man other-ns person

ñi dungu mew, fey tüng-piwke-le-y.
 3POSS matter PPOS 3PERS come.to.rest-heart-RES-IND
 'If a man does not bother about other people's business, he lives in peace.' (M 139)

Two further occurrences of *-lu* are noteworthy: a future-tensed *lu*-form sometimes appears instead of the future indicative in main clauses (9a), and a *lu*-form marked for ruptured implicature is used to denote 'instead of...' (9b). For more on these suffixes, see III.2.8.

- (9) a. *Q: Chum-a-el amta duam-i ruka tami foṭüm?*
 how-FUT-EL Q need-IND house 2sPOSS son.of.man
 Q: 'What does your_s son need a house for?'

A: *Kure-nge-a-y / kure-nge-a-lu ñi foṭüm am.*
 wife-be-FUT-IND wife-be-FUT-LU 1sPOSS son.of.man because
 A: 'My son [needs it] because he is going to marry.' (S 167)

- b. *Feychi pu mapuche, küdaw-fu-lu em*
 this p M. work-RI-LU PART

ñi mapu, pütu-meke-y. (M 140)
 3POSS land drink-PROG-IND
 'These Mapuche were drinking instead of working on their land.'

The *yüm*-form. The different possible configurations are shown in Table 9 below. On the one hand, Table 9 looks much more similar to Table 7 (*el*-form) than to Table 8 (*lu*-form) above. On the other, however, the following forms are attested as well: (i) non-minimal 1>2 forms occurring with the 1p possessive *iñ*, (ii) 2s>1s forms occurring with the 1s possessive *ñi*, and (iii) non-minimal 2>1 forms occurring with the corresponding 1st person O-possessive. Moreover, non-minimal 1>2 forms where an additional *-fi* appears are also found, as are non-minimal 2>1 forms with an additional *-w* and/or *-fi*. The inverse *-e-yüm-mew* forms elide one *m* and appear as *-eyümew*.

TABLE 9
 THE *YÜM*-FORM

configuration	possessive pronoun	nonfinite form
1 > 3	<i>ñi/yu/iñ</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-yüm</i>
2 > 3	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (S/A)	<i>(-fi)-yüm</i>
3 > 3	<i>ñi</i> (O)	<i>-e-yüm-mew</i>
3 > 1	<i>ñi/yu/iñ</i> (O)	<i>-e-yüm-mew</i>
3 > 2	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (O)	<i>-e-yüm-mew</i>
1s > 2s	<i>mi</i> (O)	<i>-fi-yüm</i>
2s > 1s	<i>mi</i> (A)	<i>-fi-yüm</i>
1 > 2 (rest)	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (O)	<i>-w-yüm</i>
2 > 1 (rest)	<i>mi/mu/mün</i> (A)	<i>-mu-yüm</i>

The *yüm*-form is typically used when the matrix finite verb is in the habitual and the action expressed by the nonfinite verb form is construed as accompanying the habitual action (cf. also Section IV.3.2):

- (10) a. *Aye-ke-y nütramka-yüm.*
 laugh-HAB-IND talk-YÜM
 'S/he laughs while talking.' (A 218)

- b. *Kuyfi-ke che fem-ke-fu-y tañi ye-nie-yüm*
 long.ago-ns people do.so-HAB-RI-IND 3POSS carry-have-YÜM

domo kurenge-yüm.
 woman marry-YÜM
 'The ancient ones used to do so when marrying.' (A 218)

- c. *Tu-nge-yüm chumngechi rume re trülke*
 take-PASS-YÜM how ever only fur

entu-ñma-nge-ke-y fende-a-el.
 remove-APPL-PASS-HAB-IND sell-FUT-EL
 'When they manage to catch [the fox], they skin it only in order to sell the fur.' (S 167)

The *am*-form. This form does not appear in the inverse, nor does it allow for local scenario configurations. Although the translation of this form is frequently equivalent to that of the future-tensed *el*-form, Harmelink (1986) has shown that there is an important difference between them. Whereas (11a) clearly states a purpose, (11b) has purpose only as an implication and stresses an instrumental component instead; i.e. it is by means of the action expressed in the main clause that the state of affairs in the subordinated clause will ensue:

- (11) a. *Witrarow-a-fi-ñ feychi mapu ñi trafo-a-el kepe.*
 (Ha) hackle-FUT-DIR-1s this land 1sPOSS break-FUT-EL clod
 'I will hackle this land in order to disintegrate the clods.'

- b. *Witrarow-a-fi-ñ feychi mapu ñi trafo-am kepe.*
 hackle-FUT-DIR-1s this land 1sPOSS break-AM clod
 'I will hackle this land, and (the result will be that) I will disintegrate the clods'

The *am*-form can include a locative component as well, e.g.:

- (12) *Feychi wentru müle-lu chew ñi llitu-am*
 this man be-LU where 3POSS start-AM

ñi lef-ün chi epu kawell
 3POSS run-N ART two horse

lef wirar-ürume-ke-y.

quickly scream-SUDD-HAB-IND

'The man standing where the two horses will be starting to run suddenly screams.' (S 181)

Other forms. The *mum*-form exemplified in (13a) below might bear some relation to aspect (cf. Section III.2.9), tense or ruptured implicature (cf. Section III.2.8), but the one in (13b), together with *chew* 'where', seems to be not much more than a *nomen loci*:

- (13) a. *Epu antü-nge-y ñi kutran-küle-mum.*
two day-be-IND 1sPOSS ill-RES-MUM
'Two days ago I was ill (and now I am fine).' (Sm 299)

- b. *Feyti chi rewe anüm-tu-küle-ke-y itrotripa*
this ART rehue plant-TU-RES-HAB-IND in.front.of

ruka chew tañi müle-mum kiñe machi.
house where 3POSS be-MUM one shaman

'The sacred tree (= *rehue*) is planted in front of the house where a shaman lives.' (S 182)

Similarly, a comparatively rare and poorly understood *uma*-form might have something to do with perfective aspect or, more generally, completion:

- (14) a. *Feymew pepika-nge-ke-y epu angken fara*
(S 168) then prepare-PASS-HAB-IND two dry stick

katrü-künu-uma kuyfi.
cut-leave-UMA long.ago

'Then two dry sticks are prepared which have been cut long before.'

- b. *Aku-tu-lu ñi füttra wentru mia-uma lelfün mew*
arrive-TU-LU 3POSS old man walk-UMA field PPOS

elu-ke-fi mate kofke engu.
give-HAB-DIR:IND m. bread 3dPERS

'When her husband arrives from the field (lit. from walking in the field), she gives him *mate* and bread.'

2.3 Valency-changing operations

Reflexive / reciprocal -w. This suffix expresses the reflexive (15a) and the reciprocal (15b), in the latter case frequently with *epuñpüle* / *welukon* 'each other' or *traf* 'conjoined(ly)'. After vowels, *-w* is used; *-uw* appears elsewhere.

- (15) a. *Wül-uw-y-ngün ñi pu kaiñe mew.*
(A 67) give-REFL-IND-3p 3POSS p enemy PPOS
'They_p turned themselves_p in to their_p enemies.'

- b. *Welukon langüm-uw-y-ngu.*
each.other kill-REFL-IND-3d
'They_d killed each other.'

Observe that with actions performed on body parts, neither a possessive nor a reflexive nor an applicative can be used to signal the relationship between the actor and the object:

- (16) a. *Kullum-i ñi ange.*
(H 194) wash(one's.face)-IND 3POSS face
'S/he washed his/her face.'

- b. *Katrü-y ñi changüll kuwü.*
cut-IND 3POSS finger/toe hand
'S/he cut his/her finger.'

Agentless passive -nge. This suffix (which might be related to *nge*- 'be') suppresses the agent both from the verb valency and the clause. The person coded on the verb is the object of the action. Constructions like (17b) are quite frequent, even when the actor is known.

- (17) a. *Rosa pi-nge-n.*
R. say-PASS-1s
'I am called Rosa (i.e. my name is Rosa).'

- b. *Ramtu-nge-y ngürü.*
ask-PASS-IND fox
'The fox was asked.'

Applicatives -ñima and -l. The former suffix appears as *-ma* after diphthongs, *-üñima* after consonants and *-ñima* after vowels, and the latter has the allomorphs *-el* after diphthongs and consonants and *-l(el)* after vowels. Applied to intransitives, these morphemes increase the valency of the predicate

(usually *-l*, e.g. *aye-* 'laugh' vs. *aye-l-* 'mock', *amu-* 'go' vs. *amu-l-* 'make sb. go', *apo-* 'be/get full' vs. *apo-l-* 'fill' and *tremo-* 'be healthy/recover' vs. *tremo-l-* 'heal'). With transitives, they allow the person affected by the action (equivalent to a dativus ethicus / sympatheticus) to appear cross-referenced on the verb (cf. 18c below). There seems to have been a semantic opposition between a malefactive *-ñma* and a benefactive *-l*, which might be traced back to a spatial meaning 'thither' and 'hither' (cf. 18a vs. 18b), but this contrast is frequently blurred or absent now (18c):

- (18) a. *Ngilla-ñma-fi-ñ Antonio ñi kawell.*
 (S 132) buy-APPL-DIR-1s A. 3POSS horse
 'I bought the horse from Antonio.'
- b. *Ngilla-lel-fi-ñ Antonio ñi kawell.*
 buy-APPL-DIR-1s A. 3POSS horse
 'I bought the horse for Antonio.'
- c. *kintu-ñma-en mamüll and*
 search-APPL-2s>1s wood

kintu-lel-en mamüll
 search-APPL-2s>1s wood
 Both: 'You_s looked for (fire)wood for me.'

The applicative can occur more than once per verb, as shown in Example 19 below. The 1st person is differently involved in each case: with the simple transitive verb *nentu-* 'remove X', it is the object; with one applicative suffix (*nentu-l-* 'remove X from/for Y'), it is the person in whose interest something is removed, and with two applicatives (*nentu-l-el-* 'remove X from Y for Z'), it is somehow related (via kinship, interest, etc.) to the person from whom something is removed:

- (19) *nentu-en* vs. *nentu-l-en wayun*
 (A 62) get.out-2s>1s get.out-APPL-2s>1s thorn
 'get me out' 'remove the thorn from /for me'
- nentu-l-el-en ñi wayun tañi foñum*
 get.out-APPL-APPL-2s>1s 3POSS thorn 1sPOSS son.of.man
 'remove the thorn from my son'

Moreover, the applicative and the passive can co-occur, as in Example (20). In (20a) the action is presented as affecting not only the cow but also ultimately the 2nd person, and in (20b) one *-ñma* refers to the son and the other to the 2nd person.

- (20) a. *Weñe-ñma-nge-y-mi tami waka.*
 (S 134) steal-APPL-PASS-IND-2s 2sPOSS cow
 'Your_s cow was stolen.'
- b. *Weñe-ñma-ñma-nge-y-mi waka tami foñum.*
 steal-APPL-APPL-PASS-IND-2s cow 2sPOSS son.of.man
 'Your_s son's cow was stolen.'

Transitivizer/causativizer *-m*. In addition to the use of *-l* described above, which derives transitive verbs from intransitives whose single argument is rather agentive, the suffix *-m* serves to derive transitives from intransitives whose single argument is rather patientive, e.g. *chong-* 'go out (fire)' vs. *chong-üm-* 'extinguish', *püra-* 'go up' vs. *püra-m-* 'lift' and *are-* 'be/get hot' vs. *are-m-* 'heat'. Allomorphy is rather more complex in this case than with other suffixes. After vowels, *-m* appears; elsewhere, *-üm* is used, but preceding *-f* is changed to *-p* and *-g* to *-k*, e.g. *lüf-* 'burn (itr.)' vs. *lüp-üm-* 'burn (tr.)' and *nag-* 'go down' vs. *nak-üm-* 'lower'.

2.4 Negation

The negation suffix appearing on the verb has three allomorphs: *-la* for the indicative, *-no/nu* for the subjunctive and nonfinite verb forms, and *-ki* for the negative imperative (which takes the subjunctive, not the imperative, endings).

- (21) a. *Eymi fem-la-(y)a-y-mi anay.*
 2sPERS do.so-NEG-FUT-IND-2s PART
 'You_s are not going to do it.'
- b. *Fentren ngülamtuw-no-f-e-l-iyu ...*
 much advise-NEG-RI-INV-SUBJ-1d
 'If I did not advise you_s so often ...'
- c. *Weñe-ñma-w-ki-l-mün kulliñ, weda-le-y.*
 steal-APPL-REFL-NEG-SUBJ-2p animal bad-RES-IND
 'Do not steal animals from each other, it is bad.'

Negated imperatives with both the subjunctive suffix *-l* and imperative endings are also found:

- (22) *Wangkü-l-mu-ki-l-chi!*
 bark-APPL-INV-NEG-SUBJ-IMP:1s
 'Do not bark at me!' (S 272)

2.5 Verb compounds

Some verbal roots are frequently found in combination with other verbal roots. They have been classified into two groups here according to the scope of the TAM-morphology and the negation: V_0 -V and V- V_2 , where V_0 and V_2 represent the modifying formants and V the basic lexeme.

V_0 -V compounds. With this type, it is the modifying element V_0 which is negated or modified by the TAM-morphology at the right-hand end of the complex, and the last syllable of V_0 is stressed. The verb *ngilla-* 'buy' can be found preceding other verbal roots to derive a compound meaning 'have X V-ed for someone'.

- (23) *Ngilla-dewma-l-fi-ñ pantalón.*
 NGILLA-make-APPL-DIR-1s pants
 'I had pants made for him/her.' (Ad 62)

More important, however, are the compounds expressing modality³, like *pepi-* 'can', *kim-* 'know, learn', *kalli-* 'let' and *küpa-* meaning 'want' (perhaps related to *küpa-* 'pass', but not appearing as full verb with desiderative meaning), and *fentre-* 'much' meaning 'finish':

- (24) a. *Pepi-umaw-tu-ke-la-n.*
 (M 157/8) can-sleep-TU-HAB-NEG-1s
 'I cannot sleep.'
- b. *Kim-mapudungu-nge.*
 learn-speak.Mapudungun-IMP:2s
 'Learn to speak Mapudungun!'
- c. *Kalli-ülkantu-pe Juan.*
 let-sing-IMP:3 J.
 'Let Juan sing!'
- d. *Küpa-umaw-y-mi?*
 want-sleep-IND-2s
 'Do you_s want to sleep?'
- e. *Müchay fentre-küdaw-a-iñ.*
 soon finish-work-FUT-IND:1p
 'Soon we_p will finish our_p work.'

³ These are usually written separately, e.g. *pepi umawtukelan* (24a).

V- V_2 compounds. With this type, it is the basic lexeme which is negated or modified by the TAM-morphology, and the V_2 element is often more vague than its full verb counterpart — there is probably a fine-grained grammaticalization continuum between these V_2 's and more grammatical elements, like resultative *-le* and progressive *-meke* (cf. III.2.9).

The suffix *-tuku* (cf. *tuku-* 'put, sow') can be used as a transitivizer (e.g. *malal-tuku-* 'enclose' < *malal* 'enclosure'), sometimes with a more vague yield as in (25). (25b) is one of the frequent instances where *-tuku* appears combined with *-n*:

- (25) a. *Pengel-tuku-ñma-enuw tañi dungu kaiñe mew.*
 show-put-APPL-3>1s 1sPOSS matter enemy PPOS
 'S/he denounced my matter to my enemy.' (M 188)
- b. *Pewma-n-tuku-n ñi amu-le-n kamapu.*
 dream-N-put-1s 1sPOSS go-PROG-N far.away
 'I dreamed that I was (lit. was going) far away.' (H 231)

Very frequent are *kon-* 'enter', *tripa-* 'exit', *püra-* 'go up' and *nag-* 'go down' as directional elements (also with metaphorical extensions):

- (26) a. *rüngkü-kon-i / rüngkü-tripa-y*
 (M 188) jump-enter-IND jump-exit-IND
 'S/he jumped in.' 'S/he jumped out.'
- b. *ütrüf-püra-y / chong-nag-i kütral*
 throw-go.up-IND go.out-go.down-IND fire
 'S/he threw it up.' 'The fire went out.'

Other frequent compounds include the following verbs:

- *(n)entu-* 'remove' *dewma-* 'make' vs. *dewma-nentu-* 'perform'
rüngal 'buried' vs. *rüngal-entu-* 'unearth'
- *ina-* 'follow' *kintu-* 'search' vs. *ina-kintu-* 'examine'
ramtu- 'ask' vs. *ina-ramtu-* 'investigate, inquire'
- *weño-* 'return' *kintu-* 'search' vs. *weño-kintu-* 'look from behind'
witra- 'rise' vs. *weño-witra-* 'withdraw'

Some other frequent verbs like *künu-* 'leave', *nie-* 'have', *tu-* 'take', *miaw-* 'wander, walk' and *meke-* 'be busy' are treated as more grammaticalized items in III.2.9 below.

Other compounds. Especially interesting is the root *duam-* 'want, need', which bears relation to both intellectual and also volitive and emotional activity

in general: *raki-duam-* 'think' (cf. *raki-* 'count'), *ayü-duam-* 'be /get happy' (cf. *ayü-* 'love, want, need'), *ina-duam-* 'reflect', *püra-duam-* 'cheer up', etc.

Besides these, there are some reduplicative compounds that can be classified into three groups. The first includes onomatopoeic expressions like *me-me-ke-y ufisa* 'the sheep bleats' and *ngay-ngay-ü-ke-y kawell* 'the horse neighs'. The second consists of predicates expressing duality / plurality or intensity / completion, e.g. *anü-anü-y epu peñi-wen* 'both brothers sat down' and *kurü-kurü-we-y mi ange* 'your_s face is now completely black', although this does not seem to be a very productive process. The third group is the iterative with *-tu* or *-nge* and is discussed in III.2.9.

To describe the dimensions of objects, roots like *pichi* 'small' and *alü* 'much' are used together with verbal roots like *püra-* 'go up' and *kon-* 'enter':

(27) a. *Alü-püra-y ti wingkul.*
(H 148) much-go.up-IND ART hill
'The hill is high.'

b. *Pichi-tuw-i tiifachi pu rüngi.*
small-exit-IND this p colihue
'These *colihues* (=variety of bamboo) are short.'

c. *Fawpüle alü-rume-y ti lewfü.*
over.here much-be.wide-IND ART river
'The river is wide over here.'

Finally, *-kantu* (most probably bimorphemic in origin, i.e. *-ka* 'still', cf. III.2.9, and *-ntu*) is suffixed to many verbs with a variety of meanings, e.g. *aye-* 'laugh' vs. *aye-kantu-* 'amuse oneself, have fun', *weycha-* 'wage war' *weycha-kantu-* 'drill', *ül-* and *ül-kantu-* 'sing', etc.

2.6 Noun incorporation

Productive noun incorporation allows semantically compatible common nouns to appear either verb-externally when introduced into discourse, particularly individuated or focused (28a), or incorporated in the verbal complex after the stem when the activity is culturally relevant / frequent and the like (28b). The examples are from Harmelink (1992).

(28) a. *Katrü-me-a-n kachu.*
cut-AND-FUT-1s grass
'I am going to cut the grass.'

b. *Katrü-kachu-me-a-n.*
cut-grass-AND-FUT-1s
'I am going to cut the grass / do some grass-cutting.'

Noun incorporation is not restricted to a few generic nouns, although incorporating structures are more frequent with some nouns than with others. The presence of demonstratives or numerals in the NP preclude the noun from being incorporated (e.g. in *adkintu-yaw-i küla manshun* 's/he is looking after three oxen', *manshun* 'ox' has to appear externally). However, otherwise complex NPs can be incorporated, viz. two nouns (*kuram* 'egg' and *kansu* 'goose', 29a), two nouns and an adjective (*kurü* 'black', *kal* 'wool' and *ufisa* 'sheep', 29b), and an adverb, an attributive nonfinite verb form and a noun (*we* 'new(ly), just', *katrü-n* 'cut' and *kachilla* 'wheat', 29c):

(29) a. *Kintu-kuram-kansu-ke-n.*
look.for-egg-goose-HAB-1s
'I look for goose eggs.'

b. *Ngilla-kurü-kal-ufisa-me-a-y-mi?*
buy-black-wool-sheep-AND-FUT-IND-2s
'Are you_s going to buy black sheep wool?'

c. *Wiñam-we-katrü-n-kachilla-me-a-y-mi.*
move.in.wheelbarrow-just-cut-N-wheat-AND-FUT-IND-2s
'You_s are going to carry in a wheelbarrow the wheat which has just been cut.'

2.7 Directionals

The directional suffixes appearing on the verb include the cislocative *-pa* 'here, hither' and the translocative *-pu* 'there, thither' (cf. the full verbs *küpa-* 'come' and *pu(w)-* 'arrive there'):

(30) *lef-pa-y-mi* vs. *lef-pu-y-mi*
run-CIS-IND-2s run-TRANS-IND-2s
'You_s ran (after getting) here.' 'You_s ran (after getting) there.'

These suffixes may also signal motion:

(31) a. *Pe-n tañi wenüy.*
(H167) see-1s 1sPOSS friend
'I saw my friend.'

- b. *Pe-pa-n tañi wenüy.*
see-CIS-1s 1sPOSS friend
'I came here to see my friend.'
- c. *Pe-pu-n tañi wenüy.*
see-TRANS-1s 1sPOSS friend
'I went there to see my friend.'

Observe that there is a different andative morpheme *-me* to imply that one has returned after finishing one's business:

- (32) *Pe-me-n tañi wenüy.*
see-AND-1s 1sPOSS friend
'I went there to see my friend (and came back).'

There are other directional elements, viz. *-r* (always co-occurring with either *-pa* or *-pu*) and *-yekü* (always co-occurring with either *-pa* or *-me*), which are somewhat more complex than the above. The presence of the suffix *-r* means that a spatial displacement was interrupted in order to do the action expressed by the verb stem:

- (33) *Pe-r-pa-n tañi wenüy.*
see-R-CIS-1s 1sPOSS friend
'On my way here, I saw (i.e., visited) my friend.'

By contrast, *-yekü* means that the spatial displacement was permanently accompanied by the action expressed by the verb stem (34a). The original spatial meaning has given way to a temporal reading in examples like (34b), where *-r-pu* and *-yekü-me* are roughly synonymous with the meaning 'be V-ing more and more all the time'.

- (34) a. *ülkantu-r-pa-y* vs. *ülkantu-yekü-me-y*
sing-R-CIS-IND sing-YEKÜ-AND-IND
'S/he sang somewhere 'S/he went there singing.'
on his/her way here.'
- b. *Femngen femngen doy kim-yekü-me-n.*
thus thus more learn-YEKÜ-AND-1s
'Thus I learnt more and more all the time.' (Co 44)

With some verbs, viz. *nge-* 'be', *el-* 'set, leave, put' and *ye-* 'carry', the contrast between *-pa* and *-me* seems to be somewhat lexicalized:

- (35) a. *Pichiñma müten ngepa-n.*
(H 167/8) short.while only come-1s
'I have come only for a short while.'
- b. *Elme-a-n tüfachi lawen tami wenüy mew.*
bring-FUT-1s this medicine 2sPOSS friend PPOS
'I will bring this medicine to your, friend's (house).'
- c. *Wüle yepa-ya-n ti metawe.*
tomorrow fetch-FUT-1s ART jar
'I will come and fetch the jar tomorrow.'

2.8 Tense and ruptured implicature

Future marker -a. There is an opposition between a \emptyset -marked non-future and an *a*-marked future form (36a). The unmarked form usually but not obligatorily has a past interpretation with dynamic verbs (36b) and a present interpretation with static verbs (36c).

- (36) a. *Küdaw-ün wiya ka küdaw-a-n wüle.*
work-1s yesterday and work-FUT-1s tomorrow
'I worked yesterday and will work tomorrow.'
- b. *Amu-y tañi ruka mew.*
go-IND 3POSS house PPOS
'He went to his house.'
- c. *Müle-y tañi ruka mew.*
be-IND 3POSS house PPOS
'He is in his house.'

The future tense marker *-a* appears not only on predicates of main clauses but also on nonfinite verb forms, in particular on *el-* and *lu-* forms, as shown in (37) below. An epenthetic *y* occurs between *-la* and *-a*, and FUT *-a* causes elision of a following *e* in *-a-el* and *-a-etew*.

- (37) a. *Eymi ayü-y-mi tañi la-ya-l.*
2sPERS love-IND-2s 1sPOSS die-FUT-EL
'You, want me to die.'
- b. *Pe-pu-eyew ñi ramtu-a-tew.*
see-TRANS-3>3:INV 3POSS ask-FUT-EL:INV
'They went to (lit. visit) him/her to ask him/her.' (A 211)

- c. *Wüne aku-a-lu elu-a-fi-ñ manshana.*
 first arrive-FUT-LU give-FUT-DIR-1s apple
 'I will give the apple to the one who arrives first.' (A 188)

As already mentioned in III.2.2, a finite verb in the future tense functioning as main predicate of an independent clause is sometimes replaced by a tensed *lu*-form, which is then typically accompanied by a personal pronoun (38a); in questions (38b), the latter requirement is frequently superfluous, and with impersonal verbs it is inapplicable (38c):

- (38) a. *Iñche kafey tu-a-lu chadi.*
 1sPERS also take-FUT-LU salt
 'I want salt, too.' cf. also *Iñche kafey tu-a-n chadi.*
- b. *Chew amu-a-lu nga?*
 where go-FUT-LU PART
 'Where are you, going?' cf. also *Chew amu-a-y-mi nga?*
- c. *Mawün-a-lu.*
 rain-FUT-LU
 'It is going to rain.' cf. also *Mawün-a-y.*

The future tense is often used instead of the imperative to give commands⁴:

- (39) *Muyü-la-ya-y-mi tati.*
 forget-NEG-FUT-IND-2s DEM
 'Don't forget it.'
 cf. also *Muyü-ki-l-mi tati.*

The suffix *-fu*. This morpheme was regarded by Augusta (1903) and Moesbach (1962) as temporal ("co-preterite") and considered a correspondence of the Spanish imperfective past tenses (*aku-fu-n* — *llegaba* 'I (usually) arrived', *había llegado* 'I had arrived') or, in combination with *-a*, the Spanish conditional (*aku-a-fu-n* — *llegaría* 'I would arrive', *habría llegado* 'I would have arrived'). Smeets (1989:300) labels this suffix IMPEDITIVE and says it signifies that "the denoted event does not have the expected consequences or is prevented from reaching its completion". I have adopted Golluscio's (2000) analysis here, which labels *-fu* RUPTURED IMPLICATURE (RI), because she convincingly shows this morpheme to be something other than temporal. Consider the following examples:

⁴ Commands given to children are sometimes found with bare stems, e.g. *witra* 'rise' instead of *witra-pe-yengün* (rise-IMP:3-3p).

- (40) a. *Kiñe küyen dewma mawün-i.*
 (Gf243) one month already rain-IND
 'It rained a month ago.'

- b. *Kiñe küyen dewma mawün-fu-i.*
 one month already rain-RI-IND
 'It rained a month ago (but to no avail).'

The denotational content of (40a) and (40b) is the same, but *-fu* in the second sentence additionally tells the addressee that the expected result (in this case the grass was supposed to become green) did not occur. Other instances are the following:

- (41) a. *Iney am tati kim-lawen-fu-y chi?*
 who Q PART know-medicine-RI-IND DUB
 'Who knows something about medicine? (Nobody).' (Gf245)
- b. *Umawtu-fu-y tati pichi wentru.*
 sleep-RI-IND ART little man
 'The child wanted to sleep (but could not do it).' (Gf246)
- c. *Amu-fu-n tañi wenüy mew, welu pe-la-fi-ñ.*
 go-RI-1s 1sPOSS friend PPOS but find-NEG-DIR-1s
 'I went to my friend's (house), but did not find him/her.' (H 170)

Appearing in the subjunctive mood, *-fu* denotes counterfactuality:

- (42) *amu-li / amu-fu-li waria mew*
 go-SUBJ:1s go-RI-SUBJ:1s city PPOS
 'if I go / had gone to the city'

The *a-fu*-form. The suffix *-fu* can combine with the future marker *-a* to render counterfactual conditional sentences:

- (43) a. *Elu-a-fu-i-ñ ko.*
 give-FUT-RI-DIR⁵-1s water
 'I would give him/her water.' (Gf245)
- b. *Tripa-a-fu-y, welu müle-la-y ko.*
 exit-FUT-RI-IND but be-NEG-IND water
 '[The ship] would sail out, but there is no water.'

⁵ The combination *-fu-fi* usually appears as *-fui* or even *-fi*.

Imperative forms do not occur marked for future or ruptured implicature. With nonfinite verb forms, only the future marker *-a* appears on the majority (except the *n*-form).

Unsurprisingly, *-a-fu* can be used to make polite requests or offers:

- (44) *Pichin kofke-tu-a-fu-y-mi?*
 little bread-TU-FUT-RI-IND-2s
 'Would you_s like some bread?' (H 171)

2.9 Aspect and related issues

TABLE 10
 OVERVIEW OF ASPECT-RELATED VERB MORPHOLOGY

<i>-(kü)le</i>	Resultative / Progressive	<i>-(kü)le-we</i>	'stay'
<i>-meke</i>	Progressive	<i>-tu</i>	Punctual
		<i>-tu/-nge</i>	Iterative (+RDP)
<i>-ke</i>	Habitual	<i>-künu</i>	'leave X V-ing / V-ed'
<i>-ka</i>	'still'	<i>-nie</i>	'keep X V-ing / V-ed'
<i>-we</i>	'already'	<i>-(ki)yaw</i>	Ambulative

Bearing in mind that a form unmarked for tense may refer either to the present or the past, note that a form unmarked for aspect may denote either (i) an action that has been completed or terminated or (ii) a state holding at some given moment (usually, but not necessarily, the moment of speech). By contrast, there are several markers concerned with more detailed "imperfective" ways to refer to a particular state of affairs, viz. *-(kü)le*, *-meke*, and *-ke*:

- (45) a. *Kon-küle-y tami ñuke.*
 enter-RES-IND 2sPOSS mother
 'Your_s mother is inside.'
 cf. *kon-i tami ñuke* 'your_s mother entered'
- b. *Amu-le-y tañi chaw.*
 go-PROG-IND 1sPOSS father
 'My father is on his way, is going.'
 cf. *amu-y tañi chaw* 'my father went'
- c. *Juan lef-meke-y.*
 J. run-PROG-IND
 'Juan is running.' cf. *Juan lef-i* 'Juan ran'

- d. *Ayü-ke-rke-y tañi kisu-le-a-el chew rume.*
 love-HAB-QUOT-IND 3POSS alone-RES-FUT-EL where ever
 'They want to be alone wherever they are.' (S 279)

Resultative / Progressive *-le*. This suffix (Examples 45a and 45b), perhaps related to the full verb *müle-* 'be located, be temporarily' and appearing as *-le* after vowels and *-küle* elsewhere⁶, shows a behavior that is sensitive to different verb classes. It is incompatible with static verbs like *wentru-nge-* 'be a man, be rich' or *nie-püñeñ-* 'be pregnant' and it corresponds to a progressive with dynamic atelic verbs like *lef-* 'run' or *rakidum-* 'think'. However, with verbs like *karü-* 'become green' and *pun-* 'get dark' it denotes the attainment of the state ensuing a transformation, i.e. *karü-le-y* 'it is green (now)', *pun-küle-y* 'it is dark (now)'. With accomplishments like *ruka-* 'build a house' it has a progressive reading (*ruka-le-y* 's/he is building a house'), and with some verbs like *ñam-* 'get lost' it again signifies the ensuing state, i.e. *ñam-küle-y* 'it is lost'. Observe also the following contrasts:

- (46) a. *Ngüma-y / ngüma-le-y tañi ñuke.*
 (H 164) weep-IND weep-PROG-IND 1sPOSS mother
 'My mother wept / is weeping.'
- b. *Kutran-i / kutran-küle-y ti pichiche.*
 ill-IND ill-RES-IND ART child
 'The child fell ill / is ill.'

It is possible, though it does not happen very frequently, to find *-le* with *n*-forms functioning as gerunds (cf. also Section III.2.2):

- (47) *Ngüma-le-n aku-tu-y.*
 weep-PROG-N arrive-TU-IND
 'S/he arrived weeping.' (H 187)

Progressive *-meke*. This morpheme (Example 45c) is apparently related to the full verb *meke-* 'be busy V-ing' and renders progressives with activities (e.g. *lef-meke-y* 's/he is running'), accomplishments (e.g. *ruka-meke-y* 's/he is building a house') and verbs like *ñam-* 'get lost' (*ñam-meke-y* 's/he is disappearing'). It is incompatible with states like *nie-* 'have' and verbs like *karü-* 'become green'. Like *-le*, it is compatible with the habitual *-ke*, the future *-a* and the ruptured implicature *-fu*. The examples in (48) below shows the use of *meke-* as full verb and *-meke* as suffix. The periphrastic progressive with *petu* 'still' and the unmarked verb form is shown in (48b) and (48c):

⁶ The only exception to this rule is when *-le* appears after *chum* 'how', e.g. *Chum-le-y-mi am?* 'How are you,?'

- (48) a. *Iñche kutran-tu-meke-n.* / *Iñche meke-n kutran-tu-n.*
 1s ill-TU-PROG-1s 1s be.busy-1s ill-TU-N
 'I am suffering.' (Sm 376)
- b. *Küdaw-meke-y.* / *Petu meke-y ñi küdaw-ün.*
 work-PROG-IND still be.busy-IND 3POSS work-N
 'S/he is busy working.' (H 227)
- c. *Petu küdaw-ün.*
 PROG work-1s
 'I am working.'

Either because the grammaticalization of *meke-* 'be busy' is rather recent or because it has retained some of its original semantics, a somewhat more emphatic meaning as compared to equivalent *le-*forms may still be present, even in the instances where it appears as a verbal suffix.

Habitual -ke. This morpheme (45d) does not appear to be related to any full verb currently in use in the language. It denotes habitual / frequent / characteristic states of affairs:

- (49) *ngolli* vs. *ngolli-ke-y* vs. *ngolli-ke-fu-y*
 (S 150) get.drunk get.drunk-HAB-IND get.drunk-HAB-RI-IND
 'S/he got drunk.' 'S/he always gets drunk.' 'S/he used to get drunk.'

Combined with the negation *-la*, it yields the meaning 'never':

- (50) *Küpa-ke-la-y-mi.*
 come-HAB-NEG-IND-2s
 'You_s never come.'

The suffix -ka. The word *ka* means 'and, other', but functioning as a verbal affix, *-ka* denotes either merely that the state of affairs still holds, as in (51a), or that the action is being carried out in spite of something (sometimes reinforced by *petu* 'still'), as in (51b):

- (51) a. *Müle-ka-y ruka mew.*
 be-still-IND house PPOS
 'S/he is still in the house.'
- b. *Petu nütramka-ka-y-mi?*
 still talk-still-IND-2s
 'Are you_s still talking?'

-ka may signify a durative and in a certain sense repetitive action, e.g. *katrü-* 'cut' vs. *katrü-ka-* 'make several cuts'. In some instances, it has been lexicalized, e.g. in (51b) the root is *nütram-* 'tell', the first *-ka* is lexicalized to yield the meaning 'talk' and the second adds the meaning 'still', cf. also *ngilla-* 'buy' - *ngillaka-* 'shop', *ngülam-* 'advise' - *ngülamka-* 'keep advising'.

The suffix -we. The word *we* means 'new, fresh, young, just', and as a verbal affix it denotes that the action expressed by the predicate has already begun or taken place (52a). With numerals, it signifies that something remains or is left over (52b). Together with the negation *-la*, it yields the meaning 'no longer' (52c, 52d), cf. also *-ke-la* above.

- (52) a. *Ruka-we-y.*
 build.a.house-already-IND
 'S/he already built a house.'
- b. *Küla-we-y kuram.*
 three-WE-IND egg
 'There remain three eggs (I already sold the others).' (A 43)
- c. *Maw-ma-we-la-a-y tañi weniy.*
 rain-APPL-already-NEG-FUT-IND 1sPOSS friend
 'It will not rain on my friend any more.' (S 157)
- d. *Küdaw-we-pa-la-y tami chaw.*
 work-already-CIS-NEG-IND 2sPOSS father
 'Your_s father does not come to work any more.'

The combination -le-we. When resultative/progressive *-le* is combined with *-we*, the meaning that arises is something like 'result in a V-ed state / stay V-ing', Spanish *quedar V-do / quedar V-ndo*. What is important here is that the responsibility of an unnamed actor is implied, e.g. *kisu-le-n* 'I am alone' vs. *kisu-le-we-n* 'I stayed behind alone (i.e. all people have gone and I am the only one who stayed here)'. In this respect, this form is halfway between *-le*, where no actor is implied, and *-künu / -nie*, where the actor is explicit.

- (53) *Afduam-küle-we-y ti ngürü.*
 be/get.astonished-RES-WE-IND ART fox
 'The fox stayed behind astonished.'
 cf. *afduamküley* 's/he was astonished' (stative, not passive)

The suffix -tu. This morpheme, apparently related to *tu-* 'take', has a variety of functions depending on how grammaticalized it is. First, appearing

after a nominal root referring to something than can be eaten or drunk, it derives denominal verbs of consumption like *kofke-tu-* 'eat bread' (cf. *kofke* 'bread') and *korü-tu-* 'drink soup' (cf. *korü* 'soup, broth'). Second, after other nominal roots it derives denominal verbs vaguely meaning 'perform customary action with N', e.g. *trutruka-tu-* 'play the *trutruca* (=a wind instrument)' and *mamüll-tu-* 'gather firewood' (cf. *mamüll* '(fire)wood'); with garments, the meaning is 'put on, wear', e.g. *sapatu-tu-* 'put on, wear shoes' (cf. *sapatu* < Spanish *zapato* 'shoe'). These instances of *-tu* might be treated as simple denominal derivation instead of inflection. The meaning 'back' is present with some motion verbs, e.g. *aku-tu-* 'arrive back' (cf. *aku-* 'arrive'); somewhat related to it is the meaning 'again':

- (54) a. *Rüngkü-kon-fem-tu-a-y-mi.*
 jump-enter-IMM-back-FUT-IND-2s
 'You_s will immediately jump back in.'
- b. *Chumül müle-pa-tu-a-y-mi?*
 when be-CIS-again-FUT-IND-2s
 'When will you_s be here again?' (H 169)

More closely related to aspect, however, are the two most grammaticalized uses of *-tu*. First, it is used to turn a stative verb into a punctual one (55a); second, it is used with reduplicated verb stems to render the iterative (55b)⁷:

- (55) a. *Rume-küme-wentru-nge-tu-rke-y-ngu.*
 very-good-man-be-TU-QUOT-IND-3d
 'They say that both of them became very rich (lit. very good) men.' (S 197)
 cf. *küme-wentru-nge-y-ngu* 'they_d are rich men'
- b. *Rüngkü-rüngkü-tu-y.*
 jump-RDP-TU-IND
 'S/he made jumps, bounced.'

Ambulative -yaw. This suffix is related to the full verb *miaw-* 'wander, walk' and combines a purely temporal notion of progressivity with a spatial component. After vowels, *-iaw* is used; *-kiyaw* appears elsewhere.

- (56) a. *Ngüma-yaw-i ti ülcha.*
 weep-AMB-IND ART young.woman
 'The young woman is going around weeping.'

⁷ Iteratives can also be formed by a reduplicated verbal root plus *-nge* instead of *-tu*.

- b. *Küdaw-kiyaw-i ñi chaw mew.*
 work-AMB-IND 3POSS father PPOS
 'S/he is working around at his/her father's.' (H 192)

Other forms. The suffixal use of the verbs *künü-* 'leave' and *nie-* 'have' bear relation to aspect and argument structure, like:

- (57) *Püntü-künü-fi-ñ / püntü-nie-fi-ñ.*
 (Sm 387) separate-leave-DIR-1s separate-have-IND-1s
 'I left it separated.' 'I keep it separated.'

The contrast seems to be one of aspect or tense, and these forms are different from *-le*, *-meke*, *-ke* and the others in that they explicitly state who is responsible for the state or outcome. The meaning 'leave' is clearly present in instances like *kisu-kümü-la-ya-eyu* (alone-leave-NEG-FUT-1s>2s) 'I will not leave you, alone', and a notion of immediacy may be present in some uses:

- (58) *wiño-me-a-n vs. wiño-künü-me-a-n*
 (H 229) return-AND-FUT-1s return-leave-AND-FUT-1s
 'I will return.' 'I will return immediately.'

It is noteworthy that *-nie* may have an additional component 'constantly' that emerges in some forms like *kellu-nie-eiñmew* (help-have-3>1p) 's/he helps us, constantly'. Also observe its use with verbs whose agentivity is arguably problematic:

- (59) *Feyti ñuke küme kim-nie-fi ñi püñeñ.*
 ART mother good know-have-IND:IND 3POSS child.of.woman
 'The mother knows her son / daughter well.' (H 228)

A reflexive form is used with some verbs to signify the beginning of a state, e.g. *lil* 'stone' vs. *lil-u-y* 'it turned into a stone'. In some cases, *künü-* 'leave' is found on these forms (cf. III.2.9):

- (60) *Pütrew pichike pichike llamke-künü-w-meke-y.*
 caterpillar little.by.little butterfly-leave-REFL-PROG-IND
 'The caterpillar is slowly turning into a butterfly.' (A 69)

2.10 Other verbal morphology

Modal suffixes. The suffix *-rke*, appearing as *-ürke* after non-vowels, is frequently found in narratives and signifies either reported speech or "discovery" (Salas 1992 labels it "perceptive") in the sense that the state of

affairs had not been noticed by the speaker until something or somebody made him/her aware of it (61a). The suffix or clitic *-rke* can appear on noun roots with the meaning 'it turned out to be the case that' (61b) or simply denoting surprise (61c).

- (61) a. *aku-rke-y* vs. *ngolli-rke-y*
 arrive-QUOT-IND get.drunk-MIR-IND
 'S/he arrived, they say.' '(Now I see) s/he got drunk.'
- b. *Fey ti chi domo kalko-rke.*
 that ART woman witch-MIR
 'That woman turned out to be a witch.' (S 150)
- c. *Trewa-rke!* = *Trewa ürke!*
 dog-MIR dog MIR
 '(Why,) a dog!' (H 172)

I have followed traditional practice in calling the reported speech meaning QUOTATIVE and DeLancey (1997) in labeling the related meaning "new knowledge without further specification of the source" MIRATIVE. Whether this suffix is related to the verb *werkü-* 'send' and to the noun *werken* 'messenger, message' is not sure.

The suffix *-pe* is found combined with future *-a* (typically with ascending intonation) to express doubt (62), and with mirative *-rke* and negative *-la* to signify 'obviously'. Cf. also the particle *pe* in III.3.4.

- (62) *kintu-pe-a-y* / *trür-pe-rke-la-y*
 search-DUB-FUT-IND same-DUB-MIR-NEG-IND
 'Is s/he searching?' 'It obviously resembles it.'

This morpheme is more versatile than these examples show, however. Verb forms lacking the future suffix may take *-pe* to signify certainty (a function sometimes regarded as "recent past"), in which case they must be rather close in time. Observe the co-occurrence of *-pe* with the affirmative particle *nga(ti)*:

- (63) a. *Wiya nga mawün-i.*
 (Gp 58) yesterday AFF rain-IND
 'It rained yesterday.'
- b. *Wiya nga mawün-pe-y.*
 yesterday AFF rain-CERT-IND
 'It certainly rained yesterday.'

- c. **Kamel mawün-pe-y nga.*
 last.year rain-CERT-IND AFF
 'It certainly rained last year.'

Golluscio (1997) argues for a PROXIMITY *Gesamtbedeutung* of *-pe* which can be specified in several ways. Temporal proximity would cover the cases shown in (62) and (63) above. Spatial proximity would cover cases like (64a), which differ from (64b) in that only the minimal local scenario combined with the cislocative *-pa* license the appearance of *-pe*. Finally, proximity in the sense of discourse cohesion can be seen in (64c), where *-pe* (together with *nga(ti)* and the descending intonation) seems to function anaphorically.

- (64) a. *Ngütramka-pa-pe-i-yu.*
 (Gp 60/61) talk-CIS-PROX-IND-1d
 'I (have) come to talk with you_s.'
- b. *Ngütramka-i-yu taiñ ruka mew.*
 talk-IND-1d 1pPOSS house PPOS
 'We_d talked at home.'
- c. *Ngütramka-pe-n nga ti.*
 talk-PROX-1s PART
 'I talked (about that).'

Golluscio hypothesizes that *-pe* is related to the verb *pe-* 'see', but the origin and especially the exact status of this morpheme are still not completely clear.

Somewhat less elusive is the morpheme *-lle*, which might also be considered modal and cannot co-occur with the negative suffixes on a given verb form. It emphasizes commands, either positively or negatively (65a), and with the subjunctive it emphasizes the conditional protasis (65b) and is treated here following Golluscio (1997) as CONFIRMATIVE.

- (65) a. *tripa-lle-nge* vs. *ülkantü-lle-nge*
 (S 148) exit-CONF-IMP:2s sing-CONF-IMP:2s
 'You_s go out now!' 'Come on, sing (and you_s!ll see)!'
- b. *Tripa-lle-l-mi iney rume pe-la-a-eymew.*
 exit-CONF-SUBJ-2s who ever see-NEG-FUT-3>2s
 'Even if you_s go out, nobody will see you_s.'

The interested reader is referred to Golluscio (1997) for a more detailed account of *-rke*, *-pe* and *-lle*, and some discussion.

Manner. Two suffixes signify that the action takes place in a particular way, viz. immediate *-fem* (cf. *fem-* 'do so, do this' and *fem* 'so, thus') and sudden *-rume* (cf. postposed *rume* 'ever', preposed *rume* 'very much' and the infrequent verb *rume-* 'pass'):

- (66) a. *Williñ rüŋkü-püra-fem-i.*
 otter jump-go.up-IMM-IND
 'The otter immediately jumped [onto the fox].' (S 294)
- b. *Aku-rume-y tañi ruka mew.*
 arrive-SUDD-IND 3POSS house PPOS
 'Suddenly s/he came to the house'.

The element *-ufalu* occurs together with the reflexive suffix (cf. *fem-* 'do so' vs. *fem-ufalu-w-* 'simulate') to denote simulation or pretense:

- (67) *Chumngelu kam newe i-ufaluw-ke-la-y-mi?*
 why Q not.much eat-PRETENSE-HAB-NEG-IND-2s
 'Why do you, always pretend not to (want to) eat much?'

The suffix *-püda* denotes that the action was performed in vain:

- (68) *Ngan-püda-y ñi kachilla.*
 sow-in.vain-IND 3POSS wheat
 'S/he sowed his/her wheat in vain.' (H 234)

Pseudo-voice. Two infrequent suffixes may have something to do with deontic modality and/or voice, viz. *-fal* and *-(ü)ñmu*. The former signifies obligation or causativity (69a, 69b), while the latter might be termed middle (69c, 69d). Both are mutually exclusive, and also mutually exclusive with the applicative.

- (69) a. *Üyüw weyel-kiaw-fal-ün.*
 over.there swim-AMB-FAL-1s
 'I have to swim around over there.' (Sm 357)
- b. *Iñche ngilla-fal-ün kamisa.*
 1sPERS buy-FAL-1s shirt
 'I had to buy a shirt.' or 'I had a shirt bought.' (Sm 357)
- c. *Küdaw-üñmu-n.*
 work-ÑMU-1s
 'I worked for myself.' (Sm 359)

- d. *Iñche ka tu-ñmu-a-n kiñe kulliñ.*
 1sPERS other take-ÑMU-FUT-1s one animal
 'I will take one more animal.' (A 68)

Plural -ye. 3rd person plural subjects of intransitives and plural objects of transitives can be marked on the verb with this suffix instead of the endings discussed in III.2.1. With a SAP subject, *-ye* means 'many of us_p / you_p':

- (70) a. *Amu-ye-fal-i-iñ.*
 go-p-FAL-IND-1p
 'We_p have to go in large numbers.' (Sm 356)
- b. *Kom pu che elu-ye-nge-y mari kechu hectárea ...*
 all p people give-p-PASS-IND fifteen hectare
 'Everyone received fifteen hectares (=roughly 37 acres) ...' (A 313)
- c. *Traf-nie-ye-r-pu-n pütrün che.*
 meet-have-p-R-TRANS-1s much people
 'I kept meeting many people on my way here.' (Sm 356)

3 Other lexical categories

3.1 Adpositions

Postpositions. The most frequent and most general adposition in Mapudungun is *mew*, which sometimes appears reduced to *mo/mu*. It can signify a spatial relationship detailed by the predicate (1a), but also 'because', 'after', etc. (1b; cf. also III.2.2); it is also used to mark the secundum comparationis (1c):

- (1) a. *Amu-a-n waria mew.* vs. *Waria mew küpa-n.*
 go-FUT-1s city PPOS vs. city PPOS come-1s
 'I am going to the city.' vs. 'I have come from the city.'
- b. *Teyfu-nge-we-y am nüyün mew.*
 destroy-PASS-already-IND PART earthquake PPOS
 'It was destroyed by / because of the earthquake.'
- c. *Carlos doy aü-y ñi kulliñ Jose mew.*
 C. more be.much-IND 3POSS animal J. PPOS
 'Carlos has more animals than José.'

In contrast to *mew*, which is fairly specific, the postposition *püle* means more generally 'by', so while *ruka mew* means 'in/into/out of the house' *ruka püle* means 'by/near/close to the house'. *Püle* also means 'towards' (2a), while the somewhat archaic *kütu* means 'as far as, since' (2b) and is also used together with a former preposition *keyü/key* 'as far as' to signify 'even' (2c):

- (2) a. *piku püle*
north towards
'towards the north'
- b. *Kuyfi kütu pe-la-eyu.*
long.ago since see-NEG-1s>2s
'I have not seen you_s in a long time.'
- c. *Keyü pichi-ke che kütu kellu-eiñmew.*
even little-p people as.far.as help-3>1p
'Even the children helped us'.

Prepositions. The preposition *pu* 'in', already mentioned in III.1.3, is apparently related to the verbal translocative *-pu* (cf. III.2.7) and possibly to the verb *pu(w)*- 'arrive (there)' (3a). *Ina* 'near', e.g. *ina rüpu* 'by the road' (3b), is also used as an adverb with the meaning 'soon'. *Ngeno* 'without' is probably a reduction of *nge-no-el* 'not being' (3c).

- (3) a. *pu waria*
in city
'in town, in the city'
- b. *ina rüpu*
near road
'near / by the road'
- c. *ngeno retrüpeyüm*
without walking.stick
'without a walking stick'

Note also *miñche* 'beneath', *wente* 'above', *furitu* 'behind' and *puñma* 'in front of', as in *miñche mesa* 'beneath the table', *wente ruka* 'above the house', *furitu wingkul* 'behind the hill' and *puñma rewé* 'in front of the rehue'.

Relational expressions. It is not uncommon to find possessed nouns together with a postposition in relational expressions like (4):

- (4) *Anchon ñi furi mew or*
A. 3POSS back PPOS
- Anchon ñi furi püle*
A. 3POSS back towards
Both: 'behind Antonio'

The list of possibilities include *ñi inaw mew* 'close to' (cf. *inaw* 'proximity'), *ñi wente mew* 'over' (cf. *wente* 'surface'), *ñi minche mew* 'beneath' (cf. *minche* 'inferior part'), and *ñi ollon mew* 'around' (cf. *ollon* 'surroundings'). In addition, an adverb preceding the head can be used instead of the possessive NP with the same function, e.g. *wente ruka mew* 'above the house', *traf aliwen mew* 'beside the tree', etc.

3.2 Adverbs

Although some adverbial expressions can be formed by suffixing *-tu*, e.g. *kawell-tu* (horse-TU) 'on horseback' and *namun-tu* (foot-TU) 'on foot', there is a number of adverbs proper, either simple or compound:

- *kafey* 'also, neither'
- *müna*, preposed *rume* 'very'; e.g. *müna küme kofke* 'very good bread', *rume lifko* 'very clean water'
- *müte*, *newe* '(not) very'; e.g. *müte kim-la-y* 's/he does not know (it) very well' (H 185), *tüfachi iyael newe küme-la-y i-n mew* (this food very good-NEG-IND eat-N) 'this food is not very good to eat.' (H 183)
- postposed *rume* '(not) even'; e.g. *kiñe peñi rume nie-la-n* 'I do not even have one brother' (H 72)
- *müten* 'only', *re* 'pure'; e.g. *kiñe peñi müten nie-n* 'I have only one brother' (H 73), *re küme-ke wenüy nie-y-mi* 'you_s have only good friends' (H 72), *re wesa dungu müten* 'only / nothing but bad news' (H 73)

Some preposed verbal roots can function as adverbs, e.g. *lef küpa-n* 'I came quickly, running' (cf. *lef-* 'run'). Cases like this have been treated differently here from V-V₂ compounds like *rüngkü-tripa-y* 's/he jumped out' and V₀-V compounds like *pepi-amu-la-n* 'I cannot go' (cf. Section III.2.5), because with the former there is normally an equivalent subordinating construction *lef-ün küpa-n* (run-N come-1s) not found with compounds. Needless to say, such analyses (and the related orthographic convention of writing one and two words, respectively) are still matter of debate.

Common spatial adverbs are the following:

• <i>faw</i>	'here'	-	<i>īyew</i>	'there'
• <i>nopatu</i>	'on this side'	-	<i>nometu</i>	'on that side'
• <i>pülle</i>	'close'	-	<i>kamapu</i>	'far away'
• <i>nageltu</i>	'beneath'	-	<i>wentetu</i>	'above'
• <i>inaful</i>	'on the side'	-	<i>wallpüle</i>	'around'
• <i>ponwi(tu)</i>	'inside'	-	<i>wekun(tu)</i>	'outside'
• <i>kompüle</i>	'everywhere'	-	<i>kañpüle</i>	'somewhere else'

Common temporal expressions include:

• <i>wüle</i>	'tomorrow'	-	<i>wiya</i>	'yesterday'
• <i>fewla</i>	'now'	-	<i>wüla</i>	'afterwards, just'
• <i>fachiantü</i>	'today'	-	<i>fillantü</i>	'every day'
• <i>müchay</i>	'soon'	-	<i>tayi</i>	'a while ago'
• <i>rangiantü</i>	'(at) noon'	-	<i>rangipun</i>	'(at) midnight'
• <i>puliwen</i>	'in the morning'	-	<i>rupanantü</i>	'(in the) afternoon'
• <i>kiñeke mew</i>	'sometimes'	-	<i>rumel</i>	'always'
• <i>afkentu</i>	'often'	-	<i>arol</i>	'not too soon'

Some adjectives, e.g. *küme* 'good' and *wesa/weda* 'bad', are frequently encountered as adverbs, e.g. *küme antü-nge-y* 'the weather is fine' and *wesa wef-pa-y tañi kachilla* 'my wheat came out badly' (H 184).

For quantifiers like *alün* 'much', *pichin* 'little', etc. cf. Section III.1.5.

3.3 Conjunctions

Coordinating. Copulative *ka* 'and' is used to coordinate clauses (5a), like disjunctive *kam* 'or' (5b), cf. also IV.2.2. The adversative is *welu* 'but' (5c).

- (5) a. *Juan weñe-y ka ñi foñum kellu-eyew.*
 J. steal-IND and 3POSS son.of.man help-3>3:INV
 'Juan stole [something], and his son helped him.'
- b. *Amu-a-y-mi kam küpa-y-mi?*
 go-FUT-IND-2s or come-IND-2s
 'Are you, going or are you, coming?'
- c. "*Amu-a-i-yu*" *pi-fi-ñ, welu may-la-y.*
 go-FUT-IND-1d say-DIR-1s but want-NEG-IND
 "Let's go," I told him/her, but s/he did not want [to].'

When there is a choice involved, questions can appear in two forms, one of them with *kam*:

- (6) a. *Anchon engu Carlos, tuchi doy kim-i?*
 A. 3dPERS C. which more know-IND
 'Who knows more, Antonio or Carlos?'
- b. *Tuchi doy fütta-trem-i, Juan kam Lautaru?*
 which more big-grown-IND J. or L.
 'Who is taller, Juan or Lautaro?'

Subordinating. A frequent way of stating a cause is by means of (*k*)*am* and a *lu*-form:

- (7) *Pepi-tripa-we-ke-la-n, fütta-lu kam iñche.*
 can-exit-already-HAB-NEG-1s old-LU because 1sPERS
 'I cannot go out any more because I am old.' (A 193)

The element *ñall* 'hopefully' can be used as a subordinating conjunction together with a nonfinite verb form and *mew*, as in (8a); further note the use of *pewmangen* (cf. *pewma-* 'dream'), also meaning 'hopefully', together with the subjunctive (8b):

- (8) a. *Ñall mi longko-nge-n mew rume*
 hopefully 2sPOSS chief-be-N PPOS ever
tangkü-la-ya-yu.
 obey-NEG-FUT-1s>2s
 'Although you, are a chief, I will not obey you,' (A 234)
- b. *Pewmangen fachiantü mawün-le.*
 hopefully today rain-SUBJ:3
 'If only it would rain today.' (Sm 233)

Consequential. It is frequent to find *feymew* with the meanings 'then', 'afterwards', 'therefore' and the like both in narratives and speech. Other variants of the same are *feychimew*, *feymu füla*, etc.

3.4 Particles

dew(ma). The full verb *dewma-* means 'do, make, finish, build, realize, perform', but it is frequently found also as the particle *dew(ma)* with the meaning 'already':

- (9) a. *Dew fem-li mütrüm-a-fi-ñ ...*
 already do.so-SUBJ:1s call-FUT-DIR-1s
 'When I do so, I will call them ...' (S 273)

- b. *Feymew dewma ka pun-lu ...*
 then already other grow.dark-LU
 'Then, when it had grown dark again already ...' (S 258)

Dubitative *pe* and *chey/chi*. Besides appearing as a dubitative suffix in the verbal complex, *pe* can appear as a particle, with or without negation (10a, 10b). Doubt can be also expressed by *chey/chi* (10c).

- (10) a. *Ka wentru pe no, ùlkantu-ke-y?*
 (A 52) other man DUB NEG sing-HAB-IND
 'Is it not another man, the one who sings?'

- b. *Fey tüfa pe mi lifru?*
 this this DUB 2sPOSS book
 'Is this your_s book?'

- c. *Fütange-pe-y chey tüfachi domo?*
 be.married(woman)-DUB-IND DUB this woman
 'Is this woman perhaps married?'

***kay* and *kam*.** The former corresponds to English *and* in questions (11a). Besides being equivalent to English *or*, the latter is used similarly to Spanish *acaso* in questions like *¿Acaso lo sé?* 'How would I know?' (11b).

- (11) a. *Jose kay?*
 J. PART
 'And (what about) José?'

- b. Q: *Illku-y-mi kam?* A: *Illku-la-n.*
 get.angry-IND-2s PART get.angry-NEG-1s
 Q: 'Did you_s get angry?' A: 'No, I did not.'

The particle *kam* may appear as *am*, *kamta*, *amta*, *anta* and *ama*. Without a predicate and with negation these can appear as *no kam*, *no ama*, etc. The exact conditions under which these particles alternate are still unknown. For more on (*k*)*am* meaning 'because' with *lu*-forms cf. III.2.2.

***em*.** This particle (*yem* after vowels) signifies grief, a painful memory, compassion (12a), or that something (a person, thing or quality) no longer exists (12b), in which case it may possibly be already cliticized or even suffixed to the noun. See also II.1.3.

- (12) a. *Dewma pun-i yem!*
 already night-IND PART
 'Too bad it has already grown dark!'

- b. *Ñi ñuke em kùme-piwke-nge-fu-y.*
 1sPOSS mother PART good-heart-be-RI-IND
 'My late mother was a good person.' (H 55)

Other particles. The particle *nga* seems to be a non-agglutinated counterpart of *-lle* (cf. III.2.10) as emphasizing an assertion (also occurring as *ngati*) (13a), but it can also appear in questions (13b):

- (13) a. Q: *Aku-y-mi?* A: *Aku-n may / ka / nga(ti).*
 arrive-IND-2s arrive-1s yes AFF AFF
 Q: 'Have you_s arrived?' A: 'Yes, I have arrived.' (A 240)

- b. *Chew amu-a-lu eymi nga?*
 where go-FUT-LU 2sPERS PART
 'Where are you_s going?'

Similarly, the particle (*a*)*ñay* does not seem to yield any specific meaning, although it usually appears with the imperative:

- (14) *Amu-yu anay!*
 go-1d PART
 'Let us go!'

IV SYNTAX

1 Sentences without a verbal predicate

Typically, sentences lacking a verbal predicate are identificational or equational expressions like the examples in (1). Observe that the non-verbal predicate can be sentence-initial (1a) or not (1b, 1c).

- (1) a. *Rayen ñi püñeñ tüfa.*
 R. 3POSS child.of.woman this
 'These are Rayén's children.'
- b. *Maria engu Rosa püñeñ-wen engu.*
 M. 3dPERS R. child.of.woman-ap 3dPERS
 'María and Rosa are mother and daughter.'
- c. *Ngulngu ta rume küme mamüll.*
 ulmo PART very good firewood
 'Ulmo (= a tree) is very good firewood.' (c 66)

2 Simple sentences with a verbal predicate

The minimal sentence with a verbal predicate consists of a verb form inflected for person such as *amu-a-n* (go-FUT-1s) 'I will go' or *wüñ-i-Ø* (dawn-IND-3) 'the day dawned'. The word order of a simple VP (adverb + verb) is equivalent to the word order of a simple NP (adjective + noun), i.e. *küme trem-i* 's/he grew well' (remember from Section III.1.4 that attributive adjectives precede their head within the NP, e.g. *küme wentrü* 'good man').

Normally, the predicate is a finite verb form either in the indicative or in the imperative. One exception has already been noted, viz. the use of a *lu*-form in the future as alternative to the future indicative (cf. III.2.8). Additionally, verbs in the subjunctive can occur as sole predicates to express wishes or proposals:

- (1) a. *Feyengün aku-nu-fu-le!*
 (Sm 232) 3pPERS arrive-NEG-RI-SUBJ:3
 'If only they_p would not arrive!'
- b. *Kom amu-fu-l-iyiñ kay?*
 all go-RI-SUBJ-1p Q
 'Why don't we_p all go?'

Pronominal 1st and 2nd persons outside the verbal complex are possible but used only when special emphasis or contrast is needed. It is frequent to find predicates accompanied by one lexical NP, since in narratives 3rd persons are particularly frequent:

- (2) a. *Rume ad-i ti mañen.*
 very beautiful-IND ART girl
 'The girl is very beautiful.'
- b. *Kurenge-y Juan.*
 get.married(man)-IND J.
 'John got married.'
- (3) a. *Fentren koña nie-y ti ülmen.*
 many servant have-IND ART rich.man
 'The rich man has many workers.' (c 5)
- b. *Kiñe pontro dewma-y ti fütapüra.*
 one blanket make-IND ART girl
 'The girl made a blanket.' (c 7)

Word order. In order to see that informationally or contrastively focused elements are sentence-initial, consider the following pairs of well-formed questions and answers:

- (4) a. Q: *Chumül aku-y Pedro?* A: *Wiya aku-y Pedro.*
 when arrive-IND P. yesterday arrive-IND P.
 Q: 'When did Pedro arrive?' A: 'Pedro arrived yesterday.'
- b. Q: *Iney aku-y wiya?* A: *Pedro aku-y wiya.*
 who arrive-IND yesterday P. arrive-IND yesterday
 Q: 'Who arrived yesterday?' A: 'Pedro arrived yesterday.'

Therefore, it is not surprising that all possibilities can be elicited (SV, VS, AVO, VAO, VOA, OVA, and AOV, where S refers to the single argument of an intransitive verb, A to the actor and O to the object of a transitive verb). With intransitive predicates, either the single argument (*ngürü* 'fox', 5a) or the predicate (*mongelekefuy* 's/he was alive', 5b) is the prominent information:

(5) a. SV

Ngürü allkütu-le-rke-y.
fox listen-PROG-MIR-IND
'The fox turned out to be listening.' (S 301)

b. VS

Monge-le-ke-fu-y ñi chaw.
live-RES-HAB-RI-IND 3POSS father
'His/her father was alive (back then).' (S 237)

As to the first utterance, a story about a partridge and a fox opens with the partridge singing, and then comes the sentence (5a), which introduces the other character. As to the second, it is from a story about two children who lost their mother but were taking care of by their father.

With transitive predicates, there are several possibilities:

(6) a. AVO

Feychi weche ye-y ñi we ngapiñ.
ART youngster carry-IND 3POSS just married.woman
'The young man brings the woman he has just married.' (Co 259)

b. VAO

Rume rakiduum-ürke-y tüfachi kuñifall wentru
much think-QUOT-IND this poor man

tañi femngechi fem-ün tachi pichi trewa.
3POSS so do.so-N ART little dog
'This poor man thought a lot about why the little dog had done so (lit. his; so doing the little dog;), they say.' (S 319)

c. VOA

Witra-püra-y nga ñi longko nga füttra trapial.
rise-go.up-IND PART 3POSS head PART big puma
'The big puma lifted his head.' (S 288)

d. OVA

Tüfachi ngütram entu-pa-rke-y pu lafken-che ...
this story manifest-CIS-QUOT-IND p sea-people
'The people from the coast told this story here, they say, ...' (S 220)

e. AOV

Pu mapuche mapu lawen nie-y.
p M. land medicine have-IND
'The Mapuche get their medicine from the fields (lit. have the medicine of the land).' (C 12)

(6a) is taken from a description of marriage customs where it is explicitly said what the different persons involved are supposed to do. By contrast, (6b) is uttered after the little dog has followed the poor man for quite a while, and so neither participant is particularly focused; instead, the man's thinking about this fact (*rakiduum-* 'think' is transitive in Mapudungun) is what is highlighted. In (6c), a fox tells the puma that something is going to happen, which catches the puma's attention and makes him raise his head. Finally, (6d) occurs at the end of a story and gives information as to its source. (6e) is an example in Catrileo's dictionary, and therefore there is no context provided; this infrequent word order is less problematic with this particular sentence because of the difference in animacy of both NPs.

Although it seems that only OAV is unattested in non-elicited material, there is a clear preference for A- and V-initial orders over the rest. In other words, the natural thing to do is to construe the utterance as centered on the actor or the predicate, but it is more marked to draw special attention to the object — unless the latter is the topical participant, in which case inverse or passive verb forms are used. Work by Rivano (1991) suggests that with contextless direct verb forms accompanied by two lexical NPs equivalent in topic-worthiness (i.e., unlike Example 6d), the following orders are possible: AVO, VOA and AOV. Conversely, OVA, VAO / VOA and OAV are the word orders admissible with inverse forms.

It seems safe to conclude that topical participants of whole texts or text passages govern verb morphology whereas actors and predicates are preferred centers of attention, and hereby govern word order, within smaller units. A case in point is illustrated by the following excerpt from a text where an *ülcha* 'young woman' is kidnapped by a *trülke wekufü* 'leather-devil'.

(7) a. *Nam-i chi ülcha domo.*
(S 226) disappear-IND ART young.woman woman
'The young woman disappeared.'

b. *Chew ñi amu-n kim-nge-la-y.*
where 3POSS go-N know-PASS-NEG-IND
'Nobody knew (lit. it was not known) where she went.'

c. *Feymew piam tachi trülke wekufü ye-rke-eyew*
 then they.say ART leather devil carry-QUOT-3>3:INV

kiñe füttra rinü mew.
 one big cave PPOS

'Then the leather-devil brought her to a big cave, they say.'

Although the story seems to be about the devil (its very title is *trülke wekufü*), the participant at the center of attention is the maiden. Example (7a) sets the topical person that is to be cross-referenced on the predicates in (7b) and (7c) (*ñi amun* and *yerkeeyew*, respectively). The devil being the relevant information as to the cause of her disappearance, he appears as preverbal actor in (7c), and the maiden does not have to be explicitly stated again but is referred to by the bipersonal ending *-eyew* on the inverse form).

3 Complex sentences with verbal predicates

3.1 Independent clauses

As mentioned above when discussing conjunctions (Section III.3.3), clauses are coordinated simply by juxtaposition or *ka* 'and' and *welu* 'but'. Two independent clauses can be conjoined to express sequentiality (with *wüne* - *fey wüla*, 1a), causality (*feymew*⁸, 1b) and other notions:

(1) a. *Wüne amu-n tañi malle mew,*
 first go-1s 1sPOSS paternal.uncle PPOS

fey wüla amu-n waria mew.
 that afterwards go-1s city PPOS

'First I went to my uncle's, and then I went to the city.' (H 223)

b. *Kutran-küle-y. Feymew amu-la-y.*
 ill-RES-IND therefore go-NEG-IND
 'S/he is ill. Therefore, s/he did not go.'

3.2 Dependent clauses

Temporal clauses. Typically, temporal clauses ('when') are formed according to the following scheme:

⁸ In fact, *feymew* 'then, therefore' is semantically almost as vague as its *mew* component and can be used as opening for a great variety of clauses; cf. III.3.3.

TABLE 11
 TEMPORAL CLAUSES

	Dependent clause	Main clause
(i) Single point in time, non-future	<i>lu</i> -form	indicative non-future form (-Ø)
(ii) Single point in time, future	subjunctive form	indicative future form (-a) (also <i>-a-lu</i>)
(iii) Habitual action	<i>yüm</i> -form	indicative habitual form (-ke)

The examples in (2) illustrate the contrast between the cases (i) and (ii) in Table 11:

(2) a. *Feychi amu-lu iñche tañi ruka mew,*
 (H 221) that.time go-LU 1sPERS 3POSS house PPOS

fentren nütramka-yu.
 a.lot talk-IND:1d

'When I went to his/her house, we_d talked a lot.'

b. *Amu-li (iñche) tañi ruka mew,*
 go-SUBJ:1s 1sPERS 3POSS house PPOS

fentren nütramka-ya-yu.
 a.lot talk-FUT-IND:1d

'When I go to his/her house, we_d will talk a lot.'

The contrast between (i) and (iii) is shown in the following examples:

(3) a. *Amu-lu waria mew, ngilla-me-y asukura.*
 (H 221) go-LU city PPOS buy-AND-IND sugar
 'When s/he went to the city, s/he bought sugar.'

b. *Amu-yüm waria mew, ngilla-me-ke-y asukura.*
 go-YÜM city PPOS buy-AND-HAB-IND sugar
 'Whenever s/he goes to the city, s/he buys sugar.'

Sequentiality. To express that one action or state happened prior to a second action or state, several strategies can be used. First, two independent clauses can be conjoined as mentioned in Section IV.3.1. Second, *petu* 'still' can be used together with a negated nonfinite verb form:

(4) *Petu ñi i-no-n, ye-ko-me-a-n.*
 still 1sPOSS eat-NEG-N carry-water-AND-FUT-1s
 'Before eating, I will go and get some water.' (H 223)

Third, forms that parallel those in Table 11 can be used together with *dew(ma)*, a particle or grammaticalized item related to *dewma-* 'make':

- (5) a. *Dew dewma-lu ñi kùdaw, amu-tu-y.*
(H 224) already make-LU 3POSS work go-TU-IND
'After finishing his/her work, s/he went home.'
- b. *Dew dewma-le ñi kùdaw, amu-tu-a-lu.*
already make-SUBJ:3 3POSS work go-TU-FUT-LU
'After finishing his/her work, s/he will go home.'
- c. *Dew dewma-yüm ñi kùdaw, amu-tu-ke-y.*
already make-YÜM 3POSS work go-TU-HAB-IND
'After finishing his/her work, s/he goes home.'

Finally, *rupan* 'after' (a reduced form of *rupa-* 'pass') can be used instead of *dew(ma)* 'already' with the *lu-*, subjunctive, and *yüm*-forms:

- (6) a. *Rupan amu-lu feria mew,*
(H 224) after go-LU fair PPOS

amu-y tañi wenüy mew.
go-IND 3POSS friend PPOS
'After going to the fair, s/he went to his/her friend's.'
- b. *Rupan dewma-yüm ñi kùdaw, amu-tu-ke-y.*
after make-YÜM 3POSS work go-TU-HAB-IND
'After finishing his/her work, s/he goes home.'

Causality. The notion of causality can be expressed with a non-subordinating structure (Section IV.3.1) or via a nonfinite verb form (cf. III.2.2 and III.3.3). In the latter case, the order of the matrix and the subordinated clause is typically free:

- (7) *Kutran-küle-lu=am amu-la-y.*
ill-RES-LU=because go-NEG-IND
Also: *Amu-la-y kutran-küle-lu=am.*
'S/he did not go because s/he was ill.'

An *n*-form with or without *mew* can also be used for this purpose (cf. III.2.2):

- (8) *Nie-no-n mew manshun pepi-kùdaw-la-n.*
have-NEG-N PPOS ox can-work-NEG-1s
'I cannot work because I do not have any oxen.' (A 176)

Attributive clauses. There seems to be a tendency to use different nonfinite verb forms depending on whether the referent is S/A (*lu*-form) or U (*el*-form) of the dependent predicate, although counterexamples do exist.

- (9) a. *Kutran-küle-y ti wentru küpa-ke-lu.*
(H 257) ill-RES-IND ART man come-HAB-LU
'The man who (always) comes is ill.'
- b. *Ti wentru tami pe-el kutran-küle-y.*
ART man 2sPOSS see-EL ill-RES-IND
'The man that you_s saw is ill.'

More complex configurations are also rendered by nonfinite verb forms:

- (10) a. *Wiya küpa-y tati wentru*
(H 260/1) yesterday come-IND ART man

tañi katri-lel-etew mamüll.
1sPOSS cut-APPL-EL:INV wood
'The man who chops wood for me came yesterday.'
- b. *Af-i tati kofke tami küpa-lel-fi-el.*
end-IND ART bread 2sPOSS come-APPL-FI-EL
'The bread that you_s brought me ended.'

An additional strategy consists of suffixing *-chi* instead of the nonfinite verb form ending. A *chi*-marked form preceded its head, whereas an attributive *lu*-form follows it:

- (11) *ti kùdaw-chi wentru* vs. *ti wentru kùdaw-lu*
ART work-ATTR man ART man work-LU
Both: 'the man who works'

Whereas prenominal attributes seem to characterize their head in such a way that the quality described corresponds to a characteristic trait which can be more or less permanent, postnominal attributes are somewhat more loosely attached to their head, i.e. they constitute additional information that does not necessarily characterize the head in a permanent way.

The nonfinite verb form is very frequently the sole head of the attributive clause with no need to have an explicit noun or equivalent element like *chem* 'what' in (12a) (headless relative clause):

- (12) a. *Chem ñi pi-etew ñi chaw*
what 3POSS say-EL:INV 3POSS father

kom ina-nie-y.

all follow-have-IND

'S/he does everything his/her father tells him/her.' (M 149)

- b. *Tüfa nga ñi pi-el ñi werkü-etew.*
 this PART 3POSS say-EL 1sPOSS send-EL:INV
 'This is what the one who sent me said.'

- c. "*Lelfüntu-a-n*" *rume-no-a-lu mawida mew*
 cross.the.prairie-FUT-1s pass-NEG-FUT-LU mountain PPOS

feypi-ke-y.

say-HAB-IND

'The one who does not go beyond the mountain says "I will cross the prairie".' (A 190)

Conditional clauses. Typically, verbs in the subjunctive are used in the protasis and verbs in the indicative in the apodosis:

- (13) a. *Küpa-l-mi wüle, nütramka-ya-yu.*
 come-SUBJ-2s tomorrow talk-FUT-IND:1d
 'If you_s come tomorrow, we_d will talk.' (H 213)

- b. *Welu amu-no-l-iyiñ iñchiñ,*
 but go-NEG-SUBJ-1p 1pPERS

iney ama ye-ko-me-a-y?

who PART carry-water-AND-FUT-IND

'But if we_p do not go, who is going to fetch some water?' (H 215)

Examples (14a) and (14b) are from Argentinian Mapudungun and show conditional constructions whose protases are emphasized by the confirmative suffix *-lle* (cf. III.2.10). Although the apodoses of (14b) and (14c) are equivalent morphologically (i.e. *a-fu*-marked), it seems that the preferred interpretation is that both the protasis and the apodosis refer to an uncertain future. To render the equivalent of a sentence like (14c) in the past ('If I had gone to the city, I would have seen you_s') idiomatically, a sentence like (14d) is used:

- (14) a. *Mawün-lle-le iñche amu-tu-a-n.*
 rain-CONF-SUBJ:3 1sPERS go-TU-FUT-1s
 'I will come back even if it rains.' (Gp 62)

- b. *Mawün-lle-fu-le iñche amu-tu-a-fu-n.*
 rain-CONF-RI-SUBJ:3 1sPERS go-TU-FUT-RI-1s
 'I would have gone even if it had rained.' (Gp 62)

- c. *Amu-fu-li waria mew, pe-a-f-eyu.*
 go-RI-SUBJ:1s city PPOS see-FUT-RI-1s>2s
 'If I went to the city, I would see you_s.'

- d. *Amu-no-lu iñche waria mew, pe-la-eyu.*
 go-NEG-LU 1sPERS city PPOS see-NEG-1s>2s
 'Since I did not go to the city, I did not see you_s.'

Negative concomitance. The notion of 'X V-ed without (Y) V-ing' is rendered by a negated nonfinite verb form:

- (15) a. *Kon-pu-y ti weñe-fe fey ñi kim-no-n*
 enter-TRANS-IND ART steal-NA 3PERS 3POSS know-NEG-N

iney no rume.

who NEG even

'The thief entered without anyone noticing him/her.' (H 269)

- b. *Amu-tu-y fey ñi kim-no-fi-el rume.*
 go-TU-IND 3PERS 3POSS know-NEG-FI-EL even
 'S/he went without even noticing him/her.' (H 269)

4 Indirect and direct speech

Direct quotes are comparatively more frequent than indirect speech. The standard way to express what has been said consists of (i) an introductory form of *feypi*- 'say', (ii) the quote, and (iii) a closing form of *pi*- 'say':

- (1) *Feypi-enew "La-y tañi ñuke" pi.*
 say-3>1s die-IND 1sPOSS mother say:IND
 'S/he told me his/her mother had died.'
 lit. 'S/he told me: "My mother died."'

That the correct analysis of *feypi* is not *fey pi* 's/he said the following:' can be seen e.g. from the existence of the iterative form *feypi-feypi-nge-lu* 'saying' (cf. Section III.2.9), where the reduplicated verb stem includes the element *fey*. Thus, there seem to exist two verbs with equivalent meaning 'say' but complementary distribution as to whether they precede (*feypi*-) or follow (*pi*-) the quote.

A similar strategy can be used to express thoughts or wishes (2a) and commands / suggestions (2b):

- (2) a. "Amu-a-n" *pi-ke-fu-n, welu rele-ke-la-n.*
 go-FUT-1s say-HAB-RI-1s but have.time-HAB-NEG-1s
 'I used to say "I will go", but I never had the time.' (H 244)
- b. "Fürene-en" *pi-a-fi-mi ti wingka.*
 do.a.favor-2s>1s say-FUT-DIR-2s ART foreigner
 'Ask the foreigner to do you_s a favor.' (C 53)

APPENDIX 1: Verbal template

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10a	10b	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
T/V	m		w			i	fal	nge																
A	nie	künü		law	ima			wé				ka	tu	ke										
M+				le								päda	pe		rke	lle						fu		
L/D									fem	rumé														
NEG										r	pa										la			
T										yeñä	pu										no			
DIR			(w)				mu														ki		a	e
																								f
																								E
																								N
																								D

Notes:

- A. There is no consensus as to how many suffix slots one should postulate, nor is the relative order of the suffixes exactly as depicted in the table in every single instance. Therefore, the table above is to be understood rather as an orientation help than as an analytic / descriptive tool.
- B. Abbreviations used in the table: T/V = transitivity/voice, A = aspectuality, M+ = modality, evidentiality, etc., L/D = locative/directional, NEG = negation, T = tense, DIR = direction.
- C. Some slots deserve special attention:
- Slot 0, verb stem
 - Slot 10, locative/directional
 - Slot 22, ending
- The verb stem formula is (V₀) V (V₂) (NP), where V stands for verb root and NP for nominal phrase.
 Since -r and -yeñä cannot appear without -pa, -pu or -me, they have been treated here as fitting into subslots.
 END = E (P*), where E stands for either the finite (fE) or the nonfinite (nE) ending part and P* for the additional person marking -(m)ew.
 fE = M P N, where M stands for mood (indicative -i, subjunctive -j and imperative -ö), P for person (1st -i, 2nd -m, 3rd -ö) and N for number (singular -i, dual -ä, plural -n)
 nE = either -r, -elä, -lä, -yälä, -am or -mum

APPENDIX 2: Loanwords

1 Spanish loanwords

Spanish loanwords in Mapudungun are numerous, and many of them have been phonologically adapted:

<i>ufisa</i>	'sheep'	(Sp. <i>oveja</i>)	<i>kawell(u)</i>	'horse'	(Sp. <i>caballo</i>)
<i>waka</i>	'cow'	(Sp. <i>vaca</i>)	<i>llafe</i>	'key'	(Sp. <i>llave</i>)
<i>kürasia</i>	'thanks'	(Sp. <i>gracias</i>)	<i>lifru</i>	'book'	(Sp. <i>libro</i>)
<i>manshun</i>	'ox'	(Sp. <i>manso</i> 'tame')	<i>pofre</i>	'poor'	(Sp. <i>pobre</i>)
<i>gayeta</i>	'cookie'	(Sp. <i>galleta</i>)	<i>kosina</i>	'kitchen'	(Sp. <i>cocina</i>)
<i>awar</i>	'bean'	(Sp. <i>habas</i>)	<i>napor</i>	'turnip'	(Sp. <i>nabos</i>)
<i>püredu</i>	'prisoner'	(Sp. <i>preso</i>)	<i>felantar</i>	'apron'	(Sp. <i>delantal</i>)
<i>awokaw</i>	'lawyer'	(Sp. <i>abogado</i>)	<i>kanesta</i>	'basket'	(Sp. <i>canasta</i>)
<i>chumpirü</i>	'hat'	(Sp. <i>sombrero</i>)	<i>sanchu</i>	'pig'	(Sp. <i>chanchu</i>)
<i>depwe</i>	'afterwards'	(Sp. <i>después</i>)	<i>pülata</i>	'silver'	(Sp. <i>plata</i>)

2 Other loanwords

There are some loanwords from Quechua and/or Aymara (cf. also Smeets 1989:72):

<i>achawall</i>	'hen'	(cf. Ayacucho Quechua <i>wallpa</i> 'hen')
<i>kawitu</i>	'bed'	(cf. Ayacucho Quechua <i>kawitu</i> 'rustic bed')
<i>wampu</i>	'canoe'	(cf. Ayacucho Quechua <i>wampu</i> 'vessel')
<i>mishki</i>	'sweet'	(cf. Cuzco Quechua <i>misk'i</i> 'sweet')
<i>awka-</i>	'fight, war'	(cf. Aymara <i>auca</i> 'enemy')
<i>mingako-</i>	'farm in common'	(cf. Ayacucho Quechua <i>minka-</i> 'hire laborers')
<i>chillka-tu-</i>	'write'	(cf. Ayacucho Quechua <i>qillqa</i> 'inscription, drawing')

APPENDIX 3: Sample texts

1 Of shamans and their initiation

In this text (taken from Coña 1930:330ff) the narrator describes how someone is called by the spirit world to become a shaman, which in Mapuche culture is called *machi* and is usually a woman.

- (1) *"Machi-nge-ke-y pu machi, el-enew wenu-mapu dios,*
shaman-PASS-HAB-IND p shaman name-3>1s above-land god

kishu ngüne-w-ün machi-nge-la-n", pi pu machi.
same lie-REFL-1s shaman-PASS-NEG-1s say:IND p shaman
'The shamans say: "Shamans are created as such; God in heaven has ordained me, I am not merely pretending to be a shaman."'

- (2) *Chumül antü iñche ñi lamngen machi-y.*
once day 1sPERS 1sPOSS sister shaman-IND
'One day a sister of mine became a shaman.'

- (3) *Feymew kiñe ella puñ la-rume-y.*
then one average night die-SUDD-IND
'No sooner had the day dawned than [it was as if] she [had] suddenly died.'

- (4) *Kintu-l-nge-y machi ñi ülu-a-etew;*
search-APPL-PASS-IND shaman 3POSS suck.bad.spirits-FUT-EL:INV

feymew machi-tu-nge-y.
then shaman-TU-PASS-IND
'They looked for a shaman who would suck the bad spirits out of her; then she was treated according to the traditional healing ceremony (=machitun).'

- (5) *Kiñe ina lef anü-püra-me-y nentu-ñma-fi*
one close quickly sit-go.up-AND-IND take.away-APPL-DIR:IND

ñi kultrung feychi ka machi ka mütrüm-fi
3POSS drum this and shaman and call-DIR:IND

tüfachi rali.

this shamanic.plate

'Suddenly she stood up, took the drum called the shamanic plate from the shaman.'

- (6) *Ka tu-y ñi ülkantu-n, feypi ñi ül:*
and take-IND 3POSS sing-N say:IND 3POSS song
'At the same time she began to sing as follows.'

- (7) *"Iñche may machi-a-n.*
1sPERS PART shaman-FUT-1s
"I will become a shaman.'

- (8) *Tüfachi antü mew pe-pa-fi-ñ tüfachi pichi domo,*
this day PPOS see-CIS-DIR-1s this little woman

ayü-fi-ñ ñi machi-l-a-fi-el.

want-DIR-1s 1sPOSS shaman-APPL-FUT-FI-EL

'Today I came here to visit this little woman, I wanted to turn her into a shaman.'

- (9) *Machi-l-a-fi-ñ kuyfi ñi ella pichi che*
shaman-APPL-FUT-DIR-1s long.ago 1sPOSS average little person

nge-lu ayü-nie-ke-fi-el.

be-LU love-have-HAB-FI-EL

'Long ago, when she was [still] too young, I chose her to become a shaman because I loved her.'

- (10) *Feymew fewla pe-pa-fi-ñ tañi machi-l-a-fi-el*
therefore now see-CIS-DIR-1s 1sPOSS shaman-APPL-FUT-FI-EL

wüla; ñi elu-a-fi-el fill lawen; fill ngillatun,"
afterwards 1sPOSS give-FUT-FI-EL every medicine every supplication

pi ñi ülkantu-n ñi lamngen.

say:IND 3POSS sing-N 1sPOSS sister

'Now I have come to turn her into shaman, to give her [knowledge about] every medicine and every pleading ceremony", said my sister, singing.'

- (11) *Feymew doy füttra ülkantu-y: "Wekufü fem-etew mew*
then more big sing-IND devil do.so-EL:INV PPOS

reke' pi-mu-la-ya-iñ, iñche may küme ngünechen,
similar say-INV-NEG-FUT-1p 1sPERS PART good creator.of people

fey may machi-l-a-enew, tañi küme che nge-am,
this PART shaman-APPL-FUT-3>1s 3POSS good people be-AM

tañi ülu-a-fi-yüm müle-le kutran-lu."
3POSS suck.bad.spirits-FUT-FI-YÜM be-SUBJ:3 ill-LU

'Then she sang even louder: "Do not say to us 'it is as if the devil had done this', it is the good creator of people, he will turn me into a shaman in order for me to be famous and to heal the sick people".'

2 The beginning of a healing ceremony

The following passage is taken from a text composed by Segundo Llamín Canulaf from Quinahue in 1984. After explaining the purpose of the *machitun* or healing ceremony performed by the *machi* or shaman, he summarily describes the procedure, which includes the presence of the *foye* 'cinnamon tree' and the *kultrung* 'ceremonial drum'.

The text can be found in the proceedings of the *Jornadas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche, 29-31 de agosto, 1984*, which took place in Temuco and was organized by the Universidad de la Frontera and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

- (1) *Feymew chi machi datu-ke-eyew umañ-kon*
then ART shaman heal-HAB-3>3:INV lodge-enter

anü-ñma-ke-y ñi kutran ta machi
sit-APPL-HAB-IND 3POSS sick PART shaman

epu rangi anüm foye mew,
two between planted cinnamon.tree PPOS

kiñe longko-püle ka-nge-lu namun-püle.

one head-close other-be-LU foot-close

'Then [the sick person] is usually healed by the shaman [as follows]: [The shaman] places herself conveniently close to the sick person between two planted cinnamon trees, one at the head and the other at the feet.'

- (2) *Fey llitun mew müten kultrungtu-n mew ka*
that beginning PPOS only play.drum-N PPOS and

ülkantu-n mew amu-l-ke-y tañi llllipu-n
sing-N PPOS go-APPL-HAB-IND 3POSS implore-N

fey ñi kim-a-el chumngechi monge-a-el
that 3POSS know-FUT-EL how be.healthy-FUT-EL

ka chem lawen mew feychi kutran.
and what medicine PPOS this ill

'From the beginning she plays the ceremonial drum and sings; thus she endeavors to find out how the sick person will recover and with which medicine.'

- (3) *Feychi llllipu-n amu-ke-y chem ngünechen mew*
this implore-N go-HAB-IND what spirit PPOS

tañi nüw-küle-mum.
3POSS join-RES-MUM

'The supplication is always directed toward the particular spirit to which [the shaman] is joined.'

3 The fox and the otter

This text is an *epew* 'story' found in Salas (1992:293ff), and it was told to Andrés Gallardo by Antonio Antilec in about 1963. Salas provides a translation and information on intonation but no morphemic analysis. The original orthography has been slightly adapted to match the forms discussed in the rest of the book.

It is usually more difficult to elicit stories like this, due not so much to the otter outsmarting the fox but rather to the sexual issues. Since the fox is such a pervasive character in Native American storytelling, and this text illustrates many of the constructions and grammatical categories discussed in the book, it has been included here.

- (1) *Ngürü am ñuwa.*
fox PART lewd
'The fox is truly lewd.'

- (2) *Teltong-küle-n tripa-y ñi lolo mew.*
trot-PROG-N exit-IND 3POSS hole PPOS
'He went out of his cave, trotting.'

- (3) *Ina lewfü engu traw-i. "Marimari" pi-w-i-ngu.*
close river 3dPERS meet-IND hello say-REFL-IND-3d
'They_d met by the river. "Hello", they_d said to each other.'
- (4) *Ngürü am ñuwa komütu-fi williñ.*
fox PART lewd look.with.pleasure-DIR:IND otter
'The fox being lewd, he looked at the otter lustfully.'
- (5) *Williñ am we tripa-le-lu lewfü mew*
otter PART just exit-PROG-LU river PPOS
- wilüf-küle-y ñi wentelli.*
glow-PROG-IND 3POSS behind
'Since the otter was just coming out of the river, his behind was glowing.'
- (6) *"Kure-wen awkantu-a-fu-yu" pi-nge-y williñ.*
wife-ap lay-FUT-RI-1d say-PASS-IND otter
'"Let us play husband and wife!" the otter was told.'
- (7) *"Iney am malen-nge-a-y" pi williñ "eymi wune*
who PART girl-be-FUT-IND say:IND otter 2sPERS first
malen-nge-a-y-mi".
girl-be-FUT-IND-2s
'"Who will be the girl?" said the otter. "You, (will) be the girl first."'
- (8) *Ngürü rakiduum-i.*
fox think-IND
'The fox thought [about it].'
- (9) *Dew rakiduum-lu ngürü "malen-nge-a-n may" pi.*
already think-LU fox girl-be-FUT-1s PART say
'After thinking [about it], the fox said: "I will be the girl."'
- (10) *Williñ rüngkü-püra-fem-i.*
otter jump-go.up-IMM-IND
'The otter immediately jumped [onto the fox].'
- (11) *Ngürü aymün tronof-kon-i.*
fox a.bit shrink-enter-IND
'The fox cringed a bit.'

- (12) *"Nengüm-nge"* ka pi-nge-y ngürü.
move-IMP:2s also say-PASS-IND fox
'"Move," the fox was told.'
- (13) *Pepi-nengüm-la-y* ngürü. *Lüpef-lüpef-tu-meke-y* müten.
can-move-NEG-IND fox blink-RDP-TU-PROG-IND only
'The fox was not able to move. He was only opening and closing his eyes.'
- (14) *"Kümentu-y-mi* ngürü" ramtu-nge-y ngürü.
find.good-IND-2s fox ask-PASS-IND fox
'"Did you, find it good, fox?" the fox was asked.'
- (15) *Ngürü* *dungu-la-y*. "Ümm" pi müten.
fox speak-NEG-IND m. say:IND only
'The fox did not speak. "Mmm", he only said.'
- (16) *Dew* *ñidotu-nge-lu* ngürü
already practise.sodomy-PASS-LU fox

williñ *rüngkü-kon-fem-tu-y* *lewfü mew*.
otter jump-enter-IMM-back-IND river PPOS
'After the fox had been subjected to sodomy, the otter immediately jumped back into the river.'
- (17) *Weda* *aye-le-we-y* ngürü.
bad laugh-RES-WE-IND fox
'The fox stayed (behind) feeling bad.'
- (18) *"Chum-a-n am"* pi ñi rakiduum ngürü.
what-FUT-1s PART say:IND 3POSS thought fox
'"What will I do?" said the fox [in] his thoughts.'
- (19) *"Weda trewa"* pi ngürü, "angküm-a-fi-ñ
bad dog say:IND fox dry-FUT-DIR-1s

tüfachi lewfü" pi ngürü.
this river say:IND fox
'"Wicked dog," said the fox. "I will dry this river," said the fox.'
- (20) *Nag-i* ñi *püto-ko-a-el*.
go.down-IND 3POSS drink-water-FUT-EL
'He went down [to the river] to drink (some) water.'

- (21) *Müchay müten apo-y* ñi *pütra;* *lewfü*
soon only fill-IND 3POSS belly river

fele-ka-y müten.
be.so-still-IND only
'Soon he filled his belly; the river was still the same.'
- (22) *Itrofill püle* *pe-la-y* *kiñe che no rume*.
all towards see-NEG-IND one person NEG ever
'[He looked in] all directions [but] did not see a single person.'
- (23) *Teltong-küle-n* *amu-tu-y*.
trot-PROG-N go-TU-IND
'He went back [to his cave] trotting.'
- (24) *Dew* *pichi amu-lu* *üweñ-el-nge-y* ngürü.
already little go-LU whistle-APPL-PASS-IND fox
'A short while after he had set off, someone whistled to the fox.'
- (25) *Witra-y* ngürü *adkintu-y* *pe-la-y* *che*.
rise-IND fox look.from.afar-IND see-NEG-IND person
'The fox straightened up, looked [and] did not see anyone.'
- (26) *Ka teltong-i* ngürü *ka* *üweñ-el-nge-y*.
other trot-IND fox other whistle-APPL-PASS-IND
'Once again he trotted, [and] once again someone whistled to him.'
- (27) *"Iney chey"* pi ngürü, "kam tañi kodo chey?"
who DUB say:IND fox PART 1sPOSS anus DUB
'"Who could it be?" said the fox. "Is it perhaps my anus?"'
- (28) *Taku-y* ñi *kodo* ñi *külen mew*.
cover-IND 3POSS anus 3POSS tail PPOS
'He covered his anus with his tail.'
- (29) *Ka amu-y,* *ka* *üweñ-el-nge-y,*
also go-IND other whistle-APPL-PASS-IND

ka ayetu-l-nge-y.
also mock-APPL-PASS-IND
'Once again he went, [and] once again someone whistled to him and mocked him.'

- (30) *Wilki-rke.*
thrush-MIR
'It turned out to be a thrush.'
- (31) *Chüllüm-nag-i ñi piwke ngürü.*
go.to.sleep-go.down-IND 3POSS heart fox
'The fox shuddered.'
- (32) "Müna küme üweñ-i-mi wilki" pi ngürü.
very good whistle-IND-2s thrush say:IND fox
'"You, whistle very beautifully, thrush!" said the fox.'
- (33) "Chew ta witra-le-n püno-nie-n kiñe füttra düllwi."
where PART rise-RES-1s tread-have-1s one big earthworm
'"[Right] here where I stand I have a big earthworm under my foot."
- (34) "Nag-pa-nge pichi wilki," pi ngürü.
go.down-CIS-IMP:2s little thrush say:IND fox
'"Come down here, little thrush!" said the fox.'
- (35) "Ñidotu-nge-y-mi, ngürü," pi-nge-y.
practise.sodomy-PASS-IND-2s fox say-PASS-IND
'"You, were subjected to sodomy, fox," he was told.'
- (36) *Tülang-nag-i ñi füttra karü ñamtu-y.*
spur.along-go.down-IND 3POSS big green disappear-IND
'He spurred along (lit. his big muddy [horse]) and disappeared.'
- (37) *Feymew leta pe-nge-n mew ngürü*
then ? see-PASS-N PPOS fox
- nuf-nuf-tu-yaw-ke-y chew tañi müle-n dañe*
smell-RDP-TU-AMB-HAB-IND where 3POSS be-N nest
- kuram wilki tañi apo-ma-fi-el, doy*
egg thrush 3POSS fill-APPL-FI-EL more
- ñi ayetu-nge-no-a-el.*
3POSS mock-PASS-NEG-FUT-EL
'Then, because he was seen, the fox goes around sniffing where there are thrush nests [with] eggs in order to exterminate them and not be mocked any longer.'

An alternative end of this *epew* leaves the part of the thrush out (23-37) and has instead:

- (38) *Feymew ngürü kintu-yaw-ke-rke-y rumel ina lawna*
then fox search-AMB-HAB-REP-IND always close lagoon
- ka ina lewfü pe-a-fu-el tafey tichi pichi kulliñ*
and close river see-FUT-RI-EL this ART little animal
- tañi ngüenka-etew.*
1s/3POSS trick-EL:INV
'Then the fox, they say, always goes around by lagoons and rivers searching for this little animal that had tricked him [hoping he] might see him.'

4 A Pehuenche story: The fox and the buzzard

Since this book focuses on Central Mapudungun, a short text in the eastern dialect has been included here for comparison. The following is the beginning of an *epew* found in the compilation made by Gilberto Sánchez (Sánchez 1989).

I have retained Sánchez's orthography, which has *j* for *y* and *ɣ* for *w* in diphthongs, *č* for *ch*, *i* for *ü*, *ŋ* for *ng*, *λ* for *ll*, but further observe the following dialectal phonological correspondences:

Mapudungun	Pehuenche	Mapudungun	Pehuenche
<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>-ew</i>	<i>-u</i>
<i>-rkey</i>	<i>-rki</i>	<i>-u-a-</i> (FUT)	<i>-o-</i> (FUT)

- (1) *Vejmu ka entu-l-aju kiñe epeɣ ka peñi.*
then also tell-APPL-FUT:1s>2s one e. also brother
'O.K.; I will tell you, another *epew*, brother.'
- (2) *Vej tivači epeɣ kiñe ŋiri eɣu kiñe taltal.*
this this e. one fox 3dPERS one turkey.buzzard
'This *epew* is about a fox and a buzzard.'
- (3) *ŋiri eɣu taltal vej ta wenijkay-ke-rki-ɣu.*
fox 3dPERS buzzard PART be.friends-HAB-QUOTE:IND-3d
'The fox and the buzzard were friends.'

- (4) *Vejmu kiñe anti vejpi-rki taltal "iñče ta*
then one day say.so-QUOT:IND buzzard 1sPERS PART
amo-n wenu-mapu" pi-rki "fawintu-me-n" pi-rki.
go:FUT-1s above-land say-QUOT:IND reunion-AND-1s say-QUOT:IND
'Then one day the buzzard said: "I am going to heaven. I am going to a
reunion (i.e., a pleading ceremony)", he said.'
- (5) *Vejmu ñirī kaj vej ta "iñče amo-vī-n*
then fox also PART 1sPERS go:FUT-RI-1s
ka anī" pi-rki.
also PART say-QUOT:IND
'Then the fox said: "I would (like to) go, too."'
- (6) *"Nie-la-n kawelu mīten anī" pi-rki.*
have-NEG-1s horse only PART say-QUOT:IND
'"But I do not have a horse", he said.'
- (7) *"Vej ta ñinew-il-mi amo-al iñče jeka-v-eyu*
PART decide-SUBJ-2s go:FUT-FUT:EL 1sPERS bring:FUT-RI-1s>2s
anī" pi-rk-eju ti taltal.
PART say-QUOT-3>3:INV ART buzzard
'"If you, decided to go I would take you, with me" said the buzzard.'
- (8) *Vejmu "ja" pi-rki ñirī peymati-j ti ñirī vejpi-el.*
then OK say-QUOT:IND fox feel.like-IND ART fox say-EL
'"O.K.", said the fox then. He felt like going when he was told [this].'
- (9) *Vejmu pjam poꞡ-lu ti f'okilanti*
then they.say arrive-LU ART appointed.day
vej "amo-ju" pi-w-i-ṛu pjam
then go:FUT-1d say-REFL-IND-3d they.say
'When the appointed day came, they said to each other: "Let's go!"'

Abbreviations

A	actor	NL	nomen loci <i>-we, -ntu, -mum</i>
AFF	affirmative <i>ka, nga(ti)</i>	ns	non-singular <i>-ke</i>
AMB	ambulative <i>-yaw</i>	ÑMU	pseudo-voice
AND	andative <i>-me</i>	O	object
ap	associative plural <i>-wen</i>	p	plural <i>-n, pu</i>
APPL	applicative <i>-ñima, -l</i>	PART	particle
ART	article	PASS	agentless passive <i>-nge</i>
ATTR	attributivizer <i>-chi</i>	PERS	personal pronoun
CERT	certainty <i>-pe</i>	POSS	possessive pronoun
CIS	cislocative <i>-pa</i>	PPOS	general postposition <i>mew</i>
CONF	confirmative <i>-lle</i>	PROG	progressive <i>-meke, -le, petu</i>
d	dual <i>-u</i>	PROX	proximity <i>-pe</i>
DIR	direct <i>-fi</i>	QUOT	quotative <i>-rke</i>
DUB	dubitative <i>-pe, pe, chi, chey</i>	R	directional
EL	nonfinite verb form	RDP	reduplication
FAL	pseudo-voice; deverbalizer	REFL	reflexive <i>-w</i>
FI	suffix appearing in some nonfinite verb forms	RES	resultative <i>-le</i>
FUT	future <i>-a</i>	RI	ruptured implicature <i>-fu</i>
HAB	habitual <i>-ke</i>	s	singular <i>-i</i>
IMM	immediate <i>-fem</i>	S	single argument
IMP	imperative <i>-Ø</i>	SUBJ	subjunctive <i>-l</i>
IND	indicative <i>-i</i>	SUDD	sudden <i>-rume</i>
INV	inverse <i>-e, -mu</i>	TR	transitivizer <i>-m</i>
LU	nonfinite verb form	TRANS	translocative <i>-pu</i>
MEW	postposition <i>mew</i> cliticized/suffixed to some verb forms	TU	'back', aspectual form
MIR	mirative <i>-rke</i>	UMA	nonfinite verb form
MUM	nonfinite verb form	V	vowel; verbal root; verb
N	nonfinite verb form	WE	'already', aspectual form
NA	nomen agentis <i>-fe</i>	X	any segment; variable element
NEG	negation <i>-la, -no, -ki</i>	YEKÜ	directional
NI	nomen instrumenti <i>-we, -kemum, -peyüm</i>	YÜM	nonfinite verb form

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