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A Grammar of Mapuche

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A Grammar of Mapuche

by

Ineke Smeets

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To Luis Quinchavil

Preface

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

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

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

Ineke Smeets

Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions

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

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

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

Mapuche material is printed in italics.

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

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

Superscript numbers indicate slot numbers.

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

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

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

Part I

Introduction
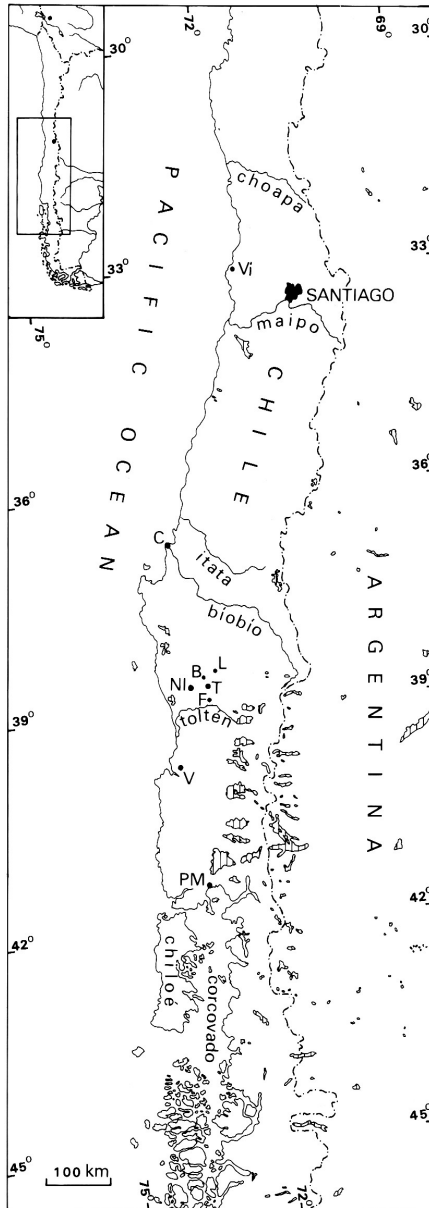
Map 1: Topographic map of central Chile

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

Chapter 1

The Mapuche people

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Origin of the Mapuche

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

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

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

History

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 2

The Mapuche language

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

Names and dialects
Missionaries who studied and described the Mapuche language referred to the language as *Chili đungu*, *Chili đüngu* or *Chili dugu*. The Mapuche call their language *mapuđungu*, *mapuđungun* or simply *Mapuche* (*mapu* 'land', *đungu* 'idea, language, word'; -*n* is a verbal noun marker, see 26.4.6). The Mapuche who speak the southern dialect and live in the provinces of Valdivia, Osorno and Chiloé, the Huilliche, call their language *tsesungun* 'language of the people'. At the end of the nineteenth century Rodolfo Lenz observed, quite like Valdivia before, that the dialectal differences within the Araucanian territory were insignificant (Lenz 1895-7: XXII). Lenz distinguished the Picunche in the north, the Moluche or Ngoluche in the southern part of Araucanía, the Pehuenche in the
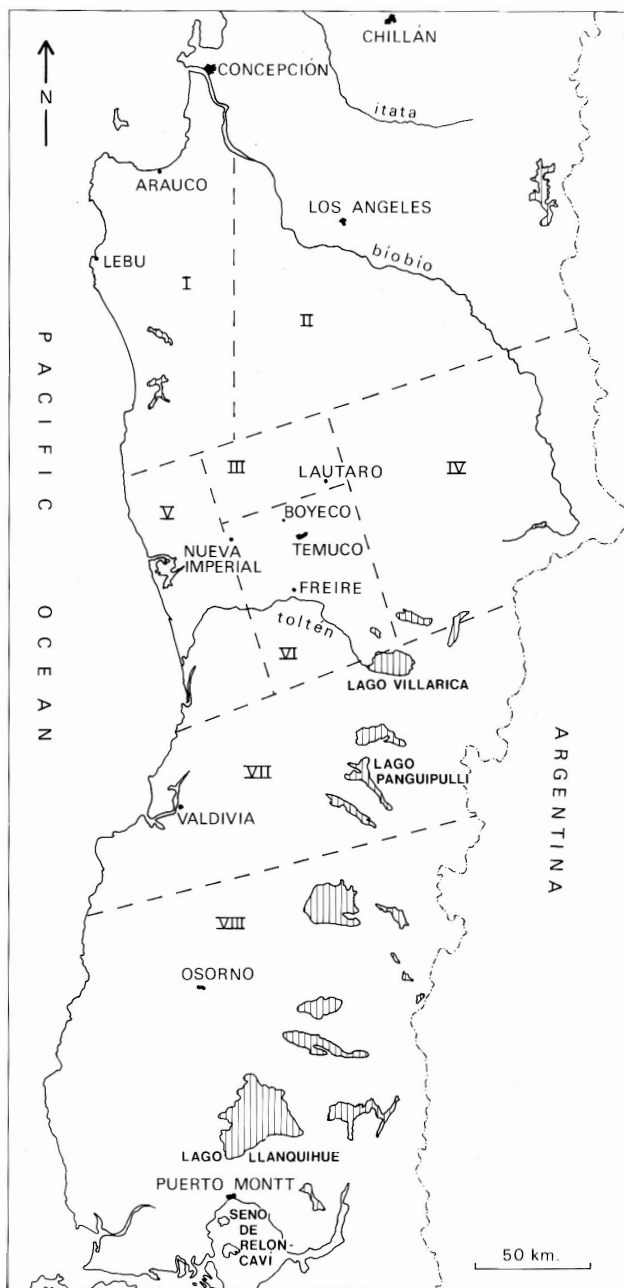
Map 2: Distribution of Mapuche dialects. Dialect subgroup boundaries after Croese (1980).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Linguistic Classification

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

Mapuche studies

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

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

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

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

Chapter 3

This grammar

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

3.1   Sources

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

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

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

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

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

3.2   Outline of the grammar

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

        'you^s went'

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

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

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

     'the one who went'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

        'I took it/him/her/them'

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

     'I took land'

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

     'I took the land'

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

     'I took land from him/her/them'

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

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

1. the semantic role of the noun phrase referents. The agent in a transitive event precedes the verb. The patient or the subject of an intransitive verb follow the verb form.
2. topicality. The entity under discussion tends to take sentence initial position.
   See chapters 33–35 for notes on syntax (Part VII). The chapters on morphology also contain a huge amount of information on syntax.

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

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

Part II

Phonology and morphophonology

Chapter 4

Phonemes

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

4.1 Consonants
The Mapuche consonant phonemes are presented in the chart below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.1 Phonetic specification of consonant phonemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2 On the orthography of consonant phonemes

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

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

4.2   Vowels

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

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

4.2.1 Phonetic specification of vowel phonemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 Vowels and glides

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.1 Contrast between vowels or glides and homorganic sequences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.2   Contrast involving non-homorganic sequences

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

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

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

An alternative analysis would assign all realizations of *ü* and *q* to a single phoneme *Ü*, as the distribution of [*ï*] and [γ] is complementary:

– word initially one finds [γ*ï*] (LQ, MH) and, with some speakers, also [*ï*] (RR, MM), e.g. *üllesh* [γ*ïl̃éš* ∼ *ïl̃éš*] 'sweet (of fruit)'. Word initial [γ] followed by another vowel than [*ï*] does not occur.
– after a vowel one finds [γ], e.g. *reqle* [ɹéγle] 'seven', but one finds [γ] and [ï̈γ] in free variation in word final position after *a*, e.g. *chaq* [čaγ ∼ čáï̈γ] 'both'.
– after a consonant one finds [*ï*], e.g. *mülen* [mïlén] 'I stay'. Word finally both [*ï*] and [ï̈γ] are found in this case, e.g. *kelü* [kélï ∼ kelï̈γ] 'red'.

Between consonants, however, several complex sequences occur:

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

In order to avoid orthographic confusion and the formulation of excessively complicated rules I prefer to treat *ü* and γ as separate phonemes.

Two other considerations favour such an analysis:

– one informant (RR) shows alternation between *k* and *q* (see 4.5.1).
– a historical alternation *q* ∼ *k* is reflected in verbal morphology:
  naq- 'to go down', *naküm-* 'to carry down', *naqüm-* 'to cause to go down'
  lleq- 'to grow' (intr.), *lleqüm-* ∼ *lleküm-* 'to grow sth.'
  Compare: *lef-* 'to run', *lepüm-* 'to make run' (for causative *-(ü)m-*, see 26.34).

Since in word initial position one finds either [γ*ï*] (LQ, MH) or [γ*ï*] and [*ï*] in free variation (RR, MM), I write only *ü* in that position. Word final [*ï*] and [ï̈γ], which occur in free variation in the speech of all four informants, are also written *ü*.

The monosyllabic root *lüq* [lï̈γ] 'white' is analyzed *Cüq*, even before pause. This analysis is imposed by the following considerations:

– the presence of [γ] is compulsory, not optional, as it is with polysyllabic roots.
– morphophonologically, *lüq* is treated as a root with a final consonant; poly-syllabic roots ending in [*ï*(γ)] are treated as vowel final (cf. *lüq-küle-y* 'it is white'; *antü-le-y* 'there is sun', for *-(kü)le-* Stative (*-küle-* after C, *-le-* after V), see 26.28).
– instead of final *üq* [ï̈γ] (only found with LQ), the other informants use *iq* [*ï*γ]; *liq* 'white' (RR, MM, MH).

4.4   Evidence for an interdental-alveolar contrast

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5 Phoneme alternation and free variation

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

4.5.1 Phoneme alternation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

đ, *sh* and *s* alternate in:
(all)   *kuđe ∼ kushe ∼ kuse* 'old woman'
(LQ)   *weshá ∼ weđá ∼ wesá* 'bad'

đ, *s* and *r* alternate in:
(RR)   *chüngküđ ∼ chüngküs ∼ chüngkür* 'round'
            weđá ∼ wesá ∼ werá 'bad' (*weđá* is more strongly negative than *wesá*)

đ, *s* and *y* alternate in:
(RR)   *pañuđ ∼ pañus ∼ pañuy* 'soft'

đ and *r* alternate in:
(LQ)   *achiđkon ∼ achirkon* 'gastric acid'

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

(RR/MM) *kisu* ∼ *kishu* 'alone'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

q and *r* alternate in:

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

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

4.5.2 Free variation of vowel phonemes
Free variation of vowel phonemes has been attested for

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

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

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

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

ayü-w-ün ∼ *ayu-w-ün* 'I am glad'

fey küđaw-üwma ∼ *fey küđaw-uwma* 'he had worked'

(LQ)   *mufü* ∼ *müfü* 'how much?'

ngulluđ- ∼ *ngülluđ-* 'to wipe'

u and *o* alternate in:

(all)   before *a*, e.g.

đuam ∼ *đoam* 'necessity, need'

the suffix *-nu-* ∼ *-no-* (see 26.10), e.g.

kim-nu-chi ∼ *kim-no-chi pichi che* 'innocent child'

(MM)   *wampu* ∼ *wampo* 'boat'

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

Vowel alternation occurs both in stressed and unstressed syllables.

4.6 Idiolectal differences

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

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

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

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

ngüküf- 'to wink' (LQ), *nüküf-* (MM)

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

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

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

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

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

kütó 'also, even' (LQ), *kütú* (RR)

kuwü 'hand' (LQ), *küwü* (RR, JM).

Chapter 5

Phonemic structure
of roots, suffixes and words

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1   Root structure

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

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

Examples of Mapuche roots:

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

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

5.2 Suffix structure

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

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

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

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

5.3   Structure of words

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

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

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

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

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

5.4   The influence of borrowing

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

Chapter 6

Distribution of phonemes

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

6.1 Single consonants

6.1.1 Single consonants in roots

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

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

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

All consonants occur intervocalically.
Examples:

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

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

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