

**Individuation and depersonalization in Mapudungun.  
A contribution to referentiality in Amerindian languages**

**Lucía Golluscio**

Universidad de Buenos Aires

Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, Argentina

This paper explores the domain of referentiality in Mapudungun (isolate, southern Chile and Argentina, South America). A study of referentiality necessarily encompasses two dimensions: the individuation of the referents and their anchorage in discourse (Lehmann 2016). This paper focuses on some strategies of individuation, in particular, the identification, demotion or highlighting, and deletion of referents in this language. It aims both to unify previous accounts of this domain in a grammar of reference and provide new evidence for the hypothesis (Golluscio 2010) that Mapudungun is characterized by a prevalence of semantic-pragmatic features of the referents over thematic roles in determining syntactic functions. The referential values of the A in the inverse and the passive constructions will be compared with each other and with the value of the external possessor in noun incorporation with intransitive verbs.

Mapudungun is a mildly polysynthetic head-marking language. Among valence-decreasing categories, it exhibits passive voice and noun incorporation (Augusta 1903; Smeets 2008 [1989]; Harmelink 1992; Salas 2006 [1992]; Golluscio 1997, 2010; Baker et al. 2005; Zúñiga 2006a). It also manifests a system of integrated inverse alignment (Gildea 1994) governed by a saliency hierarchy (1) based on inherent topicality associated with speech-act participant (SAP) ranking and discourse topicality associated with a proximate vs. obviative opposition. In local (SAP interaction) and mixed (SAP–Non-SAP interaction) scenarios, the direct (unmarked) construction is used when the A is higher in the SAP ranking (2). In contrast, the inverse is triggered when the P/R has greater saliency than the A (3). In non-local scenarios, the inverse is used when a referent newly introduced into the discourse acts upon another third person. In this case, the proximate-obviative opposition becomes relevant (4) (Arnold 1996; Salas 1978, 1979, 2006 [1992]; Zúñiga 2006b; Golluscio 2010; Golluscio & Hasler 2017).

The Mapudungun passive voice is morphologically marked by the detransitivizer *-nge*, as shown in (5), and characterized by the blocking of the A (Salas 2006 [1992]; Zúñiga 2000). As in the inverse, the person-number suffix of the verb refers to P in monotonatives and to R in ditransitives (Golluscio 2010). This characteristic of the passive voice is highly functional in impersonal assertions (6, 7). Comparing passive voice and inversion, it turns out that, on the one hand, they are similar regarding the deranked syntactic status born by the A. On the other hand, they differ in the degree of its explicitness and identifiability: while the A is deleted in the passive construction, the inverse construction may make it explicit, and it is identifiable in the context (Salas 2006 [1992]) (8).

While noun incorporation is highly productive in Mapudungun, for intransitive verbs, it is restricted to those whose argument is accompanied by an external possessor (along with incorporation into weather predicates, see Smeets 2008 [1989]). This external possessor is then raised as a result of incorporation, so the verb agrees with it (Golluscio 1997, Baker et al. 2005) (9). Again, as in the case of the inverse construction, it is the highest referent in the empathy hierarchy (10) that assumes the function of subject. The external possessor construction in Mapudungun is not limited to cases with incorporated body parts (see Mohawk, cited in Baker et al. 2005); it may occur with other nouns related to the personal sphere of the possessor (11, 12). Thus, it depends on the possessor's status on the empathy hierarchy, rather than on some feature of the possessed referent.

The analysis confirms and expands the hypothesis of the prevalence of semantic and pragmatic features of the arguments when defining argument roles in Mapudungun. In particular, it shows the relevance of inversion strategies, as well as the empathy and saliency hierarchies, as preferred referential aids (Kibrik 2011) in this language.

*Data*

(1) 1SG/PL > 2SG/PL > 3SG/PL proximate > 3SG/PL obviative (Gildea 1994)

(2) <i>pe-fi-ñ</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>wentru</i>
see-3.P-IND.1SG.A	DET	man
'I saw the man.'		

- (3) *pe-e-n-ew* *chi wentru*  
 see-INV-IND.1SG.P-OBL DET man  
 ‘The man saw me.’ (Golluscio 2010: 715)
- (4) *feimeo chi ngiri feipi-fi-y chi kuse pankill...*  
 then DET fox say-3.P-IND.(3.A) DET old (female) puma  
 ‘Then the fox said to the old puma, “...”’
- feimeo feipi-e-y-eo chi kuse pankill...*  
 then say-INV-IND.(3.P)-OBL DET old (female) puma  
 ‘Then the old puma said to him, “...”’. (Salas 1978: 118, cited in Grimes 1985: 158ff. and Golluscio 2010: 715-716.)
- (5) *nü-nge-y ta=ñi awela*  
 catch-PASS-IND.(3) DET=POSS.1SG grandmother  
 ‘My grandmother was caught.’
- ye-nge-y wenasayre*  
 carry-PASS-IND.(3) Buenos.Aires  
 ‘She was carried to Buenos Aires.’ (Excerpt from the “Nawel Ngütram”, Golluscio 2006)
- (6) *¿Chumngechi dewma-nge-ke-y kako?*  
 how make-PASS-HAB-IND.(3) mote  
 ‘How is mote prepared?’
- fey tüfa wüne tuku-lel-nge-ke-y ta ko*  
 DEM D.PROX first put-APPL-PASS-HAB-IND.(3) DET water  
 ‘For that, one first adds water.’ (Excerpt from an instructional text, Harmelinck 1996)
- (7) *fem-nge-chi entu-nge-ke-y ta rakiduam*  
 DEM-COP-ADVR take.out-PASS-HAB-IND.(3) DET thought
- ülkantun dungu mew*  
 song matter OBL  
 ‘That is how one externalizes thought in the *ülkantun* (non-sacred song).’ (Ülkantun Pewma, Hector Mariano, own data)
- (8) *aku-ke-y ta fücha-ke che.*  
 arrive-HAB-IND.(3) DET old.man-DISTR people  
 ‘The elders arrived.’
- inchiñ ta ngülam-pa-ke-(e)-yñ-mew*  
 we.PL DET advise-DIR-HAB-INV-IND.1PL-OBL  
 ‘They come to advise us.’ (Ülkantun Pewma, Hector Mariano, own data)
- (9) a. *waw.yuw-n*  
 get.a.nosebleed-1SG  
 ‘I got a nosebleed.’ (Hector Mariano, own data, see also Smeets 2008: 570)
- b. *waw-i ta ruka*  
 leak-IND.(3) DET house  
 ‘The house leaks.’ (Fresia Mellico, own data, see also Smeets 2008: 570)
- (10) speaker > SAP > human being > animal > specific individual > mass > abstract entity  
 (Lehmann 2016)

- (11) a. **Jwan lüf-ruka-y**  
 John burn-house-IND.(3)  
 ‘John's house burned down.’ (Fresia Mellico, in Baker et al. 2005: 167)
- b. **\*lüf-ruka-y**  
 burn-house-IND.3sS  
 ‘The house burned down.’ (Fresia Mellico, in Baker et al. 2005: 167)
- (12) **iñche lef-kawell-ün**  
 I run-horse-IND.1SG  
 ‘My horse ran away.’ (Fresia Mellico, own data)

### Abbreviations

1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3= third person; A = agent; APPL = applicative; ADVZ = adverbializer; COP = copula; DEM = demonstrative; DET = determiner; DIR = directional; D.PROX = demonstrative.proximal; HAB = habitual; IND = indicative; INV = inverse; OBL = oblique; P = patient; PASS = pass; PL = plural; PO = primary object; POSS = possessive; R = recipient; SG = singular.

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