ABSTRACT
        The Mapuches, a tribe now numbering about 500,000
people in south central Chile are the descendants of the Araucanians
of Spanish legend. Many still speak only their own idiom, which now
shows much lexical influence of the surrounding Spanish. This paper
is an exposition of Maria Catrileo Chiguailaf de Godo's research in
her native language. It concentrates mainly on phonology and
morpho-syntax, with heavy emphasis on verb forms. (DD)

MARÍA CATRILEO'S WORK IN THE TAGMEMICS OF MAPUCHE

Some of the esoteric languages of South American Indian groups are now becoming more accessible to linguists for study because of the specialized training being achieved by a few of their native speakers. An informant who is also a skilled linguist contributes immeasurably to the comprehension of his own speech patterns and idiosyncrasies. Among such idioms is Mapuche, spoken in the villages of southern Chile.

When I was teaching an intensive short course at the University of Chile in Temuco in 1970, I met a young woman of whom I had heard through several linguists in Santiago. María Catrileo Chiguailaf de Godo, a professor of English and linguistics in that far southern province of the country, may well be the only living Mapuche Indian who is master of Spanish and English as well as of her own ideolect. Certainly she is unique as a professional linguist among those of her background. I found her accomplishments astonishing and humbling, particularly after I had seen something of the remote and primitive farming region where her family lives. Their cold, forbidding, rain-battered shelters made even our bleak Navajo hogans look comfortable with their butane stoves and pickup trucks parked alongside.

The Fulbright Commission helped me to arrange for María Catrileo's sojourn a few months later at the University of Texas at El Paso. There she joined the teaching staff and spent two years working on the grammatical analysis of her native language with Drs. Ray Past, Edward L. Blansitt Jr., and Charles Elerick, specialists on the faculty of the Department of Linguistics, before returning to Temuco. I offer here a brief introduction, limited and eclectic, to the research in tagmemics that she has pursued with them.

The Mapuches, a tribe now numbering about 500,000 people in south central Chile, are the famous invincible Araucanians of Spanish legend in the Old and New Worlds. Of these, some 300,000 of

the independent agricultural folk and fishermen still speak only
their own idiom, which now shows much influence of the surrounding
Spanish on the lexicon, although the structure remains essentially
unaltered.

Phonologically, the sounds of the language can be classified
as six vowels, eleven dipthongs, eighteen consonants, and three
semi-consonants. There is no contrast between alveolar and dental
nasals with lateral sounds in any utterance; there does not appear
to be any phonological conditioning factor that would permit the
prediction of alveolar or dental position. Mapuche speakers do
clearly distinguish in alveolar-dental contrast, but the substitu-
tion of one for another does not affect the meaning of the phoneme.
In the orthography of her studies, Catrileo makes no attempt to
separate the alveolar and dental formations. There is at present
no official set of written symbols for Mapuche, so that investi-
gators in the past have adapted various systems from other lang-
uages.

At the outset of morphological analysis, the linguist ob-
serves that the verb root can take numerous markers to convey mean-
ings for which other languages use longer contexts. These addenda
include tense, benefactive and non-benefactive, passive, cessa-
tion, directional, negative, and subject-relator markers. Any or
all of these indicators may be combined into the same structure.
For example:

ngilha = to buy	ngilhan	= I bought
	n	= subject-relator marker
	ngilhaan	= I will buy
	a	= future tense marker
	ngilhakantuan	= I will pretend to buy
	kantu	= pretence marker
	ngilhangey	= it was brought
	nge	= passive marker

y	=	subject-relator marker (third person singular)
ngilawelan	=	I have stopped buying
wela	=	cessation marker
ngilhalngen	=	I was bought, or someone bought something for me
l	=	benefactive marker
ngilhalelngerpan	=	someone bought something for me on the way (from there to here)
lel	=	benefactive marker
rpa	=	directional marker
ngilhalelngerpalan	=	he did not buy it for me on the way (from there to here)
la	=	negative marker
ngilhalkantulfaluwmeke-ngewenmarparkelayma mi nuke	=	to my surprise, they have stopped coming and pretending to buy something for your mother on their way (from there to here)
faluw	=	pretence marker 2
meke	=	perform an action, do, make
ñma	=	non-benefactive marker
rke	=	surprise marker (to my surprise, they have...)

Each of these tagmemic markers has one, two, or more variant forms, with their use conditioned by phonological or morphosyntactic environments. Occasionally they occur in free variation. The negative marker, for example, has three main basic variants: la, kil, and nu. La appears after the verb root in the present, past, and future tenses. Kil follows the root to express the imperative, and nu is used for the conditional. Examples:

amu = to go	amulan	=	I did not go
	amukilnge	=	do not go

<div align="center">amun<u>nu</u>li   =   if I do not go</div>

In her work titled <u>A Tagmemic Sketch of Mapuche Grammar</u>, Professor Catrileo describes the inflections of the Mapuche verb for the imperative, desiderative, and conditional moods. Verbs can also be derived from adjectives, as in the following constructions.

lig = white	lig + subject-relator markers = verbs
	lig + n ⟶ lig'in = to be white
k'ime = good	k'ime + n ⟶ k'imen = to be good

They can be derived from nouns as well. Three examples demonstrate such formations.

k'ithaw = work (noun)	k'ithaw'in = to work
ilo = meat	ilon = to kill for meat
chalhwa = fish	chalhwan = to fish

In the consideration of phrase, clause, and sentence-level structures, Professor Catrileo has reported that almost all modifiers within noun phrases precede the noun head.

kom ti k'ime fita<u>ke</u> lifru	=	all the good big books
ke	=	plural marker added to adjective <u>fita</u>

The adjective phrase includes adjectives and intensifiers. She points out that intensifiers are rare in Mapuche. Only one is mentioned in the study.

rume = very

<u>rume</u> k'ime lifru = very good book

In moving to the classification of clauses in the Indian idiom, eight categories are distinguished.

Meteorological phenomena:
Maw'ini.	=	It rained.

Intransitive:

    Fransiku ng'imay.   = Frank cried.

Unitransitive:

    Inche ngilhan k'i£e lifru. = I bought a book.

Bitransitive:

    Kuan elufi   iyael ti <u>pu</u> wentru. =

    John gave   food   to   the men.

    <u>pu</u> = plural marker added before the noun

Stative:

    Kuan   kasike   ngeay. =

    John   the chief will be. (John will be the chief.)

Stative transitive:

    Kuan narki   pifi ñi   lamngen. =

    John   cat called his   sister. =

    (John called his sister a cat.)

Motional:

    Fransiku amuy waria   mew.   =

    Frank   went town   to.   = (Frank went to town.)

Motional transitive:

    Kuan   yey ñi lifru kolekio   mew. =

    John   took his books school   to. =

    (John took his books to school.)

Incidentally, some cases of lexical borrowing from the Spanish, in addition to the subject names, are evident here:

    lifru from <u>libro</u>

                kasike   from   cacique   (which in turn derives from
                                           another indigenous South American
                                           source)

                kolekio from   colegio   (a new institution adopted from
                                           the European culture)

     In syntax, Mapuche is mainly a structure of subject-verb-
object organization, although there are a few exceptions of verbs
that invariably follow the object. Sentences can be demonstrably
classified as declarative, focal, non-focal, active, passive, or
imperative in intentional expression. The peripheral tagmemes,
those structures that can fill in temporal, locative, or manner
slots in the cause-level structure, have also been exhaustively
analyzed. Backsloping structures, which can fill in subject and
object slots, have been comprehensively identified and classi-
fied as well.

     In summary to this concise survey, the rich opportunity for
linguistic and cultural exploration that is offered by the indi-
genous language of southern Chile is just beginning to come under
formal study. There are now chairs of Mapuche in several state
institutions of higher learning in the land and an increasing
number of professors of the tongue of the proud Araucanians at
national and foreign bi-cultural institutes. María Catrileo's
work helps to make the idiom of the Mapuches, or People of the
Land, of international interest.

Frances Hernández
Visiting Professor at Boğaziçi Universitesi
Istanbul, Turkey