Clausal cosubordination in Mapudungun: Relevance of referential hierarchies for the RRG Linking Algorithm

Felipe Hasler
Universidad de Chile

Mapudungun is a non-genealogically classified Andean language that is spoken with different degrees of vitality in the center and south of Chile and Argentina. In the plane of the simple clause, it is a head-marking language with an integrated inverse alignment system governed by a saliency hierarchy based on the inherent topicality associated with the status of each participant in the speech act participant ranking and in the discursive topicality related to the opposition third person proximate/obviative (Golluscio 2010). Regarding complex syntax, dependent constructions are characterized by the use of nominalizers, with the personal reference indexed in the possessive adjective that precedes the nominalized verbal form.

This research, framed in the projects FONDECYT 11180078 and FONDECYT 1180071, aims to explore the relevance of referential hierarchies in the Linking Algorithm within the framework of interclausal relations in Mapudungun, following the RRG approaches presented in Van Valin (2005). For thus, we describe the cosubordinate clausal construction used in this language for the expression of relations of cognition, exemplified in (1), since it presents a mismatch between semantics and syntax that highlights the phenomenon to be studied:

(1)   kom   che   kim-a-f-e-**n**-ew
        all   people know-FUT-IR-INV-IND.1SG.P-OBL
        [**ta=ñi**   ketro-le-n   ta-ñi   longko]
        ta=POS.1SG   obtuse-ESTAT-NR1   ta-1SG.POS   head
         'All the people would have known me to be without head.' (Salas 2006, [1992]:267)

It is a cosubordinate construction since, first of all, the dependent clause is not a syntactic argument of the main one - in fact, it does not correspond to a semantic argument: the place that corresponds to the non-PSA argument of the construction is assumed by the PSA of the dependent clause. In addition, it depends in terms of operators of the main one, since it can not receive evidential operators (2). In contrast, if it can receive tense operators, such as the suffix of future -*a* (3), which allows us to identify the construction as a clausal juncture.

(2)   *kim-e-yu   [ta-mi   amu-rke-el   wiya]
        know-INV-IND.1A.2P   DET-2SG.POSS ir-EVID-NR2   yesterdat
        'I (to you) know they say you went yesterday.'

(3)   kim-e-**yu**   [**ta-mi**   amu-a-el   wule]
        know-INV-IND.1A.2P   DET-2SG.POSS ir-FUT-NR2   tomorrow
        'I (to you) know that you leave tomorrow.'

According to the Linking Algorithm, in a clausal juncture each related clause should link semantics and syntax independently (Van Valin 2005: 228). However, as seen from the contrast between (4) and (5), it is interesting to note that the link between semantics and syntax of the independent clause can only be resolved once it has been resolved in the dependent clause.

(4) a.   Juan   kim-e-**n**-ew   [ta=**ñi**   kewa-fi-el   Pedro]
         Juan   know-INV-IND.1SG.P-OBL   ta=POS.1SG   punch-3.P-NR2   Pedro
         'Juan knows that I punched Pedro.' (Golluscio and Hasler 2017: 72)

(5) b.   Juan   kim-e-**n**-ew   [ta=**ñi**   kewa-e-t-ew   Pedro]
         Juan   know-INV-IND.1SG.P-OBL   ta=POS.1SG   punch-INV-NR3-OBL   Pedro
         'Juan knows that Pedro punched me.' (Golluscio and Hasler 2017: 73)

Thus, the PSA of the dependent clause appears in the main clause as Undergoer: its syntactic expression is evaluated again according to its relation of salience with the Actor. In example (4), the PSA of the dependent clause, which assumes the Actor macro role, is encoded in the main clause as PSA; in contrast, in the example (5), the PSA of the dependent clause, which assumes the Undergoer macro role in this clause, is also coded as PSA in the main clause. This occurs because the Mapudungun has, as we mentioned before, an opposition between direct and inverse voice that is resolved according to the place of the arguments in the hierarchy of salience, detailed in (6) (Golluscio, 2010: 714): if the Actor is ranked higher in the hierarchy than the Undergoer, then the construction will have a direct voice; if the opposite occurs, the construction will exhibit inverse voice.

(6) 1SG / PL> 2SG / PL> 3SG / PL Proximate> 3SG / PL Obviative

According to this, both in (4) and (5), the PSA of the main clause is the 1st person, an argument that does not belong to the argumental structure of that clause. Then, unlike what was predicted in the model, our proposal is that in these constructions the argument of the dependent clause that is encoded in the main one is determined by its PSA function in the dependent clause, which requires that macro roles have been assigned to the arguments and these have been evaluated according to their place in the empathy hierarchy. Then, once the semantics and the syntax of the dependent clause have been completely linked, the argument of this clause encoded in the main clause assumes the Undergoer macro-role and is evaluated again in its relation with the Actor of that clause within the framework of salience hierarchy, receiving a new syntactic function. In this way, we propose that the link in these constructions occurs sequentially and not independently, even when it is a clausal juncture.

References
Golluscio, L. 2010. "Ditransitives in Mapudungun", en: Malchukov, A., M. Haspelmath y B. Comrie (eds.). *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions. A Comparative Handbook*, 711–756). Berlín: De Gruyter Mouton.
Golluscio, L and Hasler, F. 2017. Jerarquías referenciales y alineamiento inverso en mapudungun. RASAL- *Revista de Lingüística 1*: 69-93. (Referential hierarchies and inverse alignment in Mapudungun)
Salas, A. 2006. *El mapuche o araucano*. Santiago: Centro de Estudios Públicos.
Van Valin Jr, R. 2005. *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.