

**Serial verbs constructions codifying
motion events in Mapudungun.
Typological considerations**

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Outline

- Presentation of the language and preliminary data.
- Theoretical background.
- Objectives and methodology.
- Data and analysis.
- Conclusions.

Presentation of the language:
Mapudungun

Mapudungun

- Mapudungun, a.k.a. Mapuche, “Araucanian”
- Ancient territory: South of Chile and Argentina
- Speakers: ~200.000



Mapudungun

- Language isolate.
- Tendencies towards polysynthesis and agglutination.
- Verb-marking.
- Strongly suffixing.
- Polysynthetic serial verb constructions.
- Short inventory of adpositions (3, but 1 common.)

Theoretical background

Theoretical background

1. Typology for motion events based on conflation patterns of semantic components (Talmy 1985, 2000).

Motion event: “a situation containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location” (Talmy 1985: 80).

-Basic semantic components:

i) Figure; ii) Ground; iii) Movement; iv) Path

v) Manner; vi) Cause

In Talmy (2000) Manner and Cause are considered relations the co-event bears to the main event.

Theoretical background

Lexicalization patterns (Talmy 1985, 2000): Typology based on Path expression (framing event):

English: *The bottle floated out.*

-**Path** in a **satellite**.

-Conflation of **Movement** and **Manner** in the verb.

Spanish: *La botella salió flotando.*

-Conflation of **Movement** and **Path** in the **verb**.

-**Manner** in another element.

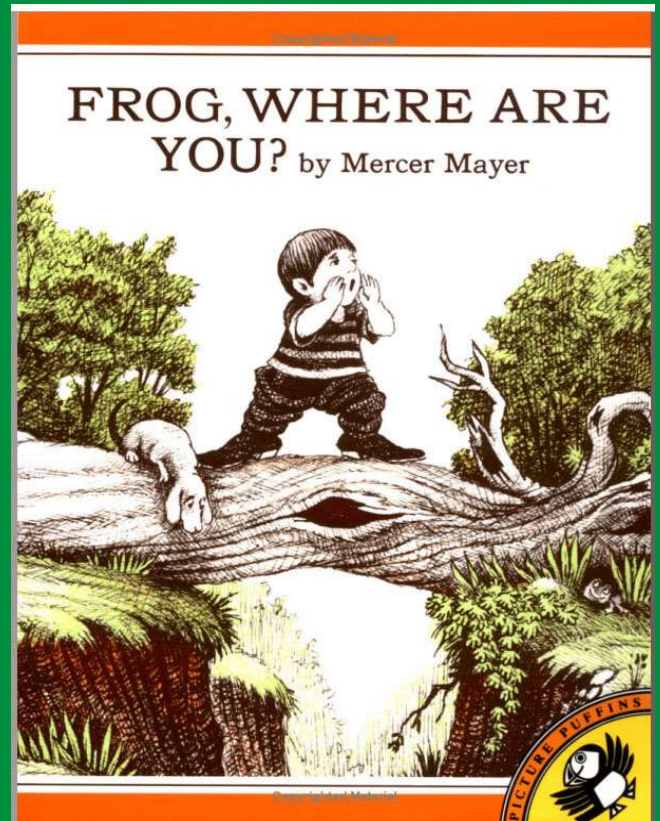
SATELLITE-FRAMED languages
(S-languages)

VERB-FRAMED languages
(V-languages)

Theoretical background

2. Empirical studies based on Talmy's typology:

e.g. Berman & Slobin 1994; Strömquist & Verhoeven 2004



Theoretical background

3. Controversy regarding the binary typology:

a. Path can be expressed both in the verb and satellites:

Tzeltal (Brown 2004: 46)

Ch'ay	koel	jawal	niwan	ek
fall	downwards	face-up	perhaps	too

'He fell downwards face-up perhaps too.'

b. Path and Manner expressed in forms of equal status:

Thai (Zlatev & Yangklang 2004: 160)

Chán	dəɯn	khâam	thanǎn	khâw	paj	naj	sǎan
I	walk	cross	road	enter	go	in	park

'I walked across the road and into the park.'

Mandarin (Guo & Chen 2009: 198)

他掉到河里去了

Tā	diào	dào	hé	lǐ	qù	le
he	fall	reach	river	inside	go	PERF

'I fell into the water.'

Theoretical background

c. A ternary typology was proposed:

3rd type: **EQUIPOLLENTLY-FRAMED** languages: Both Path and Manner in forms of equal status (Slobin 2004).

e.g. **Serial verb languages** (e.g. Mandarin, Thai, Ewe, Akan). Also: Generic inflecting verbs + coverbs (e.g. Jaminjung, but see Hoffmann 2012); bipartite verbs: Path and Manner in two verbal morphemes of equal status (e.g. Penutian)

d. Intra-type and intra-language variation: e.g. cline of use of Manner verbs (Slobin 2004: 225); cline of Path (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009: 410); not a single cline of Path (Hoffmann 2012). Also “split” languages (Talmy 2010), influence of scene types (Fagard et al. 2017).

e. Typology and constructions (Beavers et al. 2010; Croft et al. 2010)

Objectives

Objectives

1. Describe the various lexicalization patterns of motion existing in Mapudungun.
2. Discuss the place of the language in the typology of motion events.
3. Discuss some factors impacting on the preference of monoverbal or serial verb constructions.

Methodology

Methodology

Research on lexicalization of motion events in Mapudungun

-Frog's story methodology (Berman & Slobin 2004).

-12 adult native-speakers coming from different areas of Mapuche territory.

-Interviews in Mapudungun.

-Constructionist approach.

-12 narratives: 1,403 clauses, 704 motion verbs but 588 translational constructions.

Data, analysis and discussion

Obj.1 Lexicalization patterns in Mapudungun

- (1) *feymu* ***tripa-y*** *kiñe* *konkon*
PATH*
then exit-IND.3 one owl
'Then one owl exited.'

*PATH = Non Deictic Path

- (2) *wenu pichiche* ***müpü-kiyaw-y*** *tati* *killkill*
MAN
above boy fly-MOV-IND.3 DEF owl
'The owl is flying around over the boy.'

- (3) *ka* ***miyaw-tu-y*** *ti* *pichi wentru sierfo engu*
MOV
and move.around-RE-IND.3 DEF little man deer both
'And both the boy and the deer started to move on again'.

Data

Table 1: Number of translocative constructions

	Monoverbal (MVC)	Serial (SVC)**	Total
Constructions	450 (77%)	138 (23%)	588 (100%)
Finite	404 (69%)	134 (23%)	538 (91%)
Non-Finite	46 (8%)	4 (1%)	50 (9%)

**It includes SVCs with psychological verbs

Data

Table 2: Motion components lexicalized in verbs

Lexicalized component in verb roots	Monoverbal construction (MVC)	Serial verb construction (SVC)	Total
Mov	12 (2%)	0 (0%)	12 (2%)
Path	285 (44%)	125 (19%)	411 (63%)
Non-Dei Path	209 (32%)	118 (18%)	327 (50%)
Dei Path	76 (12%)	8 (1%)	84 (13%)
Man	132 (20%)	100 (15%)	232 (35%)
Man	82 (13%)	89 (13%)	171 (26%)
Func. Man	50 (7%)	11 (2%)	61 (9%)
			100%

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	66%	34%	100%

Analysis

Summary:

1. Colloquial, frequent, and pervasive use both of monoverbal and serial-verb constructions.

SVCs: one fourth of the occurrences but one third of the lexical verbs produced.

Obj.2 Place of Mapudungun in motion typology

Both similarities and inconsistencies with equipollently-framed languages (Becerra 2017).

Analysis

Similarities:

1.- Rich inventory of Path verbs:

amun 'go', *küpan* 'come', *akun* 'arrive.here', *powün* 'arrive.there', *wiñon* 'come.back', *inan* 'follow', *nagün* 'descend', *püran* 'ascend', *konün* 'enter', *tripan* 'exit', *ru-* 'pass', *no-* 'cross water', and the transitives *tukun* 'put', *yen* 'bring" *y (n)entun* 'take out'.

2. Most frequent verbs in narratives: Path (Non-deictic and Deictic)

(7) *wente kura püra-y chi pichi elaweni*
over rock ascend-IND.3 DEF little boy
'The little boy went up to the rock.'

Analysis

3.- No boundary-crossing constraint:

(8) *petu ringkü-tripa-tu-y*
still jump-exit-RE-IND.3
'[The frog] jumped out again'

(9) *rünga-nentu-pa-tu-y ñi pakarwa*
dig-take.out-DIR-RE-IND.3 POS.1SG frog
'[The boy] came here to dig out the frog'.

4.- SVCs: Path and Manner potentially lexicalized on the verb.

...but

Analysis

INCONSISTENCIES with equipollently-framed languages

1. Prevalence of Path and existential/locative verbs in boundary crossings scenes.

Table 3: Verb types used in boundary crossing scenes (2a, 6b, 8)

Path	State	Man	Total
19 (56%)	9 (26%)	6 (18%)	34 (100%)

(10) *feymu tripa-y kiñe konkon*
then exit-IND.3 one owl
'Then one owl exited.'

(11) *koyam mu ta kiñe pichi üñüm müle-y*
oak.tree OBL DISC one little bird be-IND.3'
'In the oak tree there is a little bird.'

Analysis

2.- Restriction of Deixis + Non-Dei Path serialization (Deictic verb grammaticalized):

- (12) *welu ti pakarwa amu-tripa-y*
but DEF frog go-exit-IND.3
'But the frog finally left' (lit. went out).

3. Low rate Ground/Clause:

- (13) *wente kura püra-y chi pichi elaweni*
over rock ascend-IND.3 DEF little boy
'The little boy went up to the rock.'

- (14) *yimül-nag-pa-y nüre mu*
roll-descend-DIR-IND.3 tree OBL
'[The boy] rolled down here to the tree (kind of tree).'

Obj.3 Factors impacting on the preference of monoverbal or serial verb constructions

Encoding of motion into Man+Path SVC depends highly on:

1. Scenes described.

Mainly on scenes involving falling events or non-prototypical manners of motion.

Table 4: Number of SVCs produced for each of Frog story's scene

Scene	SVC	Scene	SVC
1	0	9a	6
2a	3	9b	1
2b	2	10a	6
3a	4	10b	4
3b	2	11	26
4a	7	12a	13
4b	3	12b	2
5	3	13a	1
6a	2	13b	3
6b	3	14a	0
7	8	14b	2
8	23	15	1
		TOTAL	125



Scene 4a

(15)

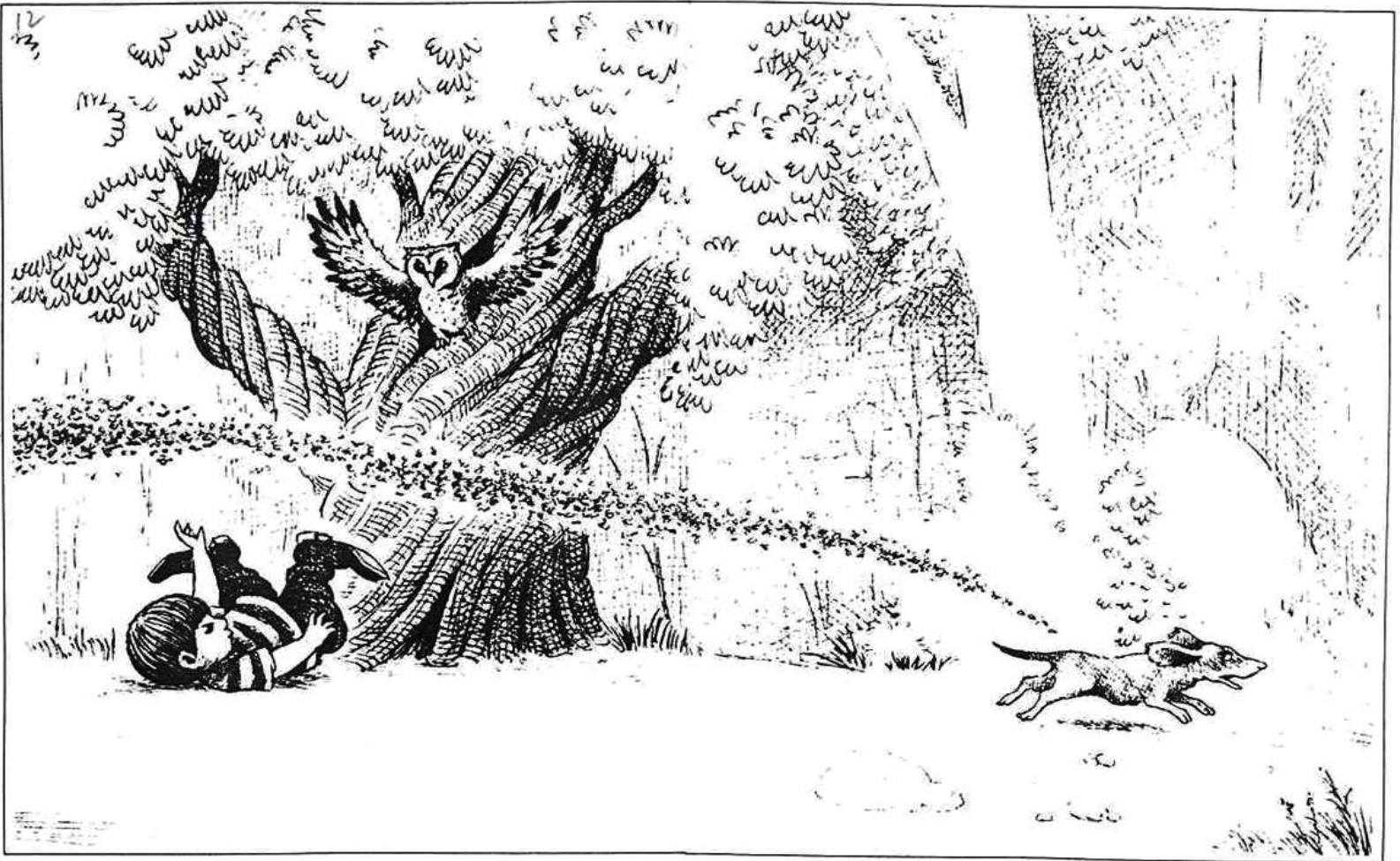
ütrüf-nag-tu-y

ta bentana mu

MAN PATH

fall-descend-RE-IND.3 DISC window OBL

'[The boy] fell down from the window.'



Scene 8

(16) *yimül-nag-pa-y*
MAN PATH
roll-descend-DIR-IND.3
‘[The boy] rolled down here.’



Scene 11b



Scene 12

(17)

ringkü-nag-y

chi trewa

MAN PATH

jump-descend-IND.3

DEF dog

'The dog jumped down.'

Table 5: Number of Manner verb types used in SVCs

Manner verbs	SVC	Manner verbs	SVC
<i>ellka</i> 'hide'	1	<i>rülu</i> 'butt, collide'	1
<i>fünfün</i>		<i>rünga</i> 'dig'	1
'be.in.arrange'	1	<i>rüngkü</i> 'jump'	7
<i>füy</i> 'hold.tightly'	1	<i>tralal</i> 'fall.on.head'	1
<i>kellwad</i> 'dangle'	1	<i>topa</i> 'crash'	1
<i>latrang</i> 'be.bulging'	2	<i>trana</i> 'fall.flat'	1
<i>lef</i> 'run'	5	<i>trilal</i>	
<i>meñku</i>		'fall.making.noise'	2
'carry.on.shoulders'	2	<i>üni</i> 'hover'	1
<i>meta</i> 'take.into.arms'	1	<i>ütrü/ütrüf</i>	
<i>müpü</i> 'fly'	1	'throw/fall'	59
<i>paila</i> 'fall.backwards'	2	<i>witra</i> 'pull'	1
<i>pürakon</i> 'ride'	3	<i>wütra</i> 'stand'	3
<i>rangiñ</i> 'be.in.middle'	1	<i>yimül</i> 'roll'	2
		TOTAL	100

Encoding of motion into Man+Path SVC depends highly on:

2. Event and concomitant configuration described

Table 6: Number of SVC per type of event or concomitant configuration described

Event/concomitant configuration	SVC
Figure Position	3
Figure Posture	9
Complex figure disposition (aggregate)	1
Strong force dynamics (fall+Path)	59
Strong force dynamics + configuration (fall+Posture)	6
Rate (speed)	5
Motor pattern (self-motion)	11
Motor pattern (vehicle)	3
Motor pattern (cause-motion)	4
Others	5
TOTAL	100

Conclusions

Obj 1. Colloquial, frequent, and pervasive use both of monoverbal and serial-verb constructions in Mapudungun.

Various kinds of lexicalization patterns in verbs:
(NonDEI) PATH; MAN; MOV;
MAN+PATH; (MAN+FIG) + PATH; DEI + PATH; PATH + PATH

Obj 2. Both similarities and inconsistencies with equipollently-framed languages described so far:

Similarities: High salience of path, no boundary crossing constraint, SVC can lexicalize Man+Path in the verb.

Inconsistencies: Less salience of manner, restrictions of DEI+PATH SVCs, low ground/clause rate.

Conclusions

Obj 3. Event described impact on the use of encoding of Manner and the use of SVCs:

1. Scene described

2. Event and concomitant configuration described

- Strong force dynamics (especially, falls)

- Posture and position of the figure concomitant with a motion event (especially with a fall)

- Prototypicality: Motor pattern less/not expected for a certain figure or scene.

Conclusions

Mapudungun provides further evidence on:

1. Intra-typological diversity.
2. Availability of different constructions (some of them are assumed to be characteristic of different “language-types”.)
3. Different factors impacting on the preference for the encoding of Manner and the use of different constructions.

CHALTU MAY!

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

¡MUCHAS GRACIAS!

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