[k]-allomorphs in Mapudungun

Mapudungun (ISO: arn) is a South American language with morphology that is largely agglutinative/concatenative. Only a few alternations occur in the polysynthetic verbal complex, most of which are explainable by purely phonological processes (Zúñiga, 2017). A notable exception to this generalisation is a set of affixes — [k]-allomorphs — that can be characterised as phonologically-conditioned suppletive allomorphy. In (a–f), stative [-le] and ambulative [-jaw] occur after stems ending in a vowel; while in (g–l), the semantically identical "long" forms – [-kɨle] and [-kiaw] – occur after a consonant.

a.	[kint**u**-le-]	'be searching'	
b.	[aʌf**i**-le-]	'be injured'	
c.	[afmat**u**-le-]	'be surprised'	
d.	[longk**o**-le-]	'be acting as leader'	
e.	[moŋ**e**-le-]	'be living'	
f.	[ʈ͡ʂek**a**-jaw-]	'walk about'	
g.	[ko**n**-kɨle-]	'be entering'	
h.	[li**f**-kɨle-]	'be clean'	
i.	[uma**w**-kɨle-]	'be sleeping'	
j.	[poʈ͡ʂo**ŋ**-kɨle-]	'be bent down, crouched'	
k.	[ɲɨkɨ **f**-kɨle-]	'be silent'	
l.	[kɨθa**w**-kiaw-]	'work here and there'	

The pattern is frequently cited in the literature for both descriptive and pedagogical purposes (see Norin et al., 2013), especially since the stative is a very frequent construction that denotes states, ongoing events, or temporary features (Loncon, 2007; Smeets, 2008). Despite this, to my knowledge, no attempt has been made to account for the phenomenon beyond this descriptive focus. This paper addresses the issue first synchronically and then diachronically, by examining its behaviour in the written record of Mapudungun.

First, I argue that allomorph selection in this case has been lexicalised as a feature of the respective affix, specifically as part of its subcategorisation frame (Paster, 2015). Following Paster's four predictions for phonologically-conditioned suppletive allomorphy (2015), I show that [k]-allomorphy is input-conditioned and non-optimising. For instance, an offglide predictably arises from a high vowel at the word boundary, as in (1), but the stative suffix consistently selects the input form ending in a vowel, as in (2).

(1) /antɨ/→ [antɨɯ] 'sun'
(2) /antɨ-le-/ 'be sunny, there be sun' *[antɨɯ kɨle-] (Smeets, 2008, p.29)

Secondly, given the extensive textual record of Mapudungun, spanning more than 400 years, I surveyed the pattern diachronically, showing that it emerged from the "conglutination" of two suffixes (Haspelmath, 1995) — an internal affix that lost its meaning and an external affix that kept the original meaning (stative or ambulative respectively). I reconstruct the internal affix as a historical *antipassive* that evolved from an original form that left "reflexes" in forms attested in Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1764), and Havestadt (1777). Due to historical phonological processes, such as fricativisation of stops ([Redacted], in press) and epenthesis of [ɨ], the affix reduced its phonological context to appear only after consonants, thus, in time, being lexicalised as a suppletive form of [k]-allomorphs.

This paper examines the behaviour of this set of affixes in Mapudungun from a synchronic perspective, while also showing how suppletive allomorphy can arise through interactions between morphology and phonology. Approaching the phenomenon from an "amphichronic" perspective (Kiparsky, 2006) helps clarify the division of labour between phonology and morphology, and advances our understanding of the general mechanisms behind these processes in a comparatively less studied language.