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On the Development of Analytic Constructions in Purepecha

Claudine Chamoreau

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A New Look at Language Contact in Amerindian Languages

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Zarina Estrada Fernández
Yolanda Lastra (eds.)*

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On the development of analytic constructions in Purepecha¹

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*Constructions with an auxiliary or a copula are often viewed as an analytic way of expressing events that are otherwise expressed with synthetic constructions. Languages generally show some preferences for one type of constructions or for another. In this paper, I will analyze the development of analytic constructions in Purepecha using two verbs: *xa*, 'be there', and *xinte*, 'he': as auxiliaries and copulas. In Purepecha, the evolution towards more analytical constructions operates in various construction types; this is not an isolated phenomenon. In its current state, Purepecha has both analytic and synthetic constructions for expressing passive constructions on one hand, and nominal predicate constructions with specific pragmatic and sociolinguistic particularities on the other hand. The analytic constructions do not replace the synthetic ones, but rather add to the expressive power of the overall verb system.*

Constructions with an auxiliary or a copula are often viewed as an analytic way of expressing events that are otherwise expressed with synthetic constructions. Languages generally show some preferences for a type of constructions or for another. Previous studies have focused on the coexistence of both types in languages (Askedal, 2001), however, little interest has been shown for the 'competition' of the two types in order to encode the same construction.

In this paper, I will analyze the development of analytic constructions in Purepecha using two verbs: *xa*, 'be there', and *xinte*, 'be', as auxiliaries and copulas. In Purepecha, the development of these analytic structures demonstrates a new way for encoding two types of constructions that are traditionally formed by a derivational structure: the passive construction and nominal predicate clauses.² The analytic constructions do not replace the synthetic ones, but rather add to the expressive power of the overall verb system.

Section 1 will give a brief overview of basic information in Purepecha. I will describe the Purepecha passive constructions in section 2, and the nominal predicate constructions in section 3. In section 4, I hypothesize on the source of the development of such analytic constructions, investigating both internal and contact-induced motivations.

¹ I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the comments of Bernd Heine and Mananne Mithun on an earlier draft. Any errors are my own responsibility.

The use of the predicate nominal clause proceeds from the logician tradition. Since Aristotle, the predicate is applied when saying what the subject is. In this framework, the non-verbal element is considered the predicate, because it conveys the relevant information. If we adopt a syntactic definition of the predicate, that is, that the predicate is the syntactic nucleus, this expression becomes ambiguous, because the nucleus may be the noun, but also the 'be' verb or another element. In a recent book (Clairis *et al.* 2005), several authors have proposed the phrase 'connective predicate' in order to focus on the principal role of this syntactic element, which is to connect two morphemes. However, we recognize that the use of this designation is also ambiguous, because of the use of the term 'connective' for other types of constructions, for example, ones with 'and'. Another solution would be the use of the semantic roles (equation, identifying, inclusion, classification, attribution, etc.) in order to designate this construction. However, this procedure shows a partial designation of a semantic phenomenon, and not a complete designation of a syntactic construction. In this paper, I adopt the predicate nominal clause when I refer to the syntactic construction, but use the semantic designations when I focus on the semantic value.

1. Purepecha data

1.1. Basic information in Purepecha

Purepecha (P'orhépecha or Tarascan) is classified as a language isolate, spoken by around 110,000 people (10% of them monolingual) in the state of Michoacan, in the central western part of Mexico. Spanish³ was introduced during the 16th century and became the official language of Mexico, where more than one hundred languages are still spoken.

Spanish is the language of prestige, linked to education, a better standard of living, oral and written media, religion, administration, commerce, and work. Nevertheless, in 2003, Purepecha acquired (like the other indigenous languages spoken in Mexico) the status of an official language. Although this situation demonstrates a certain resistance of the language (particularly the number of speakers) faced with Spanish, it also shows some sociolinguistic peculiarities. In general, Purepecha is used only orally, although written publications have recently appeared.

Purepecha is a case-marking language in which the nominal subject has no overt marker. In an intransitive construction, as in (1), the unique argument, *anima-itfa* 'the souls' has no specific marker. The object is generally marked by the objective case marker, *-ni*. This morpheme encodes the object of a transitive verb, *misitu* 'the cat', in (2a), and both objects of the ditransitive verb, *Puki*, in (2b).⁴

- (1) *yaft=kft tsma anima-itfa*
 now=3PL DEM.PL soul-PL
tsipi-pa-ntha-fa-ti
 be.glad-CENTRIF-IT-PROG-ASS3⁵
 'Now, these souls are leaving happily [...].' (Jaracuaro-animas 5, 10)

- (2) a. *xo selia ata-f-ti imeri misitu-ni*
 yes Celia beat-AOR-ASS3 POS3 cat-OBJ
 'Yes, Celia beat her cat.' (Jaracuaro-Alfredo 25, 94)

³ Spanish is an Indo-European language, spoken by roughly 364 million people worldwide in the year 2000, making Spanish the most widely used Romance language. It is a nominative-accusative language. Spanish has prefixes and suffixes. It is a prepositional language. Spanish uses periphrastic structures with the verbs, *estar*, 'be there', and *ser*, 'be', in order to encode the passive (Hidalgo, 1994, Mendikoetxea, 1999), and equative and attributive constructions (Pottier, 1985).

⁴ The presence or absence of the object case marker depends on different hierarchies: (i) the inherent semantic properties of the referent (human, animate); (ii) properties related to grammatical features (definite, count noun vs. mass noun, generic vs. specific, etc.); and (iii) pragmatic strategies (topic, focus).

⁵ Abbreviations: AOR = aorist; APP = applicative; ASS = assertive; REN = benefactive; CENTRIF = centrifuge; COM = comitative; DEM = demonstrative; DET = determinant; FEM = feminine; FT = formative; FUT = future; HAB = habitual; GEN = genitive; IND = independent; INF = infinitive; INST = instrumental; INT = interrogative; INTENS = intensive; IT = iterative; KPOS = kinship possessive; LOC = locative; MASC = masculine; MID = middle; NEG = negation; OBJ = object; PART.PP = past patient-oriented participle; PASS = passive; PAST = past; PL = plural; POS = possessive; PRED = predicativizer; PRET = preterit; PROG = progressive; PRS = present; SG = singular; SUB = subordinating conj.; SUBJ = subjunctive.

- b. *xo selia aŋi-f-ti inte-ni wantantskwa-ni*
 yes Celia tell-AOR-ASS3 DEM-OBJ story-OBJ
Puki-ni
 Puki-OBJ
 'Yes, Celia told Puki a story.' (Jaracuaro-Alfredo 25, 36)

Purepecha is a nominative-accusative language, in which the subject of a transitive verb, like *selia* 'Celia', in (2), is encoded similarly to the subject of an intransitive verb, *anima*, 'soul', in (1).

Purepecha is a morphologically agglutinative and synthetic language, and is almost exclusively suffixing. Although bare stems exist, there is a very productive derivational system in which a basic stem can take derivative, voice, causative, locative, positional, directional and adverbial suffixes. Inflectional suffixes follow the stem to mark aspect, tense, mood and person (Chamoreau, 2003 [2000]; Monzón, 2004; Nava, 2004, and Villavicencio, 2006b).

In this language, all verbs are marked for mood. The most frequent marker is the assertive mood, which always appears as a syncretic element, marking mood and person together: in (2), *-ti* indicates third person, and in (3), *-ka* first and second persons. Correlation between the subject and the assertive mood can take place, where a change in the subject person triggers a different mood-and-person suffix to appear. In (3), the assertive mood marker agrees in person with the subject. The first person is encoded by the personal clitic, *=ni*.

- (3) *peru no-ampe eŋe-f-ka=ni*
 but NEG-something see-AOR-ASS1/2=1
 '[...] but I saw nothing.' (Uranden-Jose Luis 1, 28)

Purepecha holds a basic constituent order of SV and SVO, as illustrated in (2). This is the basic order in the area where I work (Eastern area), that is, the order that is pragmatically unmarked (Capistrán, 2002, and Chamoreau, 2003 [2000]: 156-158). Other orders are attested and indicate pragmatic features of topic and focus. Studies on constituent order in other areas do not as yet exist.

Spanish has been the principal contact language for many centuries; however, prior to the Conquest, other languages were spoken in the area mostly from Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan), and Otomi (Otopamean). The influence of these languages on Purepecha has not been studied, but one hypothesis has been proposed regarding constituent order (Smith Stark, personal communication). Purepecha shows all the typological traits of an SOV language: a) tense, aspect and modal markers follow the verb, b) postpositions, c) the almost exclusive use of suffixes, d) case markers, e) main verbs precede inflected auxiliaries, f) genitives which can precede their respective head nouns. SVO constituent order was first attested in the 16th century, and has progressively increased since then (Villavicencio, 2006b). Considering that Nahuatl — and Otomi — present verb-initial structure, a change from SOV to SVO can be proposed as due to areal contact prior to the 16th century, with Spanish, an SVO language, continuing the process.

1.2. The verbs *xa* and *xinte*

Let us now examine the two verbs constituting the focus of this paper.

The verb *xa*, 'be there', generally appears in three contexts: it has locative value as seen in (4), it marks the existence of something or someone as in (5); and in (6), it has an attributive meaning, that is, it indicates a relative quality, dependent on the situation, similar to the expression of a temporary state.

- (4) *ifu pakanta xa-la-s-ti*
 here Pacanda be.there-FT-AOR-ASS3
 'He is here in Pacanda.' (Pacanda-Miguel 5, 80)

- (5) *tfúrikwa fáni xóskwa-etfa xa-ʔa-f-ti=kʃi*
 night few star-PL be.there-FT-AOR-ASS3=3PL
 'At night, there are few stars.' (Pacanda-Miguel 4, 29)

- (6) *kuʔitsi kotfinu xa-ʔa-f-ti*
 buzzard dirty be.there-FT-AOR-ASS3
 'The buzzard is dirty.' (Jaracuaro-kuritsi 2, 66)

In (7), the verb *xinte*, 'be', is used to introduce a participant. This is inherited from its lexical origin: in Colonial texts, it appears as a demonstrative pronoun. During the 19th century, it evolved into a 'be' verb (Chamoreau, 2006; Villavicencio, 2006a). In (8), *xinte* is also used to classify entities, and in (9), to identify people.

- (7) *xinte-s-ti wámpa Maria-eri*
 be-AOR-ASS3 husband Mana-GEN
 'He is Maria's husband.' (Jaracuaro-vida 7, 90)

- (8) *isi era-nku-ʃm-ti eska ma phuʔe*
 thus look-INTENS-HAB-ASS3 SUB a Purépecha
xinte-p-ka enka ménku isi xinte-p-ka
 be-AOR.PAST-SUBJ SUB always thus ser-AOR.PAST-SUBJ
 '[...] thus he sees that he was a Purepecha, which was what he had always been.'
 (Ihuatzio-vida 9, 81)

- (9) *xwánu xinte-s-ti xoʔempiri*
 Juan be-AOR-ASS3 teacher
 'Juan is a teacher.' (Teremendo-Cleotilde 8, 19)

2. Passive constructions

There are two types of passive constructions: a morphological one, with a denvational verbal suffix *-na*, and a penphrastic one, with the auxiliaries *xinte*, 'be', or *xa*, 'be there', and a resultative patient-oriented participle.

2.1. Derivational passives

The morphological passive can be described as a promotional passive (Chamoreau, 2008). It conforms to Givón's generalization regarding promotional passives (1997: 22), according to which if the subject of the passive clause is restricted to the direct object of the corresponding active clause, then a promotional passive probably exists. In (10a), in a transitive active construction, the subject is *-ni*, 'I', and the second argument is *tʃi watsi-ni*, 'your son'. In (10b), the passive construction, the second argument of (10a), *tʃi watsɪ*, 'your son', becomes the subject of the clause. In (10b), the verb decreases in valence, becoming intransitive.

- (10) a. *eʃe-f-ka=ni* *tʃi* *watsi-ni* *nenki* *ni-ra-ni*
 see-AOR-ASS1/2=1 POS2 son-OBJ when go-FT-INF
xama-p-ka *eskwela-ɽu*
 walk-AOR.PAST-SUBJ school-LOC
 'I saw your son when he walked to school.'
(Ihuatzio-Agustina 11, 74)

- b. *tʃi* *watsɪ* *eʃe-na-f-ti* *kampu-ɽu*
 POS2 son see-PASS-AOR-ASS3 field-LOC
ampe *ú-fa-p-i*
 what do-PROG-PAST-INT
 'Your son was seen in the field, what was he doing?'
(Ihuatzio-Agustina 11, 93)

In (11a), the ditransitive active construction has a patient, *ma ʃɪpati*, 'a secret', and a recipient, *ama-mpa-ni*, 'his mother'. In (11b), in the passive construction, only the direct object, *tataka sapit ʃu-it ʃu*, 'the children', can become the subject. The direct object corresponds to the recipient, because it functions as the direct object of the transitive clause,⁶ while the patient, *wantantskwa thaletskwa-it ʃa-iri*, 'the story about the elves', cannot become the subject, as illustrated in (11c).

- (11) a. *tsɪtsɪki* *aɽi-fa-ti* *ma* *ʃɪpati*
 Tsɪtsɪki say-PROG-ASS3 a secret
ama-mpa-ni
 mother-KPOS3-OBJ
 'Tststski is telling a secret to her mother.' (Cocucho-ManaElena 1, 26)

- b. *tataka* *sapit ʃu-it ʃa* *aɽi-na-fa-ti=kɽɪ* *wantantskwa*
 boy little-PL say-PASS-PROG-ASS3=3PL story
thaletskwa-it ʃa-iri
 elf-PL-GEN
 'The children are being told the story about the elves.'
(Zipiajo-duende 1, 73)

⁶ Others authors analyze this structure as a primary object construction (Nava 2004).

- c. * *wantantskwa thaletskwa-itfa-iri aṛi-na-fa-ti=kft tataka sapit fu-it fu-ni*

An intransitive verb in the active voice can reduce its valence in the *-na* construction: the subject can only be in the third person singular with an unspecified referent, it is a kind of dummy pronoun. Because this is an impersonal construction, no other person or nominal subject may be used. In (12), a contrastive pair of examples is provided; (12a) is an active construction, a noun phrase, *kawiri-etfa*, 'the drinkers', is the subject, as evidenced by the agreement between this element and the verb, and the coreference between the pronominal enclitic, =*kft*, and *kawiri-etfa*. In passive constructions, as seen in (12b), the subject is expressed as the third person suffix *-ti*.

- (12) a. *kawiri-etfa waṛa-fa-ti=kft*
 drinker-PL dance-PROG-ASS3=3PL
 'The drinkers dance.' (Jaracuaro-Rubio 1, 129)
- b. *waṛa-na-fa-ti*
 dance-PASS-PROG-ASS3
 'There is a dance. One dances.' (Jaracuaro-Celia 2, 105)

Thus, *-na* serves to suppress the agent — either as an intentional discourse strategy, or motivated by the inability to identify the agent at the moment of communication. The *-na* construction is a pragmatically-motivated strategy (Chamoreau, 2008).

In the denvational passive construction, expressing the agent is generally not possible. This was the case in the 16th century, and continues to be the case today in the majority of the dialectal varieties.⁷ Nevertheless, in some varieties (such as Cuanajo, Pacanda and Zipiajo), some speakers express an agent in this construction. An individual and particular participant is expressed by means of an oblique complement, introduced either by the Purepecha instrumental postposition, *ximpo* in (13), the instrumental case marker, *-mpu* in (14), or through the borrowed Spanish preposition, *por* in (15).

- (13) *Maria ints-ku-na-s-ti ma karakafa*
 Maria give-FT-PASS-AOR-ASS3 a book
Pabluximpo
 Paul INST
 'Maria was given a book by Paul.' (Zipiajo-Claudia 1, 69)
- (14) *Selia ata-na-f-ti thu-mpu*
 Celia beat-PASS-AOR-ASS3 2IND-INST
 'Celia was beaten by you.' (Cuanajo-Evaristo 5, 82)

⁷ There is not enough space here for the study of the geographic distribution of this construction. Still, it should be mentioned that this feature does not allow us to establish isoglosses. The varieties in which the absence of an agent is found are located throughout the area where Purepecha is spoken.

- (15) *tʃhanari xatsi-ku-na-f-ti* *ma medaya*
 player put-3APP-PASS-AOR-ASS3 a medal
por Presidente
 INST president
 'The player was awarded a medal by the president.' (Cuanajo-Evaristo 37,302)

Nevertheless, in some varieties (such as Jaracuaro and Arantepacua), the noun phrase attested in the oblique complement does not refer to the agent, but rather to the 'individual' who orders the process. Therefore, even though the encoding is identical (compare 16 with 14), the meaning is different: in this case the person who orders the crime is not the agent who commits the act of robbing.

- (16) *Selia ʃpa-me-na-f-ti* *tumina thu-mpu*
 Celia steal-BEN.PASS-PASS-AOR-ASS3 money 2IND-INST
 'Celia was robbed of the money; you ordered it (but were not the agent).'
- (Jaracuaro-Alfredo 24, 69)

Additionally, it may be noted that in other varieties (in Cocucho or, for some speakers, in Zipiajo), these structures are not possible; the use of the instrumental is limited to expressing an inanimate instrument, as seen in the following example:

- (17) *petu ata-na-s-ti* *tʃkhári ximpo*
 Pedro hit-PASS-AOR-ASS3 stick INST
 'Pedro was hit with the stick.'
- (Zipiajo-Claudia 6, 61)

2.2. Periphrastic passives

Two periphrastic constructions are attested: with the auxiliary *xa*, 'be there' in (18) and (19), and with the auxiliary *xinte*, 'be' in (20) and (21); both appear with the patient-oriented participle in *kata* (Chamoreau in press).⁸

One observes different constituent orders: in (18) and (19), the auxiliary appears after the participle, while in (20) and (21), the auxiliary appears before the participle. The final position of *xa* in (18) and (19) is perhaps revealing of one of the language's archaic features in having SOV constituent order (discussed in section 1.1). By way of contrast, *xinte* was first employed as a copular verb in the 19th century (Chamoreau, 2006, Villavicencio, 2006a), a time when the more frequent order appears to have been SVO. Thus, the postposition of the participle is consistent with SVO constituent order.

⁸ The participles are complex units which are modified in a particular way. Purepecha shows an asymmetric system of three elements formed with a verbal base + the suffixes *rini*, *kata* or *tini*. This system allows opposition between two past participles. In the first case (with *tini*), it indicates the state in which the unique participant or agent is. In the second case (with *kata*), the participle expresses the result of an event in which the patient is affected (Chamoreau 2008, in press).

	Agent-oriented	Patient-oriented
Present	<i>rini</i>	
Past	<i>tini</i>	<i>kata</i>

Purepecha) nor in number between the subject and participle (number agreement is possible between nouns and adjectives, and nouns and demonstratives).

In both constructions, the overt expression of an agent, by means of an oblique complement introduced by the instrumental postposition, *ximpo* in (21), or the case marker, *-mpu* in (19), is possible. The use of this construction is generally pragmatically marked: it shows that the speaker is intent on revealing the presence of a known agent.

Passive periphrastic constructions with an agent, introduced as an oblique complement, are generally used by bilingual speakers with at least a middle school education, although passive derivational constructions with an agent are also used by people having sound knowledge of Purepecha.

It is relevant to note that in Spanish passive constructions with *ser*, as in (22), the agent can be expressed; this is not possible however with *estar*, as in (23), which is described by certain authors as an adjectival construction, showing a state or the result of an event (Mendikoetxea, 1999, see also Chamoreau in press).

- (22) *Los frances-es fueron venci-dos*
 DET.PL French-PL be.PRET.3PL overcome-PART.PAST.MASC.PL
en Puebla por los mexicano-s⁹
 LOC Puebla y DET.PL Mexican-PL
 'The French were overcome in Puebla by the Mexicans.'

- (23) a. *La mesa está barniza-da*
 DET table be.there.PRS.3 polish-PART.PAST.FEM
 'The table is varnished.'
 b. **La mesa está barnizada por este hombre*

Two remarks are relevant for passive constructions: on one hand, in derivational passive constructions one may consider the overt appearance of an element essential for communication (namely the agent) in a structure which is basically formed to eliminate it, as a first step towards analyticity. On the other hand, the expression of an agent seems to be the major motivation behind the emergence of periphrastic constructions.

In periphrastic constructions, the agent seems to be directly related to contact-induced processes but in derivative passive constructions it is more difficult to explain the motivation behind the introduction of the agent.

In other languages the expression of an oblique agent is quite common in passive structures, and its introduction in a construction made to eliminate it is generally described as an internal evolution (Givón, 2008).

In the present situation of language contact, it is difficult to determine the exact cause as we do not have diachronic data by which to check whether the introduction of the derivational construction precedes the development of passive analytic constructions, and if the presence of the agent in these two constructions is correlated. But we may hypothesize that the use of an agent in a derivational passive construction was developed before the development of passive analytic constructions because of sociolinguistic differences: the former construction is used by all the speakers in the varieties where it is found, whereas the analytic constructions are

⁹ The examples in Spanish are transcribed orthographically.

restricted to a specific group (i.e., bilingual speakers who have had at least a middle school education). This complex situation makes us wonder whether there is a single cause or rather an explanation which includes both internal and contact-induced causes.

3. Nominal predicate constructions

There are two types of nominal predicate constructions: a morphological one, with the predicativizer *-e*, and a periphrastic one, with the auxiliaries *xinte*, 'be', and *xa*, 'be there'.

3.1. Constructions with a predicativizer

Nominal predicative clauses are generally formed by a complex synthetic structure using the predicativizer, *-e* (or *-i*, its dialectal variant), and a non-verbal nucleus (noun, adjective, personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, etc.) as illustrated in (24).

- (24) *piri-mpa-etfa-e-f-ti=kft*
 sister.of.a.man-KPOS3-PL-PRED-AOR-ASS3=3PL
 'They are his sisters.' (Teremendo-Cleotilde 3, 86)

The origin of the predicativizer, *-e*, is the verb *eni*, present in 16th Century texts (Chamoreau, 2006; Villavicencio, 2006a). The function of this element is not to verbalize the constituent, but to allow it to be the predicate; that is, the nucleus, hence my proposal of the term 'predicativizer', and not 'verbalizer', which is the designation generally used (Caspistrán, 2006, Villavicencio, 2006). Moreover, this structure has particular modifiers: it takes verbal markers (tense, aspect and mood), but also nominal markers (kinship possessive marker, demonstrative pronoun, plural, etc.), as illustrated above. In example (24), the nominal predicate *piri* 'sister of a man' is marked for kinship possessive, *-mpa*, and plural, *-etfa*, (nominal modifiers) and for aspect, *-f*, mood, *-ti*, and person, *=kft*, (verbal modifiers)

Constructions with a predicativizer have various meanings: identification in (24), classification or inclusion in (25), and qualification in (26). This construction can be used in order to introduce localization without material reference, as illustrated in (27).

- (25) *ifu pascual xuramuti-e-ti*
 here Pascual chief-PRED-AOR-ASS3
 'Here, Pascual is the chief.' (Pacanda-Miguel 1, 11)

- (26) *ka efe-ni xutfari kampanu tiripiti-e-s-ti*
 and see-INF POS1PL bell gold-PRED-AOR-ASS3
 'and they were looking at our bell, it is made of gold.' (Pacanda-campana, 55)

- (27) *i kamisa sáni-teru xuka-para-s-ti* *ke*
 DEM shirt few-more put-shoulder-AOR-ASS3 SUB
ifu anapu-e-s-ti
 here origin-PRED-AOR-ASS3
 'This shirt is more expensive than the ones from here.' (Ihuatzio-Agustina 3, 139)

3.2. Analytic constructions

The analytic construction with *xinte*, 'be', is due to internally-motivated reanalysis from a demonstrative to a 'be' verb (Capistrán, 2006, Cbamoreau, 2006, Villavicencio, 2006a). As we showed in the examples above, the verb *xinte* is essentially used to present or introduce, as in (7), to classify, as in (8), or to identify, as illustrated in (9).

Xinte may also be used in a pragmatically marked context, particularly in order to highlight information or to contrast one entity with another. In example (28), the use of *xinte* contrasts with the use of the predicativizer. The latter appears with the generic term, *animali*, and the former is present with the different nouns which refer to specific animals. The sentence in (28) appears in a story, at a moment when aman's life is in danger. If he does not guess the name of the animal correctly, the devil will carry him off.

- (28) *inte ampe animali-i-s-ki i no xinte-s-ti*
 DEM what animal-PRED-AOR-INT DEM NEG be-AOR-ASS3
lioni i no xinte-s-ti tigri, ni elefanti,
 lion DEM NEG be-AOR-ASS3 tiger NEG elephant
meni ampe animali-i-s-ki i
 so what animal-PRED-AOR-INT DEM
 'What is this animal? This is not a lion, nor a tiger, nor an elephant. So, what kind
 of animal is it?' (Cornelio, 1990: 35)

Constructions with *xinte* mostly appear with specific morphosyntactic constructions. Chamoreau (2006) indicates that the constructions with *xinte* are generally used with nominals, whereas the construction with the predicativizer appears with nominal but also with grammatical markers. The example in (29) is a question, the answer to which is in example (9). In the question in (29), the predicativizer is used whereas in (9), in the answer, *xinte* is employed. Villavicencio (2006a: 177-179) shows that the construction with *xinte* appears before a 'heavy' element, such as relative or final clauses (30b). The construction in (30a) with the interrogative *ampe* and the predicativizer, contrasts with the construction in (30b) where *xinte* precedes a final clause.

- (29) *né-e-s-ki xoɽempiri ifo*
 who-PRED-AOR-INT teacher here
 'Who is the teacher here?' (Teremendo-Cleotilde 8, 16)

- (30) a. *ampe-e-s-ki*
 what-PRED-AOR-INT
 'What is it?' (Pacanda-Miguel 3, 96)
 b. *xinte-s-ti para foɽ^ha-ni*
 be-AOR-ASS3 for row-INF
 'It is for rowing.' (Pacanda-Miguel 3, 99)

In the majority of Purepecha varieties, constructions with *xinte* are generally less frequent than the constructions with the predicativizer. However, the construction with *xinte*

seems to increase in frequency in the speech of bilingual, middle school educated speakers (Villavicencio, 2006a: 174).

I have also found two other contexts where these speakers have also used *xinte*. In one context, *xinte* is used as a qualifier, as in (31). In this context, the qualification is independent of the situation: *xinte* introduces an inherent quality, more or less as *ser* does in Spanish. This is illustrated in (32).

- (31) *ifu pakanta, kwhiripu miri-kwali-s-p-ti*
 ere Pacanda people forget-MID-AOR-PAST-ASS3
a ima-ni atfati-ni ka
 lready DEM-OBI man-OBJ and
myá-ntha-fa-p-ti eski ima xinte-p-ka riko
 think-IT-PROG-PAST-ASS3 SUB DEM be-AOR.PAS-SUBJ rich
 'Here in Pacanda, people had forgotten this man, they used to think that he was rich.'
 (Pacanda-Miguel 2, 77)

- (32) *Es rico*
 ser.PRS.3 rich.MASC
 'He is rich, that is his quality.'

The construction in (31) contrasts with the construction in (33), which has the verb, *xa*, 'be there': the latter expressing a quality which depends on the situation, and which is closer to a state (as exemplified in (34) with the verb *estar* in Spanish).

- (33) *kuřitsi kotfinu xa-řa-f-ti*
 buzzard dirty be.there-FT-AOR-ASS3
 'The buzzard is dirty, that is its state at the present moment.'
 (Jaracuaro-kuritsi 2, 66)

- (34) *Está rico*
 estar.PRS.3 rich.MASC
 'He is rich, that is the situation (state) in which he is now.'

Another context has *xinte* expressing a non-physical localization (here, an origin). Arantepacua is the place where the story is from, it does not imply that the speaker or the narrator, Mr. Tomas, is in Arantepacua, as illustrated in (35). This construction seems to be close to the Spanish structure with the verb *ser*, seen in (36).

- (35) *arantepakwa, xima-nka xinte-ka i wantanskwa*
 Arantepacua where-SUB be-SUBJ DEM story
enka wanta-ntha-ka tata Tomas
 SUB tell-IT-SUBJ mister Tomas
 'Arantepacua, where the story that Mr. Tomas is telling is from.'
 (Comachuen-M.Felisia, 68)

- (36) *El congreso es en Sevilla*
 the congress ser.PRS.3 in Seville
 'The congress is in Seville. The sessions take place in Seville.'

The construction in (35) contrasts with the construction in (37), with the verb, *xa*, 'be there': the latter construction expresses physical localization, as in (38) with the Spanish verb *estar*.

- (37) *ifu pakanta xa-ʔa-s-ti*
 here Pacanda be.there-FT-AOR-ASS3
 'He is here in Pacanda.' (Pacanda-Miguel5, 80)

- (38) *El congreso está en Sevilla*
 the congress estar.PRS.3 in Seville
 'The congress is in Seville. The members of the congress are in Seville.'

The verb *xinte* has expanded its meanings and usage or meanings and contexts of use. This situation favours the emergence of a distinction between the verb *xinte*, and the verb *xa*, in new contexts. We may thus conclude that Purepecha has adopted Spanish values that allow for a certain semantic convergence between these languages: on one hand, the construction with *xinte* seems to be close to the one with *ser*, and on the other, the construction with *xa* seems to be similar to the one with *estar*. Nevertheless, an internal explanation cannot be dismissed: the verb *xinte* appeared during the 19th century, as an internal evolution from the demonstrative. This process may be analyzed as a first step toward a greater degree of analyticity. We can thus hypothesize that this construction is a continuation of an evolution that was probably accelerated by contact with Spanish.

4. Discussion

Two crucial questions to discuss at this point are: how to explain the development of such analytic constructions in Purepecha?, which of them has now a synthetic passive and a construction with a predicativizer?

First, let us give a brief overview of authors who have dealt with similar processes of analyticity in other Mesoamerican languages: Suárez (1977), Hill and Hill (1986), and Flores (2004) for Nahuatl, Hekking (1995) for Otomi, and Villavicencio (2006a) for Purepecha. All of them, except Flores, note that a change in constructions from a more synthetic type to a more analytic type can be explained, at least in their analysis, as exclusively resulting from contact-induced change. They analyze the change as a consequence of contact with Spanish.

For Nahuatl, Flores (2004) provides an example of a gradual shift from incorporating nominal objects, in (39a) into a construction in which the object follows the verb, in (39b):

- (39) a. *Classical Nahuatl*
ni-xōchī-tēmoa-ø
 I.SG-flower-seek-PRS
 'I seek flowers.' (Flores, 2004: 86)

- b. *Hispanized Xalitla Nahuatl*
ni-teemoa-ø xoochi-meh
 1.SG-SEEK-PRES flower-PL
 'I seek flowers.'

(Flores, 2004: 86)

There is no doubt that this change was influenced by contact with Spanish, although language attrition is also held partly responsible for the process. For Flores, the former construction loses in productivity in favor of the latter. The construction with an incorporated object has acquired a topicalized effect in monolingual varieties of the language. Thus, Flores claims that pragmatic considerations advise prudence with regard to potentially overstating the role of Spanish in similar Nahuatl innovations (2004: 86). The influence of Spanish is important, but is probably not the sole explanation.

The comparison between my findings in Purepecha and Flores' (2004) analysis of Nahuatl is instructive since they share two characteristics:

- i) They note the difficulty in distinguishing internal from contact-induced causes and they propose a double explanation.

In Purepecha, the development of the structures with *xinte* 'be' and *xa* 'be there' seems to be the result of internal reorganization that was accelerated by contact with Spanish. Even if contact could appear to be the primary motivation, it is not possible to characterize the evolution towards analyticity as an entirely contact-induced change (also see Bisang, 1998; Heine and Kuteva, 2003, 2005, and Thomason, 2001, 2002). Both domains, the passive and the nominal predicate, present different signs of instability, which can be explained by two internally-motivated structural changes: on one hand, in certain varieties, the overt introduction of an oblique agent in the synthetic passive construction which serves to eliminate it (Chamoreau, 2007, 2008), and on the other, the development, starting in the 19th century, of a verb, *xinte*, from a demonstrative pronoun, in order to express identifying and classifying constructions, generally constituted by a synthetic construction (Chamoreau, 2006). These two processes are internally-motivated¹⁰ and display a first step towards analyticity. We may hypothesize that both were developed before the appearance of the analytical structures, because of a sociolinguistic difference in the varieties in which they are found: two constructions, the *na* construction with an agent introduced as an oblique complement, and analytic constructions with *xinte* used for identifying, classifying and presenting, are used by all speakers, whereas three constructions, the passive analytic construction and analytic constructions with *xinte* used for qualifying and expressing non-material localization, are restricted to a specific group, i.e., bilingual speakers who have had at least a middle school education.

- ii) The development of analytic constructions allows for pragmatic contrast between synthetic and analytic constructions. They encode the same construction but are used in different contexts, bringing divergent discursive particularities into focus.

¹⁰ One may of course wonder whether contact did not also play a part, however, these two processes are generally described as internal in many languages (for the introduction of an agent, see Givón, 2008, and for the evolution of a 'be' verb from a demonstrative, see Bisang, 1998, Hagege, 2001, Heine and Kuteva, 2002). For Purepecha, contact may play a role, but we lack the historical linguistic data in order to demonstrate it.

The analytic passive construction is generally used to fix the focus upon the patient, which is also the subject, and to introduce an agent. In contrast, the derivational passive construction is generally used to eliminate the agent. In few cases, in the derivational passive, the introduction of the agent as an oblique complement allows a morphosyntactic difference.

The analytic constructions with *xinte* 'be' are used in the same context as the constructions with the predicativizer (presentation, classification, identification, qualification). Nevertheless, the use of *xinte* is marked on the pragmatic level since it is used to highlight or to contrast information or an entity.

For Purepecha, we may also mention a sociolinguistic particularity for three constructions: passive periphrastic constructions with an agent introduced as an oblique complement, analytic constructions with *xinte* used as modifiers and analytic constructions with *xinte* that express non-material localization. To date, these constructions seem to only be used and accepted in the speech of bilinguals, who have had at least a middle school education. A detailed sociolinguistic study is needed to analyze the specificities in the uses of these constructions.

Final remarks

In Purepecha, the evolution towards more analytical constructions operates in various construction types; this is not an isolated phenomenon. In its current state, Purepecha has both analytic and synthetic constructions for expressing passive constructions on one hand, and nominal predicate constructions with specific pragmatic and sociolinguistic particularities on the other hand.

Purepecha and Spanish have acquired closer structural approximation in two aspects of their grammar, which are assumed to have been different at the onset of contact. Therefore the principal motivation seems to be linguistic contact, but it would be incomplete to think that internal evolution played no role in this process. Both domains showed instability and internal evolution before the development of the analytic constructions, which have nonetheless facilitated the evolution towards analyticity.

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