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► **To cite this version:**

Claudine Chamoreau. Purepecha: An isolate non-Mesoamerican language in Mesoamerica. Sören Wichmann. The Languages of Middle America: A Comprehensive Guide, Mouton de Gruyter, 2023. halshs-03880946

HAL Id: halshs-03880946

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03880946>

Submitted on 1 Dec 2022

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Chamoreau, C. in press. Purepecha: a non-Mesoamerican language in Mesoamerica. Søren Wichmann (ed.) *The Languages of Middle America: A Comprehensive Guide*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Purepecha: An isolate non-Mesoamerican language in Mesoamerica

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Purepecha (formerly known as Tarascan) is spoken in the state of Michoacán in Mexico by approximately 110,000 people. It is classified as a language isolate. In this chapter, after introducing some of its sociolinguistic and dialectal characteristics, I provide information on a selection of its phonetic and phonological processes (Chamoreau 2009), then highlight the most recent and significant progress in morphological and syntactic description.

Verbal derivational morphology in Purepecha is elaborate and highly productive. Stems may be simple or compound. Although bare stems exist, they are typically augmented with various derivational suffixes, in particular locative suffixes, but also voice, causative, positional, directional, desiderative, and/or adverbial derivational suffixes, comprising a total of around eighty markers. The majority of nouns are derived from a verbal stem and built with a nominalizer. Verbs inflect for aspect, tense, and mood and nouns for case by means of suffixes.

In simple clauses, Purepecha has nominative-accusative alignment; the basic constituent order is SVO but the language exhibits some traits commonly associated with basic OV order. It is a predominantly dependent-marking language, since the person of subject and object is generally encoded not on the verb but by means of second position enclitics, on the first constituent of a clause. However, in some contexts it exhibits head-marking characteristics (Chamoreau in press b). With respect to complex clauses, the predicates of both independent and dependent clauses are generally finite, although some non-finite dependent clauses have been observed. Here I describe the uses of non-finite and finite dependent clauses and the position of these clauses on the continuum of finiteness in Purepecha (see also Chamoreau in press a).

I close this chapter by discussing the question of whether Purepecha belongs within the Mesoamerican linguistic area. This is an interesting question because although the language is located in Mesoamerica, following Smith-Stark (1994), I do not classify it as Mesoamerican as it exhibits very few signature Mesoamerican characteristics.

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¹ This research was made possible through financial support from the French Center for American Indigenous Language Studies, CELIA (CNRS-INALCO-IRD), the French Center for the Structure and Dynamics of Languages, SEDYL (CNRS-INALCO-IRD), and the French Center for Mexican and Central American Studies, CEMCA (CNRS-MAEE). This research would not have been possible without the support of Teresa Ascencio Domínguez, Puki Lucas Hernández, Celia Tapia, and all our Purepecha hosts. I wish to thank Kate Bellamy, Enrique Palancar and Søren Wichmann for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.

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1. Introduction

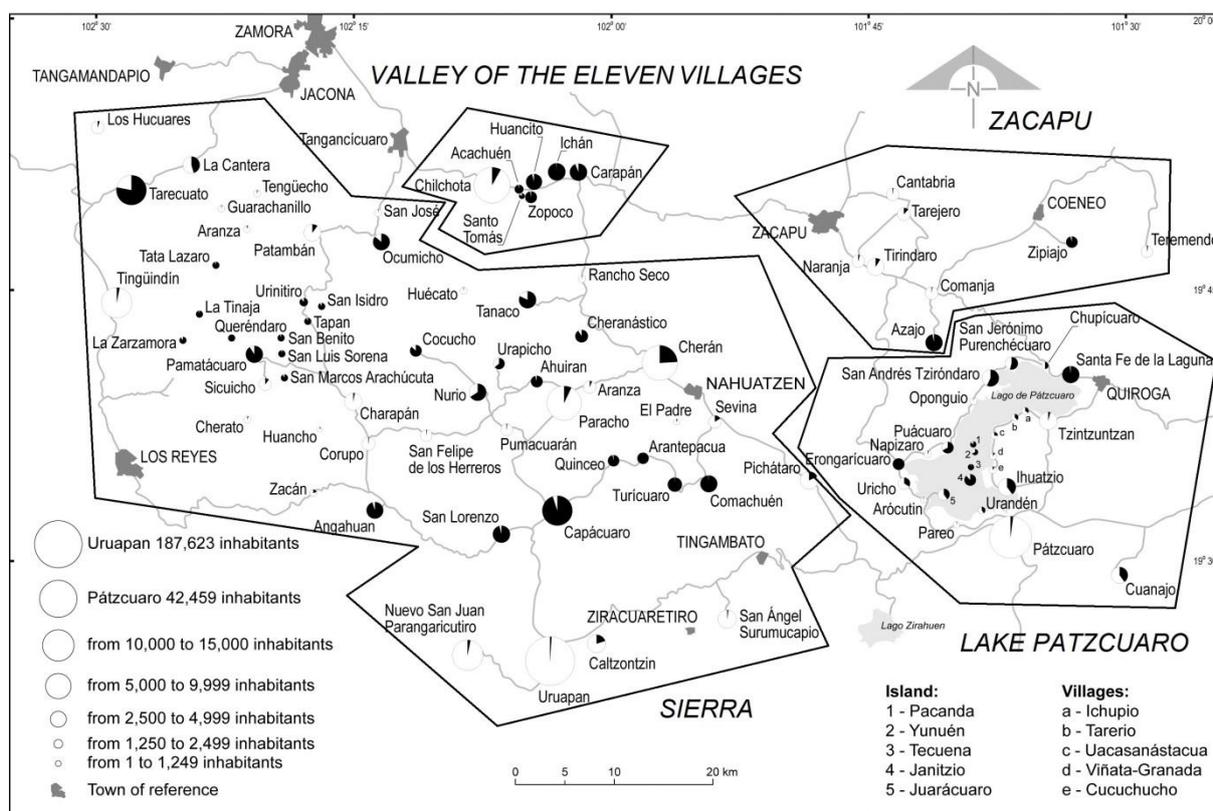
Purepecha² is classified as a language isolate. Different hypotheses about the origin of the language and its speakers have been put forward, including a relation between Quechua, Zuni, and Purepecha (Swadesh 1968) and between the Chibchan sub-group of Chibchan-Paezan and Purepecha (Greenberg 1987). Nevertheless, these hypotheses remain highly controversial. The classification of Purepecha as belonging within the Mesoamerican (henceforth MA) linguistic area is still debated, and, following Smith-Stark (1994), I do not classify it as a MA language, as it shows very few signature Mesoamerican characteristics (see section 5).

Today, Purepecha is mainly spoken in the state of Michoacán, in the central western part of Mexico, over an area of 3500 km². It is generally divided into four geographical regions (see map 1):

1. In the northeast, the region of Zacapu is a small area with 5.2% of the speakers. Only in two villages, Zipiajo and Azajo, does the language have a high degree of vitality; in the other communities Purepecha is not the language of everyday conversation and is not transmitted to younger people.
2. In the east, the region of Lake Patzcuaro is the most accessible, with most exposure to economic and touristic development. It is home to 17.8% of the speakers. In this region the language is losing ground, except on two islands, Yunuen and Tecuen, and in some villages to the north of the lake, such as Santa Fe de la Laguna, Chupicuaro, and San Andrés Tzirondaro, where Purepecha is used by speakers in everyday conversation.
3. In the northwest, in a valley containing eleven villages, 14.7% of the speakers are found. All the villages are situated along a road very close to one another; it is possible to walk from one village to another simply by crossing the street. Each village preserves its identity, but as a consequence of their proximity, the villages share some feasts and some traditional and economic activities. In these villages Purepecha has a high degree of vitality.
4. The most important and central region, the Sierra, possesses 62.3% of the speakers. Here the preservation and transmission of the language are still intense. The region is extensive and sub-regions can be distinguished, for example the villages in the southeast (Comachuen, Arantepacua, Turicuaro), or in the central villages whose names begin with San, such as San Isidro and San Benito. Each sub-region has its own internal organization and some links with villages throughout the region. In some geographically isolated villages Purepecha has a high degree of vitality.

² This language was formerly known as Lengua de Michoacan or Tarascan. There are different ways of spelling its name in the literature variously written as P'orhé, Purepecha, Purépecha, Puhépecha, P'urépecha, P'urhépecha, Phurhépecha, P'orhépecha, Phorhépicha, etc.

Map 1. Geographical distribution of the villages and the percentage of Purepecha speakers



The area as a whole includes 80 villages, divided into 21 municipalities (see Map 1). In the census of 2000, Purepecha had 121,409 speakers, of which 15,298 (12.7%) were monolingual. Among the bilingual speakers the ratio of female to male speakers was 51.2% to 49.8%. This near-equivalence does not hold for the distribution of monolingual speakers, who are 37.5% male and 62.5% female. About 70% of the speakers live in the state of Michoacán. The rest are distributed between the United States and some other regions of the country, notably Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Tijuana. The language vitality index (Smith-Stark 1995) is -1.7%. This negative index shows that the language is less used by children in the context of family communication. Consequently, Purepecha is often replaced by the dominant language, Spanish.

More recent works on dialectology confirm that the different varieties of Purepecha, which are inter-intelligible to varying degrees, show two superimposed levels of organization (Friedrich 1975, Chamoreau 2005, 2009, 2012a, 2012b, Lucas Hernández 2014). The first level exhibits one isogloss that separates the eastern linguistic area from the western one. It is worth noting that each linguistic area covers two geographical regions: the eastern area includes the regions of Zacapu and Lake Patzcuaro, while the western area includes the northwest valley of the eleven villages and the Sierra region. The borderline between the two areas is formed by mountains stretching from Zacapu to the southeast of Pichataro. There are clear linguistic and sociolinguistic differences between the western and eastern areas (Chamoreau 2012a, 2012b). The morphological differences between these two areas concern several phonetic elisions with morphological and lexical consequences in the western area (Chamoreau 2009, Lucas Hernández 2014). On the syntactic level the order article-noun is attested in the western area, while the order noun-article is found in the eastern area (Chamoreau 2012a). A borrowed construction is used for the comparative constructive in the eastern area while a calqued construction is used in the western area (Chamoreau 2012b;

Lucas Hernández 2014). Some of the sociolinguistic differences exist. In the eastern area, the use of Purepecha is diminishing, partly because older people address young people in Spanish. In the western area, the language has more vitality and is more frequently used in everyday conversation (in 54.6% of villages in this area, Purepecha speakers are more than 50%).

A second level of dialectal differentiation is constituted by various sub-areas that have their own linguistic specificities and, furthermore, also stand out with regard to some social, cultural, and historical features. In particular, two important sub-areas have been identified (other less important sub-areas have also been described, cf. Chamoreau 2012a, 2012b and Lucas Hernández 2014). In the first, comprised by the villages Angahuan and San Lorenzo in the south of the western area, we find numerous linguistic differences from the other villages, in particular some phonetic changes and OV rather than VO constituent order (Chamoreau 2009, Monzón 2004). These two villages seem to be different enough to cause problems of intelligibility for speakers from other villages (Chávez 2004, Chamoreau 2005, 2009). Purepecha displays great vitality in these villages: more than 96% of the population speaks the language, and it is used in everyday conversation. These villages are culturally and historically recognized as having a strong Purepecha identity. In the second sub-area, to the north of Lake Patzcuaro, in the villages of Santa Fe de la Laguna, Chupicuario, San Jeronimo P'urhenchecuario, and San Andrés Tzironaro, there are sociolinguistic features setting this area off from other eastern area villages. The language shows great vitality (unlike the rest of that area)—the inhabitants use Purepecha in everyday conversation. This unusual sociolinguistic situation, in a region where Purepecha is generally losing ground, is marked by a strategy whereby speakers claim to use Purepecha in order to try and distinguish themselves from others (i.e. non-speakers). This strategy is also mirrored at historical, social, and cultural levels, as speakers explore and use the vitality and creative possibilities of Purepecha (Chávez Rivadeneyra 2004, Chamoreau 2009).

2. Phonology, phonetics, and orthography

There is no consensus on the number of elements that form the phoneme inventory of Purepecha; however, most current studies (Hernández Dimas and Nava 2000:11, Villavicencio 2006:38) report twenty consonants. I recognize twenty-three consonants, including the nasal velar /ŋ/, the aspirated labiovelar /k^{wh}/, and the lateral /l/ (2009:40). This last phoneme is borrowed from Spanish and has replaced the retroflex /ɭ/ in some varieties of Purepecha, while in other varieties (eastern area), the retroflex has been replaced by the flap /r/. The fricative velar /x/ appears only in the initial position of words; /r/ and /ɭ/ are only used word medially. In some villages near Lake Patzcuaro the nasal velar is not found. With respect to vowels, all studies agree that there are six. The high central vowel never occurs in the initial position and is preceded only by alveolar and palatal phonemes. Tables 1-2 present the consonant and vowel systems. In each table, the phoneme appears in *italic* on the left side of the cell and the orthographic transcription that I use in this paper (based on Hernández Dimas and Nava 2000) on the right.

Table 1. Consonant system

	Bilabial	Apico-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar
Aspirated	<i>p^h</i> p'	<i>t^h</i> t'	<i>ts^h</i> ts'	<i>tʃ^h</i> ch'	<i>k^h</i> k'	<i>k^{wh}</i> kw'
Non-aspirated	<i>p</i> p	<i>t</i> t	<i>ts</i> ts	<i>tʃ</i> ch	<i>k</i> k	<i>k^w</i> kw
Fricative			<i>s</i> s	<i>ʃ</i> x	<i>x</i> j	
Nasal	<i>m</i> m	<i>n</i> n			<i>ŋ</i> nh	
Flap		<i>r</i> r				

Retroflex		ʃ	rh
Lateral		l	l
Approximant	w	w	y y

Table 2. Vowel system

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i	ɨ ɨ̃	u u
Mid	e e		o o
Open		a a	

Stems end in a vowel and generally receive the accent on this vowel, that is, the accent indicates the morphological right edge of the stem. Nevertheless, the accent may sometimes appear on the first syllable of the stem: compare the examples in (1a-3a) where the first syllable is accented with (1b-3b) where the accent falls on the second syllable. I indicate the accent only when it appears on the first syllable.

- (1) a. *wé-ra-ni* ‘go out’ b. *wera-ni* ‘cry’
 (2) a. *ká-ra-ni* ‘fly’ b. *kara-ni* ‘write’
 (3) a. *pí-ri-ni* ‘approach’ b. *piri-ni* ‘sing’

Purepecha exhibits systematic phonetic processes. In examples (4-7), the first and second columns show the phoneme and the phonological transcription; the third and fourth columns indicate the phonetic transcription.

The aspirated consonants are post-aspirated in initial position, but in intervocalic position the air discharge of the aspirated consonants occurs before the occlusion (4).³

- (4) Aspirated consonants in intervocalic position
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| /p ^h / | <i>te^hari</i> | [^h p] | <i>te^hpar</i> | ‘canoe’ |
| /t ^h / | <i>a^hani</i> | [^h t] | <i>a^htan</i> | ‘hunt’ |
| /ts ^h / | <i>at^himu</i> | [^h ts] | <i>a^htsimu</i> | ‘mud’ |
| /tʃ ^h / | <i>ka^htʃukuni</i> | [^h tʃ] | <i>ka^htʃukun</i> | ‘break something’ |
| /k ^h / | <i>te^hani</i> | [^h k] | <i>te^hkan</i> | ‘excuse’ |
| /k ^{wh} / | <i>ik^wani</i> | [^h k ^w] | <i>i^hkwan</i> | ‘bathe’ |

Between a nasal and a vowel, the aspirated consonants are realized as non-aspirated consonants (5). The labiovelar /k^{wh}/ never occurs in this context.

- (5) Aspirated consonants between a nasal and a vowel
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------|------------------|------------------|
| /p ^h / | <i>kómp^hini</i> | [p] | <i>kómpin</i> | ‘assist’ |
| /t ^h / | <i>únt^hani</i> | [t] | <i>úntan</i> | ‘get meal ready’ |
| /ts ^h / | <i>aṙints^hani</i> | [ts] | <i>aṙintsan</i> | ‘read’ |
| /tʃ ^h / | <i>ninent^hani</i> | [tʃ] | <i>ninentfan</i> | ‘desire to go’ |
| /k ^h / | <i>ánk^hu</i> | [k] | <i>ánku</i> | ‘then’ |

Between a nasal and a vowel, the non-aspirated consonants are realized as lenis consonants (6).

³ In these examples, we may observe that the final vowel is elided when it is not stressed. The accent appears on the first or second syllable of the stem.

(6)	Non-aspirated consonants between a nasal and a vowel				
	/p/	<i>ampe</i>	[b]	<i>ambe</i>	‘what’
	/t/	<i>tínti</i>	[d]	<i>tíndi</i>	‘fly’
	/ts/	<i>tsúntsu</i>	[dz]	<i>tsúndzu</i>	‘kettle’
	/tʃ/	<i>anantʃakwa</i>	[dʒ]	<i>anandʒakwa</i>	‘neck’
	/k/	<i>tánkekwa</i>	[g]	<i>tángekwa</i>	‘t-shirt’
	/kʷ/	<i>fénkwa</i>	[gʷ]	<i>féngwa</i>	‘wild cherry’

Between a nasal and a vowel, the fricative alveolar is realized as lenis (7).

(7)	Fricative alveolar between a nasal and a vowel				
	/s/	<i>wansipu</i>	[z]	<i>wanzipu</i>	‘crown of leaves’

3. Morphology

In Purepecha there are two types of stem: simple (one morpheme) and bipartite (two morphemes). Both types end in a vowel, as illustrated in (8a) by a monosyllabic root and a simple stem, in (8b) by a disyllabic root and a simple stem and in (8c) by a disyllabic root and a bipartite stem. Morphemes that attach to stems are always suffixed, that is, the language doesn’t have prefixes.

- (8) a. *ú* ‘do’
 b. *jupa* ‘wash’
 c. *mí-ti* ‘know’

These simple stems directly take the inflectional suffixes of the third person plural object, tense, aspect, irrealis, and mood. This is illustrated in (9) by the verb *ewa* ‘take’ to which the third person plural object *-a*, the irrealis *-a*, and the assertive mood for speech act participants (henceforth SAP) *-ka* are suffixed. In (10), the non-finite suffix *-ni* is directly suffixed to the root *kara* ‘write’.

- (9) *ewa-a-a-ka*
 remove-O3PL-IRR-ASS1/2S
 ‘I will remove them.’

- (10) *mí-ti-xìn-ka=ri* *kara-ni*
 open⁴-SUP-HAB-ASS1/2S=S2SG write-NF
 ‘You know how to write.’

Example (10) also illustrates the second type of stem, the bipartite stem (DeLancey 1999). These stems do not take the inflectional suffixes directly but rather are constituted by two bound forms, namely a root and a suffix. In Purepecha it is easy to distinguish the verbal root from the derivational element since the latter is not accented and is suffixed to the former. In (10) the root *mí* ‘open’ always requires a suffixed morpheme before a subsequent inflectional suffix. This first suffix may be a locative morpheme, as in (11a) and (11b), but is generally an obligatory suffix whose meaning is not always easy to determine and which may change the meaning of the root, as shown in (11c) and (11d). This is called a formative suffix in the literature (Chamoreau 2009:92-96, Friedrich 1971:4, Monzón 2004:53-61).

⁴ See explanation for examples in (11).

- (11) a. *mí-ti-*
open-SUP- 'know' (lit. 'open the forehead')
- b. *mí-narhi-*
open-PRINC- 'recognize' (lit. 'open the face')
- c. *mí-ka-*
open-FT- 'close'
- d. *mí-ta-*
open-FT- 'open'

The verbal template has a range of potential morphological slots, most of which need not be filled. The template is divided into three main sections: stem, derivational suffixes and flexional suffixes. From left to right the order is: stem (slot +1); derivational morphemes, comprising more than 70 suffixes (from slot +2 to slot +7 in Table 3); and flexional morphemes, including 15 suffixes (from slot +8 to slot +12 in Table 3). The first section, the stem, has been introduced above; it may be constituted by a simple stem or a bipartite stem. The other two sections have slots that appear in a rigid order, as illustrated in Table 3.

The majority of nouns are built from verbal stems with the addition of a nominalizer suffix. As a result, the derivational suffixes may also appear in deverbal nouns (Friedrich 1971, 1984, Monzón 2004). For example, the verb *era-ti-kuri* 'look at superior area oneself' may form the non-finite verb with the non-finite marker *-ni*, *era-ti-kuri-ni* and may also form the noun *eratikurita* 'mirror' with the nominalizer *-ta*. These suffixes also serve as devices for creating neologisms: for example, *era-nari-* 'look at principal area' forms a noun with the nominalizer *-kwa*. This noun *eranarikwa* has been created to mean 'photography'. Finally these suffixes may also make the meaning of the verb to which they bind more specific by indicating the participation of certain locative parts in the event.

Table 3. Three main sections of the verbal template

Slots	Types	Categories	Morphemes
Root	Stem	root	
+1		root + formative suffix bipartite stem	
+2	Derivational suffixes	locative	30/50 suffixes (table 4)
+3		directional	CENTRIF <i>-pa</i> CENTRIP <i>-pu</i>
+4		causative	<i>-ra / -ta / -tara</i>
+5		voice	REFL <i>-kuri</i> MID <i>-kuri</i> (different suffixes) REC <i>-p'era</i> PASS <i>-na</i> ANTIP <i>-pe</i> APPL3O <i>-ku</i> APPL1/2O <i>-chi</i>
+6		desiderative	<i>-keka / -ncha</i>
+7		adverbial	'early' <i>-cha</i> 'quickly' <i>-ma</i> 'violently' <i>-ntu</i> 'suddenly' <i>-k'ama</i> 'iterative' <i>-nt'a</i>
+8			third person plural object

+9	Flexional suffixes	aspect	AOR <i>-x</i> PROG <i>-xa</i> HAB <i>-xĩn</i> CONT <i>-xam</i>
+10		tense	PRS <i>unmarked</i> PST <i>-p/-an</i>
+11		irrealis	IRR <i>-a</i> COND <i>-pirin</i>
+12		mood	ASS1/2S <i>-ka</i> / ASS3S <i>-ti</i> INT <i>-ki/-i/-ø</i> SBJV <i>-ka</i> IMP.SG <i>-ø</i> / IMP.PL <i>-e</i> EXCL <i>-k'a</i>

3.1. Derivational morphology

Purepecha possesses one of the characteristics of polysynthetic languages, namely the combining of bound morphemes with the verb (Evans and Sasse 2002). Locative suffixes are particularly numerous and form the wider class of derivational suffixes. Other types of derivational suffixes are less developed.

3.1.1. Locative suffixes

The class of locative suffixes is comprised by between thirty and fifty morphemes. Friedrich lists thirty-two (1971:15-16), while Monzón has studied forty-six (2004:67). This variation may be due to dialectal differences. In Table 4, I present the thirty suffixes attested in Jaracuaro.

In Purepecha, the locative suffixes constitute a closed paradigm of morphemes that may suffix to the verbal stem (see Table 3). The majority of these suffixes have a lexical meaning basically related to spatial concepts, including body part terms. The class of locative suffixes can be further divided into two semantic subclasses. The first comprises morphemes that indicate a specific physical area not related to the body, for example *nu* ‘patio’ in (12a), *-ru* ‘street’ in (12b), and *-k'ara* ‘inside the house’ in (12c).

- (12) a. *waxa-nu-x-ti* ‘He sat on the patio.’
b. *waxa-ru-x-ti* ‘He sat in the street.’
c. *waxa-k'ara-x-ti* ‘He sat inside the house.’

The elements of this first subclass are not numerous, since the majority of locative suffixes belong to the second subclass that refers to a part of a larger entity. Example (13) illustrates a suffix of this subclass: the suffix *-narhi* refers to the principal part of a larger area. In the situation in (13), the part must be interpreted as a body part and the possessor of the face is the referent of the entity that functions as the subject. No independent locative noun is required to specify the body part (in this instance, the face). When *-narhi* refers to a subpart of the face of the referent of the subject, the eye for example, an independent spatial noun is obligatory. This noun may be marked by the objective case or by the locative case, as illustrated in (14). When *-narhi* refers to the face or a subpart of the face of another participant, a non-co-referential subject suffix is required, for example *-ku*, as illustrated in (15).

- (13) *jupa-narhi-xa-p-ka=ri*
 wash-PRINC-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 ‘You were washing your face.’
- (14) *jupa-narhi-xa-p-ka=ri* *eskwa-ni / eskwa-rhu*
 wash-PRINC-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG eye-OBJ / eye-LOC
 ‘You were washing your eye / in your eye.’
- (15) *jupa-narhi-ku-xa-p-ka=ri*
 wash-PRINC-NCS-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 ‘You were washing the face of another person.’

These suffixes are considered abstract because they may be used for objects and/or areas outside the body. The suffix *-narhi* may refer to the sun, as in (16), to an emotion of fright, as in (17), to the center of a dish, as in (18), or to a wall, as in (19). In examples (17) and (18), a non-co-referential subject suffix is used: *-ku*, as in (18), and *-ta*, as in (19). The distribution of these suffixes varies according to dialect and on the conception of the referent as animate or inanimate (for more details, see Chamoreau 2009:224-226, Friedrich 1971:43-67, Monzón 2004:252-279). The meanings of these suffixes are abstract and refer to geometric features, even though the most frequent use is for a body part. Their meanings are wider or more general than the noun that might seem to have a similar meaning: for example, the suffix *-narhi* refers to a principal flat area and may be used for face, hair, eye, sun, light, wall, texture, and leaf, but also for states of the mind such as to fear and to dream. A single gloss cannot subsume all these contexts of use. Relations between suffixes and nouns are not straightforward even if the body part meaning seems to be basis of metaphorical and abstract extensions. Moreover, there are no formal similarities between the suffixes and the nouns with related meanings. For example, the suffix that refers to the hair is *-tsi* whereas the noun for the hair is *jawiri*. Thus, there does not seem to have been a grammaticalization process through noun incorporation.

- (16) *jurhiata mere-mere-narhi-xin-ti*
 sun shine-shine-PRINC-HAB-ASS3S
 ‘The sun shines a lot.’
- (17) *chó-narhi-xin-ka*
 be_afraid-PRINC-HAB-ASS1/2S
 ‘I am afraid.’
- (18) *ma tínti má-narhi-ku-x-ti erokxi-rhu*
 ART.INDF fly stick-PRINC-NCS-AOR-PST-ASS3S dish-LOC
 ‘A fly is stuck to the dish.’
- (19) *jupa-narhi-ta-xa-p-ka=ri*
 wash-PRINC-NCS-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 ‘You were washing the wall.’

A relevant syntactic feature of this type of suffix is a co-referential relation with an argument of the verb. These suffixes generally refer to a part belonging to the referent of the entity that functions as the subject, as illustrated in (14), (15) and (16). But a small number of morphemes are directly co-referential with a part that belongs to the participant codified as

the object, as illustrated in (20). The reflexive morpheme *-kuri* is required when this body part belongs to the participant codified as the subject, as in (21).

(20) *era-ti-s-ti*
look-SUP-AOR-ASS3S
'He looked at somebody.'

(21) *era-ti-kuri-s-ti*
look-SUP-REFL-AOR-ASS3S
'He looked at himself.'

These suffixes may co-occur with an independent noun phrase that has the same meaning as the suffix or that specifies a sub-part included in a larger part denoted by the suffix; this phrase may function as the subject (16), or the object or as a locative noun phrase (14). They may be co-referential with an argument or a noun that functions as subject, object, or locative noun phrase.

Table 4. Locative suffixes found in Jaracuaro (Chamoreau 2009:221-230)

Suffix	Meaning	Context of use
<i>a</i>	central area	stomach, uterus, intestines, field
<i>cha</i>	large and narrow area	neck, throat, larynx, penis, grain, oral function (criticize)
<i>ch'u</i>	lower and bottom area	buttocks, bottom, background
<i>kurhi</i>	crossing area	waist, crossing area, malformation
<i>k'arha</i>	interior of a house area	
<i>k'u</i>	extremity and upper area	arm, hand, leaf, tissue
<i>ma / mi</i>	open area with liquid	mouth, lips, teeth, shin, liquid, oral function (miaow)
<i>marhi</i>	orifice-edge area	out of the mouth, out of place, oral function (yawn)
<i>marhu</i>	crotch	
<i>mu</i>	orifice and orifice-edge area	mouth, chin, lips, open area, oral function (order, blow)
<i>na / ni</i>	interior area	chest, breast, interior, shirt
<i>narhi</i>	principal and flattish area	face, hair, eye, sun, light, wall, food, leaf, be afraid, dream
<i>nti</i>	external and peripheral area	ear, branch, auditory function, atmospheric phenomena, quiet
<i>ntira</i>	external area of an edge	mouth, cheek, chin, teeth, feminine sex, oral function (lie)
<i>ntu</i>	lower outer area	foot, base of a tree or plant, field
<i>nu</i>	basic and central area	patio
<i>p'a / p'i</i>	front area	fire, front
<i>parha</i>	long exterior area	back, shoulder, outer part of the wall, load, cost, dress
<i>p'i</i>	body	
<i>ru</i>	road, street	
<i>rhi</i>	external body area	body, trunk
<i>rhu</i>	projection of something	nose, forehead, tip, hanging fruit, olfactory

	longish	function
<i>ta / nta</i>	around the side of something	
<i>ti</i>	top, upper area	top of the face, eyes, intellectual activity (knowing)
<i>t'a</i>	flat and vertical area	leg, side
<i>tsi</i>	lower area	lower surface, lower ground, states perceived as negative (thin, shame) or carried out in secret
<i>tsi</i>	top area	hair, skull, head, hat, top surface, spiritual activity
<i>xa</i>	flat area	knee, braid
<i>xu</i>	arm	
<i>xurhi</i>	knee articulation	

3.1.2. Directional suffixes

There are two directional suffixes, one for centrifugal direction (22), and one for centripetal direction (23). The directional suffixes encode the information in a synthetic way, obviating the use of the two verbs meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’. As in the case of locative suffixes, there are no formal similarities between the suffixes and their verbal synonyms: the suffix that refers to centrifugal direction is *-pa*, and the verb ‘to go’ is *ni*; the centripetal suffix is *-pu* and the verb ‘to come’ is *ju*. There is no evidence of a nominal or verbal source for the affixes.

(22) *kwí-para-pa-a-ka=kini*
 carry-LONG.EXT-CENTRIF-IRR-ASS1/2S= O2SG
 ‘I will go carrying you on my back.’

(23) *chkári-ni kachu-ku-pu-xa-ti*
 wood-OBJ cut-FT-CENTRIP-PROG-ASS3S
 ‘He comes cutting the wood.’

3.1.3. Desiderative and adverbial suffixes

Desiderative and adverbial suffixes appear in the last slots of the derivational suffix complex. The use of desiderative suffixes is common, whereas the use of adverbial suffixes is unusual. The two desiderative suffixes are *-keka* ‘desire’ and *-ncha* ‘want, fancy’, cf. (24). The verbs that mean ‘desire, want, fancy’ are *tsitsi* and *wé*. As seen above with locative and directional suffixes, there is no similarity between the form of the suffixes and the verbs that have a similar meaning.

(24) *ú-ncha-a-s-ka=ri*
 do-DES-O3PL-AOR-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 ‘You wanted to make/fancied making them (tamales, in this situation).’

Five adverbial suffixes have been found: *-cha* ‘early’, *-ma* ‘quickly’, *-ntu* ‘violently’, *-nt'a* ‘iterative’, and *-k'ama* ‘suddenly’ (Monzón 2004:65-67). The suffixes *-k'ama* (25a), and *-nt'a* (25b) are the most frequent ones.

(25) a. *incha-k'ama-x-ti=kxi*
 enter-suddenly-AOR-ASS3S=S3PL

‘They enter suddenly.’

- b. *jano-nt’a-s-ti* *ireta-rhu*
arrive-IT-AOR-ASS3S village-LOC
‘He returned to the village.’

3.1.4. Causative suffixes

Purepecha has three suffixes marking the causative: *-ra*, *-ta*, and the combination of both, *-tara*. The distribution of the three morphemes depends on the type of stem (Capistrán 2010, Maldonado and Nava 2002). The causative *-ra* appears after simple stems, that is, roots that directly take the inflected suffixes of the third person plural object, tense, aspect, irrealis, and mood (26), as well as verbs that denote properties (27).

- (26) *thiri-ra-a-x-ka*
eat-CAUS-O3PL-AOR-ASS1/2S
‘I fed them.’

- (27) *té-ra-x-ti* *itsi-ni*
become_sweet-CAUS-AOR-ASS3S water-OBJ
‘He sweetened the water.’

The suffix *-ta* generally occurs after a locative suffix (28).

- (28) *ana-t’a-ta-s-ti* *tsintsikata-rhu*
be_vertical-VERT-CAUS-AOR-ASS3S wall-LOC
‘He placed him upright near the wall.’

The suffix *-tara* is attached to bipartite stems that have another suffix after the root (except locative suffixes), for example formative suffixes, as illustrated in (29).

- (29) *jaka-k’u-tara-xa-ti=rini* *ixka tumpi-i-ø-ka*
believe-FT-CAUS-PROG-ASS3S=O1SG SUB young-PRED-AOR-SBJV
‘He makes me believe that he is young.’

These suffixes generally indicate direct causation. In Purepecha, expressing double causation is achieved through filling the causative morpheme slot with two morphemes. In (30a), the verb *te* is intransitive. In (30b), where one causative morpheme, *-ra*, has been added, the verb *te* is now transitive and takes two arguments; finally, in (30c) there are two causative morphemes *-ra* and *-tara*, rendering the verb ditransitive. The causer is the subject of the clause and the causee is encoded as a syntactic object in the clause, *Celia-ni*.

- (30) a. *itsi té-x-ti*
water become_sweet-AOR-ASS3S
‘The water became sweet.’
- b. *té-ra-x-ti* *itsi-ni*
become_sweet-CAUS-AOR-ASS3S water-OBJ
‘He sweetened the water.’

- (36) a. *meya-pe-xìn-ka* *k'urunta*
 trade-ANTIP-HAB-ASS1/2S tamale
 'I sell tamale / I am a seller of tamale.'
- b. *tatsikwa kuritsì xìpa-pe-xìn-ti* *wári-ni* *xépitì-ni*
 after vulture steal-ANTIP-HAB-ASS3S woman-OBJ lazy-OBJ
 'Afterwards, the vulture steals the lazy woman (patient).'

APPLICATIVE

- (37) a. *jwá-chi-s-ti=rini* *wichu-ni*
 bring-APPL1/2O-AOR-ASS3S=O1SG dog-OBJ
 'He brought the dog to me / He brought me my dog.'
- b. *xìpa-ku-a-xa-p-ka*
 steal-APPL3O-O3PL-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S
 'You were stealing from them.'

A suffix of voice may coexist with a locative suffix, as in (34), where the first *-na* refers to an interior area—the chest—and the second *-na* is the morpheme indicating the passive voice. Two voice morphemes may coexist when one of the two morphemes is the impersonal *-na*, as illustrated in (38a), where the impersonal combines with the reciprocal, in (38b) where it combines with the reflexive, and in (38c) where it combines with the antipassive (Capistrán 2010, Chamoreau 2009, Monzón 2004, Nava 2004).

- (38) a. *wanti-ku-p'era-na-xìn-ti*
 kill-FT-RECP-PASS-HAB-ASS3S
 'They are killed by one another.'
- b. *wanti-ku-kurhi-na-s-ti*
 kill-FT-REFL-PASS-AOR-ASS3S
 'They committed suicide.' (lit. 'They were killed by themselves')
- c. *wanti-ku-pe-na-s-ti*
 kill-FT-ANTIP-PASS-AOR-ASS3S
 'They killed (people) / One killed (people).'

The coexistence of two applicative suffixes is possible, but is restricted to constructions in which the second argument corresponds to the possessor of the first, both arguments being introduced by the applicative voice. This construction constitutes an external possession strategy where each argument introduced by the applicative voice has its own function. This construction is common as a way of introducing the possessor of a body part, as illustrated in (39). In this example, the first *-ku* codifies the fact that the body part does not belong to the subject; the second *-ku* codifies the patient and corresponds to the possessed entity (the nose of the girl); and the third *-ku* corresponds to the possessor, *Ismaeli*. In these constructions the possessor is affected by the action.

- (39) *jupa-rhu-ku-ku-ku-a-ti* *nanaka-ni Ismaeli-ni*
 wash-PROJ.LONG-NCS-APPL3O-APPL3O-IRR-ASS3S girl-OBJ Ismaeli-OBJ
 'He will wash the nose of the girl of Ismael.'

In example (40), the co-occurrence of the causative *-ra* and the two applicative morphemes results in a verb with three objects. The first applicative marker *-ku* encodes the possessed entity, *k'urhunta-ni*, whereas the second applicative marker *-che* encodes the possessor entity, the first person object enclitic *=rini*. This external possession construction applies to a verb that is marked by the causative marker *-ra*. The causer is the subject of the clause and the causee is encoded as a syntactic object in the clause, *Celia-ni*.

- (40) *Maria=rini jwá-ra-ku-che-a-ti k'urhunta-ni Celia-ni*
 Maria=O1SG bring-CAUS-APPL3O-APPL1/2O-IRR-ASS3S tamale-OBJ Celia-OBJ
 'Maria will ask Celia to bring my tamale for me.'

3.2. Inflectional morphology

3.2.1. The verb

3.2.1.1. Aspect, tense, irrealis, and mood markers

Purepecha distinguishes four different paradigms: aspect, tense, irrealis, and mood (henceforth ATIM). In Table 5 I present the forms attested in independent and main clauses in the village of Jaracuaro (for the allomorphs see Chamoreau 2009 and Friedrich 1984). There are four aspect markers, namely the aorist, habitual, progressive, and continuative. The only perfective aspect is the aorist, which is used in a large range of contexts, such as for narrative non-marked aspect, on-going situations with certain stative verbs, general truths with verbs of quality, the proximate past with verbs of action, and the expression of result with certain stative verbs. Purepecha has three imperfective aspect markers: the habitual marker for habitual and iterative events; the progressive marker for the progressive or durative and also for indicating dynamicity (current change) of a stative verb. Finally, the continuative marker is used for indicating continuative value generally, with verbs that express movement, and an inchoative value with other verbs. There is one tense marker (past) and two irrealis markers (irrealis-future and conditional). Lastly, there are five mood markers: the assertive, interrogative, imperative, exclamative, and subjunctive.

Table 5. ATIM markers in independent or main clauses (Jaracuaro)

Aspect	Tense	Irrealis	Mood
AOR <i>-x⁵</i>	PAST <i>-p/-an</i>	IRR <i>-a</i>	ASS1/2S <i>-ka</i> / ASS3S <i>-ti</i>
HAB <i>-xin</i>	PRS <i>unmarked</i>	COND <i>-pirin</i>	INT <i>-ki/-i/-ø</i>
PROG <i>-xa</i>			IMP.SG <i>-ø</i> / IMP.PL <i>-e</i>
CONT <i>-xam</i>			EXCL <i>-k'a</i>
			SBJV <i>-ka</i>

These morphemes occur in a fixed order at the end of the predicate: (aspect) + (tense) + (irrealis) + mood (Chamoreau 2009, in press b). Mood is obligatory in a finite, exclamative and imperative moods are used without aspect, tense or irrealis marker. Aspect has to occur with tense, and with mood. The irrealis marker occurs with mood, but cannot co-occur with aspect and tense. The assertive mood is marked by *-ka* for SAP first and second persons, as in (41a) and (42b), and *-ti* for third persons (42b).

⁵ In aorist and habitual aspect markers, the palatal *x* is sometimes pronounced as an alveolar *s* (*-s* for aorist aspect, *-sin* for habitual aspect). This is a dialectal variation.

Purepecha distinguishes between an assertive mood and an interrogative mood in independent and main clauses. Compare (41a) with (41b), where the latter includes the interrogative mood marker $-\phi$. These two moods, which occur in independent clauses, are distinguished from the subjunctive mood $-ka$, which is obligatory on the verb in dependent clauses. Compare (42a) with (43), and (42b) with (44).

- (41) a. *ni-a-ka=ri*
go-IRR-ASS1/2S=S2SG
'You will go.'
- b. *ni-a- ϕ =ri*
go-IRR-INT=S2SG
'Will you go?'
- (42) a. *anchi-kuri-x-ka*
work-MID-AOR-ASS1/2S
'I worked.'
- b. *anchi-kuri-x-ti*
work-MID-AOR-ASS3S
'He worked.'
- (43) *arhi-x-ka=ri* [*exka=ni* *anchi-kuri- ϕ -ka*]
say-AOR-ASS1/2S=S2SG SUB=S1SG work-MID-AOR-SBJV
'You said that I worked.'
- (44) *arhi-x-ka=ri* [*exka* *anchi-kuri- ϕ -ka*]
say-AOR-ASS1/2S=S2SG SUB work-MID-AOR-SBJV
'You said that he worked.'

In finite subordinate clauses the predicate is obligatorily modified by $-ka$; all the predicates in subordinate finite clauses must have this suffix. Although the suffix is generally described as a "subjunctive" mood (Capistrán 2002, Friedrich 1984, Monzón 2004, Wares 1984), it does not possess the characteristics of the morphemes of this category, as it is compulsory and cannot be contrasted with another mood. Moreover, cross-linguistically the subjunctive mood can be opposed to an assertive (or indicative) mood at the semantic level. In Purepecha this opposition is impossible since the assertive mood always appears in main and independent clauses, while the subjunctive mood is the only one attested in subordinate finite clauses.

That said, the label "subjunctive" may be motivated by three factors: First, in a subordinate finite clause the predicate (frequently a verb) must be marked by this morpheme. So this marker is associated with subordination, as is cross-linguistically generally true of the subjunctive. Second, this morpheme only appears in subordinate clauses, and is the only mood that can be used. Third, it is positioned at the end of the verb, in the slot for the mood.

In subordinate finite clauses, tense and aspect markers are present but in a distinctive and reduced form, although the irrealis and conditional retain the same form (see Table 6).

Table 6. ATIM markers in independent and subordinate clauses

	Main and independent clauses		Subordinate finite clauses
aorist	$-x$		$-\phi$
aorist - past	$-x-p$		$-p$
habitual	$-x\dot{i}n$		
habitual - past	$-x\dot{i}n-an$	$-x\dot{i}ren$	$-am$
progressive	$-xa$		V-NF AUX
progressive – past	$-xa-p$		
continuative	$-xam$		
continuative - past	$-xam-an$		
irrealis	$-a$		

conditional	-pirin
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The aorist aspect is marked as *-x* in an independent or main clause, and *-∅* in a subordinate clause (44), while the aorist aspect and past tense are *-x-p* in an independent or main clause, and *-p* in a subordinate clause (45).

- (45) [*eka Rosa-ita-ri ama-mpa chem-empa-o nia-nts'a-ni*
SUB Rosa-DIM-GEN mother-KPOSS3 house-KPOSS3-RES return-IT-NF
ja-p-ka] *imeri tapichu no ixepa-nts'a-s-p-ti*
be_there-AOR.PST-SBJV POSS3SG uncle NEG see-CENTRIF-IT-AOR-PST-ASS3S
‘When Rosita’s mother had returned to her house, her uncle did not see her.’

The habitual aspect marker *-xin* (or *sin* (47a), depending on the dialect) retains the same form in both independent or main clauses (36) and subordinate clauses (46). In independent clauses, habitual aspect and past tense markers are realized as *-sinan* (47a) or as *-siren* (47b). It is of note that a lot of formal variation exists for these morphemes when they appear together; see Friedrich (1975:184-185). In the subordinate finite clause two forms have been found: *-siren*, like in the main clause (48), and a reduced form *-am* (47b).

- (46) *ari-xin-ti* [*iska chó-narhi-xin-ka*]
say-HAB-ASS3S SUB be_afraid-PRINC-HAB-ASS1/2S
‘He (always) says that I am afraid.’
- (47) a. *Rosa-ita, pawani pawani, jarhintku jawa-ra-sin-an-ti urhu-ni*
Rosa-DIM day day early get.up-MID-HAB-PST-ASS3S grind-NF
‘Rosita, every day, used to get up early to grind.’
- b. *arhi-siren-ti=ksä* [*peeka Maria arhi-nha-am-ka*]
tell-HAB.PST-ASS3S=S3PL SUB María tell-PASS-HAB.PST-SBJV
‘They told that maybe she is named María.’
- (48) *arhi-nha-siren-ti tanako, [jimpoka=ksä kw'iripu-echa*
say-PASS-HAB.PST-ASS3S Tanaco SUB=S3PL person-PL
tanha-li-siren-ka]
join-body-HAB.PST-SBJV
‘That place was called Tanaco because people were gathering together.’

In independent and main clauses the progressive marker is *-xa* (35). In a subordinate clause, however, this aspect takes an analytic form: it is constructed with the non-finite verb and the *ja* ‘be there’ auxiliary, as in (49), where the auxiliary appears with the aorist aspect. The progressive aspect and past tense display a similar process: the markers for independent and main clauses are *-xa-p*, as in (37b), whereas in dependent clauses an analytic construction is attested (50). In this context the *ja* ‘be there’ auxiliary is marked by the aorist aspect and the past tense, encoded as *-p-*. In these two contexts, the subjunctive mood takes the shape *-k'a*.⁶

- (49) *kwhiripu xarha-narhi-sin-ti* [*eka ikia-ni ja-∅-k'a*]
people show-PRINC-HAB-ASS3S SUB be_angry-NF be_there-AOR-SBJV
‘People show when they are angry.’

⁶ For the continuative aspect and the continuative aspect with the past tense, the process is the same as for the progressive aspect and the progressive aspect with the past tense (see Wares 1974:96-97 and Friedrich 1984:73).

- (50) *no=kxi nia-nts'a-x-p-ti [jimpoka=kxi t'iré-ni ja-p-k'a]*
 NEG=S3PL return-IT-PST-ASS3S SUB=S3PL eat-NF be_there-AOR.PST-SBJV
 'They didn't come back because they were eating.'

The irrealis and conditional present a similar form in independent and subordinate clauses: the irrealis marker is *-a* in both an independent clause (41) and subordinate clause (51). The conditional marker is *-pirin*, as illustrated in (52a) in an independent clause and (52b) in a subordinate clause.

- (51) *ju-∅ kokwani [paraki=ri xe-a-ka]*
 come-IMP.SG quickly SUB=S2SG see-IRR-SBJV
 'Come quickly so that you see him.'

- (52) a. *Pacanda anapu-echa pa-pirin-ti*
 Pacanda ORIG-PL take-COND-ASS3S
 'Those from Pacanda should carry it.'

- b. *wanti-ku-a-ka=kxi tsikata-ni [eka=ri ju-pirin-ka]*
 kill-FT-IRR-ASS1/2S=S1PL chicken-OBJ SUB=S2SG come-COND-SBJV
 'We will slaughter the chicken if you would come.'

3.2.1.2. Person markers

The pronominal markers are enclitics that may occur on the verb, as in (53a), they are generally attested in the second position of the clause, as in (53b). For this reason I discuss them in section 4.3.2, where the characteristics of the simple clause are presented.

- (53) a. *at'a-mu-ku-ncha-nt'a-x-p-ka=ri*
 beat-ORIF-NCS-DES-IT-AOR-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 'You had wanted to hit the mouth of another again.'
- b. *no=ri xipa-ku-a-xa-p-ka*
 NEG=S2SG steal-APPL3O-O3PL-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S
 'You were not stealing them.'

The third person plural object suffix is the only affixed pronominal element and occurs suffixed to the verb. The suffix *-a* occurs only for the third person plural when it functions as the object of the clause, as illustrated in (54).

- (54) *ché-ra-a-xin-ti*
 be_afraid-CAUS-O3PL-HAB-ASS3S
 'He scares them.'

The presence of *-a* is not obligatory and is therefore not described as a marker of plural nominal agreement. The presence or absence of the object suffix depends on the way the referent of the noun is conceptualized. When the noun refers to various entities that can be individuated the suffix is used, as in (55a), but when the same entities are understood as unindividuated the suffix does not appear (55b; Chamoreau 2009:84-91). In the case of body

parts or objects that come in pairs, such as eyes, ears, legs, and arms, the noun generally is not marked by the plural *-echa* marker but rather the suffix *-a* is attached to the verb (55c).

- (55) a. *jwá-chi-a-φ=rini* *naraxa-icha*
 bring-APPL1/2O-O3PL-IMP.SG=O1SG orange-PL
 ‘Bring me the oranges.’
- b. *jwá-chi-φ=rini* *naraxa*
 bring-APPL1/2O-IMP.SG=O1SG orange
 ‘Bring me oranges.’
- c. *jupa-narhi-a-xa-p-ka=ri* *eskwa-ni*
 wash-PRINC-O3PL-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG eye-OBJ
 ‘You were washing your eyes.’

3.2.2. The noun

3.2.2.1. The plural marker

Purepecha has no grammatical gender (Chamoreau 2009:57-60). Nouns may be marked by the plural marker *-cha* (or *-icha*, *-echa*), and plural marking depends on two hierarchies:

1. the inherent semantic properties of the referent (e.g. humanness, animacy)
2. properties related to grammatical features (e.g. definiteness, count vs. noun distinction, generic vs. specific).

Animacy is generally the predominant factor: a noun with animate reference may take the plural marker, such as *kw'iripu-echa* in (48). There are two contexts in which definiteness prevails over animacy (Chamoreau 2009:82-91):

- in a noun phrase containing an animate noun modified by a numeral greater than ‘one’ the presence of the plural marker indicates definite reference (56a), while the absence of the plural marker indicates indefinite reference (56b);
- in a noun phrase with an inanimate noun with plural reference, generally no plural marker appears (57a), but if the inanimate noun is marked by a demonstrative modifier, the plural marker is generally attested (57b), because the demonstrative reference allows the entity to be individuated and identified.

- (56) a. *witsintikwa=kxi* *tsimani kurhudene-cha* *wé-ra-x-ti* *tarheta*
 yesterday=3PL two quail-PL go out-FT-AOR-ASS3 field
 ‘Yesterday, the two quails went out to the field.’
- b. *yóntki=kxi* *tanimu axuni* *ni-ra-x-ti* *jwata-rhu*
 long_time_ago=3PL three deer go-FT-AOR-ASS3 hill-LOC
 ‘Long ago, three deer went to the hill.’
- (57) a. *ima jwátano=teru* *ja-ra-x-ti* *anatapu*
 DEM hill NEG=more be_there-FT-AOR-ASS3 tree
 ‘On this hill, there are no more trees.’
- b. *witsintikwa=kxi* *iwiri-echa* *p'iku-x-ti* *tsima-ni* *anatapu-echa-ni*
 yesterday=3PL woodcutter-PL cut-AOR-ASS3 DEM-OBJ tree-PL-OBJ

‘Yesterday, the woodcutters cut these trees.’

3.2.2.2. Case markers

Purepecha is a case-marking language in which the nominal subject has no overt marker, as with *iwiri-echa* ‘woodcutters’ in (57b). The object is generally marked by the objective case marker *-ni*, as with *tsima-ni anatapu-echa-ni* ‘these trees’ in (57b). This morpheme encodes the object of a transitive verb, such as *misitu-ni* ‘cat’ in (58a), and both objects of a ditransitive verb, such as *inte-ni wantantskwa-ni* ‘this story’ and *Puki-ni* ‘Puki’ (proper name) in (58b). The presence of the objective case marker depends on a hierarchy of three levels: the inherent semantic properties of the referent (human, animate), as *Puki* in (58b); properties related to grammatical features (definite, count noun vs. mass noun, generic vs. specific, etc.), as demonstratives in (58a-58b); and pragmatic strategies (topic, focus). The presence of the objective case marker *-ni* generally indicates that the noun phrase is individuated.

- (58) a. *jo celia at'a-x-ti ima-eri misitu-ni*
 yes Celia beat-AOR-ASS3S DEM-GEN cat-OBJ
 ‘Yes, Celia beat this cat.’
- b. *Celia arhi-x-ti inte-ni wantantskwa-ni Puki-ni*
 Celia tell-AOR-ASS3S DEM-OBJ story-OBJ Puki-OBJ
 ‘Celia told Puki this story.’

Purepecha also has a locative case marker *-rhu* for expressing location (59a), and a residential case marker *-o* that indicates a place of living (59b).

- (59) a. *ka ima wámpa ánchi-kurhi-xa-p-ti kámpu-rhu*
 and DEM husband.KPOSS3 work-MID-PROG-PST-ASS3S field-LOC
 ‘... and this husband worked in the field,’
- b. *jini chene-mpa-o para ampe=ri wé-ka-sin-i t'u ima-ni*
 there POSS2-KPOSS3-RES for what=S2SGwant-FT-HAB-INT S2SG.IND DEM-OBJ
 ‘There, in his house, for what do you want him?’

Purepecha also has a comitative case marker *-nkuni* that is essentially used for indicating association, as in (60a). But as a consequence of its evolution, nowadays it also appears to indicate temporality and instrumentality. The instrumental case marker *-mpu* is used in particular to indicate instrumentality, as in (60b), but nowadays it may also be used to express locative, temporal, benefactive, recipient, agent, or causal functions (see Chamoreau 2009:156-162).

- (60) a. *ni-ra-a-∅ ama-mpa-nkuni o imeri tata-nkuni*
 go-FT-IRR-INT mother-KPOSS3-COM or POSS3SG father-COM
 ‘Will she go with her mother or with her father?’
- b. *juchi nante no wé-ka-x-ti exka=ni ni-∅-ka ichorita-mpu*
 POSS1SG mother NEG want-FT-AOR-ASS3S SUB=S1SG go-AOR-SBJV canoe-INS
 ‘My mother did not want me to go by canoe.’

Lastly, Purepecha also has a genitive case marker *-eri*, which is suffixed to the possessor noun, as in (61).

- (61) a. *jinte-s-ti wámpa María-eri*
 be-AOR-ASS3S husband María-GEN
 ‘He is Maria’s husband.’
- b. *nanaka-echa-eri jawiri sési ja-rha-x-ti*
 girl-PL-GEN hair well be_there-FT-AOR-ASS3S
 ‘The girls’ hair is beautiful.’

The genitive case marker attested in modern Purepecha has lost phonetic substance compared with the postposition *eweri* attested in the sixteenth century (Villavicencio 2006). The genitive case marker now belongs to a paradigm of flexional suffixes, having lost syntactic freedom. Other postpositions attested in the sixteenth century, the instrumental marker *jimpo* (see examples (64c) and (70)) and the comitative marker *jinkuni* or *jinkoni* (as in (89a)), have undergone the same type of evolution. Nowadays, both of these postpositions may be found in dialectal variation with the suffixed markers *-mpu* and *-nkuni*. At the semantic level, these case markers have undergone desemanticization, having shifted from marking only possession (*eweri*), association (*jinkuni*), and instrument (*jimpo*) in the sixteenth century to appearing in a wide range of contexts at the present time. The genitive marker is now used in the majority of the contexts in which the preposition *de* occurs in Spanish. This is a semantic influence of Spanish.

4. Syntax

4.1. The verb phrase

The presence of a great number of suffixes in Purepecha allows for a great deal of holophrasis (62a). Purepecha is predominantly a dependent-marking language as its pronominal markers are enclitics, generally in second position, as illustrated in (62b).

- (62) a. *at’a-mu-ku-ncha-nt’a-x-p-ka=ri*
 beat-ORIF-NCS-DES-IT-AOR-PST-ASS1/2S=S2SG
 ‘You had wanted to hit the mouth of another again.’
- b. *no=ri xipa-ku-a-xa-p-ka*
 NEG=S2SG steal-APPL3O-O3PL-PROG-PST-ASS1/2S
 ‘You were not stealing from them.’

As described in section 3.2.1.1, analytical constructions are generally used in dependent clauses (for progressive and continuative aspects), but in independent clauses, some examples of analytical constructions with the auxiliary *ja* ‘be_{there}’ and non-finite verbs ending in *-ni*⁷ or a

⁷ It is noteworthy that this non-finite marker is homophonous with the objective case marker. The non-finite marker may actually derive diachronically from the objective case marker, since there is a parallelism of treatment between the complement non-finite clause, as in (a), and the objective nominal phrase, as in (b): both are arguments of the verb.

- a. *ero-ta-xa-ti [k’ama-ta-ni]*
 wait-CAUS-PROG-ASS3S finish-CAUS-NF
 ‘He hopes to finish.’
- b. *ero-ka-xa-ti kurucha-ni*

participle are also attested. Purepecha has an asymmetrical system of three participles formed with a verbal stem + one of the suffixes *-rini*, *-kata* or *-tini*. The present participle with *-rini* is agent-oriented (63a) and has no counterpart. There is, however, an opposition between two past participles: an active past participle *-tini*, indicating the state of the unique participant or agent (63b), and a passive past participle *-kata*, which expresses the result of an event in which the patient is affected (63c). This latter construction is used in particular to express the analytic passive.

- (63) a. *i achati maria-ni t'iwira-rini no wiria-x-ti*
 DEM man Maria-OBJ carry-CAUS-PTCP.PRS NEG run-AOR-ASS3S
 'This man, carrying Maria, did not run.'
- b. *achati-icha kwat'a-ra-tini ja-rha-x-ti*
 man-PL be_tired-CAUS-PTCP.PST.AC be_there-FT-AOR-ASS3S
 'The men were tired.'
- c. *i kumanchikwa ata-ra-nt'a-kata ja-rha-x-ti*
 DEM house sell-CAUS-IT-PTCP.PST.PASS be_there-FT-AOR-ASS3S
 'This house has been sold.'

4.2. The noun phrase

In Purepecha, a simple noun phrase generally only contains a pronoun or noun plus a simple modifier such as an article (64a), adjective (64a), numeral (64b-c), demonstrative (64d), and possessive (64e).

- (64) a. *tsitsiki arhi-xa-ti ma xipati sapichu ama-mpa-ni*
 Tsitsiki say-PROG-ASS3S ART.INDF secret small mother-KPOSS3-OBJ
 'Tsitsiki is telling a little secret to her mother.'
- b. *tsimani musiki-cha=xī ja-a-ti*
 two band-PL=FOC be_there-IRR-ASS3S
 'There are two bands that will be there.'
- c. *jimpo=xī ma-echakwa musiki ni-a-ti ma xurhiatikwa*
 INS=FOC one-CLF.long band go-IRR-ASS3S one day
 'This is the reason why one band will go during one day'
- d. *inte acha mas k'éri-e-s-ti ke de xo anapu yamintu*
 DEM man more old-PRED-AOR-ASS3S than of here origin all
 'This man is older than anyone else here.'
- e. *jupi-ka-x-ti juchi kawayu-ni*
 take-FT-AOR-ASS3S POSS1SG horse-OBJ
 'He took my horse.'

wait-FT-PROG-ASS3S fish-OBJ
 'He waits for the fish.'

When a numeral is used to modify a noun, a numeral classifier may also be used (64c). Purepecha possesses three numeral classifiers: *erhakwa*, *ichakwa*, and *ichukwa*. They are used with nouns referring to round, long, and flat objects, respectively, a use that has been attested since the sixteenth century, when Gilberti (1987 [1558]:275) counted eighteen elements. In many villages, the use of the classifiers varies: in (64b) a classifier is not used with the noun *musiki* ‘band’, whereas one does occur in (64c). The process of loss of these classifiers is manifested in the reduction of inventory units (from eighteen to three), their infrequent use, and the simplification of the categorization. The classifier *ichawa* demonstrates considerable desemanticization, being used in a wide range of contexts, not only for long objects. The process of loss is also associated with pragmatic motivations; numeral classifiers in Purepecha generally appear in a marked context that refers to a prominent and identifiable entity accessible to the speaker and interlocutor (65a), which can be contrasted with the entities in (65b) that are not prominent and identifiable for speech act participants (Chamoreau 2013).

- (65) a. *Pedru a-rha-x-ti tsì-ni t’ám-ichak purhu-icha*
 Pedro eat-FT-AOR-ASS3S DEM.PL-OBJ four-CLF.long gourd-PL
 ‘Pedro ate these four gourds.’
- b. *exe-i tsimani naraxa, tanimu k’awaxi*
 look-IMP.SG two orange three red pepper
 ‘Look at two oranges and three red peppers [...].’

Purepecha has two paradigms for possessive modifiers. In the first, independent possessive pronouns precede the noun, as in (64e), and may be used with all types of noun. Possessive pronouns are built on the independent personal pronouns for first and second persons and demonstrative pronouns for third persons,⁸ as illustrated in columns 1 and 2 of Table 7.⁹ Column 3 of Table 7 presents the second paradigm for possessive modifiers, namely the kinship possessive suffixes (66), which are only used with kinship nouns. Purepecha distinguishes kinship nouns from other nouns and treats them separately using kinship possessive modifiers. Moreover, some kinship nouns are dependent, as in the case of *ama-* in (66), which requires a kinship possessive modifier to function. Table 7 lists the morphemes found in the village of Jaracuaro (dialectal variations exist: see Chamoreau 2009:72-75).

Table 7. Personal pronouns, possessive pronouns and kinship possessive modifiers

	Independent personal pronouns ¹⁰	Independent possessive pronouns	Kinship possessive modifiers ¹¹
1SG	<i>ji</i>	<i>juchi</i>	∅

⁸ Purepecha has three exophoric demonstrative pronouns: proximal *i*, distal *inte*, and distal and invisible *ima* in the singular, and *icha*, *tsì*, *tsìmi*, *tsìma*, *imecha* in the plural.

⁹ For first and second person possessive pronouns in the singular, the personal pronoun is combined with the suffix *-chi* (*-chi* is the applicative suffix voice for speech act participant: see above in section 3.1.5.). For the other possessive pronouns, the personal or demonstrative pronouns are combined with the suffix *-eri*, the genitive case marker (see above in section 3.2.2).

¹⁰ In the singular, subject pronouns are simple forms, and in the plural, the plural marker *-cha* is suffixed to the singular form. Object pronouns are complex entities constituted by three elements now considered to be lexicalized, that is, the subject pronoun plus the objective case marker and objective pronominal enclitic (see Table 8), for example in the case of the second person in the singular, *t’u-ni=kini*, or the first person in the plural, *jucha-ni=ts’ini*. These complex forms are very rarely used.

¹¹ There is no specific suffix for the first person in the singular or plural. The kinship possessive modifier for second persons, *-ti*, is used with the independent possessive pronoun: *juchi nan-ti* ‘my mother’.

2SG	<i>t'u</i>	<i>chi, t'uchi</i>	<i>-ti</i>
3SG	<i>i, inte, ima</i>	<i>iri, interi, imeri</i>	<i>-mpa</i>
1PL	<i>jucha</i>	<i>juchari</i>	\emptyset
2PL	<i>cha</i>	<i>chari</i>	<i>-ti</i>
3PL	<i>tsi, tsimi, tsima icha / imecha</i>	<i>tsiri, tsimeri icheri / imecheri</i>	<i>-mpa</i>

- (66) *tsitsiki arhi-xa-ti ma xipati sapichu ama-mpa-ni*
 Tsitsiki say-PROG-ASS3S ART.INDF secret small mother-KPOSS3-OBJ
 ‘Tsitsiki is telling a little secret to her mother.’

4.3. The simple clause

4.3.1. Alignment and constituent order

Purepecha has nominative-accusative alignment, and is a case-marking language in which the nominal subject has no overt marker. The object is generally marked by the objective case marker *-ni* (see section 3.2.2.). A ditransitive verb in Purepecha is mixed in type (Chamoreau 2008). According to criteria proposed in Malchukov et al. (2010), it exhibits neutral alignment for flagging in ditransitive constructions: that is, the objective case marker *-ni* is the same for the patient of a transitive verb and the patient and recipient of a ditransitive verb, as illustrated in (58a) and (58b), as well as for syntactic processes such as topicality, focus, interclausal coreference control, and relativization. But Purepecha displays secundative alignment for accessibility to voice change; in other words, the recipient of the ditransitive verb aligns with the object of the transitive verb in reflexive, reciprocal, passive, and antipassive constructions, as shown in (34b) for the passive construction and (36b) for the antipassive construction.

Purepecha basically possesses SV and SVO constituent order, as illustrated by example (66). This is the basic order in the region of Lake Patzcuaro (Capistrán 2002, Chamoreau 2009:55-58), although other orders are possible, indicating specific pragmatic properties. Studies of constituent order in the other regions do not as yet exist. However, Purepecha exhibits a number of traits associated with an SOV language: (i) tense, aspect, irrealis, and modal markers following the verb; (ii) postpositions; (iii) only suffixes; (iv) only enclitics; (v) case markers; (vi) main verbs preceding inflected auxiliaries; and (vii) variation of the position of the head noun in noun phrases (compare examples (61a) and (61b)). Both SVO and SOV constituent orders were attested in the sixteenth century, and the former has gradually increased in frequency since that time, probably due to areal contact. Prior to the Conquest there were speakers of other languages in the Purepecha area, mostly Nahuatl (Uto-Aztec family) and Otomi (Otopamean family), which are languages with verb-initial structure. The change probably began under the influence of these languages and was continued by Spanish (SVO), for example by the introduction of prepositions (Chamoreau 2007).

4.3.2. A predominantly dependent-marking language and head-marking attraction

Despite being a predominantly dependent-marking language, in three contexts Purepecha displays some features of a head-marking language (see section 4.3.2.2.). In other contexts, it exhibits a head-attraction strategy (see section 4.3.2.3.).

4.3.2.1. A predominantly dependent-marking language

Subject and object pronouns are expressed by pronominal enclitics. Table 8 presents the two paradigms of pronominal enclitics, namely the subject and object enclitics.

Table 8. Pronominal enclitics in Purepecha

	Subject	Object ¹²
1	\emptyset / =ni	=rini / =ts'ini ¹³
2	=ri	=kini / =kxini ¹¹
3	\emptyset	\emptyset
1PL	=ch'e / =kxi ¹⁴	=ts'ini
2PL	=ts'i	=kxini
3PL	=kxi	=kxini

The language has no proclitics, only enclitics, and it combines different types—fixed and floating, pronominal and non-pronominal (Chamoreau 2014). Pronominal enclitics are illustrated by example (69a) and non-pronominal discourse enclitics by (69b). Both are fixed second-position enclitics. By contrast, adverbial non-pronominal enclitics are floating, as shown in example (69c).

- (69) a. *ka=kxi* wanto-nts-kwarhe-pa-nt'a-x-p-ka
and=S1PL tell-FT-REFL-CENTRIF-IT-AOR-PST-ASS1/2S
'... and we discussed.'
- b. *k'orhunta-echa-ni=xï* Lola-ni ewa-a-a-ka
tamal-PL-OBJ=FOC Lola-OBJ take-O3PL-IRR-ASS1/2S
'They are the tamales that I will bring to Lola.'
- c. *jiniani ire-ka-s-ti, cha-ri tata jingoni=t'u,*
there live-FT-AOR-ASS3S S2PL.IND-GEN father COM=too
primu-e-s-ti ima=t'u
cousin-PRED-AOR-ASS3S DEM=too
'He lived up there, with your father too, he is also a cousin.'

Stressed independent pronouns (see the paradigm in the first column of Table 7) are used to introduce or emphasize a referent, as illustrated in example (70).

- (70) *jucha* *isi=sï* *mí-ti-s-p-ka* *tshírakwa jimpo*
S1PL.IND thus=FOC open-SUP-AOR-PST-ASS1/2S cold INS
'We thus, knew it (the village) for the cold.'

¹² The first person object enclitics are formed by the second person subject enclitics and the objective case marker *-ni*: for example the first person singular object enclitic *=rini* is constituted by second person singular subject enclitic *=ri* and the objective case marker *-ni* (this is the same process for first person plural *=ts'ini*). The second person object enclitics are formed by the third person subject enclitics and the objective case *-ni*: for example the second person plural object enclitic *=kxini* is constituted by the third person plural subject enclitic *=kxi* and the objective case marker *-ni* (in singular, the origin of *=ki* is unknown because third person singular subject enclitic is \emptyset).

¹³ The first person object enclitic *=ts'ini* and the second person object *=kxini* are always used when the subject is plural.

¹⁴ For the first person plural, the difference between *=ch'e* and *=kxi* (or *=ksi*) today exhibits dialect variation that reveals a diachronic change: in the sixteenth century only *=kuch'e* (the marker that has been grammaticalized in *ch'e*) was used.

For pronominal enclitics, the second position is the unmarked and most frequent position (see Chamoreau 2014). The pronominal enclitic is used to indicate that the referent functions either as the subject of a clause, as illustrated by *=ksĩ* in an independent clause (71a), or as the object of a clause, as illustrated by *=kini* in a dependent clause (71b). A further function of the second-position enclitic is to delimit the beginning of a clause, either independent or dependent).

(71) a. *no=taru=ksĩ ima-echa-ni jatsi-a-s-ka*
 NEG=other=S1PL DEM-PL-OBJ have-O3PL-AOR-ASS1/2S
 ‘We no longer had them (papers).’

b. *xu jano-s-ti [eki=kini juchi watsi jwá-kurhi-ϕ-ka]*
 here arrive-AOR-ASS3S SUB=O2SG POSS1SG son bring-REFL-AOR-SBJV
 ‘He arrived here, when my son brought you ...’

Second-position pronominal enclitics have a fixed position within the clause regardless of the grammatical class of their host, which can belong to several different classes (Chamoreau in press b). Adverbs, subordinators, and verbs are the three most frequent constituents that function as hosts for second-position pronominal enclitics. In dependent clauses, pronominal enclitics almost always attach to the subordinator. Postpositions and coordinating conjunctions, however, almost never function as hosts.

Different enclitic strings, also known as clitic clusters, are possible in Purepecha, namely:

- one non-pronominal and one pronominal enclitic (71a),
- two non-pronominal enclitics (72a),
- two non-pronominal enclitics and one pronominal enclitic (72b).

(72) a. *sani k'e-ni ka, no=teru=chk'a anta-nku-ni*
 little grow-NF and NEG=other=certainly gain-INTS-NF
 ‘He grows a little, and this is not sufficient.’

b. *pawani=t'u=chk'a=ri ni-a-ka*
 tomorrow=too=certainly=S2SG go-IRR-ASS1/2S
 ‘Also tomorrow, you will go.’

Enclitic strings have a strict order: the non-pronominal enclitic precedes the pronominal one, as illustrated in (72b). However, two non-pronominal fixed enclitics, the focus marker *=sĩ* and the evidential *=na*, generally appear at the end of the string (except with the first person singular, which appears after the focus *=xi*). In the sixteenth century, the order was the reverse, that is, *=pronominal =non-pronominal*. Today, the fixed position shows some signs of weakening. Non-pronominal enclitics keep their position, while pronominal enclitics exhibit variation, tending to move to the right-hand position in the clause, and may encliticize to the predicate itself (see section 4.3.2.3.).

4.3.2.2. Contexts of head-marking characteristics

In three contexts Purepecha exhibits head-marking: (i) the third person plural object is expressed as a suffix occurring only on the verb (see section 3.2.1.2.); (ii) the applicative suffixes also appear exclusively on the verb and encode a recipient or a possessor (see section 3.1.5.); and (iii) the first and third person singular affixes also have a head-marking behavior.

Having considered the first two contexts already, I will describe the third case in this subsection.

The third person singular is always unmarked, regardless of the mood, i.e. in the assertive (73), interrogative (74), and subjunctive (75) moods. In (73c), (74c), and (75c), the absence of a pronominal marker is understood as the third person singular.

- | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (73) | a. | <i>kara-s-ka / kara-sin-ka=ni</i> | ‘I wrote’ |
| | b. | <i>kara-s-ka=ri</i> | ‘You (sg.) wrote’ |
| | c. | <i>kara-s-ti</i> | ‘He wrote’ |
| | d. | <i>kara-s-ka=ksï</i> | ‘We wrote’ |
| | e. | <i>kara-s-ka=ts’i</i> | ‘You (pl.) wrote’ |
| | f. | <i>kara-s-ti=ksï</i> | ‘They wrote’ |
| | | | |
| (74) | a. | <i>kara-s-ki=ni</i> | ‘Have I written?’ |
| | b. | <i>kara-s-ki=ri</i> | ‘Have you (sg.) written?’ |
| | c. | <i>kara-s-ki</i> | ‘Has he written?’ |
| | d. | <i>kara-s-ki=ksï</i> | ‘Have we written?’ |
| | e. | <i>kara-s-ki=ts’i</i> | ‘Have you (pl.) written?’ |
| | f. | <i>kara-s-ki=ksï</i> | ‘Have they written?’ |
| | | | |
| (75) | a. | <i>eka=ni kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when I wrote’ |
| | b. | <i>eka=ri kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when you (sg.) wrote’ |
| | c. | <i>eka kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when he wrote’ |
| | d. | <i>eka=ksï kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when we wrote’ |
| | e. | <i>eka=ts’i kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when you (pl.) wrote’ |
| | f. | <i>eka=ksï kara-ø-ka</i> | ‘when they wrote’ |

As illustrated in (73), the assertive mood is *-ka* for first and second persons (73a, b, d, e), and *-ti* for third persons (73c, f). Interestingly, in this mood two of the persons—the first and third singular—may have a zero marker when they function as the subject. For the first person there is no difference in the use of the covert marker or the overt *=ni*. In the sixteenth century the use of the unmarked form was the most frequent (Chamoreau 2014). There are two ways of identifying the referent in the assertive mood: the absence of the enclitic is always interpreted as first person singular with *-ka*, as in (73a); by contrast, in the case of other persons the enclitic or independent pronoun is used, as in (73b), (73d), and (73e). With a mood other than the assertive, i.e. the interrogative or subjunctive, which have the same morpheme for all the persons, the enclitic (or the independent pronoun) is introduced (74a) and (75a).

4.3.2.3. Head-attraction

Pronominal enclitics in Purepecha have recently begun to appear in a new position, namely after the syntactic predicate of the clause, which is frequently a verb. In this new position, enclitics are attached to the end of the predicate after the ATIM markers. This is also a fixed position, but the change is that predicates need not appear in the first position of the clause, but rather can appear in any position. This movement to the right, from second-position enclitic to predicate enclitic, occurs only with pronominal enclitics. The host is chosen for its syntactic and pragmatic properties, and is frequently the predicate itself, as illustrated by example (76a), or in a few cases the last element before the predicate, when it is an adverb or a negation element (76b).

(76) a. *ka yontki anapu ire-kwari-s-p-ti=ksi* Chao
 and before origin reside-REFL-AOR-PST-ASS3S=S3PL Chao
 ‘...and since before they lived in Chao.’

b. *xani arhi-a-xin-ka=ni exki no=ksi itsu-ta-φ-ka*
 much say-O3PL-HAB-ASS1/2S=S1SG SUB NEG=S3PL absorb-CAUS-AOR-SBJV
 ‘I always ask that they don’t smoke.’

Five new morphosyntactic possibilities for the new strategy have been identified. Going from the most frequent strategy to the least frequent, these are:

1. After the predicate: this is more frequent for the subject (76a) than for the object (77).

(77) *jima pia-chi-a-ti=kini, eki=rini ixē-φ-ka*
 there buy-APPL1/2O-IRR-ASS3S=O2SG SUB=O1SG see-AOR-SBJV
 ‘There, he will buy (something) for **you** when he will see me.’

2. Pronominal agreement: independent pronoun and enclitic after the predicate, as in (78).

(78) *ka t’u tata generali-i-x-ki=ri a no*
 and S2SG.IND sir general-PRED-AOR-INT=S2SG ah NEG
 ‘...and, **YOU** are the general, aren’t you?’

3. Repetition of the enclitic that functions as the subject (in the same clause): as the second-position enclitic and after the predicate (79). This strategy has not been found to occur for the object.

(79) *jimpoki=ni yontki=t’u unta-φ-ka=ni a-rha-ni*
 SUB=S1SG before=too begin-AOR-SBJV=S1SG eat-FT-NF
 ‘...because before **I** also began to drink.’

(80) *eki=ni ji ni-nt’a-p-ka=ni*
 SUB=S1SG S1SG.IND go-IT-AOR.PST-SBJV=S1SG
 ‘When **I** came back ...’

4. Pronominal agreement: independent pronoun, second-position enclitic, and enclitic after the predicate, as in (80). This strategy has again been found for the subject only, never for the object.

5. After an element that occurs before the predicate: generally negation (76b), but there are two examples with an adverb (81). Once more, this strategy has been found for the subject, never for the object.

(81) *tepekwa-icha nanaka-icha-iri sési=ksi ja-rha-x-ti*
 braid-PL girl-PL-GEN well=S3PL be_there-FT-AOR-ASS3S
 ‘The girls’ braids are beautiful.’

Quantitative data are highly relevant to proving that the predicate enclitic ought to be viewed as a new strategy that is marked and infrequent (see Chamoreau 2014). In the corpus analyzed, only 5.5% were found elsewhere than in the second position (91% of these were subject enclitics and 94% were in a main clause).

There are certain types of text where the use of predicate enclitics (not in second position) is more frequent. First, we find autobiographical stories or narratives with only one or two referents, that is, narratives in which the main referent has a very prominent role and exhibits high continuity. Secondly, there are texts with a frequent use of predicate enclitics are narrated by bilingual speakers who have had at least an intermediate-level school education or who use Spanish more than Purepecha in everyday communication (Chamoreau 2014).

In order to understand this variation, two related hypotheses may be advanced. The first hypothesis for explaining change in the predicate position and its restriction to pronominal enclitics is that pronominal enclitics choose their hosts because of their syntactic and discourse properties, exhibiting head-attraction (see Haig 2008 for Western Iranian languages). In Purepecha, the process began centuries ago when the pronominal enclitics moved to the end of the second-position enclitic string (see section 4.3.2.1.). This process allowed the pronominal enclitics to move to the last position and to gain more freedom to move. The second hypothesis is based on an analysis of the characteristics of the speakers who narrated the texts with more frequent predicate positions: Spanish grammatical constructions may influence the change of position of pronominal enclitics in Purepecha (Chamoreau 2007). Spanish expresses the referents close to the verb as clitics or in the inflexion associated with tense and mood. Almost all Purepecha speakers are bilingual, speaking at least Purepecha and Spanish. Spanish is the language of prestige, linked to education, a better standard of living, electronic and written media, religion, administration, commerce, and work. The speakers who narrated these texts use Spanish more frequently in everyday conversation.

4.4. Complex clauses and the continuum of finiteness

In Purepecha, finiteness is a clearly multilayered feature whose characterization involves various properties, in particular combinations of tense, aspect, mood, reference continuity, and intonation. The continuum of finiteness is a relevant parameter in describing and comparing the different types of complex clause. As illustrated in Table 9, this continuum has two extremes: at one end, independent, main and coordinate clauses (containing ATIM markers, the possibility of a different referent, and separate intonation contours) and at the other end, non-finite complement and purpose clauses (with no ATIM markers, the same reference, and only one intonation contour). Two intermediate stages also exist: the subordinated finite clause and chain-medial non-finite clause. The former has reduced ATIM markers and obligatory subjunctive mood, and may display switch reference, while the latter has no ATIM markers (but a non-finite *-ni* marker), generally the same referent, and separate intonation contours. This last feature distinguishes chain-medial non-finite clauses from non-finite complement and purpose clauses, which always display the same intonation contour (Table 9).

Table 9. Continuum of finiteness in Purepecha

	Independent, main, and coordinate clause	Subordinated finite clause	Chain-medial non-finite	Non-finite complement and purpose clause
ATIM	+	+	-	-

markers	reduced and obligatory forms			
Possibility of a different referent	+	+ / -	- possible but uncommon	-
Separate intonation contour	+	+ / -	+	-

In the sub-sections that follow, I will present examples from each of the types of clause indicated in Table 9.

4.4.1. Coordinate clauses

The coordinator *ka* is a free and independent element used to link two noun phrases (82), two verb phrases (83), or two clauses (84). As illustrated in (82), (83), and (84), *ka* on its own establishes the coordination of two units that are functionally equivalent. The coordinator *ka* expresses the conjunctive coordination that may be translated by ‘and’ in English.

(82) *pawani t'iri-a-ka=ni juchi jinkonikwa-o ka mimi-o*
tomorrow eat-IRR-ASS1/2S=S1SG POSS1SG sister-RES and brother-RES
‘Tomorrow, I will eat at my sister’s and brother’s house.’

(83) *kwara-tsi-x-ti ka kaka-rhu-x-ti*
fall-ground-AOR-ASS3S and break-nose-AOR-ASS3S
‘He fell to the ground and broke his nose.’

(84) *jwata tsakapu kw'ani-ku-xa-p-ti ka tsakapu*
hill stone throw-APPL3O-PROG-PST-ASS3S and stone
ma kw'iripu anta-s-p-ti
one people reach-AOR-PST-ASS3S
‘The hill was throwing stones **and** one stone reached people.’

The coordinator *ka* may function as host for an adverbial enclitic (Chamoreau 2014) to build other coordinators. In (86), the complex coordinator *ka=ru* ‘and=then’ is an adversative that may be translated by ‘but’, while *ka=teru* ‘and=other’ expresses a disjunction that may be translated by ‘or’ (85). Nowadays these two complex coordinators tend to have been abandoned and replaced by the Spanish coordinators ‘pero’ (also pronounced *peru*) for the adversative (87), and ‘o’ for the disjunction. These borrowings confirm the implicational hierarchy (but > or > and) proposed by Matras (1998:301-305, 2007:54-56; see also Chamoreau 2007:470-471). Purepecha, like many languages, has borrowed the elements ‘but’ and ‘or’, but not ‘and’, retaining *ka*.

When two clauses are coordinated, they may have the same reference (87), or switch reference (86). The two clauses may have the same ATIM markers, as in (85), but the opposite is also possible, as in (86). The coordinator links two independent and finite clauses, where each clause can be autonomous and independent with separate intonation contours. The two coordinated clauses are functionally equivalent, having the same semantic function, with possible syntactic autonomy, since they contain at least one argument and each clause contains a finite verb (Haspelmath 2007).

- (85) *chi kawayu urapiti-x-ki ka=teru ima animalu turhipiti-x-ki*
 POSS2SG horse be_white-AOR-INT and=other DEM animal be_black-AOR-INT
 ‘Is your horse white **or** is this animal black?’
- (86) *ni-ra-s-ti ka=ru kinse diya=ksi, pastori-icha*
 go-FT-AOR-ASS3S and=then fifteen day=S3PL shepherd-PL
arhi-ra-sin-ti ireta
 say-CAUS-HAB-ASS3S village
 ‘He went out **but** for fifteen days the shepherds make noise in the village.’
- (87) *mi-ti-xin-ka kara-ni peru=ni no u-xin-ka*
 open-SUP-HAB-ASS1/2S write-NF but=S1SG NEG may-HAB-ASS1/2S
 ‘I know how to write **but** I cannot [...].’

4.4.2. Finite subordinate clauses

Finite subordinate clauses are recognizable by the presence of two types of *-ka* markers: one at the beginning of the subordinate clause and another at the end of the verb, which is generally positioned at the end of the clause. In this type of clause, *-ka* is always dependent on another unit, therefore it displays a dependent form (a suffix) in order to indicate clausal subordination. At the beginning of the subordinate clause, *-ka* is suffixed to another element to form the different subordinators (see Table 10). The *-ka* suffixed to the verb at the end of clauses has generally been referred to as a “subjunctive” by linguists because it appears on the verb in the position occupied by other mood morphemes (Friedrich 1984). The presence of *-ka* on the verb is a morphological constraint for the subordinate finite clause; there is no option to use another mood in this type of clause (Chamoreau 2009:103-105, in press c). Finite subordinate clauses are introduced by a subordinator built with *-ka*: *jimpoka* in the adverbial-reason clause (88a), *inka* in the relative clause (88b), *iska* in the completive clause (88c), and *eka* in the adverbial-temporal clause (88d) (see Table 10 for the list of subordinators).

- (88) a. *jima arhi-nha-siren-ti kheri tanako, [jimpoka=ksi jima*
 there say-PASS-HAB.PST-ASS3S big Tanaco SUB=S3PL there
tanha-li-siren-ka kw'iripu-echa]
 join-body-HAB.PST-SBJV person-PL
 ‘That place was called big Tanaco because there, people were gathering together.’
- b. *tsimnhi-e-x-ti=ksi=nha inte werantupinti-cha [inka=ksi=nha no*
 two-PRED-AOR-ASS3S=S3PL=EV DEM orphan-PL SUB=S3PL=EV NEG
ka-nko-rhe-nka-phi-ka tate-empa-ni ka ama-mpa-ni]
 have-INTS-body-IT-AOR-SBJV father-KPOSS3-OBJ and mother-KPOSS3-OBJ
 ‘They said that there were two orphans who did not have father and mother.’
- c. *wiri-phi juchiti tapichu-ni arhi-phi [iska ju-a-ka]*
 run-IMP.SG POSS1SG uncle-OBJ say-IMP.SG SUB come-IRR-SBJV
 ‘Run and tell my uncle [that he should] come ...’
- d. *[eka Rosita-ri ama-mpa chem-empa-o nia-nts'a-ni*
 SUB Rosita-GEN mother-KPOSS3 house-KPOSS3-RES return-IT-NF

ja-p-ka], *imeri tapichu no sési ixepants'a-s-p-ti*
 be_{there}-AOR.PST-SBJV POSS3SG uncle NEG well see-CENTRIF-IT-AOR-PST-ASS3S
 ‘When Rosita’s mother had returned to her house, her uncle did not see well.’

Table 10. Subordinators

Relative clause		<i>inka / inki / enka / enki / =nka / =nki</i> ¹⁵
Complement clause		<i>iska / iski / eska / eski</i>
Adverbial clause	Temporal / Condition	<i>eka / eki</i>
	Locative / Temporal	<i>inka / inki / enka / enki</i>
	Manner	<i>iska na / iski na / eska na / eski na</i>
	Reason	<i>jimpoka / jimpoki</i>
	Concessive	<i>nak'iruka / nak'iruki</i>
	Hypothetical	<i>peeka / peeki</i>
	Purpose	<i>parake / paraki</i>

The predicate is always modified by the mood *-ka* called “subjunctive.” Aspect, tense and irrealis markers are present, but aspect and tense markers take a distinctive shape (see section 3.2.1.1., and the complete list in Table 6). Co-reference is possible, but generally there is no co-reference between main and dependent clauses. A separate intonation contour is attested in adverbial subordinate clauses, as in (88a) and (88d), but relative and complement clauses display the same intonation contour.

4.4.3. Chain-medial clauses

Chain-medial clauses “carry the bulk of sequential new information in the chain, and display the highest degree of cross-clausal coherence. Their grammatical marking is the most minimal, since most threads of thematic coherence (topical referents, temporality, aspectuality, modality, perspective) remain the same” (Givón 2001:356). Chain-initial and chain-final clauses are generally the most finite type, while chain-medial clauses are the least finite (the degree of finiteness of chain-grounding clauses is often unpredictable, although generally they are nominalized phrases).

Non-finite chain-medial clauses in Purepecha are constructions employed to facilitate thematic, referential, and aspectual continuities in discourse (Chamoreau in press a). Such strategies thus correlate with reduced finiteness. When the subject is the same in the discourse, reference tracking is always possible and easy; in a chain-medial clause the referent generally has the function of the subject. In the chain-initial clause, as in (89a), the referent is introduced by the definite noun phrase *acheti-echa* ‘the men’ and the verb is marked for aspect. In chain-medial clauses, as in (89b) and (89c), the third person plural pronominal enclitic *=ksĩ* is attested and attached to the verb. Referential and tense-aspect-mood continuities are crucial to understanding the use of these constructions. In non-finite chain-medial clauses in Purepecha, ATIM are not expressed but are easily recoverable, although these clauses do use a non-finite *-ni* marker. The aspect of the narratives is generally the aorist, as in (89a). Non-finite medial clauses depend on the chain-initial clause, the independent clause, for their ATIM and subject

¹⁵ The variation between *-ka* and *-ki* is currently present in Purepecha as a dialectal variation (Chamoreau 2007, 2009:268-273, in press c). In the sixteenth century, *-ki* seems to have been the most frequent form attested for the subordinators (Gilberti 1987 [1558]:35), while *ka* was used for the coordinator. The problem is that for the sixteenth century, data survive from only the Eastern area which is the area in which nowadays *-ki* is used with more frequency. By contrast, in the Western area *-ka* is generally used to build the subordinator yet no data from the sixteenth century are known. In this paper, I only illustrate using examples with *-ka*. Otherwise, the vowel variation and change between *e* and *i* is well attested in Purepecha (Chamoreau 2009).

reference. Dependent non-finite clauses are connected to independent finite clauses by means of the coordinator *ka*, as in (89b) and (89c).

- (89) a. *xasi=ksi=nha kustakwa jinkoni acheti-echa pa-s-ti,*
 next=S3PL=EV music COM man-PL take-AOR-ASS3S
 ‘They said that then the men took her with music,
- b. *ka jikwa-ra-ni=ksi=nha ya,*
 and bathe-CAUS-NF=S3PL=EV now
and they said that they bathed her,
- c. *ka ampa-tsi-ku-ni=ksi=nha ya.*
 and be_clean-LOW-NCS-NF=S3PL=EV now
and they said that they combed her.’

When *ka* is used in chain-medial clauses the construction is ambiguous between coordination and subordination. Moreover, the morpheme *ka* appears with the form for coordinated clauses, that is, as a free and independent element, but the clauses that constitute the clause chaining are not functionally equivalent with the first clause, and chain-medial clauses do not possess syntactic autonomy. The chain-medial clause is coordinated with the chain-initial clause and depends on it: the initial clause contains ATIM and argument reference, while coordinated chain-medial clauses have reduced finiteness. In Purepecha, these clauses use the non-finite *-ni* marker. Generally, the coordinator *ka* is repeated at the beginning of each chain-medial clause, as in (89), but in certain chain-medial clauses the clauses are juxtaposed, as in (90b) and (90c). The presence of the coordinator *ka* indicates the end of a chain-medial clause, as in (90d). The use of *ka* in a chain-medial clause is significant because it exhibits a high level of thematic and tense, aspect, irrealis, and mood continuity (Chamoreau in press a).

- (90) a. *Teremendo anapu-echa kutsu-siraam-ti,*
 Teremendo origin-PL tan-HAB.PST-ASS3S
 ‘Those from Teremendo tanned (leather),
- b. *ima-echa no-ampe u-ni,*
 DEM-PL NEG-something do-NF
 they did not do anything,
- c. *no=ksi sesi xama-ra-nte-ni,*
 NEG=S3PL well smell-CAUS-EXT-NF
 they did not smell good,
- d. *ka no=ksi tsipi-ni*
 and NEG=S3PL be_happy- NF
and they are not happy.’

4.4.4. Non-finite subordinate clauses

In certain complement and purpose clauses the verb is marked by the overt non-finite marker *-ni*, with no ATIM, no subordinator, no pronominal enclitic, generally the same subject and the same intonation contour (91a). In complement non-finite clauses co-reference occurs between the agent of the main and complement clauses (i.e. an equi-subject; 91a (92.5% of

this feature defines the borders of MA, so a language without this feature is by definition outside of MA. The presence of semantic calques is one of the five prototypical MA features defined by Campbell, Kaufman, and Smith (1986:555), the others being:

- non-verb-final basic word order;
- nominal possession of the type his-noun₁ (the) noun₂;
- relational nouns;
- vigesimal numeral systems.

Of the five characteristics listed by Campbell, Kaufman, and Smith (1986:555), only the vigesimal numeral system is attested in Purepecha. Purepecha is basically a SVO constituent order language but does exhibit some traits of the SOV language that it probably used to be (see section 4.3.1.). It uses the genitive case marker for nominal possession and the locative case marker, but not relational nouns (see section 3.2.2.). Campbell, Kaufman, and Smith (1986:553-555) also note thirteen widespread “calques” (metaphorical expressions); of these Purepecha only has two: the association of ‘edge’ and ‘mouth, lip’ and the association of ‘alive’ and ‘awake’ (Brown 2011 found two others, but there are some problems with the data). In Purepecha the expression for alive / awake is built by deverbal nouns and the expression for edge / mouth, lip is made by a suffix.

In her study, Munro (2013) explored two widespread syntactic traits attested in some core MA languages: the *wh* question construction termed ‘Pied-Piping with inversion’ by Smith-Stark (1988), which is attested in the Mayan and Otomanguean language groups as well as in Nahuatl, and the no-preposition-for-large-locations construction.¹⁶ With respect to the first of these, in Purepecha oblique questions beginning with the *wh* word are followed by an adposition, as illustrated in (93). But this construction does not constitute ‘Pied-Piping with inversion’ as Purepecha is a language with case markers and postpositions (see section 3.2.2.2.), nor the inversion of a preposition as in the case of MA languages with this construction.

- (93) *né-nkuni warha-a-∅*
 who-COM dance-IRR-INT
 ‘With whom will he dance?’

The second feature is not attested in Purepecha, which uses the locative case marker for location constructions (see section 3.2.2.2.). However, Purepecha does share some syntactic features with MA languages, in particular in the domain of voice. For example, it is a nominative-accusative language making use of an antipassive construction (see section 3.1.5.) in order to demote the patient, as in Nahuatl and some Otomanguean languages (Chamoreau 2015), and it uses an applicative marker for external possession (see section 3.1.5.), a feature widespread in core MA languages (Palancar and Zavala 2013). However, more work is needed to determine whether these features are merely typological coincidences or whether they should be viewed as the result of contact-induced convergence, as seems to be the case for the change in Purepecha constituent order from OV to VO (see section 4.3.1).

The existing state of our knowledge leads us to classify Purepecha as falling outside the MA linguistic area; however, research is still incomplete since the relations between Purepecha and MA languages remain to be clarified. More investigation is needed, particularly with regard to the comparison of syntactic constructions, an area of inquiry which is increasingly being recognized as important for MA studies (Palancar and Zavala 2013). Moreover, since linguistic areas are gradual in nature, future studies should explore the

¹⁶ These were identified as possible MA features by Smith-Stark (1994:40) but he did not explore them further.

complexity of the relations between the core languages (i.e. languages that share a great number of features) as well as between core languages and peripheral languages (i.e. languages that have fewer features in common).

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Abbreviations

AC=active
ANTIP=antipassive
AOR=orist
APPL=applicative
ART=article
ASS=assertive
CAUS=causative
CENTRIF=centrifugal
CENTRIP=centripetal
CL=classifier
COM=comitative
COND=conditional
CONT=continuative
DEM=demonstrative
DES=desiderative
DIM=diminutive
EV=evidential
EXCL=exclamative
EXT=external and peripheral area
FOC=focus
FT=formative
GEN=genitive
HAB=habitual
IMP=imperative
IND=independent
INDF=indefinite
INS=instrumental
INT=interrogative
INTER=interior area
INTS=intensive
IRR=irrealis
IT=iterative
KPOSS=kinship possessive
LOC=locative
LONG.EXT=long exterior area
MID=middle
NCS=no coreferential subject
NEG=negation
NF=non-finite
O=object
OBJ=objective case
ORIF=orifice and orifice-edge area
ORIG=origine
PASS=passive
PL=plural
POSS=possessive
PRED=predicativizer
PRINC=principal area

PROG=progressive
PROJ.LONG=projection of something longish
PRS=present
PST=past
PTCP=participle
RECP=reciprocal
REFL=reflexive
RES=residential
S=subject
SG=singular
SBJV= subjunctive
SUB=subordinating conj.
SUP=superior area
VERT=flat and vertical area