Grammatical borrowing in Purepecha
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1. Background

Purepecha (p'orhépecha o tarascan) is classified as an isolated language, spoken by around 110,000 people (10% of them monolingual), in the state of Michoacan, in the west of Mexico. Spanish was introduced in the 16th century, and became the official language of Mexico, where more than about a hundred languages are still spoken. It gained more importance with the linguistic policies of the Mexican Independence and Revolution, in the 19th and in the 20th centuries respectively. Spanish functions as a prestigious language, and is connected to education, a better standard of living, oral and written media, religion, administration, commerce, and employment.

Nevertheless, Purepecha, in 2003, acquired (like the other indigenous languages spoken in Mexico) the status of official language. In general, Purepecha is used only orally; it having been established as a written language very recently, and only used in that mode by a few individuals (specifically, the intellectual-speakers or the teachers). The language is spoken by 28% of the Purepecha children aged between 5 and 14, this data indicating that Purepecha is not generally transmitted to the younger generation, who prefer to learn and use Spanish. Moreover, the situation is not homogeneous in all the communities. In some villages, the language functions for communication among all family members and friends (salutations and discussions at home, in the streets, in the shops or markets, and in children’s games). In other communities, only the middle-aged and older people speak Purepecha.

Spanish has been the principal contact language for many centuries, however, before the Conquest, there were speakers of other languages in the area – mostly Nahualt (Uto-Aztecan family), and Otomi (Otopamean family). The influences of these languages in Purepecha has not been studied in detail, but one hypothesis has been proffered regarding constituent order. Purepecha exhibits all the traits of an SOV language: a) tense, aspect and modal markers follow the verb, b) postpositions, c) suffixes almost exclusively, d) case markers, e) main verbs precede
inflected auxiliaries, f) genitives can precede the head noun, and g) relative clause can precede the head noun. Nevertheless, in the Lake Patzcuaro area, Purepecha has become SVO (Capistran 2002). This order has been attested since the 16th century, and has become progressively more widespread since that time (Villavicencio 2006). Considering that Nahuatl —and Otomi— present a verb-initial structure, this change probably has its roots in areal contact prior to the 16th century, with the subsequent influence of Spanish, an SVO language, continuing the process.

In the present chapter, I will concentrate on the influence of Spanish contact on Purepecha, specifically, on the grammatical structure, related to this contact are found in the areas of phonology, morphological typology, nominal and verbal structures, other parts of speech, constituent order, and syntax. This paper deals with the dialect of Jaracuaro (denoted Jr), a peninsula in Lake Patzcuaro, however, when necessary, I use data from other varieties. Purepecha varieties are more or less mutually intelligible, nevertheless, great sociolinguistic differences exist between them (Chamoreau 2005). Most of the data considered for this paper are the result of my own field research projects carried out over a period of fifteen years.

2. Phonology

In the phonological system of Purepecha, two phonemes – that are not shared with Spanish - have been influenced by Spanish: the retroflex /ɾ/, a consonant, and the high central vowel /ɨ/. In some varieties (for example, Cuanajo), Purepecha has a phonological opposition between the retroflex /ɾ/ and the flap /ɾ/ (e.g. jurani ‘to make somebody cough’/ jüranı ‘to come’), however, in certain varieties, this opposition no longer exists; the retroflex becomes either a flap, losing the retroflex/flap opposition, or a lateral, a phoneme probably borrowed from Spanish. Purepecha conserves an opposition, but shows a new lateral/flap feature. In general, the lateral only appears in Spanish loanwords such as azulı ‘blue’ (from Spanish ‘azul’), or limoni ‘lemon’ (from Spanish ‘limon’). However, in some varieties (for example, Comachuen, Arantepacua), young and middle-aged speakers use the lateral (jolempiri ‘teacher’), while the older generation uses the flap (jorempiri), or the retroflex (joʃempiri). The use of the lateral in Purepecha words reveals the replacement of the Purepecha phoneme by the Spanish phoneme. Currently, Purepecha is acquiring a new phonological opposition (Chamoreau 2002a).

The high central vowel /ɨ/ is used after /ts/, /tʃ/ and /ʃ/, and a phonological opposition appears between /ɨ/ and the high front vowel /i/
(e.g. tsiriri ‘rib’/ tsiriri ‘paste’; khefä ‘shoulder’/ khafä ‘shape’).

Nevertheless, particularly in the varieties which have lost the retroflex /ɽ/, and have transferred the lateral /l/, and in other varieties, in the case of the young and middle speakers, the high central vowel /ɨ/ is no longer used, and /ɨ/ replaces /ɨ/ (tsiriri ‘paste’, khafä ‘shape’). The phonological system of these varieties has lost a vowel, and, accordingly, presents the same vowel system as Spanish (/i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/).

3. Morphological Typology
Purepecha has not undergone an important re-structuring of its typological profile. It is an agglutinative and synthetic language that comprises a very elaborated derivational verbal system. For example, for the passive, the verb presents a derivational verbal suffix na (1), and in order to express the equational constructions (2) the e suffix is used. In certain varieties, the suffix is i:

(1) **Tʃkurhi kuŋ-ra-na-ti**
    firewood burn-CAUS-PASSIV-AOR-ASS3 hill-LOC
    ‘The firewood was burned on the hill.’ (Jr)

(2) **Xwán̄u xoempiri-i-ti.**
    John teacher-PRED-AOR-ASS3
    ‘John is a teacher.’ (Jr)

Nevertheless, Purepecha exhibits new tendencies, in which analytic-periphrastic constructions appear. Passive (3) and equational (5) periphrastic structures adapt Purepechan morphemes to Spanish patterns without the transfer of linguistic material, which suggests that contact-induced grammaticalization processes have taken place.

The passive periphrastic construction emerges from a patient-oriented resultative participle plus xa ‘be there’; a verb which became an auxiliary. Evidence supporting the consideration of this construction as a remodeling of the structure (PAT) includes: a) Passive constructions involving passive participles appear in Indo-European languages, and are very rare in the Americas (Haspelmath 1994); b) the agent is introduced as an oblique complement by using the postposition *ximpo* (3) in the same way as the Spanish passive construction with *ser*, whereas this is generally impossible in the Purepecha passive derivational construction (1); c) The subject is always the patient, as in Spanish, whereas, in the derivational passive
structure, the subject is the divalent-patient or the trivalent-recipient (Chamoreau in press); d) the younger generation use a passive periphrastic construction with the xinte ‘be’ copular verb (4), treated as the Spanish ser auxiliary, calquing the Spanish Aux.-Part. Order, whereas, in the passive periphrastic construction with $xa$ (3), the Purepecha Part.-Aux. order is preserved:

(3)  $Tʃkurhi$  $kuDllImport-kata$  $xa-ʃa-f-ti$  $xutʃari$
    firewood burn-PARTPP  be there-FT-AOR-ASS3 POS1PL
    $tata$  $ximpo.$
    father INST
    ‘The firewood was burned by my father.’ (Jr)

(4)  $Enka$  $no$  $u-a-ka$  $xuramukwa-nkuni$  $xinte-a-ti$
    SUB  NEG  do-FUT-SUBJ  law-COM  be-FUT-ASS3
    $ʃukakata.$
    dispute-PARTPP
    ‘If he does not respect the law, he will be punished.’ (Jr)

The analytic equational construction with xinte ‘be’ is an internally-motivated reanalysis, from a demonstrative to a ‘be’ verb used as a presentative (Chamoreau 2006). As a result of the influence of Spanish, many young people prefer to use the verb xinte (5) rather than use the derivational construction (2). Xinte appears essentially with nouns and pronouns. Many young people use xinte solely with adjectives (6) indicating a quality which refers to identity, and which is independent of the situation, as in ‘ser’ in Spanish. In (5) and (6), the Spanish SVAdj. order is a calque. This is a construction that is in opposition to the construction with $xa$ (7) which expresses a relative quality dependent on the situation, as in ‘estar’ in Spanish. With $xa$, the order is generally the Purepecha SAdj.V order, although it is possible to find the Spanish SVAdj. Order.

(5)  $Xwánu$  $xinte-f-ti$  $xotempiri.$
    John  be-AOR-ASS3  teacher
    ‘John is a teacher.’ (Jr)
Iʃu pakanta, kwhiripu miri-kwali-s-p-ti
here Pacanda people forgot-MID-AOR-PAS-ASS3
ya ima-ni atfati-ni ka myá-ntha-fa-p-ti
already DEM-OBJ man-OBJ and think-IT-PROG-PAS-ASS3
eski ima xinte-p-ka riko.
SUB DEM be-AOR/PAS-SUBJ rich
‘Here in Pacanda, people had forgotten this man. They used to think that he was rich.’ (Pc)

Naranʃa téri xa-ʃu-ʃ-ti.
orange sweet be there-FT-AOR-ASS3
‘The orange is sweet.’ (Jr)

4. Nominal structures
Changes that could have arisen through the influence of Spanish include the tendency to use the plural marker itʃa, and the object case marker ni, with inanimate entities (8). Traditionally, the plural and object case markers are only obligatory for animate and definite entities (Villavicencio 2006).

(8) Ints-kuʃɨni=ʃɨ tsitsiki-ʃa-ni.
give-3APP-PROG-ASS3=3PL flower-PL-OBJ
‘They used to give her flowers.’ (Jr)

The Spanish diminutive suffix has become productive in Purepecha, however, only the masculine ito is used, pronounced ito or itu. Gender does not exist in Purepecha. This suffix is used with nouns, adjectives (9a), and classifiers (9b). This latter exhibits an adaptation to the Purepecha nominal phrase.

(9) a. Witsintikwa phakha-ra-f-ka=ni xantiakhu-ʃu.
yesterday stay-MID-AOR-ASS1/2=1 alone-DIM
‘I stayed alone yesterday.’ (Jr)

b. Ma itʃakwa-ʃu witʃu-ʃi ká-ʃɨn-ka=ni.
one long-DIM dog-OBJ own-HAB-ASS1/2=1
‘I have one little dog.’ (Jr)
5. Verbal structures
There are only a few contact phenomena in the verbal structures. The most relevant of these is the transfer of the ser/estar semantic opposition (PAT-influence), being adapted as a xinte/xa dichotomy (§3). As a result of the influence of Spanish, the constructions with the verb xinte ‘be’ gain a greater semblance to the Spanish construction with the verb ‘ser’: passive constructions (4), equational constructions (5), and attributive constructions (6). Many young speakers integrate an idiomatic expression, dejar de ser, that they have calqued from the Spanish (10):

(10) Xorentpherakwa xurakhu-sín-ti xinte-ni ísi.
    education let-HAB-ASS3 be-INF thus
    ‘The education ceased to be like that.’ (Pc)

In the same way, the constructions with xa ‘be there’ have adopted the values of the Spanish ‘estar’ structures: passive constructions (3), and attributive ones (7).

6. Other parts of speech
Purepecha shows a significant number of Spanish loans in the category ‘other parts of speech’. Most loans are of the MAT type, but some cases of PAT-influence have been established within the numeral system and discourse markers.

The numeral system in Purepecha is vigesimal, and the remodeling to a decimal system is due to Spanish influence. The numbers from 1 to 6, and 10 and 20 are generally known and used, but younger speakers prefer to use Spanish numbers except for numbers below 5. Counting and adding are generally performed using Spanish numbers. There are no contact phenomena in quantifiers.

The indefinite pronoun siempre ‘always’ is highly integrated, whereas other indefinite pronouns appear only occasionally. Siempre is used, with the vowel adaptation siémpri, by all generations (11), and has gained ground relative to the Purepecha indefinite pronouns mameni and menkhu, which also express time (12)

(11) Ima siémpri mí-ti-fín-an-ti.
    DEM always know-face-HAB-PAS-ASS3
    ‘He had always known it.’ (Jr)
Our father is always at home. (Jr)

Purepecha has borrowed two Spanish coordinating connectors: o ‘disjunction’ (13) and pero ‘contrast’ (14). The Spanish connector y ‘addition’ has not been borrowed. In this case, the Purepecha connector ka ‘and’ is used (15). The connectors o and peru are concepts formerly unmarked in Purepecha. The native Purepecha marker ka ‘addition’ is used to combine clauses. Pero can additionally express a change of topic (16). On the phrasal level, o can be used to combine phrases (15).

Is your donkey white, or is your horse black?’ (Jr)

‘I wanted to go, but I was not able to walk.’ (Jr)

‘They used to give them what they asked for: wine and alcohol, and a little corn, or a little roasted corn.’ (Tr)

want-CAUS-body-FUT-SUBJ DEM but
Many subordinating conjunctions are borrowed from Spanish. The Spanish complementizer *que*, pronounced *ke* or *ki*, is never used alone. One hypothesis suggests that *ke* was borrowed from Spanish. Another possibility is that Purepecha also had a subordinating conjunction with the form *ki*, attested in the 16th century. A convergence between the two elements has been favoured because they present the same form. This topic had not been studied yet. The subordinating conjunction *ke* is employed with other borrowed markers, functioning as complex conjunctions: *porki* in a causal clause (17), *para ke* in a purpose clause (18a), *sikiera ke*, which is a synthetic form of the Spanish ‘si quiera’ in a hypothetical clause (19a), and *sino ke* in a contrast clause (20). These elements are analyzed as subordinating conjunctions, because they respect the Purepecha constructions; the verb of the subordinating clause is marked by subjunctive mood.

Purepecha has various subordinating conjunctions, *enki, eska* and *efki*, which seem to be being progressively replaced in these constructions by *ke*. Nevertheless, many speakers, especially those of the middle-aged and older generations, prefer to use the Purepecha *ximpoki* ‘because’ instead of *porki*, and to use the borrowed markers *para* (18b) and *sikiera* (19b), in combination with the Purepecha conjunctions *eska* or *efki*.

(17)  **Ima xu-ša-fìn-ti**  **porki**  **thu**  **yoŋ-f-ka.**
DEM  come-FT-HAB-ASS3  because  2  call-AOR-SUBJ
‘He used to come because you called him.’ (Jr)

(18)  a.  **Xwanu xu-ša-f-ti**  **para ke**  **iʃ-ka=ri.**
John  come-FT-AOR-ASS3  for  SUB  see-SUBJ=2
‘John came for you to see him.’ (Jr)

b.  **Aŋ-ʃín-ti=kini**  **para iʃki**  **mi-ti-a-ka.**
tell-HAB-ASS3=2OBJ  for  SUB  know-face-FUT-SUBJ
‘He tells you that, so that you know it.’ (Jr)
(19) a. **Sikiera ke piri-a-ka.**
> provided SUB sing-FUT-SUBJ
> ‘Let’s hope he will sing!’ (Jr)

b. **Sikiera iʃki tsima xu-nkwa-ka.**
> provided SUB DEMPL come-CENTRIP-SUBJ
> ‘Let’s hope they come back.’ (Jr)

(20) **No-teru=kʃɨ anatapu-etʃa-ni iʃe-a-f-ti sino**
> NEG-more=3PL tree-PL-OBJ see-3POBJ-AOR-ASS3 but

**ke lwegu=kʃɨ tʃapa-ta-a-ka.**
> SUB then=3PL cut-CAUS-3OBJPL-SUBJ
> ‘They do not see any trees anymore, because somebody cut them.’ (Jr)

The situation of variation between the use of *ke* or *iʃka/iʃki* in subordinating constructions is also attested with the comparative structure (see §8).

Generally, *para* is introduced in a purpose clause with *para ke* or *para iʃki* (18a, 18b), however, it can also appear in a non-finite purpose construction (21).

(21) **Thu no xatsi-f-ka para xaka-khu-ni.**
> 2 NEG have-AOR-ASS1/2 for believe-FT-INF
> ‘You don’t have to believe him.’ (Jr)

Spanish temporal adverbializers that have been borrowed include: *hasta* ‘until’ (22), *desde* ‘from’ (23), *apenas* ‘as soon as’, pronounced *apenaʃfi* (24), *luego* ‘then’ (20), and *entonces* ‘then’, generally pronounced *tonses* (25).

The adverbializer *hasta* additionally has a spatial deictic use (26). There is a native suffix of localization *pu* (26), which has an extended function (fixed and removed localization, ablative, transitive, etc.). The use of *hasta* allows the specification of the type of localization.

(22) **Xima khama-f-ti ya āsta wéxuŋini.**
> then finish-AOR-ASS3 already until year
> ‘He had finished it by the new year.’ (Jr)
10

(23) Ántʃ̖-kuʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ka=ni děsde witsintikwa.  
work-MID-PROG-ASS1/2=1 for/since yesterday  
’I have been working since yesterday.’ (Jr)

(24) Petu kwhi-a-ti apanax̖̄ thu nya-ra-ka.  
Peter sleep-FUT-ASS3 as soon as 2 arrive-FT-SUBJ  
’Peter fell asleep as soon as you arrived.’ (Jr)

(25) Tonses no ampakiti=thu=tʃ̖ ka.  
Then NEG good=too=so already  
ni-ntha-f-ti ya.  
go-CENTrif-AOR-ASS3 already  
’Then the devil has left too.’ (Jr)

(26) Ni-a-ka=kʃ̖̄ ásta xini yoʃ̖ ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ti.  
go-FUT-ASS1/2=1PL until there river-LOC  
’We will go up to the river.’ (Jr)

Purepecha did not have prepositions before contact; we can assume that it was a language with only postpositions, and some suffixed case markers. So the prepositions para and por are borrowed in combination with their phrase-combining construction, i.e., they appear before the phrase or the morpheme (Chamoreau 2002b). The preposition para functions in a recipient clause (27a), and por expresses agentive (28a), causal (27a), and instrumental clauses (28a). The Purepecha postposition ximpo ‘instrumental’ can be used in functions similar to para (27b), or to por (28b, 29b, 30b). In all these contexts, the Purepecha marker may appear in a double construction (27c, 28c, 29c, 30c).

(27) a. Ima kuʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ti=riti  itʃ̖ uskuta para ama-mpa.  
DEM ask-1/2APP-AOR-ASS3=1OBJ tortilla for mother-POSP3  
’He has asked me for tortillas for his mother.’ (Jr)

b. Ima kuʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ti=riti  itʃ̖ uskuta ama-mpa ximpo. (Jr)

c. Ima kuʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ʃ̖-ti=riti  itʃ̖ uskuta para ama-mpa ximpo. (Jr)
The Spanish marker *komo* is used in Purepecha to introduce a manner clause.

(31) \( Pos=si \quad komo \ maat\overline{a}=si \quad xa-\overline{a}-f-ti. \)
    Thus=FOC like a man=FOC be there-FT-AOR-ASS3
    ‘Thus, he was there like a man.’ (Jr)

The Spanish phrasal adverb *ya* is used to mark temporal values with two different nuances: it can introduce a completive value, generally employed with the aspect aorist or the past aorist (32), or it can express a present value (33). The story in (32) is about a vulture that has transformed himself into a woman, and the woman into a vulture. The example expresses that the vulture turned into a woman; that it was no longer an animal. In the same narrative, in (33), there is a contrast between the first verb, in the past
tense, which indicates the state of the woman before, and the second verb, in the interrogative clause, which indicates a question about the present state, which is the state of the vulture.

(32) \textit{Ka mawatiti-i-f-ʃ ti ya.} and a woman-PRED-AOR-ASS3 already
     ‘And it is already a woman.’ (Jr)

(33) \textit{Thu no xama-f-p-ka listo antiʃ=ri 2 NEG walk-AOR-PAS-ASS1/2lively why=2 xa-ʃa-f-ki ya. be there-FT-AOR-INT already}
     ‘You did not used to be lively, why are you now?’ (Jr)

Apart from marking temporal relations, this element \textit{ya} functions like a discourse marker, with the addition connector \textit{ka} ‘and’. The latter begins a clause, while the former ends one (32).

Finally, many discourse markers are borrowed by Purepecha from the Spanish. The most frequent ones are the fillers: \textit{pues} ‘thus, then, well’, pronounced \textit{pwe}s or \textit{pos} (31), and \textit{bueno} ‘well, sure’, pronounced \textit{wenu}. It is also possible that as a result of the influence of Spanish, the use of the demonstrative \textit{inte} ‘this’ is used as a filler like \textit{este} in that language. This element appears in the same conditions as does \textit{inte} in Spanish: it expresses a hesitation, a pause, etc. (34). It is a PAT-influence that is not connected to any direct MAT-borrowing.

(34) \textit{Ximpoka=ni inte patsi-ntsi-ka=na.}
     because=1 em be fade-head-SUBJ=EVID
     ‘Because, em, I am bald, they said.’ (Jr)

7. Constituent order
Constituent order seems to be influenced by areal contact prior to the 16\textsuperscript{th} century (see above, §1), with Spanish continuing the process, and increasing it via the introduction of prepositions (while Purepecha had traditionally used postpositions).

8. Syntax
The organization of passive and equational constructions has been influenced by Spanish (see above §3). Many subordinating conjunctions
and adverbial markers are borrowed from Spanish, in combination with the grammatical constructions they appear in, in that language.

A syntactic domain which has undergone an important reorganization due to Spanish contact is the comparison of inequality. Purepecha had traditionally utilized a comparative construction of superiority of two types (Chamoreau 1995): the exceed verb of action (35), and the combination of the exceed verb of action and a coordinated polarity construction (36):

(35)  
\[
\text{pedro hatztamahati juanoni ambaqeni} \\
\text{Pedro surpass-CAUS-TRANSF-PRES-Ass3 John-OBJ be good-INF} \\
\text{‘Peter is better than John.’ (Peter surpasses John in being good).}
\]

(36)  
\[
\text{pedro hatztamahati ambaqeni, ca noys juan} \\
\text{Pedro surpass-CAUS-TRANSF-PRES-Ass3 be good-INF and} \\
\text{NEG=FOC John} \\
\text{‘Peter is better than John.’ (Peter surpasses with goodness and John does not).}
\]

Nowadays, there has been a reorganization as a result of a chain reaction triggered by Spanish interference. A cross-dialectal perspective shows that contact between the indigenous and Spanish constructions (the structure más...que) has brought about the emergence of nine constructions which may be classified in four different types (one type, the applicative construction, is not treated here, because it is marginal and corresponds to the derivative morphological characteristics of the language). I present here eight constructions organized in three types:

Type 1 is a borrowing or a PAT-influence of the Spanish comparative construction with borrowed degree and relator (37), with borrowed relator and the degree calque (38) or their Purepecha calques (39).

(37)  
\[
\text{Enrike mas fepe-s-ti ke Pedru.} \\
\text{Henry more be lazy-AOR-ASS3 SUB Peter} \\
\text{‘Henry is lazier than Peter.’ (Cn)}
\]
(38)  I kamisa sāni=teru xuka-para-s-ti ke ifu
DEM shirt few=more put-shoulder-AOR-ASS3 SUB here
anapu-e-s-ti.
ORIG-PRED-AOR-ASS3
‘This shirt is more expensive than those from here.’ (Ih)

(39)  Thu sāni=teru wiria-f-ka eʃki xi.
2 few=more run-AOR-ASS1/2 SUB 1
‘You have run more than I have.’ (Cc)

Type 2 is a mixed type, employing the Purepecha polarity
construction plus the Spanish comparative degree particle mas (40) or its
Purepecha calque sāni=teru (41)

(40)  Xi xatsi-s-ka=ni mas itfuskuta ka no thu.
1 have-AOR-ASS1/2=1 more tortilla and NEG 2
‘I have more tortilla than you have.’ (I have more tortilla and you
have not) (Jn)

(41)  Iʃu sāni=teru yó-tha-fiʃ-ti ka no xini.
here few=more long-leg-FT-HAB-ASS3 and NEG there
‘Here is higher than there.’ (Here is higher and there is not) (Jr)

Type 3 is a hybrid type, employing the Spanish degree mas plus the
relator ke, and a locative construction with the Spanish preposition ‘de’
(42), which represents an instance of code-mixing, because it only appears
in a few expressions, and never alone (the Spanish preposition de ‘of’
appears in this context of comparative constructions and in some
expressions, for example de veras ‘sure’). This new hybrid locative
construction does not occur either in Spanish or in traditional Purepecha.
This construction can occur with the Purepecha degree calque sāni=teru
(43):

(42)  Inte aʃu mas khéri-e-s-ti ke de fo
DEM man more old-PRED-AOR-ASS3 SUB of here
anapu yamintu.
ORIG all
‘This man is older than (of) all the others from here.’ (Tr)
This hybrid construction may also occur with the Spanish preposition *entre*. In (44), we can observe the presence of the borrowed marker of degree *más* before the quality, and the comparative relator *ke*, which is followed by the Spanish preposition *entre*.

(44) Ima más khé-f-ti ke entre xini.
  here more be big-AOR-ASS3 SUB between there
  ‘Here is bigger than there.’ (Sat)

Finally, it is unclear whether Purepecha has ever had a comparative construction of inferiority. In order to express this domain, Purepecha employs two strategies: a) to use the borrowed Spanish comparative construction of superiority with the negation, employing either the Purepecha relator (45a) or Spanish relator (45b), and b) to borrow the Spanish construction with the Spanish degree *menos* (pronounced *menu* in certain varieties), and the Purepecha calque relator *eska* (46), or the borrowed degree and relator (47).

(45) a. Maria sáni=taru no wigapi-f-ti eski thu.
    Maria few=more NEG be strong-AOR-ASS3 SUB 2
    ‘Maria is weaker (less strong) than you are.’ (Maria is not stronger than you are) (Ar)

    b. Maria sáni=taru no Wigapi-f-ti ke thu. (Oc)

(46) Selia menos yó-tha-la-f-ti eska=ní.
    Celia less long-leg-FT-HAB-ASS3SUB=1
    ‘Celia is shorter (less tall) than I am.’ (Cm)

(47) Xi xatsi-f-ka menuji ke thu wé-ka-ka.
    1 have-AOR-ASS1/2 less SUB 2 want-FT-SUBJ
    ‘I have less than you want.’ (Jr)
9. Conclusion
The grammatical MAT-loans are numerous, and appear within their Spanish grammatical constructions. A relevant phenomenon is the typological profile of Purepecha, which shows new tendencies.

Purepecha is a synthetic-agglutinative language, and, nowadays, new analytic-periphrastic constructions appear, without modifying its elaborate morphological system, but revealing a structural rapprochement to the Spanish passive and equational constructions: two distinct structures (a morphological one and a periphrastic one) may simultaneously perform the same function. Purepecha is exhibiting language-internal grammaticalization processes to replicate Spanish models.

There are PAT-influences that are not connected to any direct MAT-borrowing. Other PAT-influences are the comparative constructions, linked to MAT-borrowing in some varieties, and showing only pattern reduplication in others.

Abbreviations
AOR aorist
APP applicative
ASS assertive
CAUS causative
CENTRIF centrifuge
CENTRIP centripetal
COM comitative
DEM demonstrative
DIM diminutive
EVID evidential
FOC focus
FT formative
FUT future
HAB habitual
INF infinitive
INST instrumental
INT interrogative
IT iterative
LOC locative
MID middle
NEG negation
OBJ object
ORIG origin
PARTPP patient-oriented participle
PAS  past
PASSIV  passive
PL  plural
POS  possessive
POSP  kinship possessive
PRED  predicativizator
PROG  progressive
REF  reflexive
RES  residential
SUB  subordinating conj.
SUBJ  subjunctive
TRANSF  transference

Communities
Ar  Arantepacua
Cc  Cocucho
Cm  Comachuén
Cn  Cuanajo
Ih  Huahtzi
Jr  Jarácuaró
Oc  Ocumicho
Pc  Pacanda
Sat  San Andrés Tzirondaro
Tr  Tirindaro

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