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On the external relations of Purepecha : an investigation into classification, contact and patterns of word formation

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4. PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE CONTACT[81]

"Constantly fails the exam? I'd hardly call eleven times 'constantly'. I mean, if you eat roast beef eleven times in your life, one would hardly say that person constantly eats roast beef. No, it would be a rare, nay, freak occurrence."

(Rimmer to Lister, 'Waiting for God')

Abstract

Purepecha (isolate, Mexico) displayed remarkable resistance to lexical borrowing prior to the arrival of Spanish-speaking colonialists in 1521, despite being in contact with up to 20 other languages. From the pre-colonial period, only a small number of loans can be identified. These can be classified either as pan-Mesoamericanisms, found in many languages of Mexico and of Nahuatl origin (see Brown, 2011), or pan-Americanisms (notably kinship terms), whose forms may reflect more universal phonetic tendencies or - perhaps - a much older genetic relationship (see Swadesh, 1967). Since the imposition of Spanish, Purepecha has accepted a large number of loanwords from the dominant language, and this prolonged contact has also led to some structural changes (see also Chamoreau, 2007). In this chapter, I investigate the changing face of language contact using lexical data in the form of the World Loanword Database (WOLD) wordlists from the main languages known to have been spoken in the Tarascan State, examples from Purepecha-influenced Spanish from the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán (see Meneses, 2016), as well as my own fieldwork data on the language of perception. In so doing, I discuss the differences in borrowing patterns between the two periods (pre-colonial and colonial/post-colonial) and at different spatial levels of interaction, focusing on how the changes to the socio-political position of the Purepecha language and its speakers have led to such a marked difference in the acceptance of non-native forms into the language. The lack of

[81] Parts of this paper appear, in highly abbreviated form, as: Bellamy, Kate. 2016. Language as a mirror for social change, The Linguist @ NTNU, http://www.eng.ntnu.edu.tw/files/archive/2152_43f077c5.pdf.

borrowing in the pre-colonial period could also suggest that functional bilingualism was not the norm, or that a strict diglossic situation was present.

4.1. Introduction

The findings in Chapter 2 indicate that there is no convincing evidence to link Purepecha genealogically with another language or language grouping in Mesoamerica or South America. Similarities are confined to individual lexical items but systematic phonological correspondences are simply not observable, as exemplified by the results of the Oswalt Monte Carlo Shift Test (see Section 2.3). Moreover, the lexicon of metallurgy - the most convincing archaeological domain for possible interaction between the Andes and West Mexico - does not offer any evidence of long-distance borrowing between languages in the two areas. While this finding does not deny the possibility of interaction between speakers of these languages, when combined with the lack of clearly identifiable loans in basic vocabulary, it does suggest a weak or sporadic contact scenario, if any. Alternatively (or also), the lack of loans in Purepecha in particular may point to a certain resistance to borrowing in the language, and therefore on the part of the speakers, a point to which I return in Section 4.4.[82]

Yet the lack of evidence linguistic relatives and contact effects presented in Chapters 1-3 seems to pose more questions than it answers. Such questions include: how big was the language family we might hypothesise Purepecha was a branch of? Where were its linguistic relatives spoken? When did the languages split from their common ancestor? When did the related languages die out? And what was the distribution of these languages? Even though the language is an isolate, its speakers have certainly not lived in isolation, which is to be expected, since no language community ever does naturally for more than a couple of hundred years at most (Thomason, 2001: 8). The Americas are something of a hotbed of isolates, being home to around two-thirds of the world's languages that cannot be demonstrably linked to

[82] A third scenario is that terms were borrowed initially but have since been replaced with native words. Due to the lack of documentation dating back to the time of proposed interaction perhaps mediated by metallurgy (c. 650-1200 CE), it is extremely difficult to investigate such a proposal.

any other language(s). Language isolates are in part the inevitable product of a lack of written documentation, a particularly acute issue in historical-comparative linguistics in the Americas. Nonetheless it is still possible to investigate the history of such languages using means such as internal reconstruction, toponyms, personal names, evidence from loanwords, and language contact or areal linguistics (Campbell, 2010: 8). Given the largely comparative focus of this thesis, I will focus on the final two of these approaches, addressing contact between speaker groups and possible resulting bilingualism from different spatial and temporal perspectives.

Some archaeologists (notably Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983) and historians (see Gerhard, 1993 [1972]) have stated that multiple languages were spoken by the inhabitants of Michoacán during the existence of the Tarascan State and in to the early colonial period. We could therefore expect to see evidence of interaction between speakers of these different languages in Purepecha, as well as traces of Purepecha in the other language(s) in contact. Building on the findings from Chapter 3, we might speculate that if Purepecha shows virtually no effect of contact in the domain of metallurgy, does it show traces of contact in other domains? And if so, are some domains more open to integrating loanwords than others? Orthogonal to the questions related to the domain of borrowing are those related to the chronological side of borrowings, namely has the intensity and type of borrowing (if it occurs) remained relatively stable, or can different patterns be observed at different time periods (cf. Nichols, 1992)? If differences are evident, then what socio-political-economic factors have contributed to the situation at hand (see Thomason, 2001)? I will attempt to answer, at least partially, some of these questions in this chapter.

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows: in Section 4.2 I dig deeper into the issue of prehispanic multilingualism in Michoacán, reviewing what is known of cultural and linguistic diversity in this period on the basis of archaeological findings and colonial census reports. In Section 4.3 I present a three-way spatial typology of language contact scenarios for Purepecha, focussing on the long-distance, medium-distance and regional contact scenarios in the three subsequent sub-sections. I move on to differences in language contact effects over time in Section 4.4, offering examples of lexical and structural borrowing in Purepecha from Spanish in the

modern language. Possible socio-political explanations for the patterns observed in Sections 4.3 and 4.4 are presented in Section 4.5, where I draw together the findings from different perspectives.

4.2. Multilingual Michoacán

Modern-day Michoacán is multilingual insofar as Purepecha speakers almost without exception also speak Spanish (but see INEGI, 2010), and the small number of Nahuatl speakers residing in four municipalities in the coastal region (Hangert, 2004: 23) are also bilingual with Spanish, but do not speak Purepecha. However language diversity in the state is a mere shadow of its former, precolonial self. From the *relaciones geográficas* 'geographical surveys' collected by Spanish administrators, whose earliest surviving example for Michoacán dates to 1523-4 (see Warren, 1963), it is evident that over 20 languages besides Purepecha were spoken in what was then known as a province in the vice-royalty of New Spain, now roughly the state of Michoacán (see Gerhard, 1993 [1972] for a compilation of the surveys for all of New Spain from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries). These languages, together with their language family affiliation (where known), are presented in Table 15. The entry 'unclassified' in the second column often entails that the affiliation is unclear or untraceable. That over half of the languages listed here (12/22) are unclassifiable highlights one of the key issues in historical linguistics in the Americas highlighted above, namely a lack of primary documentation that would provide not only textual material for use in comparative studies, but also identifying information in secondary sources that would at least enable us to offer a genealogical affiliation.

Language	Affiliation	Notes
Apaneca	Unclassified	
Aquilan	Unclassified	Spoken on the coast
Chichimec[83]	Oto-Manguean	Likely Pame or Chichimeca-Jonaz
Chontal de Guerrero	Unclassified	Not to be confused with other 'Chontals' in Mexico, e.g. de Tabasco
Chumbia	Unclassified	
Coca/Tachtoque	Unclassified	
Cuauhcomeca	Unclassified	Spoken inland
Cuicatec	Oto-Manguean	
Cuitlatec	Isolate	Extinct, formerly of Guerrero coast
Epateca	Unclassified	Spoken on the coast
Huahuan	Unclassified	Spoken on the coast
Maquilan	Unclassified	Spoken on the coast
Mazahua	Oto-Manguean	
Mexicano tosco ('rough Mexicano')	Uto-Aztecan	Coastal lingua franca, Nahuatl
Montintlan	Unclassified	Spoken on the coast
Nahuatl varieties	Uto-Aztecan	Xilotlantzinca, Sayulteco, Coixca, Tepuzteco (aka Chinantec?), Tiam, Tamazulteco and Zapotlanejo varieties
Otomí varieties	Oto-Manguean	Amultecan, Bapame, Pino and Zapoteco
Panteca	Unclassified	
Piñol/Pino	Oto-Manguean?	Otomí variety (?)
Pinome	Uto-Aztecan	Also known as Cora
Pirinda[84]	Oto-Manguean	Also known as Matlatzinca
Tolimeca	Unclassified	

Table 15: Languages spoken alongside Purepecha in the early colonial period (following Gerhard, 1993; Brand, 1943)

[83] Chichimec is a pejorative term that Brand (1943: 55) states should not be used to refer to a language. I include it here in order to remain faithful to the entries in the *sumas* 'censuses' brought together in Gerhard (1993).

[84] Pirinda speakers from the Valley of Toluca sought refuge from the Aztecs in Michoacán during the late 1400s. They were excellent warriors and contributed greatly to the Tarascan *cazonci's* power, having been recruited by the leader Characú when he needed more soldiers for his campaign. In return for their support, he gave them the towns of Tiripetío and Indaparapeo. At the time of conquest they formed the frontier guard for the Tarascan State.

A visual representation of the languages presented in Table 15 can be observed in Figure 9. The clear borders between languages on the map suggests that there was only one language spoken in each delineated region, yet the census data collected in the *relaciones geográficas* clearly contradicts such a situation (see Appendix F). Multiple languages were recorded in a single *provincia* (an administrative jurisdiction roughly analogous with a modern town or village) at any one period and their coexistence may have been indicative of bilingualism or multilingualism on the part of at least one group residing in a given location.

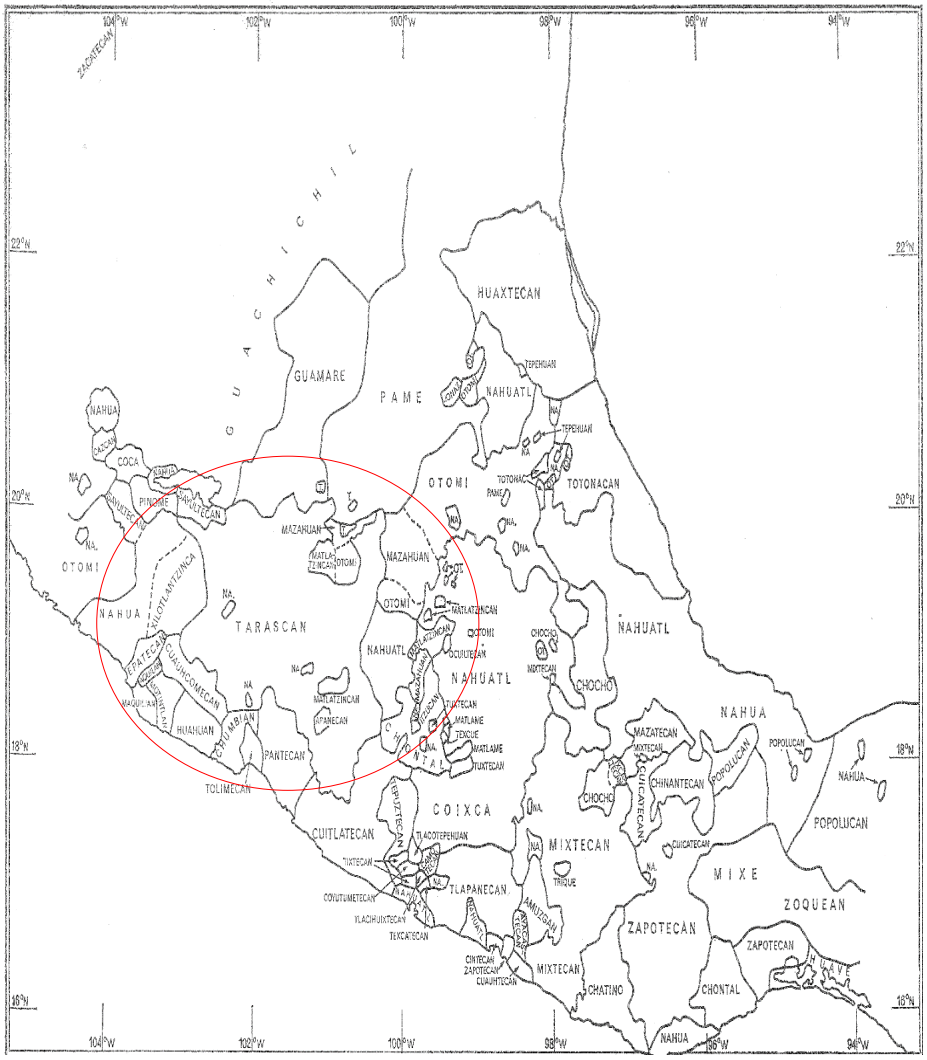

Figure 9: Languages spoken in Mexico in 1519 (from Gerhard, 1993: 6), with the approximate area of the Tarascan State circled in red

Additional support for a prehistoric multilingual situation stems from the response to the imminent arrival of the Spanish in 1522. Prior to the invasion of Michoacán by de Olid's 200-strong band of men, the groups that supported the *cazonci*, namely the Matlatzinca, Otomí, Huetama, Cuitlateco, Escamoecha and Chichimeco, assembled to discuss how to proceed. Timas, a powerful Michoacán warlord, persuaded the

cazonci to kill his own brothers and incited him to also commit suicide shortly before de Olid and his troops arrived. One assumes that the representatives of the different groups were able to communicate with each other, possibly using Purepecha as a *lingua franca*, indicating some form or bilingualism or multilingualism. This ability to interact may be one of Suárez's (1983: 159) "several facts [that] point to a situation in which linguistic contacts were primarily among the upper classes and that their potential effects reached lower groups only sparingly." I will now move on to look at how Purepecha interacted with other languages in the Late Postclassic and Protohistoric (i.e. early colonial) periods within the confines of what was the Tarascan State more specifically.

4.2.1. Multilingualism in the Tarascan State

From around 1000 CE onwards, a number of hunter-gatherer groups migrated to Michoacán from territories further north. These groups settled in discrete communities in and around the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, joining the existing Purepecha-speaking population (see Section 1.3). According to the archaeologists Gorenstein and Pollard (1983: 111), during the Late Postclassic period (c. 1350 - 1521 CE) four ethnolinguistic groups were residing in the Pátzcuaro basin, namely: (i) the indigenous basin-dwellers, also labelled Proto-Tarascans;[85] (ii) *naguatatos*, Nahuatl speakers, who had been mostly deer hunters prior to their migration;[86] (iii) a first Chichimec group that arrived earlier and lived on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro, and (iv) a second Chichimec group, the *Wakusecha* 'eagle warriors' from Zacapu, from which the *cazonci* 'chief' of the Tarascan State was descended. The relationships between different ethnolinguistic groups became particularly important with the founding of the Tarascan State in 1325 CE. Speakers of the various languages previously spoken in the modern-day states of Michoacán, Guerrero, most of Jalisco, and some of

[85] Gorenstein & Pollard (1983: 115) claim that these proto-Tarascans also spoke Proto-Purepecha, a claim which is difficult to substantiate in the absence of written documentation prior to the sixteenth century. It is also not clear what they mean by 'Proto-Tarascan', since the language seems to have changed little in the intervening 500 years, thereby making a claim that this is an earlier stage of the language somewhat harder to justify. However, as archaeologists, it may be that they are using this term as a label for an older variety of the language rather than a proto language in the strict [historical] linguistic sense.

[86] This group also functioned as interpreters for the Tarascan leader in his dealings with the Aztecs and later with the Nahua-speaking Spaniards, see Section 1.3.

Guanajuato were incorporated into the Tarascan State where, Pollard (2015: 108) claims, Purepecha was established as the dominant language.

The Pátzcuaro basin was thus home to several ethnolinguistic groups who were politically autonomous and socially differentiated before the emergence of the Tarascan State. Each of these ethnolinguistic groups differed in terms of its system of social stratification or class, their degree of economic specialisation as well as their access to irrigable land (Williams, 2018: 22). However, the social system in the Tarascan State was unified by the protohistoric period (around the time of contact), thanks to a highly effective, centralised administrative system. Through a rapid process of cultural assimilation and political unification, these different groups all converged on a 'Tarascan' identity, which included use of the Purepecha language (e.g. Pollard, 2015)[87]. This newly constructed common identity cross-cut ethnolinguistic affiliations and social class (Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983: 111). We may add Albiez-Wieck's (2011: 16) observation that there was no difference in the material culture of the different ethnolinguistic groups living in the Tarascan State as further evidence of a largely unified society. In support of this statement, Pollard (2008: 225) claims that "the regional continuity in the material culture and ideology was matched by a continuity in language and that Purepecha was spoken throughout these two millennia [i.e. the two millennia prior to contact with the Spanish] in central and northern Michoacán". This use of Purepecha may have taken the form of a *lingua franca* between the different groups in both the precolonial and early colonial periods, and may also have constituted a way of constructing or strengthening a common cultural identity. In other words, the introduction of several small migrant groups speaking different languages seems to have had no detrimental effect on the use of Purepecha (Pollard, 2000).

Yet while a common cultural identity may have prevailed in Late Postclassic Michoacán, linguistic diversity seems to have remained. This may have been reinforced by the ethnic assimilation and segregation that occurred within the Tarascan State, leading to a series of ethnic zones around Lake Pátzcuaro that

[87] This claim is problematic given that it is based solely on a socio-political interpretation of archaeological evidence.

dominated community interaction (Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983). The multilingual situation described in Section 4.2 is implicit in Gorenstein & Pollard's (1983) ethnolinguistic groupings outlined above, yet has never been explored from a linguistic perspective, save for the collection and analysis of toponyms, largely as indicators of the extent of influence of a given group in the region (see notably Lefebvre, 2017). Indeed it is noteworthy that the most northerly Purepecha toponyms are found in San Luis Potosi and Jalisco, the former being several hundred kilometres from Michoacán. Purepecha toponyms are particularly identifiable by their termination in *-ro*, the nominal case marker for location, as in the city of Queretaro (see Section 4.4.1).

As such, it appears that the term 'Tarascan' used by both the Spanish invaders and modern-day scholars is shorthand for a more complex state of social affairs, since the 'Tarascans' did not constitute a single ethnolinguistic group prior to conquest. Yet the extent to which the Purepecha and the other ethnolinguistic groups residing in the Tarascan State were multilingual, and could therefore mutually influence each other linguistically, remains unclear from the existing literature. Gorenstein and Pollard (1983: 167) offer the following astute observation regarding interaction between ethnolinguistic groups in any given society:

> "It is often assumed that if two societies are contemporary and geographically relatively close, communication between them is high and unrestricted. But the degree and nature of communication and exchange between populations of independent states is a function of both the military/political relations between them and the ability of central authorities to control interactions across their borders" (Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983: 167).

In this vein, Thomason (2001: 66) offers three main social predictors for the results of language contact between two groups, namely: (i) intensity of contact[88]; (ii) relative

[88] Intensity of contact is not clearly defined by Thomason (2001), rather she acknowledges that intensity can be defined in different ways, relating to, for example, the duration of contact, or the amount of cultural pressure from one group on another. I take more intense contact situations to be longer in duration, since

size of the groups involved; and (iii) socioeconomic dominance. Generally speaking, and it should be emphasised that these are only general tendencies, longer contact scenarios tend to result in a larger number or more profound changes, the larger group tends to exert more influence over the smaller (i.e. the latter takes on more linguistic features from the former than vice versa), and the more dominant group tends to exert more social and linguistic pressure, so the subordinate group is more likely to adopt features of the stronger one. Given that the Tarascan State was strongly centralised politically, with social stratification cross-cutting ethnolinguistic affiliations, with obvious enemies shared by all (namely the Aztecs), one might assume a relatively high amount of interaction between the Purepecha and other groups at this time (contra to Suárez's (1983) position, mentioned above, that interaction only occurred at the higher social levels). This interaction could be identified linguistically through the presence of loanwords from Purepecha in the other, less dominant, languages. However, given the geographic separation and occupational specialisation of groups within the same settlement (Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983), we might also expect an influence on Purepecha, likely in specific semantic domains, especially those which may pertain to activities carried out by particular groups, or in relation to trade. In the following two sections, I will pursue this idea more systematically, from both spatial and temporal perspectives.

4.3. Language contact across space

While the linguistic relatives of Purepecha remain unknown, indications of contact between Purepecha and speakers of other languages can be identified at three main spatial, or geographic, levels: (i) long-distance, or diffusional, namely between the Andes and Pacific coast of South America and Michoacán (and other parts of West Mexico), through maritime contact largely promulgated by the transfer of metalworking technology (Hosler, 1994; Anawalt, 1992; see also Brucato et al. 2015); (ii) medium-distance, or areal, that is at the level of Mesoamerica in the form of a linguistic and cultural area borne out of interaction and trade from the Olmec period

longer contact periods allow for the possibility of more contact features being transmitted between generations.

(c. 1200 - 500 BCE) through to the time of conquest (Campbell, Kaufman & Smith-Stark, 1986; Kirchoff, 1960 [1943]); and (iii) short-distance, or regional, which corresponds to interaction within the territory of the former Tarascan State, thus Michoacán plus parts of the neighbouring states of Guerrero, Jalisco and Guanajuato. While the findings in Chapter 3 suggest that there is limited evidence for long-distance interaction as far as the lexicon of metallurgy is concerned, I will concentrate here on diffusion of a different semantic domain: kinship. I will also examine contact at the areal and regional levels in more detail.

4.3.1. Long-distance contact revisited

In Chapter 3 it was concluded that the lexicon of metallurgy cannot offer any support for the hypothesis that long-distance interaction occurred between the Andes and coastal northern Peru and Ecuador, and Michoacán, as part of West Mexico more generally, from around 650 CE onwards. Moreover, on the basis of a quantitative analysis of Swadesh 207 basic vocabulary wordlists for Purepecha, Quechua, and other languages that have previously been proposed as possible linguistic relatives, no evidence could be found to support a relationship beyond the level of chance correspondences (see Chapter 2). The most suggestive of these chance correspondences, in terms of both form and meaning, is the term for 'woman, wife', namely Quechua *warmi* and Purepecha *warhi.* Indeed it is worth noting here that both Purepecha and Quechua possess a number of kinship-related terms beginning in *wa-*. In Purepecha we find, for example, *wachiku* 'the very first-born (whether or not it lives)', *wampa* 'husband', *wap'a*, *watsi* 'child, son, daughter, boy, girl', *wawa* 'paternal aunt', while in Quechua (here from the Ayacucho variety; Parker, 1969) there is *warma* 'boy, girl, approx. 5-10 years of age', *wawa* '(woman's) child, baby', *wawqi* '(man's) brother', *wayna* 'young man, lover' (see also the examples in Swadesh, 1957: 16). However, aside from the first syllable (i.e. the root), which is common to both languages and might suggest a historical primary meaning relating to family relations, there is little in the way of direct correspondence. For instance, *wawa* in Purepecha refers to a paternal aunt, while in Quechua the referent is a '(woman's) child or baby'. The ubiquity of the syllable *wa-* in both languages,

especially in word-initial position also weakens the argument for these similarities being any greater than chance. Moreover, Emlen (2017: 336) identifies **wa* as aProto-Quechua root that has to do with 'hanging, tying, or pulling', a meaning far removed from any notion of kinship relation. In the absence of an internal reconstruction of previous stages of the language, data for modern Purepecha (notably Friedrich's unpublished dictionary) indicate that the root *wa-* refers to notions of 'hitting, beating, shaking off or down'. Thus the meaning of the roots in the two languages does not overlap, but the shared presence of kinship lexemes formed with this root with hugely different semantics remains somewhat suggestive.

Numerous similarities in kinship terms across the Americas were first noted by Swadesh (1957), in his second abortive attempt to prove a genealogical connection between Purepecha and Zuni, an isolate spoken in New Mexico, USA (see Section 2.2.1). The cognate candidates presented in support of this relationship (Swadesh, 1957: 10) are too poor to merit inclusion here, but correspondence sets based on 13[89] mono- or disyllabic roots for multiple languages and language families of the Americas, including Purepecha and Zuni, seem to highlight potential continent-wide correspondences in this semantic domain. Take, for example, forms in *¢i-* [tsi], a sample of whose proposed reflexes in ten other language families of Meso- and North America can be observed in (1). Note that some language names have been changed to reflect the Glottolog 3.0 classification (Hammarström, Forkel & Haspelmath, 2017).

[89] Note that five of the 13 roots constitute open syllables including a labial consonant and an open front unrounded vowel, namely: ma/mi, na, pa, ta, and wa. I find these unconvincing examples of areal terms for two main reasons: (i) such sounds/syllables also occur in the European languages that have been imposed in the Americas, e.g. Spanish *tata* 'uncle', rendering their origin unclear; (ii) related to (i), these syllables are often attested in reduplicated forms by Swadesh, suggesting an origin in babytalk. Swadesh (1957: 18) himself admits this is a possibility that cannot be discounted.

(1) Purepecha (isolate) *¢ə¢ə́*[90] 'mother's sister'
Zuni (isolate) *¢itta* '(older sister of) mother', *¢ilu* 'mother's younger sister'
Totonac (Totonacan) *¢iˀ* 'mother'
Texistepec Popoluca (Mixe-Zoque) *¢əə́¢ə* 'older sister'
Tapachultec (Mixe-Zoque) *ˀacuk* 'younger sister'
Oluta Popoluca *caci* (Mixe-Zoque) 'mother'
Huave (isolate) *ciig* 'sister', *ncey* 'mother's parent'
Yucatec (Mayan) *cic* 'mother's mother'[91]
Nisga'a (Tsimshian) *-c'ec'* 'mother's parent'
Southern Coastal Tsimshian (Tsimshian) *-c'ic'* 'mother's parent'
Northern Foothill Yokuts (Yokutsan) *-sos* 'father's sister'
Huichol (Uto-Aztecan) *¢ə¢ə* 'respected woman'
Bannock (Uto-Aztecan) *hu¢i* 'father's mother'
Caigua[92] (Kiowa-Tanoan) *¢aayuˀi* 'father's sister'
Towa (Kiowa-Tanoan) *¢eˀe* 'mother'
Isleta (Kiowa-Tanoan) *ciˀi* 'mother's mother'
Mazahua (Otomanguean) *zizi* 'mother's sister'
Mixtec (Otomanguean) *c'iši* 'father's sister'
Wichita (Caddoan) *ˀa¢ia* 'mother' (informal)

While in Purepecha, Zuni and Mazahua[93] the term refers to 'mother's sister', in Northern Foothill Yokuts, Caigua and Mixtec it corresponds to 'father's sister'. Six other languages reflect the term for 'mother' through the reflex, three more refer to a

[90] In the updated orthography used in this thesis, this term would be represented as *tsïtsï* but I have retained Swadesh's original entries here.
[91] Swadesh also gives icil *çuç* 'mother' for Yucatec but this is incorrect. The standard form for 'mother' is *na'* (Bastarrachea, Yah Pech & Briceño Chel, 1992).
[92] This language name does not appear in Glottolog, although Simons and Fenning (2017) offer the following alternate names for Kiowa: Cáuigù, Cáuijò:gyà, Gaigwu. It is likely, therefore, that Caigua here refers to the Kiowa language.
[93] Swadesh (1957: 28) suggests that the Mazahua form is a loan from Purepecha, which is a plausible interpretation.

sister of some kind, with six in total referring to a mother or father's mother, father, or generic parent. Nevertheless, despite the slight differences in semantics, all of the lexemes in (1) seem to represent a concept of older, more respected female.

The root *ȼi/ci/zi* is clearly visible in all of the forms presented in (1). It is perhaps surprising that this phonological signal can be identified from British Columbia (Canada) in the north, where Southern Coastal Tsimshian is spoken, to Oaxaca (Mexico) in the south, the location of the remaining Huave speakers. Swadesh (1957: 35-37) claims that the phonological similarities observed for all 13 roots, irrespective of their frequency and use in child language, reinforce his theories of the genetic unity of the Penutian language family (perhaps better thought of as a "set of working hypotheses" than a distinct genealogical grouping (Mithun, 1999: 308)), and the relationship of Purepecha to Zuni, as well as to other languages in the Arizona and New Mexico via Zuni. My interpretation of the correspondences is, however, somewhat more cautious. Indeed an alternative hypothesis could be that lexical similarities between such a large number of languages, whose genealogical position is much better established now than it was when Swadesh published the original data, are more suggestive of a shared history of some kind amongst these languages that is more likely to be grounded in convergence rather than relatedness, and to have occurred over a prolonged period of time. In a similar way to how personal pronouns with first person /n/ and second person /m/ are indicative of a shared history of languages of Pacific Northwest languages (see Nichols & Peterson, 1996), although not necessarily of genetic relatendness, these terms may offer a snapshot of the prehistory of languages of North America and Mesoamerica, albeit one that has faded due to age.

4.3.2. Medium-distance contact

The results of prolonged contact at the medium-distance level– that of Mesoamerica – were first presented in the form of a cultural area by Kirchhoff (1960 [1943]), following in the footsteps of the early twentieth century North American diffusionists such as Kroeber and later Boas (Muysken, 2008). Kirchhoff's Mesoamerican cultural area was based on "a shared set of cultural traits brought about by thousands of years

of diffusion and migration within Central America" (McGuire, 2011: 2). Cultural traits supporting this construct include a sedentary way of life, maize agriculture, monumental construction, the use of two calendars, a base 20 number system, pictographic and hieroglyphic writing systems, and a common body of religious concepts. While the prehispanic Purepecha possessed many of these traits, it is important to note at this juncture that they also demonstrated considerable intellectual independence from the rest of the region. Notably, their use of the Mesoamerican calendar system differed, they possessed no known writing system (but see Olmos, 2010 for an interpretation of Tzintzuntzan petroglyphs as a form of graphical communication), and their religion revolved around key deities, such as Xaratanga and Kurikaweri, rather than being based on the traditionally posited common Mesoamerican principles such as duality and the presence of male and female deities (Evans, 2004: 434).

We also find one of Kirchhoff's cultural traits re-emerging in the definition of Mesoamerica as a linguistic area, namely the base 20 counting system. The other four diagnostic linguistic traits for the proposed Sprachbund are: (i) nominal possession of the type 'his-dog the man', (ii) relational nouns that express locative and related notions, comprising a noun root and possessive pronominal affixes, (iii) non-verb final word order, and (iv) several widespread semantic calques (Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark, 1986: 555). However, Purepecha possesses only one of these traits, namely the vigesimal counting system. It should be noted that this is not a strong diagnostic trait either, given its prevalence both within and outside of the linguistic area, as well as in many other areas of the world, e.g. Papua New Guinea and West Africa (Comrie, 2013). Moreover the term vigesimal is something of a misnomer; the Purepecha numeral system should more accurately be termed a hybrid quinary-decimal-vigesimal system. There are monomorphemic terms for five, ten and twenty, but all the intervening numerals are compounds constructed first from a five base and later from ten, as evidenced in *yumu tsimani* 'seven' (lit. 'five two') and *tempeni ka yumu t'amu* '19' (lit. 'ten and five four'. A similar situation prevails in, *inter alia*, Guerrero Nahuatl, State of Mexico Otomí, Central Pame, Copainalá Zoque, and Tzeltal Mayan, all of which display more internal structural diversity in their

numeral systems than the overarching label 'vigesimal' would suggest.

Moreover, Purepecha possesses only two of the 55 semantic calques or loan translations observed in many Mesoamerican languages (Chamoreau, in press) that are also held up as an indicator of membership in the Mesoamerican linguistic area (Campbell, Kaufman & Smith-Stark, 1986: 553). However, these terms - 'alive' and 'awake' - come from the same root (*tsi-)*, and there is an association between the forms used to refer to 'edge' and 'mouth, lip', namely the locative space suffix *-marhi*. As such, Purepecha can be considered a peripheral member of the linguistic area, if it can be included in this areal grouping at all (Chamoreau, in press; Smith-Stark, 1994). This outlier status implies that the contact Purepecha speakers had with other groups within Mesoamerica may not have been that intense, even though it has been claimed that Purepecha has been spoken in Michoacán for the past two millennia (Pollard, 2015: 109), and that cultural influence from Central Mexico (i.e. the Aztecs and their predecessors) is evident in, for example, pottery styles, ceramic decoration, and statuaries (see also Williams, 2018). Moreover, the lack of clear contact effects on the language lends support to the claim that groups with more socio-political power are more likely to influence other languages rather than *vice versa* (Thomason, 2001). Since the Tarascan State constituted a well-organised, stratified, powerful socio-political system, it is easy to imagine how resistance to external influence in whatever form could emerge. Nonetheless, where interaction is postulated in archaeology, then it seems reasonable to assume social (and therefore) linguistic interaction of some sort (see also Chapter 3) which, depending on the type and intensity of such contact, may imply a certain amount of bilingualism. Bilingualism, in turn, could then lead to linguistic influence in the form of lexical and/or structural borrowing.[94] Having concluded that there is little evidence for such a contact situation at the medium-distance or areal level, in the next sub-section I will discuss whether interaction on a smaller scale, namely short-distance or regional, is evident in the linguistic record.

[94] Evidence from other areas in the Americas, such as the Vaupés basin in the Amazon (e.g. Epps, 2007) and the Isthmo-Colombian area between South and Central America (O'Connor, 2014), shows how the outcome of long-term contact and bilingualism may not be (substantial) lexical borrowing, but rather large-scale structural borrowing or grammatical convergence, motivated by the complex variables of language ideology and social norms. Since the interactional situation is far from clear in the contexts of Mesoamerica and the Tarascan State, I begin with lexical borrowing as a possible outcome of longer-term interaction.

4.3.3. Regional contact

In Section 4.2 I discussed the issue of multilingualism in prehispanic Michoacán. While the lack of written documentation prior to the mid-sixteenth century impedes investigation of such a topic, early Spanish census data, ethnohistorical sources such as the Relación de Michoacán, and the first dictionaries of indigenous languages of the region (e.g. Gilberti, 1559 for Purepecha) do provide indications of the contemporary linguistic and socio-political situation. These sources, combined with modern-day linguistic data, enable us to build up a partial picture of the interaction scenarios in action at that time, which can also be projected back to the immediately preceding period. With reference to linguistic data, lexical borrowing is often held up as the first (and sometimes only) type of contact effect visible in a language as a result of interaction with another language (e.g. Thomason, 2001; Moravscik, 1978; Swadesh, 1964). As such, in this sub-section I investigate more systematically whether the proposed interaction between Purepecha and the other languages spoken in the Tarascan State prior to the arrival of the Spanish (see Gorenstein & Pollard, 1983) led to lexical borrowing between pairs of languages and, if so, in which direction. Observable contact effects in the form of loanwords would indicate that the contact between the speakers of the languages involved was more than mere fleeting interaction, and rather involved mutual understanding, although not necessarily any bilingualism.

The method I adopted is as follows: I collected as many entries as possible of a 1603-term standardised wordlist of basic and non-basic lexemes) for ten languages. This wordlist was an expanded version of that used in World Loanword Typology Database (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009; Anthony Grant, pers. comm.; see also Sections 2.3 and 3.3 for discussions of the role of wordlists in historical comparative studies). The languages sampled in this study were identified as being, or having been, spoken in roughly what is now the state of Michoacán (formerly the Tarascan State and later incorporated into the vice-royalty of New Spain), following Gerhard (1993 [1972]) and Kaufman (2007). In addition to Purepecha, the sample comprised nine languages, including five Otomanguean languages, three Uto-Aztecan languages and

one other isolate, Cuitlatec; see (2) for the full list.

(2) Cuitlatec (isolate; extinct)
Otomí (Otomanguean)
Ocuilteco (Atzingo Matlatzinca; Otomanguean)
Mazahua (Otomanguean)
Chichimeco (Otomanguean)
Matlaltzinca (Otomanguean; extinct)
Michoacán Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan)
Guerrero Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan)
Cora (Uto-Aztecan)

On the basis of a comparison of the lexemes in these wordlists, one striking observation emerges: Purepecha shows very little evidence of borrowing from any of the languages in the list in (2), aside from a small number of loans originating from Nahuatl (see Section 6.5, however, for a discussion of possible morphological parallels in stem formatives in Ocuilteco). Indeed the only clear loans from Nahuatl in the REPLICA wordlist are *tukuru*[95] 'owl', *tianguis* 'market', and *misitu* 'cat'. The first term in this short list appears to be a direct borrowing from Nahuatl, since it can be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan as **tuku* 'owl', which in turn has been borrowed from either Purepecha or Nahuatl into Otomi as *tukru* 'owl'. The second item in the list may be a Nahuatl loan that has entered Purepecha via Mexican Spanish rather than directly from the donor language, since it is commonly used in the latter. It is through this route that some Nahuatl loans are likely to have entered Purepecha, for two main reasons. First, the Tarascans and Aztecs were mortal enemies in the three centuries prior to the Spanish conquest, thus the likelihood of them maintaining anything more than minimal communication, probably revolving round trade, is low. Second, as a widely spoken language in Mesoamerica, including as a *lingua franca*, Nahuatl was learned by the Spanish administrative and religious representatives, and so managed to influence the European tongue from early in the colonial period. As a

[95] As Stubbs (2011: 276) also does, note the similarity to Mayan **tuhkur(u)* 'owl'.

result, numerous Nahuatl loanwords are present in both Mexican and European Spanish, some of which have also diffused into English, such as 'chocolate' from *xocoatl*, 'tomato' from *jitomate* (a fusion of *xictli* 'navel' and *tomatl* 'tomato'), and 'coyote' from *coyotl* 'carnivorous animal, similar to a fox'.

The final borrowed term in Purepecha, *misitu* 'cat', is found across Mesoamerica and bordering peripheral areas in phonologically closely related forms, and so can be considered one of several 'pan-Mesoamericanisms' (see Brown, 2011). Indeed Brown (2011: 183) claims that this term, along with at least five others[96], constitutes a widely spread post-contact lexical feature, that occurs in languages of the Mesoamerican linguistic area and certain languages in the peripheral regions, that was "almost certainly […] innovated only once by languages of the culture region". This strongly suggests that the terms diffused from a common source, likely Nahuatl, which therefore played a major role in the formation of the linguistic area, both before and after the imposition of Spanish language and culture.

As expected, there is some evidence in the REPLICA list of Purepecha as a donor language. The clearest example of the presence of Purepecha loanwords is in Cuitlatec (Escalante, 1962), a now extinct language isolate of coastal Guerrero, where we can observe borrowed kinship terms (3). The first entry in a line represents the Cuitlatec term and the second, after the less-than sign, the Purepecha source.

(3) *tahti* < *taati* ' father'
hwáhce (father speaking only) < *watsi tataka/nanaka* 'son/daughter'

Kinship terms are generally considered basic vocabulary, and thus less likely to be borrowed from one language into another (Tadmor, Haspelmath & Taylor, 2010; but see Section 4.3.1 for the discussion on the spread of kinship terms through the Americas). The fact that they have been borrowed in this instance may indicate that Purepecha exercised a strong influence on Cuitlatec. This influence may have taken

[96] The other five lexical features are: *tentzone* usually 'goat', *sheep*: 'cotton + some mammal', *bread*: '*castillan* tortilla', *chicken, hen (occasionally rooster)*: '*castillan* turkey or bird'; and *wheat* (or, rarely, some other imported grain): '*castillan* maize'. None of these terms is attested in Purepecha and so they will not be discussed further.

the form of long-term contact, and possibly even intermarriage (although this is scarce evidence for this) and be indicative of Purepecha's more dominant social status in the region. The Cuitlatec verb *úSi* 'to work' may also be related to Purepecha *u-ni* 'to do, make', but this is somewhat speculative since the correspondence is so short.

Meneses (2016: 250, fn. 6) has also identified a number of terms in the Spanish entries of Hendrich's (1946) Cuitlatec wordlist that are clearly Purepecha in origin. These terms all belong to domain of regional vegetation and animals, such as *arápara* 'paper wasp', *capiri* 'type of tree', *corongoro* 'type of tree', *cuitáz* 'type of tree', *chamacúz* 'termite', *chucumpún* 'type of tree', *pinzán* 'type of tree', *sirián* 'type of tree and fruit', *turicata* 'insect' and *sícua* 'toasted maguey, mezcal'.[97] While Hendrichs (1946: 132) claims that there is little evidence of Purepecha influence on Cuitlatec, the impact of Purepecha on Spanish is intriguing and will be explored further in Section 4.4. Finally, the REPLICA wordlist also brought to light three loanwords in three different languages that may well be Purepecha in origin, see (4).

(4) Matlatzinca *inxapito* 'prawn' < *shapitu* 'prawn'
Ocuilteco *čhɨɨ* 'corn dough' < *tsïreri* 'dough, flour'
Cora *jatzí* 'seed' < *jatsiri* 'seed'

Note that all of the loanwords, in both directions, are nouns rather than verbs (with one speculative exception in Cuitlatec), a word class that requires less morphosyntactic adaptation to be borrowed into a language. Indeed, most borrowing is additive, in that it comprises new items, new nouns (M. Mous, pers. comm.). In sum, then, we have observed little lexical impact on Purepecha from neighbouring languages that were assumed to have been in contact during the precolonial period, but also little in the way of Purepecha influence on other languages. The question that immediately springs to mind at this point, therefore, is: Why is this the case? More specifically: what could account for the limited amount of lexical borrowing in the region? I return to this point, and more specifically the shifting face of socioeconomic

[97] Note that I have retained the orthography used by Meneses (2016), which reflects the original in Hendrichs (1946).

dominance in the region, in Section 4.5.

4.4. Language contact over time

Language ecologies do not remain static over time. With changes in the socio-economic and cultural lives of different speaker groups, and their concomitant changes in the type and intensity of contact, languages can influence – and be influenced by – other neighbouring languages in different ways during different periods. Similarly, as speaker groups can use different combinations of languages with varying levels of competence in different periods, so can individuals within those groups during their lifetimes (Grosjean, 2016). This situation also holds for Purepecha speakers. We observed in Section 4.2 that over 20 languages (or varieties) were recorded within the former Tarascan State during the first century of Spanish rule, yet it is clear now that Purepecha speakers in Michoacán are only confronted with one other language, namely Spanish. In this section I will focus on the increasing impact of Spanish on Purepecha in all aspects of language (phonology, morphology and syntax), using examples from my own language of perception data (see Chapter 6), as well as from other existing written sources.

Spanish has unquestionably had a major impact on the Purepecha language since the two first came into contact in 1521, an impact that stems from interaction in both informal and formal (e.g. educational) spheres. Despite Franciscan missionaries encouraging literacy in Purepecha in the early sixteenth century, widespread literacy in the indigenous language was never established (Hamel, 2008: 313; see also Section 1.6). In contrast, later colonial education policies focused primarily on forcibly assimilating the Purepecha (along with many other indigenous peoples of modern-day Mexico), both culturally and linguistically, through the direct imposition of Spanish in all grades in school (Hamel, 2013; but see, e.g. Bellamy & Groff (Accepted) for a lone counter-example to this policy). The ultimate result of these policies, coupled with forced population resettlements and a huge population decrease in the first hundred years following occupation, is unequivocal: the vast majority of the current estimated 125,000 Purepecha speakers are bilingual with Spanish. Across Mexico Spanish has been established as the dominant language of education, media,

communications and commerce. In Purepecha we can observe borrowings from Spanish for words of all classes, not just nouns as we saw in the late prehispanic/early colonial periods (see Section 4.2.1). Moreover, changes to word order and syntactic constructions such as comparatives have also been observed (see Chamoreau, 2012, 2007), although the shift from SOV to SVO word order may have begun under influence from Nahuatl prior to the arrival of the Spanish, or may only occur in certain varieties of Purepecha - we lack full grammatical descriptions for all varieties except for some in the Lake Pátzcuaro basin.

Differences in the type of language change can be classified according to Thomason's (2001; see also McMahon & McMahon, 2005) four main contact scenarios, which reflect varying degrees of intensity of contact, namely: casual, slightly more intense, more intense, and intense. The lexical borrowing we observed in precolonial times (Section 4.2.1) is typical of Thomason's first type of contact situation, casual contact, although it should be underlined loanwords can be transferred in all types of contact situation, not just this one. The words that are borrowed in these casual contact scenarios tend to be non-basic, that is more culturally-specific, nouns. The speakers of the two languages in contact do not need to be bilingual for this type of borrowing to occur - and we can probably assume that in this instance they were not. Since the Tarascans and Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs were in contact largely by way of trade and warfare, it is highly probable that only a small number of individuals from both groups was bilingual, leading to fewer opportunities for contact-induced change beyond the transfer of loanwords (see Section 4.3.3 for examples of how this casual contact affected the lexicon, or did not, as is more accurate).

In contrast, the current contact situation between Purepecha and Spanish displays effects associated with the second and third types of contact in Thomason's classification: slightly more intense and intense contact. Type two contact scenarios are characterised by the presence of loanwords in the recipient language that are not culturally specific, as in type one, and that belong to other word classes apart from nouns. For example *siempri* 'still, always' is used in Purepecha as an adverb in the same environments as its original Spanish. For this type of change to occur, a certain

amount of bilingualism is needed, therefore the contact must be more intense than in type one. In type 3 contact (intense contact) situations, all word classes can be borrowed, including verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, as can morphological material such as suffixes. Word order may also be affected, where it differs in the two languages in contact. For borrowing of this type to occur, bilingualism must be more extensive than in type 2 (and type 1) situations and, it is claimed, attitudes towards the donor language should be favourable (cf. Epps, 2007 for an instance of contact-induced change through the back door, where resistance to lexical borrowing is high but structural convergence is commonplace). Let us now consider examples of lexical and morphosyntactic borrowing from Spanish in Purepecha, as a means of exemplifying the types of contact outcomes presented above.

4.4.1. Contact in the lexicon

Perhaps the most striking aspect of modern-day spoken Purepecha is the almost constant presence of Spanish loanwords. There is evidence of rampant borrowing of lexical items in all parts of speech, with varying degrees of phonological and morphosyntactic integration. This influence is not only the direct result of more technologically advanced and widespread communications, such as the use of mobile telephones and the internet in the past ten years or so, since many Spanish loanwords were already present in a language primer from the 1950s, as illustrated in Figure 10.

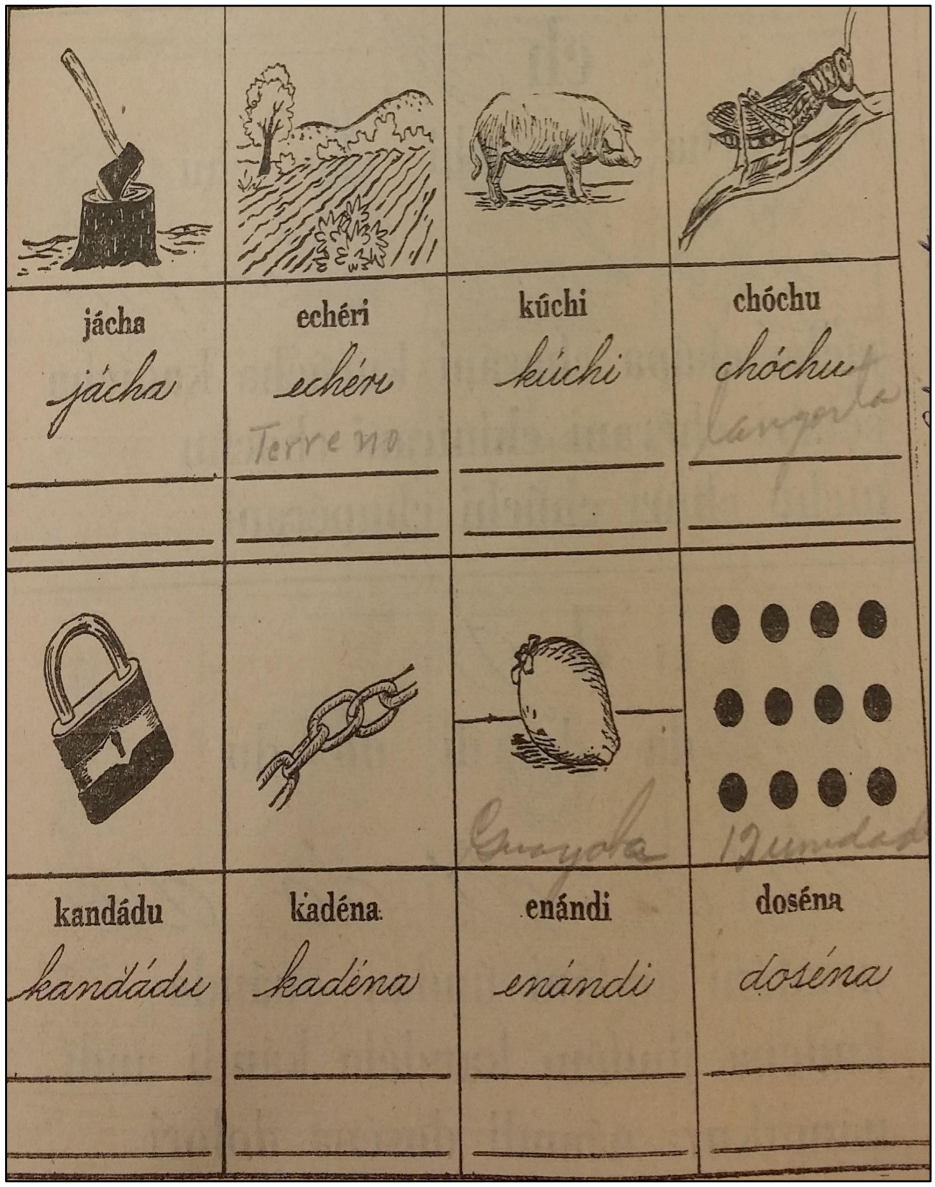

Figure 10: Excerpt from a Purepecha primer from the 1950s (courtesy of the Paul Friedrich Papers, University of Chicago Library Special Collections)

Of the eight nouns presented in Figure 10, five of them are Spanish loans, namely: *jácha* (Spanish *hacha*) 'axe', *kúchi* 'pig' (from *cochino* 'hog, boar, pig'), *kandádu* (a

phonological adaptation of *candado* 'lock'), *kadéna* 'chain' and *doséna* 'dozen' (both orthographic adaptations of *cadena* and *docena* respectively).

Moving forward to the present-day, in the language of perception recordings I made during three fieldwork trips from 2014 to 2016 (see Section 1.7), loanwords from a wide range of domains, such as food, household and technology, can be observed (5).

(5)

galleta 'biscuit'	*aceiti* 'oil'
chicli 'chewing gum'	*café* 'coffee'
pinoli 'pine [floor cleaner]'	*pintura* 'paint'
cigarru 'cigarette'	*perfumi* 'perfume'
gasi 'petrol'	*computadorhu* 'computer'

Similarly to the cases from the 1950s presented in Figure 10, only three of the terms listed in (5) remain phonologically identical to their Spanish original: *galleta* 'biscuit', *café* 'coffee' and *pintura* 'paint'. The terms *chicli* 'chewing gum', *pinoli* 'pine floor cleaner' *aceiti* 'oil' and *perfumi* 'perfume' all display word-final raising of Spanish /e/ to /i/. Similarly *cigarru* 'cigarette' displays raising of final /o/ to /u/ from the Spanish, while the word-final appearance of /u/ in *computadorhu* 'computer' is hard to explain given the Spanish original *computadora*, with final /a/. It may be that speakers (or this speaker in particular) has reanalysed 'computer' as having male gender, which it does in European Spanish albeit with a different lexical item, namely *el ordenador* 'the.MASC computer'. Canonical masculine nouns and adjectives in Spanish terminate in *-o*, which would then be raised to *-u* in Purepecha. Nevertheless, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are particularly common in word-final position in Purepecha thanks to the CV syllable structure that predominates in the language, and the requirement for word final syllables to be open (see Section 1.5.1). Finally, it is worth noting the 'Purepechisation' of the Spanish *gaz* to *gasi*, where the addition of the word-final vowel allows the word to adhere to internal rules of syllabification (see Capistrán Garza Bert, 2005).

While the formal status of adjectives in Purepecha remains somewhat

contested (see Section 1.5.2 for a discussion), it is clear that numerous loan adjectives from Spanish now occupy the semantic domain of colour in Purepecha, see (6).

(6) *anaranjadu*[98] 'orange'
rosita, rosa 'pink'
marrón 'brown'
moradu 'purple'

Purepecha traditionally has a six-term colour system, comprising basic (i.e. non-derived) terms for black, white, red, blue, green and yellow that are all constructed according to the same morphological template: ROOT + *-pi* + *-ti*, e.g. *charapiti* 'red'(see Section 1.5.2; see also Chapter 4 on smell predicates for an analogous case in a different perceptual domain). Historically Purepecha did not possess basic terms for colours that tend to emerge later in the development of colour systems, namely orange, brown, pink, grey and purple (see, e.g., Kay et al., 1997). In the extensive two-volume Purepecha-Spanish and Spanish-Purepecha *diccionario grande* 'big dictionary', assumed to date to around 1591 (Anonymous, 1991), there are no entries for grey, pink or brown. The two entries containing the term 'orange' refer to *tsipan(i)* 'toasted flowering corn', where the colour of the object provides the colour term. *Tsipani* has since been replaced with the Spanish *anaranjadu* 'orange', which is itself derived from the term for the fruit *naranja* 'orange'. For purple, none of the four entries in the *diccionario grande* includes a basic colour term but rather draft in terms that invoke the concept of purple, as in *ts'irantsi ats'iri*[99] 'purple corn'. The first element in this compound, *ts'irantsi,* is related to terms referring to 'cold' (more accurately rendered as REFERRING TO COLD, see Chapter 6) although this specific form is not attested in modern descriptions of language, which give the non-vowel initial form *tsiri* 'corn'. A second term of interest related to purple is *shari shari-k'a-k'u-ni*[100] 'to bruise it, to make it purple', where *shari(-)* functions as both the noun

[98] Note again the phonological adaptation of word-final *-o* in the Spanish terms *anaranjado* 'orange' and *morado* 'purple' to *-u* in Purepecha.
[99] The original orthography in the *diccionario grande* is *thziranczi ahtsziri*. I have standardised it here for greater ease of comprehension.
[100] The original entry appears as *Xari xarihcahcuni*.

'lavender' as well as the root RELATING TO LAVENDER, once again providing the colour semantics through extension from, here, a plant of the appropriate colour. The Spanish term *rosa* 'rose, pink', often found in the diminutive form *rosita,* represents an analogous development where an object of a particularly colour comes to stand for the colour itself.

That said, we cannot claim to be dealing simply with a case of lexical gap filling, namely that Spanish words are drafted in to fill lacunae in the Purepecha lexicon. This is clear since the Purepecha term *echeri* 'earth' can also be used via semantic extension for brown (cf. Spanish *marrón*), *t'upurini* 'ashes' for grey (cf. Spanish *gris*), and *warhuti* 'purple maize' also exists for purple (cf. Spanish *púrpura* and *morado*). All three of these terms retain their nominal morphology in the form of ROOT + classificatory suffix *-ri* or *-ti* (see Chapter 5) + optional objective case suffix *-ni*, even when used adjectivally, and so cannot be considered basic in the sense of the six colours cited above. Nonetheless, we can observe that the colour term system of Purepecha has been extended through the use of Spanish lexemes, notably the terms for orange, grey and pink.

Moreover in the domain of colour, it is possible to combine the two languages in noun phrases containing an adjective and a noun. Both permutations are possible, namely the Spanish colour term can be modified by a Purepecha adjective (7a) and a Purepecha colour term can be modified by a Spanish adjective (7b). For clarity, Spanish terms are underlined.

(7a) <u>rosa</u> niatsïti
pink dark
'dark pink'

(7b) charhapiti <u>baj-itu</u>
red dark-DIM
'dark red'

It is worth noting that the congruence in constituent order in the noun phrase (i.e. both

languages are predominantly N-Adj) enables a noun from one language and an adjective from the other to be combined without difficulty.

Until now, we have focussed purely on the undeniably extensive Spanish lexical influence on Purepecha. I noted in Section 4.3.3 that some of the Spanish entries in the Cuitlatec wordlist (Hendrichs, 1946) were Purepecha in origin, indicating that in the Spanish of that region at least, the contact situation was such that Purepecha words have been borrowed into the local variety of the national language. Meneses (2016) has identified a considerable number of Purepecha loans in the contemporary monolingual Spanish of the same area, namely the central part of the River Balsas basin, including the south-east part of the *tierra caliente*, the hot lowlands of southern Michoacán and northwest Guerrero. These loanwords belong to the varied domains of flora (8a), fauna (8b), objects/artefacts (8c), foodstuffs (8d), people (e), and others (8f). The selected examples are all translated, and in some cases amended, from Meneses (2016: 253-258).

(8a) *cipiate* 'tree with a disagreeable odour' < *sïpi-* 'to stink' (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this and other 'stink' roots)
cueramo 'tropical tree with caustic properties' < *k'ueramu* 'idem.'
tepamo 'tree used for religious and medicinal purposes' < *tepamu* 'idem.'

(8b) *arapara* 'large stinging wasp, very dangerous' < *arhapara* 'with a divided back'
cures 'type of large ant, with a painful bite' < *kurhi-* 'to burn'
paracata 'butterfly'

(8c) *parangua* 'three-stone base for preparing a fireplace < *parhankua* 'idem.'
sicua/tsicua 'fibre, made from a tree bark used for tying' < *sï-* 'hard, flexible'[101]
tarecua 'type of hoe' < *tarekua* 'digging instrument' < *tarhe-* 'to work the land' (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of metalworking vocabulary)

(8d) *manacata* 'mixture of sweetened squash and milk' < *manakata* 'the moved one' (possibly in reference to stirring)
toqueres/toqueras 'corn tortilla or gordita[102] made with ripening corn' < *t'okeri* 'ripening corn; something that is soaked, still damp'

(8e) *guacha/guache*[103] 'child' < *watsi* 'child'

(8f) *cuinda* 'bad-smelling water; boggy mud; mud that pigs bathe in' < *kwintiri* 'thick liquid, viscous, sticky substance' (possible)[104]
ómitas 'small islands that form in rivers' < *omini* 'to be a flooded place', cf. also *omikwa* 'island'
tupo 'umbilical cord' < *t'upu* 'idem.'

While (8a-f) are all nouns of a largely culturally-specific nature (with the exception of (8e and some of (8f)), the presence of borrowed adjectives (9a) that have been adapted to Spanish morphology (e.g. the *-oso* termination), verbs and verbal phrases (9b), as well as expressions (9b) in the Spanish of the *tierra caliente* speaks to a

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[101] See also *sïkua* 'toasted maguey, mezcal' and *sïntari* 'rope, string' from the same root.
[102] A *gordita* is a smaller, thicker version of a tortilla, made in the same way but not flattened out as much, hence its name 'the little fat one'.
[103] Note the typical Nahuatl orthography, of /gu/ for /w/. This may reflect longer-term Nahuatl influence in the region.
[104] I propose an alternative etymology, namely from *kue-* 'mucus', with related forms *kuechenta* 'saliva', *kueneiri* 'phlegm from throat or chest'. All of these terms suggest a thick, viscous substance, akin to thick, sticky mud.

scenario of more prolonged contact between the two languages. These examples of these structurally more complex borrowings are once again translations of the examples in Meneses (2016).

(9a) *charaposo/cheraposo* 'coarse, rough surface' < *cherapini* 'to be rough'
chumbo 'crooked' < *chumbi-* 'crooked, hunched (physical defect)'
sopomo/a 'short and fat' < *tsopotsopokarani* 'to be fat, of the body'

(9b) *cargar a cumbuche* 'carry on the back, generally of children' < *k'umbu-* 'bulky, swollen' (probable)
ari 'exclamation of admiration, surprise, incredulity; similar to Sp. *ándale* < *arhi* 'say (it)! (imperative)' or *ari* 'this'

Indeed this influence suggests an impact of the indigenous language on the imposed colonial tongue that has not been recorded elsewhere in the Purepecha region (see also the discussion in Section 4.4.). I will return to the Spanish impact on Purepecha in the next section, turning my attention to influence in the morphosyntax.

4.4.2. Contact in the morphosyntax

In the previous section, we observed how Spanish loanwords are abundant in modern-day Purepecha, but that in the Spanish of the *tierra caliente*, the direction of borrowing has been reversed and the national language there sees considerable influence from the indigenous language. However in both cases, the locus of investigation was restricted to lexical items. The introduction of lexical items from one language to another requires relatively little effort and generally does not require either set of speakers to be bilingual. In the case of borrowing and integration of morphological material from one language into another, however, a great deal more interaction must take place and bilingualism must therefore be more balanced. In this section I will present a number of examples of how different parts of speech from Spanish are integrated into Purepecha morphosyntax.

Let us begin with the nominal domain. In the following examples we can

observe full Spanish lexemes (here, nouns) taking on Purepecha nominal morphology in the form of the objective case suffix on 'lemon tea' (10a), the genitive case suffix on 'petrol pump' (10b) and a combination of both the plural and genitive suffixes on 'book' (10c). Spanish loanwords continue to be underlined in the examples for clarity.

(10a) isïku este te de limoni-ni
DEM DEM tea of lemon-OBJ
ja-k'u-nti-xin-ti
smell-SP.LOC-SP.LOC-HAB-3.S.ASS
'This, this smells of lemon tea.'

(10b) bompa gasolin-eri
pump petrol-GEN
'petrol pump' (lit. pump of petrol)

(10c) siempri isï eska ima libre-tech-eri
always like.that DEM 3SG book-PL-GEN
'Still like that, of books.'

Spanish adjectives are also inserted into otherwise Purepecha speech, including with original additional derivational morphology, as demonstrated by the diminutive form of *suave* 'soft' in (11a). In (11b) the Spanish adjective takes the objective case, as also observed for the noun in (10a).

(11a) i isïku sesi anku-t'i sesi suave-situ
and DEM well HES-3S.ASS well soft-DIM
ja-rha-ni no xani fuerti
smell-SP.LOC.NF NEG very strong
'And this one is well, um, it smells well soft, not very strong.'

(11b) dulcisi-ni ja-k'u-nti-ni
sweet-OBJ smell-SP.LOC.manual-SP.LOC.interior.surface-NF
'[It] smells sweet.'

Examples (10a), (10c) and (11a) also highlight another common form of borrowing from Spanish into Purepecha, namely that of function words and discourse markers (Bellamy, 2016; Chamoreau, 2007). It is claimed that these parts of speech are particularly easy to borrow as they often stand apart from the clause, they may have their own stress patterns and are also characteristic of the donor language and they may also have particular, positive, associations for the speaker (Bakker & Hekking, 2012). This combination of structural ease of integration coupled with positive attitudes enables the speaker to insert such terms at will in discourse. Examples (12a-b) further illustrate function word borrowing in Purepecha.

(12a) esīka sīrata ampe peru no sani winhamintu
like smoke what however NEG very strong
'Like smoke right, but not very strong.'

(12b) buenu ima chocolati-ni ja=tsi-tsï-ku-k'a
well DEM chocolate-OBJ have=SF-SP.LOC-3APPL-EXCL
'It has chocolate (to me)!' (i.e. it is chocolatey)

In the verbal domain, Spanish infinitives can be integrated fully into Purepecha structure, through the addition of inflectional suffixes, in the form of aspect (13a) and aspect and person marking (13b). The integration of Spanish verbs into Purepecha morphology occurred particularly frequently in responses to sound stimuli in the language of perception kit. This may be due to the connection of Spanish, the language of technology and communication, with an activity such as listening to or using a mobile telephone, especially as many of these sounds had a digital quality to them, typical of the sound produced when pressing buttons on an older style handset.

(13a) esïka enka=ksï apenas-i pasar-i-ka
like those.which just-EPEN pass-EPEN-SBJV
'Like those [cars] that have just passed [by].'

(13b) Inte primeru isï kurha-kwarhi-ti esïka
DEM first like.this listen-REFL-3.S.ASS like
telefonu nema marcar-i-ni ja=rha-ni
telephone someone call-EPEN-NF to.be-NF
ka segundu isï kuska-xïn-ti incha
and second like sound-HAB-3S.ASS entering
llamada ampe ka no contestar-i-ni=sï
call what and NEG answer-EPEN-NF=3PL.S
'This first [one] sounds like someone is calling [on] a telephone. And the second [sound] sounds like an incoming call and they aren't answering.'

Note that all of the Spanish verbs are inserted in their infinitival form, e.g. *pasar* 'to pass', followed by what I have glossed here as an epenthetic high vowel /i/ and then finally the inflectional morphology relating to aspect and/or mood and person is added. Chamoreau and Villavicencio analyse these borrowings as monomorphemic morphological units that can take inflectional morphology directly, as in the case of *marcar-i-ni* 'to call' in (13b), see Capistrán Garza Bert (2005: 93). However, Capistrán Garza Bert (2005) argues for a bimorphemic analusis, whereby the /i/ present following the Spanish root is the result of the reduction of a long vowel formed from an epenthetic *-i* and the predicativisor (or verbalisor in her terminology) *-i*. This reduced vocalic form has been reanalysed as comprising a root plus formative *-ri* (not found as a formative with native roots), to which TAM morphology can then be added. The extent to which this reanalysis is present in speakers' grammatical representations is a question for future, empirial research.

There is also evidence of the use of participial morphology from Purepecha suffixed to, in (14), the Spanish noun *espiral* 'spiral' in relation to the texture of a material. Note also the presence of a fully derived Spanish past participle in the form

of *reducidu* 'reduced', indicating that speakers have access to analogous constructions in the grammars of the two languages. This, in turn, is facilitated by similarities in constituent order in such constructions. It may also be the case that constituent order convergence is taking place, whereby Purepecha structures are being remodelled on the Spanish template due to prolonged contact (e.g. Chamoreau, in press).

(14)	Espirarhi-rini	jasï	peru	menosi	sani	sani	[…]
	spiral-PTCP	good	but	less	little	little	
	reducidu						
	reduced						

'It [is] well spiralled, but less, somewhat reduced (i.e. less so).'

In comparison with the prehispanic language contact situation in Michoacán, bearing in mind the obvious restrictions imposed by a relative paucity of data for the earlier phases, modern-day Purepecha is heavily influenced by Spanish in all domains and all parts of speech. Purepecha-Spanish bilinguals are able to make use of the grammar and lexicon from each of their languages in their speech, and use them in varying proportions depending on the topic of discourse (note especially the Spanish-heavy discussion of sounds like telephones). Such a state of affairs can be associated with longer-term, more intense contact of Thomason's (2001) type 3 variety.

However we should always bear in mind that one language may be preferred over the other in some situations and vice versa. Indeed such a diglossic situation can be observed in many Purepecha communities, where Purepecha may be the language of the home (especially among female family members who tend to spend more time in the home), in local shops and with friends, while Spanish is the language of instruction in both primary and secondary schools, as well as at the local 'intercultural' university, whose programmes are - somewhat paradoxically - aimed at local indigenous students whose first language is often Purepecha. Spanish is most frequently the language of the workplace, and for interaction with individuals from non-Purepecha speaking or dominant communities.

4.5. Bringing the perspectives together

Thus far, this chapter has presented two very different faces of language contact between Purepecha and neighbouring or co-extensive languages at varying spatial and temporal levels. Long distance, or diffusional, contact has yielded very little in the way of observable lexical influence (see Section 4.3.1 as well as Chapter 3). The similar naming conventions for certain terms, such as metals and metal objects, that can be observed in both the Andean region and West Mexico may well stem from a shared human experience rather than any kind of prolonged and meaningful interaction of artisans or other groups or individuals. At the mid-distance, or areal, level the lack of loanwords and shared semantic calques found in an extensive set of wordlists supports previous claims largely regarding morphosyntax that Purepecha is peripheral to or even outside of the Mesoamerican linguistic area (see Section 4.3.2, see also Chamoreau, in press). Even at the short-distance, or regional, level there is very little evidence of external lexical influence on Purepecha, save for a number of borrowings from Nahuatl that have entered the language either through Spanish, or as pan-Mesoamericanisms whose route into various languages (including Purepecha) across the region is less clear, but also originates in Nahuatl (Section 4.3.3).

The lack of observable loans from neighbouring languages in Purepecha has clear implications for our interpretation of the socio-political situation in Michoacán in the prehispanic and early colonial periods, as well as our understanding of the associated linguistic interactions.[105] In terms of the intensity of contact, the limited nature of the findings presented in this chapter certainly suggests that interaction between Purepecha and neighbouring languages was sporadic and not particularly intense, namely Thomason's (2001) first type of contact situation. This type of situation would generally preclude any form of societal bilingualism, in contrast to the claims of Meneses (2016) and Gorenstein & Pollard (1983), who state that Purepecha essentially functioned as a regional *lingua franca*. Alternatively, and this is much harder - if not impossible - to test, it may have been the case that some

[105] The lack of observable borrowing stands in stark contrast to the situation found in many other Mesoamerican languages, such as Mayan, Mixe-Zoque and Zapotec, indicating that Purepecha may be alien to the region. Its peripheral membership of the Mesoamerican linguistic area further strengthens this position. Howeve, I will not speculate further on the origins of the Purepecha people.

Purepecha speakers were bilingual but that they were particularly resistant to influence from other, surrounding languages. An analogous case of resistance can be found in the code-switching literature, where it has been documented that certain communities, such as the Turkish-speaking Muslim community in Thrace (Greece), shun the practice of code-switching, despite being multilingual (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 104). A complex combination of social and structural features likely contributes to such resistance, but among the most important we could cite the privileged social position held by the prehispanic Tarascans as leaders of the powerful, socially stratified, hierarchically-structured Tarascan State. As an elite group, the prehispanic Purepecha speakers may have either rejected external influence on language purism grounds, or simply not enough speakers of other languages interacted with them in order to learn Purepecha as a second (or third) language (see also Trudgill, 2011 on isolationism).

In contrast, modern-day language contact with Spanish, a situation which began in the early sixteenth century, has resulted in almost complete bilingualism amongst Purepecha speakers. The outcomes of such prolonged and intense contact are lexical borrowings from Spanish far beyond simply cultural terms or gap filling, as well as morphosyntactic changes such as the integration of Spanish nouns and verbs (in infinitival form), the introduction of an analytic comparative phrase along the Spanish model, and a shift in word order (e.g. Chamoreau, 2007, although she also admits (Chamoreau, in press) that we still lack a full picture of constituent order in all varieties of Purepecha). The structural nature of these changes (reflecting Thomason's type three contact situation) is indicative of a general language shift to Spanish on the part of many Purepecha speakers, fuelled by, *inter alia*, a predominantly monolingual Spanish education system (see Section 1.6), more advanced telecommunications (available almost exclusively in Spanish), and more frequent economic migrations within Mexico and to the USA that place more importance on competence in Spanish rather than Purepecha. This situation points to a clear example of temporal contrast in processes of language change, namely in the pre-Columbian vs post-Columbian periods. Moreover, it is possible to observe a shift too in the relative importance and prestige of the two languages from the contact effects: a once prestigious imperial

language is now under threat from a (not so) new official national language. As such, language (here, Purepecha) does not only act as a mirror for socio-political change, but it also helps to shape the context of its use (Bellamy, 2016; see also Gardner-Chloros, 2009).