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Smoke and Mist
Mesoamerican Studies in
Memory of
Thelma D. Sullivan

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Part ii

Poctli, ayauitl: tenyotl, mauizyotl.

*Inin tlatolli: itechpa mitoaya in aca tlatoani,
ayamo uecauh omic, ayamo poliui in ipocyo,
in iayauhyo: quitoznequi: imauizo, itenyo . . .*

Florentine Codex, Book VI, Chap. 43

Smoke and mist: fame and glory.

*This was said about a king not long dead
whose **smoke and mist**, meaning his
fame and glory, had not yet vanished . . .*

*Translated by Thelma D. Sullivan,
1963*

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THE USE OF DIRECTIONALS WITH VERBS IN
THE NAHUATL OF AMEYALTEPEC, GUERRERO

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It is an honor to be able to contribute to a festschrift for Thelma Sullivan. I had the good fortune to meet her when I was in the field during 1979 and 1980 learning Nahuatl,¹ and the few times we spent together were more than sufficient for me to recognize the great love she had for her work, her unfailing energy, and her personal warmth. Later, upon my return to the United States, I received a grant to work with her on the translation of the Primeros Memoriales. However, before I made it back to Mexico to start working with Thelma, I learned of her untimely death. It is difficult for me to express both the gratitude I feel toward Thelma for the help and encouragement she gave me and the impression she made on me as a human being and as a scholar. I hope that this article, which is oriented toward helping translators with the task of understanding Nahuatl, can contribute in a small way to a task which, through her efforts, Thelma has made easier for us all.²

INTRODUCTION

The use of directional affixes is common to all dialects of Nahuatl even though the structure and meaning of the directional systems vary. Nevertheless, the proper interpretation of directional affixes has often proved difficult for students of Nahuatl. Thus, although the information that I will present below is specifically applicable only to the Nahuatl spoken in Ameyaltepec, Guerrero, I hope that, by demonstrating the wide range of meanings that directionals may convey, this study will be of use to translators and students of Nahuatl in general.³

I.1 Directional prefixes

The directional prefixes that are employed with verbs in the Nahuatl spoken in Ameyaltepec are /on-/, which generally refers to movement away from a specific deictic reference point (extraverse action), and /wa:l-/, which generally refers to movement towards a specific deictic reference point (intraverse action).⁴ Both of these prefixes may be used with verbs in any tense or mode.

I.2 Directional suffixes

Directional suffixes are always used to indicate extraverse or intraverse subject, as opposed to object, movement, either literal or metaphorical. These suffixes occur only in the following three forms, which are employed in the tenses and modes indicated (plural forms add the number marker (-m), which becomes /-n/ in word final position):

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| /-ti/ and /-ki/ | Used with the imperative and present optative |
| /-to:/ and /-ko:/ ⁵ | Used with the preterite |
| /-to:ya/ and /-ko:ya/ ⁶ | Used with the pluperfect |

In contrast with most other dialects of Nahuatl, including Classical, the Nahuatl spoken in Ameyaltepec shows the absence of directional suffixes in all but the four tenses and modes that I have indicated: imperative, present optative, preterite, and pluperfect. However, some data suggests that this system may not be uncommon, at least in Guerrero.

I.3 Deixis and the use of directionals

In this article I will attempt to present a system of directionals in such a manner as to demonstrate how the structure of the system, particularly the oppositions possible in the four tenses and modes I have indicated, affects the meaning and use of the directional affixes. I also hope to show how these directionals interact with different sets of verbs, which demonstrates that the significance of directionals cannot be analyzed apart from the verbs to which they are affixed.

In general, directional prefixes refer to subject movement or location, to object movement, or to an action that takes place over the distance separating a stationary subject from the object of a transitive verb. The meanings of the directional prefixes vary in accordance with the type of verb, and its tense or mode, to which they are prefixed. Directional suffixes, on the other hand, refer uniquely to subject movement. In this article I will examine the precise deictic relationships that can be communicated through the use of directionals and the manner in which the locus of the pivot point of the deixis varies. The most usual, though not the exclusive, deictic reference point for the directionals under discussion is speaker location. However, in certain situations a speaker is free to choose a deictic reference point, and this freedom is reflected in the fact that in these situations either an intraverse or extraverse directional is correct, with corresponding changes in meaning of the verbal compound. Thus, within the context of the speech act the speaker may at times manipulate the pivot of the deixis in accordance with a particular conversational or narrative strategy and exercise some control over the orientation and identification of the addressee or audience. Nevertheless, an overemphasis on an analysis of the direction of the deixis (that is, on the location of the deictic reference point and on the contrast between extraverse and intraverse directionals) should not be allowed to obscure the important "non-directional" meanings that may be conveyed through a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect. The final focus of this article, then, will be on the meaning of the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes, for instance between /wa:l-/ and /-ko:/, in the tenses and modes in which such a contrast is possible.

II. THE DISTRIBUTION OF DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

The amount and type of information that directional prefixes convey is dependent both upon the verb to which they are prefixed and upon the potentiality of a contrast with directional suffixes. The meaning of /on-/ and /wa:l-/ becomes more precise in those particular tenses and modes in which there exists a potential contrast with directional suffixes. Concomitantly, the use of /on-/ and /wa:l-/

becomes more ambiguous in those tenses and modes for which there are no directional suffixes and thus there is no possible contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes. In the tenses and modes in which /on-/ and /wa:l-/ are the only possible directionals, a speaker is unable to communicate, within the verb compound, the distinctions in meaning that in the imperative, present optative, preterite, and pluperfect can at times be expressed through a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes (cf. sections VI and VII).

However, not all verbs accept a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the four tenses and modes indicated. In such cases the directional prefixes and the directional suffixes are in complementary distribution. It is, unfortunately, difficult to establish the precise set of verbs which accept directional prefixes and suffixes only in complementary distribution. Rather, it is easier to say something about what these verbs are not: they are not verbs in which the subject induces movement in an object nor in which an action may take place over a distance between a stationary subject and object (cf. section VII). They are, then, verbs in which directionals are used solely in reference to subject movement.

Only a portion of the group of verbs in which directionals are used solely to describe subject movement do not accept directional prefixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite, and pluperfect. However, speakers often disagree as to precisely which verbs these are. The reason for this lack of consensus is that a speaker's rejection of the use of a directional prefix, a marked usage, in the four tenses and modes indicated of a particular verb is not based on knowledge of the grammatical category of the verb in question, in which case we might expect a relatively high degree of agreement. Rather, it is based on semantic considerations, i.e. the speaker's opinion of the meaningfulness of establishing a contrast between the use of a directional prefix and suffix with a particular verb. When a speaker rejects a form such as *o:wa:lnen (as opposed to the acceptable /o:nemiko:/ "s/he was born") the speaker is actually rejecting the utility of contrasting *o:wa:lnen with /o:nemiko/ given the various possible meanings that such a contrast can communicate (cf. section VI), and is not rejecting the grammatical correctness of such a form per se. Thus the occurrence of directional prefixes and suffixes in complementary distribution is primarily the result of speakers' unwillingness to mark subject movement in any special way by employing directional prefixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite, and pluperfect, with certain verbs.

The following two sets of verbs are ones in which speakers unanimously rejected the use of the form marked "*":

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) a) wa:lpetis | ⁸ | It will pass through to this side |
| b) o:petiko: | | It passed through to this side |
| c) * o:wa:lpet | | Not acceptable |
| (2) a) wa:lnemis | | S/he will be born |
| b) o:nemiko: | | S/he was born |
| c) o:wa:lnen | | Not acceptable |

The previous examples illustrate three important points:

- a) When directional suffixes and prefixes are in complementary distribution they have the same semantic meaning and differ only in grammatical meaning, i.e. tense or mode;
- b) When they are employed to refer to subject movement the use of directional prefixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect is marked; and
- c) No simple gloss such as "purposive" may be unilaterally and uncritically applied to directional suffixes. Instead, their meaning must be analyzed in relation to the verb to which they are affixed, and a possible contrast with directional prefixes.

In the following two sections I will examine the general types of movement that may be referred to by directional affixes. In the remaining sections I will discuss the significance of contrasts between directional prefixes and suffixes and will relate these contrasts both to the type of verb to which the directional is affixed and to the tense and mode of the verb.

III. DIRECTIONALS AND TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL MOVEMENT

In Nahuatl directional prefixes and suffixes may be employed to indicate movement in either a temporal or spatial dimension. These uses are the topic of this section.

III.1 Directionals and temporal relations

There is no morphological marker to distinguish between the use of directional affixes to denote temporal relations and their use to denote spatial relations. As a result, it is often difficult to separate one use from the other, particularly because temporal movement is a necessary concomitant to spatial movement. However, clear examples do exist of the use of directional affixes to express solely temporal relations:

- (3) kamantika wa:le:wa nekuk^wa
Occasionally it flares up and hurts me.
- (4) yo:ki:sato:, a:man šne:čpowilitiw
S/he finished up (his/her story), now you tell me one!
- (5) o:hnemili:to:⁹, šok san ni:škopano:s
I finally decided that I wouldn't just look them over anymore (e.g. without buying)

In the preceding examples the directional affixes (and in (4) the compound /-tiw/ as well) are used to refer to movement in a temporal

dimension. However, there is no reason to assume that when a directional is used to refer to temporal relations the deictic reference point will necessarily be the point in time when the utterance was made. In fact, as examples (4) and (5) illustrate, when directionals are used in a temporal sense, it is not uncommon to place the pivot of the deixis at the subject of the verb's temporal location before the initiation of the action referred to by the verb. This results in the use of extraverse directionals in situations in which the directional refers to temporal relations and at times, as in example (4), even though one action is ostensibly toward the speaker-present and the other away from the speaker-present, both verbs (/ki:sa/ and /-powilia/) are modified, by a prefix and a compound respectively, to indicate extraverse movement. That is, a different deictic reference point is used with each verb.

The directional /wa:l-/ may be used, in all tenses and modes, to indicate a resultant state; in English this is best translated as "to wind up":

- (6) wa:lwa:kis un tla:hli
That land will wind up dry
- (7) san o:wa:lpili:nkeh kwilin, totoma:hkeh katkan
The worms just wound up shrivelled up, they had been fat
- (8) kitla:tlako:lo:s, para ačí wa:lwe:ias
He will clear it (a field) of trees here and there so that it will wind up a little bigger.

In all the preceding examples the pivot of the deixis is the future or final state of the subject of the verb. As example (7) indicates, extraverse directional suffixes are not used to signify "to wind up". In the following phrase the deictic pivot point is the final location, rather than state, of the subject and the movement is spatial rather than temporal. The usage is, however, analogous to the three previous examples:

- (9) tiwa:ltlačakwas wa:n tikočis
You will go in and close the house behind you and go to sleep.

III.2 Directionals and spatial relations

Directionals may also indicate spatial movement, which may take place in either an horizontal or a vertical plane. Their use to indicate horizontal movement is well known. Less often discussed is the use of these same shifters to indicate movement in a vertical direction.¹⁰ The following three pairs of words exemplify the use of directionals to indicate vertical movement (I have given them in both the future and the preterite in order to show the semantic equivalence of the directional prefixes and suffixes in this case):

- (10) wa:lwečis/o:wečiko:
It will fall down/it fell down (from a place above)

the ground to the ground regardless of speaker location, or from higher ground to a ground where the speaker is).

(11) weɟis/o:weɟ

It will fall over/it fell over (something standing that by falling over does not suffer a change in altitude).

(12) onweɟis/o:weɟito:

It will fall down there/it fell down there (from one level of ground to a point below, or, occasionally, from something, a table, off onto the ground and away from the speaker).

As the above examples illustrate, the absence of a directional affix is significant and we must therefore posit a zero morpheme, at least in some cases. The absence of a directional affix, i.e. the use of the zero morpheme, may convey either the fact that there was no change in the vertical position of the object, or the fact that the speaker does not possess information as to how the object fell. These marked and unmarked senses are illustrated in the following exchanges:

(13) -o:weɟito? "Did it fall off?"
-ka, san o:weɟ "No, it just fell over" (marked)

(14) -o:weɟ? "Did it fall?" (unmarked)
-ke:mah, o:weɟito: "Yes, it fell down there"

Often, to describe a given situation, a speaker has the choice of employing either an extraverse or an intraverse directional. For example, if an object falls off a table a speaker may say either /o:weɟiko:/, which indicates that the action is towards a deictic reference point, or /o:weɟito:/, which indicates that the action is away from such a point. The use of /o:weɟiko:/ places the emphasis on the fact that the object fell to the ground, which is the reference point for the deictic, and it does not necessarily indicate anything about the direction of the object's movement in reference to any other point, such as the speaker's location. On the other hand, the directional suffix /-to:/ in /o:weɟito:/ performs a double function when referring to an object which has fallen off a table. As a directional it indicates a change in the altitude of the object and as an extraverse directional it indicates that the object fell away from a point of reference. However, the reference point is the locus of the speaker and not the table top. If the object fell off a table in any direction other than directly away from the speaker, /o:weɟiko:/ and not /o:weɟito:/ would be used. In the above example the use of the extraverse directional is marked. It is employed to give additional information about the relationship of the object to the speaker by establishing a second deictic reference point: the speaker.

Although the use of extraverse directional affixes is often used to indicate movement towards the ground, the action is not necessarily "down" towards the ground. Rather, the subject of the verb may move "up" to the ground as in the case of sprouting seeds:

- (15) sewa:lpanweʒi mi:hli, kimic iswas, seki yo:panweʒiko:
 The corn still has not broken up to the surface, it
 is just about to sprout, some have come up

The above example indicates that the deictic reference point for extraverse directionals used to convey vertical movement is the surface of the ground, the point at which earth and air meet.

Directionals may also be employed to indicate the crossing of a physical and spatial barrier, in these cases the lack of a directional is significant and establishes that no barrier was crossed:

- (16) na:n niwa:lpano:s/na:n o:nipano:ko:
 I will pass over to this side (of a river, highway,
 gully, etc.)/I passed over to this side
- (17) niwa:lpano:s si:neh/o:niwa:lpano:k si:neh¹¹
 I will stop by at the movies on my way here/I
 stopped by at the movies on my way here
- (18) [✓]ci:[✓]čipi:ntok
 It is dripping (i.e. from a ceiling)
- (19) wa:l[✓]ci:[✓]čipi:ntok
 It is dripping down through (i.e. from the top of a
 roof down through the ceiling)
- (20) pilkatok
 It is hanging
- (21) wa:lpilkatok
 It is hanging down through; it is dripping down
 through (from one side of something to the other)

When directionals are used to indicate that a barrier was crossed, extraverse directionals signify that a barrier was crossed with the subject moving away from a deictic reference point:

- (22) ne: nompano:s/ne: o:nipano:to:(cf. example (16))
 I will pass over to that side/I passed over to that side

From the above examples it is clear that when directionals are used to indicate the crossing of a barrier both extraverse and intraverse directionals are used, and that the prefixes and suffixes are in complementary distribution.

It is not uncommon for the use of directionals to be ambiguous with regard to whether they refer to movement in a horizontal or a vertical plane. For example, in those transitive verbs in which the use of directional prefixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect signifies movement of a direct object, the direct object may move in either of the two planes mentioned:

(23) o:ne:čwa:ltlakalilih

- a) S/he knocked it out of my hand (vertical); or
- b) S/he tossed it over to me (horizontal).

(24) otikwa:lasik

- a) You reached down and grabbed it (vertical); or
- b) You reached over here and grabbed it (horizontal).

In examples (23a) and (24a) the reference point for the deixis is the ground, whereas in (23b) and (24b) it is the speaker's location. Out of context both interpretations, (a) and (b) in each example, are correct and it is only in the speech situation that the hearer is able to tell which of the two potential meanings is intended. In none of the above examples does the locus of the direct object function as the pivot of the deixis. This is demonstrated by the fact that, with the verb /-asi/ in example (24), if the object were to be anywhere else other than below the subject or next to the speaker the form /o:tikonasik/ ("you reached out and grabbed it") would be used and the reference point for the deixis is necessarily the subject's location. That is, only the ground or the speaker's location, and not the object's location, can replace the subject's position as the pivot point of the deixis.

In summary, the following lists the possible meanings of directional affixes discussed in this section:

- a) to indicate temporal movement;
- b) to indicate a resultant state of the subject of the verb (only /wa:l-/ is used with this meaning);
- c) to indicate vertical movement;
- d) to indicate horizontal movement;
- e) to indicate passage from one side of a barrier to the other.

V. THE USE OF DIRECTIONALS TO INDICATE MOVEMENT SUBSEQUENT TO THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ACTION SIGNIFIED BY THE VERB

Interpretation of the spatial and temporal relations denoted by directionals, as presented in the previous section, is complicated by another function of directionals. A small number of transitive verbs, perhaps limited to /-kwi/, /-a:na/, and /-tila:na/¹² combine with directionals in order to signify a series of movements that may be represented as:

- a) The movement of the subject toward the direct object;
- b) The contact of the subject with the direct object and performance by the subject of the action indicated by the verb; and
- c) The subsequent movement of the subject, now in possession of the direct object, away from the direct object's original location. ¹³

The most heuristic account of these movements would attribute the direction of the subject's initial movement to the affixed directional itself and the fact that the subject engages in a second movement to

the denotation of the verb compound (i.e. the verb stem with its affixed directional). In this interpretation /-kwi/, /-a:na/ and /-tila:na/ are considered a special class of verbs which, when combined with directionals, always imply subject movement subsequent to the performance of the action indicated by the verb.

The direction of the subject's movement after performing the action signified by /-kwi/, /-a:na/ or /-tila:na/ may be in any direction away from the direct object's location, although conventionally this movement is a return to the subject's original location. If the subject does not return to his/her original location then this fact must be clarified through the use of additional markers. The following diagrams and corresponding descriptive utterances illustrate the use of directionals with /-ana/. The arrows indicate the direction of the subject's movement. A star indicates the deictic reference point:

(25) Subject \longleftrightarrow Direct object
 Speaker*

tikona:nas/o:tika:nako:

You will go pick him/her up; You went to pick him/her up.

(26) Subject \longrightarrow Direct object \longrightarrow
 Speaker*

tikan:nas wa:n tikwi:kas/o:tika:nato:wa:n o:tikwi:kak ¹⁴

You will go to pick him/her up and take him/her away;

You went to pick him/her up and took him/her away.

(27) Direct object \longleftrightarrow Subject
 Speaker*

tikwa:la:nas/o:tika:nako:

You will come pick him/her up; You came to pick him/her up.

(28) Direct object
 \longleftarrow Speaker* \longleftarrow Subject

tikwa:la:nas wa:n san se:otl: tiá:s/ o:tika:nako: wa:n san
 se: otl: otiah

You will come pick him/her up on your way; You came to pick him/her up on your way.

The same use of directionals occurs with the verbs /-kwa/ and /-tila:na/.

As the preceding diagrams illustrate, when the speaker and either the direct object or the subject are in the same location, that location usually serves as the deictic reference point.¹⁵ However, the speaker may also use directional affixes to mark social relationships. For example, /o:ka:nako:/ may be used (cf. example (27)) when the speaker and the direct object occupy the same physical space. It may also be used if the speaker and object occupy the same social space, perhaps as members of a household, barrio, or community. Thus, /o:tika:nako:/ maybe uttered in spite of the physical separation of

speaker and direct object, but only if they share some social bond, usually as members of a community from which the subject of the verb is excluded. The pivot of the deixis is the social space shared by the speaker and the direct object. If there were no social bond between the speaker and the direct object, or if all three persons belonged to the same social group, the unmarked form /o:tika:nato:/ would be used and the pivot of the deixis would be the subject's location at the time of initiating the action.

The speaker also has a similar choice between using an extraverse or intraverse directional in the following situation in which an inanimate direct object is located between a speaker and a subject who are not far apart:

(29) Speaker Direct object \longleftrightarrow Subject

- a) o:tikontila:n ¹⁶
You reached out and took it.
- b) o:tikwa:ltila:n
You reached over here and took it.

In using the directional prefix /on-/ the speaker is placing the deictic reference point at the subject and therefore both separating him/herself as speaker from the sphere of action and at the same time associating the direct object indexically with the subject. In using /wa:l-/ the speaker places the deictic reference point where s/he is located, thus including him/herself in the action sequence and associating the direct object with him/herself. The speaker's decision in selecting the spatial point of reference for the deixis is a pragmatic one.

The uniqueness of the verbs /-kwi/, /-a:na/ and /-tila:na/ lies in the fact that when they are combined with directional affixes the resulting verbal compounds indicate action sequences in which subject movement continues beyond the simple performance of the action signified by the verb, even though the directional affix itself refers only to the movement of the subject before the performance of this action. ¹⁷ Thus directionals, when affixed to these verbs, not only refer to the direction of the subject's movement, but also affect the nature of the action signified by the verb. ¹⁸ In order to indicate that the subject moves in order to perform the action signified by the verb but that the action sequence ends at this point, an auxiliary verb of motion and an adverb are employed instead of a directional affix:

- (30) niá:s ne:, nika:nas
I'm going to go there and marry him/her (and stay, at least for a good while)
- (31) niá:s ne:, nihkwis
I'm going to go there and use it (but not take it anywhere).
- (32) niá:s ne:, niktila:nas
I'm going to go there and lead it along (e.g. an animal).

VI. CONTRAST BETWEEN DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES:
SUBJECT MOVEMENT

In the preceding sections I have discussed, in a general way, deictic relations that are communicated through the use of directional suffixes, in the tenses and modes for which they exist, and through the use of directional prefixes in all other cases. In this and the following section I will analyze the significance of the potential contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes, a contrast which exists only in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect. This potential contrast increases the semantic specificity of directional prefixes and suffixes in these four tenses and modes and creates a means of expressing certain semantic distinctions within the verb compound itself that in other tenses or modes are either left ambiguous or must be communicated through other linguistic devices, such as intonation, an increased reliance on context, and the use of adverbial clauses or other modifiers. I have already stated that the speaker may select extraverse or intraverse directionals not only as purely descriptive devices applied to movement understood in a behavioristic or empirical sense, but also as creative tools for structuring the spatial, temporal, and social environment within which a verbal action takes place. The possibility of choosing between directional prefixes and suffixes in certain instances constitutes an additional means through which the speaker may express a personal interpretation of an action or communicate an intent to influence the response of an addressee.

A contrast between the use of directional prefixes and suffixes, when used to refer to subject movement, is employed to indicate a conceptualization of what may loosely be glossed as the "difficulty" of an action, the effort needed to carry it to its completion. This difficulty is often related to the influence of temporal, spatial, mental or social factors that may facilitate or hinder the performance of the verbal action. Thus a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes permits the communication of aspect, as opposed to merely direction, in the performance of a verbal action.

A three-way contrast among a zero morpheme, a directional prefix, and a directional suffix, quite often serves to indicate subject movement over increasing distances:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|
| (33) | ški:ǰki | Hold it! |
| | škonki:ǰki | Go and grab it (nearby)! |
| | ški:ǰki:ti | Go and grab it (far away)! |
| (34) | o:kasik | S/he caught it. |
| | o:konasik | S/he reached out and caught it (e.g. something that had been leaning over and had started to fall). |
| | o:kasito: | S/he went and caught up with him/her. |
| (35) | šne:šimimaka | Give them to me! |
| | šne:šinwa:lmaka | Reach over here and give them to me! |
| | šne:šimimakaki | Come here and give them to me! |

spatial distance, or the thoughtful premeditation of an action, is communicated through the use of directional suffixes:

- (39) \check{v} skontila:na motah Go and fetch your father (i.e. do it quickly, you won't have any trouble, just tell him to come).
- \check{v} stila:nati motah Go and drag your father back (i.e. it may be difficult, he won't want to come, or perhaps his friends won't want him to leave).

When the direct object is inanimate, various factors may affect the free mobility of the direct object and influence the ease with which the action signified by the verb may be carried out. This, in turn, affects the choice of directional affixes:

- (40) \check{v} skonkwi se: burrah Go and bring back a large bottle of beer (i.e. it's just over there, just go fetch it).
- \check{v} skwiti se: burrah Go and bring back a large bottle of beer (i.e. you might have to go some distance and buy it).
- (41) \check{v} skontila:na moún Go and bring your thing-a-majig over here (i.e. it's just over there, just bring it back).
- \check{v} stila:nati moún Go and get your thing-a-majig (i.e. whoever has it might not want to let you take it back).

Occasionally, at least at first glance, the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes appears to be idiomatic:

- (42) o:wa:lki:s de iča:n S/he came out of his/her house
 o:ki:sato:, sohkipia S/he has finished up, s/he no longer
 tekiti has work.

The form /o:wa:lki:s/ indicates emergence from a location, a person coming out of a building, cave or other similar place. The form /o:ki:sako:/ refers to the finishing of a task, or to the emergence from a place passed through, such as a woody or swampy part of a trail. Even though the preceding distinctions may seem arbitrary, I do not think that they are; we can understand the meanings ascribed to /o:wa:lki:s/ and /o:ki:sako:/ on the basis of previously discussed usages of directional affixes.

One meaning of directional affixes (directional suffixes being used in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect) is "to pass from one side to the other". An extension of this usage is employed in the compound /o:ki:sako/. Jobs, or places such as a woody or swampy section of a trail, constitute the barriers that are passed through, from one side to the other. One enters into the performance of a task and later emerges, having "crossed it". The same is true for particular terrains: one passes from one side to the other. Thus

/o:ki:sako:/ is understandable on the basis of previous discussions of the significance of directionals.

The compound /o:wa:lki:s/ is used to indicate emergence from a space occupied but not passed through. The point of reference for the deictic is the entire exterior space, i.e. the final location of the subject (cf. example (9)). Seemingly arbitrary employment of a distinction between directional prefixes and suffixes in the tenses and modes in which they contrast can sometimes be analyzed and understood by analogy with clearer instances of the significance of directional affixes.

Occasionally, a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes distinguishes between vertical and horizontal subject movement:

(43) o:ɕik^{wi}:niko:

He came to jump; he jumped over to this side

o:niwa:lɕik^{wi}:n ipan un tepa:ntli, o:niwa:lmoma:ka:w
I leaped down off the wall, I let myself down (note that /o:wa:lɕikwi:n/ may also be used to indicate that "he jumped over in this direction")

The first compound given above, /o:ɕikwi:niko/, presents an action sequence on a horizontal plane, with subject movement "purposive" and prior to the performance of the action indicated by the verb. The deictic reference point is the speaker's location. The contrasting compound, /o:niwa:lɕikwi:n/, presents an action sequence in a vertical place with the performance of the verbal action occurring just prior to the subject's movement. The deictic reference point is the ground.

It is interesting to note that whereas a directional suffix is used with the verb /weɕi/ to indicate falling to the ground, (i.e. /o:weɕiko:/), the opposite is true with regard to the verb /ɕikwi:ni/ (i.e. /o:niwa:lɕikwi:n/). The reason for the different employment of directionals with these two verbs appears to lie in the meaning of the verbs. Whereas the meaning of /weɕi/, "to fall" makes it difficult to conceive of a purposive subject movement prior to the performance of the action (this would be "he came in order to fall"), the verb /ɕikwi:ni/ permits this possibility (which would be "he came in order to jump"). In the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect directional suffixes are employed when subject movement is marked. However, unmarked subject movement is not always purposive on a horizontal place, as the verb /weɕi/ illustrates. The verb /weɕi/ only accepts directionals to indicate a change in altitude of the subject and the extraverse directional suffix /-ko:/ is used in /o:weɕiko:/ to signify "he fell down to the ground". With the verb /ɕikwi:ni/ the directional suffixes are employed, in the four tenses and modes that permit a contrast between directional suffixes and prefixes, to indicate a purposive "in order to" subject movement, taking place on an horizontal plane; /wa:l-/ is reserved to mark subject movement in a particular manner which, in /o:niwa:lɕikwi:n/, is towards the ground, on a vertical plane. Thus, although it is clear that the use of directional prefixes in the four tenses and moods indicated is a marked usage, the manner in which these prefixes mark

the verbal action depends upon the semantic possibilities offered by the verbs.

The previous examples illustrate the versatility of the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes when both are used to refer to subject movement. The flexibility that exists in the employment of the contrast is a relection both of the relativity of any judgement as to the magnitude of the factors influencing the selection of the directional -- for example distance, time, difficulty, or suddenness -- and of the variety of factors that the speaker may wish to highlight by using a directional prefix or suffix in a specific situation. To a certain extent, the speaker is free to decide not only whether the magnitude of the factor warrants the use of one or the other type of directional affix, but also which factor is the most determinant in any particular utterance employing directionals. For instance, even though an action is performed over a short distance, the speaker may employ a directional suffix to highlight the difficulty of the action.

Nevertheless, the speaker is not completely free to choose between the use of a directional prefix or suffix. There are both infelicitous and completely equivocated uses of directionals even in those verbs in which a contrast between the prefixes and suffixes is commonly utilized to refer to different aspects of subject movement. Part of the reason for this is that temporal and spatial distance are the primary referents of the meaningful contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes. In other words, a hearer, when attempting to interpret the meaning of a directional prefix or suffix in a given utterance, will first look for those temporal or spatial factors that might have motivated a particular use. Only after determining that these factors do not account for a particular use of directionals will the hearer attempt other interpretations. Furthermore, judgements of the magnitude of a factor such as spatial or temporal distance are not completely relative or personal. Instead, there appears to be a certain consensus of "how far" one may use the directional prefixes and "how close" one may use the directional suffixes. The boundary between the employment of one affix or the other is not arbitrary although it is somewhat fuzzy; speakers recognize this by accepting that in certain situations the use of either a directional prefix or suffix may be correct.

Another important factor to consider is that the use and meaning of the contrast between directional suffixes and prefixes is somewhat dependent upon what has been called the "illocutionary force" of the utterance. That is, if we consider directionals, and particularly the contrast between suffixes and prefixes, not simply as descriptive devices to be applied correctly or incorrectly, but as pragmatic tools for the implementation of a particular strategy through speech, then what the speaker is "doing" with the utterance becomes extremely relevant to our analysis. The imperative is the verbal form in which the speaker is most directly trying to influence the activity of the addressee; it also appears to be the form in which the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes is most utilized and productive. Although more direct research on this topic needs to be conducted, it seems that the speaker may use directional prefixes in the imperative to communicate the expectation that the action will be carried out

quickly and without difficulty. The effect of this usage may thus be to try to minimize the degree of imposition that the order entails, "softening" the imperative. Hypothetically, not only the distance involved in the action, but factors such as the likelihood of obedience, the pragmatic interests of the speaker, and, perhaps, the status differential between speaker and addressee may also influence the selection between a directional prefix and suffix.

VII. CONTRAST BETWEEN DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES: OBJECT MOVEMENT AND ACTION OVER A DISTANCE

In the previous section I discussed not only the manner in which a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite, and pluperfect may describe different aspects of the movement of a subject, but also how a speaker may employ this contrast to give both an interpretation of an action and to influence the response of an addressee. There exist two other categories of verbs which also accept a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the four tenses and modes referred to, although in these cases there are clear correct and incorrect usages. The speaker is not at liberty to manipulate this contrast as part of a narrative strategy, nor do distinct interpretations of an action result in variations in the use of a directional prefix or suffix. These two categories of verbs are the topic of this section.

VII.1 Object movement

There exists a set of transitive verbs in which the direct object may be placed in motion through the action of a subject. In the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect of such verbs the directional prefixes are used to refer exclusively to the direction of the movement of the direct object. In many cases this movement may be in either an horizontal or vertical plane (cf. examples (23) and (24)). Directional suffixes, however, refer only to subject movement:

- (44) o:ne:^Ystl akalili:ko: S/he came and knocked something of mine over; s/he came and made a mess of my things (i.e. the objects do not change plane; cf. example (23)).
- (45) o:nikwa:lte:mak I sent it back here with someone
- (46) o:nikte:makako I came back here and gave it to someone
- (47) o:nikonte:ihlih I sent word there with someone
- (48) o:nikte:ihli:to: I went to give word there

In examples (45) and (47) the directional prefixes refer to the movement of the "object", the item or the message sent. In examples (46) and (48) it is the subject of the verb whose movement is described by the directional suffixes. In these cases the subject moves before and "in order to" undertake the action signified by the verb.

Apparently, however, there are some verbs in which objects are moved by the subject of the verb but which do not accept directional affixes which refer to the direction of object movement:

(49) o:ki:sa:sakako:/kwa:l̥sa:sakas
He came to carry it away/he will come to carry it away (in repeated trips, e.g. stones, zacate, and other similar items).

(50)*o:kwa:l̥sa:sak
Not acceptable

In order to indicate that the objects were transported in a certain direction, either "towards here" or "towards there", an adverb, and not a directional, is used:

(51) o:kisa:sak para na:nika/kisa:sakəs para na:nika
He transported it (in repeated trips) over here/
He will transport it over here.

(52) o:kisa:sak para nepaika/kisa:sakas para nepaika
He transported it over there/He will transport it over there.

The easiest manner in which to explain the fact that the verb /-saka/ does not accept the use of directional affixes to refer to the direction of the movement of the object is to assume that the verb itself signifies a directional movement of the object that cannot be modified. The translation of /-saka/ is not, therefore, "to carry or transport", but rather "to carry or transport away (from the original location of the object)". The verb itself establishes the direction of the object's movement and this direction can be further clarified, not in terms of direction but in terms of final destination, by an adverbial phrase. Directionals affixed to /-saka/ refer exclusively to purposive subject movement prior to undertaking the action indicated by the verb.

It is important to note that with those verbs in which the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the four tenses and modes mentioned distinguishes object from subject movement there is no longer any possibility that this same contrast can be used to distinguish aspects of subject movement as I described in section VI.

VII.2 Action over a distance

A certain set of verbs that indicate actions such as talking, seeing, hearing and thinking allow a subject either to remain stationary and perform the verbal action over a distance or to go to a specific location to carry out the action in a "face-to-face" setting. In the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect of such verbs, directional prefixes are used exclusively to indicate that the action was performed over a distance. Directional suffixes indicate that the subject moved in the direction signified by the suffix in order to carry out the verbal action. With these same verbs, the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in the four tenses and modes in which contrast is possible, cannot function to distinguish

aspects of subject movement. The following examples illustrate the use of directionals with verbs in which the action may occur over a distance:

- (53) timi[∨]onte:mastoya²⁰ I was worried about you (while you were there).
- (54) san [∨]o
o:timiste:matito: I just went and spent the whole time worrying about you.
- (55) o:tine:[∨]onititih You gave me directions as to how to find it.
- (56) o:tine:[∨]ci[∨]iti:to: You went to show me where it was.
- (57) [∨]šontla[∨]čia Take a peek out!
- (58) [∨]štla[∨]čiatl Go and take a look!
- (59) o:tikono:∅ You gave him/her a call.
- (60) o:tno:∅ato: You went to call on him/her; you went to speak to him/her.

VIII. THE USE OF AUXILIARY VERBS OF MOTION

Verbal compounds that contain directional affixes are often accompanied by auxiliary verbs of motion. Occasionally, when the subject movement is unambiguously indicated by a directional affix, the employment of these auxiliary verbs of motion appears redundant:

- (61) ya:s ontlak^wa:s S/he's going to eat.
- (62) o:yah o:tlakwa:to S/he went to eat.

At times, an auxiliary verb of motion replaces a directional affix that indicates subject movement. The semantic significance of the use of an auxiliary instead of a directional in these cases is not clear:²⁰

- (63) [∨]šia, stlato:lti:ti Go, go ask him/her!
- (64) [∨]šia, [∨]štlato:lti Go, ask him/her!

Auxiliary verbs of motion may also be used to disambiguate uses of directional prefixes in situations in which several interpretations of their meaning are possible. Ambiguity in the use of directional prefixes is a result of the structure of the directional system used in Ameyaltepec, in which it is possible to use the contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes in four tenses and modes to distinguish types of motion that in other tenses and modes, in which only directional prefixes are possible, cannot be distinguished within the verbal compound itself. Auxiliary verbs of motion are used in the tenses and modes other than the four in which a contrast between

directional prefixes and suffixes is possible in order to specify that the directional prefix refers to subject movement rather than to either object movement or action over a distance:

- (65) kompe:wi:s S/he will drive it away (an animal, object movement;
S/he will go to drive it (away) (subject movement)
(note that /kompe:wi:s/ is the semantic equivalent of both /o:kompe:wih/ and /o:kipe:wi:to:/)
- (66) ya:s, kompe:wi:s S/he will go drive it (away) (the auxiliary verb marks the directional prefix as referring to subject movement).
- (67) kono:ɕas S/he will give him/her a call (without moving; action over a distance)
S/he will go to call on him/her (subject movement)
(note that /kono:ɕas/ is the semantic equivalent of both /o:kono:ɕ/ and /o:kino:ɕato:/)
- (68) ya:s, kono:ɕas S/he will go speak to him/her (the auxiliary verb marks the directional prefix as referring to subject movement).

Finally, and related to the previous use, auxiliary verbs of motion may be employed in those utterances in which the speaker wishes to express two types of motion occurring within a single action sequence: subject movement and action over a distance, or subject and direct object movement. The Nahuatl spoken in Ameyaltepec has severe restrictions on the use of two directional affixes in one verbal compound. Except for a few verbs in which directional prefixes have become fused to the verb stem and one or two cases in which a verb with a directional prefix appears to be in the process of lexification, it is extremely rare to hear a verb with two directional affixes. When a speaker wishes to refer to two types of movement that are connected within one action sequence, and the subject movement is purposive and temporally prior to either the movement of a direct object or to an action over a distance, the speaker employs an auxiliary verb of motion and not a directional suffix to refer to the subject's movement. If the subject movement and the other movement that is part of the action sequence are in the same direction (i.e. both extraverse or both intraverse actions) prepositions are used to avoid the possible interpretation that the auxiliary verb and the directional prefix both refer to the subject's movement (as in examples (66) and (68)):

- (69) o:wi:ɕa o:kompe:wih S/he came to drive it away
(*o:kompe:wi:ko: is not acceptable)

- (70) ya:s para kono:čas S/he will go to make a call to him/her
(in this case the subject arrives at
one place and from there calls someone
else who is at another place. The
insertion of /para/ distinguishes (70)
from (68))
- (71) o:yah para kono:čas S/he went to give him/her a call.
(*o:kono:cato: is not acceptable)
- (72) ^vswa:hla, ^vskono:ča Come here to give him a call!
(^vskono:čaki is not acceptable)
- (73) ^vsia ne:,
^vsne:čwa:ltlakalili Go there and throw it to me here!
(sne:cwa:ltlakaliliti is not accept-
able)

IX. CONCLUSION

A detailed study of deictics of location and direction in Nahuatl, or more precisely in a specific language community of Nahuatl speakers, would include analyses of a vast number of elements besides the directional affixes I have considered here. Such a study would contribute greatly to our understanding of Nahuatl conceptions²² of space and time, as well as other relations that are communicated through the use of shifters. An analysis of the conventional use of such shifters would enable us to comprehend how, within the range of possibilities offered by the language, speakers interpret and structure their social and physical environment. Thus, this article should be considered only a preliminary attempt to explore an aspect of the Nahuatl language that is in need of further study. Certain initial conclusions, however, may be offered.

I have tried to show how the structure of the system of directional affixes is related to the meaning and use of directionals. Viewed from this perspective it is not adequate to give simple glosses to directional affixes; one must also refer to the tense and mode of the verb to which they are affixed, and note the possibility, or lack of possibility, of a contrast between directional prefixes and suffixes. Similarly, it is necessary to analyze the meaning of directional affixes in terms of the verb to which they are affixed, to point out both how the verb may affect the meaning of the directional and how the affixation of a directional may affect the meaning of the verb. In conclusion, with the reservation that any simple and schematic representation of the meaning of directional affixes is bound to over-codify possible variations and to over-simplify flexibility and subtleness in their use, I offer the following chart as a summary of the points I have discussed:

	With verbs in which only subject movement is possible		With verbs in which the subject may place a direct object in motion	With verbs in which action may take place over a distance
	No contrast possible	Contrast possible		
Suffixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect	Indicates direction of subject movement	Unmarked use indicating direction of subject movement, contrasts with prefixes	Indicates direction of subject movement	Indicates direction of subject movement
Prefixes in the imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect	Not possible	Marks subject movement as over a short space or time or undertaken with little difficulty	Indicates the direction of movement of a direct object placed in motion by a subject	Indicates direction in which action takes place over a distance
Prefixes in all other tenses and modes	Indicates direction of subject movement; with these verbs prefixes are in complementary distribution with suffixes	Indicates direction of subject movement may be the semantic equivalent of either suffixes or prefixes in the four tenses and modes of contrast although usually taken to be equivalent of the suffixes (unmarked use)	Ambiguous and may be the semantic equivalent of either of the two above uses, suffixes or prefixes, in the four tenses and modes of contrast; context or additional linguistic devices are used to clarify which use is intended	Ambiguous and may be the semantic equivalent of either of the two above uses, suffixes or prefixes in the four tenses and modes of contrast; context or additional linguistic devices are used to clarify which use is intended

NOTES

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2. Karen Dakin and Thomas Smith-Stark have provided continual encouragement and insight which has been invaluable in stimulating my interest and deepening my understanding of Nahuatl. Frequent conversations with them have helped to clarify many issues which otherwise would have remained obscure. Karen Cordero has been untiring in her help in organizing and editing this article. Finally, Una Canger, Karen Cordero, Karen Dakin, Jose Antonio Flores Farfán and Thomas Smith-Stark read an earlier draft of this article and offered many useful criticisms and suggestions. To all of the above people I extend my warmest thanks and appreciation for their help. The shortcomings and errors in this article are my responsibility alone.
3. In this article I limit myself to a discussion of the productive use of directional affixes in everyday speech. I do not consider those cases in which the directional prefixes may most heuristically be considered as having become fused to the verb: /-oni:/ and its derivatives, /onaki/, /-onkawia/, /unkah/, /wa:hlaw/, /-wa:lwi:ka/ and /wa:hki/. Nor do I consider the use of directional affixes in archaic speech where, for instance, /on-/ often carries a reverential sense. In addition, I do not consider the use of /-wa:l/ as an adverb (cf. footnote 4) nor the use of directional affixes with verbal compounds involving the ligature /-ti-/ which deserves a special study and therefore will not be treated here.
4. /wa:l/, unlike /on-/ may be used as an unbound morpheme in which case it signifies "come (the next)":

wa:n wa:l mo:stla oyah
And come the next day, he left

wa:l kwalka:n o:kimiktikeh
Come next morning they killed him

With this meaning /wa:l/ is employed only with verbs in past tenses or with an habitual present, not with the present:

mo:stla tiá:s

Tomorrow you will go

wa:l mo:stla, tlaw

The following day, you go (habitually)

5. Vowel length is neutralized in word final position, and before the plural marker. However, in /-to:/ and /-ko:/ the fact that the underlying vowel is long is evidenced in the forms /-to:ya/ and /-ko:ya/. The process by which the final vowel, in /-to:/ and /-ko:/, has become long is analogous to that which took place in the impersonal /-lo:/ (cf. Dakin 1983: 110-112).
6. To my knowledge these forms have previously been reported only in Mecayapan (Wolgemuth 1981: 87ff.). In Ameyaltepec /-to:ya/ and /-ko:ya/ may be used in two related manners. First, they may be used to refer to an action that occurred before another action, also in the past, when the results of the first action are no longer present: /o:weðiko:ya/ "it fell down" (but is no longer on the ground, because, for example, someone picked it up). This use is similar to what Wolgemuth (Ibid. 85-86) calls the "preterito transitorio". Second, they may be used to indicate a remote past, an action that occurred a long time ago and that has not occurred recently:
/o:nitlakwa:to:ya/ "I went there to eat (once or a few times but quite some time ago and I haven't repeated this action recently). In any case it should be clear that the suffix /-ya/ is the semantic equivalent of /-ka/ which is used in all instances other than after /-to:/ and /-ko:/ in order to indicate the pluperfect. The use of /-ya/ with directionals may well represent a form frozen before the generalization of the use of /-ka/ for the pluperfect, i.e. perhaps when it was still used in the "archaic" preterite. Note that still with verbs ending in /-ka/ the suffix /-ya/ and not /-ka/ is often used for the pluperfect. Cf. /o:kwi:kaya/ as well as /o:kwi:ka ka/ which are semantically equivalent and distinct from the imperfect /kwi:kaya/.
7. Una Canger, personal communication, who mentions that the same system is used in Zitlala, Guerrero.
8. /+peti/ "to pass through to the other side" is one of three verbs, all intransitive, that must always be accompanied by a directional affix. The others are /+ye:wi/ "to come up against something" and /+e:wa/ "to set out". With /+peti/ and /+ye:wi/ the directional prefixes and suffixes are in complementary distribution. With /+e:wa/ (which may also be transitive in which case it does not require a directional) only directional prefixes, fused to the verb, are used, in all tenses and modes.
9. In Ameyaltepec it is quite common to delete the object prefix /-ki/ in the first and second person preterite of transitive verbs. The result in this case would be *onnemili:to:. However, another phonological rule changes, except with certain morphemes, the first consonant of clusters of homorganic consonants to an /h/, hence /ohnemili:to:/. Assimilation of nasals (cf. example (59)) occurs when the nasal is not part of a subject prefix.

10. Nevertheless, the use of directionals to indicate vertical movement is clearly indicated in several dictionary entries in Molina and Simeon:

cui. nocon. tomar o alcanzar con la mano lo que está en alto. (Molina 1970: 26v.)
 valwetzi. ni. caer de alto. (Ibid.: 154v.)
 vallalaztli. cosa desechada, despedida o menospreciada. Ibid.: 154v.)
 valtemo. ni. abaxar o descendir de alto. (Ibid.: 154v.)
 uallaza p. ouallaz: nitla o niq. arrojar, precipitar, tirar una cosa abajo. (Simson 1977: 741)
 ualmayauí. p. oualmayauh: niq- tirar, arrojar una cosa al suelo. (Ibid.: 742)
 ualnopiloa p. oualnopilo: ni- estar en el aire, caer. (Ibid.: 742)

11. In this example /panowa/ acts much like a verb of motion and is combined with directionals in the same manner as the compound /-tiw/. The prefix /on-/ is not accepted and /wa:l/ serves to modify the direction, marking it as intraverse as opposed to extraverse or unmarked (cf. examples (13) and (14)). The opposite of example (17) is therefore:

nipano:s si:neh/o:nipano:k si:neh
 I will stop by at the movies (on my way there)/I
 stopped by at the movies (on my way there)

12. When combined with directionals all three verbs refer to the action of "going (or coming) to take". /-kwi/ is used to refer to the action of taking inanimate objects, whereas /-a:na/ is used with animate objects. /-tila:na/ can be used with either type of object, although the action is usually performed quickly or over a short distance.
13. Pittman (1953: 24) mentions a verbal compound /-tihcui/ which he states means "go and return" as in the compound /tomotlachpa: nilihtihcui:s/ "you (H) will go and sweep and return". The compound /-tihcui/ may perhaps be derived from /-tiw/ and /-cui/. His gloss should be compared to the glosses I provide in the following paragraphs for the three verbs under discussion when they are combined with directionals.
14. The form /tika:ntiki:sa/ "you picked him/her up in passing; you stopped by to pick him/her up on your way" is more common, particularly if the action of "picking up" and then continuing on ones way is carried out with little interruption.
15. Andrews (1981: 9ff.) gives a distinct explanation for /-onkwi/ in which he states that the direct object may be the deictic reference point.
16. /on-/ and /wa:l-/ are used quite often with /-tila:na/ in the

imperative, present optative, preterite and pluperfect, as opposed to the use of the directional suffixes, because the action signified by /-tila:na/ often refers to a movement that is carried out over a short distance. It is interesting that many "purists" in Ameyaltepec insist that /-ontila:na/ is correctly used only when the subject reaches up and grabs an object (i.e. when the deictic reference point is the ground) and not when the direct object is on the same vertical plane as the subject. Nevertheless, common usage accepts /-ontila:na/ when the subject and object are on the same plane.

17. A parallel use occurs with the verb /asi/ employed as an intransitive:

nasis
I will arrive there (as opposed to /nekos/ "I will arrive here")

nasis iča:n
I will arrive at his/her house

san nonasis iča:n
I will just arrive and spend a moment at his house before leaving

san o:asiko: noča:n
He just stopped by for a moment here at my house before leaving

The use of /san/ plus a directional with /asi/ indicates that the subject only stopped by briefly at a place and then left, either returning to his/her original location or going some place else. With this sense the directional prefixes and suffixes are in complementary distribution. It is also interesting to note that whereas /yeko/ is opposed to /asi/ the contrast disappears when directionals are used: /yeko/ does not accept directional affixation to indicate "arrive and spend only a short time" as does /asi/.

18. A topic which is in need of investigation is the manner in which the aggregation of a directional changes the significance of the verb to which it is affixed (cf. example (34)). With applicatives it is often the case that the use of a directional changes the action performed by the subject:

šne:štlatete:mowili
Read my fortune for me

šne:štlatete:mowili:ti
Go have someone read my fortune for me

19. Pittman (1953: 28) cites "immediacy" or "now you've gone and done it" as one of the meanings of the prefix /on-/.

20. From the transitive verb /-te:mati/ which, like all compounds derived from /-mati/ is irregular: the suppletive stem /-maçi/ is used in all derivatives of these verbs and before the compounds formed with the ligature /-ti-/. In Ameyaltepec /ç/ changes to /s/ before /t/, /tl/ and /t̥/.
21. The use of an auxiliary verb of motion in these cases may be the result of influence from Spanish.
22. I use the term "Nahuatl conceptions" reservedly and with the understanding that inter-community variations must always be kept in mind and one must not extrapolate from one linguistic community of Nahuatl speakers to another in an effort to find any "pan-Nahuatl" sense of time and space, particularly as expressed in the use of directionals.

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