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Anochipa tl̄p̄c̄. çan achica ye nican ohuaye ohuaye,
Tel ca chalchihuitl noxamani noteocuitlatl in
tlapani oo quetzalli porzēqui ya hui ohuaye,
ānochipa tl̄p̄c̄. çan achica ye nican ohuaya
ohuaya

DIRECTIONALS IN CLASSICAL NAHUATL *

J. Richard Andrews

In discussing the deictic prefixes huāl- and on- in this paper I shall merely be tentatively sketching the various aspects of the problem, a problem too complicated and too incompletely investigated to permit any but preliminary remarks at this time. For one thing, huāl- 'hither' and on- 'thither' belong to a wider area of location/direction systems in Nahuatl and should be investigated in relation to them. Among these systems manifesting proximal/distal distinctions are the following:

1. pronouns: īn 'this one'; ōn 'that one'; etc.
2. adverbs: ni-cā-n 'here'; on-cā-n 'there';
etc.
3. purposive suffixes: -qu-īuh 'come in order to';
-t-īuh 'go in order to'
4. "progressive" compounds: -ti-huītz 'come along
... -ing'; -ti-uh 'go along ... -ing'; etc.
5. verbs of going and coming: (huī-tz)¹ 'to come';
(ya-uh) 'to go'; etc.

Since I will here be looking primarily at only huāl- and on- my remarks will obviously be limited and tentative. And even more so since I will be considering them primarily as they occur in a narrative context.

Any attempt to understand the meaning and use of these directional prefixes comes up against at least two large difficulties. The first is the obvious one that there are no native informants we can turn to in order to test our theories; we must rely on a closed, limited corpus of material, always facing the difficulty of having a question and finding either an insufficient array of di-

agnostic data, or possibly no data at all, that might allow us to formulate an answer. The second difficulty becomes evident only after one has worked with a variety of texts: it is the problem of dialectal or, possibly, idiolectal variation. Some writers are more competent than others in handling the distinction of huāl- and on-, especially over a long stretch of material. For example, it seems to me that Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, in the Crónica Mexicáyotl, is quite skillful in the use of these prefixes, while the writer of the Historia Tolteca Chichimeca demonstrates a less felicitous use. The usage of Antonio Valeriano, the supposed writer of the Guadalupe story, seems to lie somewhere between these two. These limitations, the lack of living informants and the existence of dialectal and/or idiolectal variation, probably mean that it will be some time before a truly adequate description of the semantics of huāl- and on- will be forthcoming.

There are a number of substitution questions that need to be answered in many instances (such as, What would happen to the meaning of a given sentence if huāl- or on- were deleted? What would happen if huāl- were replaced by on- or vice versa? What would happen if huāl- or on- were added?). In some instances the answers would be obvious, in others problematic, and in others unknown. But such questions must be dealt with before a real understanding is attained. And they must be asked in regard to huāl- and on- in two environments: first, in interaction with personal pronouns only, either as subject or object; second, in interaction with each or several of the other deictic systems (of course, here, the picture will be complicated by the (obligatory) presence of the personal pronouns). The pressure of these two environments must also be assessed in relation to the further problem of the dynamic or static nature of the verb. And all of this is complicated by the possibility of literal and figurative interpretations of the directional prefixes as well as by the problem of potential ambiguity in certain forms.

But let us now turn from this sketchy general description of the problem to a closer look at huāl- and on-. Let us begin by noting that although these directional prefixes at first sight seem to contrast in a simple, neat opposition, they actually contrast in a skewed fashion. Consider the following points:

1. If the style Molina used in his Vocabulario when giving the definition for huāl- and on- is a valid indication of his insight into the nature of these items, he saw them as entirely different kinds of elements. (I shall regularize the spelling of all Nahuatl words in this paper.)

huāl 'hacia acá.'² (Molina 1970b:154v)

on 'es partícula que se junta a verbos para significar distancia de lugar, o por vía o manera de ornato y buen sonido, etc.'³ (Molina 1970b:77r)

In other words, while recognizing on- as a prefix, he apparently considered huāl- to be a freestanding word. This is supported by another entry in the Vocabulario:

izhuāl 'hacia acá.'⁴ (Molina 1970b:49v)

In the Spanish-Nahuatl section one finds the entry:

aqueude⁵ 'izhuāl.' (Molina 1970a:12v)

These last two entries are incorrect at least in regard to the fact that what seems to be offered as a single word is actually two; faulty orthography has joined iz 'here' with huāl. But the implication is again that huāl can stand free of the verb rather than occurring only as a prefix.

I do not know whether this freestanding usage was in fact possible. I have not come across it (or at least do not remember having done so). Thelma Sullivan mentions not only izhuāl 'hacia

acá' but also (and more suprisingly) nēpahuāl 'hacia allá' (Sullivan 1979:270, footnote) but unfortunately does not give either in a sentence context. Any occurrence would have to measure up to stiff criteria (such as occurring before a first or second person of subject prefix) before being admitted as valid. I will consider this difference in the status of huāl- and on- as only a possibility. If the freestanding usage of huāl- is valid, it probably should be recognized as an obsolescent one since the vast majority of the occurrences of huāl- are as a prefix. (Incidentally, Sullivan accepts the difference in status: on- is dealt with as a "partícula verbal" on pages 72-74 and huāl as an "adverbio" on pages 270-272.)

2. Another difference between huāl- and on- is seen in the fact that, although the normal position of directional prefixes is before nonspecific object prefixes, on occasion huāl- may occur after them.

ni-tē(huāl-mati)Ø-Ø

1st-s.o.(hither-know)pres-sg

'I come to visit someone' (Molina 1970a:116v)

In such instances huāl- apparently becomes part of the verb stem (as my segmentation suggests). The only instance where on- can follow tla- is in the impersonal form of the verb (on-o) 'to lie there,' which consists of the verb (o) 'to lie' and the prefix on-, now with a locational meaning, 'there,' incorporated into the stem.

Ø(tla-on-o)Ø-c

3rd(impers-there-lie)pret-sg ("pret" here stands for "preterit as present") 'everything is there' (Molina 1970b:130r)

Notice that the tla- is functioning as an impersonal tla-, not as a nonspecific object prefix, and is therefore part of the stem as the

result of a derivational process.

3. A third difference is that on rare occasions both directional prefixes may occur on the same verb, in which case on- precedes huāl-:

Øc ceppa nocuexāncō Ø-Ø-c-on-huāl-

still once my-lap ante-3rd-them-thither-hither-
mo(tēmi-lih)Ø-Ø.⁶

self(fill-for)pret-sg

'She [the Virgin] again filled them into my lap.' (Valeriano 1961:118)

Huel īcuāpantzinco Ø-on-huāl(ēhua)Ø-Ø.

well her-head-surface-H 3rd-thither-hither(depart)pres-sg

'It [the veil] fits well on her head.' (Valeriano 1961:

160)

The only instance where this order is reversed occurs with the verb stem (on-o) 'to lie there'.

Ø-huāl(on-o)Ø-c

3rd-here(there-lie)pret-sg

'it lies nearby'

Notice that huāl-, like on-, here has a locational (rather than directional) meaning when cooperating with a stative verb.

4. A fourth difference is that on rare occasions on- may occur on a transitive verb as if in place of the expected verb object prefix (which is absent):

In chīmalzoltzintli ... ca t-on(cui)z-queh.

the shield-old-dear ... indeed 1st-thither(take)fut-pl

'As for the old shields, we will indeed take them.'

(N.K.A. 1976:155)

Ø-t-on(cac)Ø-queh in amotlahtōltzin.

[or 'Go and get for me ...]
(Paredes 1759:160)

The on- selects the direct object (-Ø-; ALTER) as pivot and is unaffected by the fact that the indirect object is first person (-nēch-; EGO). That is, the nonapplicative source would be:

Xo-ō-on(cui)Ø-Ø in ōn āmatl ...
2nd-it-thither(take)pres-sg
'Get that paper ...' [or 'Go and get ...']

Here EGO is only implicitly present in the sentence (as the one who speaks it). And the applicative derivation, even when introducing the first person (EGO) as the benefactor of the action, does not interfere with the original arrangement. The underlying spatial disposition of the speaker (EGO), the listener, and the paper (ALTER) remains unchanged even though the execution of the action is quite different in the source and derived sentences.

(2) Imāticatzinco Ø-c-on-mo(cuī-lih)Ø-Ø.
her-hands-with-H 3rd-them-thither-self(take-for)pret-sg
'She [the Virgin] took them [the flowers] with her hands.'
(Valeriano 1961:94)

The on- selects the subject (Ø- ... -Ø, ALTER; and with it, of course, the reflexive indirect object -mo-) as grammatical pivot. The source (nonhonorific) form would be:

Imātica Ø-c-on(cui)Ø-c.
her-hand-with 3rd-them-thither(take)pret-sg
'She took them with her hands.'

ALTER is still represented by the subject in this source version. And, of course, the applicative (honorific) derivation does not change the spatial facts reported by the source.

Notice that, since, in the episode from which this sentence was taken, Juan Diego is serving as ALTER-EGO, the translation 'She went and took them' would not be valid. The sentence basically is saying 'She took them away from me' (where 'me' = 'narrator occupying the location of Juan Diego').

Notice also that if the writer had used the direct object as the grammatical pivot, as was done in the preceding example, the sentence would have read:

Imāticatzinco Ø-qui-huāl-mo(cuī-lih)Ø-Ø.
her-hands-with-H 3rd-them-hither-self(take-for)pret-sg
'She took them with her hands.'

This sentence is just as valid grammatically and presentationally as the one that the narrator uses, but the narrative emphasis or focus is wrong for the context.

Of course the active or passive voice of the verb form does not interfere with the selection of the grammatical pivot, except for the fact that if the subject of the passive serves as pivot, the object of the corresponding active serves that function.

Ōmpa itztiyah in cāmpa Ø-huāl(nōtza-lō)Ø-c.
there he going-went the where 3rd-hither(call-passive)pret-sg
'He [Juan Diego] went going along there to where he was called down to.' (Valeriano 1961:13)

The active version would be:

Ø-qui-huāl(nōtz)Ø-Ø.
3rd-him-hither(call)pret-sg
'She called down to him'

Now, just because the narrator of a given narrative has chosen a certain character as his ALTER-EGO does not mean that he has to be faithful to that choice throughout the narrative or that he must disregard the privilege of his own location as EGO. The selection of an ALTER-EGO seems to be primarily a matter of the perspective (or focus) called for in each episode. For example, in the episode reporting Juan Diego's third approach to the Bishop's palace, the narrator chooses the servants as ALTER-EGO, and pushes Juan Diego into the position of ALTER.

In 0-0(ahci-c-o)0-0 Itēpanchān Obispo,
0-c-on(nāmiqui-t-o)0-0 in Icalpixcāuh.

the ante-3rd(arrive-cometo)pret-sg his-palace Bishop

3rd-him-thither(meet-wentto)pret-sg his-steward

'When he [Juan Diego] came to the Bishop's palace, his [the Bishop's] steward went thither in order to meet him.' (Valeriano 1961:102)

Notice that this realignment comes in spite of the fact that the servants are presented as unlikeable characters and our sympathy is with Juan Diego. In other words, the choice of ALTER-EGO is not a matter of sympathetic regard or affinity or rapport. It is a matter of narrational strategy.

One of the problems of analyzing the use of huāl- in the Guadalupe text is that, unlike Tezozomoc or the writer of the Historia Tolteca Chichimeca, the narrator here does not give any clear indication of his own location, so that the reader is not certain about whether in occasional instances the huāl- is to be gauged from EGO or ALTER-EGO. This is complicated by still another use of huāl- and on- deixis in narration: the narrator as EGO may project himself into a location which is not the space occupied by himself at the time of speaking/writing and is not the space occupied by his ALTER-EGO but is a location of high importance to the events being narrated. For example, at one point in the Guadalupe story we are told that

0-C-on(nāmiqui-c-o)0-0 in cuepochtli 0-huāl(la-melāhua)
0-0 Mēxihco.

3rd-it-thither(meet-cometo)past-sg the highway 3rd-hither
(s.th.-straighten)pres-sg Mexico

'He [Juan Diego] came in order to encounter the highway that comes straight to Mexico.' (Valeriano 1961:26)

It is as if the narrator is located in Mexico. And yet, soon afterward the narrator writes,

Niman oncān 0-huāl(la-melāuh)0-0 in Icpac tepētztintli.
immediately there 3rd-hither(s.th.-straighten)pret-sg
the its-top hill-H

'Immediately he [Juan Diego] came straight there to the hilltop.' (Valeriano 1961:32)

It is as if the narrator is located on the hilltop (i.e., in the opposite direction from Mexico). But here the word oncān 'there' tells us this in fact is not the case, but that the narrator is using the huāl- to make his narrative more vivid.

The sentence used above (Connāmico in cuepochtli ... 'He came in order to encounter the highway ...') illustrates still another problem: the combination of a directional prefix and a purposive suffix with conflicting meaning. It is similar to the problem found in the previously mentioned possibility of combining the two directional prefixes as in

Huel Icuāpantzinco 0-on-huāl(ēhua)0-0.
successfully her-head-surface-H 3rd-thither-hither(depart)
pres-sg

'It fits well on her head.' (Valeriano 1961:160)

While the latter combination is fairly uncommon, the former is not. There is also the not uncommon possibility of progressive forms having a matrix of a going or coming verb and a directional prefix

that contradicts the direction signified by the matrix.

Ōmpa Ø-huāl(quīz-Ø-ti-yah)Ø-Ø

there 3rd-hither(exit-ed-and-go)pret-sg

in ilhuicatlazohcuīcatl.

the heaven-precious-song

'The precious heavenly song went along coming out from there.' (Valeriano 1961:11)

At times the conflictive combination causes no trouble, as in

Ye achi huehcāuhtica in Ø-c-on(nōtza-c-o)Ø-h.

already somewhat long-time-by the 3rd-him-thither

(call-cometo) past-pl

'It was after quite a long time that they came to call him thither.' (Valeriano 1961:28)

At other times it creates a problem as in the connāmiqico mentioned above or as in the sentence:

Ø-C-on-mo(yaca-tzacui-li-lī-c-o)Ø-Ø.

3rd-him-thither-self(nose-shut-for-for-cometo)past-sg

'She [the Virgin] came in order to intercept him thither.' (Valeriano 1961:75)

But this is something that calls for a detailed discussion and I will leave the entire problem for a later time.

NOTES

*This paper was read at the June 1979 Uto-Aztecan Conference in Mexico City.

¹In this paper I have followed the notation used in my Introduction to Classical Nahuatl: morphological constituents are

separated by a hyphen except that at the fore and aft boundaries of a stem hyphens are replaced by parentheses. In keeping with this, the stem of a verb or noun given as a citation form will be bounded by parentheses.

²Translated, the Spanish reads "toward here."

³Translated, the Spanish reads "It is a particle that is joined to verbs to signify distance of place, or by way or means of ornament and pleasant sound, etc."

⁴Translated, the Spanish reads "toward here."

⁵Translated, the Spanish reads "on this side, hither." Incidentally, it is instructive that Molina does not give allende 'on the other side, thither,' the antonym of aguende, a separate listing.

⁶In examples, only the verbwords or nounwords containing directional prefixes are segmented into constituents.

⁷Translated, the Spanish reads "This particle on at times seems to signify distance of time or place, and at others does not signify anything but is added on as an ornament."

⁸In the discussion that followed the reading of this paper, Kenneth Hill pointed out that in the modern dialect of the Malinche Volcano area the on- is used in honorific expressions. This usage may have grown out of this connotation of gravedad 'gravity' referred to here by Carochi or out of a distancing effect (as suggested in Hill and Hill 1978:142), but it does not seem to me that an honorific connotation with on- is present in Classical Nahuatl. While it is true that at times the construction occurs in contexts where an honorific may be used, at other times it occurs where such an expression is not expected.

⁹Translated, this says "This particle on- ordinarily does not change the meaning of the verb but rather for the most part serves as decoration, [adding] gravity and elegance to the sentence. For example, Nictlazohtla in nomach 'I love my nephew' ... is the same as nocontlazohtla in nomach." This is an obvious overstatement; it ignores, for example, the problem of pragmatics.

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THE INNOVATION OF A PLURAL VERB SUFFIX IN AZTECAN

Jeff Burnham

1. Introduction

In this paper I will attempt to establish the origin of an unexpected plural subject verb suffix found in the western dialect area of Nahuatl and in Pochutec.¹ (see map) The suffix is -lut in Pochutec and -lo or -l in the other dialects. I will refer to these suffixes collectively as -LO. -LO marks plural subject in present, imperfect and conditional tenses. In Pochutec (POCH) (Boas 1917) -lut is used only with first person plural subjects in present tense.² In San Martin Hidalgo, Jalisco (SMH) (Anderson, et al 1976) -lo is found in a 1653 colonial document with first person plural in present tense, as in Pochutec.³ In Pómaro, Michoacán (POM) (Sischo 1967 and 1979) -lo is used with first and third, but not second person plural in present, imperfect and conditional. In Guadalajara, Jalisco (GUAD) (Guerra 1692) -lo is used with all plural subjects in present, imperfect, and conditional. In a text from Durango (DUR) (Preuss 1955) -lo/-l⁴ occurs with all plural subjects as in Guadalajara, in present and imperfect, but there are no examples of conditional verbs with plural subject. Significantly, -LO is never used in future or preterit tense in any of the dialects. Following are a chart of the distribution of -LO and examples from each of the dialects.

2. Distribution and examples of -LO

<u>DIALECT</u>	POCH	SMH	POM	GUAD	DUR
<u>PRESENT</u>	-lút	-lo	-lo	-lo	-l
<u>IMPERFECT</u>	no data	no data	-lo	-lo	-lo
<u>CONDITIONAL</u>	no data	no data	-lo	-lo	no data