

# On the so-called “purposive” verbs in Nahuatl\*

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Directionals in Nahuatl

- Directional prefixes *on-*, *wāl-* ‘toward/away from’
- “Purposive” forms *tīw-*, *kīw-*, etc. ‘go/come in order to...’ (?)
- Verbal compounds with ‘go’/‘come’ verbs

Andative (outbound, translocative) vs. venitive (inbound, cislocative)

Table 1: Classical Nahuatl directionals

	Andative	Venitive	Translation
Directional prefix	<i>on-</i>	<i>wāl-</i>	‘away from/towards’
“Purposive”	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -tīw(i-') \\ -to(-') \\ -ti(-') \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -kīw(i-') \text{ (nonpast)} \\ -ko(-') \text{ (preterit)} \\ -ki(-') \text{ (optative)} \end{array} \right.$	‘go/come in order to ...’ (?)
Verbal compound	<i>-tiw(i-')</i>	<i>-tiwāllaw (-tiwālwi-')</i>	‘go ...ing’ (also: ‘gradually’)

### 1.2 Andative vs. venitive

- (1) *in īski-tlamantli=īn in Ø-kim-om-maka-ke'*  
ART as.much-thing=this ART 3S-3PLO-AND-give-PST.PLS  
‘They [Aztec envoys] **gave (andative)** them [the Spaniards] all these things.’
- (2) *Ø-kin-wāl-kwepkāyōti-li'-ke'*  
3S-3PLO-VEN-return.favor-APPL-PST.PLS  
‘They [the Spaniards] **returned (venitive)** them the gift.’

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- (3) *Ø-kin-wāl-maka-ke' kōskatl xoxoktik kostik iwkin mā in Ø-āposōnal-ne'neki*  
 3s-3PLO-VEN-give-PST.PLS necklace green yellow like as.if ART 3s-amber-pretend  
 'They [the Spaniards] **gave (venitive)** them [the Aztec envoys] green and yellow necklaces  
 which look[ed] like amber.' (Florentine Codex XII, 6)

(For their metaphorical uses see Andrews (1981), Launey (1997))

### 1.3 “Purposive” verbs

cf. Carochi (1645, f. 28–29); Launey (1979, 214–216); Andrews ([1975] 2003, 251–259)

- (4) *ka ō=ti-kim-itta-to-' in to-tēkw-yō-wān in tēteo' in ātl*  
 AFF ANT=1PLS-3PLO-see-ANDP.PST-PLS ART 1PLS-lord-INAL-PL.POSS ART god.PL ART water  
*i-'tik*  
 3SGP-inside  
 'We **went to** see the gods, our lords out at the sea.'
- (5) *in īxkich mo-tilma'-tsin ō=ti-kim-maka-to-'*  
 ART all 2SGP-cape-HON ANT=2PLS-3PLO-give-ANDP.PST-PLS  
 'We **went to** give them all of your capes.' (Florentine Codex XII, 6)
- (6) *ka san ti-k-īxkāwī-ko-' in ti-k-to-siyawkechi-lī-ko-'*  
 AFF only 1PLS-3SGO-have.uniquely-VENP.PST-PLS ART 1PLS-3SGO-REFL-greet-APPL-VENP.PST-PLS  
*in ti-k-to-tla'palwī-ko-'*  
 ART 1PLS-3SGO-REFL-salute.APPL-VENP.PST-PLS  
 'We came with only one purpose; we **came to** greet him, salute him.'  
 (Florentine Codex XII, 16)

cf. Ameyaltepec, Guerrero: “purposives” as subject directionals (Amith, 1988)

### 1.4 Non-purposive use of “purposive” forms

- (7) *aw in ō=Ø-a'si-ko-' tekōwak ...*  
 and when ANT=3S-arrive-VENP.PST-PLS Tecoac  
 'When they **arrived** (lit. came to arrive) at Tecoac ...' (Florentine Codex XII, 27)
- (8) *niman i'siwka Ø-wāl-pēw-ke' Ø-a'si-ti-wetsi-ko-' in mēxi'ko san yowal-ti-ka*  
 then quickly 3S-VEN-depart-PLS 3S-arrive-L-fall-VENP.PST-PLS ART Mexico only night-L-by  
*in Ø-a'si-ko-' san Ø-wāl-yowal-kalak-ke'*  
 ART 3S-arrive-VENP.PST-PLS san 3S-VEN-night-enter.PST-PLS  
 'Then they set out in a hurry towards here; they came to arrive quickly at Mexico; it was  
 already dark when **they arrived** (lit. came to arrive) here; they entered by night.'  
 (Florentine Codex XII, 17)

- (9) *ka in ḡ=Ø-machisti-to in kaxtīllān kil senka' an-chikāwak-e'*  
 AFF ART ANT=3S-be.known-ANDP.PST ART Castile it.is.said very 2PLS-strong-PL  
*an-tiya'kāwān*  
 2PLS-brave.PL  
 'It has **gone to be known** all the way to Castile that you are very strong and brave.'  
 (Florentine Codex XII, 16)

## 2 “Purposive” in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

Table 2: Ixquihuacan Nahuatl directionals

	Andative	Venitive	Translation
Directional prefix	—	<i>wal-</i>	'away from/towards'
“Purposive”	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -tih (-tīwe-h) \\ -to(-h) \\ -h (-tih) \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -kih (-kīwe-h) \text{ (nonpast)} \\ -ko(-h) \text{ (preterit)} \\ -ki(-h) \text{ (optative)} \end{array} \right.$	?
Verbal compound	<i>-tih (-tīwe-h)</i>	<i>-tīwīts(-eh)</i>	'go ...ing' (also: 'gradually')

### 2.1 Typical use of “purposive” forms in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

- (10) *ma-Ø-walā-kā ma-Ø-kim-īxmati-ki-h n ichtikeh*  
 OPT-3S-COME-OPT.PLS OPT-3S-3PLO-recognize-VENP.OPT-PLS ART thief.PL  
 'May they **come to see** who the thieves are.'
- (11) *wan ENTONCES ok sipa y-ḡ-Ø-kalaki-to n ī-nānah n Luis,*  
 and then still once already-PST-3S-enter-ANDP.PST ART 3SGP-mother ART Luis,  
*y-ḡ-Ø-ki-nōtsa-to n ākī īn-wā ḡ-katka-h ompa kal-ihitk*  
 already-PST-3S-3SGO-call-ANDP.PST ART who 3PLP-with PST-be.PST-PLS there house-inside  
 'And then, Luis's mother went into the house (lit. **went to enter** the house) again; she **went to call** those who stayed in the house.'
- (12) *ḡ-sē-yā-ya HASTA ZACATLÁN PARA sē-k-āna-tih, sē-Ø-kōwa-tih tlaōl,*  
 PST-1PLS-go-IPF until Zacatlán for 1PLS-3SGO-take-ANDP 1PLS-3SGO-buy-ANDP CORN  
*sē-Ø-kōwa-tih n tlēn chikāwak ...*  
 1PLS-3SGO-buy-ANDP ART REL strong  
 'We used to **go** all the way to Zacatlán **to take** [things]; we **go buy** corn; we **go buy** liquor (lit. something strong)...'

### 2.2 Non-typical use of “purposive” verbs in Ixquihuacan Nahuatl

- (13) *ENTONCES ḡ-tlayuwa-ko nipa īch n ātēntl ... ompa ḡ-tlayuwa-k, ompa*  
 then PST-be.dark-VENP.PST behing at ART riverside there PST-grow.dark-PST there

*ō-ti-walah-keh*

PST-1PLS-COME.PST-PLS

‘[On the way back from business,] [**when we reached**] **at the riverside, the night fell**. There the night fell, we came down there.’

- (14) *Ø-ki-wīka n kokox Ø-ki-mēmeh-tih, wan ohkōn ō-Ø-k-ahxītā-ya*  
3s-3SGO-bring ART sick.person 3s-3SGO-bare-go and thus PST-3s-3SGO-reach.CAUS-IPF

*ZACATLÁN, wan tlā Ø-poliwi-tih īch n ohtli ... O COMO milāk Ø-poliwi-tūweh ...*  
Zacatlán and if 3s-be.lost-ANDP at ART road or like true 3s-be.lost-ANDP.PL

‘He [used to] carry the patient and brought him to Zacatlán; and if he **passes away on the way there**, ... say, if he really **has passed away on the way**, ...’

### 3 Semantic tests for “purposives”

- (a) Does *M* actually happen?
- (b) Does *E* occur after *M* is completed?
- (c) Is *E* the objective of *M*?
- (d) Do *M* and *E* share the subject?
- (e) Does *E* occur at the same place as the subject of *M*?

#### (a) Does *M* actually happen?

- (15) **Context:** I came to the market.

*ō-ni-Ø-kōwa-ko no-ZAPATOS*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-buy-VENP.PST 1SGP-shoes.PL

‘I came to buy my shoes.’

**OK:** I actually bought shoes.

**OK:** I haven’t bought any shoes but I’m still looking for ones.

**OK:** I could not find any shoes in the market so I gave up.

#### (b) Does *E* occur after *M* is completed?

- (16) **Context:** My friend lives in another village and I went to say hello to him.

*ō-ni-k-tlahpalō-to sē no-AMIGO*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-greet-ANDP.PST one 1SGP-friend

‘I came to greet a friend of mine.’

**OK:** I came to his house and said hello to him.

**NG:** Soon after I left my village, I ran into him and said hello.

(17) **Context:** My brother is sick; so we brought him to the hospital.<sup>1</sup>

*ō-∅-pohpoliwi-ko*            *n*    *no-knih*  
PST-3S-PASS.away-VENP.PST ART 1SGP-brother

**OK:** He died before arriving at the hospital.

**NG:** He died soon after the arrival at the hospital.

**(c) Is *E* the objective of *M*?**

(18) **Context:** I visited my friend at his house and said him hello.

a. *ō-ni-k-tlahpalō-to*            *sē*    *no-AMIGO*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-greet-ANDP.PST one 1SGP-friend

b. *#ō-ni-k-ahsi-to*            *sē*    *no-AMIGO*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-arrive-ANDP.PST one 1SGP-friend

(19) **Context:** On my way to the city, I ran into my friend and said him hello.

a. *#ō-ni-k-tlahpalō-to*            *sē*    *no-AMIGO*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-greet-ANDP.PST one 1SGP-friend

b. *ō-ni-k-ahsi-to*            *sē*    *no-AMIGO*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-arrive-ANDP.PST one 1SGP-friend

**(d) Do *M* and *E* share the subject?**

cf. (13)–(14)

**(e) Does *E* occur at the same place as the subject of *M*?**

(20) **Context:** I'm on my way back to my village in order to help my family build a new house. On my way to the village, they called me and said that they had just finished building the house.

*#ō-∅-tlami-ko*  
PST-1SGS-3SGO-finish-VENP.PST

Intended meaning: 'It finished when I came to this point.'

## 4 Discussion

**Question:** How can these two uses be accounted for in a uniform way?

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<sup>1</sup>(17) is a problematic example; the follow-up study revealed that what makes (17) unacceptable with the latter context is that (17) is uttered at the hospital. For instance, it is possible to say *ōpohpoliwito* on the way home from the hospital, even if the “brother” died at the hospital.

Table 3: Semantic tests for “purposives”

	“Purpose” use	“On-way” use
(a) Does <i>M</i> actually happen?	Yes/No	Yes
(b) Does <i>E</i> occur after <i>M</i> is completed?	Yes	No
(c) Is <i>E</i> the objective of <i>M</i> ?	Yes	No
(d) Do <i>M</i> and <i>E</i> share the subject?	Yes	Yes/No
(e) Does <i>E</i> occur at the same place as the subject of <i>M</i> ?	Yes	Yes

#### 4.1 A unified account: Three presuppositions

- (i) **“Purposive” as *M–E* succession:** “Purposive” forms themselves do not mark any logical or causal relation between *M* and *E*; they simply denote that *M* and *E* occur in succession.
- (ii) **Projection of semantic features:** The argument structure of the verb stem is projected onto the whole “purposive” verb (verbal complex); the “purposive” suffixes do not affect the argument structure of the entire verb.
- (iii) **Relevancy condition:** Two logically or cognitively irrelevant events cannot be combined into one verb.

##### “Purpose” use:

- (21) *ni-Ø-kōwa-tih*      *no-ZAPATOS*  
 1SGS-3SGO-buy-ANDP 1SGP-shoes  
 ‘I went in order to buy my shoes.’

***M–E* succession:** ‘come’ → ‘buy my shoes’

**Projection:** The whole verb is agentive/volitional

**Relevancy:** This is a volitional complex event which ‘coming’ follows ‘buying my shoes’

##### “On-way” use:

- (22) *ō-tlayuwa-ko*  
 PST-be.dark-VENP.PST  
 ‘Night fell when [we] came at this point.’

***M–E* succession:** ‘come’ → ‘it gets dark’

**Projection:** The whole verb is non-agentive, impersonal

**Relevancy:** This is an impersonal complex event which ‘coming’ follows ‘it getting dark’

- (23) *Ø-poliwi-tih*  
3s-be.lost-venp.pst

‘He passed away on his way.’

**M–E succession:** ‘go’ → ‘pass away’

**Projection:** The whole verb is non-agentive

**Relevancy:** This is a non-agentive complex event which ‘going’ follows ‘passing away’

## 5 Implications

- (7') *aw in ò=Ø-a'si-ko-' tekōwak ...*  
and when ANT=3s-arrive-venp.pst-pls Tecoac

‘When they **arrived** (lit. came to arrive) at Tecoac ...’ (Florentine Codex XII, 27)

- (8') *niman i'siwka Ø-wāl-pēw-ke' Ø-a'si-ti-wetsi-ko-' in mēxi'ko san yowal-ti-ka*  
then quickly 3s-ven-depart-pls 3s-arrive-l-fall-venp.pst-pls art Mexico only night-l-by  
*in Ø-a'si-ko-' san Ø-wāl-yowal-kalak-ke'*  
art 3s-arrive-venp.pst-pls san 3s-ven-night-enter.pst-pls

‘Then they set out in a hurry towards here; they came to arrive quickly at Mexico; it was already dark when **they arrived** (lit. came to arrive) here; they entered by night.’

(Florentine Codex XII, 17)

- (9') *ka in ò=Ø-machisti-to in kaxtillān kil senka' an-chikāwak-e'*  
aff art ANT=3s-be.known-andp.pst art Castile it.is.said very 2pls-strong-pl  
*an-tiya'kāwān*  
2pls-brave.pl

‘It has **gone to be known** all the way to Castile that you are very strong and brave.’

(Florentine Codex XII, 16)

Table 4: Normal and “purposive” verb paradigms (Ixquihuacan)

	Normal verb: ‘to say’	Andative purposive	Venitive purposive
Indicative present	<i>-ihtoa</i>	}	<i>-kih</i>
Indicative future	<i>-ihtō-s</i>		
Indicative imperfect	<i>-ihtowā-ya</i>	?	?
Indicative preterit	<i>-ihtoh</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-ko</i>
Optative	<i>-ihto</i>	<i>-h</i>	<i>-ki</i>

- (24) a. *ò-ni-tla-kwā-to* ‘I went to eat’  
b. *ò-ni-tla-kwah-ti-yah* ‘I went eating’

(25) *san t-on-kochi'tlēwa-ko-' san t-on-tēmiki-ko-' a'-nelli a'-nelli*  
 only 1PLS-AND-dream-VENP.PST only 1PLS-AND-dream-VENP.PST NEG-true NEG-true  
*ti-nemi-ko-' in tlāltikpak*  
 1PLS-live-VENP.PST ART world

'We merely **come to** stand sleeping, we merely **come to** dream. It is not true, not true that we come to live on earth.' (Cantares mexicanos f. 14v; Bierhorst, 1985, 174–175)

## Abbreviations

1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; AFF = affirmative; AND = andative; ANDP = andative purposive; ANT = antecessive; APPL = applicative; ART = article; CAUS = causative; HON = honorific; IPF = imperfect; INAL = inalienable; L = linking suffix; NEG = negative; OPT = optative; PL = plural; PLO = plural object; PLP = plural possessor; PLS = plural subject; PST = past (preterit); REFL = reflexive; REL = relative pronoun; SG = singular; SGO = singular object; SGP = singular possessor; SGS = singular subject; VEN = venitive; VENP = venitive purposive

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