

An international journal on language typology, genetic classification of languages, geographical linguistics and related topics

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD  
LANGUES DU MONDE  
LENGUAS DEL MUNDO  
SPRACHEN DER WELT

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issue N°7

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LINCOM EUROPA. ISSN 0940-0788

# JAKALTEK DIRECTIONALS: THEIR MEANING AND DISCOURSE FUNCTION

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Jakaltekt has an extensive system of directionals which includes three different subsets of suffixes. This paper first describes these directionals and the spatial and aspectual semantics attributed to them, then argues that rather than movement of a figure, they trace the line of a trajectory in space between critical points considered from a particular point of view. A question is then raised about the actual discourse function of these directionals in light of the fact that their use seems "optional". Based on a narrative text count, the directionals seem limited to about a third of the predicates. Sample text excerpts are shown to introduce the idea that directionals are used to create imagery and describe specific, individuated events. Drawing a parallel between the structure of the verb and that of NPs, it is suggested in conclusion that the individuating role of directionals is not unlike the individuating role of noun classifiers in the language.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Description of the Jakaltekt directional system<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1. Overview of the Jakaltekt directional system

There are ten directionals in Jakaltekt, each of which co-exists in the language with the motion verb from which it has evolved. The inventory, shown in Table I, was first given in Craig (1979:35).

TABLE I  
Jakaltekt Directionals

DIRECTIONALS		MOTION VERBS	
-toj	'away from'	toyi	'to go'
-tij	'toward'	tita	'come!'
-(a)h	'up'	ahi	'to ascend'
-(a)y	'down'	ayi	'to descend'
-(o/e/i)k	'in'	oki	'to enter'
-(e/i)l	'out'	eli	'to exit'
-(e/i)k'	'passing, through'	ek'i	'to pass'
-pax	'back, again'	paxi	'to return'
-kan	'remaining, still'	kani	'to remain, to stay'
-kanh	'up, suddenly'	kanh	'to rise, to burst'

Directionals may be used on verbal predicates of action (1), stative predicates (2), and non-verbal predicates, such as positionals (3a), adjectives (3b), and participles (3c).

- (1) a.   sirnih-ay-toj           sb'a    naj    sat           pahaw  
           A3.E3.threw-DIR-DIR E3.REFL NCL/he E3.in.front cliff  
           b'et wichen  
           into gully

1. This paper was originally presented at the 1992 meetings of the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco, and subsequently at a meeting of Mayan linguists that took place at Reed College in May 1993. I would like to acknowledge here the comments I received from linguists at both meetings, and would like to thank in particular Roberto Zavala and Tom Larsen for their help in getting this and other talks on directionals into shape and in publishable manuscript form.

2. The analysis of Jakaltekt presented here is based primarily on my own fieldnotes collected in Jacaltenango during field trips that took place between 1969 and 1980. Besides my own, the material available to me is from Day (1966, 1973), Mendez (1967), Lansing (1967) and Datz (1980). Two of the three narrative versions of the folktale used as the primary database for this paper come from Datz (1980) and one is from my own text collection. The data was rechecked and some direct elicitation examples were gathered from a native speaker, Victor Montejó, on the occasion of two brief encounters in June of 1991 and November of 1992.



1.2.2. Set 2 (ah, ay, ok, el, ek): path directionals

Set 2 contrasts semantically with the deictically-anchored set 3 in that it expresses the path of the movement, i.e. the orientation of the movement of the figure in space with respect to fixed points of reference. This set is composed of several semantic subsets. The first two, ah 'up' and ay 'down' evoke a vertical axis, while the next two ok 'into' and el 'out of' are connected to the notion of an enclosed space. The last one, ek 'across' follows a horizontal axis and refers to lateral movement through either enclosed or open space.

Phonologically, this set is subject to considerable reduction from the form of the movement verbs from which it derives. Consider for instance the verb of movement ok, phonologically /ok/, and the very reduced directional form k of examples (9-10).

- (9) Mach hunuj mak sje y-a-n-oj-k-oj sg'ab'  
MEG one who E3.want E3-put-AP-IRR-IRR E3.hand

yib'anh hej kamom  
E3.on PL dead

'Nobody wants to put his hands on the dead.'

- (10) x-φ-ichi-k-oj heb' jeth'i sk'ojni na j  
COM-A3-begin-DIR-IRR PL companions pelt NCL/him

yu ch'en  
with stones

'... the people began to pelt him with stones.'

1.2.3. Set 1 (pax, kan, kanh): aspectual directionals

The main semantic characteristic of this set is the frequent aspectual use of its members. Their time/manner/aspectual semantic extensions are given in (11).

- (11) AS VERB AS DIRECTIONAL  
pax 'to go and return' 'again, too'  
kan 'to stay, remain' 'completely, once and for all'  
kanh 'to rise, burst' 'suddenly'

These semantic extensions of the directionals of set 1 are illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. haxa xmelteso na j xilni-pax na j  
now returned NCL/he COM.A3.E3.see.AP-DIR NCL/he

ix  
NCL/she

'Now when he returned, he looked at her again.'

- b. haktu' xu φ-s-lahk'-on-kan heb' na j na j  
thus AUX A3-E3-finish-AP-DIR PL NCL/he NCL/he  
'Thus, they finished him off.'

- c. x-φ-ichi-kanh hune' yab'il yul hune' konhob'  
COM-A3-begin-DIR a illness E3.in a town  
'An illness began suddenly in a town.'

The position of the one set of directionals which has developed aspectual overtones as the closest to the verb stem conforms to claims about the relative ordering of verbal affixes found in Bybee (1985). Further semantic extension of directionals of this set can be seen in the adverbial use of pax in expressions like hayin pax 'me too'.

## 2. The semantic function of directionals

## 2.1. Previous views of directionals

Directionals have not received very much attention in the literature on Mayan languages, with the exception of England's (1976, 1978) original studies of Mam directionals followed by Godfrey's (1981), and Haviland's (1991) study of Tzotzil. In addition, directionals have been traditionally talked about as encoding notions of movement, as they have been considered mostly in their use with verbs that imply the movement of a figure.

## 2.2. Directionals with non-movement predicates

This section will show various sets of data with non-movement predicates in order to argue that the function of directionals is not really to specify the movement in space of a figure at the time of an event, but rather to trace a trajectory line in space between two points viewed from a particular perspective.

## 2.2.1. Directionals with stative predicates

Stative predicates of existence used in locative constructions are clearly verbs which do not imply the movement of a figure in space and yet they may take directionals, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. ay-φ-ik-toj no' mish yul te' kaxha  
EXIST-A3-DIR-DIR NCL cat E3.inside NCL box  
'The cat is inside the box.'

- b. ay-φ-k'-oj no' wakaxh b'et san marcos  
EXIST-A3-DIR-IRR NCL cow in San Marcos  
'The cows are in San Marcos.' (Craig 1977:20)

However, not all figures can be described in locative existential expressions with directionals. The construction is sensitive to the difference between movable objects, such as animals, and non-movable objects, such as churches and trees, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (14).

- (14) \* ay-φ-k'-oj y-actu tiyoxh skawilal txonh'al  
EXIST-B3-DIR-IRR A3-house God next.to market  
'The church is next to the market.' (Craig 1977:20)

As suggested by data from the neighboring and closely related language Akatek (Zavala, personal communication) it may be that what determines the use of directionals in locative constructions is not entirely a question of marking the temporary location of a movable object, but of a more subtle notion of man-induced temporary location.<sup>3</sup> However, the point being made here is that there are indeed in Jakalteek

3. As argued by Zavala (1993) for Akatek, and assumed here to hold for Jakalteek too, the situation requires a more subtle understanding of the question of permanence vs. non-permanence of the figure, since man-made constructions less permanently built than churches and houses, such as animal pens and huts in the fields, can be located with directionals as seen in the Akatek example in (a).

(a) ey-φ-ok jun kolal tu' satej te' naa  
EXIST-A3-DIR-ing one corral this E1.face NCL house  
'The corral is in front of the house.'

existential locative expressions describing a static state of affairs that use directionals. In these cases the directionals cannot be interpreted as describing the movement of an object *per se*, but at best, a trajectory line traced between some chosen location and the actual location of a movable figure.

## 2.2.2. Directionals in positional stative constructions

Besides locative constructions, positional constructions offer further evidence that directionals do not encode actual movement of the figure, but rather the tracing of a trajectory made up of a path and a deixis component. This is clear when directionals are affixed to positionals. Positionals can be used as stative predicates which do not imply movement but describe the configuration of the figure (in itself an interesting characteristic of the encoding of space in Mayan languages, but a topic beyond the scope of this paper). Directionals affixed to such stative positionals, therefore, only indicate the trajectory of the event that resulted in the state described by the positional, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. ts'onhan-ø-ay naj sk'atanh ix  
sitting-3-DIR NCL/he next.to NCL/she  
'He is sitting down next to her.'  
(Victor Montejo, personal communication)

## 2.2.3. Directionals with verbs of perception and location

Another instance of directionals being used in the account of events that do not imply movement in space of a figure, neither at the moment of the event nor previously, is with verbs of perception (16a), or verbs of location (16b and c).

- (16) a. xil-ah-toj naj tet ix; xil-ay-t'ij ix  
saw-PATH-DEIXIS NCL/he to her saw-PATH-DEIXIS NCL/she  
'He looked at her (up away); she looked (down at him).'
- b. xtiyoxhli-ay-toj naj tet ix  
saluted-DIR-DIR NCL/he to NCL/her  
'He saluted her (down away).'
- c. xta'wi-ah-toj ix tet naj  
answered-DIR-DIR NCL/she to NCL/him  
'She answered him (up away).'

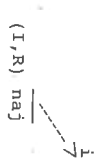
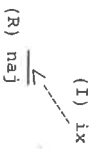
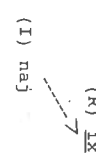
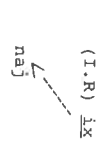
From the existence of such constructions, one can deduce again that the presence of the directionals does not depend so much on motion as on the possibility of tracing a line in space that stretches between two identifiable points, one being the location of the initiator of the looking or talking, and the other being the target/recipient of the looking or talking, and both points being oriented from a particular point of view on the scene.

The respective functions of set 2 and set 3 directionals in indicating path and deixis are illustrated in the diagram in (17).

The set 2 directional indicates the path (up/down/out/in/across) determined from the location of the initiator of the action (marked I for Initiator in the diagrams) to the target end-point location of the second protagonist. Meanwhile, the deictic directional of set 3 (away/toward) indicates the point in space from

which the scene is viewed, a point of reference chosen by the speaker (marked R for Reference in the diagrams).<sup>4</sup>

## (17) Calculating the trajectory (path + deixis):

- a.  b. 
- a'. xil-ah-toj naj tet ix  
saw-DIR/PATH-DIR/DEIXIS NCL/he to NCL/her  
up away  
'He looked at her (up-away from him).'
- b'. xil-ay-t'ij ix  
saw-DIR/PATH-DIR/DEIXIS NCL/she  
down toward  
'She looked (down toward him).'
- c.  d. 
- c'. xtiyoxhli-ah-t'ij naj tet ix  
saluted-DIR/PATH-DIR/DEIXIS NCL/he to NCL/her  
up toward  
'He saluted her (up toward her).'
- d'. xta'wi-ay-toj ix tet naj  
answered-DIR/PATH-DIR/DEIXIS NCL/she to NCL/him  
down away  
'She answered him (down away from her).'

## 2.3. Conclusion: Directionals encode trajectory

The semantic function of the directionals, therefore, is to define a trajectory in space, whether it is the tracing of the movement of a figure or the line in space calculated between two stationary points. The deictic element of the trajectory is encoded in the final directional of set 3 while the path element is encoded in the directional of set 2.

Even with verbs that imply movement, directionals may need to be interpreted as describing a trajectory that is independent of the actual movement of the figure implied by the verb. Consider for instance example (18) in which the main verb *b'ij* is a clear verb of movement 'to move'.

- (18) xb'ili-ay-toj no' lab'a  
move-DIR2-DIR3 NCL snake  
down-thither  
'The snake is moving down there.'

4. Serzisko (1988) discusses the use of directionals with similar notions of deictic center (my R point) and reference center (my I point). He further notes how "motion is not an integral part of the conceptual structure of directionals, it only occurs in combination with motion verbs. The deictic meaning [...] is primarily a static one. [Directionals] denote the correlation between the deictic center, ideally the speaker, and the referential center, which is identified with the starting point of a state or a process" (Serzisko 1988:443).

According to Victor Montejo (personal communication), a native speaker of Jakalek, the directionals in (18) describe the trajectory between a viewer and the event viewed, not the trajectory the snake is following in its movement.

The Jakalek directionals exhibit, therefore, the semantic bleaching from movement to trajectory in space typical of the grammaticization process they have undergone from main motion verbs to affixed directionals. They do not, however, appear to participate much in non-spatial metaphorical extensions, unlike the situation described by England (1976) for the neighboring Mam language.

### 3. The use of directionals in discourse

Having established that the semantic function of directionals within the predication is to trace a trajectory (path + deixis) in space, let us turn now to the issue of the role of directionals in discourse. Considering that the use of directionals seems to be optional, the first question to be addressed is that of their actual frequency of use. A further question is why the directionals are used when they are used, and what determines their specific selection.

This preliminary exploration of the use of directionals in discourse is based on the study of three narratives which represent three renditions by three different speakers of the same folktale about the Jakalek hero Kamat.

#### 3.1. Frequency of use of directionals

Directionals are a very common element of Jakalek predicates. To estimate the frequency of use of directionals, a text count was taken of all the predicates found in the three texts.

##### 3.1.1. Predicates with and without directionals

The counts shown in Table II reveal that about a third of the predicates of the three narratives combined bear directionals.

TABLE II  
Predicates with and without directionals

	w/o directionals	with directionals
Total #	301	159
Total %	65%	35%

#### 3.1.2. Relative frequency of directionals

Table III shows that a very consistent pattern holds across the three speakers in terms of their overall frequency of use of directionals although individual speaker variation appears in the relative frequency of the directionals themselves.

TABLE III  
Distribution of directionals across speakers

Speaker	w/o dir.	directional	with
JM # 152		toj tɪj	ah ay ok el ek' pax kan kanh
Total #	104	19 10 1 5 2 2 4 1 2 2	
Total %	68%	13% 7% 1% 3% 1% 1% 3% 1% 1%	
B4 # 186			
Total #	119	16 3 3 6 7 6 1 5 16 4	
Total %	64%	9% 2% 2% 3% 4% 3% 1% 3% 9% 2%	
A1 # 122			
Total #	78	6 9 0 4 9 1 1 4 8 2	
Total %	64%	5% 7% 0% 3% 7% 1% 1% 3% 7% 2%	

While the range of overall frequency of directional use across speakers is quite narrow (from 32% to 36%), the frequency distribution of individual directionals varies much more. The first speaker (JM) uses the deictic directionals much more than any others, while the second speaker (B4) uses most frequently one of the deictic ones (-toj) and one of the aspectual ones (-kan). The third speaker (A1) not only uses the other deictic one -tɪj more than -toj, but also uses two others as frequently: the path directional -ok and the aspectual -kan.

This individual variation translates into no remarkable difference in the overall frequency of use of the three sets of directionals in the combined database, as shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV  
Frequency of use of sets of directionals

Total # 159	Set 3 deictic toj tɪj	Set 2 path ah ay ok el ek'	Set 1 aspectual pax kan kanh
Total #	63	52	44
Total %	40%	33%	28%

However, there is a marked difference in the frequency of use of individual directionals, as shown in Table V.

Table V  
Frequency of use of individual directionals

Total # 159	Set 3 deictic toj tɪj	Set 2 path ah ay ok el ek'	Set 1 aspectual pax kan kanh
Total #	41 22 4 15 18 9 6	10 26 8	8
Total %	26% 14% 3% 9% 11% 6% 4%	6% 16% 5%	
Ranking	1 3 3 4	2	

In each set, one directional has a distinctly higher frequency than the others. Of all the directionals, the deictic, -toj 'away' is by far the most commonly used, although the other deictic -tɪj 'towards' is also of overall high frequency. The aspectual -kan 'once and for all' is much more frequent than the other two directionals of set 1, and the second most frequent overall. Of the path markers of set 2, -ok 'in' is the most frequent, followed by -ay 'down'.

### 3.2. Discourse functions of directionals

Having established the frequency of use of directionals, the question arises, of course, what accounts for the actual use of these directionals in discourse. It will be argued that the function of directionals is linked to notions of the "individuation" of events and visual focus which assign a high degree of specificity to the narrative description of an event. I will call this effect "imagery".

Two illustrative examples of how the use of directionals is linked to this phenomenon of individuation and specificity of events will be given below. The selected excerpts of narratives consist in narrative "minimal" pairs in which the same event is talked about more than once with a contrast between verbs with and without directionals.

#### 3.2.1. Imagery (1): Action vs. character

The first example, shown in (19), is an excerpt of continuous text in which a set of events, i.e. touching corpses, burying them, and not catching the illness, is mentioned twice. However, in the first mention of the sequence all three events are rendered with verbs suffixed with directionals, while in the second none of the verbs take directionals.

- (19) a. komo q'aynaɣxa naɟ skolwayi xkolwa naɟ  
since accustomed NCL/he to.help helped NCL/he  
smuɟitɔɟ kamom  
bury-DIR dead
- 'Since he was accustomed to helping others, he helped to bury [away] the dead.'
- b. mach hunuɟ mak sɟe yanoɟkoɟ sq'ab' yib'anh  
no one person wanted to.put-DIR his.hand on  
heɟ kamom yu ha' chute xtxumɟi ta xhb'olɔ'atɔɟ  
PL dead because make think that be.attacked-DIR  
yu yab'il  
by illness
- 'No one wanted to touch [on] the dead because they thought they would be attacked [away] by the illness.'
- c. yaɟa' naɟ kap mat hanɣanhe naɟ steab'ni kat  
but NCL Gabriel Mateo only NCL/he grasped then  
smuɟni i mach smag'lax naɟ yu yab'il hunun  
buried and not was.struck NCL/he by illness each
- 'But Gabriel Mateo, only he (could) grab [φ] them and then bury [φ] them, and not be struck [φ] by illness.'
- d. ts'ayik tsalalɛnhetik'a ye yamma naɟ  
day just.happy was his.heart NCL/he  
'he was happy every day.'

The contrast between the first series of events and the second has to do with the context within which the events are mentioned. The first lines (19a-b) list a series of actions. They describe how the people help

the sick and dying, and offer the image of the illness attacking them. The verbs bear directionals that orient these actions in space. In the second set of lines (19c-d), the mention of the events has another purpose. The focus has turned to the frame of mind of the hero and the fact that he has (suspiciously) kept on being happy and healthy while carrying out these types of activities without being affected by them. This time the verbs denoting the same types of events described previously are devoid of directionals. Note how directionals like those in lines (19a-b) are not referential to points in a real world, but rather refer to the spatial frame of the narrative world. Lines (19a-b) evoke a series of actions (illness attacking those who handle and bury the dead) while (19c-d) focus on the good luck of the hero Karmat in the context of performing similar actions, which are only mentioned here as kinds of actions that highlight his character.

#### 3.2.2. Imagery (2): Trajectory with an endpoint

The second contrastive text example in (20) shows a sequence of five mentions of the same verb of seeing, the first three (20a, b, c) without directionals and the last two (20d, e) with directionals. Note how the appearance of directionals occurs after the search for the hero has shifted from an initial blind search with no sense of where the hero is hidden to a more focused search once his presence in the cave has been revealed.

- (20) a. saylax naɟ yaɟ maxhtik'a ch'ilɛha naɟ  
was.searched.for NCL/he but never was.seen NCL/he  
'He was searched for, but he was never seen [φ].'
- b. ch'ek' heb' jɛtb'i sk'atɛanh naɟ yaɟ maxhtik'a  
passed PL companions near NCL/him but never  
ch'ilɛlax naɟ yu ts'ulik ch'en nɛach'en  
was.seen NCL/he because small NCL cave
- 'The people passed near him but he was never seen [φ] because the cave was so small.'
- c. xilni naɟ chub'il maxhtik'a ch'ilɛha naɟ  
saw NCL/he that never was.seen NCL/he
- x'ok naɟ awoɟ yu yetantoɟ naɟ heb' jɛtb'i  
began NCL/he shout so.as to.tease NCL/he PL companions
- 'When he saw that he wasn't seen [φ], he began to yell to tease the people.'
- [...]
- d. ay hune' mak x'ab'en b'ay x'ɛltiɟ hune' aw  
was a person heard where came.out a shout
- tu' i xwab'antɔɟ anma sk'atɛanh yahɟa'  
that and hurried people its.place but
- maxhtotik'a ch'ilɛhakɔɟ naɟ  
never was.seen-DIR NCL/he
- 'There was one who heard where a shout came from, and the people hurried there, but he never was seen [in].'

e. *ya'jha' ha' x'awikanh hune'kxa x'ilchatil' naj' i*  
 but FOC yelled again was.seen-DIR NCL/he and  
*x'ichiko' heb' jetb'i sk'o'ni naj' yu ch'en*  
 began PL companions pelt NCL/him with NCL

*ch'en i kaw hab'an xhachani naj' ch'en*  
 stones and very easily caught NCL/he NCL/chem

*yu sq'ab'*  
 with his.hands

'But when he yelled again, he was seen (towards), and the people began to pelt him with stones, and he caught them very easily in his hands.'

From the time when the villagers know that the hero they are chasing is in the cave (24d), the verb takes directionals, first indicating that they did not see him in the cave (20d: -k 'in'), next that his presence was revealed to them (20e: -til' 'towards them'). The condition for the presence of directionals here seems to be the identification of an end-point to be able to trace a trajectory between two points, in this case between the villagers and the cave in which Karmat is hiding. Note that the non-use of directionals in (20a-c) is not related to the presence of negation and the non-realis situation of the seeing, as shown in (20d).

The use of directionals, therefore, is linked to the construction of an image in space of a scene which requires not only the identification of an initiator of the event and a reference point in space, but also a spatial end point.

### 3.3. Perspectivizing function of directionals

A preliminary answer to the second question about what determines the choice between the two deictically oriented directionals -toj 'away'/-til' 'toward' is that they encode the point of perspective from which the scene is to be viewed.

A text example from another chase scene of the same traditional tale will be given below as an illustration of this process. The two protagonists are a group of villagers and Karmat, the folk hero that they are chasing after. There is an interesting contrast in the scene between the protagonist who is the discourse topic of the scene, Karmat, and the point of view from which the scene is framed, which is the group of villagers.

(21) a. *ayikto' naj' yul yatut yet xab'en naj' niman*  
 was-DIR-DIR NCL/he in his.house when heard NCL/he loud

*xayaxhalal yet anma lanhan yok sutsun*  
 noise of people were coming approaching

*yinh yatut naj'*  
 to his.house NCL/he

'He was (in-away) in his house when he heard the loud noise of the people who were approaching his house.'

b. *xinhe ah lemna naj' xab'en naj' huntu'*  
 at.once rose quickly NCL/he heard NCL/he that

*x'eltil' naj' yilnoj ...*  
 exited-DIR NCL/he to.see ...

'At once he jumped up when he heard that; he came out (toward) to see ...'

c. ... he saw that there were people carrying stones, people carrying sticks, and people carrying machetes.

d. *xtxumna'lo' naj' chub'il ha' naj' chul potx'la'xo'j*  
 realized-DIR NCL/he that FOC NCL/he came to.be.killed

*skawxenkanh sb'a naj'*  
 prepared himself NCL/he

'He realized that they had come to kill him, and he prepared himself.'

e. *nahat xtxumla'xli' naj' xtit yanna*  
 from.far was.recognized-DIR NCL/he came together

*yib'anh naj' i x'el naj' yinh anhe*  
 upon NCL/him and went.out NCL/he at run

'From some distance he was recognized, and they came together upon him, and he left running.'

f. *yet tx'o'jxa yek'o'j naj' yinh xanhe anhe xto naj'*  
 when badly went NCL/he at just run went NCL/he

*yeb'a'lo' sb'a yinh hunoj b'ay tu' alko'j*  
 to.hide-DIR himself in some place that whatever

*i stsumb'en naj' yet k'vial pahaw*  
 and headed NCL/he towards cliff

'When it looked bad for him, he ran to hide himself in some place or another, and he headed towards a cliff.'

First, the alternating choice of set 3 directional -toj 'away' in (21a) and -til' 'towards' in (21b) concur to establish the villagers as the deictic center from which the scene is viewed. The directional -toj in (21a) encodes the fact that the house of Karmat is viewed as 'away' from the villagers, while -til' in (21b) refers to the movement of Karmat running out of his house towards the villagers, who are climbing the hill towards him.

More striking yet is the verb form in (21e) where the directional continues orienting the visualization of the scene from the point of view of the villagers, while the passive morphology confirms Karmat as the primary narrative topic of the event. To the extent that passive is taken to be a strategy to manipulate a certain type of orientation to the event described in a clause, i.e. the choice of a primary topic, the verb form appears to contain information on two opposite sites of focus. The verb form shows the co-occurrence of two morphemes which encode distinct concepts of orientation to a clause: one, the passive morpheme, shows the manipulation through the voice system of the choice of a salient discourse pragmatic topic; and the other, the directional, shows the use of a system of spatial orientation.

### Conclusion

This paper addressed the issue of the semantic and discourse pragmatic functions of Jakalte'k directionals. It argued that the semantic function of directionals was to encode a notion of trajectory rather than one of



motion, based on various examples involving directionals with non-motion predicates. It also showed that the construction of the trajectory necessitates locating several points in space: that of the initiator of the event, that of the endpoint of the event, and that of the point of view taken to frame the event in space from which directionality is calculated. Contrastive chunks of narrative text highlighted the discourse function of directionals as that of creating the imagery of spatially specified events.

In an interesting way, one could conceive of the discourse function of directionals as parallel to what is understood as the major discourse function of noun classifiers in the same language, i.e. in terms of their encoding the individuation of a nominal (although the parallel may not hold for referentiality). The role of Jakaltek classifiers as individuation markers was described in Craig (1986a, b) and the general role of individuation of the various classifier systems found in the languages of the world was further discussed in Craig (1992). The general idea of a parallelism in the structures of predicates and noun phrases is more amply discussed in Rijkhoff (1990).

This paper was only meant to outline some lines of inquiry and initial working hypotheses than need to be further developed. In particular, this preliminary study of a corpus of narrative texts indicates that the use of directionals in discourse might be a very promising area for future research.

### Abbreviations

A Absolutive, AP antipassive, AUX auxiliary, COM completive, DIR directional, E ergative, EV evidential, EXIST existential, FOC focus, INC incomplete, IRR irrealis, NCL Nominal classifier, NEG negation, PL plural, REFL reflexive, 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person.

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