



DEIXIS IN JAPANESE
AND ENGLISH VERBS

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in
the Department of English, the University of Adelaide.

November, 1983

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SUMMARY

In this thesis two major points are made.

The first point is that English and Japanese deictic motion verbs - *come*, *go*, *kuru* and *iku* have basic semantic features in common. Thus, *come* and *kuru* have [+ Towards Ego], but *go* and *iku* have [- Towards Ego]. It is assumed that these basic semantic features are derived from the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego] suggested by Kurylowicz when he pointed out that the deictic properties in Indo-European languages have evolved from the proto-deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego].

The second point is that the basic semantic features [+ Towards Ego] for *come/kuru* and [- Towards Ego] for *go/iku* reflect the idiomatic use of *come/go* in English and similarly reflect the aspectual use of *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* structures. It is these features, [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego] that give:

- 1) English idioms with *come/go* the empathic use and the implication of metaphorical arrival at or of a non-literal departure from a point of reference.
- 2) Japanese *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* constructions the implication of figurative movement towards, or away from a point of reference.

Therefore, a) some idioms involving *come* and some *V-te-kuru* constructions indicate (the process of) change of state from *non-existence* to *existence*, from *outside* the scope of our perception to *inside* the scope of our perception. b) On the other hand, some idioms involving *go* and some *V-te-iku* structures indicate (the process of)

change of state from *existence* to *non-existence*, from *inside* the range of our perception to *outside* the range of our perception.

The aim of this thesis is not to prove that the contrast between [+Ego] and [-Ego] may be universal. However, it should be noted that this assumption - that English and Japanese deictic verbs are derived from this contrast - provides an interesting starting point for the deictic problems in any language.

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

I consent to the thesis' being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

(J. Kumamoto-Healey)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. G. Turner, my supervisor, for his invaluable advice and constant support, particularly for his checking the style of expression throughout this thesis. My gratitude extends to Mr. T. Mares who became my acting supervisor whilst Mr. Turner was on study leave.

I am also grateful to my Japanese friends and the Japanese staff of the Centre for Asian Studies of the University of Adelaide whose willing co-operation in the completion of questionnaires materially assisted my research.

My warmest thanks go to Mrs. Judy Smith who, at very short notice, carefully and speedily typed the definitive version of the thesis. I also wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Jenifer Jefferies for her contribution to the typing.

Finally, I am indebted to my husband, Derek, for his constant encouragement and generous help as a sounding board. Without him this thesis would not have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to examine, first, the semantic properties of English and Japanese deictic motion verbs - mainly *come*, *go*, *kuru* and *iku* - and secondly, how English idioms containing *come/go* and Japanese *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* constructions stem from the basic semantic properties of these verbs in the two languages.

Having learned English as a second language and having taught Japanese to English-speaking students for ten years, I cannot recall that I ever experienced great difficulty in learning the uses of *come* and *go*, or that the students whom I taught have had particular difficulties in acquiring the correct use of the Japanese deictic verbs. This lack of difficulty in the learning process is probably due to the fact that the uses of *come* and *go* in English are basically similar to those of *kuru* and *iku* in Japanese. It may be true that the contrast between *come* and *go* or between *kuru* and *iku* is derived from the basic deictic contrast [+ Ego] and [- Ego], as Kurylowicz has pointed out, and that all the deictic properties in Indo-European languages have evolved from the basic contrast between Ego and Non-Ego. However, it should be noted that the aim of this thesis is not only to observe this assumption at work in a non-Indo-European language, but also to show some similarities in the uses of English and Japanese deictic motion verbs, rather than the differences.

In Chapter I, I examine the semantic descriptions of *come* and *go* suggested by C. J. Fillmore, since he has worked to a considerable extent on English deictic verbs for some years. In 1.1. a definition of Fillmore's technical terms is introduced because his terms are convenient to describe the uses of the deictic verbs both in English and

Japanese. These terms are, therefore used throughout this study. The rest of this section is devoted to a follow-through of Fillmore's procedures for examining the uses of *come* and *go*, since his technique has been the basis of the study of the Japanese deictic motion verbs in Chapter II. In 1.2. a brief semantic description of *bring* and *take* is presented on the assumption that the uses of these verbs will correspond to *come* and *go*.

In Chapter II, the Japanese deictic motion verbs, *kuru* and *iku* are discussed. First, the basic uses of *kuru* and *iku* are considered in 2.1. Then in 2.2. some of the Japanese demonstratives are discussed in relation to the basic uses of *kuru* and *iku*. In 2.3. and subsequently special uses of *kuru* and *iku* which are not accounted for by the assumptions suggested in 2.1. and 2.2. are presented. In 2.3. the cases where the goal of the movement is the Sender's (or Speaker's) home base are dealt with. In the next section, 2.4., specialized uses of *iku* and *kuru* are examined in three separate cases:

1. The case where the addressee (or Hearer) is situated at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time, especially in the question form.
2. The case where the uses of *kuru* and *iku* are embedded in sentences with speech-act verbs such as *yuu* "to say, tell" and *tazumeru* "to ask".
3. The case where the uses of *kuru* and *iku* are embedded in clauses dependent on the verb *omou* "think".

In Chapter III, English idiomatic uses of *come* and *go* are observed. First, "Normal states deixis" and "Evaluative deixis", to use terms suggested by E. Clark, are examined in 3.1. In the second section

the empathic use of the English deictic motion verbs - "empathy deixis" - is analysed. In the third section, I discuss general semantic features in idioms containing *come* and *go* as contrasted between positiveness and non-positiveness respectively. In the fourth section, I relate idiomatic uses of *come* and *go* to the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego]. In the final section, 3.5., the idiomatic use of *bring* as the causative form of *come* and idiomatic uses of *take/send* as the causative forms of *go* are briefly discussed.

In Chapter IV, the final chapter, I look at Japanese compound verbs containing *kuru* and *iku*. *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru* constructions may be divided into two main categories, viz.,

1. *iku* and *kuru* function semantically as main verbs and
2. *iku* and *kuru* function semantically as auxiliary verbs.

The former case is briefly dealt with in 4.1. and the latter case is discussed in the two separate sections, 4.2. and 4.3. In 4.2. *iku* and *kuru*, functioning ^{as} auxiliary verbs, add deictic sense to verbs preceding them. In 4.3., setting out the main aim of this chapter, I present aspectual uses of *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru*; the use of *V-te-kuru* is concentrated on in 4.3.1., and the use of *V-te-iku* and the difference between these compound verbs with *kuru* and *iku* are discussed in 4.3.2. In the final sub-section, 4.3.3., some selectional restrictions on verbs in the *V-te* form are dealt with.

In conclusion, I suggest that both English deictic motion verbs and Japanese deictic motion verbs have the same basic semantic features [+ Towards Ego] for *come* and *kuru* and [- Towards Ego] for *go* and *iku*. The contrast between these features in the two languages may stem from the basic deictic contrast, [+ Ego] and [- Ego], which reflects, first, the

basic difference between *come/kuru* and *go/iku*, and secondly, the difference between English idioms containing *come/V-te-kuru* and English idioms containing *go/V-te-iku*.

English idioms cited in this thesis are taken from newspapers, the radio and daily conversations, but dictionaries proved of inestimable value. The dictionaries used are Kenkyusha's New English-Japanese Dictionary, Kenkyusha's New Dictionary of English Collocations, Longman's Dictionary of English Idioms, Webster's New World Dictionary and The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.

The Japanese examples in Chapters II and IV are romanized as well as given in Japanese characters for Japanese readers. The system of romanization used for Japanese sentences in this thesis is basically the Hepburn system. However, there is a minor modification adopted regarding the description of the nasalized *n* and long vowels. The capital *N* is used when:

1. *n* occurs before *m*, *b* and *p* instead of *m*.
2. *n* occurs before *vowels* and semi-vowels *w* and *y*.

Long vowels are represented by adding another identical vowel to the vowel in question instead of placing a bar above the vowel.



Semantic Descriptions of Deictic Motion Verbs in English

1.1 Semantic Descriptions of *come* and *go* according to Charles J. Fillmore

Since 1965 Charles J. Fillmore has carried out extensive research into semantic descriptions of English deictic motion verbs,¹ *come*, *go*, *bring* and *take*. In this section I shall focus on two deictic verbs *come* and *go* on the assumption that the difference between these verbs parallels that between *bring* and *take*. *Bring* and *take* will be analysed in the second section of this chapter.

Let us start by summarizing the technical terms used by Fillmore in his "How to Know whether You are Coming or Going".² When a person or a thing moves from one place to another, the starting point (or the point of origin) of the movement is termed the Source; the ending point or destination, the Goal; the time the person (or the thing) leaves the Source, the departure time; the time at which the Goal is reached, the arrival time. The people who participate in the communication acts in which the verbs *come* and *go* are used are the Sender who encodes the message and the Addressee who decodes the message. The time at which the communication act takes place is termed the coding time.

First Fillmore observes that *come* functions as "a goal-oriented verb" and that *go* functions as both "a source-oriented verb" and as a verb which is neutral with respect to these two orientations. These characteristics may be observed in the sentences below:

- (1) John *came* home last night.

(2) John *went* home last night.

(3) John *went* from Perth to Darwin last year.

To express the matter differently, the goal-oriented verb is used where the destination is taken as known from the context and the source-oriented verb is used where the point of origin is taken as known from the context. It follows that the asterisked sentences³ below sound "in some way odd" to speakers of the English language:

(4) Where did he *go*?

*(5) Where did he *go from*?

(6) Where did he *come from*?

*(7) Where did he *come to*?

Fillmore proceeded to examine and illustrate the basic use of the verbs *come* and *go* making use of the following assumptions (or principles):

[A] For GO, it is assumed that the Sender is not located at the Goal at coding time.

[B] For COME, it is assumed that:

- (i) the Sender is at the goal at coding time;
- (ii) the Sender is at the goal at arrival time;
- (iii) the Addressee is at the goal at coding time;
- (iv) the Addressee is at the goal at arrival time.⁴

Fillmore did not include the factor arrival time in the condition which determines the use of *go*, but in the author's opinion arrival time should be considered as being included in the principle [A]. [See

sentence (8)].

As the four conditions in [B] are compatible with each other, it follows that a sentence with *come* is acceptable, if:

1. any one of the conditions is satisfied,
2. all of the conditions are satisfied,
3. any combination of the conditions is satisfied.

As for the condition for *go* it is incompatible with (i) of [B], but not incompatible with (ii), (iii) and (iv) of [B]. In other words, if (i) of [B] is not satisfied, but (ii) and/or (iii) and/or (iv) is/are satisfied, sentences with either *go* or *come* may be used.

Let us consider the following example:

(8) I went to the conference at the Sydney Opera House last week. The Prime Minister _____ to the Opera House to open the meeting.

Since Fillmore allows [A] to be compatible with (ii) of [B], the blank in this example can be filled with either *went* or *come*, if the Sender is not in the Opera House at coding time, but was in the Opera House at arrival time. In such a situation, the use of *go* in the example (8) would not be appropriate. Thus, the principle [A] may be re-stated as follows, the words in brackets being added:

[A]' For *go* it is assumed that the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time (or at arrival time).

We may examine how the conditions of [A]' and [B] are satisfied in sentences (9) to (11). It should be noted that the English adverb *here* indicates the place where the Sender is located at coding time, whereas

there is the place where the Sender is not located at coding time.

*(9) *Go here.*⁵

Sentence (9) indicates that the Sender is at the Goal, namely *here*, at coding time. This contradicts the principle [A]'.
'

(10) She will *come* to the office this afternoon.

Sentence (10) is acceptable in four contexts, viz:

- (i) When the Sender is at the office at the time of the speech,
- (ii) when the Sender will be at the office this afternoon,
- (iii) when the Addressee is at the office at the time of the speech,
- (iv) when the Addressee will be at the office this afternoon.

(11) He will *come* there tomorrow.

Sentence (11) rules out the possibility that the destination is the place where the Sender is located at coding time, because the adverb *there* shows the place where the Sender is not located at coding time. Sentence (11) permits three of the interpretations suggested by the principle given in [B], that is, (ii) and/or (iii) and/or (iv).

(12) I will *come* there tomorrow.

Sentence (12) further rules out the possibility that the Sender is already at the Goal at arrival time, because the Sender is also an agent of the movement; the Sender cannot be at the Goal, waiting for himself

to arrive. Sentence (12) permits two of the interpretations in principle [B], that is, (iii) and/or (iv). In the case where the Sender moves, as in (12), it would be impossible for the Sender to be already located at the Goal at arrival time, whilst in the case where a third person is an agent of the movement as in (11), it is possible that the Sender is located at the Goal at arrival time to wait for the person who is moving.

The first person plural pronoun *we* has two interpretations, that is, the "inclusive" *we* and the "exclusive" *we*. The distinction depends on whether the Addressee is included in the group of people designated by the pronoun or not. Let us consider the following two sentences, (13) and (14), Fillmore's examples:

(13) We'll *go* there right away.

(14) We'll *come* there right away.

Sentence (13) permits both interpretations of *we*, since there are no restrictions on who can *go* to a place where the Sender is not located at coding time. But in (14) only *we* "exclusive" should be interpreted. By using the word *there*, it is impossible for the Sender to be at the Goal at coding time. Because the persons who move include the I, the Sender, it leads to the possibility that the Addressee is at the Goal either at coding time or at arrival time.

A further interesting example with respect to inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the pronoun is the English *Let's* construction which only allows the pronoun to be interpreted inclusively. Sentences (15) and (17) taken from Fillmore are acceptable, but (16) is not.

(15) Let's *go* there right away.

*(16) Let's *come* there right away.

(17) Let's *come* there soon.⁶

Two other observations made by Fillmore concern the use of *come*:

- (1) There is some sort of affiliation between the place considered as the Goal of the movement and the Sender or Addressee, and
- (2) the object identified as the subject of *come* is considered as accompanying either the Sender or Addressee on the journey.⁷

Sentences (18) to (20) illustrate the first observation. Sentences (18) and (19) containing the Goal which is regarded as the "home base" of either Sender or Addressee are acceptable, even if the conditions of [B] are not satisfied. Sentence (20) is not acceptable unless one of the conditions of [B] is satisfied.

(18) I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{came over} \\ \textit{went over} \end{array} \right\}$ to your house this morning, but you weren't at home.

(18)' I shall $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come over} \\ \textit{*go over} \end{array} \right\}$ to your house next week to discuss the matter in person.

(19) John *came* to my flat this morning, but I wasn't at home.

(20) I *came* over to John's house, but nobody was there.

In (18) the use of *come* is acceptable, but the use of *go* is also

permitted, provided that the Sender is not at the Addressee's house at coding time (since the Sender is an agent of the movement, "arrival time" is irrelevant.) However, there seems to be a difference between the use of *come* and the use of *go* in (18): the use of *go* (actually the past form, *went*, is used) may imply the Sender's "cool" or "neutral" attitudes towards the Addressee or the Addressee's house; on the other hand, the use of *come* (actually the past form, *came*, is used) may provide a sense of the Sender's "affiliation" to the Addressee or the Addressee's house. This difference between *come* and *go* with regard to the empathic use of idioms involving *come* and *go* will be discussed in Chapter III.

In (18)' where the Sender, who is a mover, is not situated at the goal at coding time, it is supposedly possible to use *go* as well. But, in fact, the use of *go* is not acceptable. It must be noted that the only difference between (18) and (18)' in terms of use of the deictic motion verbs, is the tense: in (18) the Sender talks about what happened, but in (18)' he talks about what will happen. It seems, in general, that the Sender can control the event or action in the past more easily than that in the future. Interestingly enough a similar discussion may be entered into in relation to the tense of the Japanese deictic verbs in Chapter II: the use of *iku/kuru* in the question form when the Addressee is located at the goal, appears to be determined by tense.

In the acceptable sentences (18) and (19), the Goal is not a place where either Sender or Addressee is at coding time or arrival time, but is understood as the "home base" of one of them. The "home base" need not be the home base at coding time and thus (21) is acceptable, but must be the person's home base at arrival time. Thus sentence (22) is

unacceptable.

(21) When I used to live in one of the colleges in North Adelaide, Mary complained that she never found me there whenever she *came* to see me.

*(22) I *came* over to your house about a month before you bought it.

The "home base" is not necessarily the home base of either participant in the communication act as is indicated by the sentences below which are acceptable:

(23) I *came* to the airport to fetch you, but you had already left.

(24) Mary *came* to the usual place where I picked her up every morning, but my car didn't start at all this morning and I couldn't get there.

Fillmore expands the "home base" notion by calling it "proper location". He defines it as "the place where one might expect to find the Sender or Addressee at the time of arrival".⁸ Thus in addition to [A]' and [B] the third principle for *come* can be stated as follows:

(c) For *come*, it may also be assumed that:

(i) the Goal is a "proper location" for the Sender at arrival time; or

(ii) the Goal is a "proper location" for the Addressee at arrival time.⁹

The second use of *come* is illustrated as the "accompaniment" use in

the paragraph which follows:

(25) Can I *come* home?

(26) Can I *come* home with you?

For sentence (25) it is suggested that the home is either the Sender's or the Addressee's. [Principle [C]] or that the Addressee is at his home at coding time. [(iii) of [B]]. On the other hand (26) must be understood to mean that the Addressee is going to his own home. "Home" in sentence (26) is the Addressee's, not the Sender's.

Accompaniment can be expressed with *go* as well, as in the following:

(27) Can I *go* home with you?

The difference between (26) and (27) can be explained by the fact that *come* is the goal-oriented verb and that *go* is the source-oriented verb. In (27) "home" is the Sender's home; the situation would be that the Sender wants the Addressee to accompany him to his (the Sender's) house or near the Sender's house.

Thus, the principle which determines the appropriate conditions of the accompaniment involved in the use of *come* is as follows:

- (D) For COME, it may also be assumed that
- (i) the Sender is making the same journey; or
 - (ii) the Addressee is making the same journey.¹⁰

In the following passages the use of *come* is dealt with in contexts in which the Sender is taking somebody else's "point of view". The first case is where the verb *come* is used in the clauses which are

embedded in "speech-act verbs". The first case is exemplified by (28) and (29):

(28) John asked Mary to *come* to his party.

(29) John asked Mary if I could *come* to her party.

In both of the above cases, the motion is towards the location of the Sender or Addressee of the reported speech act at either the arrival time or at the coding time of the reported speech act.

The condition for the use of *come* is stated again below:

(E) COME is appropriate if the conditions [B] through [D] are assumed to be satisfied by the Sender or the Addressee of a reported communication act and the "coding" time is taken to be the time of the reported communication act.¹¹

Another type of context in which the Sender is taking somebody else's point of view is where sentences contain such verbs as *wonder*, *wish*, *think*, etc. to indicate somebody's thoughts, wishes or feelings. Sentences (30) to (32) exemplify:

(30) John wonders if Mary will come to his¹² party.

(31) Mary wishes I could come to her party.

(32) John thought Mary would never come.

The conditions underlying the explanation of the case mentioned above is stated by Fillmore as follows:

(F) COME is appropriate under conditions that can be

stated by replacing "Sender" and "Addressee" in the formulation of conditions [B] through [D] by "Experiencer of a subjective-experience verb" and by replacing "coding time" by "the time of the subjective experience".¹³

In the cases in which *come* and *go* are embedded in clauses dependent on either "speech-act" verbs or "subjective-experience" verbs, the choice pattern of *come/go* is not as simple as Fillmore has suggested. I shall discuss in detail the choice pattern of *iku/kuru* when they are embedded in clauses dependent on *yuu* "say", *tazuneru* "ask" and *omou* "think" in Chapter II. The English case will be referred to in connection with the Japanese case.

So far the use of the verb *come* in simple sentences in which the identity and the location of the Sender and the Addressee are relevant, has been discussed. Fillmore's final account of the appropriate conditions for *come* is about the use of *come* in a pure third person discourse.

Examples are:

(33) John *came* into Mark's room.

(34) John *went* into Mark's room.

(35) John *entered* Mark's room.

In sentence (33), the situation is the scene as viewed from Mark's point of view, whereas (34) describes the situation from John's point of view or is neutral with respect to these two persons' points of view. Sentence (35) is neutrally described.

Thus, the principle is as follows:

(G) In pure third-person discourse (i.e. in discourse in which the identity and location of the Sender and the Addressee plays no role), the narrator is free to choose a point of view, such that movement towards the place or person whose point of view is assumed can be expressed with the verb COME.¹⁴

By applying the principle [G], (36) and (37) are now easily accounted for:

(36) Commander Perry *went* to Japan in 1853.

(37) Commander Perry *came* to Japan in 1853.

An author (or a lecturer) would produce (utter) (36) if he took America's point of view. Sentence (37) is used when the stance is from the Japanese side.

It may be possible to assume that Sender's location at coding time and/or at arrival time is the primary factor to determine the basic use of *come/go*: that is, for *go*, the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time and at arrival time ([A]') and for *come*, the Sender is located at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time ([B](i) and (ii)). In other words, *come* is basically used for the movement towards the Sender; *go* is fundamentally used for the movement away from the Sender. Possibility of the Sender's taking someone else's point of view including the Addressee's has been considered in this Chapter, but this may be regarded as the secondary point as far as the basic semantic properties of *come* and *go* are concerned. Therefore, the basic semantic features, [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego], may be assigned to indicate the basic use of *come/go*. In Chapter III I shall relate the basic use of *come/go* to Kurylowicz's suggestion: viz., deictic

properties in Indo-European languages were evolved from the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego].

1.2 Semantic Descriptions of *bring* and *take*

In this section the verbs *bring* and *take* will be analysed briefly on the assumption that the uses of *bring* and *take* would correspond to those of *come* and *go* respectively.

As Fillmore pointed out, the general characteristic difference between *come* and *go* in 1.1 is: *come* is a goal-oriented verb and *go* is a source-oriented verb or neutral with respect to these orientational features. The same orientation will be found in the verbs *bring* and *take*. Let us observe the following sentences:

(38) John *brought* Mary (to the party).

(39) John *took* Mary to the party.

(40) John *took* his pet dog from Australia to Japan.

Since the destination in (38) is taken as known from the context, the sentence should be acceptable without mentioned the goal ("the party"). On the other hand, (39) sounds as if it lacks something without the phrase "to the party", indicating the goal. This is because only the point of origin of the verb *take* is comprehensible from the context.

The following sentences will exemplify the thesis that the use of *take* is based on the same principle [A]' as that required for *go* in section 1.1.

*(41) *Take* it here.

(42) *Take* it there.

(43) He/I will *take* the book to the school tomorrow.

(44) He/I *took* the book to the school yesterday.

*(45) He will *take* the book to me tomorrow.

*(46) He *took* the book to me yesterday.

"Here" in the unacceptable sentence (41) indicates that the Sender is at the Goal at coding time, whereas *there* in (42) shows that the Sender is not at the Goal at coding time. Both (45) and (46) indicate that the Sender cannot be located at the Goal at arrival time. To summarize the above observation: the assumption is that the Sender is not located at the Goal at coding time or arrival time.

Let us check how the conditions for *come* in the principle [B] in section 1.1 apply to the sentences with *bring*. The following sentences (47) to (49), show that the use of *bring* coincides with that of *come*. [See (10)-(12) in 1.1]:

(47) Mary will *bring* some cake to the office tomorrow.

Sentence (47) can be used in four different situations, viz.,:

- (i) when the Sender is in the office at the time the sentence is being uttered;
- (ii) when the Sender will be in the office tomorrow;
- (iii) when the Addressee is in the office at the time the sentence is being pronounced;
- (iv) when the Addressee will be in the office tomorrow.

(48) Mary will *bring* some cake there tomorrow.

Sentence (48) rules out the possibility of the destination's being the place where the Sender is located at coding time on account of the use of the adverb *there*. Therefore (48) permits three interpretations of the principle [B], viz., (ii) and/or (iii) and/or (iv). [See (11)]

(49) I will *bring* some cake there tomorrow.

Since the Sender is the agent who moves, (49) rules out the possibility that the Sender is already at the goal at arrival time waiting for himself to arrive. Thus only two of the interpretations in the principle [B], viz., (iii) and/or (iv) and/is allowed.

The principle [C] which governs the appropriateness of the use of *come* in terms of "proper location" is also satisfactory with respect to *bring* so far as the expanded notion of the "home base" is concerned.

Examples (50) to (52) explain the above statement:

(50) I *brought* fresh flowers to your flat yesterday, but you were not there.

(51) My neighbour *brought* some flowers to my house whilst I was out.

(52) Yesterday Mary *brought* my son to the park where I usually picked him up, but I could not get there on account of my traffic accident.

Regarding the rest of the principles [D], [E], [F] and [G], the same options are available as the following examples show.

For the principle [D], (53) would be more appropriate than (54) if

I ask whether John and his wife can join your trip on the assumption that you are going to Japan.

(53) Can John *bring* his wife to Japan with him with you?

*(54) Can John *take* his wife to Japan with him with you?

For principle [E], in (55) to (57) it is observed that the Sender is taking someone else's point of view.

(55) Tell him that I will *bring* it immediately.

(56) Mary asked John to *bring* Mark to the party.

(57) Mary asked John if I could *bring* a bottle of wine to his party.

For the principle [F], (58) - (60) exemplify the proposition that the Sender is taking someone's point of view in sentences containing "subjective-experience verbs".

(58) John wonders if Mary will *bring* her sister to the party.

(59) She wishes I could *bring* more food.

(60) Mary thought that Santa Clause would never *bring* her a Christmas present.

The final appropriateness condition for the use of *bring* is when the narrator can freely choose a point of view as explicated in the principle [G] for *come*. Sentences (61) to (63) exemplify this point:

(61) The nurse *brought* the food to the patient.

(62) The nurse *took* the food to the patient.

(63) The nurse *delivered* the food to the patient.

Compare (61) to (63) with (33) to (35) in 1.1. Exactly parallel observations could be made:

Sentence (61) describes the situation from the nurse's point of view, whereas in (62) the point of view is that of the patient, or is neutral regarding the two persons' points of view. Sentence (63) is neutrally described.

Endnotes - Chapter I

1. Deixis, with its adjective deictic, is the technical term given to the "orientational" features of language which, according to Fillmore, are relative to the occasion of utterance: to the time of utterance, and to times before and after the time of utterance: to the location of the speaker at the time of utterance: and to the identity of the speaker and the intended audience. See J. Lyons (1968, pp. 275-281) and R. B. Sangster (1982, pp.155-162) for further discussion of the notion of deixis.
2. Fillmore (1972, p.3 and pp.5-6).
3. Throughout this thesis asterisks are used for sentences which, from a consensual point of view, possess a less than complete degree of acceptability. The author refrains from making a judgement as to the specific degree of acceptability since this varies among English and Japanese speakers. However, in some examples in Chapters II and III, "?" and "??" are adopted in order to present more accurate acceptability/unacceptability criteria of the verbs in question.
4. (Fillmore, 1972, p.6) It is implicit in Fillmore's text that each assumption [B](i) to [B](iv) may be combined with any other assumption in the same set or may be considered an alternative for any one in that set.
5. It is quite acceptable to say "Go here" when someone is pointing to a location on a map, a picture, etc. Likewise it is also possible to say *go from* and *come to* [see sentences (5) and (7)] in similar circumstances. But such usages of *here*, *go from* and *come to* are excluded from consideration in this thesis.
6. The English usage "soon" interprets Fillmore's American English "right back".
7. (Fillmore, 1972, p.9)
8. (Fillmore, 1972, p.11)
9. (Fillmore, 1972, p.11)
10. (Fillmore, 1972, p.12)
11. (Fillmore, 1972, p.13)
12. The pronouns "his" and "her" in (30) and (31) would be ambiguous in terms of determining the use of the deictic verbs. For (30), to John's, but *go* is used when "his" is interpreted as somebody else's party on the understanding that John will not be at the party. the verb *come* is certainly usable in the case of "his" referring
13. (Fillmore, 1972, p.14)
14. (Fillmore, 1972, p.15)

CHAPTER II

Japanese Deictic Motion Verbs

2.1 Basic Uses of *Kuru* and *iku*

First of all in the first two sections of this chapter I shall investigate the basic uses of *kuru* and *iku* and then observe the further uses of these verbs in the third and fourth sections. I shall deal with the verbs *motte-iku/tsurete-iku* "to take" and *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru* "to bring" in the fifth and final section.

As Fillmore pointed out, *come* is the goal-oriented verb and *go* is the source-oriented verb or is neutral in regard to these orientations. It is interesting to note that the same phenomenon is observed in the Japanese deictic verbs *kuru* and *iku*. With these verbs, we have *kuru*, which is the goal-oriented verb and *iku* which is the source-oriented verb or is neutral with respect to these two orientations.

The first procedure is to examine how the conditions suggested by Fillmore to explain the uses of *go* and *come* in English are appropriate for their counterparts in Japanese. As the condition for the use of *go* in English (principle [A]'), it is assumed that the Sender is not at the goal at coding time or arrival time. The corresponding Japanese verb, *iku*, obeys the same condition.

Let us consider the following examples:

*(64) *kinoo* *koko/kochira* *ni ikimashita.*
 yesterday this place/this way went.

*"I went here yesterday."

きのう こ/こちらに 行きました。

*(65) *Taroo ga moo sugu koko/kochira ni ikimasu.*
soon going

*"Taroo is going here soon."

太郎が もうすぐ こ/こちらに 行きます。

(66) *Ima kara { soko/asoko } ni ikimasu.*
{ sochira/achira }

now from { that place/that place over there }
{ that way/that way over there }

"I am now going there."

今から { そこ/あそこ } に 行きます。
{ そちら/あちら }

Koko (kochira) in (64) and (65) is the place where the Sender is located at coding time and *soko (sochira)* and *asoko (achira)* in (66) are the goals where the Sender is not located. The unacceptability of (64) and (65) is accounted for by the fact that the Sender is located at the goal at coding time [(64) and (65)]. (66) is acceptable, because the Sender is not situated at the goal (i.e., *soko*, *sochira*, *asoko* and *achira*) at coding time.

Let us next consider the following sentences:

(67) *Koko ni kinasai.*
here to come.

"Come here."

ここに 来なさい。

(68) *Hai, ima ikimasu.*
yes now going

*"Yes, I am going now."

はい、今 行きます。

The four conditions with regard to the principle [B] suggested by Fillmore to explain the basic use of *come* are not all required for the conditions for *kuru*. *Kuru* requires only two of the conditions in the principle [B]. [I call these two conditions [B]'], viz.:

- [B]' (i) the Sender is at the goal at coding time
- (ii) the Sender is at the goal at arrival time.

The remaining conditions [(iii) and (iv)] in principle [B] are not applicable to *kuru*. In the case of the English verb *come*, the Addressee also plays a role, but this is not so in Japanese. In other words, *kuru* is basically appropriate for motion towards places associated with the Sender only. Note that in the English translation (68) *go* is used instead of *come*. In response to question (67), "Yes, I am *coming*" is the only appropriate response in English.

Since the condition for *iku* (principle [A]') is not compatible with [B]', that is, (i) and (ii) of the principle [B] there are no situations where both *iku* and *kuru* can be alternatively used.¹ But in the case of the English verbs *go* and *come*, as discussed in 1.1., there are cases where either *go* or *come* can be used since principle [A]' is compatible with (iii) and (iv) of principle [B]. For instance, *iku* cannot be replaced by *kuru* in sentence (66), whereas *come* is allowed in the English equivalent of (66), provided that the Addressee is at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time. This is because in the Japanese case, the Sender is the one who moves and cannot be located at the goal at arrival time to wait for himself.

To make it clear, the use of *iku* and *kuru* are restated below.

[X] When the Sender is included in the movement as a mover:

- (i) *iku* is used if the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time.

- (ii) *kuru* is used if the Sender is located at the goal at coding time.

When the Sender is not included in the movement as a mover, [A]' and [B]' stand as they are.

Generally speaking, one might claim that the basic uses of the Japanese deictic motion verbs, *iku* and *kuru*, correspond to those of the English deictic motion verbs, *go* and *come* respectively, assuming that the Addressee's location in the case of *come* is basically the "secondary" factor to consider. In other words, the movement either "towards" or "away from" the Sender at coding time and/or at arrival time plays a role in the basic uses of the verbs, *iku*, *kuru*, *go* and *come*. Therefore, it follows that it is possible to assign the basic semantic feature [+ Towards Ego] for *kuru* because *come* has [+ Towards Ego], and to assign the basic semantic feature [- Towards Ego] for *iku* because *go* has [- Towards Ego]. It is these features that reflect the idiomatic uses involving *come/go* and the Japanese *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* constructions. I shall come back to this point in Chapters III and IV.

In 2.2. onwards, further uses of *iku* and *kuru* in different cases will be examined.

2.2 Demonstratives (ko-so-a series) with *kuru* and *iku*

Systems of demonstratives in Japanese are more complex than their counterparts in English; some of them are shown below in the table. Japanese has three ways of contrasting demonstratives rather than two ways as in English. This is exemplified in the table below.

TABLE I Examples of Demonstratives

<i>ko</i> -series	English Equivalent	<i>so</i> -series	English Equivalent	<i>a</i> -series	English Equivalent
<i>kore</i> "this one"	this	<i>sore</i> "that one"	that	<i>are</i> "that one over there"	that
<i>kono</i> "this ..."		<i>sono</i> "that ..."		<i>ano</i> "that ... over there"	
<i>koko</i> "this place"	here	<i>soko</i> "that place"	there	<i>asoko</i> "that place over there"	there
<i>kochira</i> "this way"		<i>sochira</i> "that way"		<i>achira</i> "that way over there"	

It is generally understood that:

1. the *ko*-series of words is used when a thing referred to is close to the Sender;
2. the *so*-series of words is used when a thing referred to is close to the Addressee;
3. the *a*-series of words is used when a thing referred to is distant from both the Sender and the Addressee.²

Two sets of Japanese demonstratives (*koko/soko/asoko* and *kochira/sochira/achira*) are used with deictic motion verbs as are English deictic adverbs *here* and *there*. The first set denotes "location" and the latter "direction".³ In English *here* is used only with *come*, but *there* can be used with both *come* and *go*, depending upon

the location of the participant in the communication act.

We have already observed that *koko* and *kochira* are used only with the verb *kuru*, but cannot coexist with the verb *iku*. [see (64) to (66)].

Let us observe more sentences (66) to (73) containing *so*-series and *a*-series words. Sentence (66) is divided into (66)' and (66)" below:

(66)' *Ima kara soko/sochira ni ikimasu.*
now from that place/that way going

"I am now going there."

今から そこ/そちらに 行きます。

(66)" *Ima kara asoko/achira ni ikimasu.*
that place over there/
that way over there

"I am now going (over) there."

今から あそこ/あちらに 行きます。

The difference between (66)' and (66)" is obviously explicable, since the *so*-series is used when referring to the place where the Addressee is located and the *a*-series of words is used regarding the place where neither the Sender nor the Addressee is located. (66)' is usable when the Addressee is at the goal at coding time, whereas (66)" is used when the Addressee is not at the goal at coding time.

*(69) *Kinoo soko/sochira ni kimashita.*
yesterday came

"I came there yesterday."

*きのう そこ/そちらに 来ました。

*(70) *Kinoo asoko/achira ni kimashita.*

"I came (over) there yesterday."

*きのう あそこ/あちらに来ました。

*(71) *Kinoo Taroo ga soko/schoira ni kimashita.*⁴

"Taroo came there yesterday."

*きのう 太郎が そこ/そちらに来ました。

(72) *Kinoo Taroo ga asoko/achira ni kimashita.*⁵

"Taroo came (over) there yesterday."

きのう 太郎が あそこ/あちらに来ました。

(73) *Taroo ga konban asoko/achira ni imasu.*

"Taroo will come (over) there tonight."

太郎が 今晚 あそこ/あちらに来ます。

Sentences (72) and (73) are acceptable, but not (69) to (71). The unacceptability of (69) to (71) is accounted for by the fact that the Sender is not located at the goal either at coding time or at arrival time. Sentences (72) and (73) are acceptable because the Sender can be assumed to be at the goal at arrival time.

2.3 The home base notion in Japanese

From this section onwards, I will examine the acceptability of the sentences not accounted for by principles [A]' and [B]'.

First, I will observe the cases where the goal of the movement is the home base of the participant in the communication act. In all the examples (74) to (88) in this section we have to keep in mind the

assumption that the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time.

Let us observe the following examples (74) - (77):

(74) *Watashi ga uchi ni inai aida ni, dareka ga*
 I house be-neg. whilst someone

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ \textit{*itta} \\ \textit{came} \\ \textit{*went} \end{array} \right\} \textit{yoqda.}$
 #
 appear

"whilst I was out of the house, someone apparently

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{*went} \end{array} \right\} \textit{(to the house).}$ "

私が家に居ない間に誰かが来たようだ。
 (来た) (行った)

(75) *Yuube watashi no uchi ni* $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ \textit{*itta} \end{array} \right\} \textit{no.}$

last night my house $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{went} \end{array} \right\}$

Doomo inakute gomen[#]nasai.
 not being sorry

"You $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to my house. I am sorry I was not in."

ゆうべ私の家に来たの。どうもいなくて
 ごめんなさい。
 (来た) (行った)

(76) *Kesa anata no uchi ni* $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{ittara} \\ \textit{*kitara} \end{array} \right\} \textit{daremo}$

this morning your house $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{went} \\ \textit{came} \end{array} \right\}$ anyone

inakatta wa.
 be-Neg./Tense

"When I $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{went} \\ \textit{came} \end{array} \right\}$ to your house this morning, nobody was
 in."

今朝あなたの家に $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{行ったら} \\ \textit{*来たら} \end{array} \right\}$ 誰も
 居なかったわ。

(77) *Kesa Taroo ga anata no uchi ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{itta} \\ * \underline{kita} \end{array} \right\}$ *toki, anata*
when

inakatta soo ne.

"When Taroo ^{went} _{came} to your house this morning, I

hear you were not in."

今朝太郎があなたの家に行きた時
あなた居なかったそうね。 (来た)

Sentences (74) and (75) are acceptable, even though (B)' is not satisfied (that is, the Sender is not located at the goal either at coding time or at arrival time). In this case the Sender's home, which is the goal of the movement, is regarded as the "home base". Therefore the sentences are acceptable. However, the possibility of using *kuru* in (76) and (77) is ruled out. It is inappropriate because the Sender is a mover and is not located at the Addressee's home (= the goal) at coding time in the case of (76). [See [X] - (1) in 2.1.] Sentence (77) is based on Taroo's report that the Addressee was not at home when Taroo visited him. In other words, the Sender learnt from Taroo that the Addressee was not located at the goal and was not aware of Taroo's visit at arrival time. Therefore *kuru* which indicates the Addressee's point of view is not suitable in this case. But there is a necessary proviso: the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time. I shall discuss in detail the cases where the goal is the Addressee's home base later on.

Sentences (74) - (77) should be compared with (18) - (20) in 1.1.

The home base is not necessarily the Sender's home base at coding time, but has to be the Sender's home base at arrival time as it is in English. [See sentences (21) and (22).] Therefore (78) is acceptable,

but (79) is not.

(78) *Gonen mae ni sunde ita uchi ni yoku Taroo ga*
five years ago live be/Tns often

kita ga, itsumo watashi ga inai to itte
came always be-neg. saying

koboshita mono da.
complain

"He used to complain that I was not in whenever he came to the house in which I lived five years ago."

五年前に住んでいた家によく太郎が来たが、いつも私が居ないと**言**って**こ**ぼしたものだ。

*(79) *Watashi ga ima no uchi o kau ikkagetsu*
present buy one month

mae ni Taroo ga yoku watashi ni ai-ni sono uchi ni
ago often to see me

kita.

*"During the month before I bought the present house, Taroo often came to it."

*私が今の家を買う一か月前に太郎がよく私に会いにその家に来た。

So far examples (74) - (77) have involved (i) the goal's being the home base of the Sender or the Addressee or, (ii) either the Sender's or the Addressee's being an agent of the movement.

Consider the following sentences:

(80) a. *Kesa Taroo ga Hanako ni ai-ni kita.*
this morning to see came

b. *Kesa Taroo ga Hanako ni ai-ni itta.*
went

"Taroo a. came to see Hanako this morning."
b. went

a. 今朝太郎が花子に会いに**来**た。

b. 今朝太郎が花子に会いに**行**った。

When the Sender is located at the place where Hanako is at coding time and/or at arrival time [B]', or when the place where Hanako is located is the Sender's home base, *kuru* is used. Otherwise *iku* is used. However, *kuru* is used regardless of the Sender's home base or the Sender's location at coding time or at arrival time. One cannot explain why it is so by [A]', [B]' or the home base notion. Kuno explains the use of *kuru* and *iku* by the principles that control the linguistic manifestation of the Sender's empathy⁶ He says that (80-a) is uttered when the Sender empathizes with Hanako rather than with Taroo, and that (80-b) is uttered when the Sender empathizes with Taroo rather than Hanako, or when the Sender is neutral.⁷

Even if the Sender's home is the goal, *kuru* is not appropriate in the case where the Sender's location at coding time is associated with the starting point of the movement. In (81) the fact that the place where the Sender is located is the source of the movement excludes the use of *kuru*.

(81) *Kaisha no tsukai no otoko-no-ko ga ima-kara*
 company messenger boy from now

shorui o tori ni uchi ni $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} iku \\ *kuru \end{array} \right\}$ *kara,* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ittara \\ kitara \end{array} \right\}$
 document get house $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ come \end{array} \right\}$ so $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ come \end{array} \right\}$

watashite kure.
 hand over

"The company's messenger boy will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ come \end{array} \right\}$ to our house

to get the documents, so give him them when he

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *goes. \\ comes. \end{array} \right\}$ "

会社の使いの男の子が今から書類を取り
 に家に $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 行く \\ *来る \end{array} \right\}$ から $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 行ったら \\ 来たら \end{array} \right\}$ 渡してくれ。

Suppose that a husband who is at work is talking to his wife at home on the telephone to warn her that his company's messenger boy is *coming* to the house to get the documents. In a situation like this, the fact that the messenger boy moves from the place where the Sender is at coding time becomes predominant. The reason *iku* is used is that the Sender retains his own point of view rather than the Addressee's. This is because the place where the Sender is located is the source of the movement. The use of *kuru* in the first sentence location is not as easily acceptable as *iku*, whereas *kuru* in the second sentence location is as good as *iku*.⁸ The reason why *kuru* might be used in the latter place would be as follows: *Kuru* is associated with the action at the goal, where the Addressee is located at coding time and at arrival time. That is, the Addressee is going to give the documents to the messenger boy at the place where the Addressee is located. Even if the Sender is not and will not be at the goal, the Sender may take the Addressee's point of view in such circumstances. This type of situation, where the use of *kuru* is permitted when the Addressee is at the goal, will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Let us compare (81) with (82):

(82) *Boku ga shutchoo de Oosaka ni iru toki ni,*
 I business trip be when
Sapporo ni sunde iru yuujin ga uchi ni asobi
 live STE friend house visit
ni kita rashii.
 came

"Whilst I was in Osaka on business, our friend in Sapporo apparently came to visit us."

僕が出張で大阪に居る時に札幌に住んでいる友人が家に遊びに来たらしい。

Only *kuru* is used in (82), provided that the Sender is not in Sapporo at coding time. The reasons are:

1. The Sender's home is the goal of the movement, even if the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time. The goal is the Sender's home base.
2. The Sender's location is irrelevant to the source of the movement, that is, the Sender was not in Sapporo at coding time or at arrival time. The use of *iku* is ruled out.

The difference between (81) and (82) is that the Sender is located at the starting point of the movement at coding time in (81), but that he is not in (82).

Let us observe the cases where the Sender is included in the movement as a mover:

(83) *Ima mada isogashii kara saki ni watashi-no*
 now still busy so ahead my
uchi ni { *itte* } *kudasai.*
 { **kite* } request
 { go }
 { **come* }

"I am busy now, so please { ^{go} } ahead to my house."
 { *_{come} }

今まだ忙しいから先に私の家に
 }行って} 下さい。
 }来て}

(84) *Isshoni watashi no uchi ni* { *ikimashoo.* }
 together { **kimashoo.* }
 { go - let's }
 { come - let's }

"Let's { ^{go} } to my house together."
 { _{come} }

一緒に私の家に { 行きましょう。 }
 { *来ましょう。 }

- (85) *Hitori de yomichi o aruku no ga kowai kara,*
 alone street at night walk fear so
uchi made okutte { itte } *kudasaimasenka.*⁹
 as far as escort { *kite } request #
 { go }
 { *come }

"Since I am afraid of walking alone in the streets at night, will you escort me home?"

一人で夜道を歩くのが怖いから、家まで送って { *来て } 下かいませんか。

- (86) *KoNban dare-mo uchi ni inai kara, ima-kara*
 tonight anyone be-neg. so from now
watashi to issho-ni uchi ni { kite } *hitoban tomatte*
 { *itte } one night stay

kudasaimasen ka.
 request

"Nobody will be in my house tonight, so will you

{ come } to the house with me and stay overnight?"
 { *go }

今晚誰も家に居ないから、今から私と一緒に家に { *来て } 一晩泊まって下かいませんか。

Let us consider the reasons why *iku* is acceptable in (83), (84) and (85), but *kuru* is appropriate in (86). In (83) the place where both the Sender and the Addressee are located at coding time is the source of the movement, and the Sender is assumed not to be at the goal at arrival time. Therefore *iku* must be used. This is similar to the use of *iku* in (81) except that the Addressee is located at the goal in (81). In (84), (85) and (86) the only fact in common is that the Sender is accompanying the Addressee to the Sender's home. In other words, the Sender is also a mover. According to the assumption [(X) - (i)] only *iku* is used in (84), (85) and (86), but in (86) *iku* is not as good as *kuru* which is

undoubtedly acceptable.

The difference between (86) and the other two (84) and (85) is that some sort of action is involved at the goal in (86). In this case the Sender is asking the Addressee to stay overnight at the goal. The Sender's request enables the Addressee to expect that the Addressee might stay at the goal. If the source-oriented verb, *iku* is permitted, the Addressee's expectation would be contradicted.

This reason is similar to that given to explain the possibility of the use of *kitara* in (81) except that both the Sender and the Addressee are moving to the goal in (86) whilst in (81) only the Addressee is at the goal at coding time and at arrival time to wait for a mover. What is interesting in (86) is that the Sender, an agent of the movement, who is at the source at coding time could psychologically put himself at the goal and take his own point of view at the goal at arrival time.

In (85) it is quite possible to think that the Addressee may leave the Sender near his home or at the front door of his house. The reason for the use of *iku* in (85) and that of *kuru* in (86) is that *iku* is the source-oriented verb and *kuru* is the goal-oriented verb.

Any group serving as the goal of the movement such as *kaisha* "company", *daigaku* "university", *gakkoo* "school" etc., to which the Sender strongly feels that he belongs as a member, functions equally well as one's home base.

Let us consider the following sentences:

(87) *Ashita yuumeina kagakusha ga daigaku ni*
tomorrow famous scientist university

daigaku is the Sender's home base. However, the same *kuru* cannot be used in the second sentence location because the Sender is a mover who is not at the goal at coding time. [[X] - (i)]

In (88) the goal is the place Fillmore terms "the proper location", that is, "the place where one might expect to find the Sender at the time of arrival". The fact that the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time allows him to use *iku*, but *kuru* is also permitted, because the goal is the home base in a broad sense. However, the fact that only *kuru* is allowed in the first part of (87) and that both *iku* and *kuru* are permitted in (88) would indicate that the Sender's affiliation with the goals in both examples is different. In (87) *daigaku* "university" is the Sender's home base with which he is associated in many aspects of his life. In contrast, *kissaten* "coffee shop" is his regular meeting place with Hanako and is not quite the same as *uchi* "home", *daigaku* "university", *kaisha* "company", etc.

Compared with English, there is discrimination in Japanese between the home base and the proper location as far as the use of *kuru* is concerned. The goal in (88) is similar to that in (24). In (88) the Sender's consciousness that he is not located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time allows him to describe the movement neutrally. Therefore *iku* is also used.

2.4 Specialized Uses of *iku* and *kuru*

In the previous section we have already dealt with some cases where the Sender is taking someone else's point of view, but in this section we shall examine how the Sender's point of view shifts or remains in the following cases:

1. Where the Addressee is located at the goal at coding time or arrival time, especially in the question form.
2. Where the uses of *kuru* and *iku* are embedded in clauses dependent on speech-act verbs such as *yuu* "say, tell" and *tazuneru* "ask".
3. Where the uses of *kuru* and *iku* are embedded in clauses dependent on "subjective-experience" verbs such as *omou* "think".

2.4.1 The case where the Addressee is at the goal in the question form

Let us observe the first case:

(89) *Kimi-n toko e ima Tanaka-kun ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} iku \\ kuru \end{array} \right\}$ *kara*
 you now because

yoroshiku tanomu yo.
 favour ask particle

"Tanaka will $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} go \\ come \end{array} \right\}$ to your place shortly, so I hope you will look after him."

君んところへ今田中君が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 行く \\ 来る \end{array} \right\}$ から。
 よろしく頼むよ。

(90) *Kimi no jimusho e Taroo ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} iku \\ kuru \end{array} \right\}$ *kamo shirenai yo.*
 office might

"Taroo might $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} go \\ come \end{array} \right\}$ to your office."

君の事務所へ太郎が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 行く \\ 来る \end{array} \right\}$ かもしれないよ。

(91) *Kyoo omae-no tokoro e dareka* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ikanakatta \\ konakatta \end{array} \right\}$ *kai.*
 Today your place someone $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} go-Neg.Tns \\ come-Neg.Tns \end{array} \right\}$ Q-marker

"Did anyone $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go} \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to visit you today?"

今日、おまへの所へ誰か
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{行かなかった} \\ \text{来なかった} \end{array} \right\}$ かい。

(92) *Kesa anata-no tokoro ni gakusei ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ikimashita} \\ \text{kimashita} \end{array} \right\}$
this morning student $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go-Polite Tns} \\ \text{come-Polite Tns} \end{array} \right\}$

ka.
Q. marker

"Did the student $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go} \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to your place this morning?"

今朝、あなたの所に学生が
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{行きました} \\ \text{来ました} \end{array} \right\}$ かい。

According to [A] and [B], only *iku* should be used in (89) - (92), but *kuru* is also acceptable. It is assumed that the Sender is not at the goal at coding time or at arrival time in these examples. This phenomenon frequently occurs in the question form as in (91) and (92).

It must be noted that only the addressee is located at the goal at coding time or arrival time throughout sentences (89) - (96) in this sub-section. The first examples (89) and (90), in fact, do not deal with sentences in question forms, but show that the use of *kuru* is also acceptable in certain circumstances.

In (89) and (90) *Tanaka-kun* and *Taroo* are underlined respectively to indicate where emphasis occurs. According to Ooe, in these sentences the Sender and the Addressee both share the premise that someone moves to the Addressee and these underlined words are emphasized. In these cases the Sender can take the Addressee's point of view or retain his

own point of view. Therefore *iku* and *kuru* are permitted.¹⁰

Let us now focus on this sub-section's main problem, that is, the case where the Addressee is located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time in the question form.

Ooe gives, as the reason why *kuru* is used in questions, the fact that the Sender expects the Addressee to answer the question by using the verb *kuru*. In other words, the Sender can take the Addressee's point of view: in this case, then, the use of *kuru* is appropriate. However, in Japanese usage, the Sender can retain his own point of view, and so the use of *iku* is also appropriate.

Ooe pointed out that both *kuru* and *iku* are used in a question in the past tense, but that *iku* is seldom used in a question in the future tense. The reasons are as follows:

1. The Sender can ask the Addressee about a movement which happened either from the Sender's point of view, or from the Addressee's point of view.
2. The Sender cannot put his own view to the Addressee about a movement which is expected to happen in relation to the Addressee, precisely because we are here dealing with the Addressee's expectation or prediction. Therefore the Sender takes the Addressee's point of view.

Let us observe the following sentences. Only the Addressee is located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time in the examples (93-a) to 96-b):

(93)a). *Senshuu anata no tokoro ni Tanaka-san ga*
Last week

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimashita} \\ \underline{kimashita} \end{array} \right\}$ ka.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go-Polite-Tns} \\ \text{come-Polite-Tns} \end{array} \right\}$ Q. marker

"Did Tanaka $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to your place yesterday?"

先週 あなたの所に田中さんが
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きました} \\ \underline{来ました} \end{array} \right\}$ か。

b). Raishuu anata no tokoro ni Tanaka-san ga
next week

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimasu} \\ \underline{kimasu} \end{array} \right\}$ ka.

"Will Tanaka $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} go \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to your place next week?"

来週 あなたの所に田中さんが
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きます} \\ \underline{来ます} \end{array} \right\}$ か。

(94)a). Senshuu anata no tokoro ni anata no okaasan ga
mother

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimashita} \\ \underline{kimashita} \end{array} \right\}$ ka.

"Did your mother $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to your place last week?"

先週 あなたの所にあなたのお母さんが
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きました} \\ \underline{来ました} \end{array} \right\}$ か。

b). Raishuu anata no tokoro ni anata no okaasan ga

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimasu} \\ \underline{kimasu} \end{array} \right\}$ ka.

"Will your mother $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *go \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ to your place next week?"

来週 あなたの所にあなたのお母さんが
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きます} \\ \underline{来ます} \end{array} \right\}$ か。

(95)a). *Yoku omoidase-nai kedo, senshū watashi anata*
well recall-Neg. though

no tokoro ni { itta / *kita } *kashira.*

"I can't recall it well, but did I {go / come} to your place last week?"

よく思い出せないけど、先週私、あなたの所に { 行った / *来た } かしら。

b). *Raishū no naNyōobi ni anata no tokoro ni*
what day

{ ikimashō / kimashō } *ka.*

"What day of the next week shall I {go / come} to your place?"

来週の何曜日にあなただの所に { 行きましょう / 来ましょう } か。

(96)a). *Senshū anata no tokoro ni haha ga*
my mother

{ ikimashita / kimashita } *ka.*

"Did my mother {go / come} to your place last week?"

先週あなたの所に母が { 行きました / 来ました } か。

b). *Raishū anata no tokoro ni haha ga* { ikimasu / kimasu } *ka.*

"Will my mother {go / come} to your place next week?"

来週あなたの所に母が { 行きます / 来ます } か。

I basically agree with Ooe's observation about the uses of *kuru* and *iku* in a question in the different tenses. However, I find the use of *iku* in (93-b), (94-a), (94-b) and (96-b) to be acceptable and the use of *kuru* in (95-a) dubious.

One must remember that *go* in English is not only the source-oriented verb but also neutral with respect to two orientational features. This also applies to *iku* in Japanese. The verb *iku* in (93-b), (94-a), (94-b) and (96-b) is neutral as far as the Sender's or the Addressee's point of view is concerned. Therefore the Sender can describe the event which happened or will happen neutrally. *Iku* in these sentences is not used from the Sender's point of view. However, in both (94-a) and (94-b) the use of *kuru* is more acceptable than that of *iku*. This is because the mover (= the Addressee's mother) is closer to the Addressee and it is more natural for the Sender to take the Addressee's point of view when the Sender asks the Addressee about the Addressee's mother. The use of *kuru* in (95-a) is not as good as that of *iku*, because the Sender is an agent of the movement [[X] - (i)]. Most of the native speakers of the Japanese language whom I contacted admit that *iku* in (95-a) is better than *kuru*, but they accept the use of *kuru* when *anata* in the sentence is stressed. In (95-b) *kuru* is permitted as well as *iku*, even if the Sender is the one who moves. In this case the Sender is asking the Addressee the convenient day for the Sender to visit; in a situation like this the Sender can take the Addressee's point of view. So *kuru* is also permitted.

2.4.2 The case where *iku* and *kuru* are embedded in clauses with speech act verbs

The second case concerning the uses of *kuru* and *iku* is where these

verbs are embedded in clauses with speech-act verbs. I shall separate the three different situations where:

1. Taroo, the subject of the verb, is located at a goal at arrival time, but the Sender is not at the goal at arrival time or at the time when *Taroo* addresses the Sender or *Yoshiko*.
2. The Sender is located at the goal at arrival time, but *Taroo* is not at the goal at arrival time or at the time when *Taroo* addresses the Sender or *Yoshiko*.
3. The Addressee is located at the goal at arrival time, but neither the Sender nor *Taroo* is at the goal at arrival time or at the time when *Taroo* addresses the Addressee or *Yoshiko*. However, when either the Sender or *Taroo* moves, either of them is bound to be at the goal at arrival time.

One must remember that in English the Sender takes someone else's point of view, that is, the use of *come* is permitted in such a situation. [See (28) and (29).]

Let us observe how the Japanese deictic verbs are controlled in the embedded sentence with *yuu* "say" and *tazuneru* "ask".

To avoid any ambiguity, it must be stressed beforehand that *kare* (*kareno*) "he (his)" throughout the examples in the section is the pronoun indicating *Taroo*, the subject of the speech-act verb.

All the sentences (97) to (114) (including examples with *iku/kuru* which are embedded in clauses containing the verb *omou* "think" in 2.4.3) have been checked by five native speakers in response to a questionnaire, because choice of the appropriate verb(s), *iku* or *kuru* or

(98)a). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ * \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$

to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$
to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ * \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

b). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$

to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$
to the party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

b'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ ?? \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$

to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ * \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to his
party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ ?? \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

c). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ?? \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$

to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$
to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ?? \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

The use of *kuru* in (97) and (98) is very consistent. This is

because *Taroo*, the subject of the speech-act verb is located at the goal. Therefore *Taroo's* point of view must be taken, namely, the use of *kuru* is still sustained. In (97-b) where *Hanako* is replaced with *anata* "you", *kuru* is still undoubtedly selected as the appropriate verb, but two respondents hesitated to admit the full unacceptability of *iku*. This phenomenon could be predicted because the respondents would take into consideration the fact that the Sender might be able to take the Addressee's stance (where the use of *iku* is allowed). However, the fact that the subject of the speech-act verb is situated at the goal at arrival time is a stronger factor to consider.

In (98-b), however, acceptability of both *iku* and *kuru* was supported by all the respondents. The difference between (98-b/b') and the other examples is that the Sender is the one who moves in (98-b)/(98-b'). In Japanese this fact is equally as important as the fact that *Taroo* is situated at the goal at arrival time. It is to be noted that the use of *go* in the English equivalent (98-b) and (98-b') is unacceptable.

What is interesting is that in (98-b') where the tense is changed, two question marks "??" are placed on *iku*. One respondent put an asterisk, and another placed two question marks "??" on the same verb. The reason is intuited that the Sender cannot control the situation which happened prior to coding time, i.e., when he had been to the party there was no chance of his not going to the party. Hence it seems more acceptable to use *kuru* in (98-b') because it is more natural for the Sender to take *Taroo's* position. In other words, the fact that the Sender had been to the goal should be viewed through the "eyes" of the person who was at the goal - that is, *Taroo's* point of view must take priority (where the goal-oriented verb, *kuru*, is appropriate). On the

other hand, in (98-b) when the Sender had a degree of control over his movements, i.e., he would go to the party but was not yet at the party, he can put his own view (where the use of *iku* is permitted) as well as taking Taroo's.

The next situation I shall consider is where the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time:

(99)a). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ??\underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$
to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$
to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ ??\underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$ と
(私に) 言った。

b). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ *iku \end{array} \right\}$
to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to
my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ *iku \end{array} \right\}$ と
(私に) 言った。

b'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ *itta \end{array} \right\}$
to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{来た}} \\ *ikta \end{array} \right\}$
と(私に) 言った。

c). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ?iku \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
(watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to
my party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ?行く \end{array} \right\}$ と
(私に) 言った。

c'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ ?itta \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
(watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ ?行った \end{array} \right\}$ と
(私に) 言った。

(100)a). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ?iku \end{array} \right\}$
to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ?行く \end{array} \right\}$
と、良子に言った。

b). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ??iku \end{array} \right\}$
to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$
to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ??行く \end{array} \right\}$
と良子に言った。

b'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ??\underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$
to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to
my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ??\underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$
と良子に言った。

c). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ??\underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$
to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ?\underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

c'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ ??\underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to*

Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to my
party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ ?\underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

One must bear it in mind that *Taroo*, the subject of the speech-act verb, is not located at the goal at arrival time or at the time when *Taroo* addresses the Sender or *Yoshiko* as in examples (99-a) to (110-c'): otherwise the use of *iku* is unacceptable in these sentences.

Throughout (99-a) to (110-c') the use of *kuru* is consistently supported without question. This is because the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time. In other words, the Sender can retain his own

stance in this type of situation. However, the only partial acceptability of *iku* is exhibited in (99-c), (99-c'), (100-c) and (100-c') in the situation where *Taroo*, the subject of the verb *yuu* "say" moves. (That is, the use of *iku* is appropriate from his, the mover's, point of view.) In (99-b), (99-b'), (100-b) and (100-b') where the Addressee moves, the use of *kuru* is more suitable, because basically the Sender uses *kuru* to describe the movement which the Addressee makes towards the place where the Sender is situated. But in (100-b) and (100-b') the use of *iku* may be accepted with two question marks "??".

The reason why the different degrees of acceptability of *iku* occur is that in Japanese there is no clear-cut division between direct and indirect speech. The sentences used here are all indirect speech where the Sender describes the situation from his own point of view. But the fact that *iku* may be slightly acceptable suggests that direct speech (where *iku* is the verb used by *Taroo*, the subject of the verb, *yuu* "say") would creep into these examples. This might be the reason why the respondents were puzzled over the use of *iku*. In contrast to Japanese, in English only the use of *come* is permitted. This is partly because direct speech is clearly different from indirect speech in English. That is, *come* is the correct verb chosen by the Sender who describes the situation from his own position.

The difference in common between the group of sentences in (99) and that in (100) is that in (99) the Sender is the Addressee whom *Taroo* addresses. On the other hand, in (100) *Yoshiko* is the Addressee whom *Taroo* addresses. In other words, in (100) the Sender tells the Addressee what *Taroo* has told *Yoshiko* regarding the Sender's party, whereas in (99) the Sender tells the Addressee what *Taroo* has told the Addressee regarding the Sender's party. Therefore the Sender's

involvement in the discourses in (100) is less than his involvement in (99) - the Sender's view becomes less subjective or neutral. To put it another way, the Sender allows *Taroo's* point of view to creep in, even if he (the Sender) is referring to his party where he is situated at arrival time. This reflects the facts that all the uses of *iku* in (100) are partially acceptable (where "?" or "??" is placed on *iku*).

Finally we must examine the situation where the Addressee is at the goal at arrival time. It should be remembered that neither *Taroo* nor the Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time:

(101)a). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$
to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$

to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$
と(私に)言った。

b). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$ と
(私に)言った。

b'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *come \\ gone \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\text{来た} \\ \text{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と(私に)
言った。

(102)a). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$
to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$
と良子に言った。

b). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to Yoshiko*
ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

b'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to Yoshiko*
ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *come \\ gone \end{array} \right\}$ to your
party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\text{来た} \\ \underline{\text{行った}} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

c). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to
your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$ と
良子に言った。

c'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *kita \\ itta \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to your
party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *来た \\ 行った \end{array} \right\}$
と良子に言った。

Throughout the examples (101-a) to (102-c'), the use of *iku* is consistently permitted (where the Sender takes Taroo's stance or retains his own position) but *kuru* is acceptable in (101-a) and (101-b) (where the Sender can also take the Addressee's point of view when Hanako moves).

When *Taroo* moves, as in (101-b), (101-b'), (102-b) and (102-b'), his point of view is retained (viz., *iku* is acceptable). But the possibility of the Sender's taking the Addressee's position (where the use of *kuru* is permitted) can be observed in (101-b) and (102-b) where one question mark, "?", is placed on *kuru*. This is because *Taroo's* point of view takes priority since he moves. It may also be due to the fact that in Japanese the Sender basically chose the verb *iku* for the movement made by the third person towards the Addressee. But as has been observed in 2.4.1, the possibility of the Sender's taking the Addressee's position exists in (101-a) and (102-a). In the case of (102-c) and (102-c') where the Sender moves, as predicted, he retains his own stand (where *iku* is used). However, the use of *kuru*, which represents the Addressee's (or Taroo's) view, may be possible if Taroo is located at the goal at arrival time. But it is to be remembered that such a condition is precluded. [See paragraph immediately preceding sentence (101-a)]

It must be noted that both go and come are acceptable in the English equivalents (101-b) and (102-b): viz., the Sender can take either the Addressee's or Taroo's position. However, only go is permitted in the English equivalents (101-b') and (102-b') where the tense is changed into the past. The reason for the acceptability of go in (101-b') and (102-b') is that the past tense seems to emphasize Taroo's point of view.

This concludes the examination of how *iku* and *kuru* are chosen in the three separate circumstances when they are embedded in clauses with the verb *yuu* "say". The next to consider will be the case in which these deictic verbs are embedded in clauses with the other speech-act verb, *tazuneru*, "ask" in the same three separate situations, viz.:

1. Where Taroo is located at the goal at arrival time;
2. Where the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time;
3. Where the Addressee is located at the goal at arrival time.

In the first group of examples (103-a) to (104-c'), where Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time, one must remember that the Sender is not located at the goal at the time when Taroo addresses the Sender or Yoshiko:

(103)a). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kuru \\ *iku \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to*
(watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to
 his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ *行く \end{array} \right\}$ かと
 (私に) 尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kuru \\ iku \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ \underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$ かと
(私に)尋ねた。

b'). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kita} \\ ?\underline{\text{itta}} \end{array} \right\}$ ka to
(watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来た} \\ ?\underline{\text{行った}} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と(私に)尋ねた。

c). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kuru} \\ ?\underline{\text{iku}} \end{array} \right\}$ ka to
(watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ ?\underline{\text{行く}} \end{array} \right\}$
かと(私に)尋ねた。

c'). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kita} \\ *?\underline{\text{itta}} \end{array} \right\}$ ka to
(watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if you had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ *gone \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来た} \\ *?\underline{\text{行った}} \end{array} \right\}$
かと(私に)尋ねた。

(104)a). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kuru} \\ *?\underline{\text{iku}} \end{array} \right\}$ ka to
Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ * \text{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と良子に尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kuru} \\ * \text{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.,

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ * \text{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と良子に尋ねた。

b'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kita} \\ * \text{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ * \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to his
party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来た} \\ * \text{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と良子に尋ねた。

c). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kuru} \\ ? \text{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to*
Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ ? \text{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と良子に尋ねた。

c'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kita} \\ * \text{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to*
Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来た} \\ * \text{行った} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

In all the sentences (103-a) to (104-c') the use of *kuru* is again supported by respondents without question. This may be predicted, as we have observed the same circumstance in (97-a) to (98-c). Since Taroo, the subject of the verb, is situated at the goal at arrival time, it is more suitable for the Sender to take Taroo's stance than someone else's stance. However, when the Sender moves, the use of *iku* is fully or partially accepted in (103-b) and (103-b')/(104-b)/(104-b').

When the Addressee moves as in (103-c) and (104-c), the use of *iku* is partially permitted. But in (103-c') and (104-c') where the tense of *iku* and *kuru* is altered, the possibility of the use of *iku* was unanimously ruled out.

As was discussed in the previous paragraph, when the Sender moved he was able to retain his point of view (where *iku* is allowable) as in (103-b). However, in (104-b)/(104-b') where the use of *iku* is partially acceptable, the Sender becomes less "subjective" about his own movement because he tells the Addressee what Taroo has told Yoshiko. It is difficult for the Sender to project his own view into what he, the Sender, is not involved in directly.

The reason given to explain the use of *iku* in (97-b) applies to the case where the use of *iku* is partially accepted: viz., the Sender might be able to take the Addressee's point of view when the Sender talks to the Addressee referring to the Addressee's own movement.

The second case I shall investigate is where the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time. It is to be noted that Taroo is not situated at the goal at arrival time or at the time Taroo addresses the Sender or Yoshiko:

(105)a). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ * \textit{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.*

"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming} \\ \textit{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ * \begin{array}{l} \textit{来る} \\ \textit{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ かと(私に)尋ねた。

a'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ * \textit{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.*

"Taro asked me if Hanako had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come} \\ ? \textit{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ * \begin{array}{l} \textit{来た} \\ \textit{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ かと(私に)尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ * \textit{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.*

"Taroo asked me if you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming} \\ * \textit{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ * \begin{array}{l} \textit{来る} \\ \textit{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ かと(私に)尋ねた。

b'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ * \textit{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.*

"Taroo asked me if you had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come} \\ * \textit{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来た} \\ * \textit{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ かと(私に)言った。61

(106)a). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ \textit{?iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming} \\ \textit{going} \end{array} \right\}$
to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来る} \\ \textit{?行く} \end{array} \right\}$ か
と良子に尋ねた。

a'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ \textit{*itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka to*
Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come} \\ \textit{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to my
party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来た} \\ \textit{*行った} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ \textit{?iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming} \\ \textit{*going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来る} \\ \textit{?行く} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

b'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ \textit{*itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come} \\ \textit{*gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to my
party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来た} \\ \textit{*行った} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

The first point to make in all the examples (105-a) to (106-b') is that the use of *kuru* is undoubtedly approved (where the Sender's position is maintained), since the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time. However, in (106-a) and (106-b) where the Sender's possibility of taking either Taroo's stance or the Addressee's stance respectively, the use of *iku* may be partially accepted. The reason for this is similar to the one given in explanation of the use of *iku* in (99-c), (99-c'), (100-b), (100-b'), (100-c) and (100-c'): that is, direct speech may creep into the examples (106-a) and (106-b). In direct speech, *iku* is the appropriate verb used by Taroo, the subject of the main verb, *tazuneru* "ask", when he addresses Yoshiko.

In the English equivalents (105-a), (106-a) and (106-a') the Sender can take either his own stance or Taroo's even if the Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time: that is, either come or go is acceptable. However, the use of *go* in (105-a') is less acceptable than its use in these three examples. In (105-a') the fact that Hanako had been to the goal must be viewed through the eyes of the person who is located at the goal at arrival time. So *go* is less acceptable than *come* in (105-a'). But in (106-a') where the past tense is used, *go* is permitted as well as *come*. This is because the person whom Taroo addresses is not the Sender in (106-a'). Therefore the Sender's subjectivity is reduced: in other words, Taroo's position (where the use of *go* is appropriate) is allowed to come in. So *go* in (106-a') is acceptable. On the other hand, in (105-a') it is the Sender whom Taroo addresses. Therefore the Sender's point of view takes priority: that is, *come* is more acceptable than *go* in (105-a').

The third and final case is where the Addressee is located at the goal at arrival time, but the Sender is not. The general proviso is

that Taroo, the subject of the verb *tazuneru*, is neither situated at the goal at arrival time nor at the time when Taroo addresses the Sender or Yoshiko:

(107)a). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$
 かと(私に)尋ねた。

a'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if Hanako had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$
 かと(私に)尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$
 かと(私に)尋ねた。

b'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.

"Taroo asked me if I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ * \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ かと(私に)
 尋ねた。

(108)a). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$
to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

a'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to
your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

b). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *ka*
to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I would be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

b'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$
ka to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{come} \\ * \text{gone} \end{array} \right\}$ to your
party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$
かと良子に尋ねた。

In (107-a), (107-a'), (108-a) and (108-a') where the third person, Hanako, moves/has moved, the Sender can take either the Addressee's stand or Taroo's stand: viz., either *iku* or *kuru* is acceptable. In the English equivalents of the Japanese sentences quoted above, the Sender also can take either the Addressee's point of view or Taroo's point of view: viz., either *come* or *go* is permitted.

But in (107-b), (107-b'), (108-b) and (108-b') where the Sender moves, he (the Sender) must retain his own point of view: viz., only the use of *iku* is permitted. But as in (102-c) and (102-c'), the possibility of the Sender's taking the Addressee's (or Taroo's) point of view may exist if Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time. However, we have already precluded such condition. It is to be noted that in English only come is acceptable when the Sender moves as in the sentences referred to.

2.4.3 A summary of uses of *iku* and *kuru* where embedded in clauses dependent on the verbs *yuu* and *tazuneru*

To clarify the complicated uses of *iku* and *kuru* when they are embedded in clauses dependent on the verbs, *yuu* "say" and *tazuneru* "ask", tables 2 and 3 are constructed:

TABLE 2: Choice Patterns of *iku/kuru* where embedded in the clauses dependent on the speech-act verb, *yuu* "say"

Sentence Number		Mover	Goal	Addresses whom Taroo addresses	Tense	Acceptability of <i>iku/kuru</i>
97a	Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Taroo	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's point of view) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's point of view)
97b		Add'ee	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
98a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	"	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
98b		Sender	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
98b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ?? <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
98c		Add'ee	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ?? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
99a	The Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Sender	Sender	"	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ?? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
99b		Add'ee	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
99b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
99c		Taroo, subject of verb <i>yuu</i>	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
99c'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
100a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
100b		Add'ee	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ?? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
100b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ?? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
100c		Taroo	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
100c'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
101a	The Addressee is situated at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Add'ee	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/Sender's)
101b		Taroo	"	"	"	? <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
101b'		"	"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
102a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/Sender's)
102b		Taroo	"	"	"	? <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
102b'		"	"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
102c		Sender	"	"	non-past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
102c'		"	"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)

Notes:

- Blank: completely acceptable
 ? : acceptable with some hesitation
 ?? : acceptable with major hesitation/unacceptable with some hesitation
 * : completely unacceptable

TABLE 3 Choice Patterns of *iku/kuru* where embedded in the clauses dependent on the Speech-act Verb, *tazuneru* "ask"

Sentence Number		Mover	Goal	Addressee whom Taroo addresses	Tense	Acceptability of <i>iku/kuru</i>
103a	Taroo is located at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Taroo	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's point of view) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's point of view)
103b		Sender	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
103b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
103c		Add'ee	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
103c'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressees')
104a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
104b		Sender	"	"	"	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
104b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
104c		Add'ee	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
104c'	"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)	
105a		Hanako	Sender	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
105a'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
105b		Add'ee	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
105b'	The Sender is located at the goal at arrival time	"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
106a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
106a'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
106b		Add'ee	"	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
106b'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
107a	The Addressee is located at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Add'ee	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
107a'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo/the Sender's)
107b		Sender	"	"	non-past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
107b'		"	"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
108a		Hanako	"	Yoshiko	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/the Sender's)
108a'		"	"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/the Sender's)
108b		Sender	"	"	non-past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
108b'		"	"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)

Notes:

- Blank: completely acceptable
 ? : acceptable with some hesitation
 ?? : acceptable with major hesitation/unacceptable with some hesitation.
 * : completely unacceptable.

We may summarize the tables as follows:

1. When Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time, *kuru* is the correct verb, but the use of *iku* (where the Sender's point of view is permitted) is also fully permitted when the Sender moves. A slight possibility of the use of *iku* can be observed when the Addressee moves, (where the Sender's taking the Addressee's point of view is partially approved). In contrast to Japanese, in English, whoever the mover is, only come is acceptable: in other words, the possibility of the use of *go* is completely ruled out.

2. When the Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time, *kuru* is the verb chosen by the Sender who is located at the goal. But in the case where Taroo, the subject of the verb *yuu* "say", moves, his point of view (where *iku* is appropriate) may "creep into" the Sender's view.

In another case where

(i) the Addressee moves,

(ii) the person whom Taroo addresses is not the Sender,

the Sender's taking the Addressee's stance (where *iku* is appropriate) is partially possible.

In English the use of *come* is unanimously accepted, since the Sender is situated at the goal.

3. When the Addressee is situated at the goal at arrival time, we must take into consideration who moves/has moved, as we have observed in the first two cases. When the third person, for example, Hanako moves, either *iku* or *kuru* is acceptable since neither the Sender nor Taroo is at the goal at arrival time. But when Taroo moves, his stance takes priority, thus, *iku* is the acceptable verb. When the Sender

moves, the Sender retains his own view, that is, the situation should be described with the verb *iku*.

2.4.4 The case where *iku* and *kuru* are embedded in clauses containing the verb *omou* "think"

In this sub-section I shall consider how *iku* and *kuru* in embedded clauses are chosen in the three different environments, as I have done previously for verbs "*yuu*" and "*tazuneru*", viz.,

- (1) When Taroo, the subject of the verb *omou*, "think" is situated at the goal at arrival time [examples (109-a) to (109-c')],
- (2) When the Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time [examples (110-a) to (110-c')],
- (3) When the Addressee is situated at the goal at arrival time [examples (111-a) to (111-c')].

(109)a). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ * \textit{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ * \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ * \text{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と
思っている。

a'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ * \textit{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that Hanako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ * \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来た} \\ * \text{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と
思っている。

b). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ ?\underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that you will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ ?\underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

b'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ *it\text{ta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that you $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ *went \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ *行\text{った} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

c). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that I shall be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と 思っている。

c'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ \underline{it\text{ta}} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ ?went \end{array} \right\}$ to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行\text{った}} \end{array} \right\}$ と 思っている。

It is presupposed that the Sender is not situated at the goal at arrival time in these sentences (109-a) to (109-c'). It must be also

remembered that *kare no* "his" is the pronoun indicating Taroo, the subject of the verb *omou*.

Throughout the examples, the use of *kuru* is unanimously supported. This is quite easy to predict, because Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time. However, in the case where the Sender moves as in (109-c) or (109-c'), the Sender's position is sustained: that is, both *iku* and *kuru* are equally acceptable.

The English equivalent (109-c') may sound odd because we generally know who came to our own party. But the situation is that Taroo was not aware whether the Sender was present or not at his own party because he was intoxicated or because the party was too big for him to remember all the people present. Or Taroo frequently holds parties so that he tends to mix up one party with another. At any rate, Taroo thinks that the Sender was at the particular party he hosted. In such a circumstance the use of *go* is possible.

Sentences (110-a) to (110-c') depict a common situation: viz., the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time. The underlying condition for these examples is that Taroo, the subject of *omou* is not situated at the goal at arrival time. Sentence (110-c') may sound odd to some people, but this example is quite acceptable in the circumstance where Taroo has an incorrect remembrance of having been to the Sender's party when in fact he had been to the Sender's sister's party.

(110)a). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kuru} \\ \textit{?iku} \end{array} \right\}$
to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{?going} \end{array} \right\}$ to
my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{来る} \\ \text{?行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

a'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ *itta \end{array} \right\}$
to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ *行った \end{array} \right\}$
と
思っている。

b). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ *iku \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that you will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to my
party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ *行く \end{array} \right\}$
と
思っている。

b'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ *itta \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that you $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ *行った \end{array} \right\}$
と
思っている。

c). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{koyoo} \\ ?ikoo \\ \text{come - Vol.} \\ \text{go - Vol.} \end{array} \right\}$ *to*
omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that he will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ *going \end{array} \right\}$ to my
party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来よう} \\ ?行こう \end{array} \right\}$ と
思
い
る。

c'). *Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kita} \\ \textit{*itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{*went} \end{array} \right\}$ to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{来た} \\ \textit{*行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っ
ている。

The use of *kumu*, again, is unquestionable for these sentences, because of the Sender's location at arrival time. However, the possibility of the Sender's taking Taroo's stance may be observed in (110-a) or (110-c) where Hanako or Taroo moves respectively. However, in the case of (110-a') or (110-c') where the tense is changed, the use of *iku* is completely excluded. This is because the situation in which Hanako or Taroo has been to the party has to be seen through the "eyes" of the Sender who is located at the goal at arrival time. The Sender's taking Taroo's or the Addressee's stance is not possible in (110-b) and (110-b') where the Addressee moves. In other words, the Sender must retain his own point of view (where only *kumu* is acceptable).

In the English equivalents (110-a') and (110-b') (where the past tense is used), the use of *go* is permitted whereas in (110-a) and (110-b) the use of *go* is either only slightly acceptable or unacceptable respectively. This is because the past tense seems to emphasize Taroo's point of view (where *go* is used). In (110-c') the use of *go* is not permitted, but it may be possible when "my party" is stressed. That may contrast the Sender's party with someone else's: for instance, Taroo went to my sister's party, but he thinks he went to my party.

Let us observe the final case where the Addressee is located at the goal at arrival time. It should be noted that neither the Sender nor

Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time:

(111)a). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

a'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that Hanako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{?came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

b). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kuru} \\ \underline{iku} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that I shall be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来る} \\ \underline{行く} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている

b'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{kita} \\ \underline{itta} \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \underline{来た} \\ \underline{行った} \end{array} \right\}$ と思っている。

c). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *koyoo \\ ikoo \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that he will be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{coming} \\ \text{going} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *来よう \\ 行こう \end{array} \right\}$ と
思っている。

c'). *Taroo wa anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *kita \\ itta \end{array} \right\}$ *to omotte iru.*

"Taroo thinks that he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *来た \\ 行った \end{array} \right\}$ と
思っている。

When the third person, Hanako moves, the Sender can take either the Addressee's or Taroo's position, (where either *iku* or *kuru* is acceptable). However, then the Sender or Taroo moves, as in (111-b), (111-b'), (111-c) and (111-c'), only *iku* is acceptable because of the proviso which prohibits the Sender's taking the Addressee's stance. (In fact, the Addressee's stance becomes the same as the Sender's or Taroo's stance). If either the Sender or Taroo is at the goal at arrival time, the use of *kuru* is certainly acceptable.

To conclude this sub-section, Table 4 is constructed to show the choice patterns of the deictic verbs when dependent on the verb *omou*.

TABLE 4

Choice Patterns of *iku/kuru* where embedded in
 clauses dependent on the Subjective-experience
 Verb, *omou*, "think"

Sentence Number		Mover	Goal	Tense	Acceptability of <i>iku/kuru</i>
109a	Taroo is located at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Taroo	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's point of view) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's point of view)
109a'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
109b		Add'ee	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) ? <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
109b'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's)
109c		Sender	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) <i>iku</i> (Sender's)
109c'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (Taroo's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's)
110a	The Sender is located at the goal at arrival time	Hanako	Sender	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
110a'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
110b		Add'ee	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's/ Taroo's)
110b'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (the Addressee's/ Taroo's)
110c		Taroo	"	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) ? <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
110c'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Sender's) * <i>iku</i> (Taroo's)
111a	The Addressee is located at goal at arrival time	Hanako	Add'ee	non-past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/Sender's)
111a'		"	"	past	<i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/Sender's)
111b		Sender	"	non-past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's/Taroo's)
111b'		"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (the Sender's/Taroo's)
111c		Taroo	"	non-past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/the Sender's)
111c'		"	"	past	* <i>kuru</i> (the Addressee's) <i>iku</i> (Taroo's/the Sender's)

Notes:

- Blank: completely acceptable
 ? : acceptable with some hesitation
 ?? : acceptable with major hesitation/unacceptable with some hesitation
 * : completely unacceptable.

Summarising the points emerging from Table 4:

1. When Taroo is situated at the goal at arrival time, the Sender must take Taroo's stand (where *kuru* is the appropriate verb) except when the Sender moves. In such a case, the Sender can retain his own view (where the use of *iku* is acceptable).
2. When the Sender is situated at the goal at arrival time, the Sender must retain his own position (where the use of *kuru* is appropriate).
3. When the Addressee is situated at the goal at arrival time, the Sender can take his own point of view (where *iku* is the appropriate verb). However, the use of *kuru* is not acceptable when either the Sender or Taroo moves, because neither of them is situated at the goal at arrival time.

2.5 Motte-iku/-kuru and Tsurete-iku/-kuru

Unlike English verbs take and bring, two separate concepts are lexicalized in Japanese, namely, *motte-iku/-kuru* (literally go/come holding or go/come carrying) and *tsurete-iku/-kuru* (literally go/come accompanying). It is generally known that *motte-iku/-kuru* are used for carrying a thing. On the other hand *tsurete-iku/-kuru* are for accompanying a human being or an animal.¹²

Before discussing the deictic elements of these verbs, it might be of interest to devote some pages to the investigation of what governs the choice of *motsu/tsuereu* in respect of particular objects of the verbs. The author conducted a questionnaire amongst native Japanese speakers regarding these verbs when different animals are taken as objects of the verbs. The key sentence was:

(112) *Taroo wa gakkoo e _____ o* { *motte-itta.* }
 school { *tsurete-itta.* }
 {holding-go-Tns }
 {accompanying-go-Tns }

"Taroo took _____ to the school."

太郎は学校へ _____ を { 持って行った。 }
 { 連れて行った。 }

The author chose eleven animals to be inserted in the blank in the sentence above. The respondents who were asked to select the appropriate verb were allowed to choose both verbs, if applicable. The result is illustrated in Table 5.¹³

TABLE 5 The Choice Pattern for the Objects
of the verbs *motte-iku* and *tsurete-iku*

	<i>motte-iku</i> "go carrying"	<i>tsure-iku</i> "go accompanying"
1. <i>hebi</i> "snake"	5	0
2. <i>kotori</i> "small bird"	5	1
3. <i>kaeru</i> "frog"	5	0
4. <i>nezumi</i> "mouse"	5	0
5. <i>kingyo</i> "goldfish"	5	0
6. <i>inu</i> "dog"	0	5
7. <i>yagi</i> "goat"	0	5
8. <i>neko</i> "cat"	1	5
9. <i>usagi</i> "rabbit"	5	3
10. <i>risu</i> "squirrel"	3	4
11. <i>inu no akachan</i> "baby dog, puppy"	2	4

Maximum total number of returns = 5.

However, for *usagi* "rabbit", *risu* "squirrel" and *inu no akachan* "baby dog, puppy" the choice pattern of the verbs is diversified.

On the other hand, for the first animals (1) - (5) the choice pattern is quite straightforward. It is clear that *tsurete-iku* is not suitable for these animals. The result makes us wonder what selectional restrictions (or selectional requirements) to (of) the verbs are working in the selection process. Obviously it is not only the manner in which an animal is moved. When the author pressed the respondents further whether the use of *tsurete-iku* is possible for such animals as *hebi* "snake" or *kaeru* "frog", if they are regarded as pets for human beings, they admitted that it was feasible. Therefore, examples (114-a) and (114-b) are acceptable.

(114)a). *Taroo wa kaiboo yoo-ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hebi \\ usagi \end{array} \right\}$ o *motte-kita*
 dissection for $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} snake \\ rabbit \end{array} \right\}$

"Taroo brought a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} snake \\ rabbit \end{array} \right\}$ for dissection.

太郎は解剖用に $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{へび} \\ \text{うさぎ} \end{array} \right\}$ を 持って来た。

b). *Taroo wa petto no* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hebi \\ usagi \end{array} \right\}$ o *tsurete-kita*

"Taroo brought his pet $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} snake \\ rabbit \end{array} \right\}$."

太郎はペットの $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{へび} \\ \text{うさぎ} \end{array} \right\}$ を 連れて来た。

It may be summarized that the object of *tsurete-iku/-kuru* basically has to be such animals as *inu* or *yagi* which can be led, or a human

(116)a). *Watashi wa koko ni wain o* { **motte-itta.*
motte-kita. }

"I { ^{*took}
brought } (a bottle of) wine here."

私はここにワインを { *持て行った。
持て来た。 }

b). *Watashi wa koko ni boofurendo o* { **tsurete-itta.*
tsurete-kita. }

"I { ^{*took}
brought } (my) boy-friend here."

私はここにボーイフレンドを { *連れて行った。
連れて来た。 }

(117)a). *Watashi wa anata-no paatii ni wain o*
your

{ *motte-ikimashita*
**motte-kimashita* } yo.

{ holding-come-Pte-Tns }
{ holding-come-Pte-Tns }

"I { took
brought } (a bottle of) wine to your party."

私はあなたのパーティにワインを { 持て行きました
*持て来ました }
よ。

b). *Watashi wa anata-no paatii ni boofurendo o*

{ *tsurete-ikimashita*
**tsurete-kimashita* } yo.

"I { took
brought } (my) boy-friend to your party."

私はあなたのパーティにボーイフレンドを
{ 連れて行きました
*連れて来ました } よ。

(119)a). *Anata ga watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *motte-itta \\ motte-kita \end{array} \right\}$ *wain*
oishikatta desu ne.
 delicious - Tns

"The wine you $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *took \\ brought \end{array} \right\}$ to my party was good,
 wasn't it?"

あなたが私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *持って行った \\ \underline{持って来た} \end{array} \right\}$
 ワインはおいしかったですね。

b). *Anata ga watashi no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *tsurete-itta \\ tsurete-kita \end{array} \right\}$
hito wa kireina hito deshita ne.
 person pretty person Tns

"The person you $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *took \\ brought \end{array} \right\}$ to my party was pretty,
 wasn't she?"

あなたが私のパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *連れて行った \\ \underline{連れて来た} \end{array} \right\}$ 人
 はきれいな人でしたね。

When the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time, only *kuru* is used. [See [B]'.] This condition again applies to *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru* in the same situation, as in (118) and (119).

This leads to a consideration of (120):

(120)a). *Taroo ga anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} motte-itta \\ motte-kita \end{array} \right\}$ *wain wa*
Furansu no desu yo.
 France

"The wine Taroo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} took \\ brought \end{array} \right\}$ to your party was French
 (one)."

太郎があなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{持って行った} \\ \underline{持って来た} \end{array} \right\}$
 ワインはフランスのですよ。

b). *Taroo ga anata no paatii ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tsurete-itta} \\ \text{tsurete-kita} \end{array} \right\}$ *hito wa*
yuumei na moderu desu yo.
 famous model

"The person Taroo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{took} \\ \text{brought} \end{array} \right\}$ to your party was a
 famous model."

太郎があなたのパーティに $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{連れて行った} \\ \text{連れて来た} \end{array} \right\}$
 人は有名なモデルですよ。

When the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time, the choice of the verb is only *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru*. However, even if he is not situated at the goal at arrival time, he can take either the Addressee's point of view (where the uses of *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru* are permitted) or Taroo's position (where the uses of *mottke-iku/tsurete-iku* are permitted). In contrast to (117) *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru* in (120) are much more acceptable than those in (117). This is because Taroo is a mover, not the Sender in (120).

Let us consider the final example (121).

(121)a). *Taroo wa Hanako no paatii ni wain o* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{motte-itta.} \\ \text{motte-kita.} \end{array} \right\}$
 "Taroo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{took} \\ \text{brought} \end{array} \right\}$ (a bottle of) wine to Hanako's
 party."

太郎は花子のパーティにワインを $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{持って行った。} \\ \text{持って来た。} \end{array} \right\}$

b). *Taroo wa Hanako no paatii ni Yoshiko o*
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tsurete-itta.} \\ \text{tsurete-kita.} \end{array} \right\}$

"Taroo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{took} \\ \text{brought} \end{array} \right\}$ Yoshiko to Hanako's party."

太郎は花子のパーティに良子を $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{連れて行った。} \\ \text{連れて来た。} \end{array} \right\}$

To summarize the discussion in this section, the following points are made:

1. Motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru are used when the Sender is located at the goal at coding time or at arrival time. If he is not, the other verbs are used. In the case in which the Sender is a mover, only motte-iku or tsurete-iku is permitted unless the Sender is located at the goal at coding time.
2. When a third-person moves (carrying a thing or accompanying a person) towards the goal where the Addressee is located at coding time or arrival time, the Sender can take either the Addressee's stance or the mover's position. In the case in which the Sender is a mover, the compound verb with *iku* is basically used. But he may be able to take the Addressee's point of view.
3. When a mover and the person who is located at the goal are the third party, the Sender can view through the "eyes" either of a mover or of the person at the goal. That is, the compound verbs containing both *iku* and *kuru* are used.

In short, the uses of these compound verbs containing *iku* and *kuru* follow predictably the uses of the base verbs *iku* and *kuru*.

Endnotes - Chapter II

1. This statement is true only regarding principle [A]' and (i) and (ii) of principle [B]. There are actually some cases which are not accounted for by these conditions. This matter will be discussed in the later sections of this chapter.
2. There are two uses of Japanese demonstratives. See [Kuno, 1973, pp.282-290]. The explanations given in the text are applicable when things referred to in the discourse are visible to the Sender and the Addressee. But demonstratives are also used when things referred to by the participants of the communication act are not visible to either of them at the time of speech. Kuno calls the latter use the anaphoric use of demonstratives. I do not consider such a use of demonstratives in my considerations.
3. *Soko* and *sochira* do not seem to be always interchangeable. For the detailed discussion, see [Ooe, 1976, pp.22-23].
4. Sentence (71) with *soko* is acceptable if *soko* is interpreted anaphorically. For instance, in the context below, the Sender was at the goal at arrival time.
 - (i) *Kinoo toshokan no mae de Tanaka-san to hanashite-itara*
Yesterday library front talking when

soko ni Taroo ga kimashita.
there came

'When I was talking with Tanaka in front of the library yesterday, Taroo came there.'
5. In (72) and (73) sentences with *asoko* may sound better than those with *achira*. The author is not sure why it is, but presumes it is because the fact that the Sender was already or will be at the goal at arrival time may require the place-indicating word *asoko*, rather than the direction-indicating word *achira* which implies movement.
6. (Kuno, 1978, pp.253-266).
(Kuno and Kaburaki, 1977, pp.627-672).
7. (Kuno, 1978, pp.264-265).
8. Some native speakers of the Japanese language think that *iku* is better but that *kuru* might be acceptable. The others rule out the possibility of the use of *kuru*.
9. This particular type of *V-te* + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -iku \\ -kuru \end{array} \right\}$ constructions will be discussed in Chapter IV.

10. (Ooe, 1976, pp.85-87).
11. (Ooe, 1976, pp.87-89).
12. (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuusho, 1975, p.165)
13. The respondents were told that *inu no akachan* "baby dog" is carried in a basket or in a hand.
14. (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuusho, 1975, p.166)
15. (Ooe, 1976, p.25)

CHAPTER III

Idiomatic Uses of *come* and *go* in English

In the previous chapters (I and II) I have discussed deictic motion verbs *come* and *go* in English and *kuru* and *iku* in Japanese. In Chapter III, I shall observe some deictic elements of English idioms containing *come* and *go*: viz., I shall investigate how their basic semantic characteristics are reflected in the idioms. It is intuited that the basic contrast between *come* and *go* in what is called speaker-addressee deixis¹ in English (or *kuru* and *iku* in the Japanese case) may govern the figurative, nonliteral uses of English idioms (or some figurative, nonliteral uses of *V-te-iku/-kuru* constructions in Japanese). Interestingly Clark has shown how the English deictic motion verbs are used in idioms to indicate change of state rather than motion. She suggests that normal deixis and evaluative deixis are related to other forms of deixis, all of which derive from the basic deictic contrast EGO and NON-EGO.²

I shall begin with Clark's hypothesis and discuss such idiomatic uses of *come* and *go* in this chapter. The Japanese deictic verbs in the above-mentioned constructions will be dealt with in the next chapter.

3.1. Clark's Hypothesis - Normal-state deixis and Evaluative deixis

In Chapter I, I have already observed the deictic properties of the motion verbs *come* and *go*: viz.,

1. the goal, (or the destination) of *come* may be the Sender's or the Addressee's location either at coding time or at

arrival time (principle [B]').

2. on the other hand, the goal of *go* is somewhere other than where the Sender is located either at coding time or at arrival time (principle [A]').

Fillmore discusses these principles in relation to the concept of deictic centre, characterized as the goal of *come* and non-goal of *go*. But he also indicates that a place (e.g. an uninhabited island) may be used as a deictic centre as long as the Sender or the Addressee is not brought into the same discourse.³ He terms this place deixis. At all events, the goal of *come* in both speaker-addressee deixis and place deixis is always the deictic centre; the goal of *go*, on the other hand, is always the complement of the deictic centre.

Clark hypothesizes that the interpretation of idiomatic uses of *come* and *go* is governed by the fact that the deictic centre is a normal state of being. "Since motion *come* always has its destination, the deictic centre itself, the hypothesis would predict that idioms with *come* should always indicate entry into some normal state. At the same time, because the destination of motion *go* is specified as somewhere other than at the deictic centre, it should also follow that idioms with *go* should occur only to indicate departure from a normal state."⁴ In other words, we should never find *come* used to mean departure from a normal state, nor *go* to mean entry into such a state.

Within normal-state deixis, idioms are divided into two groups: the first group of normal-state idioms is classified as recurrent, and the second one as non-recurrent. The first group considers situations in which the normal state may be entered into or departed from on unlimited occasions; the second group considers situations in which the normal state may be entered into or left once and for all.

Clark supports her hypothesis with examples (122) to (125) where the normal state can recur in time.

(122) Duncan's temperature *went up* today.

(123) Duncan's temperature *came down* today.

Sentences (122) and (123) have their deictic centre as normal body temperature. The sentence (122) indicates a departure from normal body temperature whereas the sentence (123), on the other hand, denotes a return to normal.

(124) Duncan's temperature *went down* today.

(125) Duncan's temperature *came up* today.

In another set of her examples (124) and (125) where Duncan supposedly suffers from abnormally low body temperature, the example (124) may be used to imply a departure from normal and (125) may be used to denote a return to normal.⁵

Examples (126) to (129) are used by Clark to show non-recurring normal states: viz., a state which once entered cannot be left again; or conversely, once left, cannot be re-entered. Within non-recurring normal states, there are two types of non-recurring states: the first two sentences (126) and (127) are grouped as "Entrance Boundary States" and the latter two examples (128) and (129) are grouped as "Exit Boundary States". Only idioms with *come* are used for "Entrance Boundary States" where entrance boundary is marked. On the other hand, only expressions with *go* are used for "Exit Boundary States" where exit boundary is marked.

(126) Martin $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ * \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ of age in 1937.

(127) They soon $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ * \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$ to an understanding.

(128) The fruit has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gone} \\ * \text{come} \end{array} \right\}$ bad.

(129) Josephine $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{went} \\ * \text{came} \end{array} \right\}$ blind after the accident.

In (126) the deictic centre is legal adulthood: it is quite impossible for Martin to go back to the prior state once he has reached (entered) adulthood. Therefore no idioms with *go* are found to indicate departure from the arrival-at state of adulthood. In (127) it is also impossible to go back to a preceding state of ignorance from the state of understanding at which the "they" of the example had arrived. In (128) the expression with *go* denotes a departure from "freshness"; in (129) the expression with *go* denotes a departure from the state in which eye-sight is normal.

Apart from normal-state deixis, Clark suggests that idioms with *come* and *go* may indicate evaluative viewpoints: that is, *come* may be used with positive meaning to imply approval of state, whereas *go* may be used with non-positive meaning to carry a neutral or negative connotation. One set of her examples is given below to explain evaluative deixis:

(130) The party *came off* last night.

(131) The party *went off* last night.

Clark claims that the example (131) may suggest the Sender's involvement in the party because "this sense of involvement stems from

the Speaker's implicit support for, or interest in, the outcome of the event(s) in question".⁷

3.2. Empathy and Deixis in Idioms

Clark's theory undoubtedly gives an interesting insight into English idioms with deictic motion verbs *come* and *go*, but the examples used by Clark to support her hypothesis do not always prove to be supportive. In examples (122) to (125), for instance, the expressions with *come* and the expressions with *go* do not necessarily indicate an entry into normal state and departure from normal state respectively. The sentence (132) indicates both expressions are acceptable to describe the same situation.

(132) John's blood pressure was very high yesterday, but it has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{gone down} \\ \textit{come down} \end{array} \right\}$ to normal today.

According to the hypothesis, only "*come down*" is permitted to imply a return to the normal temperature, but in reality "*go down*" is also acceptable.

Let us consider more examples:

(133) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but unfortunately it has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come down} \\ \textit{gone down} \end{array} \right\}$ again today.

(134) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but it has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come up} \\ \textit{gone up} \end{array} \right\}$ to normal today.

(135) John's blood pressure was above normal yesterday, but it has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{come down} \\ \textit{gone down} \end{array} \right\}$ slightly today.

Examples (133) to (135) show that expressions with both *come* and *go* are permitted. Naturally one might wonder if there is a difference between these pairs of idioms. Keeping this question in mind, let us observe more pairs of idioms:

(136) The old house $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{went} \end{array} \right\}$ under the hammer, and was
knocked down for \$50,000.

(137) Mary $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{came} \\ \textit{went} \end{array} \right\}$ through the ordeal with flying colours.

The Sender's attitude towards an event or a person described in the above examples may be reflected by the Sender's choosing a particular verb: for instance, *come* rather than *go*, or vice versa. Sentence (136) using *go* is identical with that sentence using *come* in the context in which "the old house" is being auctioned. If the sender is the owner of the old house, or if he has an interest in the house, he might tend to use the expression with *come*, rather than the idiom with *go*.

I now return to examples (132) to (135) which were set aside temporarily. In these examples, the expressions with *come* might be uttered by a person who is likely to empathize with John such as a nurse, John's family member or his friend: the expressions with *go* might be used by a person who is in a neutral position with respect to John. One must admit that we cannot draw a clear line conclusively because the difference between *come* and *go* in these idioms may not be so explicitly observable.

In (137) if the Sender empathizes with Mary, or with her ordeal, he might be likely to use the idiom "*come through*" rather than "*go through*". The difference between the idiom with *come* and the idiom with

go is sometimes very subtle, and it is not very easy to generalize. However, one might suggest that the Sender's empathy is implicitly expressed in idioms with *come*, whereas idioms with *go* might imply that the Sender's attitude is neutral, or occasionally impersonal. Clark classifies this group of idioms under evaluative deixis, but it may be more appropriate to classify this group under the label "empathy deixis".⁸ Because some examples in English⁹ do not always explicitly support her hypothesis [the deictic centre (the goal of *come*) in evaluative uses is identified with some generally approved attitude, but idioms with *go* are used with a neutral, sometimes negative meaning], one cannot accept the hypothesis uncritically. Her sentences (130) and (131) have been provided to exemplify evaluative uses of *come* and *go*. But her claims in respect of (130) and (131) may not be unanimously accepted by English speakers. Her other examples are as follows:

(138) The tomatoes are $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming} \\ \textit{going} \end{array} \right\}$ along nicely this year.

(139) Lionel is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming up for} \\ \textit{going on (for)} \end{array} \right\}$ fifty.

Clark explains with respect to (138) that the positive form (the expression with *come*) might be used by a tomato-grower or by anyone who "favours growing tomatoes and looks approvingly on someone's doing so". However, the non-positive form (the expression with *go*) might be used, she continues, by "a neutral observer who is uncommitted as to the merits or demerits of tomato-growing".¹⁰ She claims that the same difference is observable in (139). This is clearly wrong; such an expression as "*coming up for fifty*" is unacceptable in English. With respect to (138) the difference between the uses of *come* and *go* is

relatively observable, and the difference between "*come along*" and "*go along*" in (140) is also relatively observable:

(140) How is your business $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{coming along?} \\ \textit{going along?} \end{array} \right\}$

Some might say that either expression in (140) may be used indiscriminately because the difference between the two is negligible. However, the fact that the Sender asks about the Addressee's business itself suggests that the Sender is supposedly concerned about the Addressee's business, so logically the expression "*come along*" tends to be used more than the other expression in a situation like this. Even those who claim that either expression may be used indiscriminately admit that "*come along*" is more "sympathetic" towards the Addressee. At all events, the Sender's empathy with the circumstances or persons described in the examples involving *come* in (133) and (138) might be regarded as being implicit.

The difference between the idioms involving *come* and the idioms involving *go* may stem from the extension of a basic contrast in characteristics between the two deictic motion verbs *come* and *go* in speaker-addressee deixis, viz., the goal of *come*, or the deictic centre, is the Sender's location (roughly speaking) and the goal of *go* is specified as somewhere other than the place where the Sender is located. The empathic use of *come* may be regarded as the extension of the basic use of *come*: since the goal of *come* is the place where the Sender is situated, idiomatic expressions containing *come* may carry a subjective or personal connotation. On the other hand, the empathic use of *go* may be reflected by the basic characteristics of *go*: since the goal of *go* is the place where the Sender is not situated, idiomatic expressions with *go* may carry a neutral or impersonal connotation.

As we have already observed in examples (132) to (140) [except (139)], the Sender's empathy with the event(s) or person(s) described is implicitly expressed in some idioms involving *come*: the Sender's attitude towards the issue(s) or person(s) described is neutral, or occasionally impersonal in some idioms involving *go*.

3.3. General Semantic features in Idioms with *come* and *go* - Positiveness and Negativeness (Non-Positiveness)

It is true that few empathic uses of pairs of idioms are found amongst idioms containing *come* and *go*. Most of the idioms actually fall in the category which Clark calls "normal-states deixis", although this type of deixis is related to "empathy deixis". She says that in normal states "one is regarded as behaving 'normally', being sane or conscious, doing what is expected, etc., while non-normal ones do not".¹¹ Her sentences (140) and (141) where the deictic centre is characterized as "consciousness", are exemplified thus:

(140) He *came* round very slowly.

(141) He *went* out like a light.

The reason why some idioms with *come* indicate an entry to normal state as in (140) is due to the fact that the basic characteristics of *come* are, first, that it is the goal-oriented verb and secondly, that basically the goal of *come* is where the Sender is located. Because *come* is the goal-oriented verb, the idioms with *come* generally indicate an arrival at the point of reference: and the resultant meaning of some idioms with *come* indicates change of state from *non-existence* to *existence*, or from the *outside* world of our scope to the *inside* world of our perception, etc., because of the Sender's location at deictic

centre. In other words, the goal of *come* is the place where we exist or have our perception. Examples (142) and (143) are provided to exemplify the above claim:

(142) After driving through the long tunnel, the blue sea suddenly $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ *went \end{array} \right\}$ into sight.

(143) The baby boy $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ *went \end{array} \right\}$ into the world early in the morning.

Since the goal of the deictic motion verb *come* is the place where we are located, the resultant state of both expressions with *come* in (142) and (143) show an arrival at our existing world, or at the ambit of our perception respectively. The use of *go* in these examples is not acceptable.

Let us consider other idiomatic expressions with *come*:

(144) He *came under* suspicion and was arrested.

(145) When John cheated George, their mutual antipathy *came to a head*.

These idioms containing *come* in (144) and (145) are regarded as being normal-state deixis by Clark, but the use of *come* in these expressions does not clearly show an entry into a normal state: rather it simply indicates an arrival at the point of reference. This point of reference sometimes happens to be the normal state of being, but it is not always so. I shall discuss this type of idiom with *come* as well as the idiom with *go* later.

Referring back to the sentence (141), Clark states that it denotes

a departure from the normal state (i.e., a departure from being "conscious"). This is because the basic characteristics of *go* are, first, that it is the source-oriented verb and secondly, that the goal of *go* is somewhere other than the place where the Sender is located. Since the basic semantic feature of *go* is that the Sender is not located at the goal of the source-oriented verb, the resultant meaning of some idioms involving *go* generally indicates change of state from *existence* to *non-existence*, from *completeness* to *decay*, or from *inside* the range of our perception to *outside* the range of our perception, etc., as exemplified in the following sentences:

(146) He appeared to improve but he suddenly *went off*.

(147) The house *had gone to* ruin from neglect.

(148) Koestler's arrow *went into the blue*.

Since the goal of *go* is the place where we are not situated, the idioms containing *go* in (146) to (148) show that the resultant state is the one beyond the scope of our world, or of our perception.

I shall give further consideration to the type of idioms which I have been discussing by presenting more examples:

(149) I *came across* the word when I was looking through the dictionary.

(150) John *came between* us/them and that was the end of the affair.

(151) The boss *came down on* John/me like a ton of bricks when he/I made the mistake.



(152) It *came home to* him with a shock that he had severely offended her.

(153) He *came in* for a great deal of criticism.

(154) John *has come short of* the high hopes that were placed in him.

(155) I *came to myself* when I finally realized I had been acting stupidly all along.

(156) He *came to terms* with himself and began to settle down.

(157) The quality does not *come up to* standard.

(158) A sad look *came over* Mary's face.

(159) The occasion on which I *came nearest to* death was when I had that car accident.

(160) He was ashamed when his guilty secret *came to* light.

In these examples (149) to (160) it is generally true to say that idioms containing *come* indicate an arrival of a point of reference regardless of whether such a point of reference is "normal" or not. These idiomatic expressions with *come* may be replaced with verbs like find, realize, attain, reach, reveal or appear whose common semantic characteristic is rather "the goal-oriented".

Before I go on to discuss idioms with *go*, I shall consider a few idioms with *come* such as *come off*, *come apart* and *come to pieces*.

Let us observe some examples first:

(161) The button *came off* in her hands when she removed her cardigan.

(162) a). He *came apart* when the stock market collapsed and he lost all his money.

b). The sugar agreement *came apart at the seams* when the other party pleaded a change in circumstances.

(163) The carefully laid plan *came to pieces* when the train failed to arrive on time.

Examples (161) to (163) are counter examples to Clark's hypothesis: the resultant meaning of these idioms involving *come* does not show entry into the normal state. They carry a negative implication. In this type of idiom, according to her hypothesis, the verb *go* should be involved. In fact, it is possible to replace *come apart* in (162-a) and *come to pieces* in (163) with *go to pieces* without changing the meaning of the sentences.

However, these idioms with *come* still indicate an arrival at a point of reference, even if the resultant state implies change of state from positive to negative. The deictic centre (the goal of *come*) in example (161) to (163) is something like being "in out of order" or being "non-normal": i.e., collapsed mentally, disintegrated, etc.

The expression *come off* in (164) may be used, of course, to show the opposite outcome of the sentence (163):

(164) The carefully laid plan *came off* when the train arrived on time.

Idioms with *come* in examples (161), (165) and (166) indicate

arrival at the point of reference as well as arrival at a place in relation to the location of the persons described or of the Sender, as shown "in her hands", "in John's hands" and "in my hands":

(165) The delicate glassware *came to pieces* in John's hands when he opened the wrapping paper.

(166) The two halves of the shell *came apart* in my hands when I tried to remove the mussel inside.

Examples (167) to (176) are now provided to contrast the use of *come* in the expressions in (149) to (160):

(167) The letter *has gone astray* in the past.

(168) The practice is *going out of* use.

(169) He *went cold* all over when he heard footsteps behind him in the dark.

(170) The boss *went off at half cock* and shouted at his secretary for being late.

(171) My father *went off at the deep end* because I failed all my examinations.

(172) The theatre company *goes to seed* year after year.

(173) Many businesses *went phut* last year on account of the recession.

(174) Books kept *going adrift* from the library.

(175) He *went on the rampage* after an argument with his wife.

(176) That department store is *going downhill*.

Idioms with *go* in (167) to (176) appear to indicate that the resultant state carries a rather less positive connotation: a departure from the place where the Sender is located denotes change of state from being *calm* to being *excited (enraged)*, from *existence* to *non-existence*, from *being in business* to *being out of business*, etc. However, some idioms with *go* indicate that the resultant state is rather positive as in (177) to (184):

(177) After he came out of goal, he *went straight*.

(178) If you study hard, you will *go far*.

(179) This intelligent boy can really *go places*.

(180) His pleading *went far* with the judge.

(181) The atmosphere at the beginning of the party was tense, but eventually it *went* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{very well.} \\ \textit{with a bang.} \\ \textit{with a swing.} \end{array} \right\}$

(182) These statistics *go far* to nullify your hypothesis.

(183) At first he disagreed, but ultimately he *went along* with the arguments of the opposition.

(184) Johnny Walker, born 1870, still *going strong*.

Idioms with *go* in (177) to (184) show that the resultant state is quite contrary to that of examples (167) to (176): idiomatic expressions with *go* in (177) to (184) do not carry a negative connotation. In fact, these idioms may be replaced with verbs with a "positive" implication such as to live honestly, to become successful,

to impress, to agree, to continue in the same (positive) state, etc.

I have examined the type of idioms involving *come* and *go*, which Clark classifies under "normal state deixis": idioms with *come* denote an entry into the normal state, whereas idioms with *go* denote a departure from such a state.

However, one must point out that idiomatic expressions with *come* generally indicate an arrival at the point of reference. The point of reference occasionally implies normal state of being. The meaning of the resultant state of some idioms with *come* is change of state from non-existence to existence, from outside the scope of our perception to inside the scope of our perception, etc. It should also be remarked, on the other hand, that some idiomatic expressions with *go* carry a negative implication but that at the same time the resultant state of some idioms with *go* indicates a positive meaning.

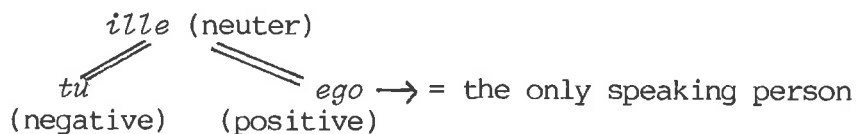
3.4. The Basic Deictic Contrast: Ego vs. Non-Ego

Both idioms containing *come* and *go* indicate change of state regardless of whether the connotation is normal (positive) or non-normal (non-positive). However, the reason why some idioms with *come* tend to imply a positive connotation and some idioms with *go* tend to denote a negative connotation is due to the basic contrast between the deictic motion verbs *come* and *go*.

Arrival at the place where we are situated naturally leads to a situation in which the resultant meaning of idioms with *come* is rather positive. For example, we are considering change of state from non-existence to existence, from being insane to being sane, from being unconscious to being conscious, etc. This is because we are basically

egocentric, solipsistic. On the other hand, departure from the place where we are (or arrival at the place where we are not located) naturally leads to a situation in which the meaning of the resultant state of idioms with *go* is rather less positive. For instance, what is being analysed is change of state from existence to non-existence, from being conscious to being unconscious, from being calm to being enraged. This is again because we are fundamentally egocentric, solipsistic. In fact, the concept that the contrast between *come* and *go* is the extension of the basic deictic contrast between ego and non-ego (between here and not here/there, or between now and not now/then) is discussed in J. Kurylowicz's article, "The Role of Deictic Elements in Linguistic Evolution". He says:

"In relation to the 1st pers. the 2nd functions as the so-called negative member of the opposition:



In this way the 1st pers. contrasts with the 2nd and 3rd as the marked member of the opposition. The relative affinity of the 2nd and 3rd pers. emerges also from the fact that the respective DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns are in many languages identical (cf. E *that* as against *this*) . . .¹²

Let us also emphasize the fact that terms denoting the spatial relations between objects are founded on the shift of the ZERO-POINT of the coordinates *hic-hunc*. By themselves spatial expressions like *to the right, in front, above* and so forth denote the position with reference to the SPEAKER - as long as the shift of the zero-point has not taken place. The same holds true for oppositions like *come: go, mount: descend, Fr. entrer: sortir*. The orientation of the speaker is fundamentally 'egocentric'.¹³

Clark also supports Kurylowicz's concept and suggests that all forms of deixis (speaker-addressee deixis, place deixis, normal-states deixis and evaluative deixis) may be interpreted in terms of the basic

deictic contrast Ego and Non-Ego.¹⁴

Naturally movement towards ego may be regarded as being "positive" and movement away from ego may be regarded as being "negative", as illustrated in diagrams 1 and 2.

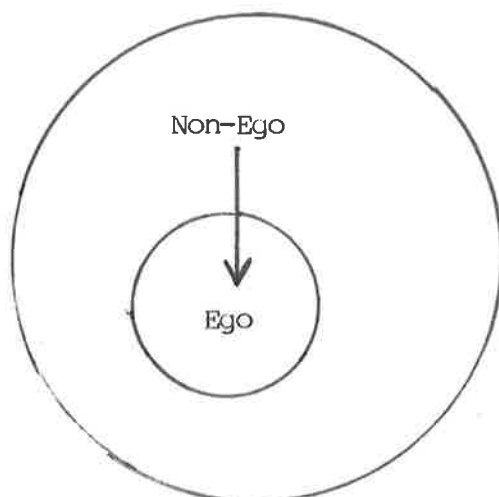


Diagram 1. COME
(The arrow shows
movement towards Ego)

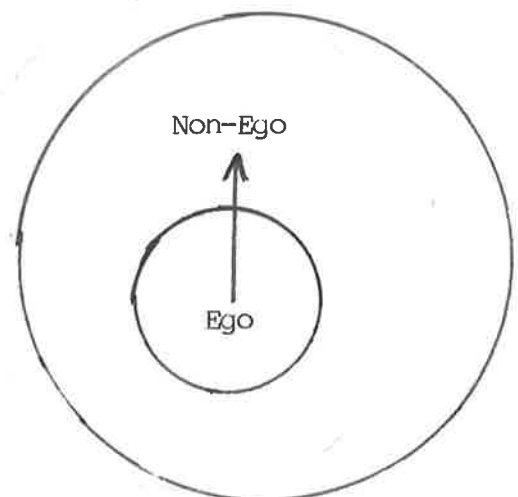


Diagram 2. GO
(The arrow shows movement
away from Ego.)

Assuming that *come* and *go* are derived from the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego], it is possible to assign the basic semantic features, [+ Towards Ego] for *come* and [- Towards Ego] for *go* respectively. It should be emphasized that these features [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego] reflect the idioms involving *come* and *go* in English. In other words, the characteristic difference between idioms with *come* and idioms with *go* stems from the difference between [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego], or ultimately the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego].

I shall refer to this assumption again in relation to *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* constructions in the next chapter.

3.5. Idiomatic Uses of *bring* and *take/send*

In this section I shall briefly observe idiomatic uses of *bring* and *send/take*. In the late sixties and early seventies, some linguists observed that some "causative" verbs are derived transformationally from underlying structures.¹⁵ One of the verbs claimed as being derived in this manner is *bring*; it is claimed that it is the causative form of *come*. Binnick, although he was aware of an argument against it,¹⁶ has also supported this proposal by providing a comprehensive list of idioms containing *come* and their corresponding idioms with *bring*. However, it is generally assumed that *bring* is the causative form of *come*. On the other hand, it has been suggested that *go* has two causative forms: viz., *take* and *send*. Underlying structures of *take* and *send* are analysed as "cause to go along with" and "cause to begin to go" respectively. Yet *send* seems to be the only acceptable form in most cases of idiomatic uses. In fact, few expressions with *take* are found as the causative form of *go*. Clark uses this fact as one piece of evidence to support her hypothesis. She says:

"The fact that causative idioms containing *take* are unacceptable seems to follow from the fact that the deictic centers for these idioms are normal states. In the case of departure from a normal state such as sanity or consciousness, it is not generally feasible or even possible for the agent to accompany the person or object affected. *Bring*, on the other hand, is completely acceptable as the causative of *come*, because its destination is always the normal state itself. There is therefore nothing odd about the joint presence of agent and object acted upon at the goal when the goal is the normal state."¹⁷

However, Clark's claim that causative idioms containing *take* are unacceptable is only true in the examples she cites. In fact, some acceptable examples with *take* indicating the causative form of *go* are to be found in (203) and (204). Sometimes neither *send* nor *take* seems to be completely acceptable in empathic uses of *go*. For instance, in the

sentence (185), corresponding to (135) where either *come down* or *go down* is permitted, two causative forms of *go* are not acceptable:

(185) John's blood pressure was above normal yesterday, but the treatment has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{brought it down} \\ \text{*sent it down} \\ \text{*taken it down} \\ \text{made it go (come) down} \end{array} \right\}$ slightly today.

(186) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but unfortunately the treatment has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*brought it down} \\ \text{sent it down} \\ \text{?taken it down} \\ \text{made it go (come) down} \end{array} \right\}$ even further today.

(187) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but the treatment has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{brought it up} \\ \text{*sent it up} \\ \text{?taken it up} \\ \text{made it go (come) down} \end{array} \right\}$ to normal today.

(188) Mary's husband $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{brought her through} \\ \text{*sent her through} \\ \text{?took her through} \\ \text{made her go (come) through} \end{array} \right\}$ the ordeal.

(189) My father $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{?brought our old house} \\ \text{sent our old house} \\ \text{*took our old house} \\ \text{*made our old house go (come)} \end{array} \right\}$ under the hammer.

(190) The warm weather is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bringing} \\ \text{*sending} \end{array} \right\}$ the tomatoes along nicely this year.

In (185) to (187) the use of *make* with *come* and *go* corresponds to sentences where *come* and *go* are replaced by *bring* and *take/send*. However, the acceptability of expressions with *bring* and *send/take* varies. What is interesting is that in (186) *bring* is unacceptable but *send* is acceptable. We do not know why *come down* in (133) is permitted whereas its causative expression *bring down* is not in (186). In (188) *take* seems to be better than *send*: the expression with *take* may be used to imply that "Mary's husband" shared "the ordeal" together with Mary since *take* implies an agent to accompany the person described. The use of *make* with *come through* and *go through* is acceptable, but not with the phrase "with flying colours". The example (189), corresponding to (136), appears to allow *send* to be acceptable, but in (190) the use of *send* is not permitted. This is probably because in (189) to arrange to sell the house implies "detachment", whereas in (190) the fact that the warm weather produces the tomatoes implies "affiliation" to us.

The following examples with *bring*, corresponding to idioms with *come* indicate change of state from *non-existence* to *existence*, from *unconscious* to *conscious*, or from *outside* the scope of our perception to *inside* the scope of our perception. In other words they indicate an arrival at the deictic centre where we exist, where we are conscious, or at our perception:

(191) Mary *brought* a healthy baby *into the world* early in the morning.

(192) We *brought* him *round* by pouring water on him.

(193) The telescope *brought* the stars *into view* clearly.

Naturally, it is impossible to replace *bring* with *take/send* as we cannot substitute an idiom with *go* for this type of idiom with *come*. Further, some idioms with *bring* show that an agent causes someone/something to arrive at the described point of reference regardless of whether such a point of reference is normal or not.

(194) John's uncle's death *brought* him *into* great fortune.

(195) The boy *was brought back to earth* when the teacher told him to pay more attention.

(196) The teacher *brought the matter to a head* when he demanded to see the boy's parents.

(197) Live television coverage of the princess's wedding will probably *bring into play* emotions of royalist fervour.

(198) The dog trainer finally *brought my dog to heel*.

(199) Circumstances *brought Mary between us* and that was the end of our affair.

(200) Improvement of the machine *brought* the quality of reproduction *up to* standard.

(201) A teacher's question might *bring* a blank expression *over* a student's face.

(202) The newspaper *brought* his guilty secret *to light*.

Each of the idioms with *go* in (146) and (148) indicating change of state from *existence* to *non-existence*, or from *inside* the range of our

perception to *outside* the range of our perception, has a causative form with *send*, as shown in (203) and (204):

(203) He appeared to improve but that final heart attack
sent/(took) him *off*.

(204) A strong wind *sent/(took)* Koestler's arrow *into the*
blue.

Some idioms with *go* have causative forms with *send*, as shown in (205) to (212):

(205) The chaos after the strike *sent/(*took)* the letter
astray in the post.

(206) Modernization *sent/(*took)* the practice *out of* use.

(207) Footsteps he heard behind him *sent/(*took)* him *cold*
all over.

(208) The secretary's unpunctuality *sent/(*took)* the
manager *off at half cock*.

(209) My failure in the examination *sent/(*took)* my father
off at the deep end.

(210) Carelessness in the library *sent/(*took)* books
adrift.

(211) An argument with his wife *sent/(*took)* him *on the*
rampage.

(212) The recent recession is *sending/(*taking)* that
department store *downhill*.

Finally (213) has an expression with either *bring* or *take*, but a non-causative expression with *come* or *go* does not exist:

(213) He believes that the whole success of the business depends on his work alone; he ought to be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{taken} \\ \textit{brought} \end{array} \right\}$
down a peg or two.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER III

1. According to Fillmore (Fillmore, 1971), in speaker-addressee deixis the goal of *come* may be the Sender's or the addressee's location either at coding time or at arrival time.
2. Clark, E. V., "Normal States and Evaluative Viewpoints" (1974).
3. (Fillmore, 1971, p.67).
4. (Clark, 1974, pp.316-317).
5. (Clark, 1974, p.318).
6. (Clark, 1974, pp.323-326).
7. (Clark, 1974, pp.326-327).
8. The term "empathy" is taken from Kuno and Kaburaki's article "Empathy and Syntax" (1977). They say that the concept of empathy must be distinguished from that of sympathy. "But in many cases the focus of the speaker's sympathy coincides with the focus of his empathy, but this is not necessary or required." For details, see pp.627-630.
9. Some idiomatic uses of *come* and *go* in Thai and Hindi seem to support Clark's hypothesis to some extent. For more details, see J. Gandour's "On the Deictic Use of Verbs of Motion COME and GO in Thai" (1978) and A.K., Sinha's "On the Deictic Use of 'coming' and 'going'" (1972).
10. (Clark, 1974, p.327).
11. (Clark, 1974, p.316).
12. (Kurylowicz, 1972, p.175).
13. (Kurylowicz, 1972, p.180).
14. (Clark, 1974, p.331).
15. These linguists are J. D. McCawley (1968, 1971), G. Lakoff (1970) and R. de Rijk (1968).
16. The argument is that, despite the apparent semantic relationship, "bring" entails accompaniment, whereas "*cause to come*" does not, as in sentences shown below:
 - *(i) I *brought* the girl to a party which I did not go to.
 - (ii) I *caused* the girl to *come* to a party which I did not go to.

We do not discuss further whether the argument against the proposal is effective or not, but one may note, first of all, that

acceptability of the examples cited here is questionable.
(Binnick, 1971, p.260).

17. (Clark, 1974, p.322).

CHAPTER IV

Japanese Compound Verbs containing *iku* and *kuru*

In this chapter I shall deal with *V-te-iku/-kuru* constructions: the case in which *iku* and *kuru* show "aspect" in compound verbs will be particularly focussed on. In Japanese the *V-te* form (which is sometimes called the verbal gerund form) may be combined with verbs such as *iru* "to be/exist", *shimau* "to finish/put away", *oku* "to place", *miru* "to see/look at", and so on. As the result of such a combination, the verbs used as auxiliary verbs in the compound (combined) verbs no longer carry exact original meanings, but they add different shades of meaning to the verbs in *V-te* forms. For instance, *shimau* in the *V-te-shimau* structure shows that the action of the verb in the *V-te* form is completed or it suggests the Sender's feelings about the unfortunate incident described by the main verb. *Oku* in the *V-te-oku* structure expresses the fact that the Sender or the person concerned other than the Sender takes the action described by the main verb in advance so as to provide for future beneficial results.

In the case of *V-te-iku/-kuru* structures, it must be noted that uses of *iku* and *kuru* in *V-te-iku/-kuru* may be divided into two main categories, viz.:

1. *iku* and *kuru* semantically function as main verbs, and
2. *iku* and *kuru* semantically function as auxiliary verbs.

The former use of *iku* and *kuru* will be further subdivided into two groups:

- (a) verbs in *V-te* forms and *iku/kuru* are mutually independent,

- (b) verbs in *V-te* forms qualify *iku/kuru*.

I shall briefly refer to the former use of *iku* or *kuru* in 4.1, since the properties of *iku* and *kuru* as main verbs have been included previously in the discussion in Chapter II. The second use of *iku* or *kuru* will be also further subdivided into two groups:

- (a) *iku* and *kuru* assist other non-deictic motion verbs through a combination with them to give the deictic sense to the compound verbs.
- (b) *iku* and *kuru* have no literal meanings but show "aspect" in the compound verbs. I shall consider the latter use of *iku* and *kuru* in 4.2 et seq.

Table 6 illustrates the different uses of *iku* and *kuru* in compound verbs:

Table 6 Uses of *iku* and *kuru* in *V-te-iku/-kuru* Structures

<i>iku/kuru</i> - function		Relationship between <i>iku/kuru</i> and verbs in <i>V-te</i> forms	Whether literal movement of <i>iku/</i> <i>kuru</i> is retained or not
1	As main verbs	a <i>iku/kuru</i> and verbs in <i>V-te</i> forms are mutually independent	[+ literal]
		<i>iku</i> and <i>kuru</i> are qualified by verbs b in <i>V-te</i> forms	[+ literal]
2	As auxiliary verbs	a <i>iku</i> and <i>kuru</i> add the deictic sense to non-deictic motion verbs in <i>V-te</i> forms	[+ literal]
		<i>iku/kuru</i> and verbs in <i>V-te</i> forms are b inseparable; <i>iku</i> and <i>kuru</i> show <u>aspect</u>	[- literal]

4.1 The case where *iku* and *kuru* function as main verbs in compound verbs

To illustrate the points made above, let us observe the following sentences:

(214) a). *Asa gohan o tabete* { *ikimashita.* }
 morning meal eating { *kimashita.* }

"I ate breakfast and { went. }
 { came. }

(lit. "I { went } having eaten breakfast"
 { came }

朝ごはんを食べて { 行きました。 }
 { 来ました。 }

b). *Pan o katte-ikimasu.*
 bread buying

"I will buy bread and go."

(lit. "I will go having bought bread.")

パンを買って行きます。

b'). *Pan o katte-kimasu.*

"I will go and get bread."

(lit. "I will come back having bought bread.")

パンを買って来ます。

c). *Hana o motte* { *ikimashita.* }
 flower holding { *kimashita.* }

"I { went } holding flowers."
 { came }

花を持って { 行きます。 }
 { 来ます。 }

d). *Hanako wa akachan o se ni obutte* { *ikimashita.* }
 baby back carrying { *kimashita.* }

"Hanako { went } carrying a baby on her back."
 { came }

花子は赤ちゃんを背に負ぶって { 行きました。 }
 { 来ました。 }

e). *Gakkoo made aruite* { *ikimashita.*
 school as far as walking { *kimashita.* }

"I {went
 {came} to school on foot.

(lit. "I {went
 {came} to school walking.")

学校まで歩いて { 行きました。
 { 来ました。 }

f). *Taroo wa oyoide* { *ikimashita.*
 swimming { *kimashita.* }

"Taroo {went swimming away from me}
 {came swimming towards me. }

太郎は泳いで { 行きました。
 { 来ました。 }

Te in *V-te* forms in (214-a) to (214-f) acts as a conjunction. Verbs in *V-te* forms and the deictic motion verbs, *iku/kuru* are semantically independent of each other. It should be noted that the action designated by the verb preceding *te* was taken before the action designated by *kuru* and *iku*. Therefore it is quite possible to interpose a conjunction like *soshite* "and" or the particle *kara* "after" between *V-te* forms and the deictic motion verbs.

Some might wonder why *go* in the English equivalent of (214-b') appears whereas the original Japanese sentence (214-b') does not contain the verb "*iku*". A possible explanation would run as follows: there are three different actions involved in the sentence, viz., a) going to a shop (or a bakery), b) buying bread and c) coming back. In Japanese "going to a shop (or a bakery)" is presupposed and therefore, *iku* "go" need not to be mentioned. So the expression "buy and come back" is used. On the other hand, in English "coming (back)" is (a little less inevitably) presupposed and therefore, "come" is not used in the same

circumstances. So the expression "go and buy (it)" is used.

In (214-c) to (214-f) verbs in *V-te* forms qualify the deictic motion verbs; usually verbs in *V-te* forms indicate the manner in which the action described the verb was carried out. Verbs in *V-te* forms are to some extent subordinate to *iku* and *kuru*. Combinations of verbs in *V-te* forms and *iku/kuru* in (214-c) to (214-f) are tighter than those of verbs in *V-te* forms and *iku/kuru* in (214-a) to (214-b'). However, it may still be possible to interpose a word or a phrase between the *V-te* form and *iku/kuru*.

Motte-iku and *motte-kuru* in (214-c) have been discussed previously together with *tsurete-iku* and *tsurete-kuru*, as being the verbs which correspond to the English verbs *take* and *bring*. *Motsu* and *tsureru* are not the only verbs to be used with *iku* and *kuru* to indicate "go/come carrying". Verbs such as *daku* "to embrace", *kakaeru* "to carry in arms" and *sageru* "to hang" are combined with deictic motion verbs to express how a person enables a thing or a human being to move (go/come).

In all the examples (214-a) to (214-f), it is possible to interpose other words or phrases between *V-te* forms and *iku/kuru*, as shown in (215-a-1) to (215-f) below:

(215) a).-1. *Asa-gohan o tabete* $\frac{\textit{soshite}}{\textit{and}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ikimashita.} \\ \textit{kimashita.} \end{array} \right\}$

"I ate breakfast and $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{went.} \\ \textit{came.} \end{array} \right\}$ "

朝ごはんを食べて、そして $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{行きました。} \\ \textit{来ました。} \end{array} \right\}$

a).-2. *Asa-gohan o tabete* - $\frac{\textit{karu}}{\textit{after}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ikimashita.} \\ \textit{kimashita.} \end{array} \right\}$

"I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{went} \\ \textit{came} \end{array} \right\}$ after having had breakfast"

朝ごはんを食べてから { 行きました。 }
 { 来ました。 }

b).-1. *Pan o katte, soshite kimasu.*

"I will buy bread and then come back."

パンを買って、そして 来ます。

b).-2. *Pan o katte-kara kimasu.*

"I will come back after having bought bread"

パンを買ってから 来ます。

b').-1. *Pan o katte soshite ikimasu.*

"I will buy bread and then go."

パンを買って、そして 行きます。

b').-2. *Pan o katte-kara ikimasu.*

"I will go after having bought bread."

パンを買ってから 行きます。

c). *Hana o motte paatii ni { ikimashita. }
 party { kimashita. }*

"I {went }
 {came } to the party holding flowers."

花を持ってパーティに { 行きます。 }
 { 来ます。 }

d). *Hanako wa akachan o se ni obutte kaimono ni
 for shopping*

{ ikimashita. }
 { kimashita. }

"Hanako {went }
 {came } shopping carrying a baby on her

back".

花子は赤ちゃんを背に負ぶって買物に { 行きました。 }
 { 来ました。 }

e). *Gakkoo made aruite yukkuri { ikimashita. }
 slowly { kimashita. }*

"I {went }
 {came } to school slowly on foot."

学校まで歩いてゆくり { 行きました。 }
 { 来ました。 }

f). *Taroo wa oyoide chisana mura ni* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimashita.} \\ \underline{kimashita.} \end{array} \right\}$
small village

"Taroo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{went} \\ \text{came} \end{array} \right\}$ towards the small village
 swimming."

太郎は泳いで小さな村に $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きました。} \\ \underline{来ました。} \end{array} \right\}$

4.2 Iku and kuru functioning as auxiliary verbs to add deictic sense to verbs in V-te forms

As illustrated in table 6, *iku* and *kuru*, as auxiliary verbs, have two sub-categories. I shall consider the first of the two in this section and then concentrate on the second, viz., the aspectual uses of *iku* and *kuru* in *V-te-iku/-kuru*, in the remainder of this chapter.

When the deictic motion verbs *iku* and *kuru* are combined with other non-deictic motion verbs such as *deru* "to get out", *chikazuku* "to approach", *tsutawaru* "to transmit", *nigeru* "to escape/run away", *noboru* "to climb", *hairu* "to enter" and so on, the result is to add deictic features to the non-deictic motion verbs. As a result of such a combination, the whole compound verb behaves as if it were a single deictic verb.

Let us first consider the following examples:

(216) *Hanako ga tento kara dete* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimashita.} \\ \underline{kimashita.} \end{array} \right\}$
 tent getting out

"Hanako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{went} \\ \text{came} \end{array} \right\}$ out of the tent."

花子がテントから出て $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{行きました。} \\ \underline{来ました。} \end{array} \right\}$

(217) *Taroo wa tonari no heya ni haitte* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ikimashita.} \\ \underline{kimashita.} \end{array} \right\}$
 next room entering

"Taroo {went
came} into the next room."

太郎は隣の部屋に入って { 行きました。
来ました。 }

(218) *Mishiranu-hito ga Hanako ni chikazuite* { *itta.*
strange person approaching *kita.* }

"The stranger {went
came} up to Hanako."

見知らぬ人が花子に近づいて { 行,た。
来,た。 }

(219) *Naisen ga hajimaru to sugu, watashi no tomodachi*
civil war start soon my friend

wa amerika ni nigete { *itta.*
escaping *kita.* }

"Soon after the civil war started, my friend {went
came} to America to escape."

内戦が始まるとすぐ、私の友達はアメリカに逃げて { 行,た。
来,た。 }

(220) *Taroo wa oka no ue made nobotte* { *ikimashita.*
hill top climbing *kimashita.* }

"Taroo {went
came} up to the top of the hill."

太郎は丘の上まで登って { 行きました。
来ました。 }

A cursory look at the English equivalents in (216) to (220) may suggest that the deictic verbs *iku* and *kuru* appear to function as main verbs, but, semantically, in Japanese an emphasis is laid on verbs in *V-te* forms. When these non-deictic motion verbs in *V-te* forms are used without *iku/kuru*, they do not have deictic features. However, by combining *iku* or *kuru* with non-deictic motion verbs, the combined verbs become deictic verbs. In other words, *iku* and *kuru* add their semantic features [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego] respectively to non-deictic

(222) *Taroo wa tonari no heya ni haitte, soshite*

(nikai e) { ikimashita. }
upstairs { kimashita. }

"Taroo entered the next room and then {went
came}
(upstairs)."

太郎は隣の部屋に入って、そして(二階へ)
{ 行きました。 }
{ 来ました。 }

(223) *Mishiranu-hito ga Hanako ni chikazuite*

soshite { (mukoo e) ittha. }
over there
{ (watashi no hoo e) kita. }
my direction

"The stranger approached Hanako and then

{ went (over there). }
{ came (towards me). }

見知らぬ人が花子に近づいて、そして
{ (向こうへ) 行った。 }
{ (私の方へ) 来た。 }

(224) *Naisen ga hajimaru to sugu watashi no tomodachi wa*

*amerika e nigete soshite (Kanada e) { ittha. }
{ kita. }*

Canada

"Soon after the civil war started, my friend escaped
to America and then {went
came} to Canada.

内戦が始まると、すぐ私の友達はアフリカへ逃げて、そして
(カナダへ) { 行った。 }
{ 来た。 }

(225) *Taroo wa oka no ue made nobotte, soshite*

(toodai no hoo e) { ikimashita. }
lighthouse direction { kimashita. }

"Taroo climbed up the hill and then {went
came} towards the
lighthouse."

太郎は丘の上まで登って、そして灯台の方へ { 行きました。 }
{ 来ました。 }

4.3. Aspectual Uses of V-te-iku and V-te-kuru

In this group of *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru*, a combination of the verb in the *V-te* form and *iku/kuru* is so tight that the interposition of other words between the main verb and *iku/kuru*, or the inversion of such verbs is not possible.

Let us observe examples (226) to (228). (227) is the unacceptable example where an adverb *kyuusoku-ni*, "rapidly", is interposed between *fuete* and *iku/kuru* in (226). (228) is also an unacceptable example where *fuete* and *iku/kuru* in (226) are inverted.

(226) *Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga*
 from now on library Japanese language book

fuete { *ikimasu* } *yo.*
 increasing { *kimasu* }

"From now onwards the number of Japanese (language) books in the library will increase."

これから図書館の日本語の本が増えて { 行きます } よ。
 { 来ます。 }

*(227) *Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga*

fuete kyuusoku-ni { *ikimasu* } *yo.*
 rapidly { *kimasu* }

*これから図書館の日本語の本が増えて急速に { 行きます } よ。
 { 来ます }

*(228) *Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga*

{ *ikimasu* } *yo, fuete ne.*
 { *kimasu* }

*これから図書館の日本語の本が { 行きます } よ。
 { 来ます }
 増えてね。

Although the difference between *fuete-iku* and *fuete-kuru* in (226) is not expressed at all in English translation, there is a difference in implication between these compound verbs in Japanese. Before discussing the difference between *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru*, it is necessary to refer to the basic characteristics and uses of *iku* and *kuru* again. Meanwhile I shall set aside the question regarding *fuete-iku* and *fuete-kuru* in (226).

It is to be remembered that the basic characteristics of *kuru* and *iku* are that: 1) *kuru* is the goal-oriented verb, and 2) *iku* is the source-oriented verb or is neutral to these two orientations. The difference between the basic uses of *kuru* and *iku* is as follows: 1) *kuru* is permitted when the Sender is located at the goal either at coding time or at arrival time, whereas 2) *iku* is permitted when the Sender is not located at the goal either at coding time or at arrival time. To express the matter differently, *kuru* is used for the movement towards or the arrival at the place where the Sender is located either at coding time or arrival time; *iku* is used for the movement away from the place where the Sender is located either at coding time or at arrival time.

Assuming that the contrast between *kuru* and *iku* in Speaker-Addressee deixis stems from the basic contrast between Ego and Non-Ego (or [+ Ego] or [- Ego]) suggested by Kurylowicz, the semantic features, [+ Towards Ego] for *kuru* and [- Towards Ego] for *iku* as an extension of [+ Ego] and [- Ego] respectively, may be assigned to indicate the difference in implication between *V-te-kuru* and *V-te-iku* in this section.

Referring back to the question about *fuete-iku* and *fuete-kuru* in

(226), it must be repeated that *iku* has the basic semantic feature [-Towards Ego] and that *kuru* has [+Towards Ego]. It is these features that determine the difference between *fuete-iku* and *fuete-kuru* in (226). For *fuete-iku*, the Sender regards the phenomenon "the number of Japanese books will increase", as if it is going away from the time point where he stands towards the future. On the other hand, for *fuete-kuru*, the Sender regards the same phenomenon as if it is coming towards the time point where he stands. In other words, for the former expression, the Sender's "eyes" are placed at the source, or the starting point of the phenomenon whereas, for the latter expression, his "eyes" are placed at the goal. Although what the Sender expresses in both *fuete-iku* and *fuete-kuru* has the same logical content (i.e., change of state from a lesser to a greater number of books), his viewpoint is taken from two different positions. As far as empathy is concerned, the Sender relates the phenomenon to himself more subjectively in *fuete-kuru* than in *fuete-iku*. It might be of interest to note that the previous chapter discussed some English idioms with *come* involving empathic use. It thus becomes apparent that both English *come* and Japanese *kuru* have basic semantic features, [+Towards Ego], in common.

4.3.1. The Use of V-te-kuru

In this sub-section I shall deal with the *V-te-kuru* structure which shows first, the process of changing state and, secondly, that the action or event designated by the verb in the *V-te* forms continues. Since the *V-te-kuru* structure basically indicates movement towards or arrival at the point of reference, it metaphysically indicates the process of changing state or the beginning of change of state. When verbs in *V-te* forms denote "duration" or "continuation", *V-te-kuru*

indicates that the action or event designated by the verb in the *V-te* form continues up to the time point where the Sender is located. It will become apparent in due course that there are some selectional instructions working regarding verbs preceding *kuru*, but this question will be discussed in 4.3.3.

Let us first observe some verbs which denote "goal-orientation". Goal-oriented verbs such as *umareru*, "to be born", *arawareru*, "to appear" *ukabu*, "come up to the surface", *komiagaru*, "rise up" and so on, are usually combined with *kuru*, since *kuru* is also the goal-oriented verb. Such compound verbs figuratively imply movement towards, or arrival at the point of reference, as shown in (226) to (230). Therefore it is not appropriate to use these verbs with *iku*.

Let us consider (226) to (230):

(226) *Kono yo ni umarete-kita karaniwa, shitaikoto wa*
 this would because what want to do

zeNbu shite shinitai mono da.
 all after doing want to die

"Since I was born into this world (came to existence in this world), I want to die after I have done everything I want to do."

この世に生まれて来た からは、したいことは全部して
死にたいものだ。

(227) *Yume no naka ni arawarete-kuru no wa*
 dream in appearing

itsumo shinda haha no sugata desu.
 always deed mother figure

"It is my deceased mother who always appears in my dream."

夢の中に現れて来るのは、いつも死んだ母の姿です。

(228) *Ichigakkimatsu ni gakusei no aida-ni*
first term end student amongst

gakushuu nooryoku no sa ga arawarete-kuru.
learning ability gap appearing

"Towards the end of the first term, the difference in learning ability amongst students becomes obvious (or begins to appear)."

一学期末に学生の間で学習能力の差が
顕れて来る。

(229) *Soosa ga susumu ni tsurete, Tanaka to*
investigation progress

yu na no otoko ga yoogisha to shite
name man suspect

ukande-kita.
coming up to the surface

"A man called Tanaka has loomed up as a possible suspect as the investigation has progressed."

(Lit. "A man called Tanaka has come up to the surface as a suspect as the investigation has progressed.")

捜査が進むにつれて、田中と言う名の男が容疑者
として浮かんで来た。

(230) *Sano shashin o miru to itsumo ikari ga*
that photograph see always anger

komiagatte-kuru.
rising up

"Whenever I see that photograph, indignation surges up within me."

その写真を見ると、いつも怒りがこみあがって来る。

Some other verbs used with *kuru* only are those related to our

perception: a combination of these verbs and *kuru* indicates the process of changing state from *outside* the scope of our perception to *inside* the scope of our perception. Sentences (231) to (238) exemplify the above claim:

- (231) *Tonari no heya kara akanboo no nakigoe*
 next room from baby crying voice
ga kikoete-kita.
 being audible

"I could hear a baby crying in the next room"

(Lit. "A baby's crying voice from the next room became (has become) audible to me.")

隣の部屋から赤ん坊の泣き声が聞こえて来た。

- (232) *Sono hashi o wataru to sugu mado kara*
 bridge cases soon window
Fujisan ga miete-kuru.
 Mt Fuji being able to see

"Soon after crossing the bridge, Mt. Fuji begins to come into view."

その橋を渡るとすぐ窓から富士山が見えて来た。

- (233) *Gaikokugo o benkyoo sureba suruhodo*
 foreign language study do do
shuutoku suru koto no muzukashisa ga wakatte-kita.
 acquire difficulty realizing

"The more I have studied the foreign language, the more I have become aware of the difficulty of acquiring it."

外国語を勉強すればする程、習得することのむずかしさが分かって来た。

- (234) *Taroo wa nido to kokoniwa kaeranai no*
 again here return-Neg.

dewa naika to yuu yokan ga shite-kita.
having a premonition

"I am getting a premonition that Taroo might not come back here again."

太郎は二度とここには帰らないのではないかと
言う予感がして来た。

(235) Haruka kurayami no naka kara ashioto dake
far away darkens inside from footstep only
ga shite-kita.

"From far away out of the darkness only the sound of footsteps have become audible."

はるか暗闇の中から足音だけがして来た。

By interposing an adverb such as *dandan* "gradually", or *masumasu* "increasingly", in (231) to (235) we can make these sentences clearly show the gradual process of changing state, as exemplified in (236) to (238):

(236) *Nihongo no muzukashisa ga* { *dandan*
Japanese language difficulty { *masumasu* }
wakatte-kita.

"I am {gradually
more and more } beginning to realize the

difficulty of the Japanese language."

日本語のむずかしさが {だんだん } 分かって来た。
ますます }

(237) *Soto no sawagi ga* { *dandan*
outside bustle { *masumasu* } ookikunatte-kuru.
becoming louder

"The bustle outside is {gradually
increasingly } becoming louder."

外の騒ぎが {だんだん } 大きくなって来る。
ますます }

(238) *Kore o nogasu to nihon ni iku kikai wa moo*
 this miss Japan chance

naidaroo to yuu ki ga {dandan / masumasu} shite-kita.
 having a feeling

"I am {gradually / more and more} beginning to feel that I may no

longer have a chance of going to Japan if I don't
 take (lit. miss) this one."

これを逃がすと日本に行く機会は今もうないだろう
 という気が {だんだん / ますます} して来た。

Some sentences containing *V-te-kuru* may also be interpreted as inchoative (inceptive): *V-te-kuru* implies the beginning of the resultant state. Sentences (231) to (238) and some of the examples (226) to (231) may be regarded as cases in which the *V-te-kuru* structure indicates inchoative, (inceptive); the *V-te-iku* structure does not have an inchoative function.

Let us observe some more sentences:

(239) *Haru ni naru to niwa no kino me ga isseini*
 spring become garden tree shoot in chorus

fukurande-kimasu.
 swelling

"When spring comes, all the trees in the garden begin
 to burst into leaf."

春になると庭の木の芽が一斉にふくらんで来ます。

(240) *Dandan onaka ga suite-kimashita.*
 gradually stomach being empty

"I have begun to feel hungry"

(Lit. "Gradually my stomach is becoming empty.")

だんだんおなかが すいて来ました。

- (241) *Aki ga fukamaru to kaede no happa wa*
Autumn deepen maple leaves

motto akakunatte-kimasu yo.
more becoming red

"When autumn deepens, maple leaves become redder."

秋が深まると楓の葉っぱがもっと赤くなって
来ますよ。

- (242) *Biiru no nomisugi de saikin onaka ga*
beer excessive drinking recently

dete-kita.
protruding

"My stomach has recently become protruding because I
have been drinking too much beer."

ビールの飲みすぎで、最近おなかが出て来た。

- (243) *Shinjuku eki kara densha ga masumasu*
station train

konde-kimasu yo.
being crowded

"From Shinjuku Station the train will become more and
more crowded."

新宿駅から電車がますますこんで来ますよ。

- (244) *Ima wa mada samukunai desu ga, raigetsu ni*
now yet cold-Neg. next month

naryto kyugekini samukunatte-kimasu yo.
suddenly becoming cold

"It is not cold yet, but all of a sudden it will
become cold in the next month."

今はまだ寒くないですが、来月になると、
急激に寒くなって来ますよ。

(245) *Dandan hara ga tatte-kita.*
being angry

"I am getting angry."

(Lit. "Gradually anger has seized me.")

だんだん 腹が立って来た。

(246) *Ame (Yuki) ga futte-kita.*
rain (snow) falling

"It has begun to rain (snow) or it has come on to
rain (snow)."

雨(雪)が 降って来た。

Examples (246) seems to be different from the other examples (239) to (245). It is based on the literal deictic sense: that is, rain (snow) comes down to us from the sky. Yet *ame (yuki) ga futte-kuru* implies that it starts to rain (snow). Therefore the verbs *hajimeru*, "to begin" or *dasu* "to start" may replace *kuru* to form the other compound verb, *furi-hajimeru*, or *furi-dasu* "to begin to fall". However, there is a subtle difference in emphasis between *futte-kuru* and the expressions containing *hajimeru* and *dasu*. The difference may not be particularly explicit in practice, but *futte-kuru* seems to be less formal or analytical.

When verbs which denote "duration" or "continuation" are combined with *kuru*, the compound (combined) verbs indicate that the action or event continues up to the point where the Sender is located. This time point where the Sender stands may be in the past or future, but it usually indicates the continuation of the action or event from the past up to the present, as shown in the following sentences. In other words, the Sender's eyes are always placed at the end (goal) of the action or

event, and the Sender views the action or event coming towards him. *V-te-kita* with the past form of *kuru* usually translate into the English present perfect tense.

- (247) *Ima made hitoride ikite-kimashita.*
now till alone living

"I have lived all by myself up to now."

今まで一人で生きて来ました。

- (248) *Nijuunen kan mo kenkyuu o tsuzukete-kimashita.*
twenty year research continuing

"I have continued to do research over the past twenty years."

二十年間も研究を続けて来ました。

- (249) *Shujin no shigo dare no chikara mo karizu*
husband after death anyone power borrow-Neg.

Sannin no kodomo o sodatete-kimashita.
three people child raising

"After my husband's death, I have raised three children without anyone's help."

主人の死後誰の力も惜りず、三人の子供を
育てて来ました。

- (250) *Hachigatsu kara zutto ronbun o*
August continuously thesis

kaite-kimashita.
writing

"I have been writing the thesis continuously since August."

八月からずっと論文を書いて来ました。

- (251) *Kore wa ima made kaitai mono mo kawazuni*
went to buy thing buy-Neg.

tamete-kita okane desu.
saving money

"This is the money I have saved up to today as a result of not buying what I wanted to buy."

これは今まで買いたいものも買わずにためて来た
お金です。

4.3.2. The Use of V-te-iku and the difference between V-te-kuru and V-te-iku

In this sub-section first, the *V-te-iku* structure and secondly, the difference between *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru* structures will be discussed.

V-te-iku also indicates first, the process of changing state and, secondly, that the action or event designated by the verb in the *V-te* form continues. But unlike the *V-te-kuru* construction, *V-te-iku* basically indicates the process of departure from the point of reference. This point of reference is generally the place where the Sender is (or we all are) now. Therefore it metaphorically implies the process of changing state from *existence* to *non-existence*, from *inside* the range of our perception to *outside* the range of our perception, and so on. In relation to time it indicates that the action or event occurs ahead of (away from) the time point where the Sender is. Often this time point indicates the present, but it would be any time point in the past or future.

Let us observe the following examples:

(252) *Sensoo de* *shinde-itta* *hitotachi no koto*
war dying person-pl.

o mazu kangae-nakereba ikenai.
first think must

"We must first think of those who died in the war."

戦争で死んで行った人達のことをまず考えなければいけない。

- (253) *Ashioto ga dandan kiete-itta.*
footsteps disappearing

"The footsteps were heard gradually dying away."

足音がだんだん消えて行った。

- (254) *Itami ga shidaini usuraide-itta.*
pain gradually decreasing

"The pain has gradually decreased in severity."

痛みが次第に薄らいて行った。

- (255) *Natsu no owarigoro kara sakura no ki*
summer end about cherry tree
ga shidaini karete-itta.
gradually dying

"Since the end of the summer, the cherry tree has gradually died."

夏の終わりごろから桜の木が次第に枯れて行った。

- (256) *Kekkon go kanojo wa shakaiteki ni*
marriage after she socially

kappatsuna josei ni natte-itta.
active woman becoming

"After the marriage she became an active woman socially."

結婚後彼女は社会的に活発な女性になって行った。

- (257) *Ichoo no ha ga hinihini oogonshoku ni*
ginkgo leaves day by day golden colour

kawatte-itta.
changing

銀杏の葉が日に日に黄金色に変わって行った。

"Ginkgo leaves have changed into a golden colour day by day."

(258) *Nihongo kurasu no gakusei no kazu wa*
 Japanese class student number
sukoshi[#]zutsu hette-itta.
 little by little decreasing

"The number of students in the Japanese class has decreased little by little."

日本語クラスの学生の数は少しずつ減って行った。

The verb *shinu* "to die" in (252) cannot coexist with *kuru*. This is because it would be nonsensical to use *shinde-kuru* in practice unless we could see the dead reborn in another world. But the verbs in (253) to (258) may be combined with *kuru* as well, as shown in (259) to (264):

(259) *Roosoku no hikari ga kiete-* { *itta.* }
 candle light disappearing { *kita.* }

"The candle-light has gradually gone out."

ろうそくの光が消えて { 行った。 }
 { 来た。 }

(260) *Kare no aijoo ga shidaini usuraide* { *itta.* }
 his love gradually cooling down { *kita.* }

"His love has gradually cooled down."

彼の愛情が次第に薄らいて { 行った。 }
 { 来た。 }

(261) *Mizubusoku de wakagi ga kanari karete* { *itta.* }
 water shortage young tree fairly dying { *kita.* }

"Quite a number of young trees have died because of lack of water."

水不足で若木が枯れて { 行った。 }
 { 来た。 }

(262) *Kanojo wa shidaini kenkoo ni natte* { itta. }
 she # health becoming { kita. }

"She has gradually improved in health."

彼女は次第に健康に なって { 行った。 }
 # { 来た。 }

(263) *Ajisai no hana ga jojoni momoiro ni*
 hydrangea flower gradually pink colour

kawatte { itta. }
 changing { kita. }

"The hydrangeas have gradually become pink."

紫陽花の花が徐々に桃色に 変わって { 行った。 }
 # { 来た。 }

(264) *Sekiyu no juyoo ga saikin hette* { itta. }
 oil demand recently decreasing { kita. }

"The demand for oil has recently decreased."

石油の需要が最近 減って { 行った。 }
 # { 来た。 }

The differences between *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru* in (259) to (264) do not reveal themselves in their corresponding English equivalents. However, there is a definite but subtle difference in implication between *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru* in these sentences.

The verbs in the first three examples (259) to (261) have similar semantic features - [-appearing]. The verbs are expected to be combined with *iku* only, but unlike the verbs such as *arawareru* "to appear" and *ukabu* "come up to the surface" which usually occur with *kuru* only, *kiemu* "to disappear", *usuragu* "to fade away", *kareru* "to die (for plants and trees)" may be used with *kuru* and *iku*. However, let us consider the sentence (265):

(265) *Toshi o toru to me ga kasunde* { kimasu. }
 years get eyes being blurred { *ikimasu. }

"When we get older, our sight will become dim."

年を取ると目が霞んで { 来ます。 }
 # { *行きます。 }

The verb *kasumu* "to be blurred" may be combined with either *iku* and *kuru*, but *kasunde-iku*, the use of *iku* with the verb in question, is not appropriate in the context of (265). This is probably because we generally consider that an unavoidable physical change will come towards us over the years, and that it will not go away from us.

Both *V-te-iku* and *V-te-kuru* in (259) to (264) indicate the process of changing state, but *V-te-kuru* may also be interpreted as the beginning of change, as mentioned previously. When the Sender regards a phenomenon as if it is coming towards him (or into his perception, etc.), he may use the *V-te-kuru* structure. On the other hand, when the Sender regards a phenomenon as if it is going away from him, he may use the *V-te-iku* structure. It should be stated again that the semantic features, [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego], are assigned for *V-te-kuru* and *V-te-iku* respectively. It is these features that create the difference between *V-te-kuru* and *V-te-iku*.

Verbs which denote "duration" or "continuation" may be combined with *iku* as well. However, unlike *V-te-kuru*, the compound verb containing *iku* shows that the event or action continues ahead of the time point where the Sender stands. In other words, the Sender's eyes are placed at the source of the event or action. This time point usually implies the present, although it may be any time point in the past or future.

Let us consider some sentences:

(266) *Imamade hitoride ikite-kimashita ga*
 now till alone living

kore kara mo hitori de ikite-ikimasu.
now from also living

"I have lived all by myself up to now, and from now on I shall continue to live along."

今まで一人で生きて来ましたが、これからもう一人で生きて行きます。

(267) Kore kara wa motto shinchoo ni yatte-iku
more carefully doing

tsumori desu.
intention

"I intend to do it more carefully from now onwards."

これからもっと慎重にやっ行くつもりです。

(268) Sono hi kara watashi wa hitoride[#] sannin no
that day I alone three people

kodomo o sodatete-ikimashita.
child raising

"From that day onwards I raised three children by myself."

その日から私は一人で三人の子供を育てて行きました。

(269) Kono Kaisha o hattensasete-iku tame niwa[#]
this firm developing (causative) for

motto yuunoo na jinin ga hitsuyoo da.
able staff necessary

"More able staff is needed in order to develop this company."

この会社を発展させて行くためにはもっと有能な人員が必要だ。

(270) Kono gakkoo ni haittara motto benkyoo shite-
this school enter-Cond. studying

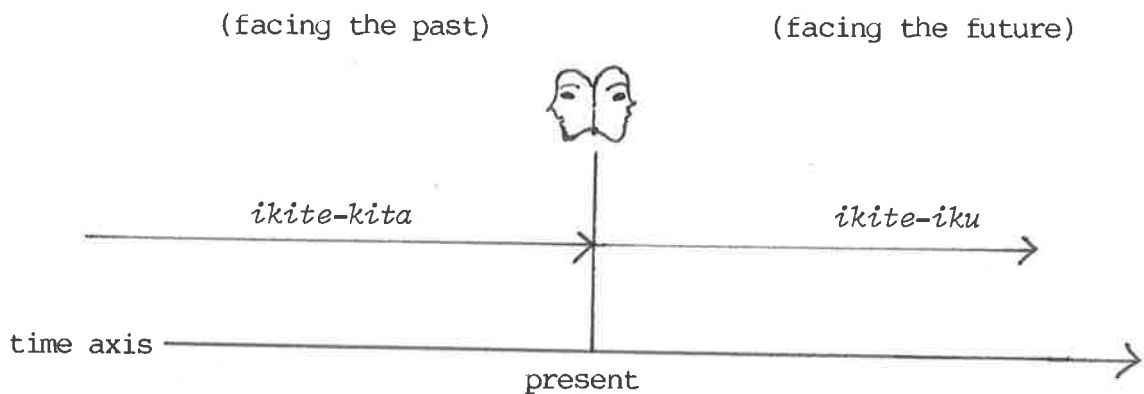
ikanakereba narimasen yo.

"When you enter this school, you must go on to study harder."

この学校に入ったら、もっと勉強して行かなければなりませんよ。

These English equivalents in examples (266) to (270) do not express the Japanese *V-te-iku* construction very well. However, in (266) the contrast between *ikite-kimashita* and *ikite-ikimasu* is clearly presented. The Sender's eyes are placed at the present, but facing towards the past for *V-te-kita*; whereas for *V-te-iku*, whilst his eyes are similarly placed at the present, they are facing towards the future. Therefore, his life from the past up to now is viewed as if it has reached at the present where he stands for the *V-te-kita* expression; on the other hand, for the *V-te-iku* expression his life from now onwards is viewed as if it is going away from the time point where he is. This is depicted in the following diagram 3.

Diagram 3. Depiction of Difference Between *ikite-kita* and *ikite-iku*



4.3.3. Some restrictions on verbs in *V-te* forms

In this final sub-section some restrictions on the verbs preceding *iku* and *kuru* will be discussed. It becomes quite obvious that not all

the Japanese verbs can be combined with *iku/kuru*. Makiuchi has concluded in his Ph.D. thesis that "TE Ku-ru TE I-ku with the feature [+direction] cannot co-occur with the 'state' verbs having the feature [+state)."¹ It is true that most of the state-verbs cannot coexist with *iku* and *kuru*. These non-coexisting state-verbs are: *aru* "to be/exist", *iru* "to be/exist", most of the verbs with potential forms, [Adjectival stems plus *sugiru*] "to exceed", adjectives, *keiyoo dooshi* "nominal adjectives" and [Nouns plus Copula]. For example, (271-a) to (271-g) do not occur:

(271) *a. *Tsukue no ue ni hon ga atte-* { *itta.*
 desk top book existing- { *kita.* }

* 机の上に本があって { 行った。
 来た。

*b. *Tsukue no shita ni neko ga ite-* { *itta.*
 under cat existing - { *kita.* }

* 机の下にねこがいて { 行った。
 来た。

*c. *Nihongo ga joozu ni hanasete-*
 Japanese language well being able to speak-
 { *itta.*
 { *kita.* }

* 日本語が上手に話せて { 行った。
 来た。

*d. *Kono hon wa watashi ni wa*
 this book far

muzukashisugite- { *itta.*
 too difficult- { *kita.* }

* この本は私にはむずかしすぎて { 行った。
 来た。

*e. *Kono hon wa muzukashikute-* { *itta.*
 difficult- { *kita.* }

* この本はむずかしくて { 行った。
 来た。

*f. Kono heya wa shizukade- { itta. }
 room quiet- { kita. }

*この部屋は静かで { 行った。 }
 { 来た。 }

*g. Kore wa hon de { itta. }
 this book { kita. }

*これは本で { 行った。 }
 { 来た。 }

However, some verbs such as *mieru*, "to be able to see", *kikoeru* "be audible", although state-verbs, may be combined with *kuru*, as they have already been combined in (231) and (232).²

Most of the fourth-group verbs classified by Kindaichi may be combined only with *kuru*. Examples (272) to (276) containing these verbs are given to show "change of state":

(272) Taroo wa saikin kurasu no naka de
 recently class in

subanukete- { kita. }
 { *itta. }

"Taroo has recently become top in his class."

太郎は最近クラスの中でずばぬけて { 来た。 }
 { *行った。 }

(273) Minna ga gucchi no kaban o mochidasu to
 everyone gucci bag start to have

arifurete - { kimasu } ne.
 { *ikimasu }

"If everyone starts having a gucci bag, it will become common, won't it?"

みんながグッチのかばんを持ち出すと、ありふれて
 { 来ます }
 { *行きます } ね。

(274) Hanako wa dandan chichiyoa ni nite- { kita. }
father resembling- { *itta. }

"Hanako has gradually come to resemble her father"

花子はだんだん父親に似て { 来た。 }
*行った。 }

(275) Taroo wa niyakete- { kita } mitai.
being foppish { *itta } appear

"Taroo appears to be becoming namby-pamby."

太郎は にやけて { 来た } みたい。
*行った }

(276) Taroo wa shinshizen to shite { kita. }
being gentleman like { *itta. }

"Taroo has become like a gentleman."

太郎は 紳士然として { 来た。 }
*行った。 }

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1. [Makiuchi, 1972, pl32].
2. Makiuchi does not define the "state" verbs at all in his thesis, therefore it is difficult to tell what verb classification he refers to in his study. However, it seems that he follows Kindaichi's verb classification. However, state-verbs referred to in my present thesis include all adjectives, nominal adjectives [Keiyoo dooshi] and [Noun and Copula] constructions in addition to Kindaichi's state-verbs.

Kindaichi's verb classification and a brief definition of each category are shown below. (For details, see Kindaichi, 1951, pp7-26.)

Kindaichi's verb classification

I. State-Verbs:

Semantically, state-verbs indicate "state" which includes a "timeless" concept. Therefore the *-te-iru* construction, which already expresses "state", cannot coexist with state-verbs.

II. Continuation-Verbs:

Semantically, the verbs in this category indicate that the actions or events continue for some time. When the verbs in this group are combined with *-te-iru* they express the fact that the actions or events are in progress.

III. Momentary-Verbs:

Semantically, these verbs imply instantaneous actions or events. When momentary-verbs are combined with *-te-iru*, they indicate that the events or actions have been completed and that their effects remain.

IV. Fourth-Group verbs:

This group of verbs is similar to state-verbs in respect of "timelessness", but Fourth-Group verbs always occur with *-te-iru* constructions.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that as far as the basic uses of English and Japanese deictic motion verbs, *come/go* and *kuru/iku* are concerned, it is the Sender's location (at coding time and/or at arrival time) that plays the key role. Thus, when the Sender is located at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time, the use of *come* and *kuru* is allowable. On the other hand, when the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time, the use of *go* and *iku* is permitted.

In the case of *come*, it is true that the Addressee's location at coding time and/or at arrival time must also be taken into consideration. However, the Addressee's location has to be regarded as of secondary importance. The possibility of the Sender's taking the Addressee's point of view is also observable not only in English but also in Japanese in the question form when the Addressee is located at the goal at coding time and/or at arrival time. When *come* or *kuru* is embedded in clauses dependent on "speech-act verbs" or "subjective-experience verbs", it is found that the Sender takes someone else's point of view.

Accepting that the initial point made regarding the primacy of the Sender's location remains valid it would be generally agreed that:

- 1) [+ Towards Ego] is the basic semantic feature for *come* and *kuru*, and that [- Towards Ego] is the basic semantic feature for *go* and *iku*.
- 2) the contrast between *come* and *go* or between *kuru* and *iku* may be derived from the basic deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego] respectively.

I have explored the problem of how these basic semantic properties reflect the idiomatic use of *come/go* in English and similarly reflect the aspectual use of *V-te-iku/V-te-kuru* structures in Japanese. As a result, it is found that:

- 1) Idioms with *come* generally indicate arrival at a point of reference; these idioms may be replaced with "goal-oriented" verbs such as attain, reach, appear and so on. Some idioms containing *come* indicate change of state from non-existence to existence, from outside the range of our perception to inside the range of our perception, and so on. Some idioms involving *come* may form a set titled "empathy deixis". This refers to the fact that these idioms with *come* implicitly indicate the Sender's involved awareness of the event.

Likewise, in Japanese, *V-te-kuru* constructions figuratively imply movement towards, or arrival at a point of reference. This point of reference is usually the place at which the Sender is situated. When verbs in *V-te* forms have the semantic feature of [+ appearing] or of "goal-orientation", these verbs are naturally combined with *kuru*. Consequently some of *V-te-kuru* structures indicate the process of changing state from non-existence to existence, from outside the scope of our perception to inside the scope of our perception, etc. When verbs in *V-te* forms denoting "duration" or "continuation" are combined with *kuru*, the resultant compound verbs indicate that the action or event continues up to the time point where the Sender stands. Generally the Sender's eyes are placed at the goal of the action or event and the Sender views the

action or event coming towards him, or that it has arrived at the goal.

These characteristics found in relation to English idioms containing *come* and Japanese *V-te-kuru* structures are derived from the fact that *come* and *kuru* possess the basic semantic feature, [+ Towards Ego] (or the very basic deictic feature [+ Ego]).

- 2) On the other hand, English idioms involving *go* indicate departure from a point of reference. Some of them show change of state from existence to non-existence, from inside the range of our perception to outside the range of our perception, etc. With some other idioms containing *go* the Sender's attitude towards the event implicitly expresses a non-positive, neutral approach.

In similar vein, *V-te-iku* constructions basically indicate the process of departure from a point of reference. This point of reference is generally the place at which the Sender is located. Thus *V-te-iku* constructions indicate the process of changing state from existence to non-existence, from inside the scope of our perception to outside the scope of our perception, and so on. When verbs in *V-te* forms denoting "duration" or "continuation" are also combined with *iku*, the resultant compound verbs show that the action or event continues ahead of the time point where the Sender stands. In other words, the Sender's eyes are placed at the source of the event or action, and he views the action or event ahead of the time point at which he is

situated.

The characteristics mentioned above regarding English idioms involving *go* and *V-te-iku* constructions stem from the basic semantic feature [- Towards Ego] (or [- Ego]) which *go* and *iku* possess.

It may be possible to assume that the deictic motion verbs of any non-Indo-European language in the world are derived from the proto-deictic contrast between [+ Ego] and [- Ego]. Unfortunately there exist at present only a few such deictic studies - in Thai, Hindi and English. Given the close connection between Japanese and Korean, perhaps the next most interesting task in this field would be to conduct a research project in Korean.

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