DEIXIS IN JAPANESE
AND ENGLISH VERBS

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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 Kuryłowicz 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)
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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 l.l. 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 *tazuneru* "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.
CHAPTER I

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, \( \text{come, go, bring and take} \). In this section I shall focus on two deictic verbs \( \text{come} \) and \( \text{go} \) on the assumption that the difference between these verbs parallels that between \( \text{bring} \) and \( \text{take} \). \( \text{Bring} \) and \( \text{take} \) 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". 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 \( \text{come} \) and \( \text{go} \) 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 \( \text{come} \) functions as "a goal-oriented verb" and that \( \text{go} \) 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 \( \text{came} \) 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 sentences 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.

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 \{\textit{came over, went over}\} to your house this morning, but you weren't at home.

(18)' I shall \{\textit{come over, go over}\} 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". 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.

The second use of come is illustrated as the "accompanyment" 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 his\(^{12}\) 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", tasunerru "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:
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.  

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 I.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 I.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 explicited in the principle [G] for come. Sentences (61) to (53) 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.
1. Deixis, with its ajective 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/teurete-iku "to take" and motte-kuru/teurete-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/koshira ni ikimashita.
yesterday this place/this way went.

**"I went here yesterday."
きのう ここ/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/こちらに 行きます。

(66) Ima kara {soko/asoko soohira/achira} ni ikimasu. 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 こちら/こちら} に 行きます。

Koko (kochira) in (64) and (65) is the place where the Sender is located at coding time and soko (soohira) 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, soohira, asoko and achira) at coding time.

Let us next consider the following sentences:

(67) Koko ni kinaasai. 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko-series</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>so-series</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>a-series</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kore</td>
<td>&quot;this one&quot;</td>
<td>soe</td>
<td>&quot;that one&quot;</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>&quot;that one over there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono</td>
<td>&quot;this ...&quot;</td>
<td>sono</td>
<td>&quot;that ...&quot;</td>
<td>ano</td>
<td>&quot;that ... over there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko</td>
<td>&quot;this place&quot;</td>
<td>soko</td>
<td>&quot;that place&quot;</td>
<td>asoko</td>
<td>&quot;that place over there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kochira</td>
<td>&quot;this way&quot;</td>
<td>sochira</td>
<td>&quot;that way&quot;</td>
<td>achira</td>
<td>&quot;that way over there&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 koehira 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."

(66)" Ima kara asoko/aschira ni ikimasu.
that place over there/ that way over there
"I am now going (over) there."

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 そこの/そちらに 来ました。
*(70) Kinoo aeoko/aehi'na ni kimaehita.

"I came (over) there yesterday."

*(きのう あそこ/あちらに来ました。)

*(71) Kinoo Taroo ga aeoko/aehi'na ni kimaehita.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 aeoko/aehi'na ni kimaehita.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 aeoko/aehi'na ni kimasu.

"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)  
\[
\text{Wataishi ga uchi ni inai aida ni, dareka ga} \\
\text{I house be-neg. whilst someone}
\]
\[
\{ \text{kita} \} \text{trlatashí gauehi ni inai aida ni, dareka ga} \\
\{ \text{*ittta} \} \text{yogda.}
\]
\[
\{ \text{came} \} \text{appear}
\]
\[
\text{"Whilst I was out of the house, someone apparently}
\]
\[
\{ \text{came} \} \text{(to the house)."}
\]

(75)  
\[
\text{Yuube watashi no uchi ni} \{ \text{kita} \} \text{no.}
\]
\[
\text{last night my house} \{ \text{came} \} \text{went}
\]
\[
\text{Doomo inakute gomennasai. not being sorry}
\]
\[
\text{"You} \{ \text{came} \} \text{to my house. I am sorry I was not in."}
\]

(76)  
\[
\text{Kesa anata no uchi ni} \{ \text{ittara} \} \text{daremo}
\]
\[
\text{this morning your house} \{ \text{went} \} \text{anyone}
\]
\[
\text{inakatta wa. be-Neg./Tense}
\]
\[
\text{"When I} \{ \text{went} \} \text{to your house this morning, nobody was in."}
\]

(77)  
\[
\text{今朝 あなたの家に} \{ \text{ittara} \} \text{誰も}
\]
\[
\text{居なかったわ。}
\]
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 kumu 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 kumu 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ヶ月前に太郎がよく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 this morning Taroo ga Hanako ni ai-ni to see kita. came

b. Kesa this morning 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 empathy. 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.

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*.


"The company's messenger boy will [go] come to our house to get the documents, so give him them when he [goes]."

会社の使いの男の子が今から書類を取りに家に[来ます]から、[来ます]渡してください。
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. 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 shutochoo de Osaka ni iru toki ni,
I business trip be when
Sapporo ni sunde iru yuuujin 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 uchi ni itte kudasai.*

"I am busy now, so please *come* ahead to my house."

(84) *Isekoni watashi no uchi ni ikimashoo.*

"Let's *come* to my house together."

日本語の例: *行ってください。* は、Senderが私の家に先を使って来ることを指示する。
(85) Hitoni de yomihi o aruku no ga kowai kara, alone street at night walk fear so
uochi made okutte \{ittete \} kudasaimasenka.9
as far as escort \{ go \} request

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

(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 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?"

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 yuumei na kagakusha ga daigaku ni* tomorrow famous scientist university
A famous scientist will go to the university tomorrow, but unfortunately I shan’t be able to go to the university.

I could not go out yesterday on account of my unexpected illness, but Hanako seems to have gone to the coffee shop near the station as usual and waited for me.

In (87) the Sender is a staff-member or a student of a university and is talking to the Addressee who is not himself associated with the university. Neither the Sender nor the Addressee is at the university at coding time. In the first sentence location only kuru is used, because
*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 *uchī* "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 *tasunaru* "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* 

you now 

*{iku* 

kara 

because}

yoroshiku tanomu yo. 

favour ask particle

"Tanaka will\textsuperscript{go} to your place shortly, so I hope you will look after him."

君のところへ今 田中君が\textsuperscript{行く}から。

ようしき頼むよ。

(90) *Kimi no jimusho e Taroo ga* 

office 

*{iku* 

kamo shirenai yo. 

might}

"Taroo might\textsuperscript{go} to your office."

君の事務所へ 太郎が\textsuperscript{来る}かもしれない ない。

(91) *Kyoo omae-no tokor e dareka* 

Today your place someone 

*{ikanakatta* 

konakatta 

kai. 

Q-marker}

Q-marker

*{go-Neg.Tns* 

come-Neg.Tns*}

Today your place someone who did not come, have not come
"Did anyone\textsubscript{\text{go}} \textsubscript{\text{come}} to visit you today?"

今日おまえの所へ誰か\textsubscript{\text{行かなかった}} \textsubscript{\text{来なかった}} かい。

(92) \textit{Kesa anata-no tokoro ni gakusei ga ikimashita \textsubscript{\text{go-Polite Tns}} \textsubscript{\text{come-Polite Tns}}}

this morning student

\textit{ka.}

Q. marker

"Did the student\textsubscript{\text{go}} \textsubscript{\text{come}} to your place this morning?"

今朝あなたの所に学生が\textsubscript{\text{行き}} \textsubscript{\text{来}} かい。

According to [A]'and [B]', only \textit{iku} should be used in (89) - (92), but \textit{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 \textit{kuru} is also acceptable in certain circumstances.

In (89) and (90) \textit{Tanaka-kun} and \textit{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
b). Raishuu anata no tokoro ni Tanaka-san ga next week

{ikimasu} {kimasu} ka.

"Did Tanaka\{*go\} to your place yesterday?"

先週あなたの所に田中さんが
{行きました} か。

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

{ikimasu} {kimasu} ka.

"Will Tanaka\{*go\} to your place next week?"

来週あなたの所に田中さんが
{来ます} か。

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

{ikimasu} {kimasu} ka.

"Did your mother\{*go\} to your place last week?"

先週あなたの所にあなたのお母さんが
{行きました} か。

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

{ikimasu} {kimasu} ka.

"Will your mother\{*go\} to your place next week?"

来週あなたの所にあなたのお母さんが
{来ます} か。
(95)a). Yoku omoidase-nai kedo, senshuu watashi anata well recall-Neg. though
no tokoro ni*ita* kashira.
"I can't recall it well, but did I*come* to your place last week?"
よく思い出せないけど、先週、あなた
の所に*行ったら*かしら。

b). Raishuu no nauryobi ni anata no tokoro ni what day
{kimashoo}
{kimashoo} ka.
"What day of the next week shall I*come* to your place?"
来週の何曜日にあなたの所に
{行きましょう}か。

(96)a). Senshuu anata no tokoro ni haha my mother
{kimashita}
{kimashita} ka.
"Did my mother*come* to your place last week?"
先週、あなたの所に母が
{行き来ました}か。

b). Raishuu anata no tokoro ni haha ga{kimasu} ka.
"Will my mother*come* to your place next week?"
来週、あなたの所に母が
{行きます}か。

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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 *some* 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 *tasunemu* "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
both, in different situations, is a highly complex matter. It must be noted that all the respondents confessed that they were not always certain of their own choice of the verbs. For this reason, one question mark "?" and two question marks "??" are adopted, apart from asterisks which show unacceptability, to indicate different degrees of acceptability of the verbs in examples (97) to (111) only. Previously only asterisks were used to indicate sentences which possessed a less than complete degree of acceptability. [See the Endnotes (3) in Chapter I.]

First I shall see the situation where Taroo, the subject of the verb, is located at the goal at arrival time, but the Sender is not situated at the goal at arrival time or at the time when Taroo addresses the Sender or Yashiko:

(97)a. Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga \( \{ \frac{kuru}{iku} \} \) to party

\( (watashi ni) \) itta.

say-Tns

"Taroo told me that Hanako would be \( \{ \frac{coming}{going} \} \) to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティに花子が \( \{ \frac{来る}{行く} \} \) and

(私に) 言った。

b. Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga \( \{ \frac{kuru}{iku} \} \) to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you would be \( \{ \frac{coming}{going} \} \) to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティにあなたが \( \{ \frac{来る}{行く} \} \) and

(私に) 言った。
(98a). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga { kuru \textsuperscript{iku} } to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be { coming } to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーに花子が { 来る } と
良子に言った。

b). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga { kuru \textsuperscript{iku} } to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I would be { coming } to the party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーに私が { 来る } と
良子に言った。

b'). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga { kita \textsuperscript{ittta} } to Yoshiki ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I had { come } to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーに私が { 来た } と
良子に言った。

c). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga { kuru \textsuperscript{iku} } to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you would be { coming } to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーにあなたが { 来る } 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\{ \textit{kuru} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that Hanako would be\{ \textit{coming} \} to my party."

(98) b). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga\{ \textit{kuru} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you would be\{ \textit{coming} \} to my party."

(99) b'). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga\{ \textit{kita} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you had\{ \textit{gone} \} to my party."

(99) b). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga\{ \textit{kuru} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you would be\{ \textit{coming} \} to my party."

(98) b'). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga\{ \textit{kita} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that you had\{ \textit{gone} \} to my party."
c). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni \{ \text{\text{\textit{kuru}}} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he would be \{ \text{\textit{going}} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに \{ \text{来る} \} と

(私に)言った。

c'). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni \{ \text{\text{\textit{rita}}} \} to (watashi ni) itta.

"Taroo told me that he had \{ \text{\textit{come}} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに \{ \text{来た} \} と

(私に)言った。

(100a). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga \{ \text{\text{\textit{kuru}}} \} to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be \{ \text{\textit{going}} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が \{ \text{来る} \} と、良子に言った。

b). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga \{ \text{\text{\textit{kuru}}} \} to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you would be \{ \text{\textit{coming}} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが \{ \text{来る} \} と良子に言った。
b'). Taroo wa watashi no party ni anata ga \{ \text{baru} \} to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that you had \{ \text{come} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーにあなたが \{ \text{来る} \} と良子に言った。

c). Taroo wa watashi no party ni \{ \text{kuru} \} to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he would be \{ \text{coming} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーに \{ \text{来る} \} と良子に言った。

c'). Taroo wa watashi no party ni \{ \text{kita} \} to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he had \{ \text{come} \} to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーに \{ \text{来た} \} 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 \text{iku} is unacceptable in these sentences.

Throughout (99-a) to (110-c') the use of \text{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 {kuru
iku}
to (wataishi ni) itta.
"Taroo told me that Hanako would be {coming
*going}
to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに花子が {来る}
と (私に) 言った。

b). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni {kumu
iku} to (wataishi
ni) itta.
"Taroo told me that he would be {coming
*going} to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに {来る} と
(私に) 言った。

b'). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni 
{kita
itta} to (wataishi
ni) itta.
"Taroo told me that he had {come
gone} to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに *来た と (私に)
言った。
(102)a. Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga \( \text{kuru} \) to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that Hanako would be \( \text{coming} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに花子が \( \text{来る} \) と良子に言った。

b). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni \( \text{?kuru} \) to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he would be \( \text{coming} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに \( \text{来る} \) と良子に言った。

b'). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni \( \text{*kita} \) to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that he had \( \text{come} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに \( \text{来た} \) と良子に言った。

c). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga \( \text{*kuru} \) to Yoshiko ni itta.

"Taroo told Yoshiko that I would be \( \text{going} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティーに私が \( \text{来る} \) と良子に言った。
Tanoo told Yoshiko that I had gone to your party.

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, tazunru, "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:

(103a). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga\{kuru\}_{iku} ka to
(watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be \{going\} to
his party."

太郎は彼のパーティに花子が\{来る\}かと
(私に)尋ねた。

b). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga\{kuru\}_{iku} ka
to (watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if I would be *coming* to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が *来る* かと (私に) 頼ねた。

b'). Taroo wa kare no party ni watashi ga *kita* ka to (watashi ni) tasuneta.

"Taroo asked me if I had *come* to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が *来た* かと (私に) 頼ねた。

c). Taroo wa kare no party ni anata ga *kumu* ka to (watashi ni) tasuneta.

"Taroo asked me if you would be *coming* to his party.

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが *来る* かと (私に) 頼ねた。

c'). Taroo wa kare no party ni anata ga *kita* ka to (watashi ni) tasuneta.

"Taroo asked me if you had *come* to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが *来た* かと (私に) 頼ねた。

(104)a). Taroo wa kare no party ni Hanako ga *kumu* ga to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be \{\text{coming}\} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに花子が\{\text{来る}\}かと良子に尋ねた。

b). Taroo wa kare no partii ni watashi ga\{\text{kuru}\} ka to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I would be \{\text{coming}\} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が\{\text{来る}\}かと良子に尋ねた。

b'). Taroo wa kare no partii ni watashi ga\{\text{kita}\} ka to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I had\{\text{come}\} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が\{\text{来た}\}かと良子に尋ねた。

c). Taroo wa kare no partii ni anata ga\{\text{kuru}\} ka to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be \{\text{coming}\} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが\{\text{来る}\}かと良子に尋ねた。

c'). Taroo wa kare no partii ni anata ga\{\text{kita}\} ka to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
"Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be going to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが来たかと良子に尋ねた。

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{\{k\{k\}umu\} \{\{k\{k\}iku\} \} ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be \{\{k\{k\}om\{k\}ing\} to my party."  

太郎は私のパーティーに花子が\{\{k\{k\}ou\}る\}かと（私に）尋ねた。

a'). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni Hanako ga{\{k\{k\}ita\} \{\{k\{k\}ita\} \} ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if Hanako had \{\{k\{k\}om\{k\}e\} \{\{k\{k\}o\{k\}ne\} \} to my party."  

太郎は私のパーティーに花子が\{\{k\{k\}om\{k\}e\} \{\{k\{k\}ou\}行った\}かと（私に）尋ねた。

b). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga{\{k\{k\}umu\} \{\{k\{k\}iku\} \} ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if you would be \{\{k\{k\}o\{k\}ing\} to my party."  

太郎は私のパーティーにあなたが\{\{k\{k\}ou\}行った\}かと（私に）尋ねた。

b'). Taroo wa watashi no paatii ni anata ga{\{k\{k\}ita\} \{\{k\{k\}ita\} \} ka to (watashi ni) tazuneta.
"Taroo asked me if you had \{\{k\{k\}om\{k\}e\} \{\{k\{k\}o\{k\}ne\} \} to my party."  

太郎は私のパーティーにあなたが\{\{k\{k\}om\{k\}e\} \{\{k\{k\}ou\}行った\}かと（私に）言った。
(106)a). Taroo wa wataoshi no paatii ni Hanako ga {kuru} ka
   to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
   "Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be {coming} to
   my party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が{来る}か
と良子に尋ねた。

a'). Taroo wa wataoshi no paatii ni Hanako ga {kita} ka to
   Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
   "Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako had {come} to my
   party."

太郎は私のパーティに花子が{来た}か
と良子に尋ねた。

b). Taroo wa wataoshi no paatii ni anata ga {kuru} ka
   to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
   "Taroo asked Yoshiko if you would be {going} to
   my party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが{来る}か
と良子に尋ねた。

b'). Taroo wa wataoshi no paatii ni anata ga {kita} ka
   to Yoshiko ni tasuneta.
   "Taroo asked Yoshiko if you had {gone} to my
   party."

太郎は私のパーティにあなたが{来た}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, *taxumēru* "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 *tasunemu*, is neither situated at the
goal at arrival time nor at the time when Taroo addresses the Sender or
Yoshiko:

(107a). Taroo wa anata no paattii ni Hanako ga \( \{ kuru \}_{iku} \) ka
to (watashi ni) tasuneta.
"Taroo asked me if Hanako would be \{ coming \} to your party."

(107a'). Taroo wa anata no paattii ni Hanako ga \( \{ kita \}_{itta} \) ka
to (watashi ni) tasuneta.
"Taroo asked me if Hanako had \{ come \} gone} to your party."

b). Taroo wa anata no paattii ni wataashi ga \( *\{ kuru \}_{iku} \) ka
to (wataashi ni) tasuneta.
"Taroo asked me if I would be \{ coming \} *going \} to your party."

b'). Taroo wa anata no paattii ni wataashi ga \( *\{ kita \}_{itta} \) ka
to (wataashi ni) tasuneta.
"Taroo asked me if I had \{ come \} \{ gone \} to your party."

64
(108)a. Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga \(\text{帰る} \) \( \text{か} \) to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if Hanako would be \( \text{去る} \) \( \text{か} \) to your party."

b). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga \(\text{行こう} \) \( \text{か} \) to Yoshiko ni tazuneta.

"Taroo asked Yoshiko if I would be \( \text{去る} \) \( \text{か} \) to your party."

65
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 kunu 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 kunu where embedded in clauses dependent on the verbs yuu and tazunemr

To clarify the complicated uses of iku and kunu when they are embedded in clauses dependent on the verbs, yuu "say" and tazunemr "ask", tables 2 and 3 are constructed:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Number</th>
<th>Mover</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Addresses whom Taroo addresses</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Acceptability of iku/kuru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Taroo</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's point of view) *iku (the Sender's point of view)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97b</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Yoshiko</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's) *iku (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98b</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's) *iku (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98b'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99b</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
</tr>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99c</td>
<td>Taroo, subject of verb yuu</td>
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<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>99c'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Yoshiko</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100b</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
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<td>100b'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (the Addressee's)</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (Taroo's/Sender's)</td>
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<tr>
<td>101b</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>?kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
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<td>kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (Taroo's/Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102b</td>
<td>Taroo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>?kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
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<tr>
<td>102b'</td>
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<td>*kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (Taroo's)</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>*kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (the Sender's)</td>
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<td>102c'</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>*kuru (the Addressee's) *iku (the Sender's)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Blank: completely acceptable
? : acceptable with some hesitation
?? : acceptable with major hesitation/unacceptable with some hesitation
* : completely unacceptable
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<th>Sentence Number</th>
<th>Mover</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>When</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Acceptability of ตคก/ตคุ</th>
<th>ท kmu</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Addresses moves, (where the Sender's taking the Addresssee'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 very *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')].

(109a). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga*\{\textit{\textbf{kumu}}\} to omotte imu.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be \{\textit{coming}\} to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーに花子が \{\textit{来る}\} と忍んでいる。

a'). *Taroo wa kare no paatii ni Hanako ga*\{\textit{\textbf{kita}}\} to omotte imu.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako \{\textit{came}\} to his party."

太郎は 彼のパーティーに花子が \{\textit{行った}\} と思っている。
b). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga \{ \text{kumu} \} \text{to omotte iru.}

"Taroo thinks that you will be \{ *going \} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが\{ \text{来る} \} と 思っている。

b'). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni anata ga \{ \text{kita} \} \text{to omotte iru.}

"Taroo thinks that you \{ *went \} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーにあなたが\{ \text{行った} \} と 思っている。

c). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga \{ \text{kumu} \} \text{to omotte iru.}

"Taroo thinks that I shall be \{ *going \} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が\{ \text{来る} \} と 思っている。

c'). Taroo wa kare no paatii ni watashi ga \{ \text{kita} \} \text{to omotte iru.}

"Taroo thinks that I \{ *went \} to his party."

太郎は彼のパーティーに私が\{ \text{行った} \} と 思っている。

It is presupposed that the Sender is \underline{not} situated at the goal at arrival time in these sentences (109-a) to (109-c'). It must be also
remembered that *kame no "his" is the pronoun indicating Taroo, the subject of the verb *omou.*

Throughout the examples, the use of *kumu* 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 *kumu* 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 rememberance of having been to the Sender's party when in fact he had been to the Sender's sister's party.

(110a). *Taroo wa watashi no paattii ni Hanako ga* [kumu] [iku]
to omotte iru.
"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be [coming] to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーに花子が[来る]と考えている。
a'). Taroo wa watashi no party ni Hanako ga \( \{ \text{ kita } \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako \( \{ \text{ came } \} \) to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーに花子が \( \{ \text{ 来た } \} \) と思っている。

b'). Taroo wa watashi no party ni anata ga \( \{ \text{ kuru } \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that you will be \( \{ \text{ coming } \} \) to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーにあなたが \( \{ \text{ 来る } \} \) と思っている。

b'). Taroo wa watashi no party ni anata ga \( \{ \text{ kita } \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that you \( \{ \text{ came } \} \) to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーにあなたが \( \{ \text{ 来た } \} \) と思っている。

c). Taroo wa watashi no party ni \( \{ \text{ koyoo } \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that he will be \( \{ \text{ coming } \} \) to my party."

太郎は私のパーティーに \( \{ \text{ 来よう } \} \) と思っていている。
c'). *Taro wa watashi no partii ni kita to omotte inu.*  

"Taro thinks that he *came* to my party."  

大郎は私のパーティーに*来た*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 *Taro's* stance may be observed in (110-a) or (110-c) where *Hanako* or *Taro* 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 *Taro* 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 *Taro'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 *Taro'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, *Taro* 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:

(III) a). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga \( \{ \text{kumu} \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako will be \( \{ \text{coming} \} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が\( \{ \text{来る} \} \)と思っている。

a'). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni Hanako ga \( \{ \text{kita} \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that Hanako \( \{ \text{came} \} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに花子が\( \{ \text{行った} \} \)と思っている。

b). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga \( \{ * \text{kumu} \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that I shall be \( \{ \text{coming} \} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が\( \{ * \text{来る} \} \)と思っている。

b'). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni watashi ga \( \{ * \text{kita} \} \) to omotte iru.

"Taroo thinks that I \( \{ \text{went} \} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのパーティに私が\( \{ * \text{行った} \} \)と思っている.
c). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni \( \{^*_{	ext{kyouo}} \}_\text{ikoo} \) to omotte imu.

"Taroo thinks that he will be \( \{\text{coming}\} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのごパーティーに \( \{^*_{	ext{kamou}} \}_\text{ikou} \) と思っている。

\( \text{c'} \). Taroo wa anata no paatii ni \( \{^*_{	ext{kita}} \}_\text{ikou} \) to omotte imu.

"Taroo thinks that he \( \{\text{came, went}\} \) to your party."

太郎はあなたのごパーティーに \( \{^*_{	ext{kumou}} \}_\text{ikou} \) 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 (11l-b), (11l-b'), (11l-c) and (11l-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, omo, "think"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Number</th>
<th>Mover</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Acceptability of iku/kuru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>109a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Taroo</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's point of view)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109a'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109b</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109b'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109c</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109c'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110a'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110b</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's/Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110b'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's/Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110c</td>
<td>Taroo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110c'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Sender's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111a</td>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Add'ee</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111a'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111b</td>
<td>Sender</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's/Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111b'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's/Taroo's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111c</td>
<td>Taroo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111c'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>kuru (the Addresssee's)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Taro is situated at the goal at arrival time, the Sender must take Taro'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 Taro 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 moteu/teuereu 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

school

"Taroo took ______ to the school."

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>motte-iku &quot;go carrying&quot;</th>
<th>tsurete-iku &quot;go accompanying&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hebi &quot;snake&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>kotori &quot;small bird&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>kaeru &quot;frog&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>nezumi &quot;mouse&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>kingyo &quot;goldfish&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>inu &quot;dog&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>yagi &quot;goat&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>neko &quot;cat&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>usagi &quot;rabbit&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>risu &quot;squirrel&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>inu no akachan &quot;baby dog, puppy&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maximum total number of returns = 5.
The numbers below the verbs indicate the number of respondents who chose the verb: zero shows unacceptability for the particular verb for the object questioned. Motte-iku is overwhelmingly chosen for some small animals such as hebi "snake", kotori "small bird", kaeru, "frog" or nemumi, "mouse". These animals are carried by a human either by hand or in some sort of container. On the other hand, tsurete-iku is selected for inu "dog", yagi "goat", and neko "cat" which can be led. So far the outcome seems to support the claim that:

1. Either mott-e-iku/-kuru or tsurete-iku/-kuru is permitted for a dog or a bird - animals which are able to be carried.

2. But only tsurete-iku/-kuru is permitted if an animal has to be led.14

In the case of human beings these features of "carriability" and "leadability" have no relevance, as may be seen in the sentences below.

(113)a. Shuujin o ori ni irete \{teurete-kita.\} 
prisoner cage
"They put a prisoner in the cage and brought him."

囲人を競の中に入れて \{連れて来た。\}  
*持って来た。"

b). Hanako wa umareta-bakari no akachan o 
just born baby
\{teurete-kita.\} 
*motte-kita."
"Hanako brought (her) new-born baby."

花子は生まれたばかりの赤ちゃんを \{連れて来た\}  
*持って来た。"
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.

\[(114)\text{a). Taroo wa kaiboo yoo-}\text{-ni} \begin{align*}
\text{dissection for} & \\quad \{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{hebi} \\
\text{usagi} \\
\text{snake} \\
\text{rabbit}
\end{array}\} \\
& \quad o \text{ motte-kita}
\end{align*} \\
\quad "\text{Taroo brought a} \begin{align*}
\text{snake} & \quad \{ \text{hebi} \\
\text{rabbit} & \quad \text{usagi} \\
\end{align*} \text{ for dissection.}"
\]

太郎は解剖用に \{ヘビ\}を持って来た。

\[\quad \text{b). Taroo wa petto no} \begin{align*}
\text{hebi} & \quad \{ \text{hebi} \\
\text{usagi} & \quad \text{usagi} \\
\text{snake} & \quad \text{snake} \\
\text{rabbit} & \quad \text{rabbit}
\end{align*} \begin{align*}
& \quad o \text{ tsurete-kita} \\
& \quad "\text{Taroo brought his pet} \begin{align*}
\text{snake} & \quad \{ \text{hebi} \\
\text{rabbit} & \quad \text{usagi} \\
\end{align*} \text{.}"
n\]

太郎はペットの \{ヘビ\} 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
being. But it may be possible to use *tsurete-iku/-kuru* as well if the Sender regards some "carriable" animals as companions.\textsuperscript{15}

As the Japanese verbs, *motte-iku/tsurete-iku* and *motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru* are actually compound verbs containing the deictic verbs *kuru* and *iku* respectively, I shall not discuss the uses of these verbs in full detail, on the assumption that they would coincide with the uses of *iku* and *kuru* severally.

I shall merely, as a brief check, examine the basic uses of *motte-iku/-kuru* and *tsurete-iku/-kuru*.

(115)a). \textit{Watachi wa Taroo no paatii ni wain o}

\begin{verbatim}
\{ mottke-itta. \}
\{ motte-kita. \}
\{ holding-go-Tns \}
\{ holding-come-Tns \}
\end{verbatim}

\"I took (a bottle of) wine to Taroo's party.\"

\textit{私は太郎のパーティーにワインを持って行った。}

(115)b). \textit{Watachi wa Taroo no paatii ni booifurendo o}

\begin{verbatim}
\{ tseurete-itta. \}
\{ tseurete-kita. \}
\{ accompany-go-Tns \}
\{ accompany-come-Tns \}
\end{verbatim}

\"I took my boy-friend to Taroo's party.\"

\textit{私は太郎のパーティーにボーエフレンドを持って行った。}
(116a). Watashi wa koko ni wa-in o \{*motte-itta.\} 

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

私はここにワインを持って行った。}

(116b). Watashi wa koko ni booifurendo o \{*tsurete-itta.\}

"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。}

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

\{ motte-ikimashita \} yo. 

\{ motte-ikimashita \} 

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ーにワインを持ってきました。

(117b). Watashi wa anata-no paatii ni booifurendo o your 

\{ tsurete-ikimashita \} yo. 

\{ tsurete-ikimashita \} 

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

私はあなたのパーティーにボーイフレンドを連れてきました。
In (115) to (117) what is in common is that the Sender is the one who moves. In such a case only *iku is appropriate unless the Sender is situated at the goal at coding time. [See [X](i), (ii)]. Motte-iku/tsurete-iku also obey the same condition as shown in the examples. In (117), however, motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru may be acceptable even if the condition [X](ii) is not satisfied. This is because the Sender can take the Addressee's stance, as was discussed in section 4. The reason asterisks have been placed on the verbs in (117) is that there seems to be some discrepancy amongst native speakers as far as the acceptability of the verbs motte-kuru/tsurete-kuru in (117) is concerned. After all, when the Sender moves, the fact that he can retain his point of view is more natural, in Japanese, than if he were to take the Addressee's stand.

Let us next consider the situation where the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time:

(118)a). Taro ga watashi no paatii ni wain o {*motte-itta. motte-kita.} "Taroo (*took brought) (a bottle of) wine to my party."  

大郎が私のパーティーにワインを{持ってきて行った。}

b). Taro ga watashi no paatii ni Hanako o {*tsurete-itta teurete-kita.} "Taroo (*took brought) Hanako to my party."

大郎が私のパーティーに花子を{連れて行きた。}

84
Anata ga watashi no paatii ni *motte-itta* wa
oishikatta desu ne.
delicious - Tns
"The wine you { *took 
brought } to my party was good,
wasn't it?"
あたが私のパーティーに
ワインはおいしいですね。

Anata ga watashi no paatii ni *teurete-itta*
hito wa kireina hito deshita ne.
person pretty person Tns
"The person you { *took 
brought } to my party was pretty,
wasn't she?"
あなたが私のパーティーに
はきれいな人でしたね。

When the Sender is located at the goal at arrival time, only *kururu*
is used. [See [B]'s] This condition again applies to *motte-kuru*/teurete-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 *motte-itta* wa
Puranau no desu yo.
France
"The wine Taroo { took 
brought } to your party was French
(one)."
太郎があなたのパーティーに
持ってきて来た
ワインはフランスのですよ。
b). Taroo ga anata no paatii ni $\{\text{tsurete-itta}\}$ {hito wa yuumei na modoru desu yo.}

"The person Taroo { took } to your party was a famous model." 

大郎があなたのパーティーに連れて行った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/teurete-kuru. However, even if he is not situated at the goal at arrival time, he can take either the Addresser's point of view (where the uses of motte-kuru/teurete-kuru are permitted) or Taroo's position (where the uses of motte-iku/teurete-iku are permitted). In contrast to (117) motte-kuru/teurete-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 $\{\text{motte-itta.}\}$ {motte-kita.}

"Taroo { took } (a bottle of) wine to Hanako's party." 

太郎は花子のパーティーにワインを持って行った。

b). Taroo wa Hanako no paatii ni Yoshiko o $\{\text{tsurete-itta.}\}$ {tsurete-kita.}

"Taroo { took } Yoshiko to Hanako's party." 

太郎は花子のパーティーに良子を持って行った。
To summarize the discussion in this section, the following points are made:

1. *Motte-kuru/*taurete-kuru are used when the Sender is located 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 *taurete-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 sochiru 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 aehira. 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 aehira which implies movement.


   (Kuno and Kaburaki, 1977, pp.627-672).


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 + \{ -iku -kumu \} constructions will be discussed in Chapter IV.
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 deixis 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. 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." 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 \{\textit{came} \}_went^{*} of age in 1937.

(127) They soon \{\textit{came} \}_went^{*} to an understanding.

(128) The fruit has \{\textit{gone} \}_come^{*} bad.

(129) Josephine \{\textit{went} \}_come^{*} 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 \textit{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 \textit{go} denotes a departure from "freshness"; in (129) the expression with \textit{go} denotes a departure from the state in which eye-sight is normal.

Apart from normal-state deixis, Clark suggests that idioms with \textit{come} and \textit{go} may indicate evaluative viewpoints: that is, \textit{come} may be used with positive meaning to imply approval of state, whereas \textit{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 \textit{came off} last night.

(131) The party \textit{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 \{ \textit{gone down} \} to normal today.

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

Let us consider more examples:

(133) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but unfortunately it has \{ \textit{come down} \textit{gone down} \} again today.

(134) John's blood pressure was below normal yesterday, but it has \{ \textit{come up} \textit{gone up} \} to normal today.

(135) John's blood pressure was above normal yesterday, but it has \{ \textit{come down} \textit{gone down} \} 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 \(\{\textit{come}\} \) \(\underline{\textit{went}}\) under the hammer, and was

knocked down for $50,000.

(137) Mary \(\{\textit{come}\} \) \(\underline{\textit{went}}\) 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". Because some examples in English 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 \{ coming \} along nicely this year.

(139) Lionel is \{ coming up for fifty \}, going on (for)

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". 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 \[ \{ \text{coming along?} \atop \text{going along?} \} \]

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". 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 *came* into sight.

(143) The baby boy *came* 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 came indicate an arrival of a point of reference regardless of whether such a point of reference is "normal" or not. These idiomatic expressions with came 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 \{ very well. \}
\{ with a bang. \}
\{ with a swing. \}

(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 \textit{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 \textit{come} and \textit{go} is the extension of the basic deictic contrast between \textit{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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ilie (neuter)} \\
\text{tu (negative)}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ego} \\
\text{ego \rightarrow = the only speaking person (positive)}
\end{array}
\]

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. \textit{E that} as against \textit{this}). \textit{\ldots}^{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 \textit{come: go, mount: descend, Fr. enter: sortir}. The orientation of the speaker is fundamentally 'egocentric'.\textit{\ldots}^{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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 $V$-$te$-$iku/V$-$te$-$kurumu$ 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 deixic 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
    \begin{align*}
    \text{brought it down} \\
    \text{sent it down} \\
    \text{taken it down} \\
    \text{made it go (come) down}
    \end{align*}
slightly today.

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

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

(188) Mary's husband
    \begin{align*}
    \text{brought her through} \\
    \text{sent her through} \\
    \text{took her through} \\
    \text{made her go (come) through}
    \end{align*}
the ordeal.

(189) My father
    \begin{align*}
    \text{*brought our old house} \\
    \text{sent our old house} \\
    \text{took our old house} \\
    \text{*made our old house go (come)}
    \end{align*}
under the hammer.

(190) The warm weather is
    \begin{align*}
    \text{brining} \\
    \text{*sending}
    \end{align*}
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.

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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 \{ \textit{taken} \} \textit{brought} 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.


3. (Fillmore, 1971, p.67).


5. (Clark, 1974, p.318).


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).


14. (Clark, 1974, p.331).


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 *imu* "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/kunu.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iku/kuru function</th>
<th>Relationship between iku/kuru and verbs in V-te forms</th>
<th>Whether literal movement of iku/kuru is retained or not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As main verbs 1</td>
<td>a iku/kuru and verbs in V-te forms are mutually independent</td>
<td>[+ literal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iku and kuru are qualified by verbs b in V-te forms</td>
<td>[+ literal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As auxiliary verbs 2</td>
<td>a iku and kuru add the deictic sense to non-deictic motion verbs in V-te forms</td>
<td>[+ literal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iku/kuru and verbs in V-te forms are b inseparable; iku and kuru show aspect</td>
<td>[- literal]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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* 

\[ \text{ikimashita.} \]

\[ \text{kimashita.} \]

morning meal eating

"I ate breakfast and* \{ \text{went.} \}

* \{ \text{came.} \}

(lit. "I \{ \text{went came} \} having eaten breakfast")

朝 ごはんを食べて \{ \text{行きました。} \}

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.")

パンを持って来ます。

c). *Hana o motte* \{ \text{ikimashita} \}

flower holding \{ \text{kimashita} \}

"I \{ \text{went came} \} holding flowers."

花を持って \{ \text{行きました。} \}

d). *Hanako wa akachan o se ni obutte* 

 baby back carrying \{ \text{ikimashita} \}

\{ \text{kimashita} \}

"Hanako \{ \text{went came} \} carrying a baby on her back."

花子は赤ちゃんを背に負って \{ \text{行きました。} \}

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e). Gakkoo made aruie { ikimashita. }
school as far as walking { kimashita. }
"I went to school on foot.
(lit. "I went to school walking.")

学校まで歩いて{ 行きました. }

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. }

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 teurete-iku and teurete-kuru, as being the verbs which correspond to the English verbs take and bring. Motsu and tsuremu 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 soshite \{ikimashita.\} and \{kimashita.\}

"I ate breakfast and \{went.\}\{came.\}"

朝ごはんを食べて.そして \{行きました.\}\{来ました.\}

a).-2. Asa-gohan o tabete - karu \{ikimashita.\} after \{kimashita.\}

"I\{went\} after having had breakfast"
朝ごはんを食べてから（行きました。
）

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 party ni ikimashita.

"I went to the party holding flowers." 花を持ってパーティに行きました。

d). Hanako wa akachan o ee ni obitte kaimono ni ikimashita.

"Hanako went shopping carrying a baby on her back."

花をは赤ちゃんを背に負って買い物に来ました。

e). Gakkoo made aruite yukkuri ikimashita.

"I came to school slowly on foot."

学校まで歩いてゆっくり行きました。
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", *chikasuku* "to approach", *tsutawaru* "to transmit", *nigeru* "to escape/run away", *nobotu* "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 [iku] [kimashita.]
tent getting out [kimashita.]

"Hanako went out of the tent."

花子がテントから出て [行きました。]

(217) Taroo wa tonari no heya ni haitte [iku] [kimashita.]
next room entering [kimashita.]

Taroo [came] towards the small village swimming."
"Taroo went into the next room."

太郎は隣の部屋に入って（行きました。）

(218) Mishiranu-hito ga Hanako ni chikazuite (itta.)

"The stranger went up to Hanako."

見知らぬ人が花子に近づいて（行った。）

(219) Naisen ga hajimaru to sugi, watashi no tomodaehi (ita.)
civil war start soon my friend

wu amerika ni nigete (kita.) escaping

"Soon after the civil war started, my friend went 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（行った。）

(220) Taroo wa oka no ue made nobotte (ikimashita.)
hill top climbing

"Taroo went up to the top of the hill."

太郎は丘の上まで登って（行きました。）

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
motion verbs. It should be remembered that the basic difference between *kuru* and *iku* is whether the Sender is located at the goal or not at coding time or/and at arrival time. Assuming that the contrast between *karu* and *iku* is also an extension of the basic deictic contrast between Ego and Non-Ego, it is possible to assign the semantic features [+ Towards Ego] and [- Towards Ego] to *V-te-kuru* and *V-te-iku* respectively. Thus, the compound verbs in this group have the following features:

\[
\begin{align*}
V\text{-}te\text{-}iku & \quad [- \text{Towards Ego}] \\
V\text{-}te\text{-}kuru & \quad [+ \text{Towards Ego}]
\end{align*}
\]

It is not possible to interpose other words between verbs in *V-te* forms and *iku/kuru* without changing the meaning. For instance, in the following sentences (221) to (225) *soshite* "and" is inserted between non-deictic motion verbs and *iku/kuru*, but these sentences, (221) to (225), no longer have the same meaning as examples (216) to (220). This lack of similarity in meaning is because the action designated by the verbs in *V-te* forms in (216) to (220) was taken neither before nor after the action designated by *iku* or *kuru*. As far as time relation is concerned, the two actions occur simultaneously. Therefore sentences (221) to (225) are acceptable only when they are used in the sense that the action designated by the verb in *V-te* forms was taken before the action designated by *iku* or *kuru*, as shown in (214-a) to (214-b').

(221) *Hanako ga tento kara dete, soshite* *(kara e)*

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{ikimashita.}\} \\
\text{kimashita.}\}
\end{align*}
\]

"Hanako got out of the tent and then *(came)* *(to the river)."

花子がテントから出て、そして(川へ) *(行きまして。)*

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"Taroo entered the next room and then (upstairs)."

The stranger approached Hanako and then

"The stranger approached Hanako and then

"Soon after the civil war started, my friend escaped to America and then (to Canada)."

"Taroo climbed up the hill and then (towards the lighthouse)."
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 kyūusoku-ni, "rapidly", is interposed between fuite and iku/kuru in (226). (228) is also an unacceptable example where fuite and iku/kuru in (226) are inverted.

(226) Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga
from now on library Japanese language book

fuite increasing ikimaeu
kimaeeu yo.

"From now onwards the number of Japanese (language)
books in the library will increase."

*(227) Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga

fuite kyūusoku-ni ikimaeu
rapidly ikimaeu kimaeeu yo.

*これから図書館の日本語の本が増えて急速に
行くますよ。

*(228) Korekara toshokan no nihongo no hon ga

ikimaeu kimaeeu yo, fuite ne.

*これから図書館の日本語の本が増えて急速に
行くますよ。

増えてね。
Although the difference between \textit{fuete-iku} and \textit{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 \textit{V-te-iku} and \textit{V-te-kuru}, it is necessary to refer to the basic characteristics and uses of \textit{iku} and \textit{kuru} again. Meanwhile I shall set aside the question regarding \textit{fuete-iku} and \textit{fuete-kuru} in (226).

It is to be remembered that the basic characteristics of \textit{kuru} and \textit{iku} are that: 1) \textit{kuru} is the goal-oriented verb, and 2) \textit{iku} is the source-oriented verb or is neutral to these two orientations. The difference between the basic uses of \textit{kuru} and \textit{iku} is as follows: 1) \textit{kuru} is permitted when the Sender is located at the goal either at coding time or at arrival time, whereas 2) \textit{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, \textit{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; \textit{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 \textit{kuru} and \textit{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 \textit{kuru} and [- Towards Ego] for \textit{iku} as a extension of [+ Ego] and [- Ego] respectively, may be assigned to indicate the difference in implication between \textit{V-te-kuru} and \textit{V-te-iku} in this section.

Referring back to the question about \textit{fuete-iku} and \textit{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 umarete, "to be born", arawarete, "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 kara niwa, shitaikoto wa this would because what want to do

senbu 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には、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。
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に学習能力の差が顕れて来る。

"A man called Tanaka has loomed up as a possible suspect as the investigation has progressed."

(A man called Tanaka has come up to the surface as a suspect as the investigation has progressed."

(230) Sano shaashin o miru to itsumo ikari ga kumiagatte-kuru.

"Whenever I see that photograph, indignation surges up within me."

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 kikoste-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.")

(232) Sono hashi o watamu 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."

(233) Caikokugo o benkyoo sureba suruhodo
foreign language study do do

shuutoku suru koto no munukashia ga yakatte-kita.
acquire difficulty realizing

"The more I have studied the foreign language, the more I have become aware of the difficulty of acquiring it."

(234) Taroo wa nido to kokoniwa kaeranai no
again here return-Neg

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dewa natka to yuu yokan ga shite-kita.

"I am getting a premonition that Taroo might not come back here again."

阪の二度ここには帰らないのではないかという予感がして来た。

(235) Haruka kurayami no naka kara ashioto dake
far away darkens inside from footprint only

"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 masumaeu "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
Japanese language difficulty

wakatte-kita.

"I am 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。

(237) Soto no sawagi ga
outside bustle

ookikuratte-kuru.

"The bustle outside is becoming louder."

外の騒ぎが大きくなって来る。
(238) Kore o nogasu to nihon ni iku kikai wa moo
this miss Japan chance

naidaro no yuu ki ga {dandan masumasu} eite-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もうないだろう
と言う気が（ただただ）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 niswa no kibou 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.")

だんだんおなかがきいて来ました。
(241) Aki ga ōkamaru to kaede no happa wa
Autumn deepen maple leaves
motto akakumatte-kimasu yo.
mot to more becoming red
"When autumn deepens, maple leaves become redder."

秋が深まるとき、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) Ina wa mada samukunai desu ga, raigetsu ni
now yet cold-Neg. next month
nacruto kyuugetekini samukumatte-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.")
だんだん腹が立てて来た。

(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, furii-hajimeru, or furii-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 tsukanete-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 shikara mo karizu
husband after death anyone power borrow-Neg.
Sannin no kodomo o sodate-te-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借りず、三人の子供を育てて来ました。

(250) Hachigatsu kara zutto ro nibun 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 kawasumi
went to buy thing buy-Neg.

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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) Seneoo de shinde-itta hitotachi no koto war dying person-pl. o masu kangae-nakereba ikenai. first think must

"We must first think of those who died in the war."
(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、薄らいで行った。

(255) Natsu no owari-goro karara 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
kappatsupa 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
ginkyo leaves day by day golden colour
kawatte-itta.
changing
銀杏の葉が 日日に 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

sukoshitsute kette-itta.
little by little decreasing

"The number of students in the Japanese class has decreased little by little."

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) Rose oku no hikari ga kiete-itta.
candle light disappearing kitate.

"The candle-light has gradually gone out."

(260) Kare no aijoo ga shidatri usuaida itta.
his love gradually cooling down kita.

"His love has gradually cooled down."

(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."
She has gradually improved in health.

The hydrangeas have gradually become pink.

The demand for oil has recently decreased.

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, kieru "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):

When we get older, our sight will become dim.
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 hitori de 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."

今まで一人できて来ましたが、これからも一人で
生きて行きます。

(267) Kore kara wa motto shincho ni yatte-iku
more carefully doing

tsumori desu.
intention

"I intend to do it more carefully from now onwards."

これからはもっと慎重にして行くつもりです。

(268) Sono hi kara watashi wa hitori de samini no
that day I alone three people
kodomo o sodate-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 hattenkagete-iku
this firm developing (causative)
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

ikanakereha narimasen yo.

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"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りばなりませんよ。

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**

(facing the past)  (facing the future)

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-
desk top book existing-

*机の上に本があって{行った。}

* b. Tsukue no shita ni neko ga ite-
under cat existing-

*机の下に猫がいて{行った。}

*c. Nihongo ga joorui hanaseta-
Japanese language well being able to speak-

*日本語が上手に話せて {行った。}

*d. Kono hon wa watashi ni wa.
this book far

musukashisugite {行った。}

too difficult-

*この本は私にはむずかしすぎて {行った。}

*e. Kono hon wa musukashikute-
difficult-

*この本はむずかしくて {行った。}
*f. Kono heya wa shizukade-
room quiet-

*この部屋は静かで

*g. Kore wa hon de
this book

*これは本で

However, some verbs such as miēru, "to be able to see", kikoēru "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."

(273) Minna ga gucci no kaban o mochidaeu to
everyone gucci bag start to have

arifurete-
{kimasu}

*{kimasu}

"If everyone starts having a gucci bag, it will become common, won't it?"

Not only Gucci bags, but also fashion and lifestyle, have become popular and common among teenagers in Japan.
(274) Hanako wa dandan chishioya ni nite-\{kita.\} father resembling-\{itta.\}

"Hanako has gradually come to resemble her father"

花子たえだん父親に似て\{届った。\}

(275) Taroo wa niyakete-\{kita\} being foppish\{itta\} appear

"Taroo appears to be becoming namby-pamby."

太郎はにやけて\{届た。\} みたい。

(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\{届た。\}
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-kunu* 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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