

DIRECTIONAL VERBS IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

by

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## ABSTRACT

The English directional verbs come and go basically correspond to Japanese kuru and iku. Therefore, the behaviours of come and go are similar to those of kuru and iku respectively. However, there also exist some differences between them. The various similarities and differences in simplex and complex sentences are investigated in this thesis. Pragmatics of directional verbs varies according to the structure. The discussion is based on how the deictic point is involved in these verbs. The deictic point is usually at the speaker; however, the possibilities for viewpoint shift toward the hearer or a third person are very different for English and Japanese directional verbs. Next, systematic generalizations on the occurrences of directional verbs in English and Japanese which have been proposed by Oye are introduced. These generalizations are based on viewpoint --- the significant question is, "In a complex sentence from the viewpoint of which noun phrase is the motion observed?" However, since it is sometimes difficult to determine which noun phrase is significant when viewpoint shift is involved, a performative analysis is suggested as a more useful device. This analysis makes clear the conditions under which the motion is expressed by come, go, kuru or iku.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Purposes

The motion expressed by a directional verb in a sentence always involves a certain distance in space or duration in time. The English come and go basically correspond to Japanese kuru and iku. As for lexical meaning, come and kuru are goal-oriented and may acquire the features Motion and Proximal, while go and iku are source-oriented, or neutral, and may acquire the features Motion and Distal.<sup>1</sup> One must point out that the behaviours of English directional verbs come and go are different from those of Japanese directional verbs kuru and iku. Martin (1975) states that Japanese kuru and iku can be said to be but a single verb which is dichotomized by obligatory deictic marking. Although this is also true of the English come and go, despite the absence of overt deictic marking, the use of the pairs of verbs differs. The following examples illustrate this point. The meaning of (1a) corresponds to that of (1b) and the meaning of



(2a) to that of (2b). The context of (2a) and (2b) is that the hearer is located at his own house and the speaker is talking on the phone with him.

- (1) a. Anata wa watakusi no uti ni kuru-desyoo.<sup>2</sup>  
           you        my                house to come-will  
       b. You will probably come to my house.
- (2) a. Watakusi wa anata no uti ni iki-masu.  
           I                your                house to go  
       b. \* (Lit.) I will go to your house.<sup>3</sup>

The motion of the hearer toward the speaker is expressed by come and kuru in English and Japanese respectively. On the other hand, as in (2a) and (2b), the motion of the speaker toward the hearer is expressed by iku in Japanese but by come in English. This is one of the differences between the usages of English and Japanese directional verbs. The purposes of this thesis are to investigate how the deictic point is involved in these English and Japanese directional verbs and how it is shifted according to the context, and, if possible, to provide convincing rules which may account for all the phenomena that are observed.

The second chapter contains an overview of some characteristics of English and Japanese directional verbs. The notion of the goal being expanded in various ways is also discussed. Though the generalizations about the

occurrences of directional verbs are provided in chapter, they must be modified in later chapters because of the phenomenon of viewpoint shift. The viewpoint shift in simplex sentences and in complex sentences is discussed in the third and fourth chapters, respectively. The fifth chapter deals with generalizations about the viewpoint shift in complex sentences and the concluding remarks (Chapter Six) follow.

## 1.2 Background

I am greatly indebted to Fillmore (1966, 1972a), Moriguchi (1974), Oye (1975) and Soga (1976) for the information in my thesis. Fillmore's articles seem to be the only ones about English directional verbs, though their behaviour seems to be peculiar to English and a few other languages.<sup>4</sup> Fillmore (1966) provides quasi-transformational supposition rules. A sentence is acceptable if its suppositions are analytic, and ambiguous if it has more than one possible supposition. A sentence is said to be contradictory if its supposition is a contradiction. Fillmore thus tries to account for the behaviour of English directional verbs on the basis of the notions of presupposition and deictic categories. Fillmore (1972a) provides the assumptions about the uses of come and go based on the goal of motion. He also discusses how the deictic point can be shifted in face-to-face conversation and in clauses embedded under

certain main verbs.

Moriguchi (1974) discusses the Japanese directional verbs kuru and iku. He analyzes the facts about these verbs by means of 'Performative analysis' with the notion of a perlocation treatment. This will be discussed in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

Oye (1975) gives a contrastive analysis of English and Japanese directional verbs, as well as verbs of giving and receiving. The considerations of viewpoint shift with directional verbs in complex sentences leads us to the idea that there are two types of higher verbs: a circle type and a line type. The characteristics of these higher verbs will be discussed.

Soga (1976) provides the generalizations on the uses of Japanese directional verbs and discusses in detail how the viewpoint is shifted in accordance with various situations in simplex or complex sentences. Irregularly defined goals are also discussed. He then provides clues for the deep structures of sentences with directional verbs.

### 1.3 Definition

Deixis is explained by Lyons (1977, p. 636) as follows:

The term 'deixis' (which comes from a Greek word meaning "pointing" or "indicating") is now used in linguistics to refer to the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of a variety of other temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance.

The following explanation (Fillmore (1966, p. 220)) is appropriate when we consider directional verbs:

Deixis is the name given to those aspects of language whose interpretation is 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.

Person deixis involves the category Participant, the two sub-categories of which are the speaker and the hearer. Place deixis differs from language to language: English has a two-way distinction (Proximal and Distal) and Japanese has a three-way distinction (Proximal, Medial and Distal). Time deixis mainly refers to the tense systems of a language. These deictic categories affect the behaviour of directional verbs in various ways.

Lyons (1977, p. 638) also makes the following statement about egocentricity:

The canonical situation-of-utterance is egocentric in the sense that the speaker, by virtue of being the speaker, casts himself in the role of ego and relates everything to his viewpoint. He is at the zero-point of the spatiotemporal co-ordinates of what we will refer to as the deictic context. Egocentricity is temporal as well as spatial, since the role of the speaker is being transferred from one participant to the other as the conversation proceeds, and the participants may move around as they are conversing: the spatiotemporal zero-point (the here-and-now) is determined by the place of the speaker at the moment of utterance; and it is this ... which controls tense.

The speaker's location at coding time or at arrival time is significant when directional verbs are involved.

Shift of viewpoint means that the speaker takes somebody else's viewpoint when such features as the speaker's home base, the spatial or psychological closeness to the speaker and so on are not involved. If these factors are involved, then the sentences are considered to be speaker-centered. The sentences which involve viewpoint shift must be definitely hearer-centered or third person-centered.

#### 1.4 Limitations of the study

The treatment of kuru and iku used for aspectual expressions as in (3) in Japanese will be excluded from this thesis.

- (3) Ame ga hutte ki-masi-ta.  
rain falling came  
'It began to rain.'

Some of these aspectual uses are closely related to the ordinary uses of directional verbs, but the others are not. Yoshikawa (1973) has made some observations on these problems.

English idiomatic uses of come and go such as that in (4) are also excluded, since they are not governed by any of the principles I will state.

- (4) My boat has gone to pieces on the rocks.

## CHAPTER TWO

### OVERVIEW OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS

#### 2.1 Come and go

Fillmore (1966, p. 223-224) provides three supposition rules on the occurrences of come and go.

(1) Rule:

Original

S            VP V  
[ X - [ [ Motion ] - Y - Location ] - Z ]  
         [ Distal ]

Supposition

S   NP                    Neg   Aux                    VP Cop  
[ [ +Speaker ] [ not ] [ Present ] [ [ be ] Location ] ]

Supposition rule (1) applies to sentences containing English go, which is represented as [Motion, Distal]. It means that in the case of go, the goal to which a person moves is a place in which the speaker is not located, whatever the subject or tense of go. The subject noun phrase and the tense of the auxiliary are not

specified but expressed as a variable X. Let us examine several sentences. The Supposition of each sentence is indicated in parentheses.

(2) \* I will go here.

(\* The speaker is not here now.)

(3) I went to Vancouver.

(The speaker is not in Vancouver now.)

(4) I went there.

(The speaker is not there now.)

(5) \* You will go here.

(\* The speaker is not here now.)

(6) You went to Vancouver.

(The speaker is not in Vancouver now.)

(7) You went there.

(The speaker is not there now.)

(8) \* He will go here.

(\* The speaker is not here now.)

(9) He went to Vancouver.

(The speaker is not in Vancouver now.)

(10) He went there.

(The speaker is not there now.)

Sentences (2), (5) and (8) are ruled out, since their suppositions are contradictory. I am always here. The





Restriction      When NP and Time of the Orig  
                   are  $\alpha$ -Speaker,  $\beta$ -Hearer and Present, then  
                   +Participant of Supp must be specified as  
                    $-\alpha$ -Speaker,  $-\beta$ -Hearer.<sup>5</sup>

(12) Rule:

Original

S NP

[ [ $\alpha$ -Speaker,<sub>1</sub>  $\beta$ -Hearer; -Participant<sub>2</sub> ] - X -

Aux      Adv      VP V

[ Time ] [ Time ] [ [ Motion  
Proximal. ] - Y - Location ] ]

Supposition

S NP

Aux

[ [  $-\alpha$ -Speaker,  $-\beta$ -Hearer;<sub>1</sub> +Participant<sub>2</sub> ] [ Time ] ]

Adv      VP Cop

[ Time ] [ [ be ] Location ] ]

In these rules, the category [+Participant] is interpreted as identifying either the speaker or the hearer. Fillmore intended to distinguish between coding time (the time of utterance) and the time of arrival specified in a sentence in which come is used. The former is shown in rule (11) in which the tense feature [Present] shows that when the rule applies either the speaker or the hearer is expected

to be at the goal at the time of utterance. In other words, the goal to which one comes is a place where either the speaker or the hearer is right now.

In rule (12), the coding time is not relevant. The time of arrival at the goal, which is specified in the verbal auxiliary, is the time significant in the supposition. The subject of the supposition is a function of the Person categories associated with the original sentence. If, for instance, the subject of the original sentence is the speaker, then the subject of its supposition is the hearer, who is, will be, or was expected to be at the goal at the arrival time specified in the time adverb in the sentence. If the subject of the original sentence is the hearer, then the speaker, who is the subject of its supposition, is, will be, or was expected to be at the goal when the hearer arrives. These two cases are indicated by number 1 in the rule. Finally, if the subject of the original sentence is a third person ([-Participant]), then the speaker or the hearer ([+Participant]) is, will be, or was expected to be at the goal at the specified time.

To see whether these rules work, let us examine the following sentences and their suppositions. Any one of suppositions (a) to (d) suffices by itself.

(13) I came here last year.

- |     |                          |                        |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) | The speaker is here now. | Rule (11) (cf.22 B i)  |
| (b) | The hearer is here now.  | Rule (11) (cf.22 Biii) |

- (c) The hearer was here last year. (12)(cf.22 B iv)
- (14) I came to Vancouver last year.
- (a) The speaker is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
- (b) The hearer is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
- (c) The hearer was in Vancouver last year.  
(12)(cf.22 B iv)
- (15) I came there last year.
- (a) \* The speaker is there now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
- (b) The hearer is there now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
- (c) The hearer was there last year. (12)(cf.22 B iv)
- (16) You came here last year.
- (a) The speaker is here now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
- (b) The hearer is here now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
- (c) The speaker was here last year. (12)(cf.22 B ii)
- (17) You came to Vancouver last year.
- (a) The speaker is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
- (b) The hearer is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
- (c) The speaker was in Vancouver last year.  
(12)(cf.22 B ii)
- (18) You came there last year.
- (a) \* The speaker is there now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
- (b) The hearer is there now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
- (c) The speaker was there last year. (12)(cf.22 B ii)

- (19) John came here last year.
- (a) The speaker is here now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
  - (b) The hearer is here now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
  - (c) The speaker was here last year. (12)(cf.22 B ii)
  - (d) The hearer was here last year. (12)(cf.22 B iv)
- (20) John came to Vancouver last year.
- (a) The speaker is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
  - (b) The hearer is in Vancouver now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
  - (c) The speaker was in Vancouver last year. (12)(cf.22 B ii)
  - (d) The hearer was in Vancouver last year. (12)(cf.22 B iv)
- (21) John came there last year.
- (a) \* The speaker is there now. (11)(cf.22 B i)
  - (b) The hearer is there now. (11)(cf.22 B iii)
  - (c) The speaker was there last year. (12)(cf.22 B ii)
  - (d) The hearer was there last year. (12)(cf.22 B iv)

Sentence (14) has three possible interpretations. One of them supposes that the hearer is in Vancouver at the time of utterance. In this interpretation, the speaker does not have to be in Vancouver at the time of utterance. The second interpretation supposes that the hearer was in Vancouver at the time of the speaker's arrival. The third one supposes that the speaker is in Vancouver right now. We can say the sentence is ambiguous with any of these

three interpretations possible. If the deictic adverb there is involved instead of the proper noun Vancouver as in (15), (18) and (21), then a certain supposition is ruled out. For (15), three suppositions are logically possible. However, one of them (15a) supposes that the speaker is there now. This supposition is a contradiction. Therefore, the use of the deictic adverb there rules out one supposition, though (15) is still ambiguous.

As we have seen, the motion of the speaker toward the hearer is commonly represented by come in English. This seems to be a characteristic common to English and a few other languages. In Japanese as well as in many other languages, this characteristic is restricted to very few contexts which will be discussed later. The lexical equivalent to go is the normal usage for the motion of the speaker toward the hearer in most languages other than English.

For sentences (16) to (18), suppositions (a), (b) and (c) are possible. According to rule (11), supposition (18a) is logically possible. However, it is contradictory that the speaker is there at the time of utterance.

When a third person is the subject of a sentence containing come, as in (19) to (21), then the four suppositions (a) to (d) for each are logically possible according to rules (11) and (12). For sentence (20), the speaker or the hearer must be at the goal at the time of

utterance according to rule (11). By rule (12), the speaker or the hearer must have been at the goal at the time of a third person's arrival at Vancouver. In the case of sentence (21), the first supposition --- that the speaker is there at the coding time --- is contradictory. These supposition rules by Fillmore are very insightful; however, as we shall see, they do not account for the shift of viewpoint involved in complex sentences. He discusses this matter in his 1972a article.

Fillmore (1972a) gives assumptions about the occurrences of directional verbs on the basis of the goal of the motion. These are related to supposition rules (1), (11) and (12). The encoder of a linguistic message is termed the Sender, while the intended decoder of the message is the Addressee. The time at which the communication act takes place is the coding time. The five possible assumptions follow:

(22)(A) For go, it is assumed that the Sender is not located at the goal at coding time.

(B) For come, it is assumed

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

(Or is inserted by the author for clearness.)

For come to be used, any one of conditions (i) to (iv) suffices by itself. (22 B i) and (22 B iii) correspond to rule (11), and (22 B ii) and (22 B iv) to rule (12). Each supposition for the examples on page 11, 12 and 13 shows the number of these generalizations on the rightmost side.

Now let us observe sentences in which the subject is the first person plural pronoun we.

(23) \* We went here.

Supp \* The speaker is not here now.

(24) We went to Vancouver.

Supp The speaker is not in Vancouver now.

(25) We went there.

Supp The speaker is not there now.

The acceptability of the supposition is parallel to other sentences containing go which have already been examined. As for come, we have to consider two interpretations: one is that we includes the hearer and the other is that it does not.

(26) We came to Vancouver. (inclusive we)

(a) The speaker is in Vancouver now.

(b) The hearer is in Vancouver now.

(c) \* The speaker was already in Vancouver.

at arrival time.

(d) \* The hearer was in Vancouver at arrival time.

- (27) We came there. (inclusive we)
- (a) \* The speaker is there now.
  - (b) The hearer is there now.
  - (c) \* The speaker was already there at arrival time.
  - (d) \* The hearer was there at arrival time.
- (28) We came to Vancouver. (exclusive we)
- (a) The speaker is in Vancouver now.
  - (b) The hearer is in Vancouver now.
  - (c) The hearer was in Vancouver at arrival time.
- (29) We came there. (exclusive we)
- (a) \* The speaker is there now.
  - (b) The hearer is there now.
  - (c) The hearer was there at arrival time.

In the case of inclusive we, suppositions (26c) and (26d), or (27c) and (27d) are not possible, since the occurrence of the directional verb come is strange if the speaker or the hearer was already at the goal at arrival time. (27a) is contradictory by the principle I have already discussed. In the case of exclusive we, the acceptability pattern is parallel to that of sentences (14) and (15).



## 2.2 Kuru (come) and iku (go)

Native speakers of English seem to have intuitive knowledge that come is a verb to express motion toward the hearer or toward the speaker. Fillmore's generalizations show the parallel paradigm between the speaker and the hearer. The deictic point is not only the speaker but also the hearer with regard to English come.

What is the Japanese native intuition about kuru (come) and iku (go)? It seems that kuru represents the meaning of motion toward the speaker, and iku, away from the speaker. Soga (1976, p. 285) provides generalizations as follows:

- (30) (i) Kuru holds if the speaker is at the goal (or vicinity) at the time of the speech act.
- (ii) Kuru holds if the goal is where the speaker was, normally is, or will be at a specified time.
- (iii) In other cases, iku occurs.

(30 i) basically corresponds to (22 B i) of Fillmore's generalizations, and (30 ii) to (22 B ii). The predictability of the occurrence of iku is quite similar to that of go. Iku holds if the goal is a place where the speaker is not located at the time of the speech act. Sentences



respectively, then the sentence is grammatical.

With regard to place deixis, English has two categories; Proximal, which refers to the place near the speaker at the time of speech, and Distal, which refers to a place away from the speaker at the time of speech.<sup>7</sup>

These two categories are redundant, since [+Proximal] is always [-Distal], and [-Proximal] is always [+Distal].

On the other hand, Japanese has a three-way distinction: Proximal, Medial, and Distal.

(34)

English		Japanese		
[+Proximal]	[-Proximal]	[+Proximal] [-Distal]	[-Proximal] [-Distal]	[-Proximal] [+Distal]
here	there	koko	soko	asoko

Sentences with kuru follow:

(35) Watakusi wa kyonen koko ni kimasita.

'I came here last year.'

(a) The speaker is here now.

(b) \* The speaker was here last year.

(36) Watakusi wa kyonen Tookyoo ni kimasita.

'I came to Tokyo last year.'

- (a) The speaker is in Tokyo now.
- (b) \* The speaker was in Tokyo last year.
- (37) \* Watakusi wa kyonen soko ni kimasita.  
'I came there last year.'
- (a) \* The speaker is there now.
- (b) \* The speaker was there last year.

In (37b) the deictic adverb soko is assumed to be [-Proximal]. When the speaker is the subject of the directional verb kuru, suppositions (35b), (36b) and (37b) are contradictory, since the speaker could not have moved to a place at which he already existed. (37a) is also contradictory. Consequently, sentences (35) and (36) are acceptable if the speaker is at the goal at coding time, while (37) is unacceptable.

Consider examples in which the hearer or a third person is the subject of kuru:

- (38) Anata / John wa kyonen koko ni kimasita.  
you  
'You / John came here last year.'
- (a) The speaker is here now.
- (b) The speaker was here last year.
- (39) Anata / John wa kyonen Tookyoo ni kimasita.  
'You / John came to Tokyo last year.'
- (a) The speaker is in Tokyo now.
- (b) The speaker was in Tokyo last year.

(40) Anata / John wa kyonen soko ni kimasita.

'You / John came there last year.'

(a) \* The speaker is there now.

(b) The speaker was there last year.

In (40), soko is again marked [-Proximal]. Since the deictic point is normally only the speaker in sentences containing Japanese kuru, the acceptability of a sentence in which the hearer is the subject is parallel to that of a sentence in which a third person is the subject. Sentence (38) has two suppositions. Note that supposition (38b) does not work effectively without (38a), since the speaker is always here. In other words, the possible suppositions of (38) are either (38a), or (38a) and (38b). (39) is ambiguous, with both (a) and (b) possible. (40) is not ambiguous, since the speaker cannot be there at coding time. Since asoko is also [-Proximal], its patterning is the same as that of soko.

### 2.3 Extended notion of Goal

In this section I will discuss the notion of goal. In sentences containing come, the goal has been considered to be the place where the speaker or the hearer is located himself, but this is not necessarily so. In other words, occurrences of come or kuru are possible even if the conditions (22) in English or (30) in Japanese are not

satisfied. Five situations will be considered here. The viewpoint shift is not relevant here.

### 2.3.1 Home base

One possibility in English is that the goal is the place where one might expect to find the speaker or the hearer. The goals in the following sentences show what is called the home base.

(41) John came over to my house last night, but I  
wasn't at home.

(42) John came to your house yesterday while you  
were gone.

In (41) the goal is the speaker's house, where the speaker did not happen to be at John's arrival time, although he normally is. The acceptability of (42) can be accounted for in the same way. Fillmore termed this usage the home base, and he gave some other examples in which the goal is not the actual home, but shows a similar situation nevertheless.

(43) I came to the front door to let you in, but  
you had already left.

(44) She came to the corner where we were going to  
meet, but I'd got stuck in traffic and never  
made it.

In (43) and (44), the goal is considered to be the place where the speaker or the hearer is expected to be in that instance.

In Japanese, the case in which the hearer is at the goal is not significant. Only the position of the speaker is relevant. Kuru is normally possible when the speaker is at the goal, but this is not necessary so long as the goal is the place where the speaker is normally or was expected to be located. Such is the case in (45), in which the goal is the speaker's own house.

- (45) Tanaka-san wa kinoo uti e kimasita ga, watakushi  
wa gaisyutu-tyuu desita.

'Mr. Tanaka came to my house yesterday, but I  
was out.'

### 2.3.2 Closeness in distance

Come or kuru may be used if the speaker's position and the goal are very close in contrast to the starting point and the goal. In English, the hearer's position is also relevant. This generalization is given by Soga (1976).

- (46) (a) Mr. Tanaka came to Seattle from Tokyo.  
(b) Tanaka-san wa Tookyoo kara Seattle e  
kimasita.

Sentence (46a) and (46b) show the same meaning. In (46a) the speaker or the hearer is not necessarily in Seattle. It will suffice if he is in Vancouver or some other place close to Seattle. The sentence shows the starting point is Tokyo. The Japanese sentence (46b) is also acceptable in the same way. The only difference between English and Japanese is that the hearer is irrelevant in Japanese. This same consideration will make the following sentence (47a) acceptable:

- (47) (a) Watakusi wa 1960 nen ni soko ni kimasita.  
'I came there in 1960.'

If we follow the generalizations in (30), sentence (47a) ought to be ruled out since neither the supposition that the speaker is now there nor that the speaker was there is true. However, the sentence is acceptable since the speaker is assumed to be closer to the goal soko than the starting point is. Thus, kuru is possible even with soko in this context. The equivalent English translation follows:

- (47) (b) I came there in 1960.

According to rules (11) and (12), three suppositions are possible: that the hearer is there now, that the speaker is there now, or that the hearer was there at arrival time.



But the supposition that the speaker is there is ruled out, since it is contradictory to the principle that the speaker is always here. However, if the speaker's present position is assumed to be closer to the goal there than his starting point is, the supposition that has been ruled out is restored. In other words, though deictic adverbs here and there were previously defined as [+Proximal] and [-Proximal] respectively, the definitions of the features Proximal and Distal must be understood in relative terms, not in absolute and physical terms. Soko in (47a) and there in (47b) should be [+Proximal], rather than [-Proximal] as in most cases. Soga (1976) gives other similar examples.

- (48) (a) Soko ni basu ga kita yo.
- (b) The bus came there.
- (49) (a) Asoko ni Tanaka-san ga kite iru.
- (b) Mr. Tanaka has come over there.

Soko (asoko) and there can occur with come and kuru respectively without involving the viewpoint shift if the starting position is further away from the goal than the speaker's position. Soga provides the following rules concerning the cases where the goal is close to the speaker's location:

$$(50) \quad NP_3 \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Proximal] / \text{ if } NP_2 > NP_3 \\ [-Proximal] / \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$$

$NP_2$  represents the locative noun for the starting point of motion, and  $NP_3$  is the goal. The feature  $[+Proximal]$  is assigned to  $NP_3$  if the distance between the deictic point (the location of the speaker at the time of speech) and  $NP_3$  is smaller than that between the deictic point and  $NP_2$ . Then kuru and iku are derived by the following rule:

(51)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} +V \\ +Motion \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{kuru} / [+Proximal] \\ \underline{iku} / \text{ otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$$

English come and go seem to behave much the same way as kuru and iku respectively in (51).

### 2.3.3 Psychological tie

Even if the speaker in Japanese, or either the speaker or the hearer in English, is not at the goal, come or kuru may be used if he has some psychological connection with the place expressed at the goal.

First are some examples in which the directional verb can be either go or come and either iku or kuru.

(52) (a) Mary wa kinoo John no uti ni ikimasita /  
kimasita.

- (b) Mary went / came to John's house yesterday.
- (53) (a) Mary wa kinoo watakushi no gakkoo ni itta /  
kita soo desu.
- (b) I hear that Mary went / came to my school  
yesterday.

In both (52) and (53) go and iku are usually used. However, an interpretation using come and kuru is also possible so long as each sentence satisfies a certain condition. When the speaker in (52a), or either the speaker or the hearer in (52b), was at John's house at Mary's arrival time, then an interpretation using kuru in (52a), or come in (52b), is possible. In (53a) and (53b), another possible interpretation is that the goal, my school, is the place where the speaker is normally expected to be. A further possibility in all four of these sentences is that the speaker may have a psychological connection with the goal. If this is so, come and kuru are possible. If the speaker has a psychological tie with John's house in (52a) and (52b), and with my school in (53a) and (53b), then come or kuru may be used.

Next let us consider the following sentences:

- (54) (a) Mary wa Canada kara Nihon ni ikimasita /  
kimasita.
- (b) Mary went / came to Japan from Canada.

For the speaker in Hawaii, the distance to Canada and that to Japan are considered to be almost the same. By rule (50), NP<sub>3</sub> (Japan) would be labelled [-Proximal], since it is not the case that NP<sub>2</sub> (Canada) is farther from the deictic point (Hawaii) than NP<sub>3</sub>. Accordingly, the directional verb is normally interpreted using go and iku. Nevertheless, as I have already discussed in this section, the interpretation using come or kuru is also possible if the speaker has a special psychological connection with the goal, Japan.

What will result if NP<sub>3</sub> > NP<sub>2</sub>? When the goal is farther away from the deictic point than the starting point is, can the psychological connection of the speaker and the goal make come or kuru acceptable?

(55) (a) Mary wa Seattle kara Nihon e ikimasita /  
kimasita.

(b) Mary went / came to Japan from Seattle.

In (55a) and (55b), iku or go is used normally. However, even if the speaker's deictic point is actually farther from the goal than from the starting point, it is possible to use come or kuru as long as the speaker has a psychological tie with Japan. For instance, Japanese people located in Vancouver might take this interpretation.

### 2.3.4 Closeness in kinship

Not only the speaker himself (and the hearer in English) but also someone related to the speaker (or hearer in English) may play a role in the use of the directional verbs. For the following sentences, assume that the speaker is not at the goal:

(56) (a) John wa kinoo watakusi no ane no uti ni  
kimasita.

'John came to my sister's house yesterday.'

(b) \* John wa kinoo Mary no uti ni kimasita.

'John came to Mary's house yesterday.'

(57) (a) John came to your sister's house yesterday.

(b) \* John came to Mary's house yesterday.

In (56a) the goal is the speaker's sister's home base. Therefore, an interpretation with kuru is possible in (56a), while it is not possible in (56b), since the goal is the home base of a third person, not someone related to the speaker, and we are assuming no psychological attachment of the speaker to Mary's house. In English (57a), the goal is the home base of the hearer's sister and the sentence is acceptable. (57b) is not grammatical unless either the speaker or the hearer is located at the goal.

### 2.3.5 Accompaniment use

If the speaker in Japanese, or either the speaker or the hearer in English, is making a journey with the subject of the sentence, then kuru or come may be used. Fillmore termed this use of come as the accompaniment use.

Consider the following sentences:

(58) I came home at six o'clock.

(59) I came home with you yesterday.

For sentence (58) three suppositions are possible; that the hearer is at home, that the hearer was at home at the speaker's arrival time, or that the speaker himself is at home now. One of these conditions must be satisfied. But in a sentence such as (59), the hearer must be understood to have gone to his own home.

(60) You came to England with me.

(61) Mary came to England with you.

(62) \* John came to England with Mary.

In (60), the speaker is making the journey with the hearer. In (61), a third person, Mary, is making the journey with the hearer. Note that the supposition that the hearer is or was located at the goal is not satisfied, although this is one of the original suppositions discussed earlier. The fact that (59), (60) and (61) are acceptable shows

that if either the speaker or the hearer is making a journey, then a sentence which indicates the movement of somebody or something in his company can contain come. On the other hand, the fact that (62) is not acceptable under the supposition that neither the speaker nor the hearer is at the goal shows that the appropriate condition involves only the speaker or the hearer in English, not a third person. For sentence (62) to be acceptable it must satisfy one of the original suppositions discussed earlier --- the speaker or the hearer must be at the goal (England).

In Japanese only cases in which the speaker is making a journey are involved.

(63) Anata / John wa roku-zi ni uti e kaette-kimasita.

'You / John came home at six o'clock.'

(64) Anata / John wa watakusi to uti e kaette-

kimasita.

'You / John came home with me.'

(63) requires one of the original suppositions --- that the speaker is at the goal at coding time or at arrival time. In (64), the speaker made the journey with the hearer or a third person and went to his house, not the the hearer's house or to a third person's house. Nevertheless, kuru may be used if the speaker makes a journey with the subject noun phrase. Note that the supposition that the speaker

is, or was, located at the goal (the hearer's house or a third person's house) is not required.

(65) \* John wa anata /Mary to Europe ni kimasita.

'John came to Europe with you / Mary.'

Here the asterisk does not mean that this sentence is ungrammatical, but that its supposition is not satisfied when locations of only second and third persons are in question. For the sentence to be appropriate, the speaker must be or must have been at the goal.

According to Fillmore (1972), these suppositions account for the acceptability judgment indicated for the following sentences:

(66) (a) Go away!

(b) \* Go here!

(66b) is starred because go requires that the goal be a place where the speaker is not located at coding time, but the adverb here indicates precisely the place where the speaker is located. Similarly, the following two imperatives are acceptable:

(67) (a) Come here!

(b) Come along!



The acceptability of (67a) goes without saying. (67b) seems to be possible only when the speaker is beckoning the hearer to accompany him.

## CHAPTER THREE

### VIEWPOINT SHIFT IN SIMPLEX SENTENCES

Shift of viewpoint means that the speaker takes someone else's viewpoint. This occurs only when the factors discussed in the previous chapter --- the home base, the spatial or psychological closeness from the speaker and so on are not involved. If they are involved, then the sentence must be speaker-centered in Japanese. In English they must be speaker-centered or hearer-centered. Sentences in which the viewpoint shifts are definitely hearer-centered or third person-centered.

In Chapter Two, the basic characteristics of the suppositions for directional verbs in English and Japanese were discussed. With English come, it is much more common for the speaker to take the hearer's viewpoint than with Japanese kuru. Kuno (1976) shows that an empathy-related principle is needed to account for various linguistic phenomena. He uses the term "empathy" with reference to the speaker's identifying himself, in varying degrees, with the participants of an event or state that he describes. The hierarchy is mentioned in his paper dealing with the

giving and receiving verbs varu and kureru in Japanese.

(1) The Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy:

It is not possible for the speaker to empathize with someone else at the exclusion of himself:

Speaker / Hearer > Third Person

At a glance it appears that this hierarchy is appropriate for English come, since the hearer as well as the speaker can be the deictic point for English come. It seems that in English the viewpoint shift toward the hearer is much more probable than in Japanese. However, Fillmore (1966, p. 227) has made an interesting statement regarding the empathy or viewpoint shift characteristic of English.

I would like to insist that the introduction of these suppositions in the form of explicit semantic rules is preferred to saying merely that when the speakers of English use the word come they frequently "take the other fellow's point of view." This is true, of course, but I prefer to regard it as a statement of English structure rather than as a statement about the personality of speakers of this language.

Native speakers believe that the peculiar use of come is inherent in the structure.

Furthermore, Soga (1976) gives the hierarchy concerning point of view for the uses of kuru in Japanese.

(2) Speaker > Hearer > Third Person

It is clear that it is most probable for the speaker to be the deictic point for Japanese kuru. There is also a hierarchy between the hearer and a third person. This hierarchy is discussed in this chapter.

### 3.1 Shift to the hearer

For the basic characteristics discussed in Chapter Two, the viewpoint shift is not involved. In this section, the problem of the shift of viewpoint in simplex sentences in Japanese will be discussed. Is it possible for the speaker to take the hearer's point of view? According to Chapter Two, it is not possible. With the basic usage of kuru discussed in the chapter, the speaker is located at the goal. Here, however, the goal is assumed to be a place where the hearer is located.

(3) John ga kinoo otaku ni kimasita ka.

'Did John come to your house yesterday?'

(4) Asita Mary ga otaku ni kimasu yo.

'I tell you Mary will come to your house tomorrow.'

In (3) and (4), the subject of the directional verb kuru is a third person. The goal is not the speaker's home base, but the hearer's. Consequently, iku is the expected verb. However, native speakers will accept the sentence

using kuru. (3) and (4) with kuru are grammatical if we understand the sentence from the hearer's point of view. The situation is no longer speaker-centered, but hearer-centered. As discussed earlier, (3) and (4) are also possible if the speaker's and the hearer's locations are relatively close. In such a case, the point of view is still speaker-centered. In general, when the subject of motion is a third person, the viewpoint may shift from the speaker to the hearer in Japanese, regardless of the sentence type.

Is it also possible for the speaker to take the hearer's point of view when the subject of the directional verb is the hearer? Note that a simplex sentence with the hearer as subject would only occur in direct discourse. With sentences in the future or past tense it is possible for the hearer to be at the goal at the time of speech. This means that he has once arrived at or will again arrive at the same place. Observe the following sentences:

- (5) Asita mo soko ni kite kudasai.  
tomorrow again there to coming please

'Please come there tomorrow again.'

- (6) Kinoo mo soko ni kimasita ne.  
yesterday again there to came tag Q

'You came there yesterday, too, didn't you?'

The speaker is at the goal neither at the time of speech nor at arrival time (tomorrow or yesterday) --- only the hearer is at the goal. Either of these sentences might occur, for instance, in a telephone conversation. Note that sentences (5) and (6) are an imperative and an interrogative respectively. Soga (1976, p. 291) gives a constraint with regard to the shift of viewpoint as follows:

When the hearer is the subject of the motion, the speaker may take the hearer's viewpoint, if the relevant sentence is embedded in an imperative, conditional, desiderative, quotative or its equivalent, or interrogative structure. (Underlining is mine.)

I will discuss the facts concerning complex sentences in the following chapter. The following sentences illustrate the shift of viewpoint in simplex sentences other than interrogative or imperative sentences:

- (7) ? Anata wa asita wa soko e ko-nai desyoo.  
       you           tomorrow there come-not probably  
       'You will probably not come there tomorrow.'
- (8) ? Anata wa kinoo mo soko e kimasita (yo).  
       you           yesterday there came        (you know)  
       'You came there yesterday, too, you know.'

(7) and (8) are neither interrogative nor imperative sentences, but declaratives; (7) is negative and (8), affirmative. They seem awkward compared to (5) and (6).

This is to be expected, since in direct discourse, when the subject of motion is the hearer, interrogative and imperative sentences are more practical and useful than declarative sentences. A speaker rarely utters a simple declarative sentence with a second person subject in direct discourse. Even if the directional verb in (7) and (8) is iku instead of kuru, neither sentence becomes any less awkward. It seems that the awkwardness of viewpoint shift here is not due to the occurrence of a directional verb but to the direct discourse situation.

There is another possible type of simplex sentence --- an exclamatory sentence.

(9) ? Anata wa nanto tabitabi soko e kuru koto desyoo.

'How often you have come there!'

Suppose that the speaker is talking on the phone and the hearer is now at the goal. (9) is as awkward as (7) and (8). These examples show that, in general, the viewpoint may be shifted to the hearer only in an interrogative sentence or an imperative sentence, when the subject of kuru is the hearer.

Note that Oye (1975) says that sentence (5) is ungrammatical if iku is used instead of kuru. On the other hand, Soga (1976) says that the replacement of kite kudasai ('please come') by itte kudasai ('please go') is quite

possible. Both are possible because of the supposition involving iku. If itte kudasai is involved instead of kite kudasai, then the speaker's viewpoint is maintained.

Lastly, let us consider the possibility that the speaker might take the hearer's point of view when the subject of kuru is the speaker himself. Again, the hearer is assumed to be at the goal. According to Oye (1975), the following past and future interrogative sentences are grammatical:

- (10) \* Sensyuu no mokuyooobi ni boku wa kimi no tokoro  
ni kimasita ka.

'Did I come to your house last Thursday?'

- (11) \* Asita nanzi ni kimi no tokoro ni kimasyoo ka.

'What time shall I come to your house tomorrow?'

The speaker is assumed not to be at the goal at the time of speech. Oye says that in (10) and (11) kuru and iku are equally acceptable. He insists that the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to the hearer is common when an interrogative sentence is involved. According to him, the question is posed using kuru in anticipation of a response using kuru. This argument is very interesting; however, it should be noted that anticipation of a response using kuru does not affect viewpoint shift elsewhere. Consider, for example, sentences with a third person subject. To



my intuitive knowledge, the following two sentences are equally acceptable:

(12) Kinoo otaku ni dare ka kimasita ka.

'Did anybody come to your house yesterday?'

(13) Kinoo otaku ni dare ka kimasita yo.

'Somebody came to your house yesterday,  
you know.'

In (12) and (13), the hearer is at the goal and the subject of motion is a third person. (12) is an interrogative, while (13) is a declarative sentence. According to Oye, the viewpoint of the speaker is more likely to be shifted to the hearer in an interrogative sentence than in a declarative sentence, even when a third person is the subject of motion rather than the hearer. Yet according to my intuitive knowledge, there does not seem to be any significant difference in the levels of grammaticality of the interrogative (12) and the declarative (13). The choice of kuru or iku seems to depend completely on the intention of the speaker. The declarative sentences (4) and (13) are just as acceptable as the interrogative (12).

Elsewhere, then, viewpoint shift is not easier in interrogative sentences than in declarative sentences. Oye's argument claims that when the subject of motion is the speaker, as in (10) or (11), kuru is possible if the

sentence involved is interrogative. In view of (12) and (13), this claim seems doubtful. Moreover, according to the intuitive knowledge of many native speakers of Japanese, as discussed by Soga (1976), sentences (10) and (11) are unacceptable. In other words, even if the sentence is interrogative, when the subject is the speaker, he cannot take the viewpoint of a hearer who is at the goal. The shift of viewpoint is not possible, and kuru is never used. Therefore sentences (10) and (11) should be starred. This usage is in contrast with the usage of English come.

(14) (a) What time shall I come to your house  
tomorrow?

(b) \* Asita nanzi ni otaku e kimasyoo ka.

Come in sentence (14a) must be translated as iku in Japanese, and as equivalent lexical item in most other languages.

We can summarize this section as follows:

In simplex sentences with kuru, in which the hearer is located at the goal at the time of speech, the speaker may take the hearer's viewpoint in the following cases: when the subject of the motion is a third person or, in certain types of sentences in direct discourse, when the subject is the hearer.

If the speaker is the subject, he cannot take the hearer's viewpoint.

### 3.2 Shift to a third person

According to Chapter Two, it is not possible for the speaker to take a third person's point of view in either English or Japanese. Here I shall examine the possibility of the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to a third person. For these sentences, assume that a third person or a thing is at the goal at the time of speech, but neither the speaker nor the hearer is there. Both English and Japanese are involved.

First are sentences in which a third person is the subject of the motion:

(15) (a) \* John wa asita mo soko e kimasu.

(b) \* John will come there tomorrow again.

(16) (a) \* John wa zibun no uti e kaette kimasita.

(b) \* John came back to his own house.

In (15) and (16), John is assumed to be at the goal, there and his house respectively, and the speaker in Japanese (the speaker or the hearer in English) is assumed not to be at the goal. All these four sentences should be starred unless the factors discussed in Chapter Two --- the speaker's home base, (the speaker's or hearer's home base in English),

the spatial or psychological closeness from the speaker and so on are involved. Also, if (16a) and (16b) are narratives, then kuru or come is possible.

Now observe the following sentences:

(17) (a) \* Kinoo John ga Mary no uti e kita yo.

(b) \* John came to Mary's house yesterday,  
you know.

(18) (a) \* Kinoo John ga Mary no tokoro ni kimasita ka.

(b) \* Did John come to Mary's house yesterday?

Given that, in (17) and (18) it is a third person other than the person of the subject (Mary, not John) who is located at the goal, all four sentences are ungrammatical unless the speaker has some kind of psychological tie with Mary or the speaker's place is closer to Mary's house than John's starting point. For (18), an exceptional situation is possible --- that the hearer is the landlord of a boarding house where Mary is boarding, so that the hearer's house is Mary's home base. Needless to say, iku is also possible in (17) and (18). In such a case, the viewpoint shift is not relevant. We can conclude that, when the subject of motion is a third person, the viewpoint shift from the speaker to a third person is not possible in ordinary daily conversation.

Fillmore (1972a, p. 15) makes an interesting

generalization about the possibility of this type of shift.

- (19) 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 toward the place or person whose point of view is assumed can be expressed with the verb come.

This principle accounts for the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of the following sentences. In (21) the main verb is a propositional verb.

- (20) She asked me to come to her party,

\* but I decided not to come.

- (21) She had hoped that Fred would come on time,

but, as usual, he came half an hour late.

In (20) and (21), the goal is assumed to be a place where she is or was located. In (20), come cannot be used for the motion of the speaker, while in (21), come is possible since a third person is the subject of the motion --- neither the speaker nor the hearer is involved at all. The acceptability of (16a) and (16b) is accounted for in the same way. (20) and (21) are sentences in which the speaker takes her viewpoint. On the other hand, if the speaker takes another person's point of view, the resulting sentences are still grammatical as shown in (22) and (23).

(22) I was asked to go to her party, but I decided not to go.

(23) It was hoped that Fred would go to her party on time, but, as usual, he went half an hour late.

(24) and (25) in Japanese are equivalent to (20) and (21) in English.

(24) \* Mary wa watakusi ga kuru koto o negatta ga,  
watakusi wa konakatta.

(25) Mary wa John<sub>i</sub> ga kuru koto o negatta ga,  
kare<sub>i</sub> wa konakatta.

(24) is unacceptable since the speaker is involved in the motion, while (25) is acceptable since only a third person is involved in the motion, and not the speaker. (24) yields a grammatical sentence if the speaker is located at the goal at the time of speech. In such a case, the utterance is speaker-centered.

Now let us consider the viewpoint shift from the speaker to a third person when the subject is the hearer. In the following sentences, a third person, John, is assumed to be at the goal.

(26) (a) \* Anata wa mainiti John no uti ni kite  
imasu.

(b) \* You come to John's house every day, and  
you are there now.

(27) (a) \* Anata wa kinoo John no uti ni kimasita ka.

(b) \* Did you come to John's house yesterday?

(26) and (27) are ungrammatical unless they satisfy the suppositions for kuru and come, or one of the conditions discussed in the last chapter. For example, they are grammatical if the goal, John's house is close to the speaker's position. However in such a case the problem of the viewpoint shift is not relevant, since the sentence is still speaker-centered.

Lastly let us consider viewpoint shift from the speaker to the third person when the subject is the speaker.

(28) (a) \* Watakusi wa 1960-nen ni America ni kimasita.

(b) \* I came to the United States in 1960.

(29) (a) \* Asita nanzi ni Mary no uti ni kimasyoo ka.

(b) \* What time shall I come to Mary's house  
tomorrow?

(30) (a) \* Kinoo watakusi wa Tom no uti ni kimasita ka.

(b) \* Did I come to Tom's house yesterday?

All of the English and Japanese sentences above are ungrammatical unless they satisfy the suppositions for come and kuru or unless they involve one of the situations

discussed in the previous chapter.

In summary:

In simplex sentences with English come and Japanese kuru in which a third person is at the goal, the shift of viewpoint normally does not take place from the speaker to a third person, regardless of the subject.

From the information in this chapter, a table concerning the possibility of viewpoint shift in simplex sentences may be proposed. This is in the Appendix 3-1.



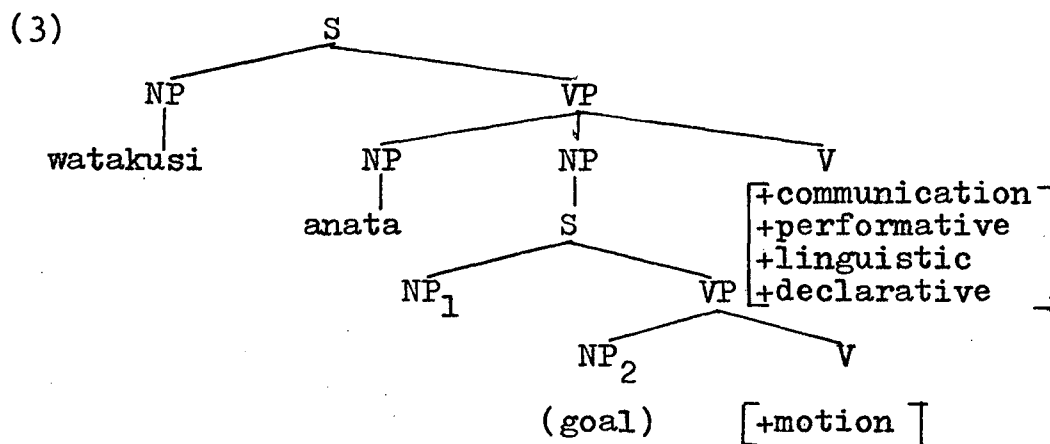
## CHAPTER FOUR

### VIEWPOINT SHIFT IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

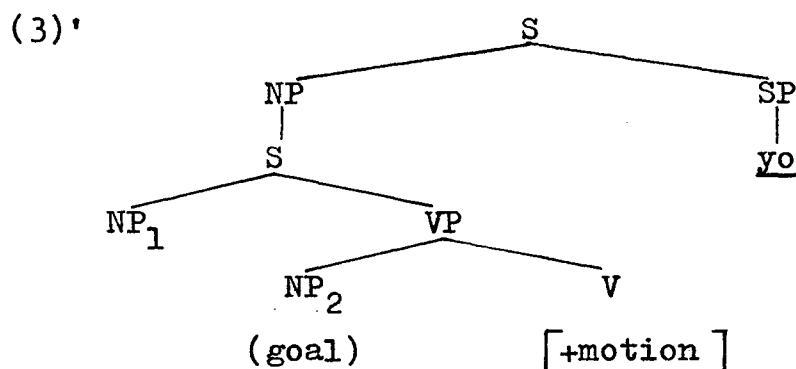
Before considering the possibility of the viewpoint shift, it is necessary to clarify some of the underlying structures. When I considered simplex sentences in Chapter Three, I mainly tried to get simplex sentences. How can various aspectual morphemes (sentence final particles or auxiliary verbs) be represented?

- (1) (a) John ga Mary no uti ni kimasita.  
(b) John came to Mary's house.
- (2) (a) John ga Mary no uti ni kimasita yo.  
(b) I tell you that John came to Mary's house.

Sentences (1a) and (1b) are simplex declaratives on the surface level. However, it has been proposed (Ross (1970)) that even such sentences are underlyingly complex, having deep structures such as (3). All the declarative sentences which involve directional verbs are considered to have a structure such as (3).



Sentences (2a) involves the Japanese sentence-final particle yo. One of the possible underlying structures for sentence (2a) is similar to structure (3). The other possible structure is:



The symbol SP stands for a sentence particle in (3)'. In trees (3) and (3)', the subject of the motion is derived from NP<sub>1</sub> and the goal from NP<sub>2</sub>. For (4a) to which an aspectual auxiliary sooda is attached, structures (5) and (5)' are possible.



For instance, in (4a), if the speaker heard from Mary that John had gone to her, then the sentence using kuru is quite acceptable. If they do not involve such situations as discussed in Chapter Two, come and kuru are not possible. It is not possible to take the third person's (Mary's) viewpoint in the absence of a psychological tie.

We have just seen that even "simplex" sentences may be underlyingly complex. The rest of this chapter concerns the possibility of viewpoint shift from the speaker to other persons in sentences which are complex in surface structure as well as deep structure. There are three sections, divided according to a feature of the goal. The first section concerns sentences in which the speaker is located at the goal; the second, those in which the hearer is at the goal; and the third, those in which a third person is at the goal.

#### 4.1 Situations in which the speaker is at the goal

Even if the use of come or kuru is impossible in a certain simplex sentence, a grammatical sentence may result if the same simplex sentence is embedded in a certain construction.

Fillmore (1972a, p. 13-14) states:

Come is appropriate under conditions that can be stated by replacing 'Sender' and 'Addressee' in the formulation conditions ..... by 'Experiencer(s) of a subjective-experience verb' and by replacing 'coding time' by 'the time of the subjective experience.'

Verbs such as think, wonder, wish, omou (think) and negau (desire) are considered to be subjective-experience verbs. He also makes a statement about verbs reporting speech acts.

Come is appropriate if the conditions ..... are assumed 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.

Verbs such as tell, ask, suggest, and iu (tell) are among the verbs that he refers to. I intend to explain how and why embedding under such verbs will yield grammatical sentences. In this chapter, several sentences embedded under think, omou (think) or tell, iu (tell) will be examined. The uses of come and kuru instead of go and iku will be the main points of discussion. For this section, assume that the speaker is located at the goal.

The following sentences are embedded under the verb think or omou.

- (1) (a) Watakusi wa (watakusi ga) mata koko ni  
kuru to omoimasu.
- (b) I think I will come here again.

- (2) (a) Watakusi wa (watakusi ga) izen koko ni  
kita koto ga aru to omoimasu.
- (b) I think I came here before.
- (3) (a) Anata wa John ga watakusi no tokoro ni  
kuru to omoimasu ka.
- (b) Do you think that John will come to my place?
- (4) (a) John wa (John ga) watakusi no tokoro ni  
koyoo to omotte imasu.
- (b) John thinks that he will come to my place.

There are ten logically possible combinations of main verb subject and embedded verb subject when the speaker is at the goal. Table 4.1 in the Appendix shows the possible occurrences of come, go, kuru and iku. As illustrated in the table, come or kuru is possible for all of these combinations. Motion toward the speaker at the goal is observed from his own point of view. Whatever the subject of either the main or the embedded clause, come or kuru may be used as long as the speaker is at the goal. Note that these embedded clauses are grammatical without being embedded in the frames. When the speaker is at the goal, the observation from his viewpoint remains even if the sentence is embedded under think or omou.

Next are examples which contain the higher verb tell or iu:

- (5) (a) Watakusi wa Mary ni mata koko ni kuru  
to iimasita.
- (b) I told Mary that I would come here again.
- (6) (a) Mary wa John ni asita watakusi no tokoro ni  
kuru to iimasita.
- (b) Mary told John that she would come to my  
place tomorrow.

The suppositions about the viewpoint in Chapter Two hold. In other words, the deictic point is the speaker, and the viewpoint is not shifted. However, as we shall see later, the viewpoint does tend to be shifted to the subject ( $NP_1$ ) of the higher verb, so that here we must have a constraint which prohibits it from doing so. The problems of such constraints are discussed in this section. Peculiar to English is the fact that when the speaker is at the goal, the viewpoint never seems to be shifted to  $NP_1$ . In Japanese, however, as shown in Table 4.2, the motion may also be observed from the viewpoint of  $NP_1$ , so that both iku (go) and kuru (come) are possible. This difference between the occurrences of go and iku in English and Japanese will be discussed later.

#### 4.2 Situations in which the hearer is at the goal

According to Fillmore's supposition rules for English come, not only the speaker but also the hearer can be the

deictic point in English. Thus, if the hearer is at the goal even with an embedded sentence which contains a directional verb, come is used in the same way as in a simplex sentence.

(7) (a) What time do you think I will come to your house tomorrow?

(b) What time do you think John came to your house yesterday?

(8) I asked you if Mary came to your house yesterday.

On the other hand, in a Japanese simplex sentence, the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to the hearer is uncommon when the subject of the motion is the speaker, as already discussed in the previous chapter. I will now investigate the conditions under which a grammatical sentence will result when such a sentence is embedded under a subjective-experience verb or a verb of speech acts.

When the hearer is located at the goal in a complex sentence with the higher verb think or omou, there are ten logically possible combinations of subject of the higher verb and subject of the directional verb in the embedded clause. These combinations and the occurrences of directional verbs in these contexts are shown in Table 4.3. The number given for each combination in Table 4.3 corresponds to that in 4.4 which shows the occurrences of directional



verbs embedded under tell or iu.

Now observe the following sentences:

- (9) Anata wa John ga otaku ni kuru to omotte  
iru n desu ka.

'Do you think John will come to your house?'

- (10) Anata wa (anata ga) mata soko ni koyoo to omotte  
iru n desu ka.

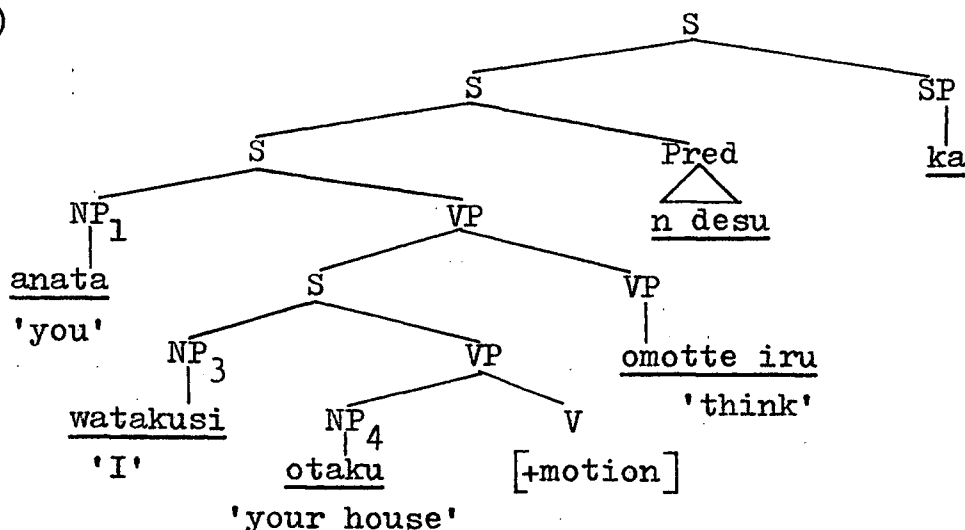
'Do you think you will come there again?'

- (11) Anata wa watakusi ga otaku ni kuru to omotte  
iru n desu ka.

'Do you think I will come to your house?'

In (10), soko (there) is the hearer's present location, and he is expected to return there. All three sentences --- (9), (10) and (11) --- are grammatical. (11) should be especially noted, since its embedded sentence is ungrammatical as a simplex sentence.

(12)



Given (12) as the structural tree for sentence (11), we can clearly see that for the lowest sentence alone, iku would be used. However, kuru is possible if the sentence is embedded within a sentence with the hearer as subject.

So far our examples have shown that a Japanese sentence with kuru in which the hearer is at the goal yields a grammatical sentence when it is embedded in a complex sentence. However, this is not always the case.

(13) \* John wa watakusi ga otaku ni kuru to  
omotte imasu.

'John thinks I will come to your house.'

(14) \* John wa watakusi ga otaku ni kita to  
omotte imasu.

'John thinks I came to your house.'

Three people are involved here: the speaker, the hearer and John, a third person. Oye (1975) says that, in sentences such as (13) and (14) in which a third person is the subject of the higher verb, an interpretation using kuru is difficult. According to him, this is because the speaker's and John's viewpoints are more dominant than the hearer's. Moreover, although John is the subject of the higher clause, it is difficult to observe the motion from his point of view since the speaker's viewpoint is dominant.

Similarly, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

- (15) \* Watakusi wa (watakusi ga) asita otaku ni  
kuru to omoimasu.

'I think I will come to your house tomorrow.'

- (16) \* Watakusi wa (watakusi ga) kinoo otaku ni  
kita to omoimasu.

'I think I came to your house yesterday.'

The speaker is too dominant for the viewpoint to be shifted to the hearer.<sup>8</sup> Now compare (11) with (13) and (15). In each of these sentences the embedded sentence is ungrammatical if it stands by itself. Yet when it is embedded in (11) whose subject is the hearer (who is at the goal), then the resulting complex sentence is grammatical, because the speaker's viewpoint is weakened by the hearer as subject, so that the viewpoint may shift to the hearer. On the other hand, in (13) and (15), the speaker's viewpoint is strengthened by the speaker or third person as subject of the main clause. In (11), the embedded sentence represents the hearer's internal feeling, and the speaker's viewpoint is weakened so as to be objectivized. With the speaker's viewpoint objectivized and treated as a sort of third person, the speaker's motion toward the hearer can be interpreted using kuru. On the other hand, the embedded sentence of (15) represents the speaker's own internal feeling since the subject of the higher verb is the speaker himself. Thus the speaker's viewpoint is neither

objectivized nor weakened, but strengthened. In (13), the embedded sentence represents John's internal feeling. In such a case, the neutral iku is used. In all of these complex sentences, the embedded sentence represents the internal feeling of the subject of the higher verb, not of the subject of the embedded verb.

Next let us consider viewpoint shift in a complex sentence which has a verb of speech acts. Table 4.4 shows the logically possible combinations of the noun phrases.

Compare the following sentences:

- (17) \* Watakusi wa anata / John ni watakusi ga  
otaku ni kuru to iimasita.

'I told you / John that I would come to your house.'

- (18) Anata wa watakusi / John ni watakusi ga  
otaku ni kite yoi / kuru to iimasita.

'You told me / John that I might / would come to your house.'

- (19) John wa (a)\*watakusi / (b) anata ni watakusi ga  
otaku ni kite yoi / kuru to iimasita.

'John told me / you that I might / would come to your house.'

The grammaticality of (18) shows that the motion of the speaker toward the hearer can be interpreted using kuru

when embedded in a higher sentence in which the hearer, who is at the goal, is the subject of a verb of speech acts. (17) is ungrammatical because the speaker's viewpoint is strengthened by the speaker's being the subject of the higher clause. Similarly, (19a) is unacceptable. Though the higher subject is a third person (John) in (19a), his viewpoint is not as dominant as the viewpoint of the speaker, who is the subject of the embedded sentence. On the other hand, (19b) is grammatical, since the subject of the embedded clause ( $NP_2$  --- the hearer) is located at the goal ( $NP_4$ ). In other words, in (19a) the speaker's viewpoint is taken, while in (19b) the viewpoint is shifted to the hearer.

Now compare (18) and (19b). Both (18) and (19b) are grammatical, although they take the hearer's point of view. In (18), the hearer is the subject of the higher verb ( $NP_1$ ), while in (19b) he is the indirect object ( $NP_2$ ). Here, if the person at the goal ( $NP_4$ ) is the same as either  $NP_1$  or  $NP_2$ , then the motion is observed from his viewpoint, and is interpreted using kuru. I will discuss this more in the next chapter.

### 4.3 Situations in which a third person is at the goal

In this section we will see how the viewpoint is shifted when a sentence with a directional verb and a

third person at the goal is embedded in a higher clause. First, consider complex sentences with a subjective-experience verb as the higher verb. Table 4.5 show the logically possible combinations of noun phrases and the possible directional verbs for them.

I will examine the possibility or impossibility of viewpoint shift and give explanations for trends noted. Here we have to consider not only Japanese kuru but also English come, since the shift toward a third person in a simplex sentence is impossible, as has already been mentioned. Compare the following sentences:

(20) (a) \* Watakusi wa (watakusi ga) John no uti ni  
ko-yoo to omotte imasu.

(b) \* I think I will come to John's house.

(21) (a) \* Anata wa watakusi / anata ga John no uti ni  
kuru-daroo to omotte imasu.

(b) \* You think that I / you will come to John's  
house.

(22) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa watakusi ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru to omotte imasu.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> thinks I will come to his<sub>i</sub> house.

(23) (a) \* John wa watakusi ga Bill no uti ni kuru to  
omotte imasu.

(b) \* John thinks that I will come to Bill's  
house.

(22) is grammatical, while (20), (21) and (23) are not. Thus, we can capture a generalization by saying that such complex sentences will be grammatical only if the subject of omou or think (the subjective-experience verb) is the person at the goal of the motion in the embedded clause. In (23), a third person is at the goal, but he is a different third person from John. Thus, the sentences in (23) are also unacceptable.

Oye (1975) says that there exists a difference in the levels of grammaticality of a future tense sentence and a past tense sentence.

- (24) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Yamada-san ga asita kare<sub>i</sub> no  
party ni kuru / iku to omotte iru.  
(b) John<sub>i</sub> thinks that Mr. Yamada will come /??go  
to his<sub>i</sub> party tomorrow.
- (25) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Yamada-san ga kinoo kare<sub>i</sub> no  
party ni kita / \*?itta to omotte iru.  
(b) John<sub>i</sub> thinks that Mr. Yamada came /\*went to  
his<sub>i</sub> party yesterday.

There is no difference between the grammaticality of future and past tense sentences using kuru or come; however, the use of iku or go is more questionable in the past tense sentence (25) than in the future tense (24). The directional verb here would normally be kuru or come, since the subject

of the higher clause is John and he is at the goal. This viewpoint shift to John seems to be more important with a past tense than with a future tense embedded sentence, and also more important in English than in Japanese.

Next, sentences embedded under the higher verb tell or iu will be considered. Table 4.6 shows the logically possible combinations of noun phrases and the possible occurrences of directional verbs in these contexts. Observe the following sentences:

(26) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni anata ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni kuru to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that you would come to his<sub>i</sub> house.

(27) (a) Anata wa John<sub>i</sub> ni watakusi ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni kuru to iimasita.

(b) You told John<sub>i</sub> that I would come to his<sub>i</sub> house.

In (26), the subject of the higher clause is the same as the goal of the motion of the embedded sentence. In such a case, the motion can be observed from John's viewpoint. In (27), John is the indirect object (NP<sub>2</sub>) of the higher sentence and also involved in the motion of the embedded sentence. If we say that a person who is involved in a motion is either one who moves toward the goal, or one who



is located at the goal, then it seems that not only the subject ( $NP_1$ ) but also the indirect object ( $NP_2$ ) of the higher sentence can be significant when also involved in the motion. Therefore, John's viewpoint can be taken even in (27). Even though the hearer is the subject of the higher sentence, the motion cannot be observed from his point of view. This is due to the fact that John's viewpoint is more dominant than the hearer's viewpoint, since John is involved both in the higher clause and in the embedded sentence. On the other hand, the speaker's viewpoint, which is different from the hearer's viewpoint although it requires the same verb, may be taken in (27a). This possibility seems to be restricted to Japanese --- iku is acceptable in (27a), while go in (27b) is not. This difference will be discussed further later on.

In (28) and (29), the interpretation using kuru or come is not possible.

(28) (a) \* Watakusi wa anata ni John ga Mary no uti ni  
kuru to iimasita.

(b) \* I told you that John would come to Mary's  
house.

(29) (a) \* John wa Mary ni Taroo ga Hanako no uti ni  
kuru to iimasita.

(b) \* John told Mary that Taro would come to  
Hanako's house.

In sentences in (28a,b) and (29a,b), neither the subject ( $NP_1$ ) nor the indirect object ( $NP_2$ ) of the higher sentence is involved in the motion of the embedded sentence. In such a case, the motion is observed from the neutral viewpoint of  $NP_1$  of the higher clause. In (28) and (29), kuru and come are not possible, unless the sentence satisfies one of the supposition rules or one of the situations discussed in Chapter Two.

In (30) to (34), the two noun phrases of the higher clause are both involved in the motion of the embedded sentence.

(30) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa watakusi ni (watakusi ga)  
kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni kite yoi to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told me that I might come to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.

(31) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa anata ni (anata ga) kare<sub>i</sub> no  
uti ni kite yoi to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told you that you might come to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.

(32) (a) \* Watakusi wa John<sub>i</sub> ni (watakusi ga ) kare<sub>i</sub> no  
uti ni kuru to iimasita.

(b) I told John<sub>i</sub> that I would come to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.

When both noun phrases of the higher clauses are also

involved in the motion in the embedded sentence, the viewpoint is shifted to the subject ( $NP_1$ ) of the higher sentence in Japanese, and to the goal of the motion ( $NP_4$ ) in English. Thus, (30) and (31) in both Japanese and English are grammatical, since the motion is observed from John's viewpoint, where John is both  $NP_1$  and  $NP_4$ . In (32), however, where  $NP_1$  is different from  $NP_4$ , English and Japanese require different verbs --- come and iku respectively.

(33) (a) \*  $John_i$  wa  $Mary_j$  ni ( $kare_i$  ga)  $kanozuyo_j$  no  
uti ni kuru to iimasita.

(b)  $John_i$  told  $Mary_j$  that  $he_i$  would come to  
her<sub>j</sub> house.

(34) (a)  $John_i$  wa  $Mary_j$  ni ( $kanozuyo_j$  ga)  $kare_i$  no  
uti ni kite yoi to iimasita.

(b)  $John_i$  told  $Mary_j$  that she<sub>j</sub> might come to  
his<sub>i</sub> house.

Since both John and Mary are involved both in the higher clause and in the motion in (33) and (34),  $NP_1$ 's (John's) viewpoint is taken in Japanese sentences. In (33a), John's own motion toward Mary's house cannot be expressed from John's viewpoint by kuru. On the other hand, in (33b), come is possible. This difference between English and Japanese is due to a difference in the supposition rules

for English and Japanese. In (34a), Mary's motion toward John's house is expressed by kuru, from John's ( $NP_1$ ) viewpoint. Similarly, (34b) is grammatical, since in English her motion toward John's house is interpreted from  $NP_4$ 's point of view.

However, native speakers of Japanese do not always find this sentence unacceptable. Furthermore, English informants seem to use come and go interchangeably both in (33b) and (34b). It seems that when both noun phrases of the higher clauses are also involved in the motion in the embedded sentence, the difference between English and Japanese supposition rules is neutralized to a certain extent.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### TOWARD POSSIBLE GENERALIZATIONS

#### 5.1 Generalizations

So far I have discussed the possible occurrences of come and kuru in complex sentences by examining those with either subjective-experience verbs or verbs of speech acts as the higher verb. In this section, the restrictions on the occurrences of go and iku will be considered. The discussion will be based on the following generalizations by Oye (1975) about the occurrences of directional verbs:

Usage of directional verbs when the higher verb is 'think' or 'omou'

English and Japanese:

- (i) When the speaker is located at the goal, the motion is observed from his point of view, and come or kuru is used.
- (ii) When the subject ( $NP_1$ ) of the higher verb think or omou is involved in the motion, then the motion is observed from his point of view. (However, in Japanese, when  $NP_1$  is located at the goal and at

the same time the speaker is the subject of the motion, then iku is also possible, with the motion being observed from the speaker's point of view.)

- (iii) When the speaker is not located at the goal, and NP<sub>1</sub> is not involved in the motion, then the motion is neutrally interpreted by iku or go, since the motion is observed from the temporary viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub>.

Usage of directional verbs when the higher verb is 'tell' or 'iu'

English:

- (i) When the speaker is located at the goal, the motion is observed from his point of view.
- (ii) When the speaker is not located at the goal, if either NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub> is involved in the motion, then the motion is observed from his point of view, and the appropriate directional verb is chosen.
- (iii) When the speaker is not located at the goal, and neither NP<sub>1</sub> nor NP<sub>2</sub> is involved in the motion, the motion is observed temporarily from the point of view of NP<sub>1</sub>.
- (iv) When both NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> are involved in the motion, the motion is observed from the viewpoint of the person who is located at the goal.

Japanese (I):

- (i) When either  $NP_1$  or  $NP_2$  is involved in the motion, the motion is observed from his point of view.
- (ii) When neither  $NP_1$  nor  $NP_2$  is involved in the motion, the motion is observed temporarily from  $NP_1$ 's point of view, and is interpreted neutrally by iku.
- (iii) When both  $NP_1$  and  $NP_2$  are involved in the motion, the motion is observed from  $NP_1$ 's point of view, and the appropriate directional verb is chosen. However, when  $NP_2$  is the speaker and he is also located at the goal, the interpretation with kuru, from the speaker's point of view, is possible.

Japanese (II):

- (i) When the speaker is located at or moves toward the goal, then the motion is observed from his point of view, and the appropriate directional verb is chosen.
- (ii) When the above condition (i) is not satisfied, if either  $NP_1$  or  $NP_2$  is involved in the motion, then the motion is observed from his viewpoint, and the appropriate directional verb is chosen.
- (iii) When neither (i) nor (ii) is not satisfied, the motion is observed temporarily from  $NP_1$ 's point of view, and is interpreted by iku.

- (iv) When both  $NP_1$  and  $NP_2$  are involved in the motion, the motion is observed from  $NP_1$ 's point of view, and the appropriate directional verb is chosen.

As has already been mentioned, Oye says that Japanese has two types of generalizations. The only difference between the first set and the second set in Japanese is that the former lacks (i) of the latter. In other words, the situation in which the speaker is located at or moves toward the goal is not significant in the first set. It seems possible to combine these two sets by making (i) of the second set optional. The generalizations about English directional verbs in the context of tell are basically the same as the second set of generalizations for Japanese in the context of iu. Furthermore, both are parallel to the generalizations in the context of omou or think. The first set of generalizations in the context of iu is characteristic of the behaviour of the Japanese directional verb.

(1) (a) John wa watakusi no uti ni koyoo/\*ikoo to  
omotte imasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> thought he<sub>i</sub> would come /\*go to my house.

(2) (a) John wa Mary ni Taroo ga watakusi no uti ni  
kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary that Taro would come/\*go to  
my house.



The acceptability of kuru and come respectively can be accounted for by generalization (i) of the second set of generalizations for Japanese in the context of iu and generalization (i) of the English generalizations in the context of tell. In (2a), the interpretation using iku is also possible by generalization (ii) of the first set of generalizations for Japanese in the context of iu. We can safely remove the words "is located at or," leaving only "when the speaker moves toward the goal....." from (i) of the second set of generalizations for the context of Japanese iu, and posit a fifth generalization that says "if the speaker is at the goal, his viewpoint may be taken, regardless of the other conditions." Note that the word "may" rather than "must" is used, indicating that another viewpoint may still be chosen. The motion of Taroo can be observed from NP<sub>1</sub>'s (John's) point of view instead of the speaker's, and can be expressed by iku. This possibility in the context of Japanese iu is one of the major differences from the possibilities in the context of English tell, and also from those in the context of Japanese omou. The usage with Japanese iu can be similar to that in direct discourse. It might be said, therefore, the distinction between direct and indirect discourse in Japanese is not always clear.<sup>9</sup>

To illustrate further:

- (3) (a) John wa Mary ni watakusi no uti ni iku to  
iimasita.

'John told Mary that (he) would go to my  
house.'

- (b) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni kare<sub>i</sub> ga watakusi no uti ni  
kuru to iimasita.

'John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that he<sub>i</sub> would come to my  
house.'

- (4) (a) John wa Mary ni watakusi ga kuru to iimasita.

'John told Mary that I would come (to his  
house).'

- (b) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni watakusi ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
iku to iimasita.

'John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that I would go to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.'

In Japanese, the deletion either of the subject of the motion in the embedded sentence or of the goal is sometimes possible, as in (3a) and (4a) respectively. (4a) is ambiguous in that we are not sure whether John or Mary is located at the goal. Here (3a) and (3b), or (4a) and (4b) are assumed to have the same meaning. When such a noun phrase is deleted, the complex sentence becomes similar to direct discourse. In (3a) and (4a), the motion is observed from the viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub>, even though the speaker is

involved in the motion. On the other hand, in (3b) and (4b), the motion is observed from the speaker's viewpoint. This possible adoption of the viewpoint is restricted to the context of the verbs of speech acts in Japanese.

Compare the following Japanese and English sentences, in which the speaker is the subject of the motion:

- (5) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni watakushi ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru / iku to iimasita.
- (b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that I would come to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.

The three persons involved in (5a) and (5b) are the same. According to Oye, iku is possible in (5a) by condition (i) of the second set of generalizations in the context of Japanese iu. When the speaker moves toward the goal, then the motion is observed from his point of view. The motion may also be observed from the viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub> of the higher clause, according to Japanese I (i), and kuru may also be used. On the other hand, in (5b), only come is used, since the motion is observed from the viewpoint of John, who is at the goal, according to (ii) for English tell. In English, it is not significant that the speaker himself moves toward the goal in the embedded sentence. This is another distinction between English and Japanese directional verbs according to Oye.

- (6) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa watakushi ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru / iku to omotte imasita.
- (b) John<sub>i</sub> thought that I would come to his<sub>i</sub>  
house.

In (6), the higher verb is omou or think. In (6a), i.e. in Japanese, the motion is observed from the viewpoint of either the speaker or NP<sub>1</sub>, while the motion in English (6b) can be observed only from the viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub>, John. These facts in (6a) and (6b) can be accounted for by generalization (ii) for think and omou.

With iu and tell, when the speaker is not involved in the motion, if either NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub> is involved, then the motion is observed from his point of view. This is true of both English and Japanese.

- (7) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni Bill ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru to iimasita.
- (b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that Bill would come to  
his<sub>i</sub> house.
- (8) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni kare<sub>i</sub> ga Bill no uti ni  
iku to iimasita.
- (b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that he<sub>i</sub> would go to Bill's  
house.

In (7) and (8), John is involved in the motion. Thus, the

motion in the embedded sentence is observed from John's point of view. How John is involved in the motion is significant for the choice of the verb. If John, the subject of the higher verb, is located at the goal in the embedded sentence, then come or kuru is used. On the other hand, if John moves toward the goal, then go or iku is used. This is parallel to the omou- or think-construction.

(9) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa (kare<sub>i</sub> ga) Mary no uti e ikoo to  
omotte imasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> thought he<sub>i</sub> would go to Mary's house.

In (9a) and (9b), John is involved in the motion. The motion is observed from his point of view, and is expressed by iku or go. If John is located at the goal and Mary moves toward the goal, then kuru is used. Now, observe the following examples, in which Mary (NP<sub>2</sub>) is involved in the motion rather than John (NP<sub>1</sub>).

(10) (a) John wa Mary<sub>i</sub> ni (kanozoyō<sub>i</sub> ga) Bill no uti ni  
itte yoi to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary<sub>i</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> might go to Bill's house.

(11) (a) John wa Mary<sub>i</sub> ni Bill ga kanozoyō<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary<sub>i</sub> that Bill would come to her<sub>i</sub> house.

According to Oye, the motion is observed from Mary's ( $NP_2$ 's) point of view. In (10a) and (10b), Mary moves toward the goal, and iku and go are used. Since iku would also represent the motion from the viewpoint of John ( $NP_1$ ), we do not know whether the motion is really observed from the viewpoint of Mary ( $NP_2$ ) or from that of John ( $NP_1$ ). In (11a) and (11b), Mary is located at the goal, and kuru and come are used.

Another possibility is that neither  $NP_1$  nor  $NP_2$  is involved in the motion. If a sentence meets this condition, then the motion is observed temporarily from the viewpoint of  $NP_1$  in both Japanese and English.

(12) (a) John wa Mary ni Taro ga Hanako no uti ni  
iku to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary that Taro would go to Hanako's  
house.

In (12a) and (12b), the motion is observed from the viewpoint of John, and the motion verb iku or go is chosen. This is parallel to the omou- or think-construction. When the subject of omou or think is not involved in the motion in the embedded sentence, then the motion is observed temporarily from his viewpoint, and iku or go is used, as in (13).

(13) (a) John wa Taroo ga Hanako no uti ni iku to  
omoimasita.

(b) John thought that Taro would go to Hanako's  
house.

The final possibility is that both  $NP_1$  and  $NP_2$  are involved in the motion. Here again, in Japanese, the motion is observed from  $NP_1$ 's point of view as shown also in (33) and (34) of the preceding chapter. In English, the motion is observed from the point of view of the person who is at the goal ( $NP_4$ ).

(14) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary<sub>j</sub> ni (kare<sub>i</sub> ga) kanozyo<sub>j</sub> no  
uti ni iku to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary<sub>j</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> would come to  
her<sub>j</sub> house.

(15) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary<sub>j</sub> ni (kanozyo<sub>j</sub> ga) kare<sub>i</sub> no  
uti ni kite yoi to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary<sub>j</sub> that she<sub>j</sub> might come to  
his<sub>i</sub> house.

According to the generalizations, the motion is observed from John's ( $NP_1$ 's) point of view in (14a) and iku is used. In (14b), come is used, since the motion is observed from the viewpoint of Mary who is located at the goal. This is due to the difference in the supposition rules for Japanese and English discussed in Chapter Two. In (15a) and

(15b), John is both NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>4</sub>, so that kuru and come are chosen.

Following Oye's generalizations, I have considered the possible occurrences of the English and Japanese directional verbs kuru, iku, come and go. Here I will summarize the three main differences between the occurrences of English and of Japanese directional verbs that these generalizations show.

First consider cases where the speaker is at the goal in a complex sentence. In English, the motion must be observed from his point of view. In Japanese, however, except in the omou-construction, the motion may be observed from the viewpoint of either the speaker or NP<sub>1</sub>, the subject of the higher verb. One might also say that there is not always a clear-cut distinction between direct and indirect discourse in Japanese.

The second difference is in sentences in which the subject of the motion (NP<sub>3</sub>) is the speaker. If we follow Oye's generalizations, in Japanese, the motion is observed from the speaker's viewpoint according to generalization (ii) in the context of omou or generalization (II-i) in the context of iu. In the context of iu, the motion is also be observed from the viewpoint of the subject of a higher verb (NP<sub>1</sub>) according to generalization (I). On the other hand, in English, it is irrelevant that the speaker is the



subject of the motion ( $NP_3$ ), and the motion must be observed from the viewpoint of  $NP_1$ .

The third difference between English and Japanese is in sentences in which  $NP_1$  and  $NP_2$  are both involved in the motion. In Japanese, the motion is observed from  $NP_1$ 's viewpoint, while in English it is observed from the viewpoint of the person who is located at the goal ( $NP_4$ ), and go is never used.

## 5.2 Overgeneralizations and counterexamples

In the previous section, I gave Oye's generalizations and examples as they are stated. Oye's generalizations were based on the notion of the viewpoint. In the three parts of this section, I intend to comment on these generalizations and give some counterexamples.

5.2.1 First, the generalizations do not take into account situations in which the hearer is located at the goal. I have already pointed out that in simplex sentences the behaviour of come is very different from that of kuru. Next I will investigate complex sentences.

(16) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa anata ni (kare<sub>i</sub> ga) otaku ni  
kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told you that he<sub>i</sub> would come / go  
to your house.

(17) (a) John wa anata ni Taroo ga otaku ni  
kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John told you that Taro would come / go  
to your house.

In (16) and (17), NP<sub>1</sub> is John and NP<sub>2</sub> is the hearer. In (16), NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> are both involved in the motion. If we follow the generalizations, then iku should be used in (16a) since the motion is observed from John's point of view in Japanese, while come is more appropriate than go in (16b) since the motion is observed from the viewpoint of the person at the goal (the hearer). In (16a) kuru also seems possible. The reason is that the speaker's viewpoint is available. The speaker is not involved in the sentence as a noun phrase at all. But since the sentence is uttered by him, his viewpoint is considered to be available in considering the viewpoint of the sentence. Thus, the motion of John toward the hearer can be observed from the speaker's viewpoint. After this shift takes place, a second shift from the speaker to the hearer, who is at the goal, is possible when a third person John is the subject of the motion. In (17a) and (17b), the motion is observed from the hearer's viewpoint, since NP<sub>2</sub> (the hearer) is involved in the motion. Kuru and come are used in (17a) and (17b) respectively. However, native speakers of Japanese and English seem to think that iku and go are also possible.

In (18) and (19) John is NP<sub>1</sub> and Mary is NP<sub>2</sub>. In (18), John is also the subject of the motion.

(18) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary ni (kare<sub>i</sub> ga) otaku ni  
\*kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary that he<sub>i</sub> would come / go  
to your house.

(19) (a) John wa Mary<sub>i</sub> ni (kanozoyō<sub>i</sub> ga) otaku ni  
\*kite / itte yoi to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary<sub>i</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> might come / go  
to your house.

If we follow the generalizations, the motion is observed from John's viewpoint in (18a) and (18b), since he is involved in the motion, and iku and go are used. However, in English (18b), come is also possible. Even though NP<sub>1</sub> is involved in the motion, it is not observed from his viewpoint, but from the hearer's viewpoint. It seems that, in English, when the hearer is located at the goal, the motion can be observed from his point of view. This is parallel to the situation in which the speaker is at the goal, although with the hearer at the goal, as pointed out above, the use of come is not the only possibility. Thus, with the speaker at the goal, only come is used, while with the hearer at the goal, both come and go occur. Note that this is true only of English. In Japanese, it is not

significant that the hearer is at the goal. In (18a) kuru is impossible unless the speaker is located at the goal. In (19), NP<sub>2</sub> is also the subject of the motion. Thus, in (19a) and (19b) the motion is observed from Mary's viewpoint, and iku or go is used. In English, come is also possible from the viewpoint of the hearer. In Japanese (19a) kuru is impossible unless the speaker is located at the goal.

(20) (a) John wa Mary ni Taroo ga otaku ni

\*kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John told Mary that Taro would come / go  
to your house.

In (20), since neither NP<sub>1</sub> nor NP<sub>2</sub> is involved in the motion, it is observed from the viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub> (John). In English, again, it can also be observed from the hearer's viewpoint. Native speakers of English agree that come is possible as well as go.

Consequently, we can state that in English it is significant that the hearer is located at the goal. The motion may be observed from his point of view. On the other hand, in Japanese, it is not significant. The viewpoint shift will follow the generalizations discussed above.

5.2.2 The second argument is that the generalizations are too strong. Oye seems to intend to have his generalizations apply obligatorily; however, we find that some of them should be optional. There are several such cases.

(21) (a) Anata wa John ga (otaku ni) kuru / iku to  
omotte imasita ka.

(b) Did you think that John would come / go to  
your house?

Oye says that when either  $NP_1$  or  $NP_2$  is involved in the motion, it is observed from his viewpoint. In (21),  $NP_1$  is involved in the motion. The acceptability of kuru and come can be accounted for by the application of Oye's generalization. The motion is observed from the hearer's viewpoint. Yet according to my intuitive knowledge, iku is also possible in (21a), and native speakers of English find go acceptable in (21b). We can account for the acceptability of iku or go if we say that the rule applies optionally so that the motion can be observed from the speaker's viewpoint.

(22) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa anata ga kare<sub>i</sub> no uti ni kuru / iku  
to omotte imasu.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> thinks that you will come /\*go to  
his<sub>i</sub> house.

The acceptability of kuru and come in (22) can be accounted for by generalization (ii) in the context of think or omou. In (22a), however, the motion can also be observed from the speaker's viewpoint and iku may be used as well as kuru, although Oye does not state that generalization (ii) in the context of omou is optional.

In (23), NP<sub>2</sub> is involved in the motion rather than NP<sub>1</sub>. These sentences are the same as sentences (11a) and (11b).

- (23) (a) John wa Mary<sub>i</sub> ni Bill ga kanozyo<sub>i</sub> no uti ni  
kuru / iku to iimasita.
- (b) John told Mary<sub>i</sub> that Bill would come / \*go  
to her<sub>i</sub> house.

Here again the interpretation using kuru or come can be accounted for by Oye's generalizations (ii) in the context of English tell and (II-ii) in the context of Japanese iu. However, I find that, in (23a), iku is also possible and we can say that the motion is observed from John's point of view. This seems to be true only in Japanese. In (23b), only come is possible, since the motion is observed from the viewpoint of NP<sub>2</sub> (Mary). This difference is due to the fact that the viewpoint is more easily shifted from the speaker to the hearer in a simplex sentence in English than in Japanese, and that NP<sub>2</sub> is the hearer in the speech being reported.

(24) (a) Bill ga otaku ni kimasita / ikimasita ka.

(b) Did Bill come /\*go to your house?

According to my intuition, in Japanese (24a), the motion of the third person to the hearer can be expressed by either kuru or iku. If the same possibilities are also found in complex sentences, then the motion in (23) can be expressed by iku as well as kuru, although Oye says that only kuru is possible both in (23a) and in (24a). In English (23b), the interpretation by go is not possible unless Mary is not at the goal. This is also parallel to the fact that in (24b) go cannot be used unless the hearer is not at the goal.

He also states that when both NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> are involved in the motion, it is observed from the viewpoint of the person at the goal in English, and from NP<sub>1</sub>'s viewpoint in Japanese. This is said to be due to the difference in the supposition rules. As has already been mentioned, the motion of the speaker toward the hearer in a simplex sentence of English has to be observed from the viewpoint of the hearer, but this is not possible in Japanese. This phenomenon can also be seen in complex sentences.

(25) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary<sub>j</sub> ni (kare<sub>i</sub> ga) kanozyo<sub>j</sub> no  
uti ni kuru / iku to iimasita.

(b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary<sub>j</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> would come / go  
to her<sub>j</sub> house.

- (26) (a) John<sub>i</sub> wa Mary<sub>j</sub> ni (kanoz<sub>o</sub> ga) kare<sub>i</sub> no  
           uti ni kite /itte yoi to iimasita.  
 (b) John<sub>i</sub> told Mary<sub>j</sub> that she<sub>j</sub> might come / go  
       to his<sub>i</sub> house.

In Japanese, the motion is observed from the viewpoint of NP<sub>1</sub>, John. Thus, iku is used in (25a), and kuru in (26a). This is accounted for by the generalizations. However, it seems that kuru is also possible in (25a) and iku in (26a). If so, we must state that the generalizations are optional. In Japanese, when NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> are both involved in the motion in the embedded sentence, the motion may be observed from the viewpoint of either NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub>. Native speakers of English also find go possible in (25b) and (26b). In other words, generalization (iv) in the tell-construction in English should be labelled optional.

5.2.3 The third argument is that generalizations based on shifts in viewpoint, such as Oye's, are vague to a certain extent.

- (27) (a) Watakusi wa anata ni (anata ga) John no  
           uti ni \*kite / itte yoi to iimasita.  
 (b) I told you that you might \*come / go to  
       John's house.

In (27a) and (27b), the hearer is involved in the motion,



and iku or go is used. This is accounted for by generalization that when either NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub> is involved in the motion, the motion is observed from his point of view. In (27a) and (27b) this is the hearer's viewpoint. However, is it not also possible that the motion expressed by iku or go is observed from the speaker's viewpoint? I think that when iku or go occurs as the directional verb as in (27a) and (27b), it is sometimes difficult to determine which noun phrase is significant in considering the viewpoint. The viewpoint is ambiguous in that we are not sure whether the motion is observed from the viewpoint of the subject of the higher verb (NP<sub>1</sub>) or from the subject of the directional verb (NP<sub>3</sub>). In order to remedy this situation, I prefer a performative analysis to the generalizations based on viewpoint. We must make it clear under which conditions the motion is expressed by kuru, iku, come or go. I will discuss performative analysis in the following section.

- (28) (a) John wa watakusi ni (watakusi ga) anata no  
           uti ni \*kite / itte yoi to iimasita.  
       (b) John told me that I might come / go to  
           your house.

In (28), the deictic point is ambiguous between John and the speaker when iku is used. Even though, according to the generalization, the motion is observed from the

speaker's viewpoint since NP<sub>2</sub> (the speaker) is also involved in the motion, I think that NP<sub>1</sub>'s (John's) viewpoint is also significant in both English and Japanese.

### 5.3 Performative Analysis

Here I propose that the directional verb is chosen on the basis of deep structure rather than according to the generalizations stating possible shifts in viewpoint.

Moriguchi (1974) also proposed such an analysis. In his analysis, he proposes the following rules to insert kuru and iku.

(29)

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left[ \begin{array}{c}
 \text{I}_i \\
 \text{NP}
 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c}
 \text{V} \\
 +\text{performative} \\
 +\text{communication} \\
 +\text{linguistic} \\
 +\text{declarative}
 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c}
 \text{you} \\
 \text{NP}
 \end{array} \right] (\text{Adv}_i) \left[ \begin{array}{c}
 \text{X} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{S}
 \end{array} \right] -\text{kara}, \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] -\text{e} \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{V} \\ +\text{M} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

1            2                            3            4            5 6                            7            8            9 10

SD: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10

SC: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10+kuru (condition: 4=8)

SD: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10

SC: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10+iku (condition: 4≠8)

The constituent Adv<sub>i</sub> is the constituent for Perlocation (= Performative Location). It is placed after the constituent you. The choice of kuru or iku depends on whether the Perlocation is the same as the goal or not. Moriguchi says that to analyze the facts about kuru and iku by means of 'Performative Analysis' we must recognize this perlocation treatment.

These rules are very persuasive, but the analysis is inadequate as it stands. First, there are problems with the statement of the rule. One of the problems is in the condition which says that the adverb is equal to the noun phrase (4=8). However, an adverb cannot be equal to a noun phrase. The other problem is that the adverb is an optional constituent. The constituent for Performative Location should be obligatory. Second, the rules are applicable only in simple sentences. Furthermore, as Soga (1976) points out, these rules fail to account for cases in which the speaker's "displaced location" is involved, and they must be modified to be applicable for viewpoint shift.

My proposal for the modified deep structure for directional verb in Japanese is on the next page. The performative analysis for English follows it. Here, perlocation is not represented as an adverb, but it is in each noun phrase. It means that the location of each noun

phrase is significant for the occurrences of directional verbs. Each language has two rules: one for simplex sentences and the other for complex sentences. For the simplicity of the rules, I hope I will find the appropriate way to combine them so as to make one rule for each language.

For Japanese simplex sentences: <sup>10</sup>

#	[NP I loc]	[V +perf. +comm. +ling. +decl.]	[NP you loc]	[NP +human loc]	X	[NP loc]	-e	( [Adv time] )	[V +Motion]	[Aux time]	#
			S							S	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

(1) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 kuru 11 12

condition: When location of 2 = location of 7,

obligatory;

When location of 4 = location of 7,

optional in imperatives and interrogatives  
(except when 5 = 2).

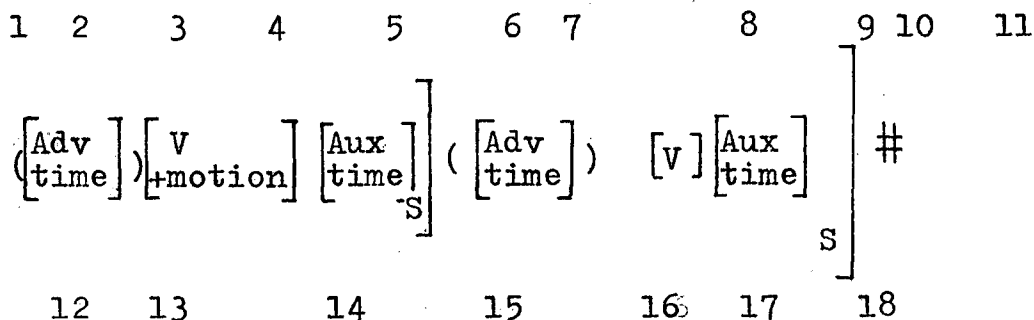
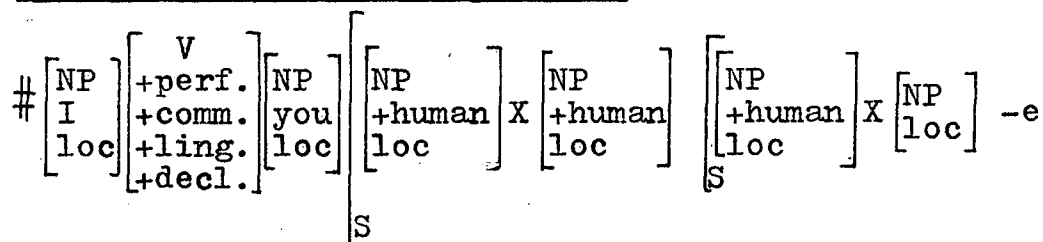
(2) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 iku 11 12

condition: When the sentence does not meet the

condition for (1), or when (1) does not  
apply.

For Japanese complex sentences:



(1) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 kuru 14 15 16 17 18

condition:

When location of 2 = location of 10,

obligatory if 16 is omou (think) and 7 =  $\phi$  ,

optional if 16 is iu (tell);

When location of 5 = location of 10, optional;

When location of 7 = location of 10, optional.

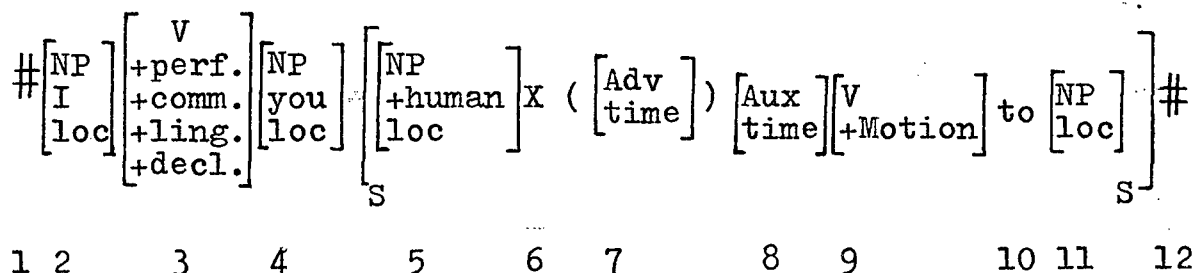
(2) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 iku 14 15 16 17 18

condition: The sentence does not meet the condition

for (1) , or when (1) does not apply.

For English simplex sentences:



(1) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

```
SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 come 10 11 12
```

condition:

When location of 2 = location of ll, obligatory;

When location of 4 = location of 11,

obligatory if  $5 = 2$ , otherwise optional.

(2) SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

SC: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 go 10 11 12

condition: The sentence does not meet the condition  
for (1), or when (1) does not apply.



There are four advantages of this treatment over the generalizations based on viewpoint such as Oye's (as has already been discussed on pages 82 to 92). The major advantage is that we can make it clear under which conditions the motion is expressed by kuru, iku, come or go. We do not have to state from whose viewpoint the motion is observed. It is sometimes difficult to determine which noun phrase in a complex sentence is significant in considering the viewpoint, as in (27a,b) and (28a,b). It is difficult to determine one definitely significant noun phrase --- two noun phrases may appear to be significant.

Secondly, these rules apply optionally in certain contexts, though Oye seems to intend his generalizations to be obligatory. The third point is that cases in which the hearer is at the goal are taken into account, while Oye's generalizations neglect them. Finally, we find that we do not have to set up separate generalizations for each verb (tell, think, iu or omou). Many generalizations are common to these verbs.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have investigated how the deictic point is involved in the occurrences of English and Japanese directional verbs and how it is shifted according to the context. I have also shown that there are many similarities between English and Japanese directional verbs, although differences also exist. Since the occurrences of the directional verbs depend on the deep structures, I provided a performative analysis based on the deep structure, which is applicable to complex sentences as well as to simplex sentences. From now on I have to consider the occurrences of the directional verbs in the contexts other than subjective-experience verbs or verbs of speech acts.

## FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup>This will be discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>2</sup>Japanese examples are transcribed in the National Romanization System (Kunreisiki) which is a pseudo-phonemic representation rather than a phonetic one. However, the representation of the long vowels is modified so that they are indicated by repetition of the same vowel, and borrowed words from English and proper names retain their original English spelling.

<sup>3</sup>The asterisk does not mean that the sentence is ungrammatical in any case, but that it does not satisfy the appropriate condition.

<sup>4</sup>According to Rauh (1978), the motion of the speaker toward the hearer is expressed by kommen (come) instead of gehen (go) in German and it also seems that it is expressed by the lexical equivalent to come in Hindi. It seems that this characteristic is common at least among Indic and Germanic languages.

<sup>5</sup>I must point out a defect in the restriction of rule (11). It says that when we have an original sentence such as I often come to Vancouver, the speaker is supposed not to be in Vancouver. Note that the tense of the original sentence is non-past. The noun phrase in the original sentence is specified as [+Speaker, -Hearer] so that the noun phrase in the supposition must be specified as [-Speaker, +Hearer]. This specification brings about a peculiar situation that only the hearer is at the goal when the speaker moves toward the goal. However, the supposition that the speaker is at the goal should also be specified. The sentence is analytic if either the speaker or the hearer is at the goal. This is also true when the subject of the motion is the hearer.

Furthermore, according to the restriction, when we have an original sentence such as He often comes to Vancouver, both the speaker and the hearer are supposed to be at the goal. When the original sentence has a noun phrase specified as [-Speaker, -Hearer], the noun phrase in the supposition is specified as [+Speaker, +Hearer]. However, it is not necessary that both the speaker and the hearer be at the goal. The sentence is analytic if either the speaker alone or the hearer alone is located at the goal. These defects should be overcome.

<sup>6</sup>In (31), the speaker is not pointing at some location on a map.

<sup>7</sup>English used to have a three-way distinction: here, there and yonder; this, that and yon.

<sup>8</sup>If the hearer's viewpoint is more dominant than the speaker's, the interpretation by kuru is supposed to be possible in (15) and (16). However, this is actually impossible. Thus, it can be said that the speaker's viewpoint is more dominant than the hearer's.

<sup>9</sup>Another evidence is possible for this phenomenon. The sentence Asita ame ga huru-desyoo to John wa itta (John said, "It will rain tomorrow" or John said that it would rain the next day) may be interpreted as both a sentence of direct discourse and that of indirect discourse in Japanese, since the tense of the verb huru-desyoo (probably rain) does not have to be in accordance with the tense of the other verb itta (said). In English, on the other hand, the distinction between direct discourse and indirect discourse is clear, since the accordance in tense in a sentence is significant.

<sup>10</sup>Features of locations for NP's will depend upon the pragmatics. Some NP's might be [+Proximal] or [-Proximal] depending upon the case. In rules (1) and (2) on page 90, for example, X is intended to include other necessary adverbs including the place of origin which is to be used for determining the feature of proximity in accordance with a rule such as rule (50) on page 27.

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## APPENDIX

TABLE 3.1

USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS IN SIMPLEX SENTENCES

subject of motion	V [+motion]				at the goal
	<u>kuru</u>	<u>iku</u>	<u>come</u>	<u>go</u>	
speaker	o	*	o	*	speaker
hearer	o	*	o	*	speaker
third person	o	*	o	*	speaker
speaker	*	o	o	*	hearer
hearer	o	o	o	o	hearer
third person	o	o	o	*	hearer
speaker	*	o	*	o	third person
hearer	*	o	*	o	third person
third person <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third person <sub>i</sub>
third person <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third person <sub>j</sub>

TABLE 4.1

USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
EMBEDDED UNDER SUBJECTIVE-EXPERIENCE VERBS  
WITH THE SPEAKER AT THE GOAL

	subj. of <u>think</u> , <u>omou</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	subj. of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	speaker	speaker	o	*	o	*	speaker
2	speaker	hearer	o	*	o	*	speaker
3	speaker	third pers	o	*	o	*	speaker
14	hearer	speaker	o	*	o	*	speaker
15	hearer	hearer	o	*	o	*	speaker
16	hearer	third pers	o	*	o	*	speaker
29	third person	speaker	o	*	o	*	speaker
30	third person	hearer	o	*	o	*	speaker
31	third person <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>i</sub>	o	*	o	*	speaker
32	third person <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	speaker

TABLE 4.2

USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
EMBEDDED UNDER VERBS OF SPEECH ACTS  
WITH THE SPEAKER AT THE GOAL

	subj. of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I. O. of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj. of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	spkr	(spkr)	spkr	o	*	o	*	spkr
2	spkr	(spkr)	hrr	o	*	o	*	spkr
3	spkr	(spkr)	thd prs	o	*	o	*	spkr
4	spkr	hrr	spkr	o	*	o	*	spkr
5	spkr	hrr	hrr	o	*	o	*	spkr
6	spkr	hrr	thd prs	o	*	o	*	spkr
7	spkr	thd prs	spkr	o	*	o	*	spkr
8	spkr	thd prs	hrr	o	*	o	*	spkr
9	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	*	o	*	spkr
10	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	spkr
11	hrr	spkr	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
12	hrr	spkr	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
13	hrr	spkr	thd prs	o	o	o	*	spkr
14	hrr	(hrr)	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
15	hrr	(hrr)	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
16	hrr	(hrr)	thd prs	o	o	o	*	spkr
17	hrr	thd prs	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
18	hrr	thd prs	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
19	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
20	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr



Table 4.2 (continued)

	sub.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I.O.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj.of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion]				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
				<u>kuru</u>	<u>iku</u>	<u>come</u>	<u>go</u>	
21	thd prs	spkr	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
22	thd prs	spkr	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
23	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
24	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
25	thd prs	hrr	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
26	thd prs	hrr	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
27	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
28	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
29	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
30	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
31	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
32	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
33	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	spkr	o	o	o	*	spkr
34	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	hrr	o	o	o	*	spkr
35	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
36	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr
37	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>k</sub>	o	o	o	*	spkr

TABLE 4.3  
 USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
 EMBEDDED UNDER SUBJECTIVE-EXPERIENCE VERBS  
 WITH THE HEARER AT THE GOAL

	subj.of <u>think</u> , <u>omou</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	subj.of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )		V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	speaker	speaker	*	o	o	o		hearer
2	speaker	hearer	*	o	o	o		hearer
3	speaker	third pers	*	o	o	o		hearer
14	hearer	speaker	o	o	o	o		hearer
15	hearer	hearer	o	o	o	o		hearer
16	hearer	third pers	o	o	o	o		hearer
29	third pers	speaker	*	o	o	o		hearer
30	third pers	hearer	*	o	o	o		hearer
31	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	o		hearer
32	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o		hearer

TABLE 4.4  
USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
EMBEDDED UNDER VERBS OF SPEECH ACTS  
WITH THE HEARER AT THE GOAL

	subj.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I.O.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj.of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	spkr	(spkr)	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
2	spkr	(spkr)	hrr	*	o	o	o	hrr
3	spkr	(spkr)	thd prs	*	o	o	o	hrr
4	spkr	hrr	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
5	spkr	hrr	hrr	o	o	o	o	hrr
6	spkr	hrr	thd prs	o	o	o	o	hrr
7	spkr	thd prs	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
8	spkr	thd prs	hrr	*	o	o	o	hrr
9	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
10	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
11	hrr	spkr	spkr	o	o	o	o	hrr
12	hrr	spkr	hrr	o	o	o	o	hrr
13	hrr	spkr	thd prs	o	o	o	o	hrr
14	hrr	(hrr)	spkr	o	o	o	o	hrr
15	hrr	(hrr)	hrr	o	o	o	o	hrr
16	hrr	(hrr)	thd prs	o	o	o	o	hrr
17	hrr	thd prs	spkr	o	o	o	o	hrr
18	hrr	thd prs	hrr	o	o	o	o	hrr
19	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	hrr
20	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	o	hrr

Table 4.4 (continued)

	subj.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I.O.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj.of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion]				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
				<u>kuru</u>	<u>iku</u>	<u>come</u>	<u>go</u>	
21	thd prs	spkr	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
22	thd prs	spkr	hrr	*	o	o	o	hrr
23	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
24	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
25	thd prs	hrr	spkr	o	o	o	o	hrr
26	thd prs	hrr	hrr	o	o	o	o	hrr
27	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	hrr
28	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	o	hrr
29	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
30	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	hrr	*	o	o	o	hrr
31	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
32	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
33	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	spkr	*	o	o	o	hrr
34	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	hrr	*	o	o	o	hrr
35	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
36	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr
37	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>k</sub>	*	o	o	o	hrr

TABLE 4.5

USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
EMBEDDED UNDER SUBJECTIVE-EXPERIENCE VERBS  
WITH A THIRD PERSON AT THE GOAL

	subj.of <u>think</u> , <u>omou</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	subj. of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	speaker	speaker	*	o	*	o	third pers
2	speaker	hearer	*	o	*	o	third pers
3	speaker	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>i</sub>
4	speaker	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
21	hearer	speaker	*	o	*	o	third pers
22	hearer	hearer	*	o	*	o	third pers
23	hearer	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>i</sub>
24	hearer	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
49	third pers <sub>i</sub>	speaker	o	o	o	*	third pers <sub>i</sub>
50	third pers <sub>i</sub>	speaker	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
51	third pers <sub>i</sub>	hearer	o	o	o	*	third pers <sub>i</sub>
52	third pers <sub>i</sub>	hearer	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
53	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	*	third pers <sub>i</sub>
54	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
55	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	third pers <sub>i</sub>
56	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	third pers <sub>j</sub>
57	third pers <sub>i</sub>	third pers <sub>j</sub>	*	o	o	o	third pers <sub>k</sub>

TABLE 4.6

USES OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS  
EMBEDDED UNDER VERBS OF SPEECH ACTS  
WITH A THIRD PERSON AT THE GOAL

	subj. of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I.O.of <u>tell, iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj. of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
1	spkr (spkr)		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
2	spkr (spkr)		hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
3	spkr (spkr)		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
4	spkr (spkr)		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
5	spkr hrr		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
6	spkr hrr		hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
7	spkr hrr		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
8	spkr hrr		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
9	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
10	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		hrr	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
11	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
12	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
13	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
14	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
15	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
16	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
17	spkr thd prs <sub>i</sub>		thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
18	hrr spkr		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
19	hrr spkr		hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
20	hrr spkr		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
21	hrr spkr		thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
22	hrr (hrr)		spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs
23	hrr (hrr)		hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs

Table 4.6 (continued)

	subj.of	I.O.of	subj. of	V				at the
	tell, <u>iu</u>	tell, <u>iu</u>	motion	[+motion]				goal
	(NP <sub>1</sub> )	(NP <sub>2</sub> )	(NP <sub>3</sub> )	<u>kuru</u>	<u>iku</u>	<u>come</u>	<u>go</u>	(NP <sub>4</sub> )
<hr/>								
24	hrr	(hrr)	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
25	hrr	(hrr)	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
26	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
27	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
28	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
29	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
30	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
31	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
32	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
33	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
34	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
<hr/>								
35	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	spkr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
36	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
37	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	hrr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
38	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
39	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
40	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
41	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
42	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
43	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	spkr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
44	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	spkr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
45	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
46	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	hrr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
47	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
48	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
49	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
50	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>

Table 4.6 (continued)

	subj.of <u>tell</u> , <u>iu</u> (NP <sub>1</sub> )	I.O.of <u>tell</u> , <u>iu</u> (NP <sub>2</sub> )	subj.of motion (NP <sub>3</sub> )	V [+motion] <u>kuru</u> <u>iku</u> <u>come</u> <u>go</u>				at the goal (NP <sub>4</sub> )
51	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
52	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	hrr	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
53	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	spkr	o	o	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
54	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
55	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	hrr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
56	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
57	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
58	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
59	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
60	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	(thd prs <sub>i</sub> )	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
61	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	spkr	o	o	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
62	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	spkr	o	o	o	*	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
63	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	hrr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
64	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	hrr	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
65	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
66	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	o	??	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
67	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
68	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	o	o	o	o	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
69	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
70	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
71	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>k</sub>	o	*	o	*	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
72	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>k</sub>	o	?	o	*	thd prs <sub>j</sub>
73	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	thd prs <sub>k</sub>	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>i</sub>
74	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	spkr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>
75	thd prs <sub>i</sub>	thd prs <sub>j</sub>	hrr	*	o	*	o	thd prs <sub>k</sub>