

Point Of View: Verbs Of Coming And Going

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Discourse used to interest only limited groups of linguists, such as tagmemists. Recently, however, it has been paid more and more serious attention by many linguists, even by those who are at the theoretical forefront of linguistics. Although there is little agreement as to the domain and principles of discourse studies, I maintain here, following Paul Ricoeur (1971), that discourse is the counterpart of what linguists have been calling language--system of linguistic code--and that discourse is a language event or linguistic usage. Therefore, discourse study embraces the question "Who is speaking?" or "Who is the subject of the linguistic event?", i.e., the question of "point of view"¹. I stated elsewhere (Reynolds 1981) that Japanese has a number of constructions sensitive to point of view and discussed to-conjunctions as a case in point. In this paper, the focus will be given on the verbs of coming and going, which are used in Japanese much more frequently than English and function not only as main verbs but also auxiliary verbs occurring as the second verb in the serial Verb-te-Verb construction

I will first (Section 1) propose some modifications of Fillmore's (1971) account of English "come" and "go" in order to apply it to kuru and iku in Japanese. Then (Section 2), I will discuss examples of auxiliary kuru and iku. It will be shown that when used as auxiliaries, only some of the semantic properties of kuru and iku remain in focus and the remaining properties are backgrounded. In the last part (Section 3) I will consider coming and going sentences utilized for certain specific purposes of discourse structuring or text building.

1. The reason why the meaning of coming and going is especially relevant for discourse analysis is obvious. It is because these verbs are the most typical deictic verbs and it is more than likely that they play an important role in discourse structure.

Before discussing the meaning of Japanese verbs kuru and iku, a brief review of Fillmore's (op. cit.) analysis of English "come" and "go" may be first in order. In this lecture, Fillmore approaches these verbs very cautiously. He first examines conversational sentences only and arrives at the following generalization of "come" and "bring":³

- (1) "come" and "bring" indicate motion toward the location of either the speaker or the addressee at either coding time or reference time, or toward the location of the home base of either the speaker or the hearer at reference time.
- (2) "come" and "bring" also indicate motion at reference time which is in the company of either the speaker or the addressee.

Then he includes in his data instances of these verbs in so-called third person novels, which leads him to the following addendum:

- (3) "come" and "bring" also indicate, in discourse in which neither speaker nor addressee figures as a character, motion toward a place taken as the subject of the narrative, toward the location of the central character at reference time, or toward the place which is the central character's home base at reference time.

In my paper, which I have already mentioned, I proposed to give a uniform treatment to coming and going verbs in both conversational and third-person novel discourse by viewing the speaker in conversation and the "central third person" as the subject of respective discourse. I would like to suggest furthermore that the hearer or addressee in these statements can be eliminated. The reason Fillmore mentions the hearer as well as the speaker is because English sentences like:

- (4) I will come there right away.

are grammatical. The speaker of this sentence is still at a place where the motion is supposed to begin and yet "come" rather than "go" is chosen. However, this can be viewed as the result of temporary shift of the point of view, which is roughly equated with the discourse subject, perhaps, for the sake of politeness. The Japanese equivalent of this sentence Boku ima sugu sotira-e kimasu is ungrammatical. For the purpose of politeness, the Japanese speaker can use an honorific expression Boku ima sugu sotira-e mairimasu and therefore there is no need for Japanese speakers to manipulate viewpoints to show politeness. The modified account of coming or kuru would then look like the following:

- (5) kuru indicates motion toward the location of the discourse subject or the home base of the discourse subject at the coding time or at reference time.

As for "go", Fillmore did not think that it was as complicated as "come". He gives the following account and no further adjustments:

- (6) "go" and "take" indicate motion toward a location which is distinct from the speaker's location at coding time.

Assuming that he would have given to "go" an addendum similar to the one that he gave to "come", i.e. (3), and granting that these properties are shared by iku, the meaning of iku will be summarized as follows:

- (7) iku indicates motion toward a location which is distinct from the discourse subject at coding time or reference time.

This generalization, however, does not account for the use of iku in sentences like:

- (8) Uti-no-mae-o pareedo-ga iku yo.
 house-ASS-front-DO parade-SUBJ go SFP
 'There goes a parade in front of our house.'

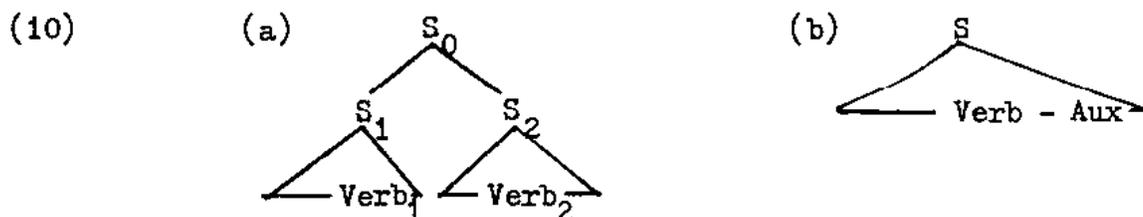
In uttering this sentence, the speaker does not have the source and goal points of the parade in mind at all. It is not necessary for this sentence to be appropriate that the speaker is closer either to the source or the goal point. The speaker can be located at any point alongside the line from the source point to the goal point as an observer of the parade. Thus, we need the following addendum to account for the iku used in this sense:

- (9) iku also indicates motion passing by the discourse subject at the coding time or reference time.

This use of iku is no more peripheral than the other and it has a unique function in discourse.

For our purposes of understanding the relation between the meaning of iku and kuru on one hand and point of view on the other, it is convenient to consider the cases in which the agent of the motion of coming or going is not identical with the discourse subject. The use of coming or going creates a greater contrast between the mover and the subject, i.e., the viewed and the viewer, when the two are physically separated either at the source or goal point. In the case of coming and going where the agent is the discourse subject himself, on the other hand, there is no such contrast. Thus, coming and going sentences describing the discourse subject's motion have little effect of indicating point of view, but they are the most common means for setting change. We will see examples of both point of view and setting change in the following sections.

2. iku and kuru as main verbs are not as difficult as iku and kuru as auxiliary verbs for non-native students of Japanese to understand. By auxiliary iku/kuru, I mean those that occur as the second verb in the serial construction with the form: Verb₁-te-Verb₂. Historically or developmentally speaking, the verbs in the serial construction may be considered to be both main verbs. That is, a sentence with a serial construction is a coordinate construction like (a) below rather than a single clause construction like (b).



There are, however, several indications that a serial construction represents only one verbal unit, the second verb being somewhat peripheral, i.e., auxiliary. Instead of giving a systematic argument for this point, I will only touch upon the issue where it is convenient while discussing examples.

Grammatically, auxiliary kuru/iku can cooccur with any verb except BE verbs and kuru/iku themselves, but the interpretation of the auxiliaries is not constant and is often indeterminate. There are certain predictions that one can make on the basis of the meanings of the main verbs, but only to a certain degree. This indeterminate nature is said to be characteristic of serial constructions in any language by those who have analyzed various languages with serial constructions, and it should not bother us. Let us look at various combinations and predications that we can make about the interpretation of auxiliary iku/kuru.

- (A)
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| a. modot-te-kuru/iku | 'to return & COME/GO' |
| b. de-te-kuru/iku | 'to get out & COME/GO' |
| c. hait-te-kuru/iku | 'to enter & COME/GO' |
| d. tazune-te-kuru/iku | 'to visit & COME/GO' |
| e. mawat-te-kuru/iku | 'to turn & COME/GO' |
| f. osi-te-kuru/iku | 'to push & COME/GO' |
| g. hii-te-kuru/iku | 'to pull & COME/GO' |
| h. oyoi-de-kuru/iku | 'to swim & COME/GO' |
| i. nobot-te-kuru/iku | 'to climb & COME/GO' |
| j. agat-te-kuru/iku | 'to ascend & COME/GO' |
| k. ori-te-kuru/iku | 'to descend & COME/GO' |
| l. oti-te-kuru/iku | 'to fall & COME/GO' |
| m. ton-de-kuru/iku | 'to fly & COME/GO' |
| n. hikkosi-te-kuru/iku | 'to move & COME/GO' |
| o. korogat-te-kuru/iku | 'to roll & COME/GO' |
| p. hakon-de-kuru/iku | 'to carry & COME/GO' |

All these combinations have a motion verb--an action verb which at least potentially involves motion from one place to another--as the main verb. iku/kuru combined with such verbs retain all the semantic properties as described in the foregoing section. The effect of adding iku/kuru to these verbs is obvious: it is a means by which a nondeictic verb acquires a deictic feature. oyoi-de-iku, for instance, indicates an action of swimming towards the location which is distinct from the discourse subject and oyoi-de-kuru towards the location of the discourse subject.

- (B)
- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| a. kat-te-kuru/iku | 'to buy & COME/GO' |
| b. hanasi-te-kuru/iku | 'to talk & COME/GO' |
| c. kii-te-kuru/iku | 'to ask/listen to & COME/GO' |
| d. mi-te-kuru/iku | 'to see & COME/GO' |
| e. non-de-kuru/iku | 'to drink & COME/GO' |
| f. tabe-te-kuru/iku | 'to eat & COME/GO' |
| g. oi-te-kuru/iku | 'to place & COME/GO' |

h. <u>tukut-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to make & COME/GO'
i. <u>naosi-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to repair & COME/GO'
j. <u>yon-de-kuru/iku</u>	'to read & COME/GO'
k. <u>kai-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to write & COME/GO'
l. <u>ne-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to sleep & COME/GO'
m. <u>yakusoku-si-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to promise & COME/GO'
n. <u>makase-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to trust & COME/GO'
o. <u>uketot-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to receive & COME/GO'
p. <u>kenka-si-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to fight & COME/GO'
q. <u>mise-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to show & COME/GO'

The verbs in the main verb position in these examples are action verbs with no directional implication. In these combinations the main verb and the auxiliary kuru/iku have an 'and-then' relation. For example, kat-te-kuru indicates that the action of buying takes place at one point in space and then the agent moves to another location. The two verbs in this type of combination clearly refer to two distinct actions, and yet the action of coming or going is somewhat peripheral. This will be seen from the fact that the negative form kat-te-ko-nakatta still presupposes "coming": Only "buying" is negated.

(C) a. <u>kawat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to change & COME/GO'
b. <u>nat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to become & COME/GO'
c. <u>yurun-de-kuru/iku</u>	'to become loose & COME/GO'
d. <u>usere-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to become faint & COME/GO'
e. <u>sodat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to grow & COME/GO'
f. <u>tositot-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to age & COME/GO'
g. <u>nure-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to get wet & COME/GO'
h. <u>kawai-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to get dry & COME/GO'
i. <u>kusat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to decay & COME/GO'
j. <u>hutot-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to get fat & COME/GO'
k. <u>nitat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to boil & COME/GO'
l. <u>same-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to cool & COME/GO'
m. <u>yot-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to get drunk & COME/GO'
n. <u>yawarai-de-kuru/iku</u>	'to become soft & COME/GO'
o. <u>katamat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to become hard & COME/GO'
p. <u>sun-de-kuru/iku</u>	'to become clear & COME/GO'
q. <u>nigot-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to become muddy & COME/GO'

These examples have verbs of a different semantic category, change-of-state verbs, as the main verb. kuru/iku in these expressions focus on their temporal deictic properties only. tositot-te-kita 'aged & CAME', for example, means that the process of aging began at a certain point in time and continued till another point, which is either identical with or closer to the coding time or reference time. In other words, kuru/iku combined with a change-of-state verb anchors the changing process onto the time axis.

(D) a. <u>okut-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to send & COME/GO'
b. <u>kotowat-te-kuru/iku</u>	'to turn down & COME/GO'

- c. sirase-te-kuru/iku 'to inform & COME/GO'
 d. renraku-si-te-kuru/iku 'to contact & COME/GO'
 e. denwa-o kake-te-kuru/iku 'to phone & COME/GO'

kuru/iku (in fact iku is rare in this sense) with these verbs means coming and going of the consequence of the action of the main verb. For example, Taroo-ga orenzi-o okut-te-ki-ta 'Taroo sent (us) oranges & the oranges came (to us)', Taroo-ga kotowat-te-kita 'Taroo turned (it) down & the refusal came (to us)', Taroo-ga sirase-te-kita 'Taroo informed (it) & the information came (to us)', and so forth. This interpretation of auxiliary kuru is obtained when the main verb is a transitive verb involving a direct object, which may be only implicit, and an indirect object, the discourse subject.

- (E) a. kokoro-ni ukan-de-kuru/(?)iku 'to surface in mind & COME'
 b. kanzi-rare-te-kuru 'to be felt & CAME'
 c. omow-are-te-kuru 'to be thought/felt & COME'

The verbs of this class may be called psychological or mental verbs. The kuru (again, iku does not seem to occur with these verbs in this sense) in these examples may be considered as a special case of the temporal kuru, i.e., (C), or of the spatial kuru, i.e., (A), the goal being the center of the discourse subject or the self.

There are of course many cases in which the interpretation of auxiliary kuru or iku is highly ambiguous. For example, hun-de-kita 'trod & CAME' can be understood either in the sense of (A) or (B). In some cases, nominals associated with the verb help disambiguate the meaning of kuru/iku. Consider the following:

- (11) a. Taroo wa denwa-o kake-ta.
 Taro TOP telephone-DO make-PAST
 'Taro made a phone call.'
 b. Taroo wa denwa-o kake-te-kita.
 c. Taroo wa eki-de denwa-o kake-te-kita.
 d. Taroo wa boku-no uti-e denwa-o kake-te-kita.

The b.-sentence is ambiguous. It could mean 'Taro made a phone call at one place and then he came to another place where the discourse subject is located' or 'Taro made a phone call to the discourse subject'. In the c.-sentence, the location nominal eki-de 'at the station' gives a key to the (B)-type interpretation, while the direction expression boku-no uti-e 'to my house' in the d.-sentence makes the (A)-type interpretation more preferable. The temporal (C)-type interpretation is often confirmed by the presence of a temporal adverb, such as dandan 'gradually', kyuuni 'suddenly', itu-no-ma-ni-ka 'before one knows' and totuzen 'all of a sudden'.

Whether auxiliary kuru/iku is given a spatial interpretation or a temporal interpretation does not really matter since the orientation of the temporal interpretation is the point in time at which

the discourse subject commits himself to the event described by the main verb. In other words, whichever component of the meaning of kuru/iku is in focus, a coming and going sentence is always bound to the discourse subject, namely, the point of view.

3. We have seen that the meaning of iku/kuru necessarily involves discourse, especially point of view--a function of the discourse subject and the coding time. The use or non-use of kuru/iku is therefore determined by discourse. When used in a literary text describing a fictional world, kuru/iku can in turn function as an indicator of the point of view of that discourse. Point of view plays an important role in building a coherent text and it interacts with another dimension of discourse, namely, setting.

Setting is considered to be important by Grimes (1975) and other discourse linguists because it is a common basis for segmentation of sequential texts into their constituent parts and also because it characteristically involves distinctive grammatical constructions. I would like to discuss some examples from Sorekara (And Then) by Soseki Natsume to show how kuru- and iku- sentences are utilized for entering and exiting a participant (or participants) and for setting change.

The going of a participant away from the discourse subject results in that participant's exiting while the coming of a participant toward the discourse subject is his/her entering the setting or stage. The going or coming of the discourse subject himself from one place to another is, in effect, to change the setting. Thus, the o-kyaku 'guest' in (12) and aniyome 'sister-in-law' in (13) are participants who just entered the scene where the discourse subject, Daisuke, was located.⁴

(12) Sono toki mati-uke-te-iru o-kyaku-ga ki-ta.
 that time wait-expect-&-BE guest- SUBJ come-PAST
 'Just then, the much-awaited guest arrived' (N.M.Field)

(13) Kore de-wa tanomosiku-wa-nai to omoi-nagara, nao
 this with-TOP promising-not COMP think-while still

kyokubu-kyokubu-ni me-o take-te ginmi-si- te-iru to
 section-section-OBL eye-DO attach-& scrutinize-&-BE When

totuzen aniyome-ga hait-te-ki-ta.
 suddenly sister-in-law-SUBJ enter-&-COME-PAST

'(he) was still scrutinizing each section while thinking,
 "It is not promising with this," when his sister-in-law
 suddenly came in. (Disturbed, he began to scrutinize each
 section when suddenly, his sister-in-law entered. N.M.Field)

Sentences below are iku- sentences used to exit Kadono and roozin
 'old man', respectively.

- (14) Kadono-wa muzoosani de-te-it-ta.
Kadono-TOP casually get-out-&-GO-PAST
'Kadono went out casually.'
- (15) Sore-kara yaku yonzyuppun hodo si-te roozin-wa kimono-o
that-since about forty-minutes do-& old man-TOP clotheses-DO

ki-gae-te hakama-o hai-te kuruma-ni not-te dokoka-e
change-& skirt-DO wear-& wheel-OBL ride-& somewhere

de- te-it-ta.
get-out-&-GO-PAST

'When about some forty minutes had passed since then, the old man changed his clothes, put on his skirt, and went out to somewhere taking ricksha. (Some forty minutes later, the old man changed into street clothes and took the ricksah somewhere. N.M.Field)'

What is interesting to note here is that in coming sentences for entrance, the subject is almost always marked with ga rather than wa. This is not accidental but natural because the entering participant should be given special attention. In going sentences for exit, on the other hand, the subject is marked by wa. Again, it is not surprising since the exiting participant has been in the scene and thus in the consciousness of the discourse subject for some time. This suggests that the choice between wa and ga is much more complicated than it has been assumed to be in the existing analyses of Japanese. aniyome 'sister-in-law' in (3), for instance, is not a nominal that is to be registered in the discourse for the first time. In the same chapter as this very example occurs, a lengthy description of aniyome 'sister-in-law' is given from the viewpoint of the discourse subject Daisuke:

- (16) Daisuke was fond of this siter-in-law. Hers was a character in which Tempō mannerism and Meiji modernism were ruthlessly patched together. Once she had gone to the trouble of ordering an inordinately expensive piece of brocade with an unpronounceable name through her sister in France. She had cut it up with four or five other people to fashion into obi. (N.M.Field)

It seems that old and new information need be redefined in terms of discourse setting if such notions are useful in explaining the use of ga and wa.

Going sentences (coming sentences are also used for the same discourse purpose in some other texts) like those in (17) and (18) are characteristic at the point of setting change: the mover of the going is the discourse subject and the goal of going, huroba 'bath room' in (17) and aru ie 'a certain family' and enyuukai 'garden party' in (18), becomes the new setting in which the following events

are to take place.

- (17) Daisuke-wa sibaraku sore-o yon-de-i-ta ga
Daisuke-TOP for a while that-DO read-&-BE-PAST but

sore-o siroi sikihu no-ue-ni oku to tatiagat-te huroba-e
that-DO white sheet on place when stand up & bath room-to
it-ta,
go-PAST

Soko-de teinei-ni ha-o migai-ta. Hada-o
there carefully teeth=DO brush-PAST skin-DO

nui-de kiree-ni mune to se-o masatu-si-ta.
strip-& cleanly chest and back-DO scrub-PAST

'Daisuke read it for a while, but placed it on the
white sheet, and then he got up and went to the bath room.
He carefully brushed his teeth. He stripped
and scrubbed his chest and back. . . .'

- (18) Sore-kara ni-san-niti-wa Daisuke mo Kadono mo
that-since two-three-day-TOP Daisuke also Kadono also

Hiraoka no syosoku-o kika-zu-ni sugosi-ta. Yokkame no
Hiraoka's news-DO hear-not spend-PAST fourth day's

gogo-ni Daisuke-wa Azabu no aru ie-e
afternoon-in Daisuke-TOP Azabu of certain family-to

enyuukai-ni yob- are-te-it-ta. O-kyaku-wa danzyo-o
garden party-to invite- PASS-&-GO-PAST guest-TOP man-woman-DO

awase-te daibu ki-ta- ga
mix-& quite a few come-PAST but,

'Two or three days since then, both Daisuke and Kadono spent
them without hearing any news about Hirano. In the afternoon
of the fourth day, Daisuke went to Azabu to a garden party of
a certain family to which he had been invited. There were
a number of guests, men and women, but . . .

It is not suggested here that coming and going sentences are the
only device for setting change. Nor is it claimed that authors who
use coming and going sentences for setting change do so consciously.
What I am trying to say is that coming and going sentences are one
of the major grammatical constructions that can function for discourse
purposes of entering/exiting participants and setting change and

that this fact is part of the authors' competence in text building.

The analysis of kuru/iku presented here is exploratory. However, it is certain that the deictic properties of these verbs are more effectively exploited in Japanese than in languages like English for discourse purposes. This is not particularly peculiar to Japanese. Bickner (1978) gives similar uses of coming and going in Thai, which also has numerous serial constructions. Also, there are a number of difficult questions to be asked in connection with the meaning of these verbs or the notion of point of view. For example, how do we understand the coding time of a novel? What does the narrator have to do with the point of view of the novel? What about reference time? What is the orientation of coming and going verbs in embedded sentences? I hope future studies of discourse along the line suggested here will give us more insight into these problems.

Notes

1. Refer to Cresswell (1978), Kuroda (1973), Traugott & Pratt, Reynolds (1981), etc. for linguistic analyses and "point of view".

2. Refer to Stahlke (1970), Lord (1973), Li & Thompson (1973), Givon (1975), etc. for serial constructions in other languages.

3. The Japanese equivalents of "bring" and "take" are mot-te-kuru or ture-te-kuru and mot-te-iku or ture-te-iku, respectively (the choice between mot- and ture- depends on the animacy of the object: bringing somebody is ture-te-kuru and bringing something is mot-te-kuru. Therefore, there is no need in Japanese to discuss "bring" and "take" separately from "come" and "go". They are coming and going verbs.

4. For some examples, I have given "smooth" translations by N.M. Field in addition to my own direct translations. Also I have used the following abbreviations in glossing.

SUBJ: subject marker
DO: direct object marker
OBL: oblique case marker
TOP: topic marker
COMP: complementizer
PAST: past tense

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Data

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