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TOWARD A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMING AND GOING VERBS IN SPANISH, GERMAN, AND POLISH

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this work is purely descriptive: it consists in comparing the instances of coming and going verbs in Spanish, German and Polish. For extension reasons, I will contain myself to dealing with their concrete spatial meanings, leaving aside the metaphorical extensions.

Besides, on the grounds of the data description I would like to answer the following questions:

a) Are going verbs inherently deictic?
b) Is there any universal meaning associated with coming verbs?
c) Can the deixis in coming and going verbs be treated as a manifestation of any more general phenomenon?

As for the structure, Chapter 1 gives a general background on coming and going verbs from a cross-linguistic perspective and it reviews the basic approaches on deictic coming and going verbs. In Chapter 2 the deictic usages of coming and going verbs in Spanish and German are dealt with. Chapter 3 addresses those cases of these verbs in Spanish in German which do not take deictic interpretation. For the sake of clarity, Polish coming and going verbs, which display a completely different behaviour than their Spanish and German counterparts, are explored separately, in Chapter 4. Concluding remarks form Chapter 5, where, on the basis of the data description, the three questions a), b) and c) are discussed.

Finally, I want to stress that the present analysis could be probably applied, after further revisions and modifications, in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). There is a claim that the difficulty in mastering certain usages in a L2 depends on the difference between the learner´s L1 and the L2, and thus one of the tools to be used in teaching L2 should be the Comparative Analysis methodology (Lado 1957). [1]

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[1] In its strongest formulation, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis claimed that all the errors made in learning an L2 could be attributed to "interference" by the L1. However, this claim could not be sustained by empirical evidence: it was soon discovered that many errors predicted by Contrastive Analysis were inexplicable on the basis of learners` mother tongue. It thus became clear that Contrastive Analysis could not predict learning difficulties, and it was only useful in the retrospective explanation of errors (Ellis 1994).

Chapter 1: WHAT ARE COMING AND GOING VERBS?

1.1. DEIXIS

In most languages coming and going verbs are assumed to have a deictic nature. In order to explain what *deictic verbs* are, it is necessary to introduce the definition of deixis. Although this phenomenon has been investigated in many works and by many linguists in the field of pragmatics, it is not the aim of this section neither to provide a detailed overview of this matter nor to propose an exact definition of the concept. Some classic works where these questions are discussed in greater detail are, among others: Fillmore (1971, 1975, 1982), Lyons (1977), Rauh (1983), Levinson (1983, 2004), Sennholz (1985) and Lenz (2003).

Here I will employ the term according to Levinson (1983:54): "Essentially, deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance". According to this, deictic expressions are expressions that at some level of language (it can be the lexical, the syntactic or the morphological one) codify information, the interpretation of which depends on the context.

It is widely assumed that there exist three essential types of deixis: place deixis (the interpretation of the utterance is related to the place of the communicative act), time deixis (the interpretation of the utterance is related to the time of the communicative act) and person deixis (the interpretation of the utterance is related to the participants of the communicative act). In accordance with this definition, deictic expressions are, for instance, adverbs of place and time such as *here*, *there*, *today*, *tomorrow*; personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns; verb affixes of person and time, etc.

Other deixis types that have been highlighted in the literature on the subject are discourse deixis (Fillmore 1971) and social deixis (Filmore 1971, Levinson 1983). The discourse deixis consists of a spatial or temporal reference to an element mentioned before (anaphor) or later (cataphor) in the discourse. Examples of discourse deixis are expressions such as *in the next/previous Chapter* or *this is what I*

mean (referred to the previous discourse segments).[2] As regards the social deixis, it reflects linguistically the social status of the speakers. Examples of deictic expressions of this type are so-called polite pronouns (Sp. *Usted*, *Ustedes*, Ger. *Sie*, Pol. *Pan*, *Pani*, *Państwo*) or honorific verbs forms in Japanese. As claims Ricca (1993), among others, social deixis could be probably included within the dimension of person deixis.

1.2. WHAT ARE DEICTIC VERBS?

The term *deictic verbs* is often misused. In principle, in some languages all verbs are deictic in the sense that their personal and temporal flexion is related to person and time deixis (Ricca 1993: 15). However, this label is usually applied in linguistics to a very small class of verbs, in particular, verbs whose interpretation relies principally on the location relative to the participants of the communicative act. As *deictic motion verbs* are considered the Eng. *come* and *go*, Ger. *kommen* and *gehen*, Sp. *ir* and *venir*, Cat. *anar* and *venir*, etc. On the other hand, in some languages there also exists a deictic pair of giving verbs, such as Sp. *traer* (with a behavior analogous to C) and *llevar* (with a behavior analogous to G).

Consider the following sentences by way of illustration:

(1) I came to the bar.

(2) I went to the bar.

Their interpretation is clearly related to the location of the enunciation participants, specifically, the example (1) implies the speaker´s presence in the place constituting the goal of movement (*the bar*) at the time of the enunciation, whereas (2) implies the speaker´s absence in the place constituting the goal of movement) at the time of the enunciation.

According to some authors (for example Crego (1993)), all verbs encoding the direction of movement (directed motion verbs, cf. Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000) are

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[2] There are authors who do not consider the discourse deixis as an independent deixis type. They argue that it is only a special dimension of place and time deixis (Lyons 1977, Rauh 1983, Ricca 1993).

deictic in the sense that all of them allude to a particular configuration of space (a particular path) such as up-down (*go down*, *descend*), inside-outside (*enter*, *leave*, *run off*), etc. Here, following Cifuentes Honrubia (1999), I do not regard this supposition to be correct. Notice that the interpretation of (3), contrary to (1) and (2), is independent of the location of the communicative act participants, although the verb makes reference to a particular spatial configuration (outside-inside):

(3) Peter entered the disco.

1.3. TWO MAIN APPROACHES TO DEICTIC COMING AND GOING VERBS

There have been two major approaches to the semantics of deictic motion verbs: a) the classical approach based on the concept of "deictic center" (Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000; Oe 1975, Nakazawa 2006), and b) Fillmore´s (1966, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1983) approach based on the notions of person, space and time. This section provides a brief review of Talmy`s and Fillmore`s approaches.

1.3.1. MOTION-FROM-THE-CENTER VS. MOTION-TOWARD-THE-CENTER (Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000)

In Talmy`s framework motion events are analysed as consisting of an object (the Figure) and its movement through a path (the Path) with respect to another reference object (the Ground). These components can be identified in the following sentence:

(4) The bottle moved into the cave.
[Figure] [Motion] [Path] [Ground]

Some motion verbs, e.g. *enter* and *exit*, express not only the fact of Motion as is the case of *moved* in (4), but also the Path information such as "into/out of an

enclosure". These motion verbs, which include the Path of motion in their lexical meaning, are called Path-conflating motion verbs. According to Talmy, deictic motion verbs are a kind of Path-conflating verbs, in which "the deictic component of Path typically has only the two member notions "toward the deictic center", which by default is the speaker`s *hit* at *nunc*[3], and "in a direction other than the deictic center." (Talmy 2000:56). Thus, the lexical meaning of *come* can be seen as conflated with the speaker as the Ground as represented in (6).

(5) COME

MOVE   TOWARD   a point which is the location of the speaker

[Motion]   [Vector]   [Conformation]   [Ground]

         [Path   ]

                                        [taken from Nakazawa 2006]

MOVE is an abstract verb which represents motion in a Motion event, and TOWARD is a component of the Path called Vector. The Vector expresses "the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figural schema can execute with respect to a Ground schema" (Talmy 2000:53), and is represented in terms of abstract prepositions, called "deep prepositions", such as TOWARD and TO. It expresses the meaning of a preposition as well as the Path information conflated within the semantics of motion verbs. The Conformation is another component of the Path and specifies the spatial relation of the Path to the Ground.

1.3.2. THE FILLMOREAN LEGACY

Fillmore´s classic works (1966, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1983) are often taken as showing how complex coming and going verbs really are. He analyses the use conditions of these verbs in terms of the deictic categories of person, place and time. The relevant parameters of person are: speaker and addressee; of place, the goal of motion; and of time, coding time and reference time. Coding time is defined by Fillmore as the time of the speech or communication act, and reference time as "the point or period that is the temporal focus (…) for the event (…) described in the

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[3] Since Bühler (1934) the deictic center is called *origo* (or *ground zero*).

clause" (Fillmore 1971: 52)[4].

Using these parameters, Fillmore formulates a set of appropriateness conditions for the use of *come* and *go* in English. His basic claim is that the ranges of application of these verbs are largely overlapping, but that there is a very restricted area of application in which only *come* is allowed, and, on the other hand, a somewhat larger area in which only *go* is permissible. Table 1 illustrates the use of *come* and *go* in English:

GOAL OF MOVEMENT	VERB
1. Speaker`s location at coding time	COME
2. Speaker`s location at reference time	COME/GO
3. Addressee`s location at coding time	COME/GO
4. Addresse`s location at reference time	COME/GO
5. Any other location	GO

Table 1. Appropriateness conditions for the use of *come* and *go* in English.

As emerges from the table, motion towards the speaker at coding time must always be expressed by *come,* motion towards the speaker at reference time or towards the addressee at coding time or reference time may be expressed by the use of *come* or *go* and motion towards any location excluding that specified in the previous conditions must be expressed by *go*.

Condition 1 (motion toward the speaker`s location at coding time) is exemplified in (6):

(6) He came here two hours before I arrived. [Fillmore 1971: 55]

Since *here* refers to the speaker`s location at coding time, *go* would produce an ungrammatical effect. Similarly, when somebody knocks upon your office door, and you are there at the time, you can say:

(7) Come in!

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[4] Fillmore`s reference time corresponds to event time in Reichenbach´s (1947) approach.

but not:

(8) Go in!

One example which Fillmore gives as evidence for the deictic appropriateness of condition 2 (motion towards the speaker´s location at reference time) is:

(9) He´ll come to the office tomorrow to pick me up. [Fillmore 1971: 59]

This sentence is acceptable whether the speaker is in the office at coding time or not (it would be the case of condition 1), as long as it is understood that he is not in the office at coding time, but will be there at reference time, i.e. in this case, *tomorrow*. As just pointed out, *go* will also be acceptable in this case:

(10) He´ll go to the office tomorrow to pick me up.

An instance of conditions 3 and 4 (motion towards the addressee´s location either at coding or reference time, is:

(11) She´ll come there to meet you.   [Fillmore 1971: 59]

This sentence is acceptable, according to Fillmore, if the destination is either "the place where you will be then" or "the place were you are now". According to Table 1, *go* may also be used here:

(12) She´ll go there to meet you.

Condition 5 (movement to a goal distinct from the speaker and the addressee) is illustrated in (13):

(13) Tomorrow I´ll go to John's place.

Fillmore also mentions three further factors conditioning the use of *come* and *go*: the "home-base" condition, the comitative condition and a central character of a

narrative. Under these appropriateness conditions both *come* and *go* are acceptable. It is illustrated in Table 2:

GOAL OF MOVEMENT	VERB
1. Speaker`s home base	COME/GO
2. Addressee`s home base	COME/GO
3. Speaker in comitative contexts	COME/GO
4. Addressee in comitative contexts	COME/GO
5. Central character of a narrative	COME/GO

Table 2. "Home base", comitative and central character of a narrative conditions

"Home base" is not explicitly defined by Fillmore; all he says is "…the destination of *come* is not a place where either participant is at coding time or was at reference time, but is understood as the home base of one of them" (Fillmore 1971: 60). The examples he gives refer to the speaker`s or addressee`s residence (eg. (14) and (15)), but as have been observed by other linguists (Winston 1987, di Meola 1994, among others) it might be extended to the speaker`s or addressee`s usual work place or any other place with which he is strongly identified (see Chapter 2, sections 2.1.3. and 2.2.2.).

(14) He came over to my place last night, but I wasn`t home.

(15) When you lived on Sixth Street, I came over several times to visit you, but nobody was ever home.

[Fillmore 1971: 60]

Notice that the difference between the home-base condition and conditions 1-4 is that here the speaker and the addressee are not required to be at the goal of movement neither at reference nor at coding time.[5]

Examples of *come* in comitative contexts, that is, in contexts where the objective of the motion is to accompany somebody to a goal[6], are:

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[5] The "home-base" condition is clearly related to the metonymy: a place associated strongly to a person stays for the person itself.
[6] As has been observed by Winston (1987), in comitative contexts "the Goal is not a static physical location but rather a series of space-time points along a path. If A´s intention is to

(16) Would you like to come (along)?

(17) Can I come along?

<center>[Fillmore 1971: 66]</center>

As far as the central character of a narrative condition is concerned, consider the following example:

(18) After John came to Bill´s house, John and Bill went over to Mary´s

house.   [Fillmore 1971: 67]

In this sentence come is acceptable because Bill is seen as the central character who forms the deictic center of the narrative.

In all the examples (14) – (18) *go* would also be possible:

(19) He went over to my place last night, but I wasn`t home.

(20) When you lived on Sixth Street, I went over several times to visit you,

but nobody was ever home.

(21) Would you like to go (along)?

(22) Can I go along?

(23) After John went to Bill´s house, John and Bill went over to Mary´s

house.

A summary of Fillmorean appropriateness conditions is depicted in Table 3:

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accompany B, then A´s Goal at any moment during the motion is to be wherever B is at the moment" (*idem*: 32).

GOAL OF MOVEMENT	VERB
1. Speaker`s location at coding time	COME
2. Speaker`s location at reference time	COME/GO
3. Addressee`s location at coding time	COME/GO
4. Addresse`s location at reference time	COME/GO
5. Speaker`s home base	COME/GO
6. Addressee`s home base	COME/GO
7. Speaker in comitative contexts	COME/GO
8. Addressee in comitative contexts	COME/GO
9. Central character of a narrative	COME/GO
10. Any other location	GO

Table 3. Summary of Filmorean appropriateness conditions for English *come* and *go*

Besides the deictic conditions outlined briefly here, Fillmore also made an observation related to what he calls "reference place": *go* focuses on the Source of the motion (that is, the point of departure), whereas *come* focuses on the Goal of the motion (that is, the point of arrival). This opposition becomes clear in the following utterances taken from Fillmore (1971):

(24) I came home at midnight.

(25) I went home at midnight.

In (24) the temporal specification *at midnight* denotes the arrival time, whereas in (25) it denotes the departure time.[7] In other words, going verbs possess an inchoative *Aktionsart*, whereas coming verbs possess a terminative *Aktionsart*.

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[7] As has been observed by Ricca (1991), this contrast does not hold in imperfective contexts: "l`opposizione (…) non si conserva nel passaggio a un aspetto tipicamente imperfettivo (…) dove l`avverbio (…) ha la stessa interpretazione nei due casi, cioè indica un qualunque istante, non precisato (…) del processo di movimento" (*idem*: 162). The examples he gives are the following: *A mezzanotte stava andando a casa* and *A mezzanotte stava venendo a casa*.

1.3.3. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS ASSUMED IN THIS WORK

I will base my analysis on Fillmore`s appropriateness conditions, assuming them to be the most adequate for the descriptive purposes of this work. His proposal of the interacting parameters of person, space and time allow for accounting for the notable differences between coming and going verbs in Spanish, German and Polish, which otherwise could not be captured.

As for Talmy`s framework, alhough it makes it possible to compare elements of meaning of the deictic motion verbs such as Path, Vector or Conformation across different languages (cf. Nakazawa 2006), I consider his characterization of deictic motion verbs as too simple, because it does not capture a variety of possible goals of motion.

1.4. COMING AND GOING VERBS CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY (Ricca 1993)

In his research on coming and going verbs in European languages, based principally on Fillmore´s approach (but with a special attention to other non-deictic factors, reducible substantially to the lexical aspect), Ricca (1993) distinguishes between *lingue pienamente deittiche* (fully deictic languages), *lingue prevalentemente deittiche* (predominantly deictic languages) and *lingue non deittiche* (non-deictic languages).[8]

In the first group there are included languages in which coming and going verbs display a strictly deictic behaviour, in the second one – languages in which the deictic dimension is decisive in determining their use but there are other factors that come into play. The third group comprises languages in which coming and going verbs do not involve deixis in the interpretation of the utterance they appear in.

As it is common in this type of categorical divisions, the borders between the three types of languages are not categoric - they tend to form a gradual continuum. As

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[8] The terms are referred exclusively to the coming and going verbs in the corresponding languages and not to deictic phenomena in general.

follows, I briefly present these three groups of languages (all the conclusions are Ricca`s). Nevertheless, I will not go into details, because a broader description of the representative of each group (Spanish, German and Polish) is my main goal, so that the typological differences between them will be treated throughout all this work.

1.4.1. *FULLY DEICTIC LANGUAGES*

Fully deictic languages are ones such as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarian, Greek, Albanese or Finnish. In these languages coming and going verbs take a deictic interpretation in the notable majority of usages. Nonetheless, the deictic distribution of these verbs is different depending on the language. In Spanish and Portuguese, the coming verbs typically express movement toward the speaker´s location at coding time.[9] Otherwise, only the going verb is allowed.[10] In Hungarian, the coming verb is also permitted in case of movement toward the speaker´s location at reference time. In Italian, Greek, Albanese and Finnish, the coming verb is also used in reference to movement towards the addressee, although in some particular contexts, not referred to here for clarity reasons, the going verb is obligatory.

1.4.2. *PREDOMINANTLY DEICTIC LANGUAGES*

Ricca classifies as predominantly deictic languages such as German, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, French and English. Their distinctive characteristic is a broader distribution of the coming verbs: first, they are used in contexts of movement toward the speaker and the addressee (both at coding as well as at reference time) and second, in some of these languages they display also a non-deictic behaviour related to aspectual factors (factors related to their terminative Aktionsart).

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[9] Here I paraphrase the results of Ricca`s analysis. However, at this point I must verify his conclusion: as will be shown in the section 2.1.2., in Spanish the coming verb *venir* is also typically used for movement towards the speaker`s location at reference time.
[10] This conclusion is only partially correct, because, as will be demonstrated in the section 3.2.2., in some very restricted cases movement toward the third person can also be referred to by means of *venir*.

1.4.3. *NON- DEICTIC LANGUAGES*

In this group there are included languages such as Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Polish and Czech, in which coming and going verbs typically do not express deictic oppositions: the same motion verb can be used in the context of the movement toward the first, second and third person. Although in some particular contexts the Lithuanian and, in more restricted cases, also the Polish and Czech coming and going verbs seem to possess a deictic value, Ricca argues that in no language of this group "emerge nessun verbo che possieda una stabile connotazione deittica (…); esistere degli embrioni di contrasti deittici limitati a particolari contesti" (1993: 90).

1.5. HOW CAN DEIXIS BE MANIFESTED IN COMING AND GOING VERBS?

In this section a brief overview of different codification types of deixis in coming and going verbs will be provided.

1.5.1. LEXIS

Deictic contrasts can be manifested at the level of the verb stem. This is the case of the English verb pairs *come* and *go* or the Spanish *ir* and *venir*. This could be labelled lexical realisation of deictic contrasts. However, there also exist morphological and syntactic resources for codifying deictic oppositions in coming and going verbs.

1.5.2. MORPHOLOGY

In the literature on the subject there have been observed two different possibilities for deictic verbs formation at the morphological level (Ricca: 1993): a) a deictically neutral verb can be combined with a *go-* or *come*-affix and b) a going verb

can be combined with a *come*-affix obtaining the coming verb. The first possibility is operative in languages such as the Caucasian Abchazo (Hewitt 1979), the Maya Tzutujil (Dayley 1985), the Papua Yimas (Foley 1986), the Australian Yidiny (Dixon 1977), and the second one in the Caucasian Ubykh (Dumézil 1975) or the Quechua from Imbabura (Cole 1985).

1.5.3. SYNTAX

The syntactic codification of deictic oppositions is related to the grammaticalization of coming and going verbs, resulting in their auxiliary-like behaviour. An unquestionable representative of this phenomenon is Japanese, where the basic verbs *kuru* (*come*) and *iku* (*go*) can combine with many verbs (not necessarily motion verbs), forming a new verbal complex oriented deictically (Hinds 1985, Shibatani 1990, 2005). In (26), for instance, *kuru* marks the non-directional verb *write* as speaker-oriented:

(26) Ken-ga   boku-ni tegami-o   kai-te   ki-ta.
     Ken-NOM   I-to   letter-ACC   write-CONJ   come-PAST
     Ken wrote me a letter.

[Shibatani: 2005: 274]

Similar phenomena are found in languages of south-eastern Asia (Li and Thompson 1981).[11]

1.5.4. BETWEEN LEXIS AND MORPHOLOGY: MIXED REALISATION

So far I have briefly presented the three basic manners of realisation of the deictic oppositions in coming and going verbs. Nonetheless, the picture is not so simple, because in some languages these basic realizations can get combined in some

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[11] As far as Spanish is concerned, in this language the coming and going verbs enter very productive periphrastic constructions such as *ir a + Infinitive*, *ir + Gerund* or *venir + Gerund* (the latter two also work in Italian), functioning as auxiliary-like verbs. However, I am not sure if they contribute any deictic value to the main verbs.

way. For instance, Lahu (a Tibeto-Burman language) possesses two deictic verbs *qay* (*go*) and *là* (*come*), but apart from that this language has two post-verbal particles: the *go*-particle *e* and the *come*-particle *la* (di Delancey 1985).Thus, in Lahu there exist both lexical and morphological realizations of deictic contrasts in motion verbs.

Similarly, in German, except the afore-mentioned verbs *kommen* and *gehen,* also the particles *hin* und *her* serve to mark deictic differences. *Hin* expresses motion away from the speaker and *her* expresses motion toward the speaker. Both particles can combine with deictic neutral verbs (27) turning them deictic, but, interestingly, they can also form verbal complexes with the proper *kommen* and *gehen,* reinforcing their deicticality (28).

(27)
a. Schau her!
Look (in my direction).
b. Schau hin!
Look (in a direction away from me).

(28)
a. Komm her!
Come (in my direction).
b. Geh hin!
Go (in a direction away from me)
c. *Komm hin!
d. *Geh her!

Chapter 2: DEICTIC USAGES OF C AND G IN SPANISH AND GERMAN

For clarity reasons, I will not carry out a comparative analysis of Spanish, German and Polish simultaneously. Due to a totally distinct behaviour of the Polish coming and going verbs, in this Chapter only the use conditions of coming and going verbs in Spanish and German will be compared.

As just pointed out, I will base the analysis on Fillmore´s (1966, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1983) framework. In section 2.1. movement toward the speaker`s location at coding time, reference time and in the home-base condition will be dealt with. Section 2.2. addresses movement toward the addressee at coding and reference time in the home-base condition and in comitative contexts. Section 2.3. is dedicated to movement toward any other goal distinct from speaker and addressee and section 2.4. to the behaviour of coming and going verbs in indirect speech. As follows, in section 2.5. some observations about the spatial delimitation of the origo will be offered. A brief summary forms section 2.6. Yet before going on, let me make a very brief introduction to Spanish and German coming and going verbs.

In Spanish the coming verb is *venir* and in German – *kommen*. The going verbs are *ir* and *gehen*, respectively. The German coming and going verbs are used to refer typically to human movement performed on foot. In contrast, Spanish coming and going verbs have a more generic meaning: they can describe also other type of movement, cf. movement in a vehicle or movement of an animal.[12]

2.1. MOVEMENT TOWARD THE SPEAKER

In English movement toward the speaker´s location at coding time is forcibly couched by means of *come*. On the contrary, movement toward the speaker`s location at reference time and in the home-base condition can be described by means of both *come* and *go*. Let us see how the Spanish and German coming and going verbs function in these appropriateness conditions.

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[12] In Cognitive Linguistics languages such as German are termed "classifying languages" and languages such as Spanish are termed "non-classifying" or "unitary languages" (Rakhalina, forthcoming).

2.1.1. THE SPEAKER`S LOCATION AT CODING TIME

Movement toward the speaker´s location at coding time is considered to constitute the prototypical condition of use of the coming verbs. In keeping with that, in this instance there is no difference between Spanish and German: in both cases the coming verb is obligatory:

(1) Ven/*ve aquí.
   Come/*go here.

(2) Komm/*geh hier.
   Come/*go here.

Notice that the motion event can take place at the time of the enunciation, cf. (3) and (4) or at any other point on the temporal axis, cf. (5) – (8):

(3) Mi hermano está viniendo aquí ahora.
   My brother is coming here now.

(4) Mein Bruder kommt jetzt hier.
   My brother is coming here now.

(5) Mi hermano vino/*fue aquí ayer.
   My brother came/*went here yesterday.

(6) Mein Bruder is hier gestern gekommen/*gegangen.
   My brother came/*went here yesterday.

(7) Mi hermano vendrá aquí mañana.
   My brother will come here tomorrow.

(8) Mein Bruder kommt hier morgen.

My brother will come here tomorrow.

2.1.2. THE SPEAKER`S LOCATION AT REFERENCE TIME

Let me recall that movement toward the speaker`s location at reference time takes place when the goal of movement is a location in which the speaker is not at the time of the enunciation but was there or will be there at the time the movement was or will be performed. Imagine that I live in Barcelona and relate to you that when I was living in Santiago a friend of mine visited me there. It would be an instance of movement toward the speaker´s location at reference time: somebody moved towards me, but the goal of movement (Santiago) is distinct from my location at the time of the enunciation (Barcelona). In German in such condition the coming verb is required:

(9) Als ich in Santiago gewohnt habe, ist ein Freund von mir zu mir
gekommen/*gegangen.
When I was living in Santiago, a friend of mine came to my place.

In contrast to German and similarly to English, in Spanish, in these contexts *venir* is usually employed, although *ir* is also allowed:

(10) Cuando vivía en Santiago, un amigo mío vino/fue a visitarme.
When I was living in Santiago, a friend of mine came/went to my place.

When *venir* is chosen, the speaker relates the motion event from the perspective of the reference time, that is, from the perspective of his/her stay in Santiago. Instead the verb *ir* anchors the event in the spatial relations of the coding time (the motion event is related from the perspective of speaker´s location in Barcelona).[13]

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[13] Interestingly, it is not possible to adopt the reference time perspective in case of movement away from speaker. For example, when the speaker is located at coding time in Córdoba, he/she cannot say the following: *Cuando vivía en Madrid, iba muy a menudo a Córdoba.* The only possibility is: *Cuando vivía en Madrid, venía muy a menudo a Córdoba.*

As emerges from the examples (11) – (14), when there appears the adverb of space *allí*, related in the Spanish tripartite deictic system to a spatial point distinct from the speaker and the addressee, the possibility of adopting the reference time perspective is not allowed and so the appearance of *venir* produces an ungrammatical effect:

(11) Ayer estaba en la biblioteca y mi hermano también vino.
    Yesterday I was in the library and my brother also came.

(12) Ayer estaba en la biblioteca y mi hermano también fue.
    Yesterday I was in the library and my brother also went.

(13) Ayer estaba en la biblioteca y mi hermano también fue allí.
    Yesterday I was in the library and my brother also went there.

(14)*Ayer estaba en la biblioteca y mi hermano también vino allí.
    Yesterday I was in the library and my brother also came there.

On the other hand, the use of both *ir* and *venir* requires an explicit or pragmatically recoverable goal. Thus, when I say:

(15) Cuando estaba en el mercado, vino mi vecina.
    When I was in the market, my neighbour came.

it is obvious that my neighbour moved to the market, because the verb *venir* implies strictly movement towards the speaker`s location (which is explicit in the subordinated clause). On the other hand:

(16) *Cuando estaba en la biblioteca, fue mi vecina.
    When I was in the library, my neighbour went.

is ungrammatical, because the verb *ir* does not express inherently movement towards the speaker`s location and, thus, the goal of movement is unknown.

2.1.3. THE SPEAKER`S HOME-BASE

In line with the home-base condition, in English both the coming verb and the going one can be employed when talking about the movement toward the speaker`s permanent home location (or another place associated strongly to the speaker), even when he/she is not located there neither at coding nor at reference time.

As exemplifies Di Meola (1994: 33), German works in these contexts in a manner different from English, because the use of *gehen* is ruled out:

(17) Peter ist letzte Woche nach Köln gekommen/*gegangen, aber ich war leider schon hier in Italien.

Peter came/*went last week to Köln, but unfortunately I was just here in Italy.

The same author (1994: 34) demonstrates that in German as home base there may also be considered other locations, with which the speaker identifies permanently, such as for instance the place of work:

(18) Auch wenn ich morgen nicht im Büro bin, kannst du ruhig kommen und den Computer benutzen.

Even if I am not at the office tomorrow, you can come and use the computer.

In contrast to what occurs in German, in Spanish in home base contexts both *ir* and *venir* are acceptable[14]:

(19) Yo no estaré, pero espero que vengas/vayas a mi casa mañana.

I will not be, but I hope you will come/go to my house tomorrow.

The extension of the home-base category to other places related strongly to the speaker is also possible:

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[14] As in the case of movement towards the speaker`s location at reference time, it depends on the perspective from which the motion event is related.

(20) Ayer Carlos vino/fue a la oficina, pero yo no estaba.

      Yesterday Carlos came/went to the office, but I was not.

However, it should be pointed out that in Spanish there exist dialectal variations with respect to the home base condition: for example in Mexican Spanish, in similar cases only the use of *ir* is allowed.

Interestingly, both in Spanish and in German, when the displacement takes place at coding time, the home-base criterion does not work and only the going verbs are possible:

(21) Juan *viene/va ahora mismo a mi casa, pero yo me quedo aquí.

      Juan is *coming/going now to my house, but I will stay here.

(22) Juan *kommt/geht jetzt zu mir nach Hause, aber ich bleibe hier.

      Juan is *coming/going now to my house, but I will stay here.

2.2. MOVEMENT TOWARD THE ADDRESSEE

In English movement toward the addressee´s location at coding and reference time and in the home base condition can be described with both *come* and *go*. The situation is quite different in Spanish and German.

2.2.1. THE ADDRESSEE`S LOCATION AT CODING AND REFERENCE TIME

Motion toward the addressee`s location both at coding and at reference time (it is not a relevant parameter here) is expressed in German by means of *kommen*, cf. (23) and (24) respectively:

(23) Ich komme/*gehe schon zu dir.

I am just coming/*going to your place.

(24) Ist Hans gestern zu dir gekommen/*gegangen, als du da in der Kneipe

warst?

Came/*went Hans yesterday to your place, when you were in the bar?

By comparison, in Spanish in the same contexts *ir* is obligatory:

(25) Ya estoy yendo/*viniendo a tu casa.

I am just going/*coming to your place.

(26) ¿Fue/*vino a verte Hans ayer, cuando estabas en el bar?

Went/*came Hans yesterday to your place, when you were in the bar?

2.2.2. THE ADDRESSEE`S HOME BASE

In contrast to English, where both *come* and *go* can be employed to refer to movement to a place associated strongly with the addressee, even if he/she is not there neither at coding nor at reference time, in Spanish and German in such cases only the going verb is permissible:

(27) Ayer cuando bajé al pueblo, fui/*vine a tu casa, pero no estabas.

Yesterday, when I went down to the town, I went/*came to your place,

but you were not at home.

(28) Als ich gestern zum Dorf gefahren bin, bin ich zu dir

gegangen/*gekommen, aber du warst nicht da.

Yesterday, when I went down to the town, I went/*came to your place,

but you were not at home.

2.2.3. COMITATIVE CONTEXTS

A comitative context is one in which the purpose of the movement is to accompany the speaker or the addressee. In contrast to English, in German in such cases *kommen* is clearly preferred (although some speakers allow also *gehen*):

(29)   Wir gehen ins Theater. Kommst/?gehst du mit?

We are going to the theatre. Would you like to come/?go with us?

(30) Wohin geht ihr? Ich möchte gerne mitkommen/?mitgehen.

Where are you going? I would like to come/?go with you.

The comitative context is a simple extension of the basic usages of the coming and going verbs discussed so far: (29) is a question of movement toward the speaker and (30) is a question of movement toward the addressee. Thus, as one can guess, in Spanish, in the case of (29) *venir* and in the case of (30) *ir* is obligatory:

(31a) Vamos al teatro. ¿Te vienes[15]/*vas con nosotros?

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[15] This is an instance of a pronominal use of the Spanish coming verb. However, it is beyond the scope of this work to provide a systematic analysis of the differences between *venir* and *venirse*. Let me just mention that traditionally the value of *se* in such cases was assumed to be that of *dativo de interés* or *dativo ético* (Strozer 1978, Fernández Ramírez 1987). Recently it has been put forward that such consideration of *se* is not on the right track. In lieu of that it has been claimed that this type of *se* contributes to the verb aspectual meaning and thereby it has been labelled *aspectual se*. (Sánchez López 2002). In particular, it has been argued that *se* with motion verbs marks the incoative aspect. Although the opposition between *venir* vs. *venirse* is not very productive and not always clear, there are some examples illustrating the incoativity of *venirse*. In *Se vino para acá a las tres y llegó a las cuatro* it becomes clear that the pronominal verb refers to the initial point of movement. On the other hand **Vino para acá a las tres y llegó a las cuatro* is ungrammatical. Another example could be the following: *El edificio se vino abajo*, where *se* marks clearly the beginning of the change of state/location. It is worth noting that the verb *ir* also has a pronominal counterpart. In this case the contrasts are more evident: *irse* always carries the additional incoative meaning of "leaving a place" (de Miguel 1999, Mendikoetxea 1999). Thus, *Juan se fue a la tienda* means roughly "Juan left a place to go to the shop". On the other hand **Juan fue de aquí* is ungrammatical, because the preposition *de* stresses the source of movement, and thus it requires the pronominal form of *ir*.

(31b) ¿Adónde vais? Me gustaría ir/*venir con vosotros.

Where are you going? I would like to go/*come with you.

Interestingly, in contexts such as (31a), when the deictic verb appears together with a modal verb, both *ir* and *venir* are allowed (then G expresses movement toward a third point, the cinema):

(32a) Vamos al teatro. ¿Te gustaría / puedes / quieres venir con nosotros?

(32b) Vamos al teatro. ¿Te gustaría / puedes / quieres ir con nosotros?

Here a kind of opacity effect is produced, because the deictic relations of the utterance are evaluated not from the point of view of the real world but of a possible or imagined one (depending on the respective modality of the verb). In other words, modal verbs break or loosen somehow the deictic nexus between the infinitive verb and the goal of movement.[16]

There are related phenomena in other languages. In Catalan, for example, (33) sounds odd, whereas (34) is fully acceptable[17].

(33) ?Semblava cantar.

(34) Semblava poder cantar.

It seems that the modal verb *poder* loosens in some way the nexus between the inflected verb *semblar* and the infinitive *cantar*, making the sentence grammatical.

Coming back to the examples (31) and (32), observe that they are not semantically equivalent: when the coming verb is used, movement toward the addressee is expressed; by contrast the going verb does not refer to movement toward the addressee, but to the cinema. In other words, deictic verbs allow in comitative contexts to shift the goal of movement from the addressee to a third point by means of

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[16] I owe this observation to Josep Maria Brucart.
[17] The examples are Gemma`s Rigau.

the going verb.

2.3. MOVEMENT TOWARD ANY OTHER GOAL DISTINCT FROM SPEAKER AND ADDRESSEE

When neither movement toward the speaker nor toward the addressee is expressed, in both Spanish and German the going verb must be employed:

(35) Mañana voy a casa de Carlos.

Tomorrow I am going to Carlos´s place.

(36) Ich gehe morgen zu Carlos.

Tomorrow I am going to Carlos´s place.

(37) ¿Fuiste ayer a la fiesta?

Did you go to the party yesterday?

(38) Bist du gestern zu der Party gegangen?

Did you go to the party yesterday?

However, the coming verbs do not produce ungrammaticality effects. They can be used in (35) – (38), but changing their meaning of "movement towards any other goal distinct from the speaker and the addressee":

(35) Mañana vengo a casa de Carlos.

Tomorrow I am going to Carlos´s place.

(36) Ich komme morgen zu Carlos.

Tomorrow I am going to Carlos´s place.

(37) ¿Vino Carla a la fiesta de ayer?

Did you go to the party yesterday?

(38) Ist Carla gestern zu der Party gekommen?

   Did you go to the party yesterday?

In line with the appropriateness conditions, in the Spanish examples (cf. (35) and (37)) the coming verbs imply the speaker`s presence at the goal of movement (Carlos´s place and the place where the party was celebrated) at coding time ("now") or at reference time (that is, "tomorrow" in (35) and "yesterday" in (37)). On the other hand, in German the verb *kommen* refers to movement towards the speaker or the addressee. In consonance with that, (36) and (38) mean that the speaker is at the goal of movement at coding time or will be (in (35)) or was (in (37)) there at reference time, or that the addressee is at the goal of movement at coding time or will be or was there at reference time.

2.4. CENTRAL CHARACTER OF A NARRATIVE

As far as the central character of a narrative condition is concerned, German functions in the same manner as English: the narrator can choose between adopting his/her own perspective or the character`s perspective in relating the motion event. Thereby, a scene in which a thief enters the bedroom of a woman, can be described as:

(39) Der Dieb ist in ihr Schlafzimmer gegangen.

   The thief went to her bedroom.

or

(40) Der Dieb ist in ihr Schlafzimmer gekommen.

   The thief came into her bedroom.

In (40) the narrator takes the deictic perspective of the woman. I am not sure if this option is available in Spanish and leave this matter for further research. In this concrete case *venir* could not be used; rather a deictically neutral verb such as *entrar* (*enter*) would be preferred:

(41) *El ladrón vino a su dormitorio.

   The thief came into her bedroom.

(42) El ladrón entró en su dormitorio.

   The thief entered her bedroom.

2.5. INDIRECT SPEECH

Although I have not noted it yet, in English movement towards the third person can be also described by means of *come* in indirect speech (Fillmore 1972). Let see what the behaviour of the Spanish and German coming and going verbs is like in such contexts.

In German the verb used in the direct speech does not change when transforming the sentence into the indirect speech: when *kommen* appears in the direct speech (43), in the indirect one the same verb is employed. In consequence, in the indirect speech movement toward a goal distinct from the speaker and the addressee must be described with the coming verb (44):

(43) Petra hat ihrem Freund gesagt: „Komm mich doch bald besuchen".

   Petra told her friend: "Come to visit me soon".

(44) Petra hat ihrem Freund gesagt, dass er sie doch bald besuchen

   kommen/?gehen sollte.

   Petra told her friend to come/?go to visit her soon.

                      [the example (44) is taken from di Meola 1994: 36]

In contrast to German, where the speaker clearly adopts the perspective of the person whose words he/she is reporting, in Spanish the speaker´s location at coding time is decisive. Therefore, (44) can be translated into Spanish as:

(45) Petra dijo a su novio que la fuera a ver.

Petra told her friend to go to visit her soon.

(46) Petra dijo a su novio que la viniera a ver.
Petra told her friend to come to visit her soon.

(45) implies the speaker`s absence at the goal of movement (Petra´s place) at coding time, whereas (46) implies the speaker`s presence at the goal of movement at coding time (and not, as in German, the adoption of the perspective of the person whose words are related).

2.6. SOME NOTES ABOUT THE SPATIAL DELIMITATION OF THE ORIGO

The deictic centre, called since Bühler (1934) *origo* (or *ground zero*) consists of the speaker at the time and place of speaking (*ego-hic-nunc*) (see 1.3.1.). Here I will point out some questions referred to the spatial delimitation of the *origo* (the delimitation of *hic*), which not always is so clear as in the examples given in the previous sections of this Chapter.

Imagine, for example, that a Catalan person living in Barcelona writes a letter to his/her Polish friend, who is living in Cracow. He/she can ask him/her:

(46) ¿Vienes a Madrid este verano?
    Are you coming to Madrid this summer?

or:

(47) ¿Vas a Madrid este verano?
    Are you going to Madrid this summer?

Another example of this type could be the following. Carla, who is living in Barcelona, informs her friends living in Tokyo about a concert taking place in Moscow:

(48) En diciembre hay un concierto gitano en Moscú. ¿Vais a venir?

In December there is a Gipsy concert in Moscow. ¿Will you come?

(49) En diciembre hay un concierto gitano en Moscú. ¿Vais a ir?

In December there is a Gipsy concert in Moscow. ¿Will you go?

Clearly, in (46) the speaker includes Madrid into his *origo* (his deictic centre is probably Spain), whereas in (47) he excludes this city from his *origo*. By the same token, in (48) she includes Moscow into her *hic* (her origo is probably Europe), whereas in (49) she excludes it from it.

What these examples show is that the deictic centre is not determined *a priori*: sometimes the borders of the deictic centre are not arbitrary defined, but they are rather subjective. Because of this, movement toward the same goal can be described (conceptualized) on occasion in different ways: using the coming or the going verb. It is the speaker who decides if the goal of movement belongs to his *hic* and *nunc* (if he identifies with it) or not. It seems that a very important role in determining the spatial *origo* is played not really by physical distances but rather by other factors. It is worth noting that the distance between Barcelona and Moscow is bigger than the distance between Barcelona and Madrid and yet the speaker can include Moscow to his/her origo and exclude Madrid from it.[18]

Ibáñez (1983) stresses the importance of cultural and geopolitical borders in determining the spatial origo. In my opinion, the phenomenon has to do with more subjective psychological factors rather than real cultural or geopolitical boundaries: Barcelona is both culturally and geopolitically more closely related to Madrid than to Moscow and yet, the speaker is free to include Moscow and excluding Madrid from his/her deictic centre.

Note that this phenomenon has a grammatical counterpart. In a sentence there can appear more than one locative phrase. It is possible to say:

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[18] Another interesting and authentic example related to the questions treated here is the following: a Colombian living for five years in Spain pronounces in Barcelona the utterance *Hace diez años me vine a Francia* (*Ten years ago I came to France*). Bearing in mind that his continent of origin is South America, he refers in this sentence to the displacement from South America to the continent he is located on at enunciation time, that is Europe, which he defines as his origo.

(50) I live in Europe, in Spain, in Barcelona, in the quarter of Vallcarca, in the

street República Argentina, in a little room in a nice flat on the third

floor.

Depending on the situation, the speaker can include into his/her *origo* all the places enumerated in (50) or only some of them. In other words, his origo can be constituted by Europe, or only a part of Europe (Spain) or only a part of Spain (Barcelona) or only a part of Barcelona (the quarter of Vallcarca) or only a part of Vallcarca (the street República Argentina) or only a part of the street República Argentina, etc., etc.[19]

2.7. SUMMARY

The distribution of the deictic oppositions between coming and going verbs in Spanish, German and English is presented in Table 4 (C refers to the corresponding coming verb and G to the corresponding going verb):

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[19] A possible parallel can be found in the domain of time. It depends on the speaker which period of time he defines as his/her present. In Spanish, for example, it is directly reflected in the use of the Pretérito Perfecto, a tense used for describing actions taking place in a recent past, "a past the speaker is located in" (Gutiérrez Araus 1995: 23). Interestingly, this "past the speaker is located in" cannot be measured objectively: it can be a day, a week, a month, a year or a century. The inclusion of a period of time into the speaker`s present can be marked by means of the demonstrative pronoun *este* (and its inflected variants): *Esta mañana / Esta semana / Este mes / Este año he comido carne* (*This morning / This week / this month / This year I have eaten meat*), *En este siglo hemos sido testigos de un notable desarrollo tecnológico* (*In this century we have witnesseda notable technological development*).

CONDITION			SPANISH	GERMAN	ENGLISH
1. The speaker`s location at coding time			C	C	C
2. The speaker`s location at reference time			C/G	C	C/G
3. The speaker`s home-base			C/G[20]	C	C/G
4. The addressee`s location at coding time			G	C	C/G
5. The addressee`s location at reference time			G	C	C/G
6. The addressee`s home-base			G	G	C/G
7. Comitative	Movement towards the speaker	no modal verb	C	C	C/G
		modal verb	C/G	C	C/G
	Movement towards the addressee		G	C	C/G
8. Movement toward a third point			G	G	G
9. Movement toward the third person in indirect speech			C/G[21]	C/G[22]	C/G[23]
(10) Narration in the third person			?[24]	C/G[25]	C/G[26]

Table 4. Summary of the deictic usages of coming and going verbs in Spanish, German and English

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[20] Dialectal variation.

[21] Depending on the speaker´s location at coding time.

[22] Depending on the verb used in the direct speech.

[23] See footnote 22..

[24] Further research is required.

[25] Depending on the perspective adopted (speaker´s vs. character´s perspective)

[26] See footnote 25.

Chapter 3: NON-DEICTIC USAGES OF C AND G IN SPANISH AND GERMAN

In this cChapter there will be analysed those contexts in which the coming and going verbs do not take a deictic interpretation, that is contexts in which the interpretation of the utterance is not related to the enunciation participants´ temporal and spatial location. First, the German verbs will be treated on the grounds of Di Meola`s (1994) research, and then the analysed contexts will be compared with Spanish. As just mentioned in the previous Chapter, the Polish coming and going verbs will be treated, for the sake of clarity, separately in Chapter 4.

3.1. GOING VERBS

In the literature on the subject a broad distribution of the going verbs in non-deictic contexts has been emphasised (Wilkins and Hill 1995, Langacker 1990). Here I will provide a closer look on such contexts in German and Spanish. Yet it should be pointed out that although the instances described here are particularly propitious to a non deictic reading of coming and going verbs, they are not the unique ones. I will come back to this matter in Chapter 5, section 5.3.

3.1.1. *GEHEN*

In particular, for German, Di Meola (1994) distinguishes the following scenarios in which *gehen* does not have any deictic value:

a) movement with an activity at the goal
b) human capacity of movement
c) movement in opposition to non-movement
d) *gehen* accompanied by an adverbial phrase describing more precisely the manner of going

Movement with an activity at the goal will be dealt with in section 3.1.1.1. and

the other contexts, cf. b), c) and d) will be treated together in section 3.1.1.2.

3.1.1.1. MOVEMENT WITH AN ACTIVITY AT THE GOAL?

As far as the first type of context is concerned, it includes cases such as:

(1) ins Kino gehen

go to the cinema

(2) ins Restaurant

go to the restaurant

(3) zur Kirche gehen

go to the church

(4) in den Supermarkt gehen

go to the supermarket

(5) zum Arzt gehen

go to the doctor´s

[Di Meola 1993: 51-52]

Di Meola claims that the main characteristic of these instances of *gehen* usage is the fact that the whole expression provides not only information about the goal of movement, but also about the activity to be undertaken: seeing a movie in (1), eating in (2), praying in (3), buying in (4) and undergoing medical examination in (5). The activity is in each case conventionally associated with the corresponding place. When it is not, a deictic factor is involved in the interpretation of the sentence. Thus (6) would be an example of a non-deictic use of *gehen* and (7) would be an example of a deictic use of this verb:

(6) Er ist ins Kino gegangen und hat sich den Film angesehen.

He went to the cinema and watched the movie.

(activity conventionally associated with the cinema)

(7) Er ist ins Kino gegangen und hat die Kasse ausgeraubt.

He went to the cinema and stole the cash box.

(activity not conventionally associated with the cinema)

[examples adopted from di Meola 1993: 51]

I postulate that di Meola`s reasoning is not on the right track. Consider the following counter-examples:

(8) Er geht dort ins Kino, um gute Filme zu sehen.

He goes to that cinema to watch good movies.

(9) Er kommt hier ins Kino, um gute Filme zu sehen.

He comes to this cinema to watch good movies.

In (8) the subordinated final clause describes an activity conventionally related to the cinema (watching movies) and still the verb going verb is deictically oriented: it is employed because movement toward a third point is expressed (this is indicated by means of the deictic adverb *dort*). Its deictic counterpart is (9) where also an activity conventionally related to the cinema is denoted, but the verb *kommen* is used. It is due to the fact that movement toward the speaker is expressed (it is indicated by means of the adverb *hier*).

I am aware that the issue he tries to capture is related to the non-specificity or genericity of the noun materialized in the directional phrase. For the time being I do not discuss at length the counter-examples. Before doing that let me clarify what generic nominal phrases are.

3.1.1.1.1. GENERIC NOMINAL PHRASES

A generic nominal phrase is a type of unspecified nominal phrase (one that does not make reference to a particular entity or entities), which denotes a kind of entity or, in other words, a *generality of real or virtual members of a class of entities* (Brucart 2005: 101).

An instance of a generic nominal phrase is shown in (10):

(10) Dogs were domesticated 10.000 years ago.

[Delfitto 2002: 11]

As can be appreciated, *dogs* do not refer to a particular group of dogs, but to a kind of entities, a type of species.[27]

Leaving aside the details of the matter of genericity (for more information see for example Heim 1982, Delfitto 2002 and related work), let us come back to the supposed non-deictic uses of *gehen* in German. It seems that what Di Meola refers to are cases in which the goal of movement receives a generic reading, that is when *Kino* in (1), *Restaurant* in (2), *Kirche* in (3), *Supermarkt* in (4) and *Arzt* in (5) do not designate a particular place/institution, but a kind of place/institution. This can be deduced from Di Meola´s examples (6) and (7). In (6) *Kino* is clearly kind-referring (this is the only reading native speakers would concede to the nominal phrase), whereas in (7) it has a particular referent in the extra-linguistic world.

Although it is true that *gehen* displays a special behaviour, when combined with a generic goal, I do not agree with the claim that this behaviour is non-deictic. To clarify it better, let me come back to the examples (8) – (9), repeated here as (11) – (12):

(11) Er geht dort ins Kino, um gute Filme zu sehen.

He goes to that cinema to watch good movies.

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[27] This matter is related to the ontological distinction between *type* and *token*, introduced by Ch. S. Peirce (1906). Quite roughly, type is "a general sort of thing", whereas token is "its particular concrete instance" (Stanford Enciclopedia of Philosophy: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/types-tokens/)

(12) Er kommt hier ins Kino, um gute Filme zu sehen.

He comes to this cinema to watch good movies.

In both (11) and (12) the nominal phrase Kino is specific (it is a concrete cinema). This is what explains the deictic behaviour of the coming and going verbs (in (11) *gehen* denotes movement towards a third point, whereas in (12) *kommen* denotes movement towards the speaker). Thereby, the activity to be undertaken at the goal of movement does not imply a non-deictic interpretation of the verbs.

On the other hand, consider the "strange" behaviour of *gehen* in the following utterances:

(13) Ich gehe nicht oft ins Kino, aber wenn ich schon gehe komme ich
   hierher, weil die Filme sehr gut sind.
   I do not go to the cinema often, but when I go, I come here, because the
   movies are good.

(14) Ich habe gerade eine Frau bestohlen. Immer wenn ich ins Kino gehe,
   bestehle ich jemanden.
   I have just stolen from a woman. Whenever I go to the cinema, I steal from
   somebody.

In both cases the nominal phrase *Kino* is generic: it denotes a type of institution and not a particular cinema. The verbs display quite a particular behaviour, because the speaker is located in the cinema, but even so, the going verb is used (according to the appropriateness conditions, *kommen* should be the right option). These are probably the cases Di Meola believes to be instances of non-deictic usages of *gehen*. But as is shown in (13) and (14), the peculiar behaviour of *gehen* is not associated to the kind of activity to be undertaken at the goal of movement (observe that in (13) the activity is a conventionally related to the cinema and in (14) it is not), but to the genericity of the nominal phrase denoting the goal of movement.

I reject the idea that in (13) and (14) *gehen* does not take a deictic interpretation. In fact, the speaker does not refer to movement toward the cinema he/she is located in, but to movement toward a kind of establishment, that is to any real or virtual cinema (see page 40). Therefore no movement toward the speaker, but

one toward a third point is involved. In accordance to the deictic patterns of use of coming and going verbs in German, movement toward a third point is expressed by means of *gehen*.

3.1.1.2. HUMAN CAPACITY OF MOVEMENT, MOVEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO NON-MOVEMENT AND *GEHEN* ACCOMPANIED BY AN ADVERBIAL PHRASE DESCRIBING THE MANNER OF MOVEMENT

Human capacity of movement, movement in opposition to non-movement and *gehen* accompanied by an adverbial phrase describing the manner of going, are supposed by di Meola to be three other instances of non-deictic uses of *gehen* (all examples are taken from Di Meola 1994: 56):

a) Human capacity of movement:

(15) Nach seinem Unfall konnte er nur noch langsam gehen.
After the accident he could go only slowly.

(16) Mit fünfzehn Monaten lernt ein Kind gehen.
At 15 months the child learns to go.

b) movement in opposition to no-movement:

(17) Peter und Karl sind sich auf der StraBe begegnet. Peter ist stehengeblieben, Karl ist einfach weitergegangen.
Peter and Karl met on the street. Peter stayed, Karl continued going.

(18) Sie eilt ohne Hut durch den Regen […], sie stürzt mehr als sie geht.
She rushes without hat through the rain […], she tumbles more than she goes.

c) *gehen* accompanied by an adverbial phrase describing more precisely the

manner of going, for example the part of the body (18), the foot gear (19) or an instrument (20).

(19)

a. auf Zehenspitzen gehen

go on tiptoe

b. auf Plattfüßen gehen

go on flatfeet

c. auf Händen gehen

go on hands

(20)

a. in Halbschuhen gehen

go in shoe

b. in Strümpfen gehen

go in nylons

c. auf Socken gehen

go on socks

(21)

a. am Stock gehen

go on stick

b. auf Krücken gehen

go on crutch

c. auf Stelzen gehen

go on stilts

I agree with Di Meola on what concerns the examples (15) – (18). In all of them *gehen* takes a non-deictic interpretation. However, I am not sure about the explanation the linguist proposes, that is I am not sure if in these cases *gehen* is non-deictic because it describes the human capacity of movement and movement in opposition to non-movement or because of other reasons.

As for the third group (*gehen* accompanied by an adverbial phrase specifying

the manner of movement), the author only enumerates a sample of expressions (as shown in (19) – (21)), without providing any specific example of use. Unlike him, I argue that these expressions can be used both deictically as well as non-deictically, depending on the context. Let us see the examples:

(22) Hans ist auf Zehenspitzen / in Schuhen / am Stock zu Heike gegangen.
Hans went on tiptoe / in shoes / on stick to Heike.

(23) Hans ist auf Zehenspitzen / in Schuhen / am Stock zu mir gekommen.
Hans came to me on on tiptoe / in shoes / on stick

(24) Warum gehst du auf Krücken?
Why are you going on crutches?

In (22) *gehen* has a clear deictic value: it is used because movement toward a third person is described. Its counterpart is the utterance (23), where *kommen* has to be used because movement toward the first person is implied. In contrast, the sentence (24) lacks any deictic information, since it can be perfectly used in a context in which the subject of the sentence (the addressee) is moving toward the speaker (a context requiring, in accordance with the deictic patterns, a coming verb).

As I will try to demonstrate, there is a more elegant explanation of non-deictic usages of *gehen* in a unique way instead of the non-deictic contexts ordered erroneously and unnecessarily by di Meola in the three groups depicted above (cf. a) human capacity of movement, b) movement in opposition to non-movement and c) *gehen* accompanied by an adverbial phrase describing more precisely the manner of going).

In particular, it is related to the distinction between inherently directed motion vs. manner of motion (Tesnière 1959, Leech 1970, Vandeloise 1987, Talmy 1985, 2001).

3.1.1.2.1. DIRECTED MOTION VS. MANNER OF MOTION

Although among linguists there are differences in the classification of motion verbs to one or the other group, for each one there exist some prototypical members. For example, *arrive, depart, enter, come, go*, etc. are typical verbs of inherently directed motion and *run, swim, walk*, etc. are typical verbs of manner of motion (Levin and Rappaport 1995). In outline, verbs of inherently directed motion denote a displacement in reference to a path (they specify directionality), whereas manner of motion verbs are ones that refer to a determined manner of movement, without specifying its directionality. Lamiroy (1991: 65-66) offers a quite clear explanation of the differences between both classes of verbs: "El que camina, nada o rema, se desplaza de un sitio a otro, pero el desplazamiento no se hace por referencia a un punto determinado por la posición del hablante y por la geometría del espacio. En cambio, el que sube, baja, entra o sale, efectúa un desplazamiento orientado, polarizado por un punto determinado que no solo es pertinente sino que es constructivo del sentido del verbo".[28]

To see the relation between this typological distinction of motion verbs and our German examples treated in this section, let us translate the utterances (15) – (18) and (22) and (24) into Spanish:

(25)

a. Nach seinem Unfall konnte er nur noch langsam gehen.

b. Después del accidente solo podía caminar muy lento.

(26)

a. Mit fünfzehn Monaten lernt ein Kind gehen

b. Un niño aprende a caminar con quince meses.

---

[28] It should be pointed out, although it is not relevant for the matters dealt with here, that expressions with manner of motion verb can also describe directed motion. Thus it is possible to say "John danced into the room". However, the component of directionality is not encoded inherently in the verb stem either, but in the directional phrase it is combined with. (for a cross-linguistic perspective of these issues see Talmy 1985, 2002; and for Spanish Aske 1989 and Morimoto 1993).

(27)

a. Peter und Karl sind sich auf der Straße begegnet. Peter ist stehengeblieben, Karl ist einfach weitergegangen.

b. Peter y Karl se encontraron por la calle. Peter se paró y Karl siguió caminando.

(28)

a. Sie eilt ohne Hut durch den Regen […], sie stürzt mehr als sie geht.

b. (Ella) va corriendo sin sombrero por la lluvia […], tropieza más que camina.

(29)

a. Hans ist auf Zehenspitzen / in Halbschuhen / am Stock zu Heike gegangen.

b. Hans fue a casa de Heike de puntillas / con zapatos / con bastón.

(30)

a. Warum gehst du auf Krücken?

b. ¿Por qué andas con muletas?

As can be appreciated, the equivalents of *gehen* in Spanish are the directed motion verbs *ir* (cf. (29)) or the manner of motion verbs *caminar* and *andar* (cf. the remaining examples). It shows that in German there is no lexical distinction between the manner of motion verbs *andar*/*caminar* (*walk*) and *ir* (*go*). Bearing in mind this idiosyncrasy, it becomes obvious that *gehen* has no deictic value when it functions as a manner of motion verb, since manner of motion verbs do not encode directionality.

This is the more straightforward explanation of the non-deictic usages of *gehen* in all the contexts depicted in this section.

3.1.2. *IR*

As far as the Spanish going verb is concerned, first of all it should be pointed out that it behaves similarly to German, when the goal of movement is generic (even though I want to stress once again that I do not consider these instances of the going

verbs to be non-deictic; utterances with a generic goal of movement are deictically oriented, because in fact movement toward a third point is denoted; see 3.1.1.1.1.).

Since Spanish distinguishes between the directed motion verb *ir* and the manner of motion verbs *caminar* and *andar*, in principle, the problems discussed in section 3.1.1.2. should not be relevant for this language. However, as will be shown, there exists a non-deictic usage of *ir* related somehow to these matters; in particular, it can be used non-deictically when it is accompanied by an adverbial phrase specifying the manner of movement (in a broad sense of this word).

3.1.2.1. GENERIC GOAL OF MOVEMENT

When the goal of movement is generic, in Spanish, similarly to German, only the verb *ir* can be used (I will not recall here the reasons, which are exposed in section 3.1.1.1.1.).

Thus, even being located in a cinema, the speaker can only say:

(31) Me gusta ir al cine.

    I like going to the cinema.

The verb *venir* can only be employed when there is no generic interpretation of the goal of movement. It is the case when, for example, the nominal phrase is modified by means of a demonstrative pronoun, which indicates that the cinema the speaker is talking about is one he is located in at the enunciation time:

(32) Me gusta venir a este cine.

    I like coming to this cinema.

Otherwise, the result in the standard Spanish is ungrammatical, because the genericity of the goal of movement excludes the use of the coming verb:

(33) *Me gusta venir al cine.

I like coming to the cinema.

Interestingly, (33) is acceptable, according to some Spanish native speakers from Catalonia, in the Spanish spoken in Catalonia. Bearing in mind that in Catalan *venir* has a broader distribution that in Spanish (it is also used in cotexts of movement toward the addressee, cf. Badía 1952, Rigau 1976), this is probably some kind of interference from Catalan, although on the other hand according to the Catalan native speakers in the standard Catalan (34) is not acceptable:[29]

(34) *M´agrada venir al cinema.

3.1.2.2. *IR* WITH EXPRESSIONS SPECIFYING MANNER OF MOTION

In accordance with the deictic nature of *ir* and *venir*, (35) and (36) are deictically opposed in the sense that they codify a different goal of movement:

(35) Va Juan.

(36) Viene Juan.

In (36) the goal of Juan`s movement is the speaker`s location (either at coding or at reference time), whereas in (35), Juan is moving toward any goal distinct from the speaker. However, when the verb is combined with an adverbial modifier specifying somehow the manner of movement in a broad sense of this word (it can be an instrument, clothing, a vehicle, etc.), depending on the context *ir* still can be interpreted deictically, cf. (37) and (38) or the resultant expression can denote only the manner of motion along a path, without providing information about the goal of movement, cf. (39)[30]:

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[29] Yet, such uses of *venir* are restricted to very limited cases. It is not possible to concede a generic reading to expressions such as *venir a la montaña*, *venir de copas* o *venir de pesca*.
[30] Notice that the resultant expression is not equal to manner of movement verbs, because, unlike them, it still denotes directed motion (motion along a path).

(37) Juan fue con bastón /en zapatillas / en coche a casa de Carla.

 Juan went on stick / with slippers / in car to Carla`s place.

(38) Juan vino con bastón / en zapatillas / en coche a mi casa.

 Juan came on stick / with slippers / in car to my place.

(39) Mariona is entering Pedro`s flat. Pedro asks her:

 ¿Por qué vas con bastón / en zapatillas?

 Why are you going on stick / with slippers?

In (37) the deictic goal of movement is specified (a third person). *Ir* in this utterance is thus in opposition to (38), where the goal of movement (the first person) requires the employment of *venir*. On the other hand, (39) is an instance of a non-deictic use of *ir*. It depicts a situation in which a person (Mariona) is moving toward the speaker (Pedro). According to the deictic appropriateness condition, *venir* should be employed. Nonetheless, the speaker uses the verb *ir*. This is due to the fact that he does not refer to any specific goal of movement, but only to a manner of movement along a path. Another example illustrating clearly the non-deictic nature of the expressions treated here is

(40) Cuando vengo a la Autónoma voy en tren.

 When I come to the Autònoma, I go by train.

where the first occurrence of the motion verb is deictic (*vengo*) and suggests that the speaker is located at coding time at the Univeristat Autònoma. However, in the second occurrence the motion verb (*voy*) is used non-deicticaly, because together with the adverbial expression *en tren* it only specifies a manner of movement along a path.

3.2. COMING VERBS

 Apart from the deictic opposition depicted in Chapter 2, in the literature on the subject there have also been observed differences related to the *Aktionsart* between

coming and going verbs (see page 15) (Fillmore 1972, Groussier 1978, Taylor 1988): going verbs are often characterized as Source-oriented verbs (they focus on the beginning of the displacement) and coming verbs as a Goal-oriented verbs (they focus on the end of the displacement).

In German, there are non-deictic uses of *kommen* related clearly to its terminative *Aktionsart* (Schylter 1979, Rauh 1981, Di Meola 1993) (remember that the non-deictic instances of coming verbs were considered by Ricca (1993) as a distinctive characteristic of what he called *predominantly deictic languages*).. These uses will be described in section 3.2.1. In section 3.2.2. I will discuss if such non-deictic instances of coming verbs are also present in Spanish.

3.2.1. FOCUSSING THE GOAL OF MOVEMENT: *KOMMEN*

It seems that the first to observe some non-deictic uses of *kommen* was Schylter (1979). In a contrastive analysis with French she became aware that this verb in some contexts indicates not motion toward the speaker or addressee, but simply the final phase of movement (41). Its French equivalent is, in these cases, not *venir*, but *arriver* (*arrive*) (42):

(41) Geh geradeaus, dann links, so kommst du zu einem FluB.

Go straight ahead, then left, so you will come to a river.[31]

(42) Va tout droit, puis à gauche, et tu arrives/*viens à un fleuve.

[Schylter 1979]

On the other hand, Rauh (1981) claims that *kommen* can be used non-deictically only when the goal of movement is indicated explicitly with a directional complement.[32] She gives the following contrasts:

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[31] This is a literal translation from Spanish. In English, the verb *get* would be employed here.

[32] Although it holds for most non-deictic usages of *kommen*, di Meola (1994) observed that *kommen* can take a non-deictic interpretation also with prepositional phrases not denoting the goal of movement but the path, such as *durch den Park* (*through the park*); see the example (51).

(43) Kommst du heute?

   Will you come today?

(44) Kommst du heute in die Stadt?

   Will you come today to the city?

As she observes, (43) illustrates a deictic use of *kommen*, whereas in (44) it *makes no prediction about the location of the speaker and the addressee* [and it] *simply expresses that the goal of movement is in focus* (Rauh 1981: 59).

Still, the most detailed description of the non-deictic *kommen* is that of Di Meola (1994). As he notes, it is used when a) asking for directions (45); b) there is an obstacle to overcome in order to reach the goal of movement (46); c) the reaching of the goal of movement is undesirable (47); d) the movement is passive (non-volitional) (48) [33]:

(45) Wie komme ich von hier zum Bahnhof?[34]

   How can I come from here to the train station?

(46) Nur mit großer Mühe kam das Kind über den Gartenzaun; nun konnte es
   endlich die Kirschen des Nachabrn pflücken.
   Only with big trouble came the child above the garden fence; now he
   could finally pick the cherries of the neighbour .

(47) Das Kind ist an die Blumenvase gekommen, die dann vom Tisch gefallen
    ist.
    The child came to the vase, which fell then from the table.

---

(48) Der Beifahrer des jungen Mannes, der den Unfall verursacht hat, kam mit schweren Verletzungen ins Krankenhaus.

The co-driver of the young man who caused the accident came with hard injuries to the hospital.

[examples from Di Meola 1994: 61-62]

(45) is a typical case of asking about a destination. In (46) the arriving of the goal of movement implies a hindrance (expressed by the adjunct *mit großer Mühe*; *with big trouble*). In (47) the arrival of the child at the goal of movement was not desirable (for example the child arrived there by chance or because he/she had been out of his/her parents´ control). And finally, in (48) *kommen* expresses a motion which is not controlled by the subject of the sentence: there are other external forces that take the decision of moving him to a destination (the hospital).[35]

Bearing in mind these four contexts distinguished by Di Meola, I would like to provide the following oppositions, illustrating the semantics of *kommen*:

(49) Komme /*gehe ich hierlang zum Kino?

Can I come / *go by this way to the cinema?

(50) Wie gehe/*komme ich zum Kino? Vielleicht in Absatzschuhen…

How can I go/*come to the cinema? Maybe in high-heeled shoes…

(51) Wir sind nur mit Mühe durch den Platz gekommen/*gegangen.

We came/*went with troubles through the square.

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[35] I suppose that in Spanish the control or voluntariness of movement has a grammatical codification. For example, it is expressed by means of the pronominal forms *irse* and *venirse* (and not the non-pronominal ones), when the entity moving is inanimate. Consider the following contrasts: *El coche se fue contra la pared* vs. **El coche fue contra la pared*; *El edificio se vino abajo* vs. **El edificio se vino abajo*. In both cases the involuntary and uncontrolled movement of the subject (*el coche* and *el edificio*) is perforce expressed by the pronominal forms. In contrast, when the entity moving is animate, the pronominal form indicates voluntariness and control: *Juan (se) fue a la cárcel a visitar a su madre* vs. *Juan (*se) fue a la cárcel porque mató a su hija*.

(52) Wir sind problemlos durch den Platz gegangen/?gekommen.

We went/?came without without any difficulty through the square.

(53) Peter kam/??ging durch Zufall an das Fenster.

Peter came/??went by chance to the window.

(54) Peter ging/*kam an das Fenster, um die Blumen zu gieBen.[36]

Peter went/*came to the window to water the flowers.

(55) Der junge Mann kam/*ging ins Gefängnis, weil er seine Tochter getötet hat.

The young man came/*went into the prison[37], because he killed his daughter.

(56) Der junge Mann ging/*kam ins Gefängnis, um seine Frau zu besuchen.[38]

The young man went/*came to the prison to visit his wife.

In (49) the adverb (*hierlang by this way*) suggests that the question refers to the topology of the path (it is a question about the way the speaker has to follow to get to the cinema) and thereby the coming verb is required (*gehen* produces an ungrammatical effect). Instead in (50) the question is about the clothing the speaker should wear to go to the cinema (the wh-word does not refer to the path he/she has to follow to get there) and thus only *gehen* is acceptable.

In (51) an obstacle is involved in the movement through the square (which is codified in the expression *mit Mühe*, *with troubles*), for example it could be the case that it was difficult to go across it because there were a lot of people. Therefore only *kommen* can be used. Since such implication is not present in (52) (it is indicated by means of the adverb *problemlos*, *without any difficulty*), only *gehen* is the right option and *kommen* is excluded.

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[36] The presupposition is that neither the speaker nor the addressee are located at the goal of movement (the window, in this case). Otherwise, *kommen* would be possible, in accordance with the deictic appropriateness conditions.

[37] The correspondent English expression is not, as in German come to the prison, but go to prison.

[38] See footnote 36.

In (53) the person performing the movement (Peter) found himself undesirably next to the window (*durch Zufall*, *by chance*). As a consequence *kommen* is obligatory and *gehen* makes the sentence ungrammatical. By contrast, in (54) *kommen* is out, because the action of moving is undertaken volitionally, which is indicated by means of the subordinated final clause.[39]

In (55) an external force (the court) decided to put the young man into prison on the basis of the crime he had committed (killing his daughter). Thus it is a case of a passive movement, so that *kommen* is required (*gehen* is ruled out). On the other hand, in (56) only *gehen* is permissible, because the movement is volitional: the young man goes intentionally to the prison to visit his wife.

Before finishing this section, let me make one more observation. Notice that typically languages do not allow for questions such as

(57)*Where are you coming to?

because the interrogative adverb *where…to* is used here to ask about the goal of movement away from the speaker, which is in contradiction with the meaning of the verb, which expresses movement towards the speaker. In German such a question is possible, but logically only when the coming verb is used non-deictically, for instance, when it denotes passive movement. The speaker can ask

(58) Wohin kommst du jetzt?
     Where will you come to now?

when for instance the addressee is ill and should be transported from one hospital to another.

To conclude this section, I would like to observe that Di Meola´s description is very casuistic. Still, although he does not stress it, he mentions that the generalization capturing all the non-deictic instances of *kommen* is its terminative *Aktionsart* (as indicates the title of this section, *kommen* emphasises in all these cases the goal of movement).

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[39] Notice that the involitionality of movement in (53) makes it impossible to modify the coming verb with some adverbs of manner such as for example *carefully* (*vorsichtig*): *Peter kam *vorsichtig an das Fenster* (*Peter came *carefully to the window*).

In accordance with Ricca`s typological distinctions, the coming and going verbs in Polish and Spanish do not cover the meanings of *kommen* described in this section. In Polish they are expressed by means of other verbs with a clearly terminative lexical aspect. For instance, when asking for directions, in Polish a prefixed verb is used, which corresponds more or less to the English verb *arrive*[40]:

(59) Czy dojdę tędy do teatru Syrena?
Can I arrive by this way to the theatre Syrena?

This verb is composed by the verb *isc* (*to go*) and the prefix *do-*, which has the meaning of "reaching a goal" (Śmiech 1986: 20).

There is another terminative verb, also prefixed with *do-* covering the meaning of reaching a goal of movement non-volitionally. It could be a possible candidate for translating utterances such as (47) and (48):

(60) Dziecko   dostało się   do   wazonu.
The child   reached non-volitionally   to   vase

(61) Kierowca   dostał się   z ciężkimi obrażeniami do szpitala.
The driver   reached non-volitionally with hard injuries   to hospital.

Interestingly, there is also a lexical item in Polish covering the use of "passing a distance with troubles". This is the verb *przedostac sie*. It is composed of the verb *stac* (*to stay*) and two prefixes: *prze-* expressing the meaning of "going through a spatial point" (Śmiech 1986: 56) and once again, the terminative prefix *do-*. Therefore (46) could be translated into Polish as:

(62) Dziecko   przedostało się   przez   płot.
Child   reached with trouble   through   fence

As it can be appreciated, in Polish the focussing on the goal of movement is

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[40] Contrary to German and Polish, in Spanish in contexts of asking for directions usually the static verb *estar* (to be) is used: *Perdona, ¿dónde está el teatro Syrena?* (*Excuse me, where is the theatre Syrena?*).

obtained by means of the directional prefix *do-*, which is added to the verb in contexts of the non-deictic instances of the German *kommen*.

The meanings of the non-deictic instances of *kommen* are not easily expressible in Spanish, but I leave this matter for further research.

3.2.2 DOES A NON-DEICTIC *VENIR* EXIST?

Are there any non-deictic uses of *venir*? In the *Diccionario de Construcción y Régimen de la lengua castellana* there are three entries concerning the non-metaphorical meanings of *venir* (as mentioned in the Introduction, the metaphorical meanings of *ir* and *venir* are out of scope of this work: a) ir, dirigirse hacia el lugar donde está el que habla (move toward the place where the speaker is); b) regresar (return); c) llegar (arrive). Whereas the first definition indicates a clearly deictic meaning of *venir*, the other two do not give such information.

As for b), at least from the synchronic point of view, *venir* is not a synonym of *regresar*, because they are not freely commutable: whereas *venir* in the sense of *regresar* can be used only when movement toward the speaker is described, *regresar* does not suffer such restrictions. Thus in (63) *regresar* can be substituted by *venir*, because the goal of movement coincides with the speaker`s location (*aquí*), cf. (64). On the other hand, in (65) it is imposible, because the goal of movement is different form the speaker´s location (*allí*), cf. (66).

(63) Cuando María regresó aquí de Escocia, hicimos una fiesta.
When María returned here from Scotland we made a party.
(64) Cuando María vino aquí de Escocia, hicimos una fiesta.
When María came here from Scotland we made a party.

(65) Cuando María regresó allí de Escocia, hicieron una fiesta.
When María returned there from Scotland we made a party.

(66) *Cuando María vino allí de Escocia, hicieron una fiesta.
*When María came there from Scotland we made a party.

As for the third definition, almost in all the examples *venir* has a deictic meaning: it describes movement toward the speaker. The following is a small sample:

(67) "Yo escribí. ¿Qué te parece / Adonde deje el papel, / Porque, si mi hermano viene, / No le vea?" (Calderón, *La dama duende*)

(68) "Ah, papa durmiendo aquí! Yo creí que no había venido, como otras noches. Pero llegaría al amancer y se conoce por no despertarme…" (Arinches, *Es mi nombre*)

(69) "Corrío voz de que venía en persona el Emperador mejicano a socorrer aquellas ciudades con todo el resto de sus fuerzas" (Solís, *Historia de la conquista de Méjico*)

However, I have found one case where this verb is used in the context of movement toward a third person. Since movement toward a third person requires, in principle, the use of *ir*, this would be an example of the non-deictic use of *venir*:

(70) "Vino a do el marques de Vélez estaba." (Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*)

This instance of *venir* is somehow related to non-deictic usages of the German *kommen* in the sense that instead of providing deictic information, it simply focuses on the goal of movement (its meaning, in accordance with the definition, is close to the achievement verb *llegar*). The example (70) comes from the 16th century. Before considering the existence of similar usages of *venir* in Modern Spanish, it should be pointed out that the opposition between *ire* and *venire* in Latin was not deictic, but it was an opposition related to the *Aktionsart*: *ire* denoted preferably non telic events and *venire*, on the contrary, appeared essentially in telic contexts (Szantyr 1965, Pinkster 1988). The deictic contrasts between both verbs are the result of a quite recent semantic evolution: as late as in 1739, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* de la Real Academia Española still gives as one of the definitions of *venir* "Vale también llegar absolutamente en cualquier sentido. Lat. Venire. Accedere. Advenire."

As an illustrative example of use of *venir* there is cited a fragment of

Calderón, in which movement toward the second person is described with this verb:

(71) "Venid, pues, a vuestro quarto: / vosotros todos aprissa, / llevad al Príncipe al suyo" (Calderón, *Antioco y Seleuco*)

It as not before the XIX century that Juan Antonio Pellicer, a historian of Spanish literature, intuitively notices that this coming verb carries a deictic information (Pellicer 1800).[41]

In order to check if in contemporary Spanish *venir* can also be used in contexts where according to the appropriateness conditions only *ir* should be acceptable, I have elaborated a small survey consisting of a sample of 7 utterances with gaps to be filled with *ir* or *venir*. This survey has been sent to various native speakers of Spanish from Madrid, Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia. I received in total 10 responses from Madrid, 15 from Andalusia, 3 from Extremadura and and 25 from Galicia. The informants from Madrid, Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia used all the verbs in keeping with the deictic conditions described in Chapter 2. However, in two contexts of movement toward the third person they suggested that both *ir* and *venir* were right: 15 informants (from a total of 53) allowed *venir* for the sentence (72) (see *infra*) and 17 from 53 for (73)[42].

(72) Pepe está en España y está contando las experiencias de su madre que está trabajando en Alemania:

Lo pasa fatal, pobre mujer. Tiene que hacer de todo: ir al súper, cocinar, limpiar… Y cuando está limpiando el dueño siempre va / viene y mira si no deja nada sucio.

(73) Berta y Carmen hablan en casa de Carmen acerca del problema de las clases abarrotadas. Berta le cuenta a Carmen que el próximo martes empiezan las clases y que tiene cuarenta inscritos. Carmen le desea buena suerte:

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[41] Analysing Cervantes` utterances containing the verb *venir*, Pellicer tried to determine the place where the author had written his works. On the basis of the definition of *venir* in the *Diccionario de Autoridades de la Real Academia Española*, in 1916 Francisco de Icaza reveals that this method of investigation is not adequate, since at the time of Cervantes *venir,* although probably it already had a deictic meaning, it also meant "to arrive at any place" (de Icaza 1916).

[42] I do not pretend to consider my survey any relevant statistically; this is only a first orientative approach requiring further research based on more elaborated methodological assumptions.

Ojalá que no vayan / vengan todos.

[example adapted from Ibáñez 1983:94]

First of all, it should be emphasised that the use of *venir* is optional, since the first answer was always *va* for (72) and *vayan* for (73). Second, not all informants (although many of them) allowed the second option (*venir*). Still, the examples given above provide evidence that in Spanish *venir* can be used, although in very restricted cases, for movement toward a third person. I do not have any clear answer to the question about the contexts in which such a use can appear. What is clear is that idiolectal factors play an important role because, as just mentioned, some informants indicated only the verb *ir* as the unique answer for (72) and (73). It shows that this use of *venir* does not have a clear and regular distribution among the native speakers of Spanish.

Now, the question is: can these instances of *venir* be considered to be non-deictical? I suppose that from the point of view of most contemporary speakers a deictic interpretation would be conceded to them. Although 6 of my informants suggested that there is no difference of meaning depending on the use of *ir* or *venir*. On the contrary, the remaining 11 insinuated that by using *venir* the speaker identifies more strongly with the mother in (72) and with the addressee in (73). These answers imply that the value of *venir* in (72) and (73) is still deictic: the speaker simply shifts his/her *origo* to another person (the mother and the addressee). The same happens in other contexts described so far, for example in contexts of movement toward the addressee in English or in a narrative (in English and German), where the narrator can adopt the deictic perspective of a character.

To finish this section, let us have a look at the use of *venir* in Catalonia. This linguistic community makes a special case because of the over-generalization of use of *venir*. Some Catalan speakers of Spanish employ *venir* even in contexts in which this verb is not allowed in Catalan, a language in which it has a broader distribution (see page X). As it may have been expected, much of them indicated *venir* as the better or the unique possible option for (72) and (73).[43]

Moreover, contrary to Spanish native speakers from other regions, they also indicated *venir* as a better option than *ir* for (74), an utterance in which speakers from

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[43] This information comes from individual oral interviews.

other regions of Spain allowed only *ir* as the correct answer:

(74) Juan y Alberto se encuentran en la universidad y están hablando de una fiesta de cumpleaños que se celebró en casa de Miguel. Alberto no estuvo en la fiesta, pero Juan sí. Alberto le pregunta a Juan:

Oye, ¿y vino mucha gente a la fiesta?

This is a direct interference from Catalan, since in this language this is the only possible option:

(75) Escolta, i va venir/*anar molta gent a la festa?[44]

3.3. SUMMARY

In this Chapter I have dealt with some non-deictic usages of coming and going verbs in German and Spanish and I came to the following conclusions:

a) In German there is no lexical distinction between the directed motion verb *go* and the manner of motion verb *walk*. Both meanings are covered with the verb *gehen*. Thus, when it appears in its manner-meaning, it cannot take a deictic interpretation.

b) In Spanish there is a related phenomenon. Although this language makes a lexical distinction between the directed motion verb *ir* and the manner of motion verbs *andar* and *caminar*, when *ir* is accompanied by an expression specifying somehow the manner of movement, it can be used both deictically and non-deictically, depending on the contexts.

c) Both in Spanish and in German reference to movement to an unspecific generic goal can be made exclusively by means of the going verb. Although in these contexts the behaviour of the going verbs is claimed by di Meola (1994) to be non-deictic, it is

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[44] As just has been mentioned, in Catalan *venir* has a broader distribution than in Spanish: it is also used for movement toward the addressee. In (74) and (75) the speaker (Alberto) asks if many people went to the party. Juan, the addressee, was present at the party, so movement towards the addressee is involved.

in keeping with the deictic appropriateness conditions.

d) In German there is a broad non-deictic distribution of *kommen*. This verb, apart from denoting movement towards the speaker and the addressee, can simply focus on the goal of movement.

e) In Spanish, in some very restricted cases, *venir* can be used for denoting movement towards a third point. Still, the interpretation conceded to such uses of this coming verb by contemporary Spanish speakers is deictic (it is based on the *origo-shift*).

Chapter 4: HOW DO POLES COME AND GO?

To my best knowledge, there are many works on the general characterisation of Polish motion verbs, but there does not exist any research centred particularly on coming and going verbs. Here I will provide a first approach on this matter.

4.1. SOME NOTES ON THE ASPECTUAL BEHAVIOUR OF POLISH MOTION VERBS

It is a well known fact that the aspect plays an important role in Slavic verbal paradigm. In this section a brief overview of some very general aspectual characteristics of Polish motion verbs will be presented. As one can guess, such an overview is essential for explaining the use of Polish coming and going verbs.

4.1.1. LEXICAL DOUBLETS IN POLISH MOTION VERBS

As has been shown in the literature on the subject (see for example Cockiewicz and Matlak 1996), most Polish verbs have only one imperfective form (the perfective one is obtained when a prefix is added), which is typically used in two aspectual contexts: for designating actions taking place at a concrete time (so-called progressive or continuous aspect (Comire 1976)), cf. (1) and for customary, repetitive or potential actions, cf. (2):

(1)
a. Albert   teraz   tańczy.
   Albert   now   dances.
"Albert is dancing now."
b. Kiedy   go   odwiedzilismy, śpiewał   muzykę   cygańską.
   When   him   visited   sang-he   music   Gypsy
"When we visited him, he was singing Gypsy music."

c. Cały   czas   się   śmiał.

   All   time   REFL   sang-he

"He was laughing all the time."

(2)

a. Carla   czasami   gra   na   skrzypcach.

   Carla   sometimes plays   on   violin

"Carla sometimes plays violin."

b. Dużo   podróżowaliśmy i   poznawaliśmy   biednych,   ale

   Much   travelled-we   and   met-we   poor   but

   radosnych   ludzi.

   happy   people.

"We used to travel a lot and to meet poor but happy people."

c. On   mówi   po   bułgarsku.

   He   speaks   in   Bulgarian

"He can speak Bulgarian."

Motion verbs differ from most Polish verbs, because instead of one imperfective form for both these meanings, some of them (but not all) have lexical doublets: one representing so-called determinate verbs and one representing indeterminate verbs (both forms are imperfective).[45] There are between 12 and 18 such lexical doublets (there is a disagreement between linguists concerning their exact number; see Cockiewicz and Matlak 1995). Table 5, adapted from Pyzik (2003) and Kopecka (2006), provides some examples (it is only tentative and not exhaustive):

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[45] The phenomenon of verbal doublets is also given in other Slavic languages; see Townsend (1994).

Gloss	Determinate	Indeterminate
go/walk	iść	chodzić
ride	jechać	jeździć
run	biec	biegać
fly	lecieć	latać
swim	płynąć	pływać
crawl	pełznąć	pełzać
creep	leźć	łazić
roll	toczyć się	taczać się
carry[46]	nieść	nosić

Table 5. Lexical doublets in Polish

The following basic aspectual contrasts between the determinate and ideterminate forms have been observed (Grochowski 1973, Bojar 1977, Nagucka 1980, Ibragimowa 1982, Kopecka 2006):

a) determinate verbs posses a progressive (continuous) aspect:

(3) Jan   biegnie   (teraz) do   domu.

   Jan   runs-DET[47]   (now) to   home

"Jan is running (now) home."

b) indeterminate verbs posses a repetitive and habitual aspect:

(4) Jan   biega   (co tydzień)   do   domu.

   Jan   runs-IND   (every week)   to   home

"Jan runs (every week) home."

The aspectual oppositions between both forms can be easily proved looking

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[46] The verbs nieść // nosić are transitive; yet they posses the same formal characteristic.

[47] The abbreviation DET stands for determinate and IND for indeterminate.

for their combination possibilities with temporal modifiers, such as *often*, *twice a month*, *usually* (iterative meaning), cf. (5) vs. for example *once* (non-iterative meaning), fc. (6):

(5)

a. Jeździłem   często / dwa razy w miesiącu / zwykle   w   góry.

   Drove-I-IND   often /   twice a month   / usually   to   mountain

"I drove used to drive often / twice a month / usually to the mountain."

b. *Jechałem   często / dwa razy w miesiącu / zwykle   w   góry.

   Drove-I-DET   often /   twice a month   / usually   to   mountain

(6)

a. Jechałem   raz   w   góry.

   Drove-I-DET   once   to   mountain

"I drove once to the mountain."

b. * Jeździłem   raz   w   góry.

    Drove-I-IND   once   to   mountain

"I drove once to the mountain."

In (5) the temporal specifications *often*, *twice a month*, *usually* emphasise clearly the repetition or the regularity of the motion event and thus they select indeterminate verbs. In contrast, in (6) the adverb *once* indicates a single action and thus it selects a determinate verb. As for temporal expressions denoting a total number of occurrences of events, such as *twice*, *ten times*, etc. (called sometimes *restricted iteration*), they preclude the use of indeterminate verbs[48]:

(7)

a. *Jeździłem   dwa razy / dziesięć razy   w   góry.

    Drove-I-IND   twice   / ten   times   in   mountain.

"I drove twice / ten times to the mountain."[49]

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[48] However, there is cross-linguistic variation in Slavic concerning this matter: in Russian for example, in similar context the indeterminate form is preferred (Grenoble 1990).

[49] This type of interdependence between iterative verbal aspect and expressions denoting a total number of occurrences of en event is not an isolated fact. A possible parallel exists in

b. Jechałem   dwa razy / dziesięć razy   w   góry.

   Drove-I-DET   twice / ten   times in mountain.

"I was driving twice / ten times to the mountain."

Obviously with those modifiers that do not express inherently iterativity or non-iterativity both forms can be used, providing different interpretations in each case:

(8)

a. Wczoraj   pływałem   do Siemian.

   Yesterday swam-I-IND   to   Siemiany.

"Yesterday I swam to Siemiany" (= iterative action)

b. Wczoraj   płynąłem   do   Siemian.

   Yesterday swam-I-DET   to   Siemiany.

"Yesterday I swam to Siemiany" (= simple, progressive action)

Although as a rule repeated motion events are regularly denoted by indeterminate verbs, there are some cases in which determinate verbs can also appear in repetitive contexts, even if their distribution in such contexts is restricted.

According to Grenoble (1990), they are possible when one of the following conditions is met (the examples are mine):

a) the motion event occurs within a series of other events:

(9) Budzę   się   codziennie o ósmej.   Biorę   prysznic, jem

   Wake up-I REFL everyday at eight.   Take-IND   shower,   eat-I

   śniadanie i   zaraz po śniadaniu biegnę   na   próbę.

   Breakfast and   just after breakfast run-I-DET to   rehearsal.

"I wake up every day at eight. I have a shower, have breakfast and just after having breakfast I run to the rehearsal"

Spanish, where there is a past tense form used for denoting repetitive events (*Imperfecto*). However, with modifiers expressing restricted iteration, another form, a perfective one (*Indefinido*) is required: *Iba a menudo al cine / Fui veinte veces al cine / *Iba veinte veces al cine*. These are, of course, different levels of aspectuality, because the Spanish *Indefinido* is perfective and the Polish determinate form is imperfective.

b) the verb denotes a motion event repeatedly presented as ongoing or in process at the temporal reference point[50]

(10) Kiedy   płynę   na   drugi brzeg   rzeki, Cyganie   grają,

When   swim-I-IND to   other   side   river, Gypsies   play,

śpiewają   i   tańczą.

sing   and   dance.

"When I swim to the other side of the river, Gypsies play, sing and dance."

c) the verb denotes the initial moment of motion, i.e., the moment of departure[51]

(11) Spotykaliśmy   się   o   pierwszej,   siadaliśmy   na   ławce

Met-we   REFL   at   one,   sat.we   on   bench

i obserwowaliśmy   ludzi, a   o   trzeciej   szliśmy do jakiejś

and observed-we   people, and at   three went-we-DET to   any

knajpy i   bawiliśmy   się do   rana.

bar   and   enjoyed   REFL to   morning.

"We met at one, we sat down on a bench and looked at the people, and at three we went to a bar and had fun until the morning."

In (9) repetition is clearly indicated by the adverb *codziennie* (*everyday*) and the utterance describes a series of events. The subject expressed in the verb inflection first wakes up, then takes a shower, eats and then runs. All events occur in this ordered sequence: each begins immediately upon the termination of the previous one (Foley and Van Valin (1984) label this kind of sequencing *overlapping sequencing*).

(10) presents an ongoing motion: the motion event takes place after the subject has departed, but has not yet reached the endpoint (the river edge).

And finally, in (11) the subject describes his routine at weekends. The verb

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[50] It means that when repetitive and progressive aspects compete, the former has a major force (because nor the indeterminate, but the determinate form must be used).

[51] I do not see any clear difference between a) and c). In both cases the verb denotes the initial stage of movement and the motion event occurs within a series of other events; from my point of view both characteristics are closely related to each other and there is no need to distinguish two separate contexts.

szliśmy refers clearly to the initial stage of movement (the departure point). The fact of repetition is underlined by the use of the reiterative forms of the verbs meet, sit and observe.

4.1.1.1. ONCE AGAIN ABOUT DIRECTED MOTION AND MANNER OF MOTION

It has been emphasised by many linguists that determinate verbs always express directed motion, whereas indeterminate verbs can also express non-directed motion (manner of motion) (see for example Nagucka 1980). As far as I have noticed, the aspectual contrasts given so far are not valid for the indeterminate verbs when used in this meaning: they can appear not only in habitual and repetitive contexts, but also in progressive ones. Thus for example a question such as

(12) Co   robi   teraz   Jan?

     What   does   now   Jan?

"What is Jan doing now?"

can be answered with the indeterminate form

(13) Pływa   / biega   /   lata.

     Swims-IND / runs-IND /   flies-IND

"He is swimming / running / flying".

To sum up, in Polish the determinate verbs always express directed motion and they appear in progressive aspectual contexts. In contrast, indeterminate verbs express either directed motion, appearing then in repetitive and habitual aspectual contexts, or they express non-directed motion, without any aspectual constraints.[52]

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[52] Notice that the phenomenon of lexical doublets in Polish is a challenge for the categoric distinction between directed-motion verbs and manner of motion verbs (see 3.1.1.2.1.). It is commonly assumed that the unergative manner of motion verbs can become unaccusative directed-motion verbs, when combined with a directional phrase (see footnote 28). However, in Polish the directionality is just encoded in the verb stem of the determinate forms. For example, *biec, lecieć, płynąć* undoubtedly express manner of motion, but simultaneously they

4.1.2. PERFECTIVIZING PREFIXES

It is a commonly known fact that formal marks of perfective aspect in Slavic are prefixes (for more information see Argell 1908, Forsyth 1970, Galton 1976, Dahl 1985, Smith 1991 and related work). In most cases in Polish, an addition of a prefix of Slavic origin to an imperfective (IMP) verbal base results in a perfective (PERF) derivative[53]. However, there exists another formal marker, a suffix, which can derive from the new perfective form an imperfective one (so-called secondary imperfective):

(16) myć (IMP) > zmyć (PF) > zmywać (IMP)

   "wash"   "wash up"   "be washing up"

Being perfective, prefixed verbs cannot denote a present action: their forms can refer only either to the past or to the future (Grzegorczykowa et al. 1984, Śmiech 1986, the examples are mine):

(19) Helenka   zmyła   naczynia.

     Helenka   out-washed-PERF dishes

"Helenka washed up the dishes".

(20) Helenka   zmyje   naczynia.

     Helenka   out-washes-PERF   dishes.

"Helenka will wash up the dishes"

On the other hand, the prefixed secondary imperfective forms can refer both to the past and the future as well as to the present:

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also encode the component of directionalty, without being combined with any directional phrase. On the other hand, the indeterminate forms would have two basic meanings: one in that they are pure manner of motion verbs and another in that they also encode directionality in certain aspectual contexts (the habitual and the repetitive one).

[53] The perfectivization-through-prefixation rule, however, does not apply to prefixes of foreign origin (*kontruować* 'construct' [IMP]: *rekonstruować* "reconstruct" [IMP] (Grzegorczykowa et al. 1984). Moreover, a perfective reading can also be conceded to some non-prefixed verbs. For example the verb *aresztować* (*arrest*) is biaspectual: it can take both imperfective as well as perfective interpretation.

(21) Helenka   zmywała   naczynia.

      Helenka   out-wash-IMP dishes.

"Helenka was washing the dishes."

(22) Helenka   będzie   zmywała   naczynia.

      Helenka   will be   out-wash   dishes.

"Helenka will be washing up the dishes."

(23) Helenka   zmywa   naczynia.

      Helenka   out-washes   dishes.

"Helenka is washing up the dishes."

Although there is a disagreement between linguists as to whether prefixes always provide some additional semantic information to the verb complex or they are sometimes pure aspectual morphemes (compare for example Spencer and Zaretskaya`s 1998 generative analysis vs. Janda`s 1985 and Dąbrowska`s 1996 Cognitive Grammar approach), it is widely assumed that in case of motion verbs they encode the directionality (or path) (Talmy 1975. 1985, 2000).

4.1.2.1.   PREFIXED   DETERMINATE   AND INDETERMINATE VERBS

Both determinate and indeterminate forms can be combined with prefixes[54]. The prefixed determinate forms result in a perfective derivation, whereas the indeterminate ones remain imperfective (the prefix adds spatial information to the verbs stem, but does not perfectivize)[55]. Thus prefixed determinate forms can appear only in Past and Future (cf., (24) and (25)), whereas prefixed indeterminate forms can appear in Past, Future and Present (cf., (26), (27), (28)):

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[54] There are some exceptions, which are not particularly relevant here (see for example Pyzik 2003 or Kopecka 2006).

[55] Thus in the Polish motion lexicon there are three imperfective forms (one expressing directed motion, one expressing indirected motion and one with a path specification) and one perfective form with a path specification.

(24) Odpłynął   statek   do   Argentyny.

    Away-swam-DET   ship   to   Argentina.

"The ship sailed off to Argentina."

(25) Odpłynie   statek   do   Argentyny.

    Away-swimms-DET   ship   to   Argentina.

"The ship will sail off to Argentina."

(26) Odpływał   statek   do   Argentyny.

    Away-swam-IND   ship   to   Argentina.

"The ship was sailing off to Argentina."

(27) Będzie   odpływał   statek   do   Argentyny.

    Will be   away-swim-IND   ship   to   Argentina.

"The ship will be sailing off to Argentina."

(28) Odpływa   statek   do   Argentyny.

    Away-swimms-IND   ship   to   Argentina.

"The ship is sailing off to Argentina."

4.2. WHAT ABOUT THE COMING AND GOING VERBS?

Having just drawn a general introduction to the Polish motion verbs in the previous sections, now we can have a closer look at the coming and going verbs.

4.2.1. THE DOUBLETS *IŚĆ* AND *CHODZIĆ*

As emerges from Table 5 (p. 64), the equivalents of the going verbs in Polish are the doublets *iść* and *chodzić*.[56] *Iść* is the determinate form and *chodzić* is

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[56] In the next section I will come back to the question if this lexical doublet really corresponds to the going verbs.

the indeterminate one. According to what has been clarified so far, *iść* appears in a) progressive aspectual contexts (29) and *chodzić* in repetitive and habitual aspectual contexts (30):

> (29) Właśnie   idę   na   plażę.
>   Just   go-I-DET to   beach.
> "I´m just going to the beach."

> (30) Chodzę   często / dwa razy w miesiącu / zwykle na   plażę.
>   Go-I-IND   often / twice a month   / usually to   beach
> "I go often / twice a month / usually to the beach."

In contrast to Russian (see footnote 48), when a restricted number of occurrences of events is described (*twice*, *ten times*, etc.), the determinate form must be used (see page 65):

> (31) *Chodziłem   dwa razy / dziesięć razy   do lasu.
>   Went-I-IND   twice / ten   times   to forest.
> "I went twice / ten times to the forest."

> (32) Szedłem   dwa razy / dziesięć razy   do lasu.
>   Went I-DET   twice / ten   times   to forest.
> "I went twice / ten times to the forest."

On the other hand, determinate verbs can appear in repetitive contexts, when a) the motion event occurs within a series of other events (*overlapping sequencing*), cf. (33), b) the verb denotes a motion event repeatedly presented as ongoing or in process at the temporal reference point, cf. (34), c) the verb denotes the initial moment of motion, i.e., the moment of departure, cf. (11) repeated as (35)[57]:

> (33) Zawsze   po   wyjściu   z   knajpy   zapalam   papierosa ,
>   Always   after   going out from pub   light up-I cigarette,

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[57] As I have just mentioned before, in my opinion, a) and c) are closely related to each other.

rozmawiam   z   nieznajomymi i   dopiero   potem   idę

talk-I   with   strangers   and   only just after   go-I-DET

do   domu.

to   home.

"After going out from a pub I always light up a cigarette, talk with strangers

and only just thereafter I go home."

(34) Kiedy   szedłem   na   plażę,   zawsze   spotykałem

When   went-I-DET   to   beach   always   met-I

dziwnych   ludzi.

strange   people.

"When I was going to the beach, I always met strange people".

(35) Spotykaliśmy   się   o   pierwszej,   siadaliśmy   na   ławce

Met-we   REFL   at   one,   sat.we   on   bench

i obserwowaliśmy   ludzi, a   o   trzeciej   szliśmy   do jakiejś

and observed-we   people, and at   three   went-we-DET to   any

knajpy   i   bawiliśmy   się   do   rana.

bar   and   enjoy   REFL   to   morning.

"We met at one, we sat down on a bench and looked at the people, and at three we

went to a bar and had fun until the morning."

Moreover, the indeterminate verb can indicate non-directed motion. In such

cases, this verb functions as a manner of motion verb and its meaning is close to

that of *walk* and not *go*:

(36) Zbysiu   chodzi   teraz   po   placu   i   pije   wino.

Zbysiu   go-IND   now   on   square   and   drinks   wine.

"Zbysiu is walking now up and down the square and is drinking wine".

4.2.1.1. IS THERE PLACE FOR *IŚĆ* AND *CHODZIĆ* IN FILLMORE´S CLASSIFICATION?

Both *iść* and *chodzić* are normallytranslated into English as *go* (or *walk*, see example 36). Does it mean that they are employed in the same deictic conditions as this English verb (motion toward any person except the first one)? As has been observed by Ricca (1993), in most Slavic languages coming and going verbs are not deictic. Thus, in principle, there should not be a one to one correspondence between *go* and *iść* and *chodzić*. To be sure, there is not. Both verbs can be used in contexts of movement towards the speaker, addressee or any other goal (for the moment on purpose I do not put the translations):

(37) Julia   tu   idzie.
    Julia   goes-DET   here.

(38) Julia   idzie   do Ciebie.
    Julia   goes-DET   to you.

(39) Julia   idzie   do Carli.
    Julia   goes-DET to Carla.

(40) Carlos chodził   do mnie   na   lekcje   francuskiego.
    Carlos went-IND to me   to   classes   French

(41) Carlos chodził   do Ciebie na   lekcje   francuskiego?
    Carlos went-IND to you   to   classes   French

(42) Carlos chodził   do Carli   na   lekcje   francuskiego.
    Carlos went-IND to Carla   to   classes   French

It is thus a very serious methodological error to translate the verbs *iść* and *chodzić* as *go*, since both can also describe motion toward the speaker, denoted in English by means of the verb *come*. Thus (37) and (40) should be translated into

English as

(43) Julia is coming here. (determinate verb, movement toward the speaker, progressive aspect)

and

(44) Carlos used to come to my place to French classes. (indeterminate verb, movement toward the speaker, repetitive or habitual aspect)

respectively (for the stake of clarity in the gloss I still put the verb *go* as the equivalent of *iść* and *chodzić*).

To conclude this section, let me just make a very brief observation about a special case of use of the lexical doublets dealt here with. In Colloquial Polish there occurs an interesting interaction between *chodzić* and the Imperative. In isolated contexts, when this indeterminate form appears in the affirmative imperative mood, in the second person, it loses its repetitive aspect and expresses just movement toward the speaker (45). However, when the same verb form is preceded by the negation, movement away from speaker is expressed:

(45) Chodź!
    Go-IND, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.
    Come!

(46) Nie   chodź!
    Not   go-IND, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.
    Don´t go!

On the other hand, the determinate *iść* in Imperative never expresses movement toward the speaker, but to any other goal:

(47) ?Idź   tutaj!

     Go-DET, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.   here

     ?Come here

(48) Idź   do   niego!

     Go-DET, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.   to   him

     Go to his place!

In other words, in isolated contexts, in the second person of affirmative Imperative there is in Colloquial Polish a lexical deictic opposition between the indeterminate form *chodzić* expressing movement toward the speaker and the determinate form *iść* expressing movement toward any other goal distinct from the speaker.

4.2.2. THE PREFIXED COUNTERPARTS OF *IŚĆ* AND *CHODZIĆ*

In the English-Polish dictionary *Wielki słownik angielsko-polski PWN-Oxford*, the German-Polish dictionary *Słownik polsko-niemiecki i niemiecko-polski Langenscheidt* and the Spanish-Polish dictionary *Multimedialny słownik hiszpańsko-polski polsko-hiszpański PWN* in the entries for *come* and *go*, *kommen* and *gehen* and *ir* and *venir* next to the basic forms *iść* and *chodzić*, which appear as equivalents of the going verbs, also their prefixed counterparts are given: *pójść* for *go* and *przyjść*, *przychodzić* for *come*. Let us see what behaviour these verbs display and how they are related to the deictic motion verbs, such as in English, German or Spanish.

4.2.2.1. *PÓJŚĆ*

The verb *pójść* is obtained from the determinate verb *iść* and the prefix *po-*. Thus it is perfective (see section 4.1.2.1.) and can appear only in Past and

Future[58]:

(49) Wczoraj   poszedłem   do   teatru.

   Yesterday   po-went-I-DET   to   theatre

   "Yesterday I went to the theatre."

(50) Jutro   pójdę   do   teatru.

   Tomorrow   po-go-I-DET   to   theatre.

Prefixes attached to motion verbs indicate the directionality (path). In this specific case, the prefix *po-* adds to the verb the meaning of "going away from a point" (Śmiech 1986). However, in contradistinction to the English, Spanish or German going verbs, it can be used to describe movement to any goal, including movement toward the speaker`s location at coding time. For example if I am drinking a bear in a pub and I learn that John is intending to visit this pub tomorrow, I can report this fact to you by saying:

(51) John   pójdzie   jutro   tutaj   do   knajpy.

   John   po-go-DET   tomorrow   here   to   pub.

This sentence would probably be translated into English as

(52) John will come tomorrow here to the pub.

but, in contrast to English, the Polish verb *pójść* focuses on the beginning or Source of the movement (this is due to the meaning of the prefix "away from a point"). I will come back to these questions later on.

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[58] The indeterminate form *chodzić* can also be combined with the prefix *po-*, but the resulting form has a manner of motion reading close to the English *walk around*.

4.2.2.2. *PRZYJŚĆ* AND *PRZYCHODZIĆ*

Przyjść is derived from the determinate form *iść*, whereas *przychodzić* is derived from the indeterminate form *chodzić*. Both are combined with the prefix *prze-*, whose meaning is that of "approaching or reaching a point in the space" (Śmiech 1986).

According to the observations made in the section 4.1.2.1. *przyjść* possesses a perfective aspect and lacks the present form, whereas *przychodzić*, being derived from the indeterminate verb, remains imperfective and it can appear in both past, future and present (in repetitive and habitual contexts):

(53) Przyjdę   tu   jutro.
    Przy-go-I-DET   here   tomorrow.
    "I will come here tomorrow".

(54) Przyszedłem   tu   wczoraj.
    Przy-went-I-DET   here   yesterday.
    "I came here yesterday".

(55) Przychodziłem   tu   często   rok temu.
     Przy-went-I-IND   here   often   last year.
    "I was coming here often last year".

(56) Będę   przychodził   tu   za rok.
     Will be-I   przy-go-IND   here   next year.
    "I will be coming here next year".

(57) Przychodzę   tu   co wieczór.
    Przy-go-I-IND   here   every evening.
    "I come here every evening."

As to the the distribution of both verbs, in contrast to coming verbs in English, German and Spanish, they can be freely employed in the context of movement toward

any goal:

(58) Przyjdziesz   tu   jutro?
     Przy-go-you-DET   here   tomorrow?

(59) Przyjdę   jutro   do   Twojego   biura.
     Przy-go-I-DET   tomorrow to   your   office.

(60) Przyjdę   jutro   do   Marty.
    Przy-go-I-DET tomorrow to   Marta.

(61) Przychodzilśmy   tutaj   zawsze.
    Przy-go-we-IND   here   always.

(62) Będę przychodził   do   Twojego   biura.
    Will be-I przy-go-IND   to   your   office.

(63) Będę   przychodził   do Marty.
    Will be-I przy-go-IND   to Marta.

Therefore (58) and (61) could be translated into for example Spanish by means of the coming verb *venir*, unlike the remaining utterances, where probably the going verb *ir* would be used. However, in contrast to the going verbs, the derivations with *przy-* do not focus on the Source but on the goal of movement (remember that the prefix *przy-* adds to the verb the meaning of "approaching or reaching a point in the space").

4.2.2.3. VIEWPOINT SHIFT?

In the previous sections I have shown that those prefixed verbs which are considered to be Polish coming and going verbs have a well defined meaning contributed by the prefix: *pójść* has the "going away from a point"-meaning and

przyjść and *przychodzić* , the "approaching or reaching a point in the space"-meaning. Thus, on one hand, a parallelism can be drawn between *pójść* and the going verbs and *przyjść* and *przychodzić* and the coming verbs in English, German, Spanish, etc.: the first ones focus on the beginning or Source and the former ones on the end or Goal of movement. Yet on the other hand, the Polish verbs, contrary to their English, Spanish, German, etc. counterparts, do not carry any deictic information: they can be used to refer to movement to any goal without restrictions related to the spatial location of the participant of the communicative act. *Pójść,* for example, can describe movement toward the speaker`s location at coding time, cf. ex. (51) (the going verbs in English, German or Spanish are unacceptable in this context) and *przyjść* and *przychodzić* can describe movement toward a goal distinct from the speaker and the addressee, cf. ex. (60) and (63) (the use of the coming verbs in English and German is very restricted in such contexts and in Spanish in most cases, impossible).[59]

Since there are not deixis-based restrictions, Polish speakers are free in if they want to emphasise the Source or the Goal of movement: they can freely choose the viewpoint from which they want to draw an extralinguistic situation of moving to a goal. Consider the following sentences:

(64) Zocha   przyszła   tutaj   wczoraj.

Zocha   przy-went-DET   here   yesterday.

"Zocha came here yesterday".

(65) Zocha   poszła   tutaj   wczoraj.

Zocha   po-went-DET   here   yesterday.

"Zocha came here yesterday".

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[59] One could think that the inchoative and terminative meanings of *pójść* and *przyjść* and *przychodzić,* respectively, without any deictic restrictions of use, make the semantics of these verbs closer to the English verbs *arrive* and *leave*. Yet these verbs (*arrive* and *leave*) are inclined to be translated by means of other lexemes: *przybyć* (*arrive*) and *wyjść* (*leave*). Besides, notice that in English you would never use *arrive* or *leave* in most of the sentences cited in this Chapter. By way of illustration consider the sentences (49), (51), (55) and (60) translated by means of *leave* and *arrive*: ?*Yesterday I left to the theatre*, ??*Tomorrow John will leave here to the pub*, ??*I used to arrive here often last year*, ?*I will arrive tomorrow to Marta`s place*.

(66) Pójdę   jutro   do   Ciebie / do Zochy.

  Po-go-I-DET   tomorrow   to   you   / to Zocha.

  "I will go tomorrow to you / to Zocha".

(67) Przyjdę   jutro   do   Ciebie / do Zochy.

  Przy-go-I-DET   tomorrow   to   you   / to Zocha.

  "I will go tomorrow to you / to Zocha".

Imagine that in both (64) and (65) movement towards the speaker`s location at coding time is described. For example, the speaker is on a square talking with his/her friends and Zocha moved yesterday to this square. To refer to this fact, the speaker can choose between to options. In the first one (cf. (64)) he can focus on the goal of movement, that is, his location at coding time at the square, employing the verb *przyjść,* and in the second one he can focus on the source of movement, that is a place Zocha began to move from to the square, employing the verb *pójść*. In other words, in (64) the event is described from the viewpoint of the speaker, whereas in (65) from the viewpoint of the person performing the movement (*Zocha*).

With regard to (66) and (67), in both movement toward a goal distinct from the speaker is referred to: the speaker is located at a place distinct from the goal of movement. Yet in (67) he relates the event by means of *przyjść*, focusing on the goal of movement. In other words, he takes the perspective of the arrival location, that is the location of the second (*Ciebie*) or third (*Zocha*) persons. In contrast, in (66), using the verb *pójść*, the speaker relates the event from his perspective: he focuses on his own cf. the speaker`s departure point.

To sum up, Polish coming and going verbs allow to draw a motion event from the speaker`s viewpoint (cf. (64) and (66)) or from the viewpoint of any other participant of the event (cf. (65) and (67)).

4.3. SUMMARY

The following conclusions emerge from this Chapter:

a) In Polish there are five verbs which can be considered coming and going verbs: *iść, chodzić, pójść, przyjść* and *przychodzić*. They do not carry any deictic information, that is they can be used to refer to movement toward any goal. Depending on the goal of movement involved in the motion event, each of these verbs can be translated into English as *come* or *go*.

b) The differences between the five Polish coming and going verbs are of aspectual nature. *Iść, chodzić* and *przychodzić* are imperfective and *pójść* and *przyjść* are perfective forms. *Iść* is typically used in progressive aspectual contexts, whereas *chodzić* and *przychodzić* in repetitive and habitual ones. Moreover, *iść* also appears in repetitive contexts, when a) the motion event occurs within a series of other events (*overlapping sequencing*), b) the verb denotes a motion event repeatedly presented as ongoing or in process at the temporal reference point, c) the verb denotes the initial moment of motion, i.e., the moment of departure.

c) In contrast to the basic forms, the prefixed ones (*pójść, przyjść* and *przychodzić*) specify the directionality of movement (*po-* adds to the verb the meaning of "going away from a point" and *przy-* that of "approaching or reaching a point").

d) The meaning contributed by the prefixes together with the lack of deictic-based restrictions in the use of coming and going verbs in Polish offer the possibility to present any motion event from the viewpoint of the speaker or from the viewpoint of any other participant of the motion event.

Chapter 5: LET´S GO TO THE CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this work I have analysed some contexts of use of coming and going verbs in Spanish, German and Polish. I have shown that the Spanish verb *ir* and the German verb *gehen* can have both deictic and non-deictic usages. As for the coming verbs *venir* and *kommen*, the first one is very common both in deictic as well as in non-deictic contexts. *Venir*, although in very restricted cases it can appear in contexts in which according to the deictic appropriateness conditions *ir* is required, the interpretation conceded to such usages by native speakers is still deictic (it is based in the so-called *origo-shift*). In Polish there are five coming and going verbs, which do not display a deictic behaviour.

In the Introduction I have made three questions a) Are going verbs inherently deictic?, b) Is there any universal meaning associated to the coming verbs?, c) Can the deixis in coming and going verbs be treated as a manifestation of any more general phenomenon? As follows, I will try to give an answer to these questions on the grounds of the data described in the previous Chapters.

5.1. ARE GOING VERBS INHERENTLY DEICTIC?

It is usual to adopt the point of view that coming and going verbs manifest a universal deictic opposition described as "motion towards the deictic centre" and "motion away from the deictic centre" or "motion not towards the deictic centre" (see Talmy`s approach summarized in the section 1.3.1.). In Chapter 1 we have analysed in Fillmore`s terms those cases in which *gehen* and *ir* take a deictic interpretation, that is cases in which they refer to motion to any goal distinct from the deictic center, cf. "motion not towards the deictic centre". In Spanish it is the case of movement toward a goal distinct from speaker´s location at coding time, and in German, movement toward a goal distinct from speaker`s and addressee`s location at coding and reference time. On the other hand, in Chapter 2 I provided a description of contexts favouring a non-deictic reading of *ir* and *gehen*, cf. the manner of motion instances of *gehen* and *ir* accompanied by adverbs of manner. Yet these are not the unique cases of a non-

deictic interpretation of the going verbs. I suggest that there are many situations in which the movement is simply performed beyond any deictic centre. It could be graphically represented as in (1):

(1)

Source   Goal

Speaker
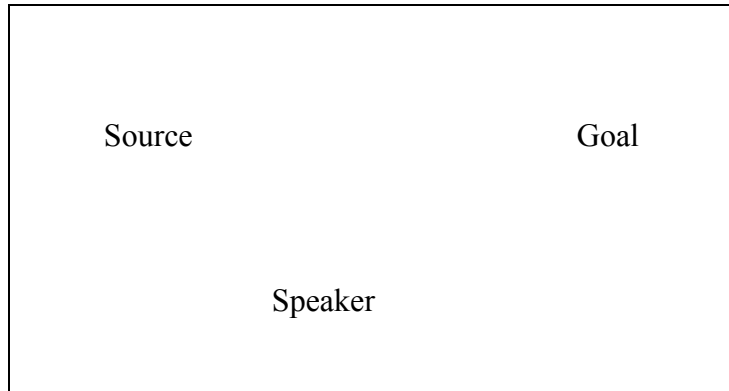
Imagine for example that I am in my flat in Barcelona and inform a friend of mine that Heike, who lives London, will visit tomorrow his doctor. I can describe this as follows:

(1) Heike geht morgen zum Arzt.

  Heike va mañana al médico.

  "Heike goes tomorrow to the doctor`s".

In this motion event no deictic centre is involved: as depicted in (1), the motion path neither originates nor moves away from it.

Bearing in mind that a deictic centre is not always needed to anchor the interpretation of utterances containing the going verbs in Spanish and German, following Wilkins and Hill (1995), I suggest that the deixis component is not inherently associated with their lexical semantics: they have a more generic meaning of moving along a path.[60] A deictic interpretation can be conceded to them, but this is

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[60] Meya (1976) considers *ir* in her structuralist research on the semantic field of motion verbs in Spanish to be the "archisemema de los verbos de movimiento que indican desplazamiento con una dirección determinada" (*idem*: 150). In other words, she believes this verb to be a generic directed motion verb.

due to their opposition in many contexts, such as those drawn in Chapter 1, with the deictic *come*, expressing motion toward a deictic centre.

There is also other cross-linguistic evidence favouring the claim that going verbs are not inherently deictic. Wilkins and Hill (1995) attest to the fact that in Mparntwe Arrente (Pama-Nyungan, Australian) the basic going verb *lhe* (Arrente) was indicated by most speakers as the most prototypical to describe a scene of a path passing at a distance from the deictic centre (a scene similar to (1)).

Another unquestionable argument corroborating the assumption that there are not any universal inherently deictic going verbs (or, more precisely, ones considered by the lexicographers to be going verbs) is their behaviour in what Ricca (1993) labels *non deictic languages*, for example in Polish, where they are not related to any deixis-based appropriateness conditions.

Bearing in mind all this, I propose that the Spanish *ir* and the German *gehen* can take a deictic interpretation at a pragmatic level, but the deictic component is not associated to their lexical semantics.[61]

Evidently, the hypothesis concerning the non-deixicality of going verbs cannot be held for those languages in which the going verbs are obtained by adding an overtly morphological or syntactic element giving fully deictical expressions (see sections 1.5.2., 1.5.3. and 1.5.4.). Note that for example in German, besides the lexical pairs *kommen* and *gehen* there exists the possibility for each verb to combine it with a deictic particle (it is the so-called mixed codification of deixis in motion verbs, described in 1.5.4.). For instance, the particle *hin* meaning "away from speaker" can be added to *gehen*, obtaining the derivation *hingehen*. Whereas I assume *gehen* not to codify a deictic component, *hingehen* obviously has a deictic meaning of "going away from speaker" at the semantic level (see examples (12) – (14)).[62]

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[61] Note that a contrary phenomenon occurs in Polish, where the basic going verbs *iść* and *chodzić* in the pragmatic contexts of movement to the first person can take the deictic interpretation corresponding to the coming verbs (movement toward the speaker) (see examples (37) and (40)).

[62] The deictically neutral meaning of the going verbs has consequences for phenomena such as metaphorization and grammaticalization. For instance, in Spanish *ir* functions as a deictically neutral verb in pseudo-copulative constructions such as for example *En Egipto la plata va barata* (*In Egypt the silver goes cheap*), *Juan va contento*, etc. where its meaning is close to that of *ser* or *estar* (*to be*): *En Egipto la plata es barata.* (*in Egypt the silver is cheap*), *Juan está contento* (*Juan is happy*) (see Alsina Franch, J., Blecua, J.M. 1998)

5.2. IS THERE ANY UNIVERSAL MEANING ASSOCIATED TO COMING VERBS?

Leaving for further research the question if going verbs can be treated as linguistic universals, here I will concentrate only on the matter of the universality of coming verbs.

Although linguists have demonstrated that the use of coming verbs vary cross-linguistically (Ricca 1993, Gathercole 1977, among others), at the lexical semantic level authors seem to agree that all of them have the uniform meaning of "motion-toward-speaker" (see the section 1.3.1.). The differences among languages are attributed to the pragmatic factor of *deictic-centre-shift* (in other words, in all languages coming verbs have the lexical meaning of "motion-toward-speaker", but they differ in how far the deictic centre can be shifted; that is according to these linguists, it can be determined by pragmatic and not semantic factors).

Let us verify this claim on the basis of our data. In Spanish the verb *venir* can be always used in contexts of movement toward the speaker and, in very restricted cases, the deictic centre can be shifted, on pragmatic grounds, to the third person (see section 3.2.2.). Thereby the universal approach seems to work here (*venir* has the lexical meaning of "motion-toward-speaker" and the deictic centre can be shifted on pragmatic grounds to the third person). As far as German is concerned, the verb *kommen* appears in contexts of a) movement toward the speaker, b) movement toward the addressee, c) movement toward a third point in narratives (see Chapter 2). In a) and b) conditions *kommen* is obligatory and in c) it is optional and depends on the pragmatic *deictic-centre-shift* factors. The appropriateness conditions a) and c) attune to the universalistic approach, (a) corresponds to the "motion-towards-speaker" meaning and c) corresponds to the pragmatic "deictic-centre-shift" factor), but the deictic condition b) is problematic for such approach, because the obligation of using *kommen* to describe movement toward the addressee rules out the possibility of relating this use to pragmatic factors. In other words, from the synchronic point of view, movement toward the second person is not a pragmatic option, but it forms part of the lexical meaning of *kommen*.[63] Moreover, the verb *kommen* has a broad

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[63] It does not contradict the possibility of the use of *kommen* for movement toward the

distribution as a verb focusing on the goal of movement without contributing any deictic information (3.2.1.). Thus, in contrast to Spanish, what is common among the usages of *kommen* is not the deixis, but rather its terminative *Aktionsart*. In fact, these differences between *venir* and *kommen* are reflected in *the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* and *Deutsches Wörterbuch*:

Venir, caminar una persona o moverse una cosa de allá para acá // llegar una persona o cosa donde está el que habla [*Venir*, walk a person or move a think from there toward here // arrive a person or think toward the person speaking]

Kommen, bezeichnet eine Bewegung mit Hinsicht auf ihr Ziel oder Ende, insofern sie es erreicht oder doch danach strebt, aber angesehen eben von diesem Endpunkte aus. [*Kommen*, designates movement in respect to its goal or end, insofar they are reached or they are aimed to be reached or the movement is considered from the perspective of its goal or end]

Clearly, in the Spanish definition the deixis is in the foreground, whereas in the German one *Aktionsart* takes the centre stage: according to this definition *kommen* designates basically a movement considered from the point of view of its goal.

These differences show clearly that *kommen* and *venir* have different lexical meanings: they vary in their base semantics. Besides, taking into account the non-deictic behaviour of the Polish coming verbs (or, more precisely, Polish verbs considered by the lexicographers to be coming verbs) *przyjść* and *przychodzić* (see 4.2.2.2.), one can conclude that there is no universal meaning associated to the coming verbs.[64]

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addressee to be motivated diachronically by the pragmatic politeness strategies (see page 89).

[64] Other evidence against the universal hypothesis of the meaning of coming verbs is found in research done in terms of Talmy`s proposal. In particular, the Vector component of the coming verbs not always codifies movement TOWARDS the speaker: for instance in Otomanguean languages, the coming verbs express a "round trip", something like "move towards the speaker and return" (Nakazawa 2006). On the other hand, Wliknis and Hill (1995) demonstrated that in some languages the coming verbs differ semantically as to whether the movement entails necessarily arrival at the place of the speaker or not: in Arrente (Pama-Nyungan, Australian) the coming verb *petye* requires only that the Figure move along a path which is oriented towards the deictic centre, and it does not entail that the Figure reach the place (in contrast, it seems that in English *come* entails that the deictic centre goal is reached).

5.3. WHAT ABOUT THE VIEWPOINT?

In section 1.3.2. I presented briefly Fillmore`s theory on deictic motion verbs. Therein, the linguist describes a set of appropriateness conditions for the use of *come* or *go* (see Table 3). Under one of these conditions (movement towards the speaker`s location at coding time) *come* is obligatory, under the other ones there is a choice between the use of *come* and *go*. For example, it is possible to say

(2) She´ll come there to meet you.

or

(3) She´ll go there to meet you. (see page 12)

In contrast to Fillmore, Winston (1987) put forward in her Viewpoint Theory that in such cases "there is no freedom of choice between (…) *come* and *go* (…); which verb we pick will convey a certain perspective, and so each verb must be used only where that perspective is the one the speaker intends to convey"[65]. Coming back to the sentences (2) and (3), in (2) the speaker relates the motion event from the viewpoint of the addressee´s location, whereas in (3) he relates it from the viewpoint of his/her location at coding time. The strategy of adopting by the speaker of the perspective distinct from his/her space-time relations at coding time has been labelled *origo-shift* or *deictic-centre-shift* (Levinson 2004)[66]. From now on we will refer to that phenomenon with the term *viewpoint-shift*.

Similarly to English, *viewpoint-shift* is also possible in Spanish and German. Remember that in Spanish when movement toward the speaker at reference time is referred to, both *ir* and *venir* can be used: *ir* anchors the motion event in the speaker`s location at coding time, whereas *venir* does it from the perspective of the speaker`s location at reference time (see the example (10) in Chapter 2). Thus in the second

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[65] Although Fillmore (1966) has beenwell aware that the use of *come* has sometimes been equated with what he names "taking the other fellow´s point of view" (idem: 277), he has rejected to introduce the point of view component as too vague for his more formal analysis.
[66] In the field of the Literature, there has been developed the so-called Deictic Shift Theory, which relates the matters of *origo-shift* to the various types of narrations (Duchan et al. 1995).

case *viewpoint-shift* takes place. On the other hand, although I have not analysed in which specific contexts, in very restricted cases, movement toward a third person may also be described with both *ir,* anchoring the utterance in speaker`s location at coding time, and *venir*, presenting the event from another perspective (see 3.2.2.).

As for German, a *viewpoint-shift* is available for movement towards the third person in narratives, where both *go* and *kommen* are acceptable. Movement toward the first person is always expressed by means of *kommen*. Thus, contrary to Spanish, when movement toward the speaker`s location at reference time is expressed, it cannot be anchored in speaker´s space-time relations at coding time: the *viewpoint-shift* to speaker`s location at reference time is obligatory (and not optional, as in Spanish). As far as movement toward the addressee is concerned, also *viewpoint-shift* is obligatory: only the verb *kommen* is permitted. As has been noted by di Meola (1994), the obligation to identify with the addressee could be related to politeness strategies (Brown, Levinson 1987). The viewpoint is also related to the non-deictic instances of *kommen*, since, as described in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, when using this verb, "the movement is considered from the perspective of its goal or end".

On the other hand, I have demonstrated that Polish prefixed verbs also allow for *viewpoint-shift* (see 4.2.2.3.). Bearing in mind that the viewpoint is an issue related also to non-deictic coming and going verbs, it becomes clear that the deixis is only a manifestation of this more general phenomenon.

Although it is beyond the scope of this semantically-oriented work, I would only like to suggest for further research having a closer look at this commonality between coming and going verbs of all the three languages under investigation at the level of syntax-pragmatics interface. Recently it has been put forward that syntactic projections encode pragmatically relevant information, such as Topic, Focus or illocutionary force (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999 and others).

On the other hand, many linguists have centred on the phenomenon of the sentience / subjectivity / experience hood (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977, Stirling 1993, Smith 2000), but they have accounted for these issues from the perspective of pragmatics (Discourse Representation), containing the syntactic representations of sentience to individual lexical items. Recently, Speas and Tenny (2003)[67] have

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[67] Here I manage an electronic version available at
http://www.people.umass.edu/pspeas/Epistemology%20and%20Indexicality/SpeasTenAsymm.pdf

proposed a unification of representation of sentience under a coherent syntactic approach. One of the claims they develop is that "no language grammaticalizes more than three roles: speaker, hearer, and one logophoric role" (*idem*: 3). All these three roles are labelled in their approach Point of View Roles (P-roles). The third one is called SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE (*idem:* 17) or VIEW POINT ARGUMENT (*idem:* 19). Although they suggest that "oriented predicates" (*idem*: 14), such as *come* and *go,* are probably compatible with their approach, they do not attempt an analysis of concrete data ("a complete account of (…) these phenomena is beyond the scope of this paper, and we haven´t shown that all or indeed any of them are fundamentally syntactic in nature", *idem*: 15).

A fundamental conjecture emerges from their paper: the description of (at least some appearances) of coming and going verbs could probably be treated syntactically by means of the parameters of speaker, hearer and another sentient individual, whose point of view is reflected in the sentence. This is probably compatible with the Point of View theory adapted here. Notice that in some utterances with coming and going verbs (excluding the non-deictic instances of going verbs) only one point of view is adopted: the speaker`s one (in Spanish and German coming verbs and all Polish coming and going verbs); the addressee`s one (unproductive in Spanish, but obligatory in German and optional in Polish) and the point of view of another entity called in Speas`s and Tenny´s approach SET OF KNOWLEDGE or VIEWPOINT ARGUMENT. In all the three languages the VIEWPOINT ARGUMENT would correspond to the location of a third person at arrival time[68]. In addition, it could also capture the non-deictic instances of the German *kommen*, where the motion event is presented from the viewpoint of the goal. Without digging deeply into the details, I leave the question of the applicability of coming and going verbs to Speas`s ane Tenny`s proposal for further research.

5.4. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude the present work I would like to stress once again that the comparison of three typologically distinct languages (Romance, Germanic and Slavic) made it possible to illuminate the behaviour of coming and going verbs from a cross-

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[68] The case of Spanish requires a closer look (see 3.2.2.).

linguistic perspective. In particular, a contrastive analysis permitted me to key my empirical object of research to more general and more abstract terms (viewpoint), which transcend the visible linguistic manifestations. This would be not possible, when basing the research on only one language or typologically closed languages. For example, when comparing the Spanish coming and going verbs with their Catalan counter-parts, the differences are related only to the person deixis (use of the Spanish *venir* in contexts of movement toward the speaker vs. use of the Catalan *venir* in contexts of movement toward the speaker and the addressee); when comparing Spanish with German, the differences are also of aspectual type (the use of the German coming verb when focusing on the goal of movement vs. lack of such uses of *venir* in Spanish). And finally, when contrasting both Spanish and German with Polish, it becomes clear that both the deixis as well as the *Aktionsart* is a materialisation of a more abstract issue, which I have called, following a certain theoretical tradition, viewpoint.

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