

**Path and Implicature in  
Go and Come Complex Predicates**

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### 1. Introduction

I investigate a Japanese complex predicate construction called TE-construction. Hereafter I call it TEC. I especially concern myself with Japanese GO and COME verbals in the second verbal position of TEC. They have been analyzed in the literature as indicating various lexical meanings. However, I argue that meanings in distinct domains are incorrectly analyzed solely as varied lexical meanings of GO and COME in the TEC. I show that some of those meanings are reducible to one essential lexical meaning. I then introduce pragmatic mechanisms and identify certain meanings as implicatures. I further propose a principle of the speaker's subjectivity, and show that the principle best explains how a particular implicature is reached.

The entire construction takes the form "Verbal 1(hereafter V1) - Conjunctive Suffix *te* - Verbal 2 (hereafter V2)." The GO/COME counterparts are in the V2 position. The TEC sentences tend to be associated with more than one meaning, because the phrase structures are not fully specified in the V2 units. Here is an example.

(1) Ken-wa yuugata disuko-de odot-te iku.

Ken-TOP evening(-in) disco-at dance-TE go

Reading 1: 'Ken dances at a disco in the evening and goes somewhere.'

Reading 2: 'Ken will dance at a disco, spending the evening there.'

In (1), two readings are possible. In the first reading, the V2 *iku* 'go' does not share the preceding locative phrase 'at a disco' with the V1 and has no explicit PP. This is because the verb *iku* 'go' is accompanied by a goal or direction, not a location, for its PP. Therefore, when taken as a main verb, *iku* 'go' in (1) is underspecific in the sense that a goal is not indicated. However, in the second reading, the V2 does not seem to act as a main verb but rather as a kind of auxiliary without holding its valence or subcategorization frame as a verb, thereby representing such an extended meaning as

“passing/spending time.” The actor only keeps dancing and does not go anywhere either before or after that. Therefore, only one single action is explicitly indicated by the construction in the second reading. In this paper, I especially discuss cases like the second reading in which only one action is indicated in the entire complex predicates. For other types of TE Constructions, refer to Hasegawa (1996).

There is a shared view about the meanings indicated by the V2 *iku/kuru* in TEC in Suzuki (1972), Morita (1977, 1994), Yoshikawa (1982, 1989), and others. For the most part, these papers are mainly concerned with paratactic classifications. Here I list the shared taxonomies of the lexical meanings of the V2 GO/COME in the literature.

(2) Classified lexical meanings of the V2s, *iku/kuru*, in TEC:

- 1 **processes of disappearance** (with *iku*) & **appearance** (with *kuru*),
- 2 **change (of state/process)**, 3 **continuity/progression**,
- 4 **initiation** (only with *kuru*). [Suzuki 1972, and Yoshikawa 1989: 137]

In (2), the classified meanings are assumed to be lexical, being encoded in the lexical entry of the V2 in the TEC. I will later discuss the classifications.

## 2. “Move” in the definition of GO and COME

It has been argued in the literature that *go* and *come* in English can be universal as prototypical motion verbs, as argued in Goddard (1997) and mentioned in Wilkins and Hill (1995). I will discuss problems about such analyses when they are applied to the Japanese counterparts.

Goddard demonstrates a definition of the core meanings of *go* and *come*, and uses a primitive motion verb “move” in the definition. Goddard claims that, if the peripheral and extended uses are excluded, the core meanings of the English *go* and *come* can be universal and utilized as primitives that represent basic common meanings for universal lexicon. He claims that an animate subject and physical motion are the standards of the core contents of GO (*ibid.*: 154). However, as a whole, the examples in (3) seem to show the seamless gradation of the meanings of GO in Japanese.

- (3)a. Wareware-wa sakamori-to iki-masu-ka.  
 we -TOP drink -quot go-POL-Rhet Q?  
 ‘Shall we {go to a drinking party / (stay here and) have a drink }?’
- b. Mayo-wa haha-to kurasite iku.  
 (f. name)-TOP mother-with live-TE go  
 ‘Mayo will live together (and get along) with her mother.’
- c. Ken -wa sinchoo-ga 6 feeto made itta.  
 (m. name)-TOP height-NOM 6 feet up to went  
 ‘Ken’s height went up to 6 feet.’

The verb *iku* ‘go’ in (3a) indicates a kind of physical action such as “move”, but it also shows signs of the extended use of GO, since the speaker and hearer may not go out anywhere but remain in their place for drinking. Likewise in (3b) and (3c), the characters do not move to any other place, and *iku* ‘go’ indicates **progression of time** instead. Overall, *iku* ‘go’ appears to involve a gradual shift of meanings, such that the discrete idea of “move” cannot be separated out and identified as core. Also in Ishikawa (1998), the difficulty of identifying typical motion verbs in Japanese is discussed. Given the problems, Goddard’s definition containing the central notion “move” for GO/COME cannot simply be adopted.

In what follows I will examine an alternative analysis of GO and COME in light of their additional argument/phrases.

### 3. PATH as an essential component of Japanese GO/COME

In relation to the core meanings of GO and COME, Jackendoff (1983, 1990) discusses two meanings, the meanings of physical motion and extent, for *go* in English. He categorizes them into Event and State. In addition to a motion meaning in (4a), an extent meaning is observed in (5a).

- (4)a. John went home at 6:00.  
 b. The function-argument structure of (4a):

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{GO} ([\text{Thing John}], [\text{Path TO} ([\text{Place HOME} ])]) \\ \text{Event} \quad [\text{Place AT Temp} ([\text{Time 6:00} ])] \end{array} \right] \quad [\text{Jackendoff 1990: 59}]$$

(5)a. The highway goes from Denver to Indianapolis.

b. The function-argument structure of an extent interpretation such as the one in(5a):

$$[\text{State GO}_{\text{Ext}} ([\text{Thing } x], [\text{Path } y ])] \quad [\text{Jackendoff 1983, 173}]$$

(4b) says that, in the event of (4a), the meaning of GO involves “Thing”, “Path”, and “Place.” Likewise, in (5b) for extent meanings, the meaning of GO also involves “Thing” and “Path.” “X” corresponds to “the highway,” and “Y” corresponds to “from Denver to Indianapolis.” Note that, in the extent meaning, the subject “the highway” occupies the whole stretch of the path “from Denver to Indianapolis” at one point in time. Another important point is that Jackendoff’s unified GO schema (6a) contrasts with MOVE schema (6b).

(6)a.  $[\text{Event GO} ([\text{THING}], [\text{PATH}])]$

b.  $[\text{Event MOVE} ([\text{THING}])]$  [Jackendoff 1990: 89]

Crucially, GO contains a path, but MOVE does not. As seen in (7), his path-functions include “toward” and “away from”, which I later claim to be an essential part of the meanings of Japanese GO and COME verbals.

(7)  $[\text{PATH}] \rightarrow$

$$[\text{Path} \{ \text{TO/FROM/ TOWARD/ AWAY-FROM/ VIA} \} ([\{ \text{THING/ PLACE} \} ])]$$

[Jackendoff 1990: 43]

Jackendoff’s GO schema (6a), together with (7), captures both meanings of physical motions and extended uses. In fact, a path-function seems to be invariably involved

also in the following examples with Japanese GO/COME, *iku/kuru*. Interestingly, such an element does not have to be explicit, and does not always have to be a goal.

- (8) a *Itte kimasu.* [TEC]  
 go-TE come-POL  
 ‘I’m leaving and will be back (home).’
- b. *Kikyuu-ga sora-o iku.*  
 balloon-NOM sky-ACC go  
 ‘A balloon flies in the sky.’
- c. *John-wa kessoo-o kaete ikimashita.* [TEC]  
 John-TOP flushed face-ACC change-TE went-POL  
 ‘John went (there) with his face flushed.’

In (8a), not only the destination of ‘going’ but also a deictic center from which the speaker departs is implicitly acknowledged in the discourse. In (8b), the path is implicitly acknowledged: e.g. “through [the sky],” or “down [the sky].” Furthermore, *#Kikyuu-ga sora-ni iku* ‘A balloon goes up to the sky’ is not an acceptable sentence in Japanese. Therefore, ‘the sky’ in (8b) does not seem to be a goal but a path argument. In (8c), a goal place is not indicated but, instead, a vague direction or a location is assumed to be known in the discourse. In all the examples, Jackendoff’s GO schema with a path, as in (8a), is relevant to *iku* ‘go,’ if an **implicit path** is considered. A path, explicit or implicit, is arguably required at a minimum and is considered to be included as an essential meaning component of the Japanese *iku* ‘go.’ Therefore, the above cases of Japanese GO, together with the non-discrete gradation of the meanings, can uniformly be explained by the Path schema (7). In this light, progression of time is an implicit path in (3).

#### **4. The speaker’s evaluation in mental world: PATH as progression of time in the TE-*iku/kuru* construction**

In this section, I discuss path-functions with the V2s and introduce an argument concerning a certain characteristic role a speaker is involved in.

In analyzing sentence (8a) “Itte kimasu,” Dhorne (1987) comparatively observes it in light of its French counterpart. The expression is a conventional greeting uttered when one goes out. Dhorne points out that only in the Japanese counterpart, a place for the meeting is **implicitly acknowledged** as the speaker’s home base, i.e. the place that the speaker leaves at the time of speech. Dhorne observes that, in (9), the French counterpart (9b) for (9a) cannot include COME.

- (9)a. (Watashi-wa) pan-o katte kuru. [TEC]  
 (I -TOP) bread-ACC buy-TE come  
 ‘(I) will be back after buying bread.’
- b. Je vais acheter du pain.  
 I am going to buy some bread  
 ‘I will buy some bread.’
- c. ?Je vais acheter du pain et je reviens.  
 I am going to buy some bread and I will return  
 ‘I will buy some bread and return.’

Dhorne argues that the V2 *kuru* ‘come’ connects the whole meaning to the discourse context where it is uttered. Therefore, the V2 *kuru* adds a meaning of the speaker’s viewpoint to the truth-conditional meaning of the sentence by indicating that the performed act of the V1 [*iku* ‘go’ in (8a) and *kau* ‘buy’ in (9a)] is viewed as eventually directed toward the speaker, physically or mentally. She claims that ‘**getting close to the speaker**’ is represented by the *TE-kuru* and ‘**getting away from the speaker**’ by the *TE-iku*. These meanings are indicative of Jackendoff’s path schema discussed before. If I adopt Dhorne’s argument, the path schema (7) that is considered to be essential to the verbs *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’, is implicitly understood in the V2s *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’ as well. The meaning difference between the verbs and the V2s then lies in the **speaker’s subjective evaluation of time progression** in the V2s. Therefore, in (8a), the V2 COME conveys non-redundant information such that the event of going to somewhere will also be relevant

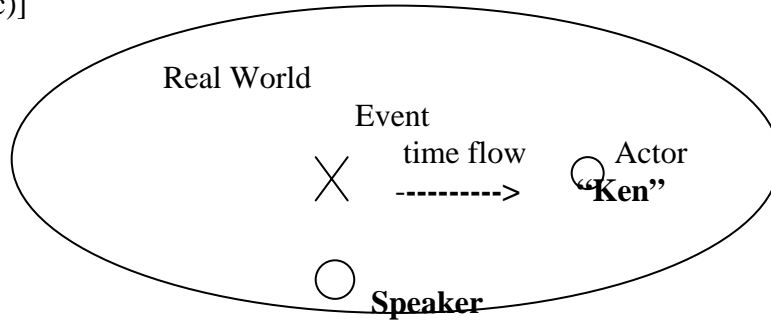
to coming toward the speaker. An additional PP is implicitly involved in the V2 GO/COME in TEC.

Aoki (1986) argues that in certain cases Japanese has a system of incorporating a speaker's subjective evaluation explicitly into the sentence structure. Aoki's discussion of a speaker's privileged access suggests that the speaker can project another person's inner sensations into his mental world and evaluate the significance of the event in light of his viewpoint. This seems to be the case with the speaker's viewpoint observed in the V2 *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come.' By the use of a "mental world" I basically follow the notion of mental spaces in Fauconnier (1997) and Fauconnier & Turner (1996), but I use the "mental world" instead to avoid complication by technical details.

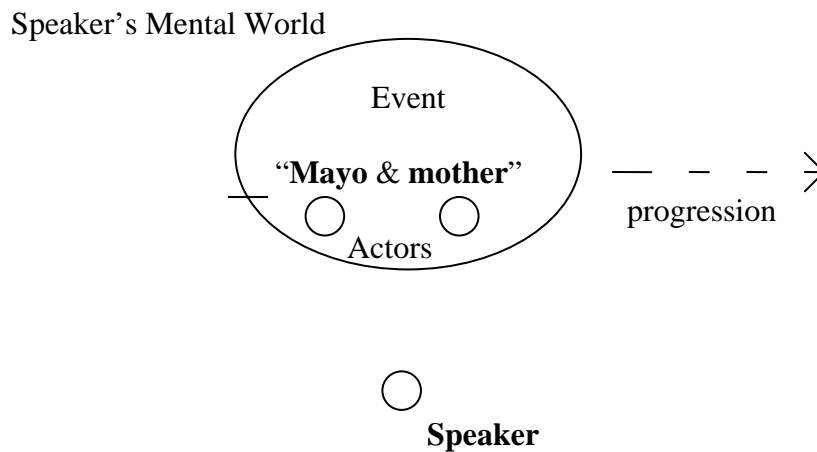
The speaker's relative viewpoint in relation to the time flow of an event can now be claimed to be created within his mental world in the TEC. I argue that the speaker depicts the event as if he externally observed the inner impact of the whole event on the experiencer by situating himself at one point in the time flow. The temporal viewpoint which he adopts (identifying with either the beginning of or ending of the event ) reflects his subjective description of that event.

In (3b) with V2 *iku*, the position the speaker assumes is found only in his mental world, whereas, in (3c), he stands on a point in time in the real world. In (3b), the speaker depicts the prospective of Mayo and her mother's lives as if he were omniscient, static, and centrally located in his mental world. By the use of *iku* 'go', the speaker concerns himself with their leaving his mental world as they pass on their way. If he had used *kuru* 'come', he would be emphasizing their arrival toward him as they travel into his mental world. The schemata are illustrated in (10) and (11).

(10) [<--- (3c)]



(11) [<--- (3b)]



The point of diagram (11) is that the speaker in (3b) is outside the real world, thereby viewing the whole event in his mental world. I summarize my claim in (12).

(12) TE-*iku* and TE-*kuru* indicate: a path of ‘progression of time toward a speaker’ in TE-*kuru* and ‘progression of time away from a speaker’ in TE-*iku* (in his mental world).

In (12), ‘the speaker’ is a default value for the path-argument. With the V2s *iku* and *kuru* as auxiliary, no independent action is indicated, and the speaker’s evaluation is a

part of the meanings. In the next section, I will further discuss the question about their apparent varied meanings.

### 5. The speaker's evaluation and implicature

I first discuss pragmatic mechanisms that *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come' in TEC are in fact involved in. In Ishikawa (1998), it is shown that *kuru/iku* in TEC indicate conversational implicature. A path of time progression in (12) is maintained throughout the examples with implicatures. The following example illustrates the phenomenon.

- (13) Me-ga      dete-            itta/kita.  
       buds-NOM come out -TE went/came  
       (1)'Buds started to come out.'; (2)'Buds did not come out.'

In (13), the second reading cannot be determinate in the following sense. Because the speaker does not use a simpler, assertive predicate form such as *deta* 'came out,' the hearer may infer an implicit meaning connoted by the longer, complex predicate form *dete-kita*, although truth-conditionally both forms can convey the equivalent meaning. The V1 form does not explicitly mean that the described action was completed, and the V2 form, *itta* or *kita*, only indicates progression of time in the speaker's mental world. If the hearer considers such a possibility, though, he may infer that the aspect of the completion of the action "Buds came out" was not intended to be part of the information, and that the speaker's focus was on the temporary sign of new buds during a certain period of time. Thus, the second reading "Buds did not come out" can be inferred.

In fact, such inference processes in discourse have been analyzed in light of pragmatic forces such as **conversational implicature** (hereafter **CsI**) in Levinson (1983) and others. Through diagnostic tests, Ishikawa (1998) has shown that the kind of meaning in question, i.e. the second reading in (13), is analyzed as CsI: it is cancelable, non-detachable, calculable, and non-conventional. In addition, the second reading would fall under the "appearance" and "continuity" in list (2). However, the

“appearance” now turn out not to belong in the lexicon, since the second reading is due to the general pragmatic mechanism of CsI. The “continuity” is due to the V2’s path meaning, “time progression.” Thus, the number of the assumed lexical meanings is reducible. Some further meanings of TE-*iku* and TE-*kuru* in (2) also turn out to be derived from the V1’s eventualities. Crucially, an activity verb cannot indicate any ending point of the action but just continuity, as time advances. Therefore, I maintain that the *iku* and *kuru* in TEC invariably indicate “progression of time” as an essential meaning.

In the next section, I incorporate into my discussion general discourse principles, and attempt to answer a question of why CsI tends to emerge in the TE-construction.

## 6. Competing principles in discourse

There have been constant efforts to boil down Gricean maxims and submaxims into fundamental principles. Among them, Horn (1984, 1993 ) has developed two competing principles, as in (14).

- (14) ... The Q Principle is a lower-bounding hearer-based guarantee of the sufficiency of informative content (“Say as much as you can, modulo Quality and R”) ... The R Principle is an upper-bounding correlate of the Law of Least Effort dictating minimization of form (“Say no more than you must, modulo Q).

Now coming back to the example (13), the second reading as CsI tends to emerge. The hearer might infer that the speaker is not in a position to abide by the R Principle, i.e. to utter a more straightforward statement. However, there is no necessary reason to infer that the use of the complex predicate is regarded by the hearer only as the avoidance of the R Principle. There could be a more complex verb phrase possible. Therefore, the hearer should, instead, be able to infer that the speaker does not abide by the Q Principle. At this stage in our discussion, the Q and R Principles alone constitute an insufficient explanation.

In considering this, I point out one common property, that is, the speaker's marked involvement, in different constructions, as seen in TE-*iku/kuru* construction. In Ishikawa (1998), I have argued that a speaker's privileged evaluation is widely observed as a common feature in different constructions. Based on the widely observed speaker's marked roles, I claim that the speaker is invariably involved in a certain manner in utterances in Japanese. The claim is stated as a principle in (15).

(15) Principle of the Speaker's Subjective Involvement (hereafter PSSI):

A speaker is expected to contribute his own subjective evaluation to the depicted event when significant.

The principle PSSI should predict the speaker's involvement in expressing a subjective evaluation other than a simple statement. So, in (13), the hearer should now be able to infer that the speaker may not be in a position to abide by the R Principle and, therefore, prioritizes the Q Principle, with the use of the complex predicate, because he may have implied his evaluation of the significance of the event, observing the PSSI (15). Thus, the particular CsI obtains through inferential processes in terms of the two fundamental principles, Q and R, when the principle of the speaker's subjectivity is at work. In Japanese, prioritized Q-based implicature is not accidental and the underlying principle of PSSI promotes it.

I have thus shown that, with the principle PSSI, certain persistent phenomena involving implicature are accounted for. Furthermore, aside from the essential meaning, some of the assumed varied meanings of the V2 *iku/kuru* in TEC can be analyzed by means of the theory of the two competing principles in connection with PSSI.

## 7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have reanalyzed the assumed various lexical meanings of GO/COME in TEC and shown that they are derived from different sources: the essential meaning in (12); other meanings from the eventualities of the V1s and from the inferences of CsI. Furthermore, the particular CsI that obtains in the construction

is accounted for in terms of general principles, Q and R, which interact with the principle of the speaker's subjectivity.

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