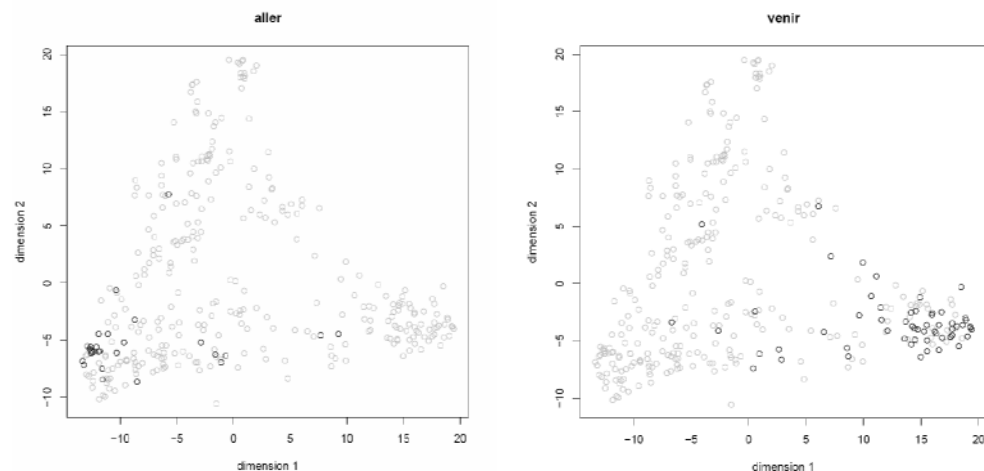


Come and Go. Deictic and pseudodeictic motion verbs

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0. GO and COME are a very important dimension in motion events

Multi-dimensional scaling (result from an average of 370 clauses in Mark in 39 languages with strong European bias). The figures show the distribution of French *aller* and *venir*. (Work-in-progress in collaboration with Michael Cysouw).



1. Primary vs. secondary deixis

(1) German: **primary deixis** vs. secondary deixis in motion verbs

“Wollt ihr herunterkommen oder soll ich hinaufkommen?” “Ohne eine Antwort abzuwarten, begann er hinaufzusteigen.”

(2) Sranan (English based creole)

Tjari hem **kom** **gi** mi dia
transport s/he come give I
‘...bring him unto me.’ [Mk 9:19]

In what follows, secondary deixis in motion verbs is disregarded.

2. Ricca - I verbi deittici di movimento in Europa

Ricca (1993) distinguishes three types of semantic treatment of the verbs GO and COME in a study of 20 European languages based on data from a questionnaire:

- *Lingue «pienamente deittiche» (deictic COME)*: Spanish, Portuguese, and Hungarian and, to a lesser extent, Italian, Modern Greek, Albanian, and Finnish.
- *Lingue «prevalentemente deittiche» (pseudo-deictic COME)*: Swedish, Danish, German, Dutch, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian and, to a lesser extent, French and English.
- *Lingue non deittiche (non-deictic COME)*: Czech, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian.

Languages with non-deictic COME happen to be those where COME is not expressed by a verb stem of its own, but by a prefix.

Deictic COME is strictly centripetal and not oriented to a goal. Pseudo-deictic COME is goal-oriented and centripetal at the same time. Non-deictic COME is only goal-oriented. Deictic and pseudo-deictic languages differ in their use of GO and COME especially (a) in centripetal and non-goal-oriented contexts and (b) in centrifugal and goal-oriented contexts; that is, where the two semantic properties of pseudo-deictic COME, centripetality and goal-orientation, are in conflict.

In centripetal and non-goal oriented contexts, where deictic languages use COME, non-deictic languages tend to avoid the use of either GO or COME:

(3) French: centripetal and non-goal oriented context, pseudo-deictic COME, -> no COME used

Ça s’est vriament produit alors que vous **étiez en route** vers chez moi? {Ricca 4a.}
‘Did it really happen while you **were coming/were on your way** here?’

(4) Italian: same context, deictic COME, -> COME used

E successo mentre **venivate** qui? {Ricca 4a.}

(5) Hungarian: same context, deictic COME, -> COME used

Akkor történt, amikor ide **jöttetek**?

In centrifugal and goal-oriented contexts, pseudo-deictic languages tend to neutralize the distinction between GO and COME. This means, only COME is used or both COME and GO are equally possible, as in the following examples:

(6) German: centrifugal and goal-oriented, pseudo-deictic COME

a. Können Sie mir sagen, wie ich zum Bahnhof **komme**? {Ricca 10e.}

‘Please, could you tell me how I could **get (go)** to the station?’

b. Er **kommt/geht** auf uns zu. {Ricca 3a.}

‘He comes/goes towards us.’

(7) French: centrifugal and goal-oriented, pseudo-deictic COME {Ricca 6b}

Vous voyez cette discotèque là-bas au bout de la rue? L’année dernière j’y **allais/venais** toutes les semaines.
‘Can you see that disco over there at the end of the road? Last year I went there every week.’

	Deictic COME	Pseudo-deictic COME	Non-deictic COME
Centripetal	+	+	-
Goal-oriented	-	+	+

Wilkins & Hill (1995)

Mparntwe Arrente: *lhe-* ‘go’ vs. *petye* ‘come’

petye- ‘come’, figure moves along a path ‘towards’ the place where the speaker is, and there is no implication of movement ‘to’ that place

“...in Arrente, you must calculate the path, and if the figure, in moving to the store, moves closer to the speaker-based deictic centre, then *petye-* is used...”

(8) Mparntwe Arrente: deictic COME

Re *petye-me* store-werne, *ikweriperre* nhenhe-werne *petye-tyenhenge*.

3SG.S come-NPP store-ALL 3sg.DAT-after here-all come-SBSQNT

‘She’s going to the store before coming here (the store is closer to speaker than the starting point)’ (Wilkins & Hill 1995: 225).

3. From a questionnaire study to a parallel text study

SAMPLE:

Creoles: Haitian Creole, Kriol, Papiamentu, Seychelles Creole, Sranan, Tok Pisin [6]

Africa (including all Afroasiatic): Acholi, Akan (Twi), Bambara, Bari, Dinka, Efik, Ewe, Gbeya, Hausa, Igbo, Ijo, Kabba-Laka, Kabiye, Koalib, Kunama, Maltese, Moore, Moru, Murle, Nama, Nubian (Kunuz), Pokot (Suk), Sango, Shilluk, Somali, Songhay, Swahili, Tamachek, Yoruba, Zulu [30]

Eurasia: Adyghe, Ainu, Albanian, Armenian (Classical), Avar, Basque, Breton, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chuvash, Croatian, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, Garo, Georgian (Modern), German (Bernese), Greek (Modern), Hindi, Hungarian, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Kannada, Khalkha, Khasi, Komi, Korean, Kurdish (Kurmanji), Lak, Latgalian, Latvian, Lezgian, Lithuanian, Livonian, Mansi, Mari (Eastern), Mordvin (Erzya), Ossetic, Polish, Portuguese, Rhaeto-Romance, Romani (Kalderash), Rumanian, Russian, Saami (Northern), Santali, Sora, Spanish, Swedish, Tadjik, Tamil, Tibetan, Turkish, Tuvan, Udi, Udmurt, Veps, Yakut [60]

South East Asia & Oceania (including all Austronesian): Atoni, Biak, Burmese, Cebuano, Chamorro, Chinese (Mandarin), Fijian, Hawaiian, Hmong Njua, Indonesian, Khmer, Lahu, Lisu, Malagasy, Maori, Marshallese, Mizo, Naga (Tangkul), Nicobarese (Car), Samoan, Tagalog, Thai, To'aba'ita, Toba Batak, Tongan, Ulawa, Uma, Vietnamese, Yabem [29]

New Guinea & Australia: Bukiyip, Burarra, Enga, Gugu Yalanji, Gumatj, Kala Lagaw Ya, Kâte, Kiwai, Kuot, Motuna, Nunggubuyu, Pitjantjatjara, Sougb, Toaripi, Tobelo, Waris, Warlpiri, Wik Munkan, Worora [19]

North America (including Mexico): Cakchiquel, Choctaw, Comanche, Cree (Plains), Dakota, Hopi, Huichol, Inuktitut (Labrador), Muskogee, Navajo, Ojibwa, Otomí (Mezquital), Purépecha, Tarahumara, Totonac (Sierra), Trique, Yucatec, Zapotec (Isthmus), Zoque (Copainalá) [19]

South America: Aymara, Bribri, Chiquitano, Guajira, Guarani, Guaymi, Kuna, Lengua, Mapudungun, Miskito, Mixe (Coatlán), Mixtec, Paumari, Piro, Quechua (Imbabura), Shipibo, Yanasha' [17]

4. Identifying GO and COME verbs

Europe: “L’identificazione dei verbi I e V non pone in questi casi alcun problema...” (Ricca 1993: 80)

Table 1: GO and COME domains

GO domain (17 clauses)	COME domain (16 clauses)
Mk 1:38 Let us go to the towns near here...	1:24 Have You come to destroy us?
1:44 Go and let the religious leader	1:40 A man came to Jesus with a bad skin disease.
5:20 The man went his way and told everyone...	2:17 . I have not come to call those...
5:34 Go in peace and be free from your sickness	4:4 ... Birds came and ate them.
6:28 The soldier went to the prison	4:15 ...the devil comes and takes away...
6:36 Tell the people to go to the towns...	5:22 As Jairus came to Jesus...
7:29 Because of what you have said, go your way.	8:38 when He comes in the shining-greatness...
10:21 Go and sell everything you have...	9:11 Elijah must come first...
11:2 Go into the town over there.	9:12 Elijah will come first...
11:4 The two followers went on their way.	9:13 Elijah has already come .
14:10 He went to the head religious leaders	10:45 ...the Son of Man did not come to be cared for.
14:12 "What place do You want us to make ready	11:9 He Who comes in the name of the Lord!
14:13 Go into the city.	12:9 He will come and kill the farmers.
14:42 Get up and let us go .	13:6 Many people will come using My name.
16:7 Go and tell His followers and Peter	13:26 ...see the Son of Man coming in the clouds...
16:10 She went and told His followers	15:36 ...if Elijah will come and take Him down.
16:15 You are to go to all the world	

4.1. What is disregarded here

- Imperative “suppletion” and specific imperative and hortative expressions: In Cakchiquel the imperative for go is supplanted by *biyin* ‘walk’ (7 tokens); Classical Greek *hup-agō* (9 tokens)
- Other types of “suppletion”:

(9) Gumatj (Pama-Nyungan, Australia)

Ga ḡunhi walala roṅiyi-na-nydja **marrtji-na wāḡga-ḡala**
and that they return-PFV-PROM **go-PFV go.PL-PFV**

be-ḡuru buku-ḡuru-nydja bala yarru-yarrupthurru-nana...
?-ABL summit-ABL-PROM thither RED-descend-PFV

‘And as they came down from the mountain...’ [Mark 9:9]

Some forms of the verb ‘go’ in Chiquitano (Bolivia):

acosi, aeca, amecosi, ariacu, curi, niyücürtti, noecü, oero, süro

- Andative and Ventive (specific expressions for GO/COME&): Mizo *rawn* V ‘come and V, hither’, *va* V ‘go (come) and V’
- GO.HOME verbs: Tagalog <*um*>*uwi* ‘go home’
- GO.TO.PERSON verbs: Efik *tiéné* ‘follow, go to person’
- GO.TO verbs: Tagalog <*mag*>*tungo* ‘go to’

4.2. Verb stems vs. verbs with affixes

GO and COME can be distinguished in verb stems or in affixes:

Lithuanian *at-eiti* ‘come’, *eiti/nu-eiti* ‘go’, Classical Greek *érxomai* ‘come’, *ap-érxomai* ‘go’

Russian *pri-xodit’/pri-jti* ‘come’, *idti/po-jti* ‘go’

Bulgarian *ot-id-a* ‘go (PFV)’, *oti-v-am* ‘go (IMPV)’, *id-a /do-jd-a* ‘come (PFV)’, *id-a / id-v-am* ‘come (IMPV)’

4.3. No verbs for COME or GO

(10) Kala Lagaw Ya
...Yesu **ngapa** Galilayoe-ngu...

...Jesus **this.way** Galilea-ABL

‘...Jesus came from [Nazareth of] Galilee...’ [Mk 1:9]

(11) Hopi
Uma umü-pyevé kitsóki-t **aw-ni**...

2PL 2PL-ahead village-OBJ **to-FUT**...

‘Go into the town over there’ [Mk 11:2]

4.4. COME HOME vs. COME TO OTHER PLACE

Hmong Njua: *moog [môŋ]* ‘go’, *lug [lù]* ‘come home’, *tuaj [tuá]* ‘come to other place’

Bisang (1992: 230) for White Hmong *los* ‘come to a place where central person or her belongings usually live or are’, *tuaj* ‘come to a place where central person or her belongings do not usually live or stay’

4.5. ARRIVE vs. COME

In some texts (esp. New World), ARRIVE verbs are dominant in use in the COME domain:

Bribri, Dakota (*hi* ‘arrive here’), Huichol, Kâte, Kuna, Inuktitut (Labrador), Mixtec, Muskogee, Tagalog, Tarahumara

In some other texts, including French, ARRIVE is a minor option in the COME domain

(12) Mixtec (Chalcatongo): Macaulay (1996: 170)

	Habitual	Progressive	Compleitive	Potential	Imperative	Hortative
‘come’	<i>ndíi</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>ni-kii</i>	<i>kii</i>	<i>ñã ʔã</i>	—
‘go’	<i>xá ʔã</i>	<i>kʷ á ʔã</i>	<i>ni-xá ʔã</i>	<i>kí ʔ</i>	<i>kʷ á ʔã</i>	<i>čó ʔo</i>
‘go to base’	—	<i>kʷ a-no ʔo</i>	<i>ni-nó ʔo</i>	<i>no ʔo</i>	<i>kʷ á-no ʔo</i>	—
‘arrive here’	—	—	<i>ni-čãà</i>	<i>caà</i>	—	—
‘arrive there’	—	—	<i>ni-xaà</i>	<i>xaà</i>	—	—
‘arrive there to base’	—	—	<i>ni-na-xáa</i>	<i>na-xaà</i>	—	—

(13) Mixtec (San Miguel el Grande) text, COME domain: ARRIVE.HERE (majority), COME
...éliá, a nī **kii-de** [Mk 9:13] ...te nī **chaã** ta-saã... [Mk 4:4]
Elias, ? COMPL come-3.M and COMPL arrive.here CL-bird
‘Elijah has already come’ ‘Birds came...’

4.6. DEPART vs. GO

In some texts, DEPART is dominant in the GO domain: e.g., Irish, Ojibwa, Saami

(14) Saami

Vuolgge dam sidi, mi læ dodno oudast...
 depart:IMP2DU that:ILL village:ILL, what be:PRS3SG you:DU:GEN in.front
 ‘Go into the town over there...’ [Mk 11:2]

In Hausa *tafi* ‘travel/depart/go’ is the only verb used in the GO domain; *je* ‘go’ occurs only once in the pseudo-deictic domain.

In some other texts, including Finnish, depart is a minor option (Note that Finnic DEPART and GO have fused to a single verb GO in Estonian: *lähen* ‘I go’ *minema* ‘to go’)

4.7. Verbs derived from demonstrative stems

Table 2: Deictic verbs derived from demonstratives

	‘here’	‘come.here’	‘come’	‘there’	‘go.there’	‘go’
Tagalog	<i>dito</i>	<i>p<um>arito</i>		<i>doon</i>	<i>p<um>aroon</i>	<i>p<um>unta</i>
Cebuano	<i>ánhi</i>	<i>(<mi/mu>)ánhi</i>		<i>(<mi/mu>)ádu</i>	<i>ádu</i>	
Malagasy			<i>avy</i>	<i>any</i>	<i>mank-any</i>	<i>mandeha</i>
Uma	<i>tumai</i>	<i>tumai</i>	<i>rata</i>			<i>hilou</i>
(Tobelo)		<i>a-ino</i> VERBALIZER-hither/ABL	<i>boa</i>			<i>oiki</i>

4.8. GO TO 2ND PERSON

(Yabem *wac*)

4.9. Lexical doublets?

Vietnamese *đến*, *tới* both ‘come (pseudodeict.)’, Toaripi *koti*, *iti* ‘come’

5. The opposition between *go* and *come*

Syntagmatic opposition in coordination and co-compounds (Wälchli 2005)

(15) Yabem [Mark 6:31]

...gebe lau taêsam sê.ja.sê.mêŋ-sê.ja.sê.mêŋ.
 because people many 3PL.go.3PL.come-3PL.go.3PL.come
 ‘...for there were many coming and going...’

Defective opposition:

Samoan: *alu* [PL *o*] ‘go’, *sau* [PL *o*] ‘come’, *mai* ‘hither’, *atu* ‘away’, *o atu* ‘go PL’, *o mai* ‘come PL’

Nunggubuyu: *ya* ‘go/come’, *ani* ‘come!’ (only imperative)

Polish: *idź stąd!* ‘go away!’, *chodź tu!* ‘come here!’ (Swan 2002: 292); not attested in my material.

Hausa: *je* [VN *zuwa*] ‘go’, *zo* [VN *zuwa*] ‘come’, but *tafi* ‘travel/go/depart’ is the dominant GO verb

Table 3: Relationships between GO and COME (cf. Maps)

No opposition at all	Distinct particle or affix	Partly merged	Almost completely merged	Different verb stems
Navajo	Lithuanian	Russian, Classical Greek	Bulgarian	Modern Greek

6. The pseudo-deictic domain

English (New Life) [12 COME, 2 GO]

1:14 ...Jesus **came** to the country of Galilee
 1:31 He **went** and took her by the hand...
 3:13 They followed him.

English (King James) [14 COME, 1 GO]

1:14 ...Jesus **came** into Galilee
 1:31 And he **came** and took her by the hand...
 3:13 And they **came** unto him.

5:14 People **came** to see...

6:1 ...and **came** to His home town.

6:29 They **went** and took his body...

6:35 The followers of Jesus **came** to him...

6:48 ...Jesus **came** to them walking on the sea.

8:10 ...and **came** to the country of Dalmanutha.

10:2 The proud religious law-keepers **came** to Him

10:50 ...he threw up his coat and **came** to Jesus...

11:27 They **came** again to Jerusalem.

12:14 They **came** to Him...

14:17 In the evening He **came** with the twelve

followers.

16:2 ...they **came** to the grave.

Spanish (Biblia en lenguaje sencillo)

[0 COME, 10 GO, 3 APPROACH]

1:14 Jesús **fue** a la región de Galilea.

1:31 Jesús **fue** a verla,

3:13 Cuando ya todos estaban juntos,

5:14 La gente **fue** a ver

6:1 De allí Jesús **se fue** a Nazaret,

6:29 **fuleron** a recoger el cuerpo de Juan

6:35 los discípulos se acercaron a Jesús

6:48 Jesús **fue** hacia ellos caminando sobre el agua

8:10 y **se fue** con sus discípulos a la región de Dalmanuta.

10:2 Unos fariseos se acercaron a él

10:50 se acercó a Jesús.

11:27 Después volvieron a entrar en Jerusalén.

12:14 Ellos **fuleron** y le dijeron:

14:17 Jesús y los doce discípulos **fuleron** al salón.

16:2 **fuleron** a la tumba de Jesús.

5:14 And they **went** out to see...

6:1 ...and **came** into his own country.

6:29 They **came** and took up his corpse...

6:35 ...his disciples **came** unto him.

6:48 ...he **cometh** unto them, walking upon the sea.

8:10 ...and **came** into the parts of Dalmanutha.

10:2 And the Pharisees **came** to him...

10:50 ...casting away his garment, rose, and **came** to Jesus.

11:27 And they **come** again to Jerusalem.

12:14 And when they were **come**...

14:17 And in the evening he **cometh** with the twelve.

16:2 ...he **came** unto the sepulchre...

Spanish (Reina-Valera Antigua, 1569)

[9 COME, 1 GO, 3 ARRIVE]

1:14 ...Jesús **vino** á Galilea...

1:31 ...llegando él...

3:13 ...y vinieron á él.

5:14 Y salieron para ver...

6:1 ...y **vino** á su tierra...

6:29 ...**vinieron** y tomaron su cuerpo...

6:35 ...sus discípulos llegaron á él...

6:48 ...**vino** á ellos andando sobre la mar.

8:10 **vino** á las partes de Dalmanutha.

10:2 Y llegándose los Fariseos...

10:50 ...y **vino** á Jesus.

11:27 Y volvieron á Jerusalem...

12:14 Y **viniendo** ellos,...

14:17 ...**fué** con los doce...

16:2 ...**viene**n al sepulcro...

Table 4: The types of pseudo-deictic domain encoding and how they are defined (cf. Maps)

Neutral	ARRIVE/APPROACH	GO dominant	COME dominant	Mixed	Specific verb
No opposition	ARRIVE or APPROACH dominant	GO clearly dominant and COME ≤ 3	COME clearly dominant and GO ≤ 3	Both GO and COME occur	The dominant verb is neither dominant GO nor dominant COME

Table 5: Specific verbs in the pseudo-deictic domain

	‘come’	old ‘go’, ‘go there’	new ‘go’ *‘go away’
Kunama	<i>o</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ga</i>
Chuvash	<i>kil</i>	<i>pyr</i>	<i>kaj</i>
Mari	<i>tolaš</i>	<i>mijaš</i>	<i>kajaš</i>
Hausa	<i>zo</i>	<i>(je)</i>	<i>tafi</i>
Georgian (Modern)	<i>mo-svla</i>	<i>mi-svla</i>	<i>ca-svla</i>

Classical Georgian: pseudo-deictic *mo-svla* ‘come’; Modern Georgian pseudo-deictic *mi-svla* ‘go.there’

Sora *iy-* ‘to go’, *iy-ai* ‘to come’; *yer-* ‘to go’, *yer-ai* ‘to come’; Ramamurti (1986).

iy-(ai) tends to be used in the pseudo-deictic domain, but *ardu-* ‘arrive’, *yer-ai* also occur as minor options.

7. The non-deictic domain

The non-deictic languages described by Ricca have an expression for COME formed with a prefix from a stem GO and the COME Affix+V expression not being used in centripetal contexts that are not goal-oriented. This might suggest that Affix+V ‘come’ expressions are generally non-deictic, which is, however, not the case. In most texts of the sample Affix+GO/COME ‘come’ expressions are used in the non-deictic domain, which holds for all kinds of GO-COME oppositions (GO basic, COME basic, none basic), as can be seen from Table 6. In fact, only Indo-European languages without a GO-COME distinction in verb stems (all of them spoken in a continuous area in East Europe) are non-deictic in the sense of Ricca.

Table 6: Non-deictic COME among languages without a GO-COME opposition in verb stems

	GO is simplex	COME is simplex	None is simplex	No AV+V go-come opposition
Deictic or pseudo-deictic	Adyghe, Bukiyip, Burarra, Cree, (Enga), Fijian, Gumatj (?), Lengua, Maori, Mizo, Ojibwa, (Serbo-Croatian), Sora, Toqabaqita, Warlpiri	(Bulgarian), Classical Greek, Kiwai, Pitjantjatjara, Udi	Garó, Georgian (Classical), Georgian (Modern), Hawaiian, Huichol, Marshallese, (Samoan), Worora	
Non-deictic	Latgalian, Lithuanian, Ossetic, Polish, Russian			Navajo, (Nunggubuyu)

Table 7: GO and COME in Baltic and East and West Slavic languages

	Latvian	Latgalian	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish
GO V	<i>iet</i> [PST <i>gāja</i>]	<i>īt</i> [PST <i>gōja</i>]	<i>eiti</i>	<i>idti/pojti</i>	<i>iść/pójść</i>
COME V	<i>nākt</i>	(<i>nōkt</i>)			(Imp. <i>chodź</i>)
COME Pref-V		<i>at-īt</i>	<i>at-eiti</i>	<i>prixodit’/prijeti</i>	<i>przychodzić/przyjść</i>

Examples from the texts (COME, GO):

2:13 English (KJ): *and all the multitude resorted unto him...*

Latvian: ...*visi ļaudis nāca pie viņa...*

Latgalian: *Visi ļaudis gōja jam pakaļ...*

Lithuanian: ...*visi žmonės ėjo pas jį...*

Russian: *и весь народ пошел к Нему...*

Polish: ...*i wszyszek lud przychodził do niego...*

15:21 English (KJ): *coming out of the country...*

Latvian: ...*kas, no lauka nākdams, gaŗām gāja...*

Latgalian: ...*kas gōja nu teiruma...*

Russian: *идущего с поля...*

1:17 English (KJ): *Come ye after me...*

Latvian: *Nāciet man pakaļ...*

Latgalian: *Ejite Maņ pakaļ...*

Lithuanian: *Eikite paskui mane...*

Russian: *идите за Мною...*

Polish: *Pójdźcie za mną...*

10:14 English (KJ): *Suffer the little children to come unto me...*

Latgalian: *Ļaunit bērniņi ī pi Manis...*

Lithuanian: *Leiskite vaikams eiti pas mane...*

Russian: *пустите детей приходите ко Мне...*

Polish: *Pozwólcie dzieckom przychodzić do mnie...*

1:7 English (KJ): *There cometh one mightier than I after me*

Latvian: *Kāds spēcīgāks nekā es nāk pēc manis...*

Latgalian: *Pēc manis nōks Tys, kurs ir par mani spēceigōks.*

Lithuanian: *Paskui mane ateina stipresnis už mane*

Russian: ...*идет за мною Сильнейший меня...*

Polish: *Idzie za mną tosniejszy...*

According to Ricca (1993: 119-127), Early Latin *venio* was non-deictic (Plautus *Unde is?* ‘Where do you come from?’). In the data considered here there is no clear evidence for a language with a non-deictic COME verb stem.

8. Conclusions

- GO and COME constitute a very important dimension in motion events
- Ricca’s results are corroborated in a completely different data set.
- Identifying COME and GO verbs is not always as easy as in European languages.
- Descriptions (dictionaries) are sometimes conservative (e.g., a verb translated as ‘depart’ can in fact be already a GO verb in language use).
- GO and COME domains display a high diversity of possible encoding.
- There are more radically deictic COME languages than Spanish and Hungarian (e.g., Mixtec, see 4.5.).
- There are more radically non-deictic languages than Russian (Navajo).
- The central Indo-European non-deictic type is very rare (restricted to I-E languages in the sample).
- Recurrent diachronic paths of development: DEPART > GO, COME.PSEUDODEICTIC > COME.DEICTIC, ARRIVE > COME.
- The various types in the pseudo-deictic domain do not seem to be especially stable diachronically (neither do they cluster areally). However, ARRIVE is mostly restricted to the Pacific Rim.

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