Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

Venitive Verbs in English and Italian: Corpus-based study

Diplomová práce

2023

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Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

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Počet stran: 83

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V Olomouci dne   Podpis

V Olomouci dne   Bc. Adam Brom

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the degree of functional equivalence between two deictic verbs, the English *come* and the Italian *venire* in a bidirectional parallel corpus created within InterCorp. In the theoretical part, the thesis reviews linguistic literature on deictic verbs of motion and the deictic center and introduces the approaches taken towards deictic verbs of motion. Special attention is paid to the structural means of coding of deixis in deictic verbs of motion, markedness in deictic verbs of motions, and, most importantly, the cross-linguistic differences in deictic verbs of motion found in differently classified languages. In the methodological part, the thesis describes the selection of the texts suitable for the analysis, the creation of a bidirectional translation corpus in InterCorp, data retrieval, annotation, and sorting with respect to the various types of correspondences according to which the example sentences are categorized in the analytical part. The analytical part presents the quantification of mutual correspondence between the verbs *come* and *venire*, of other translation equivalents of the two verbs, and also the findings that could possibly clarify the differences found in the translations of the two verbs.

Keywords

Anotace

Cílem práce je prozkoumat míru funkční ekvivalence mezi anglickým deiktickým slovesem *come* a italským deiktickým slovesem *venire,* a to na základě dat získaných z analýzy paralelního překladového korpusu vytvořeného v rozmezí systému InterCorp. Teoretická část práce předkládá shrnutí poznatků představených v odborné literatuře, které se týkají deiktických sloves pohybu, deiktického centra, a také přístupům k deiktickým slovesům pohybu. Pozornost je věnována možným strukturálním způsobům kódování deixe v deiktických slovesech pohybu, otázce příznakovosti v rámci deiktických sloves pohybu, a především pak mezijazykovým rozdílům v užívání deiktických sloves pohybu v rozdílně klasifikovaných jazycích. Metodologická část práce popisuje proces výběru textů vhodných pro analýzu, tvorbu paralelního překladového korpusu, a také sběr, anotaci a třídění dat dle různých druhů korespondencí, na jejichž základě jsou data rozřazována v analytické části práce. Analytická část práce předkládá míru vzájemné korespondence mezi slovesy *come* a *venire*, kvantifikaci různých překladových ekvivalentů těchto dvou sloves, a také poznatky, jejichž cílem je osvětlení možných příčin rozdílů v rámci jejich překladů.

Klíčová slova

Deiktická slovesa pohybu, příchodová slovesa, angličtina, italština, korpusová studie

Contents

1 Introduction

For a long time, the venitive/andative contrast found in deictic verbs of motion was considered a cross-linguistic universal. Ventitive verbs, such as *come*, were defined as motion towards the speaker, and andative verbs, such as *go*, were defined as motion away from the speaker, i.e., the verbs were defined in terms of motion with respect towards a prototypical deictic center (Lewandowski 2014, 44). With the progression of the research, however, significant cross-linguistic differences regarding the possible deictic centers towards which the motion expressed by the venitive verbs was directed started emerging.

Since some of the languages analyzed allow the usage of venitive verbs also with non-prototypical deictic centers, i.e., not only the speaker but also the addressee or even non-speech-act-participant-related goals, it soon became clear that the distinction between venitive and andative verbs cannot be made based solely on the contrast between motion towards and motion away from the speaker. As a consequence, scholars started classifying languages according to the possible goals (the deictic centers) of their venitive verbs. For instance, Lewandowski (2014) distinguishes between four groups of languages: in the first group, the venitive verb is only used for motion towards the speaker at coding time. In the second group, the venitive verb is used not only for motion towards the speaker at coding time but also at reference time. The languages from the third group allow for the use of venitive verbs for motion directed towards the speaker at either time and also for motion directed towards the addressee. Finally, the languages from the fourth group allow for the use of venitive verbs with practically any goal of motion, including all those mentioned (2014, 46).

Even though Lewandowski does not include Italian in his classification, other scholars (Ricca 1993; Santeusanio 2008; Hijazo-Gascón 2017) suggest that Italian, similarly to English belongs to the third group of languages included in Lewandowski's classification. In other words, both languages should allow for the use of venitive verbs for motion directed towards both speaker and the addressee. Because of that, the two languages should use venitive verbs rather similarly. The aim of this thesis is to verify this by calculating the degree of the functional equivalence between the verbs *come* and *venire*, operationalized as their mutual correspondence in a bidirectional parallel corpus created for this purpose in InterCorp.

Since English and Italian venitive verbs arguably allow similar goals of motion, the mutual correspondence between *come* and *venire* is expected to be rather high. However,

there are also other aspects that influence distribution of the two verbs. For instance, English allows for an alternation of the venitive and the andative verbs for motion towards the speaker at reference time, the addressee, and also towards the homebase. Italian only allows for such alternation in the descriptions of motion directed towards the homebase (Ricca 1993, 41). This may suggest that while the English translator could often have the choice between the venitive and the andative verb, the options of the Italian translator are rather limited in this regard. In addition, Ricca (1993, 23) suggests that while in English phrasal deictic verbs such as *come in, come out*, *come up/on*, and *come down/off* are very common, in Italian there is a strong tendency to use their non-deictic equivalents *entrare*, *uscire, salire,* and *scendere* (respectively) instead. If this is indeed true, a significant number of the tokens of *come* will be translated by non-deictic Italian verbs, which could lead to a lower correspondence in the direction of translation from English to Italian. To identify concrete factors which lead the translators to use other than a deictic verb in the translations, all cases of non-correspondence between *come* and *venire* will be analyzed in more detail.

In terms of structure, the thesis is divided in three parts. In the theoretical part, I introduce the notion of the deictic center and review the approaches to deictic verbs of motion. I also discuss the structural means of deictic verbs of motion, namely their lexical structure, morphology, and syntax. At the end of the section, I summarize the findings regarding the markedness of deictic verbs of motion. Finally, I examine the cross-linguistic differences in deictic verbs of motion, focusing on Portuguese, Spanish, English, Italian, and Czech. The methodological part describes the selection of the texts suitable for the analysis, the creation of the bidirectional translation corpus, and the annotation and criteria for sorting the data. The correspondences of venitive verbs coding agentive motion of Figures who are, at least potentially, animate individuals are further discussed in the analytical part of the thesis.

2 Deictic verbs in linguistic literature

In this section, I am going to review the linguistic literature on deictic verbs of motion (DVM).

First, in section 2.1, I am going to introduce the notions of deictic verbs (of motion),[1] and the deictic center. I will then proceed to the various approaches to DVM found in the literature. I will start with the directionality-related approach and then proceed to a study by Matsumoto et al. (2017), in which functional factors related to DVM are examined. As will be demonstrated, this study represents an interesting theoretical extension to the directionality-related approach. At the end of the section, I am also going to overview the abstract uses of DVMs very briefly.

In section 2.2, I will examine the structure of DVMs, specifically their lexical structure, morphology. and syntax. I will also summarize the findings regarding the matter of markedness in DVM.

Finally, in section 2.3, I will address the cross-linguistic differences found in DVM. Namely, I will address Portuguese, Spanish, English, Italian, and Czech.

2.1 Deictic verbs

Deictic verbs are "verbs (of motion) which require contextualization, such that the 'context' is defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed" (Gathercole 1978, 72). So far, the research has mostly been oriented on the DVM, such as the English verbs *come* (generally motion towards the speaker) and *go* (generally motion away from the speaker) and their causative/agentive counterparts *bring* and *take* (Wang 2018, 481).

It has been assumed that the differences between the verbs *come* and *go* and their equivalents in other languages, such as the Italian *venire* and *andare* and Spanish *venir* and *ir*, represent a universal meaning contrast in motion events across languages (Lewandowski 2014, 44). This is, however, only true to a certain extent, and, as will be demonstrated in the following subsections, firm universals applicable to all languages are not always available.

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[1] Wang (2018) argues that though the terms *deictic verbs* and *deictic verbs of motion* have often been used interchangeably, "non-motion verbs can also be deictic in that the understanding of their meanings might require contextual parameters/features" (2018, 485). Wang refers to Alam (1998) on Japanese and also to his own dissertation on what he calls deictic action verbs in English (2017).

Most of the studies of DVMs revolve around the concept of deictic center, more specifically motion towards or away from it. Deictic center is "a reference point that a deictic expression is anchored to, and from which it points at some element in the world" (Wang 2018, 481). Prototypically, the deictic center is the "spatial-temporal axis in the immediate context, namely the speaker's location at the time of utterance," in other words, the here-and-now of the speaker in the given moment (Wang 2018, 481). However, the prototypical deictic center scenario only accounts for a small portion of the uses of DVM, since the deictic center can be further shifted to other goals of motion (Lewandowski 2014, 46), such as a goal outside of the boundaries of the given speech act and its participants (2014, 44). Furthermore, in English (Lewandowski 2014, 47), Italian (Ricca 1993, 29-31), Czech (Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 89), and Polish (Lewandowski 2014, 51), the choice is also dependent on the distinction between the arrival-oriented perspective (for C), and source-oriented perspective (for G).[2] Therefore, English, Italian, Czech, and Polish speakers may all think about the same event of motion in two different ways, adopting either the arrival-oriented or the source-oriented perspective (Fillmore 1997; Ricca 1993; Calle-Bocanegra 2019; Lewandowski 2014). On the other hand, this option is not available in languages such as Spanish or Portuguese, in which C/G include purely deictic information (movement towards/away from the speaker) and the verbs are thus in complementary distribution (Lewandowski 2014, 44).

Additionally, according to some scholars, for example Gathercole (1978) and Matsumoto et al. (2017), there are also other factors governing the distribution of DVMs, such as visibility, physical levelness, interactional behavior, and social intimacy. From now on, I am going to use the term 'functional factors' as an umbrella term for such factors, since they all include, at least to a certain extent, interaction between individuals.

Finally, there are also abstract, non-locomotive uses of DVM that usually indicate a certain change of state ('normal' to another). They are, however, not within the central scope of this thesis, and because of that, I will only address them briefly.

Before proceeding any further, I would like to point out that the following subsections are intended as a general outline of the different approaches to DVM. Discussion of specific cross-linguistic differences is postponed to Section 2.3.

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[2] In the thesis, I am going to adopt Lewandowski's (2014) marking of deictic verbs, more specifically their types. C is going to stand for the venitive verb (motion towards the speaker), no matter the form of the verb in a given language, and G is going to stand for the andative verb (motion away from the speaker), no matter the form of the verb in a given language. For example, when speaking about Italian, C is going to stand for *venire* and G is going to stand for *andare*.

2.1.1 *Directionality in deictic verbs of motion*

The first systematic account of deictic verbs in English was provided by Fillmore in his 1971 *Santa Cruz Lectures on deixis*, published in 1997 as a monograph.[3]

In his pioneering work, Fillmore, examining deictic factors such as person, place, and time, works with various, as he calls them, 'fancy hypotheses', in other words, extensive hypotheses which incorporate numerous 'appropriateness conditions' of the usage of the intransitive motion verbs *come* and *go*, together with their causative counterparts *bring* and *take* (1997, 83-99). The final hypothesis for the usage of C Fillmore arrives at is as follows: "[…] for the movements indicated with 'come' and 'bring' Pn (arrival point, i.e., the goal of the motion) is either the location at Tn (arrival time, i.e., the time of reaching the goal of the motion) of the encoder, the encoder's home, the decoder, or the decoder's home, or it is the location of the encoder or the decoder at coding time" (1997, 91). In an 'addendum', he then specifies that "'come' and 'bring' also indicate, in discourse in which neither speaker nor addressee figures as a character, motion toward a place taken as the subject of the narrative toward the location of the central character at reference time, or toward the place which is the central character´s homebase[4] at reference time" (1997, 99).

While the hypothesis as formulated by Fillmore sounds rather complicated—likely due to the fact that it was originally intended as a part of his lecture notes—, the general findings and conditions of the usage of C/G drawn from it are based on directionality, specifically goals of movement, and can be clearly summarized:

Goal of movement	come	go
1. speaker's location at coding time	X	
2. speaker's location at reference time	X	X
3. addressee's location at coding time	X	X
4. addressee's location at reference time	X	X
5. any other location		X

Table 1: Appropriateness conditions for C/G verbs in English (Wang 2018, 483, based on Fillmore 1971)

In Table 1, Goal 1, i.e., motion towards the speaker's location at coding time, represents motion towards the prototypical deictic center. Thus, the other goals can be understood as non-prototypical deictic centers. It can also be drawn from Table 1, that, according to Fillmore, C will not be used in English when the goal of the movement is a movement to a location unrelated to either the speaker or the addressee. As regards G verbs, Fillmore

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[3] When referring to the edition available to me, i.e., the one listed in *Works cited*, I use (Filmore 1997). When referring to findings of other authors who explicitly claim to have based their research on that of Fillmore, for instance building up on examples presented by him, I mention the source they quote, usually (Fillmore 1971).
[4] The place generally referred to as 'home' by the individuals involved in the communicative act (Fillmore 1997).

considers their usage inappropriate when the goal of the movement is the speaker's location at coding time. However, consider the following examples:

(1) a. *Can I ??go/come visit you?*
  b. *Will you *go/come visit me?*

<div align="right">(Wang 2018, 483)</div>

According to Wang, it is exactly examples like (1a) and (1b) in interpretation of which the influential model presented by Fillmore (1971) can be found insufficient (Wang 2018, 483); in (1a), the motion is directed towards the speaker's location at coding time, yet the verb *go* is not completely unacceptable. On the other hand, in (1b), the motion can be directed towards the speaker's location at reference time and thus the verb *go* should, according to Fillmore's conditions, be acceptable. Still, Fillmore's findings regularly serve as the theoretical basis for other studies, such as that of Ricca (1993).

While Fillmore (1971) only focuses on English, Ricca (1993) offers a cross-linguistic account of DVMs, working with a ternary classification of European languages into completely deictic, prevailingly deictic, and non-deictic European languages.[5] These are provided in Table 2.

Ricca considers a language to be fully deictic if the distinction between C/G depends solely on the movement towards or away from the deictic center (1993, 80).

The prevailingly deictic languages are those languages in which the C/G can be mostly differentiated based on the towards or away from the deictic center motion contrast but also show certain deviations from this binary distinction. In other words, in certain cases, the languages use C for motion not oriented towards the deictic center, and in certain cases, they use G for motion oriented towards the deictic center (1993, 81-82). For example, German uses the C verb *kommen* in situations in which the speaker asks the addressee for directions to *get*[6] to the train station. Even though the movement is certainly not directed towards the speaker's location at coding time but away from the speaker, towards another goal, the C verb is still used (Ricca 1993, 83-84). It appears that Ricca considers such examples idiosyncratic, as he does not offer a strictly delineated definition of prevailingly deictic languages. Considering the number of languages he included in the group, it would be rather difficult to do it.

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[5] Lingue pienamente deittiche, prevalentemente deittiche, and non-deittiche.
[6] Unlike German, in such contexts, English usually uses the deictically neutral verb *get*, but also, according to Ricca, allows for the usage of G. The same applies for French. This is one of the reasons why Ricca considers English and French to be prevailingly deictic languages to a certain extent (1993, 84).

Finally, in the non-deictic languages, the distinction between C/G is not made based on the towards or away from the deictic center direction of the motion (1993, 82). Consequently, non-deictic languages allow for the C verb to be used with any goal of motion:

Language classification	Examples of languages
Fully deictic	Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarian, Modern Greek, Albanese, Finnish
Prevailingly deictic	Swedish, Danish, German, Dutch, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, (to a certain extent) French, English
Non-deictic	Czech, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian

Table 2: Deictic classification of languages (based on Ricca 1993, 79-82)

Towards the end of his exhaustive study of European DVM, Ricca arrives at a possible interlinguistic hierarchy of deictic Goals, i.e., the possible deictic centers, and their relation to the distinction between C/G:

C			?	G
Huc >	**ego** >	**tu** >	**(istuc)**	
Sp.	Hun.	Fin.	M. Gre. Ita. Alba.	
Port.		Eng. Dut. Ger. Sve		
		Slove. Serb. Cro. Fre.		

Table 3: Hierarchy of goals for C/G (Ricca 1993 108)

In order to be able to read the hierarchy, it is necessary to explain what Ricca means by *huc, istuc, ego,* and *tu.* Ricca perceives *huc* and *istuc* as purely space-related notions, *huc* representing motion towards the place of utterance, i.e., the speaker's location at coding time, *istuc* representing motion towards the location of the addressee at coding time. On the other hand, *ego* and *tu* are perceived as purely personal (in that they do not account for the spatial origo), *ego* representing motion towards the speaker at reference time and *tu* representing movement towards the addressee at reference time (Ricca 1993, 72). Even though the definitions of the goals as established by Ricca may appear somehow confusing due to the distinction between the purely space-related and purely personal notions, I believe that in their essence, the goals reflect those established by Fillmore (1971). In fact, Ricca himself claims to have based his goals mostly on Fillmore (1993, 72).

Table 3 is an implicational hierarchy: "if a language allows the usage of C for the movement towards one of the goals indicated in the hierarchy, [...], then it also allows for the usage of C for the movement towards all the goals on the left from it" (Ricca 1993, 109). As concerns the parenthesized *istuc*, Ricca admits that to him, the conditions for the exclusion of *istuc* as the goal of C in some languages are not yet completely clear (1993, 109), suggesting that in languages that allow for such a deictic center extension, the C/G verbs may be used interchangeably in certain cases (1993, 110). In addition, Ricca claims that while the C use cut-off points of fully deictic languages span all across the hierarchy

(e.g., Hungarian *ego*/**tu*, Finnish *tu*/**istuc*), all prevailingly deictic language share the same cut-off point, specifically the *tu* goal (1993, 109). In other words, each prevailingly deictic language allows for the usage of C with all the goals established with the exception of *istuc*.

Notice that according to Ricca, Romance languages differ in the use of their DVMs. Ricca claims that Spanish and Portuguese only allow for the usage of C in cases in which the speaker's location at coding time is the deictic center, while French, like English, also allows for the speaker's location at reference time and for the addressee's location at coding time to be the deictic center. Furthermore, Italian, according to Ricca's hierarchy, also allows for the addressee's location at coding time to be the deictic center and thus the goal of C.

Finally, drawing on both Fillmore (1971) and Ricca (1993), among other scholars, Lewandowski (2014) introduces a hierarchy of Grounds (goals) lexicalized in C:

Goal	Languages
1. the speaker's location at the coding time	Portuguese, Shibe, …
2. the speaker's location at the reference time	Jacatlec, Spanish, …
3. the addressee's location	Catalan, English, Nepali, Turkish, …
4. another goal of movement	Czech, Polish, Russian, …

Table 4: Hierarchy of Grounds lexicalized in C (Lewandowski 2014, 46)

This hierarchy is going to serve as the main theoretical basis of this thesis. From now on, I will refer to languages that only allow for the speaker's location at the coding time to be the deictic center as Goal-1-languages. Languages that also allow for the speaker's location at the reference time will be referred to as Goal-2-languages, and so on.

The hierarchy closely resembles that proposed by Ricca (Table 3) but differs from it in that Lewandowski's hierarchy includes another goal of movement (Ricca does not include languages that allow for such an extension of the deictic center in his hierarchy, as he considers them non-deictic in his classification). Furthermore, Lewandowski (2014) omits the distinction between the addressee's location at coding time and the addressee's location at reference time.

Table 4 should, similarly to Ricca's hierarchy (Table 3), be understood as an implicational hierarchy: "C which can take as the Ground a goal of movement situated lower in the hierarchy than the speaker's location at the coding time, automatically allows for any other goal, which is placed higher in the hierarchy" (Lewandowski 2014, 46). In other words, in Portuguese, the only allowed goal of the movement expressed by C is the speaker's location at the coding time. In Polish, in contrast, the C verb can be used independently of whether the goal of the motion is the speaker's location at the coding time, the speaker's location at the reference time, the addressee's location or any other goal. Finally, drawing on the data presented by Ricca (1993), Lewandowski backs the claim that the greater the

possible deictic center extension is, the more likely C/G is to alternate (2014, 46). This alternation is further described in section 2.3.3.

Again, it is worth noting that according to Lewandowski, Romance languages do not belong to the same C-goal group. Lewandowski agrees with Ricca in that Portuguese is indeed a Goal-1-language[7] but disagrees in the categorization of Spanish, as he does not consider it a Goal-1-language but a Goal-2-language. In addition, Hijazo-Gascón (2017) claims that Catalan, Italian, and French are all Goal-3-languages, since they all allow for the addressee to be the deictic center (2017, 316). As concerns Italian and French, Hijazo-Gascón's claims regarding the possible deictic centers of C are in keeping with what was suggested by Ricca (1993), though, unlike Ricca, Hijazo-Gascón does not further distinguish between the addressee's location at coding time and the addressee's location at reference time. Romance languages thus seem to span across three goal groups of Lewandowski's hierarchy:

Goal	Languages
1. the speaker's location at the coding time	Portuguese
2. the speaker's location at the reference time	Spanish
3. the addressee's location	Catalan, French, Italian
4. another goal of movement	X

Table 5: Possible goals of C in Romance languages (based on Lewandowski 2014 and Hijazo-Gascón 2017)

Based on the claims presented in this subsection, English and Italian both represent Goal-3-languages. As a consequence, the usage of DVM in the two languages should, at least from the point of view of directionality, be rather similar. Directionality, however, is not the only factor governing the distribution of C and G verbs. Other factors which may influence the choice of C/G are those of physical accompaniment (often referred to as comitative context)[8] and also certain functional factors.

For the moment, I am going to leave aside the comitative contexts, in other words situations in which either the speaker, the addressee, or, exceptionally the third person non-speech act participant (Turkish, as claimed by Gathercole (1978)), is accompanied by another individual, as the way it affects the C/G choice is highly language specific. The comitative contexts will be addressed in relation to the individual languages in section 2.3.

Thus, in the next subsection, I am going to address the functional factors which are to be taken into consideration when analyzing DVMs.

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[7] According to Almeida (2002), Portuguese also allows for the speaker's location at reference time to be the goal of C (2002, 612). Ricca, however, claims that such use of C is rather idiosyncratic, and as such, it should not be considered a general characteristic of the language (1993, 97). Since Lewandowski (2014) and Hijazo-Gascón (2017) both agree with Ricca in this aspect, I am going to treat Portuguese as a Goal-1-language.
[8] From now on, I am going to use the term 'comitative context'.

2.1.2   *Functional factors in deictic verbs of motion and abstract uses of deictic verbs of motion*

In this subsection, I am going to address the functional factors in DVMs and the possible abstract uses of DVMs. To address the former, I am going to review a study on DVMs by Matsumoto et al. (2017). Abstract uses will only be overviewed briefly.

More than three decades ago, Gathercole (1978) pointed out that "[…] in choosing one of these verbs (C or G), […], speakers in some languages, and perhaps, to some degree in all languages, draw on the features of intimacy, imminency, and closeness, which seems to play a role in the choice of verb in most marginal cases" (1978, 84), supporting her claim by an example from Nepali, in which the C verb *aunu* is, in certain sentences, preferred to the G verb *janu* if the speaker wishes to express a greater degree of intimacy between him and the addressee (1978, 80-81).

Almost exactly 40 years after Gathercole, Matsumoto et al. (2017) published a study in which they analyzed the functional nature of deictic verbs and the coding patterns of deixis in English, Japanese, and Thai. In their analysis, Matsumoto et al. accounted for the effects of factors such as speaker's functional space, levelness, visibility, and interactional behavior. The authors also accounted for the explicitness/implicitness of reference to the first person in different ways of expression of deixis.

I believe that the factors studied by Matsumoto et al. can be viewed as related to the notions touched upon by Gathercole (1978), as in interactional behavior acts such as smiling at or greeting someone, all intimacy, imminence, and closeness can play a crucial role in terms of establishing the relationship, be it only for the given communicative act, between the speech act participants. Similarly, the closer the speech act participants are physically, the more likely they are to be on the same level (for example the same floor of a building), and the more likely they are to be visible to each other.

Let me now address the study conducted by Matsumoto et al. (2017) in more detail, as it represents an interesting and very detailed theoretical extension to the directionality-oriented approach mainly adopted in this thesis. I will first introduce the theoretical basis established by the authors.

Matsumoto et al. (2017) consider deixis one of the components of Path. The other components of Path are Vector (e.g., FROM, TO) and Conformation (e.g., INSIDE, OUTSIDE) (2017, 95). According to Matsumoto et al., Deixis[9] behaves differently from other Path components

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[9] Written with capital C, Deixis refers to a component of Path.

in the sense that it often has a specific morphosyntactic slot, which, in some languages, differs from that of non-deictic Path. For example, in Japanese, *ku* [come] and *ik* [go] are always found in the final verbal position of the multi-verb complexes used in Japanese, being preceded by manner and path verbs (e.g., *Hasit-te de-te ku-ru* (run-CONJ exit-CONJ come-NONPST)) (2017, 96). Likewise, in German, there exists a special affixal slot dedicated to Deixis distinct from that dedicated to Path (e.g., *hin-aus-laufen* (thither-out-run)) (2017, 96). Second specific property of Deixis is that it is independent of the quantity of path verbs in a given language. In other words, basic deictic verbs are often found in path-verb-poor languages such as English, German, and Hungarian. Since deictic verbs are often found in the main verb position in such languages, the Path notion is often coded differently (e.g., by prepositional phrases). According to Matsumoto et al. (2017), this behavior of Deixis suggests that "there is something special about the coding of Deixis in the verb" (2017, 96).

To find out what that 'something special' was, Matsumoto et al., analyzed the linguistic expressions of Deixis in English, Japanese, and Thai, in other words, in languages in which, according to Matsumoto et al., the use of Deixis-coding-verbs is functionally motivated in the sense that it is affected by "the interactional relationship between the speaker and the moving person" (2017, 96). Matsumoto et al. claim that it is exactly this functional nature of Deixis-coding-verbs which "can account for the difference we (the authors) find between the coding patterns of Deixis and other Path notions" (2017, 96).

As follows from the preceding paragraph, the approach to DVMs of Matsumoto et al. is significantly different from the approaches described in subsection 2.1.1. Even though Matsumoto et al. acknowledge that the direction of motion, the perspective (source/goal), and the speaker's location are all important factors affecting the choice of DVMs, they also stress that the semantics of Deixis is not merely a Vector (e.g., TO, FROM) and a specific Ground, in this case the first person, as we have to realize that due to its specific nature, the first person can refer to different people in different sentences. In fact, Matsumoto et al. claim that the notion of the speaker's location itself is rather problematic since it is not specifically delimited. Because of that, Matsumoto et al. suggest that the place referred to as 'speaker's location' in directionality-oriented-approaches be defined in terms of visibility, accessibility, and spatial partition, i.e., factors affecting the possibility of interaction between the speech act participants. Taking into consideration the factors mentioned, Matsumoto et al. introduce the notion of speaker's functional space (2017, 97-98). The speaker's functional space can be "(i) an artificially delimited closed space, such as a room and a floor, within which the speaker is located or (ii) the space visible to the speaker" (2017, 98). Implementing

the notion of speaker's functional space, Matsumoto et al. hypothesize that "motion to speaker's location may be described with venitive verbs of motion more often if the speaker is within some delimited space than s/he is in an open space" (2017, 99), and also that "motion may be described with venitive verbs even if the motion is off the direction of the speaker, as long as it is into the speaker's space" (2017, 99).

In addition, Matsumoto et al. (2017) hypothesize that interactional behavior could also play a role in the usage of C verbs. More specifically, the authors believe that behavior such as smiling at, waving at, or otherwise greeting the speaker, may further increase the probability of interaction, and thus of the usage of the C verb (2017, 98)

To confirm the hypotheses that "motion to speaker's location may be described with venitive verbs of motion more often if the speaker is within some delimited space than s/he is in an open space" (2017, 99), and that "motion may be described with venitive verbs even if the motion is off the direction of the speaker, as long as it is into the speaker's space" (2017, 99) and the hypothesis about the possible effects of interactional behavior on the usage of DVMs, Matsumoto et al. created 30 videos, depicting the following scenes:
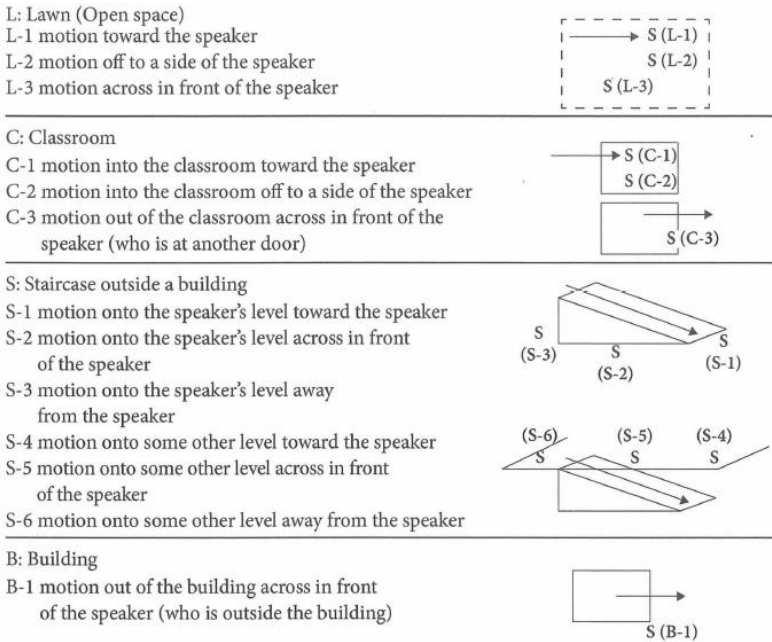
Figure 1: Video stimuli used in the experiment (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 102)

Each of the 13 scenes illustrated in Figure 1 was filmed twice. In one version of the scene, an interactional behavior, such as waving or greeting, occurred. In the other version, the actor refrained from any interactional behavior. The subject who identified with the position of the camera—and thus the imaginary speaker (S in Figure 1)—were then asked to describe what happened on the screen in terms of the movement of the person shown. In total, 42 native speakers (12 American English speakers, 12 Japanese speakers, and 18 Thai speakers)

participated at the experiment. The subjects were shown 30 videos, 26 of which were the two versions of the scenes from Figure 1 and also four additional videos that only functioned as fillers.

Before proceeding to the overview of the findings and conclusions drawn from the experiment, let me address the morphosyntactic/semantic-typology properties of the three languages analyzed, more specifically the way Deixis and Path is coded in the three languages.

Matsumoto et al. note that the three languages analyzed, English, Japanese, and Thai differ in two crucial aspects of their descriptions of motion events.

Firstly, the languages differ in the way the code Path, more specifically, in the verbal position in which Path is coded. According to Matsumoto et al., Japanese is a so-called "head-coding of Path" language, i.e., a language in which Path is coded in the main verb, English is a "head-external coding of Path" language, i.e., a language in which Path is coded on an element different from the head, and Thai is a "co-heading of Path" language, i.e., a language in which Path is coded "on any one of a series of verbs" (2017, 99).

Secondly, "the three languages also differ in the extent to which multiple verbs are used within a clause in describing motion" (2017, 99). Japanese and Thai use multiple-verb clauses frequently. Since Japanese predicates are complex in that they consist of more than one verb within a clause, there are many positions which can be utilized in the description of motion events. In Thai, the predicates are made of serial verb constructions, in which multiple verbs occur together and which are often used to describe motion. On the contrary, in English, such multiple verb constructions are rather infrequent (e.g., *came running*), above all when the G verb is used (2017, 99).

Apart from the coding of Path, the three languages also exhibit specific behaviors in the ways they code Deixis. In all of them, Deixis can be coded not only in a verb but also in adpositional phrases as in (2b), (3b), and (4b) and, in Thai, in verbal phrases, as in (4a):

(2) **English**
    a.   *A man **came** out of the room.* (V)
    b.   *A man walked **toward me**.*   (PP)

(3) **Japanese**
    a.   *Otoko   ga   heya   kara   arui-te   de-te   **ku**-ru*   (V)
          man   NOM room   from   walk-CONJ   exit-CONJ come-NPST
          'A man comes out of the room walking.'
    b.   *Otoko   ga   **kotira** **ni**   arui-te   ku-ru*   (PP)
          man   NOM over.here GOAL walk-CONJ come-NPST
          'A man comes walking this way'

(4)   **Thai**

a. *Phûu chaaj dəən ʔɔ̀ɔk   maa   hǎa   chán*   (verb+VP)
    man   walk exit   come approach 1SG
    'A man came out toward me walking'

b. *Phûu chaaj dəən maa   thaaŋ   chán*   (verb+PP)
    man   walk come in.the.direction.of 1SG
    'A man came in the direction of me walking'

(Matsumoto et al. 2017, 99-100)

As follows from the examples (2a), (3a), and (4a) deictic verbs in the three languages occur in very different positions. In English, the verb occupies the head position, as demonstrated in (2a), i.e., the position "commonly occupied by a manner verb and not by (usual) path verbs" (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 100). Alternatively, in English, Deixis can also be expressed via prepositional phrase, as shown in (2b). In Japanese, the verb can be found in the head (last) position, which is preceded by the path verb position and the manner verb position, as shown in (3a). In addition, in Japanese, Deixis can also be coded in a postpositional phrase, such as *kotira ni* [towards this way], as in (3b). Finally, in Thai "a deictic verb occupies a particular slot in a serial verb construction: the position after manner verbs and various path verbs but before an arrival verb as in (4)" (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 100). Thai can thus code deixis in a verb phrase which follows the deictic verb, such as *hda chán* [approach me] as in (4a) and also in a prepositional phrase as in (4b). Thus, the crucial difference between the three languages lies in the fact that while "in English Deixis is in competition with Manner for expression in the main verb position, which is a factor restricting the use of deictic verbs in the language" (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 100), in Japanese and Thai "a deictic verb can very naturally co-occur with manner and path verb" (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 100) and because of that, the deictic verb does not compete with either of the two verbs for its slot.

It should also be noted that according to Matsumoto et al., deictic verbs and PPs/VPs are not the same in terms of explicitness of directionality and deictic center, as they claim that while "[P]hrases like *toward me* in English and *had chán* 'approach me' in Thai are transparently directional" (2017, 100) because of the direct reference to the first person, "[D]eictic verbs like *come*, *ku*, and *ma* […] incorporate a directional component in their meanings, and the explicit marking of directionality and the first person is left to the co-occurring phrases" (2017, 100). As a consequence, the directionality is not transparently expressed by the verb, and the reference to the speaker is only implied (2017, 100). This difference between DVMs and deictic PPs/VPs, more specifically the way the

explicit/implicit reference to the first person influences the usage of DVMs, is a further factor considered by Matsumoto et al.

Let me now proceed to the results of the experiments as presented by Matsumoto et al. (2017). First, I will overview the findings related specifically to the coding of Deixis in verbs.

Matsumoto et al. claim that in general, English uses DVMs rather infrequently even for motion directed towards the speaker, likely due to the previously described competition between the deictic verbs and the manner verbs. In fact, when the deictic verb is not used, the position is usually occupied by a manner verb (2017, 105). However, Matsumoto et al. also note that "when the goal of motion is within the speaker's space, the use of a venitive verb is enhanced" (2017, 106). In comparison to English, in Japanese and Thai the usage of DVMs is significantly more frequent, as no such competition occurs in the two languages due to their syntactic/semantic-typology properties (2017, 112).

Matsumoto et al. further state that the deictic C verb cannot be defined only terms of directionality due to a plethora of reasons.

Firstly, in all three languages, especially in Japanese and Thai, the C verb was very frequently used to describe motion off the direction of the speaker but into his functional space, in this case a clearly delimited room (2017, 106-107):

(5)   a.   **English**
     *I see my friend **coming** in.*

    b.   **Japanese**
     *Tomodati   ga   kyoositu ni   hait-te   **ki**-ta*
     Friend   NOM classroom GOAL   enter-CONJ come-PST
     '[My] friend came into the classroom'

    c.   **Thai**
     *Phûan dəən khâw **maa** hǎa   chán naj hɔ̀ŋ rian*
     friend   walk enter come approach 1SG in class.room
     '[My] friend came walking into the classroom toward me'

(Matsumoto et al. 2017, 106)

Secondly, the C verb was also used to describe motion onto the speaker's level, in this case onto the same floor of a building, even for motion not directed towards the speaker (2017, 107-9).

Thirdly, the usage of C was also elicited by situations in which the speaker was positioned right at the door level outside of a building—i.e., not in a clearly delimited space—, and watched the actor walk out of the building (invisible-to-visible scenario) and

thus off the direction of the speaker. According to Matsumoto et al., the fact that even a scenario like the one described elicited the usage of C shows that "moving into visible space is an important factor in the use of a venitive verb in these languages, and visibility change makes up for the nonsatisfaction of the directionality condition" (2017, 110).

Fourthly, Matsumoto et al. claim that "in all three languages, presence of interactional behavior (waving and smiling) significantly enhanced the use of venitive verbs" (2017, 110) even when the motion described was directed neutrally or even away from the speaker (2017, 111):

(6)   a.   **English**
*He's **coming** down to greet me.*

        b.   **Japanese**
*Tomodati   ga   kaidan kara   ori-te   **ki**-ta*
Friend   NOM stairs from descend-CONJ come-PST
'[My] friend came down from the stairs'

        c.   **Thai**
*Kháw dǝǝn loŋ   bandaj **maa** phrɔ́ɔm   kàp thák chán*
3SG walk descend stairs come be.simultaneous with greet 1SG
'He came down the stairs walking, simultaneously greeting me'

(Matsumoto et al. 2017, 109)

Finally, Matsumoto et al. argue that in English, the interactional behavior factor may in fact be the decisive factor affecting the usage of the C verb, as they found that "there is a total absence of *come* in the English descriptions of the not toward-the-speaker motion without greeting" (2017, 112):

(7)   a.   **English**
He's walking down the stairs.

        b.   **Japanese**
Tomodati   ga   kaidan o   ori-ta
Friend   NOM stairs ACC descend-PST
'[My] friend descended the stairs'

        c.   **Thai**
Phûan dǝǝn loŋ   banday
friend walk descend stairs
'[My] friend walked down the stairs'

(Matsumoto et al. 2017, 112)

Overall, the C verb in English is most commonly used in situations in which the motion is directed towards the speaker, onto his level, and is accompanied by an interactional

behavior, such as a greeting (2017, 112). Based on the findings regarding the interactional behavior, Matsumoto et al. note that "[I]t appears that English speakers choose a deictic verb over a manner verb when the factors of functional space and interactional behavior act favorably to the use of a deictic verb," (2017, 112) especially in cases in which the speaker is aware of the Manner of motion (2017, 112).

Building up on the findings listed in the previous paragraphs, Matsumoto et al. (2017) suggest that the general definition of DVM be reformulated to encompass not only the directionality aspect but also the functional ones, as they claim that "the use of venitive verb is enhanced by coexistence of the speaker and the mover at the end of the motion in some shared space, perceived through the natural or artificial division of physical space (e.g. room, floor, visible space)" (2017, 117). Consequently, Matsumoto et al. also call for a redefinition of the goal of the C verbs, which, according to them, has to be understood "[…] in terms of the space for the speaker's potential interaction with the moving person" (2017, 117). Matsumoto et al. further propose an interactional condition for the usage of C verbs: "the moving person moves to a goal where s/he shares a space with the speaker, where an interaction between the two may simply be just seeing each other, but also talking to each other, and perhaps doing something together" (2017, 117). It should also be mentioned that Matsumoto et al. do not consider the interaction necessary. Rather, they work with the idea that the sharing of the space further increases the potentiality of such interaction (2017, 117).

As regards the effects of the above-mentioned factors on the usage of deictic PPs/VPs,[10] Matsumoto et al. report that the presence of speaker's space only had an enhancing effect on the frequency of their use in motion-onto-speaker's level and off his/her direction scenes. Even in such scenes, however, the change in the frequency of their use was not statistically significant (2017, 114). Changes in visibility and the presence of interactional behavior made no statistically significant difference in the frequencies of uses of venitive PPs/VPs either (2017, 115-116).

Drawing on the results of the experiment, Matsumoto et al. conclude that unlike DVMs, venitive directional PPs and other Path-coding verbs are not functional in their nature, in the sense that their usage is not affected by functional aspects such as the presence

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[10]"Attested phrases in English include *toward(s) me* (or *us)* (26 instances), *to me* (11 instances), and *approach(ing) me* (5 instances); those in Japanese include *kotira ni/kotti ni* [(to) over here] (15 instances) and their complex forms such as *kotira no hoo ni* [in the direction of over here] (18 instances), as well as *watasi no hoo ni* [in the direction of me] (6 instances); those in Thai include *hda chan (phom, raw)* [approach me] (69 instances), *thaa1J chan* [toward me] (7 instances), and *thii chan* [at me] (2 instances)" (Matsumoto et al. 2017, 104).

of the speaker's space, visibility, and interactional behavior. According to the authors, this might be exactly the reason why Deixis, i.e., a functionally defined property according to the authors, is often coded differently and independently from Path (2017, 118-120).

In the preceding paragraphs, it was demonstrated that in the analysis of DVMs, directionality should not be the only factor taken into consideration, as functional factors such as the presence of the speaker's space, physical levelness, visibility, and interactional behavior can play a crucial role in the usage of DVMs. Where possible, I will try to account for the functional factors described in this subsection in my analysis of C verbs. I presume, however, that in many cases, the data necessary for an analysis similar to that of Matsumoto et al. (2017) will be hardly extractable from the corpus.

Finally, I would like to overview abstract uses of DVMs. I will only do so very briefly since such uses of DVMs are not within the scope of this thesis, as they do not instantiate motion of animate individuals.

Wang (2018) reports that in their abstract senses, DVMs are most often used to describe changes of states. In such contexts, *go* usually indicates a change from the normal state, while the normal state, i.e., "acceptable or expected behavior of some kind" (2018, 482), is usually indicated by *come*:

(8)　　a.　　*He went/*came out like a light* [=became unconscious]
　　　　b.　　*He went/*came out of his mind* [=became mad]
　　　　c.　　*He came/*went round very slowly* [=regained consciousness]
　　　　d.　　*They quickly came/*went back to their senses*
　　　　　　[regained consciousness; took hold on reality again]

(Wang 2018, 482)

In addition, Wang also argues that in some cases, *come* inherently carries a positive connotation, and *go* inherently caries a neutral or negative connotation:

(9)　　a.　　*Look at all that he came through.*
　　　　b.　　*Look at all that he went through.*

(Wang 2017, 485)

According to Wang, the usage of *come* in (9a) implies approval or support towards the protagonist's achievement. On the other hand, the usage of *go* in (9b) carries a completely neutral meaning.

Even though much more could be said about the abstract uses of DVMs, I am not going to into detail with this category. In fact, the examples presented in this subsection are mentioned primarily in order to give the reader an idea of what the 'abstract' uses of DVMs, —i.e., one of the categories omitted from the analysis—mentioned in section 3.2 stand for.

2.2 Structural means of deictic verbs of motion

Following Ricca (1993), I am now going to overview the possible structural means of expressing the C/G contrast. At the end of this section, I am also going to address the case of markedness of DVM.

2.2.1 Lexical structure of deictic verbs of motion

According to Ricca, the majority of European languages tends to express the distinction between C/G utilizing lexical means. In other words, European languages often have two different lexemes which instantiate the C/G contrast. The lexemes are, for example, *come* and *go* in English, *venire* and *andare* in Italian, *venir* and *ir* in Spanish, or *gelmek* and *gitmek* in Turkish.

In some of the European languages, for instance in English and Italian, it is perfectly possible to further specify the direction of the C/G verbs by prepositions. Examples of preposition-specified deictic expressions such as *come/go up*, *come/go down*, *come/go out* for English, and their Italian equivalents *andare/venire su*, *andare/venire giú*, and *andare/venire fuori* for Italian. While such preposition-specified deictic expressions are rather common in English (where they can be considered phrasal verbs), Ricca claims that in standard Italian, non-deictic motion verb equivalents of the preposition-specified deictic expressions like *salire* [ascend], *scendere* [descend], *entrare* [enter] and *uscire* [exit] are usually preferred (1993, 23).

Ricca further reports that in Europe, there exists no single language in which the prototypical C/G contrasts would be expressed by verbs such as *run*, *swim,* or *fly* (1993, 21). In other words, unless prefixed (*při-plavat* [to swim towards] in Czech) there exists no other basic verb for *swim* which would complete the C/G pair in the sense of directionality contrast in which *go* completes the *come*/*go* pair.

Before proceeding to the morphology of DVMs, it should be noted that the lexical and morphological means of expressing the C/G deictic contrast are not always mutually exclusive, as there are languages in which both means occur together. An example of such languages is Samoan (Ricca 1993, 21):[11]

| *fa'apea* | "(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric and anaphoric)" |

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[11] Ricca lists Samoan as a language in which lexical and morphological means combine in the coding of deixis. He, however, does not support his claim with an example. Due to that, the examples of deictic verbs in Samoan are taken from Mosel (2004).

fa'apēnei	"(be, do, say, think) like this (cataphoric)"
fa'apēnā	"(be, do, say, think) like that (anaphoric)"
fa'apelā	"(be, do, say, think) like that (far away)"

Table 6: Deictic verbs in Samoan (Mosel 2004, 150)

All four deictic verbs of Samoan "consist of the so-called causative prefix *fa'a-,* a deictic stem (*-ea-*, *-nei*, *nā* and *lā*, respectively) and a synchronically not identifiable syllable *-pe/pē,* which seems to be a cognate with *pei* [like]" (Mosel 2004, 149). In other words, in Samoan, the lexical (the deictic stem) and the morphological (the prefix) means of deixis coding combine to create complex deictic verb forms.

2.2.2   *Morphology of deictic verbs of motion*

In some of the European languages, the contrasting character of C/G is realized morphologically.

The first way of expressing the C/G contrast morphologically is by adding either the C affix, or the G affix to a neutral verbal base. A language in which the C/G distinction is formed in this way is for example Dargwa. Dargwa is a Northeast Caucasian language, in which the C verb is formed by adding the suffix *-sa* to the neutral verbal base, and the G verb is formed by adding the *-bid* suffix to the same verbal base (1993,18).[12]

In some other languages, the C verb is formed by adding an affix not to a neutral verbal base, but to the G verb. In languages in which the C verb is formed in this way, there often exist non-deictic directional affixes which express, among other, an upward or downward movement (1993, 18). For example, if we add the prefix *při-* to the Czech G verb *jít* [go], the C verb *přijít* [come] is formed. If we add the prefix *vy-/se-*, the non-deictic directional forms *vyjít* [go/come up] and *sejít* [go/come down] are formed.

In addition, there are also languages which do not exactly fit either of the established groups. Ricca mentions three specific examples of such languages, the first of them being Georgian.

In Georgian, there exist two distinct prefixes expressing deixis. For G, it is the prefix *mi-*, and for C, it is the prefix *mo-*. The G verb affix, however, only appears when the verbal base contains no non-deictic directional affix. If the verb already contains a non-deictic directional affix, it automatically takes the role of the G verb. The C verb affix, on the other hand, appears regardless of the presence of any non-deictic directional affix (1993, 19).

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[12] Unfortunately, Ricca does not specify the neutral verbal base and the source he refers to (Comrie, 1981) is not available to me.

The second language mentioned by Ricca is Ossetian. In Ossetian, the deictic and non-deictic directional affixes merge into one, forming complex, direction-specifying deictic verbal paradigms. For G verbs, the affixes are *a-* (towards an outer space), *ba-* (towards an inner space), and *ny-* (towards a space below). For C verbs, the affixes are *ra-* (towards an outer space), *ärba-* (towards an outer space), and *är-* (towards a space below) (1993, 19).

The third language mentioned is Aniwa, a language spoken in Aniwa Islands. In Aniwa, the deictic contrast does not have the form of a binary, but of a ternary distinction, as the language differentiates between three distinct deictic suffixes (or possibly deictic particles, as Ricca calls them). The deictic suffixes are *-mai*, *-atu*, and *-age,* and stand for *bring to me*, *bring to you*, and *take away/bring to him/her*, respectively (1993, 19).

2.2.3   Syntax of deictic verbs of motion

In some languages, among which for instance Japanese, Thai, English, (as discussed in 2.1.2) and Italian (Ricca 1993, 23), deixis can also be coded syntactically.

When coded syntactically, deixis is usually, according to Ricca, coded in verbal periphrastic complexes[13] consisting of a deictic verb and a deictically neutral verb. This is true for Japanese, in which the C/G verbs *kuru* and *iku* combine with verbs ending in the suffix *-te* as in (10)—and also in (3a), (3b)—, thus forming a deictically oriented verbal complex:

(10)   ***Taroo ga   boku ni   denwa o   kakete   kita***
       Taro   NOM I   DAT   telefono ACC call-PTCP   come-PST
       'Taro phoned me'

(Adapted from Ricca 1993, 24)

Apart from Japanese, the deictic-auxiliary usage of C/G verbs is, according to Ricca, generally common in South-Eastern Asian languages, for instance in Chinese and Thai—as in (4a) and (4b), respectively—. In fact, Ricca claims that in such languages, "the level of grammaticalization appears near similar to that found in morphologically coded deixis" (Ricca 1993, 24).

In Italian, on the other hand, such periphrastic constructions represent an idiosyncratic occurrence.[14] According to Ricca, an example of the verbal periphrastic complex in Italian is for instance the pair *andare/venire a prendere* (1993, 23):

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[13] Complesso verbale perifrastico (Ricca 1993, 23)

[14] Ricca stresses that in Italian, it is extremely common for the C/G verbs to appear as auxiliaries in different periphrastic formulas such as *venire/andare+past participle* or *venire/andare+gerund*. However, according to Ricca, in such cases, C/G lose their deictic meaning completely (1993, 23).

(11) a. ***Vieni***   ***a***   ***prendere***   ***il***   ***libro;*** ***Te***
Come-2SG-IMP   to   take   ART-SG-M   book   2SG-DAT
lo   ***puoi***   ***portare***   ***a***   ***casa.***
he-ACC   can-2P-SG   take   to   home
'Come take the book; you can take it home'

     b. ***Vai***   ***a***   ***prendere***   ***il***
Go-2SG-IMP   to   take   ART-SG-M
libro   ***dalla***   ***scuola***   ***e***
bookACC   from.ART-SG-F   school   and
portamelo.
bring-3SG-IMP.I-DAT.he-ACC
'Go take the book from the school and bring it to me'

I believe that examples (11a) and (11b)[15] can be viewed as explanatory of the contrasting character of the two verbal periphrastic complexes. In (11a), *vieni a prendere* [come take from me] denotes motion towards the speaker, while in (11b), *vai a prendere* [go take from goal] denotes motion away from the speaker. It thus seems that in periphrastic verbal complexes in Italian, the DVMs *venire* (C) and *andare* (G) project their deictic properties onto the otherwise non-deictic verb *prendere* [take].[16]

       Finally, as previously demonstrated on the English example (2b), deixis can also be coded in prepositional phrases.

2.2.4 *Markedness of deictic verbs of motion*

Before concluding this section, I would like to summarize the stances taken in the literature reviewed regarding the questions of which of C/G pair of verbs can be considered the basic one. To do so, I will address aspects such as lexical structure, 'information density', i.e., the amount of information extractable from the respective DVM, appropriateness/semantic conditions, syntax, and basicness/neutrality of the motion described. Again, let me begin by addressing the lexical structure of DVMs.

       In terms of lexical realizations, there are many factors that point towards markedness of the C verbs. One of them is the fact that in an expression in which the goal is not specified, the G verb tends to be used. For example, in Italian, it is perfectly grammatical to say both

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[15] The examples are mine. Ricca (1993) does not offer any.

[16] I am convinced that the logic of the 'deictic projection' is in fact similar to that found in Japanese, the difference being the direction of the "projection": in Japanese the deictic verbs follow the deictically neutral verb. In Italian, on the contrary, the deictic verb precedes the deictically neutral verb.

andare qua [go here] and *andare là* [go there] if the goal is not further specified. In addition, the G verb also tends to prevail in generic sentences such as the one in (12):

(12) **Mi   piace   andare   al   cinema**
       Me-DAT like-3SG   go-INF   to.ART-M-SG   cinema
       'I like going to the cinema'

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 28)</div>

As suggested by the translation, the claim is also applicable for English.

Furthermore, according to Ricca (1993, 28), the C verbs are the marked members of the pair in languages such as English, in the sense that the information which can be drawn from the verb itself is far more detailed for C than it is for G:

(13) a.   *Will you come to the party tonight?*
       b.   *Will you go to the party tonight?*

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 28)</div>

In (13a), it is implied by the C verb that it is the speaker's intention to participate at the party. The G verb in (13b), in contrast, does not express the speaker's intention of not participating at the party. The only thing that changes is the importance the speaker him/herself gives to his/her own presence at the event. Thus, it could be concluded that the G verb in English is, in comparison to its C counterpart, a rather deictically neutral one (1993, 28). This rule is, however, not applicable cross-linguistically, since in Italian, as reported by Ricca, the information extractable from either C or G is often the same (Ricca 1993, 28) (see example (38)).

As concerns the morphological point of view, Ricca claims that for [+marked] "the only possible candidate is the venitive verb" (1993, 27). To support his statement, Ricca notes that while it is common to find morphologically zero realizations of the G verbs, the same is not true of the C verbs. The often observed zero morphological realization of G verbs can thus, according to Ricca, indicate the semantic unmarkedness of such verbs (1993, 27). The question, however, gets even more complex with cases in which the C/G meanings are expressed by two respective morphemes. Since we are facing a ternary distinction in such cases (the neutral, the C, and the G verb), according to Ricca, neither of the three forms can be considered formally unmarked (1993, 28).

As regards the syntactic side of the matter, Ricca claims that if deixis is coded on auxiliaries and only a single deictic auxiliary exists in a given language, the deictic role within it will be fulfilled by the C verb. This is for example the case of a Nuova-Guinea language named Dani, in which *pi* stands for *descend/go down*, *pi aka* meaning *he came down*, with *aka* [*he came*] functioning as a C auxiliary verb (1993, 28).

As for the appropriateness/semantic conditions, Ricca states that "the conditions for the use of C can always be formulated in terms of positives,[17] while the conditions for the use of G are, on the contrary, formulated in terms of negatives" (Ricca 1993, 29). According to Ricca, this feature of the definitions of the C verbs further points towards their marked character (1993, 29).

Finally, Santeusanio (2008) who has carried out research regarding the usage of C/G verbs by L2 German speakers of Italian arrived at the conclusion that in her testing, "the Italian G verb was utilized as a simple verb of movement, […] and as such, it is can be perceived as a basic-motion-expressing verb, void of any additional information regarding the type of motion (on foot, by car/train) or the direction of the motion (towards the speaker, towards, the addressee, or other goal" (2008, 115). I believe that Santausanio's findings further support the previously made claims about the marked character of C verbs.

Let me now move to the cross-linguistic differences in DVMs.

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[17] e.g. [+towards the speaker/the addressee/other] (Fillmore 1997; Lewandowski 2014) or [+into speaker's functional space] (Matsumoto et al. 2017)

2.3 Cross-linguistic differences in deictic verbs of motion

In this section, I am going to delve deeper in the cross-linguistic differences in the use of C/G verbs, and the potential factors affecting the choice between C/G. Through the literature reviewed, English and Spanish appear to be the two most widely analyzed languages, the latter, perhaps, being the more dominant of the two. As concerns Italian, the research regarding it is, to my knowledge, extremely scarce, and even in the limited number, the majority of the resources closely follows the base established by Ricca (1993). I will, however, try to offer as much detail regarding Italian as possible.

Following the hierarchy established by Lewandowski (2014) (Table 4), I will now address the cross-linguistic differences related to mainly to the deictic center, perspective (where relevant), and comitative context. The overviewed languages are, based on the goals of C for which they allow, divided in four groups: Goal-1, Goal-2, Goal-3, and Goal-4-languages. In order to account for at least one language from each group of Lewandowski's classification, I am going to present examples from Portuguese (Goal-1-languages), Spanish (Goal-2-languages), English, Italian (both Goal-3-languages), and Czech (Goal-4-languages).

2.3.1. Goal-1-languages: Portuguese

Goal-1-languages are languages that only use the C verb for description of motion directed towards the speaker's location at coding time (Goal 1) (Lewandowski 2014, 46). An example of such a language is Portuguese:

(14) a. ***Infelizmente, não   estarei   cá   amanhã.***
Unfortunately no   be-1SG-FUT here   tomorrow
Mas   venha   de   qualque   maneira.
but   come-3SG-IMP   of   any   way
'Unfortunately, I will not be here tomorrow. But come anyway'

  b. ***Vá   amanhã   ao   me   uescritório,   falaremos***
Go-3SG-IMP tomorrow   to   my   office   talk-2PL-FUT
sobre   isso.
about   that
'Go tomorrow to my office, we will talk about it'

(based on Ricca 1993, 94)

Since Portuguese only allows the usage of the C verb *vir* [come] for motion towards the speaker's location at coding time (14a), for the speaker's location at reference time, the G verb *ir* [go] has to be used in (14b).

As regards comitative context, Ricca claims that in Portuguese, the C verb is used for both accompaniment of the speaker at coding time and at reference time, but only in imperative sentences (Ricca 1993, 111):[18]

(15) a.   **Já**   **trabalhaste**   **o**   **suficiente,**
           Already   work-2SG-PST-PRF   ART-SG-M   enough
           vem   **comigo**   **agora.**
           come-2SG-IMP   with me   now
           'You have worked enough, come with me now'

    b.   **Oque vais**   **fazer**   **esta**   **noite? Vem**
           What   go-2SG   do-INF   this   night come-2SG-IMP
           comigo   **a**   **cinema.**
           with-me   to   cinema
           'What are you doing tonight? Come with me to the cinema'

                                (based on Ricca 1993, 76)

2.3.2. Goal-2-languages: Spanish

Goal-2-languages are languages that use the C verb to describe motion towards the speaker's location at coding time (Goal 1) and also allow for the use of C for descriptions of motion directed towards the speaker's location at reference time (Goal 2) (Lewandowski 2014, 46). An example of such a language is Spanish:

(16) a.   **Ven**   **/ *ve**   **aquí a las**   **cuatro**.
           come-2SG-IMP / go-2SG-IMP   here at ART-PL-F   four
           'Come/*go here at four.'

    b.   **¿Quién**   **vendr-á**   **/ ir-á**   **a**
           who   come-3SG-FUT / go-3SG.FUT   to
           vernos   **a**   **ese lugar**   **tan lejano?**
           see.INF.PRON-1PL   to   that place   so far-off
           'Who will visit us in that far-off place?'

                              (Lewandowski 2014, 48)

In (16a) "the spatial adverb *aquí* (here) indicates that the speaker is present at the goal of the movement at the time when the sentence is uttered" (Lewandowski 2014, 48). Because of that, the verb *venir* [come] but not *ir* [go] has to be used. On the other hand, the sentence in (16b) describes future motion towards the speaker at reference time. Since Spanish allows for the use of C with motion towards Goal 2, both the C verb *venir* [come] and G verb *ir* [go] can be used (Lewandowski 2014, 48).

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[18] Unfortunately, Ricca (1993) does not translate/gloss his examples from other languages. Instead, he works with an English formula, in which the reader then has to substitute *MOVE* with either the C verb, or the G verb, based on the results presented. In this case, the formulas are *You´ve worked long enough! MOVE with me now* for (15a) and *MOVE with me to the cinema* for (15b). For all the Portuguese examples, I have taken the formulas, substituted the verb MOVE with either *come*, or *go* (based on Ricca's results for Portuguese) and translated the sentences in DeepL.

Even though Spanish allows for the use of both C and G for motion towards Goal 2, Lewandowski's notes that the choice of the verb is affected by the presence or absence of the speaker at reference time (Lewandowski 2014, 49):

(17) a.   ***Llegu-é***   ***a***   ***la***   ***biblioteca***   ***y***
           Arrive-1SG-PST   to   the   library   and
           vi   ***que***   ***también***   ***hab-ia***
           see-1SG-PST that   also   have-3SG-AUX-PST
           ido/??venido mi   ***hermano.***
           go/come-PST my   brother.
           'When I arrived at the library, I realized that my brother had gone/??come there too'

(17) b.   ***He***   ***telefoneado desdeel***   ***aeropuerto***   ***y***
           have-1SG-AUX call-PST   from.ART-SG-M   airport   and
           me   ***han***   ***dicho***   ***que***
           me   have-3PL-AUX   tell-PST   that
           ven-ian/??-i-ban   ***a***   ***buscar-me.***
           come-3PL.PST/GO-3-PL.PST   to   pick up-INF-PRON-1SG.
           'I called from the airport and they told me that they were coming/??going to pick me up'

                                                        (Lewandowski 2014, 49)

According to Lewandowski, the usage of pluscuamperfecto (Past Perfect form) in (17a) suggests that "the speaker was not located at the goal of movement (the library) at the time when his/her brother arrived there," (2014, 49), therefore, native speakers usually opt for G. On the other hand, G would sound strange in a sentence such as (17b), where the speaker is undeniably present at the goal of movement (in this case the airport) at reference time (2014, 49).

Speaking about the effects of the presence of the speaker at reference time, according to Gathercole, Spanish in fact allows for the usage of C even for description of motion directed towards Goal 3 but only "in a situation in which the addressee is going to have a party tonight and the speaker will be going and will be helping in the preparations for the party" (1978, 78). Should either of the two conditions—the speaker is either not going to participate or is not going to help in the preparations—not be fulfilled, the G verb is more likely to be used to describe such motion (1978, 78):

(18) a.   ***Viene***   ***Juan***   ***a***   ***tu***   ***casa***   ***esta***   ***noche?***
           Come-3SG   Juan   to   you-POSS   house this   night
           'Is Juan coming to your house tonight?'

(18) b.   ***Va***   ***Juan***   ***a***   ***tu***   ***casa***   ***esta***   ***noche?***
           Go-3SG   Juan   to   you-POSS   house this   night
           'Is Juan going to your house tonight?'

                                                     (Gathercole 1978, 78)

Gathercole (1978) claims that the usage of C in (18a) implies that the speaker will be present in the addressee's house at reference time (thus, the motion is also going to be directed towards the speaker at reference time) and that he/she is also going to help the addressee with the organization of the party. On the other hand, in (18b), the speaker will either not be present in the addressee's house at reference time (thus, the motion is not going to be directed towards the speaker at reference time) or he/she will not participate at the preparations but will be present at the party (1978, 78).

As regards comitative context, Ricca claims that Spanish obligatorily uses C with imperative sentences in which the person accompanied is the speaker at both coding (19a) and reference time (19b) (1993, 111): [19]

(19) a. ***Has   trabajado   suficiente, ahora ven***
          Have-2SG-AUX   worked-PTCP   enough   now come-2SG-IMP
          conmigo.
          with-me
          'You've worked enough, come with me now'

      b. ***¿Qué haces   esta noche? Ven   al   .***
          What   do-2SG this night   come-2SG-IMP to.ART-SG-M
          cine   conmigo
          cinema   with-me
          'What are you doing tonight? Come with me to the cinema'
                                                        (based on Ricca 1993, 76)

On the other hand, in both iterative and non-iterative indicative sentences, C/G may alter:[20]

(20) a. ***El   verano   pasado   viniste/fuiste   conmigo***
          ART-SG-M   summer   last   come/go-2SG-PST   with-me
          al   cine   todos los   fines   de   semana.
          to.ART-SG-M cinema all   ART-PL-M   end-PL of   week
          'Last summer you used to come/go with me to the cinema every weekend'

      b. ***John   vendrá/irá   conmigo   al   cine***
          John   come/go-3SG-FUT   with-me   to.ART-SG-M   cinema
          esta   noche.
          this   night
          'John is coming/going to the cinema with me tonight'
                                                        (based on Ricca 1993, 75)

Notice that in both (20a) and (20b), the accompaniment is made explicit by the presence of *conmigo* [with me]. According to Gathercole, "the assertion of 'with me' or 'with you'

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[19] Again, Ricca (1993) only works with an English formula, in which MOVE has to be substituted by either the C or the G verb. The formula corresponds to the English translations of the sentences. I would like to thank my good friend Karen, who is a native speaker of Spanish, for the translation of all Spanish examples which are based on Ricca's formulas.

[20] Karen agrees that the usage of both C and G is possible in both examples, she would, however, personally prefer the usage of G in (20b).

makes overt the presupposition that is carried covertly by the verb 'come'. By the assertion of these elements, the distinction between 'come' and 'go' becomes neutralized" (1978, 84), and subjective factors such as the perceived closeness and intimacy come into play (1978, 84). Consequently, Gathercole suggests that the if the C verb *venir* [come] is used in the 'you-with-me' case of accompaniment, such as in (20a), the sentence results more inviting and intimate. On the other hand, if it is used in the 'he-with-me' case of accompaniment, as in in (20b), the sentence does not result any more inviting that if the G verb *ir* [go] was used. This may again suggest that in certain cases, the use of C also depends on extralinguistic factors.

I will now address the Goal-3-languages. In the case of Goal-3-languages, I will not focus on one, but on two languages, since both English and Italian, i.e., languages within the main scope of this thesis, are both classified as Goal-3-languages.

2.3.3. *Goal-3-languages: English and Italian*

Goal-3-languages are languages that require the use of C for motion towards the speaker's location at coding time (Goal 1) and allow for (or require) the use of C for motion towards the speaker's location at reference time (Goal 2) and also for motion towards the addressee's location (Goal 3) (Lewandowski 2014, 46). As suggested previously, both English (Ricca 1993; Lewandowski 2014) and Italian (Ricca 1993; Santeusanio 2008; Hijazo-Gascón 2017) are considered examples of Goal-3-languages. First, I am going to address English.

Right away, three things regarding the possible goals of C in English should be noted. Firstly, while it is true that English indeed—in the truly deictic sense—allows for the use of C with Goals 1, 2, 3, and not Goal 4, the C verb is only unconditionally required when describing motion towards the Goal 1, i.e., motion towards the speaker's location at coding time (Ricca 1993, 41). With Goal 2 and Goal 3, English may also use the G verb. According to Lewandowski, this is due to the fact that the greater the possibilities of deictic center extension are in a given language, the stronger the tendency for alternation of C/G is (Lewandowski 2014, 47):

(21) a. *He came/*went here two hours before I arrived.*
      b. *He'll come/go to the office tomorrow to pick me up.*
      c. *She'll come/go there to meet you.*
      d. *Tomorrow, I'll go/*come to John's place.*

(Lewandowski 2014, 47)

Example (21a) demonstrates that in English, when the deictic center is the speaker's location at coding time (i.e., the prototypical deictic center), the C verb has to be used. As suggested,

in contexts further away from the prototypical deictic center, such as in the case of the deictic center being the speaker at reference time, as in (21b) or the addressee, as in (21c), C/G tend to alternate. In (21d), on the other hand, only G is acceptable since English does not allow for the deictic center to be shifted to a non-speech-act-participant-related goal, i.e., to a goal unrelated to either the speaker or the addressee.

Secondly, there in fact exist contexts in which English commonly uses C for motion towards Goal 4, i.e., non-speech-act-participant-related goal. Specifically, *come* can be used for motion towards Goal 4 in contexts in which the narrator describes a motion towards a character present in the given narrative situation:

(22)   *The men came into her bedroom.*

(Ricca 1993, 42)

Ricca notes that this use of C is essentially non-deictic, since it cannot be tied to a deictic center/speech act participant. Rather, the reader identifies with the point of view of the character—the woman who *is* in the bedroom—, or, as suggested by Zhang (2022, 1347) the narrator, who, in the case of (22), 'positions' himself/herself in the bedroom. Consequently, the reader understands the motion as if it were directed towards him/her (Ricca 1993, 42). From now on, I am going to refer to this context as to 'narrative context'.

The two possible point-of-view identifications (the character/the narrator), complicate the matter even further. If I, the reader, were to identify with the point of view of the woman who *is*[21] in the bedroom, then the motion of the men would be understood as motion towards the speaker's (the woman's) location at coding time, even if it is grammatically 'positioned' in the past.[22] On the other hand, if I, the reader identified with the point of view of the narrator who 'positions' himself in the room (possibly even without the woman being there), the motion expressed by *come* could be understood either as motion towards the speaker's (the narrator's) location at coding time (the narrator *is* 'present' together with the character) but also as motion towards the speaker's (the narrator's) location at reference time (the narrator *was* 'present' in the bedroom when the men came).[23] To my understanding, the possibility of temporal specification within the narrative context depends heavily on whether the reader identifies with the character, as suggested by Ricca (1993, 42),

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[21] "[…] l'identificazione del lettore con il punto di vista della donna che si *trova* nella stanza." [identification of the reader with the point of view of the woman who *finds* herself in the room] (Ricca 1993, 42).

[22] In fact, no story can ever be narrated in a book at 'coding time' in the true sense. The illusion of 'coding time' can only be created via narrative techniques.

[23] I believe that this narrative situation could, rather frequently, be found for example in detective stories, when the author tries to build up tension by describing two different story lines, for instance, that of a woman who finds herself away from her apartment and that of the men breaking into the apartment and *coming* in her room.

or the narrator, as suggested by Zhang (2022, 1347). Because of that, I am not going to differentiate between the 'speaker's' location at coding time and the 'speaker's' location at reference time in such cases, but only between the goals of the motion in my analysis. In other words, I am only going to focus on whether the goal of the motion is the character with whom the reader identifies, or whether the goal of the motion is the narrator with whom the reader identifies.[24]

It should also be noted that the use of C (with either of the possible identifications) is not unrestricted in this context:

(23) *The men **came** to her bedroom and then **came** right out again.

(Ricca 1993, 43)

As follows from (23), once the reader adopts the point of view of a given character/the narrator, he/she stays within in for the whole narrative situation. Thus, *came right out* in (23) cannot be used, since the reader still views the situation through the perspective of the woman/the narrator from whom the motion is directed away (Ricca 1993, 42-43).

Thirdly, apart from the previously mentioned Goals, there is another location which can be considered a further possible goal of C in English; the homebase, i.e., the place generally referred to as "home" by the individuals involved in the communicative act (Fillmore 1997).[25] According to Fillmore (1997, 62), both *go* and *come* can be used when describing motion of the speaker, as in (24a) and (24b), the addressee, as in (24c) and (24d), or a third person, as in (24e) and (24f), towards their homebase. The meanings, however, differ based on the verb used:

(24) a. *I'm going to go home now.*
       b. *I'm going to come home now.*

       c. *When are you going to go home?*
       d. *When are you going to come home?*

       e. *Johnny went home.*
       f. *Johny came home.*

(Fillmore 1997, 62)

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[24] In *The Name of the Rose*, Adso of Melk is both a character and the narrator of the story. In cases in which Adso is the person who tells the story, i.e., in cases in which he himself does not adopt the point of view of another character, I will try to also differentiate between coding and reference time.

[25] From the literature reviewed, the concept of homebase is only taken in consideration by Fillmore (1997) and Gathercole (1978) for English, and Ricca (1993) for English and Italian. As regards Portuguese and Czech, the concept of homebase is not mentioned in the literature reviewed. I suppose that since Portuguese does not allow for C with any goal other than the speaker, it will not be used for homebase either. As for Czech, I am convinced that C can be used for both the speaker's and the addressee's homebase at both coding and reference time.

While in (24a), the only information extractable from *go* is that the speaker at coding time finds himself/herself in a location different from that of his/her homebase, in (24b), the use of *come* also implies the presence of the addressee in the speaker's or the speaker and the addressee's shared homebase at coding time. In (24c), the use of *go* implies that the speaker is not located at the homebase of the addressee. Contrastingly, in (24d), the use of *come* implies that the speaker either is located at or shares the homebase with the addressee. Finally, while in (24e) the use of *go* suggests that Johnny went to his home(base), the use of *come* in (24f) suggests that the speaker shares the home(base) with Johnny (Fillmore 1997, 62).

According to Gathercole (1978), the aspect of presence of speech act participants further plays a role in reference time-related homebase contexts:

(25) a. *I'm sorry I wasn't home when you/John came to my house last week.*
      b. *There wasn't anybody home when I/John came to your house last week.*
      c. *??Are you coming to my house tonight?*

                                                                    (Gathercole 1978, 80)

Gathercole suggests that in past tense, C can be used for motion of the addressee/third person towards the homebase of the speaker, as in (25a), as well as for motion of the speaker/third person towards the addressee's homebase, as in (25b), even if they, the speaker/the addressee, were not present at their homebase at reference time. On the other hand, usage of C such as the one in (25c) "is somewhat questionable in the present or future, when it is understood that the speaker will not be present" (Gathercole 1978, 80). Fillmore (1997) further states that when a past tense sentence refers to a third person who was not present at his/her homebase at reference time, the usage of *come* is unacceptable:

(26) **I came over to Fred's place last night, but he wasn't home.*

                                                                    (Fillmore 1997, 61)

Fillmore also notes that while the place referred to at homebase "need not be the homebase at coding time" (1971, 62), as in (27a), it has to be the person's home(base) at reference time, since a sentence like that in (27b) would otherwise result unacceptable in the home(base) interpretation:

(27) a. *When you lived on Sixth Street, I came over several times to visit you, but nobody was ever home.*
      b. *I came over to that house about a week before you bought it.*

                                                                    (Fillmore 1997, 60-61)

Gathercole (1978) further notes the usage of C in English also depends on the presence/absence of the speech act participants at goals of motion different from the homebase, as she claims that "if the presupposition is that the addressee will be located at

the GOAL at Tr, then the assertion must be about the speaker in order for 'come' to be used" (1978, 78). On the other hand, C cannot be used "if it is presupposed that the addressee will be at the GOAL at Tr, but the speaker will not" (1978, 78), as in (28):

(28)   *Is John coming to the movie?*

(Gathercole 1978, 78)

Apart from the possible goals of C and the presence/absence of speech-act-participants in the given locations at given times, Lewandowski emphasizes that according to Fillmore (1971), C/G in English also differ in the temporal orientation they codify:

(29)   a.   *I went home at seven.*
          b.   *I came home at seven.*

(Lewandowski 2014, 47, based on Fillmore 1971)

In (29a), the G verb is source-oriented because the temporal specification in the example sentence refers to the point from which the motion started. On the other hand, in (29b), the C verb is goal-oriented; came refers to the time at which the speaker reached the goal, in this case his/her home(base) (Lewandowski 2014, 47).

As regards comitative context, English only requires the use of C in imperative sentences in which the person accompanied is the speaker at both coding and reference time (Ricca 1993, 111):

(30)   a.   *You've worked long enough! Come/*go with me now.*
          b.   *What are you doing tonight? Come/*go with me to the cinema.*

(based on Ricca 1993, 76)

In indicative sentences, C/G can alternate when the person accompanied is the speaker and when the person accompanied is the addressee in both non-iterative, as in (31a) and (31c), and iterative sentences, as in (31b) and (31d) but not when the person accompanied is a third person non-speech-act participant:[26]

(31)   a.   *John is coming/going with me to the cinema tonight.*
          b.   *Last summer, you used to come/go with me to the cinema every weekend.*
          c.   *Tonight, I am coming/going with you to the cinema.*
          d.   *Last summer, I used to come/go to the cinema with you every weekend.*

(based on Ricca 1993, 75)

The same accompaniment rules apply for interrogative sentences (when specified by with you/with me):[27]

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[26]Unfortunately, the example sentences for accompaniment of third person-non-speech-act-participant are not available to me, as Ricca only lists them in the index of his book. According to Ricca, English uses the G verb in such case (1993, 111).

[27]According to Gathercole (1978), the only language—from those analyzed by her—which allows for such usage of C without any restrictions is Turkish. However, she acknowledges that should the speaker have

(32)   a.   *Are you coming (with me)?*
           b.   *Can I come (with you)?*
           c.   *Is John coming (with me)?*
           d.   **Is John coming (with you)?*

(Gathercole 1978, 81)

As concerns the previously mentioned greater intimacy/inviting character of C in (interrogative[28]) sentences containing the phrase 'with me', Gathercole claims that in English, this aspect plays no role (1978, 85).

Lastly, a specific case of use of C is also that found in the reported speech context. Ricca claims that prevailingly deictic languages (Table 2), such as English, allow for (or require, for instance in case of German) the usage of C even when the speaker who is referring does not coincide with the speaker who had previously uttered the sentence (1993, 107). The use of C, however, is not mandatory:

(33)   *Anna phoned me and asked me to come/go to her place.*

(Ricca 1993, 107)

Let me now address Italian. Again, I will start with the possible goals of motion with which the C is used.

Unlike English and contrary to the previously mentioned tendency for alternation of C/G in languages with significant deictic center extension possibilities, Italian requires the use of C not only for motion directed towards Goal 1 but also for motion directed towards Goals 2 and 3 (Ricca 1993, 41). Like English, Italian does not allow for the use of C for motion towards Goal 4 in the truly deictic sense:

(34)   a.   **Giorgio viene/*va   qui   da   me   ogni giorno.**
               Giorgio come/*go   here   to   me   every day
               'Giorgio comes to my place every day'

           b.   **Verrà/*andrà lì   all'alba.**
               come/*go   there   at dawn
               'He/she will come/go there at dawn'

           c.   **Oggi non   vengo/*vado da   te.**
               Today not   come/*go   to   you
               'Today I am not coming/going to your place'

           d.   **Se   rimani a   casa tu,   *vengo/vado un   momento**
               If   stay   at   home you   *come/go   ART   moment
               da   Mario.

---

    some special interest/wants to express interest in the actions of the addressee, such usage is also possible in English (1978, 85).

[28]Gathercole (1978) only works with interrogative sentences. I am not sure to what extent the same can be applied to indicative sentences.

to   Mario

'If you stay at home, I will go to Mario's place'

(based on Ricca 1993, 41 and Santeusanio 2008, 92)

In (34a), the use of the adverb *qui* [here] clearly indicates the speaker's presence in the given location. Thus, the motion of the Figure (Giorgio) is directed towards the speaker's location at coding time. In example (34b), it is presupposed that the speaker will be present at the reference place at dawn. Because of that, the motion is understood as motion towards the speaker's location at reference time, i.e., as motion for description of which Italian requires the use of C. In example (34c), the motion is directed towards the addressee, as suggested by the prepositional phrase *da te* [to you]. Finally, in example (34d), the motion is directed towards a non-speech-act-participant-related goal. Unless found in the narrative context, Italian has to use the G verb to describe motion directed towards such a goal.

As suggested, Italian, like English, also allows for use of C towards Goal 4 in the narrative context:

(35)   *«Scendeva dalla soglia d'uno di quegli usci, e **veniva** verso il convoglio, una donna, il cui aspetto annunziava una giovinezza avanzata, ma non trascorsa, [...]»*
"A woman was stepping out of one of those doors, towards the carts. She was young, though no longer in the very first bloom of youth, [...]"[29]

(Ricca 1993, 42)

In (35), the reader identifies with the point of view of Renzo, one of the protagonists of *The Betrothed*. Thus, the motion of the woman leaving the door is viewed as directed towards Renzo (the reader). As a consequence, the C verb *venire* is used (Ricca 1993, 42).

As concerns motion towards homebase, in Italian, both C and G can be used for description of motion either towards the speaker's homebase, as in (36a), or the addressee's homebase, as in (36b), even in cases in which neither of the speech act participants was at home at reference time: [30]

(36) a.   ***È***   ***venuto/andato***   ***a casa mia   ieri***
         Be-3SG-AUX come-PTCP/go-PTCP   to house my-POSS yesterday
         sera   ma io non ero   a casa.
         night but I not be-1SG-IMPF at home
         'He came over to my place last night, but I was not at home'

    b.   ***È***   ***venuto/andato***   ***a casa tua   ieri***

---

[29] The text quoted by Ricca (1993) comes from the famous Italian novel *I Promessi Sposi* [*The Betrothed*] (Alessandro Manzoni, 1827/1845). The English text comes from the translation of Bruce Penman from 1984. Note that the venitive verb was omitted from the English translation.

[30] According to Ricca (1993) 'homebase' can be considered an extension of the speaker's location at reference time (*ego*) and addressee's location at reference time (*tu*)., i.e., the goals for motion towards which Italian uses the C verb), as the 'homebase' has to be the speaker's/addressee's home not at coding time, but at reference time (1993, 72).

Be-3SG-AUX come-PTCP/go-PTCP   to house you-POSS yesterday
sera   ma tu   non eri   a casa.
night   but you not be-3SG-IMPF at house.
'He came over to your place last night, but you weren't at home'

<div align="right">(based on Ricca 1993, 41)</div>

Like in English, the C/G verbs in Italian also express either source-oriented perspective (G), as in (37a), or goal-oriented perspective (C), as in (37b):

(37) a.   *È*   *andato*   *a*   *casa*   *a*
           Be-3SG-AUX   go-PTCP   to   house   at
           mezzanotte.
           midnight
           'He went home at midnight'

      b.   *È*   *venuto*   *a*   *casa*   *a*
           Be-3SG-AUX   come-PTCP   to   house   at
           mezzanotte.
           midnight
           'He came home at midnight'

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 30)</div>

However, the two languages are not exactly the same in all perspective-regarding aspects. For example, in imperfective aspect, this orientation-related C/G distinction holds in English, but not in Italian:

(38) a.   *A*   *mezzanotte* *stava*   *andando*   *a*   *casa.*
           At   midnight   be-3SG-AUX-IMPF   go-GER   to   house
           'He was going home at midnight'

      b.   *A*   *mezzanotte* *stava*   *venendo*   *a*   *casa.*
           At   midnight   be-3SG-AUX-IMPF   come-GER   to   house
           'He was coming home at midnight'

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 30)</div>

Ricca argues that in Italian, (38a) and (38b) do not differ in the stage of motion they express.[31] In other words, the distance from home at midnight indicated can easily be the same for both sentences. Followingly, it is also suggested that in Italian, the amount of information extractable from C/G can often be exactly the same. As a consequence, the G verb in Italian, can—contrary to Spanish and likely English[32]—also be used with the adverb *qui/qua* (here) when referring to the location of the speaker at coding time (Ricca 1993, 28).

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[31] To my understanding, Ricca is convinced that the use of C in the English sentence in (38b) suggests that at midnight, the Figure was closer to the goal (home) than to the source of the motion.

[32] Based on data from Sketch Engine, it appears that English uses 'go here' when referencing a specific web page section or possibly refers to a specific point on the map (likely accompanied by a pointing gesture). The literature reviewed, to my knowledge, does not account for such a usage. Probably due to the fact that such usage can be, I believe, considered non-deictic.

Interestingly, Ricca points out that should there be a clash of orienting elements (*ora* [now] for (39a), and *alle 9 precise* [at 9 o'clock sharply] for (39b)), and deictic elements (C/G verbs in this case) in either of the two languages (English and Italian), the deictic elements always come out on top (1993, 30):

(39) a. ***Vieni   qua   ora!***
         Come-2SG-IMP   here   now!
         'Come here now!'

    b. ***Vada   domani   alle   9   precise***
         Go-3SG-IMP tomorrow   at.ART-F-PL   9   precise
         alla   sede   centrale.
         to.ART- SG-F   headquarters   central
         'Tomorrow at 9 o´clock sharp, go to the main headquarters building'
                                       (Ricca 1993, 30)

Due to the deictic conditions (movement towards the speaker), the C verb has to be used in (39a). Yet, *ora/now* has to refer to the initiation of the movement (the speaker wants the addressee to start moving towards him/her). Thus, the C verb and the adverbial *ora/now* clash. However, since, as noted, deictic elements always come on top, the C verb will prevail even though, in essence, it has to refer to the departure, which is usually expressed by the G verb (37a). Conversely, since the motion denoted in (39b) is directed towards a goal different from both the speaker and the addressee, and since neither English nor Italian allow for such a goal to be used with C, the G verb will be used, even though the motion itself is certainly goal-oriented (and thus typically expressed by the C verb (37b)); the speaker wants the addressee to arrive at the headquarters at 9, they do not want them to start moving towards it at 9 (Ricca 1993, 30).

As concerns motion towards the homebase, in Italian, C and G can be used when describing motion towards both the speaker's and the addressee's homebase (Ricca 1993, 41):

(40) a. ***È   venuto/andato   a   casa   mia***
         Be-3SG-AUX   come/go-PTCP   to   house I-POSS
         la   notte scorsa, ma   io   non   ero   a   casa.
         ART-F night last   but   I   no   be-1SG-IMPF at   house
         'He came to my house last night, but I wasn't at home'

    b. ***È   venuto/andato   a   casa   tua***
         Be-3SG-AUX come/go-PTCP   to   house you-POSS
         La   notte scorsa ma   tu   non   eri   a
         ART-F-SG   night last   but   you   no   be-1SG-IMPF at
         casa.
         house

'He came to your house last night, but you weren't at home'

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 41)</div>

As concerns comitative context in Italian, Ricca claims that unless person accompanied is a third person non-speech act participant, the only verb acceptable in both imperative sentences at coding/reference time is the C verb (1993, 111):[33]

(41) a. ***Hai lavorato abbastanza! Vieni con me.***
Have-2SG-AUX work-PTCP enough Come-2SG-IMP with me
'You've already worked long enough! Come with me'

b. ***Vieni con me al cinema stasera.***
Come-2SG-IMP with me to.ART-M-SG cinema tonight
'Come with me to the cinema tonight'

<div align="right">(based on Ricca, 1993, 76)</div>

The same applies for non-iterative and iterative indicative sentences:

(42) a. ***John viene con me al cinema stasera.***
John come-3SG with me to.ART-M-SG cinema tonight
'John is coming/going with me to the cinema tonight'

b. ***L'estate scorsa venivi con me al***
ART-M-SG.summer last come-2SG-IMPF with me to.ART-M-SG
cinema ogni finesettimana.
cinema every weekend
'Last summer, you used to come/go with me to the cinema every weekend'

c. ***Stasera vengo con te al cinema.***
Tonight come-1SG with you to.ART-M-SG cinema
'Tonight, I'm coming/going with you to the cinema'

d. ***L'estate scorsa venivo con te al***
ART-M-SG.summer last come-1SG-IMPF with you to.ART-M-SG
cinema ogni finesettimana.
cinema every weekend
'Last summer, I used to come/go to the cinema with you every weekend'

<div align="right">(based on Ricca 1993, 75)</div>

Finally, let me address reported speech. When discussing English, it was noted that prevailingly deictic languages allow for (or require) the use of C in reported speech even when the speaker who is referring does not coincide with the speaker who had previously uttered the sentence (Ricca 1993, 107). On the contrary, deictic languages (Table 2), such as Italian, generally do not allow for the preservation of C verbs in the passage from direct to indirect speech in cases in which the verb would refer to movement towards the speaker who

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[33] Again, example sentences of accompaniment of third person non-speech-act-participant are not available to me. According to Ricca, however, Italian uses the G verb in such case (1993, 111)

is now reporting, i.e., who is not the same person as the one originally uttering the sentence (1993, 106):

(43) **Anna mi   ha   telefonato   e**
      Anna I-DAT   have-3SG-AUX   phone-PTCP   and
      mi   ha   chiesto   di   andare da
      I-DAT have-3SG-AUX   ask-PTCP   of   go-INF to
      lei   stasera.
      she   tonight.
      'Anna phoned me and asked me to come/go to her place tonight'

<div align="right">(Ricca 1993, 106)</div>

Before proceeding to Goal-4-languages, specifically to the case of Czech, I present an overview of similarities/differences in the use of C found in English and Italian:

Goal/Context		English	Italian
Goal	Speaker CT	C	C
	Speaker RT	C/G	C
	Addressee	C/G	C
	Other	G	G
Context	Other in narrative	C/G	C/G
	Homebase (S/A)	C/G	C/G
	Goal/Source orientation	C/G	C/G
	Reported speech – different S	C/G	G
	Comitative (S/A)	C/G	C

Table 7: Summary of similarities/differences in use of C/G in English and Italian (based on Gathercole 1978; Ricca 1993; Fillmore 1997; Santeusanio 2008; Hijazo-Gascón 2014; Lewandowski 2014)

2.3.4. Goal-4-languages: Czech

Goal-4-languages are languages that allow for the usage of C for motion not only towards the speaker's or addressee's location but also for motion towards any other non-speech-act-participant-related goal. Czech is an example of such a language.

The C/G system of Czech demonstrates a specific complexity: the language morphologically differentiates between two G verbs and two C verbs, depending on whether the motion is on foot or by vehicle (i.e., based on the manner of the motion). The two G verbs are *jít* (on foot) and *jet* (by vehicle) and the two C verbs are *přijít* (on foot) and *přijet* (by vehicle) (Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 88).

Notice that the C verbs are formed by adding the *při-* [towards] affix to the G verb base. In Czech, adding prefixes to the G verb *jít* [go on foot] (as well as *jet* [go by vehicle]) is actually very common and can be used to expresses various directions and of movements and also the imperfective aspect of the verb. Examples of such verbs are for instance *ode-jít*

<div align="center">45</div>

[to walk away], *vy-jít* [to walk out of a place], *obe-jít* [to walk around a place], et cetera (Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 88).

Since Czech is a Goal-4-language, it allows for the usage of C for motion towards the speaker's location at coding time and reference time, the addressee's location, and also any other non-speech-act-participant related goal. Despite the potentially unrestricted goals of C, certain rules/tendencies regarding the usage of C/G in Czech are still present:

(44)   a.   **Hned   jak   to   skončí,   přijď**
               Immediately   how   it   end-3SG-FUT come-2SG-IMP
               za   mnou dozadu za   podium.
               behind I-INST back   behind podium
               "As soon as it finishes, come to pick me up backstage."

         b.   **Vidíš   toho robota, co   jede   k   nám?**
               See-2SG-PRES   that   robot what go   to   we-DAT
               "Can you see the robot coming towards us?"

         c.   **Nevím,   kam   chtěl   jet   druhý**
               Know-1SG-NEG   where want-3SG-PST   go   second
               den.
               day
               "I do not know where he wanted to go the next day."

         d.   **Můžu   večer   přijít? zeptal   se**
               Can-1P-SG   evening   come   ask-3P-SG-PST   PART
               pokorně.
               humbly
               "Can I come see you?" he asked humbly."

                                          (Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 89)

In example (44a), C is used due to the fact that the goal at reference time is the same place as the place of utterance. As regards movement towards the place of utterance, in Czech, the usage of C and G may alter. In example (44b), the speaker opted for G, even though the goal of the motion is the location of the speaker(s). This is because an imperfective verb is required in this context. Example (44c) illustrates a movement towards an unknown reference place, in which case Czech uses G. Finally, the sentence in (44d) exemplifies motion towards the addressee. In Czech, such motion allows for the use of C, especially when the situation is one of arrival (Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 89).

As regards comitative context, in contexts in which the speaker is being accompanied by the addressee, Czech uses the G verb:[34]

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[34] From the point of view of a native speaker, I am convinced that the G verb can also be used in imperative sentences such as *Pojď se mnou!* [Come with me!]. Unfortunately, neither Ricca (1993) nor Calle-Bocanegra (2019) mention accompaniment in Czech imperative sentences.

(45) **Vy   s   námi   nechcete   jet,   done**
You-FORM   with   we-INST   want-2PL-NEG   go   don
Adriáne?
Adrian
"You do not want to come with us, Sir Adrian?"

<div align="right">(Calle-Bocanegra 2019, 90)</div>

Let me now address the methodology adopted in the analysis of venitive verbs in English and Italian presented in this thesis.

3 Methodology

In this section, I am going to describe the methodology, with a focus on the creation of bidirectional parallel corpus of English and Italian within InterCorp.

3.1 Texts selection and creation of bidirectional translation corpus in InterCorp

As concerns the selection of texts suitable for the analysis, the choice was limited by the fact that only one Italian novel is aligned with its English translation in InterCorp, namely *Il Nome della Rosa* [*The Name of the Rose*] by Umberto Eco (1980). Thus, I had to search for a text similar in genre, and, if possible, also other literary aspects. In the end, *The Da Vinci Code* was chosen as the closest of the available comparable texts, i.e., English texts whose Italian translation is available in InterCorp, since it corresponds to *The Name of the Rose* not only in terms of genre—both texts are, in their essence, detective stories, the only difference being that *The Name of the Rose* is a historical novel—, but also in terms of the themes addressed by the two texts, such as detective work, religion, and mystery.

These two novels were used for the creation of the bidirectional parallel corpus: the English-to-Italian component thus consists of *The Da Vinci Code* by Dan Brown (2003) (170,886 tokens), aligned with its Italian translation. The Italian-to-English component consists of the original Italian text of *The Name of the Rose* (1980) by Umberto Eco (209,273 tokens), aligned with its English translation of the text. In these two components, *venire* is more frequent than *come* – their frequencies are 227 and 160, respectively.

3.2 Data and correspondences

To examine the data, I visualized the translation equivalents of the lemma *come* and *venire* (both directions) in KonText:

		InterCorp v15 - English ☑		InterCorp v15 - Italian ☑
☐	brown-sifra	He thought of the generations who had **come** before them … of the mission with which they had all been entrusted .	brown-sifra	Pensò alle generazioni venute prima di loro , alla missione affidata a tutt' e quattro .
☐	brown-sifra	He knew what **came** next - some ridiculous line about " Harrison Ford in Harris tweed " - and because this evening he had figured it was finally safe again to wear his Harris tweed and Burberry turtleneck , he decided to take action .	brown-sifra	Sapeva quel che [veniva] ora - un commento ridicolo su un " Harrison Ford in giacca di Harris Tweed " - e , poiché quella sera gli era sembrato di potere finalmente indossare senza pericolo un girocollo Burberry e la giacca di Harris Tweed , a quel punto aveva deciso di passare all' azione .
☐	brown-sifra	" May I **come** in ? " the agent asked .	brown-sifra	« Posso [entrare] ? » chiese il poliziotto .
☐	brown-sifra	Silas knew the information he had gleaned from his victims would **come** as a shock .	brown-sifra	Silas si rendeva conto che le informazioni strappate alle sue vittime lo avrebbero stupito .
☐	brown-sifra	An indecipherable confirmation **came** crackling back .	brown-sifra	Dall' altoparlante giunse una conferma indecifrabile , una sorta di gracidio coperto dalle scariche .
☐	brown-sifra	" You 're not **coming** ? "	brown-sifra	« Lei non [viene] ? »

Figure 2:Parallel correspondence with the visualization of the Italian equivalents of *come* in KonText

Since KonText is not always capable of finding all the translation equivalents (as visible in Figure 2), and since the corpus is not annotated semantically (the data cannot be sorted according to the locomotive, abstract, idiomatic, and auxiliary uses of C), the data had to be annotated manually. To do so, I exported all the data into an excel file and coded each token for a translation equivalent.

128	The time has	come	.	E il momento è giunto .	TIME
129	Sophie had	come	home a few days early from graduate university in England and mistakenly witnessed her grandfather engaged in something Sophie was obviously not supposed to see .	Sophie era tornata a casa con qualche giorno d' anticipo , alla fine dei corsi della sua università inglese , e per errore aveva trovato il nonno impegnato in un' attività a cui , ovviamente , Sophie non avrebbe dovuto assistere .	TORNARE
130	" And no one has	come	out under the Grand Gallery gate ? "	« E nessuno è uscito dalla grata della Grande Galleria ? »	USCIRE
131	Should we wave a flag and tell the Buddhists that we have proof the Buddha did not	come	from a lotus blossom ?	Dovremmo proclamare ai buddisti di avere la prova che il Buddha non è mai **uscito** da un fiore di loto ?	USCIRE
132	Throwing open the door , she	came	out , reaching with soft hands , cradling Sophie 's thunderstruck face .	La vecchia **uscì** sulla soglia , poi accarezzò il viso di Sophie , che tuttora non riusciva a muoversi .	USCIRE
133	Who we are and where we	came	from will take some time . "	Capire chi siamo e da dove veniamo richiederà più tempo . »	V
134	He thought of the generations who had	come	before them … of the mission with which they had all been entrusted .	Pensò alle generazioni **venute** prima di loro , alla missione affidata a tutt' e quattro .	V
135	" You 're not	coming	? "	« Lei non viene ? »	V
136	" Thank God you	came	.	« Grazie a Dio , è riuscito a venire .	V

Figure 3: The data from the English-to-Italian corpus, manually sorted according to the Italian translation equivalents of *come* (V=*venire*)

In the process of annotation, I also had to account for the character of the different uses of C. Thus, I distinguished between the cases of a truly physical agentive motion and abstract instantiations of the verbs. With some tokens of *come* and *venire* it was rather difficult to decide whether they exemplify an abstract or concrete use of the deictic verb:

(46)   *Se ci fosse giustizia, il diavolo **verrebbe** a prenderselo, questa notte.*
         *If justice existed, the Devil **would come** and take him this very night.*

In the end, I decided to include in the analysis agentive motion of humans but also of biblical figures such as the God, the Devil, Cain, the Death (as one of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse), the apostles and those alike.

49

The tokens of C whose Figures are natural, non-individual phenomena (e.g., sounds, lights, storms, mists, hail, etc.), as in (47a), inanimate objects (e.g., stones), as in (47b), or personified abstract notions (e.g., time, truth, heresy, love, etc.), as in (47c), were all omitted from the analysis:

(47)   a.   *<u>The noise seemed</u> **to be coming** from the last bedroom on an exceptionally long hallway.*
*<u>I suoni parevano</u> **giungere** dall' ultima sala di un corridoio lunghissimo.*

        b.   *Looking up to see where <u>the stone</u> **had come** from, he saw a hole in the trembling wall, and beyond it, a vision he had not seen in over ten years.*

                *Guardando in alto per capire da dove **venisse** <u>quella pietra</u>, aveva visto un foro nella parete che oscillava ancora e, dal foro, un'immagine che non vedeva da più di dieci anni.*

        c.   *E **saranno venuti** i tempi della fine e la fine dei tempi…*
*And the times of the end **will have come**, and the end of time…*

Metaphorical (48a) and idiomatic (48b) uses of venitive verbs, as well as their uses as auxiliary verbs—the Italian example in (48c)—were excluded as well:

(48)   a.   *"The word 'Draconian'?" he ventured, offering the first thing that **came to mind**.*
*«La parola "draconiano"?» azzardò, dicendo la prima cosa che gli **veniva in mente**.*

        b.   *"Might I ask you how you **came** by this key?"*
*«Posso chiedere come **avete ottenuto** la chiave?»*

        c.   *Due anni dopo **veniva eletto** ad Avignone il nuovo papa, Giacomo di Cahors, […]*
*Two years later, in Avignon, the new Pope **was elected**, […]*

After the exclusion of the above-mentioned uses of C verbs in both languages, I was left with 78 tokens of *come* and 97 tokens of *venire*. Only those tokens, i.e., the tokens describing agentive motion of animate Figures, are included in the analysis presented in this thesis.

With the data annotated and sorted, I followed Johansson (2007) in distinguishing between the following types of correspondences:
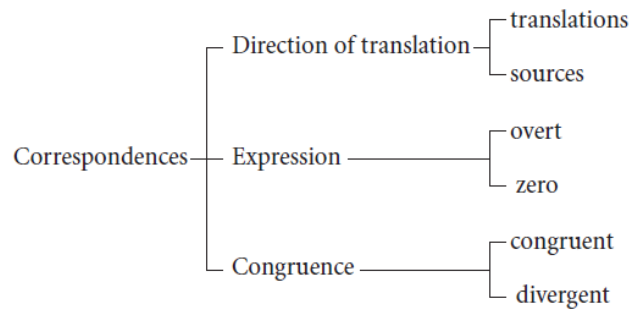
Figure 4: Classification of correspondences (Johansson 2007, 25)

In cases of overt correspondence, an expression/formal structure found in the source texts has a formal counterpart in the translation.

In cases of zero correspondence, the venitive verb has no formal counterpart in the translation.

Congruent correspondence is that in which the grammatical category of the source expression/formal structure corresponds to the category of the expression/formal structure in the translation. In cases of divergent correspondence, the category of the expression/formal structure from the source text is not the same as that of the expression/formal structure in the translation (Johansson 2007, 25-26). To exemplify, *come* from the English original of *The Da Vinci Code* translated in Italian as *venire* represents translation, overt, and congruent correspondence:

(49) *"He wouldn't have **come** here without a reason," said Sophie, standing up.*
   *«Se è **venuto** qui, aveva un motivo» sussurrò Sophie, alzandosi.*

Finally, I calculated the mutual correspondence, i.e., "the frequency with which different (grammatical, semantic, and lexical) expressions are translated into each other" (Altenberg 1999, 254, as cited in Johansson 2007, 26), of the C verbs in English and Italian (*come* and *venire*, respectively). To do so, I utilized the following formula:

$$\frac{A_t + B_t \; x \; 100}{A_s + B_s}$$

Figure 5: Mutual correspondence formula (Altenberg 1999, 254, as presented in Johansson 2007, 26)

In Figure 5, A_t and B_t stand for the frequencies of the two verbs (*come* and *venire*) in the translations, and A_s and B_s stand for their frequencies in the source texts. The higher the resulting value, the greater the correspondence between the items compared (Johansson 2007, 26).

4   Data analysis and discussion

In this section, I am going to present the findings of the corpus analysis. The data is organized into categories by the correspondence types distinguished in the preceding section. First, I address the congruent correspondences, then the divergent correspondences and zero correspondences. In cases in which *come* corresponds to *venire*, I also distinguish between types of the goal of the motion and the presence/absence of comitative context.

The mutual correspondence of *come* and *venire* is 62.9% The verb *come* was translated as *venire* in 26 cases (33.3% of agentive motion tokens), and the verb *venire* was translated as *come* in 84 cases (86.6% of agentive motion tokens). Even though a certain lowering in the mutual correspondence rate was to be predicted, the resulting percentage is, given the similar classification of English and Italian in terms of DVMs, still relatively low. Below, I offer a comparison of token frequencies of translation equivalents of *come* and *venire*:
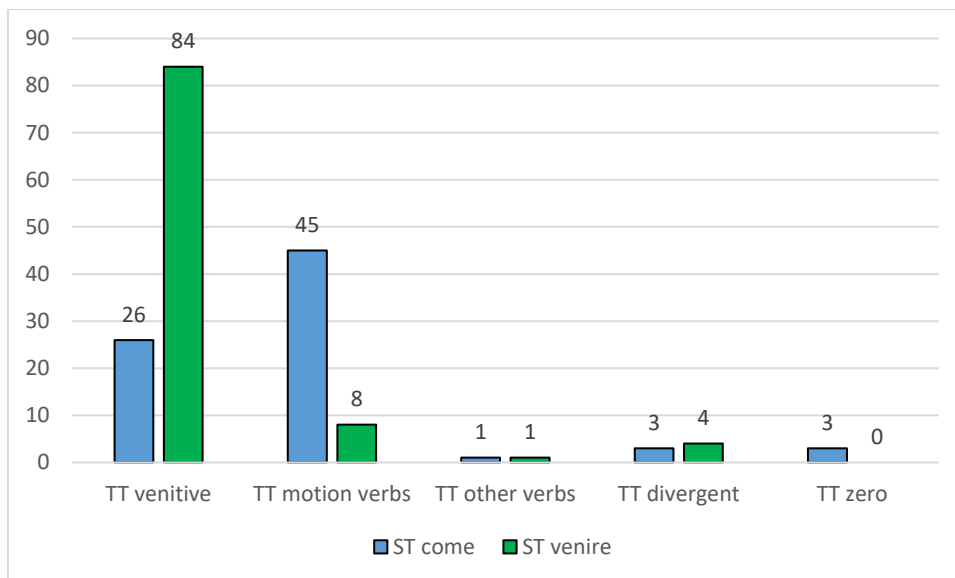

Figure 6: Comparison of token frequencies of translation equivalents of *come* and *venire*

As follows from Figure 6, there were 78 tokens of agentive motion *come* in the original text of *The Da Vinci Code* and 97 tokens of agentive motion *venire* in the original text of the *Name of The Rose*. Whilst *come* was often translated with a different non-deictic motion verb (45 tokens) rather than as *venire*, *venire* was mostly translated as *come* (84 of the 97 tokens).

To see the possible reasons for the relatively low mutual correspondence, let me first address the Italian translation equivalents of *come*.

4.1 Come and its Italian correspondences

I will start by discussing the translation equivalents of the verb *come* identified in the Italian translation of *The Da Vinci Code*. Before discussing specific examples in more detail, I present an overview of the translation equivalents of *come*:

English	Italian	Correspondence/Goal of C		Tokens
Come	**venire**	**Congruent correspondence**	/Speaker CT	17
			/Speaker RT	1
			/Addressee	3
			/(Other)	(2)
			Comitative context	3
	arrivare	**Other congruent correspondences**		8
	recarsi			6
	entrare			4
	giungere			4
	cercare			3
	uscire			3
	scendere			3
	raggiungere			2
	andare			2
	atterrare			1
	avere			1
	frequentare			1
	fermarsi			1
	lasciare			1
	provenire			1
	presentarsi			1
	salire			1
	sporgersi			1
	tornare			1
	visitare			1
	cercare di riprendere	**Divergent correspondence**		1
	fare visita			1
	essere (+perspective change)			1
	zero - omission	**Zero correspondence**		3
Total				78

Table 8: Quantification of the translation equivalents of *come* in the Italian translation of *The Da Vinci Code*
As follows from Table 8, I have identified 23 types of Italian translation equivalents of *come* different form *venire* (49 tokens). At least one token of 16 of the types was found in the narrative context:

Verb	Correspondence	Tokens	Goal
recarsi	Congruent	5	Char:3 NAR:2
arrivare		4	Char:1 NAR:1
entrare		3	Char:1 NAR:2
cercare		2	Char:0 NAR:2
giungere		2	Char:0 NAR:2
scendere		2	Char:(1) NAR:(1)
andare		1	Char:1 NAR:0
frequentare		1	Char:0 NAR:1
lasciare		1	Char:0 NAR:(1)
provenire		1	Char:0 NAR:1
raggiungere		1	Char:0 NAR:1
sporgersi		1	Char:1 NAR:0
tornare		1	Char:0 NAR:1
uscire		1	Char:(1) NAR:(1)
visitare		1	Char:0 NAR:1
fare visita	Divergent	1	Char:1 NAR:0
Total		28	**Char:(10) NAR:(17)**

Table 9: Quantification of translation equivalents of *come* in narrative context and the possible goals of the motion they describe

Even after I had subtracted the tokens found in the narrative context, there still remained 21 tokens of non-deictic translation equivalents of *come*. While 10 of them were the non-deictic verbs such as *entrare*, which is preferred as the translation equivalent of the phrasal verb *come in* in Italian, in the case of the 11 remaining tokens, I did not manage to identify an obvious reason for the use of a non-deictic verb in the place of *venire*.

For the narrative context, I tried to identify the possible goal of the motion originally described by the venitive verb (in both languages). The identification of the possible goals is purely subjective since I had to 'put myself' in the mind of the translators and try to understand whether they identified with a character present in the narrative moment or with the narrator. In certain cases, I simply was not able to find/identify the possible goal of the motion. Note that in all examples marked as N, this possibility of identification has to be taken into consideration.

4.1.1 Congruent correspondences

Congruent correspondences dominate. In 17 of the 26 tokens in which *come* corresponds to *venire,* the motion described was directed towards the speaker at coding time:

(50)   a.   *"Thank God you **came**."*
                   *«Grazie a Dio, è riuscito a **venire**.»*

         b.   *"My humble apologies for the hour. We're on different time zones. You must be tired." "Not at all,"* the secretariat said, his hands folded on his enormous belly. *"<u>We are grateful you have **come** so far</u>. The least we can do is be awake to meet you. Can we offer you some coffee or refreshments?"*

                   *«<u>Siamo lieti che lei sia **venuto** fin qui</u> […]»*

         c.   *"…You **came** to my home. YOU **came** searching for ME." "Leigh?"* Langdon finally managed." *What the hell are you doing? We thought you were in trouble. We **came** here to help you!"*

                   *«…Siete stati voi a **venire** da me. Siete **venuti** voi a cercarmi.» «Leigh?»* Langdon riuscì finalmente a dire. *«Che diavolo fai? Pensavamo che fossi in pericolo. Siamo **venuti** qui perché volevamo aiutarti!»*

Interestingly, I only identified one token of *come/venire* for motion directed towards the speaker at reference time:

(51)   *"The pilot is trying to get clearance at Heathrow. I'm his only passenger, but our redirect was unscheduled." "<u>Tell him to **come** to Biggin Hill Executive Airport in Kent</u>. I'll get him clearance. If I'm not here when you land, I'll have a car waiting for you."*

          *«<u>Gli dica di **venire** a Biggin Hill, nel Kent</u> […]»*

In three cases, the motion described by *come/venire* was directed towards the addressee:

(52)   a.   *"That's why we **came** to you tonight."*
                   *«Ecco perché **siamo venuti** da te.»*

         b.   *"Can I bring you anything when I **come**?"*
                   *«Devo portarti qualcosa mentre **vengo**?»*

         c.   *"<u>I'm **coming** out</u>,"* Fache said. *"Don't make a move. I'll handle this personally."* Collet's jaw dropped. *"But Captain, you're twenty minutes away! We should act immediately…"*

                   *«<u>**Vengo** lì» disse Fache</u>.*

I also identified two cases, in which the goal of the motion described by *come/venire* is different from the speaker and the addressee:

(53)   a.   *He thought of the generations that **had come** before them…*
           *Pensò alle generazioni **venute** prima di loro.*
           N[35]**:** [**F**[36]: generations, **GoM**[37]:he/Jacques Saunière]

       b.   *Running full speed through the door out into the rain, Silas leapt off the low landing, not seeing the officer **coming** the other way until it was too late.*

            *Attraversò di corsa la porta e sgusciò all'esterno, sotto la pioggia. Con un balzo, superò gli scalini lanciandosi in avanti, senza vedere il poliziotto che **veniva** verso di lui.*
            N: [**F**: the officer, **GoM**: Silas]

In both cases, the motion described is found in the narrative context explained in 2.3.3.[38]

Finally, I have also identified three cases in which *venire* was used in the comitative context. In all three cases, the person accompanied is the speaker, and *venire* was translated as *come*:

(54)   a.   *"There is the entrance. Good luck, monsieur." "<u>You're not **coming**</u>?" "My orders are to leave you here. I have other business to attend to."*
           «<u>*Lei non **viene**?*</u>»

       b.   *"I think he wants me to get to the Mona Lisa before anyone else does." "<u>I'll **come**</u>." "No! We don't know how long the Grand Gallery will stay empty. You have to go."*

            «<u>***Vengo** anch'io.*</u>»

       c.   *Sophie was already heading for the train station entrance. "<u>**Come on**</u>. We're buying two tickets on the next train out of Paris." Langdon hurried along beside her.*

            «<u>***Vieni**</u>. […]»

Let me now address the types of translation equivalents of *come* different from *venire*. To allow for a better orientation in the examples, I mark the Figure and the Goal of motion according to the marking adopted in the narrative context examples, i.e., like in (53).

The most frequently occurring type was that of *arrivare* [arrive] (8 tokens, 4 in narrative context). According to the Treccani dictionary, *arrivare* can be understood as synonymous with *venire*. The difference between them is that while they can both describe the same motion, *venire* emphasizes the direction of the motion and *arrivare* further

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[35] Narrative context
[36] Figure
[37] Goal of motion
[38] For instance, (53b), I, the reader, 'am' Silas/the narrator positioned similarly to Silas, and the officer is 'coming' towards me.

emphasizes the reaching of the goal. Because of this, I believe that the choice between *venire* and *arrivare* may depend on the translator's understanding of the context and the aspect of the motion he/she desires to emphasize. On the other hand, the fact that four of the eight tokens of *arrivare* [arrive] were found in the narrative context may suggest a certain tendency to substitute the deictic verb for a non-deictic equivalent in this context:

(55)   a.   *"Someoneʼs **coming**!"*
           «***Arriva** qualcuno.*»
           [**F**: someone, **GoM**: speaker CT]

        b.   *Unable to bear **the thought of coming** this close only to lose it all, Rémy made the decision to take bald action.*
             *Incapace di sopportare **l'idea di essere arrivato** tanto vicino al traguardo per poi perdere tutto, Rémy decise di intervenire.*
             N: [**F**: Rémy, **GoM**:?]

        c.   *One of the field agents **came running** over.*
             *Uno degli agenti **arrivava di corsa**.*
             N: [**F**: field agent, **GoM**: narrator]

        d.   *Whoever held the cryptex would have to pay a visit to the tomb to decipher the final clue, and if they **had not already come** and gone, Sophie and Langdon intended to intercept them.*

             *Chiunque possedesse il cryptex doveva visitare la tomba per decifrare l'ultimo indizio e, se non **era** ancora **arrivato**, Sophie e Langdon intendevano intercettarlo.*
             N: [**F**: they/unknown, **GoM**: narrator]

In (55a), the motion is directed towards the speaker at coding time. Italian uses *arrivare*, possibly to emphasize the reaching of the goal of the motion by the Figure. In (55b), I was not able to identify the goal of the motion. Based on the translation, the Italian translator was not able to do so either, as he/she specified the goal by inserting the prepositional phrase *al traguardo* [to the goal]. Even with the goal specified, the non-deictic *arrivare* was still used. In (55c), I believe the use of *come* can be attributed to reader's identification with the narrator positioned in the narrative situation. Again, *arrivare* may have been used to emphasize the reaching of the goal. Finally, in (55d), I am convinced that the only possible goal of the motion of the unknown Figure is the narrator who 'positioned' himself in the tomb and with whom the reader/translator identified. Again, the translator avoided the use of the venitive verb.

I have also identified two, according to the Treccani dictionary, synonyms of the verb *arrivare*; the verbs *giungere* (4 tokens, 2 in narrative context) and *raggiungere* (2 tokens, 1

in narrative context). According to the Treccani dictionary, *giungere* is a formal form of the verb *arrivare*. The verb *raggiungere*, according to DICO (Dubbi sull'Italiano Consulenza Online),[39] additionally carries an implication of need of effort or gradation playing role in the process of reaching the goal and could thus be translated as *reach*:

(56)   a.   *He motioned back down the long hallway in the direction they **had come from**.*
*Indicò la direzione da cui **erano giunti**.*
N: [**F**: Captain Fache and Langdon, **GoM**: narrator]

        b.   *Finding verse number eleven, Silas read the text. It was only seven words. Confused, he read it again, sensing something had gone terribly wrong. The verse simply read:* <u>*HITHERTO SHALT THOU COME, BUT NO FURTHER.*</u>

            <u>*FIN QUI **GIUNGERAI** E NON OLTRE.*</u>
[**F**: the reader of the verse, **GoM**: Silas]

        c.   *"Please **come** find me directly, Mr. Langdon."*
«*Mi **raggiunga** là, signor Langdon.*»
[**F**: Langdon, **GoM**: speaker CT]

        d.   *He **came** to her with tearful eyes.*
*Quando **aveva raggiunto** Sophie, aveva le lacrime agli occhi.*
N: [**F**: Langdon, **GoM**: Sophie]

In (56a), the motion is directed towards the narrator who positioned himself in the reference location before Captain Fache and Langdon. In Italian, the non-deictic verb *giungere* is preferred to the phrasal verb *come*. Example (56b) is an interesting one. The sentence is a verse from a book which is being read by Silas. Thus, the goal of the motion has to be the here-and-now of Silas. Italian again uses the non-deictic verb *giungere*. In (56c), the goal of Langdon's motion is the speaker's location at coding time. Interestingly, the Italian translation *mi raggiungà là* [join me there] suggests a displacement towards the speaker's location at reference time. Even though in both cases Italian requires the use of C when describing deictically anchored motion (Ricca 1993, 41), the non-deictic verb *raggiungere* was chosen by the Italian translator. This may suggest that the translator did not adopt the point of view of the speaker. Finally, in (56d), Langdon's motion is directed towards Sophie with whom the reader identifies. Again, in the Italian translation, the non-deictic verb is used. This may suggest that the translator did not identify with the point of view of Sophie nor with the point of view of the narrator 'positioned' in the narrative situation.

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[39] An online project of Università degli Studi di Messina, comparable to *Internetová jazyková příručka* (Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR).

In total, *come* was translated as either *arrivare* [arrive], *giungere* [arrive FORMAL], or *raggiungere* [reach] in 15 cases (9, 4, and 2 tokens, respectively).

The second most frequent Italian translation equivalent of *come* was the verb *recarsi* [go FORMAL] (6 tokens, 5 in narrative context). According to the Treccani dictionary, *recarsi* describes a motion from one place to another and can sometimes be understood as contrasting with the verb *venire*:[40]

(57)   a.   *Calmly, the Teacher moved two steps back behind the choir screen. THAT WAS FAST. He had anticipated Langdon and Sophie would eventually decipher the poem's meaning and **come** to Newton's tomb, but this was sooner than he had imagined.*

             *Aveva previsto che prima o poi avrebbero risolto l'indovinello e **si sarebbero recati** alla tomba di Newton, ma non pensava che arrivassero così presto.*
             N: [**F**: Langdon and Sophie **GoM**: the Teacher]

      b.   *Tourists, scientists, historians, and pagans from around the world **came** to Saint-Sulpice to gaze upon this famous line.*
             *Turisti, scienziati, storici e pagani di tutto il mondo **si recavano** a Saint-Sulpice per vedere quella famosa linea.*
             N: [**F**: tourists, scientists, historians, and pagans, **GoM**: narrator]

      c.   *"You should have **come in** when I asked."*
             *«Avreste fatto meglio **a recarvi** dalla polizia quando vi ho avvertito.»*
             [**F**: Sophie and Langdon, **GoM**: speaker RT]

In three cases, one of them being (57a), in which the reader identifies with the point of view of the Teacher who is present in Newton's tomb, the motion originally described by *come* can be attributed to the direction of the motion being towards a character with whom the reader identifies. In two cases, one of them being example (57b), the motion originally described by *come* can be attributed to reader's identification with the point of view of the narrator. In (57b), the narrator positions himself in Saint-Sulpice (church) and the motion is thus understood as directed towards him. Example (57c) is the only case of *come* being translated as *recarsi* outside of the narrative context. It seems that the translator deemed it necessary to further specify that the goal of the motion is the police (station) by inserting the prepositional phrase *dalla polizia* [to the police]. As a consequence, the use of *venire* is blocked since the prepositional phrase makes it explicit that the motion is directed towards

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[40] In Italian, there exist two verbs: *recare* [bring/cause] and *recarsi* [go]. The *-si* at the end of the latter indicates reflexivity. The verb only means *go* when it is reflexive, i.e., when the basic form ends in the reflexive particle *-si*. It is interesting to see that when not reflexive, the verb can be translated as *bring*, i.e., the causative/agentive counterpart not of *go*, but of *come*. While an analysis of this property of *recare* would certainly be interesting, it is not within the scope of this thesis.

a non-speech-act-participant-related goal. Due to the variety of possible goals of *come* translated as *recarsi* and the low number of examples, I was not able to identify a pattern which would suggest Italian's tendency to regularly use this verb with a specific goal of motion. Yet, the fact that the verb *recarsi* can be considered a variant of the Italian G verb *andare* [go] may suggest that the Italian translator refused the possible identification with either of the goals of the motion described by *come* in the narrative context.

As suggested, *recarsi* can be used as a formal equivalent of the verb *andare* [go], of which I have identified two tokens:

(58)   a.   *"Tell them we **came and went** already."*
                «*Dica che **siamo già andati via**.*»
                [**F**: Sophie and Langdon, **GoM**: addressee]

        b.   *Gazing across the sloping lawns, past the duck pond and the delicate silhouettes of the weeping willows, the Teacher could see the spires of the building that housed the knight's tomb - the real reason he had told Rémy **to come** to this spot.*

                *Al di là dei prati, del laghetto e del delicato profilo dei salici piangenti, il Maestro poteva vedere i pinnacoli dell'edificio che ospitava la tomba del cavaliere, la vera ragione per cui aveva detto a Rémy **di andare** in quel luogo.*
                N: [**F**: Rémy, **GoM**: the teacher]

The use of *andare* in (58a) appears to be a translational condensation of the meaning expressed by *came and went* in the original text, and the use of *andare* in (58b) can be attributed to a specific case of reported speech. Italian does not allow for the use of *venire* unless the person reporting is the person who originally uttered the sentence (Ricca 1993, 106). In total, *come* was translated as either *recarsi* [go, FORMAL] or *andare* [go] in eight cases (6 and 2 tokens, respectively).

The third most common translation equivalent of *come* was the verb *entrare* [enter/come/go in] (4 tokens, 3 in narrative context). As suggested in section 2.2.1, standard Italian prefers non-deictic verbs such as *entrare* [enter] to phrasal verb *come,* which is common in English:

(59)   a.   *"May I **come in**?" the agent asked.*
                «*Posso **entrare**?*» *chiese il poliziotto.*
                [**F**: the agent, **GoM**: addressee]

        b.   *The mysterious Opus Dei monk **had come** to saint-Sulpice for another purpose.*
                *Il misterioso monaco dell'Opus Dei **era entrato** in Saint-Sulpice per un altro scopo.*
                N: [**F**: the Opus Dei monk, **GoM**: narrator]

c. *Before he realized where Silas was, Silas had thrown his shoulder into the door, crushing a second officer as he **came through**.*
*Prima che capisse dov'era Silas, il monaco si lanciò contro la porta e colpì il secondo poliziotto, che **stava entrando** in quel momento.*
N: [**F**: the second officer, **GoM**: Silas]

In (59a), the verb *come* is used since the motion is directed towards the addressee. In Italian, the non-deictic equivalent of phrasal verb *come* was used. In (59b), the use of *come* in English can be attributed to reader's identification with the narrator who positions himself in Saint-Sulpice. Again, Italian prefers the non-deictic *entrare* [enter]. In (59c), the use of the phrasal verb *come through* can be accounted to reader's identification with Silas and the motion thus being directed towards him/her (the reader). Italian again prefers the non-deictic translation equivalent.

Phrasal verb *come* was also translated as the non-deictic *uscire* [come/go out, from] (3 tokens, 1 in narrative context):

(60) a. *"And no one **has come out** under the Great Gallery gate?"*
*«E nessuno **è uscito** dalla grata della Grande Galleria?»*
[**F**: unknown, **GoM**: addressee]

b. *"…Should we wave a flag and tell the Buddhists that we have proof the Buddha **did not come from** a lotus blossom?..."*
*«…Dovremmo proclamare ai buddisti di avere la prova che il **Buddha non è mai uscito da** un fiore di loto?...»*
[**F**: Buddha, **GoM**: addressee(s)]

c. *Throwing open the door, she **came out**, reaching with soft hands, cradling Sophie′s thunderstruck face.*
*La vecchia **uscì sulla soglia**, poi accarezzò il viso di Sophie, che tuttora non riusciva a muoversi.*
N: [**F**: the old lady, **GoM**: Sophie]

In (60a), the use of *come* can be attributed to the possible motion being directed towards the addressee. Even though Italian allows for such use of C, the non-deictic translation equivalent was chosen. The same can be said about example (60b). In example (60c), the use of *came out* in English can be attributed to reader's adoption of either the narrator's or a character's (Sophie's) point of view. Regardless of the possible duality of identification, Italian uses the non-deictic *uscire*.

In addition, phrasal verb *come* was translated as the non-deictic verb *scendere* [come/go down] (2 tokens):

(61) a. *He was **coming down** one stair at a time.*
*Teabing **scendeva** lentamente, uno scalino la volta.*

N: [**F:** Teabing **GoM**: speaker's (narrator's) functional space]

b. _A man in a cloak **came downstairs**. "May I help you?" He had kind eyes that seemed not even to register Silas's startling physical appearance." Thank you. My name is Silas. I am an Opus Dei numerary […]"_
.
Un uomo con una mantellina da pioggia **scese** ad accoglierlo.
N: [**F:** a man in a cloak, **GoM**: speaker's (Silas') functional space]

In (61a) and (61b), the use of C can attributed to the reaching of physical levelness/visibility change rather than to the direction of the motion, since the motion described does not necessarily have to be directed exactly towards the speaker. It is, however, hard to assess whether the motion of the Figure in discussion started from a non-visible place or not, especially in the case of the motion of Teabing in (61a). Thus, the use of _come_ cannot be attributed to visibility change with certainty. In any case, Italian again prefers the non-deictic verb _scendere_ to phrasal verb _come_.

Finally, phrasal verb _come_ was translated as the non-deictic verb _salire_ [come/go up, on] (1 token) as well:

(62) _"Rather than permitting him to **come on**, I'll tell him I'm traveling with a French celebrity who prefers that nobody knows she is in England…"_
«Per non farlo **salire**, gli dirò che viaggio con una celebrità francese che preferisce non far sapere a nessuno di essere in Inghilterra…»
[**F**: customs official, **GoM**: speaker's functional space]

In (62), the use of _come_ can be attributed to the reaching of physical levelness with the speaker be it only from the ground level to the vehicle level. Italian prefers a non-deictic translation equivalent.

In three cases, the phrasal verb _come for_ was translated as _cercare_ [search/look for]. According to the Treccani dictionary, _cercare_ literally means [go around]. Because of that, I consider _cercare_ a motion verb:

(63) a. _"You know what I have **come** for," the monk said, his voice hollow._
«Voi sapete che cosa **cerco**» disse il monaco, con voce priva di emozione.»
[**F**: Silas, **GoM**: addressee]

b. _Four minutes later, as Langdon began feeling fearful they would not find what they **had come for**, the computer produced another hit._
Quattro minuti più tardi, quando ormai Langdon temeva di non trovare quello che **cercavano**, il computer mostrò un altro risultato.
N: [**F**: Sophie and Langdon, **GoM**: narrator]

c. _Some claimed they were drawn here by the powerful magnetic field that emanated inexplicably from these coordinates, some claimed they **came** to search the hillside for a hidden entrance to the vault, but most admitted they_

*had **come** simply to wander the grounds and absorb the lore of the Holy Grail.*

*Alcuni dicevano di essere richiamati lassù dai forti campi magnetici creati da quelle coordinate, altri di **cercare** l'ingresso segreto alla caverna, e molti semplicemente di volerla **visitare** e farsi permeare dal fascino del Santo Graal.*
N: [**F**: *altri* [some]/*molti* [most], **GoM**: narrator]

In (63a), the venitive verb is used because the motion is directed towards the addressee. In (63b), the use of the venitive can be attributed to the motion being directed towards the narrator who positions himself in the computer room and with whom the reader identifies. In both cases, the phrasal verb *come for* was translated as *cercare*. The phrasal verb *come for* is defined as "arrive to collect something or someone" in the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online. It thus seems that the focus is on the act of collecting something/someone rather than on the reaching of the goal itself. This might be the reason why the Italian translator resorted to the non-deictic verb *cercare*, which, at least in my opinion, makes more prominent the focus on the actual collecting/finding of something. Still, this choice of the verb suggests that the translator decided to omit the deictic aspect from his translation. Finally, in (63c), *come* appears twice. The use of both *come*-s can be accounted to the motion described being directed towards the narrator who positions himself in the location. Neither of the two *come*-s, however, was translated as *venire* but as *cercare* and *visitare* [visit], respectively. Thus, the Italian translator again likely did not identify with the narrator.

In one case, the primarily manner verb *atterare* [to land (primarily a plane)] was preferred to the deictic verb *venire*:

(64)   *"We've had a gas leak and your pilot said he **was coming** to the terminal."*
*«Mi scuso della confusione, c'è stata una perdita di benzina e il suo pilota aveva accettato di **atterrare** al terminal.»*
[**F**: the pilot/l'aereo [airplane], **GoM**: speaker CT]

As already noted in this section, Italian does not allow for the use of C in reported speech unless the person reporting is the person who had originally uttered the sentence. In addition, it seems that while in the English sentence in (64) the Figure of the motion is the pilot, in the Italian translation, the Figure of the motion is the plane. This, together with the reported speech context, might be the reason why the Italian translator resorted to the verb *atterrare*.

I have also identified one token of *lasciare* [leave] which could, in certain contexts, be considered an equivalent of the previously mentioned verb *uscire*:

(65)   *Langdon still felt shaky as he and Sophie **came** in from the rain and entered the library.*
       *Langdon era ancora scosso quando lui e Sophie **lasciarono** la strada bagnata dalla pioggia ed entrarono nella biblioteca.*
       N: [**F**: Sophie and Langdon **GoM**: (the English) narrator]

Interestingly in (65), the English sentence stresses the 'coming in' from the street. The Italian translation, on the other hand, stresses the 'leaving the street'. It almost seems that while the 'English narrator' with whom the reader identifies positions himself in the library in which the motion of Sophie and Langdon is directed, the 'Italian narrator' is positioned on the street by the Italian narrator and the motion is directed away from him. This might be the reason why Italian does not use the venitive verb.

I have also identified one token each the verb *provenire* [come from/originate], [41] the verb *tornare* [return/come back], and the verb *frequentare* [visit regularly/attend]:

(66)   a.   *Considering the poverty from which **he had come** and the sexual horrors he had endured in prison, celibacy was a welcome change.*
             *Tenuto conto della povertà da cui **proveniva** e degli orrori sessuali da lui patiti in prigione, il celibato era il benvenuto, come cambiamento.*
             N: [**F**: Silas **GoM**: narrator]

       b.   *Sophie **had come home** a few days early from graduate university in England and mistakenly witnessed her grandfather engaged in something Sophie was obviously not supposed to see.*

             *Sophie **era tornata a casa** con qualche giorno d'anticipo, alla fine dei corsi della sua università inglese, e per errore aveva trovato il nonno impegnato in un'attività a cui, ovviamente, Sophie non avrebbe dovuto assistere.*
             N: [**F**: Sophie **GoM**: homebase]

       c.   *She **had been coming** to this house since she was a child and yet had no idea the staircase even existed.*
             ***Frequentava** quella casa fin da quando era bambina e non aveva mai sospettato l'esistenza di quella scala!*
             N: [**F**: Sophie **GoM**: narrator]

As the form *pro-venire* suggests, the verb used in the Italian translation in (66a) is closely related to the verb *venire* but emphasizes the point of origin of the 'motion', rather than the goal. I believe that in both the English original sentence and the Italian translation, the use of the 'venitive' verb could be attributed to the reader's identification with the narrator. In (66b), the Italian translator preferred the verb *tornare* to the preposition specified *venire a*

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[41] In my analysis, I considered examples such as (66a) descriptions of agentive motion. Especially in the case of the examples drawn from *The Name of the Rose*, the venitive verb very often really describes agentive motion.

casa [come home]. Again, this can be attributed to the previously made claims about Italian's preference not to use preposition-specified *venire*. Possibly, this choice could also be attributed to the Italian translator's unwillingness to identify with the narrator 'positioned' in the house with whom, to my understanding, the English reader identifies. Finally, in (66c), the use of *come* can be attributed to the reader's identification with the narrator 'having been positioned' in the house. The repetitiveness of 'coming' is expressed by the past perfect continuous tense. Italian uses the verb *frequentare* [visit regularly/attend] which already contains the repetitiveness in its semantics. To show the past character of the repetitive action, Italian uses the conjugation of the verb in 'imperfetto' [imperfect tense]. I believe that in this case, the use of *frequentare* can be attributed to the semantics of the verbs rather than to the translator's non-identification with the narrator.

I have also identified one token of each the reflexive verb *sporgersi* [lean out], the reflexive verb *presentarsi* [to show up], and the reflexive verb *fermarsi* [to stop (oneself)]:

(67) a. *"It is," Langdon said. "It was stored in a rosewood box inlaid with a five-petal Rose. "Teabing looked thunderstruck. "You've SEEN the keystone?" Sophie nodded. "We visited the bank." Teabing **came over to them**, his eyes wild with fear.*

   Teabing **si sporse verso di loro**, con espressione impaurita.
   N: [**F**: Teabing **GoM**: Langdon and Sophie]

   b. *"Agent Neveu!" Fache bellowed as the train thundered into the station. "This is not something to discuss on an open line. You and Langdon will **come in** now. For your own well-being! That is a direct order!" Sophie hung up and dashed with Langdon onto the train.*

   «*Non sono cose da discutere su una linea non sicura. Lei e Langdon dovete **presentarvi** alla polizia.* […]»
   [**F**: Sophie and Langdon **GoM**: speaker CT]

   c. *"I thought you said the pilot agreed to **come** to the terminal!"*
   «*Non ci ha detto che il pilota aveva acconsentito **a fermarsi** davanti al terminal?*»
   [**F**: the pilot **GoM**: speaker CT]

In (67a), I believe the use of *come* could be attributed to the adoption of the point of view of Sophie/Langdon. In such a case, Teabing's motion could be understood as motion 'towards the speaker(s)'. Italian again uses a non-deictic translation equivalent of phrasal verb *come*. In (67b), it seems that in the Italian translation, the emphasis is on the motion being directed not towards Agent Fache on the line (the speaker), as it is in English, but towards the seat of the police as an institution. In addition, Italian again avoids using preposition specified

venire. [42] Finally, in the Italian translation in (67c), the usage of *fermarsi* [to stop (oneself)] in the place of *venire* can be attributed to the reported speech context. As mentioned previously in this section, Italian does not allow for the usage of *venire* if the person reporting is not the same person who originally uttered the reported sentence.

Finally, in one case, the verb come was translated as the non-motion verb *avere* [have]:

(68)   *"You say you **come** with information?"*
         «*Hai detto che **avevi** informazioni?*»
         [**F**: Sophie and Langdon **GoM**: speaker CT]

In (68), the use of *come* can be attributed to the motion being directed towards the speaker at coding time. Even though Italian requires the use of C when describing motion towards the speaker (Ricca 1993, 41), the translator decided to emphasize the 'having of information', thus omitting the use of the C verb.

4.1.2   *Divergent correspondences and zero correspondences*

Divergent and zero correspondences were rare. I have identified three tokens of divergent translation equivalents: the non-deictic verbal phrase *cercare di riprendere* [try to come back/try to start again], as in (69a), the verbo-nominal complex *fare visita* [pay a visit], as in (69b), and one token of the verb *essere* [be] accompanied by a 'change in perspective', as in (69c):

(69)   a.   *"[…] Leave her car where it is and put plainclothes on watch in case they **try to come back to it**."*
                «*[…] Lasciate l'auto dov'è e mettete di guardia un paio di agenti in Borghese, nel caso **cerchino di riprenderla**.*»
                [**F**: Sophie and Langdon **GoM**: speaker CT]

         b.   <u>*He ordered Silas to **come see him** immediately in the safest location Saunière knew – his Louvre office.*</u>
                <u>*Aveva chiesto a Silas di **fargli** subito **visita** nel luogo più sicuro a lui noto, il suo ufficio del Louvre.*</u>
                N: [**F**: Silas **GoM**: Saunière]

         c.   *Vernet replied in crude French: "I'm only a driver." Collet looked unimpressed. "We're looking for two criminals." Vernet laughed.*
                <u>*"Then you **came** to the right spot."*</u>

                <u>«*Allora è proprio il posto giusto.*»</u>

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[42] Even though *venire dentro* [lit. come in] is a perfectly acceptable form from the point of view of syntactic structure, in Italian, it is very often used in sexual intercourse-related context. This might be one of the other reasons why Italian tends to avoid this specific form.

[**F**: Vernet and Collet **GoM**: speaker CT]

In (69a) and (69c), the use of *come* in English can be attributed to the motion being directed towards the speaker's location at coding time. In (69a) the speaker's location coincides with the location of the car, and in (69c), the direction of the motion described by *come* can be extracted from the context. Still, in both cases, non-deictic constructions were chosen as translation equivalents. In (69b), the use of *come* can be attributed to reader's identification with the point of view of Saunière, towards whose location the motion is directed. *Fare visita* [to pay a visit] may have been chosen as a more idiomatic solution. Again, the deictic aspect is lost with such a choice of equivalent.

In three cases, the whole predicate with the verb *come* was omitted in the translation:

(70)   a.   "I don't know what to say," Langdon said, **coming up** behind her. "Your grandfather is obviously trying to tell us something. I'm sorry I'm so little help." Sophie turned from the window, sensing a sincere regret in Langdon's deep voice.

              «*Non so che dire*» *commentò Langdon, dietro di lei.*
              N: [**F**: Langdon **GoM**: Sophie]

    b.   Silas went upstairs to a modest room with a window, where he took off his wet robe and knelt down to pray in his undergarments. *He heard his host* ***come up*** *and* lay a tray outside his door.

              Sentì che il fratello che l'aveva accolto lasciava un vassoio davanti alla sua porta.
              N: [**F**: the host **GoM**: Silas/'speaker's' functional space]

    c.   *Marie* ***came over*** *and* stood beside him. *"Mr. Langdon, when I first heard of Jacques's murder, I was terrified for Sophie's safety […]"*
              Marie si fermò accanto a lui.
              N: [**F**: Marie **GoM**: Langdon]

In (70a), the use of *come* can be attributed to the motion being directed towards Sophie, with whom the reader identifies. In (70b), I believe the use of *come* can be explained not via the direction of the motion being directed towards Silas with whom the reader identifies but via the motion being directed into Silas's functional space, more specifically, onto his physical level. If I, the reader, 'am' Silas in this context, then the host reached my physical ('speaker's') level. In (70c), the use of *come* can be attributed to reader's identification with Langdon, towards whom Marie's motion is thus directed. Despite the possible factors instigating the use of *come* listed, in all (70a-c), the Italian translator likely considered the

direction of the motion explicitly mentioned in English extractable from the surrounding linguistic context and thus decided to omit it from the translation.

4.2 Venire and its English correspondences

Again, before addressing the specific translation equivalents of *venire* found in the English translation of *The Name of the Rose* in more detail, I present an overview of the translation equivalents identified:

Italian	English	Correspondence/Goal of C		Tokens
venire	**come**	**Congruent correspondence**	/Speaker CT	30
			/Speaker RT	36
			/Addressee	10
			/(Other)	(5)
			Comitative context	2
	approach	**Other congruent correspondences**		2
	arrive			2
	appear			1
	leave			1
	move			1
	rise up			1
	meet			1
	bring			1
	meet to discuss	**Divergent correspondences**		1
	pay a visit			1
	take a path			1
	visitor			1
Total				97

Table 10: Quantification of the translation equivalents of *venire* in the English translation of *The Name of the Rose*

As follows from Table 10, I have identified 12 types of English translation equivalents of *venire* different from *come* (14 tokens). One token each of eight of the types was found in the narrative context:

Verb	Correspondence	Tokens	Goal
appear	Congruent	1	Char:0 Nar:1
Approach		1	Char:1 Nar:0
Arrive		1	Char:1 Nar:0
Bring		1	Char:1 Nar:0
Leave		1	Char:1 Nar:0
rise up		1	Char:0 Nar:(1)
pay a visit		1	Char:1 Nar:0
take a path		1	Char:0 Nar:1
Total		8	**Char:5 Nar:(3)**

Table 11: Quantification of translation equivalents of *venire* in narrative context and the possible goals of the motion they describe

Even after the subtraction of the eight tokens of non-deictic translation equivalents found in narrative context, six tokens of non-deictic translation equivalents of *venire* remained. For the five tokens, I was not able to identify an obvious reason for their preference over the verb *come*.

4.2.1 Congruent correspondences

Again, congruent correspondences dominate. In 30 of the 83 tokens, the motion described by *venire/come* was directed towards the speaker at coding time:

(71)   a.   *"Sei **venuto** qui da un convento dei minoriti?"*
             *"Did you **come** here from a convent of Minorites?"*

        b.   *"Egli **sta venendo**! […]"*
             *"He **is coming**! Do not waste your last days laughing at little monsters with spotted skins and twisted tails! Do not squander the last seven days!"*

        c.   *"Adelmo, **vieni** davvero dall'inferno?"*
             *"Adelmo, have you really **come** from hell?"*

In 36 cases, the motion described by *venire/come* was directed towards the speaker at reference time:

(72)   a.   *Uno di essi, come ci vide, ci **venne** incontro con molta urbanità.*
             *One of them, seeing us, **came** toward us with great cordiality.*

        b.   *Quando vorrai sapere qualcosa di preciso, **verrai** da me.*
             *When you wish to know something specific, **come** to me.*

        c.   *E poi che la sentenza fu resa pubblica, **vennero** ancora uomini di chiesa alla prigione e avvertirono Michele di ciò che sarebbe accaduto, e li udii anzi dire:* […]

             *And after the sentence had been made public, more men of the church **came** to the prison and warned Michael of what would happen, and I heard them say then, "Brother Michael, the miters and copes have already been made, and painted on them are Fraticelli accompanied by devils." To frighten him and force him finally to retract.*

In 10 cases, the verb *venire/come* described motion directed towards the addressee:

(73)   a.   *E dopo un poco vedi che molti **vengono** a te, anche da terre lontane, e ti considerano un profeta, o un nuovo apostolo, e ti seguono.*
             *And after a while you see that many **come** to you, even from distant lands, and they consider you a prophet, or a new apostle, and they follow you.*

        b.   *"Ma **vengo** anche a nome del nostro signore su questa terra, come vi dirà*

la lettera che vi consegno, e anche a suo nome vi ringrazio per la vostra accoglienza."
*"But **I come** also in the name of our lord on this earth, as the letter I now give you will tell you, and in his name also I thank you for your welcome."*

c. *"So che tra i monaci che **vivono** tra voi molti vengono da altre abbazie sparse in tutto il mondo…"*
*"I know that many of the monks living in your midst **come** from other abbeys scattered all over the world…"*

Like *come*, *venire* can also be used to describe motion towards a goal different from the speaker or the addressee but only in narrative context. In my data, I identified five tokens of *venire* in such context:

(74) a. *Eppure molti **vennero** da Gherardo, non solo contadini, ma anche gente di città, iscritti alle arti, […]!*

*And yet many **came** to Gherardo, not only peasants, but also people of the city, members of the guilds, and Gherardo made them strip themselves so that, naked, they could follow the naked Christ, and he sent them out into the world to preach, but he had a sleeveless tunic made for himself, white, of strong stuff, and in this garb he looked more like a clown than like a religious!*
N: [**F**: *molti* [many] **GoM**: Gherardo]

b. *Il cappuccio, che, **venendo** di fuori aveva ancora levato, gettava un'ombra sul pallore del suo volto e conferiva un non so che di doloroso ai suoi grandi occhi melanconici.*

*The hood, which was still raised since he had **come** in from outside, cast a shadow on the pallor of his face and gave a certain suffering quality to his large melancholy eyes.*
N: [**F**: *il capuccio* [the hood] **GoM**: Speaker/narrator RT]

c. *"Sì, ricordo una storia di re Marco che doveva condannare Isotta la bella e stava facendola salire sul rogo, e **vennero** i lebbrosi e dissero al re che il rogo era pena da poco e che ve n'era una peggiore…"*

*"Yes, I recall a story about King Mark, who had to condemn Isolda the beautiful and was about to have her ascend the stake when the lepers **came** and said to the King that the stake was a mild punishment and that there was a worse one…"*
[**F**: *i lebbrosi* [the leppers] **GoM**: *re Marco* [King Mark]]

Finally, in two cases of *venire* translated as *come*, the usage of *venire* in Italian is motivated by comitative context. In both cases, the speaker is accompanied by the addressee:

(75) a. *"**Venite**, frate Guglielmo," […]"*
*Malachi promptly spoke up , with authority: "**Come**, Brother William," he said, "I will show you other interesting books." The group dispersed.*

b.   "[…] *Vieni*."

       *"And what does this have to do with the crimes, or the crime?" "I don't know yet. But now I would like to go upstairs. **Come**."*

Ranked 2 in the list of English translation equivalents of *venire* were the verbs *approach* and *arrive*, each occurring twice. I will first address the verb *approach*:

(76)   a.   *Per esempio, **venendo** da oriente, nessuna delle stanze di ACAIA immetteva nelle stanze seguenti: il labirinto a quel punto terminava e per raggiungere il torrione settentrionale occorreva passare dagli altri tre.*

        *For example, **approaching** ACAIA from the east, you found none of the rooms led to the following rooms: the labyrinth at this point ended , and to reach the north tower you had to pass through the other three.*
        N: [**F**: the addressee **GoM**: narrator/speaker RT]

      b.   *Il diverbio stava ancora infuriando quando uno dei novizi di guardia alla porta entrò, passando per quella confusione come chi attraversa un campo battuto dalla grandine, e **venne** a sussurrare a Guglielmo che Severino gli voleva parlare con urgenza.*

        *The quarrel was still raging when one of the novices guarding the door came in, passing through that confusion like someone walking across a field lashed by hail. He **approached** William, to whisper that Severinus wanted urgently to speak to him.*
        N: [**F**: *un novizio di guardia* [a novice guarding the door] **GoM**: William/narrator]

In (76a), the identification of the possible goal of *venire* is quite challenging. In the sentence, Adso of Melk, the narrator/character of *The Name of The Rose*, describes to the reader the things visible when moving from the east towards the ACAIA rooms. Thus, the motion can be understood as that of the addressee (the reader) and the goal of the motion seems to be the location in which the narrator/character (Adso) positioned himself, in this case the ACAIA rooms. Yet, since 'I', the reader, identify with the point of view of Adso, the motion is, in fact, directed towards 'me', i.e., towards the speaker. In addition, since Adso narrates to the reader, the location in which he positions himself might be the one in which he found himself at reference time. This rather complex possibility of the point of view adoption might be the reason why the English translator resorted to the non-deictic verb *approach*. In (76b), the possible goal identification is even more challenging as the use of *venire* could be attributed to two different scenarios. Firstly, one could understand that Adso describes the motion of the novice who moves to William and thus functions (Adso) as the narrator. Consequently, the use of *venire* can be attributed to the motion being directed towards

William with whom the reader identifies (through Adso's narration). Secondly, one could understand that Adso stands next to William and the motion is thus not directed only towards William but also towards Adso. In such case, the motion could be understood as directed towards Adso with whom the reader identifies, i.e., as motion directed towards the speaker. Regardless of the possible point-of-view adoptions, the English translator used the non-deictic verb *approach* instead of *venire*.

As suggested, the verb *approach* ranked joint-second with the verb *arrive*:

(77)   a.   *E col cellario **è venuto** qui quello strano animale di Salvatore…*
            *And with the cellarer that strange animal Salvatore also **arrived** here…*
            N: [**F**: Salvatore **GoM**: speaker CT]

       b.   *Non lo è per l'inquisitore, che ha le mani monde, e non lo è per l'inquisito, che, quando **viene** l'inquisitore, trova in lui un improvviso appoggio, un lenimento alle sue pene, e gli apre il cuore.*

            *It isn't the same thing for the inquisitor, whose hands remain clean, or for the accused, who, when the inquisitor **arrives**, suddenly finds support in him, an easing of his sufferings, and so he opens his heart.*
            N: [**F**: *l' inquisitore* [the inquisitor] **GoM**: *l'inquisito* [the accused]

The narrative situation in (77a) can be understood as motion of two Figures (Salvatore and the cellarer) being directed towards the narrator/character Adso, with whom the reader identifies. Thus, the use of *arrive* could possibly be attributed to the translator's intention to emphasize the reaching of the goal. The same could likely be said about the use of *arrive* in (77b).

As regards the other translation equivalents of the verb *come*, I have identified one token of each the verb *leave*, *move*, and *rise up*:

(78)   a.   *E passava dal cimitero perché **veniva** dal coro, dove si era confidato (o confessato) con qualcuno che gli aveva incusso terrore e rimorso […]*
            N: [**F**: Adelmo, **GoM**: Berengar]

            *Adelmo died a suicide, and Berengar's story tells us that […] And he was going through the cemetery because he **was leaving** the choir, where he had confided (or confessed) to someone who had filled him with terror and remorse. And from the cemetery he was heading, as Berengar informed us, in the opposite direction from the dormitory .*

       b.   *"[…] Da qui alla chiesa, è stato un gran accorrere di monaci, da qui allo stabbio e alle stalle sono **venuti** i servi a frotte […]"*

            "Snow, dear Adso, is an admirable parchment on which men's bodies leave very legible writing. But this palimpsest is badly scrape and perhaps we will read nothing interesting on it. Between here and the church there has been

> *a great bustle of monks, between here and the barn and the stables the*
> *servants have* **moved** *in droves. The only intact space is between the barns*
> *and the Aedificium. Let us see if we can find something of interest."*
> [**F**: *i servi* [the servants], **GoM**: speaker's functional space]

> c.   *Bonifacio fu la bestia che* **viene** *dal mare le cui sette teste rappresentano*
> *le offese ai peccati capitali…*
> *Boniface was the beast that* **rises up** *from the sea whose seven heads*
> *represent the offenses to the deadly sins…*
> **N:** [**F**: *Bonifacio* [Boniface], **GoM**: speaker's functional space]

In (78a), the use of *venire* can probably be attributed to Beregar's point of view being adopted by the narrator (Adso of Melk). Staying within this perspective, the use of *venire* could be attributed to a change in visibility, as the direction of motion described did not necessarily have to be directed towards Beregar. Interestingly, it seems that in this case, unlike in many of those discussed previously, the visibility change did not instigate the use of *come* in English. In (78b), the speaker (William of Baskerville) clearly delimits his functional space, maybe by gesturally indicating ('drawing in the air') the area to which the servants moved. Still, the English translator decided to use the general, non-deictic motion verb *move*. As concerns (78c), I believe that the use of *venire* may be attributable to the motion being into the speaker's functional space, in this case the land part of the Earth, as such motion would allow for the encounter of the speaker and 'the beast'. I do, however, acknowledge that this argumentation likely pushes the interpretation of the speaker's functional space to its very limit.

Finally, in one case, the English translator resorted to the verb *meet*, making the presence of two people explicit:

(79)   "[…] *Anche il rappresentante pontificio vorrà comprendere che c'è differenza*
tra l'opera di un pazzo, o di un sanguinario, o forse soltanto di un'anima
smarrita, e i gravi problemi che uomini probi **verranno a discutere***."*

"I will do everything possible, Your Sublimity," William said. "But, on the other
hand, I fail to see how the matter can really compromise the meeting. Even the papal
envoy will understand that there is a difference between the act of a madman or a
sanguinary, or perhaps only of a lost soul, and the grave proems that upright men
will **meet to discuss***."*
[**F**: *uomini probi* [upright men], **GoM**: Speaker CT]

4.2.2 Divergent and zero correspondences

As concerns overt divergent correspondences, I have identified three non-deictic verbo-nominal complexes as the translation equivalents of *venire*:

(80) a. *E a mattutino, quando i porcai **vennero ad avvertire** l'Abate, Remigio credeva che il cadavere fosse stato scoperto dove lui l'aveva lasciato, ed era rimasto allibito scoprendolo nella giara.*

*And at matins, when the swineherds **brought the news** to the abbot, Remigio believed the body had been discovered where he had left it, and was aghast to find it in the jar.*
N: [**F**: *i porcai* [the swineherds], **GoM**: *l'abate* [the abbot]]

  b. *E così fece certamente l'Abate quando **<u>venne a visitare</u>** Guglielmo verso l'ora terza.*
*And this is surely what the abbot did when he **<u>paid William a visit</u>** toward the third hour.*
N: [**F**: *l'abate* [the abbot] **GoM**: *Guglielmo* [William]]

  c. *E mentre Severino, ricevuta licenza dall'Abate, faceva trasportare il corpo dai porcai, il mio maestro chiese che i monaci fossero fatti rientrare in coro <u>seguendo la strada da cui **erano venuti**</u>, e che i servi si ritirassero nello stesso modo, in modo che lo spiazzo rimanesse deserto.*

*And while Severinus, receiving permission from the abbot, was having the body carried away by the swineherds, my master asked that the monks be told to return to the choir <u>by **the path they had taken** before</u>, and that the servants retire in the same way, so the ground would remain deserted.*
N: [**F**: *i monaci* [the monks] **GoM**: speaker RT]

In (80a), the verb *venire,* which could be attribute reader's identification with *l'abate* [the abbot], was translated by the C causative verb *bring*. Thus, the deictic aspect in fact seems to have been maintained but the focus is given to the object (the news), rather than to the motion itself. In (80b), in which the use of *venire* could be attributed to reader's identification with the narrator/character,[43] the verbo-nominal complex *pay a visit* was probably chosen as an idiomatic translation equivalent. In (80c), I believe, the translator intended to further emphasize the access road through which the monks moved in, as it plays a central role in the investigation taking place in the narrative situation.

Finally, in (81), the translator resorted to a nominalization:

(81) *"Suvvia , non vi riconoscete, tutti qui presenti, monaci dell'abbazia e potenti **venuti** <u>da fuori</u>?"*
*"Come, do you not recognize yourselves, all of you here present, monks of his abbey and mighty **visitors** <u>from the outside world</u>?"*
[**F**: *potenti* [the mighty] **GoM**: speaker CT]

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[43] In this case, Adso of Melk is both the narrator and a character present in the narrative situation, that's why GoM in (80b) is marked as speaker RT.

I believe that in (81), the noun *visitors* can be understood as 'those who *came* to visit', thus the motion is in fact still implied but expressed by a different syntactic category.

As concerns the zero correspondence category, I have not identified any case of *venire* not having a formal counterpart in the Italian translation.

5 Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to calculate the mutual correspondence between the English venitive verb *come* and the Italian venitive verb *venire*. Based on the literature reviewed, it was hypothesized that since English and Italian are both classified similarly in terms of use of venitive verbs, the level of mutual correspondence between *come* and *venire* should be rather high. On the other hand, it was also hypothesized that the level of mutual correspondence might be lowered by Italian's tendency to use non-deictic verbs (e.g., *entrare)* in the place of the phrasal verb *come* (e.g., *come in*).

According to my computations, the mutual correspondence rate between *come* and *venire* is 62.9%. It is interesting to see that while *come* was only translated as *venire* in 26 cases (33.3% of all tokens of translation equivalents of *come*), *venire* was translated as *come* in 84 cases (86.6% of all tokens of translation equivalents of *venire*). The results suggest two things: firstly, it seems that in general, English tends to use venitive verb significantly more often than Italian. This might also be one of the reasons why no case of zero correspondence was identified in the English translation of *The Name of the Rose*. On the other hand, the 3 cases of zero correspondence in the Italian translation of *The Da Vinci Code* may suggest that in Italian, the venitive verb does not always have to be overtly present, as long as the direction of the motion is extractable from the surrounding linguistic context. The quantity of the data, however, does not allow for concrete conclusions in this regard. Secondly, given the number of types of English translation equivalents of *venire* and the overall quantity of their tokens, it seems that the meaning of *come* is in fact less specific than the meaning of *venire*. Nonetheless, one should also bear in mind the fact that in certain cases, the choice of one or another translation equivalent of either *come* or *venire* may be fully dependent on the personal preference of the translator.

As regards the above-mentioned percentages of translations of *come* as *venire* and vice versa, one of the reasons for their discrepancy indeed is the afore-declared tendency of Italian to use non-deictic verbs such as *entrare*, *uscire*, *salire*, and *scendere* in the place of the English phrasal verb *come* equivalents *come in/(through)/(to)*, *come out*, *come up/(on)*, and *come down*. The findings presented in this thesis show that this claim is also applicable for the narrative context. In my Italian data, the listed non-deictic verbs were always preferred to phrasal verb *come*. It should be noted, however, that the four above-mentioned non-deictic verbs only account for four of the 23 types (10 of the 49 tokens) of the translation equivalents of *come* different from *venire*. In other words, the four non-deictic verbs alone

are not responsible for the significant differences in the percentages of correspondences of *come* and *venire* and *venire* and *come*.

In terms of the possible goals of *come* and *venire*, the findings of this thesis are in keeping with the literature reviewed in that both English and Italian indeed can be considered Goal-3-languages, since they both allow for usage of venitive verbs for description of motion directed towards the speaker at coding time and reference time, as well as for motion directed towards the addressee, and in that neither of the two languages allows for the use of venitive verbs for motion directed towards a non-speech-act-participant-related goal (i.e., that for which Goal-4-languages allow) unless the venitive verb is used in the not truly deictic narrative context.

As concerns the narrative context, the analysis of the data suggests that in both English and Italian, the use of venitive verbs in narrative contexts may often be explicable through the reader's identification with either a character present in the narrative situation or with the narrator who 'positions' himself in the location in which the narrative situation is taking place. In many cases, however, it is almost impossible to figure out whether the reader (in this case either the Italian or the English translator) identified with a character, or with the narrator, especially in the case of the complex narrative structure found in *The Name of The Rose*. In addition, the fact that many of the tokens of non-deictic translation equivalents of *come* and *venire* were found in the narrative context, that is, in context in which both English and Italian allow for the use of the venitive, may suggest that the reader (in this case the translator) actually does not always identify with either a character or the narrator and thus does not understand the motion as deictically anchored, not even in cases in which the deictic nature of the motion is made explicit by the usage of the venitive verb in the source text. If this were true, then the use of venitive verbs in narrative contexts may not always be explicable in terms of directionality factors and the formulation of generalizing claims regarding the use of DVMs in narrative contexts would become even more complicated. Furthermore, a more daring conjecture could be formulated; since the use of venitive verbs in the narrative context often did not correspond between English and Italian, it might be possible that speakers of different languages do have the option to identify with either a character or the narrator but do not do so in similar ways. If this were the case, it would seem that speakers of different languages conceptualize abstract venitive motion in narrative contexts via different abstract deictic centers based on their first language. The findings presented in this thesis can by no means confirm or disprove whether either of the two speculations is indeed true. I am, however, convinced that they may help bring attention

to the fact that the matter of DVMs in narrative context should be of interest not only to semanticians and pragmaticians but above all to scholars in the field of literary studies.

As concerns cases of comitative contexts, a total correspondence between the two venitive verbs was observed in both directions in cases of accompaniment of the speaker. Examples of accompaniment of another speech-act-participant were not identified in the data.

Despite the correspondence of the possible goals of venitive verbs in the two languages and the similar usage of venitive verbs in comitative contexts, the relatively low rate of mutual correspondence between *come* and *venire* suggests that a classification of languages made based solely on the possible goals of their venitive verbs only offers a very general picture of the actual use of the verbs, at least in the cases of English and Italian. The frequency of non-deictic verbs as translation equivalents of venitive verbs in narrative contexts in both texts suggests that the key to the relatively low mutual correspondence probably lies somewhere in the narrative context.

As for the functional factors, it can be concluded that while in some cases the usage of venitive verbs can, in fact, be attributed to aspects such as speaker's functional space, visibility, and physical-levelness even based on the information extractable from a corpus, corpus-based study is not the most suitable means for studying the role of such aspects in deictic verbs of motion. This is mostly due to the fact that in certain cases, the linguistic context does not offer the amount of information necessary to allow the reader to imagine the spaces in which the events narrated are taking place. As a consequence, it is often complicated to assess the extent to which the space/the settings in discussion can be considered a functionally delimited speaker's space, the level of visibility, or the exact direction of the motion. Still, based on the findings presented in this thesis, it seems that in English, the presence of functional factors may instigate the use of venitive verb more often than in Italian, as even cases in which the venitive verbs in English was evidently used due to the effects of visibility/physical levelness rather than directionality, Italian mostly used a non-deictic translation equivalent.

Whilst it would definitely be intriguing to analyze the use of venitive verbs in English and Italian by replicating the experiment by Matsumoto et al. (2017) to see the role of interactional factors in the two languages in more detail, I believe that a deeper, cross-disciplinary and cross-linguistic study of DVMs in narrative context is required, as it could shed light not only on the actual use of DVMs and the possibilities of use of different

narrative techniques but also on the conceptualization of abstract venitive motion by speakers of different languages.

6 Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá příchodovými slovesy v angličtině a v italštině. Cílem práce je výpočet vzájemné korespondence mezi příchodovými slovesy *come* a *venire*, a to na základě porovnání italského překladu knihy Dana Browna *Šifra mistra Leonarda* a anglického překladu knihy Umberta Eca *Jméno růže*.

Úvodní část práce předkládá definice deiktických sloves pohybu a deiktického centra. V návaznosti na ně pak práce představuje zásadní přístupy k deiktickým slovesům pohybu.

Jako první práce adresuje ty přístupy, v nichž sehrává hlavní roli směr pohybu, respektive cíl, v jehož směru je daný pohyb veden. V tomto ohledu práce staví především na studiích Charlese J. Fillmora (1971), Davideho Riccy (1993) a Wojciecha Lewandowskiho (2014).

Druhým přístupem k deiktickým slovesům pohybu, jímž se práce zabývá, je tzv. funkční přístup, který byl představen ve studii Matsumota a kolektivu (2017). Matsumoto a kolektiv (2017) ve své studii faktor směru pohybu vůči cíli neopomíjí, ale poukazují na fakt, že tento faktor nemůže být považován za ten jediný, skrze nějž je možné deiktická slovesa pohybu definovat. Právě z toho důvodu se ve své studii, v níž analyzují angličtinu, japonštinu a thajštinu, Matsumoto a kolektiv zabývají také vlivy faktorů jakými jsou například funkční prostor mluvčího, viditelnost, shoda fyzické úrovně (např. ve smyslu pozice ve stejném patře) a přítomnost interakčního chování. V rámci své práce Matsumoto a kolektiv adresují také rozdíly v kódování Dráhy a Deixe. Právě skrze ony rozdíly se Matsumoto a kolektiv snaží poukázat na funkčně definovatelné vlastnosti deiktických sloves pohybu. Součástí kapitoly o funkčním přístupu k deiktickým slovesům pohybu je také zběžný přehled možných abstraktní užití deiktických sloveso pohybu. Tato užití jsou ovšem zmíněna především pro usnadnění představy toho, jakými užitími deiktických sloves pohybu se tato práce v rámci analýzy nezabývá.

Práce dále popisuje různé způsoby vyjádření deixe skrze lexikální strukturu, morfologii a syntax, a především pak mezijazykové rozdíly v užívání deiktických sloves pohybu. Práce se konkrétně zaměřuje na užití deiktických sloves pohybu v portugalštině, španělštině, angličtině, italštině a češtině.

Metodologická část práce popisuje proces výběru textů vhodných pro analýzu, tvorbu paralelního překladového korpusu v rozhraní InterCorp (KonText), a také sběr, anotaci a třídění dat dle různých druhů korespondencí, na jejichž základě jsou data rozřazována v analytické části práce. Analytická část práce předkládá míru vzájemné korespondence

mezi slovesy *come* a *venire*, kvantifikaci různých překladových ekvivalentů těchto dvou sloves, a také poznatky, jejichž cílem je osvětlení možných příčin rozdílů v rámci jejich překladů.

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