



A Cognitive Approach to the Japanese Verb *Kuru* ‘Come’

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The Japanese motion verb *kuru* ‘come’ can be used as either a lexical verb or an auxiliary verb. The traditional analysis of *kuru* involves mere itemization of its various senses (Koga, 2001). An image schema has yet to be presented to characterize its diverse instantiations. This paper undertakes this goal within the framework of Cognitive Grammar, which assumes that linguistic expressions of a single item are routinely polysemous (e.g., Langacker, 1987 & 1991). A network model and a source-path-goal (deictic center) schema are proposed in this paper to capture the relatedness of the various senses of this item. The basic (prototypical) meaning of *kuru* involves the theme moving toward the speaker's position (vantage position) along a spatial path. Usually the path and the final stage are profiled; however, variations (non-central meanings) of this verb do exist due to profiling different parts of the path or different stages of the motion. Three variants of this verb have been identified in this study. The other senses of *kuru* as a lexical verb are mainly metaphorical extensions. As an auxiliary verb, *kuru* mainly serves directional and aspectual functions. Cognitive domain selection or shifting (e. g. extending from the spatial domain to the temporal domain on some perceived commonalities) plays an important role in motivating semantic extensions of *kuru*, either as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary verb. This paper supports a semantic network model by demonstrating that all the senses of *kuru* are far from random (Hamada, 1989) and that all the extensions are related to the basic meaning of *kuru* directly or indirectly through family resemblance. It is human conceptualization of phenomena (mainly metaphor) that directly motives the extensions including the grammaticalization of a particular item.

1 Introduction

The Japanese motion verb *kuru* ‘come’ can be used as either a lexical verb or an auxiliary verb. When it functions as an auxiliary verb the clause linkage conjunction *te* is used to suggest the tightest connection between two linked clauses in clause-chaining constructions. The following two examples illustrate its lexical verb use and its auxiliary function:

- (1) *Tomodachi ga koko ni kuru.*
 friend NOM* here to come
 ‘(My) friend will come here.’ (Koga 2001: 29)
- (2) *Ki ga taore-te kuru.*
 tree NOM fall-CONJ come
 ‘The tree is falling toward me.’ (Koga 2001: 33)

*The abbreviations used in the paper are the following: NOM=nominal, TOP=topic, CONJ=conjunction, GEN=genitive, LOC=locative, ALL=allative, AUX=auxiliary.

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The traditional analysis of *kuru* involves mere itemization of its various senses and thus, the relatedness of its different senses has been largely neglected (Koga, 2001). Moreover, very few investigations have been conducted to explore the relationship between the use of *kuru* as a lexical verb and its use as an auxiliary. Since its metaphorical extended senses or functions were not searched for “in most traditional analyses, any motivation behind the semantic and functional extension was left unexplained” (Koga, 2001: 27).

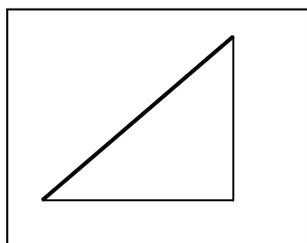
An image schema has yet to be presented to characterize the diverse instantiations of *kuru*. This paper undertakes this goal within the framework of Cognitive Grammar (e.g., Langacker, 1987 & 1991), which assumes that linguistic expressions of a single item are routinely polysemous. Lakoff (1987) proposes that a linguistic item has a semantic structure with a basic or prototypical meaning or set of meanings, and with related meanings corresponding to different usages. “In CG all the meanings are linked to each other by relationships of schematicity, where a schematic concept covers the same semantic territory as its elaboration or instantiation” (Tuggy, 1988: 588). Thus a linguistic category is typically complex and such a category is not defined by a single unit, “but by a constellation of units that may be quite diverse despite an overall family resemblance. Cognitive grammar conceives of such a category as a network” (Langacker, 1991: 4).

Based on detailed semantic analysis of extensive instances of *kuru*, this study aims at demonstrating that all the senses of *kuru* are far from random or idiosyncratic (Hamada, 1989) and that all the extensions are motivated by human conceptualization of phenomena (mainly metaphor). From CG perspectives, a network model (Lakoff, 1987) and a source-path-goal (deictic center) schema are proposed in this paper to capture the relatedness of the various senses of the Japanese motion verb *kuru*.

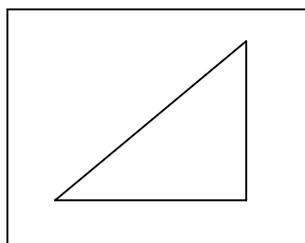
2 Central and Non-central Meanings of *Kuru*

The notion of base/profile in Cognitive Grammar is particularly important to the analysis of the basic meaning of *kuru* and its variants in this paper. Langacker proposes (1988) that a semantic structure derives its value through the imposition of a profile on a base. The profile comprises those portions of the base which the entity designates. “Some facet of the base is invariably raised to a distinctive level of prominence, and serves as its focal point; this substructure is the predication’s profile” (Langacker, 1988: 59). For example, the conception of a right triangle serves as the base for hypotenuse and its profile is one of the line segments, as illustrated in the following figure (Langacker, 1988):

(a) HYPOTENUSE



(b)



(c)

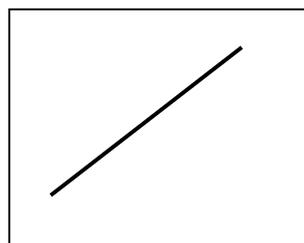


Figure 1 Distinction between the base and the profile of an expression

In Figure 1, the profiled element is depicted by the heavy line(s) to indicate the prominence, which distinguishes it from the remainder of the base. Langacker (1988) suggests that an expression's meaning does not lie in either the profile or the base alone and that both of them are important to its value, which reflects the elevation of some part of the base to a special level of prominence. If the profiling of the *hypotenuse* is suppressed, as in Figure 1(b), what we get is not the conception of the hypotenuse, but simply that of a right triangle; however, if the unprofiled portions of the base are suppressed, there is no base for identifying the remaining line segment as being a hypotenuse (Langacker, 1988). Therefore, the base is essential in realizing an expression's meaning by providing the context or the frame to identify the profiled entity or the intended designatum.

Like the English motion verb *come* (Fillmore, 1997), the principal meaning of *kuru* has a few essential semantic components---the deictic center, movement, source, destination and path (trajectory). The basic meaning denoted by *kuru*, which will be discussed in Section 1.1, is motion through space toward the speaker. Usually the trajector and the destination are profiled; however, variations (non-central meanings) of this verb do exist due to different parts of the trajectory or different stages of the motion being profiled (Shen, 1995). Three variants of this verb have been identified in this study, which will be discussed in turn in this section.

2.1 The Basic Meaning of *Kuru*

Japanese *Kuru* 'come' denotes motion towards the speaker or from the viewpoint of the subject of the sentence at the destination (goal). In contrast, Japanese *iku* 'go' denotes motion away from the speaker or from the viewpoint of the subject of the sentence at the starting point (source). Usually the motion denoted by *kuru* is bounded, that is, motion that can be characterized as having a starting point and an end point, an "origin" (source) and "destination" (goal). The intervening states between the source and goal can be called "path" or "trajectory" (Fillmore, 1997).

Motion in the real world is one of the basic human concepts. Spatial motion involves space and time, which are basic cognitive domains (Langacker, 1987 & 1991). Motion in the spatial domain is more prominent and more basic than fictive motions, which involve no concrete movement of objects (Talmy, 2000) such as motion in the time domain or in the abstract domain. Thus, the basic or central meaning of *kuru* involves the theme moving toward the speaker's position (vantage position) along a spatial path.

- (3) a. *Kinoo watashi no tomodachi ga kita.*
 yesterday I GEN friend NOM come-PAST
 'My friend came yesterday.'
- b. *Kare wa raigetsu kuru daroo.*
 he TOP next month come will
 'He will come next month.'

Examples (3a) and (3b) denote movement through space, which involves basic cognitive domains. These two examples display the basic meaning of *kuru*.

Figure 2 illustrates the schema for the semantic structure of the basic use of *kuru*:

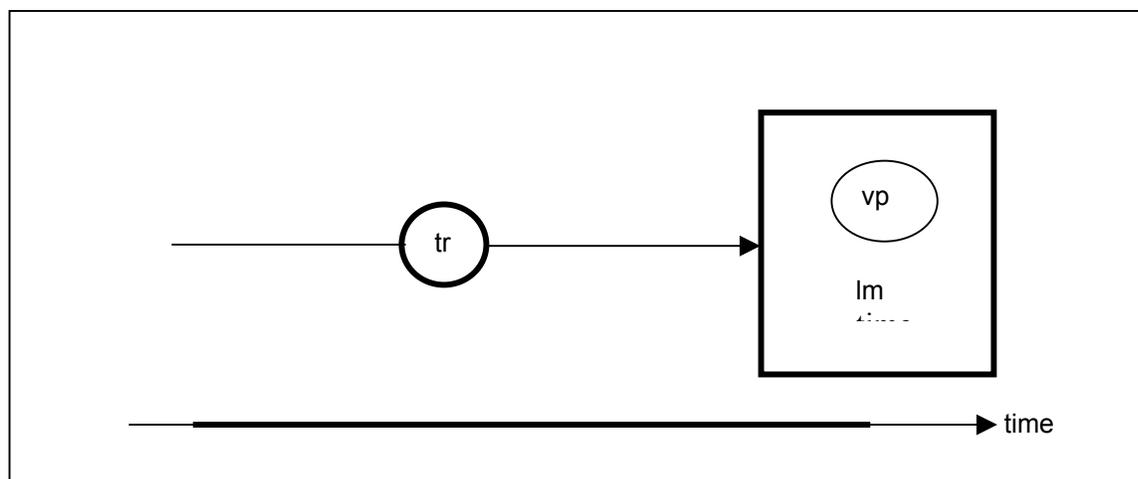


Figure 2 Schema for the basic use of *kuru*

In Figure 2, the relevant domains are space and time. The outside frame represents space, which is one of the most important components of the base. The arrow marked *time* at the bottom of the base represents the time domain. Boldface in this figure and thereafter indicates profiling elements or substructures of the base. The trajector is indicated by *tr*, which refers to the most prominent participant of an activity/process while the landmark is indicated by *lm*, which denotes other prominent participant(s)/location(s) (Langacker, 1987 & 1991). With the passing of time, the trajector moves through space. The motion denoted by *kuru* is towards a landmark, which is a spatial location indicated by *lm*. This primary landmark is the destination (goal) of the trajector, which is also profiled in the basic use of *kuru*. The speaker views the motion event from the vantage point indicated by *vp* within the theme's destination (the primary landmark) (Shen, 1995). Therefore the basic sense of *kuru* derives its value through the imposition of profiled elements---the trajector and the goal (the destination) on its base.

2.2 Three Non-central Meanings (variants)

When different components or substructures are imposed on a base, different senses of a lexical item or construction will be brought about. In the case of Japanese *kuru*, the three variants (non-central meanings) are derived in this way.

2.2.1 The variant---'begin to come'

As discussed above, the basic meaning of Japanese *kuru* usually profiles the theme's destination as well as the trajector. It is also possible that this motion can be partially realized in the sense that the theme moves to a certain point on the path, but does not reach the goal as (4a) and (4b) suggest:

- (4) (a) *Kare wa Nihon e kuru tochuu datta ga kaetta*
 he TOP Japan to come halfway past but go back-PAST
 'He began coming to Japan, but he went back halfway.'
- (b) *Kare wa tochuu made kita ga, ki ga*
 he TOP some distance to come-PAST but mind NOM
kawatte hikikaeshita.
 change-PAST return-PAST
 'He was coming for some distance but he changed his mind and returned.'

In (4a), the theme---*kare* ‘he’ actually didn’t reach the goal---‘Japan’, but only went up to a certain point on the route to Japan. In (4b), the subject traveled some distance on the path but he didn’t reach the destination.

This variant (begin-to-come) involves the situation in that the initial portion of the trajectory is profiled while the final stage is non-salient. The following figure displays the schema of the semantic structure of the variant ‘begin-to-come’:

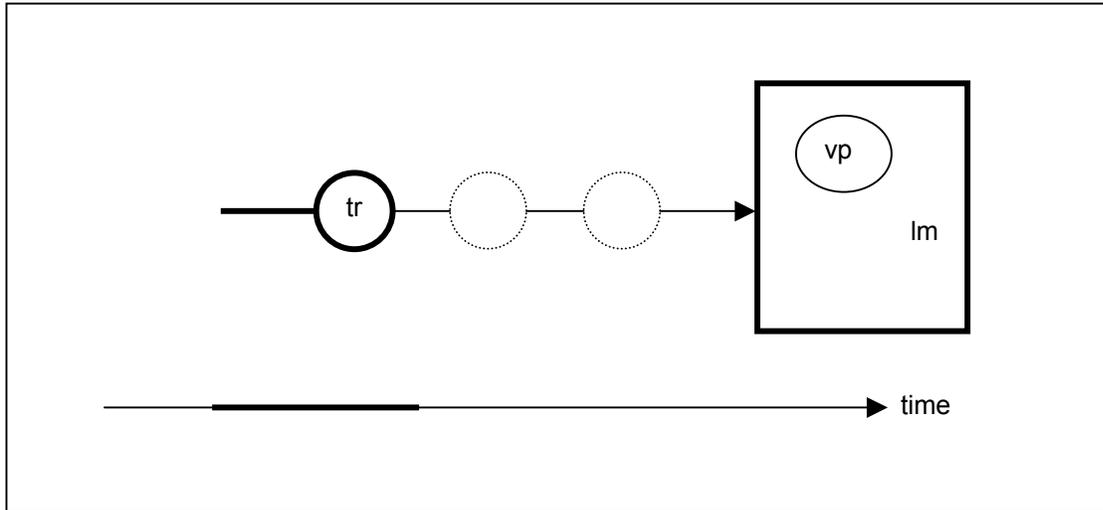


Figure 3 Schema for the variant---‘begin to come’

In the schema for the variant of *kuru* ‘begin-to-come’, the trajector and the goal (the destination) are profiled. However, in terms of path, only part of it is profiled and the rest of it is simply part of the base.

2.2.2 The variant---‘come--->arrive’

Different from the variant ‘begin-to-come’, the second variant (come--->arrive) allows the speaker to focus on the final stage and leave the initial stage of the motion unprofiled. In this sense, the meaning of this variant approximates the sense of English motion verb *arrive* (Shen, 1995).

- (5) a. *Basu ga kita.*
 bus NOM come-PAST
 ‘The bus arrived.’
- b. *Nimotsu wa mada kite inai.*
 package TOP yet come-past not
 ‘The package hasn’t arrived yet.’

(Kondo & Takano, 1993: 518)

Examples (5a) and (5b) indicate that the trajectory of the theme is not entirely profiled from the very beginning to the end and the initial stage of the motion is not in focus.

The semantic structure of this variant can be captured in the following schema:

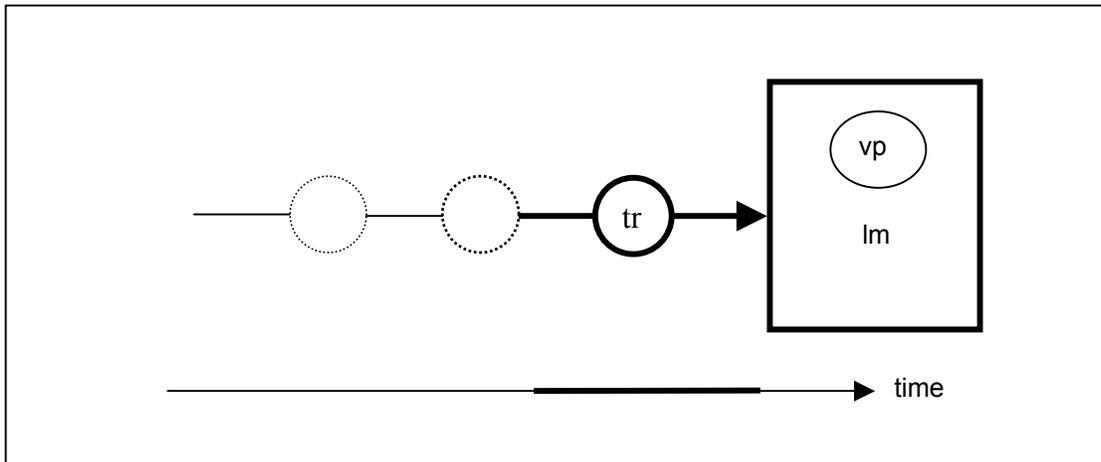


Figure 4 Schema for the variant---‘come--->arrive’

As Figure 4 suggests, the final stage of the trajectory (path) is profiled and the rest of the path is left unprofiled. The theme’s reaching the destination is prominent in the variant come--->arrive.

2.2.3 The variant---‘come--->approach’

The third variant (come--->approach) can be regarded as resulting from the trajector’s traveling to the point which is near the destination. Consequently, the profiled trajectory is near the end stage of the motion, but does not reach the end point.

- (6) a. *Taifuu ga kuru*
 typhoon NOM come
 ‘The typhoon approaches.’
- b. *Natsu yasumi ga kuru.*
 summer vacation NOM come.
 ‘The summer vacation approaches.’

In (6a) and (6b), the near-destination portion of the motion is profiled. It is likely that the typhoon in (6a) will actually reach the destination. However, it is also possible that the typhoon will change its direction and will not reach the speaker’s vantage point. Figure 5 displays the schema for this variant:

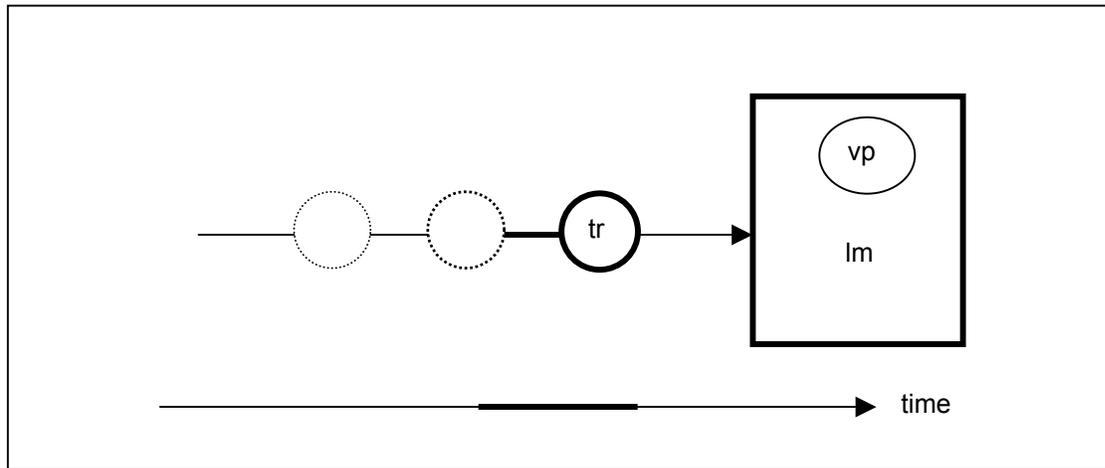


Figure 5 Schema for the variant---‘come--->approach’

The semantic structure of the variant ‘come--->approach’ is indicated in Figure 4, in which not the entire path is profiled. The focus is put on part of the path, which is near the destination. The end stage of the path is relatively non-salient.

2.3 The Overt Landmarks of *Kuru*

The landmarks of *kuru* can be overtly realized. Either the source or the destination or both can be specified usually by a postpositional phrase. Example (7) illustrates the elaboration of the primary landmark---the theme’s destination:

- (7) *Kare wa sengetsu kono daigaku e kita.*
 he TOP last month this university to come-PAST
 ‘He came to this university last month.’

In (7), the primary landmark of *kuru*, destination---‘this university’, is specified. When the destination is overtly realized it is even more salient than otherwise since realization of the landmark elaborates it and provides more details about it.

The following two examples have a second landmark---source landmark. Both source landmark and destination landmark are overtly realized:

- (8) a. *Kare wa sengetsu nihonkara kita.*
 he TOP last month Japan from come-PAST
 ‘He came from Japan last month.’
 b. *Kare wa sengetsu nihon kara kono daigaku e kita.*
 he TOP last month Japan from this university to come- PAST
 ‘He came from Japan to this university last month.’

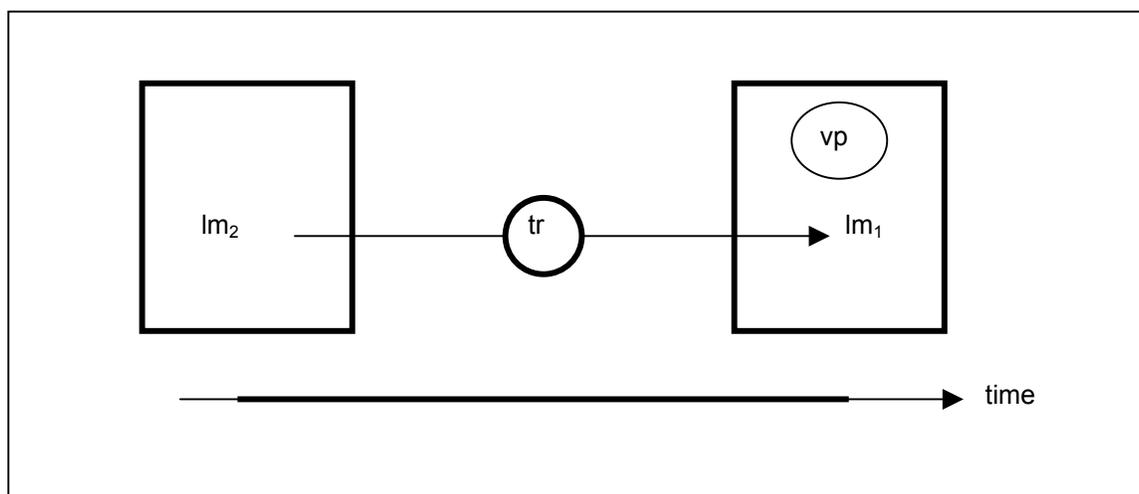


Figure 6 Schema for the overt source landmark

Figure 6 indicates the semantic schema of the overt realization of a source landmark with an overt realization of a destination landmark. The difference between Figure 2, which is the illustration of the basic meaning of *kuru*, and Figure 6 is that in the former, the second landmark--the source is not profiled, however, in the latter, the source landmark is profiled and is overtly realized (Shen, 1995). Therefore, Figure 6 illustrates a new schema with two landmarks, which are in fact two profiled locations.

3 Semantic Extensions of *Kuru* as a Lexical Verb

3.1 The Motivations of Semantic Extensions

The semantic extension of a linguistic item from its existing meaning to a new meaning is motivated by a relation or by some commonalities that language users perceive between the old and the new designata (Lichtenberk, 1991). Lakoff (1987) claims that semantic extensions are not completely arbitrary and that if an extension takes place it usually makes sense. Langacker (1987) proposes that not all the facets of the meaning of an item are equally prominent. Some aspects of the total meaning of the item are more central than others. The relatively central aspects are the ones usually thought of as the meaning of the item, but such facets do not exhaust the total meaning. Implications based on the prominent aspects of the meaning are subsumed in the total meaning of a given item (Lichtenberk, 1991). Both the prominent aspects of the meaning and the implications based on them may underlie a semantic or functional extension.

A number of linguists (e. g. Jackendoff, 1983; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987 & 1988) have realized the subjective and open-ended nature of meaning. The meanings of linguistic items are not “mere reflections of the properties of phenomena; rather, they reflect our conceptualization of the phenomena, and in that sense they are subjective” (Lichtenberk, 1991: 477). This subjective and open-ended nature of meanings enables us to apply linguistic items to new experiences, “to express newly perceived relations among phenomena and thus to form new categories or to alter the make-up of existing categories, and to relate to each other phenomena from different cognitive domains” (Lichtenberk, 1991: 477).

It is human conceptualization (that is, metaphor and metonymy) that provides us cognitive instruments to use concepts from one cognitive domain of experience to conceptualize another cognitive domain of experience (Black 1979; Reddy 1979; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). For a semantic extension through metaphor to occur, there should be some kind of prior perception

of a commonality between phenomena from different cognitive domains (Lichtenberk, 1991). Jackendoff (1983) and Langacker (1987) propose that the reason for a given conceptual domain to be organized in terms of another domain is not that human beings conceptualize the former in terms of the latter, but that both domains are perceived as having the same, more general structure. Therefore, domain selection or shifting (e. g. extending from the spatial domain to the temporal domain on some perceived commonalities) plays an important role in motivating semantic extensions of a linguistic item. In the case of the Japanese motion verb of *kuru*, the various extensions are motivated mainly through metaphor.

3.2 Different Extended Senses of *Kuru* as a Lexical Verb

The extended senses of *kuru* as a lexical verb are mainly metaphorical extensions. The extensions are basically from the spatial domain to non-spatial domains and from more concrete domains to more abstract domains.

3.2.1 Indicating time or seasons

The Japanese motion verb *kuru* can be used to denote the passing of time:

- (9) *Danketsu su-beki toki ga kita.*
 unite do-AUX time NOM come-PAST
 ‘The time has come when we have to unite.’ (Kondo & Takano, 1993: 518)

This extension from spatial to temporal usage is motivated by the widespread metaphor TIME IS SPACE (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). By nature, time is unidirectional. “The relationship between that which remains the same at different times and the time dimension itself is frequently thought of by the human mind as movement” (Fillmore, 1997: 28). The movement metaphor for time allows language users to view the world as moving through time or the world as being constant and time passing by it (Fillmore, 1997). So human conceptualization enables us to construe reaching a certain point in time as coming to the destination in movement as (9) indicates.

In addition to indicating time, the verb *kuru* can be used to denote the passing of seasons:

- (10) *Natsu ga hayaku kita*
 summer NOM earlier come-PAST
 ‘Summer came earlier.’

Though the seasons and their subdivisions are informal units the separate seasons can be generally conceptualized as having starting points and end points, which can be comparable to the source and destination in spatial motion. Again the cognitive instrument, metaphor, enables speakers to conceptualize the passing of seasons as the movement in space, which is illustrated in (10).

3.2.2 Indicate future time

Japanese *kuru* can serve the function of signifying future time, as the following examples suggest:

- (11) a. *kitaru jūnigatsu*
 coming December
 ‘next December’
 b. *kitaru doyoobi*
 coming Saturday
 ‘next Saturday’

The extension of *kuru* to signify future time is based on the metaphor: PASSAGE OF TIME IS MOVEMENT IN SPACE, which is a subtype of the metaphor TIME IS SPACE, (e.g., Traugott, 1988) and on our conceptualization of time according to which the future moves toward us (Lichtenberk, 1991). Fillmore (1997) suggests that time can be thought of as a succession of events and our relation to it can be regarded in one of the two ways: either time moves by us or it is human beings who move along the succession of events. In either case, we think of ourselves as facing the future and it is the conceptualization of time as moving by us that motivates the use of *kuru* ‘come’ to indicate future time.

3.2.3 Describe mental contact or activities

When *kuru* indicates mental contact the speaker views mental movement as spatial motion and the extension depends on the MIND IS BODY metaphor (Sally Rice, p. c.).

- (12) *Tsuri to kuruto, watashi wa mattaku muchuu da.*
 fishing to come I TOP absolutely crazy about be
 ‘As far as fishing is concerned, I am absolutely crazy about it.’

The Japanese *kuru* in (12) is employed to single out the topic, which serves as the reference point. Langacker (1991) suggests that our cognitive capacity to invoke the conception of one entity as a reference point is for the purposes of establishing mental contact with another. The MIND IS BODY metaphor is motivated by the correlation between our external experience and our internal experience such as emotional and cognitive states based on the commonalities of the two cognitive domains (Sweetser, 1990). When our mind makes contact with something, it is natural that such contact can be viewed metaphorically to have the source (the mind), the destination (something to be contacted) and the mental path very much like the movement in space.

Besides indicating mental contact, the meaning of *kuru* can be extended to signify mental activities:

- (13) *Watashi ni wa pin to kita*
 me ALL TOP something (inspiring) to come- PAST (came-to-mind)
 ‘Something came to my mind’

The semantic extension of *kuru* in (13) is also motivated by the MIND IS BODY (or CONTAINER) metaphor. Something occurs to one's mind can be regarded as an object reaching the destination in space. This is an instance of extension from concrete domains (e. g. spatial motion) to abstract domains (e. g. mental motion).

3.2.4 Indicate origin or cause

Semantic extensions of *kuru* are not restricted to concrete things and the theme that undergoes motion can be a more abstract entity such as words, events.

- (14) *girisha-go kara kita kotoba*
 Greek from come-PAST word
 ‘a word derived from Greek’ (Kondo & Takano, 1993: 518)
- (15) *Kono supootsu wa Ijirisu kara kita mono da.*
 This sport TOP England from come-PAST thing be
 ‘The sport (is the thing that) originates in England.’

The extensions of *kuru* in the above two examples are mainly based on THE SOURCE OF MOTION IS THE ORIGIN OF AN ENTITY. In (14), the entity transferred is a more abstract entity---a word while in (15), the thing that undergoes movement is not a concrete thing, but an event---a sport.

The Japanese *kuru* can also be used to denote the cause of an event as the following example illustrates:

- (16) *Kono jiko wa kareno fuchuuji kara kita mono da.*
 this accident TOP his carelessness from come-PAST thing be
 ‘This accident (is the thing that) was caused by his carelessness.’

(Kondo & Takano, 1993: 518)

The sense of *kuru* to denote cause of an event is motivated by the two metaphors: ACTIVITY IS MOTION (Lakoff 1987) and SOURCE OF MOTION IS CAUSE OF EVENT.

In fact, the kind of interpretation of *kuru* we can derive in a sentence largely depends on the contexts. All of the instances of *kuru* in this sub-section can be generally interpretable as 'come (from)' metaphorically. Their more specific meanings are arrived at on the basis of our real world knowledge and on the usage of *kuru*.

4 Semantic Extensions of *Kuru* as an Auxiliary Verb

Besides its use as a lexical verb the Japanese motion verb *kuru* can be used as an auxiliary Verb. The auxiliatation of this motion verb may display certain new properties; however, it still retains some of its original properties. As an auxiliary verb, *kuru* mainly serves directional and aspectual functions (Koga, 2001). Lichtenberk (1991) suggests that its meanings are internally complex and that a certain component of the total meaning of a lexical item may serve as the basis for a semantic/functional extension, while the other aspects of the meaning are non-salient.

4.1 Indicate Direction to the Deictic Center

In a clause-chaining construction, *kuru* can be used as the venitive directional and indicates direction to the deictic center---the speaker or the subject of a sentence. Such an extension is motivated by the deictic sense of the core meaning of *kuru*.

The directional auxiliary *kuru* is important in the grammar of Japanese since Japanese verbs are typically motion neutral (Koga, 2001). In languages like English, prepositions act as directional satellites to attribute a motional and directional sense to the event (Talmy, 1985).

- (17) *He ran to the station.*

- (18) *I rode a bike to the university.*

The English motion verbs *ran* and *rode* in (17) and (18) conflate manner and motion. The prepositional phrases specify the trajectory (the path) and add the directional flavor to the motion event (Talmy, 2000). However, Japanese motion verbs like *hashitte* ‘ran’ and *notta* ‘rode’ denote only the manner of motion (Yu, 1997). The direction of motion is mostly expressed through the auxiliary verbs *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’ (Koga 2001). Because of lack of specifications of motion the following two sentences are considered ungrammatical in Japanese:

- (19) * *John wa eki ni hashitta.*
 John TOP station ALL run-PAST
 ‘John ran to the station.’ (Yu, 1997: 50)

- (20) * *Watashi wa gakko ni jitensha ni notta.*
 I top school ALL bicycle LOC ride-PAST
 ‘I rode a bicycle to school.’ (Koga, 2001: 31)

The allative case marker *ni* in these two examples only marks an endpoint and it has a semantic value similar to the English preposition *at*. It does not signify the sense of motion and path (Yu, 1997). Japanese postpositions are inadequate to convey the meanings of motion and direction. The sense of motion or direction is usually encoded by directional auxiliaries. To express the motion event 'ran/rode to ---' the two sentences should be rephrased as the following by adding the directional auxiliary *kuru* or *iku* (Yu, 1997):

- (21) *John wa eki ni hashitte kita.*
 John TOP station ALL run-PAST come- PAST
 'John came to the station (by) running' (Yu, 1997: 50)
- (22) *Watashi wa gakkō ni jitensha ni notte kita*
 I TOP school ALL bicycle LOC ride- PAST come- PAST
 'I came to school riding a bicycle.' (Koga, 2001: 31)

In (21) and (22), it is the auxiliary verb *kuru* that expresses the motion and direction of an event toward the speaker or deictic center and adds "motional and directional flavors to otherwise static events described by typical Japanese verbs" (Koga, 2001:32).

The event marked for venitive directionality is not necessarily physical motion. Things being moved can be more abstract entities. The following example indicates that the entity transferred is not a concrete thing, but the word of apology:

- (23) *Watashi no tomodachi wa tsuini ayamatte kita*
 I GEN friend TOP finally apologize come- PAST
 'My friend finally apologized to me.'

The deictic sense of the motion verb *kuru* motivates its functional extension as a directional auxiliary verb. The directionality displayed by this auxiliary verb not only applies to concrete spatial motion objects, but also to more abstract motion events.

4.2 Perfect Aspect

When the deictic center is a time, the venitive auxiliary *kuru*, which takes the terminal point as a deictic center, can indicate perfect aspect. In this case, the terminal point is profiled and thus, its perfect use can be viewed as an extension of the 'come--->arrive' variant, through the TIME IS SPACE metaphor.

- (24) *Sensou no tame ni ooku no ningen ga shin-de kita*
 war GEN purpose LOC many GEN person NOM die-CONJ come-PAST
node genzai hitode ga tariai.
 therefore now labor force NOM lack
 'A lot of people have died because of the war, therefore, (there is) a lack of labor force now.'
- (25) *Watashi no tomodachi wa waiSSHoukenmei benkyoo shi-te kita*
 I GEN friend TOP hard study do-CONJ come- PAST
node genzai yuushuuna gakusei da.
 therefore now excellent student be
 'My friend has studied hard, therefore, he is an excellent student now.'

The deictic sense of *kuru* in these two examples is extended from the physical or spatial domain to the temporal domain. The deictic sense of *kuru* assumes the temporal location of the speech act as the viewpoint and puts the terminal point or the final stage of the event in focus. Perfect aspect

indicates the present relevance of the event in question (Comrie, 1976). The events described in (24) and (25) began in the past and they have a present relevance at the time of speech. Thus, *kuru* in these two examples functions as a perfect marker.

When *kuru* serves as an aspectual auxiliary, the conjunction *te* should be suffixed to the main verb to signal one conceptual event rather than two. In its perfect use, the deictic sense of physical motion of *kuru* is bleached and physical motion is mapped onto the temporal domain to express temporal qualities of events through the conceptual instrument---metaphor (Koga, 2001).

4.3 Inceptive Aspect

Another aspectual function of *kuru* is its inceptive use. Consider the following two examples:

(26) *Hi ga kie-te kita*
 fire NOM go out-CONJ come-PAST
 ‘The fire started to go out.’ (Koga, 2001: 53)

(27) *Ame ga fut-te kita.*
 rain NOM fall- CONJ come-past
 ‘It began to rain.’ (Kondo & Takano, 1993: 518)

The inceptive sense of *kuru* in these two examples is motivated by the PATH OF EVENT IS TRAJECTORY OF MOTION metaphor. If we look at the developmental path of an event as the trajectory of motion, this use can be regarded as an extension of the ‘begin-to-come’ variant since the initial portion of the trajectory is profiled. The beginning stage of the fire’s going out in (26) and the initial portion of the raining (27) are prominent while the later stages of these events are unspecified and thus, non-salient.

4.4 Reaching a State

In addition to its directional use and aspectual use, *kuru* can also be used to signify a state’s coming into being or a participant’s reaching a state.

(28) *Jidai ga kotonat-te kita.*
 era NOM be different-CONJ come (become)-PAST
 ‘The era became different.’

(29) *Kangae ga kawat-te kira.*
 idea NOM change-CONJ come-PAST
 ‘The idea became changed.’

The sense of *kuru* to signify reaching a state is an extension from the venitive directional function. This kind of development mainly depends on several factors: venitive directionality, telicity (involving a well-defined terminal point) (Comrie, 1976) of the actions or the motion denoted by the verb *kuru* and a destination of motion. The extension for *kuru* to signify reaching a state is mainly motivated by the metaphor REACHING, ENTERING A STATE IS ARRIVING AT A DESTINATION, which is a subtype of the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lichtenberk, 1991).

The various uses of *kuru* as an auxiliary verb are semantic/functional extensions from its basic meaning. Such extensions are mainly motivated by the cognitive instrument---metaphor. The deictic center of either space or time plays an important role in various extensions.

5 Conclusions

As illustrated in this paper, cognitive domain shifting or selection is responsible for semantic extensions. The most abstract schema of *kuru* encompasses different domains. However, motion in

the spatial domain is more basic. The extensions are basically from the spatial domain to the non-spatial domains---the time domain and the abstract domain in the case of *kuru*. The radial semantic network is illustrated in the following figure:

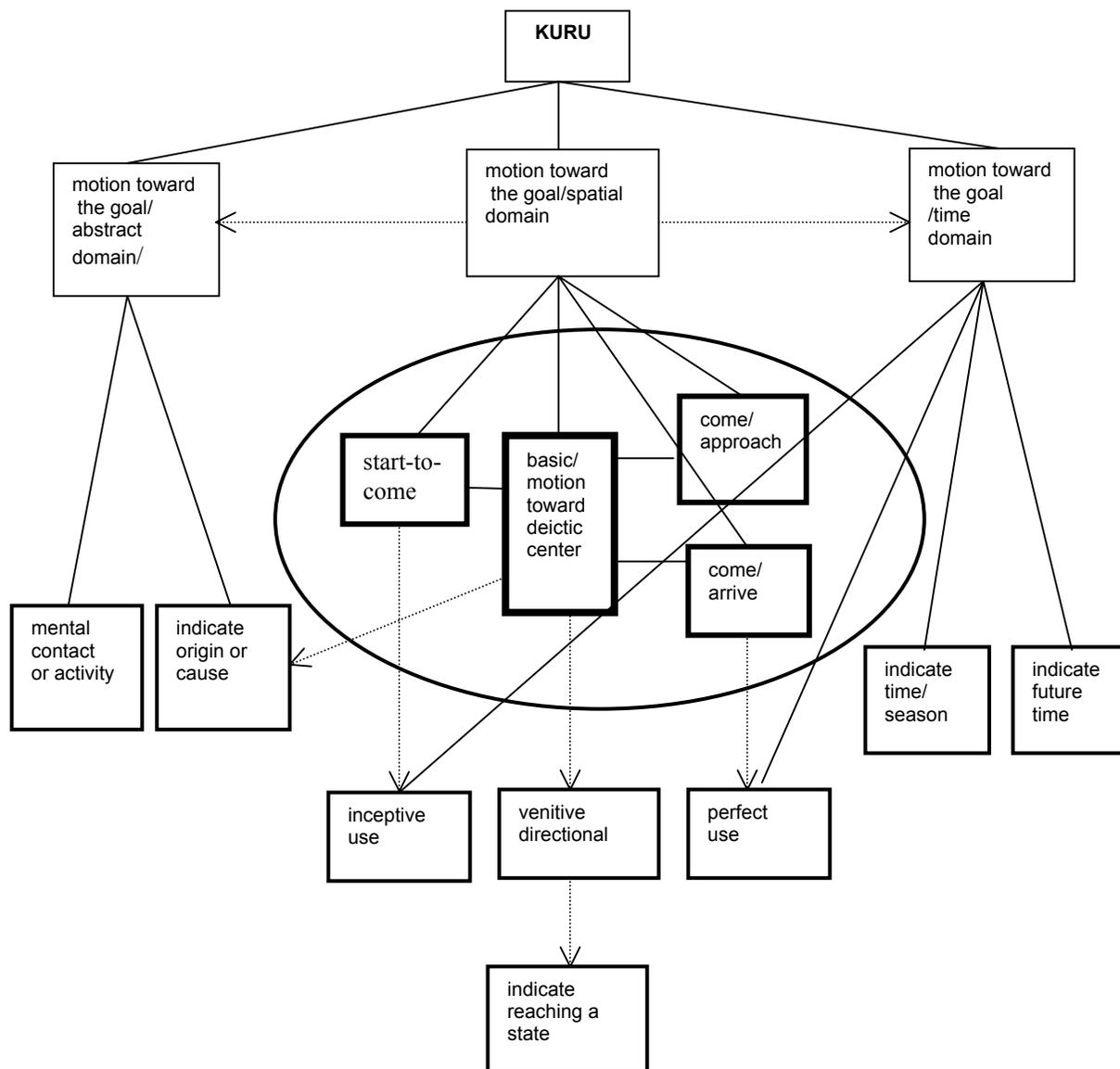


Figure 7 Semantic network of *kuru*

In this figure, solid lines between different senses indicate direct relatedness while dashed lines indicate extensions. The oval around the motion/spatial domain covers different senses of concrete motion through space, which includes the basic or central meaning and non-central or peripheral meanings. The senses included in the oval are more prominent than all the extensions indicated by dashed lines, the arrow of which specifies the directionality of the extensions. Among them, the basic meaning, which involves basic cognitive domains, is most prominent indicated by the heaviest bold lines. All the non-central meanings in the oval do not involve extensions from the spatial domain to other domains and they are derived on the basis of the basic meaning. Thus, they are directly related to the basic meaning of *kuru*. The aspectual uses---the inceptive use and the

perfect use are the extensions of 'start-to-come' and 'come--->arrive' variants respectively as the spatial domain is shifted to the temporal domain. As demonstrated earlier, semantic/functional extensions may be based on a certain component of the total meaning of a lexical item while the other aspects of the meaning are non-salient in such extensions. In the case of *kuru* used as a venitive directional, the extension is motivated by the deictic sense of its basic meaning of this lexical item. The sense of *kuru* to signify reaching a state is an extension from the venitive directional function. The extension is motivated by the metaphor REACHING A STATE IS ARRIVING AT A DESTINATION. When *kuru* is extended to indicate cause or origin one component of the basic meaning---source is prominent in the extensions.

All in all, this paper supports a semantic network model by demonstrating that all the senses of *kuru* are far from random (Hamada 1989) and that all the variants, non-central, peripheral meanings and semantic/functional extensions are related to the basic meaning of *kuru* through partially shared commonalities or family resemblance. The polysemous nature of the motion verb *kuru* displays a radial structure, which is characterized by graduated relatedness and both direct and indirect relatedness among the meanings/functions (Lakoff, 1987). It has also been demonstrated that all the variants of *kuru* results from profiling different parts of the trajectory or different stages of the motion and that it is human conceptualization of phenomena (mainly metaphor) that directly motives the extensions including the grammaticalization of a particular item (Lichtenberk, 1991).

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