

# When Norwegian *gå* Means Deixis\*

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## Abstract

This study investigates the semantics of the Norwegian verb *gå* with special reference to deixis. More specifically, it investigates under what conditions *gå* has an andative interpretation. Methodologically, this study combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. Data were collected via the noTenTen17 Bokmål corpus and direct elicitation sessions with native Norwegian speakers. Based on the results of the quantitative analysis, I argue that animacy is not a factor that determines the deictic status of *gå*. Contrary to what the literature would lead one to expect, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation whether the subject is animate or inanimate. Additionally, based on the results of my qualitative analysis, I argue that *gå* can have a deictic interpretation under the following four manner-defocusing conditions: (i) *gå* is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’, (ii) an animate subject is interpreted as moving abstractly, (iii) an inanimate subject is conceived as having its own power to move or is metaphorically conceived as moving, and (iv) a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is foregrounded, and the motion itself is backgrounded. In sum, the findings of this study provide a better understanding of the Norwegian motion verb *gå*.

## 1. Introduction

Deixis refers to a class of linguistic expressions whose interpretation “makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context in which they occur” (Anderson & Keenan, 1985: 259), e.g., speech participants, time, and location (Anderson & Keenan 1985; Diessel 2012; Fillmore 1997; Lyons 1977, among others). Among different deictic expressions, venitive and andative motion verbs (e.g., English *come* and *go*, respectively) have been studied extensively in linguistic typology. They are often regarded as core, basic, fundamental, or nuclear motion verbs in human languages and show interesting crosslinguistic variations (Gathercole 1977; Huang 2014; Wilkins & Hill 1995).

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Among others, Germanic languages show interesting microvariations in terms of the semantics of deictic verbs, especially andative verbs. For example, English has a general andative verb that can be used for motion events with different kinds of manner of motion, such as walking, driving, etc. Consider the examples in (1).

- (1) a. *She went {away from me / ?toward me}.*  
 b. *She went {on foot / by driving}.*

(1a) provides an example in which *go* expresses an andative motion, which is a motion ‘not toward the speaker’, i.e., either ‘away from the speaker’ or ‘neutral regarding the location of the speaker’. In this case, the fact that *go* can occur with the prepositional phrase *away from me*, but not with *toward me*, indicates that *go* describes an andative motion. (1b) provides an example in which *go* is used both for motion on foot and motion by vehicles. These examples show that *go* can express different kinds of motion events as long as the deictic direction of motion described by *go* is andative.

In contrast, German obligatorily distinguishes between andative motion on foot and andative motion by vehicles (Goddard 2011: 277). Generally, the German motion verb *gehen* can be used only for andative motion on foot, i.e., ‘go somewhere on foot’ and cannot be used for motion by vehicles. Compare (2a) and (2b).

- (2) a. *Sie gingen {von mir weg / \*zu mir}.*  
 she walk.PST from me away toward me  
 ‘She walked + went {away from me / \*toward me}.’  
 b. *Sie gingen {zu Fuß /\*mit dem Auto}.*  
 she walk.PST on foot with the car.  
 ‘She walked + went {on foot / \* by car}.’

In (2), German *gehen* expresses manner of motion and an andative motion at the same time. (2a) shows that *gehen* can occur with the andative prepositional phrase *von mir weg* ‘away from me’, but not with the venitive prepositional phrase *zu mir* ‘toward me’. An andative motion described by *gehen* contradicts the venitive expression. This indicates that the verb *gehen* expresses an andative motion in this case. Moreover, (2b) shows that *gehen* can cooccur with *zu Fuß* ‘on foot’, but not with *mit dem Auto* ‘by car’. This indicates that *gehen* describes manner of motion on foot. Thus, the German motion verb *gehen* is used only for andative motion on foot, i.e., ‘go somewhere on foot’.

The Norwegian motion verb *gå*, the main focus of this paper, shows interesting characteristics that are different from both English *go* and German *gehen*. When Norwegian *gå* expresses physical motion events, it mainly expresses either an andative motion or manner of motion, but not both at the same time. (3)

provides an example of *gå* with an andative interpretation, i.e., ‘not toward the speaker’ (either ‘away from the speaker’ or ‘neutral regarding the location of the speaker’).

- (3) *Toget kommer og går.*  
 train.DEF come.PRS and go.PRS  
 ‘The trains come and go.’

In (3), *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation. The verb *gå* in this case simply specifies that the motion of *toget* ‘the train’ is an andative motion, i.e., ‘not toward the speaker’. Importantly, when *gå* has an andative interpretation, it can express events in which the subject does not walk, which is not the case with German *gehen* (2). Because *toget* ‘the train’ obviously does not have feet, it is not possible to interpret *gå* in (3) as expressing manner of motion on foot. Thus, (3) provides an example of deictic *gå* that does not specify manner of motion.

In contrast, example (4a) illustrates that *gå* can express manner of motion on foot. It is important to note that when expressing manner of motion, *gå* does not specify deixis.

- (4) a. *Hun går {vekk fra meg / forbi meg / mot meg}.*  
 she walk.PRS away from me past me toward me  
 ‘She walks {away from me / past me / toward me}.’  
 b. <sup>??</sup>*Hun går løpende vekk fra meg.*  
 she walk.PRS run.PRS.PTCP away from me  
 lit. ‘She walks running away from me.’

In (4), *gå* expresses manner of motion on foot, i.e., ‘walk’, without an andative interpretation. (4a) shows that the verb *gå* can occur with prepositional phrases with different deictic directions, e.g., *vekk fra meg* ‘away from me’, *forbi meg* ‘past me’, and *mot meg* ‘toward me’. The verb *gå* in this case does not have a deictic interpretation. If the verb had an andative interpretation, it would not cooccur with venitive prepositional phrases, such as *mot meg* ‘toward me’. Moreover, (4b) shows that *gå* cannot cooccur with the participle *løpende* ‘running’ because the manner of motion described by *gå* ‘walk’ contradicts the manner of motion described by *løpende* ‘running’.

The above examples beg the question of when the Norwegian motion verb *gå* does express deixis rather than manner of motion. As for manner of motion, Viberg (2013: 47) has pointed out that *gå* expresses manner of motion on foot when used with a human subject, as in (4). He notes that “the Continental Scandinavian languages Swedish, Norwegian and Danish use one and the same verb *gå* to describe motion on foot, whether the manner is profiled or not. [...] In general, movement on foot is a condition for using

these verbs when the subject refers to a human. These verbs cannot be used when the subject is travelling in a vehicle.”

The question of when *gå* implies deixis, on the other hand, requires further investigation and raises several interesting questions. For example, does *gå* ever have an andative interpretation with an animate subject? If movement on foot is a condition for using *gå*, we would not expect *gå* to be used to express a situation where a person moves away from the speaker by driving. Also, does *gå* always have a deictic interpretation when expressing a motion event with an inanimate subject, as in (3)? Questions like the above remain to be addressed, and the lack of answers to said questions speak to the fact that the deictic nature of *gå* has heretofore been mostly ignored in the literature.

In order to fill the gap described above, this study examines interpretations of the Norwegian verb *gå* with special reference to deixis. In particular, it investigates under what conditions *gå* has a deictic interpretation. Methodologically speaking, this study combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative analysis is based on data collected via the noTenTen 17 Bokmål corpus run by Sketch Engine. The qualitative analysis is based on direct elicitation with Norwegian native speakers.

Based on the results of the quantitative analysis, in this study I argue that animacy is not a factor that determines the deictic status of *gå*. In fact, the verb *gå* can have a deictic meaning whether it has an animate subject or inanimate subject. Furthermore, based on the results of the qualitative analysis, I argue that *gå* can have a deictic interpretation under manner-defocusing contexts. Such manner-defocusing contexts include when (i) *gå* is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’, (ii) an animate subject is interpreted as moving abstractly, (iii) an inanimate subject is conceived as having its own power to move or is metaphorically conceived as moving, and (iv) a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is foregrounded rather than the motion itself.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the methodology of this study. Section 3 reveals that the animacy of the subject is not a factor that determines when Norwegian *gå* has a deictic meaning. Section 4 proposes the four conditions under which *gå* has a deictic interpretation. Section 5 discusses the findings. Section 6 concludes the paper.

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Quantitative and qualitative methods

In order to investigate when the Norwegian verb *gå* has a deictic meaning, this study combines quantitative and qualitative analyses. The purpose of the quantitative part of this study is to investigate whether or not animacy is a factor that determines the deictic status of *gå*. More specifically, it investigates whether *gå* has a deictic interpretation with an animate subject, including humans, or an inanimate subject, respectively.

To collect data for the quantitative analysis, I used the noTenTen17 Bokmål corpus run by Sketch Engine. This corpus consists of Norwegian texts written in Bokmål and belongs to the TenTen corpus family, which is a set of web corpora built using the same method with a target size of 10+ billion words

(Jakubiček et al. 2013; Kilgarriff et al. 2014). Data in this corpus were crawled by the SpiderLing web spider in 2017 (Suchomel & Pomikálek 2012), resulting in a corpus of 2.47 billion words. This corpus was POS annotated by the Oslo-Bergen Tagger (Johannessen et al. 2012).

I took the following steps for my corpus research. First, I collected 600 random samples using the verb *gå* as a lemma. The exact search query used for this study was [lempos\_lc="(gå)-v"];Random sample:600]. Second, I annotated each sentence by subject animacy and deictic status of *gå*, as listed in (5).

- (5) a. Animacy: animate / inanimate  
 b. Deictic interpretation of *gå*: deictic / non-deictic

To determine animacy, I used a dichotomous distinction between animate and inanimate. The animate subject category includes not only humans, but also non-human animate beings and groups of animate beings, such as teams, political parties, companies, and countries. In the next subsection, I will further describe how I determined whether or not to give *gå* a deictic interpretation in this study.

For the qualitative analysis, I analyzed the data collected from the noTenTen 17 corpus and conducted a direct elicitation session with native Norwegian speakers in March 2021. The purpose of this qualitative analysis was to investigate Norwegian native speakers' intuitive knowledge of the Norwegian verb *gå* and make a detailed description of the conditions under which *gå* has a deictic meaning.

## 2.2. Giving *gå* a deictic interpretation

In this study, *gå* is analyzed as having an andative interpretation if and only if it expresses a motion event whose direction is 'not toward the speaker', i.e., either 'away from the speaker' or 'neutral with regard to the location of the speaker'.

In order to analyze *gå* as deictic or not, I adopted the following two tests. First, I tested whether or not *gå* could be replaced with the venitive verb *komme*. The purpose of this test was to exclude instances of *gå* that did not express motion events. *Gå* is a highly polysemous verb that expresses different kinds of motion events and non-motion events. Crucially, when *gå* does not express a motion event at all, it is impossible for it to be given a deictic interpretation. Consider (6).

- (6) *Jeg gikk sulten hele dagen i går.*  
 I be.PST hungry whole day.DEF yesterday  
 'I was hungry the whole day yesterday.' (non-motion, copula)

In (6), *gå* does not express motion, but rather functions like a copula, linking the subject *jeg* 'I' and the adjective *sulten* 'hungry' without expressing a motion event. *Gå* in this case cannot express an andative motion event since it does not express a motion event in the first place.

Testing the replaceability of *gå* with *komme* successfully distinguishes instances of *gå* that express motion events from those that do not. The verb *komme* is one of the few verbs that can be used for motion events with different degrees of abstractness with both animate and inanimate subjects.<sup>1</sup> Thus, if *gå* can be replaced with the verb *komme*, it means that *gå* expresses some kind of motion event. The examples in (7) and (8) illustrate that *gå* can be replaced with *komme* when *gå* expresses motion events. (7) describes a physical motion, while (8) describes an abstract motion.

- (7) *Jeg {går / kommer} på Facebook.*  
 I go.PRS come.PRS on Facebook  
 lit. ‘I {go / come} on Facebook.’ (abstract motion, deictic)

- (8) *Toget {går / kommer} fra Bergen til Oslo.*  
 train.DEF go.PRS come.PRS from Bergen to Oslo  
 ‘The train {goes / comes} from Bergen to Oslo.’ (physical motion, deictic)

In contrast, if *gå* cannot be replaced with the verb *komme*, it means *gå* does not express a motion. Example (6’), in which *gå* functions like a copula, is an example of this.

- (6’) *Jeg {gikk / \*kom} sulten hele dagen i går.*  
 I be.PST come.PST hungry whole day.DEF yesterday  
 ‘I {was / \*came} hungry the whole day yesterday.’ (non-motion, copula)

Thus, testing whether or not *gå* can be replaced with *komme* successfully excludes sentences in which *gå* does not express motion events. If *gå* can be replaced with the verb *komme*, it means that *gå* expresses some kind of motion event. In contrast, if it cannot, it means that *gå* does not express a motion event.

The second test I conducted is what I call the *mot meg* ‘toward me’ test. Using said test, I tested whether or not *gå* can cooccur in venitive contexts, i.e., ‘toward the speaker’ (or the hearer in some cases). When *gå* conveys an andative interpretation, *gå* cannot occur with venitive expressions such as *mot meg* ‘toward me’.<sup>2</sup> This is because the deictic information conveyed by *mot meg* would contradict the venitive context. This is illustrated in (9).

<sup>1</sup> There are many manner verbs, but only a few path verbs in Norwegian (Tanigawa, Takahashi & Matsumoto, under review). Manner verbs such as *løpe* ‘run’ and *spasere* ‘walk’ are not suitable for this test because they can only be used for physical motion events with animate subjects. Thus, replaceability with *komme* is the best criterion for testing motion events.

<sup>2</sup> Importantly, it was necessary to conduct the first test before the second test because when *gå* expresses non-motion events, it cannot occur with venitive expressions. This is not because *gå* expresses an andative motion event, but because it does not express a motion event in the first place. Consider (6’’).

(6’’) *Hun gikk sulten (\*mot meg).*  
 she be.PST hungry toward me.  
 ‘She was hungry (\*toward me).’

- (9) a. *Bilen gikk vekk fra meg.*  
 car.DEF go.PST away from me  
 ‘The car went away from me.’ (physical motion, deictic)
- b. *Bilen gikk \*mot meg.*  
 car.DEF go.PST toward me  
 Intended for ‘The car moved toward me.’ (physical motion, deictic)

In (9), *gå* is analyzed as having an andative interpretation because it cannot be used when the deictic direction is venitive. (9a) shows that the verb *gå* can occur with the andative prepositional phrase *vekk fra meg* ‘away from me’, while (9b) shows that it cannot with the venitive prepositional phrase *mot meg* ‘toward me’. If the subject *bilen* ‘the car’ moved toward the speaker, the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’ would be used instead of *gå*.

In contrast, when *gå* does not have a deictic interpretation, it can occur in venitive contexts without a problem. This is illustrated in (10).

- (10) *Han gikk mot meg.*  
 he walk.PST toward me  
 ‘He walked toward me.’ (physical motion, non-deictic)

The verb *gå* in (10) is analyzed as not having a deictic interpretation because it can occur in venitive contexts. In (10), *gå* can cooccur with the venitive prepositional phrase *mot meg* ‘toward me’, indicating that *gå* cannot be given an andative interpretation. Thus, the *mot meg* ‘toward me’ test successfully distinguishes instances of *gå* that express andative motion from those that do not.

To sum up, in this study I analyzed *gå* as having an andative interpretation when it expressed any kind of motion event whose direction was not toward the speaker. To judge whether or not an expression was deictic, I first tested whether *gå* could be replaced with *komme* and then whether it could occur in venitive contexts. This process is summarized in Figure 1. By checking whether or not *gå* could be replaced with *komme*, I first excluded instances of *gå* in which *gå* did not express motion events. Then, by checking whether or not *gå* could occur in venitive contexts, I identified whether or not *gå* conveyed an andative meaning.

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In (6)”, *gå* cannot occur with the venitive prepositional phrase *mot meg*. This is not because *gå* expresses an andative motion event, but because *gå* does not express a motion. *Gå* in this case functions as a copula. Thus, the *mot meg* ‘toward me’ test works only after excluding non-motion expressions of *gå* with the first test.

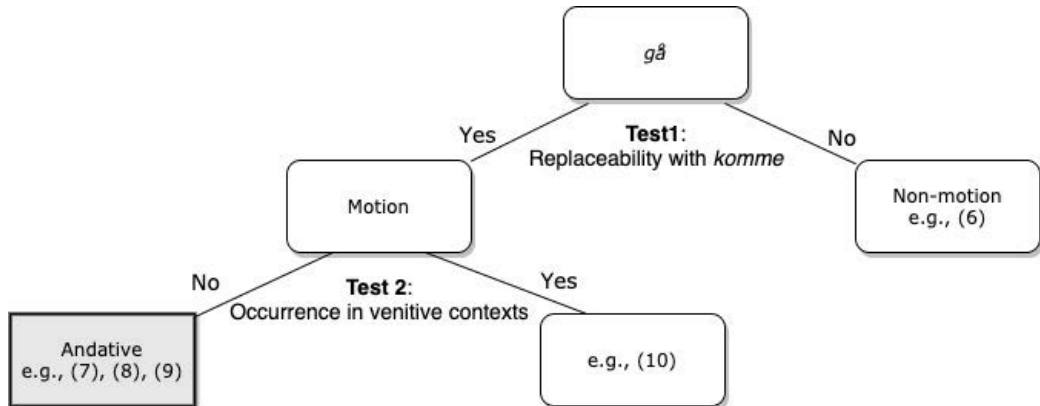


Figure 1. Identifying an andative interpretation of *gå*

### 3. Animacy: not a good predictor of andative deixis

In this section, I report the results of my quantitative analysis, which investigated (i) whether *gå* can never be given a deictic interpretation when the subject is animate and (ii) whether *gå* can be given a deictic interpretation when the subject refers to an inanimate entity.

Table 1 presents the number of examples in which *gå* was analyzed as having a deictic or non-deictic interpretation. Note that the non-deictic interpretations here include non-motion events (e.g., (6)) and motion events without deictic interpretations, such as ‘walk’ (e.g., (10)).

Table 1. Deictic status of *gå*

Deictic	Non-deictic	Total <sup>3</sup>
40 (6.7%)	559 (93.3%)	599 (100%)

Table 1 shows that in only 40 of 599 random examples could *gå* be given a deictic interpretation. This means the motion verb *gå* rarely has a deictic interpretation in Norwegian. This makes *gå* very different from, for example, English *go* or German *gehen*, whose primary functions are to express andative motion events.

Table 2 is a crosstab table that shows the distribution of animacy of subjects when *gå* had a deictic or non-deictic interpretation. Note that, out of 599 random examples, there were 348 examples with animate subjects and 251 with inanimate subjects.

<sup>3</sup> A false hit was excluded. This was a sentence in which *går* in *igår* ‘yesterday’ was analyzed as a verb by accident.



Table 2. Animacy of subjects

	Animate	Inanimate	Total
Deictic	24 (23.2) <sup>4</sup>	16 (16.8)	40
Non-deictic	324 (324.7)	235 (234.2)	559
Total	348	251	599

Table 2 indicates that animacy is not a factor that determines whether or not *gå* has a deictic interpretation. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between animacy and deictic/non-deictic interpretations of *gå*. The relation between these variables was not significant:  $\chi^2(1) = 0.0076, p = 0.93$ . In other words, there was no significant association between the animacy of subjects and deictic/non-deictic interpretations of *gå*.

(11) and (12), both corpus examples in which *gå* is interpreted as having a deictic interpretation, illustrate the fact that *gå* can have a deictic meaning regardless of the animacy of the subject. (11) shows an example with an animate subject.

(11) *eller så går jeg innpå Facebook...*  
 or so go.PRS I in.on Facebook  
 ‘or I go on Facebook...’ (blogg.no)

In (11), *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation because it passes the two tests I proposed in Section 2.2. *Gå* here can be replaced with *komme*, indicating that *gå* expresses some kind of motion event. Moreover, if the context is venitive, *gå* can no longer be used. To clarify, if the hearer were already logged onto Facebook and waiting for the speaker to log on, it would no longer be possible for the speaker to say *gå inn på Facebook* ‘go on Facebook’. Instead, the speaker would have to say *komme inn på Facebook* ‘come on Facebook’. Thus, *gå* in (11) expresses an andative motion away from the deictic center, i.e., the hearer.

(12) shows an example with an inanimate subject.

(12) *alle båtene i indre Oslofjord går nå fra kaia foran Rådhuset.*  
 all boat.PL.DEF in inner Oslo.fjord go.PRS now from dock front City Hall  
 ‘all the boats in inner Oslo Fjord now leave from the dock in front of the City Hall.’  
 (start365.info)

Similarly, in (12), *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation because it also passes the two tests. *Gå* here can be replaced with *komme*, indicating that *gå* expresses some kind of motion event. Moreover, if

<sup>4</sup> The numbers in parentheses represent expected values under the null hypothesis.

used in a venitive context, *gå* can no longer be used. For example, in a venitive context in which the speaker were located at the *Rådhuset* ‘City Hall’ and the inanimate subject *alle båtene* ‘all the boats’ moved toward the speaker, the verb *gå* could not be used. Instead, the venitive verb *komme* would be used. Thus, *gå* in (12) expresses an andative motion away from the deictic center, i.e., the speaker.

Thus, animacy is not a factor that determines the deictic status of *gå*. Viberg (2013: 47) noted that movement on foot is the condition for using the verb *gå* when the subject refers to a human. However, based on the results of my quantitative analysis, it seems that movement on foot is not always the condition for using the verb *gå* with an animate subject. There are cases in which *gå* is used for the andative motion of an animate being without movement on foot, as in (11). Moreover, the findings from this study also show that *gå* can express motion events of an inanimate subject. Thus, animacy and the deictic interpretation of *gå* are independent from each other.

#### 4. When does *gå* indicate deixis?

This section proposes four conditions under which *gå* has a deictic interpretation: (i) *gå* is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’ (Section 4.1), (ii) an animate subject is interpreted as moving abstractly (Section 4.2), (iii) an inanimate subject is conceived as having its own power to move or is metaphorically conceived as moving (Section 4.3), and (iv) a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is foregrounded, and the motion itself is backgrounded. (Section 4.4).

##### 4.1. Contrast with *komme* ‘come’

The verb *gå* is interpreted as having an andative interpretation when it is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’. See (13).

- (13) *Eiere kommer og går ikke like ofte som spillere.*  
 owners come.PRS and go.PRS not as often as players  
 ‘Owners do not come and go as often as players.’ (leedsunited.no)

In (13), the verb *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation. It is possible to interpret *gå* as expressing manner of motion, but such an interpretation is considered to be unnatural by Norwegian speakers. Here, the verb *gå* occurs with the venitive verb *komme*. Contrasted with the venitive verb that specifies that the motion is toward the speaker, *gå* expresses the opposite direction, i.e., not toward the speaker.

This is also true with an inanimate subject. See (14).

- (14) *siden dengang har noen låter gått og andre har kommet...*  
 since the time have.PRS some song.PL go.PTCP and others have.PRS come.PTCP  
 ‘Since that time, some songs have gone and others have come...’ (puls.no)

Similarly, in (14), the verb *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation. Contrasted with the venitive verb that specifies that the motion is toward the speaker, *gå* expresses the opposite direction, i.e., not toward the speaker, without specifying manner of motion.

#### 4.2. Abstract motion of animate subjects

The verb *gå* can also be analyzed as having a deictic interpretation when an animate subject is conceived as moving abstractly. When an animate entity moves physically, the movement always includes some kind of manner of motion, whether it is specified verbally or not. However, when an animate entity moves abstractly, the movement does not include a specific manner of motion. Thus, when expressing abstract motion events, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation. (15) and (16) illustrate such cases.

- (15) *Går lesere ut av sin komfortsone?*  
 go.PRS readers out of REFL.GEN comfort zone  
 ‘Do readers go out of their comfort zone?’ (uio.no)

- (16) *eller så går jeg innpå Facebook... (= (11))*  
 or so go.PRS I in.on Facebook  
 ‘or I go on Facebook...’ (blogg.no)

In (15), *gå* does not express a physical motion, but rather an abstract motion. The subject *lesere* ‘readers’ moves abstractly ‘out of their comfort zone’. In (16), *gå* also expresses an abstract motion. The subject *jeg* ‘I’ moves in the virtual world. In both cases, *gå* cannot express manner of motion because abstract motion events do not include manner in the first place.

#### 4.3. Motion of inanimate subjects

When the subject of a motion event is an inanimate entity, the verb *gå* can have a deictic interpretation in the following two cases. First, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation when inanimate subjects are interpreted as having their own power to move. Such self-moving inanimate entities include vehicles (17), natural forces (18), and astronomical objects (19), among others.

- (17) a. *??Toget gikk hit.*  
 train.DEF go.PST to.here  
 lit. ‘The train went here.’  
 b. *Toget gikk herfra.*  
 train.DEF go.PST from.here  
 lit. ‘The train went from here.’

- (18) a. <sup>??</sup>*Tyfonen*      *gikk*      *hit.*  
 typhoon.DEF      go.PST      to.here  
 lit. ‘The typhoon went here.’
- b. *Tyfonen*      *gikk*      *vekk.*  
 typhoon.DEF      go.PST      away  
 lit. ‘The typhoon went away.’

- (19) a. <sup>??</sup>*Sola*      *gikk*      *til oss.*  
 sun.DEF      go.PST      to us  
 lit. ‘The sun went to us.’
- b. *Sola*      *gikk*      *fra oss.*  
 sun.DEF      go.PST      from us  
 lit. ‘The sun went away from us.’

In (17), (18), and (19), *gå* is analyzed as having an andative interpretation. In (17a), (18a), and (19a), it is not acceptable to use *gå* because the deictic information that *gå* conveys, i.e., ‘not toward the speaker’, is incompatible with the deictic information described by other expressions such as *hit* ‘(to) here’ and *til oss* ‘to us’, i.e., ‘toward the speaker’. In contrast, in (17b), (18b), and (19b), *gå* can be used because the deictic information that *gå* conveys, i.e., ‘not toward the speaker’, is compatible with the deictic information described by expressions such as *herfra* ‘from.here’ and *fra oss* ‘away from us’, i.e., ‘away from the speaker’. Thus, in these cases, *gå* expresses an andative motion. Importantly, it is not possible to interpret *gå* as expressing manner of motion. These inanimate subjects cannot walk because they do not have feet.

Additionally, *gå* is analyzed as having a deictic interpretation when inanimate entities are metaphorically considered as moving even though they do not move themselves. This is an example of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Consider (20) and (21).

- (20) *ukene*      *går*      *fort...*  
 week.PL.DEF      go.PRS      fast  
 ‘The weeks go fast...’ (gregorius.no)

- (21) a. <sup>??</sup>*Sommeren*      *gikk*      *til oss.*  
 summer.DEF      go.PST      to us  
 Literal interpretation: ‘The summer went to us.’
- b. *Sommeren*      *gikk*      *fra oss.*  
 summer.DEF      go.PST      from us  
 lit. ‘The summer went away from us.’

In (20), the inanimate subject *ukene* ‘the weeks’ does not have its own power to move. Nonetheless, this subject is conceived as moving and the “movement” is described by *gå*. Similarly, in (21), the subject *sommeren* ‘the summer’ itself does not move, but it is conceived as a moving object. In both cases, *gå* cannot cooccur with venitive expressions, indicating that it expresses andative motion events.

#### 4.4. Motion is less important than resulting states

Lastly, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation when it expresses a motion event in which the result of the motion event is more foregrounded than the movement itself. For example, when *gå* is used in imperative sentences, it is important that the person being commanded to go actually leave the place the speaker and the hearer find themselves. See (22).

(22) *Gå!*  
**go**  
 ‘Go!’

In (22), the speaker tells the hearer to move away from where the speaker is. In this case, manner of motion is not specified, and even when the speaker knows that the hearer will leave the place by, for example, driving or cycling, *gå* can be used. Here, what matters is the fact that the hearer leaves as a result of the motion event.

Additionally, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation when occurring after an auxiliary verb. For example, in (23), *gå* occurs after the auxiliary verb *må* ‘must’ and expresses an andative motion.

(23) *Jeg må gå.*  
 I must **go**  
 ‘I’ve got to go.’

In (23), the speaker tells the hearer that they must move away from where they are, either physically or virtually (on phone or on the Internet, for example). Again, manner of motion is not specified, and it does not matter whether the speaker leaves the place by walking, driving, cycling, etc. As above, what matters most here is that the speaker actually leave the place the speaker and hearer find themselves as a result of the motion event.

In addition, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation when *gå* is coordinated with a verb phrase denoting an action.<sup>5</sup> In (24), for example, the verb phrase of motion (*går* ‘go’) and the verb phrase of action (*pusser tennene mine* ‘brush my teeth’) are coordinated.

<sup>5</sup> This construction is called pseudocoordination in the Norwegian literature (Andersson & Blensienius 2018; Kinn 2018 among others).

- (24) *Når alt var klart går jeg og pusser tennene mine*  
 when everything was ready go.PRS I and brush.PRS tooth.PL.DEF my.PL  
 lit. ‘When everything was ready, I go and brush my teeth.’ (blogspot.no)

In (24), *gå* expresses an andative motion without specifying manner of motion. The speaker moves away from where the hearer is located. If the speaker moved toward where the hearer was, the venitive verb *komme* would be used instead. Here, the action after the motion event is more foregrounded and given more attention than the motion event itself. Thus, manner of motion is backgrounded and the verb *gå* expresses an andative motion.

## 5. Discussion

This section discusses the conditions under which the Norwegian motion verb *gå* has a deictic interpretation. In Section 4, I claimed that there are four conditions under which *gå* can have a deictic interpretation. To be more specific, *gå* can be given a deictic interpretation when (i) it is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’, (ii) an animate subject is interpreted as moving abstractly, (iii) an inanimate subject is conceived as having its own power to move or is metaphorically conceived as moving, and (iv) a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is foregrounded, the motion itself being backgrounded.

Importantly, these four conditions have something crucial in common: they all cause speakers to focus on semantic components other than manner of motion, i.e., ‘walking’. In other words, they are manner-defocusing conditions. In (i), as *gå* is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme*, manner of motion is not the focus; rather, the andative direction that opposes the venitive direction described by *komme* is foregrounded. In (ii), manner of motion plays no role when an animate subject moves in an abstract way. When an animate subject moves abstractly, it cannot physically walk, and manner of motion is defocused. In (iii), manner of motion is defocused because inanimate subjects without feet obviously cannot move on foot. Finally, in (iv), manner of motion is defocused because a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is more foregrounded than the motion itself. Thus, in the contexts in which manner of motion is defocused, the verb *gå* can have a deictic interpretation.

These findings have the following important implications. First, this study presents data that bring a new perspective to the typological status of Norwegian in terms of motion event descriptions. Before this study, the typological status of Norwegian motion event descriptions was discussed without investigating the deictic status of *gå*. Whether or not a language expresses deixis in the main verb makes a huge difference in the evaluation of the typological status of a language in terms of motion event descriptions. In Talmy’s (1991, 2000) typology of motion event descriptions, deixis is treated as a component of path, whose coding position determines the typological status of a language, i.e., verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. In his typology, a language that tends to express path in the verb is categorized as a verb-framed language, while a language that tends to

express path outside of the verb is categorized as a satellite-framed language. Norwegian has heretofore been categorized as a satellite-framed language, and the deictic status of *gå* has not been discussed in depth. In Norwegian, manner of motion tends to be coded in the main verb and path of motion is coded in “satellites” such as adverbs and prepositions. This study reveals that, under manner-defocusing conditions, Norwegian shows a verb-framed pattern, as it expresses deictic information in the main verb. Thus, this study suggests that it is important to explore the semantics of deixis and motion verbs when assessing the typological status of a language in terms of motion event descriptions.

Second, this study presents data that support Wilkins & Hill's (1995) proposal that “go” expressions take on a deictic interpretation through pragmatic attribution due to systemic opposition with “come”. The results of this study show that the Norwegian motion verb *gå* also can take on a deictic interpretation due to opposition with *komme* ‘come’. In Section 4.1, I showed that, contrasted with the venitive verb *komme*, *gå* expresses the opposite direction, i.e., ‘not toward the speaker’. Thus, this study presents important data that question the universality of deictic verbs.

Third, this study contributes to the literature on Norwegian motion verbs. The Norwegian motion verb *gå* is a polysemous verb that is productive in different kinds of grammatical constructions, such as copula constructions (Tanigawa, under review) and pseudocoordination (Andersson & Blensienius 2018; Kinn 2018 among others). The findings from this study suggest that *gå* can have a deictic interpretation under manner-defocusing conditions. In other words, the deictic meaning of *gå* depends on pragmatic conditions. This suggests that pragmatic factors should be taken into consideration in order to better understand the intriguing, polysemous verb *gå*.

Last, this paper presents an interesting case study that contributes to the literature on variation studies of Germanic languages. This study indicates that the semantics of Norwegian *gå* is crucially different from English *go* and German *gehen*. In this paper I have shown that, while English *go* and German *gehen* generally describe andative motion events (Fillmore 1997; Goddard 2011), Norwegian *gå* expresses andative motion events only under limited conditions. Thus, these three Germanic languages show interesting variations when deixis is taken into account.

## 6. Conclusion

In this study I examined interpretations of the Norwegian verb *gå* with special reference to deixis. More specifically, I investigated under what conditions *gå* has an andative interpretation. Based on the results of the quantitative and qualitative approaches, in this study I argued that animacy is not a factor that determines the deictic status of *gå*. Contrary to what can be expected from the literature, there are cases in which *gå* has a deictic interpretation with an animate subject. Moreover, the results presented here show that *gå* with an inanimate subject can also have a deictic interpretation under certain circumstances.

In fact, *gå* can have a deictic interpretation under the four manner-defocusing conditions: (i) *gå* is contrasted with the venitive verb *komme* ‘come’, (ii) an animate subject is interpreted as moving abstractly,

(iii) an inanimate subject conceived as having its own power to move or is metaphorically conceived as moving, and (iv) a resulting state after the motion event described by *gå* is more foregrounded than the motion itself.

Thus, the findings of this study provide a better understanding of the Norwegian motion verb *gå* and have implications for the typology of motion event descriptions, the typology of deixis, and variation studies of Germanic languages.

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## ノルウェー語の動詞 *gå* がダイクシスの意味を持つ時

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キーワード：ノルウェー語 ゲルマン諸語 移動動詞 ダイクシス

### 要旨

本論文は、ノルウェー語の動詞 *gå* がどのような状況下で直示の解釈を持つのかについて調査する。方法論としては、コーパス調査による量的調査とエリシテーションによる質的調査を組み合わせてこの問題に取り組む。調査結果から、まず先行研究による *gå* の記述から予測されることとは異なり、ノルウェー語の *gå* の直示の解釈は、主語が有生物の場合も無生物の場合にも生じるということが明らかになった。さらに、直示の解釈は、様態を脱焦点化する以下の4つの状況下で用いられるということも指摘する。(i) *gå* が反対の直示方向 (venitive) を表す動詞 *komme* と対比される時、(ii) 有生物主語の移動が抽象的である時、(iii) 無生物主語が自分で動く力がある、あるいは自分で動く力がないのに動いているように捉えられる時、(iv) 移動それ自体よりも移動後の状況や動作に焦点が置かれる時である。本論文のこれらの発見は、ノルウェー語の移動動詞 *gå* のより深い理解に貢献する重要なものである。

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