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### Preliminary 'COME' and 'GO' Questionnaire

**Purpose** : This 'questionnaire' is an elicitation tool which is meant to help a researcher begin to identify the range of use of basic motion verbs in their language. In particular, it is meant to help identify the parameters that semantically define the basic 'COME' and 'GO' verb or verbs for a language. This 'questionnaire' arises out of preliminary research by David Wilkins and Debbie Hill, and it is hoped that answers to the questionnaire will help to confirm or disconfirm some of the following hypotheses:

- (1) The verbs that depict 'COME' and 'GO' scenes crosslinguistically vary in their base semantics to such a degree that there is no useful sense in which they may be considered universal notions, or lexical universals. Further, unless one stipulates a particular scene as diagnostic for identifying some pretheoretically core notion, there is not a universal 'GO' and 'COME' prototype which is applicable to all languages.
- (2) There are languages in which the 'GO' verb is not inherently deictic.
- (3) All languages have a way of indicating the deictic sense of motion towards speaker, although they will vary as to how it is morphologically encoded, and languages will differ semantically as to whether this linguistic element entails arrival at place of speaker or simply arrival at a place on the path towards speaker, or no entailment of arrival (telicity) at all, and so on.
- (4) If hypothesis (2) is true, then we may hypothesise that in languages where 'GO' is not inherently deictic, a sense of deixis may seemingly be attributed to it through systemic opposition with uses of the element which indicates (as part of its meaning) 'motion towards speaker'. In other words, although the 'GO' verb may be used for a wide variety of scenes which are not deictically anchored with respect to speaker, it may strongly imply motion away from speaker, because it is in opposition to an element that entails motion towards speaker.'
- (5) 'COME' & 'GO' verbs, to the extent that one can identify them as existing, do not always, or even typically, occur as a basic linguistically defined two-element subsystem of a language. Instead, they tend to occur within slightly larger systems of basic motion verbs (often including such notions as 'return back', 'arrive at', 'leave from', 'pass by' and so on), which, once again, help to delimit the typical range of use of these verbs through systemic oppositions.

It is important to emphasise that we have found this elicitation tool to be useful independently of these particular hypotheses, since it helps give a better handle on the meaning and use of those (non-manner, horizontal plane) motion verbs which tend to be used with high frequency in a language. As an example of the range of verbs, and types of semantic distinctions, which the scenes help to elicit, the following are the relevant verbs and verb compounds which came up in using this instrument with an *Ewe* (Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family) speaker (c.f. Appendix 3):

**vá**      come to a place by moving towards the place thought of as  
          place where speaker is now [if unspecified place, then place of  
          arrival is 'here']

[NOTE Motion in progress is expressed by the habitual with the verbs **gbɔ** and **yi**;  
**gbɔ-na** 'coming' and **yi-na** 'going', **va** is not used for motion in progress]

- yi** go to some place specified by locative nominal or prepositional object or discourse context ( $\neq$  place thought of as place where speaker is now)
- vá yi** pass by, go past [compound of ‘come’ and ‘go’; also has temporal uses]
- dó** arrive at or reach a place specified by locative object (can be anyplace including place thought of as place where speaker is now)
- dó ta** head for (literally arrange/set/arrive head),
- dze [le Z ɲú]** pass over Z, overtake Z
- dzó** leave a place specified by prepositional object or discourse context (can be anyplace including place thought of as place where speaker is now)
- gbɔ** return, go & come back. In a non-serial construction it implies a non-straight return path; come back. In serial structures elements of the path are suppressed. In the configuration **gbɔ vá** it focuses on figure's actual arrival back to the place thought of as place where speaker is now specified by locative nominal object or discourse context
- trɔ gbɔ** ‘to turn ...’
- de** reach a place, to have been to a place specified by locative nominal or prepositional object or discourse context ( $\neq$  place thought of as place where speaker is now). This differs from **yi** in this way: it has a past orientation while **yi** has a present and future orientation
- tó** pass through
- tsó** come from a place, originate from a place (in the midst of a path; having just been at place X I am now moving away from it), to rise from one's seat - does not need an object in this last interpretation

### Design and Use

The central part of the ‘questionnaire’ is a set of 20 diagrammed motion scenes given in Appendix 1. These are NOT stimuli to be shown to language consultants. They are scenes to help you organize your own elicitation tasks and to help you keep track of relevant parameters and oppositions to test. You, as researcher, are meant to understand the intention of the diagrams, and then decide the best way to get descriptions of the depicted scene (diagramming, modelling, explaining the diagrams as best you can, describing imagined scenes, translation, or whatever else you think is most appropriate).

The relevant components of each diagrammed scene are:

- a) A motion path depicted by a line with an arrow head.
- b) Places in a scene depicted by labelled dots: ‘●’
- c) The deictic center is the place where both speaker and hearer are, and is where the speaker is reporting the whole scene, it is represented by a labelled ‘O’ in the scenes
- d) A description of the generalized motion path a figure X has undertaken/completed.

The relevant relations between elements in the scenes that one should be aware of are:

- a) Anchoring of a path - does the path start and/or finish at a particular place point (i.e. is it bounded at beginning or end or both, or is it totally unbounded; boundedness shown by the place where an arrow touches a place dot)  
[N.B. The definition of *anchor* might be something like = a known place where there is a transition between static location and translational motion (either from stasis to motion or motion to stasis)]
- b) Orientation of path - How is the path oriented with respect to particular points in the scene. Is it pointed towards Deictic Centre? Is it pointed away from Deictic Centre? Does it go past certain points? Does it go through certain points?  
[Note orientation and anchoring are two independent parameters, for instance the same path may be both oriented towards, and anchored at Deictic Center, another path may be simply oriented towards DC without any indication that the figure reaches this point.]
- c) Shape of path - Is the path straight? Is it a return path? (of which circular paths are a specific subtype), or Does the path go all over the place?

In order to get the most comparable data, and to minimise the question of what is pragmatics and what is semantics, please, as far as possible, attend to the following guidelines:

- 1) Avoid situations of projected deixis, or a growing deictic center, by:
  - a) Keeping the hypothetical speaker of the report on the motion scene in the same place as the hypothetical addressee of the report (this means that neither speaker nor hearer will be the moving entity in the scenes). [Use 'here' in reports where you can]
  - b) Keeping the places in a scene at roughly the same scale, and within the same general region. [Avoid things like a motion path involving a city in one country or geographical region and two cities in another country or geographical .]
  - c) Make the scale of the scenes basically the scale of humans moving through space (not small scale manipulable space or very large scale global or planetary space)
  - d) As far as possible, and within the realms of naturalness, make the report on the motion path as near to present as possible. That is use present, near present, immediate past, or immediate future for your reports, depending on what distinctions are available in the language, and what the scene represents.  
Remember the report is meant to be over the whole scene, as far as is possible, and not subsegments of the scene.
- 2) Keep the scene and its motion description as general as possible. Avoid introducing manner of motion in the scene, unless it is required by the language or consultant.
- 3) For the moment, keep the motion scenes as much as possible in the horizontal plane.
- 4) Ask for all possible, and natural, descriptions of a scene. Identify the consultants preferred description. If they don't turn up in the description, then check, if the verbs that have typically been associated with 'COME' and 'GO' in the language could be used in a natural description of the scene.

Note that scene 4 and/or scene 5 depict what have, in the literature, been considered the prototypical uses of 'COME'. While scenes 1 and 2 depict the literature's prototype for 'GO'. Already, however, preliminary data suggests that the verb or verbs used in describing 1 and 2 also show up to describe scene 7 and/or scene 15. In fact, consultants for some languages (Italian for instance), have suggested that scene 7 feels like the prototypical 'GO' scene.

Scenes 3, 4, 5 and 6 are all similar in having path orientation towards deictic center, but vary according to their anchoring information. In *Ewe*, the verb *va* can be used for 4,5, and 6 but not 3. It appears that *va* entails motion to a specific destination (i.e. an endpoint anchoring entailment), and orientation of path towards speaker, but does not entail that the specific destination of the path be the place of speaker. In *Arrernte*, all four of these scenes are described by *petye-*, which simply entails a motion path oriented towards speaker, but no anchoring entailments. In Italian, *venire* can be used for scenes 3,4, and 5 but not 6. It appears that the place of the speaker, if not the entailed anchor of the path, has to be a possible anchor for *venire* to be possible. If the path is clearly anchored at an endpoint someplace that is not the speaker's location, then *venire* is not possible, even if the path is oriented towards speaker's place. If we take these verbs to be the 'COME' verbs in these three languages, then we already see a difficulty in identifying a universal prototypical 'COME', since questions of telicity and the nature of the deictic anchoring vary from verb to verb. Scenes 3, 4, 5, and 6 have their major pictorial opposition with 13, 1, 2 and 14 respectively.

A table of the relevant features of opposition depicted in these 20 scenes is given in Appendix 2.

Time taken to complete : Having trialed this particular set of scenes 3 times (*Ewe*, Italian, Spanish) with consultants who have had training in linguistics, we can report that it took *between 2 hours and 8 hours* to administer. [We freely admit that this is not the best guide. Similar scenes presented to *Arrernte* consultants, took approximately 6 hours to work through.]

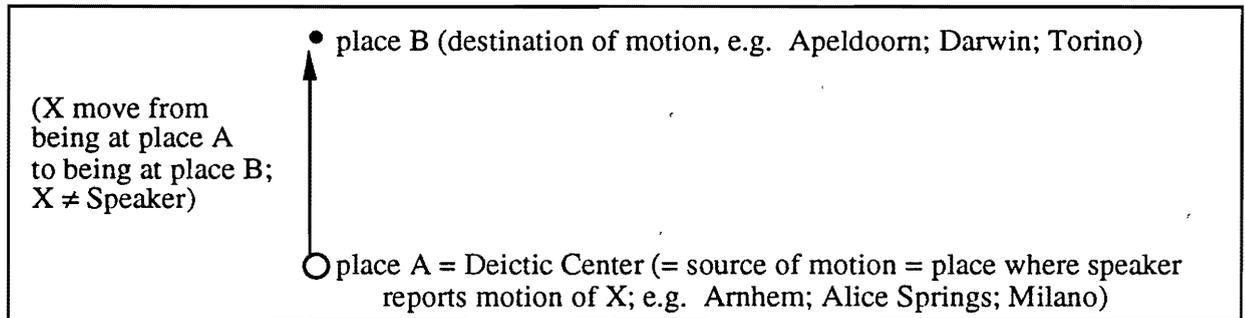
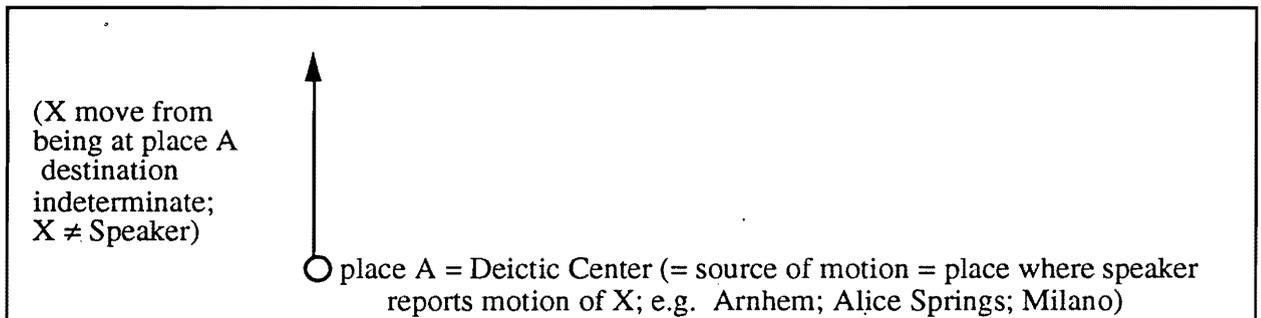
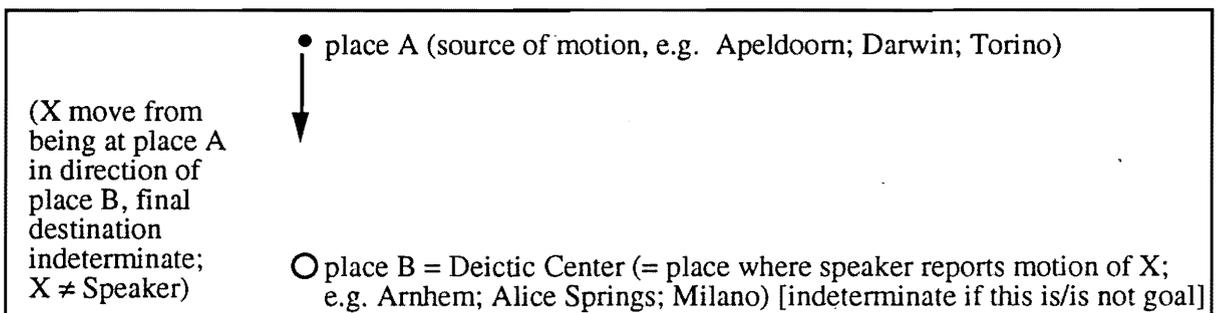
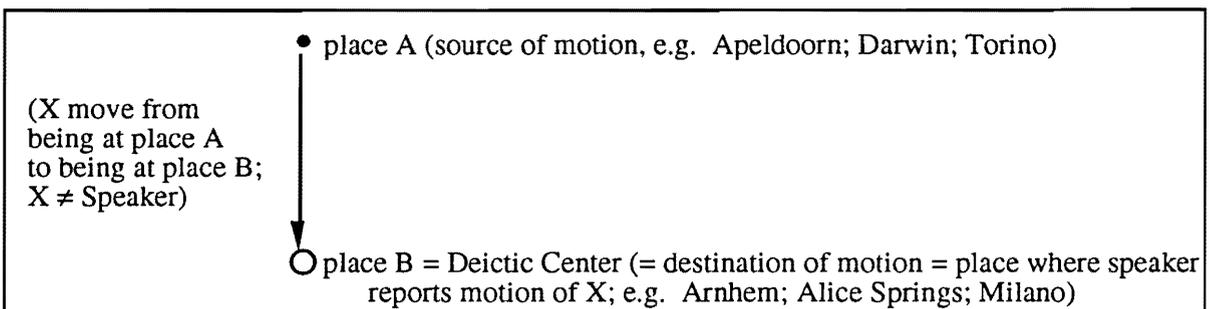
Number of Consultants Needed: Obviously, the more the better. But one done properly with a good consultant is still of use. Even better, those results should be cross-checked with another consultant. Before cross-checking, it is a good idea to go back to your text base and examine uses of the relevant elements that show up during the elicitation task: (i) to see that the uses in the elicitation task are consistent with natural discourse uses, and (ii) to guide further questioning of both the initial consultant and the second consultant used for cross-checking purposes.

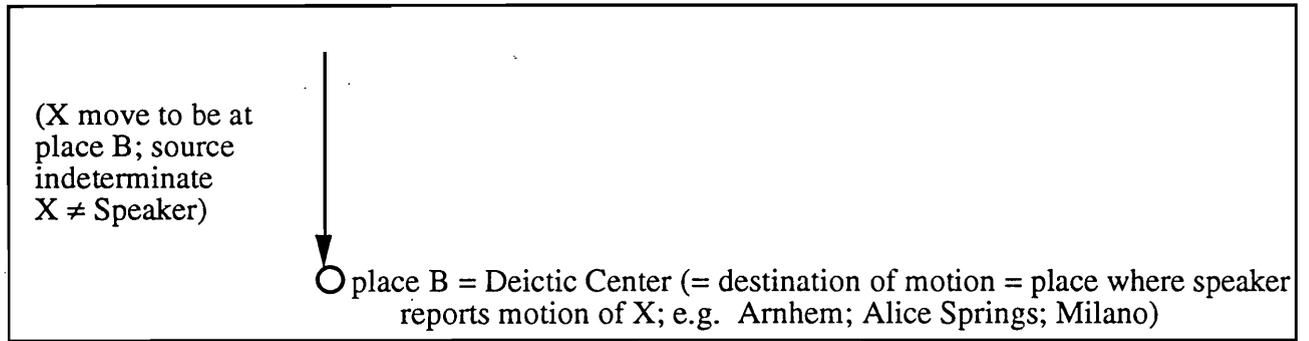
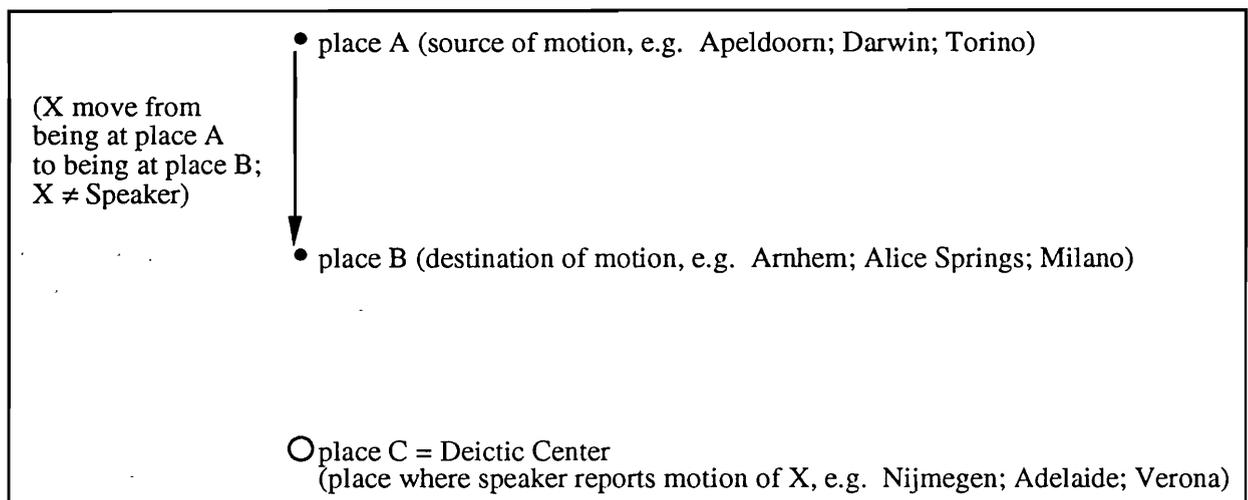
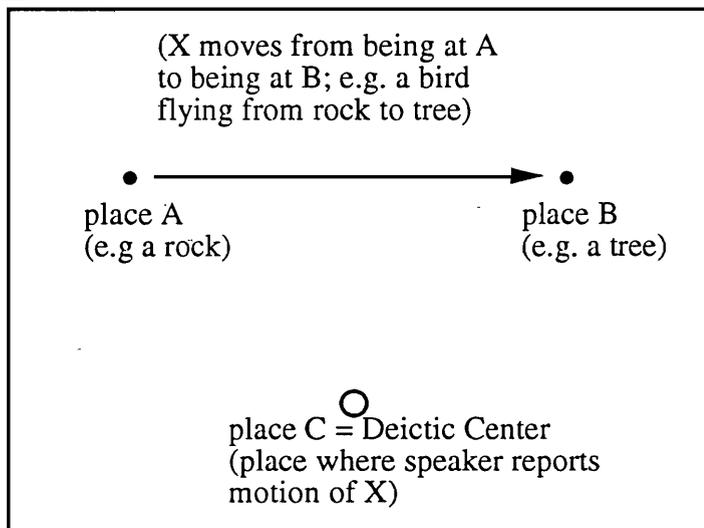
One more question: Is a question like "Where are you going?" a common question in the language? Does it use the "GO" verb? Is it an idiomatic greeting? Can it be used to address someone who is coming towards the speaker? Is it usually used in that condition? Is "Where are you coming?" possible? and is it as natural?

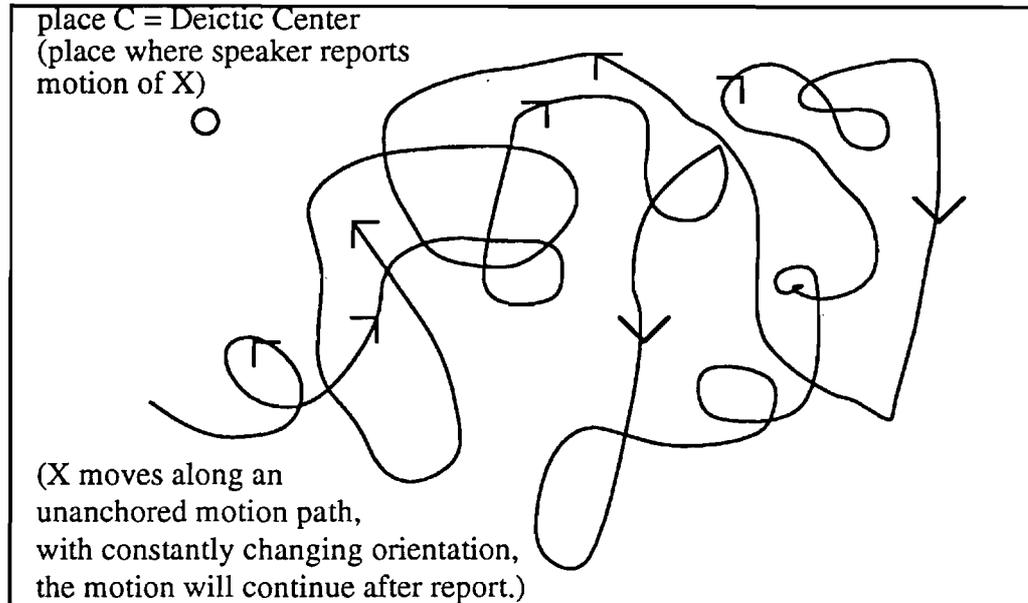
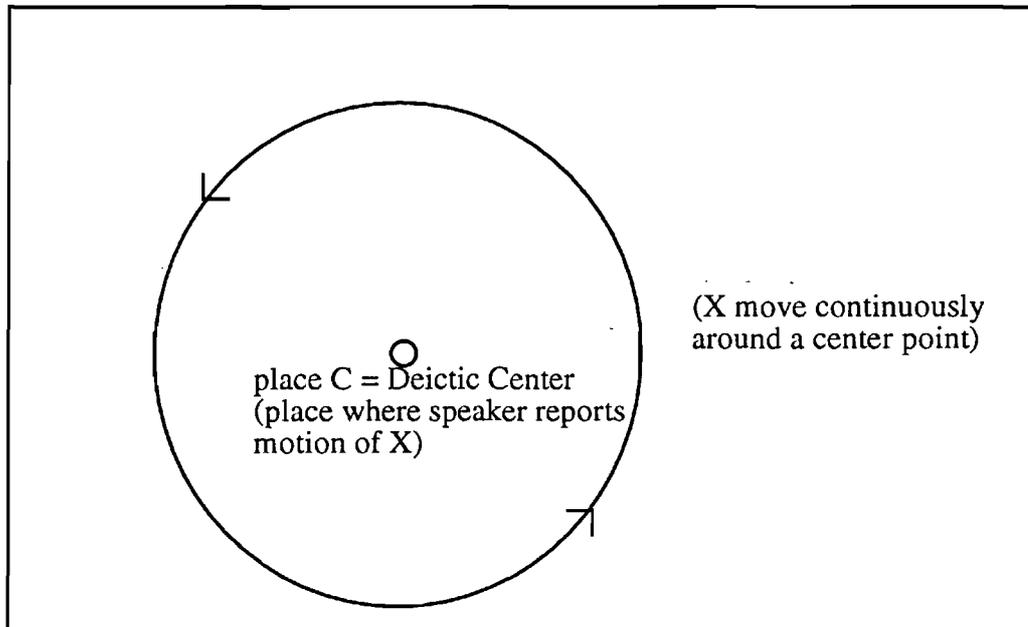
FINAL NOTE: YES, there are many, many scenes which have been left out that would have been useful. You will find that your consultants give you some of these related scenes, note them down where appropriate. If you think there's a more useful way to do this, let us know.

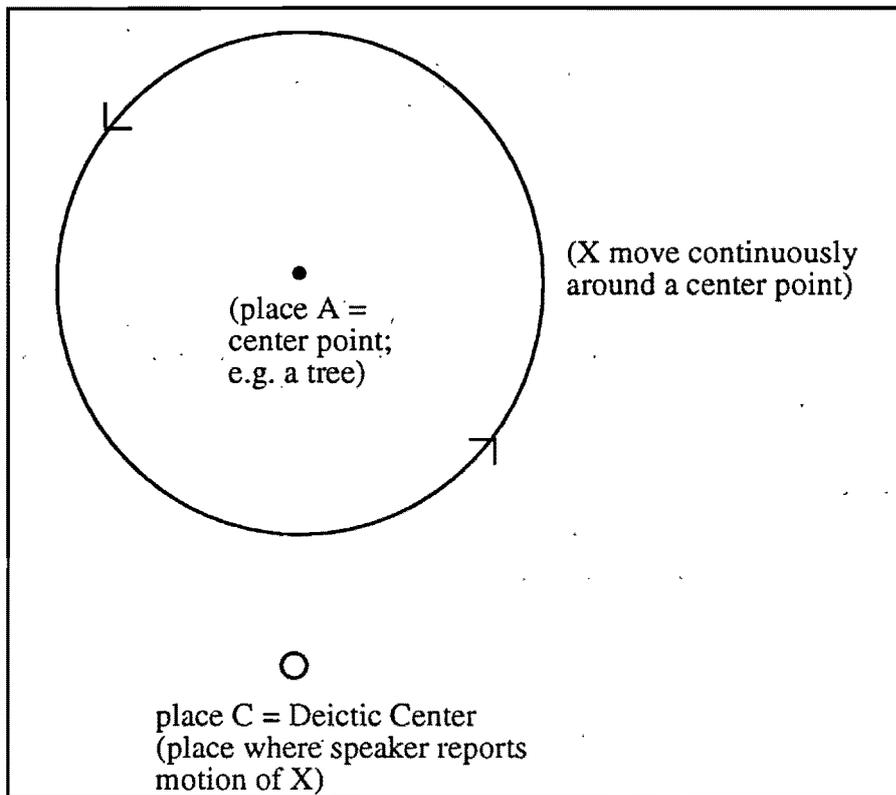
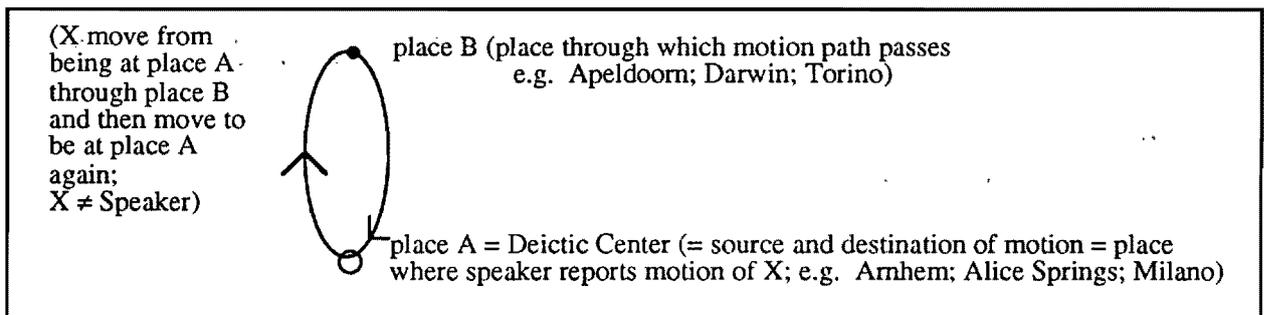
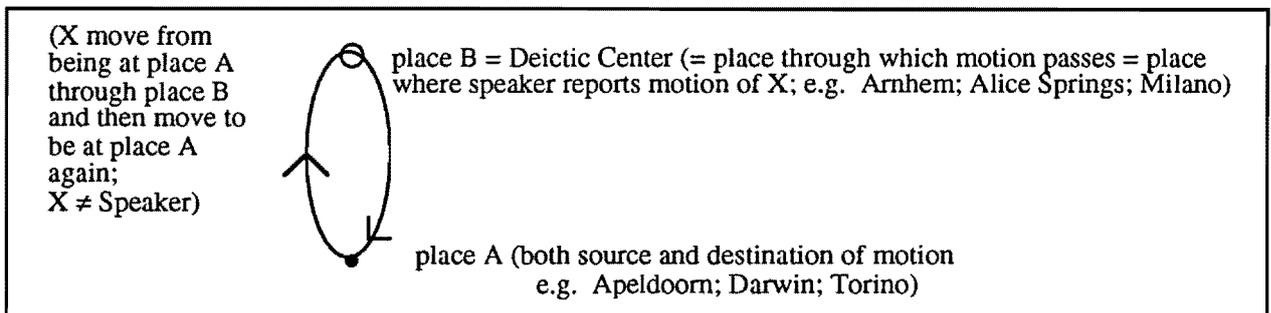
As a further guide, one roughly filled in 'questionnaire' is provided in appendix 3.

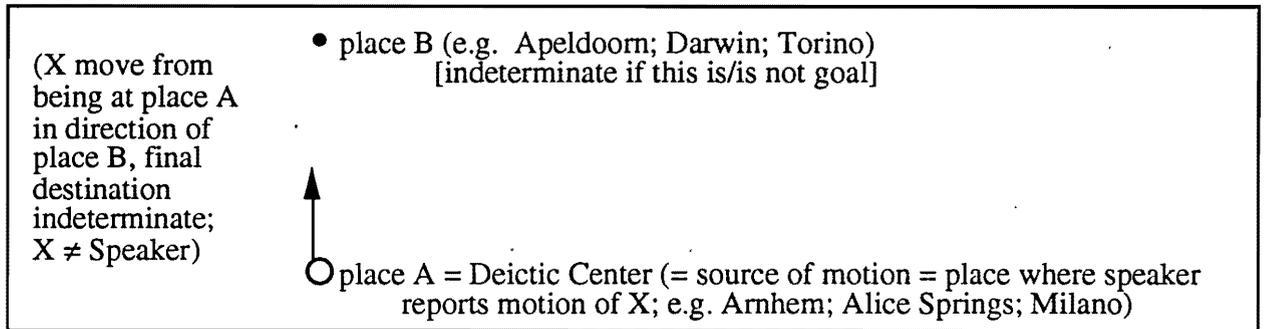
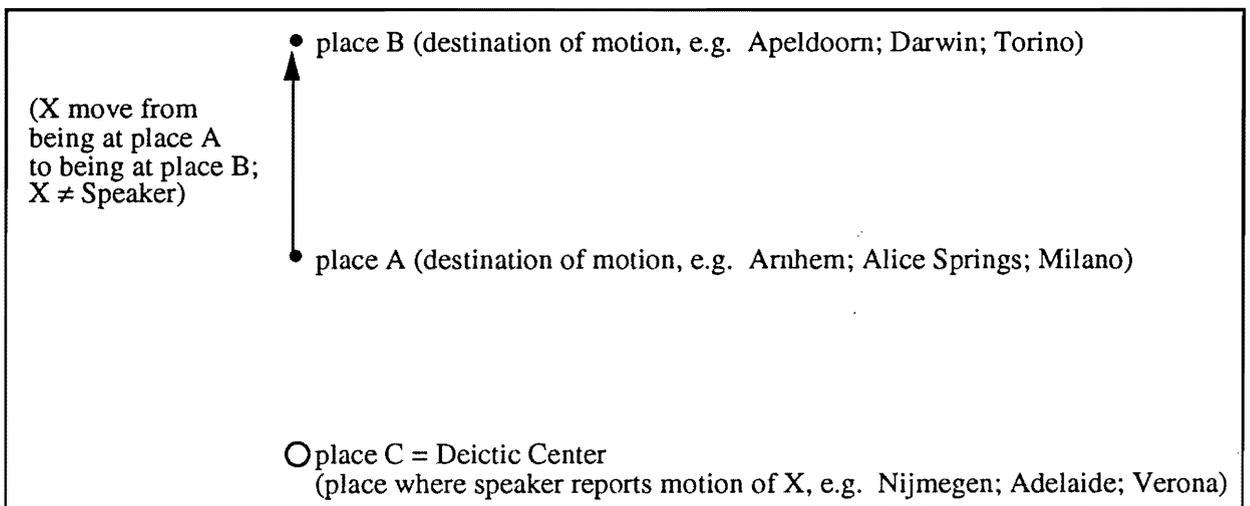
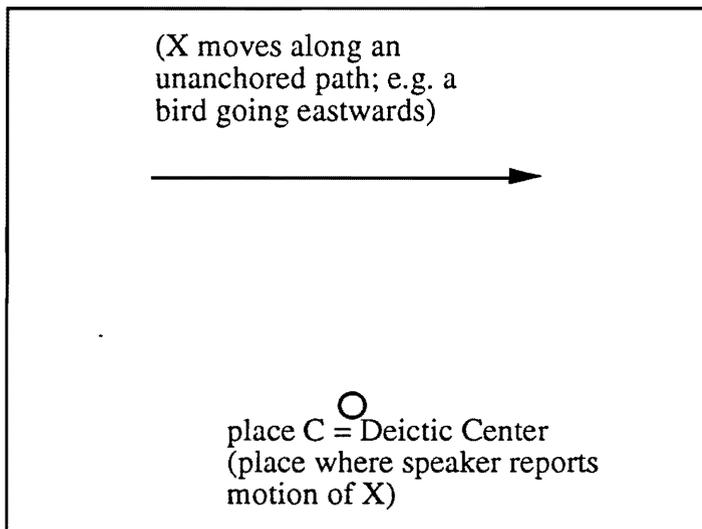
## APPENDIX 1 : 20 Motion Scenes

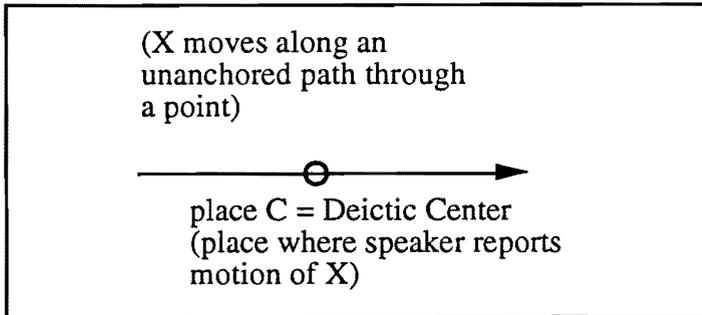
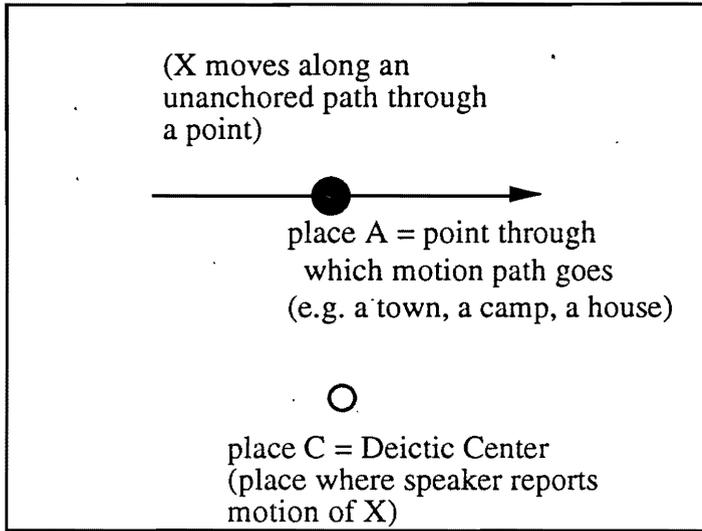
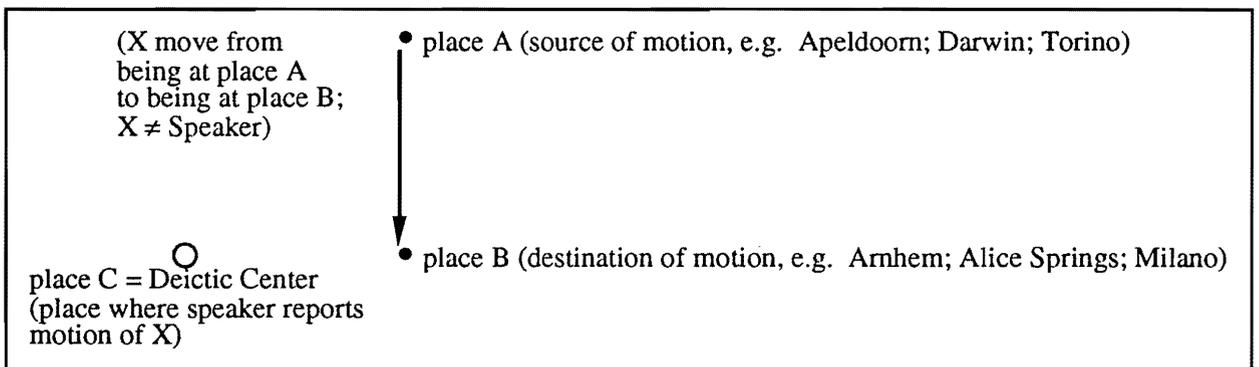
Scene 1Scene 2Scene 3Scene 4

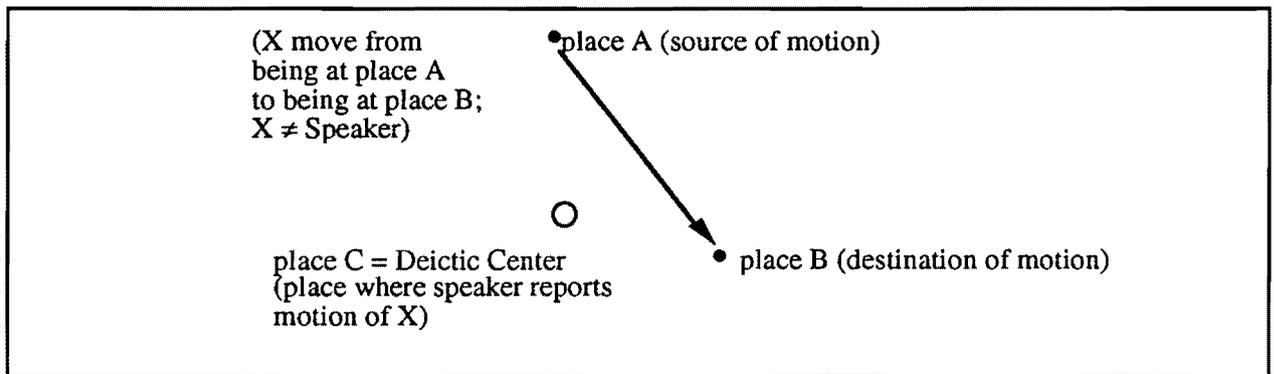
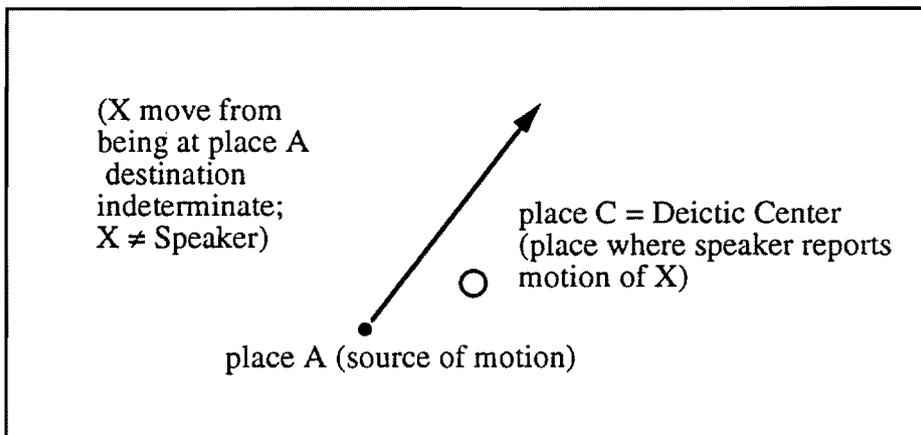
Scene 5Scene 6Scene 7

Scene 8Scene 9

Scene 10Scene 11Scene 12

Scene 13Scene 14Scene 15

Scene 16Scene 17Scene 18

Scene 19Scene 20

## Appendix 2 : Features of the Motion Scenes

SCENE	Path Anchoring			Path Orientation				Path Shape	
	End of path anchored (known destination) [telic]	Beginning of path anchored (known origin)	Place of speaker (DC) is an anchor	Towards place of speaker (DC)	Away from place of speaker (DC)	Through a given place point	Past a given place point	Straight path	Return path
1	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
2	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
3	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
4	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
5	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
6	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
7	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
8	-	-	-	±	±	-	±	±	±
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-?	-	+
10	-	-	-	+	+	-	+?	-	+
11	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
12	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
13	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
14	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
16	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
18	+	+	-	(?)	-	-	-	+	-
19	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
20	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

## APPENDIX 3 : Rough Example of Filled In Questionnaire

Language: Ewe (Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family)

Investigators : David Wilkins and Felix Ameka

Consultant: Felix Ameka

Cross-checked with other speakers: NO

Date Collected: April and May 1993

[Note, conventionally, the preferred description is given first. Tense of sentences is non-future (aorist) or habitual (which has a progressive reading with the verbs *yi* 'go' and *gbɔ* 'return (go-come)')]

Scene 1

**X yi B**  
go  
*X went to B*

**X tsó le A yi B**  
originate be-at A go B  
*X went from A to B*

Scene 2

**X dzó (le afii)**  
leave be-at here  
*X left (from here)*

Scene 3

**X dzó le A**  
leave be-at A  
*X left A*

**X dzó (le A) gbɔ-na B**  
leave be-at A return(go-come)=HAB B  
*X left A and is approaching B (here)*  
[Destination has to be where speaker is]

Scene 4

**X dzó le A vá (B)**  
leave be-at A come B  
*X left A and came here (to B)*  
Preferred for the picture (cp. scene 5)

**X vá (B)**  
come B  
*X came here* [if no specific location mentioned]/ *X came here to specific location B*

**X tsó le A vá (B)**  
originate be-at A come B  
*X came from A here (to B)*

Scene 5

X vá dǒ B  
 come arrive B  
*X came here to B*  
*X has arrived here at B*

Scene 6

X (tsó / dzó le A) vá B  
 originate / leave be-at A come B  
*X (left from A/came from A and) came to B*  
 [B cannot be left unspecified]

Note, one might say the following for this scene but it doesn't really fit it, since it implies onward motion with place of speaker as likely goal.

X vá dǒ B  
 come arrive B

The implicaton is that X will continue later to some other place  
 B is understood as a point of the path of X leading towards speaker

Scene 7

X tsó / dzó le A yi B  
 originate / leave be-at A go B  
*X left from A and went to B*

X tsó / dzó le A vá-yi B  
 originate / leave be-at A pass by(come-go) B  
*X left A and passed to B*

[NOTE vá yi expresses the idea of pass by; not towards, but within (perceptual) range, of the deictic centre]

Scene 8

X le tsa-tsa-mí  
 be:PRES RED-wander-PROG  
*X is wandering around*

[NOTE If the wandering is anchored the anchor is specified as a nominal locative object of the verbs vá or yi depending on the orientation of the anchor with respect to the deictic centre. The range/region may also be expressed as the object of the preposition le 'be at']

Scenes 9 and 10

Described in the same way

The verb to go round, encircle may be translated by *fo xlā*. Typically however it is used as a second verbal expression in a serial verb construction where the first verb is a manner of motion verb as in:

Wó-fú+du fo+xlā atí lá/m zi gedε  
 3pl run go around tree DEF/1sg time many  
*They run around the tree /me several times*

Scene 11

X de B gbɔ  
 been-toB come back  
*X went to B and came back*

**X de B gbɔ vá afii**  
 been-toB comeback come here  
*X went to B and came back here*

**X trɔ̄ tsó B gbɔ**  
 turn originate B come back  
*X returned from B [pattern I]*

**X trɔ̄ tsó B gbɔ vá afii**  
 turn originate B comeback come here  
*X returned from B to this place [pattern II]*

NOTE: The difference between pattern I and II which use **trɔ̄** is that the latter implies the person moved to B spent some time there and returned to A and that he is going to spend further time at A.

### Scene 12

**X vá trɔ̄ dzó yi A**  
 come turn leave go A  
*X came here and left for A*

If the destination were indeterminate then there is no **yi** part in the above sentence:

**X vá trɔ̄ dzó**  
 come turn leave  
*X came here and left (for somewhere unknown) [This represents a different scene]*

**X vá tó afii yi A**  
 come pass-through here go A  
*X came and passed through here and went to A*

NOTE : If destination were indeterminate then there would be no locative object for **yi** in the above sentence:

**X vá tó afii yi**  
 come pass-through here go  
*X came and passed through here and went (somewhere unspecified)[Thus, this represents a different scene]*

### Scene 13

**X dzó**  
 leave  
*X left*

**X dzó le afii**  
 leave be-at here  
*X left this place/here*

**X dzó le afii yi**  
 leave be-at here go  
*X left here and went (with the expectation that he will arrive at an unspecified place)*

**X dzó (le A) yi-na (dɛ) B**  
 leave be-at A go-HAB allative B  
*X left (A) and is going to B*  
 B cannot be here

NOTE this is when X is currently on his way or presented as being on his way. The assumption here is that he will arrive at B

**X dɔ́ ta B**  
 arrange head B  
*X is heading for B*

**X dze mɔ̃ (tsó A) hé-dɔ́ ta B**  
 begin road from A SER-arrange head B  
*X started a journey from A and heading for B*

NOTE these last two forms are not irrelevant to Scene 3, but the fact that the possible endpoint in 3 is deictic centre makes it obligatory to specify the source

#### Scene 14

**X dzó le A yi (dɛ) B**  
 leave be-at A go allative B  
*X left A and went to B*

NOTE: **le A** is not optional here because A is not place where speaker reports motion from

#### Scene 15

**X vá yi-na**  
 pass(come-go)-HAB  
*X is passing by*

**X yi-na dǎ**  
 go-HAB hither (=in the distance)  
*X is going in the distance*

NOTE this last sentence is also possible for scene 2.

If the first sentence is without the HAB then it implies that the theme has moved out of your vision.

#### Scene 16

**X tó affi yi**  
 pass-through here go  
*X passed through here (and went off)*

**X vá tó affi yi**  
 come pass-through here go  
*X came through here and went off*

**X vá yi**  
 passby(come-go)  
*X passed (here)*

Scene 17

**X tó                    A yi**  
 pass-through A go  
*X passed through A and went*

**X dze    le    A ǵú yi**  
 overtake be-at A side go  
*X passed by and through A and went*

Scene 18

**X dzó/tsó        le    A yi (ǵé) B**  
 leave/originate be-at A go allative B  
*X left/started from A and went to B*

**X dzó/tsó        le    A vá    B**  
 leave/originate be-at A come B  
*X left/started from A and came to B*

Scene 19

**X dzó/tsó        le    A vá    yi B**  
 leave/originate be-at A come go B  
*X left/started from A and came to B*

Scene 20

**X dzó    le    A yi-na    ǵá**  
 leave be-at A go-HAB hither(=in the distance)  
*X left A and is going in the distance*

**X dzó    le    A vá    yi (-na)**  
 leave be-at A come go (-HAB)  
*X left A and passed by (is passing by)*

The final question:

The phrase “Where are you going?” is a common, but non-idiomatic, and non-formulaic, sentence. It is formed as follows:

**afí ka yi-m        nè le?**  
 place CQ go-PROG 2sgbe-at  
*Where are you going to?*

Although the form contains *yi* ‘go’, it is very commonly used to someone who is approaching in the direction of the speaker. For instance, if someone is coming up to your house, or is coming towards your office doorway while you are there, and it seems obvious they are coming to see you, you can register your surprise at seeing them by using the above question.

A similar question based on *gbɔ* ‘return (go-come)’ is possible (**afí ka ne-gbɔ-na?**), but is not as common, nor as natural, and would not be chosen in the context described above. Moreover, a similar question using *va* ‘come’ is not possible.

