

## Categorization

- 1) noun
- 2) personal: 'You ——!'
- 3) personal compound: '—— face', '—— head'
- 4) intransitive verb
- 5) transitive verb: 'to —— someone'
- 6) phrasal verb: '—— around', '—— off'
- 7) adjectival: 'a —— / —— ing shame'
- 8) adverbial: '—— ing good'
- 9) cursing expletive: '—— you!', '—— it!'
- 10) general interjection of anger, frustration, annoyance: '——!'
- 11) intensifier: 'What the —— is that?'
- 12) other special phrases: 'don't give a ——', '—— one's mind', 'full of ——', etc.

terms	category											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
fuck	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
cunt	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
cock	○	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	○
shit	○	○	○	○	○	×	△	×	×	○	○	○
piss	○	△	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	○
fart	○	○	○	○	×	○	×	×	×	×	×	○
motherfucker	○	○	×	×	△	×	△	△	△	○	△	×
cocksucker	○	○	×	×	×	×	△	△	×	×	×	×
bullshit	○	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	○
asshole	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	○
jerk off	○	○	×	—	—	○	○	×	×	×	×	×
son of a bitch	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	○	×	×
screw	○	×	○	○	○	○	△	×	○	×	×	×
pussy	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	×
twat	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
dick	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×
prick	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
crap	○	×	×	○	○	×	△	×	×	○	×	○
turd	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	○
tit(s)	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	×	×
arse / ass	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	△	×	○
ball(s)	○	×	×	○	○	○	×	×	×	○	×	○
bitch	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×
whore	○	○	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
fag / faggot	○	○	×	×	×	×	△	×	×	×	×	×
queer	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	×
bastard	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
bugger	○	○	×	○	○	○	△	×	○	○	×	○
bloody	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	×	×	×
damn	○	×	×	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	×	○

○ ... usage × ... lack of usage △ ... usage in derived forms (e.g. shit → shitty)

Table 2. Flexibility of vulgar words.

## Remarks on the asymmetry of antonyms in modern Japanese — Some pairs of verbs in directional opposition —

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### 0. Introduction

The Japanese verb 'iku/yuku' denotes "movement to a place except here", and verb 'kuru' denotes "movement to here", when used non-figuratively (i.e. in situations where they express an actual movement).

#### The verb 'iku/yuku'

○ Kaimono ni deta tuide ni, syuutome ga taoreta toki sewa ni natta **isya no tokoro ni iku** to, . . . . . (Kookotu no hito/70)

#### The verb 'kuru'

○ Kono sannenkān ni ikudo kono **sinryoozyo ni kita** daroo. (Kookotu no hito/16)

But, as far as 'iku/yuku' is concerned, in the case of collocation with a noun with 'o', there are examples in which the relevant property 'to the place except here' blurs or almost disappears.

○ Aru hito wa, kawaita **sabaku o yuku**. (Kumo no utage: 2/102)

Miyazima (1972) refers to such a phenomenon:

○ されば君若し、一の小径を往き、忽ち三条に分るゝ処に出たなら困るに及ばない、君の杖を立てゝ其倒れた方に往き玉へ。(武蔵野 19)

このあとの方の「往き玉へ」は、主人公のいる場所から遠ざかる方向へ、という方向性をもっているが、前の「往き」はそのような方向性のない単なる移動で、その点では「すすむ」「あるく」「うごく」などと近い。「くる」の方は、こ

ここまで無色に近くはならないようである。(p. 289)

(While the latter '**iki-tamae**' has the direction to go away from the place of the hero of the story, the former 'iki' refers to a movement without such a specified direction; in such a case it is similar to 'susumu', 'aruku', 'ugoku' and so on. It seems that 'kuru' does not become so 'directionless'.)

If under certain circumstances the direction, which is relevant to the directional opposition between 'iku/yuku' and 'kuru', should disappear only in the meaning of the verb 'iku/yuku', then these two verbs would be asymmetrical and 'iku/yuku' would be the more "unmarked term".

Here, on the basis of some pairs of verbs in directional opposition, I will try to consider whether or not the property of direction can easily disappear from the meaning of a verb, and under what circumstances the property disappears. I shall also examine other ways in which asymmetry may occur in the lexical meaning of antonymic pairs of verbs denoting movement. Finally I shall attempt to identify a pattern and conditions for it.

### 1. 'deru' and 'hairu'

There is a rather detailed description about the meaning and usage of 'deru' in Miyazima (1972), so I will give some examples of nonfigurative meanings.

#### (1) Movement "from inside to outside"

「「でる」のもっとも基本的な意味は、物体が他の物体から、または一定範囲の空間から、外に移動することである。」(Miyazima (1972), p. 563)

(The most essential meaning of 'deru' is that an object moves outwards from another object or from a certain enclosed space.)

In such cases 'deru' is collocated with a noun which refers to the starting point, and takes 'o' or 'kara':

○ Uryuu wa soo iu to, Saeko o osidasu yoo ni site **heya o deta**. (Kumo no utage: 2/101)

○ Akiko wa batabata to **daidokoro kara dete**, otto o temanekisita. (Kookotu no hito/49)

(2) The following is an example of 'deru' in collocation with a noun with 'o', where the noun refers not to the starting point but to a place passed

through in the course of the movement:

○ **Kaisatu o deru** to migi ni iku to bakari omotte-ita onna no senaka ga, sono mama syoomen no rengazukuri no kabe ni mukatte-iku. (Oka no ue no himawari/21)

#### (3) Movement to an arrival point:

「ある場所にいきつくこと。……「いく」「つく」「あらわれる」などにきわめてちかいもので、「でる」がもともともっていた、「中から外への移動」といった方向性は、ほとんどその跡をもとどめていない。……」(Miyazima (1972) p. 571)  
(To arrive at a place. . . . . so similar to the expressions with 'iku', 'tuku', 'arawareru' and so on, that almost no trace of the directional "movement from inside to outside", which 'deru' has originally, is left. . . . .)

When 'deru' is used in this meaning, it has to be combined with a noun using 'ni':

○ Kaidan no aru **genkan ni deru** to, moo Hazime wa kurumaisu o orite nikai e agarikakete-ita. (Oka no ue no himawari/88)

(4) Examples in which the arrival point is indicated by a phrase such as "soto ni" etc.:

○ Niangadu ga untenseki kara **soto ni dete**, keikan ni ude o hutta. (Kumo no utage: 2/149)

While in the lexical meaning of 'deru' in (1) (2) (4) the property of "from inside to outside" remains, in (3) such property disappears.

On the other hand, 'hairu' denotes "movement from outside to inside", and the noun with 'ni' refers to the arrival point; this lexical meaning is opposed to that of 'deru' in (1) and (4) above:

○ Barubariigo wa, **hiroba ni haitta** tokoro de asi o tometa. (Repanto no kaisen/20)

○ Kagi o akete, **heya ni haitta** toki, . . . . . (Izintati no yakata/75)

There are some examples in which 'hairu' is used in collocation with a noun with 'o', just the same as examples of 'deru' in (2) above, but in such expressions the property "from outside to inside" is still held:

○ Sore ni kotaeta gozyuu hodo no yowai no onna ga syuzin ni tutae ni

itte-iru aida, Barubariigo wa, **mon o hairi** mo sezu ni tatte matte-ita. (Repanto no kaisen/26)

Among the usages of 'hairu', I have found no examples in which the property of "from inside to outside" can disappear, in contrast to the examples of 'deru' in (3) above.

Thus, 'deru', whose relevant property "from inside to outside" may disappear under certain circumstances, is a more "unmarked term" than 'hairu'.

## 2. 'iku/yuku' and 'kuru'

The verb 'iku/yuku', when used in collocation with a noun accompanied by 'ni', 'e', or 'made', denotes movement to an arrival point "except here".

In collocation with a noun with 'ni':

○ Yokuzitu no yuugata, Saeko ga itumo no **resutoran ni yuku** to, Atuko wa madobe no seki de matte-ita. (Kumo no utage: 2/111)

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

○ . . . . ., otoosan ga **Tookyoo e iku** tte iidasita toki wa syooziki tasukatta tte omotta no yo. (Kookotu no hito/50)

In collocation with a noun with 'made':

○ Saikyoosen ni notte, Ikebukuro de ori, tikatetu no Yuurakutyoo sen de **Higasiikebukuro made itta**. (Izintati no yakata/74)

There are examples in which the direction or range of movement is indicated, rather than an actual arrival point.

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

○ Kaisatu o deru to **migi e iku** to bakari omotte-ita onna no senaka ga, . . . . . (Oka no ue no himawari/21)

○ Akiko wa sugu syuuto ga ima haitte kita toguti kara, sandaru o tumegakete **hanare no hoo e itte**-mita. (Kookotu no hito/15)

In collocation with a noun with 'made':

○ Otokonoko wa migaru ni tatiagari, zassi no yama o matagikoete, tottuki no **syoka no atari made iku** to, oogoe o dasita. (Sabisii karyuudo/98)

As we have seen in 0., in the lexical meaning of 'iku/yuku', when used in collocation with a noun using 'o', the relevant property of the direction "to the place except here" disappears and then 'iku/yuku' denotes simply movement without a specified direction.

In collocation with a noun with 'o':

○ Aru hito wa kawaita **sabaku o yuku**. (Kumo no utage: 2/102)

○ **Mati o iku** hitobito mo, sewashige ni mieta. (Kumo no utage: 2/111)

○ Ungazoi no **fundamenta o** sukosi **iku** to, koburi da ga hasi ga atta. (Repanto no kaisen/23)

'Kuru', on the other hand, denotes movement to "here": thus, the direction is opposite to that denoted by 'iku/yuku', under the same syntactic circumstances.

Examples which express movement to an arrival point:

In collocation with a noun with 'ni':

○ Kono sannenkā ni ikudo kono **sinryoozyo ni kita** daroo. (Kookotu no hito/16)

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

○ "**Koko e kite**, donokurai desu ka?" (Oka no ue no himawari/28)

In collocation with a noun with 'made':

○ **Mizonokuti made kite**-simatte. (Oka no ue no himawari/64)

Examples which express movement in a certain direction:

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

○ ". . . . ., sobo ni itiban taisetū ni site-moratta no ni, **soba e kuru** na, to mono o nagetuke-masita. . . . ." (Oka no ue no himawari/96)

In collocation with a noun with 'made':

○ Sikasi, ni, sanzuyoppo hanarete aruite-ita Barubariigo ga, taikozyoo no hasi no **tamoto made kita** toki, . . . . . (Repanto no kaisen/24)

I cannot find any example of 'kuru' in combination with a noun with 'o'. Even in Miyazima (1986) there is only 1 such example out of 320. This perhaps represents a rather special case. However even in this instance, the property of "to here" in the lexical meaning of 'kuru' is nevertheless maintained.

From above, it can be concluded that among the usages of 'iku/yuku' the property of "to the place except here", which is relevant to the directional opposition between 'iku/yuku' and 'kuru' can, under certain syntactic circumstances, disappear; whereas with 'kuru' the property "to here" never disappears under any circumstances. So, 'iku/yuku' is the more "unmarked term" in this directional opposition.

### 3. 'oriru'<sub>1</sub> and 'noru'

The verb 'oriru' denotes "movement from inside a vehicle, vessel, etc. to outside it (relatively short distance or between adjacent places, suggesting that the inside is at a higher position than the outside)" or "movement from a higher place to a lower place (relatively long distance)". The verb which is in directional opposition in the former case would be 'noru', and the verb which is in directional opposition in the latter case would be 'agaru' or 'noboru'. First, I will consider the former pair, 'oriru'<sub>1</sub> and 'noru'.

'Oriru'<sub>1</sub> denotes "movement from inside a vehicle, vessel, etc. to outside it" when it is used in collocation with a noun denoting the vehicle, vessel, etc. accompanied by 'o':

- Keikantati wa, zidoosyooyuu o katate ni kakae, **ziipu o oriru** to, Puzyo ni tikazuite-kita. (Kumo no utage: 2/149)
- Kaidan no aru genkan ni deru to, moo Hazime wa **kurumaisu o orite** nikai e agarikakete-ita. (Oka no ue no himawari/88)

There are also some examples in which 'oriru' is used in collocation with a noun accompanied by 'ni'; in these cases, the noun indicates an arrival point which is a place outside the vehicle, vessel, etc., so that such usage is not different in lexical meaning from that above:

- Zyuuzi sugi ni ie no aru **eki ni ori**, . . . . . (Oka no ue no himawari/50)

On the other hand, 'noru', when used in collocation with a noun denoting a vehicle, vessel, etc. which is the arrival point always takes 'ni' and denotes "movement from outside of a vehicle, vessel, etc. to inside it":

- Keisatusyotyo Soo si wa soo iu to, **ziipu ni notte**, ekimaehiroba o dete itta. (Kumo no utage: 2/151)

If, however, the starting point is indicated by a noun with 'kara', the meaning encompasses not only "the movement from outside to inside", but also "the movement by the vehicle, vessel, etc. after moving from outside to inside":

- **Higasiikebukuroyontyoome kara toden ni nori**, Ootuka de Yamanotesen ni norikae, Komagome de orita. (Izintati no yakata/41)

Here, an extra meaning is added to the original meaning of 'noru' under certain syntactic conditions. Such a phenomenon is not found in examples with 'oriru'<sub>1</sub>. This case is rather different from the case of 'iku/yuku' and 'kuru', or 'deru' and 'hairu', so this represents a distinct example of "asymmetry" of verbs in directional opposition.

### 4. 'oriru'<sub>2</sub> and 'agaru' 'noboru'

In its second meaning, 'oriru' denotes "movement from a higher place to a lower place (suggesting a relatively long distance)". Usually it is used with nouns with 'o', but it is often ambiguous whether the noun expresses the starting point or place passed through in the course of the movement:

- Doa o sime, kobasiri ni **isidan o ori**, . . . . . (Oka no ue no himawari/55)
- Torakku no retu wa **tooge o orita** titen de tomatta. (Kumo no utage/128)
- Ittan **yama o oriru** to, karedani ga hirogatte-ita. (Kumo no utage/127)
- Huratuku no de, **kaidan o oriru** no ni sennensite-iru yoo ni mo mieta. (Oka no ue no himawari/23)
- "Demo tooi N desu. **Saka o nobotte orite**, moo hitotu saka o nobotte oka no ue" (Oka no ue no himawari/20)

There are also examples, in which 'oriru'<sub>2</sub> is used in collocation with a noun accompanied by 'e' or 'made'; I consider that in such cases "the direction of movement" rather than "the arrival point" is emphasized:

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

- **Kaika e oriru** to, . . . . . (Kookotu no hito/10)
- . . . . ., **sita e oriru** to maekin de moratte-iru to iwareta. (Oka no ue no himawari/36)

In collocation with a noun with 'made':

- **Sita made oriru** to "Aruku wa" to onna wa hitorigoto no yoo ni itta. (Oka no ue no himawari/23)

On the other hand, both 'agaru' and 'noboru' denote "movement from a lower place to a higher place through a certain place" when used in collocation with a noun accompanied by 'o', but, when used in collocation with a noun with 'ni' or 'e', denote "movement to a certain arrival point which is located in a higher place than the starting point."

'agaru'

In collocation with a noun with 'o':

- Onna wa, genkan e no sandanbudo no **isidan o agari** nagara, handobaggu o hiraite-iru. (Oka no ue no himawari/31)
- **Kaidan o agaroo** to suru to waki ni, hi ni aseta supagetti ya kareeraisu no sanpuru o narabeta syookeesu ga ari, . . . . . (Oka no ue no himawari/74)

In collocation with a noun with 'ni':

- **Nikai ni agatte** sugu no heya ga kanozyo no kodomo no heya rasii. (Izintati no yakata/51)
- Zyussai no syoonen ni wa, **hune no ue ni agattari** sennai o mitari no kono sigoto ni tukiau no ga, totemo tanosii rasikatta. (Repanto no kaisen/42)

'noboru'

In collocation with a noun with 'o':

- Simazaki Zyuniti wa, Iidabasi kara **Kagurazaka o noboru** totyuu de, tatetuzuke ni san kai, ookina kusyami o sita. (Izintati no yakata/25)
- Sono **kaidan o nobotta** tokoro ni, genkan de aru koto o simesu tobira ga hiraite-ita. (Repanto no kaisen/26)

In collocation with a noun with 'ni':

- Faganda ga **yane ni nobori**, . . . . . (Kumo no utage: 2/155)

In collocation with a noun with 'e':

- ". . . . . Sikasi, sore ga dame da to naru to, totyuu kara, **ehudiisanti e nobori**, minami e, ookiku yuuzigata ni ukaisi, . . . . . (Kumo no utage: 2/122)

Cases exist in which 'agaru' is used in collocation simultaneously with a noun with 'o' (to denote a place passed through in the course of the movement) and a noun with 'ni' (to denote the arrival point):

つぎの例では、「～を」が「～に」と共存している。このような例があるということは、経過と結果とが別々の意味として立つものではない、という証拠になるであろう。

(In this example '～o' and '～ni' are used simultaneously. Existence of such an example demonstrates that process and result are not mutually exclusive in meaning.)

- そのまゝ、正面の階段を二階の寝室に上らうとしたが、(帰郷 54)  
(Miyazima (1972) p. 511, also example (Kikyoo/54))

The usage of 'noboru' is exactly analogous.

From above, while with 'noboru' or 'agaru' it is always unambiguous whether the indication is of a place passed through in the course of the movement or of the arrival point, with 'oriru' the indication is often ambiguous. So, I consider that the difference between the lexical meaning of 'noboru' or 'agaru' and that of 'oriru' is so essential that 'noboru' or 'agaru' and 'oriru' are intrinsically asymmetric.

##### 5. 'tikazuku' and 'hanareru'

The verb 'tikazuku' denotes "movement towards a place", the place being indicated by a noun with 'ni':

- Onna wa hodoo ni agari, sinyookinko no **biru ni tikazuki**, . . . . . (Oka no ue no himawari/24)
- Sorekara kyuu ni **haigo ni** hito ga **tikazuku** kehai ga sita. (Oka no ue no himawari/16)

On the other hand, 'hanareru' denotes "movement away from a place", the place being indicated by a noun with 'o' or 'kara':

- Tyookoo wa Kogai no **soba o hanare**, . . . . . (Koo to Ryuhoo: 1/26)
- Konna koto ga hito ni sirete, **toti o hanareru** koto ni naru no wa taerare-nakatta. (Oka no ue no himawari/41)

- Hanasi ga owaru to, Kooryoo wa,  
 “Wasi kara hanarero”  
 to, itta. (Kooou to Ryuuuhoo: 1/71)

‘Hanareru’ can also denote not movement but position of existence, but only when in the form ‘hanareteiru’ (or ‘hanareta’ when preceding a noun) and in collocation with a noun with ‘kara’:

- Suupaa wa **eki kara** yaya **hanarete-iru**. (Oka no ue no himawari/42)  
 ○ Sorezore **dooro kara** itikiro **hanareta** sinriintitai o nuke, (Kumo no utage: 2/140)

## 6. Conclusion

Here, I will try to summarize some trends.

(1) Under certain syntactic circumstances “direction” may disappear in the lexical meaning of only one of the pair of terms.

(i) Both ‘iku/yuku’ and ‘kuru’ denote movement in a direction or to a goal (‘iku/yuku’: “to a place except here”; ‘kuru’: “to here”) when in collocation with a noun with ‘ni’ ‘e’ or ‘made’, but this quality of specified direction may disappear in the lexical meaning of ‘iku/yuku’ when used with a noun with ‘o’.

(ii) ‘Deru’ denotes movement from inside to outside when in collocation with a noun with ‘o’ or ‘kara’; ‘hairu’ denotes movement from outside to inside in collocation with a noun with ‘ni’; there are cases in which such direction may disappear from the lexical meaning of ‘deru’ when in collocation with a noun with ‘ni’.

(2) Under certain syntactic circumstances another meaning may be added to the lexical meaning of one of a pair of terms.

‘Noru’ denotes movement from outside a vehicle etc. to inside it, ‘oriru’<sup>1</sup> denotes movement from inside a vehicle etc. to outside it; when ‘noru’ is used in collocation with a noun with ‘kara’, it denotes further the movement by the vehicle etc. after the movement into it.

(3) In certain forms, another lexical meaning may be acquired by one of a pair of terms.

‘Hanareru’ denotes movement going away from a place, ‘tikazuku’ denotes movement towards a place; when ‘hanareru’ is used in the form ‘hanarete-iru’, then it denotes existence in a place which is away from the specified place.

(4) Essentially asymmetrical pair.

‘Noboru’ and ‘agaru’ denote movement through a place when in collocation with a noun with ‘o’ and movement to a place when in collocation with a noun with ‘ni’. But in the usage of ‘oriru’<sup>2</sup> in collocation with a noun with ‘o’ it is often ambiguous whether it a place through which the object moves or a starting point which is being specified.

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