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

YUKIHIKO OKADA

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, styuutome ga taoretake ni natta isya no tokoro ni iku to, ........ (Kookotu no hito/70)
The verb 'kuru’
○ Kono sanmenkan 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:
○ さばら君若し, 一の小径を往き, 忽ち三条に分る,君の杖を立て, しられた方に往き玉へ。(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
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 antonymous 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」と述べている (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’:

〇 Uryuu wa soo ii to, Saeko o osidasu yoo ni site heya o data. (Kumo no utage: 2/101)
〇 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:

〇 Kaisatu o deru to migi ni iku to bakari omoitte-ita onna no senaka ga, sono mama syooyen 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」がともととももっていた，「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’:

〇 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.:

〇 NiaNgadu ga unteniseki kara soto ni deru, 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:

〇 Barubariigo wa, hiroba ni haitta tokoro de aso o tometa. (Repanto no kaiseN: 20)
〇 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:

〇 Sore ni kotaeta gozuyu hodo no yowai no onna ga syuzin ni tutae ni
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’:

- O Kono sanneNkaN ni ikudo kono sinryoozyo ni kita daroo. (Kookotu no hito/16)

In collocation with a noun with ‘e’:

- O “Koko e kite, donokurai desu ka?” (Oka no ue no himawari/28)

In collocation with a noun with ‘made’:

- O Sikasi, ni, sanzyuppo hanarete aruute-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.

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 fondamenta 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’:

- O Kono sanneNKaN ni ikudo kono sinryoozyo ni kita daroo. (Kookotu no hito/16)

In collocation with a noun with ‘e’:

- O “Koko e kite, donokurai desu ka?” (Oka no ue no himawari/28)

In collocation with a noun with ‘made’:

- O 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’:

- O “. . . . , sobo ni itiban taisetu 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’:

- O Sikasi, ni, sanzyuppo hanarete aruute-ita Barubariigo ga, taikozyoo no hasi no tamoto made kita toki, . . . . (Repanto no kaisen/24)

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’:

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

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

In collocation with a noun with ‘made’:

- O Otokonoko wa migaru ni tatiagari, zassi no yama o matagikoete, tottuki no syoka no atari made iku to, oogoe o dasita. (Sabisii karyuudo/98)
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’ 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 ‘nom’, 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’ and ‘noru’.

‘Oriru’ 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’:

- Keikan wa, zidoosyuu o katate ni kake, zippu 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 ni kai 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”:

- Keisatosyotyoo Soo si wa soo iu to, zippu ni notte, ekimaihobara o dete itta. (Kumo no utage: 2/151)

There are also examples in which ‘oriru’ 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:

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

4. ‘oriru’ 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:

- Doo 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 deru. Saka o nobotte orite, moo hitotu saka o nobotte oka no u’desu. (Oka no ue no himawari/20)

There are also examples, in which ‘oriru’ 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:

- 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 sandan hodo no isida n o agari nagara, handobaggu o hiraitte-iru.** (Oka no ue no himawari/31)

  - **Kaidan o agaroo to suru to waki ni, hi ni aseta supagetti ya karecaisuzu no sanpuru o narabeta syookeesu ga ari.** (Oka no ue no himawari/74)

  In collocation with a noun with 'ni':

  - **Nikai ni agatte sugo no heya ga kanzo no kodomo no heya rasii.** (Izintati no yakata/51)

  - **Zyussai no syoonen ni wa, hune no e ni agattari senmai o mitari no kono sigoto ni tuki tu no ga, totemo tanosii rasikatta.** (Reppanto no kaise n/42)

  'noboru'

  In collocation with a noun with 'o':

  - **Simazaki Zyu nitiki wa, fidabasi 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 hiraitte-ita.** (Reppanto 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 yuuuzgata 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):

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

  (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.)

- **O Nikai ni agatte sugo no heya ga kanzo no kodomo no heya rasii.** (Izintati no yakata/51)

  (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'\textsuperscript{2} the indication is often ambiguous. So, I consider that the difference between the lexical meaning of 'noboru' or 'agaru' and that of 'oriru'\textsuperscript{2} is so essential that 'noboru' or 'agaru' and 'oriru'\textsuperscript{2} 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/41)

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

- **Tyookoo0o wa Kogai no soba o hanare, .......** (Koou to Ryuuhoo: 1/26)

- **Konna koto ga hito ni sirete, toti o hanareru koto ni naru no wa taerare nakatta.** (Oka no ue no himawari/41)
Remarks on the asymmetry of antonyms in modern Japanese

'Wasi kara hanarero'
to, itta. (Kooyoo wa: 1/71)

'Wasi kara hanarero' can also denote not movement but position of existence, but only when in the form 'hanarete-iru' (or 'hanareta' when preceding a noun) and in collocation with a noun with 'kara':

汉人 wa eki kara yaya hanarete-iru. (Oka no ue no himawari/42)

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' 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.

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Examples

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