There and back: the case of Russian 'go'

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This article is concerned with the problems of deixis and deictic verbs. It provides empirical evidence for a more fine-grained semantic treatment of the main Russian verb of motion *idti*, commonly translated as 'go'. It is argued that the cases of neutralization between Russian *prijti* 'come' and *idti* 'go' are not accidental, they are accounted for by the interplay of the deictic and "generalized motion" components in the meaning of *idti*.

Idti as a "generalized" verb of motion

The system of Russian verbs of motion is notoriously complex and includes a considerable number of non-derived verbs specifying manner of motion. These verbs classify situations of movement according to their intrinsic features such as moving on foot, *idti*, moving by vehicle, *exat'*, moving in a special (non-natural) way because of an obstacle in front/on the path of the subject, *lezt'* 'climb', and so on.

Along similar lines, the prototypical movement of a snake (*polzti* 'crawl, creep') is lexically opposed to that of a bird (*letet'* 'fly'), a fish (*plyt'* 'swim, sail'), or a horse (*skakat'* 'gallop, jump'). All this allows one to consider Russian as a fair example of the so-called classifying languages, because it expresses the idea of movement differently depending on some additional parameters (such as type of subject or manner of movement).[i] An opposite type is exemplified by French, which is a typical non-classifying (or "unitary") language. In most contexts, French does not (or, at least, may not) distinguish between movement of a person, a snake, a fish etc., using one and the same "generalized" verb *aller* 'go' (see Gak 1988 and 1998, Guiraud-Weber 1992, among others). This strategy is impossible in Russian.

The opposition is, however, not that straightforward. The problem is that in Russian, recourse to "generalized" lexemes for describing different types of movement is also allowable, though not all candidates for this role proposed by modern explanatory dictionaries provide a real alternative. The verbs most frequently mentioned in this respect are *dvigat'sja* 'move; stir; advance' and *peremeščat'sja* 'move; shift; transfer'.

They are usually claimed to be capable of denoting a "pure" locomotion, abstracted away from its specific characteristics – a claim that appears highly controversial on closer examination. In fact, *peremeščat'sja* is stylistically not neutral and is possible only in abstract contexts such as (1)-(2), so it can hardly be used for describing the physical motion of persons or artifacts; witness (3).[ii]

(1)	*Ob"ekty*	*peremeščajutsj*	*v*	*prostranstve*	*s*
	objects.NOM	move[are transported]	in	space.LOC	wit
	opredelennoj	*skorost'ju.*			
	certain.INST	speed.INST			
	'(Physical) objects move in space with a certain speed.'				

(2)	*Promyšlennaja*	*zona*	*peremestilas'*	*v*
	industrial.NOM	zone.NOM	moved[was transported]	in
	drugie	*rajony*	*goroda.*	
	other.ACC	districts.ACC	town.GEN	
	'The industrial area has moved to other parts of the town.'			

(3)	[?]*Poezd*	*[lošad'/*	*čelovek/*	*mašina ...]*
	train.NOM	horse.NOM	human being.NOM	car.NOM
	peremeščaetsja	po	*lesu/*	po	*doroge.*
	moves[is transported]	along	forest.DAT	along	road.DAT
	'A train [a horse/a person/a car ...] is moving through the forest/on the road.'			

In view of all this, the verb *peremeščat'sja* cannot really be considered a generalized Russian verb of motion. As for the verb *dvigat'sja*, the problem is more delicate.

However, it cannot be used in generalized contexts either, because, as we shall see later (section 3), its prototypical repertoire is much more restricted than it is presented in dictionaries.

Thus, the most frequently proposed candidates are inadequate. Yet, a generalized verb of motion does exist in Russian. In this paper, I will argue that it is *idti* (with its basic meaning 'go on foot, walk') that has to be considered the main Russian generalized verb of motion[iii]. The numerous facts which support this claim are striking. Let us consider them in turn.

Though the prototypical uses of *idti* apply to people and animals[iv], this verb is also widely used as a cover term for different types of movement. Thus, *idti* can be used with nouns such as *poezd* 'train' or *mašina* 'car' (along with *exat'* applied mainly to wheeled transp ort) as in (4); *korabl'* or *sudno* 'ship, boat' (along with *plyt'* 'swim; float; sail') as in (5); *samolet* 'plane' in (6); *pyl'* 'dust' (along with *letet'* 'fly') in (7); *sneg* 'snow' (along with *padat'* 'fall down'), in (8); and *voda* 'water' or *krov'* 'blood' (along with *teč'* 'flow; run') in (9).[v]

(4)	*Poezd/*	*mašina*	*idet/*	*edet*	*mimo.*
	Train.NOM	car.NOM	goes[walks]	goes[rides]	by
	'The train/the car is going by.'				

(5)	*Korabl'/*	*sud no*	*idet/*	*plyvet.*
	ship.NOM	boat.NOM	goes[walks]	sails
	'The ship/the boat is going/is sailing.'			

(6)	*Samolet*	*idet*	*na*	*posadku.*
	plane.NOM	goes[walks]	on	landing.ACC
	'The plane is landing.'			

(7)	*Pyl'*	*idet/*	*letit*	*ot*	*kovra.*
	dust.NOM	goes[walks]	flies	from	carpet.GEN
	'The carpet raises dust. (lit. 'Dust is going/flying from the carpet.')'				

(8)	*S*	*utra*	*idet/*	*padaet*	*sneg.*
	From	morning.GEN	goes[walks]	falls	snow.NOM
	'It has been snowing since morning (lit. 'snow is going/falling down').'				

(9)	*U*	*nego*	*idet/*	*tečet*	*krov'*	*iz*	*nosa.*
	by	he.GEN	goes[walks]		flows	from	nose.GEN
	'He is bleeding from the nose.'						

Moreover, there are many contexts where *idti* not only can, but *must* be used, while non generalized verbs of motion are excluded. The typical examples are (10) and (11):

(10)	*Lošadi/*	*kon'kobežcy*	*idut*	*s*	*xorošej*
	horses.NOM	skaters.NOM	go[walk]	with	good.INST
	skorost'ju.				
	speed.INST				
	'The horses/the skaters are going at a good speed.'				

(11)	*Kačeli*	*idut*	*to*	*vpravo,*	*to*	*vlevo.*
	swing.NOM	go[walk]	now	right	now	left
	'The swing is going to the right and then to the left.'					

In (10), neither *skačut* 'are galloping' (applying to horses) nor *skol'zjat po l'du* 'are gliding on ice' (applying to skaters) would be appropriate; similarly, in (11), a more

specific verb like *kačat'sja* 'seesaw' cannot be used. The subjects in (10) and (11) are moving, but *idti* can apply to motionless, stationary subjects as well as in (12) and (13).[vi]

(12)	*Èta*	*lestnica*	*idet*	*na*	*pervyj*	*ètaž.*
	this.NOM	staircase.NOM	goes[walks]	on	first.ACC	floor.ACC
	'This staircase leads to the ground floor.'					

(13)	*Tam*	*budet*	*škola,*	*a*	*potom*	*idet*	*naš*
	there	will.be	school.NOM	but	then	goes[walks]	our.NOM
	dom.						
	house.NOM						
	'There'll be a school (first), and then comes our house.'[vii]						

Notice that neither *dvigat'sja* nor *peremeščat'sja*, though supposed to convey the generalized meaning, are possible in the contexts of this type as seen in (6'), (8'), (10'), or (12').

(6')	*Samolet*	*dvižetsja/*	*peremeščaetsja*	*na*
	plane.NOM	moves[is in motion]	moves[is transported]	on
	posadku.			
	landing.ACC			
	lit. 'The plane is moving onto landing.'			

(8')	*S*	*utra*	*dvižetsja/*	*peremeščaetsja*
	from	morning.GEN	moves[is in motion]	moves[is transported]
	sneg.			
	snow.NOM			
	lit, 'Since morning, snow is moving.'			

(10')	*ʔLošadi*	*dvižutsja/*	*peremeščajutsja*	*s*

Horses.NOM	moves[are in motion]	moves[are transported]	with
xorošej	*skorost'ju.*		
good.INST	speed.INST		
lit., 'The horses are moving at a good speed'.			

(12')	**Èta*	*lestnica*	*dvižetsja/*	*peremeščaetsja*
	this.NOM	staircaseNOM	moves[is in motion]	moves[is transported]
	na	*pervyj*	*ètaž.*	
	on	first.ACC	floor.ACC	
	lit., 'This staircase moves/is moving to the ground floor.'			

The main problem of *idti*

However frequent the "generalized" uses of *idti* referred to above may be, they are by no means unrestricted. In many cases, the only possible way to get a grammatically correct sentence is to use a classifying verb of motion, which cannot be replaced with *idti*, as in (14) -(15):

(14)	*Zolotaja*	*rybka*	*plyvet*	*<*idet>*	*k*	*stariku.*
	golden.NOM	fish.NOM	swims	goes[walks]	to	old.man.NOM
	'The goldfish is coming to the old man.'					

(15)	*Lastočka*	*s*	*vesnoju*	*v*	*seni*	*k*	*nam*
	swallow.NOM	with	spring.INST	in	hall.ACC	to	we.DAT
	letit	*<*idet>*.	*(Majkov)*				
	flies	goes[walks]					
	'A swallow arrives at our doorstep with the spring.'						

Thus, the problem is to explicate the conditions under which *idti* is valid as a generalized verb of motion, as well as the factors which exclude generalized uses.

My solution to this problem is as follows. For all the contexts which allow *idti*, it is possible to isolate one property they have in common: the motion denoted by the verb is always *non-arbitrary* (and hence goal-oriented).[viii] That is the reason why *idti* is most typical for vehicles that have a fixed itinerary and run according to a certain timetable, as in contexts like (16)-(17), where no classifying verbs such as *exat'* or *plyt'* are possible, especially when the goal is overtly expressed.

(16)	*Poezd/*	*avtobus/*	*parom*	*idet/*	*ne*	*idet*
	train.NOM	bus.NOM	ferry.NOM	goes[walks]	NEG	goes[walks]
	v	*Peterburg.*				
	in	Petersburg.ACC				
'The train/the bus/the ferry goes/does not go to Petersburg.'						

(17)	*Poezda*	*idut*	*s*	*bol'šimi*	*opozdanijami.*
	trains.NOM	go[walk]	with	great.INST	delays.INST
'The trains are running very late.'					

On the other hand, only the classifying *exat'* (and not the generalized *idti*) can apply to bicycles, horse carriages, sledges, etc., moving without any strict timetable or fixed itinerary, witness (18). As for traveling stage-coaches, *idti*, as expected, can easily be used, so that sentences like (19) are possible.

(18)	*Kareta*	*edet*	*(*idet)*	*v*	*korolevskij*	*dvorec.*
	coach.NOM	goes[rides]	goes[walks]	in	royal.ACC	palace.ACC
'The coach is going to the royal palace.'						

(19)	*Diližans*	*idet*	*v*	*London.*
	stage-coach.NOM	goes[walks]	in	London.ACC
	'The stage-coach goes to London.'			

Following this strategy, *exat'* and *idti* can be opposed in some contexts. Thus, if the meaning 'the bus is going to the wrong place' is expressed with the help of *exat'*, as in (20), it implies most likely that the driver is absent-minded; or also in (21) with a similar sense.

(20)	*Avtobus*	*edet*	*v*	*druguju*	*storonu.*
	bus.NOM	goes[walks]	in	other.ACC	direction.ACC
	'The bus is going in the wrong direction.'				

(21)	*Avtobus*	*edet/*	**idet*	*kuda*	*glaza*	*gljadjat*
	bus.NOM	goes[rides]	goes[walks]	where	eyes.NOM	look
	'The bus is moving aimlessly/at random.'[ix]					

On the contrary, when *idti* is used, as in (20'), it is rather a passenger who is absent-minded: he has taken the wrong bus, or the itinerary has changed without his knowledge.

(20')	*Avtobus*	*idet*	*v*	*druguju*	*storonu.*
	bus.NOM	goes[walks]	in	other.ACC	direction.ACC
	'The bus is going in the wrong direction.'				

This opposition is due to the fact that normally a bus has a fixed itinerary and its movement is goal-oriented. So, bus transportation perfectly corresponds to the semantics

of the generalized *idti*, but, unlike trains, which are unable to depart from their route arbitrarily, buses do not have rails. This fact can provoke a semantic shift from the prototypical case of routine bus transportation, when a bus suddenly changing its usual direction behaves, with regard to the lexical choice of the verb of motion, more like a car, a horse, or a bicycle, which are mostly described by the classifying *exat'*.[x]

Interestingly, nouns of the latter type can display a similar effect, with the opposition between arbitrary *exat'* and goal-oriented *idti*. Let's consider the pair *za nami idet mašina ~ za nami edet mašina* (lit. 'a/the car is going after us') in the context of the following situations (22a) and (22b).

(22)	a.	*Ne*	*volnujtes',*	*za*	*nami*	*v*	*aėroport*	*uže*
		NEG	worry	after	we.INST	in	airport.ACC	already
		idet		*[$^?$edet]*		*mašina.*		
		goes[walks]		goes[rides]		car.NOM		
		'Don't worry, a car is already coming to pick us up at the airport.'						

b. *Smotri, za nami edet [$^?$idet] (kakaja-to)*
look after we.INST goes[rides] goes[walks] some.NOM
mašina.
car.NOM
'Look, a car is following us.' ('we are moving; a car is moving behind – perhaps, accidentally')

The semantic opposition between the generalized *idti* and classifying verbs of motion holds for motion in water as well. In the case of water transport (of different kinds), the motion can be considered determined, or goal-oriented. In such contexts the generalized *idti* is appropriate, while an alternative classifying verb *plyt'* (with a variety of other possible meanings, as 'sail'/'swim'/'float') is problematical as seen in (23)-(24).

(23) *Korabl' idet [$^?$plyvet]v port/ v otkrytoe*
ship.NOM goes[walks] sails in harbor.ACC in open.ACC

more.

sea.ACC

'The ship is going to the harbor/to the open sea.'

(24) *Èsminec   idet   [⁹plyvet] k   beregu/   k*

destroyer.NOM goes[walks] sails   to   shore.DAT to

vražeskomu   korablju.

enemy.DAT   ship.DAT

'The destroyer is going toward the shore/toward the enemy ship.'

At the same time, sailing for pleasure, when the direction and the itinerary are not specified, tends to be described with the help of *plyt'* and not *idti*, as in the passage from a popular song in (25).

(25) *Plyla   [*šla^{xi}],   kačalas'   lodočka.*

sailed   went[walked] rolled   boat.NOM

'There was a boat sailing and rolling.'

Similarly, a yacht can either *idti* 'go' or *plyt'* 'sail' (depending on the situation), but during a regatta yachts can only 'go' (e.g., go first, last, with a good time, etc.). The same principle, as already noted, applies to racers, skaters, race-horses, and so on, witness the examples under (10). Even fish can 'go', demonstrating goal-oriented movement for a certain purpose as in (26).

(26) *Ryba   idet   kosjakom/ v seti/   na nerest*

fish.NOM goes[walks] school.INST in net.ACC on spawning.ACC

v   reki.

in   rivers.ACC

'Fish are schooling/are going into the net/are going to spawn in the rivers.'

However, the movement of each individual fish, which has no presupposed itinerary, is to be described only with the help of *plyt'*, and in this case *idti* does not apply to fish; this reverts us to the example (14) above.

Let us turn now to objects moving in the air. Heavenly bodies are the highest, and among them people distinguish the sun, the moon and the planets, the motion of which is considered strictly regular. No wonder that these objects can only *idti* 'go' across the sky and never *letet'* 'fly' in examples such as (27)-(28). Comets, however, do 'fly' in (29) as do clouds in the contrastive pair of (30) describing different ways of speaking about clouds.

(27) *Solnce   medlenno šlo/   *letelo   k   zenitu.*

Sun.NOM slowly   went[walked] flew   to   zenith.DAT

'The sun was slowly approaching its zenith.'

(28) *Vzošla/   *vzletela   luna.*

went.up[walked] flew.up   moon.NOM

'The moon has risen (lit. 'went up/*flew up').'

(29) *Kometa   letela   po   nebu.*

comet.NOM flew   along sky.DAT

'A comet was flying across the sky.'

(30) a. *Idut   [*letjat]   tuči.*

go[walk]   fly   storm.clouds.NOM

'Storm clouds are coming/*flying (sc. 'to bring rain/bad weather').'

b. *Po   nebu   letjat oblaka.*

along sky.DAT fly   clouds

'There are clouds flying across the sky.'

Among airborne objects, birds, as they are reflected in Russian folk taxonomy, can only 'fly' (*letat'*) and not 'go', since they are supposed to never have goals or obligations (recall the Russian saying *svoboden kak ptica* 'free as a bird'). This explains why it is impossible to have *idet* instead of *letit* in Majkov's line given above under (15).

Somewhat less expected is the fact that aircraft of all types are supposed to behave more like birds than like ordinary regular transport: planes, rockets and the like only 'fly', as in (31)-(32):

(31) *Naš   samolet   letit [*idet]   v Pariž   čerez*
      our.NOM   plane.NOM flies goes[walks] in Paris.ACC through
      Japoniju.
      Japan.ACC
      'Our plane is flying [*going] to Paris via Japan.'

(32) *V svjazi   s   ploxoj   pogodoj   samolety   ne*
      in connection.LOC with bad.INST   weather.INST planes.NOM NEG
      *letajut   [*xodjat] v   Bamako.*
      fly   go[walk]   in   Bamako.ACC
      'The planes are not flying/going to Bamako because of the bad weather.'

Recall that sentences of the same type about regular rail transport require only *idti* 'go', the classifying *exat'* being impossible in (16)-(17) above, as well as contexts like (33):

(33) a. *V svjazi   s   remontom   polotna*
         in connection.LOC with repair.work.INST embankment.GEN
         *23.   maja   poezda   idut   [*edut] tol'ko*
         23rd.GEN May.GEN trains.NOM go[walk] go[ride] only
         do Vladimira.
         to Vladimir.GEN
         'Due to repair work on the embankment on May 23, the trains are going only as far as Vladimir.'

      b. *V svjazi   s   remontom   polotna*
         in connection.LOC with repair.work.INST embankment.GEN
         *23   maja   poezda   ne   idut   [*ne edut]*
         23rd.GEN May.GEN trains.NOM NEG go[walk] NEG go[ride]
         do Možajska.
         to Možajsk.GEN
         'Due to repair work on the embankment on May 23, the trains for Mozhaisk are cancelled.'

Thus, it can be seen that a standard ("horizontal") movement of the aircraft in the air –
including the movement which implies a goal – is represented in Russian as if it were
undetermined.

However, a vertical (up-and-down) movement of the aircraft may have a different
linguistic treatment depending on whether it is viewed as controlled or not: in this case,
both possibilities do exist. On the one hand, *idti* is the only verb which can describe
planes (deliberately) flying higher and lower, as in (34) and also (35) with *kačeli* 'swing'
as a subject.

(34) *Samolet   idet   [*letit] na   posadku/   idet*
     plane.NOM goes[walks] flies   on   landing.ACC goes[walks]
     [*letit] *vniz,   zatem rezko   povoračivaet i   idet*
     flies   down   then   abruptly turns   and   goes[walks]
     [*letit] *vverx   i   vlevo.*
     flies   up   and   left
     'The plane comes in to land/goes down, then turns suddenly and goes up and
     to the left.'

(35) *Kačeli   idut   [*letjat] vverx/ idut   vniz.*
     swing.NOM go[walk] fly   up   go[walk] down
     'The swing is going [*flying] up/going down.'

On the other hand, a non-controlled vertical movement is never described with the
help of *idti*. For example, in the situation of a free fall the verb *padat'* 'fall [down]' can
never be substituted for *idti*, so that a bomb, a stone or a wrecked plane can only 'fall',
and not 'go' down, witness (36).

(36) *Bomba/   kamen'/   poterpevšij   avariju*
     bomb.NOM   stoneNOM   suffered.from.NOM   accident.ACC
     *samolet   padaet   [*idet]   <vniz>.*
     plane.NOM   falls   goes[walks]   down
     'A bomb/stone/wrecked plane is falling [*going] down.'

Interestingly, in Russian snow can both 'fall' and 'go', while rain and hail can only 'go' as in (37)-(39); perhaps, this is due to the fact that the movement of raindrops and hailstones (which are distinctly heavier than snowflakes) is viewed as less controlled or determined.

(37) *Padaet/ idet   sneg.*
     falls   goes[walks] snow.NOM
     'It is snowing (lit. 'snow is falling/going').'

(38) *Dožd'   šel   vsju   noč'.*
     rain.NOM   went[walked] all.ACC   night.ACC
     'It rained all night.'

(39) *S   utra   šel   grad.*
     from   morning.GEN   went[walked] hail.NOM
     'It had been hailing since morning.'

Another case which is worth considering in this connection is vertical movement in water. Normally, there is no freedom in water – hence everything which is going to sink has to 'go' to the bottom, as reflected in Russian *idti ko dnu* (synonymous to another classifying verb *tonut'* 'sink', e.g., *korabl' idet ko dnu/tonet* 'the boat is sinking'). This does not hold, e.g., for submarines: when a submarine is (deliberately) moving down to the bottom, it is usually said to 'dive' (*pogružat'sja*). The movement in the opposite direction is, in a sense, less definite and therefore it is described by classifying verbs, applying both for water, *vsplyvat'* 'surface' (lit. 'sail/swim up') and for the air, *vzletat'* 'fly up'; *idti* is used much more rarely in such cases as exemplified in (40)-(41):

(40) *My   nabljudali, kak černaja   podvodnaja   lodka*
     we.NOM observed   how black.NOM under.water.NOM boat.NOM
     *to   [pogružalas'/ *šla   ko   dnu],   to*
     now dived   went[walked] to   bottom.DAT now
     vsplyvala   nad   vodoj.
     surfaced   above water.INST

'We watched a black submarine dive and surface again and again.'

(41) *Likovaniju   ljudej   ne   bylo konca – v vozdux*
exultation.DAT people.GEN NEG was end.GEN in air.ACC
[*vzletali/leteli/ *šli*]   *šljapy,   vozdušnye*
flew.up flew   went[walked] hats.NOM air.NOM
šary   i   daže   bašmaki.
balloons.NOM   and   even   shoes.NOM
'People's exultation seemed endless – hats, balloons, even shoes were thrown
into the air (lit. 'flew up/*went').'

Finally, it should be noted that, apart from the prototypical moving objects (like people, animals, transport means, heavenly bodies etc.), the verb *idti* can also apply to operator-controlled motion of instruments: thus, needles 'go' to and fro, scythes 'go' to the right and to the left, hammers 'go' down, etc. A competing verb is in this case *dvigat'sja* 'move', already discussed above. However, *dvigat'sja* conveys the idea of spontaneous motion, though this semantic component is usually not made mention of in dictionaries. It explains why *dvigat'sja* is more easily applied to animate subjects or devices moving on their own in such contexts as (42)-(44).

(42) *Krupnye stada   životnyx   dvižutsja   na*
big.NOM   flocks.NOM animals.GEN   move[are in motion] on
vostok.
east.ACC
'Big herds of animals are moving eastward.'

(43) *Poezd   dvižetsja   so   skorost'ju 50   km*
train.NOM moves[is in motion] with speed.INST 50.GEN km.GEN
v   čas.
   in   hour.ACC
'The train moves at a speed of 50 km per hour.'

(44) *Turbina   dvižetsja   blagodarja òlektričeskomu*
turbine.NOM moves[is in motion] due.to   electric.DAT
toku.
current.DAT
'The turbine moves because of the electric current.'

Notice that *dvigat'sja* indicates a motion without any clear goal or trajectory, precisely because it emphasizes spontaneity. For the same reason, *dvigat'sja* is highly appropriate for situations when inanimate objects are represented as (becoming) animated as in (45)-(46).

(45) *Smotri! Idet   sneg,   i   vse   vokrug*
look   goes[walks] snow.NOM and everything.NOM around
kak   budto   dvižetsja.
as   if   moves[is in motion]
'Look! It's snowing, and it seems as if everything around is moving.'

(46) *Mne kažetsja,čto vse   predmety   v komnate – ,*
I.DAT seems   that all.NOM objects.NOM in room.LOC
stol   zerkalo,   kresla –   vdrug   stali
table.NOM mirror.NOM armchairs.NOM suddenly started
dvigat'sja   i   sejčas   zagovorjat.
move[be in motion] and   now   start.speak
'It seems to me that all the things in the room – the table, the mirror, the armchairs – have suddenly started moving and are about to speak.'

This type of motion is opposed to goal-oriented movement, and in this regard *dvigat'sja* can be said to form an opposition to the generalized *idti* as in (47):

(47) a. *Poezd   dvižetsja   [$^{?}$idet],   nesmotrja na*
train.NOM moves[is in motion] goes[walks] despite   on
dejstvie   sily   trenija.
action.ACC force.GEN   friction.GEN

'The train moves [ᵉgoes] in spite of friction.'

b. *Poezd   idet   [ᵉdvižetsja]   v London.*

train.NOM goes[walks] moves[is in motion] in London.ACC

'The train is going [*moving] to London.'

The distinction between deliberate and spontaneous motion is relevant when *dvigat'sja* and generalized *idti* apply to the names of tools or instruments. In this context, *dvigat'sja* describes, as expected, an independent, autonomous movement, while the use of *idti* is related to the fact that the movement of the object is directed or controlled by an operator. Thus, a screw nut (*gajka*) is said to 'go well' (*xorošo idet*), if it is being manipulated by somebody, whereas a windmill's fan (*kryl'ja vetrjanoj mel'nicy*) moves, so to say, independently, and thus the form *dvižutsja* must be chosen to describe its behavior. Similarly, water can 'go' or 'flow' from a tap, e.g., *voda idet/tečet iz krana*, but it only 'flows' if it is in a river: *reka tečet* [**idet*], lit. 'the river flows [*goes]', because the movement of a river is thought of as free and uncontrolled.

3. Special cases: derived and metaphorical uses

In this section I show that the semantic components which are peculiar to Russian *idti* can also account for some derived and metaphorical uses (in the sense of Radden 1988), where *idti* applies to stationary objects and introduces a purpose-oriented situation, as in (48)-(49):

(48) *Na òto   idet   glina/   dva   metra*

on   this.ACC goes[walks] clay.NOM two.NOM   meters.GEN

tkani.

fabric.GEN

'For this you need clay/two meters of fabric.'

(49) *Stat'ja   idet   v   sbornik.*

Article.NOM goes[walks] in   anthology.ACC

'The paper has been accepted for publication in an anthology.'

Both in (48) and (49), *idti* emphasizes a certain use the object is intended for (its "destination"). In contexts of this type, the "destination" can be considered a natural counterpart for the goal (= point of destination) which occurs in the contexts of motion containing generalized *idti*. In a sense, functional situations like those exemplified by (48)-(49) represent a subclass of abstract, or "virtual" motion (Langacker 1987 and 1999; cf. also "fictive motion" discussed in Talmy 1996), namely goal-oriented motion.

Another type of abstract motion described by the generalized *idti* is "deictic" motion. First of all, these are cases where *idti* applies to elongated objects. Such contexts implicitly index eye movements during observation, when the observer's eyes follow an object lengthways up to its end, witness (50)-(52).[xii]

    (50) = (12) *Èta   lestnica   idet   na   pervyj*
               this.NOM   staircase.NOM goes[walks] on   first.ACC
               òtaž.
               floor.ACC
               'The staircase leads to the first floor.'

    (51) *Most   idet   na tot   bereg.*
               bridge.NOM goes[walks] on that.ACC bank.ACC
               'The bridge leads to the other bank of the river.'

    (52) *Peščera/ šaxta/   nora   idet   na bol'šuju*
               cave.NOM shaft.NOM burrow.NOM goes[walks] on great.ACC *glubinu.*
               depth.ACC
               'The cave/shaft/burrow reaches a great depth.'

Significantly, such contexts admit variation: some examples allow classifying verbs, while others strictly prefer *idti*. The point is that *idti* is possible only when the form of the object is fixed, and this semantic restriction is reminiscent of the requirement generalized *idti* has for its basic uses – that the trajectory has to be predictable. The only difference is, in fact, that in the "deictic" contexts the trajectory involved is that of eye movements. Accordingly, if the form of the object is not fixed or predictable, a classifying verb has to be chosen, and *idti* is not possible. Some typical cases are shown in Table 1.

Impossible in the context of *idti*	Possible in the context of *idti*
reka 'river'	*kanal* 'channel'
verevka 'rope', *cep'* 'chain'	*požarnaja lestnica* 'fire escape'

Table 1. The choice of verb in "deictic" contexts

Pairs of sentences in (53) and (54) illustrate this choice.

(53) a. *Vdol' krepostnoj steny tečet [$^?$idet] reka.*
     along fortress.GEN wall.GEN flows goes[walks] river.NOM
     'The river flows [*goes] along the rampart.'

   b. *Vdol' krepostnoj steny idet [$^?$tečet] kanal.*
     along fortress.GEN wall.GEN goes[walks] flows river.NOM
     'The canal goes [*flows] along the rampart.'

(54) a. *Po stene idet vniz požarnaja lestnica.*
     along wall.DAT goes[walks] down fire.NOM ladder.NOM
     lit, 'A fire escape is going down the wall.'

   b. *$^?$Po stene idet vniz verevka.*
     along wall.DAT goes[walks] down rope.NOM
     *'A rope is going down the wall.'

The similar effect of an observer following an elongated object occurs with chains of objects, which easily combine with *idti*, suggesting that they are conceptualized as having a fixed form in (55)-(56); the same holds for "covering" surfaces in (57) and figuratively in (58).

(55) *Stolby idut vdol' dorogi.*
   posts.NOM go[walk] along road.GEN
   'There are posts along the road (lit., 'posts go along the road').'

(56) *Rjad kresel idet do steny.*
   row.NOM armchairs.GEN goes[walks] to wall.GEN

'A row of seats goes up to the wall.'

(57) *Pautina   idet   po   vsemu   potolku.*
spider.web.NOM goes[walks] along all.DAT ceiling.DAT
'There is a spider web all over the ceiling.'

(58) *Uzor   idet   po   vsemu   podolu.*
design.NOM goes[walks] along all.DAT   hem.DAT
'The design runs all along the hem.'

Generalized *idti* as an abstract motion verb is preferred in some very specific pragmatic contexts for stationary objects. Thus, in the situation of reading or counting, when characters or signs follow each other, the Russians can say that they 'go one after another' (*idut drug za drugom*), meaning that the observer (e.g., the reader) perceives them in order, one by one as in (59).

(59) *Posle A idet   B, potom   idet   zapjataja ...*
after   A goes[walks] B then   goes   comma.NOM
'After A comes B, then comes a comma … '

Another pragmatic situation typical for *idti* is giving directions. In this case, the speaker imagines a chain of landmarks forming a sequence; accordingly, the speaker wants the addressee to follow this sequence step by step, as if they were both following the same path, as seen in (60) (= (13) above).

(60) *Tam budet škola,   a   potom idet   naš*
there will.be school.NOM but then   goes[walks] our.NOM
dom.
house.NOM
'There'll be a school (first), and then comes our house.'

The same holds for "layered" objects: describing the layers one by one, the speaker "moves" from the top down in (61)-(62):

(61) *Snačala   idet   testo,   potom varen'e, potom.*

first   goes[walks] dough.NOM then   jam.NOM then

zavarnoj   krem

boiled.NOM   cream.NOM

'The dough comes first, then some jam, and after that some custard.'

(62) *Snačala idet   pesok,   vtoroj   sloj –*

first   goes[walks] sand.NOM   second.NOM layer.NOM

glina   i   tol'ko posle òtogo   idet   voda.

clay.NOM and only   after   this.GEN goes[walks] water.NOM

'Sand comes first, the second layer is clay, and only after that comes water.'

It is well known that the visual domain often serves as a model for the auditory one (cf. Geeraerts 1986: 660-661, among others, where the problem of "loud colors" is discussed in great detail). Therefore, *idti* is expected to occur in the situations of auditory perception as well, such as listening to music, and the like. In fact, the only acceptable auditory contexts for *idti* are those where the listener deals with distinct sequences of sounds, as in (63).

(63) *Ty   slyšiš'? Snačala byl baraban,   teper' idet*

you.NOM hear   first   was drum.NOM now   goes[walks]

flejta,   a   dal'še   vstupajut skripki ...

flute.NOM but   further enter   violins.NOM

'Do you hear? First there was the drum, now the flute is playing (lit., 'is going'), and then the violins start ... '

Contexts like [?]*snačala idet stuk/šum...* (lit. 'there goes a rattle/noise first ...') would seem strange and hardly appropriate.

On the other hand, any period of time or series of events pragmatically conceptualized as a coherent sequence can easily provide a context suitable for *idti*, as in (64)-(65).

(64) *Snačala idet obed, potom užin.*

first goes lunch.NOM then supper.NOM

'First, there is lunch, then supper.'

(65) *Snačala u nas idet anglijskij, potom*

first by we.GEN goes[walks] English.NOM then

matematika, a potom poslednij urok.

math.NOM but then last.NOM lesson.NOM

'We have first English, then Math, and then the last lesson.'

4. Semantics of Russian *idti* and the problem of goal-bias

Summing up the semantic analysis of *idti*, we can recognize that it is used to express not only a particular manner of motion, but also a special type of non-arbitrary motion determined by a definite goal or itinerary. Naturally, in generalized contexts the frequency of goal of the movement is very high as compared to the corresponding classifying verbs. It can be seen even from the examples given in the previous sections: nearly all of them overtly express the goal.

This could be considered a realization of the so-called *goal-over-source-principle*, or *goal-bias*. It is well known that there is an asymmetry between Source and Goal roles in the situation of movement: the Goal is cognitively more important than the Source, and this fact is reflected in natural language structures (Verspoor et al. 1999: 98). Bourdin 1997 has shown that goal-bias is typologically universal: in particular, the expression of the Goal tends to be morphologically simpler than that of the Source. As concerns the cognitive interpretation of this linguistic fact, it is clear that the Goal is the main direction and, as a rule, it constitutes the rheme of the utterance (Ferm 1990: 55 ff.). Moreover, using information about the Goal, one can reconstruct the whole situation of motion (Ikegami 1987: 135, Ungerer & Schmidt 1996: 225). In fact, if a moving object changes one location (Source) for another (Goal), it means that the latter is the reason for the movement itself. So, in most situations information about the Goal is perceived as new and cognitively important, and consequently it has to be overtly expressed in the text.

The problem with the goal-bias principle is that, when applied to all possible verbs of motion in all natural languages, it yields different results: for example, within one and

the same language different verbs of motion show surprisingly different frequencies of Goal expressed in the corpus. Thus, as demonstrated in our previous work (Majsak, Rakhilina 1999), Russian *idti* expresses the Goal nearly three times more frequently than *plyt'* ('swim/sail/float') and five times more frequently than *skakat'* ('gallop/hop'). The distribution is the following: the Goal is expressed in 22% of the contexts for *idti*[xiii], in 8.2% of the contexts for *plyt'* and in 4.3% of the contexts for *skakat'*, though each of these words displays the general effect of goal-bias: in the examined corpus the Source is expressed much more rarely than the Goal (2.6% for *idti*, 0% for both *plyt'* and *skakat'*).

My point is that the difference in the behavior of verbs of motion is based on and could be explained by their individual semantic properties, which influence the way the goal-bias principle is realized in each case. This claim presupposes an in-depth semantic analysis of verbal lexemes. However different these cases may be, at least for Russian *idti* one can state that the effect of goal-bias is strongly supported by the generalized uses already containing the idea of a goal in their semantic structure[xiv].

5. The place of *idti* in Fillmore's classification

Theoretically, the situation with Russian *idti* is not trivial. According to the well-known classification of verbs of motion proposed in Fillmore 1966, 1975, and 1983, the main distinction is between Goal-oriented verbs (like English *come*) and Source-oriented verbs (like English *go*). If one asks "When are you coming", the answer "In the morning" will correspond to the moment of arrival (= achieving the Goal). On the other hand, the same sentence used as an answer to a question like "When are you leaving?" will correspond to the moment of departure (= leaving the Source). If we try to apply this classification to Russian, we can state that Russian clearly opposes the prefixed verbs *prijti* ('come') and *ujti* ('go'), while the basic non-prefixed verb *idti* is assigned an intermediate position. It means that a question like *Kogda ty ideš'?* is most likely interpreted as 'When are you walking <and not running>?' (cf. Rakhilina 1990: 91-99). At the same time, it is not an accident that the standard translation for Russian *idti* into English is 'go', and not 'come' or 'walk': questions containing the Goal refer to the starting point of the movement and mean 'When are you leaving?', like in *Kogda ty ideš' domoj?* 'When are you going home?'. Hence Russian *idti* should be considered to be a neutral verb with a slight tendency toward Source-orientation.

The "temporal" test gives the same result for the generalized uses in (66)-(67):

(66) *Kogda   poezd   idet   v   Peterburg?*
     when   train.NOM   goes[walks]   in   Petersburg.ACC
     'When does the train leave (lit. 'go') for Petersburg?'

(67) *Kogda   poezd   idet   medlenno?*
     when   train.NOM   goes[walks]   slowly
     'When does the train move (lit. 'go') slowly?' = 'What is the period of time when ...'

This test clearly shows that the generalized contexts must be classified as neutral or Source-oriented as well. (It should be noted that in many cases the "temporal test" is not applicable to the generalized uses of *idti*. For example the questions of this type about stationary objects are impossible, so that one cannot say: **Kogda idet užin/lestnica vniz/kačeli...?*, lit. 'When does the dinner/stairs/swing go?'.)

However, as amply demonstrated above, the generalized uses of *idti* (unlike those requiring classifying verbs) emphasize the idea of "purpose" or "destination", and therefore they should be Goal-oriented. Could this really be the case?

In the remainder of the article I continue the discussion of the semantic behavior of *idti* in relation to its goal-bias properties. My main concerns are with deictic interpretations of the so-called "isolated" contexts and with the semantic relationship between Russian 'go' (*idti*) and 'come' (*prijti*).

6. *Idti* in the "isolated contexts": 'come' vs. 'go'

In what follows our attention is restricted to contexts which could be called "isolated", i.e. sentences with motion verbs where neither the Source nor the Goal are overtly expressed, so that the only participant present in the sentence is the moving subject. The most surprising fact is that when generalized *idti* appears in isolated contexts, it denotes a motion *towards* the Goal (which turns out to be the implicit location of the speaker), but never as a motion from the Source, and therefore should be translated, for example, into English as *come* and not as *go,* as contexts like (68) clearly show.

(68) *Oj!   Moj   tramvaj   idet!*
oh   my.NOM   tram.NOM   goes[walks]
'Oh! My tram is coming!' [≠ *'is leaving']

This fact cannot be explained within the traditional lexicographic account, but it can be interpreted as a "trace" of goal-bias properties of the generalized *idti* just discussed.

Let us consider some other examples of isolated contexts with *idti*, where the same effect is illustrated by derived and metaphorical uses.

(69) *Dym   idet   <ot   očaga>.*
smoke.NOM   goes[walks]   from   fireplace.GEN
'There is smoke coming from the fireplace.'

(70) *Teplo/   zapax   idet.*
heat.NOM   smell.NOM   goes[walks]
'Heat/smell is coming.'

Compare also (71), representing the standard formula used when a court of law begins session.

(71) *Vstat'!   Sud   idet!*
get.up   court.NOM   goes[walks]
'All rise! Court is in session!'

Further examples of *idti* denoting an "approaching" to the speaker are:

(72) *Dožd'/   sneg/   grad   idet.*
rain.NOM   snow.NOM   hail.NOM   goes[walks]
'It is raining/snowing/hailing.'

(73) *Voda   [ne] idet   <iz   krana>.*
water.NOM   NEG   goes[walks]   from   tap.GEN
'Water is [not] running <from the tap>.'

(74) *Krov'*   *idet*   *<iz*   *rany>.*

     blood.NOM   goes[walks] from   wound.GEN

     'Blood is running <from a wound>.'

(75) *Slux*   *idet,*   *čto* ...

     rumour.NOM goes[walks] that

     'It is rumored that ... ' (lit, 'rumors go, that …'

Similarly, nouns are used in the contexts of *idti* with the meaning 'is approaching; will come soon' such as *vesna* 'spring', *zima* 'winter', *xolodá* 'cold', *smert'* 'death', *tif* 'typhus' [and other epidemics], and many others. Slightly more idiomatic (but still entirely in the above logic) are sentences like (76)-(78).

(76) *Son*   *ne*   *idet.*

     sleep.NOM NEG   goes[walks]

     'I cannot fall asleep.'

(77) *Procenty*   *idut.*

     interests.NOM   go[walk]

     'Interest is accruing.'

(78) *Karta*   *idet.*

     card.NOM   goes[walks]

     lit. 'The card goes' = 'somebody is lucky with cards, because the <right> cards are coming to him'.

Thus, we can assert that in the so-called "isolated" contexts (where neither Source nor Goal are overtly expressed), the generalized *idti* appears to be a synonym of the prefixed *prijti* ('come').

    It is true that this formulation simplifies the real situation in a way: actually, the shift of meaning of this kind becomes possible only in deictic sentences restricted to the present tense, which are both non-anaphoric and non-imperative. These restrictions are, however, quite natural. Let us consider several examples.

The anaphoric sentences presuppose that at least one of the roles (either the Goal or the Source) has already been fixed by the previous context, as in (79), where the Goal is clearly understood as 'into the fire'. So, anaphoric contexts are, strictly speaking, not isolated.

(79) *V   ogon'? Nu čto   ž!   Idi!   Ideš'?* (Okudžava)
 in fire.ACC well what.NOM EMPH go[walk] go[walk]
 'Into the fire? Well! Go! Are you going?' (sc. 'are you going *there = into the fire*?')

Second, it is difficult to imagine imperatives applied to the generalized *idti*: prototypically, imperatives are associated with animate addressees, while typical subjects of the generalized *idti* are inanimate. Notice that imperative constructions with the non-generalized *idti*, describing a movement of a person are interpreted as a movement *from* the speaker, so that *Idi!* = 'go <away/somewhere, from the speaker's place>'. Examples such as (80)-(81) refer to the starting point as the place where both the speaker and the addressee are located.

(80) *Idi   v   buločnuju.*
 go[walk] in baker's.ACC
 'Go to the baker's.'

(81) *Idi   otsjuda!*
 Go[walk] from.here
 'Go away <from here>!'

This is similar to the imperatives from the Source-oriented verbs of motion, like *uxodi* 'go away' or *otojdi* 'go aside <from me>'. Hence it is semantically opposed to the imperatives formed from *prijti* ('come'): *prixodi* means 'come here' (implying movement towards the speaker). The latter interpretation is impossible for *idti*.

As for the present tense, it is known as the most "deictic", therefore present can easily support the isolated deictic contexts. Nevertheless, in many cases the isolated contexts with *idti* in the past favor the Goal-oriented interpretation as well. Thus, *šel zapax* (lit.,

'the smell was going') is interpreted in the same way as *idet zapax* (lit., 'the smell is going'), meaning 'it was/is approaching'.

There is one more pseudo-isolated context which should be definitely excluded from the further discussion: that of negative constructions like (82). The point is that in such case the Goal is fixed as being in the scope of a quantifier: it means that the object moves "nowhere". Notice that negation is the only possible context for these constructions as in (83). Hence, the place for the Goal is fixed (just as in the case of anaphoric contexts), and these constructions cannot be considered isolated either.

(82) *Bočka   zastrjala v   dverjax   i   ne   šla/   ne*
     barrel.NOM got.stuck in   doors.LOC and NEG went[walked] NEG
     idet   dal'še.
     go[walk]   further
     'The barrel got stuck in the door and would not go/will not go any further.'[xv]

(83) *Nakonec,   bočka   pošla/   *idet.*
     at.last   barrel.NOM   went[walked] go[walk]
     'At last, the barrel started to move forward.'

Anyway, taking into account these constraints, we can argue that there are cases when the generalized *idti* tends to be a typical Goal-oriented verb of motion like Russian prefixed verb *prijti* 'come'.

It is worth mentioning that in Russian, the relation of *idti* to *prijti* is also non-trivial: *prijti* lacks the actual present, so that it is impossible to say something like **smotri, on prixodit domoj* 'look, he is coming home' (Maslov 1948, Apresjan 1988). One could suppose that systemic factors force Russian *idti* into an empty lexical slot, and uses become possible such as *smotri, on idet domoj*, lit. 'look, he is going (= coming) home'. Another solution (based on the semantic specificity of the generalized *idti* described above) may be that the actual present of *prijti* is simply not needed, because the semantic and pragmatic factors mentioned here have contributed to the semantic shift of *idti* towards 'come' (in present tense contexts).

7. Conclusion

Some recent works (cf. Wilkins, Hill 1995, Goddard 1997) have shown that Fillmore's classification of verbs of motion simplifies the real situation in natural languages (including English). There are many more semantic features which can oppose the verbs of motion within one and the same language as well as the systems of verbs of motion of different languages.

This paper argues that the semantics of Russian *idti* 'go' is in many respects non-trivial. As a classifying verb (applying to people and animals), it is either neutral or Source-oriented. However, as a generalized verb which can substitute for other classifying verbs, it conveys the idea of determined, non-arbitrary motion and therefore displays properties of a Goal-oriented verb. At the same time, it remains a "weak" Goal-oriented verb, because it can still pass the "temporal test" for Source-oriented verbs. However, the goal-bias tendency proper to generalized *idti* forces this verb towards "strong" goal-oriented interpretations – at least in the deictic contexts, where neither the Source nor the Goal are overtly expressed.

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[i] As Talmy (2000) would have it, Russian makes use of special "lexicalization patterns", labeled as "motion + manner conflation" and "motion + figure conflation".

[ii] For the purposes of the present article, *pereme‰õat'sja* is represented as 'move[be transporeted]' and *dvigat'sja* as 'move[be in motion]' in morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of linguistic examples.

[iii] Viberg (1996) discusses a similar problem of different verbal substitutes for English *go* and Swedish *gå*.

[iv] Cf. the well-known semantic description of this meaning given in Apresjan (1974: 108): 'to move from Y to Z using both feet in turn, so that permanent contact with the surface is maintained'.

[v] Throughout the article, *idti* is glossed as 'go[walk]' and *exat'* as 'go[ride]' in morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of linguistic examples.

[vi] These contexts often call for the notion of "abstract motion"; for more detail, see below, section 3.

[vii] A sentence like (13) may be uttered, for example, when explaining to someone how to get somewhere.

[viii] The property I refer to as "goal-orientation is closely related to the PATH image schema discussed in the contributions by Israeli, Janda and Nesset to this volume.

[ix] *Kuda glaza gljadjat* (lit., 'where the eyes are looking') is a Russian idiom describing an aimless motion (roughly corresponding to English *following one's nose*).

[x] To avoid possible confusion, it should be stressed that the semantic opposition just discussed between non-arbitrary *exat'* and goal-oriented *idti* is not to be identified with a well-known opposition of the type *idti ~ xodit'* and *exat' ~ ezdit'*, which relates to iterativity (more specifically, motion in various directions) or habituality and is expressed by grammatical means in most Slavic languages. In Russian, both *idti* and *exat'* have this iterative/habitual counterpart.

[xi] *·la* is a past suppletive form of 3 SG FEM from *idti*.

[xii] The notion of observer as a deictic component in the semantics of Russian constructions containing oblongs like 'path' or 'road' was discussed at length in Apresjan (1980: 60-61; cf. also Rakhilina 2000: 160 and 239-240). The same effects have been repeatedly noted for the notorious English *over*-constructions of the type *to live over the bridge* (see Langacker 1987, Brugman & Lakoff 1988).

[xiii] Notice that similar calculations done for other languages will yield different results. Thus, according to Stefanowitsch, Rohde (1999), in English the Goal is expressed in 77% of cases, i.e., three times more than in Russian. This is due to the fact that Russian has special verbal prefixes to express goal-oriented motion, while English *go* covers the goal-oriented domain alone.

[xiv] On the other hand, the very existence of this specific meaning could, in turn, be considered a consequence of the goal-bias principle.

[xv] As in the case for tools and instruments, this construction presupposes a human operator. This might suggest a translation of *ne idet* as 'is not able to be moved/rolled'. Levin & Rappoport (1992) introduce a

special feature DEC (=direct external cause) to describe a similar effect of the meaning shift in some

English verbs; however, according to their data, the English *go*, unlike Russian *idti*, is never characterized

as +DEC.