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Non-literal and non-metaphorical uses of Danish *komme* 'come': A case study

Drawing the borderline between literal, metonymical and metaphorical uses of lexical units is by no means a trivial enterprise and a number of attempts have been made to establish intermediate categories between these. Opinions seem to be divided on how the literal meaning of lexical items can be determined, and on how to separate metaphorical uses of lexical items from non-metaphorical ones. However there seem to exist uses of lexical items that fall between these two categories. The present article concentrates on such uses of the Danish verb *komme* 'come' and discusses whether the notion of metonymy is appropriate to characterise these. It is assumed that every lexical item has its own linguistic meaning which consists of the elements of the particular conceptual domain or an idealized cognitive model (ICM) that the lexical unit belongs to – in this case the motion-ICM. The ICM has some obligatory elements and it can have non-obligatory elements. The literal use of the lexical item must contain all the obligatory elements of the ICM it belongs to, and additionally some other elements – from the non-obligatory elements of the ICM – which define them in relation to other lexical items belonging to the same ICM. Which additional element(s) belong to its literal meaning beside the obligatory elements of the ICM, must be determined for every lexical item separately. Metaphorical uses are derived through mapping the ICM the item belongs to on another, usually more abstract ICM. The most fundamental elements of the item's linguistic meaning – in our case motion and moving object – are missing in the metaphorical uses. Beside literal and metaphorical uses there are several uses of lexical items that do not fall in either of these categories. These can be regarded as metonymical if the notion of metonymy is interpreted wider than traditionally, that is stating that metonymical uses of the lexical unit can be derived from the literal meaning through taking away from or adding to its elements.

Key words: metaphor, metonymy, literal meaning, linguistic meaning

1. Introduction

Literal meaning, metonymy and metaphor are well-known terms, but they are defined in quite different ways, and often not defined very clearly. It is commonly known that drawing the borderline between literal, metonymical and metaphorical uses of words is no trivial task, and it is no wonder that we note several attempts to establish intermediate categories between these in order to find the most appropriate categorisation possible (cf. Goossens 1990, Ruiz de Mendoza 2000, Radden 2002, and Riemer 2002).

The present case study is a part of a larger work on the semantics of Danish and Hungarian motion verbs. The focus will be on those uses of the Danish verb *komme* 'come' that appear to be neither literal nor metaphorical, with particular reference to the question whether the term "metonymical" is appropriate to characterise these.

It is assumed in the present paper that each lexical item has a lexical meaning – an abstract category, determined by the linguist or lexicographer – in addition to which there are other non-literal uses, derived from the literal meaning by different semantic processes.

2. Carving up the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum

Literal, metonymical and metaphorical uses of words can be thought of as a continuum that Radden (2002: 408) calls the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum. In order to illustrate this let us take a look at the following set of examples with the Danish verb *komme*.[1]

(1)   Se, der *kommer* min bror!
      'Look, there comes my brother!'

(2)   …en kat der *kommer* når mørket kalder på den.
      '…a cat that comes when the darkness calls her.'

(3)   Dér midt i ørkenen *kommer* en sporvogn i to etager med flagrende sæk-kelærred over…
      'There in the middle of the desert a double-decker tram with a waving sack cloth over it is coming…'

(4)   Han ønsker blot at vandet *kom* snart for at se et vådt stykke træ, …
      'His only wish is, that water would come soon, to see a peace of wet wood,…'

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[1] The examples are from the corpus of Syddansk Universitet, accessible on the internet, except for (1) and (11), and (23) and (33), respectively, which are taken from personal conversations, and (32), which is from Korpus 2000 of Den Danske Ordbog.

(5) … en lille hofdame, som *kom løbende* i sidste øjeblik…
'… a little lady-in-waiting who came running in the last second…'

(6) Højt oppe kunne jeg se et rockerhoved *komme flyvende*.
'Up in the high I could see a rockerhead coming flying.'

(7) Fra gravene *kommer* en sortklædt kvinde *gående*.
'From the graves there is a black clothed woman coming on foot.'

(8) Derfor var vi *kommet kravlende* ind ad bagdøren.
'Therefore we came crawling in through the back door.'

(9) Nacib beklagede, at aviserne først *kom* senere, …
'Nacib complained that the newspapers came only later…'

(10) Det så ud som om han alligevel aldrig var *kommet* til København for at studere.
'It looked as if he anyway hadn't ever come to Copenhagen to study.'

(11) Undskyld, hvordan *kommer* jeg til hovedbanegården?
'Excuse me, how can I come to the central railway station?'

(12) I '43 *kom* hun til Ravensbrück og derfra til Buchenwald,…
'In '43 she came to Ravensbrück and from there to Buchenwald,…'

(13) Der var *kommet* snaps på bordet, og under fiskefilletten fortalte Lyø om en aften i Grøften for år tilbage…
'Brandy came on the table, and while eating the fish fillet Lyø told about an evening in Grøften one year before…'

(14) I de barer, hvor han var *kommet* som den store cowboy, lå der en vis afslappet foragt i elitens holdning.
'In those bars, where he used to go as the big cowboy, there was a kind of calm disdain in the mentality of the elite.'

(15) Isen   *kommer* jeg   i   mine   sjusser.
Ice-the   come   I   into my-PL   drinks
'I put the ice into my drinks.'

(16) Han kan for hans skyld gøre, hvad han vil, indtil der *kommer* nærmere ordrer fra London.
'For his sake he can do what he wants until more precise instructions come from London.'

(17) Man har sagt, at der ikke er *kommet* ret store bidrag til verdenskulturen fra Caribien.
'It was said, that there hasn't come really large contributions to the culture of the world from the Caribbean.'

(18) Når løvenummeret *kommer*, falder et tungt jerngitter raslende ned rundt om manegen…
'When the lions' number comes, heavy iron bars fall down around the arena…'

(19) Da ulandene var tværet ud, og de fattige i de rige lande u-landiseret, var tiden *kommet* til tretrinsrakettens sidste trin.
'After the developing countries were humbled, and the poor in the rich countries were pushed back to the level of developing countries, the time came to the third phase of the three phase missiles.'

(20) Jorden får nyt liv, frugtbarheden *kommer* igen til dyr og mennesker.
'The earth gets new life, fertility comes again to animals and humans.'

(21) Men vi *kommer* væk fra emnet: Dem!
'But we are coming away from the topic: you!'

At first sight it can be noticed, that the verb *komme* appears with a broad range of subjects, such as humans (1, 5, 7-8, 10-12, 14, 21), animals (2), fluids (3), objects (4), events (18), time (19), etc. In most of the cases *komme* is intransitive, but it can also be used transitively (15). *Komme* appears in the fixed expression *komme V-ende* 'come V-ing' (5-8). It can be used deictically (1-9, 16-21), and non-deictically (10-15), to denote self-propelled motion (1-8), as well as non-self propelled one (9, 13, 15-17).

It would be an easy solution to think of this continuum as indivisible, but here an attempt will be made to find some regularity in it and give a possible way of carving it up.

Before attempting an analysis of the examples, let us first look at the notion of literalness. The literal meaning of a lexical item, when interpreted in relation to other lexical items, has a function of distinguishing its meaning from the meaning of other lexical items in the same lexical field, which translated to our case means that the literal meaning of Danish *komme* 'come' should enable the linguist to distinguish it from *gå* 'go' and other verbs in the motion field.

The literal meaning exhibits another aspect, when interpreted in relation to other non-literal meanings of the same lexical item. Bierwisch (1979: 140f) submits that a lexical item is used literally when used in a context compatible with its linguistic meaning ('sprachlich determinierte Bedeutung'). When the context is not compatible with the linguistic meaning of the item, it is used metaphorically. He does not make use of the notion of metonymy, but according to his work, every lexical item must have

a linguistic meaning that ought to be described separately, and which thus makes it possible to determine in each concrete case whether the actual use is literal or not.[2]

Cognitive linguistic literature describes non-literal uses of lexical units, among other things, in terms of metonymy and metaphor. According to traditional approaches, metonymy differs from metaphor in that it involves contiguity, metaphor being based on similarity. Contiguity is here assumed to include any associative relations other than those based on similarity (Ullmann 1962: 121). The key words here are contiguity and similarity, but these are vague in themselves and they cannot be accepted as decisive criteria in deciding what counts as a metonymy, and what is a metaphor.

Definitions of metaphor and metonymy by cognitive linguists are based on the notion of conceptual domains or ICMs:

> A conceptual domain is any coherent knowledge about journeys (or other topics – the author's comment) that we rely on in understanding life. (Kövecses 2002: 4)

Lakoff gives the following definitions:

> … metaphoric mapping involves a source domain and a target domain. […] The mapping is typically partial. It maps the structure in the source domain onto a corresponding structure in the target domain.

> … a metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain which is structured by an ICM. (Lakoff 1987: 288)

This means that two distinct conceptual domains are involved in a metaphor, mapping proceeding from one to the other, while in a metonymy the mapping takes place within a single domain. In order to arrive at watertight definitions of metaphor and metonymy, the exact borders between domains should previously determined, which is not the case.

The literature on metonymy and metaphor shows that they are both abstraction processes that work in a very similar fashion. Although there are clear examples of either phenomenon, it appears that no clear borderlines can be drawn between metaphor and metonymy in general. Kövecses (2002) gives following diagrams for metonymic and metaphoric relationships.

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[2] According to Bierwisch, a lexical item can have more than one linguistic meanings, and one linguistic meaning can be realised in several different contexts, where the lexical item carries a slightly different meaning, but is still a realisation of the same linguistic meaning of the lexical item. None of his examples are shown here, since he mostly uses nouns as examples.
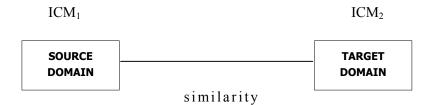
ICM$_1$ ICM$_2$

| SOURCE DOMAIN |————————| TARGET DOMAIN |

si m i l a r i t y

Figure 1. Metaphoric relationship
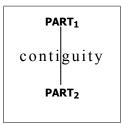
PART$_1$

c o n t i g u i t y

PART$_2$

Figure 2. Metonymic relationship

Since the focus of the present study is a particular motion verb in Danish, let us now look at how this works in the case of motion verbs in particular. Motion can be seen as a cognitive domain (ICM). The domain has a number of parts, as follows:

MOTION
MOVING OBJECT
(CAUSE OF MOTION)

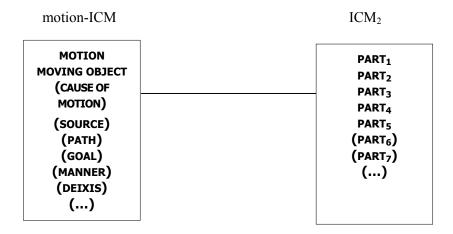(SOURCE)
(PATH)
(GOAL)
(MANNER)
(DEIXIS)
(...)

Figure 3. Motion ICM

The ICM contains the parts of the motion event. According to Talmy (1985) the motion event consists of 'motion' – in the sense of the change of location in time, where the moving object at time t_n is located at a certain place p_n, and at a later time t_{n+1} at an other place p_{n+1} –, a 'moving object', 'source', 'path' and 'goal'. 'Cause of motion' has also been considered to be a part of the ICM, since every motion is actually caused by some kind of force, which can be the power of the moving object itself or a different source of power. Section 3.3. below will justify this procedure. 'Manner' is also a part of the ICM, since every motion happens in a certain manner. 'Deixis' is an optional part of the ICM, since not every motion is deictic.

The literal meaning of a motion verb according to such a definition must always contain motion as one of its elements. The moving object – in most of the cases expressed by the subject, sometimes by the object of the verb – is also necessarily present when the verb is used literally. The remaining parts of the ICM are not obligatory in the literal meaning of every motion verb, it is for this reason that they have been enclosed in brackets. Source, path and goal can be expressed through adverbials that are optional. If they are not expressed in the sentence they can be unknown or unimportant. In some cases the literal meaning of a verb can contain source, path or goal, e.g. Danish *afgå* 'depart' contains source, *ankomme* 'arrive' contains goal. The literal meanings of some motion verbs, such as *komme* 'come' and *gå* 'go', include deixis, while the meaning of others include the manner of motion, such as *sprinte* 'sprint', *sjokke* 'shamble', *liste* 'tiptoe'. Further, some verbs include information on the number of the moving objects: *defilere* 'march', *marchere* 'march'. And, of course, other factors can be included in the literal meanings of motion verbs, too – this explains the three dots at the end of the list, suggesting it is open-ended.

In terms of the ICM-model, the following can be assumed about the meaning structure of motion verbs. The literal meaning has to be defined separately for each motion verb. An occurrence of a motion verb can be called literal, when motion, a moving object, and all the other elements obligatory in the linguistic meaning of the particular motion verb are present in it. These elements make it possible to distinguish the literal meaning of each verb from other verbs within the motion field.

In the metaphorical uses of motion verbs the motion-ICM is mapped onto another domain, usually more abstract than the motion domain. The following figure shows the motion ICM on the left side, as shown above. ICM_2 on the right side is an ICM that the motion ICM is mapped on. It contains some obligatory parts (1-5) as well as some optional parts (6-7, etc.):
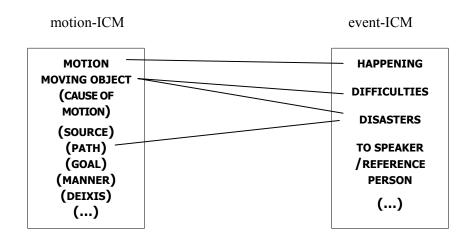
motion-ICM   ICM$_2$

MOTION MOVING OBJECT (CAUSE OF MOTION) (SOURCE) (PATH) (GOAL) (MANNER) (DEIXIS) (…)		PART$_1$ PART$_2$ PART$_3$ PART$_4$ PART$_5$ (PART$_6$) (PART$_7$) (…)

Figure 4.

The mappings are of course partial, which means, that just some of the elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. The following sentence is an example of metaphoric use of *komme*:

(22)   …det er med genvordigheder som med ulykker, de *kommer* sjældent alene.
        'It is the same with difficulties as with disasters, they rarely come alone.'

The subjects of the verb are *genvordigheder* 'difficulties' and *ulykker* 'disasters'. These are abstract entities which can not move in the physical sense. If there is no motion involved in the event, and the event does not even indicate motion, then the use of the verb must be metaphorical. Figure 5. below represents the metaphor. This is an example for deictic metaphoric use of the verb *komme*. The motion domain is mapped onto the domain of events, which in this case is made more concrete, i.e. moving entities are difficulties and disasters. Deixis is mapped onto the target domain, since events and disasters happen to the speaker or the person he refers to – the deictic centre of the motion in the source domain. The mapping is partial, because source, path, goal etc. are not mapped onto the target domain in this case.

It can be concluded that cases involving another domain that the motion-ICM is mapped on in which there is no motion going on in the physical sense are considered as metaphoric.

motion-ICM   event-ICM

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┌─────────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────────┐
│     MOTION          │─────────│     HAPPENING       │
│  MOVING OBJECT      │          │                     │
│   (CAUSE OF         │          │   DIFFICULTIES      │
│    MOTION)          │          │                     │
│   (SOURCE)          │          │    DISASTERS        │
│    (PATH)           │          │                     │
│    (GOAL)           │          │   TO SPEAKER        │
│   (MANNER)          │          │   /REFERENCE        │
│   (DEIXIS)          │          │    PERSON           │
│     (...)           │          │     (...)           │
└─────────────────────┘          └─────────────────────┘
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Figure 5.

There are however cases that do not fit in either the category of the literal or the metaphorical uses. Such are cases where, on the one hand, one or more elements are missing from the literal meaning of the word, or, on the other hand, when additional elements appear in comparison with the literal meaning (but there is no other conceptual domain involved than the motion ICM). After a presentation and an analysis of some literal and metaphorical uses, the remaining examples will be analysed and the possibility will be considered that they could be considered as metonymical.

3. The literal meaning of *komme*

The literal meaning of *komme* by definition contains the elements motion and the moving object. In order to establish other obligatory elements of its literal meaning let us look at the definition given in the Politikens Nudansk Ordbog (1999): *bevæge sig hen til et sted* 'move to(wards) a place'.

The following examples are given to illustrate the meaning of the verb:

(23) *Kommer* I så?   'Are you coming then?'

(24) Ja, nu *kommer* vi.   'Yes, we are coming now.'

(25) Han *kommer* aldrig til tiden.   'He never comes on time.'

(26) Han *kom* for sent til toget.   'He came too late to the train.'

(27) Hvornår *kommer* du hjem?   'When will you come home?'

(28)	Der *kommer* gæster i dag.	'Guests will come today' (lit. There will come guests today)
(29)	Hvem *kommer* i aften?	'Who comes this evening?'
(30)	Vi *kommer* ikke sådanne steder.	'We don't go to such places.'
(31)	*Kom* indenfor!	'Come in!'

The subject of the verb is human in each example and moves by its own power, therefore the motion is considered to be self-propelled motion, which is an obligatory part of its literal meaning.

There is no example in the dictionary in which the source or the path is expressed, these can be expressed optionally. An example where the source of the motion is expressed is:

(32) Jamen, jeg kommer lige fra Vesterport, og de sagde, at jeg skulle gå herover fordi det brændte på Vesterport Station! (Korpus 2000)
'Yes, but I am just coming from Vesterport, and they told me to go over here because it was a fire at Vesterport Station!'

Goal is expressed in (26) and (30). According to the definition, *komme* means 'move to(wards) a place', which means that the motion has a certain direction. As (32) shows, this direction is not necessarily a concrete goal, much more a deictic reference point which can for instance be identical with the location of the speaker (23), the hearer (24), or a place where neither the speaker nor the hearer are present at the utterance time, but which is the home base of the speaker (27) if the speaker is not located at his home at utterance time. For a description of possible deictic reference points in the case of English *come* and *go* see Fillmore (1997), and for German *kommen* and *gehen* see Di Meola (1994). Another argument in favour of the assumption that the deictic reference point should be considered as an obligatory part of the meaning of *komme* is that it differentiates it from the meaning of *gå* 'go'. The relevant meaning of this verb is defined in Nudansk Ordbog as: *bevæge sig et sted hen* 'move to(wards) a place' which is nearly the same as the definition of *komme*. The difference is that while *komme* expresses motion towards a deictic reference point, *gå* expresses motion away from a deictic reference point, as in the following examples given by Nudansk Ordbog:

(33) Jeg bliver nødt til at gå nu.
'I have to go now.'

(34) Skal du allerede gå?
'Do you already have to go?'

In (33) the speaker expresses the idea that he has to leave the place where he is located at utterance time, in (34) the speaker addresses a question to the hearer

whether he has to leave the place of utterance. There are no restrictions on the manner of motion concerning *komme*.

To summarise, the following elements of the literal meaning of *komme* have been identified: motion and a moving object which are elements obligatory for each motion verb, self propelled motion and motion towards a deictic reference point.

3.1. *The most common literal use of* komme

As an example of the literal use of *komme*, cf. example (35).[3]

    (35)   Se, der *kommer* min bror!
           'Look, there comes my brother!'

In (35) there is clearly motion going on, the moving object is a human being moving by self-propelled motion towards a deictic reference point, namely the location of the speaker and the hearer at utterance time. This could be called the prototypical literal use of the verb. The deictic reference point can be modified in several ways, but this is not the concern of the present study. As mentioned above in point 3, the possible deictic reference points in the case of English *come* and *go* are described by Fillmore (1997), in the case of German *kommen* and *gehen* by Di Meola (1994).

3.2. *Non-human subjects*

The verb *komme* can be used in connection with non-human subjects, for example animals (36), vehicles (37) and fluids (38):

    (36) …en kat der *kommer* når mørket kalder på den.
           '…a cat that comes when the darkness calls her.'

    (37) Dér midt i ørkenen *kommer* en sporvogn i to etager med flagrende sæk-
           kelærred over…
           'There in the middle of the desert a double-decker tram with a waving sack cloth over it is coming…'

    (38) Han ønsker blot at vandet *kom* snart for at se et vådt stykke træ, …
           'His only wish is, that water would come soon, to see a peace of wet wood,…'

In these uses the type of motion described by *komme* is different as in the case of human subjects. In spite of this, they can not be called metonymical, since the

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[3] From here onward, the examples (1-21) are analysed, but are repeated and renumbered for the sake of clarity.

elements of the linguistic meaning of *komme* are all present in them. A moving object is moving towards a deictic reference point by self propelled motion. Of course it can be doubted whether the motion of water and the tram is really self-propelled in a physical sense, but in linguistic sense it can be accepted as self-propelled. Since the manner of motion is not a part of the linguistic meaning of *komme*, the flowing motion of water and the rolling of the tram do not prevent these uses from being literal.

3.3. *The construction* komme *V*-ende

The construction *komme* V-*ende* 'come V-ing' consists of the verb komme and the present participle of another verb. This is a way of expressing aspect in Danish also possible with other motion verbs in the position of *komme*, such as *køre* 'drive' or *løbe* 'run'. *Komme* expresses deictic motion, the other verb expresses the manner of motion. This kind of coordination is an argument that *komme* in itself does not express the manner of motion. In this use the motion is self propelled and deictic:

(39)   … en lille hofdame, som *kom løbende* i sidste øjeblik…
'… a little lady-in-waiting, who came running in the last second…'

(40)   Højt oppe kunne jeg se et rockerhoved *komme flyvende*.
'Up high I could see a rockerhead coming flying.'

(41)   Fra gravene *kommer* en sortklædt kvinde *gående*.
'There is a woman dressed in black coming on foot from the graves.'

Beside *løbe* 'run', *flyve* 'fly' and *gå* 'go'[4], other verbs expressing the manner of motion can appear in the position of V, e.g. *rende* 'run', *hoppe* 'jump', *kravle* 'crawl', *vade* 'shuffle' and *humpe* 'limp'.

It is interesting to note, that the construction forms a unit that receives only a single stress, which falls on the participle so the finite verb remains unstressed (Jørgensen 2001). The function of such units with one stress is normally to build complex predicates with a complex semantic content (Nedergaard Thomsen 1992). In this sense it is doubtful whether this use of *komme* really can be regarded as literal, but it is possible from the point of view that the motion is deictic and self propelled.

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[4] It might seem strange that *gå* is a verb of manner of motion. The fact that it can be used together with *komme* in this construction, is one of the pieces of evidence that show that Danish *gå* is a verb of manner of motion. Another piece of evidence is that *gå* cannot be used together with adverbial phrases indicating a vehicle, which means that it can only be used to express motion on foot.

4. Some metaphorical uses of *komme*

As described above metaphorical uses are characterised by involving an other cognitive domain beside the motion-ICM. On metaphorical meanings of English *come* and *go* see Radden (1995), of German *kommen* and *gehen* see Di Meola (1994). First some clear cases of metaphor will be presented.

> (42) Når løvenummeret *kommer*, falder et tungt jerngitter raslende ned rundt om manegen…
> 'When the lions' number comes, heavy iron bars fall down around the arena…'

In (42) *komme* is used with an event in time as subject. This use is based on the underlying metaphor EVENTS ARE MOVING OBJECTS. The path of motion in the source domain corresponds to the time scale in the target. Events to happen in the future are moving objects that move towards the person who is expected to experience the event.

In (43) the subject of the motion verb is time. The use of *komme* is based on the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT. The source domain contains a moving object that reaches goals on its way. The moving object in the target domain is time, the goals reached are the phases of the three phase missiles:

> (43) Da ulandene var tværet ud, og de fattige i de rige lande u-landiseret, var tiden *kommet* til tretrinsrakettens sidste trin.
> 'After the developing countries were humbled, and the poor in the rich countries were pushed back to the level of developing countries, the time came to the third phase of the three phase missiles.'

In example (44) the subject of the verb is an abstract entity namely fertility which is viewed as a moving object:

> (44) Jorden får nyt liv, frugtbarheden *kommer* igen til dyr og mennesker.
> 'The earth gets new life, fertility comes again to animals and humans.'

The goal of motion in the source domain of the metaphor in (44) corresponds to animals and humans in the target domain.

> (45) Men vi *kommer* væk fra emnet: Dem!
> 'But we are coming away from the topic: you!'

The metaphor underlying the use of *komme* in (45) could be called DISCUSSION IS MOTION, since speaker and hearer presumably speak with each other about the person of the hearer, but while they are speaking, they begin to speak about something else than their original topic. So the relevant parts of the source domain

are motion, the moving object and the path of motion. In the target domain the speaking persons correspond to the moving objects and the topic to the path, and the activity of discussing stands for motion. While the objects are moving, they are coming off track, they leave their original path.

The next two examples are not as clearly metaphorical as (42-45).

(46) Han kan for hans skyld gøre, hvad han vil, indtil der *kommer* nærmere ordrer fra London.
'For his sake he can do what he wants, until more precise instructions come from London.'

(47) Man har sagt, at der ikke er *kommet* ret store bidrag til verdenskulturen fra Caribien.
'It was said, that there haven't come really large contributions to the culture of the world from the Caribbean'

In (46) the subject of *komme* is some kind of information, the particular physical form of which is not precisely expressed in the sentence – and it is not relevant for the understanding of the sentence. If instructions are forwarded in the form of letters, then there is actually motion going on in the physical sense, and in this case it could not be interpreted metaphorically. But since instructions can also be forwarded through a messenger, by fax or e-mail, etc. it is not clear, whether there is a physical object moving somewhere. Another possibility is to see commands as events, and say that the verb is used metaphorically according to the same metaphor as (42).

The case is almost the same in (47), where financial contribution is being transferred. It is most likely, that the money is transferred by bank, where no motion is going on in the physical sense. Therefore this use is also interpreted as an event and thus as metaphorical.

5. Non-literal and non-metaphorical uses of *komme*

The following four uses of *komme* appear to be non-literal, because one or more elements of the literal meaning are missing and in some cases an additional element is added to the literal meaning. They are not metaphorical either, since motion is involved in all of them and there is no other cognitive domain involved than the motion-ICM. After providing an analysis of the examples the possibility of regarding as these as metonymical will be discussed.

5.1. *Non-self propelled motion*

Consider now the following example:

(48)   Nacib beklagede, at aviserne først *kom* senere, …
        'Nacib complained, that the newspapers came only later…'

In (48) there is motion going on and there are some moving objects, since the newspapers actually change their location. The motion is deictic, the deictic reference point being the place of the speaker at reference time. On the basis of this fact, this use could be seen as literal, but the fact that newspapers cannot come by "its own power", this is incompatible with the fact that it is no agent but rather the patient of the action. The motion is non-self propelled, because there has to be some outside force that makes the newspapers move to the destination.

5.2. *Non-deictic motion*

The verb *komme* in (49) can be interpreted in two ways:

(49)   Det så ud som om han alligevel aldrig var *kommet* til København for at studere.

It can be interpreted either deictically – the speaker is (or was) located in Copenhagen:

'It looked as if he anyway hadn't ever come to Copenhagen to study, but to do something else.'

or non-deictically – the location of the speaker is irrelevant:

'It looked as if he anyway hadn't ever managed to come to Copenhagen – where his aim had been to study, if he ever had come there.'

Like all the other non-deictic uses, it cannot be considered as literal, because the element of deixis is missing. This non-deictic reading of *komme* carries the meaning 'to be able to move somewhere overcoming an obstacle or a difficulty', which can be interpreted as an additional element compared to the linguistic meaning, which again means that this use cannot be literal. On a different interpretation of uses like (49), (50) and (51) in German see Di Meola (in press).

Example (50) illustrates the use of *komme* to express motion toward a certain aim. The focus is on the destination instead of the motion itself. In most of the cases the sentence contains a place adverb. A typical context for this use are route descriptions:

(50) Undskyld, hvordan *kommer* jeg til hovedbanegården?
'Excuse me, how can I come to the central railway station?'

The deictic interpretation of *komme* is almost out of question in (51), because of the fact that Buchenwald was a concentration camp where nobody was willing to go of her own free will. The meaning of the verb *komme* in this context could be paraphrased as 'get somewhere as a result of some force independent of one's own free will'.

(51) I '43 *kom* hun til Ravensbrück og derfra til Buchenwald,…
'In '43 she came to Ravensbrück and from there to Buchenwald,…'

Komme in (52) can be paraphrased as 'be put somewhere'. This sense is typically used together with food and drinks as subjects that "come" on the table.

(52) Der var *kommet* snaps på bordet, og under fiskefilletten fortalte Lyø om en aften i Grøften for år tilbage…
'Brandy came on the table, and while eating the fish fillet Lyø told about an evening in Grøften a year ago…'

The example has something in common with (48), namely that the motion is non-self propelled in both. But while *komme* in (48) is used deictically, here it is non-deictic: the moving object moves towards a concrete object, the table, and not a deictic reference point. (51) has on the other hand in common with (52) the fact that the result of the motion is important, while the motion itself is in the background.

5.3. *Regular motion*

Together with a local adverbial *komme* can be used for habitual situations, i.e. for motion taking place at regular intervals:

(53) I de barer, hvor han var *kommet* som den store cowboy, lå der en vis afslappet foragt i elitens holdning.
'In those bars, where he used to go as the big cowboy, there was a kind of calm disdain in the mentality of the elite.'

It might be argued that this use of *komme* is nothing special, because many other verbs can express either non-habitual or habitual aspect. Sentence (54) can for example mean either that he drinks now (non-habitual use) or that he usually drinks (habitual use).

(54) Han drikker.
'He drinks.'

Many other verbs that express an activity show the same alternation i.e. *ryge* 'smoke', *synge* 'sing', *kører bil* 'drive' etc. The difference between these verbs and *komme* is, that *komme* can not be used habitually on its own, only together with a local adverbial.

This use is non-deictic and is an interesting case also from a contrastive point of view, since the corresponding verbs in other Germanic languages for instance English *come* or German *kommen* can not be used to refer to regular motion.

5.4. *Caused motion in a transitive construction*

A similarly interesting case is where *komme* can express caused motion and where even the valency of the verb changes:

(55)   Isen   *kommer* jeg i   mine sjusser.
       Ice-the come   I   into   my-PL drinks
       'I put the ice into my drinks.'

What happens here is actually the transformation of the verb *komme* from an intransitive motion verb to a transitive motion verb. (55) is closely connected to (52), where the motion is non-self propelled, non-deictic and focussed on the result of the action. The only difference is that in (55) even the syntactic behaviour of the verb changes. While (52) can be paraphrased with the passive construction 'something is put somewhere' (55) with the active construction 'somebody puts something somewhere'. The same kind of alternation exists for instance in the case of English *roll*. On similar alternations see Levin (1998).

This use of *komme* seems quite unusual for non-native speakers of Danish, nevertheless it often appears in cookbooks. The dictionary of the contemporary Danish language (*Politikens Nudansk Ordbog* 1999) provides three examples: *komme sukker i kaffen* 'put sugar into the coffee', *komme marmelade på brødet* 'put marmelade on the bread' and *komme nyt tapet på væggene* 'put new wallpaper on the wall'. Even though this use seems to be very far away from the literal use, it is not metaphorical, because no other domain than the motion-ICM is involved.

After having analysed examples (48-55), the theoretical question arises how to classify them, since they appear to be non-literal and non-metaphorical. One possibility is to say, that the continuum between literal and metaphorical uses is indivisible, and these lie somewhere in between the two poles. Another possibility is to interpret the notion of metonymy somewhat wider than the traditional interpretation and state that any non-literal and non-metaphorical use of a lexical item that lacks some elements or contains additional elements in comparison to its literal meaning is metonymical since it expresses only a part of the literal meaning.

6. Summary

Different uses of the Danish motion verb *komme* have been described while it was assumed, that every lexical unit has its own literal meaning which consists of the obligatory and one or more non-obligatory elements of the particular cognitive domain (ICM) that the lexical unit belongs to – in this case the motion-ICM. Metaphorical uses are derived through mapping the ICM the unit belongs onto another, usually more abstract ICM. The most fundamental elements of the unit's linguistic meaning – in our case motion and moving object – are missing in the metaphorical uses. There are several uses of the verb that are neither literal nor metaphorical. These can be regarded as metonymical if the notion of metonymy is interpreted wider than traditionally that is stating that metonymical uses of the lexical unit can be derived from the literal meaning through taking away from or adding to its elements.

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NEDOSLOVNE I NEMETAFORIČKE PORABE DANSKOG GLAGOLA *KOMME* 'DOĆI'

Razlučivanje doslovne, metaforičke i metonimijske porabe leksičkih jedinica nije trivijalan poduhvat, a bilježimo više pokušaja u literaturi da se uspostave međukategorije. Podijeljena su mišljenja o tome kako odrediti doslovno značenje leksema te kako odvojiti metaforička značenja od nemetaforičkih. Čini se da postoje i neka značenja leksema koja bi bila između tih dviju mogućnosti. U ovom se prilogu proučavaju takve porabe danskog glagola *komme* 'doći' te razmatra podobnost metonimije u njihovoj karakterizaciji. Polazi se od toga da svaki leksem ima svoje vlastito lingvističko značenje koje sadrži elemente određene konceptualne domene ili idealiziranog kognitivnog modela (IKM) kojemu leksem pripada – u ovom slučaju IKM-u kretanja. IKM sadrži neke obvezne elemente, ali tu mogu biti i neobvezni elementi. Pri doslovnoj porabi leksičke jedinice moraju biti prisutni svi obvezni elementi IKM-a kojemu pripada te neki dodatni elementi koji imaju razlikovnu ulogu prema drugim leksemima koji spadaju u isti IKM. Za svaki leksem mora se posebno definirati koji dodatni elementi spadaju u doslovno značenje pored obveznih elemenata. Metaforičke porabe nastaju preslikavanjima IKM-a kojemu leksem pripada na neki drugi IKM, obično neki apstraktniji model. U metaforičkoj porabi nedostaju najtemeljniji elementi lingvističkog značenja – u našem slučaju element kretanja i objekt koji se kreće. Pored doslovne i metaforičke porabe glagola *komme*, nalazimo i nekoliko poraba koje ne spadaju ni u jednu od tih dviju kate-

gorija. One se mogu smatrati metonimijama ako prihvatimo određenje metonimije koje je nešto šire od tradicionalnog, tj. ako pretpostavimo da do metonimijske porabe može doći izostavljanjem ili dodavanjem elemenata.

Ključne riječi: metafora, metonimija, doslovno značenje, lingivističko značenje