モンゴル語の具格形

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The Instrumental in Mongolian

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The purpose of this article is to construct a systematic network after reclassifying multiple senses of the instrumental and detecting their linkage motivations from the cognitive perspective. In that case, taking into consideration the results of many cognitive linguistic studies, we will explicate the whole picture of the senses.

Keywords: Instrumental, Semantic Network, Extension, Motivation

1 INTRODUCTION

The instrumental in Mongolian (the Khalkha dialect) is formed with the instrumental suffix *-aar* being added to a noun stem. [1]

(1) a. *am* 'mouth' + *-aar* → *am-aar* 'with the mouth'
  b. *mod* 'wood' + *-oor* → *mod-oor* 'with wood'

Most of the previous studies have mentioned multiple senses for the instrumental. For example, Street(1962:218-219) differentiates the following eleven senses and explains their usage in sentences: <Means/Instrument>; <Material>; <Agent>; <Accord>; <Vague Local>; <Status/State>; <Respect>; <Time>; <Manner>;<Distributive>; <Purpose/Fitness>.

His classification and explanation, however, have serious defects in two respects.

First, there are some examples that don't necessarily represent the senses assigned to

them. Rather, it seems to be more appropriate for them to join another sense item. As an illustration, consider the sentences which Street(1962:218) classifies as <Means/Instrument>: [2]

(2) a. *Ter shoj-g-oor bich-ne.* [3]
    he chalk-EP-INS write-PRS
    'He'll write with chalk.'
  b. *Chi yamar zam-aar yav-a-v?* [4]
    you what road-INS go-EP-PST
    'By what road did you go?'
  c. *tanaj tuslamzh-aar*
    your help-INS
    'thanks to your help'

While (2a) certainly belongs to <Means/Instrumental>, (2b) and (2c) enter into <Path for Motion> and <Reason>, respectively.

Second, Street(1962) just enumerates multiple senses of the instrumental, but fails to mention their relationships among one another. Why are there so many senses in a single form called 'instrumental'? Should we understand the senses as being polysemous? Or

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* Common Subject Division

can we find out factors linking them to a semantic network?

In fact, other famous works besides Street (1962), Vietze (1978:65), Poppe (1951:64-65), Luvsanzhav et al. (1976:65, 83, 157, 189, 205, 213), Khükhbaatar (1993:92), Kas' yanenko (1968:28), Sanzheyev (1973:79) and Ozawa (1986: 59), all have the same defects in them, too.

The purpose of this article is to construct a systematic semantic network after reclassifying the multiple senses of the instrumental and detecting their linkage motivations from a cognitive perspective. The number of cognitive linguistic studies, which investigate forms and meanings in natural languages in terms of human cognition, has recently increased rapidly (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Langacker 1987, 1991, Taylor 1989, Croft 1991, Ungerer and Schmid 1996). Taking into consideration their results, we will explicate the whole picture of the instrumental senses in Mongolian, using conceptual devices like IMAGE SCHEMA, METAPHOR, TRAJECTOR, LANDMARK, SOURCE, PATH and GOAL.

The discussion will proceed as follows. Section 2 deals with six senses of <Means> and, as a result of its extension, the instrumental in the causative/the passive and six senses of <Abstract Accompaniment>/<Attribution>. Section 3 accounts for <Region of Motion> which consists of <Spatial Region of Motion> and <Temporal Region of Motion>. In the conclusion of section 4 it is indicated that all the senses discovered in sections 2 and 3 construct the only semantic network, each part being linked with one another under the support of cognitive motivations.

2. <MEANS>

This is a basic meaning representative of the instrumental. Most of the preceding research counts <Tool>, <Means of Transport> and <Material> as senses of the instrumental. [5] Since, according to Vietze (1978:65), the instrumental is a grammatical marker of an instrument or object with which one does an act, the three senses are all subsumed under the label <Means>.

In section 2.1 we will divide <Means> into six sub-meanings, which are examined one by one observing as many data as possible. In sections 2.2-2.4 we want to dig up processes in which <Means> acquires other new senses through its extension.

2.1. Six Senses Subsumed under <Means>
2.1.1. <Tool>
(3) a. *Xüüxd-üüd öng-ijn xarandaa-g-aar*
    child-GRP color-G pencil-EP-INS
    navch, tsetseg zur-laa.
    leaf flower draw-PST
    'The children drew leaves and flowers with color pencils.'
  b. *Ter xögzhimchin morin xuur-aar*
    that musician   horse-headed fiddle-
        sajxan dar-dag
    INS well   press down-HBT
    'That musician plays the horse-headed fiddle well.'

In (3a) the instrumental suffix is attached to *öng-ijn xarandaa*, a tool with which one draws a picture. In (3b) it is on *morin xuur*, an instrument with which one plays music.

2.1.2. <Material>
<Material> is a kind of <Means> because it refers to substances used to make something. Compared with the fact that every other means stays external, the <Material> is an internal/ self-contained instrument in that it integrates itself into a produced thing.

(4) a. *Ene bajshing chuluu-g-aar bari-san*
    this building stone-EP-INS build-PF
    bololtoj.
    appear
    'This building seems to be made out of stones.'
  b. *Bi üs-ee xar-aar bud-uul-a-x*
    I hair-RFL black-INS dye-CST-EP-NPS

ge-sen   yum.
wish-PF ASR
'I really want to dye my hair black.'

The stones in (4a) are material for constructing a building and at the same time become parts of the building. The black dye in (4b) is not only· an instrument for changing the color of one' s hair but also part of the hair to which it is attached. The instrumental is described as internally / self-containedly accompanying the process of activities.

2.1.3. 〈Means of Transport〉

〈Means of Transport〉 is an instrument for motion.

(5) a. *Bat Darxan xot ruu   galt terg-eer*
       Bat Darkhan city toward train-INS
       yav-laa.
       go-PST
       'Bat went to Darkhan by train.'
    b. *Ter xoyor xalchin xödöön-öös*
       that two   shepherd countryside-ABL
       mori-oor ir-zhee.
       horse-INS come-PST
       'Those two shepherds came from the countryside on horseback.'

The action of motion is performed in the form of being included in the means of transport.

2.1.4. 〈Medium〉

Broadcasting, correspondence and language, as a medium carrying some information, can join the means circle.

(6) a. *Bi chamtaj uts-aar   yari-laa.*
       I you:CMT telephone-INS speak-PST
       'I spoke to you on the telephone.'
    b. *Önöödör ündes-nij   sport-iyn*
       today   tradition-G sports-G
       temtsee-nij bol-sn-iyg televiz-eer
       competition-G be held-ACC TV-INS
       nevtüül-zhee.
       broadcast-PST

'They broadcast on TV the news that the traditional sports competition was held today.'

The telephone in (6a) and the television in (6b), as media of communication, are embodied in the instrumental NPs. In (6a, b) it is not the instrumentality of the NPs but their functions that are focused on.

2.1.5. 〈Mental Activity〉

An increasing degree of abstractiveness of the instrumentality allows mental activity instead of physical objects to be understood as a means for something.

(7) a. *Erdm-ijg   oroldlogo charmajlt-aar*
       knowledge-ACC endeavor effort-INS
       sur-dag.
       study-HBT
       '(We) always acquire knowledge with much effort.'
    b. *Ene azhl-iyg xün xün   öör-ijn*
       this work-ACC each person self-G
       sanal-aar   xij-zh bol-no.
       thought-INS do-CNC can-PRS
       '(You) can do this work in your own way.'

Both the effort and the thought in (7a, b) certainly are not physical objects with definite outlines, but give us image schemata in which we accomplish something using non- physical instruments metaphorically. That is why they belong to the metaphorical extensional usage of the instrumental.

2.1.6. 〈Modifier〉

The instrumental suffixes may adhere to various syntactic constituents, including nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, and may modify predicate verbs in the same way as adverbials.

(8) a. *Mitya önöödör dur-aar-aa*
       Mitya today   desire-INS-RFL

zugaal-laa.
amuse oneself-PST
'Mitya amused himself today as he pleased.'

b. *Bi odor bolgon gants-aar-aa radio*
I every day alone-INS-RFL radio
sons-o-zh baj-san.
listen to-EP-CNC be-PF
'I was listening to the radio alone every day.'

The suffixes are added to the noun in (8a) and to the adjective/ adverb in (8b). The instrumentals function as adverbials in the sentences and qualify the contents of the predicate verbs.

A close observation of the modifier use reveals that the instrumental constituents have meanings equivalent to those of manner adverbs. If the adverbial modification is reduced to the function representing manners of predicate meanings, it is compatible with ⟨ Mental Activity ⟩, one of the senses of ⟨Means⟩.

2.2. Extension of ⟨Means⟩: The Instrumental in the Causative and the Passive

The grammaticalization of various implications to the notion of ⟨Means⟩ may trigger the extension of new senses. Let us consider the process, observing instrumental forms in the causative and the passive.

2.2.1. Causee: Extension from ⟨Means⟩ to ⟨Actor⟩

Two actors appear in the causative. One is called causer because it causes someone/ something to accomplish something. The other is named causee because it accomplishes something affected by CAUSE being emitted from the causer.

The causative in Mongolian is morphological in that it is formed by inserting the causative suffixes, *-uul/-üül, -ga/-ge/-go/-gö, -lga/ -lge/-lgo/-lgö,* between a verb stem and a tense /aspect suffix. The causer always takes the nominative case, while the causee has five

different forms, including the accusative case, the zero case, the dative-locative case, the instrumental case and the suspension. About each of them we won't go further into detail. In what follows we will confine the topic to the instrumental causee.

The instrumental causee is divided into the indirect causee in which CAUSE is just added to ⟨Means⟩ and the direct causee in which CAUSE makes it ⟨Actor⟩.

First of all, let us look at the data of the indirect cause.

(9) *Bi radio-g-oor angli xel zaa-lga-san.*
I radio-EP-INS English teach-CST-PF
'I studied English on the radio. lit. I caused the radio to teach me English.'

In (9) *bi* is a direct actor of *angli xel zaa-lga-* . The cause *radio-g-oor* doesn't do anything by itself, but simply participates in the action indirectly as an accompanying means receiving CAUSE from the causer. The causer interacts with both CAUSE and ACT. CAUSEE, from the point of view of the cause, is the kind of stimulant that initiates the role of ⟨Means⟩. The cause takes part in ACT indirectly going with the causer.

The sentence in (10), in contrast, presents the case of a direct causer.

(10) *Bagsh nadaar sonin unsh-uul-laa.*
teacher me:INS newspaper read-CST-PST
'The teacher made me read a newspaper.'

The causee in (10) is the instrumental NP *nadaar.* It, unlike that in (9), directly carry out the act expressed by the predicate VP as soon as it experiences CAUSE from the causer. In other words, the causee takes on the status of a direct actor. The causer, on the other hand, merely has the responsibility of igniting the fuse of the causee's action. Here we observe a clear division between CAUSE and Act. The causer is the instigative agent of ACT and the causee is affected by this so that he/she can

perform the ACT. In (10) there occurs a split between CAUSE and ACT. The causer literally becomes a sender of CAUSE. It is the causee that promotes itself from ⟨Means⟩ to ⟨Actor⟩ and performs the ACT.

(9) and (10), taken together, show how the instrumental varies between ⟨Means: accompaniment⟩ and ⟨Means: causee⟩, namely, ⟨Actor⟩. The causative has the potential for varying between ⟨Means⟩ and ⟨Actor⟩ with respect to the causee and its accompanying semantic extension of the instrumental.

2.2.2. The Instrumental in Relation to the Passive: Extension from ⟨Means⟩ to ⟨Cause/Reason⟩

The instrumental also appears in passive sentences. Its meaning is sub-divided into ⟨Means⟩ and ⟨Cause/Reason⟩. The Mongolian passive has little agentive meaning, thereby differing from *by NP* in the English passive. Its force is rather close to the meaning of the *with NP*.

The first to consider is the case of ⟨Means⟩.

(11) *Xentij-n nuruu   bol   oj mod-oor*
     Hentij-G mountain range TOP   forest-INS
     xuchi-gd-dag.
     cover-PSV-HBT
     'The Hentij Mountain Range is covered with woods.'

The instrumental NP in the sentence seems to quite equal in meaning to ⟨Means⟩ as described in section 2.1. The instrumental in (11) is considered as ⟨Material: accompaniment⟩, a self-contained type of the ⟨Means⟩, in which *oj mod* integrates itself into part of the mountain. What distinguishes the passive instrumental from the ⟨Means⟩ instrumental? This is only part of the answer: the way that the speaker construes the entire situation in which each case completes the picture. In the passive of the (11) type the instrumental NP is indispensable for accomplishing a picture that the sentence depicts: the picture, as a whole,

cannot become complete without any help from the instrumental NP. On the other hand, the ⟨Means⟩ instrumental NPs simply supply some additional information to pictures which the sentences· describe because they aren't necessarily obligatory constituents. It is supported by the fact that deletion of the instrumental NP gives rise to difference in grammaticality.

(12) **Xentij-n nuruu bol xuchi-gd-dag.*
     'The Hentii Mountain Range is covered.'
(13) a. *Xüüxd-üüd öng-ijn xarandaa-g-aar*
        navch, tsetseg zur-laa.
        'The children drew leaves and flowers with color pencils.'
     b. *Xüüxd-üüd navch, tsetseg zur-laa.*
        'The children drew leaves and flowers.'

The sentence in (12) that omits the instrumental NP from that in (11) is judged to be ungrammatical. In contrast to that, (13b) that drops the instrumental NP from (13a) is a full-fledged grammatical sentence.

The above-mentioned observation leads us to the conclusion that the characteristics of the passive instrumental are based on semantics as well as syntax. The syntactic characteristic is that the instrumental stands as an argument which a passive verb requires obligatorily. The semantic characteristic is that the instrumental constituents as an obligatory accompaniment entity an integral part of a situation which a passive sentence represents. The entire situation has a stative scene depending heavily on the instrumental NP. By contrast, the ⟨Means⟩ instrumental, which can accompany an action or a process, enjoys the freedom to keep independent relatively of the action or the process. Let's call the semantic property of the passive instrumental obligatory accompaniment and that of the ⟨Means⟩ instrumental, optional accompaniment, respectively. The former is characteristic of state predicates, whereas the latter is typical

of action, process or change of state ones.

The second type of the passive instrumental designates <Cause/Reason>.

(14) *Paulos Burxan-iy zorilg-oor uri-gd-*
Paul   God-G   purpose-INS call-PSV-
a-v.
EP-PST
'Paul was called because of God's purpose.'

In this sense the instrumental NP, as seen in (15), is neither an argument nor an obligatory accompaniment entity.

(15) *Paulos uri-gd-a-v.*
'Paul was called.'

The <Causative/Reason> makes *God's purpose* a motivation for the calling.

2.3. Another Extension of <Means>: <Abstract Accompaniment> [8]

The senses taken up in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are all related to the physical level of cognition, so that they refer to events which develop on the time axis. On the other hand, there are several senses in the instrumental that are relevant to the abstract level of cognition. They are produced by extending <Means> from the physical level to the abstract one. They have nothing to do with time, but inherit the core semantic feature [accompaniment] from the <Means> senses. In what follows, we analyze three abstract senses of <Means>: <Accordance>; <Status>; <Addition>.

2.3.1. <Accordance>

The only person who treats this usage as an independent one is Street(1962: 218). He names it 'accord'. It can be translated as 'according to; following' in English.

(16) a. *Darg-iyn   xel-sen yos-oor ene*
chairperson-G say-PF rule-INS this
xural-d   bi orolts-o-x-oor

meeting-D/L I take part in-EP-NPS-
bol-loo.
INS   become-PST
'According to what the chairperson said, I was to take part in the meeting.'

b. *Daraax'   ögüüll-ijg unsh-aad*
the following story-ACC read-SPR
ögüüber-ijg zorilg-oor n' angil-
sentence-ACC purpose-INS 3P classify-
aaraj.
OPT
'Let's read the following story and classify the sentences according to their purposes.'

yos-oor in (16a) is recognized as an idiom, although (16b) reveals that the instrumental has the meaning <Accordance> by nature. Unfortunately, Street(1962) doesn't explain why the instrumental is used with that meaning. However, the reason can be easily explicated in terms of the cognitive perspective. The <Accordance> gives us an image showing the way a source entity aims at dovetailing with a unique goal entity.

2.3.2. <Status>

This sense corresponds to 'as an NP' in English.

(17) a. *Minij xüü   "Govi-ijn xögzhil"*
my son govi-G development
negdel-d   maliyn emch-eer
cooperative-D/L veterinarian-INS
azhill-a-zh baj-g-aa   yum.
work-EP-CNC be-EP-IMPF ASR
'My son works as a veterinarian at the Govi Development cooperative.'

b. *Ter mongol   xel-n-ij   bagsh-*
he Mongolian language-n-G teacher-
aar arvan zhil azhill-a-v.
INS ten   year work-EP-PST
'He worked as a Mongolian teacher for ten years.' (Street 1962:218)

The <Status> sense is thought of as a stative

link between a given social role and the one who habitually carries out that role. His/ Her social role, highlighted as a reference point, keeps the same state for a certain period. The particular nature of the status relation is expressed by the nominal root to which the instrumental attaches.

2.3.3. ⟨Addition⟩

Few previous works on Mongolian have considered the notion ⟨Addition⟩ in the context of the instrumental. The reason is that the whole word sequence of which the instrumental is a constituent member tends to be taken as having one meaning. Nevertheless, there are very good grounds for attributing analyzability to the overall construction. For one, the word sequence representing ⟨Addition⟩ reflects two patterns as follows:

(18) a. SUBSTANTIVE-*aar* + *baraxgüj*
      b. SUBSTANTIVE-*aar* + *ül baram*

The productivity of these patterns is shown by the fact that the substantive itself covers all the word categories to which case suffixes are able to attach, including nouns, adjectives and noun-type verbs (adjective verbs). [9] In addition, the ⟨Addition⟩ version of the instrumental ties the same entity (i.e. an actor, an event, a state) to two landmarks. The first of them is the substantive marked with the instrumental, and the second is the substantive of the *also* clause. The word sequences in (18a, b) are glossed as 'not only, but also; as well as' in English. The pattern in (18a) is illustrated as (19).

(19) *Bi üünijg   angi-ijn-x-aa darg-aar*
      I this:ACC class-G-x-RFL chief-INS
      baraxgüj bagsh-i-d   ch xel-lee.
      not only teacher-EP-D/L also say-PST
      'I talked about this not only to the
      class leader but also to the teacher.'

The pattern in (18b) is illustrated by the example in (20).

(20) *Noos-iyg gadaadad garg-a-zh mashin*
      wool-ACC export-CNC   machine
      texnik-eer   ül baram büxel
      equipment-INS not only complete
      üjldver ch   xudald-a-n av-ch   bol-no.
      factory also buy-EP-CNC take-CNCcan-PRS
      'By exporting the wool, (we) can buy not
      only machine equipment but also a complete
      factory.'

Why does the instrumental take part in word sequences representing ⟨Addition⟩? To begin with, we need to examine the original meanings of *baraxgüj* and *ül baram* following the instrumental.

The word *baraxgüj* is a negative non-past form of the verb *bar-* 'to finish; exhaust', which means 'unfinished; inexhaustible'.

(21) *id-e-zh   bar-a-x* [10]
      eat-EP-CNC finish-EP-NPS
      'eat up (lit. finish eating)'
              (Lessing et al. 1960)

In the inseparable sequence *ül baram* the word *ül* is a negative particle preceding verbs and often builds idiomatic adjectival phrases.

(22) *ül   büt-e-x*
      NEG be possible-EP-NPS
      'impossible' (Lessing et al. 1960)

What *baram* means independently is unclear, although Lessing et al. (1960: 1006) gloss the entry of *ül baram* as 'not restricted or confined' as well as 'not only, but also'. The former meaning suggests the meaning of 'restricted area' for *baram* itself.

2.4. Extension of ⟨Abstract Accompaniment⟩: ⟨Attribution⟩

Further development of the ⟨Abstract Accompaniment⟩ sense results in the new basic sense ⟨Attribution⟩, which is motivated by the inter-

nalization of the semantic property [accompaniment] into the instrumental landmark. The <Attribution> consists of <Object Attribution> <Distribution> and <Reason>. Following this order, we will discuss each of their detailed descriptions below.

2.4.1. <Object Attribution>

Mongolian has a sentence construction predicating whether the number or quantity of some object(s) is many/much or few/little. The construction requires an instrumental form for the object(s) in question. Its schematic structure is represented in (23).

(23) Nominative NP + Instrumental NP +
    [Topic]   [Object]
    Adjective
    [Attributive]

The adjective that can occupy the position of a predicate include the following: *ix* 'many' ; *bayan* 'rich' ; *elbeg* 'abundant' ; *düüren* 'full' ; *tsöön* 'few' ; *xovor* 'rare' .

(24) a. *Ene uul   an am' tn-aar*
       this mountain game animal-INS
       elbeg.
       abundant
       'This mountain is abundant in game animals.'
   b. *Ene xöndnijn belcher n' us-aar*
       this wide-open pasture 3P water-INS
       xovor.
       rare
       'In this wide-open pasture the water is rare.'

The abundance/rarity of the number/quantity denoted by the predicate adjectives in (24a, b) is all attributed to the instrumental. This can be construed as an extension of the <Abstract Accompaniment> sense of the instrumental as argued for in section 2.3.

2.4.2. <Distribution>

The quantifiers *bügd* and *tsöm*, which both signify 'all' in English, often appear with the instrumental, and are necessarily followed by the reflexive-possessive suffixes. With the use of the instrumental, the reflexive form of these quantifiers means 'all together' . This is a related usage of the accompaniment sense of the instrumental.

(25) a. *Manaj angi-ijn-xan bügd-eer-ee neg*
      our   class-G-POSS all-INS-RFL one
      sajxan duur' üz-sen. [11]
      good   opera see-PF
      'Our classmates all saw a good opera. '
   b. *Tsöm-öör-öö 1   sajn baj-na.*
      all-INS-RFL just fine be-PRS
      'All (of us) are just fine. '

Why does the quantifier modifying a subject take the instrumental? The answer seems to be associated with the fact that the cardinal numerals bearing the instrumental suffixes designate distribution in Mongolian.

(26) *Bi ene devtr-ijg   tav tav-aar*
    I this notebook-ACC five five-INS
    n' boo-loo.
    3P bind-PST
    'I bound these notebooks in every fifth one. '

The distributive numeral implies that some members extracted from a given set are grouped together and then are distributed according to the fixed number. It is not until the point when the group members are added up to involve all the members of the set that they reach the point of 'all' . In other words, 'all' is just a special case of the distributive numerals.

The instrumental distributive numerals suggest that the number of every group of members is distributed equally, whereas the instrumental 'all' -type quantifiers signify that all the members are distributed in a lump sum. The distribution of set members can be conceptualized as the association of the meaning

of a numeral or quantifier with the meaning of the distributed topic of the sentence. This is also handled as the independently attested sense of abstract accompaniment adequately.

2.4.3. <Reason>

The attachment of the instrumental suffixes to *bol-o-x*, a non-past form of the verb *bol-* 'to become; to occur' , gives rise to a reason conjunction. Since the conjunction *bol-x-oor* 'because' is a frozen form, it has no varieties such as a perfective form **bol-sn-oor*.

(27) *Bat ene nom-iyg olon unsh-san bol-o-x-*
Bat this book-ACC many read-PF become-EP-
oor nadaas ilüü med-e-zh
NPS-INS me:ABL more than know-EP-CNC
baj-na.
be-PRS
'Because Bat has read this book many times, (he) understands it more than me.'

The stem *bol-* of *bol-o-x-oor* originally means 'to change from one state to another state' , which implies that the state after change is specified but the state before the change is kept unspecified. With the conjunction taking over this original meaning, the reason clause as a whole represents the state after the change, i.e. the realization of an event whose ground is given in the reason clause.

3. <REGION OF MOTION>

We now turn to another set of links in the various parts of extension that result in a complex network of semantic relations from the prototypical instrumental. The first link relates to the domain that we call <Spatial Region of Motion>. The second, as its extensional usage, relates to <Temporal Region of Motion>, which itself produces two more links, <Near Future> and <Purpose>.

3.1. <Spatial Region of Motion>

This always requires three cognitive concepts : SOURCE, PATH and GOAL. The prototypical spatial motion contains all the concepts exhaustively: it finishes at the moment when an object starts from SOURCE, moves along PATH and arrives at GOAL. However, not all of the concepts work together on any cognitive scene. In order to confirm that, consider instrumental forms representing the <Spatial Region of Motion> in terms of SOURCE, PATH and GOAL.

3.1.1. <Path-focalized Motion>

The instrumental embodies a path for change of location.

(28) a. *Oj-d baj-g-aa zam-aar neg*
forest-D/L be-EP-IMPF road-INS one
mor' -toj xün yav-zh baj-na.
horse-CMT person go-CNC be-PRS
'A man mounted on a horse is going forward on the road in the forest.'
b. *Manaj ger-ijn xazhuu-g-aar eregtej*
our house-G near-INS male
emegtej xoyor xüüxed öngör-löö.
female both child pass by-PST
'Both a boy and a girl passed by our house.'

The road on which the man with the horse moves in (28a) and the space in which the boy and the girl go from one place to another in (28b) show up in the instrumental forms, respectively.

The moving object may refer to purely subjective motion, like mental tracing, as given in (29).

(29) a. *Galt tereg-nij tsonx-oor olon*
train-G window-INS many
mal xar-a-gd-laa.
cattle see-EP-PSV-PST
'Many cattle were seen through the train's window.'
b. *Töv ajmag xür-e-x zam*
töv province get to-EP-NPS road
Bogt uul-iyn baruu-g-aar öngör-dög.
Bogt mountain-G west-INS pass-HBT

'The road leading to Töv Province goes
to along the west side of Mt. Bogt.'

What moves in (29a) is only the eyes tracing
along the instrumental NP, whereas in (29b) we
have the whole of the path laid out conceptually
against a background, reflecting the cognitive
process of summary scanning (Langacker 1987,
Matsumoto 1996).

3.1.2. ⟨Location of Motion⟩

The interpretation of the paths presented in
the preceding section results from conceiving
a location of motion to be a straight line.
Extending the conceptualization to two-dimen-
sional space, the location of motion can be
designated as a plane surface. In that case, the
instrumental describes a place where an action
is carried out, as indicated in (30a, b).

(30) a. *Nadtaj tsug   gar-san   nöxöd,*
       us:CMT together go out-PF friend:PL
       tsöm l   oj   tajg-aar tar-laa.
       all just forest taiga-INS disperse-
                                  PST
       'All the friends who went out together
       with us dispersed in the taiga forest.'
    b. *1925 on-iy xavar nert   erdemten*
           year-G spring famous scholar
       Vladimirtsov Mongol-d   ir-zh
       Vladimirtsov Mongolia-D/L come-CNC
       Xentij-n uuls-aar   olon xonog
       Hentii-G mountain-INS many stay
       ayal-zhee.
       travel-PST
       'In the spring of 1925 Vladimirtsov, a
       famous scholar, came to Mongolia and
       spent many days traveling across the
       Hentii Mountains.'

3.1.3. ⟨Goal-focalized Motion⟩

Focusing on GOAL of motion makes an
instrumental NP represent a destination which
a moving object is heading for.

(31) a. *Ter önöödör xot-oor yav-zh yum*

he today   city-INS go-CNC thing
üz-e-x   ge-zh   baj-na.
see-EP-NPS say-CNC be-PRS
'He's going to the city for sight-
- seeing today.'
  b. *Bi önöödör delgüür-eer yav-aad ene*
     I today   shop-INS   go-SPR this
     nom-iyg ol-son.
     book-ACC find-PF
     'I went to the shop and found this
     book today.'

The instrumental NPs in (31a, b) explicitly
refer to their reaching destinations.

3.2. Metaphorical Extension of ⟨Spatial Region of Motion⟩

Many studies, such as Lakoff and Juhnson
(1987), Payne (1991), Svorou(1993), Traugott
(1985) and Yamanashi (1995), have indicated
that spatial morphemes can metaphorically
extend their usage to the domain of time. This
is because time is conceptualized as a region
projected by the perceivable reaches of space.
The extension from concrete entities to
abstract ones is a natural process of human
cognition. In our case, we observe two patterns
based on the extension of spatial usages to
temporal ones. These can be characterized as
⟨Path-focalized⟩ usages and ⟨Goal-focalized⟩
usages.

3.2.1. ⟨Path-focalized⟩ Type: ⟨Time Period⟩

If PATH is projected from the spatial region
to the temporal region, the instrumental is
conventionally construed as designation of the
time period during which an action is
performed.

(32) *Bi negdügeer ulirl-aar   sajn düü-tej*
     I the first semester-INS good result-CMT
     sur-san.
     study-PF
     'I studied through the first semester to
     get good results.'

As seen from (32), temporal nouns and noun phrases are marked with the instrumental and function to localize the event of clauses within a specific time period. The instrumental NP in (32), accordingly, imply a certain span of time.

3.2.2. <Goal-oriented> type: <Temporal Reference Point>

If the speaker's attention is focused on the endpoint of the conceived time period, the instrumental specifies the <Temporal Reference Point> sense at which an event occurs. It is parallel to the goal-focalized spatial motion explained in section 3.1.3. Its meaning, in contrast to that of the instrumental in (32), implies no span of time at all.

(33) *Xavr-iyn shalgalt   5 dugaar sar-iyn*
　　 spring-G examination the fifth month-G
　　 xori-d-oor   exel-ne.
　　 twenty-D/L-INS begin-PRS
　　 'The spring exam begins on the 20th of May.'

3.2.3. Extension of <Temporal Region of Motion>: <Near Future>

As we discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, the metaphorical extension of the Mongolian instrumental to the temporal domain reflects two construals of the instrumental, <Path-focalization> and <Goal-focalization>, respectively, and the <Temporal Region of Motion> including these usages yields the sense of <Near Future> in the cognitively motivated way called goal-orientation.

The instrumental <Near Future> expression has the following two structures. [12]

(34) a. Verb stem-*x*-Instrumental + *zavd-a-zh*
　　　　 baj-
　　 b. Verb stem-*x*-Instrumental + *bol-*

What is common to both (34a) and (34b) is that the instrumental suffix adheres to a nonpast verb. After the instrumental, the connective form of *zavd-* 'to be about to do something' is

followed by the auxiliary *baj-* in (34a). In (34b) the instrumental precedes *bol-* 'to become'. For the sake of convenience, let us call (34a) *baj-*type construction and, (34b), *bol-*type construction.

There is a subtle difference in meaning between the *baj-*type construction and the *bol-*type construction.

(35) *Namajg ger-ees-ee   gar-a-x-aar*
　　 me:ACC house-ABL-RFL go out-EP-NPS-INS
　　 zavd-a-zh   baj-tal düü
　　 be about to-EP-CNC be-TML younger
　　　　 maan' ir-e-v.
　　 brother 1pl:P come-EP-PST
　　 'When I was about to leave my house, my younger brother came in.'

(36) *Bi önöödör malchid-taj   uulz-a-x-aar*
　　 I today   shepherd:PL-CMT meet-EP-NPS-
　　　　 bol-loo.
　　 INS become-PST
　　 'I was to meet the shepherds today.'

The *baj-*type sentence in (35) exhibits the image schema in which the agent has already gotten ready to carry out an action at the conceptual point of temporal reference where a second event occurred. From that point of view, it is a progressive future sentence directly connecting with the speech time.

The *bol-*type sentence in (36) indicates that the agent arrives at the position where he/she proposes to carry out some action. The action itself certainly is in the domain of a future time because it is not realized yet, but necessary conditions for its realization have been prepared perfectly. That makes the *bol-*type construction a perfective future sentence.

The question is why the instrumental can designate <Near Future>. The reason is that <Near Future> instrumental establishes as a temporal goal the complete realization of an action within a future time domain and then draws the path of time up to the goal. The <Near Future> instrumental reflects the path of time

making an orientation towards the goal linguistically.

3.2.4. Another Extension of ⟨Temporal Region of Motion⟩: ⟨Purpose⟩

The instrumental refers to the purpose of an action. It has two variants, from the grammatical point of view. In the first, the instrumental suffix is added to a noun, in the second, it is appended to a nonpast verb. (37a) is an example of the former, but (37b) is one of the latter.

(37) a. *Manaj surguuli-ijn oyuutn-uud zhil*
     our   school-G   student-PL year
    bür gov' nutg-aa   uszhuul-a-x
    every govi region-RFL irrigate-EP-NPS
    azhl-aar yav-dag.
    work-INS go-HBT
    'The students of our school go for the work of irrigating the govi region every year.'
  b. *Ter oyuutan nom unsh-i-x-aar*
    that student book read-EP-NPS-INS
    nomiyn san-d och-zhee.
    library-D/L go-PST
    'That student went to the library in order to read a book.'

In purpose clauses, an action specified by an NP or a VP in the instrumental is a goal to head for. If the point in time when the action of a main verb occurs is set up as a temporal reference point, the action as a purposive target has yet to be accomplished.

4. CONCLUSION

It is insufficient to recognize that multiple senses of the Mongolian instrumental are just considered as polysemous, individually assigned to entries in the lexicon. Rather, they constitute a unified semantic network using linkage entities motivated by cognitive concepts such as image schemata and metaphors. The senses of the instrumental are classified into the ⟨Means⟩ group and the ⟨Region of Motion⟩ group. The senses subsumed under each group are joined to one another by cognitive strategies and form a semantic network.

What associates the ⟨Means⟩ group with the ⟨Region of Motion⟩ group? Putting it into other words, what is common to the ⟨Means⟩ that refers to an instrument variously utilized in doing an act and the ⟨Region of Motion⟩ that denotes a source, a path, a goal and a spatial region including them?

One of the core semantic properties of ⟨Means⟩ is [accompaniment]. The landmark that plays a ⟨Means⟩ role, accompanying the trajector as an agent very closely, takes part in the whole or part of the process of an action. On the other hand, the central semantic property of the ⟨Region of Motion⟩ is [encompassiveness]. The trajector goes out of the landmark as a region, goes forward along it, goes into it or stays in it. The ⟨Region of Motion⟩ provides a scene where an action is carried out.

It seems that a connecting thread between [accompaniment] and [encompassiveness] is found in an image schema representing capacity enlargement. In order to be accompanied by the landmark, the trajector is either smaller than, equal to, or a bit larger than it. As the landmark gets large up to the maximum point, it finally wraps up the trajector. The senses belonging to the ⟨Means⟩ group join with those belonging to the ⟨Region of Motion⟩ group by picturing the image schema of the landmark capacity enlargement.

The multiple senses of the instrumental constructs a single unified semantic network in which they are linked to one another by cognitive motivations. The reason why every native speaker is able to select and use a proper sense according to a context without any confusion is that he/she has the semantic network in his/her mind. Since the network is a natural linkage system between senses based on cognitive functions, it is easy to shift from a basic prototypical sense to a marginal non-

prototypical one.

NOTES

(1) Mongolian has a morphophonological rule called a vowel harmony. The instrumental, according to its stem-final vowels, takes four alternating suffixes, *-aar/-eer/-oor/-öör*. In this paper *- aar* is presented as a representative form.

(2) The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses: ABL:Ablative, ACC:Accusative, ASR:Assertive, CMT:Comitative, CNC: Connective, CST: Causative, D/L: Dative-locative, DSR: Desirative, G:Genitive, GRP:Group Marker, HBT:Habitual, IMPF:Imperfective, INS: Instrumental, NEG: Negative Particle, NPS: Nonpast, OPT:Optative, PF:Perfective, POSS: Possessive, PRS:Present, PST: Past, PSV: Passive, RFL: Reflexive-possessive, SPR: Separative, TML: Terminative, TOP: Topic Marker, 1sg: First Person Singular, 1pl: First Person Plural, 1pl.P:First Person Plural Possessive Particle, 3P:Third Person Possessive Particle

(3) The consonant – *g* is inserted between a noun stem and a suffix when the stem ends with a long vowel or diphthong.

(4) The sentence is translated as 'By what road did you come?' in Street (1962: 218). But it is modified as (2b) because the verb *yav-* primarily means 'to go' .

(5) For example, Poppe (1951: 64) mentions the following three senses for the instrumental: i. Representation of an instrument   ii. Representation of a means of motion iii.Representation of a material

(6) Refer to Hashimoto (1988) for a full description and explanation of Mongolian causees.

(7) If the instrumental NP of (10a) is replaced by a person NP, it produces a direct causee:
i. *Bi zhinxene xün-eer   angli xel*
   I native   person-INS English
   zaa-lga-san.
   teach-CST-PF
   'I had a native person teach English. '
It is evident from the following interrogative sentence that the instrumental for the causee varies between an actor and an instrument:
ii.Ta yamar arg-aar   angli xel zaa-lga-v?
   you what method-INS English   teach-CST-
                                   PST
   'By what method did you study English?'
Whether the causee behaves as an instrument-like entity or as an actor-like one depends on its semantic feature of [animacy].   The indirect causee tends to be an [-animate] NP holding its instrumentality. Refer to Kemmer and Verhagen (1994: 129, 151n.23) and Cornelis (1997: 131) for further detailed explanations of the similarity between instruments and causees relating to animates and inanimates. I am grateful to Arie Verhagen for these two publications.

(8) One of Verhagen' s colleagues called my attention to the importance of [accompaniment] which plays a key role in the extended usages of <Means>. I greatly appreciate his suggestion.

(9) The noun-type verb (adjective verb) consists of a verb plus an aspectual suffix, including the habitual – *dag*, the perfective – *san*, the imperfective – *aa*, and the nonpast – *x*. It is common to a noun and an adjective in that it can require case suffixes or modify nouns.

(10)The connective converbal suffix – *zh* functions as an aspectual connector followed by an auxiliary verb. For example, the combination form – *zh + baj-* expresses an ongoing action or an incomplete action.

(11)The combining form of the genitive and the possessive suffix – *xan* has the meaning of 'people or things that belong to' .

(12)Besides that, the following two sentence patterns are apparently added to the near future representation:

i. a. Verb stem-*x*-Instrumental + *yav-zh* + *baj-*

b. Verb stem-*x*-Instrumental + *yav-a-x* + *bol-*

ii. a. *Odoo bi galt tereg-nij billet av-a-x*
   now I   train-G   ticket buy-EP
   -aar   yav-zh baj-na.
   -NPS-INS go-CNC be-PRS
   'I am going to buy a train ticket now.'

b. *Xoyor xūūxed zhims tūū-x-eer*
   two   child berry collect-NPS-INS
   yav-a-x   bol-zhee.
   go-EP-NPS become-PST
   'The two children were planning to go to collect berries.'

However, as seen in the above sentences, it is *yav-zh baj-* and *yav-a-x bol-* that carry the meaning of <Near Future>, whereas the instrumental verbs just express the meaning of <Purpose>.

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モンゴル語の具格形

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概要

この論文の目的は、モンゴル語の具格形の複数の意味を再分類し、認知的な視点からそれらの意味の結びつきを動機付けているものを探求し、意味的なネットワークの存在を証明することにある。既存の認知言語学研究の成果を考慮しながら、イメージ・スキーマ、メタファー、トラジェクター、ランドマーク、ソース、パス、ゴールのような概念的な装置を用いて、具格形の意味の全体像を解明する。

キーワード：具格形、意味ネットワーク、拡張、動機付け

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