

Metarepresentational Motivation: The Grammaticalization of the Verb of Saying *ge-* in Mongolian*

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1. Introduction

It has been observed in many languages that verbs of saying are grammaticalized into subordinators such as a quotative marker. For instance, the verb *bé* ‘to say’ of Ewe is used not only as a quotative marker governing an indirect quotation-like (1), but also as a complementizer introducing a complement clause like (2):

(1) me-be me-wo-e.¹

I-say I-do-it

‘I said [that] I did it.’

(2) me-dí bé má-ɔle awua ɖewó.²

I-want SR 1:SBJV-buy dress some

‘I want to buy some dresses.’

(Lehmann (1995:62))

Lehmann (1995) divides the grammaticalized process from (1) to (2) into the following four steps:

(3) The Process of Grammaticalization of *bé*:

Step I : Governing indirect speech such as (1)

Step II : Introducing indirect speech after verbs which cannot govern it (e.g. ‘I argued that it is wrong’)

Step III : Introducing all types of object clauses as a result of dropping the indirect speech condition

Step IV : Introducing all types of complement clauses such as (2)

This type of grammaticalization can be found among Hmong, Thai, Cambodian, Abe, Udmurt, Kumyk and Lezgian (Bisang (1996), Koopman and Sportiche (1989), Haspelmath (1995)).

Many preceding studies have suggested that the converbal form *ge-ž* of the verb of saying *ge-* ‘to say’ is used as a quotative marker in Mongolian (Poppe (1951), Vietze (1978), Hangin (1992), Sanzheyev (1960), Ozawa (1986), Khükhübaatar (1993), Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996)). They, however, certainly give us a detailed comment on the morphology and function of the grammaticalized form, but they make little mention of what factor works as its underlying motivation for the grammaticalization.

A close examination shows that *ge-ž* works not only as a quotative marker, but also as a proximative future marker and a purposive marker. The aim of this article

is to demonstrate that the different processes of the grammaticalization of *ge-ž* share one and the same motivation called metarepresentational function. This function is deeply connected with two domains of language use, namely the real world domain and the speech act domain, which Sweetser (1990) puts forward.

Section 2 treats the grammaticalization process of a quotative marker which exemplifies the fact that the metarepresentational function operates in the real world domain. Section 3 discusses the proximative and the purposive associated with the metarepresentation within the speech act domain. Section 4 concludes that the metarepresentation operates as a significant motivation underlying the grammaticalization processes of *ge-ž*, and that the respective meanings of the grammaticalized morphemes are determined by the composite interactions in meaning between the verb of saying and its concomitant elements.

2. The Grammaticalization of the Verb of Saying *ge-* 'to say' into the Quotative Marker

2.1. *Metarepresentational Function*

The metarepresentational function derives from Relevance Theory as presented by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995). The metarepresentation is defined as representation by resemblance, which signifies that a thought or utterance can represent another thought or utterance by virtue of resemblance in content between the two propositional forms (Rouchota 1992:159, Blakemore 1994:200, Rouchota and Jucker 1998:6). Resemblance, generally, involves a sharing of properties: the more shared properties, the greater resemblance (Wilson and Sperber 1992:64).

(4) Peter: What did Susan say?

Mary: a. "I can't speak to you now!"

b. She couldn't speak to me then.

(Wilson and Sperber (1992: 57))

(4a), as Mary's response to Peter's question, faithfully reproduces the linguistic expression of Susan's utterance. It is a direct quotation which includes the maximum number of shared properties. (4b), on the other hand, is an indirect quotation which pays more attention to the propositional content instead of the linguistic form. Noh (1998:293) calls resemblance in form like (4a) metalinguistic use, and, resemblance in content like (4b), interpretive use.

Since the resemblance in interpretive use just requires that the propositional content of an utterance should resemble its original propositional content, the utterance reproduced may be quite different in form from the source utterance. For example, Mary can say (5) in reply to Peter's question:

- (5) Mary: That arrogant woman didn't want to talk to me when she had a lot of things to do.

In what follows, we observe that the verb of saying *ge-* 'to say' in Mongolian inherently has the function to introduce the metarepresentation consisting of metalinguistic use and interpretive use, which plays a crucial role in the grammaticalization of the verb into the quotative marker.

2.2. Direct Quotation and the Grammaticalization of *ge-* 'to say'

The verb of saying can introduce a quotative clause as a main verb taking tense/ aspect:

- (6) Bat xütüg-ijn-x-ee tešüür-eer gulg-a-ž baj-g-aa-g
 Bat:N son-EP-G-RFL skate-INS slide-EP-ICC be-EP-IMPF-ACC
 xar-aad <Ix sajn baj-na> ge-lee.
 see-PCC very good be-PRS say-PST

'Bat saw his son skating and then said, "[He's] very good [at it]."'

The verb of saying also is used together with imperfective connective converbial suffix *-ž/-č*, followed by a finite verb³:

- (7) Minij najz <5 tsag-t oč-ooroj> ge-ž ur'-san.
 1SG:G friend:N hour-D/L go-OPT say-ICC invite-PF
 'My friend said, "Please come at 5," and invited [us]. (lit. My friend invited [us], saying "Please come at 5.")'

When finite verbs themselves are verbs of saying like *xel-* 'to say', *yari-* 'to talk', *asuu-* 'to ask' and *xaryuul-* 'to reply', the converbial form *ge-ž* 'saying' becomes redundant:

- (8) Bi Dorž-i-d <Či margaaš xural-d
 1SG:N Dorž-EP-D/L 2SG:N tomorrow meeting-D/L
 suu-g-aaraj> ge-ž xel-e-v.
 attend-EP-OPT say-ICC say-PST
 'I said to Dorž, "Please attend the meeting tomorrow." (lit. I said to Dorž, saying, "Please attend the meeting tomorrow.")'
- (9) Bat nadaas <Či ene nom-ijg unš-san uu?>
 Bat:N 1SG:ABL 2SG:N this book-ACC read-PF Q
 ge-ž asuu-v.
 say-ICC ask-PST
 'Bat asked me: "Have you read this book?" (lit. Bat asked me, saying, "Have you read this book?")'

In fact, the verbs of saying except *ge-* cannot directly introduce any quotative clauses as a complement:

(10) * Bi Dorž-i-d <Či margaaš xural-d suu-g-aaraj> xel-e-v.

(11) * Bat nadaas <Či ene nom-ijg unš-san uu?> asuu-v.

The ungrammaticality of (10) and (11) makes us understand *ge-ž* in (8) and (9) as a quotative marker bridging the gap between the quotative clauses and the finite verbs of saying rather than as a converbial form building coordinative clauses.

Once *gež* gets the status of a quotative marker of direct quotations, it extends its applied range to verbs of communication. This type of verbs includes *xašigir-* ‘to shout’, *xuts-* ‘to bark’, *duu gar-* ‘to make a sound’, *zaxi-* ‘to order’, *tušaal garg-* ‘to issue an order’, *mendl-* ‘to greet’, etc.

(12) Bidend noxoj <Xav xav xav> gež xuts-a-v.
IPL:D/L dog:N bow-wow QUT bark-EP-PST
‘The dog barked at us: “Bow-wow, bow-wow, bow-wow.”’

(13) <Tusl-aaraj> gež xen negen xün xašgir-san.
help-OPT QUT someone:N shout-PF
‘Someone shouted: “Help!”’

The quotative marker in (12)-(13) quotes the linguistic representations actually uttered. It, combining with verbs of thinking or verbs of writing, can introduce representations of thoughts or written materials, too:

(14) Žambal, <Ed bas l nadtaj adil tol’
Žambal:N 3PL:N also just 1SG:CMT like mirror:φ
av-a-v yum baj-na> gež bod-ž baj-laa.
buy-EP-PST seem be-PRS QUT think-ICC be-PST
‘Žambal was thinking: “They also seem to be buying a mirror like me.”’

(15) <Bi Xulstaj-d tör-sön> gež bič-čix-e-v.
1SG:N Xulstaj-D/L be.born-PF QUT write-CMP-EP-PST
‘ [He] wrote up: “I was born in Xulstaj.”’

Klamer (2000:75), after indicating the fact that the verb *wa* of Kambara quotes three different linguistic expressions, that is, words, thoughts and perceptions, specifies [REPORT] as a function common to all of them. The Mongolian *gež* behaves similarly to *wa* in that it metalinguistically tells utterance, sounds, thoughts and written materials as they are.

2.3. Indirect Quotation and the Grammaticalization of *ge-* ‘to say’

The function of indirect quotation resides in reporting a linguistic representation reinterpreted from the point of view of a reporter (Coulmas (1986:2), Haiman (1998:116)). The reinterpreted propositional content has to resemble its original one in many respects (Wilson and Sperber (1992:65)). The indirect

quotation is a kind of interpretive use oriented towards a propositional content.

The commitment of the viewpoint of a reporter causes an **original expression** to become modified in form, such as shifters of tense and deixis in English. The typical shifter in Mongolian appears in subject forms of **quotation complements** relative to coreference (Binnick (1979), Hashimoto (1991)):

- (16) a. Dorž, <Bi xüüxed-d-ee beleg-nij yum
Dorž:N 1SG:N child-D/L-RFL souvenir-G thing:φ
av-na> gež xel-e-v.
buy-PRS QUT say-EP-PST
'Dorž said, "I'll buy souvenirs for my child."
b. Dorž_i e_i xüüx-d-ee beleg-nij yum av-na gež xel-e-v.
'Dorž_i said that [he_i] would buy souvenirs for his child.'
- (17) a. Davaa, <Braun ger-t min'xon-no> gež xel-e-v.
Davaa:N Braun:N house-D/L 1P stay-PRS QUT say-EP-PST
'Davaa said, "Brown will stay at my house."
b. Davaa_i Braun-ijg_j ger-t-ee_i xon-no gež xel-e-v.
Brown-ACC house-D/L-RFL stay-PRS QUT say-EP-PST
'Davaa said that Brown would stay at his house.'

In (16a) the main clause subject is coreferential with the quotative clause subject. When the sentence is converted into an indirect quotation in (16b), the complement clause subject becomes an anaphoric zero pronoun *e* bound by the main clause subject. In (17a) both subjects are in **noncoreferential relation**. The indirect quotation in (17b) shows that, while the main clause subject remains **nominative**, the complement clause subject is changed to the **accusative form**.⁴ The quotation change is not accompanied by any tense shift like English.

The grammaticalization of *ge-* in indirect quotation displays a perfect parallel figure to that in direct quotation. First, *ge-* can directly take a quotative complement as a finite verb:

- (18) Bagš üünijg čamd xel-eerej ge-lee.
teacher:N this:ACC 2SG:D/L talk-OPT say-PST
'The teacher said [that] [he/she] would talk about this to you.'

Second, the connective converbal form *ge-ž* 'saying' enters into a coordinate sentence describing the sequence of events between two clauses:

- (19) Erxij mergen xarvaač xaraatsaj šuvuu-g sadaa bol-loo
thumb wiseman archer:N swallow bird-ACC disturb-PST
ge-ž xartsaga alag mor'-oor-oo xöö-ž....
say-ICC falcon piebald horse-INS-RFL chase-ICC

'The skilled archer said [that] the swallow was a hindrance [to him] and chased [it] on his piebald horse [running] like a falcon and.....'

(Hangin (1992:41))

If the converbial form cooccurs with any other finite verb of saying, it is grammaticalized into a quotative marker as seen in (20):

- (20) Dorž margaaš xödöön-öös ir-ne gež nadad
 Dorž:N tomorrow countryside-ABL come-PRS QUT 1SG:D/L
 xel-sen.
 say-PF

'Dorž told me that [he] would come from the countryside the next day.'

Third, *gež* is followed by verbs of communication such as *tušaa-* 'to order', *medeel-* 'to inform', *zövl-* 'to advise' and *am ög-* 'to make a promise':

- (21) Bagš namajg ir gež tušaa-žee.
 teacher:N 1SG:ACC come:φ QUT order-PST
 'The teacher told me to come.'

Fourth, *gež* combines with a verb of thinking as in (22) or a verb of writing as in (23):

- (22) Manaj-xan tüünijg ene aži-aa xij-ž čad-na
 1PL:G-POSS 3SG:ACC this work-RFL do-ICC can-PRS
 gež najd-a-ž baj-na.
 QUT hope-EP-ICC be-PRS

'Our family hopes that he will be able to do this work of his.'

- (23) Dorž čamajg ir-eerej gež bič-žee.
 Dorž:N 2SG:ACC come-OPT QUT write-PST
 'Dorž wrote to you to come.'

The above facts tell us that *gež* in indirect quotation functions as a quotative marker which presents the content of utterances, thoughts and writing.

2.4. Summary

We have confirmed that the metarepresentational function inherent in the verb of saying *ge-* works as the motivation underlying the grammaticalization into the quotative marker. The function is defined as follows:

- (24) Metarepresentational Function:

The function that refers to another representation by resemblance in content and/or form.

It can order the two types of quotation considered according to the following hierarchy:

(25) Quotation Hierarchy in Metarepresentational Function:

Direct Quotation	>	Indirect Quotation
←more form-oriented	/	more content-oriented→
more metalinguistic	/	more interpretive

The direct quotation reflects a prototypical metarepresentational characteristic in that it faithfully refers to the original representation. The indirect quotation, on the other hand, increases the degree of content-orientation.

3. Linguistic Domains and Metarepresentational Function

Sweetser (1990:11) claims that linguistic expressions are used in the following three domains to represent a variety of relationships between events:

- (26) a. the real world (socio-physical) domain
- b. the epistemic (reasoning) domain
- c. the speech act domain

(26a) is the basic content domain, which covers our society and nature, and stands as a starting point for the other domains. (26b) is the domain that consists of processes of thought or inference in cognition. The domain in (26c) is involved with acts making use of the speaker's utterances.

Sweetser (1990:31) suggests that *because* changes its meanings of causality according to the domains:

- (27) [Basic socio-physical causality]: I asserts that S, because X =
propositional content
He loves me because I remind him of his first love.
- (28) [Epistemic causality]: I infer that S, because X = epistemic
He loves me, because he wouldn't have proofread my whole thesis
if he didn't. = I conclude that he loves me because I know that he
wouldn't otherwise have proofread my thesis.
- (29) [Speech act causality]: I ask whether S, because X = speech act
What are you doing tonight? – because there's a good movie on.

In the sentence in (27) the causation is established between the first clause and the second one. In the sentence in (28) the ground for the consequent clause is equal to the inference provided by the speaker's cognitive reasoning. In the sentence in (29) the causal relation is linked between the content of the second clause and the speech act performed by the first clause.

In section 2 we have examined the grammaticalization activated by the metarepresentational function within the real world domain. It has also been reported in many languages other than Mongolian as an unmarked instance of

metarepresentation. In contrast, this section deals with the marked instances, relating to the speech act domain as in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

3.1. *The Complex Verbal Form of Proximative: -x gež baj-*

The complex form that consists of a nonpast verb, the converbal of *ge-* and the auxiliary verb *baj-* specifies an action or event which is about to be performed or to occur (Vietze (1978:105), Ozawa (1986:165)):

- (30) a. Bi odoo kino-d yav-a-x ge-ž baj-na.
 1SG:N now movie-D/L go-EP-NPS say-ICC be-PRS
 ‘I’m about to go to a movie now. (lit. [Someone] is saying [that] I will go to a movie now.)’ (Vietze 1978:105)
- b. Odoo xičeel exl-e-x ge-ž baj-na.
 now lesson:N begin-EP-NPS say-ICC be-PRS
 ‘Now the lesson is about to begin. (lit. [Someone] is saying [that] the lesson will begin now.)’

Sentences like (30a, b) are called, ‘imminent future’ in Bybee et al. (1994:244), or ‘proximative’ in Kuteva (1998:127) and Romaine (1999:324):

(31) Definition of Proximative:

A temporal phase located close before the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb. (Kuteva (1998:127))

According to the definition, the proximative refers to a specific temporal point immediately before a situation displayed linguistically can take place. It is supported by the adverbial clauses in (32a, b). They specify the temporal reference points at which the actions/events in the main clauses are ready to occur.

- (32) a. Namajg ongotsnij buudal deer oč-x-o-d ongots
 1SG:ACC airport:φ on go-NPS-EP-D/L plane:N
 nis-e-x ge-ž baj-laa.
 fly-EP-NPS say-ICC be-PST
 ‘When I arrived at the airport, the plane was about to take off.’
- b. Bağš-ijg öglöö ir-e-x-e-d bid
 teacher:ACC morning come-EP-NPS-EP-D/L 1PL:N
 ang’-aa ugaa-x ge-ž baj-laa.
 classroom-RFL wash-NPS say-ICC be-PST
 ‘When the teacher came this morning, we were about to clean our classroom.’

We, here, face one important problem to be solved: why does the complex form of the proximative contain as its core constituent *ge-ž*, which looks exactly the same as the quotative marker? Sawada (2000:12) explains the semantic difference

between the negative form of the modal auxiliary, *needn't*, and that of the main verb, *don't need*, by using the usage domains exhibited in (33):

- (33) a. The hedge *needn't* be trimmed this week, Smithers.
 b. The hedge *don't need* to be trimmed this week, Smithers.

(Sawada (2000:12))

The negative modal auxiliary in (33a) says that the speaker exempts the hearer from the work of mowing the lawn. This is the subjective denial within the speech act domain, which, in advance, denies the action predicted by the speaker. On the other hand, the negative main verb in (33b) shows the objective denial within the real world domain, which depicts the fact that the hearer is permitted not to mow the lawn.

The explanation based on the different domains as in (33a, b) can also apply to the metarepresentational characteristic of *gež* in the proximative. The nonpast suffix *-x* preceding *gež* designates an action/event which has not yet been carried out at the speech time. The imperfective suffix *-ž* in *ge-ž*, combining with *baj-*, describes an ongoing action/event like the progressive in English:

- (34) a. Bat radio sons-o-no.
 Bat:N radio:φ listen to-EP-PRS
 'Bat listens to the radio.'
 b. Bat radio sons-o-ž baj-na.
 Bat:N radio:φ listen to-EP-ICC be-PRS
 'Bat is listening to the radio.'

The sentence in (34a), having a present tense verb, represents a habitual or future action, whereas the sentence in (34b) expresses an ongoing action at the speech time.

The future reference of *-x*, the metarepresentational mention of *ge-* and the progressive meaning of *-ž baj-* interacting with one another compositionally, the complex verbal form of the proximative has established itself as the grammaticalized marker of an imminent future action/event.

The metarepresentation of the complex form functions within the speech act domain. As an illustration of this, consider (35):

- (35) Ter xüüxed xičeel-d-ee yav-a-x ge-ž baj-na.
 that child:N class-D/L-RFL go-EP-NPS say-ICC be-PRS
 'That child is about to go to his/her class.'

Presenting the linguistic representation [*Ter xüüxed xičeeldee yavax*], the speaker of (35), in advance, predicts the event that has not yet taken place at the speech moment, and mentions it as it is in the speech act domain. The mention is in an

ongoing condition at the speech time. As to the compatibility between the ongoingness of the mention of an event and the proximative meaning, Haegeman (1989) and Nicolle (1998) discuss how to solve the problem in detail, relating it to *be going to* in English.

3.2. *The Complex Verbal Form Introducing the Purposive: -x gež*

The metarepresentational function of *ge-* within the speech act domain reveals itself more clearly in the grammaticalized form for the purposive. The combination of the nonpast verb and *ge-ž* displays the purpose of an action. The converbal *ge-ž* in the complex form decreases the degree of the verbiness unlike the ongoing marker in the proximative, and plays the role of a complementizer like the *gež* of the quotative marker, although it, unlike the quotative marker, is followed by verbs other than verbs of saying, communication verbs, verbs of thinking and verbs of writing. Moreover, the purposive *gež* and the quotative *gež* are in complementary distribution.

- (36) a. Suragč-i-d nom unš-i-x ge-ž nomijn san-d
 student-EP-PL:N book:ϕ read-EP-NPS say-ICC library-D/L
 oč-i-v.
 go-EP-PST

'The students went to the library to read a book.'

- b. Neg oyutan ter ũg-ijg sambar deer bič-i-x
 one pupil:N that word-ACC blackboard on write-EP-NPS
 ge-ž bos-o-v.
 say-ICC stand.up-EP-PST

'One pupil stood up to write that word on the blackboard.'

The students in (36a) didn't go to the library after actually saying, 'We'll read books,' and the pupil in (36b) didn't stand up saying, 'I'll write that word on the blackboard.' The fact that the complements introduced by *ge-ž* in (36a, b) have nothing to do with any actual utterances is evident in that each of them can be replaced by another syntactic structure without changing the meaning. The instrumental verbs, as shown in (37a, b), are used as the purposive instead of *-x ge-ž*:

- (37) a. Suragč-i-d nom unš-i-x-aar nomijn san-d
 student-EP-PL bookϕ read-EP-NPS-INS library-D/L
 oč-i-v.
 go-EP-PST

- b. Neg oyutan ter ũg-ijg sambar deer bič-i-x-eer
 one pupil:N that word-ACC blackboard on write-EP-NPS-INS

bos-o-v.

stand.up-EP-PST

The nonpast verb in the purposive, like that in the proximative, designates an action/event which has not yet been carried out at the speech time. After metarepresentationally referring to the action/event within the speech act domain that he/she subjectively predicts beforehand, the speaker connects it to an action/event told by the following clause. The composite interaction between the mention of a not-yet-accomplished action/event subjectively predicted within the speech act domain and the description of an actually accomplished action/event within the real world domain produces the complex form $-x$ *ge-ž* as a grammaticalized purposive marker.

3.3. Summary

The reason why the verb of saying *ge-* participates in the proximative and the purposive as a grammatical member resides in its metarepresentational feature as discussed in section 2. The metarepresentation does not function in the real world domain, but in the speech act domain. The fact that all the two complex forms require a nonpast verb just in front of *ge-* suggests that the domain in which an action/event shows up shifts from the real world one to the speech act one. The meanings of the remaining elements constituting each complex form, such as the ongoing continuity of an action predicted in the proximative and the discrepancies between the different domains in the purposive, also exert a great influence upon the processes of grammaticalization.

4. Conclusion

Grammaticalization indicates gradual processes deriving grammatical morphemes or grams from lexical morphemes (Bybee et al. (1994)). The grams include affixes, articles, stem changes, reduplication, auxiliaries, particles, conjunctions, complex constructions, and so on. When lexical morphemes are grammaticalized, their source meanings tend to be preserved (Nikiforidou (1996)). For instance, the complex auxiliary *be going to* representing the future tense in English preserves the semantic features of [ongoingness] and [goal-oriented movement].

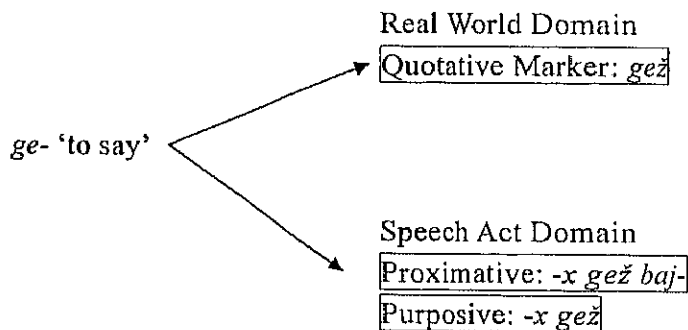
The Mongolian verb of saying *ge-* reflects the same facets as those in its grammaticalized processes as well. The verb, which inherently is an autonomous word taking aspect or tense as a finite verb, is developed into a variety of grams like the quotative marker, the proximative and the purposive. At the heart of the developing processes the metarepresentational force consistently operates as its

crucial semantic part.

Metarepresentation, as Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) explain, is one of the propositional representations in interpretive use. Papafrago (1998:31) points out that the representation represents another representation with a propositional form which resembles it in content, i.e. with which it shares logical and contextual implications.⁵ A verb of saying, which is a grammatical element typically embodying interpretive use, commits itself to the content as well as the form of an original representation. Depending on which commitment the metarepresentation respects, the directionality of grammaticalization is determined.

One more important point to notice is that there are different domains where metarepresentation operates. It works equally within both the real world domain and the speech act domain, which triggers its production of many unique grams. A diagram follows:

(38) The Relationship between the Grammaticalization of *ge-* and Two Domains:



The final important point is that the meanings of the grammatical morphemes are determined not only by the metarepresentational function of *ge-*, but also by the composite reciprocal interactions between it and the remaining constituents. Bisang (1996:528) proposes the constructionist approach that seems to be close to composite interactions:

(39) Constructionist Approach:

the approach which takes into consideration the syntax and morphology of the source construction and not simply the referential meaning of its lexical items.

(Bisang (1996: 528))

The imperfective verbal suffix *-ž* in the quotative marker, and the nonpast aspect suffix *-x* in the proximative or the purposive all provide their respective meanings in order to give rise to the whole meaning of the grammaticalized forms. In addition to that, the progressive meaning specified by the combination of *-ž* and

baj- in the proximative, and the construction level meaning given by the conflict between the speech act domain and the real world domain in the purposive, also occupy indispensable positions for the grammaticalizing processes.

It is obvious that the diversity of the grammaticalization using the verb of saying can be accounted for exhaustively from the following three perspectives: the metarepresentational function inherited from *ge-*; the domains in which it works; the composite interactions between the verb and the remaining constituents. Among others, the fact that the metarepresentation deeply connected with interpretive use in language plays an active role in the grammaticalization phenomena gives challenging significance to preceding studies which have been liable to confine themselves only to descriptive use. As a future problem to be solved, we have to explicate from the typological standpoint whether there are grammaticalization processes motivated by metarepresentation in languages other than Mongolian.

NOTES

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¹ The source of this data is from Lord (1976:179).

² The abbreviations used in this article:

ABL: Ablative, ACC: Accusative, ASR: Assertive, CMP: Completive, CMT: Comitative, CST: Causative, D/L: Dative-Locative, EMP: Emphatic Element, EP: Epenthetic Element, G: Genitive, ICC: Imperfective Connective Converbial, IMPF: Imperfective, INS: Instrumental, N: Nominative, NPS: Nonpast, OPT: Optative, PCC: Perfective Connective Converbial, PF: Perfective, POSS: Possessive, PRS: Present, PST: Past, Q: Question Marker, QUT: Quotative Marker, RFL: Reflexive-Possessive, SBJV: Subjunctive, SR: Subordinator, \emptyset : Zero Case, 1SG: First Person Singular, 2SG: Second Person Singular, 1PL: First Person Plural, 3PL: Third Person Plural, IP: First Person Possessive.

³ *-č* is used when the verb stem ends in consonants such as *-v*, *-g* and *-r*. *-ž* is used when the verb stem ends in the other consonants and vowels.

⁴ Besides that, the first person possessive proclitic *min* 'my' is converted into the reflexive-possessive suffix *-ee*.

⁵ When representation (of propositional form) is used as a truth-conditional description of external circumstances, it is descriptively used. In Relevance Theory linguistic representations are divided into descriptive and interpretive uses.

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