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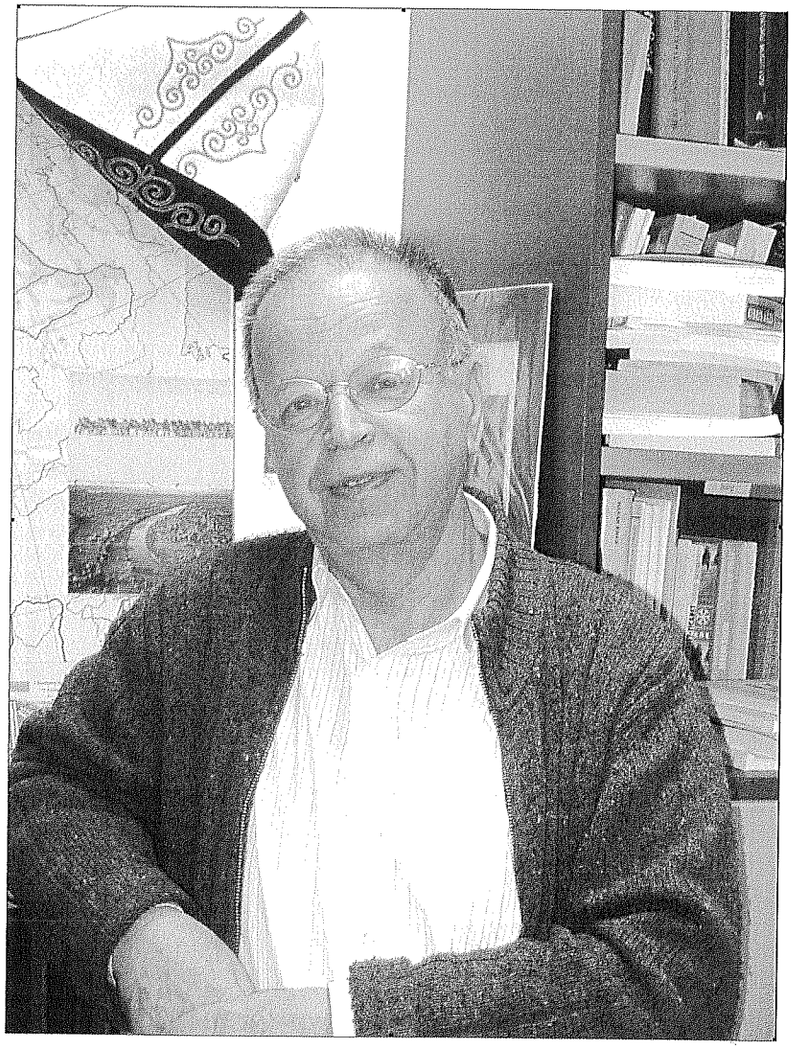
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Prof. Dr. Marcel Erdal

Trans-Turkic Studies

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edited by

Matthias Kappler,
Mark Kirchner and Peter Zieme

with the editorial assistance of

Raihan Muhamedowa

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Traces of Old Turkic *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* in Altaic Languages

Elisabetta Ragagnin
(Frankfurt/Main)

Introduction

In Old Turkic sources *ančïp* 'doing that, thereupon' is attested in inscriptions of the Uygur kaganate and in the colophone of the Irq Bitig, whereas *ïnčïp* (or *inčip*) 'that having happened, thus' is documented in Manichaen, Buddhist and Christian sources (Erdal 2004: 201, 206).

Functionally, *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* are sentence adverbs. They occur at sentence initial position and serve to link the sentence with the preceding one. To put it differently, *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* are merely used to mark the beginning of a new paragraph, thus without any particular content, as seen in the example below from the Irq Bitig:

1. *(a)mtï (a)mr(a)k ogl(a)n(ï)m, anča biliŋl(ä)r: bu ïrk bitig (ä)dgü ol. (a)nč(ï)p (a)lku k(ä)ntü ülügi (ä)rklig ol.*

   'Now, my dear sons, know thus: this book of divination is good. Thus, everyone is master of his own fate'.
   (Tekin 1993: 26–27)

Morphologically, *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* are not clear. Clauson (1972: 173b) interprets these forms as crasis of *anča erip*. Erdal, on the other hand, analyses the form *ančïp* as *an-ča* plus the converb suffix *-(X)p*, where *-ča* could be interpreted as the equative suffix or as a a denominal verbal suffix homographic with the equative. If the latter, such a suffix would then have only a single occurrence in Old Turkic. Erdal (2004: 201) concludes that „An unusual necessity as the creation of a demonstrative conjunction can also have stretched morphology to an unusual feat.". However, as far as Old Turkic is concerned, derivates from the pronominal verbal stem *anča* – whatever its origin may be – are confined to the vestigial forms *ančïp* and *ïnčïp*.

Within Turkic, formal and functional correspondents of Old Turkic *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* are exclusively found in Sayan Turkic, e.g. Tuvan *ïnčap*, Tofan *ïńǰap*, Dukhan *ïnǰap*, Altai Tuvan *ïnǰap* 'having done like that, thereupon'. On the other hand, unlike in Old Turkic, in Sayan Turkic the pronominal verb *ïnǰa-* 'to act like that' displays a full conjugation and is part of a system of verbs of pronominal origin which includes also *mïnǰa-* 'to act like this' and *ʁanǰa-*[1] 'to act in which way, to behave how'. On this occasion, I wish to dedicate to Marcel Erdal the following comments on pronominal verbs within and outside the borders of Turkic.

Sayan Turkic pronominal verbs

Synchronically, the addition of the enigmatic suffix *-ǰa* to the oblique stems of the proximal, the distal and the interrogative demonstrative pronouns *mïn-* (<**bo* 'this (one)'), *ïn-* (< **ol* 'that (one)' and *qan-* (<**qa*[2]- 'which (one)')) creates three highly productive verbal stems: *mïnǰa-* 'to act like this', *ïnǰa-* 'to act like that', and *ʁanǰa-* 'to act in which way, to behave how'.[3] The occurrence of the formant *-ǰa* is restricted to these three verbs. Menges (1963: 135), however, analyses *mïnǰa-*, *ïnǰa-* and *qanǰa-* as contractions from *munǰa-(y)a-*, *ïnǰa-(y)a-* and *qanǰa-(y)a-* and considered them as quite recent formations. The documented Sayan Turkic pronominal verb forms are presented in the following table:

1 In Sayan Turkic non-language specific forms, both the word-medial affricate of the three pronominal verbs and the word initial velar stop of the verb 'to act how' are treated as lenis consonants and are represented by small capitals.

2 On the interrogative pronoun *qa-* 'which (one)' and its consorts, see Schönig (1995) and Kotwitz (1936: 75).

3 According to Hagège (2008: 20), among the rare languages which display both interrogative and deictic verbs are Dyirbal and Rundi.

Tuvan	Tofan	Dukhan[4]	Tuhan[5]	Gloss
mïnča-	*mïńǰa-*	*mïnǰa-*	*mïha-*	'to act like this, to do like this'
ïnča-	*ïńǰa-*	*ïnǰa-*	*ïha-*	'to act like that, to do like that'
kanča-	*qańǰa-*	*ʁanǰa-*	*qaha-*[6]	'how to act?, to do how?'

Pronominal verbs behave like 'normal' verbs, filling both finite and non-finite slots. A Dukhan example with a finite form of *ʁanǰa-* is presented below:

2. *Am* *ganǰaar* *bis* ?
now act how-INTRA.LF we

'What will happen to us now'
(Ragagnin fieldnotes)

Highly productive, however, are converbial forms used as sentence and modal adverbs in Sayan Turkic. A wide range of adverbials are formed with the addition of the full set of converbial suffixes *-(X)n*, *-(X)p*, *-GAš*, *-zA*, *-GižA*, *-GAlI* and *-BAyn*) to pronominal verbal stems. Formatives from the proximal and distal pronoun belong to the category of sentence adverbs, whereas derivates from *ʁanǰa-* are modal adverbs. Some examples: Tuvan *mïnčap* 'so, being like this', *ïnča:š* (~ *ïnčaš*) 'therefore, thereafter', *ïnčan* 'then, at that time', *qančap* 'how'; Tofan *ïńǰaalï* 'so, in that way', *qańǰap* 'how, in which way', *ïńǰaaš* 'thereafter' *qańǰaalï* 'how, in which way', Jungar Tuvan *ïnžaŋgaš* 'therefore', Dukhan *ïnǰæcæš* 'so, being like that', *ganǰap* 'how', Tuhan *mïhap* 'so, so doing like this', *ïhap* 'so, doing like that', *gahap* 'how', etc. Additionally, the stems *ïnǰa-*, *mïnǰa-* and *ʁanǰa-* can be augmented with the voice suffixes *-l* and *-n*, e.g. Tuvan *ïnčangaš*, Tofan *ïńǰaŋaš* ~ *ïńǰaaŋaš* ~ *ïńǰaŋgaš*, Dukhan *ïńǰaŋgaš* 'so, therefore (lit. after having done like that for himself/herself/itself)',

4 Dukhan is spoken by approximately 500 people inhabiting the northwestern areas of Khövsgöl province in Mongolia. It belongs to the Taiga subgroup of Sayan Turkic, together with Tofan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area in Tuva, as well as Soyot of Buriatia. For a description of Dukhan, see Ragagnin (in print). For isoglosses shared by Dukhan with Toju Tuvan, and Tofan, see Ragagnin (2006).

5 Tuhan is actively spoken by approximately 50 elderly speakers to the East of Khövsgöl Lake. It shares many isoglosses with Tofan, but at the same time it shows independent features not found in the other Sayan varieties; see Ragagnin (2009).

6 In Tuhan, apparently, the cluster *-nǰ-* is realized as *-h-*, which might have developed from **š* , i.e. *nǰ* → *š* → *h*.

Tuvan *mïnčangaš* 'so, therefore (lit. after having done like this for himself/herself/itself)', *kančangaš* 'how', *ïnčanmayn* 'konečno, razumeetsja' (Tenišev 1968: 598a), *ïnčalza-daa* and *ïnčalzažok* 'ama, amma, fakat, lâkin, yalnız' (Monguš 2005: 298), Tofan *ïńjansa*, *ïńjaansa* and *ïńjalsa* 'v takom slučae, jesli tak, togda', *ïńjaalï* 'tak, takim obrazom' (Rassadin 1995: 100b) etc. Adverbial forms of pronominal verbs are presented with context in the following sentences:

3. *jæ:n* *dïkka* *iʰsiy* *uširindan* *ihezinin*
in the summer very hot cause-POSS3-ABL mother-POSS3-GEN

iʰštinde *duruzunda* *düyü* *ümmen.*
inside-POSS3-LOC stand-PART-POSS3-LOC fur-POSS3 exit-NEG-POST

Ïńjaaš *ol* *anxay* *öluy* *döreen.*
act like that-CB that reindeer calf die-ADJ.DER be born-POST.

'In the summer, since it was very hot, when it was in the womb of its mother, its (of the reindeer calf's) fur did not grow. Therefore, the reindeer calf was born dead.'
(Dukhan, Ragagnin fieldnotes)

4. *Ïńjaaštan* *höngen* *dep* *ekki* *jem.*
act like that-CB-ABL *höngen*-bread say-CB good food

'So, *höngen* is a good food' (Dukhan, Ragagnin, in print)

This sentence was uttered by one of my consultant after telling me precisely how to prepare the *höngen*-bread, a special ring-shaped bread cooked under the ashes.

5. *Ïńjanza* *me:n* *gara:mnï* *jüʰkšüp*
act like this-V.DER-COND I-GEN eye-POSS1.SG-ACC pluck out-CB

ber *deer* *jime.*
give-IMP2. say-PART thing

'If it is so, pluck out my eye for me", he says.' (Dukhan, Ragagnin, in print)

6. *Sook* *turgan* *ïnčanmïže* *eštip* *turgan* *bis.*
cold be-POST act like that-V.DER-CB swim-CB stand-POST we

'It was cold; nevertheless, we had a swim.'
(Tuvan, Dorlig & Dadar-Ool 1994: 237a)

7. *Ažïldï* *doostum,* *ïnčangaš* *dïštanïp bolur.*
work-ACC finish-PAST-1SG act like that-V.DER-CB relax-CB become-INTRA.LF

'I finished the work, therefore I can relax' (Tuvan, Pal'mbax 1953: 594b)

8. *Xïın* *izip* *kelgen,* *ïnčangaš* *xoylar*
sun warm up-CB come-PAST act like that-V.DER-CB sheep-PL

deveeley *bergen.*
shade-V.DER-CB give-POST

'The sun warmed up, so the sheep looked for shade.'
(Tuvan, Dorlig & Dadar-Ool 1994: 236b)

9. *Ïnžaŋgaštan* *onu* *dört* *sumun* *da* *deer* *bo.*
act like that-V.DER-CB-ABL that-ACC four district PRTC say-INTRA.LF this

'This is also why they call them (the Monchak) the Four Districts.'
(Jungar Tuvan, Mawkanuli 2005: 9)

10. *Inžaŋgaš* *käzir* *men* *bodum* *monchak dïl*
act like that-V.DER-CB now I myself Monchak language

bilir *men* *mool* *dïl* *bilir* *men*
know-INTRA.LF I Mongolian language know-INTRA.LF I

kazak dïl *bilir* *men* *ansu-ša* *bilir* *men.*
Kazak language know-INTRA.LF I Xan-EQU know-INTRA.LF I

'Therefore, now, I know Monchak, I know Mongolian, I know Kazak, (and) I know Chinese.' (Jungar Tuvan, Mawkanuli 2005: 38)

11. *Mïnčaar* *bižiir* *xerek.*
act like this-PART write-PART need.

'(You) must write like this.' (Tuvan, Tenišev 1968: 305b)

Additionally, Sayan Turkic displays the verb *joon-* 'to act how', which functionally corresponds to *Gańja-*, e.g. Tofan *čoop* 'počemu', Tuvan *čoongan* 'kak že tak', *čoonduŋ* 'čto ty?, čto s toboj?' (Tenišev 1968: 540a), *am ÿõõnïl* 'what will happen now' (Dukhan, Ragagnin, field data). Morphologically, the verbal stem *joon-* is rather obscure. It might be viewed as consisting of the verbal stem *čoo-* — possibly related to the Mongolian interrogative verb formed from the root **ya-* (see below) — augmented by the voice suffix *-n*.

Finally, in Sayan Turkic the nominative forms of the proximal demonstrative *bo* and the two distal demonstratives *ol* and *doo ~ döö ~ duu ~ düü ~ dee*[7] can be verbalized with the addition of the suffix *-LA*, e.g. Tuvan *dööle-* 'to go in that direction', *ola-* 'to go in that direction', *bola- ~ mola-* 'to go in this direction'; also see Menges (1963: 114–115).

Pronominal verbs in other Siberian Turkic languages

Beyond the borders of Sayan Turkic, pronominal verbs are found also in other Siberian Turkic languages. However, they display a different morphological structure and their paradigms are defective.

Altai Turkic, for instance, displays the pronominal verbal stems *ana-*, *muna-* and *qana-*, e.g. *anayïp* 'tak, itak, takim obrazom', *mïnayïp* 'takim

7 The pronoun *döö ~ dee* does not belong to the original set of Turkic pronouns. Isxakov & Palm'bax (1961: 231–232) assumed that this pronoun originates from the oblique form *tüün* of the Mongolian distal demonstrative *ter*.

obrazom', *kanayïp* 'kak, kakim obrazom' (Baskakov 1947: 18b, 71a, 112a). These stems, apparently, mostly occur provided with the converb *-(X)p* (Menges 1963: 134–135). As for the internal morphology, Baskakov analyses these forms as contractions of the verbal stem plus the converb suffix *-y* and *edip*. In addition, Altai Turkic has three functionally equivalent verbal forms: *anayt-*, *munayt-* and *qanayt-*, which seem to originate from the converbial forms *ana-ya*, *muna-ya qana-ya* plus the auxiliary *et-* (Menges 1963: 134–135). Some dialects also display forms going back to Mongolian **yaγum-a* plus the auxiliary *et-*, e.g. Chalkan *čüwet-* ~ *čüγet-* ~*čuγat-* ~*čuwot-* 'to do what' (F. Güner-Dilek, personal communication).

Khakas has two pronominal verbs: *xayt-* and *nöt-*. The former *xayt-* 'čto delat'?, kak delat'?, kak postupat'?, dlja čego delat'? (Baskakov 1953: 267) is derived from the interrogative pronouns **qay* plus the auxiliary *et-*, eg. *xayttïŋ* 'čto s toboj slučilos'?' (Subrakova 2006: 786a). On the other hand, the latter formation *nöt-* 'to do what' (Menges 1963: 135) might be traced back to the Turkic interrogative pronoun *negü* plus the verb *et-*. Menges (1963: 135), by contrast, analyses *nöt* as *noo* < **nayu* < Mong. *yayu[n]* 'what' plus *et-*. Additionally, Khakas also displays the verbal stem *nool-* 'čto-to delat'', e.g. *noolar* 'čto možet slučit'sja' (Baskakov 1953: 284a). This form might be formally and functionally related to the Sayan verbal form *čoon-* just analysed above.

As for Lena Turkic, Dolgan displays *kańaa-* (Stachowski 1993: 137) and Yakut *xayaa-* 'delat', postupat' kakim-l. obrazom' (Slepcov 1972: 474a) which are derived from the oblique stem of the interrogative pronoun *kań-* and *kay-*, respectively.[8] Besides, Yakut displays some cases of verbal formations from both bare pronouns and case-marked pronominal forms with the addition of the denominal verbal suffix *-laa*, e.g. *tuoxtaa-* 'delat' čto, nadeljat' čem' from *tuox* 'what', *xannalaa-* 'idti kuda' from *xanna* (**qan*-DAT) 'where', *xaydaxtaa-* 'snabdit' kakim, kakim obrazom' from *xaydak* (**qay- +täg*) 'how, which one' and *xannïktaa-* 'nadeljat' kakim' from *yannïk* (**qan*-EQU) 'how, which one' (Xaritonov 1954: 112–113). The last two forms, according to Xaritonov, are rare.

Apparently, neither Yenissey nor Lena Turkic possesses verbal stems derived from the proximal and distal demonstratives.

8 For details on Lena Turkic forms based on *qay-* and *qan-*, see Schönig (1995).

Pronominal verbs beyond Siberian Turkic

Beyond the Siberian area, the documented pronominal verbs display the following morphological structure: nominative form of the pronoun + auxiliary verb 'to do'. This structure also occurs in many other languages of the world.[9]

Kazak, for instance, displays the forms *qayt-* (<**qay* +*et-*) 'what to do, how to act, what to undertake', *büyt-* (< **bo* + *et-*) 'to act like this', *üyt-* (**ol* + *et-*) 'to act in such a way, to do this' and *süyt-* (< **šo/šu* + *et-*) 'to do this way, to act this way'. Some examples: *qaytse de* (and also *qaytkende de*) 'in any case, under any circumstances', *üytip-büytip* 'anyhow, haphazardly, with difficulty', *süyte süyte* 'acting thus, gradually' (Shnitnikov 1966: 255a, 286a, 185a), *süytip istey* 'to do like this' (Bazylxaan 1977: 282b). Besides, Khazak also displays analytical verbal constructions formed by the equative form of the demonstratives plus *et-*, e.g. *olay et-* is given as a variant of *üyt-* (Shnitnikov 1966: 286a). Tatar, another Kipchak language from the Volga subgroup, merely displays *nit-* (<**ne* + *et-*) 'to do what' (Ganiyev et al. 1997: 227a). Interestingly also Yellow Uighur displays a pronominal verb of this type: *nagïl-* (< **ne kïl-*) 'to do what' (H. Nugteren, personal communication).

Modern Uighur combines equative case forms of the three pronouns with the auxiliary verb *qïl-* 'to do', namely *mïndaq, ïndaq* ~ *undaq* and *qandaq* + *qïl-*, e.g. *qandaq qïldïŋ* 'how did you do it?', *men mïndaq qïldïm* 'I did it like this'. The construction *nime qïldïŋ?* means, on the other hand, 'what did you do'.[10] Similar is the situation in Uzbek (A. Merhan, personal communication).

As for Oghuz Turkic, Turkmen displays the verb *nät-* 'čto delat', čto sdelat'' < *näme* + *et-* (Baskakov et al. 1968: 479a), whereas Turkish displays the analytical constructions *ne yap-* and *ne et-* 'to do what', which are phonetically realized as [naap] and [net], respectively. Similarly *ne ol-* 'for what to happen' is realized as [nol]. In this respect also note the following old Azerbaijanian example from the poetic contest of Fuẓūlī *Beng Ü Bāde*:

9 See for instance colloquial Mandarin Chinese *gànmá* „to do what", a reduced form of *gàn-shénma* 'do-what' which is now an unanalyzable word in contemporary Chinese (Hagège 2008: 2, 11).

10 I thank A. Mamtimin, doctoral student of M. Erdal, for providing me with Uighur examples.

(12) *N'ola gelse baŋa ṣiġār ü kibār* ‚What will happen if rich and poor would come to me

almağa ders-i Maḫzen-i Esrār to be instructed in the treasure of the secrets?[11] (Ragagnin 1996: 119)

Worth noticing in this regard is also the Bulgarian Balkan Turkic adverb *naap* 'how' which most likely goes back to **ne yapïp* and semantically corresponds to Turkish *nasıl* 'how' < **ne* plus Arabic *aṣl* 'origin, source, basis'.[12]

Finally, to express the meanings 'to do like this' and 'to do like that', Oghuz Turkic combines adverbial forms consisting of nominative forms of the demonstratives provided with a suffixed form of the postposition *ile* and the auxiliary verb 'to do', e.g. Turkish, *böyle*, *öyle*, *šöyle yap-*, Turkmen *šeydip* ~ *šeyledip* 'in this way, like so' (Clark 1998: 193), *beylep* 'in this way, like so' (G. Sahatova, personal communication).

Pronominal verbs in Mongolic languages

Mongolic displays verbal forms of pronominal origin derived both from deictic and interrogative pronominal roots (Menges 1963: 134–136).

As for older stages of Mongolic, the stems *eyi-* 'to act in this manner', *teyi-* 'to act in that manner' and *yaɣa-*[13] 'how to act' from the pronominal roots **e*, **te* and **ya*, respectively, are documented in Written Mongolian sources (Poppe 1987: 228, 231). However, only *yaɣa-* has a complete conjugation in Written Mongolian. Preclassical Mongolian sources (=Middle Mongol) show the following vestigial forms originating from the proximal and the distal pronominal verbs: *teyin* 'such, so, this way, thus' vs. *eyin*, with the addition of the converbial suffix *-n*, and *eyimü* 'such, so thus' vs. *teyimü* 'such, so, this way, thus', with the addition of the narrative marker *-mü*. Note the following examples below from the Secret History of the Mongols:[14]

11 The other meaning of the word *esrār* is 'drugs'.

12 This example belongs to the unpublished Balkan Turkic text material of N. Ali, doctoral student of M. Erdal.

13 Poppe (1987: 230) gives the following forms for Common Mongolian: **yaɣa-*, **yeyi* < **yayi* and **yeki-*.

14 Haenisch (1962)

13. *Ḫoritumad-un* *Ḫorilartai-mergan* *no* *okin* *arih usun* *na*
Qori Tumat-GEN Qorilartai Mergen PRTC daughter Ariq Usun PRTC

toreksen *Alan-ḫo'a-yi* *tende ḫuyuju* *Dobun-mergan* *no* *abuhsan*
be born-PART Alan Qo'a-ACC there ask-CB Dobun-mergen PRTC take-PART

yosun *teyimü.*
low act like that-NARR

'So kam es, daß Dobun der Kluge dort um die Tochter des Chorilartai der Choritumat warb, die bei Arich Usun geborene Alan sie Schöne, und sie sich nahm.'[15] (§9, Haenisch 1948: 2)

14. *Job* *ele* *eyimü* *arḫatu-yin* *tula* *nidun-dur-iyen*
right PRTC act like this-NARR tricky-GEN for eye-DAT-P.REFL

hal tu. *Ni'ur-tur-iyen* *gereltu* *keyen* *taiyici'ut*
fire ADJ.DER face-DAT-P.REFL light-ADJ.DER say-CB Tayichud

aḫa de'u-deyen *teyin* *ele* *naitahdan* *aju'u.*
older brother-DAT.P.REFL act like that-CB PRTC be jealous-CB COP.IND

ci *teyin* *gu* *kebte.*
you act like that-CB PRTC lie down-IMP2

' [...] und sagte er: "Eben weil du so listig bist, Feuer in deinen Augen hast und Glanz auf deinem Gesicht, stellen dir deine Taitschi'ut-brüder so nach. Bleibe du so liegen." [...]'[16] (§82, Haenisch 1948: 16)

15. *Temujin u* *ḫoyinaca* *burhan-ḫaldun* *ni* *ḫurban ta*
Temujin-GEN behin-ABL Burhan Haldun PRTC three PRTC

huci'ulju *erusun yadaba.* *Eyin* *teyin*
surround-CB catch-CB not be able-PAST act like this-CB act like that-CB

bulji'asu *umubu* *šibar* *berke* *hoi* *ino* *catḫulang*
jump-COND quagmire mud difficult forest POSS3 abundance

moḫai ya *širḫu'asu* *ulu* *bolḫu.*
snake-LOC squeeze-COND NEG become-PART

'Auf der Suche hinter Temudschin her umstreiften sie dreimal den Burhan Chaldun, konnten ihn, den Temudschin, aber nicht fangen. Einmal hier, einmal da mussten sie ausweichen und in den Sumpf, das Walddickicht und den Morastboden bohrten sie sich ein, aber es ging nicht weiter [...]'[17] (§102, Haenisch 1948: 22)

15 Cf. de Rachewiltz (2006: 3) "This is how Dobun Mergen asked there and then for Alan Qo'a, doughter of Qorilartai Mergen of the Qori Tumat born at Ariq Usun, and how he took her as his wife."

16 Cf. de Rachewiltz (2006: 24) "He said to him: 'It is just because you are so cleaver, and because there is fire in your eyes, there is light in your face, that your Tayici'ut kinsmen are so jealous. Lie just so [...]"

17 Cf. de Rachewiltz (2006: 32) "In pursuit of Temujin they circled Burqan Qaldun three times but could not catch him. They made detours this way and that – the swallowing quagmires and the tangled woods made so impenetrable a forest that a glutted snake could not creep in- [...]"

On the other hand, modern Mongolic languages display complete paradigms of the three pronominal verbs. Their morphological shape, however, differs from that of the forms in older language stages, e.g. Khalkha Mongolian *inge-*, *tege-*[18] and *yaa-*, Buriat *iige-*, *tiige-* , and *yaa-*, Kalmyk *igə-*, *tegə-*, *yaa-* 'to do so (in this way), to be in this way', 'to do so (in that way), to be so (in that way)', 'how to act'. Whereas there is formal continuation with regard to 'how to act', the modern cognates of *eyi-* and *teyi-* show considerable formal divergences. They likely go back to **eyin* and **teyin*, respectively, plus the verbal stem *ge-* 'to say' as proposed by both Lessing (1995: 411b) and Ramstedt (1976: 389b). Thus, they can be considered a more recent formation.

These three pronominal verbs have a high functional load in their respective spoken languages. Besides filling finite slots, many non-finite forms, especially converbial forms, function as conjuctional and modal adverbs, e.g. Khalkha *ingeǰ* 'in this way, thus', *ingevel* 'if so, in this case', *ingexgüygeer* 'otherwise', *tegǰ* 'so, like that, in that way', *yaaǰ* 'how', *yaaval* 'how', *yaavč* 'certainly' (Bawden 1997), Kalmyk tegeed 'es war so, danach, darum, und dann' (Ramstedt 1976: 389b), *iigj* 'tak, takim obrazom', *yahad* 'warum' (Bardaev et al. 2004: 369a, 991a), Buriat, *iigeed* 'itak, takim obrazom, sledovatel'no', *tiigebel* ~ *tiibel* 'v takom slučae', *iigeže* 'takim obrazom', *tiiged* 'zatem, togda, dal'še, tak, no, a' (Čeremisov 1973: 276b, 421b, 422a).

16. *Bid* *odoo* *yaana!*
We now act how-INTRA.LF

'What should we do now!' (Khalkha Mongolian, Ragagnin, field data)

17. *Iiged* *muuxn* *tsaaǰlgdv,* *sän* *uxan* *diilv*
act like this-CB bad punish-V.DER-PAST good mind win-PAST

'So, evil-minded people get punished and good-minded people win'
(Kalmyk, Badmaev 2009: 436)

18. *Uržader* *dunda* *hurguuliin* *nüxedtey* *uulzaab,*
Yesterday middle school-GEN friend-PL-COM meet-PAST-1SG

tiigeed *udaan* *xööreldööbdi*
act like that-CB for a long time speak-PAST-1PL

'Yesterday I met a high school friend and thereafter we spoke a lot.'
(Buriat, B. Khabtagaeva-Kempf, personal communication)

18 Besides *tege-*, the verb *čingge-* also occurs in Khalkha-Mongolian meaning 'to act in that manner'; cf. Poppe (1991: 66) and Bawden (1997: 525b).

19. *Ši* *iigeed* *bodožo* *baygaašin* *buruu* *bayna.*
You act like this-CB think-CB be-PART-2SG wrong CB

'It's not nice that you think like this.'
(Buriat, B. Khabtagaeva-Kempf, personal communication)

Note that in the previous example *iiged* is not a sentence adverb but a modal adverb modifying the verb *bodo-*.

20. *Zay,* *nüxed* *xüröö,* *iigeed* *gerte* *busaya*
yeah friend-PL reach-PART act like that-CB house-DAT return-VOL1

'Well, friends, it's been enough now, (so) we're going back home.'
(Buriat, B. Khabtagaeva-Kempf, personal communication)

21. *Čegii*[19] *margaaš* *ogloo* *kušun* *yawii.*
act like that-VOL1 tomorrow morning village go-VOL1

'Okay (=let's do (it) like that), let's go to the village tomorrow.'
(Ordos, Ragagnin 2009, field data)

Finally, worth noting are certain finite forms which are used as affirmative adverbs such as Khalkha-Mongolian *teg'ye* 'jawohl, machen wir es so!' (*teg*-VOL1), *teg!* 'ja, mache es so!' (*teg*-VOL3) *tegelgui yaxav*! (*teg*-CB.NEG + *ya*-PRES-Q) 'natürlich! Aber sicher!' (Vietze 2008).

Pronominal verbs across the Tungusic languages

Common to all Tungusic languages is the presence of the demonstrative verb **ya-* 'to act how' which coincides with the pronominal stem **ya* 'which', e.g. Evenki *e:-* 'to do what' (Bulatova 1999: 25), Lamut *ya-* 'was tun' (Benzing 1955: 78, Menges 1968: 114), Nanai *ɲai-* 'was tun' (Menges 1968: 195), Udihe *ya-/i:-* 'to do what' (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 352) and Oroqen *yee-* 'to act how'[20] (Seren-Batu, personal communication). In this respect, Manchu stands apart since it displays the verbal stem *aina-* 'čto delat'?, kak byt'?, kak postupit'?' (Zaxarov 1875: 2b), derived from the interrogative pronoun *ai* 'which(one)' plus the verbalizing suffix *-na*.

From the verbal stem **ya-* several adverbs are formed in Tungusic parallel to Turkic and Mongolic. Lamut *yami* 'was tuend → warum'

19 Ordos *čeg-* might represent a palatalized form of *teg-*, or it might be derived from the form *či* and not *te-* of the distal demonstrative. On the form *či* see Kotwitz (1936: 41).

20 Possibly, the first meaning of the other Tungus forms presented above is also 'to act how' and not 'to do what', meanings that are semantically near but not identical.

(Benzing 1955b: 78) is derived by adding the converbial suffix *-mi* to the pronominal verb *ya-*, and closely corresponds both formally and semantically to Mongolian *yaagaad* (*ya*-CB) and Sayan Turkic *ganǰap* (*ganǰa*-CB).

Worth noticing is also the Evenki pronoun *aŋi:* 'who, what, where' which also gets verbalized without morphological marking as just seen above for *e:* 'what'. The verb *aŋi:* used anaphorically can replace nearly any verb (Bulatova & Grenoble 1999: 26).

Verbal formations from the distal and proximal pronouns are found, apparently, only in Oroqen. Oroqen displays the following verbal formations: *ottoo-* 'to do like this' and *tottoo-* 'to do like that' (Seren-Batu, personal communication), from the roots *o-* and *to-*, respectively (< **e-* and **te-*). These verbal stems, however, might represent recent formations and could be considered as a contact-induced phenomenon. The last assumption is very likely, especially considering the multilingual enviroment where Oroqen live in northeastern China. As for the morphological shape of *ottoo-* and *tottoo*, it recalls the more recent type of pronominal formation present in both Sayan Turkic (*bo-la-*, *dö-le-* etc.) and Yakut (*tuox-ta-* etc.) discussed above.

'How to act' and 'what to do' now

The existence of both interrogative and deictic, i.e. proximal and distal, verbs clearly forms an isogloss connecting Sayan Turkic and modern Mongolic languages. Many questions, however, remain unanswered, especially with regard to the diachronic evolutionary trajectory of these forms.

The relation between Sayan Turkic and Old Turkic remains problematic. Is it a pure coincidence that Sayan Turkic *ïnǰap* corresponds formally and functionally to Old Turkic *ančïp* and *ïnčïp*? Or do Sayan forms reflect an archaic system? Is it possible to assume that some speakers of 8th century Turkic used to employ in their everyday conversations a set of pronominal verbs similar to those present nowadays in Sayan Turkic? Were these forms then confined to the register of the spoken language and thus considered "vulgar" for the official written language?

Another issue which calls for further research is the relation of the interrogative pronominal forms among Altaic languages. Menges (1968: 114) reconstructs an Altaic interrogative root **qa*. Similarly, Hagège (2008: 4) in dealing with interrogative verbs carefully notes that the interrogative stem *y-* seems to be present in all branches of the Altaic and Chukotko-Kamchatkan families.[21] Interestingly, among Samoyedic languages, the easternmost branch of Uralic languages, only Nganasan displays verbs of pronominal origin, namely *əntI* and *maa*. Goussev & Brykina (2006) describe *əntI* thusly: "[It is] a kind of dummy morpheme which serves as a preparative substitute in case of speaker's hesitation to choose the right word, [and] occurs both as a nominal and a verbal stem." They describe *maa* 'what' as a bifunctional form occurring both as an interrogative pronoun and as a pro-verb.

Tungusic is rather under-investigated. It would be useful to discover if other languages of this family display pronominal verbs similar to the Oroqen ones presented above, or some different and more archaic formations.

Finally, worth noticing is that modern Mongolic languages seem to show a kind of "rescheduling" of a former system. In all modern Mongolic languages deictic pronominal verbs possess a high functional load and differ formally from those of classic and preclassic Mongolian. Such circumstances prompt one to ask questions requiring further research, such as: what triggered the "restructuring" of the system, and why does only the interrogative verb 'to act how' show historical continuation?

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21 On a cross-linguistic view of interrogative verbs, see Hagège (2008).

Abbreviations used in the glosses

ADJ.DER	adjectival derivation	LOC	locative
ABL	ablative	NARR	narrative
ACC	accusative	N.DER	nominal derivation
CB	converb		
COM	comitative	NEG	negative
COND	conditional	PART	participle
COP	copula	PAST	past
GEN	genitive	POSS	possessive
IMP	imperative	POST	postterminal
IND	indirective	P.REFL	possessive-reflexive
INTRA	intraterminal		
LF	low-focal	V.DER	verbal derivation
		VOL	voluntative

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