

On the Typology of Negation
in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN TOIMITUKSIA
MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-OUGRIENNE

* 262 *

Beáta Wagner-Nagy

On the Typology of Negation
in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages

SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-OUGRIENNE
HELSINKI 2011

Beáta Wagner-Nagy: *On the Typology of Negation
in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages*
Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 262
Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne

Layout Anna Kurvinen

Copyright © 2011 Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura —
Société Finno-Ougrienne — Finno-Ugrian Society
& Beáta Wagner-Nagy

Orders — Tilaukset

Tiedekirja
Kirkkokatu 14
FI-00170 Helsinki
www.tiedekirja.fi
tiedekirja@tsv.fi
FAX +358 9 635 017

ISBN Print 978-952-5667-29-5
ISBN Online 978-952-5667-30-1
ISSN 0355-0230

Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy
Sastamala 2011

Contents

Abbreviations	XIII
List of Tables and Figures	X
Preface	XV

I. Introduction

1. Characterization of the Languages Studied	1
1.1. Typical Typological Characteristics	4
1.2. Sociolinguistic Data, Dialects	6
1.2.1. Nenets	6
1.2.2. Enets	7
1.2.3. Nganasan	9
1.2.4. Selkup	10
1.2.5. Mator	11
1.2.6. Kamas	12
1.2.7. Khanty	12
1.2.8. Mansi	14
2. Corpora and Transcription	16
2.1. Transcription and Glossing	16
2.2. The Corpus	18
3. The Problem of Negation	19
3.1. The Concept of Negation	19
3.2. The Main Types of Negated Sentences	21
3.3. The Negative Sentence and its Elements	27
3.3.1. Finite Elements	27
3.3.2. Negative Markers	28
3.4. Auxiliary Verb Construction	37
3.5. Sentential Position of the Negative Element	43

II. Standard Negation

1.	On the Typology of Standard Negation	51
1.1.	Symmetric Construction	53
1.2.	Asymmetric Construction	54
2.	On Standard Negation in Uralic Languages	58
3.	Standard Negation in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	64
3.1.	Symmetric Negation	64
3.1.1.	Selkup	65
3.1.1.1.	Position of the Negative Particle in Selkup	70
3.1.2.	Kamas	71
3.1.2.1.	Position of the Negative Particle in Kamas	75
3.1.3.	Khanty	75
3.1.3.1.	Position of the Negative Particle in Khanty	77
3.1.4.	Mansi	80
3.1.4.1.	Position of the Negative Particle in Mansi	81
3.2.	Asymmetric Construction: A/FIN/NEG _{VERB}	83
3.2.1.	Mator	84
3.2.2.	Kamas	86
3.2.3.	Nenets	88
3.2.3.1.	Position of Negative Auxiliaries in Nenets	94
3.2.3.2.	Inverse Word Order in Nenets	95
3.2.4.	Enets	96
3.2.4.1.	Inverse Word Order in Enets	100
3.2.5.	Nganasan	101
3.2.5.1.	Position of Negative Auxiliaries in Nganasan	107
3.2.5.2.	Inverse Word Order in Nganasan	108
3.2.6.	Selkup	109
3.2.7.	Khanty	111
3.2.8.	Mansi	112

III. Negation with Semantically not Empty Negative Auxiliaries

1.	Selkup	113
2.	Nenets	116
2.1.	<i>xańasʹ</i> 'almost not'	116
2.2.	<i>jaʔmasʹ</i> 'not able to'	117
3.	Enets	119
3.1.	<i>loðeš</i> 'cannot'	120
3.2.	<i>dʹamaš</i> 'cannot'	121
4.	Nganasan	123
4.1.	<i>ləðiʔsʹi</i> 'cannot'	123
4.2.	<i>ŋuəlɪ-</i> 'how could (I) not'	125
5.	Khanty	127

IV. Negation with Negative Lexical Verbs

1.	Nenets	130
2.	Nganasan	131
3.	Enets	135

V. Negation of Imperative

1. Negative Non-Indicative Constructions in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	144
1.1. Symmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker – Common Imperative Strategy (Type2)	144
1.1.1. Selkup	144
1.1.2. Mansi	147
1.1.3. Khanty	149
1.2. Asymmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker + Common Imperative Strategy (Type 2)	153
1.2.1. Kamas	153
1.3. Asymmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker + Special Imperative Strategy (Type 4)	157
1.3.1. Tundra Nenets	157
1.3.2. Enets	160
1.4. Asymmetric Negation: Stand. Neg. Marker + Common Strategy (Type 1)	164
1.4.1. Nganasan	164
1.5. Asymmetric Negation: Stand. Neg. Marker + Special Strategy (Type 3)	166
1.5.1. Forest Nenets	166

VI. Existential Sentences

1. Typology of Negated Existential Sentences	176
2. Negated Existential Sentences in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	182
2.1. Type B	185
2.1.1. Mator	185
2.1.2. Kamas	186
2.1.3. Nganasan	187
2.2. Type A ~ B	195
2.2.1. Nenets	195
2.2.2. Enets	199
2.2.3. Mansi	202
2.2.4. Khanty	205
2.3. Type B ~ C	208
2.3.1. Selkup	208

VII. Predicate Possessive

1.	Have-Possession	213
2.	Intransitive Construction	214
3.	Typology of Possession Negation	219
4.	Data of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	221
5.1.	Type A ₂	222
	5.1.1. Kamas	222
	5.1.2. Non-Northern Selkup Dialects	223
5.2.	Type A ₃	225
	5.2.1. Northern Selkup	225
	5.2.2. Nenets	228
	5.2.3. Enets	237
5.3.	Type B ₁	241
	5.3.1. Khanty	241
	5.3.2. Mansi	246
5.4.	Type B ₂	250
	5.4.1. Nganasan	250

VIII. Non-Verbal Predicate

1.	Negation of Non-Verbal Predicate Constructions	265
2.	Data from Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	273
2.1.	Two-Way Distinction	273
	2.1.1. Nenets	273
	2.1.2. Enets	280
	2.1.3. Selkup	284
	2.1.4. Kamas	289
	2.1.5. Eastern Khanty	291
2.2.	Three-Way Distinction	299
	2.2.1. Northern Khanty	299
	2.2.2. Northern Mansi	305
	2.2.3. Nganasan	312
	Summary	317
	References	321

List of Tables and Figures

Figures

Figure 1.	Janhunen's Taxonomy of the Samoyedic Languages	2
Figure 2.	Helimski's Taxonomy of the Samoyedic Languages (2004)	2

Tables

Table 1.	Nenets Dialects	6
Table 2.	Nenets' Command of Nenets and Russian	7
Table 3.	Nganasan Population and Language Retention	9
Table 4.	Selkup Dialects	10
Table 5.	Selkups' Command of Selkup and Russian	11
Table 6.	Khanty Dialects	13
Table 7.	Khantys' Command of Khanty and Russian	13
Table 8.	Mansi Dialects	14
Table 9.	Mansis' Command of Mansi and Russian	15
Table 10.	Notation of Vowels	17
Table 11.	Notation of Consonants	17
Table 12.	Auxiliaries in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages	32
Table 13.	Feature Categories of Auxiliaries in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	36
Table 14.	Form of the Lexical Verb Next to an Auxiliary in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	38
Table 15.	Sentential Position of the Negative Element in the Uralic Languages	45
Table 16.	The Order of the Negative Particle and the Verb	46
Table 17.	The Position of the Auxiliaries	47
Table 18.	The Order of the Negative Auxiliary and the Main Verb	48
Table 19.	The Order of Lexical Verb and Negative Auxiliary (Dryer 1992: 100)	48
Table 20.	Word Order Distribution	49
Table 21.	Miestamo's Typological Classification	52
Table 22.	Negation Constructions in Uralic Languages I	60
Table 23.	Negation Constructions in Uralic Languages II	61
Table 24.	Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary in the Uralic Languages	63
Table 25.	Types of Negated Constructions in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages	64
Table 26.	Correlation Between Tense and Negation Type in Selkup	66
Table 27.	Correlation Between Tense and Negation Type in Kamas	74
Table 28.	Distribution of Present-Tense Markers in Mator Negation	85
Table 29.	The Paradigm of Negative Auxiliary in Kamas	87
Table 30.	Negative Auxiliaries in Nenets	89
Table 31.	The Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary <i>ñiis^j + xārwas^j</i> 'to want'	90
Table 32.	Distribution of Tense and Derivational Marking on the Negative Auxiliaries in Nenets	93

Table 33.	Affirmative and Negative Paradigms in Forest and Tundra Enets	99
Table 34.	The Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary <i>nisi</i>	102
Table 35.	Distribution of Grammatical Category Markers in Nganasan Negation	103
Table 36.	Semantically not Empty Auxiliaries in Nenets	116
Table 37.	Negative Auxiliaries and the Syntactical Structure in Nenets	119
Table 38.	Semantically not Empty Auxiliaries in Enets	119
Table 39.	Semantically not Empty Negative Auxiliaries in Nganasan	123
Table 40.	Paradigm of <i>ηuəli-</i> in Nganasan	125
Table 41.	Negative Lexical Verbs in Samoyedic Languages	129
Table 42.	Prohibitive Constructions in the Uralic Languages	142
Table 43.	Negation of Non-Indicative Constructions in Some Uralic Languages	143
Table 44.	Suffixes of the Imperative Mood and the Indicative Mood in Northern Selkup (Taz Dialect)	145
Table 45.	Imperative Suffixes in Mansi	147
Table 46.	Imperative Suffixes in Eastern Khanty	149
Table 47.	The Imperative Suffixes in Kamas	153
Table 48.	The Kamas Prohibitive and Optative Verb	154
Table 49.	Kamas Negative Constructions in Morphologically Marked Moods	156
Table 50.	Imperative Suffixes in Tundra Nenets	157
Table 51.	Forest Enets Imperative Suffixes	160
Table 52.	The Imperative Paradigm for the Negative Auxiliary in Forest Enets	161
Table 53.	The Imperative Paradigm of the Enets Negative Auxiliary According to Castrén	162
Table 54.	Imperative Suffixes in Nganasan	165
Table 55.	Imperative and Indicative Person Suffixes in Forest Nenets	167
Table 56.	The Imperative and Indicative Forms of the Negative Auxiliary in Forest Nenets	168
Table 57.	Characteristics of the Locational, Existential and Predicative Possessive Sentences in Finnish and in Hungarian	174
Table 58.	Correlation Between the Basic Word Order in Existential Sentences and the Order of the Semantic Constituents	175
Table 59.	Types of Negative Existential Sentences in Uralic	181
Table 60.	Word Order Patterns in Nganasan Locational and Existential Sentences	195
Table 61.	Word Order Patterns in Nenets Locational and Existential Sentences	199
Table 62.	Word Order Patterns in Enets Locational and Existential Sentences	202
Table 63.	Word Order Patterns in Mansi Locational and Existential	204
Table 64.	Word Order Patterns in Khanty Locational and Existential Sentences	208
Table 65.	Word Order Patterns in Selkup Locational and Existential Sentences	210
Table 66.	Word Order in Predicate Locatives, Existentials and Predicate Possessives	217
Table 67.	Possessive Constructions in the Uralic Languages	218
Table 68.	Negative Possessive Constructions in Some Uralic Languages	221
Table 69.	Constructions Expressing Possession in Kamas	223

Table 70.	Possessive Constructions of the Non-Northern Selkup Dialects	225
Table 71.	Possessive Constructions of the Northern Selkup Dialects	228
Table 72.	Nenets Constructions Expressing Possession	237
Table 73.	Enets Constructions Expressing Possession	240
Table 74.	Khanty Constructions Expressing Possession	246
Table 75.	Mansi Constructions Expressing Possession	250
Table 76.	Nganasan Constructions Expressing Possession	257
Table 77.	Possible Correlations of the Negated Non-Verbal Predicate	272
Table 78.	Correlations Between Negation Strategies in Nenets	280
Table 79.	Correlations of Negation Elements in Forest Enets	284
Table 80.	Correlations of Negation Elements in Selkup	288
Table 81.	Correlations of Negation Elements in Kamas	290
Table 82.	Correlations of Negation Strategies in Eastern Khanty	298
Table 83.	Correlations of Negation Elements in Kazym Khanty	304
Table 84.	Correlations of Negation Markers in Mansi	311
Table 85.	Correlations of Negation Strategies in Nganasan	316
Table 86.	Standard Negation and Prohibitive Constructions in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages	318
Table 87.	Existential Negation Constructions in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages	318
Table 88.	Correlations of the Non-verbal Negation Strategies in the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages	320

Abbreviations

ABS	absolute	EXL	exclamative
ACC	accusative	EXPL	expletive
ACT	nomen actionis	FE	finite element
ADJ	adjective	FREQ	frequentative
ADM	admirative	FUT	future
ADMCOH	admissive-cohortative	GER	gerund
ADV	adverbial suffix or adverb	GEN	genitive
AG	nomen agentis	GER.FUT	future gerund
ALL	allative	HAB	habituaive
ARTDEF	definite article	IMP	imperative
ARTINDEF	indefinite article	IMP.PTCL	imperative particle
AT	attenuative	INCH	inchoative
AUD	auditive	INDEF	indefinitive
AUG	augmentative	INE	inessive
AUX	auxiliary	INF	infinitive
CAR	caritive	INFER	inferential
CAUS	causative	INSTR	instrumental suffix
CLIT	clitic	INT	intentional
CN	connegative	INTER	interrogative mood
Co	aorist linking element	INTER.FUT	interrogative future
COND	conditional	INTER.PST	interrogative past
CONJ	conjunctive mood	INTERJ	interjection
COP	copula	IPF	imperfective suffix
Cx	casus suffix	IRR	irrealis
DAT	dative	ITER	iterative
DEB	debitive	L	location
DEF	definite (marker)	LAT	lative
DES	desiderative	LAT.ADV	adverbial lative suffix
DIM	diminutive	LATENT	latentive mood
DST	destinative (benefactive)	LIM	limitative
DU	dual	LOC	locative
DUB	dubitative mood	LOC.ADV	adverbial locative suffix
DUR	durative suffix	LOCI	nomen loci
EL	elative	N	noun
EL.ADV	adverbial elative suffix	NAR	narrative mood
EMPH	emphatic clitic	NAR.FUT	narrative future
EP	epenthetic vowel/consonant	NEG	negative / negative element
ESS	essive	NEG.EX	negative existential verb/particle
EX	existential verb	NEG.IMP	prohibitive particle
EXCL	exclamative		

NEG ^P	negative phrase	PST2	second past
NMLZ	nominalizer	PT	participle
NOM	nominative	PT.ABESS	abessive participle
NP	marker of noun phrase	PTCL	particle
o	objective conjugation	PTPRS	present participle
OBL	oblique case	PTPST	past participle
OPL	conjugation referring to plural object	PST.NAR	narrative mood in past tense
OPT	optative	PX	possessive suffix
PART	partitive	R	reflexive
PASS	passive	QUES	question particle or clitic
PERF	perfective	RES	resultative
PL	plural	SG	singular
PoM	possessum	SIM	similative suffix
PoR	possessor	SUB	subjunctive
POSS	denominal possessive suffix (nomen possessoris)	SUP	supine
PP	postposition	SUPESS	superessive
PR	preposition	SUP.NEG	negative supine
PRED	predicate marker	SUPPROB	superbprobabilitive
PROB	probabilitive	T	theme
PROF	proform	TRL	translative
PROL	prolative	V	verb
PRON	pronouns, pronominal stem	VP	verb phrase
PROPR	propritive	VN	deverbal noun
PRS	present	VOC	vocative
PST	past	VOL	volitive suffix
		VX	verbal personal suffix

Preface

Today neither the Samoyedic, nor the Ob-Ugric languages can be considered as belonging to the group of little-known languages. A large number of studies and grammars deal with these languages. Nevertheless, there are phenomena in both language groups that to date have not been thoroughly examined. One of these is the issue of negation. Negation in the Uralic languages has been investigated by many researchers in many different ways, but no comprehensive typological description has been undertaken on any of the individual languages, let alone on the entire language family. Naturally, every descriptive grammar deals with the issue of negation, at the very least by mentioning the elements of negation. However, there are only a few works which present all the possible negative structures of a certain language in detail. It is not the aim of the present monograph either to describe all the languages of this language family with adequate precision and in adequate depth, but a comprehensive, detailed typological account will be given of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages, with the intention to inspire further typological studies in the field of Uralistics. I have chosen closely related languages for my investigation in order to show that even among these, highly varying typological characteristics can be found.

What can be the underlying cause for the fact that typological research has not yet found its way into Uralistics? It can certainly be explained by the circumstance that for decades the historic-linguistic and descriptive (mostly of a morphological nature) investigations have been dominant. Another factor might also be that although large amounts of texts are available for most Uralic languages (e.g. Khanty, Mansi, Tundra Nenets), they are mostly of folkloric nature. This genre is not necessarily suitable for typological or even syntactic research. Existential sentences and their negative counterparts for instance do not typically occur in folklore texts. We also have to bear in mind that the style and syntax of folklore texts often differs largely from the style and structures of the language used in daily life. Another cause is that the other languages, like Forest Nenets or Tundra Enets are to the present day not particularly well documented. It is true that in recent years new text collections have been published, but these also sadly consist for the most part of fairy-tales and are, furthermore, rarely accessible to researchers.

Nor is linguistic investigation facilitated by the fact that there are no databases for these languages that would be accessible and searchable in digital form. Thus, researchers have no other choice than to submit to the laborious work of looking for example sentences in the text collections. This work is time-consuming and also necessitates the knowledge of not only the target language, but also the metalanguage (in this case Russian, Hungarian and German). This I consider to be one of the reasons that inferences made about these languages are often open to question even if the languages in question are included in a typologic database. If the researcher is lucky, he or she has the possibility of consulting with native speakers, which often puts the evaluation of a certain structure into a different light. It also has to be taken into account that the gram-

grams available today do not in every case deal with certain phenomena sought for by the language typologist. We would, for instance, waste our time looking in Khanty or Nenets grammars under possessive structures for examples of the locative coding of the possessor, even though this is well-known in “Uralic circles”. (Or maybe not.) This is why I have attempted to write this monograph in a way for it to be understandable not only for so-called specialists, but for everyone interested in the negative structures of the languages in question.

The aim of this work is to present the possible ways of negation from a typological point of view for the given languages. The following eight sentence types will be analysed in detail:

1. First, I will give an overview of standard negation sentences. Sentences from the Samoyedic languages containing so-called semantically not empty auxiliary verbs, as well as the sentence type with a lexical negative auxiliary verb will be discussed separately.
2. A longer chapter will also be devoted to prohibitive sentences. Typological studies have shown that a part of the world’s languages have a particular way of dealing with prohibitive structures. Examples for this will also be shown from among the languages dealt with in this work. This chapter will also include a discussion of the modal negative structures, since in certain languages, for example in Enets, the modal forms behave in the same way as the prohibitive sentences.
3. In the chapters following, the negation of existential and possessive sentences as well as those containing non-verbal predicates will be discussed.

Given the fact that no suitable database could be assembled to investigate constituent negation, this category will not be discussed separately. It is a known fact that several Uralic languages possess a nominal category usually treated under the name of abessive or caritive. In certain Samoyedic languages this type of negation is not only known as a nominal category, but also as a verbal category, for instance as a verbal mood (Nganasan). These structures enable a special type of negation, which, however, will not be discussed in detail within the framework of this study, the reason for this being that these elements, or more precisely the structures expressed by means of these elements, have for the most part not yet been thoroughly studied and their detailed discussion would go far beyond the scope of this work.

Every chapter of this book is built up in the same way. First, the typological framework will be presented for the description of the given sentence type. This I do because the typological framework and the data from the languages discussed form a whole and can be immediately compared. With every sentence type, the affirmative and the negative structures will be confronted with each other. Thus, for example in the case of existential negation the structure of existential sentences in the given language will also be discussed. Only in this way can the sentence structures be compared with one another.

The question could be raised why I in the course of this work do not apply one single typological framework, e.g. that of Miestamo, developed for standard negation. The reason is that this framework could not, or only with difficulty, be applied to the

other sentence types. In numerous cases, this framework would not reveal important characteristics of the given sentence type. We will see for instance in the case of existential negation that Croft's typological classification tells us much more about the peculiarities of this sentence type, than the ascertainment whether the structure is symmetric or asymmetric. At the same time Croft's and Miestamo's points of view do not exclude each other, i.e. the parameters chosen by the two authors can be investigated in parallel.

In the introductory chapters the languages in question will be briefly presented. The focus will lie for the most part on the dialectal distribution and the sociolinguistic status today, but the historic situation will also be briefly touched upon.

I completed the manuscript in 2008/2009 during my stay as Reserch Fellow at the University of Vienna, sponsored by the Austrian Research Council (FWF). I am deeply grateful to my colleagues of the Department of Finno-Ugrian Studies of the University of Vienna for their support and suggestions.

I. Introduction

In this chapter the languages to be studied in this work will be briefly presented. This is important since although being closely related, the individual languages still exhibit characteristics that can be considered unique and which vary considerably from each other. Before discussing the languages one by one, I will take a closer look at their history and common characteristics.

1. Characterization of the Languages Studied

The languages belonging to the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric branches of the Uralic languages form the object of this work. According to most mainstream Uralists (see e.g. Hajdu 1975, Janhunen 1992, Abondolo 1998, Bakró-Nagy 2007), the Uralic language family split ca. 6.000 years ago, that is at approximately 4.000 BCE. This is the time when the Finno-Ugric and the Samoyedic branches came into existence and the dialects evolved that would become the ancestors of the later daughter languages. The separation of the two dialects might have been caused by the Samoyeds moving towards the East. The dialects of the Samoyedic branch did not evolve into separate languages for a considerable time, i.e. the ethnic group stayed together for a few thousand years. The Finno-Ugric branch, in contrast, dissolved further around 3.000 BCE, when the Ugric group separated. It was characteristic for the Proto-Samoyedic era that there were still linguistic and cultural contacts with the Ugric people. Contacts with Tungusic peoples can be shown as well. According to Helimski (2000: 109), the influence of the Turkic ethnic group in the Southern part of Western Siberia that at the end of the 1st millennium BCE made its way in the direction of the northern Altay mountains, was also considerable. The Samoyedic entity dissolved within a short time at the beginning of the first millennium CE, the disintegration of the Ugric group can be dated to a few centuries earlier.

To this day there is no common view on the question of how many ethnic branches and languages (or dialects) have emerged from the Samoyedic branch. Traditionally, two branches are distinguished, namely the Northern-Samoyedic and the Southern Samoyedic branches. However, more and more studies question this traditional theory (e.g. Helimski 1982, Janhunen 1998). For this work, the exact categorization of the Samoyedic languages is not of cardinal importance, I am, however, in full agreement with several thoughts of Helimski and Janhunen (Janhunen 1998). I agree for instance, that the traditional categorization tends to reflect areal-ecological divisions more than those of an actual linguistic nature. Helimski's (2004) and Janhunen's (1998) most recent groupings abandon the double taxonomy. At the same time, both authors take into account the fact that there have been secondary areal contacts between these languages

that could have brought about repeated influence on each other. This secondary areal influence is of great importance, since it might have led not only to lexical loans and correspondences, but also to structural influences. Numerous phenomena can be explained not only by inner development, but also by secondary areal contacts. Janhunen (1998: 459) proposes a scale with Mator and Nganasan as its two endpoints, and with a continuum between the two in which every language shows great similarities in numerous features with its direct neighbours, e.g. Nganasan with Enets, Enets with Nenets, Nenets with Selkup etc.

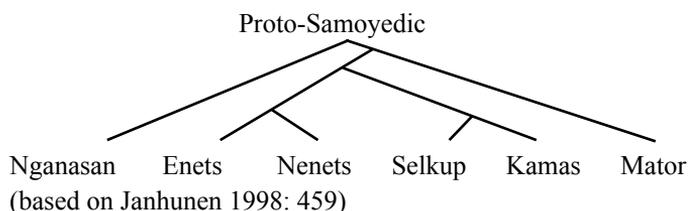
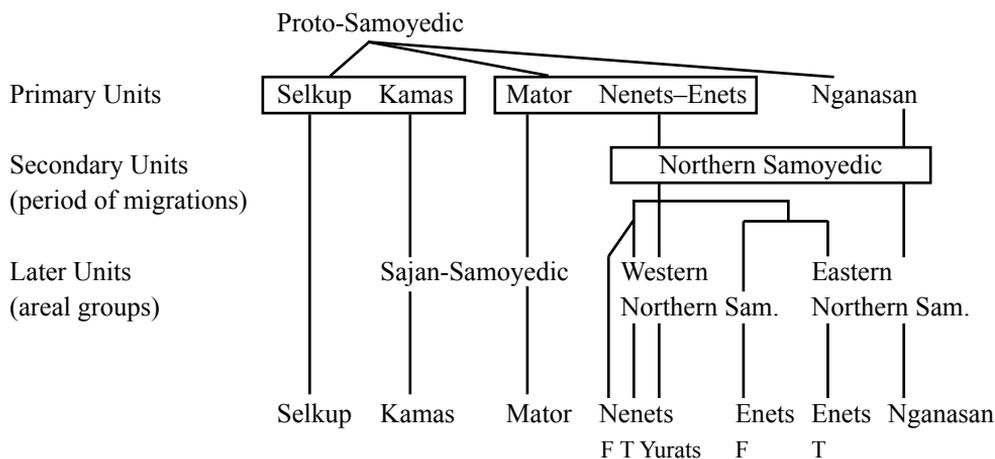


Figure 1. Janhunen's Taxonomy of the Samoyedic Languages

In contrast with Janhunen, Helimski (2004) categorizes the Samoyedic languages a bit differently. According to him, three primary ethnical groups can be differentiated: Kamas-Selkup, Mator-Enets-Nenets and Nganasan. However, the ancestors of the Enets, the Nenets and the Nganasan later moved to the north and, therefore, the Nenets and Enets were separated from the Mator and came again into contact with the Nganasan, which resulted in a unity based on a secondary, areal contact, consisting of the Enets, Nenets and the Nganasan. These three groups moved along the Jenissey to the North, up to the arctic zone. Their separation took place at the estuary of the Jenissey, from which a part of the Enets people wandered towards the west, and the Nganasan to the east. The Enets settled on the lower course of the Jenissey and the Taz basin. The Enets have had contacts both with the Nenets and the Nganasan.



(F: forest, T: tundra)

Figure 2. Helimski's Taxonomy of the Samoyedic Languages (2004)

Enets–Nenets language contacts can above all be shown between Forest Nenets and the now extinct Yurats-Nenets, as well as between certain Tundra Nenets dialects. The contacts between the two populations were not always of a peaceful nature, since little-by-little the Nenets drove the Enets from their traditional areas of habitation. This also resulted in an assimilation process. The Enets were partly assimilated by the Nenets, and the southern groups, that came under the sway of the Selkups who moved farther north in the 17th–18th centuries, assimilated to this latter group. The contacts between the Nenets and the Enets lasted until the 20th century, thus the Nenets-Enets linguistic and typological correspondences cannot only be explained by the kinship of the two languages, but also by their centuries-long areal contacts. As a rule, the Enets spoke Nenets as well. This is no longer the case, since Enets has gradually lost its importance, and the speakers nowadays only speak Enets as their second language after Russian, or even as their third language, after Russian and Nenets. (For more on this topic, see Helimski 2007).

The Nganasan had the most contact with the Tundra Enets and the Evenki. It is thus understandable that almost no common characteristics based on language contact can be found between Forest Enets and Nganasan. The figures above show that Nganasan, which displays several characteristics not to be found among the other Samoyedic languages (e.g. grade alternation, etc.), must be regarded as one of the endpoints of the language continuum.

Among the Samoyedic languages, it was the Nenets who were linguistically and culturally influenced the most, having areal contacts with the Khanty, Mansi, Komi and Enets. Around the 16th century the Nenets came into contact with the Izhma-Zyrians, who made their way into the area of the European Nenets. The Zyrians adopted for example methods of reindeer-keeping from the Nenets, but of course these contacts also led to numerous lexical loans between the two languages. (For more on this issue, see Blokland–Rießler 2011.)

The ancestors of two of the three ethnic groups that remained in Southern Siberia, namely the Mator and the Kamas, moved in the direction of the Saján Mountains and were thus separated from the Selkups. The Mator–Kamas areal contact remained intact for a relatively long time. These peoples came into contact with Turkish, Mongolian and Tunguz speakers, which can be demonstrated in influences of a cultural as well as of a linguistic nature. This led by the middle of the 19th century to the assimilation of the Kamas and the Mator to the surrounding Turkic peoples. (See Helimski 2004, Klumpp 2002.)

Among the Samoyedic languages, the migrations affected the Selkups the least. On the whole, they have remained where the Proto-Samoyedic *Urheimat* must have been located. However, in the course of the 13th to the 16th centuries their Turkic neighbours drove the Selkups, too, further north. The Selkups have had close contacts with the Yenisey Kets and the Khantys for centuries, but also with the Samoyedic tribes that had moved further north. The Selkup–Khanty contacts were of medium intensity and did not affect every dialect of the two languages. The contacts were mainly concentrated on the ethnic groups speaking middle and northern dialects, e.g. between the Narym Selkups and the Vasjugan Khantys. (For more information see Nagy 2004.) The Selkups living

along the tributary rivers of the Jennisey, mainly in the area of the settlements of Karasino, Farkovo and Turuhansk, mingle with a Ket population.

In the case of certain Samoyedic languages, due to the pattern of settlement in the course of the 20th century, the secondary contacts have for the most part come to an end, thus e.g. the Enets and Nganasan peoples today no longer have any contacts with each other. The same holds true for the Ob-Ugric languages, where contacts are likewise limited at the present. Language use and the state of the languages are today mostly influenced by Russian.

The Ob-Ugric languages belong to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family, more specifically to the Ugric languages. Thus, they can be considered to be the closest relatives of the Hungarian language. The break-up of the Ugric group can be dated to the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, when the ancestors of today's Ob-Ugrians moved further north due to climatic changes. This ethnical group was spread over a widely-extended region, namely from the estuary region of the Ob to the border between steppe and open woodland regions, and from east to west from the Ob basin to the European side of the Ural Mountains. Around the middle of the first millennium CE, the Ob-Ugric entity also dissolved and the two peoples, i.e. the Khanty and the Mansi separated (cf. Mikesy 2000, Honti 1979).

In the case of the Ugric languages as well, mutual contacts as well as contacts with related languages must be taken into account. However, only the contacts concerning the Ob-Ugric languages are of interest for this study. As mentioned above, the Ob-Ugric peoples had contacts with the Samoyeds for centuries. (See e.g. Helimski 1982.) In the Northern region, contacts with the Komi have influenced the Mansi, as well as the Khanty languages. (For more on Komi loan-words cf. Rédei 1970b and Toivonen 1956.) We also have to keep in mind that the two Ob-Ugric peoples have had intensive contacts with each other for centuries.

The investigation of linguistic contacts in Uralistics has mostly been done concerning the lexicon. There are hardly any studies that explore to what extent these language contacts have influenced phonology, morphology, and syntax. (Some of the few exceptions are e.g. the article by Bakró-Nagy (2006a), which analyses the Komi conditional particle borrowed into Mansi, or Helimski's work (1982) about the Ugric–Samoyedic contacts.)

1.1. Typical Typological Characteristics

The Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric languages are in many ways typical Uralic languages but all of them show specific individual features as well. They are all agglutinative languages, but the so-called Northern Samoyedic languages display highly flexive characteristics concerning case and numeral suffixes. This feature is, however, less characteristic for the Southern Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric languages. While numeral and case suffixes can be morphologically separated in Selkup, Kamas, Mator and the Ob-Ugric languages, in Enets, Nenets and Nganasan they are fused morphemes, e.g. Kam. *d'aya-*

zəŋ-γəʔ (stem-PL-EL) ~ ngan. *bigaj-kitə* (stem-PL.EL) ‘from rivers’. The same applies to the mood and tense markers.

SOV is the dominant word order in all languages analyzed in this study. The topic can be found at the beginning of the sentence, whereas the focus is situated in front of the verb. Nganasan is a possible exception: the focus lies behind the verb. Nganasan has the freest word order of all these languages. In the other languages the preference for an OV word order is much stronger, but pragmatic organization permits word order changes in these languages as well. The modifier precedes the head in every language analyzed.

As in most Uralic languages, there are no prepositions in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages, these languages typically employing postpositions. At the same time, the development of preverbs can be observed in Selkup, Khanty and Mansi. (Cf. Kiefer–Honti 2003 and the further literature listed there.)

Every language analyzed belongs to the group of transitive-accusative languages, i.e. both the subject of intransitive sentences and the agent of transitive sentences stand in the unmarked nominative, while the patient of transitive sentences stands in the accusative. Ergative elements can, however, be detected e.g. in Khanty.

The so-called Northern Samoyedic languages (Nenets, Enets and Nganasan) possess three conjugation types, namely subjective, objective and reflexive. The Southern Samoyedic languages and the Ob-Ugric languages distinguish, in contrast, only subjective and objective conjugations. The objective conjugation endings do not only refer to the person and number of the subject but also the number of the object. With the objective conjugation the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages can only refer to 3rd person objects, while the inflectional morphemes in Mordvin, for example, can also refer to non-third person objects. The rules for the usage of the objective conjugation have to the present day not been completely clarified for any of these languages. It has to be emphasized, however, that the opinion is incorrect that, as in Hungarian, the usage of the objective conjugation depends on the definiteness of the object. Studies hitherto allow the conclusion that the definiteness or indefiniteness of the object is not a decisive factor. (For further details cf. Körtvély 2005 and the further literature listed there.)

The languages dealt with in this book typically express definitiveness not by means of an article but through other means, e.g. with possessive suffixes. Only Mansi has a morpheme which could be possibly be considered to be an article, but views on this vary considerably. (Cf. Bakró-Nagy 2006b for more on the characteristics of the typology of the Uralic languages.)

Thus, it is apparent that the languages in question display numerous common features, but at least as many differences can also be found. Because of their close linguistic affinity, one could expect that as regards negation these languages would behave similarly. But here I must mention in advance that a large amount of diversity can be found with respect to this grammatical feature, too. It will be demonstrated that languages more closely related will in certain instances behave similarly, but that we will also encounter cases where it is not the genetic, but rather the areal factors that are decisive.

1.2. Sociolinguistic Data, Dialects

1.2.1. Nenets

Nenets has the most speakers among the Samoyedic languages and can be divided into two large dialect groups, namely Tundra and Forest Nenets. There are significant discrepancies between the two dialect groups that affect the lexicon as well as phonetics and to a lesser extent the morphology. The major part of the Nenets people (ca. 95%) speaks Tundra Nenets dialects. The speakers of Tundra Nenets are settled from the left bank of the Yenisei River to Russia's Arkhangelsk region. Thus, it can be stated that Tundra Nenets is spoken over a fairly wide territory and, therefore it comes as no surprise that the dialect group can be divided into several subdialects between which there are considerable differences.

The speakers of Forest Nenets live in the wooded area between the rivers Pur and Ob and around Lake Numto. This dialect group is spoken by only about 2000–3000 persons and is also divided into subdialects. The table below presents the distribution of Nenets dialects.

Dialect groups	Dialect	Subdialect
Tundra Nenets	Western	Malaya Zemlya/Timan
		Kanin
		Kolguyev
	Central	Bořsaya Zemlya
	Eastern	Ob/Ural
		Taimyr/Jenisej
Jamal		
Forest Nenets	Western	Nadim
		Taz
		Lyamin
	Eastern	Nyalino
		Nicej/Majkovskaya
		Kiseljovskaya
		Sahalinskaya
	Pur	
	Agan	
		Numto

Table 1. Nenets Dialects

The main differences between Tundra and Forest Nenets concern phonetics and the lexicon, however, to a lesser extent; grammatical discrepancies can also be noted. The lexical differences are due to the fact that the two dialect groups were in close contact with different languages and therefore the origin of the loan words can vary, too. In the Forest

Nenets dialects there are numerous Khanty loan words (e.g. Forest Nenets *p'isaan* ‘table’ < Khanty *pasan* /< Komi/; cf. Tundra Nenets *tol* ‘table’ < Russian). The apparent discrepancies between the grammatical elements were in general caused by varying sound changes. These can be identified well using our knowledge of historic linguistics.

The most characteristic difference between the Tundra Nenets dialects is that in some subdialects of the Western dialect group (Kanin, Kolguyev, Timan) vowels can stand in word-initial position, while in the other dialects this is not possible. In the other dialects, the words once beginning with vowels now start with a nasal consonant, e.g. Kan. *arka* ‘large’ ~ BZ *ɲarka*, Kan. *arti* ‘seal’ ~ *ɲarti*?. The main differences between the dialects of Forest Nenets are also connected to the phonological system. (For further information on the differences between the dialects see e.g. Hajdú 1968: 17–22 and Koshkareva 2005: 16–37.)

The speakers of the two dialect groups had contact with different peoples, the Forest Nenets for example had close connections with the Komi and Komi–Nenets mixed marriages were very common in the past. One Forest Nenets group assimilated completely with the Komi community.

According to the census of 2002, 41.302 people declared themselves to be Nenets. While some 88% spoke Russian, only 75% claimed to be able to speak Nenets. Although compared to the census results from 1989 population growth can be observed, the number of Nenets speakers has diminished somewhat. The data are summarized in the table below:

	Population	Nenets Speakers	Russian Speakers
1989	34.665	77,1%	no data
2002	41.302	ca. 75%	88,9%

Table 2. Nenets’ Command of Nenets and Russian

The data show that there are Nenets who do not speak Russian. Considering the fact that the language of education in the schools is Russian, these speakers can only belong to the elder generation. Despite this, it can be stated that compared with other small Uralic peoples the situation of Nenets is relatively good. Still, the Nenets language must be classified as endangered.

1.2.2. Enets

Among the languages treated here, Enets is the most endangered language. Only a handful of speakers are left today. According to the census of 2002 there are 237 Enets, virtually all of whom are bilingual. Only six Enets claimed not to speak Russian. In addition to Russian–Enets bilingualism, Nenets–Enets and Nganasan–Enets bilingualism must also be taken into account. It is more difficult to estimate how many native speakers there

are, since this question was not asked specifically in the census. The most cautious estimations account for no more than 30–50 native speakers. Since the speakers of Enets all belong to the older generation, we can be sure that Enets will become extinct within the next few years, particularly since it has not been transmitted to younger people for quite some time. (For further information, see Siegl 2007.)

The Enets language can be divided into two main dialects, namely Forest and Tundra Enets. At the same time one can differentiate between three larger tribal groups, *Madu*, *Baj* and *Mugad'd'i*.¹ The Baj Enets settled further to the south and speak the Forest dialect. This is the better-known and better documented dialect of the two. Most grammatical descriptions are based on this dialect, and it represents a large part of the available material. The Enets dictionaries in existence represent this dialect (Sorokina–Bolina 2001 and 2009). The Baj dialect is now spoken in Potapovo.

The settlements of the Madu (Somatu) who spoke the Tundra dialect were in the regions farther to the north. They now mainly live in Voroncovo and their dialect is less well documented. Depending on where they live, the members of the Mugad'd'i tribe were in close contact with either the Baj or the Madu tribes and, therefore, speak one or the other dialect.

There are relatively significant differences between the two Enets dialects. The lexical discrepancies are remarkable but phonological deviations can be found as well. Naturally, the names for sea creatures are unknown in the Forest (Baj) dialects, while – because of their geographical position – far fewer lexemes can be found for trees in the Tundra dialects. A peculiarity of the Enets dialects is that their personal pronouns differ. (On their origin, see Siegl 2008.) Not only the pronouns differ greatly but other significant lexical differences can also be found between the two dialects, e.g. Forest Enets *bađako* ~ Tundra Enets *nau* ‘word’; Forest Enets *ossa* ~ Tundra Enets *ud'a* ‘meat’.

Furthermore, there are several phonetic differences, i.e. phonetically altered forms can be found for one and the same word in the two dialects, e.g. Forest Enets *kue* ~ Tundra Enets *kua* ‘birch’, Forest Enets *mese* ~ Tundra Enets *med'e* ‘wind’, Forest Enets *s'ie* ~ Tundra Enets *s'ie* ‘hole’, Forest Enets *kugu* ~ Tundra Enets *kugo* ‘the nose or front of sth.’ In the last century there was a strong Nenets influence on the pronunciation of Forest Enets, resulting in a Nenets-like pronunciation of numerous words. While e.g. the regular, earlier documented form of the word for ‘tent’ was *me?*, in the most recent texts, aside from the forms *me?* or *m'ie?* one can also encounter *m'a?*. (Cf. Tundra Nenets *m'a?* ‘tent’.) (For further information on the phonological and phonetic changes in Enets, see e.g. Urmanchieva 2008b, Khanina – Sluinskiy 2008 and Helimski 2007).

The grammatical and syntactic differences have not yet been sufficiently examined. It is certain that smaller grammatical differences exist. For example, the verbal endings are not completely the same in the two dialects. (As an example, see the paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb chapter II/3.2.4., page 99.)

1. In the earlier literature, e.g. in Castrén's work, other names can be found, which, however, designate the same tribes. These names are as follows: the external name of the Maddu tribe is Khantajka-Samoyed, that of the Baj tribe Bajicha. The Mugad'd'i tribe was also called the Karasino-Samoyeds.

On the whole, it can, however, be stated that concerning numerous characteristics the Enets language shows more similarities with Nenets than with Nganasan. This is also seen for example in the fact that in Enets and Nenets pronouns can be inflected, in Nganasan not. Enets is also closer to Nenets as regards word order and treatment of tense and mood. At the same time the Tundra dialect is closer to Nganasan. This is due to the fact that while the speakers of Forest Enets had more contacts with the Nenets, the Tundra Nenets fostered closer relations to the Nganasan. Now, these contacts have completely broken off and only very few Enets-Nganasan or Enets-Nenets bilinguals can be found. On the other hand, Russian-Enets bilingualism is a common thing.

1.2.3. Nganasan

Nganasan can be divided into two main dialectal groups, although significant differences between the individual dialects are not characteristic. The Avam dialect is used by the most people (ca. 75% of the population) and is spoken in the western part of the Taimyr Peninsula. People living here speak two further sub-dialects: Pyasina Avam in Ust'-Avam and in Volochanka, while Taimyr Avam is spoken only in Volochanka.

The inhabitants of the eastern part of the peninsula speak the Vadeyev dialect, which has been influenced by Dolgan. The dialectal differences are mostly of a phonetic and lexical nature. Morphological alternations have not yet been demonstrated, but it must be pointed out that not much attention has been paid to the study of Nganasan dialects.

The most recent data suggest that both the number of Nganasans and the percentage of native speakers are decreasing. Data from the past few decades are presented in the table below. The numbers are from the official Russian census figures and refer to the entire Nganasan population.

Year	1979	1989	2002
Population	867	1278	834
Proportion of native speakers	ca. 90 %	ca. 83%	ca. 60%

Table 3. Nganasan Population and Language Retention

The data of the 2002 census should be handled with care when used for sociolinguistic surveys, since there are no exact data on the proportion of native Nganasan speakers. The figures only show how many people spoke Nganasan in the whole of Russia in 2002. Even so, these numbers show that the number of Nganasan speakers has been decreasing constantly. As all native speakers belong to the older generations, Nganasan must be regarded as a severely endangered language.

1.2.4. Selkup

The Selkup language is characterized by possessing a large number of dialects. Although the differences between the individual dialects are not always significant, between the so-called northern and southern dialect groups considerable differences can be found. They are mostly of a phonological nature, but grammatical and naturally lexical alternations are not rare either.

The grouping of Selkup dialects is not unproblematic and numerous scholars have concerned themselves with this question. The research done in this area is based on a more than 150-year old tradition (Castrén 1854, Prokofjev 1935, Hajdú 1968, Dulson 1971, Kuzmina 1974, Janurik 1978, 1985, Katz 1979, Künnap 1985 and Helimski 1988, 1998a). Nevertheless, there is to date still no common opinion on Selkup dialects. The number of dialects or dialect groups varies from researcher to researcher. There is agreement, however, that at least three main dialectal groups must be distinguished with regard to phonological, morphological and lexical differences. At the same time, the inclusion of individual dialects in dialect groups varies. Most researchers differentiate between a northern, a middle as well as a southern dialect group. There is no consensus on the question whether there are other dialect groups or how to divide the groups further. The classification of the Ket dialect is generally considered to be problematic. While some researchers regard it as a separate dialect group (Castrén 1854, Prokofjev 1935, Dulson 1971, Helimski 1998a), others claim that it belongs to the Southern dialect group. (pl. Janurik 1978).

The categorization in the table below is based on Helimski's latest dialectal classification (Helimski 1998a: 549–550). Helimski differentiates between four dialect groups and 15 dialects.

Dialect Groups	Dialect
Northern (Taz-Turukhan)	Middle Taz
	Upper Taz
	Baikha-Turukhan
	Karasino
Central	Yelogui
	Tym
	Narym
	Vasyugan
	Parabel
Southern	Vakh
	Middle Ob
	Upper Ob
	Chaya
Ket	Chulym
	Middle Ket
	Upper Ket (Nat-Pumpokolsk)

Table 4. Selkup Dialects

It has to be pointed out that in the Russian literature a classification with two dialect groups is prevalent. A large number of researchers speak of Northern (Taz-Yenisei) and Southern (Tym-Narym-Ket-Ob) dialects (see e.g. Bekker et al. 1995a: 23, Kuznecova 1990). This classification is based on the fact that the Central, Southern and Ket dialects are indeed closer to each other than to the northern dialect group. This categorization would actually be sufficient for our purposes, since – as we will see later – the border for the usage of certain constructions follows this line exactly.

Selkup belongs to the languages on the verge of extinction. Presently the northern dialect has the most speakers, but their number is only an estimated few hundred. It can also be observed in the case of Selkup that in 2002 more people declared themselves to be Selkups than earlier. Nevertheless, due to the small population and the relatively low proportion of native speakers this does not mean any significant positive change compared to the previous situation.

Year	1989	2002
Population	3.612	4.249
Rate of Native Speakers	37,5%	ca. 38%
Rate of Russian Speakers	no data	99%

Table 5. Selkups' Command of Selkup and Russian

The data show clearly that there are virtually no monolingual Selkups, almost everyone also speaks Russian. In the past Selkup–Khanty and Selkup–Ket relationships were more typical than Selkup–Russian ones. Although Selkup–Ket bilingualism is only marginally present today, as Kazakevich (2008) has pointed out, Ket influence is observable in the Taz dialect, which has the most speakers.

Concerning the age of the speakers, it is also typical for Selkup that it is only spoken by the elderly and that the language is no longer being passed on to the children.

1.2.5. Mator

Mator is one of the extinct Samoyedic languages. No speakers have been noted since the first half of the 19th century. Mator data are very scarce; most records of the language date from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Typically, they are wordlists written by Russian or German travellers. Consequently, certain elements of the language – especially the syntax – are very poorly documented. This fact influences this study inasmuch as not every parameter concerning negation can be investigated in Mator. Thus, it will be mostly standard negation that will be dealt with.

Mator divided into three dialects, namely: proper Mator, Taigi and Karagas. These dialects will not be differentiated in the course of this study. For more information on the Mator language, see Helimski's monograph (1997).

1.2.6. Kamas

The Kamas lived in Southern Siberia, in the Sayan Mountain region and were divided into two groups. The Forest Kamas were settled in the forested, mountainous eastern part of the region, while the so-called Steppe Kamas lived in the steppe region farther to the north, where they became Turkicized relatively quickly. The linguistic data available today represents solely Forest Kamas. This language is somewhat better documented than Mator, since Castrén collected linguistic data among the Kamas in 1847 and ca. 65 years later (1912, 1914) Donner likewise managed to collect a few Kamas texts. In the beginning of the 20th century, however, only around 50 speakers could be noted and in the 1980's the last native speakers passed away as well.

Two Kamas dialects can be distinguished, proper Kamas and Koibal. No significant differences can be found between the two dialects, and the few ones existing are mostly of a phonetical nature.

It has to be stated that a strong influence of the Turkic languages is typical for Kamas and, therefore, certain typological features are similar to those of Turkic languages. One of these is, for instance, the usage of auxiliary verbs and together with that of converb structures that normally is not or only practically typical for the Samoyedic languages, but is very common among Turkic languages (for more information on this issue cf. Klumpp 2002). In later Kamas texts, not only Turkic but also strong Russian influence can be observed.

1.2.7. Khanty

Together with Mansi, Khanty belongs to the Ob-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family. Today it is spoken in Siberia, in two autonomous regions of the Tyumen District, namely the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Region and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region. The major areas of settlement are (were) along the tributaries of the Ob. Thus, the Khanty dialects are usually named after these rivers. Khanty is divided into a large number of dialects, which can be explained by the fact that the not too populous Khanty groups live scattered over a relatively large region. Khanty can be divided into two main dialect groups that can be further divided into several dialects and subdialects. These are as follows:

Dialect Groups	Dialect Subgroups	Dialect	Subdialects
	Far Eastern Khanty	Vakh–Vasyugan	Vakh Vasyugan
Eastern Khanty	Surgut Khanty	Vartovskoe Yugan Malij Yugan Pim Likrisovskoe Tremyugan Tromagan Salym	
		Obdorsk	
	Northern Khanty	Beryozovo	Synya Muzhi Shuriskar
Western Khanty		Kazym Sherkaly Nizyam	
	Southern Khanty	Demyanka Konda Cingali Krasnoyarsk	Upper Demyanka Lower Demyanka

(Following Abondolo 1998 and Honti 1998)

Table 6. Khanty Dialects

Certain dialects show transitional features. Salym, for example, displays characteristics of both the eastern and the western dialectal groups. Likewise, the Vartovskoe dialect can be regarded as an transitional dialect that acts as the binding link between the Surgut and the Vach–Vasjugan dialects. Speakers of different dialects who live near each other understand each other's dialects, however, communication is difficult for those living at further distances. This is mostly due to phonetic, but also to grammatical and lexical differences. (Cf. Abondolo 1998.)

Khanty also belongs to the endangered languages although the number of its speakers is quite a bit higher than that of, say, Selkup.

Year	1989	2002
Population	22.500	28.678
Rate of Native Speakers	61%	ca. 47%
Rate of Russian Speakers	no data	97,2%

Table 7. Khantys' Command of Khanty and Russian

Although according to the statistic data the population is growing, the rate of native speakers among the population has constantly decreased and at the same time, the rate of bilinguals has grown. At present, there are hardly any Khanty speakers who do not speak Russian.

1.2.8. Mansi

Mansi is now spoken in north-western Siberia in the region between the Ural Mountains and the Ob River. It can be divided into four main dialect groups. The speakers of these groups live in regions that can be easily separated geographically and contacts between them are also not too common. At present only two out of the four dialects are spoken, namely Northern and Eastern Mansi. The situation of Northern Mansi is more stabile, since it is spoken by far more people while hardly any speakers of Eastern Mansi have remained. This also means that linguistic and ethnographic research concentrated for the most part on the Northern dialect group and that one of the Northern dialects, namely Sosva, forms the basis for the literary language. The table below shows the classification of the Mansi dialects.

Dialect Groups	Dialectal Subgroups	Dialect
Non-southern	Northern Mansi	Sosva
		Upper Lozva
		Sygva
	Western Mansi	Ob
		Middle Lozva
		Lower Lozva
North Vagilsk		
Eastern Mansi	South Vagilsk	
	Pelym	
	Upper Konda	
	Middle Konda	
Southern Mansi	Southern Mansi	Lower Konda
		Yukonda
		Tavda

(Following Abondolo 1998 and Keresztes 1998)

Table 8. Mansi Dialects

Several differences can be found among the dialects. The Western dialects were mostly exposed to Russian and Komi influences, while the Eastern dialects display Khanty and Tatar features. The most unique dialect is Tavda which has preserved the most features that were characteristic of Proto-Mansi, However, it also lost some of these features, e.g. the dual number. Both morphological and lexical differences can be found among the dialects. Sometimes these can be so distinct that speakers of remote dialects could not understand each other. However, as we will see later, there are not only numerous differences between the various dialect groups but also between the dialects themselves. Among the Northern dialects for instance, the Ob subdialect differs the most.

Mansi must also be considered as a language on the verge of extinction, which is demonstrated by the size of its population on the one hand and the number of native speakers on the other. Although the census shows that the population has been growing, the number of speakers has been constantly decreasing and is largely limited to the older generations. It holds true for Mansi as well that its speakers are almost without exception Russian-Mansi bilinguals. The traditional Mansi-Komi contacts, that can be dated from about the 10th century on, are no longer very intensive and could even be regarded as insignificant.

Year	1989	2002
Population	8.474	11.432
Rate of Native Speakers	37,1%	ca. 23,6%
Rate of Russian Speakers	no data	99,1%

Table 9. Mansis' Command of Mansi and Russian

2. Corpora and Transcription

2.1. Transcription and Glossing

The transcription in this work will differ somewhat from that common in Uralic linguistics, in order to make it more unified and hopefully more comprehensible. At the same time, since this is not a phonetical study, the example sentences were not transcribed into IPA. Where it was not confusing, the common usages of the given language have been preserved. I do not make the attempt to write the example sentences phonematically and in particular place no emphasis on showing the words in their deep phonemic form. However, in some languages, there are some significant changes with regard to common usage:

1. In the Permic languages, there is a central vowel with middle tongue position that is transcribed as \ddot{o} or \ddot{e} in linguistic literature. Since it is a central vowel, in this work it will be transcribed with a ə , although in Uralistics the sign ə usually stands for reduced vowels. This vowel is reduced neither in Permic nor in Nganasan.
2. In Uralistic studies palatal or palatalized sounds are usually marked by an apostrophe next to the consonant (e.g. l' , n'). The palatal consonants will be marked here with an apostrophe, palatalized ones, on the other hand, according to IPA with j (e.g. c^j). It has to be noted, however, that in several languages, e.g. in Enets, the originally palatal sounds are nowadays pronounced more in a palatalized manner. Nevertheless, since this study does not intend to be of phonologic-phonetic nature, the completely accurate marking of the quality of palatality in the example sentences is not crucial.
3. In the Samoyedic literature, the glottal stop is traditionally marked with $ʔ$. In his transcription of Nenets examples Salminen uses $/q/$ and $/h/$. Instead of this way of marking the sign $ʔ$ will be used in every case. Whether the glottal stop can be nasalised or not, i.e. whether this glottal stop can alternate with a nasal will not be indicated. (C.f. Janhunen (1986) for more on Nenets glottal stops.)
4. The quantity of vowels will be marked by reduplication (e.g. aa).
5. In Nenets there is a phoneme called schwa $/\text{ə}/$ by Salminen (1997). This sound is only rarely realized on the surface, and even in these cases in the form of $[\text{ǎ}]$ (in Salminen's transcription $[\text{ø}]$). However, it does have a phonological function, since in the word below for instance the existence of this phoneme induces the change $/t/ \rightarrow /d^2/$: $x\ddot{a}r$ $/x\ddot{a}r\text{ǎ}/$ 'knife': $x\ddot{a}rda$ $/x\ddot{a}r^{\text{ə}}ta/$ 'his knife'. This phoneme will only be marked when it is absolutely necessary to specify the deep-structural form. It has to be added as well that there is also a different explanation for the sound change mentioned above, according to which the so-called "vowel reduction" process can be analysed in a different way (for more on the issue cf. Staroverov 2006)
6. The Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian data will not be transcribed but the orthography of the given language will be used. The same applies to the linguistic data of non-

2. Labial and dental stops are voiced after a vowel.

Uralic languages that are being quoted from other sources. In these cases, the orthography of the given source will be preserved.

The following two tables show the marking of the phonemes that significantly differ from IPA or Uralistic usage. The most common phonemes as well as the cases, where the Uralic transcription conforms to IPA, will not be listed.

Notation in This Work	Notation in IPA	Description
<i>ü</i>	<i>y</i>	close, front, labial
<i>ÿ</i>	<i>ÿ</i>	close, back, labial, reduced
<i>ö</i>	<i>ø</i>	close-mid, front, labial
<i>õ</i>	<i>õ</i>	close-mid, back, labial, reduced
<i>ï</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	close, central, illabial
<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	close-mid/close, front, illabial
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	close, front, illabial, reduced
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	mid, central, illabial, non-reduced schwa
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	open-mid, front, illabial
<i>iã</i>	<i>iã</i>	rising diphthong
<i>ä</i>	<i>æ</i>	open-mid/open, front, illabial
<i>ǎ</i>	<i>ǎ</i>	open, front, illabial, reduced
<i>uã</i>	<i>uã</i>	rising diphthong
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	open-mid, back, labial
<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	less rounded o
<i>ɤ</i>		vowel between o and u
<i>V</i>		undefined vowel

Table 10. Notation of Vowels

Notation in This Work	Notation in IPA	Features
<i>č</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	voiceless palatal denti-alveolar affricate
<i>tʼ</i>	<i>c</i>	voiceless palatal plosive
<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	voiceless uvular plosive
<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	voiceless glottal plosive
<i>dʼ</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	voiced palatal plosive
<i>ž</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	voiced fricative postalveolar
<i>š</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	voiceless fricative postalveolar
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	voiced velar plosive
<i>ð</i>	<i>ð</i>	voiced interdental fricative
<i>ń</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	voiced palatal nasal
<i>lʼ</i>	<i>ʎ</i>	voiced palatal lateral approximant
<i>ł</i>	<i>ɬ</i>	voiceless lateral fricative
<i>ł</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	syllabic lateral approximant
<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	voiced labial approximant

Table 11. Notation of Consonants

During the glossing, the recommendations of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008) were taken into consideration and the morpheme-by-morpheme method was used. The morphemes are divided by hyphens in the example sentences as well as the glosses. I did not attempt to divide the words into their smallest elements, thus, words with more than one derivation element are not always completely analyzed. Cliticised elements are separated with an equals sign [=] in both the sentences and the glosses.

In the gloss the grammatical elements are in small capitals. Postpositions are denoted by PP and their meaning is given in the lower index: e.g. the Nganasan allative postposition *d'a* > PP_{ALL}. Personal pronouns on the other hand will not be abbreviated (e.g. 1PL) but translated (*we*).

When the morpheme corresponds to two or more grammatical categories or words, these are divided in the gloss by a period: e.g. PL.GEN and come.out.

2.2. The Corpus

The greater part of the data used in this study comes from printed texts. In the case of two languages, however, Khanty and Nganasan, materials I collected myself could also be taken into consideration. Thus, when I had the choice, I preferred to use examples from these materials for these two languages.

I collected language material from two Khanty dialects, Synya and Surgut. The Synya data were provided by Sofia Onyina (abbr. OS), who completed a questionnaire consisting of 25 sentences. The questionnaire targeted the negation of non-verbal predicates, and the negation of existential and locational sentences. The Surgut data were provided by Lyudmilla Kajukova (abbr. KLj), with whose help a much longer questionnaire, consisting of 84 sentences, was filled out. Naturally, apart from this material, sentences occurring in texts were also taken into account, since the sentences in the questionnaires lacked context, and thus cannot be used to display all facets of negation, since certain nuances cannot be studied. Even so, I felt it important to use modern collected material as well.

As far as it was possible, for the description of Nganasan, negation data from my own collections was also used. Regarding this language, the corpus is much more extensive and not based solely on sentences from questionnaires but also on texts collected by myself. My informants completed a questionnaire consisting of 96 sentences. Since these questionnaires were filled out in the course of my fieldtrips, it was possible for me to ask further questions about certain sentences, and to investigate more thoroughly meanings or even constructions. Since the forms were filled out by six different speakers, a comparison of the data was possible. Furthermore, collected texts originating from several speakers were also processed. The corpus contains 1,973 sentences. Additionally, a corpus made up of 50,792 sentences, which was placed at my disposal by Valentin Gusev and Maria Brykina, was also used. This large corpus mostly consists of folklore texts, but contain dialogues as well. Naturally, in the case of Nganasan previously published written texts were also used.

In the case of data from my own collection, the family name of the informant and the year of the collection are indicated. In examples from the corpus placed at my disposal by V. Gusev and M. Brykina³ the informant's name and the year of collection are indicated, if known, as well as the code of the tale from which the example is taken. My Nganasan informants were: Kosterkina, E. S. (abbr. KES; 1945–2009); Kosterkina, N.T. (abbr. KNT; 1945–2005); Kupchik, S.M. (abbr. KSM); Sowelowa, E.N. (abbr. SEN; 1942–2008); Chunanchar, N. D. (abbr. ChND); Turkina, T. D. (abbr. TTD); Kuzenko T.T. (abbr. KTT), Turdagina, N. K. (abbr. TNK).

Regarding the other languages, I have no data collected by myself and, therefore, only the published (and accessible) sources could be used. It turned out to be problematic that there are no, or only a limited number of electronically accessible texts in which a search could be made. In the case of Mansi for example none at all could be used.

3. The Problem of Negation

3.1. The Concept of Negation

The investigation of the structure of negative sentences lies at the centre of this work. Accordingly, it is important to present the concept of negation itself. I do not aim, however, at summarizing the literature on negation which could fill an entire library. It should suffice to give a short overview of the problematic aspects of the topic of negation.

The phenomenon of negation can be investigated linguistically from different points of views: semantically-pragmatically, morphologically-syntactically, typologically etc. Using these, numerous topics are usually investigated, e.g. the scope and marking of negation, the typology of the negation elements, elements with negative polarity in the languages, etc. Horn's monograph (2001) offers an excellent overview on the semantic and pragmatic approach to negation. Looking at linguistic data, it is striking that from a morphologic-syntactic viewpoint the languages of the world express negation in quite varied ways. Within the framework of this study I will approach the languages investigated from a typological angle, semantic viewpoints will be taken into consideration only to a lesser degree.

The phenomenon of negation has for a long time now drawn the attention of both philosophers as well as of linguists. It is a generally acknowledged linguistic universal that every language is capable of expressing negation in some way. At the same time, the strategies with the help of which affirmative sentences are transformed into negative sentences differ highly. Languages have several tools for this purpose at their disposal. The instrument, which enables the given language to express negation, i.e. with the help of which affirmative sentences can be transformed into negative ones will be called

3. <<http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/ngan/index.php>>

negative markers (NEG). Their form will be discussed later (see chapter I/3.3). Before unfolding the negation strategies of the languages in question, the expression *negation* must be defined.

The concept of negation can be approached from several angles, one of these being a logical-philosophic perspective. Formal logic defines negation in the following way: by the negation of sentence p we mean the sentence “it is not true, that p ”, which is characterized by the following rule of truth: $\sim p$ is true then, and only then, if p is false. If negation is approached from the formal logic viewpoint, then one is actually dealing with truth values. This is the so-called inner (descriptive) negation.

Apart from the inner negation, a so-called outer negation also exists, but it would be very problematic to characterize it in the two-value logical system, since inner and outer negation would coincide. Regarding the topic of this work, it is not crucial to differentiate between the inner and outer negation so this problem will not be addressed here. Hereafter, only the bipolar logical approach will be taken into consideration.

It is a widely discussed question within the field of semantics, whether the negation of natural languages can match the above presented logical scheme. Jacobs’s (1991: 568–578) analysis shows that the matching of logical and linguistic negation does not interfere with the differentiated analysis of negation used by natural languages. At the same time numerous authors have pointed out that in the case that not merely a simply true-false relation can be observed between the negative and the affirmative expressions, the logical definition mentioned above is not that easily applicable. The logical definition of negation above also allows the following declaration: “ $\sim \sim p$ ” = p . That means that the repeated negation of an inner negation (usually called a double-negation) results in a positive declaration, i.e. the truth value of “ $\sim \sim p$ ” is identical with p , they are thus logical equivalents. The question comes up as to how certain elements with negative meaning in various languages should be treated. In English and German for example, the prefix *un-* is widespread and several studies regard it as a negative element. John R. Payne (1985: 198) and Dahl in his later work (1993: 916) also refer to this type as constituent negation. This kind of affix can be found in a large number of languages. Their classification and the interpretation of the words formed in this way are often questionable. Jacobs (1982: 135, 188–192) does not clearly explain whether in his opinion the German suffixes *a-*, *un-*, and *-los* are negation elements or not, but he also takes these morphemes into account when analysing negation in German. Hentschel (1998: 38–39), in contrast, assumes that there is a significant difference between the morphemes *a-*, *un-* and *-los*. While the first two express negation, the latter one expresses the absence of something. The negation prefixes *un-* and *a-* are negation prefixes expressing negation on the lexical level. Hentschel calls this type lexical negation. The *-los* suffix, in contrast, expresses the deprivation of something. According to Hentschel this type cannot be classified as actual negation but expresses a different kind of relationship, this even despite the fact that every speaker’s sense of language tells him that this type of sentences carries some sort of negative meaning. (More on this topic: cf. Hentschel 1998: 8–10.)

Lexical negation, i.e. the above-mentioned prefixed forms do not, however, result in a negation of the same value, as e.g. negated expressions negated by a negative particle. The appearance of the German prefix *un-* next to the negative element does not produce a positive declaration, that is, it cannot be regarded as double negation in the logical sense. Let us have a closer look at the following sentences!

- (1) German (p.k.)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Peter ist glücklich</i> | b. | <i>Peter ist un-glücklich</i> |
| | Peter be.3SG happy | | Peter be.3SG NEG-happy |
| | ‘Peter is happy.’ | | ‘Peter is unhappy.’ |
| c. | <i>Peter ist nicht glücklich</i> | d. | <i>Peter ist nicht un-glücklich</i> |
| | Peter be.3SG NEG _{PTCL} happy | | Peter be.3SG NEG _{PTCL} NEG-happy |
| | ‘Peter is not happy.’ | | ‘Peter is not unhappy.’ |

As we can see, sentence (1) a) is negated by sentence (1) c), while (1) b) is negated by (1) d). At the same time, as pointed out by Givon (2001: 370) in reference to the analysis of English sentences, in the sense of double negation the sentences (1) a) and (1) d) as well as (1) b) and (1) c) would have to be synonyms. Linguistic feeling, however, does not support this, i.e. a competent speaker would not accept the two sentences as being synonymous. In sentence (1) d), the speaker does not state that Peter is happy. According to Henschel the function of the prefix *un-* is not to negate the entire word, but the positive expectations connected with the word. This is called connotative negation. Thus, the two negative elements occurring here cannot be regarded as having the same value and, consequently, their joint appearance does not lead to double negation.

Henceforward, this kind of phenomenon that is closely related with semantics will not be discussed, although the majority of the Uralic languages use such morphological negation instruments. (Lexical negation in Finno-Ugric languages has been studied by Csepregi (2001), while e.g. the Selkup negative formatives are summarized in detail in Jermakova – Kuznecova (1998)). It has to be mentioned, however, that the caritive and abessive formatives deserve to be the subjects of further investigation. This holds especially true for participles with the abessive that in several languages are even capable of expressing sentence negation.

3.2. The Main Types of Negated Sentences

When dealing with negation one may encounter several expressions such as standard negation, sentential negation, constituent negation etc. As we will see later, their dimensions can vary and they are thus not always equivalent in scope.

In recent years, the main focus of interest has been on standard negation (Miestamo 2000a, Miestamo 2005a). The expression *standard negation* was first used by John

R. Payne, who wrote: “By ‘standard’ negation, we understand that type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences. Such sentences are characteristically main clauses and consist of a single predicate with as few noun phrases and adverbial modifiers as possible.” (John R. Payne: 1985: 198) As Miestamo (2005a: 39–45) has pointed out, this definition is only a framework and is not applicable to every condition. It can be used, however, as the starting point for our investigation. There are researchers who restrict Payne’s definition to intransitive sentences. This is done by e.g. Helen Weir, who in connection with her study of negative constructions in Nadëd, defines the concept in the following way: “Standard negation, i.e. the negation of a simple verbal intransitive clause ...” (1994: 294). I myself do not see any good arguments for only investigating negation in intransitive sentences, even though there are without a doubt languages that show differences between transitive and intransitive sentences. One of these languages is for example German, where intransitive sentences are negated by the particle *nicht*, while in some sentences with a transitive verb the negative word *kein* appears in front of the object⁴. The sentences (2) a–d below illustrate standard negation in German.

- (2) German (p.k.)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>ich singe</i> | b. | <i>ich singe nicht</i> |
| | I sing.1SG | | I sing.1SG NEG _{PTCL} |
| | ‘I am singing.’ | | ‘I am not singing.’ |
| c. | <i>ich kaufe ein</i> | | <i>Buch.</i> |
| | I buy.1SG ARTINDEF.ACC | | book.ACC |
| | ‘I am buying a book.’ | | |
| d. | <i>ich kaufe kein-e</i> | | <i>Büch-er</i> |
| | I buy.1SG NEG-PL.ACC | | book-PL.ACC |
| | ‘I am not buying any books.’ | | |

Sentences (2) b) and d) show well that negation can be expressed by different negation elements. In German, the particle *nicht* is usually regarded as the standard negation element, but as shown above, the negative particle *kein* is also able to express standard negation. Both sentences demonstrate sentence negation. The particle *nicht* can also be used to express constituent negation.

- (3) German (p.k.)
- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| | <i>ich kaufe nicht</i> | <i>Büch-er,</i> | <i>sondern</i> | <i>CD-s</i> |
| | I buy.1SG NEG _{PTCL} | book-PL.ACC | but | CD-PL.ACC |
| | ‘I do not buy books, but CDs.’ | | | |

4. Not every sentence that contains a transitive verb has to be negated by the negation word *kein*, cf. e.g. *Ich liebe ihn nicht*. ‘I do not love him’. Since the detailed presentation of German negation is not one of the topics of this work, the distribution of *kein* and *nicht* will not be discussed.

John R. Payne (1985: 198, 206–207) and Miestamo (1998: 183, 2005a: 43) agree that it is not always the case that only one structure can be used for standard negation in a given language. It is not even necessary for a language to have only one standard negation element. Previous work done by Wagner-Nagy (2008: 191) and Comrie (1981) show that several Uralic languages deal differently with time categories. In some languages we can observe an alternation of the negation structure when the tenses are changed. This change of structure can even be accompanied by a change in markers (e.g. Komi, Mari). In other languages, such as Livonian, only the negation element changes, the structure stays the same. This structure and marker change will be demonstrated with a Komi example: in the second past (perfect) and past perfect tenses a particle (*abu*) is used instead of the regular negative auxiliary verb, while in the first past tense (praeteritum) only the negative marker changes. The second past tense has a narrative meaning and has the marking *-əm*. In this tense, no first person forms are used. In the other persons, the personal endings do not correspond with the suffixes used in the present tense. These morphemes must be regarded as fusional morphemes. (For more on Komi tenses cf. Rédei 1978 or Cypanov 1992.)

- (4) Komi (Rédei 1978: 105–109)
- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>s'eta-n</i>
give-2SG
'You give.' | b. | <i>o-n</i>
NEG _{AUX} -2SG
'You don't give.' | | <i>s'et</i>
give.CN |
| c. | <i>s'et-i-n</i>
give-PST-2SG
'You gave.' | d. | <i>e-n</i>
NEG _{AUX} .PST-2SG
'You did not give.' | | <i>s'et</i>
give.CN |
| e. | <i>s'et-əmid</i>
give-PST2.2SG
'You gave.' | f. | <i>abu</i>
NEG _{PTCL} | | <i>s'et-əmid</i>
give-PST2.2SG
'You did not give' |
| g. | <i>s'et-əma</i>
give-PST2.3SG
'(S)he gave.' | h. | <i>abu</i>
NEG _{PTCL} | | <i>s'et-əma</i>
give-PST2.3SG
'(S)he did not give' |

Thus, in Komi there are three standard negation elements, two negative auxiliary verbs and a negation particle. In this work, temporal categories will be presented under standard negation but the cases where the meaning of the negation element is not empty, and where in addition to negation other, additional meanings are attached to the marker will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

There are languages that use constructions or elements differing from those used in standard negation when negating modal categories, sentences expressing possession or existential sentences. In the case of modal categories, the negation of the imperative is frequently expressed by means of a different structure or at least of a different negation marker. This holds true for e.g. Finnish, Selkup or Hungarian. In most languages a line can be drawn between the imperative and non-imperative moods. However, as will be

shown later, some of the languages (e.g. Enets) dealt with in this book express not only the prohibitive category in a special manner, but in addition other modal forms deviate from standard negation.

The expression *sentential negation* often comes up in studies dealing with negation. It is used when the scope of the negation element (NEG) covers the whole sentence. The German examples above also represent this type. (The expression was introduced by Klima (1964), but became wide-spread in literature on negation through John R. Payne (1985).)

The following English example sentence illustrates that sentential negation does not always express standard negation, i.e. the two concepts are not fully equivalent.

- (5) English (p.k.)
you saw nobody

In this sentence it is not the common element *not*, that expresses negation, but the negative quantifier *nobody*, which is not usually classified as standard negation in typological literature.

To identify sentential negation, Klima developed a test for English (*either* tags, negative polarity etc.), but it naturally cannot, or only partly, be used for other languages. There are even English sentences where the test is not reliable. Thus, the differentiation between sentential and constituent negation is still problematic, especially in cases where the negation affects the predicate, since it is often difficult to determine the scope of the negation.

Sentential negation can be divided into two further groups, namely the negation of verbal predicates and non-verbal predicates. In sentences where the predicate does not express any kind of action or event but rather a static relation, the predicate is not of verbal, but of nominal nature. These sentences are constructed in a way that a copula can also appear along with the nominal expression, however, the use of a copula is not mandatory in every language. Germanic languages usually express non-verbal predicates with a copula (*the house is white*), while for some Uralic languages (e.g. Mordvin, Nenets, Enets, etc.) it is characteristic that nouns and adjectives are inflected predicatively. This means that there is no copula in the sentence and the verbal endings are attached to the nominal element (Erzya Mordvin *lomań* ‘human being’: *lomańan* ‘I am a human being’). There are languages where in this sentence type the negation strategy coincides with the one used for verbal predicates, e.g. in Mordvin and Nenets. As will be shown later, however, other languages, such as Nganasan, use a completely different negation instrument for the negation of this sentence type. I will illustrate this with the following sentences. In the first one an action is negated, in the second one the speaker negates an equation.

(6) Nganasan (a: Labanauskas 1979: 26; b: DY-00_nyaakyu/192)

- a. *maagəl'ičə* *ńi-ndi-m* *ɲusid'ə-ʔ*
 nothing.ACC NEG_{Aux}-Co-1SG do-CN
 'I do not do anything.'
- b. *tə* *mənə* *ńintu-m* *tə* *ɲuə-m*
 well I NEG_{Prcl}-1SG_{Vx} well God-1SG_{Vx}
 'Come come, I am not God.'

In sentence (6) a), a negative auxiliary verb is used for negation, in b) another element. I will discuss later how this element should be interpreted but at the moment I will only say that this strategy coincides with the one otherwise used in Nganasan for constituent negation, although in this sentence the negation is not directed to one constituent but to the sentence as a whole, which has a nominal predicate. We could speak of constituent negation if the scope of the negative element did not extend to the entire sentence, but only to a part of it, e.g. the subject. In that case the sentence would have to be translated as follows: 'Come come, it is not me who is God'. In the sentence above, however, the situation is different, since the scope of the negative element extends to the entire predicate.

Non-verbal sentences can be negated so that the scope of the negation extends to the whole sentence (Hungarian *ő nem az apám* 'He is not my father.') or so that the scope extends to only one constituent (Hungarian *nem ő az apám*. 'It's not he who is my father.'). In case of languages using particles, it is easy to differentiate between the two sentences types, since the particle generally stands in front of the negated constituent. In cases, however, where the language negates this type by a negative auxiliary verb, the situation is much more complicated. This is the case in e.g. Enets, Finnish where moreover the position of the auxiliary verb is relatively bound.

Thus, when sentences with non-verbal predicates are negated and if the negation is directed to the entire predicate, we can speak of sentential negation, but this sentence type cannot be classified as standard negation, since this is excluded by the definition of standard negation (see above). There are, however, languages, where this negation type is also expressed by the standard negation element. I will illustrate this with a Nenets example.

(7) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 169, 225)

- a. *mań* *tuku* *kńiga-mʔ* *ńi-dmʔ* *tolabʲu-ʔ*
 I this book-ACC NEG_{Aux}-1SG read-CN
 'I do not read this book.'
- b. *mań* *xańena-dmʔ* *ńi-dmʔ* *ɲa-ʔ*
 I hunter-1SG_{Vx} NEG_{Aux}-1SG_{Vx} be-CN
 'I am not a hunter.'

We speak of constituent negation when the scope of negation extends to only one of the sentence's constituents, most often to a non-verbal expression. Sentence constituents can be negated by standard elements, too, but in many languages another strategy comes into play. The following example illustrates a case where the standard negation marker does appear, but where we do not have sentential negation, but only the negation of a constituent.

- (8) English (J. R. Payne 1985: 200)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>John</i> | <i>doesn't</i> | <i>often</i> | <i>pay</i> | <i>tax-e-s</i> |
| John | AUX.3SG.NEG | often | pay | tax-EP-PL |

In this sentence, the scope of the adverb *often* is wider than that of the negative marker and therefore the negation cannot extend to the entire sentence, but only to one of its constituents, namely the one standing after the particle. A similar phenomenon can be observed in case of the Finnish negative auxiliary. Here, the negative auxiliary appears before the constituent to which the negation refers. In the following pair of sentences, (9) a) illustrates sentential negation and b) constituent negation.

- (9) Finnish (p.k.)
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>minä</i> | <i>e-n</i> | <i>ole</i> | <i>kotona</i> |
| | I | NEG _{Aux} -1SG | be.CN | at.home |
| | 'I am not at home.' | | | |
| b. | <i>e-n</i> | <i>minä</i> | <i>ole</i> | <i>kotona</i> |
| | NEG _{Aux} -1SG | I | be.CN | at.home |
| | 'It is not I who is at home.' | | | |

There are, however, languages (e.g. Enets and Nenets) where the negative auxiliary and the negated verb cannot be separated by any other element. In these languages, as will be seen, other proofs must be sought out to determine whether we are dealing with sentential or constituent negation. As mentioned above, lexical negation will be excluded from constituent negation.

Another subtype of negational sentences must be mentioned. In numerous languages, two negative elements can appear in one sentence, without leading to a double negation in the logical sense. Usually in these languages, one negation element is the negative marker used in standard negation, and the other a negative polarity element, e.g. a quantifier. It is characteristic for the Uralic languages that negative indefinite pronouns can occur without any problems in a sentence together with a negative marker, without leading to a double negation in the logical sense. Negative indefinite pronouns will not be dealt with separately in this work. Thus, the sentence types analyzed will be the following: standard negation, negation of the imperative, negation of existence, negation of predicative possession, and non-verbal negation.

3.3. The Negative Sentence and its Elements

It was shown above, what we mean by the expression *negation*, but I have not yet indicated what I will regard as a negated sentence. For most languages it is true that affirmative and negative sentences form a correlation. Dahl offers the following definition for negated sentences: “A negated sentence is obtained by modifying an affirmative sentence in some way. The first choice is whether Neg should be marked morphologically or syntactically. In the first case, what happens is normally that an affix is added to the F {inite}E {lement} of the sentence, in the second we usually add a free Neg morpheme (a Neg word) to the affirmative sentence.” (Dahl 1979: 87) Thus, we can state that negated sentences are extended by a negative marker and that is how they differ from the affirmative sentences. Dahl’s definition explicitly excludes sentences containing the above-mentioned lexical negation elements from the group of negated sentences. Based on this, sentence (1) b) is not a negated sentence, since the element with a negative meaning is a morpheme not attached to the finite element of the sentence. Sentences (1) c) and (1) b) are, on the other hand, negated sentences, since a negation particle appears in them.

It is a universally acknowledged fact that compared to the affirmative sentence the negated sentence is always more marked (Greenberg 1966: 50). This is not changed by the fact that there are languages where for instance there is no affirmative-negative correlation in the unreal and real moods, since negation only exists in the unreal mood (Bhat 2004: 1207). Bhat claims that in this case affirmative and negative sentences cannot be contrasted with each other. In the languages dealt with in this book the affirmative and negative sentences are always contrastable with each other.

In the Samoyedic languages, there are verbs with a negative meaning that have a negative polarity on their own, e.g. Nganasan *d’erusa* ‘not know’. According to Dahl’s definition these do not belong to the negated sentences, but – since they are very common elements in the Samoyedic languages – I have not excluded them from the group of negated sentences. In the same way, I regard the verbs with which existential negation can be expressed as negating elements. The next section will give an overview of the elements of negative sentences.

3.3.1. Finite Elements

The expression *finite element* (FE) instead of *finite verb* was suggested by Dahl who attributes the following characteristics to it: “It is the ‘uppermost’ verbal element in the structure of the sentence. It is the element where such morphological categories as tense, mood, subject agreement, object agreement, ‘speech level’ [...], etc. are marked, if they are marked at all. Its normal position is either leftmost or rightmost in the verb phrase, if any such constituent is definable, else leftmost or rightmost in the sentence. It is the element, which carries emphatic stress whenever the ‘polarity’ of the sentence is focused. It is the element, if any, which is moved in yes-no questions.” (Dahl 1979: 87)

There are languages where the finite element is marked differently in negative and affirmative sentences. One of these is for example Russian, where the finite element of a negated sentence can only stand in the imperfective aspect. There are also cases where a change occurs in the mood or tense marking.

In a part of the Uralic languages, a finite element does not necessarily appear in sentences with non-verbal predicates, e.g. Hung. *ez a ház fehér* ‘This house is white.’ As can be seen, no verbal element appears in the Hungarian sentence. The same holds true for negated non-verbal sentences, e.g. Hung. *ez a ház nem fehér*. ‘This house is not white.’ As a consequence, I will consider finite elements only as a possible, but not as a necessary element of negated sentences. In non-verbal sentences, we must talk of a predicate – which can also simply be a nominal element – and not of a finite element.

3.3.2. Negative Markers

The most important element of negated sentences is the negative marker. I will use the term negative marker (NEG) for the sentential element carrying the negation itself. There are languages where the finite element of the sentence coincides with the negative marker (e.g. Finnish, Nenets), but in most languages of the world it is a more massive element that differs from the finite element. As we will see later, in all language-typological categorizations an important role is played by the sort of element expressing negation in a given language. John R. Payne (1985: 207–228) placed particular emphasis on the aspect of the form, and more precisely on the word class of the sentence’s negative marker. Payne makes the following observations concerning the frequency of negative elements: the most prevalent negative marker among the languages of the world is the particle. Numerous languages use negative particles, e.g. Russian, German, Arabic, Welsh, and Hungarian etc. The use of negative verbs is also wide-spread, but rarer. Payne splits the negative verbs into two groups, namely negative auxiliary verbs and higher negative verbs. Payne also mentions that the differentiation between higher negative verbs and negative auxiliary verbs is not always unproblematic, since negative auxiliary verbs often evolve out of higher negative verbs. The difference between higher negative verbs and negative auxiliary verbs is that the auxiliary verb takes on the markers of number and person, while the higher negative verb does not carry these elements, but aspect and tense markers instead (for more on the differences see J. R. Payne 1985: 208–222). This type does not exist in the Uralic languages, here the negative auxiliary verbs are wide-spread. Nevertheless, in certain languages semantically negative verbs can be found; they will be discussed in chapter IV.

In a great number of languages negation can be expressed morphologically. The use of prefixes (e.g. Persian) is more prevalent than that of suffixes. Whereas Payne does mention that there is a negative nominal element in Evenki, since the example given by him is not of standard, but of existential negation, the existence of this group, at least within the standard negating instruments, is questionable. (cf. Miestamo 2000: 250; for more on Evenki negation, cf. Nedjalkov 1994, 1997). As J. R. Payne (1985) has pointed

out, negation is most often expressed by a particle in the languages of the world. The Uralic languages differ, since in these languages the usage of so-called negative auxiliary verbs is dominant.

Before turning to the negative structures in Samoyedic and Ob-ugric languages, a definition of auxiliaries, or at least of negative auxiliaries and of particles would seem to be essential. As pointed out by several researchers (cf. Heine 1993, Kenesei 2001 etc.), it is impossible to find one single definition for these terms that would be valid for every language. I will not attempt to do so either, but I do find it necessary to investigate the nature of the two elements in question.

Particles

The definition of particles and, more precisely, of the negative particle is no easy undertaking. Particles are usually regarded as a subgroup of adverbs, with the reasoning that they, just like adverbs, cannot take on inflectional morphemes and that their function as well is modification. Regarding the negative particles, it is normally added that they must have a negative meaning. In German for instance, the following negative particles are usually listed: a general negative particle *nicht*, temporal adverbs *nie*, *niemals*, local adverbs *nirgends*, *nirgendwo*, *nirgendwoher*, *nirgendwohin*.

The definition of particles according to which these elements cannot take on inflective morphemes is not valid for every language. In Siberian languages, the grouping of elements into word classes is often problematic, if done by using the traditional categories. In this study, some morphemes will be regarded as particles even if they can take on some sort of inflective morphemes. In Nganasan, for example, the negative particle *ńintuu* can carry verbal personal suffixes, i.e. it can be inflected in the predicate, but otherwise it does not fulfil any of the other criteria for being a verb. It cannot take on tense or mood markers, not even the linking elements used for the aorist tense (*-ʔə* or *-ntu*). In Nganasan, however, a verb must have either a linking element or a tense or mood marker.

Auxiliaries

Since the majority of the Uralic languages use a negative auxiliary and the definition of auxiliaries being quite problematic, this special class of verbs will be dealt with in detail. A large number of researchers have already investigated the nature of auxiliaries. In a monograph (1993), Heine attempted to define the typical characteristics of auxiliaries. He compared the observations of several authors and based on that compiled a list of 22 items that summarizes the most salient characteristics of auxiliaries.

Anderson (2006) in contrast investigated not the features of auxiliaries but the typological features of auxiliary constructions based on ca. 800 languages. The author unfortunately does not attempt to define the nature of auxiliary verbs and thus regards certain structures as auxiliary structures, which are not necessarily those. From the point of view of my topic Heine's and Anderson's observations are of importance.

There has been no real research done concerning smaller Uralic and particularly Samoyedic languages aiming at determining which verbs in these languages can be regarded as auxiliaries. Nor do the auxiliary structures of larger Uralic languages form the focal point of studies. As pointed out by Kenesei (2001), even in a well-studied language, such as Hungarian, there is no consensus about which elements are auxiliaries. The approach taken by traditional grammar distinguishes two auxiliaries (*fog, volna*), while researchers who also consider distributional-formal criteria speak of 19. Taking Heine's considerations shown below into account and excluding the verbs with a copulative nature (*van, lesz, marad*), Kenesei came to the conclusion that there are only three auxiliaries in Hungarian (*fog, szokott, talál*).

After this short introduction it is clearly visible that it would go beyond the scope of this work to define the exact nature of auxiliaries. It is quite certain that no definition can be offered that would hold true for auxiliaries in every language. Only a list of features can be given that apply to auxiliaries to a greater or lesser degree in the different languages. My starting point will be Heine's list of characteristics (1993: 22–24), but since there is considerable overlapping, some features will be treated as one and, therefore, only nine features will be considered. An attempt will be made to set up a framework ideal for the investigation of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric auxiliaries, particularly the negative auxiliaries. A complete analysis of this topic is not envisaged for this work, since only few researchers have investigated the auxiliaries and the auxiliary structures in these languages.

Firstly, let us consider the question of how many and what kind of auxiliaries there are in these languages. Generally, descriptive grammars categorize certain verbs as auxiliaries but an explanation as to which aspects were instrumental in this classification is only rarely given, if at all. Klumpp (2002) deals with auxiliaries relating to Kamas converbal structures and later writes about auxiliaries in a separate article (2005) as well. Klumpp's data show that there are sixteen aspectual auxiliaries in Kamas that solely occur in converbal structures. In the case of Kamas, one has to take into account a strong Turkic influence, which could have contributed to the development of aspectual auxiliary structures in this language.

The same holds true for Mator, where Helimski finds six auxiliaries (1997: 188–192). In Mator, auxiliaries follow gerunds or infinitive forms. According to Helimski, a grammaticalisation process can be observed that could have had led to the auxiliaries, which mostly expressed aspect, becoming aspectual formative suffixes.

Cheremisina and Martynova (1991: 28–30) as well as Kuznecova and her colleagues (1980: 369–370) presented the Selkup auxiliaries. However, significant differences can be found between the results of the two studies; while Kuznecova et al. only refer to two auxiliaries (*ukiltati-ɣo* 'to start' and *qiiqii-ɣo* 'to finish'), Cheremisina and Martynova list eight Selkup auxiliaries. This again shows the extent to which there is no common opinion on the judgement of this category. Naturally, we also have to take into account the fact that certain authors treat phrasal verbs as auxiliaries while others do not. One of the reasons for this is that the differentiation between the two categories is also not unproblematic.

A list of Nenets auxiliaries can be found e.g. in Kupriyanova (1957: 193–196). It must be mentioned that there are verbs listed here that are certainly not auxiliaries, since they do not occur together with another verb, but always with a nominal category: some examples are *xesʲ* and *xanasʲ* ‘to become something’. However, some authors regard these kinds of copulative verbs as auxiliaries.

In the case of Enets, a few examples for auxiliary structures can be found only in Tereshchenko’s syntax (1973: 146–148), while no researcher has spoken of Nganasan auxiliaries except for the negative auxiliaries. At the same time, Nganasan texts allow the conclusion that there is at least two auxiliaries, namely *əki-/əku-* ‘undoubtedly’, and *konj-* ‘go’.

Also in the case of the Ob-Ugric languages, no auxiliary structures are taken into account, the structures formed with the existential verb and the verb with the meaning ‘to become’ being normally regarded as copular structures in the grammars.

Before investigating the suitability of the nine features abridged from Heine’s list, the Samoyedic verbs will be presented which are commonly regarded as auxiliaries. The table is divided according to languages and the form the main verb assumes in the supposed auxiliary’s environment. It will become apparent that in the Samoyedic languages, auxiliaries differ considerably when regarding the morphological form of the main verb they require. Even the negative auxiliaries display different behaviour in this respect although the isoglosses are clearly detectible. Descriptive grammars normally do not list negative auxiliaries among the auxiliary structures, but since they also belong here they will be listed in the table as well.

	V-GER + AUX	V-CN + AUX	V-INF + AUX	AUX + V-CN
Nenets			<i>xor-</i> ‘try’ <i>jaʔma-</i> ‘not capable’ <i>jexera-</i> ‘not capable’ <i>me-</i> ‘prepare’ <i>p'a-</i> ‘start’ <i>per-</i> ‘deal with sth.’ <i>pira-</i> ‘capable’	<i>ni-</i> ‘no’ <i>wuʔi-</i> ‘well, not’ <i>xas'a-</i> ‘nearly not’
Enets			<i>pe-</i> ‘start’ <i>piro-</i> ‘capable’ <i>loðe-</i> ‘not capable’ <i>keti-</i> ‘nearly not’	<i>ni-</i> ‘no’ <i>buʔi-</i> ‘well not’
Ngan.		<i>əki-/əku-</i> ‘seem’	<i>konj</i> ‘go’	<i>kasa-</i> ‘nearly not’ <i>ləði-</i> ‘not capable’ <i>ni-</i> ‘no’
Selkup	<i>oriš-</i> ‘prepare’ <i>qiiqil-</i> ‘finish’ <i>ukiltati-</i> ‘start’		<i>olam-</i> ‘start’ <i>oriš-</i> ‘prepare’ <i>sepir-</i> ‘capable’ <i>tačal-</i> ‘not capable’ <i>tenimi-</i> ‘capable’	
Kamas	<i>amnə-</i> ‘sit down’ <i>baʔbdə</i> ‘throw’ <i>i-</i> ‘take away’ <i>iʔbə-</i> ‘lie’ <i>iʔdə-</i> ‘hit’ <i>kan-</i> ‘go away’ <i>kandə-</i> ‘go’ <i>kün-</i> ‘lead away’ <i>kojo-</i> ‘stay’ <i>mī-</i> ‘give’ <i>mīn-</i> ‘go’ <i>nu-</i> ‘stand’ <i>saʔmə-</i> ‘collapse’ <i>uʔbdə-</i> ‘stand up’ <i>üzə-</i> ‘fall down’			<i>e-</i> ‘no’
Mator	<i>astə-</i> ‘send’ <i>kajətə-</i> ‘go’ <i>kan-</i> ‘go’ <i>mənžə-</i> ‘move’ <i>nəmändə-</i> ‘stand’		<i>amdə-</i> ‘sit’ <i>astə-</i> ‘send’ <i>kan-</i> ‘go’	<i>i-</i> ‘no’
Mansi			<i>pat-</i> ‘start’	
Khanty			<i>pit-</i> ‘start’	

Table 12. Auxiliaries in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages

And now let us turn to the nine features that can be compiled based on Heine. Regarding some features, it is very hard to adapt them to the Samoyedic languages, and therefore only those will be considered, which are unquestionably suitable. Due to the lack of audio data, for example, stress conditions could not be studied. Below, I will also mention which features affect negative auxiliaries particularly. The criterion that negative auxiliaries form a closed word class will be accepted a priori and will not be discussed further. The features concerning the languages in question are the following:

1) In most cases, auxiliaries express tense, aspect and mood. In certain languages, however, they can also express voice and negation. They have a grammatical function, but retain their verbal morphosyntax and are also lexical elements.

Typically, Uralic languages use negative auxiliaries for negation. As we will see, every Northern Samoyedic language also has negative auxiliaries that are not semantically empty. Klumpp's (2002) investigations on Kamas showed that all 16 Kamas auxiliary verbs have an aspectual-temporal function. In Nganasan, with one exception (*əki-/əku-* 'it seems'), all auxiliaries have a negative meaning. Of the Selkup auxiliaries, *olamqo* 'to start' certainly fulfils the criteria above, since the structure expresses aspect. The usage of the Selkup auxiliary is illustrated by the example below. It is clearly visible that the auxiliary already attaches to the lexical verb in front of it, i.e. a cliticizing process has begun.

(10) Northern Selkup, Taz dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 8/9)

<i>nuu-n</i>	<i>iija-n</i>	<i>əpti</i>	<i>iliqolam-na</i>
god-GEN	son-GEN	PP _{WITH}	live+start-Co.3SG

'She started to live with the son of God.'

In the Ob-Ugric languages, future cannot be marked morphologically. Nevertheless, the verb with the meaning 'to start' (Khanty *pit-*, Mansi *pat-*) behind the infinitive form of the main verb imparts future meaning:

(11) Eastern Khanty, Vasyugan dialect (Filchenko 2007: 244)

<i>mä</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ji-tä</i>	<i>pit-l-əm</i>
I	this	eat-INF	begin-PRS-1SG

'I will eat this later.'

2) Auxiliaries can also appear as main verbs.

This feature can be used for the determination of general auxiliaries (e.g. the Ob-Ugric 'to start'), but negative auxiliaries can never have this function, since they can never stand on their own. The only exception might be the Tundra Nenets verb *jexaras* 'not to know' 'not to be able to'. Most of the time it acts as a lexical verb with the meaning 'not to know', but in some examples it is used in the sense of 'not to be able to'. In this case, it requires the infinitive. At the same time, it is highly questionable, whether this verb can be regarded as an auxiliary. The possible usage of this verb in Tundra Nenets as a possible auxiliary and as a lexical verb respectively is illustrated by the following pair of example sentences:

(12) Tundra Nenets (a: Tereshchenko 1965: 113, b: Nenyang 2005: 40)

- a. *padna tamna jexara*
 write.INF yet not.know.3SG
 ‘He does not know how to write yet.’
- b. *mañ adresa-m-da? jexara-dm?*
 I address-ACC-2PL_{Px} not.know-1SG
 ‘I do not know your address.’

The example of the Selkup auxiliary *olamqo* ‘to start’ can also be used to show that a general auxiliary can also act as a main verb. Sentence (10) demonstrates its auxiliary function, while (13) illustrates how the given verb acts as a main verb with the meaning ‘to start’.

(13) Northern Selkup, Taz dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 11/113)

- niini na qum moqinä olam-ni*
 then this man home prepare-Co.3SG
 ‘Then the man left for home.’

Even more auxiliaries that can also be used as main verbs can be found in Selkup, e.g. *tanimiqo* ‘to be capable’ or *sepirqo* ‘to be capable’. However, the verb *tačalqo* ‘not to be capable’ can never act as a main verb. As the same holds true for all negative auxiliaries, this feature category can therefore not be applied in the case of negative verbs.

3) Since they show verbal features, auxiliaries act like verbs, for example they have a defective verbal paradigm. Regularly, they only take on the inflectional categories of tense and aspect, but for example do not have a passive form and cannot be negated.

The existence of a defective paradigm is not always imperative when investigating auxiliaries, especially in the case of negative auxiliaries. The paradigm of Samoyedic negative auxiliaries is much more complete, than that of, say, Finnish auxiliaries. Thus, as we will see later, these negative auxiliaries can take on TAM categories, but passive forms are truly not possible. It can be mentioned incidentally that if we regard the feature that an auxiliary cannot be negated as being fundamental, then certain Selkup, Nenets and Enets verbs that otherwise have an aspectual meaning would have to be excluded from the list of auxiliaries, e.g. Enets *pesi* ‘to start’.

4) In general, auxiliaries are unstressed nor can they be given contrastive stress. They do not have a meaning of their own and are elements that occur together with other categories (synsemantic and syncategorematic). They tend to be cliticized, i.e. they can attach themselves to neighbouring elements. They can have two free alternants, a full one (*I will go.*) and a phonologically reduced one (*I’ll go.*)

Because of the shortage of suitable audio material, the stress conditions of Samoyedic auxiliary constructions cannot be discussed here. The feature of cliticization, however, is one which is not realized in numerous languages of the world, while at least just as many languages can be listed where this criterium is valid. Of the Samoyedic languages, numerous Kamas and Selkup examples can be found for this

feature, see e.g. the Selkup sentence (10). Cliticization can also be found in Southern Estonian negative sentences: *tulõ-iõq* '(s)he does not come'. It must be noted, however, that cliticization is not typical for Samoyedic negative auxiliaries; there are thus for example no full and reduced phonemic forms. It is true, though, that these elements do not bear autonomous meaning in the structure, as far as they are not able to express negation by themselves.

5) The auxiliaries carry all the morphological information of the predicate, i.e. number and person, TAM categories, negation etc. If there is an auxiliary in the sentence, then the main verb takes on a non-finite, e.g. a nominalised, participial or gerundial form. The agreement categories of the subject are also expressed by the auxiliaries.

The table above (Table 12) clearly shows that this is a highly suitable criterion for the definition of both the general as well as the negative auxiliaries. There can be variation, though, in the non-finite form of the main verb. As demonstrated in the table, negative auxiliaries generally require a different form than non-negative auxiliaries, although for instance in Nenets an infinitive form is also possible next to a negative auxiliary, while in Nganasan only connegative forms are allowed. This also means that for negative auxiliaries the criterion that they always require the main verb to be in a connegative form cannot be established. In the case of non-negative auxiliaries, another problematic factor can be seen in the fact that numerous verbs can require the infinitive and not just auxiliary verbs. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that there are auxiliary structures that treat TAM categories in different ways. Thus, this is a possible, but not a sufficient criterion for auxiliaries.

6) While auxiliaries are an obligatory element in sentences with finite elements, they are not in obligatory in sentences with infinite elements or imperative sentences.

This category is actually similar to the feature regarding the defective paradigm. This can hold true for the general auxiliaries but is not typical for negative auxiliaries which for example also have an imperative form. In the Samoyedic languages, negative imperative sentences cannot be expressed without a negative auxiliary.

7) Auxiliaries generally stand separately from the main verb.

This criterion hold completely true for Samoyedic auxiliaries. As mentioned above, they do not take part in any cliticizational processes and, therefore, are not attached to the main verb. Based on the Selkup example (10) or the Estonian sentence quoted above, this criterion is less suitable for the other auxiliaries. For that matter, this category of Heine's is to some extent a contradiction to the feature which allows cliticization, since the latter criterion does not say that auxiliaries cannot cliticize to the main verb. The Selkup example shows just that.

8) In contrast to verbs, auxiliaries cannot be nominalised or be parts of compounds. Regarding the Samoyedic auxiliaries, this only holds true partially. Negative auxiliaries have participial, gerundial as well as supine forms. It is a fact, however, that auxiliaries cannot be parts of compounds, neither of compound verbs nor the nominal element of a compound.

9) Auxiliaries generally follow a determined word order and stand in a determined position in a sentence.

I will not take this criterion into account when determining the auxiliaries, the sentential position of auxiliaries will be treated separately. As we will see, in the Samoyedic languages the position of the negative auxiliaries in sentences differs from that of the general auxiliaries. That is why these positional discrepancies will be looked at more closely. As long as the behaviour of auxiliaries for the languages in question regarding their position in the sentence is not exactly defined, it makes no sense to use the statement above as a criterion.

As we can see, several of Heine's feature criteria can be applied to Samoyedic auxiliaries, nevertheless, there are several discrepancies between the behaviour of non-negative and negative auxiliaries. These discrepancies are summarized in the table below.

Category	General Auxiliaries	Negative Auxiliaries
Expresses a grammatical function	yes	yes
Not lexical, but grammatical elements	yes	yes
Can also be a main verb	yes	no
Defective paradigm	no	no
Cannot be a semantic predicate	yes	yes
Can cliticize	yes	no
Main verb in non-finite form	yes	yes
Does not occur in imperative sentences	yes	no
Separate from main verb	no	yes
Cannot be nominalised,	yes	yes
cannot be element of compound	yes	yes

Table 13. Feature Categories of Auxiliaries in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

Thus, the following definition can be given for the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric auxiliaries: Auxiliaries are elements of the given language that have a verbal morphology and bear grammatical functions (aspect, negation etc.). In every case, they form a structure with the main verb positioned next to them in a non-finite form. Auxiliaries tend to be cliticized but this is not an obligatory feature. They cannot be parts of compounds. Based on this, verbs with non-aspectual meaning ('to want', 'to become', 'to start' etc.), as well as verbs with a copular function will not be regarded as auxiliaries. Thus, in the languages in question, apart from the negative auxiliaries only a few auxiliaries can be reckoned with. Needless to say, the summary above does not exhaust this topic. A more thorough survey of the auxiliary constructions of the Samoyedic languages still needs to be made.

The next section will present the types of auxiliary constructions that can be found in the world's languages.

3.4. Auxiliary Verb Construction

As mentioned above, auxiliaries can never stand alone but always in constructions that are usually called auxiliary constructions. Anderson (2006) studied the data of 800 languages and on the basis of this classified them into four typological groups.

The first group included the languages that have the auxiliary as the head (Aux-headed constructions), the second those that have the lexical verb as head (LEX-headed auxiliary construction). The languages of the third group behave in a peculiar way, since both elements of the construction can take on inflectional morphemes (Doubled Inflection). The fourth group contains constructions in which the carrying of the inflectional categories varies from case to case (Split and Split/Doubled Inflectional Patterns).

In the following subsections Anderson's categorisation will be presented and together with that it will be shown to which categories the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric auxiliary constructions belong. In this presentation it will be above all the general auxiliaries that are taken into consideration.

AUX-Headed Constructions

It is typical for this construction that the auxiliary, which is also the syntactic head of the construction, carries the inflectional categories, but that the semantic features are determined by the main verb. The main verb appears in a non-finite form and stands next to the conjugated auxiliary. This non-finite form can be e.g. the infinitive, a nominalised form, a gerund/converb, a participle or a form with TAM-categories.

According to Anderson the most common case is that the main verb of the structure stands in the infinitive. This structure is frequent among the Indo-European languages (English, German, and Russian) but is less preferred in Siberian languages. Nevertheless, in several Siberian languages the infinitive can stand next to an auxiliary, e.g. in Shor, Khakas, Selkup, Mator etc. Regarding the Samoyedic languages not only this structure, where the lexical verb stands in the form of an infinitive next to the auxiliary, is known, but also one in which the lexical verb appears in the form of a converb (gerund). This type can be found e.g. in Kamas and Selkup. For Kamas it is characteristic that only this type is possible, which can be attributed to a strong Turkic, more specifically Khakas influence. For a detailed discussion of the Kamas converb constructions see Klumpp 2002.

- (14) Kamas (Joki 1944: 95, cited by Klumpp 2005: 54)
bazo? *t'or-la?* *t'irlö-le?* *kojo-bi*
 again cry-GER roll.about-GER stay-PST.3SG
 'Again he kept on crying and rolling about.'

The use of auxiliaries is not characteristic of Nganasan. There are only two non-negative auxiliaries in the language: *konid'i* and *əki-/əku-*. This verb *konid'i*, meaning 'go away' is used as an auxiliary in resultative clauses. The auxiliary is at the end of the clause, and is preceded by the infinitive of the BE verb.

The auxiliary *əki-/əku*⁵ behaves like imperfective verbs, but its paradigm is defective. This verb does not have an infinitive form. It is preceded by the connegative form of the main verb, but this auxiliary does not have a negative meaning. It has the peculiarity of assimilating to the lexical verb in terms of vowel harmony. It can be taken as certain that it evolved from the particle *əku*. Thus, in principle, a process of lexicalisation and not of grammaticalisation can be observed. The usage of the auxiliary is illustrated by the two example sentences below.

- (15) Nganasan (Kurumaku, 1999: K-97_noch_krieg/5)
ma-mə kačəmə-huāðəə. kəči mənə nimsʲa-siədʲəə-mə təibə-ʔ
 tent-ACC.1SG see-IRR.3SG possible I forget-PST2-1SG.O exist-CN
əku-tu
 be.possible-Co.3SG
 ‘Look at my tent, maybe I have forgotten something there.’
- (16) Nganasan (Kurumaku, 2003: K-03_ostyak/336)
tə iri-nə nəsiriʲai? ɲəðu-ti-əi.
 EMPH grandfather-GEN.1SG_{Px} hardly be.visible-Co.3SG-EXL
ɲəðu-tiə-rəki mənə nanu-nə tolisi-ʔ əki-təi-m
 be.visible-PTPRS-SIM I PP_{WITH} -GEN.1SG_{Px} steal-CN be.possible-Co.EXL-1SG
 ‘As if grandfather’s shadow were visible, as if I saw him,
 it is possible that I steal.’

Of the Uralic languages, it is the Finnic languages which have the type where the participle of the lexical verb can stand next to the auxiliary. The type does not exist in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages. The forms of the lexical verbs in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages are summarized in the table below. In Enets and Nenets, connegative forms can only stand next to the negative auxiliary, in Nganasan they can also occur next to the auxiliary *əku*-.

$V_{Ger} + Aux$	$V_{Inf} + Aux$	$Aux + V_{Cn}$
Kamas	Enets	Enets
Selkup	Nenets	Nenets
Mator	Nganasan	Nganasan
	Selkup	
	Mator	
	Kamas	
	Khanty	
	Mansi	

Table 14. Form of the Lexical Verb Next to an Auxiliary in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

5. Valentin Gusev drew my attention to this auxiliary and to the constructions formed with it. I would like to thank him for his help and advice.

Anderson (2006: 248 ff.) states that through the fusion of the auxiliary complex verbal forms can evolve. Practically, this is nothing else than a process of grammaticalisation, where the auxiliary is on the way to becoming an inflectional morpheme. Of the Samoyedic languages, the process of cliticisation has mainly affected the southern languages. In Selkup, the auxiliary can already cliticise but a new and complex verb form has not yet appeared (see e.g. sentence (10)), while in Kamas the process of cliticisation is much more advanced.

LEX-Headed Constructions

The constructions in which the lexical verb is the head are built up in such a way that the inflectional categories are carried by the lexical verb, i.e. it is the lexical verb that carries the TAM categories. The auxiliary stands in the immediate environment of the lexical verb. In OV languages the auxiliary precedes the lexical verb, in VO languages it follows it. (Cf. chapter I/3.4.) Since the lexical verb is the inflectional head, this type does not have any further subgroups regarding the form of the lexical verb. In this case, the subject of investigation is what categories the auxiliary can carry. Anderson, however, could only find very few languages belonging to this group. Here I will concentrate only on the Uralic languages. Of these, Enets belongs to this category: “A simple and straightforward example of a LEX-headed pattern of inflection is seen in Enets, a Samoyedic language of northern central Siberia, where the auxiliary in unchanging and occur before the lexical verb, which appears in a tense-marked form.” (Anderson 2006: 117).

That this is not the case can be noted immediately by those knowing the Uralic languages. Let us take a look at Anderson’s Enets example that for the moment will be given with Anderson’s glossing and transcription:

(17) Enets (Anderson 2006: 117; based on Künnap 1999: 29)

oŋatʲ pə-bi
 Aux eat-PST
 ‘He began to eat.’

One does not even have to know the Samoyedic languages very well to realise that something is not right here. The word form *pə-bi* is not the lexical verb, but the inflected form of the auxiliary *peš* ‘to start’. The morpheme *bi* is the marker of the narrative mood referring to the past. On the other hand, *oŋatʲ* is not the auxiliary but the lexical verb meaning ‘to eat’, i.e. one of the forms of the verb *ooč* (IPF), but certainly not its infinitive. Morphophonologically, the verb *ooč* is formed in the following way: *oor+sʲ*, that is, the stem *oor-* can be regarded as the initial form. Regarding the form *oŋatʲ*, we must now only find an explanation for the function of *ŋa* and *tʲ*. The most plausible solution would be to regard *tʲ* as the marker of the infinitive. The trouble is that the variant *tʲ* (*č*) of the infinitive marker only appears on stems that end with a consonant, after vowels we always find the form *-š*i**. Thus, we would have to act on the assumption that the word also

contains a formative suffix *-ŋaC*, which is unknown in Enets. But this last explanation would not suffice either, since the linguistic data, such as the sentence below, show that the infinitive form stands in front of the auxiliary.

- (18) Enets (Sorokina–Bolina 205: 169/19)
naða *o-d'* *pe*
 reindeer.moss eat-INF begin.3SG
 ‘(S)he began to eat reindeer moss.’

But where does Anderson’s misapprehension derive from? Based on Künnap’s misprint he glossed the data completely incorrectly. Künnap says the following in the passage in question: “The pairs of verbs in which the first component (an auxiliary verb) does not conjugate but the second (a main verb) does are widely used, e.g. *oŋat’ pebi* ‘he began to eat’, *d’agōw*, *sēhōru pinōju kaniš löđiađ?* ‘no, at night no-one can go’.” (Künnap 1999: 29)

Inspecting Künnap’s data it is obvious that the other example does not support Anderson’s assumption, either. In the second quoted sentence, the negative auxiliary *löđeš* ‘cannot/not to be able to’ stands in the 3PL and is preceded by the infinitive form of the main verb (*kaniš* ‘to go’).

Thus it can be stated that there is no Samoyedic language that uses LEX-headed constructions.

Doubled Inflexion Constructions

The third large group among the auxiliary construction types is the group of the doubled inflexion constructions. This group contains the constructions where inflectional elements appear on both the lexical verb and the auxiliary, where all important inflectional morphemes, e.g. number and person of TAM categories, are marked on both members of the construction. Thus, the construction has two inflectional heads.

Based on which inflectional category is repeated on the verbs, Anderson differentiates between further subcategories: doubled subject marking, doubled TAM marking, doubled subject and TAM marking, and doubled negation.

Regarding the Uralic languages, we can find examples for this construction among the later Kamas negative imperative constructions and in the Finnic languages. This construction will be discussed more thoroughly later (see chapter V/1.2.1., page 153 ff.), but here are two examples for illustration. According to Anderson’s categorisation, they belong to the subgroup of doubled subject marking, a personal suffix appears on both the auxiliary and the main verb.

- (19) Kamas (Joki 1944: 95, based on Klumpp 2001: 119)

i-ge[ʔ] *xaŋ-ga[ʔ]*
 NEG-IMP.2PL go.away-IMP.2PL
 ‘Don’t go away!’

- (20) Estonian (VT, 2009)

är-ge *min-ge*
 NEG-IMP.2PL go-IMP.2PL
 ‘Don’t go away!’

Split Patterns

There is also a type of auxiliary constructions which Anderson (2006: 183 ff.) refers to as a split-pattern construction. This type can specifically be found in negative sentences. It appears when the lexical verb carries negative polarity, i.e. takes on some sort of a negative marker, while the auxiliary expresses the TAM categories. That means that there is a division of labour between the two elements. Several Eurasian languages belong to this group, regarding the Uralic languages Anderson brings examples for Khanty and Kamas. Before coming to these, a Tuvan example can illustrate the construction.

- (21) Tuvan (Anderson 2006: 185)

men ol nom-nu nomču-vastay ber-di-m
 I that book-ACC read-NEG.CV INCH-PST-1SG
 ‘I stopped reading the book.’

Thus, the auxiliary stands in the position behind the main verb, while the negative element attaches to the main verb. Now let us look at the Kamas example with the author’s transcription, glossing and translation:

- (22) Kamas (Anderson 2006: 185, based on Simoncsics 1998: 594)

oʔb-l=ej moo-lia-m
 collect-GER-NEG Aux-PRS-1SG
 ‘I can’t collect.’

Anderson adds the following explanations for this example: For all practical purposes three verbs can be found in this sentence. One is the negative auxiliary that only appears as a particle (*ej*). The second is the gerund of the lexical verb, which formerly had to stand in the connegative form. According to Anderson, the negative element has merged with the lexical verb. The third element of the sentence is the auxiliary. Thus, this split construction evolved from a former AUX-headed construction.

Before commenting on the author’s assumption, I will quote the complete sentence from the original source, namely from Joki’s work. It must be added, however,

that as can be seen above, Anderson did not take his example from Joki but from Simoncsics's short grammar. The relevant passage will also be given with Joki's original transcription but the whole sentence will be transcribed phonologically.

- (23) Kamas (Joki 1944: 86/13)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>uruʔ-bə</i> | <i>oʔbde-l'a-m.</i> | <i>oʔbde-l'a-m.</i> | <i>oʔbde-la[ʔ]</i> | <i>ej</i> |
| lasso-ACC | collect-PRS-1SG | collect-PRS-1SG | collect-GER | NEG _{PTCL} |
| <i>mo-l'a-m</i> | | | | |
| will.be-PRS-1SG | | | | |
| <i>[oʔpl_ei mol'iom]</i> | | | | |
- 'I coil and coil my lasso, I cannot coil it up.'

Thus, the original text, i.e. Donner's notes, already show the sandhi phenomenon (see the form in the brackets), and even the reduction of the verb itself. It is also true that in later Kamas, the original negative verb was reduced to a particle in the 3SG form in the present tense with the marker -L'A. The construction itself, however, is not built as assumed by Anderson. In pronunciation, the negative element actually does form a unit with the lexical verb, but the sentence negates the auxiliary *mo-* 'will.be' and not the main verb. In these kinds of constructions, the main verb has naturally never stood in the connegative form. This would not have been possible, since this is not the element being negated. Nevertheless, it was obligatory for the main verb to appear in the converb form, as required by the auxiliary. It must also be added that in Kamas, negative auxiliaries never appeared in the post-verbal position but always stood in front of the negated verb. This holds even more true for the grammaticalised form, the particle. It should be pointed out, however, that in other examples the lexical verb stands in the infinitive (e.g. *am-zət mo-l'a-m* 'I will eat' Joki 1944: 40/b). Naturally, this does not constitute a considerable change when judging the negative construction. In my point of view, this case cannot be regarded as a split pattern, but as a sandhi phenomenon, which is marked according to the transcription customs of that time. Thus, in this work, this Kamas construction will not be considered to be a split pattern.

As mentioned before, Anderson also found split patterns in Khanty. He brings the following example (here with Anderson's glossing):

- (24) Khanty (Anderson 2006: 185, based on Nikolaeva 1999: 41)
- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>ma</i> | <i>jeernas-ee-m</i> | <i>oont-li</i> | <i>uu-l</i> |
| I | dress-EP-1SG _{px} | sew-PTABESS | be-PRS.3SG |
- 'My dress is not sewn yet.'⁶

6. In the original source, i.e. in Nikolaeva's work (1994), the verb 'to sew' has the stem *oont-*, while in Northern Khanty dialects the verb can only begin with *j-*, cf. e.g. Synya *jənt*, Obdorsk *jənt-* (Honti 1982: 31). (Thanks to Eszter Ruttkay for this information.)

I have some doubts concerning this sentence as well. I do not consider this sentence as an auxiliary construction, but as a sentence with a non-verbal predicate, which, in Khanty, is expressed with a copula. We would also find the same construction, if there were no negative meaning in the sentence. The negation of the participle with the abessive is not the only and not even the most common type of non-verbal negation in Khanty. Using these grounds, several Uralic languages that have an abessive could be categorised as being of this type. The same sentence type can be found for instance in the Finnic languages (e.g. Finnish *Pukuni on ompelematta*. ‘My dress is not sewn yet.’). On the other hand, in contrast to Anderson, I do not consider the Khanty existential verb *uu-* as an auxiliary, and, therefore, I would not consider this construction to be an auxiliary construction.

Based on the above, I draw the conclusion that in the languages dealt with in this work, only AUX-headed and doubled-inflectional constructions can be found.

3.5. Sentential Position of the Negative Element

When studying negative sentences the question can be of importance where the negative marker is positioned in the sentence. This issue, however, does not only come up in studies dealing with negation, but also in those investigating the order of constituent parts.

Lehmann (1973) does not make a distinction between the form of the negative elements, i.e. he does not study the position of e.g. auxiliaries and particles separately. As a consequence, he only makes generally valid remarks regarding negation in his article. The following remarks can be found in Lehmann’s article concerning the position of negative markers (1973: 48):

- In VO languages the negative element appears in the pre-verbal position, therefore, the word order is NEGVO.
- In OV languages the post-verbal position is dominant; therefore, the order is OVN_{NEG}.

Several years later, J. R. Payne (1985: 221) arrived at the same conclusion as Lehmann, but also points out that in the Uralic languages, in contrast to expectations, the negative auxiliary stands before, and not behind the negated verb. Payne assumes that SOV languages have a freer word order.

Dahl (1979: 89ff.) also touches upon the issue of the position of the negative element, and spends more time on the investigation of this question. As his starting point, he takes Jespersen’s hypothesis, which assumes the following:

- the negative element strives to be positioned on the left side of the sentence
- the negative element strives for a pre-verbal position

Jespersen’s second statement corresponds exactly with what the Uralic languages would indicate. At the same time, as mentioned above, Lehmann and Payne came to another conclusion. Dahl compared the data of 240 languages. A large number of Uralic languages can be found in his database. As we will see, Dahl assumed that a good number of Uralic languages have free word order. However, we already know today that in the case of certain languages, e.g. Hungarian, this is not true. The word order classification of

these languages is still problematic and it is difficult to categorize them within the framework of traditional word order typology. The same can be assumed regarding the word order of several Uralic languages, however, we know little about what regulates the sentential position of the different constituents in the case of the smaller Uralic languages. This can be explained on the one hand by the fact that the investigation of the syntax of the smaller Uralic languages is still in its beginnings. On the other hand, we should also not forget that the typological classification of word order itself is not unproblematic (see Newmeyer 1998). The problem is naturally compounded by the fact that certain syntactic phenomena can only be studied in a restricted manner with the help of written texts, if relevant statements can be made at all without the help of native informants.

Dahl made several observations that can be used for further research. For example, he stated that even in languages with so-called free word order, the negative marker cannot appear in just any sentential position. The negative element must appear in a fixed position vis-à-vis the finite element (FE) of the sentence. Nor in the cases where the negative marker (NEG) can be moved, does it lose its connection with the FE. According to Dahl, negative elements, especially negative particles, prefer the position before the finite element. The situation is somewhat more complicated in the case of negative auxiliaries. Based on Dahl's observations, negative auxiliaries display the same behaviour as the other auxiliaries of the given language, i.e. the same word order restrictions apply. In Dahl's opinion, a postverbal position is typical for auxiliaries in OV languages. At the same time, the author adds that he found 5 counterexamples (1979: 92). These five languages are none other than the five Uralic languages that were classified as SOV languages in Dahl's database. This already would allow the conclusion that one of Dahl's assumptions does not stand its ground. The data relating to the Uralic languages is summarized in the table below.

Language	Word order		
	SOV	SVO	Free Word Order
Mordvin ⁷	NEG FE		
Khanty	NEG FE		
Mansi	NEG FE		
Hungarian			NEG FE
Estonian		NEG FE	
Finnish		NEG FE	
Nenets	NEG FE		
Enets	NEG FE		
Mari			NEG FE
Udmurt			NEG FE
Saami			NEG FE
Nganasan			NEG FE

(based on Dahl 1979)

Table 15. Sentential Position of the Negative Element in the Uralic Languages

Later, I will argue that in Samoyedic languages the negative auxiliaries appear in a different position than the non-negative auxiliaries of the given language. Therefore, it will be of fundamental importance to separate the two categories.

In several of his works, Dryer dealt with the sentential position of negative elements (1988, 1992). In his earlier work, Dryer does not differentiate between negation particles and negative auxiliaries, but does so in his later work. This differentiation is of more use since it allows a far exacter prediction to be made, than when treating the two negative markers together. In Dryer's earlier article (1988), only one Uralic language is to be found among the investigated languages, namely Hungarian. Here, the author claims that the basic word order of Hungarian is SVO (1988: 123), however, this is a very questionable, and with certainty a false statement. Although there is very little said in the article in question regarding the Uralic languages, it is worthwhile taking a closer look at the author's statements.

Dryer tries to give an explanation about why the position of the negative element displays such a strong variation in SOV languages. The two most common word orders are $SONEGV$ and $SOVNEG$. The author applies two principles of importance to explain this phenomenon, namely the Branching Direction Principle and the Negative-Before-Verb Principle. These can be complemented by the Negative-Plus-VO Principle.

The Branching Direction Principle states that languages preferably branch to the right or the left. VO-languages typically branch to the left.

7. In the most recent literature Mordvin is regarded as belonging to the group of languages with SVO, and not to those with SOV, and the observation is made that the earlier word order actually was SOV, but that a restructuring is taking place. (For more details, cf. Vilkuna 1998).

On the basis of the Negative-Before-Verb Principle, the negative element strives to appear in the position before the verb.

The NEG-Plus-VO Principle states that the NEG divides the VO unit. This principle is above all used to explain a rare word order such as SV_{NEG}O.

SVO languages are compatible with the two main principles, since both principles can be applied without any infringing on the other. At the same time, in the case of SOV languages, the application of one of the principles infringes on the other principle. The SON_{NEG}V order infringes on the Branching Direction Principle, while the SOV_{NEG} infringes on the Negative-Before-Verb Principle. But still we can observe these two frequent word orders in SOV languages. Although there are examples for the other word orders as well, they are not as common. Dryer explains this phenomenon by stating that the Branching Direction Principle is the strongest principle, i.e. a language will always adhere to this principle even if it results in the infringement of another one. (Dryer 1988: 101–103).

Now let us consider what conclusions the author drew based on his analysis of the linguistic data. Dryer investigated 625 languages in his subsequent article (1992). In this article he studied the negation markers separately. This corpus includes the following Uralic languages: Nenets, Hungarian, Udmurt, Komi-Permjak, Eastern Mari and Finnish.

Among the investigated languages, there were 92 that use a particle for negation. Dryer observes that in languages where negation takes place with a particle and that have a VO word order, the position of the negative marker is generally before the verb (NEG_V order). The same holds true for OV languages. At the same time, if there is a V_{NEG} order in a language, then an OV word order is more probable in this language. It is, however, important to point out that in Dryer's data a V_{NEG} order hardly occurs in the Eurasian languages. This is assumed for only one language. Dryer's observations can be summarized in the following table:

Word Order Distribution	Total	Rate
OV & V _{NEG}	11	12%
OV & NEG _V	31	34%
VO & V _{NEG}	7	7%
VO & NEG _V	43	47%

(based on Dryer 1992: 98)

Table 16. The Order of the Negative Particle and the Verb

Based on the data it can be stated that the negation particle strives to appear in the position before the verb, which can be also explained by the fact that negation is an important piece of information in a sentence and, therefore, its preference for the position before the predicate is understandable.

Before presenting the results Dryer arrived at regarding the position of the negative auxiliary, I would like to make a few side notes on this topic. The first observations on the position of negative auxiliaries originate from Greenberg. He also acted on the assumption that a negative auxiliary would show the same behaviour in a given language as other auxiliaries in the same language. As we could see, the studies commented on above also do not assume that negative auxiliaries might behave differently. Greenberg's 16th universal states the following (1963: 67): "In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb."

When compared with modern databases, Greenberg's observations are based on a very narrow one, containing only 30 languages⁸. His data show that SVO languages display minimal variation, while SOV languages, more interesting for the purposes of this present study, show no variation at all.

After this short aside let us return to Dryer's investigations and see how far his results correspond with or deviate from Greenberg's. In contrast to the studies carried out previously, the author does not treat the negative and the general auxiliaries together, but investigates them separately. As we will see later, this procedure is justified by e.g. the Samoyedic languages. Firstly, let us sum up what conclusion Dryer arrived at when studying the position of the auxiliaries. He compared the data of 71 languages, the resulting rates are presented in the table below.

Word Order Distribution	Total	Rate
OV & VAUX	36	50%
OV & AUXV	3	4%
VO & VAUX	4	7%
VO & AUXV	28	39%

(based on Dryer 1992: 100)

Table 17. The Position of the Auxiliaries

Thus, it is evident that in OV languages the dominant word order is VAUX, while in VO languages it is AUXV. This tendency seems to support Greenberg (and Dahl), but it is also clear that based on this study carried out on twice as many languages, we can only speak of a tendency.

Dryer investigated the position of the negative auxiliary in the sentence in 25 languages. Here it is evident that the number of languages has clearly decreased, which is understandable since there are far fewer languages with negative auxiliaries. The author observes that in OV languages the VNEG order is more common while in VO languages

8. Basque, Serbian, Welsh, Greek, Italian, Finnish, Yoruba, Nubian, Swahili, Fulani, Massai, Songhai, Berber, Turkish, Hebrew, Burushaski, Hindi, Kannada, Japanese, Thai, Burmese, Malay, Maori, Lorigitya, Maya, Zapotec, Quechua, Chibcha, Guarani.

it is NEG_V. Dryer's data can lead to the assumption that negative auxiliaries behave the same way as general auxiliaries do, although, as shown by the table below, there is a much larger variation than in the case of general auxiliaries. The following table illustrates the sentential position of the negative auxiliary.

Word Order	Total	Rate
OV & V _{NEG}	8	32%
OV & NEG _V	3	12%
VO & V _{NEG}	1	4%
VO & NEG _V	13	52%

(based on Dryer 1992: 101)

Table 18. The Order of the Negative Auxiliary and the Main Verb

Dryer also classified his data according to language areas. As listed above, six Uralic languages (Nenets, Hungarian, Udmurt, Komi-Permyak, Eastern Mari, Finnish) feature in the database, and are classified as Eurasian. According to the author's table (see table 19 below) there are no Eurasian languages that have VO as their basic word order and use a negative auxiliary. In contrast, there are six Eurasian languages where negation takes place with the help of a negative auxiliary and which have a basic OV word order. The V_{NEG} : NEG_V ratio among these languages is 3 : 3. Since Dryer's table poses several questions, it seems important to quote it accurately.

	Africa	Eurasia	SE-Asia&Oc	Aus-NewGui	N-Amer	S-Amer	Total
OV&V _{NEG}	0	3	1	1	2	1	8
OV&NEG _V	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
VO&V _{NEG}	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
VO&NEG _V	4	0	5	0	3	1	13

Table 19. The Order of Lexical Verb and Negative Auxiliary (Dryer 1992: 100)

The questions that arise concerning this table are the following:

- 1) If among the Eurasian languages there is none with the word order VO, how did the author classify Finnish? According to the table, the author could only have regarded it as an OV language. In this case, Finnish must be one of the languages where we find NEG_V and this would clearly be an erroneous classification.
- 2) In the appendix provided by the author (1992: 133–134) we find among the Eurasian languages the following ones which clearly use negative auxiliaries for negation and clearly show a NEG_V word order: Nenets, Udmurt, Komi-Permyak, Eastern Mari,

Finnish. These are already five languages, so it is not clearly understandable how Dryer's calculations came about and could have a ratio of 3:3.

3) The author also makes the following statement: "... there are two areas for which my database does not contain any OV languages with negative auxiliaries and two others for which my database does not contain any VO languages with negative auxiliaries." (1992: 101). As we have observed, according to the table there are no African languages with negative auxiliaries and an OV word order, but the other area Dryer mentions cannot be found, since for every area there is at least one language that fulfils these criteria. A VO word order with a negative auxiliary does not exist in the Eurasian and the Australian-New-Guinean languages. Thus right away we come across two contradictions, firstly that the table only shows one area with no negative auxiliary and OV order, and secondly, that if we take a careful look at the list of Eurasian languages, again we find Finnish, whose basic word order is much more VO, than OV. Thus, it can be asserted that the investigation of the position of the negative element and word order is not without problems, especially if the authors have deficient information on certain languages or misinterpret the data. This problem certainly does not only affect the Uralic languages, but the smaller languages of other language families or areas as well.

The other languages in Dryer's database need not be examined in greater detail, since it is already clear that the conclusions drawn from the data cannot be accepted without critique, and since the analysis of the data poses a number of problems. Hereafter in this work, Dryer's data will not be considered as being fully trustworthy, and I will treat his assumptions as very cautious hypotheses.

By summarizing the observations of Greenberg, Lehmann and Dryer on negative elements, the following statements can be made with regard to the languages of the world:

- i) Differences can be found between the position of the negative particle and the negative auxiliary in the sentence. Dahl's observation, according to which negative particles prefer the pre-verbal position, seems to be holding true.
- ii) The positions of the negative auxiliary and the general auxiliary in the sentence are not necessarily the same. In the case of OV word order general auxiliaries prefer the sequence VAux, while in the case of VO word order it is AuxV.
- iii) In the languages of the world, in the case of OV word order the negative auxiliary stands more often behind the verb, while in VO languages it generally appears before the verb. The table below illustrates word order distribution, as well as the options for the position of the auxiliary.

	OV	VO
Negative Particle	NEGV	NEGV
Auxiliary	VAUX	AUXV
Negative Auxiliary	VNEG	NEGV

Table 20. Word Order Distribution

When studying the European Uralic languages, Vilkuna (1998: 211 ff.) made the observation that if there are negative auxiliaries in a language, they always appear in the position before the verb. In certain languages (e.g. Mari, Udmurt), though, smaller discrepancies are possible (especially concerning forms with tense markers). In contrast to the negative auxiliaries, the auxiliaries in SOV languages appear in the position behind the verb, while in SVO languages (such as Finnish and Saami), they appear, just as expected, before the verb. In the Southern Estonian dialect the negative auxiliary comes after the verb.

In this work I will argue that in the Samoyedic languages, negative auxiliaries and auxiliaries appear in different positions, in accordance with the other Uralic languages with SOV word order. The difference lies in the fact that the negative auxiliary does not appear in the auxiliary's position, but – like particles (and other modifiers) – is typically located before the main verb.

The question might arise as to what causes this order. Dryer attempts to explain the NEG-V word order with the communicative function of negation (1992: 166–167). Honti (1997) shares his opinion and sees it as the main motivation. According to him, since negation bears a very important meaning in the sentence, the element carrying the negation comes into the focal position. However, this theory also supposes that in Uralic languages it is always the preverbal position that is the focal position, but this cannot be assumed. On the one hand, there are counterexamples, e.g. in Nganasan, and on the other, the focal position in the Uralic languages has not yet been made completely clear, despite the fact that over the last years studies have been published (e.g. Vilkuna 1998:193ff) that deal with this phenomenon. It also has to be added that the term 'focal position' itself can be interpreted in different ways.

Within the framework of this study I do not aim to give an explanation for this phenomenon, since I am convinced that on the one hand it cannot be explained simply by the so-called focal position alone, and on the other hand, I feel that it would require detailed syntactic investigations, something which would go beyond the scope of the present study.

II. Standard Negation

1. On the Typology of Standard Negation

The 1970's saw a new upsurge in research into the typology of negation. Typological works of that time were usually concerned with the types and roles of negation elements and the corresponding classification of negated sentences. In this research, Östen Dahl (1979) and John R. Payne (1985) were the pioneers. Payne's typology was based on the quality of negation elements. Another possible classification, connected with Dahl's work (Dahl 1979: 98–99), creates a more fine-grained description and pays more attention to the structure of the sentence. Dahl investigated 240 languages representing 40 language families, concentrating on the following aspects:

- a) “What are the main ways of expressing Neg, i.e. what is the relation between the form of the positive statement and the form of the corresponding negated statement.
- b) How are Neg morphemes placed in relation to other main constituent of the sentence?
- c) What are the relations between the answers for each language to questions (a) and (b) and its basic word order typology?” (Dahl 1979: 80)

Of these, (a) is crucial for determining the main types of negation, while (b) and (c) are important for the division of these into subtypes. For Dahl, the most essential differences are to be found in the morphological and syntactic expressions of negation.

Syntactic negation means that negation is expressed by a syntactic operation. The element expressing negation (NEG) can be a particle or an auxiliary, less frequently negation is expressed by a change in word order. In Dahl's corpus, negation by means of a particle was the most frequent strategy (41%), followed by the use of a negative auxiliary (16%).

Morphological negation implies a morphological operation on the negated construction, that is, negation is an inflectional category of the verb (Dahl 1979: 81). The negation marker can be a prefix, a suffix, a circumfix, stem modification or reduplication of an element. In principle, an infix would be possible as well, but in Dahl's material there were no examples for this.

More recently, the typology of negation has been investigated in particular by Miestamo (2000a, 2000b etc.). In this work, I will apply his typological framework. For this reason, I will have to present this typology in more detail, although I will not deal with its every aspect.

Miestamo's approach to negated sentences is based on the structure of the negated construction itself. Thus, like Dahl, he does not merely pay attention to the negation marker but considers the difference between the negated and the corresponding affirma-

tive construction, with special respect to the form of the finite verb. Miestamo's typology is actually based on an elaboration of Dahl's system by Honda (1996, cited in Miestamo 2000b: 252–253), but enhances Honda's typology by concentrating on the symmetry or asymmetry of the constructions. The reason for this is that negation in natural languages does not always correspond to the symmetry of logical negation: in many cases, negated elements show other deviations as well, beyond the presence of the negative marker. Of course, this typology as well does not consider all deviations in negated sentences, only those which lead to deviations in terms of symmetry. If a construction is asymmetric, this may be manifested on different levels of sentence structure. If the asymmetry is not displayed on sentence level, there is no relevant deviation between the corresponding affirmative and negative sentences. Such cases – for instance, in Yukaghir, where negated verbs can only be inflected in the subject conjugation – do not suffice for postulating a new typological group. Nor are differences in the form of the object (for instance, in Finnic) important for determining types or subtypes. (In Finnish, for instance, there are differences in object case marking, with the object of a negated sentence generally being in the partitive case. Yet, this does not constitute a difference in symmetry between the affirmative and the negated sentence.)

On this basis, negated sentences can be divided into two main types: symmetric and asymmetric. In symmetric constructions, the only difference between negated and affirmative sentences is the presence of a negative marker, there are no other structural differences (Miestamo 2005: 51). Asymmetric constructions, in contrast, display other, structural differences as well.

Miestamo's classification is shown in the following table. Symmetric negation cannot be divided into further subtypes, but for asymmetric negation, there are subtypes based on the relationships between the finite element, the negative marker and the lexical verb.

Type	Subtype	Further Subtypes
Symmetric Negation		
	A/Fin	A/Fin/Neg-LV A/Fin/Neg-FE A/Fin/Neg-Cl A/Fin/NegVerb
Asymmetric Negation	A/NonReal	A/NonReal/Irr A/NonReal/Interr
	A/Emph	
	A/Cat	A/Cat/TAM A/Cat/PNG

(based on Miestamo 2005a: 60 and Miestamo 2000a: 72)

Table 21. Miestamo's Typological Classification

In what follows, I will describe the types distinguished by Miestamo, very briefly for the types which do not appear in the Uralic language family (for instance, the A/NONREAL type) and with examples from the Uralic languages wherever possible.

1.1. Symmetric Construction

Symmetric negation is used in the majority of the world's languages: in these languages, the only difference between the affirmative and the negated sentence lies in the presence of a negation marker (Miestamo 2005a: 61). There are no other structural differences, which means that leaving out the negation marker will render the sentence affirmative. The form of the negation marker is not relevant from this point of view: it can be a particle or a bound negative morph. In languages employing a negative auxiliary, in contrast, symmetric constructions are impossible.

Symmetric negation is used, for example, in German and in Mordvin (examples (2) and (25)), and, as illustrated by example (26), in Latvian as well. In German and Mordvin, negation is realized with a negative particle (*nicht*, *a*), while Latvian uses a bound morph, the prefix *ne-*. The following two sentence pairs show that leaving out the negative marker (NEG) will turn the sentence into its affirmative equivalent.

(25) Erzya Mordvin (Edit Mészáros, p.c.)

a. *soda-sa* *t'e* *ava-ńt'*
 know-1SG.O this woman-ACC.DEF
 'I know this woman.'

b. *a* *soda-sa* *t'e* *ava-ńt'*
 NEG_{PTCL} know-1SG.O this woman-ACC.DEF
 'I do not know this woman.'

(26) Latvian (Miestamo 2005a: 310)

a. *tēv-s* *strādā* *pļavā*
 father-NOM work.3SG meadow.LOC
 'Father is working in the meadow.'

b. *tēv-s* *ne-strādā*
 father-NOM NEG-work.3SG
 'Father is not working.'

Miestamo points out that there are languages in which the paradigm itself is symmetric – that is, every verb has its negated counterpart – while the construction of negation is asymmetric. This applies, for instance, for Finnish and Abkhaz. (For more details, see Miestamo 2005a: 63–67.) In many languages, constructions of both kinds appear. While Hungarian and Russian, for example, only know symmetric negation, Mordvin, Latvian and Abkhaz also use asymmetric negation.

1.2. Asymmetric Construction

In asymmetric negation, the negated sentences differ from their affirmative counterparts not only by the presence of a negation marker: there are also differences in the finite element of the sentence.

An asymmetric negated sentence consists of three parts: a lexical verb (LV), a negation marker (NEG), and a finite element (FE). On the basis of the construction and relative position of these three elements, four subtypes can be distinguished. Of these, the most wide-spread worldwide and also the most frequent one in the Uralic language family is the type A/FIN. For this reason, I will begin my presentation with this subtype. I will give examples for the different subtypes from Uralic languages; for constructions unknown in Uralic I will use Miestamo's examples.

A/Fin

In this type, the finite elements in the negated and in the affirmative sentence differ from each other. In asymmetric negation, the lexical verb typically loses its finiteness completely or partially, and these features are taken over by a finite element, usually a negative auxiliary. Thus, the lexical verb is syntactically dependent on the finite element (Miestamo 2005a: 74). Depending on the context of the negative element, the following sub-subtypes can be distinguished: A/FIN/NEG-LV; A/FIN/NEG-FE; A/FIN/NEG-VERB, A/FIN/NEG-CL.

In the type A/FIN/NEG-LV, the finite element of the construction in itself is not a negation marker (it can be, for example, a copula). The negative element is carried by the lexical verb or positioned in its immediate neighbourhood. The lexical verb is in a non-finite form. Thus, the main elements of the sentence have the following features:

(LV[-NEG, -FIN] + NEG) + FE[-NEG]

or

LV[+NEG, -FIN] + FE[-NEG]

The following examples from Chukchi and Mari illustrate the construction LV[+NEG, -FIN] + FE[-NEG], that is, the type in which the negative marker is attached to the lexical verb.

(27) Chukchi (Miestamo 2005a: 77)

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>čejwə-rkən</i>
go-DUR.3SG
'He goes.' | b. | <i>a-nto-ka</i>
NEG-go.out-NEG | <i>itə-rkən</i>
be-DUR.3SG
'(S)he does not go out.' |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|

- (28) Western Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 114, 118)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------|----|-------------------|
| a. | <i>tol-ən-am</i> | b. | <i>tol-tel-am</i> |
| | come-PST2-1SG | | come-NEG.PST2-1SG |
| | ‘I came.’ | | ‘I did not come.’ |

Mari *toltelam* represents a contraction from *tolte əlam*, in which the stem *tol-* carries the negative suffix *-te*, while *əlam* is the 1SG present-tense form of the BE verb. This contracted form is already completely grammaticalized. Thus, the actual negation marker is situated in the immediate vicinity of the main verb (LV), while the finite element itself, in this example the BE verb, does not carry negation marking.

In the type A/FIN/NEG-FE, the lexical verb also lacks negation and finite category markers. The negation element is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the finite element, but the finite element itself does not carry any negation marking. The category labels of the elements in this construction are as follows:

LV[-NEG, -FIN] + (NEG + FE[-NEG])

The finite element is generally an auxiliary, such as *do* in English. This type does appear in Uralic, too, albeit very rarely. One of the negation strategies of Mari can be classified as this type; it is applied in the second past tense, in which the negative auxiliary and the BE verb, following the main verb, are fused into an inflected form. (It must be noted, however, that the same strategy could also be interpreted as representing the A/FIN/NEG VERB type, especially considering its historical background.)

- (29) Eastern Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 114, 116)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|----|-------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>tol-ən-am</i> | b. | <i>tol-ən</i> | <i>om-əl</i> |
| | come-PST2-1SG | | come-PST2 | NEG _{Aux} .1SG-be |
| | ‘I came.’ | | ‘I did not come.’ | |

In *tolənam*, the morpheme *-ən* is the gerund suffix, while the ending *-am* is a contracted and grammaticalized reflex of the original *ulam* ‘I am’. Thus, the tense marker coincides with the gerund suffix. Alongside this fused form, the corresponding analytic construction is also used: *tolən uləna* ‘we came.’ In negated sentences, the negation element *oməl* consists of the past-tense negative auxiliary *o-* inflected in 1SG (*om*) and the present-tense form of the BE verb (*ul-*): *əl’*. (For more detail, see Bereczki 1990: 55 or Alhoniemi 1985: 114 ff.) An even less controversial example of this construction can be found in English.

- (30) English (p. k.)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------|----|--------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>I know.</i> | b. | <i>I do <u>not</u> know.</i> |
| | | | (FE _{+NEG}) LV _[-NEG] |

In the type A/FIN/NEG_{VERB}, the finite element carries the negation: that is, there is a negative-polarity verb accompanied by the lexical verb in an infinite form. The construction can be formalised as follows:

LV[-NEG, -FIN]+FE[+NEG].

The type A/FIN/NEG_{VERB} is very frequent in Uralic, and, as will be shown below (see, for example, the Evenki example (31)) it is also used in other languages of Siberia. The negative verb can be an auxiliary or even another verb with negative polarity. In Uralic, the negation verb is usually an auxiliary, but, as will be shown, proper negative verbs also appear.

In Uralic, the negative auxiliary is usually followed by the so-called negated stem (connegative form), which usually – although not in all Uralic languages of this type! – coincides with the 2SG imperative form. The connegative form in itself does not carry negation.⁹ Number and person are usually marked on the negative auxiliary, but there are exceptions to this as well. I will illustrate this type with examples from Evenki and Votic.

(31) Evenki (Nedjalkov 1994: 2)

- a. *nujan min-du purta-va b̄u-che-n*
 (s)he I-DAT knife-ACC give-PST-3SG
 ‘(S)he gave me the knife.’
- b. *nujan min-du purta-va e-che-n buu-re*
 (s)he I-DAT knife-ACC NEG-PST-3SG give-PT
 ‘(S)he did not give me the knife.’

(32) Votic (Laanest 1982: 262–263)

- a. *makaa-n* b. *en* *makaa*
 sleep-1SG NEG_{AUX}.1SG sleep.CN
 ‘I sleep.’ ‘I do not sleep.’

These constructions, as we will see, appear not only in Northern Samoyedic and Kamas but also in Ob-Ugric and Selkup as well, albeit in these languages its use is restricted to a specific context (see chapter II/3.2.).

The type A/FIN/NEG-CL is very rare worldwide and completely unknown in Uralic. In this type, the finite element (which may simultaneously be the lexical verb) does not carry negation, but the lexical verb has lost its finiteness at least to some extent. The negation element is not situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the finite element or the lexical verb. The construction can be described with the following formula:

9. This phenomenon, however, does not necessarily hold true for the spoken language. In present colloquial Finnish negation can also be expressed by the connegative form alone, next to which we can often also find an element with negative polarity. For more on this issue cf. Kotilainen’s monography (2007).

LV[-NEG, -FIN]

or

FE[-NEG] + NEG

For more details see Miestamo 2005a: 81.

In the type A/NONREAL, the finite element of the negated sentence is marked with a morpheme which indicates that the action was not realised. This type can be divided into further subtypes, but since constructions of this type do not appear in Uralic and thus fall outside the scope of this study, I will not deal with them in greater detail. The constructions of this type can be formalised as follows: FE=LV[-REAL] + NEG. For more on this issue cf. Miestamo 2005a: 96–109.

A/Emph

This type is relatively rare in the world's languages. In these negated constructions, an element appears which is not present in the affirmative sentence. This element has an emphatic meaning in affirmative sentences, while in negated sentences it is an obligatory marker. In itself, this element does not carry a negative meaning. The construction is as follows: FE=LV[-NEG] + NEG[+EMPH]. This type is also unknown in Uralic. (For more details see Miestamo 2005a: 109–112.)

A/CAT

This type most frequently appears in African languages. Here, grammatical categories are marked differently for affirmative and negated sentences. This applies for tense, aspect and mood (type A/CAT/TAM) but also for number, person or gender (A/CAT/PNG type). In Uralic, this type is rare but does appear for instance in Mari, Udmurt and Komi. The following example, with different person marking for negation, illustrates the type A/CAT/PNG.

(33) Koyraboro Senni (Miestamo 2005a: 117)

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----|-----|----|------------------------------|-----------|-----|
| a. | <u>n</u> | ga | koy | b. | <u>war</u> | <u>si</u> | koy |
| | 2SG | IPF | go | | 2SG | NEG.IPF | go |
| | 'You are going/will go.' | | | | 'You aren't going/won't go.' | | |

As can be seen, the 2SG pronoun in the affirmative sentence is *n*, in the negated sentence *war*. In addition to this difference, the negated sentence also includes the past-tense negation marker *si*.

As mentioned above, in my opinion this construction also appears in Udmurt in the 2nd past tense. The paradigm of this tense category is very mixed, as person marking is realised in various ways. In the following example, tense marking changes in the negated perfect tense: instead of the normal tense marker (*-m*) the morpheme *-mte* appears. Udmurt, thus, can be used to illustrate the type A/CAT/TAM.

(34) Udmurt (Kozmács 1998: 66–67)

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|----|---------------------|
| a. | <i>mine-m-ed</i> | b. | <i>mine-mte-jed</i> |
| | go-PST2-2SG | | go-PST2.NEG-2SG |
| | ‘You went.’ | | ‘You did not go.’ |

Historically, the tense marker *-m-* stems from a perfect participle marker, but from the point of view of today’s grammar, it can be considered a tense suffix. The tense marker of the negated sentence is, historically, a participle form with an abessive suffix. This reanalysis of abessive participle suffixes into TAM category markers is typical not only of the Volga region. This is a typical Turkic syntactic borrowing in Udmurt. Komi, a close relative of Udmurt, does not use the abessive in this way. (For more on this issue cf. Bartens 2000.)

In Nganasan, the use of the abessive participle has “trickled through” into tense marking, and it has modal functions as well.

2. On Standard Negation in Uralic Languages

Negation in the Uralic languages has been the subject of numerous articles, studies and monographs, and, of course, practically every grammar of a Uralic language has a chapter on the expressions of negation. In Uralistic tradition, the studies specifically dealing with negation have focused either on etymology or on the morphological behaviour of negated elements. For some individual languages, mainly the “major” Uralic languages such as Hungarian or Finnish, there are also studies on the syntax of negation. (Examples – note that this is not an exhaustive list – include Siro 1967, Puskás 1994, Th. E. Payne 1997, Kaiser 2006 etc.)

From the point of view of theoretical linguistics, the syntax of negated phrases in Finno-Ugric languages has most recently been investigated by Erika Mitchel (2006); however, her studies – not surprisingly – did not extend to the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages. The syntax of negation in Samoyedic was analysed by Hajdú in two articles (1970 and 1978). However, these investigations, as a rule, only cover standard negation. There are some exceptions, such as the short study of Csepregi (2001) on synthetic negation in the Finno-Ugric languages or Jermakova – Kuznecova (1998) on negation morphs in Selkup. These studies are very important, but they fall outside the scope of

this study, as none of the morphemes investigated is able to create negated constructions alone. Thus, as mentioned above in the introductory (chapter I), I will not deal with these constructions in this work.

The only somewhat more detailed investigation on negation in Uralic from a typological point of view was conducted by Honti (1997). However, this work concentrates on the morphosyntax of the negation elements. Honti surveys the negation elements of Uralic separately for each branch of the language family, and also deals with numerous questions which often surface in typological literature, such as the position of the negative auxiliary in the sentence. He also attempts to determine or define the concept of the negative auxiliary (Honti 1997: 85–87), repeatedly referring to Décsy's (1970) claim that the negative auxiliary is, actually, a particle carrying verbal person marking. Honti, of course, does not share this opinion; his viewpoint corresponds to that of Siro (1968), according to whom the most essential difference between a particle and an auxiliary is that the former cannot carry person marking. As the negative auxiliary can be inflected, it cannot be considered a particle. In itself, this might not be a sufficient counter-argument, considering that adverbial elements in Uralic often carry personal suffixes. However, particles, for instance, are never followed by connegative forms. (For further details see Honti 1997.)

Honti has interesting observations on negated constructions in Uralic, but for Samoyedic, his description is fairly superficial. Like many others, he has been misled in regarding the so-called Northern Samoyedic languages as one unit and often bases his claims merely on Nenets data, thus projecting Nenets peculiarities onto the two other languages, Enets and Nganasan, as well. As will be shown in this study, the three languages, although genetically closely related, show significant typological differences for instance in negation as well.

Practically all general typological studies dealing with negation have, in one way or other, also considered the Uralic languages, as this language family is the most typical representative of negation by way of a negative auxiliary. Thus, for example J. R. Payne (1985) and Dahl (1979) also pay attention to the Uralic languages, and Miestamo (2000b) presents a few Uralic languages as well. The following table shows the languages and constructions presented in these three studies; empty cells mark languages missing in the sample.

Language	Miestamo (2000b: 275–276)	Dahl (1979: 98–103)	Payne (1985: 212–228)
Estonian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	S12: uninflected particle verb is modified	
Finnish	A/FIN/NEGAUX A/FIN/NEG-LV	S22: inflected auxiliary	auxiliary negative verb
Livonian	A/FIN/NEGAUX		auxiliary negative verb
Karelian			
Veps			auxiliary negative verb
Votic	A/FIN/NEGAUX		
Ingrian			
Saami		S22: inflected auxiliary	
Komi	S A/FIN/NEGAUX		auxiliary negative verb
Udmurt		S22: inflected auxiliary	auxiliary negative verb
Mari	S A/FIN/NEG-FE A/FIN/NEGAUX	S22: inflected auxiliary	auxiliary negative verb
Mordvin		S11: uninflected particle S22: inflected auxiliary	negative particle auxiliary negative verb
Khanty		S11: uninflected particle	
Mansi	S	S11: uninflected particle	
Hungarian	S	S11: uninflected particle	negative particle
Nenets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	S22: inflected auxiliary	auxiliary negative verb
Enets		S22: inflected auxiliary	
Nganasan		S22: inflected auxiliary	auxiliary negative verb
Selkup			
Kamas	S A/FIN/NEGAUX		

Table 22. Negation Constructions in Uralic Languages I

In an earlier work Wagner-Nagy (2008) attempted to determine which of the typological categories postulated by Miestamo appear in the Uralic languages. I will not repeat the results of this study, but merely summarize them in the following table (somewhat modified from the 2008 version). The most frequent type in Uralic, of course, is A/FIN, and of its subtypes the type A/FIN/NEG_{VERB}. In some Uralic languages, there are more than one constructions used for standard negation, for instance, for different tenses (e.g. Kamas, Mordvin, Udmurt). In some languages (such as Komi, Mari, Udmurt), the negation markers themselves may differ in different tenses. As we can see, the Uralic languages can be divided into two main groups. The languages with symmetric negation form a minority, and among them, only Hungarian knows only the symmetric type. Most Uralic languages employ a negative auxiliary which is also the finite element of the sentence.

In most of these languages, the lexical verb of the sentence is in the connegative form, but, as shown in the table, there are also languages in which a finite form of the lexical verb is or can be used.

Language	Type	Standard Negation Form of Negative Marker	Comment
Estonian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ei</i> +V[CN]	already a particle?
Finnish	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Livonian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ä</i> [FE]+V[CN/FE] <i>i</i> [FE]+V[CN/FE]	Present Past
Karelian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>e</i> [FE]+V[FE]	3PL
Veps	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>e</i> [FE]+V[FE]	3PL
Votic	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Ingrian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Saami	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>i</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Komi	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>o</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]	Present, Future Past1
	S	<i>abu</i> +V[FE]	Past2
Udmurt	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>u</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>ə</i> [FE]+V[CN]	Present, Future Past1
	A/CAT/TAM	<i>V-mte</i> -Px	Past2
	S	<i>əvəl</i> +V-Pt-Px	Past2
Mari	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>o</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>šə</i> [FE]+V[CN]	Present Past1
	A/FIN/NEG-FE	LV+ <i>o</i> [FE]	Past2
	A/FIN/CAT/TAM	LV[<i>te</i>]+ <i>əl</i> [FE]	Past2
E.Mordvin	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ez</i> [FE]+V[CN]	Past1
	S	<i>a</i> +V[FE]	Present, Past2, Future
Khanty	S	<i>əntə</i> +V[FE]	Present, Future, Past
	A/FIN/NEGVERB	V-NMLZ-Px NEG.EX	Present
Mansi	S	<i>at</i> +V[FE]	
	A/FIN/NEGVERB	V-NMLZ-Px +NEG.EX	
Hungarian	S	<i>nem</i> +V[FE]	
Nenets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñii</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Enets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñe</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Nganasan	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñii</i> [FE]+V[CN]	
Selkup	S	<i>ašša</i> +V[FE]	
	A/FIN/NEGVERB	V-NMLZ-Px + NEG.EX	Past
Kamas	S	<i>ei</i> +V[FE]	Present, Past
	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]	Future

Table 23. Negation Constructions in Uralic Languages II

In most Uralic languages, the negation element reflects the Proto-Uralic negation marker stem **e-*, but there are also languages in which the negation word is not of Uralic origin but a loanword, such as the particle *ašša* in Selkup. In the following typological summary, I will not investigate the etymological origins of the negation markers, as it does not have any relevance for the structure of the negated construction. The diachrony of Uralic negation has been the topic of various studies: to mention just a few examples, Tauli (1966), Hajdú (1970: 100–101), Korenchy (1972), Honti (1997: 170–173) etc.

In numerous Uralic languages (e.g. Kamas, Estonian), the particle for symmetric negation has been grammaticalized from a negative auxiliary, and simultaneously the negated construction itself has become more symmetric (cf. Klumpp 2001). The same process has begun in Estonian as well, but there, the construction has not turned symmetric yet, and thus it is difficult to decide whether Estonian still belongs to the type A/FIN. In other Finnic languages and in Permic, simplification in the paradigm of the negative auxiliary can also be observed (for more details, see e.g. Honti 1997: 81–96).

As shown above, not all Uralic languages know a negative auxiliary, and where it does appear, there are differences in the marking of TAM categories, person and number (cf. Comrie 1981). Estonian can be used as an example of one extreme: The negative auxiliary in Estonian has lost all verbal inflections and looks like a particle (*ei*), but the lexical verb does not carry any inflections. The particle reflects the original 3SG form. This phenomenon is typical not only of Estonian but also for some Finnish dialects (for more details, see Laitinen 2004). However, in certain (Southern/Eastern) dialects of Estonian, the negative auxiliary can be inflected for tense and even for person, e.g. *e-si-n lähä* ‘I didn’t go.’

The other extreme, as concerns the morphology of the paradigm, is Nganasan. In this language, the negative auxiliary can carry any tense or mood marker, it has an infinitive form, it can be inflected in all conjugations (subject, object, reflexive) and can also assume derivational suffixes. In between these two there is, for instance, Finnish, in which number and person are marked on the auxiliary, but tense on the lexical verb. Thus, the Uralic languages can be placed along a cline leading from a complete paradigm of the negative auxiliary to an extremely defective paradigm.

The following table is sorted according to four criteria: derivation, infinitive, tense, inflection. If the negative auxiliary can be inflected, I will give the 1SG form. If it can carry tense marking, I will give the past-tense form. I will also mark the cases in which different tenses are based on different stems. The infinitive form, if any, will also be given. Derivational suffixes on negative auxiliaries are extremely rare; examples of this only appear in Northern Samoyedic. The table presents a summary of my data; as can be seen, not all questions could be answered for all languages listed in the table.

Language	Full Paradigm			Defective Paradigm
	Derivation	Inf.	Past Tense (1SG)	Inflexion in Present Tense (1SG)
Estonian	no	no	in South, East and Insular Estonian: <i>es</i>	no
Finnish	no	no	no	<i>e-n</i>
Livonian	no	no	other stem: <i>i-z</i>	<i>ä-b</i>
Karelian	no	no	no	<i>e-n</i>
Veps	no	no	no	<i>e-n</i>
Votic	no	no	no	<i>e-n</i>
Ingrian	no	no	no	<i>e-n</i>
Saami	no	no	no	<i>i-m</i>
Komi	no	no	other stem: <i>e-g</i>	<i>o-g</i>
Udmurt	no	no	other stem: <i>ə-j</i>	<i>u-g</i>
Mari	no	no	other stem: <i>šəm</i>	<i>o-m</i>
Erzya Mordvin	no	no	<i>e-z'iń</i>	not in the present tense
T. Nenets	<i>ńi-s'eti</i> (HAB.3SG)	<i>ńi-si</i>	<i>ńii-đəm-s'</i>	<i>ńi-dm?</i>
F. Nenets	<i>ńi-štū-xuŋ</i> (HAB-3DU)	<i>ńii-š</i>	<i>ńi-štū-š</i> (HAB-3SG.PST)	<i>ńii-t</i>
T. Enets	? no	<i>ńe-š</i>	<i>ńie-do-s'i</i> (3SG)	<i>ńie-o ~ ńie-đo?</i>
F. Enets	? no	<i>ńe-š</i>	<i>ńe-š</i> (3SG)	<i>ńe-o ~ ńe-đ?</i>
Nganasan	<i>ńi-ndə-ti-m</i> (IPF)	<i>ńi-si</i>	<i>ńi-s'ia-m</i>	<i>ńi-ndi-m</i>
Kamas	no	no	<i>e-(le)-m</i> (FUT)	no

Table 24. Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary in the Uralic Languages

As shown in Table 24, in some languages the tense marking requires the use of one or more suppletive stems. Tense marking leads to stem change in Livonian, Komi, Udmurt and Mari.

3. Standard Negation in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

As mentioned above, by standard negation the negation type is meant which is used for the most elementary, most simple sentence types. The most elementary sentences are those in which the predicate is as simple as possible and only the minimal, most important modifiers appear. In what follows, I will, as far as possible, present such simple affirmative and negated sentences. For each language, I will also investigate whether this construction can be used in all tense categories of this language, or whether other (marked) tenses apply different negation strategies.

In this chapter, I will merely investigate those constructions in which the scope of the negation covers the whole sentence. Negation of individual constituents is, of course, an interesting theme but does not belong to the subject of this study.

I will sort my data by language and by negation type. First, I will present the symmetric construction and then the types of asymmetric standard negation. The constructions appearing in the languages under study are summarized in the following table.

Type	Subtype	Further Subtypes	Languages
Symmetric Negation	S		Kamas, Selkup, Khanty, Mansi
Asymmetric Negation	A	A/FIN/NEG VERB	Enets, Kamas, Nenets, Nganasan, Selkup, Khanty, Mansi

Table 25. Types of Negated Constructions in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

3.1. Symmetric Negation

As shown above (chapter II/1.1., page 53), by symmetric negation constructions are meant in which affirmative and negated sentences only differ from each other by virtue of the presence of a negation marker in the negated sentence (Miestamo 2005a: 61). Leaving out the negation marker will render the sentence affirmative. Symmetric negation can often be expressed with a particle (see, for instance, the Erzya Mordvin example (25)), but bound morphs, e.g. prefixes, also appear (see the Latvian example (26)).

In the languages under study, symmetric negation can only be expressed with a particle – bound negation morphs are unknown in both Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric. It should be noted that these languages do have suffixal negative markers (caritive/abessive morphemes), but these alone can never be used for standard negation.

The Samoyedic languages traditionally appear in literature as typical representatives of negation by way of negative auxiliary (in our typology, the asymmetric negation), which is what they are, as far as only present-tense negation is concerned. Of the five Samoyedic languages investigated here, only so-called Southern Samoyedic languages, that is, Selkup and Kamas, know symmetric negation. As for Mator, the existing

data do not indicate any evolution of symmetric negation strategies. In Selkup, as will be shown, negative constructions in the present tense, in Kamas, certain recent developments belong to the symmetric type.

In both Ob-Ugric languages, symmetric negation appears not only in the present tense but also in the past tense. However, as will be shown, other negated constructions are also used in the past tense.

I will begin the presentation of symmetric negation with Selkup. Considering that tense systems in Samoyedic are fairly peculiar, I will survey the tense categories before presenting the negation constructions.

3.1.1. Selkup

In Selkup, standard negation in the present tense is expressed with a negative particle (*ašša*). This negative particle represents a secondary development, but there are no data as to when and how the original Uralic negative auxiliary was lost in Selkup. The negative particle used today is a loanword, and it was likely already borrowed as a negation particle (Katz 1970), and thus is not the grammaticalized form of an original negative auxiliary. Katz's opinion on the origins of the negative particle is not shared by everybody. Tereshchenko (1973: 82), and Cheremisina – Martynova (1991) in turn, regard it as a form detached from the paradigm of the negative auxiliary. This, however, can be excluded by phonological criteria.

Before surveying the use of the negative particle, I will briefly present the tense system of Selkup. This is necessary, as the same construction is not used for negation in all tenses, but there is a division of labour based on tense. My data indicate that there are significant differences between the Southern and the Northern dialects. The Central dialects behave similarly to the Northern ones, while Ket Selkup is closer to the Southern dialect group. In the Northern dialects, in the past tense a different construction may appear, while in the South the symmetric negation is maintained throughout the paradigm. Selkup has the following tenses¹⁰:

Aorist or Indefinite Tense

This is an unmarked tense category, but depending on the structure of the verb, the personal suffixes can be connected to the verb stem with a linking element (*-n*, *-ŋ*, *-j*, *-0*). In what follows, this will be glossed as the Aorist Linking Element (Co). If the verb aspect is continuative/imperfective, the form will be understood as referring to the present, e.g. Taz Dialect *man ilak* 'I live' [I live-1SG]. Verbs with perfective aspect without tense marking are understood as past-tense forms, with the activity having ended before the time of the present discourse: Taz Dialect *man moqinä tūṅak* 'I came home (and now I am at home)' [I home come-Co-1SG].

10. For tense in Selkup in more detail, see Cheremisina – Martynova 1991: 14–19, Kuznecova et alii 1980: 235–240.

Past

The tense marker is *-s* (*-s*, *-š*); in non-Northern dialects, *-s*, *-h*, *-q*. In Southern Selkup negation, however, only the allomorphs *-s* and *-q* are used. This tense can be used for expressing activities and events of the past which already ended earlier than immediately before the time of the present discourse, e.g. Taz Dialect *täl'čeeli mat suuriššak*. 'Yesterday, I was hunting.' [yesterday I hunt-PST-1SG]

Past Narrative

For this tense, the suffixes *-mp*, *-p* are used, in non-Northern dialects *-mb*, *-b*. This tense is used when the speaker wants to emphasize that (s)he has no direct connection to the event or action, for example, (s)he has not seen it, e.g. Taz Dialect *ilimpa ukkir čomtil' qok*. 'Once upon a time, there was (lived) a tzar.' [live-PST.NAR.3SG one tzar]

Future

In the Northern dialects, the suffix is *-ntV*, in non-Northern dialects *-lä*. In Northern dialects, *-lä* is the suffix of the optative mood. This difference is due to the relatively recent evolution of future tense marking in both dialect groups, independently of each other. In the Northern dialects, the future tense marker developed from the imperfective derivational suffix (cf. Cheremisina – Martynova 1991: 17.)

The following table sums up the distribution of negated constructions for each tense in Selkup.

	Past Narrative	Past	Present	Future
Northern Selkup	S	S A/Fin	S	S
Non-Northern Selkup	S	S	S	S

Table 26. Correlation between Tense and Negation Type in Selkup

In just one tense category, the past tense, is there a significant difference between the two main dialect groups. Ket, Central and the Southern dialects use the same construction as in the present tense, while in the Northern dialects; one sub-type of the asymmetric constructions also appears. According to Jermakova (1998: 368), this parallel use of symmetric and asymmetric negation is especially typical of the dialects of the Yenisei region. However, Taz texts also definitely display examples of both construction types. For asymmetric negation, see chapter II/3.2.6., page 109 ff.

In Northern Selkup, standard negation is expressed with the particle *ašša* or the shorter form *aš*. In the Central dialects, the particle appears in the form *aža* (Tym *aža*, *aha*, *aya*, *aa*; Narym *aa*, *aha*, *ja*), in Southern Selkup, *assi* (Ob *assi*, *assa*, *aza*, *aa*), in Ket Selkup *assi*, *as*.

(35) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 237)

- a. *man ila-k* b. *man ašša ila-k*
 I live-1SG I NEG_{PTCL} live-1SG
 ‘I live.’ ‘I don’t live.’

These two sentences beautifully illustrate that there is really no other difference between the negated and the affirmative sentence except the presence of the negation particle.

(36) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Filchenko 2009: 64/39a)

- aza me-kku-t nee-md*
 NEG_{PTCL} give-DUR-3SG.O daughter-ACC.3SG_{PX}
 ‘(S)he did not take the daughter away.’

As mentioned above, in the Southern dialects the same particle is also used in other tenses. In the Taz dialect, this construction does appear in the past tense but it is not the most usual type. The following sentences present the negation strategies for each tense.

Past

In the past tense, there is a difference between the Non-Northern and the Northern dialects. The Non-Northern dialects use completely regular forms, while in the North, asymmetric negation is more usual. However, completely regular symmetric constructions also appear in texts, even if rarely, as shown by the following example. (For asymmetric constructions, see chapter II/3.2.6.) Between these two options, there are merely stylistic differences. I will illustrate this construction with examples from both main dialect groups.

(37) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 173)

- mat ašša tenimi-š-a-k timňa-ni ima-p*
 I NEG_{PTCL} know-PST-EP-1SG elder.brother-GEN.1SG wife-ACC
qo-ptä-ti
 find-NMLZ-3SG
 ‘I did not know that my elder brother had married.’

(38) Central Selkup, Tym Dialect (Kuznecova 1995: 130)

- tatčad tab aa too-z-a*
 for.your.sake (s)he NEG_{PTCL} come-PST-3SG
 ‘(S)he did not come for your sake. ~ It is not for your sake that (s)he came.’

In the Taz dialect, another negation particle has evolved as well, *čää* or the shorter form *čä*. Some speakers use it in precisely the same way as they use the particle *ašša*. The particle *čä(ä)* itself has developed from *čäänka*, which was originally the 3SG form of the negative existential verb *čäänkiqo*. Thus, the original construction was $V_{\text{NMNL}} + \text{čäänka}$, corresponding to the word order pattern observable in existential sentences (for more details, see chapter VI/2.3.1., from page 208 on). This construction was originally only

used for negating existential and possessive constructions but spread to other sentence types as well. Language typologists have observed (e.g. Dryer 1988) that negation particles prefer the pre-verbal position and in constituent negation as well, the negation particle tend to occupy the position preceding the negated constituent. In Selkup, these two tendencies obviously triggered a word-order change resulting in the development of the negation particle *čä(ä)*. The following stages of this development can be observed:

1. The original construction: Noun + Negative Existential Verb in the third person

(39) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 298, 363)

ukkir poo ämtä čäänka
 one tree PTCL NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘There is not a single tree.’

This construction can only be used in negated existential sentences.

2. In the following stage, the negative existential verb can be used for emphatic negation, accompanied by a nominalization of the main verb. On the nominalization, the subject person is marked with a possessive suffix. The sentence refers to an event or activity in the past.

(40) Northern Selkup, Taz Selkup (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 237)

man ili-ptɔɔ-mi čäänka
 I live-NMNL-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘I did not live.’ [‘My living does not exist.’]

3. The third stage of this development can be seen in sentences in which the negation verb is still in its original inflected form but not in its typical position any more but in the position of a negation particle, that is, preceding the noun:

(41) Northern Selkup, Taz Selkup (Kuznecova et al. 1980:307)

təp təl'čeeli kuntookti šöt-ti qəs-s-i i tii
 (s)he yesterday far.away forest-LAT go-PST-EP.3SG and now
iirik čäänka tü-ptä-ti
 not.so.far NEG come-NMNL.3SG_{Px}
 ‘(S)he went far into the forest yesterday and has not come back yet.’
 [‘... his/her coming does not exist ~ there is no coming of his/hers’]

4. Kuznecova and her colleagues (Kuznecova et alii 1980: 252) have observed that certain speakers have begun to treat the nominalization (nomen actionis) like a verb, attaching verbal person suffixes to it. This phenomenon can be illustrated with the following two examples. In (42) a), the suffixes on the nomen actionis can be interpreted as possessive suffixes or person endings of the objective conjugation, while in (42) b), they are unambiguous verbal inflection endings.

- (42) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et alii 1980: 252)
- a. *mat t̥ap-i-m čä qonti-r-ä-p*
 I (s)he-EP-ACC NEG_{PTCL} see-FREQ-NMNL-1SG_{Px/O}
 ‘I did not notice him/her.’
- b. *mat šinti čä qonti-r-ä-k*
 I you.ACC NEG_{PTCL} see-FREQ-NMNL-1SG_{Vx}
 ‘I did not notice you.’

These two sentences illustrate the reanalysis of the construction. In (42) b), there is no tense marking, and thus only the nomen actionis suffix (-ä) indicates past tense. The negative existential verb has been reanalysed as a particle and shortened (*čä*). Further examples:

- (43) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 368)
taɣalt-äš, mat čäänka tokkalti-ptä-p
 hide-IMP.2SG I NEG_{PTCL} dress- NMLZ-1SG.O/_{Px}
 ‘Don’t come/Stay out, I am not dressed.’
- (44) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 252)
čä suurič-čä-nti
 NEG_{PTCL} hunt-NMLZ-2SG
 ‘You have not hunted.’

In the example above, the lexical verb is *suuriš-ɣo* ‘hunt’. The nomen actionis suffix *-ptä* loses its *p*, as in Selkup clusters of three consonants are not allowed, and according to the so-called sandhi rule (cf. Helimski 1998a: 556 or Kuznecova et al. 1980: 164–166) two neighbouring consonants on a morpheme boundary are assimilated; thus *čt* becomes *čč*.

The preceding examples show that the construction *čä ... [ptä]* is only used for past-tense negation. Thus, there is a tense-based division of labour between the two negation particles. However, the nominalization suffix cannot be called a true past-tense marker yet.

According to Croft’s (1991) typology of negative existential sentences Selkup belong to type B~C. There is a special negative existential predicate, that has begun to “trickle through” into the standard negation as well. (More about Croft’s theory see chapter VI.1 and Croft 1991.)

In what follows, I will present the negation of narrative forms.

Past Narrative

In the narrative past tense, all dialects use the symmetric construction: for negation, the particle *ašša* is used, while the verb takes on the tense and person marking.

- (45) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 290)
ijja-m-ti apsti-mpa-ti. onti ašša ami-r-pa
 child-ACC-3SG feed-PST.NAR-3SG.O him/herself NEG_{PTCL} eat-FREQ-PST.NAR.3SG
 ‘(S)he fed his/her child but did not eat him/herself.’
- (46) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Jermakova 1998: 367)
paja-m-t k^wa-l’e übir-a-t nano što seega-m
 wife-ACC-3SG_{PX} beat-GER start-EP-3SG.O because what thread-ACC
as pörči-mba-t
 NEG_{PTCL} thread-PST.NAR-3SG.O
 ‘He started to beat his wife, because she had not threaded the yarn.’
- (47) Ket Selkup (Jermakova 1998: 367)
tep tepa-m as konžur-pa-t ...
 (s)he (s)he-ACC NEG_{PTCL} see-PST.NAR-3SG.O
 ‘(S)he had not seen him/her yet.’

Future

As mentioned above, the future tense is a recent development in Selkup. All dialect groups employ the negation particle *ašša*.

- (48) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 8/55)
ira-l nɔɔti ašša tü-nt-a
 husband-2SG already NEG_{PTCL} come-FUT-EP.3SG
 ‘Your husband will not come back any more.’

3.1.1.1. Position of the Negative Particle in Selkup

We have seen that Selkup uses three particles for standard negation: *ašša*, *čäähka* and *čää*. The particles *ašša* and *čä* usually occupy the position immediately preceding the verb, but 2SG pronoun objects are inserted between the negation particle and the predicate, while 1SG pronouns can occupy either this position or the one preceding the negation particle. Examples (49) a–b) illustrate the regular word order, (49) c–d) show the pronoun between the negation particle and the predicate.

- (49) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et alii 1980: 355, 359, 383, 364)
 a. *tεε təpɪp ašša qontɔɔ-lit*
 you.PL (s)he.ACC NEG_{PTCL} find-2PL
 ‘You will not find him/her.’

- b. *ašša. mašip ašša qəttə-tit*
 NEG_{PTCL} I.ACC NEG_{PTCL} kill-3PL
 ‘No, they will not kill me.’
- c. *mat tašinti aš šinti ɔlaltə-nt-a-k*
 I you.ACC NEG_{PTCL} you.ACC cheat-FUT-EP-1SG
 ‘I will not cheat you.’
- d. *qajqo timña-mi ašša šip qəttilorin-ña*
 why brother-1SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} I.ACC kill-Co.3SG
 ‘Why does my brother not kill me?’

At the same time, as we can see, only the shorter form of the personal pronoun can move to the right to the pre-verbal position. This is typical not only of negated but also of affirmative sentences. First- and second-person object pronouns can appear in the sentence twice, in the longer and the shorter form. The shorter form can only be placed between the negation particle and the verb; if the longer pronoun form is missing, the shorter form cannot be moved to its position. (Cf. also Kuznecova et al. 1980: 383.) The personal pronoun is the only element allowed between the negation particle and the verb. Thus, in Selkup the rule applies that the negation particle precedes the verb – and it can be stated that the negation word tends to occupy the position immediately preceding the predicate. The particle *čäänka* always comes immediately before the verb.

3.1.2. Kamas

In Kamas, negation was originally expressed with a negative auxiliary, but in the stages from which the greatest part of the Kamas data stems, the negative particle and together with it symmetric negation had already evolved. In language typology, it is well known that some languages have different syntactic structures for different TAM (tense-aspect-mood) categories. This applies for negation as well. Beside the particle, Kamas retained the use of the negative auxiliary but not in all tenses and not for all infinite forms of the verb. In connection with past-tense and certain present-tense forms of the verb as well as with participles or gerunds, instead of the negative auxiliary a negation particle appears. This can already be observed in early Kamas data; for instance, in Castrén’s grammar (1854) the negative auxiliary has no past-tense forms. In Donner’s material (collected in 1912 and 1914, see Joki 1944), the negation particle has already ousted the negative auxiliary from certain present-tense forms as well. (For asymmetric constructions in Kamas, see chapter II/3.2.2., from page 86 on.)

In order to understand the distribution of symmetric and asymmetric negation in Kamas, we must first survey the tense system. Kamas had a marked past tense, a present tense, and a future tense was evolving from the present tense. Let us begin with the past tense, which is morphologically the simplest.

Past

In Kamas, the past tense suffix is *-Bi/BjA* (*-bi, -pi, -bja, -bje, -pja, -pje*) (Klumpp 2002: 86). The negative auxiliary, however, cannot carry past-tense marking, and past-tense forms are negated with a negative particle. As mentioned above, this phenomenon can be seen already in Castrén's and Donner's material (see e.g. Castrén 1854: 578, Klumpp 2001: 118, 120, Klumpp 2002: 86–87, Künnap 1978: 143). The following examples (50) and (51) illustrate the negation of the past-tense forms with a negative particle which evolved from the negative auxiliary. Grammatical information (number and person marking) is carried by the main verb, while the negation particle only expresses negation. The negation particle itself represents a reanalysis of the 3SG form of the negative auxiliary.

(50) Kamas (Castrén 1854: 562, Künnap 1978: 143)

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|----|---------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>nu-wia-m</i> | b. | <i>ej</i> | <i>nu-wia-m</i> |
| | stand-PST-1SG | | NEG _{PTCL} | stand-PST-1SG |
| | 'I stood.' | | | 'I did not stand.' |

(51) Kamas (Joki 1944: 176, 165)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>mǎn amor-bi-ńi.</i> | <i>dǐ</i> | <i>šo-bi</i> |
| | I eat-GER-LOC.1SG _{px} | (s)he | come-PST.3SG |
| | 'While I was eating, (s)he came.' | | |
| b. | <i>mǎn ej</i> | <i>šo-bi-am</i> | |
| | I NEG _{PTCL} | come-PST-1SG | |
| | 'I did not come.' | | |

The negation is symmetric: leaving out the negation element renders the sentence affirmative.

Present

There is no unified present-tense marking in Kamas. The corpus shows various tense markers, of which according to Klumpp (2002: 87–98) only one productive present-tense marker (*-LjA*) still existed in Late Kamas, the others had lost their productivity. According to Donner (Joki 1944: 165) the uninflected negation particle *ej* could be used for both past-tense and present-tense forms. Klumpp, however, has shown that the situation is more complicated. In Kamas, some present-tense markers have developed to future markers, which, in turn, do not behave in the same way as the productive present-tense marker.

Klumpp claims that in those tenses in which the suffix shows an L, the forms are in complementary distribution: future-tense forms (in *-LV* or *-Lə*) can be negated with the negative auxiliary, while present-tense forms (in *-LjA*) are accompanied by the negation particle. (Klumpp 2001: 121.) After this brief excursion, let us survey the present-tense markers in Kamas.

a) *-LjA* (*-lja*, *-lje*, *-nja*, *-nje*) present

As mentioned above, in Late Kamas only this present-tense suffix was productive. Comparison with Castrén's and Donner's material shows that more and more verbs shifted into the class of verbs employing this present-tense marker, resulting in an increased productivity of the present tense in *-LjA* (Klumpp 2002: 87). The verbs which carry this present-tense marker can be negated with the negative particle; the construction is illustrated by the following example.

- (52) Kamas (Joki 1944: 86/13)
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>uruʔ-bə</i> | <i>oʔbdə-lʼa-m.</i> | <i>oʔbdə-lʼa-m.</i> | <i>oʔbdə-la[ʔ]</i> | <i>ej</i> |
| lasso-ACC | collect-PRS-1SG | collect-PRS-1SG | collect-GER | NEG _{PTCL} |
| <i>mo-lʼa-m</i> | | | | |
| become-PRS-1SG | | | | |
| ‘I coil and coil my lasso, but I cannot coil it up.’ | | | | |

b) *-LA* (*-la*, *-le*) present

The verbs which in Castrén's material still used this suffix for the present tense, have in Donner's texts mostly shifted to the *-LjA* present tense. Klumpp points out that some verbs, although still showing the present-tense forms in *-LA*, yet behave like the verbs with the *LjA* present tense, which means, for instance, that they do not use the negative auxiliary but the negation particle for negation. In the affirmative forms of these verbs, however, instead of the suffix *-LjA* only the present-tense marker *-LA* appears (Klumpp 2002: 93). One example of the verbs of this type is the frequent verb *kan-* ‘to go’, as in the following sentences:

- (53) Kamas (Joki 1944: 99)
- a. *kal-la-m*
go-PRS-1SG
‘I go.’
- b. *nükke-t* *ej* *kal-lja*
woman-3SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS.3SG
‘The woman does not go.’

Künnap (1978: 144) interprets this as evidence for the frequent use of the negation particle in the *-LA* present tense already in Donner's texts. Klumpp (2002: 93), however, claims that the form *ka-na* should be transcribed phonologically as *kallja*, that is, displaying the *-LjA* present-tense suffix, as in the original manuscript there is a palatalization sign beside the letter *l*.

The verbs which do not belong to this Janus-faced type cannot be negated with the negation particle.

c) *-gA* (*-ga*, *-ge*) present

This tense marker, as also noted by Künnap (1978: 125), was obsolete already in Castrén's times. The suffix itself stems from a participle suffix. This form can only be observed in a restricted number of verbs, including the present-tense forms of the BE verb. There are no examples of this present-tense marker being attached to the negative auxiliary. Verbs employing this present-tense suffix can only be negated with the negation particle. My data has no examples of tense-marked standard negation; I can only illustrate this present-tense type with a non-verbal predicate construction.

(54) Kamas (Joki 1944: 197)

tān *ej* *mān* *ni-m* *i-ge-l*
 you.SG NEG_{PTCL} I son-1SG_{PX} be-PRS-2SG
 'You are not my son.'

d) *-mA* (*-ma*, *-me*) present

This tense marker is also archaic and already in Castrén's material (Castrén 1854: 548) it only appears with two verbs; Donner (Joki 1944: 172) has documented three different forms. There are no examples of negated forms, but since this tense marker, like the present-tense marker *-gA*, goes back to a participle suffix, Klumpp (2001: 123) considers it probable that these forms were also negated with the negation particle.

e) *0*-present

In some verb forms, the present tense is unmarked (zero-marked). Unmarked (aorist) forms for the negative auxiliary do not exist, and thus the verbs with unmarked present-tense forms can only be negated with a particle.

(55) Kamas (Joki 1944: 165)

bos-pa? *ej* *tīmne-ba?*
 self-1PL NEG_{PTCL} know-1PL
 'We do not know (it) either.'

Thus, in Kamas the negative auxiliary has almost completely been ousted by the negation particle and therefore negation has become symmetric. The negative auxiliary has only future-tense forms (see chapter II/3.2.2.), which means that asymmetric negation only appears in the future tense. The following table shows the distribution of negation constructions.

	Past	Present					Future
Tense Marker	<i>-Bi/-BjA</i>	<i>-LjA</i>	<i>-LA</i>	<i>-gA</i>	<i>-mA</i>	<i>-0</i>	<i>-LA</i>
Construction of Negative	S	S	S	S	S	S	A/FIN

Table 27. Correlation between Tense and Negation Type in Kamas

3.1.2.1. Position of the Negative Particle in Kamas

The negation particle generally tends to occupy the position preceding the verb. Only in example (54) do we see the negation particle not immediately before the verb; this sentence, however, is not an example of standard negation but of equation, in which the BE verb acts as a copula. In my opinion, it can be assumed that in Kamas the copula and the equation predicate could not be separated and thus could not be severed by the negation particle.

There are also examples of the negation particle as part of an auxiliary construction. In this case, the negation particle immediately precedes the auxiliary and is preceded by the lexical verb in the gerund form. That is, the order is $LV_{Ger} + NEG + AUX_{Vx}$.

- (56) Kamas (Joki 1944: 86, transcription following Klumpp 2002: 124)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>am-njo-m,</i> | <i>am-njo-m</i> | <i>tüʔ-leʔ</i> | <i>ej</i> | <i>mo-lja-m</i> |
| eat-PRS-1SG | eat-PRS-1SG | shit-GER | NEG _{Prcl} | become-PRS-1SG |
- ‘I eat and eat, but I cannot shit.’

It has to be noted that in Kamas, the auxiliary does not necessarily have to occupy the sentence-final position; there are also constructions in which the gerund of the lexical form follows the auxiliary. This sentence type, however, does not belong to true auxiliary use but rather to the so-called converb constructions. In this type as well, of course, the negation particle precedes the auxiliary. Thus, the negation particle is always situated before the head of the construction.

- (57) Kamas (Joki 1944: 196, transcription following Klumpp 2002: 123)
- | | | | |
|------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>mǎn</i> | <i>ej</i> | <i>tǐmne-m</i> | <i>pʼaŋdǎ-laʔ</i> |
| I | NEG _{Prcl} | know-1SG | write-GER |
- ‘I cannot write.’

If the finite element of the construction is an aspectual auxiliary (that is, in case of complete grammaticalization), the word order can be $LV_{Ger} + AUX_{Vx}$ (for more details see, e.g., Klumpp 2005).

3.1.3. Khanty

As shown in the introduction, Khanty is dialectally very fragmented and thus there are numerous, phonologically divergent forms of the negation marker. In the Eastern dialects, the negation particle has the form *əntə*, less frequently *ənt*. In the Western dialect group, the negation particles *ant* or *an/at* are used; these two may alternate freely, but before a word beginning with a sonorant or a fricative, usually the shorter allomorph is used (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 40).

In Khanty, these particles are used for the negation of verbal predicates; the particle is followed by the predicate which agrees with the subject in number and person.

In Eastern Khanty, as one of its peculiar features, the unmarked tense category is not the present but the past. In negated present-tense constructions, the present-tense marker (*-t*) is also attached to the verb. In other Khanty dialects, both the present and the past tense are marked; the present tense with *-t*, the past tense usually with *-s*. The following examples illustrate standard negation in both Eastern and Western dialects.

(58) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj., 2008)

- a. *ma lɔpka-nam mən-t-əm*
 I shop-PROL go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am going to the shop.’
- b. *ma lɔpka-nam əntə mən-t-əm*
 I shop-PROL NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I do not go to the shop.’
- c. *ma lɔpka-nam mən-əm*
 I shop-PROL go-1SG
 ‘I went to the shop.’
- d. *ma lɔpka-nam əntə mən-əm*
 I shop-PROL NEG_{PTCL} go-1SG
 ‘I did not go to the shop.’

As can be seen, the negation is completely symmetric, the only difference between the negated and the affirmative sentence being the presence of the negation particle. In the past tense, the situation is the same. Note, however, that past-tense negation – as in Selkup – can also be expressed by other means, employing asymmetric negation (for more details, see chapter II/3.2.6). Let us take a look at these sentences in the non-Eastern Khanty dialect of Synya. As we can see, there are no differences in the construction of negation.

(59) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

- a. *ma lɔpka-j-a man-t-om*
 I shop-EP-LAT go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am going to the shop.’
- b. *ma lɔpka-j-a at man-t-om*
 I shop-EP-LAT NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I do not go to the shop.’

Change of tense does not necessarily imply changes in the structure of the negated sentence. Nor has mood marking any effect, as mood in Khanty – with the exception of the imperative – is not an inflectional category but usually expressed with modal particles. In sentences of this type, the negated particle occupies the position preceding the verbal predicate.

- (60) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 40)

naŋ naš mis pqs-ti an xoš-ən
 you indeed cow milk-INF NEG_{PTCL} know.how-2SG
 ‘It seems that you don’t know how to milk a cow.’

3.1.3.1. Position of the Negative Particle in Khanty

Thus, it can be stated that the negation particle in Khanty immediately precedes the verbal predicate. However, the situation becomes interesting if other particles or clitics appear in the sentence. According to the observations of Csepregi (1998: 41), in the Surgut dialect the clitic *-pə* very frequently appears in negated sentences. The same element also appears in other dialects as an emphatic focusing particle (*pa*), always following the word to be emphasized (e.g. Sherkaly Dialect *nəŋ=pa mŷj wersən?* ‘what have YOU done?’, Schmidt 2008: 47). This positioning, of course, supports cliticization. In negated sentences, the point of departure is that the clitic and the negation particle appear in the sentence together, the negation particle preceding the predicate, the clitic attached to the focused constituent.

- (61) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1998: 41)

qāntək qo=pə əntə wuji-t-ə-ləm
 man=CLIT¹¹ NEG_{PTCL} know-PRS-EP-1SG.O
 ‘I do not know anybody. ~ As for people, I do not know any of them.’

In Khanty, the same clitic also forms negative counterparts for some modifiers and pronouns; these, however, must be accompanied by the negation particle in a negated sentence.

- (62) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1998: 41)

wiči=pə əntə ɛŋkrəmtə-t
 always=CLIT NEG_{PTCL} watch-PRS.3SG
 ‘(S)he never watches.’

This sentence shows the negative counterpart *wiči-pə* for the adverb *wiči* ‘always’. As a rule, negative adverbs are formed with the prefix *nem*, e.g. *nem-xunt* ‘never, at no time’.

Csepregi also gives examples in which the negation particle is omitted and its role as negation marker is taken over by the originally non-negative emphatic clitic. The following example does not represent standard negation, but beautifully illustrates the reanalysis of *-pə* as a negation marker.

11. *qāntək qo* means ‘human being’, *qāntəŋ* is the word for the Khanty, while *qo* means ‘man, male’. (Cf. Csepregi 1998: 155)

- (63) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1998: 41)
qu-jə-l=pə *ħıwnam qət-nə* *wăłł*
 man-EP-2SG_{Px}=CLIT his/her house-LOC be.3SG
 ‘She has no husband. [“No(/The) husband of hers is in the house.”]’

This development is not unusual but has been attested, for instance, in numerous Indo-European languages such as English or Italian; perhaps the best-known examples come from French. Following Dahl (1979), this development is often called “the Jespersen cycle”.¹² In this cycle, four stages can be distinguished. In the first stage, a negation marker appears in a negated sentence. In the second stage the sentence is enhanced with another element which in itself has no negative semantics, such as an emphatic particle or clitic. In the third stage, this element assumes a negative function, and the original negation marker can be omitted. Finally, this originally non-negative element has completely ousted the original negation marker which cannot be used any more. Thus, it can be stated that Khanty has now reached the third stage.

In Khanty, not only this development can be observed, but at least in the Kazym dialect complex negative particles are also evolving, consisting of the negative particle and the particle *pa* ‘even’ or *ta* ‘yet, also’ (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 41). In negated sentences, the latter particles are inserted between the negation marker and the negated verb and tend to be fused with the negation marker, rendering the negation words *anta* ‘not yet’ and *anpa* ‘not even’. In some grammars, these forms are already presented as independent negation particles.

- (64) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 41)
ħuw tiw an pa juxtil-a-s
 (s)he here NEG_{PTCL} even.more come-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he did not even come here.’
- (65) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 41)
xulna nanj kinška-je-n anta ħuŋat-s-əm
 yet you book-EP-2SG_{Px} NEG.yet read-PST-1SG
 ‘I have not read your book yet.’

Solovar and Cheremisina (1994: 41) claim that these forms cannot yet be considered true lexicalised particles, although prosodically, their fusion is beyond doubt. This argumentation is further supported by the fact that the two above-mentioned emphatic particles do not always follow the negation particle but may also precede it, as illustrated by the following sentence.

- (66) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 41)
i puš pa ant uwtij-s
 once even NEG_{PTCL} shout-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he did not shout even once.’

12. For more details, see e.g. Roberts – Roussou 2003: 136 ff. or Schwenter 2009.

Other particles as well can appear together with the negation element. In yes/no questions without an explicit interrogative word, the question particle *peĭ* is always situated between the negation particle and the verb; this word order cannot be reversed.

- (67) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 41)

manema *an* *peĭ* *ńot-l-an*
 I.DAT NEG_{PTCL} QUES help-PRS-2SG
 ‘Aren’t you going to help me?’

Thus, we have seen that the negation particle tends to precede the negated verb, but between these two, other particles may be inserted.

In the Kazym dialect, Solovar and Cheremisina (1994) have observed another interesting phenomenon. The particle *xon* usually acts as a question word, and in this function it always occupies the sentence-initial position. However, it (or a particle homonymous with it) can also serve as an emphatic negation element. In this case it appears in the position otherwise occupied by the standard negation particle. In this function it can be compared with Hungarian *dehogy* (‘certainly not’, literally “but how”). As will be shown, particles of this type also appear in Mansi.

- (68) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 44)

xut-ən *wu-s-ə-n* *xon* *wu-s-ə-m*
 fish-2SG_{px} bring-PST-EP-2SG NEG.EMPH_{PTCL} bring-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘Did you bring fish?’ ‘No, I did NOT bring any.’
 (cf. Hung.: *Dehogy hoztam!*)

This particle can also appear together with a proper negation marker; in this case, the formal logic of double negation applies and the sentence is interpreted as an emphatic affirmative statement (as in Hungarian *dehogynem* “but how not”, ‘certainly, of course’).

- (69) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 45)

xannexə *ant* *xon* *juxtij-l*
 man NEG_{PTCL} NEG.EMPH_{PTCL} come-PRS.3SG
 ‘Of course the man will come.’

Similar examples can also be found in the Sherkaly dialect; here, the standard negation particle has the form *ǎn*, the emphatic particle is *xun*.

- (70) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly Dialect (Schmidt 2008: 48)

jõxət-s-ə-n-a *ǎn* *xun* *jõxət-s-ə-m*
 come-PST-EP-2SG-QUES NEG_{PTCL} NEG.EMPH_{PTCL} come-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘Have you come?’ ‘Of course I have come.’

3.1.4. Mansi

In Mansi, the standard negation element is the particle *at*, in the Southern (Tavda) dialect in the form *ää*. This is used for negating simple verbal predicates, irrespective of tense. The particle is followed by the regularly inflected verb. Note that in Mansi, verbal inflection is somewhat peculiar: not only the past but also the present tense is marked. The present-tense marker is *-y*, while *-s* is used for marking past-tense forms. Now let us take a look at a negated sentence.

(71) Northern Mansi (Rombandeeva 1973: 197)

<i>naŋ</i>	<i>xul't-eeγ-ə-n</i>	<i>at'i.</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>xul't-eeγ-ə-m</i>
you	stay-PRS-EP-2SG	NEG _{PTCL}	NEG _{PTCL}	stay-PRS-EP-1SG
'Are you staying (here)?'		'No, I'm not staying.'		

The negation particle occupies the position preceding the verb. As mentioned above, the only difference between the past and the present tense is that past-tense verb forms carry a different tense suffix.

(72) Northern Mansi (Rombandeeva 1973: 196)

<i>akw</i>	<i>puul</i>	<i>suup-n</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>joxtal-a-s</i>
one	bite	mouth-LAT	NEG _{PTCL}	come-EP-PST.3SG
'Not even one bite got into my mouth.'				

Like Khanty and Selkup, Mansi also knows a different strategy for expressing past-tense negation, but this results in a different negation type which will be dealt with in chapter II/3.2.8.

Mood markers can also be combined with these negation particles. As in Khanty, modality in Mansi is usually not expressed by means of morphological inflection categories but with modal particles, thus the modal system in Mansi is also a great deal more impoverished than in the Samoyedic languages. (The only exception is the imperative, with which another negation particle must be used; see chapter V.1.1.2.) In addition to the imperative, Mansi knows two verbal moods: conditional-optative and narrative. The following example shows the negation of a verb in the conditional-optative mood. The particle *ke/ki* 'if' is obligatory, and it is almost always positioned immediately before the predicate. (For more details on the position of the particle *ke*, see Bakró-Nagy 2006a.)

In negated sentences, this particle can be attached to the negation particle but also to other constituents, depending on which element is emphasized as the condition of the event in the main clause.

- (73) Northern Mansi (Munkácsi 1896: 70, quoted by K. Sal 1954–1955: 87)
naaŋk-nuuw-ke, naaŋk-nuuw; aas at-ke
 be.visible-COND.OPT.3SG-if be.visible-COND.OPT.3SG and NEG_{PTCL} -if
naaŋk-nuuw at naaŋk-nuuw
 be.visible-COND.OPT.3SG NEG_{PTCL} be.visible-COND.OPT.3SG
 ‘If (s)he were visible, (s)he would be visible, and if (s)he were not visible,
 (s)he would not be visible’
- (74) Northern Mansi, Sosva Dialect (Kannisto 1951: 203, quoted by Murphy 1977: 223)
tee-ŋk^we-ke at xaas-s-ə-n
 eat-INF-if NEG_{PTCL} know-PST-EP-2SG
 ‘If you did not know how to eat.’

In Mansi, the particle *ij* ‘yet’ and the negation particle following it have fused to form a negation particle *ijət* ‘not yet’. Its syntactic behaviour is identical to that of the standard negation particle, but in addition to the pure negation it implies that the activity expressed by the main verb, although not (yet) accomplished, will take place in the future.

- (75) Northern Mansi, Sygva Dialect (Rombandeeva 1979: 23)
pis^wma xans-uŋk^we ijət xańs^wuwl-ee-w
 letter write-INF yet.NEG_{PTCL} learn-PRS-1PL.O
 ‘We have not yet learnt how to write a letter.’

3.1.4.1. Position of the Negative Particle in Mansi

As shown above, in Mansi the negation word is positioned immediately before the predicate. In case the predicate is a verb with a “preverb” (preverbal adverb), the negation word is inserted between the preverb and the verb.

- (76) Northern Mansi (Munkácsi 1892: 34, cited in K. Sal 1954–1955: 69)
aakwa takkete naurem k^won at taaret-i-te
 aunt alone.3SG child outside NEG_{PTCL} let-EP-3SG.O
 ‘The aunt does not let the child go out on his own.’
- (77) Southern dialect group, Tavda dialect
 (Munkácsi 1890–1894: 286, cited in K. Sal 1954–1955: 69)
nounmi il ää täärt-i-lem
 you.ACC out NEG_{PTCL} allow-EP-1SG.O
 ‘I do not let YOU go away.’

The negation particle usually maintains its pre-verbal position also if there are other particles in the sentence as well, such as *s^war* ‘completely’ or *saka* ‘very’.

- (78) Northern Mansi, Sygva Dialect (Rombandeeva 1979: 23)
am moojt-unj^ke sjar at xaasə-t'e-m
 I tell.fairytales-INF PTCL NEG know-PREC-1SG
 'I cannot tell any fairy-tales at all. (As for fairy-tales,
 I do not know at all how to tell them.)'

In just a few cases, the order “particle before negative particle” does not apply. The conditional particle *ke* was already mentioned (cf. example (73)). The particle *ti/tij* ‘now’ can be inserted between the negation word and the verb, but usually it precedes the negation particle.

- (79) Northern Mansi, a: Sosva Dialect (Kannisto 1959: 116, cited in Murphy 1977: 223);
 b: Sygva Dialect (Rombandeeva 1973: 196)
- a. *aajimkutim xootpaa-n at ti puuns-a-we*
 insignificant somebody-LAT NEG_{PTCL} now open-EP-PASS
 ‘It is not opened by a weakling now.’
- b. *ja tij at joxt-ee-w*
 PTCL.EMPH now NEG_{PTCL} get(.somewhere)-PRS-1PL
 ‘Well, now we won’t get (there).’

Mansi knows a sentence type which can express negation even though it does not contain any explicit negation elements. Originally, these sentences still had a negation particle; between it and the verb, the particle *xuń* was inserted. This particle is homonymous with the question word ‘when, how’, but in this case, it is probably merely an emphatic element which now, in certain cases, has become able to express negation by itself. As shown above, similar constructions also appear in Khanty. The following example shows this particle accompanied by the negation marker; in this context, as in the Khanty examples (69) and (70), formal logic applies and the two elements together render the statement affirmative.

- (80) Northern Mansi, Sygva dialect (Rombandeeva 1979: 24)
naŋ juw-joxt-əm-ən am at xuń waa-γ-lum
 you home-come-PTPST-2SG I NEG_{PTCL} PTCL know-PRS-1SG.O
 ‘I know that you have come home.’

If used alone, without a negation marker proper, the particle *xuń* can now express negation, as illustrated by the following example.

(81) Northern Mansi, Sosva dialect (Ivanova 2004: 57/4)

toont taj xun̄ waa-y-lum manxurəp
 then but NEG_{PTCL} know-PRS-1SG.O what.kind.of
Matra eek^{wa} piy-risⁱ
 Matra woman son-DIM

‘At that time I did not know yet, what kind of son of aunt Matra he was.’

In Mansi, thus, the negation particle remains in the immediate neighbourhood of the predicate and only very rarely moves farther away from it. This means that the behaviour of the negation element completely corresponds to Jespersen’s expectations (cf. chapter I/3.5.)

3.2. Asymmetric Construction: A/FIN/NEG/VERB

Asymmetric negation is widespread in Samoyedic languages; in Ob-Ugric languages, although it does appear, it is not the primary strategy for standard negation.

Northern Samoyedic languages and Kamas, like many other Uralic languages, typically employ a negative auxiliary for standard negation. This means that the negation is asymmetric. The negative auxiliary – unlike in, for instance, Finnish or Mordvin – can also carry tense or mood marking, that is, it has a more complete paradigm than the corresponding auxiliaries in other Uralic languages. Agreement is in any case marked on the auxiliary: it agrees with the subject in number and person, object number or – in case of reflexive conjugation – object person and number is also marked on the negation verb. In addition to carrying mood and tense markers, Samoyedic negative auxiliaries typically also have gerund, supine and participle forms. However, one form is missing: the negative auxiliary has no connegative form. The negative auxiliary constructions in all these Samoyedic languages belong to the Aux-headed type.

The auxiliary is accompanied by the so-called connegative form of the lexical verb, ending in the glottal stop. This connegative form cannot be used alone to express negation. Thus, it cannot be confused with the homonymous IMP2SG form: cf. Nganasan *ñindim koni?* ‘I do not go’ – *koni?* ‘Go!’.

I will begin my presentation of the asymmetric constructions with the Southern Samoyedic languages. Typically, in these languages either the negative auxiliary is not used any more, as in Selkup (which has lost the original Uralic negative auxiliary), or at least the development into a negation particle has begun, as in Kamas.

3.2.1. Mator

Of negation in Mator very little is known: the existing data, consisting mainly of word lists, has very few sentences or syntactic constructions, and even fewer negated sentences. However, this scanty data suffices to conclude that negation in Mator was only expressed by way of a negative auxiliary. The auxiliary has the stem *i-*, and it is followed by the connegative form of the lexical verb. All forms of the negative auxiliary in the corpus are inflected for person, there are no examples of mood marking or derivation, but tense-marked constructions can be found; tense is always marked on the auxiliary. Here, a few words on tense marking in Mator are in order.

The present tense in Mator has three markers: *j*, *η* and *θ*. Thus, the system is very similar to that of Kamas. According to Helimski (1997:152–153), *η* is mostly used with intransitive, *j* with transitive verbs, while for some verbs both present-tense markers have been attested. On the other hand, there are other factors conditioning their distribution as well: verbs with a consonant stem are more often marked with *η*¹³; here, as well, there are verbs which can carry both types of present-tense marking. The zero marking is typical of polysyllabic verb stems ending in a vowel. This, in my opinion, indicates that the choice of present-tense marker was mainly phonologically conditioned. However, considering the scarcity of data this question will probably remain open.

After this brief excursion let us take a look at the negated verb forms in the Mator corpus. From the point of view of transitivity, the negative auxiliary is neutral. The structure of negated and affirmative sentences can be illustrated with the following two examples.

(82) Taigi Dialect (Helimski 1997: 286)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|----|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>chandi-j-um</i> | b. | <i>i-gi-m</i> | <i>chondu-nsch-u-k</i> |
| | sleep-PRS-1SG | | NEG _{Aux} -PRS-1SG | sleep-VOL-EP-CN |
| | ‘I am sleeping.’ | | ‘I am not sleeping.’ | |

The construction is asymmetric. Considering that the Mator corpus only contains eight tokens of the negative auxiliary, all of them deserve to be dealt with. I will summarize the data in a table, sorted by dialect and semantics. This is important, as Helimski did not investigate dialectal differences, but, as will be shown, there are systematic deviations at least in the form of the negative auxiliary, which do not affect, however, the construction. The data stems from Helimski’s monograph (1997: 331 word tokens). Empty cells mark lacking data.

In sum, there are only four verbs recorded in a negated form. Only one of them has been attested in all three dialects, two in Mator and Karagas, while one only appears in the corpus of the Mator dialect. This means that all conclusions in what follows must remain tentative, due to the scarcity of data.

13. If we accept this interpretation, Mator behaves similarly to other Samoyedic languages (with the exception of Nganasan and Kamas), in which the linking element with an initial nasal consonant, used in the present tense, typically appears after stems ending in a consonant.

Meaning		Taigi Dialect	Mator Dialect	Karagas Dialect
sleep	<i>ŋ</i> present	<i>i-g-im chondunschuk</i> 'I do not sleep'		
	<i>j</i> present		<i>i-ü-ng chonda</i> 'you do not sleep' (2SG ?)	<i>i-schin gondo</i> 'I do not sleep'
see	<i>ŋ</i> present		<i>i-ng-üm siä</i> 'I do not see'	
	<i>j</i> present			<i>i-schin go</i> 'I do not see'
know	<i>ŋ</i> present		<i>i-g-am danem</i> 'I do not know'	
	<i>j</i> present			<i>i-lj-am diminir</i> 'I do not know.'
believe	<i>ŋ</i> present			
	<i>j</i> present		<i>i-m gentner</i> 'I do not believe'	

Table 28. Distribution of Present-Tense Markers in Mator Negation

The Karagass dialect obviously favours the present tense in *j* (or possibly *ŋ*), but there is also a specific ending (Vx1SG *-sin*) which in two cases also appears on the negative auxiliary. The function of this suffix is unclear; Helimski considers it a syncretic marker for present tense and person (Helimski 1997: 165).

For the Taigi dialect, there is only one verb token showing the *ŋ* suffix. In the Mator dialect, there seems to be an alternation between two present tense suffixes, but it does not seem to be dependent on the transitivity of the main verb; the verb 'to sleep' is definitely not transitive, while Helimski claims that the *j* present tense appears most frequently with transitive verbs.

In addition to the present-tense forms, there is only one past-tense form in the corpus; here, however, it is not completely certain that the negative auxiliary really carries tense marking.

(83) Taigi Dialect (Helimski 1997: 251/331)

i-schi *go* *hurä-m*
 NEG_{AUX}-PST see.CN Aux.DUR-1SG
 'I did not see.'

This is an auxiliary construction of the type NEG_{AUX}_{TEMPUS} + LV_{CN} + AUX_{VX}. Thus, Mator would have known a "cleft" construction in which person is marked on the auxiliary but tense on the head of the construction, that is, the negative auxiliary. The lexical verb 'to see' is, as it is normal in negated constructions, in the connegative form. Thus, the construction could really be formalized as _{Tx}[NEG_{AUX} + LV_{CN}] + AUX_{VX}.

As mentioned above, the Mator corpus includes very few sentences and thus it is very difficult to state anything about word order patterns in Mator. Yet, the few recorded examples show that negative auxiliaries without exception precede the main verb; there are no examples of the order of the negative auxiliary and the main verb being reversed or other constituents being inserted between them.

Thus, it can be stated that Mator negation without doubt belongs to the asymmetric and Aux-headed type, although there is one single example of the “cleft” construction. Tense marking does not have any effect on the syntactic behaviour of the negative auxiliary.

3.2.2. Kamas

As mentioned above (chapter II/3.1.2.), standard negation in Kamas was originally realized with an asymmetric construction, employing a negative auxiliary, but this type was gradually ousted by symmetric negation, together with the lexicalization of the 3SG form of the negative auxiliary into a negation particle. In this chapter, I will present the auxiliary construction which, without doubt, was the original strategy. Klumpp (2001: 126) has shown that already in Donner’s material a division of labour between the negation particle and the negative auxiliary can be seen: the particle is mostly used in the present and the past tense, while the auxiliary prevails in the future tense.

In Kamas, the negative auxiliary (*e-*) carrying inflectional suffixes is followed by the connegative form of the main verb. The negative auxiliary has not been attested in an infinitive form; personal endings of the subjective and the objective conjugation appear in the corpus, but – as shown in the following table – for non-third persons only subject-conjugation forms have been recorded. As already mentioned, the negative auxiliary only appears in the future tense. The Kamas tense system was already presented in chapter II/3.1.2., and here I will only deal with future-tense forms.

The future suffixes are *-la* (*-la*, *-le*) and *-NTA*; the function of the latter is somewhat unclear but irrelevant for this study, as the negative auxiliary never carries this suffix. For negation in the future tense, only the auxiliary construction can be used; tense is marked on the auxiliary, which is followed by the main verb in the connegative form. The following table shows the paradigm of the negative auxiliary as recorded by Castrén and Donner.

Person		Castrén	Donner
1SG		<i>e-le-m, e-m</i>	<i>e-m</i>
2SG		<i>e-l-le</i>	<i>e-l-lə</i>
3SG	subj	<i>e-l</i>	<i>e-l</i>
3SG	obj	<i>e-l-de</i>	<i>e-l-də</i>
1DU		<i>e-l-bei</i>	<i>e-l-bəj</i>
2DU		<i>e-l-lei</i>	<i>e-l-ləj</i>
3DU	subj	<i>e-l-eigei</i>	<i>e-l-əjgəi</i>
3DU	obj	<i>e-l-dei</i>	<i>e-l-dəj</i>
1PL		<i>e-l-bä?</i>	<i>e-l-be?</i>
2PL		<i>e-l-lä?</i>	<i>e-l-le?</i>
3PL	subj	<i>e-le-je?</i>	<i>e-lə-jə?</i>
3PL	obj	<i>e-l-den</i>	<i>e-l-dən</i>

Table 29. The Paradigm of Negative Auxiliary in Kamas

While in Castrén's material the 1SG form can be *em* or *elem*, Donner only recorded the reduced form *em* which has lost its tense marking; this reduction was probably favoured by the fact that auxiliary constructions with an inflected negation verb only appear in this tense category. An example of the use of the negative auxiliary:

(84) Kamas (a: Künnap 1999: 22, b–c: Joki 1944: 165)

- a. *nu-ya-m* stand-PRS-1SG 'I am standing.'
- b. *e-(le)-m nu-?* NEG_{AUX}-FUT-1SG stand-CN 'I am not standing / I will not stand.'
- c. *tǎn e-l-lə šo-?* you NEG_{AUX}-FUT-2SG come-CN 'you will not enter / you do not enter'

The paradigm of the negative auxiliary is deficient, lacking both the past and the present tenses. Klumpp, however, has found in Castrén's manuscripts two forms of the negative auxiliary carrying the suffix *-Bi* which could perhaps be interpreted as a past-tense marker. Castrén marked these forms as gerunds but does not give any translations for the sentences (Klumpp 2001: 120–121).

(85) Kamas (Klumpp 2001: 121, based on Castrén's manuscript page 183)

- a. *e-wi toljera-?* NEG_{AUX}-GER.PRT steal-CN
- b. *e-wi nu-?* NEG_{AUX}-GER.PRS stand-CN

Klumpp considers it possible that this construction could be the past-tense equivalent of the present-tense converb in *-LV?*. Thus, the meaning would be 'not having stolen'. As illustrated by these examples, the Kamas negative auxiliary also had converb forms,

as well as participle (*e-nε*) and present-tense gerund forms (*e-lä?*). As for the converb forms, Klumpp has shown that already in Castrén's times there were two competing constructions, employing the negation particle or an auxiliary.

(86) Kamas (Klumpp 2001: 120, based on Castrén's manuscript, page 183)

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|------------------|----|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>e-le?</i> | <i>toljera-?</i> | b. | <i>ej</i> | <i>toljer-la?</i> |
| | NEG _{AUX} | -GER steal-CN | | NEG | steal-GER |
| | ‘not/without stealing’ | | | ‘not/without stealing’ | |

There are no data of aspect marking on the negative auxiliary in Kamas. This is at least partly due to the fact that aspectual meanings in Kamas are usually expressed with separate auxiliaries rather than suffixes.

In any case, the negative auxiliary in Kamas precedes the connegative verb form, while non-negative auxiliaries occupy the position typologically expectable in SOV languages, that is, after the main verb. No other constituents are inserted between the negative auxiliary and the lexical verb.

3.2.3. Nenets

Unlike Kamas, Nenets has completely maintained the negative auxiliary construction and employs it in all tenses. The general negative auxiliary is *ñiisʹ* in the Tundra dialects, *ñiis̄* in the Forest dialects. Before dealing with the negation itself, I must briefly present the tense system of Nenets.

As inflectional categories, two tenses can be distinguished: the aorist and the past tense. The aorist is unmarked and its interpretation depends on the aspect of the verb: continuative verbs in the aorist are understood as referring to the present, while perfective verbs refer to the close past. Depending on the phonological structure of the stem, a linking element *-ŋa* may appear after the stem, according to the following rules:

- i) Stems ending in a vowel do not carry the linking element: *nuu-sʹ* ‘to stand’: *nuu* ‘(s)he stands’.
- ii) Stems ending in a consonant always require the linking element before the person suffix (also the zero-marking in 3SG): *siir-cʹ* ‘watch’: *siir-ŋa* ‘(s)he watches’. In the stems in which a glottal stop alternates with an obstruent (*s*), the glottal stop is retained before the linking element: *mʹii-sʹ* ‘to give’ (*mʹii?*- and *mʹiis-*): *mʹii?*- + *ŋa* + *w* → *mʹii?*-*ŋa-w* ‘I gave (it)’. If the stem-final glottal stop alternates with a non-obstruent (*n*), the glottal stop disappears before the linking element (*?* → *0* / *_ #ŋ*): *mʹin-sʹ* ‘to go’: *mʹi?*- + *ŋa* + *m?* → *mʹi-ŋa-m?* ‘I went’. After stems ending in *m*, the consonant of the linking element is deleted (*ŋ* → *0* / *m #_*): *ŋam-cʹ* ‘to eat’: *ŋam-a-da* ‘(s)he eats it’. (For more details see Hajdú 1989: 59 and Salminen 1998: 523 ff.)

The past tense is marked with *-s^j/-c^j*. Strangely enough, in Nenets this tense marker does not precede the person suffix but follows it, as illustrated by the following two sentences:

- (87) Tundra Nenets, Central Dialect (Hajdú 1988: 19)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----|------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>sierta-dam-s^j</i> | b. | <i>ńii-dam-s^j</i> | <i>sierta-ʔ</i> |
| | make-1SG-PST | | NEG _{Aux} -1SG-PST | make-CN |
| | ‘I made.’ | | ‘I did not make.’ | |

Some Nenets grammars (e.g. Kupriyanova et al. 1957: 109–110) also distinguish a future tense marked with *-ŋko* or *-da/-ta*. These two suffixes go back to durative-continuative derivational suffixes. Neither Hajdú (1989: 62) nor Salminen (1998: 531) consider this as a proper tense category. This interpretation is supported by the fact that although tense in auxiliary constructions is marked on the auxiliary (cf. example (87)), neither *-ŋko* nor *-da/-ta* behaves in this way; in distribution, thus, these two suffixes differ from proper tense suffixes but resemble aspectual suffixes. Of course, derivational suffixes are often reanalysed into tense markers, but for the durative suffix in Nenets, this process is in my opinion not finished yet.

The inflection of the negative auxiliary in Nenets corresponds to that of the main verb, that is, it assumes the same form which the main verb would have in the corresponding affirmative sentence. Thus, the negative auxiliary can be inflected in the subjective, in the objective and in the reflexive conjugation.

As will be shown later, mood is also marked on the negative auxiliary. Its morphological structure can thus be formalized like this: stem+{AOR or MOOD}+ personal suffix+(tense suffix).

In addition to the general negative auxiliary, Nenets has further negative auxiliaries with semantic content beyond pure negation. The negative auxiliaries and their use in syntactic constructions are summarized in the following table. FE stands for the negative auxiliary. Note that the semantically non-void negative auxiliaries may behave differently from the general negative auxiliary; however, *ńiis^j* and *wuńiis^j* have a completely identical syntactic behaviour except in the imperative mood.

Verb		Meaning	Construction
Forest	Tundra		
<i>ńiis̄</i>	<i>ńiis^j</i>	‘(does) not’	[FE]+V[CN]
<i>wińiis̄</i>	<i>wuńiis^j</i>	‘not really’	[FE]+V[CN]
	<i>xańas^j</i>	‘of course not, certainly not’	[FE]+V[CN]
	<i>jaʔmas^j</i>	‘cannot, is not able to’	V[Inf]+[FE]

Table 30. Negative Auxiliaries in Nenets

Semantically not-empty auxiliaries do not belong to the standard negation proper, and I will deal with them in more detail in chapter III/2.

Regarding its aspect, the Nenets general negative auxiliary is continuative. It can carry an emphasizing or an interrogative prefix. The emphatic form *wuńiisʲ* (Forest Nenets *wińiisʲ*) only differs from the general negative auxiliary in the emphasis; as shown in Table 30 the sentence structures display no differences. Before dealing with the use of the negative auxiliary, I will present its subjective-conjugation paradigm in the Tundra dialect. The verb can be inflected in all three conjugations (subjective, objective and reflexive). In the following table, it is combined with the lexical verb *xarwasʲ* ‘to want’.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Aorist	1 <i>ńiidmʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiiniʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiwaʲ xārwaʲ?</i>
	2 <i>ńiin xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiidʲiʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiidaʲ xārwaʲ?</i>
	3 <i>ńii xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiixiʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiiʲ xārwaʲ?</i>
Past tense	1 <i>ńiidamcʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiinhincʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiivacʲ xārwaʲ?</i>
	2 <i>ńiinasʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiidʲincʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiidacʲ xārwaʲ?</i>
	3 <i>ńiisʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiixincʲ xārwaʲ?</i>	<i>ńiicʲ xārwaʲ?</i>

Table 31. The Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary *ńiisʲ* + *xārwasʲ* ‘to want’

The following examples illustrate the use of the negative auxiliary in Tundra and Forest Nenets.

(88) Tundra Nenets (Almazova 1961: 31, 183)

- a. *wesako pedar-xana jilʲe* b. *mań tańana ńii-dmʲ jilʲe-ʲ*
 old.man forest-LOC live.3SG I there NEG_{Aux}-1SG live-CN
 ‘The old man lives in the forest.’ ‘I do not live there.’

(89) Forest Nenets (Turtyina 2003: 9)

- šan talʲam ńi-t men*
 (no)more so NEG_{Aux}-1SG make.CN
 ‘I will not do so/this again.’

As mentioned earlier, the negative auxiliary can be inflected in all conjugations in Nenets, as in Samoyedic in general. Example (98) illustrates the negation in the reflexive conjugation in Tundra Nenets, while the following is an example of the same in the Forest dialect.

(90) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva – Burkova– Shilova 2003: 73/5)

- tamna ńi-ʲ ŋamt*
 yet NEG-3SG.R sit.down.CN
 ‘(S)he has not sat down yet.’

Objective conjugation is illustrated in the following example, which also shows how the inflection type is conditioned by the inflection of the lexical verb. In (91) a), the main verb is inflected according to the object conjugation, and the same pattern is applied on the auxiliary in (91) b).

(91) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Nenyang 2005: 146)

- a. *mań xarwobta-w* b. *mań ńii-w xarwobta-?*
 I like-1SG.O I NEG_{AUX}-1SG.O like-CN
 ‘I like it.’ ‘I do not like it.’

As also mentioned before, the negative auxiliary can also have gerund and supine forms. In Nenets, only the connegative form is missing. The following examples illustrate the use of gerund forms.

(92) Forest Nenets (Sammallahti 1974: 108/8)

- pič ńii-pa?-č kaj-?* *mań kali?n kãn-ŋa-a-t*
 they.DU NEG_{AUX}-GER-2DU_{PX} leave-CN I myself leave-DUR-EP-1SG
d'aykał-?uud'ii maan-a-štu
 mouse-DIM say-EP-HAB.3SG
 ‘If they two don’t go, I shall go, said the little mouse.’

(93) Tundra Nenets (Lehtisalo 1947: 18)

- ťiki siw xaana-m?* *ńii-ba-t xaaða-?*
 this seven blood.sacrifice-ACC.1SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-GER-2SG_{PX} kill-CN
ńeenc'el-m? *ńii-n met-?*
 goodwill-ACC NEG_{AUX}-2SG receive-CN
 ‘If you do not bring these seven sacrifices, you will not have (my) goodwill.’

As mentioned previously, past tense in Nenets is marked on the negative auxiliary (see, e.g., examples (87) and (100)). The markers of the controversial “future tense” are never attached to the negative auxiliary but only appear on the main verb; thus, by their syntactic behaviour they resemble more closely verbal derivational suffixes. Sentence (94) shows the durative suffix *-ŋko*, sentence (95) the imperfective suffix *-da/-ta*.

(94) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 141)

- jil'ew-?* *jamban?* *pił'i?* *ńii-w jur-ŋku-?*
 life-PL.GEN Pp_{DURING} always NEG_{AUX}-1SG.O forget-DUR-CN
 ‘Never in my life will I forget it.’

(95) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 135)

- jib?* *s'i?řw* *ńe* *ńu-m'i.* *xańaŋe-xert-a-m-do?* *ńii-dm?*
 though seven woman child-1SG_{PX} each-CAR-EP-ACC-3PL_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-1SG
m'i-ta-?
 give-IPF-CN
 ‘Although I have seven daughters, I will not give any of them.’

In Forest Nenets, the situation is somewhat more complicated. Here as well, the same two morphemes can be used for expressing the future. The imperfective suffix *-ta* is also attached to the main verb (cf. example above).

- (96) Forest Nenets (Sammallahti 1974: 109/12)

mań n̄ii-t *manaʔ-ta-n*
 I NEG_{AUX}-1SG.O bake-IPF-CN
 ‘I will not bake it.’

Forest Nenets also has another future tense suffix, *-ńu*, and this morpheme can also be attached to the negative auxiliary; thus, we could state that in this dialect, it can already be considered to be a tense marker.

- (97) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva – Burkova– Shilova 2003: 31/11)

čiki tuwša-m-t *pon n̄ii-ńu-l* *t’ole-štut,* *pon*
 this sack-ACC-2SG_{PX} always NEG_{AUX}-FUT-2SG.O forget-HAB-CN always
ńaʔmp’io-štu-t
 keep.watch-HAB-IMP.2SG.O
 ‘You will never forget this sack, always keep an eye on it!’

Characteristically, the negative verbs *n̄iis’i* and *wuńiis’i* seldom carry aspect or *Aktionsart* suffixes. These are usually attached to the main verb; of those few which, however, can be found on the negative auxiliary, the most frequent one is the habitative suffix. Yet, the same suffix – as illustrated by example (99) – can also appear on the main verb, and this, actually, is more frequently the case.

- (98) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 115)

tib’owa xāñ-kana *n̄ii-s’eti-ʔ* *jeʔnara-ʔ*
 oak wind.sheltered.place-LOC NEG_{AUX}-HAB-3SG.R bend-CN
 ‘An oak tree in a wind sheltered place will not bend.’

- (99) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 52)

s’axa-ŋgartʔ ŋamge-xert-mʔ *watons’erc’i n̄ii* *s’erta-s’etu-ʔ*
 sometime-CAR something-CAR-ACC properly NEG_{AUX}.3SG do-HAB-CN
 ‘(S)he never does anything properly.’

- (100) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva – Burkova– Shilova 2003: 41/1)

... *ńem’a-j* *n̄ii-štu-maš* *t’uńi-ʔ*
 ... mother-ACC.1SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-HAB-1SG.O.PST ask-CN
 ‘... I did not ask my mother.’

In my corpus, there were no examples of any other derivational suffixes being attached to the negative auxiliary. The inflectional and derivational characteristics of the negative auxiliary are summarized in the following table.

		Tense Markers	Derivational Suffixes
Tundra Dialect	<i>ńiisʲ</i>	Past	Habituaive Gerund Participle
	<i>wuńiisʲ</i>	Past	Gerund Participle forms
Forest Dialect	<i>ńiisš</i>	Past Future	Habituaive Participle forms Gerund
	<i>wińiisš</i>	Past	

Table 32. Distribution of Tense and Derivational Marking on the Negative Auxiliaries in Nenets

In Tundra Nenets, another negation strategy also appears which can only be used in the past tense. Of the other Samoyedic languages, only Selkup and Enets know this construction, but within Uralic it also appears in Khanty and Mansi. In this construction, past tense is not expressed with an auxiliary, but the structure of the sentence is identical to that of existential sentences – in Nenets, employing the negative existential verb *jankosʲ* ‘not.exist’. This negative construction is typical of folklore texts, and it is only used to express past tense; otherwise, there is no explicit past-tense marking. The lexical verb, which in standard negation would be the predicate verb, appears in a nominal form as the grammatical subject of the sentence. In Nenets, this nominal form is usually a participle, and the semantic subject person is expressed with a possessive suffix.

(101) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 132)

ńebʲa-w *puxucʲa*, *ŋamge-mʲ* *wadʲeca-nʲ*
 mother-1SG_{Px} elderly.woman what-ACC say-2SG

pida ma: *wadʲe-ta-w* *janɡu*
 (s)he say.3SG say-PtPRS-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG

‘Mother, what did you say? – She says: I did not say anything [“my saying does not exist”].’

Thus it can be stated that Nenets has two standard negation elements, the general negative auxiliary and the negative existential verb, although the use of the latter is very restricted.

3.2.3.2. Inverse Word Order in Nenets

In Tundra and Forest Nenets folklore texts, a special word order pattern of negative auxiliary constructions can often be observed. In this construction, the word order is inverted so that the negative auxiliary occupies the (generally expectable) post-verbal position. In this case, however, the sentence does not express negation but emphatic affirmation. In Tundra Nenets, in this construction a clitic *-m(?)* / *-w(?)* is attached to the negative auxiliary. Another important deviation in this inverted-order construction is the structure of the connegative form. According to Salminen (1998a: 531) this construction does not display the normal connegative form but a modified version of it. Salminen gives two examples:

- maʔ ńiiʔ* ‘(s)he certainly said’ (the normal connegative form would be *manoʔ*)
ńäʔ ńii-wʔ ‘is certainly’ (the normal connegative form would be *ńaʔ*).

In the word for ‘say’, the stem consonant is deleted in the inverse connegative form, in the BE verb, the vowel is changed. This phonological peculiarity remains unexplained so far. Salminen considers this construction a modal expression of some kind. No further morphosyntactic peculiarities can be observed: inflectional morphemes are attached to the negative auxiliary, derivational morphemes behave as in standard negation, that is, they are carried by the lexical verb. The following two sentences illustrate this construction.

- (104) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 227)

ńiirc’ie-da *măncabta-ʔ* *ńii-wʔ*
 eyebrow-PL.ACC.3SG_{PX} move-CN NEG_{AUX}.3SG=CLIT
 ‘(S)he certainly raised his/her eyebrows.’

- (105) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 300)

ńenes’a-daʔ *ńä-ʔ* *ńis’a-daʔ=ăm*
 truth-2PL_{PX} be-CN NEG_{AUX}-2PL=CLIT
 ‘You were certainly right.’

As Mus (2009: 25) points out, there are very few examples with inverse word order, but without this particle. In this sentence type, the particle also has an emphatic function, but the sentence is interpreted as negative.

- (106) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 86)

jewej-ʔ *jew’li-ta* *ńămńalu-ʔ* *ńii*
 soup-GEN watered.down-3SG_{PX} be.tasty-CN NEG_{AUX}.3SG
 ‘The soup really has no taste at all.’

Thus, merely the inverted order of the verb and the negative auxiliary does not render the sentence affirmative.

Forest Nenets also knows the inverted order V-NEG, but the negative auxiliary does not carry any clitics. Unlike in Tundra Nenets, here the inverted order even without the emphatic particle expresses an emphatic affirmation.

(107) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva – Burkova– Shilova 2003: 45/25)

čikexet ti-ta ta'a me-maj-ʔ ηami t'ol kewxajʔ

then reindeer-PL. 3SG_{PX} exist.INF be-PST-3PL what hundred roughly

ηi-ʔ ŋii-ša

be-CN NEG_{AUX}-3PL.PST

‘Then, they had reindeer, they had about a hundred of them.’

3.2.4. Enets

As Enets is both genetically and geographically close to Nenets, it is not surprising that the system of standard negation is very similar. The negative auxiliary has been retained here as well, and the tense system also resembles that of Nenets. The structure of a finite verb form in Enets is as follows: stem+{Coaffix or Mood}+Vx+(Tx)

In Enets, as in Nenets, two morphological tense categories can be distinguished: aorist and past tense. The meaning of aorist forms is conditioned by the aspect value of the verb: continuative verbs are understood as referring to the present, perfective verbs as referring to the close past. As in Nenets, the aorist is unmarked but depending on the phonological structure of the verb stem, a linking element *-ηa-* may appear between the stem and the personal suffix. The morphophonological behaviour of the linking element closely resembles that of Nenets but is not completely identical. In what follows, I will not deal with the morphophonology of the linking element in every detail, as this is irrelevant for a typological survey, and, above all, as the Enets phonology is still largely uninvestigated. The rules are as follows:

i) After verb stems ending in a vowel, the linking element usually does not appear, but in a few cases its consonant may yet be realized. In these stems, stem vowel alternations are very frequent: *d'iri-sʲ* ‘to live’: *d'ire* ‘(s)he lives’; *d'aðu-sʲ* ‘to go’: *d'aða-a* ‘(s)he goes’.

ii) After verb stems ending in a voiced consonant, the linking element is obligatory, but it is often deleted in regular phonological processes and only seldom appears in the surface structure. Most frequently, the stem-final consonant is the frequentative derivational suffix *r*, and this consonant is always deleted before *η* (*/r/ → 0 / __ η*). However, the verb forms indicate the “hidden” derivational suffix. This can be illustrated by the comparison of the imperfective form of the verb ‘to go’ with the perfective form (given above under (i)): *d'aðu-č* ‘to go, to be going’: *d'aðu-ηa* ‘(s)he is going’. The infinitive form also shows that there are two different deep forms: *d'aðu-sʲ* / *d'aðu+sʲ* / ‘to go’ ~ *d'aðu-č* / *d'aðu+r+sʲ* / ‘to be going/ to walk’.

iii) After voiceless consonants, *ŋ* may alternate with *ʔ* or be completely deleted: *kaa-si* ‘fall down’: *kaj̄δʔ* ~ *ka-ʔe-δoʔ* ‘it falls down’

Thus, we can state that the present (aorist) tense in Enets is unmarked; the linking element appearing in certain cases is not a tense marker but conditioned by the phonological structure of the stem.

Past

The past tense suffix *-si* does not precede but follows the personal suffixes – but only in the indicative mood. Its morphosyntactic behaviour, thus, is the same as in Nenets. This past tense is only used for activities and events finished before the relative present. Its use in Enets is very restricted: it only appears in narrative texts. In non-indicative moods, fused suffixes for mood and tense are used.

Other Tenses

Some authors (Künnap 1999a, Mikola 1993, Labanauskas 1982, Labanauskas 2002, Sorokina–Bolina 2009 etc.) have distinguished even more tenses. Two of these deserve to be discussed: future tense in *-da* (Forest Enets *-da/-δa/-ta*, Tundra Enets *-do/-δo/-to*) and past tense in *-bi* (*-bi/-pi*). Let us survey the relevant authors’ opinions on these categories.

Most authors consider the future suffix a possible tense marker (cf. Labanauskas 2002, Sorokina–Bolina 2009 etc.). This suffix, however, is a derivational morpheme expressing – as in Nenets – durative/imperfective aspect. Yet, an on-going grammaticalization can be observed: the suffix can express future tense, although its distribution is still closer to that of derivational morphemes. Thus, it is never attached to the negative auxiliary. In Nganasan, the corresponding suffix (*-ntə*) has already become part of the future tense marker in the interrogative mood (*-ntə-ŋu*). We can assume that this reanalysis into a tense marker already began in Proto-Samoyedic but has not yet been completed in Enets and Nenets. The use of the suffix in Enets is illustrated by the following example.

- (108) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 88)
nene-do nie-δoʔ ire-do-ʔ
 PP_{WITH} -2SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX} -1SG live-DUR-CN
 ‘I will not live with you.’

According to Urmanchieva (2006: 92–93), this suffix expresses “definite future”, but she does not consider it necessary to regard it as part of the inflectional paradigm of the verb, as, for instance, this suffix cannot be attached to the negative auxiliary (for illustration, see the preceding example). Sharing Urmanchieva’s opinion, I do not think that Enets has a future tense, even if the durative suffix can be used for expressing future time.

As mentioned above, some researchers (cf. Sorokina–Bolina 2009) have also considered the suffix *-bi* (*-bi/-pi*) a tense marker. This morpheme appears in both Tundra and

Forest Enets, but in slightly different functions. In Forest Enets, it is far more frequent; Urmanchieva (2006: 90) explains this with the intensive Nenets-Enets language contact. The morpheme *-bi* is most frequently used by Nenets-Enets bilingual speakers. It is normally used in narrative texts, to express activities and events in the relative past which the speaker has not immediately seen or experienced but only deduces that they have taken place; this conclusion can also be drawn on the basis of the result of the activity. In Nenets, the same suffix is used for past-tense forms in the narrative mood. In Enets, the morpheme *-bi* can also be followed by other morphemes such as the past-tense marker *-si* or a future suffix (Urmanchieva 2006: 91–92). According to Urmanchieva, these forms may, alongside the narrative or inferential meaning, also express the unexpected character of the event or activity (mirativity). In what follows, I will not consider this morpheme a tense suffix but a mood marker. In Tundra Enets, according to Urmanchieva, this suffix combined with an inferential or a durative suffix has a mirative meaning:

(109) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 92)

kuñi añi kaa-do-bi-do
 how yet die-DUR-ADM-2SG
 ‘How (is it that) you die (suddenly)?’

Thus, in my opinion there is no complete future-tense paradigm in Enets; the suffix *-bi* should not be considered a tense suffix but a modality marker. In this study, I will gloss it as “narrative”; note, however, that this morpheme can also have mirative and inferential meanings.

After this brief introduction, let us survey the characteristics of the negative auxiliary in Enets. It has a complete paradigm: all tenses, all conjugation types and an infinitive. Only one form is missing, the connegative form. In Enets, there are even more negative auxiliaries; typical of all of them is that they can only carry inflectional marking but I did not find any examples with derivational suffixes.

The negative auxiliary agrees with the subject in number, person and object number, in the case of reflexive conjugation also in person and number. It is followed by the connegative form of the lexical verb (*-(o)ʔ*), which also in Enets is identical with the imperative 2SG form. The BE verb has a suppletive connegative form: *ŋaʔ*.

The general negative auxiliary (without any additional semantic features beyond negation) in Enets is *ñesʹ*.

(110) Forest Nenets (Sorokina – Bolina 2001: 112)

a.	<i>bu pujaði-ŋa</i>	b.	<i>bu ñi pujaði-r</i>
	(s)he sneeze.FREQ-Co.3SG		(s)he NEG _{AUX} .3SG sneeze-FREQ.CN
	‘(S)he sneezes.’		‘(S)he does not sneeze.’

As mentioned above, the negative auxiliary can be inflected in all three conjugation types; the objective conjugation is illustrated by the following Tundra Enets examples:

(111) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 85)

- a. *bɔɔ-da-gu-a-ɔ̌a-sʲi* b. *ńie-ɔ̌a-sʲi* *bɔɔ-da-gu-ʔ*
 bad-TRF-DUR-EP-3SG.O-PST NEG_{AUX}-3SG.O-PST bad-TRF-DUR-CN
 ‘(S)he hurt him/her.’ ‘(S)he did not hurt him/her.’

While the tense marker and the person suffix are taken over by the negative auxiliary, the derivational morphemes are carried by the main verb in the negated sentence as well.

The paradigms of the negative auxiliary deviate a little from each other in the two main dialects of Enets. Considering that there are noticeable differences between the personal suffixes in the main dialects as well, it is worthwhile to present the paradigm of the negative auxiliary (together with an example verb). The following table contains the affirmative and negative forms of a verb, in subject conjugation indicative, in both main dialects. The forms are based on the grammar by Labanauskas (2002: 20–21, 33, 47). The material I have at my disposal did not allow for the compilation of the complete paradigm, neither for Tundra nor for Forest Enets. Considering that there might be not only dialectal but also sociolectal differences behind the recorded variants, an example paradigm would be in order as well.

	Forest Enets		Tundra Enets	
	<i>man-</i> ‘speak’	NEG+ <i>koma-</i> ‘want’	<i>noore</i> ‘stand up’	NEG+ <i>noore</i>
1SG	<i>mana-a-ɔ̌</i>	<i>ńe-ɔ̌ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-o</i>	<i>ńio nooro-ʔ</i>
2SG	<i>mana-a-d</i>	<i>ńe-d koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-do</i>	<i>ńe-d nooro-ʔ</i>
3SG	<i>mana-a</i>	<i>ńe koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-ɔ̌o</i>	<i>ńe-ɔ̌ nooro-ʔ</i>
1DU	<i>mana-a-b</i>	<i>ńe-bʲ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-ńi</i>	<i>ńe-ńi nooro-ʔ</i>
2DU	<i>mana-a-ri</i>	<i>ńe-rʲ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-dʲi</i>	<i>ńe-dʲi nooro-ʔ</i>
3DU	<i>mana-a-xi</i>	<i>ńe-xi koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-ho</i>	<i>ńe-xo nooro-ʔ</i>
1PL	<i>mana-a-ʔ</i>	<i>ńe-baʔ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-naʔ</i>	<i>ńe-naʔ nooro-ʔ</i>
2PL	<i>mana-a-raʔ</i>	<i>ńe-raʔ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-daʔ</i>	<i>ńe-daʔ nooro-ʔ</i>
3PL	<i>mana-a-ʔ</i>	<i>ńe-ʔ koma-ʔ</i>	<i>noore-ɔ̌o</i>	<i>ńe-ɔ̌ nooro-ʔ</i>

(Indicative aorist subjective conjugation)

Table 33. Affirmative and Negative Paradigms in Forest and Tundra Enets

The negation is asymmetric, but the paradigm itself can be called symmetric, as each verb has its individual negated counterpart.

The Forest Enets negative auxiliary also has a prefixed emphatic form: instead of *ńesʲ*, the verb appears in the form *buńi-*. As in Nenets, there is no semantic difference between these verb variants beyond mere emphasis. The emphatic negative auxiliary is used rather rarely; in Tundra Enets I did not find any example of it.

(112) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1966: 452)

- buńi-ɔ̌o-dʲ* *man-ʔ*
 NEG_{AUX}-1SG-PST say-CN
 ‘I did NOT say.’

(113) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 60/126)

kasa-j ań d'ađo-s' buńi-đa piris
 elder.sibling-1SG_{Px} well go-INF NEG_{Aux}-3SG.R can.CN
 'My sister, well, she really cannot walk.'

As mentioned above, the negative auxiliaries cannot carry derivational suffixes and thus cannot express aspect or *Aktionsart*. The gerund form seems to be lacking as well.

Before going into the word order position of the negative auxiliary, it must be noted that in Enets – as in Nenets, Ob-Ugric and Selkup – the negative existential verb can also be used for expressing past-tense standard negation. In Enets, like in Nenets, however, this phenomenon is not as frequent as in the Ob-Ugric languages.

(114) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 51/8)

bite-đa sejni d'agu, rosa mosaradi ńi ŋa
 thought-3SG_{Px} more NEG.EX.3SG Russian work NEG_{Aux}.3SG be.CN
 '(S)he did not think about anything any more
 ['his/her thought did not exist'], there was no Russian work.'

As shown above (see e.g. example (112)), this is only one option for expressing past-tense negation, not the only alternative, as the negative auxiliary can also be inflected in the past tense.

3.2.4.1. Inverse Word Order in Enets

Like Nenets, Enets also knows the inverted word order pattern for negated sentences, and it is very frequent in folklore texts. As in Nenets, this word order serves to render the sentence emphatic.

(115) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2009: Vacation/155)

buu ŋɔ-l'iu-ʔus' d'ire-ʔ ńi-uʔ
 (s)he one-LIM-ESS live-CN NEG_{Aux}.3SG-EMPH
 '(S)he does live alone.'

The inverse word order is very often used in connection with the verb 'to say'; some texts indicate that this 'I said' in this inverted-order construction has been phraseologized. In a narrative consisting of 164 sentences (Urmanchieva 2008: Otpusk) there were 26 sentences in sum which contained the expression 'I say' or '(s)he said', and 69% of these sentences had this emphatic inversion.

(116) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2009: Vacation/9)

uu – mano-ʔ ní-uʔ obuʔusi ańi potabo-doʔ
 you say-CN NEG_{AUX}-3SG-EMPH why yet Potapovo-LAT
ńie-do ɬ-ðo-ʔ
 NEG_{AUX}-2SG come-IPF-CN
 ‘You – says (s)he – why don’t you go to Potapovo yet?’

As can be seen, this pattern in Enets does not use cliticized elements as in Nenets (cf. chapter II/3.2.3.).

In my Enets material there were no examples of other constituents being inserted between the negative auxiliary and the main verb.

3.2.5. Nganasan

Nganasan only uses the negative auxiliary for standard negation. Four negative auxiliaries can be distinguished: only one of them is semantically void (*ńisi*), that is, expresses only negation. The other two negative auxiliaries (*ləðiʔsi*, *ɲuəli-*), like their equivalents in Nenets and Enets, carry some other semantic content as well and will be dealt with in chapter III/4.

Agreement in Nganasan negated sentences is always marked on the negative auxiliary: it carries the marking of tense and, as will be shown later, mood. The negative auxiliary is accompanied by the so-called connegative form of the lexical verb, ending in a glottal stop. The connegative form is homonymous with the IMP2SG form but their syntactic contexts are always different and allow for disambiguation: *ńindim koniʔ* ‘I do not go’ – *koniʔ* ‘Go!’. The negative auxiliary agrees with the subject in number, person and object number, in the reflexive conjugation in number and person.

In Nganasan, the personal suffixes in the indicative aorist are connected to the stem by means of a linking element (coaffix). The choice of the linking element is conditioned by the aspect of the verb stem: continuative verbs use *-ntu/-nti* (in the reflexive conjugation *-nta*), perfective verbs *-ʔə* (in reflexive conjugation *-ʔi*). In the aorist indicative mood, the use of a linking element is obligatory. Perfective verbs are interpreted as referring to an activity finished before the relative present, continuative verbs are interpreted as referring to the present. (For more details, see Wagner-Nagy 2002: 101–102 or Helimski 1998a: 503–504.)

The past tense marker (*-siə*, *-sua*, *-s’üü* etc.) can be attached to any verb, irrespective of aspect. Nganasan also knows a remote past tense, which is not used very frequently. Its suffix is: *-siəd’əə*, *-siəd’əi*. Every verb can also appear in the future tense, the suffix of which is *-ʔsitə*, *-ʔs’üti*, etc.

Thus, the negative auxiliary obligatorily carries either a coaffix or a mood or tense marker and a personal suffix. Unlike the other two Northern Samoyedic languages, in Nganasan the tense marker precedes the person suffix.

(stem+{Tense or Mood}+Vx)

Unlike in many other Uralic languages, the negative auxiliary in Nganasan has a complete paradigm: it can be inflected in all three conjugation types, all tenses and moods. Besides, recorded texts also display examples of gerund, supine, participle and infinitive forms of the negative auxiliary. Only one form is missing: the connegative form.

The following table summarizes the inflection of the negative auxiliary in Nganasan.

ńisi negative auxiliary + *miʔsʔi* ‘give’

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>ńi-ndi-m midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-nti-mi midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-nti-miʔ midʔ-ʔ</i>
2	<i>ńi-ndi-ŋ midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-nti-ri midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-nti-riʔ midʔ-ʔ</i>
3	<i>ńi-nti midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-nti-gəj midʔ-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-ndi-ʔ midʔ-ʔ</i>

Table 34. The Paradigm of the Negative Auxiliary *ńisi*

As shown by the table, the aspect of the negative auxiliary is continuative. The aspect value of the whole sentence, however, is determined by the aspect of the lexical verb. If the main verb is perfective, the sentence is interpreted as referring to the close past (cf. example (117)), and if the main verb is continuative, the sentence refers to the present (cf. example (118)).

(117) Nganasan (ChN 2006)

- a. *kürümaʔku-raa babi kođa-ʔa*
 Kürümaku-LIM wild.reindeer.ACC kill-Co.3SG
 ‘Only Kürümaku felled a wild reindeer.’
- b. *siligəʔčə ńi-nti kođu-ʔ babi*
 nobody NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG kill-CN wild.reindeer.ACC
 ‘Nobody felled a wild reindeer.’

(118) Nganasan (a: KNT 1994; b : Tereshchenko 1979: 261)

- a. *dʔala-ʔ čüü-tiʔ hotür-ə hođə-tə-tu*
 day-PL.GEN every-PL.LAT letter-ACC write-IPF-Co.3SG
 ‘Every day (s)he writes a letter.’
- b. *maadʔa maagəʔičə ńi-ŋi-ŋ hođə-tə-ʔ ńemi-ntə dʔa*
 why nothing NEG_{AUX}-INTER-2SG write-IPF-CN mother-GEN.2SG_{PX} PP_{TO}
 ‘Why don’t you ever write to your mother?’

As mentioned above, past and future tense is marked on the negative auxiliary, and in this case, the tense reference is independent of the aspect of the main verb. Example (119) illustrates past tense marking, (120) the negation of future-tense forms.

(119) Nganasan (a: ChND 2006; b: KSM 2006)

- a. *siti tātu-d'üə luu-ðə-mə*
 (s)he give-PST.3SG coat-DST-ACC.1SG_{Px}
 ‘(S)he gave me a coat.’
- b. *siti ηəmsu-ðə-mə ní-siə təðu-ʔ*
 (s)he meat-DST-ACC.1SG_{Px} NEG_{Aux}-PST.3SG give-CN
 ‘(S)he did not give me meat.’

(120) Nganasan (a: KNT 1996; b: ChND 2008)

- a. *taharīa buəðu-ði-čə ηonə-ntuŋ tuj-s'üðə-ʔ ná-n-tə*
 well word-PL.DST-PL.2SG_{Px} self-3PL_{Px} come-FUT-3PL friend-GEN-2SG_{Px}
təbtə mantə
 also PP_{LIKE}
 ‘The words will come by themselves, as with your friend, too.’
- b. *mənə nanu-nə siti ní-siðə tu-ʔ*
 I PP_{WITH}-OBL.1SG_{Px} (s)he NEG_{Aux}-FUT.3SG come-CN
 ‘I think (s)he will not come.’

The negative auxiliary can carry not only tense marking but also derivational suffixes. The data at my disposal indicate that aspect, *genus verbi* and modal suffixes are carried by the lexical verb, while *Aktionsart* suffixes show a split: some suffixes are attached to the negative auxiliary, others to the lexical verb. Naturally, it is not possible to find negated counterparts for all derived verb forms. Most negated sentences do not show any derivational suffixes, either on the main verb or on the negative auxiliary. The distribution of grammatical categories is summarized in the following table.

Negative Auxiliary		Main Verb	
<i>Aktionsart</i> suffixes: iterative, habitative, intentional, resultative, inceptive		<i>Aktionsart</i> suffixes: attenuative, durative, multisubjective, temporal, inchoative	
Finite forms		Non-finite forms (participle, supine, gerund)	Causativity (causative, factitive)
Indicative	Non-indicative mood		<i>Genus verbi</i> (passive)
Tense			Aspect (imperfective, stative)
Person			Modal derivation (volitive)

Table 35. Distribution of Grammatical Category Markers in Nganasan Negation

Some suffixes, such as the non-perfective *-ntə* and the iterative *-kə*, can appear in either position, but even in these cases there are clear preferences. The iterative suffix favours the negative auxiliary, and in only 8% of the sentences investigated did it appear on the main verb. This alternation can only be observed in texts produced by one native speaker¹⁴, in other sources and with other informants this iterative suffix was always carried by the negative auxiliary. Forms with the iterative suffix are illustrated in the following two sentences.

(121) Nganasan (ChND 2008)

kürüma?ku kanəkəgəl'č'i ni-gə-ti babi kotə-ʔ
 Kürümaku never NEG_{AUX} -ITER-Co.3SG wild.reindeer.ACC fell-CN
 'Kürümaku never falls a wild reindeer.'

(122) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 261)

əmləd'i hotür-ə ni-gə-ti tuəbtu-gu-ʔ
 such.ACC book-ACC NEG_{AUX} -ITER-Co.3SG read-DUR-CN
 '(S)he usually never reads such books.'

In example (122), the iterative suffix *-Kə-* is not attached to the lexical verb, despite the fact that the durative¹⁵ and iterative suffixes do not exclude each other but can appear side by side, as in *tuəbtu-guj-kə-tu* '(s)he usually reads' (read-DUR-ITER-Co.3SG).

Aspect suffixes prefer the main verb, but in 25% of the example sentences the non-perfective suffix (*-NTə*) is attached to the negative auxiliary. A great part of these examples, however, stem from one text by a shaman (Kosterkina – Helimski 1994). In the same text we also find sentences in which the suffix is carried by the main verb. Characteristically, shamanic texts use the non-perfective suffix as a rhythmically conditioned filling syllable, and this can also explain the use of this suffix on the negative auxiliary. Example (118) b) illustrates a case in which the main verb carries the aspect suffix, but the same suffix is attached to the negative auxiliary in example (123).

(123) Nganasan (Labanauskas 2002: 74)

əmə-ʔ salajku-ʔ ni-ndə-ti-ńə menti-gəl'ičə-ʔ
 this-PL filth-PL NEG_{AUX} -IPF-Co-1SG.OPL touch-EMPH-CN
 'I will not even touch this filth.'

Modal suffixes also typically appear on the main verb; for instance, the volitive suffix (*-nANTU-*) is typically not found on the negative auxiliary, except in 5% of the example sentences.

14. The data stem from a collection by L. S. Petrovskaja published in 1976 (Skazki narodov Sibirskogo Severa 2, 107–122). The informant was S. M. Kosterkina, who was born in 1950 in the village of Kresty and finished the 8-class school in Volochanka.

15. In Nganasan, the imperfective counterparts for perfective verbs carrying a causative suffix are formed with the durative suffix. In this case, the durative suffix does not have a durative meaning. For more details see Wagner-Nagy 2001: 63–64.

- (124) Nganasan (Labanauskas 1992c: 47)

ɣonəgüətənu ɣəʔ ní-nanti-sjə d'iltə-ʔ ɣantu-m
 at.the.same.time shaman NEG_{AUX}-VOL-PST.3SG lift-CN young.man-ACC
 ‘At the same time, the shaman did not want to lift the young man.’

- (125) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 173)

əmə kobtua ní-nti ɣəmu-nantu-gəl'ičə-ʔ
 this girl NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG eat-VOL-EMPH-CN
 ‘This girl does not even want to eat.’

As shown in the table above, the negative auxiliary also has non-finite forms: participle, gerund and supine. Thus, in final subordinate clauses the supine suffix (-nAKə) is attached to the auxiliary.

- (126) Nganasan (KES, 2008: Temunku)

ní-nagə-nuʔ huđatu-ʔ ní-nagə-nuʔ huđatu-ʔ,
 NEG_{AUX}-SUP-OBL.3SG_{PX} frolic-CN NEG_{AUX}-SUP-OBL.3SG_{PX} frolic-CN
tətə təmuŋku heđiti-ti, həđiti-ti təmuŋka-ku
 dies mouse go-Co.3SG go-Co.3SG mouse-DIM
 ‘Not to be naughty, this mouse goes, this little mouse goes.’

The supine suffix (-nAKə-) is attached to the negative auxiliary, the passive suffix (-rU-) to the main verb. The agent (the bear) is in the lative (-ntə -), which is the normal case in passive constructions.

The emphatic clitic (-kəl'iči? / -kəl'ičə) can only be attached to the main verb or the constituent in its focus, never to the negative auxiliary. This is illustrated by the following two examples.

- (127) Nganasan (KNT 1996)

kurəguj ní-nti ɣuʔəj-kəl'iči? ɣarəgə-ʔ
 even NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG once-EMPH look.around-CN
 ‘(S)he did not even look around.’

- (128) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 314)

bajkaʔa ní-nti ɣəmu-nantugəl'ičə-ʔ
 old.man NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG eat-VOL-EMPH-CN
 ‘The old man does not even want to eat.’

Non-verbal constituents cannot be negated with a negative verb, and thus the negation of constituents or non-verbal predicates in Nganasan – unlike Nenets and Enets – cannot be expressed with the auxiliary. (For the negation of non-verbal predicates, see chapter VIII.) However, if for instance a modifier to be negated is a participle form, it can only be negated with one of the negative auxiliaries (most frequently, *nisi*). This is obviously due to the fact that participle forms maintain their verbal character. Thus, the negative

auxiliary assumes the participle form corresponding to the participle in the corresponding affirmative sentence. The constructions are as follows:

affirmative sentence: [participle form of lexical verb] + head of construction

negated sentence: [participle form of negative auxiliary + connegative form of lexical verb] + head of construction

This phenomenon can be illustrated with the following two sentences:

(129) Nganasan (a: MACH 1994; b: Tereshchenko 1973: 86)

- a. *siti d'aði?küðə-m-tu [ñakələ-siəd'əə] kuəd'ümu ŋi?tätu barə-tu*
 (s)he due-ACC-3SG_{PX} get-PTPST man still wait-Co.3SG
 'The man who got his due is still waiting.'
- b. *siti d'aði?küðə-m-tu [ñi-siəd'əə ñakələ-?] kuəd'ümu*
 (s)he due-ACC-3SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-PTPST get-CN man
ŋi?tätu barə-tu
 still wait-Co.3SG
 'The man who did not get his due is still waiting.'

As also pointed out by Tereshchenko (1973: 86), this strategy is not a general one. The standard way of negating this construction would be to use the participle form of the main verb and the negation particle *ñintuu*.

Constructions with the negative auxiliary are often used for emphatic expression in narrative texts. In this case, the negative auxiliary appears in the gerund or interrogative form. Unlike Enets or Nenets, Nganasan does not necessarily invert the word order in this construction. The following two examples are from the same conversation but produced by different speakers.

(130) Nganasan (KES 2008: ES_ND_dialog_250708/45)

əə, təə čühə-ni ŋukəə ŋanasanə-? ñi-bü? ŋuə-?
 PTCL that time-LOC.ADV many_{ADJ} people-PL NEG_{AUX}-GER be-CN
 'In those times there were many people.'

(131) Nganasan (ChND 2008)

tə aba i-hünü-n-tə tənə ñi-hi-mi? ŋəm-ə-?
 PTCL sister be-GER.FUT-GEN-2SG_{PX} you NEG_{AUX}-INTER.PST-1PL eat-EP-CN
 'O my sister, did we not eat you!' [referring to reindeer which were given in exchange for the sister]

3.2.5.1. Position of Negative Auxiliaries in Nganasan

In Nganasan, the negative auxiliary favours the pre-verbal position, but as already mentioned, there are exceptions. Concerning word order in Nganasan, it must be noted that, unlike in the other Samoyedic languages, it is relatively free. The most frequent word order type is SOV, but for example moving the object or the adverb to focus position renders the word order SVO/SVX. In case of emphasized objects the word order (S)NEGVO can also be observed (cf. examples (117) and (124)).

Between the negative auxiliary and the lexical verb, other constituents can be inserted, for example the object. However, the only objects allowed in this position are personal, negative or demonstrative pronouns, as in the following example:

(132) Nganasan (KNT 1996)

helini ní-gə-ti-ʔ maagəličə təðu-ʔ
 sometimes NEG_{AUX} -ITER-Co-3Pl nothing.ACC bring-CN
 ‘Sometimes they do not bring anything at all.’

Word order alternation can also be explained with emphasis. The following example shows that the insertion of the negative pronoun between the verb and the negative auxiliary is not obligatory; this sentence comes from the same text as the preceding example.

(133) Nganasan (KNT 1996)

ej. taharīa kuraa konə maagəličə ní-nti təðu-ʔ
 o well cow young.animal nothing.ACC NEG_{AUX} -Co.3Sg bring-CN
 ‘Oh, the little cow does not bring anything at all.’

There is one further case of a constituent being inserted between the negative auxiliary and the verb. An adverb which in an affirmative sentence precedes the verb may in the corresponding negated sentence move between the negative auxiliary and the verb:

(134) Nganasan (KNT 1996)

- a. *ńa-ńü? təbtə [ńaagə-məni basu-tu-ʔ]*
 friend-PL.1PL_{PX} also good-PROL hunt-Co-3Pl
 ‘Our friends also hunt well.’
- b. *ńa-ńü? təbtə [ńi-ndi-ʔ [ńaagə-məni basu-ʔ]]*
 friend-PL.1PL_{PX} also NEG_{AUX} -Co-3Pl good-PROL hunt-CN
 ‘Our friends do not hunt well either.’

Examples of subject insertion, that is, word order NEGSV(O), are rare. Finite verbs in Nganasan typically do not appear in sentence-initial position, although it is possible in negative-inferential sentences or supine constructions.

(135) Nganasan (Labanauskas 2001: 83)

ni-hiađi *horəsočəmə ŋuə-ʔ.* *naad'ətə-d'a* *buə-tu*
 NEG_{AUX} -INFER.3SG.R Evenki¹⁶ be-CN speak.Nganasan-INF speak-Co.3SG
 'As if (s)he were not an Evenki, (since) (s)he speaks Nganasan.'

The sentence-initial position of the negative auxiliary might be explained by the fact that these sentences represent a specific question type, even if the mood category marked on the finite element is not the interrogative mood. If mood marking is necessary, it will be carried by the negative auxiliary. In (135), the negation is of a special kind: what is negated is the predicative noun, and this can be done either with a negation particle or with the combination of the negative auxiliary and the BE verb. (For the negation of non-verbal predicates, see chapter VIII.)

3.2.5.2. Inverse Word Order in Nganasan

In the cases of Nenets and Enets we saw that there is a specific inverse word order of negative construction used for emphatic affirmation. This construction also appears in Nganasan, but it is not typical. Inverted word order often appears in connection with the dubitative mood, and the inverted-order sentences in Nganasan – as in Nenets and Enets – are understood as emphatic affirmation.

(136) Nganasan (Numumu 1986: NT-87_7perevalov/264)

tii *karkubtə-küə-ʔ* *ni-li-m*
 you(Pl).ACC leave-EMPH-CN NEG_{AUX} -DUB-1SG
 'Of course I will help you.'

Based on the example sentence, we can see that the inverse word order leads to a positive interpretation of the statement in Nganasan as well. Nevertheless, while in Enets and Nenets the negative auxiliary never takes on mood markers, in Nganasan it always does.

(137) Nganasan (Dyalamte, 2000: DY-00_adya_baarbe/70)

tə-tə tə *mənə müüütüə-bii-tə* *koni-ʔ* *ni-li-m* *əhi*
 PTCL well_{PTCL} I.ACC send-GER-OBL.2SG_{PX} go-CN NEG_{AUX} -DUB-1SG PTCL
 'If you send me, of course I will go.'

Emphasis can also be expressed with interrogative negated forms, but in this case the word order is not inverted. This type was presented earlier (see e.g. example (129)).

16. Literally: sewn face.

3.2.6. Selkup

In Selkup, standard negation is most frequently expressed with the symmetric construction (see chapter II/3.1.1.). In Taz Selkup, there is also a past-tense negation strategy employing a nominal verb form, but it is only used in the preterite; in the perfect and future tenses, the usual symmetric negation is used. In the southern dialects, the asymmetric negation does not appear at all.

In the preterite negation in Taz Selkup, the negative existential verb (*čääŋki-ŋo*) – which is normally only used for the negation of existential sentences – serves as a negation element in the 3SG form (*čääŋka*, or the shorter form *čää*). This form cannot carry tense marking: its paradigm is deficient as with the Hungarian negative existential predicate *nincs* or the Mansi *a'im*. This negative predicate is accompanied by a nominal form of the lexical verb, carrying the nomen actionis suffix, in Selkup *-ptä*. The subject is marked with a possessive suffix on the nominal verb form or with a noun in the possessor case. Beyond this syntactic structure there is no explicit past-tense marking, the usual preterite suffix (*-s*) does not appear. In other words, the original verb has lost its finiteness and a new finite element has been introduced. The following sentences illustrate an affirmative and the corresponding negative expression; in the negated sentence, the lexical verb is in a non-finite form.

(138) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 237)

- a. *man ili-s-a-k*
 I live-PST-EP-1SG
 'I lived.'
- b. *man ili-ptä-mi čääŋka*
 I live-NMNL-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 'I did not live.' [‘My living does not exist.’]

Due to phonological processes, the morpheme *-ptä* may also appear in the form *-tä*. In Selkup, three consonants on a morpheme boundary are not allowed, and thus the following rule is applied: $C_2 \rightarrow \emptyset / C_1 \# _ C_3$. Thus, after word stems ending in a consonant the nomen actionis suffix *-ptä* can only be realized as *tä*. A few remarks on the possessive suffixes are in order as well. In Selkup the 1SG possessive suffix has many forms; the most frequent is *-mi*, but *-m* and *-p* are also used, as in the following example:

(139) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 368)

- mat ni qaji-p čääŋka tom-tä-p*
 I NEG_{PTCL} what-ACC NEG.EX.3SG say-NMNL-1SG_{PX}
 'I did not say anything.'

If the main verb carries the frequentative suffix *-r*, due to morphophonological rules¹⁷ only the vowel *-ä* remains.

(140) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 307)

ni qaj čä qonti-r-ä-p
 NEG_{PTCL} who NEG_{PTCL} see-FREQ-NMNL-1SG_{PX}
 ‘I do not see anything.’

In this construction, furthermore, the nominalised lexical verb maintains its government pattern, as shown in the following example:

(141) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 368)

nil'čik qum-i-p mee qonti-r-ä-mit čääŋka
 such man-EP-ACC we see-FREQ-NMNL-1PL_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘We have not seen such a person.’

Kuznecova & al. (1980: 237) have shown that the negation particle *ašša* is only rarely used in the past tense; instead of it, the nominal construction shown above appears. At the same time, there are examples of the same verb being used in both constructions, in this past-tense nominal construction as well as with the particle negation. Without the help of native-speaker informants it is impossible to determine whether there is a semantic difference between these two constructions.

(142) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 299, 380)

- a. *mee-koolik ni kuti čääŋka tü-ptä-ti*
 we-CAR NEG_{PTCL} who NEGEX.3SG come-NMNL-3SG_{PX}
 ‘Except us nobody came.’
- b. *ni qa-jil' qup ašša tü-s-a*
 NEG_{PTCL} what-ADJ man NEG_{PTCL} come-PST-EP.3SG
 ‘Nobody came.’

As demonstrate by examples (139) and (141), the negative predicate can either precede or follow the nominal verb form; in my data, however, the order NEG V_{NMNL} is more frequent. If the negative existential *čääŋka* is shortened into the particle form *čä*, it can only appear before the nominal verb form. As shown above (see chapter II/3.1.1.), the original construction was V_{NMNL} + *čääŋka*, corresponding to the normal word order in existential sentences. However, typological observations show that negative particles favour the pre-verbal position, and also that in constituent negation the negation particle tends to precede the negated constituent. Due to these two tendencies, the word order in

17. As shown above, three-consonant clusters are not allowed, and thus the *p* is deleted. In Selkup – as in Nganasan – the consonant cluster *rt* is also forbidden by phonotactic rules, and thus the consonant *t* is deleted as well.

this negation pattern in Selkup is changing. This hypothesis is further confirmed by the fact that Taz Selkup also knows a shortened, reduced form of the negative existential *čääŋka*: the short form *čä ~ čää*. This means that the original verb form is turning into a particle. As mentioned above, the particle *čä* in this form is only allowed in the immediate pre-verbal position, without any constituents being inserted between it and the verb. Otherwise, there are no differences in the construction; this is shown by the following sentence as well as example (140).

(143) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et alii 1980: 368)

ami-l' néeti näl'a-m-ti čää qo-ptä-ti
 mother-ADJ living.being daughter-ACC-3SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} notice-NMNL-3SG_{PX}
 'The mother did not recognize her daughter.'

3.2.7. Khanty

Like Selkup, Khanty also knows past-tense forms which do not use the standard negation element but the negative existential verb. A similar development is in process here: the verb of the affirmative sentence must be nominalised, and the negative existential predicate is used. In Khanty as well, the nominalization carries a possessive suffix; the nominal form in Khanty is formed with the perfect participle suffix *-m*. This construction appears in all Khanty dialects, and it is frequently used in fairy tales.

(144) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 37)

min tolum-m-əmn antəm
 we(Du) steal-PTPST-1DU_{PX} NEG.EX
 'We two have not stolen.'

(145) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1994: 74)

... *lüw qut-ə-t-a löyätl-ə-m-a-t=pə antəm*
 (s)he house-EP-3SG_{PX}-LAT enter-EP-PTPST-EP-3DU_{PX}=CLIT NEG.EX
 '... one of them did not go into the other's house.'

In these sentences, the negative existential is preceded by a nominal verb form, while there is no explicit tense marking. The agent of the sentence is not identical with the grammatical subject; the grammatical subject is the nominalised verb form, and the existential verb must agree with it in number. The semantic subject is shown by a possessive suffix on the nominal verb form. Thus, the construction is the same as in Selkup. Yet, in Khanty, the negative existential verb has not begun to change into a particle.

3.2.8. Mansi

Mansi also knows a past-tense negation strategy employing the negative existential verb. As in Khanty, the existential negation element is preceded by the lexical verb in a nominal form. The suffix of the participle perfect in Mansi as well is *-m*.

(146) Mansi (Munkácsi 1893: 468/71)

<i>pil</i>	<i>vaat-m-uu</i>	<i>aa'im</i>
berry	pick-PTPST-1PL _{PX}	NEG.EX
'We did not pick berries.'		

The negative marker is not an auxiliary but a negative existential verb. In Mansi – as mentioned above – this is not the only strategy for expressing negation, but it frequently appears in folklore texts. The example shows how the lexical verb has lost its finite character and only appears as a past participle, carrying a possessive suffix. The finite element is a negative existential verb. Its paradigm – as in Hungarian and Khanty – is deficient. In Mansi, nothing indicates that the negative existential verb in this construction would be developing into a particle.

III. Negation with Semantically not Empty Negative Auxiliaries

A characteristic feature of Samoyedic languages is that similarly to some other Uralic languages they not only use a standard negative auxiliary for negation, but other negative auxiliaries as well. These constructions cannot be regarded as instances of standard negation, as there is an extra element in the meaning of the sentence beside pure negation. In Samoyedic languages, all such negative structures are asymmetrical and belong to the A/FIN/NEG/VERB group. The head of these negative structures is always the negative auxiliary.

The richest system of negative auxiliaries can be found in Northern Samoyedic languages, while there is only one such auxiliary in Khanty and Selkup. The sections below describe the semantically not empty negative auxiliaries of Samoyedic languages and in Khanty, discussing the languages one by one.

Similar constructions that are composed of an auxiliary and a connegative form of the main verb but not denoting negation, were excluded from the investigation. Thus, the verbs Tundra Enets *xac'ias'* 'hardly, almost', Forest Enets *ket'is'* 'almost' and Nganasan *kasada* 'almost not' will not be discussed here.

1. Selkup

As described above (see chapter II/3.1.1.), Selkup generally uses symmetrical negation but there is one negative auxiliary, *tačal-ŋo* 'cannot, is not able to' (Taz dialect). In the Central and Southern dialects the same verb has the form *čič'albe-ŋu*, *čežalbu-ŋu*, *čežalbi-ŋu*.

The positive, affirmative pair of the negative auxiliary is *tenimi-ŋo* 'can, is able to' (with the form *tanu-ŋu*, *tuno-ŋu*, *tunu-ŋu* in Southern and Middle dialects). While the lexical verb generally appears in its supine form (Px+Translative) before the *tenimi-ŋo* 'can' positive auxiliary in the Taz dialect, the Middle and Southern dialects only have the lexical verb in the infinitive in a similar structure. The infinitive occurs occasionally in the Taz dialect as well.

The negative auxiliary generally follows the infinitive of the main verb, but the supine form may precede the auxiliary. The sentence pair (147) shows structures with a supine¹⁸ form: the a) sentence is affirmative; the b) sentence is negative. The sentence pair (148), however, shows how infinitives appear in an affirmative and a negative sentence.

18. In Selkup the supine is composed of the infinitive form and the translative suffix, followed by a possessive suffix referring to the subject of the clause.

(147) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 259, 253)

a. *mat ur-go-noqo aj tenim-ap*
 I swim-INF-TRL.1SG_{Px} also can-1SG.O
 ‘I can swim as well.’

b. *mat kural-go-noqo tačal-na-k*
 I run-INF-TRL.1SG_{Px} NEG_{can}-Co-1SG
 ‘I cannot run.’

(148) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 259, 253)

a. *nəkinti-go tat səpik tenim-al*
 write-INF you easily can-2SG.O
 ‘You can write well.’

b. *tüü-p čəoti-go tačal-ni*
 fire-ACC light-INF NEG_{can}-Co.3SG
 ‘(S)he could not light the fire.’

The determination of the required properties of the exact form of the lexical verb in such constructions is beyond the scope of this study, as these can only be revealed by further detailed syntactic research. As noted above, in the Central and the Southern dialects only the infinitive can appear before these auxiliaries, as shown by the following sentences.

(149) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Bykonya 2005: 231)

tab tan-w-a-t ňaj-p mee-gu
 (s)he can-Co-EP-3SG.O bread-ACC make-INF
 ‘(S)he can make bread.’

(150) Central Selkup, Vasyugan Dialect (Bykonja 2005: 279)

tabit tü-p čadi-gu čedalba-dit
 they fire-ACC light-INF NEG_{can}-3PL
 ‘They could not light the fire.’

As the above examples show, the structures with an auxiliary behave in a different manner in the Northern and the other dialects, as far as affirmative sentences are concerned. While in the Northern dialect the word order of both affirmative and negative sentences follows the pattern typical of SOV languages (SOVAux), in the Non-Northern dialects the auxiliary precedes the main verb in affirmative sentences, although it stays behind the verb in negative sentences.

If there is an auxiliary in the structure, it takes tense and mood markers and all agreement markers (i.e. the head of the structure is the auxiliary). The negative auxiliary can freely take derivational morphemes as well. Therefore, the paradigm of this auxiliary is complete. The negative auxiliary takes the post-verbal position, which is typical of SOV languages.

- (151) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 362)

mat timti ili-go tačal-pa-k
 I here live-INF NEG_{can}-DUR-1SG
 ‘I cannot live here.’

- (152) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 254)

soma-k tom-ŋo-ntoŋo tačal-pi-s-a
 good-ADV tell-INF-TRL.3SG_{PX} NEG_{can}-DUR-PST-EP.3SG
 ‘(S)he could not tell stories well.’

The lexical verb and the negative auxiliary are almost always adjacent to each other, although occasionally a particle can be inserted between the two (as in sentence (153)). The affirmative modal auxiliary, however, need not be next to the lexical verb. As sentences (147) and (148) show, particles or even the subject of the phrase can be inserted between the auxiliary and the lexical verb.

- (153) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Tereshchenko 1973: 83)

tü-p čöti-ŋo meel tačal-ni
 fire-ACC light-INF at.all NEG_{can}-Co.3SG
 ‘(S)he could not light the fire at all.’

The verb *tenimiŋo* (Southern Selkup *tunogu*) can only be negated with the auxiliary *tačalŋo* if it means ‘can, able to’. If the affirmative auxiliary has the meaning ‘can, know’, the negative particle *ašša* (*as*) is used in the negative sentence. This construction is starting to affect the meaning ‘can, be able to’ as well. In sentences where cognitive knowledge and at the same time capability are expressed (as in the case of knowing a language) the negation can also take place with the particle.

- (154) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Bykonya 2005: 255, 244)

- a. *man tun-wa-ŋ sšis'egu sen t'alimbe-gu*
 I be.able/know-Co-1SG Selkup language speak-INF
 ‘I can speak Selkup.’
- b. *man as tun-wa-ŋ kađa sen t'alimbi-gu*
 I NEG_{PTCL} be.able/know-Co-1SG Russian language speak-INF
 ‘I cannot speak Russian.’

Occasionally, this particle is used even in sentences about physical ability. Probably, this is due to analogy.

- (155) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et alii 1980: 386)

šeer-ŋo ašša tenima-p
 enter-INF NEG_{PTCL} be.able/know-1SG.O
 ‘I cannot enter.’

2. Nenets

In Tundra Nenets there is in addition to a semantically empty negative auxiliary with its emphatic pair several semantically not empty negative auxiliaries. The negative auxiliaries with extra meaning are used much less frequently than the standard negative auxiliary. Some of these auxiliaries have an affirmative pair as well, but in most cases such a lexeme is missing from the vocabulary. The following chart shows the affirmative–negative pairs.

	Negative Auxiliaries		Affirmative Verb		
	Tundra Nenets	Forest Nenets	Tundra Nenets	Forest Nenets	
‘almost not’	<i>xañas^j</i>				
‘not able to’	<i>jaʔmas^j</i>	<i>dʔmaš</i>	<i>pʔrac^j</i>	<i>peʔaʔš</i>	‘able to’

Table 36. Semantically not Empty Auxiliaries in Nenets

In the sections below Tundra Nenets auxiliaries are shown. The Forest Nenets pairs of these auxiliaries cannot be found in the texts and grammatical sketches available. However, this does not necessarily mean that these lexemes are missing from Forest Nenets.

2.1. *xañas^j* ‘almost not’

The *xañas^j* negative auxiliary is composed of the *niis^j* auxiliary and the interrogative prefix *xa-* (Kupriyanova et al. 1957: 142). This auxiliary has an interrogative meaning accompanied by the meaning ‘almost, hardly, how come, how could I not’. It is generally used in interrogative sentences, but sporadically it is found in affirmative sentences, too. The following two sentences illustrate its usage.

(156) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1947: 240)

tarčʲa jun-mʔ namda xǎňǎ tu-ʔ
 such news-ACC hear.INF NEG_{AUX}.3SG come-CN
 ‘Hearing such news how can (s)he not come?’

(157) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova 1957: 142)

xǎña-dm jar-ʔ
 NEG_{AUX}-1SG cry-CN
 ‘Well, how could I not cry?’

As the above examples show, the auxiliary always precedes the connegative form of the main verb. In all the example sentences available, *xañas^j* is used in the subjective conjugation, which behaviour is markedly different from that of the standard negative auxiliary, which has a full paradigm. As seen above, the Nenets standard negative auxil-

ary can only take a limited set of derivational morphemes. I have not found any example sentence with the auxiliary *xaña-* in which a derivational morpheme appeared on the auxiliary.

There is one example sentence, in which the inflectional morphemes appear on the main verb and the negative auxiliary is reduced to a negative particle.¹⁹

(158) Tundra Nenets (Derevyanko 2001: 96)

xaña *xan-tä-dm*
 NEG_{PTCL} go.away-IPF-1SG
 ‘How could I not go?’

Comparing sentences (157) and (158), the difference is clearly visible. The particle is in preverbal position, i.e. where the auxiliary should be. However, it does not take any inflectional morphemes, as these appear on the lexical verb. The meaning of the negative particle is identical to that of the negative auxiliary.

2.2. *jaʔmasʲ* ‘not able to’

There is a negative auxiliary verb with the meaning ‘not able to’. This auxiliary has been recorded both in Tundra Nenets (*jaʔmasʲ*) and in Forest Nenets (*dʲimuš*, *dʲaʔmaš*, occasionally *jam-*). Its positive pair is the auxiliary *piracʲ* ‘can, able to’ in Tundra Nenets, while it is the verb *pelaʔš* in Forest Nenets. As I have found very few examples in Forest Nenets, the following description is primarily based on Tundra Nenets data.

While the *niisʲ* standard negative auxiliary requires a connegative lexical verb after itself, the *jaʔmasʲ* auxiliary must be preceded by the infinitive of the main verb, i.e. the structure is V[INF]+[FE]. The auxiliary can take the past tense marker and it can be used in the subjective, the objective or the reflexive conjugations. However, derived forms are missing from the database.

(159) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1973: 147)

tuku jala-ʔ tañaʔ xä-sʲ jaʔma-w
 this day-PL.GEN there go-INF NEG_{can}-1SG.O
 ‘I cannot go there today.’

(160) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 689)

xär-mi xo-sʲ jaʔmä-w jekarʔ xañaʔ temði-ʔ
 knife-ACC.1SG_{px} find-INF NEG_{can}-1SG.O not.know where be.lost-3SG.R
 ‘I cannot find my knife, I don’t know where it was lost.’

19. I am indebted to Nikolett Mus, who has called my attention to this sentence.

(161) Forest Nenets (Verbov 1973: 116)

ŋānaa-j wāma ŋä-m'a nit jeheel-š jam-ŋa-m
 arrow-1SG_{PX} wrong be-NMNL.GEN PP_{because.of} shoot-INF NEG_{can}-Co-1SG
 'I cannot shoot because my arrow is broken.'

Verbs and auxiliaries with the meaning 'can, able to' can be negated either with the auxiliary *jaʔmasʲ* or the standard negative auxiliary *ñiisʲ*. In the latter case, the structure is as follows: V[INF]+{[FE]+V[CN]}. See sentence (162). Here two auxiliaries are present. The inflectional head of the structure is the *ñiisʲ* standard negative auxiliary, and the other is the *piracʲ* 'can, able to' auxiliary. Both auxiliaries behave like a syntactic head, each occupies the position it would take in a simple structure.

(162) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect

(a: Tereshchenko 1947: 241, b: Tereshchenko 1965: 468)

	V _{INF}	FE		V _{INF}	FE=NEG _{AUX}	V _{CN}
a.	<i>to-sʲ</i>	<i>jaʔma-w</i>	b.	<i>to-sʲ</i>	{ <i>ñii-wa-sʲ</i>	<i>piiras-ʔ</i> }
	come-INF	NEG _{can} -1SG.O		come-INF	NEG _{AUX} -1SG.O-PST	able.to/know-CN
	'I cannot come.'			'I could not come.'		

(163) Tundra Nents, Taymyr Subdialect (Nenyang 2005: 77)

ŋoxol'ur-cʲ tenewa-daʔ – jaŋgu, ñii-w piiras-ʔ
 swim-INF know-2PL²⁰ – no NEG_{AUX}-1SG.O can-CN
 'Can you swim? – No, I can't.'

Sentence (163) shows that in a short answer to a yes-or-no question the lexical verb need not be repeated, but both auxiliaries appear.

The meaning 'cannot' can also be expressed with the help of the negative lexical verb *jexarasʲ* 'not know' in Tundra Nenets (c.f. chapter IV/1.). The corresponding Forest Nenets verb is not used in this function according to my database. As sentence (164) shows, the complement of the verb is the (bare) infinitive.

(164) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 113)

padna tamna jexera
 write-INF yet not.know.3SG
 '(S)he cannot write.'

As illustrated by the sentence above, in this case the verb requires the (bar) infinitive. It has to be mentioned, however, that also in Tundra Nenets this verb is only used marginally in this sense.

20. Originally there was no polite form in Nenets, but due to Russian influence it is starting to spread. In this case, in accordance with Russian, 2PL is used.

There is a correlation between the argument structure and the position of the auxiliaries in Nenets. Auxiliaries requiring a connegative verb form precede the main verb, while auxiliaries accompanied by an infinitive follow the main verb. This distribution is summarized in the following chart.

Auxiliary		Meaning	Structure	Word Order
Forest Nenets	Tundra Nenets			
<i>ńiis̄</i>	<i>ńiis̄ʲ</i>	‘not’	[FE]+V[CN]	NEG _{AUX} V
<i>wińiis̄</i>	<i>wuńiis̄ʲ</i>	‘well not’	[FE]+V[CN]	NEG _{AUX} V
	<i>xaʔńas̄ʲ</i>	‘almost not’	[FE]+V[CN]	NEG _{AUX} V
<i>dʼaʔmaš</i>	<i>jaʔmas̄ʲ</i>	‘cannot, not able to’	V[INF]+[FE]	V NEG _{AUX}
	<i>jexeras̄ʲ</i>	‘not able to’	V[INF]+[FE]	V NEG _{AUX}

Table 37. Negative Auxiliaries and the Syntactical Structure in Nenets

3. Enets

There are several negative auxiliaries in Enets, similarly to the other two Northern Samoyedic languages. Two auxiliaries express pure negation, which are discussed in chapter II/3.2. above. According to the data, the number of negative auxiliaries is smaller than in Nganasan and Nenets. However, this might be due to the fact that much less Enets data is available than in the case of other languages. It must be noted that the semantically not empty auxiliaries of the three Northern Samoyedic languages are not all related etymologically and they do not behave in the same way. The positive pair of negative Enets auxiliaries is occasionally missing, just as in the other two languages.

Negative Auxiliary			Affirmative Verb		
Meaning	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets	Meaning
‘cannot’	<i>loðeš, loðiš</i>	<i>leʔi-</i>	<i>pirič</i>	<i>dʼodi-</i>	‘can’
‘cannot’	<i>dʼamaš</i>		<i>pirič</i>	<i>dʼodi-</i>	‘can’

Table 38. Semantically not Empty Auxiliaries in Enets

As the chart shows, only two negative auxiliaries have a positive pair and as the meaning of these two auxiliaries is the same, the corresponding positive verb is the same. In the discussion below the emphasis will be on Forest Enets.

3.1. *loðeš* ‘cannot’

The meaning of the auxiliary *loðeš*, *loðiš* is ‘cannot’, i.e. it is the negative pair of *pirič* ‘can’. While the affirmative verbs are related etymologically to the corresponding Nenets auxiliaries, the negative forms are not. This negative form is related to the Nganasan *ləðiʔsi* (c.f. chapter III/4.1.)

As discussed below, the syntactic properties of the Forest Enets negative auxiliary are more like that of the Nenets. The negative auxiliary *jaʔmasʲ* in Nenets requires an infinitive before itself, just like the Forest Enets auxiliary: V[INF]+[FE]. The following sentence pair demonstrates how the auxiliaries ‘can’ and ‘cannot’ are used in Forest Enets.

(165) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2001: 219)

- a. *totagu-š bu piri-e*
read-INF (s)he can-Co.3SG
‘(S)he can read.’
- b. *šita kə-š loðe-a-ð*
(s)he.ACC find-INF NEG_{can}-Co-1SG
‘I cannot find him/her.’

(166) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 33/7)

- mensʲigou. mod' dʲiri-š met-u-j kə-š loði-a-ð*
granny.VOC I live-INF tent-EP-ACC.1SG_{PX} find-INF NEG_{can}-Co-1SG
‘Granny, I cannot find the tent needed for survival.’

The usage of the auxiliary *loðeš* is considerably different in the two Enets dialects. As shown by the following sentence, in the Tundra dialect the structure of the negative phrase is [FE] + V[CN], which is similar to the Nganasan usage.

(167) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 90/15)

- aburi-da ido-ka-sʲi, leʔi-da ido-e*
head-ACC.3SG_{PX} lift-INCH-3SG.PST NEG_{can}-3SG.O lift-EP.CN
‘(S)he wanted to lift his/her head, but couldn’t.’

The difference between the negative phrases in the two Enets dialects is probably due to the history of the two peoples. Tundra Nenets speakers had intensive contacts with Nganasans for a long time. Enets-Nganasan bilingualism used to be wide-spread. In contrast, speakers of Forest Enets had or still have close contacts with the Tundra Nenets.

In a manner similar to Nenets, the meaning ‘cannot, is not able to’ can be conveyed in other ways in Enets. In this case, the negative auxiliary *ñeš* is followed by the connegative form of the auxiliary ‘can’ (example (168)), resulting in a structure V[INF] + {[FE] + V[CN]}.

(168) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 274/1)

sen *mese,* *kuxoron sojða* *d'iriču* *kq-š*
 how.much move.on.3SG nowhere pleasant life find-INF
ni *p'iris*
 NEG_{Aux}.3SG can.CN
 'Wherever (s)he goes, (s)he cannot live well.'

Although etymologically the Forest Enets auxiliary *p'irič* 'can' comes from a different source than its Tundra Enets counterpart, the structure does not change. Forest Enets is more similar to Nenets even in this respect, as the corresponding Nenets auxiliary is *p'irisʹ*. As opposed to this, Tundra Enets speakers use the *d'odi-* auxiliary, which is related to the Nganasan negative lexical verb *d'erusa* 'not know'. It is true, however, that the Nganasan verb is never used as an auxiliary.

(169) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 93)

nene-do *ire-i-ðo-d'i.* *kuunaad'u-xorii?* *ni-e-o* *d'od'is-o?*
 PP_{with}-2SG_{Px} live-IRR-1SG-PST in.a.way-EMPH NEG_{Aux}-Co-1SG can-EP.CN
 'I would live with you but I cannot in any way.'

Although the lexical verb is not present in the sentence above, it could probably appear before the negative auxiliary. As the amount of Tundra Enets data is not satisfactory, I have found no sentence in which the full structure is present.

3.2. *d'amaš* 'cannot'

There is an other negative auxiliary in the Forest Enets with the meaning 'cannot': *d'amaš*. I have found only four examples with this auxiliary from Forest Enets (Mikola 1980: 227, Sorokina – Bolina 2009: 136), and no relevant data were found in Tundra Enets.

Mikola's consultant was Galja Spiridovna Bolina, born in Potapovo from an Enets father and a Forest Nenets mother. The other informant is the co-author of the Enets Dictionary (2009) Darja Spiridovna Bolina. She is the sister of Mikolas consultant²¹. They speak Nenets and Russian well, therefore the usage of this auxiliary in their idiolect might be the result of Nenets interference, as the Nenets auxiliary *jaʹmasʹ* has a similar meaning (cf. III/2.2. above). Another possibility is that originally this auxiliary was present in Enets but has continuously been replaced by *loðešʹ*.

21. I am indebted to Florian Siegl for this informantion.

(170) Forest Enets (Mikola 1980: 227/18, 22)

- a. *te pelgo-ḍa. pelgo-ḍa, kuxrḡḡ kḡ-sʲ d'ama-ḍa*
 reindeer look.for-3SG.O look.for-3SG.O from.nowhere find-INF NEG_{AUX}-3SG.O
 ‘The reindeer is looking for it, looking for it, but cannot find it at all.’
- b. *mod' sʲit kuxrḡḡ kḡ-sʲ d'ama-ḡ*
 I you.ACC from.now find-INF NEG_{AUX}-1SG
 ‘I cannot find you anywhere.’

(171) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2009: 171)

- a. *čiki pu d'ira-š d'ama-u*
 this stone lift-INF NEG_{AUX}-1SG
 ‘I cannot lift this stone.’
- b. *čiki s'ier d'uru-š d'ama-u*
 this thing forget-INF NEG_{AUX}-1SG
 ‘I cannot forget this matter.’

As the above sentences show, the structure corresponds to the negative phrase in Nenets with *jaḡmasʲ* and in Forest Enets with *loḡesʲ*, i.e. the phrase is of the V[INF]+[FE] type.

As in Nenets, the negative lexical verb *d'oxoraš* is occasionally used as a negative auxiliary in Enets, with the meaning ‘cannot’. Even its positive pair can function as an auxiliary ‘know, can’. In both cases, the infinitive of the main verb appears before the auxiliary.

(172) Forest Enets (Sorokina-Bolina 2005: 226/2; 243/34)

- a. *paḡdu-d' tene, paḡru-ḍa oka*
 write-INF know.3SG paper-3SG_{PX} lot.of.3SG_{VX}
 ‘(S)he can write, (s)he has paper.’
- b. *m'aba soḡru-xuru-šʲ d'oxara*
 bride sew-EMPH-INF not.know.3SG
 ‘The bride cannot even sew.’

Enets auxiliaries behave like their Nenets counterparts – negative auxiliaries tend to appear in the preverbal position, but there are some exceptions. The behaviour of semantically not empty negative auxiliaries is not uniform. The auxiliary *d'amaš* ‘cannot’ appears postverbally, as shown by the available four example sentences above. The auxiliary *loḡeš*, which has the same meaning, behaves differently in the two Enets dialects. While in the Forest dialect it must be preceded by the infinitive of the main verb, in the Tundra dialect it precedes the connegative form of the lexical verb. Therefore, in Tundra Enets *leḡi-* behaves like the standard negative auxiliary.

(173) Tundra Enets (Urmanchieva 2006: 90/15)

- aburi-da ido-ka-sʲi. leḡi-da ido-e*
 head-ACC.3SG_{PX} lift-INCH-3SG.PST NEG_{AUX}-3SG.O lift-EP.CN
 ‘(S)he wanted to lift his/her head, but (s)he could not lift it.’

As already pointed out above, the two auxiliaries with the meaning ‘cannot’ differ not only in their syntactic behaviour but also in their etymological relations. While *d’amaš* is related to Nenets *jaʔmas*, *loðeš* has a Nganasan counterpart, *ləðisʔi*. Both *d’amaš* and *loðeš* in Enets behave like the corresponding auxiliary in the related languages. However, *loðeš* in Forest Enets follows the pattern of *d’amaš* and thus that of Nenets *jaʔmas*.

In sum, in most cases the word order of sentences with a negative auxiliary in Enets does not follow the typical pattern of SOV languages. Only the marginal *d’amaš* and the *loðeš* in Forest Enets follow the postulated SOVAUX order.

4. Nganasan

As in the other languages discussed above, negative auxiliaries with some extra meaning also exist in Nganasan. These two auxiliaries are used relatively rarely. One of them (*ŋuəli-*) do not have a positive counterpart, at least as a lexeme. The other auxiliary, *ləðisʔi*, does have an affirmative pair according to the dictionary (Kosterkina et al. 2001), but it never appears in my database. Therefore, its usage could not be checked. The behaviour of negative auxiliaries is summarized in the following chart.

Meaning	Construction	Negative Auxiliary	Declarative Verb
‘cannot’	FE+V[CN]	<i>ləðisʔi</i>	<i>tukəd’a</i> <i>ŋəʔiʔsʔi</i> <i>mīāninsi</i>
‘how could (I) not’	FE+V[CN]	<i>ŋuəli-</i>	–

Table 39. Semantically not Empty Negative Auxiliaries in Nganasan

4.1. *ləðisʔi* ‘cannot’

This auxiliary *ləðisʔi* means ‘cannot’, and as shown above, Nenets and Enets also have auxiliaries with this meaning. Its syntactic behaviour is shown by the following examples.

(174) Nganasan (ChND 2008)

siti ləði-sʔiə-ði kəmiðü-ʔ
 (s)he NEG_{AUX} -PST-3SG.O cath-CN
 ‘(S)he was not able cath him/her.’

(175) Nganasan (KNT 2008)

basa-gali miŋ ləði-ti-mi? ńakiði-? maa-gəl'ičə
 iron-CAR we NEG_{AUX}-CO-1PL buy-CN what-EMPH.ACC
 'We cannot buy anything without money.'

The auxiliary is followed by the connegative form of the main verb. The auxiliary can take tense and mood markers and can be used in the objective and in the reflexive conjugation.

This auxiliary does not have a connegative form. If this meaning is to be negated, the inflected auxiliary is preceded by a negative particle (*ńintuu* or *ńintu?*), which is generally used for constituent negation. Here the constituent to be negated is the negative phrase. In the sentence below the auxiliary negates the lexical verb, while the scope of the negative particle is the negative phrase.

(176) Nganasan (ChND 2006)

məna {ńintu? [ləði-s'iə-mə huurə-?]}, → ńi-siə-m kərbu-?
 I NEG_{PTCL} NEG_{AUX}-PST-1SG.O find-CN NEG_{AUX}-PST-1SG want-CN
ńi-siə-mə huur-ńiandi-?
 NEG_{AUX}-PST-1SG.O find-VOL-CN

'It was not the case that I could not find it, but I did not want to find it.'

Semantically not empty auxiliaries behave in a relatively uniform manner with respect to word order. The auxiliary *ləði?si* prefers SOAuxV, with two exceptions in my database, in which the (SO)VAUX order is attested.

(177) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 265)

taa-j huður-tuə ɲana?sa huđurtə-tuə-mtu
 reindeer-PL.ACC harness-PTPRS man harness-PTPRS-ACC.3SG_{px}
taa nəkərabtiku-? ləði?-ti
 reindeer.ACC calm.down-CN NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG

'The man harnessing the reindeer cannot calm the harnessed reindeer down.'

(178) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 290)

ɲənduj-kali koli-j kəmiüü-? ləði?-s'iə-?
 boat-CAR fish-PL.ACC catch-CN NEG_{AUX}-PST-3PL
 'They could not catch fish without a boat.'

The change in word order needs further research. It might be due to Forest Enets influence, as the corresponding Forest Enets auxiliary stands after the main verb.

4.2. *ηuəli-* 'how could (I) not'

Grammars have referred to *ηuəli-* as a monomorphemic stem with the meaning 'how could I not, of course'. Tereshchenko (1979: 261) defines it as a verb without any further specification. Katzschmann also regards it as a verb, but notes that it cannot take tense and mood markers (Katzschmann 1993–94: 58).

Based on the data, it can be stated that *ηuəli-* does take verbal suffixes. I suggest that the sequence can be divided into the following morphemes: *ηuə-li-Vx*, where : *ηuə-* is the stem, and *-li* is the dubitative mood marker. As *ηuəli-Vx* is always followed by the connegative form of a lexical verb, it can be regarded as a negative auxiliary whose infinitive form has not been recorded. The meaning of the stem *ηuə-* apart from negation is not clear yet. It is possible that the stem is related to the *ηuəli* 'of course, naturally' particle, but the direction of the evolution process cannot be shown.

It is worth considering that the second stem (so-called imperative stem²²) of the existential verb *is'a* also has the form *ηuə-*. Therefore it is possible that the dubitative form of the existential verb started to be used as a negative auxiliary. This change is not easy to follow as historical data are missing. It must be noted, however, that this stem does not appear with other tense or mood markers. There is very little data available with the *ηuəli-* auxiliary, only the following forms appear.

Conjugation	Singular	Dual	Plural
Subjective	1 <i>ηuəli-m</i>	<i>ηuəli-mi</i>	<i>ηuəli-mi?</i>
	2 <i>ηuəli-η</i>	<i>ηuəli-ri</i>	<i>ηuəli-ri?</i>
	3 <i>ηuəli</i>	<i>ηuəligəj</i>	<i>ηuəli-?</i>
Objective, 1 object	1 <i>ηuəli-mə</i>		
	2 <i>ηuəli-rə</i>		
	3 <i>ηuəli-ti ~ ηuəli-ði</i>		
Objective, 2 objects	1	<i>ηuəli-kəini</i>	
	2		
	3		
Objective, More Than 2 Objects	1 <i>ηuəli-ńə</i>		
	2		<i>ηuəli-či?</i>
	3		<i>ηuəli-čuη</i>
Reflexive	1 <i>ηuəli-nə</i>		<i>ηuəli-ni?</i>
	2	<i>ηuəli-či?</i>	<i>ηuəli-ndi?</i>
	3 <i>ηuəli-ðə</i>		<i>ηuəli-ndi? ~ ηuəli-ndə?</i>

Table 40. Paradigm of *ηuəli-* in Nganasan

Although its paradigm is not complete, it is evident that *ηuəli-* is a verb. The following sentences show that it is used as an auxiliary.

22. For more details see Helimski 1998b or Wagner-Nagy 2002.

- (179) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 202)

ŋuə-li-mə *sočələ-ʔ, sočələ-suðə-mə,* *kuhu-mə* *kaŋkə*
 NEG_{AUX} -DUB-1SG.O sew-CN, sew-FUT-1SG.O skin-1SG_{PX} already

nə-məə

work.skin-PTPASS.3SG_{VX}

‘How could I not sew it, I will sew it, the skin has already been worked.’

- (180) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 261)

ŋuə-li-ndiʔ *nənsu-ʔ* *kaniməliʔ,* *küdiähüʔ* *mərigiʔiaiʔ*
 NEG_{AUX} -DUB-2PL.R get.up-CN early tomorrow fast

büü-ʔsʔütü-nüʔ

go.away-FUT.R-1PL.R

‘How could you not get up early, we are going to travel fast tomorrow.’

- (181) Nganasan (KND 2006: N-06_halmira/348)

hal'mira čundama *munu-ntu: əəʔ* *tə* *ŋuə-li-nə*
 Halmira Chundama say-Co.3SG yes PTCL NEG_{AUX} -DUB-1SG.R

büü-ʔ

əhi

travel-CN PTCL

‘Halmira Chundama says: Of course I am going.’

This auxiliary tends to appear sentence-initially. In 90 percent of sentences in my database *ŋuəli-* occupies the first position in the sentence. Only particles can appear before it. This is probably due to the fact that the structure is very near to questions in its modality (see sentence (183), for example). The typical place for an interrogative pronoun is the sentence-initial position. As the following sentence shows, a topicalized sentence constituent can appear before the auxiliary, in a similar manner to interrogative pronouns. The connection between this negative auxiliary and questions needs further data collection and research.

- (182) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 261)

[_{topic} *kəndə-m-tə*] *ŋuə-li-m* *melidə-ʔ*
 sledge-ACC-2SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX} -DUB-1SG make-CN

‘[What makes you think] I am not making your sledge?!’

This auxiliary cannot take derivational suffixes, but emphatic suffixes do attach to it.

- (183) Nganasan (Numumu 1986: NT-87_7perevalov/263)

tə *mənə d'edika-ʔa* *i-s'a.* *maa* *bən-ə* *mečə-ŋi-m,*
 well I poor-AUG be-INF what strength-Ep.ACC do-INTER.FUT-1SG

ŋuə-li=küə-m *ti* *karkubtu-ʔ*

NEG_{AUX} -DUB=CLIT-1SG you.DU.ACC leave-CN

‘Well, being very poor what strength do I have, how could I not leave you here?’

As for *ɲuəli-*, it is rare that a constituent is inserted between the auxiliary and the main verb. But if the direct object is expressed by a personal pronoun, it typically appears in this position. Here it also seems that insertion is generally made possible by the pronoun (cf. sentence (183)).

5. Khanty

Ob-Ugric languages are not characterized by the usage of semantically not empty negative auxiliaries. I have found no examples for such a structure in Mansi. Contrarily, in each Khanty dialect there is a word with the meaning ‘cannot’ with the form *korta-*, *kurta-*. This behaves like an auxiliary. It occupies the sentence-final position typical of SOV languages and the infinitive of the main verb precedes it.

(184) Northern Khanty (K. Sal Éva 1956: 79)

nemeza nɔməs osʲ-ta kurdə-s
 nothing thought find.out-INF cannot-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he could not think of anything clever.’

(185) Eastern Khanty, Vach-Vasjugan Dialect (Filchenko 2007: 428)

nuɣ-pa porislə-wəl küm lüγä-tä küryt-äyi
 up-ALL scramble-PRS.3SG outside get.out-INF cannot-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he scrambles up, (but) cannot get out.’

As the example sentences show, the stem can take tense markers and there is no other negative element in the sentence, i.e. negation is an inherent property of *korta-*, *kurta-*.

IV. Negation with Negative Lexical Verbs

There is a way of negation in Northern Samoyedic languages that does not belong to any of the types discussed above. These languages have lexical verbs that have an additional, negative meaning. Therefore, negation is present in the meaning of the lexeme, no additional negative element (particle or auxiliary) is needed to express it. These negative verbs have affirmative counterparts, which cannot be negated with the usual negative auxiliaries or their traditional negation is limited.

The relevant verbs are discussed according to languages below, but the list is not exhaustive. Verbs expressing existential negation are not treated here, because these are described in the discussion of existential structures (chapter VI.). Only lexical verbs are listed here, negative auxiliaries with an extra meaning (such as ‘cannot’) are described in Chapter III above. Affirmative counterparts are also given.

Meaning	not know	know	not want	want	not enough	enough	not need	need
Forest Enets	<i>d'oxoraš</i> <i>d'omgeš</i>	<i>teneš</i>		<i>komaš</i>		<i>tooriš</i>		<i>taraš</i>
Tundra Enets	<i>d'axara-</i>			<i>kome-</i>				
Tundra Nenets	<i>jexerasⁱ</i> <i>jarmⁱesⁱ</i> <i>jekarʔ</i>	<i>t'eñewasⁱ</i>		<i>xārwasⁱ</i>		<i>teworcⁱ</i>		<i>tarasⁱ</i>
Forest Nenets	<i>jexātasⁱ</i> <i>d'almeš</i> <i>d'akał</i>	<i>čedeš</i> <i>čed'imⁱaš</i> <i>čejmⁱaš</i>		<i>xaʔš</i>		<i>tajwaš</i>		<i>taala-</i>
Nganasan	<i>d'erusa</i> <i>sīliāðə</i>	<i>čenið'i</i>	<i>d'ündamtəsa</i>	<i>kərbud'a</i>	<i>məčid'i</i>	<i>čüütəsa</i>		<i>tois'a</i>

Table 41. Negative Lexical Verbs in Samoyedic Languages

The above chart also contains verbs that are listed in dictionaries but whose usage cannot be tested as they are missing from the texts. These verbs are not discussed below as no example sentences are available. Negative structures with a negative lexical verb always have an asymmetrical structure. Most negative verbs appear in Nganasan.

1. Nenets

The negative verb most often used in Nenets is *jexasi*, which refers to the lack of some information, i.e. it means ‘not know’. The complement of the verb is a nominal category in accusative or in elative case or in infinitive. The verb *jexasi* can take a limited set of derivational suffixes. Most often the habitative suffix appears on it. The following example shows an affirmative-negative sentence pair.

(186) Tundra Nenets, Bolsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 649, 113, 465)

- a. *padnamal'e t'eńewa*
 write.INF already know.3SG
 ‘He already knows how to write.’
- b. *t'uku s'jer-m? jexera-wa?*
 this thing-ACC not.know-1PL
 ‘We do not know this matter.’
- c. *p'inwa-xad jexera-s'eti*
 fear-EL not.know-HAB.3SG
 ‘(S)he does not know fear.’

A similar meaning is conveyed by *jarmiesi*, but this verb appears much less frequently. While the complement must always appear next to *jarmiesi*, the verb *jexasi* can also be used without a complement. The complement of *jarmiesi* (Forest Nenets *d'al'meš*) is a nominal category in the elative case and the verb always appears in the subjective conjugation (cf. Mus 2009: 29).

(187) Tundra Nenets, Bolsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchnko 1965: 852)

- ńiis'a-r t'iki s'jer-kad jarme*
 father-2SG_{px} this thing-EL not.know.3SG
 ‘Your father does not know about this matter.’

Although these verbs are present in Forest Nenets as well, only a small amount of example sentences are available. Therefore, their usage cannot be described well. The Barmits–Wello dictionary (2002: 34) gives the verb *d'al'meš* for the meaning ‘not know’, but no example sentence is given. The verb *jexalas*, however, does not appear in this dictionary, but its use can be shown with the following sentence.

(188) Forest Nenets, Pur Dialect (Pusztay 1976: 23)

- mań jexal'a-ńa-m kuusi pič jii'i-ńaa-xa*
 I not.know-Co-1SG how they.DU live-Co-3DU
 ‘I do not know how the two of them live.’

- (189) Forest Nenets (Verbov 1973: 110)
ŋamma-xalta-xat *jexala-m*
 what-CAR-EL not.now-1SG
 ‘I do not know anything.’

The above sentences show that the Forest Nenets verb behaves like the Tundra Nenets verb. The sentence (189) shows that the complement is in the relative case in this dialect as well.

Regarding lexical items with a negative meaning the negative particle *jekar?* (Forest Nenets *d'akal*) must also be mentioned. This element is most often used as a short answer or in a sentence with a rhetorical question or a question addressed to the speaker himself/herself (see sentence (191)). This particle appeared only in Tundra Nenets sentences. I have not found an example sentence to illustrate the usage of the Forest Nenets particle in my database.

- (190) Tundra Nenets, Boľ'saya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 92)

ńis'a-r *mer?* *tuu-ta* – *jekar?*
 brother-2SG_{PX} soon come-IPF.3SG not.know
 ‘Is your brother coming soon? ‘I don’t know.’

- (191) Tundra Nenets, Tajmyr Dialect (Labanauskas 2001: 14)

jekar?, *xib'ia tonda-mt* *sedangop-ta*
 not.know who parka-ACC.2SG_{PX} sew-3SG.O
 ‘I don’t know who is sewing your parka.’

2. Nganasan

Despite dictionaries listing several negative lexical verbs, only a few of these appear in texts. Here, the most frequently used verb is *d'erusa* ‘not know’, with the positive pair *č'enid'i* ‘know’. The verb *č'enid'i* does not appear in standard negative phrases, there is only one example for its standard negation in Helimski's data collection (1994: 50). This single example comes from a rather special text, that of a shamanic ritual. In all other instances to express ‘not know’ the verb *d'erusa* is employed. The structure of the sentence is the same as that of the affirmative sentence, as in the case of standard negation. This is illustrated by the following affirmative-negative sentence pair.

(192) Nganasan (a: Tereshchenko 1979: 100; b: Kosterkina — Helimski 1994: 34/52)

- a. *id'i-m-tə* *čeni-nti-m*
uncle-ACC-2SG_{px} know-Co-1SG
'I know your uncle.'
- b. *əmləd'i* *səd'əə*, *ɲad'ümüə* *səd'əə* *mənə d'eru-tu-mə*.
such.ACC way.ACC impure.ACC way.ACC I not.know-Co-1SG.o
'I do not know such a way, such an impure way.'

As the above sentences show, the structure is not symmetrical, as not a single negative element is inserted into the sentence, it is the lexical verb which has changed.

This negative verb can take inflectional suffixes from the subjective and objective conjugations, but in accordance with its meaning it cannot take reflexive endings. Derivational suffixes rarely attach to it, and no example is available with a mood marker. Tense markers can be attached, though. The first sentence below shows a verb with a tense marker, while in the second sentence the verbal stem is followed by a temporal derivational suffix.

(193) Nganasan (a: KES 2008; b: Kosterkina – Helimski 1994: 74/488)

- a. *sili* *maa* *čeni-bi?* *tərəd'i* *miŋkəl'čənə* *d'eru-sua-mə*
who what know-GER such.ACC even.I not.know-PST-1SG.o
'Who knew such a thing, I did not know such a thing.'
- b. *ɲəndi?i'ai?* *ni-ndi-ɲ*, *niükü*, *d'eru-gələ-?*
probably NEG-Co-2SG son_{voc} not.know-TEMP-CN
'Probably, my son, you do know this.'

As the example b) above shows, the negative lexical verb has a connegative form, which appears in emphatic negative questions²³. In these special questions negation does not refer to the presupposition and the answer is expected to be positive (see a more detailed account in Hentschel 1998: 205ff). Nganasan sentences of this type are already positive owing to double negation. The following sentence is of the same type.

(194) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 262)

- ni-ɲi-ɲ* *d'erud'ə-?* *əmə* *s'itəbi*
NEG_{AUX}-INTER-2SG not.know-CN this.ACC tale.ACC
'Can you not know this tale?' [You surely know this tale.]

In this sentence type the negative auxiliary tends to appear sentence-initially, only particles can precede it. Only non-integral sentence constituents can be inserted between the

23. Cf. Hungarian *Hogy miket nem mondasz?* 'What funny things you can say!' [What things don't you say], Finnish *Eikö se olekin Matti?* 'Well, isn't that Matti there?'

negative auxiliary and the negative verb. This word order is also induced by the focused direct object.

The particle *siliadə* can also be used with the meaning ‘not know’. This element cannot take any agreement morphemes and it indicates that the speaker is not sure about what (s)he is saying about a person or a situation. As opposed to the Tundra Nenets *jekar?* particle, this particle does not appear at the beginning of answers.

(195) Nganasan (ChN D 2008: Siba)

- a. *s'etəgəə-tiŋ* *ŋuə-čə-bü?* *siliadə* *nilu-tu* *bəi-tə*
 leader-3Pl_{PX} be-IPF-GER not.know_{PTCL} life-GEN.3SG_{PX} Pp_{during}-ADV.LAT
d'omta-muə-đu *mabta-đu* *kočə-đu* *ŋəndiai?* *təi-ču*
 fight-ACT-3SG_{PX} something-3SG_{PX} illness-3SG_{PX} probably exist-Co.3SG
laku
 tuberculosis
 ‘He might be a leader, I don’t know, he fought his whole life, he has some illness, probably tuberculosis.’
- b. *siliadə*, *mənu* *siliadə* *mirəimü*, *ŋanasan-u-?*
 not.know_{PTCL} noise not.know_{PTCL} sound.of.steps man-EP-PL.GEN
 ‘I don’t know, it might be a noise, I don’t know, the sound of steps, of people.’

The other negative verb in Nganasan is *tois'a* ‘need not’. This verb does not have an affirmative pair in Nganasan. In contrast to Nenets, in Nganasan the meaning ‘need, should’ is expressed by a non-verbal expression: the adjective *naagə* ‘good’ is accompanied by the gerund of the verb.

(196) Nganasan (ChND 2006)

- kiriba* *d'aŋuj-hü?*, *naagəə* *hiri-tə-bi?* *l'epəškə-j*
 bread.GEN NEG.EX-GER good cook-IPF-GER girdle-cake-PL.ACC
 ‘If there is no bread, girdle-cakes should be baked.’

This nominal structure is not negated in the traditional way, but the negative pair of such a sentence is expressed with the help of the *tois'a* ‘need not’ verb. This verb is very frequently used in its 3SG imperative form. This form is on the way of grammaticalization and is used as a particle in most of the cases.

(197) Nganasan (Tuglakov, K. 2003: K-03_brothers/70)

- əi* *tənə* *ni-?* *basad'-ə-?*, *toi-ŋəə* *təti* *magəŋkə*
 PTCL you NEG_{AUX}-IMP.2SG hunt-EP-CN not.need-IMP.3SG this hunchback
munu-munu-ču
 say-AUD-3SG_{PX}
 ‘Well, don’t go hunting; you need not go, says the hunchback.’

However, grammaticalization is still underway, as the following two short texts illustrate. In these the verb appears in 3PL or a gerund form. In the first text the speaker is talking about a trip to Paris. We see here that the negative element must agree in person and number with the subject.

(198) Nganasan (Kosterkina, E.S. 2003: ES-03_Paris/28–29)

tə kuniŋiã i-čəŋu-muʔ. ni-ntiŋi-miʔ labku d'a
 PTCL how be- INTER.FUT -1PL NEG_{AUX}-FUT.INTER-1PL shop.GEN PP_{ALL}
koni-ʔ toi-ŋəʔəʔ labka-ču
 go-CN need.not-IMP.3PL shop-PL.3SG_{PX}
 ‘So, now, what shall we do? We won’t go to the shops.
 We need not go to the shops.’

The second text is part of a tale. The negative verb is in the imperative. It seems that this verb has a defective paradigm, as indicative forms are missing, and it always appears in the imperative. The meaning of the sentences is not imperative, though.

(199) Nganasan (Lyjmarievna, V. 1992: VL-92_3filles/105–106)

luu-m-tu šeričə-ʔki-ʔə. ləði-ti ŋamiãj-kəl'ičə
 parka-ACC-3SG_{PX} put.on-INCH-Co.3SG NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG other-EMPH
d'üðü-m-tü müðü-tə-ʔ. əlütü. tə tənə tiŋ-gümü-ntə
 hand-ACC-3SG_{PX} put.in-IPF-CN wrong PTCL you PRON-EMPH-2SG_{PX}
əlütü-ŋ təʔ toibə-ʔ tagaʔa
 wrong-2SG_{VX} PTCL need.not-IMP.2SG then
 ‘(S)he started to put on his/her coat, but (s)he could not stick his/her hand
 in, which is bad. Well, you good-for-nothing, I do not need you.’

3. Enets

The most frequently used negative lexical verb in Forest Enets is *d'oxoraš* 'not know', similarly to Nenets. Its affirmative pair is *teneš* 'know'. The following sentence pair illustrates the usage of these two verbs.

(200) Forest Enets (a: Sorokina-Bolina 2009: 112; b: Sorokina-Bolina 2005: 9/44)

- a. *tiki enči mod' d'oxora-u*
 this human.being I not.know-1SG.O
 'I don't know this man.'
- b. ... *čuk sama? tene-na*
 ... all bird know-1PL.OPL
 'We know all the birds.'

The structure is not symmetrical. There is no other negative element in the sentence, only the negative lexical verb. There are no data available as to the further negation of this negative verb.

The other negative verb in Forest Enets is *d'omgeš* 'not know', but it appears only in a few example sentences. Therefore, its usage needs further investigation.

(201) Forest Enets (Sorokina-Bolina 2009: 106)

- a. *čiki-xuđ bu d'omge-e*
 that-EL (s)he not.know-Co.3SG
 '(S)he does not know about that.'
- b. *mod' čiki-xuđ d'omge-đ*
 I that-EL not.know-1SG
 'I don't know about that.'
- c. *poged' kañe-xođ-du d'omge-đ*
 fishing going-EL-OBL.3SG_{PX} not.know-1SG
 'I do not know whether he has gone fishing.'

As the structure of the sentences show the complement is in the relative case (like in Nenets).

V. Negation of Imperative

The negation of forms carrying some kind of modal marking is only sporadically dealt with in typological literature. The research focuses on prohibitive clauses, i.e. sentences with a negative 2nd person imperative. (See e.g. van der Auwera – Lejeune 2009, Zeijlstra 2006, Miestamo – van der Auwera 2007.) It has been thus far demonstrated that in numerous languages the negation of the imperative mood shows different negative constructions or even different negative elements. We can add that in some Uralic languages this applies not only to the imperative but to a number of other mood categories as well. In many languages (such as Enets) the non-indicative moods use the same special negative element which appears in the negated imperative.

Zeijlstra (2006) distinguishes two main types as to how languages express the negated imperative. There are languages with a “true negative imperative” and languages with a “surrogate negative imperative”²⁴. In the first group, true negative imperative languages, the structure of the negative sentence does not deviate from its declarative counterpart. Such languages are, for instance, Polish and Dutch. The second group comprises languages in which the negated imperative sentence differs structurally in some respect from the declarative imperative sentence. This group includes, for instance, the Romance languages.

Extending the set of parameters, the system of van der Auwera – Lejeune – Goussev (2009) – based on a corpus of 495 languages – distinguishes between not only 2 but 4 different types. The basic criteria are:

- (i) whether the negative element deviates from the one used in standard negation (in present tense),
- (ii) whether the way of expressing imperative mood in the negative clause deviates from the one used in the declarative clause. On the basis of these, the following four types can be defined:

Type 1 (standard negative marker + common imperative strategy): The negation of the imperative form is expressed with a construction which is also used in the imperative or in the standard negation. Neither the negated element nor the negative marker deviates from its counterpart in the imperative or in the standard negation. Roughly 23% of the languages investigated by the authors belong to this type. Of the Uralic languages, the authors classify Northern Sámi as belonging to this type, but this opinion is false. Only Nganasan apply this strategy. (See in chapter V/1.4.1.)

Type 2 (special negative marker + common imperative strategy): The imperative form corresponds to the imperative in declarative sentences, i.e. only the negative marker differs from the standard negative element. This group comprises about 37% of the lan-

24. Terminology according to Zanutti (1994).

guages in Auwera's corpus, such as Vietnamese or some Amerind languages. Numerous Uralic languages apply this strategy, among them, for instance, Ugric, Estonian, Finnish and Mordvin, in 3SG also Mari. This type can be illustrated with the following Mansi example.

(202) Mansi (Kálmán 1965: 53)

at *waa-γ-lum*
 NEG_{PTCL} know-PRS-1SG.O
 'I don't know.'

(203) Mansi, Sygva Dialect (Rombandeeva 1995: 119, 113)

a. *mas-en*

dress-IMP.2SG
 'Get dressed.'

b. *ul* *xuj-en!*

NEG.IMP_{PTCL} sleep-IMP.2SG
 'Don't sleep.'

This example shows how the negated element differs from the standard negation (202 and 203 b) but the imperative suffix remains the same (203 a–b).

Type 3 (standard negative marker + special prohibitive strategy): The imperative mood shows a form which differs from the declarative imperative, but the negative marker is the same as in the indicative sentence. This type is fairly rare, comprising merely 10% of the languages investigated. This strategy is typical of Romance languages. Van der Auwera et al. (2009) also classify Estonian and Votic as part of this group, but in my opinion, this is an error and no Uralic language can be considered to represent this type. The Uralic languages will be dealt with in more detail later on in this chapter.

Type 4 (special negative marker + special prohibitive strategy): The negative imperative mood employs a construction in which neither the negative marker nor the imperative verb form correspond to those used in the indicative mood. Of the languages investigated, 29% belong to this group. Van der Auwera et al. (2009) also classify numerous Uralic languages as belonging to this type, such as Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Kamas and Mari. As for the Samoyedic languages, they will be dealt with later on in this chapter, but so much can be said in advance that this classification is not valid. Type 4 can, for the time being, be illustrated with a Mari example. (For the sake of clarity, I also give the 3SG imperative form, which, however, does not belong to this type but to type 2.)

(204) Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 128, 129)

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>o-t</i> <i>tol</i> | b. | <i>tol</i> |
| | NEG _{AUX} -2SG come.CN | | come.IMP.2SG |
| | ‘You don’t come.’ | | ‘Come.’ |
| c. | <i>i-t</i> <i>tol</i> | d. | <i>ən-že</i> <i>tol</i> |
| | NEG.IMP _{AUX} -2SG come.CN | | NEG.IMP _{AUX} -IMP.3SG come.CN |
| | ‘Don’t come.’ | | ‘May s/he not come!’ |

The sentences show clearly that the negative auxiliary changes. In the declarative clause, the negative auxiliary *o-* is used, while the imperative form in the second person uses the stem *i-*, (compare sentences a and c) in the third person the stem *ən-* (see sentence d). It is thus unmistakable that the negative element is specific to the imperative mood. The imperative 2SG form seems to correspond to the negated form, which is due to the fact that in Uralic, the connegative verb form coincides with IMP.2SG. However, as shown by the 3rd person form, this connegative form is typical of negation in general. At the same time, the personal suffix used with the imperative form of the negation verb is not identical with the personal suffix of the affirmative imperative form. The prohibitive verb in itself expresses imperativity but carries the same suffixes (for 2SG, *-(a)t /(-e)t*) as the indicative verb forms, i.e. is not morphologically marked for imperative. Thus, both the negative element and the suffix are specific in this construction. In contrast, in the 3rd person only the negative element is special but the suffix is not; in the affirmative form the same suffix is used, e.g. *tol-žo* ‘may (s)he come’. (Cf. also example (205).)

For the description of the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages, I will use this four-fold classification, combined with Miestamo’s typology of the standard negation. (For more details, see Miestamo – van der Auwera 2007). Van der Auwera et al. (2009) only investigated 2SG forms, but since many Uralic languages (such as Northern Samoyedic and Hungarian) show a complete paradigm of negative imperative forms, I will extend this study to cover the entire paradigm.

Before presenting the negative constructions in non-indicative moods, I will briefly deal with the typology of prohibitive forms in Uralic. It is typical of many Uralic languages that they use a specific negative marker in non-indicative (morphologically marked) moods. In the Samoyedic languages, as we will see, these negative markers are not restricted to the imperative forms but may also appear in other moods. Thus, in connection with Samoyedic I will briefly mention in which other moods the negative marker is used. However, I will not analyse all the mood categories of these languages in greater detail, as the Northern Samoyedic languages generally have 12–16 verbal mood categories.

As already mentioned above, van der Auwera et al. (2009) have in some cases classified some Uralic languages incorrectly. This may partly be due to the fact that the system created by the authors works very well as far as negative particles are concerned. However, if the sentence has a negative auxiliary, the constructions must be compared in

some different way. For this reason, the authors have in some cases failed to compare the constructions correctly. In what follows, I will construct my comparisons in the following way: I will compare the finite element of the declarative imperative sentence (that is, the lexical verb) with the finite element of the negative imperative sentence – that is: if negation can be expressed with a negative auxiliary. Let me illustrate this with an example from Mari.

(205) Mari (Berezcki 1990: 53, 58)

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------|----|---------------------------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>o-k</i> | <i>tol</i> | c. | <i>ən-že</i> | <i>tol!</i> |
| | NEG _{AUX} -3SG | come.CN | | NEG.IMP _{AUX} -IMP.3SG | come.CN |
| | ‘(S)he doesn’t come.’ | | | ‘May (s)he not come!’ | |
| b. | <i>tol-žo</i> | | | | |
| | come-IMP.3SG | | | | |
| | ‘May (s)he come!’ | | | | |

For these examples, one must compare the negative elements in the declarative negated clause a) and in the imperative negated clause c). We can see that these are not identical, that is, Mari uses a special negative element for 3SG. When comparing the finite verbs in the declarative imperative clause b) and in the negative imperative clause c), we see the same imperative suffix. Thus, the Mari negative imperative construction in 3SG represents Type 2. As shown above, the prohibitive (i.e. 2nd person) clauses in Mari belong to Type 4.

In the following table, I will give a brief summary of negative imperative forms in the Uralic languages. Note that I have not pursued any detailed research in this area and the data given in the table can only serve as a point of departure. Yet, I do not consider this summary superfluous, as it allows for further comparisons between the languages investigated in more detail and other languages of the same phylum.

Lang.	Structure	Type	Negative Element	Usage	Standard Negative Element
Estonian	S	2	<i>ära</i> +V[CN] <i>ärgu</i> +V[FE-ku] <i>ärgem</i> +V[FE-gem] <i>äрге</i> +V[FE-ge]	2/3SG 3PL 1PL 2PL	<i>ei</i> +V[CN]
Finnish	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>älä</i> +V[CN] <i>älköö</i> +V[FE-ko] <i>älkäämme</i> +V[FE-ko] <i>älkää</i> +V[FE-ko] <i>älkoot</i> +V[FE-ko]	2SG 3SG 1PL 2PL 3PL	<i>e</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Livonian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>algə</i> +V[FE-g[G] <i>alà</i> +V[CN] <i>algə</i> +V[FE-gəG] <i>algə</i> +V[FE-gəgəD] <i>algit</i> +V[FE-gigiD] <i>algəd</i> +V[FE-gəgəD]	1SG 2SG 3SG 1PL 2PL 3PL	<i>ä</i> -[FE]+V[CN / FE]
Karelian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>elä</i> +V[CN] <i>el'gäh</i> +V[FE-kah] <i>elgiä</i> +V[FE-kia]	2SG 3SG, 3PL 2PL	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]
Veps	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>ala</i> +V[CN] <i>algaha</i> ~ <i>ougaha</i> +V[FE-goi] <i>ougam</i> +V[FE-goi] <i>algat</i> ~ <i>ougat</i> +V[FE-goi]	2SG 3SG, 3PL 1PL 2PL	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]
Votic	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>elä</i> +V[CN] <i>elkō</i> ~ <i>älkō</i> +V[FE-kō] <i>elkā</i> ~ <i>älkā</i> +V[FE-kā]	2/3SG 3PL 2PL	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]
Ingrian	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2	<i>elä(G)</i> +V[CN] <i>elkkän</i> +V[FE] <i>elkässe(G)</i> +V[FE]	2SG 3SG, 2PL 3PL	<i>e</i> [FE]+V[CN]
Saamiñ	A/FIN/NEGAUX	2 4	<i>állum</i> +V[CN] <i>älē</i> +V[CN] <i>állus</i> +V[CN] <i>álló</i> +V[CN] <i>älle</i> +V[CN] <i>álluskâ</i> +V[CN] <i>állop</i> +V[CN] <i>ället</i> +V[CN] <i>állusek</i> +V[CN]	1SG 2SG 3SG 1DU 2DU 3DU 1PL 2PL 3PL	<i>i</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Mari	A/FIN/NEGAUX	4 2	<i>i</i> [FE]+V[CN] <i>ən</i> [FE]+V[CN]	2SG/PL 3SG-3PL	<i>o</i> -[FE]+V[CN] <i>o</i> -[FE]+V[CN]

Lang.	Structure	Type	Negative Element	Usage	Standard Negative Element
Erzya Mordvin	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	2	<i>il'a</i> [FE]+V[CN]	ALL	<i>a(t)</i> +V[FE]
Udmurt	S A/CAT OR A/FIN/NEG-LV	4	<i>en</i> +V[Mood] <i>medaz</i> +V[CN]	2SG/PL 3SG/PL	<i>u</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Komi	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	4 3	<i>e</i> -[FE]+V[CN] <i>med o</i> [MoodFE]+V[CN]	2SG/PL 3SG/PL	<i>o</i> -[FE]+V[CN] <i>o</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Khanty	S	2 3	<i>at</i> +V[MoodFE] <i>ăn(t)</i> + <i>at</i> V[FE]	2SG/PL 1~3SG/PL	<i>ă(n)t</i> +V[FE]
Mansi	S	2	<i>ul</i> +V[MoodFE]		<i>at</i> +V[FE]
Hung.	S	2	<i>ne</i> +V[MoodFE]		<i>nem</i> +V[FE]
Nenets	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	4	<i>ńo</i> -[FE]+V[CN]		<i>ńi</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Enets	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	2	<i>i</i> -[FE]+V[CN]		<i>ńe</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Ngan.	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	1	<i>ńi</i> -[FE]+V[CN]		<i>ńi</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Selkup	S	2	<i>iki</i> +V[MoodFE]		<i>ašša</i> +V[FE]
Kamas	A/FIN/NEG/AUX	2	<i>i</i> -[MoodFE]+V[MoodFE]		<i>e</i> -[FE]+V[CN]

Table 42. Prohibitive Constructions in the Uralic Languages

As we see, Type 2 is the most frequent one. It is also usual in Uralic for differences in comparison with the unmarked mood to appear not only in the negative imperative forms but in other moods as well. The following table summarizes the characteristics of non-indicative forms in the Uralic languages. I will not specify the cases where these forms correspond to the indicative ones but only deal with the languages in which the negation of some mood-marked form differs from the standard negation, be it in construction or in the form of the negative element. The imperative is not included in this table. There are languages such as Nganasan which treat non-indicative forms in the same way as the indicative ones, i.e. that show the same construction and the same negative element. In this summarizing table I will give, for sake of comparison, the negative element of the standard negation, but only the form which can be used in the present tense.

Lang.	Non-Indicative Negation		Usage	Standard Negation	
	Construction	Element		Construction	Element
Mari	A/FIN/NEGAUX	\varnothing [MoodFE]+V[CN]	desiderative	A/FIN/NEGAUX	σ -[FE]+V[CN]
Udmurt	S	$\varnothing j$ +V[Mood]	conditional	A/FIN/NEGAUX	u [FE]+V[CN]
Mord.	A/FIN/NEGAUX	av/i -[FE]+V[CN]	conjunctive desiderative	S	a +V[FE]
Enets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	i [MoodFE]+V[CN]	debitive	A/FIN/NEGAUX	$\acute{n}e$ -[FE]+V[CN]
Selkup	S	iki +V[FE]	optative	S	$a\acute{s}\acute{s}a$ +V[FE]
Khanty	S	$t\acute{e}t\eta + a\acute{t}+$ V[FE]	conjunctive	S	$a(n)t$ +V[FE]

Table 43. Negation of Non-Indicative Constructions in Some Uralic Languages

1. Negative Non-Indicative Constructions in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

As in the case of standard negation, there are two possible approaches to the non-indicative forms: one can investigate the construction itself or the paradigm. For this purpose the positive and the negative imperative constructions as well as the paradigms must be compared. As will be shown in what follows, there are languages with symmetry in both the paradigm and the construction (such as Selkup) but also languages with symmetry in paradigms but asymmetry in constructions (such as Nganasan).

In the following study, I will follow both the classification of negation by Miestamo (2005a) and the typology of van der Auwera et al. (2009). Alongside the imperative mood, I will only concentrate on the mood-marked constructions which show some kind of difference from standard negation. The cases in which the negative elements and the constructions are identical with those in standard negation will not be dealt with in more detail but only briefly mentioned. My point of departure will basically be 2SG, i.e. the prohibitive forms in the stricter sense, but reference will be made to other forms as well. However, the classification will be based only on the 2SG form.

As already mentioned, the Uralic languages generally favour Type 2, and most of the languages investigated here can also be classified as being of this type. However, Nganasan belongs to Type 1, Nenets to Type 4.

1.1. Symmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker – Common Imperative Strategy (Type2)

This group includes the languages in which the negative imperative construction uses a negative element different from the one used in standard negation but there is no difference in the marking of the imperative mood. Thus, the head verb carries an imperative suffix. As we will see, there is no structural difference between the negated and the declarative clause, except for the presence of a negative marker, that is, this negation is symmetric.

1.1.1. Selkup

In Selkup, the following non-indicative moods are distinguished: latensive, auditive, conditional, subjunctive, debitive, optative and imperative. For our goals, only the latter two are relevant, since they are the only ones in which the negation differs from the standard negation. In other non-indicative moods, the usual negative particle *ašša* appears, while the finite element carries the same mood suffixes as in a declarative clause.

The imperative in Selkup can express an order, a request or an adhortation. There are inflected forms for the 2nd and the 3rd persons, while for the 1st person the optative forms are used. (In the optative mood, the same form is used across the paradigm for all persons.) Unlike other moods, the imperative does not display one mood marker throughout the paradigm but fused suffixes for mood and person. The following table shows the imperative suffixes; for reference, the same suffixes for the indicative are also given.

	Subjective Conjugation		Objective Conjugation	
	Imperative	Indicative	Imperative	Indicative
1SG	_____	-k	_____	-m
2SG	-äsik, -äsiŋ, -äš, -(i)k, -(i)ŋ	-nti	-äti, -ät, -i, -ti	-l
3SG	-nijä, -nii	-0	-(n)imtijä, -(n)imtii, -ŋimtii, -jimtii	-ti
1DU	_____	-nii, -niiimii, -nɔɔmii, neŋ	_____	-nii, -niiimii, -nɔɔmii, -neŋ
2DU	-nilii	-nilii, -nɔɔlii	-nilii	-nilii, -nɔɔlii
3DU	-nijääqii	-nɔɔqi	-nimitjääqii	-nitii, -nɔɔtii
1PL	_____	-nimit, -nɔɔmit	_____	-nimit, -nɔɔmit
2PL	-nit, -nin, -nilit, -nilin, -nɔɔti, -ɔɔti	-nilit, -nilin, -nɔɔlit, -nɔɔlin	-nit, -nin, -nilit, -nilin, -nɔɔti, -ɔɔti	-nilit, -nilin, -nɔɔlit, -nɔɔlin
3PL	-nijäätit, -nijäätin	-nɔɔtit, -nɔɔtin	-nimitjäätit, -nimitjäätin	-nɔɔtit, -nɔɔtin

(based on Kuznezova et al. 236, 247–248, 258, 263)

Table 44. Suffixes of the Imperative Mood and the Indicative Mood in Northern Selkup (Taz Dialect)

The following examples will illustrate the imperative paradigm in Northern Selkup.

(206) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznezova et al. 1980: 248, 362)

- a. *qən-äš*
go-IMP.2SG
'Go!'
- b. *tat kuntɔɔkti iki qən-äš*
you far NEG.IMP_{PTCL} go-IMP.2SG
'Don't go far!'

As we saw earlier, standard negation in Selkup uses the particle *ašša*, while the negated example above displays the particle *iki*. In the central dialects (Tym.) the particle has the forms *əkə*, *ige*, *öge*, in the Southern dialects (Middle Ob) *əgə*, *aga*, *ogə*. (See Bekker 1995b: 237). Thus, the negative element changes. The two sentences also illustrate the

fact that the imperative marking remains unchanged, after the negative particle the verb carries the same suffixes. Similarly in the third person: the following example illustrates 3SG in negative imperative and in negative conditional mood.

(207) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 11/95)

aš *amir-qo* *kiki-mmä*, *iki* *ii-jimtii*. *amir-qo*
 NEG_{PTCL} eat-INF want-COND.3SG NEG.IMP_{PTCL} take-IMP.3SG.O eat-INF
kiki-mmä. *čeele-n* *eti-l'* *pələq-qit niini* *ii-ηimtii*
 want-COND.3SG day-GEN nomad.camp-ADJ side-LOC then take-IMP.3SG.O
 ‘If (s)he does not want to eat, may (s)he not take (any), if (s)he wants to eat, may (s)he take (some) from the eastern side.’

The example shows how different negative elements appear in the imperative and in the conditional moods. The conditional can be negated with the standard negative element, while the verb in the imperative mood is preceded by *iki*. Between the declarative and the negative imperative forms there is no difference, the verb carries the same suffix. (The alternation *j-η* is free variation and not triggered by the negation.)

As mentioned above, the imperative forms for the first person are expressed with the optative. The optative mood is used for actions or events which the speaker considers desirable, and also for asking for permission to carry out an action. This mood is only used in the aorist tense, referring to the future, and is marked with *-lä*. After this mood suffix, the indicative person suffixes are used. Unlike the imperative, the optative has a complete paradigm for all numbers and persons. If the speaker wishes to express that an action or event is undesirable, the optative form must be preceded by the same particle as in the imperative mood. The following examples display one declarative and two negative forms.

(208) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 245, 245, 362)

- a. *mət* *šeer-lä-k*
 tent enter-OPT-1SG
 ‘May I enter the tent?’
- b. *tat* *təpi-m* *iki* *čəəti-lä-l*
 you (s)he-ACC NEG.IMP_{PTCL} meet-OPT-2SG.O
 ‘Don’t meet him/her any more.’
- c. *tiiini* *ňennä* *mat* *iki* *šinti* *čəəti-lä-k*
 from.here further I NEG.IMP_{PTCL} you.ACC meet-OPT-1SG
 ‘I wish I wouldn’t meet you any more!’

As illustrated in c), the negative element in the optative is identical with that of the imperative. The finite element following it carries the normal mood suffix. Thus, the optative forms also belong to Type 2, and the construction is symmetric.

1.1.2. Mansi

In Mansi, only three non-indicative moods can be distinguished: imperative, conditional-optative and narrative. First of all, let us see how the imperative clauses are constructed. In Mansi, the imperative mood can only be used in the 2nd person. The verb suffixes are summarized in the following table. This table also illustrates the minimal difference between the imperative and the indicative suffixes: the different vowel quality, and the fact that in the indicative, the suffix is always preceded by a tense marker (for the present tense, *-γ*).

	Subjective Conjugation		Objective Conjugation One Object	
	Imperative	Indicative	Imperative	Indicative
2SG	<i>-en</i>	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-eln</i>	<i>-lən</i>
2DU	<i>-en</i>	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-elen</i>	<i>-lən</i>
2PL	<i>-en</i>	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-elen</i>	<i>-lən</i>

(based on Riese 2001: 38–39, 42)

Table 45. Imperative Suffixes in Mansi

The table shows that in the subjective conjugation, the suffixes do not mark the number of the subject, only the person. For this reason, the 2nd person object is regularly explicitly marked in the sentence. In the objective conjugation, only the DU and PL suffixes coincide. The following examples demonstrate a declarative imperative clause in the 2nd person.

(209) Northern Mansi (Riese 2001: 46)

- a. *naŋ juw'l'e min-en*
 you back go-IMP.2SG
 ‘Go back.’
- b. *kol'a am tuup-ə-m tot-eln*
 Kolya I oar-EP-1SG_{Px} bring-IMP.2SG.O
 ‘Kolya, bring my oar.’

Let us see how the negative imperative form is expressed in Mansi. The following two examples demonstrate a negated 2SG form. In the first sentence, the verb is in the subjective conjugation, in the second one in the objective conjugation.

(210) Northern Mansi, Sygva Dialect (Rombandeeva et al. 1990: 18)

ul *luuńsi-æn*, *am* *naŋənn* *jiłpi* *towt-k^we* *waar-eeγ-əm*
 NEG.IMP_{PTCL} cry-IMP.2SG I 2SG.LAT new ski-DIM make-PRS-1SG
 ‘Don’t cry, I’ll make you a new ski.’

(211) Northern Mansi (Saynakhova 1994: 90)

ul *piil-en*
 NEG.IMP_{PTCL} be.afraid-IMP.2SG.O
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’

As we see, Mansi behaves similarly to Selkup as described above, that is, the negative imperative clause displays a specific negative marker, in Mansi, *ul*. The head verb carries the same mood suffix as in the declarative clause. Thus, deleting the negative particle will produce the declarative counterpart of the clause, which means that the construction is symmetric and belongs without doubt to Type 2.

The element *ul* does not only express the negative imperative but can also be used as a particle with the meaning ‘probably’. In this case, however, it is not accompanied by an imperative verb form.

If the subject of the negated imperative clause is not in the 2nd person, the sentence must display the imperative particle *wos* (*os*) preceding the verb which is inflected in the indicative. There are no other elements expressing adhortation.

(212) Northern Mansi (Ivanova 2004: 26)

- a. *roxtupt-ijaymeen*, *oojka* *wos* *roxtuptaxt-i*
 frighten-1DU.ODU old.man IMP.PTCL be.frightened-3SG
 ‘We two will frighten them, so that the old man gets frightened.’
- b. *maañnee* *nas* *wos* *tuul-a-we*
 bride simply IMP.PTCL carry.in-EP-PASS.3SG
 ‘The bride should simply be carried in.’

As we can see, this particle is used with both passive and active verbal predicates. However, in the third person, the passive construction is much more frequent. If this sentence type is to be negated, this can also be done with the particle *ul*, but the particle *wos* will also appear in the sentence, following the particle *ul*. This construction is not very frequent and mostly appears in passive sentences.

(213) Northern Mansi (Ivanova 2004: 59)

maaxum-n *ul-wos* *kaasal-a-wee-m*.
 people-LAT NEG.IMP_{PTCL} -IMP.PTCL notice-EP-PASS-1SG
ul-wos *suuns-a-wee-m*
 NEG.IMP_{PTCL} -IMP.PTCL look-EP-PASS-1SG
 ‘I should not be noticed by the people, I should not be seen.’

There are also examples of negation without the particle *wos*. In these sentences, the obligation or wish is only expressed with the negative imperative marker.

(214) Northern Dialect (Ivanova 2004: 35)

noms-i: aamp-ə-t-n man pisaʹ-ə-ŋ ut-ə-t-n ul
 think-3SG dog-EP-PL-LAT or gun-EP-ADJ being-EP-PL-LAT NEG.IMP_{PTCL}
kʷalap-a-we-m
 attack-EP-PASS-1SG
 ‘He thought: “I should not be attacked by dogs or people with guns.”’

1.1.3. Khanty

In Khanty, we can observe phenomena partly similar to, partly different from those in Mansi. This is due to the great differences between the treatment of certain categories in different Khanty dialects. In Khanty as well there is no complete paradigm for the imperative mood. The following table shows the imperative suffixes in Eastern Khanty; the forms in different dialects are not substantially different, but there are phonological differences. For the sake of comparison, I will present the suffixes in the indicative forms, together with the suffix of the present tense.

	Subjective Conjugation		Objective Conjugation					
	Imperative	Indicative	One Object		Two Objects		More Than Two Objects	
			Imp.	Ind.	Imp.	Ind.	Imp.	Ind.
2SG	-a	-t-ən	-e, -i	-le	-γəta, -iγla	-t-əγəta	-əta, -ila	-t-əta
2DU	-i-tən	-t-əttən	-i-tən	-t-əttən	-γətən, -iγtən	-t-əγətən	-ətən, -ilən	-t-ətən
2PL	-i-təγ	-t-ətəγ	-i-təγ	-t-əttən	-γətən, -iγtən-	-t-əγətən	-ətən, -ilən	-t-ətən

(according to Filchenko 2007: 262 and Csepregi 1998: 29, 31)

Table 46. Imperative Suffixes in Eastern Khanty

In the subjective conjugation, the personal suffixes clearly differ from each other and all three persons are marked with different suffixes. In the objective conjugation, however, the situation is different. The forms for the singular object distinguish different person categories, but with dual and plural objects, the 2DU and 2PL personal suffixes coincide. In sentences with these forms, thus, the object must be explicitly expressed or disambiguated by the context.

Let us see how Khanty expresses the negative imperative forms. As in Mansi, specific negative particles are used in this sentence type:

- in certain Northern dialects (Nizyam, Sherkaly) and in Southern Khanty (Demyanka, Cingali, Konda, Krasnoyarsk), the particle *at* is used
- in Eastern Khanty and the rest of the Northern dialects (Kazym, Beryozovo, Obdorsk) the sentence shows the particle *äl* or *at*.

(215) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1998: 29, 41)

- a. *păn-a*
put-IMP.2SG
'Put it down.'
- b. *at* *pit-a*
NEG.IMP_{PTCL} be.angry-IMP.2SG
'Don't be angry.'

(216) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly Dialect (Schmidt 2008: 57, 48)

- a. *mĭj-e*
give-IMP.2SG.O
'Give it (here).'
- b. *tām-en* *at* *mĭj-e*
this-2SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} give-IMP.2SG.O
'Don't give it (here).'

In both dialects, we can see that the sentence employs a special negative element while the head verb carries the imperative personal suffix. Thus, the construction is undoubtedly Type 2.

In the Eastern (Far Eastern and Surgut) and Southern dialects, the imperative mood once had a complete paradigm. In material from the early 20th century, the 3rd person imperative could still be expressed by the suffix *-jat*, which in today's language use is unknown or extremely rare. (For further details, see Karjalainen 1964: 207–271). According to Csepregi (1998: 29), this form is used for instance in those special situations in which certain family members ("taboo relatives") are not allowed to address each other directly, e.g. *mant čajat pānijat* 'may (s)he pour tea for me'.

In today's Khanty dialects, the imperative in non-second person can be expressed analytically, with modal particles. For the adhortative function, the particle *at/ät* is used, e.g. Kazym *at mănət* 'let him/her go'. The verb following the particle is inflected in the indicative.

(217) Northern Khanty, Obdorsk Dialect (Nikolaeva 1995: 130)

- luw at măn-l*
(s)he IMP_{PTCL} go-PRS.3SG
'Let him/her go away.'

If this type is to be negated, the clause needs two particles: the inflected verb form is preceded first by adhortative particle *at*, preceding it, the standard negation element (*änt*).

(218) Northern Khanty, Obdorsk Dialect (Nikolaeva 1995: 182)

ǎnt [at want-*l*]
 NEG_{PTCL} IMP_{PTCL} see-PRS.3SG
 ‘Let him/her not see.’

In the Kazym dialect, standard negation is also expressed with the particle *ǎnt*, but imperative negation regularly employs the particle *at*. This is also used for the negative imperative in the third person, without a separate imperative particle (*at*).

(219) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 43, 42)

- a. *ew-en pot-um jink at jań-t*
 daughter-2SG_{PX} freeze-PTPST water NEG.IMP_{PTCL} drink-PRS.3SG
 ‘Your daughter must not drink cold water.’
- b. *tam uxšamen š’i neŋa-la at mojła-t-i.*
 this kerchief-2SG_{PX} that woman-LAT NEG.IMP_{PTCL} donate-PASS-3SG
upe-m-a at mojła-t-i
 sister-1SG-LAT IMP_{PTCL} donate-PASS-3SG
 ‘This kerchief must not be given to that woman,
 it must be given to my sister.’

In the Sherkaly dialect, another northern one, the third-person imperative forms behave in a different way. In this dialect as well, the particle *at* must be used for the imperative in the first and third person, but these forms are not negated with the negative imperative particle but, as in Obdorsk, with the standard negative element *ǎn(t)*. As shown above, the negative imperative particle in Sherkaly also has the form *at* (see example (216)), and employing it for negation would imply a “reduplicated” *at at* in the sentence; however, this construction does not appear. The two *at* particles, actually, are easy to distinguish from each other, as the negative imperative particle is followed by the verb in the imperative, while the verb following the imperative particle is in the same form as in the indicative. The two particles never appear together. Let us take a look at the following sentences:

(220) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly Dialect (Schmidt 2008: 57, 57, 48, 48)

- a. *ma at oməs-t-əm*
 I IMP_{PTCL} sit-PRS²⁵-1SG
 ‘Let me sit.’
- b. *tǐw at pǒn-t-əte*
 (s)he IMP_{PTCL} put-PRS.3SG.O
 ‘Let him/her put (it).’

25. In this dialect, the present tense marker is not *-l* but *-t*.

- c. *tűw ǎnt at mǎ-t*
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL} IMP_{PTCL} give-PRS.3SG
 ‘Let him/her not give.’
- d. *tűw ǎn mǎ-s*
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL} give-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he didn’t give.’

As we can see, in this dialect the imperative particle does appear in the negated sentence following the standard negation element.

In the Eastern dialects, the adhortative meaning can be expressed with the particle *luwə*. In Filchenko’s (2007: 262) material from today’s language, the Russian word *davaj* ‘let me/you/(s)he/us’ appears in its place. I did not find any examples for a negative counterpart of these constructions.

In Khanty, various types of syntactic modality can be expressed but usually not with morphological moods but with modal particles. In this sentence type, the standard negative element is usually used, as illustrated by an example from Sherkaly:

- (221) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly dialect (Schmidt 2008: 211)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>sǎləj-ta</i> | <i>ǎnt</i> | <i>wǒtəj-t-ən</i> | <i>kǐ,</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>nǎŋət</i> |
| cry-INF | NEG _{PTCL} | stop-PRS-2SG | PTCL _{COND} ²⁶ | I | you.ACC |
| <i>pǒr-woj-a</i> | <i>mǎ-t-em</i> | | | | |
| wolf ²⁷ -DAT | give-PRS-1SG | | | | |
- ‘If you do not stop crying, I will give you to the wolf.’

A counter-example was found in the Kazym dialect, where the optative can be expressed with the particle *ləŋ*. This is accompanied not with the standard negative element but with the particle *at* which is also used in the imperative. The verb in the sentence is inflected in the indicative mood. This can be explained by the fact that the optative meaning is semantically very close to the adhortative one and, as shown above, this construction in Kazym employs the negative imperative particle.

- (222) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 43)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| <i>tam</i> | <i>xatł</i> | <i>jerta</i> | <i>ləŋ</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>ji-t</i> |
| this | day | rain | OPT _{PTCL} | NEG.IMP _{PTCL} | become-PRS.3SG |
- ‘I wish it wouldn’t rain today!’

26. About the history and usage of conditional particle see Bakró-Nagy 2006a.

27. Cf. *woj* ‘animal’, *pǒr-* ‘to bite’.

1.2. Asymmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker + Common Imperative Strategy (Type 2)

1.2.1. Kamas

In Kamas, we can distinguish three non-indicative moods: the conjunctive, the optative and the imperative. The optative will be treated here together with the imperative. As in Selkup, in Kamas as well the negative element in the imperative mood is different. At the same time, as already mentioned in Chapter II/3.2.2. (see from page 86 on), negation in Kamas is expressed not only with a negative particle but with an originally negative auxiliary as well. It is characteristic of Kamas non-indicative moods that – unlike e.g. Nganasan – the negative auxiliary does not have a complete paradigm for all moods. Let us first take a look at the imperative.

The imperative mood does not have a unified marker in Kamas, as in certain persons – for instance, 2SG, the suffixes of mood and person have merged, while in some other forms (3SG-DU-PL, 2DU-PL) the mood and the person suffixes are still distinguishable. However, here as well the person suffix is not always identical with the same suffix of the indicative mood (e.g. 3SG). The table also shows that the difference between the subjective and objective conjugations is still present, although, as we can see, in Kamas it is clearly observable only in the singular. The suffixes of the imperative and indicative moods in Kamas are as follows:

	Subjective Conjugation		Objective Conjugation	
	Imperative	Indicative	Imperative	Indicative
1SG	<i>-(ə)štə-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-(ə)štə-m</i>	<i>-m</i>
2SG	<i>-aʔ</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-l</i>
3SG	<i>-gə-(j), -kə-(j), -γə-(j)</i>	<i>-0</i>	<i>-gə-wə, -kə-wə, -γə-wə, -gə-bə, -kə-bə, -γə-bə</i>	<i>-t</i>
1DU	<i>-žə-bəj</i>	<i>-bəj</i>	<i>-žə-bəj</i>	<i>-bəj</i>
2DU	<i>-gə-ləj, -kə-ləj, -γə-ləj</i>	<i>-ləj</i>	<i>-gə-ləj, -kə-ləj, -γə-ləj</i>	<i>-ləj</i>
3DU	<i>-gəj-gəj</i>	<i>-gəj</i>	<i>-gə-bəj, -kə-bəj, -γə-bəj</i>	<i>-dəj</i>
1PL	<i>-žə-baʔ</i>	<i>-baʔ</i>	<i>-žə-baʔ</i>	<i>-baʔ</i>
2PL	<i>-gə-(ʔ), -kə-(ʔ), -γə-(ʔ)</i>	<i>-laʔ</i>	<i>-gə-t, -kə-t, -γə-t</i>	<i>-laʔ</i>
3PL	<i>-gə-jəʔ, -kə-jəʔ, -γə-jəʔ</i>	<i>-jəʔ</i>	<i>-gə-bən, -kə-bən, -γə-bən</i>	<i>-dən</i>

(according to Klumpp 2002)

Table 47. The Imperative Suffixes in Kamas

In the imperative negation, not the usual negative auxiliary and not the particle of certain tenses are used but rather a special verbum prohibitivum, the stem of which is *i-*, as in Enets. There is not enough data for constructing the whole paradigm of the prohibitive verb, but it seems to carry the same imperative suffixes as other verbs, that is, there is no specific strategy for the formation of negative imperatives. However, no objective-conjugation paradigm of the prohibitive verb has been recorded. The following table contains the prohibitive verb forms which appear in Castrén's and Donner's material.

	Castrén	Donner
2SG	<i>i-ʔ</i>	<i>i-ʔ, ii</i>
3SG	<i>i-gä-i</i>	<i>i-gə-i</i>
2DU	no data	no data
3DU	no data	no data
2PL	<i>i-gä</i>	<i>i-gə</i>
3PL	no data	no data

Table 48. The Kamas Prohibitive and Optative Verb

The element *-ʔ* appearing in the 2SG, which is actually the mood marker itself, is often omitted in Donner's material and simply replaced by *i* or *ii*. Klumpp (2001: 119) assumes that this could be due to the differentiation of the negative auxiliary and the BE verb, since the imperative form of the BE verb is also *iʔ*. However, the constructions based on these two verbs differ, of course, from each other.

The prohibitive construction has a peculiar structure: the prohibitive verb is not always followed by a negated main verb in connegative form. Thus, we cannot call the paradigm itself symmetric, although originally this was probably the case. I will first present the traditional, that is, most probably the more original construction, in which the negative auxiliary is followed by the negated main verb in connegative form.

(223) Kamas (Joki 1944: 165)

<i>i-ʔ</i>	<i>t'ora-ʔ</i>
NEG.IMP _{AUX} -IMP.2SG	cry-CN
'Don't cry.'	

As we can see, the lexical verb following the negative auxiliary is in the connegative form, that is, this is an AUX-headed construction. The same can be observed not only in second person but also in third person negative imperatives.

(224) Kamas (a: Künnap 1999: 22; b: Castrén (manuscript) 182, quoted in Klumpp 2001: 117)

- a. *nu-gə-j*
stand-IMP-3SG
'Let him/her stand.'
- b. *i-gə-j* *tol'era-ʔ*
NEG.IMP_{AUX}-IMP-3SG steal-CN
'May (s)he not steal.'

However, the recorded material also displays sentences in which the negative auxiliary is followed by an imperative form of the lexical verb. These forms are usual in Donner's material, but already Castrén has some examples of this so-called mixed type. The mixed-type constructions usually appear in the 2nd person (2SG-2PL). Examples (225) a) and b) show the formal coincidence of the IMP2SG and the connegative form. Thus, in this case the imperative form could also be interpreted as the connegative form.

(225) Kamas (Joki 1944: 165, 65a, 165)

- a. *mǎn e-m* *šo-ʔ*
I NEG_{AUX}-1SG come-CN
'I do not come.'
- b. *šo-ʔ*
come-IMP.2SG
'Come.'
- c. *tǎn i-ʔ* *šo-ʔ*
you NEG.IMP_{AUX}-IMP.2SG come-CN
'Don't come.'

The sentences in (226), in contrast, clearly show an imperative form in the 2PL. This means that both the head (negation) verb and the negated verb carry the modal and person marking: this is unequivocally a double-inflection construction. (As for this construction, see chapter I/3.4. from page 40 on.)

(226) Kamas (Joki 1944: 98, 165)

- a. *kaŋ-ga[ʔ]*
go-IMP.2PL
'Go [Pl].'
- b. *i-gə[ʔ]* *kaŋ-ga[ʔ]*
NEG.IMP_{AUX}-IMP.2PL go-IMP.2PL
'Don't go [Pl].'

Here, we should speak of a sub-type of Type 2. As the negation is expressed with a special element and the finite verb carries the normal imperative marking, this construction clearly belongs to Type 2. At the same time, however, the sentence has two FEs. The typological classification presented above does not take this sub-type into account.

We may ask what happens with the forms which are not included in the paradigm of the prohibitive verb; as we saw, this applies, for instance, to the objective-conjugation forms. In this case, the prohibitive verb carries the suffixes of the subjective conjugation, while the main verb remains in the objective conjugation, that is, the construction is doubly inflected. The objective-conjugation imperative suffixes are shown in Table 47.

(227) Kamas (Joki 1944: 100)

sana-la? *i-ge[ʔ]* *bojar-gu-t*
 walnut-2PL_{PX} NEG.IMP_{AUX}-IMP.2PL despise-IMP-2PL.O
 ‘Don’t [PL.] look down on your [PL.] walnuts!’

As will be shown, this peculiarity distinguishes Kamas from the rest of Samoyedic; usually in the languages which use a negative auxiliary for negation, only AUX-headed constructions appear and there is no double inflection.

As mentioned above, Kamas also possesses a further morphological mood, the conjunctive, marked with the suffix *-nV/-dV* and the particle *izä* (in a cliticized form, *-ze*). Between the data recorded by Castrén and Donner there is a difference: Castrén’s data show the particle following the inflected verb form, while in Donner’s material, it tends to be cliticized. Negated conjunctive forms are characteristically formed with the standard negation verb which carries the mood marking and the same personal suffixes as in the indicative. The negative auxiliary is followed by the connegative verb, which in turn may be followed by the particle.

(228) Kamas (Donner manuscript, quoted in Klumpp 2001: 120)

măn e-ne-m *ama-ʔ=ze*
 I NEG_{AUX}-CONJ-1SG eat-CN=CLIT
 ‘I would not eat.’

In Kamas, thus, we will find the following constructions in non-indicative moods:

	Structure	Construction	Auxiliary Construction
Imperative	A/FIN/NEGAUX	special negative marker + common strategy	AUX-head or Double inflexion
Conjunctive	A/FIN/NEGAUX	standard negative marker + common strategy	AUX-head

Table 49. Kamas Negative Constructions in Morphologically Marked Moods

1.3. Asymmetric Negation: Spec. Neg. Marker + Special Imperative Strategy (Type 4)

1.3.1. Tundra Nenets

Salminen (1997: 98) distinguishes 16 verb moods in Nenets: indicative, imperative (and submoods hortative, optative), conjunctive, necessitative, interrogative, probabilitative (imperfective and perfective), obligative, approximative (imperfective, perfective and futuristic), superprobabilitative, hyperprobabilitative, narrative, reputative and desiderative. Here the most interesting one is the imperative, and I will begin by dealing with how it is constructed and negated.

The imperative paradigm can be divided into three sub-types: imperative proper, hortative and optative. The hortative only appears in the first person, marked with the suffix *-xǎ*.

The imperative proper is only used in the second person, and the optative in the third person. Typically, only the personal endings of the first person correspond to those used in the indicative mood. The mood and person suffixes as used in the imperative mood are shown in the following table; for comparison, I will also give the corresponding suffixes in the indicative mood.

Type of Conj.	Sg		Du		Pl			
	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.		
Subjective	1	<i>-xǎ-dm</i>	<i>-dmʔ, -mʔ</i>	<i>-x-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-x-waʔ</i>	<i>-waʔ</i>	
	2	<i>-ʔ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>	
	3	<i>-ja, -je</i>	<i>-0</i>	<i>-jxaʔ, -jaxaʔ</i>	<i>-xʔ</i>	<i>-jaʔ</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>	
Subjective	Single Object	1	<i>-xǎ-w</i>	<i>-w</i>	<i>-x-m'iʔ</i>	<i>-m'iʔ</i>	<i>-x-waʔ</i>	<i>-waʔ</i>
		2	<i>-d, -t</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-r'iʔ</i>	<i>-r'iʔ</i>	<i>-raʔ</i>	<i>-raʔ</i>
		3	<i>-mda</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-md'iʔ</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-mdoʔ</i>	<i>-doʔ</i>
	Dual Object	1	<i>-x-xǎju-n</i>	<i>-xǎju-n</i>	<i>-x-xǎju-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-x-xǎju-naʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-naʔ</i>
		2	<i>-x'u -nʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-d</i>	<i>-xǎju -d'iʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-daʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-daʔ</i>
		3	<i>-xǎju-dǎmda</i>	<i>-xǎju-da</i>	<i>-xǎju-dǎmd'iʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-dǎmdoʔ</i>	<i>-xǎju-doʔ</i>
	Plural Object	1	<i>-xǎ-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-x-naʔ</i>	<i>-naʔ</i>
		2	<i>-nʔ</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>
		3	<i>-dǎmda</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-dǎmd'iʔ</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-dǎmdoʔ</i>	<i>-doʔ</i>
Reflexive	1	<i>-xǎ-wʔ</i>	<i>-wʔ</i>	<i>-x-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-ńiʔ</i>	<i>-x-naʔ</i>	<i>-naʔ</i>	
	2	<i>-dʔ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-d'iʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>	
	3	<i>-mdʔ</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>	<i>-xǎmdʔ</i>	<i>-x°ʔ</i>	<i>-dǎmdʔ</i>	<i>-dʔ</i>	

Table 50. Imperative Suffixes in Tundra Nenets

The table shows that there are significant differences between the imperative and indicative suffixes in the singular, where the imperative and the optative can be marked with a specific suffix. In the dual and plural forms, the opposition is restricted to the optative. (For the origins of the Tundra Nenets suffixes, see Körtvély (2005).)

The standard negative marker in Nenets is the auxiliary *ńiisi*. There is also a prohibitive form *ńo-*. This form does not appear as an infinite. Helimski (2005) assumes that Samoyedic originally had two negative auxiliaries: a verbum negativum, going back to PS **i-*, and a verbum prohibitivum, going back to PS **e-*. Tundra Nenets *ńo-* would thus represent the original verbum prohibitivum. In this work, I will not deal with the details of the history of the Samoyedic languages; however, it must be noted that Helimski's reconstruction has certain phonological problems for Tundra Nenets. Yet, these two forms cannot be regarded as stem variants, since there is no *i ~ o* alternation in Tundra Nenets, which means that from a descriptive point of view, we must distinguish two different stems, i.e. suppletive variants. Thus, we can say that the imperative in Tundra Nenets employs a mood-specific negation marker.

In the 2SG imperative form, the negative auxiliary does not carry the specific imperative 2SG marker (-ʔ) but the personal suffix used in the indicative mood. In other numbers and persons, specific imperative personal suffixes appear. Compare the following two sentences:

(229) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001: 117, 20)

- a. *xasawa, jurkad-ʔ tamna čaxa m'ij-ʔ*
 man get.up-IMP.2SG yet there go-IMP.2SG
 'Hey, man, get up and go there.'
- b. *ńe ńeńangi, xuńana pon ńo-ń xuńu-ʔ*
 woman Nyenyangi tomorrow long.time NEG.IMP_{AUX}-2SG sleep-CN
 'Nyenyangi woman, don't sleep long tomorrow.'

Sentence a) demonstrates the imperative form in 2SG. As we see, sentence b), instead of the imperative 2SG suffix (-ʔ), employs the normal indicative 2SG suffix (-ń). Thus we can say that not only the negative marker but also the person ending is mood-specific, which means that Nenets can be classified as belonging to Type 4.

The same type also appears in some Forest Nenets data. As we will see (c.f. Chapter V/1.5.1. from page 166 on), Forest Nenets normally uses the standard negative element in negated 2SG imperative sentences. Verbov (1973: 101), however, has also recorded an example with the negative auxiliary in the form *ńoo-*. Before the stem is the clitic *ńu-*, the stem is followed by the normal person ending of the indicative mood. This form only appears in Verbov's material and in no other author's works.

(230) Forest Nenets (Verbov 1973: 101)

- ńu=ńoo-l mataa-ʔ*
 CLIT = NEG_{AUX} -2SG.O cut-CN
 'Don't kill.'

As mentioned above, the prohibitive verb in Tundra Nenets – with the exception of the 2SG – carries imperative suffixes. Thus, in non-second persons, we see the construction employing a special negative marker and the common imperative strategy. This is illustrated by the following example:

(231) Tundra Nenets, Bol'shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 628, 56)

- a. *tǎ́na* *xǎ-ja*
 may.it.be go-IMP.3SG
 'Let him/her go.'
- b. *ji-r* *ńo-ja* *wowor-ʔ*
 mind-2SG_{Px} NEG.IMP-IMP.3SG be.unhappy-CN
 'Don't be sad.' ('May your mind not be unhappy.')

As we see, the negative auxiliary displays the same person suffix as in the imperative sentence (231) a).

The Tundra Nenets emphatic negative auxiliary *wuńii-* has a regular, i.e. non-suppletive imperative form. These negated constructions thus belong to the group with a "common negative marker, common strategy" (Type 1).

(232) Tundra Nenets (Lehtisalo 1947: 156)

- xib'a-rji-daʔ* *tańe-na-rji* *wuńii-ʔ* *jaderci-sieti-ʔ*
 who-LIM-3PL_{Px} exist-PTPST-LIM NEG_{Aux}-IMP.2SG walk-HAB-CN
 'Don't you dare to walk with just anybody!'

Negative auxiliaries with specific semantic features in my database never carry mood suffixes.

Standard negation verbs also appear together with non-imperative mood markers. I will not analyse them in more detail, but simply give a few illustrative examples.

(233) Tundra Nenets, Bolyshaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 59)

- wesako* *tamna* *ńii-wi* *wijru-ʔ*
 old.man yet NEG_{Aux}-NAR.3SG bow-CN
 'The old man has not bowed down yet.'

(234) Tundra Nenets (Tereshchenko 1965: 103)

- jeramboj.* *ńu-mi* *ńańiʔ* *ńii-rwa-ʔ* *xańgul-ʔ*
 INTERJ child-1SG_{Px} again NEG_{Aux}-DES-3SG.R get.ill-CN
 'Oh, I hope my son will not fall ill again!'

As we see, here the negative auxiliary stem *ńii-* carries the (desiderative/narrative) mood suffix and the same person suffix as in the indicative mood.

1.3.2. Enets

Enets also possesses many mood categories, such as imperative (with hortative, and optative (*-xɔgu*)), debitive (*-č̣u*), conjunctive (*-ni*), conditional (*-ra*), interrogative (*-sa*), narrative (*-bi*), probabilitive (*-tta*), superprobabilitive (*-toba*), etc. For our goals, the imperative, hortative and optative moods are of the greatest interest, but it should be mentioned already now that some other moods in Enets also employ special negative markers. For this study, I will present a unified analysis of the moods expressing adhortation, within one paradigm. The table below shows the suffixes; for comparison, I will also give the suffixes used in the indicative mood.

		SG		DU		PL		
		IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.	
Subj. Conj.		1. <i>-xɔgu-ð(?)</i>	<i>-ð(?)</i>	<i>-xɔgu-j(?)</i>	<i>-j(?), -b(?)</i>	<i>-xɔgu-aa?</i>	<i>-a?, -ba?</i>	
		2. <i>-ʔ</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>-ri(?)</i>	<i>-ri?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>	
		3. <i>-j, -bi</i>	<i>-0</i>	<i>-gi?</i>	<i>-xi?</i>	<i>-j?</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>	
Objective Conj.	Single Object	1.	<i>-a, -b</i>		<i>-j(?), -b(?)</i>		<i>-a?, -ba?</i>	
		2.	<i>-d, -ð</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-ri?</i>	<i>-ri?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>
		3.	<i>-da</i>	<i>-ða</i>	<i>-d'i?</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-d'i?, -du</i>	<i>-ðu?</i>
	Dual or Plural Object	1.		<i>-n</i>		<i>-ń?</i>		<i>-na?</i>
		2.	<i>-n?</i>	<i>-ð</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-ða?</i>	<i>-ða?</i>
		3.	<i>-da</i>	<i>-ða</i>	<i>-d'i?</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-du?</i>	<i>-ðu?</i>
Ref. Conj.		1.		<i>-j?, -bi?</i>	<i>-ń?</i>		<i>-na?</i>	
		2.	<i>-ð?</i>	<i>-d'</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-ði?</i>	<i>-ða?</i>	<i>-ða?</i>
		3.	<i>-d</i>	<i>-ð?</i>	<i>-gi?</i>	<i>-hi?</i>	<i>-d?</i>	<i>-ð?</i>

(according to Tereshchenko 1966: 449, 451–452)

Table 51. Forest Enets Imperative Suffixes

Enets behaves similarly to the two other Northern Samoyedic languages. In the 2nd and 3rd person, special suffixes are used, while in the 1st person, the hortative suffix *-xɔgu* is followed by the same suffixes as in the indicative mood. In the 2nd person dual and plural, however, there are no differences between the imperative and indicative suffixes in any inflection type, which is all the stranger, as the 2nd person imperative normally shows the greatest deviation from the indicative – and it is in the 2nd person that Enets refrains from distinguishing between imperative and indicative. In other numbers and persons, there are systematic differences.

The negative auxiliary also behaves in a fairly strange way. The following table shows the forms of the negation verb in indicative and imperative sentences (subjective conjugation) in the Forest dialect. It must be noted that the complete paradigm is not documented for any mood category in the texts accessible to me.

	SG		DU		PL	
	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.
1.	–	<i>ńe-ǫ(?)</i>	–	<i>ńe-bʲ ~ ńe-jʲ</i>	–	<i>ńe-baʲ</i>
2.	<i>iǫ(?)</i>	<i>ńe-d</i>	<i>ńe-riʲ</i>	<i>ńe-riʲ ~ ńe-rʲ</i>	<i>ńe-raʲ</i>	<i>ńe-raʲ</i>
3.		<i>ńi</i>	<i>ńe-xi</i>	<i>ńe-xi</i>	<i>ńe-ʔ</i>	<i>ńe-ʔ</i>

Table 52. The Imperative Paradigm for the Negative Auxiliary in Forest Enets

As we see, Enets treats certain persons in a different way. Let us take a look at the most frequent prohibitive form, the 2SG. The following examples illustrate the 2SG in indicative, imperative and prohibitive constructions.

(235) Forest Enets (a: Pusztaý 1978: 15; b: Labanauskas 2002: 31, Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 80/99)

- a. *u sij ńe-d kod*
 you I.Acc NEG_{AUX}-2SG find.CN
 ‘You don’t find me.’
- b. *meʲ mokata-ʔ*
 tent set.up-IMP.2SG
 ‘Set up the tent.’
- c. *aba sij čikon i-ǫ kai*
 sister I.Acc here NEG.IMP_{AUX}-2SG leave.CN
 ‘Sister, don’t leave me here!’

These examples show that a special negative marker (*i-*) appears in the prohibitive form. We can also see that it does not carry the person suffix normal for imperative constructions in Enets, i.e. the prohibitive suffix is not *-ʲ* but *-ǫ(?)*. (Compare 235 b and c.) The latter, in turn, cannot be identified with any imperative suffix, as this suffix is only used for 2SG in the reflexive conjugation. However, the imperative verb form in the example above can by no means be considered reflexive. It could be compared with the suffix of the object-conjugation (dual or plural object) form in the indicative, but as shown by the following example, identification with an object-conjugation suffix is not plausible.

(236) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2001: 42)

- iǫ leur*
 NEG.IMP_{AUX}-2SG shout.CN
 ‘Don’t shout.’

Let us take a look at the same form in the Tundra dialect. Here as well we can see a special verb form; only the suffix is longer in form, but otherwise, there are no differences between the dialects.

(237) Tundra Enets (Labanauskas 2002: 47)

iđo *kane-ʔ*
 NEG.IMP_{AUX}.2SG go-CN
 ‘Don’t go.’

Thus, we can state that in the 2SG both the negative marker and the suffix itself are specific.

As for the prohibitive auxiliary itself, some authors (Mikola 1967: 67, Tereshchenko 1973: 87) give this verb as the infinitive form of the negative auxiliary. However, as shown above, the standard negative marker is *ńeš* (see e.g. Tereshchenko 1966: 425). Thus, this form should rather be interpreted as a special negative verb used in certain suppletive forms of the standard negative auxiliary. Already in Castrén’s (1854: 515) material, this special form appears in the 2SG imperative. The forms recorded by Castrén are shown in the following table.

2SG	<i>iʔ</i>	2DU	<i>ńeliʔ</i>	2PL	<i>ńelaʔ</i>
3SG	<i>ńe</i>	3DU	<i>ńéggʊʔ</i>	3PL	<i>ńe-raʔ</i>
2SG.O	<i>iro</i>				<i>ńéʔ</i>

(Castrén 1854: 515)

Table 53. The Imperative Paradigm of the Enets Negative Auxiliary According to Castrén

As we see, this special verb appears in the 2SG forms but not in other forms of the imperative paradigm. That this *i-* is a verb stem and not a particle will be confirmed in what follows: it also appears in other verb moods.

As illustrated in Table 53, Enets 2SG forms do not behave similarly to other persons and numbers. In non-singular 2nd persons, in contrast, the imperative forms employ the same negative auxiliary as in the indicative. Identifying the person suffix is difficult, as the suffixes of the imperative coincide with the corresponding indicative suffixes. This means that the imperative meaning of the sentence can only be identified on the basis of the situational context, there is no unambiguous marker. The following examples show one form in imperative 2PL and two negated sentences.

(238) Forest Enets (a: Tereshchenko 1966: 451; b: Labanauskas 2002: 31;
 c: Sorokina–Bolina 2005: 121/73)

a. *d’ire-raʔ*

live-IMP.2PL

‘Live [PL].’

b. *ekkon* *ńe-raʔ* *d’ire-ʔ*

here NEG_{AUX}-IMP.2PL live-CN

‘Don’t [PL.] live here!’

- c. *esie-nina mam-bi[?]: tiki soð níð pe*
 father-PL.1PL_{Px} say-NAR.3PL this peninsula.GEN PP_{EL} tree
ñe-ra mugu-?
 NEG_{AUX}-IMP.2PL take.away-CN
 ‘Our fathers said: Don’t [PL.] collect firewood from this peninsula.’

As we see, Enets actually only has a distinct imperative form for the 2SG. This form, in turn, is specific. As mentioned above, this verb stem does not merely appear in the imperative form but some other mood categories use it for the negated form, for instance, the probabilitive (*-tta/-tte*) and the superprobabilitive (*-toba*) moods. These forms are based on the finite element of the construction, in this case, the negative auxiliary, followed by the mood suffix (e.g. *-tta/-tte*) and the same person suffixes as in the indicative mood. Following the negative auxiliary, the lexical verb comes in the connegative form. Thus, we can say that the negation paradigm is symmetric but the constructions themselves are asymmetric. Let us take a look at a few examples.

(239) Tundra Enets (Labanauskas 1987: 276, 278)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. <i>kuda-tte-ðo?</i>
sleep-PROB-3SG.R
‘As if s/he were falling asleep.’ | b. <i>i-tte-ðo?</i>
NEG.IMP _{AUX} -PROB-3SG.R
‘As if s/he were not falling asleep.’ | <i>kuda-?</i>
sleep-CN |
| c. <i>d’oxu-toba-ðo?</i>
get.lost-SUBPROB-1SG
‘It seems that I have lost my way.’ | d. <i>i-toba-ðo?</i>
NEG.IMP _{AUX} -SUPPROB-1SG
‘I have certainly not lost my way.’ | <i>d’oxu-?</i>
get.lost-CN |

The same can be observed with other moods as well, such as the interrogative, optative, conjunctive or narrative moods, the gerund suffix is also attached to the verb stem *i-*. As the following examples show, this form appears not only in the Forest but also in the Tundra dialect. Example (240) a) illustrates an interrogative form (*-ba*), example b) a debitive (*-ču*) form.

(240) Tundra Enets (a: Urmanchieva 2006: 95/35; Labanauskas 2002: 57)

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. <i>koma-ba-do</i>
want-INTER-2SG
‘Whether you want or not, I’m going home.’ | <i>i-ba-do.</i>
NEG.IMP _{AUX} -INTER-2SG | <i>me-to?</i>
tent-LAT | <i>kane-da-ðo?</i>
go-DUR-1SG |
| b. <i>mod’i</i>
I
‘I need not go.’ | <i>i-ču-ðo</i>
NEG.IMP _{AUX} -DEB-1SG | <i>kane-?</i>
go-CN | |

As for the prohibitive forms, it can be stated that Enets (as far as can be said on the basis of available data) has a prohibitive form only for the 2SG, displaying both a special negation marker and a special imperative marking.

1.4. Asymmetric Negation: Stand. Neg. Marker + Common Strategy (Type 1)

1.4.1. Nganasan

In Nganasan, in addition to the indicative 10–11 verb moods can be distinguished. I will not present them in more detail, as the negative marker does not behave in a deviant way, that is, it carries the normal mood marking. Thus, Nganasan – unlike Nenets and Enets – does not have a special prohibitive verb, at least not synchronically. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that in Nganasan, as assumed by Helimski (2005b), the two historically distinct verbs have coincided, but from a descriptive point of view, nothing speaks for this distinction in today’s language. I will illustrate the situation in Nganasan with a number of examples, starting, for comparison, with standard negation: in the first example (241), the negative verb is in the indicative.

(241) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

ńuə čii-d'iəd'əə ma-tə ńi-nti ɲəmur-ə-ʔ
 child enter-PTPST tent-LAT NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG eat-EP-CN
 ‘The child who entered the tent did not eat.’

As shown in the example above, the standard negation marker, the negative auxiliary *ńisi*, is followed by the lexical verb in the connegative form.

The following two sentences (242) a–b) show a declarative and a negated sentence in the irreal-conditional mood. As the examples show, the negated sentence assumes the same mood marker as the declarative one, while the negative marker is identical with the standard negation element.

(242) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

- a. *miŋ tətʉ-baaðəə-muʔ murəŋga-j, miŋ ńi-siə-miʔ*
 we bring-IRR-1PL cloudberry-ACC.PL we NEG_{AUX}-PST-1PL
maagəl'ičə ɲəðə-ʔ
 nothing find-CN
 ‘We would have brought cloudberryes, but we didn’t find anything.’
- b. *küdiatud'a čair-siəd'əə i-s'üə i-hü-nə.*
 in.the.morning have.tea-PTPST be-PST.3SG be-VACOND-OBL.1SG_{PX}
ɲojbuə-mə ńi-ńiəəðəə d'ari-ʔ
 head-1SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-IRR.3SG hurt-CN
 ‘If I had had tea in the morning, my head wouldn’t ache.’

After this brief introduction, I will present the construction used in the imperative. Before this, however, the mood marker itself must be dealt with. Like the other Samoyedic languages, Nganasan lacks a cross-paradigm mood suffix. The mood marking can be divided into three subgroups as in the following table. To these mood suffixes, the usual person suffixes are attached, with the exception of 2SG, in which a cumulative morpheme appears (-ʔ). Besides, in this form the suffix *-kə/-gə* is also frequently used, followed by the usual person suffix. The latter form is used for a less categorical order or request. The 1SG form is irregular as well, since here a longer variant of the person suffix may also appear; younger speakers, however, seldom use it. The mood suffixes and the person suffixes attached to them are shown in the following table.

	SG	DU	PL
Subjective	1. <i>-ku-ðəm, -gu-ðəm</i> <i>-ku-m, -gu-m</i>	<i>-ku-mi, -gu-mi</i>	<i>-ku-miʔ, -gu-miʔ,</i> <i>-ku-muʔ, -gu-muʔ</i>
	2. <i>-ʔ, -gə-η</i>	<i>-ηi-ri, -ηu-ri</i>	<i>-ηi-riʔ, -ηu-ruʔ</i>
	3. <i>-ηəə</i>	<i>-ηəə-gəj</i>	<i>-ηəə-ʔ</i>
Single Object	1. <i>-ku-mə, -gu-mə</i>	<i>-ku-mi, -gu-mi</i>	<i>-ku-miʔ, -gu-miʔ,</i> <i>-ku-muʔ, -gu-muʔ</i>
	2. <i>-tə, -ðə</i>	<i>-ηi-ri, -ηu-ri</i>	<i>-ηi-riʔ, -ηu-ruʔ</i>
	3. <i>-ηəə-ði, -ηəə-ðu</i>	<i>-ηəə-ði</i>	<i>-ηəə-ðiη, -ηəə-ðuη</i>
Dual Object	1. <i>-kugəjńə, -gukəjńə</i>	<i>-kugəjńi, -gukəjńi</i>	<i>-kugəjńüʔ, -gukəjńüʔ</i> <i>-kugəjńiʔ, -gukəjńiʔ</i>
	2. <i>-kəj-ńə, -gəj-ńə</i>	<i>-ηu-kəj-či, -ηi-kəj-či,</i> <i>-ηu-gəj-či, -ηi-gəj-či,</i>	<i>-ηu-kəj-čüʔ, -ηi-kəj-čiʔ,</i> <i>-ηu-gəj-čüʔ, -ηi-gəj-čiʔ,</i>
	3. <i>-ηəə-gəj-čü, -ηəə-gəj-či</i>	<i>-ηəə-gəj-či</i>	<i>-ηu-kəj-čüη, -ηi-kəj-čiη,</i> <i>-ηu-gəj-čüη, -ηi-gəj-čiη,</i>
Plural Object	1. <i>-kuńə, -guńə</i>	<i>-kuńi, -guńi</i>	<i>-kuńüʔ, -guńüʔ</i> <i>-kuńiʔ, -guńiʔ</i>
	2. <i>-ńə</i>	<i>-ηəči, -ηiči</i>	<i>-ηəčüʔ, -ηičiʔ</i>
	3. <i>-ηəjčü, -ηəjči</i>	<i>-ηəjči</i>	<i>-ηəičüη, -ηəičiη</i>
Reflexive	1. <i>-kunə, -gunə,</i> <i>-küńə, -güńə</i>	<i>-kuni, -guni</i>	<i>-kunuʔ, -gunuʔ</i> <i>-kuniʔ, -guniʔ</i> <i>-küńüʔ, -güńüʔ</i>
	2. <i>-ðiη</i>	<i>-ηandi, -ηanti</i> <i>-ηindi, -ηinti</i> <i>-ηindi, -ηinti</i>	<i>-ηanduʔ, -ηantuʔ</i> <i>-ηindiʔ, -ηintiʔ</i> <i>-ηindiʔ, -ηintiʔ</i>
	3. <i>-ηəiʔ, ηəjðə</i>	<i>-ηəindi, -ηəinti</i>	<i>-ηəintəʔ</i>

Table 54. Imperative Suffixes in Nganasan

Each of the following examples shows a declarative and a negative imperative sentence. As can be seen, prohibitive forms – as other mood-marked forms as well – in Nganasan are not treated in any special way.

(243) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>tuu-ʔ</i>
go-IMP.2SG
'Go.' | b. | <i>ńi-ʔ</i>
NEG _{AUX} -IMP.2SG
'Don't go.' | | <i>tuu-ʔ</i>
go-CN |
| c. | <i>mətu-ǵə</i>
cut-IMP.2SG.O
'Cut it.' | d. | <i>ńi-tə</i>
NEG _{AUX} -IMP.2SG.O
'Don't cut it.' | | <i>mətu-ʔ</i>
cut-CN |

Sentences (243) a–b) illustrate the declarative and the negative imperative forms in the subject conjugation. As shown in b), the imperative suffix is formally similar to that of the connegative form. At the same time, this sentence shows that Nganasan does not use a special imperative suffix or a special negation marker for the prohibitive function. This is even more clearly shown in c)–d): as we see, the imperative suffix is attached to the negation verb. (The consonant alternation in the suffix has nothing to do with the negation but follows the normal rules of consonant gradation.²⁸) In d), as in b), the negation verb is followed by the lexical verb in the connegative form.

The examples given above also illustrate that although the negation itself is asymmetric, the paradigm is symmetric: every declarative imperative form has its negative counterpart.

1.5. Asymmetric Negation: Stand. Neg. Marker + Special Strategy (Type 3)

1.5.1. Forest Nenets

Forest Nenets behaves slightly differently from Tundra Nenets. In Forest Nenets, in addition to the indicative the following moods are distinguished: imperative (submood hortative²⁹), conditional, potential, desiderative, narrative and auditive. The hortative forms – as in Tundra Nenets – are used for expressing adhortation in the first person.

(244) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva 2005: 76)

- xet-xa-m*
sew-IMP-1SG.O
'Let me just sew it.'

Unlike Tundra Nenets, in Forest Nenets the imperative forms of the negative auxiliary are identical with those used in the indicative, that is, the negation of the imperative also employs the standard negative element. Before giving example sentences, I will present

28. For consonant gradation in Nganasan, see e.g. Várnai 2002 or Helimski 1998b.

29. In Tundra Nenets studies, this mood is usually called "adhortative".

the verb suffixes used in the imperative and the indicative moods. It must be noted that compiling the paradigm and comparing the suffixes is problematic, as Forest Nenets even in our days belongs to the less well documented Uralic languages. Although text samples have appeared even recently, there is still no comprehensive grammatical description which would cover all dialects. The following table shows the suffixes used in the Agan dialect.

Conjugation	SG		DU		PL			
	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.	IMP.	IND.		
Subjective	1.	<i>-xa-t</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-xa-j</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-xa-ma?</i>	<i>-ma?</i>	
	2.	<i>-ʔ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-ta?</i>	<i>-ta?</i>	
	3.	<i>-(tʻa)-0</i>	<i>-(ŋa)-0</i>	<i>-(tʻa)-xaŋ</i>	<i>-(ŋa)-xaŋ</i>	<i>-(tʻa)-ʔ</i>	<i>-(ŋa)-ʔ</i>	
Objective	Single Object	1.	<i>-xa-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-xa-j</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-xa-ma?</i>	<i>-ma?</i>
		2.	<i>-at</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-ta?</i>	<i>-ta?</i>
		3.	<i>-m-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-m-tʻ</i>	<i>-tʻuŋ</i>	<i>-m-tuŋ</i>	<i>-tuŋ</i>
	Dual Object	1.	<i>-xaʻo-xo-ŋ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-ŋ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-xoj</i>	<i>-xaʻo-j</i>	<i>-xaʻo-xoj-na?</i>	<i>-xaʻu-na?</i>
		2.	<i>-xaʻo-nʔ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-t</i>	<i>-xaʻo-tʻ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-tʻ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-ta?</i>	<i>-xaʻu-ta?</i>
		3.	<i>-xaʻo-ta</i>	<i>-xaʻo-ta</i>	<i>-xaʻo-tʻ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-tʻ</i>	<i>-xaʻo-tuŋ</i>	<i>-xaʻu-tuŋ</i>
	Plural Object	1.	<i>-xa-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-xa-j</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-xa-na?</i>	<i>-(j)-na?</i>
		2.	<i>-anʔ</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-(tʻa)-ta?</i>	<i>-(j)-ta?</i>
		3.	<i>-tʻa-ta</i>	<i>-(j)-ta</i>	<i>-tʻʔ</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-(tʻa)-tuŋ</i>	<i>-(j)-tuŋ</i>
Reflexive	1.	<i>-xa-mʔ</i>	<i>-mʔ</i>	<i>-xa-j</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>-xa-na?</i>	<i>-na?</i>	
	2.	<i>-atʔ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-tʻ</i>	<i>-ta?</i>	<i>-ta?</i>	
	3.	<i>-(tʻa)-t</i>	<i>-(aj)-ʔ</i>	<i>-tʻa-xaŋ</i>	<i>-ixiŋ</i>	<i>-m-tʔ</i>	<i>-tʔ</i>	

(based on Koshkareva 2005: 76)

Table 55. Imperative and Indicative Person Suffixes in Forest Nenets

Modern language data show a difference between the imperative and indicative single-object forms in 3DU. In earlier material, this was not the case, at least in Verbov (1973) both forms end in *-mʻ*. The indicative suffix used in today’s language (*-tʻuŋ*) is obviously based on the corresponding plural form.

As shown by the table, in Forest Nenets as in other Northern Samoyedic languages there is no one cross-paradigm mood suffix. In the hortative forms, the mood suffix *-xa/-ka* is followed by the person suffixes used in the indicative, while in the imperative proper, the SG forms employ special person suffixes. In the dual and plural, however, the suffixes are identical to those used in the indicative.

As in Tundra Nenets, the third-person forms show special imperative markers.

In the paradigm of the negative auxiliary, instead of the special imperative endings the same suffixes as used in the indicative appear. The imperative and indicative forms of the negative auxiliary are shown in the following table. As Forest Nenets is still only

unsufficiently documented, I will – as in the case of Enets – not be able to present the complete paradigm in the imperative.

	SG		DU		PL		
	Imperative	Indicative	Imperative	Indicative	Imperative	Indicative	
Subj.	1.	<i>ńi-xii-t</i>	<i>ńii-t</i>	<i>ńi-xii-j</i>	<i>ńi-j</i>	<i>ńi-xii-m'a?</i>	<i>ńi-m'a?</i>
	2.	<i>ńi-ńuu-n</i>	<i>ńi-n</i>	<i>ńi-ńuu-č</i>	<i>ńi-č</i>	<i>ńi-ńuu-ta?</i>	<i>ńi-ta?</i>
	3.		<i>ńi</i>		<i>ńi-xiŋ</i>		<i>ńi-?</i>
Obj.	1.		<i>ńi-m</i>		<i>ńi-j</i>		<i>ńi-m'a?</i>
	2.	<i>ńi-ńuu-l</i>	<i>ńi-l</i>		<i>ńi-l</i>		<i>ńi-ŋa?</i>

(based on Sammallahti 1973 and Pusztay 1976)

Table 56. The Imperative and Indicative Forms of the Negative Auxiliary in Forest Nenets

As shown by the table, the stem of the negative auxiliary in Forest Nenets (in modern texts) remains the same throughout the paradigm (there is no imperative stem such as Tundra Nenets *ńo-*), but in the imperative, the emphatic clitic *-ńuu-* must be inserted between the verb stem and the person suffix. The origin of this element is still unknown. To my knowledge, prohibitive forms always carry this clitic; actually, without it, the imperative mood would not be marked on the verb. Comparing the forms, it can also be observed that the person suffixes of the indicative mood correspond to the suffixes used for the negative auxiliary in the imperative mood (see example (245)). This means that the second-person prohibitive forms deviate from declarative imperative forms. Thus, we can say that Forest Nenets employs special, i.e. non-imperative suffixes but no special negation marker.

(245) Forest Nenets, Agan Dialect (Koshkareva et al. 2003: 26/16)

ńi-j *ńii-ńuu-n* *mä-štu-?* *taj* *mä-t'a?*
 child-PL.ACC.1SG_{PX} NEG_{AUX}-CL-2SG grab-HAB-CN PTCL exist-IMP.3PL
 ‘Don’t touch my children, let them be.’

The following sentence displays both a prohibitive and an imperative form. As can be seen, the person suffixes are different. The imperative suffix in the object conjugation is *-t*, while the negative auxiliary carries the suffix *-l*.

(246) Forest Nenets, Agan Dialect (Koshkareva et al. 2003: 31/11)

čiki *tuvša-m-t* *pon* *ńii-ńuu-l* *t'ole-štu-t*, *pon*
 this sack-ACC-2SG_{PX} always NEG_{AUX}-CL-2SG.O forget-HAB-CN always
ńa?mp'io-štu-t
 keep-HAB-IMP.2SG.O
 ‘Never forget this sack, always keep it.’

As mentioned above, in modern texts the auxiliary appears in the form *ńińu-*, but in Verbov's texts, another stem variant is used for the imperative forms, as in Tundra Nenets.

(247) Forest Nenets (Verbov 1973: 101, 171)

- a. *ńu-ńoo-ł* *mataa-ʔ*
 CL- NEG_{AUX} -2SG.O cut-CN
 'Don't cut it.'
- b. *šaajaj* *kiʔii* *ńu-ńoo-n* *taxpta-ʔ*
 tea-ʔ cup CL- NEG_{AUX} -2SG break-CN
 'Don't break this tea cup!'

Thus, Forest Nenets in the form described by Verbov behaves in the same way as Tundra Nenets. However, the forms shown in Table 56. The Imperative and Indicative Forms of the Negative Auxiliary in Forest Nenets appear not only in Koshkareva's material but also, for instance, in the material recorded by Sammallahti (1973: 84). Nor did Pusztay (1976) and Lehtisalo (1956) record any stem alternation (*ńi* ~ *ńo*) either.

VI. Existential Sentences

Before surveying the strategies for constructing existential sentences, the concept of existential sentence must be defined for the purposes of this study. The most general definition is the following: “The existential construction is a sentence in which some entity (the theme argument) is associated with some location (the location argument). The theme must be indefinite.” (Freeze 2001: 941)

Without reflecting on this in more detail, let me already in this place state that in this study the analysis of the word order of existential constructions will not be based merely on grammatical but also on semantic relations. On this basis, three major elements can be identified in locational and existential sentences:

1) theme (T) – the entity about whose existence or location something is stated. According to the definition by Freeze as quoted above, this entity must be indefinite. This is a very important distinctive feature: if this entity is definite, the sentence is not existential but locational.

2) locative phrase (L) – the location in which the given entity is or exists.

3) copula (COP) – the element connecting the theme and the location. I will not define the copula in more detail but just refer to, e.g., the monograph by Pustet (2005). In this study, I will define the copula as the verbal element which serves to grammatically connect the elements of the sentence but does not add any further semantic content to the sentence (see, e.g. Pustet 2005: 5). This function is usually reserved for a verb which corresponds to the verbs for ‘to be’ or ‘to exist’. Verbs which are usually called “semi-copulas” (e.g., *to become*) will also be treated like copulas in this study.

Considering certain similarities between the existential and the so-called locational sentence, as also hinted at in the definition above, typological literature has recently tended to treat locational predication together with existential sentences (see, e.g. Freeze 1992, Th. E. Payne 1997 and Dryer 2007). In certain cases, possessive sentence types are also dealt with together with locational and existential sentences. The reason for this is that these three constructions display certain structural similarities. This will be exemplified with the following examples: sentence (248) is transformed into a locational predicative sentence (249) and a possessive sentence (250). Let us first take a look at the locational and existential constructions.

(248) Hungarian (p.k.)				EXISTENTIAL
	LOCATION	COP		THEME
	<i>az</i>	<i>asztal-on</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>(egy)</i>
	ARTDEF	table-SUPES	be.3SG	ARTINDEF
				<i>ceruza</i>
				pencil
	‘There is a pencil on the table.’			

(249) Hungarian (p.k.)				PREDICATE LOCATIVE
	THEME		LOCATION	COP
	<i>a</i>	<i>ceruza az</i>	<i>asztal-on</i>	<i>van</i>
	ARTDEF	pencil	ARTDEF table-SUPESS	be.3SG
	‘The pencil is on the table.’			

As we can see, the constituents of these sentences correspond to each other. There are two thematic arguments – theme (T) and location (L) – and a copula connecting them. (For a more detailed analysis, see Freeze 1992: 553–554).

The most marked differences between the two sentences are the word order and the marking of definiteness: the subject of the existential sentence is marked as [–definite], while the subject of the locational sentence is [+definite]. In Hungarian, definiteness is explicitly marked with articles. Of course, there are languages, in which definiteness cannot be expressed by morphological/lexical means but only with, for instance, word order alternation. This applies, for example, for Finnish and Russian.

So let us see what happens with the word order. In the locational sentence in Hungarian, the word order is T L COP. In the existential sentence, the location argument is raised to the first position, while the theme follows the predicate, that is, the word order in the existential sentence is L COP T. The locational expression carries the same morphological marking in both constructions.

Let us compare this with Finnish. As Finnish does not have articles³⁰, the interpretation of the sentence is largely determined by the word order.

(250) Finnish (p.k.)				EXISTENTIAL
	LOCATION	COP	THEME	
	<i>pöydä-llä</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>kynä</i>	
	table-AD	be.3SG	pencil	
	‘There is a pencil on the table.’			
(251) Finnish (p.k.)				PREDICATE LOCATIVE
	THEME	COP	LOCATION	
	<i>kynä</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>pöydä-llä</i>	
	pencil	be.3SG	table-AD	
	‘The pencil is on the table.’			

As we can see, in Finnish as well there is a difference in word order between the two types. While in Hungarian, the presence or absence of the article (or the use of definite vs. indefinite article) also serves to identify the sentence type, in Finnish (for countable subjects in the singular) this is only expressed by word order. If the subject of sentence is a noun in plural, there is a difference in the case form: in the locational sentence is nominative used, but in the existential partitive. In the Finnish locational sentence, the word order is T COP L, while the existential sentence shows L COP T.

30. In the spoken language the demonstrative pronoun *se* already has article function. (Cf. Lauri 1997)

- (252) Finnish (p.k.)
pöydä-llä on kyn-iä
 table-AD be.3SG pencil-PL.PART
 ‘There are pencils on the table.’
- (253) Finnish (p.k.)
kynä-t ovat pöydä-llä!
 pencil-PL be.3PL table-AD
 ‘The pencils are on the table.’

Now let us take a look at the expressions of possession in Finnish and Hungarian. To begin with, note that neither of these languages knows the transitive predicative possession construction.

- (254) Finnish (p.k.) PREDICATIVE POSSESSION
Miko-lla on kynä
 Mikko-AD be.3SG pencil
 ‘Mikko has a pencil.’
- (255) Hungarian (p.k.) PREDICATIVE POSSESSION
Kati-nak van ceruzá-ja
 Kati-DAT be.3SG pencil-3SG_{Px}
 ‘Kati has a pencil.’

In both examples, the word order corresponds to that of the existential sentence, that is, L COP T. (As will be shown later on, the basic word order patterns in these two languages are basically different.) As we can see, in Finnish the possessor carries the same morphological marking as the locational expression in the existential sentence, and the copula is the same for all three types. In Hungarian, the possessor and the locational phrase are in different case forms, but the greatest difference lies in the fact that the locational argument in the possession sentence (the possessor) is typically [+human], while in the existential sentence, the locational argument must be interpreted as [–human]. Of course, existential sentences with a [+human] locational argument are possible but cannot be considered prototypical.

It must be noted that not all languages show a similar correspondence between these two sentence types. In languages with a HAVE verb for possession, there is a substantial difference between existential and possessive constructions. The characteristics of these three constructions in Finnish and Hungarian are summarized in the following table.

		Word Order	Semantic of Locative	Definiteness of Theme
Predicate Locative	Finnish	T COP L	[-human]	[+definite]
	Hung.	T L COP		
Existential	Finnish	L COP T	[-human]	[-definite]
	Hung.	L COP T		
Predicative Possession	Finnish	L COP T	[+human]	[+/-definite]
	Hung.	L COP T		

Table 57. Characteristics of the Locational, Existential and Predicative Possessive Sentences in Finnish and in Hungarian

Before a more detailed description of the existential and locational construction is given, the subtypes of the existential sentence must be dealt with. Freeze (1992) distinguishes two basic subtypes. The first group, i.e. the so-called locational existential sentences, includes the type illustrated by the Finnish and Hungarian examples above. In this type, the constituents of the existential sentence are the same as in the locational sentence. The second group includes the so-called proform existential sentences; these are enhanced by an additional constituent, the proform. This construction can be observed for instance in the Romance languages, in Arabic and in certain languages of Australia. In the Germanic languages, this construction appears with certain restrictions; for Uralic, it cannot be called typical but there are some Uralic languages in which this construction also appears. The proform itself often (although not always) includes a word with locational semantics, such as Arabic *fii* ‘in that, there(in)’, English *there*.

This group of existential sentences can be divided into further sub-types on the basis of the construction of the proform. As mentioned above, there are languages in which the proform is lexically or morphologically locative. There are also languages with a non-locational proform, such as German, in which the proform is constituted by the so-called expletive subject pronoun (*es*).

(256) German (p.k.)

es *gibt* *ein* *Krankenhaus* *in* *dieser* *Stadt*
 PROF give.3SG ARTINDEF hospital PR_{Loc} this city
 ‘There is a hospital in this city.’

As existential proforms in general are not typical of Uralic, and those Uralic languages which do have proforms only display the locative proform type, I will not present this subtype in more detail (for a more detailed description, see Freeze 1992: 563–571 or Freeze 2001).

In sum, it may be stated that the relation between constituents of the locational predicative sentence and the existential sentence allows for the distinction of two existential construction types:

1. In locational existential sentences, the number of the constituents is the same as in the locational ones, i.e. three, but the word order is different: the locational argument (L) moves to the position of the theme (T).
2. In proform existential sentences, the number of the constituents is enhanced by one; this additional element can also be lexically or syntactically locational. Usually, this element takes the position normally typical of the grammatical subject (S).

Before presenting the negation of the existential sentences, the word order relations between locational and existential sentences deserve to be dealt with; these have also been investigated by Freeze (1992: 556–557, 564). As the basic word order in Uralic is SVO or SOV, I will merely concentrate on these two word order types, passing by the V-initial ones. It can already be noted that since Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric represent the SOV type, only observations concerning this type will be really relevant. Data on SVO languages will be given for the sake of comparison but also because, as will be shown in what follows, certain languages with a fairly free word order correlate more with this type.

Basic Word Order	Language	Existential	Predicate Locative
SOV	Hindi	L T COP	T L COP
SVO	Russian, Finnish	L COP T	T COP L

(according to Freeze 1992: 564)

Table 58. Correlation Between the Basic Word Order in Existential Sentences and the Order of the Semantic Constituents

As can be seen from this table, Hungarian is a counter-example for Freeze's statement, since in Hungarian the constituent order in existential sentences is L COP T. However, SOV languages often behave in unexpected ways, in particular, if the basic word order is not rigid – which applies for Hungarian. It can be claimed that word order in Hungarian is conditioned by information structure to a much greater extent than, for instance, in Nenets. Yet, I will not completely discard Freeze's observations; I will depart from the hypothesis that existential sentences in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric will display the constituent order L T COP.

A few words about the copula of the existential sentence are in order as well. In this role, most Uralic languages employ the BE verb, but there are also languages with a separate existential copula, such as the Northern Samoyedic languages. In many languages, the common BE copula is not able to express tense or mood categories. In this case, the language may employ suppletive forms.

In this brief introduction, I will not be able to deal with the whole spectrum of existential sentences, but it will not be necessary, as this sentence type will only be investigated in order to shed light on the negated variants.

The word order patterns of existential sentences in Uralic will be summarized on the basis of Bartens (1996). I will not repeat her detailed analysis here but only mention that her approach is completely different from mine. As she did not deal with Samoyedic languages, I have added them to her classification according to my own research.

L COP T languages: Hungarian, Udmurt, Saami, Estonian, Finnish, Mordvin
 L T COP languages: Mansi, Khanty, Komi, Udmurt, Ingrian, Nganasan Nenets, Kamas, Enets, Selkup

Each language clearly prefers one of these constituent orders. The only exception is Udmurt, in which there is a free alternation between the two types.

1. Typology of Negated Existential Sentences

The typological classification of negated existential sentences has been investigated by Croft (1991) in a detailed study. He distinguishes between three possible groups on the basis of the negative marker:

1) The first group (Group A) includes those languages in which the existential sentences can be negated with the same marker which is used for other verbal predicates. In this group, thus, there is nothing special, negated existential sentences simply employ the standard negation element. In Uralic, this group is represented by e.g. Finnish and Estonian. Let us take a look at this phenomenon as illustrated by a Finnish example. In Finnish, both standard and existential negation are formed with the negative auxiliary *e-*, which is followed by the connegative form of the lexical verb – in existential sentences, the BE verb. This construction is used independently of tense: the same negative auxiliary is used for both the present and the past tense. However, as the negative auxiliary cannot carry tense marking, tense is expressed by the use of a non-finite form of the BE (lexical) verb.

(257) Finnish (p.k.)

- a. *hän ei men-e*
 (s)he NEG_{Aux}.3SG go-EP.CN
 ‘(S)he doesn’t go.’
- b. *pöydä-llä ei ole kynä-ä*
 table-AD NEG_{Aux}.3SG be.CN pencil-PART
 ‘There is no pencil on the table.’
- c. *pöydä-llä ei ol-lut kynä-ä*
 table-AD NEG_{Aux}.3SG be-PTPST pencil- PART
 ‘There was no pencil on the table.’

(260) Tongan (Croft 1991: 12)

- a. *na'e 'ikai [ke] 'alu 'a Siale*
 PST NEG go ABS Charlie
 'Charlie didn't go.'
- b. *'Oku 'ikai ha faiako 'i heni*
 PRS NEG.EX DEF teacher at here
 'There is no teacher here.'

The sentences in (260) demonstrate the reanalysis of the negative element into a negative existential predicate: in sentence a), the negative particle *'ikai* was situated before the predicate verb, while in b), it functions alone as the predicate. For this type, there are no examples in Uralic.

Alongside the three main types, there are transitional types displaying the features of two different types. Croft distinguished the following transitional types: A ~ B, B ~ C and C ~ A.

i) Type A ~ B is represented by Hungarian, and also, for instance, Serbian. Characteristically, the existential and standard negation markers differ from each other but the use of the negative existential is restricted, for instance, for only one tense category. This is true of Hungarian: for the present tense, a special negative existential predicate is used (*nincs*), which agrees in number (and person) with the subject. However, this form cannot be marked for tense. For the past and future tenses, Hungarian uses the standard negation element (*nem*) and the suppletive tense-marked forms of the BE verb. Sentence (261) a) illustrates the the past tense, b) the future.

(261) Hungarian (p. k.)

- a. *az asztal-on nem volt alma*
 ARTDEF table-SUPESS NEG_{P_{TCL}} be-PST.3SG apple
 'There was/were no apple(s) on the table.'
- b. *az asztal-on nem lesz alma*
 ARTDEF table-SUPESS NEG_{P_{TCL}} be.FUT.3SG apple
 'There will be no apples on the table.'

As we see, both sentences employ the same negation marker. In the existential sentence, the order of the constituents is L NEG COP T. For comparison, an example in the present tense:

(262) Hungarian (p.k.)

- a. *az asztal-on nincs alma*
 ARTDEF table-SUPESS NEG.EX apple
 'There is/are no apple(s) on the table.'

- b. *az asztal-on nincs-e-nek almá-k*
 ARTDEF table-SUPESSEG NEG.EX-EP-3PL apple-PL
 ‘There are no apples on the table.’

The predicate in b) has been glossed as a 3PL verb form. Historically, however, this is not a verb but a negative existential predicate which only has third-person forms but agrees in number with the subject. The constituent order pattern is L COP T.

ii) In group B ~ C, typically the special negative existential predicate has begun to “trickle through” into the standard negation as well. This may happen in various ways; in Indonesian, for instance, the two forms have merged and the existential negation element has begun to function as the standard negation marker (cf. Croft 1991: 8). Another possible scenario can be seen in Bulgarian (Veselinova 2009). Here, as well, there are two negation markers: *ne* and *njama*. The negation marker *ne* must be used in standard negation. The latter negation marker used to appear in existential sentences but has begun to spread into standard negation as well: it can be used for negation in the future tense.

(263) Bulgarian (Veselinova 2009: 4 (a, b); Gutschmidt 2002: 227 (c, d))

- a. *Meri ne pee*
 Mary NEG sing.3SG
 ‘Mary doesn’t sing.’
- b. *njama div-i kotk-i*
 NEGEX.3SG wild-PL cat-PL
 ‘There are no wild cats.’
- c. *šte četā*
 FUT.PTCL read.1SG
 ‘I will read.’
- d. *njama da četā*
 NEG.EX.3SG FUT.PTCL read.3SG
 ‘I will not read.’

As mentioned above, the existential negative marker appears in the negation of the future tense. Comparing c) and d) we can also see that the particle for future tense is also different for the positive and negative variant; this is due to the peculiar formation of the future tense in Bulgarian.

Similar constructions also appear in some Uralic languages, such as Selkup and Komi. However, in these languages it is not used for the future tense but for a past-tense form. In Komi, the perfect and pluperfect are negated with the negative particle *abu*. Its original function is existential negation, but it also appears in possessive constructions. In existential sentences, the negative existential predicate *abu* agrees in number, as shown in the following two sentences.

- (264) Komi (<<http://www.finnougria.ru/?q=node/6601>> [Accessed on 25.05. 2009])³¹
sponsor-jas, kod-jas verm-asni vičmäd-ni vil' šərin
 sponsor-PL who-PL can-FUT.3PL sort.out-INF new central.place
strəit-əm vilə 10–15 million šajt, Kojgort-in abu-əsʲ
 build-NMLZ PP 10–15 million ruble Kojgort-LOC NEG.EX -PL
 ‘There are no sponsors in Koygort who can allocate 10–15 million rubles
 for the construction of a new centre.’
- (265) Komi (Cypanov 1992: 275)
ežva-in i'eatr abu
 Ezhva-LOC theatre NEG.EX
 ‘There is no theatre in Ezhva.’

With past tense negation (the negation of the historically participle-based tenses: perfect, pluperfect), the negation marker *abu* does not take any agreement morphemes but behaves like a particle preceding the nominal verb form. The normal standard negation marker in Komi is the negative auxiliary, *o-* in the present tense, *e-* in the past tense (imperfect). The following example illustrates the negation in the past tense. As can be seen, there are no standard negation elements.

- (266) Komi (Rédei 1978: 108)
abu mun-əma-əsʲ
 NEG go-PTPST-PL
 ‘They have not gone.’

iii) The third transitional group, C ~ A, includes languages in which the existential negation element is reanalysed as an adverbial negative marker. Unlike in type C, however, this reanalysis has not been generalised for all cases, that is, negation can still be expressed with two different kinds of constructions. As this type is unknown in Uralic, I will use an example from Croft’s study.

- (267) Marathi (Croft 1991: 12)
- a. *tithə koṇi āhe*
 there anyone Ex
 ‘Is anyone there?’
- b. *koṇi tithə dzaat [əts] naahi* MAIN VERB + NEG
 anyone there goes [EMPH] NEG
 ‘Nobody goes there.’
- c. *tithə koṇi naahi [aahe]* NEG + EXISTENTIAL
 there anyone NEG EX
 ‘There isn’t anyone there.’

31. I would like to thank László Fejes for his help in finding and glossing this sentence.

As shown in (267) c), the negative element *naahi* can appear in an existential sentence either alone or together with the existential predicate *aahe*. According to Croft's informant, the latter is an emphatic construction, and, in Croft's interpretation, also a more recent one. Should sentence c) only allow for the construction of the type NEG+Verb, the language would have crossed the border into type A.

Between the types presented above, Croft discovered a diachronic cyclicity in the direction $A > B > C > A$.

The following table summarizes the data from Uralic languages. I have not pursued any in-depth investigations into Uralic, firstly, as this would have exceeded the limits of this introduction but also because less frequent constructions are usually not mentioned in descriptive grammars, although their presence or absence can play a crucial role in the classification of each language into one of the main or transitional types presented above. Without complete clarity in this matter, no decisive classification of the Uralic languages according to this typology can be undertaken. However, I believe that it is worth while to attempt a preliminary classification of the Uralic languages in the light of accessible data.

A	A ~ B	B	B ~ C
NEG + Verb		NEG + Verb NEG.EX (≠Neg)	
Finnish, Estonian Livonian etc.	Hungarian, Mari, Nenets, Enets, Mansi, Khanty,	Kamas, Mator, Nganasan, Mordvin, Udmurt	Komi, Selkup

Table 59. Types of Negative Existential Sentences in Uralic

According to Croft's investigations, type B is the most frequent one worldwide. It is also the most popular one in the Uralic language family. However, there seems to be a clear boundary within Uralic: the Finnic languages favour type A, while the other Uralic languages rather belong to B or to the transitional type A ~ B. The types C and C ~ A do not appear in Uralic at all.

2. Negated Existential Sentences in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

Before surveying the existential and negative existential sentences in the individual languages, some aspects of word order must be dealt with. The distinction between existential and locational sentences in these languages may crucially depend on word order, as these languages typically do not use articles and therefore mark definiteness with word order patterns.

The basic word order in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric is typically verb-final (OV). Nenets, Enets and Ob-Ugric conform to this pattern fairly strictly, while in Nganasan the word order is far less rigidly bound to it. Nor is the basic word order in Selkup strictly SOV. In any case, in the languages under study the sentence-final position tends to be occupied by the predicate: the verb, if the predicate is a verb, or in case of a complex predicate, its verb part. However, as we saw in the chapter presenting the standard negation, this does not necessarily apply for the negative auxiliary. The subject need not occupy the sentence-initial position, as it can be preceded by diverse modifiers, attributes or interrogative elements; for instance, adverbs of time and manner prefer the sentence-initial position.

Of the languages investigated here, Nganasan deviates significantly from these general word order patterns. Here, constituent order is characteristically conditioned by the information structure much more than in other Samoyedic languages. Let us compare a Selkup sentence (268) with a few Nganasan sentences.

(268) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 383)

mat tašinti am-ta-k
I you.ACC eat-FUT-1SG
'I will eat you.'

As we see, the word order in the Selkup sentence is SOV. The Ob-Ugric languages largely behave similarly to Selkup, Nenets and Enets. (For a more detailed study on the word order in Khanty, see Koshkareva (2002).) In all these languages, the focus position characteristically precedes the verb. In Nganasan, in contrast, the word order does not strictly conform to the SOV pattern; in fact, we can say that no clear preference for a certain word order pattern can be distinguished but the word order largely depends on the information structure of the sentence. New information is usually placed at the end of the sentence, and correspondingly, the word order may be SVO, SOV or even (O)VS. This variation is illustrated by the following examples:

SOV

(269) Nganasan (ChND 2006)

- a. *maa mej-hi s'imbīa koli-gəṭə*
 what.ACC make-INTER.PST.3SG Simbia fish-EL
 'What did Simbia make out of the fish?'
- b. *siti koli hiri-d'ə*
 (s)he fish.ACC cook-PST.3SG
 '(S)he cooked the fish.'

SVO

(270) Nganasan (ChND 2006)

- a. *maa i-hu talu*
 what be-INTER.PST.3SG yesterday
 'What happened yesterday?'
- b. *s'imbīa hiri-tə-siə koli*
 Simbia cook-IPF-PST.3SG fish.ACC
 'Simbia cooked fish.'

(X)VS

(271) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1973: 288)

- bika bəṛə-tənu ηəḍü-tü ηuʔəj koruʔ. əmti koru-tənu*
 river.GEN side-LOC be.visible-Co.3SG one house this.GEN house-LOC
ñili-ti tibjkiä-ku
 live-Co.3SG boy-DIM
 'At the riverside a house can be seen. In this house, there lives a boy.'

At the same time, Tereshchenko (1973: 289) points out that in her corpus, roughly one half of the sentences end with the verb. Statistical data thus seems to support the classification of Nganasan into the OV type. However, constituent order in Nganasan is not bound to a certain type but is – as in Hungarian – pragmatically conditioned. In what follows, I will not assign Nganasan to the SVO nor to the SOV type but rather investigate the word order preferences within the construction types under study. Yet, my point of departure will be that Nganasan is not a VS language; my first hypothesis is that Nganasan word order patterns will resemble those in Hungarian. As we saw earlier, in Hungarian locational sentences show the order T L COP, which points to a basic word order of the SOV type; however, in existential sentences the word order is typically L COP T, and this pattern, according to Freeze, appears in SVO languages.

An interesting question is whether word order in Hungarian existential sentences can be changed without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. This is definitely the case: L T COP order is possible, albeit not in a neutral sentence but in a certain focused type of the existential sentence.

(272) Hungarian (p.k.)

mi van az asztal-on
 what be.3SG ARTDEF table-SUPES
az asztal-on virág van
 ARTDEF table-SUPES flower be.3SG
 ‘What is on the table? On the table is a flower.’

After this brief excursus, we will return to the analysis of our Nganasan data. In examining the basic word order, one factor must also be taken into account: the influence of Russian. Most of the material investigated here consists of my own recordings, and all my informants are Russian-Nganasan bilinguals, their text production showing partly strong syntactic interference from Russian. It must also be noted that research into word order in Nganasan has largely been neglected up to now, so that there are no precise data as to whether word order patterns in Nganasan have changed. In languages which lack a single clearly dominant basic word order, word order patterns cannot be investigated without native-speaker informants. Thus, the scarcity of available data and poor accessibility of native-speaker informants might explain why there have been no deep-going investigations of these phenomena for Nganasan so far.

As mentioned above, Nenets prefers the SOV word order; this is true for both Tundra and Forest Nenets. The word order is rigid, that is, the verb stands consequently at the end of the sentence. This can be illustrated with the following example.

(273) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 135)

jiir'ii-mi sawa noxo-m? xa-da
 grandfather-1SG_{px} good fox-ACC fell-3SG.o
 ‘My grandfather killed a good fox.’

In Nenets, it can be claimed that temporal adverbs always occupy the sentence-initial position (Tereshchenko 1973: 285, Salminen 1998: 543), and that local adverbs in every case precede the verb, which leads to the following two word order patterns: Adv_{place} S-OV and SAdv_{place} V. In Nenets, the focus position precedes the verb. The verb is only followed by other elements in some special cases, such as very emphatic expressions (Salminen 1998: 543).

Enets behaves in many respects similarly to Nenets; as in Nenets, the dominant word order in Enets is fairly strictly SOV. Much more cannot be said of word order in Enets, as studies in this respect have only been pursued by Tereshchenko (1973) and Labanauskas (2002). Both authors state that in Enets (as in Nenets), the finite part of the predicate is strictly assigned to the sentence-final position. The only exception are the negative sentences in which the lexical verb occupies the sentence-final position, followed by the finite form of the negative auxiliary. The following sentence illustrates the typical SOV word order in Enets.

(274) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 284)

ne með-ʔ mosa poñi-ŋa
 woman tent-GEN work.ACC make-Co.3SG
 ‘The woman is doing house work.’

In Enets, both temporal and locational adverbs can precede the subject, but this does not change the fact that the basic word order is SOV.

After this brief introduction into word order patterns, I will show how the languages investigated here construct negated existential sentences. I will group the languages by the type of negated constructions, but I will also give examples of affirmative sentences and non-existential locational constructions for a further comparison between the structures of affirmative and negative sentences.

2.1. Type B

As mentioned above, this type includes languages in which there are different negation elements for existential and standard negation: existential negation employs a special negative existential predicate which is not identical with the standard negation element, and the standard negation element cannot be applied to an existential sentence. On this basis, the negation in these constructions can be called asymmetrical. Of the languages studied here, three belong to this type: Mator, Kamas and Nganasan.

2.1.1. Mator

Of the extinct Mator language, very little is known. It can be taken for granted that existence could be expressed by the BE verb, that is, there was no special existential predicate, as shown in e.g. *isi äjŋa* ‘there is work’ (Helimski 1997: 172). Concerning word order patterns, no valid conclusions can be drawn on the basis of available data.

Negation is expressed by a negative existential verb. Helimski (1997: 173) has concluded that there were two verbs of this kind, *nängü* and *nagajga*. On the basis of available data, their division of labour cannot be determined, but it is certain that both of them – as will be shown in what follows – could also be used for negating possession. The verb *nagajga* is, according to Helimski (1997: 313), a compound. The first element is the negative marker *naga*, possibly cognate with the Kamas negative existential verb *nago-*. The second part of the word could reflect the BE verb. The element *nängü* is only attested in the negated forms of pronouns. The following examples show that the theme of the sentence is marked with a possessive suffix, but these data do not allow for more precise conclusions concerning the use of this construction. It is also questionable whether these examples represent whole sentences or lexicalized expressions.

tar-ti nagajga [fur-3SG_{px} NEG.EX.3SG] ‘naked’
ṭimi-m nagajga [tooth-1SG_{px} NEG.EX.3SG] ‘toothless’
teñiš-ta nagajga [wit-3SG_{px} NEG.EX.3SG] ‘witless’
amdi-d’e nagajga [horn-3SG_{px} NEG.EX.3SG] ‘hornless’.

This verb contrasts with the negative auxiliary *i-* used for standard negation. Thus, we may classify Mator into Type B, but it must be added that this conclusion must be drawn with extreme caution, as the data are very deficient; for instance, there are no data on existential or possessive negation in the past tense.

2.1.2. Kamas

Kamas is also a deficiently documented language, and finding affirmative existential and locational sentences is very difficult. We can assume that both sentence types employ the same copula, viz. the BE verb. The following example illustrates the affirmative existential sentence:

(275) Kamas (Joki 1944: 87)

	LOCATION	THEME	COP
<i>tar-zəbi</i>	<i>ṭer-ən</i>	<i>šüjöö-ndə</i>	<i>kümü</i>
fur-ADJ	centre-GEN	inner.part-LOC/LAT.3SG	red
			centre
			be-PRS.3SG

‘In the middle of the furry middle part there is a red middle part.’

As this sentence is a riddle, precise conclusions concerning the word order cannot really be drawn. In any case, the word order in this example is L T COP. This fits in with the type described by Freeze for SOV languages.

In Kamas, existential negation can be expressed with the verb *nago-*. This verb has a deficient paradigm; there are no infinitives, but as will be shown below, the verb can be inflected for person and tense. The verb agrees in number with the grammatical subject.

(276) Kamas (Joki 1944: 42/b)

- a. *iinə-iʔ naga*
horse-PL NEG.EX.3SG
‘There is no horse.’
- b. *dīzen am-zit-tən nago-əʔ-bi*
they eat-INF-3PL NEG.EX-INCH-PST.3SG
‘They did not have anything to eat.’

The data does not allow for any further conclusions concerning word order; I have not found any affirmative existential and locational sentences which would be comparable with each other. For determining the word order patterns in negated sentences, negated existential and locational sentences should be compared, but for both locational and existential constructions I only found examples without explicit locational expression. The following is an example of a negative locational sentence:

(277) Kamas (Joki 1944: 197)

THEME	COP	THEME	LOCATION	AUX
<i>ni-t</i>	<i>naga,</i>	<i>ko?bdo</i>	<i>t'epsi-ndə</i>	<i>i?bə</i>
child-3SG _{px}	NEG.EX.3SG	daughter	cradle-LOC.3SG _{px}	lie.PRS.3SG

‘His/her son is not (there), the girl lies in the cradle.’

According to the tendency described by Freeze (1992), locational sentences in SOV languages show the pattern T L COP, while for existential sentences the order is L T COP. The second part of the previous example displays the order T L COP, which would mean that this sentence should be considered a locational one. The first part is more difficult to interpret on the basis of word order, as there is no explicit phrase for location. However, as Freeze states, the theme of the existential sentence, i.e. the subject is always [–definite]. This condition is only fulfilled by the sentences in (276), as the theme of (277), ‘the son/child’, carries a possessive suffix and cannot thus be considered indefinite. Thus, this sentence is a locational one. On this basis, it can be stated that locational and existential sentences employ the same negative existential verb but display different word orders.

Considering that standard negation in Kamas is expressed by either the negative auxiliary *e-* or, in certain cases, the negative particle *ej* historically going back to the negative auxiliary (for more details, see chapter II/3.1.2. and II/3.2.2.), we can state that Kamas employs different markers for standard and existential negations.

2.1.3. Nganasan

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, I will treat Nganasan as a language without a fixed dominant word order. Let us first see how existential sentences are constructed in Nganasan. One of the numerous interesting characteristics of this language is that existential sentences can employ two different copulas, and constructions without a copula also appear. Both copulas go back to a lexicalized combination of a pronoun stem (*tə-*) and a BE verb (*is'a*), thus it can be stated that this construction in Nganasan represents the so-called proform existential expression. The copula (BE verb) appearing in locational predicative sentences can also be used in existential sentences, albeit much less frequently. In what follows, the construction types will be grouped according to the choice of the copula.

Existential Sentence Employing the Verb *tais'a* 'to exist'

This verb is a compound form, the first part of which reflects the pronoun stem *tə-*, which also appears for instance in the demonstrative pronoun *tə-ti* 'this' and in some adverbs such as *tə-ndə* or *tə-niʔiā* 'there (to)', *tə-ni* 'here'. This pronoun stem is of Proto-Samoyed origin, but the grammaticalization of this combination of pronoun and verb cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Samoyed. In itself, however, this pronoun stem does not have a locational meaning. Thus, this form can rather be considered an expletive proform which by now forms a fixed part of the lexicalized existential verb *tais'a*.

While in English the locational proform (*there*), in German the expletive proform (*es*) occupies the position of the grammatical subject, in Nganasan the element *tə* could only appear in the position preceding the copula and following the other constituents. This position probably contributed to the prefixation of the proform to the verb.

In Nganasan existential sentences, this verb is fairly frequently used. It is just as frequent in possessive constructions, but – as will be shown – these two constructions resemble each other in other respects as well. The copula agrees in number and person with the grammatical subject of the sentence.

(278) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

LOCATIVE	COP	THEME
<i>labku-tənu</i>	<i>təi-čü-ʔ</i>	<i>kiriba-ʔ</i>
shop-LOC	EX-CO-3PL	bread-PL

'There is bread in the shop.'

This copula can also be marked for tense, i.e. past or future tense, as illustrated by the following example.

(279) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

<i>talū</i>	<i>labku-tənu</i>	<i>təi-s'üə-ʔ</i>	/	<i>təi-s'üöä-ʔ</i>	<i>kiriba-ʔ</i>
other.day	shop-LOC	EX-PST-3PL		EX-FUT-3PL	bread-PL

'Yesterday, there was / there will be bread in the shop.'

As we see, the word order is L COP T. This corresponds to the word order in Hungarian and with the order observed by Freeze for SVO languages. There are also examples for the order L T COP (see, e.g., 280). These sentences do not appear in modern text collections but in Tereshchenko's material. It is a plausible hypothesis that in Nganasan – obviously, due to Russian influence – a shift in word order patterns has taken place, as earlier data points towards SOV word order. However, confirming this hypothesis would require more deep-going research into Nganasan syntax.

- (280) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 172)
- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| LOCATIVE | THEME | COP |
| <i>əm-ni</i> | <i>maa=güə</i> | <i>təi-čü</i> |
| this-LOC.ADV | what=CLIT | exist-Co.3SG |
- ‘There is something here.’

As for the theme of the sentence, there is no morphological marking pointing at definiteness; in fact, semantically often the indefiniteness is explicitly expressed in the sentence.

The question whether definiteness can be expressed by word order in Nganasan can only be answered by comparing existential and locational sentences. This sentence type will be dealt with later on; as mentioned above, the copula *təis'a* is typically not used in locational sentences.

Existential Sentence Employing the Verb *tənijs'a* ‘to exist, to be’

This verb also represents a grammaticalized combination of the pronoun stem *tə-*, the adverbial locative suffix (c.f. *təni* ‘here’) and the BE verb.³² Thus, this form is used for a locational proform existential construction. In existential sentences, this copula appears far less frequently than the former one; in my own fieldwork material, the informants never use it. The use of this copula is illustrated by the following two sentences.

- (281) Nganasan (Kosterkin, T.:T_SeuMelangana/108)
- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| THEME | COP |
| <i>ɲuniri-ʔia</i> | <i>maʔ tənij-huaŋhu</i> |
| short.tent.flap-AUG | tent EX-NAR.3SG |
- ‘They say that there are tents with short flaps.’
- (282) Nganasan (Tereshchenko 1979: 128)
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>na-ðə-tə</i> | <i>təŋgəʔlikü</i> | <i>tənij-čü</i> |
| PP-EL.ADV-OBL.2SG _{px} | strong | EX-Co.3SG |
- ‘There is (somebody who is) stronger than you.’

32. Janhunen (1977: 144) derives this verb from the PS existential verb **tənä-*. I do not share his opinion, as this etymology is phonologically problematic from the point of view of Nganasan, nor do I believe that the Mator data presented by Janhunen in this context represent true cognates (cf. also Helimski 1997: 354/981). Thus, Janhunen’s etymology, in my opinion, cannot be considered Proto-Samoyedic but rather Proto-Nenets-Enets (or a more recent innovation in all three languages), as the forms in these two languages can without doubt be brought back to the above-mentioned reconstruct. If we accept the Proto-Samoyed origin of the Nganasan verb *tənijs'a*, we should also find a convincing explanation for why this verb was ousted by an innovation. While *təis'a* also appears in Castrén’s material (*təitü* Castrén 1854: 60), forms of *tənijs'a* are not attested there and are far less frequent also in more recent material. For this reason, I consider the latter verb a more recent innovation.

As we see, these sentences show the order (L) T COP. Considering that the text containing example (281) stems from an informant (Tubjaku Kosterkin) who cannot be considered bilingual³³, and that example (282) above also represents the type L T COP, it really seems that this could have been the original constituent order in Nganasan existential sentences.

Existential Sentence Without Copula

Copulaless existential sentences are far less frequent than those with a copula. As shown in the following example, these sentences can be formed without a verb form of any kind.

- (283) Nganasan (Dyalamte, 2006: DY-00_musuna/2,)
təndə kuədə ńi-ni ŋuʔəj maʔ
 this.GEN hill.GEN PP_{ON}-LOC.ADV one tent
 ‘On this hill there is a tent.’

The constituent order is L T. This, of course, does not allow for any speculations as to where the copula would stand if there were one. In any case, it must be noted that this way of forming existential sentences is far less frequent than the two other types presented above, and it only appears in narrative texts.

Locational Sentence With the Verb *is'ə* ‘to be’

The use of the bare BE verb as a copula is not typical of existential sentences; sentences with a bare BE copula are usually locational ones. In my corpus there are a few examples in which the native-speaker informant chose to use the BE verb in an existential sentence. However, it must be noted that only one of my eight informants used this strategy, and even with this informant, this was not systematic but rather sporadic. All other informants used the proform existential verb for existential sentences and the BE verb for locational ones. Let us first take a look at the data with the BE verb in an existential sentence.

- (284) Nganasan (KTT 2008)³⁴
komnatə-tənu kuəd'ümu i-čü
 room-Loc man be-Co.3SG
 ‘There is a man in the room.’

33. Tubjaku did speak Russian, but only in the pidginized form (Govorka) used on the Taymyr Peninsula. Thus, there is no reason to expect significant Russian interference in his texts.

34. Other consultants expressed the same in the following way, e.g. KES, 2008

komnatə-tənu təi-čü kuəd'ümu
 room-Loc Ex-Co.3SG man
 ‘There is a man in the room.’

As we see, only the word order in this sentence can support an existential interpretation instead of a locational one. The theme is unmarked, while the word order corresponds to the word order most frequently used by the other informants in existential sentences: L T COP. Thus, we can depart from the hypothesis that this sentence is an existential one. In contrast, in locational sentences this informant (and others as well) used two word order patterns: the order T L COP appeared but T COP L was also accepted, although it appears less frequently. This is illustrated by the following example.

(285) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

THEME	LOCATIVE	COP		THEME	COP	LOCATIVE
<i>kuəd'ümu</i>	<i>komnatə-tənu</i>	<i>iču</i>	/	<i>kuəd'ümu</i>	<i>i-ču</i>	<i>komnatə-tənu</i>
man	room-LOC	be-Co.3SG		man	be-Co.3SG	room-LOC
'The man is in the room.'						

As mentioned above, the theme of locational sentences is definite. As Nganasan does not have articles, definiteness or identifiability can be expressed by other means, such as a possessive suffix (cf. example (286)), but a noun may also lack explicit marking. In that case, the theme does not carry a possessive suffix nor is it preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, but the interpretation of the theme as [+definite] is only based on word order and the choice of the copula (cf. sentence (287)).

(286) Nganasan (KSM 2006)

<i>luu-ǝi</i>	<i>loču</i>	<i>ni-ni</i>	<i>i-ču</i>	/	<i>i-s'üə</i>
dress-3SG _{Px}	floor.GEN	PP _{ON} -LOC.ADV	be-Co.3SG	/	be-PST.3SG
'The clothing is/was on the floor. or His/her clothing is on the floor.'					

(287) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

<i>kümaa-mə</i>	<i>ŋəmərsan-ə</i>	<i>ni-ni</i>	<i>i-s'üə</i>
knife-1SG _{Px}	table-EP.GEN	PP _{ON} -LOC.ADV	be-PST.3SG
'My knife was on the table.'			

In Nganasan, Px1SG in any case expresses true possession and thus, characteristically, implies definiteness. In contrast, Px3SG does not always imply possession but is also used for expressing identifiability or definiteness. As the consultant herself explained it, (287) can be used for instance in a situation in which the speaker is looking for a knife which (s)he cannot find but which, as (s)he remembers, used to be on the table. That is, the sentence refers to a certain knife. Comparing the corresponding existential sentence with the previous example shows a clear difference in word order. We can also observe that the existential sentence does not use the BE verb for copula.

(288) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

ŋəmursan-ə *ńini* *təi-s'üə* *kümaa*
 table-EP.GEN PP_{ON} -LOC.ADV be-PST.3SG knife
 'There was a knife on the table.'

As can be seen, in Nganasan there are differences between existential and locational sentences both in word order and in the choice of the copula. As mentioned above, the word order in existential sentences is undergoing a change, so that more than one type of word order patterns can be observed. The same is true of locational sentences. That is, on the basis of the word order in these two sentence types we might claim that the word order in Nganasan has both SVO- and SOV-like features. As the word order is not fixed but shows some well definable patterns, the interpretation of the sentence is more dependent on the choice of copula and the context than on word order.

Negation of Existential Sentences

After this introduction, let us analyse the expression of negation in these two sentence types. Nganasan knows two existential negation elements: a verb with a complete paradigm (*d'angujs'a*) and a particle-like negative existential predicate (*d'aŋku*).

The stem *d'aŋku* has possible cognate verbs in Nenets and Enets and a cognate word form in Mator (*ńäñüh*). Helimski (1997: 318/742) reconstructs the stem **jaŋko-* for PS. In my opinion, this PS form has been retained in Nganasan as a particle; the Nganasan negative existential verb is a more recent grammaticalization consisting of the negative existential predicate *d'aŋku* and the BE verb *is'a* (*ij-*). Otherwise, the infinitive form of the verb according to morphophonological rules would be *d'aŋkud'a*. Castrén (1854: 490–491) still states that this element cannot carry any suffixes but is followed by the BE verb. The other Northern Samoyedic languages do not know this particle-like form, only the verb.

For the negation in the present tense, the existential predicate *d'aŋku* is mostly used. It can only agree with the subject in number. An example of its use:

(289) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

- a. *labku-tənu* *d'aŋgu-?* *kiriba-?*
 shop-LOC NEG.EX_{PTCL} -PL bread-PL
 'There isn't any bread in the shop.'
- b. *ma-tənu* *d'aŋku* *ŋəmursa*
 tent-LOC NEG.EX_{PTCL} table
 'There is no table in the tent.'

Sentence a) demonstrates a construction with a plural subject, while in b), the subject is in the singular. As can be seen, the word order in both sentences is L COP T.

Inflected forms of the verb *d'angujs'ia* can also be used in the present tense but appear less frequently. The following sentences show that both the verb and the particle can be used in the same sentence.

(290) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

<i>abamu-tānu</i>	<i>təi-ŋu</i>	<i>t'eatr</i>	
Ust'-Avam-LOC	EX-INTER.3SG	theatre	
<i>abamu-tānu</i>	<i>d'ŋku</i>	/	<i>d'anguj-čū</i> <i>t'eatr</i>
Ust'-Avam-LOC	NEG.EX _{PICL}	NEG.EX-Co.3SG	theatre

'Is there a theatre in Ust'-Avam? There is no theatre in Ust'-Avam.'

The verb form, as shown above, is a free alternant of the negative existential and occupies the same position in the sentence. However, *d'ŋku* cannot be marked for tense or mood. In the past or future tense, instead of *d'ŋku* and the BE copula, a form of the verb *d'angujs'ia* inflected in tense or mood appears. This can be seen as further evidence for the origin of this verb as a grammaticalized combination of a particle and the BE verb. In today's language, however, this verb must be regarded as an independent, lexicalized verb. The following examples show how the past and the future tense are expressed.

(291) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

- a. *talū* *labku-tāni* *d'anguj-s'üä-?* *kiriba-?*
 other.day shop-LOC NEG.EX-PST-3PL bread-PL
 'Yesterday, there wasn't any bread in the shop.'
- b. *küidiahü?* *labku-tānu* *d'anguj-s'üä-?* *kiriba-?*
 tomorrow shop-LOC NEG.EX-FUT-3PL bread-PL
 'Tomorrow, there won't be any bread in the shop.'

As we see, the verb occupies exactly the same position in the sentence as *d'ŋku*, i.e., the basic constituent order is L COP T. The same word order is the most frequent one in affirmative existential sentences produced by native-speaker informants. According to the correlations postulated by Freeze, this would imply the basic word order SVO. At the same time, as already seen with the affirmative sentences, a restructuring of word order patterns has begun in Nganasan. This tendency is so strong that the informants even used the constituent order COP L T which, according to Freeze (1992: 557), appears in VOS or VSO languages; however, the basic word order in Nganasan is certainly not verb-initial. This order is seen in the following sentence:³⁵

35. The consultant speaks Nganasan on native-speaker level and has also a good command of Russian. This sentence was produced by the informant, that is, this word order variant did not arise when the interviewer asked if another word order was possible.

(292) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

küðiahü? *d'əŋguj-s'üðə-?* *labku-tənu* *kiriba-?*
 tomorrow NEG.EX-FUT-3PL shop-LOC bread-PL
 'Tomorrow there won't be any bread in the shop.'

Other informants translated sentences of this type (that is, with tense marking and explicit time adverbial) using the word order ADV L COP T. In sentences without a time adverbial, this informant also used the “normal” word order; thus, we can conclude that in this case, the adverbial triggered the place-shift of the locational constituent. What kind of word order variants can be connected to the time adverbial is not yet properly known. Yet, it can be stated that in Nganasan, as in Nenets, time adverbials prefer the sentence-initial position.

Let us now take a look at negated locational sentences.

(293) Nganasan (KES and KTT 2008)

kuəd'ümu *d'əŋku* ~ *d'əŋguj-ču* / *d'əŋguj-s'üə* *komnatə-tənu*
 man NEG.EX_{PTCL} NEGEX-AOR.3SG NEG.EX-PST.3SG room-LOC
 'The man is / was not in the room.'

As we see, the sentence shows the same negative element as in the negated existential sentence. The word order is T COP L, i.e. different from the usual word order of affirmative locational sentences. However, as shown in the following example, T L COP order also appears, although my informants used it far less frequently. Of the informants interviewed, only one used this word order, the others produced sentences with the word order pattern shown above. Sentence (294) a) shows the order T L COP, sentence b) is given for comparison to illustrate the more usual word order.

(294) Nganasan (a: ChND 2008; b: KES 2008)

	THEME		LOCATIVE		COP
a.	<i>manuə</i>	<i>ŋana?san-ə-?</i>	<i>turku</i>	<i>bəɾə-ni</i>	<i>d'əŋgu-?</i>
	old	man-EP-PL	lake.GEN	shore-LOC.ADV	NEG.EX-PL
	'The old people are not on the river shore.'				
	THEME		COP		LOCATIVE
b.	<i>takəə-?</i>	<i>ŋana?san-ə-?</i>	<i>d'əŋgu-?</i>	<i>turku</i>	<i>bəɾə-ni</i>
	that-PL	man-EP-PL	NEG.EX _{PTCL} -PL	lake.GEN	shore-LOC.ADV
	'Those people are not on the river shore.'				

In sum, it can be stated that existential and locational sentences employ the same negation element but there are differences in word order: while locational sentences characteristically display the order T L, existential sentences prefer the order L T. As shown above, the position of the copula can vary.

	Predicate Locative		Existential		
	T COP L	T L COP	L T COP	(COP) L T	L COP T
Assumable Basic Word Order	SVO	SOV	SOV		
Negative	<i>d'aŋku</i> <i>d'aŋgujs'a</i>	<i>d'aŋku</i> <i>d'aŋgujs'a</i>	<i>d'aŋku</i> <i>d'aŋgujs'a</i>	<i>d'aŋku</i> <i>d'aŋgujs'a</i>	<i>d'aŋku</i> <i>d'aŋgujs'a</i>
Affirmative	<i>i-s'a</i>	<i>i-s'a</i>	<i>tənij-s'a</i> <i>təi-s'a</i> <i>i-s'a</i>	no copula	<i>təi-s'a</i>

Table 60. Word Order Patterns in Nganasan Locational and Existential Sentences

Comparing the affirmative and negative existential sentences, we can see that both prefer the constituent order L COP T. In locational negative sentences, in contrast, a word order pattern is preferred which is otherwise not typical of affirmative sentences (T COP L). One of the notable differences between the affirmative and the negative sentences is that while affirmative existential and locational sentences use different copulas, there is no such distinction in the negated sentences. In negative sentences, these two sentence types can only be distinguished on the basis of word order and the definiteness of the theme.

2.2. Type A ~ B

As shown in the chapter on standard negation, there are Uralic languages in which the use of the existential verb has spread into standard negation in past-tense constructions. In these languages we do not see similar restrictions as in Hungarian on the use of the existential verb, but there is a special negative existential predicate which can in certain cases also be used for standard negation. Ob-Ugric, Enets and Nenets generally use the negative existential element for past-tense negation in emphatic constructions. It should be noted, of course, that in these languages the use of the existential verb is just one option among the expressions of standard negation in the past tense; past tense can also be combined with the standard negation element. It is important to note that in this type, the negative existential verb has not yet begun to develop into a particle.

2.2.1. Nenets

In Nenets, existential sentences are generally expressed with a special copula. This means that in these sentences, not the BE verb (nenT *ŋäs'i*, nenF *ŋäš*) but the verb *taŋas'i* appears³⁶. Thus, in Nenets – as in Nganasan and Enets – the difference between locational and existential sentences is expressed not only by word order but also by the copula.

36. This verb can be derived from a PS proto-form reconstructed by Janhunen as **tənä-* (Janhunen 1977: 144)

In locational constructions, two kinds of copulas can be used: the BE verb or the verb *nenT mäsi*, *nenF mäš* ‘be at somebody’s place, be somewhere’. The BE verb *ņasi* is used for expressing the location of inanimates, while the verb *mäsi* is used for animate beings.³⁷ The following two examples from Tundra Nenets illustrate locational expressions.

(295) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Nenyang 2005: 57)

THEME	LOCATION	COP
<i>säxäko</i>	<i>bol’nica-xana</i>	<i>mä</i>
Seheko	hospital-LOC	be.3SG

‘Seheko is in the hospital.’

(296) Tundra Nenets, Bol’shaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 423)

<i>ņasi-wa?</i>	<i>pädara-?</i>	<i>war-xana</i>	<i>ņa</i>
nomad.camp-1PL _{Px}	forest-GEN	side-LOC	be.3SG

‘Our camp is at the edge of the forest.’

The sentences show that Nenets locational sentences conform to the model T L COP, as can be expected according to Freeze’s hypothesis. The theme in the two sentences above is without doubt definite, and thus the sentences can be interpreted as locational. The same word order can be assumed for Forest Nenets as well. The following sentence lacks an explicit subject, but it can be hypothesized that it would occupy the sentence-initial position.

(297) Forest Nenets (Barmich – Wello 2002: 174)

<i>moskwa-xana</i>	<i>mä-ņa-taš</i>
Moscow-LOC	be-Co-1SG.PST

‘I was in Moscow.’

In what follows, existential sentences will be investigated. As mentioned above, Nenets also knows a third copula which is specifically used for existential sentences. In Tundra Nenets, it appears in the form *tañasi*, in Forest Nenets as *tad’aš*.

(298) Tundra Nenets, Central Dialect (The Nenets Phrasebook, Taleeva, V. topic17/40–41)

<i>pidara?</i>	<i>ja-xana-nda</i>	<i>p’iiñani-?</i>	<i>taña-?</i>
you.PL	country-LOC-OBL.2PL _{Px}	wolf-PL	exist-3PL

‘Are there wolves in your country?’

<i>taña-?</i>	<i>jingñej</i>	<i>ñañi</i>	<i>taña</i>
EX-3PL	wolverine	also	exist.3SG

‘Yes, and there are wolverines too.’

37. This verb also goes back to PS (**mę-* ‘sein’ Janhunen 1977: 91). It has only been retained in Nenets and Kamas (*mo-*).

As we can see, not only the copula changes but the word order as well: in an existential sentence, it is L T COP. Neither of the two other copulas can be used in existential sentences.

As we can see, Nenets shows far less diversity than Nganasan, yet there are differences in word order and choice of copula between locational and existential sentences.

Now we can proceed to the negative existential and locational sentences. Nenets has a negative existential verb which can carry tense and other inflectional suffixes, even derivational ones. Of course, it can only be inflected in the subject conjugation. The form of this verb in Tundra Nenets is *jaŋkosʲ*. The form this verb in Forst Nenets varies dialectally: *d'akoš*, in Agan Dialect *t'akoš*. (Verbov in his Forest Nenets material writes the verb *jiikuš*). As already mentioned in the chapter on standard negation, the negative existential in Nenets can in certain rare cases also be used for past-tense negation (see example (101) on page 93). For this reason, I have classified Nenets as belonging to Type A ~ B. The following examples illustrate existential negation in Tundra resp. Forest Nenets.

(299) Tundra Nenets (Almazova 1961: 38)

LOCATION	THEME	COP
<i>to-xona</i>	<i>xal'a</i>	<i>jaŋku</i>
lake-LOC	fish	NEG.EX.3SG

'There aren't any fish in the lake.'

(300) Forest Nenets (Verbov 1973: 115, Turutyina 2003: 11)

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| | LOCATION | THEME | | COP |
| a. | <i>tanana</i> | <i>neeša-ʔ</i> | | <i>jiiku-ʔ</i> |
| | there | man-PL | | NEG.EX-3PL |
- 'There aren't any people there.'
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| b. | <i>ŋop-kalt</i> | <i>d'ili-na</i> | <i>nešaj</i> | <i>d'iku</i> |
| | one-CAR | live-PTPRS | man | NEG.EX.3SG |
- 'There aren't any living people'

The construction of the sentences corresponds exactly to the affirmative sentence, the constituent order is L T COP. Comparing the affirmative and negative sentences, we can state that the negative existential sentence in Nenets represents an asymmetric construction. As mentioned above, the negative existential verb can carry tense and mood suffixes or derivational morphemes, as illustrated in the following sentences.

(301) Tundra Nenets (Lehtisalo 1947: 15)

<i>ja-ʔ</i>	<i>mi-da-xana</i>	<i>xabc'eʔ</i>	<i>jaŋku-wi</i>	<i>ŋahiʔ</i>
earth-GEN	make-PTPRS-LOC	death	NEG.EX-NAR.3SG	and
<i>ŋa</i>	<i>jaŋku-wi</i>			
hell.spirit	NEG.EX-NAR.3SG			

'When the Earth was created, there was neither death nor nether-world spirits.'

- (302) Tundra Nenets, Bol'shaya Zemlya Dialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 630)
ta? *jo'l'c'ingāna* *ŋāsi-xina-na?* *taŋna* *ńenec'?*
 summer.GEN at.the.time village-LOC-OBL.1PL_{PX} free man
jango-s'eti
 NEG.EX-HAB.3SG
 'In summer there are no free men in our village.'
- (303) Forest Nenets, Agan Dialect (Koshkareva et al. 2003: 36/5)
ńań-ma? *t'ako-štu-š*
 bread-1PL_{PX} NEG.EX-HAB-3SG.PST
 'Usually there wasn't any bread.'

In example (301), the past participle of the verb acts as a nominal predicate; in most descriptions, this form is already interpreted as the narrative mood. In (302) the verb carries a habitual derivational suffix. Sentence (303) from Forest Nenets also illustrates the use of the habitual suffix, together with the past tense marker.

In Forest Nenets, the use of the negated form of the existential verb in a negative existential sentence, instead of the negative existential predicate, has also been attested.

- (304) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva et al. 2003: 46/30)
m'a-t *ču-ŋa:* *ŋop* *ńii* *ta'ta-me-?*
 tent-LAT enter-Co.3SG one NEG_{AUX}.3SG EX-PTPST-CN
 '(S)he entered the tent – there is nobody there.'

As this is the only example of this kind that I could find, it is impossible to determine under what circumstances this construction can be used. Interestingly, in this sentence the negative pronoun form for 'nobody' is not used, although the so-called double negation is the normal strategy in Nenets. Furthermore, the main verb – that is, the existential verb – carries the participle suffix to express perfective narrativity. This would be the normal way to negate a nominal construction, but in these, normally the negated BE verb is employed.

In Tundra Nenets, negated locational sentences employ the same negative existential predicate as the existential ones, only the order of theme and location is another. It can be assumed that the same is the case for Forest Nenets as well; however, I have not managed to find an example for this in the texts accessible to me.

- (305) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1957: 140)
ńis'a-wa? *t'ukona* *janġu*
 father-1PL_{PX} here NEG.EX.3SG
 'Our father is not here.'

As we see, Nenets complies fully to Freeze's word order hypotheses. It is also clear that verbal and existential predicates employ different negation markers. In existential and locational sentences, the negation marker is the same but the word order is different. The following table summarizes the construction principles of negative existential and locational sentences in Nenets.

	Predicate Locative		Existential	
	Tundra Dialect	Forest Dialect	Tundra Dialect	Forest Dialect
Constituent Order	T L COP	T L COP	L T COP	L T COP
Negative	<i>jaŋkos^j</i>		<i>jaŋkos^j</i>	<i>d'akoš, t'akoš.</i>
Affirmative	<i>ŋäs^j, mäš^j</i>	<i>mäš</i>	<i>taŋas^j</i>	<i>tad'aš</i>

Table 61. Word Order Patterns in Nenets Locational and Existential Sentences

2.2.2. Enets

Enets also has two BE verbs, *ŋaš* and *eš*. Both can be used in locational sentences, and for both, the same stem (*ŋa-*) is used in negated forms. The following examples illustrate their use in locational sentences.

(306) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2001: 89, 89, 152, 152)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>bu ekon ŋa</i> | b. | <i>bu ekon ŋa-š</i> |
| | (s)he here be.3SG | | (s)he here be-3SG.PST |
| | '(S)he is here.' | | '(S)he was here.' |
| c. | <i>bu ekon e-bi</i> | d. | <i>bu ekon e-đa</i> |
| | (s)he here be-NAR.3SG | | (s)he here be-DUR.3SG |
| | '(S)he was here.' | | '(S)he will be here.' |

As shown above, *eš* can only be used together with a tense marker or a morpheme connected with the marking of tense or mood. (For tense markers in Enets, see chapter II/3.2.4.) The verb *ŋaš*, in contrast, can also stand alone and must therefore be regarded as the primary BE verb. The constituent order in the case of both copulas is, as can be expected, T L COP.

Let us take a look at the structure of the existential sentence. Here, instead of the above-mentioned two BE verbs only the existential verb *toneš* can be used, which only has third-person forms. Example (308) allows for the conclusion that there is no semantic agreement in Enets existential sentences. As the main word of the numeral construction appears in the singular, the grammatical agreement requires the predicate to be in third person singular.

(307) Forest Enets (Bolina 2003: 17)

škola-xuni-da bibliot'eka tone
 school-LOC-OBL.2Pl_{Px} library exist.3SG
 ε-ε. *mod'na škola-xuni-na bibliot'eka tone*
 yes, we(PL) school-LOC-OBL.1Pl_{Px} library exist.3SG
 'Is there a library in your school? Yes, there is a library in our school.'

(308) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 112/1)

šiči með tone
 two tent exist.3SG
 '(There) are two tents.'

In both these examples, constituent order is L T COP. Thus, the existential sentence differs from the locational sentence not only in the choice of the copula but also in word order. Enets thus behaves completely similarly to Nenets. The existential verb can also carry mood markers, for instance, the narrative suffix (*tonebi*). The following table summarizes the word order patterns in affirmative locational and existential sentences.

In Enets, there is also a negative existential verb: in the Forest dialect *d'aguš*, in the Tundra dialect *d'igu-*. This verb agrees with the subject of the sentence and, as shown in the following examples, can carry tense and mood markers. Example (309) illustrates the use of the narrative mood, (310) the aorist tense.

(309) Forest Enets (Urmanchieva 2009: Vacation.068)

kudaxai d'ere-xine sare-ða d'agu-bi
 far day-PL.LOC rain-3SG_{Px} NEG.EX-NAR.3SG
 'In old times, there wasn't any rain.'

(310) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 83)

LOCATION	THEME	COP
<i>eke d'a-xon keðer-?</i>		<i>d'ago-?</i>
this land-LOC	wild.reindeer-PL	NEG.EX-3PL

'In this place, there aren't any wild reindeer.'

The L T COP in these Forest Enets examples corresponds to expectations. The same seems to be the case in Tundra Enets; here, as well, the sentence employs the negative existential verb.

(311) Tundra Enets (Labanauskas 2002: 53)

migua sesoru ud'i-ðod', sorogaad'u soole-bod'
 some noise hear-1SG.PST back look-1SG.PST.O
migorio d'igu-bi-ši
 nothing NEG.EX-NAR.3SG-PST
 'I heard some noise, looked back, but there was nothing there.'

In negative locational sentences the same negative element is used as in the existential sentence, but the word order is T L COP; that is, the same elements appear in a different order and the theme is [+definite]. As in other Samoyedic languages, in Enets the theme need not be explicitly marked for definiteness, so that definiteness can only be shown by the word order. The following example illustrates the negation of a locational sentence.

(312) Forest Enets (Labanauskas 2002: 27)

uuda? *to-bta-?* *mod'ina?* *ekkon* *mo'e* *d'agu-da-a?*
 you(PL) come-HAB-3PL we(PL) here already NEG.EX-DUR-1PL
 'When you come, we will not be here any more.'

In Enets, the negative existential verb can also be negated; this form is used for an emphatic affirmation. In this case, the word order is inverted: the negated form of the negative existential verb is followed by the inflected form of the negative auxiliary. Unlike the inverted construction used in standard negation, in this type the double negation does not yield an affirmative meaning.

(313) Forest Enets (Urmanchieva 2009: Vacation.039)

potabo-xone *añi* *kudaxai* *to* *tara-u?* *doktoro*
 Potapovo-LOC again far that be.necessary.3SG-EMPH doctor
d'agu-? *ñi-u?*
 NEG.EX-CN NEG_{AUX}.3SG-EMPH
 'In Potapovo, there has not been any doctor for a long time already.'

Emphasis can also be expressed by other means, such as the verb *buñi-*, which, however, is not followed by the negative existential verb but the negated form of the BE verb, as in the following locational sentence.

(314) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 39/25)

teðanda. *mana.* *mod'iñ* *me-kon* *buñi-j* *ña*
 now say.3SG we tent-LOC NEG_{AUX}-1PL.R be.CN
 'Now, (s)he says, we are not in the tent.'

If the speaker wants to emphatically express the lack of something, the existential verb must be negated. In sentences of this type, inverted word order can also be observed. This is very frequent in rhetorical questions.

(315) Forest Enets (Urmanchieva 2008: 191/221)

nie-đa tone-ʔ i-sʲi-uʔ. nie-đa tone-a
 child-3SG_{Px} EX-CN NEG_{Aux}-INTER-EMPH child-3SG_{Px} exist-Co.3SG
ŋobčik, peresa olasne
 everyone half monster
 ‘[...] And doesn’t (s)he have any child at all? Oh yes, (s)he has a child, a half-monster.’

The existential negative element can, albeit rarely, also express standard negation. For this, see the example in chapter II/3.2.4. For this reason, I have classified Enets as belonging to this type. The following table summarizes the word order patterns in Enets locational and existential sentences and the negation elements used in them.

	Predicate Locative		Existential	
	Tundra Dialect	Forest Dialect	Tundra Dialect	Forest Dialect
Constituent Order	T L cop	T L cop	L T cop	L T cop
Negative	<i>d’igu-</i>	<i>d’aguš</i>	<i>d’igu-</i>	<i>d’aguš</i>
Affirmative	no data	<i>ŋaš, eš</i>	no data	<i>toneš</i>

Table 62. Word Order Patterns in Enets Locational and Existential Sentences

2.2.3. Mansi

In Mansi, affirmative existential sentences employing an existential verb or a copula *stricto sensu* are rare, which may be partly due to the fact that Ob-Ugric languages often express these meanings not with an existential verb but with verbs such as ‘to stand’ or ‘to lie’. Mansi knows two BE verbs (*ool-*, *oos-*), but only *ool-* is generally used, while the latter verb hardly appears in modern texts. In my corpus, the latter verb was never used in existential or locational sentences.

The following example illustrates the locational sentence in Mansi. The situation is almost completely similar to the other languages surveyed so far, that is: the interpretation of the sentence as locational or existential largely depends on word order. The following two sentences demonstrate the difference.

(316) Northern Mansi, Sosva Dialect (Balandin 1960: 60, 35)

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| | THEME | LOCATION | COP |
| a. | <i>xum-i-y</i> | <i>t'it</i> | <i>ool-s-i-y</i> |
| | man-EP-DU | here | be-PST-EP-3DU |
| | ‘The two men were here.’ | | |
| | LOCATION | THEME | COP |
| b. | <i>sun-t</i> | <i>xul</i> | <i>ool-i</i> |
| | sleigh-LOC | fish | be-3SG |
| | ‘There are fish on the sleigh.’ | | |

As we see, the two sentences employ the same copula and only differ in word order. Departing from the tendency of SOV languages to word order T L COP in locational sentences, a) can be interpreted as locational, b) as existential. As shown in a), the copula can carry tense markers.

Let us take a look at the negation. Mansi has an existential negative predicate, Northern Dialects *aat'im*, Southern Mansi *iikem*, Western Mansi *oot'äm*. It appears in both locational and existential sentences. In locational sentences, the whole paradigm of this verb is used, while in existential sentences typically the verb is in third person. Some authors, e.g. Murphy (1977), interpret the form *aat'i* as a variant of this verb, referring to the fact that both forms can be used in the same function. There certainly are cases in which *aat'i* appears instead of the expected *aat'im*, but in the negation of non-verbal sentences, for instance, these two elements are not interchangeable (cf. chapter VIII/2.2.2). First, some examples of negation in locational sentences.

(317) Western Mansi (K. Sal 1956: 76)

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>äm</i> | <i>jun</i> | <i>oot'äm-e-m</i> |
| I | at.home | NEG.EX-EP-1SG |
| ‘I am not at home.’ | | |

(318) Northern Mansi, Sosva Dialect (Balandin 1960: 60)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>xum-i-y</i> | <i>t'it</i> | <i>aat'im-i-y</i> |
| man-EP-DU | here | NEG.EX-EP-3DU |
| ‘The two men are not here.’ | | |

As we see, the word order is the same as in the affirmative sentence, only the copula has changed (and agrees with the subject). The same can be seen with negated existential sentences: no difference in word order, only in the copula.

(319) Northern Mansi (Skribnik – Afanasjeva 2004: 41)

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>pasan-t</i> | <i>neepak</i> | <i>aat'im</i> | <i>neematir</i> | <i>aat'im</i> |
| table-LOC | book | NEG.EX.3SG | nothing | NEG.EX.3SG |
| ‘On the table there is no book, nothing at all.’ | | | | |

In the Southern dialect, the negative existential verb appears in the form *iikəm*, in both locational and existential sentences.

(320) Southern Mansi (Munkácsi 1896: 346)

uxsal-khum iikem
 copper-man NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘The copper man is not (there).’

The existential verb cannot be marked for tense. For expressing tense an existential copula is needed that follows the negation verb. The following two sentences illustrate a locational sentence in the past tense.

(321) Northern Mansi, Sosva dialect (Balandin 1960: 59)

- a. *st'epan oojka tot aat'im ool-ə-s*
 Styepan uncle there NEG.EX be-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘Uncle Styepan was not there.’
- b. *am tot at'im-u-m ool-s-u-m*
 I there NEG.EX-EP-1SG be-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘I was not there.’

As we see, both the negative existential element and the copula agree in number and person with the subject.

As mentioned in chapter II/3.2.8., the standard negation marker in Mansi is the particle *at*, but in past tense the negative existential verb can also be used. For this reason, I have classified Mansi as belonging to this type. The following table summarizes the structures of negated existential and locational sentences in Mansi.

Dialects	Predicate Locative		Existential	
	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern
Constituent Order	T L Cop	T L Cop	L T cop	L T cop
Negative	<i>aat'im</i> (+ Cop)	<i>iikem</i> (+ Cop)	<i>aat'im</i> (+ Cop)	<i>iikem</i>
Affirmative	<i>ool-</i>		<i>ool-</i>	

Table 63. Word Order Patterns in Mansi Locational and Existential

2.2.4. Khanty

In Khanty existential and locational sentences there is generally no copula in the present tense, or – less frequently – the existential verb *wōs-* may appear. This verb has no past-tense forms. As in Mansi, existential sentences with a copula are difficult to find in Khanty, since Khanty also prefers expressing this kind of meaning with a lexical verb (‘to lie’, ‘to stand’ etc.). Let us first take a look at existential sentences.

(322) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

- a. *aŋki jǎq-ə-n*
 mother house-EP-LOC
 ‘The mother is at home.’
- b. *məŋ əškola-nə (wōs-u-w)*
 we school-LOC exist-EP-1PL
 ‘We are at the school.’

Sentence (322) b) is unambiguously locational, since the theme represents a definite entity. Considering that a) shows a similar word order, it may also be considered locational; there are no other means in Khanty for explicitly marking definiteness. In b) we can see that if a copula is used, it need not be the BE verb (*ol-*) but an otherwise far less frequently used verb ‘to exist’. In any case, the use of the copula is optional. Interestingly, however, my informant, a speaker of the Synja dialect, when using the copula chose the BE verb. This informant actually never used the existential verb in this sentence type.

(323) Northern Khanty, Synya Dialect (OS 2008)

- a. *nepek pasan-a-n ol-a-l*
 book table-EP-LOC be-EP-PRS.3SG
 ‘The book is on the table.’
- b. *ant'e-m jol-n*
 mother-1SG_{Px} house-LOC
 ‘My mother is at home.’

Determining the exact conditions for the use of each copula in each dialect would require a detailed dialectological study. In any case, we can state that the constituent order in locational sentences is T L (COP).

In Eastern Khanty, this sentence type in the past tense must apply the existential verb *wōł-*. The verb always occupies the sentence-final position.

(324) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

- məŋ əškola-nə wōł-u-w*
 we school-LOC be-EP-1PL
 ‘We were at the school.’

After the locational sentences, let us take a look at the characteristics of existential sentences. These cannot be expressed without a copula, thus the sentence always has a verbal element. One example of existential sentences:

(325) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

pəsan *ǫwti-nə* *kǫčəγ* *wǎt-ə-t*
 table surface-LOC knife be-EP-PRS.3SG
os, *pəsan* *ǫwti-nə* *kǫčəγ* *wǎt-ə-t*
 yes table surface-LOC knife be-EP-PRS.3SG

‘Is there a knife on the table? Yes, there is a knife on the table.’

As we see, the constituent order in this case is L T COP. If the sentence is in the past tense, the copula must be in the past-tense form³⁸.

(326) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

məγəl *qatəl* *təpka-nə* *ńań* *wǫt*
 another day shop-LOC bread be.3SG

‘Yesterday, there was bread in the shop.’

Let us take a look at the negation of these two sentence types. In Khanty, there is a special negative predicate which agrees with the subject. The form of this word varies from dialect to dialect: Surgut *əntem*, Vasjugan *əntim*, Kazym *antəm*, Synja *antom* etc. Word order patterns in negated sentences are similar to those in affirmative sentences.

(327) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

- a. *təpka-nə* *ńań* *əntem*
 shop-LOC bread NEG.EX
 ‘Yesterday, there was bread in the shop.’
- b. *məγəl* *qatəl* *təpka-nə* *ńań* *əntem* *wǫt*
 another day shop-LOC bread NEG.EX be.3SG
 ‘Yesterday, there wasn’t any bread in the shop.’

As we see, the same negative existential predicate expresses negation in both the present and the past tense, but in the past-tense variant, the sentence also has a copula. This is due to the fact that Khanty *əntem* does not have a complete verb paradigm; it does agree with the subject in number but it cannot carry tense suffixes. Therefore, the copula is necessary for tense marking. Interestingly, in more recent texts there are also sentences in which the negative existential predicate is followed by the predicate marker.³⁹

38. In the Surgut Dialect, the past tense is unmarked (zero-marked).

39. This morpheme is actually a particle which tends to be cliticized. Generally, it marks non-verbal predicates, but its use is optional in this sentence type as well. (For a more detailed description, see Honti 1984: 97.)

(328) Eastern Khanty, Vasyugan Dialect (Filchenko 2005: Night Shift with Tajka/24)

metä nōyös lōk antim-aki
 some sable track NEG.EX-PRED
 ‘There are no sable tracks anywhere.’

The same informant who used the negation word *antəm* for the negation of an existential sentence used another negative marker for a locational sentence; the latter element was the same which is also used for standard negation (*antə*). This negation word is followed by the copula: in the present tense, *wōs-*, in the past tense, *wōt-*. The next examples demonstrate the use of these two copulas.

(329) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Klj 2009)

- a. *məŋ əškola-nə antə wōs-u-w*
 we(PL) school-LOC NEG_{PTCL} exist-EP-1PL
 ‘We are not at school.’
- b. *məŋ tem qatəl-nə əškola-nə antə wōt-u-w*
 we(PL) this day-LOC school-LOC NEG_{PTCL} be-EP-1PL
 ‘We were not at school today.’

As can be seen, the negation in existential sentences completely differs from the negation in locational sentences. However, it must be noted that Honti (1994), for instance, has examples with the negative existential verb in a negated locational sentence, and similar examples can also be found in the text published by Csepregi (1998).

(330) Eastern Khanty, Vakh Dialect (Honti 1984: 99)

mä äñi-l-ä-m jok-ə-n entim-ä-t
 I sister-PL-EP-1SG_{px} house-EP-LOC NEG.EX-EP-PL
 ‘My sisters are not at home.’

(331) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Csepregi 1998: 66)

maŋki-iki jăq-ə-n antəm
 spirit-old.man house-EP-LOC NEG.EX
 ‘The Old Man Spirit is not at home.’

The examples given above, due to the definiteness of their themes and their word order, qualify as locational sentences. Thus, it seems probable that locational sentences have begun to develop another negation strategy. This sentence type can be negated on the one hand with the standard negation element, on the other hand with the negative existential predicate. The following table summarizes the characteristics of these sentence types.

	Predicate Locative		Existential	
	SurgutDialect	SynyaDialect	Surgut Dialect	Synya Dialect
Constituent Order	T L COP	T L COP	L T COP	L T COP
Negative	<i>əntem</i> (+COP) <i>əntə</i> +COP	<i>antom</i> (+COP)	<i>əntem</i> (+COP)	<i>antom</i> (+COP)
Affirmative	no copula <i>wōs-</i> <i>wōl-</i> (past)	no copula <i>ol-</i>	<i>wōs-</i> <i>wōl-</i> (past)	

Table 64. Word Order Patterns in Khanty Locational and Existential Sentences

2.3. Type B ~ C

As demonstrated above with Komi, in this type the negative existential verb can be used alongside the standard negation element. The division of labour is usually based on tense oppositions. While in Type A ~ B in some tense category the standard negation element can be used instead of the negative existential verb (as in Hungarian), in Type B ~ C the existential verb is reanalysed as the standard negation marker. Of the languages under study here, only Selkup belongs to this type.

2.3.1. Selkup

Selkup knows only one verb which can be used as a copula in locational and existential sentences: the BE verb *εεqo*. Thus, in both sentence types this verb is the connecting element between the locational adverb part and the theme. Existential verbs of the type present in Northern Samoyedic are unknown in Selkup. Locational and existential sentences only differ from each other in word order, as there is no explicit morphological marking for the definiteness of the theme. I will depart from the assumption that sentences of the type T L COP are locational, while in existential sentences the order of the theme and the locational expression is inverted.

(332) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980:170)

tənti po-t mət-qin εε-ηəə-tit
broad wood-PL house-LOC be-Co-3PL
'The planks are in the house.'

(333) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 170)

ukot me miqinit nu-l' mət e-s-a
earlier we(PL) Pp_{at} god-ADJ house be-PST-EP.3SG
'In olden times, there was a church in our region.'

As illustrated by these examples, the order of the theme and the location is inverted but the verb nevertheless occupies the sentence-final position. This word order opposition is important, as it is the only way to distinguish locational and existential sentences in Selkup, i.e. mark the definiteness of the theme in locational sentences (there are no articles in Selkup). Definiteness or identifiability could be expressed with a possessive suffix, but these suffixes are used in Selkup much less frequently than in the Northern Samoyedic languages.

Negation in Selkup is expressed with a negative existential verb: in Northern dialects *čääŋkiqo*, in other dialects *čaŋgugu ~ t'angugu*. As shown above (see chapter II/3.2.6.), the use of this verb has already begun to spread into standard negation: it is used for standard negation in the past tense. It has also been demonstrated that the negative existential verb is already on its way to being reanalysed as a negative particle. This is illustrated in the following example.

- (334) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 368)
taŋalt-äš. mat čääŋka tokkalti-ptä-p
 hide-IMP.2SG I NEG_{PTCL} dress-NMLZ-1SG.O
 ‘Be careful, I’m not dressed.’

Yet, the most important function of the existential negation element is to express negation in an existential sentence. As shown in the following example, this strategy is also used in locational sentences.

- (335) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 234)
ima-mi mɔɔt-qit čääŋka
 woman-1SG_{PX} house-LOC NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘My wife is not in the house.’

The word order (T L COP) in this sentence corresponds to that of the affirmative sentence. The theme, being marked with a possessive suffix, is certainly definite. The following example demonstrates the negation of a locational expression in the past tense.

- (336) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Tereshchenko 1973: 83)
timni čäŋki-s-a-k
 there NEG.EX-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘I wasn’t there.’

Existential sentences with an explicit locational element are difficult to find. The following example has no locational adverb.

(337) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 298, 363)

ukkir poo ämtä čääŋka
 one tree PTCL NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘There aren’t any trees at all.’

In existential sentences, it could be expected that the locational constituent precedes the theme. The following sentence would thus qualify as an existential one, as the locational element is in the sentence-initial position (and the existential interpretation is also supported by the Russian translation given in the source). Yet, the theme is marked with a possessive suffix which, in whatever function, implies definiteness, and thus the following sentence must be interpreted as a locational one.

(338) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 363)

ńi moqinä wätti-ti čääŋka, ńi ńennä
 NEG_{PTCL} back road-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG NEG_{PTCL} in.front
wätti-ti čääŋka
 road-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘There is no road, neither back nor ahead.’

Therefore, it can be stated that in emphatic sentences other word orders are also possible.

As shown above, the existential negative verb can carry tense and mood markers or even derivational suffixes. We could thus state that this verb has a complete paradigm. However, I have not found any example of the negative existential verb being preceded by the negative particle *ašša*, which means that this verb cannot be negated. Nor can the lexicalized particle-like form of this verb be used in negative existential sentences.

The following table summarizes the structures of standard, locational and existential negation in Selkup and the negation elements used in them. There seems to be no difference in the use of the negation verb between the Southern and the Northern dialects.

	Predicate Locative		Existential	
	Northern Dialects	Non-Northern Dialects	Northern Dialects	Non-Northern Dialects
Constituent Order	T L cop	T L cop	L T cop	L T cop
Negative	<i>čääŋki-</i>	<i>ʔaŋu-</i>	<i>čääŋki-</i>	<i>antom (+Cop)</i>
Affirmative	<i>εε-</i>	<i>ε-</i>	<i>εε-</i>	<i>ε-</i>

Table 65. Word Order Patterns in Selkup Locational and Existential Sentences

VII. Predicate Possessive

Several authors have dealt with the typology of possession (see e.g. Clark 1978, Stassen 2001b, 2008a, 2009, Koptevskaja-Tamm 2001 etc.). In this work it is not my intention to give an exhaustive presentation of possessive constructions, only a short typological introduction will be given which will serve as a starting point and reference for the presentation of the negative constructions. Using this typological framework, the typical features of the Uralic languages will be discussed as well. Although a great number of researchers have studied the possessive constructions of the Uralic languages (see e.g. Kangasmaa-Minn 1984, 1993, Bartens 1996, Inaba 1998, Winkler 2003, Honti 2004, 2007, Kozmács 2006 etc.), we still cannot say that from a typological point of view the topic has been worked out in detail. Naturally, this will also not be possible within the framework of this book, either, since only a part of the Uralic languages will be discussed in detail. I will find it important, however, to point out some features later that are typical for Uralic languages.

Two main points are generally discussed when regarding the typology of possession, a semantic and a formal one, namely the structure of the construction. In the summary below, the typological classification will first be presented based on the semantic aspect. In this case, the determining criterion is the character of the relation between possessor and possessed. With this regard, three subgroups can be established: inalienable possession, alienable possession and temporary, i.e. transient possession. In my opinion, temporary possession is only a subgroup of alienable possession.

Inalienable Possession

In this type, the relation between possessor and possessed is temporally constant [+time stable], but the possessor has no control over it [-control]. This relation marks e.g. kinships and the relationship between the part and the whole.

- (339) Hungarian (p.k.)
(nek-e-m) van apa-m
PP_{TO} -EP-1SG_{PX} be.3SG father-1SG_{PX}
'I have a father.'

Alienable Possession

In this type as well, the relation between possessor and possessum is temporally constant, but it can be controlled by the possessor. Therefore, it can be described as [+time stable] and [+control]. This group includes the possessions which come about in the course of an action, e.g. shopping, giving and buying.

(340) Hungarian (p.k.)

(nek-e-m) van könyv-e-m
 PP_{TO}-EP-1SG_{PX} be.3SG book-EP-1SG_{PX}
 ‘I have a book.’

(341) Nganasan (Tuglakov, K., 2003: K-03_ostyak/310)

zapisnaja khiga-ʔku-mə tənij-siüə, təti-mə d'üku-ʔə-mə
 note book-DIM-3SG_{PX} exist-PST.3SG this-ACC.1SG_{PX} lost-Co-1SG.O
 ‘I had a note-book, but I lost it.’

As regards the type where the relation between possessor and possessed is temporally limited [-time stable], but the possessor controls the relation [+control], I consider this to be a subgroup of alienable possession. This type can have e.g. the meaning ‘I have ... along/with me’.

(342) Hungarian (p.k.)

van nál-a-m könyv
 be.3SG PP_{AT}-EP-1SG_{PX} book
 ‘I have a book with me.’

In this type, the question is not only whether the possessor possesses something. The presumption is that in the moment of the speech act, the possessed, i.e. the object possessed by the possessor, is with the possessor. The essential information of the sentence does not refer to the fact of possession but to the location of the possessed.

In certain languages (e.g. Russian), these three types can be expressed with the same construction. Regarding the Uralic languages, very little attention has been paid to the study of the possibilities for the expression of these types from the semantic point of view. In the summary below, this aspect will not play a central role either, but as we will see later, in certain languages, there clearly is a change of construction when the speaker wants to express this type (e.g. Khanty). Without wishing to be exhaustive, these cases will be mentioned in course of the discussion of the given languages.

From the point of view of the study of negation, the structure of the possessive relation plays a more important role. The formal categorisation is based on which construction the language uses for coding possession. Based on that, the following two groups can be differentiated: predicative and adnominal possession. Regarding negation, the possibility of the expression of adnominal possession is not a deciding factor, as its negation can be considered as constituent negation. Therefore, henceforward only the possible possessive predicative constructions will be presented.

It is characteristic for possession expressed through a predicative construction that the sentence obligatorily includes a verbal predicate. This group can be further divided into sub-groups; however, there is no agreement about their number among researchers (see Stassen 2001b: 954 or 2009). The summary below will mainly be based on Stas-

sen's typological works (2001, 2009). According to these, the following sub-groups of the predicative possessive relation can be differentiated: so-called transitive constructions (have-possessive), and a construction that is essentially based on an existential construction. This intransitive possession can be further divided into sub-groups, which will be discussed later. First, the characteristics of the transitive construction will be presented.

1. Have-Possession

In these constructions, the sentential predicate is a transitive verb, which expresses the fact of possession. The possessor is the grammatical subject and the possessed the direct object of the sentence. This type is characteristic for the Germanic and Romance languages, of the Slavic languages Czech, Serbian and Polish know it, for example, but it can also be found in certain African languages. It is less common among the Uralic languages, but is used by some languages, e.g. Nganasan, Selkup, Mansi and Khanty. This type will be demonstrated by a German and a Nganasan example.

(343) German (p.k.)

ich habe Mäntel
 I have.1SG coat.PL.ACC
 'I have coats.'

(344) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

nuə sani-j hon-ti
 child toy-PL.ACC have-Co.3SG
 'The child has toys.'

2. Intransitive Construction

In this type, possession is expressed by a sentence that, regarding its structure, looks like an existential sentence. The sentential predicate is a verb, which is normally the predicate of existential sentences, i.e. a verb with the meaning ‘to be’, ‘to exist’, ‘to be there’. The possessor does not necessarily have a subject function in the sentence, but can also have another role. This role can differ from language to language, as can the case the possessor is marked with. In the same way, the syntactic function of the possessed NP also depends on the construction. Based on how the possessor is coded Stassen (2009) differentiates between the following sub-groups: oblique possessive, topic possessive, conjunctive possessive.

It is characteristic for a part of the Uralic languages that the possessor is marked with a locational (e.g. lative, dative, locative, adessive etc.) or genitive case. Thus, the majority of the Uralic languages belong to the oblique possessive group. There is no language among Stassen’s data with an unmarked possessor (juxtaposition), but, as we will see later, certain languages that have been investigated in the course of this study showed this strategy. (For details cf. below.) It is characteristic for this type, which henceforward will be called nominative possessive, that the possessor stands in the nominative, while the possessed is almost always marked with a personal possessive suffix. A special feature of this construction is that it is mostly used when the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, therefore, in a large part of the sentences the pronoun itself can be regarded as a possessive pronoun. Furthermore, the pronouns can often be omitted. The fact that there are sentences, even if only rarely, where the possessor is an unmarked NP, also speaks in favour of regarding this type as an individual group. In the following, I will give an overview of Stassen’s classification.

Oblique Possessive

In this type, the grammatical subject of the sentence is the possessed NP, while the possessor is marked with a case suffix. The sentential predicate is a verb with the meaning ‘to be’ or ‘to exist’. Two subtypes can be differentiated, depending on what type of case the possessor is marked with. In most cases it is a locational case, more rarely the genitive. Characteristically, in the Uralic languages, the possessor is coded by a locational case, e.g. the adessive (e.g. in Finnish, Udmurt, Komi) or the inessive (e.g. in Saami) or possibly the dative (Hungarian). The construction will be illustrated by Finnish and a Hungarian example.

(345) Finish (p.k.)

Petri-llä on kirja
Petri-AD be.3SG book
‘Petri has a book.’

- (346) Hungarian (p.k.)
Péter-nek van könyv-e
 Péter-DAT be.3SG book-3SG_{Px}
 ‘Péter has a book.’

Thus, the basic structure, concerning the predicate and the possessor, is the same; however, there can be minor variations in the marking of the possessed and the possessor. In Hungarian, the possessed is obligatorily marked, namely with a possessive suffix, which does not appear in the Finnish sentence. This construction type can, of course, also be divided into subgroups, but – regarding negation – this is not necessary.

Within the locative possessive type a group can be distinguished, where the possessor is marked with a locational postposition instead of a locative case. This type is used in several Uralic languages, e.g. Mordvin, Mari, Komi, Udmurt, Nenets, Enets and Mansi. Examples for this type can be found in the sections dealing with the given languages.

The possessor can also be coded as an adnominal modifier in front of the possessed NP. This is called the genitive possessive (by Stassen 2009: 107–136, adnominalization.)

The marking of the possessed can vary from language to language, in some languages they are not marked at all, while in others they carry e.g. a possessive suffix. This type is used for example in Turkish. In several Uralic languages the possessor is marked by the genitive, e.g. Mordvin, Komi, Mari, Udmurt and Kamas, however, this is not the most characteristic type for Uralic. This type is usually used by languages that have been in areal contact with Turkic languages. Stassen (2009: 108) regards this type as the regular one in Nenets, whether this type really exists in Nenets will be discussed below (see chapter VII/5.2.2.). The following Mordvin and Komi examples illustrate this type.

- (347) Erzya Mordvin (Kozmács 2008: 66)
erz'a-ń ul'ne-s^j ajgoro-zo
 man-GEN be-PST.3SG horse-3SG_{Px}
 ‘The man had a horse.’

- (348) Komi (Cypanov 1992: 139)
ańe-lan em-as^j dzoridz-jas
 Anye-GEN be-3PL flower-PL
 ‘Anye has flowers.’

In Samoyedic languages the verbal predicate frequently does not appear in the sentence. These elliptic constructions will be discussed in the sections that deal with the group the given language is part of according to the coding of the possessor.

Topic Possessive

This construction is at least as common among the languages of the world as the oblique possessive type. However, it is typical neither for the Uralic nor for the Indo-European languages, and, therefore, will only be touched on briefly. The grammatical subject of the existential sentence is the possessed and the possessor carries the grammatical markers, which in non-possessive sentences are carried by the discourse topic. Thus, the difference between oblique and topic possessive lies only in the coding of the possessor. For more details see Stassen 2009: 57–62, 431–559.

Conjunctive (or With) Possessive

In this construction, the grammatical subject of the existential sentence is the possessor. The NP expressing possession receives a marker which expresses simultaneity. This is an element with the former meaning ‘also’, ‘as well’. Most often a formant with a comitative meaning appears in the sentence. This type does not exist among the Uralic languages. For more details see Stassen 2009: 54–57, 356–430.

Transitivity and Adjectivisation

The possessive constructions have two sub-groups which cannot be included in the groups above. Their common feature is that they have developed in the course of a grammaticalisation process. This can be e.g. transitivity or adjectivisation.

In transitivity constructions, the language merges an element (not used in habeo-constructions) through cliticisation or incorporation with the existential predicate. The resulting predicate acts as a transitive verb. This type does not occur among the Uralic languages at all and, therefore, will not be discussed further. (For more details see Stassen 2009: 208–243.)

In some languages a construction can be found, where the possessed becomes a part of the predicate and acts exactly like predicative adjectives. This type is called adjectivisation by Stassen (2001: 957, 2008a) or predicativisation (2009: 137–206). This type occurs in several Uralic languages (Komi, Nenets, Nganasan and even Hungarian). In my opinion, however, this construction is not used for the expression of possession in these languages, but represents a genuine nominal predicate. This type is illustrated by a Komi example.

(349) Komi (Rédei 1978: 127)

kerka kujim əšín-jas-a
house three window-PL-ADJ
‘The house has three windows.’

In this example, the possession takes on a nomen possessoris (adjective) formative and acts as the non-verbal predicate in the sentence. The constituent about which something is asserted (in this case the house) is in the nominative and is at the same time the subject of the sentence. If the sentence is put into the past tense, a copula is needed but the nominal part of the predicate still acts as an adjective.

(350) Komi (Rédei 1978: 127)

mort-is vāli tošk-a
 man-3SG_{Px} was beard-ADJ
 ‘The man had a beard.’

Based on the two sentences presented above, these constructions could be regarded as being fully-fledged, but e.g. in Komi there is no example for this construction expressing kinship. Thus, even if we allege that there is adjectivisation in Komi for the expression of possession, it has to be noted that its usage is somewhat restricted semantically. The same holds true for the other Uralic languages. It has not yet been completely mapped out how the usage of this construction is restricted by which language. This construction, inasmuch as it occurs among the languages investigated in this study, will be discussed further.

Stassen brings a Jukaghir example for adjectivisation, where the object possessed by the possessor is marked with a proprivative formant. This formant can also be found in other Siberian languages and its typical function is to mark that the agent possesses the given object or uses it to carry out the action. In general they are deverbal verbal formants. In my opinion it would be more accurate to call this type verbalisation.

To what extent the order of these constituents agree with the order set up by Freeze, will be discussed in the sections that deal with the possessive structures of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages. As seen in the case of the existential sentences, most languages acted the way Freeze anticipated. The only exception was Nganasan. We will find the same situation as regards the possessive sentence. The table below presents the general typological correlations between the word order of locational, possessive and existential sentences. The word orders of existential and possessive sentences coincide.

Basic Word Order	Predicate Locative	Existential	Predicative Possession
SVO	T COP L	L COP T	L COP T
SOV	T L COP	L T COP	L T COP
VS	COP L T	COP T L	COP T L
Feature of theme	[+definite]	[–definite]	[–definite]

(based on Freeze 1992: 578)

Table 66. Word Order in Predicate Locatives, Existentials and Predicate Possessives

The constructions which occur in Uralic languages will not be discussed separately, since this analysis would go beyond the scope of this work and, furthermore, as mentioned before, this subject has not yet been completely exhausted from the typologic point of view, although this topic has been investigated by several researchers. For an overview of the possessive constructions in the Uralic languages, cf. e.g. Bartens (1996), Honti (2007) or Kozmács (2006). Their results, supplemented by my findings, are summarized in the table below.

Language	Construction			
	Nominative	Genitive	Locutional Case	HAVE Verb
Finnish			PoR _{AD} + <i>on</i> + PoM	
Estonian			PoR _{AD} + <i>on</i> + PoM	
Votic			PoR _{AD} + <i>on</i> + PoM	
Livonian			PoR _{DAT} + <i>um</i> + PoM	
SaamiN			PoR _{Loc} + <i>lä</i> + PoM	
SaamiS		PoR _{GEN} + <i>lea</i> + PoM		
Mordvin		PoR _{GEN} + <i>ul'i</i> + PoM _{PX}		
Mari		PoR _{GEN} + <i>ulo</i> PoM _{PX}		
Komi		PoR _{GEN} + <i>em</i> + PoM _(PX)		
Udmurt		PoR _{GEN} + PoM _{PX} + <i>van</i>		
Khanty			PoR _{NOM} + <i>xõs'a</i> + PoM + <i>ul-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>taj-</i>
Mansi	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>ool</i>		PoR + <i>paalt</i> + PoM + <i>ool-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>ooñs'i-</i>
Hungarian			PoR _{DAT} + <i>van</i> + PoM _{PX} PoR _{AT} + <i>van</i> + PoM	
Tundra Nenets	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>taña</i> PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX}	PoR _{GEN} + PoM _{PX} + <i>ñäwi-</i> (Forest Dial.)	PoR _{LOC} + PoM _(PX) + <i>taña</i>	
Enets	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>tonea</i> PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX}			
Selkup	(PoR _{NOM}) + PoM _{PX} + <i>ε-</i>		PoR + <i>miqin</i> + PoM _{PX} PoR _{LOC} + <i>ε-</i> + PoM _{PX}	
Nganasan	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>taiču</i>			PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{ACC} + <i>hon-</i>
Kamas	(PoR _{GEN}) + PoM _(PX) + <i>i-</i>			

Table 67. Possessive Constructions in the Uralic Languages

3. Typology of Possession Negation

The typology of possessive negation is an area that has yet to be adequately explored. Naturally, observations have been made, but there is, as of yet, no elaborated framework. It can be observed that in general possessive constructions do not have a separate negative element but use an element that appears in other sentence types. Very often it is the morpheme used in standard negation but almost as frequently the negative predicate of existential sentences. Which element is used by which language depends on how possession is expressed. Languages that have a HAVE verb usually negate it with the standard negative element, while languages that express possession with an intransitive construction use the negative existential predicate. As we will see below, the negation of the non-verbal predicate can also correlate with that of the possessive sentences, but one language never uses more than three negative elements. This chapter will not yet include non-verbal predicates; they will be discussed in chapter VIII from page 265 on.

Based on the languages investigated in the course of this study no comprehensive typological categorisation can be established. Firstly, this is the case because only eight languages have been taken into consideration; secondly, these languages are closely related with each other. Nevertheless, a categorisation will be presented that can serve as a basis for further research. Two aspects will be looked at closely: a) how many constructions can express possession and b) with which negative element does the negative element correlate in the given language. Regarding aspect a) two large groups can be established. Languages of group A) can express possession in only one way, while those in group B) can express it in several ways. A short overview of the two main groups and their sub-groups follows below.

Type A

The languages of this group only use one way to express possession. This can be a transitive or an intransitive construction. Accordingly, negation can also only be expressed in one way. Thus, the standard negation element or another element, generally the negative existential predicate, is used. Depending on how many negative elements there are in the given language and how the negative elements correlate, further subgroups can be distinguished.

Type A₁

These languages have only one negative element, which is also used for the negation of possessive constructions. In this case the negative imperative elements will not be taken into account, since they never correlate with other sentence types. Among the Uralic languages, the Finnic languages belong to this group, e.g.:

(351) Finnish (p.k.)

Laura-lla ei ole kirja-a
 Laura-AD NEG_{AUX}.3SG be.CN book-PART
 ‘Laura has no books.’

Type A₂

In these languages two negative elements can be used, one for standard negation, the other for the negation of possessive and existential constructions. For this group it is an important criterion that possessive constructions cannot be negated in any tense by the standard negation element and, furthermore, that the negative existential element cannot express standard negation. Kamas belongs to this group, for examples cf. further below (chapter VII/5.1.1.).

Type A₃

This group differs from group A₂ inasmuch as the negative existential verb or the standard negative element infiltrates the paradigm of the other element. This group includes e.g. Hungarian and the Taz Dialect of Selkup. In Hungarian, the possessive constructions have to be negated with the negative existential verb (*nincs*). However, the paradigm of this verb is incomplete, thus the past tense forms have to be negated by the standard negation element.

(352) Hungarian (p.k.)

- a. *Laurá-nak nincs könyv-e*
 Laura-DAT NEG.EX book-3SG_{PX}
 ‘Laura has no books.’
- b. *Laurá-nak nem volt könyv-e*
 Laura-DAT NEG_{PICL} be-PST.3SG book-3SG_{PX}
 ‘Laura had no books.’

Type B

Group B includes the languages that have several ways for expressing possession. Thus, these languages use a transitive as well as an intransitive construction. Accordingly, there are two possible constructions that can be used for possessive negation.

Type B₁

In these languages one construction is negated by the standard negative element, while the other by the negative existential verb. However, the existential verb can also be used as the standard negative element. This group includes the Uralic languages e.g. Mansi and Khanty. Examples will be presented under the given languages (see chapter VII/5.3.).

Type B₂

This type differs from type B₁ inasmuch as the two negative elements are completely separated, i.e. they do not infiltrate each other's paradigm. This group includes Nganasan, for examples see below (chapter VII/5.4.1.).

The following table shows which Uralic language belongs to which above-mentioned group.

One Negative Element	Type A One Possessive Construction		Type B More Than One Possessive Construction	
	Two Negative Elements			
A ₁	A ₂	A ₃	B ₁	B ₂
	function of negative elements kept separate	function penetration	function penetration	function of negative elements kept separate
Finnish, Estonian etc.	Kamas, Non-Northern Selkup	Hungarian, Taz-Selkup, Nenets, Enets	Mansi, Khanty	Nganasan

Table 68. Negative Possessive Constructions in Some Uralic Languages

4. Data of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

Both main groups can be found among the investigated languages. Although the usage of HAVE verbs is not common among Uralic languages, both Ob-Ugric languages as well as Nganasan have one. The other languages express possession through intransitive constructions. As we will see later, certain languages, e.g. Nganasan and Khanty use both types, i.e. possession can be expressed in two different ways.

In the summary below the languages will be presented in groups. After the delineation of the structure of the positive sentences an overview will be given of the negative constructions.

As mentioned above, word order will also be discussed. As a starting point, we will assume that exactly the same word order applies as for existential sentences. Three elements were differentiated in existential sentences: locative, theme, copula. The same elements can be found in the possessive constructions as well. The locative NP can be identified with the possessor, the theme with the possessed. The following abbreviations will be used hereinafter: possessor – PoR, possessed (possessum) – PoM. When discussing word order, the sentential predicate will also be regarded as a copula if it is the HAVE verb.

5.1. Type A₂

5.1.1. Kamas

There are only very few Kamas examples at our disposal, only 10 possessive sentences could be found. Based on these examples it can be stated that only the genitive possessive construction is used in Kamas. If the possessor is overt then it is always coded with the genitive suffix. In general, the possessed takes on the possessive suffix which indicates the possessor's person and number. However, the possessive suffix can be omitted. The predicate of the sentence is the existential verb *i-*.

(353) Kamas (Joki 1944: 97, 197)

- a. *büüzje-n* *nagur* *koʔbdo-t* *i-bi*
 old.man-GEN three daughter-3SG_{PX} be-PST.3SG
 'The old man had three daughters.'
- b. *oʔb nükke-n* *koʔbdo* *i-bi* *oʔb* *nükke-n*
 one elderly.woman-GEN daughter be-PST.3SG one elderly. woman-GEN
ni *i-bi*
 son be-PST.3SG
 'One woman had a daughter; the other woman had a son.'

Sentence (353) a) illustrates the possessed NP being marked with a personal suffix, while in sentence b) the possessed NP remains unmarked. In both sentences, the possessor is coded with the genitive. As mentioned before, an overt possessor is not mandatory. In general it stays covert if it has already been mentioned by the speaker in the previous sentence or phrase.

(354) Kamas (Joki 1944: 97)

- nükke* *amno-bi.* *oʔb* *ni-t* *i-bi*
 elderly.woman live-PST.3SG one son-3SG_{PX} be-PST.3SG
 'Once there lived a woman, she had a son.'

There are even fewer examples for negative sentences, only two could be found which unambiguously express possession. They are the following:

(355) Kamas (Joki 1944: 85, 96)

- a. *üjü-t* *naga,* *uda-t* *naga,* *maja-n*
 foot-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG hand-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG mountain-LOC
selandə-ga
 crawl-PRS.3SG
 '(S)he has no feet, (s)he has no hands, (s)he is crawling on the mountain.'

- b. *dizən* *am-zit-tən* *nago-bi*
 they.GEN eat-INF-3PL_{PX} NEG.EX-PST.3SG
 ‘They had nothing to eat.’

Thus, the possessive sentences can be negated with the negative existential verb (*nago-*). The verb has to agree with the possessed in number. If the possessor is overt in the sentence, then it is coded with the genitive in this sentence type, while the possessed NP carries a possessive suffix. The standard negation element does not appear in this paradigm, the sentence below presents a standard negative sentence as a reference.

- (356) Kamas (Joki 1944: 99)
nükke-t *ej* *kal-lja*
 elderly.woman-3SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS.3SG
 ‘The old woman does not go.’

The genitive possessive is typical for Turkic languages. It is possible that their exclusive usage in Kamas can be traced back to intensive Kamas-Turkic contacts. The Kamas constructions are summarized in the table below.

Type	Construction	
Genitive Possessive	Affirmative	(PoR _{GEN}) + PoM(_{PX}) + <i>i-</i>
	Negative	(PoR _{GEN}) + PoM(_{PX}) + <i>nago-</i>

Table 69. Constructions Expressing Possession in Kamas

5.1.2. Non-Northern Selkup Dialects

The Selkup dialects, which do not belong to the Northern group, display a different sort of behaviour than the Northern dialects, since no negative existential verb is used for standard negation. They are therefore classified as belonging to this typological group. In Selkup, possessive constructions can be coded in two ways: with the locative, but also with the nominative.

The possessive construction coded with the locative differs from the construction used by the Northern dialects inasmuch as it is not a PP but a NP. (For the constructions in the Northern dialects cf. chapter VII/5.2.1.). This is a distinct difference between the two dialect groups. While in the Northern dialects only a postposition can be used for the marking of the possessor, in the Southern dialects it is a case suffix. In all dialects the existential verb is the predicate.

- (357) Central Selkup, Parabel Dialect (Bekker 1995a: 85)
amdəlgu-nan naagur ii-de ee-ndaa-det
 tzar-LOC three son-3SG_{Px} be- LATENT -3PL
 ‘The tzar had three sons.’
- (358) Ket Selkup (Bykonja 2005: 308a)
čiččɛ-w-nan ɛ-ss-an šitte ii-da
 uncle-1SG_{Px}-LOC be-PST-3SG two son-3SG_{Px}
 ‘My uncle had two sons.’

In the negative construction, the negative existential verb has to be used, which takes up the sentence-final position and agrees with the possessed NP in number and person.

- (359) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Bykonja 2005: 308a)
ma-nan tol'dʒʲ-o-w tʲangw-an
 I-LOC ski-EP-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-3SG
 ‘I do not have any skis.’
- (360) Central Selkup, Parabel Dialect (Bekker 1995a: 85)
man ija-m tʲanga
 I son-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘I do not have a son.’

It is typical for non-Northern dialects that the possessor is almost always coded with the locative, both in positive and negative sentences. Although according to Bekker nominative coding also occurs (Bekker 1995a: 84), in his example sentences the possessor is regularly a pronoun, which can also be regarded as a possessive pronoun (see e.g. sentence (360).) Bekker only presents one sentence with a noun as the possessor; however, that sentence is not a possessive sentence but a construction containing a non-verbal predicate. Naturally, there are sentences with a covert possessor, which is only referred to by a personal possessive suffix on the possessed, see e.g. the example below.

- (361) Central Selkup (Bekker 1995a: 85)
ad'a-ut tʲaŋiʲa
 father-1PL_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘We have no father.’

In the Ob-dialects the particle *netuwa* is also used instead of the negative existential verb. This element is a Russian loan in these dialects. The exact behaviour of this element can unfortunately not be investigated in detail, since there is not enough example data.

(362) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Bekker 1995b: 240)

man-nan netuwa naja-m
 I-LOC NEG_{PTCL} bread-1SG_{PX}
 ‘I do not have any bread.’

The sentence above shows that the negative element takes in the place which is typical for particles, i.e. it precedes the negated element.

Thus, it can be stated that in the non-Northern Selkup dialects the possessor is typically coded with the locative and the possessed is marked with a possessive suffix. The sentential predicate is the verb of being in affirmative sentences and the negative existential verb in the negative sentences. The table below summarizes the constructions.

Type		Construction
Locative Possessive	Affirmative	PoR _{Loc} + PoM _{PX} + e-
	Negative	PoR _{Loc} + PoM _{PX} + <i>t'anga</i> PoR _{Loc} + <i>netuwa</i> + PoM _{PX}
Nominative Possessive	Affirmative	(PoR _{Nom}) + PoM _{PX} + e-
	Negative	(PoR _{Nom}) + PoM _{PX} + <i>t'anga</i>

Table 70. Possessive Constructions of the Non-Northern Selkup Dialects

5.2. Type A₃

5.2.1. Northern Selkup

There are two possessive constructions in Northern Selkup: nominative possessive and locative possessive. As mentioned above, in contrast to the Northern Samoyedic languages there is no existential verb, its role is fulfilled by the verb of being (*εεqo*). It almost always appears in possessive constructions. There are hardly any examples for sentences without a verbal predicate. It is typical for Selkup possessive sentences that if the possessor is understood through context, it is generally not overt in the sentence. If the possessor is overt, it is usually coded with the locative. First the constructions will be presented where the possessor stands in the nominative.

Nominative Possessive

It is typical for this construction that the grammatical subject of the sentence is the possessum, which carries the personal possessive suffix referring to the possessor. The possessor takes up the sentence-initial position and is unmarked, i.e. it stands in the nominative. The possessor is actually the modifier of the NP, which expresses the possessum. The sentence closes with the accordingly conjugated verb of being (*εεqo*). The verb has to agree in person and number with the possessum.

(363) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Erdélyi 1969: 31/a)

ukkir qup 27 kanak-ti e-ŋa
 one man 27 dog-3SG_{Px} be-Co.3SG
 ‘A man has 27 dogs.’

It is also typical for this sentence type that the possessor is often not overt. This can be explained by the fact that it was previously mentioned by the speaker and, therefore, it is sufficient to refer to it with a personal possessive suffix. However, as the sentence below shows, the personal suffix cannot be omitted, even if the possessor is overt.

(364) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 8/1–2)

ira ili-mpa. šitti näl'a-ti ε-ppinti
 old.man live-PST.NAR.3SG two daughter-3SG_{Px} be-LATENT.PST.3SG
 ‘There lived an old man. He had two daughters.’

The first sentence denotes the possessor; therefore, he is not overtly mentioned in the actual possessive sentence.

This construction can be negated by the negative existential verb (*čäähkiqo*). The sentence is constructed in the same way as the positive sentence.

(365) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 8/1–2)

a imaqota qəəli-ti čäähka
 but elderly.woman fish-3SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘But the elderly woman did not have any fish.’

It is also typical for the negated sentences that the possessor is seldom overt, but mainly referred to by the possessive suffix on the possessed. The possessor can always be expressed in this way if it has already been mentioned previously in the text, since in this case a reference is sufficient. Nor does the possessor have to be overt if it is a pronoun. The sentential predicate has to agree in number and person with the possessed.

(366) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova 1980: 365)

ɔɔtä-l čääŋka
 reindeer-2SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘You do not have any reindeer.’

The negative existential verb can naturally take on mood markers, too, e.g. the conditional marker as illustrated below:

(367) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 328)

čɔɔlsä tiimti čäŋki-mmä. ašša amir-te-nta
 if tooth-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX-COND.3SG NEG_{PTCL} eat-IPF-FUT.3SG
 ‘If (s)he does not have any teeth, he will not eat.’

Locative Possessive

Possessive constructions coded with the locative are also very common. Typically they can be found if the possessor has already been mentioned in the text, but is nevertheless repeated by the speaker possibly for the sake of emphasis. Very often the possessor is only referred to by a pronoun, but the noun is also sometimes repeated by the speaker. In both cases postpositional constructions are used in Taz Selkup. In this dialect the possessor cannot be marked by a case suffix, this function is carried out by the locative postposition *miqin*. This postposition only occurs in possessive sentences, the preceding noun or pronoun has to stand in the genitive. The construction is illustrated by a short text passage.

(368) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova 1993: 20/1–3)

- a. *šöt-qin ili-mpani ima.*
 forest-LOC live- PST.NAR.3SG woman
- b. *təp-i-n miqin ε-ppani iija-ti.*
 (s)he-EP-GEN PP_{Loc} be-PST.NAR.3SG son-3SG_{PX}
- c. *ima-n miqin ira-ti čääŋi-mpa. a*
 woman-GEN PP_{Loc} old.man-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX-PST.NAR.3SG but/and
iija-ti kipa ε-ppa
 son-3SG_{PX} small be-PST.NAR.3SG
 ‘In the forest, there lived a woman. She had a son. The woman did not have a husband, and her son was small.’

In sentence (368) a) the speaker names the person s/he will talk about later, i.e. introduces the theme (*ima* ‘woman’). In sentence b) this person becomes the possessor. Here she is referred to by a postposition construction, thus the possessor itself is a locational NP. Compared to sentence (364) presented above; there is a change in word order. In this

sentence type, the possessor is followed by the verb, which is followed by the possessed. This apparently has pragmatic reasons. In the nominative possessive construction we observed the word order POS + POM + VERB, while here we see the order POS + VERB + POM. Sentence c) represents the negative sentence. It is striking that we find the same word order here as in the nominative structure, but the possessor itself is marked with the locative. As mentioned above, this construction can also be found in the Southern dialects, although there the possessor is marked by the locative case suffix and not with a postposition, which is a significant difference between the two dialectal groups.

As we can see, Northern Selkup uses two different constructions, namely the nominative possessive and in special cases a structure where the possessor is marked by the locative. As mentioned in the chapter on standard negation, in Northern Selkup the negative existential verb is also used in negative sentences in the past tense, which means that this element has infiltrated standard negation as well. This phenomenon cannot be found among the non-Northern dialects, and that is why the two dialectal groups have to be classified separately. The table below summarizes the Selkup constructions.

Type	Construction	
Nominative Possessive	Affirm.	$(\text{PoR}_{\text{NOM}}) + \text{PoM}_{\text{Px}} + (\varepsilon-)$
	Negative	$(\text{PoR}_{\text{NOM}}) + \text{PoM}_{\text{Px}} + \text{čääŋk-}$
Locative Possessive	Affirm.	$\text{PoR}_{\text{Loc}} + \varepsilon- + \text{PoM}_{\text{Px}}$
	Negative	$\text{PoR}_{\text{Loc}} + \text{PoM}_{\text{Px}} + \text{čääŋk-}$

Table 71. Possessive Constructions of the Northern Selkup Dialects

5.2.2. Nenets

According to descriptions (e.g. Hajdú 1968, Honti 2007), in Nenets, possession can be expressed in different ways, i.e. four different predicates are used in this construction, namely the verbs *tańasⁱ* ‘to exist’, *ŋäsⁱ* ‘to be’ and *mecⁱ* ‘to keep’, or the verb can be omitted. Thus, there should be oblique possessive and *have*-possession constructions in Nenets, as far as the verb with the meaning ‘to keep’ is interpreted as a HAVE verb. In my opinion, however, there is no transitive construction in Nenets. The following two example sentences should illustrate the usage of the verb *mecⁱ* ‘to keep’.

(369) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect

(Tereshchenko 1965: 272; Tereshchenko 1989: 59)

- a. *kolxoð-wa?* *tii* *meʔ-ŋa,* *xorowa, junu*
 kolkhoz-1PL_{Px} reindeer.PL.ACC keep-Co.3SG cow.ACC horse.PL.ACC
ŋobtarem? *meʔŋa*
 also keep-Co.3SG
 ‘Our kolkhoz keeps reindeer, cows and horses.’
 [Our kolkhoz has reindeer, cows and horses.]
- b. *ńis'a-wa?* *wep-o* *meʔ-ŋa*
 father-1PL_{Px} dog-EP.PL.ACC keep-Co.3SG
 ‘My father keeps dogs.’ [My father has dogs.]

The verb is typically used in sentences that deal with animal husbandry. Of course it is possible that the verb ‘to keep’ has begun to be grammaticalized and will express the meaning ‘to have’ as in the Ob-Ugric languages. The two examples above do not, however, lead to this assumption. We could only speak of the end of the grammaticalization process, if inalienable possession could also be expressed by this verb, that is, if the sentence types ‘I have a father’ and ‘I have blue eyes’ could also be found using this verb. However, in Nenets, this verb never appears in sentences of this kind. Since the meaning of the sentences with the verb ‘to keep’ is always linked to animal husbandry, I do not regard this verb as having the meaning ‘to have’ and, therefore, assume that there are only intransitive constructions in Nenets and no transitive ones.

In theory, in intransitive constructions, the role of the predicate could be fulfilled by two verbs: the special existential verb *tańasʲ* (Forest Nenets *tad'aš*) and the substantive verb *ŋäsʲ* (Forest Nenets *ŋäš*), that is normally used in locative sentences.

Let us first investigate the sentences with the verb of being *ŋäsʲ*. In the example sentences, the verb of being always carries a mood marker, namely the narrative marker (-*wi*). Incidentally, narrative forms are very common in Nenets tales. I could not find any sentences that could be regarded as possessive constructions containing this verb which were not in folklore texts. The best-known example sentence for this type originates from Hajdú.

(370) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Hajdú 1968: 74)

- šudbie* *sʲiʔiw* *ńeńu-da* *ŋäe-wii*
 giant seven daughter-3SG_{Px} be-NAR.3SG
 ‘The giant had seven daughters.’

If we regard this sentence as a possessive sentence, then we have to assume that the possessed NP is marked with a possessive suffix, but the possessor is unmarked, i.e. stands in the nominative. Let us have a closer look at the possessed NP in this sentence. The expression itself actually consists of two words. The word *ńe* means woman, while *ńu* means child. If the latter stands alone, then it usually means son, which means that the

word with the meaning woman specifies the sense further. This kind of expression is very common among the Samoyedic languages. In the corpus this research is based on, however, this is the only sentence, where a possessive suffix could be found on the possessed NP. The sentence structures occurring in the corpus were of the following type:

(371) Tundra Nenets, Taymir Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 70)

- a. *laxana-ko-r manma: pādare-ta jaxa ŋā-wi*
 story-DIM-2SG_{Px} say.3SG forest-POSS river be-NAR.3SG
 ‘They say that there was a river that had a forest on its bank.’
- b. *čiki sid’a Wajxajut ŋoka tii-d’i? juŋgu-wi-?,*
 this two Wajhajut many reindeer-3DU_{Px} NEG.EX-NAR-3PL
tii-d’i? ŋaxar jur? ŋā-wi
 reindeer-3DU_{Px} three ten be-NAR.3SG
 ‘The two Wajhajuts did not have many reindeer, they had thirty reindeer.’

Sentence a) cannot be regarded as a possessive sentence, but clearly illustrates that this verb form can appear in existential sentences. The first half of sentence b) is a negative existential sentence with an unmarked possessor, while the possessed NP is marked with a personal possessive marker. Thus, the structure as well as the word order of the sentence corresponds with Hajdú’s findings. The structure of the second part of the sentence is the existential construction in question. The ‘possession’ is marked by the personal possessive suffix also, but the sentence structure is completely different. It is a statement about the reindeer, that is, the speaker indicates their number. Thus, the sentential predicate can be regarded as attributional, which is accompanied by an existential copula when expressing mood or tense. This sentence type will be discussed under adjectivization. When comparing this sentence with Hajdú’s example, we find a different word order but no other differences. Hajdú’s example sentence could hardly be regarded as a sentence containing a non-verbal predicate. Given the fact that this is the only example for the sentence type mentioned by Hajdú, I do not assume that there are possessive sentences not belonging to the category of adjectivization, where the verb of being is the predicate.

In the following section, I will introduce the Nenets constructions based on the marking of the possessor. The Forest and Tundra dialects will not be discussed separately, since according to the data to date there are no distinct differences between the two groups, however, I will try to give examples for both.

Nominative Possessive

As seen before, this type could also be found in Selkup. In this construction the possessor stands in the nominative, while the possessed NP is marked with a possessive suffix that cannot be omitted in Nenets. The sentential predicate is mostly the existential verb *tañas’*, but the verb being *ŋās’* appears too, in negative constructions the negative existential verb.

- (372) Tundra Nenets, Tajmyr Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 24)
ńabi ńis'a-da tańa, ńabi ńis'a-da juńgu
 one father-3SG_{Px} exist.3SG one father-3SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 'One has a father, the other does not.'
- (373) Tundra Nenets (Lehtisalo 1965: 16)
pidá s'iid'a ńe-da ńä-wi
 (s)he two woman-3SG_{Px} be-NAR.3SG
 'He had two wives'

It is typical for the Samoyedic languages – similarly to Hungarian – that not only the possessor but the possessed as well can or must be marked by a possessive suffix. If the possessed is marked by a possessive suffix and the possessor is not a noun (e.g. a proper noun), the possessor does not have to be overt in the sentence since the possessive suffix already refers to its person, as illustrated by the sentences (374) a) and c) below.

- (374) Tundra Nenets, Tajmyr Subdialect (Nenyang 2005: 44, 55, 54, 92)
- a. *ńabako-r tańa*
 elder.sister -2SG_{Px} exist.3SG
 'Do you have an elder sister?'⁴⁰
- b. *mań ńopoj ńac'eke-ri-m'i*
 I one child-LIM-1SG_{Px}
 'I only have one child.'
- c. *ńabako-m'i. xasawa papako-m'i tańa-ńa-xa?*
 elder.sister -1SG_{Px} man younger.brother -1SG_{Px} exist-Co-3DU
 'I have an elder sister and a younger brother.'

Sentence (374) b) is interesting for several reasons. The word *mań* 'I' can be interpreted in two ways. It can be regarded as possessor, in this case the sentence would have exactly the same structure as sentence (372): PoR_{NOM} + PoS_{Px} + exist. At the same time, the question may arise whether the personal pronoun should not be regarded as a possessive pronoun. In Nenets, the genitive form of pronouns are usually not used, the possessive pronoun can also be expressed by the nominative form, e.g. *mań puxuuc'ie(m'i)* 'my wife'. In adnominal possessive constructions the possessive suffix can be omitted, nor is the usage of the possessive pronoun mandatory. If the personal pronoun in the sentence above is regarded as a possessive pronoun, then the sentence would have the following structure: PoS_{Px} + exist. Both interpretations (and sentence structures) are possible. However, in this sentence type the pronoun will be regarded as the possessor and not as a possessive pronoun. The fact that the possessor can be omitted is not unusual among languages: it can also be found in Hungarian: e.g. *nekem van egy könyvem ~ van egy könyvem* 'I have a book'. On the other hand the structure of sentence (373) points towards regarding the

40. Although there is an interrogative mood in Nenets, it is only used in the past tense. Present tense questions are unmarked. Without knowing the intonation this sentence can be understood as a question as well as a statement. The source, however, denotes it clearly as a question.

constituent as a possessor in the nominative. Sentence (374) b) illustrates the fact that elliptical sentences are also possible, i.e. there are examples for the omission of the verbal predicate. It could be observed in sentences (374) a) and c) that the existential verb has to agree with the possessed NP.

The same construction can be observed in Forest Nenets as well as in Tundra Nenets, i.e. there is no significant difference between the two dialects.

(375) Forest Nenets (Barmich – Wello 2002: 195, 120; Turutyina 2003: 50)

- a. *tals'ia kñiga-l tad'a*
 that.kind.of book-2SG_{Px} exist.3SG
 'Do you have a book of that kind?'
- b. *mañ kñiga-j tad'a-ŋa-š*
 I book-1SG_{Px} exist-Co-3SG.PST
 'I had a book.'
- c. *šita ñe ñu-ta*
 two woman child-3SG_{Px}
 '(S)he has two daughters.'

The existential verb can also take on mood markers. Narrative markers can be found the most frequently in the texts.

(376) Tundra Nenets, Tajmyr Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 28)

- ŋob ñabako-du taña-wi*
 one elder.sister-3PL_{Px} exist-NAR.3SG
 'They had an elder sister.'

As mentioned above, an overt possessor is not mandatory in Nenets; it can be referred to by a possessive suffix. The personal suffix, however, can only be omitted in very exceptional cases. Most examples for the omission of the personal suffix are negated sentences.

This sentence type can be negated with the negative existential verb, that has the form *jaŋgosⁱ* or *juŋgosⁱ* in the Tundra dialect and *d'akosⁱ* or *jiikuš* in Forest Nenets. The negative existential verb behaves syntactically exactly as its affirmative counterpart and can take on mood and tense markers. The verb itself has to agree with the possessed NP. Sentence (372) above clearly demonstrates that except for another verb serving as the predicate, nothing has changed. The same hold true for the following sentence:

(377) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr-Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 106)

- marinča xasawa tii-da juŋgu-wii-ʔ*
 Marincha man reindeer-PL.3SG_{Px} NEG.EX-NAR-3PL
 'Marincha did not have any reindeer.'

The 2SG personal suffix on the possessor can be regarded as having a identifying function, i.e. in this case it does not denote another possessive relation. The possessed (child) is marked as well, namely by the possessive suffix referring to the possessor. A negative sentence of this structure could not be found.

Locative Possessive

In Nenets there is also a possible construction, where the possessor is marked with the locative. Theoretically, this can be found in two kinds of sentences, in those expressing alienable possession, and in those expressing inalienable possession. I was not able to find a sentence with inalienable possession, where the possessor was marked with the locative, thus, the two following example sentences illustrate alienable possession. Sentence a) shows the affirmative, sentence b) the negative form.

(382) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Nyenyang 2005: 48, 67)

- a. *ńa-na-nda?* *lucaʔ-ńenecʔa?* *wadʔi-?* *slovarʔi* *tańa*
 PP_{TO}-LOC-2PL_{PX} Russian-Nenets language-PL.GEN dictionary EX.3SG
 ‘Do you have a Russian-Nenets dictionary?’
- b. *tarcʔa* *kńiga* *ńa-na-na?* *janʔku*
 such book PP-LOC-1PL_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘We do not have such a book.’

In Nenets, personal pronouns cannot take on suffixes. Their inflected forms are created with the pronominal stem *ńa-* taking on a locative suffix, followed by a possessive suffix. This form can be found in both sentences above. The word order differs in sentences a) and b), which is caused by the focal position of the possessor in sentence b). Otherwise, there is no further discrepancy between the two sentences. It is striking, however, that in this sentence type the possession remains unmarked, that is, it does not take on a possessive suffix.

The following example sentence also shows a case, where the possession can be regarded as alienable and even temporal. I could find two examples for this type. Nyenyang’s (2005) translation clearly suggests that the possession in question is alienable. Tereshchenko’s translation on the other hand does not. Without a native speaker it cannot be decided what kind of possession it really is.

(383) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Nyenyang 2005: 92.)

- a. *ńa-na-nd* *jesʔa-r* *tańa*
 PP_{TO}-LOC-2SG_{PX} money-2SG_{PX} exist.3SG
 ‘Do you have money with you?’
- b. *ńa-na-ńi* *puđoko* *jesʔa-mi* *janʔgu*
 PP_{TO}-LOC-1SG_{PX} small money-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘I do not have any change.’

(384) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya Zemlya Subdialect (Tereshchenko 1965: 111)

ńa-na-n *jes'ia-mi* *jangu-s'*
 PP_{TO} -LOC-1SG_{PX} money-1SG_{PX} NEG.Ex-PST.3SG
 'I did not have any money.'

It is striking that in these sentences the possession is once again marked. Based on these sentences, however, we cannot be certain whether this is obligatory or optional.

Adjectivization

This type is very frequent in Nenets, although in most cases these sentences contain the adjective *ńoka* 'many' or some kind of numeral. That means that the usage of this type is rather limited.

(385) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Nenyang 2005: 92; Labanauskas 2001a: 73)

- a. *jesa-mi* *ńoka*
 money-1SG_{PX} much.3SG_{VX}
 'I have much money.' [my money is much.]
- b. *te-mi* *ńaxar* *jud-mań*
 reindeer -1SG_{PX} three ten- around.
 'I have around 30 reindeer.'

In the indicative mood, the sentences do not contain a verb, which means the predicate is non-verbal. In the examples above, the speaker does not state the existence of the possession, but makes statements about the possession itself. This construction typically occurs in sentences with alienable possession. Rarely, examples can also be found for inalienable possession, as in the sentence below.

(386) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 14)

xasawa *ńu-d'a* *ju?* *ńä-wi*
 man child-3SG_{PX} ten be-NAR.3SG
 'He had ten sons.'

This sentence has another special feature, namely the narrative mood of the predicate. As we will see later in connection with non-verbal predicates, nominal predicates can take on tense, but no mood markers in Nenets. In these sentences a copula has to be used which is capable of taking on mood markers. The example above shows that the possessed NP does not have to be marked with the possessive suffix. However, if there is no personal suffix, the possessor must unambiguously be 3SG. This can be explained by the sentence structure. In the example, the speaker makes a statement about the sons, namely that their number is ten. The person of the possessor, that is the fact, whose sons they are, is not of importance in this sentence, since it has already been determined through con-

text – usually in the preceding sentence. I could not find an example for the negation of this sentence type. However, in negative sentences which contain the adjective ‘many’, the adjective does not have a predicative, but an attributive role. Therefore, these cases cannot be regarded as the negation of this sentence type (adjectivization), as illustrated by the following example.

(387) Tundra Nenets, Taymyr Subdialect (Labanauskas 2001a: 84)

čikii siid'a wajxajut ŋoka tii-d'i? jŋgu-wi-?
 this two Wajhajut many reindeer-3DU_{px} NEG.EX-NAR-3PL
tii-d'i? ŋaxar? jur? ŋä-wi
 reindeer-PL.3DU_{px} three hundred be-NAR.3SG

‘The two Wajhajuts did not have many reindeer, only three hundred.’

Among my example sentences, possession is also expressed by the usage of nouns with a nomen possessoris formative suffix (-*sawaj*). In this case, the possessed NP takes on the formative suffix and is predicatively conjugated. The predicative ending refers to the number and person of the possessor. This construction cannot be used if the possessor can be expressed by an NP. When negating this sentence type, the caritative formative ending (-*s'ii*) is used. This type is also an adjectivization and has limited usage. There is no data on sentences with inalienable possession. There is only one example for this type, but it must be regarded as a lexicalized unity: *ŋe* ‘woman’: *ŋes'awej* ‘married man’.

(388) Tundra Nenets (Hajdú 1968: 74)

- a. *ŋano-sawa-dm?*
 boat-POSS-1SG_{v_x}
 ‘I have a boat.’ [I am boaty.]
- b. *ŋano-s'ii-dm?*
 boat-CAR-1SG_{v_x}
 ‘I do not have a boat.’ [I am boatless.]

As we could see, there are several ways to express possession in Nenets, but the most frequent construction is the nominative possessive, which has the existential verb or the existential negative verb as its predicate. The following table summarizes the possible negation types.

Type		Tundra Dialects	Forest Dialects
Nom. Poss.	Affirm.	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>taña-</i> PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX}	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>tad'a-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>jango-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>jikuu</i>
Genitive Poss	Affirm.	no data	PoR _{GEN} + PoM _{PX} + <i>ŋä-</i>
	Negative	no data	no data
Loc. Poss.	Affirm.	PoR _{LOC} + PoM _(PX) + <i>taña</i>	no data
	Negative	PoR _{LOC} + PoM _(PX) + <i>jango-</i>	no data
Adjectiviz.	Affirm.	PoM _(PX) + predicate PoM _{POSS} in nominal conjugation	no data
	Negative	no data PoM _{CAR} in nominal conjugation	no data

Table 72. Nenets Constructions Expressing Possession

5.2.3. Enets

Although Enets is a close relative of Nenets, it does not remotely show as rich a variation as Nenets. The most frequent construction is possession expressed with the existential verb (*tones*). Furthermore, constructions with the verb of being can also be found, but – as in Nenets – only in connection with mood or tense markers.

I could not find any traces for a possessor marked with the genitive and locative possessive constructions are very scarce. Thus, the nominative possessive has to be regarded as the most common construction.

Nominative Possessive

Two types of this construction can be distinguished. The predicate of one type is the verb *toneš* ‘to exist’, while there is no verb in the other construction. The latter type is most commonly used if the speaker talks about his or her children and stresses their number. In both types, the possessor, if overt in the sentence, stands in the nominative and the possessed NP must be marked with the possessive suffix. Overt possessors are, however, very rare, since the possessive suffix refers to its person, and the exact person is clearly identified by the context. The sentences below illustrate the case when the speaker uses an overt possessor, which unambiguously stands in the nominative. The sentential predicate has to agree in number with the possessed NP.

(389) Forest Enets (Mikola 1967: 61)

- a. *mod' ne-j tone-aa*
 I woman-1SG_{Px} exist-Co.3SG
 'I have a wife.'
- b. *teaða mod' nehu? ñe-j*
 now I three child-1SG_{Px}
 'I now have three children.'

The existential verb can take on mood and tense markers. Because of the text types found, the most common mood is the narrative, which can be combined with the past tense.

(390) Forest Enets (Urmanchieva 2008: 165/10)

nie-ða tonee-bi-ʔ
 child-PL.3SG_{Px} exist-NAR-3PL
 '(S)he had children.'

(391) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 170/2)

čiki te kasa-ða tonee-bi-sʃ – tɔbik
 this reindeer man-3SG_{Px} exist-NAR-PST.3SG – mouse
 'This reindeer had a friend – a mouse.'

In sentence types, where in the indicative mood present tense no verbal predicate would occur, the verb of being is used for past tense and moods.

(392) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 160/2)

bu t'et ñe-ða e-bi
 (s)he four child-3SG_{Px} be-NAR.3SG
 '(S)he had four children.'

We can see that this sentence has the same structure as sentence (389). However, to express tense or mood here, the copula must be used. If we omit it from the sentence, we form a sentence in the indicative present tense. This type cannot be regarded as adjectivization, since the predicate is not the numeral (for more on the adjectivizational type cf. the chapter on Nenets.)

The sentence type above can be negated by the negative existential verb (F. *d'aguš*, T. *d'igu-*). This verb also has to agree with the possessed NP in number and the possessed NP has to take on the personal possessive suffix.

(393) Forest Enets (Mikola 1980: 226)

buud'i? ese-ði? d'agu. ee-ði? d'agu
 the.two.of.them father-3DU_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG mother-3DU_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 'They have no father, they have no mother.'

- (394) Tundra Enets (Grushkina 1980: 57)
čijadi bese-j? d'iggu-a
 now money-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-Co.3SG
 'I do not have any money now.'

The negative existential verb can also take on tense and mood markers. Typically, the narrative mood can be found in the texts, as in the Forest Enets example below. The form with a tense marker is illustrated by an example from the Tundra dialect.

- (395) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 280/9)
ań tors'e-j d'agu-bi
 but such-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-NAR.3SG
 'But I did not have such.'

- (396) Tundra Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 327/5)
mod'i mejgor'u-j d'igua-s'i ee-j d'igu-a-s'i
 I anybody-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-PST.3SG mother-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-Co-PST.3SG
ese-j d'igu-a-s'i
 father-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-Co-PST.3SG
 'I did not have anybody, no father, no mother.'

There are sentences, where the existential verb is negated by the negative element used for standard negation, i.e. the negative auxiliary. It is typical for this type of sentences that the negative auxiliary does not precede but follows the negated verb in connegative form. Thus, we find the same inverted usage as in standard negation (cf. chapter II/3.2.4.1.). In this case, however, the sentence does not have a negated meaning but expresses stressed affirmation.

- (397) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 60/124)
mare-đa tone ŋi-u
 bag-3SG_{Px} exist.CN NEG.3SG-EXL
 'But he does have a bag.'

Locative Possessive / Adjectivisation

As in Nenets, it is possible in Enets to mark the possessor with the locative case or some locative postposition. I have only found this type in sentences where the predicate is expressed by the word *oka* 'many'. This type could also be regarded as adjectivisation. Based on the example sentences, this type can only be used for inalienable possession, since I could not find any sentences with temporal or alienable possession. The sentence below shows a possessor marked by the locative.

(398) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 149/26)

polǒeda bogl'a-xan tor-ǰa oka tor pol'
 black bear -LOC hair -3SG_{PX} much hair thick.3SG
 'Black bears have much hair, their hair is thick.'

As illustrated in the example above, the possessed NP is also marked with the possessive suffix.

If the possessor is expressed by a personal pronoun, then a postpositional construction is used, which can be explained by the fact that Enets personal pronouns cannot take on case suffixes. The corresponding forms are expressed by postpositional constructions. The personal pronoun is followed by the adverbial locative form (*no-n-*) of the postpositional stem *no-*, which takes on the possessive suffix.

(399) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 2005: 149/26)

bu no-n-da ečuj-ǰa oka
 (s)he PP_{AT} -ADV.LOC-3SG_{PX} young.man -3SG_{PX} many
 '(S)he had many children.'

As we have seen above (389), the speaker uses a different construction when exactly stating the number of the children. However, I did not find an example for the negation of this type.

The table below summarises the Enets possessive and negative possessive constructions. As we could see, the possessor stands in the nominative, or rarely in the locative. The predicate is the existential or the negative existential verb, but in special cases the copula can be omitted in affirmative sentences.

Type		Construction
Nominative Possessive	Affirm.	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>tone-</i> PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX}
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>d'agu-</i>
Loc. Poss. / Adjectivization	Affirm.	PoR _{LOC} + PoM _{PX} + <i>oka</i> PoR + Pp _{LOC} + PoM _{PX} + <i>oka</i>
	Negative	no data

Table 73. Enets Constructions Expressing Possession

5.3. Type B₁

Both Ob-Ugric languages are represented here. Typically, all these languages have a HAVE verb, but possession can also be expressed by an intransitive construction. These intransitive constructions can differ and as we will see, even within one language we can find several intransitive constructions.

5.3.1. Khanty

Khanty is one of the few Uralic languages that can express possession with means of a HAVE verb. This is the most typical construction in Khanty, but the intransitive construction can also be found. I will begin the description of the possessive constructions with the transitive type. Khanty retains its SOV word order both in this and the intransitive sentence type.

Have-Possessive

In all Khanty dialects there is a verb expressing possession, which has the meaning ‘to have’ or ‘to keep’: *tǎj-ta* ~ *tōj-ta*. The possessor stands in the nominative and is the grammatical subject of the sentence. The sentential object is the possessed NP, which is also unmarked, since there is no marked accusative in Khanty. The structure of the sentence is the following: possessor + possessed + *have*. The verb must agree with the subject in number and person. Let us have a look at two examples for this type. The first sentence comes from the Northern, the second from the Eastern dialectal group.

(400) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

ma at'e-m kǎńika tǎj-a-l
 I father-1SG_{PX} book have-EP.PRS.3SG
 ‘My father has a book.’

(401) Northern Khanty, Synja Dialect (OS 2008)

ma as'e-m nepək tǎj-l
 I father-1SG_{PX} book have-PRS.3SG
 ‘My father has a book.’

Thus, we can see that the possessed is unmarked in both dialects. This verb, as illustrated by the examples above, can take on tense markers. Since in the Surgut Dialect the past tense is unmarked, in past sentences the verb does not carry a tense marker.

(402) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Kajukova, Lj. 2009)

ma at'e-m jam kōčəy tōj. tōppə lūw qōlti
 I father-1SG_{PX} good knife have.PST.3SG then (s)he already
tuw-təy
 lost.PST-3SG.O
 'My father had a good knife, but he has already lost it.'

In Khanty, future can only be expressed with an auxiliary. Thus the HAVE verb has to be followed by an auxiliary (*jə-ta* 'to become'). The HAVE verb itself (i.e. the main verb of the construction) stands in the infinitive in front of the finite element.

(403) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

lūw newi qirəy tāj-ta-γə jə-l
 (s)he white handbag have-INF-TRL become-PRS.3SG
 '(S)he will have a white handbag.'

In this case the usage of the translative suffix on the infinitive is caused by the auxiliary. Nouns with the translative suffix express a state or a result in Khanty. In auxiliary constructions the translative also refers to the setting in of a state, e.g. *litəγə jəγən* 'you became hungry'.

This sentence type has to be negated by the standard negative element. In the Surgut dialect the negative element *əntə*, in the Synja dialect the particle *at* is used. In every dialect the particle directly precedes the HAVE verb.

(404) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)

ma at'e-m kənika əntə tāj-a-l
 I father-1SG_{PX} book NEG_{PTCL} have-EP-PRS.3SG
 'My father has no books.'

(405) Northern Khanty, Synja Dialect (OS. 2008)

ma as'e-m nepək at taj-l
 I father-1SG_{PX} book NEG_{PTCL} have-PRS.3SG
 'My father has no books.'

Comparing the negative and affirmative sentences, we can state that they are symmetric, since an affirmative sentence emerges when the negative element is omitted. There is no change in past sentences; in this case as well the HAVE verb is preceded by the negative element.

(406) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (Kajukova, Lj. 2009)

newrem jāntəγ-tə ōt əntə tōj
 child play-PTPRS thing NEG_{PTCL} have.PRS.3SG
 'The child has no toys.'

Nominative Possessive

In addition to the HAVE verbal construction, intransitive structures are also used in Khanty, one of the subtypes being the nominative possessive construction. I have to say in advance that this type is almost exclusively found in negated sentences. In these sentences, the possessor stands in the nominative and the possessed NP takes on the possessive suffix, while the predicate is not the HAVE verb but the negative existential verb. In this sentence type, the possessor is always a personal pronoun or is omitted. An overt pronoun is not obligatory, since the possessive suffix already refers to the person of the possessor. The question might arise whether or not the pronoun could be regarded as a possessive pronoun. An argument against this is that there are possessive pronouns in Khanty (e.g. *manem* ‘mine’). However – similarly to Hungarian and the Northern Samoyedic languages discussed earlier - they never occur in attributive position. In an attributive position the nominative of the personal pronoun is used, (e.g. Obdorsk Sub-dialect *ma ma nawremem lapətləm* ‘I feed my own child’, Nikolaeva 1995: 97). The existential negative verb must agree with the possessed NP in number.

(407) Eastern Khanty, Vasyugan Dialect (Karjalainen 1964: 163)

mä wăy-am entim
 I money-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘I have no money.’

As we have seen in the chapters discussing existential sentences, the negative existential predicate is not capable of expressing tenses, thus, a copula is needed in the sentence. In these cases the existential verb (*wos-*) takes on the tense markers, which have to agree with the possessed NP. The negative existential predicate still has to agree with the possessed NP in number, but sometime it does not take on any markers.

(408) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 36)

- a. *xolup-ŋat-am antəm-ŋan wos-ŋan*
 net-DU-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-3DU exist-3DU
 ‘I did not have two nets.’
- b. *xop-t-am antəm w os-a-t*
 boat-PL-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX exist-EP-3PL
 ‘I did not have any boats.’

Locative Possessive

If the possessor is not expressed by a personal pronoun or cannot be referred to by one, the locative possessive type has to be used for expressing possession. Two subtypes can be distinguished in Khanty. The possessor is marked by the locative suffix or followed by a locative postposition. In the Surgut dialect, the stem of the postposition *qu'təŋ-* 'at' takes on the locative suffix: *qu'təŋ-nə*. The Obdorsk dialect uses the postposition *xõs'ia* 'at', the Southern dialects the postposition *pěŋət-ne* with the same meaning. In this sentence type, the possessed NP is unmarked, i.e. it does not take on any possessive personal markers. The sentential predicate is the correspondingly conjugated form of the verb of being.

- (409) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)
ma at'e-m qu'təŋ-nə kəńika wăt-l
 I father-1SG_{PX} PP_{AT}-LOC book be-PRS.3SG
 'My father has a book.'

- (410) Northern Khanty, Obdorsk Dialect (Nikolaeva 1995: 189)
lűw untati-t-l xõs'ia nepek u-l
 (s)he teach-PTPRS-3SG_{PX} PP_{AT} book be-PRS.3SG
 'His/her teacher has a book.'

- (411) Southern Khanty, Krasnojarsk Dialect (Karjalainen 1964: 66)
xuj pěŋət-nə wăŋ u-t
 man PP_{AT}-LOC money be-PRS.3SG
 'The man has money. / The man has money with him.'
 [miehellä on rahoja, bei dem Mann ist Geld; translation of Edith Vértés]

Based on the example sentences, it is hard to decide whether the possessions in question are alienable or inalienable. The sentences allow both interpretations. According to Nikolaeva (1995: 189), this construction does not emphasise the possession itself, but its position. In this case it should rather be referred to as alienable possession. The translations of Edith Vértés suggest clearly that this construction expresses not a permanent, but a temporal possession. My Surgut consultant, however, regarded this construction as completely synonymous with the possessive construction. We could, therefore, assume that the semantic difference between the two constructions has completely faded and that today's speakers no longer make this distinction.

This type can be negated by the existential negative predicate, which takes the place of the verb of being. Thus, this construction is asymmetric.

- (412) Eastern Khanty, Surgut Dialect (KLj 2009)
ma at'e-m qu'təŋ-nə kəńika əntəm
 I father-1SG_{PX} PP_{AT}-LOC book NEG.EX.3SG
 'My father has no books.'

In the other possible locative possessive construction, the possessor takes on the locative suffix while the possessed NP is unmarked. The sentential predicate is again the verb of being. This type of sentence is also negated by the negative existential verb.

(413) Eastern Khanty, Vasyugan Dialect (Karjalainen 1964: 152)

- a. *jəγə-m-ne* *loγ* *wətə-t*
 father-1SG_{PX}-LOC horse be-PRS.3SG
 ‘My father has a horse.’
 [bei meinem Vater ist ein Pferd; translation of Edith Vértes]
- b. *quu-nə* *wəγ* *əntim*
 man-LOC money NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘The man has no money.’
 [beim Mann ist kein Geld; translation of Edith Vértes]

Again, based on the sentences alone, i.e. without a context, we cannot decide whether the possession is alienable or inalienable, both interpretations are possible.

Adjectivization

Nikolaeva (1999:14) reports on another type for expressing possession. This construction can also be referred to as adjectivization, since the sentential element denoting possession carries some kind of an adjectival formative suffix. In the Obdorsk dialect, from which Nikolaeva’s example originates, it is the nomen possessoris formative marker (-*γ*). The sentential predicate is the verb *ji-ta* ‘become’, which agrees with the subject.

(414) Northern Khanty, Obdorsk Dialect (Nikolaeva 1999: 14)

- ńaawreem-ə-γ-ji* *ji-s*
 child-EP-POSS-TRL become-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he had a child.’ [(S)he’s got a child.]

I could not find an example for the negation of this sentence type, however, it can be assumed that the standard negative element is used.

Type		Eastern Dialects	Northern Dialects
Have Poss.	Affirm.	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>těj-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>těj-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>əntə</i> + <i>těj-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>at</i> + <i>těj-</i>
Nom. Poss.	Affirm.	no data	no data
	Negative	(PoR _{NOM}) + PoM _{Px} + <i>entim</i>	(PoR _{NOM}) + PoM _{Px} + <i>antim</i>
Loc. Poss.	Affirm.	PoR _{NOM} + <i>qu'əŋnə</i> + PoM + <i>wǎł-</i> PoR _{Loc} + PoM + <i>wǎł-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + <i>xös'a</i> + PoM + <i>ul-</i> no data
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + <i>qu'əŋnə</i> + PoM + <i>əntəm</i> PoR _{Loc} + PoM + <i>əntəm</i>	no data
Adjectivization	Affirm.	no data	(PoR) + PoM _{ADJ} + <i>ji-</i>
	Negative	no data	no data

Table 74. Khanty Constructions Expressing Possession

5.3.2. Mansi

Mansi possessive constructions have been discussed before. Some authors (Riese 1990, Schiefer 1973) described their structure, while others were concerned with the etymology of the Mansi HAVE verb (e.g. Kálmán 1986). From our point of view, only the structure is of importance, the question of the origin of the HAVE verb is secondary.

Mansi – just as Khanty – has both intransitive and transitive constructions. Two intransitive constructions can be distinguished, namely the locative predicate and one which I will refer to as the nominative predicate. The HAVE verb is used most generally and commonly, thus I will start with the transitive construction.

Have-Possessive

Mansi also has a HAVE verb, in Northern Mansi it has the form *ońs'i-* (Middle Lozva *äńs'i-*, Lower Lozva and Pelymka *äńš-*, etc.). The verb is not only used with the meaning 'to have' but also with the meaning 'to wear, to carry'. The verb can be regularly conjugated and used with tense markers. Possessive sentences have the same structure as simple sentences, thus the word order is SOV. The HAVE verb takes up the sentence-final position. The possessor is the grammatical subject of the sentence and is, therefore, unmarked. The possessed NP is the grammatical object of the sentence and also unmarked, that is it does not take on either case markers or personal possessive suffixes. The verb agrees in number and person with the grammatical subject of the sentence, i.e. the possessor. This verb exists in every dialect and expression is most commonly expressed using it.

(415) Northern Mansi (Ivanova 2004: 23)

teen tit náawram-a-k^{ve}e-γ: aayi-risⁱ os piy-risⁱ os
 they.DU two child-EP-DIM-DU daughter-DIM and son-DIM and
saaw saali oońsⁱ-sⁱ-əγ
 many reindeer have-PST-3DU

‘They had two children - a daughter and a son - and many reindeer.’

(416) Southern Mansi, Tavda Dialect (Munkácsi 1896: 347)

liret nājār Uʹona nām-p iilmeš vāitiŋ äü
 Iret sovereign Uʹona name-ADJ very nice daughter
äńš-i
 have-3SG

‘Prince Iret has a very beautiful daughter named *Uʹona*.’

This sentence type is negated by the standard negative element, namely the negative particle *at*, which directly precedes the HAVE verb.

(417) Northern Mansi (Ivanova 2004: 25, 60)

- a. *xosa man waatⁱ joom-ə-s, sam at oońsⁱ-i*
 long or short.time walk-EP-PST.3SG eye NEG_{P_{TCL}} have-3SG
 ‘(S)he walked for a long time, (s)he walked for a short time,
 (s)he did not have any eyes.’
- b. *aat^a-n taj saali at oońsⁱ-ə-s*
 father-2PL_{PX} then reindeer NEG_{P_{TCL}} have-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘Your father had no reindeers then.’

As we can see, except for the appearance of the negative particle, the sentence structure has not changed, in other words, if we omit the negative particle we receive an affirmative sentence, i.e. this sentence type is symmetric.

As regards the Southern dialect we can state that the usage of the existential verb in the negative sentences is much more common, although in affirmative sentences the HAVE construction is as frequent as in the Northern dialects. These will be shown below.

Nominative Possessive

In this group we include the sentence type, where the predicate is not formed with the HAVE verb, but with the existential verb. The possessor is unmarked, i.e. stands in the nominative, but is often omitted. The object is typically marked with the possessive suffix. The existential verb of the sentence agrees with the possessed.

(418) Southern Mansi, Tawda Dialect (Munkácsi 1896: 360; Munkácsi 1893: 156)

- a. *ääv-än. puw-än kää əlee-t, tiini-khər-ən iikemi-ŋet*
 daughter-3DU_{Px} son-3DU_{Px} many be-3PL food-3DU_{Px} NEG.EX-3PL
 ‘They have many daughters and sons, but they have no food.’
- b. *näjäär püw-ii aalə-s*
 leader son-3SG_{Px} be-PST.3SG
 ‘The czar had a son.’

In sentence (418) a) we can see that the verb is in the plural, because there is logical agreement and thus the verb agrees with the possessed. In this sentence the possessor is omitted, only the possessive suffix refers to the person and number of the possessor. The second part of the sentence is a negation, thus we can see that not the negative particle is used for the negation, but the negative existential predicate, which also agrees with the possessed NP. In sentence b) the possessor is overt and stands in the nominative. The sentence below is also an example for an overt possessor.

(419) Western Mansi, Middle Lozva Dialect (Munkácsi 1896: 314)

- äm tuit kait-pä soat tuoml'e-m əle-mä kuml'e imte-m*
 I snow run-PT seven female.elk-1SG_{Px} be-1SG how become-1SG
 ‘As long as I have seven running female elk, what could happen to me.’

Therefore, it is clearly visible that the possessor does not take on any suffixes. As seen before, this sentence type is negated by the negative existential verb. The following example illustrates negation in the Northern dialect.

(420) Northern Mansi, Sosva Dialect (Kannisto 1951: 246)

- suup aat'im, neelum aat'im*
 mouth NEG.EX tongue NEG.EX
 ‘He does not have a mouth, he does not have a tongue.’

This example shows that the usage of the possessive suffix, which refers to the possessor, is not obligatory, either.

This construction is typical for the Tawda dialect, and can only rarely be found in the other dialects. Riese (1990: 177) assumes that it might be due to a Turkic influence that this construction has gained ground above all in the Tawda dialect.

Locative Possessive

In this type, the possessor is expressed by a postpositional construction. If the possessor is a pronoun, it is followed by the postposition *paalt* ‘next to, at’, which has to take on the possessive personal ending. If the possessor is a noun, however, the postposition does not take on a suffix. The sentential predicate is the existential verb. The postposition itself is a grammaticalized form: it comes from the noun ‘side, half’ supplemented with the locative suffix. In this case, the possessed NP is unmarked, i.e. it does not take on any personal endings. This construction can be found in every Mansi dialect.

(421) Southern Mansi, Tavda Dialect (Munkácsi 1896: 370)

POSSESSOR		POSSEUM		COPULA
<i>äm</i>	<i>poltee-mt</i>	<i>khoorem</i>	<i>äw</i>	<i>ɔl</i>
I	PP _{AT} -1SG	three	daughter	be.3SG

‘I have three daughters.’

(422) Northern Mansi, Sosva Dialect (Kannisto 1951: 210)

<i>moos</i>	<i>nee</i>	<i>paalt</i>	<i>maan</i>	<i>ñaawram</i>	<i>xurip</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>ool-i</i>
mos	woman	PP _{AT}	small	child	PP _{SIM}	thing	be-3SG

‘The Mos-woman has something like a small child.’

This construction type expresses temporal possession in Hungarian (*nálam van a könyv* ‘I have the book with me’). In Mansi, however, this is not the case, on the contrary, it expresses inalienable possession. Amongst other things, this is proven by the fact that this construction can be used in connection with kinship terms.

Riese (1990: 178) has found sentences of this type where the existential sentence is omitted, though this type is very rare and documented by only sparse data.

(423) Western Mansi, Pelymka Dialect (Kannisto 1956: 118)

<i>noojer</i>	<i>palt</i>	<i>äk</i>	<i>püw</i>
sovereign	PP _{AT}	one	son

‘The sovereign has a son.’

In the Tavda dialect it is also possible that the possessed NP remains unmarked, but takes on a possessive personal ending, similarly to the nominative possessive construction. In this case, every element of the sentence is marked.

(424) Southern Mansi, Tawda Dialect (Kannisto 1956: 198)

POSSESSOR	POSSESSUM	COPULA
<i>jükä</i>	<i>pält</i>	<i>ääw-i-t'i</i>
woman	PP _{AT}	daughter-EP-3SG _{PX}

be-PST.3SG
‘The woman has a daughter.’

I could not find any examples for the negation of this type, but we can assume that it is also negated by the negative existential verb. The structure of Mansi predicative possessive sentences is summarized in the table below:

Type		Northern Dialects	Southern Dialect
Have-Poss.	Affirmative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>oońsʲi-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>ääńš-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>at</i> + <i>oońsʲi-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{NOM} + <i>ää</i> + <i>ääńš-</i>
Nominative Poss.	Affirmative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>ool-</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>ɔl-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>aat'im</i>	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{Px} + <i>iikəm</i>
Locative Poss.	Affirmative	PoR + <i>paalt</i> + PoM + <i>ool-</i>	PoR + <i>pält</i> + PoM _(Px) + <i>ɔl-</i>
	Negative	no data	no data

Table 75. Mansi Constructions Expressing Possession

We can conclude that the typical possessive Mansi sentence contains a HAVE verb, which can be negated by the standard negative element. This construction is symmetric. In addition, there are two more possible constructions, which use the existential copula. These sentences are negated by the negative existential verb. In contrast to Khanty, there is no locative possessive construction with a simple locative suffix.

5.4. Type B₂

5.4.1. Nganasan

Nganasan is the only Samoyedic language belonging to this group. There are several ways to express possession in Nganasan, firstly through existential sentences, secondly with a transitive constructions. Only the existential verb (*təi-*) can be used in existential sentences, not the verb of being (*ij-*). Let us have a look at the transitive construction first.

Have-Possessive

This is a rather rarely used construction in Nganasan. The possession is expressed by the verb *hon-si* ‘to have’. When using this type, the speaker emphasizes the existence of the possession. The grammatical subject of the sentence is the possessor NP, while the possessed NP is the sentential object, standing in the accusative. The possessed does not have to take on a possessive personal ending. The verb has to agree with the subject, i.e. the possessor, in number and person.

(425) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

- a. *ńuə sani-(j) hon-ti / hon-siə*
 child toy-(PL.ACC) have-Co.3SG have-Pst.3SG
 ‘The child has /had toys.’
- b. *bənsə-gəj ni-j hon-ti-gəj*
 all-DU woman-PL.ACC have-Co-3DU
 ‘Both have wives.’

An overt possessor is not obligatory, since the personal verbal ending already refers to person. Thus, if the possessor can be referred to as by a pronoun, it is usually not overt in the sentence. (This is a pro-dop phenomenon in a nominal possessive construction.)

(426) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

- nakiür-ə kuəd'ümu ńuə hon-ti*
 three-EP.ACC man.ACC child.ACC have-Co.3SG
 ‘(S)he has three sons.’

Perhaps the least common way to negate possession is the negation of the HAVE verb (*hon-si*). In this case, the negative element is the negative auxiliary used in standard negation, followed by the verb *honsi* in the connegative form. As in the case of standard negation, the auxiliary takes on the tense and mood markers. This type occurs almost exclusively in the past tense only, but even there it is rare. This does not mean that this construction could not be used in the present tense; however, in negated sentences the intransitive structure is much more common. The sentences below illustrate a construction in the past and present tenses respectively.

(427) Nganasan (Kuzenko, T. T. 2008; ChND 2008)

- a. *ńuə ńi-siə sani-j hon-ə-ʔ*
 child NEG_{AUX}-PRS.3SG toy-PL.ACC have-EP-CN
 ‘The child did not have any toys.’
- b. *mənə ni ńi-ndi-m hon-ə-ʔ*
 I woman.ACC NEG_{AUX}-Co-1SG have-EP-CN
 ‘I do not have a wife.’

The verb *ńuđasa* ‘to own’ also expresses possession. In this case as well, the possessed is an NP standing in the accusative. This verb can only express alienable possession. The relation between possessor and possessed is permanent and controlled by the possessor, i.e. has the attributes [+Time Stable] and [+Control].

(428) Nganasan (Kosterkina – Helimski 1994: 102)

mənə səd'əə-m-tiʔ ɲuða-tu-m
 I road-ACC-2PL own-Co-1SG
 'I own your road.'

Possession expressed by the verb *ɲuðasa* emphasizes the fact of the possession itself. It has to be noted, however, that the usage of this verb is much rarer than that of the verb *honsi*.

Nominative Possessive

There is a possessive construction in Nganasan, which does not include the HAVE verb, but the existential verb (*təisi'a* 'to exist'). This verb can take on mood and tense markers. In the existential possessive, the possessed NP functions as the grammatical subject of the 'to exist'-predicate, while the possessor NP is construed in nominative form. The possessed has to agree in number and person with the possessor by means of a possessive personal ending. In case the possessor is referred to by a 3rd Person pronoun and the possessed NPs are listed, then the pronoun does not have to be overt, since the personal ending on the possessed NP already refers to it.

(429) Nganasan (a: KNT 1996; b: KES 2008; c: ChND 2008)

- a. *mənə təbtə baarbə-mə təi-č'u*
 I also landlord-1SG_{Px} exist-Co.3SG
 'I also have a landlord.'
- b. *mənə d'esi-mə təi-s'üə ɲaagəə kümaa-ðu. d'üku-ʔə-tu*
 I father-1SG_{Px} exist-PST.3SG good knife-3SG_{Px} lost-Co-3SG.O
 'My father had a good knife, but lost it.'
- c. *ni-ti təi-s'üə. s'iti kuəd'ümu ɲuə-ði təi-s'üə-gəj*
 woman-3SG_{Px} exist-PST.3SG two man child-3SG_{Px} EX-PST-3DU
 'He had a wife and two sons.'

As discussed before, Nganasan is not a language with a rigid SOV word order. Thus, in this sentence type it is not obligatory for the existential verb to appear in the sentence-final position – particularly if there is a focused element in the sentence, which belongs in the sentence-final position.

The existential verb can take on mood markers. The interrogatory mood is especially typical for this type.

(430) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

tənə təi-ɲu-ʔ kola-čə
 you exist-INTER-3PL fish-PL.2SG_{Px}
 'Do you have fish?'

It frequently occurs that there is no existential verb in the sentence, and the personal possessive suffix alone expresses the possessive relation. Both alienable and inalienable possession can be expressed this way.

(431) Ngasasan (KNT 1996 _Meu_djamezi; KTT 2008)

- a. *ńenačaʔa kəburuda-rəku hodür-tii*
 large pan-SIM pattern-3SG_{Px}
 ‘It has a pattern similar to a large pan.’
- b. *miŋ četua ŋukəgəə-ʔ taa-ńüü?*
 we very many-PL reindeer-PL.1PL_{Px}
 ‘We have a lot of reindeer.’

The nominative possessive sentence type can be negated by the negative existential verb *d’anguj-s’a* or the negative existential particle *d’anjku*. In the present tense, generally *d’anjku* is more common, which can only agree with the subject in number. In the case of the negative existential verb, the latter must agree in both number and person with the sentential subject, i.e. the possessed NP. The two sentences below clearly show that this construction cannot be regarded as a genitive possessive, since in that case the possessive suffix on the possessor would not stand in the nominative, but the NP would have to take on the genitive variant.

(432) Ngasasan (KTT 2008; KES 2008)

- a. *mənə d’esi-mə kümaa-δu d’anjku*
 I father-1SG_{Px} knife-3SG_{Px} NEG.EX.3SG_{Vx}
 ‘My father does not have a knife.’
- b. *mənə ńuə-mə d’anguj-ču-ʔ sani-ču*
 I child-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-CO-3PL toy-PL.3SG_{Px}
 ‘My child does not have any toys.’

The particle *d’anjku* is not capable of taking on any tense or mood markers, therefore, in the past and future tenses as well as moods, only the verbal construction can be used.

(433) Ngasasan (KTT 2008; KES 2008)

- mənə ńuə-mə d’anguj-s’üə-ʔ sańi-ʔ*
 I child-1SG_{Px} NEG.EX-PST-3PL toy-PL
 ‘My child did not have any toys.’

If the speaker wants to pose a negated question in the present tense, he or she normally uses the simple negative particle, which regularly takes the position at the beginning of the sentence (see sentence below). If the negative verb is used, it does not obligatorily start the sentence (see sentences (435))

(434) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

d'aŋku-ʔ tənə kola-čə
 NEG.EX-PL you fish-PL.2SG_{PX}
 'You don't have a fish?'

As we could see before, the existential verb cannot be negated. There are example sentences, however, where the negated form of the existential verb follows the standard negative verb. Typically for this construction, the standard negative verb is always in the interrogatory mood. This sentence type does not express negation, but emphasized affirmation.

(435) Nganasan (ChND 2008)

ŋəjbuə-tuə təndə d'aðikü? ɲi-ŋi təibə-ʔ
 work-PTPRS this.GEN PP_{DAT} YOU NEG_{AUX}-INTER.3SG exist-EP-CN
 'That's what the workers are for!'

Apart from the negative existential verb, negation can also be expressed by means of a caritative formative suffix. In this case two structures can be differentiated. The NP with the caritative suffix can stand either with an affirmative form, or with the negative existential verb. The latter likely originates from the convergence of the nominative possessive presented above and the caritative construction. It is difficult to decide what kind of difference in meaning there is between the two constructions, some consultants no longer distinguish between the two forms.

Noun + Caritative Suffix + BE Verb

The object (or even being) not possessed by the subject takes on the caritative formative suffix. The existential verb is conjugated accordingly and the possessed NP is actually the adverbial complement of the sentence. The sentential subject, i.e. the possessor is unmarked.

(436) Nganasan (a: KES 2008; b: KTT 2008)

- | | POSSESSOR | POSSESSUM | COPULA |
|----|--------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>mənə ɲuə-mə</i> | <i>saɲi-gal'i</i> | <i>i-s'üə</i> |
| | I child-1SG _{PX} | toy-CAR | be-PST.3SG |
| | 'My child did not have any toys.' | | |
| b. | <i>mənə ɲuə-gal'i</i> / <i>kniga-kal'i</i> | <i>i-ču-m</i> | |
| | I child-CAR | book-CAR | be-Co-1SG |
| | 'I have no children /no books.' | | |

As demonstrated by the sentences above, this construction can be used for both alienable and inalienable possession. In this sentence type the speaker does not emphasise what

the possession is, but rather the present state of the possessor, namely that he or she does not have the given object at the given time. As mentioned before, in this sentence type, the possession is the adverbial complement of the sentence.

Noun + Caritative Suffix + Negative Existential Verb

In this sentence type, the possessed NP takes on the caritative ending; however, it is not accompanied by the existential verb, but by the negative existential verb or the negative particle. The possessed never takes on a possessive personal ending. The result is a doubly negated sentence without having an affirmative meaning. The negative existential verb must agree with the possessed NP. As shown by the following example sentences, this construction can be used for expressing both alienable and inalienable possession.

(437) Nganasan (a: KES 2008; b: KTT 2008)

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------|---|-------------------|
| | POSSESSOR | | NEG. EX. VERB | | POSSESSUM |
| a. | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ńuə-mə</i> | <i>d'anguj-s'üə</i> | | <i>sani-gali</i> |
| | I | child-1SG _{PX} | NEG.EX-PST.3SG | | toy-CAR |
| | 'My child did not have any toys.' | | | | |
| b. | <i>mənə</i> | <i>d'angu-m</i> | <i>ńuə-gali</i> | / | <i>kńiga-kali</i> |
| | I | NEG.EX _{PICL} -1SG _{VX} | child-CAR | | book-CAR |
| | 'I have no children / no books.' | | | | |

According to the consultants, with this sentence type the speakers emphasize that they do not own anything at all.

As emphasized previously, both the nominative possessive and the *have* possessive constructions can be used for alienable and inalienable possessions. The following sentences originate from the same informant and express inalienable possession and their negated counterparts respectively. The examples show that the native speaker uses the different negation constructions completely synonymously. This informant did not use the type 2) discussed earlier.

(438) Nganasan (ChND 2008)

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>ho-ndi-m</i> | ~ | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ni-mə</i> | <i>təi-ču</i> |
| | I | woman.ACC | have-Co-1SG | ~ | I | woman-1SG _{PX} | Ex-Co.3SG |
| | 'I have a wife.' | | | | | | |
| b. | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>ńi-ndi-m</i> | <i>hon-ə-?</i> | ~ | | |
| | I | woman.ACC | NEG-Co-1SG | have-EP-CN | | | |
| | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ni-mə</i> | <i>d'anku</i> | ~ | | | |
| | I | woman-1SG _{PX} | NEG.EX _{PICL} | | | | |
| | <i>mənə</i> | <i>ni-kali</i> | <i>i-ču-m</i> | | | | |
| | I | woman-CAR | be-Co-1SG | | | | |
| | 'I do not have a wife.' | | | | | | |

Locative Possessive

This type is not at all common in Nganasan, I could find only a few examples for this construction in my database. Based on the meaning of the sentences we can assume that this type is above all used for temporal possession. Furthermore, it is striking that this construction is only used in interrogatory sentences.

In this construction, the possessor is expressed by a postpositional structure, since in Nganasan, personal pronouns cannot take on case suffixes. The pronoun is followed by the postpositions *nanu* ‘at’ or *nagətə* ‘from’ having the appropriate possessive personal ending. The possessive suffix refers to the sentential subject. The sentential predicate in the affirmative sentence is the existential verb, while in the negative sentence it is the negative existential verb or the negative particle. The possessum does not have to take on a possessive suffix.

(439) Nganasan (KTT 2008)

- a. *tənə na-nu-ntə təi-ŋu hoðür*
 you PP-ADV.LOC-2SG_{Px} exist-INTER.3SG letter
 ‘Do you have a letter?’
- b. *tənə na-gətə/na-nu-ntə d’əŋku(u) / d’əŋuj-ŋu hoðür*
 you PP-ADV.EL / PP-ADV.LOC-2SG_{Px} NEG.EX_{Ptcl} / NEG.EX-INTER.3SG letter
 ‘You don’t have a letter?’

Verbalization

In Nganasan, there is a verbal formative suffix (-*tə*), which can express possession. A verb formed with this suffix expresses the meaning that the executor of the action owns the object named by the action, and that he or she possibly even executes the action with this object. If the primary word is a numeral, then the suffixed verb expresses the number of the possessor’s possessed NPs. These constructions can be replaced by constructions of the type *honsi* + possessed. However, this type cannot be used for the designation of family members. Since the usage of this construction is semantically rather limited, I would only to a certain extent regard this type as being a possessive construction. Inasmuch as it is considered as being one, even then it is only capable of expressing temporal possession. This construction can surely be negated by the standard negation element, but I could not find any negative examples.

(440) Nganasan (a-b: ChND 2008; c: Tereshchenko 1979: 258)

- a. *kūmau-ʔtə-sa basu-tu*
knife-PROP-INF hunt-Co.3SG
'(S)he hunts with a knife.'
- b. *kūmaa hon-si basu-tu*
knife.ACC have-INF hunt-Co.3SG
'(S)he hunts with a knife.' [(S)he hunts having a knife.]
- c. *talua d'esi-mə tubiði-tə-d'iəd'ə*
other.day father-1SG_{PX} gun-PROP-PST.3SG
'Yesterday my father had a gun with him.'

Summing up, we can say that several constructions can be used in Nganasan. The most prevalent types are the nominative possessive and the transitive constructions. The type where the possessor is expressed by a locational NP is very rare. Verbalization is similarly scarce and of restricted use. The table below summarizes the affirmative and negative constructions.

Type		Construction
Have-Possessive	Affirmative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{ACC} + <i>hon-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{ACC} + <i>ni-</i> + <i>honəʔ</i>
Nominative Possessive	Affirmative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>təi-</i>
	Negative	PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{PX} + <i>d'əŋku</i>
		PoR _{NOM} + PoM _(PX) + <i>d'əŋuj-</i>
		PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{CAR} + <i>i-</i>
		PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{CAR} + <i>d'əŋku</i>
PoR _{NOM} + PoM _{CAR} + <i>d'əŋuj-</i>		
Locative Possessive	Affirmative	PoR _{GEN+} Pp _{LOC} + <i>təi-</i> + PoM
	Negative	PoR _{GEN+} Pp _{LOC} + <i>d'əŋku</i> + PoM PoR _{GEN+} Pp _{LOC} + <i>d'əŋuj-</i> + PoM
Verbalization	Affirmative	Verb _{POSS}
	Negative	<i>ni-</i> + VERB _{POSS} in connegative form (no data)

Table 76. Nganasan Constructions Expressing Possession

VIII. Non-Verbal Predicate

The typology of non-verbal predicate constructions has been investigated by e.g. Hengeveld (1992), Stassen (1997), Th. E. Payne (1997), Dryer (2007) and Eriksen (2006). Thomas E. Payne (1997: 111–114) divides nominal predicates into six subtypes – proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence and possession – while Dryer (2007: 224) only distinguishes three types: adjectival predicates, nominal predicates, and locative predicates. As will be shown in what follows, there is no irreconcilable conflict between these views, as Payne’s six subtypes can be conflated into the types distinguished by Dryer; actually, this is anticipated in Payne’s work. The correspondences can be as follows:

1) Adjectival predicates: attribution, for instance *Kurumaku [is] intelligent*. In this sentence type, the nominal part of the predicate is always an adjective and the quality expressed by this adjective is predicated to the subject.

2) Nominal predicates: proper inclusion, equation. Between these two categories there are only minimal but nonetheless important semantic differences. Proper inclusion means that the subject of the sentence is definite and a member of the group which the nominal part of the predicate refers to, for example, *Kurumaku is a hunter* – that is, Kurumaku belongs to the group of people who do hunting. This sentence type is characteristically used to express professions. The sentence *Kurumaku is an intelligent person* also belongs to this group: it does not state that Kurumaku is intelligent but that he belongs to the group of intelligent people. Equation, in contrast, means that the subject and the nominal predicate refer to identical entities, that is, two entities are identified with each other, for instance, *She is my mother*. (For these categories, see Th. E. Payne 1997: 114.)

3) Locative predicates: existential, location, possession. These three sentence types are often treated together, as in many languages (albeit not in English) they all display a locational element. These sentence types have already been dealt with in the preceding chapters and I will only give Finnish example sentences to illustrate each type: *Pöydällä on omena*. ‘There is an apple on the table.’ – *Omena on pöydällä*. ‘The apple is on the/a table.’ – *Minulla on omena*. ‘I have an apple [literally: “on me (there) is an apple”].’

In this study, I will define non-verbal predicates more strictly, excluding locational predicates. These were dealt with already in chapter VI. Correspondingly, in what follows I will investigate three sentence types in which non-verbal predicates appear: attribution, proper inclusion and equation. Instead of “nominal predicate”, I will use the expression *non-verbal predicate* for these three types.

In his detailed study on non-verbal predicates, Stassen (1997) did not deal with existential sentences or sentences expressing equation (identification). However, his work is interesting, as his corpus of 410 languages also includes Uralic languages such as Erzya Mordvin and Nenets. In what follows, I will briefly summarize his statements on non-verbal predicates.

Stassen identified three strategies for expressing intransitive predicates: verbal strategy, nominal strategy and locational strategy. The verbal strategy is typically used for expressing activities and events, the nominal strategy typically expresses qualities, while the locational strategy is used for determining location. For the object of this study, the realisation of the verbal and the nominal strategy are particularly interesting. Stassen determines three criteria (Stassen 1997: 34–55) for defining whether the non-verbal predicate is expressed with a verbal or a nominal strategy. If the predicate corresponds to the following three criteria, we can speak about a verbal strategy:

1) The agreement criterion means that the subject and the predicate – that is, the noun occupying the predicate position – must agree (in number, person or gender). This criterion in itself does not exclude sentences with a copula, but if the congruence is carried by a copula and not the predicate noun, the strategy must be called nominal. Thus, non-verbal predicates in German or English, for instance, apply the nominal strategy. In these languages we can observe agreement in number and a copula appears in the sentence, which is the prime carrier of the agreement morphemes.

(441) German (p.k.)

- a. *ich bin Arzt*
 I be.1SG doctor
 ‘I’m a doctor.’
- b. *meine Eltern sind Ärzte*
 my parents be.3PL doctor.PL
 ‘My parents are doctors.’

As shown by these examples, the congruence is not only marked on the noun, but on the copula, and the latter is an obligatory part of the construction.

In contrast, languages like Nenets or Erzya Mordvin apply the verbal strategy. In the following examples, there is no copula and the predicate noun must agree with the subject. In both languages, the noun carries the person suffixes of the subject conjugation.

(442) Tundra Nenets (a: Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 141; b: Tereshchenko 1957: 192)

- a. *sʲanaku-dmʲ*
 play-1SG
 ‘I am playing.’
- b. *mań xanena-dmʲ*
 I hunter-1SG_{v,x}
 ‘I am a hunter.’

(443) Erzya Mordvin (Hamari 2007: 33, 32)

- a. *van-tano*
look-PRS.1PL
'We look.'
- b. *miń učitel'-tano*
we teacher-PRS.1PL_{Vx}
'We are teachers.'

As for Mordvin, it must be noted that while the 3SG form of the verb is morphologically marked, e.g. *van-i* '(s)he looks', the non-verbal predicate in this form does not carry any suffixal marking. However, this person suffix is a secondary innovation in Mordvin, originally a participle marker (see Hamari 2007: 34, Bartens 1999: 123ff.).

The same strategy applies for Russian. True, Russian nouns cannot carry verbal inflection suffixes, but non-verbal predicates must agree in number (*On plohoj. – Oni plohie.* 'He is bad. – They are bad.')

and there is no copula. Thus, according to the agreement criterion these languages employ the verbal strategy.

2) The copula criterion⁴¹ determines that if no additional elements connecting the subject and the predicate noun are needed in the sentence, that is, if there is no copula and the agreement criterion applies, we can speak of a verbal strategy. On the other hand, if the sentence displays a copula carrying agreement morphemes, the strategy is nominal. According to this, English and German, for instance, apply the nominal strategy for non-verbal predicates, and so does Hungarian, as well. In Hungarian, there are constructions in which a copula is needed to connect two nominal constituents: these include all non-3rd-person and all non-present-tense predicates. Russian requires the copula in non-present tenses but in the present tense, the copula is not needed in any person category. German, in contrast, cannot express any of these constructions without a copula, that is, in German only the nominal strategy is used. The following examples illustrate the verbal strategy in Hungarian.

(444) Hungarian (p. k.)

- a. *apá-m tanár*
father-1SG_{Px} teacher
'My father is a teacher.'
- b. *ők tanár-o-k*
they teacher-EP-PL
'They are teachers.'

41. In Stassen's earlier works (1997: 42), this was called the Auxiliary Criterion, in his later study (2008b) it was renamed the Copula Criterion.

As can be seen, the third-person constituents agree in number. Thus, according to the agreement criterion this can be interpreted as a verbal strategy. Not so in the first person or in the past tense:

- (445) Hungarian (p. k.)
- a. *én tanár vagy-o-k*
I teacher be-EP-1SG
'I'm a teacher.'
- b. *apá-m tanár vol-t*
father-1SG_{PX} teacher be-PST.3SG
'My father was a teacher.'

As these examples show, the BE verb⁴² must be used, that is, the sentences have a copula. For comparison, examples from Russian:

- (446) Russian (p. k.)
- a. *ja učitel'*
I teacher
'I'm a teacher.'
- b. *moj otec učitel'*
my father teacher
'My father is a teacher.'
- c. *oni učitel-i*
they teacher-PL
'They are teachers.'

In Russian, the predicates agree in number, and the copula is not used for any person category in the present tense, while in the past tense, the copula is obligatory.

- (447) Russian (p. k.)
- moj otec byl učitel'*
my father was teacher
'My father was a teacher.'

Thus, both Hungarian and Russian employ the nominal strategy.

3) Stassen's third criterion is the negation criterion. According to it, verbal strategy means that the same negation element is used for both non-verbal and verbal predicates (and both of the two preceding criteria are also fulfilled). As for the two Uralic languages in his corpus, Nenets and Mordvin (both of which know the so-called nominal conjugation), Stassen claims that these do not comply with the negation criterion and thus

42. The past-tense forms of the BE verb are suppletive.

do not apply the verbal strategy in the predication of proper inclusion (Stassen: 1997: 289–291). By the other two criteria (for Nenets, see example (442)), these languages qualify as languages with the verbal strategy.

Let us first take a look at Mordvin. Pajunen (1998) and Hamari (2007: 70–75) point out that Mordvin actually has constructions in which non-verbal predicates are expressed with the verbal strategy. Stassen classified Mordvin as a language with the nominal strategy, believing that the standard negation element cannot be used in these constructions. However, as shown in the following examples, the same negation particle *a* that is used for negating activities and events can also be used for the negation of qualities – in spite of the fact that negation with the word *avol'* as shown by Stassen is possible as well.

(448) Erzya Mordvin (Hamari 2007: 70)

- a. a *karm-an*
 NEG_{PTCL} start-1SG
 'I don't start.'
- b. *t'e* *nejak* avol' *pe*
 this yet NEG_{PTCL} end
 'This is not yet the end.'
- c. a *viškiña-n*
 NEG_{PTCL} small-1SG_{VX}
 'I am not small.'

As we see, sentence a) employs the same negative element as c). In sentence c), the adjective expressing quality displays predicative inflection (nominal conjugation), that is, carries verbal person endings. The sentence does not have a copula, but there is both agreement and identity of negation elements for quality and activity. Thus, in the present tense this construction definitely represents the verbal strategy. Sentence b), of course, does not fulfil the negation criterion, but, as can be seen, this is only one of the possible negation strategies. It must be noted that under certain circumstances a third negation element, *apak* can also be used. (For possible strategies in Mordvin in more detail, see the monograph of Hamari (2007).) In the past tense, Erzya Mordvin can also express non-verbal predicates without the copula – albeit constructions with a copula also appear (for more details, see Turunen 2006).

(449) Erzya Mordvin (Turunen 2006: 176)

- a. *ušo-ś* *ekše-l'* *seime-l'*
 weather-DEF cool-PST2.3SG silent-PST2.3SG
 'It was cool and silent.'
- b. *mehel'-es'* ul'-ne-s' *čopoda-señ*
 sky-DEF be-FREQ-PST.3SG dark-blue
 'The sky was dark blue.'

Thus, we can state that Mordvin can express non-verbal predicates with the verbal strategy.

Actually, Pajunen (1998: 481) correctly points out that negation with a negation particle is somewhat easier to deal with and to describe than negation employing a negative auxiliary and that negation usually displays fewer distinctions than corresponding affirmative constructions. Thus, in Pajunen's view there are problems with the negation criterion. This is also obvious in the case of Nenets, classified by Stassen as a language which employs the nominal strategy. Classifying Nenets is somewhat more complicated, since here – as shown above – a negative auxiliary is used which does not behave in the same way as a negative particle. The following examples show that the same negative auxiliary as in the standard negation also appears in the negation of non-verbal predicates, but it is accompanied by the connegative form of the BE verb. (For affirmative non-verbal sentences, see example (465).)

(450) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova 1985: 225)

<i>mań</i>	<i>xanena-dm?</i>	<i>ńii-dm?</i>	<i>ŋa-?</i>
I	hunter-1SG _{Vx}	NEG _{Aux} -1SG	be-CN
'I am not a hunter.'			

In Nenets, as can be seen, the nominal predicate carries the verbal agreement morphs, but the sentence also includes a copula (BE verb) in the connegative form as required by the negative auxiliary. Thus, we can say that this sentence displays both the nominal and the verbal strategy: the nominal predicate still agrees with the subject, but due to the negation element a copula is also required, which means that Nenets does not fulfil the copula criterion. The copula is needed, as the negative auxiliary must be followed by a connegative form; connegative forms of nouns, in turn, do not exist.

Stassen thus classifies Nenets as a language in which non-verbal predicates can be expressed with the nominal strategy. In my view, however, there are problems with this solution. As shown by the example above, the negation criterion arouses numerous questions. In any case, we can see that Nenets does not belong to the same category as languages such as English or German which only apply the nominal strategy. On a scale, Nenets could be placed "close to the verbal strategy".

Before proceeding to the typology of negated constructions, the copula itself must briefly be dealt with, as the type of the copula can also be used as a criterion for the classification of constructions. According to Thomas E. Payne (1997: 114), the copula can be any morpheme which is used for connecting to nominal constituents. In this sense, agreement morphs can also be considered copulas. In Stassen's system, however, this cannot apply, as no language could fulfil the copula criterion. In numerous languages the copula is a verbal element, as a rule, the BE verb, as seen for instance in German or English. Other elements can also be used as copulas, for instance, personal or demonstrative pronouns (in the terminology of Stassen 2008b, pro-copula). This can be illustrated with an example from Hebrew.

(451) Hebrew (Stassen 1997: 117)

ha-ish hu av-i
 DEF-man he father-1SG_{px}
 ‘The man is my father.’

The two constituents, the one to be identified and the one identified with it, are connected by the 3SG personal pronoun. In the languages dealt with in this work, this type is not represented. There are also languages in which the copula is a particle. This type also seems to be lacking in Uralic. True, Khanty knows a predicative particle, but in Khanty other agreement morphs also appear. (For more details, see chapter VII/5.3.1.)

The last group in Payne’s classification includes copulas which are realisations of a derivational operation. In fact, this group would also include the so-called nominal conjugation of many Uralic languages, that is, attaching verbal person endings to predicate nouns, as illustrated in the Nenets example (442) b). However, as mentioned above, in Stassen’s typology this cannot be regarded as a copula construction.

The so-called zero copula remains to be described. In some languages, as in Russian for example, the nominal constituents can be juxtaposed without a copular element, that is, with a zero copula. As mentioned above, there are languages which know this strategy but do not apply it, for instance, in all persons – such as Hungarian, in which the copula is only left out in the third person. Some other languages (such as Russian or Maltese) only use the copula in non-present tenses.

From the viewpoint of the negation and the copula, constructions with proper inclusion, equation and attribution behave similarly, and thus I will treat them as one group. In what follows, this type will be called the non-verbal predicate.

The investigations of Freeze (1992) and Dryer (2007) indicate that locational expressions, existential and possessive constructions also behave similarly. Existential sentences (together with locational ones) have also been dealt with above, and I will only refer to them if the constructions dealt with in the following chapters show parallels to them.

1. Negation of Non-Verbal Predicate Constructions

Before presenting the non-verbal predicate constructions in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric, I will have to briefly deal with the typology of negated non-verbal predicates. As mentioned above, there has been relatively little research on this. Veselinova (2006, 2007) has investigated the connections between the negation of non-verbal predicates, the standard negation and the negation of existential sentences on the basis of a sample of 71 languages. As can be seen from this tripartite division, Veselinova shares my views in not classifying existential, locational (and possessive) sentences to non-verbal predicate

constructions. Veselinova's three groups will be presented below in more detail. Before that, however, a few remarks have to be made.

Veselinova's point of departure is that locational sentences usually do not have a negation strategy of their own but apply the strategy of either existential or non-verbal predicate constructions. This claim is also supported by data from Uralic languages. She divides the realisations of negation strategies into one-way, two-way and three-way solutions. The third group, that is, languages in which there are separate negation elements for standard negation, for existential and for non-verbal negation, is not divided into further subgroups. This is obviously due to the fact that in her earlier work, Veselinova (2006) only compared existential negation with non-verbal and standard negation. In her later studies, she enhanced the parameters with the negation of possessive and locational constructions, but she tends to treat them together with the existential ones. However, applying this tripartite division further the third group of three-way solutions can also be divided into further subgroups; this will be shown in what follows.

In connection with existential negation, there is still one aspect deserving attention. As shown in chapter VI, the subject in existential sentences is typically indefinite and can only represent the third person. There are languages with a specific negative existential predicate, and many languages use it also in locational sentences, but only if the subject is in the third person. In case of a non-third-person subject, as in Hungarian, some other negation element must be used, as the negative existential predicate does not have a complete paradigm. These correlations can be illustrated with an example from Hungarian.

(452) Hungarian (p. k.)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>Péter <u>nem</u> fut</i> | STANDARD NEGATION |
| | Peter NEG _{PTCL} run.3SG | |
| | 'Peter does not run.' | |
| b. | <i>az asztal-on <u>nincs</u> alma</i> | EXISTENTIAL NEGATION |
| | ARTDEF table-SUPESS NEG.EX.3SG apple | |
| | 'There is no apple on the table.' | |
| c. | <i>az alma <u>nincs</u> az asztal-on</i> | NEGATION OF LOCATIVE |
| | ARTDEF apple NEG.EX.3SG ARTDEF table-SUPESS | |
| | 'The apple is not on the table.' | |
| d. | <i>én <u>nem</u> vagy-o-k a szobá-ban</i> | NEGATION OF LOCATIVE |
| | I NEG _{PTCL} be-EP-1SG ARTDEF room-ESS | |
| | 'I am not in the room.' | |

Sentence (452) a) employs the standard negation element, sentence b) the negative existential predicate, which in Hungarian can only agree with the subject in number. Thus, a sentence with a first-person subject cannot be negated in the same way as a sentence with a third-person subject. As can be seen, sentence d) resorts to the means of standard negation.

Thus, the choice of strategy can also depend on person. However, when comparing non-verbal and existential negation, only negation strategies for third-person subjects will be relevant. If locational sentences show deviations due to person marking, I will refer to this phenomenon as I already did above in connection with the locational sentences.

In what follows, I will present Veselinova's typology of three groups:

1. The first group includes those languages in which the same strategy for negation can be applied in all cases, that is, neither the negation element nor the construction deviate from standard negation, nor from existential negation. Indo-European languages such as Swedish or French typically belong to this group which comprises 26% of Veselinova's language sample. (Veselinova 2006: 18) This type also appears in Uralic, for instance, in Finnish and Estonian.

(453) Finnish (p. k.)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>Mikko ei laula</i> | STANDARD NEGATION |
| | Mikko NEG _{AUX} .3SG sing.CN | |
| | 'Mikko does not sing.' | |
| b. | <i>Mikko ei ole lääkäri</i> | NON-VERBAL NEGATION |
| | Mikko NEG _{AUX} .3SG be.CN doctor | |
| | 'Mikko is not a doctor.' | |
| c. | <i>pöydällä ei ole omeno-i-ta</i> | EXISTENTIAL NEGATION |
| | table-AD NEG _{AUX} .3SG be.CN apple-PL-PART | |
| | 'There are no apples on the table.' | |
| d. | <i>Mikko-lla ei ole kirja-a</i> | NEGATION OF POSSESSION |
| | Mikko-AD NEG _{AUX} .3SG be.CN book-PART | |
| | 'Mikko hasn't got a book.' | |
| e. | <i>Mikko ei ole kotona</i> | NEGATION OF LOCATION |
| | Mikko NEG _{AUX} .3SG be.CN at.home | |
| | 'Mikko is not at home.' | |

Thus, in Finnish the same negation element is used in all sentences, accompanied by a lexical verb or the copula (the BE verb) in the connegative form. There are no differences between the sentences except in the choice of the verb.

2. The second group consists of those languages in which two or more categories can be expressed in the same way. Nevertheless, although it is characteristic of locational, existential and possessive sentences that they behave in a very similar way, there may still be deviations in some category. In principle, there could be many more sub-categories than Veselinova has postulated, but in her material there are examples only for four such subtypes (2.1–2.4.). Considering Uralic, this list could be extended with at least with one additional subgroup (2.5). Thus, on the basis of correlations between different categories, at least five subgroups can be distinguished:

2.1. Non-verbal *versus* standard negation/negation of existential/negation of possession /negation of location (NN ~ SN&EN&PN&LN).

This group includes for example Thai. In Uralic, this solution does not appear, and I will not present it in more detail.

2.2. Negation of existential *versus* standard negation/non-verbal negation/negation of location and negation of possession (EN ~ SN&NN&LN&PN).

This type is represented, for instance, by Samoan, and also seems to be unknown in Uralic.

2.3. Standard negation *versus* non-verbal negation/negation of existential /negation of location /negation of possession (SN ~ NN&EN&LN&PN).

This group includes, for instance, Nivkh. Among the Uralic languages, it appears for instance in the Permic branch and can be illustrated with the following examples from Komi:

(454) Komi (a-b: Rédei : 126, 127; c-d-e: Cypanov 1992: 275, 50, 53)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>me</i> <u><i>o-g</i></u> <i>s'oj</i> | STANDARD NEGATION |
| | I NEG _{AUX} -1SG eat.CN | |
| | ‘I do not eat.’ | |
| b. | <i>kerka-is</i> <u><i>abu</i></u> <i>idžid</i> | NON-VERBAL NEGATION |
| | house.3SG _{PX} /DEF NEG.EX big | |
| | ‘The house is not big.’ | |
| c. | <i>ežva-in</i> <i>t'eatr</i> <u><i>abu</i></u> | EXISTENTIAL NEGATION |
| | Ezhva-LOC theatre NEG.EX | |
| | ‘In Ezhva there is no theatre.’ | |
| d. | <i>karandaš</i> <u><i>abu</i></u> <i>tani</i> | NEGATION OF LOCATION |
| | pencil NEG.EX here | |
| | ‘The pencil is not here.’ | |
| e. | <i>Vasja-lən</i> <i>ni</i> <i>t'etrad-jas,</i> <i>ni</i> <i>khiga-jas</i> <u><i>abu-əs'</i></u> | NEG. OF POS. |
| | Vasja-GEN NEG _{PICL} notebook-PL NEG _{PICL} book-PL NEG.EX-PL | |
| | ‘Vasya has neither notebooks nor books.’ | |

2.4. Standard negation/nonverbal negation *versus* negation of existential/negation of location /negation of possession (SN&NN ~ EN&LN&PN).

Of the Uralic languages, this group includes, for example, Hungarian, but examples from Mordvin can also be found. In the following, I will only use examples from Hungarian. True, Hungarian only belongs to this group as far as third-person forms of non-verbal and locational constructions are considered. As mentioned above, Hungarian has a negative existential predicate which agrees with the third-person subject in number; if the subject of the locational sentence is in the first or the second person, the sentence displays the standard negation element.

- (455) Hungarian (p. k.)
- a. *nem fut-o-k* STANDARD NEGATION
 NEG_{PTCL} run-EP-1SG
 ‘I do not run.’
- b. *ő nem tanár* NON-VERBAL NEGATION
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL} teacher
 ‘(S)he is not a teacher.’
- c. *az asztal-on nincs alma* EXISTENTIAL NEGATION
 ARTDEF table-SUPESS NEG.EX apple
 ‘There is no apple (~ there are no apples) on the table.’
- d. *a fiú nincs a ház-ban* NEGATION OF LOCATION
 ARTDEF boy NEG.EX ARTDEF house-ESS
 ‘The boy is not in the house.’
- e. *én nem vagy-o-k a ház-ban* NEGATION OF LOCATION
 I NEG_{PTCL} be-EP-1SG ARTDEF house-ESS
 ‘I am not in the house.’
- f. *nek-e-m nincs könyv-e-m* NEGATION OF POSSESSION
 PP_{DAT}-EP-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX book-EP-1SG_{PX}
 ‘I don’t have a book ~ I have no books.’

2.5. Negation of existential/negation of possessive *versus* standard negation/non-verbal negation/negation of locative and negation of possession (EN&PN ~ SN&NN&LN).

Of the Uralic languages, Erzya Mordvin, for instance, also belongs to this group – although it can be classified into another subgroup as well, as locational sentences can be built using the negation elements *avol*, *a* and *arasⁱ*. Inasmuch as the particle *a* can be used for negating locational sentences, the construction can be classified as belonging to this group.

- (456) Erzya Mordvin (Hamari 2007: 70, 91, 164, 170)
- a. *mastor lank-so arasⁱ is^tamo zⁱverⁱ* NEGATION OF EXISTENTIAL
 earth top-INE NEG such animal
 ‘There is no such animal on earth.’
- b. *kši-ńek arasⁱ* NEGATION OF POSSESSION
 bread-1PL_{PX} NEG
 ‘We don’t have bread.’
- c. *a karm-an* STANDARD NEGATION
 NEG_{PTCL} start-1SG
 ‘I don’t start.’
- d. *a viškińa-n* NEGATION OF NON-VERBAL
 NEG_{PTCL} small-1SG
 ‘I am not small.’
- e. *ezieme-sⁱ a tarka-so-nzo* NEGATION OF LOCATION
 bench-SG.DEF NEG_{PTCL} place-INE-3SG_{PX}
 ‘The bench is not in its place’

(459) Northern Khanty, Synja Dialect (OS 2008)

- a. *am lapka-j-a at man-l-o-m* STANDARD NEGATION
 I shop-EP-LAT NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS-EP-1SG
 ‘I do not go to the shop.’
- b. *tam hot anta nowi* NEGATION OF NON-VERBAL
 this house NEG white
 ‘This house is not white.’
- c. *pesan-ə-n nepek antom* NEGATION OF EXISTENTIAL
 table-EP-LOC book NEG.EX
 ‘There are no books on the table.’
- d. *nepek pesan-ə-n antom* NEGATION OF LOCATION
 book table-EP-LOC NEG.EX
 ‘The book is not on the table.’
- e. *ma asie-m nepek at taj-l* NEGATION OF POSSESSION
 I father-1SG_{PX} book NEG_{PTCL} have-PRS.3SG
 ‘My father hasn’t got a book.’

The following table shows which correlations in the coding of these three constructions are theoretically possible. We will see that there are many more theoretical possibilities than are realised in Uralic languages. In a few cases, I could complement my data with Veselinova’s (2007) findings, but the table has still many gaps. Of the 32 combinations theoretically possible, the languages investigated so far only realise 9 types. Of the Uralic languages, the Finnic branch prefers the one-way type. Three-way solutions are applied in Khanty, Mari, Mordvin and Nganasan. In this respect, Nganasan deviates typologically from the other Samoyedic languages. Most Uralic languages have chosen the two-way solution, but of the 15 possible types only three are realised, the most frequent correlation being SN&NN ~ EN&PN&LN. In Veselinova’s data as well, this type was the second most frequent (17 %) after the one-way solution. Of the Uralic languages, the most peculiar is Mordvin which can represent many of these construction types (for more details, see Hamari (2007)). The numerous gaps in this summarising table indicate that this area is still in need of further, more detailed investigations.

Type	Subtype	Language
One-Way Distinction	SN, EN, NN, PN, LN	Finnish, Estonian
	SN, EN ~ NN, PN, LN	
Two-Way Distinction	SN, NN ~ EN, PN, LN	Hungarian, Erzya Mordvin, Nenets, Enets, Selkup
	SN, PN ~ NN, EN, LN	Northern Mansi
	SN, LN ~ EN, NN, PN	
	EN, PN ~ NN, SN, LN	Erzya Mordvin, Khanty (Surgut Subdialect)
	EN, NN ~ PN, SN, LN	
	EN, LN ~ PN, SN, NN	
	NN, PN ~ LN, SN, EN	
	NN, LN ~ PN, SN, EN	
	LN, PN ~ SN, EN, NN	
	SN ~ EN, NN, PN, LN	Komi, Mari, Kamas, Mansi
	EN ~ SN, NN, PN, LN	Samoan, Khanty (Surgut Subdialect)
	NN ~ SN, EN, PN, LN	Thai
	PN ~ SN, EN, NN, LN	
	LN ~ SN, NN, EN, PN	
	Three-Way Distinction	SN ~ EN ~ NN, PN, LN
SN ~ NN ~ EN, PN, LN		Nganasan, Khanty (Kazym Subdialect), Turkish
SN ~ PN ~ NN, EN, LN		
SN ~ LN ~ EN, NN, PN		
SN, EN ~ NN ~ PN, LN		
SN, EN ~ PN ~ NN, LN		
SN, EN ~ LN ~ PN, NN		
SN, PN ~ EN ~ NN, LN		
SN, PN ~ LN ~ NN, EN		Khanty (Synja Subdialect), Northern Mansi, Nganasan
SN, NN ~ PN ~ EN, LN		
SN, NN ~ EN ~ PN, LN		
SN, NN ~ LN ~ EN, PN		Erzya Mordvin
SN, LN ~ EN ~ NN, PN		
SN, LN ~ NN ~ EN, PN		
SN, LN ~ PN ~ NN, EN		
LN, NN ~ SN ~ EN, PN	Erzya Mordvin	

Table 77. Possible Correlations of the Negated Non-Verbal Predicate

2. Data from Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric Languages

In what follows, I will analyse the strategies appearing in the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages. While presenting the respective categories, I will in any case analyse the non-verbal construction itself, that is, whether its negation is symmetric or asymmetric in comparison with its affirmative counterpart. I will also investigate the question whether these languages know the so-called double encoding of the predicate, as in Finnic or Russian (e.g. Finnish *hän on sairas* [NOM] ~ *hän on sairaana* [Ess] ‘(S)he is ill.’).⁴³ This is typical of Finnic but less usual in Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric; however, as we will see, in some of the latter languages double encoding is possible. (Cf. Wagner-Nagy–Viola 2009.)

All Samoyedic languages know the so-called nominal conjugation, i.e. agreement of subject and nominal predicate in non-verbal sentences: the nominal predicate carries the same suffixes that would be attached to the verb in any subjective-conjugation sentence. However, expressing non-verbal predicates with the verbal strategy is not typical of Samoyedic either. In some languages (such as Nenets and Enets) the copula criterion, in other languages, the negation criterion is not fulfilled.

In the following summary, the languages are sorted by type of negation. Considering that the two-way distinction is the most frequent type, I will present this group first.

2.1. Two-Way Distinction

The two-way distinction is fairly frequent worldwide; Veselinova, on the basis of her corpus of 71 languages, concludes that 53% of these languages apply this strategy. As mentioned earlier, different correlations appear. In Veselinova’s corpus, the most frequent type is SN&NN ~ LN&EN&PN, appearing in 17% of the languages (Veselinova 2007: 41). All Samoyedic languages except Nganasan apply this type, and it is also known in both Ob-Ugric languages.

2.1.1. Nenets

Let us first take a look at how Nenets expresses non-verbal predicates. Like Nganasan and Enets, Nenets knows the nominal conjugation and all three types of non-verbal predicates can take verbal predicate suffixes. For the sake of clarity, I will mainly use examples in the first person. The 3SG verb forms in Nenets are zero-marked, which could in some cases give the impression of the two constituents being connected by sheer juxtaposition. True, in third-person forms of numerous (usually polysyllabic) verb stems either vowel alternations in the stem or the presence of linking elements identi-

43. Double encoding constructions in the languages of the Circum-Baltic area have been investigated by Stassen (2001a), for Finnish see e.g. Pajunen (2000).

fies the form as a verbal one. Vowel alternations are frequent in verbs but do not appear with non-verbal predicates, and in any case, verbal suffixes on non-verbal predicates are not accompanied by linking elements. Cf. *s'anako-si* 'to play': *s'anaku* '(s)he plays', but *s'anako* 'toy' or '(s)he is a toy'. Monosyllabic stems do not have these vowel alternations, so that, for example, *to* can be interpreted as '(s)he came' or 'lake' or '(s)he is a lake'. Thus, it is probably advisable to use non-third person forms to illustrate nominal conjugation. (For Nenets morphophonology, see Salminen 1997.)

Surveying the complete paradigm of non-verbal predicates in Nenets shows that non-verbal predicates carry the verb suffixes of the subject conjugation, without any linking elements.

Considering that there is too little relevant data (affirmative and negated sentences) available from Forest Nenets, I will only refer to the constructions in the Forest dialect to the extent that there are examples illustrating them. Let us first take a look at an adjective predicate.

ATTRIBUTION

(460) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 142, 222)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>p'iina-dmʔ</i>
be.afraid-1SG _{v_x}
'I am afraid.' (INF <i>p'iināš</i>) | b. | <i>mañ ηarka-dmʔ</i>
I big-1SG _{v_x}
'I am big.' |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Comparing sentences a) and b) we see that the nominal predicate carries the same suffix as the verbal one. Thus, subject and predicate agree in number and person. However, it must be noted that conjugated nouns are not converted to verbs, that is, they cannot be inflected in all verbal categories. For instance, they cannot take mood suffixes or deverbal derivational suffixes, and they do not have a connegative form.

In connection with the adjectives, it is important to point out that Nenets (like Enets and Nganasan) knows many verbs with "adjectival" semantics. Morphosyntactically, these verbs behave like any other verb, i.e. they have a complete verb paradigm. In Nenets, verbal and adjectival forms are distinguished, for example: *narja-si* 'to be red': *narjana* 'red [PTPRS]'; *pār'id'e-si* 'to be black': *pār'id'eña* 'black [PTPRS]'; *sāngowo-si* 'to be heavy': *sāngowota* 'heavy [PTPRS]'. For colour terms, this is usual, for other qualities it is less frequent. The primary category here is the verb, and the adjectival form is actually a present participle (*-na/-ta*). The verbal and the adjectival forms behave syntactically and, of course, morphologically in completely different ways, for instance, they have completely different negation strategies. The negated forms show clearly whether the predicate is non-verbal or a verb form. The verbal predicate comes in the standard negation form, the non-verbal predicate is accompanied by the connegative form of the copula verb (*ηa*). This difference will be illustrated with the following two examples:

(461) Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1993: 259)⁴⁴

- a. *wark níi pǎr'id'e-ǰ* b. *wark ser níi ŋa-ǰ*
 bear NEG_{AUX}.3SG be.black-CN bear white.3 SG NEG_{AUX}. 3SG be-CN
 'The bear is not black.' 'The bear is not white.'

With non-adjectival nominal predicates, there is no duplicity of this kind. (More about the word classes in Nenets see Salminen 1993). The strategies for expressing equation and inclusion will be illustrated with the following examples:

EQUATION

(462) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 223; Almazova 1961: 53)

- a. *darja puhuc'ia? ne níu-dm?*
 Darja lady.GEN woman child-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am lady Darya's daughter.'
- b. *mań Vasilij wesako níu-dm?*
 I Vasilij old.man.GEN child-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am the son of Old Vasili.'

In this sentence type, thus, the nominal predicate carries verbal marking. The strategy is the same as in the case of adjective predicates, and it will also be the same in the case of predicates of inclusion (group membership). If the nominal part of the predicate is a personal pronoun, there is no agreement, but the predicate can carry past-tense marking. (Cf. sentence (472).)

(463) Tundra Nenets, Boľsaya zemlya Dialect (Tereshchenko 1973: 157)

- tuku mań*
 this I
 'This is me.'

An interrogative pronoun, however, can take predicative endings as any other noun, e.g. *pidar hib'a-n* 'who are you?' [you who-2SG_{Vx}] (Kupriyanova 1985: 224).

The expressions of the category of proper inclusion can be illustrated with the following example:

PROPER INCLUSION

(464) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 222)

- mań jort'a-dm?*
 I fisher-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am a fisher.'

44. Examples quoted from Salminen's works are not in his original orthography.

The construction is the same as in the other two categories. The behaviour of the predicate deserves special attention in those cases in which the nominal constituent is not simple but includes a modifier. Koshkareva (2005: 102) points out that there are differences between Tundra and Forest Nenets: in Tundra Nenets, both parts of the nominal predicate can carry the subjective-conjugation verbal suffixes, while in Forest Nenets, the modifier remains uninflected, i.e. does not carry any agreement marking.

(465) Tundra Nenets (Tereshchenko 1973: 58)

mañ sawa-dm? ηac'εke-dm?
 I good-1SG_{Vx} child-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am a good child.'

(466) Forest Nenets, Agan Subdialect (Koshkareva 2005: 102)

pi?t xoma ηεša-n
 you good man-2SG_{Vx}
 'You are a good man.'

However, the same construction can also appear in Tundra Nenets without agreement marking on the modifier, as illustrated by the following equation sentence.

(467) Tundra Nenets (Koshkareva 2005: 104)

tuku wesako-n-da ηarka ηu-dm?
 this old.man-GEN-3SG_{Px} big child-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am the oldest son of this old man.'

Koshkareva explains this phenomenon in Tundra Nenets with the semantics of the sentence. According to her, in sentence (466) the emphasis falls on the modifier which, thus, must agree with its head, while in the other sentence the focus is on the relationship between the old man and *ego*. This explanation sounds plausible; nevertheless, in my opinion, without further data from texts and without the help of native-speaker informants the explanation remains a hypothesis.

In the examples above, thus, we can see that Nenets in the present tense complies to both the agreement criterion and the copula criterion, that is, to at least two of Stassen's three criteria. However, according to Stassen, we can only speak of the verbal strategy in non-verbal predicates if the negation criterion is fulfilled as well. Let us take a look then at how non-verbal predicate sentences can be negated.

(468) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1957: 201; Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 225)

a. *pidara? lek-da? ηii-da? ηa-?*
 you(PL) lazy-2PL_{Vx} NEG_{Aux}-2PL be-CN
 'You (PL.) are not lazy.'

b. *mañ xañena-dm? ηii-dm? ηa-?*
 I hunter-1SG_{Vx} NEG_{Aux}-1SG be-CN
 'I am not a hunter'

(469) Forest Nenets (Koshkareva 2005: 110/204)

čuki-l'=iʔ *ńeʔši=iʔ* *ńii* *ŋa-ʔ* *če*
 this-2SG_{PX}=CLIT person.3SG=CLIT NEG_{AUX}.3SG be-CN lo!
 ‘You see, this is not a human being.’

As we can see, both Nenets dialects use the same negative auxiliary in this sentence type as well as in the standard negation. (For this, see the examples in chapter II/3.2.3. from page 88 on.) In the negated sentence, the connegative form of the BE verb appears as a copula; it is necessary, as the negative auxiliary must be followed by a connegative verb form. For this reason, Stassen does not classify the standard and the non-verbal negation as belonging to the same type. In my opinion, however, the two constructions belong to the same type: as explained above, despite the nominal conjugation the nominal predicate is not converted into a verb proper, and thus it is not negatable with a negative auxiliary but a further verbal (connegative) element is needed in the sentence. In languages which employ a negative particle, Stassen’s negation strategy is far easier to apply, but in languages in which a negative auxiliary is used, it must be accompanied by a connegative verb form which in this case can only be a copula of some kind. The differences between these interpretations can be reconciled by not applying these criteria in a bipolar way but placing the strategy on a gradual cline. Thus, we can state that Nenets in the present tense applies the verbal strategy to a larger degree than the nominal one.

In Nenets, we can observe the same phenomenon in negation as will be shown in Nganasan: in the negated sentence, the noun part of the non-verbal predicate also carries morphological predicate marking. (See, for example, sentence (468).) At the same time, interesting word order phenomena appear. In Nganasan, as we will see (e.g. chapter VIII/2.2.3. from page 312 on), the copula and the non-verbal predicate stick together, which leads to the following word order: SUBJECT + NEG + [NON-VERBAL PREDICATE + COPULA]. In Nenets, there is another word order pattern, as the negation element and the copula are more closely attached to each other: SUBJECT + NON-VERBAL PREDICATE + [NEG + COPULA].

In what follows, I will analyse the effects of tense marking in Nenets. First, I will survey the past tense. In Nenets, strangely enough, past-tense markers come after the person suffixes, instead of preceding them as usually in Uralic. This means that in the past tense, Nenets – unlike Nganasan, or Russian, for that matter – does not need a copula: the verbal person marking is enough. (Cf. examples (470) and (471).) A pronoun in predicate position does not carry person marking here, either, but is marked for past tense (cf. example (472)).

(470) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 223)

mań *ŋarka-dam-ǫʃ*
 I big-1SG_{VX}-PST
 ‘I was big.’

- (471) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 223)

mañ jort'a-dam-ðʲ
 I fisher-1SG_{Vx}-PST
 'I was a fisher.'

- (472) Tundra Nenets (Tereshchenko 1973: 157)

tiki mañ-a-sʲ
 this I-EP-PST
 'It was me.'

In past-tense negated sentences, the nominal predicate does not carry tense marking. The sentence includes a negative auxiliary and the BE copula in the connegative form. The negative auxiliary must agree with the subject.

- (473) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1957: 202)

s'emja-doʔ ηarka ñii-sʲ ηa-ʔ
 family-2PL_{Px} big.3SG_{Vx} NEG_{Aux}-3SG.PST be-CN
 'Their family wasn't big.'

- (474) Forest Nenets, Agan Subdialect (Koshkareva 2005: 111/208)

ñani ñii-š ηa-ʔ
 bread.3SG_{Vx} NEG_{Aux}-3SG.PST be-CN
 'It wasn't bread.'

Thus, Nenets applies the verbal strategy for non-verbal predicates in the past tense as well. In the future tense, in contrast, the nominal predicate must be accompanied by the verb *ñäsʲ* 'to be', since the nominal part of the predicate cannot carry the future marker (grammaticalized from an original durative-continuative suffix). The sentence thus must include the BE verb carrying the future/durative suffix and the person marking, but the nominal part of the predicate is also marked for person.

- (475) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 225)

mañ xañe-na-dmʔ ηä-ηgu-dmʔ
 I hunt-PTPRS-1SG_{Vx} be-DUR/FUT-1SG
 'I will be a hunter.'

- (476) Forest Nenets, Agan Subdialect (Koshkareva 2005: 104/186, 111/208)

piʔt ηuʔ kañ'ta-na-n ñi-ti-n
 you also hunt-PTPRS-2SG_{Vx} be-IPF-2SG
 'You will also be a hunter.'

As we can see, the noun part also assumes verbal marking, thus agreement is doubly marked in the sentence. This means that in the future tense, the negation of the nominal predicate is expressed with the nominal strategy.

Interesting borderline examples of nominal predicates are sentences with a lexically non-empty (dynamic) copula, such as the verb for ‘to become’. If the speaker uses a verb such as *xäsʲ* ‘to become’, the nominal predicate carries the essive-translative suffix *-ŋä*, grammaticalised from the 3SG form of the verb *ŋäsʲ* ‘to be’.

(477) Tundra Nenets (Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 225)

pida l'ekar-ŋä xan-ta
 (s)he doctor-ESS become-IPF.3SG
 ‘(S)he will be a doctor.’

The same essive-translative suffix also appears in the nominal part of the predicate together with the verb *tarasʲ* ‘to be’.

(478) Tundra Nenets (a: Tereshchenko 1973: 159; b: Tereshchenko 1965: 633)

- a. *xasawa-r kolxoz-na? ŋermbert'a-ŋä tara*
 man-2SG_{PX} kolkhoz-GEN.1PL_{PX} leader-ESS be.3SG
 ‘Your husband is the leader of our collective farm.’
- b. *sawa-wna xaŋe-na-ŋä tara*
 good-PROL hunt-PTPRS-ESS be.3SG
 ‘(S)he sure is a good hunter.’ [(S)he will be a well-hunting one.]

On the basis of these examples, we can state that Nenets knows the double encoding of nominal predicates. However, the double encoding is not semantically based but strictly conditioned by the verb. We can also observe that in sentences of this type (non-nominative nominal predicate) the noun part does not carry agreement morphemes. It is difficult to state, merely on the basis of these examples, whether there is a semantic difference between sentences with the verb *tarasʲ* and sentences in which the non-verbal predicate carries verbal marking, and what this difference could be. My data indicate that the difference could be merely stylistic. In the last two examples the non-nominative encoding can be explained by the choice of the verb: the verb means ‘to become, to change into something’ and thus requires the essive-translative suffix.

Now let us take a look at the possible correlations of non-verbal or standard negation with other sentence types. In what follows, I will present an existential, a possessive and a locational sentence. As shown above, Nenets also has a negative existential verb, and thus there are at least two negation elements to be taken into account.

- (479) Tundra Nenets (a: Kupriyanova et al. 1985: 217; b: Tereshchenko 1965: 630; c: Nenyang 2005: 54)
- a. *ńa-wa?* *tukona* *janɡu* LN
 friend-1PL_{PX} here NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘Our friend is not here.’
- b. *ta?* *joľc’ingǎna* *ńǎsii-xina-na?* *tang-na* EN
 summer.GEN at.the.time village-LOC-1PL_{PX} free-PtPRS
ńenec-? *janɡo-s’eti*
 man-PL NEG.EX-HAB.3SG
 ‘In summer, there are no free men in our village.’
- c. *mań* *papako-m’i* *janɡu* PN
 I younger.sister-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘I don’t have a younger sister.’

These examples show that all three sentence types, existential, locational and possessive, employ the same negation element, viz. the negative existential verb *janɡos’i*. Thus, we can state that Nenets does actually belong to the language type with the two-way strategy, the correlation between sentence types being SN&NN ~ LN&EN&PN. This confirms Veselinova’s statement that these expression types generally tend to correlate. The following table summarizes the negation strategies in Nenets.

	Standard	Non-Verbal	Existential	Locational	Possessive
Present	<i>ńiis’i</i> + lexical verb	<i>ńiis’i</i> + noun + copula	subject/theme + <i>janɡos’i</i>	location + <i>janɡos’i</i>	PoM + <i>janɡos’i</i>
Past	<i>ńiis’i</i> + lexical verb	<i>ńiis’i</i> + noun + copula	subject/theme + <i>janɡos’i</i>	location + <i>janɡos’i</i>	PoM + <i>janɡos’i</i>

Table 78. Correlations between Negation Strategies in Nenets

2.1.2. Enets

Enets largely resembles Nenets, and as illustrated by the following examples, the same strategies as in Nenets are to be found in Enets as well. However, as will be shown, their distribution is somewhat different. Let us first take a look at how the different types of non-verbal predicates are expressed.

ATTRIBUTION

(480) Forest Enets (a: Bolina 2003: 44; b-c: Tereshchenko 1973: 156, 156)

- a. *mäs'i-ða* *aga*
 wind-3SG_{Px} big.3SG_{Vx}
 'The wind is strong.'
- b. *mod' ib'ejgu-ð?*
 I small-1SG_{Vx}
 'I am small.'
- c. *mod' ib'ejgu-ðo-d'*
 I small-1SG_{Vx}-PST
 'I was small.'

(481) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 160)

- mod' ib'ejgu-ð? e-ða-ð?*
 I small-1SG_{Vx} be-IPF-1SG
 'I will be small.'

As we see, adjective predicates in Enets are expressed in exactly the same way as in Nenets. That is, in the present and the past tense, no copula is needed, but the future tense requires the copula: the verb *eš* 'to be'⁴⁵ with an imperfective suffix. In both cases, the nominal part of the predicate carries agreement morphemes.

Now let us take a look at how proper inclusion is expressed.

PROPER INCLUSION

(482) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 155, 155; Bolina 2003: 6)

- a. *uuda?* *mo'e* *ese-ra?*
 you(PL) already father-2PL_{Vx}
 'You are fathers already.'
- b. *tikixon* *uuda?* *mo'e* *ese-ra-t'*
 at.that.time you.PL already father-2PL_{Vx}-PST
 'At that time, you were fathers already.'
- c. *mod' es'i-j* *te* *poñi-da*
 I father-1SG_{Px} reindeer.GEN nomadize-PTPRS.3SG_{Vx}
 'My father is a reindeer herder.'

Past tense forms (cf. example (482) b) are built in exactly the same way as in Nenets, that is: the tense marking follows the person suffix.

45. The normal BE verb in Enets is *ŋaš*. The verb *eš* appears in Tereshchenko's data mostly in connection with nominal predicates or mood marking.

In Enets, there is no agreement within the nominal constituents (between the noun and its modifiers). Thus, modifiers of non-verbal predicates do not carry verbal person marking.

- (483) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 158)
kaas'i-naʔ sojða kad'a-da-ʔ
 man-PL.1PL_{px} good hunt-PTPRS-3PL_{vx}
 'Our husbands are good hunters.'

For equation sentences, there were very few examples to be found in my sources. Nevertheless, it can be stated that in this case as well, the nominal part of the predicate carries verbal person marking.

- (484) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 158)
mod' sie-ðʔ
 I who-1SG_{vx}
 'Who am I?'

According to Tereshchenko (1973: 158), past tense forms in this type can be created using a copula. The author's own examples display both the BE verb *eš* and the verb *ŋaš* 'to exist, to be'. Agreement morphs are carried by the BE copula. How should this form be interpreted? Tereshchenko's notation explicitly shows that the noun part of the predicate and the verb *eš* are prosodically tightly connected. In my opinion, the BE verb here plays a similar role as the Nenets essive suffix (which also goes back to the BE verb). Thus, in Enets we can also see examples of double encoding of the noun element, although only in the past tense.

- (485) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 160)
uud'iʔ ese~e-š ŋa-ri-d'
 you.DU father~be-INF be-2PL-PST
 'You two were fathers.' [You became fathers.]

In sum, we can state that Enets also forms these constructions in the present and the past tense without a copula, and that subject and predicate agree in number and person. The only exception is the essive encoding of the noun part, in which case a copula is obligatory. The future tense also requires the use of a copula: the BE verb *eš*. In this case, agreement morphemes appear on both the noun and the verb part of the predicate. As for the use of modifiers in the predicate part, nothing can be stated so far, as there were no such sentences to be found in my corpus.

One special case remains to be mentioned. As the noun predicate cannot be inflected for mood, sentences with explicit mood markers must include the BE verb, but in this case only the verb *eš* is possible.

(486) Forest Enets (Tereshchenko 1973: 159)

ekke seðor-ʔ koba ɔt'ik e-bi
 this fox-GEN skin bad be-NAR.3SG

‘It seems that this fox fell is of poor quality.’

(487) Tundra Enets (Helimski 2009: Dictionary)

mod'i mona-a-ðo-d'i d'ed'uʔ uul'aigu-ʔ a-ta-ʔ
 I think-CO-1SG-PST swan-PL small-PL be-PROB-3PL

‘I thought that swans were small.’

As for negation, Enets also seems to pattern with Nenets. The standard negation verb is used and the BE copula must also appear in the sentence. An example from Forest Enets:

(488) Forest Enets (Bolina 2003: 44)

ńe, mäs'i-ða aga ńi ŋa
 no wind-3SG_{PX} big.3SG_{VX} NEG_{AUX}.3SG be.CN

‘No, the wind is not strong.’

If the negative auxiliary is marked for mood, instead of the negative verb *ńeš* the stem *i-* is used. (For more details, see chapter V/2.3.2.)

(489) Forest Enets (Sorokina – Bolina 1995: 10)

enči i-bi ŋa
 man NEG_{AUX}-NAR.3SG be.CN

‘This was not a man.’

As illustrated by the examples above, in Enets the word order relations are the same as in Nenets: the negative auxiliary and the copula belong more closely together. As already mentioned in connection with the Nenets example, I do not consider the presence of the copula in the negated sentence a sufficient argument for classifying these sentences as belonging to the nominal strategy type. In Enets, thus, the non-verbal predicate in the present and the past tense is expressed more with the verbal than with the nominal strategy, and it can be negated with the standard negation element. The construction itself is asymmetric. In the future tense, Enets also applies the nominal strategy.

In what follows, I will investigate the correlations of the negated non-verbal predicate with other constructions. We can depart from the assumption that these will pattern similarly to Nenets. Enets also knows a negative existential verb which is to be used for the negation of existential, locational and possessive sentences.

- (490) Forest Enets (a: Labanauskas 2002: 27; b: Bolina 2003: 18; c: Mikola 1980: 226)
- a. *uuda?* *to-b-ta?* *mod'ina?* *ekkon* LN
 you.PL come-GER-GEN.2PL_{px} we here
mo'le *d'agu-da-a?*
 already NEG.EX-IPF-1PL
 'When you come, we will not be here any more.'
- b. *škola-xuni-na* *sportzal* *d'agu* EN
 school-LOC-OBL.1PL_{px} gym NEG.EX.3SG
 'In our school there is no gym.'
- c. *buudi?* *ese-đi?* *d'agu* PN
 they.DU father-3DU_{px} NEG.EX.3SG
ee-đi? *d'agu*
 mother-3DU_{px} NEG.EX.3SG
 'They (the two of them) have no father, no mother.'

Thus, we can state that Enets behaves in exactly the same way as Nenets, employing the correlation SN&NN ~ LN&EN&PN. The constructions and strategies are summarized in the following table.

	Standard	Non-verbal	Existential	Locational	Possesive
Present	<i>ńeš</i> + lexical verb	<i>ńeš</i> + noun + copula	subject/theme + <i>d'aguš</i>	location + <i>d'aguš</i>	POM + <i>d'aguš</i>
Past	<i>ńeš</i> + lexical verb	<i>ńeš</i> + noun + copula	subject/theme + <i>d'aguš</i>	location + <i>d'aguš</i>	POM + <i>d'aguš</i>

Table 79. Correlations of Negation Elements in Forest Enets

2.1.3. Selkup

In Selkup, the non-verbal predicates show a somewhat different picture. Although Selkup also knows the so-called nominal conjugation, all non-verbal predicates cannot be expressed without a copula. Adjective predicates always require the copula *εεqo* 'to be' and never carry verbal person marking.

ATTRIBUTION

- (491) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 370)
mat *əđi-p* *šar* *εε-ŋa*
 I word-1SG_{px} strong be-Co.3SG
 'My word is strong.'
- (492) Northern Selkup, Turukhan Dialect (Hajdú 1968: 155)
tat *kipl'a* *ää-ŋa-nti*
 you small be-Co-2SG_{vX}
 'You are small.'

These two examples show that there is no difference between Northern Selkup dialects: the BE copula appears in both sentences. It must be noted that in spoken Selkup, strong sandhi phenomena often lead to the fusion of the copula and the adjective. In this case, only the presence of the aorist linking element and the truncation of the adjective distinguish the construction from true nominal conjugation of the predicate adjective, as illustrated by the following example:

(493) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 266)

na qup pirqu εε-ηα / pirq-εε-ηα
 this man tall be-Co.3SG tall-be- Co.3SG
 ‘This man is tall.’

In non-Northern dialects the situation is similar: the BE verb is obligatory.

(494) Ket Selkup (Bykonja 2005: 188b)

pirege e-η
 tall be-Co.3SG
 ‘(S)he is tall.’

Thus, attribution in Selkup can only be expressed with the nominal strategy, since the copula is obligatory. For the syntactic behaviour of adjectives in more detail, see Alitkina (1983).

Unlike adjectives, non-adjective nominal predicates in Selkup do not require a copula. Let us first take a look at equation.

EQUATION

(495) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 188)

mat εsečarääqin tîni qən-pil' timhá-ηωω-k
 I in.older.times from.here go-PTPRS brother-Co-1SG_{VX}
 ‘I am the brother who went away from here.’

In the example above, there is no copula; instead, the verbal person suffix is connected to the noun with an aorist linking element. As we will see in the examples for proper inclusion, there is no linking element in 3SG, due to the fact that this element is primarily not a tense marker but rather a connecting element appearing in the aorist tense, and its presence and form are conditioned by the phonological structure of the stem. As the 3SG form is unmarked, there is no need for connecting the stem with an explicit person marker. (For the aorist linking element, see chapter II/3.1.1. page 65.) The following examples illustrate the expression of proper inclusion.

PROPER INCLUSION

(496) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 189)

- a. *qum-a-k* / *qum-a-ŋa-k*
 man-Co-1SG_{Vx} man-EP-Co-1SG_{Vx}
 ‘I am a man.’
- b. *ijja*
 child.3SG_{Vx}
 ‘(S)he is a child.’

As we can see, these sentences also lack the copula, but the predicate noun agrees with the subject. In 3SG, as in other Samoyedic languages, there is no explicit person marking on the noun. Modifiers of the predicate, if any, do not carry agreement marking.

(497) Selkup (Tereshchenko 1973: 155)

- mat werq kuti-l' nenik-a-ŋ*
 I big wing-ADJ mosquito-EP-1SG_{Vx}
 ‘I am a mosquito with big wings.’

Thus, in the present tense the three categories behave differently. While predicate nouns allow for the verbal strategy, predicate adjectives can only be expressed with the nominal strategy. As for tense marking, Selkup noun predicates cannot be marked for tense, and thus the expression of the past or the future tense in any case requires the BE verb to appear in the sentence.

(498) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 190)

- mat ijja-ŋɔɔ-k εε-s-a-k*
 I child-Co-1SG_{Vx} be-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘I was a child.’

(499) Northern Selkup, Turukhan Dialect (Bykonja 2005: 308a)

- mat il'mat-ε-ŋ e-δ-a-k*
 I young-EP-1SG_{Vx} be-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘I was young.’

The two examples above display a BE copula in the past tense. At the same time, the noun part of the predicate still carries agreement morphemes, viz. the person suffix. In the Taz dialect, this person suffix is connected to the stem with an aorist linking element, while in the Turukhan dialect this is not needed. In the past tense, thus, Selkup behaves differently from Enets and Nenets, in which an explicit copula is not necessary.

In order to find out whether nominal predicates really apply the verbal strategy, we must study the negation. As already shown above, the standard negation element in Selkup is the particle *ašša*, which always precedes the negated element. Let us see how non-verbal predicates are negated.

(500) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 362)

mat ašša loqa-ŋa-k
 I NEG_{PTCL} fox-Co-1SG_{VX}
 ‘I am not a fox.’

As we see, the same negation element is used as in the standard negation, and the negated sentence is only distinguished from its affirmative counterpart by the presence of the negation particle.

As shown above, adjective predicates behave differently from nouns. This will be seen also in the case of negation, as negated adjective predicates also employ a copula. As for the choice of negation element, however, there is no difference. In the sentence, the noun part of the predicate and the copula are tightly connected and form one unit; the negation element cannot be inserted between them as in Nenets. In this respect, Selkup resembles Nganasan. The construction is thus SUBJECT + NEG + [NON-VERBAL PREDICATE + COPULA], as illustrated by the following example.

(501) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 362)

na iija ašša [werq εε-ŋa]
 this child NEG_{PTCL} big be-Co.3SG
 ‘This child is not big.’

Thus, we can state that Selkup applies the verbal strategy for nominal predicates in the case of proper inclusion, while adjective predicates are expressed with the nominal strategy. For equation, I did not have enough examples at my disposal, but we may assume that this type patterns with proper inclusion.

In non-present tenses, however, non-verbal predicates can only be expressed with the nominal strategy. Similarly to standard negation, the negation of non-verbal predicates is symmetric.

In Selkup, there is still one interesting phenomenon to be noted. Similarly to the two other languages presented above, Selkup also knows the double encoding of non-verbal predicates. In all of the examples above, the predicate noun was in the nominative, but there are also examples of the predicate noun in the translative case. The translative suffix in Selkup was grammaticalized quite recently and still shows the postpositional characteristic of being attached to a genitive form. Constructions with translative predicates are regularly used when the sentence describes the occurrence of a state, but they can be found in other, static expressions as well. Remarkably enough, all examples are in non-present tenses.

(502) Northern Selkup, Taz Dialect (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 369)

a. *təp soma qum-i-t-qo ε-si*
 (s)he good human.being-EP-GEN-TRL be-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he was a good person.’

- b. *na nätä man ima-noo-qo ε-ta*
 this girl I wife-GEN.1SG_{PX}-TRL be-FUT.3SG
 ‘This girl is going to be my wife.’

A state which is to begin in the future can also be expressed with another copula verb: *εsiqo* ‘become’. In this case as well, the noun part of the predicate is in the translative case.

- (503) Selkup (Tereshchenko 1973: 162)
onäk iija-noo-qo εse-nna-nti
 my child-GEN.1SG_{PX}-TRL be-FUT-2SG
 ‘You will become my own son...’

The next step will be to investigate which negation elements are used in locational, existential and possessive sentences. Similarly to the Northern Samoyedic languages, Selkup also knows a negative existential verb which must be used in the negation of all these three sentence types.

- (504) Northern Selkup, Taz Selkup (Hajdú 1968: 152; Kuznecova et al. 1980: 298, 365)
- a. *timti mat čääŋki-sa-k* LN
 there I NEG.EX-PST-1SG
 ‘I wasn’t there.’
- b. *ukki poo ämtä čääŋka* EN
 one tree PTCL NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘There is no wood (of any kind).’
- c. *ɔɔtä-l čääŋka* PN
 reindeer-2SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘You don’t have a reindeer.’

As can be seen, in Selkup there are correlations between these categories, while the non-verbal predicates can be negated in a way similar to the standard negation. Thus, Selkup applies the same strategy as Nenets, Enets and also Hungarian and Mordvin: the correlation SN&NN ~ LN&EN&PN is realized.

	Standard	Non-Verbal	Existential	Locational	Possessive
Present	<i>ašša</i> + lex. verb	<i>ašša</i> + noun + (copula)	subject/theme + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>	location + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>	PoM + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>
Past	<i>ašša</i> + lex. verb	<i>ašša</i> + noun + copula	subject/theme + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>	location + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>	PoM + <i>čääŋkiqo</i>

Table 80. Correlations of Negation Elements in Selkup

2.1.4. Kamas

Kamas is a very deficiently documented language, and a sufficient amount of examples for non-verbal predicates was not available to me. Yet, a few statements can be made. Expressions of non-verbal predicates in Kamas resemble Hungarian, that is: in the 3rd person, no copula is used, but in other persons it is obligatory. Here, as well, the BE verb is used as a copula. In equation sentences, copula constructions appear, while the expressions for proper inclusion and attribution do not employ a copula.

ATTRIBUTION

(505) Kamas (Joki 1944: 22/a)

mǎn ija-m t'aktə
 I mother-1SG_{Px} old
 'My mother is old.'

EQUATION

(506) Kamas (Joki 1944: 162)

mǎn tǎn kaga-l i-ge-m
 I you brother-2SG_{Px} be-PRS-1SG
 'I am your brother.'

PROPER INCLUSION

(507) Kamas (Joki 1944: 163)

dĩ ko?bdo
 (s)he girl
 'She is a daughter/girl.'

As shown above, Kamas, like Hungarian, does not employ the copula in the third person. As for agreement marking for predicate nouns in 3PL, there is no data. In all other cases, for instance for subjects in the first person singular, the copula is obligatory. Examples for tense marking are also missing in my data, but we can depart from the assumption that in this case as well, Kamas would use the copula. Thus, we can state that Kamas applies the nominal strategy for non-verbal predicates.

Let us take a look at the strategies of negation in Kamas. As shown in the preceding chapters, the standard negation element in Kamas is the negative auxiliary *e-*, in certain tenses lexicalized to a negative particle *ej*. (For more details, see chapter II/3.1.2. from page 72 on.) Besides, as also shown above, Kamas also knows a negative existential verb. The following examples illustrate the negation of non-verbal predicates: not with the standard negation element but with the negative existential.

The following example sentence is without doubt a later one and very likely comes from Plotnikova, the last speaker of Kamas⁴⁶. The word order in this sentence is also highly suspicious, but in the absence of other corresponding example sentences I have no choice but to cite this one.

- (508) Kamas (Simoncsics 1998: 594)
bile kuza mǎn naga-m
 bad man I NEG.EX-1SG
 ‘I am not a poor man.’

In this respect, Kamas differs from the Samoyedic languages presented above, in which the negation of non-verbal predicates always correlates with the standard negation. Let us take a look at the correlations with other sentence types. The following examples illustrate the use of this negation element in possessive or even locational sentences.

- (509) Kamas (Simoncsics 1998: 594) PN
ippeĸ dī-n naga
 bread (s)he-GEN NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘(S)he doesn’t have any bread.’
- (510) Kamas (Joki 1944: 42) EN
ine-i? naga
 horse-PL NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘There is no horse.’
- (511) Kamas (Joki 1944: 197) LN
ñi-t naga. ko?bdo t’epsi-n-də i?bə
 child-3SG_{PX} NEGEX.3SG_{VX} daughter cradle-LOC.3SG_{PX} lie.PRS.3SG
 ‘His/her son is not (there), his/her daughter is lying in the cradle.’

Thus, Kamas negates possessive, existential and locational sentences in a similar way as non-verbal predicates. This contrasts with standard negation. Kamas, thus, also has a two-way distinction, but does not pattern together with Selkup and Nenets but with Komi and Mari.

	Standard	Non-verbal	Existential	Locational	Possessive
Present	<i>ej</i> + lex. verb	non-v. pred. + <i>naga-</i>	subject/theme + <i>naga-</i>	Location + <i>naga-</i>	PoM + <i>naga-</i>
Past	<i>ej</i> + lex. verb	no data	no data	no data	no data

Table 81. Correlations of Negation Elements in Kamas

46. For this information I would like to thank Gerson Klumpp.

2.1.5. Eastern Khanty

Khanty dialects differ from each other in their negation strategies; my Northern Khanty informant, for instance, applies the three-way distinction instead of the two-way one, as will be shown in the following chapters. The situation in the Eastern dialects is mainly described on the basis of data stemming from one informant, a speaker of the Surgut dialect, but occasionally, I will refer to phenomena appearing in other dialects as well.

As will be shown in what follows, Surgut Khanty and Mansi treat their non-verbal predicates in a similar way. I will present my data sorted by the types of non-verbal predicates. The sentences do not employ copulas, but subject and predicate agree in number. (Cf. sentence (514).)

ATTRIBUTION

(512) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- a. *tem qət newi*
 this house white
 ‘This house is white.’
- b. *nŭŋ pətana tul*
 you completely stupid
 ‘You are completely stupid.’

EQUATION

(513) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

ma nŭŋ aʔe
 I you father
 ‘I am your father.’

PROPER INCLUSION

(514) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

lin quł kənč-čə qo-γən
 they.Du fish hunt-PTPRS man-DU
 ‘They (the two of them) are fishermen.’

None of the examples above displays a copula of any kind: the subject and the predicate are merely juxtaposed. Nor do non-third-person subjects require a copula, the predicate only agrees in number.

(515) Surgut Dialect group, Yugan Dialect (Honti 1992: 263)

měŋ ěj-nŏptis-ət
 we of.same.age-PL
 ‘We are the same age.’

Thus, there is agreement of a certain kind, but – as in Hungarian – in number. My informant also provided sentence variants with a copula, viz. the existential verb *wōs-*, which appears not only in the Surgut but also, for instance, in the Vasyugan dialect. Examples of alternative sentences with a copula from the Surgut dialect:

(516) Surgut Dialect group (a-c-d: KLj. 2008; b: Csepregi 1998: 41.)

- a. *nūŋ pətana tul wōs-ə-n*
 you completely stupid exist-EP-2SG
 ‘You are completely stupid.’
- b. *ma nūŋ ɛwe wōs-ə-m*
 I you mother exist-EP-1SG
 ‘I am your mother.’
- c. *lin quł kənc-čə qo-γən wōs-γən*
 they(DU) fish hunt-PTPRS man-DU exist-3DU
 ‘They (the two of them) are fishermen.’
- d. *nūŋ prepodavat’el’ wōs-ə-n*
 you teacher exist-EP-2SG
 ‘You are a teacher.’

Remarkably enough, if the non-verbal predicate is an adjective and the quality expressed by it does not regard a person (for example, “the house is big”), my informant never produced sentences with a copula, nor did I find examples of this kind in Csepregi’s data. We can also see that there is still an agreement in number (as in sentence (516) c)).

The verb *wōs-* ‘exist’ is described in literature as having a deficient paradigm, lacking third-person forms and unable to carry tense or mood suffixes (Honti 1984: 97, 1992: 265; Csepregi 1998: 41). Nevertheless, the examples above show that third-person forms do appear, albeit very rarely. According to Honti (1993: 137–138), this verb has been retained in its copula function in the Eastern dialects. In the Western dialects, this verb and the BE verb (*wol-*) have become suppletive variants of each other, but as also shown by Honti’s examples, the copula may appear in these dialects as well. In this case, however, the nominal part of the predicate does not need number marking any more, as illustrated by the following example:

(517) Southern Khanty, Konda Dialect

(Paasonen — Vértés 1965: 38, quoted in Honti 1993: 136)

- a. *min jēm-ŋən*
 we.DU good-DU
 ‘We (two) are good.’
- b. *min jěma ūs-mən*
 we.DU good exist-2DU
 ‘We (two) are good.’

Beside the constructions presented above, there are even more ways of expressing non-verbal predicates in Khanty. In two dialects, Vakh-Vasyugan and Salym, Honti (1993: 137) has identified constructions in which the nominal part of the predicate is accompanied by a particle functioning as a predicative marker: *-(ə)ki*/*-(ə)ki* in the Vakh-Vasyugan dialect, *-əkə* in the Salym dialect.⁴⁷ In this sentence type as well, the predicate must agree in number with the subject, but the number marker is preceded by a predicate marker. In the material which I have collected myself, this type does not appear.

(518) Vasyugan Dialect (Honti 1984: 98)

- a. *tem ämp jěme-ki*
 this dog good-PRED
 ‘This dog is good.’
- b. *tem ämp-kən jěme-kə-jä-kən*
 this dog-DU good-PRED-EP-DU
 ‘These two dogs are good.’

In my data, there are no past-tense predicates, and thus it is impossible to determine whether nouns carry the predicative marker also if there is a copula in the sentence.

So far, we have seen that Eastern Khanty can express non-verbal predicates without a copula and that the subject and the predicate part must agree at least in number. In order to determine whether Eastern Khanty really applies the nominal strategy, we must also investigate negation. Recall that according to Stassen, we can speak of verbal strategy if non-verbal predicates are negated using the standard negation element, if the sentence has no copula and if there are agreement morphemes. Let us take a look at the negative counterparts of the above examples; for comparison, I will also present a sentence illustrating the standard negation.

(519) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- ma lɔpka-nam əntə mən-t-əm*
 I shop-PROL NEG_{PTCL} go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I do not go to the shop.’

The sentence displays the standard negation element, the particle *əntə*. Let us now see the negative elements of non-verbal predicate sentences.

47. Honti (1998: 138) thinks that this element might have come into being due to the influence of translative forms. He continued this line of thought and considered that the attributive marker *-γə* in Eastern Khanty might have the same origin.

(520) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- a. *tem qət antə newi*
 this house NEG_{PTCL} white
 ‘This house is not white.’
- b. *lǔw antə ma a’e-m*
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL} I father-1SG_{PX}
 ‘He is not my father.’
- c. *ma a’e-m antə prepodavatel’*
 I father-1SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} teacher
 ‘My father is not a teacher.’

Thus, this informant, a speaker of the Surgut dialect, uses the standard negation element in all three sentence types and never uses the copula in the third person. In the first and second persons, the negated sentences usually display a copula, but – as in the affirmative sentences as well – it is not obligatory.

(521) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- ma antə prepodavatel’ (wős-a-m)*
 I NEG_{PTCL} teacher exist-EP-1SG
 ‘I am not a teacher.’

In sum, we can state that Eastern Khanty non-verbal predicates, despite the use of the standard negation element, must rather be classified as representing the nominal strategy, on the basis of the presence of the copula and the restrictions on agreement. However, there are cases in which we can speak of verbal strategy.

Now let us see how Eastern Khanty dialects treat the category of tense in nominal predicate constructions. Unlike in Nenets and Enets, Khanty nouns cannot carry tense markers, and thus a verbal element of some kind is needed for tense marking. For this, usually the verb *wol-/wöl-* ‘to be, to live’ is used. Note that in Eastern Khanty it is the present tense which is morphologically marked. Let us compare the following two sentences:

(522) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- a. *ma a’e-m prepodavatel’ wöl*
 I father-1SG_{PX} teacher be.PST.3SG
 ‘My father was a teacher.’
- b. *ma a’e-m prepodavatel’ [antə wöl]*
 I father-1SG_{PX} teacher NEG_{PTCL} be.PST.3SG
 ‘My father was not a teacher.’

The negation element occupies the position preceding the copula. Thus, Eastern Khanty differs from Selkup, in which the negation element precedes the noun part of the predicate (cf. 501). The structure of the sentence is as follows: SUBJECT + NON-VERBAL PREDICATE + [NEG + COPULA].

Furthermore, in Eastern Khanty the noun part of the predicate can be encoded in two ways: it may be in the translative or in the nominative form. It should also be noted that the informant also considered it possible to use the negative existential verb for negation, although in most sentences she produced she did not choose this strategy. The role of the translative suffix in (523) a) will be dealt with in more detail later on, but let it be mentioned already now that its use does not depend on the quality of the negation element.

(523) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- a. *lǔw tul-pul-yə əntə wǔl*
 (s)he stupid-TRL NEG_{PTCL} be.PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he was not stupid.’
- b. *lǔw tul-pul əntəm wǔl*
 (s)he stupid NEG.EX. be.PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he was not stupid.’

The future tense in Khanty has no morphological marker and can only be expressed with copula constructions, most frequently with the dynamic copula verbs *jə-/ji-* ‘to get, to become’ and *pit-* ‘to start’. My informant only used the verb *jə-* ‘to become’, which may be due to the verb *pit-* being used more as an auxiliary. Nikolaeva’s data (1995, 1999) from the Obdorsk dialect include examples of both verbs being used as a copula⁴⁸. The role of this verb in these future-tense constructions, however, is not only that of a tense marker, but it is often used to indicate a change of some kind as well. This explains the fact that the noun part of the predicate in these constructions is always marked with the translative case suffix.

(524) Surgut Dialect group (KLj, 2008)

- a. *ma māńe-m wəjək kəńč-čə qo-yə jə-t*
 I elder.brother-1SG_{px} wild.animal hunt-PTPRS man-TRL become-PRS.3SG
 ‘My brother will be(come) a hunter.’
- b. *ma wəjək kəńč-čə qo-yə jə-t-ə-m*
 I wild.animal hunt-PTPRS man-TRL become-PRS-EP-1SG
 ‘I will be(come) a hunter.’

48. The following example shows the use of the verb *pit-* as a copula: *ma pit-l-ə-m jəm* [I start-PRS-EP-1SG good] ‘I will be good.’ (Nikolaeva 1995: 187) Nikolaeva also has examples of this verb being clearly used as an auxiliary: *ma wül uli pitləm* [I big be-INF start-PRS-EP-1SG] ‘I will be big.’ (Nikolaeva 1995: 119). Thus, the verb can indubitably be used both functions.

This verb also appears more in auxiliary than in copular functions, clearly serving as a TAM marker. In this case, the noun part of the predicate carries the predicate marker instead of the translative suffix. (See also Filchenko 2007: 342–344.)

(525) Vasyugan Dialect (Filchenko 2007: 344)

os t'u surtowat jertinə-qi jəy-ət
 again DET medication expensive-PRED become.PST-3PL
 ‘But medication is getting expensive.’

As illustrated by the examples above, agreement is marked on the verb. Thus, in Eastern Khanty in the future and the past tense we can only speak of a nominal strategy.

In some of the examples given above the nominal part of the predicative was not in the unmarked (nominative) case but in the translative. This is not only typical of my consultant’s usage but also appears in other dialects, as in the following example:

(526) Vasyugan Dialect (Honti 1984: 98)

- a. *mä mörəy*
 I whole
 ‘I am healthy.’
- b. *mä morək-kə wəs-ə-m*
 I whole-TRL be-EP-1SG
 ‘I am healthy.’

According to Honti’s (1984: 98) translations, there seems to be no difference in meaning between the two sentences.

The double encoding of non-verbal predicates is not unknown in Uralic. It is particularly frequent in the Finnic languages which encode temporary and static qualities in different ways. As we have seen, there are examples of it in Samoyedic as well, and the examples elicited from my Khanty consultant as well as data from other sources indicate that Khanty may also know this distinction. The question remains, of course, what the function of the double encoding in Khanty is – if it has any definable function at all. Let us take a look at the following example.

(527) Surgut Dialect (Kajukova, Lj., 2008)

tõt ma ɛlə məta prepodavat’el’-yə wöl-ə-m. t’uti ma
 there I only anything teacher-TRL be.PST-EP-1SG it.there I
əntə prepodavat’el’ wös-ə-m, ma pisat’el’ (wös-ə-m)
 NEG_{PTCL} teacher exist-EP-1SG I writer exist-EP.1SG
 ‘I was a teacher there [I worked as a teacher there], but I’m not a teacher,
 I’m a writer.’

In the first part of the sentence, the speaker encodes the non-verbal predicate for a temporary quality with the translative case, but in the second part of the sentence, in which the predicate expresses a permanent profession, the translative suffix does not appear. We also observe that the two parts of the sentence also apply different copulas: the temporary quality is accompanied by the verb for ‘to be, to live’, while the nominative form is (optionally) accompanied by the verb ‘to exist’. Thus, we can state that Khanty also distinguishes, semantically and syntactically, between the expressions of predicated temporary and static qualities. However, it must be noted that this opposition may be disappearing, as there is a lot of data for the two encoding variants being simply described as free alternants – especially in sentences where there is no explicit opposition. In the following two sentences, for instance, the informant considered the two variants completely synonymous.

(528) Surgut Dialect (KLj 2008)

- a. *ma at'e-m prepodavat'el'(-yə) wöl*
 I father-1SG_{PX} teacher-(TRL) be.PST.3SG
 ‘My father was a teacher.’
- b. *ma at'e-m prepodavat'el'(-yə) əntə wöl*
 I father-1SG_{PX} teacher -(TRL) NEG_{PTCL} be.PST.3SG
 ‘My father was not a teacher.’

These examples also illustrate that negation has no influence on the encoding of the predicate noun. In my data, the translative forms are less characteristic of the present tense and are mostly used for the expression of proper inclusion. Of course, this does not mean that the predicate noun in present-tense sentences would never be encoded with the translative. As shown in example (520) b), in present-tense sentences of this type the copula is regularly used. This indicates that the predicate noun in the translative case cannot function as a predicate alone.

In any case, Stassen’s (2001a: 572) assumption that there is no double encoding in the Ob-Ugric languages is incorrect. As will be shown in the following chapters in connection with Mansi both Ob-Ugric languages know double encoding.

The last step will be to investigate the correlations in the negation of non-verbal predicates in Eastern Khanty. As mentioned above, in the Surgut dialect the standard negation element is the particle *əntə*. My informant used it also for the negation of non-verbal predicates (see examples (523) a) and (522) b)), but she also produced sentences with the negative existential predicate. Yet, I will depart from the assumption that non-verbal predicates can be negated with the standard negation element. Now let us take a look at existential, possessive and locational sentences.

(529) Surgut Dialect (KLj, 2008)

- a. *məŋ əškola-nə əntə wös-u-w* LN
 we school-LOC NEG_{PTCL} exist-EP-1PL
 ‘We are not at school.’
- b. *pesan öwti-nə kənikay-ə-t əntəm-ə-t* EN
 table surface-LOC book-EP-PL NEG.EX-EP-PL
 ‘There are no books on the table.’
- c. *ma a'e-m kənika əntə tāj-a-l'* PN
 I father-1SG_{VX} book NEG_{PTCL} have-EP-PRS.3SG
 ‘My father has no books.’

The Surgut dialect thus employs two negative elements, *əntə* and *əntəm*, their division of labour being of the type SN&PN&NN&LN ~ EN. That is, on the basis of my informant’s examples only existential negation differs from the other sentence types in its choice of negation element. Possession, however, can also be negated with the negative existential predicate. Considering this, we come to the following correlation: SN&NN&LN ~ EN&PN. An example of the latter type:

(530) Surgut Dialect (KLj, 2008)

- ma a'e-m qu'əŋnə kənika əntəm* PN
 I father-1SG_{VX} PP_{AT} book NEG.EX.3SG
 ‘My father has no books.’

In this case, the possession is temporary. For this reason, these two constructions cannot be considered synonymous. As shown in the chapter about possession, these constructions also have different backgrounds. This indicates that typological classifications largely depend on which construction and in which context is being considered. The following table sums up the negation strategies and structures in the Surgut Dialect.

	Standard	Non-verbal	Existential	Locative	Possessive
Present	<i>əntə</i> +Verb	<i>əntə</i> +non-verb. +(cop.)	subject/theme + <i>əntəm</i>	<i>əntə</i> + <i>wös-</i>	<i>əntə</i> + <i>tāj-</i> theme + <i>əntəm</i>
Past / Future	<i>əntə</i> +Verb	<i>əntə</i> +non-verb. +cop.	subject/theme + <i>əntəm</i> + copula	<i>əntə</i> + <i>wol-</i>	<i>əntə</i> + <i>tāj-</i>

Table 82. Correlations of Negation Strategies in Eastern Khanty

2.2. Three-Way Distinction

As mentioned in the introduction to this part, in Uralic the three-way distinction only appears in Khanty, Mari and, of the Samoyedic languages, only in Nganasan. The three-way distinction means that the language – alongside imperative expressions – has three different negation elements. The negation of non-verbal predicates correlates either with the standard negation or with some other negation strategy, but it can also have its own specific strategy; this is what we will see in the case of Nganasan. Before that, however, let us take a look at Western Khanty and Mansi data.

2.2.1. Northern Khanty

In chapter VIII/2.1.5. (page 291 ff.). Eastern Khanty data was presented. This chapter deals with Northern Khanty, the data stemming mainly from three subdialects (Kazym, Obdorsk and Synya), but with occasional references to other subdialects as well. The main focus will be on the Synya subdialect. As an anticipatory remark let it be mentioned that there are no considerable differences between the expressions of non-verbal predicates in Northern and Eastern Khanty, except the fact that the predicative marker is completely unknown in the Western dialects. The same can be said about the verb *wõs-*, which only appears as a copula in the Eastern dialects; in the Western dialects this form has become part of the paradigm of the BE verb. Let us now take a look at the types of non-verbal predicates; most of my examples come from the Synya dialect.

ATTRIBUTION

(531) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

tam xot nowi
 this house white
 ‘This house is white.’

(532) Northern Khanty, Obdorsk Dialect (Nikolaeva 1995: 187)

tām amp-ŋən jām-ŋən
 this dog-DU good-DU
 ‘These two dogs are good.’

The examples show that there is no agreement in person in these dialects, but the predicate must agree with the subject in number.

EQUATION

(533) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

luw ma as'ie-m
 (s)he I father-1SG_{px}
 ‘He is my father.’

PROPER INCLUSION

(534) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

ma as'ie-m utalta-ti xu
 I father-1SG_{PX} teach-PTPRS man
 'My father is a teacher.'

In none of these examples does a copula appear. For past-tense forms, I have no examples from the Synya subdialect, but it is not probable that expressions of the past tense would essentially differ from the strategies attested in the Eastern dialects. Thus, we can assume that in the past tense, a copula would be used; this is also attested in data from the Sherkaly dialect. As the past tense in Khanty is morphologically unmarked, no tense markers appear on the BE verb.

(535) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly Dialect (Schmidt 2008: 63)

tow-em itja us
 horse-1SG_{PX} bolter be.3SG
 'My horse was a bolter.'

Let us see how the sentence types presented above can be negated. The negated counterparts of the three example sentences from the Synya subdialect are as follows:

(536) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

- a. *tam xot anta nowi*
 this house NEG_{PTCL} white
 'This house is not white.'
- b. *luw anta ma as'ie-m*
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL} I father-1SG_{PX}
 'He is not my father.'
- c. *ma as'ie-m anta utalta-ti xu*
 I father-1SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} teach-PTPRS man
 'My father is not a teacher.'

In all three sentence types, the same negation marker *anta* must be used. It is also clear that the negation element does not behave like a negative predicate: it does not occupy the sentence-final position but precedes the negated predicate noun. Note that my Synya informant did not distinguish between 'not a teacher' and 'not a teacher, but...', but used the same negation strategy in both.

(537) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)

ma as'ie-m anta utalta-ti xu. luw lekka
 I father-1SG_{PX} NEG_{PTCL} teach-PTPRS man (s)he doctor
 'My father is not a teacher, he is a doctor.'

While the scope of the negation element in (536) c) covers the whole sentence, in (537) only my father's inclusion in the group of teachers is negated, not the fact that he may belong to some other group. The peculiarities of the Kazym and Obdorsk dialects will be dealt with later on, but first let us see with which construction types the non-verbal negated sentences in Synya correlate. In the Synya subdialect, the standard negation element is the particle *at*. Thus, the non-verbal negation and the standard negation apply different negation elements. The following example illustrates standard negation.

- (538) Northern Khanty, Synja Subdialect (OS, 2008)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|----|
| <i>ma</i> | <i>lapka-j-a</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>man-l-o-m</i> | SN |
| I | shop-EP-LAT | NEG _{PTCL} | go-PRS-EP-1SG | |
- 'I am not going to the shop.'

Thus, so far two negation elements have been presented: *at* and *anta*. Possessive constructions are also negated with the standard negation element, that is, in these sentences the HAVE verb is negated.

- (539) Northern Khanty, Synja Subdialect (OS, 2008)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|----|
| <i>ma</i> | <i>as'e-m</i> | <i>nepek</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>taj-l</i> | PN |
| I | father-1SG _{PX} | book | NEG _{PTCL} | have-PRS.1SG | |
- 'My father has no books.'

Let us see what happens with the negation of existential and locational sentences. As shown above, Khanty has a negative existential predicate agreeing with the subject in number. It appears in both of these sentence types.

- (540) Northern Khanty, Synya Subdialect (OS, 2008)
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|----|
| <i>ant'e-m</i> | <i>joln</i> | <i>antom</i> | LN |
| mother-1SG _{PX} | at.home | NEG.EX | |
- 'My mother is not at home.'
- (541) Northern Khanty, Synya Dialect (Onina, S., 2008)
- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----|
| <i>pasan-a-n</i> | <i>nepek(-a-t)</i> | <i>antom(-a-t)</i> | EN |
| table-EP-LOC | book(-EP-PL) | NEG.EX-EP-PL) | |
- 'There are no books on the table.'

Both sentence types, thus, employ the same negation element, and this negative existential predicate behaves in a different way than the negative particle *anta*. The negative existential *antom* occupies the same position as the negation particle *at* in standard negation. In my opinion, the possibility that *anta* could have developed from a shortened form of the negative existential *antom* cannot be excluded, and this hypothesis is also supported by data from the Kazym dialect. Before presenting these data, I will sum up the structures and correlations in the Synya subdialect.

As shown above, in Synya the standard negation correlates with the possessive construction. The negation of existential and locational sentences pattern together, while non-verbal predicates, in turn, have a different negation element. Thus, the correlations are as follows: SN&PN ~ NN ~ EN&LN. Considering that Synya Khanty does not comply to the negation criterion, we can state that in this dialect the non-verbal predicate is expressed with the nominal strategy.

Let us take a look at the structures realized in the Kazym dialect. As will be shown, Kazym also knows three different negation elements, in their form somewhat different from their counterparts in Synya. Standard negation in Kazym employs the negative particle *an/ant*⁴⁹, as illustrated by the following example.

- (542) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 39)
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|----|
| <i>aŋke-m</i> | <u><i>ant</i></u> | <i>arij-t</i> | SN |
| mother-1SG _{Px} | NEG _{Ptcl.} | sing-PRS.3SG | |
- ‘My mother does not sing.’

Let us see what negation elements are used for non-verbal predicates. I will give two examples.

- (543) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 39) NN
- a. *ike-m* *toxtar* *antə*
 husband-1SG_{Px} doctor NEG
 ‘My husband is not a doctor.’
- b. *ewe-n* *aj* *antə*
 daughter-2SG_{Px} small NEG
 ‘Your daughter is not small.’

In both of these sentence types (attribution, proper inclusion), a negation element different from the one in standard negation appears. This negation marker does not behave like a negation particle but occupies the place normally reserved for the predicate; the noun part of the predicate obligatorily precedes this negation element. As for agreement, no statements can be made, as Solovar and Cheremisina (1994) do not give examples in the plural or dual. In any case, the same negation marker appears in the sentence types ‘not an apple’ and ‘not an apple, but...’, as already shown for Synya.

- (544) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 39)
- | | | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>tam</i> | <i>nañ</i> | <u><i>antə</i></u> | <i>tam</i> | <i>kew</i> |
| this | bread | NEG | this | stone |
- ‘This is not bread, it’s a stone.’

49. The loss of *t* can be explained with phonetical factors; for more details see Solovar - Cheremisina 1994: 40.

Let us see how existential, locational and possession sentences are negated. First, the locational sentences.

(545) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 36)

- a. *naj jul'aj antəm* LN
 you at.home NEG.EX
 'You are not at home.'
- b. *luw tata antum wus*
 (s)he here NEG.EX exist.3SG
 '(S)he was not here.'

This construction displays a negation element of the third kind: the negative existential predicate. In the past tense, this predicate must be preceded by the copula *wos-*, which in the Northern dialects functions as the past-tense form of the BE verb. As shown in the following examples, this negation element agrees in number with the subject but cannot carry person marking.

(546) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 36)

- a. *pur-mas-l-a-l isa antəm-a-t* PN
 thing-PL-EP-3SG_{px} all NEG.EX-EP-PL
 '(S)he doesn't have anything.'
- b. *xolup-ηal-a-m antəm-ηan wes-ηan*
 net-DU-EP-1SG_{px} NEG.EX-DU exist-3DU
 'I didn't have two nets.'

Sentence b) illustrates how in the past tense the number agreement also covers the copula. Solovar and Cheremisina (1994: 36), however, point out that constructions in which agreement is only marked on the copula are also possible.

(547) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 36)

- xop-l'-a-m antəm wqs-a-t*
 thing-PL-EP-3SG_{px} NEG.EX exist-EP-3PL
 '(S)he doesn't have anything.'

Let us also take a look at the existential sentence.

(548) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Solovar – Cheremisina 1994: 36)

- ..jak-ti xujat antəm* EN
 dance-PTPRS somebody NEG.EX
 'There are no dancing people.'

In this sentence, as can be seen, the negative existential predicate does not carry any agreement morphemes, but in the sentence it occupies the position of the predicate.

Thus, we can state that in Kazym Khanty, a shorter form of the negation element which is used in existential and possessive constructions is used for the negation of non-verbal predicates. Solovar and Cheremisina (1994) also have an example in which not this truncated form but the complete one appears in the same function. This indicates that the non-verbal negation element has developed out of the existential negative verb and these two already have a clear division of labour.

Comparing the correlations of the negation strategies in Kazym Khanty, we see a situation slightly different from the Synya subdialect. In both dialects, there are three negation elements, but the correlations differ. In Kazym, the correlation pattern is SN ~ NN ~ EN&LN&PN. However, if the elements *antə* and *antəm* are considered as one morpheme, Kazym Khanty will belong to the language type with a two-way distinction. The correlations are summarized in the following table.

	Standard	Possessive	Non-Verbal	Existential	Locative
Present	<i>an(t)</i> +verb	<i>antəm</i>	nonv. pred. + <i>antə</i>	subject/theme + <i>antəm</i>	subject/theme + <i>antəm</i>
Past	<i>at</i> +verb	<i>antəm</i> + copula-		subject/theme + <i>antəm</i> + copula	subject/theme + <i>antəm</i> +cop.

Table 83. Correlations of Negation Elements in Kazym Khanty

Before proceeding to the Mansi data, the marking of the noun part of the predicate and the expressions of the future tense must be dealt with. The predicate marker appearing in the Eastern Khanty dialects is unknown in Northern Khanty. The double encoding of the non-verbal predicate, in contrast, can also be observed in Western Khanty dialects. Here, however, there are essential differences: of the Northern dialects, only the Obdorsk dialect has retained the translative case suffix, in other dialects it has disappeared, and thus, these dialects use the lative case instead of the translative for the encoding of the nominal predicate.

(549) Northern Khanty, Kazym Dialect (Karjalainen 1964: 310)

sūt̄xo-ja *jō-ł*
civil.servant-LAT be/live-PRS.3SG
'He is a civil servant.'

(550) Northern Khanty, Sherkaly Dialect (Schmidt 2008: 36)

a. *tuw untłtə-tə* *xuj-a* *jī-s*
(s)he teach-PTPRS man-LAT become-PST.3SG
'He became a teacher.'

b. *tuw untłtə-tə* *xuj-a* *u-s*
(s)he teach-PTPRS man-LAT be-PST.3SG
'He was a teacher.'

The examples above show that the double encoding of the non-verbal predicate does appear in Northern Khanty dialects. It is also completely clear that the lative case must be used in expressions for the beginning of a state (example (550) a)). In the other two examples, however, nothing indicates that the state would be temporary. Schmidt (2008: 36) calls this function “essive” but does not give any more precise interpretation of the nature of the state. Thus, Khanty dialects know double encoding, but for a more precise description of its semantic conditions more data would be necessary.

2.2.2. Northern Mansi

My Mansi data come mainly from the dialects of Sosva and Sygva and thus reflect the situation in the Northern dialects. These language varieties largely pattern with Khanty, but there will be minor deviations. The non-verbal predicates must agree with the subject in number. As in Hungarian and Khanty, no copula is needed in the 3rd person.

ATTRIBUTION

(551) Sosva dialect (a: Skribnik - Afanaseva 2004: 20 ; b: Balandin 1960: 61)

- a. *ti aani janiy*
 this cup big
 ‘This cup is big.’
- b. *ti xańis'taxi-ə-n piiyris'i-γ jomas-i-γ*
 this learn-EP-PT.PRS boy-EP-DU good-EP-DU
 ‘These (two) pupils are good.’

EQUATION

(552) Sosva dialect (Skribnik - Afanaseva 2004: 21)

- ti am kol-u-m*
 this I house-EP-1SG_{px}
 ‘This is my house.’

PROPER INCLUSION

(553) Sosva dialect (a: Balandin 1960: 62; b: Skribnik - Afanaseva 2004: 21)

- a. *Petr Jarkin nomtəŋ xum*
 Petr Jarkin smart man
 ‘Petr Jarkin is a smart man.’
- b. *am kaŋk-u-m l'ekkar*
 I elder.brother-EP-1SG_{px} doctor
 ‘My brother is a doctor.’

As illustrated by these examples, in case of non-singular third-person subjects, the predicate carries an agreement morpheme. Sentence (551) b) demonstrates that the dual is marked on the predicative.

Let us take a look at what happens in the first and second person. The following sentence is an example of the absence of a copula. In this case, the two nominal phrases are juxtaposed.

(554) Sosva dialect (Skribnik - Afanaseva 2004: 21)

ti am
this I
'This is me.'

Thus, if the non-verbal predicate is a pronoun, there is no agreement. On the other hand, if the non-verbal predicate is an adjective, a copula often appears, as in the following example from the Sygva dialect.

(555) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 97)

naŋ s'ar ossampaal-ə-γ ool-eeγ-ə-n
you very stupid-EP-TRL be-PRS-EP-2SG
'You are completely stupid.'

For proper inclusion, I found two kinds of examples. In the data from the Sosva dialect, there is no copula, while from the Konda dialect I found an example with a copula. This might indicate a systematic difference between the main dialects of Mansi, as the Konda dialect belongs to the Eastern dialect group. In non-Northern dialects, non-verbal predicate constructions in non-third person regularly include a copula. Compare these two examples:

(556) Sosva dialect (Saynakhova 1994: 136)

am mexańik
I mechanic
'I am a mechanic.'

(557) Eastern Mansi, Konda dialect (Kálmán 1986: 392)

iiŋki oos-ə-m
servant exist-EP-1SG
'I am a servant.'

Considering that these examples come from different dialect groups, they are not really compatible. Example (556) might also reflect Russian influences, since – as will be shown later – such a use of the copula is generally typical of this dialect.

As demonstrated in some of the examples above, Mansi knows two copulas: the verbs *ool-* 'to be, to live' and *oos-* 'to exist'. So far, there seems to be no satisfactory description of their distribution, but at least it can be stated that *oos-* is much less frequently used and usually appears with non-verbal predicates in non-Northern dialects. In Northern Mansi, if the copula is used at all, it is usually the verb *ool-*.

In the data from the Sygva dialect there are also examples in which a copula appears not only in first- or second-person but even in third-person constructions.

(558) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 101)

taw neepak xas-ne nee-γ ool-i
 (s)he book write-PTPRS woman-TRL be-EP.3SG
 ‘She is a writer.’

According to Skribnik (1990:101) the use of the copula, i.e. the criteria for copula choice, are not completely clear. At the same time, in present-tense copula sentences the predicate noun is always in the translative (cf. example (552)). We can assume that here as well this double encoding is or was conditioned by semantic oppositions. However, this opposition is probably not completely clear any more for today’s language users since, as Skribnik (1990: 101) points out, in written Mansi texts these two constructions appear as free alternants. In any case, if the predicate noun is in the translative case, the sentence must have a copula. For this reason, the use of the translative encoding in the predicate noun deserves a more detailed investigation. The comparison of the sentences (559) and (560) shows that the only difference lies in the encoding of the nominal element. This confirms my assumptions, namely that the nominative conveys time stability, i.e. the father’s profession was that of a doctor. Sentence (560) on the other hand, encoded with the translative, might be interpreted to bear the meaning ‘I have been somewhere in my function as a fisher’. In order to completely clarify this issue, more example sentences and the help of native speakers are needed.

(559) Sosva Dialect (Balandin 1960: 42)

taw asi-e doktor ol-ə-s
 (s)he father-3SG_{PX} doctor be-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘His/her father was a doctor.’

(560) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 97)

am xuul aalis/l-a-n xum-ə-γ ool-s-u-m
 I fish hunt-EP-PTPRS man-EP-TRL be-PST-EP-1SG
 ‘I was a fisher.’

True, these two examples come from different dialects, but I do not believe that there are essential differences in this respect between the subdialects of the Northern group. Yet the possibility cannot be excluded that today’s speakers do not see the fine distinction between the two encoding strategies any more. It is also possible that instead of time stability, some other factors condition the choice of the encoding strategy.

As we have seen, Mansi cannot apply the verbal strategy throughout the paradigm, as – in the same way as in Hungarian – non-third person constructions usually require the use of the copula. Let us now see how these sentences are negated. In Mansi, there are two negation markers, *aat'i* and *aat'im*. Some researchers interpret them as

two different elements, while others, e.g. Murphy (1977: 225), consider *aat'i* simply a reduced variant of *aat'im*. For this study, it is essential to decide how these two elements are treated: if they are considered variants of each other, Mansi can be said to apply the two-way distinction, otherwise Mansi must be classified to the languages with the three-way distinction. In this work, I will not regard these two forms as variants; this decision is also supported by how they behave in non-verbal predicate constructions. Let us now take a look at the negation of non-verbal predicates. In what follows, I will present examples of attribution and proper inclusion.

(561) Sygva dialect (Skribnik 1990: 108)

- a. *am kantəŋ aat'i* ~ *am aat'i kantəŋ* ~ *am kantəŋ aat'im-u-m*
 I bad NEG ~ I NEG bad ~ I bad NEG.EX-EP-1SG
 'I am not bad.'
- b. *teen kantəŋ-ə-γ aat'i* ~ *aat'i kantəŋ-ə-γ* ~
 they.DU bad-EP-DU NEG ~ NEG bad-EP-DU ~
teen kantəŋ-ə-γ aat'im-ə-γ
 they.DU bad-EP-DU NEG.EX-EP-(3)DU_(vx)
 'They (two) are not bad.'

(562) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 97)

- a. *am leekkar aat'im-u-m*
 I doctor NEG.EX-EP-1SG_{vx}
 'I am not a doctor.'
- b. *taan leekkar-ə-t aat'i* ~ *aat'i leekkar-ə-t* ~
 they doctor-EP-PL NEG ~ NEG doctor-EP-PL ~
taan leekkar-ə-t aat'im-ə-t
 they doctor-EP-PL NEG.EX-EP-(3)PL_(vx)
 'They are not doctors.'

In the examples above, both negation elements can appear but in different positions. The negation marker *aat'i* either precedes or follows the non-verbal predicate. It never carries agreement morphs, that is, it behaves like a copula. The other negation word *aat'im* can only occupy the sentence-final position and must carry agreement morphs, agreeing with the subject both in person and in number. Whether these suffixes are verbal or nominal is difficult to determine, as verbal person suffixes are often homonymous with the corresponding possessive suffixes, with the exception of e.g. 3SG, in which the possessive suffix is *-e*, *-te*, while the 3SG verb forms are zero-marked. As the negation element in the 3SG sentence is unmarked, I will consider it a verbal form. The noun part of the predicate also agrees with the subject in number.

In my opinion, the behaviour of the elements *aat'i* and *aat'im* indicates that the original existential verb has developed into a particle whose position in the sentence is not yet completely fixed. Skribnik (1990: 107) states that in written texts, *aat'i* always follows the predicate noun, while in spoken language it may also precede the predicate.

In written language, thus, the original function would be more stable. Yet *aati* never carries agreement morphs, not even in written texts. The grammaticalization of a negative existential predicate to a negation particle is not unusual – as shown above, it has also happened in Selkup (cf. chapter II/3.1.1.).

Now let us see how Mansi treats tense marking in non-verbal predicate constructions. If the sentence contains some kind of a temporal relation, a lexical copula has to be used. There are three possible copulas in Mansi: *ool-* ‘to be’, *jemt-* ‘to become’, *pat-* ‘to start’. The existential copula *ool-* is most commonly used. It mainly expresses the past tense in simple sentences, as the sentences below demonstrate:

(563) Sosva Dialect (Balandin 1960: 42)

pormas tarwits'əŋ ool-ə-s
load heavy be-EP-PST.3SG
‘The load was heavy.’

(564) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 101)

Juvan jay-a-ne oopa-ris'i-i-ne
Juvan father-EP-PL.3SG_{px} grandfather-DIM-EP-PL.3SG_{px}
woor-uj al-ne. wit-xul al-ne maxm-ə-y ool-s-ə-t
forest-animal kill-PTPRS water-fish kill-PTPRS people-EP-DU be-PST-EP-PL
‘Yuvan’s father and grandfather were hunters and fishermen.’

(565) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 101)

ti woor-t-ool-n-ut ool-ə-s
this forest-LOC-be-PTPRS-thing be-EP-PST.3SG
‘This was a bear.’

The use of the copula is obligatory, and the copula carries agreement morphs.

Let us now take a look at the use of the dynamic copulas *jemt-* and *pat-*. The copula *jemt-* is a verb with the meaning ‘to turn into something’ that similarly to the existential copula *ool-* can be used in present and past tense.

(566) Sosva Dialect (Balandin 1960: 42)

ivan sajnaxov brigad'ir-i-γ jemt-ə-s
Ivan Sajnakhov brigadier-EP-TRL become-EP-PST.3SG
‘Ivan Sajnakhov became a brigadier.’

(567) Sygva dialect (Skribnik 1990: 98)

xum-ə-γ jemt-s-ə-y
man-EP-TRL become-PST-EP-3DU
‘They (two) grew up [became men].’

In the examples above, the predicate noun is in the translative case, as the construction expresses the beginning of a state. The copula *pat-* on the other hand originally means ‘to start’. Most commonly it is used as an auxiliary verb and has an inchoative meaning.

(This is a quite frequent phenomenon in the Siberian Uralic – but also other Siberian – languages, it can be found, for example, in Kamas, Khanty and Selkup.) Used as a copula, *pat-* expresses the future tense.

(568) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 97)

am aapsⁱ-i-m wooraj-a-n um-ə-γ pati
 I younger.brother-EP-1SG_{px} hunt-EP-PtPRS man-EP-TRL start.3SG
 ‘My younger brother is going to be a hunter.’

Here as well the predicate noun is obligatorily encoded with the translative case.

In past-tense forms a further negation element appears, similar to the one used in standard negation.

(569) Sygva Dialect (Skribnik 1990: 98, 108)

- a. *taw l'uul' xum-ə-γ at ool-ə-s*
 (s)he bad man-EP-TRL NEG_{PTCL} be-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘He was not a dumb man.’
- b. *taw kantəŋ-(ə-γ) at ool-ə-s*
 (s)he angry-(EP-TRL) NEG_{PTCL} be-EP-PST.3SG
 ‘(S)he was not angry.’

In the past tense, Skribnik (1990) only found one example employing the negation marker *aat'i*. According to her informant, there is no difference between *aat'i oləs* and *at oləs*, but she definitely claimed that in this construction *aat'im oləs* cannot be used.

Now let us investigate with which sentence type the negation of the non-verbal predicate correlates. The choice of negation element largely resembles the strategies in Hungarian, with the exception that Mansi – like Khanty – has a HAVE verb. Standard negation is expressed by the particle *at* which is followed by the conjugated form of the lexical verb.

(570) Sosva dialect (Balandin 1960: 59)

SN

am at lowiŋt-ey-u-m
 I NEG_{PTCL} read-PRS-EP-1SG
 ‘I do not read.’

As already shown above, non-verbal predicates are negated with the negation marker *aat'i* or *aat'im* in the present tense, with the standard negation element in the past tense. Considering only the examples with the negation marker *aat'im* it could be stated that Mansi applies the two-way distinction. However, the fact that these two negation elements exist alongside each other leads to the conclusion that Mansi belongs more to the languages with the three-way distinction.

In the previous examples we saw that the negative existential verb can be used as a negation marker for non-verbal predicates. The following example sentence illustrates existential negation.

- (571) Sosva dialect (Munkácsi 1896: 326) EN
teen-ut aat'im. masn-ut aat'im
 food NEG.EX cloth NEG.EX
 'There is nothing to eat and nothing to wear.'

In Mansi, predicate locative sentences behave similarly to existential sentences, i.e. the existential verb acts as the negation element.

- (572) Sosva dialect (Balandin 1960: 59) LN
tan tit aat'im-ə-t
 they here NEG.EX-EP-3PL
 'They are not here.'

As mentioned before (cf. chapter VII/5.3.2.), possession in Mansi is expressed by the *oońsi-* HAVE verb, which is negated by a negation particle.

- (573) Sygva Mansi (Skríbnik – Afanaseva 2004: 63) PN
am piy at oońsi-ey-u-m
 I son NEG_{PRCL} have-PRS-EP-1SG
 'I do not have a son.'

In both Khanty and Mansi, there are also negated possessive constructions which employ the negative existential verb. In Mansi, this type is more frequent in the Southern than in the Northern dialects, but it does appear in the North as well. On the basis of what was presented above, depending on tense and the choice of the negation element *aat'i*, *aat'im* the following correlations can be observed: SN&PN ~ NN&EN&LN; SN ~ PN&NN&EN&LN and SN&PN ~ NN ~ EN&LN.

	Standard	Non-Verbal	Existential	Locative	Possessive
Present	<i>at + lex. verb</i>	nonv.pred+ <i>aat'i</i> nonv.pred+ <i>aat'im</i> <i>aat'i</i> +nonv. pred <i>at</i> +copula	theme + <i>aat'im</i>	subject + <i>aat'im</i>	<i>at + oońsi-</i> PoM.+ <i>aat'im</i>
Past	<i>at + lexical v.</i>	noun + <i>at +</i> copula	theme + <i>aat'im +</i> copula	subject + <i>aat'im +</i> copula	<i>at + oońsi-</i>

Table 84. Correlations of Negation Markers in Mansi

2.2.3. Nganasan

Nganasan deviates from the other Samoyedic languages: non-verbal predicates in the present tense do not require a copula, but the non-verbal part of the predicate carries (subjective-conjugation) verbal person marking. All types of non-verbal predicates are treated in the same way. Let us now investigate which strategies are applied for non-verbal predicate sentences in Nganasan. First, it must be determined whether there is agreement between the subject and the non-verbal predicate. For this, non-3SG forms should be used, as 3SG verbs in the subjective conjugation are zero-marked and thus there would be no explicit agreement marking.

ATTRIBUTION

(574) Nganasan (TNK, 2008)

- a. *siti* *ńaagəə*
(s)he good.3SG_{Vx}
'(S)he is beautiful.'
- b. *mənə* *ńaagəə-m*
I good-1SG_{Vx}
'I am beautiful.'

Sentence b) shows agreement marking on an adjective: in person and number, as the adjective predicate carries a verbal person suffix. Let us take a look at the two other types of non-verbal predicates, starting with equation.

EQUATION

(575) Nganasan (a: TNK 2008; b: Tereshchenko 1973: 155)

- a. *mənə* *tənə* *d'esi-rə*
I you father-2SG_{Px}
'I am your father.'
- b. *mənə* *lirə-m*
I Lire-1SG_{Vx}
'I am Lire.'

In these two examples, the predicates behave differently. In (575) b), the predicate noun carries an agreement morph, while a) shows nothing of that kind. The reason is that in a), the predicate noun is already marked with a possessive suffix which cannot be followed by a verbal ending. (Occasional Px-Vx suffix combinations do appear, but my native-speaker informants definitely considered them ungrammatical.) Now let us take a look at proper inclusion.

PROPER INCLUSION

(576) Nganasan (ChND, 2008)

- a. *miŋ bənsə-mu? ɲiŋərbaʔa-mu? ərəkərə-mu? ɲanasa-mu?*
 we all-1PL_{VX} rich-1PL_{VX} beautiful-1PL_{VX} person-1PL_{VX}
 ‘We all are rich and beautiful people.’
- b. *mənə hirəgəə-m. ɲondalkaʔa-m. koŋdʔutaʔa-m basusʔi-m*
 I tall-1SG_{VX} clever-1SG_{VX} gifted-1SG_{VX} hunter-1SG_{VX}
 ‘I am a tall, clever, gifted hunter.’

Here, as well, agreement morphs appear. If the predicate noun has modifiers, these carry the same verbal endings. In the present tense, none of these types employs the copula. Thus, on the basis of the agreement criterion and the copula criterion we can state that present-tense non-verbal predicates in Nganasan are expressed with the verbal strategy.

Let us now take a look at the negation of these sentence types. First, I will present a sentence with the standard negation and then examples of the negation of non-verbal predicative constructions.

(577) Nganasan (KSM 2008) SN

- siti ɲəmsu-ðə-mə ɲi-nti təðu-ʔ*
 (s)he meat-DST-1SG_{Px} NEG_{AUX}-Co.3SG give-CN
 ‘S/he does not give me any meat.’

(578) Nganasan (TNK 2008) NN

- siti ɲintuu ɲaagəə*
 (s)he NEG_{PTCL}.3SG_{VX} good.3SG_{VX}
 ‘S/he is not beautiful.’

(579) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

- mənə ɲintuu-m tənə dʔesi-rə*
 I NEG_{PTCL}-1SG_{VX} your father-2SG_{Px}
 ‘I am not your father.’

(580) Nganasan (a: ChND 2008; b: Kosterkina – Helimski 1994: 106/875)

- a. *mənə ɲintuu-m čenimiə-m. ərəkərə-m ni-m*
 I NEG_{PTCL}-1SG_{VX} smart-1SG_{VX} beautiful-1SG_{VX} woman-1SG_{VX}
 ‘I am not a smart and beautiful woman.’
- b. *mənə ɲintuu-m siəlaʔku-m ɲuə-m*
 I NEG_{PTCL}-1SG_{VX} small-1SG_{VX} God-1SG_{VX}
 ‘I am not a little god.’

Nganasan does not comply to Stassen’s negation criterion: as illustrated by these examples, instead of the negative auxiliary used in standard negation these sentences display the negation particle *ɲintuu* which is also used in Nganasan for constituent negation.⁵⁰

50. In constituent negation, the word order is different. The negation particle always precedes the negated constituent: *ɲintuu siti ɲaagəə, ɲahu-ðu ɲaagəə*. [NEG (s)he good, sister-3SG_{Px} good] ‘She is not beautiful, her sister is’. (TNK, 2008)

In no other sentence type can this particle be used in this way. Examples (580a–b) also illustrate the agreement of the negation word in number and person: that is, the whole predicate is inflected. In (579) the predicate noun cannot be marked with the person suffix, as it already carries a possessive suffix. Note however that the negation particle does not always assume the predicative endings: it is more frequent in singular and plural forms but less typical of the dual. In the following sentence, the negated non-verbal predicate carries a person suffix while the negation word remains unmarked.

(581) Nganasan (KNT 1994)

maajuna-gəj *ńintuu* *ńaagəə-gəj*. *maad'a* *səʔnaʔa-ri* *təʔ*
 what.kind-3DU_{Vx} NEG good-3DU_{Vx} why stupid-2PL_{Vx} CLIT
 ‘What kind of bad [not good] people are you (two), why are you so stupid?’

In case the speaker wants to use an emphatic clitic, it will be attached to the negation element but not to the predicate noun.

(582) Nganasan (PZCh 2008)

tənə *kobtua-lə* *ńintuu-čə* *ńaagəə*
 you girl-2SG_{Px} NEG_{PtCL}-EMP good.3SG_{Vx}
 ‘Your daughter sure isn’t beautiful.’

Let us take a look at the treatment of tense categories in Nganasan. In Nenets and Enets, as shown above, non-verbal predicates can be expressed without a copula in past tense as well. This is not true of Nganasan, in which tense markers can only be attached to verb constituents. In the copula function, Nganasan uses the verb *is'a* ‘to be’. The following two examples illustrate a negated and an affirmative sentence with an attributive predicate.

(583) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

- a. *mənə* *ńaagəə-m* *i-s'iə-m*
 I good-1SG_{Vx} be-PST.1SG
 ‘I was beautiful.’
- b. *mənə* *ńi-siə-m* [*ńaagəə-m* *ɲuə-ʔ*]
 I NEG_{Alux}-PST.1SG good-1SG_{Vx} be-CN
 ‘I was not beautiful.’

Almost the same construction can be observed in constituent negation. That is, if the sentence expressing constituent negation is in the past tense, then the standard negative element and the negative stem of the existential verb is used instead of the particle *nintuu*. At the same time, the difference in meaning is also marked by the change in word order; cf. *ni-siə si ńaagəə ɲuə-ʔ, ɲahu-ðu ńaagəə i-süə* [NEG-PST.3SG good be-CN sister-3SG_{PX} good be-PST.3SG] ‘It was not him/her, who was beautiful, but his/her elder sister.’ (TNK 2008)

The affirmative sentence in the past tense already displays a copula, that is, even the affirmative sentence requires the nominal strategy. In the negated sentence in this case the negative auxiliary, that is, the standard negation element is used. In negated sentences the negative auxiliary is always followed by the constituent representing the scope of negation – in this case, it is the noun part of the predicate followed by the connegative form of the BE verb. As mentioned in chapter II/3.2.5.1., in Nganasan the negation verb and the connegative form of the lexical verb tend to remain together in the sentence. In non-verbal predicates, the noun part forms a unit together with the copula. In the future tense, a similar construction as in the past tense can be observed, that is, the affirmative sentences also employ the copula.

(584) Nganasan (TNK 2008)

- a. *mənə tənə s'üar-lə i-s'üdə-m*
 I you friend-2SG_{PX} be-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will be your friend.’
- b. *əmə d'ali ńi-siəđə ńandi-ti ńaagəə d'ali ɲuə-ʔ*
 this day NEG_{Aux}-FUT.3SG seem-Co.3SG good day be-CN
 ‘It seems that this day will not be a good day.’

Thus, we can state that Nganasan applies the nominal strategy for non-verbal predicates and that this is independent of the type of the predicate. Nothing in my data indicates that the double encoding as observed in Nenets and Enets appears in Nganasan.

As we have seen, Nganasan has a different strategy for standard negation than for the negation of non-verbal predicates. In addition to these two, there is a third strategy for the negation of existential sentences. As already illustrated earlier, two negation elements can be used for this: a particle (*d'an̄ku*) and a negative existential verb (*d'an̄gujs'a*). The distribution of these two elements was already dealt with in the chapter on the negation of existential sentences. Considering that these two elements alternate with each other, I will not treat them as two different strategies. The same negation element can be used for the negation of possessive and locational sentences. The following examples illustrate each type.

(585) Nganasan (KES 2008)

- a. *kuəd'ü-mə d'aŋku ma-tənu-nə* LN
 man-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX_{PTCL} house-LOC-OBL.1SG_{PX}
 'My husband is not in the house.'
- b. *ma-tənu d'aŋku kuəd'umu* EN
 house-LOC NEG.EX_{PTCL} man
 'There is no man in the house.'
- c. *mənə d'esi-mə d'aŋku ńaagəə kümaa-δu* PN
 I father-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX_{PTCL} good knife-3SG_{PX}
 'My father does not have a good knife.'

Thus, we can state that in the present tense, Nganasan applies the three-way distinction with the following correlation: SN ~ NN ~ EN&LN&PN. In the past tense, in contrast, there is only a two-way distinction. Example (583) b) shows that in the past tense the same negation element as in the standard negation appears in the negation of non-verbal predicates. For existential, locational and possessive sentences in the past tense, only the negative existential verb *d'aŋgujs'a* can be used. Thus, the correlation is as follows: SN&NN ~ EN&LN&PN. As shown above, Nganasan can also express possession with a HAVE verb, and this must be negated with the standard negation element. Considering this type as well, for the present tense the correlation is SN&PN ~ NN ~ EN&LN, for the past tense SN&PN&NN ~ EN&LN. The negation strategies are summarized in the following table.

	Standard	Non-Verbal	Existential	Locational	Possesive
Present	<i>ńisi</i> + lexical v.	<i>ńintuu</i> + noun	<i>d'aŋku</i> + theme	<i>d'aŋku</i> + location	<i>d'aŋku/d'aŋgujs'a</i> + PoM <i>ńisi</i> + <i>honsi</i>
Past Future	<i>ńisi</i> + lexical v.	<i>ńisi</i> + noun + copula	<i>d'aŋgujs'a</i> + theme	<i>d'aŋgujs'a</i> + location	<i>d'aŋgujs'a</i> + PoM <i>ńisi</i> + <i>honsi</i>

Table 85. Correlations of Negation Strategies in Nganasan

Summary

As I outlined at the beginning of this book, several linguists have dealt with general issues of negation, and extensive literature can be found concerning certain subareas, e.g. standard negation (see e.g. Miestamo's works). Negation has been the object of several studies carried out by Uralic linguists (see e.g. Honti's articles and the literature listed there), but there has been no investigation yet that would include the summary of negative constructions in one or even several Uralic languages. In the framework of this study, I made an attempt to present the negative constructions of languages that are relatively closely related. Naturally, this work does not cover every aspect of negation and could not touch upon every construction. Nevertheless, I believe that I could point out certain facts which have not been taken into account in the literature to date. One of these is the fact that closely related languages, even dialects of the same language may adopt differing strategies. This can be observed in the case of standard negation, where the two Selkup dialects behave differently when using past-tense constructions. Therefore, generalisations, which state that in language X a certain construction can be found, are often superficial and do not stand their ground. It is necessary, therefore, to name the language variants exactly in the typological literature.

In general, regarding negation, the Uralic languages are divided into two main groups. One group contains the languages that use a negative auxiliary, the other those with a particle that acts as the negative element. Except for Selkup, the Samoyedic languages traditionally belong to the first group, the Ob-Ugric languages to the second. We could see, however, that the picture has many more facets to it. Four languages apply the symmetric construction, i.e. a negative particle for standard negation: Selkup, Kamas, Khanty, and Mansi. The asymmetric construction, however, can be found in some form in every language, that is, the languages that use a negative particle are also able to express standard negation through verbal means.

It is a peculiarity of the Samoyedic languages that they have negative auxiliaries which are not lexically empty. Regarding the Ob-Ugric languages, this phenomenon can only be found in Khanty.

The expression of prohibitive constructions also showed great variation. In a large number of languages, there is a special element for the prohibitive construction, which does not correspond to the standard negative element. It is also possible that the construction itself changes. The table below summarizes the structure of the prohibitive and standard sentences as well as their negative elements.

Language	Prohibitive		Standard Negation	
	Construction	Element	Construction	Element
Nganasan	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñi</i> -[MoodFE]+V[CN]	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñi</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Nenets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ño</i> -[MoodFE]+V[CN]	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñii</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Enets	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>i</i> -[MoodFE]+V[CN]	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>ñe</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Selkup	S	<i>iki</i> +V[FE]	S	<i>ašša</i> +V[FE]
Kamas	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>i</i> -[MoodFE]+V[MoodFE]	S	<i>ej</i> +V[FE]
		<i>i</i> -[MoodFE]+V[CN]	A/FIN/NEGAUX	<i>e</i> -[FE]+V[CN]
Surg. Khanty	S	<i>at</i> +V[MoodFE]	S	<i>a(n)t</i> +V[FE]
Sherk. Khanty	S	<i>at</i> +V[MoodFE]		
Mansi	S	<i>ul</i> +V[MoodFE]		

Table 86. Standard Negation and Prohibitive Constructions in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages

Regarding the negation of existential sentences we could observe that three Samoyedic languages (Mator, Kamas and Nganasan) belong to group B, i.e. they use a negative existential verb with a complete paradigm. Enets and Nenets, in contrast, belong to group A~B, which means that although there is a negative existential verb in these languages, too, its usage is restricted. The two Ob-Ugric languages belong to this group as well. Selkup shows a peculiar type of behaviour and belongs to group B~C, since the negative existential predicate has infiltrated standard negation. The negative existential constructions are summarized in the table below.

Language	Type	Construction
Mator	B	theme _{px} + <i>nagajga</i> <i>d'an̄ku</i> + theme
Nganasan	B	theme + <i>d'an̄ku</i> theme + <i>d'an̄guj</i> -[FE] <i>d'an̄guj</i> -[FE] + theme
Tundra Nenets	A~B	theme + <i>jan̄ko</i> -[FE]
Forest Nenets	A~B	theme + <i>jiiku</i> -/ <i>d'ako</i> -[FE] theme + <i>ñii</i> -[FE]+ <i>tata</i> -[CN]
Forest Enets	A~B	theme _{px} + <i>d'ago</i> -[FE]
Tundra Enets	A~B	theme _{px} + <i>d'igu</i> -[FE]
Northern Selkup	B~C	theme + <i>čan̄ki</i> -[FE]
Non-Northern Selkup	B	theme + <i>ranḡu</i> -[FE]
Kamas	B	theme + <i>naga</i>
Eastern Khanty	A~B	theme + <i>antem</i> (+ <i>wöl</i> -[FE])
Northern Mansi	A~B	theme + <i>aatim</i> (+ <i>ol</i> -[FE])
Southern Mansi	A~B	theme + <i>iikem</i>

Table 87. Existential Negation Constructions in the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugric Languages

The investigation of the possessive structures yielded the result that the typological framework set up by Stassen had to be extended, since the languages in question use constructions that are not included in Stassen's categorisation. It can be observed again that there are languages that show differing behaviour depending on the dialect. This can be seen in Selkup, where the Northern dialects differ greatly from the other dialects. Thus, we face the question again, as to which dialect the data derives from, since different statements can be made about the various dialects. This underscores the observation that no, or only limited general typological statements can be made about languages that are split into several dialects.

One of the negative constructions most difficult to describe is possession negation. This is the case because on the one hand possession itself is a very complex phenomenon that is difficult to describe (for more on this issue see Herslund – Baron 2001), and on the other hand because former typological studies have not extensively dealt with the typologisation of negative possessive constructions. It is worthwhile observing the coding of the possessor when investigating possessive constructions. One of the peculiarities of the languages dealt with in this book is that almost all of them use several possibilities, i.e. the possessor can be coded in more than one way. There are even languages that are able to realise several syntactic constructions. In Nganasan, for example, both the so-called transitive and the so-called intransitive constructions exist. It is relatively difficult to determine what pragmatic or stylistic differences there are between the two construction types. The questionnaires filled out in the course of the field trip lead to new results concerning the description of possession negation. In Nganasan, constructions could be recorded that were completely missing from the data published to date. This fact supports the observation whereupon the study of folklore texts alone is not sufficient for the description of a given language.

Investigating the possibilities for expressing non-verbal predicates in the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages, it could be observed that even relatively closely related languages use different strategies for this construction. Even dialects of the same language showed different correlations. It also became clear that within a language, several solutions are possible, that is, the same dialect of a language can belong to more than one group, depending on what data is taken into consideration.

Two languages were found, namely Nenets and Enets, that behaved typologically the same way. Interestingly enough, Selkup shows a strong resemblance to these languages, the Nganasan and Kamas constructions differ, however, to a large extent. Khanty shows the largest variation, the situation differing from dialect to dialect.

There is only one language where the expression of the non-verbal predicate changed according to the lexical category of the non-verbal part of the predicate. As seen before, Selkup uses the copula in the case of adjectival predicates, while it is not needed in equation and proper inclusion sentences.

The coding of the non-verbal predicate also turned out to be of high interest. As we could see, only in two languages could the predicate not be coded in two ways, namely in Kamas and Nganasan. The other languages, however, show differing coding

strategies. While the more Southern languages code with the translative, or if missing, the lative, the Northern languages (Nenets and Enets) use an essive case that has been grammaticalised from the existential verb.

Regarding the negation strategies one can say that the one-way strategy is not at all typical for the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages, all languages use at least two different negative elements.

The table below summarizes the strategies with which non-verbal negation can be expressed.

Strategy		Languages
Two Ways	SN&NN ~ LN&EN&PN	Enets, Nenets, Selkup
	SN&PN ~ LN&EN&NN	Sygva Mansi
	SN ~ NN&LN&EN&PN	Kamas
	EN ~ LN&EN&NN&PN	Surgut Khanty
	EN ~ SN&NN&PN&LN	Surgut Khanty
Three Ways	SN ~ NN ~ LN&EN&PN	Nganasan, Kazym Khanty
	NN ~ SN&PN ~ LN&EN	Synja Khanty, Sygva Mansi

Table 88. Correlations of the Non-verbal Negation Strategies in the Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages

As pointed out several times before, this work does not completely cover the investigation of negation in the languages in question. Several constructions have not been taken into account, the description of which would have certainly extended our knowledge about the given languages. So, for instance, the usage of nominal negation with abessive and caritative suffixes or the possibilities for the expression of constituent negation have not been thoroughly examined. This has not been done, not because they are not considered as important, but because without a targeted data collection only superficial statements could have been made about these sentence types.

References

- ABONDOLO, DANIEL 1998: Introduction. In Abondolo, Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic languages*. Routledge, London – New York, 1–42.
- ALHONIEMI, ALHO 1985: *Marin kielioppi*. Hilfsmittel für das Studium der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen X. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- АЛИТКИНА, Л. А. [Алиткина, Л. А.] 1983: Синтаксическая функция имен прилагательных в селькупском языке. In Шайхутдинова, Г. М. (ред.): *Проблемы этногенеза и этнической истории самодийских народов*. ОмГУ, Омск, 29–33.
- АЛМАЗОВА, А. В. [Алмазова, А. В.] 1961: *Самоучитель ненецкого языка*. Учпедгиз, Ленинград.
- ANDERSON, GREGORY D. S. 2006: *Auxiliary Verb Constructions*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- BAKRÓ-NAGY, MARIANNE 2006a: Grammatikai kölcsönzés és grammatikalizáció. A komi feltételes *ke* partikula a manysiban. In Sipos, Mária (ed.): *Obi-ugorok a XXI. században*. CD. Available online at <<http://fgroszt.nytud.hu/bakro/ke.pdf>> [Accessed on 25.09.2009]
- BAKRÓ-NAGY, MARIANNE 2006b: Az uráli nyelvek tipológia jellemzése. In Kiefer, Ferenc (ed.): *Magyar nyelv*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 267–287.
- BAKRÓ-NAGY, MARIANNE 2007: The Uralic languages. In Delcourt, Christian – Piet van Sterkenburg (eds): *The languages of the 27* (preliminary title). Bruxelles. (in press). Available online at <http://fgroszt.nytud.hu/bakro/the_ur_langs.pdf> [Accessed on 25.09.2009]
- BALANDIN, A. N. [Баландин, А. Н.] 1960: *Самоучитель мансийского языка*. Учпедгиз, Ленинград
- BARMICH, M. JA. – A. WELLO [Бармич, М. Я. – А. Вэлло] 2002: *Словарь ненеко-русский и русско-ненецкий* (лесной диалект), Просвещение, Санкт-Петербург
- BARTENS, RAIIJA 1996: Die positive und negative Existentiale in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprache. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge* 14, 58–97.
- BARTENS, RAIIJA 1999: *Mordvalaiskielten rakenne ja kehitys*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 232. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- BARTENS, RAIIJA 2000: *Permiläisten kielten rakenne ja kehitys*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 238. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- BEKKER, E. G. – ALITKINA, L. A. – ВУКОНЯ, V. V. – ИЛЪШЕНКО, И. А. [Беккер, Э. Г. – Алиткина, Л. А. – Быконя, В. В. – Ильяшенко, И. А.] 1995a: *Морфология селькупского языка*. Южные диалекты, Часть I., Томск.
- BEKKER, E. G. – ALITKINA, L. A. – ВУКОНЯ, V. V. – ИЛЪШЕНКО, И. А. [Беккер, Э. Г. – Алиткина, Л. А. – Быконя, В. В. – Ильяшенко, И. А.] 1995b: *Морфология селькупского языка*. Южные диалекты, Часть II., Томск.
- BERECZKI, GÁBOR 1990: *Chrestomathia Ceremissica*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.

- BERNINI, GIULIANO – RAMAT, PAOLO 1996: *Negative Sentences in the Languages of Europe*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York.
- BHAT, DARBHE N. S. 2004: Negation. In Wiegand, Herbert (ed.): *Morphologie*. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft Band 17.2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1207–1212.
- BLOKLAND, ROGIER – MICHAEL RIEßLER 2011: Komi-Saami-Russian contacts on the Kola peninsula. In Hasselblatt, Cornelius – Peter Houtzagers – Remco van Pareren (eds): *Languages Contact in Times of the Globalization*. Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics. Rodopi, Amsterdam – New York, 5–26.
- BOLINA, D. S. [Болина, Д. С.] 2003: *Русско-энецкий разговорник*. Просвещение, Санкт-Петербург.
- ВЫКОНЯ, V. V. (ed.) [Быконя, В. В.] 2005: *Селькупско-русский диалектный словарь*. Томский гос. Пед. Университет, Томск.
- CASTRÉN, M.A. 1854: *Grammatik der samojedischen Sprachen*. Herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- CASTRÉN, M. A. 1855: *Wörterverzeichnisse aus den samojedischen Sprachen*. Bearbeitet von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- CHEREMISINA, M. I. – MARTYNOVA, E. I. [Черемисина, М. И. – Е. И. Мартынова] 1991: *Селькупский глагол: форм и их синтаксические функции*. Новосибирск.
- CLARK, E. V. 1978: Locational existential, locative, and possessive constructions, in Greenberg, J. H. – C. A. Ferguson – E. A. Moravcsik (eds): *Universals of Human Languages* 4, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- COMRIE, BERNARD 1981: Negation and other verb categories in the Uralic Languages. *CIFU* VI, Turku, 350–355.
- CSEPREGI MÁRTA 1998: *Szurguti osztják chrestomathia*. Studia Uralo-Altaica Supplementum 6, Finnugor Tanszék, Szeged.
- CSEPREGI MÁRTA 2001: Szintetikus tagadás a finnugor nyelvekben. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 8, 59–71.
- CROFT, WILLIAM 1991: The evolution of negation. *Journal of Linguistics* 27, 1–27.
- СУРАНОВ, Е.А. [Цыпанов, Е. А.] 1992: Коми кыв: самоучитель коми языка, Коми книжное издательство, Сыктывкар.
- DAHL, ÖSTEN 1979: Typology of sentence negation. *Linguistics* 17, 79–106.
- DAHL, ÖSTEN 1993: Negation. In Jacobs, Joachim – Armin von Stechow – Wolfgang Sternefeld – Theo Vennemann (eds): *Syntax. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 914–923.
- DEREVYANKO, A. P. 2001 (ed.): Фольклор ненцев = *Памятники фольклора народов Сибири и Дальнего Востока* 23. Nauka, Novosibirsk.
- DÉCSY GYULA 1970: Korreferat B. In Schlachter, Wolfgang (Hrsg.): *Symposion über Syntax der uralischen Sprachen*. Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, Göttingen, 102–105.
- DRYER, MATTHEW 1988: Universals of negative position. In Hammond, Michael – Edith Moravcsik – Jessica Wirth (eds): *Studies in syntactic typology*. Benjamins, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 93–124.
- DRYER, MATTHEW S. 1992: The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations. *Language* 68, 81–138.

- DRYER, MATTHEW S. 2005: Negative Morphemes. In Haspelmath, Martin – Matthew S. Dryer – Davis Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *Word Atlas of Language Structures*. OUP, Oxford, 454–457.
- DRYER, MATTHEW S. 2007: Clause types. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume I: Clause Structure*, second edition. CUP, Cambridge, 224–275.
- DULSON, ANDREAS P. 1971: Über die räumliche Gliederung des Selkupischen in ihrem Verhältnis zu den alten Volkstumsgruppen. *Советское финноугроведение VII*, 35–43.
- ERDÉLYI, ISTVÁN 1969: *Selkupisches Wörterverzeichnis. Tas-Dialekt*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- ERIKSEN, PÅL KRISTIAN 2005: On the Typology and the Semantics of Non-Verbal Predication. Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies University of Oslo [manuscript].
- FILCHENKO, ANDREY 2005: *Documentation of Eastern Khanty*. Sample Vasyugan Khanty Texts. Available online at <<http://www.policy.hu/filtchenko/Documenting%20Eastern%20Khanty/Vasyugan%20Language.htm>> [Accessed on 25.05.2009].
- FILCHENKO, ANDREY 2007: *Aspects of the Grammar of Eastern Khanty*. Tomsk state pedagogical University, Tomsk.
- FILCHENKO, ANDREY [Филченко, Андрей] (ed.) 2009: *Сборник аннотированных фольклорных текстов языков обско-енисейского языкового ареала*. Ветер, Томск.
- FRAWLEY, WILLIAM 1992: *Linguistic Semantics*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale – Hove – London.
- FREEZE, RAY 1992: Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68, 555–595.
- FREEZE, RAY 2001: Existential construction. In Haspelmath, Martin – Ekkehard König – W. Oestreicher – W. Raible (eds): *Language Typology and Language Universals*. de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 941–953.
- GANSCHOW, GERHARD 1999: Die prädikativen Satzmorpheme des Scherkaal-Ostjakischen. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 21/22, 73–76.
- GIVON, TALMY 2001: *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam, Benjamins.
- GLUCHIJ, JA. A. – SUSEKOW, V. A. [Глухий, Я. А. – Сусеков, В. А.] 1981: Энецкие тексты: Сказки и бытовые тексты. In *Сказки народов Сибирского Севера* 4, Томск, Издательство Томского Университета, 144–159.
- GREENBERG, JOSEPH H. 1963: Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed.): *Universals of language*. Cambridge, MIT Press, 73–113.
- GRUSHKINA, E. V. [Грушкина, Е. В.] 1980: Периферийные компоненты темпоральности в энецком языке. In *Актуальные вопросы структурной и прикладной лингвистики*. Moscow. MGU, 55–61.

- GUTIEREZ MORALES, SALOME 2006: Morphosyntactic Expression of Possession and Existential in Sinhala. In Englebretson, Robert – Carol Genetti (eds): *Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistic* 17. Available online at <www.aw.id.ucsb.edu/UCSBLinguistics/research/papers.html> [Accessed on 25.05.2009].
- GUTSCHMIDT, KARL 2002: Bulgarisch. In Okuka M. (ed): *Lexikon der Sprachen des europäischen Ostens*. Klagenfurt (= Wieser Enzyklopädie des europäischen Ostens 10), 219–234. Available online at <<http://www.wg.uni-klu.ac.at/eoo/Bulgarisch.pdf>> [Accessed on 26.05.2009].
- HAJDÚ, PÉTER 1968: *Chrestomathia Samojedica*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- HAJDÚ, PÉTER 1970: Zur Syntax der negativen Verbalformen im Samojedischen. In Schlachter, Wolfgang (ed.): *Symposion über Syntax der uralischen Sprachen*. Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, Göttingen, 90–106.
- HAJDU, PETER 1975: *Finno-ugrian languages and peoples*. Deutsch, London.
- HAJDÚ, PÉTER 1978: Az uráli nyelvek tipológiai és areális vizsgálatá. In Hajdú, Péter – Péter Domokos (eds): *Uráli nyelvrokonaink*. Budapest, 93–137.
- HAMARI, ARJA 2007: *The negation of stative relation clauses in the Mordvin languages*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 254. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- HAZAOUT, ILAN 2004: The Syntax of Existential Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35. 393–430.
- HEINE, BERND 1993: *Auxiliaries: Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN [Хелимский, Евгений] 1982: *Древнейшие венгерско-самодийские языковые параллели*. Наука, Москва.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN [Helimskij, Eugen] 1985: Die Feststellung der dialektalen Zugehörigkeit der encischen Materialien. In Veenker, Wolfgang (ed.): *Dialectologia Uralica*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 302–308.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN [Хелимский, Е. А.] 1988: *Историческая и описательная диалектология самодийских языков*. Афтореферат докт. дисс, Тарту.
- HELIMSKI, EUGENE 1997: *Die matorische Sprache*. Wörterverzeichnis, Grundzüge der Grammatik, Sprachgeschichte. *Studia uralo-altaica* 41. JATE Finnugor Tanszé, Szeged.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 1998a: Selkup. In Abondolo, Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic Languages*. Routledge, London, 480–515.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 1998b: Nganasan. In Abondolo, Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic Languages*. Routledge, London, 480–515.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 2000: A szamojéd népek vázlatos története. In Nanovszky, György (ed.): *Nyelvrokonaink*. Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 109–120.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 2004: *Geneologische und areale Verhältnisse der samojedischen Sprachen miteinander*. Handout from the lecture held at the University of Vienna. Available online at <http://www.uni-hamburg.de/onTEAM/grafik/1264671657/TABLE_-_SAM_Genealogische_und_areale_Verhaeltnisse.pdf> [Accessed on 2011-07-13.]

- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 2005: The 13th Proto-Samoyed vowel. In Wagner-Nagy Beáta (ed.): *Mikola-konferencia 2004*, SZTE, 27–40.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN [Хелимский, Е. А.] 2007: Фонетика и морфология энецкого языка в условиях языкового сдвига. In Вахтин, Н. Б. (ed.) *Языковые изменения в условиях языкового сдвига*. Санкт-Петербург, 213–224.
- HELIMSKI, EUGEN 2009: *Enets Dictionary*. Available online at <http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ifuu/Arbeiten.html> [Accessed on 2011-07-25].
- HENGEVELD, KEES 1992: *Non-verbal Predication*. Theory, Typology, Diachrony. Functional Grammar Series 15, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- HENTSCHER, ELKE 1998: *Negation und Interrogation*. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- HONTI, LÁSZLÓ 1979: Az ugor nyelvek jellemző vonásai. (Észrevételek az ugor egység kérdéséhez.) *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 81, 225–245.
- HONTI, LÁSZLÓ 1982: *Nordostjakisches Wörterverzeichnis*. *Studia uralo-altaica* 16, JATE Finnugor Tanszák, Szeged.
- HONTI LÁSZLÓ 1984: *Chrestomathia ostiatica*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- HONTI LÁSZLÓ 1992: Morphologische Merkmale des nominalen Prädikats in einigen uralischen Sprachen. *Linguistica Uralica* 28, 262–271.
- HONTI LÁSZLÓ 1993: A névszói állítmány alakтана az osztjákban. In Sz. Bakró-Nagy Marianne – Enikő Szij (eds): *Hajdú Péter 70 éves*. Budapest, 135–142.
- HONTI LÁSZLÓ 1997: Die Negation im Uralischen I–III. *Linguistica Uralica* 33, 81–96, 161–176, 241–252.
- HONTI, LÁSZLÓ 1998: Obugrian. In Abondolo; Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic languages*, Routledge, London – New York, 327–357.
- HONTI, LÁSZLÓ 2007: A birtoklás kifejezésének eszközei az uráli nyelvekben szinkron és diakron szempontból. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 104, 7–56.
- HORN, LAURENCE R. 1978: Some Aspect of Negation. In Greenberg, Joseph H.: *Universals of Human Language*, Volume 4. Syntax, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 127–210.
- HORN, LAURENCE R. 2001: *A natural history of negation*. CSLI, Stanford.
- INABA, NOBUFUMI 1998: Suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten omistusrakenteesta: typologinen ja geneettinen näkökulma. In Pajunen, Anneli (ed.): *Kieliopillistumisesta, analogiasta ja typologiasta*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 144–181.
- IVANOVA, V. S. [Иванова, В. С.] 2004: *Täyt maaxum moojtət – potrət*. Izdatelstvo Tomskogo Universiteta, Tomsk.
- JACOBS, JOACHIM 1982: *Syntax und Semantik der Negation im Deutschen*. Fink, München.
- JACOBS, JOACHIM 1991: Negation. In Steger, Hugo – Herbert Ernst Wiegand (eds): *Semantik. Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung*. de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 560–596.
- JANHUNEN, JUHA 1986: *Glottal stop in Nenets*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 196, Helsinki.
- JANHUNEN, JUHA 1992: Uralic languages. In Bright, William (ed.): *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, vol. IV. OUP, New York – Oxford, 205–210.

- JANHUNEN, JUHA 1998: Samoyedic, In Abondolo; Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic languages*, Routledge, London – New York, 457–479.
- JANURIK, TAMÁS 1978: A szölkup nyelvjárások osztályozása. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 80, 77–104.
- JANURIK, TAMÁS 1985. Kriterien zur Klassifizierung der Dialekte der samojedischen Sprachen. In Veenker, Wolfgang (ed.): *Dialectologia Uralica*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 283–302.
- JERMAKOVA, N. D. [Ермакова, Н. Д. 1998: Синтагматические возможности селькупских отрицательных частиц. *Linguistica Uralica* 34, 367–371.
- JERMAKOVA, N. D. – KUZNECOVA, N. G. [Ермакова, Н. Д. – Кузнецова, Н. Г.] 1998: Суффиксальное отрицание в селькупском языке. *Linguistica Uralica* 34, 134–139.
- JESPERSEN, OTTO 1917: *Negation in English and other languages*. Munksgaard in Komm, København.
- JOKI, AULIS J. (ed.) 1944: *Kai Donners Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzüge der Grammatik*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von A. J. Joki, Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae VIII. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KAHREL, PETER – VAN DEN BERG, RENÉ (eds) 1994: *Typological Studies in Negation*. Benjamins, Amsterdam – Philadelphia.
- KAISER, ELSI 2006: Negation and the left periphery in Finnish. *Lingua* 116, 314–350.
- KANGASMAA-MINN, EEVA 1984: On the Possessive Construction in Finno-Ugric. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 86, 118–123.
- KANGASMAA-MINN, EEVA 1993: Suomalais-ugrilaiset omistussuhteet. In Saarinen, Sirkka – Jorma Luutonen – Eeva Herrala (toim.): *Syyteemi ja poikkeama. Juhlakirja Alho Alhoniemen 60-vuotispäiväksi* 14. 5. 1993. Turun yliopiston Suomalaisen ja Yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 42, Turku, 46–54.
- KANNISTO, ARTTURI 1951: *Wogulische Volksdichtung. Band I*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 101. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KANNISTO, ARTTURI 1956: *Wogulische Volksdichtung. Band III*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 111. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KANNISTO, ARTTURI – MATTI LIIMOLA 1959: *Wogulische Volksdichtung. Band V*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 116. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KARJALAINEN, K. F. 1964: *Grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen aus ostjakischen Mundarten* von K. F. Karjalainen. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von E. Vértes. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 128. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KATZ, HARTMUD 1970: Zwei Etymologien. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 72, 147–150.
- KATZ, HARTMUD 1979: *Selkupische Quellen*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- KATZSCHMANN, MICHAEL 1993–94: Die Negation(sverb)en des Nganasanischen. *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* 35, 47–68.
- KATZSCHMANN, MICHAEL 1995: Morphosyntaktische Betrachtungen zur Nganasanischen Negation. *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* 36, 237–250.

- KAZAKEVICH, O. A. [Казакевич, О. А.] 2008: Селькупский язык. In Kibrik, A. E. (ed.) [Кибрик, А. Е.]: *Малые языки и традиции: существование на грани*, Выпуск 2. Тексты и словарные материалы, Moscow, 162–191.
- KÁLMÁN BÉLA 1986: Über das ob-ugrische Verb 'habeo'. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 10, 165–170.
- KÁLMÁN BÉLA 1965: *Vogul chrestomathy*, The Hague, Mouton.
- KENESEI, ISTVÁN 2001: Criteria for auxiliaries in Hungarian. In Kenesei, István (ed.): *Argument structure in Hungarian*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 73–106.
- KERESZTES, LÁSZLÓ 1998: Mansi. In Abondolo; Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic languages*. Routledge, London – New York, 387–427.
- KHANINA, OLESYA – SHLUINSKY, ANDREJ [Ханина, О. В. – Шлуинский, А. Б.] 2008: *К вопросу об изменениях в фонологии лесного диалекта энецкого языка*. In *Материалы 2-й международной конференции по самоидентификации, Нестор-История, Санкт-Петербург*, 245–251.
- KIEFER, FERENC – HONTI, LÁSZLÓ 2003: Verbal 'prefixation' in the Uralic languages. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 50, 137–153.
- KLIMA, EDWARD S. 1964: Negation in English. In Fodor, Jeny A. – Jerold J. Katz (eds): *The structure of language: Reading in the philosophy of language*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- KLUMPP, GERSON 2001: Alte Negation und neue Tempora im Kamassischen. In Eichner, Heiner – Peter-Arnold Mumm – Oswald Panagl – Eberhard Winkler (eds): *Fremd und Eigen*. Edition Praesens, Wien, 117–128.
- KLUMPP, GERSON 2002: *Konverbkonstruktionen im Kamassischen*. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 58. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- KLUMPP, GERSON 2005: Igéből grammatikalizálódott aspektusjelölés a kamasszban. In Oszkó Beatrix – Mária Sipos (eds): *Uráli grammatizáló*. Budapesti Uráli Műhely 4. MTA NyI, Budapest, 195–206.
- KLUMPP, GERSON 2008: *Kamassisch*. Teaching materials.
- KOPEVSKAJA-TAMM, MARIA 2001: Adnominal possession. In Haspelmath, Martin – Ekkehard König – Wulf Oesterreicher – Wolfgang Raible (eds): *Language Typology and Language Universals*, v. 2. de Gruyter, Berlin, 960–970.
- KORENCZY, ÉVA 1972: Az uráli tagadásról. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 74, 155–167.
- KOSHKAREVA, N. V. [Кошкарёва, Н. В.] 2002: Коммуникативная парадигма хантыйского предложения. In Кошкарёва, Н. В. – И. В. Октябрьская (ed.): *Языки коренных народов Сибири*, Вып. 12, Novosibirsk.
- KOSHKAREVA, N. V. – S. I. BURKOVA – V. V. SHILOVA [Кошкарёва, Н. В. – С. И. Буркова – В. В. Шилова] 2003: *Образцы текстов на лесном диалекте ненецкого языка*. Языки коренных народов Сибири, Выпуск 7. Экспедиционные материалы. Часть 2. Новосибирск.
- KOSHKAREVA, N. V. [Кошкарёва, Н. В.] 2005: *Очерки по синтаксису лесного диалекта ненецкого языка*. Новосибирск.

- KOSTERKINA, N. T. – HELIMSKI, E. [Костеркина, Н. Т. – Хелимский, Е.] 1994: Малые камлания большого шамана. In Хелимский, Е. (ed.): *Таймырский этнолингвистический сборник*, РГГУ, Москва, 17–146.
- KOSTERKINA, NADEZHDA – BEÁTA B. NAGY – F. SOBANSKI 1997: Über die Tiere auf der Erde. Ein nganasanisches Märchen nebst Übersetzung und morphologischem Wörterverzeichnis. *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* 38, Szeged, 57–199.
- KOSTERKINA, N. T. – МОМДЕ, А. – ŽDANOVA, T. JU. [Костеркина, Н. Т. – А. Ч. Момде – Т. Ю. Жданова] 2001: *Словарь нганасанско-русский и русско-нганасанский*. Просвещение, Санкт-Петербург.
- KOTILAINEN, LARI 2007: *Kiellon lumo*. Suomi 198. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.
- KOZMÁCS, ISTVÁN 1998: *Удмурт кыл*. Szeged–Kecskemét.
- KOZMÁCS, ISTVÁN 2006: A birtokos személyragozás és a birtokos szerkezet. In Sipőcz Katalin (ed.): *Uralisztika*. JGyTF, Szeged, 41–64.
- KÖRTVÉLY, ERIKA 2005: *Verb conjugation in Tundra Nenets*. *Studia Uralo Altaica* 46, Szeged.
- KUPRIYANOVA ET ALII [Куприянова, З. Н. – А. В. Хомич – А. М. Щербакова] 1957: *Ненецкий язык*. Учебное пособие для педагогических училищ, Ленинград.
- KUPRIYANOVA ET ALII [Куприянова, З. Н. – М. Я. Бармич – А. В. Хомич] 1985: *Ненецкий язык*. Учебное пособие для педагогических училищ Ленинград, Просвещение, Ленинград.
- KUTEVA, TANIA 2001: *Auxiliation*. OUP, Oxford.
- KUZMINA, A. I. [Кузьмина, А. И.] 1974: *Грамматика селькупского языка. Ч. 1*. Новосибирск.
- KUZNECOVA, A. I. – E. A. HELIMSKIJ – E. V. GRUŠKINA [Кузнецова, А. И. – Е. А. Хелимский – Е. В. Грушкина] 1980: *Очерки по селькупскому языку*. Московский Университет, Москва.
- KUZNECOVA, A. I. – KAZAKEVIČ, O. A. – JOFFE, L. JU. – HELIMSKIJ, E. A. [Кузнецова, А. И. – А. О. Казакевич – Л. Ю. Йоффе – Е. А. Хелимский] 1993: *Очерки по селькупскому языку. Тазовский диалект*. Москва.
- KUZNECOVA, N. G. [Кузнецова, Н. Г.] 1990: Суффиксы отыменной глагольной деривации в диалектах селькупского языка. *Linguistica Uralica* 28, 43–56.
- KUZNECOVA, N. G. [Кузнецова, Н. Г.] 1995: *Грамматические категории южноселькупского глагола*. Изд. Томского Университета, Томск.
- KÜNNAP, AGO 1983: Über den Hintergrund einiger samojedischer Negationsformen. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 85, 381–385.
- KÜNNAP, AGO 1978: *System und Ursprung der kamassischen Flexionssuffixe. II: Verbalflexion und Verbalnomina*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 164. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- KÜNNAP, AGO 1985: Kriterien zur Klassifizierung der Dialekte des Selkupischen und Kamassischen. In Veenker, Wolfgang (ed.): *Dialectologia Uralica*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 309–316.

- KÜNNAP, AGO 1994: On the past tense of the negative auxiliary in the uralic languages. In Künnap, Ago (ed.): *Minor Uralic Languages: Structure and Development*. Tartu, 83–87.
- KÜNNAP, AGO 1999a: *Enets*. (*Languages of the World / Materials* 186). München – Newcastle.
- KÜNNAP, AGO 1999b: *Kamass*. (*Languages of the World / Materials* 185). München – Newcastle.
- LAANEST, ARVO 1982: *Einführung in die ostseefinnischen Sprachen*. Buske, Hamburg.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 1982: К изучению прошедших времен ненецкого и энецкого языков, *Советское Финноугроведение* 18, 125–134.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS 1987: Die probabilitiven Formen des Enzischen. *Советское Финноугроведение* 23, 275–284.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 1992a: *Фольклор народов Таймыра. Вып. 1 (энецкий фольклор)*. Дудинка.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 1992b: *Фольклор народов Таймыра. Вып. 2 (ненецкий фольклор)*. Дудинка.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 1992c: *Фольклор народов Таймыра. Вып. 3 (нганасанский фольклор)*. Дудинка.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 2001a: *Ямидхы“ лаханаку“ – Сказы седой старины: Ненецкая фольклорная хрестоматия*. Москва.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 2001b: *Нганасанская фольклорная хрестоматия = Фольклор народов Таймыра* 6. Дудинка, Таймырский окружный центр народного творчества.
- LABANAUSKAS, KAZYS [Лабанаускас, Казыс] 2002: *Родное слово. Энецкие песни, сказки, исторические предания, традиционные рассказы, мифы*. Просвещение, Санкт-Петербург.
- LAITINEN, LEA 2004: Kieltosana ja kioletär. In Huomo, Katja – Lea Laitinen – Outi Paloposki (eds): *Yhteistä kieltä tekemässä*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.
- LAURY, RITVA 1997: *Demonstratives in Interaction: The emergence of a definite article in Finnish*. *Studies in Discours and Grammar* 7. Amsterdam, Benjamins.
- LEHMANN, WINFRED P. 1973: A structural principle of language and its implications. *Language* 49, 47–66.
- LEHTISALO, TOIVO 1947: *Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XC. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- LEHTISALO, TOIVO 1956: *Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XIII. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- LEHTISALO, TOIVO 1960: *Samojedische Sprachmaterialien*. Gesammelt von M. A. Castrén und T. Lehtisalo. Herausgegeben von T. Lehtisalo. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 122. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- Leipzig Glossing Rules, Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. (revised version of February 2008), Available online at <<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>> [Accessed on 2009-09-01].

- LENZ, BARBARA 1996: Negationsverstärkung und Jespersens Zyklus im Deutschen und in anderen europäischen Sprachen. In Lang, Ewald – Gisela Zifun (Hrsg.): *Deutsch – typologisch*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 183–200.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 1998: Affirmamaation ja negaation asymmetriasta maailman kielissä. In Pajunen, Anneli (ed.): *Kieliopillistumisesta, analogiasta ja typologiasta*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 182–216.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2000a: Towards a typology of standard negation. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 23, 65–88.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2000b: Negaation typologiasta: Yleistä ja uralilaista. In Pajunen, Anneli (ed.): *Näkökulmia kielitypologiaan*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 246–285.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2004: Suomen kieltoverbikonstruktio typologisessa valossa. *Virtittäjä* 3/2004, 364–388.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2005a: *Standard Negation. The Negation of Declarative Verbal Main Clauses in a Typological Perspective*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2005b: Symmetric and asymmetric standard negation. In Dryer, Matthew – Martin Haspelmath – David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *World Atlas of Language Structures*. OUP, Oxford, 462–465.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI 2005c: Subtypes of asymmetric standard negation. In Dryer, Matthew – Martin Haspelmath – David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *World Atlas of Language Structures*. OUP, Oxford, 458–461.
- MIESTAMO, MATTI – VAN DER AUWERA, JOHAN 2007: Negative declaratives and negative imperatives: similarities and differences. In Ammann, Andreas (ed.): *Linguistics Festival, May 2006 Bremen = Diversitas Linguarum* 14. Brockmeyer, Bochum, 59–77.
- MIKESY, GÁBOR 2000: Az obi-ugorok története. In Nanovszky, György (ed.): *Nyelvrokonaink*. Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 103–108.
- MIKOLA, TIBOR 1967: Enzische Sprachmaterialien. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 17: 59–74.
- MIKOLA TIBOR 1980: Enyec és nganaszan nyelvi adalékok. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 82, 223–236.
- MIKOLA TIBOR 1993: Szófajváltás a szamojédben. Megjegyzések a nyenyec perfectum kialakulásához. In Sz. Bakró-Nagy, Marianne – Enikő Szij (eds) 1993: *Hajdú Péter 70 éves*. Budapest, MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, 275–280.
- MIKOLA TIBOR 1995: *Morphologisches Wörterbuch des Enzischen*. Studia-Uralo Altaica 36. Szeged.
- MITCHEL, ERIKA 2006: The morpho-syntax of negation and the position of NegP in the Finno-Ugric languages. *Lingua* 116, 228–244.
- MUNKÁCSI, BERNÁT 1890–1894: A vogul nyelvjárások szóragozásukban isemertetve. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 21–24.
- MUNKÁCSI BERNÁT 1892–1902: *Regék és énekek a világ teremtéséről*. Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény I. Budapest, MTA.
- MUNKÁCSI BERNÁT 1893: *Medveénekek*. Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény III. Budapest.

- MUNKÁCSI, BERNÁT 1896: *Életképek*. Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény IV. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest.
- MURPHY, LAWRENCE W. 1977: Negation in North Vogul. In Sinor, Denis (ed.): *Studies in Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 131. In Honor of Alo Raun. Bloomington, 223–235.
- MUS, NIKOLETT 2009: Tagadás a tundrai nyenyec nyelvben. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 105, 7–45.
- NAGY, ZOLTÁN 2004: Хантыйско-селькупские межэтнические связи в бассейне Васюгана. In Wagner-Nagy Beáta (ed.): *Mikola-konferencia 2004*. Szeged, 63–73.
- NEDJALKOV, IGOR [Nedyalkov, Igor] 1994: Evenki. In Kahrel, Peter – René van den Berg (eds): *Typological Studies in Negation*. Benjamins, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 1–34.
- NEDJALKOV, IGOR 1997: *Evenki*. Routledge, London – New York.
- The Nenets Phrasebook = *The Russian Nenets Audio Phrasebook 2002*. Available online at <<http://www.speech.nw.ru/Nenets/index.html>> [Accessed on 2008-12-01].
- NENYANG, M. A. [Ненянг, М. А.] 2005: *Русско-ненецкий разговорник*. Дрофа, Санкт-Петербург.
- NICHOLS, JOHANNA – BICKEL, BALTHASAR 2008: Possessive Classification. In Haspelmath, Martin – Matthew S. Dryer – David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich, Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 59. Available online at <<http://wals.info/feature/59>> [Accessed on 2009-03-25].
- NIKOLAeva, IRINA 1995: *Obdorskij dialekt hantijskogo jazyka = Mitteilungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, Heft 1*. Hamburg.
- NIKOLAeva, IRINA 1999: *Ostyak*. Lincom Europa, München – Newcastle.
- NYENYANG, M. A. [Ненянг, М. А.] 2005: *Русско-ненецкий разговорник*. Изд. Дрофа, Санкт-Петербург.
- PAASONEN, H. – EDITH VÉRTES 1965: Ostjakische grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen nach den Dialekten an der Konda und am Jugan. *JSFOu* 66:2.
- PAJUNEN, ANNELI 1998: Intransitiivipredikaation typologinen kuvaus – ja uralilaiset kielet. *Virittäjä* 3/1998, 476–487.
- PAJUNEN, ANNELI 2000: Suomen ominaisuuspredikaatio ja tyyppi olla sairaana. In Pajunen, Anneli (ed.): *Näkökulmia kielitypologiaan*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 36–87.
- PAYNE, JOHN R. 1985: Negation. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. CUP, Cambridge, 197–242.
- PAYNE, THOMAS E. 1997: *Describing morphosyntax*. CUP, Cambridge.
- ПРОКОФЬЕВ, Г. Н. [Прокофьев, Г. Н.] 1935: *Селькупская (остяко-самоедская) грамматика*. Ленинград.
- PUSKÁS, GENOVEVA 1994: Sentential negation in Hungarian. *Rivista in Linguistica* 6, 57–90.
- PUSKÁS, GENOVEVA 2006: Negation in Finno-Ugric: an introduction. *Lingua* 116, 203–227.
- PUSTET, REGINA 2005: *Copulas*. Universals in the Categorization of the Lexicon. OUP, Oxford.

- PUSZTAY, JÁNOS 1976: *Material aus dem Wald-Dialekt des Jurak-Samojedischen*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse Nr. 10. Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, Göttingen.
- PUSZTAY, JÁNOS 1978: Kleines Jenissei-samojedisches Material. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 2, 3–33.
- PUSZTAY, JÁNOS 1984: *Die Pur-Mundart des Waldjurakischen*. Grammatikalischer Abriss Aufgrund der Materialien von T. V. Lehtisalo. *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 23. Szeged.
- RÉDEI, KÁROLY 1970a: Kiellon ilmaiseisen alkupereistä unkarissa. *Virittäjä* 74, 47–51.
- RÉDEI, KÁROLY 1970b: *Die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Wogulischen*. Indiana University, Bloomington.
- RÉDEI, KÁROLY 1978: *Syrjänische Chrestomathie*. Mit Grammatik und Glossar. *Studia Uralica* Band 1. Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, Wien.
- RIESE, TIMOTHY 1984 *The Conditional Sentence in the Ugrian, Permian and Volgaic Languages*. *Studia Uralica* 3. Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs. Wien.
- RIESE, TIMOTHY 1990: Nochmals zu habeo im Wogulischen. In Pusztay, János (ed.): *Gedenkschrift für Irén N. Sebestyén*. *Specimina Sibirica* 3, Szombathely, 175–180.
- RIESE, TIMOTHY 1992: Der Translativ in den uralischen Sprachen. *Linguistica Uralica* 28, 251–261.
- RIESE, TIMOTHY 2001: *Vogul*. Lincom Europa, München.
- ROBERTS, IAN – ANNA ROUSSOU 2003: *Syntactic Change*. CUP, Cambridge.
- ROMBANDEEVA, EVDOKIJA [Ромбандеева, Е. И.] 1973: *Мансийский (вогульский) язык*. Nauka, Moscow.
- ROMBANDEEVA, EVDOKIJA [Ромбандеева, Е. И.] 1990: *Синтаксис мансийского (вогульского) языка*. Nauka, Moscow.
- ROMBANDEEVA, EVDOKIJA 1995: *Sygvinskij dialekt mansijskogo (vogul'skogo) jazyka*. *Mitteilungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica* 14. Hamburg.
- ROMBANDEEVA, E. I. – VAHRUSHEVA, M. P. – SAYNAKHOVA, K. V. 1973 [Ромбандеева, Е. И. – Вахрушева, М. П. – Сайнахова, К. В.]: *Маньси ләу*. Leningrad.
- K. SAL ÉVA 1954–1955: A tagadás az obi-ugor nyelvekben. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 56, 57–69; *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 57, 73–111.
- SALMINEN, TAPANI 1993: Word-classes in Nenets. In *Festschrift für Raija Bartens zum 25. 10. 1993*. *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 215. *Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura*, Helsinki, 257–264.
- SALMINEN, TAPANI 1993–2005: *Tundra Nenets*. Available online at <<http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/sketch.html>> [Accessed on 2008-05-27].
- SALMINEN, TAPANI 1997: *Tundra Nenets inflection*. *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 227. *Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura*, Helsinki.
- SALMINEN, TAPANI 1998a: Nenets. In Abondolo, Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic Languages*. Routledge, London, 516–547.
- SALMINEN, TAPANI 1998b: *A morphological dictionary of Tundra Nenets*. *Publications of the Databank for Endangered Finno-Ugrian Languages* 3. *Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae* XXVI. *Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura*, Helsinki.

- SAMMALLAHTI, PEKKA 1974: *Material from Forest Nenets*. Castrenianumin toimitteita 2. Helsingin yliopiston Castrenianumin laitokset & Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- SAYNAKHOVA, A. I. [Сайнахова, А. И.] 1994: *Мāньси лāты́ 2*. Prosveshchenie, Sankt-Peterburg.
- SCHIEFER, LIESELOTTE 1973: „haben“ im Wogulischen. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 40, 197–201.
- SCHMIDT, ÉVA 2008: *Serkáli osztják chrestomathia*. Published by László Fejes. Schmidt Éva könyvtár 3, MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, Budapest
- SCHROEDER, CHRISTOP 2002: Prädikation im Türkischen. In *Bremer Linguistik Workshop. Workshop 2*. Available online at <<http://www.fb10.uni-bremen.de/iaas/workshop/praedi/schroeder.pdf>> [Accessed on 2009-01-31].
- SCHWENTER, SCOTT A. 2009: *Fine-Tuning Jespersen's Cycle*. Available online at <<http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/schwenter1/Horn%20festschrift%20revised.pdf>> [Accessed on 2009-04-10].
- SIEGL, FLORIAN 2007: Contemporary Forest Enets: a report from recent fieldwork. *Études Finno-Ougriennes* 38, 21–50.
- SIEGL, FLORIAN 2008: A note on personal pronouns in Enets and Northern Samoyedic. *Linguistica Uralica* 44, 119–130.
- SIMONCSICS PÉTER 1996: Negation in Selkup. As Related to Negation in Other Samoyedic as well as in Neighbouring Cognate and Non-Cognate Languages. *Linguistica Uralica* 32, 289–293.
- SIMONCSICS, PÉTER 1998: Kamassian. In Abondolo, Daniel (ed.): *The Uralic Languages*. Routledge, London, 580–601.
- SIRO, PAAVO 1967: Suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten kielteisten verbinmuotojen syntaktinen komponentti. In *Juhlakirja Kauko Kyyrön täyttäessä 60 vuotta 24. 11. 1967*. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis, ser. A. vol. 18. Tampere, 233–239.
- SK = *Сказки народов Сибирского Севера* 2, 1976, Tomsk, 37–44, 107–123.
- SKRIBNIK, E. K. [Скрибник, Е. К.] 1990: К описанию системы моделей простого предложения в мансийском языке (предложения с именным сказуемым). In *Системность на разных уровнях языка*. Новосибирск, 95–125.
- SKRIBNIK, ELENA 2005: From complex sentence structures to complex predicates: some grammaticalization patterns in Siberian languages. *Sprachtypologie und Universalforschung*, Vol. 58, 139–148.
- SKRIBNIK, ELENA – K. V. AFANASEVA [Скрибник, Е. К. – К. В. Афанасьева] 2004: Практический курс мансийского языка. Гос. Университет, Новосибирск.
- SOLOVAR, V. N. – M. I. CHEREMISINA [Соловар, В. Н. – черемисина, М. И.] 1994: Выражение отрицания в хантыйском языке. *Linguistica Uralica* 30, 35–46.
- SOROKINA, I. P. – BOLINA, D. S. [Сорокина, И. П. – Болина, Д. С.] 2001: *Словарь энецко-русский и русско-энецкий*. Санкт-Петербург.
- SOROKINA, I. P. – BOLINA, D. S. [Сорокина, И. П. – Болина, Д. С.] 2005: *Энецкие тексты*. Наука, Санкт-Петербург

- SOROKINA, I. P. – VOLINA, D. S. [Сорокина, И. П. – Болина, Д. С.] 2009: *Энецкий словарь с кратким грамматическим очерком*. Санкт-Петербург.
- STAROVEROV, PETER 2006: *Vowel deletion and stress in Tundra Nenets*. Paper at the First Central European Student Conference in Linguistics Available online at <http://www.nytud.hu/cescl/proceedings/Peter_Staroverov_CESCL.pdf> [Accessed on 2009-08-30].
- STASSEN, LEON 1997: *Intransitive Predication*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- STASSEN, LEON 2001a: Nonverbal predication in the Circum-Baltic languages. In Dahl, Östen – Maria Koptevskaja-Tamm: *Circum-Baltic languages: Typology and contact. Volume 2: Grammar and Typology*. Benjamins, Amsterdam, 569–590.
- STASSEN, LEON 2001b: Predicative Possession. In Haspelmath, Martin – Ekkehard König – Wulf Oesterreicher – Wolfgang Raible (eds): *Language Typology and Language Universals*, v. 2. de Gruyter, Berlin, 954–960.
- STASSEN, LEON 2008a: Predicative Possession. In Haspelmath, Martin – Matthew S. Dryer – David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich, Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 117. Available online at <<http://wals.info/feature/117>> [Accessed on 2008-10-30].
- STASSEN, LEON 2008b: Zero Copula for Predicate Nominals. In Dryer, Matthew – Martin Haspelmath – David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Online. Munich, Max Planck Digital Library, Chapter 120. Available online at <<http://wals.info/feature/120>> [Accessed on 2008-10-30].
- STASSEN, LEON 2009: *Predicative Possession*. OUP, Oxford – New York.
- TAULI, WALTER 1966: *Structural Tendencies in Uralic Languages*. Mouton, The Haag.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1947: *Очерки грамматики ненецкого языка*. Учпедгиз, Ленинград.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1956: *Материалы исследования по языку ненцев*. Izd. Akademii Nauk, Moscow – Leningrad.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1965: *Ненецко-русский словарь*. Советская энциклопедия, Москва.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1966: Нганасанский язык, in Лыткин, В. (ред.): *Языки народов СССР Том 3. Финно-угорские и самодийские языки*. Москва, Наука, 416–437.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1973: *Синтаксис самодийских языков*. Наука, Ленинград.
- TERESHCHENKO, N. M. [Терещенко, Н. М.] 1979: *Нганасанский язык*. Наука, Ленинград.
- TOIVONEN, YRJÖ H. 1956: Über die syrjänische Lehnwörter im Ostjakischen. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 31, 1–169.
- TURUNEN, RIGINA 2006: Complex Morphosyntactic Features of Nominal Predicates in Erzya. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 19, 173–187.
- TURUTYINA, POLINA GILYEVNA [Турутина, Полина Гилевна] 2003: *Нешау вандат шотпялц*”. Легенды и сказки лесных ненцев, Новосибирск.

- URMANCHIEVA, A. JU. [Урманчиева, А. Ю.] 2006: Время, вид или модальность? Глагольная система энецкого языка. *Вопросы Языкознания* 4, 84–100.
- URMANCHIEVA, A. JU. [Урманчиева, А. Ю.] 2008a: Энецкий язык, in Kibrik, A. E. (ed.) [Кибрик, А. Е.]: *Малые языки и традиции: существование на грани*, Выпуск 2. Тексты и словарные материалы. Moscow, 162–191.
- URMANCHIEVA, A. JU. [Урманчиева, А. Ю.] 2008b: Конвергенция, маскирующая дивергенцию: Энецкие диалекты и ненецкий язык. In *Материалы 2-й международной конференции по самодистике*, Нестор-История, Санкт-Петербург, 223–233.
- URMANCHIEVA, A. JU. 2009: *Vacation*. Available online at <<http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/corpus/enets/enets-01-otpusk.xhtml>> [Accessed on 2009-07-07].
- VAN DER AUWERA, JOHAN – LEJEUNE, LUDO (WITH GOUSSEV, VALENTIN) 2009: The Prohibitive. In Haspelmath, Martin – Matthew S. Dryer– David Gil – Bernard Comrie (eds): *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich, Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 71. Available online at <<http://wals.info/feature/71>> [Accessed on 2009-03-25].
- VÁRNAI, ZSUZSA 2002: Fonológia. In Wagner-Nagy, Beáta (ed.): *Chrestomathia Nganasanica*. SUA Supplementum 10. SzTE Finnugor Tanszék, MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, Budapest – Szeged, 33–69.
- VERBOV, G. D. [Вербов, Г. Д.] 1973: Диалект лесных ненцев. In *Самодийский сборник*. Новосибирск, 4–190.
- VESELINOVA, LJUBA 2006: *Toward a typology of negation in non-verbal and existential sentences*. The 80th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, January 5–8, 2006, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Available online at <www.ling.su.se/staff/ljuba/Non-verbalNegation01.pdf> [Accessed on 2008-11-03].
- VESELINOVA, LJUBA 2007: *Toward a typology of negation in non-verbal and existential sentences*. The 7th Biannual Meeting of ALT, September 25–28, 2007, Paris, France. Available online at <http://www2.ling.su.se/staff/ljuba/Negation_in_non-verbal_and_existential_sentences/index.html> [Accessed on 2008-11-03].
- VESELINOVA, LJUBA 2009: *Negation of non-verbal and existential sentences in Slavic Languages*. Available online at <http://www2.ling.su.se/staff/ljuba/LL_summary.pdf> [Accessed on 2009-04-4].
- VILKUNA, MARIA 1998: Word order in European Uralic. In Siewierska, Anna (ed.): *Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe*. de Gruyter, Berlin, 173–233.
- WAGNER-NAGY BEÁTA 2001: *Die Wortbildung im Nganasanischen*. Studia-Uralo Altaica 43. SzTE, Szeged.
- WAGNER-NAGY BEÁTA (ed.) 2002: *Chrestomathia Nganasanica*. Studia-Uralo Altaica Supplementum 10. SzTE – MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, Szeged – Budapest.
- WAGNER-NAGY, BEÁTA 2008: Tagadás. In Kozmács István – Katalin Sipőcz (eds): *Uralisztika*. JGyF Kiadó, Szeged, 182–208.

- WAGNER-NAGY, BEÁTA 2009: Syntax. In Wagner-Nagy Beáta (ed.): *Descriptive Grammar of Nganasan*. Manuscript.
- WAGNER-NAGY, BEÁTA – MÁRTA SAROLTA VIOLA 2009: Typology of affirmative and negative non-verbal predicates in the Ugric and Samoyedic languages. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 60, 117–159.
- WEIR, HELEN 1994: Nadëb. In Kahrel, Peter – René van den Berg (eds): *Typological Studies in Negation*, Benjamins, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 291–323.
- WINKLER, EBERHARD 2003: Az uráli nyelvek habeo-szerkezetének történetéhez. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 10, 195–207.
- ZANUTTINI, RAFAELLA 1994: Speculations on negative imperatives. *Rivista di Linguistica* 6, 119–142.
- ZEIJLSTRA, HEDDE 2006: The Ban on True Negative Imperatives. In Bonami, Olivier – Cabredo Patricia Hofherr (eds): *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 6, 405–424. Available online at <<http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss6/zeijlstra-eiss6.pdf>> [Accessed on 2009-03-26].
- ZWICKY, ARNOLD M. 1985: Clitics and Particles. *Language* 61, 283–305.