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ASYMMETRIC NEGATION IN EASTERN KHANTY AND SOUTHERN SELKUP[1]

The paper reviews the grammar of negation in two endangered indigenous Uralic languages of Western Siberia: Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup. These languages have remote genetic affiliation falling respectively within the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic branches of the Uralic language family. At the same time, they are characterized by the situation of extended cultural and linguistic contact, co-inhabiting the area of middle Ob river flows, particularly in the Parabel and Kargasok districts of Tomsk region. Both languages[2] are also characterized by comparable sociolinguistic status of extreme endangerment, numbering less than 10 speakers.

The main focus of the discussion is the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of negation. The key objective is to place the data and analysis of negation in the two systems into the general typological context, into local areal Siberian and into genetic Uralic perspective.

From the typological standpoint Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup syntactic negation strategies demonstrate consistent overall symmetry in accordance with the dominant SOV word-order tendencies. There are, however, special cases of asymmetric strategies associated with non-standard negation, existential negation and negation with indefinite/negative proforms.

Key words: *Negation, Selkup, Khanty, Western Siberia, Typology, Asymmetry*

1. Overview of the Languages

Eastern Khanty

Khanty is a dialect continuum spoken proficiently by fewer than 7000 fisher-hunter-gatherers and reindeer herders out of more than 28000 ethnic Khantys in northwestern Siberia of Russia (Perepis 2002).
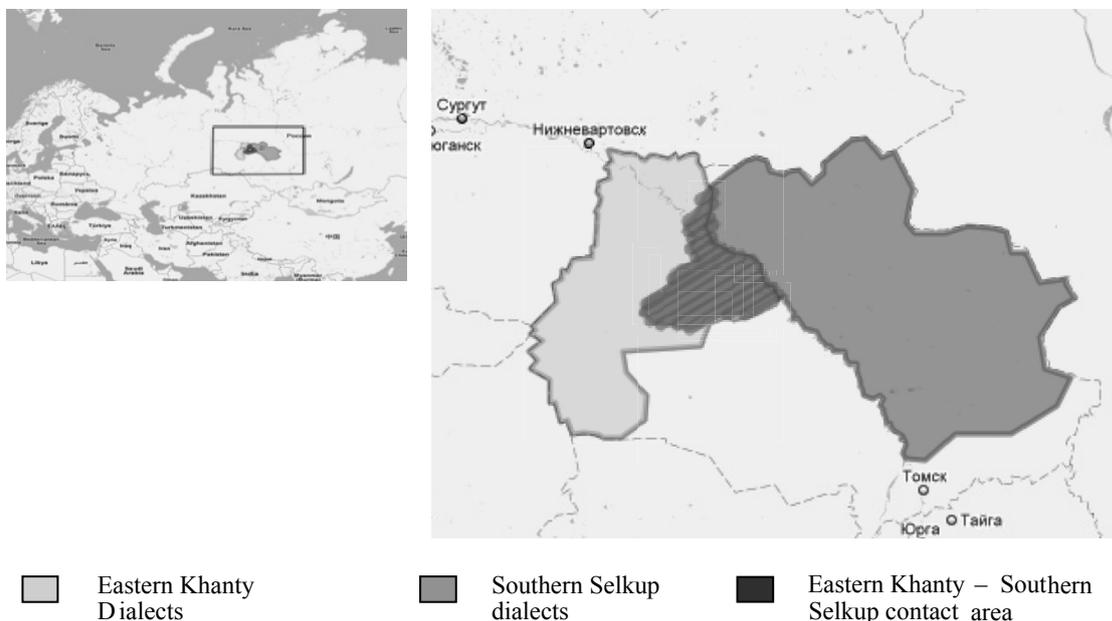

| Eastern Khanty Dialects | Southern Selkup dialects | Eastern Khanty – Southern Selkup contact area |

Fig.1: Ob-Yenissei area of Western Siberia: Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup areas.

[2] This numbers concern the Tomsk region dialects of primary focus in this study: the eastern-most dialects of Khanty (Vasyugan and Aleksandrovo) and southern-most dialects of Selkup (Narym, Middle Ob, Vasyugan).

The Khanty dialectal continuum is conventionally divided into western (a.k.a. northern) and eastern dialectal groups, while the third, the southern is considered extinct (Tereskin 1961; Decsy 1965; Gulya 1966; Honti 1984; Nikolaeva 1999; Filchenko 2007). Dialectal variation of Khanty is considerable to the extent that many of the varieties are mutually incomprehensible, while in typological terms the variation is extensive at all levels of the system (Filchenko 2011). The eastern dialects of interest here are the adjacent south-eastern-most idioms of the Tomsk region (Fig.:1). In the 20th century, especially after the 1960s, contact influence of Russian has been increasing, with the growing number of Russian loans no longer assimilated phonetically, displacing native Khanty lexicon, and entering morphology domain as in the case of coding negation. Most extensive contact interaction of Eastern Khanty has been with the Southern Selkups and migrating Evenkis along the Vasyugan and middle Ob-river flows (Shatilov 1927; Dul'zon 1960; Nagy 2004, 2011).

Southern Selkup

Southern Selkup is a South-Samoyedic language spoken between the rivers Ob' and Yenissei in the Tomsk region (Fig.:1). Generally, out of 4000 Selkups, 1382 Southern-Central Selkups reside in the Tomsk region, of which less than 1% maintain some degree of mother tongue proficiency. For the purpose of this discussion, under the Southern Selkup dialects we will understand Upper- and Middle-Ob Selkup dialects of the Tomsk region, the continuum of river dialects from the river Chulym to the river Vasyugan, an area immediately adjacent to the Eastern Khanty dialects in question. Generally, the Selkup dialectal differentiation is significant, demonstrating marked variation at all levels of the language system (Hajdu 1968, 1970; Kuznecova, Grushkina, Helimskij 1980; Denning 1981; Helimski 1988, 1998). The southern dialects remain the least studied and most endangered, totaling arguably less than 10 speakers. There are some grammatical descriptions and dictionaries of the Southern Selkup dialects (Kuzmina 1974, Bekker et al. 1995, Bykonja (ed.) 2005). There are numerous accounts of mutual contact-induced language change between Southern Selkup and Eastern Khanty, as well as with Siberian Turkic and Tungus-Manschu languages (Hajdu 1968, 1970; Kuznecova, Grushkina, Helimskij 1980). Now, in 100% bilingual Selkup-Russian speakers, code-switching and code-mixing are frequent phenomena evidently leading to the situation of language shift, with the increasing number of lexical loans and instances of grammatical convergence.

Brief overview of relevant grammar

Both, the Eastern Khanty and the Southern Selkup typical simple clauses show consistent tendency towards the SV order for the intransitive, and the AOV – for the transitive predicates. The main means of coding the grammatical relations are the relative clause constituent order, case marking and obligatory cross-reference argument marking on the finite predicate: subjective and objective conjugations (Tereskin 1961; Gulya 1966; Filchenko 2007; Kuznecova, Grushkina, Helimskij 1980; Bekker, Alitkina, Bykonja, Iljashenko 1995).

(1) Eastern Khanty:

a. *mä*   *`mən-s-əm*          b. *mä*     *sart*    *ter-`s-im*
   1SG   walk-PST2-1SG   1SG   pike   pull-PST2-1SG/SG
   I WALKED[3].   I FRIED the pike fish (Filchenko 2007)

(2) Southern Selkup:

a. (H-GM_001)   b. (SelNeg_163)

ara   *paja-sy-q*   *warky-mb-a.*   *mat*   *`kwat-p-am*        *tab`e-p*
old.man   old.woman-FAM-DU   live-PST-3SG   1SG   produce-PSTN-1SG/SG   squirrel-ACC
There lived an old man and an old woman.   I GOT THE SQUIRRELS.

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[3] Here and further below, where available, phrase accent corresponding to F0 picks and energy bursts will be marked in the examples by /`/ in transcription and by SMALL CAPS in free translation.

The clause-initial position is typically taken by the referent belonging to the pragmatic presupposition, a Topic referent, roughly equated to old/shared knowledge. This referent is typically an Agent coded by an argument in the S/A grammatical relation, and normally has all the traditional subjecthood properties, such as control over referential relations clause-internally and -externally: control over embedded non-finite clauses; control over zero anaphora across conjoined clauses; control over reflexivization; quantifier movement control (Filchenko 2007, 2008). At the clausal level both Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup is characterized as typical head-final with no head-agreement within the NP, and characteristically pro-drop.

The position in the clause immediately preceding the verbal predicate is typically taken by the referent belonging to the part of the proposition containing pragmatic assertion, a Focus referent, roughly equated to new information. These referents are most frequently Location adjuncts in intransitive-, or Targets coded by O grammatical relation in transitive clauses. The O position may vary contingent on the pragmatic properties of the referent, allowing for more syntactic freedom to the more topical, identifiable referents (Nikolaeva 1999; Filchenko 2008). Frequently in the narratives in both languages, once the key referents are identifiable and active (Lambrecht 1994), transitive clauses may contain only the predicates with adjuncts, while the information on the person and number of A and of the number of O is available in the cross-referential predicate agreement inflection (objective conjugation) (Filchenko 2007).

(3) Eastern Khanty:

terˋä-s-im   *ˋiwes-nə*
fry-PST2-1SG/SG   skewer-LOC
(I) FRIED (the pike) ON SKEWERS (BH_025)

Phrasal accent is strongly associated with the pragmatic structure of the proposition. The distribution of pitch accent is in correlation with the pragmatic function of Focus, and as such, correlates with the semantics of the whole proposition. The dominant intonation contour is low-mid falling, with pitch accent falling on the stressed syllable of the pragmatically prominent clause constituent, corresponding to th pragmatic assertion (Filchenko 2011). Often this focal referent is the only one overtly coded in the clause.

(4) Eastern Khanty: (FYB_030-031)

a) *pərt-äɣi?*   b) *pərt-äɣi!*
   back-PRD   back-PRD
   "(He went) back?"   "(He went) back!"

OVERVIEW OF THE TYPOLOGY OF NEGATION

Typically negation is understood as a type of proposition whose truth-value is asserted as false either in full or in part, and is generally seen as opposed to the affirmative counterpart. It is typologically uncommon for the whole proposition to fall under the scope of negation, but it is rather expected for the negation to refer to the part of the proposition containing pragmatic assertion, i.e. focused elements, which can be further manifest by the use of various focus marking means (Miestamo 2009: 210). The part containing pragmatic presupposition, contextually or situationally activated topical information typically remains true. Present discussion will concentrate on the syntactic strategies of negation. From the typological perspective, there is a set of parameters that are conventionally viewed as relevant for the discussion of syntactic negation. These include: the type of negative marker (negator) (Dahl 1979; Payne 1985; Dryer 2005), the relative position of negator in the clause (Dahl 1979; Dryer 1992), and comparative morphosyntactic symmetry between negative and respective affirmative clauses (Miestamo 2005). Regarding the negator type, such

morphemes as affixes, clitics, particles, and negative verbs may be employed (Dryer 2005; Miestamo 2009). Concerning the relative position of negator, early typologies postulated clause-initial tendency (Jespersen 1917), finite predicate adjacency (Dahl 1979), and consequently evolving to the conventional understanding of prevailing preposing tendency in correlation with the dominant word-order in the system (Dryer 1992; Miestamo 2009). Based on recent large-scale typological studies (WALS 2011), this parameter is differentiated into preposing, postposing and circumposing, with a reference to typologically rare peripheral positioning of negators (Miestamo 2009).

Regarding the morphosyntactic symmetry, the differentiation hinges on the opposition of symmetric and asymmetric strategies. The former implies absence of structural variation between affirmative and their respective negative counterparts (except presence of the negator itself). Respectively, the asymmetric cases are those, where some structural discrepancies exist between the affirmatives and negatives (Miestamo 2005). Further typology of asymmetries has been developed based on the observed types of syntactic (requiring analytical constructions in negation) and paradigmatic divergence (deficient paradigms of negative compared to affirmative). Typological relevance of certain lexical and grammatical contexts has been identified, most liable to the manifestations of asymmetry (Miestamo 2005; Miestamo, Wagner-Nagy 2009). Such environments as imperative mood, existential and nonverbal predication are frequent contexts for asymmetric negation (Kahrel 1996). Particular verbal grammatical categories (TAM) may also play a role in necessitating asymmetric negation constructions (Miestamo, Wagner-Nagy 2009).

The key parameter in the most types of asymmetry is the discrepancies in the features of finite verbal predicate, i.e. the distribution of the key grammatical categorial features between the so called lexical verb (LV), the negator (NEG) and an element able of carrying finite morphology, a finite element (FE) (Miestamo 2005). Thus, the asymmetrical negative constructions often manifest the loss by the lexical verb (LV) of some or all of the finite features by means of: a) acquiring in negation of some syntactic dependency on a finite element (FE); or b) taking in negation the form of a dependent predicate; or c) displaying in negation some nominal features (Miestamo 2005). Example of the typologies of negation which turn on the principle of comparison with affirmative counterparts are the typology of prohibitives by van der Auwera & Lejeune (2005), typologies of negative existentials by Croft (1991) and Veselinova (2006), typologies of negation with indefinites by Kahrel (1996) and Haspelmath (1997). The typology of prohibitives, for example, builds on such key principles as morphosyntactic contrast to imperatives and comparison of prohibitives (negation with imperatives) to negation in indicatives, producing a four-way differentiation: (i) <prohibitive = imperative + indicative-like negation > (Type I); (ii) <prohibitive = imperative + special negation strategy, unlike indicative negation> (Type II); (iii) <prohibitive = non-imperative (some other construction) + indicative-like negation> (Type III); (iv) <prohibitive = non-imperative + special negation strategy, unlike indicative negation> (Type IV) (van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005). Essentially similar are the typologies of negative existential constructions, yielding 3 main types: Type A, implying standard verbal negation of an existential verb; Type B, implying use of a special negative existential predicate; and Type C, covering cases where negative existential predicate is essentially a standard verbal negator (Croft 1991). The typology of negation of constructions with indefinites also hinges on the comparison of affirmative indefinite constructions and their negative counterparts, differentiating 3 (Haspelmath 1997) to 5 (Kahrel 1996) types, considering such parameters as presence and type of negator (standard *vs.* special), type of an indefinite itself (same as indicatives, special explicitly negative proforms, *vs.* other than in indicatives but not explicitly negative, etc.), and presence of a proform itself (indefinite function may be coded by a construction with a copula).

Most of the asymmetry parameters were considered in a recent project Typological Questionnaire on Negation (Miestamo & Wagner-Nagy 2009) – a large-scale unified empirical database for

studying negation in Uralic languages (Miestamo *et al* 2011). Other relevant sources include treatments of negation in Uralic languages by Honti (1997) and recent typological survey of negation in 8 Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages by Wagner-Nagy (2011).

Methodology

The present descriptive study of the two systems is integrated in its theoretical and methodological underpinnings with the wider typological study of negation in Uralic languages.

The multifaceted analysis of the grammar of negation in the two languages is based empirically on the narrative data from 2000-2012, supplemented with the archival data from 1960-1990, and in part by elicitation data. Instances of negation in their diversity were selected from the available sources and analyzed with regards to their prosodic, morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic features against their respective affirmative counterparts to identify possible discrepancies.

In presenting the language data, the phonetic notation of the original sources was unified as IPA transcription, while glossing and free translation was performed in maximal adherence to Leipzig convention.

EXPRESSING NEGATION IN EASTERN KHANTY AND SOUTHERN SELKUP

Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup display a variety of means of coding negation including: standard negation understood as negation of the most basic active-direct clause types with finite verbal predicates (Miestamo 2005; Miestamo, Wagner-Nagy, Tamm 2011); existential negation refering to negation in the propositions of existence, location, attribution and possession; negation of clauses with indefinite/negative proforms; and prohibitives (negative imperatives). In the discussion to follow, attention will be paid to the instances of negation that fall somehow outside of the so-called standard symmetrical negation strategies. Such issues as complex clause negation and morphological negation (use of Abessive) will not be addressed here in any detail.

1.1 Standard Negation

To identify deviant negation strategies, a standard has to be established. Such standard for both language systems typically implies negation by preposing the free invariant negator *əntə* - in Eastern Khanty, and *ā* (*aɣa*) - in Southern Selkup.

(5) Eastern Khanty:

a. *mustəm   ni   woja-ɣən*
   beautiful   woman sleep-PST0.3SG
   The woman was asleep (TS_115)

b. *ni   əntə woja-ɣən*
   woman NEG sleep-PST0.3SG
   The woman wasn't asleep (TS_134)

(6) Southern Selkup:

a. *kanak `mud-i-ɣ-a*
   dog   bark-EP-PST-3SG
   The dog BARKED (SelNeg_003)

b. *kanak   `ā   mud-i-ɣ-a*
   dog   NEG   bark-EP-PST -3SG
   The dog DIDN'T BARK (SelNeg_004)

In (5b) and (6b), the scope of negation covers the finite predicates *'sleep'* and *'bark'* respectively, whose thruth value is asserted as false in the proposition, while the identifiability of the referents *'the woman'* and *'the dog'* and their truth value is upheld in the presuppositional part of the proposition, in accord with the general typological tendencies (Givon 2001: 379).

Formally, in both systems, negative clauses represent typical affirmative indicative declaratives with the exception of the presence of the negators, free invariant morphemes immediately preposed to the part of the clause whose thruth value is falsified. Thus, both languages can be classified as using the syntactic negation strategy, as opposed to the morphological, implying bound negators, inflectional affixes or clitics (Dahl 1979). It should be further noted, that neither the semantics, nor transitivity status, nor TAM value of the finite verbal predicate appears to be relevant factors

triggering asymmetries or any case-assignment strategies (Miestamo 2005, 2009). Furthermore, in the indicative complex clauses with standard (non-existential) verbal predicates standard negation strategy is consistently upheld (i.e. systems' standard negators are used with verbal predicates regardless of their finiteness (dependence) status (*cf.* examples (7a-d) and (8a-d)).

(7) Eastern Khanty:

a. *qatantə-l-əm   jöɣə-t-äm-ä*
   sneak-PRS-1SG shoot-IMPP-1SG-ILL
   I snuck to shoot it (Filchenko 2007)

b. *oɣpĭ ˈ toɣor-s-im   ʃar   əntə   ˈmən-t-äl-ä*
   door close-PST2-1SG heat NEG go-IMPP-3SG-ILL
   (I) CLOSED the door, so that it would not ESCAPE (Filchenko 2007)

c. *mä   nipik taja-m-am-nə,   töŋ*
   1SG book have-PP-1SG-LOC COND
   nöŋ-ä   mə-ɣäs-i
   2SG-ILL   give-PST1-PS.3SG
   If I had a book, I should have given it
   to you (Gulya 1966: 122)

d. *jöɣ   wal-ŋ-al   töŋ,   timint*
   3SG live-COND-3SG   COND   DET
   wer   əntə   wal-ɣas
   affair NEG   be-PST1.3SG
   If he were alive, such a thing would not have
   happened (Gulya 1966: 122)

(8) Southern Selkup:

a. *kuʒat kanak awər-l-a   tab   ā   mud-a*
   when dog   eat-OPT-3SG 3SG NEG bark-3SG
   When the dog has eaten, it doesn't bark
   (SelNeg_055)

b. *kuʒat kanak ā   awər-l-a   tab   mud-a*
   when dog   NEG eat-OPT-3SG 3SG bark-3SG
   When the dog hasn't eaten, it barks
   (SelNeg_57)

c. *mat kɨg-ak   tab kwə-mb-i*
   1SG want-1SG 3SG go-PSTN-3SG
   I want him to leave (SelNeg_100)

d. *mat kɨg-ak   tab ā   kwə-mb-i*
   1SG want-1SG 3SG NEG go-PSTN-3SG
   I want him not to leave (SelNeg_101)

It could be further observed that this negation strategy (or at least the preposed standard negator) is also used for negation of individual referents, i.e. in the individual constituent negation (*cf.* examples (9a-b) and (10a-b)).

(9) Eastern Khanty:

a. *əj-əm   kit-əm   qu-j-t,   əntə   qoɣ   noməɣsək-min, noɣ   wer-ət…*
   young-ATTR   thing-ATTR   man-EP-PL   NEG long think-CNV   arrow do-PST0.3PL
   Then not thinking much, young men made arrows… (Gulya 1966) (*not long*)

b. *mä   qitʃ-əəm   əntə   rut'   iki-j-a   mən-ta*
   1SG   want-1SG   NEG Russian   man-EP-ILL   go-INF
   I don't want to go to (marry) the Russian man (Tereskin 1961) (*not Russian*)

(10) Southern Selkup:

a. *tat   ā   kond-al-b-iɣ-ant ?   ā   kond-al-b-iɣ-ak.*
   2SG   NEG sleep-INGR-DUR-PST-2SG   NEG   sleep-INGR-DUR-PST-1SG
   Have you not slept?   (No, I) have not slept. (SelNeg_124)

b. *na korg   pork-w-a?   ā   korg pork-w-a   pək   pork-w-a*
   DET bear   roar-PRS-3SG NEG bear roar-PRS-3SG moose roar-PRS-3SG
   I this a bear roaring? That's not a bear roaring, that's a moose roaring (SelNeg_116)

Finally, in cases of non-verbal predicates (equatives, attributives, unclusives), negation strategy remains unchanged with a standard negator preposed to the non-verbal predicate (*cf.* (11) and 12)):

(11) Eastern Khanty:

a. *pötʃkän-äm ˋtrop-na   pon-ˋəm*
   gun-1SG   buckshot-COM load-PP
   My gun is loaded WITH BUCKSHOT (ST_050)

b. *pötʃkän-äm əntə ... pon-ˋəm-aki.*
   gun-1SG   NEG   load-PP-PRD
   My gun IS NOT … LOADED (FYB_022)

c. *əntə ˋəllə, əj   al   ˋärki - ˋəntə, ˋəj-äli   (əntə ˋärki)*
   NEG big   one year   much   NEG one-DIM (NEG many)
   Not a BIG (one), one year old   NOT MANY, just ONE (FYB_037)

(12) Southern Selkup:

a. *na   qaj,   hər ?*
   DET   what   snow
   This is what, snow? (SelNeg_090)

b. *na - ā   hər,   na   - tʃapt*
   DET - NEG snow DET   - dew
   This is not snow, this is dew (SelNeg_091)

c. *ā   ˋhɨr-il   watt,   ˋpəka-t   (watt).*
   NEG cow-ADJ track moose-GEN track
   This is not a cow's track, this is moose's (SelNeg_120) (*not cow's*)

The standard negation strategy also holds for various modalities. In interrogative and conditional propositions, which deal with the irrealis states-of-affairs, negation pattern remains consistently standard. Thus, the dominant negation strategy in most Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup clause types is (a) preposed, (b) free-standing negator, (c) demonstrating morphosyntactic symmetry to respective affirmative counterparts. The pattern is represented by a model: [NEG$_{St}$ (V, NP, ADVP, ADJP)].

2.2 Existential Negation

It is conventional to understand under the class of existential constructions a range of semantically related propositions typically including: equatives/unclusives/ attributives, locatives, existentials proper, and possessives (more on existentials in Uralic languages (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 176-181)). In both systems under study, such non-verbal predication as equatives, inclusives, attributives follow the standard negation strategy (11, 12). The latter three types, however, locatives, existentials proper, and possessives fall in a single structural class, which displays no formal variation (relevant for the discussion of negation) and will further be collectively referred to as existentials. In both languages, affirmative existential propositions have the structure [Loc THEME V$_{Ex}$] with the copula (V$_{Ex}$) '*be, live, exist*' typically occupying clause-final position. In accord with the general typological tendency (Wagner-Nagy 2011 among others), the copula is frequently omitted in the present tense (13a) or can be coded by a poisture verb '*sit, lie*' (17, 19). The negation of existence in the two languages is coded by the special negative existential predicate (NEG$_{ex}$), the implicitly negative free morphemes *əntim* in Eastern Khanty and *tʃaŋgu-* in Southern Selkup, which take the copula position in the respective affirmative proposition.

Locative propositions typically have the structure [THEME Loc V$_{Ex}$] or possibly [THEME V$_{Ex}$ Loc] with the THEME referent identifiable, active, clause-initial.

(13) Eastern Khanty:

a. *ʧu   qu   pəlˈta tot-aki,   (qot olˋa-ɣən   i   tot   oˋla-wəl)*
   DET man suit   DET-PRD DET lie-PST0.3SG and DET   lie-PRS.3SG
   That man's suit is at its place (lying where it had been lying before) (TS_110).

b. *worw-əl-a   läɣ-əm-al,   pun-əl əntˋim-äki, pun-əl   əntˋim*
   pants-3SG-ILL   look-PP-3SG   hair-3SG NEG$_{ex}$-PRD hair-3SG   NEG$_{ex}$
   (He) looked in the pants, the hair IS ALL GONE, the hair IS NOT THERE (M-V_006-007)

This structure is upheld in the negative locatives, where the negative existential predicate substitutes the copula (13b, 14b), while the locative may be omitted (13b).

(14) Southern Selkup:

a. *paja-t   māt-qyt   (epp-a),   sūru-la-p   apst-ēšpy-s*
   wife-3SG   house-LOC1   be-PST.3SG.sub   cattle-PL-ACC   feed-DUR-PST.3SG
   The wife (stayed) at home, fed the cattle (H-GM_057)

b. *tab-la-n   n'en'n'a   tʃaŋu-s   māt-qit*
   3SG-PL-GEN   sister   NEG$_{ex}$-PST.3SG   house-LOC1
   Their sister was not at home (H-GM_064)

Thus, the locative construction examplifies the model [THEME (LOC) NEG$_{Ex}$(+PRD)]. Similarly, the affirmative existential proper constructions have the structure [LOC THEME V$_{Ex}$] (15a), (16a), while their negative counterparts exemplify the model [LOC THEME NEG$_{Ex}$] (15b), (16b).

(15) Eastern Khanty:

a. *joqq-ən   qaq-im*   b. *tʃi-näm   joɣo-s-im,   tʃut-na-pa   əntim-äki*
   home-LOC brother-1SG   there-ALL shoot-PST2-1SG DET-LOC-Emph NEG$_{ex}$-PRD
   At home there is my brother (ST_75)   I shoot, and THERE'S NOTHING (ST_107)

(16) Southern Selkup:

a. *mat mad-qin   šogor-m   e-j-a*   b. *na   ē`d-ə-get   kana-la tʃang-wa*
   1SG house-LOC1 oven-1SG be-PRS-3SG   DET village-EP-LOC2   dog-PL   NEG$_{ex}$-3SG
   There is an oven in my house (MIFIRE_040)   There are no dogs in the village (SelNeg_085)

Alternative way to code locativies and existentials proper is with the help of posture verbs (*sit, stand, lie*) (17), (18), (19). In negation, the Eastern Khanty existentials proper tends to follow the existential negation pattern (17), while the Southern Selkup equivalents may follow the standard negation pattern (18). The negative locatives in both systems tend to follow the existential negation pattern (19).

(17) Eastern Khanty:

a. *potinka pəl'k-əl' əj   taɣi-j-nə   aməs-wəl*   b. *əj potinka pəl'k-əl'   əntim*
   "shoe"   side-3SG one place-EP-LOC sit-PRS.3SG   one shoe   side-3SG NEG$_{ex}$
   The shoe was at its same place (TS_92)   The shoe was missing (TS_85)

(18) Southern Selkup:

a. *kanak mad-at   putʃ-o-git   amd-a*   b. *kanak `ā   mad-at       putʃ-o-git       `amd-a*
   dog   house-3SG nose-EP-LOC2 sit-3SG   dog   NEG house-3SG nose-EP-LOC2 sit-3SG
   The dog IS ON THE PORCH (SelNeg_079)   The dog IS NOT on the porch (SelNeg_080)

The differentiation between the locatives and existentials proper hinges on the pragmatic status of the THEME referent. In locatives, this referent has higher pragmatic status, identifiable and active, topical and as such tending to the more S-like clause-initial position (13, 14, 17), while the Locative belongs to pragmatic assertion. In existentials proper, the THEME is typically lower in its pragmatic status, appearing medial or clause-final (15, 16, 19) (locative-existential-possessive in Uralic (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 171-218), generally (Freeze 1992)).

(19) Southern Selkup:

a. *na   tigi-t   par-git   `fəʃk-ə-n-ol            `amd-a*
   DET   cedar-GEN   up-LOC2   nut-EP-GEN-head   sit-3SG
   There ARE CONES on that tree(SelNeg_151)

b. *na* *tɨgɨ-t* *par-u-gat* *`fəʃk-ə-n-ol*  *`tʃangw-a*
 DET cedar-GEN up-UP-LOC2 nut-EP-GEN-head NEG$_{ex}$-3SG
 There are NO CONES on the tree (SelNeg_153)

Possessive existentials (predicate possessives) structurally represent locative constructions, where the semantic possessor is grammatically a locative, a quasi-spatial landmark, in relation to which the possessed is identified, akin to spatial trajectory (*cf.* possessive (20), (21) *vs.* locative (13, 14, 17)).

(20) Eastern Khanty:
a. *män-nə* *qasɨ wəl-wəl...*   b. (*jöɣ-ən*) *met`ali-pə* *ənt`im-äki-iki*
 1SG-LOC man be-PRS.3SG   3SG-LOC some-Emph NEG$_{ex}$-PRD-PRD
 I have a friend... (OM2WM_039) (She) has got nothing (ST_121)

(21) Southern Selkup:
a. *tab-nan* *nāgur nē-t*   b. *tab-la-nan* *el'mād-la t'aŋgu-z-at*
 3SG-LOC2 three daughter-3SG 3SG-PL-LOC2 child-PL NEG$_{ex}$-PST-3PL
 He has got three daughters (H-GM_014) They did not have children (H-GM_003)

Thus, possessive constructions examplify the model similar to that of existentials proper [PX/Loc Theme NEG$_{Ex}$], where possessor is structurally a locative.

Possession may also be coded by possession verbs (*keep, hold, own*), whose negation strategy also follows the existential negation pattern (*cf.* 22b, d) *vs.* (20b), (21b)).

(22) Eastern Khanty:
a. *qaq-əl* *əj-ni* *toja-ɣən ...* b. (*jöɣ-ən*) *met`ali-pə* *ənt`im-äki-iki*
 y.brother-3SG little-woman keep-PST0.3SG 3SG-LOC some-Emph NEG$_{ex}$-PRD-PRD
 The younger brother had a girl (Girls_004) (She) has got nothing (ST_121)

(23) Southern Selkup:
 tab-la ... *sūru-la-p* *war-z-at*
 3SG-PL animal-PLACC keep-PST-3PL
 They kept the cattle (H-GM_002)

Existential negation predicates

The Eastern Khanty negative existential predicate *əntim* is obviously etymologically related to the standard negator *əntə*. Both are possible derivations form a certain proto-ugric negative verb. This negative existential predicate may be a grammaticalized participial form. Similar to other Eastern Khanty participles and nominal-predicates, it is often affixed with the predicator affix /*-äkɨ-*/ (*cf.* locatives (13b, 24) as well as existential proper (15b) *vs.* a nominal predicate (5)).

(24) Eastern Khanty:
 qrugom *welkältä-l-əm,* *mətä* *nöɣös* *lök* *ənt`im-äki*
 around walk-PRS-1SG which sable track NEG$_{ex}$-PRD
 I walk around, THERE IS NO sable track (ST_023-024)

Where the negated THEME referent is plural, the negative existential *əntim* can be used with the plural form of the predicator affix /*-ätə*/:

(25) Eastern Khanty:
ämp-ät ... *tʃu tayɨ morta toyɨ wer-il poro-min i* *jəɣ-näm ənt`im-ätə*
dog-PL DET place all away do-3PL step-CNV and 3PL-RFL NEG$_{ex}$-PL
The dogs … stepped all over that place but themselves ARE NOT THERE (ST_085)

However, also similar to nominal predicates, the negative existential predicate is occasionally used without the predicator affix. Locatives (13b) above and (26) below contain reiterations, where the first case of negative existential has the predicator affix, and the second does not. The repeated negative assertions are coded by the negative existential without the predicator affix.

(26) Eastern Khanty:
"wajaɣ lök ənt`im-aki", jəlk-i  jəlkämtä-s-əm: "wajaɣ lök  ənt`im"
animal track NEG_ex-PRD around-ILL circle-PST2-1SG animal track NEG_ex
"THERE IS NO animal track", (I) walked around: "THERE'S NO animal track" (ST_091)

There are also rare examples of the reduplicated predicator affix following the negative predicate, as in an existential proper (27):

(27) Eastern Khanty:
toɣɨ-j-əɣ-ɨ juŋa-s-əm, mətali ənt`im-äki-iki,  ənt`im wəl-qal
there-EP-ADV-ELA get-PST2-1SG something NEG_ex-PRD-PRD NEG_ex be-PST1.3SG
I checked there, THERE IS NOT a thing there, it was NOT there (ST_121)

The distribution of the predicator affix /-äki/ with the negative existential predicate may be in connection to the pragmatic features of the negated referent. That is, negative existential predicate will be affixed with predicator affix /-äki/ if the negated THEME is high in pragmatic identifiability/ activation. The last example (27) can be seen as the supporting evidence, where the reiterated final negative predicator *əntim*, formes a construction with the finite copula *wəl-*, resulting in the literal '*anything of the sort non-existent was*' referring to absent THEME whose non-existence was confirmed. Thus, the construction model for the existentials may be supplemented to account for the use of the predicator affix (possibly reduplicated):

(i) for locatives [THEME (LOC) NEG_Ex(+PRD_n)];
(ii) for existentials and possessives [LOC THEME_(+DEF) NEG_Ex (+PRD_n)].

The role of the copula 'to be' in existential proper (27), as well as in the locative (28) below, is to be seen as that of an auxiliary bearing the appropriate TAM inflections (one of the past tense markers *-qal* 'PST1') while the negative existential predicate does not take any TAM or person inflections.

(28) Eastern Khanty:
telefon ənt`im  wəl-`qal.
telephone NEG_ex be-PST1.3SG
There WAS NO telephone (there) (Filchenko 2008)

The bare negative existential predicate *əntim* appears either in present or the suffixless past (Tereskin 1961, Filchenko 2007), while three morphological past tense forms occur within the model [LOC THEME NEG_Ex V_EX[BE]].

In nominal predicate constructions with the copula '*to be*', standard negator, according to the general pattern, appears in preposition to the nominal '*thin*', thus negating just quality asserted by the nominal, rather than the existence of the THEME referent itself (Lit.: …*not thin it was*). In (29b-c), the quoted present of (b) is symmetrically mirrored at the onset of (c), which then immediately self-repaired to appropriate remote past (PST1), where the nominal/existential negator *əntim* requires an auxiliary inflected for appropriate TAM.

(29) Eastern Khanty:
a. *wajaɣ əntə `käntʃ-im  wəl-`qal*
animal NEG thin-ATTR be-PST3.3SG
(That) animal WAS NOT THIN. (ST_125)

b.　*jöɣ-ən*　　　*moloko*　　　*wəl-wəl*
　　3SG-LOC　　　"milk"　　　be-PRST.3SG
　　"She/It has milk" (ST_120)

c.　*…moq...,*　　*metali-p*　　*ənt`im-äki-iki…,*　　　*ənt`im*　*wəl-`qal*
　　baby　　　some-TOP　　NEG_ex-PRD-PRD　　　NEG_ex　be-PST1.3SG
　　Baby…, (there) is nothing, (she) has got nothing (ST_121)

In (29c), the last part contains the copula *wəl-* 'be', rendering the literal '*non existent [the THEME] was*'. The omitted topical THEME '*bear's cub*' is coreferential with the 3SG inflection on the copula, and it is its absence that is asserted by the SAP in the proposition (Lit.: *I got down there, and there was nothing, weren't no cub*).

Thus, it can be concluded that Eastern Khanty existential constructions (Tab.:1) use a symmetric negation pattern if contrasted against affirmative counterparts, with a special negative existential predicate *əntim* substituting the copula *wəl-* in affirmatives in the temporal plain of the present-future. On the other hand, there are also features of asymmetry in the severely deficient paradigm of the negative existential predicate, unable to take TAM inflections, obviously functioning as nominal predicate, needing the nominal predicator affix and necessitating constructions with copula auxiliary for the past tenses.

Tab. 1: Eastern Khanty existential negation

Types	Symmetry Parameters	
	Affirmative Patterns	*Negation Patterns*
Present-Future		
· on-verbals	[THEME NP (V_EX[BE])]	[THEME NEG_ST NP (V_EX[BE])]
· locatives	[THEME_[DEF] (LOC) (+PRD) (+ V_EX[BE])]	[THEME_[DEF] (LOC) NEG_EX (+PRD)(+ V_EX[BE])]
· possessives	[LOC_[DEF] THEME (+PRD) (+ V_EX[BE])]	[LOC_[DEF] THEME NEG_EX (+PRD) (+ V_EX[BE])]
· existentials	[LOC_[DEF] THEME (+PRD) (+ V_EX[BE])]	[LOC_[DEF] THEME NEG_EX (+PRD) (+ V_EX[BE])]
Past		
· non-verbals	[THEME NP V_EX[BE]]	[THEME NEG_ST NP V_EX[BE]]
· locatives	[THEME_[DEF] (LOC) (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]	[THEME_[DEF] (LOC) NEG_EX (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]
· possessives	[LOC_[DEF] THEME (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]	[LOC_[DEF] THEME NEG_EX (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]
· existentials	[LOC_[DEF] THEME (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]	[LOC_[DEF] THEME NEG_EX (+PRD) + V_EX[BE]]

Negative existentials in Southern Selkup, are rather more regular than in Eastern Khanty. Firstly, in affirmatives the existential predicate, a copula is almost always explicitly coded in the clause. Secondly, the negative existential predicate has fuller paradigm compared to that of Eastern Khanty.

Similarly to Eastern Khanty, the Southern Selkup negation of existence is coded by the special negative existential predicate (NEG_ex) *tʃangu-*, which takes the position of copula in the respective affirmative propositions.

(30) Southern Selkup:

a.　*na*　　*`ēd-ə-get*　　　　*kan`a-la*　　*tʃ`ang-wa*
　　DET　village-EP-LOC2　　dog-PL　　not.exist-PRS.3SG
　　In this village, there are no dogs (SelNeg_085)

b.　*na*　*ē`d-ə-get*　　　*kana`-la*　*ne`tu-k*
　　DET　village-EP-LOC2　dog-PL　　"not.exist"-PRS.3SG
　　In this village, there are no dogs (SelNeg_084)

c.　**ē`d-ə-get*　　*kana`-la*　　*ā*　　*ē-j-a*
　　village-EP-LOC2　dog-PL　　NEG_ST　be-EP-PRS.3SG
　　*In this village, (there) not are dogs.　(SelNeg_086)

A Russian loan *netu* made its way into the system as a negative existential predicate, having taken the native Selkup PRS.3SG inflection according to Selkup morphonological patterns. Negative

existential predicate is the only acceptable construction for existence context (30a-b), while NEG_{St}+ V_{EX} construction is consistently seen as unacceptable (30c). This acceptability, however, appears to lift in complex clauses, where in the finite dependent clause both, the NEG_{St}+ V_{ex} and negative existential predicate NEG_{Ex} are attested in semi-improvised speech (*cf.* (31a) *vs.* (31b-c)).

(31) Southern Selkup:

					a. *ā*	*ē-j-a*		*kɨba*	*kan`a-la*
nildʒik	*i*	*ē-j-a,*	*na*	*kan`a-n*	NEG_{St}	be-EP-PRS.3SG		small	dog-PL
DET-ADV	and	be-EP-3SG	DET	dog-LOC					

b. *tʃ`angw-a*  *kɨba*  *kan`a-la*   c. *n`etu-k*  *kɨba*  *kan`a-la*
 NEG_{Ex}-3SG   small   dog-PL NEG_{Ex}-3SG   small dog-PL

It turns out (Lit.: *...it is so indeed, that...*), this dog DOESN'T HAVE PUPPIES (SelNeg_052)

In locative existentials, there are occassional examples of TAM-inflected existential negators *tʃang-* and *netu-* (*cf.* (32a-b) *vs.* (33a-b)).

(32) Southern Selkup:

a. *taby-p* *war-z-at* *kuš`aj*  *pot*    b. *tab-la-`nan* *el'mād-la* *tʃ`aŋgu-z-at.*
  3SG.ACC keep-PST-3PL some   year   3SG-PL-LOC2 baby-PL NEG_{ex}-PST-3PL

  They kept him for several years (H-GM _011)   They did not have children (H-GM_002)

However, in the recent narratives, there is evidence of the use of the PRS.3SG form as a "default form" for a variety of tense contexts, which could be either an idiolectal usage, or a sign of the overnormalization in the environment of language attrition.

(33) Southern Selkup:

a. *man-`an*  *kan`ak* *tʃa`ngw-a* / *ne`tu-ɣ-a*   b. *kan`a-n*  *lɨ*  *tʃa`ngw-a* / *ne`tu-ɣ-a*
  1SG-GEN dog NEG_{ex}-3SG/ NEG_{ex}-PST-3SG   dog-GEN bone NEG_{ex}-3SG / NEG_{ex}-PST-3SG

  I don't have a dog. (SelNeg_011)   The dog did not have a bone (SelNeg_037)

Thus, it can be concluded that overall Southern Selkup existential constructions (Tab.:2) use symmetric negation pattern, with a special negative existential predicate *tʃangu-* in negatives substituting the copula *ē-* in affirmatives. The negative existential predicate appears to take TAM inflections, comparably to the affirmative copula. This manifests the apparent verbal nature of the existential negator.

Tab. 2: Southern Selkup existential negation

Proposition Types	*Symmetry Parameters*	
	Affirmative Patterns	*Negation Patterns*
Present-Future		
· non-verbals	[THEME NP ($V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$)]	[THEME NEG_{St} NP ($V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$)]
· locatives	[THEME$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ (LOC) (+ $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$)]	[THEME$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ (LOC) NEG_{EX}]
· possessives	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME (+ $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$)]	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME NEG_{EX}]
· existentials	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME (+ $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$)]	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME NEG_{EX}]
Past		
· non-verbals	[THEME NP $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$]	[THEME NEG_{St} NP $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$]
· locatives	[THEME$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ (LOC) + $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$]	[THEME$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ (LOC) NEG_{EX}]
· possessives	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME + $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$]	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME NEG_{EX}]
· existentials	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME + $V_{\text{EX[BE]}}$]	[LOC$_{\text{[DEF]}}$ THEME NEG_{EX}]

2.3 Negation with indefinite/negative proforms

In terms of negation strategies with indefinite/negative proforms, Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup show overall simily. Eastern Khanty uses standard constituent negation strategy, or a negative existential predicate, depending on the sort of proposition (*cf.* (34) *vs.* (36)).

(34) Eastern Khanty:

müɣ`ülinə    wer-tä    əntə    `onol-l-əm
what   do-INF   NEG$_{Ex}$ know-PRS-1SG
I CANNOT do ANYTHING (Filchenko 2008)

As for the indefinites themselves, they represent a class of proforms that can be used both as interrogatives and indefinites. The most typical example is in particular *mətä* '*some(thing), some(kind)*' and '*which*?', where derivatives are formed by juxtaposition to a noun, often with an abstract/generic sense: *mətä-länə* 'some-time'; *mətä-saɣɨ* 'some-way'; *mətä-kürät* 'some-amount'; *mətä-tʃim* 'any-how, amount-amount', *etc*.

(35) Eastern Khanty: (Tereskin 1980: 276-277)

a. *mä mətä köl əntə at-kas-əm*
   1SG some word NEG$_{ST}$ go-PST1.3SG
   I didn't say a word.

b. *mä mətä-kürät nüŋ itʃəwkürät*
   1SG some-amount 2SG also   around
   As much for you, so much for me

(36) Eastern Khanty: (Tereskin 1980: 277)

a. *mətäli-tə toɣɨ äl   ari-ta*
   some-PL away NEG$_{ST}$ break-IMPR.2SG
   Don't break anything/nothing/all!

b. *mä   mətäli əntə   wər-l-əm*
   1SG   some   NEG$_{ST}$ do-PRS-1SG
   I don't do anything/nothing.

3. Asymmetric negative constructions
3.1. Double negation strategy with indefinite/negative proforms

Both, Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup demonstrate a number of negative costructions, which manifest some morphosyntactic asymmetry with the affirmative counterparts. Thus, in Eastern Khanty there is a type of examples of negation showing indefinite and personal proforms affixed with a marker /*-p* /*-əp*/*-pə*/.

(37) a. *Vakh*: (Tereskin 1980: 277)

   mətäli-p   əntəm
   something-*pə*   NEG$_{Ex}$
   There's nothing.

b. *Surgut*: (Csepregi 1998: 41)[4]

   wiči-pə əntə eŋkrəmtə-ł
   always-*pə* NEG$_{ST}$ look-PRS.3SG
   (S)he never looks.

Some descriptions interpret /*-pə*/ as a negative affix/clitic in itself (Tereskin 1980, Wagner-Nagy 2011: 78), which corresponds to this morpheme's high frequency in negative clauses as well as single examples where this marker is seen as the sole semantically negative unit (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 78).

(38) *Surgut*: (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 78)

   qu-jə-ł-pə   łŭw-nam   qɔt-nə   wăł-ł
   man-EP-2SGPX-CLIT   3SG-RFL   home-LOC   be-PRS.3SG
   She doesn't have a husband. [Lit.:*"There's no man in her house"*](Csepregi 1998: 41)[5]

This phenomenon is interpreted as reanalysis of an initially emphatic marker into a secondary negator, and in some instances (when the standard negator or a negative existential predicate are not explicitly coded) as the only negator (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 77-78). On the whole, such reanalysis of evolution of an emphatic morpheme into a secondary negative one is typologically valid and received the term Espersen cycle (Dahl 1979; Wagner-Nagy 2011). However, the data from the Eastern Khanty dialects under study (Vasyugan, Aleksandrovo) cannot fully corraborate this hypothesis.

Firstly, instances of /-*pə*/ as a single negator are absent. Secondly, a more conservative analysis for the frequent co-occurrence of /-*pə*/ in negation context is possible, implying the already established emphatic semantics of /-*pə*/ in otherwise standard negation or existential negation cases with indefinite/interrogative proforms (39) or regular nouns (40).

(39) Eastern Khanty:

rätʃ	*tiɣ-l-a*	*taɣ-l-a*	*läɣəm-ɣən*	*qoj-pə*	*əntəm*
oldman	here-3SG-ILL	there-3SG-ILL	look-PST0.3SG	who-Emph	NEG$_{Ex}$

The oldman looked here and there – there was no one there (FA&SON _008)

(40) Eastern Khanty:

...mətä	*köl-pə*	*əntə*	*toloɣ-wəl.*
some	word-Emph	NEG$_{ST}$	say-PRS.3SG

…(Mermaid) does not say a word (BOY_022)

It is more likely that the negative sense of /-*pə*/ is rather an import of the whole proposition, which does imply explicit negator, either standard (40) or existential (39). It is important to establish that the distribution of /-*pə*/ is by far not limited to negative contexts (41-43), or indefinite proforms (43), or proforms at all (41-42, 44).

(41) Eastern Khanty:

mərəm-pə	*təɣə-j-nə*	*mən-wəl-t*		*wont*	*oɣti*	*saɣi*
only-Emph	place-EP-LOC	go-PRS.3SG-PL		wood	top	way

Only in some few places it is possible to walk along wooded tops (SAB-TOL-KOM_14)

(42) Eastern Khanty:

pəɣ -l	*in-pə*	*jaɣəntə -kətə -ɣən*	*ajrɨ*	*juɣ*	*wej*	*morəmta-ɣən*
son-3SG	just-Emph	row-INCH-PST0.3SG	canoe	wood	stem	break-PST0.3SG

The son merely started to row, and his paddle stem broke (FA&SON _013)

(43) Eastern Khanty:

töɣət	*wətʃ'-imt-ɣən*	*tʃ'u*	*raɣəw*	*jüɣ-näm-pə*	*wətʃ'-imt-äɣən*
fire	light-MMNT-PST0.3S	DET	instantly	3SG-RFL-Emph	light-MMNT-PST0.3SG

…the fire lighted (and he) himself instantly lighted (G&B_006)

(44) Eastern Khanty:

`əntə-pə	*söɣön*	*təɣlä-äɣən,*	*il-pə*	*ən`tə*	*rəqət-ətə*
NEG$_{ST}$-Emph	bag	touch-PST0.3SG	fore-Emph	NEG$_{ST}$	throw-PST0.3SG/SG

Didn't even touch the bag, didn't throw anything out! (BearStay_061)

Statistically, the emphatic affix /-*pə*/ has a fairly low frequency averaging 5 per 100 clauses, of which 75 % – in negative context; 25 % – in affirmative; 50 % – with indefinite/interrogative proforms; 25 % – with personal proforms; 25 % – with nouns and adverbs. The average frequency of negation in general is 8 per 100 clauses.

Thus possible treatment of these constructions as instances of the A/Emph type asymmetry (Miestamo 2005: 109; Wagner-Nagy 2011: 57) is possible for some north-Eastern dialects (Surgut), where the morphosyntactic differentiation between the affirmative and negative clauses is in the use of an emphatic marker, not required in the affirmative counterpart. In south-Eastern dialects (Vasyugan, Aleksandrovo), however, grammaticalization of the Emph. marker into a secondary negative clitic has not occurred to comparable extent. Rather, these constructions represent in the

data under study instances of regular negation strategy (standard or existential) albeit in a less common context of emphatic topic negation, while the typical tendency is for the negation scope to cover the assertion part of the proposition.

The similarity of the Southern Selkup negation strategies with indefinites/negatives to the reviewed Eastern Khanty strategies is in the use of interrogative/indefinite proforms in regular (standard and existential) negation, but obligatorily furnished with an affix/ clitic /-*naj*/, which appears to have a generic emphatic/negative sense.

(45) Southern Selkup:

a. *kod-to*   `*tö-mb-at*   *natʃat*   *and-i-γe*
who-FOC   come-PSTN-3PL   DET.LOC   boat-EP-COM
Someone CAME by the boat. (SelNeg_127)

b. `*kod-naj*      `*ā*   *tö-mb-aq*   *natʃat*
who-Emph/NEG   NEG$_{St}$ come-PSTN-3SG   DET.LOC
NOONE HAS COME there. (SelNeg_129)

c. *mat*   `*kod-naj*      `*ā*   *konʒər-n-am*
1SG   who- Emph/NEG   NEG$_{St}$ see-PRS-1SG/SG
I AIN'T SEEN NOONE. (SelNeg_130)

d. *taw*   *kanak*   `*kuʒan-naj*      `*ā*   *mud-a*
DET   dog   when- Emph/NEG   NEG$_{St}$ bark-PRS.3SG
This dog AIN'T NEVER BARKING. (SelNeg_136)

e. *nind*   `*kajm-naj*      *tʃobir*   `*tʃang-wa*   / `*netu-k*
here   which- Emph/NEG   berry   NEG$_{Ex}$- PRS.3SG   NEG$_{Ex}$- PRS.3SG
There AIN'T NO BERRIES here. (SelNeg_143)

The differentiating factor is that Sothern Selkup treats /-*naj*/ as obligatory in negation, unlike Eastern Khanty, where it is not obligatory. In this light, Southern Selkup may be seen as using a sort of double negation, a combination of the morphological and syntactic negation strategies (Dahl 1979), combining a bound negative morpheme /-*naj*/ on otherwise indefinite/interrogative proforms with the otherwise standard negative or negative existential syntax. The use of the empahtic/negative affix/clitic /-*naj*/ appears restricted to indefinite/interrogative proforms. These pairs of affirmative and negative indefinites (with /-*naj*/) may be viewed as manifestation of negative polarity in these systems.

Tab. 3: Negation with indefinites in Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup.

Parameters	*Eastern Khanty*	*Southern Selkup*
Indefinite	INDEF + NEG$_{St}$ / NEG$_{Ex}$	INDEF-*naj* + NEG$_{St}$ / NEG$_{Ex}$
Emphatic	INDEF-*pə* + NEG$_{St}$ / NEG$_{Ex}$ NP-*pə* + NEG$_{St}$ / NEG$_{Ex}$	INDEF / NP-*naj* + NEG$_{St}$ / NEG$_{Ex}$

3.2. Negation with inherently negative auxiliarias

Both, Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup have a limited inventory of modal verbs denoting mental or physical capacity/ability, desire, obligation and necessity, which all follow the standard negation strategy (46, 47a). There is also an even more limited inventory of the inherently negative modal verbs denoting the lack of mental or physical capacity/ability, which affect the otherwise symmetric standard verbal negation strategy. These inherently negative modal verbs do not require any explicit negators and form regular modal complex verbal predicate constructions within the affirmative model [LE$_{[INF]}$ +AUX$_{[FIN]}$]: (*cf.* (46), (47a), (48a) *vs.* (47b), (48b)).

(46) a. Eastern Khanty:

äj-qu   *əntə*   *qoj-wəl*   *mən-tä*
little-man   NEG$_{St}$ want-PRS.3SG go-INF
The boy does not want to go (Boy_036)

b. Southern Selkup:

araga   *ēʒal-gw-a*   *šarwatpy-gu*   *aza*   *kyg-a*
old.man   sayHAB-3SG   say-INF   NEG$_{St}$ want-3SG
The father said: "He doesn't want to talk"(H-GM_027)

(47) Eastern Khanty:

a. *əntə*   *onəl-ɣas-ən*   *qul-oɣ*   *tin*   *wə-tä!*   b. *täl-tä*   *kür-s-əm*
  NEG$_{St}$ can-PST1-2SG   fish-PRL   ransom take-INF   pull-INF   cannot-PST2-1SG
You couldn't take ransom from the fish!(Gulya 1966:139)   I couldn't drag him(Tereskin 1981:131)

(48) Southern Selkup:

a. *as*   *tun-wa-n*   *kadʒa-sən t`alimbi-gu*   b. *tabit* *tü-p*   *tʃadi-gu*   *tʃedalba-dit*
  NEG$_{St}$ can-PRS-1SG Russian   speak-INF   3PL   fire-ACC   light-INF   cannot-PST.3PL
I can't speak Russian(Bykonya 2005: 244)   They couldn't light the fire(Bykonya 2005: 279)

While the most modal verbs '*want, must, need*' follow the standard negation strategy (46), '*can*' may use either the standard negation pattern [LE$_{[INF]}$ NEG$_{St}$ AUX$_{[FIN]}$] (47a, 48a), or the construction with the inherently negative modal auxiliary verb '*cannot*' (47b, 48b). Arguably, the constructions with the sense of mental ability '*can/know*' tend to adhere to standard negation strategy, while those of the physical ability sense '*can/able*' tend to prefer negative modal auxiliary constructions (*cf.* (47a, 48a) *vs.* (47b, 48b, 49)). The order in the construction may vary from [LE$_{[INF]}$ +AUX$_{Neg[FIN]}$] to [AUX$_{Neg[FIN]}$ +LE$_{[INF]}$] as in (49b). The latter is either a likely influence of Russian in the bilingual context, or is due to constructions with mental ability/cognition semantics allowing for more syntactic freedom.

(49) Eastern Khanty:

a. *nuɣ-pa*   *porislə-wəl,*   *küm*   *lüɣä-tä*   *kür-ɣət-äɣi*
  up-ALL   scramble-PRS.3SG   outside   get.out-INF   cannot-DER-PST0.3SG
  (S)he scrambles up, (but) cannot get out (ST_109)

b. *män-nə*   *kür-t-əm*   *loŋo-ta*   *jüɣ*   *kniʃk-əl*
  1SG-LOC cannot-DER-1SG   read-INF   3SG   book-3SG
  I cannot read his book (Filchenko 2008)

This latter view is also supported by examples like (47a), where a standard negation construction [NEG$_{St}$ AUX$_{[FIN]}$ LE$_{[INF]}$] is used instead of the one with the negative auxiliary *kür-* '*cannot*' [LE$_{[INF]}$ +AUX$_{Neg[FIN]}$], but with the infinitival complement clause occuring after the finite complement-taking predicate '*can/know*'.

Eastern Khanty also has an extremely infrequent asymmetric construction which can be classified as A/FIN/NEGVERB asymmetry (Miestamo 2005: 60-75; Wagner-Nagy 2011: 111), implying finite predicate of the affirmative corresponding in negation to a construction of a non-finite predicate and the negative existential predicate, also invariably non-finite. This construction in Eastern Khanty is restricted to the past tense contexts, although explicit TAM or finiteness marking is absent on the complex predicate, while the Agent coreference is available from the possessive marking on the participial form of the lexical verb (LV).

(50) Eastern Khanty:

töγət-əŋ	*kiriw*	*töγə -l -a*	*mən-tə*	*ä-m-əl-ə-pə*	*əntəm*
steam-COM	boat	there-3SG-ILL	go-IMPP	be.able-PP-3SG-EP-Emph	NEG$_{Ex}$

…A steamer is not able to go through there… (SAB-TOL-KOM_006)

It should be stated, however, that unlike similar Northern Selkup constructions (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 109), these Eastern Khanty examples are hardly an indication of a developing asymmetry tendency for a few reasons: (i) this type of constructions is extremely infrequent and context specific; (ii) its distribution implies typically switch-reference embedded non-finite clauses; (iii) these constructions cannot reliably be considered as counterparts to the finite affirmatives, as the standard negation constructions with a finite lexical verb predicates are not merely possible but by far more regular (47, 48, 49). This type of constructions is most probably a variety of an existential negation predicate in nominal-predicate propositions, likely associated with modal latentive sense.

Tab. 4: Negation with inherently negative auxiliarias in Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup.

Parameters	Eastern Khanty	Southern Selkup
· Standard Modals *must, need, want*	Le$_{[Inf]}$ Neg$_{St}$ Aux$_{[Fin]}$	Le$_{[Inf]}$ Neg$_{St}$ Aux$_{[Fin]}$
· Modal *can/physically.able* *can/know.how*	Le$_{[Inf]}$+Aux$_{Neg[Fin]}$ Le$_{[Inf]}$ Neg$_{St}$ Aux$_{[Fin]}$	Le$_{[Inf]}$+Aux$_{Neg[Fin]}$ Le$_{[Inf]}$ Neg$_{St}$ Aux$_{[Fin]}$
· Peripheral types can/physically.able ? Latentive ?	A/Fin/NegVerb Le$_{[Inf]}$ Aux$_{[Nfin]}$ Neg$_{Ex}$	

3. DISCUSSION

Both reviewed systems mainly demonstrate patterns that are expected in the given typological (SV, AOV) and genetic contexts (Ob-Ugric, Samoyedic (Wagner-Nagy 2011)). The main negation strategies (Tab.:5) include: (i) standard negation by preposed free invariant negator within the respective general word-order patterns (Dryer 1992; Dryer 2005), (ii) existential negation (including locatives, possessives and existentials proper) by a special negative existential with defective (Eastern Khanty) verbal paradigm, necessitating in the latter case the use of predicator affixes or analytical constructions with a finite auxiliary (copula) [Neg$_{[Ex]}$(-*aki*) (Aux$_{[Fin]}$)]. Negation in the context of indefinites uses symmetric strategies with regular standard negator and negative existential predicator with interrogative/indefinite proforms. These contexts (indefinite/interrogative proforms) show in Eastern Khanty frequent use of emphatic/negative affix/clitic, which is obligatory in Southern Selkup. In Eastern Khanty, asymmetry of indefinite/negative constructions is at best emerging, while in Southern Selkup it is more fully grammaticalized.

In the domain of modal predicates predominantly symmetric standard negation strategy is used [Le$_{[Inf]}$ Neg$_{St}$ Aux$_{[Fin]}$], with the exception of the sense of physical ability, which shows the use of possibly asymmetric constructions with an inherently negative modal verb '*cannot*' [Le$_{[Inf]}$ Aux$_{Neg[Fin]}$] for coding negative mental ability and showing greater word-order freedom.

Table 5: Asymmetric negation in Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup.

Types	Eastern Khanty		Southern Selkup	
Stand.Neg	Neg_{St} ($V_{[Fin]}$, NP, Adv, Adj)		Neg_{St} ($V_{[Fin]}$, NP, Adv, Adj)	
Exist.Neg	**Symmetry / Asymmetry Parameters**			
	Affirmative	**Negation**	**Affirmative**	**Negation**
Pres-Future non-verbals	Theme NP ($V_{ex[be]}$)	Theme Neg_{St} NP ($V_{ex[be]}$)	Theme NP ($V_{ex[be]}$)	Theme Neg_{St} NP($V_{ex[be]}$)
locatives	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc)(+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc) Neg_{Ex}(+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc) (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc)Neg_{ex}
possessives	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{Ex} (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{ex}
existentials	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{Ex} (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme (+$V_{ex[be]}$)	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{ex}
Past non-verbals	Theme NP $V_{ex[be]}$	Theme Neg_{St} NP $V_{ex[be]}$	Theme NP $V_{ex[be]}$	Theme Neg_{St} NP $V_{ex[be]}$
locatives	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc) + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc) Neg_{Ex}+$V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc) + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Theme}_{[Def]}$ (Loc)Neg_{ex}
possessives	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{Ex}+$V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{ex}
existentials	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{Ex}+$V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme + $V_{ex[be]}$	$\text{Loc}_{[Def]}$ Theme Neg_{ex}
Indefinite	Indef + V / PRD_{Ex}	Indef + Neg_{St} /$_{Ex}$	Indef-*naj* + Neg_{St}/$_{Ex}$	Indef-*naj*+Neg_{St}/$_{Ex}$
Emphatic	Indef-*pə* + V / PRD_{Ex} NP-*pə* + V / PRD_{Ex}	Indef-*pə* + Neg_{St} / $_{Ex}$ NP-*pə* + Neg_{St} / Neg_{Ex}	Indef/NP + V/PRD_{Ex}	Indef/NP-*naj* + Neg_{St}/$_{Ex}$
Modals *must/need/want*	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ Neg_{St} $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ Neg_{St} $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$
Modal can/phys.able can/know.how	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ or $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ +$\text{Aux}_{Neg[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ Neg_{St} $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ or $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$	$\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ +$\text{Aux}_{Neg[Fin]}$ $\text{Le}_{[Inf]}$ Neg_{St} $\text{Aux}_{[Fin]}$

Thus, from the point of view of morphosyntactic symmetry (Miestamo 2005), both systems manifest themselves as predominantly symmetric, without variation between affirmative and negative propositions apart from the presence of the negator itself.

There are, however, asymmetries identified, primarily in the context of negation in existentials and propositions with indefinites, which is typologically frequent (Croft 1991). Possible asymmetries are registered in the context of modal propositions (Tab.:5), particularly between temporal plains (present-future *vs*. past) associated with latentive senses (verbal category asymmetry (Miestamo 2005)). In Eastern Khanty, (i) bare existential negation predicate *əntim* is used for the present–future and unmarked past contexts, while (ii) for the marked past contexts, analytical constructions are used with *əntim* and finite copula. Recent Southern Selkup data demonstrate similar development of analytical construstions with invariant negative existential and finite auxiliary, similar to pronounced Eastern Khanty pattern of an invariant (participial) existential negator. This invariance is treated by the grammar similarly to non-verbal predication, by either the use of a generic predicator affix, or the use of an analytical construction with a finite auxiliary. Principally, fossilized forms of former negative verbs functioning as existential negators may be viewed as instances of negative auxiliaries with severely deficient paradigms and capable of acting as hosts for another, finite lexical verb [$\text{Neg}_{[Aux]}$+$\text{LV}_{[Fin]}$].

Overall, this predictable "noise" of occasional asymmetric constructions complicates clear classification of the reviewed systems into typologically established patterns. For example, Croft's (1991) typology of A, B, C types is not straightforward, as on the one hand etymology of Eastern Khanty standard and existential negators from an earlier negative verb is obvious (cf. *əntə* vs. *əntim*), on the other hand, existential negator has nominal-like morphology (*-äki*), and in some cases either one of the negators can be used within the construction with the auxiliary copula.

Data

ST:	"Set Tracks": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2005, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
BH:	"Bear Hunitng": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2005, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
AGB:	"Almost Got Beaten": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
FAL:	"First Airplane on Lake": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
FYB:	"Funny Young Bear": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
MP:	"Motoroller Pushing": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
M-V:	"Matrena & Vasilij": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
NST:	"Night Shift with Tajka": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
OMC:	"Oldman in a Canoe": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 2008, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.
Life:	"Life": East.Khanty, Aleksandrovo, 2007, L.Parnjuk. TSPU Field Archive.
B&M:	"Bird & Mouse": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 1966, L.Kalinina, glossed-translated 2010, Filchenko, Potanina, Tonoyan, Tretyakov. TSPU Field Archive.
TS:	"Three Sons": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 1966, L.Kalinina, glossed-translated 2010, Filchenko, Potanina, Tonoyan, Tretyakov. TSPU Field Archive.
FA&SON:	"Father & Son": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 1966, L.Kalinina, glossed-translated 2012, Filchenko, Potanina. TSPU Field Archive.
G&B:	"Grasstuft and Berry": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 1966, L.Kalinina, glossed-translated 2012, Filchenko, Potanina. TSPU Field Archive.
OM2WM:	"Oldman & 2 Women": East.Khanty, Vasyugan, 1966, L.Kalinina, glossed-translated 2012, Filchenko, Potanina. TSPU Field Archive.
H-GM:	"Hazlegrouse Turned a Man": South.Selkup, Ivankino, 1980, A.Kim – N.Maksimova, glossed-translated 2010, Bajdak, Maksimova, Fedotova. TSPU Field Archive.
MIFI:	"Mistress of the Fire": South.Selkup, Ivankino, 1983, N.Maksimova – I.Iljashenko, glossed-translated 2012, Bajdak, Maksimova. TSPU Field Archive.
SelNeg:	"Selkup Negation Questionnaire" (adapted): South.Selkup, 2011, Parabel, A.Filchenko. TSPU Field Archive.

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АСИММЕТРИЧНОЕ ОТРИЦАНИЕ В ВОСТОЧНО-ХАНТЫЙСКОМ И ЮЖНО-СЕЛЬКУПСКОМ

В статье рассматриваются стратегии отрицания в грамматических системах двух уральских языков Западной Сибири: восточно-хантыйском и южно-селькупском. Данные языки находятся в отдаленном генетическом родстве и характеризуются продолжительным лингво-культурным контактом на территории среднего течения р.Обь в пределах томской области. Кроме того, эти системы объединяет то, что они относятся к наименее описанным и наиболее угрожаемым, насчитывая в каждом случае (васюганский и александровский диалекты хантыйского языка, и южно-селькупские диалекты) на данный момент не более 10 полноценных носителей.

К основным целям данной части исследования относится синхронное описание морфосинтаксических, просодических, семантических, прагматических и социолингвистических свойств отрицания на базе имеющегося корпуса данных с современных теоретических и методологических позиций. В перспективе дескриптивные данные будут детально проанализированы в их локальной и типологической перспективе, в ареальном - обско-енисейском и генетическом – уральском контексте.

В обще-типологическом плане обе рассматриваемые системы демонстрируют синтаксическую стратегию отрицания, с последовательной морфосинтаксической симметрией в соответствии с доминирующим базовым порядком слов SOV. Однако, в данных отмечаются частные случаи асимметрии, ассоциируемые прежде всего с бытийными конструкциями и конструкциями с неопределенными/отрицательными проформами.

Ключевые слова: *отрицание, селькупский, хантыйский, Сибирь, асимметрия.*

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