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PREDICATE NOMINALS AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE VAKH DIALECT OF KHANTY

Abstract. The paper deals with predicate nominals and related constructions in the Vakh dialect of Khanty. They include nominal predicates (which typically express proper inclusion and equation), predicate adjectives, predicate locatives, existentials, possessive, comparative constructions, as well as predicate comitatives and abessives. These constructions tend to be similar grammatically in lacking a semantically rich lexical verb. The following elements can be used in these clauses: the copula *wăs-* 'be', the copula *wăl-* 'be, live', the existential negative predicate *ə̑ntím* NEG.EX, the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD, the possessive verb *tăjá-* 'have' and a zero copula. The study was carried out on two diachronic layers and revealed the changes in the Vakh dialect of Khanty — a drift to the Russian models in some cases.

Keywords: Vakh Khanty predicate nominals and adjectives, locatives, existentials, possessive and comparative constructions, predicate comitatives and abessives.

1. Introduction

Despite the fact that the documentation and analyses of the Khanty language have been given a lot of attention, its farthest Eastern dialects in the Vakh and Vasyugan regions have been studied relatively poorly. These dialects are also the most endangered ones. According to the data of the last six expeditions of the author, the number of the Vakh dialect speakers can be estimated as approximately 200—300 (including 150 fluent speakers), while there are probably 3 speakers of the Vasyugan dialect that have not been contacted so far.

The aims of the current study are to reveal the peculiarities of constructions that may be called predicate nominals and other related constructions from a diachronic perspective in the Vakh dialect of the Khanty language as well as to find out the characteristics of the linking elements and predicates in these constructions. Another focus of the study is symmetric and asymmetric negation. The research is primarily based on the Vakh dialect, because there are sufficient synchronic and diachronic data on it.

The materials of the study were selected from two corpora of the Vakh dialect. The first one consists of monologue texts based on spontaneous collo-

quial speech and different elicitations collected by the author during the field-work trips to the villages of Larʹjak, Čechlomej and Korliki in the Nižnevar-tovsk region of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area — Yugra in 2017—2019, 2022 (10 000 tokens in total). The second one consists mainly of spontaneous and translated monologue texts with some examples based on elicitations and dialogues recorded and published by Nikolai Terjoškin (Терешкин 1961 : 99—125) and János Gulya (Gulya 1966 : 67—68, 94—95, 111—113, 133—143, 153—165) in the same region in the middle of the 20th century (5230 tokens in total). This makes a significant diachronic depth, taking into account the fact that the earlier population of the area was not influenced by the Russian language as strongly as now. It is also important to note beforehand that nowadays middle-aged native speakers can use prototypical as well as new strategies borrowed from Russian speech constructions, easily switching between them. At the same time elder speakers tend to use prototypical constructions, while children prac-tically do not speak Khanty.

Lots of papers are devoted to general typological analysis of intransitive / nominal / nonverbal predication (e.g. Payne 1997; Stassen 1997; Dryer 2007), or to some particular topics, e.g. existential predication (Creissels 2014), predi-cative possession (Stassen 2009), comparative constructions (Stassen 2013). Some authors discuss the typology of non-verbal predicates in the Ugric and Samoyedic languages (Wagner-Nagy & Viola 2009) and negation in Eastern Khanty (on the basis of Vasjugan and Aleksandrovo varieties) that include the analysis of predicate nominals and related constructions (Filchenko 2015). Let's focus on some of them.

According to Thomas Payne, predicate nominals and related constructions can be subdivided into the following types (Payne 1997 : 111—128): 1) predicate nominals, i.e. constructions with proper inclusion, e.g. *he is a teacher*, and equation, e.g. *he is my father*; 2) predicate adjectives, e.g. *he is strong*; 3) predi-cate locatives, e.g. *the book is on the table*; 4) existentials, e.g. *there is a cat under the bed*; 5) possessive constructions, e.g. Estonian *lapsel on piima* 'the child has milk' (lit.: 'milk is at the child'). All the construction types under discussion tend to be similar grammatically in that they lack a semantically rich lexical verb (Payne 1997 : 112).

Alternatively, in the study of Dryer (2007), these constructions (with nonverbal predicates) may be subdivided into three groups, because they are structurally similar in many respects: 1) nominal predicates that comprise proper inclusion and equation; 2) adjectival predicates (the same as predicate adjectives); 3) locative predicates which include predicate locatives, existentials and possessives.

Payne's classification is used as the basis for this paper. Comparative constructions that use copulas, e.g. 'she is taller than you', and those that use predicative nouns in comitative, e.g. 'he is with a wife', and abessive, e.g. 'he is without a wife', have also been studied. Additionally, there are possessive constructions with a transitive predicate that make the following opposition to intransitive ones in Vakh Khanty e.g. 'the child has milk' vs 'milk is at the child'. Their use and frequency are also traced in the study in order to analyze the distribution of two strategies.

While analysing different types of constructions attention is also paid to some relevant issues, such as: 1) the basic SOV or SV word order in Khanty and its possible pragmatic change; 2) discourse status (oldness and newness

of information); 3) and perspectivisation that may be treated as conceptual placing of one's 'mental eyes' at the point within a scene to look out over the rest of the scene (Talmy 1983 : 254).

There is also a discussion of symmetry and asymmetry between affirmative and negative clauses when symmetric negatives show no structural differences with respect to affirmatives apart from the presence of the negative marker(s), whereas in asymmetric negatives further structural differences can be found (Miestamo 2017).[1]

Before the discussion of different structural types of constructions under study one should overview linking elements and other verbs attested in these constructions and give their typological perspective.

2. Characteristics of linking elements and predicates

Predicate nominals and related constructions tend to use copulas, i.e. any morphemes such as verbs, pronouns, invariant particles or even derivational operations (Payne 1997 : 114—119). There also exist zero copulas in the present tense or predicates in negative constructions. Vakh Khanty has such copulas and predicates as *wăs-* 'be', *wăl-* 'be, live', *ə̆ntím* NEG.EX and a zero copula. The predicative suffix *-iki* PRD that is a part of some intransitive constructions and the predicate of transitive possessive constructions such as *tăjá-* 'have' are also overviewed in this section.

1) The copula *wăs-* (*wəs-*)[2] 'be' can be found only in the present tense. According to Gulya, this copula appears only in the first and second persons and can be translated as 'be, will be, stay' (Gulya 1966 : 111—112). Cognates of this copula are also found in Mansi: **wās-* > Tavda *ās-* 'be' and Upper-Losva *ōs-* 'be' (Honti 2013 : 245). The paradigm of its use in the subjective conjugation is presented here: 1SG: *wăs-əm*; 2SG: *wăs-ən*; 1DU: *wăs-mən*; 2DU: *wăs-ətən*; 1PL: *wăs-oγ*; 2PL: *wăs-təγ* (Gulya 1966 : 112).

(1) *mä tla ni wɔ́s-əm*   (2) *mäm=pi mắti qu wɔ́s-əm*
    1SG PTCL woman be-1SG.SUB   1SG=EMPH PTCL man be-1SG.SUB
    'Well, I am a woman'[3]   'I am also a man'

2) The verb *wăl-* (*wəl-*)[4] 'be, live' inflects for the full paradigm of the subjective conjugation and can carry derivational and inflectional suffixes (see ex. 3—5). According to Gulya, the lexeme can be translated as 'be, exist, stay, take place, take a seat, live, dwell' (Gulya 1966 : 111—112). It is also a regular successor of the Proto-Finno-Ugric lexeme **wole-* be, become' (Honti 2013 : 241). This morpheme has a wider distribution than the copula *wăs-* 'be', can be clearly used as a copula in some cases (see (3)—(6)), and as a lexical verb in others, denoting the living state of animate objects, (see (7)). Sometimes there is ambiguity in the interpretation of the cases — a copula vs a lexical verb (see (8)).[5]

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[1] Initially Miestamo uses this term for standard affirmative and negative clauses, though in the present study it may be applied to all predicate nominals and related constructions.
[2] *Wăs-* and *wəs-* (stressed *wɔ́s*) are two standard variants from different sources.
[3] All the field examples of the Vakh dialect are available at Lingvodoc 3.0: http://ling-vodoc.ispras.ru/dictionary/3021/71/perspective/3021/75/view.
[4] *Wăl-* and *wəl-* (stressed *wɔ́lə-*) are two standard variants from different sources.
[5] Nevertheless, some speakers say that in cases like this the only possible way of reading the verb *wăl-* is as a full lexical verb.

(3) *tot   os   köjŋi   čǝ̆kǝ̄ ärki   wǝl-γál*   (Терешкин 1961 : 118—119)
there again mosquito very a.lot.of be-PST1.3SG
'And there was a great deal of mosquitoes'

(4) *ǟmp-nǝ̄ lŏγ wǝ́lǝ-ŋ   tŏŋ, lŏ́γŏ-l   nuγ li-γǎ́s-tǝ̄*
dog-LOC bone be-SBJ.3SG SBJ bone-POSS.3SG/SG up eat-PST3-3SG/SG
'If the dog had a bone it would have eaten it'

(5) *mä wǝ́lǝ-qǝtǝ-l-ǎm   tʲi jŏ́γŏ-t hazʲǎin*
1SG be-INCH-PRS-1SG.SUB this hill-PL owner
'I will be the owner of these hills'

(6) *mǝ̄ŋ láwqa ón-nǝ   mǎčǝ́γ wǝ́l-wǝl mes-jǝ̆nk pǎ́ni*
1PL shop inside-LOC always be-PRS.3SG cow-water and
smetána   čirgá-j-oγ
sour.cream Cherga-EP-ABL
'There are always milk and sour cream from Cherga in our shop'

(7) *nǝŋ tʲä   mǝ̄γä worǝγ tǝ̆t, utǝn,   wǝl-l-ǝtǝγ?*   (Терешкин
2SG this.way why in.vain here ?in.the.forest live-PRS-2PL.SUB   1961 : 101)
'Why do you live here in vain, in the remote place?'

(8) *tʲi qǎrá-nǝ   wǝ́l-wǝl   nǝ̆ŋ ǝ̄ŋkilót-ǝγlǎn   tŏ́ŋǝmt-ǝm   jaγ?*
this village-LOC be/live-PRS.3SG 2SG parents-POSS.2SG/DU know-PST.PTCP people
'Are there any friends of your parents in this village? / Do any friends
of your parents live in this village?'

3) The predicative suffix *-iki* (*-iqi, -qi, -ǝ̄kí, -ǝ̄ki, -ǝqi, -kí, -ki, -qi, -qǎ*) PRD[6] is
used in Vakh Khanty in the third person present tense and marks a nominal
predicate that might be an adjective, an adverb, a noun in the locative, comi-
tative or abessive. It also marks the existential negative predicate *ǝ̄ntím* NEG.EX.
Reduplication of *-iki* PRD is aimed at making the marked lexeme (in case of
ǝ̄ntím NEG.EX — a referent) more activated/identified in the discourse. The given
suffix can be followed by the markers of the dual and plural numbers *-ikí-γǝn*
PRD-DU, *-iki-jǎ̆t(ǝ̆t)* PRD-PL. The use of this suffix or additional agreement in
number are not obligatory operations. The suffix is also not typically used with
the first and second persons, because speakers tend to resort to the copula *wǎs-*
'be' or a zero copular in these cases.

(9) *lǝ̆γ ǝ̆kǝ̆m-ǝ̄kí*
3SG small-PRD
'He is small'

(10) *tʲi kŏ́γḷ-öγ   sáγarǝ-na-qi, tími os   ǝ́ntǝ sáγarǝ-na-qi…*
this cup-POSS.1PL/SG sugar-COM-PRD that again NEG sugar-COM-PRD
sáγar-lǝγ-ǝqi-ǝqi
sugar-ABESS-PRD-PRD
'This cup (of tee) is with sugar and that one is not with sugar… without
sugar'

(11) *kä   nʲǝ́ŋǝ̄qij-ǎ́li-kǝn ǝ̆kǝ̆m-ǝ̄kí-γǝn*
two child-DIM-DU   little-PRD-DU
'Two children are little'

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[6] To my mind, constructions with *-iki* (*-iqi* etc.) PRD can be analyzed as clauses without
a zero copula, thus making an element marked by the suffix a 'self-sufficient' predicate
with occasional use of number markers. Moreover, it is found in one-member sentences,
like 1) *wǎrtǝ̄-ki-jǎ̆tǝ̆t* — red-PRD-PL '(they) are red'; or 2) *tʲítǝ̄-ki-jǎ̆tǝ̆t* — here-PRD-PL 'here
they are'.

(12) *nŭŋ os ǝ̆s-(s)ǎ́-γ-lǎn jóqǝ-nǝ-qǎ-já*
2SG again mother-FAM-EP-POSS.2SG/PL home-LOC-PRD-PL
'And your wife and children are at home'

4) The existential negative predicate *ǝntím* (*ǝntém, ǝntǝ̆́m, ǝntim*) NEG.EX is
used prototypically in the third person present tense (see (13)). It probably
represents a participial form (PST.PTCP) of some former negative verb *ǝnt-/*ant-*
of the Proto-(Ob-)Ugric period (Фильченко 2013 : 70). The existential negative
predicate is sometimes marked by the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD that can be
doubled in some cases — *ǝntím-ǝ̆ki* NEG.EX-PRD, *ǝntím-ǝ̆ki-ǝ̆ki* NEG.EX-PRD-PRD
(see (14), (15)). Negative assertion of the referent's existence will probably be
expressed by the predicate *ǝntím* NEG.EX with the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD
if this referent is more activated/identified, available to discourse participants
(Ковылин 2017 : 94). Reduplication of *-iki* PRD is also of some emphatic value
and makes the referent more activated/identified. In the new corpus there
are cases of adding the plural suffix *-jät* PL to the predicative *-iki* PRD —
ǝntím-ǝ̆ki-jät NEG.EX-PRD-PL (see (16)). Gulya (1966 : 94) and Filchenko (Филь-
ченко 2010 : 429—430) point out some cases of adding dual and plural number
suffixes directly to the existential negative predicate — *ǝntím-äkǝ̆n* NEG.EX-DU,
ǝntím-ät(ǝ̆) NEG.EX-PL (see (17), (18)). The predicate is often used with subjects
in the dual or plural number without agreement (see (19), (20)). In the first
and second persons, present tense, the auxiliary verb *wǎs-* 'be' is added to
ǝntím NEG.EX (see (21), (22)). In the past tense the predicate *ǝntím* NEG.EX
precedes the auxiliary verb *wǎl-* 'be, live' that can inflect for past tenses and
subjective conjugation (see (23)—(25)). There is also a case when the participial
clause was used with this construction (see (26)).

(13) *qú-nǝ qul ǝntém*
man-LOC fish NEG.EX
'The man has no fish'

(14) *ǝ̆jsǘγ wájǝγ it ǝntém-ǝ̆ki*
old beast now NEG.EX-PRD
'There is no old beast now'

(15) *i tʲu tǎγí-nǝ qul ǝntǝ̆́m-ǝ̆ki-ǝ̆ki…*
and that place-LOC fish NEG.EX-PRD-PRD
'There is also no fish at that place… '

(16) *qo=p ǝ́ntǝ jaγ ǝntím-ǝ̆ki-jät*
where=EMPH NEG people NEG.EX-PRD-PL
'There are no people anywhere'

(17) *mǝ̆ŋ ämp-ǝ̆γlǒγ joq-ǝ̂n ǝntim-äkǝ̆n*
1PL dog-POSS.1PL/DU home-LOC NEG.EX-DU
'Our two dogs are not at home' (Gulya 1966 : 94)

(18) *ämp-ät šǝräγ-wǝl-t ču taγɨ morta toγɨ wer-il poro-mɨn*
dog-PL make.noise-PRS-3PL DET place all away do-3PL step-CVB
i jǝγ-näm ǝntim-ätǝ (Vasjugan dialect) (Фильченко 2010 : 430)
and 3PL-REF NEG.EX-PL
'The dogs are noisy, (they) stepped all over that place and themselves are
not there'

(19) *kä(t) ắmp-kə̆n ə̆ntím-ə̆ki*
    two dog-DU NEG.EX-PRD
    'The two dogs are not (there)'

(20) *jə̆m jaγ   ə̆ntím-ə̆ki*
    good people NEG.EX-PRD
    'There are no good people'

(21) *it   os   mä wor ont-nə   ə̆ntím wə́s-əm*
    now again 1SG forest inside-LOC NEG.EX be-1SG.SUB
    'Now I am not in the forest'

(22) *nŭ̆ŋ ə̆ntím wor ont-nə   wə́s-ən*
    2SG NEG.EX forest inside-LOC be-2SG.SUB
    'You are not in the forest'

(23) *ämp ə̆ntím wəl-γál*
    dog NEG.EX be-PST1.3SG
    'There was no dog'

(24) *kä ắmp-γə̆n ə̆ntím wəl-γál-γən*
    two dog-DU   NEG.EX be-PST1-3DU.SUB
    'The two dogs are not (there)'

(25) *ắmpə̆-t ə̆ntím wəl-γál-t*
    dog-PL NEG.EX be-PST1-3PL.SUB
    'There were no dogs'

(26) *nə̆ŋ ə̆ntím wəl-t-í̆n-nə   mắn-ä ắtə̆m-ə̆ki*
    2PL NEG.EX be-PRS.PTCP-2PL-LOC 1SG-ILL badly-PRD
    'When you are absent I feel bad'

5) The possessive verb *tăjá-* 'have' is a prototypic predicate in possessive predicative constructions that can carry inflectional and, probably, derivational markers. According to László Honti, it appears in Ob-Ugric languages and originally can refer to the verb with the meaning 'hold, keep, carry' (Хонти 2008 : 172).

(27) *wóqɨ tăjá-wəl   lə̆γ*
    fox have-PRS.3SG tail
    'The fox has a tail'

(28) *tʲútnə   qa min jő̆γ-ə̆rki... ə́ntə, qós-ə̆rki   qóləm*
    at.that.time PTCL 1DU ten-more   NEG twenty-more three
    wéli, qábmata, tăjá-γal-əmən
    deer probably have-PST1-1DU.SUB
    'At that time we two had [thir]teen… no, probably twenty three deer'

(29) *ämp lŏγ ə́ntə tăjá-ŋ-al,   lő̆γŏ-l=p   ə́ntə́*
    dog bone NEG have-SBJ-3SG.SUB bone-POSS.3SG/SG=EMPH NEG
    nuγ lí-l-tə̆
    up eat-PRS-3SG/SG
    'If a dog has no bone it will not eat its bone'

6) There is a great number of examples with a zero copula, mostly in the modern data that may be the result of an increasing Russian influence.

(30) *móq-ali ámtəw-nă*
    baby-DIM cradle-LOC
    'The baby is in the cradle'

(31) *lŭγ nŭŋ-ắ qójɨ?*
    3SG 2SG-ILL who
    'Who is he to you?'

3. Predicate Nominals and Related Constructions

In the current section different structural types of constructions under study are discussed as well as the types of predicates used in them. The succession of the elements in the schemes is given in connection with the basic Khanty word order where the predicate occupies the final position. Nevertheless, sometimes this succession can deviate due to pragmatic or other reasons. By and large, declarative clauses were analysed, though there are also interrogative and exclamatory clauses in the materials. Here are also presented the main elements in the schemes: COMP — comparee (which is compared); LOC — location; PE — possessee; PR — possessor; PRED.ADJ — predicate adjective; PRED.NOM — predicate nominal; STAND — standard (to what is compared); THEME — the entity, the subject. Other abbreviations can be found at the end of the paper.

3.1. Proper inclusion and equation

The predication of these constructions is embodied in a noun where in proper inclusion a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate and in equatives a particular entity is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal (Payne 1997 : 111, 114). Being alike in Vakh Khanty, they are not treated separately here. In the present tense in such clauses the copula *wăs-* 'be' or a zero copula are used. In the past tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used.

    Schematically, these constructions can be represented as:

1) [THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2[7] PRS)]
2) [THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]
3) [THEME+PRED.NOM+ZERO.COP — PRS]

    In the following examples affirmative and negative constructions with proper inclusion (see (32), (34)) and equatives (see (33), (35)), which adopt the copula *wăs-* 'be', can be seen in the present tense. Negative constructions are syntactically symmetric to the affirmative ones — the negative particle *ɔ́ntə* is only added to the negated entity.

[THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(32) *nŏŋ wiḷḷä tuḷpuḷ wăs-ən*
    2SG like fool be-2SG.SUB
    'You are like a fool' (Gulya 1966 : 112)

(33) *mɔ́ŋ waγ jaγ wăs-óγ*
    1PL Vakh people be-1PL.SUB
    'We are the Vakh people'

(34) *nŭŋ qŏlá ɔ́ntə ɔ́jsɔγ qăsɨ́ wắs-ăn*
    2SG so.far NEG old man be-2SG.SUB
    'You are not an old man so far'

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[7] Here and further this means that *wăs-* 'be' is used in the first and second persons.

(35) *nŭŋ óntə mä ətʲɨ́-m*   *wăs-ən*
     2SG NEG 1SG elder.brother-POSS.1SG/1SG be-2SG.SUB
     'You are not my elder brother'

Constructions with equation (see (36)) and proper inclusion (see (37)) use the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past tense affirmatives. Symmetric negation of affirmative sentences is fulfilled with the common negative operator *óntə* NEG (see proper inclusion in (38), equation in (39)).

[THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(36) *mä ăpɨ́-m*   *jól-tă*   *qu wəl-γál*
     1SG father-POSS.1SG/1SG practice.shamanism-PRS.PTCP man be-PST1.3SG
     'My father was a shaman'

(37) *tim mə̆γ il.nówən-nə*   *jərγán mə̆γ wəl-áγən*
     this land olden.times-LOC Nenets land be-PST.3SG
     'In olden times this land was the land of Nenets'

(38) *mä ăpɨ́-m*   *óntə ónəltəγəl-tə*   *qu wəl-γál*
     1SG father-POSS.1SG/1SG NEG teach-PRS.PTCP man be-PST1.3SG
     'My father was not a teacher'

(39) *tʲi óntə mä lóγ-ăm*   *wəl-γál*
     this NEG 1PL horse-1SG/1SG be-PST1.3SG
     'This was not my horse'

There are also instances of a zero copula (see proper inclusion in (40) and equation in (41)). Symmetric negation of proper inclusion constructions (see (42)) and equatives (see (43)) with the help of the negative operator *óntə* NEG is also observed.

[THEME+PRED.NOM+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(40) *čówčəq —*   *pə̆́γtə̆ ul*
     black.currant black berry
     'The black currant is a black berry'

(41) *timi mə̆ŋ qut-ŏ̆γ*
     that 1PL house-POSS.1PL/SG
     'That is our house' (Gulya 1966 : 138, 159)

(42) *lŭ̆γ óntə wájəγ wél-tə̆*   *qu*
     3SG NEG animal kill-PRS.PTCP man.
     'He is not a hunter'

(43) *tʲit óntə mä ímp-ə̆m*
     this NEG 1SG dog-POSS.1SG/SG
     'This is not my dog'

In all the instances of negative constructions with proper inclusion and equation constituent negation is prototypically observed.

3.2. Predicate adjectives

Predicate adjectives are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective (Payne 1997 : 111). In the present tense these constructions can contain the copula *wăs-* 'be', the special predicative suffix

-*iki* PRD or be marked by a zero copula. In the past tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used.

Schematically, these constructions can be presented as:

1) [THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
2) [THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]
3) [THEME+PRED.ADJ+ZERO.COP — PRS]
4) [THEME+PRED.ADJ-PRD — 3^8 PRS]

The following examples demonstrate predicate adjectives with the copula *wăs-* 'be' in the present tense. There is symmetry between affirmative and negative constructions — the negative particle *ə́ntə* NEG is only added.

[THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(44) *mä ắrɣi mánʲtʲə-w wə́s-əm*
    1SG a.lot fairy.tale-ADJ be-1SG.SUB
    'I am unpredictable (a lot fabulous)'

(45) *mä ə́ntə ə̆jsű̆ɣ wə́s-əm*
    1SG NEG old be-1SG.SUB
    'I am not old'

In the past tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used. Symmetric negation of affirmative sentences is fulfilled with the common negative operator *ə́ntə* NEG.

[THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(46) *tʲu al čə̆kə̆ läɣə̆r wəl-ɣal* (Терешкин 1961 : 103)
    that year very hard be-PST1.3SG
    'That year was very hard'

(47) *nʲänʲ ə́ntə éwə̆stə̆ wəl-ɣál*
    bread NEG tasty be-PST1.3SG
    'Bread was not tasty'

There are a lot of instances of a zero copula in predicate adjectives. There is also symmetry between affirmative and negative constructions.

[THEME+PRED.ADJ+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(48) *min ắnʲi-m-nä ə̆j qŏrásə-w*
    1DU sister-POSS.1SG/1SG-COM one view-ADJ
    'Me and my sister are twins (are alike)'

(49) *tʲi ämp ə́ntə wájɣa-ŋ*
    this dog NEG animal-ADJ
    'This dog is not like an animal (not for hunting)'

Predicate adjectives may use the predicative suffix -*iki* PRD and additional forms of -*ə̆kí-ɣə̆n* PRD-DU, -*əqɨ-jat* PRD-PL (see (50)—(52)). There is also syntactic symmetry between affirmative and negative constructions (see (53)).

[THEME+ PRED.ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]

(50) *qulə-ŋ jɨɣəl ləɣɨwsa-ŋ-əqɨ*
    fish-ADJ river log.jam-ADJ-PRD
    'The river Kulen Jigyl (Fishy River) has log jams' (Терешкин 1961 : 108)

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[8] Here and further this means that -*iki* PRD is used in the third person.

(51) *jérnäs-kɐ̆n wɐ̆́rtɐ̆-kí-γɐ̆n*
    shirt-DU   red-PRD-DU
    'Two shirts are red'

(52) *qósə-t tɐ̆lγí-n   soj   qɵrásă-w-əqɨ-jat*
    star-PL winter-LOC frost view-ADJ-PRD-PL
    'The stars in winter are grey (frost like)'

(53) *tʲi lɵ̆γ puḷ ɐ́ntə éwɐ̆st-ɐ̆ki*
    this bone piece NEG tasty-PRD
    'This bone is not tasty'

Negative constructions with predicate adjectives basically have constituent negation.

3.3. Existential, locative and possessive constructions

Despite the fact that existential, locative and possessive constructions are alike in many respects in the Vakh dialect of Khanty (they require a locative phrase and a copula), there are some significant differences between them. In existential constructions the known element is the place (LOCATION) and the reported one is an indefinite and discourse-new nominal element (THEME), while in locative constructions it is vice versa: the starting point of the message is usually the known definite element and the reported one is the location of this element (Payne 1997; Dryer 2007; Borschev & Partee 2008; Wagner-Nagy 2011 : 171—176). What is more, in possessive constructions of this type the location is usually animate, while in existential and locative ones it is inanimate.

3.3.1. Existentials

Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in a specified location (Payne 1997 : 112). The location is prototypically inanimate. Different linking elements can be used in this type of clauses. In affirmative constructions in the present tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' can occur, in negative ones — the existential negative predicate *ɐ̆ntím* NEG.EX, that sometimes is marked by the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD and number markers. Also, a zero copula can occur in the present tense. In affirmative constructions in the past tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' also appears, while in negative ones — the existential negative predicate *ɐ̆ntím* NEG.EX accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live', that indicates the past tense.

Schematically these constructions can be represented as:

1) [LOC+THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)]
2) [LOC+THEME+ZERO.COP — PRS]
3) [LOC+THEME+NEG.EX — 3[9] PRS]
4) [LOC+THEME+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

The following examples demonstrate the present tense existentials with the copula *wăl-* 'be, live'. If the Theme is animate, interpretation can be ambiguous — there is possible existential and non-existential reading of the same clause as well as copulative and lexical reading of the verb *wăl-* 'be, live' (see (54)).[10]

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[9] Here and further this means that *ɐ̆ntím* NEG.EX is used in the third person.
[10] As it was mentioned earlier, some speakers consider this verb as a full lexical one.

Nevertheless, in this study both types of interpretation are treated within the frame of existential constructions. If the Theme is inanimate, then only existential reading is possible (see (55)).

[LOC+THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS)]

(54) tom jǘɣ-nə̈ wor áčə-t wəl-wəl-t
that hill-LOC forest ram-PL be-PRS-3PL
'There are wild rams on that hill. / Wild rams live on that hill'

(55) tim al ul wal-wəl?
this year berry be-PRS.3SG
'Is there a (good) berry growth this year?' (Gulya 1966 : 134, 153)

The following examples present the past tense existentials with the copula *wăl-* 'be, live'. with both animate (see (56)) and inanimate Themes (see (57)).

[LOC+THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(56) qărá-nă nʲə̈́ŋə̈qɨjɨ́ wəl-ɣál
village-LOC child be-PST1.3SG
'There was a child in the village. / A child lived in the village'

(57) wor on-nə mə̈l mə̈ɣ sem wəl-ɣál
forest inside-LOC deep soil eye be-PST1.3SG.
'There was a deep spring in the forest'

Also, there are the two existentials with a zero copula.

[LOC+THEME+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(58) tʲu tăɣɨ́-nə ə̈́rki wɨ́jə-ŋ lúŋqə-t
this place-LOC a.lot.of deception-ADJ evil.spirit-PL
'There are a lot of deceptive evil spirits at that place'

(59) qat čöŋ-ŋə wont
house back-LOC forest
'There is a forest behind the house' (Gulya 1966 : 138, 158).

In affirmative and negative existential constructions in present tense, structural symmetry is not observed: in affirmatives, the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' or a zero copula is used, while in negatives the existential negative predicate *ə̈ntɨ́m* NEG.EX.

[LOC+THEME+NEG.EX — 3 PRS]

(60) émtə̈r-nə̈ qul ə̈ntɨ́m-ə̈ki   (61) tim qărá-nă nʲə̈́ŋə̈qɨjɨ́-t ə̈ntɨ́m-ə̈ki
big.lake-LOC fish NEG.EX-PRD   this village-LOC child-PL NEG.EX-PRD
'There is no fish in the lake'   'There are no people in this village'

There is also no symmetry in affirmative and negative past tense existentials, where in affirmatives the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used and in negatives the negative predicate *ə̈ntɨ́m* NEG.EX is accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live'.

[LOC+THEME+NEG.EX+AUX (*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(62) qát-nə ə̈́tʲə̈ɣ jə̈ŋk ə̈ntɨ́m wəl-ɣál
house-LOC cold water NEG.EX be-PST1.3SG
'There was no cold water in the house'

(63) *wor   ont-nə   ul   ə́ntím   wəl-ɣás.*
　　 forest inside-LOC berry NEG.EX be-PST3.3SG
　　 'There were no berries in the forest'

In negative existentials sentential negation is observed.

3.3.2. Predicate locatives

Locational constructions predicate location (Payne 1997 : 112), which is proto-typically inanimate. There are a lot of ways to express locative predication. In the present tense such copulas as *wăs-* 'be' and *wăl-* 'be, live' can be used, as well as the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD that marks the location in the third person and a zero copula. In the affirmative constructions in the past tense the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used. In the third person present tense in negative constructions the existential negative predicate *ə́ntím* NEG.EX is used, which is sometimes marked by the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD and number markers, while in the first and second persons the auxiliary verb *wăs-* 'be' is added to *ə́ntím* NEG.EX. In the past tense *ə́ntím* NEG.EX is accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live'.

　　Schematically, these constructions can be represented as:

1) [THEME+LOC+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
2) [THEME+LOC+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)]
3) [THEME+LOC+ZERO.COP — PRS]
4) [THEME+LOC-PRD — 3 PRS]
5) [THEME+LOC+NEG.EX — 3 PRS]
6) [THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
7) [THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

　　The following examples demonstrate the present tense locatives with the copula *wăs-* 'be'.

[THEME+LOC+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(64) *mä qat-nə   was-əm*
　　 1SG house-LOC be-1SG.SUB
　　 'I am in a house' (Gulya 1966 : 112)

(65) *mə̆ŋ it   qatə-l   peḷəq-nə was-oɣ*
　　 1PL now house-POSS.3SG/SG side-LOC be-1PL.SUB
　　 'We are in the house now' (Gulya 1966 : 112)

　　There is also some ambiguity in the interpretation of clauses with an animate Theme: copulative vs lexical reading of the verb *wăl-* 'be, live' (see (66)), as opposed to the clear copulative reading of the verb with an inanimate Theme (see (67)).

[THEME+LOC+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS)]

(66) *tórəm nóm-ən wɔ́l-wəl*　　　(67) *tʲi nʲänʲ sóɣŏn-nə wɔ́l-wəl*
　　 God   up-LOC live-PRS.3SG　　　　　 this bread basket-LOC be-PRS.3SG
　　 'The God is/lives in the sky'　　　 'This bread is in the basket'

　　The following sentences present existentials with animate (see (68)) and inanimate Themes (see (69)), that use the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past tense.

[THEME+LOC+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(68) *ǝjlắnǝ̆ mä ǝ̆ḷḷǝ̆ puγǝl-nǝ wǝl-γal-əm*
　　　once 1SG big village-LOC live-PST1-1SG.SUB
　　　'Once I was/lived in a big village' (Терешкин 1961 : 106)

(69) *t^ji nípik pǝ̆sắn-nǝ̆ wǝl-γás*
　　　this book table-LOC be-PST3.3SG
　　　'This book was on the table'

　　There are also two locatives with a zero copula.

[THEME+LOC+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(70) *mä wor ont-nǝ*
　　　2SG forest inside-LOC
　　　'I am in the forest'

(71) *mǝ̆ŋ lóγ-lǒγ wor ont-nǝ*
　　　1PL horse-POSS.1PL/PL forest inside-LOC
　　　'Our horses are in taiga'

　　In the following examples a special strategy of encoding locative constructions with the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD on the locative expression is observed in the third person. The suffix has three forms *-iki* PRD (see (72)), *-iki-γǝ̆n* PRD-DU (see (73)) and *-iki-jät* PRD-PL (see (74)).

[THEME+LOC-PRD — 3 PRS]

(72) *ǝpɨ-m os qot-ǝqɨ?* (Терешкин 1961 : 122)
　　　father-POSS.1SG/SG again where-PRD
　　　'And where is my father?'

(73) *úl-γǝn wor ont-nǝ-qɨ-γǝn*
　　　berry-DU forest inside-LOC-PRD-DU
　　　'Two berries are in the forest'

(74) *nípikǝ̆-t ắtǝm qǎsɨ́ köt-nǝ̆-ki-jǎt*
　　　book-PL bad men hand-LOC-PRD-PL
　　　'The books are in the hands of a bad man'

　　Locative constructions do not show structural similarity in affirmatives and negatives in the third person present tense. In affirmative clauses the copula *wăl-* 'be, live', a zero copula or the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD are used, while negative clauses have the existential negative predicate *ǝ̆ntím* NEG.EX, which sometimes is accompanied by the suffix *-iki* PRD.

[THEME+LOC+NEG.EX — 3 PRS]

(75) *nǝ̆ŋ ǝt^jɨ́-tǝn qát-nǝ ǝ̆ntím-ǝ̆ki*
　　　2PL elder.brother-POSS.2PL/SG house-LOC NEG.EX-PRD
　　　'Your elder brothers are not at home'

(76) *mä än^ji-läm joq-ǝn ǝ̆ntim-ät*
　　　1SG sister-POSS.1SG/PL home-LOC NEG.EX-PL
　　　'My sisters are not at home' (Gulya 1966 : 94)

　　In affirmative and negative present tense locatives in the first and second persons structural similarity is also not observed when in affirmative

clauses the copula *wăs-* 'be' or a zero copula are used and in negative ones the predicate *ə̃ntím* NEG.EX accompanied by the auxiliary *wăs-* 'be'.

[THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)].

(77) *nŭ̈ŋ wor   ont-nə   ə̃ntím wós-ən*
     2SG forest inside-LOC NEG.EX be-2SG.SUB
     'You are not in the forest'

(78) *mə̃ŋ wor   ont-nə   ə̃ntím wós-təγ*
     1PL forest inside-LOC NEG.EX be-1PL.SUB
     'We are not in the forest'

There are also differences between the affirmative past tense locatives with the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' and the negative past tense locatives with the negative predicate *ə̃ntím* NEG.EX accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live'.

[THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)].

(79) *tʲu   jə̃̆löw nípik mŭnqá pə̃sə̃́n óγtə-nə ə̃ntím   wəl-γás*
     this new   book PTCL   table up-LOC NEG.EX be-PST3.3SG
     'This new book was not on the table'

(80) *mä ə̃́ni-m   jóq-ən   ə̃ntím wəl-γás*
     1SG elder.sister-POSS.1SG/1SG home-LOC NEG.EX be-PST3.3SG
     'My elder sister was not at home'

In negative predicate locatives sentential negation is observed.

3.3.3. Possessive constructions

Possessive constructions predicate possession (Payne 1997 : 112). Prototypically they require the possessive 'transitive' verb *tăjá-* 'have'. However, there are cases where these constructions can contain the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' or be marked by a zero copula in the present tense. In negative constructions in the present tense the existential negative predicate *ə̃ntím* NEG.EX can be used. It is sometimes marked by the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD and number markers, while in the past tense the existential negative predicate *ə̃ntím* NEG.EX is used, accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live' that indicates the tense.
    Schematically these constructions can be represented as:

1) [PR+have+PE — PRS/PST];
2) [PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)];
3) [PR+PE+ZERO.COP — PRS];
4) [PR+PE+NEG.EX — 3 PRS];
5) [PR+PE+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)].

    Possessive clauses with the verb *tăjá-* 'have' are a common means of expressing predicative possession. They do not belong to the domain of intransitive predication, but form an opposition to intransitive possessive constructions. Affirmative (see (81)) and negative (see (82)) clauses are symmetrical — only the common negative operator *ə̃ntə* NEG is added to the negated proposition.

[PR+have+PE — PRS/PST]

(81) *nŏŋ nʲänʲ tăja-wən?*
     2SG bread have-PRS.2SG
     'Do you have any bread?' (Gulya 1966 : 133, 153)

(82) *mä qul əntə tăjá-γal-am*
    1SG fish NEG have-PST1-1SG.SUB
    'I did not have fish'

There is also a locative strategy of encoding predicative possession with the copula *wăl-* 'be, live'. Here are some examples of its use in the present tense.

[PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS)]

(83) *ằm-nə̆ lŏγ wə́l-wəl*
    dog-LOC bone be-PRS.3SG
    'The dog has a bone'

(84) *imi-nə jələw juγqurɨ wal-wəl*
    old.woman-LOC new trough be-PRS.3SG
    'The old woman has a new wooden trough' (Gulya 1966 : 140, 161)

The following examples contain predicative possessive constructions with the copula *wăl-* 'be live' in the past tense.

[PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(85) *tʲɨma-nə̆ íki wəl-γál*
    Tima-LOC grandfather be-PST1.3SG
    'Tima had a grandfather'

(86) *lŭ̈γ-ə̆n mŭ̈ŋkäm wəl-γál*
    3SG-LOC snake be-PST1.3SG
    'He had a snake'

Possessive clauses with a zero copula are also used in Vakh Khanty.

[PR+PE+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(87) *mä íki-m-nə̆ ằrki ač*
    1SG grandfather-POSS.1SG/1SG-LOC a.lot.of ram
    'My grandfather has a lot of rams'

(88) *untɨ́rə-nə ílni nʲɨ́rə-γən*
    Andrei-LOC old boot-DU
    'Andrei has old boots'

Negative possessive clauses with a possessor marked by the locative case show similarity with existential and locative constructions — the existential negative predicate *ə̆ntɨ́m* NEG.EX is used, while in affirmative constructions we have the copula *wăl-* 'be, live', a zero copula or the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD. Negative constructions are asymmetric to affirmative ones.

[PR+PE+NEG.EX — 3 PRS]

(89) *lŭ̈γ-ə̆n ə̆ŋkí ə̆ntɨ́m-ə̆ki*
    3SG-LOC mother NEG.EX-PRD
    'He has no mother'

(90) *mằ́-nə̆ it wăγ ə̆ntɨ́m-ə̆ki*
    1SG-LOC now money NEG.EX-PRD
    'I have no money now'

In negative locative possessive constructions in the past tense the negative predicate *ə̆ntɨ́m* NEG.EX accompanied by the auxiliary verb *wăl-* 'be, live' is used, while in affirmative ones we have the copula *wăl-* 'be, live'. Negative constructions are asymmetric to affirmative ones.

[PR+PE+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]

(91) *mə́ŋ-ən jəŋk ə̆ntím wəl-γal*
    1PL-LOC water NEG.EX be-PST1.3SG
    'We did not have water'

(92) *məŋ púč-oγ-nə   jól-tă   jaγ*
    1PL clan-POSS.1PL/SG-LOC practice.shamanism-PRS.PTCP people
    ə̆ntím wəl-γál
    NEG.EX be-PST1.3SG
    'Our clan had no shamans'

In negative possessive intransitive constructions, we have mainly sentential negation, while in transitive ones constituent negation is preferred.

3.4. Comparative constructions

Comparative constructions encode two objects which are assigned to different positions on a predicative scale; they express the comparison of inequality (Stassen 2013). In such clauses the copula *wăs-* 'be' and the special predicate suffix *-iki* PRD are used in the present tense.
    Schematically these constructions can be represented as:

1) [COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
2) [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
3) [COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]
4) [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]

In the following construction the Comparee is compared to the Standard by means of the special postposition *nín̩ət* COMP that modifies the Standard, an adjective and the copula *wăs-* 'be' in the first and second persons present tense.

[COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(93) *mä ət^ji-m   nín̩ət óγŏr wə́s-əm*
    1SG elder.brother-POSS.1SG/1SG COMP tall be-1SG.SUB
    'I am taller that my elder brother'

The next construction shows that the Comparee is compared to the Standard by means of the suffix *-oγ* ABL that modifies the Standard, the adjective and the copula *wăs-* 'be' in the first and second person present tense. The word order is changed due to pragmatic reasons — the adjective *óγŏr* 'tall' and the copula *wăs-* 'be' stand before the Standard *qáqă-m-oγ* 'younger.brother-POSS.1SG/1SG-ABL' to probably stress the pragmatic value of the adjective in the context. This is the only confirmed case but, nevertheless, here and further I present the scheme that corresponds to the basic neutral order of the elements for more adequate perception of the constructions.

[COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(94) *mä óγŏr wə́s-əm   qáqă-m-oγ*
    1SG tall   be-1SG.SUB younger.brother-POSS.1SG/1SG-ABL
    'I am taller than my younger brother'

The following constructions demonstrate the Comparee compared to the Standard by means of the special postposition *nín̩ət* COMP, that modifies the

Standard, and an adjective with the predicate suffix *-iki* PRD in the third person present tense.

[COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]

(95) *lŭγ os   mä nı́ŋət éŋə̆-ki*
    3SG again 1SG COMP fat-PRD
    'He is even fatter that me'

(96) *mä rɨtɨ-m   noŋ rɨtɨ-n   nɨŋət jə̆m-ə̆ki*
    1SG boat-POSS.1SG/SG 2SG boat-POSS.2SG/SG COMP good-PRD
    'My boat is better that your boat' (Gulya 1966 : 68)

Finally, there are clauses where the Comparee is compared to the Standard by means of the suffix *-oγ* ABL, that modifies the Standard, and an adjective with the suffix *-iki* PRD in the third person present tense.

[COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]

(97) *ŏγ-äli-t   pʀ-áli-t-oγ   ílă   nă̆msă-ŋ-qɨ-ját*
    girl-DIM-PL boy-DIM-PL-ABL forward intellect-ADJ-PRD-PL
    'Girls are cleverer than boys'

(98) *tom qat   jə̆m-ə̆ki tim qat-oγ*
    that house good-PRD this house-ABL
    'That house is better than this house' (Gulya 1966 : 95)

3.5. Predicate comitatives and abessives

There are two more types of intransitive predicative constructions where the main semantic content is expressed by a noun in comitative or abessive. They can be called predicate comitatives and abessives as they are semantically different, in a way, from the previously discussed intransitive clauses and ascribe presence or absence of a quality or an object to the subject. In the examples below the copula *wăs-* 'be', the suffix *-iki* PRD and the zero copula are found in the present tense, while there are no clauses in the past tense or negative constructions in the corpora (they require additional analysis). Schematically, these constructions can be represented as:

1) [THEME+PRED.COM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]
2) [THEME+PRED.COM/ABESS+ZERO.COP — PRS]
3) [THEME+PRED.COM/ABESS-PRD — 3 PRS]

The following construction demonstrates a predicate noun in abessive that describes the subject with no entity and is linked by the copula *wăs-* 'be'.

[THEME+PRED.COM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]

(99) *mä nı́-lə̆γ   wə́s-əm*
    1SG wife-ABESS be-1SG.SUB
    'I am without wife'

The next two clauses show predicative comitative (see. ex. 100) and abessive (see. ex. 101) that are linked to the subject by a zero copular.

[THEME+PRED.COM/ABESS+ZERO.COP — PRS]

(100) *tʲi   nʲänʲ qúl-na-tɨ,   tom os   nʲóγɨ-na-tɨ*
    this bread fish-COM-PTCL that again meat-COM-PTCL
    'This pie (bread) is with fish and that one is with meat'

(101) *tʲúmɨnt niŋ-ắli   jérnäs-löγ pə́r-löγ*
    such   woman-DIM dress-ABESS particle-ABESS
    i   wórŏw-lŏγ pə́r-löγ
    and pants-ABESS particle-ABESS
    'Such a woman is without dress and pants'

In the last two examples predicative comitative (see. ex. 102) and abessive (see (103)) are used with the predicative suffix *-iki* 'PRD'.

[THEME+PRED.COM/ABESS-PRD — 3 PRS]

(102) *tʲi   čäj jönk sáγarə-na-qɨ, tómɨ os   ə́ntə*
    this tea water sugar-COM-PRD that again NEG
    'This tea is with sugar and that one is not'

(103) *lŭγ ə́ŋkí-löγ-iki-iki*
    3SG mother-ABESS-PRD-PRD
    'He is without mother'

4. Discussion of some essential issues

This section contains a discussion of some examples whose semantics is connected with the change of word order, pragmatic and discourse status. Posture verbs in existentials and locatives and other interesting cases are also discussed.

The Khanty word order plays an important role in demarcation of existential and locative constructions. In existentials, as it has been already mentioned, the known element is the place (LOCATION) and the reported one is an indefinite and discourse-new entity (THEME) (see (104)), while in locative constructions it is vice versa (see (105)). Nevertheless, there are some cases where in structurally locative constructions like [THEME+LOC+COP/NEG.EX] the Theme is indefinite (see (106)) and such constructions may also be considered as existentials (they are treated as locatives in this study).

(104) *tom jŏ́γ-nə̆ ắrki   wéli*
    that hill-LOC a.lot.of deer
    'There are a lot of deer on that hill'

(105) *mä änʲi-m   joq-ən   əntím-əki*
    1SG sister-POSS.1SG/SG home-LOC NEG.EX-PRD
    'My sister is not at home' (Gulya 1966 : 95)

(106) *wäsili, qojə-qəm   tot   utən?* (Терешкин 1961 : 107)
    Vasilii who-INDEF there ?in.the.forest
    'Vasilii, is there somebody in the forest?'

In the following example the structure of the clause is [LOC+THEME+COP/NEG.EX], but the definiteness of the Theme prevents us from treating this construction as an existential. The Theme was mentioned in the previous discourse and the Location appears in the first place due to pragmatic reasons. So, this may be considered as a locative construction with inversion.

(107) *jŏpivänkä peḷŏk ur -nə   t u l äŋkŏ̆wsə̆* (Терешкин 1961 : 102)
    Epivanka side old.river.bed-LOC this cemtery
    'This cemetery is in Epivanka down old river bed'

There is a great deal of cases where existential and locative clauses appear without an overt Location, so one can talk about some presupposed covert Location where some entities are located. If the entity is indefinite and discourse-new, then the clause is existential (see (108)—(110)). If the entity is definite, discourse-old or if the perspective of the speaker focuses on it, then the clause might be considered as a locative one (see (111), (112)).

(108) *qójɨ-qŏm   wə́l-wəl*
     who-INDEF be-PRS.3SG
     'There is somebody (somewhere). / Somebody lives (somewhere)'

(109) *ärki kojŋi   wăl-γal*
     a.lot mosquitoe be-PST1.3SG
     'There were many mosquitoes (at that place)' (Gulya 1966 : 137, 157)

(110) *qójɨ=p   ə́ntím*
     who=EMPH NEG.EX
     'There is nobody (anywhere)'

(111) *lŏγ ə́ntím-ə́ki*   (Терешкин 1961 : 105)
     3SG NEG.EX-PRD
     'He is absent'

(112) *ämp   ə́ntím wəl-γál*
     собака NEG.EX be-PST1.3SG
     'The dog was not (there)'

There are also cases when the existence of an entity does not require a locational phase unlike in existential constructions. In Haspelmath's terms the following two examples can be treated as hyparctic clauses (Haspelmath 2022).

(113) *ăpɨ́-m,   ə́ŋkɨ́-m,   ími-m,*
     father-POSS.1SG/SG mother-POSS.1SG/SG grandmother-POSS.1SG/SG
     nʲɨləγ nʲə́ŋi-qɨjɨ wəl-γál
     eight child   be-PST1.3SG
     'There were/lived my father, mother and eight children'

(114) *wə́l-wəl-t   tʲímint ŭkŭm wóntə-ŋ   jaγ*
     be-PRS-3PL.SUB such   little forest.inside-ADJ people
     'There are/live/exist such little forest people'

All speakers of Vakh Khanty are bilingual with predominance of Russian in their everyday communication in most cases. Despite this fact, many prefer to speak only Vakh Khanty when they stay in the forest for a long time or live in their rangelands (according to their own words). The Russian language influences Vakh Khanty speakers to a greater or lesser degree and some of them tend to use the Russian word order SVO where the predicate occupies the position right after the subject instead of the SOV Khanty word order. The following two examples demonstrate probably the Russian basic word order and not the deviation of the Khanty word order for pragmatic reasons. Nevertheless, this drift arises the questions of ambiguity in interpretation of the sentence information structure in Vakh Khanty.

(115) *mä-nə̄   ə́ntím pə́nt-ə̄m   pam*
     1SG-LOC NEG.EX dry-PST.PTCP grass
     'I do not have some dried grass'

(116) *qărá-nă   wəl-γál   ắrki   nʲə́ŋə̆qɨjɨ-t*
     village-LOC be-PST1.3SG a.lot.of child-PL
     'There were/lived a lot of children in the village'

Some speakers say that it is not prototypical to use the verb *wăl-* 'be, live' in the present tense locatives and existentials like in the example (see ex. 117) as the only interpretation of the verb in this case is 'live' and the sentence looks strange. In this case they suggest using sentences with the suffix *-ɨkɨ* PRD (see (118)), a zero copula (see (119)) or posture verbs such as *ălá-* 'lie' (see (120)).

(117) *nǔŋ qul-ăn   rɨt-nă   wə́l-wəl*
     2SG fish-POSS.2SG/SG boat-LOC live-PRS.3SG
     'Your fish lives in a boat'

(118) *nuŋ qul-ăn   rɨt-nă-qɨ*
     2SG fish-POSS.2SG/SG boat-LOC-PRD
     'Your fish is in the boat'

(119) *nǔŋ qul-ăn   rɨt-nă*
     2SG fish-POSS.2SG/SG boat-LOC
     'Your fish is in the boat'

(120) *nǔŋ qul-ăn   rɨt-nă ălá-wəl*
     2SG fish-POSS.2SG/SG boat-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
     'Your fish is (lies) in the boat'

Posture verbs, such as *ălá-* 'lie' (see ex. 121), *lálʲ-* 'stand' (see (122)) and *áms-* 'sit' (see (123)), are very common in existential and locative constructions and are used as copulas instead of standard linking elements.

(121) *tʲi   pas   mɨnʲ-nʲə ălá-wəl*
     this mitten case-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
     'This mitten is (lies) in the case'

(122) *tom tăγɨ́-n,   tŏppá   lálʲ-wəl   jom   juγ*
     that place-LOC up.there stand-PRS.3SG bird.cherry tree
     'There, at that place there is (stands) a bird cherry tree'

(123) *jərγán jaγ qátă-t émtə̆r jór-nə   ámsə-t*
     Nenets people house-PL big.lake middle-LOC sit-PST.3PL
     'Nenets houses stood (lit.: sat) in the middle of the lake'

5. Analysis

This section presents the three tables which show different types of predicate nominals and related constructions, linking elements and predicates used in them, their frequency and distribution as well as symmetry and asymmetry between affirmative and negative constructions. Predicate comitatives and abessives are not discussed here.

Table 1 shows different structural types of constructions, linking elements and predicates as well as their frequency in the corpora. I do not take into account the differences in the structure connected with the different order of the constituent elements of the clauses, if they do not influence the types of predicate nominals and related constructions, and they are restricted to the schemes in Table 1. I also consider the principles of discourse-newness/ discourse-oldness, definiteness/indefiniteness and perspectivisation. Two

corpora were used for this purpose: 1) the modern one collected in 2017—2019, 2022 (10000 tokens in total); 2) and the 'old' one — the corpus of texts and examples recorded and published by Tereshkin (Терешкин 1961 : 99—125) and

Table 1

Types of Predicate Nominals and Related Constructions

Modern corpus (New) / Tereshkin & Gulya corpus (T&G) /	New corpus	T&G corpus
Predicate nominals	[THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**20**)[11]; [THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*w l-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**10**); [THEME+PRED.NOM+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**56**)	THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**4**); [THEME+PRED.NOM+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**1**)
Predicate adjectives	[THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**8**); [THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**6**); [THEME+PRED.ADJ+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**7**); [THEME+PRED.ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**145**)	[THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**7**); [THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**4**); [THEME+PRED.ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**13**)
Existentials	[(LOC+)THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**34 — PRS/32 — PST**); [LOC+THEME+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**11**); [(LOC+)THEME+NEG.EX — 3 PRS] (**21**); [(LOC+)THEME+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**11**)	[(LOC+)THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**4 — PRS/10 — PST**); [LOC+THEME+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**7**); [(LOC+)THEME+NEG.EX — 3 PRS] (**3**)
Predicate locatives	[THEME+(LOC+)COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**5 — PRS/18 — PST**); [THEME+LOC+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**8**); [THEME+LOC-PRD — 3 PRS] (**11**); [THEME+(LOC+)NEG.EX — 3 PRS] (**5**); [THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**8**); [THEME+(LOC+)NEG.EX+AUX(*w l-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**2**)	[THEME+LOC+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**2**); [THEME+(LOC+)COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**6 — PRS/10 — PST**); [THEME+LOC+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**2**); [THEME+LOC-PRD — 3 PRS] (**4**); [THEME+(LOC+)NEG.EX — 3 PRS] (**3**)
Possessive clauses	[PR+have+PE — PRS/PST] (**98**); [PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**5 — PRS/5 — PST**); [PR+PE+ZERO.COP — PRS] (**28**); [PR+PE+NEG.EX — 3 PRS] (**23**); [PR+PE+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)] (**2**)	[PR+have+PE — PRS/PST] (**7**); [PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS/PST)] (**1 — PRS**)
Comparative constructions	[COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**1**); [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] (**1**); [COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**5**); [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**5**)	[COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**3**); [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] (**1**)

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[11] Frequency is shown in brackets.

Gulya (1966 : 67—68, 94—95, 111—113, 133—143, 153—165) in the middle of the 20th century (5230 tokens in total).

The discussion of Table 1 is presented below.

1) In both corpora predicate nominals are represented by the following constructions [THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)/ZERO.COP — PRS]; in the new corpus — [THEME+PRED.NOM+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]. In both corpora linking elements can be expressed by the copula *wăs-* 'be' and a zero copula in the present tense. In the new corpus the use of the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past tense is also registered. The most frequent means of coding predicativity in the old corpus is the copula *wăs-* 'be', in the new one — a zero copula that can be considered as a marker of a growing influence of the Russian syntax on Khanty.

2) In both corpora predicate adjectives can be expressed with constructions like [THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP — PRS/PST] and [THEME+PRED.ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]; in the new corpus — [THEME+PRED.ADJ+ZERO.COP — PRS]. Such linking elements as *wăs-* 'be' in the present, *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past and the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD in the present were registered for both types of data; a zero copula can be found in the new data. The most frequent means of coding predicativity in both corpora is marking the adjectives in question by the suffix *-iki* PRD.

3) In both corpora the parallel use of existential constructions like [(LOC)+THEME+COP/ZERO.COP — PRS/PST] and [(LOC)+THEME+NEG.EX — 3 PRS] was registered, as well as in the new corpus — [(LOC)+THEME+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]. The linking element *wăl-* 'be, live', which is the most frequent means of coding predicativity, can be used both in the present and past tenses; a zero copula and the existential negative predicate *əntím* NEG.EX in the present tense can also be found in both corpora. An analytical form representing existential negation in the past was registered in the new data — *əntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live'.

4) In both corpora predicate locatives can be represented as [THEME+(LOC+) COP *wăl-* 'be, live' /ZERO.COP — PRS/PST], [THEME+LOC-PRD — 3 PRS] and [THEME+ (LOC+)NEG.EX — 3 PRS]; in the new corpus the constructions of the following type also exist — [THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] and [THEME+ (LOC+)NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)]; in the old one — [THEME+(LOC+)COP (*wăs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]. In both corpora such linking elements as *wăl-* 'be, live' in the present and past tenses, *əntím* NEG.EX, a zero copula and the suffix *-iki* PRD in the present tense are used relatively equally often. The use of the copula *wăs-* 'be' in the present tense was registered in the old corpus; and of *əntím* NEG.EX + *wăs-* 'be' for the first and second persons in present and *əntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past tense in the new one.

5) Both corpora have possessive constructions like [PR+have+PE — PRS/PST] and [PR+PE+(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PRS)]; in the new corpus constructions like [PR+PE+COP (*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)], [PR+PE+ZERO.COP — PRS]; [PR+THEME+NEG.EX — 3 PRS] and [PR+PE+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)] can be found. The possessive verb *tăjá-* 'have' is prototypic and can be expected to be the most quantitative predicate for expressing predicative possession in both corpora. Constructions with the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' and a zero copula in the present are used in both corpora. The copula *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past tense, the existential negative predicate *əntím* NEG.EX in the present tense, as well as the analytical form representing existential negation in the past — *əntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live' are found only in the new corpus.

6) In both corpora there are registered comparative constructions like [COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS] и [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ-PRD — 3 PRS]; in the new corpus — [COMP+STAND+PSTP+ADJ+COP(wǎs- 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)] and [COMP+STAND-ABL+ADJ+COP(wǎs- 'be' — 1, 2 PRS)]. In both corpora the predicative suffix -iki PRD is used in the present tense; in the new corpus the copula wǎs- 'be' is also used.

The analysis shows that both corpora employ the strategy of using a zero copula in the present tense. In theory, as is also true for Uralic languages, it is quite acceptable to use a zero copula in such types of constructions. Nevertheless, a serious growth of its occurrence in the new data might be connected with the strong influence of the Russian language, where this is a common phenomenon. Also, in the new corpus there is a great growth of possessive constructions with a possessor in the locative case and different types of existential predicates that might be the case of Russian influence, while the prototypic strategy involves the possessive verb tǎjá- 'have'. In the new corpus there are 89 instances with tǎjá- 'have' vs 63 instances of intransitive possession, while in the old one 7 instances with tǎjá- 'have' vs 1 instance of intransitive possession (that may be due to poor translation — not a transparent example).

Table 2 reveals different types of linking elements and predicates as well as their frequency in predicate nominals and related constructions in two corpora. Not all possible types were found, but the perspective of their use can be seen from the table.

Table 2

Perspective of Linking Elements and Predicates Distribution among Predicate Nominals and Related Constructions

Predicate type / Construction	*wǎs-* 'be' — 1, 2 PRS		*wǎl-* 'be, live' — PRS		*wǎl-* 'be, live' — PST		*ǝntím* NEG.EX (+ *wǎs-* 'be') — 1, 2 PRS		*ǝntím* NEG.EX (+ *-iki* 'PRD') — 3 PRS		*ǝntím* NEG.EX + *wǎl-* 'be, live' — PST		*-iki* PRD — 3 PRS		*tǎjá-* 'have' — PRS / PST		Zero copula	
Modern corpus (New) / Tereshkin & Gulya corpus (T&G) /	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus	New corpus	T&G corpus
Predicate nominals	20	4	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	56	1
Predicate adjectives	8	7	–	–	6	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	145	13	–	–	7	–
Existentials	–	–	34	4	32	10	–	–	21	3	11	–	–	–	–	–	11	7
Predicate locatives	–	2	5	6	18	10	8	–	5	3	2	–	11	4	–	–	8	2
Possessive constructions	–	–	5	1	5	–	–	–	23	–	2	–	–	–	98	7	28	–
Comparative constructions	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	4	–	–	–	–

The discussion of Table 2 is presented below.

1) The copula wǎs- 'be' is found only in the first and second person present tense in all types of constructions except for existential and possessive ones, which is a structural constraint. The Theme in existential and possessive constructions is hardly ever first or second person, since the latter are present in the speech situation and are, therefore, definite (from a discourse-pragmatic understanding of definiteness).

2) The copula *wăl-* 'be, live' is used in the present and past tenses in existential, locative and possessive constructions, while in the past tense it is potentially marked for all types (though there are no examples for comparative constructions).

3) The existential negative predicate *ə̆ntím* NEG.EX in the third person present tense and the analytical construction *ə̆ntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live' are common for existentials, predicate locatives and possessive constructions.

4) The existential negative predicate *ə̆ntím* NEG.EX is used with the auxiliary *wăs-* 'be' in the first and second person present tense negative locatives.

5) The special predicative suffix *-iki* PRD is used in the third person present with predicate adjectives, comparative constructions, as well as in predicative locatives.

6) The possessive verb *tăjá-* 'have' is typically found in possessive constructions.

7) A zero copula may potentially be found in all types of constructions.

Table 3 shows symmetric and asymmetric negation of predicate nominals and related constructions.

Table 3

**Symmetric and Asymmetric Negation
of Predicate Nominals and Related Constructions**

Construction/ Polarity	Affirmative	Negative
Predicate nominals	Symmetry	
	THEME+PRED.NOM+COP/ ZERO.COP (PRS/PST)	THEME+NEG+PRED.NOM+COP/ ZERO.COP (PRS/PST)
Predicate adjectives	Symmetry	
	THEME+PRED.ADJ+COP/ ZERO.COP (PRS/PST);	THEME+NEG+PRED.ADJ+COP/ ZERO.COP (PRS/PST);
	Symmetry	
	THEME+PRED.ADJ-PRD (PRS)	THEME+NEG+PRED.ADJ-PRD (PRS)
Existentials	Asymmetry	
	(LOC+)THEME+COP/ZERO.COP (PRS);	(LOC+)THEME+NEG.EX (PRS)
	Asymmetry	
	(LOC+)THEME+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)	(LOC+)THEME+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)
Locatives	Asymmetry	
	THEME+(LOC+)COP/ZERO.COP (PRS); THEME+LOC-PRD (PRS);	THEME+(LOC+)NEG.EX (PRS); THEME+LOC+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăs-* 'be' PRS)
	Asymmetry	
	THEME+(LOC+)COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST);	THEME+(LOC+)NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)
Possessives	Symmetry	
	PR+have+PE (PRS/PST);	PR+NEG+have+PE (PRS/PST)
	Asymmetry	
	PR+PE+COP/ZERO.COP (PRS);	PR+PE+NEG.EX (PRS)
	Asymmetry	
	PR+PE+COP(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST);	PR+PE+NEG.EX+AUX(*wăl-* 'be, live' — PST)

The discussion of Table 3 is presented below.

1) According to the data provided there is observed symmetry in negation in predicate nominals, adjectives and also in predicative possessive constructions with the verb *tăjá-* 'have' — the negative particle *ɔ́ntə* is only added (constituent negation).

2) In existentials, locatives and other types of possessive constructions asymmetry is revealed either in the present or in the past tense affirmative and negative constructions. In the use of copulas in present tense affirmative clauses, a zero copula or the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD are used, while negative clauses have the existential negative predicate *ɔ́ntím* NEG.EX or analytical construction *ɔ́ntím* NEG + *wăs-* 'be'. In the past tense affirmative clauses, the use of the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' was registered, while negative analytical constructions have *ɔ́ntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live' (sentential negation in all cases).

3) Comparative constructions as well as predicate comitatives and abessives are not included in Table 3, as there are no negative examples of this case, though they should follow the symmetric principles of negation existing for predicate nominals and adjectives.

6. Conclusion

This study revealed different types of predicate nominals and related constructions as well as linking elements and predicates used in them. It has also detected some diachronic changes in the Vakh dialect within the last 60 years.

The following linking elements and predicates are used in these types of constructions: 1) the copula *wăs-* 'be' (only in the first and second persons present tense); 2) the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' has the full paradigm of the subjective conjugation, and can also carry time, aktionsart and mood markers; 3) the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD that might be reduplicated for pragmatic reasons *-iki-iki* PRD-PRD and its variants *-iki-ɣɔ̆n* PRD-DU, *-iki-jät* PRD-PL and is only used in the third person present tense; 4) the existential negative predicate *ɔ́ntím* 'NEG.EX' that can be marked by *-iki* PRD or *-iki-iki* PRD-PRD and its variants *-iki-ɣɔ̆n* PRD-DU, *-iki-jät* PRD-PL when it is used in the third person present tense; can be marked by number suffixes and used in analytical constructions with such auxiliary verbs as *wăs-* 'be' and *wăl-* 'be, live'; 5) the possessive verb *tăjá-* 'have', which is a prototypic predicate in possessive predicative constructions, can carry inflectional and, probably, derivational markers; 6) a zero copula.

- Predicate nominals use such copulas as *wăs-* 'be' / *wăl-* 'be, live' and a zero copula in the present and past tenses. Negative and affirmative constructions show symmetry in negation.
- Predicate adjectives use copulas *wăs-* 'be' / *wăl-* 'be, live', a zero copula and the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD in the present and past tenses. Negative and affirmative constructions show symmetry in negation.
- Existentials, locatives and possessives use an animate or inanimate location accompanied by the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' and a zero copula in the present affirmatives, the copula *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past affirmatives, the existential negative predicate *ɔ́ntím* NEG.EX in the third person present negatives, the analytical construction *ɔ́ntím* NEG.EX + *wăs-* 'be' in the first and second persons present negatives and the analytical construction *ɔ́ntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live' in the past negatives. Predicate locatives also present the

copula *wăs-* 'be' in the present affirmatives. Possessive clauses use the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD in present affirmatives. Negative and affirmative constructions show asymmetry in negation either in the present or past tenses.

- Possessive transitive clauses with the verb *tăjá—* 'have' show symmetry in affirmatives and negatives.
- Only affirmative comparative constructions can be found in the corpora. They use the copula *wăs-* 'be' and the predicative suffix *-iki* PRD in the present tense.
- Predicate comitatives and abessives use copula *wăs-* 'be', the suffix *-iki* PRD and a zero copula in the present tense. This type of constructions requires further research.

In both corpora there are cases of a zero copula in the present tense. However, a serious growth of its use in the new data may be connected with the influence of the Russian language. In the new corpus there is also a great number of cases with animate locatives and linking elements (*wăl-* 'be, live', a zero copula, *әntím* NEG.EX and *әntím* NEG.EX + *wăl-* 'be, live'), while they are practically absent in the old corpus (only one not transparent example was found). That is also the case of increasing Russian influence, though generally more information is required to prove this statement, e.g. examples from additional older texts and cross-dialectal studies, as there may be such factors as the retainment of the Pre-Khanty structure, independent parallel development of this feature or even individual bilingualism at some stages. There are also many cases where a predicate occupies the position right after the subject. This might not be considered as inversion but, sooner, as the influence of the Russian word order.

Address

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Abbreviations

1 — first person; **2** — second person; **3** — third person; ABESS — abessive; ABL — ablative; ADJ — adjectivizer; COM — comitative; COMP — postposition used for comparison; COP — copula; CVB — converb; DET — determiner; DIM — diminutive; DU — dual number; EMPH — emphatic particle; EP — epenthetic vowel/consonant; FAM — family collective; ILL — illative; INCH — inchoative; INDEF — indefinite particle; LOC — locative; MULT — multiplicative; NEG — basic negative particle; NEG.EX — existential negative predicate; PL — plural number; POSS — possessivity; PRD — predicative suffix; PRED.ADJ — predicate adjective; PRED.NOM — predicate nominal; PRS — present tense; PST — past tense; PST0.3SG — past tense (suffixless); PST1.3SG — past tense (suffix *-γal*); PST3.3SG — past tense (suffix *- as*); PSTP — post-

position; PTCL — particle; PTCP — participle; REF — reflexive; SBJ — subjunctive; SG — singular number; SUB — subjective conjugation.

Semantic roles: COMP — comparee (which is compared); LOC — location; PE — possessee, PR — possessor, STAND — standard (to what is compared), THEME — the entity, the subject.

Word order constituents: S — subject; **O** — object; **V** — predicate.

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СЕРГЕЙ В. КОВЫЛИН (Томск)

КОНСТРУКЦИИ С ИМЕННЫМИ ПРЕДИКАТАМИ И РОДСТВЕННЫЕ ИМ КОНСТРУКЦИИ В ВАХОВСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ ХАНТЫЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

В работе обсуждаются конструкции с именными предикатами и тодственные им конструкции в ваховском диалекте хантыйского языка, а именно клаузы с именными предикатами (которые типично выражают личное включение или эквативность), клаузы с адъективными предикатами, локативные, бытийные, посессивные, сравнительные клаузы, а также комитативные и абессивные предикативные конструкции. В подобных конструкциях наблюдается тенденция к отсутствию использования семантически богатого лексического глагола. В них могут быть использованы следующие элементы: копула *wăs-* 'быть', копула *wăl-* 'быть, жить', бытийный отрицательный предикат *ə̆ntím* NEG.EX, предикативный суффикс *-iki* PRD, посессивный глагол *tăjá-* 'иметь' и нулевая копула. Исследование проводилось на двух диахронических срезах и позволило выявить изменения, произошедшие в ваховском диалекте хантыйского языка — дрифт в сторону использования русских моделей в некоторых случаях.

SERGEI KOVÕLIN (Tomsk)

HANDI KEELE VAHHI MURDE ÖELDISTÄIDE JA SELLEGA SEOTUD KONSTRUKTSIOONID

Artiklis käsitletakse handi keele Vahhi murde öeldistäidet ja sellega seotud konstruktsioone. Nende hulka kuuluvad öeldistäitega laused, mis väljendavad tavaliselt isiklikku kaasatust või ekvatiivsust, omadussõnalised ja kohakäändelised öeldistäited, eksistentsiaallaused, possessiivsed konstruktsioonid, võrdluskonstruktsioonid ning komitatiivsed ja abessiivsed öeldistäited. Sellistes konstruktsioonides kiputakse vältima semantiliselt rikast leksikaalset verbi. Neis saab kasutada koopulat *wăs-* 'olema', *wăl-* 'olema, elama', eitavat öeldist *ə̆ntím*, liidet *-iki*, verbi *tăjá-* 'omama' ning öeldistäide võib esineda ka ilma koopulata. Uurimus põhineb praegusel ja XX sajandi keskpaiga keelel ja see on võimaldanud tuvastada muutusi, mis on handi keele Vahhi murdes sellel ajavahemikul toimunud: mõnel juhul kaldutakse vene keele mudelite kasutamise poole.