

Negation in Northern Mansi

1. Standard negation

The negative element in standard Mansi negation is the negative marker *at*, which precedes the finite element of the sentence (1). On the basis of the structure of the negative construction, Mansi is characterized by symmetric negation: the difference between the affirmative vs. the negative sentence lies only in the presence of the negative particle.

- (1) *Isnas-nəl at lāp-i, āwi-nəl at lāp-i.*
 window-ABL NEG fit-3SG, door-ABL NEG fit-3SG
- nor xal-nəl lāp-i.*
 beam slit-ABL fit-3SG

'It cannot get in through the window, it cannot get in through the door. It can get in through the beams.' (Mansi riddle) (Kálmán 1976: 74)

The particle *at* is used throughout the verbal paradigm: in both the indeterminate and determinate conjugations, in present and past tense, in passive voice, and, in addition to the indicative mood, in the conditional-optative and evidential moods as well (see Table 1). The particle *at* is not used in the imperative.

Table 1. The use of the particle *at* (*toti* 'bring' – only SG1 forms are given)

Present Indet.	<i>am tot-ēγəm</i> I bring-1SG	<i>am at tot-ēγəm</i> I NEG bring-1SG
Present Det.	<i>am tot-iləm</i> I bring-1SG.O	<i>am at tot-iləm</i> I NEG bring-1SG.O
Past Indet.	<i>am tot-s-əm</i> I bring-PST-1SG	<i>am at tot-s-əm</i> I NEG bring-PST-1SG
Past Det.	<i>am tot-əs-ləm</i> I bring-PST-1SG.O	<i>am at tot-əs-ləm</i> I NEG bring-PST-SG.O
Passive	<i>am tot-awe-m</i>	<i>am at tot-awe-m</i>

Past Passive	I bring-PASS-1Sg <i>am tot-we-s-əm</i>	I NEG bring-PASS-1SG <i>am at tot-we-s-əm</i>
Cond.-Opt. Indet.	I bring-PASS-PST-1Sg <i>am tot-nuw-əm</i>	I NEG bring-PASS-PST-1SG <i>am at totnuw-əm</i>
Cond.-Opt. Det.	I bring-COND-1SG <i>am tot-nuw-ləm</i>	I NEG bring-COND-1SG <i>am at tot-nuw-ləm</i>
	I bring-COND-1SG.O	I NEG bring-COND-1SG.O
Evidential	<i>am tot-ne-m</i> I bring-EVID-1SG 'it seems I bring'	<i>am at tot-ne-m</i> I NEG bring-EVID-1SG 'it seems I do not bring'

2. Prohibition

The negative element in sentences expressing prohibition is the particle *ul* in every person and number, in both active and passive voice. The adhortative particle *wos(s)* can also occur in prohibitions. Negating the imperative in Mansi results in a symmetrical construction: the only difference between the affirmative sentence and its negation is the negative particle. (See example 2 and Table 2.)

Table 2. Negation of the imperative

Imperative		Indicative	
Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
<i>tot-en!</i> bring-IMP.2SG 'bring!'	<i>ul</i> <i>tot-en!</i> NEG bring-IMP.2SG 'don't bring!'	<i>tot-ēχən</i> bring-2SG 'you bring'	<i>at</i> <i>tot-ēχən</i> NEG bring-2SG 'you don't bring'
<i>tot-eln!</i> bring-IMP.2SGO 'bring!'	<i>ul</i> <i>tot-eln!</i> NEGbring-IMP.2SGO 'don't bring'	<i>tot-ilən</i> bring-2SGO 'you bring'	<i>at</i> <i>tot-ilən</i> NEG bring-2SG 'you don't bring'
(<i>woss</i>) <i>tot-ēχəm!</i> bring-1SG 'let me bring'	<i>ul</i> (<i>woss</i>) <i>tot-ēχəm!</i> NEG bring-1SG 'I should not bring'	<i>tot-ēχəm</i> bring-1SG 'I bring'	<i>at</i> <i>tot-ēχəm</i> NEG bring-1SG 'I don't bring'
(<i>woss</i>) <i>tot-awe-m!</i> bring-PASS-1SG 'they should bring me'	<i>ul</i> (<i>woss</i>) <i>tot-awe-m!</i> NEG bring-PASS-1SG 'they should not bring me'	<i>tot-awe-m</i> bring-PASS-1SG 'they bring me'	<i>at</i> <i>tot-awe-m</i> NEG bring-PASS-1SG 'they don't bring me'

(2) *Ul min-en, tiχ jij-en!*

NEG go-IMP here come-IMP

'Do not go, come here!' (VNGY I.18.)

3. The negation of existential and locative predicates

In accordance with the SOV nature of Mansi, the word order of the existential sentence is LTCop (see 3). In the negation of the existential sentence, a negative copula, *a'im*, is used (see 4), whose inflection, however, is limited. Number markers (DU: *a'iməχ*, PL: *a'imət*) and even suffixes referring to person can be attached to it (5), but tense markers cannot, since it has only present forms. In past tense and non-indicative sentences the copula following the existential negation element carries the markers of tense and mood (6). The word order remains LTCop in negation as well.

(3) *Pasan-t nēpak ol-i.*

table-LOC book be-3SG

'There is a book on the table.'

(4) *Pasant nēpak ā'im.*

table-LOC book NEG

'There is no book on the table.'

(5) *Pasant nēpak-ət ā'im-ət.*

table-LOC book-PL NEG-PL

'There are no books on the table.'

(6) *Pōlim xōtpa a'im ol-əs.*

freeze-PTPST person NEG be-3SG.PST

'nobody froze' (lit. 'there was no frozen person') (LS 2012/4)

Negating a locative predicate happens similarly to how an existential is negated: the negative element is *ā'im*, but the word order in this case is TLCop, also in accordance with the SOV nature of the language (7). The negative predicate is inflected in a limited way here as well (8).

(7) *Nēpak pasan-t ā'im.*

book table-LOC NEG

'The book is not on the table.'

(8) *Am tot at'im-əm ol-s-əm.*

I there NEG-1SG be-PST-1SG

'I was not there.' (Balandin 60)

2.3.2. The negation of non-verbal predicates

In the negation of non-verbal predicates in Mansi the negative element *ā'ti* is used. Both adjectival (9, 10) and nominal predicates (11) are negated in a similar way. The element *ā'ti* usually occurs in sentence final position following an adjective or a noun, but it can also occur preceding a nominal (11).

(9) *Oma-m ā'ta-m-nəl māñ. / Oma-m*

mother-1SG father-1-SG-ABL young / mother-1SG -

ā'ta-m-nəl māñ ā'ti.

father-1SG ABL young NEG

'My mother is younger than my father.' / 'My mother is not younger than my father.' (Skribnik – Afanasyeva 2007: 49)

(10) *Am rūs ā'ti, am mañsi.*

I Russian NEG I Mansi

'I am not Russian, I am Mansi.'

(11) *Tiji ā'i naŋ jōrn-kol-ən. / Tiji naŋ jōrn-kolən ā'i.*

this NEG you Nenets house-2SG

'This is not your chum [round tent].'

4. The negation of the possessive

In Mansi (also in Khanty), as opposed to the majority of the Uralic languages, the primary, most frequent marker of predicative possession is a transitive verb, *ōńsí-* 'have' (12).

(12) *Am nōtne āγi ōńs-ēγəm.*

I beautiful daughter have-1SG

'I have a beautiful daughter.'

The negation of possession follows the rules of standard negation: the negative particle *at* is used, occurring immediately before the verb (13).

(13) *Am nōtne āγi at ōńs-ēγəm.*

I beautiful daughter NEG have-1SG

'I do not have a beautiful daughter.'

There is another possessive structure in modern Mansi that seems to be spreading: an adjectival derivative (nomen possessoris) suffix is attached to the possessed (*-əŋ, -ən*), and it becomes a part of the predicate, with the possessor being the subject of the sentence. This type of possession can express a kind of abundance (cf. Skribnik and Afanasyeva (2007/1:

65), i.e. the sentence in (14) means that the Mansi man has many reindeers, as opposed to the transitive structure, which does not have this additional meaning. According to other examples the reading (‘possessing one object’ or ‘being rich in objects’) depends on the semantics of nominal stems used (15).

(14) *Māńsí xum sāl-əŋ.*

Mansi man reindeer-POSS

‘The Mansi man has (many) reindeers.’ (lit. ‘The Mansi man is reindeery.’)

(15) *Am nōtne āŋi-n.*

I beautiful daughter-POSS

‘I have a beautiful daughter.’

Negating this structure does not coincide with the negation of the sentences with non-verbal predicates or with negative existential sentences, i.e. the negation is not expressed by *ā’i* but by a caritive suffix (*-tāl*) (16, 17). (See more about the *-tal* suffix in 5.)

(16) *Mańsí xum sāli-tāl. / (sāli tāl)*

Mansi man reindeer-CAR

‘The Mansi man has no reindeers.’

(17) *Am nōtne āŋi-tāl. / (āŋi tāl)*

I beautiful daughter-CAR

‘I have no beautiful daughter.’

5. Abessive/caritive/privative negation

In Mansi, 'the lack of something' is expressed with the help of the suffix *-tal*, which can attach to both nouns and verbs (18, 19):

(18) *su* 'sound, noise' > *su****tal*** 'wordless'

kāt 'hand, arm' > *kā****ttal*** 'armless'

xańś- 'know' > *xa****śtal*** 'unknown'

*jox**t-* 'arrive, reach' > *jox****ttal*** 'unreachable'

(19) *Ōln tal at wērm-e ʔət noms-uŋkwe.*

money CAR NEG can-3PL think-INF

'They cannot think without money.' (Dinislamova 2008: 42)

Forms involving the derivational suffix *-tal* can fulfill a variety of syntactic functions, forming a negative participial construction (20)

(20) *Āś puntlet-tal lā ʕl-kēr-əl xum tot pun-awe-m.*

father put-CAR leg-iron-INST man there put-PASS-1SG

'They put such shackles on me, a man, the kind of which they did not put on my father (ever).' (Kálmán 1976: 87)

6. Negative replies

In one-word negative replies the negative element *āti*, used also for the negation of non-verbal predicates, is used. The sentences in (21) and (22) exemplify affirmative and negative replies.

(21) *Ti jilpi nēpak jomas? A-a, saka jomas.*
this new book good yes very good

'Is this new book good?' 'Yes, it is very good.' (Skrinik and Afanasyeva 2007: 27)

(22) *Naŋ ōs nē-ŋ? Ā'i, am ā'i nē-ŋ.*
You also woman-POSS NEG I NEG woman-POSS

'Are you married?' 'No, I am not married.' (Skrinik and Afanasyeva 2007: 27)

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The sentences without any source indication are from Mansi native speaker informant.