



Finally, the probabilitive form, which has present or future temporal reference, is also used to express the meaning of supposition. It is always used with the ‘contrastive’ series and cannot be combined with other endings.

## 2. Relevant features of more conservative Tundra Enets

The data of TE shows three ways of expressing the meaning of intensification, corresponding to (2) from FE. First, a plain negative construction can be used, as in (1). Second, interrogative forms of the negative verb can be combined with the postfix *-u?*. Third, there is a particle *n<sup>i</sup>iu?* which is combined with finite forms.

The meaning of supposition as in (3) with present or future reference can be expressed by the probabilitive marker cognate to that of FE with the basic endings series. The past temporal reference of the supposition is expressed by the combination of the probabilitive marker with the interrogative.

## 3. Formation of the ‘contrastive’ series

Possible diachronic scenarios of the formation of the ‘contrastive’ series in FE will be discussed in the talk.

Most probably, it developed through the following stages.

**Stage 1.** The situation is the same as in modern TE. Plain negative forms can have the meaning of ‘positive’ intensification. There is a particle *n<sup>i</sup>iu?* that also has this meaning. There is a clitic *\*-u?* that can be attached to different kinds of constituents, but most frequently is attached to the interrogative forms of the negative verb; this construction also has the same meaning. The meaning of supposition with reference to the present is expressed by the probabilitive form, and with reference to the past by the combination of the probabilitive with the interrogative.

**Stage 2.** The combination of the personal endings with *\*-u?* in the interrogative forms of the negative verbs undergo irregular morphophonemic changes creating a new ‘contrastive’ series of endings (cf. 1-2 in Table 2).

**Stage 3.** Influenced by the interrogative ‘contrastive’ forms of the negative verb and due to the near-identity of form to the stem of the negative verb, the particle *n<sup>i</sup>iu?* is reinterpreted as the form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular of the ‘contrastive’ ‘indefinite tense’ of the negative verb. The other person-number forms of the ‘contrastive’ ‘indefinite tense’ are created (cf. 1-2 and 3-4 in Table 2). The ‘positive’ uses of the plain negative construction are forced out by the ‘contrastive’ forms of the negative verb.

**Stage 4.** Influenced by the interrogative ‘contrastive’ forms of the negative verb, the ‘contrastive’ forms of the interrogative of lexical verbs are developed (cf. 1-2 and 5-6 in Table 2).

**Stage 5.** The ‘contrastive’ interrogative forms of the lexical verbs (6 in Table 2) take the meaning of supposition with past temporal reference and force out the combination of the probabilitive with the interrogative (8 in Table 2) from this functional slot.

**Stage 6.** The ‘contrastive’ interrogative forms (6 in Table 2) of lexical verbs influence the probabilitive forms (7 in Table 2), which start taking the ‘contrastive’ series by analogy (9 in Table 2).

**Stage 7.** The attested state of modern FE (see paragraph 1).

Table 2. Partial paradigms of the forms involved in the formation of the ‘contrastive series’.

		1SG	3SG	2PL	3PL
1	negative verb: basic	i-si-zʔ	i-si-∅	i-si-raʔ	i-si-ʔ
2	interrogative ‘contrastive’	i-si-zuʔ	i-si-uʔ	i-si-ramʔ	i-si-mʔ
3	negative verb: basic	n <sup>i</sup> e-zʔ	n <sup>i</sup> i-∅	n <sup>i</sup> e-raʔ	n <sup>i</sup> i-ʔ
4	‘indefinite tense’ ‘contrastive’	√ n <sup>i</sup> e-zuʔ	<b>n<sup>i</sup>i-uʔ</b>	√ n <sup>i</sup> e-ramʔ	√ n <sup>i</sup> i-mʔ
5	lexical verbs: basic	-sa-zʔ	-sa-∅	-sa-raʔ	-sa-ʔ
6	interrogative ‘contrastive’	√ -sa-zuʔ	√ -sa-uʔ	√ -sa-ramʔ	√ -sa-mʔ
7	old probabilitive forms	*-ta-zʔ	*-ta-∅	*-ta-raʔ	*-ta-ʔ
8	+ interrogative	*-ta-sa-zʔ	*-ta-sa-∅	*-ta-sa-raʔ	*-ta-sa-ʔ
9	probabilitive ‘contrastive’	√ -ta-zuʔ	√ -ta-uʔ	√ -ta-ramʔ	√ -ta-mʔ