Possessive and caritive in Nivkh

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1. Introduction

Nivkh (Paleosiberian, isolate) is a moribund language spoken in several varieties on Sakhalin Island and in the Amur region of Russia. It is an agglutinating polysynthetic language with some elements of morphological fusion and SOV word order. As a result of historical expansion from a homeland in central Manchuria to the Lower Amur and further to Sakhalin, Nivkh has been formed as a continuum of several distinct varieties —Amur (A), Liman (L), West Sakhalin (WS), North Sakhalin (NS), East Sakhalin (ES), Central Sakhalin (CS), and South Sakhalin (SS, extinct). Some of these varieties can be further divided into several subvarieties. Amur and Liman Nivkh are spoken along the Lower Amur on the continent, while the other varieties are used on Sakhalin Island. A major split is observed between the Amur/Liman/West Sakhalin and East/Central/South Sakhalin varieties, which actually fulfil the criteria of being separate languages.

The present paper compares basically the data from the Amur variety (A), which has undergone strong influence from the neighboring Tungusic languages, the transitional West Sakhalin variety (WS), and the East Sakhalin variety (ES), which has been developing more independently from the areal impact. It is based on data collected during my fieldwork in the Amur-Sakhalin region of Russia (1989–2019), on online fieldwork in 2020, and on other extant data on Nivkh.

In this paper I will discuss various encoding strategies and other relevant issues pertaining to affirmative and negative predicative possession in Nivkh. The adnominal possession is out of the scope of the present study. One of the goals of the paper is to demonstrate that possessive negation serves as a major strategy for expressing caritive semantics (= non-involvement). Neither of the mentioned phenomena has ever been a topic of special research in Nivkh studies, despite the fact that the constructions rendering possessive meanings represent one of the basic and rather frequent types of clauses. Furthermore, they are interconnected both semantically and grammatically with other clause types, most of which are equally understudied.

The structure of the Nivkh possessive clause, both affirmative and negative, depends on the variety. The differences between the varieties can be explained as being due to the vast geographical spread of the language and the influence of the neighboring languages. Nivkh has altogether three basic types of possessive clauses, which, following Stasse's (2009) classification, can be termed (1) the Have-Possessive type, (2) the Topic Possessive type, and (3) the Locative Possessive type. Negative possessive clauses can be constructed either as symmetrical or asymmetrical to the affirmative ones, so that the structure of the negative clause is either identical to the structure of the affirmative clause or differs from it (see Miestamo 2013).

Nivkh has a full spectrum of lexical and grammatical devices for expressing clausal negation, such as lexicalized negative verbs, an analytical form with a nominalized verb, verb root compounding, etc. Many of these means are also used for encoding negative predicative possession and will be discussed in more detail through the paper.

Besides this introduction, this paper contains three sections, which deal with the affirmative possessive clause (section 2), the negative possessive clause (section 3), and the caritive (section 4).

2. Affirmative possessive clause

All types of possessive clauses are formed by the same sentence-final verb *jiv-* 'exist, have', which, however, behaves differently in the Amur and Sakhalin varieties. Diachronically, it is clearly a

transitive verb with the meaning 'have', as it comprises the root of the base verb *iv-* and the third person pronominal marker *j-*, which itself derives from the primary form **i-*. This originally pronominal clitic was grammaticalized to a prefix and reanalyzed as a general transitivity marker.

In many languages, the 'have'-verb derives from some other verb indicating physical control or handling, such as 'take', 'grasp', 'hold', or 'carry' (Stassen 2013). In Nivkh, all these meanings can be rendered by the verb *e-v- < *i-vo- < *vo- < *po-*. It cannot be ruled out that this verb has a historical connection with the base verb *iv-*, whose final fricative *v* derives from the stop *p* followed by a vowel: *iv- < *ipV-*.

In the East Sakhalin variety, possessive predication is built on the model of a transitive clause and belongs to the Have-Possessive type. This type of construction should probably be considered as the original one. Among the neighboring languages, only Ainu has a possessive clause of a similar type (Refsing 1986).

The possessor NP is constructed as the subject and occupies the topical clause-initial position. The verb *j-iv-* takes the possessee NP as an object and drops its initial *j-*, which is typical of all Nivkh transitive verbs with pronominal prefixes. Since in Nivkh all core arguments are unmarked, neither the possessor NP, nor the possessee NP bear any case markers, cf. (1–4). The structure of the clause can be represented as follows: [POSSESSOR NP (subject=topic, unmarked) POSSESSEE NP (object, unmarked) + EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, transitive)].

(1) *ɲi   cʰχa + iv-d.*
     I   money + exist/have-NMLZ/IND
     'I have money.' (FM 2020) [ES]

(2) *ɲi   azmceɣlŋ   paŋ-ʁaj   nudhabasik + iv-i-d=ra*
     I   boy   grow-CVB.COND   whatever + have-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC
     'If I have a boy, I shall have everything [I want].' (FM 2000:4:82) [ES^T]

(3) *cʰi   tʰaŋs + qanŋ + iv-d?*
     2SG   of.what.quantity + dog + exist/have-NMLZ/IND
     'How many dogs do you have?' (FM 2000:1:78) [ES^T]

(4) *naf=aχ   meŋ   eχlaŋ=aɢr + iv-ifu-ta.*
     now=FOC   2DU   child=FOC + exist/have-PROGR/INC-EVID.DIR. PL/1SG
     'Now we two are going to have a child.' (A bear-woman is telling to a man) (Kreinovich 1979: 316) [CS]

Besides the predicative function, the verb *j-iv-* can be also used in the function of a nominal modifier, in which case the verb stem takes the nominalizer *-ŋ* and the resulting form precedes the head noun, cf. (5–6). In the adverbial function, the existential/possessive verb takes various converbal suffixes, as in the case of the conditional converb *iv-ʁajnapə* 'though [I] have money' in (7).

(5) a.   *mu   motor + iv-d*   b.   *motor + iv-ŋ + mu*
           boat   motor + exist/have-NMLZ/IND   motor + exist/have-NMLZ + boat
           'The boat has a motor.'   'the boat having a motor.'
                                                                      (FM 2000:1:42) [ES^N]

(6) *pʰ-vala~vala-ŋ + ɟomř-kun + iv-ŋ + pos + maɢo-d*
     REFL-be.monochrome-NMLZ + flower-PL + have-NMLZ + cloth + love-NMLZ/IND
     'I love the cloth, which has colorful flowers.' (FM 2000:4:67) [ES^T]

(7)   *ɲi*   *cʰχa + iv-ʁajnapə*   *cʰi-ɣm-ɢavr-i-d=ra*
   I   money + exist/have-CVB.CONV   2SG-give-NEG-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC
   'Though I have money, I shall not give [it] to you.' (FM 2000:4:86) [ES^T]

In the Amur varieties, there are two alternative ways to form a possessive clause, both of which employ syntactically intransitive strategies and have the basic form of an existential sentence. The difference between the two types lies in the encoding of the possessor NP.

  The first construction refers to the Topic-Possessive type, which is relatively common in East and South Asian languages (see, however, an alternative analysis of such constructions in Chappel & Creissels 2019). Here, the possessee NP functions not as an object, but as a subject, whereas the possessor NP is constructed as a topical clause-initial element indicating the setting or background of the sentence (Stassen 2009: 58). The clause employs the same verb *jiv-*, which in this case does not drop the pronominal prefix *j-* and is treated as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'exist'. The whole clause has the structure: [POSSESSOR NP (topic, unmarked) POSSESSEE NP (subject, unmarked) EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, intransitive)]. It can be literally translated as 'As for POSSESSOR NP, POSSESSED NP exists', cf. (8–10).

(8)   *if*   *mu*   *me-kr*   *jiv-ra.*
   s/he   boat   two-CL.GENERIC   exist/have-EVID.DIR.2/3SG
   'He has two boats.' (FM 2019:10) [WS]

(9)   *qʰa:hemar*   *ajz + mur*   *jiv-ɟ=ra.*
   patriarch   be.golden + horse   exist/have-NMLZ/IND=FOC
   'The patriarch has a golden horse.' (Panfilov 1965: 227) [A]

(10)   *tʰaɣrpʰik*   *oʁla + ŋe-n=pak*   *jiv-ra*   *asqaɟ*
   middle.one   child + one-CL:humans=only   exist/have-COORD.2/3SG   younger.brother
   oʁla + ʁavr-ra.
   child + NEG-COORD.2/3SG
   'The middle [brother] has one child, the younger brother doesn't have a child.' (Panfilov 1965: 160) [A]

The rise of the Topic-Possessive construction is directly connected with another diachronic change which led to the reanalysis of the transitive possessive verb *jiv-* as an intransitive existential verb. Notably, this development took place in all Nivkh varieties. It is similar to the process of creation of an existential predicator via impersonalisation of a 'have' verb, which is known from many European languages (Chappel & Creissels 2019). As an outcome of this change, the existential clause has acquired the structure [EXISTEE NP (subject, unmarked) EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, intransitive)], cf. (11). The clause can be complemented by an NP indicating location, which occupies the topical clause-initial position. This adverbial element is typically case-marked as locative or ablative or is followed by a locative relational noun (= postposition). The structure of the clause is then [LOCATIVE NP (topic, marked) EXISTEE NP (subject, unmarked) EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, intransitive)], cf. (12).

(11)   *təŋank*   *cʰamŋ + ɲiɣvŋ*   **jiv-d.**
   old.times   shaman + man   exist/have-NMLZ/IND
   'There were shamans in old times.' (FM 2000:4:13) [ES]

(12)   *mulk=mi-x*   *als*   **jiv-ɟ**
   birch.bark.basket=inside-ABL   berry   exist/have-NMLZ/IND

'There are berries in the birch bark basket.' (FM 2019: 2) [WS]

Coming back to the possessive predication, in the Amur varieties the Topic Possessive structure has undergone a shift to the Locational Possessive type, which apparently happened under the influence of Tungusic languages favoring such types of constructions (see Hölzl 2015). In the Locational Possessive construction, the possessee NP has a function of the subject, while the possessor NP is construed as an oblique "locative" element, which depending on the variety is marked either by the locative or the ablative case. The verb *jiv-* retains its pronominal prefix and is used as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'exist'. The clause has the structure [POSSESSOR NP (oblique=topic, case-marked) POSSESSEE NP (subject, unmarked) EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, intransitive)].

In the Lower Amur variety, the possessor NP is marked by the locative case, cf. (13–15), whereas in the Amur Liman and West Sakhalin varieties, locative is used on a par with the ablative, cf. (16).

(13) *cʰ-ujn*   *cʰo*   *jiv-bara.*
       2SG-LOC   fish   exist/have-ADVERS1
       You certainly have fish. (Panfilov 1965: 121) [A]

(14) *j-ujn=hanvara*   *tə + bitɣə*   *jiv-ɟ=ra*
       3SG-LOC=ALSO   this + book   exist/have-NMLZ/IND=FOC
       'He also has this book.' (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 423) [A]

(15) *mer-ujn*   *kʰəsk-aɲχ*   *jiv-ɟ.*
       1PL.INCL-LOC cat-female   exist/have-NMLZ/IND
       'We have a cat.' (FM 2020) [WS]

(16) *iv-ux*   *ətək=hara*   *əmək=hara*   *jiv-ɟ.*
       3SG-ABL   father=COORD   mother=COORD   exist/have-NMLZ/IND
       'He has mother and father.' (FM 2020) [WS]

Interestingly, in the speech of modern speakers of the East-Sakhalin variety, the possessor NP, which is supposed to be unmarked as the subject of the Have-Possessive construction, is often also marked with the ablative case, as in (17). At the same time, at least formally, the possessee NP remains in the function of an object and the verb *j-iv-*, which drops the pronominal prefix, still behaves as a transitive verb 'have'. All this looks like an ongoing drift towards the Locative Possessive type, which is apparently directed towards accommodation to the corresponding Russian structure. The latter in turn is considered to be borrowed from the Finnic (Uralic) languages, which, like the Tungusic languages, belong to the Altaic type. The Nivkh possessive clause is therefore altaicized both directly under the influence of Tungusic and indirectly under the influence of Russian.

(17) *huŋ + oχt-ux*   *arak + iv-d*
       that.CLOSE + medicine-ABL   alcohol + exist/have-NMLZ/IND
       'That medicine contains alcohol.' (FM 2000:4:125) [ES].

3. Negative possessive clause

The structure of the negative possessive clause depends on the variety and in most cases matches that of the corresponding affirmative clause.

First, possessive negation can be rendered by the transitive negative verb *ʁavr-/-qavr/-ɢavr-* 'not have'. In its free form *ʁavr-*, which begins with a fricative, this verb is employed in possessive and equative predications and in its bound form is used in most other types of predications. The choice of the initial consonant of the negative verb is determined by the final consonant of the immediately preceding nominal object and by the general rules of morphophonological alternations. The transitive negative verb has an intransitive counterpart *qavr-* 'not exist', which begins with a stop and is used exclusively in negative existential predications, cf. (18–19). Let us note that this opposition of initial plosives of intransitives vs. initial fricatives of transitives is typical of Nivkh verbs in all varieties.

(18) *huz + urla-ŋ + iv-v-ux*   *cʰo-ɣun*   *qavr-ʁaj*
that + be.good-NMLZ + exist/have-NMLZ-ABL   fish-PL   NEG-CVB.COND
tʰanx=ciŋ   qavr-ʁar-i-d.
where=EMPH   NEG-COMPL/INT-FUT-IND
'If there is no fish in this good place, there will be [fish] nowhere.' (FM 2000:4:98) [ES]

(19) *... pal + ŋivx   qavr-ra*   *sək   kerq-tox=park vi-ɣər-ta.*
forest + man   NEG-COORD.2/3SG   all   sea-DAT=only go-COMPL/INT-COORD.PL/1SG
'… there are no forest people, all went to the sea.' (Panfilov 1965: 242) [WS]

In a clause formed with the transitive negative verb *ʁavr-/-qavr/-ɢavr-*, the possessor NP has the function of a subject and the verb takes the possessee NP as an object. The clause belongs to the Have-Possessive type and can be represented by a model similar to that of the affirmative possessive clause [POSSESSOR NP (subject=topic, unmarked) POSSESSEE NP (object, unmarked) + NEGATIVE V (predicate, transitive)]. This type of negative possessive clause is typical of the actual Sakhalin varieties, cf. (20–21), but it is also attested in the West Sakhalin variety, cf. (22–23), which belongs to the group of Amur varieties.

(20) a.   *xevgun*   *mam + iv-d.*
Xevgun   old.woman + exist/have-NMLZ/IND
'Xevgun has a wife.'

      b.   *xevgun*   *mam + ʁavr-d.*
Xevgun   old.woman + NEG-NMLZ/IND
'Xevgun doesn't have a wife. (FM 2000:1:44) [ES]

(21) *cʰi   taf=ciŋ   mam=ziŋ + ɢavr-ʁar-d.*
2SG   house=EMPH   wife=EMPH + NEG-COMPL/INT-NMLZ/IND
'You have neither a house, nor a wife.' (FM 2000:4:13) [ES]

(22) *if   təf=hakisk + ʁavr-ra*   *umgu=hakisk + ʁavr-ra*
3SG   house=EMPH + NEG-COORD.2/3SG   woman=EMPH + NEG-COORD.2/3SG
ha-ɟ.
do.so-NMLZ/IND
'He has neither a house, nor a wife.' (FM 2019:1:8) [WS]

(23) *hu + haʁs*   *cʰup-xiř*   *cʰŋaj + ʁavr-ɟ*
that + clothing   at.all-INSTR   image + NEG-NMLZ/IND
'These clothes do not have any images at all.' (FM 2019:1) [WS]

The second way of negating possession, which is attested only in the Sakhalin varieties, follows the standard negation strategy. The negative verb form is derived by compounding two verbal elements: the nominalized form of the negated lexical verb and the root of the negative verb ʁavr-/-qavr-/-ɢavr ‘not have’. The resulting complex verb behaves like a regular verb and may undergo subsequent inflection, cf. (24):

(24) a. *ɲi   vi-d.*   b. *ɲi   vi-ɢavr-d.*
         1SG   go-NMLZ/IND   1SG   go-NEG-NMLZ/IND
         ‘I drink / drank.’   ’I don’t / didn’t drink’ (FM 2020) [ES]

In negative possessive clauses the negative verb synthesizes with the existential/possessive verb *j-iv-*. Historically, the nominalized form ended in the nasal *ŋ*, which has been lost in the speech of modern speakers. However, this unstable nasal still determines the quality of the initial consonant of the following element, namely, the root of the negative verb ʁavr-/-qavr-/-ɢavr-. According to the rules of morphophonological alternations, the bound form of this verb, which is used in the synthetic form, has the shape -ɢavr- and the whole synthetic negative form has the form *j-iv-ɢavr-*. The resulting negative possessive construction also belongs to the Have-Possessive type and is completely symmetrical to the corresponding affirmative one, since the lexical verb retains all basic categories, including finiteness, as in (25–26), and non-finiteness, as in (27).

(25) a. *xevgun   mam + iv-d.*
         Xevgun   old.woman + exist/have-NMLZ/IND
         ‘Xevgun has a wife.’

      b. *xevgun   mam + iv-ɢavr-d.*
         Xevgun   old.woman + exist/have-NEG-NMLZ/IND
         ‘Xevgun doesn’t have a wife.’ (FM 2000:1:44) [ES]

(26) *tu + daf   nař=ciŋ + iv-ɢavr-d.*
      this + house   who=EMPH + exist/have-NEG-NMLZ/IND
      ‘There is nobody in this house (lit. The house does not have anyone).’ (FM 1991:3:9) [ES]

(27) *cʰi   cʰχa + iv-ɢavr-ʁaj   tʰamɲigř   cʰi*
      2SG   money + exist/have-NEG-CVB.COND how:2/3SG   2SG
      tu + pila + daf + ke-d?
      this + be.big + house + take-NMLZ/IND
      ‘If you do not have money, how did you buy this big house?’ (FM 2000:4:100) [ES]

The basic way to construct the negative possessive clause in the Amur varieties is to use the intransitive negative verb *qʰaw-* ‘not exist’ as a predicate. Besides possessive predication, this verb is used independently with existential predications, cf. (28), and it forms a part of analytical negative construction with other predications. The analytical form comprises a zero-nominalized lexical verb, which historically ended in a nasal and is marked by the dative suffix *-toχ/-roχ/-doχ.* Morphophonological rules define *-doχ* as the correct allomorph in this context, cf. (29). Etymologically, *qʰaw-*is apparently connected with the negative verb *qavr-*, both sharing the same protoform **qavur-* (Gruzdeva & Fedotov, forthcoming). It is also worth noting that a suspiciously similar negator *kəwə* is attested in the neighboring Tungusic languages, i.e., Ulcha and Nanai (Hölzl 2015).

(28) *ɲi   məɣ-t   j-aɲma-ba   cʰ-mu*
      1SG   come.down-CVB.NAR.PL/1SG   3SG-look-CVB.IMMED.   2SG-boat

qʰau-ta.
NEG-EVID.DIR. PL/1SG
'When I came down [to the shore], when [I] looked, there was no your boat.' (FM 2019: 11) [WS]

(29) a. *if vi-ɟ.*   b. *if vi-doχ qaw-ɟ.*
          3SG go-NMLZ/IND   3SG go-DAT NEG-NMLZ/IND
          'S/he went.'   'S/he did not go.' (FM 2020) [WS]

In the negative possessive clause, the verb *qʰaw-* takes the place of the affirmative possessive/existential verb *jiv-*. The final type of the derived clause depends on the coding of the possessor NP.

The first construction is of the Topic Possessive type with the possessor NP constructed as an unmarked sentential topic. The possessee NP is composed as an unmarked subject. The negative clause is therefore built according to a pattern similar to the corresponding affirmative one: [POSSESSOR NP (topic, unmarked) POSSESSEE NP (subject, unmarked) NEGATIVE V (predicate, intransitive)], cf. (30–31):

(30) a. *ɲi   siɟhagin   jiv-ɟ.*
          I   everything have-NMLZ/IND
          'I have everything.'

      b. *ɲi   siɟhagin   qʰaw-ɟ.*
          I   everything NEG-NMLZ/IND
          'I do not have anything.' (Krejnovich 1979: 307) [A]

(31) *əɣrəkon + ɲivɣ-gu   pila + vəɲ   qʰaw-ɟ.*
       ancient + man-PL   be.big + cauldron   NEG-NMLZ/IND
       'Ancient people did not have big cauldrons.' (Panfilov 1965: 160) [A]

The second construction of the Locative Possessive type is synchronically more frequent. Here, the possessor NP is coded as an oblique element and is marked by the locative or ablative case. The negative clause is also structurally similar to the corresponding affirmative one [POSSESSOR NP (oblique=topic, case-marked) POSSESSEE NP (subject, unmarked) EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE V (predicate, intransitive)], cf. (32–32):

(32) *ɲ-ujn   cʰo   qʰaw-ɟ=ra.*
       I-LOC   fish   NEG-NMLZ/IND=FOC
       'I don't have fish.' (Panfilov 1965: 121) [A]

(33) a. *ɲ-nanak-ux   utku   jiv-ɟ.*
          1SG-elder.sister-ABL   male   exist/have-NMLZ/IND
          'My elder sister has a husband.'

      b. *ɲ-nanak-ux   utku   qʰaw-ɟ.*
          1SG-elder.sister-ABL   male   NEG-NMLZ/IND
          'My elder sister does not have a husband.' (FM 2020) [WS]

Alternatively, possessive negation can be rendered in all varieties by inherently negative possessive verbs. In the East Sakhalin variety, it is the transitive verb *avli-* 'not have', which is used only with possessive predications, cf. (34). The constructions with this verb are rather rare.

(34) *jaŋ   nanq-ʁainapə   ŋawřk + avli-d.*
      s/he   older.sister-CVB.CONC   brain + not.have-NMLZ/IND
      'Though she is an older sister, [she] lacks the brain.' (FM 1991:3:32) [ES]

The Amur varieties use another negative possessive verb *ləɣə-* 'not have'. With possessive predications it functions as a transitive verb taking the object, which is often marked by the emphatic clitic *=ti/=ri/=di* or *=tə/=rə/=də*, cf. (35). As can be seen, this verb forms a construction of the Have-Possessive type, which in general is not typical of the Amur varieties.

(35) *hoʁař əkəɟ   umgu   jiv-ra.   haŋgr toɟ*
      then   older.brother   woman   exist/have-COORD.2/3SG   then   middle.brother
      umgu=də + ləɣə-ra.
      woman=EMPH + not.have-COORD.2/3SG
      'Then the older brother had a wife. Then the middle-brother did not have a wife.' (Panfilov 1965: 160) [A]

The verb *ləɣə-* can synthesize with the stem of the lexical verb which is followed by the emphatic suffix *-ti/-ri/-di* or *-tə/-rə/-də*. In this form, *ləɣə-* is fully grammaticalized as a negative marker and does not bear any possessive meaning, cf. (36). Furthermore, it can be used independently with a general negative meaning, cf. (37).

(36) *if   pʰrə-jvi-də-ləɣə-ɟ=ravej.*
      3SG   come-PROGR/INC-EMPH-NEG-NMLZ/IND=FOC.EMPH
      'He is not coming all the same.' (Panfilov 1965: 160) [A]

(37) *ɲi   morqa-nə-ɟ=lu   ləɣə-nə-ɟ=lu?*
      1SG   be.alive-FUT-NMLZ/IND=Q   not.have-FUT-NMLZ/IND=Q
      'Will I be alive or not?' (Panfilov 1965: 160-161) [A]

4. Caritive

Nivkh does not have any special nominal case for indicating absence or non-involvement. The major strategies for expressing caritive semantics are basically similar to those of possessive negation.

In the East Sakhalin and West Sakhalin varieties, the caritive meaning is rendered by a dependent narrative clause with the converbal form of the negative verb *ʁavr-/-qavr-/-ɢavr-* 'not have' as a predicate and the Have-Possessive clause structure. Such a clause is often used either in sentence-initial position, as in (38) or as an embedded clause after the sentence-initial topical element, as in (39–40). The narrative converb in ES – *ř* : *-t* : *-n*, A *-r* : *-t* agrees with the subject of the finite verb. The agreement takes place according to the person and number of the subject and the tense/mood of the finite verb.

(38) *ətk + ʁavr-ř   jaŋ   pəřk   mu + aj-ɢavr-i-d.*
      father + NEG-CVB.NAR.2/3SG   3SG   only   boat + make-FUT-NMLZ/IND
      'Without [his] father, he alone will not build a boat.' (FM 2000:4:92) [ES^T]

(39) ɲi   ətək + ʁavr-t   pan-ɟ=ra.
      1SG   father + NEG-CVB.NAR.PL/1SG   grow-NMLZ/IND=FOC
      'I grew without a father.' (FM 2019:1:18) [WS]

(40) jaŋgut   lums + qavr-t   vi-nə-ɟ=ŋa.
      how:1PL   food + NEG-CVB.NAR.PL/1SG   go-FUT-NMLZ/IND=Q
      'How will we go without food?' (FM 2019:1:19) [WS]

The "caritive" clauses are often used to wish for health or more precisely absence of illness and can be literally translated as 'not having illness':

(41) urgun   qolaf=pəřk +ʁavr-n   hunm-ve
      well:2/3SG.IMP   illness=only + NEG-CVB.NAR.PL/1SG.IMP   be/live-IMP.2PL
      'Be healthy!' (lit. 'Being well, live not having illness!)' (FM 2000:4:11) [ES]

(42) qolaf + qavr-ř   hum-ja   qʰorgur   morqa-ja
      illness + NEG-CVB.NAR.2/3SG be/live-IMP.2SG   richly.2/3SG   be.alive-IMP.2SG
      kʰə-s + po-ja
      be.masterful-NMLZ + take/keep-IMP.2SG
      'Be healthy, live richly, be happy!' (FM 2020) [WS]

In the same context, the West Sakhalin variety also allows the use of the standard negative analytical construction in the dependent clause, cf. (29). In the speech of the modern speakers of the Liman Amur and West Sakhalin varieties, the negative analytical construction has undergone further changes, so that the dative suffix is nowadays pronounced as *-to* or even *-ta*, not *-doχ*. The *-d > -t* change is in line with the general process of devoicing of plosives, which is attested in these varieties, whereas the loss of final χ and the *o > a* change are connected with the reduction that takes place in the word-final unstressed syllable. As a result of these processes, the connection of the marker of a lexical verb with the dative suffix is disappearing and the whole construction is becoming further grammaticalized.

These processes are also attested in the example illustrating the expression of the caritive meaning in (43). Here, the narrative clause *lums ha-to qʰaw-t* follows the structure of the Amur negative possessive clause and is embedded into the main clause in the same way as the corresponding East Sakhalin clause in (39). The peculiarity of example (43) consists in the fact that the speaker has chosen to use a standard negative form of the functional verb *ha-* 'do/be so' in the sentence, where the use of the existential/possessive verb *qʰaw-* would be already enough for rendering the meaning of absence.

(43) mer   jaŋgut   lums   ha-to   qʰaw-t
      we:INCL   how: PL/1SG food   do/be.so-DAT   NEG-CVB.NAR. PL/1SG
      vi-nə-ɟ=ŋa.
      go-FUT-NMLZ/IND=Q
      'How will we go without food?' (FM 2019:1:20) [WS]

The most prevalent way of expressing the caritive meaning in the Amur varieties is the narrative clause with the inherently negative possessive verb *ləɣə-* in a non-finite predicative position, cf. (44–45). This verb can be further grammaticalized into the postposition *-ləɣə* 'without', which has an affirmative counterpart *-tomsk/-romsk/-domsk* 'with' and can be seen as the only, relatively new, dedicated caritive marker in Nivkh, cf. (46).

(44)   ɲi   ətək=rə + ləɣə-t   pan-ɟ=ra.
        1PL   father=EMPH + not.have-CVB.NAR.PL/1SG   grow-NMLZ/IND=FOC
        'I grew without a father.' (FM 2019:1:18) [WS]

(45)   lumř=tə + ləɣə-r   jaŋguř   vi-inə-ɟ=ŋa.
        food=EMPH + not.have-CVB.NAR.2/3SG   how:2/3SG   go-DES/INT-IND=Q
        'Without food, how will [he] go?' (Panfilov 1965: 160) [A]

(46)   ɲəŋ   vulvula + lep + romsk   seta=də + ləɣə
        1PL.EXCL   be.black + bread + with   sugar=EMPH + without
        eʁgut   cʰaj + ra-ta
        guickly:PL/1SG   tea + drink-COORD.PL/1SG
        'We quickly drank tea with black bread and without sugar.' (Panfilov 1965: 161) [A]

Nivkh has also several nouns with caritive meaning, which represent the nominalized forms of compounds derived according to the basic model <NOUN-NEGATIVE.VERB-NOMINALIZER> with possible modifications: ES *ətk-ʁavr-nd* <father-NEG-NMLZ/IND> 'a person without a father, bastard', ES *qʰoʁa-ʁavr-k* <mind-NEG-NMLZ> 'fool', ES *cif-qavr-d* <road-NEG-NMLZ/IND>, A *cif-tə-ləɣə-ɟ* <road-EMPH-not.have-NMLZ/IND> 'off-road', ES ut-*ʁavr-ř* <body-NEG-NMLZ>.

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